Anne-Maria Fehn 06/05/2014
(anne_fehn@eva.mpg.de)

Clause linkage in Ts'ixa (Kalahari Khoe)

1. Introduction

1.1 Language and speech community

Map: Geographical distribution of Ts'ixa and Khwe speech community in and around the Okavango Delta (Brenzinger 2013)
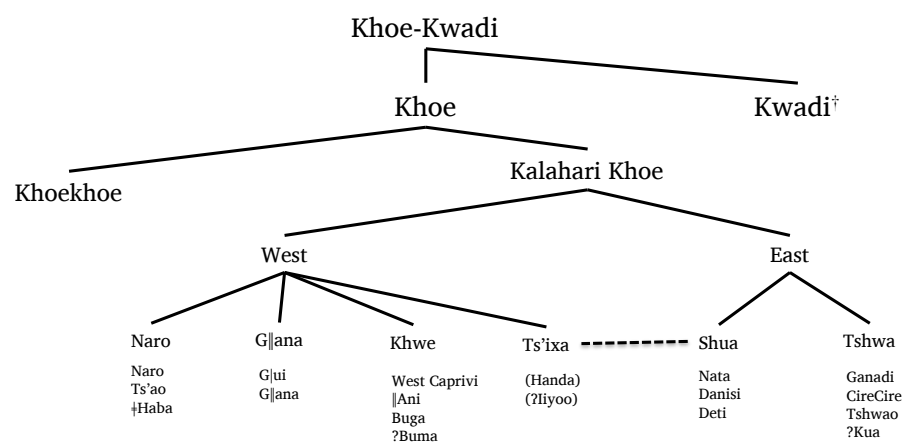
Figure 1: Genealogical position of Ts'ixa within the Khoe-Kwadi family (based on Güldemann & Vossen 2000, Güldemann, forthc.)

1.2 Theoretical approaches to clause linkage:

Lehmann (1988): Clause linkage as continuum

Haspelmath (1995, 2004): Distinctive features of coordination and subordination

Van Valin & La Polla (1997): Juncture and nexus types

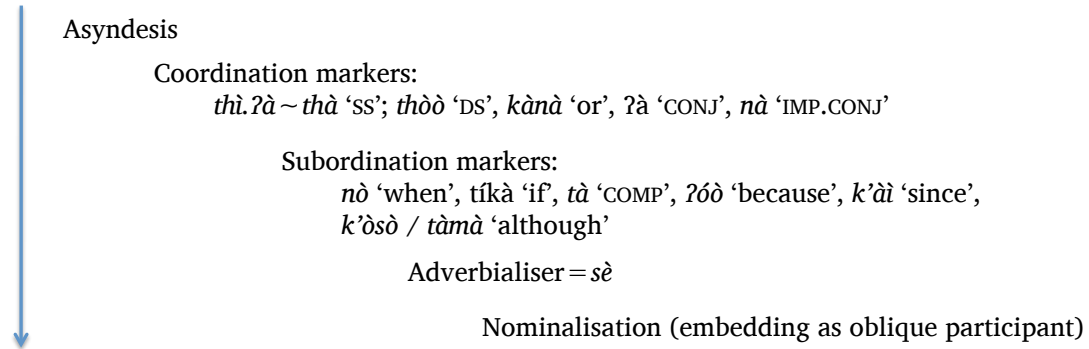Bickel (1991): Typology of clause chaining

Asyndesis

    Coordination markers:
        thì.ʔà ~ thà 'SS'; *thòò* 'DS', *kànà* 'or', *ʔà* 'CONJ', *nà* 'IMP.CONJ'

        Subordination markers:
            nò 'when', *tíkà* 'if', *tà* 'COMP', *ʔóò* 'because', *k'àì* 'since',
            k'òsò / tàmà 'although'

            Adverbialiser *=sè*

                Nominalisation (embedding as oblique participant)

Figure 2: Continuum of syntactic dependency in Ts'ixa clause linkage constructions

2. Coordination

2.1 Conjunction

2.1.1 Juxtaposition

(1)   [*khoe=ǹ*   *k'oxú ká*   *k'ű̀ǐ-nà-hà*] [*k'áó=dzì*   *kà*   *guni-nà-hà*
        person=PL.C:I   meat   MPO   live-J-PST3   arrow=PL.F:I   MPO   hunt-J-PST3
        |áò=dzà   *ʔà*].
        animal=PL.F:II ACC
        'The people lived on meat and hunted buffalos with arrows.'

The conjunction of juxtaposed clauses may be reinforced by the focus particle *ʔùè* 'also':

(2)   [*thà*   *nè*   *xű̀ǐ,*   *góè=sà*],   [*khoe=sì*   *nè*   *ʔùè*   *xű̀ǐ*].
       and.then   SEQ   get.pregnant   cow=SG.F:II   person=SG.F:I   SEQ   also   get.pregnant
       '[It] got pregnant, the cow, and the woman got also pregnant.'

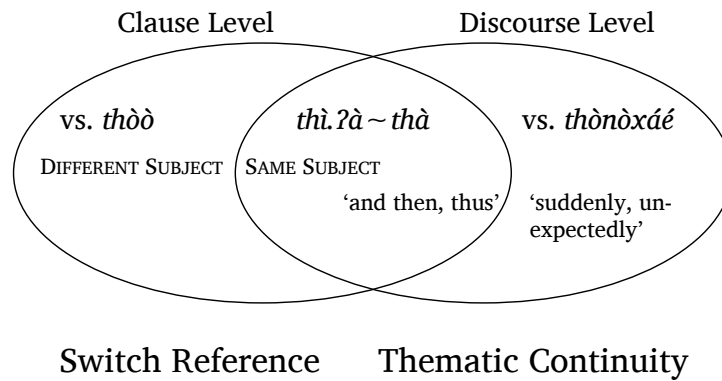### 2.1.2 *thì.ʔà~thà*: Switch reference and discourse continuity

Figure 3: Contrastive functions of the conjunction *thì.ʔà~thà*

thì.ʔà~thà vs. *thòò*

(3) a. [/*úúkhòè* *k'aa* *khudì-nà-tà* *tshaá=mà* *ʔà*] [**thà** *k'oró*
someone drink:J end-J-PST1 water=SG.M:II ACC SS eat.meat:J

khudí *k'oxú=ḿ* *ʔîỳè* *ʔà*].
finish meat=SG.M:I all ACC

'Someone drank all the water and then ate all the meat.'

b. [*g‖aàkhòè=sì* *kyií-nà-hà* *k'áàkhòè*] [**thòò** *nè* *àà* *ʔà*
woman=SG.F:I call-J-PST3 man DS SEQ come CONJ

k'oró *khudì* *k'oxú=mà* *ʔà*].
eat.meat:J end meat=SG.M:II ACC

'The woman called a man and then [he] came and ate all the meat.'

thì.ʔà~thà vs. *thònòxáé*

(4) a. [*xaḿ=ḿ* *péè-nà-hà* *ʔé.mà* *ʔà*] [**thì.ʔà** *ʔé.m̀* *nè* *‖ʔóó*].
lion=SG.M:I chase-J-PST3 3SG.M:II ACC and.then 3SG.M:I SEQ die

'The lion chased him and then he died.'

b. [*tí* *tè* *g‖aro-khabì* *‖ádì*] [**thònòxáé** *mágéìmì=‖ù* *nè*
1SG NEAR.PST ostrich-egg find suddenly wildlife.guard=PL.M:I SEQ

àà].
come

'I found an ostrich egg, [but] suddenly the wildlife guards came.'

Co-occurrence of *thòò* and *thònòxáé*

(5) a. [[*súǘ.súǜ=sè* *n‖gè* *k'oó*] [[*‖ūǜ-xà=dzì* *gérè* *àà* *tà*]
fast:INT=ADV SEQ eat.meat parent-ASSOC=PL.F:I FUT come COMP

[*thì.ʔà n|gè ǂʔaŋ́ ʔóò*]]].
see   SEQ think because

'[The hyena] ate very fast because [she] thought that the mothers (and their associates) would come.'

b. [[***thòò*** *n|gè* [*ʔé.sì tè k'oró khudì* = *sè*] ***thònòxáé*** *mũ̀ũ̀-à ʔãã̀*]
    DS   SEQ 3SG.F:I NEAR.PST eat.meat:J end = ADV suddenly see-J know
    [*|ṹã́.|ũ̀ã̀ kà |úú* = *sì káu-a-tà tà*]].
    child ATTR one.of = SG.F:I stay.behind-J-PST1 COMP
    'When she was done eating, [the mothers] realised one of the young ones had stayed behind.'

thì.ʔà~thà conjoining verbal predicates:

(6) a. *lebótílì* = *m̀ |'eé **thì.ʔà** ʔue-re-tà.*
         bottle = SG.M:I fall SS break-J-PST1
         'The bottle fell and broke.'

     b. *xam̀* = *ḿ kò péè **thi.ʔà** xóó k'ará.*
         lion = SG.M:I IPFV chase SS hold impala
         'The lion chases and catches an impala.'

     c. *tí balà-nà-hà buká* = *sà ʔà **thì.ʔà** kũ̀ũ-a ‖óé.*
         1SG read-J-PST3 book = SG.F:II ACC SS go-J sleep
         'I read the book and then I went to sleep.'

thì.ʔà~thà may be replaced by the conjunction *ʔà*:

(7) a. *xam̀* = *ḿ kò péè **ʔà** xóó k'ará.*
         lion = SG.M:I IPFV chase CONJ hold impala
         'The lion chases and catches an impala.'

     b. *ʔé.sì kò séè **ʔà** tshumá-xù-nà-tà síyò* = *mà ʔà.*
         3SG.F:I IPFV take CONJ hide:J-COMPL-J-PST1 cigarette = SG.M:II ACC
         'She took and hid the cigarette.'

     c. *thà ìì* = *mà [...] xúu-a-tà **ʔà** kyúù* = *mà xóó.*
         SS pole = SG.M:II let.go-J-PST1 CONJ head = SG.M:II hold
         '[The boy] lets go of the pole and grabs his head.'

In imperative clauses, predicates are conjoined by *nà:*

(8) *gáò nà mũ̀ũ̀!*
     look IMP.CONJ see
     'Look and see!'

ʔà and *nà* vs. juncture-verb constructions (JVC)

(9) a. *tí tè   ǀ'eé ǁóé.*
      1SG NEAR.PST fall:J lie.down
      'I fell into a lying position.'

   b. *tí tè   ǀ'eé ʔà   ǁóé.*
      1SG NEAR.PST fall:J CONJ lie.down
      'I fell and lay down.'

   c. *tó   k'uí-á kű̀ű̀ tíí,   nà   kyée.kyeè!*
      2PL.C talk-J go IMP.NEG IMP.CONJ   listen
      'Don't you (pl) walk talking and listen!'

Does *thì.ʔà~thà* conjoin clauses or verbal predicates?

(10) a. *Tlótló=m̀ kò   ná=m̀   kà   kolóí=sà   ʔà   yábà.*
       PN=SG.M:I IPFV DEM.REF=SG.M:I   POSS   car=SG.F:II ACC   love
       'Tlotlo loves his car.'

    b. *ʔuá.ká.tshéè ʔé.mà   tí   mũ̀ũ̀-nà-hà   ʔé.m̀   kò   **sámbà=sè***
       yesterday   3SG.M:II 1SG   see-J-PST3   3SG.M:I   IPFV   wash=ADV

       thì.ʔà* *n≠amí-káxù=sè*   ***thì.ʔà* *ǁáú.ǁaù=sè* *ʔé.sà   ʔà.
       SS   shine-CAUS=ADV   SS   repair=ADV   3SG.F:II ACC
       'Yesterday, I saw him while he was washing, then polishing, then repairing it.'

Compare:

(11) *mĩ̋.thà ʔé.ǹ   kò   ǁʔũằ̀   kű̀ű̀=sè*
      thus   3PL.C IPFV return:J go=ADV

     gǁóé=sì   ʔám̀ ngùà thònòxáé ǀű̋ű̋=sà   ʔà   nè   ≠ʔî.
     tortoise=SG.F:I top   ABL   suddenly child=SG.F:II ACC   SEQ   kick
     'When they return, [the toad] suddenly kicks the child off the tortoise.'

thì.ʔà~thà and *thòò* do not require argument sharing:

(12) *xam̋=m̋   péè-nà-hà   ʔé.mà   ʔà   thì.ʔà   ʔé.m̀   nè   ǁʔóó.*
      lion=SG.M:I chase-J-PST3 3SG.M:II ACC   and.then 3SG.M:I SEQ   die
      'The lion chased him and then he died.'

A shared subject may be expressed (cf. (13)a), just like a different subject may be omitted if deemed accessible from the context (cf. (13)b):

(13) a. [*ǁxáà   ʔà   tí   Mãű̋ ʔò   kũ̃ũ̃-a-hà*] [***thì.ʔà***
       morning   LOC 1SG   GN   ALL   go-J-PST3   SS

ʔúì	*ʔà*	*tí*	‖*ʔũ̂-nà-tà*].
evening	LOC	1SG	return-J-PST1

'I went to Maun in the morning and I returned in the evening.'

b.
[*g‖aàkhòè=sì*	*kyií-nà-hà*	*k'áàkhòè*]	[*thòò*	ø	*nè*	*àà*	*ʔà*
woman=SG.F:I	call-J-PST3	man	DS	SEQ	come	CONJ

k'oró	*khudì*	*k'oxú=mà*	*ʔà*].
eat.meat:J	end	meat=SG.M:II	ACC

'The woman called a man and then [he] came and ate all the meat.'

thì.ʔà~thà and the sequential marker *n‖gè~nè*:

(14)
[*ʔé.‖ù*	*nè*	*xúù*	*n‖gáè*	*kò=sè*	*kúḿ*]
3PL.M:I	SEQ	thing	sing	IPFV=ADV	hear

[*thà*	*nè*	*g‖áì-kù*	‖*ʔáé=ḿ*	*ʔò*].
SS	SEQ	run-PL	home=SG.M:I	ALL

'They heard something singing and ran home together.'

(15)
thà	*nè*	*góè=sì*	*kò*	*góè*	*kà*	ǀ*úú=dzà*	*ʔà*	ǀ*úí-ǀùì.*
and.then	SEQ	cattle=SG.F:I	IPFV	cattle	ATTR	other=PL.F:II	ACC	collect

'Then the cow would collect the other cattle.'

2.2 Disjunction
2.2.1 *kànà* 'or'

(16) a.
ʔé.ḿ	*kò*	*sĩ̂*	*rè*	*kànà*	‖*ʔúḿ*	*rè?*
3SG.M:I	IPFV	work	Q	or	sleep	Q

'Is he working or sleeping?'

b.
k'aro=‖ù	*kò*	‖*qání*	*kyũ̀ũ̂.à.xù*	*rè*	*kànà*	*kyũ̀ũ̂*	*rè?*
boy=PL.M:I	IPFV	raisin	sell	Q	or	buy	Q

'Are the boys selling or buying raisins?'

No omission of shared arguments:

(17) a.
[[*ʔé.ḿ*	*g‖ai-a-xù-nà-tà*	*rè*	ǀ*úú=nà*	*ʔà*]	[*kànà*	*ʔé.ḿ*
3SG.M:I	run-J-COMPL-J-PST1	Q	other=PL.C:II	ACC	or	3SG.M:I

g‖ai-a-xù-è-tà]	*ʔarú=ḿ*	*ngùà*]?
run-J-COMPL-PASS-PST1	game=SG.M:I	LOC

'Did he win or lose the game?' [Did he outrun the others or was he outrun in the game?]

Omission of S and O:

b. *xàwèè* *ʔé.sì* *kò* *k'oó* *rè* *k'oxú=mà* *ʔà* *kànà*
    still   3SG.F:I   IPFV   eat.meat   Q   meat=SG.M:II   ACC   or

   k'oró-tà?
   eat.meat:J-PST1
   'Is she still eating the meat or has [she] eaten [it already]?'

Omission of S (but not O):

c. *ʔabá=mà* *thűű̀* *ʔé.ǹ* *garo-tà* *rè* *kànà* *xàwèè* *kò*
    dog=SG.M:II   already   3PL.C:I   look:J-PST1   Q   or   still   IPFV

   ʔé.mà *ʔà* *gáò?*
   3SG.M:II   ACC   look
   'Have they already looked at the dog or are [they] still looking at it?'

2.2.2 *xaré…xaré…xaré.ká* 'either… or'

(18) *xaré* *‖xáà* *ʔà* *kũ̄ũ̄-a-tà* *rè* *xaré* *thuú* *ʔà* *kũ̄ũ̄-a-tà* *rè* *xaré.ká.*
      DISJ   morning   LOC   go-J-PST1   Q   DISJ   night   LOC   go-J-PST1   Q   DISJ
      '[They] either went in the morning, or they went at night.'

3. Subordination

Form	English gloss	Clause type
tà	complementiser	complement clauses
k'òsò / tàmà	'but, although'	concessive / adversative clauses
(kó)nò	'when'	temporal / conditional clauses
(n/í̋)…tíkà	'if'	conditional clauses
ʔ(y)óò	'because'	causal clauses
k'àì	'since'	temporal clauses

Table 1: Subordination markers of Ts'ixa

V=sè	'while'	temporal clauses
V-tã̀=sè	'instead of'	concessive / adversative clauses
xàwèè V-tã̀=sè	'before'	temporal clauses

Table 2: Constructions with the adverbialiser =*sè* as marker of clausal subordination

	Independent clauses	Subordinate clauses
SOV	50%	60%
SVO	43,3%	13,3%
OSV	6,7%	26,7%

Table 3: Constituent order of transitive clauses
(Sample: 60 clauses (30 each), randomly chosen from three narrative texts)

3.1 Complement clauses
3.1.1 Direct and indirect speech:

mĩ́ĩ́-a 'say-J' as a quotative marker:

(19) *thà   ʔé.‖ù   nè   mũ̀ṹ̀   ʔé.sà   ʔà   ‖ʔáé=m̀   di=m̀*
     and.then 3PL.M:I   SEQ   see   3SG.F:II   ACC   village=SG.M:I   POSS=SG.M:I

   nè   mĩ́ĩ́.a: sá   t'ũ̀ĩ́   ʔè.
   SEQ   QUOT: 2SG.F   beautiful   COP

   'They saw her and the headman [lit. the village's] said: "You are beautiful."'

tíí 'be thus' as a finite verb:

(20) a. [*ʔé.sì   mĩ́ĩ́-a   [ù̀=sì   ‖'aró   khúḿ-é-tà]   tíí-nà-tà*].
       3SG.F:I   say-J   tree=SG.F:I   chop:J   cut-PASS-PST1   be.thus-J-PST1

     'She said that the tree was cut down.'

   b. *|ṹã́=m̀   kòrè   ʔabá=ḿ   xàè   kòrè   g‖óé=sì   xàè*
      child=SG.M:I   CONJ   dog=SG.M:I   CONJ   CONJ   tortoise=SG.F:I CONJ

      kò   ǂʔań-á   ní̀=m̀   kò   hĩ̀ĩ̀-sí   ŋxúà |xè   tíí.
      IPFV   think-J: what=SG.M:I   IPFV   do-REFL   here   LOC   be.thus

      'The boy, the dog and the tortoise think: "What is happening here?"'

   c. *‖ʔáé.m̀.xà=m̀   kò   mĩ́ĩ́-a*
      headman=sg.m:i   ipfv   say-J

      ‖'áé-kù   gérè   hã́ã̀   tíí   ʔuá.ká.tshéè.
      meet-RCPR   FUT   be.there   be.thus   tomorrow

      'The headman says that there is going to be a meeting tomorrow.'

The quotative suffix *-tì* (< *tíí* 'be thus')

(21) a. *dué=sì   mĩ́ĩ́-a tí   ‖'ã́ã́-tì-nà-tà   súbárà=dzà   ʔà*
       my.mother=SG.F:I   say-J 1SG wash-QUOT-J-PST1   clothes=PL.F:II ACC

     k'òsò   tí   ‖'ána-tà   ʔité.
     but   1SG   wash:J-PST1   NEG

     'Mother told me to wash the clothes but I have not washed them.'

b. *dué=sí*   *tí*   *kà*   *mɨ̃́-a*   *tí*   *ʔà*   *bè*   *nguú=mà*
my.mother=SG.F:I 1SG POSS say-J 1SG ACC EMPH house=SG.M:II

heélà-tì-nà-tà   *k'òsò*   *tí*   *hɨ̃̀-à-tà*   *ʔíté.*
sweep-QUOT-J-PST1 but   1SG do-J-PST1 NEG

'My mother told me to sweep the room, but I did not do it.'

The complementiser *tà*:

(22) a. *thà*   *ǀɨ̃́ɨ̃́=m̀*   *kò*   *ǂʔóà-sì:*
and.then child=SG.M:I IPFV ask-REFL

nɨ́=m̀   *kùè*   *hɨ̃̀-sí*   *tà*   *xúà=sì*   *í=sì*   *ʔà?*
what=SG.M:I PROG do-REFL COMP   place=SG.F:I DEM.REF=SG.F:I LOC

'Then the boy asks himself: "What is happening in this place?"'

b. *ʔé.mà*   *tí*   *boódì-nà-tà*   *ʔé.m̀*   *ts'ɨ́ɨ̀*   *tà.*
3SG.M:II 1SG tell-J-PST1   3SG.M:I steal COMP

'I told him that he steals.'

c. *thà*   *k'aro=ǁù*   *síi-a*   *boódì*   *khoe=nà*   *ʔà*
SS   boy=PL.M:I proceed-J tell   person=PL.C:II ACC

ná=ǁù   *tè*   *kúm̀*   *xúù*   *kò*   *nǁgáè=sè*   *tà.*
DEM.REF=PL.M:I NEAR.PST hear thing IPFV sing=ADV COMP

'The boys proceeded to tell the people that they had heard something singing.'

3.1.2 Complement clauses with the complementiser *tà*

(23) a. *ʔám̀-kù*   *thì.ʔà*   *ná=ǁù*   *gérè*   *ʔɨ̃́.thà*   *hɨ̃̀*   *tà.*
agree-RCPR SS   DEM.REF=PL.M:I FUT   thus   do   COMP

'[They] agreed that they would do thus [like discussed]'

b. *tsá*   *ʔaná-hà*   *rè* *maá* *ʔà* *tí*   *kò*   *nǀgóá-mà*   *tà?*
2SG.M know:J-PST3 Q who ACC 1SG   IPFV cook-BEN   COMP

'Do you know whom I am cooking for?'

c. *tí*   *ʔà*   *boódì-nà-hà* *maá* *ʔà*   *ná=m̀*   *gǁarà-nà-mà-nà-hà*   *tà.*
1SG ACC tell-J-PST3 who ACC DEM.REF=SG.M:I write-J-BEN-J-PST3 COMP

'[He] told me whom he wrote to.'

tà following O of the subordinate clause:

(24) a. *ná=m̀*   *xà*   *ǀúí=sè*   *ǀ'ɨ̃ɨ̃́*   *ǀáò=mà*   *ʔà*   *tà*
DEM.REF=SG.M:I SUBJ one=ADV kill   buffalo=SG.M:II ACC   COMP

ʔé.m̀   ʔyań-nà-hà k'òsò ʔé.mà   ʔà   kyáá-kàxù-nà-tà.
3SG.M:I think-J-PST3 but   3SG.M:II ACC   wound-CAUS-J-PST1
'He thought he could kill the buffalo all by himself but was wounded.'

tà following IO of the subordinate clause:

b. tí |ʔurù-nà-tà maá   ʔà   tí   kyū̀ū̀-à-mà-nà-hà kuú=m̀   kà   tà.
    1SG forget-J-PST1 who   ACC   1SG buy-J-BEN-J-PST3   dress=SG.M:I MPO   COMP
    'I forgot for whom I bought the dress.'

Backward anaphora:

(25) tí   ʔà   boódì-nà-hà   ná=sì   kò   ʔÀméríkà   mūū̀-kàà tà.
      1SG ACC   tell-J-PST3   DEM.REF=SG.F:I IPFV GN   see-VOL   COMP
      '[She] told me that she wants to see America.'

                    tíí   ʔà → tà   ?
                    be.thus   LOC COMP

No sharing of illocutionary force:

(26) dué=sí   tí   kà   mɪ̄́ɪ̄-a   ná=sì   dí=mà   tsóò
      my.mother=SG.F:I   1SG POSS say-J   DEM.REF=SG.F:I POSS=SG.M:I medicine

      kà   tí   ʔà   bè   k'áà-tíí-tí-nà-tà
      ATTR   1SG ACC   EMPH drink-IMP.NEG-QUOT-J-PST1

      k'òsò tí   ʔé.sì   dí=mà   ʔà   k'aa-tà.
      but   1SG 3SG.F:I   POSS=SG.M:II ACC   drink:J-PST1
      'Mother told me not to drink her medicine, but I drank hers.'

Tswana *xòrè*:

(27) ‖ʔarí.sè k'áó.thuú   ʔà   kò   kɪ́ɪ̀ k'oxú   ‖é   kò   kámà
      usually   early.morning LOC   IPFV go   animal   1PL.M IPFV track

      ‖é   ʔaná-hà   ʔyóò   xòrè   ‖é   gérè   síi-a   saó.‖éè
      1PL.M know:J-CR   because COMP   1PL.M   FUT   arrive-J catch.up
      'An animal that passed early in the morning we usually track, because we know that
      we will be able to catch up.'

3.1.3 Manner: 'how to'

maá.thà 'how' + complementiser *tà*:

(28) a. tí   ʔã́ã́-tã̀   maá.thà tsé   xà   ʔé.ngùà síí   tà.
          1SG know-IPFV.NEG how   1PL.C SUBJ there   arrive COMP
          'I don't know how to get there.'

b. *tí   kò   Gyéménì ʔò   kű̀ǜ̀ nò   tí   gérè khoe = nà   ʔà   ʔã́ã́-káxù*
   1SG IPFV Germany ALL go   when 1SG FUT   person = PL.C:II ACC   know-CAUS

maá.thà   tí   kà   k'uí = sí   kò   k'uí-é   tà.
how   1SG POSS language = SG.F:I   IPFV speak-PASS   COMP

'When I go to Germany I will teach people how to speak my language (lit. how my language is spoken).'

Repetition of main verb, acting as nominaliser:

(29) *tí   kò   [Ts'íxà-dàm̀ kò   g‖arà-é   ʔé   = g‖àrà] ʔã́ã́-kà.*
    1SG IPFV T.-MANNER IPFV write-PASS PASS   = writing know-CAUS
    'I teach the way of writing Ts'ixadam (lit. 'Ts'ixadam being written'-writing).'

Nata-Shua:

(30) *tá   ke   [Cúá   ke   kúálá-é   = kùàlà] n‖gaé.n‖gàè.*
    1SG IPFV Shua   IPFV write-PASS   = writing teach
    'I teach the way of writing Shua (lit. 'Shua is being written'-writing).'

ngòrè '?how':

(31) *g‖aàkhòè = sì   kò |ű́ǘ́ = sà   ʔà   n‖gáú   [ngòrè   khobá*
    woman = SG.F:I   IPFV child = SG.F:II   ACC   show   ?how   porridge

kò   n‖góá-é   ʔè   = n‖gòà].
IPFV cook-PASS   PASS   = cook

'The woman shows the girl how to cook porridge (lit. 'porridge is cooked'-cooking).'

The suffix *-dàm̀* (< *dám̀* 'tongue'): deriving nouns 'the way of X':

(32) a. *tí   kò   [Ts'íxà-dam̀ g‖arà-dàm̀]   ʔã́ã́-kà.*
      1SG IPFV T.- MANNER write-MANNER know-CAUS
      'I teach the way of writing Ts'ixadam.'

    b. *tí   kò   [‖xòrò-é   kò   ‖xòrò-dàm̀   xúúkhoe dì]   ʔã́ã́-kà*
      1SG IPFV dance-PASS IPFV dance-tongue   San   POSS know-CAUS
      'I teach the San's way of dancing (lit. how the San's dance is danced).'

3.2 Causal clauses

ʔóò~ʔyóò (< *‡ʔóò ???)

(33) a. *tí   xà   kyũ̀ǜ̀ ʔíté koloí tí |ʔáò-xà   ʔíté ʔóò.*
      1SG SUBJ buy NEG car 1SG money-ASSOC NEG because
      'I can't buy a car because I have no money.'

b. *tí* */ʔáò-xà* *ʔíté* *ʔóò* *tí* *xà* *kyũ̀ũ̀* *ʔíté* *kolóí=sà* *ʔà.*

1SG money-ASSOC NEG because 1SG SUBJ buy NEG car=SG.F:II ACC

'Because I have no money, I cannot buy the car.'

Subordinate clause interrupting matrix clause:

(34) [*thòò* */úú=m̀* *n|gè* [*tshéè=m̀* *ʔĩỳè* *ʔà* *séè-kàà-nà-hà* *ʔóò*]

DS one.of=SG.M:I SEQ day=SG.M:I all ACC take-be.about-J-PST3 because

habí=sí *kà* */úù=sè* *ʔé.mà* *ʔà* *‖áó* *k'áó=m̀* *kà* */ám̀-ʔoro.kù*

breast=SG.F:I MPO be.near=ADV 3SG.M:II ACC shoot arrow=SG.M:I MPO two-times

ʔéxùà *ʔà*].

there LOC

'Because it was about to take all day, one (of them) shot it twice with an arrow, in a place near the breast.

Argument sharing:

Omission of S:

(35) a. */úã́=sì* *kò* *t'ũ̀ĩ̀* *‖ʔorá* *kò* *ʔóò.*

child=SG.F:I IPFV beautiful grow.up IPFV because

'This girl is becoming beautiful because she is growing up.'

O becomes S and is omitted:

b. *tí* *k'oó-tã̀* *k'oxú=mà* *ʔà* *ts'oró-hà* *ʔyóò.*

1SG eat.meat-IPFV.NEG meat=SG.M:II ACC rot:J-PST3 because

'I don't eat the meat because [it] is rotten.'

No omission of shared arguments:

c. *ʔé.m̀* *kò* *kyíí* *ʔóò* *ʔé.m̀* *àa-ta* *ʔíté* *sũ̀ũ̀=m̀* *ʔò.*

3SG.M:I IPFV be.sick because 3SG.M:I come:J-PST1 NEG work=SG.M:I LOC

'Because he was sick he didn't go to work.'

Backward anaphora:

(36) *kyxoà=m̀* *kò* *‖ʔóó* *nò* */'án.sè* *n|gè* *yábà* *ná=‖ù* *tè*

elephant=SG.M:I IPFV die SUB very SEQ be.happy DEM.REF=PL.M:I NEAR.PST

/'ũ̀ṹ *ʔé.mà* *ʔà* *ʔóò.*

kill 3SG.M:II ACC because

'When the elephant died [they] were very happy because they had killed it.'

Tswana *kaxórè*:

(37) *kárí* *ʔíté* *xúù* *kaxórè* *ʔé.m̀* *ʔùè* *tí* *‖ũ̀ũ̀* *ʔè.*

be.hard NEG thing because 3SG.M:I also 1SG parent COP

'It is not a problem [a hard thing] because he is also my father.'

Co-occurrence of *kaxórè* and *ʔóò~ʔyóò*:

(38) *thuú   ʔà   kũ̄ũ-a-tà   kónò   ‖é   kámà-t̀ã̀*
    night   LOC   go-J-PST1   when   1PL.M   track-IPFV.NEG

    kaxórè   ‖é   gérè   síi-a   hitérà   ʔíté   tà   ‖é   ʔaná-hà
    because   1PL.M   FUT   arrive-J   find   NEG   COMP   1PL.M   know:J-CR

    ʔyóò.
    because

    'When [the animals] passed at night, we do not track [them], because we know that
    we will not find them.'

3.3 Conditional clauses

Gram	Category	TAM restrictions
(kó)nò	real conditions	*kò* 'IPFV' and *gérè* 'FUT', but other TAM may occur
(n‖í̆)… tíkà	irreal conditions	*xà* 'SUBJ' (+ other TAM) in matrix clause

Table 4: Two types of conditional clauses

3.3.1 Real conditions

(39) a.   *ti   gérè   kolóí-xà   nò   ti   gérè   Namíbíà   ʔò   kũ̀ũ̀.*
        1SG   FUT   car-ASSOC   when   1SG   FUT   GN   ALL   go
        'When I have a car, I will go to Namibia.'

    b.   *túú   kónò   ti   gérè   nguú=ḿ   ʔà   nyũ̀ũ̀.*
        rain   when   1SG   FUT   house=SG.M:I   LOC   stay
        'When it rains I will stay in the house.'

    c.   *tí   gérè   ʔyũ̀ũ̀   sá   ʔò   khaà   sá   kà   tshaú=sérà   sá   kò*
        1SG   FUT   food   2SG.F   LOC   give   2SG.F   POSS   hand=DU.F   2SG.F   IPFV
        sámbà   kònò.
        wash   when
        'I will give you food when you wash your (two) hands.'

3.3.2 Irreal conditions

tìkà:

(40) a.   *tí   kolóí-xà   tíkà   Namíbíà   ʔò   ti   xà   tè   kũ̀ũ̀.*
        1SG   car-ASSOC   if   GN   ALL   1SG   SUBJ   ?NEAR.PST   go
        'If I had a car, I would go to Namibia.

b. | *tí* | *kolóí-xà* | *tíkà* | *ti* | *xà* | *tè* | *Namíbíà* | *ʔò* | *kűű.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | car-ASSOC | if | 1SG | SUBJ | ?NEAR.PST | GN | ALL | go |

'If I had a car, I would go to Namibia.'

xà 'SUBJ' in the matrix clause:

(41) a. | *nyúní=sì* | *kyűű-í-hà* | *tíkà* | *tí* | *xà* | *tè* | *k'oó.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| mouse=SG.F:I | roast-PASS-PST3 | if | 1SG | SUBJ | ?NEAR.PST | eat.meat |

'If the mouse had been roasted, I would have eaten it.'

xà 'SUBJ' in subordinate and matrix clause:

b. | *xaḿ=ḿ* | *ǀxòà* | *tí* | *xà* | *ǁʼáé-kù-nà-tà* | *tíkà* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| lion=SG.M:I | COM | 1SG | SUBJ | meet-RCPR-J-PST1 | if |

tí	*xà*	*ʔé.mà*	*ʔà*	*ǀʼűű-á-tá.*
1SG	SUBJ	3SG.M:II	ACC	kill-J-PST1

'If I had met the lion, I would have killed it.'

nǀí̋…tíkà:

(42) a. | *nǀí̋* | *ʔé.sì* | *xà* | *dàro-hà* | *ʔíté* | *tíkà* | *ìì=sì* | *xà* | *ǁʔorá* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| COND | 3SG.F:I | SUBJ | burn:J-PST3 | NEG | if | tree=SG.F:I | SUBJ | grow |

ntshéè	*kà.*
today	MPO

'If it had not burned down, the tree would be grown today.'

b. | *nǀí̋* | *ʔé.si* | *xà* | *kyíí-nà-hà* | *ʔíté* | *tíkà* | *ʔé.sì* | *xà* | *t'űű.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| COND | 3SG.F | SUBJ | be.sick-J-PST3 | NEG | if | 3SG.F:I | SUBJ | beautiful |

'If she had not been ill, she would have become beautiful.'

c. | *nǀí̋* | *ʔé.sì* | *xà* | *ǁʔóó-nà* | *ʔíté* | *tíkà* | *ʔoré=sè* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| COND | 3SG.F:I | SUBJ | die-STAT | NEG | if | young=ADV |

ǀűä=sì	*xà*	*t'űí-nà*	*ntshéè.*
child=SG.F:I	SUBJ	beautiful-STAT	today

'If she had not died young, the girl would be beautiful today.'

3.4 Temporal clauses

	Source / literal meaning	English gloss	Section
(kó)nò	n/a	'when'	§3.4.1
=sè	adverbialiser	'while'	§3.4.2
asyndesis (iconic) *ky'oà* *ky'oà nò* *ky'oà ʔà* *ngyúró ʔà*	'to go out' + 'when' + LOC 'in the back'	'after'	§3.4.3
asyndesis (iconic) *xàwèè* V-*tã̀=sè*	'while X is not happening yet'	'before'	§3.4.4
k'àì	'first'	'since'	§3.4.5
nò |úí (?)	'only when' (?)	'until'	§3.4.6

Table 5: Temporal clauses in Ts'ixa

3.4.1 'When'

nò:

(43) a. | *tsá* | *hana-hà* | *rè* | *ʔé.m̀* | *kò* | *\|'ũ̀ṹ* | *nò* | *xam̄=mà* | *ʔà?* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2SG.M | be.there:J-PST3 | Q | 3SG.M:I | IPFV | kill | when | lion=SG.M:II | ACC |

'Were you there when he killed the lion?'

b. | *tsá* | *kò* | *àà* | *nò* | *ʔúì* | *ʔà* | *tsá* | *ʔà* | *tí* | *gérè* | *n\|góa-mà.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2SG.M | IPFV | come | when | evening | LOC | 2SG.M | ACC | 1SG | FUT | cook:J-BEN |

'As soon as you come in the evening I will cook for you.'

c. | *\|ʔeé=m̄* | *kò* | *tabù* | *nò* | *xam̄=dzí* | *gérè* | *\|úù* | *ʔìtè.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| fire=SG.M:I | IPFV | burn | SUB | lion=PL.F:I | FUT | get.near | NEG |

'While (as long as) the fire burns the lions will not get near.'

kónò~kònò (< *kò* 'IPFV' + *nò* 'when'):

(44) a. | *àà* | *ʔé.dzì* | *kónò* | *thòò* | *gúà=sì* | *k'oró* | *khudì-nà-tà* | *\|ṹá=sà* | *ʔà.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| come | 3PL.F:I | when | DS | hyena=SG.F:I | eat:J | end-J-PST1 | child=SG.F:II | ACC |

'By the time they came, the hyena had finished eating the child.'

b. | *\|'ũ̀ṹ-é* | *kónò* | *tsóó-xò* | *hã́ã̀* |
|---|---|---|---|
| kill-PASS | when | taboo-NMZ | be.there |

'When [the animal] is killed, there is taboo.'

c. | *káré* | *tsé* | *kónò* | *kũ̀ṹ-k'èè* | *khoe* | *dí* | *kò* | *‖xábà=mà* | *ʔà* | *k'oó* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| cut.meat | 1PL.C | when | sister | person | POSS | ipfv | back=SG.M:II | ACC | eat.meat |

'As soon as they cut meat, the sisters of the people eat the back-part.'

3.4.2 'While'

=sè 'ADV'

(45) a. *ʔé.ǹ   k'uí-tótùm̀-nà-hà   tsé   kò   Mã̀ṹ   ʔò   kṹ̀ù̃=sè.*
        3SG.C:I speak-INT-J-PST3   1PL.C IPFV GN   ALL   go=ADV
        'They talked a lot while we were going to Maun.'

    b. *kyíí   ʔé.sì   kò=sè   ʔé.sì   ‖óé-tótùm̀-nà-hà.*
        be.sick 3SG.F:I IPFV=ADV 3SG.F:I sleep-INT-J-PST3
        'While she was sick, she slept a lot.'

    c. *tí   kò   g‖áì=sè   tí   tè   ǀ'eé.*
        1SG   IPFV run=ADV   1SG   NEAR.PST   fall
        'While I was running, I fell.'

=sè in paradigmatic distribution with *thì.ʔà~thà / ʔà* and JVCs:

(46) *tí   kò   n‖gáè   kò=sè   kṹ̀ù̃.*
      1SG   IPFV sing   IPFV=ADV   go
      'I walk while singing.'

n+1 events in temporal succession	→	*thì.ʔà~thà / ʔà*
n+1 events taking place simultaneously	→	*=sè*
n+1 events forming one complex event	→	JVC

Table 6: Semantic distribution of complex predicate formation

(47) a. *nyṹ̀ì̃-nà=sè   tí   tè   ǀíí=sà   ʔà   kyée.kyeè.*
        sit-STAT=ADV   1SG   NEAR.PST   song=SG.F:II   ACC   listen
        'I listened to the song in a sitting position.'

    b. *tí   kò   nyṹ̃ũ-a   ‖'áḿ   katsí=sà   ʔà.*
        1SG   IPFV sit-J   beat   cat=SG.F:II   ACC
        'I am beating the cat in a sitting position.'

3.4.3 'After'

thì.ʔà~thà 'and then':

(48) *xaró.xàrò-kù   thì.ʔà   tsé   kò   karé.*
      distribute-RCPR   SS   1PL.C   IPFV   make.biltong
      '[We] distribute [the meat] and then we make biltong.'

ky'oà.ʔà (< *ky'oà* 'to exit' + *ʔà* 'LOC'):

(49) a. | *ʔyūū́=ḿ* | *ʔà* | *ky'oà.ʔà* | *khúḿ* | *gérè* | *kūū-a* | *sǖ̀.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| eat=SG.M:I | LOC | after | 1DU.C | FUT | go-J | work |

'After eating we will go to work.'

   b. | *kyíí.ò=m̀* | *ʔà* | *ky'oà.ʔà* | *ʔé.sì* | *nè* | *mūū̀-té.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| disease=SG.M:I | LOC | after | 3SG.F:I | SEQ | see-SEQ.NEG |

'Following the disase, she could not see (i.e., went blind).'

ky'oà nò:

(50) a. | *ʔé.dzi* | *kò* | *tántè=mà* | *ʔà* | *‖áú.‖aù=m̀* | *ʔà* | *ky'oà* | *nò* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3PL.F:I | IPFV | tent=SG.M:II | ACC | maintain=SG.M:I | LOC | exit | when |

‖ʔaù	*nè*	*kyãã̀.*
fish	SEQ	enter

'After they have cleaned the tent, the whites come in.'

ky'oà:

   b. | *xúà=m̀* | *gérè* | *|'urí* | *kyxoà=mà* | *ʔé.‖ù* | *kò* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| place=SG.M:I | FUT | be.dirty | elephant=SG.M:II | 3PL.M:I | IPFV |

|áá=m̀	*ʔà*	*ky'oà.*
skin=SG.M:I	LOC	exit

'The place will be dirty after they have skinned the elephant there.'

ngyúró ʔà (<*ngyúró* 'back' + *ʔà* 'LOC'):

(51) | *thà* | *ngyúró* | *ʔà* | *ń=dzì* | *n‖gè* | *mūū̀-à* | *ʔãã̀* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SS | back | LOC | DEM.PROX=PL.F:I | SEQ | see-J | know |

thà	*‖ʔáã̀-kù=m̀*	*mī́ī́=ḿ*	*gérè*	*khudí*	*ʔíté*	*tà*
SS	fight-RCPR=SG.M:I	DEM.DIST=SG.M:I	FUT	end	NEG	COMP

xūū̀=sè	*g‖ai-a-hà.*
bad=ADV	run-J-PST3

'After these ones [the zebras] realised that fight was not going to end,
(they) ran badly.'

3.4.4 'Before'

(52) a. | *|áḿ.tsãã̀=sì* | *xàwèè* | *ky'oà-tã̀=sè* | *tsé* | *kūū-a-tà.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| sun=SG.F:I | yet | come.out-IPFV.NEG=ADV | 1PL.C | go-J-PST1 |

'We went before sunrise.' (lit. When the sun had not risen yet, we went.)

   b. | *xàwèè* | *tsé* | *kū́ū̀-tã̀=sè* | *nguú=mà* | *ʔà* | *‖áú.‖aù.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| yet | 1PL.C | go-IPFV.NEG=ADV | house=SG.M:II | ACC | maintain |

'Before we go we clean the house.'

c. *t'ű̃ì-nà-hà*   *xàwèè*   *ʔé.sì*   *kyíí-tã̀=sè*
    be.beautiful-J-PST3   yet   3SG.F:I get.sick-IPFV.NEG=ADV
    'She was beautiful before she got sick.'

Shared illocutionary force:

(53) *kű̃ũ̀-í*   *ʔè*   *‖ʔáé=m̀*   *ʔò* *xàwèè* *ngyí.káò-tã̀=sè.*
    go-IMP   EMPH home=SG.M:I ALL yet   get.dark-IPFV.NEG=ADV
    'Let's go home before it gets dark.'

3.4.5 'since':

SUB *k'àì* 'first' + MV-*ʔíî.sì* 'ITER':

(54) a. *ʔé.m̀*   *krícén-nà-hà*   *k'àì* *keréké=m̀*   *ʔò*   *kò* *kũũ-a-ʔíî.si.*
       3SG.M.I bec.christian-J-PST3 since church=SG.M:I   ALL IPFV go-J-ITER
       'Since he became a Christian [he] always goes to church.'

    b. *Áfírìkà* *ʔò*   *ʔé.sì* *àa-hà*   *k'àì* *kyíi-a-ʔíî.sì*   *kùè.*
       GN   ALL   3SG.F:I come:J-PST3 since be.sick-J-ITER   IPFV
       'Ever since she came to Africa, [she] has been ill.'

3.4.6 'until'

nò ǀúí (< *ǀúí* 'one, only'):

(55) *tí* *gérè* *tí̃-mà*   *ʔé.nà* *ʔà* *ʔé.ǹ*   *kò* *àà* *nò* *ǀúí.*
    1SG FUT stand-BEN   3PL.C:II ACC 3PL.C:I IPFV come when ?only
    'I will wait for them until they come.'

3.5 Purpose clauses

Embedding as ALLATIVE (*ʔò*):

(56) a. *k'áàkhòè=ǁù* *kò*   *guni=m̀*   *ʔò* *kű̃ũ̀* *nò*   *gǁaàkhòè=dzì* *kò*
       man=PL.M:I IPFV hunt=SG.M:I ALL go   when woman=PL.F:I IPFV
       ǁxáá=m̀   *ʔò*   *kű̃ũ̀.*
       gather=SG.M:I   ALL   go.
       'When the men go to hunt, the women go to gather.'

    b. *k'oxú*   *ǂű̃ũ̀*   *ʔò*   *ʔé.m̀* *kũũ-a-tà.*
       meat   buy   ALL 3SG.M:I go-J-PST1
       'He went to buy meat.'

    c. *thì.ʔà* *ǁʔũ̀ã̀* *àà-kù*   *káá=m̀*   *ʔò* *ǀű̃ã́=sì*   *mí̃=sì*
       SS   return:J come-RCPR search=SG.M:I ALL child=SG.F:I   DEM.DIST=SG.F:I

káu-a-tà=sà   *ʔà.*
be.long-J-PST1=SG.F:II   ACC
'[They] came back to search that child which had stayed behind.'

Juxtaposition (?):

(57) a. *ʔabá=m̄*   *‖abuù-à*   *kùè*   *ʔí̋*   *boksí=m̄*   *ʔà*   *tee-tà*
dog=SG.M:I   jump-J   PROG   DEM.REF   box=SG.M:I   LOC   stand:J-PST1

     ʔánì=m̀   *ʔà*   *gáò.*
     inside=SG.M:I   LOC   look
     'It jumped and stood on the box to look inside.'

   b. *k'aro-/ǔ̃ä̀̃=m̀*   *kò*   */úú=dzà*   *ʔà*   *xúù-/ü̃ä̀̃*   *kà*   *tshaá=m̄*
boy-DIM=SG.M:I   IPFV   some=PL.F:II   ACC   thing-DIM   ATTR   water=SG.M:I

     ǐ.|óò   *ʔà*   *‖ʔūä̀̃*   *khúí*   *ʔà*   *káá*   */ü̋ä̋=sà*   *ʔà.*
     top   LOC   return   lift   CONJ   search   child=SG.F:II   ACC
     'The boy returns to lift little things above the water and search for the child.' (?)

xàbè 'so that':

(58) a. *thì.ʔà*   *n/gè*   */úú=mà*   *ʔà*   *tséè*   *ná=m̀*   *xàbè*   *khoe=nà*
SS   SEQ   one.of=SG.M:II   ACC   send   DEM.REF=SG.M:I   so.that   person=PL.C:I

     kũ̃ũ̃-a   *‖ʔáé=m̀*   *ngùà*   *kyií.*
     go-J   village=SG.M:I   ABL   call
     '[They] sent one [of them] so that he would go and call the people from the village.'

   b. *ʔé.‖ù*   *nyü̋ü̋*   *thì.ʔà*   *ʔé.‖ù*   *xàbè*   *sãä̋*   *tshéè-/ǔ̃ä̀̃.*
3PL.M:I   sit.down   SS   3PL.M:I   so.that   rest   day-DIM
     'They sit down, so that they can rest for a little while [a small day].'

3.6 Concessive and adversative clauses
3.6.1 Adversative

Juxtaposition:

(59) a. *k'oró-tá*   *ʔíté*   *k'oxú=mà*   *ʔà*   *tshaá=mà*   *ʔà*
eat.meat:J-PST1   NEG   meat=SG.M:II   ACC   water=SG.M:II   ACC

     k'aa-a-tà.
     drink-J-PST1
     '[She] didn't eat the meat [but] drank the water.'

   b. */ü̋ä̋=sì*   *t'ü̋ǐ̃*   *ʔè*   *ńtshéè,*   */'áǹ-nà-hà*   *thuú*   *ká.*
child=SG.F:I   beautiful   COP   today,   be.ugly-J-PST3   past   MPO
     'The girl is beautiful [now], [but] she was ugly in the past.'

Adversative~concessive: *k'òsò*

(60) a. | *ǀúá̋=sì* | *t'ű̀ì-nà-hà* | *k'òsò* | *kò* | *kyíí.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| child=SG.F:I | be.beautiful-J-PST3 | but | IPFV | be.sick |

'The girl was beautiful, but [she] is sick [now].'

(or: 'Although the girl was beautiful, [she] is sick [now].')

b. | *xúá=sì* | *ǀ'urí-nà-hà* | *k'òsò* | *ǁ'áà-nà-hà.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| place=SG.F:I | be.dirty-J-PST3 | but | wash-J-PST3 |

'The place was dirty, but [they] have washed [it].'

c. | *Mabábè* | *ʔò* | *ʔé.m̀* | *kò* | *kű̀ì̀* | *k'ósò* | *Sankóyó* | *ʔà* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| GN | ALL | 3SG.M:I | IPFV | go | but | GN | LOC |

ʔé.m̀	*nyű̋ű̀-à-ʔò.*
3SG.M:I	stay-J-PST2

'He was going to Mababe, but stayed at Sankoyo.'

(or: 'Although he was going to Mababe, he stayed at Sankoyo.')

d. | *tí* | *kű̀ì̀-kàà-nà-ʔò* | *k'òsò* | *tí* | *nè* | *líftì* | *mũ̀ì̀* | *téé.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | go-VOL-J-PST2 | but | 1SG | SEQ | lift | find | NEG.SEQ |

'I wanted to come, but I could not find a lift.'

(or: 'Although I wanted to come, I could not find a lift.')

Adversative contrast between predicative adjectives: *k'òsò* and *tàmà*

(61) a. | *ʔé.m̀* | *ʔoré.xà* | *k'òsò* | *ǀxurí* | *ʔè.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3SG.M:I | young | but | clever | COP |

'He is young but clever.'

b. | *ʔé.m̀* | *ʔoré.xà* | *tàmà* | *ǀxurí* | *ʔè.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3SG.M:I | young | but | clever | COP |

'He is young but clever.'

3.6.2 Concessive: *k'òsò* and *tàmà*

(62) a. | *kyíí* | *kò* | *tàmà* | *sékólè=sì* | *ʔò* | *kũ̀ũ̀-a-tà.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| be.sick | IPFV | but | school=SG.F:I | ALL | go-J-PST1 |

'Although [he] was sick, [he] went to school.'

b. | *àà-nà-hà* | *ná=m̀* | *kyíí-tutúm̀-nà-hà* | *k'òsò.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| come-J-PST3 | DEM.REF=SG.M:I | be.sick-INT-J-PST3 | but |

'[He] came although he was very ill.'

Tswana *mè*:

(63) a. *tí   tsxãã-hà   mè   tí   nà   àà.*
      1SG   bec.tired:J-PST3   but   1SG   NEAR.FUT   come
      'I was tired, but I will come now.'

    b. *tí |'urí-nà-tà   mè   tí   t'űĩ̀   ʔè.*
      1SG   be.dirty-J-PST1   but   1SG   clean   COP
      'I was dirty, but I am clean now.'

3.6.3 'Instead of': *-tã̀ = sè*

(64) a. *ʔé.sì   táùn = m̀   ʔò   kűũ̀-nà-hà   tí |xóà   sĩ́-tã̀ = sè.*
      3SG.F:I   town = SG.M:I   ALL   go-J-PST1   1SG   COM   work-IPFV.NEG = ADV
      'She went to town instead of working with me.'
      (lit.: Not working with me, she went to town.)

    b. *khóè = ǹ   t'eré ʔè. ‖ʔúḿ kúè   kũũ-a ‖hará-tã̀ = sè.*
      person = PL.C:I   lazy   COP   sleep IPFV   go-j   plough-IPFV.NEG = ADV
      'People are lazy. [They] sleep instead of going to plough.'
      (lit.: Not going to plough, they sleep.)

    c. *súkà = mà   kyũũ̀-tã̀ = sè   nè   kũũ-a   gyiraá   kyũũ̀.*
      sugar = SG.M:II   buy-IPFV.NEG = ADV   SEQ   go-J   dress   buy
      'Instead of buying sugar, [she] went to buy a dress.'
      (lit.: Not buying sugar, she bought a dress.)

4. Relative clauses

1) Attributive strategy: marking of the head by the attributor morpheme *ka* (cf. (65)a-b)
2) Appositive strategy: the relative clause follows its head which may, but does not need to be marked by a PGN clitic (cf. (65)c-d)

(65) a. *k'oxú ká   ʔé.‖ù   xúú-nà-hà = dzì   khudí-nà-hà = sè   ʔé.‖ù   kò   àà.*
      meat   ATTR   3PL.M:I   leave-J-PST3 = PL.F:I   end-J-PST3 = ADV   3PL.M:I   IPFV   come.
      'When the meat they had left was finished, they would come.'

    b. *g‖óé = sì   mũũ̀-tã̀   aqáḿ = sí   kò   hĩ̀ = sà   ʔà   xúù   kà.*
      tortoise = SG.F:I   see-IPFV.NEG   toad = SG.F:I   IPFV   do = SG.F:II   ACC   thing   ATTR
      'The tortoise does not see the thing the toad has done.'

    c. *thìà   ‖ʔũã   àà-kù   káá = ḿ   ʔò | űá = sì   mĩ́ = sì*
      S.SBJ   return:J   come-RCPR   search = SG.M:I   ALL   child = SG.F:I   DEM.DIST = SG.F:I

kau-à-tà=sà   ʔà.
stay.behind-J-PST1=SG.F:II ACC
'[They] came back to search that child which had stayed behind.'

d. khoe   míĩ́xúà nyűí̃-nà=mà   tí   damàxù   ʔè.
   person there   sit-STAT=SG.M:II 1SG   y.sibling COP
   'The man who is sitting there is my younger brother.'

→ This dichotomy might reflect a distinction between restrictive and non-restrictire relative clauses

Oblique arguments in the relative clause:
ALLATIVE/DATIVE:
(66) a. k'áà-khòè   kà |ʔáò=sà   ʔí̋   ʔò   tí   khaà-nà-tà=m̀
        male-person ATTR money=SG.F:II DEM.REF DAT 1SG   give-J-PST1=SG.M:I
        kū̃ũ-à ʔũ̀.sì-nà-tà |ʔáò=dzì |xòà.
        go-J   be.complete-J-PST1   money=PL.F:I   COM
        'The man whom I gave the money to went away with the money.'

INSTRUMENT:
    b. ààkà   thobóló ká   ʔí̋   kà   tí   gérè xam̀=sà   ʔà
       bring   gun   ATTR DEM.REF MPO 1SG FUT   lion=SG.F:II ACC
       ‖ʔáó=sà   ʔà.
       shoot=SG.F:II ACC
       'Bring the gun with which I will shoot the lioness.'

POSSESSOR:
    c. tí   k'uí-nà-tà   g‖aà-khòè   kà   ʔí̋   kà |űá̋=ǹ   nguú=m̀
       1SG   speak-J-PST1 female-person ATTR DEM.REF POSS child=PL.C:I house=SG.M:I
       kà   fenstérè=dzà   ʔà   ʔúè-xù-nà-hà=dzì |xòà.
       POSS window=PL.F:II ACC   break-CAUS-J-PST3=PL.F:I COM
       'I spoke to the women whose children broke the house's windows.'

The attributor *ka* also links adjectives, numerals, demonstratives and possessor nouns to their nominal heads:

(67) a. aqám̋   ká   ‖ʔorá=sí   nè   ‖abuù-à kyã̋ã̀ ʔí̋   kà   mokóró=m̋   ʔà.
        toad   ATTR big=SG.F:I SEQ   jump-J enter DEM.REF ATTR canoe=SG.M:I LOC
        'The big toad jumps into the canoe.'

    b. ‖óbé=ǹ |űá̋   kà   kò   kűũ̀.
       three=PL.C:I child ATTR IPFV go
       'The three children are walking.'

c. *g‖aàkhòè*   *kà*   *k'áàkhòè=m̀*   *dí=sì*   *ʔè.*
      wife   ATTR   man=SG.M:I   POSS=SG.F.I   ID
      'She is the man's wife.'

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Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

I	gender-number series I
II	gender-number series II
1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ADV	adverbial
ALL	allative
ASSOC	associative
ATTR	attributor
BEN	benefactive
C	common gender
CAUS	causative
COM	comitative
COMP	complementizer
COMPL	completive
COND	conditional
CONJ	conjunction
COP	copula
CR	current relevance
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminuitive
DISJ	disjunction marker
DIST	distal
DS	different subject
DU	dual
EMPH	emphatic
F	feminine
FUT	future (posterior)
GN	geographical name
ID	identifcation marker
IMP	imperative
INT	intensifier
IO	indirect object
IPFV	imperfective
ITER	iterative
J	juncture
LOC	locative
M	masculine
MPO	multi-purpose oblique

NEAR.FUT	near future
NEAR.PST	near past
NEG	negation
NMZ	nominaliser
O	object
OBL	oblique
PASS	passive (agentless)
PFV	perfective
PN	personal name
POSS	possessive
PROG	progressive
PROX	proximal
PST1	same day past (anterior)
PST2	recent past (anterior)
PST3	remote/general past (anterior)
PL	plural
Q	question marker
RCPR	reciprocal
REF	referential
REFL	reflexive
S	subject
SEQ	sequential
SG	singular
SS	same subject
STAT	stative
SUBJ	subjunctive