

A speaker-based analysis of variation in clause-second particles in Southeastern Ju

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(Work in progress)

1 Introduction

+ An utterance in Southeastern Ju varieties is marked morphosyntactically by the insertion of one or more particles into clause-second position, therefore called clause-second particles.

	No. of clauses	% marked	% marked of total corpus
Groot Laagte	105	72.5	26.5
Tsumkwe	120	69	31.5
Donkerbos	170	64	42

Table. 1 Impression of future corpus – the frequency a clause includes a clause-second particle for 3 speakers

1.1 Canonical sentence structure

[(Adverb) **Subject** (Adverb) (Predication-operator_n) **Verb_n** **Object** (Preposition + Adjunct)]

Fig. 1 Canonical unmarked SVO word order in Southeastern Ju varieties. Superscript n indicates multiples of a constituent is possible. Rounded brackets indicate constituent optional.

- (1) S V O
 dshàú-sì |xoà dà'á
 woman.1 make fire.4
 'the woman makes fire' (Groot Laagte, narrative)

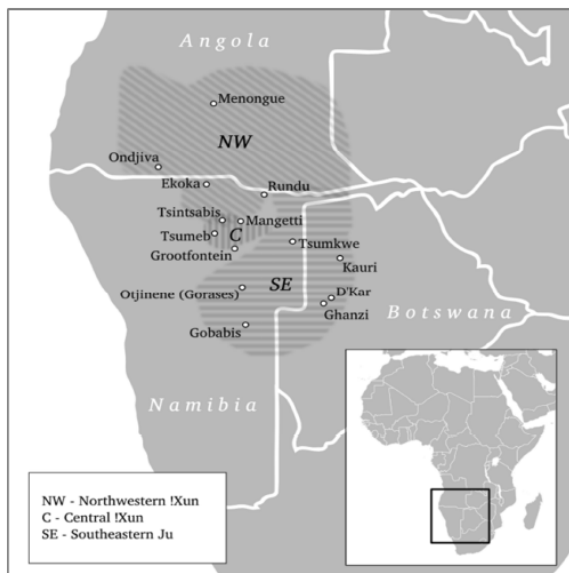
1.2 Sentences with clause-second particle

+ Of interest are the number of different particles, alone or in combination, that can be inserted into the clause-second slot acting as a pivot, commonly between the subject and the predicate:

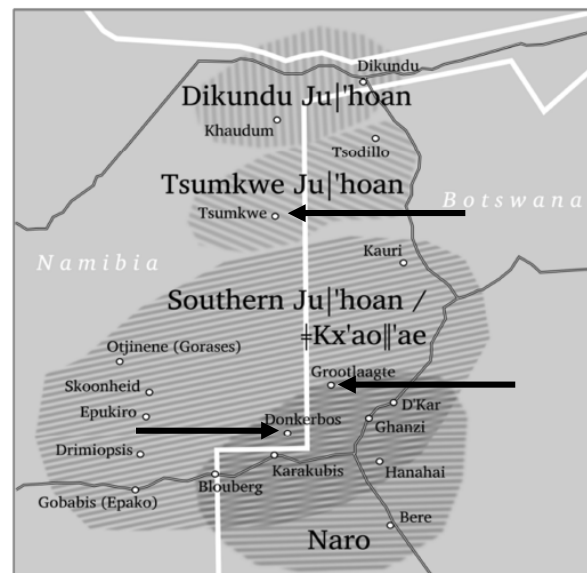
- (2) {'Who hit the woman?'}
 !'hoàn **kòm** n-á'm dshàú
 man.1 ? hit woman.1
 'the MAN hit the woman' (Groot Laagte, QUIS)

- + Results in the canonical SVO being interrupted with the clause-second particle exposes the clause-initial element from the rest of the utterance.
- + The information structure status of the subject is raised from being the topic (focus in the predicate), to the focus of the sentence, and the predicate is downgraded in saliency.
- + Such a strategy is typically used for “contrastively focused items as well as constituent question words” (Güldemann, 2008)
- + Cross-linguistically, such constructions also associated with “ENTITY-CENTRAL THETIC statements in the sense of Sasse 1987” (ibid.).
- + Presentation contributes knowledge of the areal distribution and function of clause-second particles in the Kalahari Basin (cf. Güldemann 2010, Güldemann & Siegmund 2008, Güldemann & Witzlack 2013).
- + Most importantly, there is a stark contrast in the usage of clause-second particles, both across speakers and across discourse genres.

1.2 Method and Sample Data



Map 1 The Ju language continuum



Map 2. Southeastern Ju dialect continuum

- + Texts from three different speakers from three different geographic locations (Tsumkwe, Groot Laagte, and Donkerbos) annotated and broken down into clauses (only main clauses and subordinate clauses are distinguished).

+ Clauses considered ‘marked’ if a particle (with the exception of tense/aspect markers and interrogative markers) is inserted between the grammatical subject and verb slots.

+ This resulted in a handful of particles occurring in the clause-second slot. This presentation will focus on three particles: *kòm*, *n/á*, and *tè*.

1.3 Research Questions

+ Which particles are most frequent and in which syntactic constructions do they occur?

+ Are the constructions segmentally homogeneous across different speakers?

+ What function does a construction serve and is this function homogeneous across morphemes and across speakers

2 Analysis of Data

2.1 *n/á* as a clause-second particle

2.1.1 Syntactic constructions with *n/á*

The follow syntactic constructions arise in the individual speaker corpora:

- I. [subject **n|á** predicate]_{Main clause}
- II. [...] [‘because’ subject **n|á** predicate]_{Subordinate clause}
- III. [subject predicate] **n|á** [subject predicate] – *not a clause-second!*

Dickens (1994) translates *n/á* as a particle ‘often used with the verb ó “be”, with the implication that the clause in which it occurs is in some way explanatory’ and translates as ‘you see’ (1994:237).

Construction Type I

(3) {X does not know that Y is a traditional healer and asks how Y knew what was wrong:}

[subject **n|á** copula object]

mí **n|á** ó n|óm-kxàò

1s ? COP medicine-AGT

‘I am a doctor, you see’ (or in German *ich bin doch Arzt*) (Tsumkwe)

+ A more fitting translation would be the German discourse particle *doch*.

+ *n|á* occurs directly before the predicate – either following a pronominal subject (4), a full-noun subject (5) or a NP-subject with embedded relative clause (6):

(4) {Speaker compares difference in lifestyles between the Ju|'hoan and their Herero neighbours}

[subject *n|á* predicate]

à *n|á* kòàrà !hà-mh tè hì kxàè !hà-mh
2s ? not.have animal-P CONN ? have animal-P

‘You, you see, do not have animals, but they have animals’ (Donkerbos, dialogue)

(5) {In the previous lines it is established that the Ju|'hoan do not possess animals}

[subject *n|á* predicate]

Tamah xàrè *n|á* kxàè buri hà *n|á* kxàè gumi
Herero even ? have goat 3s ? have cows

‘Herero even has goat(s), he has cows’ (Donkerbos, dialogue)

(6) [subject *n|á* predicate]

tè tìh-s-à ó glà'á n!áng *n|á* cìnìhà !ae-a
CONN problem-P-REL COP eye LOC ? still big:p-?

‘and the problems that are in front, you see, are still great’ (Donkerbos, dialogue)

Construction Type II

(7) [‘because’ subject *n|á* predicate]

Ka à kare tza à ka tza khàmà ||kòà-sí *n|á* kaqà toàn
if 2s want sleep 2s pres sleep because work-nom ? already be.finished

‘if you want to sleep, you may sleep now because the work is already finished’ (Tsumkwe, dialogue)

Construction Type III

(8) {‘That man is in prison and his wife has had a child with another man.’}

[...] *n|á* [subject predicate]

xàbè há !hoàn kò |oà hò *n|á* hà kxàè da'àmà
but DEF man PST NEG see ? 3s have child

‘but the man did not see, you see, (that) she has a child’ (Groot Laagte, dialogue)

Construction IV is not an example of a clause-second. But, as we will see, true clause-second particles in Southeastern Ju dialects can almost always be found between clauses.

2.1.2 Alternative analysis: unspecified PCF?

- + Unsure that all instances of *n|á* can be translated as ‘you know’ or as some similar discourse marker.
- + In the following, clause-second particle *n|á* could be translated either as a discourse marker similar to ‘you see’ or as marking contrast in the predicate in example (9):

(9) Construction Type I – possible truth value focus?

{Jackal turns his testicles into gums so that the two women he wants to marry}

tè dshàú gèsí |òà hò ka tè sà hìn **n|á** hò ka

? woman.1 some NEG see it CONN 3P:DU EMPH ? see it

‘Some women do not see it, but THEY, you see, see it’

‘Some woman do not see it, but they SEE it’ (Groot Laagte, narrative)

(10) Construction Type I – possible truth value focus?

{A mother tells her child to go to bed, but the child goes out and falls over. The mother says,}

mí **n|á** kò à cú

1s ? say 2s lay.down

‘I did say you (must) sleep’ (Tsumkwe, dialogue)

(11) Construction Type I – possible SoA focus?

{Speaker 1 says ‘Thomas has a bird’}

án-àn, Thomas koara tzama-mà tè jù-[à kxàè tzama-mà]_{REL} **n|á** ó Samuel

No Thomas not.have bird-DIM CONN person-REL have bird.2-DIM ? COP Samuel

‘No, Thomas does not have a bird, but the person who has the bird IS SAMUEL’ (Groot Laagte, QUIS)

2.1.3 Remarks

- + It is difficult to draw clear conclusions about the nature of *n|á*. Settling for an analysis in which it is a discourse marker (like *doch* in German) does work for practically all examples and such discourse markers are in any case sensitive to focus – which is important when discussing examples (9) to (11)

- + A less grammaticalised function would also explain the difference in usage across the speakers, but the tendency to have the same syntactic distribution as true clause-second particles, as well as being focus sensitive, could be triggering a reanalysis.

- + Finally, given the nature of the examples, all of which seem to make assertions based on a certain speaker experience or knowledge, evidentiality may play a role in the use of *n|á*, which too would be sensitive to focus (particularly truth value focus) readings.

2.2 *tè* as a clause-second particle

- + 47% (189/395) of all clauses in corpus include *tè*
- + This is split across speakers as follows: Groot Laagte: 20% Donkerbos: 26% Tsumkwe: 54%
- + Dickens (1997, 2005) describes *tè* as a connective particle linking pieces of discourse. This explains the high frequency of *tè* in the corpus. In clause-second position, this drops to between 1 and 5 percent.

2.2.1 Syntactic constructions with *tè*

- + The particle *tè* is ubiquitous in all types of discourse genres for all speakers. This is due to its primary function as a connective particle, which can be found in many of the examples in this handout. Below is an account of only clause-second *tè*

- I. [subject verb [subject *tè* predicate]_{complement}]
- II. [subject verb [subject *tè* predicate]_{complement}]_{Sub. clause} [...] _{Main clause}
- III. [subject *tè* predicate]
- IV. [...] ['because' subject *tè* predicate]_{Sub. clause}

Construction type I

- (12) {'I am not going to talk for very long, because your councilor has said everything,'}

tè mí kú ÷'áng-kxúí tè kò ì-lá tè verstaan
 CONN 1S IPFV think-? CONN QUOT 2-P ? understand
 'and I think (that) you understand' (Donkerbos, dialogue)

- (13) {'What did she say?'}

hã_i kú kò mí_j tè àrè ã_k
 3S IPFV say 1S ? love 2S
 'She said that I love you' (Tsumkwe, fn.)

- + Examples (12) and (13) agree with Dickens (1994) description of complement clause in Tsumkwe Jul'hoan, where the subject in a complement clause is followed by *tè*.

- + This construction is also used to express indirect speech function, which can be in a main clause construction, as in (13), or a subordinate clause construction, as in (14).

Construction type II

(14) {Now Hare has an idea to save himself and says to Lion:}

ka à ú kò à tè ||àbè ...

if 2s IPFV say 2s ? hungry ...

‘if you say (that) you are hungry (I look for people for you for you to eat) (Donkerbos, narrative)

Construction type III

(15) m-lá xa ka |á ú ? án-àn, m-lá tè ka ||kòà toàn

1.INCL-P Q PRES NEG go no 1.INCL-P ? PRES work finish

‘are we not going?’

‘no, we are going to finish working’ (Tsumkwe, dialogue)

+ A rare example of *tè* in a main clause that is not complement clause. In this position it marks a boundary between background information and the most salient salient information, here contained in the predicate.

+ I assume that if term focus had been the intention of the speaker that the more prototypical strategy of using an emphatic pronoun would have been used, and therefore I have to assume that this construction raises the status of the predicate (possible SoA focus).

+ If we take into account pro-drop in Ju, then the following example may also exhibit the same structure:

(16) {‘He is stealing!’}

[hà |á djà’á] [Ø_{Background} [tè †kò’m]_{Focus}]

3S NEG steal 3S ? be.poor

‘he isn’t stealing, (he) is POOR’ (Groot Laagte, narrative)

A further example is shown in (17) below. It is more complex because both clauses are contrastive, and the initial clause contains an extra element *kòm*:

(17) {‘The chair is weak. If he sits on it, it will break’}

hì tè kòm g|àðh tè |ú l’á

PN.4 ? ? be.strong ? NEG:FUT break

‘it is strong, and will never break’ (Tsumkwe, dialogue)

Dickens (1997:229) describes the combination *tè kòm* as ‘indeed’, further aligning the constructions above and some sort of predicate-centered focus type.

Construction type IV

(18) {'Why is the woman happy?'}

hà !ka ó n|á'ng khàmà hà !'hòàn tè ||kòà

3s heart cop be.nice because 3s man ? work

'She is happy because her husband works' (Tsumkwe, dialogue)

Like (16), the example above also does not confirm to an analysis as a complementiser. The 'because' clause is characteristicallythetic, containing all new information and being an explanation to a WH-question. The addition of *tè* also interrupts a topic-comment reading.

2.2.2 Remarks

+ *tè* is primarily a connective particle (finding the percentage is part of the next step!), but in a very limited set of constructions, *tè* also occurs in clause-second position.

+ In clause-second position, *tè* normally marks a complement clause particularly following a subset of verbs like 'say', 'know', 'think' and 'see'.

+ There are at least two constructions in which *tè* functions more like a pivot (disturbing a topic-comment reading) around which bisected clause can be modified – raising and lowering the subject or the predicate.

+ Is there a fifth construction type, namely [\emptyset *tè* V O], or is *tè* in (17) and (18) a connective particle and something has been dropped from the right (subject) and the bare verb lexeme creates focus?

2.3 *kòm* as clause-second particle

+ *kòm* has a particularly interesting distribution and frequency for the speakers that use it, whereby it appears to be in complementary distribution with clause-second particle *m̄* (not treated here).

+ *Kòm* typically occurs in constructions with nominal subjects/objects, stands after adverbs, and fuller NPs, whereas *m̄*, whilst occasionally found after nominal subjects in [sub *m̄* pred.] constructions, is typically associated with pronominal subjects.

+ Dickens describes the *kòm* particle as a "copula particle sometimes used in conjunction with 'be' ó (1997:229)

2.3.1 Syntactic constructions with *kòm*

- | | | | |
|------|------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| I. | [Subj./Obj./Adv. | kòm | |
| II. | [Subject | kòm | Predicate] |
| III. | [Object | kòm | Subject Predicate] |
| IV. | [Subj./Obj. | tè kòm | Predicate] |

Construction Type I

(19) {'The parents come and see their daughter dead, and the father wails,'}

Hua Zoa **kòm**

Hua Zoa ID

'it is Hua Zoa!' (Groot Laagte, narrative)

(20) {'What did the woman eat?'}

Càmàgà-s-à ta'm |káu **kòm**

corn-P-REL taste be.bad ID

'it is bad corn' (Donkerbos, dialogue)

The above examples are typical of both the Donkerbos speaker and Groot Laagte speaker. (20) and (21) are both identification clauses. One speaker also uses the same construction in a presentational construction:

(21) {'Opening line in a story'}

Dshàú n!a'àn **kòm**

woman.1 be.big ID

'there is an old woman' (Groot Laagte, narrative)

Construction Type II

(22) {'What happened?'}

||'áíxà **kòm** láí

leader ? die

'The leader has died' (Groot Laagte, dialogue)

(23) {'Money, and all the things that are coming to us from outside,'}

tcí-s-à kè **kòm** ó tcí-s-à ó Ju|'hoan-sì ga-sì
 thing-P-REL DEM.5 ? COP thing-P-REL COP Ju|'hoan-P POSS.5-P

'these things are things which belong to the Ju|'hoan' (Donkerbos, dialogue)

The following example uses **kòm** to morphosyntactically expose and pragmatically highlight the subject NP. In the given context, the effect of this is to mark a switch in sentence topic.

(24) {'When they see him, they say "N|ami Ku",'}

tè mí taqè **kòm** kú kò hà taqè-mà-tzè
 CONN 1s mother ? IPFV say 3s mother-DIM-be.small

'And my mother says her small mother' (Groot Laagte, narrative)

An extension of construction type II is shown below in (26) and (27).

(25) {'If a young woman and a young man like each other,'}

tè dshàú-mà **kòm** gè-à |xoà hà màrà ... sà kxàè g'òm-tjù
 CONN woman.1-DIM ? stay-TR COM 3s grandmother.1 3P:DU have unmarried-house

tè !árixàò **kòm** kxàè !'haàn
 CONN young.man ? have house

'the young woman stays with her grandmother and they have a *g'omtjù*; the young man has a *!'haàn*'

(26) tè dshàú-sì gà **kòm** ó g'òm-tjù tè !árixàò-sì gà **kòm** ó !'haàn
 ? woman.1-P POSS ? COP unmarried-house CONJ young.man-P POSS ? COP house

'the girls' one is a *g'omtjù* and the boys' one is a *!'haàn*' (Groot Laagte)

+ Example (25) uses the construction to syntactically split the topic from the predicate, a method for indicating contrastive topic or topic switch.

+ Examples (26) and (27) are more complex in that **kòm** is used in both clauses and thus creates a 'paired topic/focus pair' where the topic and focus in both clauses are in contrast with one another.

Construction Type III

(27) {A man and a woman are gathering. One speaker asks 'but what are they gathering?'}
 Pàmpún **kòm** sà kháo
 butternut TF 3P:DU gather

'it is pumpkin that they gather' (Groot Laagte, dialogue)

(28) {'Who did the woman hit?'}

!'hoàn **kòm** dshàú n|à'm

man.1 ? woman.1 hit

'it is the man the woman hit' (Groot Laagte, QUIS)

(29) {'she walks around with a blanket full of food and he says,'}

Ee dshàú-à tsì hè **kòm** mí kú gú

yes woman-REL ? PROX.1 ? 1s IPFV marry

'yes, this woman that is here, I am going to marry' (Groot Laagte, narrative)

Examples (28) to (30) all show syntactic marking of topic – the object in each case is dislocated and no resumptive pronoun remains in the clause.

+ This examples also demonstrate the link between the clause-second particle in a monomial clause where the topic is exposed but nevertheless the clause is only pragmatically bipartite and a syntactically bipartite construction resulting in two clauses, a focus clause (ID/presentation) and a background clause.

Construction IV

The final construction with **kòm** is in clauses where it occurs with **tè**.

+ Dickens previously described the combination as meaning something like 'indeed' (1997:229)

(30) {A child is whining that she is hungry, and her father responds,}

mí **tè kòm** !aqè tàrà

1s ? ? hunt miss

'I did hunt unsuccessfully' (Tsumkwe, fn.)

(31) {A teacher says 'you did not read the book' and the student protests,}

mí **tè kòm** n|aq'arà hì

1s ? ? read PN.3

'I did read it' (Tsumkwe, fn.)

(32) {Speaker 1 says 'the chair is weak and it will break if you sit on it',}

g|àxú **tè kòm** g|àðh tè |ú !ò'á

chair ? ? strong CONN NEG:IPFV break

'the chair is strong and will not break' (Tsumkwe, fn.)

With the exception of (30), which is not as clear, examples (31) and (32) allow for readings where the verbal lexeme in the utterance is in focus – either truth value focus/polarity focus, as in (31) or a change in SoA as in (32).

2.3.2 Remarks

+ Appears to be a regional dichotomy: dialects at the south-eastern end of the dialect region make use of *kòm* far more often (and some speakers more than others)

+ *kòm* has clearly polyfunctional, as one construction can have two functions i.e. [Subj. *kom* Predicate]

+ *kòm* alone seems primarily involved with focus on the subject or object as well as theticity; *kòm* in combination with *tè* appears to mark focus on lexical verb and be involved in theticity. But all *tè kòm* examples are currently restricted to Tsumkwe speakers (in my corpus).

3 Speaker Comparison

This section will compare some of the constructions and the functions across speakers and try to explain the difference in the frequency of certain particles across speakers.

3.1 Comparison of complement/indirect speech construction

§2.2.1 discussed clause-second constructions with *tè*, and how two constructions were used to create complement clauses (cf. (12)) and clauses with indirect speech examples (cf. (13) for main clauses, and (14) for subordinate clauses).

A further example is given below:

(33) mí kò jù tè |oa sí n|áng ka kòè se
 1s say person COMP NEG just sit:s and like.this look
 ‘and then for this reason I say (that) we cannot just sit and see like this’ (Donkerbos, dialogue)

+ These constructions all came from the Tsumkwe speaker or Donkerbos speaker.

+ The Groot Laagte speaker makes use of a construction with *kòm* in order to create complement clauses and indirect speech, shown in (35) and (36) below:

(34) {Opening line in a narrative}

mí ín kò kú òkxúí tè kú kò nlúí kòm g+àán ó !'hòàn
 1s ? PST IPFV speak CONN IPFV say moon.3 ? long_ago COP man.1

‘I have spoken and said (that) the moon long ago was a man’ (Groot Laagte, narrative)

Cases of *tè* as a clause second-particle in complement clauses appear more complicated, where *xòrè* (< Sets. ‘that’ (Visser 2002:30)) appears to be an overtly expressed ‘that’:

- (35) jú m̄ !'han xòrè !òq'ú ka tsì toà tè ó gl'ò'é ga
 person:P ? know ?that skin.5 CL.5 ?DEM be.this CONN COP oryx.2 POSS.2
 ‘people know that the skin, this one here, is from the oryx’ (Groot Laagte, narrative)

Although (my impression is) that a complement clause headed by *xòrè* does not need *tè*

- (36) Complement clause with embedded topicalisation

mí m̄ kú †'áng xòrè xaba †qx'aisi jù-à !háú n|óá
 1s ? IPFV think ?that dish.5 spicy person-REL ? cook
 ‘I thought that as for the spicy dish, the professional people cooked [it]’ (Groot Laagte, QUIS)

3.2 Comparison of term focus and theticity constructions

Examples (2) and (22) illustrate how one construction has two functions for the Groot Laagte speaker, namely subject focus and theticity. The following examples demonstrate that the same is true for the Tsumkwe speaker – albeit they are two different constructions without *kòm*.

- (37) [Subject *rè* |*oa* Predicate] with subject term focus function

{‘Did N†aisa borrow your bike?’}
 án-àn, Dí|xàò rè |òà |xòbà ka
 no Di|xao Q:PST NEG borrow PN.5
 ‘No, *Di/xao* borrowed the bike’ (Tsumkwe, QUIS)

- (38) [Subject *rè* |*oa* Predicate] with (entity-central) thetic function

{‘What happened?’}
 mí tjù rè |òà !xòbù
 1s house.5 Q:PST NEG collapse
 ‘My house has collapsed’ (Tsumkwe, QUIS)

3.3 Next steps

Corpus to be enlarged for all speakers, and a quantification of all instances of true clause-second particles still to be carried out. I also plan to compare within a region (namely Groot Laagte) at least 3 speakers of different ages, as I believe that elder speakers have a generally more restricted use of *kòm*.

Thus far, the statistics underline my hypothesis that:

- + The Groot Laagte speaker makes use of one clause-second particle more than the other particles, and this has resulted in the particle having a greater variety of functions. This explains the initial results for a lower frequency with regards to the other particles compared to the other speakers.
- + Speakers who use *kòm* less frequently either make use of a different construction with a different clause-second particle, or a different construction altogether often resulting in a non-monomial clause.
- + More research is needed into to see if which of the particles are also involved in predicate-centered focus, in particular *te kom*.

Abbreviations

AGT	agentive	LOC	locative
CAUS	causative	MPO	multi-purpose oblique
COM	comitative	NEG	negation
CONJ	conjunction	P	plural
COP	copula	PN	(agreement) pronoun
DECL	declarative	POSS	possessive
DEF	definite	PST	past
DIM	diminutive	Q	question
DIR	directive	QUOT	quotative
DU	dual	REL	relative suffix –à
EMPH	emphatic	S	singular
ID	identification	TF	term focus
IPFV	imperfective	TOP	topic
		TR	transitive suffix –à

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