The marker *ke* in N|uu - declarative or not?

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1   Clause-second particles in the Cape linguistic area

+ Güldemann (2006): Cape linguistic area comprising !Ui branch of Tuu family and Khoekhoe branch of Khoe-Kwadi family, involving clause type markers in clause-second position after the subject, notably an element *ke, gye, dje, ken* marking mostly declarative sentences:

(1)   Nama/ Namibian Khoekhoe (North Khoekhoe, Khoe-Kwadi; cf. Hagman 1977)

a.   *khoi-b*   ***gye***   *tara-s-a*   *go*   *mũ*
         person-M.S   DECL   woman-F.S-OBJ   PST   see
         der Mann sah die Frau [the man saw the woman] (Dempwolff 1927: 73)

b.   *‖eĩ-b*   ***gye***   *tara-s-a*   *go*   *mũ*
         3-M.S   DECL   woman-F.S-OBJ   PST   see
         constructed: er sah die Frau [he saw the woman]

c.   *tara-s-a=b*   ***gye***   *khoi-b-a*   *go*   *mũ*
         woman-F.S-OBJ=3M.S.SBJ DECL   person-M.S-DSBJ PST   see
         der Mann sah die FRAU [the man saw the WOMAN] (ibid.: 74)

d.   *‖ari=b*   ***gye***   *khoi-b-a*   *tara-s-a*   *go*   *mũ*
         yesterday=3M.S.SBJ   DECL   person-M.S-DSBJ   woman-F.S-OBJ PST see
         der Mann sah die Frau GESTERN [the m. saw the w. YESTERDAY] (ibid.: 75)

e.   *o=b*   ***gye***   *khoi-b-a*   *tara-s-a*   *go*   *mũ*
         then=3M.S.SBJ   DECL   person-M.S-DSBJ   woman-F.S-OBJ PST see
         DA sah der Mann die Frau [then the man saw the woman] (ibid.: 75)

> prefield before declarative *gye* with subject topics (a., b.) and focus items (c., d.)

(2)   !Ora (South Khoekhoe, Khoe-Kwadi)

         ‖xara-e=b   ***tje***   *ni*
         punish-PASS=3M.S.SBJ   ?   OBL
         er muß bestraft werden [he has to be PUNISHED] (Meinhof 1930: 53)

> cognate *tje, dje* not a grammaticalized declarative marker

(3) |Xam (!Ui, Tuu; cf. Güldemann forthcoming a)

*au   too-**gen**   n|e   !ii-ya*

CONN   red.ochre-DECL   IPFV   be.red-STAT

But ochre is red. (Bleek & Lloyd 1911: 346-7)

> declarative counterpart *ken, gen, ten, ng* only after subject topics

+ formally similar clause-second element *ke* in N|uu with frequent occurrence in the then available data based on Westphal's (n.d.) elicitation field notes

(4)   N|huki (= N|uu, !Ui, Tuu)

*ǂoo   a   **ke**   ǂxoa   n|a   ng anci*

man   this   DECL speak   with 1S father

this man speaks with my father (Westphal n.d.)

> parallel analysis *ke* as declarative (Güldemann 2006, forthcoming b)

+ current research on language remnants with the last dozen of speakers within the Rausing project "A text documentation of N|uu" carried out by a team based at the MPI-EVA Leipzig (Ernszt, Güldemann, Siegmund, Witzlack-Makarevich)
> collection of discourse data for a comprehensive grammatical description, analysis these data as well as audio material collected in the late 1930s
> necessary revision of some analyses based on limited data of early researchers: preliminary analysis of a text corpus regarding the occurrence of *ke* in N|uu

2   Clauses with *ke* and their functions

2.1   *ke* as identificational marker

+ identificational construction 'It is X': [Nominal *ke*]

(5)   ***ng   ǂoo ke***

1S   man ID

'It/that's my husband.'

(6)   ***kx'am   ke***

truth   ID

'It/that's true.'

+ negative counterpart: [Nominal *ke ‖ae*]

(7)   **n⧣ona   ke   ‖ae**
          knife   ID   NEG
          'It's not a knife.' (In response to the question 'Is it a knife?')

(8)   **kx'am   ke   ‖ae**
          truth   ID   NEG
          'It/that's not true.'

2.2 *ke* as contrastive term focus marker

+ function hardly recognizable in previously available data: cleft-like contrastive term-focus construction with *ke* as pivot between initially exposed focus item and background clause: [Nominal *ke* Clause]

> variable scope of focus: subject (9), object (10), oblique (11)

(9)   Hyena and springbok doe (NY360000-01_A.065–9)
        The hyena is bullying the springbok girl wanting to marry her but she refuses.

a.   *na   si   n|aun   a,   #   ng   n|aun suin ng   g|a*
        1S   IRR marry 2S   1S   marry sit   OBL 2S.STR
        (Hyena:) 'I will marry you. I will stay married with you.'

b.   *tyuu   xae ⧣uun ng   ku-a*
        person TQ ?   thus   QUOT-?
        (Springbok doe:) 'Who says so?'

c.   **ng   ke   ng   ka**
        1S   TF   thus say
        (Hyena:) 'It's me saying so.'

(10)   Elicitation

a.   *tyui   xae   Katarina   aa |oba   i*
        what Q   PN   give   child ?
        What does Katarina give the child?

b.   **⧣xanisi ke   Katarina   aa |oba   i**
        book   TF PN   give   child ?
        Katarina gives the child a BOOK.

(11)   Hyena, jackal and springbok doe (NY360000-01_A.041)

     ku   ke   ng ǁu si   ku   "tyee" 'nǁaa

     3S   TF   1S NEG IRR QUOT yes   VE.GAP

     'To HIM I will not say 'yes'.

+ if non-subject focus, clause overtly marked as subordinate clause: separate subject, object gap, oblique resumptive (like relative clause without relative marker)

> complex construction: identificational clause followed by background clause

2.3   *ke* as part of a phrasal reason coordinator

+ reason/consequence coordination: [Generic nominal *ke* Clause]

(12)   ***tya gao ke   ng   ǁu   si   ku   kiin-ya 'nǁaa***

     that thing TF   1S   NEG IRR NEG lie-?   VE.GAP

     THAT is why I shall not lie down.

     na   ng   !qui n/aa

     1S   COP   ashes head

     I am ash head (= epithet for blesbok doe)!

     tya ke   ng   !'ama   na   /aqra

     that TF   COP   reason 1S   refuse

     THAT is the reason, I refuse.

> term focus construction based on a generic nominal referring to propositional content grammaticalized to a phrasal coordinating conjunction: *tya/ha gao ke, tya ke, tya !'ama ke* 'therefore, that is why, for that reason, accordingly, so'

2.4   *ke* in non-focus cleft

+ salient *ke*-construction analyzed so far as "declarative" (cf. (4) and (13))

> differs functionally from but is formally identical with focus-cleft (cf. (9)c.); mostly subject-oriented, hence no potential signs of background-clause status

(13)   *gǁain   ke xa ǂxoa n/a ng   #* ***ng ke !auka***

     hyena   ? PST speak COM 1S   1S ?   afraid:STAT

     'Brown hyena has spoken with me. # I am afraid.'

2.5   History and synchronic frequency of *ke*-constructions

+ possible unitary analysis of *ke*-constructions in terms of grammaticalization
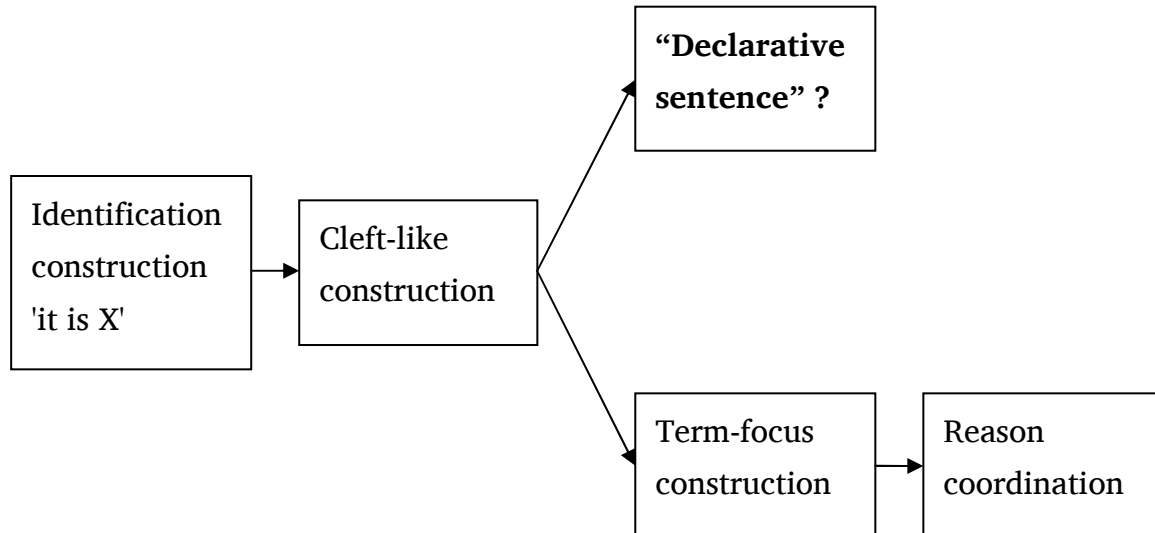
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                                                    ┌─────────────┐
                                                    │ "Declarative│
                                                    │  sentence" ?│
                                                    └─────────────┘
                                                          ↑
┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐                  ╱
│Identification│      │              │                 ╱
│construction  │ ───→ │ Cleft-like   │ ───────────────
│'it is X'     │      │ construction │                ╲
└──────────────┘      └──────────────┘                 ╲
                                                          ↓
                                          ┌──────────────┐   ┌──────────────┐
                                          │ Term-focus   │──→│ Reason       │
                                          │ construction │   │ coordination │
                                          └──────────────┘   └──────────────┘
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Figure 1: Semantic map of grammaticalization history of N|uu *ke*

+ relatively low discourse frequency of *ke*-constructions

Construction type	Total	% of clause total (869)
2.1 Identification	20	2,3%
Clefts		
2.2 Term-focus cleft	5	0,6%
2.3 Reason cleft	16	1,8%
2.4 Non-focus cleft	53	6,1%
Total	94	10,8%

Table 1: Frequency of *ke*-constructions

+ main problem: functional distinction between clause-second *ke* in focus construction (§2.2) and non-focus construction (§2.4)

3   Clause-second non-focus *ke* as "declarative" marker

3.1   Definition of declarative

+ Crystal (1997: 104)

> declarative: A term used in the grammatical classification of sentence types, and usually seen in contrast to imperative, interrogative, etc., moods. It refers to verb forms or sentence/clause types typically used in the expression of statements, e.g. *the man is walking*. The term 'indicative' is also sometimes used in this sense.

+ http://www.glottopedia.de (accessed 12/08/2009):

> **Declarative sentence** is a sentence to which a truth value can be assigned, given a certain situation or circumstance. Example (i) is a declarative sentence because we can assign it a truth value (e.g., in the actual world sentence (i) is not true).
>
> (i) The Queen of Holland is bald

Sentences expressing a question or command are not declarative.

3.2   Why declarative *ke*?

+ similar to comparable markers in Nama and |Xam (see §1)

+ largely compatible grammar: not in non-assertive main and subordinate clauses

Clause linkage type	Total I	% of total II	Tokens with *ke*	% of total I	% of clause total (869)
Total II	869	100,0%			
Adverbial clause	29	3,3%	0	0,0%	0,0%
Complement clause	42	4,8%	0	0,0%	0,0%
Relative clause	25	2,9%	0	0,0%	0,0%
Main clause	*773*	*89,0%*	*78*	*10,1%*	*9,0%*

Table 2: Distribution of *ke* according to clause linkage type

Clause type	Total I	% of total II	Tokens with *ke*	% of total I	% of clause total (869)
Total II	773	100,0%			
Question	47	6,1%	0	0,0%	0,0%
Command	7	0,9%	0	0,0%	0,0%
Assertion	*719*	*93,0%*	*94*	*13,1%*	*10,8%*

Note: Total II (773) = Clause total (869) minus subordinate clauses (96)

Table 3: Distribution of *ke* according to clause type in main clauses

3.3   Why not declarative?

+ large majority of declarative clauses actually lack *ke*; elicitation corpus by Westphal (n.d.) not representative (see below)

Declarative clause	Total I	% of total II	Tokens with *ke*	% of total I	% of clause total (869)
Total II	678	100,0%	53	7,8%	6,1%
Verbal predicate	641	94,5%	46	7,2%	5,3%
Non-verbal predicate	37	5,5%	7	18,9%	0,8%

Note: Total II (678) = Asserted clause total (719) minus *ke*-clauses of §2.1-3 (41)

Table 4: Distribution of *ke* in declarative clauses

4   A reanalysis of "declaratives" with *ke*

4.1   Typical contexts

Exclamation and surprise

(14)   Gemsbok and tortoise (NY360000-02_A.007–NY360000-02_A.014)

a.   *a   koro   ku   ng   ǂxaun*

         CONN   jackal   QUOT   OBL   gemsbock

         'And the jackal says to the gemskock:'

b.   ***n|aa-a,   !oqe   ke   n‖aa   ‖uru-ke |xaa***

         see-IMP   tortoise   ?   stay   road-?   side

         '"Look! The tortoise stays on the side of the road!'

c.   *he   ‖u   gareki   !aria*

         REL   NEG   a.little move.fast

         'Which is very fast! "'

Beginning of narrative introducing participants and setting

(15)   Moon and hare (NX360000-01_A.001–3)

a.   ***ǂoro   ke   ku-a***

         moon   ?   QUOT-?

         'The Moon said:'

b.   *n‖ng !ui   si |'aa*

         person   IRR   die

         'The man shall die'

c.   *a   hau |'aa   !aa*
     CONN 3S:? dead   keep
     'and stay dead.'

(16)   Initiation story (NW360000-01_A.001–5)

a.   **‖ai|qaa ke suin-a**
     girl   ?   sit.down-?
     'The girl sits.'

b.   *hng ‖'ng   n‖ng   ka !kx'ora*
     3P   move.out   house   P play
     'They (other children) have come out of the house to play.'

c.   *a |oe-ke,   hng n|ai ha 'n‖aa   xoe*
     CONN   children-P 3P   see 3S   OBL:that place
     'And the children, they see her in that place.'

d.   *ha saa*
     3S come
     'She comes.'

e.   *ha ǂkhau-ka*
     3S menstruate-?
     'She menstruates.'

Introduction of new participants within narrative discourse

(17)   Fight with leopard (NA081121-01_A.032–44)
       A man fights a leopard with his bare hands:

a.   *ha |ai, ha ts'ii # n!ai |kx'aa*
     3S snap 3S   bite   adult.man hand
     'It (the leopard) snaps, it bites the adult man's hand.'

b.   ***nou a   Jan Tierboud ke ‖u   na   nǂoa***
     now CONN   PN   ?   NEG ABL? shoot
     'Now, Jan Tierboud cannot shoot.' (introduced as new participant)

c.   *ha ‖u   na   nǂoa,   want   # ha g|oe !au-ka,   miskien*
     3S NEG ABL? shoot   because   3S   again afraid-?   perhaps
     'now, he cannot shoot because he, on the other hand, is afraid. Perhaps.'
     [Interruption]

d. *ha ǁu   na   nǂoa, # want   ha gǀoe !au-ka # miskien*
3S NEG ABL? shoot   because 3S again afraid-? perhaps
'now, he cannot shoot because he, on the other hand, is afraid. Perhaps.'

e. *ha la   nǂoa n!ai*
3S shall shoot adult.man
'he would hit the adult man.'

Heightened assertion

+ affinity to truth value focus; reading of obligation with irrealis (cf. (2) from !Ora)

(18)   Hyena and springbok doe (NY360000-01_A.034–6)

a. *gǀa   tyuu?*
2S.STR   hear
'Do you hear (me)?

b. **ng ke tyuu,   ng ke tyuu,   ng ǁhaa ǁu   ka   gao**
1S ? hear   1S ? hear   1S ?   NEG   say   thing
'I do hear (you). I do hear (you), (but) I just don't say anything.'

(19)   Gemsbok and tortoise (NY360000-02_A.014-5)

a ke si   kx'uu   nǀa   a # !ae
2S ? IRR make   PURP 2S   run
'You must run. (lit. You must make that you run)'

Setting, explanation and other background

(20)   Moon and hare (NX360000-01_A.022–6)

a. *a   n!au   ǁkhai uu   !'aun*
CONN   hare   throw take.up sand
'Then the hare throws up sand.'

b. *ha   ǁkhai ǀ'ee ng   #   ǂoro xuu*
3S   throw enter OBL   moon face
'He throws (it) in the Moon's face.'

c. *ha   kx'uu   ǀkx'uri*
3S   make   dirty
'He makes (it) dirty.'

d. **ǀkx'uri ke ǂoro xuu ki**
dirt   TF   moon face have
'It's dirt which the Moon's face has.' (explains the appearance of the moon)

(21)   Fight with leopard (NA081121-01_A.068)

Two men fighting a leopard manage to stab its eyes. The animal continues to fight and causes heavy wounds to the men. In the following five clauses the discourse focuses on how the men treat their wounds:

‖abe	ke	g!ae	kiin	ki	a	rond	ka	ha	‖u	n‖ai	nou
leopard	?	run	around	place	this	around	because	3S	NEG	see	now

'The leopard runs around because it does not see now.' (explains why the men are not disturbed by the leopard)

Weather expression

+ weather expressions almost exclusively with *ke*

(22)   (NB081007-01_A.087–9)

!aqa	*ke*	*saa*
rain	?	come

'The rain comes.'

(23)   (NM071213-01_A.0406–8)

‖'uin	*ke*	*‖'ee*
sun	?	enter

'The sun goes down.'

4.2   Theticity and focus

... a fundamental difference between utterances which are logically analyzed into two successive mutually related judgements, one naming an individual and one naming an event (categorical statements), and utterances in which the logical relations between various parts of the communicated state of affairs remain unanalyzed (thetic statements). (Sasse 1987: 554)

The thetic statement forms a unit with respect to what it contributes to the discourse at a given point. It expresses a pragmatically unanalyzed state of affairs and presents it as a piece of complex information. ... Thetic statements are thus uttered at those points of the discourse when compact information is required. This is not the case with the categorical statement. It presents a state of affairs as something analyzed, dissected into different information units. It selects one of the participants of the state of affairs in order to present it as a predication base and arranges the rest in such a way that it forms the predication about the selected predication base. We thus utter categorical statements at those points of the discourse when information is built up in successive bits. (Sasse 1987: 558)

(a) unmarked "categorical statement": sentence-internal focus-background configuration

(b) marked "thetic statement": compact information unit, neutralizes focus-background (often disconnecting subject from topic role)

+ typical discourse contexts of thetic statements (Sasse 1987) – Figure 2

1. EXISTENTIAL STATEMENTS (in a wider sense; presence, appearance, continuation, etc., positively and negatively)

2. EXPLANATIONS (with or without preceding questions such as 'what happened?', 'why did it happen?', etc.)

3. SURPRISING OR UNEXPECTED EVENTS

4. GENERAL STATEMENTS (aphorisms, etc.)

5. BACKGROUND DESCRIPTIONS (local, temporal, etc., setting)

6. WEATHER EXPRESSIONS

7. STATEMENTS RELATING TO BODY PARTS

Figure 2: Diagnostic contexts for thetic statements (Sasse 1987: 566-7)

+ recurrent structural parallelism between term focus and theticity

(24) *My SISter died.* (Sasse 1987: 520)

(25) *E   bruciata la   torta*
      is burnt   the pastry
      The PASTRY's burnt! (Sasse 1987: 532)

(26) *Qu'est-ce qu'il y a?* -   *C'est maman qui me bat.*
      What's the matter? -   MUM's hitting me. (Sasse 1987: 538)

+ grammatical properties of split structure particularly suitable for encoding
theticity: - disrupts syntactic subject-predicate relation of a categorical statement
                - cancels the assertivity of central state-of-affairs expression

> [Split-structures] disrupt the direct connection of the entity and the event by first introducing the entity by an existential or copular clause and then, quasi appositionally, making a statement about it. This 'making a statement about', however, differs radically from the normal theme-rheme or topic-comment structure. The assertion of the event is subordinated pragmatically, semantically, and syntactically to the existential expression. Though syntactically predicative in character, ..., it is not a main predication but rather a predication of the type found in a dependent clause: a predication without illocutive force. (Sasse 1987: 542)

4.3 The non-focus *ke*-cleft as an entity-central statement?

+ *ke*-cleft strongly correlates with typical context profile of thetic statements

> reason/consequence coordinator (§2.3) also in line with thetic interpretation as a meta-discourse explanation

(27)   Moon and hare (NX360000-01_A.034–47) (cf. (20) above)

a.   *a   ǂoro   ǁkx'oo nǃau   tyuu   # nǀa   ǃ'oo*
      CONN moon chop hare   mouth   INST axe
      'And the Moon chops hare's mouth with the axe.'

b.   *ha   ǁkx'oo ǀ'hae ǁhoo   nǃau   tyuu   nǀa   ǃ'oo*
      3S   chop   open be.vertical hare   mouth INST axe
      'He (vertically) chops open the hare's mouth with the axe.'

c.   **gao   ke nǃau tyuu   # ǃoon ǀkx'aba**
      thing TF hare   mouth   now be.red
      'That's why the hare's mouth is now red.'
      [As a revenge the hare throws dirt in the Moon's face.]

d.   *ha   ǁkhai ǀ'ee   ng   ǂoro xuu,*
      3S   throw enter OBL   moon face
      'He throws (sand) into Moon's face,'

e.   **tya   ke   ǂoro xuu ǃunn ng   ko-ke   ku-ǃhoe**
      that TF   moon face part this.P other-P ?-be.black
      that's why some parts of Moon's face are black,'

f.   *ǃunn   ng   ko-ke   ǀ'uri-a*
      part   this.P other-P be.white-?
      some parts are white.'

+ syntactic exposure of nominal (mostly subject oriented but other roles possible, cf. (20) above)

> As a terminological prerequisite we will introduce the distinction between entity-central and event-central thetic expressions. Both share the property of 'positing' something ..., but they differ crucially as to what is posited: an entity-central thetic statement is a type of utterance stating the existence of an entity, while an event-central thetic statement is one which states the existence of an event. (Sasse 1987: 526)

> Nǀuu follows typological precedents as well as parallel cases in genealogical relatives (Güldemann forthcoming b) of affinity between term focus and entity-central theticity

The non-focus *ke*-cleft encodes an entity-central thetic statement which mostly elevates the subject from its default topic role (as opposed to the focus *ke*-cleft which elevates any possible nominal towards a marked focus role).

+ problems for the above analysis: *ke*-clauses with in-situ focus

(28)   Elicitation
a.   *tyui   xae   ǂoo   ǁkx'oo   nǀa*
        what   Q   man   chop   COM
        What does the man chop (the tree) with?
b.   **ǂoo   ke   ǁkx'oo   nǀa   !oo**
        man   ?   chop   COM   axe
        The man chops with an AXE.

(29)   Elicitation
a.   *kidya   xae   kinn   siinsann*
        where   Q   3P   work
        Where do they work?
b.   **kinn   ke   siinsann   ng   nǁng   ǁa'e**
        3P   ?   work   OBL   house   inside
        They work in the HOUSE.

> possible development from a thetic towards a categorical statement

> When an event, part of which is an entity, is stated, the problem arises that the entity is a possible candidate for a predication base, and the event is a possible candidate for a predicate. This problem is due to the fact that if a linguistic expression denoting an event and a linguistic expression denoting an entity are combined in a sentence, the most normal reading is that the relation between the two is a [categorically] predicative one. (Sasse 1987: 560)

Categorical: [[SUBJECT TOPIC - PREDICATE - ...]]
Thetic: [SUBJECT ROLE FOCUS - *ke* -   [(GAP)   - PREDICATE - ...]]
Figure 3: Structural parallelism of categorical and thetic sentence in Nǀuu

> possible pathway how ǀXam and Khoekhoe developed declarative function out of a similar *ke*-cleft: thetic structure overused so that pragmatic markedness decreases
? Have documentation and standardization by non-native speakers been influenced by decontextualized elicitation in which thetic statements are more likely to occur ?

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