# ReKOMmenting on **+**Kx'ao**||**'ae

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# 1 Clause-second elements in the Kalahari Basin

- + gram type in clause-second position (largely after S/A but see below) as a partly contactmediated phenomenon in the Kalahari Basin (cf. Güldemann and Fehn 2017)
- (1) |Xam (!Ui, Tuu)

1

- au too=**gnn** n/e !ii-ya
- CONN red.ochre =? IPFV be.red-STAT

But/and ochre is red. (Güldemann 2013b: 428, after Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 346-7)

Dialect or language	Family, branch	Form	Label	Source
East !Xoon	Tuu, Taa	ń	Indicative	Traill (1994: 193)
Xam	Tuu, !Ui	=NG	Emphatic nominative	Bleek (1928-30: 87-8)
N∥ng	Tuu, !Ui	ke	Declarative	Collins and Namaseb (2011: 9)
Standard Khoekhoe	Khoe-Kwadi, KK	ke	(Indicative) declarative	Hagman (1977), Haacke (2013: 335)
!Ora	Khoe-Kwadi, KK	tje	Subjekt-Determinativ	Meinhof (1930: 49-50)
N!aqriaxe	Kx'a, ‡'Amkoe	ki	-	Berthold and Gerlach (field notes)
Ekoka !Xun	Kx'a, Ju	má	Topic	König (2006, 2008)
Tsumkwe Ju 'hoan	Kx'a, Ju	т	Verb particle	Dickens (1994: 234, 2005: 44)

Table 1: Clause-second elements in the Kalahari Basin (Güldemann and Fehn 2017)

- + functionally indeterminate but related to a large extent to information structure (IS)
- + mostly particles, possibly also enclitic (cf. (1) above)
- + partially in complementary morpho-syntactic distribution with other particles, e.g. those marking questions: |Xam ba/xa, N||ng xa(e), Khoekhoe kha, Tsumkwe Ju|'hoan re
- + detailed analyses in languages of all three lineages of the Kalahari Basin, including corpus-based analysis for Richtersveld Nama (Khoe-Kwadi), N||ng (Tuu), and Ju (Kx'a) (cf. Güldemann and Siegmund 2009; Güldemann 2010, 2013a, 2013b; Güldemann and Witzlack-Makarevich 2013; Güldemann and Pratchett 2014; Güldemann, Pratchett and Witzlack-Makarevich forth.)

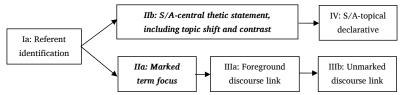
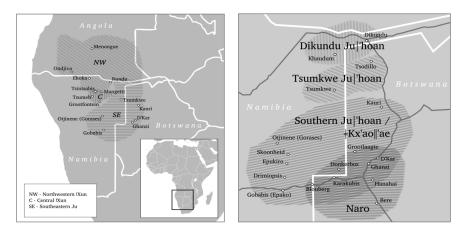


Figure 1: Semantic map of the uses of clause-second particles in the Kalahari Basin (after Güldemann, Pratchett and Witzlack-Makarevich forthcoming)

+ focus here on the particle kòm in +Kx'ao||'ae (aka +Au-||e:n, +Au||eï, ||K'au-||en, Auen, etc.), the southeasternmost Ju|'hoan variety of the Ju language complex (Kx'a family)

### Map 1: <sup>‡</sup>Kx'ao<sup>¶</sup>'ae within the Ju language complex



+ basic clause structure in Ju

- (2) SUBJECT (CLAUSE.SECOND) ADVERB PRED.OP VERB OBJECT PREP + OBLIQUE
- + various particles such as *xa*, *tè*, *n*/á, *m*, and *kòm* can occur after the S/A or more generally in a clause-second position, most of them are difficult to characterize functionally
- (3) *n*·!á xa ka |á ú? án-àn, *n*·!á tè ka ∥kòà toàn
  1P.I-P Q now NEG go NO! 1P.I-P ? now work finish
  Are we not going? No, we are going to finish working (Tsumkwe, dialogue)
- (4) {X does not know that Y is a traditional healer and asks how Y knew what is wrong} 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)
- (5) {Opening line in a narrative}
  - mí mí kò kű òkxúí tè kű kò n!úí kòm g‡àán ó !'hòần
    1S ? PST IPFV speak CONN IPFV QUOT moon.3 ? long.ago COP man
    I have spoken and said (that) the moon long ago was a man (‡Kx'ao||'ae)
- + the diverse functions aside, the elements display morphosyntactic differences
- > kòm and m of (5) are more similar to each other, notably in having a dedicated syntactic scope over a preceding ((pro)nominal) term producing cleft-like structures

# 2 **∦**Kx'ao**∥**'ae kòm

+ kòm is rare in Tsumkwe Ju|'hoan and insufficiently analyzed (Dickens 1994: 229), while prominent further south with a grammatical profile canonical for similar elements in the Kalahari Basin (like, e.g., N∥ng ke or Khoekhoe ke)

## 2.1 Construction profile

- (I)[Termkòm]Identificational non-verbal predication
- (II)
   [[Term kòm] [Clause]]
   Multifunctional cleft-like structure
- (III) [[ká Clause]] kòm [Clause]]
   Foregrounding subordinate clause

Figure 2: Structural profile of *kòm*-constructions in **‡**Kx'ao**|**'ae

## (I) Non-verbal predication for referent identification

- (6) {The parents come and see their daughter dead, and the father wails} Hua Zoa kôm
  PN ID
  It is Hua Zoa!
  (7) {What did the woman eat?}
- càmàgà-s-à ta'm /káú **kòm** corn-P-REL taste be.bad ID It is bad corn.
- (8) {Opening line in a story} *dshàú* n!a'àn kòm woman be.big ID There is an/it is the old woman.

## (II) Initial syntactic exposure of a term vis-à-vis background clause

(9)	{Who hit the woman?}					
	!'hoàn <b>kòm</b> n‡á'm dshàú					
	man TF hit woman					
	THE MAN hit the woman (lit.: it is the MAN who hit the woman) A-	focus				
(10)	{Who did the woman hit?}					
	!'hoàn <b>kòm</b> dshàú n‡à'm					
	man TF woman hit					
	The woman hit THE MAN (lit.: it is the MAN the woman hit) O-	focus				
(11)	{The woman bought beans today and yesterday.}					
	∥à'íke n/è'é <b>kòm</b> hầ ∥'ámá					
	today only TF 3S buy					
	She bought only TODAY (lit.: it is only TODAY that she bought) AL	DJ-focus				

### (III) Foregrounded subordinate clause before main clause

- (12) {Lion is busy but his food is nearly cooked, so Jackal asks if he should check on it, and Lion says:}
  - $k\acute{a}$   $\ddot{a}$   $||\acute{a}\acute{e}$   $kx\acute{o}-\acute{a}$  to $\acute{a}$   $k\acute{o}m$   $m\acute{n}$   $g|\acute{a}\acute{e}$   $k\acute{a}$   $\ddot{a}$   $z\acute{i}$ SUB 2S touch pot-REL be.that FG 1S arrive CONN 2S shit ONCE/if you (ONLY) touch that pot, I come and beat the shit out of you (lit. I come and you shit)
- (13) {You will see a beautiful tree and you must pick its leaf.}
  ká à !'ùn ká dòàqrà kòm mí !ấĩ //ʾàkòàhìn tsì kè
  SUB 2S pick 3S leaf FG 1S die DEI.ADV DEM PROX
  AS SOON AS you pick its leaf, I will die right there.
- (14) {the servant is outside watering the plants and a little bird arrives,}
  ká toà hầ kứ n/áng kòm hầ ứn kứ !òà "l'à !ah
  SUB be.then 3S IPFV sit FG 3S ECT IPFV tell ENDO servant
  tè kứ kò ầ tsxám ...
  CONN IPFV QUOT 2S greet
  and WHENEVER it sits down, it says to that servant like "Greetings! (and greet also your master)

kòm-structure	Tokens	
Non-verbal predication	13	
Cleft-like sentence	45	
Clause-linkage	29	
Total	87	

Table 2: Frequency of kòm-constructions in a corpus of 11 **#Kx'ao** anarratives

 + complication of analysis of kòm, as it is in complementary distribution with another similar particle m (see (5) above)

ń				
syntactic position with scope over initial nominal term				
virtually restricted to declarative main clauses				
similar variation in use (see §2.2 below)				
similar functional profile (see §2.3 below)				
after S/A constituents only				
virtually restricted to after simple				
anaphoric pronouns				
true clause-second element?				

Table 3: Similarities and differences between kom and m

# 2.2 Variation in use

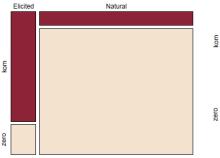
+ large amount of variation in the incidence of *kòm* beyond the above dialectal difference,

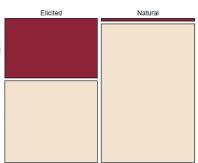
> overall hard to predict and it concerns various parameters:

a) across discourse type > Figure 3

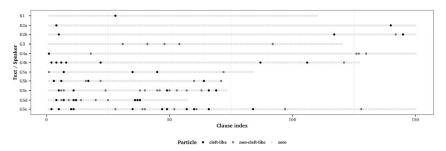
b) across speakers > Figure 4

c) across text dynamics > Figure 4<sup>1</sup>





G5: 116 elicited vs. 630 natural clauses G01: 125 elicited vs. 120 natural clauses Figure 3: Frequency of *kòm* across elicited and natural language data for two speakers



Note: red dots = (II) cleft-like  $k \delta m$ , blue dots = (I)/(III) non-cleft-like  $k \delta m$ Figure 4: Incidence of  $k \delta m$  across 5 different speakers and along 11 narratives

+ *kòm*-constructions vary considerably:

- between elicitation (largely lacks (I) + (III)) and natural discourse: more frequent in former - across varieties: north-south cline of increase Tsumkwe > Kauri (=K) > Groot Lagte (=G)

- across speakers (cf. G3-G5), with little predictability so far
- across texts of the same speaker and genre (cf. G5a-e), with little predictability so far - across internal text dynamics: at text start - then occasional, trend to crowding

# 2.3 Function(s) of cleft-like kòm-constructions

+ cleft-like kòm analyzed previously by Heine and König (2015: 266-268, cf. also König
 2008: 259-260) as a TOPIC marker on its way to a yet more grammaticalized
 SUBJECT CASE marker, thereby trying to accommodate clear cases of focus:

[That] the topic marker in its default position after the subject has in fact been grammaticalized to a subject case marker is suggested by the fact that it is used in this context even when the subject contains new and focal information rather than presupposed, topical information, e.g. in answers to word questions. (Heine & König 2015: 268)

- > analysis highly unlikely in view of above foregrounding function of kôm in referent identification under (I), term focus under (II), and marked clause-linkage under (III)
- + alternative discourse-based analysis by Güldemann, Pratchett and Witzlack-Makarevich (forthcoming) characterizing non-focus contexts in terms of Sasse's (1987) concept of entity-central theticity
- theticity is a comparative (semantic-pragmatic) concept in line with Haspelmath (2010) rather than a "cross-linguistic category"
- > term exposed by  $k \delta m$  is marked as non-topical
- > in particular, S/A constituent, which by default is topical (cf., e.g., Güldemann, Zerbian and Zimmermann 2015), is de-topicalized, so that the topic-focus gradience of an unmarked "categorical" statement is cancelled creating a compact information unit
  - 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 5: Diagnostic contexts for thetic statements (Sasse 1987: 566-7)

- + cf. such diagnostic thetic contexts of *kòm* as out-of-the-blue statement in (15),
   exclamation (16), and weather expression (17)
- (15) {What happened?} //`áíxà kòm !áí leader ECT die THE LEADER has died.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Thanks to Alena Witzlack-Makarevich for assistance with Figures 3 and 4.

(17)

- (16) {she walks around with a blanket full of food and he says:} *Ee* dshàú-à tsì hè kòm mí kű gú
  yes woman-REL DEM PROX ECT 1S IPFV marry
  - "Yes, this woman here is the one I am going to marry!" glá !kúť-s-à !à'ú **kòm** gè-à n/a'a
  - rain hair-P-REL be.white ECT stay-VE sky The white clouds are in the sky.
- + nevertheless, considerable problems in establishing hard criteria for the assignment of cleft-like kòm-structures of type (II) to the abstract notion of theticity
- > flesh out this analysis by means of a yet more fine-grained assessment of discourse contexts and distinction of several sub-types focusing on the constituent before kòm, which may not be exhaustive and fully adequate, though
- + important variation with respect to the semantic role of the constituent before *kòm*
- a) [S/A term kòm] [S/A GAP VERB (OTHER)] > S/A focus or theticity
- b) [non-S/A term kòm] [S/A TOPIC VERB (OTHER)] > non-S/A focus or theticity

No.	Functional context	Total	Type of term		Function	
			S/A	non-S/A	1	>1
1.	Term focus	12	8	4	5	7
2.	Participant introduction	9	9	0	3	6
3.	Participant shift	26	26	0	9	17
4.	Participant pair in contrast	6	6	0	0	6
5.	Participant clarification	6	4	2	5	1
6.	Background	2	1	1	1	1
7.	Temporal (re)setting	3	0	3	3	0
Total	<i>kòm</i> -token total: 45 $\neq$	64	54	10	26	38

- Table 4: Discourse contexts of kôm in cleft-like structures
- > token number by functional context is higher than plain token total, because 21 tokens are assigned to more than one functional context (see below)
- > S/A orientation is predominant with crucial repercussions for functional profile of  $k \partial m$

### 1. Term focus

- + no preference let alone restriction to S/A see (II) in §2.1 for different semantic roles
- + term focus use of cleft-like kòm is less frequent in discourse than non-focal uses!
- + diverse focus types: assertive after a question (18), contrastive (19), additive (20), universal quantifier (21)

(18) {Where has this one come from who speaks like this?} te ha ko tca n!ui n!a'an koh !oa mi kohm mi ku !oa i-!a CONN 3S QUOT thing:REL moon big PST tell 1S TF 1S IPFV tell 2P-P And he said: "I am telling you what OLD MOON told me" (Biesele 2009: 65)
(19) {Having killed the princess<sub>x</sub>, Kathrina<sub>y</sub> puts on her<sub>x</sub> clothes and instructs her<sub>y</sub> own sister to take over as cleaner}

hầ hìn **kòm** ka kấ g/à<br/>ẻ gú ||'à jù-à kè, ..<br/>3S EMPH TF now IPFV arrive take ENDO person-? PROX<br/>SHE, is now going to take that man, ...

(20) {then we (girls) see the boys and get shy}

ha-ahe/xoakòm+oajuhintsikakutao3S-RELPROXalsoTFimitate1P.EEMPHDEMCONNIPFVshyand he, too, [a transgender boy]copies us and is shy

(21) {Many different animals come to give ostrich water, which she always refuses} tè jú n/úí wäqn-sì kòm nà ∥'à g!ú-s-à CONN people other all-P TF give.me ENDO water-P-? Then EVERYONE gives me that water (...but I pour it away)

### 2. Referent introduction

### + so far always S/A orientation

(22) {Opening sentences of a story}

n!úí **kòm** g∔aan ó !'hoàn te hầ tsí dshàú toà gú moon ECT long.ago COP man CONN 3S come take woman REL ó !hai te há !'hoàn **kòm** kấ lage cú n∥hòo COP hare CONN DEM man ECT IPFV hunt wander go.around The moon, was long ago a man and he marries that woman which is the hare. And the husband, goes hunting around [the bush]

(23) {There is another one that they call N|ami Ku}

ha taqekòm oN||auateha baoTshau3S motherECTCOPPNCONN3SfatherCOPPNHis mother is N||aua and his father is Tshau.tèmítaqèkòmkấkòhãtaqè-mà-tzèCONN 1SmotherECTIPFVQUOT3Smother-DIM-be.smallAnd my mother calls her [= N||aua]"Small mother"

# 3. Referent shift

- + so far always S/A orientation
- + in the case of an activated set of referents, *kòm* serves to select, narrow down or shift towards a part of the referent set; that is, it ESTABLISHES a referent as possible topic rather than marking it as already being one, but resumption as topic is not necessary
- + hard to separate from participant introduction in text openings (see 2nd tokens in (22) and (23) above)
- (24) {Picture card elicitation}

 $n\parallel aq \dot{e} tsaa \ k \dot{o}m$ . Te  $h\ddot{a} \ h \dot{e} \ k \dot{o}m \ k t (a \ a \ h \ddot{a} \ n/u \ k \dot{o} \ lx a \ s \dot{c} s \dot{c}$ men two ID CONN 3S PROX ECT IPFV give-VE 3S other MPO clothes-P There are two men. And THIS ONE gives the OTHER ONE clothes. (lit.: and it is this one who gives the other one clothes)

(25) {... she [the wife] now started to prepare [the food] for the man. And just as she is warming [it] up for him,}

há !'hòan **kòm** kò sí |'hoàn tè tsí DEM man.1 ECT PST just bare CONN come here comes the MAN bare handed.

- (26) {Narrator explains how a boy became transgender: And they say he was a baby.}
   te ha !ui n!a'an-ce kòm ko ge ha n!ui osi
   CONN 3S elder.sister big-? ECT PST exist 3S menstrual.period LOC
   And HIS OLDER SISTER was on her period.
- (27) {Narrator is going to talk about a transgender girl growing up. Having introduced her relatives and having reported before about a transgender boy (see (26) above), she refers back to that person by using /xoà 'also'}

tè *||*'à hầ *|xoà* **kòm** kò sí tzèmà te *ku !'am ||xam* CONN ENDO 3S also ECT PST just young CONN IPFV grow continue And she too was just young and was growing up.

### 4. Referent pair in contrast

- + so far always S/A
- + pairing of *kòm/m*-structures establishes a topic-cum-focus contrast: a pair of contrasted activated referents is associated with a pair of contrasted foci
- > double contrast encoded in a pair of cleft sentences, so that kòm comes to mark contrastive topics: [S/A kòm/m Verb (Other)] + [S/A kòm Verb (Other)]
- attested in other Kalahari Basin languages (cf. Güldemann (2010) for |Xam, and felicitous English paraphrases by means of "thetic" subject-accented sentences)

- (28) {Tall man and short man in context: 'what are they doing?'} !'hoàn g+à'ín kòm kứ !oqon xabe-tsí !'hoàn !'ó #'a !'hoàn kòm ứ man tall ECT IPFV smoking but-? man small ENDO man ECT go the TALL MAN is SMOKING, but the short man, THAT MAN has GONE.
- (29) {If a young woman and a young man like each other,}
  - a. tè dshàú-mà kòm gè-à /xoà hà màmà tè sà kxàè g!òm-tjù CONN woman-DIM ECT stay-VE COM 3S granny CONN 3D have g!om-hut the YOUNG WOMAN stays with her grandmother and they have a G!OMTJÙ,
  - b. tè !áríkxàò kòm kxàè !'haàn CONN young.man ECT have !'haàn.hut while/but the YOUNG MAN has a !'HAÀN.
  - c. tè dshàú-sì gà kòm ó g!om-tjù
     CONN woman-P POSSM ECT COP g!om-hut
     So the one for WOMEN is a G!OMTJÙ,
  - d. tè !áríkxàò-sì gà kòm ó !'haàn CONN young.man-P POSSM ECT COP !'haàn.hut while/but the one for BOYS is a !'HAÀN.
- (30)a. à *m*í /á cé te /xoa 2S ECT NEG do.also CONN live YOU shall not come to live again,
  - b. tè mí hì hàtce ó !'hòan te koe gè kòm sisi u /xoa
     CONN 1S EMPH REL COP man CONN be.thus stay ECT just go live while/but I, who is the man [= moon] and stays like this, will simply live on.

### 5. Referent clarification

- + communicatively defective or incomplete reference to participants is "repaired" or supplemented by a *kòm*-structure that takes up/repeats (at least) the referent
- > subtypes: pronoun-to-noun repair (31), noun > noun paraphrase (32), noun > noun "tautology" up to a full state-of-affairs repetition (33)
- (31)a. sa ∥ae sa

3D take 3D

They<sub>x</sub> (dual) take them<sub>y</sub> (dual)

b. *mhsi kom o sa hin* children ECT COP 3D EMPH They<sub>v</sub> (dual) are CHILDREN. (after Biesele et al. 2009: 72)

- (32)a. te há kathriná kòm ko ku ∥koa sa ko kombisi osi CONN 3S PN ECT PST IPFV work 3D MPO kitchen LOC KATHRINA works for them in the kitchen [using kombisi from Afrikaans]
  - b. *tju n!ang kòm ha ko ku !'ànú!'ánù* house inside ECT 3S PST IPFV clean She is cleaning IN THE HOUSE.
- (33) {I have three children. I leave [them] behind.} dshàú-mhm = sà ó n!ànì kòm mí !àù tjù/hó women-DIM.P = REL.P COP three ECT 1S leave village I leave THREE GIRLS at the village.

### 6. Background

- + both S/A and non-S/A, possibly out-of-the-blue pieces of information in the scope of kòm
- (34) {after a stretch of direct speech of a character that is in fact internal monologue}
  - ko ha !kx'a osi **kom** ha sisi ku koe n∥ae LOC 3S heart LOC ECT 3S just IPFV do.thus say
  - [It is] to HIMSELF [lit.: in his heart], he is saying all that.
- (35) {Narrator assumes identity of a character and is about to perform its direct speech after 'and I say' but stops and clarifies her role in the story} *mí hì kòm ó dshàú n!à'àn khàmà*1S EMPH ECT COP woman big because
  - I am a grown-up woman, you see.

### 7. Temporal (re)setting

- + always non-S/A by definition
- (36) {A little bird comes and tells the servant to send its greetings to the master} *a'i n/ui waqnsi kôm // a tzama-ma ku tsi ka tsi ku n// ae ka* day certain all-P ECT ENDO bird-DIM IPFV come CONN come IPFV say 3S Every day, that bird is coming and saying it.

### Functionally ambiguous tokens

- $+\,$  numerous kòm-tokens are ambiguous with respect to our set of context sub-types, e.g.:
  - additive term focus vs. referent shift, e.g., (20), (27)
  - contrastive term focus vs. background, e.g., (34)
  - universal quantifier focus vs. temporal resetting, e.g., (36)
  - referent introduction vs. referent shift, e.g., 2nd kòm of (23)
  - referent shift vs. referent pair in contrast, e.g., 2nd kòm of (29)
  - referent clarification vs. background, e.g., (35)

### Functional parallelism between kom-clefts and other kom-constructions

+ non-cleft kòm-structures can occur in very similar contexts, attesting to the generally latent function of the particle for foregrounding and the creation of discontinuity a) referent clarification by noun-to-noun tautology by kom-cleft in (37) and komidentification of type (I) in (38) (37)a. mi te o coe-a ∥'a tzautzau to'a te ku !hun mi 1S ? ? remove-VE ENDO thorn DIST CONN IPFV kill 1S I am going to pull out that thorn that is killing me. b. tzautzau kohm !hun mi thorn ECT kill 1S [There is] a THORN [is] killing me! (after Biesele et al. 2009: 79) (38)a. maq-ma ku tsi-a а wind-DIM IPFV come-VE 2S A little wind will come to you. b. *maq-ma* to'a ku tsi-a a kohm wind-DIM REL IPFV come-VE 2S ID [It is] a little wind that will come to you.

b) temporal (re)setting by kom-cleft in (39) and kom-background clause of type (III) in (40)

(39) {The servant has told his master about a bird that comes every morning and sends its greetings to the master. So they decide that the master will hide so he can see the bird when it comes}

khoma n/úí wäqn-sì **kòm** hà tsí tè hà /honokhòè ka tsxòmá morning certain all-P ECT 3S come CONN 3S master now hide EVERY MORNING he would come and his master would hide.

(40) {and as he was growing up he changed and then was wearing dresses only} ká tsí m-!á tsì hè kòm hà kű //àqmà !xáí-sí n/è'é
3S come 1P.I-P DEM PROX FG 3S IPFV wear dress-P only
And nowadays [lit.: it comes to us here], he wears dresses only

# **3** Summary

(I) principal goal of our talk involves a specific perspective: identify a form class, here the family of constructions involving kòm, and characterize it in terms of IS function(s)

> we start from comparative IS concepts rather than cross-linguistic "categories"

(II) more detailed context analysis confirms previous functional assessment of kôm-clefts:
 a) marked~non-assertive term focus

b) entity-central theticity with a strong trend toward S/A orientation

> reiterates previous findings that IS-sensitive constructions are often multifunctional

- (III) while kòm-clefts can be robustly characterized in our (admittedly restricted) corpus with respect to their IS profile, the identified function is not expressed exclusively and/or universally by this linguistic form
- > in line with probabilistic approach to IS, but amount of indeterminacy is disconcerting
- > given the considerable variation of kôm-use (see §2.2), this seems to not only be a function of a complex inventory of potentially competing IS-constructions but also of a considerable leeway of production in this domain
- (IV) notoriously difficult evaluation of IS values in general, reflected by recurrently low annotator consistency in IS research in general and ambiguities of our token analyses in particular (see §2.3)
- > question of whether our comparative IS concepts, including theticity, are workable?
- > rejection of cross-linguistic IS categories necessary but insufficient, rather advance with establishing adequate comparative concepts

# Abbreviations

1 1st person, 2 2nd person, 3 3rd person, A transitive agent as sematic role, AGT agent noun, COM comitative, CONN connective, COP copula, D dual, DEI deitic anaphor, DEM demonstrative, DIM diminutive, DIST distal demonstrative, E exclusive, ECT entity central theticity, EMPH emphatic, ENDO endophoric anaphor, FG foreground, I inclusive, ID identification, IPFV imperfective, LOC locative, MPO multi-purpose oblique, NEG negation, O object as sematic role, P plural, PN proper name, PROX proximal demonstrative, PST past, Q question particle, QUOT quotative, REL relative, S singular or intransitive subject as sematic role, STAT stative, SUB subordinate, TF term focus, VE valency external

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