

## KoMmenting on †Kx'ao||'ae

Tom Güldemann (HU Berlin and MPI-EVA Leipzig) and Lee Pratchett (HU Berlin)

### 1 Clause-second elements in the Kalahari Basin

+ widespread gram type in clause-second position, largely after S/A (but see below)

(1) |Xam (!Ui, Tuu)

*au too = gnn n|e !ii-ya*

CONN red.ochre=? IPFV be.red-STAT

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

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

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

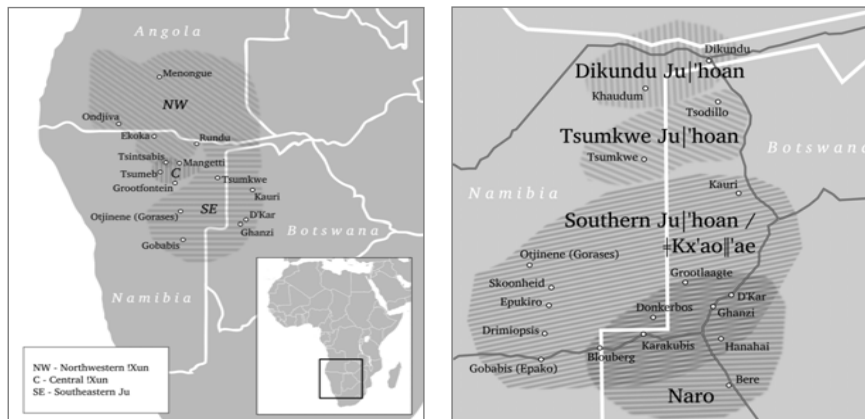
+ functionally indeterminate, certainly related to some extent to information structure (IS)

+ mostly particles, possibly also enclitic to preceding constituent (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*

+ focus here on two relevant particles, *m* and *kòm*, in the geographically extreme Southeast Ju variety (Kx'a family) known as †Kx'ao||'ae (aka †Au-||e:n, †Au||e|, ||K'au-||en, Auen, etc.)

#### Map 1: †Kx'ao||'ae within the Ju language complex



## 2 Previous research on IS sensitive clause-second elements

+ syntactic feature originally identified as an areal phenomenon of the Cape linguistic area comprising !Ui languages of Tuu and Khoekhoe languages of Khoe-Kwadi (Güldemann 2006)

+ more detailed IS analysis across Tuu languages (Güldemann 2010) and in two genealogically unrelated varieties of the Cape linguistic area, which have been analyzed in connection with two documentation projects producing quantifiable corpora (Güldemann and Siegmund 2009, Güldemann 2010, **Güldemann and Witzlack-Makarevich 2013**):

*ke* in Richtersveld Nama (quite different from Standard Namibian Khoekhoe)

*ke* in N||ng (aka N|uu after the dialect documented most extensively)

### 2.1 Four morphosyntactic contexts in N||ng and Khoekhoe

#### 2.1.1 N||ng *ke*

- |       |                   |                            |                   |                          |
|-------|-------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| (I)   | [Term             | <i>ke</i>                  | Identification    | } Cleft-like<br>bisected |
| (II)  | [[Focus           | <i>ke</i> [(S/A) V Other]] | Term focus        |                          |
| (III) | [Abstract anaphor | <i>ke</i> S/A V Other]     | Discourse linkage |                          |
| (IV)  | [S/A              | <i>ke</i> Ø V Other]       | “Declarative”     |                          |

Figure 1: Structural and functional profile of *ke*-constructions in N||ng

#### (I) *ke* marking identification

(2) Jackal and wolf 2 (NY360000-04\_A.070)

*ng †oo ke*

1S man ID

It/that is my husband.

#### (II) *ke* marking (contrastive) term focus

(3) Elicitation

a. *tyui xae Katarina aa /oba i*  
what Q PN give child REC

What does Katarina give the child?

b. *†xanisi ke Katarina aa /oba i*  
book TF PN give child REC

Katarina gives the child a BOOK. (it is a book which Katarina gives the child)

(4) Hyena, jackal and blesbok doe (NY360000-01\_A.041)

*ku ke ng /u si ku “tyee” 'n/aa*  
3S TF 1S NEG IRR QUOT yes VE.GAP

“(it is) to HIM I will not say ‘yes’.”

- (5) Hyena and blesbok doe (NY360000-01\_A.065–9)  
 {The hyena is bullying the blesbok girl wanting to marry her but she refuses.}
- a. *ng si n/au n a, # ng n/au suin ng gla*  
 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-?  
 (Blesbok doe:) “Who says so?”
- c. *ng ke ng ka*  
 1S TF thus say  
 (Hyena:) “It’s ME saying so.”

> structurally indistinguishable from construction (IV), as in (7)!!!

### (III) *ke* as part of phrasal discourse linkers

- (6) Hyena and blesbok doe (NY360000-01\_A.042-043)  
*na ng lqui n/aa*  
 1S COP ashes head  
 (Blesbok:) “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.”

> specialized bisected cleft-like construction with a generic nominal anaphor referring back to previous propositional content

> grammaticalized to a phrasal discourse linker: *ha gao ke, tya gao ke, tya ke, tya !ama ke* ‘that is why, for that reason, therefore, accordingly, consequently, so, then’

### (IV) *ke* marking “declarative” sentence

- (7) Jackal and wolf 2 (NY360000-04\_A.037)  
*g//ain ke xa #xoa n/a ng # ng ke !auka*  
 hyena ? PST speak COM 1S 1S ? afraid:STAT  
 (Blesbok:) “Brown hyena has spoken with me. # I am afraid.”

> function principally identified in elicited data (Westphal n.d. > Güldemann 2003)!!!

### 2.1.2 Khoekhoe *ge*

+ *ge* commonly analyzed as occurring in “Wackernagel position” bisecting the clause in “prefield” and “postfield”, as in (II)-(IV) of Figure 2

> prefield with variable IS role: focus in (II), discourse linker in (III), S/A “topic” in (IV)

> in (II) and (III), additional S/A enclitic before *g(y)e* in a complex Wackernagel slot

> overall constructional profile in fact virtually identical with that of N||ng *ke*

- (I) [Term *ge*] Identification  
 (II) [[Focus (=s/a) *ge*] [(S/A) Other V]] Term focus  
 (III) [Conjunction =s/a *ge* (S/A) Other V] Discourse linkage  
 (IV) [S/A *ge* Other V] “Declarative”

Figure 2: Structural and functional profile of *ge*-constructions in Khoekhoe

### (I) *ge* marking identification

- (8) *Petru-b ge*  
 PN-M.S ID  
 {Knocking at the door and answering to ‘Who is this?’} It’s Peter. (S. Job p.c.)

### (II) *ge* marking (contrastive) term focus

- (9)a. *tara-s-a=b gye [kxoi-b-a] go mū*  
 woman-F.S-OBJ = 3M.S.SBJ “DECL” person-M.S-DSBJ PST see  
 der Mann sah die FRAU [he/[the man] saw the WOMAN] (Dempwolff 1927: 74)
- b. *//ari=b gye [kxoi-b-a] tara-s-a go mū*  
 yesterday = 3M.S.SBJ “DECL” person-M.S-DSBJ woman-F.S-OBJ PST see  
 der Mann sah die Frau GESTERN [he/[the man] saw the woman YESTERDAY] (ibid.: 75)
- c. *ao-b ge tara-s-a ra mū*  
 man-M.S “DECL” woman-F.S-OBJ IPFV see  
 THE/A MAN is seeing the/a woman (Haacke 2006: 114)

### (III) *ge* in discourse linkage

- (10) *o=b gye [kxoi-b-a] tara-s-a go mū*  
 then = 3M.S.SBJ “DECL” person-M.S-DSBJ woman-F.S-OBJ PST see  
 Dann sah der Mann die Frau [then he/[the man] saw the woman] (Dempwolff 1927: 75)

### (IV) *ge* marking “declarative” sentence

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

> functional analysis based on standard variety which has a complex history of codification

In general, the particle *ke* is present after the NP in every declarative sentence. It is never present in an interrogative or imperative sentence and, except for one specific construction, it is never present in an embedded sentence. (Hagman 1973: 106, 1977)

The particle *ge* marks indicative main sentences, i.e. ordinary statements. (Haacke 2013: 335)

## 2.2 Variation and the grammar of *ke/ge*

+ use of relevant elements, particularly in the “declarative” context, is highly variable in both N||ng and Khoekhoe corpora depending on various parameters, notably:

- (i) idiolect/dialect, (ii) over text dynamics, and (iii) type of linguistic data

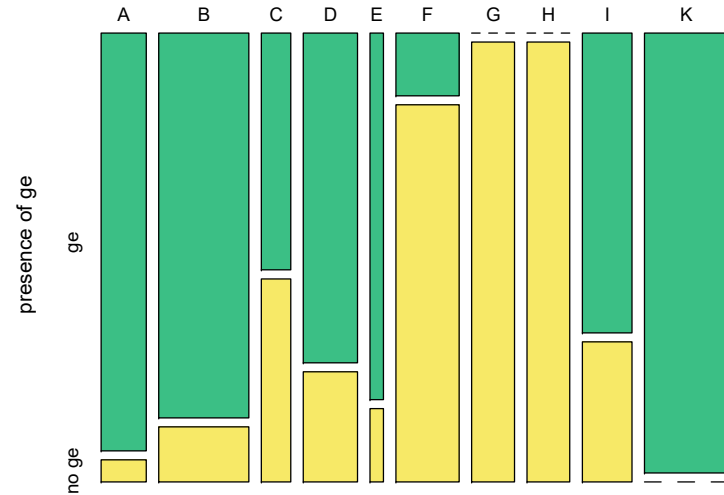


Figure 3: Variation of focus~“declarative” *ke*-clauses in Richtersveld Nama across speakers

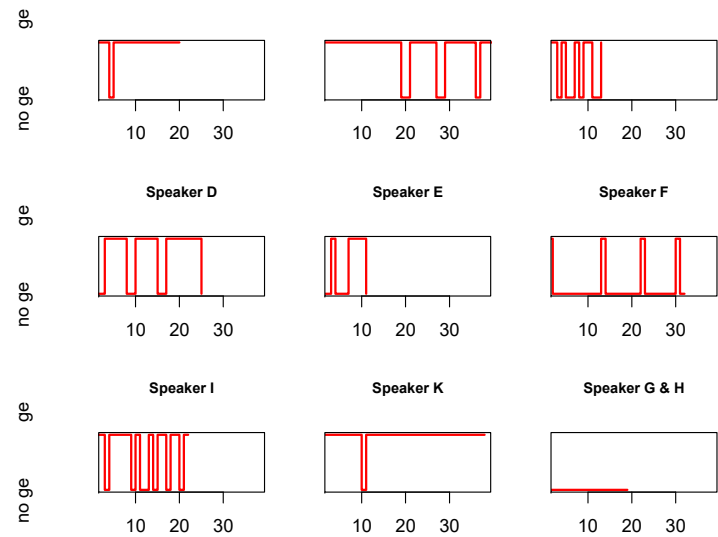


Figure 4: Variation of focus~“declarative” *ke*-clauses in Richtersveld Nama along text dynamics

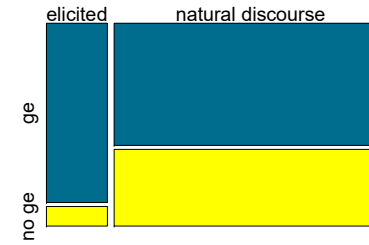


Figure 5: Variation of focus~“declarative” *ke*-clauses in Richtersveld Nama between elicitation and natural discourse

+ above variation and discourse behavior clearly incompatible with “declarative” analysis

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. (Crystal 1997: 104)

**The particles *ke/ge* are not “declarative markers” in the above sense!!!**

> analysis largely hinges on the contrast between decontextualized elicitation or prescribed language use on the one hand and natural coherent discourse data on the other hand

## 2.2 Relation between constructions and semantic map

+ pragmatic contexts of “declarative” *ke*-clauses in N||ng correlate strongly with typical profile of so-called “entity-centralthetic” statements in terms of Sasse (1987: 566-7)

**The “declarative” *ke*-construction actually encodes an entity-centralthetic statement.**

> construction can be derived directly from the isomorphic cleft-like term focus construction which is oriented towards the S/A constituent and “elevates” it from its default status as topic (cf. Sasse 1987, Güldemann 2010: §4.3), as opposed to the focus *ke*-construction which elevates any term towards a marked status as focus

+ exact status of *ge* in Richtersveld Nama still to be determined

	Language (variety)	Westphal’s N  uu(ki)	N  ng across dialects	Richtersveld Nama	Standard Khoekhoe
No.	Function\Data type	Elicitation	Natural discourse corpora	Prescriptive	
(I)	Identification	YES	YES	YES	YES
(II)a	Term focus	NO	YES	YES	YES
(II)b	Thetic statement	NO	YES	?	NO
(IV)	“Declarative”	YES	NO		YES
(III)	Discourse linkage	NO	YES	YES	YES

Table 2: Functions of *ke/ge*-constructions across four corpora/varieties

+ possible unitary analysis of *ke/ge*-constructions as a "family" of constructions with various functions that has emerged by means of grammaticalization

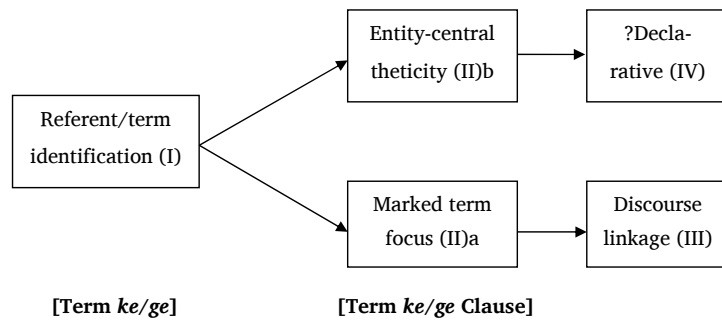


Figure 6: Semantic map of *ke*-constructions in Nǁng

### 3 The particle pair *kòm* ~ *m̄* in †Kx'ao||'ae

#### 3.1 Clause-second elements

+ basic clause structure:

(12) SUBJECT–(SENTENCE.TYPE)–ADVERB–PRED.OP–VERB–OBJECT–PREP + OBLIQUE

+ various elements like *xa*, *tè*, *n/á*, *m̄*, and *kòm* can occur after the S/A constituent or more generally in a clause-second position, most of them are difficult to analyze functionally:

(13) *m̄-!á xa ka /á ǔ? án-àn, m̄-!á tè ka //kòà toàn*  
 1.I-P Q PRS NEG go NO! 1.I-P ? PRS work finish  
 {Are we not going?} No, we are going to finish working (Tsumkwe, dialogue)

(14) {X does not know that Y is a traditional healer and asks how Y knew what was 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)

(15) {Opening line in a narrative}

*mí m̄ kò kǔ òkxúí tè kǔ kò nhúí kòm g+áán ó !'hòàn*

1S ? PST IPFV speak CONN IPFV QUOT moon.3 ? long.ago COP man.1

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

+ the different functions aside, the elements display morphosyntactic differences: *kòm* and *m̄* are more close; notably in having a dedicated scope over a preceding ((pro)nominal) term > discourse-based analysis in line with above research on Tuu and Khoekhoe varieties

#### 3.2 *kòm*

+ hardly treated by Dickens for Tsumkwe variety: "cop[ula] part[icle] sometimes used in conjunction with 'be' ó" (1994: 229)

+ more prominent in southernmost varieties with constructional and functional profile similar to Nǁng *ke* and Khoekhoe *ge*:

(I)	[Term	<b><i>kòm</i></b>	Identification
(II)a	[[Term	<b><i>kòm</i></b>	Term focus
(II)b	[[Term	<b><i>kòm</i></b>	Entity-central theticity
(III)	[[ <i>ká</i> Clause]	<b><i>kòm</i></b>	'once, just when, whenever'
(IV)a	[S/A	<b><i>kòm</i></b>	Topic shift
(IV)b	[S/A	<b><i>kòm</i></b>	Topic contrast in sentence pair
(V)	[S/A	<b><i>te kòm</i></b>	? (rare and Tsumkwe only)

Figure 7: Structural and functional profile of *kòm*-constructions in †Kx'ao||'ae

#### (I) *kòm* marking identification

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

*Hua Zoa kòm*

PN ID

It is Hua Zoa! (Groot Laagte)

(17) {What did the woman eat?}

*càmàgà-s-à ta'm /káu kòm*

corn-P-REL taste be.bad ID

It is bad corn (Donkerbos)

(18) {Opening line in a story}

*dsháú n!á'àn kòm*

woman.1 be.big ID

There is an old woman (Groot Laagte)

#### (II)a *kòm* marking (contrastive) term focus

(19) {Who did the woman hit?}

*!'hoàn kòm dsháú n+á'm*

man.1 TF woman.1 hit

The woman hit THE MAN (lit.: It's the man the woman hit) (Groot Laagte, QUIS)

(20) {Who hit the woman?}

*!'hoàn kòm n+á'm dsháú*

man.1 TF hit woman.1

THE MAN hit the woman (lit.: It's the man who hit the woman) (Groot Laagte, QUIS)

- (21) {The woman buys beans today and yesterday}  
 //à'ike n/è'é kòm hà //ámá  
 today only TF 3S buy  
 she buys only TODAY (lit.: it is only TODAY that she buys) (Groot Laagte, QUIS)

### (II)b kòm marking entity-central theticity

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

- (22) {Opening sentences of a story}  
 n/úú kòm g/aaan ó η !'hoàn te hà tsí gú dsháú toà  
 moon ECT long.ago COP ? man CONN 3S come take woman be.that  
 ó !hai te há !'hoàn kòm kú !aqe cú n//hòo  
 COP hare CONN 3S man ECT IPFV hunt wander go.around  
 The moon was long ago a man and he marries that woman which is the hare. And her husband goes hunting around [the bush] (Groot Laagte)
- (23) //áixà kòm !áí  
 leader ECT die  
 {What happened?} THE LEADER has died (Groot Laagte)
- (24) {she walks around with a blanket full of food and he says,}  
 Ee dsháú-à tsì hè kòm mí kú gú  
 yes woman-REL ? DEM ECT 1S IPFV marry  
 “Yes, this woman here is the one I am going to marry!” (Groot Laagte)
- (25) {Money, and all the things that are coming to us from outside,}  
 tcf-s-à kè kòm ó tcf-s-à ó Ju/'hoan-sì ga-sì  
 thing-P-REL DEM.5 ECT COP thing-P-REL COP Ju/'hoan-P POSSM.5-P  
 these things are things which belong to the Ju/'hoan! (Donkerbos)
- (26) g!á !kúú-s-à là'ú kòm gè-à n/a'a  
 rain hair-P-REL be.white ECT stay-VE sky  
 the white clouds are in the sky (Groot Laagte)

### (III) kòm marking foreground subordinate time clauses

- (27) {Lion is busy but his food is nearly cooked, so Jackal asks if he should check on it, and Lion says:}  
 ká à //àè kxò-à toà kòm mí g/àè ká à zì  
 SUB 2S touch pot.5-REL be.that FG 1S arrive CONN 2S shit  
 (ONCE) you (JUST) touch that pot, (and) I come and beat the shit out of you (lit. I come and you shit) (Groot Laagte)
- (28) {You will see a beautiful tree and you must pick its leaf.}  
 ká à !'ùn ká d/ààqrà kòm mí !áí //àkòhìn tsì kè  
 SUB 2S pick 5 leaf.5 FG 1S die DEL.ADV ?DEM DEM.5  
 JUST WHEN you pick its leaf, I will die right there (D'Kar)
- (29) {Opening sentence of a story}  
 ká toà jú hìn g/àè tèbè-tzí òsí kòm jú kú sé n//aqè  
 SUB be.then 1.P.E EMPH arrive pool-mouth LOC FG 1.P.E IPFV see men.1  
 RIGHT WHEN we arrived at the river/salt pan we saw (the) men (Groot Laagte)
- (30) {the servant is outside watering the plants and a little bird arrives,}  
 ká toà hà kú n/áng kòm hà mí kú !dà //à !ah  
 SUB be.then 3S IPFV sit FG 3S ? IPFV tell DEI servant.1  
 tè kú kò à tsxám  
 CONN IPFV QUOT 2S greet  
 and WHENEVER it sits down, it tells that servant saying “Greetings! {and greet also your master (this is what the bird does every time it comes to the garden)} (Groot Laagte)
- ### (IV)a kòm marking establishment/shift of topic
- + 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 marks it as already being one (cf. also second token in (22))
- (31) {When they see him, they say “N|ami Ku”,}  
 tè mí taqè kòm kú kò hà 'taqè-mà-tzè'  
 CONN 1S mother S.TOP IPFV QUOT 3S mother-DIM-be.small  
 And my mother calls her “Small mother” (Groot Laagte)
- (32) n//aqè tsaa kòm. Te hà hè kòm kú áú hà ko n/úú kò !xáú-sì  
 men two ID CONN 3S DEM S.TOP IPFV give 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) (Groot Laagte)

**(IV)b kòm marking topic contrast in paired sentences**

(33) {Tall man and short man in context: ‘what are they doing?’}

!hoàn g<sup>h</sup>à'ín kòm kú loqon xabe-tsí !hoàn !ó //a !hoàn kòm ú  
 man tall CTR IPFV smoking but-? man small DEI man CTR go  
 THE TALL MAN is smoking, but the short man, THAT MAN has gone (Groot Laagte, QUIS)

(34)a. {If a young woman and a young man like each other,}

tè dsháú-mà kòm gè-à |xoà hã màrà ... sà kxàè g!òm-tjù  
 CONN woman.1-DIM CTR stay-VE COM 3S granny.1 3D have unmarried-house  
 the young woman stays with her grandmother and they have a g!omtjù,

b. tè !árfkxàò kòm kxàè !'haàn

CONN young.man CTR have house  
 while/but the young man has a !'haàn.

c. tè dsháú-sì gà kòm ó g!òm-tjù

CONN woman.1-P POSSM.5 CTR COP unmarried-house  
 So the girls' one is a g!omtjù,

d. tè !árfkxàò-sì gà kòm ó !'haàn

CONN young.man-P POSSM.5 CTR COP house  
 while the boys' one is a !'haàn (Groot Laagte)

+ marked IS configuration involving a topic shift whereby a pair of contrasted activated referents is associated with a contrasted pair of focus items

&gt; double contrast encoded in a pair of cleft sentences with kòm

&gt; foregrounding focus marker kòm comes to mark contrastive topics

&gt; attested in other languages: |Xam (Güldemann 2010), English paraphrase of (34)c./d.

(35)a. *The girls' one is a G!OMTJÛ and/but the boys' one is a !'HAÀN*b. *It is the girls' one that is a g!omtjù and/but it is the boys' one that is a !'haàn*CTR.TOP<sub>x</sub> FOC<sub>x</sub> CTR.TOP<sub>y</sub> FOC<sub>y</sub>**(V) tè kòm with unclear function**

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

mí tè kòm !aqè tàrà

1S ? ? hunt miss

I hunted unsuccessfully (Tsumkwe)

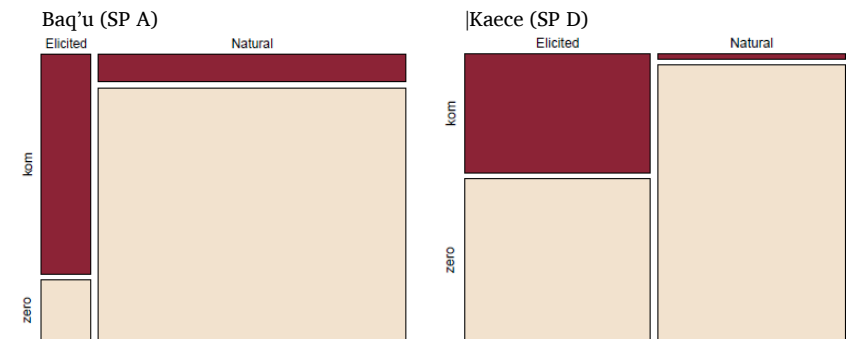
(37) {A teacher says ‘you did not read the book’ and the student protests,}

mí tè kòm n||aq'àrà hì

1S ? ? read PN.3

I did read it (Tsumkwe)

No.	Construction type	Total	% of clause total (1756)
(I)	Identification	11	0,6%
(II)a	Term focus	25	1,4%
(II)b	Entity-central theticity	17	1%
(III)	‘once, just when, whenever’	35	2%
(IV)a	Topic shift	???	??parts of Iib
(IV)b	Topic contrast in sentence pair	4	0,23%
(V)	<i>te kom</i>	1	0,05%
	Total	93	5,8%

**Table 3: Frequency of different kòm-constructions****Figure 9: Frequency of kòm across natural and elicited language data for two speakers (SP A 116 clauses elicited vs. 630 natural, SP D 125 elicited vs. 120 natural)****3.3 m̄**

+ little information by Dickens for Tsumkwe variety: “verb p[article] frequently following the subject pronoun” (1994: 234; cf. also 2005: 44)

+ more prominent in southernmost varieties with a constructional and functional profile that is partly similar but at the same time restricted vis-à-vis that of kòm:

(II)b [S/A *m̄* V OTHER] Entity-central theticity(IV)a [S/A *m̄* V OTHER] Topic shift**Figure 10: First structural and functional profile of m̄-constructions in †Kx'ao||'ae****(II)b m̄ marking entity-central theticity**

(38) {Opening line in a story}

sà m̄ g!xà gùnì

3D ECT start hunt

They both start hunting (Groot Laagte)

(39) {Opening line in a story}

*hǎ n|úú m̄ gè tè ó Tsebè*

3S another ECT exist CONN COP PN

There is another one (who) is Tsebe (Groot Laagte)

(40) {Jackal has turned himself into an animal's corpse and is in the gathering bag. The bag is slowly falling down towards the woman's thighs}

*hǎ m̄ kú n|ori ka !ko'm khàmà*

3S ECT IPFV try CONN have.sex as

Because he is trying to have sex [with her] (Groot Laagte)

(41) {Then other people come down, and one person says:}

*hǎ m̄ toà*

3S ECT be.that

“It's her! (lit. She is this one!)” (Groot Laagte)

(42) {Break in a story. One day she says to her grandfather:}

*màmà mí m̄ !à'fkè ǔ !'a mí †aèh láí*

grandfather 1S ECT today go that 1S at.night die

“Grandfather, today I am going to go and tonight I will die” (Groot Laagte)

#### (IV)a *m̄* marking topic shift

(43) {One day his father<sub>x</sub> goes to visit his son at the school where he<sub>x</sub> took him<sub>y</sub>,}

*tè hǎ m̄ gè |xòà dshàú-m̄h*

CONN 3S S.TOP stay COM woman.1-DIM.P

and he<sub>y</sub> is staying with the girls (Groot Laagte)

(44) {Nowadays, this man<sub>x</sub> is just wearing dresses.}

*tè sì gèsí m̄ !'hà xòrè hǎ m̄ ó !'hoàn*

CONN 3P some S.TOP know that 3S S.TOP COP man.1

But some (of us)<sub>y</sub> know that he<sub>x</sub> is a man. (Groot Laagte)

(45) {Follows a break in the story}

*tè mí !'hoàn sí cǔ tè mí m̄ !kóm /'àn hǎ*

CONN 1S man.1 just lay CONN 1S S.TOP make.beautiful for 3S

and my husband just lays and I make myself beautiful for him (Groot Laagte)

### 3.4 The relation between *kòm* and *m̄*

#### 3.4.1 Similarities

- comparable syntactic position with scope over preceding nominal term
- *kòm* and *m̄* occur both in declarative clauses but not in interrogative or irrealis clauses
- share functional contexts of event-central theticity (II)b and topic shift (IV)a
- similar differential behavior in natural discourse vs. elicitation

#### 3.4.2 Differences

<i>kòm</i>	<i>m̄</i>
largely cleft-like hierarchical structure	true clause-second element
after all types of exposed terms	after S/A constituents only
after both nouns and pronouns (latter in emphatic or deictically modified form)	largely after simple anaphoric pronouns > incipient switch reference system?!

Table 5: Differences between *kòm* and *m̄*-constructions

+ but for some older speakers and in older texts *m̄* is also used with nominal S/A constituents, as in (46)/(47); today typical grammatical contrast, as in (48)

(46) {Beginning of a story about the elephant who first found water}

*há !xó m̄ kxáícè hò ká gú*

DEF.2 elephant.2 ECT first find DEF.5 water.5

The elephant first found water. (text from 1971, Bieseles et al. 2009: 11)

(47) {And they said “we are going to kill that elephant”}

*tè !úú-sì m̄ †hò†hò-à khòè !úú-sì m̄ †hò†hò-à khòè*

CONN spear.2-P ECT pass-VE be.like spear.2-P ECT pass-VE be.like

Then spears go this way and that way. (text from 1971, Bieseles et al. 2009: 14)

(48) *John n|è'è ng kòm n|át 'm-à lha-hm xabe-tsí hǎ m̄ céte tcàq*

John only ? TF CAUS eat-VE animal-P but-? 3S ? even water

*!'aihnsì |xòà*

plant-P also

Only John fed the animals but he even watered the plants too. (Groot Laagte, QUIS)

#### 3.4.3 Historical layering between *kòm* and *m̄*

+ similarities and differences suggest that both partake in the same grammaticalization cline from a pivot in bisected cleft-like sentence to a genuine clause-second element  
> variable use in different age groups suggests ongoing increase in frequency of both items

Speaker	Relationship	<i>kòm</i>	<i>m̄</i>	% of entire corpus
N†aisa	mother (c. 90y)	5,9% (20/340)	1,8% (6/340)	1,5%
†Ka-G ao	son (c. 60y)	2,8% (8/288)	5,9% (17/288)	1,4%
Baq'u	daughter-in-law (42y)	9,7% (61/630)	8,1% (51/630)	6,4%

Table 6: Frequency of *kòm* and *m̄*-constructions across one family (Groot Laagte)

+ but *m̄* appears older and thus more advanced than *kòm*, syntactically and functionally

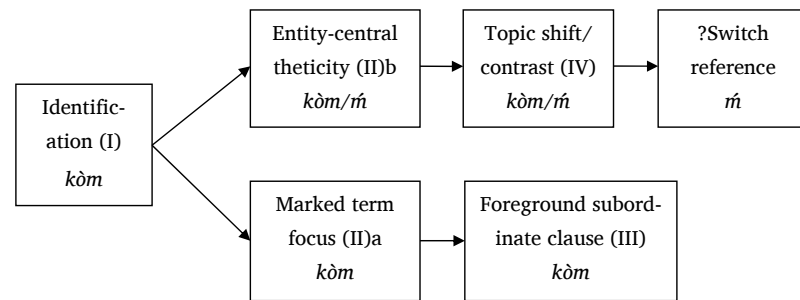


Figure 11: Semantic map of *kòm*- and *m̄*-constructions in !Kx'ao!ae

+ the pragmatic strength of *kòm* appears to be “stronger” than *m̄* in similar IS contexts and motivates repeated sequences of a *kòm*-sentence followed by an *m̄*-sentence in the same function and irrespective of partly grammatical noun-pronoun distinction

(49) {Opening scene, other people are arriving, and Ostrich introduces herself to them before asking them to help her.}

*mí hì kòm ó dshàú n!a'àn khàmà*

1S EMPH ? COP woman old as

as I am an old woman,

*mì m̄ ó glo khàmà ...*

1S ? COP ostrich as

as I am an Ostrich ...

*te mí tsí te tsí n!áng*

CONN 1S come CONN come sit

I came and sat down (Groot Laagte)

## 4 Outlook for future research

+ previous preliminary analysis of the two !Kx'ao!ae particles by König (2008):

There is one additional !Xun dialect where topic is relatively highly grammaticalized, namely E3, a dialect spoken in eastern Namibia north of Gobabis [= !Kx'ao!ae]. Unfortunately the database for the E3 dialect is very limited; the following is just a preliminary analysis, further research is needed in order to allow for a firm hypothesis. There are three markers for topicalization, namely *m̄*, *kòm*, and *má*. Probably all three markers are related to *má* of the W1 and W2 [North-central] dialects. Most clauses in E3 are marked for topic. The topic marker *m̄* and *kòm* are often free variants. The marker *má* is used in particular contexts only, in particular with *àrè* ‘want’. ... the answer ‘Dina has come’ to the question ‘Who has come?’ contains a topic marker. This is in need of an explanation as the answer is a prototypical context where the subject is focused. One possible explanation would be that the topic marker is already grammaticalized as a subject marker to the extent that it can even occur in slots which are strongly associated with focus. Further examples are needed to substantiate this preliminary suggestion. (König 2008: 259)

+ first analysis by Pratchett, which was based on less systematic discourse data, yielded a similar interpretation of *kòm* and *m̄* as (partial) topic markers, although many occurrences conflict with this analysis as all the cases of term focus

+ implications for analysis of similar, possibly cognate elements in other Ju varieties

> notably *má* in North-central Ju analyzed by König (2006, 2008) as topic/incipient subject marker which also gives some evidence of marking focus rather than topic, as in (50)

(50) [FOC] <I [ BG ]

*à-hj má m̄ hj*

2S-EMPH ?TOP 1S see

It is you whom I see. (König 2006: 95)



## References

- Biese, Megan et al. 2009. Ju|'hoan folktales: transcriptions and English translations: a literacy primer by and for youth and adults of the Ju|'hoan community. Victoria: Trafford.
- Bleek, Dorothea F. 1928-30. Bushman grammar: a grammatical sketch of the language of the |xam-ka-!k'e. *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* 19: 81-98/ 20: 161-174.
- Bleek, Wilhelm H. I. and Lucy C. Lloyd. 1911. *Specimens of Bushmen folklore*. London: George Allen.
- Collins, Chris and Levi Namaseb. 2011. A grammatical sketch of N|uuki with stories. *Quellen zur Khoisan-Forschung* 25. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Crystal, David. 1997. *A dictionary of linguistics and phonetics*. London: Blackwell.
- Dempwolff, Otto. 1927. Die Hervorhebung von Satzteilen als Anlass zur Verwendung besonderer Wortformen. In Boas, Franz et al. (eds.), *Festschrift Meinhof*. Glückstadt/ Hamburg: J. J. Augustin, 73-79.
- Dickens, Patrick J. 1994. *English-Ju|'hoan/Ju|'hoan-English dictionary*. *Quellen zur Khoisan-Forschung* 8. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Dickens, Patrick J. 2005. A concise grammar of Ju|'hoan with a Ju|'hoan-English glossary and a subject index. *Quellen zur Khoisan-Forschung* 17. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Güldemann, Tom. 2003. Westphal's field notes on N|huki with a linguistic analysis. unpublished ms.
- Güldemann, Tom. 2006. Structural isoglosses between Khoekhoe and Tuu: the Cape as a linguistic area. In Matras, Yaron, April McMahon and Nigel Vincent (eds.), *Linguistic areas: convergence in historical and typological perspective*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 99-134.
- Güldemann, Tom. 2010. The relation between focus and theticity in the Tuu family. In Fiedler, Ines and Anne Schwarz (eds.), *The expression of information structure: a documentation of its diversity across Africa*. *Typological Studies in Language* 91. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 69-93.
- Güldemann, Tom. 2013. Syntax: |Xam. In Vossen, Rainer (ed.), *The Khoesan languages*. London: Routledge, 419-431.
- Güldemann, Tom and Anne-Maria Fehn. forthcoming. The Kalahari Basin area as a "Sprachbund" before the Bantu expansion - an update. In Hickey, Raymond (ed.), *The Cambridge handbook of areal linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Güldemann, Tom and Sven Siegmund. 2009. The marker ke in N|uu - declarative or not? Paper presented at the 6th World Congress of African Linguistics (WOCAL), Cologne, August 17-21, 2009.
- Güldemann, Tom and Alena Witzlack-Makarevich. 2013. The risks of analysis without spoken language corpora: clause-second ke in Richtersveld Nama and N|ng. Paper presented at the International Workshop "Information Structure in Spoken Language Corpora (ISSLaC)", Bielefeld, June 10-12, 2013.
- Haacke, Wilfrid H. G. 2006. Syntactic focus marking in Khoekhoe ("Nama/Damara"). In Fiedler, Ines and Anne Schwarz (eds.), *Papers on information structure in African languages*. *ZAS Papers in Linguistics* 46. Berlin: Zentrum für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, Typologie und Universalienforschung, 105-127.
- Haacke, Wilfrid H. G. 2013. Syntax: Namibian Khoekhoe (Nama/Damara). In Vossen, Rainer (ed.), *The Khoesan languages*. London: Routledge, 325-340.
- Hagman, Roy S. 1977. *Nama Hottentot grammar*. *Language Science Monographs* 15. Bloomington: Indiana University Publications.
- König, Christa. 2006. Focus in !Xun. In Ermisch, Sonja (ed.), *Focus and topic in African languages*. *Frankfurter Afrikanistische Blätter* 18: 91-99.
- König, Christa. 2008. Topic in !Xun. In Ermisch, Sonja (ed.), *Khoisan languages and linguistics: proceedings of the 2nd International Symposium, January 8-12, 2006, Riezlern/ Kleinwalsertal*. *Quellen zur Khoisan-Forschung* 22. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe, 249-263.
- Meinhof, Carl. 1930. *Der Koranadialekt des Hottentottischen*. *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen*, Beiheft 12. Hamburg: Eckardt & Messtorff.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 1987. The thetic/categorical distinction revisited. *Linguistics* 25: 511-580.
- Traill, Anthony. 1994. *A !Xóó dictionary*. *Quellen zur Khoisan-Forschung* 9. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Westphal, Ernst O. J. n.d. Unpublished field notes on N|huki. Cape Town: Manuscripts and Archives Department, University of Cape Town.