

When verbs come (and) clash together: the diachrony of multiverb constructions in Ju'hoan and !Xun¹

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1 Introduction

1.1 Background

+ What are serial verb constructions?

Definition:

"a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort. Serial verb constructions describe what is conceptualized as a single event. They are monoclausal; their intonation properties are the same as those of a monoverbal clause, and they have just one tense, aspect, polarity value. SVCs may also share core and other arguments. Each component of an SVC must be able to occur on its own. Within an SVC, the individual verbs may have same, or different, transitivity values" (Aikhenvald 2006: 1, my emphasis)

> Cross-linguistically valid term? (See e.g., Bisang 2009, Haspelmath 2016)

+ Why are they interesting? They shed light on relationship between construction of discourse (clauses, predicates) and expression of events; areality; typology; language change; AND because discussion of SVCs can be traced to descriptions of Akan (Christaller 1875: 144) – thus to the study of African languages and linguistics 😊

+ Multiverb constructions: an areal feature of Kalahari Basin Area languages (Güldemann 1998, Güldemann & Fehn 2017) – yet by no means homogenous across Kx'a, Tuu, and Khoe-Kwadi

> Typological remarks: 'contiguous' (Aikhenvald 2006) or 'nuclear-root' serialisation (e.g., Foley & Van Valin 1984) in Kx'a and Tuu languages:

(1) Ju'hoan (Ju, Kx'a Pratchett 2020: 92)

hã kú ">//hm lhárd mí tzí
PRO1 IPFV chop burst 1SG mouth
'It is going to split my mouth open.'

(2) Taa (Tuu, Kießling 2013: 50)

ń sí //hbú qx'ùà
1SG IPFV jump descend
'I jump down.'

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> Different type in Khoe languages: so-called 'verb-juncture' construction (Güldemann & Fehn 2017, cf. i.e., Kilian-Hatz 2006, Vossen 2010)

(3) Ts'ixa (Kalahari Khoe, Khoe-Kwadi, Güldemann & Fehn 2017: 510)

noxá=m ín=mà tí kò míùù-à-?äà
snake =M.S DEM.REF =M.S 1SG IPFV see-JCT-know
'I recognise this snake.'

+ Ju attests symmetrical and asymmetrical serial verbs (Aikhenvald 2006), with descriptions of form/functions of both in largely synchronic terms (e.g., Dickens 2005, König 2010, Heine & König 2015) or grammaticalisation of certain verbs (e.g., Heine & König 2005)

+ In !Xun, König (2010, also Heine & König 2015) describe a formally divergent construction that involves "post-posed tense-aspect marking", illustrated in (4)

(4) !Xun (Heine & König 2015: 55, 103-104)

hà má glè-ā nàmì tc'u
PRO1 TOP come-PROG circulate home
'He comes around the homestead.'

+ Research questions:

> with research typically focussing on the 'fall' of serial verbs (e.g., grammaticalisation, etc.), this paper aims to shed light on the rise of serial verbs in Ju languages with a focus on the formal variation observed with asymmetrical serial verbs

> what is the distribution of the construction across !Xun and Ju'hoan? Which kind of verbs arise in the construction? What kinds of functions are expressed?

- How does the construction relate to serial verbs in terms of form and function?

- (How does the construction relate to other multiverb constructions across KBA languages?)

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2 Verb serialisation in Ju

+ SVCs can be distinguished on account of their composition:

Symmetrical SVCs: serial verb constructions consist of two or more verbs each chosen from a semantically and grammatically unrestricted class

Asymmetrical SVCs: Asymmetrical SVCs denote a single event described by the verb from a non-restricted class. The verb from a closed class provides a modificational specification: it is often a motion or posture verb expressing direction, or imparting a tense-aspect meaning to the whole construction (Aikhenvald 2006: 21)

> relevant for current discussions both due to formal variation remarked across these categories as well as language change processes/results attributed to both (i.e., lexicalisation of symmetrical SVCs and grammaticalisation of asymmetric SVCs, e.g., Aikhenvald 2018)

+ Following description is kept brief, fuller description can be found in Dickens (2005), König (2010), and Heine & König (2015: 91ff)

2.1 Symmetrical serial verbs

+ Properties: strictly contiguous; tense-aspect (if present) is marked once **before** the complex predicate, as in (14) and (15), as is true for negation, as in (16), and adverbs.

> So-called ‘switch function’ type where object of V1 is S/A of V2, as in (14) and (15)

> Sequence is typically iconic of order of events

(14) Switch function/cause-effect (Ju|'hoan, Pratchett 2020: 92)

hà kú //ðhm lhárá mí tzí
PRO1 IPFV chop burst 1SG mouth
'It is going to split my mouth open.'

(15) Switch function/cause-effect (!Xun, Heine & König 2015: 98)

hà má ke //háí n!/hää tåq
PRO1 TOP PST pull.SG fall.SG 1.taq
'Jackal simply pulled the food out (i.e., pulled the food and it fell out).'

(16) Cumulative subject/result (Ju|'hoan, Dickens 2005: 81)

mí lòmà tè /óá sé //ábà läähn
1SG be.short and NEG see go.over 3.tree
'I am short and/thus cannot see over the tree.'

> (17) illustrates the internal complexity of a ‘single event’ in a serial verb involving three verbs and three participants/semantic roles. Chain remains iconic and strictly contiguous.

(17) Switch function/cause-effect (!Xun, Heikkilä 1987: 54)

m tsaq //áó tóán g//í ke dà'á
1IN pour die.PL finish water MPO flame.4
'We shall pour water on the fires and extinguish them completely.'
(Alternative: we_A pour and finish [i.e., use up all] the water_T and extinguish the fire_P)

2.2 Asymmetrical serial verbs

2.2.1 with V2 minor verbs

+ V2 comes from a closed semantic class of verbs otherwise (segmentally) indistinguishable from symmetrical serial verb – especially with respect to tense-aspect-negation markers

> functions include path/direction (18), similitative (19), aspect (20), or benefactive (21)

(18) Path/direction (+Kx. Ju|'hoan, Bieseck et al. 2009: 76)

tè mí kú tani tsí ka i tsí sé hā
and 1SG IPFV fetch come and 2PL then see PRO1
'And I'm going to bring [her] so that you can see her.'

(19) Similitative (T. Ju|'hoan, Dickens 1992: 68)

/ari n/a /oa n/a'an #oa !xó
jackal.1 EVID NEG be.big be.like 1.elephant
'Jackal is not as big as an elephant.'

(20) Terminative (+Kx. Ju|'hoan, Winberg et al. 2010)

tè ka g/uih ku !aah #aun toan ha dshau-si tju-si waqn-si
and when 1.hyena IPFV run surpass finish PRO1 2.woman-PL 3.house-PL all-PL
'And once hyena had [completely] run past all of his wives' houses...'

(21) Benefactive (T. Ju|'hoan, Pratchett 2020: 109)

tè cè tè n/óá /'án mí !ú-ntà'án kò kocè kótá xái
and do.also LNK cook give 1SG 1.grandfather MPO 3.coffee and bread
'[We make porridge] and also cook coffee and break for my grandfather.'

+ The grammaticalisation of ‘give’ *|’an [|’ãã] in Proto Ju (Heine & König 2015: 28) across Ju languages nicely illustrates different grammaticalisation pathways SVCs can take in a single language complex:

> Ju|’hoan: /’ān ‘give’ > benefactive > dative (22) > allative (23)

(22) Ju|’hoan (+Kx’ao||ae dialect)

ha sin #’ang l’ān ha /’ae
PRO1 just think give PRO1 self
'He just thinks to himself.'

(23) Ju|’hoan (+Kx’ao||ae dialect, Pratchett 2020: 97)

n!hā̄ kū n#hā̄ /’ān hā
lion.1 IPFV walk give PRO1
'The lion is walking towards her.'

> In !Xun the grammaticalised form /’ān is not used as a predicate verb (cf. /’ā̄ ‘give’, Heikkinen 1987: 30; Heine & König 2015: 220). Thus, the following are technically not SVCs.

(24) Comitative preposition (E. !Xun, König 2001: 80, 175)

djù má /ú-i n!hā̄ /’ān djù lx’ā /’ān djù cí
1PL.EX TOP NEG-HAB walk COM 1PL.EX heart COM 1PL.EX lung
'We never walk together with our heart and our lungs.'

(25) Instrumental preposition (O. !Xun, Heikkinen 1987: 30)

hā !hún hā /’ān hā dsū
PRO1 kill.SG PRO1 INSTR PRO1 beak
'He kills him with his beak.'

(26) NP coordinator (E. !Xun, König 2001: 80, 167)

/àälè má xāñ gù g/íñ /xōē /’ān /ðhè /xōē
jackal TOP then take hyena tail and horse tail
'The jackal then took the hyena's tail and the horse's tail.'

(27) Additive (E. !Xun, König 2001: 1)

mí /’ān má khōmē /lōā !!’hā̄ cū
1SG also TOP tomorrowNEG walk around
'I also will not walk around tomorrow.'

2.2.2 with V1 minor verbs

+ Asymmetrical SVCs involving minor verbs show variation with respect to placement of tense-aspect markers: illustrated firstly only using ‘come’ and ‘arrive’ which typically express deictic motion/direction

> three variants: absence of tense-aspect marking (28); default tense-aspect marking (29); and intermedial tense-aspect marking (30-33). Note that only the aspect marker separates the verbs in Ju|’hoan whilst both tense and aspect markers are found in !Xun.

(28) Deictic motion (+Kx’ao||ae dialect, Pratchett 2020: 94)

à g/äè //há̄ mā̄n mí n/áng mí tsí g!à’ámá
2SG arrive pull turn.around 1SG PURP 1SG come enter
'[When I jump over the fence,] you then come pull me back so that I go inside.'

(29) Deictic motion (+Kx. Ju|’hoan, Bieseile et al. 2009: 90)

tè sì-!á kū tsí glá
and PRO2-PL IPFV come arrive.home
'And they all arrived (at home).'

(30) ?Inchoative (O. !Xun, Heikkinen 1987: 88)

tà /’è.ká ná sé g/é ké n#à’m ‘n/gá̄t
and then 1SG IRR arrive PST hit wild.cat
'And I almost began to hit the wild cat [but its arm was really very big].'

(31) Deictic motion (+Kx. Ju|’hoan, Winberg et al. 2010: 64)

te g/uih glæe ku !aah u tjin gla’ama g/hí
and 1.hyena then IPFV run go cry enter 3.bush
'And hyena then ran off crying (entering) into the bush.'

(32) Deictic motion (T. Ju|’hoan, Pratchett 2020: 94)

tè sì-!á tsí kū g!à’ámá sá tzá-sí
and PRO2-PL come IPFV enter DU 3.sleep-NMZ
'And they then enter their sleeping place.'

(33) Deictic motion (+Kx. Ju|’hoan, Bieseile et al. 2009: 76)

tè sì-!á tsí g/äè kú n#hao-a khòè n/úí
and PRO2-PL come arrive IPFV walk-VE 3.place certain
'And [then] they went walking to some place.'

+ What is going on? Three suggestions:

i) Grammaticalisation of *tsí* ‘come’ and *g/àè* ‘arrive’

- > the position is indicative of grammaticalisation and are outside of the predicate nucleus (Pratchett 2020: 94; see also Güldemann 2013: 411) – thus not an instance of verb serialisation
- > additional evidence from (34) where *tsí g/àè* appears before the negation marker, coinciding with a lack of shared polarity
- > could alternatively be analysed as asyndetic clause linkage (cf. §1.1.2)

(34) Ju|'hoan (Tsumkwe dialect, after Dickens 1992: 1)

ka sa u ntuuhn tsí, ||'akaa sa tsí g^lae lóá !'hàn kòà tju/ho gè-à
when DU go go.by.night come then DU come arrive NEG know where 3.village exist-VE
'[That evening,] when they were travelling, they arrived not knowing where the village was.'

> Under this scenario the construction is indicative of the demise of multiverb constructions

ii) “Post-posed” tense-aspect marking

- > König (2010, see also Heine & König 2015) suggest that certain V1 minor verbs in !Xun take “post-posed” tense-aspect marking (ibid.: 101-102)
- > All minor verbs are referred to as coverbs by the authors

What distinguishes coverbs from other verbs used in the SVC [...] is also a morphological property: while tense-aspect markers precede the verbs used in a SVC, coverbs serving as V1 have their tense-aspect markers basically between the two verbs; cf. the following example:

W2 n^lòxò má g^lè k^lé g^lè'è
N!oxo TOP come PAST sing
'N!oxo sang while moving.' (Heine & König 2015: 103-104)

> Suggests a greater level of ‘structural asymmetry’ in asymmetrical serial verbs in Ju languages – although this is not motivated by the authors

iii) Variation is diagnostic of distinct multi-verb constructions

- > Rather than fit different constructions into prefabricated categories – allow variation to speak for itself: even the grammaticalisation scenario in (i) seems to take for granted that grammaticalisation arose out of a ‘regular’ construction
- > A more fine-grained analysis, comparing more verbs and more varieties could shed light on the rise of the construction and thus the rise of serial verb constructions – particularly if asymmetrical and symmetrical constructions can be shown to have different origins

3 Data analysis: the pseudo-consecutive construction

3.1 Method

- + Cross-dialectal comparison of ‘coverbs’ [i.e., V1 minor verbs] in their grammatical context based on ‘coverbs’ attested for !Xun (Heine & König 2015: 102-103) and others ‘found along the way’ (cf. §3.2.1, §3.2.4)
- > (mostly) bottom-up approach using natural language texts

Language	Dialect	Source	Notes
!Xun	Ovamboland !Xun	Heikkinen 1987	text-based examples
!Xun	Ekoka !Xun	König & Heine 2001	published folktales
Ju 'hoan	Tsumkwe Ju 'hoan	Dickens 1992	untranslated texts in Ju 'hoan
Ju 'hoan	#Kx'aol ae	Bieseile et al. 2009 Winberg et al. 2010 own texts	translated by mother tongue speakers trained in ELAN

Table 1 Sources

3.2 Analysis

- + Cross-dialectal comparative analysis reveals two principal constructions which can be reasonably considered to be variants induced by grammaticalisation/dialectal variation
 - i) S/A V1 te ASPECT V2 (principally in Ju|'hoan dialects)
 - ii) S/A V1 ASPECT V2 (principally in !Xun dialects)
- + The first construction is superficially identical to a string of consecutive clauses (cf. §1.1.2)
- > Whilst this is the likely origin, synchronically there are formal and functional differences hence the chosen designation **PSEUDO-CONSECUTIVE CONSTRUCTION**
- + Properties of pseudo-consecutive construction (PCC) in Ju:
 - (i) an intransitive verb conjoined with another verb using the desemanticised clausal connective (=linker/LNK) *te/ta* or *ka*. In subordinate clauses, the coordinator *he~ye* is used;
 - (ii) S/A sharing is obligatory whether over or not;
 - (iii) S/A is never overtly repeated with non-initial verbs (neither pronominally nor nominally);
 - (iv) tense-aspect markers appear before the main semantic verb;
 - (v) verbs can be independently negated;
 - (vi) grammaticalisation is scalar and varies with participating ‘minor verb’. Desemanticised connective grammaticalises to a construction dependent linker or is dropped, resulting in verb-medial tense-aspect marking.

3.2.1 Existential verbs

- + Existential verbs are not listed as ‘coverbs’ by Heine & König (2015: 101ff) but identifying them as existential verbs typically arise in MVC as aspect markers
- > (35) provides a strong argument against the consecutive chain of clauses and rather > variation with respect to maintenance of linker attested in both !Xun and Ju|'hoan, e.g. (38)
- (35) Progressive (G. Ju|'hoan, Pratchett 2020: 101)

sì hin gè tè kú ū tè hā hin gè tè kú n||òrì kò-à ...

PRO2 EMPH stay LNK IPFV go and PRO1 EMPH stay LNK IPFV try place.3

‘They keep on going and he keeps on trying places [whence to escape from the kraal].’

- (36) Progressive (O. !Xun, Heikkinen 1987: 93)

Hásà má kíndò'à ó gè ká ||ú #āñ

it-it-better 1SG then SBJV stay LNK DUR think

‘It is better that I still think.’

- (37) Progressive (T. Ju|'hoan, after Dickens 1992: 48, 14)

ká |ari n!loma he gè yè kxoá n||hoo tci-s-a ha 'm
when 1.hyena morning 1.DEM stay LNK search go.around3.thing-PL-REL PRO1 eat

‘And that morning, whilst hyena was still looking around for something to eat.’

- (38) ká Uhu gè kíí 'mí zam, ||ákáà hā tāqè !qè glxà ||à kòà
when PN stay IPFV eat 1.tortoise then PRO1 1.mother drag remove:VE ART 3.place
‘And whilst Uhu was still eating tortoise [meat], then his mother left from that place.’

- + In some !Xun dialects, the copula verb *qh* is used with existential function and is also found in the PCC expressing progressive aspect

- (39) !Xun (Ovamboland dialect, adapted from Heikkinen 1987: 91)

zù n|úí qh á gè

1.person just COP IPFV stay

‘The other person continues to stay.’

3.2.2 Verbal adverbs (‘do again’, ‘do also’)

- + cè ‘do again, do also’ in Ju|'hoan requires the PCC (cf. cè ‘return’ Dickens 1994: ??) and expresses additive, e.g. (40), and excessive (41)

- + Contrary to other minor verbs in PCC, grammaticalisation does not result in loss of linker; rather it is reanalysed together as cè + tè → cètè ‘again’
- > woodhood judgements discernible in data transcribed by mother tongue speakers (44)

- (40) Additive (T. Ju|'hoan, Pratchett 2020: 109)

te cè tè n|óá /àñ mí lú-nlà'án kò kocè kótá xái
and do.also LNK cook give 1SG 1.grandfather MPO 3.coffee and bread
‘[We make porridge,] and also cook coffee and break for my grandfather.’

- (41) Excessive (T. Ju|'hoan, after Dickens 1992: 16, 9)

te ce te loma te !aihnnaq-si ce te g+a'ain
but do.also LNK be.small and 3.branch-PL do.also LNK be.long
‘[...] but I am too small and the branches are too long [...so do not see very well].’

- (43) {We stayed a week in the bush without eating anything. We only drank water.}

te ce te |oa ||ah||ah n+ahm-si te #a'u ho ka'ae te sáu e
and also LNK NEG cover 3.blanket-PL and 3.cold see REFL.3 LNK freeze 1EX
‘[We] also didn't cover [ourselves] with blankets and the cold really froze us.’

- (44) (+Kx. Ju|'hoan, Biese 2009: 4)

ju-a he tsí goaq lai he oo lau hajoe xae cete
1.person-REL DEM.1 DEM long.ago die and do move who Q again
‘This person who long ago died left, who is this again?’

3.2.3 Posture verbs

- + Posture verbs ‘sit’, ‘lay’ and ‘stand’ can be found in PCC expressing progressive aspect – strongest evidence for which is found in (45) and (47) and (48) which cannot be read as consecutive clauses or as accompanying position (see also Heine & König 2015: 71-72)
- > in !Xun dialects the linker is likely to be dropped, as shown in (47) and (48)

- (45) Progressive (T. Ju|'hoan, Dickens 1992: 9)

tè hā sin n|ún tè !àäh cècèàkhòè
and PRO1 just stand LNK run go.back-and-forth
‘And he just kept running back and forth.’

- (46) Progressive (+Kx. Ju|'hoan, Biese 2009: 13)

ha glae cu te ku 'm ka laihnsi
PRO1 then lay.SG LNK IPFV eat PRO3 3.tree-PL
‘He spent a long time eating the trees.’

- (47) Progressive (O. !Xun, Heikkinen 1987: 52)

ká'e hā 'n|áñ ké !áó hè dèbé sú ké köré gùmì
when PRO1 sit.SG PST move CLCO 2.children go.walking PST herd 3.cattle
‘When he was moving, and the children were herding the cows [...].’

- (48) Progressive (E. !Xun, Heine & König 2015: 72)

tà cā ndò'ā cú ā ú tà ndò'ā cú ā ú
and DU DIST lay.SG PROG go and DIST lay.SG PROG go
'And they two were continuously going and going.'

+ Certain contexts permit a reading in terms of accompany position

> note, however, the repetition of posture verbs in (49) and (50a) that appears to be necessary in order to express the posture/position explicitly

- (49) Progressive/Position (+Kx. Ju|'hoan, Bieseile et al. 2009: 4)

tè hā tsí glàè n/áng te n/áng tè kíí gara-a hā kò hì
and PRO1 come arrive sit.SG and sit.SG LNK IPFV ask-VE PRO1 MPO PRO4
'Then he (Glara) came and sat down and was asking him [in a sitting position] for it.'

- (50a) Progressive/Position (E. !Xun, Heine & König 2015: 72)

cŋ gëhjí má xājí g!hō tà g!hō a !hàn g/x'ā
PRO2 other CTR then sit.PL and sit.PL PROG crack 1.manketti
'They were sitting and cracking manketti nuts [in a sitting position].'

- (50b) Progressive (E. !Xun, Heine & König 2015: 100)

híí ndò'ā g!hō-ē !hàn g/x'ā
PRO4 DIST sit.PL-PST crack 1.manketti
'Those who were cracking manketti nuts.'

+ Why use different posture verbs to express same function?

> grammaticalisation of 'posture-specific' progressive expressions common in languages spoken by hunter-gatherer communities in the Kalahari (Nakagawa 2016 for G|ui; also Kilian-Hatz 2002)

> exact distinctions encoded by different progressives in Ju needs targeted research (our 'translations' remain poor until then) – a promising and quirky areal shared by unrelated languages thousands of kilometres apart ☺

3.2.4 'Manner verbs'

+ A class of verbs expressing the manner in which a verb is carried out typically arise in the PCC

> can be used as main verbs, as in (51), but the event being described is contextually given

- (51) (+Kx. Ju|'hoan, Bieseile et al. 2009: 72)

॥'a larikxaoma to'a ku n!o'o
DEM adolescent.1 DIST IPFV hurry

'That adolescent was hurrying.' (= growing fast as a foetus getting ready to be born)

+ Full construction including linker well represented across Ju dialects

> suggesting the construction is less grammaticalised? Linked to properties of the 'minor verb'?

- (52) Manner (Angola !Xun, Heine & König 2015: 274)

yà ndū'ā kē !xòlù dóngí tā dìisá tā ú
PRO1 DIST PST mount donki and be.slow LNK go
'He rode the donkey slowly.'

- (53) Manner (T. Ju|'hoan, Dickens 1992: 32)

hà n!o'o tè glàè !óá hà dshàú [...] tè hà dshàú n!o'o tè glàè sè
PRO1 be.fast LNK arrive tell PRO1 1.wife and PRO1 1.wife be.fast LNK arrive see
[When |'Hun got to the village,] he quickly told his wife [...] and she quickly went to see.'

- (54) Manner (+Kx. Ju|'hoan, Winberg et al. 2010: 63)

!hai jöá mani sì tè sin g!om tè glàè g!a'ama ú-á g/u-i!kx'a
1.hare NEG answer PRO2 and just be.quiet LNK arrive enter go-VE 3.bush-heart
'Hare did not respond to them and just quietly went into the bush.'

+ Interestingly, the linker is dropped in the domain of negation resulting in a construction segmentally identical to a serial verb construction, shown in (55) and (57)

> shared polarity is not achieved thus not an instance of verb serialisation?

- (55) Manner (T. Ju|'hoan, Dickens 1992: 17)

tè oa n!o'o tsí tè jú n/a'ngakhoe 'm zo
and NEG be.fast come and 2.people alone eat honey.4
'[he walked to the village] but didn't come quickly [enough] so the people ate the honey alone.'

- (56) Manner (T. Ju|'hoan, Dickens 1992: 17)

è-!á sin ॥áú tè glàán tè glòá tcí n/líí nlán
1EX-PL just well LNK spend.day and evening 3.thing certain happen
'We just spent the day well and in the evening something happened.'

- (57) Manner (+Kx. Ju|'hoan, Winberg et al. 2010: 63)

G/uih ye ko kxae dshau n!ani ko oa //au ae !hai
1.hyena REL PST have 2.woman three PST NEG well treat 1.hare
'[My grandson, my eyes are bad and the sun is setting], thus I do not see well.'

3.2.5 ‘Auxiliary verbs’

- + Final group of verbs include ‘start’, ‘try’ and ‘be able’ (‘secondary verbs?’) – referred to as ‘auxiliaries’ (Heine & König 2015) or complement taking verbs where *tè* functions as a complementiser (Dickens 2005: 54-55. The same argument is applied to *cè* ‘do again’ §3.2.2)
- > like manner verbs in §3.2.4 there is a near universal maintenance of the linker including with negation, as shown in (61) – albeit this is the sole example found
- > in !Xun, there is evidence of tense-aspect marking with the minor verb in (60) and (61)
- > the above seems to indicate a younger stage of grammaticalisation

(58) Auxiliary (T. Ju|'hoan, Dickens 2005: ??)

<i> Ae ani</i>	<i>tchoatchoa</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>kxui</i>	<i>/xoā</i>	<i>jaqni</i>
PN	start	LNK	play	COM	3.helicopter.toy
‘Ae ani began to play with the helicopter toy.’					

(59) Auxiliary (T. Ju|'hoan, Dickens 1992: ??)

<i>te</i>	<i>jù</i>	<i>ǂaun</i>	<i>ká</i>	<i>jù</i>	<i>n uri</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>/l'an</i>	<i>jù</i>	<i>dshau</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>!ha</i>
and 1EX must COMP 1EX try LNK give 1EX 1.woman MPO 3.meat											
‘And one must try to give one’s spouse (F) meat.’											

(60) Auxiliary (E. !Xun, König & Heine 2001: 110, 172)

<i>tà</i>	<i>cā</i>	<i>hí</i>	<i>kē</i>	<i> hà-g!áí</i>	<i>tè-ē</i>	<i>(< tà kē) ú</i>
and	DU	EMPH	PST	start	LNK-PST	go
‘And they started to go.’						

(61) Auxiliary (E. !Xun, König & Heine 2001: 172)

<i>hà</i>	<i> xōē</i>	<i>hà</i>	<i> ō-ē</i>	<i>bò</i>	<i>kā</i>	<i> háí</i>	<i>lxà</i>
PRO1	3.tail	PRO1	NEG-PST	be.able	LNK	pull	take.out
‘His tail, he [the hyena] was not able to pull [it] out.’							

(62) !Xun (Ekoka dialect, König & Heine 2015: 104, 105)

<i>hà</i>	<i>má</i>	<i>bò</i>	<i> </i>	<i>kí</i>	<i>gè'è</i>
PRO1	TOP	be.able	HAB	sing	
‘He is always able to sing.’					

(63) *mí* *má* *bò* *cj* *g/ú*

1SG	TOP	be.able	drink	3.water
‘I am able to drink water.’				

3.3 Summary

- + Formal variation observed position of tense-aspect marker in chain of asymmetric verbs derives from distinct multiverb constructions
- > diachronically, evidence that the V1-tense/aspect-V2 construction derives from a non-serialising construction involving a linker (attested synchronically in some dialects)
- > synchronically, even instances that are segmentally indistinguishable from a verb serialising construction superficially do **not** adhere to quintessential properties of a serial verb construction – further evidence from phonological studies would likely strengthen this claim
- > grammaticalisation seems strongest in !Xun and with posture verbs more generally
- > functional profile of the construction largely overlaps with asymmetric SVCs (see Table 2)

Verb form	Lexical semantics	Function in PCC
<i>gè</i>	‘to stay’, ‘to exit’	progressive, inchoative
<i>öhà</i>	‘to stay’, ‘to exit’	progressive
<i>cè</i>	to return	adverbial ‘again’, ‘also’; excessive
<i>n ang</i>	‘sit’	progressive, do sitting
<i>cú , sú</i>	‘lay’	progressive, do laying
<i>nhún</i>	‘stand’	progressive, do standing
<i>n!o'o</i>	hurry	do quickly
<i>dìisá</i>	slow	do slowly
<i>g om</i>	quiet	do quietly
<i>g dàn</i>	rest	spend the day VERB-ing
<i>n uri</i>	try	try
<i>tchoatchoa</i>	start	inchoative
<i> hà-g!áí</i>	start	inchoative
<i>bò</i>	be able	modal ‘can’

Table 2 Verbs found in the pseudo-consecutive construction and resulting function

- + In addition to verbs in Table 1, the muster is recognisable in a more idiomatic intensifier expression: *hò PRO_{AGR} /as tè* VERB ‘see/find oneself’, i.e., ‘very’ or ‘clearly’ (Dickens 2005: 90)

(64) Ju|'hoan (ǂKx'ao|'ae dialect, Bieseile et al. 2009: 64)

<i>Am</i>	<i>n/d</i>	<i>cè</i>	<i>tè</i>	<i>hò</i>	<i>hà</i>	<i>/ae</i>	<i>tè</i>	<i>khíú</i>
1.sun EVID do.also LNK find PRO3 self LNK hot								
‘The sun was really hot, too.’								

(65) Ju|'hoan (ǂKx. Ju|'hoan, Winberg et al. 2010: 55)

<i>Hatcekhoe</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>n/e'e</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ge</i>
why	Q	PRO1	COP	one	LNK	stay
‘Why are you staying alone?’						

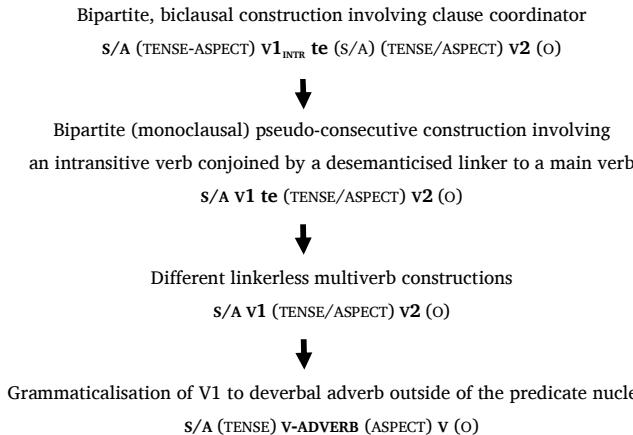


Figure 1 The diachrony of some asymmetric multiverb constructions in Ju languages

4 Final remarks and future research

- + This paper contributes to a more exhaustive description of multiverb constructions in their grammatical contexts/language use in Ju languages and thus the diversity of multiverb constructions in the Kalahari Basin Area
- + Previous analyses of serial verbs in Ju (e.g., König 2010, König & Heine 2015) equate a group syntactically/semantically heterogenous constructions
 - > present analysis restricted to asymmetric verbs with V1 minor verbs – further research could feasibly demonstrate diversity with respect to V2 minor verbs (and also symmetric serial verbs?)
 - > asymmetric vs. symmetric distinction in Ju is more of a smokescreen for unifying different under the banner ‘serial verb construction’ than a valid descriptive tool
- + Whilst targeted/controlled experiments may prove insightful to the present description – certain constructions/functions are difficult to elicit and require a text-based, bottom-up approach
- + Future research: comparison with other non-serialising MVCs in Kalahari Basin Area languages
 - > Regionally, some Kalahari Khoë languages have developed distinct multiverb constructions with overlapping functional profiles: the ‘verb-juncture’ construction (treated as an SVC, e.g. Kilian-Hatz 2006) is found across Kalahari Khoë: yet the ‘converb construction’ in (66) is unique to Khwe and ||Ani (Kilian-Hatz 2010) – languages in contact with Ju

(66) Continuous (Khwe, Kilian-Hatz 2008: 312)

||Úū-ṁ à #ò-à-hí nò xà-tcá //é-é-kò kúū-a-hí
father-M.SG O follow-JCT-PST CONJ DEM-3DU.M lie-JCT-CONJ walk-JCT-PST
Wùú-djì pòd-é-djì m̄ /'áé-ṁ à té-é-kò #àú-na-kó kúū-a-hí
hyena-F.SG jackal-3PL.F POS camp-3PL.M O stand-JCT-CONV pass-JCT-CONV walk-JCT-PST
‘The two followed their father and were always walking. [And] still walking, they pass the camps of the hyenas and jackals.’

- > functionally, the converb construction and the pseudo-consecutive construction exhibit numerous parallels and is used with very similar verbs – coincidence? Language contact?
- + Grammaticalisation of posture verbs for ‘posture-specific’ progressives with dynamic/motion verbs (Nakagawa 2016) appears to be feature of multiverb constructions of the Kalahari Basin Area – the exact progressive distinctions made in Ju languages should be explored systematically

Abbreviations

ART	article	LNK	linker
COM	comitative	M	masculine
COMP	complementiser	MPO	multipurpose oblique
CONJ	conjunction	NEG	negation
CONV	converb	NMZ	nominaliser
CTR	contrast	PCC	pseudo-consecutive construction
DEM	demonstrative	PL	plural
DIST	distal demonstrative	PN	personal name
DU	dual	PRO	pronoun
DUR	durative	PROG	progressive
EMPH	emphatic	PST	past
EVID	evidential	PURP	purpose
EX	exclusive	Q	question marker
F	feminine	REFL	reflexive
HAB	habitual	REL	relative
IN	inclusive	SG	singular
INSTR	instrumental	SUBJ	subjunctive
IPFV	imperfective	SVC	serial verb (construction)
JCT	juncture	TOP	topic
KBA	Kalahari Basin Area	V	verb
LOC	locative	VE	valency external

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