AFRIKA UND ÜBERSEE

Trilingual Journal of African Languages and Cultures
Revue trilingue des langues et cultures africaines
Dreisprachige Zeitschrift für afrikanische Sprachen und Kulturen

Volume 96

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DOI: 10.15460/auue.2023.96.1.327

Peer-reviewed article
Submitted: 17.02.2023
Accepted: 19.05.2023
Published: 16.12.2023

Recommended citation:
Andersen, Torben. 2023. Dependent clauses with the conjunction kṳ̀ 'and' in Dinka: Clause chaining in a non-SOV language. *Afrika und Übersee* 96. 1–51.

Published by Hamburg University Press

Dependent clauses with the conjunction *kụ̀* 'and' in Dinka: Clause chaining in a non-SOV language

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Abstract:
Dinka, a Western Nilotic language, has a construction in which a clause with dependent syntactic status is combined with a preceding clause of any type by means of the conjunction *kụ̀* 'and', which is also used for coordinating both noun phrases and independent clauses. Dependent *kụ̀*-clauses, which all have the same syntactic structure, do not express any particular semantic function and normally have fewer markers of tense, aspect and mood than the clause with which they are combined. But they are interpreted as having the same semantic function and generally also the same tense, aspect and mood as that clause.

Keywords: Dinka, Western Nilotic, conjunction, clause chaining, cosubordination

1 Introduction

This article explores an aspect of the syntax of Dinka, a Western Nilotic language spoken in South Sudan.[1] The purpose is to demonstrate that Dinka has a construction in which a clause with dependent syntactic status is combined with a preceding clause of any type by means of the conjunction *kụ̀* 'and', which is also used for coordinating both noun phrases and independent clauses. Dependent *kụ̀*-clauses, which all have the same syntactic structure, do not express any particular illocutionary force and inter-propositional semantic function (cf. Mann & Thompson 1987) and normally have fewer markers of tense, aspect and mood than the clause with which they are combined. But they are interpreted as having the same illocutionary force

1 I wish to thank my principal Dinka informants Isaac Maker, Kuyok Abol Kuyok, David Daniel Marial and Peter Gum Panther for their assistance. In addition, I wish to thank an anonymous reviewer for helpful comments on an earlier version of this article.

DOI 10.15460/auue.2023.96.1.327

or semantic function and generally also the same tense, aspect and mood as that clause. Depending on the preceding clause, a dependent *kụ̀*-clause like (1) could be interpreted as, for instance, 'and she cooked meat', 'and she used to cook meat', 'and is she cooking meat?', 'and if she cooks meat', 'and because she cooks meat', 'and so that she cooks meat', or 'and who is cooking meat'.

(1)	*kụ̀*	*t̪ɛ̀ɛɛl*	*rị́iŋ*
	and	cook.3SG	meat.SG

Thus, a sentence that includes a dependent *kụ̀*-clause may be said to be an instance of clause chaining of the initial-consecutive type (Longacre 1990, Longacre 2007, Dooley 2010), and the dependent *kụ̀*-clause itself may be said to be an instance of cosubordination (Olson 1981, Foley & Van Valin 1984, Van Valin & Lapolla 1997, Van Valin 2021), which contrasts with both coordination and subordination. However, a discussion of these notions is beyond the scope of the present article.

The article is organized as follows. Section 2 is a brief presentation of clause structure in Dinka, with a major distinction between NP-initial (and verb-second) clauses, verb-initial clauses, and particle-initial clauses. Section 3 is an introduction to tense, aspect and mood (TAM) in this language. Section 4 is a brief overview of the ways in which the conjunction *kụ̀* 'and' is used. Section 5 briefly describes the structure of dependent *kụ̀*-clauses, which are verb-initial, with respect to the form of the finite verb and the ways subjects are expressed. Section 6 shows (i) that the clause on which a dependent *kụ̀*-clause is dependent, i.e., the preceding clause, can be of any type, (ii) that the *kụ̀*-clause gets its illocutionary force and/or its semantic function from that clause, and (iii) that *kụ̀*-clauses are not necessarily semantically consecutive, that is, that they do not necessarily indicate the chronological order of events, but may also describe a simultaneous event or state. Section 7 illustrates that a dependent *kụ̀*-clause typically has fewer markers of tense, aspect and mood than the preceding clause on which it is dependent, but that it is to be interpreted as having the same tense, aspect and mood as that clause. Section 8 concludes the article.

The variety of Dinka dealt with here is the Agar dialect. The transcription uses IPA symbols. The Agar dialect has a ternary vowel length contrast between short (V), long (VV) and overlong (VVV), a

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binary phonation contrast in the vowel between modal voice quality (V) and breathy voice quality (V̤), and a ternary tonal contrast in the vowels between low (V̀), high (V́) and falling (V̂) (Andersen 1987). The phonation and tone diacritics are placed on the first of a sequence of vowel symbols.

The data on which this article is based were collected in South Sudan and Sudan during several periods between 1981 and 2009. Most of my text corpus was collected in Khartoum between 1988 and 1995. All of it is oral material, which contains the following genres: narrative, oral history, interview, personal history, song, and marriage negotiation.

Examples from my text corpus are marked by "(t.)" after the English translation. Other examples come from elicitation. When an example is a complex sentence, it is divided into clauses, which are ordered with numbers rather than letters. Some constituents consisting of more than one word are enclosed in brackets in the interlinear translation.

2 Clausal constituent structure

In terms of their initial constituent, apart from an initial conjunction, clauses are either NP-initial (and verb-second), verb-initial, or particle-initial (Andersen 2019). With few exceptions, the order of clausal constituents after the finite verb is strictly fixed (Andersen 2007, 2019). Syntactically, a verb stem is either intransitive, transitive, ditransitive or copulative. The morphology of verbs consists of a derivational stratum and an inflectional stratum. In the derivational stratum, derived verb stems such as antipassive, applicative, causative and centrifugal are formed from verbal roots. In the inflectional stratum, verb stems (whether underived or derived) may be inflected for e.g. subject.

2.1 NP-initial clauses

NP-initial clauses are declarative and begin with an NP in the nominative case, which is the citation form and which is morphologically unmarked. This NP is a clause-internal topic, as illustrated by the three propositionally synonymous clauses in (2). This topic NP may be, among others, a subject (2a), an object (2b) or an adjunct (2c).

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(2) a.

màrjàal	*à = t̪àt*	*màbò̤or*	*è̤*	*lé̤c.*
Marial.SG	D.SG = beat	Mabor.SG	[PREP	stick.SG]

‘Marial is beating Mabor with the stick.’

b.

màbò̤or	*à = t̪ɛ́ɛt*	*márjàal*
Mabor.SG	D.SG = beat.NST	Marial.SG.GEN
è̤	*lé̤c.*	
[PREP	stick.SG]	

c.

lé̤c	*à = t̪ɛ́ɛt*	*márjàal*	*màbò̤or.*
stick.SG	D.SG = beat.NST	Marial.SG.GEN	Mabor.SG

NP-initial clauses conform to the clause schema in (3) with ten slots in which the constituents occur if they are present (Andersen 2019).

(3)
1. Topic, expressed as a noun phrase in the morphologically unmarked nominative case. This noun phrase may be zero if third person.
2. Proclitic declarative marker, sg. *à* =, pl. *àa* = or *áa* =. As indicated in (5) below, other minor constituents may also occur between the topic and the finite verb.
3. Finite verb.
4. Subject, expressed as a noun phrase in the genitive case; this is glossed as genitive (GEN) only if the genitive case does not syncretize with the nominative case for the relevant noun phrase.
5. Plural marker *kè* ~ *ké* of a plural non-subject topic.
6. Expressed as a noun phrase in the nominative case: (i) the object of a transitive verb, or (ii) the first object of a ditransitive verb (either a patient or a beneficiary), or (iii) a body-part noun externally possessed by an intransitive or copulative subject.
7. One or more non-finite verbs.
8. A body-part noun externally possessed by the first or only object, in the nominative case.
9. Expressed as a noun phrase in the nominative case: either (i) the second object of a ditransitive verb (either a patient or a beneficiary) or (ii) a copula complement.
10. One or more adjuncts.

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The topic slot (3.1) may be empty, but in that case a third person pronominal element is implied as a covert topic, i.e. a topic expressed by zero. It is followed in position (3.2) by a declarative marker, which agrees with the topic for number, even when the topic is covert. Position (3.3) always contains a finite verb, which may be inflected for subject if the topic is object. If the subject, the object of a transitive verb, or an adjunct are not selected for the topic position, they occur in positions (3.4), (3.6) and (3.10), respectively. The finite verb may be an auxiliary, and in that case the main verb occurs in position (3.7) in non-finite form, optionally together with one or more additional auxiliary verbs in non-finite form preceding the semantically main verb. The second object of a ditransitive verb or the complement of a copulative verb occurs in position (3.9), and cannot be topicalized. A body-part noun externally possessed by an intransitive or copulative subject occurs in position (3.6), and a body-part noun externally possessed by a first or only object occurs in position (3.8). A plural non-subject topic is optionally cross-referenced by the plural marker *kè* ~ *ké* in position (3.5).

The finite verb has an inflectionally unmarked form if the topic is subject, as in (4a). The declarative marker is a proclitic and therefore not part of the inflection of the verb, and it may be separated from the verb, cf. (5) and (12.2) below. By contrast, the finite verb has an inflectionally marked form if the topic is not subject. Before a nominal subject the finite verb has a form glossed as NST (for "having a non-subject topic"), as in (4c). Here the topic *màkɛ̰̀er* 'Maker' is an adjunct, since in postverbal position this participant would be expressed as the prepositional phrase *(n)ɛ̰̀ màkɛ̰̀er*. A pronominal subject is expressed in the finite verb if the topic is object, as in (4b), where the topic *tìim* 'tree' is object. But a pronominal subject is expressed by a free pronoun if the topic is an adjunct (unless the subject is unspecified), and in that case the finite verb has the NST form. An unspecified subject, which is glossed as UNSP and translated as passive, is expressed in the finite verb whether the topic is an object or an adjunct.

(4) a. *djɑ̰̀ar* *áa=cɛ̰̀n* *pɪ̰̈iw.*
woman.PL D.PL=not_have water.PL
'The women have no water.' (t.)

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b. *tɨ̈ɨm* *à=jép-kɨ̤̀.*
tree.SG D.SG=cut-1PL
'We are cutting the tree.'

c. *màkɛ̤̂er* *à=bɛ́ɛ̤̀ɛr* *márjàal.*
Maker.SG D.SG=be_tall.NST Marial.SG.GEN
'Marial is taller than Maker.'

In addition to the declarative marker, other minor constituents may occur in preverbal position, where they may co-occur with each other and with the declarative particle (Andersen 2016). In this way there are six slots before the finite verb, as shown in (5).

(5) 1. Topic.
2. Assertive particle *k=*.
3. Declarative marker, sg. *à=*, pl. *àa=* or *áa=*.
4. Past tense particle *ɛ̤̀*.
5. Pronominal cross-reference of the topic.
6. Negation *cɛ̤̀* or irrealis marker *d(j)ɛ̤̀*.

The assertive proclitic *k=*, which weakly emphasizes the truth value of a clause with the declarative marker, occurs in position (5.2) between the topic and the declarative marker. The past tense particle *ɛ̤̀* occurs in position (5.4), but fuses with a preceding declarative marker. In the presence of the past tense particle, the topic is cross-referenced pronominally in position (5.5), but with 3SG being zero. The negation *cɛ̤̀* or the irrealis marker *d(j)ɛ̤̀* occurs in position (5.6) immediately before the finite verb.

2.2 Verb-initial clauses

Verb-initial clauses conform to clause schema (3), except that they lack the first two slots. Examples of such clauses are questions (6a), orders (6b), sequential clauses beginning with the sequential auxiliary verb *góo*, which have a declarative function (6c)[2], relative clauses (6d), and temporal or conditional clauses with the conjunction *nàa* 'when, if' (6e) or *tɛ̤̀* 'when, if' (6f). The relative clause in (6d) is verb-initial since it begins with the auxiliary verb *cɛ̤́*. That this is a

2 That the sequential auxiliary verb is indeed a verb is shown by the fact that it is inflected like a verb, cf. Andersen (2007: 93).

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verb is evidenced by the facts that it takes the position of a finite verb and that it is inflected like a verb, as shown in Andersen (2007: 93).

(6) a.

nɛ̤̀ɛk	*t̪ɔ̤̀ɔk?*
kill.3SG	goat.SG

'Is he killing a goat?'

b.

mwɔ́ɔc	*à*	*t̪òk*	*ḛ̀*	*màcér!*
give.2SG	[1SG	mouth.SG]	PREP	tobacco.SG

'Give my mouth tobacco!' (t.)

c.

góo	*márjàal*	*mèt̪*	*t̪âat.*
SEQ	Marial.SG.GEN	child.SG	beat.NF

'Then Marial beat the child.'

d.

ɟɔ̤́ŋ	*cḛ́*	*mèt̪*	*câam*
dog.SG.CS1	[PF	child.SG	eat.NF]

'the dog which has bitten the child'

e.

nàa	*bɔ̤́*	*àɟḭ́t̪, […].*
if	come	chicken.SG.GEN

'If a chicken comes, […].' (t.)

f.

tḛ̀	*t̪ṵ́uɲ*	*kéek*	*rɔ̤̀ot̪, […].*
if	eliminate.NST	3PL.GEN	hippopotamus.PL

'If they eliminate the hippopotami, […].' (t.)

In a verb-initial clause the subject is always overtly expressed, but a third person object or adjunct may be covert. If there is no covert constituent, a pronominal subject is expressed in the verb, as in (6a–b). A nominal subject, on the other hand, is preceded by the inflectionally unmarked form of the verb, as in (6c–e). If there is a covert object or a covert adjunct, the finite verb (whether a lexical verb or an auxiliary) has the NST form before a subject NP. This is seen in the question (7a) and in the relative clause in (7b), where the object is covert. It is also seen in the question (8) and in the purposive clause (9.2), where there is a covert adjunct with instrumental meaning. Inside the relative clause in (7b) the object, which is coreferential with the head *kḛ́* 'thing', is covert in the sense of being zero.

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(7) a. *méɛɛn* *tɪ̀ɪk?*
hate.NST woman.SG
'Does the woman hate him?'

b. *kɛ́* *céɛm* *mɪ̀ɪ̰t̰*
thing.SG.CS1 [eat.NST child.PL]
'what children eat'

(8) *cɪ̰́ɪ* *ŋá* *tɔ̰ɔ̰ŋ* *kwêem?*
PF.NST who.GEN pot.SG break.NF
'Who has broken the pot with it?'

(9) 1. *àn* *à=gɔ́ɔ̰r* *ɛ̀* *páal*
1SG D.SG=search.AP [PREP knife.SG]
'I want a knife'

2. *báan* *àŋɪ̀t̰* *téeem* *rɔ́ɔ̰l.*
FUT.NST.1SG.GEN chicken.SG cut.NF throat.SG
'in order to slaughter a chicken with it.'

In clauses with a covert adjunct a pronominal subject is not expressed in the verb (unless it is an unspecified subject), but is expressed by a free pronoun after the NST form of the verb, as in (9.2), where the phonological word *báan* is a contraction of the future auxiliary verb *bɪ́ɪ* (FUT.NST) and the subject *ɰéɛn* (1SG.GEN). Some types of adverbial clauses always require the NST form of the verb (except when the subject is unspecified), for instance clauses beginning with the conjunction *tɛ̰̀* 'when, if' as in (6f); so such clauses behave like clauses in which there is a covert adjunct.

2.3 Particle-initial clauses

Particle-initial clauses also conform to clause schema (3), except that instead of the first two slots they begin with a particle which is followed by an NP before the finite verb. This NP may have the same grammatical relations to the verb as the preverbal NP of a NP-initial clause, being either a subject, an object, or an adjunct. Examples of particle-initial clauses are main clauses beginning with the particle *kɛ̀* 'then', which are declarative but have no declarative marker (10.2); adverbial clauses beginning with the conjunctive particle *(k)ɛ́* 'while' (11.2); and adverbial clauses in which the particle *cɛ̀*

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'not' occurs after the conjunction *náa* ~ *nàa* 'when, if' (12.1). The negation *cɛ̣̈* is not an auxiliary verb since it cannot be inflected. As seen in (10.2), a 3SG pronominal preverbal NP is zero, while other pronominal preverbal NPs have the short shape CV, like *ɰò* 'we' in (12.1). In NP-initial clauses, by contrast, pronominal preverbal NPs have a longer form ending in a consonant (except that third person pronouns normally are zero in that position). The auxiliary verb *cɪ̰̈ɪ̈* in (11.1) expresses an unspecified subject (translated as passive), and therefore it does not have the NST form.

(10) 1. *wä̰n* *jö̰ok* *jéen* *tɪ̈ɪk* *bàaaj*
when find.NST 3SG.GEN woman.SG home.LOC
é *tö̰k,*
[3SG one]
'When he found the woman alone in the house,'[3]

2. *kɛ̣̈* *ʈjɛ́ɛc* *ɛ̣̀* *pɪ̰̈ɪ̈w.*
then ask.AP [PREP water.PL]
'then he asked for water.' (t.)

(11) 1. *rɔ́w* *à=cɪ̰̈ɪ̈* *nɔ̰̈ɔk*
hippopotamus.SG D.SG=PF.UNSP kill.NF
tôooc
swamp.LOC
'A hippopotamus has been killed in the swamp'

2. *kɛ̰́̈* *kɔ̀c* *má̰̈j.*
while person.PL fish.AP.H
'while people were fishing.' (t.)

(12) 1. *náa* *cɛ̣̈* *ɰò* *ʈjáj*
if NEG 1PL separate.H
'If we don't separate,'

2. *kɛ̣̈* *ràaan* *tö̰k* *à=cɛ̣̈*
then [person.SG.CS2 one] D.SG=NEG

3 The phrase *é tö̰k* is what yields the meaning of 'alone'.

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bɛ́ɛr *lɑ̀j.*
take_along.NST animal.SG.GEN
'an animal cannot attack one person.'

If there is more than one preverbal particle, the preverbal NP occurs after the first of them, as in the question (13), where *tùik* 'woman' occurs between the past tense particle *ɛ̀* and the negation particle *cɛ̀*. The past tense marker *ɛ̀* is not an auxiliary verb since it cannot be inflected.

(13) *ɛ̀* *tùik* *cɛ̀* *ṭàal* *mjɛ̀ɛṭ?*
PST woman.SG NEG cook food.SG
'Was the woman not cooking food?'

3 Tense, aspect and mood (TAM)

As will be illustrated in section 7, a dependent *kù*-clause normally has fewer markers of tense, aspect and mood than the clause on which it is dependent. The purpose of the present section, therefore, is to overview the structural elements of the tense-aspect-mood (TAM) system of the Agar dialect of Dinka. This overview is not intended as an exhaustive description of the semantics of the TAM markers.

3.1 Introduction to TAM

In Dinka, verbs are not inflected for tense, aspect or mood (TAM). But all of these semantic categories are to some extent expressed by means of auxiliary verbs or particles, so they have to be recognized as belonging to the grammar of Dinka. The inventory of such words with a tense, aspect or mood function in the Agar dialect of Dinka is shown in Table 1. It consists of four primary auxiliary verbs (Andersen 2007), shown in their inflectionally unmarked form, and three particles (Andersen 2016). These TAM words are discussed in the following subsections, with underlining in the interlinear translation.

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Table 1. Words with tense, aspect or mood function in the Agar dialect of Dinka

Word class	Form	Label
Auxiliary verbs	*cɛ̱́* ~ *cɪ̱́*	Perfect (PF)
	kɛ̱̂ec ~ *kɪ̱̂ic*	Negative perfect (NEG.PF)
	bɛ̱́	Future (FUT)
	èe or *jèe*	Habitual (HAB)
Particles	sg. *à*, pl. *áa* or *àa*	Declarative (D)
	ɛ̱̀ or *ɛ́*	Backgrounded past tense (PST)
	djɛ̱̀ ~ *dɛ̱̀*	Irrealis (IRR)

3.2 The perfect auxiliary verbs *cɛ̱́* (PF) and *kɛ̱̂ec* (NEG.PF)

The perfect auxiliary verb *cɛ̱́* ~ *cɪ̱́* (PF) and its negative counterpart *kɛ̱̂ec* ~ *kɪ̱̂ic* (NEG.PF) often or mostly have perfect meaning. In (14) *cɛ̱́* thus indicates that the (present or past) situation denoted by the proposition is the result of a prior event. This is perhaps most clearly seen in 'while'-clauses (14b) and relative clauses (14c). In (14b) *cɛ́ ṭòw* means 'he has/had died', indicating a state which results from the event of dying.

(14) a. *ɯɻ̱̂ak=k-wà* *áa=cɛ̱̀* *ḍ̱wɔ̱́ok*
cow.PL.CS2=PL-1PL D.PL=PF.3SG return.APPL.NF
ɯɻ̱ò.[4]
1PL
'He has returned our cows to us.' (t.)

b. *kɯ̱̀* *dɔ̱̂ɔŋ* *àdwɛ̀ɛr* *kɛ̱́* *cɛ̱́* *ṭòw.*
and remain Aduer.SG [while PF die.NF]
'and Aduer remained, while dead.' (t.)

c. *nòoon* *cɪ̱̂ɪ̈* *nàaj*
grass.SG.CS1 [PF.UNSP twist.NF]
'twisted grass' (Lit. 'grass which has been twisted') (t.)

4 The finite auxiliary verb *cɛ̱̀* expresses a third person singular subject, while the verb *ḍ̱wɔ̱́ok* 'return' is the main verb with non-finite form.

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Some speakers also use *cɛ̱́* as a perfective past tense marker, as in (15).

(15) *kɛ̱̀* *àŋɛ̱̀ɟòooŋ* *àa=cɛ̱́* *bɛ̱̂ɛn* *ɛ̱̀* *wêɛɛj*
then vulture.PL D.PL=PF come.NF [PREP [chyme.SG
ìc.
stomach.SG]]
'then the vultures came to a chyme.' (t.)

Other speakers only use *cɛ̱́* as a perfective past tense marker in combination with another auxiliary verb, especially the non-finite form bɐ̱̀nɛ́, which literally means 'come and do', as in (16.2). The perfect auxiliary verb form *cɐ̱̂i* in (16.2) expresses an unspecified subject.

(16) 1. *wɐ́n* *cɐ̱̂i-nɛ̱̀* *jè* *gâam* *ɛ̱̀*
when PF-UNSP.CT 3SG agree.NF [by
râaan *ɛ́bɐ́n,*
person.SG.GEN all]
'When it was agreed upon by everybody,'

2. *kɔ̀c* *àa=cɐ̱̂i* *bɐ̀nɛ́* *kwâaŋ.*
person.PL D.PL=PF.UNSP come_and_do.NF pick.NF
'people were nominated [...].' (t.)

The perfect auxiliary verb *cɛ̱́* does not combine with the negation *cɛ̱̀*. Instead, the negative perfect auxiliary verb *kɛ̱̂ec* is used; that is, the negative counterpart of (17a) is (17b).

(17) a. *tùik* *à=cɛ̱́* *mjɛ̱̀ɛ̱̀t* *t̪áaal.*
woman.SG D.SG=PF food.SG cook.NF
'The woman has cooked food.'

b. *tùik* *à=kɛ̱̂ec* *mjɛ̱̀ɛ̱̀t* *t̪áaal.*
woman.SG D.SG=NEG.PF food.SG cook.NF
'The woman has not cooked food.'

In (18) the negative perfect auxiliary is used in a relative clause.

(18) *kɛ̱̀* *jɐ̱̂in* *à=cɛ̱̀* *bêer-ɛ̱̀* *lâat*
then 2SG D.SG=NEG do_again-UNSP insult.NF

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è̤ *ràn* *kê̤ec-è̤* *gɔ́ɔɔr* *n̪òm.*
[by person.SG.CS1 [NEG.PF-UNSP mark.NF head.SG]]
'then you are not insulted again by somebody whose head has not been marked.' (t.)

3.3 The future auxiliary verb *bé̤* (FUT)

The future auxiliary verb *bé̤* (FUT) is used for expressing future tense, as in (19) and (20.1). But it is also used for introducing a purposive (or resultative) clause, as in (20.2).[5]

(19) *lwò̤ok* *àa=bî̤i* *t̪â̤aap* *ɲ̪jà̤ak.*
case.PL D.PL=FUT.UNSP finish.NF tomorrow
'The cases will be finalized tomorrow.' (t.)

(20) 1. *bòolìiit̪* *áa=bà* *tóooc*
policeman.PL D.PL=FUT.1SG send.NF
'I will send the police'
2. *bì̤ik* *kɔ́c* *lɛ̤̂ɛk.*
FUT.3PL person.PL inform.AP.APPL.NF
'to inform people.' (t.)

3.4 The habitual auxiliary verb *èe* (HAB)

The habitual auxiliary verb *èe* (HAB), which is homonymous with the copula verb 'be', expresses habitual meaning, as in (21). When the habitual auxiliary verb combines with the past tense particle, it expresses 'habitual in the past', as in (23) below. After a word ending in a vowel, the habitual auxiliary verb begins with the glide /j/, as in (23a) below.

(21) a. *àrjô̤ooc* *èe* *mjè̤et̪=k-è* *mṳ̂uk.*
coward.SG D.SG.HAB child.PL.CS2=PL-3SG hold.NF
'A coward feeds his children.' (a proverb) (t.)

5 In (20.2) the purposive clause refers to the future, but such a clause may also refer to the past.

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b.	*ée*	*màaṱ*	*ḛ̀*	*bâaŋgè?*
	HAB.2SG	smoke.AP.NF	[PREP	opium.SG]
	Do you smoke opium?' (t.)			

3.5 The past tense particle ḛ̀ or ḛ́ (PST)

The past tense particle *ḛ̀* or *ḛ́* (PST) is not used in event-line clauses in narratives, but it is used in clauses which provide background information in narratives, where it can be characterized as a marker of imperfective past tense. In (22) it occurs in clauses without any auxiliary verb, here fusing with the plural declarative marker into *áa*.

(22) a. *bɛ̰̂ɛɛj=k-éen* *áa* *kè* *ṯjá̰aak.*[6]
home.PL.CS2=PL-3PL D.PL.PST 3PL be_near.REC
'Their homes were near each other.' (t.)

b. *kɔ̂ɔc* *àbɛ̰́ɛk* *áa* *kè* *mɛ̰̂ɛc*
[person.PL.CS1 part.PL] D.PL.PST 3PL tie.AP
ḛ̀ *ɰɔ̰́k* *ḛ̀* *lwák* *cṳ́ok.*
[PREP cow.PL] [PREP [shrine.SG foot.SG]]
'Some people were herding around the shrine.' (t.)

In (23) the past tense particle combines with the habitual auxiliary verb. In (23a), the past tense form *ḛ̀/ḛ́* fuses with the singular declarative marker *à* into *ée*.

(23) a. *tôoc* *ée* *jèe* *mà̰aj*
swamp.SG D.SG.PST HAB spend_dry_season.NF
ké *pḭ̂iw.*
[COM water.PL]
'The swamp used to remain with water during winter.' (t.)

b. *áa* *kêe* *cáaṱ* *ḛ̀pátˌ.*
D.PL.PST 3PL.HAB walk.NF just
'They used to walk naked.' (t.)

In (24) the past tense particle combines with the perfect auxiliary verbs.

6 The morpheme *-k* in *bɛ̰̂ɛɛj=k-éen* 'their homes' indicates plural possessum, not plural possessor.

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(24) a. *kṳ̀ rò̤ot̪ áa kè cé̤ d̪jè̤t̪*
and hippopotamus.PL D.PL.PST 3PL PF bear.AP.NF
àpɛ̂ɛj.
very_much
'And hippopotami had multiplied in great number.' (t.)

b. *jêen ée kî̤ic dâac bɛ̤̂ɛn*
3SG D.SG.PST PF.NEG do_soon.NF come.NF
nè̤ wɛ̤́ɛt è̤ mɛ́ɛc è̤
[PREP [word.SG.CS1 [of [be_far.NMLZ.SG.CS1 of
píɲ.
land.SG.GEN]]]]
'He had not turned up early, due to the remoteness of his home.' (t.)

The past tense particle is also used in clauses where it is presupposed that the event described by the verb has taken place, as in (25).

(25) a. *è̤ rɔ́w ná̤k*
PST hippopotamus.SG kill.UNSP
tjôow?
place.SG.CS1.which.SG.ESS/ABL
'Where was the hippopotamus killed?' (t.)

b. *mjàar=d-jè̤ ée d̪jé̤et̪ wɛ̤̀ɛ*
bull.SG.CS2=SG-1SG D.SG.PST give_birth.UNSP [P3
rṳ́ut.
autumn.LOC]
'My male calf was born last autumn.'

The uses of the past tense particle as expressing (i) imperfective past tense and (ii) event presupposition seem to have in common that they mark (part of) the proposition as backgounded.

Event-line clauses in narratives typically begin with either the sequential auxiliary verb *góo* (SEQ), as in (26), or with the word *kè̤* 'then', as in (27)–(28). A clause with *kè̤* 'then' is normally preceded by a temporal clause or some other time adjunct which establishes a point in time at which the event of the main clause took place, as in (27)–(28). A *kè̤*-clause without the declarative marker (with *kè̤*

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counting as a particle) is a statement about a specific past event, as in (27.2). By contrast, a *kɛ̈*-clause with the declarative marker (with *kɛ̈* not counting as a particle) is a statement about a past or non-past habitual situation, as in (28.2) which describes a past habitual situation.

(26) 1. *gòo* *kwä̱ak* *jɪ̈ɪɪẗ* *pɪ̀ŋ.*
SEQ.3SG catch.CF.NF ear.PL ground.ALL
'Then he seized its ears.'

2. *góo* *àɟwɔ̀ɔɔŋ* *íc* *ŋɛ̀ɛɛr.*
SEQ lion.SG stomach.SG.EP collapse.NF
'Then the lion got frightened.' (Lit. 'Then the lion's stomach collapsed') (t.)

(27) 1. *nâa* *ɯɔ̀n* *n̪jä̱̈ak,*
when.be.3SG P4 tomorrow
'The following morning,'

2. *kɛ̈* *bä̱ŋ* *rjɛ̈ɛel* *tɛ̈n* *ɛ̈*
then chief.SG go_early.CP [place.SG.CS1.ALL of
lwö̱ok.
case.PL]
'the chief came early to the cases.' (t.)

(28) 1. *nàa* *mä̱j* *kɔ̀c,*[7]
when fish.AP.H person.PL.GEN
'When people fished,'

2. *kɛ̈* *rö̱o̱ẗ* *âa* *kɔ̀c*
then hippopotamus.PL D.PL.HAB person.PL
côop.
chase.NF
'hippopotami used to chase people.' (t.)

7 It seems that (28.1) is neutral with respect to the distinction between habitual and non-habitual meaning.

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3.6 The irrealis particle *djɛ̱̀* ~ *dɛ̱̀* (IRR)

The irrealis particle *djɛ̱̀* (IRR), with the shortened variant *dɛ̱̀*, has counterfactual meaning, as illustrated in (29).

(29) a. *ée* *dɛ̱̀* *cɛ̱́* *t̪òw.*
D.SG.PST IRR PF die.NF
'He would have died.' [but he didn't] (t.)

b. *nàŋ* *ɛ̱́* *kɛ̱̂ɛc* *là* *kôoɲ,*
if PST NEG.PF.1SG go_and_do.NF help.NF
'If I had not helped him,'
ée *dɛ̱̀* *cɛ̱́* *môow.*
D.SG.PST IRR PF drown.MID.NF
'he would have drowned.'

4 Coordination with *kṵ̀* 'and'

The conjunction *kṵ̀* 'and' may conjoin both noun phrases and independent clauses. In addition, it conjoins a dependent clause with the clause on which that clause is syntactically dependent.

Two or more noun phrases may be conjoined by placing the coordinative conjunction *kṵ̀* 'and' between them. In (30) the simple NP *d̪ɔ̱̀k* 'boy' and the complex NP *ɲàn ɛ̱̀ márjàal* 'Marial's daughter' are conjoined so that that they constitute an NP. In (30), this conjoined NP occurs in the preverbal NP position in a clause with the declarative marker, and it is the subject of the verb *bɔ̱́* 'come'.

(30) *d̪ɔ̱̀k* *kṵ̀* *ɲàn* *ɛ̱̀* *márjàal*
[boy.SG and [girl.SG.CS1 of Marial.SG.GEN]]
àa=bɔ̱́.
D.PL=come
'A boy and Marial's daughter are coming.'

The same conjunction may also conjoin independent clauses. In (31)–(32), two declarative clauses with the declarative marker are conjoined in this way.

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(31) 1.

pı̤̂iw	*è̤*	*pwò̤ot*	*âa*	*kɔ̤̂ɔɔc,*
[water.PL.CS1	of	pool.PL]	D.PL.HAB	stand.NF

‘Water in pools remains stagnant,’

2.

kṳ̀	*ká̤k*	*è̤*	*ɲı̤́iin*	*âa*
and	[thing.PL.CS1	of	tributary.PL]	D.PL.HAB
ríiŋ	*wı̤́iir.*			
run.NF	river.LOC			

‘and tributaries run to the river.’ (t.)

(32) 1.

tjôop	*áa=cè̤*	*pát̤,*
soil.PL	D.PL=NEG	be_good.H

‘The soils are infertile,’

2.

kṳ̀	*áa=lè̤w*	*bı̤̀ik*	*dâac*
and	D.PL=be_able	[FUT.3PL	do_quickly.NF
jìit.			
erode.NF]			

‘and they are liable to erosion.’ (t.)

The fact that the conjunction *kṳ̀* used for conjoining NPs is also used for conjoining independent clauses seems to make Dinka rather exceptional among African languages. Thus, Welmers (1973: 305) mentions that “in any African language to which I have had sufficient exposure to find out”, the word for ‘and’ used for conjoining NPs cannot be used for joining verbs or sentences. Creissels et al. (2008: 139) make the same generalization:

> “[…] in most African languages, the morpheme used as the equivalent of English *and* in noun phrase coordination (which generally also serves as the comitative adposition ‘with’ [...]) cannot be used for clause coordination. Exceptions to this generalization are only sporadic, and never extend to entire families or areas.”

Some other Western Nilotic languages are like Dinka in that a conjunction meaning ‘and’ can be used for coordination of both clauses and noun phrases. This is the case with Mabaan *ʔɔ́cé* ‘and’, Jumjum *ʔáŋ* ‘and’, Kurmuk *ʔòo* ‘and’, Surkum *ùu* ‘and’, and Regariik *wà* ‘and’. These five languages all belong to the Burun branch of the Western Nilotic family.

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The third use of the conjunction *kṳ̀* 'and' is found in clauses which are dependent on a preceding clause, but which are not embedded in that clause. An example of this is seen in (33). Here *kṳ̀* contrasts with the conjunction *ká* 'or', which in the same way is dependent on the preceding clause, as in (34). The structure of dependent *kṳ̀*-clauses is illustrated in the next section, but dependent clauses with 'or' have the same structure as dependent *kṳ̀*-clauses.

(33) *ŧjów* *èe* *kɔ̀c* *pɛ̰̀ɛn*
guinea_worm.SG D.SG.HAB person.PL refuse.APPL.NF
cə̰̀aṯ, *kṳ̀* *nɛ̰̀ɛk* *kɔ̰̀k*
walk.NMLZ.SG and kill.3SG some.PL
'Guinea worm prevents people from walking and kills some' (t.)

(34) *tɛ̰̀* *cə̰̀ín* *àwwɔ̰̀oc* *lôooj,*
if PF.NST.2SG.GEN mistake.SG do.NF
'If you have made a mistake,'
kɛ̰̀ *jə̰̀in* *à=nɔ̰̀ok,* *ká* *mác* *jə̰̀ […].*
then 2SG D.SG=hang.UNSP or tie.UNSP 2SG
'you are hung or imprisoned […].' (t.)

5 Structure of dependent *kṳ̀*-clauses

This section describes the internal structure of dependent *kṳ̀*-clauses. The relation of such clauses to the clauses on which they are dependent is discussed in sections 6 and 7.

Dependent *kṳ̀*-clauses are mostly verb-initial, but they can also be particle-initial since they may be negative, in which case the particle *cɛ̰̀* 'not' precedes the verb. As in other verb-initial clauses, the subject is always overtly expressed by either a noun phrase or by inflection of the finite verb. Further, as discussed in section 2, the form of the finite verb and the expression of the subject depend on whether or not there is a covert object or adjunct. This is illustrated with textual examples of *kṳ̀*-clauses in (35)–(41). They are translated in such a way that they fit the textual context from which they have been extracted.

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As discussed in section 2.2, in the absence of a covert participant, the finite verb has the inflectionally unmarked form before a nominal subject. This is illustrated in (35), where the finite verb is the main verb, and in (36), where the finite verb is an auxiliary. In the (a)-clauses the main verb is intransitive, in the (b)-clauses it is transitive.

(35) a. *kṳ̈ dɔ̰̈ɔŋ àwàn cɛ̰̈een*
and remain fox.SG.GEN back.ALL
'and the fox remained behind' (t.)

b. *kṳ̈ ṭjɛ̰̀ec méɛɛn cóol*
and ask Mayen.SG Col.SG
'and Mayen asked Col' (t.)

(36) a. *kṳ̈ cɛ̰́ tòoc pjàaṭ àrɛ̰̈et*
and PF swamp.SG.GEN be_good.NF very_much
'and the swamp had become very nice' (t.)

b. *kṳ̈ ɟɔ́l àmɪ̈́ɖòoo rö̰ot*
and do_then.H greedy_person.PL self.PL
tɔ̰́ɔɔŋ
say_goodbye_to.NF
'and in the end the greedies said good-bye to one another' (t.)

When there is no covert participant, a pronominal subject is expressed in the finite verb, as illustrated in (37), where the finite verb is the only verb and therefore the main verb. The verb is intransitive in (37a), transitive in (37b), and ditransitive in (37c).

(37) a. *kṳ̈ ṭòow*
and die.3SG
'and it died' (t.)

b. *kṳ̈ jö̰ok dít róoor*
and find.3SG bird.SG forest.LOC
'and he found the bird in the forest' (t.)

c. *kṳ̈ nɛ̰́ɛk kè mwɔ̀ɔr ɛ̰̀*
and kill.APPL.3SG 3PL [bull.SG.CS1 of

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wòŋ
cow.sg.gen]
'and he slew a bull for them' (t.)

If there is a covert object, a nominal subject is preceded by the NST form of the verb (38), while a pronominal subject is expressed in the verb (39) in the same way as when there is no covert object. The clauses in (38)–(39) are analyzed as having an object-topic because the object is zero.

(38) *kṳ̀* *bwɔ́ɔɔt* *ràn* *ṭ̈ïṭ̈*
and follow.NST [person.SG.CS1 be_brown]
'and an Egyptian followed him' (t.)

(39) a. *kṳ̀* *cóop-kṳ̀* *wéj*
and chase.CF-3PL away
'and they chased him away' (t.)

b. *kṳ̀* *ṭ̈jɑ́k*
and bury.UNSP
'and he was buried' (t.)

If there is a covert adjunct, a nominal subject is preceded by the NST form of the verb (40a), in the same way as when there is a covert object. However, in contrast with a *kṳ̀*-clause with a covert object, in a *kṳ̀*-clause with a covert adjunct a pronominal subject is expressed by a pronoun (in the genitive case), which is also preceded by the NST form of the verb (40b). In (40a–b), the finite verb is the habitual auxiliary verb *jée*, and the main verb is intransitive. The phonological form *jṳ̈ïn* in (40b) is a contraction of *jée* and the 2SG subject *jṳ̈ïn*. In (40a) the covert adjunct refers to a place, which is resumed by the proform *ṭ̈ín* 'in it' in the adjunct slot of the clause. In (40b) the covert adjunct seems to correspond to a prepositional phrase with the general purpose preposition *nɛ̈̀*, and it refers to a language.

(40) a. *kṳ̀* *jée* *dɛ̈ɛ̈ŋ* *twɛ̀ɛŋ* *ṭ̈ín*
and HAB.NST rain.PL rain.NF PRO.ESS/ABL
àpɛ̂ɛj
very_much
'and rains rained heavily there' (t.)

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b. *kṳ̀* *jɪ̈̀n* *ɟàam*
and HAB.NST.2SG.GEN speak.NF
'and so that you speak it' (t.)

By using the NST form of the verb, a covert non-subject participant is treated like a topicalized non-subject participant in NP-initial clauses (with the declarative marker) and in particle-initial clauses.

The negation particle *cḛ̀* 'not' may intervene between *kṳ̀* and the finite verb, as in (41). As in other particle-initial clauses, the particle is followed by an NP slot, in which a 3SG pronoun is zero, as in (41b).

(41) a. *kṳ̀* *cḛ̀* *kè* *mɪ̈̀ɪ̱* *tɛ̱̀ɛn* *tó̱k*
and NEG 3PL eat [place.SG.CS2 one.ESS/ABL]
'and they did not eat together' (t.)

b. *kṳ̀* *cḛ̀* *gám* *ɟjɛ̱̂ej*
and NEG accept.H order.NMLZ.SG
'and he did not accept advice' (t.)

After having accounted for the internal structure of dependent *kṳ̀*-clauses in the present section, the next section will show the range of clause types on which *kṳ̀*-clauses can be dependent.

6 Dependence on various types of preceding clauses

The clause on which a *kṳ̀*-clause is dependent, which I call its controller, may be of any type. That is, it may be an independent clause, a subordinate clause, or another dependent *kṳ̀*-clause. This is shown in the following subsections, where the relevant instances of *kṳ̀* are underlined in the interlinear translation.

6.1 Dependence on an independent clause

This subsection shows that an independent clause on which a *kṳ̀*-clause is dependent may have any illocutionary force. That is, the preceding clause may be a statement (declarative), a question (interrogative), or an order (imperative). The dependent *kṳ̀*-clause itself has no marker of illocutionary force, but in each case, it must be interpreted as having the same illocutionary force as the preceding clause, its controller.

Published by Hamburg University Press
DOI 10.15460/auue.2023.96.1.327

6.1.1 Dependence on a declarative clause

As seen in section 2 above, declarative clauses are of three types in Dinka: (i) NP-initial clauses with the declarative marker, (ii) particle-initial clauses beginning with the particle *kè̤* 'then' and not including the declarative marker, and (iii) verb-initial clauses beginning with the sequential auxiliary verb, whose inflectionally unmarked form is *góo*, glossed as SEQ.

In (42) the controller is a declarative clause (42.1) with the plural declarative marker, which here fuses with the past tense particle *e̤* into *áa*. The dependent *kṳ̀*-clause (42.2) has no declarative marker, but must nevertheless also be interpreted as a statement. So the declarative marker as an illocutionary force operator has scope over both its own clause and the following *kṳ̀*-clause.

(42) 1. *kṳ̀ rò̤ot̪ áa kè cé̤*
and hippopotamus.PL D.PL.PST 3PL PF
d̪jè̤t̪ àpɛ̂ɛj,
bear.AP.NF very_much
'And hippopotami had multiplied in great number,'

2. *kṳ̀ cé̤ tòoc pjàat̪ àrê̤et̪.*
<u>and</u> PF swamp.SG.GEN be_good.NF very_much
'and the swamp had become very nice.' (t.)

In (43) the controlling declarative clause (43.2) also includes the declarative marker, here in its singular form *à=*. It begins with the adverb *kè̤* 'then' and is preceded by a conditional clause (43.1). Again the dependent *kṳ̀*-clause (43.3) has no declarative marker, but must be interpreted as an additional statement consequent to (43.1).

(43) 1. *náa ɰó̤ok,*
if be_angry.2SG
'If you quarrelled,'

2. *kè̤ jî̤in à=kṳ̂um,*
then 2SG D.SG=punish.UNSP
'you were punished'

3. *kṳ̀ mác ì̤.*
<u>and</u> catch.UNSP 2SG
'and jailed.' (t.)

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The same construction is seen in (44). The *kṳ̀*-clause (44.3) is dependent on a declarative clause (44.2) which begins with the adverb *kḛ̀* 'then'. This declarative clause is preceded by an adverbial subordinate clause (44.1) beginning with the conjunction *náa* 'if', which fuses with the following finite verb *èe* (be.3SG) into *nâa*. The main clause (44.2), the apodosis, expresses the consequence of (44.1), the protasis, and the *kṳ̀*-clause (44.3) must be interpreted as describing an additional consequence and thus as having the same illocutionary force as (44.2).

(44) 1. *nâa* *ràn* *cɛ́ɛm*
if.be.3SG [person.SG.CS1 [eat.NST
rɔ̀w,
hippopotamus.SG.GEN]]
'If somebody is eaten by a hippopotamus,' (Lit. 'If it is a person whom a hippopotamus eats')

2. *kḛ̀* *ràn* *nɔ̀ŋ* *ràaan*
then [person.SG.CS1 [have person.SG]]
à=ljèp *lṵ́k,*
D.SG=open case.SG
'his relative (Lit. 'the person who has the person) will open a case'

3. *kṳ̀* *ŧjḛ̀eec* *àpṵ́uk=d-è.*
and ask.3SG compensation.SG.CS2=SG-3SG
'and ask for his compensation.' (t.)

As stated in section 3.5, *kḛ̀*-clauses with the declarative marker describe a situation which is habitual, as in (43.2) and (44.2). By contrast, as also mentioned in section 3.5, declarative *kḛ̀*-clauses without the declarative marker, are statements about specific past events, as in (45.2), and they are preceded by a time adjunct, as in (45.1). Again the *kṳ̀*-clause in (45.3), must be interpreted as having the same illocutionary force as the main clause (45.2).

(45) 1. *wą́n* *uɣéet* *kéek* *tḛ̀*
[when arrive.NST 3PL.GEN place.SG.CS1

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mèc,
[be_far.ALL]]
'When they reached a remote place,'

2. *kɛ̈* *lɑ́j* *rɛ́ɛɛt* *pwó̤ow,*
then animal.SG get_torn heart.SG
'the animal's heart broke,'

3. *kṳ̈* *t̤òow.*
and die.3SG
'and it died.' (t.)

A *kṳ̈*-clause with declarative interpretation may also be dependent on a sequential clause beginning with the sequential auxiliary verb *góo*, as in (46).

(46) 1. *góo* *tïïk* *ɲwô̤ooc,*
SEQ.NST woman.SG sit.CAUS.NF
'Then the woman seated him'

2. *kṳ̈* *mwɔ̀ɔɔc* *t̤òk* *ɛ̈* *pï̤̂w.*
and give.3SG mouth.SG [PREP water.PL]
'and gave him (Lit. 'his mouth') water.' (t.)

In examples (43)–(46), the subject of the *kṳ̈*-clause is coreferential with the subject of its controller, and as an anaphor it is expressed in the verb. However, although this coreference relation is common in the text corpus used for this study, such coreference is by no means obligatory. Thus, in (42) the subject *tòoc* 'swamp' of the *kṳ̈*-clause is not coreferential with the subject *rò̤ot̤* 'hippopotami' of the controlling clause.

6.1.2 Dependence on an interrogative or imperative clause

As mentioned in section 2.2 above, questions and orders are verb-initial; so they have the same structure as dependent *kṳ̈*-clauses (apart from the initial *kṳ̈*). Therefore, if a *kṳ̈*-clause is preceded by an interrogative clause, as in (47)–(48), or an imperative clause, as in (49), then it is indeterminable whether the *kṳ̈*-clause is dependent or independent.[8] In (47.1) the independent clause is a cleft polar question (a yes/no question), in (48.1) a constituent question.

8 Polar questions differ intonationally from orders by having a rising pitch at the end.

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(47) 1. *jèe* *pàŋàaar* *kèek* *ɛ́* *kè* *nɑ́k*
be.3SG Panyar.PL 3PL PST 3PL kill.H
rɔ́w,
hippopotamus.SG
'Was it the Panyar who killed the hippopotamus'
2. *kù* *lìiw* *àṯwɔ̀ɔj* *ṯɪ́n?*
and be_absent Athoi.PL PRO.ESS/ABL
'and were the Athuoi not involved?' (t.)

(48) 1. *ɟɑ́l* *ŋá,*
leave.H who.SG.GEN
'Who is leaving,'
2. *kù* *dɔ̰̀ɔŋ* *ŋá?*
and remain who.SG.GEN
'and who is staying?'

(49) 1. *pɑ́l-kɑ̀* *kè,*
leave-2PL 3PL
'Leave them,'
2. *kù* *bɑ̰̂ak* *lwàŋ* *ɛ̀* *ŋjàlíc.*
and come.2PL [shrine.SG.CS1.ALL of God.SG.GEN]
'and come to the Christian church!' (t.)

6.2 Dependence on an adverbial clause

The controller of a dependent *kù*-clause may also be an adverbial clause. This is exemplified with temporal/conditional clauses with the conjunction *nàa* 'when, if' and *tɛ̀* 'when, if' (section 6.2.1), causal clauses with the conjunction *nɛ̀ wɛ́ɛt* 'because' and *rìn* 'because' (section 6.2.2), temporal clauses with the conjunctional particle *(k)ɛ́* 'while' and the conjunction *à* 'until' (section 6.2.3), and purposive or resultative clauses beginning with the future auxiliary verb *bɛ́* (section 6.2.4).

6.2.1 Dependence on an adverbial clause with the conjunction nàa or tɛ̀ 'when, if'

In (50) the controller is a conditional clause beginning with the conjunction *nàa* 'when, if' (50.1), and the *kù*-clause (50.2) is interpreted

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as having the same semantic function, namely that of a condition. The main clause occurs in (50.3) and is followed by another dependent *kṳ̀*-clause in (50.4).

(50) 1. *nàa bɔ̤́ àɟ̤í̤ṯ,*
if come chicken.SG.GEN
'If a chicken comes'

2. *kṳ̀ gṳ̀ut,*
and stab.3SG
'and picks it,'

3. *k=à=róoot àwàn ṉòm*
then=D.SG=press.NST fox.SG.GEN head.SG
êe ṯàr,
[PREP.3SG pair_of_buttocks.SG]
'then the fox traps its head in its buttocks'

4. *kṳ̀ kɛ̀ɛt ké jè.*
and flee.3SG [COM 3SG]
'and escapes with it.' (t.)

The *kṳ̀*-clause in (51.2) is dependent on another type of conditional clause, namely one that begins with the conjunction *tɛ̤̀* 'when, if' (51.1). Like (50.2), the *kṳ̀*-clause in (51.2) adds another condition. Unlike the conjunction *nàa,* the conjunction *tɛ̤̀* requires its clause to be structured as having a covert adjunct, so its 2SG subject is expressed by the pronoun *jí̤in* (2SG.GEN), which fuses with the perfect auxiliary verb *c̱í̤i* (PF.NST) into *c̱í̤in*. By contrast, the same subject is expressed by the inflection of the verb *nɔ́ŋ* (have.2SG) in the *kṳ̀*-clause.

(51) 1. *tɛ̤̀ c̱í̤in tíŋ twèeŋ*
if PF.NST.2SG.GEN [woman.SG.CS1 front.ESS/ABL]
ṯjâaak,
marry.NF
'If you have married the first wife'

2. *kṳ̀ nɔ́ŋ ɰɔ̤́k,*
and have.2SG cow.PL
'and have cows,'

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3. *kḕ* *jı̤̂ı̤n* *à=ʈ̪jàak* *tjɛ́ɛŋ* *ʈ̪ìi.*
then 2SG D.SG=marry [woman.SG.CS2 DIM]
'you can marry a junior wife.' (t.)

In (50) and in several other examples, the *kṳ̀*-clauses have consecutive meaning in the sense of referring to events that take place subsequent to those of their controllers. However, this is by no means always the case. In (51), for instance, what the *kṳ̀*-clause denotes is not an event but a state, and this state is simultaneous with the state denoted by the controller.[9]

6.2.2 Dependence on an adverbial clause with the conjunction nḕ wɛ̤́ɛt or rìn 'because'

The *kṳ̀*-clause in (52.4) is dependent on the adverbial clause in (52.3), which begins with the complex conjunction *nḕ wɛ̤́ɛt* 'because', and which itself follows the main clause (52.2). The last is a declarative clause which is preceded by a left-dislocated adverbial phrase after the adverb *kḕ* 'then'. The *kṳ̀*-clause adds another reason to the reason given in (52.3). A clause beginning with *nḕ wɛ̤́ɛt* 'because' requires the NST form of the finite verb, which is here the habitual auxiliary verb *ée*. It fuses with the genitive third person singular subject pronoun *jéen* into *éen*. By contrast, the finite verb *mòoc* 'shoot' of the *kṳ̀*-clause does not have the NST form, but a form which expresses a third person singular subject. The singular noun *máaw* 'tsetsefly' in (52.1) is here used with collective meaning and therefore translated as plural.

(52) 1. *kḕ* *ɰá̤an* *dı̤́it* *máaw* *ké*
then [place.PL.CS1 [be_big.NST tsetsefly.SG PL
ʈ̪ı̤́n,
PRO.ESS/ABL]]
'Then in places where tsetseflies are abundant,'

2. *pwó̤or* *ḕ* *dóm* *èe*
[cultivate.NMLZ.SG.CS1 of field.SG.GEN] D.SG.HAB

9 The difference between simultaneous action and consecutive action is discussed in Stassen (1985: 66–70).

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kʊ̱ur,
be_small.NF
'cultivation becomes little,'

3. *nɛ̱* *wɛ̱ɛ̱t* *éen* *kɔ́c*
[PREP word.SG.CS1 HAB.NST.3SG.GEN person.PL
câam,
eat.NF
'because they bite people'

4. *kʊ̱* *mòoc* *lɑ̱aj.*
and shoot.3SG animal.PL]
'and sting animals.' (t.)

The *kʊ̱*-clause in (53.3) is dependent on the reason clause in (53.2), which begins with the conjunction *rìn* 'because'. Again the *kʊ̱*-clause adds another reason, as determined by the preceding reason clause. Like the reason clause in (52.3), the reason clause in (53.2) requires the NST form in the finite verb, which is here the perfect auxiliary verb *cɪ̱i*. And again, the finite verb of the *kʊ̱*-clause, *dɔ̱om* 'catch', does not have the NST form, but the inflectionally unmarked form before the subject *kèeec ɛ̱ wʊ̱un* 'his father's spiritual strength'.

(53) 1. *à=cɛ̱n* *ràn* *ɖɑ̱l*
D.SG=not_have [person.SG.CS1 despise
lwáŋ *ɛ̱* *màkwèer* *ɛ̱*
[shrine.SG.CS1 of Makuer.SG.CS1.GEN of
gɔ̀l
Gol.SG.GEN]]
'Nobody disbelieves the shrine of Makuer (son of) Gol'

2. *rìn* *cɪ̱i* *wʊ̱un* *é*
because PF.NST father.SG.3SG 3SG
bɑ̱ar *è,*
leave_as_inheritance.APPL.NF 3SG
'as his father had left him it as an inheritance'

3. *kʊ̱* *dɔ̱om* *kèeec* *ɛ̱*
and catch.AP [be_bitter.NMLZ.SG.CS1 of

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wûun *ɛ̀* *jé* *gwôop.*
father.SG.3SG] [PREP 3SG body.SG]
'and as his father's spiritual strength empowered him.' (t.)
(Lit. 'and bitterness of his father catches on his body')

6.2.3 Dependence on an adverbial clause with the conjunctive particle kɛ́ ~ ɛ́ 'while' or the conjunction à 'until'

The *kù*-clause in (54.4) is dependent on the temporal clause in (54.3), which begins with the conjunctive particle *ɛ́* (~ *kɛ́*) 'while' expressing simultaneity. This adverbial clause follows the main clause in (54.2), which itself is preceded by the temporal clause in (54.1). Like its controller in (54.3), the *kù*-clause describes an activity which did not take place at the same time as the situation described by the main clause (54.2). The *kù*-clause is followed by a temporal clause in (54.5), which expresses the time period over which the state-of-affairs in the preceding three clauses took place. The *kù*-clause in (54.4) is an example of one which does not have consecutive meaning since the state-of-affairs which it expresses is simultaneous with that of its controller (54.3).

(54) 1. *nàa* *cɛ́* *kwɛ̀ɛɛŋ* *tɔ̰ok,*
when PF swear.NMLZ.SG finish.NF
'When swearing had ended,'

2. *kɛ̀* *kɔ́c* *àa=rɛ̰ɛɛr*
then person.PL D.PL=stay
'then people stayed separate'

3. *ɛ́* *kè* *cɛ̀* *dɛ̰ek,*
[while 3PL NEG drink.AP
'without drinking' (Lit. 'while they do not drink')

4. *kù* *cɛ̀* *kè* *mɪ̰ɪ̰t* *tɛ̀ɛn* *tɔ́k,*
and NEG 3PL eat [place.SG.CS2 one.ESS/ABL]
'and eating together' (Lit. 'and they do not eat in one place')

5. *àgʊ́t* *tɛ̀* *tɔ̰ok* *pàj*
[until when end.NST [month.PL

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kâa *dètém.*
3PL.QUANT six]]]
'until the end of six months.' (t.)

The word sequence *kè cɛ̣̀* in (54.3) is reversed to *cɛ̣̀ kè* in (54.4). This is because the short pronoun *kè* 'they' has to occur after the first of one or more preverbal particles, and while the conjunction *ɛ́* counts as a particle, the conjunction *kù* does not.

The *kù*-clause in (55.3) is controlled by the temporal clause in (55.2), which begins with the conjunction *à* 'until'. This temporal clause is preceded by the main clause in (55.1). Like its controller, the *kù*-clause describes the time limit of the situation denoted by the main clause.

(55) 1. *tɛ̣̀* *dɑ́* *k=èe*
[place.SG.CS1 other.ESS/ABL] then=D.SG.be
mwɔ̀ɔr *ɛ̣̀* *wòŋ* *èn*
[bull.SG.CS1 of cow.SG.GEN] 3SG
à=lám
D.SG=curse.UNSP
'Sometimes it is a bull which is cursed'

2. *à* *bɛ̣̀* *wɑ̀r* *cwáat* *pìŋ*
until FUT.3SG cowdung.PL throw.CF.NF down.ALL
'until it throws down dungs'

3. *kù* *lɛ̀ɛɛc.*
and urinate.3SG
'and urinates.' (t.)

6.2.4 Dependence on an adverbial clause with the future auxiliary verb bɛ́ (FUT)

The *kù*-clause in (56.3) is controlled by an adverbial clause in (56.2) beginning with the future auxiliary verb *bɛ́*, which is grammaticalized as an expression of purpose or result. Thus, like the *bɛ́*-clause, the *kù*-clause expresses a result of the state expressed by the main clause (56.1).

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(56) 1. *kw = àpàac* *ée* *cɛ̣́*
and = floating_swampgrass.SG D.SG.PST PF
uɻɛ̀eet *ɛ̣̀* *bàaaj* *kɔ̰̀w*
arrive.CP.NF [PREP home.SG back.SG]
'and floating swampgrass had come to inhabited area'

2. *bɛ́* *uɻɔ̰̀k* *âa* *ɲwɔ̰̀t̪*
FUT cow.PL.GEN HAB.NF graze.AP.NF
'so that cows pastured'

3. *kù̱* *dɛ̱̀ek-kɛ̱̀* *ɛ̣̀* *wʊ̱́t* *cɔ̱́ok.*
and drink.AP-3PL [PREP cattle_camp.SG foot.SG]
'and drank water around the cattle camp.' (t.) (Lit. 'and they drink at the foot of the cattle camp')

6.3 Dependence on a relative clause

A *kù̱*-clause may also be dependent on a relative clause, in which case it is interpreted as having the same function as the relative clause. This situation is exemplified in (57)–(59).

The *kù̱*-clause in (57.2), *kù̱ gɔ̀ɔɔŋ kɔ́c*, which literally means 'and she accommodates people', is dependent on the relative clause in (57.1), *ɛ̣̀ kɔ̀c lôoor ɛ̣̀ dɔ̂ɔl* 'who receives people with laughter', which itself modifies *tíŋ* 'woman'. What is relativized on in (57.1) is the subject, and a relativized subject is not represented in the relative clause. The *kù̱*-clause has a third person subject which is coreferential with the relativized subject in (57.1), and it is represented in the finite verb *gɔ̀ɔɔŋ* 'accomodate', so the *kù̱*-clause does not have the structure of a relative clause. However, using Comrie's (1981: 136) functional definition of the notion relative clause, the *kù̱*-clause (57.2) has the same function as the relative clause in (57.1) in that it restricts the potential range of referents of *tíŋ* 'woman', the head of the relative clause. Moreover, the noun phrase in (57.1) and the *kù̱*-clause in (57.2) form a constituent, in that they together constitute an object-topic of the declarative main clause (57.3), here translated as passive.

(57) 1. *tíŋ* *ɛ̣̀* *kɔ̀c* *lôoor*
[woman.SG.CS1 [HAB person.PL receive.NF

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ɛ̣̀ *dɔ̂ɔl*
[PREP laugh.NMLZ.SG]]]
'A woman who receives people with laughter'

2. *kṵ̀* *gɔ̀ɔɔŋ* *kɔ́c,*
and accommodate.3SG person.PL
'and provides for people'

3. *à=jée* *bâaaj* *ŋ̈jâaar* *kṵ̀*
D.SG=HAB.NST home.SG.GEN love.NF and
pàaan=d-è.
in_laws.SG.CS2=SG-3SG
'is liked by people and her in-laws.' (t.)

The relative clause *ṯjɑ́aak ké ɲìn ɛ̣̀ wɑ̀ar* 'which is near the tributary' in (58.3) has a relativized subject and is headed by the noun *tɛ̣̀* 'place'. It is followed by the *kṵ̀*-clause in (58.4), which literally means 'and rains rain very much there'. This clause has a covert adjunct as shown by the fact that the finite habitual auxiliary verb has the NST form *jée* rather than the inflectionally unmarked form *jèe* before the subject *dɛ̰̀ɛŋ* 'rains' of the intransitive main verb *twèɛɲ* 'rain'. The covert adjunct has a locative function as shown by the fact that it is resumed by the essive/ablative pro-adverb *ṯɪ́n* 'there' in the same way as a topicalized location adjunct is in an NP-initial clause (Andersen 1991: 282–283, 290). This covert location adjunct is coreferential with the head noun *tɛ̣̀* 'place' of the relative clause; so like the relative clause in (58.3), the *kṵ̀*-clause in (58.4) has the function of restricting the potential range of referents of this noun. Another *kṵ̀*-clause follows in (58.5) with the same function, and the third person singular subject expressed in the verb *nɔ̀ɔŋ* 'have' also anaphorically refers to *tɛ̣̀* 'place'.

(58) 1. *góo* *djɑ̣̀ar* *gâam,*
SEQ.NST woman.PL accept.NF
'Then the women accepted it'

2. *kṵ̀* *ɯɟ́ooṯ-kɛ̣̀* *tɛ̣̀* *mèc*
and move.CF-3PL [place.SG.CS1 be_far.ALL]
'and they moved to a remote place,'

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3. *tḛ̀* *ʈ̪ja̰ák* *ké* *ɲìn*
place.SG.CS1 [be_near.REC COM tributary.SG.CS1
ḛ̀ *wà̰ar,*
of river.SG.GEN]
'an area which was near the tributary'

4. *kṳ̀* *jée* *dḛ̂eŋ* *twὲεɲ* *ʈ̪ɨ̰́n*
<u>and</u> HAB.NST rain.PL rain.NF PRO.ESS/ABL
àpɛ̂ɛj,
very_much
'and in which there were heavy rains' (Lit. 'and rains rain very much there')

5. *kṳ̀* *nɔ̀ɔŋ* *mḭ̂iṯ* *êe* *câam.*
<u>and</u> have.3SG food.PL.CS1 [HAB.UNSP eat.NF]
'and which had enough food to eat.' (Lit. 'and it has foods which are eaten') (t.)

In (59.1), the noun *kḛ́* 'thing' is modified by a relative clause. This noun semantically instantiates a reason (hence an adjunct) for the main verb *bḛ̂ɛn* 'come'. The adjunct status of the constituent which is relativized on is shown by the facts that the finite habitual auxiliary verb has the NST form *ée* before the subject *káac = c-jḛ̀* 'my people' and that the non-finite main verb *bḛ̂ɛn* 'come' is intransitive so that the constituent relativized on cannot be an object. The following *kṳ̀*-clause in (59.2), which literally means 'and they die', has the same restrictive function as the preceding relative clause, an interpretation which is supported by the fact that the NP in (59.1) and the *kṳ̀*-clause in (59.2) together constitute the topic of the declarative clause in (59.3). This topic is the object of the main verb *ɲîic* 'know' in the complement clause in (59.4), which itself is the object of the verb *wjḛ̀ec* 'I want' in the main clause in (59.3).

(59) 1. *kḛ́* *ée* *káac = c-jḛ̀*
thing.SG.CS1 [HAB.NST person.PL.CS2.GEN = PL-1SG
lɔ̀ *bḛ̂ɛn* *róoor*
go_and_do.NF come.NF bush.LOC]
'The reason why my people come from the bush'

Published by Hamburg University Press
DOI 10.15460/auue.2023.96.1.327

2. *kṳ̀ ʈ̤ów-kɪ̤̀*
and die-3PL
'and die' (Lit. 'and they die')
3. *k=à=wjɛ̤̀ec*
AFF=D.SG=want.1SG
'I want'
4. *bà ɲîic.*
[FUT.1SG know.NF]
'to know.' (t.)

6.4 Dependence on a dependent *kṳ̀*-clause

As seen in (58) in section 6.3 above, a dependent *kṳ̀*-clause may be preceded by another dependent *kṳ̀*-clause whose function it shares. Other examples of a dependent *kṳ̀*-clause being controlled by a dependent *kṳ̀*-clause are seen in (60)–(63).

Sentence (60) consists of an independent clause in (60.1) and three following *kṳ̀*-clauses. The independent clause is declarative and starts with the sequential auxiliary verb in its third person singular subject form *gòo*. Each of the following *kṳ̀*-clauses describes a new event in the event line of the narrative, and their verbs express a third person subject, which is coreferential with the subject expressed by the finite verb in (60.1).

(60) 1. *gòo kwèec,*
SEQ.3SG refuse.NF
'Then he refused,'
2. *kṳ̀ lɔ̤̀oom tɔ̀ŋ kṳ̀ páal,*
and take.3SG [spear.SG and knife.SG]
'and took a spear and a sword,'
3. *kṳ̀ jɔ́ɔɔt ɛ̤̀ màʈjà̤aŋ kɔ̤̀w,*
and jump.CF.AP.3SG [PREP horse.SG back.SG]
'mounted the horse'

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4. *kṳ̀* *ŋɔ̰̀ɔr* *twèeŋ.*[10]
   and lead.AP.3*sg* front.ESS/ABL
   'and led.' (t.)

A similar example is seen in (61), but here the subject of the sequential auxiliary verb is expressed by the noun phrase *wṳ̀un ṭɔ̰̀ɔk*, which literally means 'father of the goat'.

(61) 1. *góo* *wṳ̀un* *ṭɔ̰̀ɔk* *bɛ̰̀ɛn,*
   SEQ [father.SG.CS1 goat.SG] come.NF
   'So the owner of the goat came'
2. *kṳ̀* *ɟɔ́ɔt* *àwán* *êe* *jéṭ,*
   and raise.CF.3SG fox.SG [PREP.3SG neck.SG]
   'and put the fox on his shoulder'
3. *kṳ̀* *uɻɛ̰̀ɛṭ* *bàaaj.*
   and take.CF.3SG home.LOC
   'and took it home.' (t.)

Somewhat similar is also sentence (62). After the temporal clause in (62.1) comes the main clause in (62.2), which is a declarative clause beginning with the particle *kɛ̀* 'then' and whose finite auxiliary verb *ɟɔ̀l* 'do then' has no proclitic declarative marker and therefore describes a past event (cf. section 5.1.1). This clause is followed by six dependent *kṳ̀*-clauses, which continue the event line. Three of these *kṳ̀*-clauses, (62.3), (62.5) and (62.6), also use the auxiliary verb 'do then', but here with the third person singular form *ɟɔ̀ɔl*. As seen in (62.4), a dependent *kṳ̀*-clause may include a subordinate clause such as a temporal clause beginning with the conjunction *à* 'until'. However, the following *kṳ̀*-clause in (62.5) is not dependent on that clause, but on the matrix part of the *kṳ̀*-clause.

(62) 1. *wà̱n* *céen* *é* *téeem* *rọ́l*
   when PF.NST.3SG.GEN 3SG cut.NF throat.SG
   'After he had slaughtered it,' (Lit. 'when he had cut its throat')

10 The verb *ŋɔ̰̀ɔr* 'lead' in (60.4) seems to have an irregularly formed antipassive stem.

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2. *kẹ̈* *ɟɔ̈l* *kɛ́=d-è* *jâaaŋ,*
   then do_then thing.SG.CS2=SG-3SG skin.NF
   ‘then he skinned it (Lit. ‘his thing’)’
3. *kṳ̈* *ɟɔ̈ɔl* *ɲòp,*
   and do_then.3SG roast.AP.NF
   ‘and then he roasted’
4. *kṳ̈* *cwɛ̈ɛ̈et* *à* *bɛ̈* *kwɛ̀ɛ̈ɛ̱,*
   and eat.AP.3SG [until FUT.3SG be_satiated.NF]
   ‘and he ate until he became satiated’
5. *kṳ̈* *ɟɔ̈ɔl* *rɪ̈ɪ̈ŋ* *kɔ̈̀k*
   and do_then.3SG [meat.PL.CS1 other.PL]
   tîîr,
   cut_into_strips.NF
   ‘and then he cut the rest of the meat into strips’
6. *kṳ̈* *ɟɔ̈ɔl* *jòom* *kɔ̈̀k* *ɲôop,*
   and do_then.3SG [bone.PL other.PL] roast.NF
   ‘and then roasted some bones’
7. *kṳ̈* *cwèet* *kè,*
   and eat.3SG 3PL
   ‘and ate them’
8. *kṳ̈* *gɛ́ɛm* *kɔ̈̀k.*
   and give.CF.3SG other.PL
   ‘and gave away some bones.’ (t.)

The *kṳ̈*-clause in (63.2) is dependent on the preceding temporal clause (63.1) that begins with the conjunction *nàa* ‘when, if’. This *kṳ̈*-clause is followed by another *kṳ̈*-clause in (63.3), which, like the first *kṳ̈*-clause, must be interpreted as having the same temporal or conditional function as the adverbial clause in (63.1). These three clauses are followed by the main clause in (63.4), whose covert plural topic is coreferential with *wɛ́ɛ̈w rèen cɛ́ dɔ̱̈oŋ* ‘a little money left’ in (63.3).

(63) 1. *nàa* *cɛ́* *n̤òm* *ɛ̈* *gɔ̀l*
   [when PF [head.SG.CS1 of clan.SG.GEN]

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mwɔ̀ɔr *uɻâaac,*
bull.SG buy.CF.NF
'When the clan leader had sold the bull,'

2. *kṳ̀* *càatáp* *gṳ̊ur,*
and PF.3SG.tax.SG close.NF
'and had paid the tax,'

3. *kṳ̀* *nɔ̀ɔŋ* *wɛ̱́ew* *rèen* *cɛ̱́*
and have.3SG [money.PL.CS1 two.CS1 [PF
dɔ̱̀oŋ,
remain.NF]]]
'and if there was a little money left,' (Lit. 'and it has two money which remained')

4. *k=áa=d̪ṳ̊uk* *ràn* *nɔ̀ŋ*
then=D.PL=return.APPL.3SG person.SG.CS1 [have
mwɔ̀ɔr.
bull.SG]
'he would give it back to the owner of the bull.' (t.)

7 Reduced TAM marking

As seen in section 6, a *kṳ̀*-clause does not by itself have any illocutionary force and does not by itself indicate its semantic function in the overall sentence. Rather, it must be interpreted as having the same illocutionary force or semantic function as the clause on which it is dependent. Very often, moreover, a *kṳ̀*-clause also has fewer markers of tense, aspect and mood (TAM) than its controller, but again is to be interpreted as having the same tense, aspect and mood as that clause. This fact is exemplified in the following subsections for the past tense particle (section 7.1), the irrealis particle (section 7.2), the habitual auxiliary verb (section 7.3), the future auxiliary verb (section 7.4), and the perfect auxiliary verb (section 7.5). That the declarative marker is not repeated in a dependent *kṳ̀*-clause was shown in section 6.1.1. In the following examples, the relevant instances of TAM markers and of *kṳ̀* are underlined in the interlinear translation.

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7.1 Past tense particle (PST) not repeated

The past tense particle *ɛ̀* or *ɛ́* in a controlling clause is not repeated in a dependent *kṳ̀*-clause, as exemplified in (64). This particle occurs in the declarative main clause in (64.1), where it fuses with the plural declarative marker into *áa*. Here the past tense particle makes its clause denote a past state as opposed to a present state. The dependent *kṳ̀*-clauses in (64.2) and (64.3) must also be interpreted as describing past states, but the past tense particle is absent in them. So, the main clause not only determines the interpretation of the illocutionary force of the *kṳ̀*-clauses, but also their temporal interpretation.

(64) 1. *bɛ́ɛ́j=k-éen* *áa* *kè* *ṭją́aak,*
home.PL.CS2=PL-3PL D.PL.PST 3PL be_near.REC
'Their homes were near each other,'

2. *kṳ̀* *ɲíc-kɛ̀* *cèŋ*
and do_properly-3PL inhabit.AP.NF
káam=k-éen,
gap.PL.CS2=PL-3PL
'and they lived in harmony,' (Lit. 'and they inhabited properly in their gaps')

3. *kṳ̀* *jée-kɛ̀* *kwáat* *tɔ̀k.*
and be-3PL clan.SG.CS2 one
'and they were one clan.' (t.)

The same phenomenon is seen in (65). The declarative main clause in (65.1) has three TAM markers, namely the declarative proclitic (D.PL), the past tense particle (PST), and the perfect auxiliary verb (PF), and it describes a resultative past state. The *kṳ̀*-clause in (65.2) must also be interpreted as describing a resultative past state, but only the perfect auxiliary is repeated, while the past tense particle is not.

(65) 1. *kṳ̀* *rɔ̀ot* *áa* *kè* *cɛ́*
and hippopotamus.PL D.PL.PST 3PL PF
ɖjɛ̀t *àpɛ̂ɛj,*
bear.AP.NF very_much
'And hippopotami had multiplied in great number,'

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2. *kṳ̀ cɛ̱́ tòoc pjàaṭ àrɛ̂ɛ̱ṭ.*
   and PF swamp.SG.GEN be_good.NF very_much
   'and the swamp had become very nice.' (t.)

7.2 Irrealis particle (IRR) not repeated

The irrealis particle *dɛ̱̀* in a controller clause is also not repeated in a dependent *kṳ̀*-clause, as exemplified in (66). This particle occurs in the declarative main clause in (66.2) together with the past tense particle *ɛ̱* (here fusing with the plural declarative marker into *áa*) and the perfect auxiliary verb *cɛ̱́*. The clause describes a counterfactual past event which would have taken place if the condition described by the adverbial clause in (66.1) had obtained. None of the three TAM markers in (66.2) are repeated in the dependent *kṳ̀*-clause in (66.3), which nevertheless must be interpreted as an additional counterfactual past event.

(66) 1. *nàŋ ɛ̱́ cɛ̱́ mwɔ̰̀ol,*
   if PST PF stay.NF
   'If he had stayed,'
2. *ràp áa kè dɛ̱̀ cɛ̱́ ṭɔ̰̀ok,*
   sorghum.PL D.PL.PST 3PL IRR PF finish.NF
   'sorghum would have finished,'
3. *kṳ̀ dɔ̰̀oŋ ké cɔ́k.*
   and remain.3SG [COM hunger.SG]
   'and he would have remained hungry.' (Lit. 'and he remains with hunger')

The same pattern is found in (67). In (67.1), which is a declarative clause embedding a complement clause beginning with the complementizer *lán*, the irrealis particle *dɛ̱̀* occurs in combination with the preceding *ée*, which is a fusion of the singular declarative marker *à* and the past tense particle *ɛ̱*. To the counterfactual past situation described by this clause is added another counterfactual past situation expressed by the dependent *kṳ̀*-clause in (67.2), although none of the TAM markers are repeated here.

(67) 1. *[...] ée dɛ̱̀ ɲjɛ̀ɛc lán*
   [...] D.SG.PST IRR know.1SG [COMPL

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cɻ̈in *éen* *kɻ́* *bɔ́*
not_have.NST 3SG.GEN thing.SG.CS1 [come
ɻ́ = tɻ̈ɛɛn,
DEM = place.SG.CS1.DEM1.SG]]
'[…] I would have known that there is nothing coming here,'

2. *kṳ̈* *tą̈a* *ɻ̈* *wé* *jïïic.*
and be_present.1SG [PREP [2PL stomach.PL]]
'and I would have been among you.' (t.)

Example (67), together with (68) just below, are from a marriage negotiation party in which an interpreter (an *àgàamlö̱ŋ* in Dinka) repeats more loudly, clause by clause, what the speakers say and at the same time often rewords the clauses according to his interpretation. Passage (67) is from the turn of one of the speakers, who utters both (67.1) and the dependent *kṳ̈*-clause in (67.2). Then (67.2) is rendered by the interpreter as the independent clause in (68). This independent clause includes both the declarative marker *à* and the past tense particle, fused into *ée*, and the irrealis particle *dɻ̈*, just as in (67.1), so it is clear that the *àgàamlö̱ŋ* interprets (67.2) as having the same TAM as (67.1).

(68) *ée* *ɯà* *dɻ̈* *cɻ́* *ɲṳ̈c*
D.SG.PST 1SG IRR PF sit.NF
lɔ̀ŋ = tṳ̈uuj.
side.SG.CS1 = DEM3.ESS/ABL
'I would have sat on the other side.' (t.)

7.3 Habitual auxiliary verb (HAB) not repeated

The habitual auxiliary verb *èe* in a controller clause is not repeated in a dependent *kṳ̈*-clause. This is the case whether the controller is, for instance, a declarative clause (69)–(70), a relative clause (71), or a purposive clause (72).

The habitual auxiliary verb occurs in the declarative clause in (69.1), where it fuses with the singular declarative marker as *èe* and describes a habitual action of the fox. The dependent *kṳ̈*-clause in (69.2) describes a subsequent habitual action, but the habitual auxiliary verb is not repeated.

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(69) 1. *èe* *tɛ̣̀c,*
D.SG.HAB lie.NF
'It lies down'
2. *kù* *dɛ̀ɛɲ* *è* *t̪àr.*
and project.3SG [3SG pair_of_buttocks.SG]
'and projects its anus.' (t.)

In (70.1), the habitual auxiliary verb also occurs in a declarative clause, where it fuses with the short third person plural pronoun *kè* into *kêe*. Unlike in (69.1), it here occurs in combination with the past tense particle expressed together with the plural declarative marker in *áa*. The following *kù*-clause in (70.2) contains neither of these TAM markers, but like (70.1) it refers to a past habitual situation.

(70) 1. *rɔ̰̀ot̪* *áa* *kêe* *kwɔ̀ɔl*
hippopotamus.PL D.PL.PST 3PL.HAB river_bed.PL
wêec,
dig.NF
'Hippopotami used to dig river beds'
2. *kù* *dɔ̰̀oor-kɛ̰̀* *ɲɪ̰́in* *ké* *wɛ̰̀ar.*
and join.CAUS-3PL tributary.PL [COM river.SG]
'and join tributaries with the river.' (t.)

The relative clause in (71.2) is headed by *tíŋ* 'woman' in (71.1) and begins with the habitual auxiliary verb, which here has the low-toned form *ɛ̰̀* with breathy voice quality. The dependent *kù*-clause in (71.3) has the same function as (71.2), restricting the potential range of referents of *tíŋ* 'woman' with a proposition referring to a habitual situation, but it does not repeat the auxiliary verb.

(71) 1. *kwáat* *à=n̪jàar* *tíŋ*
clan.SG D.SG=love woman.SG.CS1
'The family loves a woman'
2. *ɛ̰̀* *mɔ́ɔ̰oc*
[HAB give.AP.NF
'who receives them with hospitality' (Lit. 'who gives')

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3. *kṳ̀* *ṭèeek* *ké.*
   and respect.3SG 3PL]
   'and respects them.' (t.)

The purposive clause in (72.3), which begins with the future auxiliary verb in its third person singular form *bɛ̀*, includes the habitual auxiliary verb in its non-finite form *âa*, but this verb is not repeated in the *kṳ̀*-clause in (72.4). Semantically, however, (72.4) is within the scope of *bɛ̀* of the preceding clause. The singular nouns *nwɛ̀ɛɛr* 'Nuer' (72.1), *mwɔ̂ɔŋɟà̤aŋ* 'Dinka' (72.3) and *wóŋ* 'cow' (72.4) are here used with collective meaning.

(72) 1. *nàa* *lɔ́* *nwɛ̀ɛɛr* *uɻɛ̀eet* *àgàaar,*
   when go_and_do Nuer.SG arrive.CP.NF Agar.ALL
   'When the Nuer came to Agar land,'
2. *kɛ̀* *mɛ̂ɛt* *tɔ̂ɔɔŋ*
   then mix.MID.CF war.LOC
   'they participated in the war'
3. *bɛ̀* *mwɔ̂ɔŋɟà̤aŋ* *âa* *nɔ̰̀k*
   FUT.3SG Dinka.SG HAB.NF kill.NF
   'in order to kill Dinka'
4. *kṳ̀* *pèeec* *wóŋ.*
   and kidnap.3SG cow.SG
   'and raid cattle.' (t.)

In (73), the first clause (73.1) is an order in which the habitual auxiliary verb occurs in the second person plural form *jáa-kà̤*. The following *kṳ̀*-clause in (73.2) has the same illocutionary force, but lacks the habitual auxiliary verb of the first clause, so it is presumably a dependent clause rather than an independent clause.

(73) 1. *jáa-kà̤* *lɔ̰̀ɔŋ* *tɛ̰́=d-wɔ̰́on,*
   HAB-2PL pray.AP.NF place.SG.CS2.ESS/ABL=SG-2PL
   'You must pray in your place'
2. *kṳ̀* *lɔ̰̀ɔŋ-kṳ̀* *tɛ̰́=d-à.*
   and pray.AP-1PL place.SG.CS2.ESS/ABL=SG-1PL
   'and we must pray in our place!' (t.)

Although the habitual auxiliary verb is not repeated in a dependent *kṳ̀*-clause, such a clause may itself introduce this auxiliary verb, as

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seen in (74). The sequential declarative clause in (74.1) does not include the habitual auxiliary verb, but the following *kṳ̈*-clause in (74.2) does, here in the high-toned form *ḛ́* with breathy voice quality. Another example is seen in (58.4) in section 6.3 above.

(74) 1. *góo tɔ́ŋ ŋwɔ̀ɔt=ḛ́ lɔ́ twêeŋ*
SEQ war.SG.GEN CONT.NF[=while go front.ALL]
'So the war still continued,'

2. *kṳ̈ cḛ̈ kɔ̀c ḛ́ rọ́ot ṭáan.*
and NEG person.PL HAB self.PL hand_over.CF.NF
'and people did not surrender.' (Lit. 'and people do not hand themselves over') (t.)

7.4 Future auxiliary verb (FUT) repeated or not repeated

Unlike the habitual auxiliary verb, which is not repeated in a dependent *kṳ̈*-clause, the future auxiliary verb *bḛ́* (FUT) varies between being repeated and not being repeated. It is not clear what determines this variation, which is illustrated in (75)–(76). In both sentences, the first clause is declarative with the future auxiliary verb making reference to a future situation, but while the auxiliary is not repeated in the *kṳ̈*-clause in (75.2), it is repeated in the *kṳ̈*-clause in (76.2).

(75) 1. *ŋɛ́ɛk à=bḛ́ jâa bḛ̰̂ɛn,*
each.SG D.SG=FUT HAB.NF come.NF
'Each will come'

2. *kṳ̈ tèeem tḛ̀=d-è.*
and cut.3SG place.SG.CS2=SG-3SG
'and book his place.' (Lit. 'and he cuts his place') (t.)

(76) 1. *k=à=bï̱ ŋ̰̂ɔk,*
AFF=D.SG=FUT.UNSP kill.NF
'He will be killed,'

2. *kṳ̈ bï̱ ṭɔ̀ɔn àamạ̀aal ɟâal*
and FUT.UNSP bull.SG.CS1 of.sheep.SG do_then.NF

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ɲâaaj.
remove.CF.NF
'and the ram will be taken away.' (t.)

Note also that the future auxiliary verb, like the habitual auxiliary verb, may be used in a dependent *kṳ̀*-clause even if it is not used in the controller. This is seen in (77), where the controller of the *kṳ̀*-clause in (77.3) is the temporal clause in (77.2).

(77) 1. *à=cɛ̀n* *ràn* *ɛ̀* *dèk*
D.SG=not_have person.SG.CS1 [HAB drink.AP.NF
ké *pàrwâ̰aj=d-è*
COM in_laws.SG.CS2=SG-3SG]
'Nobody drinks with his in-laws'

2. *àgṵ́t* *tɛ̀* *léee* *rwà̰aaj* *tò̰ok*
until when go_and_do.NST marriage.SG end.NF
'until marriage is over,'

3. *kṳ̀* *bɛ́* *párwâ̰aj=d-ṳ̀* *ɪ́*
and FUT in_laws.SG.CS2.GEN=SG-2SG 2SG
ɟàal *wɛ̰̂ɛr* *pɪ̰̂iw.*
do_then.NF sprinkle.APPL.NF water.PL
'and your in-laws will sprinkle you with water (as an introduction to eating with in-laws).' (t.)

7.5 Perfect auxiliary verb (PF) repeated or not repeated

When the perfect auxiliary verb *cɛ́* (PF) is used as a perfective past tense marker together with the non-finite auxiliary verb *bà̰nɛ́* 'come and do' in the controller, neither of these auxiliary verbs are repeated in the *kṳ̀*-clause. An example of this is seen in (78), where the declarative clause in (78.1) controls the *kṳ̀*-clause in (78.2).

(78) 1. *kɔ̂ɔc* *wá̰n* *kɛ̂ɛɲ* *kṳ̀* *ràn*
[[person.PL.CS1 P2 travel] [and person.SG.CS1
ɛ́ *kwàa̰t* *rjà̰aj* *àa=cɛ́* *bà̰nɛ́*
PST drive plane.SG]] D.PL=PF come and do.NF

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t̪òw,
die.NF
'The passengers and the pilot died,' (Lit. 'The aforementioned people who travelled and the person who was driving the plane died')

2. *kṳ̀ pì̤i̤r mà dṳ̀l è̤ kwɛ̀ɛk.*
and live Madul.SG.CS1.GEN of Kuek.SG
'but MacDonald survived.'

Another example is (79), where the declarative clause in (79.2) controls the *kṳ̀*-clause in (79.3).

(79) 1. *wá̤n cî̤i̤-nè̤ jè gâam è̤*
when PF-UNSP.CT 3SG agree.NF [by
râaan é̤bá̤n,
person.SG.GEN all]
'After it was agreed upon by everybody,'

2. *kɔ̀c àa=cî̤i̤ bà̤ŋé̤ kwâaɲ.*
person.PL D.PL=PF.UNSP come_and_do.NF pick.NF
'people were nominated'

3. *kṳ̀ têek-è̤ kè pìŋ bì̤i̤k*
and distribute.CF-UNSP 3PL down.ALL [FUT.3PL
t̪òk ɰâ̤at̪ è̤ ɰá̤an
message.SG take.CF.NF [PREP [place.PL.CS1
mèc.
be_far]]]
'and were delegated to convey the message to remote areas.' (t.*)*

But when the perfect auxiliary verb is used with perfect meaning in the controller, it is often repeated in the *kṳ̀*-clause. Thus, *cé̤* in the declarative clause in (80.1) is repeated with the second person singular form *cá* in the *kṳ̀*-clause in (80.2). And the NST form *cí̤i* in the temporal clause in (81.3) is repeated in the *kṳ̀*-clause in (81.4). Other examples are seen above in (42.2), (63.2) and (65.2).

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(80) 1. *kè̤ ɟî̤in à=cé̤ lò̤ooŋ d̪ôoŋ kɔ̤̀ɔɔt̪,*
then 2SG D.SG=PF law.PL break.NF back.PL
'So you have violated the laws' (Lit. 'Then you have broken the laws' backs')

2. *kṳ̀ cá d̪à̤aal è̤*
and PF.2SG [despise.NMLZ.SG.CS1 of
ŋ̤jàlíc bâaaj.
God.SG.GEN] disregard.NF
'and disregarded sacrilege of God.' (t.)

(81) 1. *pwò̤or à=kɔ̀ŋ t̪ò̤ok*
cultivate.NMLZ.SG D.SG=do_first finish.NF
'Cultivation should take place first'

2. *bé̤ lwò̤ok kɔ̤́k ró̤ot*
FUT [trial.PL.CS1.GEN other.PL.GEN] self.PL
bɛ̀ɛr ɟîil
do_again.NF begin.NF
'so that new cases come up'

3. *tè̤ cí̤i ká dòm-ìc lwɔ̀ɔk,*
when PF.NST [thing.PL.CS1 field-ESS/ABL] yield.NF
'after harvesting' (Lit. 'when things in the field have yielded')

4. *kṳ̀ cí̤i tɔ́ɔŋpìiiɲ kw=àgót*
and PF.NST groundnut.PL and=green_bean.PL
kw=àkwéem [...] bɛ̤̂ɛn bèj
and=bean.PL [...] come.NF out.CP.ALL
dòm-ìc.
field-ESS/ABL
'and after groundnuts, green beans, beans [...] have come out from the field.' (t.)

In some cases, however, the perfect auxiliary verb with perfect meaning is not repeated in a dependent *kṳ̀*-clause; the reason seems to be semantic. An example is seen in (82). In the controlling temporal clause in (82.2), the perfect auxiliary verb *cé̤* indicates a state that has resulted from the event denoted by the non-finite main verb

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ŋèɛɛr ‘collapse’. The absence of the auxiliary verb in the *kù̱*-clause in (82.3) seems to be due to the absence of a resulting state here, as the impersonal transitive verb *lêɛ̱ṯ* ‘make shiver’ denotes an iterative process.

(82) 1. *gòo ɟâal bɛ̱̀ɛn tɔ́ŋ bɛ̱́ŋ*
SEQ.3SG do_then.NF come.NF [LOC chief.SG]
‘Then he came to the inspector,’

2. *kɛ̱́ cɛ̱́ jíc ŋèɛɛr,*
while PF stomach.SG.EP collapse.NF
‘scared,’ (Lit. ‘while his stomach has collapsed’)

3. *kù̱ lêɛ̱ṯ.*
and shiver.3SG
‘and he trembled.’ (Lit. ‘and it makes him shiver’) (t.)

As with the other auxiliary verbs, a dependent *kù̱*-clause may itself introduce the perfect auxiliary verb, as exemplified in (83.4). This *kù̱*-clause is dependent on the temporal clause in (83.3), which has no perfect auxiliary verb. The perfect auxiliary verb in (83.4) indicates a state resulting from the event of moving to a sitting position.

(83) 1. *nàa wɛ̱́n à pɛ̱́ɛɛc,*
when when ? wake_up.3SG
‘When he woke up,’

2. *kɛ̱̀ tɪ̱̀ŋ tɪ̱̀ùrɪ̀ùmbíl ɛ̱̀ bɛ̱̀ŋ*
then see [car.SG.CS1 of chief.SG.GEN]
‘then he saw the inspector’s car’

3. *kɛ̱́ kɛ̱̂aac*
while stand
‘standing’

4. *kù̱ cɛ̱́ bɛ̱̀ŋ ɲɪ̀ùc ké*
and PF chief.SG.GEN sit.NF [COM
kɔ̂ɔc cáaɛ̱̀ ké jè.
person.PL.CS1 [walk [COM 3SG]]]
‘and the inspector himself sitting with those escorting him.’ (t.)

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8 Conclusion

As shown in this article, Dinka has a coordination construction in which a clause with dependent status is coordinated with a preceding clause by means of the conjunction *kụ̀* 'and'; we have seen that *kụ̀* is also used for coordinating both noun phrases and independent clauses. The dependent *kụ̀*-clause is dependent in the sense that, in itself, it does not express any particular semantic function, but is interpreted as having the same semantic function as its preceding coordinand, which thus controls the interpretation of the *kụ̀*-clause. To a large extent, a dependent *kụ̀*-clause also has fewer markers of tense, aspect and mood (TAM) than its coordinand, but again it is interpreted as having the same TAM as that clause. Since a dependent *kụ̀*-clause is not subordinate, it falls into the category that Foley and Van Valin (1984) call cosubordinate, and it belongs to what Longacre (2007) calls initial-consecutive (as opposed to medial-final) chaining structures.

The controlling clause may be of any type semantically and syntactically. Thus, the controlling clause in Dinka is not restricted to being an independent clause. The controlling clause may also be a dependent clause, whether an adverbial clause or a relative clause. By contrast, all dependent *kụ̀*-clauses are structured alike syntactically.

As observed by Stassen (1985: 90) and Longacre (1990), among others, there is a strong tendency for languages with medial-final chaining to be SOV in clause structure and for languages with initial-consecutive chaining to be VSO or SVO in structure. The Dinka language conforms to this tendency since it has both SVO and VSO constructions (but not SOV).

It is generally taken for granted that in order for two (or more) units to be coordinated, they must be of the same type, cf. e.g. Haspelmath (2007: 1). While this condition is clearly fulfilled when *kụ̀* coordinates noun phrases or independent clauses, a dependent *kụ̀*-clause does not have the same syntactic status as the clause with which it is conjoined (unless the latter is also a dependent *kụ̀*-clause). But the sameness condition may be said to be fulfilled semantically, in that the overall construction forces an interpretation of the dependent *kụ̀*-clause as having the same semantic function and TAM as its coordinand.

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Abbreviations

? morpheme with unidentified meaning, 1PL first person plural, 1SG first person singular, 2PL second person plural, 2SG second person singular, 3PL third person plural, 3SG third person singular, AFF affirmative, ALL allative, AP antipassive, APPL applicative, CAUS causative, CF centrifugal, COM comitative, COMPL complementizer, CONT continuous, CP centripetal, CS1 first construct state, CS2 second construct state, CT having a circumstantial topic, D declarative, DEM demonstrative, DEM1 first person demonstrative, DEM3 third person demonstrative, DIM diminutive, EP externally possessed, ESS/ABL essive/ablative, FUT future, GEN genitive, H shift to high tone, HAB habitual, IRR irrealis, LOC locative, MID middle, NEG negation, NF non-finite, NMLZ nominalized, NP noun phrase, NST having a non-subject topic, P2 time particle: in the distant past of today (as opposed to recent past of today), P3 time particle: earlier than last midnight (possibly hesternal), P4 time particle: long ago, PF perfect, PL plural, PREP multipurpose preposition, PRO proform, PST past, QUANT quantification marker, REC reciprocal, SEQ sequential, SG singular, UNSP unspecified subject.

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DOI 10.15460/auue.2023.96.1.327