Dependent clauses with the conjunction kȗ ‘and’ in Dinka: Clause chaining in a non-SOV language

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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:

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Dependent clauses with the conjunction kù ‘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 kù ‘and’, which is also used for coordinating both noun phrases and independent clauses. Dependent kù-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 kù ‘and’, which is also used for coordinating both noun phrases and independent clauses. Dependent kù-clauses, which all have the same syntactic structure, do not express any particular illocutionary force and interpropositional 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.
or semantic function and generally also the same tense, aspect and mood as that clause. Depending on the preceding clause, a dependent kù-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) kù têɛɛl rǐñ

and cook.3SG meat.SG

Thus, a sentence that includes a dependent kù-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 kù-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 kù ‘and’ is used. Section 5 briefly describes the structure of dependent kù-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 kù-clause is dependent, i.e., the preceding clause, can be of any type, (ii) that the kù-clause gets its illocutionary force and/or its semantic function from that clause, and (iii) that kù-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 kù-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
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 (V̂), 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).
(2) a. märjàal 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 märjàal
Mabor.sg D.sg=beat.NST Marial.sg.gen è̤ lé̤c.
[PREP stick.sg]
c. lé̤c à=t̪ɛ́ɛt märjàal 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.
The topic slot (3.1) may be empty, but in that case a third person pro-
nominal 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 addi-
tional auxiliary verbs in non-finite form preceding the semantically
main verb. The second object of a ditransitive verb or the comple-
ment 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 nom-
inal subject the finite verb has a form glossed as NST (for “having
a non-subject topic”), as in (4c). Here the topic màkêr ‘Maker’ is
an adjunct, since in postverbal position this participant would be
expressed as the prepositional phrase (n)è màkêr. 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 sub-
ject 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.  djàar  áa = cèn  pìiw.
     woman.PL D.PL = not_have  water.PL
     ‘The women have no water.’ (t.)
b.  *tìim à=jép-kṳ̀.*
   tree.SG  D.SG = cut-1PL
   ‘We are cutting the tree.’

c.  *màkè̤er à=bɛ̤́ɛɛr 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 *è̤*.
    5. Pronominal cross-reference of the topic.
    6. Negation *cè̤* or irrealis marker *d(j)è̤*.

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 *è̤* 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 *cè̤* or the irrealis marker *d(j)è̤* 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 *ɡóo*, which have a declarative function (6c), relative clauses (6d), and temporal or conditional clauses with the conjunction *nàa* ‘when, if’ (6e) or *tè̤* ‘when, if’ (6f). The relative clause in (6d) is verb-initial since it begins with the auxiliary verb *cè̤*. 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).
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. ṅëek tɔ̥ɔk?
    kill.3SG goat.SG
    ‘Is he killing a goat?’

b. mwɔ́ɔc à tɔ̥ɔk è màcér!
    give.2SG [1SG mouth.SG] PREP tobacco.SG
    ‘Give my mouth tobacco!’ (t.)

c. ãóo márjàal mèt̪ tàaat.
    SEQ Marial.SG.GEN child.SG beat.NF
    ‘Then Marial beat the child.’

d. jóŋ cé mèt̪ câam
    dog.SG.cs1 [PF child.SG eat.NF]
    ‘the dog which has bitten the child’

e. nàa bì àfì, [...].
    if come chicken.SG.GEN
    ‘If a chicken comes, […]’ (t.)

f. tè t̪wuuɲ kée̤ k̪òt, [...].
    if eliminate.NST 3PL.GEN hippopotamus.PL
    ‘If they eliminate the hippopotamis, […].’ (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 kë ‘thing’, is covert in the sense of being zero.
(7) a.  mɛ́ɛɛn tìik?
       hate.NST woman.SG
          ‘Does the woman hate him?’

b.  ké̤ céɛm mì̤ìt
       thing.SG.CS1 [eat.NST child.PL]
          ‘what children eat’

(8) cĩĩ  ŋá  tɔ̄ŋ  kwêem?
       pf.NST who.GEN pot.SG break.NF
          ‘Who has broken the pot with it?’

(9) 1.  ân  à=ɡóoor  è̤ páal
       1SG  D.SG =search.AP [PREP knife.SG]
          ‘I want a knife’

   2.  báan  âjì̤t  téeem  rɔ́l.
       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
bỹi (fut.NST) and the subject uję̌en (1SG.GEN). Some types of adver-
bial clauses always require the NST form of the verb (except when
the subject is unspecified), for instance clauses beginning with the
conjunction të̤ ‘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 fol-
lowed 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 par-
ticle ké̤ ‘then’, which are declarative but have no declarative marker
(10.2); adverbial clauses beginning with the conjunctive particle
(k)é̤ ‘while’ (11.2); and adverbial clauses in which the particle cẽ
‘not’ occurs after the conjunction náa ~ nàa ‘when, if’ (12.1). The negation cè 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 uò ‘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 cǐi in (11.1) expresses an unspecified subject (translated as passive), and therefore it does not have the NST form.

(10) 1. wán jòok jéen tiik båaaj
   when find.NST 3SG.GEN woman.SG home.LOC
   é tòk,
   [3SG one]
   ‘When he found the woman alone in the house,’

2. kè tjécè è pǐiw.
   then ask.AP [PREP water.PL]
   ‘then he asked for water.’ (t.)

(11) 1. rów à=cǐi nòòk
   hippopotamus.SG D.SG=PF.UNSP kill.NF
   tôooc
   swamp.LOC
   ‘A hippopotamus has been killed in the swamp’

2. kè kòc máj.
   while person.PL fish.AP.H
   ‘while people were fishing.’ (t.)

(12) 1. náa cè uòò tjáj
   if NEG 1PL separate.H
   ‘If we don’t separate,’

2. kè ràaan tòk à=cè
   then [person.SG.CS2 one] D.SG = NEG

3 The phrase é tòk is what yields the meaning of ‘alone’.
If there is more than one preverbal particle, the preverbal NP occurs after the first of them, as in the question (13), where tìik ‘woman’ occurs between the past tense particle _transactions in a non-SOV language_ and the negation particle çè. The past tense marker è is not an auxiliary verb since it cannot be inflected.

(13) è̤ tìik çè tàal mjèet?

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word class</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Label</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auxiliary verbs</td>
<td>cë ~ cï</td>
<td>Perfect (PF)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>këec ~ kïic</td>
<td>Negative perfect (NEG.PF)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bë</td>
<td>Future (FUT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ëe or jëe</td>
<td>Habitual (HAB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Particles</td>
<td>sg. à, pl. áa or àa</td>
<td>Declarative (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ë or ê</td>
<td>Backgrounded past tense (PST)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>djë ~ dë</td>
<td>Irrealis (IRR)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2 The perfect auxiliary verbs cë (PF) and këec (NEG.PF)

The perfect auxiliary verb cë ~ cï (PF) and its negative counterpart këec ~ kïic (NEG.PF) often or mostly have perfect meaning. In (14) cë 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) cë tòw means ‘he has/had died’, indicating a state which results from the event of dying.

(14) a. ufaqak = k-wà áa = cë ðwóok
     c_wør.CS2 = PL-1PL D.PL = PF.3SG return.APPL.NF
     uqò.⁴
     1PL
     ‘He has returned our cows to us.’ (t.)

b. kù dʒëŋ àdweër kë cë tòw.
     and remain Aduer.SG [while PF die.NF]
     ‘and Aduer remained, while dead.’ (t.)

c. nòoon cïi nàaj
     grass.SG.CS1 [PF.UNSP twist.NF]
     ‘twisted grass’ (Lit. ‘grass which has been twisted’) (t.)

⁴ The finite auxiliary verb cë expresses a third person singular subject, while the verb ðwóok ‘return’ is the main verb with non-finite form.
Some speakers also use cé as a perfective past tense marker, as in (15).

(15) kè̤ àŋè̤jò̤oon àa = cé̤ bê̤̄en è̤ wê̤̄cej then vulture.PL D.PL = PF come.NF [PREP [chyme.SG ic.
stomach.SG]]
‘then the vultures came to a chyme.’ (t.)

Other speakers only use cé as a perfective past tense marker in combination with another auxiliary verb, especially the non-finite form bànè̤, which literally means ‘come and do’, as in (16.2). The perfect auxiliary verb form cî in (16.2) expresses an unspecified subject.

(16) 1. wán cî̤i-nè̤ jè̤ gâam è̤ when PF-UNSP.CT 3SG agree.NF [by râaan ě̤bân, person.SG.GEN all]
‘When it was agreed upon by everybody,’

2. kɔ̀c àa = cîi bànè̤ kwâ̤aŋ. person.PL D.PL = PF.UNSP come_and_do.NF pick.NF ‘people were nominated [...].’ (t.)

The perfect auxiliary verb cé does not combine with the negation cè̤. Instead, the negative perfect auxiliary verb kê̤ec is used; that is, the negative counterpart of (17a) is (17b).

(17) a. tîik à̤ = cé̤ mjè̤t̪ t̪áaal. woman.SG D.SG = PF food.SG cook.NF ‘The woman has cooked food.’

b. tîik à̤ = kê̤ec mjè̤t̪ 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) kè̤ jî̤in à̤ = cè̤ bê̤er-è̤ lâat then 2SG D.SG = NEG do_again-UNSP insult.NF
3.3 The future auxiliary verb bè (FUT)

The future auxiliary verb bè (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).

(19) lwóok àa = bëi tâaap njàak.
    case.pl D.PL = FUT.UNSP finish.NF tomorrow
    ‘The cases will be finalized tomorrow.’ (t.)

(20) 1. bòoliit áa = bà tóoc
    policeman.pl D.PL = FUT.1SG send.NF
    ‘I will send the police’

2. bitik kóc lɛ̂k.
    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. àrjóoc èe mjëet = k-è mûuk.
    coward.sg D.SG.HAB child.PL.CS2 = PL-3SG hold.NF
    ‘A coward feeds his children.’ (a proverb) (t.)
b. éé màaŋ è bâaŋgè?
   HAB.2SG smoke.AP.NF [PREP opium.SG]
   Do you smoke opium?’ (t.)

3.5 The past tense particle è or é (PST)

The past tense particle è or é (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. bëeëj = k-éen áa kè tjáaak.⁶
   home.PL.CS2 = PL-3PL D.PL.PST 3PL be_near.REC
   ‘Their homes were near each other.’ (t.)

   b. kɔɔc àbëeëk áa kè mëcc
   [person.PL.CS1 part.PL] D.PL.PST 3PL tie.AP
   è uʃìk è lwák cóok.
   [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 è/é fuses with the singular declarative marker à into éé.

(23) a. tôoc éé jëe màaj
   swamp.SG D.SG.PST HAB spend_dry_season.NF
   kè pììw.
   [COM water.PL]
   ‘The swamp used to remain with water during winter.’ (t.)

   b. áa këe càat ëpàt.
   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.

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⁶ The morpheme -k in bëeëj = k-éen ‘their homes’ indicates plural possessum, not plural possessor.
(24) a. kʊ̀ rʊ̆ŏt̪ áa kɛ̀ cé djɛ̂t̪
    and hippopotamus.PL  D.PL.PST  3PL  PF  bear.AP.NF
    very_much
    ‘And hippopotami had multiplied in great number.’ (t.)

b. jɛ̂en ēe k̪ĭc dâac bɛ̂ɛ̂n
    3SG  D.SG.PST  PF.NEG  do soon.NF  come.NF
    nɐ̂ wɛ̂́ɛt̪ è̂ mɛ̂ɛc è̂
    [PREP  [word.SG.CS1  of  [be_far.NMLZ.SG.CS1  of
    pɪn.
    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. ē̂ rɔ́w n lá̂k
    PST  hippopotamus.SG  kill.UNSP
    tjʊ̂ow?
    place.SG.CS1.which.SG.ESS/ABL
    ‘Where was the hippopotamus killed?’ (t.)

b. mĵ̩aar=d-jô̂ ēe djɛ̂t̪ wɛ̂ɛ
    bull.SG.CS2=SG-1SG  D.SG.PST  give_birth.UNSP  [P3
    rʊ̆ut.
    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 goo (SEQ), as in (26), or with the word kɛ̀
‘then’, as in (27)–(28). A clause with kɛ̀ ‘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 kɛ̀-clause without the declarative marker (with kɛ̀
counting as a particle) is a statement about a specific past event, as in (27.2). By contrast, a kè-clause with the declarative marker (with kè 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. góo kwąak jiiit pìn.
    seq.3sg catch.cf.nf ear.pl ground.all
    ‘Then he seized its ears.’

2.  góo ñwɔnɔŋ íć ɲeɛɛer.
    seq lion.sg stomach.sg.ep collapse.nf
    ‘Then the lion got frightened.’ (Lit. ‘Then the lion’s stomach collapsed’) (t.)

(27) 1. nàa ɰɔ̀n njąak,
    when.be.3sg p4 tomorrow
    ‘The following morning,’

2. kè bán rjèeel tèn è
    then chief.sg go_early.cp [place.sg.cs1.all of lwɔok.
    case.pl]
    ‘the chief came early to the cases.’ (t.)

(28) 1. nàa máj kɔ̀c,7
    when fish.ap.h person.pl.gen
    ‘When people fished,’

2. kè ròot áa kɔ̀c
    then hippopotamus.pl d.pl.hab person.pl
    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.
3.6 The irrealis particle \(djè\) \(\sim\) \(dè\) (IRR)

The irrealis particle \(djè\) (IRR), with the shortened variant \(dè\), has counterfactual meaning, as illustrated in (29).

(29) a. \(ée\) \(dè\) \(cé\) \(țòw\).
   D.SG.PST   IRR   PF   die.NF
   ‘He would have died.’ [but he didn’t] (t.)

b. \(nàŋ\) \(é\) \(kɛɛc\) \(là\) \(kôọŋ\),
   if   PST   NEG.PF.1SG   go_and_do.NF   help.NF
   ‘If I had not helped him,’
   \(ée\) \(dè\) \(cé\) \(mọọw\).
   D.SG.PST   IRR   PF   drown.MID.NF
   ‘he would have drowned.’

4 Coordination with \(kù\) ‘and’

The conjunction \(kù\) ‘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 \(kù\) ‘and’ between them. In (30) the simple NP \(d̪ɔ̤̀ɔk\) ‘boy’ and the complex NP \(ɲàn\) \(è\) \(márjàal\) ‘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 \(bɔ̤́\) ‘come’.

(30) \(d̪ɔ̤̀ɔk\) \(kù\) \(ɲàn\) \(è\) \(márjàal\)
   [boy.SG   and   [girl.SG.CS1   of   Marial.SG.GEN]]
   \(àa\) = \(bʒ\).
   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.
1. pî̤iw è̤ pwò̤ot âa kɔ̤̂ɔɔc,
   [water.PL.CS1 of pool.PL] D.PL.HAB stand.NF
   ‘Water in pools remains stagnant,’
2. kṳ̀ kã̤k è̤ ɲí̤iin âa
   and [thing.PL.CS1 of tributary.PL] D.PL.HAB
   rṳ̀ŋ wï̤iir.
   run.NF river.LOC
   ‘and tributaries run to the river.’ (t.)

1. tjôop áa=cè̤ pát̪,
   soil.PL D.PL=NEG be_good.H
   ‘The soils are infertile,’
2. kṳ̀ áa=lè̤w bì̤ik dâac
   and D.PL=be_able [FUT.3PL do_quickly.NF jï̤ï̤it.
   erode.NF]
   ‘and they are liable to erosion.’ (t.)

The fact that the conjunction kù 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 ʔùu ‘and’, and Regariik wà ‘and’. These five languages all belong to the Burun branch of the Western Nilotic family.
The third use of the conjunction kù ‘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 kù contrasts with the conjunction ká ‘or’, which in the same way is dependent on the preceding clause, as in (34). The structure of dependent kù-clauses is illustrated in the next section, but dependent clauses with ‘or’ have the same structure as dependent kù-clauses.

(33) t̪jów èe kɔ̀c pɛ̂̂n
guinea_worm.SG D.SG.HAB person.PL refuse.APPL.NF
cà̤at, kù nɛ̀ek kɔ̤̀k
walk.NMLZ.SG and kill.3SG some.PL
‘Guinea worm prevents people from walking and kills some’
(t.)

(34) tè̤ cí̤n àwwò̤oc lôooj,
if PF.NST.2SG.GEN mistake.SG do.NF
‘If you have made a mistake,’
kè̤ jî̤in à=nô̤ok, ká mà̤c jì̤ [...].
then 2SG D.SG=hang.UNSP or tie.UNSP 2SG
‘you are hung or imprisoned [...]’. (t.)

5 Structure of dependent kù-clauses

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

Dependent kù-clauses are mostly verb-initial, but they can also be particle-initial since they may be negative, in which case the particle cè ‘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 kù-clauses in (35)–(41). They are translated in such a way that they fit the textual context from which they have been extracted.
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. kù dɔ̤̂ɔŋ àwàn cêeen
    and remain fox.SG.Gen back.ALL
    ‘and the fox remained behind’ (t.)

b. kù tjèec méeen cóol
    and ask Mayen.SG Col.SG
    ‘and Mayen asked Col’ (t.)

(36) a. kù cé̤ tòoc pjàat̪ àrë̤et
    and PF swamp.SG.Gen be_good.nf very_much
    ‘and the swamp had become very nice’ (t.)

b. kù jól àmūd̪òoo ròot
    and do_then.H greedy_person.PL self.PL
tɔ̤́ɔɔŋ
    say_goodbye_to.nf
    ‘and in the end the greedies said good-bye to one an-
other’ (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. kù ŋòow
    and die.3SG
    ‘and it died’ (t.)

b. kù jòok dít ròoor
    and find.3SG bird.SG forest.LOC
    ‘and he found the bird in the forest’ (t.)

c. kù nécek kè mwɔ̀ɔr è̤
    and kill.APPL.3SG 3PL [bull.SG.CS1 of
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) kù bwóòt ràn  tìit
and follow.NST [person.SG.CS1 be_brown]
‘and an Egyptian followed him’ (t.)

(39) a. kù cóop-kì wéj
and chase.CF-3PL away
‘and they chased him away’ (t.)

b. kù tjá̤k
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 kù-clause with a covert object, in a kù-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 jìn in (40b) is a contraction of jée and the 2SG subject jín. In (40a) the covert adjunct refers to a place, which is resumed by the proform tìn ‘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 nè, and it refers to a language.

(40) a. kù jée dē̄eŋ tè̄eŋ tìn
and HAB.NST rain.PL rain.NF PRO.ESS/ABL
àpè̆ĕj
very much
‘and rains rained heavily there’ (t.)
b. \textit{kù} \textit{jì̤in} \textit{ji̤am} \\
and \textit{HAB.NST.2SG.GEN} \textit{speaks.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 \textit{cè} ‘not’ may intervene between \textit{kù} 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. \textit{kù} \textit{cè} \textit{kè} \textit{mî̤it̪ tɛ̤̀ɛn tó̤k} \\
and \textit{NEG 3PL} \textit{eat [place.SG.CS2 one.ESS/ABL]} \\
‘and they did not eat together’ (t.)

b. \textit{kù} \textit{cè} \textit{gám jì̤jej} \\
and \textit{NEG accept.H order.NMLZ.SG} \\
‘and he did not accept advice’ (t.)

After having accounted for the internal structure of dependent \textit{kù}-clauses in the present section, the next section will show the range of clause types on which \textit{kù}-clauses can be dependent.

### 6 Dependence on various types of preceding clauses

The clause on which a \textit{kù}-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 \textit{kù}-clause. This is shown in the following subsections, where the relevant instances of \textit{kù} are underlined in the interlinear translation.

#### 6.1 Dependence on an independent clause

This subsection shows that an independent clause on which a \textit{kù}-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 \textit{kù}-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.
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 kè ‘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 kɂ-clause.

(42) 1. kù rò̤ot̪ áa kè cé̤and hippopotamus.PL D.PL.PST 3PL PF
djët̪ àpècej,

bear.AP.NF very.much

‘And hippopotami had multiplied in great number,’

2. kù cé̤ tòoc pjàat̪ áṛe̤et̪.and 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 kè ‘then’ and is preceded by a conditional clause (43.1). Again the dependent kù-clause (43.3) has no declarative marker, but must be interpreted as an additional statement consequent to (43.1).

(43) 1. náa ṳg̣ok,

if be_angry.2SG

‘If you quarrelled,’

2. kè jë̤jë̤n à=kṳ̀um,then 2SG D.SG = punish.UNSP

‘you were punished’

3. kù mác li,and catch.UNSP 2SG

‘and jailed.’ (t.)
The same construction is seen in (44). The kù-clause (44.3) is dependent on a declarative clause (44.2) which begins with the adverb kè ‘then’. This declarative clause is preceded by an adverbial subordinate clause (44.1) beginning with the conjunction nàa ‘if’, which fuses with the following finite verb èe (be.3SG) into nàa. The main clause (44.2), the apodosis, expresses the consequence of (44.1), the protasis, and the kù-clause (44.3) must be interpreted as describing an additional consequence and thus as having the same illocutionary force as (44.2).

(44) 1. nàa ràn cêem
   if.be.3SG [person.SG.CS1 [eat.NST
   ròw,]
   hippopotamus.SG.GEN]
   ‘If somebody is eaten by a hippopotamus,’ (Lit. ‘If it is a
   person whom a hippopotamus eats’)

2. kè ràn nìŋ ràaan
   then [person.SG.CS1 [have person.SG]]
   â=ljèp lûk,
   D.SG = open case.SG
   ‘his relative (Lit. ‘the person who has the person) will
   open a case’

3. kù tjèec àppûuk=d-è.
   and ask.3SG compensation.SG.CS2=SG-3SG
   ‘and ask for his compensation.’ (t.)

As stated in section 3.5, kè-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 kè-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 kù-clause in (45.3), must be interpreted as having the same illocutionary force as the main clause (45.2).

(45) 1. wà̤n ɰéet kéek tè
   [when arrive.NST 3PL.GEN place.SG.CS1
mèc,
[be_far.ALL]]
‘When they reached a remote place,’
2. kè láj réect pwóow,
then animal.SG get_torn heart.SG ‘the animal’s heart broke,’
3. kù tòow.
and die.3SG ‘and it died.’ (t.)
A kù-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 tiik jnwòòoc,
SEQ.NST woman.SG sit.CAU.SNF ‘Then the woman seated him’
2. kù mwòòoc tòk è pììw.
and give.3SG mouth.SG [PREP water.PL] ‘and gave him (Lit. ‘his mouth’) water.’ (t.)
In examples (43)–(46), the subject of the kù-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 kù-clause is not coreferential with the subject rò̤ot̪ ‘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 kù-clauses (apart from the initial kù). Therefore, if a kù-clause is preceded by an interrogative clause, as in (47)–(48), or an imperative clause, as in (49), then it is indeterminable whether the kù-clause is dependent or independent. 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 pàɲàaar kèek ě kè ná̤k
be.3SG Panyar.PL 3PL PST 3PL kill.H
rɔ́w,
hippopotamus.SG
‘Was it the Panyar who killed the hippopotamus’
2. kù lii̍w àtwɔ̌ɔj tǐn?
and be_absent Athoi.PL PRO.ESS/ABL
‘and were the Athuoi not involved?’ (t.)

(48) 1. jà̍l ηá,
leave.H who.SG.GEN
‘Who is leaving,’
2. kù dɔ̎ɔŋ ηá?
and remain who.SG.GEN
‘and who is staying?’

(49) 1. pàł-kà̍ kè,
leave-2PL 3PL
‘Leave them,’
2. kù bɔ̌ɔk lwàŋ è̤ n̪jàlíc.
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 tè ‘when, if’ (section 6.2.1), causal clauses with the conjunction nè̤ wɛ̂t ‘because’ and rìn ‘because’ (section 6.2.2), temporal clauses with the conjunctional particle (k)è̤ ‘while’ and the conjunction à ‘until’ (section 6.2.3), and purposive or resultative clauses beginning with the future auxiliary verb bé̤ (section 6.2.4).

6.2.1 Dependence on an adverbial clause with the conjunction nàa or tè ‘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
as having the same semantic function, namely that of a condition. The main clause occurs in (50.3) and is followed by another dependent kù-clause in (50.4).

(50) 1. nàa bɔ́ ájit,  
   if come chicken.SG.GEN  
   ‘If a chicken comes’  

2. kù gṳ̀ut,  
   and stab.3SG  
   ‘and picks it,’  

3. k=à=róoot áwàn nòm  
   then=D.SG=press.NST fox.SG.GEN head.SG  
   êe t̪àr,  
   [PREP.3SG pair_of_buttocks.SG]  
   ‘then the fox traps its head in its buttocks’  

4. kù kɛ̀ɛt ké jè.  
   and flee.3SG [COM 3SG]  
   ‘and escapes with it.’ (t.)

The kù-clause in (51.2) is dependent on another type of conditional clause, namely one that begins with the conjunction tè ‘when, if’ (51.1). Like (50.2), the kù-clause in (51.2) adds another condition. Unlike the conjunction nàa, the conjunction tè 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 c̤í (PF.NST) into c̤íin. By contrast, the same subject is expressed by the inflection of the verb nɔ́ŋ (have.2SG) in the kù-clause.

(51) 1. tè c̤íin tíŋ twèeŋ  
   if PF.NST.2SG.GEN [woman.SG.CS1 front.ESS/ABL]  
   tjàaak,  
   marry.NF  
   ‘If you have married the first wife’

2. kù nɔ́ŋ uʃ̤k,  
   and have.2SG cow.PL  
   ‘and have cows,’
3. \[kè̤ jî̤in à=t̪jàak tjɛ́ɛŋ t̪ìi.\]
   then 2SG D.SG = marry [woman.SG.CS2 DIM]
   ‘you can marry a junior wife.’ (t.)

In (50) and in several other examples, the \(kù\)-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 \(kù\)-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 \(nè̤ wɛ̤́ɛt\) or \(rin\) ‘because’

The \(kù\)-clause in (52.4) is dependent on the adverbial clause in (52.3), which begins with the complex conjunction \(nè̤ wɛ̤́ɛt\) ‘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 \(kè\) ‘then’. The \(kù\)-clause adds another reason to the reason given in (52.3). A clause beginning with \(nè̤ wɛ̤́ɛt\) ‘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 \(kù\)-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. \[kè̤ ṳá̤an d̪ì̤it máaw k̪é\]
   then [place.PL.CS1 [be_big.NST tsetsefly.SG PL t̪́n, PRO.ESS/ABL]]
   ‘Then in places where tsetseflies are abundant,’

2. \[pwó̤or è̤ d̪óm èe\]
   [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).
kùur,
be_small.NF
‘cultivation becomes little,’
3. nè wëct éen kùc
[PREP word.SG.CS1 HAB.NST.3SG.GEN person.PL
câam,
eat.NF
‘because they bite people’
4. kù mòoc làaj.
and shoot.3SG animal.PL]
‘and sting animals.’ (t.)
The kù-clause in (53.3) is dependent on the reason clause in (53.2), which begins with the conjunction rìn ‘because’. Again the kù-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 cìi. And again, the finite verb of the kù-clause, dòom ‘catch’, does not have the NST form, but the inflectionally unmarked form before the subject kèeèc è wùun ‘his father’s spiritual strength’.

(53) 1. à = cèn ràn dàl
D.SG = not_have [person.SG.CS1 despise
lwàŋ è màkwèer è
[shrine.SG.CS1 of Makuer.SG.CS1.GEN of
gòl
Gol.SG.GEN]]
‘Nobody disbelieves the shrine of Makuer (son of) Gol’
2. rìn cìi wùun è
because PF.NST father.SG.3SG 3SG
bàar è,
leave_as_inheritance.APPL.NF 3SG
‘as his father had left him it as an inheritance’
3. kù dòom kèeèc è
and catch.AP [be_bitter.NMLZ.SG.CS1 of
wùun è̤ jé gwọ̤op.
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 ké̤ ~ é̤ ‘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 é̤ (≈ ké̤) ‘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 cé̤ kwè̤eeŋ tò̤ok,
    when PF swear.NMLZ.SG finish.NF
    ‘When swearing had ended,’

2. kè̤ kòc àa=rɛ̤̂ɛɛr
    then person.PL D.PL=stay
    ‘then people stayed separate’

3. é̤ kè̤ cè̤ dê̤ek,
    [while 3PL NEG drink.AP
    ‘without drinking’ (Lit. ‘while they do not drink’) 

4. kù cé̤ ké̤ mút tè̤en tò̤k,
    and NEG 3PL eat [place.SG.CS2 one.ESS/ABL]
    ‘and eating together’ (Lit. ‘and they do not eat in one place’)

5. àgǘt tè̤ tò̤ok pà̤j 
    [until when end.NST [month.PL

Published by Hamburg University Press
DOI 10.15460/auue.2023.96.1.327
The word sequence kè cè in (54.3) is reversed to cè 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 é counts as a particle, the conjunction k浥 does not.

The k浥-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 k浥-clause describes the time limit of the situation denoted by the main clause.

(55) 1. tè dà k=èe
   [place.sg.cs1 other.ess/abl] then=d.sg.be
   mwɔɔr è wòn 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 bè wàr cwáat pìɲ
   until fut.3sg cowdung.pl throw.cf.nf down.all
   ‘until it throws down dungs’

3. k浥 lèɛɛc.
   and urinate.3sg
   ‘and urinates.’ (t.)

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

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

kaña dètém.
3pl.quant six]]
‘until the end of six months.’ (t.)
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(56) 1.  
\[\text{kw=àpàac} \quad \text{ée} \quad \text{cé}\]  
\[\text{and=floating_swampgrass.SG} \quad \text{D.SG.PST} \quad \text{PF}\]  
\[\text{uếẹet} \quad \text{è} \quad \text{bàaj} \quad \text{kɔw}\]  
\[\text{arrive.CP.NF} \quad [\text{PREP} \quad \text{home.SG} \quad \text{back.SG}]\]  
‘and floating swampgrass had come to inhabited area’

2.  
\[\text{bë} \quad \text{uɔk} \quad \text{åa} \quad \text{njwàt},\]  
\[\text{FUT} \quad \text{cow.PL GEN} \quad \text{HAB.NF} \quad \text{graze.AP.NF}\]  
‘so that cows pastured’

3.  
\[\text{kṳ̀ dëek-kè} \quad \text{è} \quad \text{wút} \quad \text{còok.}\]  
\[\text{and} \quad \text{drink.AP-3PL} \quad [\text{PREP} \quad \text{cattle_camp.SG} \quad \text{foot.SG}]\]  
‘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 kù-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 kù-clause in (57.2), kù gɔɔɔŋ kɔc, which literally means ‘and she accommodates people’, is dependent on the relative clause in (57.1), è kɔc lôoor è dɔɔl ‘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 kù-clause has a third person subject which is coreferential with the relativized subject in (57.1), and it is represented in the finite verb gɔɔɔŋ ‘accomodate’, so the kù-clause does not have the structure of a relative clause. However, using Comrie’s (1981: 136) functional definition of the notion relative clause, the kù-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 kù-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.  
\[\text{tíŋ} \quad \text{è} \quad \text{kɔc} \quad \text{lôoor}\]  
\[\text{[woman.SG.CS1] [HAB person.PL receive.NF]}\]
è̤ dɔ̂ɔl
[PREP laugh.NMLZ.SG]]
‘A woman who receives people with laughter’

2. kù gòọọŋ kóc,
and accommodate.3SG person.PL
‘and provides for people’

3. à=jée bâaaj njâaar kù
D.SG = HAB.NST home.SG.GEN love.NF and
pâaan = d-è.
in.laws.SG-CS2 = SG-3SG
‘is liked by people and her in-laws.’ (t.)

The relative clause tjá̤aak ké ɲìn è̤ wà̤ar ‘which is near the tribu-
tary’ in (58.3) has a relativized subject and is headed by the noun tè̤ ‘place’. It is followed by the kù-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 dê̤eŋ ‘rains’ of the intransitive main verb twɛ̀ɛɲ ‘rain’. The covert adjunct has a locative function as shown by the fact that it is resumed by the essive/ablative pro-adverb t̪í̤n ‘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 tè̤ ‘place’ of the relative clause; so like the relative clause in (58.3), the kù-clause in (58.4) has the function of restricting the potential range of referents of this noun. Another kù-
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 tè̤ ‘place’.

(58) 1. góo djàar gâam,
SEQ.NST woman.PL accept.NF
‘Then the women accepted it’

2. kù uọọọt-kè tè méc
and move.CF-3PL [place.SG-CS1 be_far.ALL]
‘and they moved to a remote place,’
3. tȩ̤̀ tʃaak ké̤ niŋ
place.sg.cs1 [be_near.rec COM tributary.sg.cs1
d Last wà̤r,
of river.sg.gen]
‘an area which was near the tributary’

4. kṳ̀ jée dê̤eŋ twɛ̀ɛɲ tí̤n
and HAB.NST rain.PL rain.NF PRO.ESS/ABL
àpêej,
very_much
‘and in which there were heavy rains’ (Lit. ‘and rains rain
very much there’)

5. kṳ̀ nɔ̀ɔŋ mî̤iit̪ êe câam.
and 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 ké̤ ‘thing’ is modified by a relative clause. This
noun semantically instantiates a reason (hence an adjunct) for the
main verb bɛ̂̂ɛn ‘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-jè̤ ‘my people’
and that the non-finite main verb bɛ̂̂ɛn ‘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 njîic ‘know’ in the
complement clause in (59.4), which itself is the object of the verb
wjè̤ec ‘I want’ in the main clause in (59.3).

(59) 1. ké̤ ée káac = c-jȩ̤̀
thing.sg.cs1 [hab.nst person.pl.cs2.gen = pl-1sg
lɔ̀ bɛ̂̂ɛn róoor
go_and_do.nf come.nf bush.loc]
‘The reason why my people come from the bush’
2. \[ \text{kù tòw-kì} \]
and die-3PL
‘and die’ (Lit. ‘and they die’)

3. \[ k = à = wjèec \]
AFF = D.SG = want.1SG
‘I want’

4. \[ bà njìc. \]
[FUT.1SG know.NF]
‘to know.’ (t.)

6.4 Dependence on a dependent \(kù\)-clause

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

Sentence (60) consists of an independent clause in (60.1) and three following \(kù\)-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 \(kù\)-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. \[ kù lòoom tòŋ kù páal, \]
and take.3SG [spear.SG and knife.SG]
‘and took a spear and a sword,’

3. \[ kù jòóct é màtjànŋ kòw, \]
and jump.CF.AP.3SG [PREP horse.SG back.SG]
‘mounted the horse’
4. kù ŋɔ̤r twèen.¹⁰  
   and lead.AP.3sg 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 wùun tɔɔk, which literally means ‘father of the goat’.

(61) 1. góo wùun tɔɔk bèen,  
   SEQ [father.SG.cs1 goat.SG] come.NF  
   ‘So the owner of the goat came’
2. kù jɔ́t àwán ëe jét,  
   and raise.cf.3SG fox.SG [PREP.3SG neck.SG]  
   ‘and put the fox on his shoulder’
3. kù uɕɛt 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 kè ‘then’ and whose finite auxiliary verb jɔ́l ‘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 kù-clauses, which continue the event line. Three of these kù-clauses, (62.3), (62.5) and (62.6), also use the auxiliary verb ‘do then’, but here with the third person singular form jɔ́l. As seen in (62.4), a dependent kù-clause may include a subordinate clause such as a temporal clause beginning with the conjunction à ‘until’. However, the following kù-clause in (62.5) is not dependent on that clause, but on the matrix part of the kù-clause.

(62) 1. wán céeen é tééem ról  
   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 ŋɔ̤r ‘lead’ in (60.4) seems to have an irregularly formed antipassive stem.
2. kè̤ ɟɔ̀l ké̤=d-è jâaaŋ,
then do_then thing.SG.CS2=SG-3SG skin.NF
‘then he skinned it (Lit. ‘his thing’)’

3. kù̀ jɔ̅l nɔp,
and do_then.3SG roast.AP.NF
‘and then he roasted’

4. kù̀ cwèet à bè̤ kwɛ̀ɛt̪,
and eat.AP.3SG [until FUT.3SG be_satiated.NF]
‘and he ate until he became satiated’

5. kù̀ jɔ̅l rî̤iŋ kɔ̤̀k
and do_then.3SG [meat.PL.CS1 other.PL]
tîìr,
cut_into_strips.NF
‘and then he cut the rest of the meat into strips’

6. kù̀ jɔ̅l jòom kɔ̤̀k nòop,
and do_then.3SG [bone.PL other.PL] roast.NF
‘and then roasted some bones’

7. kù̀ cwèet kè̤,
and eat.3SG 3PL
‘and ate them’

8. kù̀ géem kɔ̤̀k.
and give.cf.3SG other.PL
‘and gave away some bones.’ (t.)

The kù-clause in (63.2) is dependent on the preceding temporal clause (63.1) that begins with the conjunction nàa ‘when, if’. This kù-clause is followed by another kù-clause in (63.3), which, like the first kù-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 wëew rèen cé dò̤oŋ ‘a little money left’ in (63.3).
2. *kù càatáp gûur,*  
   ‘and had paid the tax,’

3. *kù nòŋ wègew rèen cège*  
   ‘and if there was a little money left,’ (Lit. ‘and it has two money which remained’)

4. *k=áa=d̪ùuk rèn nòŋ*  
   ‘he would give it back to the owner of the bull.’ (t.)

7 Reduced TAM marking

As seen in section 6, a *kù*-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 *kù*-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 *kù*-clause was shown in section 6.1.1. In the following examples, the relevant instances of TAM markers and of *kù* are underlined in the interlinear translation.
7.1 Past tense particle (PST) not repeated

The past tense particle è̤ or é̤ 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 k杜兰-kelas 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 k杜兰-kelas, but also their temporal interpretation.

(64) 1. bɛ̃j=k-éen áa kè̤ t̪já̤aak,
     home.PL.cs2=PL-3PL D.PL.PST 3PL be_near.REC
     ‘Their homes were near each other,‘
  2. k杜兰 níć-kè̤ cəṇ
     and do_properly-3PL inhabit.AP.NF
     kám=k-éen,
     gap.PL.cs2=PL-3PL
     ‘and they lived in harmony,’ (Lit. ‘and they inhabited properly in their gaps’)
  3. k杜兰 jée-kè̤ kwáat tò̤k.
     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 k杜兰-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. k杜兰 rò̤ot̪ áa kè̤ cę̤
     and hippopotamus.PL D.PL.PST 3PL PF
djët ̪ àpêej,
     bear.AP.NF very_much
     ‘And hippopotami had multiplied in great number,’
2. \( \text{kù́ cè́ tòoc pjàat̪ àrê̤et̪.} \)
   \( \text{and PF swamp.SG.GEN be_good.NF very_much} \)
   ‘and the swamp had become very nice.’ (t.)

7.2 Irrealis particle (IRR) not repeated

The irrealis particle \( dè \) in a controller clause is also not repeated in a dependent \( kù́ \)-clause, as exemplified in (66). This particle occurs in the declarative main clause in (66.2) together with the past tense particle \( e \) (here fusing with the plural declarative marker into \( áa \)) and the perfect auxiliary verb \( cè́ \). 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 \( kù́ \)-clause in (66.3), which nevertheless must be interpreted as an additional counterfactual past event.

(66) 1. \( \text{nàŋ é́ cè́ mwô̤ol,} \)
   \( \text{if PST PF stay.NF} \)
   ‘If he had stayed,
   2. \( \text{ràp áa kè dè̤ cè́ tò̤ok,} \)
   \( \text{sorghum.PL D.PL.PST 3PL IRR PF finish.NF} \)
   ‘sorghum would have finished,’
   3. \( \text{kù́ dô̤oŋ ké cɔ́k.} \)
   \( \text{and remain.3SG [COM hunger.SG]} \)
   ‘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 \( dè \) occurs in combination with the preceding \( éé \), which is a fusion of the singular declarative marker \( à \) and the past tense particle \( e \). To the counterfactual past situation described by this clause is added another counterfactual past situation expressed by the dependent \( kù́ \)-clause in (67.2), although none of the TAM markers are repeated here.

(67) 1. \( [...] éé dè̤ njèec lán \)
   \( [...] D.SG.PST IRR know.1SG [COMPL}
Example (67), together with (68) just below, are from a marriage negotiation party in which an interpreter (an àɡàamlô̤oŋ 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 kù-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 dè, just as in (67.1), so it is clear that the àɡàamlô̤oŋ interprets (67.2) as having the same TAM as (67.1).

(68) ée ɰà dè cé jìic.
D.SG.PST 1SG IRR PF sit.NF
lɔ̀ŋ=tùuuj.
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 kù-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 kù-clause in (69.2) describes a subsequent habitual action, but the habitual auxiliary verb is not repeated.
(69) 1. èe tà̤c,
   D.SG.HAB lie.NF
   ‘It lies down’
  2. kù dèŋ è tà̤r.
   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. rò̤ot áa kêe kwɔ̀ɔl
    hippopotamus.PL D.PL.PST 3PL.HAB river_bed.PL
    wêec,
    dig.NF
    ‘Hippopotami used to dig river beds’
  2. kù dô̤oor-kè̤ ŋ̪iin kë wâ̤ar.
    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 è̤ 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 = njàar tíŋ
    clan.SG D.SG = love woman.SG.CS1
    ‘The family loves a woman’
  2. è mó̤ooc
    [HAB give.AP.NF]
    ‘who receives them with hospitality’ (Lit. ‘who gives’)

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. rò̤ot áa kêe kwɔ̀ɔl
    hippopotamus.PL D.PL.PST 3PL.HAB river_bed.PL
    wêec,
    dig.NF
    ‘Hippopotami used to dig river beds’
  2. kù dô̤oor-kè̤ ŋ̪iin kë wâ̤ar.
    and join.CAUS-3PL tributary.PL [COM river.SG]
    ‘and join tributaries with the river.’ (t.)

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    ‘who receives them with hospitality’ (Lit. ‘who gives’)

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. rò̤ot áa kêe kwɔ̀ɔl
    hippopotamus.PL D.PL.PST 3PL.HAB river_bed.PL
    wêec,
    dig.NF
    ‘Hippopotami used to dig river beds’
  2. kù dô̤oor-kè̤ ŋ̪iin kë wâ̤ar.
    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 è̤ 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.

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(70) 1. rò̤ot áa kêe kwɔ̀ɔl
    hippopotamus.PL D.PL.PST 3PL.HAB river_bed.PL
    wêec,
    dig.NF
    ‘Hippopotami used to dig river beds’
  2. kù dô̤oor-kè̤ ŋ̪iin kë wâ̤ar.
    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 è̤ 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 = njàar tíŋ
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    ‘The family loves a woman’
  2. è mó̤ooc
    [HAB give.AP.NF]
    ‘who receives them with hospitality’ (Lit. ‘who gives’)

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. rò̤ot áa kêe kwɔ̀ɔl
    hippopotamus.PL D.PL.PST 3PL.HAB river_bed.PL
    wêec,
    dig.NF
    ‘Hippopotami used to dig river beds’
  2. kù dô̤oor-kè̤ ŋ̪iin kë wâ̤ar.
    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 è̤ 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 = njàar tíŋ
    clan.SG D.SG = love woman.SG.CS1
    ‘The family loves a woman’
  2. è mó̤ooc
    [HAB give.AP.NF]
    ‘who receives them with hospitality’ (Lit. ‘who gives’)

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.

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    hippopotamus.PL D.PL.PST 3PL.HAB river_bed.PL
    wêec,
    dig.NF
    ‘Hippopotami used to dig river beds’
  2. kù dô̤oor-kè̤ ŋ̪iin kë wâ̤ar.
    and join.CAUS-3PL tributary.PL [COM river.SG]
    ‘and join tributaries with the river.’ (t.)

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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.
3. **kù**  tèeek  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 bè̤, includes the habitual auxiliary verb in its non-finite form âa, but this verb is not repeated in the kù-clause in (72.4). Semantically, however, (72.4) is within the scope of bè̤ of the preceding clause. The singular nouns nwèeér ‘Nuer’ (72.1), mwòɔŋjàaŋ ‘Dinka’ (72.3) and wóŋ ‘cow’ (72.4) are here used with collective meaning.

(72) 1. nàa  lò  nwèeér  uègeet  àgàaar,
   when  go_and_do  Nuer.SG  arrive.CP.NF  Agar.ALL
   ‘When the Nuer came to Agar land,’

2. kè  mèet  tòɔɔŋ
   then  mix.MID.CF  war.LOC
   ‘they participated in the war’

3. bè̤  mwòɔŋjàaŋ  âa  nɔ̤̂ɔk
   fut.3SG  Dinka.SG  HAB.NF  kill.NF
   ‘in order to kill Dinka’

4. kù  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-kà. The following kù-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-kà  lɔɔŋ  té = d-wóon,
   HAB-2PL  pray.AP.NF  place.SG.CS2.ESS/ABL = SG-2PL
   ‘You must pray in your place’

2. kù  lɔɔŋ-kù  té = 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 kù-clause, such a clause may itself introduce this auxiliary verb, as
seen in (74). The sequential declarative clause in (74.1) does not include the habitual auxiliary verb, but the following kʊ̄-clause in (74.2) does, here in the high-toned form é̤ with breathy voice quality. Another example is seen in (58.4) in section 6.3 above.

(74) 1. góó tón ɲwɔ̀ɔt = é̤ ló twéen  
SEQ war.SG.GEN CONT.NF[= while go front.ALL]  
‘So the war still continued,’

2. kʊ̄ cè̤ kɔ́c é̤ ró̤ot t̪áan.  
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 kʊ̄-clause, the future auxiliary verb bé̤ (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 kʊ̄-clause in (75.2), it is repeated in the kʊ̄-clause in (76.2).

(75) 1. ñéek à=bé̤ jàa bě̤en,  
each.SG D.SG = FUT HAB.NF come.NF  
‘Each will come’

2. kʊ̄ tèeem tè̤ = 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=bî̤i nɔ̤̂ɔk,  
AFF = D.SG = FUT.UNSP kill.NF  
‘He will be killed,’

2. kʊ̄ bî̤i tɔ̀ɔn àamàaal jàal  
and FUT.UNSP bull.SG.cs1 of.sheep.SG do_then.NF
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 kù-clause even if it is not used in the controller. This is seen in (77), where the controller of the kù-clause in (77.3) is the temporal clause in (77.2).

(77) 1. à=cè̤n ràn è dèk
D.SG = not_have person.SG1 [HAB drink.AP.NF ké pàrwâ̤aj=d-è COM in_laws.SG2=SG-3SG]
‘Nobody drinks with his in-laws’

2. àgút tè léee rwâaaj tò̤ok
until when go_and_do.nst marriage.SG end.NF
‘until marriage is over’

3. kù bé pàrwâ̤aj=d-ù ñ
and FUT in_laws.SG2.gen=SG-2SG 2SG jàal wɛ̂̂ɛr pî̤iiw.
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 cé (PF) is used as a perfective past tense marker together with the non-finite auxiliary verb bâné ‘come and do’ in the controller, neither of these auxiliary verbs are repeated in the kù-clause. An example of this is seen in (78), where the declarative clause in (78.1) controls the kù-clause in (78.2).

(78) 1. kɔ̂ɔc wán kɛ̂ɛɲ kù ràn
[[person.PL1 p2 travel] [and person.SG1 ké kwàat rjàaj àa=cé bâné PST drive plane.SG]] D.PL=PF come_and_do.NF
tòw,
die.NF
‘The passengers and the pilot died,’ (Lit. ‘The aforementio-
ned people who travelled and the person who was driving
the plane died’)

2. kù ̄ pí̄r ̄ mädû̄l ̄ è ̄ kŵè̄ek.
and live Madul.SG.CS1.GEN of Kuek.SG
‘but MacDonald survived.’

Another example is (79), where the declarative clause in (79.2) con-
trols the kù̄-clause in (79.3).

(79) 1. wán ̄ cû̄-nè̄ ̄ jè̄ ̄ gâam ̄ è̄
when PF-UNSP.CT 3SG agree.NF [by
râaan ̄ èbán,
person.SG.GEN all]
‘After it was agreed upon by everybody,

2. kôc ̄ àa = cû̄ ̄ bâng ̄ kwâ̄n.
person.PL D.PL = PF.UNSP come_and_do.NF pick.NF
‘people were nominated’

3. kù ̄ têek-è̄ ̄ kè̄ ̄ pîn ̄ bît̄k
and distribute.CF-UNSP 3PL down.ALL [FUT.3PL
 tôk ̄ uâaat ̄ è̄ ̄ uâān
message.SG take.CF.NF [PREP [place.PL.CS1
mèc.
be_far]]
‘and were delegated to convey the message to remote ar-
eas.’ (t.)

But when the perfect auxiliary verb is used with perfect meaning in
the controller, it is often repeated in the kù̄-clause. Thus, cè in the
declarative clause in (80.1) is repeated with the second person sin-
gular form cá in the kù̄-clause in (80.2). And the NST form cû̄ in the
temporal clause in (81.3) is repeated in the kù̄-clause in (81.4). Other
examples are seen above in (42.2), (63.2) and (65.2).
1. **kè̤ jî̤in 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. **kù́ cá̤ dà̤aal è̤**, and PF.2SG [despise.NMLZ.SG.CS1 of njàlíc bâaaj],
   God.SG.GEN] disregard.NF
   ‘and disregarded sacrilege of God.’ (t.)

3. **pwò̤or à=kɔ̀ŋ t̪ò̤ok**, cultivate.NMLZ.SG D.SG = do_first finish.NF
   ‘Cultivation should take place first’

4. **bé̤ lwò̤ok kɔ̤́k ró̤ot**, fut [trial.PL.CS1.GEN other.PL.GEN] self.PL
   bɛ̀ɛr jūl
do_again.NF begin.NF
   ‘so that new cases come up’

5. **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’)

6. **kù́ cí̤i tɔ́ɔŋpìiiɲ kw=àɡót**, and PF.NST groundnut.PL and=green_bean.PL
   kw=àkwéem [...] bɛ̂n bèj
   and=bean.PL [...] come.NF out.CP.ALL
dòm-ic.
   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 kù́-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 cě̤ indicates a state that has resulted from the event denoted by the non-finite main verb
ŋɛ̀ɛɛr ‘collapse’. The absence of the auxiliary verb in the k✉-clause in (82.3) seems to be due to the absence of a resulting state here, as the impersonal transitive verb lɛ̂ɛt̪ ‘make shiver’ denotes an iterative process.

(82) 1. gòo ɟâal bɛ̂n tǐŋ báɲ
SEQ.3SG do_then.NF come.NF [LOC chief.SG]
‘Then he came to the inspector,’

2. ké cé jíć ŋɛ̀ɛɛr,
while PF stomach.SG.EP collapse.NF
‘scared,’ (Lit. ‘while his stomach has collapsed’)

3. k✉ lɛ̂ɛt̪.
and shiver.3SG
‘and he trembled.’ (Lit. ‘and it makes him shiver’) (t.)

As with the other auxiliary verbs, a dependent k✉-clause may itself introduce the perfect auxiliary verb, as exemplified in (83.4). This k✉-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 wán à péeece,
when when ? wake_up.3SG
‘When he woke up,’

2. ké tǐŋ tùrùmbîl è báɲ
then see [car.SG.CS1 of chief.SG.GEN]
‘then he saw the inspector’s car’

3. ké kâaac
while stand
‘standing’

4. k✉ cé báɲ nùc ké
and PF chief.SG.GEN sit.NF [COM kɔ̂ɔc cáat̪ ké jè.
person.PL.CS1 [walk [COM 3SG]]]
‘and the inspector himself sitting with those escorting him.’ (t.)
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 *kù* ‘and’; we have seen that *kù* is also used for coordinating both noun phrases and independent clauses. The dependent *kù*-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 *kù*-clause. To a large extent, a dependent *kù*-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 *kù*-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 *kù*-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 *kù* coordinates noun phrases or independent clauses, a dependent *kù*-clause does not have the same syntactic status as the clause with which it is conjoined (unless the latter is also a dependent *kù*-clause). But the sameness condition may be said to be fulfilled semantically, in that the overall construction forces an interpretation of the dependent *kù*-clause as having the same semantic function and TAM as its coordinand.
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.

References


