Clause order change in Beja (North Cushitic):

Information structure and prosody in temporal and conditional clauses

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Beja

- North-Cushitic (Afroasiatic)
- Sudan (Eastern)
- 1,000,000 speakers
- SOV
- Dependent - matrix clause
- Polysemous conditional suffix -eek
Outline

• 1. The morphosyntax and functions of -eek
  • 1.1. Conditional marker
  • 1.2. Concessive marker
  • 1.3. Temporal marker
  • 1.4. Indirect interrogation marker
Outline

• 2. Clause order change
  • 2.1. Syntax / prosody mismatch
  • 2.2. Pragmatics
  • 2.3. Modality
  • 2.4. From dependent to independent clause
The data

• 120 spontaneous oral narratives
• Duration: 4 hours
• Male and female speakers
1. Morphosyntax and functions of -eek

• 1.1. Conditional marker

(1) aree heyaay-t-wa naa-t harriw-eek
   then wish-F-COOR thing-F want\IPFV3SG-if
   t-hiyaay-t ook sakana-yaa-ya /
   DEF.F-wish-F-2M.SG.ACC inform-IMP.M.SG-COOR /
   'then, if you wish anything, ask them whatever you want!'
aree  heyaay-t-wa naa-t    harriw-eek
1. Morphosyntax and functions of -eek

1.2. Concessive marker (logical)

(2) **uun** ani / **w-haaš-ib**

DEM.M.SG.NOM 1SG.NOM / DEF.M.SG-earth-LOC.SG
girba tak akati-yeek / naay-iyi
foreign man be/IPFV1SG-if / spend_the_night-REL
mhiin aharriiw /
place want/IPFV1SG /

'Since I am a foreigner in this country, I am looking for a place to sleep.'
w-haaš-ib girba  tak akati-yeek /
1. Morphosyntax and functions of -eek

• 1.2. Concessive marker (logical)

(3) yhaa kilit ?oor w-hiiwaa-yook

VOC Kilit boy DEF.M.SG-young_camel-2M.SG

titkwakw-eek-ni /

finish\PFV2M.SG-if-CONTRAST /

aa-kam yiwee-t ikatiin-eek

DEF.F.PL.NOM-camel\PL thirsty-F be\IPFV3PL-if

'Kilit son, you finish your young camel whereas your she-camels are thirsty!'
1. Morphosyntax and functions of -eek

1.2. Concessive marker (argumentative)

(4) tuu-na yhee / khi-t tikati-yeek

DEF.F.SG.NOM-thing VOC / on-REL.F be/IPFV2F.SG-if
whi-it / ḏḥarrab-hook andi
under-REL.F / try-2SG.ACC say/IPFV1SG
indi een /

say/IPFV3M.SG say/PFV3PL /

'He says: - Whoever you are up there, I want to fight with you!'
1. Morphosyntax and functions of -eek

• 1.3. Temporal marker

(5) tuu-tiyi t-asarama girm-a-ayi
tisini-yeek [...] tidi een

DEF.F.SG.NOM-snake DEF.F-seven head-PL-GEN.SG
wait\PFV3F.SG-if [...] say\PFV3M.SG say\PFV3PL

‘When she found the snake with seven heads, she said: [- ‘Hammad Hummad, you hold on, I jump and I trample on some people’s heads.’]’
tuu-tiyi t-asarama girm-a-ayi tsini-yeek
1. Morphosyntax and functions of -eek

• 1.4. Indirect interrogation marker

(6) *diyar-an-eek* ka-akan dabal-had /
be_tired-PFV1SG-if NEG-know\PFV1SG small-until /
*fiin-at-ey* indi een /
rest-POT1SG-so say\IPFV3M.SG say\PFV3PL /
'I don’t know if I am tired, I am going to rest a bit, he said.'
diyar-an-eek   ka-akan
2. Clause order change

• 2.1. Syntax / prosody mismatch: hesitation

(7) **umbaruuuk darri-yeek**

2M.SG.NOM kill\INT\IPFV3M.SG-if
id-heeb ini / ti-...

say\PFV3M.SG-1SG.ACC say\ACC3M.SG / DEF.F
**ti-mendikwiyaay aniw-hook**
DEF.F-gun give\IPFV1SG-2SG.ACC
**umbawuuuk darri-yeek** /

2M.SG.NOM kill\INT\IPFV2M.SG-if /

‘You, if you kill it, he told me, he said. I’ll give you the rifle if you kill it’ *(oon ani t-arabiyaay-wa oo-maal w-haay y-a-b akati-yeeb-wa / kass-oo aniw-hook* as for me, I’ll give you the car and all the fortune that I brought.)
umbaruuk darri-yeek \textit{id-heeb ini} /

ti-... ti-mendikwiyaay aniw-hook umbawuuk darri-yeek /
2. Clause order change

• 2.2. Pragmatics: Afterthought (recto tono)

(8) ḍaḍib-t-eek  warit hariw-a  naa-t
work-F-2SG.ACC others look_for-IMP.M.SG thing-F

\[\text{teedg̃imm-} \varepsilon \varepsilon k / i-tak-i\]
ignore\REFL.IPFV2M.SG-if / DEF.M-man-GEN.SG

\[\text{ginha-}e\varepsilon b \ tibari-yee-na\]
chest-LOC.PL have\IPFV3F.SG-REL-thing

\[\text{baa-hariw-}a / \]
NEG-look_for-IMP.M.SG#

'Look for another job if/since you can't do anything. Don't try to get anything back from this man.'
다고가 반을 하리와

나는 테디미-eek
2. Clause order change

• 2.2. Pragmatics: Afterthought (end of tale)

(9) t?a mhas-aana yifeeth-aan suur
    now lunch-IMP.PL break_fast-IMP.PL before
    mhaas-a-b bi-tkaay-n-eek
    have_lunch-GER-M NEG-be\IPFV3F.SG-LINK-if
    indi een /
    say\IPFV3M.SG say\PFV3PL /

‘Then, have lunch, have breakfast, if/since you could not have lunch before, he said.’
t’a mhas-aana  yifeeth-aan

suur mhaas-a-b bi-tkaay-n-eek indi een
2. Clause order change

• 2.3. Modality

(9) tuut       tuu-na       tifirʔi-yeet /
DEM.F.SG.NOM DEF.F.SG.NOM-thing go_out\PFV3F.SG-REL.F/
alf-ii       baa-mraayna / ti-diyaa-t-ib
thousand-by NEG-find\OPT.2PL / DEF.F-world-F-LOC.SG
tikati-yeek /
be\IPFV2M.SG-if /

‘What you gave for a thousand dirham, you would not find in this world’
tuum tuu-na  tifir?i-yeet /

alf-ii baa-mraayna / ti-diyya-t-ib tikati-yeek /
2. Clause order change

2.4. From dependent to independent clause

(11) malya muuna-y geeb gw-components
    then Muna-GEN.SG with drink-IMP.M.SG

  indi               een / oo-buun
  say/IPFV3M.SG say/PFV3PL / DEF.M.SG.ACC-coffee
  oon / t?a / i-t?a    gw-components-taan-eeb
  DEM.M.SG.ACC / now / DEF.M-now drink-PFV3F.SG-REL.M

ikati-yeek /

be/IPFV3M.SG-if /

'He said: - next time go and drink with Muna!
they said. So. If this is what you think of the
coffee you’ve drunk.'
malya muuna-y geeb gwʔ-aa indi een / oo-buun oon / tʔa /

i-tʔa  gwʔa-taan-eeb  ikati-yeek /
2. Clause order change

• 2.4. From dependent to independent clause

(10) ʔišaa-t ʔooš-a  diit  yʔ-ii-yeek

urine-F urinate-GER say\CNV2 come-NAR3M.SG-if /
na-t  gaa-naa-t-i-dha  baruu  een /
thing-F one-thing-F-GEN.SG-DIR 3M.SG.NOM say\PFV3PL /
‘May be he came to piss or do something else, that guy, they said.’
\(?iša-a-t \?ooš-a\) \(\text{diit}\) \(y^{?}-ïï\text{-yeek}\) /

\(\text{naa-t gaa-naa-t-i-dha}\) \(\text{baruu}\) \(\text{een}\) /
Conclusion

• Canonical clause order: falling pitch on -eek
• Hesitation: prosodic change, high pitch on end of conditional
• Clause order change: pragmatics, flat pitch
• Epistemic modality: falling - flat pitch
• Independent: -eek = marks end of speech