

The
Khoesan
Languages

Edited by
Rainer Vossen

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THE
KHOESAN
LANGUAGES

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According to a widely accepted hypothesis, the Khoesan languages represent the smallest of the four language phyla in Africa, geographically distributed mainly in Botswana and Namibia. Today, only 30 or so Khoesan languages may still exist, with about 300,000 native speakers. In other words, most Khoesan languages were already extinct before a sound scholarly interest in them could begin to develop.

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tackling major issues in Khoesan sociolinguistics, as well as discussions of language contact.

Comprehensive and scholarly, yet also lucid in its coverage of a broad range of languages, dialects and sub-groups, this unprecedented and original work represents the current state of Khoesan linguistics.

Rainer Vossen is a University Professor and Executive Director of the Institute of African Studies at the University of Frankfurt am Main, Germany.

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Rainer Vossen

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CONTENTS

Editor's note

List of illustrations

List of contributors

Acknowledgements

List of abbreviations

1 Introduction *Rainer Vossen*

- 1 General background
- 2 Typological characteristics
- 3 The intended audience
- 4 The contents
- 5 Geographical coverage

2 Genetic relationships: an overview of the evidence *Henry Honken[†]*

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Previous work in the field
- 3 Agreements and disagreements
- 4 South African Khoesan

5 East African Khoesan

6 For and against

3Typology *Tom Güldemann*

1 Introduction

2 Morphosyntax

3 Phonetics and phonology

4 Toward a typological profile of Khoesan

4Phonetics and phonology

1 Hadza *Bonny Sands*

2 Sandawe *Edward D. Elderkin*

3 South African Khoesan

3.1 Northern Khoesan *Amanda L. Miller*

3.2 Central Khoesan

3.2.1 Namibian Khoekhoe and !Gora *Wilfrid H.G.
Haacke*

3.2.2 Hailom *Thomas Widlok*

3.2.3 Kxoe subgroup *Rainer Vossen*

3.2.4Naro *Hessel Visser*

3.2.5||Gana subgroup *Hiroshi Nakagawa*

3.2.6Shua subgroup *Rainer Vossen*

3.2.7Tshwa subgroup *Rainer Vossen*

3.3 Southern Khoesan (Tuu) *Tom Güldemann*

3.4 Eastern #Hoan *Henry Honken[†]*

3.5 Kwadi *Tom Güldemann*

5Tonology

1 Hadza *Bonny Sands*

2 Sandawe *Edward D. Elderkin*

3 South African Khoesan

3.1 Northern Khoesan *Amanda L. Miller*

3.2 Central Khoesan

3.2.1Namibian Khoekhoe *Wilfrid H.G. Haacke*

3.2.2Kxoe subgroup: Khwe, ||Ani *Rainer Vossen*

3.2.3Naro *Hessel Visser*

3.2.4||Gana subgroup: !Gui *Hiroshi Nakagawa*

3.2.5 Shua subgroup: Cara, Deti *Rainer Vossen*

3.2.6 Tshwa subgroup *Rainer Vossen*

3.3 Southern Khoesan: !Xóǀ *Amanda L. Miller*

3.4 Eastern #Hoan *Henry Honken[†]*

6 Morphology

1 Hadza *Bonny Sands*

2 Sandawe *Edward D. Elderkin*

3 South African Khoesan

3.1 Northern Khoesan

3.2 Central Khoesan

3.2.1 Namibian Khoekhoe (Nama/Damara) *Wilfrid
H.G. Haacke*

3.2.2 !Gora *Wilfrid H.G. Haacke*

3.2.3 Haillom *Thomas Widlok*

3.2.4 Kxoe subgroup *Rainer Vossen and Mathias
Schladt[†]*

3.2.5 Naro *Hessel Visser*

3.2.6 llGana subgroup *Rainer Vossen*

- 3.2.7 Shua subgroup *Rainer Vossen*
- 3.2.8 Tshwa subgroup *Rainer Vossen*
- 3.3 Southern Khoesan (Tuu) *Tom Güldemann*
- 3.4 Eastern #Hoan *Henry Honken[†]*
- 3.5 Kwadi *Tom Güldemann*

7 Syntax

- 1 Hadza *Bonny Sands*
- 2 Sandawe *Edward D. Elderkin*
- 3 South African Khoesan
 - 3.1 Northern Khoesan: !Xun *Bernd Heine and Christa König*
 - 3.2 Central Khoesan
 - 3.2.1 Namibian Khoekhoe (Nama/Damara) *Wilfrid H.G. Haacke*
 - 3.2.2 !Gora *Wilfrid H.G. Haacke*
 - 3.2.3 Hailom *Thomas Widlok*
 - 3.2.4 Kxoe subgroup: Khwe *Christa Kilian-Hatz*
 - 3.2.5 Naro *Hessel Visser*

3.2.6||Gana subgroup: |Gui *Hiroshi Nakagawa*

3.2.7Shua subgroup *Rainer Vossen*

3.2.8Tshwa subgroup *Rainer Vossen*

3.3 Southern Khoesan (Tuu) *Tom Güldemann*

3.4 Eastern #Hoan *Henry Honken[†]*

3.5 Kwadi *Tom Güldemann*

8Language contact and sociolinguistics

1 The impact of Khoesan on southern Bantu *J.A. Louw*

2 Bantu-Khoesan language contacts in northern Botswana *Gabriele Sommer*

3 Traces of Bantu-Khoesan interaction in Manyo (Kavango Bantu, Namibia) *Wilhelm J.G. Möhlig*

4 South African Khoekhoe in contact with Dutch/Afrikaans *Hans den Besten[†]*

5 Contact-induced change between Khoekhoe and Afrikaans *Wilfrid H.G. Haacke*

6 Namibian Jul'hoansi in contact with speakers of Afrikaans *Amanda L. Miller*

- 7 Hailom language contact *Thomas Widlok*
- 8 Khoesan-internal contacts *Tom Güldemann*
- 9 The extinct Khoesan languages of Eastern Africa *Christopher Ehret*
- 10 The sociolinguistic situation of Khoesan languages today *Gabriele Sommer and Thomas Widlok*

Bibliography

Index

Editor's Note

The publication of this book has been announced for a long time. The idea to compile a reference work on Khoesan languages emerged in the early 1990s and was given definite shape on the occasion of a multidisciplinary symposium that was organized by the editor and was held in Tutzing at Lake Starnberg in the south of Germany in July 1994. Apart from Africanist linguists, philologists, anthropologists, historians, archaeologists, and folklorists from all over the world attended that conference, but not all the contributors to this volume were present at Tutzing. This explains to a certain extent why a few authors are not happy about the spelling *Khoesan* which, in this book, is preferred to the traditional “Khoisan” because it is more adequate to the pronunciation of the word. There had been an extensive debate about this matter at Tutzing, the result of which was consent to the use of *Khoesan* throughout the book.

In the following years, authors commenced working on their contributions, as 2001 was envisaged as the year of appearance of the book. Ever since, publication was retarded for reasons which are too many to be singled out here. As a consequence, updates of papers were needed from time to time. I wish both to apologize for the considerable delay in making this volume available to the public and to express my sincere gratitude to the publisher, the authors as well as the intended audience for their apparent patience. At the same time, I would like to acknowledge the editorial support that I was given by Dr. Erhard Voeltz at a critical moment of preparing the typescript.

ILLUSTRATIONS

MAPS

The distribution of Khoesan languages

FIGURES

4.1 1st and 2nd formant frequencies of Jul’hoan oral vowels

6.1 Agreement classes and non-inquorate genders in East !Xoon

6.2 Agreement classes and genders

8.1 Expanded family tree of the Southern Cushitic languages (Ehret 2011)

TABLES

2.1 Examples of correspondences in the Khoe family

2.2 Examples of click replacement in Khoe

2.3 Pronominal stems in Khoekhoegowab and Danisi

2.4 #Hõã-Jul’hoan lexical matchings

2.5 Plural formation by vocalic and tonal shift in #Hõã and !Xũũ

2.6 *KV* particle and prefix in #Hõã, !Xũũ and Ju

2.7 Sandawe-Khoe lexical correspondences

2.8 Khoesan demonstratives/pronouns with initial *h*-

3.1 Sample languages, classification, and primary sources

- 3.2 Morphosyntactic features of Khoesan languages
- 3.3 Cross-Khoesan consonant chart in a practically oriented orthography
- 3.4 Phonetic-phonological features of Khoesan languages
 - 4.1 Co-occurrence of consonant and vocalic guttural features in Jul’hoan
 - 4.2 Consonant inventory of Jul’hoan – stops, fricatives and approximates
 - 4.3 The consonant inventory of Jul’hoan – affricates
 - 4.4 The four intervocalic consonants of roots in N.Kh.
 - 4.5 Combinations of V₁ and V₂ in a root (in N.Kh. orthography)
 - 4.6 Historical development of vowel sequences in N.Kh.
 - 4.7 Namibian Khoekhoe (N.Kh.) and !Gora egressive consonants
 - 4.8 Click consonants of N.Kh. and !Gora (spelling of Khoekhoe)
 - 4.9 Click consonants of Haillom
 - 4.10 Egressive consonants in Kxoe varieties
 - 4.11 Kxoe click phoneme inventories
 - 4.12 Naro root-initial egressive consonants
 - 4.13 Naro clicks (mouth air)

- 4.14 Naro root-medial consonants
- 4.15 Click consonants in !Gana-!Gui dialects
- 4.16 Words illustrating the click consonants of !Gana-!Gui
- 4.17 Click replacement in !Gana-!Gui dialects (simplified version)
- 4.18 Lexical extension of click replacement in !Gana
- 4.19 !Gana-!Gui variation in effect of click replacement
- 4.20 Non-click consonants occurring in C₁ in !Gana-!Gui dialects
- 4.21 Words illustrating non-click consonants in C₁ in !Gana-!Gui dialects
- 4.22 Palatalisation in !Gana-!Gui dialects
- 4.23 !Gana-!Gui dialect continuum in terms of three parameters
- 4.24 Egressive consonants common to all Shua languages
- 4.25 Ts'ixa click phoneme inventory
- 4.26 Shua click phoneme inventories (without Ts'ixa)
- 4.27 Egressive consonants in Tshwa varieties
- 4.28 Tshwa click phoneme inventories
- 4.29 The inventory of vowel colourings in East !Xoon stems (after Traill 1985: 68)

- 4.30 The inventory of initial consonants in East !Xoon stems
- 4.31 The inventory of stem-internal consonants in East !Xoon
- 4.32 The consonant system of !Haasi
- 4.33 The consonant system of !Xam (preliminary)
- 4.34 The consonant system of !!Xegwi
- 4.35 Transliteration of some transcriptions in the Bleek-Lloyd corpus
- 4.36 Egressive consonants in #Hoan
- 4.37 Click consonants in #Hoan
- 4.38 The (tentative) consonant system of Kwadi
- 5.1 Hadza surface tone patterns on noun roots of 1–3 syllables in low tone frame
- 5.2 Hadza surface tone patterns on monosyllabic verb roots in several verb frames
- 5.3 Hadza – main surface tone patterns on verb roots (in two first person future verb frames)
- 5.4 Lexical tone patterns in Khwe (after Köhler 1981)
- 5.5 Six tonal melodies in !Gui
- 5.6 Three regular flip-flop pairs in !Gui
- 6.1 PGN markers of N.Kh. (nominative paradigm)
- 6.2 PGN markers of N.Kh. in oblique form (+ *a*)
- 6.3 Object markers of N.Kh. (+ *i*)

- 6.4 PGN markers of !Gora (nominative paradigm)
- 6.5 PGN markers of !Gora in oblique form (+ *a*)
- 6.6 Object markers of !Gora (PGN + *i*)
- 6.7 PGN markers of Hailom (subject paradigm) – non-final case
- 6.8 PGN markers of Hailom in oblique form (+ *a*) – final case
- 6.9 Object markers of Hailom (+ *i*) – minimal object pronouns
- 6.10 Hailom verb in present tense
- 6.11 Hailom verb in past tense
- 6.12 Hailom verb in future tense
- 6.13 Negative verb in Hailom
- 6.14 Negative verb in Hailom (perfective form with *tama*)
- 6.15 PGN enclitics of !Ani and Buga
- 6.16 The pronominal paradigms of !Ani and Buga
- 6.17 Derivative suffixes in !Ani and Buga
- 6.18 Juncture allomorphs in the Kxoe subgroup
- 6.19 Juncture employment in !Ani (examples)
- 6.20 Tense/aspect markers in Kxoe
- 6.21 PGN enclitics of !Gana subgroup varieties

- 6.22 The pronominal paradigms of ǁGana subgroup varieties
- 6.23 Some adjectives in ǁGana subgroup varieties
- 6.24 Demonstratives in the ǁGana subgroup
- 6.25 Interrogatives in ǁGana subgroup varieties
- 6.26 Derivative suffixes in ǁGana subgroup varieties
- 6.27 Juncture allomorphs in the ǁGana subgroup
- 6.28 Tense/aspect markers in the ǁGana subgroup
- 6.29 PGN enclitics of Ts'ixa and Danisi
- 6.30 PGN enclitics of Cara and IXaise
- 6.31 The pronominal paradigms of Shua subgroup varieties
- 6.32 Some common adjectives in Shua subgroup varieties
- 6.33 Demonstratives in the Shua subgroup
- 6.34 Interrogatives in Shua subgroup varieties
- 6.35 Verbal slot structure in Shua subgroup varieties
- 6.36 Derivative suffixes in Shua varieties
- 6.37 Juncture allomorphs in the Shua subgroup
- 6.38 Tense/aspect markers in Shua
- 6.39 PGN enclitics of Kua and Tsua
- 6.40 Pronominal subject paradigms of Tshwa subgroup varieties

- 6.41 Object pronouns in Kua
- 6.42 Some common adjectives in Kua and Tsua
- 6.43 Derivative suffixes in Tshwa varieties
- 6.44 Juncture allomorphs in the Tshwa subgroup
- 6.45 Tense/aspect markers in Tshwa
- 6.46 Pronouns for speech-act participants in East !Xoon
- 6.47 Third person pronouns and concord formatives in East !Xoon
- 6.48 Noun genders in East !Xoon (preliminary)
- 6.49 Pronouns for speech-act participants in !Xam
- 6.50 Third person pronouns and related agreement forms in !Xam
- 6.51 The pronominal system in Eastern #Hoan
- 6.52 Verbs with suppletive singular and plural forms
- 6.53 Pronouns for speech act participants in Kwadi
- 6.54 Noun genders in Kwadi
- 7.1 The main constituents of the verb phrase in six !Xun dialects
- 7.2 The main tense–aspect categories in !Xun
- 7.3 Personal pronouns in !Xun
- 7.4 !Xun number suffixes
- 7.5 !Xun noun class markers

- 7.6 Possessee pronouns in !Xun according to noun classes
- 7.7 Cardinal numerals in !Xun
- 7.8 Main tense–aspect system: positive
- 7.9 Potential tense–aspect system: positive
- 7.10 Main tense–aspect system: negative
- 7.11 Potential tense–aspect system: negative
- 7.12 Distribution of basic word order types in Khwe compared to the morphological markedness of the referents
- 7.13 Frequency of word order types in Khwe in sentences with nominal and pronominal referents
- 7.14 Khwe constituent order with a verbal predicate and core participants
- 7.15 Distribution of the allomorphic variants of *à* in Khwe
- 7.16 Marking definite vs. indefinite noun phrases in Khwe
- 7.17 Khwe marking of participants by *à*
- 7.18 Constituent order types in Khwe sentences
- 7.19 Focusing strategies in Khwe
- 7.20 Word order variation in !Gui in terms of S, O, V and AUX
- 7.21 !Gui postpositions

8.1 Phonology – click consonants in the Ngamiland and Caprivi varieties of Yeyi

8.2 Lexicon – some click words in Bantu languages of north-western Botswana

Contributors

Hans den Besten[†], University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands, and University of Stellenbosch, South Africa

Christopher Ehret, University of California, Los Angeles, USA

Edward D. Elderkin, University of Namibia, Windhoek, Namibia

Tom Güldemann, Humboldt University, Berlin, Germany

Wilfrid H.G. Haacke, University of Namibia, Windhoek, Namibia

Bernd Heine, University of Cologne, Germany

Henry Honken[†], Sarna, Wisconsin, USA

Christa Kilian-Hatz, Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main, Germany

Christa König, Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main, Germany

Jacobus Abraham Louw, Pretoria, University of South Africa

Amanda L. Miller, Ohio State University, Columbus, USA

Wilhelm J.G. Möhlig, University of Cologne, Germany

Hiroshi Nakagawa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Japan

Bonny Sands, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff,
USA

Mathias Schladt[†], Cologne, Germany

Gabriele Sommer, University of Bayreuth, Germany

Hessel Visser, Summer Institute of Linguistics

Rainer Vossen, Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main,
Germany

Thomas Widlok, Radboud University, Nijmegen, The
Netherlands, and University of Cologne, Germany

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Abbreviations

A	aspect
ACC	accusative
ADJ, adj.	adjective
ADV, adv.	adverb(ial)
Af	affricate
affr.	affricated
Afr.	Afrikaans
AGR	agreement
Al	alveolar
AND	andative
AP	adverbial phrase
APPL	applicative
ART	article
As	aspirated, aspiration
asp., Asp.	aspirated
ASS	associative

ASST	assertive
ATTR	attributive
AUX	auxiliary
BCE	Before the Common Era
BEN	benefactive
BG	background
BVC	Back Vowel Constraint
C	consonant
c	common/collective gender
CAUS, caus.	causative
CDP	Cape Dutch Pidgin
Ch.	chapter
CL, cl.	noun class (marker)
COM	comitative
COMP	comparative
COMPL	completive
COMPLT	complement(izer)

CON	connective
CONJ	conjunction
CONN	discourse connective
CONS	consecutive
CONT	continuous; contingent
CONV	converb
COP	copula
CORR	correlative particle
CS	comparative series
DAT	dative
DEC(L)	declarative (particle)
DEF	definite
DEI	deictic
DEM	demonstrative
Dep., DEP	dependent
DIM	diminutive
DIST	distal

DISTR	distributive
DO	direct object
DOM	tonological domain
Dt	dental
dtr.	ditransitive
DU	dual
EG	egressive
egr.	egressive
EH	Eastern tHoan
eject.	ejective
ELA	elative
EMPH	emphasis
Engl.	English
esp.	especially
EVID	evidential (particle)
EX, EXCL(.)	exclusive
EXCLAM	exclamatory

EXIST	existential copula
EXP	experience
EXT	extension
F	feminine
fig.	figuratively
FOC	focus
FREQ	frequentative
fric.	fricative
FRU	frustrative
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
gen.	generic
GER	gerund
Gl	glottal
H	high (tone)
HAB	habitual
HF	high falling (tone)

HORT	hortative
HS	hearsay evidential
ID	identification
ideoph.	ideophone
IG	ingressive
IMP	imperative
IMPF	imperfective
IMPS	impersonal
IN, INCL(.)	inclusive
INCL	inclinative
IND	indicative
INDEF	indefinite
INGR, ingr.	ingressive
INSTR	instrumental
INT	interrogative
INTENT	intention
intr.	intransitive

INTS	intensifier
IO	indirect object
IPA	International Phonetic Association
IPFV	imperfective
IPT	imperfect
IRR	irrealis
JUNC(T)	juncture
KhA	Khoekhoe Afrikaans
L	low (tone); local
Lb	labial
Lg.	language
LINK	linker
lit.	literally
LOC	locative
LP	locative phrase
Lt	lateral
L2	second language

M	mid (tone)
M	masculine
MF	mid falling (tone)
MIM	mimesis
MLT	multiple
MPO	multi-purpose oblique
N, n.	noun, nominalized
N1, N2, etc.	noun class 1, 2, etc.
N	nasal consonant
NARR	narrative
NCI	nominal clause
NEG	negation
NEM	new-event marker
NEUT	neuter (gender)
NK	Northern Khoesan
N.Kh.	Namibian Khoekhoe
NOM	nominative; nominalization

nom.	nominal
NOMIN	deverbal noun
NP	noun phrase
nsl.	nasalized
NSt	noun stem
NUM	numeral
O	object
OAGRM	object agreement marker
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique (case); obligation
OCP	ordering in click place
O ^m	object marker
O.S.	oneself
OQ	oblique
P	predicate
pal., Pal.	palatalized
PART	participle; particle

PASS	passive
p.c.	personal communication
PERF	perfect; perfective
PERM	permansive
PF	predication focus
PGN, pgn	person-gender-number
phon.	phonetic
physiol.	physiological
PJ	Proto-Ju
PKh	Proto-Khoe
Pl	palatal
PL, pl.	plural
POSS	possessive
POSS:PRO	possessee pronoun
POSS:PRON	pronominal possessee
POSTP	postposition
POT	potential

PP	postpositional particle/phrase
PRES	present
PRET	preterite
PRIV	privative
PRM	Proto-Rift-Mbugu
PRO	pronoun
PROG	progressive
PRON(.)	pronoun
PROX	proximal
PSE	post-subject enclitic
PTCL	(ordinal number) particle
PURP	purpose
Q	question marker
QUOT	quotative
REC	reciprocal
RECT	recent
REDUPL	reduplication

REF	reference
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative (pronoun)
REM	remote
REP	repetitive
RES	resumptive pronoun
REV	reverential
S	subject; sentence
SAK	South(ern) African Khoesan
s.b.	somebody
SC	Southern Cushitic
SEQ	sequential
SG, sg.	singular
SH	super high (tone)
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics
SIM	similative
SL	super low (tone)

sp.	species
SPEC	specifier
STAT	stative
s.th.	something
SUBJ, subj	subject; subjunctive
SUFF, suff.	suffix
Sw.	Swahili
SWAPO	South-West Africa People's Organization
T	tense
T	temporal
TA(M)	tense-aspect(-mood)
TBU	tone-bearing unit
TEMP	temporal
TERM	terminative
TF	term focus marker
TL	target language
TOP	topic marker

TP	temporal phrase
TR, tr.	transitive
trad.	traditional
Uv	uvular
v.	verb(al)
V	verb; vowel
ṽ	nasal vowel
VBL	verbal
vcl., Vcl.	voiceless
VCl	verbal clause
vd., Vd.	voiced
VE	verbal extension
vel., Vel.	velarized
VGP, VGp	verbal group
v.i.	intransitive verb
VI	velar
VOC	vocative

VOT	Voice Onset Time
VP	verb phrase
v.t.	transitive verb
wh	interrogative word
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
I	juncture I (Khwe)
II	juncture II (Khwe)
{ }	alternative(ly)
#	word boundary
*	reconstructed, ungrammatical or false form
<...>	graphemic unit
/.../	phonological unit
[...]	phonetic unit
-	morpheme boundary
←	developed from

\Rightarrow transformed to

$<$ derived from

$>$ changed to

Chapter One

Introduction

Rainer Vossen

1 General Background

The Khoesan languages are considered to be the smallest of the four major language phyla on the African continent. For a long time, they were labelled and commonly known as “Bushman” and “Hottentot” languages. Between twenty and thirty languages and dialects are actually being spoken, but in the past their number must be assumed to have been considerably higher. While numerous Khoesan varieties are known to have vanished in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, others may have disappeared already long before a sound scholarly interest in Khoesan had commenced to take shape. And several of the still existing languages are severely endangered or even moribund.

Socio-Historic Background

A brief outline of the fateful encounter of the European immigrants with the Khoesan-speaking population of southern Africa might be helpful at this point. In principle, this encounter began in 1652 with the founding of a supply post by Jan van Riebeeck on behalf of the Dutch East India Company. The station was erected in Table Bay (near present-day Cape Town). At the time the Cape region was inhabited by light-skinned people who lived off cattle-keeping and later became known as “Hottentots”. The same area, and much more

so the adjacent hinterland, were also the habitat of another group of people, of brownish complexion, who were reported by contemporary observers to be ethnically and culturally different from the cattle-keepers. They lived from hunting and gathering, showed in small (hunting) groups and were physically shorter than the cattle-herders. In the literature they were initially referred to as “San-qua”, “Sun-qua”, or simply “San”, but as early as 1654 the name “Bosmanneken” appeared; a term that in the sequel recurred as “Bosjesman”, from which the commonly employed label “Bushman” was ultimately derived (cf. Köhler 1975: 305).

The Europeans’ momentous lack of judgement towards the languages and cultures of the indigenous inhabitants of the Cape region persisted for more than three hundred years. Contemporary descriptions and pictures bear witness to the prejudices which served for the justification of unparalleled campaigns of persecution and annihilation of Khoesan-speaking societies. In search of pasture for their livestock Dutch frontier farmers from the Cape Colony were forging ahead deep into the interior of the southern African subcontinent. In the savannah areas, where at the time game still occurred in abundance, they soon came into contact with foraging “Bushman” groups. Although their languages were perceived by Europeans as similar to “Hottentot” – mainly because of the clicks –, the “Bushmen”, contrary to the Cape “Hottentots”, were neither in possession of cattle nor tribally organized. They were therefore regarded as very “primitive”, devoid of any culture and religion.

“Bushmen” were seen by the frontier farmers (mostly Trek Boers) as rapacious scoundrels. They were denigrated as “Banditti”, often driven and chased like animals; as a result, the majority of these small hunter-gatherer societies had become extinct as early as the mid-nineteenth century. Those who survived the murderous rush were deported to farms where they were forced to carry out convict labour. Alongside the rapid loss of their cultural identity the languages of these Cape “Bushmen” also disappeared at once (cf. Keuthmann and Vossen 1997). (For a detailed essay on South African Khoesan language and social history, see Traill 1995b.)

Demographic Figures

Much of what is said in the literature about the number of Khoesan speakers is, and can probably not be more than, guesswork because of the limited availability of reliable statistical data. Most figures must therefore be regarded as approximate, although some estimates appear to be more realistic than others. This may partly be explained by a lack of differentiation between population size and number of actual speakers. While demographic prevision tells us that the Khoesan population is likely to increase considerably in number in the next few decades, the majority of Khoesan languages will in the long run hardly have chances of surviving in view of the socio-economic and political changes that have taken place in southern Africa in recent times. Several communities have already given up their languages in favour of (putatively more prestigious) neighbouring Bantu languages, such as Tswana. Estimating, against this background, the total number of

speakers at around 300,000 must happen with reservations. Moreover, it should be noted that the majority are speakers of basically one language, i.e. Khoekhoegowab.

Geographical Distribution

Today, most of the Khoesan-speaking peoples live in the southern African republics of Botswana and Namibia; however, some reside in adjacent areas in Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. The two East African outliers (“isolates”) Hadza and Sandawe, whose affiliation with Khoesan has frequently been questioned over the last thirty years (see below and [Chapter 2](#)), are located in Tanzania, almost half a continent away from the nucleus of the language phylum (cf. Map).

Nomenclature

Khoesan is used here as a cover term to refer to those African languages which make use of click consonants as regular speech sounds and are not members of the Bantu (especially Southeastern and Kavango) or South Cushitic (Dahalo, Kenya) language families, where clicks are also known to form a systematic part of phonological inventories – mainly as a result of language contact. Although the term would seem to imply genealogical relationship between *all* languages subsumed under this label, its employment in this book (and elsewhere in the more recent literature) is largely due to pragmatic reasons, as the validity of the hypothesis of a common descent (from a hypothetical Proto-Khoesan language) has for a long time and for

good reason been questioned and remained controversial to this day (see below and especially [Chapter 2](#)).

In historical perspective, the term *Khoesan* (“Khoisan” in its original spelling) was coined in 1928 by the German scholar Leonhard Schultze to establish a physical anthropological connection between “Hottentots” and “Bushmen”, which was meant to be reflected by the two components *khoi*, meaning ‘person’, and *san*, meaning ‘foragers’, in *Khoekhoe* (alias “Khoikhoi” alias “Hottentot”). Only two years later, Isaac Schapera (1930) took a decisive step by using “Khoisan” to allude to a corresponding social anthropological and linguistic connection between the two divisions. Since 1960, Oswin Köhler adopted “Khoisan” to elaborate on a probable linguistic genetic coherence, even though he avoided speaking of a language family or phylum and, instead, established a “Khoisan area” (*Khoisan-Sprachbereich*). After several revisions of his African language classification of 1949–54, Joseph Greenberg followed Köhler in 1963 and, ultimately, popularized “Khoisan” to become a widely used label for the languages under consideration.

It was Greenberg (1963b) again who with a view of the internal group structure of Khoesan, helped to get the geographic labels *Northern*, *Central* and *Southern* for the three branches of his *South African Khoesan* (SAK) commonly accepted. These labels had previously been used by Dorothea F. Bleek (1929, 1956) to refer to the “Bushman” division of Khoesan languages. Later on, Köhler (1975: 314f.) proposed to replace the geographic labels by terms deriving from the root for ‘person’ in

each of the three branches of SAK: *Zhu* (i.e. *Ju*) for Northern, *Khoe* for Central, and *!Wi* for Southern SAK. As for Northern and Southern SAK, at least, this idea actually goes back to Westphal (1971: 381f.), who within Southern SAK had even distinguished further between *!Wi* and *Taa* languages. Ever since, the two sets of labels, geographic and “indigenous”, have been used by Khoesanists side by side. Most recently, two new labels were introduced to the literature: *Tuu*, meaning ‘people’, to replace former Southern SAK ~ *!Wi-Taa* (*!Ui-Taa*) (Güldemann 2005), and *Kx’a*, based on the root for ‘ground, soil’, to refer to “a new Khoisan genealogy” that links up *Ju* with the former SAK “isolate” #Hoan (Heine and Honken 2010).

Members of Central SAK (alias *Khoe*), most of which became (better) known only years after World War II, were initially allocated to smaller units called “groups”. The fact that some of these groups appeared to be more closely related to one another than to others was first taken into consideration by Westphal (1962b), who confronted *Classical Hottentot* with the rest of “Hottentot”, for which he proposed the name *Tshu-Khwe Hottentot* (*tshu* and *khwe* meaning ‘person’ in the languages concerned). A few years later, Köhler (1971b) replaced Westphal’s *Classical Hottentot* by *Khoekhoe*, a term that has since been given preference in the literature. In his historical comparative analysis of *Khoe* languages, Vossen (1997a) renamed the *Tshu-Khwe* branch as *Non-Khoekhoe*, but for understandable reasons that label did not please the experts and was hence replaced with *Kalahari Khoe* (Güldemann and Vossen 2000).

Finally, for solely practical reasons and following the notion of a South African cluster of Khoesan units, the two East African “isolates” Hadza and Sandawe were summarized by Sands (1998a) under the geographic designation *Eastern Khoisan*; restrictive use has so far been made of this term, though.

Endonyms and Exonyms

An enormous variety of names for both ethnic groups and linguistic entities turn up in the literature on Khoesan. Some are self-names (endonyms), others are externally motivated or have been assigned from outside, more often than not by geographical neighbours (exonyms). Multiple designation is rather the rule than the exception. Research has shown that in a number of cases it is anything but easy to indisputably identify names with a particular group of people, language, dialect or speech community. Köhler (1971b) offers an interesting survey of names related to the Khoe family. Winter (1981b) contains a very useful cross-linguistic overview of names that show up in sources published before 1980, while Treis (1998) provides an updated account of Khoesan language names and their variants. In this book, however, the aim is to make as much use of endonyms as possible and/or functionally adequate.

Language Classification

A few remarks on this important issue have already been made above (see the section on Nomenclature) and, in addition, a whole chapter of this book ([Chapter 2](#)) is devoted to the question of classification and the

concomitant controversy that was sparked off by Greenberg's concept of Khoesan as a language phylum in 1950 and 1963. His so-called Macro-Khoesan hypothesis, which is largely a result of lexical comparisons based on the criterion of resemblance in shape and meaning, proceeds from the following internal classification: At first, a distinction is made between South African Khoesan (SAK) and the two East African isolates, Hadza and Sandawe. SAK contains three major branches: Northern, Central and Southern. Northern Khoesan presents itself essentially as a dialect cluster consisting of three or four major units, with a considerable degree of mutual intelligibility. The Central branch is made up by approximately fifteen to twenty different languages or dialects, whereas Southern Khoesan today is virtually represented by two living members only, viz. !Xoon (!Xóõ) and Nluu(ki); remnant speakers of the latter language were met as late as around the time of political change in the Republic of South Africa in the early 1990s. Due to lack of data, two languages were disregarded in Greenberg's classification: extinct Angolan Kwadi and highly endangered #Hoan (#Hõã) in Botswana.

Greenberg's hypothesis has found both adherents (e.g. Argyle 1994; Ehret 1986; Honken 1977, 1988, 1998; Ruhlen 1994; Starostin 2003, 2008) and opponents (especially Westphal 1962a, 1962b, 1971). Given the serious difficulties of proving a genetic relationship between *all* Khoesan languages, a third group of scholars (e.g. Köhler 1975, 1981; Sands 1998a; Traill 1980, 1986b, 2001) suggested, directly or indirectly, to use the term "Khoesan" as a cover for all non-Bantu/

non-Cushitic African click languages irrespective of eventual genealogical implications. (As stated in the section on Nomenclature above, the present book also pursues this trend.) This notion was taken up by Güldemann and Vossen (2000), who proposed a pragmatically oriented classification based on mixed genealogical and typological criteria. A major difference to Greenberg's classification lies in the grouping together of Northern and Southern Khoesan under the label "Non-Khoe" (as opposed to Khoe alias Central Khoesan) on the one hand, and the assignment of #Hoan to the same division on the other hand. Very recently, Heine and Honken (2010) applied the comparative method to prove a genetic relationship between Northern Khoesan and #Hoan and established a new Khoesan subfamily called Kx'a (cf. Nomenclature above). Meanwhile, this view seems to have been accepted by a number of Khoesanists; to my knowledge, however, the proposal has not been debated yet in any detail. Whether, after all, the linguistic affinities within Non-Khoe are more likely due to a southern African *sprachbund* than to a genealogical relationship is a question that was raised by Güldemann (1998b) and is currently under debate.

Like Greenberg, Güldemann and Vossen (2000: 102) have listed Sandawe as "isolate". In 2010, however, Güldemann and Elderkin come to the conclusion that a genealogical relationship to Central Khoesan (Khoe) cannot be excluded or may even be likely. Likewise Kwadi, whose position was declared to be "undetermined" in Güldemann and

Vossen (*ibid.*), is presently seen as a member of an extended Khoe-Kwadi family rather than a single unit (Güldemann 2004b).

State of Documentation

As compared to other African language families, Khoesan languages are still poorly documented. Güldemann and Vossen (2000: 103f.) contains the latest overview of published and unpublished sources on the better-known languages to which, however, an encouraging number of new contributions were added in recent years, or are awaiting publication in due time. The following brief survey is confined to monographic studies.

With respect to South African Khoesan, two important works on Northwestern (Ekoka) !Xun have been made available: a dictionary (König and Heine 2008) and a grammar (Heine and König 2012). Collins and Namaseb's (2011) sketch grammar of Nluuki is the first in-depth description of this dying Tuu language. A dictionary (2003) as well as a grammar (2008) of the Central Khoesan Khwe language were provided by Kilian-Hatz, while Haacke and Eiseb's (2002) comprehensive Khoekhoegowab dictionary has enormously enriched the literature on Namibian Khoekhoe. Moreover, a trilingual !Xoon–Setswana–English dictionary compiled by Traill, Nakagawa and Chebanne is in its final stages, and a concise grammar of #Hoan by Collins and Gruber is currently being worked on.

Finally, three new valuable monographs on Sandawe must be mentioned: two grammars by Eaton (online, a revised version of her PhD thesis of 2002) and Steeman (2011), and a dictionary compiled and edited by Ehret and Ehret (2012) on the basis of Eric ten Raa's data collection of the 1960s and 1970s.

Orthographic Diversity

From a comparativist point of view, one of the most serious obstacles in Khoesan linguistics is the lack of cross-linguistic writing conventions. Although an attempt was made in this connection in the 1990s, the initiative failed mainly for three reasons. First, for some of the languages (e.g. Namibian Khoekhoe, Khwe, Jul'hoan) there already existed officially recognized practical orthographies that would not be sacrificed just because of scientific convenience. Second, some Khoesanists tend to be more individualistic than others and, for whatever reason, prefer their own idiosyncratic spelling to concessionary proposals. And third, some Khoesan languages would seem to raise certain difficulties in accommodating a general orthography for Khoesan languages. The experts have largely learnt to cope with this state of affairs (though few of them are comparativists), but for the non-specialist the juxtaposition of several writing systems might be a challenge. This may also be the case in this book. It is hoped, however, that the contributors' descriptions of phonological inventories of the languages under study will help to minimize eventual problems of understanding and interpretation.

2 Typological Characteristics

The structural properties of Khoesian languages are laid out in sizeable detail in separate chapters on phonetics and phonology (Chapter 4), tonology (Chapter 5), morphology (Chapter 6), and syntax (Chapter 7). In addition, a cross-linguistic typology is dealt with in a special chapter (Chapter 3). At this point, it may therefore suffice to draw the reader's attention to some chief characteristics in order to gain a provisional overview and impression of the structural nature of the "phylum" as a whole.

Phonetics and Phonology

The largest number of features shared by Khoesian languages are identifiable in their sound inventories. The occurrence of clicks, suctive-ingressive consonants that are seldom, if ever, found outside the Khoesian sphere, appears to be the most prominent phenomenon in this respect and has widely been responsible for the apprehension of Khoesian as a family or phylum. Five basic click types (also called "influxes" after Beach 1938) are to be distinguished: bilabial (symbolized by $\textcircled{0}$), dental (\textcircled{l}), alveolar ($\textcircled{!}$), palatal ($\textcircled{\ddagger}$), and lateral-alveolar (\textcircled{l}). Each type can be released in various ways (e.g. voiceless, voiced, aspirated, glottalized, etc.). This secondary articulation is called click accompaniment ("efflux" after Beach 1938). Click type (influx) and accompaniment (efflux) combine to constitute phonemic click sounds that are essential *inter alia* for lexical distinctions in terms of minimal pairs.

Clicks are a peculiar feature of Khoesian languages, but they stand for only part of the complexity inherent in the phonological inventories. A considerable number of

egressive consonants, too, exhibit a complex structure that is largely based on primary and secondary articulation patterns. Vowels may occur in different colourings (commonly oral and nasal and, in addition, pharyngealized, glottalized, breathy in some languages), combinations of which are also possible. Furthermore, Khoesan languages make use of suprasegmental tools such as tone or pitch-accent at the lexical and grammatical level. Syllabic phonological segments such as vowels and nasal consonants serve as tone-bearing units.

The word structure is characterized typically by CVCV, CVV, and CVN sequences. Tri- and other polysyllabic sequences are very rare and can often be shown to be a result of influence from neighbouring Bantu languages.

Morphology

Khoe languages as well as Sandawe and Hadza have a rich inflectional and derivational morphology, whereas Non-Khoe (especially Northern Khoesan) languages tend to be a lot more syntactic-analytically oriented. However, all better-known languages have a noun class system with varying agreement patterns. The Khoe system is overt and primarily sex-oriented; as a rule, person, gender (masculine, feminine, common) and number (singular, dual, plural) combine to constitute the so-called PGN enclitics. Word categories depending on the nominal head agree with the latter grammatically. Sandawe and Hadza work along similar lines. Non-Khoe languages (except !Ui and #Hoan) have a covert (Ju) or sort of mixed (Taa) system which is semantically nature-oriented (e.g. animacy, shape, certain types of

food, body-parts). There are four classes in Ju and five in Taa. While Ju nouns are morphologically unmarked for class membership, Taa nouns are often marked by class-related endings. Class membership in Ju can only be identified through grammatical agreement on certain pronouns.

The verbal systems of Khoe languages are complex throughout. Verbal extensions (derivative suffixes) are very common. In general, they serve to alter or modify the meaning of the verbal base; moreover, they reduce or increase the valence of the verb (e.g. in passive or intransitive constructions) and, hence, impact on syntactic structures. Tenses and/or aspects are numerous and, in most Khoe languages, there are also various strategies to express negation (cf. Vossen 2006). Non-Khoe languages, on the other hand, have a restricted verbal morphology and draw particular attention because of their verb-serializing attitudes.

Syntax

At this level, Khoesan languages pursue different paths. In Khoe and Sandawe, the dominant word order appears to be S(ubject)–O(bject)–V(erb). Nominal modifiers precede the noun and adverbial phrases are most frequently placed at the beginning of a sentence or clause. Non-Khoe languages are predominantly SVO orientated with a nominal head–modifier order (associative constructions excepted). Tanzanian Hadza represents a special case in that here, the verb occurs sentence-initially, hence VSO.

Lexical Specifics

One may hold that, in principle, Khoesian languages make a distinction between nouns and verbs. Very often, however, a syntactic context is required in order to exclude misinterpretation. In !Xoon, for instance, *#'án* means 'think, assume' but also 'thought'. A similar observation can be made for Khoe languages. Thus, *kx'úi* in Naro means both 'speak' and 'speaking, talking'; if, for example, this lexical base is extended by the feminine singular enclitic *-sà* (hence: *kx'úi-sà*), the semantics changes to 'language; law'. A particularity of Non-Khoe and Sandawe as well consists in the occurrence of number-sensitive suppletive stems, as in *#Hoan !kù* (sg) and *#q'ai* (PL) for 'take, get'.

3 The Intended Audience

This is a reference book, providing a set of descriptive, analytical, and typological statements about Khoesian. It is intended to be useful to, and to meet the interest of, different populations of readers: undergraduate and graduate students and others wanting an introduction to the Khoesian language sphere; Khoesianists and general linguists as well as non-linguistic scholars specializing in sub-Saharan Africa; language typologists and comparativists; theoretical linguists and, perhaps, language planners. It is also to be hoped that this book will play an important role in the attempt to direct the general public's attention to the overall complex of problems of the Khoesian-speaking population, whose cultures are changing rapidly and whose languages will for the larger part remain seriously endangered. Authors were asked to write as clearly as possible and to provide bibliographical information beyond the references they

have made in their contributions – for readers wishing to become engrossed in the topic. Readers should bear in mind, however, that it can sometimes be difficult to write for an audience as diverse as described above.

4 The Contents

The book consists of eight chapters (including this first, introductory chapter). There are two chapters about comparative aspects. [Chapter 2](#) is on genetic relationships. The preamble indicates the present state in Khoesan language classification with a sketch of previous positions in order to situate the rest. Two chief positions can be identified in current research, roughly “lumpers” vs. “splitters”. Whereas “lumpers” believe in deep relationships along the lines of a Khoesan phylum (and even beyond), “splitters” take a more conservative view by demanding cross-linguistically well-attested regular sound correspondences as proof of genetic relationship. [Chapter 3](#) contains a typological survey of Khoesan languages focusing on patterns of shared vs. non-shared structural features. It concludes with an attempt at a typological profile of Khoesan.

[Chapters 4](#) through [7](#) are descriptive and cover core linguistic areas. [Chapter 4](#) gives an overview of the segmental phonetic-phonological structure, including notes on word and syllable structure, phonotactics, and morphophonological alterations. In [Chapter 5](#), the tonological structure of some better-known languages is dealt with. [Chapters 6](#) on morphology and [7](#) on syntax comprise nearly two thirds of the book and may, therefore, be interpreted as central components. In the case of two languages, the authors decided in favour of joint morphosyntactic descriptions because separate analyses were conceived as artificial in view of the (largely) analytical nature of the respective languages. Hence, the morphosyntax of Eastern #Hoan has become

part of [Chapter 6](#), while !Xun is found in [Chapter 7](#). In the latter chapter, interlinearized and translated sample texts are included in the description of the Southern Khoesan (Tuu) languages East !Xoon and !Xam. An example of major patterns of Khoesan lexical structure can be found in [Chapter 6](#) with reference to the Central Khoesan (Khoe) language Khwe; here, the focus is on a highly elaborated semantic field in Khoesan languages, namely plant names.

The last chapter discusses questions of language contact in time-perspective and against the background of specific Southern and East African demographic and social settings; it also tackles some major issues in Khoesan sociolinguistics. The different scenarios of linguistic impact represented here touch upon both Khoesan-internal and external contact situations and, with regard to the latter, demonstrate patterns and strategies of borrowing from a bidirectional viewpoint: Khoesan influence on non-Khoesan languages and *vice versa*.

Irrespective of current debates about Khoesan internal and external relationships, the classificatory scheme underlying the core linguistic [chapters 4](#) through [7](#) is Greenberg's. Within each chapter the order of languages/language groups is as follows: 1 Hadza – 2 Sandawe (i.e. East African Khoesan) – 3 South African Khoesan – 3.1 Northern Khoesan (Ju) – 3.2 Central Khoesan (Khoe) – 3.3 Southern Khoesan (Tuu) – 3.4 Eastern #Hoan – 3.5 Kwadi. The sections on Central Khoesan show the following order in each case: Namibian Khoekhoe – !Gora (except [Ch. 5](#)) – Hailom (i.e. Khoekhoe) – Kxoe

subgroup – Naro – !Gana subgroup (i.e. Kalahari West) – Shua subgroup – Tshwa subgroup (i.e. Kalahari East). As for Southern Khoesan, the subsection on East !Xoon precedes the description of !Xam. Since in this book only better-known languages and dialects (a very relative denotation in the case of Khoesan) have been taken into account, some (sub)group representations are confined to the description of selected varieties, in particular: Kxoe subgroup (Khwe and !Ani, Ch. 5; Khwe, Ch. 7); !Gana subgroup (!Gui, Ch. 5 and Ch. 7); Shua subgroup (Cara and Deti, Ch. 5); Southern Khoesan (!Xóõ~!Xoon, Ch. 5).

Within given spatial limits, authors have made every effort to illustrate their descriptions and analyses as copiously as possible. Users of the book will find linguistic examples, tables and figures consecutively numbered within each chapter. A map at the end of this introductory chapter shows the approximate distribution of both extinct and modern Khoesan languages.

5 Geographical Coverage

When consulting the map, readers will see that the Khoesan-speaking area is not evenly covered. This is mainly due to, and corresponds largely with, the present-day state of documentation and information. On the whole, the following languages and dialects are taken into consideration to a greater or lesser extent:

East African Khoesan:

Hadza (also known as *Hatsa*, *Kindiga*, *Tindiga*, *Kangeju*), spoken by some 800 persons at Lake Eyasi (around Yaeda Chini) in north-central Tanzania.

Sandawe (Sandawi), spoken by an estimated 40,000 persons, most of whom are still resident in north-central Tanzania. Speakers in a diaspora outside this area find it difficult to bring up their offspring with a knowledge of Sandawe. Dialectal differences exist, but are minor. Hunziker *et al.* (2005) postulate three areas: East, Central and West; Central and West form a grouping against the Eastern. The same work reveals a popular impression that a respected variety of Sandawe is that used by speakers associated with Mangastaa in the central area. The description in this book is based on work with a language consultant from Mangastaa. (Sources: Elderkin, p.c.; Hunziker *et al.* 2005.)

South African Khoesan:

Northern Khoesan

!Xun, spoken by an estimated 15,000 to 20,000 persons (according to source) in central and southern Angola, north-eastern Namibia and north-western Botswana. The language described in this book has come to be known under a variety of different names. The main reason for referring to both the people speaking this language and the language itself as *!Xun*, rather than using any of the many other names that have been proposed, is simple. In virtually all varieties of this language, this term is used, in some form or other, as an ethnonym (in addition to denoting ‘human being’). There is only one alternative name that needs to be considered: Ju or Zhu, or any of its variant forms. The reason for not adopting this name here is that its use as an ethnonym is confined essentially to two dialects, i.e. the ones that will be referred to in this book as E1 and E3 (see below).

!Xun can be described as an L-complex, that is, as a cluster of speech forms that are linked by a chain of mutual intelligibility, but speakers at the extreme ends of the chain do not understand one another. For example, !Xun speakers of central Angola do not normally understand !Xun speakers of north-eastern Namibia or north-western Botswana. Still, all available evidence suggests that there is no language boundary separating the various !Xun communities. Since there is every reason to believe that all the !Xun varieties that have come to our notice so far are linked by some intelligibility chain, there is a preference towards treating the various speech forms, traditionally subsumed under the label Northern Khoesan, as a single, even if complex, language. A list of the !Xun dialects that have been identified is provided in the chart below. (Sources: Heine and König 2001, 2012.)

Branch	Cluster	Dialect (reference form)
1 (*NW)	North-western	1.1 Northern
		N2
	1.2 Western	W1
		W2
		W3

	1.3 Kavango	K
2 Central	2.1 Gaub	C1
	2.2 Neitsas	C2
3 South-eastern (*SE)	3.1 Ju ’hoan	E1
	3.2 Dikundu	E2
	3.3 †X’áo-ll’àn	E3

Central Khoesan

Khoekhoe

Namibian Khoekhoe (Nama/Damara, Khoekhoegowab), spoken by over 200,000 persons in Namibia and adjacent parts of Botswana and South Africa. N.Kh. is an official language of Namibia, where it is used at all levels of education and in the media as well.

!Gora (!ora, !Ora, Korana) is said to be spoken by just a handful of persons in South Africa. For a long time it was believed to be extinct.

Hailom is spoken by roughly 16,000 to 18,000 persons in north-western Namibia. Hailom and †Ākhoe are variants of the Khoekhoe language which have been considered separate dialects (cf. Haacke *et al.* 1997) but are also virtual synonyms of one variant (Heikkinen, n.d.). Widlok (1997: 123) considers †Ākhoe as “a way in which some Hailom speak their language” and the

contributions to this volume concerning Haillom, which are based on the late Terttu Heikkinen's and Widlok's own research work, strongly reflect that way in which Haillom in the northern part of Namibia (north of the Omuramba Owambo) speak their language.

Kxoe Subgroup

Khwe (Kxoe, Kxoé), spoken by approximately 8,000 persons mainly in Western Caprivi (northern Namibia) and adjacent areas in north-western Botswana. There are also pockets of relocated Khwe speakers in South Africa.

ǁAni (ǁÀnídàm, Xùúkhóédàm), spoken by probably less than 1,000 persons on both banks of the upper Okavango river in Ngamiland, north-western Botswana.

Buga (Boga, Xúúkhóédam), spoken by an estimated 1,000–2,000 persons along the east bank of the Okavango river in north-western Botswana.

Naro

Naro (Nharo, Nhauru, ǁAi, !Ai, Kàbé[khòè], Qábé[khoe]), spoken by approximately 14,000 people in the Ghanzi District of western Botswana and, according to Guenther (1986: 1), “in Namibia to the west, mostly in the vicinity of the town of Gobabis”. Naro would seem to present itself as a dialect cluster.

ǁGana Subgroup

ǁGana (ǁllanasikxoi), spoken by an estimated 2,000 persons “in a large area centered on the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, reaching north to the southeastern part of the Ghanzi farming region and south to the Kang,

Tsetseng and Motokwe areas”, Botswana (Tanaka 1978: xvii).

lGui (Glwi), said to be spoken by circa 2,500 persons in roughly the same area as *lGana* (see above).

#Haba (*#Hábásàkx’úí*), spoken by an unknown number of persons in the vicinity of the Kgwebe Hills, north-western Botswana.

Shua Subgroup

Ts’ixa (*Xúúkhòèdam*; cf. *lAni* and *Buga*), spoken by probably less than 300 persons mainly in Mababe, to the east of the Okavango basin. According to Anne-Maria Fehn (p.c.), who is currently conducting fieldwork among the *Ts’ixakhoe*, the language is highly endangered.

Danisi (*Madenass[en]a*, *Demisane*, *Danísá*), spoken by an unknown number of persons in Central District, Botswana. (Source: Köhler 1971b.)

Deti (*Tatí*, *Teti*, *Tsetí*, *Dètídam*), most likely extinct. The *Deti* people reside mainly in Central District, Botswana, in and around settlements such as *Rakops* and *Gomaxa*.

Cara (*Tçara*, *Cárádàm*), spoken by an unknown number of persons in and around *Gweta*, *Nata*, and *Mopipi* (Central District, Botswana).

lXaise (*Kaisi*, *lHaíse*), spoken by an unknown number of persons in and around *Gweta*, *Nata*, and *Mampswé* (Central District, Botswana).

Tshwa Subgroup

Cua (Tyua, Tshwa), spoken by an unknown number of persons in Central District, Botswana, in places such as Nata, Dukwe, Motsetse, etc.

Kua (Kúádàm), spoken by an unknown number of persons in Bae, Metsemonate, Masethlarobega, ǁXoe, Mosolotsane, Nyunitsudi, Lephephe, Ngware, Lake Xau (cf. Traill 1986b: 420), and Malatswae (Central District, Botswana). Kua presents itself as a strongly diversified lectal cluster (Traill, p.c.).

Tsua (Tshòé, Tsúádàm), spoken by an unknown number of persons in Central District, Botswana; places of residence cannot exactly be determined. The data presented in this book derive from a consultant who lived in Malatswae.

Southern Khoesan

!Xoon (!Xóõ, !xõ), a dialect cluster; spoken by just over 4,000 persons in the southern Kalahari, Botswana, and central-eastern Namibia.

!Xam (Ikham), an extinct language whose speakers lived widely scattered over the western part of present-day South Africa.

!Haasi (Kilhasi), an extinct dialect whose speakers are reported to have resided at the Lower Nossob river.

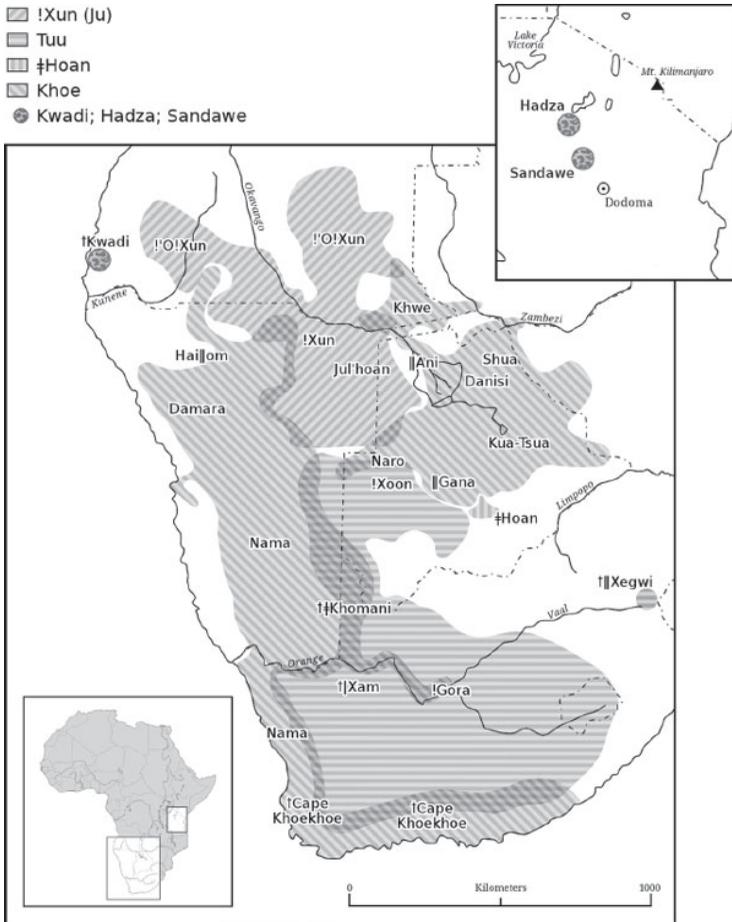
ǁXegwi (ǁkhegwi), a presumably extinct language that was spoken near the source of the Vaal river in present-day eastern South Africa.

Eastern #Hoan (#Hõã, #hũã), spoken by an estimated 200 persons in south-eastern Botswana.

Kwadi (Cuepe, Curoca, Cuanhoca), an extinct language that was spoken in coastal areas of south-western Angola.

References

Argyle 1994; Beach 1938; D.F. Bleek 1929, 1956; Collins and Namaseb 2011; Eaton 2002; Ehret 1986; Ehret and Ehret 2012; Greenberg 1950, 1963b; Guenther 1986; Güldemann 1998b, 2004b, 2005; Güldemann and Elderkin 2010; Güldemann and Vossen 2000; Haacke and Eiseb 2002; Haacke *et al.* 1997; Heikkinen n.d.; Heine and Honken 2010; Heine and König 2001, 2012; Honken 1977, 1988, 1998; Hunziker *et al.* 2005; Keuthmann and Vossen 1997; Kilian-Hatz 2003, 2008; Köhler 1960, 1971b, 1975, 1981; König and Heine 2008; Ruhlen 1994; Sands 1998a; Schapera 1930; Schultze 1928; Starostin 2003, 2008; Steeman 2011; Tanaka 1978; Traill 1980, 1986b, 1995b, 2001; Treis 1998; Vossen 1997a, 2006; Westphal 1962a, 1962b, 1971; Widlok 1997; Winter 1981b.



Map 1.1 The Distribution of Khoesan Languages († = Extinct) © Jonas Vossen, Designer

Chapter Two

Genetic Relationships: An Overview of the Evidence

Henry Honken[†]

1 Introduction

The term “Khoesan” embraces some thirty languages in southern Africa and two in Tanzania, which are characterized by spectacular phonetic systems and structures markedly different from their neighbours. These languages are sometimes referred to as the “Click Family” since the most prominent feature of their phonologies is the proliferation of sounds produced by velar suction. Since these are the only languages on earth in which clicks are both part of the native phonology and not marginal,¹ there has been from the very first a natural presumption that they might be related. But as the following quotations suggest, scholars have not been unanimous on this point:

... two languages of East Africa containing clicks, Sandawe and Hatsa, will be shown to be related to the languages of the Bushmen and Hottentot.

(Greenberg 1966: 66)

In Southern Africa there are four unrelated Bush language types... .

(Westphal 1963: 244)

Although the Nama and !Xū languages are unrelated... .

(Snyman 1970: xiii)

To my mind, the position of the Khoisan family in the classification of the world's languages is the most important unresolved problem in linguistic taxonomy.

(Ruhlen 1994: 45)

The correct conclusion is that the lexical overlap between the two languages !Xóǀ and !Gui has nothing to do with descent.

(Traill and Nakagawa 2000)

This wide divergence of views mirrors an ongoing controversy in historical linguistics over the nature and kinds of evidence that are acceptable, reliable and convincing in proposals of more distant relationships. Some such proposals – the relationship of Hittite and Indo-European or Ritwan and Algonkian – have been universally accepted while others, such as the linking of Japanese with the Altaic languages, cause linguists to choose sides and take up arms. Khoesan would seem to belong to the second group.

My purpose in this chapter is to review the two major approaches to Khoesan, the various proposals which have been made, and evaluate the likelihood of each in light of the evidence presently available.

2 Previous Work in the Field

All of the South African Khoesan languages are tonal and several papers have dealt with the problem of reconstructing the tonal systems. Beach (1938) devoted

two chapters to the history of Khoekhoegowab tone and root structure. Citing his own data from Nama and Korana, he broached his famous suggestion – still the starting point for work on Khoe tone – that the four lower tones in Nama are the result of phonetic split. Winter (1981a) extended this approach to Khwe, another language in the Khoe family. In an attempt to reconstruct tonal patterns in the verbal system, Vossen (1986a) used his own field data to compare four Khoe languages: ǀAni, ǀDeti, ǀCara and ǀKua.

Elderkin's (1988) analysis of statistical patterns in Jul'hoan initial consonants accounted for both pharyngealized and laryngealized vowels in terms of changes in the initial consonant and tone. Elderkin also reconstructed the tonal system of Jul'hoan in terms of two tonemes selected for twice on each stem. This is the only paper so far to deal with Ju tone from a historical perspective.

More recently, Honken (2008) extended Beach's hypothesis of a split in the lower tones to other Khoe languages and Elderkin (2008) reconstructed the Khoe tonal system.

The only Khoesan family which has been firmly reconstructed is Khoe. Baucom (1974) made an early attempt in a paper somewhat limited by its reliance on poor data. Köhler compared Khoekhoegowab and Khwe vocabulary in selected semantic fields (Köhler 1963) but without attempting a reconstruction. His paper is also notable as the first to describe click replacement.

Trill (1986a) discussed this interesting sound change in more detail as did Vossen, who has provided the first complete formal demonstration of the unity of Khoe. His reconstruction (Vossen 1997a) was based on data from eighteen Khoe languages, most of them not previously studied, and covered phonological, structural and lexical aspects.

Köhler (1973/74) presented a list of similar words in Khwe and Jul'hoan. Trill and Vossen (1997) discussed the correspondence of / and // in many Ju languages. Various papers by Honken and Elderkin discussed the origin of pharyngealized vowels in Khoesan. Ehret (1986) offered etymologies in South African Khoesan, Sandawe and Hadza, with an attempt to reconstruct the proto-sound system. Ruhlen (1994) added further Khoesan etymologies in support of Greenberg's original paper. Sands (1998a) critically analysed previous historical work and used a number of different methodologies to evaluate the probability of a Khoesan family.

The two major classifications, Greenberg and Westphal, will be discussed later. Many more references can be found in Sands (1998a).

3 Agreements and Disagreements

The traditional division of South African Khoesan into Northern, Central and Southern going back to Bleek (1929) has been widely accepted. But it is clear that these units are not all on the same level of relationship. Southern, in particular, is much more diverse than Northern or Central. At the same time, the generally

negative reaction by Khoesanists to Greenberg's classification has led to some changes in terminology that avoid the question-begging term "Khoesan". In the remainder of this chapter, the more current terms Ju (Northern), Khoe (Central) and !Ui-Taa² (Southern) will be used instead of the older terms.

The unity of the Khoe group has been acknowledged since the earliest studies and it is worth asking why this group has been so readily accepted while larger relationships such as Khoesan itself have been met with much scepticism by many researchers.

The Khoe languages have a moderately complex agglutinative structure with a nominal gender system and verbs marked for tense, aspect, passive, causative and other categories. In his reconstruction of Proto-Khoe, Vossen (1997a) was able to show that there are numerous correspondences in the morphemes that mark these categories in all the Khoe languages: the pronominal and nominal gender systems, tense and aspect particles, the use of a juncture morpheme in the verb complex, and many others. Moreover, in addition to lexical correspondences in all the major semantic fields, Vossen was able to demonstrate many valid sound shifts, ranging from the shift of *ts' to /' in Khoekhoegowab to complex sound changes like click replacement (cf. [Table 2.1](#)). In short, Khoe is a classic example of a genetic family and Vossen's analysis follows classical lines.

Table 2.1 Examples of Correspondences in the Khoe Family

Gloss	Khoekhoe	Naro	Khwe	Deti
PRON. 1SG	<i>tif-tà</i>	<i>tif-rà</i>	<i>tí</i>	<i>tá</i>
M.SG	<i>-p</i>	<i>-ba, -mi</i>	<i>-ma</i>	<i>-ma</i>
F.SG	<i>-s</i>	<i>-si</i>	<i>-si</i>	<i>-sa</i>
RECIPROCAL	<i>-kü</i>	<i>-ku</i>	<i>-kü</i>	<i>-kü</i>
PERFECTIVE	<i>hää</i>	<i>hää</i>	<i>-hā</i>	<i>-hā</i>
'smoke'	<i>l'ān</i>	<i>ts'ini</i>	<i>ts'āni</i>	<i>ts'āni</i>
'chin'	<i>l'ān-s</i>	<i>lgānī</i>	<i>gyāni</i>	<i>gāni</i>
'hard'	<i>l'āri</i>	<i>l'ārī</i>	<i>kyēri</i>	<i>kāri</i>
'hippo'	<i>lxāō-s</i>	<i>lxāō</i>	<i>xāō</i>	<i>xāō</i>
'ear'	<i>tāē-p</i>	<i>tēē</i>	<i>tēē</i>	<i>cēē</i>
'black'	<i>η#ūū</i>	<i>η#ūū</i>	<i>η#gūū</i>	<i>yūū</i>

But when we turn to proposals of more distant connections, the evidence offered is often disappointingly thin, confined for the most part to lexical resemblances. For example, Greenberg devotes most of the six pages on South African Khoesan to proving that Khoekhoegowab is not a “Hamitic” language. Most of the “Hottentot” (Khoekhoegowab) constructions he considers are not widely paralleled in Ju or !Ui-Taa and, although he states that “analysis shows a number of real points of contact” (1966: 70) between “Hottentot” and “Bushman” (Non-Khoe) pronouns, these points are not discussed in detail.

All researchers in the area agree on the following: that the Cushitic language Dahalo (Elderkin 1976) and Bantu languages such as Xhosa (Louw 1974 and this volume, section 8.1), Yeyi (Sommer and Vossen 1992 and Sommer, this volume, section 8.2) and Manyo (see Möhlig, this volume, section 8.3) have borrowed their clicks, that Khoe and Ju are valid genetic units and that the speakers of South and East African Khoesan languages have probably been in their present locations for thousands of years (Barnard 1992: 29; Ehret, this volume, section 8.9). Beyond these few points, however, opinions diverge sharply.

The two principal approaches are those of Greenberg (1966) and Westphal (1971) and we may say that Khoesan historical linguistics takes place between the positive pole of Greenberg and the negative pole of Westphal. Greenberg accepts the traditional tripartite division of Ju, Khoe and !Ui-Taa as a given and unites them with Sandawe

and Hadza in a larger “Click Family”. Westphal splits Khoesan into Khoe (“Hottentot” in his terminology), four unrelated “Bush” languages – Ju, !Wi, !Xegwi and Taa – and for good measure puts Sandawe, Hadza, Kwadi and even !Xam (generally classified as !Ui-Taa) each into its own family. Greenberg’s classification is thus maximally lumping; Westphal’s is maximally splitting.

One might anticipate that such sharply contrasting alternatives would provoke an interesting and profitable debate. Unfortunately, researchers have shown a tendency to talk past each other. Ruhlen (1994) gives only one reference for Westphal in his bibliography³ and, even though Westphal’s articles on this subject are almost all direct attacks on Greenberg, he frequently seems to misconstrue Greenberg’s arguments.

4 South African Khoesan

4.1 The Khoe Family

The genetic unity of Khoe is at this point undisputed. All Khoe languages share numerous words not found elsewhere. There are many characteristic⁴ sound changes, especially the well-known series of click replacements in the Kxoe, Shua and Tshwa subgroups

and in !Gana in the Naro-!Gana subgroup (cf. [Table 2.2](#); see Traill 1986b and Vossen 1997a for details).

Table 2.2 Examples of Click Replacement in Khoe

Language	'aardvark'	'giraffe'	'springhare'	'back'
Naro	!góó	ŋ!ábè	!góó	
!Gui	!góó		!góó	
!Gana	góó	ŋábi	!góó	ŋtóró
Khwe	góó	ŋgyábè		ŋ!góró
Deti	góó	ŋábè		yóró
Cara	góó	ŋgábè	jóó	
Danisi			dyóó	ndyóró
Kua	góó			yóró
Tsua		gábè		

Unlike the Non-Khoe languages, with their one and two phoneme pronouns, Khoe languages have elaborate pronouns with distinct elements marking person, number and gender. For instance, in Khoekhoegowab, *k-* marks masculine gender, *s-* marks feminine and *t-* common, while *-e* marks first person plural and *-o* marks second person plural. Similar elements are found in the same order in Danisi (Shua subgroup) (see Vossen 1997a: 246f., Güldemann 2004b; cf. [Table 2.3](#)).

Table 2.3 Pronominal Stems in Khoekhoegowab and Danisi

Khoekhoegowab	MASCULINE	FEMININE	COMMON
1ST PLURAL	-ke	-se	-ta
2ND PLURAL	-ko	-so	-tu
Danisi			
1ST PLURAL	-ke	-se	-tse
2ND PLURAL	-kao	-sao	-to

Such repeated elements give a cohesion to the Khoe pronominal systems that makes the relationship obvious on inspection.

The nominal gender system distinguishes masculine and feminine gender and singular, dual and plural number. There is also a gender-indefinite category usually called common gender. Again we find many correspondences, including masculine singular labial (Khoekhoegowab *-p*, Naro *-ba*, Khwe *-ma*, etc.), feminine singular *-s* and common plural *-n*. Widespread verbal elements include the juncture, reciprocal, reflexive and passive endings (Köhler 1962, Vossen 1997a), the perfective and some tense-aspect particles and negative markers.

Kwadi, a now extinct and little-studied language of Angola, which is currently classed as affiliation indeterminate (Güldemann and Vossen 2000: 102) may be a distant outlier of Khoe. Although Kwadi is structurally quite different from Khoe, there are marked similarities in the pronominal systems. Güldemann and Elderkin (2010) propose some thirty well-supported potential cognates and others more tentative. Kwadi appears to have undergone extensive click loss: ‘go’ Kwadi *kõ*, Proto-Khoe **!ũũ*; ‘fish’ Kwadi *’au-*, Proto-Kalahari Khoe **ll’au*; ‘eat’ Kwadi *’nũũ*, Proto-Khoe **ʃ’ũũ*, but ‘blood’ Kwadi *l’o-*, Proto-Khoe **l’ao*; ‘one’ Kwadi *lui*, Proto-Khoe **lui*. Another interesting correspondence is occasional loss of final *m*: ‘two’ Kwadi *la*, Proto-Khoe **lam*; ‘top’ Kwadi *’ja*, Proto-Khoe **ʃ’am*. Even in the absence of a genetic relationship, it is clear that Kwadi has had close contact with Khoe.

4.2 The Ju Family

The Ju languages are very close and, according to Heine and König (2001: 1), are best regarded as a dialect chain,

a group of speech communities in which neighbouring lects are mutually intelligible but speakers at the ends of the chain do not understand each other.

The only Ju languages studied in detail are Jul'hoan and the !Xũũ lects spoken in Ovamboland and Ekoka, although there is an early study of Bleek's (1928) describing †X'aull'ê. Assuming that these are representative, we can say that Ju languages share the following characteristics: a gender system of four to five classes based on meaning marked by pronominal, deictic and possessive concord, suppletive singular and plural forms for some verbs and a separate set of pronouns for the possessee. The elements *-a* and *kV* (*ko* in Jul'hoan, *ke* in !Xũũ) are used to mark verbal extensions with *kV* appearing if there is a second extension.

The most interesting sound change in Ju involves a number of words in Jul'hoan with initial ! which correspond to !Xũũ words with initial //, a sound change recently studied by Miller-Ockhuizen and Sands (1999), who propose that the alveolar and lateral clicks in this series are reflexes of a retroflex click, a click type which seems at this point to be found only in Ju (see Snyman 1997). This raises the types of sound changes known to affect clicks to four: click loss, click replacement, click accompaniment shift, and enclicking.

Click loss is a sound shift in which the influx part of the click is lost, leaving the accompaniment, which in turn may undergo other changes. For example, the alveolar click with glottal accompaniment is replaced in Shua languages by a glottal stop but the palatal click in the same series is replaced by a laryngealized palatal glide:

Proto-Khoe *!'ãã 'know' > Cara 'áã; Proto-Khoe *#ũũ 'eat' > Cara ²yũũ (cf. Vossen 1997a: 433, 507f.).

Traill and Vossen (1997) differentiate click loss from click replacement in which the influx part of the click is replaced by a different influx. The only certain example of this so far are those Ju languages which have a lateral click in some words where Jul'hoan has an alveolar click. Traill and Vossen suggest on typological grounds that the alveolar click is primary in this series (i.e. Proto-Ju *! > //) but do not cite any comparative evidence.

Since some Ju languages have a retroflex click in these words, Miller-Ockhuizen and Sands's (1999) proposal that !!, ! and // are all reflexes of Proto-Ju *!! seems far more likely.

4.3 The Position of #Hõã

#Hõã is remarkable in three ways: it was discovered in relatively recent times, it is the only non-!Ui-Taa Khoesan language to have the labial click and it shares an impressive number of lexical items with Ju languages, spoken at a considerable distance from the #Hõã area.

While #Hõã may not be a link between Ju and !Ui-Taa as Traill (1973) at first proposed, it remains the most likely candidate for a relationship between two Non-Khoe language groups. The following points are striking.

A comparison of Gruber's unpublished #Hõã wordlist with Jul'hoan reveals some 200–250 good matchings;⁵ many of these words are otherwise unique to Ju (see [Table 2.4](#)):

Table 2.4 #Hõã-Jul’hoan Lexical Matchings

Gloss	#Hõã	Jul’hoan
‘eat’	’ám	’ <i>m̃</i>
‘duiker’	Ø ’ú	l’ áú
‘wildebeest’	!gĩ	!gai
‘rot’	!kũi	!úí
‘sit (sg.)’	!nã	nláng

Both #Hõã and !Xũũ have a subclass of nouns that form their plurals by vowel change and a shift in tone, a process rare in Khoesan. Examples are:

Table 2.5 Plural Formation by Vocalic and Tonal Shift in #Hõã and !Xũũ

#Hõã (Collins 1998: 32)	SINGULAR	PLURAL	!Xũũ (Heikkinen 1987: 106f)	SINGULAR	PLURAL
‘eye’	<i>Okoa</i>	<i>Okóèn</i>	‘owner’	<i>lxáó</i>	<i>lxáó</i>
‘tooth’	<i>ts’lu</i>	<i>ts’èon</i>	‘person’	<i>zù</i>	<i>zù’ú</i>
			‘my child’	<i>mí-mà</i>	<i>mí-mè’è</i>

#Hõã and the Ju languages have a particle in *kV* that marks verbal extensions (Collins 2003) and a subclass of verbs with a *kV-* prefix. Particle and prefix have the same vocalism in both #Hõã and Ju (full data is available for only Jul’hoan and !Xũũ as spoken in Ekoka and Ovamboland areas). Examples for particle and verb type are:

Table 2.6 KV Particle and Prefix in #Hõã, !Xũũ And Ju

#Hõã (Gruber 1975)		!Xũũ (Heikkinen 1987)		Jul’hoan (Snyman 1970)	
<i>ki</i>	generalized preposition	<i>kê</i>	transitive particle	<i>kó</i>	transitive particle
<i>ki kv’á ná</i>	‘on the ground’	<i>!úwá tǒ</i>	‘put honey in the pot’	<i>kò táfèr lhó</i>	‘on the table’
		<i>kê tá</i>			
<i>ki-ci !ámkõe</i>	‘show the man the house’	<i>kê-tsǎi</i>	‘hasten’	<i>gul’a da’ama</i>	‘caught for the child the rabbit’
<i>ki !kõa</i>				<i>ko !’hetma</i>	
<i>ki-tsù’u</i>	‘steal’			<i>kò-ts’áun</i>	‘jump away’

Finally, there are at least half a dozen matchings among the suppletive singular and plural verb forms such as ‘rise (sg.)’: #Hõã *kyú*, Jul’hoan *tsáú*, !Xũũ *tsáo*; ‘stand (pl.)’: #Hõã *llgǎ*, Jul’hoan *llgà*, !Xũũ *llgà*.

Most recently, Heine and Honken (2010) have made an attempt to systematically compare Gruber’s #Hõã data with !Xũũ and Jul’hoan by applying the comparative method. The results are most striking in that they were able to establish extensive sets of regular sound correspondences for consonants and vowels which have laid the basis for reconstructions at all levels. In conclusion, a new subfamily called “Kx’a” has been proposed to replace the former “Northern Khoesan” and unclassified #Hõã.

4.4 !Ui and Taa Languages

!Ui-Taa languages differ far more among themselves than the various branches of Khoe. Nevertheless, in some cases, there are interesting points of contact. !Xegwi, for instance, appears to have had complex singular and plural forms like those in !Xóǒ (Lanham and Hallows 1956) and there are even some correspondences, as in ‘tree’: !Xóǒ *Onà-je*, pl. *Onà-ǎ*; !Xegwi *Onoo-zi*, pl. *Ono-ŋ*. Unfortunately, most of the

!Ui-Taa languages became extinct before they could be adequately described.

The only surviving !Ui-Taa languages are !Xóǎ and Nluu; aside from !Xam, the other languages in this group are poorly documented though there is a fair amount of material on !Xegwi. As nearly as one can tell from the literature, these languages seem to have been classified together because they share certain key lexical items and have similar pronominal systems. But, although many researchers in Khoesan would be sceptical of a relationship between Ju and !Ui-Taa, Jul'hoan has some lexical items in common with !Xóǎ (for example, 'artery', Jul'hoan *!oq'ùn*, !Xóǎ *!òhǎ*) and the two languages also have similar pronominal systems. It is hardly reasonable to rely on a criterion in one case, which in the other is rejected as a basis for classification (but see, e.g., Hastings 2001 for a different view).

The most surprising new development in Khoesan linguistics was the discovery of eight surviving full speakers of Nluu, a language which had been thought to be extinct. This discovery was largely due to the efforts of Nigel Crawhall (2004), who based his PhD thesis on the sociological and historical aspects of Nluu. A number of researchers are now engaged in studying Nluu phonology and structure and the new data will undoubtedly make a re-evaluation of the status of !Ui-Taa possible.

5 East African Khoesan

Two languages of East Africa, Sandawe and Hadza, also use clicks as regular speech sounds. Greenberg classified these languages as coordinate branches to South African Khoesan in a larger “Click Family”, but Hadza is currently regarded as an isolate by nearly everyone.

5.1 Sandawe

Sandawe has often been associated with Khoesan, especially the Khoe group, but surprisingly little evidence has been offered to support this view. Moreover, those researchers claiming a relationship have largely ignored three major differences between the sound systems of South African Khoesan and the Tanzanian language which would have to be reconciled in any complete comparison. The first of these is the dramatic difference in the relative proportion of click words. In the South African languages, click words constitute 80 per cent or more of the total vocabulary; in Sandawe and Hadza, the proportion is more like 20 per cent. Next, all South African Khoesan languages⁶ have a palatal click which is lacking in Sandawe and Hadza. And third, all South African Khoesan languages⁷ have a velar friction click accompaniment which is not found in the Tanzanian case. Researchers have sometimes compared the latter two with the alveolar click and the aspirated click release but for the most part the comparisons have been unconvincing.

Unquestionably, there has been some sort of contact between Sandawe and at least Khoe since some of the lexical resemblances are so striking that they are unlikely to be the result of chance:

Table 2.7 Sandawe-Khoe Lexical Correspondences

	‘four’	‘to smell’	‘ripen’	‘to swallow’
Sandawe	<i>hākā</i>	<i>himé</i>	<i>l’iné</i>	<i>tīm</i>
Khoekhoe	<i>hākā</i>	<i>hām</i>	<i>l’āñ</i>	<i>tòm</i>

But the number of these is very small (50–60). In addition to the lexical matches, there is the intriguing correspondence between the gender markers: M.SG Sandawe *-e*, *-we*, Khoekhoe *-p* and F.SG Sandawe *-su*, Khoekhoe *-s* (Güldemann and Elderkin 2010). Nevertheless, there is some doubt as to whether these few bits of evidence will support a genetic connection.

Among the eight or nine structural points which Greenberg cites, some, like the resemblance between the Sandawe and Naro masculine and feminine third person singular pronouns, are truly impressive. Others seem more limited. For instance, Greenberg compares Sandawe F.PL *-tsi* with Naro *-dzi* but this suffix is cited for only a single word: ‘woman’ *thame-tshu*, pl. *thame-tshi*. Similarly, M.PL *-ko*, which Greenberg compares to Khoekhoe *-kù*, seems to be limited to *ŋllǒ:kó* ‘children’.

Güldemann and Elderkin (2010) regard a genetic connection between Sandawe and the Khoe family as promising. Like Greenberg, they base this contention on resemblances in the pronominal systems and other markers and a small amount of lexical evidence.

Sandawe first person singular *tsí* is compared to Proto-Khoe **ti* and Proto-Khoe third person singular base **xa-* and suffixes M.SG **bV*, **mV*, F.SG **sV* are

compared to Sandawe demonstrative base *he* and suffixes *-we/-m*, *-su*. To these correspondences, already proposed by Greenberg, they add second person singular Sandawe *hàpú* and Proto-Khoe-Kwadi **sa*. The similarities in the gender-number suffixes are truly striking and, as Greenberg says, Naro M.SG *xà-bá* and F.SG *xà-sá* “completely parallel” Sandawe *hè-wé* and *hè-sú* respectively.

At the same time, it is necessary to point out that these similarities must be evaluated in a wider context. What makes the Khoe pronominal system such powerful evidence for Khoe genetic unity is the fact that the individual pronouns have a complex inner structure showing detailed correspondences everywhere in Khoe but this structure has no parallel in Sandawe. The danger of comparing pronouns in terms of overall similarity without regard to their internal structure is clear when we note that the Jul’hoan pronouns *mi*, *ha*, *e*, *i*, *si* resemble English *me*, *he*, *we*, *ye*, *they* in form and meaning but few linguists would suppose these two languages to be related.

There are also phonetic problems. The initial consonant of *tsí* is said to be palatalized (Güldemann and Elderkin 2010: table 7 and following comment) but this is the only example of palatalization in the data and the only example where Sandawe *ts-* corresponds to Khoe *t-*.

Similar problems surface in the discussion of demonstratives. Greenberg compares the *-a* remote and *-e* near contrast of Sandawe *na* ‘there’ and *ne* ‘here’ with Khoekhoe *llnaa* ‘that’ and *nee* ‘this’ but the same front vowel/near ~ back vowel/far contrast is found in the

Papuan language Korafe: *e* ‘this/here’, *a* ‘that/there (near addressee)’ and *o* ‘that/there (not location of speaker or addressee)’ (Foley 1986: 75). Güldemann and Elderkin (2010: section 3.2) suggest that Sandawe *ne* and *na* are derived from Proto-Khoe *nléè and *nlláá by declicking but no convincing evidence has been presented to show that this sort of random click loss ever occurs.

Though the evidence given, especially the similarities in the gender markers and some of the better lexical comparisons, makes some sort of contact between Sandawe and Proto-Khoe quite certain, it falls short of establishing a genetic relationship.

5.2 Hadza

With Hadza, the argument is even weaker. As Sands (1998a) has pointed out, the data from Bleek which serves as Greenberg’s basic corpus has a high proportion of transcription errors. As a result, there are several misinterpretations in Greenberg’s analysis. For example, Hadza *-ta*, which Greenberg compares to Khoekhoegowab 1SG *-ta*, is actually a present tense marker. According to Sands, there are sufficient errors to seriously weaken a third of the cognates offered by Greenberg.

The most substantial evidence Greenberg offers relies on similarities in the gender markers. He compares Hadza masculine and feminine possessive particles *ma* and *sa* with Naro nominal gender markers masculine *-ba* and feminine *-sa*. Hadza nominal suffixes masculine plural *-bi’i* and feminine plural *-be’e* correspond to verbal suffixes *-mi’i* and *-me’e* and Greenberg compares these

to the “same alternation” in Naro masculine singular *-ba*, which shifts to *-m* before prepositions and the possessive particle *di*.

Greenberg (1966: 74) notes that the “third person independent pronouns show the same *ha-* base as those of Sandawe, the independent *ha* of the Bushman languages and the *xa-* third person base of Naro.” It is certainly true that many Khoesan languages have both demonstratives and third person pronouns with an initial *h-* or glottal stop:

Table 2.8 Khoesan Demonstratives/Pronouns with Initial H-

Language	Demonstrative/ pronoun	Meaning/function
!Ora	<i>he</i>	this
Khwe	<i>'á-mà</i>	this one (M.SG)
	<i>'i-mà</i>	that one (M.SG)
Jul'hoan	<i>he</i>	this
	<i>ha</i>	3rd person singular pronoun
!Xóǀ	<i>'VV</i>	demonstrative (with variable vowel)

	<i>eh</i>	3rd person singular pronoun
!Xegwi	<i>'e-la, 'e-na</i>	demonstrative
	<i>ha-</i>	3rd person singular pronoun
Sandawe	<i>he</i>	this
	<i>ha</i>	that
Hadza	<i>ha-ma</i>	demonstrative (M.SG)

But demonstrative bases of the form V , $'V$, hV are found in several unrelated languages: Latin *hic*, *haec*, *hoc* ‘this’, Japanese *a-re* ‘that’, Basque *hau* ‘this’, *hura* ‘that’, nor do the details in the Khoesan set correspond in a paradigmatic way. The $b \sim m$ alternation in Naro is found in the masculine singular and correlates with a feminine singular *si/s* and common plural *ni/n* alternation in the same environments but Hadza $b \sim m$ is found only in the plural and the gender difference is marked by a vowel alternation. Since in Hadza there are three bases: proximate *ha-*, distal $bV-$, remote *na-* (cf. the feminine singular forms *ha-ko*, *ho-ko*, *na-ko*), *ha-* is not the general demonstrative base that it is in Sandawe and Hadza lacks the *i/a* near/remote symbolism.

6 For and Against

The strongest argument which Greenberg advances for Khoesan as a genetic unit is the canonic form. All South

African Khoesian languages appear to share an idiosyncratic stem form which must be CVV, CVN or CVCV, clicks can only occur initially, internal consonants are largely restricted to *b, m, n, r*, there are strong restrictions on the occurrence of vowels (the underlying vowel in the first syllable is normally *a* or *o*, only *a, i, u* can follow a nasal, and so on). It is curious that this argument has been so widely ignored since it is not clear that such a uniform stem structure could have arisen from areal influences.

Greenberg suggests that sceptics convince themselves by examining Bleek's vocabularies, and indeed a number of basic lexical items are widespread (see Traill 1986b, Sands 1998a). In general we find an 8–10 per cent lexical overlap between languages from different Khoesian groups (Greenberg 1966: 68 puts this at 50 per cent between Central and either Northern or Southern and Westphal 1971 at 1–2 per cent). Greenberg also notes that, although the pronominal systems are superficially quite different, they share a number of markers such as 1_{PL} *e/i* and 2_{PL} *o/u*.

In response to these arguments, critics have pointed out that, while some of the lexical correspondences are striking, they show an unexpectedly low degree of sound change. This is not the case within accepted genetic groups such as Khoe, leading to the paradoxical result that the transition from Proto-Khoe to its branches seems to show much greater change than the shift from Proto-Khoesian to Ju, Khoe and !Ui-Taa would entail. Nor are there any characteristic sound changes linking

the Khoesan groups as there are between the branches of Khoe.

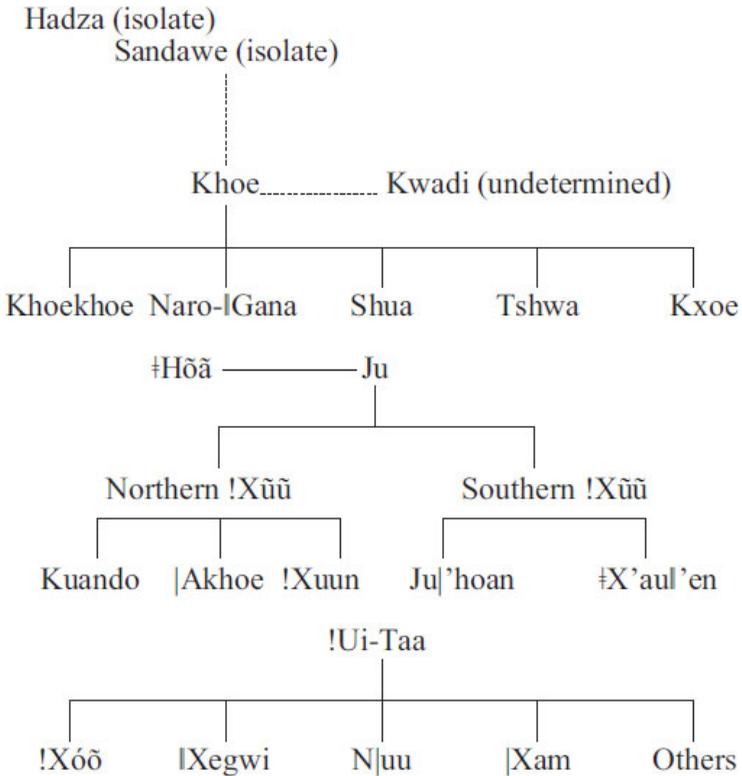
But the most serious weakness of the proposed Khoesan family is the almost complete lack of any widespread structural correspondences. The few Macro-Khoesan structural features which have been noted, such as the prevalence of nominalizing suffixes in *-s* (Khoekhoegowab *-si*, Khwe *-ça*, !Xóǀ *-sa*, Jul'hoan *-sí* etc.), could well be the result of chance or borrowing.⁸

The most impressive example of morphological evidence for a possible Khoesan family is what Collins (2003) has called the linker, a particle in *k-* that marks various extensions of the verb including objects, locative and instrumental phrases. Collins has argued that the many parallels between #Hǀǎ and Jul'hoan in the use of this particle provide strong evidence for a relationship and the present author would agree. A similar linker is found in !Xóǀ, where it shows concord with its satellite, the underlying form being *ká*.

Even closer parallels can be found here between !Xóǀ and #Hǀǎ since in both languages the passive prefix has the same form as the linker: !Xóǀ *ké qáe sà'ǎ* 'in its mother's face' (Traill 1994: 184), *èh n̄ bà tǎǎ* 'he hears', *èh n̄ bà ká tǎǎ* 'he is heard' (Traill 1994: 310); #Hǀǎ *ki gyeo na* 'in the road', *#'amkoe ki- llgon-'a* 'a person was struck' (Collins 2003).

The tree diagram below is not meant to replace the classifications of Greenberg and Westphal. What it does is summarize the presently available evidence for genetic connections in the Khoesan area. Note that a dotted line

indicates that the connection is tentative (as between Kwadi and Khoe) or may be due to borrowing.



In conclusion, although there are a number of intriguing lexical and structural similarities, which may be the result of some deep and ancient underlying connection, no formal demonstration of the genetic unity of Khoesan has been made which is convincing and satisfying to all Khoesanists.

Notes

1 In some Southern Bantu languages, as much as 15 per cent of the lexicon may begin with clicks, but this vocabulary is thought to be borrowed from neighbouring Khoesan languages (Louw 1974, for Xhosa borrowing from Khoekhoe; Sommer and Vossen 1992, for Yeyi borrowing from !Ani). It is in this sense that I am referring to “native phonology”.

2 Most recently, Güldemann (2005) has referred to Southern Khoesan as the Tuu family, based on the common !Ui and Taa word for ‘people’ (!Xóǒ *tùu*, !Xegwi *tu-ŋ*, Nluu *cu-ke*).

3 This is a citation of Westphal’s response to Traill (1973), included only because Traill’s response to Westphal’s criticism is cited. Westphal’s (1971) most complete statement of his views is not mentioned nor any of his other papers on the subject.

4 Even loanwords may show regular sound correspondences. What I mean by a characteristic sound change is one that defines a group and has the property Nichols (1992: 48) calls individual-identifying, i.e. has a probability of random occurrence of one in a hundred thousand or less. An example from Indo-European is Grimm’s Law, which defines Germanic as a separate branch. An example within Khoe would be the loss of voicing in the clicks which defines Khoekhoe as a sub-family.

5 By matching I mean a candidate for cognacy: in an initial comparison, items which have the same gloss and show phonetic correspondences found elsewhere in the

data set are said to be matched. Further research may confirm matchings as cognates.

6 The only exception appears to be !Xegwi. There has been some speculation (Lanham and Hallowes 1956) that the palatal click shifted to a lateral affricate in !Xegwi (cf. ‘moon’ #Khomani #’oro, !Xegwi *tl’olo*).

7 Ladefoged and Traill (1994) found that their Khoekhoe informants realized this click type as an aspirated click but Beach (1938) described the accompaniment as velar friction and Khoekhoe words with this accompaniment correspond to words in other Khoe languages with velar friction.

8 Cf., for example, Japanese nominalizing suffix in *-s*: Japanese *aka-i* ‘red’, *aka-sa* ‘redness’, and the similarities between !Xóǝ and Khwe complement structures as in !Xóǝ *ḡbà káne ká kákúũ-sa* ‘I want quietness’ (Traill, from taped examples of !Xóǝ sounds) and Khwe *Tí n#óḡ -ca yávà-na-hã* ‘I would like to build’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003: 149).

References

Barnard 1992; Baucom 1974; Beach 1938; D.F. Bleek 1928, 1929; Collins 1998, 2003; Crawhall 2004; Ehret 1986; Elderkin 1976, 1988, 2008; Foley 1986; Greenberg 1966 [1963b]; Gruber 1975; Güldemann 2004b, 2005; Güldemann and Elderkin 2010; Güldemann and Vossen 2000; Hastings 2001; Heikkinen 1987; Heine and Honken 2010; Heine and König 2001; Honken 2008; Kilian-Hatz 2003; Köhler 1962, 1963, 1973/74; Ladefoged and Traill 1994; Lanham and Hallowes 1956; Louw 1974; Miller-Ockhuizen and

Sands 1999; Nichols 1992; Ruhlen 1994; Sands 1998a; Snyman 1970, 1997; Sommer and Vossen 1992; Traill 1973, 1986a, 1986b, 1994; Traill and Nakagawa 2000; Traill and Vossen 1997; Vossen 1986a, 1997a; Westphal 1963, 1971; Winter 1981a.

Chapter Three

Typology

Tom Güldemann¹

1 Introduction

Apart from classifying languages genealogically, language groups can be established on the basis of shared linguistic features, independently of their genealogical relations. This is the topic of typological and areal linguistics. For the time being, this is a particularly useful approach in Khoesan studies in order to come to grips with the commonality and diversity in this language group, because genealogical classifications have heretofore been unsatisfactory. It is also called for by the fact that Khoesanists are still sounding out the terrain due to the comparatively late accessibility of sufficient data. Finally, it is relevant because of the claim about an old age of Khoesan in southern and eastern Africa in connection with the hypothesis advanced and empirically substantiated by Nichols (1992) that population and areal typology yield better results in the historical study of languages when great time depths do not (yet) allow the application of historical-comparative methodology.

The idea that common linguistic features, at least of Southern African Khoesan, can be assessed in terms of areal-typological explanations is not new, but has been entertained briefly by Greenberg (1959: 24) and Heine (1975b: 44f.). At that time, however, there were still great gaps in the data. Today the situation has changed

considerably and typological comparisons in Khoesian are no longer impossible. A first attempt in this direction was made by Güldemann (1998b). He suggested that certain commonalities of Khoesian languages could be explained if parts of pre-Bantu southern Africa were conceptualized as a linguistic area, called there the “Kalahari Basin”.

The following typological survey consists of two major parts: morphosyntax and phonetics/phonology, treating Khoesian as a whole. Table 3.1 gives the sample languages, their classification, and the respective data sources.

Table 3.1 Sample Languages, Classification, and Primary Sources

Language	Branch	Family	Sources ¹
Hadza	–	Isolate	M: Sands (this volume*, p.c.); P: Sands, Maddieson and Ladefoged (1996)
Sandawe	–	Isolate	Elderkin (1989, field notes, p.c.)
Kwadi ²	Isolate	Khoe–Kwadi	M: Güldemann (this volume*)
Northern Kua ³	Kalahari Khoe	Khoe–Kwadi	P: Traill (1980), Vossen (1997a)
Khwe	Kalahari Khoe	Khoe–Kwadi	P: Köhler (1981)
!Ani	Kalahari Khoe	Khoe–Kwadi	M: Heine (1999)
!Gui	Kalahari Khoe	Khoe–Kwadi	P: Nakagawa (1996a, 1996b)
Standard Khoekhoe ⁴	Khoekhoe	Khoe–Kwadi	M: Hagman (1977); P: Beach (1938)
Jul’hoan	South	Ju	M: Dickens (2005); P: Snyman (1975a)
!Hoan	–	? Isolate	M: Collins (p.c.); P: Traill (1980), Bell and Collins (2001)
East !Xoon ⁵	Taa	Tuu	M: Güldemann (this volume*); P: Traill (1985)
!Khomani	!Ui	Tuu	P: Doke (1936), Traill (1997)
Xam	!Ui	Tuu	M: Güldemann (this volume*)

Notes:

1 M morphosyntax; P phonetics–phonology; *see there for original sources.

2 classified with Khoe according to Güldemann (2004b).

3 tentative synopsis of two possibly diverging varieties; henceforth just Kua.

4 Namibian standard shaped by Nama, Orlam and Damara varieties; henceforth just Khoekhoe.

5 henceforth just !Xoon.

2 Morphosyntax

Güldemann (1998b) is a very preliminary attempt at giving a morphosyntactic profile of the Southern African Khoesan area based on a set of features from Nichols (1992). This is expanded here by using an enlarged language sample (including eastern African Khoesan), taking more features into account, and having recourse to more extensive and reliable information on particular languages and linguistic features. The list of features and the relevant values for non-privative features are as follows (the abbreviations are used in [Table 3.2](#)):

1–6 Clause organization

- 1 Position of subject vis-à-vis verb: Subject–Verb (SV), Verb–Subject (VS), Variable (V)
- 2 Position of object vis-à-vis verb: Object–Verb (OV), Verb–Object (VO), Variable (V)
- 3 Unmarked verb position in the clause: Final (F), Medial (M), Initial (I), Variable (V)
- 4 Dominant alignment type: Neutral (N), Accusative (A)

- 4a Alignment for pronouns: Neutral (N), Accusative (A)
- 4b Alignment for nouns: Neutral (N), Accusative (A)
- 4c Alignment for verb inflection: Neutral (N), Accusative (A)
- 5 Fixed clause slots and nominal marking according to slot position
- 6 Serial verb constructions
- 7–9 Noun phrase organization
- 7 General position of noun phrase head: Final (F), Initial (I)
- 8 Head position in genitive construction: Final (F), Initial (I), Variable (V)
- 8a Juxtaposition type*: [possessor–possessed]
- 8b Attributor type*: [possessor–attributor–possessed]
- 8c Possessor-proform type*: [possessor–(possessor pronoun–possessed)]
- 8d Possessed-proform type*: [possessed–(possessor–possessed proform)]

8e Inalienable possession (if applicable, predominant type of encoding: a, b, c, or d)

9 Position of adposition vis-à-vis object: Variable = preposition or postposition (V); Final = postposition (F); preposition, postposition, and their Combination = circumposition (C)

* exemplified with head-final order

10–12 Morphology in general

10 Phonotactic dichotomy of C(C)VCV in lexemes vs. CV in grams

11 Final position of bound grams vis-à-vis host dominant

12 Derivationally productive use of reduplication

13–16 Verbal morphology

13 Regular verbal cross-reference of subject

14 Regular verbal cross-reference of object (in addition to nominal object)

15 Elaborate system of morphological derivation

16 Compound verbs

17–20 Nominal and pronominal morphology

- 17 First-person inclusive pronoun
- 18 Gender system
 - 18a Number of genders
 - 18b Number of agreement classes co-varying with gender
 - 18c Gender–class ratio
 - 18d Gender manipulation for derivational purposes
 - 18e Gender marked overtly on the noun
- 19 Number system
 - 19a Number of categories: 2 singular–plural, 3 singular–plural–dual
 - 19b One regular marking pattern
 - 19c Double marking (e.g., suffix in addition to reduplication, stem change, etc.)
 - 19d Number-sensitive stem suppletion
 - 19e Indexing of number on other parts of speech (like predicates, adjectives)
- 20 Grammatically productive use of compound nouns

Table 3.2 Morphosyntactic Features of Khoesian Languages

Language ¹	1	2	3	4	4a	4b	4c	5	6	7	8	8a	8b	8c	8d	8e	9	10	11
Hadza	V	VO	I	A	N	N	A			I	I			♦	♦		V		♦
Sandawe	SV	OV	F	A	A	A	A	♦		F	F	♦					F		♦
Kwadi	SV	OV	F	Δ	Δ	Δ	?	?		F	F	♦	?	?			F		(♦)
!Ani	SV	V	V	A	N	N	A			F	F	♦	♦	♦			F		♦
Khoekhoe	SV	OV	F	A	N	N	A	♦		F	V	♦	♦	♦	♦		F		♦
Jul'hoan	SV	VO	M	N	N	N	N	♦	♦	I	F	♦		♦		c	C		♦
!Hoan	SV	VO	M	N	N	N	N	♦	♦	I	F	♦	♦	♦	(♦)	a	C		♦
!Xoon	SV	VO	M	A	N	N	A	♦	♦	I	F	♦	♦	♦		a	C		♦
Xam	SV	VO	M	N	N	N	N	♦	♦	I	F	♦	♦	♦		a	C		♦

Language	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	18a	18b	18c	18d	18e	19	19a	19b	19c	19d	19e	20
Hadza	♦	♦	♦	(♦)		♦	♦	2	4	0.5	♦	♦	♦	2	♦		(♦)	♦	♦
Sandawe		♦	♦		♦	♦	♦	2	3	0.7	♦	♦	♦	2	♦		♦	♦	♦
Kwadi	♦	?	?	?	♦	♦	♦	2	5	0.4	?	♦	♦	3	♦	a	♦	?	♦
!Ani	♦	♦	♦		♦	♦	♦	3	8	0.4		♦	♦	3					♦
Khoekhoe	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	3	8	0.4		♦	♦	3	♦				♦
Jul'hoan					♦	♦	♦	5	4	1.2	♦		♦	2			♦	♦	♦
!Hoan	(♦)				♦	♦	♦	x	x	x	x		♦	2		(♦)	♦	♦	♦
!Xoon		♦			♦	♦	♦	6	5	1.2	♦	(♦)	♦	2			♦	♦	♦
Xam	♦				♦	♦	♦	2	2	1.0	♦		♦	2			♦	♦	♦

Note: 1 ? no information; preliminary analysis: feature is: x not applicable; blank absent; ♦ present; (♦) present in restricted form.

Many of the features are straightforward or are surveyed according to Nichols's (1992) methodology (e.g., alignment types); some must be explained and exemplified here (the number of a following example is keyed to the number of the relevant property).

Feature 5 refers to a special property found in some Khoesian languages: they mark nominal constituents according to their clause position, which is defined by linear order, and not according to configurational syntactic relation. One consequence is that nominals with the same semantic role but with a variable clause position can be marked differently. This is shown: in (5a) from Nama, all constituents after the pronominal subject enclitic *-gu* have the suffix *-a*, viz. the object *marite* (*-te < ti-a*) and the lexically repeated subject *!gawipriesterga* (*-ga < -gu-a*) (an initial nominal subject would lack *-a*); in (5b) from Jul'hoan, the position of

- (9) *kì l'óō-qà !qhà'ne*
 MPO tree-PL beside
 'beside the trees' (Gruber 1975: 38)

My approach to grammaticalized noun categorization alias gender, which is treated under (18), is explained in detail in Güldemann (2000b). The most important point is a consistent distinction between gender and agreement class. As a result, two structural types of gender systems can be identified; their difference is captured by the value of the gender–class ratio, namely a distinction of <1 vs. ≥ 1 . (Note that the number of genders given by Güldemann [1998b: 144] for !Xoon and, for the record, Tswana referred to agreement classes, which has been corrected here.) What is meant by “gender manipulation for derivational purposes” is exemplified in (18d), from Nama: the switch of a noun to another gender for rendering a different semantic feature.

- (18d) *pén-i* vs. *pén-s*
 pen-M.SG pen-F.SG
 'the pen' 'the unusually fat pen' (Hagman 1977: 23)

Number marking is a complex issue in several Khoesan languages. Related to this is a major distinction made here between languages displaying a regular number marking pattern and languages where the devices are often lexicalized and unpredictable. Examples for the second type, including the recurrent occurrence of double marking on one noun, are provided in (19c) from Nlhuki (!Ui branch of Tuu). Number-sensitive stem suppletion of predicates is demonstrated in (19e) from Sandawe.

(19c)	Meaning	Singular	Plural	Marking device
	'white person'	<i>lhū-si</i>	<i>lhū-ke</i>	(suffix)
	'man'	<i>ʔoo</i>	<i>tyu-ke</i>	(stem suppletion + suffix)
	'child'	<i>loba</i>	<i>loe-ke</i>	(stem change + suffix) (Westphal, unpubl.)

(19e)	Meaning	Number of	Singular	Plural
	'go'	subject	<i>hik'(i)</i>	<i>ni'</i>
	'stand'	subject	<i>lume</i>	<i>hlee</i>
	'carry'	object	<i>siee</i>	<i>tlaa</i> (Kagaya 1993: ix)

Finally, the derivational use of nominal compounds is exemplified in (20) with \parallel Xegwi (!Ui branch of Tuu).

(20)	<i>kwi-kl'oo</i>	<i>kholo-q'ij</i>	<i>noni-Qari</i>
	person-man	horse-woman	buck-child
	'man'	'mare'	'small buck' (Lanham and Hallowes 1956: 112)

The results of the morphosyntactic language survey are given in [Table 3.2](#).

A number of important conclusions can be drawn from [Table 3.2](#). First, the Khoesan sample as a whole has very few features in common; these are predominantly host-final morphology (11), nominal number marking (19), and, except $\#$ Hoan, a nominal gender system (18). Since all these properties are frequent cross-linguistically, they do not identify a genuine linguistic entity.

The commonalities across Khoesan increase as soon as Hadza is excluded, which deviates in six crucial features (1, 3, 8, 9, 13, 20) from the rest of the sample. Nevertheless, the features shared by the remaining Khoesan languages are still outnumbered by the differences. More homogeneous language types can only be identified when a second split is recognized: Sandawe and Khoe-Kwadi on the one hand vs. Tuu, $\#$ Hoan, and Ju on the other.

The linguistic type constituted by Sandawe and Khoe-Kwadi can be defined by the constituent order in both, the clause domain (1, 2, 3) and the noun phrase (7, 8, 9), the alignment type (4), certain properties of noun categorization (18c, 18e), and the type of number marking (19b).

It is also worth evaluating the profile of the geographically defined group Southern African Khoesan which shares features relating to 1, 8, 11, 13, 19, and 20. Head-final genitive constructions (8) irrespective of the word order in other contexts (cf. general head-*initial* noun phrase order in Jul'hoan, †Hoan, !Xoon, and !Xam) and host-final morphology (11) have previously been discussed as an areal feature of pre-Bantu southern Africa (Güldemann 1999). However, even the earliest Khoesan sources from the nineteenth century, focusing on Khoekhoe and !Ui languages, have observed structural heterogeneity rather than homogeneity (cf. Bleek 1869). Parallel to these findings, but now taking all attested Southern African Khoesan lineages into account, it is argued in Güldemann (1998b) and Güldemann and Vossen (2000) that a major typological split separates Khoe-Kwadi from the remaining languages, called “Non-Khoe” for convenience. Although these two groups are also internally diverse, they represent on a more abstract level two language types which differ markedly from each other in constituent order (2, 3, 7, 9), clause and predicate structure (5, 6, 16), verbal derivation (15), noun categorization (18c-e), and number marking (19a-e).

This generalization needs, however, an important qualification: the Khoekhoe branch of Khoe deviates from its genealogical group in some important respects and, then, aligns itself with Non-Khoe in the features 5, 16, and 17 (see below for an explanation).

3 Phonetics and Phonology

In his comparative study of Khoesan sound systems, Traill (1980: 167) has drawn attention to the fact that “these languages differ widely from one another in numerous phonetic details, affecting not only subtle aspects of pronunciation but, more importantly the size and composition of the phonological inventory of clicks, non-clicks and vowel types.” The importance of this observation must not be underestimated, given that the presence and functional load of clicks as a phonetic-phonological commonality tend to be viewed as the major genealogical feature of Khoesan. Thus, a thorough comparative typological study of as many sound systems as possible is one of the urgent tasks in Khoesan research. Unfortunately, a full picture of the sound inventories of all languages is still lacking. The following survey can only provide a general idea of the degree of commonality and diversity within Khoesan.

The choice of a number of compared features concerning consonants is motivated by a particular approach to Khoesan sound design for which the reader can consult Güldemann (2001). This deviates in various respects from traditional analyses (accordingly, my analysis of certain segments is not necessarily identical with that in the data sources); however, it can take care of all Khoesan consonant types attested so far,

in particular the many click accompaniments, and thus provides a good basis for a comparison across this group (see Table 3.3).

Table 3.3 Cross-Khoesan Consonant Chart in a Practically Oriented Orthography

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
		EG ¹	EG	EG	EG	IG	IG	IG	IG	IG	EG	EG	EG
		Lb	Al	Al-Af	Pl	Lt	Dt	Al	Pl	Lb	Vl	Uv	Gl
1. NON-NASAL SONORANTS	Plain	w	lʀ			y							
2. FRICATIVES	Plain	f	s		c						x		h
	Voiced	v	z		j								
3. SIMPLE STOPS	Plain	p	t	ts	tc	l	l	ʀ	ʀ	ʀ	k	q	
	Voiced	b	d	dz	dj	gl	gl	gl	gl	gO	gO	gq	
4. COMPLEX STOPS	Plain + Gl		t'	ts'	tc'	l'	l'	ʀ'	ʀ'	O'	k(x)'	q'	
	Voiced + Gl		dz'	dj'							g(x)'		
5.	Plain + As	ph	th	tsh	tch	lh	lh	ʀh	ʀh	Oh	kh	qh	
	Voiced + As	bh	dh	dzh	djh	gh	gh	ʀh	ʀh	gOh	gh	gqh	
6. STOP CLUSTERS	Plain + /k/		tx	tsx	tcx	gkx	gkx	g'kx	g'kx	gOkx			
	Voiced + /k/		dx	dxz	djx	lkx	lkx	ʀkx	ʀkx	Oq			
7.	Plain + /q/					gq	gq	g'q	g'q	gOq			
	Voiced + /q/					lkq	lkq	ʀq	ʀq	Okh			
8.	Plain + /kh/					gkh	gkh	g'kh	g'kh	gOkh			
	Voiced + /kh/					lkh	lkh	ʀh	ʀh	Oqh			
9.	Plain + /qh/					lqh	lqh	ʀh	ʀh	Oqh			
10.	Plain + /k(x)'/	px'	tx'	tsx'		gkx'	gkx'	g'kx'	g'kx'	gOkx'			
	Voiced + /k(x)'/		dx'	dxz'		lkx'	lkx'	ʀkx'	ʀkx'	gOkx'			
11.	Plain + /k'/					lk'	lk'	ʀk'	ʀk'	Ok'			
12.	Plain + /q'/					lq'	lq'	ʀq'	ʀq'	Oq'			
13. SIMPLE NASALS	Plain	m	n		ny	nl	nl	nl	nl	nO	ng		
	Voiceless					nhl	nhl	nhʀ	nhʀ	nhO			
14. COMPLEX NASALS	Plain + Gl	'm	'n			'nl	'nl	'nl	'nl	'nO			

Note: 1 Af = affricate, Al = alveolar, As = aspiration, Dt = dental, EG = egressive, Gl = glottal(ization), IG = ingressive = click, Lb = labial, Lt = lateral, Pl = palatal, Uv = uvular, Vl = velar.

Only some essential points of my approach can be mentioned here. First, I consider the sets of lateral and affricate consonants in most of Khoesan to be parallel in phonological behaviour to sets constituted by places of articulation; they are thus treated on the horizontal feature axis of Table 3.3. Even more important are two other assumptions: (a) clicks and non-clicks make up one integrated system of consonants, and (b) a great number of distinctive stop segments can be analysed as clusters of two simple phonemes. This approach results *inter alia* in a parallel treatment of basic nasal clicks and nasal

gressive sonorants as well as of glottalized clicks and egressive ejectives. Related to these assumptions is the view that the phoneme systems are internally structured in terms of consonant subclasses; of particular importance are different types of what I call “consonant elaboration”. This notion underlies the distinction between “simple”, “complex”, and “cluster” segments in [Table 3.3](#).

In general, a particular focus of the present cross-Khoesan comparison is on the size and structure of the phoneme inventory, parallel to Traill (1980). The features are of different diagnostic value: some are generally relevant in Khoesan, while others record a fairly restricted phenomenon which may even be rare in the group as a whole. The properties surveyed in [Table 3.4](#) are as follows (relevant consonant features are keyed to the numbers of columns and lines in [Table 3.3](#)):

1–10 Consonants

- | | |
|----|---|
| 1 | Number of distinctive segments (segment total of entire system) |
| 2a | Number of non-stops (segment total of lines 1, 2, 13, 14 except nasal clicks) |
| 2b | Number of stops (segment total of lines 3–12 and of nasal clicks in lines 13, 14) |
| % | Proportion of 2b vis-à-vis 1 in per cent |

- 3a Number of non-clicks (segment total of columns 1–4 + 10–12)
- 3b Number of clicks (segment total of columns 5–9)
- % Proportion of 3b vis-à-vis 1 in per cent
- 4 Number of places of articulation for non-clicks (columns 1–4 + 10–12)
 - 4a Uvular (column 11)
 - 4b Palatal (column 4)
 - 4c Lateral
- 5 Number of click types alias influxes (columns 5–9)
 - 5a Bilabial click (column 9)
 - 5b Palatal click (column 8)
- 6 Number of gestures elaborating a plain voiceless stop (voicing, lines 5–12, and possible combinations thereof)
 - 6a “Extensive” voicing alias “voice lead”
 - 6b Prenasalization of plosives 6c Aspiration (line 5)
 - 6d Ejection/glottalization (line 4)

- 6e Glottalization with nasal click (line 14)
- 6f Posterior fricative cluster offset (line 6)
- 6g Posterior plosive cluster offset without aspiration or ejection (line 7)
- 6h Number of cluster types (lines 6–12)
- 6i Number of click series in terms of traditional accompaniments alias effluxes
- 7 Number of elaborated stops except simple voiced (segment total of lines 4–12 + 14)
- 8 Number of elaborated clicks except simple voiced (segment total of the intersection of lines 4–12 + 14 and columns 5–9)
- % Proportion of 8 vis-à-vis 7 in per cent
- 9 Number of consonant cluster segments (segment total of lines 6–12)
- 10 Number of click cluster segments (segment total of the intersection of lines 6–12 and columns 5–9)
- % Proportion of 10 vis-à-vis 9 in per cent
- 11–12 Vowels
- 11 Number of monophthongic vowel qualities

- 12 Number of vowel colourings
- 12a Nasalization
- 12b Pharyngealization
- 12c Glottalization
- 12d Breathy voice
- 12e Number of combinations
- 13 Tone as dominant suprasegmental feature
- 14 Phonotactic stem pattern (basic C(C)VCV, derived C(C)VV and C(C)VN)

Table 3.4 Phonetic-Phonological Features of Khoesan Languages

Language ^a	1	2a	2b	%	3a	3b	%	4	4a	4b	4c	5	5a	5b	6	6a	6b	6c	6d	6e
Hadza	50	12	38	76	41	9	18	7			*	3			5		*	*	*	
Sandawe	44	11	33	75	29	15	34	6			*	3			3		(*)	*	*	*
Khwe	69	12	57	83	33	36	52	6	*			4		*			*	*	*	
Kua	66	9	57	86	36	30	45	7	*	*		4		*	7/8		*	*	*	
Giui	90	13	77	84	48	52	56	7	*	*		4		*	11		*	*	*	
Khoekhoe	32	6	26	81	12	20	62	4				4		*	3		*	*	*	
Ju'hoan	92	13	79	86	44	48	52	6				4		*	11	*	*	*	*	
Ju'hoan ??	93	?	?	?	34	59	63	7	*	*		5	*	*	10		*	*	*	*
!Xoon	126	9	117	85	43	83	66	6	*	*		5	*	*	14	*	*	*	*	*
!Khomani	64	10	54	84	23	41	64	5		*		5	*	*	8		*	*	*	*

Language	6f	6g	6h	6i	7	8	%	9	10	%	11	12	12a	12b	12c	12d	12e	13	14
Hadza		0	3	20	3	15	x	x	x	5	(1)	(*)					x		
Sandawe		0	5	13	6	46	x	x	x	5	1	*					x		*
Khwe	*	3/4	9	31	20	64	14	12	86	5/6	1	*					x	*	(*)
Kua	*	*	4/5	9/10	32	18	56	12	11	65	5	1	*	*			x	*	*
Giui	*	*	8	13	56	40	71	36	32	89	5	2	*	*			0	*	*
Khoekhoe	*		1	5	14	12	86	4	4	100	5	1	*	*			x	*	*
Ju'hoan	*	*	6	12	58	36	62	31	24	77	5	4	*	*	*	*	1	*	*
Ju'hoan ??	*	*	7	13	?	35	?	?	27	?	5	4	*	*	*	*	?	*	*
!Xoon	*	*	9	17	88	63	72	52	43	83	5	4	*	*	*	*	8	*	*
!Khomani	*	*	4	11	31	26	84	16	14	88	5/6	3/4	*	*	*	*	?	*	*

Note: 1 ? no information; preliminary analysis: .../... alternative analyses; feature is: x not applicable; blank absent; ♦ present; (...) present in restricted form.

Needless to say, the list of surveyed features does in no way pretend to be exhaustive. For example, Traill (2001) has suggested another fruitful approach, i.e. to compare the distribution of the distinctive segments of languages over their lexicons. He observed a surprising homogeneity of !Xoon and Jul'hoan regarding the relative frequency of the individual stops as stem-initial segments. What significance the result of this binary comparison has for Khoesan as a whole remains unclear. In any case, Traill's (2001: 448) hypothesis that "underlying the synchronic [East] !Xóǀ and Zhu [= Jul'hoan] lexicons is an ancient identity that has been preserved in the typological details" urges future researchers to undertake a similar study with a cross-Khoesan scope as soon as the required data are available.

The results of the phonetic-phonological survey are summarized in [Table 3.4](#). An analysis of these data leads to the following conclusions. First, parallel to the morphosyntactic comparison Khoesan as a whole is a rather heterogeneous group. Only a few features do not show considerable variation within the sample: 2b/1 per cent, 4, 6c, 6d, 11. Given that these are not very prominent from a cross-linguistic perspective, there is again little substance for identifying an entity "Khoesan". One is essentially left with the role of clicks and the typical phonotactic stem pattern (14). Other features have more diagnostic value for an intra-group assessment, because they are only shared by subsets of Khoesan and pattern differently over the sample languages.

One clear observation is the typological remoteness of Hadza and Sandawe, which somewhat echoes the findings of the morphosyntactic comparison. They deviate from the general Southern African Khoesan trend in more than a third of the features distributed over almost all feature domains: 1, 2b, 3b, 3b/1 per cent, 4c, 5, 5b, 6, 6b, 6f, 6h–9–10, 7, 8. To a large extent this will be a function of their different geographic setting. At the same time, it strengthens the reservation to the assumption that the plain existence of clicks is of any significance for a genealogical classification. This is especially clear in the case of Hadza, which is unique vis-à-vis the rest of Khoesan in three additional and very basic sound features, viz. 12~12a, 13, 14; it is less valid for Sandawe because a closer affinity with Southern African Khoesan in these crucial aspects is discernible.

It is well known that Standard Khoekhoe, too, does not follow the Southern African Khoesan trend in some respects. In this survey it turns out to be closer to the eastern African languages in nine features: 1, 2b, 3b, 6, 6h–9–10, 6i, 7. To a large extent, this is due to its more reduced phoneme inventory; in the features 1, 2a–b, 3a, and 4, it is even the language with the lowest sample value. Since this divides the Khoe family, a somewhat trivial conclusion is that also inventory size is not directly diagnostic for genealogical classifications.

Turning to what used to be subsumed under the umbrella term “San” languages, only distantly or non-related Glui, Jul’hoan, #Hoan, and !Xoon stand out in having a particularly large number of segments in the whole system and its subparts: 1, 2b, 3b, 6h, 6i, 7, 8, 9, 10.

!Xoon holds the record in terms of inventory size, its enormous distance from all other figures being in itself a problem that deserves some explanation. The phenomenon as such can clearly be related to an extensively employed process of series formation by elaborating stop consonants, and clicks in particular; this correlates with the availability of elaboration gestures (6). Three of the four above-mentioned languages: !Xoon, Glui, and #Hoan cluster geographically in south-central Botswana, while Jul'hoan appears to be isolated in the north-western Kalahari. (Languages in between such as Naro and !Ani have smaller inventory sizes; speech varieties closer to the southwest, belonging to the Ju and Tuu, groups, are not yet documented.)

Other features pattern somewhat differently, but they usually involve two or more languages from this “complex core” group in addition to languages not belonging there. Thus, #Khomani associates with this group in showing at least the vowel colourings pharyngealization and glottalization (12–12b–12c), and only with !Xoon and #Hoan regarding the existence of bilabial (5–5a) and glottalized nasal clicks (6e). Also Khwe and Kua are linked to the core group with respect to uvular (4a) and palatal plosives (4b), as well as a special type of cluster offset (6g).

In general, it seems that the surveyed features hardly ever coincide with genealogical groups. They also do not correspond to the major morphosyntactic split running through Southern African Khoesan between Khoe–Kwadi and Non-Khoe, which partly follows genealogical lines; an exception are multiple vowel

colourings (12a–d), apparently restricted to the Non-Khoe group. Thus, phonetic-phonological isoglosses seem to even less “respect” genealogical boundaries; instead, many of them indicate areal patterns.

It should be noted that there exist systematic implicational relations between certain features due to inherent properties of the relevant sounds. Isoglosses that are not independent from others would have a different status for grouping Khoesan languages. For example, Traill (1980: 187) states that “preglottalized nasals only exist in languages with glottalized vowels”; considering Güldemann’s (2001: 12f.) analysis that nasal clicks behave phonologically like egressive nasals, the above correlation could be extended to preglottalized nasal clicks (6e) which also occur in languages with vowel glottalization only (12c). In a parallel fashion, it is hypothesized by Güldemann (2001: 41f.) that a plain posterior plosive exists as a cluster offset (6g) only in languages with a uvular egressive (4a), or that languages having clusters (6h) will always possess the one with a posterior fricative offset (6f). Finally, the predominantly high figures in the columns of 7/8 per cent and 9/10 per cent reveal that clicks have a greater tendency than nonclicks of being elaborated by co-articulations, in particular in the form of clusters (6–6h). This seems to be increased the more a language relies on clicks for the distinction of lexical meaning (3b/1 per cent).

4

Toward a Typological Profile of Khoesan

The most important conclusion from this typological survey is that the Khoesan group as a whole does not share a large number of significant linguistic features, neither in the morphosyntactic domain nor in phonetics and phonology. Clicks aside, there is no such thing as a “Khoesan language type”.

Another significant observation mentioned previously is that sample subgroups established by morphosyntactic and phonetic-phonological properties rarely match. These two domains can, therefore, not be combined when integrating Khoesan or its subgroups into the African context.

Since the phonological function of clicks is such a quirky feature, not much can be said about Khoesan sound design vis-à-vis other African languages. It must be recognized, however, that not only the existence of clicks fails to consistently single out all languages subsumed under Khoesan vis-à-vis other African languages, but also the impact of clicks on the phoneme inventory: a Bantu language like Yeyi (Sommer and Vossen 1992) has a more complex ingressive system than such Khoesan languages as Hadza, Sandawe, Kwadi, or Khoekhoe. Excluding Hadza (and partly Sandawe), the only unique Khoesan feature is its typical phonotactic stem pattern in conjunction with the special role of clicks in the lexicon; the typological or historical significance of this feature remains to be determined.

In morphosyntactic terms, too, Khoesan-internal diversity prevents a comparison of the group as a whole with other language groups on the continent. Meaningful generalizations mostly apply to the Khoesan subgroups

established above: (a) Hadza, (b) Sandawe + Khoe–Kwadi, and (c) Non-Khoe (Tuu, #Hoan, and Ju).

Hadza seems to fit well in the East African context; at the same time, its overall isolation in the present Khoesan survey confirms Sands's (1998b) finding that a genealogical relation to any other language in this group is quite unlikely.

Sandawe, besides its East African affinities, is typologically leaning towards southern Africa in sound design *and* grammar. This relation is reciprocated in grammar by one Southern African Khoesan group: Khoe languages display a typological connection only to East Africa, according to Heine and Vossen's (1981: 429–35) typological classification of African languages based on noun categorization, nominal case marking, verbal derivation, and constituent order. Kwadi shares some of these features and is most likely related genealogically to Khoe so that this language can be added here. In phonetic-phonological terms Khoe is squarely embedded in its southern African context.

Non-Khoe in southern Africa turns out to be another robust structural type. It is overall homogeneous regarding phonological complexity for both consonants and vowels; many of its members beat most other languages in the world in terms of inventory size. Morphosyntactically it shows some interesting parallels with isolating West African languages of the Kwa and Benue-Congo families. At the same time, it displays features which are rare on the African continent; for example, a special noun categorization type (Güldemann 2000b), complex and as yet poorly understood number

marking (see *inter alia* Collins 1998), and a special syntactic treatment of postverbal nominal constituents (Güldemann and Vossen 2000: 109f.; cf. feature 5).

As mentioned above, the distribution of some linguistic characteristics across Khoesan shows areal patterns not following genealogical lines. These can best be explained by a partly shared history of certain linguistic populations in a geographic sub-area. While this is especially clear for the Khoesan split of eastern vs. southern African languages, features also demarcate compact zones within Southern African Khoesan (cf., e.g.,

palatalization as discussed by Traill 1980: 175–82). If such features cluster, it is possible to speak of linguistic areas whose identification is essential for a better synchronic and diachronic understanding of Khoesan in general. Although research on language contact and areal subgroups has only started, some such southern African Khoesan areas as the Cape region (cf. Güldemann 2002, 2006b) and the central Kalahari (cf. Traill and Nakagawa 2000) already emerge from the available data.

Note

1 I am grateful to C. Collins, E.D. Elderkin, and B. Sands for making available and explaining their first-hand data to me. It goes without saying that the present analyses are not necessarily theirs.

References

Beach 1938; Bell and Collins 2001; Bleek 1869; Collins 1998; Dempwolff 1934/35; Dickens 2005; Doke 1936;

Elderkin 1989; Greenberg 1959; Gruber 1973, 1975; Güldemann 1998b, 1999, 2000b, 2001, 2002, 2004b, 2006b; Güldemann and Vossen 2000; Hagman 1977; Heine 1975b, 1999; Heine and Vossen 1981; Kagaya 1993; Köhler 1981; Lanham and Hallows 1956; Nakagawa 1996a, 1996b; Nichols 1992; Sands 1998b; Sands *et al.* 1996; Snyman 1975a; Sommer and Vossen 1992; Traill 1980, 1985, 1997, 2001; Traill and Nakagawa 2000; Vossen 1997a.

Chapter Four

Phonetics and Phonology

1 Hadza

Bonny Sands

The sound system of Hadza described here is largely based on Sands *et al.* (1996), and on short periods of fieldwork conducted by the author in 1991 and 1997.

1.1 Vowels

Hadza contrasts only seven vowels: /*i e a o u ɨ ʉ*/. Vowel length, pharyngealization, glottalization and breathiness are not contrastive, and vowel nasalization is only marginally contrastive. The five vowel qualities are shown in (1).

(1) Hadza vowel qualities

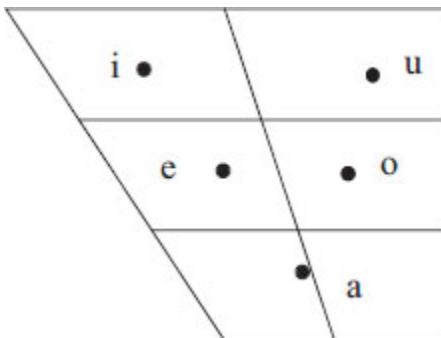
i ɲ*lli-ʔi* ‘put poison on it (F.SG)’

e ɲ*lle-ʔe* ‘put poison on it (M.SG)’

a ɲ*lla-ʔa* ‘scavenge’

o ɲ*ll'o-ʔo* ‘wash, bathe’

u ɲ*lluʔú-* ‘snore’



The nasalized vowels /ĩ/ and /ũ/ occur in very few lexical items, e.g. *ĩhĩe* – ‘to blow nose’, *sahũhĩe*–‘be quiet!’. Contrastively nasalized vowels may have resulted from the deletion of a voiceless nasalized aspirated click, with the retention of the nasalization and aspiration.

Phonetic vowel length occurs when two vowels of identical vowel quality occur together, either through elision of a consonant, e.g. /k^haf^ha/ ~ [k^ha:] ‘to climb’, or through the addition of a morpheme, e.g. [ʔuk^hwa:k^ho] (/’uk^hwa-ak^ho/) ‘it is an arm’.

1.2

Consonants

1.2.1 Egressive Consonants

Oral stops distinguish five places of articulation, while nasal stops distinguish all of these except glottal, and also contrast the palatal-alveolar place (cf. 2).

(2)	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal-(alveolar)	Velar	Labio-velar	Glottal
Plosive	p ^h p b	t ^h t d		k ^h k g	k ^h w kw gw	ʔ
Ejective	(p')			k'	k'w	
Nasal	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	ŋw	
Prenasalized stop	mp ^h mb	nt ^h nd		ŋk ^h ŋg		
Central approximant			j		w	fi
Lateral approximant		l				

Ejectives (cf. 2), fricatives (cf. 3) and prenasalized stops (cf. 2), each only contrast at three places of articulation, while affricates (cf. 3) contrast at only two places of articulation.

(3)	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar
Prenasalized affricate		nts ndz	ndʒ
Central affricate		ts dz	dʒ
Lateral affricate			tʃ
Ejective central affricate		ts'	tʃ'
Ejective lateral affricate			tʃ'
Central fricative	f	s	ʃ
Lateral fricative		ʎ	

Hadza has a three-way Voice Onset Time (VOT) contrast in the plosives, i.e. voiceless unaspirated /p t k/, voiceless aspirated /p^h t^h k^h/ and voiced /b d g/. Prenasalized stops contrast only voiceless aspirated /mp^h nt^h ŋk^h/ and voiced /mb nd ŋg/, and affricates contrast only voiceless unaspirated /nts ts ntʃ tʃ/ and voiced /ndz dz dʒ/. Both stops /p' k' k'w/ and affricates /ts' tʃ' tʃ'/ occur with a glottalic egressive mechanism, but fricatives /f s ʃ ʎ/ and lateral affricates /tʃ/ are always voiceless. The ejective bilabial /p'/ occurs in only a few lexical items.

All of the egressive consonants occur in word-initial position, as in (4), and all but /ŋw/ have been documented in intervocalic position (cf. Sands *et al.* 1996). The consonant /ntʃ/ is only known from two

lexical items, i.e. /nɪʃa/ ‘clitoris’, /ŋll’ɪntfno-bi/ ‘fangs’, and has not been previously recognized as a contrastive consonant.

(4) Words containing contrastive egressive consonants

Bilabial:

p^h *p^handzu-p^he* ‘(is a) plant sp.’

p *patákuʃé* ‘palm of hand’

b *badá* ‘hole’

p’ *p’á’ùwé-* ‘to split’

m *màk^ho* ‘clay pot’

mp^h *mp^halamafio-k^ho* ‘slingshot’

mb *mbalzata-k^ho* ‘cockroach’

Labiodental:

f *fá-* ‘to drink’

Alveolar:

t^h *t^hasé* ‘long’

t *tɪʃ’i-* ‘black’

d *daʃaŋga* ‘flour’

<i>n</i>	<i>nát^hi</i>	‘donkey’
<i>nt^h</i>	<i>nt^huli-bi</i>	‘beer’
<i>nd</i>	<i>ndag^we-ko</i>	‘notch’
<i>s</i>	<i>sámaka-p^hi</i>	‘three’
<i>l, r</i>	<i>Lalá-k^ho</i>	‘gazelle’
ɫ	ɫanó	‘python’
<i>ts</i>	<i>Tsipití</i>	‘porcupine’
<i>ts’</i>	<i>ts’áke-</i>	‘to steal’
<i>nts</i>	<i>ntsá-k^ho</i>	‘star’
<i>dz</i>	<i>Dzá-</i>	‘come!’
<i>ndz</i>	<i>ndzop^ha</i>	‘bottle’

Palato-alveolar/palatal:

ʃ	ʃamu-ko	‘Swahili’
tʃ	tʃatʃa	‘galago sp.’
ʃʼ	ʃʼá-k ^h o	‘guineafowl’
ntʃ	ntʃa	‘clitoris’
dʒ	dʒándʒai	‘leopard’

<i>ndʒ</i>	<i>ndʒa</i>	‘reedbuck’
<i>j</i>	<i>jámu-a</i>	‘land’
<i>tʃ</i>	<i>tʃáKáte</i>	‘rhinoceros’
<i>tʃʼ</i>	<i>tʃʼáʔa-</i>	‘to sing’

Velar:

<i>k^h</i>	<i>k^halimo</i>	‘animal’
<i>k</i>	<i>káŋga</i>	‘mongoose sp.’
<i>g</i>	<i>gáʃa-bi</i>	‘honey beer’
<i>kʼ</i>	<i>kʼapáku-bi</i>	‘jaws’
<i>ŋk^h</i>	<i>ŋk^hólo-ák^ho</i>	‘(is a) heart’
<i>ŋg</i>	<i>ŋgat^{há}</i>	‘head ornament’
<i>ŋ</i>	<i>ŋaŋa</i>	‘kind of fruit’

Labialized velar:

<i>k^hw</i>	<i>k^hwalla-</i>	‘to vomit’
<i>kw</i>	<i>kwaʼi</i>	‘warthog’
<i>g^w</i>	<i>g^wwanda-k^ho</i>	‘shirt’
<i>kʼw</i>	<i>kʼwaʼu-k^ho</i>	‘eggshell’

ŋw ŋwapo-k^ho ‘ditch’
 w watf’o ‘mongoose sp.’

Glottal:

ʔ ʔá’ hú ‘skin’
 h haka ‘to go’

1.2.2

Click Consonants

The nine contrastive clicks of Hadza are shown in (5). All occur word-initially and medially, as in (6). Hadza has three types of clicks: dental (central) [ɺ], alveolar (central) [!] and palatal-alveolar (lateral) [ɺ]. These types occur with three click accompaniments: voiceless oral [ɺ, ! and ɺ], voiced nasal [ŋɺ, g!, ŋɺ], and voiceless nasal with glottalization [ɺ̥ʔ, !̥ʔ, ɺ̥ʔ]. Tucker *et al.* (1977) record a bilabial click in a stem used in greeting a long lost sibling, but we were only able to elicit this stem, /p^haʔa-/, with a bilabial stop which may be preceded by a kiss on one’s hand.

(5)	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal-(alveolar)
Central oral click	ɺ	!	
Lateral oral click			ɺ
Central nasal click	ŋɺ ɺ	ŋ! ɺ!	
Lateral nasal click			ŋɺ ɺ

(6) Words illustrating contrastive consonants of Hadza

Dental:				
<i>l</i>	<i>lú^hi-</i>	‘neck’	<i>la a</i>	‘large flat rock’
<i>ŋ ’</i>	<i>ŋ ’ats’e</i>	‘to reheat’	<i>táŋ ’e</i>	‘belt’
<i>ŋ </i>	<i>ŋ ár^há</i>	‘tongue’	<i>likíli ŋ a</i>	‘pinky (finger)’
Alveolar:				
<i>!</i>	<i>á!ákú-</i>	‘to jump over’	<i>lo’!ó-k^ho</i>	‘back of head’
<i>ŋ ’</i>	<i>ŋ ’ojé</i>	‘wax’	<i>fiáŋ ’ák^ho</i>	‘rock’
<i>ŋ </i>	<i>ŋ ána</i>	‘mongoose sp.’	<i>ŋ ikíŋ i-</i>	‘to push a lot’
Palatal-alveolar (lateral):				
<i>l</i>	<i>la^hp^há</i>	‘stump’	<i>kalá-</i>	‘to hunt’
<i>ŋ ’</i>	<i>ŋ ’ek^hwá</i>	‘root sp.’	<i>k^hañ ’é</i>	‘to jump’
<i>ŋ </i>	<i>ŋ á?a-</i>	‘to scavenge’	<i>kon afiete</i>	‘man with two wives’

1.3 Segmental Phonology

1.3.1 Consonantal Variation

The alveolar click *!|* can be produced with a range of phonetic realizations, from a very quiet, weak click, to a loud pop, or as a noisy “flapped” or “plopped” click in which the tongue tip makes contact with the bottom of the mouth after the release of the front click closure. Denti-alveolar, alveolar, and post-alveolar closures for *!|* are in free variation.

In intervocalic position, the approximant [l] can appear as [r].

Ejective velar /k^h/ is pronounced with heavy frication [kx^h k^h] by some speakers. The voiceless nasalized clicks /ŋ^h/, /ŋ^h!/, /ŋ^h||/ are always produced with voiceless nasal airflow during the click closure.

When a vowel precedes the click, either within a morpheme, e.g. [hãŋ^h!’a-k^ho] ‘rock’, or across morpheme boundaries, the vowel becomes partially nasalized.

An initial aspirated obstruent or voiceless click will have a shorter VOT (i.e. less aspiration) than the obstruent in a phonologically identical second syllable. Many of these cases derive from a morphologically productive rule of initial syllable reduplication to indicate emphasis or to derive an agentive nominal.

One lexical item has a click/non-click variant: [ʔets'a-k^ho] ~ [ɕl'ets'a-k^ho] 'house'.

A few lexical items have an alternation between /kw'/ and /pi'/ counterpart, e.g. [p'aʔu-] ~ [kw'aʔu-] 'to split'.

1.3.2 Vocalic Variation

Vowel height harmony takes place across morpheme boundaries within a phonological word. Mid vowels /e o/ are raised to [ɪ] and [ʊ] before a high vowel /i u/, e.g. /haŋ/ 'akwe + p^hi/ [haŋl'akwip^hi] 'are gulleets', /hik'o + p^hi/ [hik'ʊp^hi] 'are wooden-tipped arrows'. Vowel harmony can spread to earlier syllables, e.g. /loʔo + p^hi/ [ʊʔʊp^hi] 'are long horns', but cf. /tʃ+'oma + p^hi/ [tʃ'omap^hi] 'are heads'.

Final vowels often become voiceless [ɪ̥ ɛ̥ ʌ̥ ɔ̥ ʊ̥] in final position, particularly when preceded by a glottal stop or any other voiceless stop.

2 Sandawe

Edward D. Elderkin

As analysed here, Sandawe syllable structure is made up of:

(7) Consonant

Labiovelarisation

Vowel

Closure

Nasalisation

Voicing

Final nasality

Tonal values

Syllables in word-initial position always have a consonant and a vowel. Word-internally, syllables without initial consonant are heard.

2.1 Consonants

(8)	Clicks			Non-clicks				
Fricative				f	s	ʃ	x	h
Glottalised/ejective	ʔ	ʔ̥	ʔ̥̥		tsʔ	tʃʔ	kʔ	ʔ
Aspirated	ʔ ^h	ʔ̥ ^h	ʔ̥̥ ^h	p ^h	t ^h	ts ^h		k ^h
Voiceless	ʔ̥	ʔ̥̥	ʔ̥̥̥	p	t	ts	tʃ	k
Voiced	ʔ̥̥̥	ʔ̥̥̥̥	ʔ̥̥̥̥̥	b	d	dz	dʒ	g
Nasalised/nasal	ʔ̥̥̥̥̥	ʔ̥̥̥̥̥̥	ʔ̥̥̥̥̥̥̥	m	n			
Sonorant				w	r	j	l	

The non-click lateral series shows a gap: there is no aspirated laterally released plosive. Little friction is heard in the lateral release of *tl*. The laterals have a humped tongue, not a flat one.

The friction of /, *s* and *ts*' is alveolar, more forward for the release of /; that of *ts^h*, *ts* and *dz* is alveolo-palatal. Following a vowel, the glottalised clicks are preceded by a short nasal segment.

2.2 Labiovelarisation

A syllable which has *i*, *e* or *a* as the vowel quality may have distinctive labiovelarisation at the syllable beginning. This is shown by *w*; note that *w* is a symbol which therefore can represent one of three phonological units – a consonant, labiovelarisation and a closure (see next section): all three uses are present in example (16).

(9) *t^hwɪ*: 'bird'

tɬ'wā: 'rain'

In principle, labial consonants may not appear with labiovelarisation; however, some recent loans show this.

(10) *ʔùbwâbwà* < Sw. 'type of
ubwabwa porridge'

h and *ʔ* are also not found with labiovelarisation; but see (21).

2.3 Vowels

- (11) *i* *u*
 e *o*
 a

Vowels may be long or short, three or two moras respectively. They also occur nasalised. Nasalised vowels are usually long, but short nasalised vowels may be heard in conversation. Vowels are usually voiced.

2.4 Closure

The following are found as closures to a syllable, following the vowel; each has the value of one mora.

- (12) *m* *n*
 w *j*

- (13) *l'á:im̃* (3M.SG) 'old, worn out'
 ĩiñ 'to eat (meat)'
 tár:w̃ (3M.SG) 'good'
 ǰèw̃ 'buffalo'

The closures *w* and *j*, following short vowels, sometimes give pitch patterns identical to those on long vowels.

- (14) *t^hâ:* 'He runs.'
 t^hâj 'You run.'

Occasionally, two closures have to be analysed in the same syllable; this has been noted with *jj* (see 18 below), and with *mm*.

- (15) /á:m̩m̩sésj̩
 l'á:m̩ m̩sé s̩j̩
 old 3M.SG seem 1SG
 'I thought it was an old one.'

Sequences of a closure and a similarly articulated initial consonant are also found.

- (16) k'wǎ:wǎwò:
 k'wǎ:wǎw wǎ ò
 be ill MLT 1PL
 'We are ill.'

2.5 Nasalisation

Syllables may be oral or nasalised.

- (17) *ĩ* *ũ*
 ẽ *õ*
 ã

Before a pause, the auditory impression is often that a nasalised segment finishes with velar nasality. Phonetically both the vowel and any ordinarily oral closures following it are nasalised, but here, nasalisation is only transcribed on the vowel.

- (18) *hèwé?`wǎjj̩*
 hèwé ?`wǎ j̩ ǰ̩
 3M.SG MLT PRO SPEC
 'those of his'

2.6 Voicing

Sandawe has voiceless vowels. They are oral and short and, following most consonants, only the two qualities $i̥$ and $u̥$ are found.

(19) $i̥s̥i̥$ ‘I come.’

$i̥is̥u̥$ ‘She’ll
come

$t^hás̥i̥nó:$ ‘liver’

However, a glottal stop is often released without a voiced vowel following, but the period after the release has the length value of a short syllable; the voiceless vowel which results takes its quality from the adjacent vowels, usually the preceding vowel: this is transcribed by specifying voicelessness and tone, but omitting a vowel symbol.

(20) $bábáʔ̥ò$ ‘cockroach’

$diʔ̥sě:$ ‘old man’

$wáʔ̥mé:$ ‘his
companion’

Occasionally, after $ʔ$, the syllabicity is lost: this often happens in forms of the verb ‘give’, where an otherwise impermissible co-occurrence of glottal stop and labiovelarisation is then heard:

(21) $ʔiʔwà:$ ‘Give it to
them.’

Syllabicity may also be lost when $ʔ$ is clause-final in a clause introduced by *hi*, when the glottal stop is often heard without audible release.

(22) $^1hisa^2/i:ʔ$ ‘when she came’

2.7 Syllable-Final Nasality

A short nasal segment is sometimes found, with no moric value, in syllable-final position.

This may be (i) homorganic to a following consonant, giving phonetically a prenasalised consonant.

(23) $hù^mbù$ ‘cow’

$mi^ndà$ ‘shamba’

Some donor languages, for example, Bantu languages, have prenasalised consonants as phonological units; in Sandawe I have preferred not to analyse them as such, partly because of the existence of (ii) following. Other reasons include their absence in word-initial positions, the very frequent mbô (for which alternatives exist, $ʔi^mbô$ or $bô$) being the only exception. Loans with initial prenasalised consonants in the donor language lose them in Sandawe; unassimilated loans retain the prenasalisation.

(24) *dêgè* ‘aeroplane’ < Sw. *ndege*

(ii) Non-homorganic to a following consonant; there are two types:

- a. a labial nasal, *^m*, can be found before a glottal stop (which is initial in the following syllable).

(25) *tʰ'ô^mʔ`ɕé* ‘to speak a lot of nonsense’

- b. a velar nasal, *^ŋ*, is found only in a couple of instances, where a following velar plosive has been deleted.

(26) *tá:^ŋnà* ‘to, in front’ (cf. *tá:^ŋgì* ‘in front’, *nà* ‘to’)

In some places, I found it difficult to distinguish between a nasalised vowel followed by a consonant and an oral vowel followed by a short nasal homorganic to the following consonant. The interaction and possible overlap between these two needs to be assessed further.

3 South African Khoesan

3.1 Northern Khoesan

Amanda L. Miller

3.1.1 Introduction

While there are many Northern Khoesan varieties, Jul’hoan is the only one which has been described in some detail. There is a 5,000 word (2,000 root) dictionary (Dickens 1994), and I have recorded a

database containing six speakers' production of all of these roots, as well as all of the complex words in Dickens, and 300 new words. Ekoka !Xun is the next best described variety with a dictionary (König and Heine 2008) containing about 4,200 !Xun entries and a comprehensive grammar (Heine and König 2012). On Okongo !Xung there exist a 1,200-wordlist and a basic grammar. Other varieties have been ignored completely, despite differences from Jul'hoan in their phonologies. In this section, I will focus on Jul'hoan phonology, but I will attempt to cover known interesting properties of other NK varieties not found in Jul'hoan in the relevant sections. The sound inventory of Jul'hoan contains 89 consonants and thirteen oral vowels. There are six monophthongal vowels and seven diphthongs, as well as four contrastive vowel phonation types: modal, breathy, glottalized and epiglottalized.¹ All of the non-modal vowel phonation types have restricted tonal patterns. The consonant inventory contains 47 click consonants, which are organized into four main click types, with twelve different click accompaniments.

3.1.2 Vowels

There are five monophthongal oral vowel phonemes in Jul'hoan, as well as [ə̃], a raised variant of /a/ that occurs before high vowels and [m]. [Figure 4.1](#) shows a scatterplot of the first and second formant frequencies of all six vowels produced by three female and three male speakers in acoustic vowel space. Additionally, there are the diphthongs [əi] and [əe], which are allophones of /i/ and /e/ that occur only after consonants with secondary dorsal articulations, which includes the back clicks [! ʘ]

(Miller-Ockhuizen 1999b, 2003; Miller 2011). Snyman (1975a, 1975b) and Dickens (1994) claim that there are diphthongs [ui oe oa] as well. The initial portion of these rimes is glide-like when there is a monotonal root tone pattern. If the root tone pattern is bitonal (SL-L, L-H or H-L), then the diphthong appears as a glide vowel sequence. The diphthongs [əu, ao] do occur, and appear to be separate phonemes, as I have not yet uncovered any predictable environment where they occur.

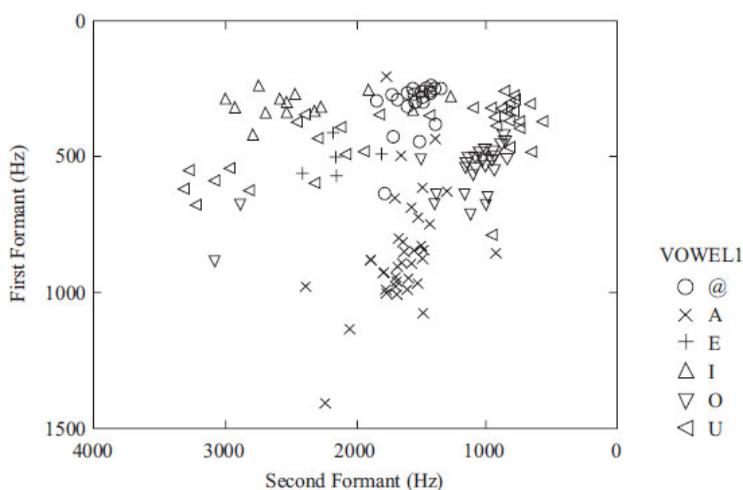


Figure 4.1 1st and 2nd Formant Frequencies of Jul'Hoan Oral Vowels

Jul'hoan vowels are produced with one of five voice qualities. Oral vowels are produced with modal phonation, and contrast with comparable nasal vowels, breathy vowels, epiglottalized vowels, glottalized vowels, and diphthongs in voice quality (partially breathy, and partially epiglottalized vowels) (Miller-Ockhuizen 2003; Miller 2007).

Nasalized vowels are limited, and only [ũ ã] monophthongs occur, as well as the nasalized diphthongs [ẽũ ãũ] and [õã õũ]. There are no mid nasalized vowels. Breathy and glottalized vowels of all five vowel qualities occur.

Epiglottalized vowels are always non-high back vowels. There are fully epiglottalized vowels, and partially epiglottalized vowels, which are followed by modal offglides. Fully epiglottalized vowels are always non-high back vowels, resulting in the following phonemes: [ʔʊ ʔa ʔɔ ʔo]. Partially epiglottalized vowels allow only non-high back vowels in the initial epiglottalized portion, but all vowel types occur in the second modal portion of the rime. The following partially epiglottalized vowels occur: [ʔa ʔe ʔi ʔo ʔu ʔa ʔo ʔi ʔe ʔo ʔu]. Additionally, epiglottalized vowels [ʔa] and [ʔo] occur in CVm roots. Epiglottalized vowels have vastly different first through third formants from like quality modal vowels.

Glottalized vowels are most commonly monophthongal. Thus, we find [əʔa əʔe iʔi oʔo uʔu]. The diphthongs [əʔe əʔi əʔo əʔu oʔa uʔi] occur as well. The raised non-high back vowels also co-occur with <m> in the following combinations: [ʊʔm əʔm].

Nasalization can occur with any other phonation type. However, the other vowel phonation types never co-occur with each other. That is, we never find breathy epiglottalized vowels, breathy glottalized vowels or glottalized epiglottalized vowels. However, we do find epiglottalized nasal vowels, breathy nasal vowels and glottalized nasal vowels. This seems to be a general OCP

constraint against any two guttural features within a root, since non-modal vowel types (besides nasal) never co-occur with aspirated, glottalized or uvularized consonants, and medial consonants never bear guttural features (Miller-Ockhuizen 2003; Miller 2007).

While Snyman (1970, 1975a, 1975b) and Dickens (1994) maintain that there is a vowel length contrast in Jul’hoan, there is no evidence to support their claim. There are no minimal pairs. Rather, all monosyllabic words contain long vowels due to a minimality constraint in the language, and there is no contrast. This is supported by the fact that single vowels in monosyllabic roots are nearly twice as long as single vowels in either syllable of bisyllabic forms (Miller-Ockhuizen 2000, 2003).

Height harmony in Jul’hoan governs the co-occurrence of different vowel types within the root. I mentioned above that [ə̤] is a raised variant of [a] that occurs only before high vowels, while [a] only occurs before [a], whether the following vowel is within the same syllable as part of a diphthong, or in the second syllable of a bisyllabic root. The high vowels only co-occur with other high vowels, and there are a few alternations where root high vowels are realized as lower variants when preceding the diminutive suffix [ma], such as in the pairs *lú* [!u] ‘name’ and *!úmà* [!ə̤úmà] ‘grandchild; namesake’, *tsú* [tsú] ‘uncle’ and *tsúmà* [tsə̤úmà] ‘nephew’, *l’ùdshù* [l’ùds^hù] ‘mother-in-law’, [l’ùds^hə̤ùmà] ‘older sister-in-law’. Interestingly, [i e] also do not occur in the first syllable of bisyllabic roots.

3.1.3 Consonants

Jul'hoan has one of the largest consonant inventories of the world's languages. The complete inventory is given in [Tables 4.2](#) and [4.3](#) at the end of this section. Click and non-click consonants occur with all of the same manner and guttural features. There is a four-way VOT contrast between plain voiceless, voiceless aspirated, voiced and voiced aspirated clicks and non-clicks. Similarly, all click and non-click consonants (except labials) occur with uvular fricated releases, and ejected uvular fricated releases. Miller-Ockhuizen (2003) and Miller (2007) refer to consonants with the ejected uvular fricated releases as epiglottalized consonants.

Table 4.2 Consonant Inventory of Jul'Hoan – Stops, Fricatives and Approximates

I. Simple consonants:	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental/alveolar	Palatal	Dorsal	Glottal	Lateral alveolar
Vcl. pl. egr. ingr.	p		t l	ʈ ɬ	k !	ʔ	l
Vcl. asp. egr. pl. ingr.	p ^h		t ^h ɬ ^h	ʈ ^h ɬ ^h	k ^h !		l ^h
Pre-vd. asp. egr. pl. ingr.	b ^h		d ^h g ^h		g ^h g ^h		
Vd. pl. egr. ingr.	b		d g	ɟ gʈ	g g!		gl
Vcl. nsl. egr. ingr.			l̥	ɬ̥	!		l̥
Vcl. asp. egr. nsl. pl. ² ingr.			ɲ ^h	ɲ ^h	ɲ ^h		ɲ ^h
Vd. nsl. pl. egr. ingr.	m		n n̥		ŋ n!		n̥
Vd. nsl. asp. pl. ingr.	m ^h		n ^h	n ^h	n ^h		n ^h
Vcl. fric.		f	s	c	x	h	
Vd. fric.		v	z	j			
Approximate	w		r	y			l

2

Table 4.3 The Consonant Inventory of Jul’Hoan – Affricates

II. Affricates	Dental/alveolar	Palatal	Dorsal	Lateral alveolar
Vcl. affr. egr.	ts	tʃ		
Vcl. asp. affr. egr.	ts ^h	tʃ ^h		
Pre-Vd. asp. egr. affr. ingr.	ds ^h	dʃ ^h		
Vcl. eject. affr. egr. ingr.	tʂ lkx’	tʃ ʃkx’	kx’, tkx’ lkx’	lkx’
Vd. eject. affr. egr. ingr.	tz’ g!kx’	tʃ gʃkx’	g!kx’	g!kx’
Vcl. affr. with egr.	tsx	tʃx	tx	
Velar fric. release ingr.	lx	ʃx	!x	lx
Vd. affr. with egr.	dzx	dʒx		
Vel. fric. release ingr.	g!x	gʃx	g!x	g!x

3.1.3.1

Egressive Consonants

Jul’hoan contrasts labial, alveolar, and velar stops and nasal consonants. Stop consonants exhibit a four-way VOT contrast. Nasal consonants are found at three places: [m n ŋ], though only [m n] occur in initial position of roots, and [ŋ] only occurs in root-final position following back consonants, especially [! ʙ]. The aspirated labial nasal [m^h], only occurs in the diminutive plural morpheme, and never occurs in any recorded Jul’hoan roots. Voiced and voiceless fricatives occur at the alveolar [s z] and palatal [ʃ ʒ] places of articulation. Additionally, there is a voiceless uvular fricative [χ]. Affricates [ts tʃ tʂ kx’ tʃx] also occur. The glides [w y] also occur, but are very infrequent. The flap [r], along with [β], a spirantized variant of [b], only occur in medial position. The only two additional consonants which occur in medial position are [m n]. The limited contrasts in medial consonants can be seen as an additional aspect of the guttural OCP constraint

mentioned with respect to limitations on vowel phonation type combinations, although the fact that consonants with guttural features never occur in medial position, even when the initial consonant is unmarked, signifies that there is a positional constraint at work as well (Miller-Ockhuizen 2003; Miller 2007). The set of medial consonants [β r m u] can be thought of as unmarked laryngeally, having no laryngeal specifications.

3.1.3.2 Ingressive Click Consonants

Jul'hoan has four click types, produced at dental [l], post-alveolar [l̠], palatal-alveolar [l̟] and lateral alveolar [l̥] places of articulation. These types exhibit a four-way VOT contrast, just as found with non-click consonants. Nasalized clicks also occur, and these exhibit a three-way VOT contrast with voiced aspirated nasal clicks, unaspirated nasalized clicks, and voiceless aspirated nasal clicks. Just as with non-clicks, voiceless unaspirated nasal clicks are lacking. All click types also occur with glottal releases, uvular fricated releases, uvular affricated eJected releases, voiced uvular fricated releases and voiced uvular affricated eJected releases.

Grootfontein !Xung has a retroflex click (Miller-Ockhuizen and Sands 1999, 2000; Miller 2011; Sands and Miller-Ockhuizen 1999, 2000; cf. also König and Heine 2008 for Ekoka !Xun). These two sounds have not yet been documented in any of the world's languages. Snyman (1997) argues that the retroflex click type is a variant of the alveolar click-type found in Jul'hoan, but there is no phonological environment which would allow us to predict where one variant

would occur. They meet the classical definition of separate phonemes. Sands and Miller-Ockhuizen (1999) and Sands (2010) argue that Proto-Northern-Khoesan contained five click types: *l, *ʃ, *ʎ, *ll and *ll̥, with *ll̥ merging with ! in Jul'hoan and with ll in Northern Khoesan languages, such as Mangetti Dune !Xung and Ekoka !Xun. The proto-retroflex click type *ll̥ remained a retroflex click type in Central Ju languages, such as Grootfontein !Xung. König and Heine (2008) describe a retroflex click type occurring in Ekoka !Xun. This click corresponds to the palatal click in other Ju languages (Sands 2010). Miller *et al.* (2011) have shown that this click type is not a true retroflex click, but rather a fricated post-alveolar click, which contrasts with the more typical abrupt post-alveolar click type that occurs in the same language.

3.1.3.3 Phonological Patterns

Despite the places of articulation reflected in the click names, phonologically the dental and palatal click consonants pattern together with other front consonants in allowing a contrast between front and back vowels following them. The alveolar and lateral alveolar click types pattern with the back consonants in only allowing back vowels, and the cross-place diphthongs [âi, âe] following them (Miller-Ockhuizen 1999b, 2003; Miller 2011). Traill (1985: 89–92) dubbed this constraint, which is found in all Southern and Northern Khoesan varieties at least to some extent, the Back Vowel Constraint (BVC). He claims that all clicks are subject to the BVC and only allow back vowels following them. Front vowels

following the dental and palatal [l ʈ] click types arise through assimilation of a back vowel to a preceding front consonant and following front vowel. Miller-Ockhuizen (1999b) argues that there is no evidence in Jul'hoan that there are ever back vowels between front vowels and front clicks. That is, there are no [əe] or [əi] diphthongs following coronal consonants or front clicks. The diphthongs [əe əi] occur following secondarily dorsalized consonants: back clicks [! ʈ] and uvularized click and non-click consonants. Miller-Ockhuizen (1999b) analyzes this as spreading of the [dorsal] feature from V-place onto the following front vowel, resulting in diphthongization of that vowel.

The BVC in Mangetti Dune !Xung is only active with high vowels (Miller-Ockhuizen and Sands 1999, Miller-Ockhuizen 1999b). The forward released lateral click [ʈʈ] patterns with the other back clicks [! ʈ] in the language.

As mentioned earlier, there is also a guttural OCP constraint in Jul'hoan that rules out any two guttural features within a given root. McCarthy (1991, 1994) argues that pharyngeal and laryngeal features are grouped together under a guttural node, while Halle (1995) argues that they are grouped together under the laryngeal node. Miller-Ockhuizen's (2003) approach is more similar to Halle's approach. [Table 4.1](#) below shows the frequency of occurrence of different consonant release properties with different vowel phonation types:

Table 4.1 Co-Occurrence of Consonant and Vocalic Guttural Features in Jul'Hoan

Vowel ↓	Consonant→	Plain	Voiced	Aspirated	Ejected	Uvularized
Modal		521	242	243	261	179
Breathy		139	58	1	1	0
Glottalized		73	22	1	1	0
Epiglottalized		169	49	4	0	0
Total		902	371	249	263	179

All combinations of non-modal phonation types on consonants and vowels within the same root are bold in the table. Note that for most cases, there are no roots exhibiting these combinations. The one aberrant example containing a glottalized consonant and a glottalized vowel is in the word *ds'ò'ó* ‘hartebeest’. The single example of a glottalized consonant with a breathy vowel is the word *dsù'ú* ‘ostrich’. The single example of cooccurring aspiration and a breathy voiced vowel is *!ʔ^hǎǎh* (which is phonetically [!ʔ^hǎǎh]) meaning ‘panda tree’. As was also found by Elderkin (1988: 132), the four words containing epiglottalized vowels and aspirated consonants all contain initial nasalized clicks. The four words are *!ʔ^hǎǎqn* (which is phonetically [!ʔ^hǎǎqn]) ‘to bend’, *n^hǎǎnà* ‘elephant’s trunk’, *n^hǎǎò* *Oxygonum alatum*, and *n!ʔ^hǎǎèn* ‘carrot’.

3.2

Central Khoesan

3.2.1 Namibian Khoekhoe and !Gora

Wilfrid H.G. Haacke

3.2.1.1 Phoneme Inventory

The phonetic description by Beach (1938) of the phoneme system of the “Hottentot” language was hailed as a classic and still remains valid in its essence. The

present account is descriptive, following the conventional dichotomy between egressive consonants and clicks. (For an attempt to accommodate all kinds of consonants in a single paradigm, cf. Güldemann 2001.) Khoekhoegowab (N.Kh.) (Nama/Damara) in 1970 became the first Khoesan language to receive an officially recognized orthography. This orthography has, with minor amendments, been adhered to for language planning purposes ever since (see Haacke 1989).

3.2.1.1.1 Vowels

Both N.Kh. and !Gora have a balanced basic system of five oral vowels: /i e a o u/. (The sixth vowel mentioned by Beach, the central vowel, is a neutralized vowel and hence not phonemic.) Of these, all except the mid-front vowel /e/ have nasalized counterparts in certain phonotactic contexts. Laryngeal phonation is not used distinctively.

It is still customary to distinguish short and long (oral) vowels in N.Kh. (cf. *Nama/Damara Orthography No. 2*). This, however, is unfounded, as so-called “long” vowels are juxtaposed identical vowels, just as so-called “diphthongs” are juxtapositions of non-identical vowels. Each vowel in these combinations represents a separate syllable nucleus and is a distinct tone-bearing unit. Roots are consistently disyllabic, with the exception of (rare) trisyllabic roots that consist of a combination of a disyllabic with a monosyllabic morpheme. Contrary to conventional claims, no monosyllabic radicals occur; only monosyllabic grammatical formatives. Vowel juxtapositions in roots arise through the elision of the intervocalic consonant C₂ in the canonical structure

$C_1V_1C_2V_2$. Only four consonants can occur as C_2 : w , r , m and n (cf. [Table 4.4](#)). If the deleted intervocalic consonant was oral, the vowel combination will be oral (“long”, if identical vowels; “oral diphthong”, if not identical); if the consonant was nasal, the combination will be nasalized because of spreading (“nasal vowel”, if identical; “nasal diphthong”, if not identical). It follows that so-called “nasal” vowels have the same length as so-called “long” (oral) vowels, both consisting of quasi-geminates. “Nasal” vowels, thus, are a secondary development (through spreading), as originally Proto-Khoekhoe had only oral vowels.

Table 4.4 The Four Intervocalic Consonants of Roots in N.KH.

	Oral	Nasal
Bilabial	$w = [v/\beta/b]$	m
Alveolar	r	n

Because of certain constraints applicable to vowel combinations, particularly to mid vowels, only the combinations presented in [Table 4.5](#) occur.

Table 4.5 Combinations of V_1 and V_2 in A Root (in N.KH. Orthography)

C ₂ was oral					C ₂ was nasal						
	i ₂	e ₂	a ₂	o ₂	u ₂	i ₂	e ₂	a ₂	o ₂	u ₂	
i ₁	ī	–	–	–	–	i ₁	ī [ī]	–	(ia)	–	–
e ₁	–	ē	–	–	–	e ₁	–	–	–	–	–
a ₁	ai	ae	ā	ao	au	a ₁	āi	–	ā [āā]	–	āu
o ₁	–	oe	oa	ō	–	o ₁	–	–	ōa	–	–
u ₁	ui	–	–	–	ū	u ₁	ūi	–	ua	–	ū [ūū]

The following instances exemplify the historical development of so-called “long” and “nasal” vowels and oral and nasalized “diphthongs” (from Haacke 1999). While in the following cases both the original CVCV root and the truncated (so-called “monosyllabic”) CVV or Cvv root still exist next to each other, in most cases the source of the truncated root has been lost (cf. Table 4.6).

Table 4.6 Historical Development of Vowel Sequences in N.KH.

Oral dissimilar vowels	CV ₁ CV ₂	>	CV ₁ V ₂	(so-called “oral diphthong”)
	<i>lgārè</i>	>	<i>lgâè</i>	‘ape, mime’
Nasalized dissimilar vowels	CV ₁ NV ₂	>	Cv̄ ₁ v̄ ₂	(“nasal diphthong”)
	<i>tômās</i>	>	[tôās] = <i>tôās</i>	‘wild cucumber’
Oral pseudo-geminates	CV ₁ CV ₁	>	CV ₁ V ₁	(“long” vowel)
	<i>pūrū</i>	>	[pūū] = <i>pū</i>	‘topple over’ (tr.)
Nasalized pseudo-geminates	CV ₁ NV ₁	>	Cv̄ ₁ v̄ ₁	(“nasal” vowel)
	<i>mimū</i>	>	[mūū] = <i>mū</i>	‘view, admire’

The fact that in rare cases certain words appear with oral vowels in some lects, while with nasal vowels in others – e.g. N.Kh. *lloa* against !Gora *llôa* (‘kiss’), or Central Khoekhoe *lgôas* against Hailom and †Ăkhoe *lgoas* (‘girl’) – shows that derivations are not in all cases strictly regular according to the lost C₂, but that mutations do occur. Beach (1938: 203) justifiably regards the !Gora tendency to replace nasal *ā* with oral *a* as an “individual and irregular peculiarity”.

Beach (1938: 197) observes that in !Gora a close back vowel *u* as V_1 may be lowered to a “closish” *o*, if V_2 is a close vowel; e.g. *lkhuru* > *lkhoru* (‘sour’), *lunib* > *lonib*. This co-occurrence of *o* with *i* should, however, not be misconstrued as justification for the erratic spelling of the ethnonyms *Khoikhoïn or *Khoisan, as *Khoe* has its origin in *khōCe*. Original radicals with the structure *CoCi are not attested; hence a vowel combination *oi cannot exist either.

3.2.1.1.2 Consonants

The inventories of consonants are very similar between N.Kh. and !Gora, with the fundamental difference that with egressive consonants voicing was still distinctive with !Gora but is no longer with N.Kh. N.Kh. has twelve authentic egressive consonants, while !Gora has fifteen (because of the voicing distinction). The click system is comparatively modest for Khoesan languages, with a balanced system of four primary articulations and five or six secondary articulations for N.Kh. and !Gora respectively.

3.2.1.1.2.1

Egressive Consonants

When reading an N.Kh. text, a reader has to be aware of the fact that the plosives [p], [t] and [k] are regularly unvoiced in initial position, irrespective of the actual spelling. While in the older, church literature the use of *p*, *t*, and *k* against *b*, *d* and *g* is inconsistent, the standardized orthography as from 1970 has introduced a systematic distinction. In order to avoid diacritics, the letters *p*, *t* and *k* are used for roots with one of the higher

tonal melodies (/ ˘ /, / ˘ ˘ / and / ˘ ˘ ˘ /); *b*, *d* and *g* for lower melodies (/ ˘ ˘ /, / ˘ ˘ ˘ /, / ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ /, / ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ /); e.g.

(27) *tóá* ‘come to an end’

dòà ‘tear’ (v.tr.)

dòà ‘tear’ (v.intr.)

For the intervocalic bilabial consonant the same orthographic principle may be applied to achieve tonal distinctiveness (i.e. *b* against *p*), or a non-committal *w* may be used. The pronunciation is normally voiced and varies freely between [b~β~v].

In !Gora voicing is distinctive, but Beach (1938: 214) observes that because of the “very weak aspiration” of both voiced and unvoiced plosives, the distinction is very difficult to hear in fluent speech. Minimal pairs with identical tonal melody (here “mid level”) do exist in !Gora:

(28)	!Gora	Khoekhoe	
	<i>taop</i> [taop]	<i>táòb</i> [taop]	‘shame’
	<i>daop</i> [daop]	<i>däòb</i> [taop]	‘road’

In N.Kh. the voiced plosives, together with some other consonants (particularly *h*, *m*, *kh*, *ts*, the !Gora “glottalic affricate” [kxʔ] and the delayed voiceless fricative release (Xh) and the nasal accompaniment (Xn) of clicks) have acted as depressor consonants that have created an additional, extra low toneme / ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ /, and

therewith two extra melodies commencing with that toneme: ʔ ˘/ and ʔ ˙/. The following tonogenetic relations exist between !Gora (designations by Beach) and N.Kh. (see also [Table 4.7](#) for the egressive consonants):

(29)	!Gora (Beach)		Khoekhoe
	mid-level + vcl.	>	/˘/
	mid-level + vd.	>	ʔ ˘/
vcl.	low-mid falling	+ >	/˙/
vd.	low-mid falling	+ >	ʔ ˙/

Table 4.7 Namibian Khoekhoe (N.KH.) and !Gora Egressive Consonants

Manner of air-stream release	State of the glottis	Language	Place of articulation						
			Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Prepalatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	voiceless	N.Kh.	p		t			k	ʔ
		!Gora	p		t			k	ʔ
	voiced	N.Kh.	V[b]V		–			–	
		!Gora	b		d			g	
aspirated	N.Kh.						kh		
	!Gora						kh		
Ejective	voiceless	!Gora			(tsʼ)				
Affricate	voiceless	N.Kh.			ts			(kx)	
		!Gora			ts			kxʼ	
Fricative	voiceless	N.Kh.		(f)		s		x	h
		!Gora				s		x	h
	voiced	N.Kh.	V[β]V	V[v]V					
		!Gora							
Affricates	voiceless	N.Kh.							kxʼ
	voiced	!Gora					(dʒ)		
Lateral	voiced	N.Kh.				(l)			
Trill	voiced	N.Kh.				r			
		!Gora				r			
Nasal	voiced	N.Kh.	m		n				
		!Gora	m		n				

Subsequent to the depression the voiced consonants became devoiced in N.Kh., which makes this development a typical case of tonogenesis. (For details, cf. Beach 1938: 214ff.; also Haacke 1999: sections 2.2.3 and 2.3, where it is argued that tonogenesis actually caused a register split underlyingly.)

Certain consonant reflexes differ between !Gora and N.Kh. N.Kh. *ts* has two allophones in !Gora: [ts] and [th]. In !Gora [ts] appears before front vowels *i*, *î* and *e* or a morpheme boundary; [th] before all other vowels. Beach states that the !Gora plosive *kh* is the equivalent of the N.Kh. affricate *kx*. It is my impression, however, that the aspirated plosive is far more common in N.Kh. than the affricate.

for !Gora, which is *nū* in Nama dialects, but *nū* or *lū* in Damara and Hailom dialects of N.Kh.

3.2.1.1.2.2 Clicks

Both N.Kh. and !Gora have four primary click articulations or influxes (see Table 4.8); but while N.Kh. has five secondary articulations (effluxes), !Gora has a sixth one, a glottalic affricative efflux *Xx'*. Like its egressive equivalent, it is a non-depressor much more consistently than the glottal stop influx. Beach (1938: 250) also cites evidence of an earlier division of the velar plosive into a voiced and a voiceless version.

Table 4.8 Click Consonants of N.KH. and !Gora (Spelling of Khoekhoe)

Release→ Click ↓	Velar			Glottal		
	voiceless			stop	fricative	affricate !Gora only: [x']
	plosive	affricate	nasalized			
	g	kh	n	'	h	
Dental	ǀ [ǀ]	ǀkh [ǀkx]	ǀn [ǀ]	ǀ [ǀ']	ǀh [ǀ'h]	[ǀx']
Alveolar	ǃ [ǃ]	ǃkh [ǃkx]	ǃn [ǃ]	ǃ [ǃ']	ǃh [ǃ'h]	[ǃx']
Palatal	ǁ [ǁ]	ǁkh [ǁkx]	ǁn [ǁ]	ǁ [ǁ']	ǁh [ǁ'h]	[ǁx']
Lateral	ǂ [ǂ]	ǂkh [ǂkx]	ǂn [ǂ]	ǂ [ǂ']	ǂh [ǂ'h]	[ǂx']

3.2.1.2 Phonotactics

To what has already been said above about the structure of radicals, it should be added that all roots commence with a consonant in N.Kh. and !Gora. Roots that in the N.Kh. orthography commence with a vowel, actually commence with a glottal stop, as Meinhof (1930) correctly indicates for !Gora; e.g. N.Kh. *ā+b* [ʔā́á-], !Gora *'a-b* ('cavity').

All consonants, including clicks but excluding the allophones [w] and [r], can occur as C₁, while C₂ is confined to the oral/nasal bilabials and alveolars *w*, *r*, *m* and *n*, as mentioned earlier. The alveolar plosive *t/d* ([t] in N.Kh.) is realized as alveolar trill [r] intervocally, while the bilabial plosive can be realized as (voiced) fricative inter-vocally: [b] or [β~v].

Apart from the elision of C₂ discussed above, V₂ can be elided alternatively, but only if C₂ is nasal and so it can still act as a tone-bearing unit: N.Kh. *ikhàná* > *ikhàñ* ‘crack’ (v.intr.).

For statistical information regarding the distribution of onset and intervocalic consonants, final vowels, and tonal melodies, see Haacke (1999: tables 7–11).

3.2.1.3 Morphophonology

It is a characteristic feature of N.Kh. (and presumably !Gora) that assimilatory or dis-similatory changes are confined to a minimum, both in segmental and suprasegmental phonology. The most conspicuous assimilation in N.Kh. occurs around the bilabial plosive when preceded by a nasal consonant. The pgn marker of the third person masculine singular is realized as *-b* when preceded by a vowel (the most frequent situation); when preceded by a nasal (or, in loanwords, any other) consonant, it assimilates fully to the consonant and a latent vowel *-i* appears:

(31) *khoe+**b*** ‘man’

*xam+**mi*** ‘male lion’

llgan+ni ‘chunk of meat’

skol+i
[skolli] ‘school’ < Afrikaans: *skool*

Assimilation also occurs with, *inter alia*, the adjectival/adverbial suffix *-be*, as in (32):

(32) **llgam+be+b* > *llgammeb* ‘tea-bush’ (also: *lgaubeb*)

Palatalization of the velar plosive before front vowels is a regular occurrence, e.g. N.Kh. *kō* [koo] or *kē* [k^hee] (‘see’), or the indicative marker spelt *tje* in !Gora and *gye* in the non-standardized orthography of N.Kh.

The consonant of the passive suffix *-he* (*-e* in some N.Kh. dialects) is reported to assimilate to the preceding consonant in !Gora, e.g. **ll’anll’an+he* > *ll’anll’an+ne* (‘be cooked’).

With vowels the most conspicuous changes occur between the PGN markers and the oblique case marker *-a*, by way of either elision or assimilation. Various stages of development are manifested in different languages and dialects, e.g.

(33) *gu+a* > *ga* (N.Kh.), *gua* (!Gora, peripheral
Damara) 3M.PL

di+a > *de* (N.Kh., !Gora) 3F.PL

-i+a > *-e* (N.Kh., !Gora) 3NEUT.SG

3.2.2 Haillom

Thomas Widlok

Haillom and #Akhoe are variants of the Khoekhoe language which have been considered separate dialects (Haacke *et al.* 1997) but also virtual synonyms of one variant (Heik-kinen, n.d.). Following my previous work (Widlok 1997: 123) I consider #Akhoe as “a way in which some Haillom speak their language” and the contributions to this volume concerning Haillom which are based on the late Terttu Heikkinen’s work and my own work strongly reflect the way in which Haillom in the northern part of Namibia (north of the Omuramba Owambo) speak their language.

Due to its closeness to Nama/Damara, researchers who dealt with Haillom and #Akhoe have largely followed the orthographic conventions developed for Khoekhoegowab when describing the phonology of Haillom and #Akhoe. However, the work of Heikkinen, who carried out extensive linguistic work among #Akhoe speakers, is coloured by the fact that she had worked with both Nama speakers and speakers of northern variants of South African Khoesan, especially !Xũ. Her phonological description of #Akhoe therefore reflects influences from both these neighbouring languages.

3.2.2.1 Vowels

Divergences with regard to orthographic conventions do not cause any problem with regard to the representation

of the oral vowels /i e a o u/ that are shared by Nama and Hailom in both their short and long versions. The same applies to the nasal vowels /ĩ ã ũ/ and to the non-nasalised and nasalised diphthongs.

(34) Diphthongs of Hailom as in Nama:

ae ai ao au

oa oe

ui

(35) Nasalised diphthongs of Hailom as in Nama:

ai au

oa

ui

ia

Note that Heikkinen (n.d.: 17) further distinguishes *ia*, *ua*, *ui*, *oe* as phonetically corresponding to *ya*, *wa*, *wi*, *we*, respectively.

3.2.2.2 Consonants

3.2.2.2.1 Egressive Consonants

As in Nama/Damara, Hailom has three plain stops: bilabial /p~b/, dental /t~d/ and velar /k~g/. Note that Heikkinen did not follow the standard Nama/Damara orthography to alternate between <p t k> and <b d g> according to tones. Instead she shifted her own

orthography from <*b d g*> in the beginning to <*p t k*> in her later work.

The fricatives /*s x h*/ are also like those in Nama (see Hagman 1977: 7; Haacke 1988). The same applies to the two nasals /*m*/ and /*n*/ and to the alveolar flap [r].

Hailom (or at least #Akhoe) differs from Nama/Damara in that apart from the velar stop, it possesses two nasalised stops: bilabial *mb* and dental *nd* are common phonological features of #Akhoe. Examples for *mb* include lexemes that were definitely or probably borrowed from other languages: *mburu* ‘plough’, *mbabus* ‘pumpkin’, *mbisis* ‘cat’ – but also lexemes where such a connection has not been shown, e.g. *mboko* (nonsense [interjection]), *mbara* ‘to have nose-bleeding’, *mbi* ‘to go mad’. Examples for *nd* seem to be predominantly lexemes that are identical with Nama lexemes but which are realized with a nasalised stop, for instance *ndebe* vs. Nama *neba* ‘here’, *ndai* vs. Nama *nai* ‘to be astonished’.

In concordance with her treatment of the affricate /*kh*/ as an aspirated sound, Heik-kinen classified /*kh*/, which is common in both Nama and #Akhoe, as an aspirated stop (Heikkinen, n.d.: 8). Interestingly, she adds two further aspirated stops, namely the bilabial *ph* and the dental *th*. For both she provides only one example each: *!omaphu* ‘to blow’ and *the#an-am* ‘to seal’, plus the ideophone *phara* ‘imitating sudden arrival’. Apart from /*kh*/ there are two further, alveolar, affricates in #Akhoe: /*ts*/ (as in Nama) and *ndz*. For the latter one Heikkinen has only two examples: *ndzo* ‘to smear scented powder on’ and *ndzaiba* ‘a species of honey-making insect’.

3.2.2.2.2 Clicks

When analysing #Akhoe or Haillom click consonants the assumption that Haillom is virtually identical with Nama/Damara slowly gives way to a more complex description. In her early work, Heikkinen presents a list of click consonants that follows closely what had been established for Nama: the four influxes (/ dental, ! palatal, # alveolar, // lateral) are given in combination with five effluxes (see Hagman 1977: 10):

1. with glottal stop (written without apostrophe according to the official Namibian orthography of Nama/Damara);
2. aspirated (written with an *h* following the click symbol, as in Nama);
3. unaspirated, i.e. followed by a vowel without a pause between them (written as in Nama as /g, //g, #g, and !g);
4. nasalised (written with an *n* following the click symbol, as in Nama);
5. affricated (written with a *kh* following the click symbol, as in Nama).

In her later work Heikkinen not only changed the orthography towards that of !Xũũ, respectively Jul'hoan (see Dickens 1994), but also suggested a different notation for the combinations of influxes and effluxes (see Table 4.9):

Table 4.9 Click Consonants of Haillim¹

	Dental	Alveolar	Lateral	Palatal
Without pause (plain)	!g (l)	!g (t)	!g (l)	!g (ʃ)
With fricative efflux (aspirated)	!kh (lh)	!kh (th)	!kh (lh)	!kh (ʃh)
With delayed aspirated efflux (pausal, soft)	!h (lʰ)	!h (tʰ)	!h (lʰ)	!h (ʃʰ)
With pause (pausal, hard)	! (lʰ)	! (tʰ)	! (lʰ)	! (ʃʰ)
With nasalised efflux	!n (ŋl)	!n (ŋt)	!n (ŋl)	!n (ŋʃ)

Note: 1 Notation and orthography of Heikkinen (n.d.) added in parentheses.

As [Table 4.9](#) illustrates, Heikkinen has altered the nasalised and “plain” (non-stop) click consonants in terms of orthography. The value of the remaining click consonants has been altered in the following manner: whereas aspirated and pausal effluxes were previously categorically distinguished, they are now represented as two types of pausal click consonants, namely “hard” (with a glottal stop at the beginning) and “soft” (with a delayed *h* at the beginning). Whereas fricative and aspirated effluxes were previously categorically distinguished, “fricative” has now disappeared as a separate category and is effectively treated as a possible value of the “aspirated” category. Although it would probably be unwise to adopt the altered classification of the late Heikkinen for practical language material, my own work with ǀAkhoe speakers has shown that there is fluctuation between aspirated and fricative effluxes which needs to be recognised in language analysis (see also Westphal 1971).

3.2.2.2.3 Phonological Alternations

No oppositions are formed by the following variations:

- The voiced denti-labial fricative *w* varies with *b* and *p* as described above. This is not different

from Nama (Hagman 1977: 45) but *w* seems particularly frequent in #Akhoe in the disyllabic word stems such as *hawe* ‘but’.

- The aspirated affricative *tsh* varies with the non-aspirated *ts*, as in *tsa* ‘to taste’ or *tses* ‘day’. The aspirated affricative is typically realized by #Akhoe who have been exposed to the Owambo (Bantu) language in school or in another setting dominated by the Owambo language and who find the *ts* difficult to produce.

3.2.3 Kxoe Subgroup

Rainer Vossen

3.2.3.1 Vowels

The vocalic phoneme inventories of the three principal members of this subgroup (Khwe, !Ani, Buga) coincide remarkably: there are six oral (/i e ε a o u/) and three nasal vowels (/ĩ ã ũ/). The latter are confined to CVV lexical and CV grammatical morphemes. Vowel length is not contrastive. In the literature it is claimed that vowels occur as both monophthongs and diphthongs (cf. Köhler 1981: 485f., Vossen 1986b, Kilian-Hatz 2008: 21f.), but comparative evidence suggests that the so-called diphthongs rather represent vowel sequences.

3.2.3.2 Consonants

Although the subgroup as a whole appears to be largely homogeneous, !Ani differs from both Khwe and Buga especially with respect to the click inventory.

3.2.3.2.1

Egressive Consonants

All varieties have relatively symmetric systems with between 26 and 36 phonemes (including borrowed segments) that distribute over six to eight places and four major manners of articulation (see Table 4.10). The phonotactic constraints are basically the same as throughout the family: while almost all egressive consonants occur in C₁ position, C₂ is restricted to a handful of sounds such as /b/, /d/ (in its allophonic realisation form [r]), and some nasals. Word-final C₂ permits only nasals (i.e. CVC = CVN).

Table 4.10 Egressive Consonants in Kxoe Varieties

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
PLOSIVE								
Voiceless	p		t	<i>tc</i> ts**		k	q	ʔ
Aspirated	ph*		th	tsh**		kh		
Voiced	b		d	<i>dj</i> dz**		g		
Pal. vel.						<i>ky</i>		
Pal. vd.						<i>gy</i>		
Asp. pal.						<i>khy</i>		
Vel. fric. vel.			tx	<i>tcx</i> tsx**				
Vel. fric. vd.			dx	<i>dcx</i>				
Ejective			tʼ	<i>tcʼ</i> tsʼ***		kxʼ		
FRICATIVE								
Voiceless		<i>f</i>		<i>c</i> s**		x		h
Voiced		<i>v</i>				ɣ		
NASAL								
Plain	m		n		<i>ɲ</i>	ŋ		
Prenasalised	<i>mb</i>		<i>nd</i>			<i>ŋg</i> ****		
RESONANT								
Liquid			l*					
Glide	w				<i>y</i>			

Notes: * not in Buga; ** not in Khwe; *** not in ||Ani; *italics* = Khwe only; **bold** = Buga only.

3.2.3.2.2 Clicks

Kxoe click inventories are largely symmetric: four basic click types (influxes) combine more or less systematically with nine (Khwe, Buga) and eleven

(ǁAni) accompaniments (effluxes). For Khwe, Köhler (1981: 486ff.) establishes an evenly balanced inventory consisting of 36 click phonemes (four-by-nine influx-efflux combinations), including the “borrowed” voiced alveolar click /!g/, while Kilian-Hatz (2008: 24) identifies only 32 phonemic segments because of major gaps in the alveolar click type series (only five instead of nine accompaniments). In ǁAni we observe an anomaly with regard to the voiced velar fricative click accompaniment that seems to be restricted to the lateral click type (thus: //!gx/). Finally, in Buga no evidence was found for the existence of a voiced nasal alveolar click. [Table 4.11](#) below summarises these findings.

Table 4.11 Kxoe Click Phoneme Inventories

ACCOMPANIMENT	CLICK TYPE	Dental:	Palatal: †	Alveolar: !	Lateral:
Voiceless			†	!	
Voiced		lg	†g	!g	lg
Voiced nasal		n n	n†n	n!n	n n
Prenasalised voiced		n g	n†g	n!g	n g
Voiceless uvular		lq	†q	!q	lq
Voiceless velar fricative		lx	†x	!x	lx
Voiced velar fricative					lgx
Ejective velar		lx'	†x'	!x'	lx'
Prenasalised vd. velar fricative		n gx	n†gx	n!gx	n gx
Aspirated		lh	†h	!h	lh
Glottal		l'	†'	!'	l'

Notes: *italics* = ǁAni only; **bold** = not in Buga.

Like in all South African Khoesan languages, clicks occur exclusively in initial position on lexical roots and grammatical morphemes as well.

3.2.3.2.3 Phonological Alternations

Phonological variation has been observed in all varieties for both egressive and ingressive (click) consonants and

has been described in more detail by Vossen (1997a: 94–104; Vossen 1986b for !Ani in particular). Just a few major alternations will be highlighted here.

As for egressive consonants an allophonic relationship has been noted for the voiced alveolar stop /d/ that occurs word-initially (C₁) only, and is replaced by an alveolar trill [r] or flap [ɾ] in intervocalic position (C₂, C₃, etc.) in all varieties. Under the same circumstances, according to Köhler (1981), Khwe speakers replace the voiced bilabial stop /b/ by its fricative counterpart [β], whereas Kilian-Hatz (2008: 23) has attached phonemic status to it (as /v/ in her spelling, cf. Table 4.10 above). In Buga, on the other hand, palatalisation processes have affected a good number of (mainly) stops; some of these are systematic (/g k ŋg kh/) while others may be described in terms of free variation (/t ts d s y/ and, again, /ŋg/; cf. Vossen 1997a: 102ff.).

Concerning ingressive consonants, mention must be made of ongoing processes of click loss and click replacement which, to this day, appear to have affected the alveolar click phonemes only. In Khwe and Buga such alternations prove to be more advanced than in !Ani.

3.2.4 Naro

Hessel Visser

3.2.4.1 Vowels

Naro has five oral and three nasal vowels:

(36) Oral vowels	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

(37) Nasal vowels	Front	Central	Back
High			
Mid	<i>ẽ</i>		<i>õ</i>
Low		<i>ã</i>	

There are also two pharyngealised vowels. Pharyngealisation only occurs on the first vowel.

(38) Pharyngealised vowels	Front	Central	Back
High			
Mid			<u>ɔ</u>
Low		<u>ɑ</u>	

The set of five oral vowels corresponds to the set of three nasal vowels: when the vowels are nasal, there is no contrast between high and mid in front vowels and back vowels.

3.2.4.2 Consonants

The consonants are presented in several tables, according to their occurrence in different positions in the word.

The following three tables show the distinctive consonants in different positions in the root: first of all those which are found in initial position in all three of the abovementioned structures (Tables 4.12 and 4.13). Table 4.14 contains only those consonants which are found as C₂ in the CVCV root structure.

Table 4.12 Naro Root-Initial Egressive Consonants

	Labial	Alveolar stop	Alveolar affricate	Velar	Glottal
Nasal	m	n			
Voiceless stop	(p)	t	ts	k	ʔ
Aspirated stop	(ph)	th	tsh	kh	
Velar fricative release		tx	tsx	kx	
Ejective		tʼ	tsʼ	kxʼ	
Voiced stop	b	d	dz	g	
Voiceless fricative		s		x	h

Table 4.13 Naro Clicks (Mouth Air)

	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Lateral
Voiceless	ǀ	ǃ	ǁ	ǁ
Voiced	ǂ	Ǆ	ǃ	ǂ
Nasal	ǁ	ǃ	ǁ	ǁ
Ejective	ǀʼ	ǃʼ	ǁʼ	ǁʼ
Aspirated	ǀh	ǃh	ǁh	ǁh
Fricative release	ǀx	ǃx	ǁx	ǁx
Ejective fricative release	ǀxʼ	ǃxʼ	ǁxʼ	ǁxʼ

Table 4.14 Naro Root-Medial Consonants

	Labial	Alveolar
Nasal	m	n
Voiced stop	b	
Trill		r
Approximant	w	y

Remarks:

- a. For reason of symmetry, affricates are shown next to their corresponding stop phonemes.

- b. /kx'/ is actually a voiceless ejective stop with velar fricative release, but it is not in contrast with the voiceless ejective stop, so it is placed under the stops.
- c. The bilabial stops /p/ and /ph/ are rare.
- d. Other consonants found exclusively in loanwords are *f* and *l*.
- e. /dz/ is phonetically sometimes realised as [dz], sometimes as [z]. For reasons of symmetry, *dz* is written.
- f. [w] is left out here, because there is only one example: *wèé* 'all'. It can be interpreted as the fricative allophone of /b/.
- g. The following consonant combinations are occasionally found in loanwords: *br*, *dr*, *ng*, *fl*, *pl*, *sk*.

Naro clicks are pronounced at four points of articulation: dental, alveolar, palatal and lateral. There are seven accompaniments: a voiceless, voiced, and prenasalised series of clicks, and four additional series with a special release: clicks followed by a glottal stop, clicks followed by aspiration, clicks released into a voiceless velar fricative, and clicks released into an ejective velar fricative. Clicks only occur root-initially.

Remarks:

- a. In some words, /p t s kx'g x/ show up as root-medial consonants, e.g. *g: hagu* 'dog'. It is, however, probable that the words in which these consonants occur are combinations of two or more morphemes.

- b. [d] and [r] are in complementary distribution, so they are allophones: [d] occurs in root-initial and [r] in root-medial position.
- c. The case of /w/ and /y/ is not totally clear, as they may be interpreted as vowels followed by a suffix *-a*. Examples: *llgãwa* ‘trickster figure’, *huwa* ‘story’, *ɬxãya* ‘something flat, paper’, *zãwa* ‘squint’.

Only the bilabial nasal [m] is found in root-final position. It occurs in roots with the structure CVN.³

3.2.4.3 Syllable and Root Structure

The following syllable structures occur:

(39) Syllable structure	Example	Gloss
CV	<i>laba</i>	‘be hungry’
V	<i>!áò</i>	‘long’
N	<i>!ám</i>	‘sun’
NCV	<i>n!ámá</i>	‘when?’

Syllabic nasals only occur in interrogative words:

(40) *nláma* ‘when?’

nta ‘how?’

nda ‘where?’

The latter example can be interpreted as prenasalisation, but as prenasalisation does not occur in Naro further, I interpret [n] here as a syllabic nasal.

The following root structures are found:

(41)	Root structure	Example	Gloss
	CVV	<i>láò</i>	'buffalo'
	CVN	<i>lám</i>	'sun'
	CVCV	<i>laba</i>	'be hungry'
	CVVCV	<i>lgoaba</i>	'spider'
	NCV	<i>nda</i>	'where?'
	NCVCV	<i>n/lámá</i>	'when?'

The distribution of consonants and vowels is as follows:

- (a) The oral vowels /a/ and /o/ can occur after any consonant. /p/ and /ph/ are exceptional cases.

- (b1) Pharyngealised vowels do not occur after ejective and aspirated consonants. In rare cases vowels are pharyngealised after consonants followed by a velar fricative.

- (b2) Consonants before a pharyngealised vowel are generally voiceless, but they tend to get some voicing, varying from speaker to speaker. I have not found conclusive contrasts between voiceless and voiced consonants before pharyngealised vowels yet.

- (c) The pharyngealised a is more frequent than the pharyngealised o. It also occurs in more different environments.

VV distribution in CVV roots can be described thus: The first vowel in the root structures CVV, CVN and CVCV may be rounded or unrounded, pharyngealised or not, /a/, /o/, /a/ or /o/. The second vowel may be any of the five oral vowels /a e i o u/. These (second) vowels may be nasalised. There is no contrast between nasalised [ẽ] and nasalised [ĩ], nor between nasalised [õ] and nasalised [ũ], so there are three distinctive nasalised vowels, /ã/, /ẽ/ and /õ/.

We may summarise the possible V₁+V₂ combinations as follows: oral+oral, oral+nasal, pharyngealised+oral, and pharyngealised+nasal.

Summary of possible sequences:

(42)	V ₁	C ₂	V ₂
	a	b	a ã
	o	r	e ẽ
C ₁	<u>a</u>	m	i
	<u>o</u>	n	o õ
	u		

The unrounded vowel /a/ as first vowel may be realised in different ways, depending on the environment. Generally it is realised as [a]. If the first consonant is either labial or alveolar and the second vowel is a front vowel, /a/ is realised as [e] or [i]. Whether /a/ is realised as [e] or [i] depends on the second vowel: if the second vowel is /e/, /a/ is realised as [e], if the second vowel is /i/, /a/ is realised as [i]. Likewise, the rounded vowel /o/ is realised as [u] when the second vowel is /u/. (There is

no apparent influence from the first consonant to be noted here.)

Because there is no contrast between *ai* and *ii*, nor between *ae* and *ee*, the pronunciation of words with [ii] or [ee] or [eẽ] may vary: *ii* → *ai*, e.g. *teẽ* → *taẽ*.

One exception to this rule has been found so far: the words *kái* and *kíi* seem to be used differently: *kái* ‘big’ vs. *kíi* ‘(my) big brother’.

Examples of realisation as [e] or [i] after labial consonants: *bèe* ‘be afraid’, *bíi* ‘milk’.

Realisation as [e] or [i] after alveolar consonants: *l’ee* ‘fire’, *ʒgèè* ‘stiff’, *sèè* ‘take’, *líi* ‘song’, *síi* ‘go’, *ʒii* ‘call’.

Realisation as [a] after post-alveolar consonants: *llgàe* ‘female’, *!náé* ‘pass’, *!áé* ‘bind’, *llae* ‘chew’, *llgàì* ‘cheek’, *llnàì* ‘jump’, *!áì* ‘kick’, *lxàì* ‘clothes’.

When labial and alveolar consonants are released into velar fricative, it is the fricative that determines the phonetic realisation. As it is post-alveolar, /a/ is realised as [a], e.g. [ʒii] ‘call’ but [ʒxáí] ‘eye’, [lèè] ‘exclamation’ but [lxáé] ‘important’.

A further influence can be attributed to the second vowel. The unrounded vowel /a/ is realised as [e] when it is followed by /i/: *ʒxáí* → [ʒxéí].

Likewise, the rounded vowel /o/ is realised as [u] if the second vowel is /u/ or /i/, e.g. *túú* ‘rain’, *úú* ‘one’.

If the second consonant is /n/ or /m/, V₂ can be considered as a nasalised vowel so that there is no contrast between *a/i* or *o/u*.

As for V ... V co-occurrences in C₁V₁C₂V₂ nouns and verbs, the same vowel distribution is possible as in CVV words. Vowels cannot be nasalised in lexical roots that have a C₁V₁C₂V₂ structure.

A further influence of the environment on the phonetic realisation of vowels is the anticipation of vowels: the second vowel is anticipated and is inserted between the first vowel and the second consonant: /CV₁CV₂/ → [CV₁V₂CV₂]. It seems that this phenomenon occurs especially on names, but it is also found in other words:

- (43) Composite words:
 //xagu/ → [lxaugu] -(name)
 //ale/ → [!ae|e] -(name)
- (44) Simple words:
 //nona/ → [!noana] 'three'
 //Koba/ → [Koaba] (name)
 //ore/ → [loere] 'pray'
 //Goxa/ → [‡Goaxa] (name)

The last case may be an example of vowel anticipation, but it may also be that the root is G‡oa, so that the /a/ is just part of the word. If, however, the root in the word is G‡oo, we have a case of vowel anticipation.

This process seems also to occur in the opposite direction so that the first vowel was repeated after the following consonant: /CV₁CV₂/ → [CV₁CV₁V₂]. It does not seem to occur too often, and in perhaps questionable circumstances: //Naoka/ → [lNaokoa] (name).

Concerning V in CVN nouns and verbs, only /a/ and /o/, /a/ and /o/ occur. The distribution parallels, therefore, the situation found for the first vowel in CVV and CVCV structures. This is to be expected, as it is assumed that V₂ was elided from a word with an original CV₁NV₂ structure:

(45)	Canonical form	Example	Gloss
	C a m	<i>lám</i>	‘sun’
	C o m	<i>lom</i>	‘suck’
	C <u>o</u> m	<i>qom</i>	‘close a hole’
	C <u>a</u> m	<i>cam</i>	‘cut meat’

3.2.5 ||Gana Subgroup

Hiroshi Nakagawa

This phonological account is based on data from three ||Gana (i.e. Molapo, Thomelo and Xade) and three |Gui varieties (i.e. Khute, Thomelo and Xade dialects). The labels

“Molapo”, “Thomelo” and “Xade” approximately indicate the representative areas in which each dialect is or was spoken, but “Khute” is a label locally given to |Gui residents in the mid-western part of Kweneng District. I refer to these varieties generically as ||Gana–|Gui dialects and specifically as ||Gana (ML), ||Gana (TH), ||Gana (XD), |Gui (KH), |Gui (TH), and |Gui (XD).

Important documentations on ||Gana subgroup phonology include Vossen (1997a: 108–13) surveying the core phonological structure of the ||Gana subgroup, Nakagawa (1996a, 1996b) for the synchronic description

of !Gui phonology, Traill and Vossen (1997) and Traill (1986a) dealing with click replacement, and Nakagawa (1998) discussing palatalisation in !Gana–!Gui dialects.

3.2.5.1 Root Structure

The vast majority (over 90 per cent) of the roots of !Gana–!Gui dialects have the segmental structure CVV, CVCV or CVN. In describing the occurrence of segments, I refer to their positions in terms of C₁ (root-initial C), C₂ (root-medial C), V₁ (the first V), V₂ (the second V) and N (the final nasal consonant).

3.2.5.2 Vowels

Below I outline the vowel system of !Gui (XD), the only variety for which I have investigated the vowel inventory systematically. Because of limited space, I just list the phonemes and summarise their important phonetic realisations. There are five plain (/i e a o u/), three nasal (/ĩ ã ũ/), and two pharyngealised (/ǣ ǔ/) vowels. The rounded vowel /u/ is regularly realised as [wə] or [u^ə] before N. This articulation involves a transitional lip-gesture from rounded to unrounded. Note that this diphthong-like vowel is monomoraic. The two nasal close vowels, /i u/, are phonetically more open than the plain close vowels /i u/, and were transcribed phonetically as [ẽ õ] in Nakagawa (1996b). The pharyngealised vowels, unrounded /ǣ/ and rounded /ǔ/, have the following two constraints: (i) they occur only in V₁; (ii) they do not occur if preceded by a uvular and/or ejective consonant. (Note that they do occur after the glottal plosive and the click with glottal plosive accompaniment.) It should be pointed out that /ǔ/ is

optionally realised as [w̥] or [u̥] which involves a certain transient lip-rounding articulation from rounded to unrounded like /u/ followed by N.

3.2.5.3 Consonants

3.2.5.3.1 Clicks

The click system of !Gana–!Gui dialects is characterised by two aspects: (i) it has the most complex set of click accompaniments in the Khoe family; (ii) the alveolar click has undergone so-called click replacement, whereby the extension in the lexicon varies from one dialect to another. As shown in Table 4.15, the four influxes and thirteen click accompaniments are found in !Gana–!Gui. Their combinations make 52 contrastive syllable onsets in C₁. Here I will not discuss the controversial issue of whether these syllable onsets are single segments or not, and will simply call these syllable onsets click consonants. The 52 click consonants are exemplified in Table 4.16.

Table 4.15 Click Consonants in !Gana–!Gui Dialects

Accompaniment	Dental	Alveolar	Lateral	Palatal
(1) Nasal	ŋ̥	ŋ̥	ŋ̥	ŋ̥
(2) Voiced velar plosive	g̥	g̥	g̥	g̥
(3) Voiceless unaspirated velar plosive	k̥	k̥	k̥	k̥
(4) Voiceless aspirated velar plosive	k̥ ^h	k̥ ^h	k̥ ^h	k̥ ^h
(5) Unaffricated velar ejective	k̥'	k̥'	k̥'	k̥'
(6) Voiced uvular plosive	g̥	g̥	g̥	g̥
(7) Voiceless unaspirated uvular plosive	q̥	q̥	q̥	q̥
(8) Voiceless aspirated uvular plosive	q̥ ^h	q̥ ^h	q̥ ^h	q̥ ^h
(9) Unaffricated uvular ejective	q̥'	q̥'	q̥'	q̥'
(10) Affricated uvular ejective	k̥x̥'	k̥!x̥'	k̥!x̥'	k̥!x̥'
(11) Voiceless uvular fricative	k̥!x̥	k̥!x̥	k̥!x̥	k̥!x̥
(12) Glottal fricative	ŋ̥!h̥	ŋ̥!h̥	ŋ̥!h̥	ŋ̥!h̥
(13) Glottal plosive	ŋ̥!	ŋ̥!	ŋ̥!	ŋ̥!

Table 4.16 Words Illustrating The Click Consonants Of
 IIGana–IGui

	Influx			
	Dental	Alveolar	Lateral	Palatal
(1)	ŋlāā <i>stomach</i>	ŋ!āā <i>to choose</i>	ŋlāē <i>to sing</i>	ŋtāā <i>to stare</i>
(2)	glāā <i>to shelter</i>	g!āā <i>to hurt</i>	glāā <i>to hibernate</i>	gtāā <i>to move smoothly</i>
(3)	klāā <i>to skin</i>	k!āā <i>to miss</i>	klāā <i>to visit to inform</i>	ktāā <i>to patch</i>
(4)	k ^h āā <i>to put into grass</i>	k! ^h āā <i>piece</i>	k! ^h āā <i>to cultivate</i>	k ^h tāā <i>pan</i>
(5)	glāā <i>to open</i>	glāī <i>to be wrinkled</i>	glāā <i>to twinkle</i>	gtāā <i>spleen</i>
(6)	qlāā <i>fossil river, Okwa</i>	q!āē <i>to hunt</i>	qlāā <i>to be dry</i>	qtāā <i>transparent</i>
(7)	q ^h āā <i>to peep</i>	q! ^h āā <i>to cough out</i>	q! ^h āā <i>to spread</i>	q ^h tāā <i>lying</i>
(8)	kl'āó <i>to bend down</i>	k! ^h āā <i>thigh</i>	kl'āā <i>flower</i>	kt'āā <i>to faint</i>
(9)	q! ^h āā <i>to carry</i>	q! ^h āó <i>a kind of grass</i>	q! ^h āū <i>big animal spoor</i>	q! ^h tāē <i>to spit</i>
(10)	k!xāā <i>meat</i>	k!xāā <i>diarrhoea</i>	k!xāā <i>to be daytime</i>	k!xāā <i>to move s.th.</i>
(11)	k!x'āē <i>to fall</i>	k!x'āó <i>neck</i>	k!x'āā <i>to wash</i>	k!x'āī <i>accessory</i>
(12)	ŋ!hāā <i>to find inside</i>	ŋ!hāā <i>to lack horns</i>	ŋ!hāā <i>to cut anus off</i>	ŋ!hāā <i>to go before</i>
(13)	ŋ! ^h āó <i>blood</i>	ŋ! ^h āēē <i>to be frightened</i>	ŋ! ^h āā <i>bat-eared fox</i>	ŋ! ^h tāā <i>to hide</i>

The transcription used for click consonants requires two comments. First, I basically follow a systematic approach suggested by Ladefoged and Traill (1994) and implicitly adopted by the *Handbook of the International Phonetic Association* (HIPA 1999: 20f.): the first symbol before the influx, namely ŋ, ŋ , g, k, G or q, stands for the posterior closure involving each click consonant. Second, I use the symbol x for the uvular articulation in (10) and (11),

following the convention of Vossen's (1997a: 108f.) transcription for the !Gana subgroup languages.

3.2.5.3.1.1 Influx

The four-way distinction of influxes found in the !Gana subgroup is not uncommon among Khoesan languages, but it is noteworthy that two “abrupt” (Traill and Vossen 1997: 23) influxes, ! and #, tend to have an interesting phonetic detail of “weakening” in !Gana–!Gui dialects: speakers of !Gana–!Gui dialects frequently pronounce these two influxes with weak intensity. See Traill and Vossen (1997: 44–51) for a full discussion about this “weakening” which reveals the phonetic basis of a historical sound change called “click replacement”.

3.2.5.3.1.2 Click Accompaniments

An important feature of click accompaniments in !Gana–!Gui dialects is a set of eight velar and uvular click accompaniments, i.e. accompaniments (2)–(9) in [Table 4.15](#). The identical eight-way distinction also exists in non-click velar and uvular stops, as will be shown in [Table 4.17](#). This full set of velar and uvular consonants is attested in Khoesan languages only in !Gana–!Gui dialects and in !Xóǀ (Traill and Nakagawa 2000: 11). As reported by Nakagawa (1996a), clicks with glottal plosive accompaniment (13) involve nasality, which is expressed in transcription by η before each influx symbol. The nasality involved in this accompaniment is clearly reflected in its allophonic accompaniment found only in !Gui (KH), namely the preglottalised nasal accompaniment. In !Gui (KH), clicks with glottal plosive accompaniment are realised as those

with preglottalised nasal accompaniment, *ʔŋ!*, *ʔŋ!*, *ʔŋ#* and *ʔŋ//*, if followed by a pharyngealised vowel. For example, all dialects have *ŋ!ʔám* ‘heading direction’; *ʔŋ!ám* ‘twig’ occurs in lGui (KH) while *ʔ!ʔám* ‘twig’ occurs in other dialects. Preglottalised nasal accompaniment is cross-linguistically rare, and has so far been attested only in !Xóö (Traill 1985: 134f.) and #Hoan (Collins 2001: 474).

Table 4.17 Click Replacement in lGana–lGui Dialects (Simplified Version)

	lGui (all lGana dialects)	(all lGana ML)
(1) Nasal	ŋ!	ŋ
(2) Voiced velar plosive	g!	g
(3) Voiceless unaspirated velar plosive	k!	k
(4) Voiceless aspirated velar plosive	k! ^h	k ^h
(5) Unaffricated velar ejective	k!ʔ	kʔ
(6) Voiced uvular plosive	G!	G
(7) Voiceless unaspirated uvular plosive	q!	q

(8) Voiceless aspirated uvular plosive	q! ^h	q ^h
(9) Unaffricated uvular ejective	q!'	q'
(10) Affricated uvular ejective	k!x'	kx'
(11) Voiceless uvular fricative	k!x	x
(12) Glottal fricative	ŋ! ^h	x
(13) Glottal plosive	ŋ!'	ʔ

3.2.5.3.1.3 Click Replacement

The click replacement that ʘGana–ʘGui dialects have undergone is illustrated in a simplified form in [Table 4.17](#), which compares ʘGui, which has not undergone click replacement, with ʘGana (ML), which is most advanced in click replacement. As shown in this table, in this sound change click consonants with the alveolar influx change into non-click consonants which are identical to their click accompaniments. A gap in (12) indicates that the replacement for ŋ!^h is not attested.

A closer comparison of relevant words among ʘGana–ʘGui dialects reveals that the click replacement involves variation in lexical extension according to dialects. [Table 4.18](#) illustrates an aspect of the variation. Words with the alveolar click in ʘGui and their cognates in ʘGana fall into one of the four classes. Class 1 has preserved the alveolar click in all ʘGana–ʘGui dialects. Class 2 has undergone click replacement only in ʘGana

(ML), class 3 in !Gana (XD) and !Gana (ML), and class 4 in all !Gana dialects.

Table 4.18 Lexical Extension of Click Replacement in !Gana

	!Gui (all)	!Gana (TH)	!Gana (XD)	!Gana (ML)	Gloss
Class 1	g!uba	g!uba	g!uba	g!uba	'welt'
Class 2	g!obe	g!obe	g!obe	gobe	'roar remotely'
Class 3	g!uma	g!uma	guma	guma	'forearm'
Class 4	g!aa	gaa	gaa	gaa	'awl'

Note: Words in bold have undergone replacement in the relevant dialects. Tones and omitted.

Another aspect of the variation involved in the click replacement is illustrated in Table 4.19. As exemplified in (1), *k!x* in !Gui corresponds to *kx* in !Gana (TH), and to *x* in !Gana (XD & ML). This correspondence indicates that *kx* is an intermediate stage of the sound change from *k!x* to *x*. In other words, the effect of click replacement is further advanced in !Gana (XD & ML) than in !Gana (TH).

Table 4.19 !Gana–!Gui Variation in Effect of Click Replacement

	!Gui (all)	!Gana (TH)	!Gana (XD & ML)	Gloss
(1)	k!xaa	kxaa	xaa	'diarrhoea'
(2)	g!ai	gei	gii	'red-crested korhaan'
(3)	k!ae	kæe	kee	'tie'

Examples (2) and (3) in Table 4.19 indicate that the assimilation of V_1 to V_2 is more advanced in !Gana (XD & ML) than in !Gana (TH). This assimilation, which was once blocked by the alveolar click, can be regarded as an effect of click replacement. In this case, as well,

the effect of click replacement is more advanced in ||Gana (XD & ML) than in ||Gana (TH).

3.2.5.3.2 Egressive (Non-Click) Consonants

The system of non-click consonants of ||Gana–|Gui dialects is characterised by the largest inventory in the Khoe family. The non-click consonants occurring in C₁ are classified in [Table 4.20](#) and exemplified in [Table 4.21](#). The large inventory is due to the complexity of the stop system, which has four different states of the glottis (i.e. voiced, voiceless, aspirated and ejective) and five oral places of articulation (i.e. labial, alveolar, palatal, velar and uvular), with only one gap of the bilabial ejective. Notice that the four-way distinction extends to the alveolar affricate class /dz ts ts^h tsʼ/ as well.

Table 4.20 Non-Click Consonants Occurring in C₁ in ||Gana–|Gui Dialects

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Nasal	m	n*		ŋ*		
Voiced plosive	b	d	ĩ	g	ǧ	
Voiceless plosive	p	t	c	k	q	ʔ
Voiceless aspirated plosive	p ^h	t ^{h**}	c ^h	k ^h	q ^h	
Unaffricated ejective		tʼ	cʼ	kʼ	qʼ	
Voiceless fricative		s			x	h
Voiced affricate		dz				
Voiceless unaspirated affricate		ts				
Voiceless aspirated affricate		ts ^h				
Affricated ejective		tsʼ		kxʼ		
Stop+uvular fricative		tx**	cx**	kx*		
Stop+affricated uvular ejective		tkxʼ**		ckxʼ**		
Affricate+uvular fricative		tsx				
Affricate+affricated uvular ejective		tskxʼ				

Notes:

* /n/ and /ŋ/ do not occur in |Gui dialects; /kx/ occurs only in ||Gana (TH).

** /t^h/, /tx/ and /tkx'/ do not occur in IGui (KH & TH), where these three sounds are realised as lc^hl, /cx/ and /ckx'/.

Table 4.21 Words Illustrating Non-Click Consonants in C₁ in IIGana-IIGui Dialects

bāā <i>father, daddy</i>	dāī <i>crowned plover (Vanellus coronatus)</i>	dzāā <i>frighten</i>	jiā <i>owner</i>	gāā <i>duck</i>	gābā <i>eat on the palm</i>	
pāā <i>bite</i>	tāā <i>Rhigozum brevispinosum Kuntze</i>	tsāā <i>disappear</i>	cēñ <i>stand</i>	kaō <i>promise</i>	qāā <i>Acanthosicyos nauti-niana (Sond.) Jeffrey</i>	² āā <i>wear</i>
p ^h ābā <i>immature seed of melon</i>	t ^h āri <i>dull (of edges)</i>	ts ^h āā <i>water</i>	c ^h ām <i>soft, easy</i>	k ^h āō <i>back of thigh</i>	q ^h āā <i>error</i>	
	t'āā <i>carve</i>	ts'āā <i>squeeze to extract moisture</i>	c'ibē <i>cut clearly with a small knife</i>	k'āē <i>belch</i>	q'ām <i>hot sand of a fire</i>	
		sāā <i>miss a shot</i>		kx'āā <i>drink</i>	xāé <i>have sex</i>	hāā <i>exist</i>
māā <i>give</i>	nūū <i>wharf [IGana]</i>	tsxāā <i>lace up</i>	cxām <i>lace up [IGui (KH & TH)]</i>	ñūū <i>hut [IGana]</i>		
	tkx'ām <i>termite sp.</i>	tskx'āē <i>blue or green</i>	ckx'ām <i>termite sp. [IGui (KH & TH)]</i>	kxāā <i>diarrhoea [IGui (TH)]</i>		

The affricated velar ejective /kx'/ requires comments. First, this sound involves a lateral release in all IIGana–IIGui dialects and would be transcribed as [k_lx']. Second, the symbol x used in this sound indicates the velar (not uvular) articulation: static pala-tograms show that this sound involves the velar closure rather than uvular. Third, kx' in the consonants /tkx'ckx'tskx'/ involves the

uvular articulation. The symbol *x* used in /*x tx cx tsx kx*/ stands for the uvular fricative, as indicated in [Table 4.20](#). The uncommon sound /*kx*/ is attested only in ||Gana (TH). As mentioned before, this sound reflects an intermediate stage of the click replacement process from *k!x* to *x*. In this dialect this intermediate stage is phonologised, and is contrastive with the original non-click consonant /*x*/. Phonetically, /*kx*/ is not an affricate in a conventional sense, but a hetero-organic consonant cluster [kχ], i.e. the voiceless velar stop followed by the voiceless uvular fricative.

||Gana–|Gui dialects have undergone a historical palatalisation which has changed *d, t, t^h* and *t'* into *ʃ, c, c^h* and *c'*, respectively. According to the extent to which this sound shift has spread in the lexicon of each dialect, ||Gana–|Gui dialects are classified into three groups, i.e. ||Gana (all), |Gui (XD) and |Gui (TH & KH). [Table 4.22](#) illustrates the dialect grouping. Words with *d, t, t^h, t', ʃ, c, c^h* or *c'* in ||Gana–|Gui dialects fall into one of three classes (1–3). Class 1 has been affected by the palatalisation in all ||Gana–|Gui dialects, class 2 has been affected in three |Gui dialects, and class 3 has been affected in |Gui (TH & KH). In other words, the ||Gana dialects are more conservative in preserving *d, t, t^h* and *t'* than the |Gui dialects, among which XD is more conservative than the other two dialects.

Table 4.22 Palatalisation in ||Gana–|Gui Dialects

	Naro	Gana	Gui (XD)	Gui (TH & KH)	Gloss
Class 1	túú	cúú	cúú	cúú	'rain'
Class 2	táá	táá	ciá	ciá	'different'
Class 3	tàù	tàù	tàù	càù	'tired'

Note: For comparison Naro cognates are cited from Visser (2001) in his notation. Words which have undergone the palatalisation are in bold.

3.2.5.3.3 !Gana–!Gui Dialect Variation in Terms of Three Parameters

As described above, the six !Gana–!Gui dialects show a range of phonological variation that can be summarised in terms of three consonantal parameters, i.e. degrees of (i) click replacement, (ii) palatalisation, and (iii) preglottalised accompaniment, as illustrated in [Table 4.23](#). Degrees of the three parameters are expressed with values 0–3 for each dialect. This table indicates that the six dialects constitute a continuum in the order of !Gui (KH)–!Gui (TH)–!Gui (XD)–!Gana (TH)–!Gana (XD)–!Gana (ML). It should be pointed out that the succession of dialects does not agree with the geographical distribution of these dialects (two THs are discontinuous, and so are the two XDs). Why they do not agree is a question which should be explored from a historical perspective in future research.

Table 4.23 !Gana–!Gui Dialect Continuum in Terms of Three Parameters

	!Gui (KH)	!Gui (TH)	!Gui (XD)	!Gana (TH)	!Gana (XD)	!Gana (ML)
Click replacement	0	0	0	1	2	3
Palatalisation	3	3	2	1	1	1
Preglottalised accompaniment	1	0	0	0	0	0

Note: Degrees of the three parameters are indicated with values 0–3 for each dialect. Palatalisation lacks value 0

because all !Gana–!Gui dialects have undergone more or less palatalisation.

3.2.5.3.4 Consonants Occurring in C₂ and N

Like other South African Khoesan languages, !Gana subgroup languages show a strong constraint on consonants in C₂. !Gui allows only /*b r m n j w*/ in C₂. The two glides, /*j*/ and /*w*/, in C₂ are very rare in the lexicon. In N /*m*/ and /*n*/ occur.

3.2.6

Shua Subgroup

Rainer Vossen

3.2.6.1 Vowels

All languages have five oral (/i e a o u/) and three nasal vowels (/ĩ ã ũ/). There are also sequences of oral and nasal vowels. Diphthongisation of V₁ in CVCV roots has been observed in all varieties as follows: Ts'ixa and Danisi <oa>, Deti <oe oa ua>, Cara <ai oa ui ua> and !Xaise <ai oa>.

3.2.6.2 Consonants

3.2.6.2.1 Egressive Consonants

In spite of differences in the inventory sizes, which range from 27 (Ts'ixa) to 37 (Danisi), a majority of egressive consonants occur in all Shua languages. These are specified in [Table 4.24](#). There are four manners of articulation (plosive, fricative, nasal, resonant) in the subgroup as a whole, and seven places of articulation (bilabial, alveolar, post-alveolar, palatal, velar, uvular, gottal) which are shared only by Danisi, Cara and !Xaise;

Ts'ixa and Deti lack palatal and uvular consonants, respectively.

Table 4.24 Egressive Consonants Common to All Shua Languages

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Velar	Glottal
PLOSIVE					
Voiceless	p	t	ts	k	'
Aspirated		th	tsh	kh	
Voiced	b	d	dz	g	
Ejective		t'	ts'	kx' k'	
FRICATIVE					
Voiceless		s		x	h
NASAL					
Plain	m	n*	ɲ	ŋ	
Prenasalised				ŋg	
RESONANT					
Glide			y		

Notes: * phonemic status in Ts'ixa uncertain; *italics* = Ts'ixa and Danisi only.

The below table shows that Shua languages share at least 24 egressive consonant phonemes. The two velar ejectives are mutually exclusive: the occurrence of /kx'/ in

Ts'ixa and Danisi is contact-induced (< Kxoe; see Vossen 1991), while /k'/ is a regular East Kalahari Khoe reflex of Proto-Khoe */kx'/ (cf. Vossen 1997a: 305f.).

In addition to these overall shared phonemes, all inventories contain some exclusive or only partly shared segments. Thus /tx/ and /tsx/, for instance, are exclusive segments in Cara while /dy/ and /nj/ are confined to lXaise. Moreover, some phonemes were found to occur in only one lexical form, e.g. /dy ɲ ŋ nj/ in lXaise.

In principle, the phonotactic constraints are the same as in other Central Khoesan languages.

Borrowed segments also form part of Shua consonant inventories. Their occurrence is often positionally conditioned. Hence, in Ts'ixa /f ntx/ only appear word-initially and /nt ηg ηk/ word-medially, whereas /mb nd/ may show up as both, C₁ and C₂. Deti exhibits /mb ηk/ in medial but not in initial position. An interesting case is /ηg/ because it occurs initially as a genuine phoneme derived from Proto-Khoe, and as a borrowed segment in medial position. The same holds true of Ts'ixa. In Danisi, /l ηk/ are restricted to C₂ position but /mb/ appears both word-initially and medially. In Cara and lXaise, /l mb ηk/ are medial consonants; beyond this, Cara also has /nd w/ word-initially and /ηg/ word-medially.

3.2.6.2.2 Clicks

Generally speaking, East Kalahari Khoe languages have suffered enormously from processes of click loss and click replacement. At first sight, however, Ts'ixa appears to be an exception to this rule in two respects: it has the largest number of click phonemes (27 as against 14 in Deti, for instance), and it makes use of both alveolar and palatal clicks which have otherwise disappeared almost completely from the sub-family. Vossen (1991) has argued that Ts'ixa, just like its closest relatives, once lost the two basic click types but later on reintroduced them as a result of intense contact with Kxoe varieties. In other words, the employment of alveolar and palatal clicks in Ts'ixa is contact-induced. Interestingly enough, Ts'ixa speakers tend to use these re-established click sounds (except /#h/) side by side with their egressive substitutes, as exemplified in (46):

(46)# varies freely with k^y and t^y

$\#g$ varies freely with d^y

$n\#g$ varies freely with d^y and nt^y

$\#x$ varies freely with t^yx

$\#'$ varies freely with t^y'

Obviously, some of these egressive substitutes overlap with one another. Thus, $[d^y]$ may equally replace $\#g/$ and $/n\#g/$; and for $\#/$ and $/n\#g/$ even twofold replacement has been noted.

The click inventory of Ts'ixa is shown in the following table.

Table 4.25 Ts'ixa Click Phoneme Inventory

CLICK TYPE	Dental	Palatal	Alveolar	Lateral
ACCOMPANIMENT				
Voiceless		ʃ	ʈ	ɬ
Voiced	lg	ʧg	(!g)	lg
Voiced nasal	nln			nln
Prenasalised voiced	nlg	nʧg		nlg
Voiceless velar fricative	lx	ʃx	ʈx	ɬx
Aspirated	lh	ʃh	ʈh	ɬh
Glottal	l'	ʃ'	ʈ'	ɬ'
Prenasalised vd. velar fricative	nlgx			nlgx

Shua languages other than Ts'ixa have between two and four basic click types combined with seven to eleven accompaniments (see [Table 4.26](#)). However, only dental and lateral clicks are used in a systematic way; i.e., alveolar and palatal clicks only occur sporadically (never in Deti though) with just a few words.

Table 4.26 Shua Click Phoneme Inventories (Without Ts'ixa)

	CLICK TYPE	Dental	Palatal	Alveolar	Lateral
ACCOMPANIMENT					
Voiceless		l		l ^{1,2}	l
Voiced		lg		lg ²	lg
Voiced nasal		nln		n ¹ n ¹	nln
Prenasalised voiced		nlg			nlg
Voiceless uvular		lq ^{1,2}	†q ²		lq ²
Voiceless velar fricative		lx		lx ²	lx
Voiced velar fricative					lgx ²
Ejective velar		lx ⁻²			lx ⁻²
Prenasalised vd. velar fricative		nlgx ²			nlgx ²
Aspirated		lh		lh ^{1,3}	lh
Glottal		l'	† ¹	l' ³	l'

Notes: 1 Cara; 2 Danisi; 3 lXaise.

Like in all South African Khoesan languages, clicks occur exclusively in initial position on lexical roots and grammatical morphemes as well.

3.2.6.2.3 Phonological Alternations

Morphophonological change and free variation have been observed in all varieties and especially for egressive consonants; for a more detailed description, see Vossen (1997a: 114–24). The most common alternations are the following:

As for egressive consonants an allophonic relationship has been noted for the voiced alveolar stop /d/ that occurs word-initially (C₁) only, and is replaced by an alveolar trill [r] or flap [ɾ] in intervocalic position (C₂, C₃, etc.) in all varieties. Under the same circumstances Shua speakers tend to replace the voiced bilabial stop /b/ by its fricative counterpart [β]. Moreover, palatalisation processes have affected a good number of (mainly) stops.

Concerning ingressive consonants, mention must be made of the still ongoing processes of click loss and click replacement which are particularly advanced in Deti.

3.2.7 Tshwa Subgroup

Rainer Vossen

3.2.7.1 Vowels

Tshwa languages have five oral (/i e a o u/) and three nasal vowels (/ĩ ã ũ/). The latter occur in V₁ position only. There are also sequences of oral and nasal vowels. Diph-thongisation of V₁ in CVCV roots has been observed in both Kua (<ai oa ua>) and Tsua (<ai oa>).

3.2.7.2

Consonants

The two varieties under consideration have 34/36 (Tsua/Kua) egressive and 23/26 click consonants. In addition, their inventories contain three borrowed non-click consonants each.

3.2.7.2.1 Egressive Consonants

There are seven places and four major manners of articulation, as shown in [Table 4.27](#) below:

Table 4.27 Egressive Consonants in Tshwa Varieties

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
PLOSIVE							
Voiceless	p	t	ts	c ky	k	q	ʔ
Aspirated		th	tsh	ch	kh		
Voiced	b	d	dz dy	j	g		
Implosive				ʔy			
VI. uvular-fricative		tx	tsx	cx			
Ejective		tʔ	tsʔ	cʔ	kʔ		
FRICATIVE							
Voiceless		s			x		h
NASAL							
Plain	m	n		ɲ	ŋ		
Prenasalised					ɲŋ		
RESONANT							
Glide	w		y				

Note: *italics* = Kua only.

To some extent the occurrence of egressive consonants is positionally constrained. In both varieties /n/ is confined to C₂ position; /w/ was found to occur exclusively as C₁ in Tsua and as C₂ in Kua. All other phonemes are largely confined to C₁ position. In intervocalic position /d/ is relatively often retained as such, while in Tsua it is replaced as a rule by [r] or [ɾ].

The palatal plosives are largely a result of click loss and click replacement. /c/ and /ky/ appear in the same vocalic environment, and although their phonemic nature has been proven synchronically they seem to go back in some lexical examples to the same proto-phoneme, viz. */ɕ/. /ky/ is fully palatalised as a rule: [ki] ~ [kʲi]. /dy/ was found to occur before front vowels only.

Borrowed segments are /l nd ŋk/ in Kua and /l mb nd/ in Tsua; they are restricted to medial position.

3.2.7.2.2 Clicks

Both varieties dispose of well-established series for the dental and lateral basic types. In contrast to this, alveolar

and palatal clicks strongly testify to relic character, as is the case throughout East Kalahari Khoe languages. The existence of a total of nine such clicks must not obscure the fact that most of them are used in just a small number of lexical items. Tshwa click inventories are summarised in [Table 4.28](#).

Table 4.28 Tshwa Click Phoneme Inventories

CLICK TYPE	Dental	Palatal	Alveolar	Lateral
ACCOMPANIMENT				
Voiceless		ʃ	!	l
Voiced	lg	ʃg ¹		lg
Voiced nasal	nl̥n			nl̥n
Prenasalised voiced	nl̥g ¹		nl̥g ¹	nl̥g
Voiceless uvular	lq ²			
Voiceless velar fricative	lx	ʃx ²	!x	lx
Voiced velar fricative	lgx			lgx
Prenasalised vd. velar fricative	nl̥gx ¹			nl̥gx ¹
Aspirated	lh	ʃh	!h	lh
Glottal	l'		!'	l'

Notes: 1 Kua only; 2 Tsua only.

Like in all South African Khoesan languages, clicks occur exclusively in initial position on lexical roots and grammatical morphemes as well.

3.2.7.2.3

Phonological Alternations

These seem to be very few and limited to Kua: /dz/ has a free variant [z] and /j/ is realised as [dy] or [dʒ] before back-rounded vowels.

3.3 Southern Khoesan (Tuu)

Tom Güldemann

3.3.1 Taa (East !Xoon Dialect)

3.3.1.1 Introductory Remark

Anthony Traill's phonetic and phonological research on the East !Xoon variety of Taa (called by him just !Xóǝ) and other languages occupies a special place in Khoesan linguistics. It not only resulted in the heretofore most extensive description of a Khoesan sound system (Traill 1985) but is also an indispensable reference for the study of other languages and comparative Khoesan. That the study of a Taa dialect has gained such an importance for Khoesan as a whole is not entirely surprising, though, because it appears to be the language with the greatest complexity of phonological distinctions on earth. The following section attempts to give an overview, rather than a complete outline of this sound system; the reader is referred to Traill's relevant publications for further reading.

3.3.1.2 Vowels

East !Xoon has a typologically unremarkable system of five distinctive vowel qualities. Nevertheless, tone aside, the total of lexically distinctive vocalic contrasts in stems is 44. This apparent discrepancy is caused by the existence of several vowel colourings or phonation types: vowels can be nasalized, breathy, pharyngealized, glottalized, and show combinations thereof. While nasalization is associated with the second or both vowels of a sequence, the locus of the other three features is only the first mora. All attested segments are given in [Table 4.29](#).

Table 4.29 The Inventory of Vowel Colourings in East !Xoon Stems (After Traill 1985: 68)

a o u e i	Breathiness	Pharyngealization	Glottalization	Nasalization
Nasalization	āh ōh ūh ēh	ā ǝ ū + breathy āh	ā' ō' ū' ē' + breathy āh' ōh'	ā ǝ ū ē
Glottalization	ah' oh' uh'	a' u'	a' o' u' e' i'	
Pharyngealization	ǎh ǝh ǔh	ǎ ǝ ǔ		
Breathiness	ah oh uh eh ih			

3.3.1.3

Consonants

The following presentation of consonants is based on two assumptions, namely that (a) click and non-click segments can be integrated in one consonant system and (b) a variety of complex segments are clusters of two basic ones, more specifically, of a simple stop (= onset) and an egressive obstruent articulated further back (= offset). The whole argument for this analysis cannot be laid out here and the reader is referred to the more extensive discussion by Güldemann (2001) and Nakagawa (2006). Nakagawa's research and the ongoing documentation of Taa indicate that adjustments will be necessary concerning the structure of the system and the phonological characterization of individual segments. The most important points for the systemic structure of [Table 4.30](#) are the phonological association of ejective egressives and clicks with glottalization as well as of nasal egressives and nasal clicks. Moreover, since affricates pattern phonologically with places of articulation, they are integrated on the horizontal feature axis.

Table 4.30 The Inventory of Initial Consonants in East !Xoon Stems

(43 egressives + 83 ingressesives)	EG ¹	EG	EG	IG	IG	IG	IG	IG	EG	EG	EG
	Lb	Al	Al-Af	Lt	Dt	Al	Pl	Lb	Vl	Uv	Gl
Non-nasal sonorants (1)		l									
Fricatives (4)	<i>f</i>	s							x		<i>h</i>
Simple stops (11+10)											
Plain	p	t	ts	l	l	ʔ	ʃ	ʔ	k	q	ʔ
Voiced	b	d	dz	lg	lg	ʔg	ʃg	ʔg	g	G	
Complex stops (14+15)											
Plain + Gl		tʔ	tsʔ	lʔ	lʔ	ʔʔ	ʃʔ	ʔʔ	k(x)ʔ	qʔ	
Voiced + Gl									gkxʔ		
Plain + As	ph	th	tsh	lh	lh	ʔh	ʃh	ʔh	kh	qh	
Voiced + As		dth	dsh	glqh	gʔh	gʔh	gʔh	gʔh	gh	Ggh	
Stop clusters (9+43)											
Plain + /x/		tx	tshx	lx	lx	ʔx	ʃx	ʔx	Ox		
Voiced + /x/		dtx	dtshx	glx	gʔx	gʔx	gʔx	gʔx	gOx		
Plain + /kxʔ/	<i>pʔkxʔ</i>	<i>tʔkxʔ</i>	<i>tsʔkxʔ</i>	<i>lkxʔ</i>	<i>lkxʔ</i>	<i>ʔkxʔ</i>	<i>ʃkxʔ</i>	<i>ʔkxʔ</i>	<i>Okxʔ</i>		
Voiced + /kxʔ/		<i>dtʔkxʔ</i>	<i>dtsʔkxʔ</i>	<i>glkxʔ</i>	<i>gʔkxʔ</i>	<i>gʔkxʔ</i>	<i>gʔkxʔ</i>	<i>gʔkxʔ</i>	<i>gOkxʔ</i>		
Plain + /khʔ~/qʔhʔ/				lqʔ	lqʔ	ʔqʔ	ʃqʔ	ʔqʔ	Oqʔ		
Voiced + /khʔ~/qʔhʔ/				<i>Gʔqʔ</i>	<i>Gʔqʔ</i>						
Plain + /qʔ/				lq	lq	ʔq	ʃq	ʔq	Oq		
Voiced + /qʔ/				lG	lG	ʔG	ʃG	ʔG	OG		
Plain + /qʔ/				lqʔ	lqʔ	ʔqʔ	ʃqʔ	ʔqʔ	Oqʔ		
Simple nasals (2+10)											
Plain	m	n		ln	ln	ʔn	ʃn	ʔn	On		
Voiceless				lɸ	lɸ	ʔɸ	ʃɸ	ʔɸ	Oɸ		
Complex nasals (2+5)											
Plain + Gl	ʔm	ʔn		ʔln	ʔln	ʔʔn	ʔʃn	ʔʔn	ʔOn		

Note: 1 Af = affricate, Al = alveolar, As = aspiration, Dt = dental, EG = egressive, Gl = glottal(ization), IG = ingressive, Lb = labial, Lt = lateral, Pl = palatal, Vl = velar, Uv = uvular, *italic* = only in Traill (1994).

The extraordinary number of 126 lexically distinctive consonant segments is not caused by particularly many places of articulation. The major means for an extensive series formation, particularly with stops as the most important consonant class, are the wide employment of so-called “voice lead” (Traill 1985: 145–49) and the elaboration of basic segments by posterior co-articulations. Stop consonants can be classified according to the existence and the complexity of such an elaboration gesture into (a) those without a posterior elaboration called here “simple”, (b) those with

aspiration and glottalization called “complex”, and (c) those with a posterior obstruent called “cluster”.

Under the present analysis, plain voiceless clicks and plain nasal clicks do not have an accompaniment or efflux in the conventional sense, but are basic segments without any elaborating co-articulation. The distinction of simple vs. complex segment is also found with nasals, because the plain nasal not only has a counterpart on the voice dimension but also with glottalization. The variety of clusters is generally a function of the inventory of velar and uvular egressives, which provide the possible cluster offsets. In East !Xoon, these are the velar fricative /x/, the plain uvular plosive /q/, an aspirated posterior plosive /kh/~qh/, the velar ejective /kxʔ/, and the uvular ejective /qʔ/. The cluster analysis brings the inventory size of basic East !Xoon phonemes down to 74. The complex~cluster distinction also takes care of the two types of aspirated clicks: while the so-called “delayed” aspiration represents a complex aspirated segment, “normal” aspiration is analyzed as a cluster simple click+aspirated stop (its voiced counterpart had not yet been identified by Traill 1985).

3.3.1.4 Phonotactics

This multiplicity of sounds is distributed unevenly over meaning-bearing units. The general phonotactic pattern of lexical stems is a bimoraic structure C(C)₁-V₁-C₂-V₂. Minor patterns are C(C)-V₁-V₂, which result from the loss of C₂, and C(C)-V-N in which V₂ is replaced by the nasals m, n, and (dialectally) ŋ.

The use of parentheses in the initial C-slot indicates that it can be constituted by a cluster or a non-cluster consonant. In general, this initial position shows by far the most distinctions, in that virtually all segments of [Table 4.30](#) can occur there, and it also favours the strongest consonants like clicks, clusters, plosives, etc.

As discussed by Traill (1985: 164f.), the second consonant position displays only a small fraction of phonemes, which are given in [Table 4.31](#), and these are comparatively weak segments. The two palatals $d^{\text{ʰ}}$ and n , not occurring in [Table 4.30](#), only occur in this slot. The first and third rows of [Table 4.31](#) give, respectively, emphatic and weakened allophones of the normal segments in C₂.

Table 4.31 The Inventory of Stem-Internal Consonants in East !Xoon

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal
Emphatic	p:	t:	tʰ:
Normal	b	l	dʰ:
Weakened	β		j
Nasal	m	n	ɲ

Vowels in the first slot are subject to various restrictions. The most important one is the “back vowel constraint” (Traill 1985: 89–92), which states that vowels must have the feature [+back] when following a back consonant. It is still disputed which segments fall under this characterization: while Traill views all clicks as [+back], Miller-Ockhuizen (1999a) excludes the dental and palatal series. Traill (1985: 92–95) also mentions constraints on the co-occurrence of initial consonants and vowel colourings: glottalized consonants are

incompatible with pharyngealized, breathy and glottalized vowels; segments with aspiration and the velar fricative are not found before pharyngealized vowels; and all aspirates and fricatives do not co-occur with breathy vowels.

If the second consonant slot is not occupied by a segment, two vowels appear adjacent to each other. While unlike vowels in sequence have been, and mostly still are, analyzed in Khoesan languages as phonemic vowel diphthongs, Traill (1985: 97) breaks with this approach in his treatment of East !Xoon. Especially prosodic considerations lead him to the conclusion that there are no phonemic glides and diphthongs, but only sequences of two full vowels. The possibilities for both VV and VCV stems are as follows: *aa, ae, ai, au, ao; oa, oe, oi, ou, oo; ua, ue, ui, uu; ee; ii.*

3.3.2 Other Tuu Languages⁴

3.3.2.1 Introductory Remarks

A first general statement to be made about the sound systems of other moderately recorded Tuu languages like !Xegwi, !Xam, N!ng (including N!huki and #Khomani), !Haasi, and !'Auni is that they are considerably less complex compared to East !Xoon. There are several possible explanations for this. For one thing, given that Taa has by far the most complex phoneme system of Khoesan in general, the difference between it and other Tuu languages may reflect a situation that characterized the family from very early on. This is unlikely to be the only answer, though.

The specific sociolinguistic histories of the different speech communities in their respective linguistic areas also accounts partially for the difference between Taa and the rest of Tuu, from both a diachronic and synchronic perspective. The geographic location and attested history of some languages show that their speakers have been in long and intimate language contact with other Khoesan and/or non-Khoesan languages and it is reasonable to assume that the resulting bilingualism has influenced the dynamics of sound changes occurring in them. This can account for the loss or appearance of certain sounds and explain the existence of features that seem to characterize a particular geographic sub-region rather than the entire Tuu family.

In some cases, there is also the possibility that bilingualism and the continually shrinking size of the speech community at the time of recording may have had a negative impact on the proficiency of remaining speakers. In fact, some informants no longer used their language in daily communication and were apparently in a situation of language shift like, for example, the only person providing data on !Haasi.

Finally, there is evidence for another, quite important factor: the relatively small size of the phoneme inventories is to a considerable extent an artifact of the historical and practical circumstances prevailing at the time of early Khoesan research. The other Tuu languages have not been documented and analyzed with a degree of sophistication comparable to the one applied to !Xoon, because the knowledge in phonetics and phonology was

still very limited when they were recorded; nobody could expect such an enormous multiplicity of speech sounds. Consequently, the suspiciously high number of homonyms in !Xam in Bleek (1956) – the only large lexicon published on a Tuu language other than Taa – could partly be due to the non-recognition or misinterpretation of certain phonologically relevant features. Another factor that must have caused deficiencies in the analysis is the extremely short duration of the research on all languages but !Xam. A look at the !Xoon dictionary shows that some distinctive segments are rare in its lexicon; in a short-term study, such phonemes would easily be missed. This might have happened to comparable cases in the languages at issue. This explains *inter alia* some of the apparent gaps in certain consonant series found in all languages except !Xam. Based on his analysis of the still available audio recordings, Traill (1997: 7f., 1999: 13–16) indeed reports omissions or misinterpretations of certain sounds in the existing descriptions of #Khomani (Doke 1936) and !Haasi (Story 1999). The current research with the last speakers of N!ng also shows that the phoneme inventory is larger.

It will be clear from the above remarks that the analyses below can only be an approximation to the real sound design of these languages. Moreover, they cannot always be stated on exclusively language-internal grounds but must be based to a large extent on typological considerations with a particular bias toward the data of Taa.

3.3.2.2 Vowels and Suprasegmental Features

Early transcriptions may display a high number of symbols and diacritics for vocalic segments. It is fairly certain that these do not all reflect phonologically distinctive vowel features. Apart from cross-Khoesan evidence we have clear hints to this effect from comparing different transcriptions of varieties of the same dialect cluster or even one and the same variety. Thus, Bleek (2000) has about ten vowel symbols for her ʘʘ variety, while Doke (1936: 64) gives only six phonemes and Westphal (field notes) even a conventional five-vowel system for closely related #Khomani and Nlhuki, respectively; all these data represent closely related varieties of the Nʘng dialect cluster. Traill (1999: 15) argues in a similar fashion for the reduction of !Haasi's vowel system as presented by Story (1999).

Another question concerns the status of vowel sequences in stems. As mentioned above, the respective Taa facts do not render themselves to establishing phonemic glides and diphthongs according to Traill, but favour instead an interpretation in terms of sequences of two vowels. Nevertheless, with the exception of Lanham and Hallows (1956: 100f.) regarding ʘʘXegwi, all previous treatments list several diphthongs and even triphthongs. It is unclear whether the entire range of arguments from prosody, stem phonotactics, and morphology in Traill's analysis of Taa are also relevant for other Tuu languages. At least the general relevance of the C(C)V(C)V-design of lexical stems would suggest that it could also be applied to these Tuu languages and the available data do not seem to contradict this. Comparative data and inconsistent transcriptions also show that segments with

a notation CwV are at least historically sequences of a back vowel and a non-back vowel. The transcription of triphthongs and similar orthographic strings also seems to be related to this. Thus, the initial vocalic segment in all #Khomani triphthongs described by Doke (1936: 67) and in many !Xam stems with three vowels involves a gesture of lip rounding. Also, Lanham and Hallows (1956: 101–105) describe in !Xegwi a full series of labialized consonants followed by one or two vowels; comparative data suggest for many of these items an earlier initial back-rounded vowel (cf. such #Khomani-!Xegwi pairs as *sōe* vs. *swīi* ‘fat’, *#nui* vs. *dhwīi* ‘ear’, or *#oe* vs. *ʃwee* ‘wind’). The apparent consonantalization of this first vowel seems to have led to the lengthening of the second vocalic segment, which would have restored the expected V-V sequence. In general, despite the diverging descriptions the rest of Tuu possibly also had originally, like Taa, only sequences of two vowels.

Finally, it is clear from descriptions, and also from later audio recordings, that various vowel colourings were also distinctive in other attested Tuu languages, parallel to Taa. Although early scholars could not yet be aware of the existence and complexity of all possible suprasegmental vowel features, they were already partially recording them in the nineteenth century. What Bleek and Lloyd (1911: viii) call in !Xam “the nasal pronunciation of a syllable”, “a rough deep pronunciation of a syllable”, and “an arrest of breath” can be identified with nasalization, pharyngealization, and glottalization, respectively. The same scholars also observed that “the tone is occasionally the only

distinguishing feature in words spelt otherwise alike, but having a different meaning.” Similar findings, although partially involving different analytical and technical tools, terminology and orthographic representations, were explicitly or implicitly made in all later descriptions of Tuu languages.

Since it is not possible to give a concise treatment of each language separately, the following set of features is a general summary of what can be assumed for vowels in the attested Tuu languages other than Taa: (a) five distinctive vowel qualities; (b) two-vowel sequences in stems (less probable, a set of diphthongs); (c) vowel colourings like nasalization, glottalization, and pharyngealization; and (d) the existence of at least lexically distinctive tone.

3.3.2.3 Consonants

Most information on consonant phonemes will be given in the individual language charts which are organized like [Table 4.30](#) in the section on Taa. Except for !Xam, the symbols of the original sources are retained as far as the segments are listed there. The following discussion in the subsections can only focus on some remarkable features and problems in the analysis.

One generalization can be made for all languages. As an important difference to Taa, in fact the major reason why they have considerably smaller inventories, they usually possess only one series of voiced consonants. This is not too surprising, because the extensive use of the feature [+voice] in Taa is so far found elsewhere in Khoesan only in Jul’hoan.

3.3.2.4 |Haasi

The description by Story (1999), Traill's (1999) introduction to this publication, and Traill (1997) provide the only available information on this language from the Lower Nossob area, which is one of the least studied regions where Tuu varieties were spoken. These data allow one to establish the tentative consonant chart in [Table 4.32](#).

Table 4.32 The Consonant System of |Haasi

(25 egressives + 30 ingressesives) ¹	EG	EG	EG	EG	IG	IG	IG	IG	IG	EG	EG	EG
	Lb	Al	Al-Af	Pl	Lt	Dt	Al	Pl	Lb	Vl	Uv	Gl
Non-nasal sonorants (1)		r-l										
Fricatives (3)		s								x		h
Simple stops (11+10)												
Plain	p	t	ts	tj-kj	l	l	!	†	Op	k	g	'
Voiced		d	dʒ	gʲ	lg	lg	!g	†g	Ob	g		
Complex stops (5+7)			ts'		l'	l'				kx'		
Plain + Gl					(n)lh	lh	!h	(n)!h	Oph	kh		
Plain + As		th	ts'h									
Stop clusters (1+9)			tsx		lx	lx	!x		Opx			
Plain + /x/					/kx'/	/kx'/	/kx'/					
Plain + /kx'/					? /q/	? /q/						
Plain + /q/												
Nasals (4+4)	m	n		nj	ln	ln	ln	!n		ŋ		

Note: 1 *Italic* segments only in Traill (1999: 13f.), ? segments uncertain.

The considerable gaps in some stop series suggest that the data do not represent the complete sound inventory of the language. Apparent systematic differences to Taa are (a) the existence of an additional palatal place of articulation and (b) the lack of nasals other than the plain type, and of click clusters with the offsets /kh/~qh/ and /qʔ/.

3.3.2.5 |Xam

Most research on !Xam was carried out in the nineteenth century. Important sources are Bleek and Lloyd (1911, field notes), Bleek (1928–30), and Meriggi (1928/29), all treating particularly the !Xam varieties of Strandberg and Katkop, and Müller (1888), which is based on !Xam data collected by Th. Hahn. The high level of phonetic detail which these early scholars transcribed in a language confronting the linguist with a number of then unknown speech sounds can only be admired. Owing to W.H.I. Bleek's untimely death, however, the !Xam data were never subject to a systematic analysis on the part of the two researchers most familiar with the language. Thus, the material necessarily has certain inevitable limitations for a phonological description according to modern standards: the transcriptions do not distinguish between phonological features and systematically irrelevant phonetic details, they display considerable fluctuation in the orthographic representation of a given linguistic item, and the orthography is strongly influenced by the conventions for writing Nama, which perpetuate some misconceptions about certain click accompaniments.

Winter (1981b: 350f.) and Traill (1995a) demonstrate that it is possible to clarify to a certain extent the phonological value of early orthographic symbols in !Xam (and other Khoesan languages) by means of a wider comparison that takes older transcriptions and related synchronic data into account. For example, clicks written as *!k* and *!* are in the majority of cases *!/!* and *!'/*, respectively; also, *!k* and *!kh* should sometimes be read rather as *!/x/*.

In comparison with other Tuu languages, !Xam has a low number of places of articulation. More remarkable is the lack of aspirated egressive segments, which is typologically unusual, as discussed briefly for #Khomani by Traill (1997: 7). However, there is a natural explanation for it in that it is related to a general phenomenon in this geographic area. This gap is also found in Nama and neighbouring Khoekhoe varieties and can be explained there by a regular sound change, namely the lenition of aspirated plosives toward affricates (Beach 1938: 218–21). In fact, this not only applies to aspirates but also to ejectives. For !Xam, too, there is good evidence that aspirated and ejective plosives are phonologically present at least in the form of affricates. Apart from Bleek’s (1928–30: 83) remark that the fricatives *s* and *x* occur after homorganic plosives, hence *ts* and *kx*, the range of orthographic symbols for alveolar and velar egressives with a fricative gesture suggest at least a three-way distinction: presumably between a fricative, a simple affricate, and an ejected affricate.

For the relevant alveolars, one finds the symbols *(t)t'*, *ts'*, *ts*, *ss'*, *(s)sh*, *(s)s*, which are partly interchangeable across different tokens of a given lexeme. Dickens (1996) shows with L. Lloyd’s transcriptions of a Ju variety that her symbols *sh* and *s* may sometimes represent affricates like *tsh*, *ts*. Comparative evidence is also relevant; compare, for example, Bleek’s !Xam transcription *ss'aa* ‘come’ vs. Hahn’s *ts'aa* in Müller (1888) and the pair of cognates for ‘thing’, !Xam *tsaa* vs. East !Xoon *thaa*. All this suggests the existence

of the following three alveolar phonemes with friction: either /s/, /th/~/[ts^h], and /tʰ/~/[tsʰ] or /s/, /ts/, and /tsʰ/.

The orthographic series representing velar egressives with friction is χ , χ^* , and y . Their description in Bleek and Lloyd (1911: 438) and Meriggi (1928/29: 123) as well as comparative and typological considerations justify the assumption that there were at least three phonemes, /x/, /kh/~/[kx^h], and /kʰ/~/[kxʰ], and possibly also /kx/, even though their distinctness was not always transcribed consistently. Such a series of velars has repercussions in click clusters. Since one is confronted with phonetic friction in at least three potential cluster types, /!x/, /!kh/~/[!kx], and /!kʰ/~/[!kxʰ], it is clear that transcriptions in this domain are particularly problematic. Finally, Müller (1888: 3) mentions the sounds *tx* and *tsx*, which qualify as instances of non-homorganic clusters with the velar fricative offset *x*.

The whole consonant system is given in [Table 4.33](#). The fact that it is compact and quite similar to the Taa one in terms of basic principles of series formation bears witness to the depth of analysis that Bleek and Lloyd had reached in their research.

Table 4.33 The Consonant System of !Xam (Preliminary)

(21 egressives + 37 ingressive)	EG	EG	IG	IG	IG	IG	IG	EG	EG
	Lb	Al	Lt	Dt	Al	Pl	Lb	Vl	Gl
Non-nasal sonorants (3)	w	r-l	y						
Fricatives (3)		s						x	h
Simple stops (7+10)									
Plain	(p)	t	l	l	l	l	o	k	'
Voiced	b	d	gl	gl	gl	gʃ	gO	g	
Complex stops (4+10)									
Plain + Gl		t'~ts'	l'	l'	l'	l'	o'	kx'	
Plain + As		ts ^h	lh	lh	lh	lh	Oh	kx	
Stop clusters (1+12)									
Plain + /x/		tx~tsx	lx	lx	lx	lx			
Plain + /k'~/-[kx']			lx'	lx'	lx'	lx'			
Plain + /kx'~/-[kx]			lkx	lkx	lkx	lkx			
Nasals (3+5)	m	n	nl	nl	nl	nʃ	nO	ng	

For the record, there is a final feature relevant for the sound inventory of !Xam: certain characters of its oral literature are identified by their typical way of pronunciation (Bleek 1875: 6; 1936). These speech forms are partly characterized by both egressive and ingressive sounds that are alien to the conventional phoneme system.

3.3.2.6 !Xegwi

Lanham and Hallows (1956) is the major source for !Xegwi. This was cross-checked with the consonant charts given by Westphal (1971: 415) and Traill (1997: 4).

There are several striking differences from the languages discussed previously. Most importantly, the ratio of ingressive vs. the phoneme total of 0.31 is one of the lowest in Southern Africa as a whole; Tuu languages have normally the highest figures in this group. Related to this is the complete absence of the palatal click series, which has

already been discussed by Traill and Vossen (1997: 41f.) in connection with the replacement and/or loss of clicks

in languages that are in an environment of sociolinguistic domination by non-Khoesan click languages. It is noteworthy in this respect that one possible target of change of palatal clicks are velar lateral egressives; lateral consonants indeed exist in ǁXegwi as well as in the Bantu languages with which it has been in intimate contact, while they are unprecedented in Tuu.

There are other features of sound design which might be due to Bantu influence. ǁXegwi is so far the only attested Tuu language with voiced fricatives and affricates. Furthermore, egressive stops with friction are far more numerous and have an apparently different phonological status: while the feature [+affricate] behaves in ǁXegwi like a canonical manner of articulation on the vertical feature axis, in other languages it is better integrated as a generalized allophonic property of some plosives.

[Table 4.34](#) gives a possible analysis of the data on ǁXegwi consonants.

Table 4.34 The Consonant System of ǁxegwi

(48 egressives + 22 ingresses) ¹	EG	EG	EG	EG	IG	IG	IG	IG	EG	EG	EG
	Lb	Al	Pl	Lt	Lt	Dt	Al	Lb	Vl	Uv	Gl
Non-nasal sonorants (4)	w	r-l	y	l							
Fricatives (10)											
Plain		s	ʃ	hl					x		h
Voiced	β	z	j	dl							fi
Simple stops (15+7)											
Plain		t		kl	l	l	!	Ø	k	q	'
Voiced	b	d	ʃ		lg	lg	!g		g	G	
Affricate		ts	tʃ						ʒx		
Voiced affricate		dz	dʒ								
Complex stops (14+4)											
Plain + As	ph	th	ch	klh	lqh	lqh			kh	qh	
Plain + Gl		t'	c'	kl'	l'	l'			k'	q'	
Affricate + Gl		ts'	tʃ'						kx'		
Stop clusters (1+7)											
Plain + /x/		tx			lkx	lkx	!kx	Okx			
Plain + /kh/					lkh	lkh	!kh				
Nasals (4+4)	m	ŋ	ɲ		lŋ	lŋ	!ŋ	Øŋ	ŋ		

Note: 1 *Italic* segments only in Traill (1997: 4).

Finally, Lanham and Hallowes (1956) mention for !Xegwi the frequent labialization of obstruents. Its systematic status remains unclear and it is therefore not shown in Table 4.34; it should be mentioned, though, that many lexical items listed with this feature appear to have cognates with an initial back-rounded vowel in other Tuu languages (see above).

3.3.2.7 Notes on !Xam Transcriptions

Bleek and Lloyd's complex transcriptions of !Xam are not fully reproduced in this and later relevant sections (Güldemann, this volume). The transliteration employed instead tries (a) to represent individual linguistic items consistently, (b) to match better the phonological relations between individual segments, (c) to be more comparable with

widely established uses in writing Khoesan languages, and (d) to make less use of diacritics. [Table 4.35](#) presents the major changes of this transliteration.

Table 4.35 Transliteration of Some Transcriptions in The Bleek-Lloyd Corpus

Bleek and Lloyd	Phonological analysis	Transliteration
Egressive consonants (<i>k</i> stands for any egressive type, if not indicated otherwise)		
<i>kk</i>	not distinct from plain consonant	<i>k</i>
<i>y</i>	ejected velar (affricate)	<i>kx'</i>
<i>ṅ</i> *	velar nasal	<i>ng</i>
Ingressive consonants (<i>l</i> stands for any ingressive click type, if not indicated otherwise)		
<i>!k (Op)</i>	simple voiceless click	<i>!</i>
<i>!g (Ob)</i>	simple voiced click	<i>g!</i>
<i>!n (Om)</i>	simple nasal click	<i>n!</i>
<i>!</i>	simple voiceless click + glottal stop	<i>!p</i>

!y simple voiceless click +
ejected velar stop *!x'*
(affricate)

!k' unclear *!k'*

Vowel features (*a* or *u* stands for any vowel quality)

ā sequence of two identical *aa* (but see
vowels next)

āū sequence of two
non-identical vowels *au*
without lengthening

ãã nasalization (only marked
on the first vowel in *aãa*
sequence)

aä glottalization *a'a*

ǀa pharyngealization *ǀa*

While this transliteration generally maintains the relative oppositions between the different orthographic symbols of the Bleek–Lloyd corpus, one group of orthographic signs has largely been omitted, namely various diacritics marking vowel qualities other than the five basic ones, different degrees of vowel length, and such seemingly suprasegmental features as “raised tone”, “musical intonation”, etc. (Meriggi 1928/29: 120ff.). This is justified by the fact that this kind of marking is the most

inconsistent in the corpus, so that its omission is unlikely to obscure any important and clearly identifiable distinction in the present limited analysis of !Xam. Note that the transliterated orthography cannot do away with the problems concerning the actual phonological shape of individual lexemes and thus should be evaluated for the purpose of comparative work with the same care as the original transcription by Bleek and Lloyd.

3.4 Eastern #Hoan

Henry Honken[†]

3.4.1 Vowels

As is common in Khoesan, Eastern #Hoan (EH) has five vowels: *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*. In addition to modal voicing, these may occur in three other colourings: laryngeal, pharyngeal and breathy. Since little instrumental work has been done on this language, the description given here is likely to be incomplete. For example, it is not clear from the citations in the various sources whether breathy voicing is distinctive. However, laryngealized and pharyngealized vowels certainly contrast with vowels showing modal voicing.

All of these vowels may also occur nasalized though there appear to be restrictions on the vowel sequences. In particular, EH seems to share with the other Khoesan languages

a distinctive type of root structure in which clicks occur only in initial position and internal consonants are largely limited to a set of four: *b*, *r*, *m*, *n*. In this canonic structure, the optimum stem form is CVCV as in /*kobo* ‘jump’. In disyllables, the vowel immediately following

the initial consonant is normally *a* or *o*. If the final vowel is high, *o* is raised to *u*, as in *!kui* ‘rot’. The vowel *a* may also be raised and fronted to *e* or *i* in this position, if the initial consonant is dental or palatal or the final vowel high, a quirk possibly borrowed from !Gui. Examples are *gyeo* ‘road’ and *ts’iu* ‘tooth’ (cf. Northern Khoesan *ts’ao* ‘tooth’).

3.4.2 Consonants

The consonantal system of EH, as in all Khoesan languages, is divided into two subgroups: egressive (non-click) and click consonants. The greater part of items in the lexicon begin with clicks. One’s first impression is that the EH phonological inventory forms a subset of the !Xóǀ inventory, differing from it primarily in the absence of prevoicing (see Traill 1980). Like !Xóǀ, EH has a labial click series, a uvular stop as well as clicks with uvular accompaniment and a distinction between nasal clicks and preglottalized nasal clicks. Aside from the lack of prevoicing, the other differences seem to be areal – palatalization of the dentals, for example.

Among the more interesting properties of the EH phonological system is the presence of two series of affricates (most Khoesan languages have only one) and a tonal system with four level tones and one rising tone, features that link EH to Northern Khoesan.

3.4.2.1 Egressive Consonants

With regard to places of articulation, plosives are found in six positions: labial, palato-alveolar, palatal, velar, uvular, and glottal. Fricatives have four places of

articulation: palato-alveolar, velar, palatal, and glottal. The non-click subsystem is shown below:

Table 4.36 Egressive Consonants in #Hoan

	Labial	Palato-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
PLOSIVE						
Voiceless	p		ky	k	q	ʔ
Voiced	b		gy	g		
Aspirated			kyh	kh	qh	
Ejective			kyʔ	(kʔ)	qʔ	
Prenasalized					nq	
Affricate + vcl.		ts tc				
Affricate + voiced		dz dj				
Affricate + aspirated		tsh tch				
Affricate + ejective		tsʔ tcʔ		kkʔ		
Affricate + fricative		tsx tcx	kyx			
Affricate + ejective fricative		tcxʔ				
FRICATIVE						
		s	c	x		h
LIQUID						
		r l				
NASAL						
	m		ɲ			
GLIDE						
	w		y			

Like the majority of Khoesan languages, EH is weak in labials. Most occurrences of initial *p* appear to be loanwords and no examples have been recorded of aspirated or glottalized *pʔ*. Both *b* and *m* are common as internal consonants but rare as initials.

It is not clear from the data given how to interpret the palatal series. Traill writes these obstruents as palatal stops. This discussion follows Gruber in writing the palatal series as *ky*, *gy*, etc. although it is clearly historically derived from the dental series. In fact, Traill (1980) notes that the Tshila dialect has dentals in these words. The shift of *t*, *d* to palatals appears to be an areal feature, also found in !Gui and Southern languages like #Khomani and l'Auni.

Unlike the surrounding languages, EH has two affricates, *ts* and *tc*. This is relatively rare in Khoesan, recorded

otherwise only in some Northern Khoesan languages and !Xegwi.

There is a contrast, also found in !Xóǀ, between velar and uvular stops. The voiced uvular stop appears to be prenasalized as in !Xóǀ.

There is a single lateral, realized as [r] before a high vowel and [l] elsewhere. Initially, there are two nasals: labial and palatal, but in final position only *-m* is found. There are four fricatives: palato-alveolar *s*, palatal *c*, velar *x* and glottal *h*. Since no instrumental data are available, the exact point of articulation for these sounds is not clear. From the data given, *c* appears to be much more common than *s*.

Laryngeal obstruents are limited to *h* and the glottal stop. The initial aspirate is frequently absorbed into the vowel. Finally, there are two glides, *w* and *y*.

3.4.2.2 Clicks

EH has five clicks: labial, dental, palatal, alveolar and lateral, found with thirteen accompaniments as in [Table 4.37](#) below (taken from Bell and Collins 2001: 127).

Table 4.37 Click Consonants in #Hoan

Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Lateral
Ok	lk	lk	tk	lk
Og	lg	!g	!g	lg
nOg	n!g	n!g	n!g	n!g
'On	'ln	'!n	'!n	'!n
nOn	nln	n!n	n!n	nln
Ox	lx	!x	!x	lx
Ox'	lx'	!x'	!x'	lx'
Oq	lq	!q	!q	lq
Oqh	!qh	!qh	!qh	!qh
Oq'	!q'	!q'	!q'	!q'
nOq	n!q	n!q	n!q	n!q
Oh	lh	!h	!h	lh
O'	l'	!'	!'	l'

The data in [Table 4.37](#) are based on material collected by Gruber and show the general outline of EH click phonology. The EH system has one of the more complex systems found in the Khoesan area, showing features reminiscent of both !Xóǝ and !Gui. The click system of EH resembles that of !Xóǝ in possessing a labial click, a uvular series and a contrast between preglottalized and prenasalized clicks but it lacks voicing lead. However, in recent work by Bell and Collins (2001) this picture has changed to some extent. The main points of difference are summarized here. In general, their analysis follows that of Gruber except for the nasal and aspirated series.

Bell and Collins present evidence to show that EH has a three-way contrast in the aspirated clicks: velar aspirated, uvular aspirated and delayed aspiration. A similar set of contrasts is found in !Gui (Nakagawa 1996b). Clicks with delayed aspiration are similar to those found in Jul'hoan and Nama. Vowels preceding the click are slightly nasalized, presumably due to the nasal venting that characterizes this type of accompaniment, and the aspiration builds slowly rather than starting immediately after the click.

There also appears to be a contrast between aspirated clicks with velar release and aspirated clicks with uvular release as in *klha* ‘to stuff in’ and *qlha* ‘women’. In the latter type, there is an audible uvular release just after the click burst and the aspiration begins immediately after the uvular closure is released.

Bell and Collins suggest that the accompaniment described by Gruber as a prenasalized velar release is actually a variant of the voiced uvular release, which is normally prenasalized as in !Xóǝ. For example, they record Gruber’s *nlgai* ‘maiden’ and *nlgoi* ‘mock’ as *NIGai* and *NIGoi*. If this analysis is correct, then EH patterns with other San languages in lacking the contrast between plain nasal and prenasalized voiced velar releases so characteristic of Central Khoesan.

3.5 Kwadi⁵

Tom Güldemann

Westphal’s tentative hypotheses on Kwadi vowels have been a four-or six-vowel set with oral and nasal variants. His notes suggest that there are vowel height assimilations across morpheme boundaries and a possible distinction between stem-initial vowels with and without a glottal onset (the transcription fluctuates between *a*, *ha*, and *wa*).

The most remarkable fact about Kwadi regarding consonants is the rarity of clicks both in terms of the number of distinctive segments and their frequency across the lexicon. Although Westphal considers four influxes in his drafted consonant charts, only dental clicks constitute a fairly secure series in his recorded

material; the palatal click is only found in a few lexical items, the lateral click has just one token as a variant transcription, and the alveolar click is missing altogether.

The exact articulation places of egressives, especially in the post-alveolar region, must remain unclear. In his two preliminary consonant charts, Westphal alternates between one and two palatal series; some of his earlier palatals are represented in Westphal (1971) as laterals; and finally some palatals even fluctuate in their transcription with velars. The solution in Table 4.38 is a palatal and a lateral series.

Table 4.38 The (Tentative) Consonant System of Kwadi

	Labial		Dental	Alveolar		Lateral		Palatal		Velar		Glottal
	EG	IG		EG	EG	IG	EG	IG	EG	IG	EG	EG
Nasals	m	ɱ		n			ny (ɲ)		ŋ			ʔ
Voiceless stops	p			t	tl	l	c		ɕ		k	
Voiced stops	b-β			d			ɟ		g			
Aspirated stops	p(f) ^h			t(s) ^h	tl ^h		c ^h		k(x) ^h			
Ejectives					tl'				ɕ'		k(x)'	
Plain + /x/			lx									
Fricatives	f			s	ɬ		ʃ		x		h	
Approximants	w			l-r			y					

While a number of assimilatory processes seem to occur in morphologically complex word forms, generalizations cannot be made due to the rare and often irregular attestations.

NOTES

1 These vowels involve contact between the epiglottis and the pharyngeal wall, as was shown by Traill (1985: 78ff.).

2 I have used the orthographic symbols for these sounds, although they are really voiceless aspirated nasals (see Ladefoged and Traill 1994). Dickens calls the labial voiceless nasal an aspirated syllabic consonant.

3 Which comes from *CVNV. The N as sonorant can still function as a syllable (and tone-bearer).

4 The unpublished field notes of the Bleek family and E.O.J. Westphal are hosted by the “Manuscripts and Archives Department (University of Cape Town)”.

5 All data stem from Westphal’s unpublished notes, hosted by the “Manuscripts and Archives Department (University of Cape Town)”. He took them down on the occasion of analyzing Kwadi audio recordings by a Portuguese anthropologist in 1956 and 1959 and his field trip to southwestern Angola in 1964/65. Since he did not refurbish his material systematically, the considerable transcriptional variation cannot be evaluated conclusively and all analyses must remain very tentative.

References

Beach 1938; Bell and Collins 2001; D.F. Bleek 1928–30, 1936, 1956, 2000; W.H.I. Bleek 1875; Bleek and Lloyd 1911; Collins 2001; Dickens 1994, 1996; Doke 1936; Elderkin 1988; Gruber 1973, 1975; Güldemann 2001; Haacke 1988, 1989, 1999; Haacke *et al.* 1997; Hagman 1977; Halle 1995; Heikkinen n.d.; Heine and König 2012; HIPA 1999; Ito and Mester 1986; Kilian-Hatz 2008; Köhler 1981; König and Heine 2008; Ladefoged and Traill 1994; Lanham and Hallows 1956; McCarthy 1991, 1994; Meinhof 1930; Meriggi 1928/29; Miller 2007, 2010, 2011; Miller *et al.* 2011; Miller-Ockhuizen

1999a, 1999b, 2000, 2003; Miller-Ockhuizen and Sands 1999, 2000; Müller 1888; Nakagawa 1996a, 1996b, 1998, 2006; Nama/Damara Language Committee 1977; Sands 2010; Sands and Miller-Ockhuizen 1999, 2000; Sands *et al.* 1996; Snyman 1970, 1975a, 1975b, 1997; Story 1999; Traill 1980, 1985, 1986a, 1994, 1995a, 1997, 1999; Traill and Nakagawa 2000; Traill and Vossen 1997; Tucker *et al.* 1977; Visser 2001; Vossen 1986b, 1991, 1997a; Westphal 1971; Widlok 1997; Winter 1981b.

Chapter Five

Tonology

1 Hadza

Bonny Sands

Hadza contrasts high and low tone on syllables (cf. Sands *et al.* 1996). There seem to be no phonotactic constraints on the possible combinations of high and low tone in nominal roots of 1–3 syllables, as shown in [Table 5.1](#). With longer forms, it is difficult to tell whether or not one is dealing with a single root, but apparent 4-syllable roots have a wide range of patterns, e.g. LHLH [pàtáku]́é-] ‘palm, sole (m)’, HHLL [l’úkúmàjè-] ‘elbow (f)’; HLLH [ʔáwàniká-] ‘mouth (m)’, etc. Verb roots ([Tables 5.2–5.3](#)) usually have one surface high tone. There is no strong evidence for lexical tones in Hadza apart from low and high. Mid tone surfaces in certain environments (Tucker *et al.* 1977), but it does not appear to be contrastive at the word level. Falling tones seem only to occur in phrase-final position (especially with final devoiced or deleted ’V sequences) and on surface vowels that have underlyingly VV sequences.

Table 5.1 Hadza Surface Tone Patterns on Noun Roots of 1–3 Syllables in Low Tone FRAME ‘Is a ___’: root + copula à + 3SC gender marker (Ø m, -k^hò F)

H	<i>ŋ'é-</i>	'leopard' (M)	L	<i>l'é-</i>	'liver' (F)
HH	<i>t'á'á-</i>	'dust' (F)	LL	<i>!imá</i>	'club' (F)
HL	<i>t'á'pó-</i>	'dove' (F)	LH	<i>ʔákinwá</i>	'eye' (F)
LLL	<i>fifimó-</i>	'tiger snake' (M)			
HHH	<i>nák'ómá-</i>	'buffalo' (F)			
LLH	<i>gimbúli-</i>	'water monitor lizard' (M)			
HHL	<i>mángóló-</i>	'white-necked raven' (F)			
HLH	<i>ʔáthámá-</i>	'blood' (M)			
LHL	<i>bák'áhi-</i>	'elephant' (F)			
HLL	<i>lá'amó-</i>	'dog' (M)			
LHH	<i>niimbili</i>	'vervet monkey' (M)			

Table 5.2 Hadza Surface Tone Patterns on Monosyllabic Verb Roots in Several Verb Frames

H	[tʰí-ámé]	'they (M) ran'	L	[ʰü-ámé]	'they (M) stood still'
H	[tʰí-ámò]	'they (M) ran'	H	[ʰü-ámò]	'he stood still'
H	[tʰí-ʔi]	'You (SG) run!'	H	[ʰü-ʔi]	'You (SG) stand still!'
H	[tʰí-si]	'You (M.PL) run!'	L	[ʰü-si]	'You (M.PL) stand still!'

Table 5.3 Hadza – Main Surface Tone Patterns on Verb Roots (In Two First Person Future Verb Frames)

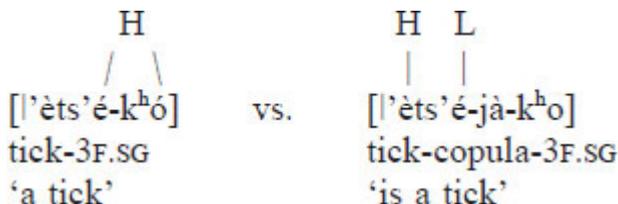
Type 1:

H/H	[ʔinà tʰí, tʰí-:tà]	'I will run'
HL/LH	[ʔinà ʔásè, ʔásé-:tà]	'I will sleep'
	[ʔinà hùkwá-:tà]	húkwá, 'I will fly/jump'
LHL/LLH	[ʔinà -ʔòmòʔò:tà]	ʔòmóʔò, 'I will give birth'

Type 2:

H/L	[ʔinà ɪ ^h ú-, ɪ ^h ù-hétà]	‘I will stand still’
LH/LL	[ʔinà kwè!é-hétà]	kwè!é, ‘I will return quickly’
	[ʔinà ʔùmù-hétà]	ʔùmú, ‘I will drown’
	[ʔinà lika, likà-hétà]	‘I will hiccup’
LHL/LHL	[ʔinà ʔàkákà-hétà]	ʔàkákà, ‘I will slip’

The analysis of Hadza tone must be able to account for the number of different realizations of surface tone in different frames. It is difficult to proceed with analyses of Hadza tonology when few words have been recorded in more than a few frames, and given that there are few tonal minimal pairs in the language. However, it is clear that high tone must be lexically specified for lexical and grammatical morphemes. As in the example below, if we consider L to be underlyingly specified as well, we can explain why H is sometimes blocked from spreading and sometimes is able to spread rightward.



It may be that the metrical structure interacts with tone at the phrase level in a way not seen at the word level. Tucker *et al.* (1977) point to the presence of mid tone in nouns in one frame, preceding the verb [bàhè-à] ‘there is (3M.SG)’. Nouns realized with a variety of tones (e.g. LLH, HLH, HHH) when preceding the copula and agreement marker are noted as having a flat mid tone in this environment, e.g., [nāk’ōmā bàhèà] ‘there is a (M) buffalo’ vs. [nāk’òmá-à-k^hò] ‘is a (F) buffalo’. Other roots, however, are unaffected by the change in frame and retain their original tones, e.g., [sésémé bàhèà] ‘there is a (M) lion’ vs. [sésémé-ja] ‘is a (M) lion’, and [k^hálimò bàhèà] ‘there is an animal’ vs. [k^hálimò-wà] ‘is an animal’. Clearly, much work remains to be done on Hadza tonology.

2 Sandawe

Edward D. Elderkin

2.1 Basic Tones

Sandawe has two tonal values, high and low. Each mora has one of these values. Thus the mora not only relates to duration in time, but is also the tone-bearing unit. E.g.:

(1)	HH	<i>tsí</i>	‘I’
	HL	<i>tú</i>	‘to come out’
	LL	<i>k^hwà</i>	‘to return’
	HHH	<i>k’é:</i>	‘to cry’
	HHL	<i>l’á:ⁿà</i>	‘above’
		<i>k’ésj</i>	‘I’ll cry’

With closure:

(2)	HH L	<i>tów</i>	‘to finish’
	LL H	<i>l’èw</i>	‘buffalo’
	HL L	<i>kêwtò</i>	‘wild pig’
	LL L	<i>kùtùnté</i>	‘to kneel’

A rising pitch (LH) is not allowed on the final two moras of the vowel in a syllable. HL as the final two moras of a long vowel are not found followed by a closure. We can now refer to a morphological category, the word, but continue a discussion of phenomena related to pitch.

2.2 Tone within a Word

The realisation of tone depends on its position within a word. A short vowel has two moras, a long vowel has three moras. Sequences of formatives can give a longer vowel of four moras. A syllable closure has one mora.

2.2.1 Low Tones

A low mora immediately following a high mora is raised nearly to the pitch level of that high. A following low mora is also raised, but not so much.

(3)	
	<i>dzigidàsà</i>
	dzigidà sà
	heart 3F.SG
	‘she heart’

2.2.2 Downstep

Usually, a syllable-final h and a following syllable-initial h have identical realisations. Downdrift occurs when highs are separated by one or more low moras.

(4)



ʔisòli

‘arrow type’

On occasions, downstep has to be analysed.

(5)



ʔi'pó

‘you don’t come’

Downstep occurs before a low tone.

(6)



ʔi'ʔwà:

‘give (multiple)’

Downstep is always transparently the result of the loss of a low toned syllable.

We can now discuss relations of pitch obtaining between words in an utterance.

2.3 Words in Sequence

2.3.1 Keys

A word has a pitch range within which its high and low moras are realised. This range is dependent on the relative pitch of the first high mora. The high and low moras of a following word will be realised within a pitch range; its first high mora will be realised either higher than, identical to or lower than the first high mora of the preceding word. I refer to these relative pitch ranges as “keys”, and number them from the highest to the lowest. The key of a word is shown in the transcription by a superscript number initial to the word. The following example illustrates this.

(7)



¹ʔèʔé: ²tʰábísò: ³wàré ¹kúmǵá:

ʔèʔé:	tʰábísò	ǐ	wàré	kúm	ǵé	à:
that time	stomach	SPEC	friend	hurt	DEC	3M.SG

‘that stomach problem, it’s really hurting, friend’

Words with all lows fit uneasily into the system of keys, but can be accommodated. It does not make sense descriptively to attempt to merge downstep, which happens within a word, and this system of keys.

2.3.2 Utterances

An utterance may be realised with pitch ranges higher than expected, transposed upwards by about one key. Such an utterance is then interpreted as a question. It sometimes happens that there is a raising of the pitch of a key on a constituent and this supplements other, syntactic, methods of giving informational prominence. Especially towards the end of utterances, after the last

marked constituent, the allocation to keys in the transcription becomes phonetic rather than phonemic.

3 South African Khoesan

3.1 Northern Khoesan

Amanda L. Miller

As with other aspects of Northern Khoesan, Jul'hoan tonology is better described than other NK languages. Elderkin (1988) and Miller-Ockhuizen (1998) have documented the different tone patterns, and offered phonological accounts for why non-existent patterns do not occur. Okongo !Xung is the next best described, with Heikkinen's (1986) work marking tone patterns, but she does not describe the tonal system in detail. There has been virtually no description of the tonal systems of other Northern Khoesan varieties such as Gobabis !Xung, Mangetti Dune !Xung, Angolan !Xung varieties and #Aullen. Doke (1925) describes the basic details of the tonology of Grootfontein !Xung, but his descriptions are preliminary.

The Jul'hoan tonal system is composed of four lexical tones, called Super Low, Low, High and Super High, based on Snyman's (1975a) original Afrikaans names *Super Laag*, *Laag*, *Hoog*, and *Super Hoog*. There are seven tone patterns that occur on Jul'hoan roots: four level tones, as well as three tone sequences, each of which is shown in (8) below on the vowel [a]:

(8) Seven lexical tone patterns in Jul'hoan

abbreviation	tone name	tone symbol
SL	Super Low	àà
L	Low	àà
H	High	áá
SH	Super High	áá
SL–L	Super Low–Low	àà
L–H	Low–High	àá
H–L	High–Low	áà

Miller-Ockhuizen (1999c) demonstrates that there is no vowel length contrast in Jul’hoan, and that all monosyllabic rimes are bimoraic, based on the fact that there is no significant vowel length difference associated with words that Dickens (1994) and Snyman (1975a) mark as CV vs. CVV. Heikkinen (1986: 19) transcribes bitonal roots and diphthongs in Mangetti Dune !Xung with two vowels, but monotonal monophthongal vowels as monovocalic, and notes that there is no vowel length contrast in that language, but that this is an orthographic practice. Doke (1925: 137) claims that there is a vowel length contrast in Grootfontein !Xung, citing minimal pairs.

The tone-bearing unit, the unit that tones associate to, can be either the mora as argued by Miller-Ockhuizen

(1998), the syllable, or the root, as argued by Traill (1985: 32) for !Xóǝ. Monosyllabic and bisyllabic roots show the same tone patterns, as shown in (9):

(9) Tone patterns on monosyllabic/bisyllabic roots

a. Six tone patterns on monosyllabic roots

<u>SL</u>	<i>kǝü^h</i>	‘to light a fire’	<u>L</u>	<i>lxǝi</i>	‘to spit’
<u>H</u>	<i>n/óá</i>	‘to cook’	<u>SH</u>	<i>!ǝü</i>	‘to move house’
<u>SL-L</u>	<i>n^hüü</i>	‘to take’	<u>L-H</u>	<i>g!kx’üi</i>	‘to twist’

b. Seven tone patterns on bisyllabic roots

<u>SL</u>	<i>n!ǝ.βǝ^h</i>	‘orphan’	<u>L</u>	<i>n!ǝ.βǝ</i>	‘orphan’
<u>H</u>	<i>g!ü.βü</i>	‘to bubble up’	<u>SH</u>	<i>g!ǝ.βǝ[̃]</i>	‘hare path’
<u>SL-L</u>	<i>!ǝ.βi</i>	‘to colour’	<u>L-H</u>	<i>n!ǝ.βá</i>	‘to walk fast’
<u>H-L</u>	<i>dcáhà</i>	‘edible, plum-shaped fruit’			

Note that the H–L pattern only occurs on bisyllabic nouns in the language, and most roots bearing this tone pattern are loanwords from Central Khoesan languages.

The fact that monosyllabic and bisyllabic roots bear maximally two lexical tones requires a separate distributional constraint under the mora, syllable and root as tone-bearing unit analyses. Within the moraic analysis, this limitation is explained if there is a constraint requiring only one tone per tone-bearing unit. This cannot be a universal constraint, since there are many languages, such as Kenyang, which allow contour

tones on a single mora (Odden 1995: 451). Syllable and root as tone-bearing unit approaches allow two tones per tone-bearing unit, but have a constraint limiting the number of tones on the root to two, in order to rule out tritonal patterns on bisyllabic roots. Trisyllabic roots, shown in (10), support the mora as tone-bearing unit approach, since these contain contrastive association of bitonal patterns, and one tritonal pattern.

(10) Tonal patterns exhibited on trisyllabic roots

<u>L H H</u> <i>n^hà.bí.té</i> 'duck'	<u>L L H</u> <i>lɔ^hò.rò.kó</i> 'hornbill'
<u>L H L</u> <i>gà.rí.sà</i> 'tree snake'	
<u>H L L</u> <i>húhà^hrà</i> 'flamingo'	<u>H H L</u> <i>búríkhè</i> 'trousers' (< Afr. <i>broek</i>)

Miller-Ockhuizen (1999a, 2003) gives supporting evidence from reduplication which favours the moraic analysis. In partial reduplication in Jul'hoan, there is a disparity in the amount of material copied from the base in bisyllabic words, depending on whether the root is monotonal or bitonal. As shown in (11a), if the root is monosyllabic, the entire root is copied. As shown in (11b), in bisyllabic monotonal roots, only the first syllable of the base is copied. As shown in (11c), if the base is bisyllabic and bitonal, both vowels are copied.

(11) Partial reduplication in Jul'hoan

a. Monotonal and bitonal monosyllabic roots

<i>càò</i> 'to be wide'	<u><i>càò.càò</i></u> 'to widen'
<i>!ǎúⁿ</i> 'to be sick'	<u><i>!ǎúⁿ.!ǎúⁿ</i></u> 'to make ill'
<i>n ù'í</i> 'to be shiny'	<u><i>n ù'í.n ù'í</i></u> 'to cause to be shiny'

b. Reduplicated forms of monotonal bisyllabic roots

$\#?^h\acute{u}.\beta\acute{i}$ 'to be crowded' $\#?^h\acute{u}.\#?^h\acute{u}.\beta\acute{i}$ 'to cause to crowd together'
 $g\#kx'\acute{o}.\acute{r}\acute{o}$ 'to pour' $g\#kx'\acute{o}.\acute{g}\#kx'\acute{o}.\acute{r}\acute{o}$ 'to empty out'

c. Reduplicated forms of bitonal bisyllabic roots

$tsx\acute{x}.\beta\acute{i}$ 'to grab' $tsx\acute{x}\acute{i}.\acute{t}sx\acute{x}.\beta\acute{i}$ 'to grab forcefully'
 $n\#\acute{a}^{\acute{a}}.\acute{r}\acute{o}$ 'to find s.th.' $n\#\acute{a}^{\acute{a}}\acute{o}.\acute{n}\#\acute{a}^{\acute{a}}.\acute{r}\acute{o}$ 'to find a lost object'

If the mora is the tone-bearing unit and there is a distributional constraint requiring there to be only one tone per tone-bearing unit, these facts are explained. The root and syllable theories cannot explain these facts.

3.1.1 Constraints on Tone Combinations

All of the tone sequences found in Jull'hoan are of tones similar in fundamental frequency. Miller-Ockhuizen (1998) argues that a scalar tone feature is necessary in order to state this distributional constraint in the phonology. With a scalar tone feature, all tone sequences in the language involve tones that are one tone feature specification apart. This analysis predicts that H-SH and SH-H and L-SL should also be attested, but these are not found. The lack of sequences involving SH tone then could be due to its scarcity overall. Alternatively, the fact that the fundamental frequency of SH~H tones is not equidistant as sequences of SL, L and H tones are, could lead to the unacceptability of H-SH sequences. For example, in a study of six speakers' productions of all lexical tone patterns, Miller-Ockhuizen (in progress) found that the SH tone was about 50 Hz higher than H, while H~L and L~SL are only about 25 Hz apart. Thus H and SH tones

are not phonetically similar enough to be allowed to co-occur on a single root.

The absence of the L-SL sequence is due to the historical origin of SL-L and L-H tones in phonetic perturbation due to initial voiced aspirated, nasal aspirated and voiced consonants. The high frequency of these consonant types with SL and SL-L patterns is supportive of this view.

Heikkinen's (1987) wordlist of Okongo !Xung contains roots bearing most tone sequences as shown in (12), illustrating that this language does not have a constraint on tonal similarity.

(12) Lexical tone patterns in Okongo !Xung

<u>SL</u>	<i>börö</i>	'bottle'	<u>L</u>	<i>!òm</i>	'sew'
<u>H</u>	<i>!óβé</i>	'backbone'	<u>SH</u>	<i>ts'áú</i>	'urinate'
<u>SL-L</u>	<i>tsänà</i>	'to scratch the ground'	<u>L-H</u>	<i>tsà?á"</i>	'sauce'
<u>SL-H</u>	<i>kö^gβé</i>	'ground'	<u>H-SH</u>	<i>n!ó?ú"</i>	'play'
<u>L-SH</u>	<i>däü</i>	'valley'	<u>SL-SH</u>	<i>'n#ärü</i>	'to give'
<u>H-L</u>	<i>ts'ámà</i>	'bird'			
<u>SH-H</u>	<i>khúkhú</i>	'hen'	<u>SH-L</u>	<i>!ú^gsà</i>	'tree species'

The only patterns that are not attested are H-SL, L-SL and SH-SL. These gaps do not appear to be principled; however, they might be explained by the historical origin of SL tone, which is related to initial depressor consonants, since all missing combinations involve SL.

Grootfontein !Xung (Doke 1925: 149ff.) is only claimed to have three lexical tone levels.

3.1.2 Tone – Phonation Type Dependencies

Depression of tone is not only connected to initial depressor consonants, but also to vocalic phonation type contrasts. Breathy and epiglottalized vowels only co-occur with the two lower tones. Elderkin (1988) connects the lack of co-occurrence between laryngeal specifications of consonants and laryngeal specifications of vowels, and the high co-occurrence of similar consonant and vowel features with certain tonal patterns historically. While his diachronic analysis is plausible, there are too many exceptions to warrant any synchronic connection between these two separate constraints.

Synchronically, epiglottalization is the only vocalic phonation type which shows systematic depression of fundamental frequency. Epiglottalized vowels are about 30 Hz

lower than modal vowels bearing the same lexical tone, but there are no differences in fundamental frequency in modal and breathy vowels bearing the same tone (Miller-Ockhuizen 2003).

3.1.3 Phrasal Tonology

Little is known about the phrasal tonology of any Khoesan language. In Jull'hoan words in isolation always have an approximately 50 Hz drop in pitch over the last 25 per cent of the word. Since this plunge in fundamental frequency is found with all tone patterns, it is likely that this is a separate edge effect. This might be due to final lowering or a phrasal edge tone, but

investigation of pitch patterns in phrases will be necessary to determine its nature. Mangetti Dune !Xung exhibits different edge tones. There are some words that have H edge tones, where the Jul’hoan cognate has an L edge tone. This property is seriously under-described, and in need of further research.

3.2 Central Khoesan

3.2.1 Namibiam Khoekhoe

Wilfrid H.G. Haacke

Khoekhoegowab (N.Kh.), like all Khoesan languages, is a true tone language. Each syllable of a root is associated with a distinctive register (level) tone. Four surface tones – /ː/, /ˑ/, /ˑ/ and /ˑˑ/, here dubbed “double low”, “low”, “high” and “double high” – pair into feet to form six major (and some further five rare) tonal melodies, three rising, two falling, one level. Syllable and tone are isomorphic. All roots are basically disyllabic, diachronically based on a CVCV skeleton, and hence associate isomorphically with the bimoraic tonal melody. The skeleton may, through deletion of C₂ or V₂, have been reduced to CVV, Cṽṽ or CVN. Yet it stays disyllabic. The melody of the few trisyllabic roots that do exist, consist of a bimoraic foot combined with a single tone. Roots (here quoted with a nominalising -s to achieve uniformity) have a citation form and a sandhi form that occurs in particular contexts:

Citation	Sandhi	Gloss
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!òṁ(-s)	!òṁ(-s)	‘to butt, push’
---------	---------	-----------------

displacement of melodies rather than syn-tagmatic feature-changing rules. Another type of perturbation, shared with, *inter alia*, Chinese, is flip-flop, whereby the above citation forms pair off to interchange the respective members in certain contexts as follows:

weak		resilient
ʔˊː/	and	ʔˊˊ/
/ˊˊ/	and	/ˊˊˊ/
/ˊˊˊ/	and	/ˊˊˊˊ/

In cases where “bilateral” flip-flop applies, both weak and resilient members of a pair exchange; in cases of “unilateral” flip-flop only the weak members change to the resilient members, but not *vice versa*.

While sandhi applies in lexical as well as post-lexical tonology, flip-flop is confined to lexical tonology. Within the lexical tonology sandhi, flip-flop and other tone rules can interact cyclically within the same domain; e.g., in causative formation flip-flop applies to the first root and the “drop” rule (inserting a /ˊˊˊˊ/ melody) to the second. Within a post-lexical context where this word does not stand phrase-initially, the sandhi equivalent of the flipped melody of the first root appears:

root:	<i>/güü</i>	‘one’	citation form
causative (duplication)	<i>/güˊˊ/güü</i>	‘unite’	flip-flop + drop
	<i>... /güü/güü</i>	‘unite’	sandhi of flip-flop, + drop

Tone can have derivational functions, apart from causative formation, e.g. intransitive verb formation with /' / or ʔ': *ǎwó* ‘dent’ > *àwò* ‘become dented’; noun formation (mostly by flip-flop), e.g. *llhàwú* ‘flare up (v.intr.)’ > *llhàwùb* ‘flame’ (n.).

Grammatical formatives, which mostly are monosyllabic, bear a single tone. Such tones, not being constituted as feet, are not subject to the rules of the lexical melodies.

3.2.2 Kxoe Subgroup: Khwe, llAni

Rainer Vossen

Köhler’s (1981: 488ff.) complex analysis of the tonal system of Khwe consists of nine syllabic tones: three register and six contour tones. Table 5.4 indicates their occurrence on mono-, di- and trisyllabic lexical stems:

Table 5.4 Lexical Tone Patterns in Khwe (After Köhler 1981)

Syllabic tone	Monosyllabic stems	Disyllabic stems	Trisyllabic stems
H(igh)	+	+	+
M(id)		+	+
L(ow)		+	
H–M	+		
H–L	+		
M–H ₁	+	+	
M–H ₂	+	+	
L–H ₁	+		
L–H ₂	+		

Mid and low tone may also occur on monosyllabic grammatical morphemes.

With regard to (a) di- and (b) trisyllabic lexemes, the following tone patterns derive from the combination of syllabic tones:

- (a) –LH; L–H; H–L; H–M; H–H; MH₁–M; MH₁–H;
- (a) –M–M.

When taking the mora as a basic unit of the phonological structure into account, Köhler's tone combinations can probably be traced back to essentially three register tones: High, Mid, and Low (cf. Vossen 1997a: 97). This coincides exactly with what Kilian-Hatz (2008: 24f.) has proposed recently.

In \parallel Ani, tonal behaviour appears to comply with the mora principle; i.e., at least two tonal segments – High and/or Low – are assigned to lexical morphemes. On both mono- and disyllabic stems the tonal sequences H–H, H–L, and L–H are found, whereas L–L is attested for one item only. As has already been observed by Köhler (1981) for Khwe, lexical items with identical tonal surface structure are often characterised by morpho-tonological differences. In \parallel Ani this applies to verbs in particular. Verbal roots containing H–H and L–H sequences can be sub-divided into two classes each. As a result, five verbal tone classes obtain. It should also be noted here that the tonal behaviour of \parallel Ani verbs is influenced by stress (see Vossen 2004).

3.2.3 Naro

Hessel Visser

Tone is distinctive in Naro. It is carried by vowels and /m/. Three tonemes can be distinguished: H(igh), M(id) and L(ow). High tone is marked by an acute accent (/á/), low tone by a grave accent (/à/), mid tone will be unmarked (/a/).

Seven tone melodies are identified for Naro words with two tone-bearing units:

Tone melodies	High	Mid	Low
High	H-H		H-L
Mid		M-M	M-L
Low	L-H	L-M	L-L

The tone melodies H-H and M-M are level: the tone remains the same. H-L, M-L and L-L are falling tone melodies: the tone drops from a higher to a lower frequency. L-M and L-H are rising tone melodies: the tone rises from a lower to a higher frequency. These tone melodies may occur on roots with CVV, CVN and CVCV patterns.

3.2.3.1 Environment

A voiced consonant usually has a lowering effect on the tone of the first vowel: the tone on the first vowel is low. The only exceptions that have been found so far are *bóò* ‘to see’ (cf. Proto-Bantu *-bón-) and *biù* ‘milk’ (Proto-Bantu *-bici or *-bic₁ ‘fresh milk’).

Vowels after an ejective consonant usually have high or mid tone. Low tones are never found after an ejective consonant.

3.2.3.2 List of Contrasts

The longest list of minimal pairs of tone melodies in Naro is found on the CVV combination //ae and /ao:

H-H	/áó	'leftover, half'	láé	'we (three or more men)'
H-L	/áò	'long'	làè	'to breed, sit on s.th.'
M-M	/ao	'near' (not a noun/verb)	lae	'to chew'
M-L	/aò	'to choose; to come up'	laè	'to watch'
L-L	/àò	'palm-nut vulture (<i>Gypohierax angolensis</i>)'	làè	'to scrape (a hide)' 'to shelter (against wind)'

Additional examples for the seven tone melodies can be found in the following minimal pairs.

H-L H-H	kx'áò	'male'	kx'áo	'arrow'
	/xóò	'pipe'	/xóó	'to hold'
L-L L-M	g'òòm	'to blow'	g'òm	'to shave'
	/òò	'to follow'	/òó	'forehead'
L-M L-H	lgiú	'breast'	lgiú	'to make fire'
	lnàù	'meerkat sp.'	lnàú	'to shave'
L-M M-M	liì	'wild dog'	lii	'song'
	ʔòm	'bag'	ʔom	'honest'
M-M M-L	l'am	'point'	l'am	'to gossip'
	luu	'dancing skirt'	luù	'tree'
M-L H-L	/aò	'to rise'	/áò	'tall'
	!'òm	'lower abdomen'	!'óòm	'strike'
H-H M-M	liú	'to lift on head'	luu	'dancing skirt'
	kái	'many'	kai	'old'
M-L L-L	koò	'to chase away'	kòò	'to sweep'
	laè	'to watch'	làè	'to scratch hide'

3.2.4 //Gana Subgroup: /Gui

Hiroshi Nakagawa

This section outlines |Gui tonology based on the result of my research on the Xade dialect, which is presently spoken mainly in "New Xade", Ghanzi District, Botswana. Tonal systems of other //Gana languages and

dialects have not been investigated systematically. Judging from my occasional observations on other !Gana dialects (presently or formerly spoken in Xade, Molapo and Thomelo), however, there is no remarkable difference in tonal type between these and !Gui.

!Gui tonology shows a typological similarity to Khoekhoe, which is best documented by Haacke (1999). In the following account I will use a number of Haacke's terms, such as "(tonal) melody", "flip-flop" and "flip-flop pair", for convenience of reference.

3.2.4.1 Two Tonological Domains

!Gui has two types of tonological domains which involve different contrastive tone levels. Henceforth, I refer to the two domains as DOM₁ and DOM₂. DOM₁ includes bimoraic roots, the first two morae of trimoraic roots, the first component of reduplication constructions and the first and the second components of lexical reduplication. Note

that these forms are all bimoraic. This domain involves three contrastive tone levels: H(igh), M(id) and L(ow).

On the other hand, DOM₂ includes monomoraic and bimoraic non-root elements, such as affixes, postpositions and other grammatical morphemes, the second component of reduplication constructions and the final mora of trimoraic roots. Unlike DOM₁, this domain involves only two contrastive tone levels, i.e. H and L.

It should be noted that in addition to the difference in numbers of contrastive tone levels between DOM₁ and DOM₂, there are two differences in prosodic properties. First, forms falling into DOM₁ are always pronounced

with prominence, while those falling into DOM₂ are pronounced without prominence. Second, the pitch range between H and L of DOM₂ is narrower and tends to be lower than that of DOM₁.

3.2.4.1.1 Tonal Melodies Occurring in DOM₁

All forms belonging to DOM₁ have the structure of CVCV, CVV or CVN (N = /m/ or /n/) consisting of two morae, i.e. two tone-bearing units (TBU) in my interpretation. In this domain six contrastive pitch patterns occur. I will refer to these pitch patterns as “(tonal) melodies”, whether they are level or contour (rising and falling). The six melodies are illustrated with minimal sextuplets in [Table 5.5](#).

Table 5.5 Six Tonal Melodies in lGui

	Tonetic labels for melodies	Tonal interpretation	Minimal sextuplet	Gloss
(1)	High level	/H/	<i>láê</i>	‘to teach’
(2)	Mid level	/M/	<i>lāē</i>	‘to watch’
(3)	Low level	/L/	<i>l̄âē</i>	‘to be a shelter’
(4)	H–M falling	/HM/	<i>lāē</i>	‘to chew’
(5)	H–L falling	/HL/	<i>lāê</i>	‘to brood’
(6)	L rising	/LM/	<i>l̄âē</i>	‘to curse’

There are three level melodies exemplified in (1–3) in [Table 5.5](#). Words with such level melodies are interpreted as having a tone H, M or L which is multiply associated with the two morae in DOM₁. Two melodies falling and one rising (4–6) are interpreted as sequences of two tones, i.e. HM, HL and LM respectively. In words with such contour melodies the first tone is associated with the first mora, and the second tone with the second mora.

3.2.4.1.2 Two-Way Tonal Distinction Occurring in DOM₂

Unlike DOM₁, DOM₂ shows only two contrastive tone levels, i.e. H and L, and does not have any contour pitch patterns even if forms of DOM₂ are bimoraic. Examples (13–16) illustrate the two-way tonal contrasts in DOM₂. Note that in bimoraic elements like (15) and (16) a tone is multiply associated with two morae.

(13) *cí* ‘my’

H

(14) *cì* ‘habitually’ [aspect
marker]

L

(15) *c^háná* ‘like’ [postposition]

H

(16) *k^hùnà* ‘as’ [postposition]

L

3.2.4.2 Tonal Alternations

There are two types of tonal alternations. One type is switching of tonal melodies, which is labelled as “flip-flop”; the other type is a tonal dissimilation found in three verbal suffixes.

3.2.4.2.1 Flip-Flop

Flip-flop is a morphotonological rule which switches one melody to another between a certain pair of melodies. There are three regular pairs of melodies which are involved in flip-flop (“flip-flop pairs”), as shown in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6 Three Regular Flip-Flop Pairs in IGui

(1)	/H/	—	/HM/
(2)	/HL/	—	/M/
(3)	/L/	—	/LM/

Flip-flop occurs in the following three contexts: (i) compound verb construction, (ii) three types of reduplications, and (iii) transitive verb derivation of lexical reduplication. Example (17) illustrates a flip-flop involved in the compound verb construction. In the formation of the compound verb the tonal melody of the first verb switches from H to HM. Note that flip-flop occurs only in the first element, the second retaining the tone of citation form.

(17)	Citation form		Compound verb		
	<i>k/áá</i>	+	<i>máã</i>	→	<i>k/áã-máã</i>
	H		HL		HM-HL
	‘skin’	+	‘give’		‘skin for someone’

Examples (18a–c) illustrate three types of reduplication, namely verb-deriving reduplication in (18a), causative reduplication in (18b) and iterative, pluractional action

reduplication in (18c). In all three types the first element of reduplication involves flip-flop, and the second element has L. As mentioned previously, the second element falls into DOM₂ and is pronounced without prominence.

(18a)	Citation form		Verb-deriving reduplication
	<i>sùṃ</i>	→	<i>sūṃ-sùṃ</i>
	HL		M-L
	‘shade’ (noun)		‘make shade’ (verb)
(18b)	Citation form		Causative reduplication
	<i>qàù</i>	→	<i>qàū-qàù</i>
	LL		LM-L
	‘melt’		‘cause to melt’
(18c)	Citation form		Iterative/pluractional action reduplication
	<i>ʔq^hábā</i>	→	<i>ʔq^hábā-ʔq^hàbā</i>
	HM		H-L
	‘flap’		‘flap repeatedly’

Flip-flop occurs also in the transitive derivation of a class of intransitive verbs describing various food textures. Since these verbs have the appearance of reduplication and their components do not occur independently, I call them verbs of lexical reduplication. They all have the same reduplicated tonal melodies, namely HL-HL, and are regularly changed into their transitive counterparts by applying flip-flop, HL → M, to the second component (its semantic effect is ‘eat while feeling the texture of ___’), as exemplified in (19a–b).

lqx'áũ-lqx'áũ

(19a) HL-HL

‘have a crispy texture’ (intransitive)

lqx'áũ-lqx'ãũ

(19b) HL-M

‘eat while feeling crispy texture’ (transitive)

3.2.4.2.2 Tonal Dissimilation

The other type of tonal alternation found in lGui is involved in three verbal suffixes. They are the reflexive suffix, *-si* ~ *-si*, the suffix with a semantic effect ‘do in the face/surface of’, *-qx'ái* ~ *-qx'àì*, and the suffix with a semantic effect ‘do in search of, do heading for’ *-lx'àè* ~ *-lx'áé*. (The second suffix is a grammaticalized form of the word *qx'ái* ‘face, front, far’.)

Unlike other suffixes in lGui, the tones of these suffixes are predictable from the preceding tone in the suffixed verb, as exemplified in (20). The tone of the suffix is L in (20a–d) where the preceding tone in the verb is non-L, while it is H in (20e–f) where the preceding tone is L. This also applies to the other two suffixes. In my interpretation the tones of the three suffixes are determined by a dissimilation process which avoids the LL sequence in the boundary between the verb stem and these three suffixes.

- (20a) *láé* -sì ‘teach oneself’
H -L
- (20b) *lháē* -sì ‘stab oneself’
HM -L
- (20c) *c’ūnī* -sì ‘pinch oneself’
M -L
- (20d) *gūī* -sì ‘lift oneself’
LM -L
- (20e) *ŋ!áò* -sí ‘hide oneself’
HL -H
- (20f) *cùã* -sí ‘peel oneself’
L -H

It is worth mentioning that this alternation is relevant to the issue of how to interpret contour melodies. According to Clements (2000: 157f.), contours in Khoesan languages “tend to behave as units”, and the analysis which decomposes contours into sequences of H and L “seems less appropriate”. In the tradition of Khoe tonology this issue is controversial: Beach (1938) interpreted contours as units (unit analysis), and Haacke (1999) regarded them as sequences of level tones (decomposition analysis). In this context the tonal dissimilation found in lGui is important evidence in favour of the decomposition analysis, because the interaction between the tone of the suffix and the preceding tone on the verb is transparently expressed

under decomposition analysis, and not under unit analysis.

3.2.5 Shua Subgroup: Cara, Deti

Rainer Vossen

Very little is known about tone systems in Shua languages. In Cara, surface analysis has established H(igh) and L(ow) as essential level tones combining to H–H, L–L, H–L, and L–H as tonal sequences on CVCV, CVV and CVN lexical roots. A more thorough analysis of the suprasegmental structure of Cara verbs has shown that these four sequences each represent two tone classes. The distinction of two classes for each tonal sequence derives from diverse tonal behaviour in the finite verb forms, as follows.

Tone classes 1 and 2 are distinguished on the basis of finite verb forms in the two past tenses, *-tá* (recent past) and *-ha* (imperfect). All other paired distinctions, i.e. of tone classes 3 and 4, 5 and 6, as well as 7 and 8, rely upon diverging tonal patterns in the imperfect forms. (The linker element /a/ between the verbal root and the tense suffix, which is sometimes zero, can play an important part in the overall tonal pattern. Unmarked M(id) tone is considered to be a result of morphotonology.) Cf. the examples in (21):

(21)	Tone class	Sequence	Verb	Recent past	Pattern	Imperfect	Pattern
1	H-H (I)		<i>xáí</i> 'swell'	<i>xáí-á-tá</i>	HH-H-H	<i>xáí-á-ha</i>	HH-H-M
2	H-H (II)		<i>l'áé</i> 'fall'	<i>l'áé-tá</i>	LL-H	<i>l'áé-ha</i>	LH-M
3	L-L (I)		<i>tsòh</i> 'glide'			<i>tsòh-á-ha</i>	HH-H-M
4	L-L (II)		<i>lgám</i> 'love'			<i>lgám-à-há</i>	TT-T-H
5	H-L (I)		<i>ts'áá</i> 'steal'			<i>ts'áá-ha</i>	HH-M
6	H-L (II)		<i>dzíra</i> 'suffer'			<i>dzíra-ra-há</i>	HM-M-H
7	L-H (I)		<i>ts'áo</i> 'milk'			<i>ts'áo-á-ha</i>	LH-H-M
8	L-H (II)		<i>khúí</i> 'lift'			<i>khúí-à-há</i>	LL-L-H

In Deti, the same tonal sequences on disyllabic lexical roots have been observed as in Cara. Again, an in-depth study of verbs resulted in the distinction of several tone classes with superficially, at least partly, identical citation forms. However, the findings appear to be less evenly balanced than in Cara, as three L-H and two H-L but only one H-H and L-L class each have been determined. Compare the examples in (22):

(22)	Tone class	Sequence	Verb	Perfect	Pattern	Imperfect	Pattern
1	H-H		<i>líí</i> 'sing'	<i>líí-a-tó</i>	HH-M-H	<i>líí-á-ha</i>	HH-H-M
2	L-L		<i>tàh</i> 'stand up'	<i>tàh-à-tó</i>	LL-L-H	<i>tàh-à-há</i>	LL-L-H
3	H-L (I)		<i>yáá</i> 'dance'	<i>yáá-tó</i>	HL-H	<i>yáá-ha</i>	HH-M
4	H-L (II)		<i>tòè</i> 'move away'	<i>tòè-à-tó</i>	LL-L-H	<i>tòè-há</i>	LL-H
5	L-H (I)		<i>xáí</i> 'swell'	<i>xáí-à-tó</i>	LL-L-H	<i>xáí-á-ha</i>	LL-H-M
6	L-H (II)		<i>lgái</i> 'run'	<i>lgái-à-tó</i>	LL-L-H	<i>lgái-a-ha</i>	MM-M-M
7	L-H (III)		<i>juúú</i> 'sit'	<i>juúú-á-tó</i>	HH-H-H	<i>juúú-á-ha</i>	HH-H-M

When comparing the above listed tonal patterns, we note differences between tone classes 1, 3 and 7 in the perfect (-*tó*) finite forms but identical sequences in the imperfect (-*ha*) constructions. More remarkable seems the formal agreement between tone classes 2, 4 (for -*tó* and -*ha*), 5 and 6 (for -*tó* only), because 2 and 4 show exactly the same sequences although class 4 verbs contain H-L sequence in isolation, as against class 2 verbs which have L-L.

3.2.6 Tshwa Subgroup

Rainer Vossen

Information on tone in this subgroup is extremely scant. Four surface sequences on disyllabic lexical roots have been observed in Kua and Tsua: H–H, L–L, H–L, and L–H. A more detailed investigation of verbal tone in Kua has led to the establishment of five tone classes, as shown in (23):

(23)	Tone class	Sequence	Verb	Present	Pattern	Imperfect	Pattern
	1	H–H	<i>láo</i> ‘shoot’	<i>kùà láó</i>	LL HH	<i>lá-rò-hà</i>	H-H-L
	2	L–L	<i>lgàũ</i> ‘spread (a hide)’	<i>kùà lgàũ</i>	LL LL	<i>lgàũ-á-hà</i>	LL-H-L
	3	H–L	<i>pīi</i> ‘suck’	<i>kùà pīi</i>	LL HL	<i>pīi-á-hà</i>	HH-H-L
	4	L–H (I)	<i>tshàó</i> ‘dig’	<i>kùà tshàó</i>	LL LH	<i>tshà-rò-hà</i>	L-H-L
	5	L–H (II)	<i>xìiñ</i> ‘grind’	<i>kùà xìiñ</i>	LL LH	<i>xìiñ-hà</i>	HH-L

It is interesting to note that in present tense constructions the sequences of tone classes 4 and 5 coincide, whereas tone classes 2 and 4 on the one hand, and 1, 3 and 5 on the other, agree with one another in imperfect constructions. Significant for the distinction of classes 4 and 5, however, are the different sequences in the imperfect finite forms.

3.3 Southern Khoesan: !Xóõ

Amanda L. Miller

!Xóõ lexical tonology is described by Traill (1985: 28–55; 1977a: 11–47) as having four phonological contour tones, while Miller-Ockhuizen (1998: 220–23) offers a decompositional analysis with four level lexical tones, and phrasal edge tones accounting for the phonetic fall at the right edge of roots in isolation.

3.3.1

Lexical Tonology

Traill's analysis of !Xòǝ is that there are four tone melodies, one of which is a phonological contour tone (MF), represented as in (24). He notes that the H(F) melody is phonetically contoured, but since there is no contrastive level H melody, it is possible to view this as a level tone.

(24) Traill's (1985, 1994) lexical tone melodies

High	H(F)	<i>lqhuũ</i>	'white person'
Mid	M	<i>!õo</i>	'knife'
Mid falling	MF	<i>tâa</i>	'a San person'
Low	L	<i>sòo</i>	'medicine'

Traill (1985: 31ff.) argues that the MF melody cannot be reinterpreted as a sequence with the second tone being phrasally determined, because there would be no explanation for the lack of fall at the right edge of the M melody. In fact, the fundamental frequency (F0) traces of the four !Xòǝ melodies given in Figure 2 of Traill (1985: 30) show that both the right and left edges of M and MF melodies differ. The M melody starts lower than the MF melody, and has a lower peak F0.

Traill claims that the MF melody must be a phonological contour since it occurs on monomoraic roots. Miller-Ockhuizen (1998: 222f.) notes that the only monomoraic roots listed in Traill (1994) are grammatical words that tend to occur at the right edge of a phrase, and she attributes the fall to the phrasal tonology.

Traill also notes that positing four lexical tones, and allowing tone sequences, predicts sixteen possible tone melodies, but only four are attested. If the fall found on roots is due to phrasal prosody, then no tone sequences are allowed in !Xóǝ. If it proves impossible to interpret the fall as phrasal, then a decompositional analysis would require plausible constraints on tone sequences, similar to what Miller-Ockhuizen (1998: 225ff.) has suggested for Jul'hoan.

3.3.2 Phrasal Tonology

Traill (1994: 23f.) claims that nouns are lexically marked for one of two tone classes that determine the tone melody of concordially dependent items such as demonstrative pronouns that I refer to as clitics. Traill (1994) lists approximately 200 class I nouns, 1,500 class II nouns, and about sixty nouns that are class I in their alienated forms, but class II in their possessed forms. Tone class I nouns co-occur with level toned clitics, while tone class II nouns co-occur with falling toned clitics. The tone class is claimed not to be predictable from the tonal melody or the noun class. There are several scenarios that are consistent with these facts. Class I nouns might have a floating L tone that is realized on the clitic, which class II nouns lack. Alternatively, there may be two tonally distinct, but segmentally identical clitics, which are selected for by semantic or syntactic properties. No plausible classes have been identified, but further research may prove insightful.

3.4 Eastern #Hoan

Henry Honken[†]

Only the briefest account can be given of tone in Eastern ʘHoan. According to Gruber (1973), Eastern ʘHoan has five tones: high, lower high, low, lower low (these are all level or slightly falling), (low) rising. The tones are mapped as contours onto the entire stem. Gruber notes (1973: 432) that “the stress pattern for one root [is] stress on the final syllable.”

References

Beach 1938; Clements 2000; Dickens 1994; Doke 1925; Elderkin 1988; Gruber 1973; Haacke 1999; Heikkinen 1986, 1987; Kilian-Hatz 2008; Köhler 1981; Miller-Ockhuizen 1998, 1999a, 1999c, 2003; Odden 1995; Sands *et al.* 1996; Snyman 1975a; Traill 1977a, 1985, 1994; Tucker *et al.* 1977; Vossen 1997a, 2004.

Chapter Six

Morphology

1 Hadza

Bonny Sands

1.1 Sources of Data

All the findings here are based primarily on my own fieldwork, conducted over a few months in 1992 and 1997. Previously published information about Hadza morphology is limited to a few paradigms (e.g. Bleek 1931a, 1931b; Obst 1912; Tucker 1967a, 1967b). The orthography used here (as from section 3.1) follows Bala (1998) and has a number of differences from the IPA, e.g. *y* is used instead of [j], *hl*, *tl* and *tl'* are used instead of [ɬ, tʰ, tʰ'] and ' is used in place of [ʔ]. Tone, stress and aspiration are not marked.

1.2 Root Shape

All syllables in Hadza are open, i.e. CV or CVV. Grammatical morphemes are typically one syllable in length, while lexical morphemes are most often disyllabic or trisyllabic, though longer roots are also frequent. For instance, Elderkin (1978) found in a corpus of 446 noun stems that 48 per cent had two syllables, and 39 per cent had three syllables. Many of the roots with three or more syllables are either borrowings, or may potentially be reconstructed with more than one morpheme.

1.2.1 Consonant Patterns

All consonants can occur in initial position, and most (including clicks) can occur in medial position as well. But Elderkin (1978) notes that some consonants, e.g. *Its'tʰ h tʰ ? mp^h ɲ/*, are more frequent in initial than in medial position; and that others, e.g. */tʃ' k'w dz ndʒ/*, are more frequent medially than initially. Consonants */p'mp^h nt^h ŋk^h ɲ ntʃ ndʒ nts ndz ŋw/* are less frequent than others. Clicks are quite common (i.e. they occur in ~28 per cent of verb roots), though less common than in other Khoesan languages.

Certain classes of consonants are more likely to co-occur in roots than others. For instance, Elderkin (1978) notes that */h/* is especially frequent in initial position where the second syllable consonant is an ejective or sonorant, and initial */ʔ/* is often followed by a fricative or voiceless plosive in C₂ position.

1.2.2 Vowel Patterns

Only a small percentage of roots contain both mid and high vowels, or both front and back vowels. There is no constraint on the co-occurrence of the low vowel */a/* with any other vowel.

Very few roots violate the constraint on */e i/* or */o u/* within a root. Somewhat more violate the constraint on the co-occurrence of */u e/*, */u i/*, */o e/* or */o i/* within a root. Many of the roots that violate these constraints are obvious borrowings, e.g. */t^humbat^he/* 'tobacco', */dʒiɾoŋgoda/* 'soda', */diroda-be/* 'west'. Still others may be internally reconstructed with more than one morpheme, e.g. */ʔekaniʔa-p^he/* '(are) the two muscles on either side

of the spine (back meat)', /*ʌemaʔo-pe/* '(are) the flesh on one's side, starting at the back', /*ʌeka-p^he/* 'back (part of the body)', and /*ʌeka/* 'spine' all contain a common element /*ʌe/* which was probably once a separate morpheme. However, other roots, such as /*ʔuʌe-/* (F) 'egg', /*ʃaine/* 'Haine, God', and /*mise-/* (F) 'top stick in fire-drill', do not have obvious sources in other languages, and include some basic vocabulary.

1.2.3 Semantic Basis of the Noun Classes

The gender of a noun cannot be predicted based on the root shape. With the exception of terms referring to people or animals which can be specified for natural gender, the majority of noun stems cannot occur with either gender. Nevertheless, there are a few patterns of limited lexical distribution we can comment on. For instance, most trees and shrubs are feminine, while products derived from them often have the same root in the masculine gender. For instance, *k'arəʃai-k^ho* 'Opilia sp. of shrub' (F) refers to the plant itself while *k'arəʃai* (M) refers to some fruit of the plant. While *k'ada-k^ho* (F) refers to the 'Adenium obesum desert rose', *k'ada* (M) refers to the poison derived from it.

A number of stems are augmented when taking masculine gender, as in (1).

(1) a.	<i>tʃ'oma-</i>	'head' (F)	F.SG	<i>tʃ'oma-k^ho</i>	'head'
			M.SG	<i>tʃ'oma</i>	'person with a big head' (i.e. proud)
b.	<i>ʔepa-</i>	'buttock' (F)	F.SG	<i>ʔepa-k^ho</i>	'buttock'
			M.PL	<i>ʔepa-be</i>	'big buttocks'
c.	<i>haŋ!'a-</i>	'rock' (F)	F.SG	<i>haŋ!'a-k^ho</i>	'rock, top grinding stone'
			M.SG	<i>haŋ!'a</i>	'large rock, bottom grinding stone'

In some cases, there is no basis for assuming the feminine is more basic, yet the masculine form is still larger, as in (2). But, a number of forms have the larger object in the feminine gender, e.g. *ts'ok'o-k^ho* 'big fire, far-off fire' (F), *ts'ok'o* 'fire' (M); *ʔuk^hwa-k^ho* 'arm' (F) and *ʔuk^hwa* 'finger' (M); and *muʔa-k^ho* 'big, thick stick' (F) and *muʔa* 'thin stick, twig, whip' (M).

- (2) a. F.SG *ʔup^huk^hwa-k^ho* 'foot'
 M.SG *ʔup^huk^hwa* 'leg, upper leg'
- b. F.SG *ts'afio-k^ho* 'tail' (short, e.g. of giraffe, eland, cow)
 M.SG *ts'afio* 'tail' (long, e.g. of lion, rat, monkey)

There are other shifts in meaning associated with a shift in gender, as in (3).

(3)	F.SG	M.SG
<i>ts'it^hi-</i>	'tree'	'stick'
<i>ɲl'uk'wa-</i>	'larynx'	'voice'
<i>k^hoʔo-</i>	'rifle'	'bow'
<i>ʔatfu-</i>	'bowstring'	'sinew'

1.3 Nominal Agreement

Hadza nouns are either masculine or feminine, and occur with agreement morphology, bare or with a copula enclitic. The latter were taken to be citation forms, e.g. *n!e-ya* 'is

a) leopard', *l'amats'i-yako* '(is a) louse', *ts'uku-pi* '(is) firewood', *hots'o-pe* '(are) ashes'. The person-gender-number (PGN) markers and the predicate nominal copula enclitic are shown in (4). There are no

morphemes marking definiteness, and case is only noted on certain pronominal forms. Agreement morphemes other than those in (4) can be found in locatives, diminutives, possessives, and dead animal terms.

(4) Noun class	PGN	Copula
F.SG & collective	- <i>ko</i>	- <i>ako</i>
F.PL & paucal	- <i>be'e</i>	- <i>pe'e</i>
M.SG & collective	- \emptyset	- <i>a</i>
M.PL & paucal	- <i>bi'i</i>	- <i>pi'i</i>

Although the terms singular and plural are used here, so-called singular forms may also be used as collectives, as shown in (5). The collective reading is very common in narrative texts. A mixed gender group of people will typically take the feminine ending, as the root *hadza*- '(Hadza) person' is grammatically feminine.

(5) a.	<i>bek'ahu-</i>	'elephant' (F)
M.SG	<i>bek'ahu-\emptyset</i>	'single male elephant'
M.PL	<i>bek'ahu-bi'i</i>	'few male elephants' (2–10)
F.SG	<i>bek'ahu-ko</i>	'one female or unspecified gender elephant; many elephants, large group of elephants'
F.PL	<i>bek'ahu-be'e</i>	'a few elephants' (2–10)
b.	<i>n!e-</i>	'leopard' (M)
M.SG	<i>n!e-\emptyset</i>	'single male or unspecified gender leopard; many leopards or large group of leopards'
M.PL	<i>n!e-bi'i</i>	'few leopards' (2–10)
F.SG	<i>n!e-ko</i>	'single female leopard' (not collective)
F.PL	<i>n!e-be'e</i>	'few female leopards' (2–10)

Nouns without agreement morphology are relatively infrequent, but do appear in contexts where the gender is a given, such as when the noun is preceded by a demonstrative, e.g. *Kwako boko tl'akwe- \emptyset kwakwa 'akwe sam-iya* 'The girl had not eaten' (Bala 1998: 20).

Agreement markers are often phonetically reduced, e.g. [p^he'] for -pe'e, [k^ho] for -ko.

1.3.1 Other Agreement Morphology

1.3.1.1 Diminutives

The diminutive is formed in Hadza by attaching a *nakwV-* morpheme to the stem. It occurs with the copula as in (6), or without the copula, as in *Hama 'ola-nakwe-Ø k'u-k'umi-ya* 'These (little) children are small' (Bala 1998: 32). Note the m.pl agreement marker -te, which is distinct from the PGN markers in (4).

(6)	<i>la'ano-</i>	'dog' (M)
F.SG	<i>la'ano-nakwi-ko</i>	'female puppy'
F.PL	<i>la'ano-nakwe-be</i>	'female puppies'
M.SG	<i>la'ano-nakwe-te</i>	'(male) puppy'
M.PL	<i>la'ano-nakwi-pi</i>	'(male) puppies'

1.3.1.2

Dead Animals

Gender markings occur on a set of lexical items referring to certain dead animals. Only those animals which are hunted with bows have a special form for when the animal is dead. I was not able to elicit a distinction between singular and plural. These forms are sometimes used as vocatives, such as when calling out to the animal when one is tracking it. The majority of these forms take an -'i affix in the feminine and an -'e in the masculine, as shown in (7). But some forms have a labiovelar on-glide [w] rather than a glottal stop, some vowel

harmony, and some have a single form for both masculine and feminine.

(7)	Feminine	Masculine	Gloss
	<i>hubu-'i</i>	<i>hubu-'e</i>	'dead lion/eland'
	<i>hanta-'i</i>	<i>hanta-'e</i>	'dead zebra'
	<i>huku-'i</i>	<i>huku-'e</i>	'dead rhino'
	<i>hawa-'i</i>	<i>hawa-'e</i>	'dead giraffe'
	<i>n!oko-wi</i>	<i>n!oko-we</i>	'dead baboon'
	<i>hushu-we</i>	<i>hushu-we</i>	'dead ostrich'
	<i>tihli</i>	<i>tehle</i>	'dead buffalo'

1.4 Other Nominal Inflection

Nominals (as well as verbs, adverbs and demonstratives) can be marked for emphasis with a reduplicated first syllable, as shown in (8).

(8)	<i>Iche-</i>	<i>be'e</i>	<i>ng'a-</i>	<i>ng'ambi-</i>	<i>yako.</i>
	some-	3F.PL	EMPH-	temporary.camp-	3F.SG.COP
	'Some people were at a temporary camp.' (Bala 1998: 18)				

1.5 Adjectives

Most concepts that would be adjectives in English occur with PGN enclitics in Hadza. An example of an adjectival predicate is *Hama 'ola-nakwe-Ø k'u-k'umi-ya* 'These (little) children are small' (Bala 1998: 32). Comparative constructions are shown in (9). The order in the most commonly occurring type of comparative construction in the texts is quality-marker-standard, as in (9a), but other constructions occur, as in (9b–c).

- (9) a. *Sengane pakapa'a-a isha ha!a-ko nako.*
 man's name big-3M.SG.COP COMP rock-3F.SG DEM
 'Sengane was as big as the boulder there.' (Berger 1943: 113)
- b. *bek'ahu-ko k'umi-yako duduk'e-nina*
 elephant-3F.SG small-3F.SG.COP duduk'e-3M.SG.LOC
 '(An) elephant is small, (compared) to a Duduk'e.'
- c. *luwi-yako k'umi-ko n!apa-ko pakapa'a-ako*
 mosquito-3F.SG.COP small-3F.SG ndorobo-3F.SG big-3F.SG.COP
 '(A) mosquito is small, Ndorobo fly is big.'

Adjectives take nominal morphology, such as the PGN markers in (1). Many qualities are grammatical verbs rather than adjectives and take the endings shown in (24), e.g. *tl'iki-neko* 'I am bad'. But *tl'iki-'e-na'a* 'I was bad', and *tl'iki-'e-he:ta* 'I will be bad' take past and future tense enclitics, respectively, after a stative marker.

1.6 Numerals

Numerals (cf. 10) take the same types of copula enclitics as nouns and adjectives, as given in (26), and agree with their head nouns. The stems *'ichame-* 'one' and *'ikumi-* 'ten, -teen' take singular endings (*-ya*, *-yako*), while other numerals (except 'hundred') take plural endings (*bi'i*, *be'e*, *pi'i*, *pe'e*). Stems for 'two', 'four', and 'five' show vowel height harmony with following suffixes. Numerals 'six-nine' are Swahili borrowings, while 'two', 'four', 'five' and 'ten' appear to be borrowed from some other Bantu language.

- (10)
- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>'ichame-</i> | |
| 2 | <i>piye-, piyi-</i> | |
| 3 | <i>samaka-</i> | |
| 4 | <i>bone-, buni-</i> | |
| 5 | <i>botano-, botanu-</i> | |
| 6 | <i>sita-</i> | |
| 7 | <i>saba-</i> | |
| 8 | <i>nani-</i> | |
| 9 | <i>tisa-</i> | |
| 10 | <i>'ikumi-</i> | |
| 11 | <i>'ikumi-ya 'a 'ichame</i> | (i.e. 10 + 1) |
| 20 | <i>'ikumi-bi piyi-bi</i> | (i.e. two tens) |
| 100 | <i>lunguwe</i> | (cf. <i>lunguwe</i> 'Maasai') |
| 200 | <i>lunguwi piyi-pi</i> | (i.e. two hundreds) |

Numerals and other quantifiers typically come after the noun they are modifying, as in (11a-b). The quantifier *wa'ina-* 'all' takes agreement marked for oblique case (e.g. *-ma* 3M.SG, *-sa* 3F.SG, *-icha* 3m.pl, *-eta* 3F.PL), as in (11c), similar to English 'all of X'. But the reverse constituent order can be seen with a Swahili borrowing *kila* 'every' in (11d).

- (11)
- | | | | | | |
|----|--|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| a. | <i>Haka-mo</i> | <i>la-la-chana</i> | <i>pa'anakwete</i> | <i>'ichame...</i> | |
| | go-3M.SG.PAST | EMPH-hunt-ing | old.person | one | |
| | 'One old person went hunting ...' (Bala 1998: 16) | | | | |
| b. | <i>Iso</i> | <i>ch-eta</i> | <i>shilingi-be</i> | <i>'aso-be'e.</i> | |
| | 3M.F.SG.FUT | get-3PL.F.DO | shilling-3PF | many-3PF | |
| | 'He'll get many shillings.' | | | | |
| c. | <i>Tuma-ko</i> | <i>mana-ko</i> | <i>habi</i> | <i>ts'ifi</i> | <i>wa'in-echa.</i> |
| | where-3F.SG | meat-3F.SG | 3M.PL.DEM | night (M) | all-3M.PL |
| | 'Where is the meat all these nights ...' (Bala 1998: 26) | | | | |
| d. | <i>Kila</i> | <i>gashenga</i> | <i>'o-'ose-ya.</i> | | |
| | every | thing (M) | EMPH-fill-3M.SG.COP | | |
| | 'Everything is filled up.' (Bala 1998: 22) | | | | |

1.7 Pronouns

1.7.1 Personal Pronouns

As with nouns, pronouns can occur with or without a copula, as in (12). Gender is marked on pronouns of all persons and numbers, and an inclusive/exclusive distinction is marked in the first person plural forms.

(12)	Independent pronouns	Predicate pronouns
1M.SG	'ono	'one-ne'e (e.g. 'It is I.')
1F.SG	'onoko	'one-neko
2M.SG	te	te-te'e
2F.SG	teko	te-teko
3M.SG	bami	bami-ya
3F.SG	boko	boko-wako
1PL.INCL.M	'umibi'i	'umibi'i
1PL.INCL.F	'onebe'e	'onebe'e
1PL.EXCL.M	'ubi'i	'ubi-upi'i
1PL.EXCL.F	'obe'e	'obe-ope'e
2M.PL	'itibi	'itibi
2F.PL	'etebe	'etebe
3M.PL	bi'i	pi'i
3F.PL	be'e	pe'e

1.7.2 Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns (see 13) mark gender and number, and distinguish (a) near speaker, (b) far from speaker and hearer, (c) near hearer, and (d) heard but not seen by speaker. Similar roots occur in some of the locative forms: *hamana* 'here', *nana* 'there', *be'ena* 'there near you, there just mentioned', *li'ina* 'over there'.

(13)	'this, these' [near speaker]	'that, those' [distal]	'that, those' [near hearer]	'that' [unseen, but heard]
	<i>hama</i>	<i>hina</i>	<i>bami</i>	<i>himik'e</i>
	<i>hako</i>	<i>nako</i>	<i>boko</i>	<i>hik'iko</i>
	<i>habi'i</i>	<i>nabi'i</i>	<i>bi'i</i>	(not elicited)
	<i>habe'e</i>	<i>nabe'e</i>	<i>be'e</i>	(not elicited)

1.7.3 Possessive Marking

1.7.3.1 Genitives

Genitive markers, as in (14), agree with both the head and the dependent in number and gender. Either the possessor or the possessed can be the head, as shown in (15). Genitives have a *t/n* masculine/feminine singular contrast, and a *n/ch* in the masculine plural, but do not contrast in the feminine plural (*t/t*). The *-bi-* plural marker is not a part of the genitive marker that attaches to pronominal stems, as they are already marked for number. A possessed noun can also be made into predicate by adding the predicate nominal markers after the possessive markers, e.g. *ha!'a-ti-yako* 'the rock (F) is hers', *ha!'a-te-pe 'e* 'the rock (F) is theirs (F)', *ha!'a-bi-ti-yako* 'the rocks (F) are hers', *ha!'a-bi-te-pe 'e* 'the rocks (F) are theirs (F)'.

(14)	Dependent	M.SG	F.SG	M.PL	F.PL
	Head				
	M.SG	<i>-ne</i>	<i>-te</i>	<i>-bi(-)che</i>	<i>-bi(-)te</i>
	F.SG	<i>-ni</i>	<i>-ti</i>	<i>-bi(-)chi</i>	<i>-bi(-)ti</i>
	M.PL	<i>-ni</i>	<i>-ti</i>	<i>-bi(-)chi</i>	<i>-bi(-)ti</i>
	F.PL	<i>-ne</i>	<i>-te</i>	<i>-bi(-)che</i>	<i>-bi(-)te</i>

- (15) a. *hits'a bek'ahu- biche*
 fat (3M.SG) elephant- GEN(M.SG.HEAD, M.PL.DEF)
 'the fat of the elephant' (Berger 1943: 115)
- b. *A hadisi-ko kota bahe Iyeye- ni-ko.*
 and story-3F.SG 3F.SG.PAST end Iyeye (3M.SG-)GEN-3F.SG
 'And the story of Iyeye is finished.' (Bala 1998: 32)

1.7.3.2 Independent Possessive Pronouns

Independent possessive pronouns (see 16) have three distinct parts: a root, genitive marker, and a copula showing agreement with the possessed, e.g. *'one-ne-ya* 'it (3M.SG) is mine (1M.SG)'. The roots are different from the independent pronouns in that only 3SG is distinguished for gender. Except for 3M.SG and 3F.SG, all roots agree in vowel height with the following affix – mid vowels for 3M.SG and 3F.PL possessed, and high vowels for 3F.SG and 3m.pl possessed. The genitive markers on the independent possessive pronouns are identical to the genitive markers used on nouns, except that they do not take the *-bi-* plural marker, as plurality is shown on the pronoun stem. Independent possessive pronouns can also occur without the copula, e.g. *H-ta-na boko kitabu-ko uni-ni-ko* 'I saw that book of mine'. Past or future possession is indicated with a relative clause.

(16)

	Possessed			
	Singular		Plural	
	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
1M.SG	'one-ne-ya	'uni-ni-yako	'uni-ni-pi	'one-ne-pe
1F.SG	'one-te-ya	'uni-ti-yako	'uni-ti-pi	'one-te-pe
2M.SG	te-ne-ya	ti-ni-yako	ti-ni-pi	te-ne-pe
2F.SG	te-te-ya	ti-ti-yako	ti-ti-pi	te-te-pe
3M.SG	bami-ne-ya	bami-ni-yako	bami-ni-pi	bami-ne-pe
3F.SG	boko-te-ya	boko-ti-yako	boko-ti-pi	boko-te-pe
1PL.INCL.M	'unibi-che-ya	'unibi-chi-yako	'unibi-chi-pi	'unibi-che-pe
1PL.INCL.F	'unibi-te-ya	'unibi-ti-yako	'unibi-ti-pi	'unibi-te-pe
1PL.EXCL.M	'ubi-che-ya	'ubi-chi-yako	'ubi-chi-pi	'ubi-che-pe
1PL.EXCL.F	'ubi-te-ya	'ubi-ti-yako	'ubi-ti-pi	'ubi-te-pe
2M.PL	'itibi-che-ya	'itibi-chi-yako	'itibi-chi-pi	'itibi-che-pe
2F.PL	'itibi-te-ya	'itibi-ti-yako	'itibi-ti-pi	'itibi-te-pe
3M.PL	bi'i-che-ya	bi'i-chi-yako	bi'i-chi-pi	bi'i-che-pe
3F.PL	bi'i-te-ya	bi'i-ti-yako	bi'i-ti-pi	bi'i-te-pe

1.7.3.3 Oblique Possession

A common way of indicating possession is with the oblique marker. In (31) are the oblique markers, which are added after PGN agreement on the nouns. Examples include: *seme-kwa* 'my food', *seme-na* 'your (SG) food', *seme-sa* 'her food', *seme-ma* 'his food', *seme-'ona* 'the food of us all', *seme-ya* 'the food of just us', *simi-ina* 'your (PL) food', *seme-eta* 'their (F) food', *simi-icha* 'their (M) food'. This type of possession may be combined with locatives, e.g. *l'its'a-tina-ma* 'in his house', and *ets'a-na ma bami* 'at his house'. Possession may also be indicated with the verb *chokwa-* 'to hold, grasp', but this is atypical.

1.7.3.4

Inalienable Possession

A few kinship terms mark possession with a suppletive root (see 17). Singulars of these kinship terms can take

oblique marking agreeing with the possessor (e.g. *aso-ma* ‘his father’, *asu-ko-ma* ‘his mother’, *pa’a-ko-na* ‘your (F) mother’, *pa’a-ko-ena* ‘your (m) mother’), and plural forms are marked with an accompaniment marker preceding the oblique marker, e.g. *bawa-mi-pi-kwa* ‘my “fathers”’. The terms *pakwa-* ‘your grandfather’, and *pakachoko-* ‘your grandmother’ also occur alongside *’akaye-* ‘grandfather’ and *’amama-* ‘grandmother’, which appear to be used more generally. Traces of a *p-* 2nd person possessive prefix remain, and traces of another prefix exist in the freely varying *’atits’i- / mits’i-* ‘sibling, cousin’.

(17)		‘my’	‘your’	‘his/her’
	‘father, father’s brother’	<i>bawa-</i>	<i>pahle-</i>	<i>aso-</i>
	‘mother’	<i>’aiya-</i>	<i>pa’a-</i>	<i>asu-</i>
	‘son’	<i>wa’a-</i>	<i>pakwete-</i>	<i>’akwete-</i>
	‘daughter’	<i>wa’a-</i>	<i>pakwi-</i>	<i>’akwi-</i>

1.7.4 Relative Pronouns

Relative pronouns (18) are based on a pronoun stem and a relativizer, and what appears to be an aspect marker. The relatives differ in tense/aspect, but examples (19) are too few to make the distinctions clear.

(18)	REL 1	REL 2	REL 3
M.SG	<i>meto</i>	<i>meto-</i>	<i>ma'a</i>
F.SG	<i>(ko)to</i>	<i>(ko)ta-</i>	<i>(ko)'a</i>
M.PL	<i>cho</i>	<i>chu-</i>	<i>'a</i>
F.PL	<i>to</i>	<i>to-</i>	<i>'a</i>
1M.SG	<i>'ono-meto</i>	<i>'ono-meto-na</i>	<i>'ono-ma'á</i>
1F.SG	<i>'onoko-to</i>	<i>'onoko-ta-na</i>	<i>'onoko-'á</i>
2M.SG	<i>te-meto</i>	<i>te-meto-si</i>	<i>te-ma'á</i>
2F.SG	<i>teko-koto</i>	<i>teko-ta-ko</i>	<i>teko-'á</i>
3M.SG	<i>bami-meto</i>	<i>bami-meto-so</i>	<i>bami-ma'á</i>
3F.SG	<i>boko-koto</i>	<i>boko-kota-ko</i>	<i>boko-ko'á</i>
1PL.INCL.M	<i>'unibi-cho</i>	<i>'unibi-chu-si</i>	<i>'unibi-'a</i>
1PL.INCL.F	<i>'onebe-to</i>	<i>'onebe-to-se</i>	<i>'onebe-'a</i>
1PL.EXCL.M	<i>'ubi-cho</i>	<i>'ubi-chu-si</i>	<i>'ubi-'a</i>
1PL.EXCL.F	<i>'obe-to</i>	<i>'obe-to-se</i>	<i>'obe-'a</i>
2M.PL	<i>'itibi-cho</i>	<i>'itibi-chu-si</i>	<i>'itibi-'a</i>
2F.PL	<i>'etebe-to</i>	<i>'etebe-to-se</i>	<i>'etebe-'a</i>
3M.PL	<i>bi'i-cho</i>	<i>bi'i-chu-si</i>	<i>bi'i-'a</i>
3F.PL	<i>be'e-to</i>	<i>be'e-to-se</i>	<i>be'e-'a</i>

- (19) a. *Bami meto hi'e-ta.*
 3M.SG.PRO REL1.3M.SG come.out-1SG.PRES
 'This story came from me.' (Bala 1998: 16)
- b. *Tame meto kwe-hena bami ti'o'a?*
 who REL1.3M.SG give-2SG.OBL 3M.SG.DEM cloth (3M.SG)
 'Who gave you that cloth?'
- c. *Bami meto-so l'a'i-cha tsuku-bi.*
 3M.SG.PRO REL2-3M.SG throw-PROG firewood-3M.PL
 'It is he who is throwing firewood./It is he who will throw firewood.'
- d. *"Hama seme-Ø wa'ina-ma tame meto-so sa-ka-ma?"*
 3M.SG.DEM food-3M.SG all-3M.SG.OBL who (REL2-3SM) eat-DISTR-
 3M.SG.OBL
 "'Who will be the one to eat all this food?'" (Bala 1998: 22)
- e. *!Onga ma'a 'a'a-ne.*
 hare REL3.3M.SG ahead-LOC/STAT
 'It is hare who leads.'
- f. *Onoko- 'a 'ela-ta kitabu-ko.*
 1F.SG.PRO REL3 make-3F.SG.DO book-3F.SG
 'It is I who made the book.'

1.7.5 Interrogative Morphemes

Many of the question morphemes in Hadza begin with an aspirated *t*, and can occur with or without a copula, or tense/aspect marking (cf. 20).

- (20) *tumu'usha* 'when'
- tume'ika, tum-* 'where'
- tashe-* 'how much, what size'
- tashi-* 'do what'
- tashina* 'how'
- taka-* 'how many'

<i>ta-</i>	‘who’
<i>'oma</i>	Yes-no question particle
<i>'akwadza</i>	‘who/what’
<i>'aku</i>	‘what kind, who, which’

1.8 Verb Inflection

Most Hadza affixes are suffixes, though there is emphatic reduplicative prefixation. It is questionable whether the prefixes seen in some Bantu loans (e.g. *na-sema* ‘I say’) have become productive. Hadza predicates can be emphasized by reduplicating the initial syllable of the stem, as in (21).

- (21) a. *Hinge!* *li-li-ye'e.*
EXCLAM EMPH-see-IMP
‘Hey, (just) look!’ (Bala 1998: 22)
- b. *Kaki* *haka ha-hama se-seme.*
3M.SG.PAST.HAB go EMPH-sit EMPH-eat
‘Then he would just sit down to eat.’ (Bala 1998: 22)

Suppletion is rare, but infixation is quite common, as in (22). A distributive plural subject or distributed action is marked by the presence of a *kV* syllable after the initial syllable of the root, where V is a copy of the first syllable vowel. Infixation occurs with both intransitive and transitive roots. Some verbs (e.g. *pats'i-* ‘to spit’) are obligatorily distributive when plural, but others can take either collective or distributive plurals.

(22) Verb	Singular/collective subjects	Distributed subjects
'to spit'	<i>pats'i-</i>	<i>pa-ka-ts'i-</i>
'to blow'	<i>bu'ita-</i>	<i>bu-ku-'ita-</i>
'to vomit'	<i>kwala-</i>	<i>kwa-ka-la-</i>
'to sweat'	<i>lats'i-</i>	<i>la-ka-ts'i-</i>
'to remember'	<i>'ehlawi-</i>	<i>'e-ke-hlawi-</i>

In a few cases, the *-kV-* infix refers to a repetitive or intensified action, e.g. *ts'i-ki-ts'i-* 'to sprinkle something' (cf. *ts'i'i-* 'to pour, spill something'), *n!i-ki-n!i-* 'to push something a lot' (cf. *n!ihi-* 'to push something'), *'akakase-* 'to sleep, nap' (cf. *'ase-* 'to sleep, lie down'), and *sakame-* 'to devour' (cf. *seme-*, *sama-* 'to eat'). In these cases, the infixed stem can be used with singular or plural subject agreement markers.

1.8.1 Derivation Processes Affecting Verbs

The reduplication of an initial syllable of a verb can be used to create an agentive noun, as in (23). A less productive process occurs with some verbs that take an *hV-* prefix to create an agentive noun (e.g. *hats'ake* 'thief', cf. *ts'ake-* 'to steal'), where V is identical to the vowel in the initial syllable of the stem. In at least one case, an agentive noun is created from a suppletive form (e.g. *llo* 'to kill', *l'al'ashe* 'killer'). In some cases, (an) unpredictable syllable(s) occur(s) stem-finally (e.g. *huts'a-* 'to clean', *huhuts'abo* 'a cleaner'), which must historically be part of the verb stem as they also occur in other derived forms.

Yet another nominalization can be derived from an agentive noun to create a noun meaning 'one who is really Mr. Verb', that is, someone really known for being the 'owner' of that verb. The "Mr. Verb" nominals are derived by adding *-ngu* to the agentive stem, though

there are often unpredictable phonological differences between the forms.

(23) Verb	'X' (verb root)	'one who does X,	'really Mr./Ms. X' really does X'
'to farm'	<i>tohle</i>	<i>to-tohle</i>	<i>totohle-ngu</i>
'to hunt'	<i>lala</i>	<i>la-lala</i>	<i>lalala-ngu</i>
'to whistle'	<i>nlehe</i>	<i>nle-nlehe</i>	<i>nlenlehe-ngu</i>
'to beg'	<i>losho</i>	<i>!o-!osho</i>	<i>!o!osho-ngu</i>
'to steal'	<i>ts'ake</i>	<i>ha-ts'ake</i>	<i>hats'ake-ngu</i>
'to clean'	<i>huts'a</i>	<i>hu-huts'abo</i>	<i>huhuts'aba-ngu</i>

Participles can be formed from verbs, with the final vowel of the stem replaced by a stative *i* or *e* vowel, e.g. *ts'ehya!u'u!u'u-we nlehe-yamo* 'The squatting child whistled'; *bami ts'u'ai-ye nlehe-yamo* (or, *bami nlehe-yamo ts'uts'u'ai-ye*) 'The child leaving whistled'. Often, the agentive or nominalized form is used, cf. *chu'-iye* 'the pulled (one)', *chu-'e* 'the pulling (one)', *chuchu'ukwa* '(the one) who pulled'. Unpredictable phonological differences between participles and verb stems occur, as with the agentive nouns, e.g. *huts'a-be* '(who) cleans' (cf. *huts'a-* 'to clean'), *tlukwa-che* '(who) cleans' (cf. *tlukwa-* 'to clean').

1.8.2 Tense, Aspect, Mood

Tense and aspect (there are no known mood markers in Hadza) cannot be discussed apart from subject (i.e. nominative) marking. The past and "present" particles (see 24)

can occur as enclitics or as separate auxiliaries (cf. 25), but the future particle can only occur as a separate auxiliary. The "present" particle can represent non-past (present or future) when it occurs as an enclitic.

(24)	Subject	“Present”	Past	Future (Essive)	Copula	Conditional
	1SG	<i>ta</i>	<i>na('a)</i>	<i>tana</i>		
	M				<i>-ne'e</i>	<i>-ne'e</i>
	F				<i>-neko</i>	<i>-nikwi</i>
	2SG	<i>tita</i>	<i>ta('a)</i>	<i>titata</i>		
	M				<i>-te'e</i>	<i>-te'e</i>
	F				<i>-teko</i>	<i>-tikwi</i>
	3M.SG	<i>(y)a</i>	<i>(a)mo</i>	<i>yaso</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-eso</i>
	3F.SG	<i>(ya)ko</i>	<i>(a)kwa</i>	<i>koko</i>	<i>-ako</i>	<i>-eko</i>
	1PL.INCL	<i>bita</i>	<i>ba'a</i>	<i>bitaba</i>		
	M				<i>-bibi'i</i>	<i>-be'e</i>
	F				<i>-bebe'e</i>	<i>-bikwi</i>
	1PL.EXCL	<i>ota</i>	<i>'a'a</i>	<i>otaya</i>		
	M				<i>-upi'i</i>	<i>-ukwi</i>
	F				<i>-ope'e</i>	<i>-'e'e</i>
	2M.PL	<i>tita</i>	<i>ti'a</i>	<i>titatiti</i>	<i>-titi</i>	<i>-si</i>
	2F.PL	<i>teta</i>	<i>te'a</i>	<i>tetatete</i>	<i>-tete</i>	<i>-te</i>
	3M.PL	<i>pi('i)</i>	<i>(a)mi</i>	<i>pisi</i>	<i>-pi'i</i>	<i>-isi</i>
	3F.PL	<i>pe('e)</i>	<i>(a)me</i>	<i>pese</i>	<i>-pe'e</i>	<i>-ese</i>

- (25) a. *dza-na'a* ‘I came.’
dza-mo ‘He came.’
dza-ta ‘I will come.’
dza-tita ‘You (SG) will come.’
- b. “*Mu-musi-kwa-tita* *'ono.*”
EMPH-annoy-1SG.DO-2SG.PRES 1M.SG
‘“You really annoy me”, said the chief.’ (Bala 1998: 24)
- c. *Kamo mzee:* “*Tume'ika* *'otaya* *'ase?*”
3M.SG old.man where 1PL.EXCL.FUT sleep
‘The Mzee baboon said: “Where will we sleep?”’ (Bala 1998: 22)

Various morphophonological processes occur when subject pronominals are cliticized to verb stems. Though these cannot be described in detail here, some examples are given in (26). Depending on various factors, stress shift, vowel lengthening or *-hV-* insertion may occur. For instance, if a verb has a final accent in the frame: *'ina* ___ ‘I’ll ___’, then it will have a *-he-* syllable when preceding the 1SG present *-ta*, because this enclitic

causes stress shift, where the accent must move one syllable to the right, and the final syllable of the verb stem must be accented. Thus, we have the apparently epenthetic *-he-* syllable. The vowel will raise if followed by a syllable with a high vowel, and the *h* will be deleted if preceded by a front vowel. These *hV* syllables are distinct from the *he* syllable that marks the habitual, e.g. *chi-he-ta* ‘I run (habitually)’, *lu-he-he-ta* ‘I stand still (habitually)’.

(26)	<i>lu-</i> ‘to stand still’		<i>chi-</i> ‘to run’		
	Subject	Past	“Present”	Past	“Present”
	1SG	<i>lu-na’a</i>	<i>lu-heta</i>	<i>chi-na’a</i>	<i>chi-ta</i>
	2SG	<i>lu-ta’a</i>	<i>lu-tita</i>	<i>chi-ta’a</i>	<i>chi-tita</i>
	3M.SG	<i>lu-amo</i>	<i>lu-heya</i>	<i>chi-amo</i>	<i>chi-yeya</i>
	3F.SG	<i>lu-akwa</i>	<i>lu-yako</i>	<i>chi-akwa</i>	<i>chi-yako</i>
	1PL.INCL	<i>lu-ba’a</i>	<i>lu-bitata</i>	<i>chi-ba’a</i>	<i>chi-bitata</i>
	1PL.EXCL	<i>lu-’a’a</i>	<i>lu-’otata</i>	<i>chi-’a’a</i>	<i>chi-’otata</i>
	2M.PL	<i>lu-hiti’a</i>	<i>lu-hititata</i>	<i>chi-ti’a</i>	<i>chi-ititata</i>
	2F.PL	<i>lu-hete’a</i>	<i>lu-hetetata</i>	<i>chi-te’a</i>	<i>chi-yetetata</i>
	3M.PL	<i>lu-ami</i>	<i>lu-hipi’i</i>	<i>chi-ami</i>	<i>chi-ipi’i</i>
	3F.PL	<i>lu-ame</i>	<i>lu-hepe’e</i>	<i>chi-ame</i>	<i>chi-yepe’e</i>

Subjects and their tense/aspect may be marked with a narrative particle. These particles are very frequent in narrations and are used to initiate or link clauses. They can be translated variously, e.g. ‘and’, ‘and then’, ‘so’, ‘so then’. The narrative particles (cf. 27) probably derive from the verb *’ika* ‘to stand’ followed by a pronominal. Examples are given in (28).

(27) Subject	Past	Past habitual	Past habitual	“Present”	“Present” habitual	Future
1SG	<i>kana</i>	<i>kani</i>	<i>na'a'a</i>	<i>kata</i>	<i>ta'a</i>	(<i>i</i>) <i>na</i>
2SG	<i>kena</i>	<i>kene</i>	<i>ta'a'a</i>	<i>kenata</i>	<i>tita'a</i>	(<i>i</i>) <i>ta</i>
3SM	<i>kaka</i>	<i>kaki</i>	<i>mo'a</i>	<i>kato</i>	<i>ya'a</i>	(<i>i</i>) <i>so</i>
3SF	<i>kota</i>	<i>koti, kuti</i>	<i>kwa'a</i>	<i>katikwa</i>	<i>ko'a</i>	(<i>i</i>) <i>ko</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>kaba</i>	<i>kabi</i>	<i>ta'a'a</i>	<i>kabita</i>	<i>bita'a</i>	(<i>i</i>) <i>ba</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>ka'a</i>	<i>ka'i</i>	<i>'a'a'a</i>	<i>ka'ota</i>	<i>'ota'a</i>	(<i>i</i>) <i>ya</i>
2M.PL	<i>kina</i>	<i>kini</i>	<i>ti'a'a</i>	<i>kinata</i>	<i>tita'a</i>	(<i>t</i>) <i>iti</i>
2F.PL	<i>kina</i>	<i>kini</i>	<i>te'a'a</i>	<i>kinata</i>	<i>teta'a</i>	(<i>t</i>) <i>ete</i>
3M.PL	<i>kicha</i>	<i>kichi</i>	<i>mi'a</i>	<i>kichata</i>	<i>pi'a</i>	(<i>i</i>) <i>si</i>
3F.PL	<i>keta</i>	<i>kete</i>	<i>me'a</i>	<i>ketata</i>	<i>pe'a</i>	(<i>e</i>) <i>se</i>

- (28) a. *Ono haka-ta 'ina 'ase.*
 1M.SG go-1SG? 1SG? sleep
 ‘I am going off to sleep.’ (Bala 1998: 24)
- b. *Kaka lhele dzu'a be'ena.*
 3M.SG wake.up big-3M.SG then
 ‘Then the head man woke up.’ (Bala 1998: 24)

Pronominals also frequently occur in their relativized forms, as in (29). They probably derive from the verb *kwa-* ‘to give’ followed by a pronominal. In addition to being used when relativizing a nominal, the relative particles can be used to indicate ‘when/where’, e.g. *Hakaata kwaako ishoko* ‘I go to the sun’ (Berger 1943: 105); *Kwete tlatla-kwa dzane-hena bami seme ...* ‘When you pick and bring to me this food ...’ (Bala 1998: 22).

(29) Subject	Past	Past habitual	“Present”	Future	Conditional
1SG	<i>kwana'a</i>	<i>kwahena'a</i>	<i>kwata</i>	<i>kwene('e)</i>	<i>k(w)anikwi</i>
2SG	<i>kwata'a</i>	<i>kwaheta'a</i>	<i>kwatita</i>	<i>kwete('e)</i>	
M					<i>kwe'ena</i>
F					<i>kwatikwi</i>
3M.SG	<i>k(w)amo</i>	<i>kwaheto</i>	<i>kwaya</i>	<i>kweso</i>	<i>kweso</i>
3F.SG	<i>k(w)akwa</i>	<i>kwahitikwa</i>	<i>kwako</i>	<i>kweko</i>	<i>kweko</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>kwebe'e</i>	<i>kwahaba'a</i>	<i>kwabita</i>	<i>kwebe('e)</i>	<i>kwabikwi</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>kwe'e('e)</i>	<i>kwaheta'a</i>	<i>kwa'ota</i>	<i>kwe'e('e)</i>	<i>kwa'ukwi/kwa'okwi</i>
2M.PL	<i>kwiti('i)</i>	<i>kwahiti'a</i>	<i>kwatita</i>	<i>kwiti('i)</i>	<i>kwiti</i>
2F.PL	<i>kwete('e)</i>	<i>kwahete'a</i>	<i>kwateta</i>	<i>kwete('e)</i>	<i>kwete</i>
3M.PL	<i>kwisi</i>	<i>kwahiti</i>	<i>kwapi('i)</i>	<i>kwisi</i>	<i>kwi'icha</i>
3F.PL	<i>kwese</i>	<i>kwahete</i>	<i>kwape('e)</i>	<i>kwese</i>	<i>kwe'eta</i>

Apart from the *-he-* habitual marker, it is difficult to determine how various aspects are grammaticalized. There appears to be a *-cho-* progressive or participial marker, e.g. *kota fa-ka-cho komati-ko* ‘elands were drinking’, as well as a participial *-chana*, which is probably a progressive *-cha-* particle (cf. *-cho-*), followed by the locative *-na*, i.e. *haka-mo lla-ll a-chana* ‘he went a(t)-hunting’. But also cf. *-chana-* apparently used as an imperfective in *tall'i-chana-na'a* ‘I was/am almost dead’, or as an infinitival affix in *hupe-te'e haka-chana* ‘after a bit, you go’. The *-nV-* particle can be translated as ‘must’ (e.g. *chi-ni-ne'e* ‘I (m) must run/it is I who runs’; *dza-ne-ya* ‘he must come/it is he who comes’), or as an inchoative (e.g. *dza-ne-ya* ‘he is coming/on his way’), but is probably better considered as a locative, or perhaps, comitative, grammaticalized as an aspect marker.

There is little morphological marking of mood, or non-declarative speech acts. But conditional mood can be marked (cf. 24), e.g. *Natikosa haka- 'a'a Endamagha kwa 'ukwi li-ya Pandisha chi-ya-'e'e* ‘Yesterday we went to Endamaghan; if we had seen Pandisha, we

would have brought him'. And imperatives are regularly formed with a -'V suffix in the singular, with V being a reduplication of the stem-final vowel, -si in the masculine plural, and -te in the feminine plural, as in (30). Direct objects can be marked on imperatives, but complete paradigms have not been elicited, but cf. *!e'e kalamu!* 'you (SG) cut a pen (M.SG)', *!o'o ts'iti-bi* 'you (SG) cut trees (m.pl)!', *!eta-si nyanya-ko* 'you (M.PL) cut tomatoes (F.PL)!'.⁷

(30)	<i>dza-'a</i>	'Come!'	(2SG)	<i>chi-'i</i>	'Run!'	(2SG)
	<i>dza-si</i>	'Come!'	(2M.PL)	<i>chi-si</i>	'Run!'	(2M.PL)
	<i>dza-te</i>	'Come!'	(2F.PL)	<i>chi-te</i>	'Run!'	(2F.PL)

1.9 Grammatical Relations

1.9.1 Object Enclitics: Overview

Subjects are marked with the particles discussed above, which are pronominal arguments to the verb. These particles do not distinguish between subjects of transitives and subjects of intransitives. Agents and experiencers are both typically treated as subjects. Other nominals act as adjuncts to the verb.

Grammatical relations other than subject/agent are marked with pronominal enclitics on the verb, as in (31). Pronominal particles occur that mark direct objects, or the relationship between a patient and a verb, i.e. the accusative case relation. Relations such as recipients, goals and sources are marked with an oblique or applicative particle. One or other type of object clitic may be obligatory for one verb but not for another.

(31)	Object	DO1	DO2	APPL	OBL1	OBL2
	1SG	<i>kwa</i>	<i>kwa</i>	<i>tikwa</i>	<i>kwa</i>	<i>ko'o</i>
	2M.SG	<i>ena</i>	<i>ena</i>	<i>ena</i>	<i>ena</i>	
	2F.SG	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>tina</i>	<i>na</i>	
	3M.SG	<i>a</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ma'a</i>
	3F.SG	<i>ta</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>tita</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>si'i</i>
	1PL.INCL	<i>ona</i>	<i>ona</i>	<i>ona</i>	<i>ona</i>	<i>'a</i>
	1PL.EXCL	<i>oba</i>	<i>oba</i>	<i>oba</i>	<i>oba</i>	<i>ya'a</i>
	2M.PL	<i>ina</i>	<i>ina</i>	<i>ina</i>	<i>ina</i>	
	2F.PL	<i>ina</i>	<i>ina</i>	<i>ina</i>	<i>ina</i>	
	3M.PL	<i>icha</i>	<i>icha</i>	<i>icha</i>	<i>icha</i>	<i>ichi'i</i>
	3F.PL	<i>eta</i>	<i>eta</i>	<i>eta</i>	<i>eta</i>	<i>ete'e</i>

Subject clitics can be cliticized to the object clitics, e.g. *kwe-kwa-mo* 'he gave to me', *kwi-sa-ta* 'I will give to her', *kwi-hicha-ta* 'I will give them (m.pl)', *l'-eta-mo* 'he kissed them (F.PL)', *l'o-ta-na'a* 'I kissed her', *l'-a-na'a* 'I kissed him'.

1.9.2 Direct Object Enclitics

The majority of verbs that can subcategorize for a direct object take do1 marking, but a large number take do2 marking instead, e.g. *gosanga-* 'to find', *'apa'a-* 'to follow', *tul'a-* 'to pluck (feathers)', *ta'a-* 'to close', *'ishi'a-* 'to help', *tl'akwa-* 'to carry in arms', *lla-* 'to tie'. The class of do marking must be specified in the lexicon, as any semantic distinction between the particles is now lost, cf. *bahla-* 'to break' + DO2, but *potl'o-* 'to break' + DO1.

Verbs differ in how the clitics attach to the stem, as in (32). In some, the final vowel is replaced by the first vowel of a vowel-initial clitic. In others, the vowels are added after the stem, often with [y], [w] or [h] hiatus between the stem-final vowel and the clitic-initial vowel. There is presumably a relationship between this behaviour and the accent pattern of the verb root and clitic, though this has not yet been investigated.

(32) Direct object enclitics

	3M.SG.DO	3F.SG.DO	3M.PL.DO	3F.PL.DO
<u>DO1</u> final V replaced:				
<i>l'o-</i> 'to kiss'	<i>l'-a</i>	<i>l'o-ta</i>	<i>l'-eta</i>	<i>l'-icha</i>
<i>hi!'e-</i> 'to remove'	<i>hi!'-a</i>	<i>hi!'e-ta</i>	<i>hi!'-icha</i>	<i>hi!'-eta</i>
<i>!e-</i> 'to cut'	<i>!-a</i>	<i>!e-ta</i>	<i>!-icha</i>	<i>!-eta</i>
no final V replacement:				
<i>luma</i> 'to fold'	<i>luma-(h)a</i>	<i>luma-ta</i>	<i>luma-icha</i>	<i>luma-eta</i>
<i>kwachacha-</i> 'to peel'	<i>kwachacha-a</i>	<i>kwachacha-ta</i>	<i>kwachacha-icha</i>	<i>kwachacha-eta</i>
<i>potl'o-</i> 'to break'	<i>potl'o-a</i>	<i>potl'o-ta</i>	<i>potl'ɔ-wicha</i>	<i>potl'o-weta</i>
	3M.SG.DO	3F.SG.DO	3M.PL.DO	3F.PL.DO
final V replaced (except in 3F.SG):				
<i>chu'u-</i> 'to pull'	<i>chu'-a</i>	<i>chu'u-ta</i>	<i>chu'-icha</i>	<i>chu'-eta</i>
<u>DO2</u>				
<i>lewa-</i> 'to sharpen'	<i>lewa-na</i>	<i>lewa-ta</i>	<i>lew-icha</i>	<i>lew-eta</i>
APPL no final V replacement:				
<i>l'api-</i> 'to dry'	<i>l'api-ta</i>	<i>l'api-tita-</i>	<i>l'api-icha</i>	<i>l'api-yeta</i>

1.9.3 Indirect Objects and Oblique Enclitics

Some verbs allow the applicative (cf. 31) to increase the number of arguments taken by the verb. The pronominals represented by the applicative can have a variety of meanings, including causative and benefactive, as in (33).

- (33) *llats'i-tita-na'a* 'I sweated *because of her.*' (cf. *llats'i-* 'to sweat')
- titi'i'-i-tita-na'a* 'I startled *her.*' (cf. *titi'i'a-* 'to be startled')
- musi-tita-na'a* 'I was bothered *by her.*'
- hla'a-tita-* 'want/like *her/it* (cf. *hla'a-* 'to like, love, want')
- hukwa-tita-* 'stand *it/her* up' (cf. *hukwa-* 'to stand up')
- biki-tita-* 'scare *it/her* into running away' (cf. *biti-* 'to scare into running away')
- tisi-tita-* 'raise *it/her* up' (cf. *tisi-* 'to grow up')
- huti'i-tita-* 'make *her* late' (cf. *huti'i-* 'to delay, be late')
- 'ehlawi-tikwa-mo* 'he reminded me' (i.e. 'he *caused me* to remember')

Another kind of applicative occurs in a few stems with a *-ke* affix, e.g. *tuts'i-ke-* 'to urinate on someone', cf. *tuts'i-* 'to urinate'; *ts'e'a-ke-* 'to shit on someone/something', cf. *ts'e'a-* 'to shit'; *tsi'a-ke-* 'to have diarrhoea on something/someone', cf. *tsi'a-* 'to have

diarrhoea'; *we-ke-la-* 'to hurry (to do) something', cf. *wela-* 'to hurry'; *'e-ke-ke-la* 'to work on something', cf. *'ela-* 'to make, build'.

The number of arguments taken by a verb may be decreased with the use of the morpheme *-iya-*, which is used for both passives and reflexives, e.g. *k'was-iya-na'a* 'I was hit', *k'was-iya-ami* 'they (m.pl) were hit'; *chakw-iya-* 'to choke' (cf. *chakwi-* 'to strangle').

The most common way indirect objects are indicated is with the oblique 1 particles (cf. 34). As mentioned earlier, possession or association are often noted with the oblique particle. The oblique particles are marked for person, gender and number, e.g. *lla'ana-sa-ta hagu-ko* 'I am in the centre of the maize (3F.SG)', *la'ana-ma-ta l'ets'a* 'I am in the centre of camp (3M.SG)'; *etletle-sa-na'a gali-ko* 'I moved aside for/because of the car'.

(34) <i>la'ana-</i>	+ OBL1	'to be in the centre of something' (<i>la'ana-</i> 'to be in the centre')
<i>tets'e-</i>	+ OBL1	'to return something to someone' (<i>tets'e-</i> 'to return, reply')
<i>chokwa-</i>	+ OBL1	'to follow someone' (<i>chokwa-</i> 'to hold')
<i>akanabe-</i>	+ OBL1	'of someone, to be called'
<i>!ikwibi-</i>	+ OBL1	'of someone, to sleep'
<i>pa'a-</i>	+ OBL1	'greeting to long-lost someone'
<i>bahe-</i>	+ OBL1	'to be ready for someone'
<i>shaka-</i>	+ OBL1	'to turn over because of someone/something'
<i>etletle-</i>	+ OBL1	'to move aside for/because of someone/something'
<i>!V-</i>	+ OBL1	'to cut something for someone'

The oblique 2 (cf. 31) enclitics are a special form of the oblique clitics used only in 2SG imperatives (cf. 35). For instance, *he-te'e* 'you (SG) tell them (F.PL)', combines the 1SG and the 2SG ending, while *h-eta-si* 'you (m.pl) tell them (F.PL)' keeps the morphemes distinct.

- (35) *Te, !e-ma'a kalamu Gudo.* 'You (SG), cut the pen for Gudo.'
Te, !e-se'e kalamu Boni-ko. 'You (SG), cut the pen for Bonny.'
Te, !i-si'i kalamu-bi Boni-ko. 'You (SG), cut the pens for Bonny.'
Te, !i-ma'a kalamu-bi Gudo. 'You (SG), cut the pens for Gudo.'

For at least some verbs, when the verb takes an oblique particle, there is a different kind of agreement with the number and gender of a direct object (i.e. [e] for masculine singular and feminine plural, and [i] for feminine singular and masculine plural). Examples are given in (36). These are probably participial forms, e.g. 'Sewing-it is what he did for her'. There are no clear examples of 3-place predicates from non-elicited speech.

- (36) *!ap-e-ma-mo* '(He) sewed a cloth (3M.SG) for
tl'o'a. him.
- !ap-e-sa-mo* '(He) sewed a cloth (3M.SG) for
tl'o'a. her.'
- !ap-i-ma-mo* '(He) sewed a cloth (3F.SG) for
tl'o'a-ko. him.'
- !ap-i-sa-mo* '(He) sewed a cloth (3F.SG) for
tl'o'a-ko. her.'
- !ap-i-ma-mo* '(He) sewed cloths (3M.PL) for
tl'o'a-bi. him.'
- !ap-i-sa-mo* '(He) sewed cloths (3M.PL) for
tl'o'a-bi. her.'
- !ap-e-ma-mo* '(He) sewed cloths (3F.PL) for
tl'o'a-be. him.'

!’ap-e-sa-mo ‘(He) sewed cloths (3F.PL) for
il’o’a-be. her.’

1.9.4 Locatives

The locative *-na* can be used without preceding agreement, particularly when directionality is already clear, e.g. *tlehe-na* ‘(is) below’, *’ato-na* ‘(is) behind’, *chiki-na* ‘inside’, as in (37a–b), or with preceding agreement, as in (37c–d).

- (37) a. *Puhlu-na’a* *hi!’e-na’a* *Amelika-na*
arrive-1SG.PAST come.from-1SG.PAST America-LOC
‘I arrived here coming from America.’
- b. *Haka-kwa* *lets’a-na* *ma* *Davidi.*
go-3F.SG.PAST house-LOC OBL3M.SG David
‘She went to David’s house.’
- c. *!’aka-na’a* *ts’okwana* *nkolo-ti-na.*
shoot-1M.SG.PAST giraffe-3M.SG heart-GEN-LOC
‘I shot a giraffe in the heart.’ (Bala 1998: 16)
- d. *Bocho* *hamana* *hi!’e* *bada-ni-na*
come.here here come.out hole-GEN-LOC
‘Come out of the hole.’

1.9.5

Instrumental

The instrumental case is noted with a preposition marked for gender of the instrument, as in (38a–b). There are no examples of a grammatically plural (i.e. distributive) instrumental. Berger’s (1943) texts show *nina* used as an instrumental for both masculine and feminine instruments, so the instrumentals in (38a–b) are perhaps a recent development, possibly based on Swahili *na*

‘and, with’, and an instrumental/genitive *-ni-*, which functions as an instrumental in (38c).

- (38) a. *Handika'eheta ne-na kalamu.*
 write-2F.SG.UT INSTR-M pen (M.SG)
 ‘I will write with a pen.’
- b. *Ela-ta-ta mulinga-ko ne-ta gundida-ko.*
 build-3F.SG.DO-1F.SG.UT beehive-3F.SG INSTR-F hammer-3F.SG
 ‘I will build a beehive using a hammer.’
- c. *'Aku 'ihi'a ni-yako hako panga?*
 what.kind thing (3M.SG) INSTR-3F.SG.COP this (3SG.F) machete (3SG.F)
 ‘What are you using this machete for?’

1.9.6 Comitative and Accompaniment Markers

Comitative is identical to the genitive case, but agreement is only with the noun that is cliticized. The markers are *-ne* (F.SG), *-te* (M.SG), *-che* (M.PL), *-te* (F.PL), e.g. *'one-ne* ‘with me (F.SG)’, *'one-te* ‘with me (M.SG)’, *mu'a-ne* ‘with a thin stick (M.SG)’, *mu'a-te* ‘with a thick stick (F.SG)’, *kalamu-biche* ‘with pens (M.PL)’, *nyanya-bite* ‘with tomatoes (F.PL)’. The comitative can also be used to increase the valence of a verb, as in (39).

- (39) *Etletle-na'a ne-na gali-ko.*
 move.aside-1SG.PAST COM-M car-3F.SG
 ‘I moved aside for/because of the car.’

Distinct from the comitative and genitive is the accompaniment marker. The affixes *-me-* (feminine) and *-mi-* (masculine) appear to function as accompaniment markers in sentences such as *lichana Tabashi mibi* ‘I saw Tabashi and his cohorts/friends’. This marker is obligatory for plurals of certain kinship terms. For instance, we have *'edze* ‘husband’, *'edzi-mi-pi* ‘husbands’; *nitame-a-kwa* ‘my brother in law’, *nitami-pi-kwa* ‘my brothers in law’.

1.10 Summary

Hadza has a variety of morphological processes including (en)cliticization, partial (prefixal) reduplication, infixation, and suffixation. The basic structure of the noun is:

N-(Diminutive)-(Agreement)

The basic structure of the verb is:

V-(Direct object clitic)-(Indirect object clitic)-(Subject/
tense clitic)

2

Sandawe

Edward D. Elderkin

2.1 Definition of Word

The essential criteria which define a word in Sandawe are given below. They have to refer to phonology and to the phonetic realisation, but also to syntax.

(a) Syllables

A word consists of an integral number of syllables.

(b) The realisation of low tone

Before the first high-toned mora in a word, sequences of low-toned moras are on a level pitch.

Within a word, sequences of low-toned moras initial in a syllable following a high-toned mora are realised on a falling pitch; where sequences of low-toned moras following a syllable-final high-toned mora are realised

on a level pitch, there is a word boundary after that high, unless downstep can be demonstrated.

(40) 
 tsí mànàké:tsʰé.
 tsí mànà ké: tsʰi sé
 1SG know DEC₁ NEG 1SG
 ‘I don’t know.’

(c) Successive highs

Sequences of high-toned moras within the same word are on the same pitch.

(41) 
 mátó
 gourd

Where sequences of high-toned moras are realised on different pitches, the change from one pitch to another indicates a word boundary, unless the criterion of integrity of structure can be invoked. The following example shows a word boundary:

(42) 
 tsá: | i.
 ‘I came.’

(d) Unity of Structure

But where the same pitch pattern as in (42) occurs and integrity of structure in terms of the realisation in sequence of formative classes can be stated, the structural criterion prevails. In (43), the formative *po* ‘2SG’, is not known to appear in word-initial position, and the downstep, [!], indicates the underlying presence of *ts^hèts^hi* negative, which cannot appear word-finally. The whole is one word.

(43) 

k'é:[!]pó.

k'é: ts^hi Pó

cry NEG 2SG

'You didn't cry.'

(e)

Substitution

There are occasions when substitution is needed. The sequence

(44) 

xé:[!]í

xé: í

and

í

bring and come (SG.S)

is shown to be two words by substituting $\bar{\text{à}}\text{tí}$ for í .

1 (see 51), but may become part of the word, as in (55) below; *lé?*, used to indicate that the speaker does not know something, is found both as a word clitic and as an independent word (usually then in Key 1).

(47) ¹há!àpòjnèlé?`?
há!à pò j Ø nè lé?
 call 2SG IRR 3M.SG Q
 'Is he going to call you I wonder?'

(48) ¹hèwé ²dògósúnè ¹lé?`?
hèwé dògósú nè lé?
 3M.SG sister Q
 'His younger sister is she perhaps?'

2.2 Formative Classes within Words

The component formative structure of a word can be divided into three layers:

- a. clitics (in Sandawe always final);
- b. inflectional affixes (in Sandawe usually suffixes);
- c. derivational affixes (within the stem).

The boundaries between these classes are not always sharp.

2.2.1 Clitics

Clitics are not tied to any word or formative class; they are syntactically phrase or clause suffixes and are found attached to the word which corresponds to the last part of the syntactic phrase or clause, extending that word. There are four anomalous clitics, whose anomaly lies in

their usually having a key specification independent of the key of the word to which they are clitics. It could be argued that these are extra-syntactic. These are treated first.

2.2.1.1 Anomalous Clitics

There are four clitics which are anomalous in their behaviour.

(49) *jó*: ‘duration’

ó: ‘finality’

*ṽ*¹: ‘something else is coming’

v̂: ‘affirmation’

jó: appears as *ó*: after *i* and *e*, and as either *jó*: or *ó*: after *a*; after a nasalised vowel, *gó*: is heard. Except for some forms of *jó*:, the clitics begin with a vowel, and no word begins with a vowel. Those which have an oral vowel cause the epenthesis of *g* after a nasalised vowel, and those anomalous clitics which have a nasalised vowel extend their nasality back onto a previous oral vowel. They behave as words in that they have a specification of key which is independent of the key of word to which they are attached; the key which they carry is 1, although *ó*: has been found on a lower pitch.

- (50) ¹hià ²l'ákíó:i:ʔ.
hi à l'aki ó: jʔ.
 'when ...' 3M.SG descend '... when'
 'when he'd got right to the bottom'
- (51) ¹miníkiwàsúsù:¹gói.
miniki wà sí sũ: ó:
 know MLT sí 1PL
 'We'd got to know that.'
- (52) ¹ts'éxìsé¹ts'é¹ó:ô:
ts'exì sé ts'é ¹ó: ¹ô:
 alone 1SG NEG
 'It's not me alone.'
- (53) ¹l'ě:sípò¹ô:
l'ě: sí pò ¹v:
 arrive sí 2SG
 'So you've got here then.'
- (54) ¹ts_I¹:¹ĩ:
tsí ỹ
 1SG
 'now me, I ...'

Example (52) has shown also that *ó:* has been used together with *ô:*. *ó:* has also been found integrated into the structure of a word as in (50) and the following example.

- (55) ¹wèréó:sà.
 wèré ó: sà
 walk 3F.SG
 ‘She went on walking about.’

It would be difficult to analyse these anomalous clitics as anomalous words, anomalous in not having an initial consonant, from which the other phonetic phenomena derive.

As a type of hesitation phenomenon, lengthening of the final vowel of a word on its end pitch is sometimes used whilst the speaker is recalling something. It does not have the urgency and floor-holding properties of \check{v} : ‘something else is coming’.

- (56) ¹hóts^hǝ:²hóts^hǝ:kí:::
 hóts^hǝ: hóts^hǝ: kí
 what what as.well
 ‘and some other things as well like ...’

2.2.1.2 Ordinary Clitics

These are here grouped subjectively into those which express an attitude on the part of the speaker or give perhaps additional information about the phrase they follow (nonsyntactic clitics) and those which are part of the syntactic structure (postpositions).

2.2.1.2.1 Non-Syntactic

kí ‘as well, too, even’

- (57) 1l̥é:gò: 2télà 2kʰò:ʔ.kí.
 l̥é:gò: télà kʰò: ʔ ts'í kí.
 we.arrived completely house SPEC PP even
 'We even reached right up to the house.'
- (58) 1lá:ʔèxi 1hübä:ki:kíá: 2wämö:ki.
 lá:ʔèxi hübä:ki: kí á: wämö:ki
 the.hare.among.others spider too NOM make.friends
 'The hare and the spider made friends.'

kô ná. The exact import of these is not clear, they seem approximately equivalent to English uses of 'now', 'so', 'then'.

- (59) 1ʔútá:gì:ná 1jáʔ'bô: 2bã:rà:ké:.
 ʔútá: gé ì ná jáʔ'bô: bã:rà: ké:
 ago DEC₂ 2SG that.work begin.it DEC₁
 'So a long time ago it was that you began work.'
- (60) 1mànã:sàkô 3xaré 1ʔaré ?
 mànã: sà kô xaré ʔaré
 know 3F.SG perhaps true
 'She knew about it perhaps, didn't she now?'

síʔ 'as far as is concerned'

This is locative in origin (see discussion of *sí* below at 107) and is sometimes used to show the topic of the conversation.

- (61) ²swê . . . ¹hétékâ:kí ^{2mb}ô:sí? ¹híkâ: ²?ié ?
swê hétékâ: kí mbô: sí? híkí à ?ié
 now that.marrying too that.matter how 3M.SG stay
 ‘Now, that matter of marriage, what happened?’
- (62) ¹hèwéxé:sí? ¹!wé:’pó ?
hèwéxé: sí? !wé:’pó
 those.things you.didn’t.try
 ‘You didn’t try that?’

*lé?*_o indicates that the speaker does not know (see 47 and 48).

*ká?*_o indicates reporting, either of speech, or of a presumed event which the speaker does not entirely vouch for.

- (63) ¹ǎ: ¹ts’éxègá? ^oká? ^ots^hě:.
ǎ: ts’éxè gá? ká? ts^hě:
 goat one DEC₂ ? absent
 ‘There’s one goat then it seems, it’s not there.’
- (64) ?á:ká?_o
?á: ká?
 N.CONJ.3PL
 ‘and they said’

Subject PGN:

The subject PGN is one of two systems of PGN formatives, the second is the nominal PGN suffix, treated later. PGN abbreviates person, gender and number. The subject PGN is attached to the last constituent of any phrasal category, without entering the constituency of that phrase. The forms with the imperative/optative are also given.

(65)	Basic	Imperative/optative
1SG	<i>s̩</i>	<i>è?</i>
2SG	<i>i</i>	<i>kò</i>
3M.SG	<i>à</i>	<i>kwà</i>
3F.SG	<i>sà</i>	<i>x̩sa</i>
1PL	<i>ò</i>	<i>ò?</i>
2PL	<i>è</i>	<i>kwè(rá)</i>
3PL	<i>ʔà [áʔ]</i>	

- (66) ²sá: ¹dzágònàsà ²t^hâ
sá: *dzágò* *nà* *sà* *t^hâ*
 N.CONJ.3F.SG net to 3F.SG run
 ‘and she runs into the net’

For a 3MLT subject, the 3M.SG form is used as subject PGN. However, a plural verb must be used with a MLT subject.

- (67) ¹hǎ:ɣwè ¹mùt^hùgù: ¹ʔóʔà: ²té:.
hǎ:ɣwè ¹*mùt^hùgù:* ¹*ʔóʔ* *à* *té:*
 those (MLT) poor.people there 3M.SG stand (PL)
 ‘The poor ones stood on that side.’

(Suppletion is sometimes used to differentiate a singular subject verb stem and a plural subject verb stem. Compare the verb above with that in 70; see also 44 and 45).

2.2.1.2.2 Syntactic

mé: ‘for the sake of, because of’:

- (68) ¹mākă:mě: ²má:mè
 mākă: mé: má:mè
 things uncle
 ‘friendship for the sake of gain’

A fuller form is *kimé*:

- (69) ¹hóts^hõ:kimà: ²hàpú ³ʔiò ⁴bik^hé:sú ?
 hóts^hõ: kímé: à ²hàpú ³ʔiò bik^hé:sú
 what 3M.SG your.mother leave.her
 ‘Why did he leave your mother?’

xéʔ^o ‘like’:

- (70) ¹ʔixà: ¹si^ogã:nàxéʔà: ²!érê: ²ʔúmé.
 ʔixj à: si^ogã:mà xéʔ à !éré i ʔúmé
 thus 3M.SG needle 3M.SG prick and stand (SG)
 ‘It stays pricking (me) there like a needle.’

ʔĩ: ‘with’:

- (71) ¹|àníʔĩ: ²!’ínó:
 |àní ʔĩ: !’ínó:
 bow hunting
 ‘hunting with a bow’

- (72) ¹lâ:ʔè ¹nàʔásò:ʔĩ:gà ²ʔã^ozã: . . .
 lâ:ʔè nàʔásò i ʔĩ: à ʔã^ozà i
 hare fruit.sp. SPEC 3M.SG begin and
 ‘the hare started with the fruits and (. . . finished a rich man)’

- (73) ¹ʔékélé: kwá: ¹ts’õ:ts’iʔĩ:gà ²l’ò
 ʔékélé: i kwá: ts’õ:ts’i ʔĩ: à l’ò
 hyena SPEC N.CONJ.3M.SG hunger PP 3M.SG sleep
 ‘and the hyena slept hungry’

ts'j can be suffixed under certain conditions to the NP₀ standing as object of an imperfective verb.

- (74) ³kwáxj ¹hík'á: ¹'é:ó: ¹há:xé::ts'á:
kwáxj hík'i à 'é: ó: há: xi é: ̃: ts'i à
 N.CONJ. go and look.at 'duration' goat MLT 3M.SG SPEC 3M.SG
 'and straightaway he went and looked at the goats'

l'à?:

- (75) ¹nó:²dòal'á?isj ²ʔútá: ²dʒòmó ¹há:ʔi:¹s̃i:
nó:dòà l'à? si ʔúta: dʒómó há: ʔi: si ¹ṽ
 Nondoa 1SG ago buy goat with 1SG 'affirmation'
 'I bought (it) long ago from Nondoa, for a goat.'

Locatives:

tà:

- (76) ²hèwé ²kìdzídʒi:tà
hèwé kìdzídʒi: tà
 that village
 'in that village'

nà:

- (77) ¹hèwé ²'úmá ³xé:swi:ts'énè.
hèwé l'úma ná xé: sú j Ø ts'énè
 3M.SG land bring 3F.SG IRR 3M.SG NEG.Q
 'He would take her to his country, wouldn't he.'

ts'ì:

- (78) ¹ǎ:ts'á? ²l'ò.
ǎ: ts'i ʔà l'ò
 road 3PL sleep
 'They slept on the way.'

kɪ̀l appears only as a relic, in *hákɪ̀l* ‘where’ and *ts’á:kɪ̀l* ‘at home’ (cf. *ts’á:mà* ‘to home’).

(79) ²swê ¹hákɪ̀ ²l’òsɪ̀ ?
swê hákɪ̀ l’ò sɪ̀
 now sleep IRR 2PL
 ‘Now where are you going to sleep?’

(80) ¹núásà ²máⁿts^hàwà ²ts’á:kɪ̀.
núá sà máⁿts^hà wà ts’á:kɪ̀
ugali 3M.SG eat MLT
 ‘She used to eat *ugali* at home.’

ts^hè ‘privative’ is always followed by a nominal PGN.

(81) ¹ts’á:kɪ̀ts^hèsɪ̀ ¹l’á:sɪ̀ ²hǎ:gà.
ts’á:kɪ̀ ts^hè sɪ̀ l’á: sɪ̀ hǎ:gà
 at home PRIV 1SG well 1SG arise
 ‘I was all right when I left home.’

The previous example has also shown how locative postpositions can be piled up. In the next example, *tè* can be taken as an alloform of *tà*, and *l’* of *ts’ì*.

(82) ¹l’èmésú ¹tésú ²síésú ¹dédú? ²tèts^hèsú.
l’èmésú tésú sɪ̀ síésú dèdú l’è tè ts^hè sù sɪ̀
 woman another 1SG took.her Dedu LOC LOC PRIV 3F.SG 1SG
 ‘I married another woman, one from around Dedu.’

A verbal clause has been found preceding a postposition.

- (83) ¹hòsá: ¹ĩĩ:gà? ²ĩí.
hèsó á: ĩĩ: ?à ĩíí
 they NOM meat 3PL eat.meat
 ‘They ate meat.’
¹hòsá: ¹ĩĩ:gà? ²ĩí?`tè
 ‘at the place where they ate the meat’

2.2.2 Nominals

2.2.2.1 Inflexional Affixes

Nominal PGN:

The nominal PGN is technically considered a suffix, as it is immediately preceded by a nominal stem. However, several different structures can function as nominal stem, which gives the nominal PGN a somewhat clitic-like ability. It needs to be quoted twice, once with a high tone, once with a low tone, because of the segmental differences in 1SG and 3 SG. Choice of tone seems often to depend on the tone of the item to which it is suffixed. Its form is related to that of the free-standing pronoun, which is also quoted here.

(84)	Nominal PGN		Free-standing
	High	Low	PRO/DEM
1SG	<i>sé</i>	<i>sḷ</i>	<i>tsí</i>
2SG	<i>pó</i>	<i>pò</i>	<i>hàpú</i>
3M.SG	<i>é:</i>	<i>Ø/m/w/è</i>	<i>hèwé</i>
3F.SG	<i>é:sú/sú</i>	<i>sḷ</i>	<i>hèsú</i>
1PL	<i>sḷ:</i>	<i>sḷ:</i>	<i>sḷ:</i>
2PL	<i>sḷ:</i>	<i>sḷ:</i>	<i>sḷ:</i>
3PL	<i>só</i>	<i>sò</i>	<i>hèsó</i>
3MLT			<i>hèwéxé:</i>

There are other forms which it is convenient to list here, but which are never found suffixed to simple nominal stems.

(85)	3C.SG	<i>ʔ_o</i>
	3MLT	<i>ʔ_owá ʔ_owà</i>

The 3C.SG (common) form is only found in certain syntactic uses, and fossilised in a few items; the use of “common” derives from the label for a cognate form in Central Khoesan languages, and does not describe the semantics of the Sandawe form.

The nominal PGN multiple forms include the formative *wà* (see also 102); the freestanding pronoun has *xḷ*. Multiple forms relate to humans and non-humans, plural forms to humans only.

The formative *xḷ*:

Suffixed to a noun stem, *xj* indicates the referent of that noun stem, plus others of a similar kind. It is multiple.

- (86) ¹sér⁹gèréxj ²t^hò:ts'é:
sér⁹gèré xj t^hò:ts'é:
 Sengere MLT brother
 ‘the brother of Sengere and of the others’

It can be followed by a nominal PGN:

- (87) ¹ts'éxjsé'ts'é¹ó:ô: ¹ʔálanixjsú:
ts'éxj sé ts'é ó: ô: ʔálanì xj sú:
 one 1SG NEG ‘duration’ ‘finality’ monitor.lizard MLT 1PL
 ‘I’m not alone, I’m with Monitor Lizard’ (we are Monitor Lizard and other(s)).

- (88) ¹hèsúxjikísìnè ?
hèsú xj kí sî: nè
 3F.SG MLT too 2PL Q
 ‘Are you still with her? (are you (PL) she and other(s))’

Nominative:

The nominative marker is *á:*. In 1PL, *só:* is used as well as *sú:gá:*. The nominative marker is usually preceded by a nominal PGN (which in 3M.SG is \emptyset) (see 90).

2.2.2.2 Specifier

The specifier *ʔ* follows something functioning as a nominal, and is itself followed by a low-toned nominal PGN (see 90).

2.2.3 Nominal Stems

Both noun stems and adjective stems are associated with a person, gender and number. One difference is that 3MLT is marked by *ʔwa* with adjectives (tones

predictable from those on the preceding stem), but unmarked (or shown with *xj*) with nouns.

2.2.3.1 Noun Stems

Noun stems are typically monomorphemic.

(89) ǀèw ‘buffalo’

t^hě: ‘tree’

The vast majority of the uses of nouns are in the third person, and as such, there is usually no nominal PGN present as the appropriate 3M.SG suffix is Ø. However, nouns may be used in other persons.

(90) ¹tsá: ¹lá:ʔèsì:sá: ²túkáts’í
tsí á: lá:ʔè sî ï̃ sî á: túkáts’í
 1SG NOM hare 1SG SPEC 1SG NOM show.oneself
 ‘... and then me, the hare, I’ll show myself’

(91) ¹ʔók^hò ²ǀǎ:pò
ʔók^hò ǀǎ: pò
 oi goat 2SG
 ‘oi, you goat, ...’

Some noun stems, however, do have what seems a fossilised or idiosyncractic PGN suffixed to them.

- (92) *ts'ò.ǹw* ' (someone's) younger brother' cf. *ts'ò:* 'to get small' (SG.S)
ĩ̀ò.ǹw ' (someone's) son'
ĩ̀ò:sìỳ ' (someone's) daughter'
ĩ̀ò:kòts'í 'daughters'
ĩ̀ò:kò 'children'
ĩ̀èmésé: 'male human'
ĩ̀èmésú 'female human'
ĩ̀òmósò 'humans'
ĩ̀èmésú: 'we humans'
ĩ̀úmsú 'wife'

The use of *é:* (M) and *sú* (F) is especially found with kinship terms, but also with nouns referring to humans by characteristic.

- (93) *bàlímáé:* 'brother in law'
bàlímású 'sister in law'
bènégé: 'rich person, employer'
máxàé: 'husband, man' (cf. *máxà* 'young male')
wàgé: 'Swahili speaker' (cf. *wàgó* 'Swahili speakers')
ĩ̀sú 'sister'

The 3M.SG high-toned nominal PGN form, *é:*, is used to form a nominal stem, following a noun stem; all my textual examples are followed by the specifier $\frac{3}{1}$.

- (94) *màrímòé:* 'the one who's a teacher'

- (95) $\frac{1}{1}$ *mdzú^ggè:si?* $\frac{2}{1}$ *há^mbě: ?*
mdzú^ggù *é:* $\frac{3}{1}$ *sí?* *há^mbě:* $\frac{3}{1}$
 European 3M.SG SPEC PP where 3M.SG
 'The European, where is he?'

It is found after a postpositional phrase (see example (66) in [Chapter 7](#)) and in the following examples.

(96) ¹wàrè: ¹ts'áikùè::
 wàré ^í ts'áikù é: ^í
 fellow SPEC home 3M.SG SPEC
 'that fellow from home'

(97) ¹hě:xwèná ¹kibá? ¹xě: ²ts^hâ:
 hě:xwè ná kibà ġ xi é: ^í ts^hâ:
 that (MLT) 'so' hearth LOC MLT 3M.SG SPEC fat
 'that fat on the hearth'

Nominals can be formed from verb stems by adding *ó:*.
 All tones are high.

(98) *lómó:* *lómé* 'to cultivate'
ɔámó: *ɔámé* 'to rear (child)'

The suffixes *ɔò* and *sà* are used to form nominals from VPS.

(99) ¹hám^{ts}hú ²síésámé: ¹tátâ: ¹p^hálágá? ²pě:
 hám^{ts}hú síé sà mé: tátâ: p^hálà gē ɔà pē:
 woman take PP first pledge DEC₂ 3PL put
 'To get married, they first give a pledge.'

(100) ³sá: ¹lâ: ²ɔísĵ ¹núá ²mâ^{ts}hâɔòsà
 sá: lâ: ɔísĵ núá mâ^{ts}hâ ɔò sà
 N.CONJ.3F.SG goat refuse ugali eat 3F.SG
 'and the goat refused to eat the ugali'

One frequent way of forming a noun stem is with the suffix *sí*. It is found suffixed to an NP and to a VP. *sí* is followed by a nominal PGN suffix, low-toned, which agrees with the noun, overt or covert, to which the new stem ending in *sí* relates.

sí occurs in the form used as equivalent to ‘to be (locative)’, that is, after *kó:* (SG.S) and *ně:* (PL.S).

- (106) ¹ts'ò:ts'í ¹kó:sé¹ē.
 ts'ò:ts'í kó: sí è ²v̂
 hunger be.at 3M.SG ‘affirmation’
 ‘Yes, there’s a famine.’

Where the subject of the nominal clause is a locative PP, *sí* is followed by ²v̂.

- (107) ²swé ¹tsí ²sákwè ²ts'á:kù ¹k'ámésí? ²īē:?_o.
 swé tsí sákwè ts'á: kù k'ámé sí ?_o īē ī ?_o
 now 1SG uncle home LOC beer 3C.SG day SPEC PP
 ‘There’s beer at my uncle’s today.’

The subject, NP_T, of the Sandawe sentence is ¹tsí ²sákwè ²ts'á:kù; the NP_C is k'ámésí?_o, which agrees with the PP which stands as subject by using ²v̂, the 3C.SG form of the nominal PGN. *sí?*_o seems also to function as a non-syntactic clitic (see 61 and 62). It can also serve as a marker of subordination (see Chapter 7).

2.2.3.2 Adjective Stems

The adjective stems, quoted in 3M.SG form, include:

- (108) *ts'ě:* ‘being in a state of absence’
tlàkí ‘being in a state of not possessing’
nē ‘this’
ná ‘that’
lánv̂ ‘good’ *lá:ŋwà* 3MLT
l̄àé ‘new’ *l̄á:sú* 3F.SG (e.g. ‘coin’)
l'á:m̄ ‘worn out’ *l'á:sù* 3F.SG
hám̄bě ‘being in which place?’ *hám̄bésú* 3F.SG

Adjectives take ?wa as the 3MLT formative. Note that the stems *nê* and *nâ*, although here translated into English by demonstratives, are adjectives.

(109) *nâsò* ‘those people’

(110) $\text{!lá:ʔè} \text{!nê}$
lá:ʔè nê Ø
 hare ADJ 3M.SG
 ‘this hare’

(111) $\text{!t'ák'jímé} \dots \text{!né?`wà}$
t'ák'jímé nê ?'wa
 these.shoes ADJ MLT
 ‘these shoes’

2.2.3.3 Demonstratives

There are three different forms with an initial *h-*. Forms with the 3MLT $x\text{?}$ are found.

(112) 3M.SG *hěɽw* *hèwé* *hăɽw*
 3F.SG *hěɽsɽ* *hèsú* *hăɽsɽ*
 3PL *hěɽsò* *hèsó* *hăɽsò*
 3MLT *hěɽxwè* *hèwéxé:* *hăɽxwè*

The interrogative form is:

(113) *hàwé*

2.2.3.4 Numerals

There are five numerals. The first four are usually quoted in isolation followed by the formative *xi* : Its use with numbers two to four is multiple; the reason for the

appearance of *xi* as part of the stem for ‘one’ seems accidental.

- (114) ‘one’ *ts'éxǽ*
 ‘two’ *kísòxǽ*
 ‘three’ *sómákixǽ*
 ‘four’ *hàkákǽ*
 ‘five’ *kwǎ:ǽná*

The interrogative also shows *xǽ*:

- (115) *hánèxǽ* ‘how many?’

- (116) *wádzúⁿgù kísòsòsǽ |á'ǽí:*
wádzúⁿgù kísò sò sǽ |á ǽí:
 Europeans two 3PL 1SG see 1PL
 ‘I saw two Europeans.’

Numbers ‘six-nine’ are formed by adding to ‘five’:

- (117) *ǽǽ:kó ǽkwǎ?ǽná ǽdǽ:"dà ǽhàkákǽ*
ǽǽ:kó kwǎ?ǽná dǽ:"dà hàkákǽ
 children five other four
 ‘nine children’

A Bantu loan is used for ten: *kó:mǽ*.

ts'éxǝ is often translated by 'alone'; it takes a PGN nominal. The form *ts'éxè* probably shows a 3M.SG nominal PGN.

(118) ¹híkí: ²ts'éxǝpó ²k^hwǎ: ²ǝí ?
híkí *ǝ* *ts'éxǝ* *pó* *k^hwǎ* *ǝí* *ǝí*
 how 2SG one 2SG return and come
 'Why have you come back alone?'

2.2.4 Verbs

The essential verb has a verb stem, which can be accompanied by formatives which indicate aspect, formatives which seem comparable to what are called extensions in Bantu languages, and agreements with oblique constituents of the predicate. The formative *wǎ* is sometimes present.

2.2.4.1

Oblique Agreements

The object agreement is a high-toned nominal PGN.

(119) 1SG *sé*
 2SG *pó*
 3M.SG *é:*
 3F.SG *(:)sú*
 1PL *sǝ́:*
 2PL *sǝ́ǝ́:*

3PL $\text{p}^{\text{h}}_{\text{I}}$:

3MLT $\text{p}^{\text{h}}_{\text{O}}\text{wà}(:)$

(120) $^1\text{mòkòlà?i:pòts}'\text{é.}$
mòkòlà ?i: ' pò ts'é
greet 3PL IRR 2SG NEG
'You won't greet them.'

(121) $^1\text{siésùsìgá?}'\text{hèsú.}$
sié sú ' sù gá?' hèsú
take 3F.SG IRR 1SG DEC₂+3C.SG 3F.SG
'I was going to marry her, that one.'

2.2.4.2 The Formative *wà*

This has already been met with in the 3MLT form $\text{p}^{\text{h}}_{\text{O}}\text{wà}$, and as a pluraliser with *sí* (see 102). With a verb it indicates a multiplicity or plurality in the application of the meaning of the verb, its precise meaning for its position after or before the object agreement has not been worked out, and can be expected to relate to matters of aspect and multiplicity, pluractionality, frequentative, habitual and the like.

After object agreement:

(122) $^1\text{?úrà: }^2\text{fâ:séwà.}$
?úrj à fâ: sé wà
strength 3M.SG suit 1SG MLT
'They (shoes, multiple)'ll really be of use to me.'

Before object agreement:

- (123) ¹ts^hiasó ¹há:sò ¹máxàná ¹hétékàwáʔi:ʔts^hò
 ts^hia só lá: sò máxà ná hétékà wà ʔi: ts^hè só
 all 3PL good 3PL male 'so' marry MLT 3PL NEG 3PL
 'They're all well, they're not married yet.' (Lit.: Men have not taken them.)

2.2.4.3 Derivational Affixes

It is assumed that when derivational affixes are suffixed to a verb stem, the whole functions as a verb stem.

Extensions:

The systematisation of the extensions is not straightforward; they are listed here with short comments and examples.

kù/xʃ gives a benefactive meaning:

- (124) ²swè ¹t^hi:méxipòsò.
 swè t^hi:mé xʃ pò sò
 now cook.it 2SG IRR 3PL
 'Now they'll cook it for you.'
- (125) ³swá: ¹ʔúmswá: ²ʔá:kwè
 swá: ʔúmsú á: ʔá: kù è
 N.CONJ.3M.SG wife NOM hold 3M.SG
 'and his wife held it for him'

ká seems to imply accompaniment or instrument:

- (126) ¹hákò: ¹ʔèʔé: ²mirigì: ... ²ʔíká: !
 t^há kò i ʔèʔé: mirigì: ʃi ká :
 run IMP and that.time medicine come 3SG
 'Run and bring that medicine!'
- (127) ¹hávâ: ¹háváwáká:ʔá: !'ò:k^há.
 t^hává i t^hává wà ká : ʔà i !'ò:k^há
 feather SPEC feather MLT 3SG 3PL and ready
 'The feathers, they had already feathered (arrows) with them.'

ts'i following a verb stem gives a stem whose translation equivalent is passive, stative or the like.

(128) ¹só: ²hàbáts'i?̀tè
 só: hàbá ts'i ?̀tè
 1PL+NOM bear PP
 'at the place where we were born'

(129) ¹hě̀:tsù ¹!wá:ts'isà.
 hě̀:tsù !wá: ts'ì sà
 3F.SG hide 3F.SG
 'She hid herself.'

(130) ¹mákàts'igàsì.
 mákà ts'ì gá ` sì
 make.happy DEC₂ IRR 1SG
 'I will be pleased.'

What seems the same formative is found with noun stems; the whole functions as a verb stem.

(131) ¹hèwéts'á: ²bènégét'sì.
 hèwé ts'ì à bènégé ts'ì
 3M.SG PP 3M.SG rich.man
 'For that reason he became a rich man.'

The tone and the uses of this suffix require more attention.

Causatives:

The situation with causatives seems to be complex. There is clearly quite an old suffix, *kìl*.

- (132) ¹ts'ɛ̀xìsá: . . . ²máⁿts^hákù.
 ts'ɛ̀xì sì á: máⁿts^hà kù
 one 1SG NOM eat
 'I alone feed (her).'

This suffix is found with a preceding *sú*:

- (133) ¹húbàráki ²ʔésúkùts'è:gá? ²xé: ²ʔáti.
 húbàrà kí ʔè(ʔè:) sú kù ts'è ʔà xé: ʔá ʔáti
 foam too enter REL SPEC 3PL bring and come (PL.S)
 'They've brought that thing which breathes out contagion (lit.: causes foam to enter).'

And, with *sú*, followed by an object agreement:

- (134) ¹kókò:gá ²síá: ¹hà:tàna ²ʔésúkè:
 kókò ʔ à síé à lá: tàna ʔè sú kù è:
 cockerel SPEC 3M.SG take and goat PP enter 3M.SG
 'He took the cockerel and put him in with the goats.'

- (135) *hǎ*
 :gàsúkè: 'woke him'

hǎ:gà 'get up'

This sequence is also found suffixed to a noun stem.

- (136) ¹mò:tòts'ò: ²twě:súkù.
 mò:tò ts'ì ò twě: sú kù
 Moto LOC 1PL night
 'Night came on us at Moto.'

I accept Dempwolff's (1916: 37) explanation of the origin of this. The *sú* is *sí* (which can be suffixed to nominals and verbs); the present-day status of *sí* is that it

is a nounforming suffix (see 101–107). However, the historical suffixation of *k^hl* produced a verb stem, the vowel quality of *sí* became *s^hí* by assimilation and any vowel-initial object agreement replaced the original vowel of *k^hl* completely.

As well as this complex of causative forms, there is a simpler *sé*. All tones in the verb stem before *sé* are low.

- (137) *náʔ* ‘to be alight’ *nàʔsé* ‘to light’
lákáʔ ‘to be lost’ *lákàʔsé* ‘to lose, bury’
k^hwà ‘to come back’ *k^hwàsé* ‘to cause to return’

Very often *sé* is found in verb stems without the preceding part being transparently an independent morpheme.

:ŋkí/ṽkí could be called reciprocal, although the idea of performing together is often more appropriate.

- (138) *l^hákáts’ávà:kísù:*
l^hákáts’à wà :^hkí ` sù:
 ask MLT IRR 1PL
 ‘We’ll ask each other.’

- (139) *wèré* ‘to walk’
wèrémé ‘to walk a lot’
wèrém^h:kí ‘to walk a lot together’

It can appear without the nasality:

- (140) *!’ǒ:* ‘to get, meet’
 !’ǒ:kí ‘to meet one another’

Aspect:

Verb stems often have two forms, one perfective and the other imperfective. The perfective form takes object agreements, and it is not yet clear to me what the connection is between the presence of an object agreement and the interpretation as a perfective meaning. (I have heard the Swahili object prefix being used by speakers of Sandawe with the intention of giving a perfective interpretation.) A frequent perfective formative is the mere lengthening of a verb stem-final vowel.

- (141) *bík^hé* *bík^hé:* ‘to
 leave’

With some disyllabic stems, the lengthening is of the first vowel:

- (142) *t^hímé* *t^hí:mé* ‘to cook’
 !’íné *!’í:ǵé* ‘to hunt’
 !áwé *!á:wé* ‘to pour’

A few verbs show a different vowel:

- (143) *!wé:* *!wá:* ‘to take food off fire’
 ts’é: *ts’á:* ‘drink’

And a few verbs show seeming prefixation:

(144) *k'wé: wák'wà* 'to kill'

The systematisation is at present incomplete because of overlap with categories whose semantic areas, or morphological realisation, have not been established, but can be approximated by terms such as frequentative and habitual.

mé:

Several instances of *mé* are associated with perfective stems; all tones before *mé* are low. *mé* is associated with the idea of multiple occurrences.

(145)	<i>ʔisá</i>	'to steal'	<i>ʔisámé</i>
	<i>ĩúp^há</i>	'to blow, to smoke (cigarette)'	
	<i>ĩúp^há:</i>	'to blow' (PERF)	
	<i>ĩúp^hámé:</i>	'to smoke'	
	<i>k^hwà</i>	'to come back'	
	<i>k^hwámsé</i>	'to cause to return (many things)'	
	<i>náʔ^o</i>	'to be alight'	
	<i>nàʔ^osé</i>	'to light (one thing)'	
	<i>nà^mʔ^osé</i>	'to light (many things)'	

It is frequently found with *ʔwa*, which is typically multiple:

(146) ¹tí'ák'jmé:síʔ^o ¹bik^híméʔ^owáxjsépòts'é ?
tí'ák'jmé *ĩ* *síʔ^o* *bik^hé* *mé* *ʔ^owá* *xj* *sé* *pò* *ts'é*
 shoe SPEC 'then' leave MLT BEN 1SG IRR 2SG NEG
 'Those shoes then, you won't leave them for me?'

South African Khoesan

3.1 Northern Khoesan

The description of the morphology of !Xun is incorporated in the [Chapter 7](#).

3.2 Central Khoesan

3.2.1 Namibian Khoekhoe (Nama/Damara)

Wilfrid H.G. Haacke

Khoekhoe (N.Kh.) is strictly a suffixing language and is of a predominantly isolating type. The verb stem is not inflected in accordance with the subject. Nominals are specified according to person, gender and number (PGN).

3.2.1.1 The PGN Marker

Khoekhoe categorizes nouns according to first, second and third person; masculine, feminine and neuter or communal gender; and singular, dual and plural number. PGN formatives on nominals are conventionally but erroneously treated in the literature as suffixes. They should be viewed, however, as post-clitics, and as such as the true pronouns of the language. The PGN marker has two paradigms, the nominative paradigm for underlyingly subjectival function ([Table 6.1](#); here loosely called PGN marker because of its predominant occurrence), and one for objectival function ([Table 6.3](#); here called object marker, O^m). The subjectival PGN marker serves *inter alia* as “suffix” on surface nominals; the O^m follows immediately on the verb and serves exclusively as pro-form for the object. In certain syntactic contexts the nominal with the PGN marker will

appear in the oblique form with the suffix *-a* (Table 6.2; cf. Chapter 7). The term “pronoun” will not be used here because of the confusion in the literature.

Table 6.1 PGN Markers of N.KH. (Nominative Paradigm)

Person	Masculine			Feminine			Neuter		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
Singular	<i>ta</i>	<i>ts</i>	<i>b/mi/ni</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	–	–	<i>-i</i>
Dual	<i>khom</i>	<i>kho</i>	<i>kha</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>ro</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>ro</i>	<i>ra</i>
Plural	<i>ge</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>gu</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>n</i>

Table 6.2 PGN Markers of N.KH. In Oblique form (+ *a*)

Person	Masculine			Feminine			Neuter		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
Singular	<i>ta</i>	<i>tša</i>	<i>ba/ma/na</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>ša</i>	–	–	<i>-e</i>
Dual	<i>khoma</i>	<i>kho</i>	<i>kha</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ro</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>ro</i>	<i>ra</i>
Plural	<i>ge</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>na</i>

Table 6.3 Object Markers of N.KH. (+ *i*)

Person	Masculine			Feminine			Neuter		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
Singular	<i>te</i>	<i>tsi</i>	<i>bi/mi/ni</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>si</i>	–	–	<i>-i</i>
Dual	<i>khom</i>	<i>kho</i>	<i>kha</i>	<i>mi/im</i>	<i>ro</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>mi/im</i>	<i>ro</i>	<i>ra</i>
Plural	<i>ge</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>gu</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>ni/im</i>

The PGN marker for the third person masculine singular is realized as *b* after vowels (which is the most frequent occurrence) and assimilates to preceding consonants (which in original Khoekhoe words can only be *m* or *n*); e.g. *ao-b* ‘man’, *xam-mi* ‘lion’, *!an-ni* ‘despair’, *skol-li* ‘school’.

3.2.1.2 Nouns

Surface nouns consist of a stem with a PGN marker, e.g.

- (147) *tara-s* 'woman' (3F.SG)
tara-ta 'I, a/the woman' (1SG)

For explicatory purposes stem and PGN marker are separated by a hyphen, here. The stem provides (part of) the lexical specification of an NP. As an elementary knowledge of the basic syntactic structures is essential for the understanding of Khoekhoe nominal morphology, the reader should refer to section 3.2.1.1. in [Chapter 7](#).

3.2.1.2.1 Gender Allocation

In animate nouns (including proper nouns and surnames) masculine and feminine gender is assigned according to biological sex. Neuter is used for non-specific or unknown sex or for generic and indefinite references; in the dual and the plural, neuter gender also designates common or collective, i.e. masculine jointly with feminine gender.

In inanimate nouns masculine nouns tend to signify relatively large or elongated objects, while feminine nouns tend to signify relatively small, shorter, concentric or roundish objects, e.g.

- | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------------------|--------------|----------------------------------|
| (148) Masculine | | Feminine | |
| <i>!ā-b</i> | 'river' | <i>!ā-s</i> | 'village, town' |
| <i>hai-b</i> | 'stick; tall, narrow tree' | <i>hai-s</i> | 'plant; bush, tree (in general)' |
| <i>dao-b</i> | 'path, way, track' | <i>dao-s</i> | 'doorway' |
| <i>om-mi</i> | 'large building' | <i>om-s</i> | 'hut, house' |

Infinitives (especially action nouns) and nominalizations of phrases are formed with the third person feminine singular *s*, e.g.

- (149) *sisen* ‘work, operate’ (v.t.) → *sisen-s* ‘working, to work’ (n.)
 cf. *sisen-ni* ‘work, labour’ (n.)
kantors Inā tekaos ase ra sisen-s NP: ‘working in an office as a typist’

3.2.1.2.2 The Structure of Noun Stems

Stems can consist of single or multiple roots, with or without grammatical formatives. Single roots may be true nominal roots, or they may belong to other categories that are nominalized in various ways:

- a. common nouns, by mere addition of a (mostly masculine or neuter) PGN marker;
- b. infinitives, from verbal roots with the feminine PGN marker *s*;
- c. concrete nouns, from verbal roots by tonal derivation and PGN marker;
- d. abstract nouns, by means of the sole derivational suffix *-si* with PGN marker *b* or *s*.

Examples:

(150) Noun root

khoe-i ‘person’

khoe-b ‘male person = man’

khoe-s ‘female person = woman’

- (151) Verb root
- | | | | |
|-------------|---------------|---------------------|---|
| | <i>gowa</i> | ‘argue, quarrel’ | → |
| infinitive | <i>gowa-s</i> | ‘to argue, arguing’ | → |
| common noun | <i>gowa-b</i> | ‘language’ | |
- (152) Tonal derivation (flip-flop, see Chapter 5)
- | | | | |
|--------------|------|-----------|----------------|
| <i>gòá</i> | v.i. | ‘foam’ | → |
| <i>gòà.s</i> | n. | ‘foam’ | cf. infinitive |
| <i>gòá.s</i> | | ‘foaming’ | |
- (153) Abstract nouns
- | | | |
|------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>!gam</i> | ‘deep’ | → |
| <i>!gamsi-b</i> | ‘depth, deepness’ | |
| <i>!gā</i> | ‘become visible’ | + <i>-sa</i> ADJ suffix → |
| <i>!gāsasi-b</i> | ‘clarity; clearness’ | |

Compound noun stems may comprise a wide variety of word category combinations, be they basic or derived themselves. Here are just a few examples:

- (154) Noun + noun
- | | | |
|---|---|----------------------------|
| <i>!apu-s</i> ‘rifle’ + <i>!uri-s</i> ‘iron, metal’ | → | <i>!apuluri-s</i> ‘bullet’ |
|---|---|----------------------------|
- Verb + noun
- | | | |
|---|---|-------------------------------------|
| <i>sisen</i> ‘work’ + <i>ao-b</i> ‘man’ | → | <i>sisenao-b</i> ‘labourer, worker’ |
|---|---|-------------------------------------|
- Adjective + noun
- | | | |
|--|---|--------------------------------------|
| <i>#kham</i> ‘young’ + <i>khoe-i</i> ‘person’ | → | <i>#khamkhoe-i</i> ‘youth, juvenile’ |
| <i>lanu</i> ‘clean’ + <i>o</i> ‘without’ + <i>!nā</i> ‘in’ + <i>om</i> ‘build/house’ | → | <i>lanuo/nā-om-s</i> ‘brothel’ |
- Multiple combinations
- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| <i>gaxu</i> ‘long’ + <i>!nā</i> ‘in’ + <i>-be</i> ‘ADJ suffix’ + <i>-si</i> ‘abstract nominal suffix’ | → | <i>gaxu/nābesi-b</i> ‘long duration’ |
| <i>!guri</i> ‘alone’ + <i>!gui</i> ‘one’ + <i>mī</i> ‘say’ + <i>am-s</i> ‘mouth’ + <i>!nā</i> ‘in’ | → | <i>!guri/guimī-am/nā-s</i> ‘the sole say/authority’ |
- Verbs incorporating objects combined with noun stems
- | | | |
|--|---|---------------------------------|
| <i>!apu-s</i> ‘rifle’ + <i>kuru</i> ‘make’ + <i>ao-b</i> ‘man’ | → | <i>!apukuru-ao-b</i> ‘gunsmith’ |
|--|---|---------------------------------|

Diminution and augmentation

Diminution is achieved with the general diminutive suffix *-rò*, which is also used with verbs and other word categories (with tonal differentiation, though). With nouns it denotes primarily small size, but also endearment, insignificance/derogation or junior status.

- (155) *ani-s* ‘bird, fowl’ → *aniro-s* ‘chicken, fledgling; small bird/fowl’
mama-s ‘mother’ → *mamaro-s* ‘dear mother; junior aunt
(mother’s younger sister)’

The augmentative suffix *-kàrà* is used with nominals rather than verbs:

- (156) *ao-b* ‘man’ → *ao-kara-b* ‘a colossal man’

3.2.1.3 Distribution Test for Verbs, Adjectives and Noun Stems

As all categories of stems can serve as predicate- or NP-heads, it is occasionally claimed that verbs and adjectives in particular, but also nouns, are difficult to differentiate in Khoekhoe. A distribution test with the following three aspects (in the present tense), however, allows reliable differentiation, bearing in mind an exceptional closed group of stative verbs.

(157)

	Verb	Adjective	Noun
Inchoative/progressive	<i>ra</i> +	+	–
Stative	<i>a</i> –	+	+
Perfect	<i>há</i> +	+	–

Examples:

(158)	a. Verb	<i>Taras ge ra !anu.</i> * <i>Taras ge a !anu.</i> <i>Taras ge !anu hâ.</i>	‘The woman is cleaning.’ ‘The woman has cleaned.’
	b. Adjective	<i>Taras ge ra !anu.</i> <i>Taras ge a !anu.</i> <i>Taras ge !anu hâ.</i>	‘The woman is getting clean.’ ‘The woman is clean.’ ‘The woman has become clean.’
	c. Noun	* <i>Taras ge ra !anu-ao.</i> <i>Taras ge a !anu-ao.</i> * <i>Taras ge !anu-ao hâ.</i>	‘The woman is a cleaner.’

The test is redundant for other lexical categories like numerals, as their semantic nature is sufficiently overt.

3.2.1.4 Adjectives

Adjectives, demonstratives, articles, numerals, possessives and relative clauses can be subsumed under the category “qualifier”, as they all have the same syntactic behaviour within a noun phrase (see [Chapter 7](#) for attributive, appositive and pronominal function, and for relative clauses).

Adjectives may be simple, compounded from roots, or derived by means of derivative morphemes.

(159) a. Simple	<i>kai</i> ‘big’ <i>#khari</i> ‘small’ <i>!gāi</i> ‘good’ <i>!awa</i> ‘red’	
b. Compound	<i>#nū!ao</i> ‘black-necked’ <i>!āu!huni</i> ‘tan-coloured (like hyrax)’	cf. <i>#nū</i> ‘black’ + <i>!ao-b</i> ‘neck’ cf. <i>!āu-s</i> ‘hyrax’ + <i>!huni</i> ‘yellow’
c. Derived	<i>-xa</i> ‘denoting abundance/ frequentness’ <i>!khūxa</i> ‘thorny’ <i>!nāu!namxa</i> ‘obedient’	cf. <i>!khū-b</i> ‘thorn’ cf. <i>!nāu</i> ‘hear’ + <i>!nam</i> ‘love, like’
	<i>-o</i> ‘denoting privation’ <i>mario</i> ‘pennyless’	cf. <i>mari-b</i> ‘money’
	<i>-sa</i> corresponding to past participial	
	<i>-sā</i> with transitive verbs	
	<i>-sā</i> with intransitive verbs	cf. Haacke (1999)
	<i>#nāsa</i> ‘dry, dried’	cf. <i>#nā</i> ‘dry’ (v.i.)
d. Complex	<i>!gammekhōaxa</i> ‘adulterous’	cf. <i>!gamme-b</i> ‘matrimony’ + <i>khōa</i> ‘break’

Adjectives can take certain verbal extensions, e.g. *!gāiba* ‘good for’, and also the diminutive, e.g. *!gomro* ‘somewhat heavy/difficult’.

3.2.1.5 Demonstratives

Three demonstratives occur: *nē* ‘this’, *!nā* ‘that’, *nāü* ‘yonder, esp. invisible’. The latter demonstrative, *nāü*, should not be confused with the tonally distinct adjective *nāú* ‘other’. The first two demonstratives have a deictic and a referential ‘the said ...’ denotation, which causes tonally distinctive behaviour on any following qualifier, e.g.

(160) *nē #àù !hòä.b* ‘this tame cat here’ vs.
nē #àú !hòä.b ‘this said tame cat’

3.2.1.6 Articles

Khoekhoe has four lexemes, *ti* [ti̯], *si* [si̯], *sa* [sà̯] and *li* [li̯], which in the literature persistently are taken to be pronoun roots/stems used to form the “full” form of the pronoun with the PGN marker, the latter of which often is taken to be the reduced version of the pronoun. This is an erroneous approach, which came about through the fact that these qualifiers are most often used in pronominal rather than attributive position so as to precede the post-clitic PGN marker in lieu of another constituent.

These deictic lexemes, here dubbed articles because of the definite rendering they impart, evade direct translation. They reflect communicatory status (not to be confused with person), which can best be expounded by means of a feature analysis. (Unless animals and inanimate nouns are personified, the feature [human] is redundant next to [+speaker] and [+addressee].) *li* furthermore serves to categorize people, apart from forming ordinal numerals, e.g. *Xristelli-n* ‘Christians’, *!khūni-b* < *!khūli-b* ‘wealthy man’.

(161)	<i>ti</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>li</i>
	+definite	+definite	+definite	+definite
	+speaker	+speaker	+addressee	+discussed
	+human	–addressee	+human	
	+singular	+human		
		–singular		

Examples:

- (162) *si-khom* ‘we two males’ (someone other than addressee and I)
sa-khom ‘we two males’ (addressee and I)
li-khom ‘we two males’ (someone else referred to previously and I)

3.2.1.7 Numerals

Khoekhoe has a decimal numeral system. Units are added to tens with the suffix *-/a*.

(163)	<i>lgui</i>	‘1’	<i>koro</i>	‘5’	<i>khoese</i>	‘9’
	<i>lgam</i>	‘2’	<i>!nani</i>	‘6’	<i>disi</i>	‘10’
	<i>!nona</i>	‘3’	<i>hú</i>	‘7’	<i>kaidisi</i>	‘100’
	<i>haka</i>	‘4’	<i>!khaisa</i>	‘8’	<i>loadisi</i>	‘1,000’

Example:

(164)	‘2.983’	<i>lgam-loadisi (tsi)</i>	<i>khoese-kaidisi (tsi)</i>	<i>!khaisa-disi</i>	<i>!nona-la</i>
		2 1.000s (and)	9 100s (and)	8 10s	3+

Ordinal numerals are formed by appending the article *!i*, e.g. *disilgam!allí* ‘twelfth’. Only “first” has a special lexeme: *#guro*.

3.2.1.8 The Possessive Construction

Khoekhoe has two genuine possessive pronouns (not to be confused with the tonally distinct articles): *ti* [*tíí*] and *sa* [*sáá*], e.g. *ti ari-b* ‘my dog’. All other possessives, whether nominal or pronominal, have the structure NP + *di*. The NP is structured internally according to the normal rules pertaining to NPS (see [Chapter 7](#)). The possessive marker *di* is likely to be omitted as redundant after simple possessive NPS, as the sandhi tone of the head noun obligatorily indicates the qualifying function of the possessive NP. The lexically least marked form, amounting to that of possessive pronouns in English, uses the article as lexical specification of the NP.

(165) *si-da di goma-n* ‘our cattle’

nē kaira ao-s di 'the pen of this old woman'
xoa!am-mi

Possessives can have a descriptive denotation, e.g. *!Hui!gaeb (di) Abel-n* 'Cape apples'.

3.2.1.9 The Associative

The associative (ASS), or comitative, is irregular in its structure, as it does not fit into the same syntactic patterns as the other qualifiers. In the associative with two lexically specified NPS, the head is the possessor, while in the possessive construction the head is the possession.

(166)	<i>lawa</i>	<i> gawa-s</i>	<i>â-i</i>	<i>tara-s_{head}</i>	'the woman with the red hat'
	red	hat	ASS	woman	
	<i>tara-s</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>!apa</i>	<i> gapa-s_{head}</i>	'the woman's red hat'
	woman	POSS	red	hat	

The construction *â-i* is invariable if the head is a full (i.e. lexically specified) noun. It may cautiously be assumed that this construction is an orthographic misrepresentation. The associative would be more plausible if it is assumed that the construction is a relative clause with an object-NP in the oblique with *-a* followed by a fossilized verb *î* 'have, own', thus:

(167)	* awa	gawa-sa	î
	tara-s (lit.: 'The woman who has a red hat.')		

In the pronominal construction, however, *î* does not occur. The PGN marker following *â* refers to the

3.2.1.10.1.1 Applicative -BA

The applicative extension increases the transitivity of the verb by one, thus intransitive verbs become transitive (170), monotransitive verbs ditransitive (171), ditransitive verbs tritransitive (172).

(170) *Ari-b ge go #nûba* ‘The dog sat down for me.’
te.

Petru-b ge sî#khani-sa Ana-sa ra xoaba.
(171) ‘Peter is writing a letter to/on behalf of Anne.’

Sats ge sari-ao-na dao-ba nî llgauba da.
(172) ‘You must show the way to the visitors on our behalf.’

Doubled applicative:

Tara-s ge tîta l gôa-na mâi--e ra sâibaba.
(173) ‘The woman is cooking porridge for the children on my behalf.’

3.2.1.10.1.2 Reciprocal -GU

The reciprocal indicates that the action of “transitive” verbs is reciprocated between the agents of the dual/plural subject.

(174)a. *Khoe-n ge ra tawedegu.*

‘The people are greeting each other.’

Ana-s tsî Petru-b tsîra ge sî#khani-de ra xoabagu.

b.

‘Anne and Peter are writing letters to/for each other.’

3.2.1.10.1.3 Reflexive-SEN

The reflexive reverts the action of (transitive) verbs to the subject.

(175)	<i>lā</i>	‘wash’	<i>lāsen</i>	‘wash oneself’
	<i>#homi</i>	‘prepare’	<i>#homisen</i>	‘prepare oneself’
			<i>#homisenba</i>	‘prepare oneself for something’
			<i>#homibasen</i>	‘prepare something for oneself’

3.2.1.10.1.4 Passive-HE

(176) a. *Tara-s ge piri-sa ra lao.*
‘The woman is milking the goat.’

b. *Piris ge taras xa ra lao- he.*
goat IND woman by TAM milk- PASS
‘The goat is milked by the woman.’

The passive is readily used in oral literature. A variant suffix *'e* is found especially in the Damara dialects.

3.2.1.10.1.5 Ventive -XA

The ventive is confined to verbs of movement as it indicates movement towards the speaker. It is derived from the verb *xā* ‘attack in a group|with pincer movement’.

- (177) †gá ‘go in’ †gáxa ‘come in’
 †oa ‘go out’ †oaxa ‘come out; rise (sun)’

3.2.1.10.1.6 Causative -si

The causative extension *-si* is no longer productive and is confined to a limited number of verbs, e.g.

- (178) †úsi ‘(spoon-)feed’
 bā(si) ‘dye (tanned skin)’
 ōsi ‘feed (carnivore) a carcass’
 khāsi ‘head off (animal)’
 !úsi ‘let graze’
 daisi ‘suckle’
 !hū!nomasi ‘uproot’
 āsi ‘water (animal)’

3.2.1.10.2

Derivations Involving Reduplication

The three types of verbal reduplication that exist are distinguished through their tonal behaviour. All involve flip-flop (see [Chapter 5](#)) on the first root to a certain extent, with a distinctive melody on the second root.

3.2.1.10.2.1 Causative Verbs

Causative verbs are formed by means of reduplication with flip-flop, and a low-falling melody /‘ ‘ / on the second root. Reduplication is the main strategy for forming causatives.

- (179) *!áò* ‘fear’ *!àò!àò* ‘cause to fear, i.e. frighten’
 #ǎñ ‘know’ *#ǎñ#ǎñ* ‘let know, inform’

3.2.1.10.2.2 Progressive Verbs

Progressive verbs are formed from noun stems and denote change/development/degeneration into something. They are formed by means of reduplication with (unilateral) flip-flop, and a low-level melody /‘ ‘ / on the second root. While causative verbs are transitive, progressive verbs are intransitive.

- (180) *!nöré-b* ‘ghost’ *!nörè!nörè* ‘turn into a ghost’
 !nàré-b ‘ice, hail’ *!nàré!nàré* ‘freeze, turn into ice’ (v.i.)

3.2.1.10.2.3 Verbs of Pretence

Verbs of pretence denote that the action is feigned. The reflexive suffix *-sen* is added to the reduplicated verb and (mostly unilateral) flip-flop is followed by a high-rising melody /‘‘‘ / on the second root.

- (181) *tsǎũ* ‘become tired’ (v.i.) *tsǎũtsǎũsèn* ‘pretend to become tired’
 tàrà-s ‘woman’ *tàràtàràsèn* ‘act as adult woman (of: girl)’

3.2.1.10.2.4 Diminutive Verbs with –RŌ

- (182) *sîsen* ‘work’ *sîsenro* ‘work a little’

3.2.1.10.3 Incorporation and Biclausal Verbs

Next to original adverbs – e.g. *ti* ‘so’, *lnai* ‘already’, *llkhawa* ‘again’ – derivations by compounding and by suffixation occur.

- (186) Compounding: *llkhāti* ‘also’ cf. *llkhā* ADJ ‘same’ + *ti* ‘so’
nēsē ‘today’ cf. *nē* ‘this’ + *tsē-s* ‘day’

Adverbial suffixes: *-se* is the most productive one, forming adverbial extensions of manner. Next to adverbial clauses (see [Chapter 7](#)) it forms adverbs, the latter from adjectives, e.g.

- (187) *kaise* ‘very’ cf. *kai* ‘large, big’
lamose ‘endlessly’ cf. *lam-s* ‘end’ + *o* adjectival privative
 suffix ‘without’

Other, less productive suffixes are *-be* (semantically indistinct, denoting periodicity with *koro*), e.g. *tsēkorobe* ‘daily’; *-ga* (forming adverbs of time or place), e.g. *llgoaga* ‘tomorrow morning’, *!auga* ‘outside’; *-pa* (forming adverbs and adverbial clauses of place), e.g. *nēpa* ‘here’, cf. *nē* ‘this’, *mapa?* ‘where?’, cf. *mā?* ‘which?’.

3.2.1.12 Postpositions

Khoekhoe uses postpositions rather than prepositions, which is accounted for by the fact that several are derived from (head-last) possessive constructions or from verbs (following the lexically specified object).

- (188) NP *ai* ‘on (place); at (time)’ cf. *tā-b di ai-s* (lit.: ‘face of the table’)
 NP *lkha* ‘with’ cf. *khoē-b di llkhā-b* (lit.: ‘man’s body’)
 NP *!aroma* ‘because of’ cf. *llkhai-s di !aroma-s* (lit.: ‘reason of the matter’)
 NP *(-a) !oa* ‘to, towards’ cf. NP- *a ra !oa* ‘meet/encounter’
 NP- *-a xu* ‘from’ cf. NP- *a ra xū* ‘leave/abandon’

Postpositions can also be compounded and derived by suffixing:

- | | | | | | | | |
|-------|---------------|-------------------|-----|--------------|----------------------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| (189) | <i>xō/khā</i> | ‘next to’ | cf. | <i>xō-b</i> | ‘cheek’, | <i>/khā-b</i> | ‘body’ → ‘with’ |
| | <i>mū/lae</i> | ‘in full view of’ | cf. | <i>mū-s</i> | ‘eye’, | <i>lae</i> | ‘come together’ |
| | <i>/nāga</i> | ‘inside’ | cf. | <i>/nā-b</i> | ‘stomach, interior’ + <i>-ga</i> | | ‘adverbial suffix’ |
| | <i>kōse</i> | ‘until’ | cf. | <i>kō</i> | ‘look’ + <i>-se</i> | | ‘adverbial suffix’ |

3.2.1.13

Conjunctions

Original conjunctions are monomorphemic:

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------------|------------|-----------------|-----------|
| (190) | <i>tsī</i> | ‘and’ | <i>hina/hīa</i> | ‘while’ |
| | <i>xawe</i> | ‘but’ | <i>ī</i> | ‘so that’ |
| | <i>o</i> | ‘and then’ | | |

Certain conjunctions are derived and mostly have postpositional character, e.g.

- | | | | | |
|-------|--------------------|--|---|--------------------------------------|
| (191) | <i>amaga</i> | ‘because’ | <i>/nā-amaga</i> | ‘therefore, for that reason’ |
| | <i>(/nā)/nūbai</i> | < | <i>/nā /nū-b ai</i> | ‘on that instance, i.e. immediately’ |
| | ... <i>xuige</i> | ... <i>xū-i ge</i> | ‘it is the thing that, i.e. since, for’ (to justify commands) | |
| | <i>tamas ka io</i> | ‘should it not be so, then’, i.e. ‘or’ | | |

For a detailed discussion of co- and subordination, see [Chapter 7](#).

3.2.2 !Gora

Wilfrid H.G. Haacke

Perhaps the most conspicuous difference between the structure of !Gora and that of Namibian Khoekhoe (N.Kh.) is the apparently erratic use of grammatical formatives in !Gora, especially the frequent omission of them. As the available descriptions by Meinhof (1930)

and Maingard (1962) date from a time when the language was well into its demise, it suggests that the records no longer reflect the original usage but, rather, atrophied forms symptomatic of language death. Maingard's grammatical analysis is, indeed, based on texts recorded by Lucy Lloyd as early as 1879. But as the tribe of the Kai !Goran, to which the informant belonged, ceased to exist not long afterwards, it may be assumed that the language and cultures were already disintegrating then.

3.2.2.1 The PGN marker

In [Table 6.4](#) those forms of !Gora that differ from N.Kh. appear in bold. (The spellings of Maingard and Meinhof are retained here, apart from certain insignificant diacritics.) As Meinhof (1930: 33) points out, !Gora has preserved some older forms that no longer exist in N.Kh. (i.e. Nama dialects). In certain of the !Gora PGN markers, two morphemes can still be recognized. In the first person singular, masculine and feminine forms *r(e)* and *talte* respectively are distinguished, while N.Kh. only has one form, *ta*. In the third person masculine singular the PGN marker *bi* is not always assimilated to a preceding nasal, e.g. *xam+mi* or *xam+bi* 'lion', or *ti!kâ-p #xam-p* (Maingard 1962: 16; cf. N.Kh. *ti !gâb #khammi*). According to Wuras (1920: 57), assimilation did not even occur with the alveolar nasal: *sisînb* 'work' (cf. N.Kh. *sîsenni*). This phenomenon was also recorded in rare instances in the dialects of the #Ākhoe and Haillom, e.g. *tam+ba/nam+ba*, *nam+bi* 'tongue', and Sesfontein *nam+bo-o* (apparently the equivalent of accreditive sentence type marker *kom ... o*).

Table 6.4 PGN Markers of !Gora (Nominative Paradigm)

Person	Masculine			Feminine			Neuter		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
Singular	<i>r(e)</i>	<i>ts</i>	<i>b(i)/mi/ni</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	–	–	<i>-i</i>
Dual	<i>ka+m,</i> <i>kha+m</i>	<i>kha+ro</i>	<i>ka+ra,</i> <i>kha+ra</i>	<i>sa+m</i>	<i>sa+ro</i>	<i>sa+ra</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>kha+o</i>	<i>ka,</i> <i>kha</i>
Plural	<i>kie/tje</i>	<i>ka+o,</i> <i>ka+u</i>	<i>ku, gu</i> <i>kui</i>	<i>si, se</i>	<i>sa+o,</i> <i>sa+u</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>n/ni</i>

Tables 6.5 (PGN markers in oblique form) and 6.6 (object markers PGN+*i*) are fragmentary, as forms that are not attested in the available literature have been omitted. The reader can, however, derive the probable forms from the above paradigm for the nominative.

Table 6.5 PGN Markers of !Gora in Oblique Form (+*a*)

Person	Masculine			Feminine			Neuter		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
Singular	<i>tsa</i>	<i>ba/ma/(na)</i>		<i>sa</i>	<i>sa</i>	–	–	<i>-e</i>	
Dual									
Plural			<i>ku+a</i>			<i>de</i>			<i>na</i>

Table 6.6 Object Markers of !Gora (PGN + *i*)

Person	Masculine			Feminine			Neuter		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
Singular	<i>re</i>	<i>tsi</i>	<i>bi/(mi/ni)</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>si</i>	–	–	<i>-i</i>
Dual	<i>kham</i>	<i>kharo</i>		<i>sam</i>	<i>saro</i>				
Plural	<i>tje</i>	<i>kao</i>				<i>di</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>ni/(m)</i>

The use of the PGN marker with nouns is not adhered to as rigorously in !Gora as it is in N.Kh. If !Gora nouns are elicited in isolation, the stem is often offered alone (Meinhof 1930: 34). Alternatively, if cited with PGN, then nouns may be cited in the oblique form with *-a* (i.e. as a sentence in the predicative rendering, see [Chapter](#)

7). If the context is clear, the PGN marker may also be omitted in nps in a sentence, e.g. *lui_ tsî hai_ tsî~ku* ‘stones and trees’. Where in short sentences the subject-NP consists of a PGN only, the entire NP may be omitted, especially if in the third person; e.g.

- (192) a. *#nau tsi r kqa.*
 hit you I PAST+JUNCT
 ‘I hit you.’
- b. *#nau re _ kqa.*
 hit me PAST+JUNCT
 ‘He hit me.’ (See Chapter 7 for the occurrence of “junctures”).)

Maingard (1962: 14) notes that the latent vowel *i*, which appears in the nasal assimilations of the third person masculine singular (*mi*, *ni*) occasionally also surfaces in nouns with *b*, e.g. *kwep-bi ko llkamllō* (= *khoebi go llgamllō*). Meinhof (1930: 37) interprets such constructions differently, in so far as he states that the single PGN marker may follow the subject noun as separate morpheme:

- (193) He *haib bi na ham.*
 this tree PGN TAM smell
 ‘This tree (it) smells.’

Although Maingard’s spelling of *bi* as additional morpheme reflects an approach similar to that of Meinhof, Maingard seems to treat *bi* as variant PGN: “-*bi* functions as subject or object.” It would seem that Meinhof’s interpretation is more apt. In terms of the analysis proposed for N.Kh., according to which the lexical specification of a noun is introduced by means of an embedded sentence, equi-NP deletion does not take

place in !Gora. (See [Chapter 7](#) for an interpretation as deposed subject.) Vossen (1997a: 200) furthermore reports that in !Ani, Buga and !Ganda the nominal object is repeated (“wiederholt”) on the verb as an object concord (“Objektkonkordant”). These data all corroborate the sentential hypothesis, according to which (surface) nouns in N.Kh. are derived from underlying sentences and, hence, are embedded in the main sentence virtually as subordinate clauses. This hypothesis should, *mutatis mutandis*, also apply to other Central Khoesan languages.

The *i* is much more common in the bare PGN marker, i.e. without a stem. As such it is also common in the Damara dialects of N.Kh., e.g. *Mû its ta?* ‘Do you see?’ As discussed in [Chapter 7](#), !Gora differs also from N.Kh. in that the object NP as well as deposed subjects often do not take the oblique marker *-a*, e.g.

(194) *Mû-r kq-a xam-mi.* cf. N.Kh.: *Mû ta ge go, xam+ma.*
 see-I PAST+JUNCT lion+NOM
 ‘I saw the/a lion.’

On the other hand, Maingard (1962: 14) cites two instances where the nominative *-bi* was used for objects, e.g. *Ats !guixats ko !kam kweb-bi* ‘You, rascal, have killed a man.’

3.2.2.2 Nouns

The structure of !Gora nouns is essentially similar to that of N.Kh. and hence need not be elaborated on here. This pertains to gender allocation, as well as to the structure of compound stems. A few examples from Meinhof (1930: 57) may serve for illustration:

- (195) *!xa-!xa-kx'ao-b* 'teacher' cf. N.Kh. *!khā!khā-aob*
!kxhoe-!am-kx'ao-b 'murderer' cf. N.Kh. *!gamaob*

Diminutives are formed with *da*, rarely with *ro* (as in N.Kh.), e.g. *kx'anida-b* 'little bird'. For case marking, see under !Gora syntax.

3.2.2.3 Adjectives

Adjectives can syntactically be subsumed with demonstratives, articles, numerals, possessives and relative clauses as qualifiers. All of them precede the noun without PGN marker in attributive function, follow the noun with PGN marker in appositive function, and represent the noun with PGN marker in pronominal function.

- (196) Attributive: *gai-da 'ao-b* 'old man'
 Appositive: *'ao-b gai-da-b* 'old man'
 Pronominal: *gai-da-b* 'the old one'

Adjectives may be simple, compound or derivative. The derivative suffixes for adjective formation are largely the same as for N.Kh. (Meinhof 1930: 59):

-xa denotes affluence or frequentness in denominal or deverbal adjectives:

- (197) *!habi-xa* 'guilty'

!lkx'ore-xa 'sinful'

-o denotes privation:

(198) / 'am- 'o 'endless'

hâ-!xaî- 'o 'restless'

-sa corresponds to a past participial in English:

(199) !nō-sa 'silent'

!kx'obe-sa 'lazy'

!Gora had, in compounds that consist of an adjective with a noun stem, largely maintained the etymon *-xa* (the derivative suffix denoting affluence) in its full pronunciation. In N.Kh. only *-a* has survived, bar a few exceptions:

(200)	!Gora		N.Kh.
	<i>!ai-xa-!ao</i>	'gladness'	<i>!gâia!gaob</i> 'gladness'
			but: <i>!aj-a-!ao</i> 'rejoice'

3.2.2.4 Demonstratives

Three demonstratives are said to occur (Maingard 1962: 22):

(201) *hi/he* 'this'

!na 'that; the said'

hou 'that in the distance'

Meinhof (1930: 46) states that *he* may be doubled, e.g. *hehe* ≠ *ûb* ‘this food’. He does not state the semantic effect, though.

3.2.2.5 Articles

!Gora distinguishes the same four morphemes as N.Kh., morphemes that are usually mistaken to be pronoun stems. Again, it is more apt to refer to these morphemes as (definite) articles, as they serve to render a noun definite or to emphasize it. For a semantic analysis refer to N.Kh.

ti

(202) *sa*

si

ll'aĩ, ll'ũ

As in N.Kh., *ll'ũ* (or *ll'aĩb*) serves to form ordinal numbers: *!nona ll'aĩb* ‘the third one’.

3.2.2.6

Numerals

!Gora has the same decimal numeral system as N.Kh., apart from minor differences in the pronunciation of certain of these numerals (here according to Maingard 1962: 16):

(203)	<i>lkui</i>	‘1’	<i>haû kx’û</i>	‘7’
	<i>lkam</i>	‘2’	<i>lkhaisi</i>	‘8’
	<i>!mwona</i>	‘3’	<i>khoesi</i>	‘9’
	<i>haka</i>	‘4’	<i>disi/tjisi</i>	‘10’
	<i>koro</i>	‘5’	<i>kaidisi</i>	‘100’
	<i>!nani</i>	‘6’	<i>loadisi</i>	‘1,000’

In two numerals the phonotactic structure appears to be deviant in both N.Kh. and !Gora: *haka* is exceptional in having a velar plosive *k* as C₂; *disi* is only apparently exceptional in having an alveolar fricative *s* as C₂. On the strength of the suffix *-si* in !Gora, *lkhaisi*, *khoesi*, it can be concluded that the original root of ‘ten’ was *dii* or *tjii*, i.e. with a doubled or “long” vowel. This is corroborated by the tonal melody in N.Kh., which is *d̄isi*. Old Cape dialects had a velar plosive as C₁ (Nienaber 1963: 168 paradigm).

3.2.2.7 The Possessive Construction

The possessive construction is essentially the same as in N.Kh.:

(204) [NP]_{possessor} (*di*) [Np]_{possession}

The possessive morpheme *di* that marks the initial NP as qualifier, being the “possessor”, is said to be optional (Meinhof 1930: 40). From this can be concluded that, as in N.Kh., the possessive relationship between the juxtaposed NPS must also have been consistently expressed though tonal perturbation: the head of the NP, it can be assumed by analogy to N.Kh., receives sandhi tone as it is preceded by a qualifier (cf. Haacke 1998: 114). As with all qualifiers, three functions are possible:

- (205) Attributive: *xoasao-b (di) kx'o-b*
 leopard POSS meat
 'the leopard's meat'
- Appositive: *kx'o-b xoasao-b di-b*
 'the leopard's meat'
- Pronominal: *xoasao-b di-b*
 'the leopard's'

It can be taken for granted that the possessive marker *di* is optional only in the attributive form, as in the appositive and pronominal form the post-clitic PGN marker (b) of the head noun must join onto it. As in N.Kh., the head of the possessive NP can be represented by any pronominal construction, in particular the pronominally used article (often wrongly referred to as "full" or "personal pronoun"), e.g.

- (206) *ti-r ti úa-i*
 ART+1 POSS child
 'my child' (Maingard 1962: 19)

In constructions where the possessor refers to the first or second person singular, however, N.Kh. does not use the pronominally used article, but instead the only two true possessive pronouns of the language: *ti* [tʰí] 'my' and *sa* [sáá] 'your'. This strategy is optional in !Gora:

- (207) *Ti (di) 'ôa-tse!*
 my POSS son+VOC
 'You my son!' (Meinhof 1930: 45)

These possessive pronouns should not be confused with the articles *ti* [ti¹] (speaker) or *sa* [sà^ā] (addressee). In !Gora the existence of four possessive pronouns, *ti* ‘my’ (not gender-specific), *tsa* ‘your’ (M), *sa* ‘your’ (F) and *ii* ‘its’, is attested by Maingard (1962: 21). The neuter form *ii* is syntactically different, however, as it follows the head noun: *lxonu-p ii* ‘its finger’. The absence of further examples does not permit an explanation of the structure.

3.2.2.8 The Associative

The associative or comitative constructions with *a-* appear to function as in N.Kh., judging by the scant material available. If, in the pronominal construction, the possessor refers to the first person, the PGN marker of the head is also repeated after the qualifier:

(208) *kx'um-mi a-re-p*

house+3M.SGASS+1SG+3M.SG

‘my house’

3.2.2.9 Verbs

Verb construction follows the same principles as in N.Kh. The same verbal extensions occur: passive (*-he*), applicative (*-ba*), reciprocal (*-gu*), reflexive (*-sen/-sin/-sn*) and ventive (*-xa*). While the variant [ʔe] is common both in N.Kh. and !Gora next to *-he*, the glottal fricative is liable to (partial) assimilation in !Gora: after front vowels it can form a palatal glide (*/xuri+je* ‘was stalked’); after back vowels a labial glide (*habu+we*

‘was eaten up’); after nasal consonants *h* assimilates fully (*ll’anll’an+ne* ‘be cooked’).

The ventive extension *-xa*, which has been consistently overlooked in the literature on N.Kh., also occurs in !Gora, e.g. *#kx’oa+xa* ‘come out’. Historically the ventive is a compound verb instead, using *xáà* ‘attack, close in on’ as modifying verb (cf. Haacke 1998: 143.)

Reduplication is used for the causative, e.g. *#hanu#hanu* ‘correct’. Although the data are not conclusive, it is apparent from Meinhof’s (1930: 47) observations that *mutatis mutandis* the same tonological principles apply as in N.Kh. It appears that Meinhof has recognized the existence of the intransitive “progressive” verbs (1930: 138f.), but has misunderstood their semantic import. In N.Kh. they generally have a meaning ‘turn/ degenerate into ...’, e.g. *!nàr^ǝb* ‘ice’ → *!nàr^ǝ!nàr^ǝ* ‘turn into ice’. Flip-flop in N.Kh. occurs only on certain melodies, i.e., it is unilateral, and the repeated root has a low-level melody /‘ ‘/. This may have prompted Meinhof (1930: 47) to observe that the pitches are changed by the reduplication in some words but not others. He translates these presumably progressive words, though, simply as (stative) adjectives, e.g. *!kx’uri-!kx’uri* ‘schmutzig’ (his tone marks), instead of ‘verschmutzen’ (v.i.).

It is also apparent that the third use of reduplication must also have existed in !Gora, viz. in verbs of pretence (Haacke 1998: 135). Such verbs have, in N.Kh., a high rising melody on the repeated root, which is then followed by the reflexive extension *-sèn*, e.g. *!lollo+sin* ‘to feign death’ (Maingard 1962: 6, 58).

Incorporation (mainly of object nouns into verbs) is as prevalent in !Gora as in N.Kh. (cf. Haacke 1995), e.g. *llou+!xo* ‘fish + catch = catch fish, fish’, *kx’o+llhuru+!nâ* ‘meat + thrust + in = thrust into the meat’ (Maingard 1962: 16).

3.2.2.10 Adverbs

The derivation of adverbs in !Gora is essentially identical to that in N.Kh. The general suffix for deriving adverbs of manner especially from adjectives is *-se*: *kai* ‘big’ > *kai+se* ‘very’, *#hanu* ‘straight, correct’ > *#hanu+se* ‘correctly’. Adverbs of place are, likewise, formed with the suffix *-pa*: *he* ‘this’ > *he+pa* ‘here’. Derivations with *-ka* occur also: *#’ana+ba+ka* ‘intentionally’. Noun stems can be used adverbially either in the oblique form (*hoa tsē+ku+a* ‘daily’) or merely as stem without PGN marker (*hē+tsē* ‘today’).

It may be noted that in both languages negative imperatives are formed with the adverb *ta* ‘never’. !Gora: *Ta l!kx’a!* ‘Never steal, i.e. don’t steal!’; cf. N.Kh.: *Tā lā!* ‘Never pilfer, i.e. don’t pilfer!’ The adverbial nature is more obvious in the more explicit version *tātsē* ‘on no day, i.e. never ever’ of N.Kh.

3.2.2.11 Postpositions

Postpositions are formed according to the same principles as in N.Kh., and are largely based on the same morphemes. Constructions are mostly based on possessive constructions without the possessive particle *di*. The original possessor noun appears without PGN marker and so assumes an adverbial function. As such it grammaticalizes into a postposition, e.g. *lharub kx’ai*

‘on a mat’, cf. *lharub (di) kx’ais* ‘surface/face of a mat’. Postpositions that require the oblique form of the noun (in both languages) have been derived from a verb with its object: *i tje lxa hai+s+a !oa ha* ‘and he came to the same bush’ (lit.: ‘and he came meeting the same bush’).

3.2.2.12 Conjunctions

Conjunctions operate essentially as in N.Kh.: co-ordinating conjunctions precede the second sentence; subordinating conjunctions follow the embedded sentence. A conjunction exclusive to !Gora appears to be *i* ‘and, when’. It is said to appear especially in front of PGN markers, e.g. *I du ra lhabuse ham xūp hoapdi* ‘And you (PL) foolishly do everything.’

3.2.3 Haillom

Thomas Widlok

3.2.3.1 Nouns

3.2.3.1.1 Inflection

The inflection of Haillom and †Akhoe nouns follows closely the structure that has been described for Namibian Khoekhoe (N.Kh.). Differences occur in the terminology used for the description and in some details of forms but these do not affect the structure as such. What Haacke (this volume) outlines for the relevance and function of the PGN marker in N.Kh. holds for Haillom and †Akhoe as well. [Tables 6.7–6.9](#) use Haacke’s template (this volume: [Table 6.1](#)) for mapping data collected by Heikkinen and by myself onto the categories identified for N.Kh. Entries in brackets indicate N.Kh. grammatical forms

which are at variance from the Haillom data or which could not be verified by Heikkinen. These gaps appear in the dual number and the neuter gender (see Heikkinen n.d.: 21). Heikkinen’s terminology is added in italics.

Table 6.7 PGN Markers of Haillom (Subject Paradigm) – Non-Final Case

Person	Masculine			Feminine			Neuter (Collective/ Communal)		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
Singular	<i>ta</i>	<i>ts</i>	<i>b</i> <i>(mi/ni)</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	–	–	<i>-i</i>
Dual	<i>tsum (khom)</i>	– <i>(kho)</i>	– <i>(kha)</i>	<i>m</i>	– <i>(ro)</i>	– <i>(ra)</i>	<i>m/tsum</i> <i>(m)</i>	– <i>(ro)</i>	– <i>(ra)</i>
Plural	<i>ge</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>gu</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>n</i>

Table 6.8 PGN Markers of Haillom in Oblique Form (+ *a*) – Final Case

Person	Masculine			Feminine			Neuter (Collective)		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
Singular	<i>ta</i>	<i>tša</i>	<i>ba</i> <i>(ma/na)</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>ša</i>	–	–	<i>-e</i>
Dual	<i>tšuma</i> <i>(khoma)</i>	– <i>(kho)</i>	– <i>(kha)</i>	<i>ma</i>	– <i>(ro)</i>	– <i>(ra)</i>	<i>ma/tšuma (ma)</i>	– <i>(ro)</i>	– <i>(ra)</i>
Plural	<i>ge</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>gua (ga)</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>na</i>

Table 6.9 Object Markers of Haiiom (+ *i*) – Minimal Object Pronouns

Person	Masculine			Feminine			Neuter (Collective)		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
Singular	<i>te</i>	<i>tš/ta</i>	<i>bi/ba</i> <i>(mi/ni)</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>si/ša</i>	<i>si/ša</i>	–	–	<i>-i</i>
Dual	<i>tšum/</i> <i>tšuma</i> <i>(khom)</i>	– <i>(kho)</i>	– <i>(kha)</i>	<i>m/ma</i> <i>(mi/im)</i>	– <i>(ro)</i>	– <i>(ra)</i>	<i>m/tšum/</i> <i>ma/tšuma</i> <i>(mi/im)</i>	– <i>(ro)</i>	– <i>(ra)</i>
Plural	<i>ge</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>gu/gua</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>du/do</i>	<i>n/na (ni/im)</i>

Note: The alternative forms for the object marker given for Haillom and †Akhoe are those which occur in compound verbal structures (see Heikkinen n.d.: 22).

The gender allocation in nouns in Haillom and †Akhoe follows the same pattern as in N.Kh. As for inanimate nouns, feminine noun endings are used to signify relatively small or roundish objects whereas masculine noun endings are used to signify large or elongated objects. It is noteworthy that wherever the shape is changeable speakers make the nouns drift from one class to the other; e.g., a ‘termite mound’ may turn from *laras* to *larab*, a ‘shelter’ from *lgaos* to *lgaob*, a ‘local group’ from *llgâus* to *llgâub*. This also applies to abstract nouns such as *!khaeb* and *!khaes* ‘darkness’, which can be said to increase or decrease (see Heikkinen n.d.: 19). Allocation of gender also at times exhibits the intentions and inclinations of speakers. For instance, a ‘grove of mangetti trees (*Ricinodendron rautaneni*)’ may be referred to as *lgom-haide* (F.PL) which highlights the fruit-bearing female trees as against the equally numerous male mangetti trees that are not of interest from the perspective of a food collector.

3.2.3.1.2 Derivation

As in N.Kh., a wide variety of word category combinations are possible in Haillom and †Akhoe, including noun+noun, noun+verb, noun+adjective and multiple combinations. Speakers of Haillom and †Akhoe generally allow the derivation of new nouns from existing stems in regular patterns to a degree that goes beyond the practice of forming compound nouns common in Indo-European languages. Numerous

examples from Heikkinen's and my own data allow the following systematization of noun derivation.

3.2.3.1.2.1 Diminution and Augmentation

As in N.Kh., the suffixes *-ro* 'diminutive' and *-kara* 'augmentative' are widely used. Especially *-ro* is used not only with nouns but also with verbs and other word categories. It is also an important marker of young age since the personal name of children and of young childless persons as well as some of the kin categories are augmented with *-ro* (Widlok 1999a: 182ff.), e.g. *Seirob* (personal name of a man who is now called *Seib* since he is father of two children), *somrob* 'a little bit of shade', *haikarab* 'tall tree'.

3.2.3.1.2.2 Localization

The root *ai* 'place' is being used as a suffix to label fixed places and regions in the Hailom environment, as in *!Gomais* (the Mangetti farms north of Tsumeb); but also for more general terms such as *!nanu-aib* 'sky, heaven'. Examples: *!aaib !na* 'in/near the riverbed', *!haiaib !na* 'in the bush'.

3.2.3.1.2.3 Agent Formation

The morpheme *ao* 'agent' is being attached to verbs or adjectives, and sometimes to other nouns, to designate the people associated with an activity or a state of affairs, e.g. *aaon* 'drinker, alcoholics', *laeaon* 'sick people, patients'.

3.2.3.1.2.4 Abstraction

The abstractive suffix *-si* can be used to differentiate essences and general states of affairs from concrete entities, such as corporations from natural persons, but it may also be applied to lexemes that already describe a non-tangible feature and make it more abstract. The suffix is extensively used by Khoekhoe-speaking politicians to express concepts of national politics and by missionaries attempting to translate some of the core concepts of Christianity, e.g. *gaosib* ‘reign, domination’ from *gaob* ‘king’ and *!gari#aosis* ‘braveness’.

3.2.3.1.2.5 Instrumentation

The instrumentative morpheme *ube* is employed to create nouns, mostly for objects, which are utilized to achieve something, to create an effect, e.g. *#nau-ubes* ‘thing to hit with’, *!nari-ubes* ‘vehicle’.

3.2.3.1.2.6 Collectivization

In some cases it is possible to collectively name a group of people by adding the suffix *-xa* to an existing category (e.g. a kinship category) or to the name of a person who for some and in some particular context forms the focal point of a group. Examples: *!lgûxan* ‘forefathers and -mothers’, *Pauluxage* ‘Paul and us, the other men who are with him’.

3.2.3.1.2.7 Association

The associative suffix *-sa* is semantically similar to the collective *-xa* but clearly distinguished because the association with a third person is the focus and the preceding stem indicates those who are associated with

that person rather than those with whom others are associated. Furthermore, unlike *-xa*, which may be applied to persons and objects, *-sa* always indicates a personal relationship. Hagman (1977: 27, 166) has labelled this morpheme the noun root derivational suffix “personal relationship” for N.Kh., e.g. *Igoasakua* ‘his/her sons’, *aisasa* ‘his/her elder sister’.

3.2.3.1.2.8 Causation

The causative suffix *-sabe* is possibly an extension of the above-mentioned *-sa* with the semantics of being more or less a passive victim of some action. Again, the suffix occurs only with persons, not with things, e.g. *!khosabekua* ‘those that are caught, i.e. prisoners’, *Inamsabeb* ‘the one that is loved, i.e. lover’.

3.2.3.1.2.9 Privation

The privative suffix *-o* is commonly used in Haillom (as in N.Kh.) not only with nouns but also with verbs (see below). It adds the meaning “lacking” to the root and is used in many creative ways, also by missionaries as exemplified by the second example which is taken from Heikkinen’s wordlist (see Widlok n.d.), e.g. *Domokhoeb* ‘name of a man who lost his voice/who has a hoarse voice’, *!habiokhoeb* ‘man without sin’.

The productiveness of some of these suffixes cuts across word categories as the outline of derivation of adjectives and verbs below shows.

3.2.3.2 Adjectives

‡Akhoe adjectives are qualifiers which occur either in nominal structures (preceding or following the nominal

head) or as complements to a predicate. Some adjective roots only occur in nominal structures:

(209)	<i>am-</i>	‘right’	as in	<i>am/khab</i>	‘right-hand side’
	<i>lare-</i>	‘left’	as in	<i>lare/khab</i>	‘left-hand side’
	<i>aoro-</i>	‘male’	as in	<i>aoro/gôab</i>	‘boy, male child’
	<i>tare-</i>	‘female’	as in	<i>tare/gôas</i>	‘girl, female child’

Examples for simple adjectives are: *lâ* ‘wet’, */a* ‘sharp’, *#nu* ‘black’, *laba* ‘red’, *au* ‘bitter’. Examples for noun-derived adjectives are: *#nanin* ‘Kwanyama’, *lnaben* ‘Owambo’.

Derivational suffixes to form adjectives are (see Heikkinen n.d.: 24):

(210)	<i>-ai</i>	<i>mboro-ai</i>	‘foolish’
	<i>-be</i>	<i>amabe</i>	‘good, true’
	<i>-hâ</i>	<i>#gihâ</i>	‘blind’
	<i>-!na</i>	<i>lgai-!na</i>	‘lazy’
	<i>-ro</i>	<i>#oro</i>	‘rather narrow’
	<i>-ko</i>	<i>ndokoro</i>	‘only this big’
	<i>-sa</i>	<i>tsâiasa</i>	‘weak’
	<i>-si</i>	<i>lgaisi</i>	‘ugly, bad’
	<i>-xa</i>	<i>khaxa</i>	‘generous’
	<i>-xu</i>	<i>gaixu</i>	‘long’

3.2.3.3

Numerals

Hailom numerals follow the same decimal pattern, using the same lexemes, as has been described for N.Kh. Heikkinen (n.d.: 25) has reported on additional

alternative lexemes used by †Akhoe people in counting. These are:

(211) <i>!gui!om</i>	‘one fist’ for ‘five’
<i>!gui†ondo</i>	‘one finger [and a fist]’ for ‘six’
<i>!gam†ondo</i>	or ‘two fingers [and a fist]’ for
<i>!gam†onnobwa</i>	‘seven’
<i>!nona†ondo</i>	or ‘three fingers [and a fist]’
<i>!nona†onnobwa</i>	for ‘eight’
<i>!lgamsa</i> or <i>!lhaisa</i>	‘ten’

3.2.3.4 Demonstratives

The demonstratives *nou*, *nde* and *!l!na* either accompany a noun, as in *nou !gôan* ‘those children’, *nde khoeb* ‘this man’ or *!l!na khoes* ‘that woman’, and do not change their form, or they are employed in the place of a noun and receive a PGN marker as the noun would, as in *!lnab ge* ‘that’s him’, *nouna dire* ‘ask those ones’, *ndesa?* ‘this one?’.

3.2.3.5 Possessive and Associative

Hailom and †Akhoe share the possessive pronouns of N.Kh., namely *ti* and *sa*. The associative or comitative described for N.Kh. (see above) also occurs in Hailom and †Akhoe.

3.2.3.6 Interrogatives

Questions are formed in a similar way as described for N.Kh. (see [Chapter 7](#) and Hagman 1977: 141ff.), but interrogative pronouns do differ between Hailom and #Akhoe on the one side and N.Kh. on the other.

The two interrogatives *tari* ‘animate’ and *tare* ‘inanimate’ that were identified for N.Kh. (Hagman 1977: 50) occur in Hailom in the roots *tai* ‘who’ and *tae* ‘what’ followed by a noun or a PGN marker. Examples (Heikkinen n.d.):

(212) *Taiba ndeba?* ‘Who is this?’

Taitsa satsa? ‘Who are you?’

taeba?/tae xuba?/ ‘what?’
tae-e?

Tae xuba ndeba? ‘What is this?’

Tae-e tsa hî-e? ‘What are you doing?’

taeb /kha?/taeb ‘why?’ (lit.: ‘because of
!aroma? what?’)

The two interrogative demonstratives *mâa* (‘what’ in noun phrases with indefinite PGN suffix, ‘which’ in noun phrases with any other gender) and *ham* ‘who’, ‘only’ (with animate unknown referents) that were identified for N.Kh. (Hagman 1977: 51f.) occur in #Akhoe in forms that seem to freely switch between these two morphemes. Examples (Heikkinen n.d. and my own field data):

(213) <i>mati?</i>	‘what?’
<i>Hamati ra mî?</i>	‘What does it mean?’
<i>ma llaeba?</i>	‘at what time?’
<i>hama llae?/hambo?/ hamatiko llaeb ai?</i>	‘when?’
<i>maba?</i>	‘where?’
<i>Hamas go !gû?/Hamabas go !gû?</i>	‘Where did she go?’
<i>hame? /hambi? /hamba?</i>	‘who?’

The interrogative roots may also be used in a declarative sense, as in (214):

(214) <i>hamatses hoasa</i>	‘every day’
<i>hamab hoaba</i>	‘everyone’

3.2.3.7 Verbs

As with words in other Khoekhoe variants it is useful to distinguish Haillom event verbs from non-event verbs. Non-event or stative verbs signify a state of affairs and have to be accompanied by the aspect markers *a* (or *i* in some tenses) or *hâ* which would both be translated as ‘be’, e.g.:

(215) *IU ta a.* ‘I don’t know.’

‡*An ta a.* ‘I know.’

|| *Â toma ta ge*, ‘I have not had enough food.’
hâ.

|| *Gam-e, maba*, ‘Where is the water?’
ra hâ?

A, *hâ* and *i*, together with a few other roots, have been classified as auxiliary verbs (Heikkinen n.d.: 25) or as tense/aspect markers (Haacke, this volume). They fulfil the same functions in Haillom as they do in other variants of Khoekhoe.

3.2.3.7.1 Inflection

Heikkinen (n.d.: 30) provides the overviews that elaborate on the inflection of Haillom verbs (see [Tables 6.10–6.14](#), orthography and terminology adapted to Standard Khoekhoe).

Table 6.10 Haillom Verb in Present Tense Consisting of Verb Stem + PGN Marker + Aspect Marker (*ra/a*)

Person	Masculine			Feminine			Neuter		
	Singular	Dual	Plural	Singular	Dual	Plural	Collective	Dual	Plural
I	<i>-ta ra</i>	<i>-tsuma</i>	<i>-ge re</i>	<i>-ta ra</i>	<i>-ma</i>	<i>-se re</i>		<i>-tsumal-ma</i>	<i>-da ra</i>
II	<i>-tsa</i>	–	<i>-go ro</i>	<i>-sa</i>	–	<i>-so ro</i>		–	<i>-do</i>
III	<i>-ba</i>	–	<i>-gua</i>	<i>-sa</i>	–	<i>-de</i>	<i>-e</i>	–	<i>-na</i>

Table 6.11 Haillom Verb in Past Tense Consisting of Verb Stem + PGN Marker + Tense Marker (*go/ge*) + Aspect Marker (*ra/a*)

Person	Masculine			Feminine			Neuter		
	Singular	Dual	Plural	Singular	Dual	Plural	Collective	Dual	Plural
I	<i>-ta go(ro)</i>	<i>-tsum go(ro)</i>	<i>-ge go(ro)</i>	<i>-ta go(ro)</i>	<i>-m go(ro)</i>	<i>-se go(ro)</i>		<i>-(tsu)m go(ro)</i>	<i>-da go(ro)</i>
II	<i>-tso(ro)</i>	–	<i>-go go(ro)</i>	<i>-kho(ro)</i>	–	<i>-so go(ro)</i>		–	<i>-du go(ro)</i>
III	<i>-b bo(ro)</i>	–	<i>-gu go(ro)</i>	<i>-kho(ro)</i>	–	<i>-di go(ro)</i>	<i>-i go(ro)</i>	–	<i>-n go(ro)</i>

Table 6.12 Haillom Verb in Future Tense Consisting of Verb Stem + PGN Marker + Tense Marker (*si ra/si ni/sa ra/(i)ka hî*)

Person	Masculine			Feminine			Neuter		
	Singular	Dual	Plural	sg	Dual	Plural	Collective	Dual	Plural
I	<i>-ta si ra</i>	<i>-tsum si ra</i>	<i>-ge si ra</i>	<i>-ta si ra</i>	<i>-m si ra</i>	<i>-se si ra</i>		<i>-(tsu)m si ra</i>	<i>-da si ra</i>
II	<i>-tsi si ra</i>	–	<i>-go si ra</i>	<i>-si si ra</i>	–	<i>-so si ra</i>		–	<i>-du si ra</i>
III	<i>-bi si ra</i>	–	<i>-gu si ra</i>	<i>-si si ra</i>	–	<i>-di si ra</i>	<i>-i si ra</i>	–	<i>-n si ra</i>

Table 6.13 Negative Verb in Haillom

Person	Masculine			Feminine			Neuter		
	sg	Dual	Plural	Singular	Dual	Plural	Collective	Dual	Plural
I	<i>-ni tita</i>	<i>-ni ti tsum(a)</i>	<i>-ni tige</i>	<i>-ni tita</i>	<i>-ni tim(a)</i>	<i>-ni tise</i>		<i>-ni ti(tsu)-m(a)</i>	<i>-ni tida</i>
II	<i>-ni titsa</i>	–	<i>-ni tigo</i>	<i>-ni tisa (-ni ti khe)</i>	–	<i>-ni tiso</i>		–	<i>-ni tidu (-ni tido)</i>
III	<i>-ni tiba</i>	–	<i>-ni tigu (-ni ti gua)</i>	<i>-ni tisa (-ni ti khe)</i>	–	<i>-ni tidi (ni tide)</i>	<i>-ni ti-i (-ni ti-e)</i>	–	<i>-ni tin (-ni tina)</i>

Table 6.14 Negative Verb in Haiiom (Perfective Form With *tama*) in the Present Tense Consisting of Verb Stem + *tama* + PGN Marker + *hâ*; In The Past Tense of Verb Stem + *tama* + PGN Marker + Tense Marker (*go/ge*) + *hâ*

Person	Masculine			Feminine			Neuter		
	Singular	Dual	Plural	Singular	Dual	Plural	Collective	Dual	Plural
I	<i>-tama- ta(ke) há</i>	<i>-tama- tsum(ge) há</i>	<i>-tama- ta(ge) há</i>	<i>-tama- da(ge) há</i>	<i>-tama- m(ge) há</i>	<i>-tama- se(ge) há</i>		<i>-tama- (tsu)m (ge) há</i>	<i>-tama- da(ge) há</i>
II	<i>-tama-tsi/ tse há</i>	–	<i>-tama- so(ge) há</i>	<i>-tama-si/ khe há</i>	–	<i>-tama- so(ge) há</i>	–		<i>-tama- du(ke) há</i>
III	<i>-tama-bi/ -tamab be há</i>	–	<i>-tama- gu (ge) há</i>	<i>-tama-si/ khe há</i>	–	<i>-tama- di(ge) há</i>	<i>-tama-i (ge) há</i>	–	<i>-tama- n(ge) há</i>

In the present tense the negative verb consists of *ta* + PGN marker + aspect marker + verb stem (see above); in the past tense of *ta* + PGN marker + tense marker + aspect marker + verb stem (see above); in the future tense of verb stem + tense marker (*ni*) + *ti/te* + PGN marker.

3.2.3.7.2

Derivation

Hailom resembles N.Kh. in a number of derivational strategies (compare Heikkinen n.d. with Haacke, this volume, and Hagman 1977).

Ergative derivation is achieved through repetition of the verb stem, e.g.

- (216) *#khai#khai* ‘to wake up’ ← *#khai* ‘awake’
úúú ‘to heal, make alive’ ← *úú* ‘live’

Double verbs are constructed by joining two verb stems, e.g.

- (217) *!gúsi* ‘to go and arrive’ ← *!gú* ‘to go’ and *si* ‘to arrive’
!khokhái ‘to pick up’ ← *!kho* ‘to take, grab’ and *khái* ‘to rise’

Compound verbs are constructed by combining a verb root or any other root to create a new verb stem, e.g.

- (218) *tarekhoekabe* ‘to look for a wife’ ← *tarekhoes* ‘woman’ and *kabe* ‘to search’
múdao ‘to track’ ← *mú* ‘to see’ and *dao* ‘path, track’

Many verbs are derived from verb or noun roots with the help of a number of suffixes. Among the most common are the following:

(219)	Suffix	Example	
Reciprocal	- <i>gu</i>	<i>/goegu</i>	‘to swear at one another’
Diminutive	- <i>ro</i>	<i>aro</i>	‘to drink a little’
Benefactive	- <i>ba</i>	<i>lgaeba</i>	‘to tell someone’
Causative	- <i>kai</i>	<i>mákai</i>	‘to stop someone/something’
Reflexive	- <i>sun</i>	<i>lasun</i>	‘to wash oneself’
Passive	- <i>he</i>	<i>mahe</i>	‘to be given’
Proactive	- <i>re</i>	<i>laere</i>	‘to go and look for firewood’
Completative	- <i>la</i>	<i>mi!a</i>	‘to explain, translate’
Transformative	- <i>si</i>	<i>!gaaosi</i>	‘to become a medicine man/healer’

3.2.3.8 Adverbs

In parallel with N.Kh. Hailom adverbs may be classified as either simple or derived adverbs. Simple adverbs are *ndiri* ‘today’, *tsu* ‘only’, *lnisi* ‘maybe’; derived adverbs are *llgoaka* ‘in the morning’, *!nuka* ‘far’, *aibe* ‘at first’, *kanube* ‘yet’, *gâise* ‘well’ and *#hanuse* ‘straight’.

3.2.3.9 Interjections

There are a number of lexemes that may be used as both adverbs and interjections. These include *am!a* ‘really’ expressing emphasis, *goma* ‘supposedly’ expressing evidence, or lack thereof, *hîa* ‘see’ expressing persuasion, *hana* ‘so’ expressing surprise or disbelief.

The elaborate use of some of these interjections in fixed syntactic constructions, for instance in the case of *goma* (see Widlok 1995), justifies a separate categorization of some of these interjections, in the case of *goma*, for

instance, as an ‘evidential’. Other interjections are less wide-ranging in their use and their semantic meaning. These include simple interjections such as *mboko* and *akua* (both expressing disagreement).

3.2.3.10

Conjunctions

Conjunctions fall into two categories, introductory and suffixed (see [Chapter 7](#)). The most common conjunctions to open a sentence are *o* ‘and/but then’ and *i* ‘and then suddenly’. These two conjunctions may also be used sentence-finally, but then their meaning is best glossed as ‘when, if’ (for *-o*) and ‘while’ (for *i*).

3.2.4 Kxoe Subgroup

Rainer Vossen

This section begins with a brief overview of the lexical structure of Khwe, which may to a certain extent be representative of Kalahari Khoe languages in general. Since Khwe is the best-documented Kxoe variety (cf. Köhler 1981, Kilian-Hatz 2008), the following subsections on morphology will focus on two less-known languages: Buga and ǁAni. Their description is based largely on published (Heine 1999, Vossen 1997a) as well as unpublished data (Vossen).

3.2.4.1 Lexical Structure: Khwe

Mathias Schladt[†]

Words and their underlying concepts are associated with others in two ways: in terms of taxonomies and in terms of partonomies. Both are hierarchical systems consisting

of a set of elements related to each other in a characteristic way. They are structured primarily by two relations: vertically by a relation of dominance where a superordinate taxon/parton includes the subordinates (in a Western ethnobotanical hierarchy, for example, the taxon ‘tree’ includes ‘oak, beech, elm’), and horizontally by a relation of difference where taxa/parta of the same level are different with respect to some feature (‘oak, beech, elm’ are taxa of the same level). As a consequence, concepts of the same level are distinct and do not overlap. Both taxonomies and partonomies may violate the logic of relations and exhibit prototypical structures (see, e.g., Lakoff 1987, Taylor 1989).

As the language of a traditional hunter-gatherer society, the lexical structure of Khwe exhibits numerous features originating from the subsistence system of its speakers.

The two main fields of experience are the animal and the plant world. The system of the plant world is virtually synonymous with wild plants as the Khwe have only recently become sedentary and have started to cultivate to a yet very limited extent plants such as ‘millet’, *khààvà* (*Sorghum bicolor*); ‘pumpkin’, *kyànúnukà* (*Cucurbita pepo*); and ‘cow-peas’, *kui-ll’am* (*Vigna unguiculata*).

The Khwe do not have a label for an overall concept “plant”. Asking a Khwe what exists on earth, (s)he would typically answer:

ηύ 'ó-ka t^hĩ yì-dji, kx'oxò-dji, càà, dòà, #'íyo,
 khóé-na, l'é, xòám, nllũgóà, xàm, lòàvà, #óám-#om

(220) ...

'In the world there are trees, edible animals, water, grass, snakes, people, fire, soil, stones, lions, pythons ...'

Yet, the absence of a linguistic expression says nothing about the existence of a concept (Berlin *et al.* 1968). Indications for the presence of the concept are a number of words exclusively applicable to plants:

(221) tòâ 'root, tuber'

tcóró 'outer bark of a tree', also 'skin of a grass'

llx'ú 'smooth bark of a tree'

lg^háá 'leaf'

lxùì 'seed (corn), pip'

gyèí 'stump of a tree'

llàm 'thorn'

Furthermore, among colour categorization, Khwe has six expressions corresponding to the category "green", three of which are only used in connection with plants:

(222) *lx'á* 'green (of leaves)'

‡qóm 'evergreen'

kx'óà 'green, unripe'

Khwe makes a clear distinction between the labels *yìi* and *dóà*, in the literature (cf. Köhler 1989, 1991) commonly translated as 'tree' and 'grass'. Typical trees such as *gyáǎ-yì* (*Acacia arenaria*) or *khèé* (*Combretum collinum*), with high straight stems, branches, leaves and fruits, are excellent members of *yìi*; and *tcóvó-tcòvò* (*Panicum maximum*) or *‡'áà* (*Phragmites australis*), which consist of a single culm, have no wood and are of no use except for roof-thatching and foraging, are clear members of *dóò*. But there are a number of other plants which are difficult to categorize. Informants refuse to label them a member of one or the other category. Among them are tuberous plants such as *díngà* (*Tylosema esculentum*) and *nlára* (*Urginea sanguined*), which do not show clear features of one or the other life form. They have the status of unaffiliated generics, there is no superordinate taxon which includes some of them at a higher level.

Among wild plants both under-specification and over-specification do occur. An example of the former is *lIx'óà-dóá* 'eland-grass' which denotes *Heteropogon contortus*, *Schizachyrium jeffreusii* and *Sorghastrum friesii*. They are *Poaceae* species with a very similar morphology. The identical uses of the three grass species (Schladt 2000) suggest that people do not differentiate

between them. Similarly #’átà-#’evu ‘stick-hold tight’ denotes a number of plants (as they are identified by Western botanists): *Cenchrus biflorus*, *Elytrophorus globularis*, *Setaria verticillata*, *Tragus berteronianus*. They all have one feature in common: they are burdocks. This suggests that the term #’átà-#’evu is a cover-term for a number of plants, a super-generic in the terms of Berlin *et al.* (1974). This is also supported by the fact that there is another plant named #’évú (*Croton gratissimus*) which shows the same features as the others but is at the same time more prominent in terms of morphology, size and use. It must be taken as a prototypical member or a very good example of the mentioned category.

Over-specification is also frequent. It is the case when two or more vernacular names exist for the same botanical species. It can be caused by a number of reasons: one botanical species may occur once as a shrub and once as a tree in the same area. It will still be given one scientific name, but be differentiated as two distinct plants by the people. Again, the same plant may have a different morphology depending on the season. It may be given different names whether it is bearing fruits or not, male or female, bearing leaves or not. In addition, several names for one plant can be caused by dialect variants.

One example of over-specification is the case of *Acacia arenaria*: gyǎi-yi ‘steenbok-tree’, lxúni-yi ‘crocodile-tree’, #xóá-yi ‘elephant-tree’. This acacia species may occur

as a climber, as a shrub or as a tree of up to ten metres' height (Coates Palgrave 1997: 231). Whereas for the botanist it is one species, for the Khwe they are different plants.

The second pillar of the Khwe subsistence system, the animal world, is more complex in structure. There is reason to doubt that there exists an overall category in Khwe that corresponds to English “animal”.

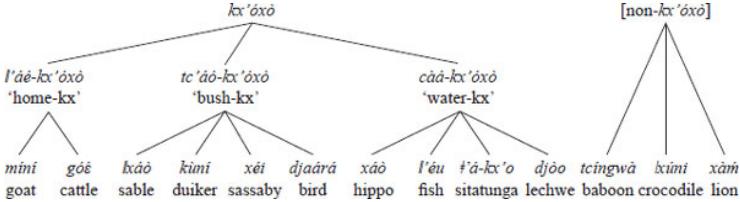
The term *kx'óxò* is clearly derived from *kx'ó-xù* ‘to eat meat-thing’ (see below). This implies, in opposition to evidence from parallel studies within other cultures, that the utilitarian aspect of the classification is essential to the Khwe. *kx'óxò* includes all the birds – even those like the ‘vulture’ *kx'ááá* which are rarely eaten – and ‘fish’ *ll'éu*, as well as all the mammals that are not said to have a strong negative power when consumed. On the other hand, insects are excluded due to the fact that they cannot provide a full dish for the people. It is worth discussing whether the “edibility” of a certain animal has an extraordinary status for a hunting and gathering people as compared to herders or farmers. Similar observations have been made by researchers working on societies related to the Khwe:

“Meat is the food, ... one too many a day of solely plant foods and people will actually feel deprived and crave for meat”.

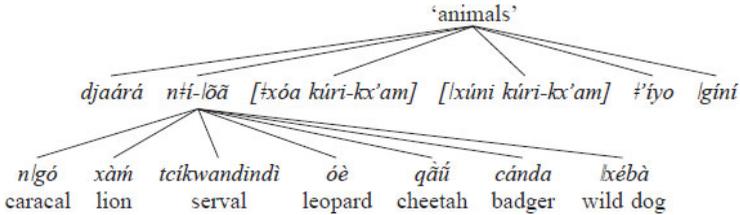
(Tanaka 1996)

A twofold classification of the domain is suggested:

First, there is a utilitarian classification based on the edibility of animals. It is subclassified by the habitat. This makes sense since the location of a source of food is the most important information.



The classification based on morphological features includes both *kx'óxò* and *non-kx'óxò* animals and corresponds closely to hierarchies encountered elsewhere (see, e.g., Brown 1984).



Looking at the lexical structure of “verbs of eating/digesting” previous works state that there is a dichotomy of #’ú ‘eat veldkost’ and *kx’ó* ‘eat meat’. In Köhler (1991: 72–161, 313–482, 496–523) Khwe informants describe the use, habitat and preparation of wild and cultivated plants and animals. With respect to wild plants in seventy texts Köhler uses the German equivalent of English ‘eat’ 190 times. The original texts reveal that seven different lexemes are used in Khwe:

(223)	Lexeme	Translation	Occurrences	Percentage
	#'ú	'eat (non-meat)'	109	57.4
	láé	'chew (gen.)'	62	32.6
	/xòm	'chew something hard'	6	3.2
	kx'ó	'eat meat'	5	2.6
	tàmà	'ladle out'	4	2.1
	lnóm	'suck out'	3	1.6
	lám	'taste'	1	0.5

The distribution is best described with a prototype model. #'ú is the most general word for eating plant food. It is better translated with 'eat non-meat' as it is also used with, e.g., the eating up of bone marrow (Köhler 1991: 220) and birds' eggs (Köhler 1991: 427). lláé is of some importance especially with nuts.

With the description of cultivated plants the distribution is more refined:

(224)	Lexeme	Translation	Occurrences	Percentage
	láé	'chew (gen.)'	17	41.4
	#'ú	'eat (non-meat)'	15	36.6
	qamí	'chew and spit out the inedible residue'	3	7.3
	gyaání	'throw into one's mouth'	2	4.9
	/xòm	'chew something hard'	2	4.9
	!qóm	'eat along with meat' [Beikost]	2	4.9

With animals, kx'ó is almost exclusively used for all animals, be it frequently hunted (e.g. doá 'kudu'), rarely hunted (e.g. khúnu 'African wildcat') or animals which are taboo (e.g. lxúni 'crocodile'). Besides mammals, the list also includes birds, fish, shells, termites and grasshoppers.

Hierarchical structures influenced by the subsistence system are also found in other fields of Khwe experience. As an example of a paronomical relationship the structure of body-part names is given.

When associating a certain body part conceptually and linguistically with another, Khwe uses strategies that have been proved to be universal (Schladt 1997).

Metaphor and metonymy are the two main naming strategies within the domain of body parts. In detail the following strategies can be observed:

Metaphors: parts of the lower body are associated cognitively and linguistically with parts of the upper body:

(225)	‘lower part’	<	‘upper part’
	(<i>kyaáre</i>) <i>tòm</i> ‘sole’	<	<i>tòm</i> ‘palm’
	(<i>tĩĩ</i>) <i>lgeí</i> ‘calf’	<	<i>lgeí</i> ‘cheek’
	(<i>kyaáre</i>) <i>làa</i> ‘toenail’	<	<i>làa</i> ‘fingernail’
	(<i>kyaáre</i>) <i>cèù</i> ‘toe’	<	<i>cèù</i> ‘finger’

The specifications in parentheses are optional and only used by the speakers if it is not clear from the context which body part is meant. It is always the body part of the upper region which is left unmarked.

Metonymies: the name of a part denotes the whole.

(226)	‘part’	>	‘whole’
	<i>tĩĩ</i> ‘thigh’	>	<i>tĩĩ</i> ‘leg’
	<i>ã</i> ‘forehead’	>	<i>ã</i> ‘face’

An invisible body part is associated with its container. In a loose sense this can be regarded as a part-whole relation as well. The direction of development is not as clear as in the other strategies, since visibility may counteract against the proposed part-whole hierarchy.

- (227) 'contained' 'container'
laá 'stomach' < *laá* 'belly'

A notable feature is polysemy, involving body-part names applicable to both humans and animals, where the direction of borrowing cannot be clearly determined:

(228)	Human	Animal
<i>khòo</i>	'skin'	'garment'
<i>lǎã</i>	'nail'	'claw'
<i>l'ũũ</i>	'hair'	'feather'
<i>tc'óm</i>	'lip'	'beak'
<i>kx'ám</i>	'mouth'	'snout'
<i>ʔóm</i>	'hip-bone'	'flank'

A final note on loanwords: as a consequence of Khwe loan-work in South Africa from the 1960s onwards and of the participation of Khwe people on the side of the South African Defence Force against SWAPO, numerous loanwords especially from Afrikaans entered the language. More recently, English loans seem to be predominant since the privilege of English is estimated much higher than that of Afrikaans.

Some older loanwords change their meaning; e.g., *bùrúkwè* [cf. Mbukushu *vùrúkwè*, Afrikaans *broekie*] entered into Khwe at a time when traditional clothes were still in use. Its original meaning was '(European) trousers' in opposition to *kyáe* 'fore-apron'. Today, no Khwe wears aprons. The term *kyáe* is therefore available and used for 'trousers (gen.)'. *bùrúkwè* today means 'shorts'.

3.2.4.2 Nouns

Rainer Vossen

As mentioned earlier, Kalahari Khoe languages in general mark nominal stems for person, gender and number (PGN) by enclitics (“suffixes”) whose employment is not obligatory in Kxoe varieties. There are three genders – masculine, feminine and common (“neuter”) – and three numbers: singular, dual and plural. PGNS are represented by a single formative. The common gender implies the features [masculine + feminine].

The head noun and its qualifiers agree with respect to PGN. The latter are adjectives, numerals, demonstratives, possessives, and nominalized finite verbs functioning as “relative constructions”. Moreover, agreement occurs in “genitive” constructions (nominal possession), and in !Ani and Buga, there is also object agreement encoded in the finite verb (cf. Vossen 1985).

The use of pgn markers concerns both animate and inanimate nouns. With animate nouns the PGN corresponds to the natural sex of the *signifié*, e.g. !Ani *khóé-mà* ‘man’ vs. *khóé-hè* ‘woman’. With inanimate nouns the speaker’s choice of the pgn may be arbitrary or semantically conditioned.

The PGN enclitics of !Ani and Buga are given in [Table 6.15](#):

Table 6.15 PGN Enclitics of !Ani and Buga

	!Ani				Buga		
	SG	DU	PL		SG	DU	PL
M	<i>-mà</i>	<i>-tsà</i>	<i>-lià</i>	M	<i>-mà</i>	<i>-tsà</i>	<i>-li</i>
F	<i>-hè</i>	<i>-sà</i>	<i>-dzi</i>	F	<i>-sì</i>	<i>-sà</i>	<i>-dzi</i>
C	–	<i>-khià</i>	<i>-nà</i>	C	–	<i>-khyà</i>	<i>-nà</i>

3.2.4.3 Pronouns

The gender-number distinction as described for noun stems reappears throughout the subgroup in the pronominal paradigms. However, in the singular the first person is gender-neutral, and in !Ani and Buga the second and third persons have no common form.

There are subject and object forms that are largely identical in shape; the latter pronoun, however, is mostly (!Ani) or optionally (Buga) extended by a particle 'à which is also used with nominal objects. A significant distinctive feature of the two paradigms is tone. Whereas subject pronouns are high-toned (except for third persons and the second feminine dual form), pronominal objects follow a high-falling tonal pattern.

A specific characteristic of both !Ani and Buga (but not Khwe) consists in the occurrence of object agreement markers encoded in the finite verb; the conditions of their employment are not entirely clear yet except that, at least in !Ani, previous mentioning and marking (by 'à) of the syntactic object are required (see under “Verbs”). Object agreement markers largely resemble the subject forms in shape but are tonally low throughout.

[Table 6.16](#) gives a synoptic overview of the subject, object and object agreement forms discussed above.

Table 6.16 The Pronominal Paradigms of \parallel Ani and Buga

	\parallel Ani			Buga	
	SUBJECT	OBJECT	OAGRM	SUBJECT	OAGRM
SINGULAR					
1	<i>tí</i>	<i>tí, tià. 'à</i>	<i>-tí-</i>	<i>tí</i>	<i>-tí-</i>
2M	<i>tsá</i>	<i>tsàè('à)</i>	<i>-tsí-</i>	<i>tsá</i>	<i>-tsí-</i>
2F	<i>há</i>	<i>háè('à)</i>	<i>-sí-</i>	<i>há</i>	<i>-sí-</i>
3M	<i>'á.mà</i>	<i>'á.mà('à)</i>	<i>-m-</i>	<i>'á.m</i>	<i>-m-</i>
3F	<i>'á.hè</i>	<i>'á.hè('à)</i>	<i>-sí-</i>	<i>'á.sí, 'á.sí</i>	<i>-sí-</i>
DUAL					
1M	<i>tsóm</i>	<i>tsóm, tsómá. 'à</i>	<i>-tsóm-</i>	<i>tsám</i>	<i>-tsám-</i>
1F	<i>sóm</i>	<i>sóm, sómá. 'à</i>	<i>-sóm-</i>	<i>yám</i>	<i>-yám-</i>
1C	<i>khám</i>	<i>khám, khámá. 'à</i>	<i>-khám-</i>	<i>khám</i>	<i>-khám-</i>
2M	<i>tsáo</i>	<i>tsáo, tsáoá. 'à</i>	<i>-táo-</i>	<i>tsáo, tsáo</i>	<i>-tsáo-</i>
2F	<i>sáo</i>	<i>sáo, sáoá. 'à</i>	<i>-sáo-</i>	<i>yáo, yáo</i>	<i>-sáo-</i>
2C	<i>kháo</i>	<i>kháo, kháoá. 'à</i>	<i>-kháo-</i>	<i>kháo, kháo</i>	<i>-kháo-</i>
3M	<i>'á.tsá</i>	<i>'á.tsá('à)</i>	<i>-tsá-</i>	<i>'é.tsá, 'á-tsá</i>	<i>-tsá-</i>
3F	<i>'á.sá</i>	<i>'á.sá('à)</i>	<i>-sá-</i>	<i>'é.sá, 'á.sa</i>	<i>-sá-</i>
3C	<i>'á.kh(i)á</i>	<i>'á.khá('à)</i>	<i>-khá-</i>	<i>'é.khá, 'á.khá</i>	<i>-khá-</i>
PLURAL					
1M	<i>lé</i>	<i>lé, léá. 'à</i>	<i>-lé-</i>	<i>lé</i>	<i>-lé-</i>
1F	<i>sé</i>	<i>sé, séá. 'à</i>	<i>-sé-</i>	<i>yé</i>	<i>-</i>
1C	<i>té</i>	<i>té, téá. 'à</i>	<i>-té-</i>	<i>té</i>	<i>-</i>
2M	<i>láó</i>	<i>láó, láóá. 'à</i>	<i>-láó-</i>	<i>láó</i>	<i>-láó-</i>
2F	<i>sáo</i>	<i>sáo, sáoá. 'à</i>	<i>-sáo-</i>	<i>yó</i>	<i>-</i>
2C	<i>tó</i>	<i>tó, tóáá. 'à</i>	<i>-tó-</i>	<i>tó</i>	<i>-</i>
3M	<i>'á.liá</i>	<i>'á.liá('à)</i>	<i>-líu-</i>	<i>'é.liú</i>	<i>-líu-</i>
3F	<i>'á.dzi</i>	<i>'á.dziá('à)</i>	<i>-dzi-</i>	<i>'é.dzi</i>	<i>-dzi-</i>
3C	<i>'á.ná</i>	<i>'á.ná('à)</i>	<i>-n-</i>	<i>'á.ní, 'á.ní</i>	<i>-n-</i>

The existence of equivalents for the first and second person feminine and common plural has strongly been denied by my consultants.

3.2.4.4 Adjectives

Genuine adjectives are very few, if existent at all. While Kilian-Hatz (2008: 195) claims for Khwe that there is no “proper word class of adjectives”, Heine (1999: 39) lists a handful of lexemes for \parallel Ani, e.g. *kún* ‘small’ and *léú* ‘big’. These also occur in Buga. However, adjectival

concepts are mostly expressed by verbal adjectives of the English “to be X”-type, and this holds true even for Heine’s above-mentioned examples. Nonetheless, in simple predication expressing condition or shape they tend to be used uninflected and no copula is used in such cases; cf. (229):

- (229) a. *Tí di ɲúú-he láú.*
 1SG POSS house-F.SG big
 ‘My house is big.’
- b. *Nlnámí-he láú bé, kúũ.*
 pangolin-F.SG big NEG small
 ‘A pangolin is not big, it is small.’
- c. *Té di-n nlnàbó-na kx’óà?*
 1C.PL POSS-3C.PL_{AGR} shoe-3C.PL new
 ‘Are our shoes new?’

(229c) is an interrogative clause which can be reformulated with the “adjective” inflected for the (present) tense, as in (229d):

- (229) d. *Té di-n nlnàbó-na kx’óà-tè?*
 1C.PL POSS-3C.PL_{AGR} shoe-3C.PL new-PRES
 ‘Are our shoes new?’

As shown above, predicative “adjectives” follow the head noun. When used as attributives, they precede the head noun:

- (230) a. *N!ábì nlnáo.* ‘The giraffe is old.’
 b. *nlnáo n!ábì* ‘an old giraffe’

Throughout the subgroup, PGN marking is not obligatory. Both noun and “adjective” can be marked or left

unmarked, but the qualifier can only take a PGN marker if the head noun, too, is marked:

- (231) a. *láú xám* ‘a big (male) lion’
 b. *láú xám-mà* ‘a big male lion’
 c. *láú-m xám-mà* ‘a big male lion’

3.2.4.5 Numerals and Quantifiers

Cardinal numbers ‘one’ through ‘four’ are expressed by lexical stems (see 232); from ‘five’ onwards, periphrastic constructions can be formed; these are not much used, though. (For examples from *lAni*, see 233.)

- (232)
- | | | | |
|---------|---------------|----------------|--|
| | <i>lAni</i> | <i>Buga</i> | |
| ‘one’ | <i>lúí</i> | <i>lúí</i> | |
| ‘two’ | <i>lám</i> | <i>lám</i> | |
| ‘three’ | <i>n!óàná</i> | (not obtained) | |
| ‘four’ | <i>hàtsá</i> | (not obtained) | |
- (233) ‘five’ *lúí tshèù khúri* [‘one hand is finished’]
 ‘seven’ *lúí tshèù khúri tám-àná lám* [‘one hand is finished, two on top of it’] (Heine 1999: 37)

Heine (1999: 38) reports for *lAni* that “Ordinal numerals are formed by suffixing the locative/instrumental postposition *kà* (...) to the numeral. In the case of ‘first’, the verb *n!ám* ‘start’ is used instead of *lúí*”:

- (234) ‘first’ *n!ám-kà*
 ‘second’ *lám-kà*
 ‘third’ *n!óàná-kà*
 ‘fourth’ *hàtsá-kà*

- (235) *Tí n!óàná-ka khòè-rà.*
 1SG three-LOC person-1SG
 ‘I am the third person.’

Numerals precede the governing noun and can, like other qualifiers, be marked optionally for PGN, e.g.

- (236) a. *Tsá lám-tsà l'óã-tsà-kà tĩĩ.*
 2M.SG two-2M.DU_{AGR} leg-2M.DU-with exist
 'You have two legs.'
- b. *Tí lúú lgéé-khoe-hè lxoà n#nũĩ.*
 1SG one female-person-3F.SG with sit
 'I have (only) one wife.'

Quantifiers other than numerals are:

(237)	lAni	Buga
'every, all'	<i>kóò-kà.xà</i>	<i>kóó.xà-kà</i>
'many, much'	<i>thíyà</i>	<i>thíyà</i>
'some'	<i>lú</i> (Heine 1999: 39)	
'few'	<i>lx'óá</i>	<i>lx'òè</i>

3.2.4.6 Demonstratives

lAni distinguishes at least four demonstrative categories, two of which are complex. If speaker or addressee are present (and therefore visible) during a given speech act, the near referent (next to speaker) is described by *n/né* while the distant referent (next to addressee) is referred to by *n/né-tè*. The use of 'á 'that (one) mentioned' indicates mere referentiality, i.e., the referent is invisible. A higher degree of distance is expressed by 'à-tè 'that yonder' which can even be extended by the adverb 'ákà 'far', thus: 'á-àkà-tè 'that yonder (far away)'.

In my data, head noun and demonstrative agree grammatically with one another in more than 90 per cent of recorded cases. The agreement markers are derived

from the nominal PGN enclitics, e.g.: *-m̃* (M.SG), *-llù* (M.PL), *-hè* or *-s(i)* (F.SG), *-dzi* (F.PL), *-ñ* (C.PL). Some examples are given in (238).

(238)	<i>n/né-sì</i>	<i>khòè-hè</i>	‘this woman’
	<i>n/né-tè-m̃</i>	<i>xàm-mà</i>	‘that lion’
	<i>’á(-àkà)-tè-dzi</i>	<i>khòè-dzi</i>	‘those (absent) women’
	<i>’á-llù</i>	<i>khòè-llùà</i>	‘those men (mentioned previously)’

The description in Heine (1999: 34–37) differs considerably from my own observations and, therefore, may indicate dialectal variation.

Little is known about demonstratives in Buga, as only *n/né* ‘this’ and *ntné-ha* ‘that’ have been recorded as proximal and distal demonstrative forms. More often than not head noun and demonstrative agree with one another grammatically.

3.2.4.7 Possessive

Throughout the subgroup *di* (Buga *da*) is used as general possessive marker. It allows some syntactic flexibility, as illustrated in (239) for \parallel Ani.

(239)	a.	<i>tí</i>	<i>dì</i>	<i>#úú-hè</i>	‘my head’
		1SG	POSS	head-F.SG	
	b.	<i>tí</i>	<i>dí-hè</i>	<i>#úú-hè</i>	
		1SG	POSS-F.SG _{AGR}	head-F.SG	
	c.	<i>#úú</i>	<i>tí</i>	<i>dí-hè</i>	
		head	1SG	POSS-F.SG _{AGR}	

As a rule, the possessive marker is placed after the personal pronoun; in this order the two may precede (239a-b) or follow (239c) the head noun. The possessive marker optionally agrees with the head noun (239a-b);

this may happen even if the head noun itself is not marked for PGN (239c). When used in connection with kinship terms, the possessive marker can, but need not, be omitted (juxtaposition); e.g.: *'á.sì (dì) dàràsì-hè* ‘her younger sister’.

In Buga, possessives behave almost in the same way as in ʘAni except that juxtaposition appears to be permitted for any noun, thus: *tí dà dzàbà ~ tí dzàbà ~ dzàbà tí dà* ‘my house’.

3.2.4.8 Interrogatives

In ʘAni, the most common interrogatives are *ma* ‘who?’ (with variable tone), *né* ‘what?’, and *nà* ‘what?, which?’. In combination with certain elements they also serve for creating other question words such as *mà-kà* ‘where?’ or *ná-tá* ‘how?’ (cf. Heine 1999: 66f.). It seems, however, that only *ma* can be marked for PGN (compare the examples in 240).

- (240) a. *N/né-m kx'áo-khòè-mà má-mà?*
 DEM-M.SG_{AGR} male-person-M.SG who-M.SG_{AGR}
 ‘Who is this man?’
- b. *Tsáè.'à má l'áo-tsi-tà?*
 2M.SG_{OBJ} who insult-2M.SG_{AGR}-PAST_{RECENT}
 ‘Who insulted you?’
- c. *N/né-mà né?*
 DEM-M.SG what
 ‘What is this?’
- d. *Tsá ná n/náà-tà?*
 2M.SG what say-PAST_{RECENT}
 ‘What did you say?’

When followed by the possessive marker *dì*, *ma* ‘who?’ conveys the meaning ‘whose?’, e.g.

- (241) *N/né-ṅ khòó-n/nàbó-nà má dì?*
 DEM-C.PL_{AGR} skin-shoe-C.PL who POSS
 ‘Whose shoes are these?’

Likewise, when followed by the object marker ’à, *ma* takes on the meaning ‘whom?’.

The interrogatives *ma* ‘who?, which?’ and *ná* ‘which?’ are also attested for Buga which lacks the form *né*, though. Instead *ndú* is used to express ‘what?’; it can also mean ‘why?’. In my data *nà* never occurs alone but only as a component of the complex form *ná.ko* meaning ‘how many/much?’. There is no indication of agreement marking in Buga. Some examples:

- (242) a. *Tsá dà lx’ũĩ má?* ‘What’s your name?’
 2M.SG POSS name who
 b. *Ndú tsa #’ũũ-sà yábà-tè?* ‘What do you want to eat?’
 what 2M.SG eat-F.SG wish-PRES

Like in ||Ani, the possessive interrogative ‘whose?’ is expressed by *má dì*:

- (243) *N/né dzàbá má dì rè?* ‘Whose house is this?’
 DEM house who POSS INT

3.2.4.9 Verbs

Throughout Kalahari Khoe the verb in its infinite form is identical with the verbal root which as such can represent both the infinitive (verbal base) and the imperative. In

order to create finite verb forms, at least the verbal base and a tense/aspect marker are needed. However, most tense/aspect markers require a verbal linker, the so-called juncture. Besides derivative verbal extensions,

the passive marker, object agreement markers and the negative formative form part of the verb phrase. Personal pronouns are never bound to the finite verb but are syntactically independent.

The segmental morphological sequence structure of the verb consists of five slots:

(244)	verbal base –	derivative suffix(es) –	• juncture	tense/aspect –	negation
			• passive –		
			• (OBJ _{AGR})		
	1	2	3	4	5

Most commonly, slots 1, 3 (juncture) and 4 are filled.

Derivative suffixes (slot 2) are plenty and can be combined to a certain extent. They trigger semantic modifications on the basic verb and impact on its valence.

Slot 3 is usually filled by the juncture; in passive constructions, the juncture is replaced by the passive formative. If object agreement is required, the respective marker takes the place of the juncture. In other words, the filling of slot 3 is governed by syntactic devices. Some examples:

(245) lAni

- a. *Tí ηúú-kx'am loéré-sán-à-tà-bé.*
 1SG house-mouth open-REFL-JUNC-PAST_{RECENT}-NEG
 'My door hasn't opened by itself.'
- b. *'Érikù Ìx'ám-è-tè.*
 dog beat-PASS-PRES
 'The dog is beaten.'
- c. *Tsá tí di ηúú-mà.'à mûû-m-tè rè?*
 2M.SG 1SG POSS house-M.SG.OBJ see-M.SG.OBJ_{AGR}-PRES INT
 'Do you see my house?'

Buga

- d. *Kx'áo-khòè-mà tòé-xú-tà.*
 male-person-M.SG move.away-TERM-PAST_{RECENT}
 'The man has moved away (for ever).'
- e. *Tí 'á-nú-hà-bé.*
 1SG know-JUNC-PERF-NEG
 'I don't know.'
- f. *lóã llúù-ì-tà.*
 child give.birth-PASS-PAST_{RECENT}
 'A child was born (today).'
- g. *Khóé-lùà.'à tí mûû-llù-tè.*
 person-M.PL.OBJ 1SG see-M.PL.OBJ_{AGR}-PRES
 'I see the men.'

3.2.4.9.1 Derivative Suffixes

A considerable number of functions have been observed throughout the subgroup. Some (e.g. reflexive, causative₁, dative, reciprocal) are more productive than others (e.g. inclinative, comitative). [Table 6.17](#) below gives an overview.

Table 6.17 Derivative Suffixes in lAni (A) and Buga (B)

Function	Suffix	Lg.	Basic verb	Gloss	Extended verb	Gloss
Causative ₁ / Instrumental	-kà	A	hũũ	'buy'	hũũ-kà	'sell'
		B	dáò	'burn'	dáò-kà	'roast, grill'
Causative ₂	-sɪ	A	lx'òè	'be full'	lx'òè-sɪ	'fill'
Causative ₃	REDUPL	A	lóm	'suck'	lóm-lóm	'suckle'
		B	'àà	'know'	'àà-'àà	'consult, inform'
Repetitive	REDUPL	A	hàà	'split'	hàà-hàà	'split up'
		B	xóó	'hold'	xóó-xòò	'touch'
Dative	-mà	A	khóó	'gather'	khóó-mà	'gather for s.b.'
		B	yià	'climb'	yià-mà	'dress up for s.b.'
Reflexive	-sàn	A	lâé	'instruct'	lâé-sàn	'learn'
		B	qóm	'bend s.th.'	qóm-hàni	'bend over'
Reciprocal	-kù	A	h'ũũ	'eat'	h'ũũ-kù	'copulate'
		B	séé	'take'	séé-kù	'marry'
Inclinative	-kx'áo	A	ts'áà	'steal'	ts'áà-kx'áo	'be kleptomaniac'
Negative	-ɲā	A	kāā	'want'	kāā-ɲā	'not want'
Locative	-'ò	A	dàbí	'turn'	dàbí-'ò	'turn inside out'
		B	qáá	(unknown)	qáá-'ò	'dip/dive in(to)'
Alternative	-(xà)kù	A	tshāā	'cultivate'	tshāā-(xà)kù	'cultivate in turns'
Comitative	-lx(ò)à	A	lqáó	'paddle'	lqáó-lx(ò)à	'paddle jointly'
		B	niú	(unknown)	niú-lxòà	'greet'
Terminative	-xú	A	tshèé	'chase away'	tshèé-ré-xú	'expel'
		B	lx'áé	'fall'	lx'áé-xú	'collapse'
Intentional	-lxê	A	nlāā	'tell'	nlāā-lxê	'want to tell' (Heine 1999: 51)
		B	hàà	'give'	hàà-sà	'in order to give'

Comments: (1) Strictly speaking, reduplication is not a case of derivation; it has here been included because of the parallel paradigmatic patterns that derive from reduplicated verbs as compared to verbs extended by suffixes. The functions “repetitive” and “causative” often overlap or cannot clearly be distinguished. Thus, ᐡAni *lóm-lòm* not only means ‘suckle’ but also ‘suck continuously’ which, of course, is inherent in the process of suckling. (2) More often than not, dative verb stems convey benefactive meaning. (3) The *-ré* formative contained in ᐡAni *tshèé-ré-xú* ‘expel’ (terminative) links the derivative suffix *-xú* to the basic verb. It corresponds morphologically to the juncture morpheme which normally links tense/aspect markers and not derivative

suffixes to (simple or extended) verbs. For an attempt at an historical explanation of this phenomenon, see Vossen (2010). (4) Heine (1999: 48–53) adds a “still” function (*-tsà*) to the paradigm of extensions which is said to be a borrowing from Tswana. He gives the following example (p. 52):

- (246) *Tí hákányà-tsà-tè kx'èí-hè khó-mà tsa-a-tè.*
 1SG think-still-PRES QUOT (?) person-M.SG be.sick-JUNC₁-PRES
 ‘I still think that the man is sick.’

Heine (1999: 48) also considers the passive morpheme to be a verbal extension. However, I strongly believe that it does not belong to the same structural slot as derivative suffixes.

Here are two examples for the combined occurrence of verbal extensions:

- (247) *IAni tàó-ŋā-sàn-à-mà-kx'òò* ‘dislike to behave properly’
 teach.manners-NEG-REFL-JUNC-DAT-INCL
 Buga *hèè-kù-kà* ‘mix up’
 mix-REC-CAUS₁

3.2.4.9.2 Juncture

In the majority of finite verb forms, structural slot 3 is filled by the juncture, which links the (simple or extended) verb stem to the following tense/aspect marker. On a synchronic level this element has no recognizable meaning nor does it reveal a definite grammatical function. The most one can safely say is that it occurs in non-passive constructions. While Heine (1986) argues that the juncture is to be seen as a grammaticalized copula, Elderkin (1986b) advocates the hypothesis that this element derives historically from a

conjunction. (For a state-of-the-art discussion of the juncture in Khoe, see Vossen 2010.)

Although we are fairly aware of the major steps involved in the grammaticalization process, the verbal juncture has not yet been investigated in all its contexts. From Köhler’s (1981) description of Khwe it becomes clear that the juncture first existed for the past tenses (juncture II) and only later developed for non-past tenses (present and future; juncture I) as well. A concomitant feature of the juncture consists in its complex morphological variability, i.e., there are extensive series of allomorphs for both juncture I and II, largely conditioned phonologically or by word structure. The full range of allomorphs is, however, restricted to the Khwe language. In \parallel Ani, juncture I occurs only in the future tense (always as /a/) whereas in Buga, it appears to be represented by zero (/Ø/) throughout. Table 6.18 gives an overview of juncture allomorphs in Kxoe; their use in \parallel Ani is exemplified in Table 6.19.

Table 6.18 Juncture Allomorphs in the Kxoe Subgroup

	a	ε	wa	ya	ye	la	le	ra	re	re	ro	na	Ø	e	o
Khwe	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
\parallel Ani	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Buga								+	+	+	+	+	+		

Table 6.19 Juncture Employment in \parallel Ani (Examples)

a. Juncture I (non-past)			
CVV		CVCV	
<i>lii-Ø-tè</i>	present	<i>lxürü-Ø-tè</i>	present
sing-JUNC-PRES		vibrate-JUNC-PRES	
<i>táó-Ø-lòè</i>	habitual	<i>xímú-Ø-lòè</i>	habitual
pound-JUNC-HAB		snore-JUNC-HAB	
<i>péè-Ø-nnià</i>	ingressive	<i>nlnáni-Ø-nnià</i>	ingressive
jump-JUNC-INGR		build-JUNC-INGR	
<i>lii-à-gòè(nè)</i>	future	<i>lxürü-à-gòè(nè)</i>	future
sing-JUNC-FUT		vibrate-JUNC-FUT	
<i>táó-à-gòè(nè)</i>	future	<i>xímú-à-gòè(nè)</i>	future
pound-JUNC-FUT		snore-JUNC-FUT	
<i>péè-a-gòè(nè)</i>	future	<i>nlnáni-a-gòè(nè)</i>	future
jump-JUNC-FUT		build-JUNC-FUT	
b. Juncture II (past)			
CVV		CVCV	
<i>lòè-é-tà</i>	past _{recent}	<i>lxürü-ná-tà</i>	past _{recent}
sleep-JUNC-PAST _{RECENT}		vibrate-JUNC-PAST _{RECENT}	
<i>kx'ò-ró-tà</i>	past _{recent}		
eat.meat-JUNC-PAST _{RECENT}			
<i>káá-á-l'òm</i>	past	<i>xímú-ná-l'òm</i>	past
want-JUNC-PAST		snore-JUNC-PAST	
<i>kx'è-ré-l'òm</i>	past		
cry-JUNC-PAST			
<i>lǎi-a-hĩĩ</i>	past _{remote}	<i>!hürü-ná-hĩĩ</i>	past _{remote}
be.healthy-JUNC-PAST _{REM}		sprout-JUNC-PAST _{REM}	
<i>dziú-à-hää</i>	perfect	<i>nlnáni-na-hää</i>	perfect
skim.off-JUNC-PERF		build-JUNC-PERF	

3.2.4.9.3

Passive

The passive marker is *-e* (*-hè/-è* according to Heine 1999: 48) in $\|$ Ani and *-i* in Khwe and Buga. It replaces the juncture in slot 3 in passive constructions.

3.2.4.9.4 Object Agreement Marker

Within the subgroup, object agreement marking occurs in slot 3 and is confined to $\|$ Ani and Buga. In $\|$ Ani, it appears to be obligatory if a pronominal or PGN marked nominal object is related to the verb. No conditions for its occurrence have so far been found in Buga. Here, according to my consultants, the object is never resumed

on the verb if it is a pronoun of first or second person feminine or common plural. Examples:

(248) !Ani

Nominal object

a. *!úí-m̄ !'úí-mà(. 'à) tí múũ-m̄-tà.*
 one-M.SG leopard-M.SG(.OBJ) 1SG see-OBJ_{AGR:M.SG}-PAST_{RECENT}
 'I saw one leopard (today).'

Pronominal object

b. *Tô tí múũ-tò-tè.*
 PRO:OBJ_{2C.PL} 1SG see-OBJ_{AGR:2C.PL}-PRES
 'I see you (PL).'

Buga

c. *Há'á tí múũ-sì-tè.*
 PRO:OBJ_{2F.SG} 1SG see-OBJ_{AGR:2F.SG}
 or
Há'á tí múũ-∅-tè.
 'I see you (SG).'

For an overview of object agreement markers, see [Table 6.16](#).

3.2.4.9.5 Tense/Aspect Markers

From a morphological point of view it is hardly possible in Kxoe to distinguish between tense and aspect (TA). Grammatical markers expressing temporal/aspectual relations

(see [Table 6.20](#)) occur in slot 4 exclusively and can never be combined. Most TA markers derive from former verbs, some of which are still in use.

Table 6.20 Tense/Aspect Markers in Kxoe

TA category	Khwe	!Ani	Buga
Remote past	-hĩĩ	-hĩĩ	
Past	-tĩ, l'òmh	-l'òmh	
Recent past	-tã	-tã	-ta
Perfect	-hãã	-hãã	-hã
Present	-tê	-tê	-tê
Habitual	-lôê	-lôê	
Ingressive	-n+nũê	-n+nũã	
Future	-gôê	-gôê(nê)	-gôê

The remote past is mostly used in narratives. The past marker relates to actions that took place between roughly two and five days ago. The recent past indicates today's or yesterday's actions. The term "ingressive" is used here preliminarily; Heine (1999: 20f.) labels this category "progressive" and speaks of "proximative" in the case of "be about to"-actions.

3.2.4.9.6 Negation

The predicate is generally negated by verb-final *-bé(é)*. Remember, however, that there is also the option to negate the verbal base by means of derivation, e.g. !Ani *xàń* 'sew' vs. *xáń-ŋã* 'not sew'.

3.2.5 Naro

Hessel Visser

3.2.5.1 Noun phrase (NP)

The head of the NP is usually a noun. The NP-head is normally put in the last position of the NP. The class of nouns can be subdivided into proper nouns and names. Examples of the simplest NP are:

(249) *!nuu* 'hut' *!Xoma* (name)

PGN markers are used to mark person, gender, and number on the noun. They can be compared with articles and pronouns in other languages. There is agreement between the NP-head and the NP-peripheral. An example of an NP with only its head and PGN marker would be:

(250) *!nuu ba* 'hut'
 HEAD PGN

Adjectives, demonstratives, anaphoric words, and numerals can be used as peripheral elements in the NP. The NP-peripheral qualifies the NP-head and usually, but not necessarily, precedes the NP-head. An example of a NP with noun and peripheral element plus PGN markers (where each element receives its own PGN marker) is:

(251) *!ʔem !nuu ba* 'another hut'
 or
!nuum !ʔe ba 'another hut'

The last element of the NP, whether it is head or peripheral, is followed by the masculine singular marker.

Extended with another peripheral element:

(252) *!ʔem !nuum tiri ba* 'my other hut'
 other hut my PGN

The structure of the NP is as follows:

(253) (element PGN-8) (element PGN-8) element (PGN-7)

The elements can be the NP-head or an NP-peripheral. Although no formal distinction can be made between NP-head and NP-peripheral, there is a strong tendency for

a different behaviour between NP-head and NP-peripheral. For that reason, they are distinguished here in the traditional way.

Usually the peripheral element precedes the nucleus, as in (254):

(254) *!ǎèm khòè ba* ‘the good man’
 good man PGN

But it may also follow the nucleus, as in (255):

(255) *khòè-m !ǎè ba* ‘the good man’
 man good PGN

In this order, the meaning becomes more specific, so that in English the definite article should be used. Note that there is no relationship between “strength” of the PGN marker and the fact of whether it is placed with the nuclear or the peripheral element. It only has to do with the order: the strong marker appears at the end of the NP, the weak marker appears on the peripheral elements.

The weak marker can be repeated as many times as wanted:

(256) *!úí-m kaia-m !úúí-m !ngara-m khòè-ba* ‘one big white handicapped
 one- man-PGN man’

If the NP has more than one peripheral element, the order of these elements is as follows:

(DEMONSTRATIVE) (POSSESSIVE) (NUMERAL) (ADJECTIVE) (ADJECTIVE)

The order of the peripheral element may be important for the meaning. For example, if *!úí* follows the head of the

Note that the tone on this *kx'ai* is low. A noun can also be combined with *kx'ái* 'lid', but then it is a possessive construction:

(267) *suu kx'ái* 'lid of pot'

Specialist: N + *kx'ao*. This combination denotes someone who usually does something, or is specialised in it.

(268) *lxaalxaase* 'to learn' *lxaalxaase kx'ao* 'student'
xóá 'to write' *xóákx'ao* 'writer'

Verb + *khoe*. Combinations of verb + *khoe* usually indicate a person with the mentioned quality.

(269) *lnàm* 'to love' *lnàm-khoe* 'love-person' > 'friend'

N + *kx'am*. Combinations of noun + *kx'am* usually indicate a certain place with a hollow form, especially body parts; e.g.

(270) *hîe ta kx'am* 'hollow above collar bone'

llxoa ta kx'am 'lowest point of breastbone'

In these examples, the combination is a fixed one. The phenomenon is productive as well, as can be seen in the following examples:

(271) *lx'àó*
kx'am 'back part of the neck'

llào kx'am 'hollow of the throat'

Beside body parts, it can also nominalise a verb,

(272) *l'áè* 'to tell, command' *l'áè-kx'am* 'message'

or be used otherwise:

(273) *xíù* 'thing' *xíù-kx'am* 'type of thing'
lxào 'knife' *lxào-kx'am* 'scar caused by knife'

The head of the NP may consist of a combination of two or more words. There are several possibilities for the relationship between these words.

In the first construction, the second word is the nuclear one, being modified by the first (peripheral) one. There is no connection word between the two nouns. So the construction goes as follows:

(274) Peripheral Nuclear

<i>khòè</i>	<i>tíú</i>	'a person's head'
person	head	
<i>bii</i>	<i>/gene</i>	'horse-fly'
horse	fly	
<i>lxoo</i>	<i>lnqe</i>	'gemsbok squirrel' (squirrel with colour like gemsbok)
gemsbok	squirrel	

A noun word may also be modified by a verb word:

(275) *lhāe* *lxào* 'spear'
stab *knife*

A variant of this process connects the two words by a PGN marker:

(276) *!muu-m* *ʔobe* ‘the hut’s roof, the roof of the hut’
house-PGN roof

A somewhat more complicated process is the combination of a noun with a nominalised verb:

(277) *hãa* *xuu* ‘dress’
put.on something
dongi *hãa* *xuu* ‘a donkey harness’
donkey put.on thing

This process can be repeated as well. The composite noun form is then embedded into a second composition as a peripheral element:

(278) *ʔui* *dòm* ‘the corridor of the nose’
nose corridor
ʔui *dò-m* *kò-m* ‘the nostril’
nose corridor-PGN hole-PGN

The combination *ʔui* *dò-ḡḡ* ‘nose corridor’ is embedded into the combination with *kò-ḡḡ* ‘hole’.

(279) *hii* *sore* *!xòò* ‘a wooden tobacco pipe’
wood tobacco pipe

This example shows that a modifying noun may receive an adjectival meaning: *hii* is not the owner, but the source; or rather: it qualifies/indicates the material. In English, an adjective ‘wooden’ or ‘of wood’, also a “possessive” construction, is used for this.

Verb + object: a combination of a verb with an object may also function as head of the NP. The verb is the central element.

(280) *horo lx'áó* 'necklace'
 put neck

A somewhat more complicated process is the combination of a verb with a nominalised verb:

(281) *#nõo xuu* 'chair'
 sit thing
!abi #nõo xuu 'saddle'
 ride sit thing

These two processes can be combined:

(282) *kx'áà xuu* 'a drink-container'
 drink thing
kx'áà xuu !xóó 'a drink-container holder, a can holder'
 drink thing hold

The combination *kx'áà xuu* has become the object of the verb *!xóó* 'hold'.

Embedding of process I in process II:

(283) *#ãa #úú* 'a necklace'
 enter head
!xore #ãa #úú 'a necklace made of ostrich eggshell'
 ostrich.eggshell enter head

The combination *#ãa #úú* is the central element, and is modified by the element *!xore* 'ostrich eggshell'.

Combination of process I with process II:

- (284) *lěé* *tsao* 'wildebeest tail'
wildebeest tail
horo l'om 'a wrist band'
put wrist
lěé tsao *horo l'om* 'a wrist band made of wildebeest tail'
wildebeest.tail wrist.band

3.2.5.1.1 Possessive Constructions

There are three types of possessive construction. (i) In this construction, the word *di* is used in the following way:

(285) possessor-PGN *di* possessee

The PGN marker following the possessor is in agreement with the possessor. The PGN-8 marker is used:

(286) *khóè-m di !nuu* ‘the man’s hut’
man-PGN hut

The possessed thing may also be accompanied by PGN markers. In that case, the weak pgn marker is put after *di*, while the strong PGN marker comes at the end:

(287) *khóè-m di-s !nuu-sa* ‘a man’s hut’
man-PGN POSS-PGN hut-PGN

The possessor may also be indicated by the PGN marker only. In that case, the PGN-5 marker is used:

(288) *xa-m di-s xúù-sa* ‘his thing’
xakha-m di-s xúù-sa ‘our thing’

This construction can also be used to indicate a certain quality or property.

(289) *too l’òò toro lu di-m tsoo ba* ‘the man with “the stringed together hair”’

(ii) The second construction can be considered as a shortened version of the first one. The same pattern is followed, but *di* is not used:

(290)	<i>sáá</i>	<i>ʔárà-ba</i>	=	<i>sarim</i>	<i>ʔárà-ba</i>	‘your peer’
	<i>sikham</i>	<i>l’áé</i>	=	<i>sikham</i>	<i>di l’áé</i>	‘our yard’
	<i>tíí</i>	<i>l’ǒo</i>	=	<i>tirim</i>	<i>l’ǒo</i>	‘my boss’

With respect to the last example above, however, a construction like *gakhao q’ǒò* is not acceptable. In such cases, the word *ka* is used: *gakhao ka q’ǒoseba* ‘your boss’.

(iii) In the third possessive construction, the pgn marker follows the thing that is owned and is connected to it by *-a*. In this construction, only PGN-6 can be used:

(291)	Possessee	<i>-a</i>	Possessor	
	<i>xúà</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>ba</i>	‘his thing’
	<i>luì</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>te</i>	‘my nose’
	<i>xoo</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>tsi</i>	‘your half face’

Words can be joined by *ka*. This usually indicates relationships. The morpheme *-se* is added to the relationship word:

(292)	<i>Tsebes</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>lǒè-se-sa</i>	‘Tsebe’s younger sister’
	Tsebe		younger sister-?-PGN	

3.2.5.1.2 Names

A separate class of nouns consists of proper names. They act like simple nouns. They are usually accompanied by their corresponding PGN marker. Example:

- (293) *lx'ase ba* 'Cg'ase'
lx'ase tsara 'the (two) Cg'ases, or: Cg'ase and his (male) companion'
lx'ase khara 'Cg'ase and his (female) companion'
lx'ase ra 'I, Cg'ase'

3.2.5.1.3 PGN Markers

The first extension of the NP to discuss is the PGN markers. To mark person, gender and number on the noun, a so-called PGN marker is added to the noun. PGN markers can be compared with articles in other languages, but sometimes act like pronouns.

First, the PGN marker indicates which person is involved. The NP can refer to

- the speaker (and others): first person;
- the addressee (and others): second person, or
- a person/persons is/are not included in either first or second person: third person.

Examples:

- (294) *khòè ra* 'I person' *khòè ta* 'we persons'
khòè tsi 'you person' *khòè tu* 'you persons'
khòè ba 'he person' *khòè ne* 'they persons'

Second, the PGN marker indicates gender. The head of the NP can be 'male', 'female' or 'common'. See section 3.2.5.1.4 for more details on gender, e.g.

- (295) *khòè tsi* 'you male person'
khòè si 'you female person'

<i>khòè ba</i>	‘he male person > a/the man’
<i>khòè sa</i>	‘she female person > a/the woman’

Third, the PGN marker indicates number. The head of the NP can be single, dual or plural. Examples:

(296)	<i>khòè</i>	<i>ba</i>	‘man’
	<i>khòè</i>	<i>tsara</i>	‘two men’
	<i>khòè</i>	<i>lu</i>	‘men (more than two)’
	<i>khòè</i>	<i>ra</i>	‘I, man’
	<i>khòè</i>	<i>tsam</i>	‘we, two men’
	<i>khòè</i>	<i>lae</i>	‘we men (more than two)’
	<i>Thama</i>	<i>ba</i>	‘Thama’
	<i>Thama</i>	<i>tsara</i>	‘he and Thama’
	<i>Thama</i>	<i>lu</i>	‘Thama and his companions’

PGN markers have different forms, depending on their function. The markers will be indicated by number, corresponding with the column in which they can be found. In

general, the forms do not differ much. Only for the third person singular do the forms differ greatly. For a complete overview of PGN markers, see the appendix on p. 205.

PGN-1, general subject. This formative marks a subject of a clause in general, e.g.:

(297)	<i>Bóò</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>ko.</i>	‘He sees.’
	<i>!Ōò</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ko.</i>	‘It goes.’
	V	PGN	TAM	

PGN-2, nominal subject. The PGN marker may also function as a nominal subject. In this case, the last phoneme of this nominal subject is repeated:

- (298) *!ǎ̀è me e.* ‘He is good.’
!ǎ̀è si i. ‘She is good.’
!ǎ̀è e. ‘It is good.’
 V PGN

PGN-3, emphasised person. The PGN-3 marker emphasises a person, either used as subject or as object. In the first and second person singular construction, a corresponding PGN- (1 or 4) marker must be added:

- (299) *tíí ... ra* ‘I’ (subject, sometimes even as object)
tíí ... te ‘I/me’ (object)
tsáá... tsi ‘you’ (M)
sáá ... si ‘you’ (F)

Subject emphasised:

- (300) *Xaba ko bóò.* ‘He sees.’
Tíí ra ko bóò. ‘I see.’
 PGN
Xata r ko tíí méé. ‘That’s what I say!’
 PGN

Object emphasised:

- (301) *Bòò te tsi ko tíi?* ‘Do you see me?’
Bòò (me) tsi ko xaba? ‘Do you see him?’
Tíi tsi ko bóò te. ‘You see me.’
Tíi a tsi ko méé te? ‘Do you mean me?’
Tíi ra tsi ko méé? ‘Do you mean me?’ (*ra* as object!)
Tsáá r ko bóò tsi. ‘I see you.’
Tsáá tsir ko bóò. ‘I see you.’

Both subject and object emphasised:

- (302) *Tsáá tsi ga tíi lx’òò te.* ‘You will kill me.’

PGN-4, object. The PGN-4 marker functions as object:

- (303) *Bòò me r ko.* ‘I see him.’
Bòò o r ko. ‘I see it.’

PGN-5, construction with postposition. When a postposition is following a PGN marker which refers to a person (in other words, the PGN marker is used as a pronoun), the PGN-5 marker is used.

Possessive construction (i). The owner (in the form of PGN-5) precedes the thing that is possessed:

- (304) *xam dis xúù sa* ‘his thing’
xakham dis xúù sa ‘our thing’

Postposition:

- (305) *xam lxoá* ‘with him’

PGN-6, possessive construction (ii). In the second possessive construction, the PGN marker follows the thing that is owned and is connected to it by *-a*. Example:

(306) *xúua ba* ‘his thing’
luia te ‘my nose’

PGN-7, strong article. The PGN-7 marker can be called a “strong” article. This article appears at the end of the NP, e.g.

(307) *khóè ba* ‘the man’

PGN-8, weak article. The PGN-8 marker can be called a “weak” article. The first elements of the NP carry the weak article, while the last element is followed by the strong article:

(308) *!āèm khòè ba* ‘a good man’

With derivations, the combinations are seen as a unit so that in these instances, the dependent PGN marker does not occur after the noun but after the whole unit; e.g., in a combination with *!gòò* ‘big’ or *!òà* ‘small’

(309) *brukhoe !gòò sa* ‘trousers’

one would expect a dependent PGN marker *-s* after *brukhoe*, but it does not occur there. Compare:

(310) *kaisas brukhoe !goo sa* ‘big trousers’

It may happen that the PGN marker is reduplicated. This usually happens in constructions with *wéè* ‘all, both’, e.g.

(311) *Wéè khao khaos #’eya.* ‘She resembles both of you.’
Wéè tsa-tsara !āè tsara a. ‘They are both OK.’

3.2.5.1.4 Noun Gender

Gender is marked by the PGN marker. The question that will be answered in this section is: What makes nouns male, female or common? In fact, it is not really gender that the PGN marker indicates. We could equally well say that “general information” about shape is communicated. We thus might rename the PGN marker a *pin*-code: person–information–number marker! But as the term PGN marker is in use, we will not confuse readers by introducing another term.

With animate nouns, the gender is clear:

- (312) *khóè ba* ‘man’
khóè sa ‘woman’
dùù ba ‘male eland’
dùù sa ‘female eland’

However, if someone is talking about an animal in general, the female gender is used:

- (313) *!Gǎe si i.* ‘It is a steenbok.’
gòè zi ‘cows, cattle’

This even applies if somebody knows that male animals are around:

- (314) *xàm zi* ‘lions’

With objects, the following rule applies: objects that are long and/or strong are male, objects that are round and/or weak are female.

- (315) *hii ba* ‘stick’
hii sa ‘tree’

From these examples it is obvious that size does not decide gender (trees are bigger than sticks, but that does not make them male): it is the shape that is important.

With insects, it is often difficult to know the gender. Probably the same rule as for objects in general applies: they are said to be female if they are round, and male if they are long:

- (316) *bii-lgène sa* ‘horse-fly’
!n \underline{o} ba ‘worm’
‡ \underline{o} ma-‡ \underline{o} ma ba ‘ant’

The same probably applies to trees and plants. If it is round, it is seen as “female”, if it is tall, it is called “male”.

- (317) *ʔóò ba* ‘a hardekool-tree that is tall’
ʔóò sa ‘a hardekool-tree that is more round’

Some nouns are neuter, or common, e.g.

- (318) *tshàa ne* ‘water’

Abstract nouns usually receive a female PGN marker:

- (319) *tseexu sa* ‘truth’
!nà \underline{m} ku sa ‘love’
!āè sa ‘goodness’

Nominalised verbs take the neuter gender:

(320) *llaoo ne* ‘to shoot (shooting)’

Body parts are usually male:

(321) *ʔúú ba* ‘head’
ʔxáí ba ‘eye’
ʔee ba ‘ear’
l’ǒá ba ‘leg’
ʔ’ǒà ba ‘arm’
tshàu ba ‘finger’

but:

(322) *lom sa* ‘navel’
kx’ám sa ‘mouth’

The navel is round, so that may be the reason why it is considered “female”. The mouth may also be seen as round, but one may ask: why not the ear and the head?

Objects in the sky have different gender. The ‘sun’ is female: *làám sa*, but the moon is male: *llnoe ba* (perhaps because it can appear in non-round shape?). Stars may be either male or female: *llono ba* or *ʔono sa*. The Pleiades (called ‘seven sisters’ in other languages) are female: *xòe zi*, and so is the morning star Venus: *!’úú ʔono sa*. The winter star, however, is male: *!xài ʔono ba*. The rain is sometimes male (*túú ba*), especially when it is a heavy rain, and sometimes it is female (*túú sa*): when it is a soft rain.

PGN markers can be used to indicate slight distinctions. To indicate that something is small, one can change the male PGN marker into a female one:

- (323) *!muu ba* ‘hut’
!muu sa ‘small hut’

To translate the English word ‘sea’ into Naro, one may change the common PGN marker with the word for ‘water’ into a male one:

- (324) *tshàa ne* ‘water’
tshàa ba ‘sea, river’

3.2.5.1.5 Peripheral Elements

Adjectives, demonstratives, anaphoric words and numerals can be used as peripheral elements.

Adjectives are usually placed before the noun, with accompanying PGN-8 marker, e.g.

- (325) *!ãè-m* *khóè* *ba* ‘a/the good man’
good-PGN.8 person M

The adjective may, however, also follow the noun. In that case, the accompanying PGN-7 marker is used (because it follows the last element of the NP).

- (326) *khóè-m* *!ãè* *ba* ‘the good man’
person-PGN.1 good M

There is agreement between the noun and the adjective, the noun being the head:

- (327) *lāè m khóè ba* ‘a good man’
lāè tsara khóè tsara ‘(two) good men’
 good PGN person PGN

Demonstratives are deictic in nature. They refer to a nearby or close distance, *lněe* ‘this’, or to relative distance (usually near the addressed person), *ěe*, *āa* ‘that’, or to great distance, *ěesihāa* ‘that there’. Demonstratives behave like adjectives: they usually are placed before the noun to which they belong.

- (328) *lněe-m khóè ba* ‘this man’
ěe-m khóè ba ‘that man’
ěesihāa-m khóè ba ‘that man there’
 DEM-PGN.8 person PGN.7

But they may also be put after the noun:

- (329) *khóè-m lněe ba* ‘this man’

A peripheral element in the NP can even consist of a noun word, qualified by an adjective. The phrases *lnoas bìi sa* ‘red horse’ and *!’úú kx’ái* ‘white face’ can be combined in the noun phrase

- (330) *lnoas bìis !’úú kx’ái sa* ‘a red horse with a white face’

where *!’úú kx’ái* qualifies the noun *bìi*.

Adjectives can be derived from verbs by way of reduplication. In this process, the tone on the second part of the reduplication is the same as the tone on the first part.

- (331) *!ʼae* ‘to get a fright’ → *!ʼae-!ʼae* ‘terrible’
ʔom ‘to trust’ → *ʔom-ʔom* ‘reliable, trustworthy’

A participle can also be a peripheral element in the NP.

In Naro, there are only three original numerals: *lúú* ‘one’, *láṃ* ‘two’, and *!noana* ‘three’. The other numerals are borrowed from other languages (Nama and English). Nama numbers may be used from ‘4’ up to ‘6’ or ‘10’, but in practice English numerals are used from ‘4’ upwards. There is agreement between the noun and the numeral, the noun being the head:

- (332) *lúú-m* *khóè* *ba* ‘one man’
láṃ-tsara *khóè* *tsara* ‘two men’
!noana-lu *khóè* *lu* ‘three men’
four-lu *khóè* *lu* ‘four men’
NUM-PGN.8 person PGN.7

Anaphoric words refer to a noun that was mentioned before, e.g.

- (333) *xaa* ‘that’ (the one that was mentioned)
!naa ‘the one that I talked about’
xaa-m *lx’aré-ba* ‘that little one’
... *me* *!naa-ba* *!ʼaixa-ba* *kírú* ‘... and that one (that was mentioned before) became chief’

Compound NPS have three possible structures:

In structure 1, the first and any subsequent conjoined NP is closed with *hěé naka*, the final NP of a conjoined series terminates with *hěethěé*, perhaps additionally completed by *e*. We may summarise this structure as follows:

NP1 *hěé naka* (NP2 *hěé naka* ... NP_n *hěé naka*) NP_n+
hěethěé (*e*)

- (334) *khòè ba hěé naka khòè sa hěethěé e* ‘the man and the woman’
!Xoma ba hěé naka Ti!’ae sa hěethěé e ‘Qgoma (a man) and Tiq’ae
(a woman)’

In the second structural possibility of conjoined NPS, the PGN marker of the conjoined NPS is placed at the end of every NP. This structure may be summarised as follows:

noun (combined PGN) + noun (combined PGN) + (...) +
(combined PGN)

- (335) *!Xoma khara Tiq’ae khara* ‘Qgoma and Tiq’ae’
N.SG PGN.DU N.SG PGN.DU

In the third construction, a combination of the two previous constructions is also possible. In this case, each NP has its own PGN marker, the NPS are combined by *hěé*, while at the end of the series, the PGN marker of the combined NPS appears. The structure is as follows:

NP₁ *hěé naka* + (NP₂ *hěé naka*) ... (NP_n *hěé naka*) NP_{n+1}
hěethěé (combined PGN)

- (336) *khòè ba hěé naka khòè sa hěethěé khara* ‘the man and the woman’
!xoma ba hěé naka Ti!’ae sa hěethěé khara ‘Qgoma and Tiq’ae’
NP1 NP2 PGN.DU

3.2.5.2 Verb Phrase (VP)

The elements of the VP will be briefly introduced. After discussing the head of the VP, and the peripheral elements of the VP such as tense markers and aspect markers, the different modes will be outlined, concluding with complex verb phrases.

The head of the VP is usually a verb, indicating actions. These verbs form an open class with many members, *tséé* ‘work’, *!òò* ‘go, walk’.

Agent markers, tense markers, aspect markers and the marker *kò* can be used as peripheral elements in the VP. The VP-peripheral qualifies the VP-head. An example of a VP with verb and peripheral element plus PGN marker:

(337) *!Ōò tsi ga kò ko.* 'You would be going.'
 go PGN T kò ASPECT

The structure of the VP cannot easily be summed up. The different options will be discussed in the subsections of mood.

The verb can consist of more than one morpheme. Passive markers, reflexive markers, causative markers, etc. can be added to the verb root. The order is as follows:

verb (reciprocal) (reflexive/
 causative) (passive) (aspect)

Examples:

(338) a. *!ama -xu -è -a* 'sold'
 buy CAUS PASS a
 b. *!uri -ku -kaxu* 'follow each other'
 follow REC CAUS

The unmarked form of the verb has an active meaning, e.g.

(339) *tséé* 'work'

The set of verbs can be divided into transitive verbs and intransitive verbs. Usually, the form of the verb does not

indicate whether it is transitive or intransitive. Sometimes, however, (in)transitivity of the verb is indicated by tone. The following intransitive verbs differ from their transitive counterparts only by their tone:

- (340) *dàò* LL 'burn' (tr.)
dào LM 'burn' (intr.)
ḡnāa LH 'pour' (tr.)
ḡnāa LM 'pour' (intr.)

Passive: to indicate that the subject is undergoing an action, Naro adds the suffix *-è* to the verb phrase (the verb or the verb unit). This suffix has low tone and has a lowering effect on the tone of preceding words:

- (341) *Tséé -è r ko.* 'I am being sent.'
ḡ'òó -è r ko. 'I am being eaten.'
 VERB PASS PGN

The passive construction is very common in Naro.

- (342) *#li -è tsi ko.* 'You are called.' (or: so and so is calling you)
 VERB PASS PGN
#Nōo sao méé -è. 'It is said that you must sit down.' (said when you convey a message from somebody else)
N-lama i ga xaa za /òò -è? 'When do they go there?' (lit.: when is it being gone there?)

Reflexive: to make a verb reflexive in meaning, Naro adds the suffix *-se* to the verb (unit). The meaning can also shift somewhat from a pure reflexive one:

- (343) *kubu* 'beat, break into pieces'
kubu se 'hurt yourself on something > fall down (in pieces)'
lxaa-lxaa 'teach'
lxaa-lxaa se 'teach yourself > learn'
kóm 'to hear'
kóm se 'hear (for) oneself > understand'

Or the meaning can become intransitive:

- (344) *kúru* 'to do, make'
kúru se 'happen'

Some verbs prefer the form with *-se*:

- (345) *narú* 'unknown'
narú se 'swing'

Addition of *-se* to a verb unit:

- (346) *lxóà* 'be angry'
lxóà lxae 'be angry toward'
lxóà lxae ser ko. 'I am angry with myself.'

Causative: to indicate an action that causes the state of the unmarked verb, Naro adds the suffix *-kaxu*:

- (347) *tséé* 'work'
tsee kaxu 'make work > use, make use of'
kai 'be big'
kai kaxu 'make big > respect, honour'

Reciprocal: the suffix *-ku* makes a verb reciprocal in meaning. Sometimes there is a shift in meaning:

- (348) *hùì* ‘to help’
hùì ku ‘to help each other’
kóm ‘to hear’
kóm ku ‘to hear each other > agree’

Agent markers: to indicate the agent, Naro uses a set of PGN markers. This set was discussed in section 3.2.5.1. These PGN markers are more function words than inflections, because they are usually not attached to verbs. They are only attached to the verb if the PGN marker does not contain a vowel. In fact, they can be considered to be pronominal forms and thus are not part of the verb phrase. They are just mentioned here in passing:

- (349) *Iséé tsi ko.* ‘You are working.’
!Ōò ta ko. ‘We (M.PL) are going.’
!Ōò r ko. ‘I am going.’
PGN

Tense markers: to indicate when an action takes place, Naro distinguishes five tenses: distant past, intermediate past, immediate past, present, and future. These are marked as follows:

- (350) *llx’a* distant past
thu intermediate past
lna immediate past
Ø present

ga future

The markers for the three past tenses usually precede the verb, while the future tense marker usually follows the verb:

(351)	<i>lX'a</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>tséé.</i>						'I worked (long ago).'
	<i>Thu</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>tséé.</i>						'I worked (yesterday, last week).'
	<i>lNa</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>tséé.</i>						'I worked (today, or maybe yesterday).'
			<i>Tséé</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>ko.</i>				'I am working.'
			<i>Tséé</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>ga.</i>				'I will work.'
	T	PGN	work	PGN	T				

To indicate a future action, Naro may also make use of an auxiliary verb like *síi* 'go':

(352)	<i>Síi</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>tséé.</i>					'I am going to work.'
	<i>go</i>	PGN	T	work					

See more on this in section 3.2.5.2.1.

Aspect markers: to indicate the quality of a certain action, Naro makes use of some aspect markers: neutral, continuative, perfective, imperfective and counter-expectation. These aspects are marked as follows:

(353)	<i>ẽ</i>	neutral
	<i>-ko</i>	continuative (in the present)
	<i>-a</i>	perfective
	<i>-a hãa</i>	imperfective

a- counter-expectation

All of these markers usually follow the verb.

The neutral aspect focuses on the content of the action rather than on its duration. It does not occur with the present tense, so the near past tense form was used here.

(354) *lNa r tséé.* 'I worked.'
A PGN work

The most common form of the verb is the continuative. It indicates that an action is ongoing:

(355) *Tséé r ko.* 'I am working.'
work PGN A

The perfective aspect indicates that an action is finished:

(356) *Tsee a ra.* 'I have worked.'
work A PGN

The imperfective aspect marker is a discontinuous morpheme, allowing the PGN to be attached after the *a* and before the *hãa*. The aspect focuses on the fact that an action was ongoing.

(357) *Tsee a ra hãa.* 'I was working.'
work A PGN A

The aspect called “counter-expectation” has some notion of surprise, but it may have other nuances as well.

(358) *Tséé a r!* 'I work!'
work A PGN

Some verbs use the perfective form *-a*, while the meaning is ‘present’. Note that with some verbs, some morphological changes occur when adding the *-a*, e.g. *!’ãa + a*.

(359)	<i>!’úú</i>			‘not know’
	<i>!’uu</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ra</i>	‘I don’t know.’
	not.know	A	PGN	
	<i>!’ãa</i>			‘to know’
	<i>!’a</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ra.</i>	‘I know.’
	know	A	PGN	

kò: in addition, Naro has a marker *kò*, which can occur with most tense and aspect markers. It has some general past tense meaning, but needs further research. It may also indicate a condition – the marker *kò* is often found in a conditional clause:

(360)	<i>Tséé</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>kò.</i>	‘I worked.’
	work	PGN	PAST	
	<i>!Ába</i>	<i>khao</i>	<i>kò</i>	<i>ko</i>
				<i>ne</i>
				<i>!óá</i>
				<i>zi</i>
				<i>bìrí</i>
				<i>na</i>
				<i>zi</i>
				<i>!’ee</i>
				<i>!giu.</i>
				‘If you are hungry, tell the girls to light the fire.’

The tense markers, *kò* and the aspect markers can be combined with each other, with the only restriction that *-a* (counter-expectation) does not combine with any tense marker. The following overview may suffice for a general indication of the possible combinations:

(361)	Tense	<i>kò</i>	Aspect
	<i>lx'a</i>		<i>ẽ</i>
	<i>thu</i>		<i>-ko</i>
	<i>lna</i>	<i>kò</i>	<i>-a</i>
	<i>Ø</i>		<i>-a hãa</i>
	<i>ga</i>		<i>(a-)</i>

We will first discuss the forms without *kò*. Five tense markers times five aspect markers theoretically give rise to 25 possibilities. However, the combination of present tense + neutral aspect does not occur, which makes it 24. As the counter-expectation marker *-a* only occurs in the present tense, the theoretically possible combinations are reduced to twenty. The combination with *kò* will be discussed later.

(362) *lx'a*

<i>lX'a</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>tséé.</i>			'I worked (long ago).'
<i>lX'a</i>	<i>r ko</i>	<i>tséé.</i>			'I was working (long ago).'
<i>lX'a</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>tsee</i>	<i>a.</i>		'I have worked (long ago).'
<i>lX'a</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>tsee</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>hāa.</i>	'I was working (long ago).'

thu

<i>Thu</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>tséé.</i>			'I worked (intermediate past).'
<i>Thu</i>	<i>r ko</i>	<i>tséé.</i>			'I was working (intermediate past).'
<i>Thu</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>tsee</i>	<i>a.</i>		'I have worked (intermediate past).'
<i>Thu</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>tsee</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>hāa.</i>	'I was working (intermediate past).'

lna

<i>lNa</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>tséé.</i>			'I worked (immediate past).'
<i>lNa</i>	<i>r ko</i>	<i>tséé.</i>			'I was working (immediate past).'
<i>lNa</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>tsee</i>	<i>a.</i>		'I have worked (immediate past).'
<i>lNa</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>tsee</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>hāa.</i>	'I was working (immediate past).'

Ø

<i>Tséé</i>	<i>r</i>		<i>Ø</i>	<i>ko.</i>	'I am working.'
<i>Tsee</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>raa</i>	<i>Ø.</i>		'I worked.'
<i>Tsee</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>Ø</i>	<i>hāa.</i>	'I have been working.'
<i>Tséé</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>Ø.</i>		'I worked!'

ga

<i>Tséé</i>	<i>r</i>		<i>ga.</i>		'I will work.'
<i>Tséé</i>	<i>r</i>		<i>ga</i>	<i>ko.</i>	'I will be working.'
<i>Tsee</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>ga.</i>		'I will have worked.'
<i>Tsee</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>hāa.</i>	'I will have been working.'

Some combinations hardly differ in meaning from each other. The difference between immediate past tense plus neutral aspect and immediate past tense plus perfective aspect can be exemplified as follows:

(363) *lNar !ōò.* 'I have gone (you may still be going).'

lNar !ōòà. 'I have gone (you have finished the process).'

The difference between immediate past tense plus continuative aspect and immediate past tense plus perfective aspect can be exemplified as follows:

(364) *INar ko tsée.* ‘I was working (immediate past, I was in the process).’

INar tseea hãa. ‘I was working (immediate past, I have finished).’

Combination with *kò*: each of the above-mentioned combinations can further be combined with the marker *kò*. In theory, this would lead to another twenty possibilities. Not all of these possibilities are found, however. The marker *kò* is put after the tense marker and before the aspect marker. The combination of *kò* + *ko* can be abbreviated as *kòo*. The meaning of these verb forms may be one that expresses uncertainty: ‘I might, maybe I did ...’, ‘I would have ...’. The verb forms are sometimes used in conjunctive sentences.

(365) *lx'a*

<i>lX'a</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>kò</i>	<i>tséé.</i>			'I was working (long ago).'
<i>lX'a</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>kò</i>	<i>ko tséé.</i>			'I was working (long ago).'
<i>lX'a</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>kò</i>	<i>tsee</i>	<i>a.</i>		'I had worked (long ago).'
<i>lX'a</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>kò</i>	<i>tsee</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>hāa.</i>	'I had been working (long ago).'

thu

<i>Thu</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>kò</i>	<i>tséé.</i>			'I was working (intermediate past).'
<i>Thu</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>kò</i>	<i>ko tséé.</i>			'I was working (intermediate past).'
<i>Thu</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>kò</i>	<i>tsee</i>	<i>a.</i>		'I had worked (intermediate past).'
<i>Thu</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>kò</i>	<i>tsee</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>hāa.</i>	'I had been working (intermediate past).'

lna

<i>lNa</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>kò</i>	<i>tséé.</i>			'I was working (immediate past).'
<i>lNa</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>kò</i>	<i>ko tséé.</i>			'I was working (immediate past).'
<i>lNa</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>kò</i>	<i>tsee</i>	<i>a.</i>		'I had worked (immediate past).'
<i>lNa</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>kò</i>	<i>tsee</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>hāa.</i>	'I had been working (immediate past).'

Ø

<i>Tséé</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>Ø</i>	<i>kò</i>	<i>ko.</i>		'I was working.'
<i>Tsee</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>raa</i>	<i>Ø</i>	<i>kò.</i>		'I have worked.'
<i>Tsee</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>Ø</i>	<i>kò</i>	<i>hāa.</i>	'I was working.'
<i>Tséé</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>Ø</i>	<i>kò.</i>		'I work?'

ga

<i>Tséé</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>kò.</i>			'I would work.'
<i>Tséé</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>kò</i>	<i>ko.</i>		'I would be working.'
<i>Tsee</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>kò.</i>		'I would have worked.'
<i>Tsee</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>kò</i>	<i>hāa.</i>	'I would have been working.'

3.2.5.2.1

Auxiliary Verbs

The verbs *síí* 'to go' and *hàà* 'to come' may be used as auxiliary verbs, giving the meaning of something that will be done in future. It depends on the orientation of the speaker whether *síí* or *hàà* will be used. The

above-mentioned tense and/or aspect markers are used for the auxiliary verb, which may then be combined with the main verb:

- (366) *Hàà r ga nta hēè?* ‘What will I come and do?’
Sii r ga nta hēè? ‘What will I go and do?’
 AUX PGN A do Q
ʔāa ne ga hàà tentan !áú. ‘The wind will come and throw over the tents.’
ʔāa ne ga sii tentan !áú. ‘The wind will (go and) throw over the tents.’

3.2.5.2.2 Morphophonemic Changes

The suffix *-a* has a lowering effect on the tone of preceding words:

- (367) *Tsééa raà.* ‘I have sent.’

Before the suffix *-a* the PGN-1 marker for third person masculine singular changes into *b*:

- (368) *!Ōòà ra.* ‘I went.’
**!òòà ma* → *!Ōòà ba.* (‘He went.’)
!ʔuuà ra. ‘I don’t know.’
**!ʔuuà ma* → *!ʔuuà ba.* (‘He doesn’t know.’)

With the same suffix *-a*, some verbs show forms that are different from *V + -a*. A verb like *!ʔāa* ‘to know’ has the form *!ʔana* in perfective aspect.

3.2.5.2.3 Mood

Indicative: to make a statement, the indicative mood is used. The examples mentioned up till now were all in the indicative mood; the structure was discussed above.

Infinitive: the infinitive is the simplest form of the verb, e.g. *hàà* ‘to come’.

Present participle: a present participle is formed by adding *ko* to the verb. The verb together with *ko* thus becomes a peripheral element in the NP, which may carry the accompanying PGN marker:

- (369) *Tséé ko s khóè si i.* ‘She is a working person.’
Tséé ko m khóè me e. ‘He is a working person.’
 work PART PGN person PGN
- l’áà ko l’úú zi* ‘bright colours’
l’iri ko ba ‘the following/next’

The past participle is formed by the verb plus the (im)perfective aspect marker:

- (370) *!Ōò -a s khóè sa dīi sa?* ‘The woman that has gone.
 go -IMPF PGN person PGN PGN who is it?’

Imperative: to issue a command, one may just use the verb form. Usually, some emphasis is added to the pronunciation of the word. The imperative has the following structure:

verb (PGN marker) (-o)

- (371) *#’ōo* ‘to eat’

#’ōo! ‘Eat!’

Another way to express a command is by adding the suffix *-o* to the verb form, e.g.

- (372) *hàà* 'to come'
Hàà -o! 'Come!'

The suffix *-o* may also be added to another element in the clause, e.g. to the PGN marker:

- (373) *ʔi* *me -o!* 'Call him!'
ʔXobekx'am *te -o!* 'Open (for) me!'

It may even be added to a combination of clauses:

- (374) *lXobe ter ʔhuuse -o!* 'Give it so that I can dry myself!'

To make explicit that more than one person is addressed, the PGN marker for the respective group can be added:

- (375) *ʔõo tu!* 'You (mixed, PL), eat!'
Hàà khao -o! 'You (mixed, dual), come!'

Interrogative: to ask something, the tone on the PGN marker is changed to mid:

- (376) a. *!Õò tsi ko.* 'You are going.'
!Õò tsi ko? 'Are you going?'
 go PGN TAM
- b. *!'áá-!'aa mè láé ga.* 'We'll divide it.'
!'áá-!'aa me lae ga? 'Will we divide it?'
 PGN
- c. *Hàà làè ga.* 'We will come.'
Hàà lae ga? 'Will we come?'
 come PGN TAM
- d. *Bòò làè ga.* 'We will see.'
Bòò lae ga? 'Will we see?'
 see PGN TAM

The difference between these two clauses is minimal. To make clear that it is a question, one may add the suffix *-a* to the PGN marker:

- (377) *!Ōò tsi ko.* ‘You are going.’
!Ōò tsi -a ko? ‘Are you going?’
 go PGN -Q TAM

To stimulate a response, an adhortative construction can be used. The most common one is the one with *hàà* ‘come’ → ‘let’:

- (378) *Hàà ta !òò!* ‘Let us go!’

One can even say this to oneself:

- (379) *Hàà na r tshàa tookx'ai!* ‘Let me put on the water!’

Another adhortative construction is the one in which the verb is repeated:

- (380) *!Ōò ta !òò!* ‘Let us go!’
!Hòà naka ta !hòà! ‘Let us converse!’

A similar construction with slightly different meaning – it sounds more like asking permission – is the one with verbs like *!naa* ‘go out of the way, give permission’ and *!ãà* ‘wait’:

- (381) *!Naa te r tshàa tookx'ai!* ‘(Permit) let me put on the water!’
!Ãà te r tshàa tookx'ai! ‘(Wait) let me put on the water!’

3.2.5.3 Negation

To indicate that a certain action does not take place, Naro has different mechanisms:

- a. use of *tama*
- b. use of *ta*
- c. use of *tite*
- d. use of *táá* and/or
xuu

Negative indicative:

- a. The word *tama* is added after the verb. The following changes take place in the clause: if the aspect marker *ko* was used, this marker is deleted (the marker *kò* is not deleted). In present continuous forms, *-a* is added after the PGN marker. The structure of the present negative construction may be summarised as follows:

	verb	negation	PGN	-a	
(382)	<i>!Ṑ̀</i>	<i>tama</i>	<i>tsi</i>	<i>-a.</i>	‘You are not going.’
	go	NEG	PGN	TAM	

Summary structure (past):

	(tense)	PGN	verb	(aspect)	(negation)	
(383)	<i>!Na</i>	<i>tsi</i>	<i>tséé</i>	<i>Ø</i>	<i>tama.</i>	‘You have not worked.’
	<i>!Na</i>	<i>tsi</i>	<i>tséé</i>	<i>-a hāa</i>	<i>tama.</i>	‘You have not been working.’
	T	PGN	work	A	NEG	

The word *ta* is added after the verb. The same changes as in the first option take place. This option might be seen as an abbreviation to *ta*, but sometimes only *ta* can be used, so it is seen here as a different option.

Summary structure (same as negative indicative):

- b. verb negation PGN -a
- (384) *!Ōò ta tsi -a.* ‘You are not going.’
 go NEG PGN -a

but:

- (385) *Máà te ta xa tsia.* ‘You didn’t give it to me.’
 **máà te tama xa tsia* ‘(You didn’t give it to me.)’

The word *táá* is added before the verb. The PGN marker is put in second position in the clause.

Summary structure (past):

- c. tense PGN negation verb
- (386) *!Na tsi táá tséé.* ‘You have not worked.’
 T PGN NEG work

Summary structure (counter-expectation):

- negation PGN verb
- (387) *Táá tsi tséé.* ‘You didn’t work.’
 NEG PGN work

In future forms, the word *tite* is used. This word usually comes in the place of *ga*, but they may occur together. Summary of the structure:

- d. verb PGN negation (tense)
- (388) *!Ōò tsi ga.* ‘You will go.’
 !Ōò tsi tite Ø. ‘You will not go.’
 !Ōò tsi tite ga. ‘You will not go.’
 go PGN NEG A

Negative infinitive: to make a negative infinitive, either the word *tama* is added after the verb, or the word *táá* before the verb. Summary structures:

- (389) *hàà tama* ‘not to come’
 come NEG

or:

- (390) *táá hàà* ‘not to come’
 NEG come

Negative imperative: to issue a negative command, one may add the word *táá* and/or the word *xuu* to the verb. At least one of the two words must be used. Summary structure:

	<i>(táá)</i>	verb	<i>(xuu)</i>	
(391)		<i>Tséé!</i>		‘Work!’
	<i>Táá</i>	<i>tséé!</i>		‘Don’t work!’
	<i>Táá</i>	<i>tséé</i>	<i>xuu!</i>	‘Don’t work!’
		<i>Tséé</i>	<i>xuu!</i>	‘Don’t work!’

A PGN marker can be added. This is placed between the verb and *xuu*, e.g.

(392) *Mēeku tu xuu!* ‘Don’t fight!’

In the negative imperative, the suffix *-o* is not used:

(393) *tséé* ‘to work’: **táá tsééo!* ‘Don’t work!’

Other examples:

(394) *Táá méé tsi kírú u xuu!* ‘You must not do that!’
!Nēeláńka méé lu táá tséé! ‘They must not work today!’

The negative interrogative in the present is formed from the negative statement by raising the tone on the PGN marker. Summary structure (present):

	verb	negation	PGN with raised tone	<i>-a</i>	
(395)	Statement	<i>!Ōò</i>	<i>tsi</i>	<i>kò.</i>	‘You are going.’
	Negative statement	<i>!Ōò</i>	<i>tama</i>	<i>tsia.</i>	‘You are not going.’
	Negative question	<i>!Ōò</i>	<i>tama</i>	<i>tsía?</i>	‘Are you not going?’

The negative interrogative in the past is formed from the negative statement by changing the intonation, or preferably by adding *-a* to the PGN marker.

Summary structure (past):

(TENSE) PGN *-a* verb (ASPECT) (NEGATION)

Example:

(396) /Na tsi -a tséé - tama. 'Have you not worked?'
 /Na tsi -a tséé -a hāa tama. 'Have you not been working?'
 T PGN -a work A NEG

The negative interrogative in the future is formed in the same way:

(397) !Ōò tsi -a tite. 'Will you not go?'
 go PGN A NEG

Verbs can be combined with other verbs to form a sequence. The verbs are usually connected by the particle *a*,

(398) loe a tsàa 'lie sick'
 lie sick

but they can also just be juxtaposed:

(399) !áé lnoo 'fasten (strong, stiff)'
 fasten strong

Verbs that consist of two or more verbs can be seen as a sequence, but very often the combination results in a change of meaning in comparison with the individual

meanings. In the following example, the actions in the first and second element can be seen as a sequence:

- (400) *lxoo* *gùì* ‘pick up’
 hold lift
 koma *!’ãa* ‘understand’
 hear know

In the following example, the first modifies the second element,

- (401) *!ao* *ʔnoe* ‘sit in the way of *qao*’
 sit

while in the following example, the second element modifies the first:

- (402) *kx’uia* *lháé* ‘stutter, not talk nicely’
 speak have problem

Verb combinations are not fixed, but combining verbs is a productive process. When two verbs are combined, some phonological changes may occur, e.g.

- (403) *!aa a máá* > *!ara máá*
 bóò !’oo > *bóòn !’oo*

The newly formed verb can be split up by other words which may be put in between, e.g., the PGN marker:

- (404) *kuru* *bóò* ‘try’
 Kuru r ko *bóò.* ‘I am trying.’

However, the combination of verbs can also act as a unit:

- (405) *Kírú* *bóò* *r ko.* 'I am trying.'
INàì *r ko* *lx'o a.* 'I jump out.'
INàì *lx'o a r ko.* 'I jump out.'

Some verbs are quite productive as second element, often in a specific meaning, usually postpositional. *Dìbì* 'go back', for example, gives the meaning 'back(wards), out':

- (406) *ṅṅo* *dìbì* 'sit back'
sono *dìbì* 'breathe out'

Xuu 'leave' gives the meaning 'away':

- (407) *l'ama* *xuu* 'sell'
buy *leave*

Máá, derived from 'to give' with a tone change from HL to HH, gives the meaning 'for, to':

- (408) *!āe-ṭao* *máá* 'thank'
be happy *give*

kxoara *máá* 'allow'
loosen *give*

!aa 'divide' gives the meaning 'apart':

- (409) *!nàre* *!aa* 'cut apart'
cut *divide*

!lãà 'enter' gives the meaning 'into':

- (410) *!hòma* *ṭãà* 'break into (cut/break meat into a pot)'
break *enter*

llx'oo or *llx'oa* 'take, come out' gives the meaning 'out':

- (411) *lnàì* *fx'oa* 'jump out'
lnara *fx'oo* 'choose (from other things)'

llx'ae 'meet' gives the meaning 'together':

- (412) *!òòà* *lx'ae* 'walk together'
lnara *lx'ae* 'compare'
count meet

Some verbs incorporate a noun. That it is a unit can be seen from the fact that the verb together with the noun can be handled as one element. For example, the verb plus the noun together are put before *ko*:

- (413) *kubu* *tshaù* 'to hand-beat'
Kubu tshaù tem ko. 'He slaps me.'

Also, the passive marker *-è* is put at the end of the combination:

- (414) *ēm ko kóm Tsebe sa lx'uri-lx'uri lx'òè è a sa...*
Tsebe PASS
'when he heard that Tsebe's name was defiled...'

Combinations in which the first element is a noun:

- (415) *IÚú* *tsi* *lgom!* 'Nod your head!'
head PGN nod

Combinations in which the second element is a noun:

- (416) *!hàè* *!hòne* 'lie/sleep resting on elbow'
!hàè *!úru* 'kneel down'

Some verbs incorporate postpositions.

- | | | | | |
|-------|----------------------|---|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (417) | <i>lxae</i> ‘to’ | → | <i>sau lxae</i> | ‘be ashamed, shy’ |
| | <i>lxoa</i> ‘with’ | → | <i>!ōō lxoa</i> | ‘go with’ (see structure clause) |
| | <i>!’oo</i> ‘inside’ | → | <i>bōō !’oo</i> | ‘look into, choose’ |
| | | → | <i>!ōō !’oo</i> | ‘go’ |
| | | → | <i>!Ōō !’ooa tsi ga?</i> | ‘Are you going?’ |

A last combination is that of a verb word plus *te* (usually connected by *-a*), with a distributive and/or iterative meaning:

- | | | | |
|-------|--------------------|------------|---------------------------|
| (418) | <i>!ōoa</i> | <i>te</i> | ‘walk around’ |
| | <i>!Ōoa tsi ko</i> | <i>te.</i> | ‘You are walking around.’ |

3.2.5.4 Postpositional Phrase

Beside nominal phrases and verbal phrases, Naro has PPS: postpositional phrases. The pp usually consists of an NP and a postposition. The NP is modified in the sense that the last PGN-7 marker is replaced by a PGN-8 marker. If the noun is absent, a PGN-5 marker can be used instead of the PGN-8 marker.

The two possible structures of a PP are:

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------------|-----------|------------|-------------------|
| (419) | <i>!nuu</i> | <i>-m</i> | <i>koe</i> | ‘at/in the house’ |
| | house | PGN-8 | PP | |

If the postposition is added to a pronoun, this pronoun takes the form of a PGN-5 marker:

- | | | | |
|-------|------------|-------------|-----------|
| (420) | <i>tii</i> | <i>lxoa</i> | ‘with me’ |
| | PGN-5 | PP | |

The PP can also consist of an embedded clause with a postposition:

(421) *l'óm r ko koe* '(at the place) where I sleep'

The function of a PP depends on the postposition that is used.

(422) locative: *!nuum koe* 'in the house'
adverbial: *làbà /xoá* 'with hunger'
l'ěe dàò ka 'maybe'
temporal: *!nēe lám ka* 'today'

The PP as a unit can function as a postposition in itself: the word *!ãá* 'back' can be combined with the postposition *koe*. It would then literally mean 'at the back', but this unit *!ãá koe* has come to mean 'behind':

(423) *!nuum !ãá koe* 'behind the house'

Similarly, *!ãá !'oo* would mean 'in the back', but the unit has come to mean 'after':

(424) *!nēem lám !ãá !'oo koe* 'after this day'

3.2.5.5 Adverbial Phrase

The adverbial phrase (AP) qualifies a verb or an adjective. It consists of an adjective and an adverbialiser *-(sa)se*. The structure of the AP is as follows:

(425) ADJECTIVE *-(sa)se*
!ãè -se 'well'
good ADVERBIALISER

The AP can also be formed by combining a numeral with the element *-a*:

(426) NUMERAL -a
lúí -a ‘by myself’
 one ADV
!Úí-a-r tea mááse. ‘I stand by myself.’

Appendix: Overview of PGN (Person-Number-Gender) Markers in NARO

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	general S	nominal S	emph person	object	construction-1	construction-2	strong article	weak article
	<i>bóò ko</i>	<i>!àè</i>	<i>ko bóò</i>	<i>bóò "S" ko</i>	<i>dis xúú sa</i>	<i>!xúú</i>	<i>khòè</i>	<i>!àè khòè ...</i>
	... see	he (etc.) is	... see	see(s) ...	my (etc.) thing	my (etc.) name	the (etc.) person	the good person
'I'	1 M# SO	r = ra	ra (a)	ri ra	te	ti	m	r
'you'	2 M# SO	tú	tú (i)	tsá tsí	tsí	tsa	tsí	tsí
'you'	2 F# SO	sí	sí (i)	sáá sí	sí	sa	sí	sí
'he'	3 M# SO	m	me (e)	gaba	me	gam	ba	m
'she'	3 F# SO	s	sí (i)	xasa	sí	xas	sa	s
'it'	3 N# SO	í	Ó(V)	??	??	??	ne	Ó
'we'	1 M## DU	kham	kham (m)	xakháń	kháń	xakháń	kham	kham
	1 M# DU	tsam	tsam (m)	xatsáń	tsáń	xatsáń	tsam	tsam
	1 F# DU	sam	sam (m)	xasám	sám	xasám	sam	sam
	1 M## PL	tu	tú (a)	xatú	tú	xatú	tu	tu
	1 M# PL	lae	lae (e)	xaláè	làè	xaláè	lae	lae
	1 F# PL	se	se (e)	xasé	sé	xasé	se	se
'you'	2 M## DU	khao	khao (o)	xakháò	kháò	xakháò	kháò	khao
	2 M# DU	tsao	tsao (o)	xatsáò	tsáò	xatsáò	tsao	tsao
	2 F# DU	sao	sao (o)	xasáò	sáò	xasáò	sao	sao
	2 M## PL	tu	tú (a)	xatú	tú	xatú	tu	tu
	2 M# PL	lao	lao (o)	xaláò	làò	xaláò	lao	lao
	2 F# PL	sao	sao (o)	xasáò	sáò	xasáò	sao	sao
'they'	3 M## DU	kham	khara (a)	xakhárá	khárá	xakhárá	khárá	khara
	3 M# DU	tsara	tsara (a)	xatsará	tsárá	xatsará	tsara	tsara
	3 F# DU	sara	sara (a)	xasára	sárá	xasára	sara	sara
	3 M## PL	me	me (e)	xasé	mé	xasé	me	me
	3 M# PL	lu	lu (a)	xalú	lú	xalú	lu	lu
	3 F# PL	zi	zi (i)	xazí	zì	xazí	zi	zi

Examples of PGN use:

- 1 General subject *bóò-m ko* ‘he sees’
- 2 Nominal subject *!àè me e* ‘he is good’
- 3 Emphasised person *xaba ko bóò* ‘he sees’
- 4 Object *bóò mer ko* ‘I see him’
- 5 Construction-1 *xam dis xúú sa* ‘his thing’
- 6 Construction-2 (possessive) *xúúa ba* ‘his thing’
- 7 Strong article *khòè ba* ‘the man’
- 8 Weak article *!àèm khòè ba* ‘a good man’

ASPECT	NEUTRAL	CONTINUATIVE	COUNTER-EXPECTATION	PERFECTIVE	IMPERFECTIVE
TENSE	Ø	<i>ko</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>-a . . . (-a)</i>	<i>-a hã</i>
PRESENT					
Ø		<i>tséé tsi ko</i> 'you are working'	<i>tséé a tsi</i> 'you work!'	<i>teea tsia</i> 'you worked'	<i>teea tsi hãatseea tsia hã</i> 'you have been working'
Ø + <i>kò</i>	<i>tséé tsi kò</i> 'you worked'	<i>tséé tsi kò ko</i> 'you were working'			<i>teea tsi kò hã</i> 'you had been working'
PAST					
<i>ina-thu-lx'a</i>	<i>ina tsi tséé</i> 'you have worked'	<i>ina tsi ko tséé</i> 'you have been working'		<i>ina tsi tsééa</i> 'you have worked'	<i>ina tsi teeu hã</i> 'you have worked'
<i>ina-thu-lx'a + kò</i>	(= <i>ina tsi ko tséé</i>)	<i>ina tsi kò ko tséé</i> 'you had been working'		<i>ina tsi kò teeu (ne)</i> 'you had worked'	<i>(ina tsi kò teeu hã)</i>
FUTURE					
<i>ga</i>	<i>tséé tsi ga</i> 'you will work'	<i>tséé tsi ga ko</i> 'you will be working'			<i>tsééa tsi ga hã</i> 'you will have been working'
<i>ga + kò</i>	(= <i>tséé tsi ga kò</i>)	<i>tséé tsi ga kò ko</i> 'you would be working'			<i>tsééa tsi ga kò hã</i> 'you would have been working'

3.2.6

llGana Subgroup

Rainer Vossen

3.2.6.1 Nouns

Most of what has been said about noun characteristics of Kxoe (see 3.2.4.2 above for details) also applies to llGana languages. A major difference is that there is no object agreement encoded in the finite verb. Nominal stems are marked rather regularly for person, gender and number (PGN) by enclitics (“suffixes”). There are three genders – masculine, feminine and common (“neuter”) – and three numbers: singular, dual and plural. PGNS are represented by a single formative.

The PGN enclitics of llGana, lGui, and #Haba as given in [Table 6.21](#) exhibit a high degree of formal homogeneity within the subgroup:

Table 6.21 PGN Enclitics of #Gana Subgroup Varieties

	SG	DU	PL
M	<i>-mà, -bà</i>	<i>-tsèrà</i>	<i>-lià</i>
F	<i>-sà</i>	<i>-sèrà</i>	<i>-dzè, -dzj</i>
C	–	<i>-kòàrà, -khòrà</i>	<i>-nà</i>

Forms in bold type are confined to #Haba, the underlined suffix occurs in lGui only. The masculine and feminine singular as well as common plural formatives are reduced occasionally to **-m̄**, **-s̄**, and **-n̄** respectively.

3.2.6.2 Pronouns

The gender-number distinction as described for noun stems reoccurs throughout the subgroup in the pronominal paradigms. In the singular, however, the first person is gender-neutral, and the second and third persons have no common form. [Table 6.22](#) gives a synoptic overview of the subject and object forms.

Table 6.22 The Pronominal Paradigms of lGana Subgroup Varieties

	Gana		Gui		#Haba	
	SUBJECT	OBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT
SINGULAR						
1	<i>tè</i>	<i>tià</i>	<i>ti.rè</i>	<i>tià</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>ti</i>
2M	<i>tsá</i>	<i>tsá</i>	<i>tsí</i>	<i>tsà</i>	<i>tsá</i>	<i>tsà</i>
2F	<i>sá</i>	<i>sá</i>	<i>sí</i>	<i>sà</i>	<i>sá</i>	<i>sà</i>
3M	<i>'á.bè</i>	<i>'á.mà</i>	<i>'á.bè</i>	<i>mà</i>	<i>'é.bà</i>	<i>'é.bà</i>
3F	<i>sàè</i>	<i>'è.sà</i>	<i>'è.sí</i>	<i>sà</i>	<i>'é.sà</i>	<i>'è.sà</i>
DUAL						
1M	<i>i.tsèbè</i>	<i>i.tsémà</i>	<i>hi.tsèbè</i>	<i>tsémà</i>	<i>tsám</i>	<i>tsám</i>
1F	<i>i.sèbè</i>	<i>i.sémà</i>	<i>hi.sèbè</i>	<i>sémà</i>	<i>sám</i>	<i>sám</i>
1C	<i>i.khèbè</i>	<i>i.khámà</i>	<i>hi.khèbè</i>	<i>khémà</i>	<i>khám</i>	<i>khám</i>
2M	<i>ú.tsáo</i>	<i>ú.tsáo</i>	<i>hi.tsáo</i>	<i>tsáo</i>	<i>tsáo</i>	<i>tsáo</i>
2F	<i>ú.sáo</i>	<i>ú.sáo</i>	<i>hi.sáo</i>	<i>sáo</i>	<i>sáo</i>	<i>sáo</i>
2C	<i>ú.kháo</i>	<i>ú.kháo</i>	<i>hi.kháo</i>	<i>kháo</i>	<i>kháo</i>	<i>kháo</i>
3M	<i>'è.tséri</i>	<i>'è.tsèrà</i>	<i>'è.tsèrà</i>	<i>tsèrà</i>	<i>tsèrà</i>	<i>tsèrà</i>
3F	<i>'è.séri</i>	<i>'è.sèrà</i>	<i>'è.sèrà</i>	<i>sèrà</i>	<i>sèrà</i>	<i>sèrà</i>
3C	<i>'è.khòrè</i>	<i>'è.khòrà</i>	<i>'è.khòrà</i>	<i>khoàrà</i>	<i>khòrà</i>	<i>khòrà</i>
PLURAL						
1M	<i>i.láè</i>	<i>i.là</i>	<i>ha.là</i>	<i>là</i>	<i>là</i>	<i>là</i>
1F	<i>i.sé</i>	<i>i.sà</i>	<i>há.sé</i>	<i>sé</i>	<i>sé</i>	<i>sé</i>
1C	<i>i.tè</i>	<i>i.tà</i>	<i>há.tà</i>	<i>tà</i>	<i>tà</i>	<i>tà</i>
2M	<i>ú.láo</i>	<i>ú.láo</i>	<i>hi.láo</i>	<i>láo</i>	<i>láo</i>	<i>láo</i>
2F	<i>ú.sáo</i>	<i>ú.sáo</i>	<i>hi.sáo</i>	<i>sáo</i>	<i>sáo</i>	<i>sáo</i>
2C	<i>ú.tó</i>	?	<i>hi.tó</i>	<i>tó</i>	<i>tó</i>	<i>tó</i>
3M	<i>'i.lóè</i>	<i>'i.lià</i>	<i>hi.li</i>	<i>lià</i>	<i>lià</i>	<i>lià</i>
3F	<i>'i.dzè</i>	<i>'i.dzè</i>	<i>'é.dzè</i>	<i>dzè</i>	<i>dzi</i>	<i>dzi</i>
3C	<i>'á.rè</i>	<i>'á.nà</i>	<i>'á.rè</i>	<i>'á.nà</i>	<i>nà</i>	<i>nà</i>

In |Gana, all pronouns except first and second person singular present themselves as complex forms consisting of a pronominal element plus PGN marker. The high-toned formative *ú* of the second person dual and plural contrasts with the high-toned *í* of the first person dual and plural. Likewise, low-toned *'i* representing third person masculine and feminine plural forms a contrast to low-toned *'è* of the third person dual. Phonologically, subject and object pronouns differ from one another through (i) vocalic change of final *e/a* in the first and third person singular, dual, and plural (with very few exceptions), (ii) *b ~ m* alternation in the third person masculine singular and the first person dual, and (iii) *r ~*

n alternation in the third person masculine plural. Tonologically, the first and second person object pronouns of dual and plural remain unchanged as compared to the subject forms, but in the third person of all number categories they show low tone as against high tones in the first and second person singular.

In !Gui, all subject pronouns except the second person singular forms are complex and consist of the same structural components as in !Gana. The object pronouns correspond essentially to the low-toned PGN markers of the subject forms, combined with the consonantal and vocalic alternations as described for !Gana in (i) through (iii) above.

ǂHaba contrasts with both !Gana and !Gui, in that it lacks complex forms almost entirely. With the exception of the first person singular, subject and object forms are distinguished generally by tone only. While subject pronouns show a high-falling pattern, object pronouns are low-toned throughout.

3.2.6.3 Adjectives

As in most Kalahari Khoe languages, the number of adjectives proper is very small. Some examples are given in [Table 6.23](#).

Table 6.23 Some Adjectives in !Gana Subgroup Varieties

Gloss	!Gana	!Gui	ǂHaba
'short'	<i>lòm</i>	<i>loà̀m</i>	<i>lóm</i>
'heavy'	<i>lóm</i>	<i>loám</i>	<i>lúm</i>
'bad'	<i>lx'án</i>	<i>lx'án</i>	<i>lx'án</i>

More often than not, adjectival concepts are conveyed by verbal adjectives of the English “to be X”-type. Predicative adjectives are placed after and attributive ones before the head noun. PGN marking is not obligatory.

3.2.6.4 Numerals and Quantifiers

Cardinal numbers ‘one’ through ‘four’ are expressed by lexical stems; however, the paradigms in (427) are not complete due to lack of information. That numbers higher than ‘four’ are constructed periphrastically, as in some other Kalahari Khoe languages, remains to be verified.

(427)	!Gana	!Gui	ǂHaba
‘one’	<i>lúí</i>	<i>lúí</i>	<i>lúí</i>
‘two’	<i>lám</i>	<i>lám</i>	<i>lám</i>
‘three’	<i>ɲúnà</i>	(not obtained)	<i>ɲóná</i>
‘four’	(not obtained)	<i>hátsà</i>	(not obtained)

Numerals precede the head noun and can optionally be marked for gender.

I have no data on ordinal numbers. Quantifiers such as ‘much, many’ and ‘few’ tend to be expressed by the adjectives ‘big’ and ‘small’, respectively. For ‘all’ the stem *úé*-was found to be used in !Gana and ǂHaba.

3.2.6.5 Demonstratives

All varieties have a proximal and a distal demonstrative (see [Table 6.24](#)). While the former is formally homogeneous throughout the subgroup, varying shapes have been found for the latter, which is complex in itself.

Table 6.24 Demonstratives in the ‖Gana Subgroup

	Proximal		Distal	
‖Gana	<i>n/né</i>		<i>'á.séá</i>	
‖Gui	<i>n/né</i>	'this'	<i>n/nè.sí.háã</i>	'that'
‡Haba	<i>n/né</i>		<i>'à.sá.hà</i>	

Demonstratives precede the governing noun. PGN agreement markers are more rigidly used in ‖Gana than in ‖Gui or ‡Haba. In ‖Gana, they are reduced in the masculine and feminine singular (*-ḡḡ* /-s) as well as in the masculine and common plural (*-lù* /-ḡḡ). Examples:

- (428) a. *n/né-s* *lxóó-sà* 'this pipe'
 DEM-AGR:F.SG pipe-F.SG
- b. *'á.séá-dzè* *yǐ-dzè* 'those trees'
 DEM-AGR:F.PL tree-F.PL
- c. *séá-lù* *lóã-luà* 'those boys'
 DEM-AGR:M.PL child-M.PL

In (428c) the demonstrative has lost its initial element *'á*; this seems to be the case as a rule if the demonstrative is placed sentence-medially (rather than initially).

3.2.6.6

Possessive

In ‖Gana, *dí* and *ka* alternate as possessive markers. Juxtaposition is not attested in my data but may nevertheless be practised. In the first person singular *kí* is used instead of the subject pronoun *té*. Whether it is a genuine possessive pronoun or not remains to be investigated. The examples in (429) illustrate that

agreement on the possessive marker appears to be optional and is not conditioned by syntactic positioning:

(429)

<i>kí</i>	<i>dì-m̄</i>	<i>ɲúú-mà</i>	'my house'	<i>ɲúú-mà</i>	<i>kí</i>	<i>dì-m̄</i>
1SG	POSS-M.SG	house-M.SG		house-M.SG	1SG	POSS-M.SG
<i>kí</i>	<i>kà</i>	<i>ɲúú-mà</i>		<i>ɲúú-mà</i>	<i>kí</i>	<i>dì</i>
1SG	POSS	house-M.SG		house-M.SG	1SG	POSS

Possessive constructions in IGui look in principle the same as in IIGana except that juxtaposition appears to be quite common, e.g. *tí m̄ m̄* 'my head'.

3.2.6.7 Interrogatives

IIGana and IGui have cognate forms for 'who?' and 'which?' but differ with regard to 'what?' (see [Table 6.25](#)). All interrogatives except IGui *yíí* 'what?' agree with the referent optionally, as in (430).

Table 6.25 Interrogatives in IIGana Subgroup Varieties

	IIGana	IGui
'who?'	<i>máà</i>	<i>máã</i>
'which?'	<i>dí</i>	<i>dí</i>
'what?'	<i>nùú</i>	<i>yíí</i>

(430) I Gana

- a. *N/né-ś khóè-sà má-ś 'è?*
DEM-F.SG person-F.SG who-F.SG INT
'Who is this woman?'
- b. *Dí-nà kùà tíá kx'ái?*
which-C.PL PRES PRO:OBJ_{1SG} laugh
'Which (one) is laughing at me?'
- c. *N/né nùú-dzè 'è?*
DEM what-F.PL INT
'What is this?'

I Gui

- d. *N/né-lù kx'áo.khòè-lù máã-lù 'è?*
DEM-M.PL male.person-M.PL who-M.PL INT
'Who are these men?'
- e. *Tsí kè dí-mà m̀m̀?*
2M.SG PRES who-M.SG see
'Whom do you see?'
- f. *N/né ỳi xóò-dzè 'è?*
DEM what thing-F.PL INT
'What is this?'

In possessive contexts, interrogatives are followed by the possessive marker *dì* (I Gana) or *kà* (I Gui):

- (431) a. *Kx'áo-dzè má.xà-lù dì?*
arrow-F.PL who.?-M.PL POSS
'Whose arrows are these?'
- b. *N/né dí-ń kà nlnàbó-dzè 'è?*
DEM which-C.PL POSS shoe-F.PL INT
'Whose shoes are these?'

3.2.6.8 Verbs

The segmental morphological sequence structure of the verb consists of six slots:

(432)	tense/aspect	verbal	derivative	• juncture	tense/aspect	negation
		base	suffix(es)	• passive		
	1	2	3	4	5	6

In \parallel Gana and \parallel Gui, the imperfect is the only tense that occurs post-verbally. For $\#$ Haba the same holds true of the indefinite past (slot 5). All other tense/aspect markers precede the verbal base as free morphemes (slot 1). As a consequence, slots 1 and 5 cannot be filled simultaneously. The juncture (slot 4) is restricted to non-passive constructions. In $\#$ Haba, tense/aspect marking seems to be non-obligatory, as the example in (433) illustrates:

(433)	<i>Ti</i>	<i>kiù-timá.</i>	'I shall not go/did not go.'
	1SG	go-NEG	

The following sentences exemplify the filling of slots:

(434) IGana

- a. *Tiè kùà tshàà-sà.'à kx'áà-tàmà.*
1SG PRES water-F.SG.OBJ drink-NEG
'I don't drink water.'
- b. *Khòè-m sùbu-bè †óm-sà n/nàm-á-hà.*
person-M.SG indolent-M.SG_{AGR} sleep-F.SG like-JUNC-IPT
'An indolent man likes sleeping.'

|Gui

- c. *Khòè-nà n/gám-kú-á-hã.*
person-C.PL love-REC-JUNC-IPT
'People love each other.'
- d. *'Á.rè †'áà-kú-témá.*
3C.PL fight-REC-NEG
'They don't fight one another.'

‡Haba

- e. *lX'èè.khòè tsé-é-hã.*
stranger send.away-PASS-PAST_{DEF}
'The stranger was sent away.'
- f. *Tí tsxám-kàxú-á-hã.*
1SG greet-CAUS-JUNC-PAST_{DEF}
'I sent my regards.'

3.2.6.8.1 Derivative Suffixes

Throughout the subgroup derivation serves to diminish or increase the valence of verb stems and, thus, impact on the syntax of verbal phrases. It also triggers semantic modifications. Some functions (e.g. reflexive, causative₁, dative, reciprocal) are more productive than others (especially inclinative). Table 6.26 below gives an overview.

Table 6.26 Derivative Suffixes in IGana Subgroup Varieties

Function	Suffix	Lg.	Basic verb	Gloss	Extended verb	Gloss
Causative ₁	-kà.xú*	A	tsxám	'greet'	tsxám.kà.xú	'let greet'
		B	kx'áá	'drink'	kx'áá.kà.xú	'water, let drink'
		C	lím	'suck'	lím.kà.xú	'suckle'
Causative ₂	REDUPL	A/C	lx'óê	'be full'	lx'óê.lx'óê	'fill'
		REDUPL	A	lòò	'knock'	lòò.lòò
Dative	-má	B	tsáá.xú	'cook'	tsáá.xú.á.má	'cook for s.b.'
		C	nlnái	'sing'	nlnái.má	'sing for s.b.'
		A	mím	'see'	mím.hè	'see o.s., be visible'
Reflexive	-hè	B	kúá'm	'hear'	kúá'm.sí	'hear o.s.'
		C	lx'áá	'wash'	lx'áá.st	'wash o.s.'
		A	k'òà	'separate'	k'òà.kù	'part company'
Reciprocal	-kù	B	ngám	'love, like'	ngám.kù	'love/like each other'
		C	séé	'take'	séé.kù	'marry'
		A	kx'úí	'speak'	kx'úí.kx'áò	'be talkative'
Inclinative	-kx'áò	C	kx'úí	'speak'	kx'úí.kx'áò	'be talkative'
		A	l'úbí	'?'	l'úbí.ò	'weed (out)'
		C	lāī	'shake'	lāī.k'ò	'shake out'
Terminative	-xò	A	lóé	'lie'	lóé.xò	'lie down'
		B	kx'óá	'go out'	kx'óá.xú	'go away'
		C	gúm	'blow'	gúm.á.xú	'blow out'
Intentional	-á	B	lúū	'go'	lúū	'in order to go'

Notes: A = ||Gana; B = |Gui; C = #Haba.

Comments: (1) Derivative suffixes marked by an asterisk are tonologically flexible; they do not take a fixed tone but rather vary in their tonal behaviour in accordance with the tonal pattern of the verb stem. (2) Verbs marked for intentional function in |Gui cannot be conjugated. (3) For an explanation of the linker element *-a-* in the examples for dative (B) and terminative (C), see comment (3) in 3.2.4.9.1,

3.2.6.8.2 Juncture

The data available for ||Gana subgroup varieties are definitely not sufficient to clarify all the regularities of occurrence of the basic element *-a* and its allomorphs. Formally, there are more correspondences than differences vis-à-vis Kxoe varieties (especially ||Ani), as described in 3.2.4.9.2. The difficulty of predicting the juncture of a

given verb form would suggest notifying the respective form(s) with each verb in the dictionary. However, two general observations are worth mentioning here. First, the juncture is used only in connection with past tenses (*-ha* or *-hã*), i.e., no non-past juncture has yet developed in this subgroup. Second, zero junctures are employed very frequently. In #Haba, the allomorph *-na* was found to occur extraordinarily often after disyllabic verbs ending in a mid-vowel.

Table 6.27 gives an overview of juncture allomorphs in the ||Gana subgroup.

Table 6.27 Juncture Allomorphs in the ||Gana Subgroup

	<i>a</i>	<i>ɲa</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>ro</i>	<i>na</i>	∅
!Gana	+		+	+	+	+	+
!Gui	+		+	+	+	+	+
#Haba	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

3.2.6.8.3 Passive

The passive marker is *-e* throughout. It replaces the juncture in slot 4 in passive constructions.

3.2.6.8.4 Tense/Aspect Markers

From a morphological point of view it is hardly possible, as in Kxoe, to distinguish between tense and aspect (TA). Grammatical markers expressing temporal/aspectual relations occur in slot 1 or 5 (see 432 above) and can never be combined. TA markers largely correspond formally to one another between different varieties, but the precise grammatical content may vary considerably from variety to variety, as the following table illustrates.

-hã or *-ha* is the only tense/aspect marker that is immediately suffixed to the verb base through the juncture, as in the following #Haba example:

- (435) *Ti kũũ-á-hã.* 'I went.'
 1SG go-JUNC-PAST_{INDEF}

The particle *tu* is attested for #Gana and #Haba (cf. 436) as near past marker:

- (436) *Tũ.kà tirè tú tsháá-sà kx'áà.* 'Yesterday I drank water.'
 yesterday 1SG PAST_{NEAR} water-F.SG drink (Köhler 1962: 543)

In #Gana and #Haba (cf. 437a), *ke* stands for nearest past whereas in #Gui (437b) it represents present tense:

- (437) a. *N/né-m qũũ-m.kà tirè kè tsháá-sà kx'áà.*
 this-M.SG today 1SG PAST_{NEAREST} water-F.SG drink
 'This morning I drank water.' (Köhler 1962: 543)
- b. *Tirè kè tsà n̄m̄.*
 1SG PRES PRO:OBJ_{M.SG} see
 'I see you.'

#Gui *nlgè* and #Haba *nlnè* appear as preteritive forms whose employment is expressed only hazily in (438a) and (438b), respectively:

- (438) a. *'Á.bè nlgè tià n̄m̄.* 'He saw me recently.'
 3M.SG PAST_{NEAR} PRO:OBJ.1SG see
- b. *Ti nlnè kũũ.* 'I have gone.'
 1SG PAST go

The expression of future causes considerable irritation. While it seems to be lacking entirely in #Haba, Maingard (1957: 68) claims *ka* to be used in #Gana; my own data, however, show no indication of future formation for this

variety. The formative *kx'ávà* seems to be restricted to IGui:

(439) *'Á.bè kx'ávà tià m̀̀.* 'He will see me.'
 3M.SG FUT PRO:OBJ.1SG see

Finally, the IGui sentence in (440) contains a particle *hĩ* which seems to express the near future or even “subjunctive” and resembles strikingly the remote past marker in Kxoe (cf. section 3.2.4.9.5). Since it occurs only once in my data I have left it out from Table 6.28 above.

Table 6.28 Tense/Aspect Markers in the IIGana Subgroup

TA formative	IIGana	IGui	#Haba
<i>-ha ~ -hã</i>	imperfect	imperfect	indefinite past
<i>tu</i>	near past		near past
<i>ke</i>	nearest past	present	nearest past
<i>n'gè</i>		near past	
<i>n'ne</i>			past
<i>ko</i>	present		present/future
<i>kua</i>	present	present (progressive)	
<i>ga ~ ka ~ Ø</i>	future		
<i>kx'ávà</i>		future	

(440) *lXáá-dzè tirè hĩ kx'óó.* 'I shall/should eat meat (now).'
 meat-F.PL 1SG hĩ eat

It is obvious that much research remains to be done on the TA system of the IIGana subgroup varieties. The present description can be no more than tentative.

3.2.6.8.5 Negation

Verbs are negated by means of phrase-final *-tama* (IIGana), *-tema* (IGui) and *-tima* (#Haba). For examples, see (433) and (434a/d) above.

3.2.7

Shua Subgroup

Rainer Vossen

3.2.7.1 Nouns

By and large, the PGN enclitics of the subgroup varieties appear to be homogeneous; however, ongoing reduction of the nominal marking system is unmistakable. The extreme case is Deti, which has maintained a masculine–feminine distinction in the singular only but does not make use of it in productive ways; on the contrary, such PGN enclitics are confined to some lexicalized forms such as *'ádésá* ‘my mother’, *sidésá* ‘your mother’ or *'ábámá* ‘my father’. In IXaise, the masculine plural is expressed periphrastically (“many Xs”), and generally speaking, not much weight is laid on the use of PGN markers except in Ts’ixa. [Table 6.29](#) contains the nominal formatives of Ts’ixa and Danisi.

Table 6.29 PGN Enclitics of Ts’ixa and Danisi

	Ts’ixa			Danisi		
	SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL
M	<i>-má</i>	<i>-tsèrà</i>	<i>-liá</i>	<i>-ma</i>	<i>-tsàrà</i>	<i>-kiá</i>
F	<i>-sa, -sì</i>	<i>-sèrà</i>	<i>-dzà, -dzi</i>	<i>-sa</i>	<i>-sàrà</i>	<i>-dzà</i>
C	–	<i>-khòrà</i>	<i>-nà</i>	–	<i>-khoàrà</i>	<i>-nà</i>

In Ts’ixa, the masculine singular and plural as well as common plural markers can occur as shortened *-m̩*, *-llù* and *-n̩* respectively; in Danisi, such reduction has only been observed in the masculine singular (*-m*). In my data Ts’ixa *-sì* (F.SG) is employed more frequently than *-sa*. Köhler (1962: 535) gives only *-kua* for masculine and

-dzi for feminine plural, which he had obtained in Danisi, too.

Table 6.30 PGN Enclitics of Cara and IXaise

	Cara			IXaise		
	SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL
M	<i>-mà</i>	<i>-dzàrà</i>	<i>-kià</i>	<i>-mà</i>	<i>-tsàrà</i>	–
F	<i>-sà</i>	<i>-sàrà</i>	<i>-dzi</i>	<i>-sà</i>	<i>-sàrà</i>	<i>-dzà</i>
C	–	<i>-khòrà</i>	<i>-nà</i>	–	<i>-khòrà</i>	<i>-nà</i>

3.2.7.2 Pronouns

With the exception of Deti, Shua personal pronoun systems are largely coherent. The most conspicuous commonalities may be seen in (i) the complex formation of the third person pronouns with the pronominal formative *'é* (plus PGN marker), (ii) the tonal patterns “high” in the first and second and “high-low” in the third person, and (iii) the marking of pronominal objects by means of *'à* which follows the subject form. [Table 6.31](#) gives a synoptic overview of the subject forms only (except Deti).

Table 6.31 The Pronominal Paradigms of Shua Subgroup Varieties

	Cara	I'Xaise	Ts'ixa	Danisi	Deti	
	SUBJECT				SUBJECT	OBJECT
	SINGULAR					
1	<i>tá</i>	<i>tá</i>	<i>tí</i>	<i>tá</i>	<i>tá</i>	<i>tá</i>
2M	<i>tsá</i>	<i>cá</i>	<i>tsá</i>	<i>tsá</i>	<i>tsá</i>	<i>tsá</i>
2F	<i>sá</i>	<i>sá</i>	<i>sá</i>	<i>sá</i>	<i>sá</i>	<i>sá</i>
3M	<i>'é.mà</i>	<i>'é.mà</i>	<i>'é.mà</i>	<i>'é.mà</i>	<i>'é.mà</i>	<i>'é.mà</i>
3F	<i>'é.sà</i>	<i>'é.sà</i>	<i>'é.sà</i>	<i>'é.sà</i>	<i>'é.sà</i>	<i>'é.sà</i>
3C	<i>'í</i>	–	<i>'í</i>	–	–	–
	DUAL					
1M	<i>dzám</i>	<i>tsám</i>	<i>tsím</i>	<i>tsím</i>	<i>'à.tsám</i>	?
1F	<i>sám</i>	<i>sám</i>	<i>sím</i>	<i>sím</i>	<i>'à.khám</i>	?
1C	<i>khám</i>	<i>khám</i>	<i>khím</i>	<i>khám</i>	<i>'à.khám</i>	?
2M	<i>dzáró</i>	<i>tsáró</i>	<i>tsóró</i>	<i>tsóró</i>	<i>'à.tsáró</i>	?
2F	<i>sáró</i>	<i>sáró</i>	<i>sóró</i>	<i>sóró</i>	<i>'à.kháró</i>	?
2C	<i>kháró</i>	<i>kháró</i>	<i>khóró</i>	<i>kháró</i>	<i>'à.kháró</i>	?
3M	<i>'é.dzàrà</i>	<i>'é.tsàrà</i>	<i>'é.tsérà</i>	<i>'é.tsàrà</i>	<i>'é.tsàrà</i>	?
3F	<i>'é.sàrà</i>	<i>'é.sàrà</i>	<i>'é.sérà</i>	<i>'é.sàrà</i>	<i>'é.khoàrà</i>	?
3C	<i>'é.khòrà</i>	<i>'é.khòrà</i>	<i>'é.khòrà</i>	<i>'é.khòrà</i>	<i>'é.khoàrà</i>	?
	PLURAL					
1M	<i>jé</i>	<i>ké</i>	<i>lé</i>	<i>ké</i>	<i>'à.cé</i>	<i>'à.cá</i>
1F	<i>sé</i>	<i>sé</i>	<i>sé</i>	<i>sé</i>	<i>dzé</i>	<i>dzá</i>
1C	<i>dzé</i>	<i>tsé</i>	<i>tsé</i>	<i>tsé</i>	<i>'à.cé</i>	<i>cá</i>
2M	<i>gáo</i>	<i>káo</i>	<i>ló</i>	<i>káo</i>	<i>gáo</i>	<i>gáoá</i>
2F	<i>sáo</i>	<i>sáo</i>	<i>só</i>	<i>sáo</i>	<i>dó</i>	<i>dóá</i>
2C	<i>dó</i>	<i>tó</i>	<i>tó</i>	<i>tó</i>	<i>dó</i>	<i>dóá</i>
3M	<i>'é.kià</i>	<i>'é.kià</i>	<i>'é.lià</i>	<i>'é.kià</i>	<i>'é.kià</i>	<i>'é.kià</i>
3F	<i>'é.dzi</i>	<i>'é.dzi</i>	<i>'é.dzà</i>	<i>'é.dzà</i>	<i>'é.nà</i>	<i>'é.nà</i>
3C	<i>'é.nà</i>	<i>'é.nà</i>	<i>'é.nà</i>	<i>'é.nà</i>	<i>'é.nà</i>	<i>'é.nà</i>

Note: 3C.PL in Cara and Ts'ixa is to be interpreted as “neuter”.

The formal differences between the paradigms are merely of phonological nature. In Ts'ixa, Kxoe influence can be determined in the first person singular and in the first, second and third person masculine plural.

Deti contrasts sharply with other Shua varieties in that it shows indications of linguistic change which may partly be considered as characteristic of moribund languages. Many of its pronominal forms are complex rather than simple. The neutralization of all feminine and common

pronouns in the dual and the second and third person feminine and common pronouns in the plural as well, is very peculiar and shows, from a comparative perspective, that the original feminine pronouns got lost. My consultants strongly denied the existence of dual pronouns such as *'à.sám* (1F.DU), *'à.sáro* (2F.DU) or *'à.sàrà* (3F.DU) which one would expect here instead of *'à.khám*, *'à.kháro* and *'é.khoàrà*, respectively. Also in the first person plural there is a double representation of forms (masculine and common) that breaks an otherwise rigidly distinctive system. Subject and object pronouns do not differ from one another in the singular and in the third person plural. Missing object pronouns in the dual paradigm are due to data gaps.

3.2.7.3 Adjectives

More often than not, adjectival concepts in Shua varieties are conveyed by verbal adjectives of the English “to be X”-type. There are, however, limited sets of proper adjectives, some of which have been compiled in Table 6.32.

Table 6.32 Some Common Adjectives in Shua Subgroup Varieties

Gloss	Cara	lXaise	Ts'ixa	Danisi	Deti
'old (of things)'	<i>nlgáo</i>	<i>nlnáo</i>	<i>nlgáo</i>	<i>nlgáo</i>	<i>nlnáo</i>
'bitter'	<i>k'áù</i>	<i>k'áù</i>			<i>k'áù</i>
'hard'	<i>kári</i>		<i>kári</i>	<i>kári</i>	<i>kári</i>
'short'	<i>lóm</i>	<i>lóm</i>	<i>lóm</i>	<i>lóm</i>	<i>lóm</i>
'new'	<i>k'óá</i>		<i>k'óá</i>		<i>k'óá</i>
'sour'	<i>tsáru</i>	<i>tsáru</i>		<i>tsáru</i>	<i>tsáru</i>
'red; brown'	<i>lóa</i>	<i>lóa</i>		<i>lóa</i>	<i>nlgóá</i>
'good; sweet'	<i>kāi</i>	<i>kāi</i>	<i>kāi</i> 'good'	<i>kāi</i> 'good'	<i>kāi</i>
'good; clean'	<i>t'úì</i> '+ correct'	<i>t'úì</i> 'good'	<i>t'úì</i>	<i>t'úì</i>	<i>t'úì</i>
'small ...'	<i>l'aré</i> 'narrow'			<i>l'aré</i> 'small'	<i>l'aré</i> 'thin'

Predicative adjectives are placed after and attributive ones before the head noun. PGN marking is practically non-existent.

3.2.7.4 Numerals and Quantifiers

Cardinal numbers ‘one’ through ‘four’ are lexical stems (see 441). Numerals above ‘four’ are constructed periphrastically in most varieties, as in Kxoe (cf. 3.2.4.5).

(441)	Cara	!Xaise	Ts’ixa	Danisi	Deti
‘one’	<i>lúí</i>	<i>lúí</i>	<i>lúí</i>	<i>lúí</i>	<i>lúí</i>
‘two’	<i>lám</i>	<i>lám</i>	<i>lám</i>	<i>lám</i>	<i>lám</i>
‘three’	<i>lóbé</i>	<i>ɲónà</i>	<i>lóbé</i>	<i>lóbé</i>	<i>lóbé</i>
‘four’	<i>hàtsá</i>	<i>lóbé</i>	<i>fòò</i> (< Engl.)	(not obtained)	<i>hàtsà</i>

The numerals ‘three’ and ‘four’ in !Xaise require a brief discussion. Obviously, ‘four’ is the same form as ‘three’ in the other subgroup varieties, while ‘three’ is a reflex of Proto-Khoe that is also found in Tshwa subgroup varieties (cf. 3.2.8.4). One might speculate upon this curiosity in various ways; however, since nothing is known about the origin of *lóbé*, this would be nothing but guesswork.

Ordinal numbers are shaped by a particle inserted between the cardinal number and the governing noun. This particle is *l’ài* in Cara (442a) and Deti (442b) and *kà* in Ts’ixa (442c). There are no data on Danisi and !Xaise.

- (442) a. *lÁm l'ài xam tsá-'à miũ-á-ha.*
 two PTCL lion 2M.SG-OBJ see-JUNC-IPT
 'The second lion saw you.'
- b. *Hátsá l'ài biye hũú-sà gâò-sè-hà(ò).*
 four PTCL horse DEM_{DEXT}-F.SG see-F.SG.OBJ_{AGR}-IPT
 'The fourth horse saw her.'
- c. *lÓbe kà dī-m̄ dòá-kà 'é.mà-'à múũ-nà-tà.*
 three PTCL POSS-M.SG kudu-POSTP 3M.SG-OBJ see-JUNC-PAST_{NEAR}
 'The third kudu saw him.'

It seems that in Ts'ixa the particle *kà* must be employed in combination with the possessive marker *dī* (see 3.2.7.6); at the same time the governing noun is followed by the postposition *kà* 'with'. The reason for this is still unclear.

All numerals precede the head noun and are hardly ever marked for gender.

The most common quantifiers found are 'many, much', 'few' and 'all':

(443)		Cara	lXaise	Ts'ixa	Danisi	Deti
	'many, much'	<i>thíyà</i>	<i>lxará</i>	<i>thíyà</i>	<i>thíyà</i>	<i>gùrí</i>
	'few'			<i>'úré</i>	<i>'óré</i>	<i>cũĩ</i>
	'all'	<i>'yé</i>	<i>'íye</i>	<i>'íyé</i>	<i>'íyé</i>	<i>wè</i>

3.2.7.5 Demonstratives

Shua varieties have a proximal and a distal demonstrative:

Table 6.33 Demonstratives in the Shua Subgroup

	Proximal		Distal	
Cara	<i>ii</i>		<i>iiú</i>	
Ts'ixa	<i>n/né</i>	'this'	<i>mé</i>	'that'
Danisi	<i>ĩĩ</i>		<i>iiú</i>	
Deti	<i>hiĩ</i>		<i>hiúú</i>	

In both categories the Ts'ixa forms diverge from the other varieties. While the proximal demonstrative corresponds to what is commonly found in West Kalahari Khoe languages (and may therefore be borrowed), the distal *mé* cannot be explained at present.

As a rule, demonstratives precede the governing noun. Note, however, that in Ts'ixa the opposite order is possible but not common. In Cara and Ts'ixa, demonstratives agree optionally with the head noun. In contrast to this, no indication of agreement was found in Danisi and Deti. Some examples:

(444)	Cara	<i>ii(-mà)</i> DEM(-AGR:M.SG)	<i>khóé-mà</i> person-M.SG	'this man'
		<i>iiú(-sà)</i> DEM(-AGR:F.SG)	<i>khóé-sà</i> person-F.SG	'that woman'
	Ts'ixa	<i>mé-ń</i> DEM-AGR:M.SG	<i>'ábá-mà</i> dog-M.SG	'this male dog'
	or:	<i>'ábá-mà</i>	<i>mé-ńà</i>	
	Danisi	<i>ĩĩ</i> DEM	<i>xám</i> lion	'this lion'
		<i>iiú</i> DEM	<i>dóá</i> kudu	'that kudu'

3.2.7.6 Possessive

The possessive marker is *di* (in Danisi *ka*, in addition) throughout the subgroup. However, juxtaposition appears to be the preferred construction, e.g.: Cara *tí tshàú* ‘my hand’, Danisi *tsá dòngí* ‘your donkey’.

When the possessive marker *di* (or *ka*) is used syntactic variation is possible, as in the following Danisi examples for ‘your donkey’: *dòngí tsá dì ~ dòngí.mà tsá kà ~ tsá dì (~kà) dòngí.mà*. The possessive marker is not subject to agreement. In Cara, the first and third person subject pronouns change in possessive constructions as follows: 1SG *tá* → *tí*; 3F.SG *’é.sà* → *’é.sì*; 3M.SG *’é.mà* → *’é.ṃ*.

3.2.7.7 Interrogatives

The following interrogatives have been found so far (Table 6.34):

Table 6.34 Interrogatives in Shua Subgroup Varieties

	Cara	Danisi	Ts’ixa	Deti
‘who?’; ‘which?’	<i>máá ~ náá</i>	<i>máá ~ máé</i>	<i>máá ~ máé</i>	<i>máá ~ má.n(à)</i>
‘what?’	<i>ndú</i>	<i>ndú</i>	<i>néé</i>	<i>dúú</i>

All varieties have a [+animate] and a [–animate] class of interrogatives. In the former class there are alternative forms whose use does not appear to be constrained in any way. In Cara and Ts’ixa, they optionally take on agreement markers, but in Danisi this applies to *máá* only. As a rule, inanimate interrogatives do not agree with the referent, and Deti shows no agreement marking whatsoever. Examples:

(445)

Cara

- a. *Máá(-dzi) 'è iú lgáà-khòè(-dzi)?*
who(-F.PL) INT DEM_{DIST} female-person(-F.PL)
'Who are those women?'
- b. *Tsá ndú k'ùì-à-tá?*
2M.SG what say-JUNC-PAST_{NEAR}
'What did you (just) say?'

Danisi

- c. *Máé tsá kà káà-xù-sá 'è?*
which 2M.SG POSS cut-thing-F.SG INT
'Which is your knife?'
- d. *Ndú kè tsá l'āĩ 'yàń?*
what PRES 2M.SG buy want
'What do you want to buy?'

Ts'ixa

- e. *Máé-'à tsá kùè #íí?*
who-OBJ 2M.SG PRES call
'Whom are you calling?'
- f. *N/né née?*
DEM_{PROX} what
'What is this?'

Deti

- g. *Hĩ k'á-khòè má.nà 'è?*
DEM_{PROX} male-person who INT
'Who is this man?'
- h. *Hĩ diú 'è?*
DEM_{PROX} what INT
'What is this?'

In possessive contexts, interrogatives are followed by the possessive marker *dì* except in Ts'ixa, where juxtaposition occurs:

(446)

Cara

- a. *Īi jìbè má.n dì 'i?*
 DEM_{PROX} axe who POSS INT
 'Whose axe is this?'

Danisi

- b. *Máé dì 'è n/gábé-s ĩĩ-sà?*
 who POSS INT pipe-F.SG DEM_{PROX}-F.SG
 'Whose pipe is this?'

Deti

- c. *Hĩĩ lábà má.n dì 'è?*
 DEM_{PROX} hat who POSS INT
 'Whose hat is this?'

Ts'ixa

- d. *Máé ká-xù n/née?*
 who cut-thing DEM_{PROX}
 'Whose knife is this?'

3.2.7.8 Verbs

In principle, there is a high degree of similarity in the formation of finite verbs across the subgroup. Table 6.35 gives an overview.

Table 6.35 Verbal Slot Structure in Shua Subgroup Varieties

Ts'ixa						
	TA – [–preterite] [–negated present]	verbal base –	derivative suffix(es) –	• juncture • passive –	TA – [+preterite] [+negated present]	negation
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Danisi						
Type A (present & future)	TA –	verbal base –	derivative suffix(es) –	passive –	negation –	TA
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Type B (negated present & past)	verbal base –	derivative suffix(es) –	• juncture • passive –	TA –	negation	
	1	2	3	4	5	
Cara						
Type A (present & future)	• TA • negation –	verbal base –	derivative suffix(es) –	passive –	negation –	TA
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Type B (negated present & past)	verbal base –	derivative suffix(es) –	negation – [preterite]	• juncture • passive –	TA	
	1	2	3	4	5	
lXaise						
Type A (present)	TA –	verbal base –	derivative suffix(es) –	passive –	negation –	TA
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Type B (negated present & past)	verbal base –	derivative suffix(es) –	• juncture • passive • negation –	TA		
	1	2	3	4		
Deti						
Type A (present & future)	• TA • negation –	verbal base –	derivative suffix(es) –	• passive • <i>-na</i> –	TA	
	1	2	3	4	5	
Type B (negated present & past)	verbal base –	derivative suffix(es) –	• juncture • passive • (OBI _{anim}) –	negation –	TA	
	1	2	3	4	5	

Except for Ts'ixa, all varieties have two slot structures: one for present and future tenses (type A) – in lXaise

only present –, and another one for negated present tense and past (type B). In Ts'ixa, slots 1 and 5 exclude each other, and the same applies to Danisi as regards slots 1 and 6 (type A). Here slot 5 (negation) can only be filled if the verb appears in the future tense, whereas in type B the negation slot refers exclusively to the preterite.

In Cara, mutual exclusion is noted for slots 1 (tense only) and 6 (type A). If slot 1 is filled by a negation marker, then the verb appears in the future tense and, in addition, the negated present marker must show up in slot 6. If the negation marker fills slot 5, then again the verb appears in the future tense and its marker can go either to slot 1 or 6. Type B permits simultaneous filling of all five slots.

In Xaise (type A), slots 1 and 6 exclude each other. Slot 5 (negation) is only filled when the tense marker in slot 1 or 6 implies a future perspective. Type B permits simultaneous filling of all four slots. The verb is negated in slot 3 only if it occurs with the indefinite past marker.

Finally, in Deti (type A) the tense slots 1 and 5 are filled alternatively. The juncture allomorph *-na* in slot 4 is restricted to the future tense (in slot 1 or 5). All five slots can be filled simultaneously. In type B the rules largely resemble the situation as found in ||Ani (cf. 3.2.4.9). However, if the negation marker (slot 4) is used no juncture must appear in slot 3. If slot 5 is filled by the negated present tense the juncture in slot 3 is zero.

In (447) below the filling of slots is briefly exemplified.

Ts'ixa

- (447) a. *Tí khoe lxoà l'áé-ku-na-tà-ité.*
1SG person with meet-REC-JUNC-PAST_{RECENT}-NEG
'I have met nobody.'
- b. *Tí gèrè l'ám-e-ité.*
1SG FUT beat-PASS-NEG
'I shall not be beaten.'

Danisi

- c. (A) *Kùà lgám-kú-é-bé.*
FUT love-REC-PASS-NEG
'People will not love each other.'
- d. (B) *Máé tsá kà mà-má.'à gádzé-ká.xù-à-hà?*
who 2M.SG POSS head-M.SG.OBJ hurt-CAUS-JUNC-PRET
'Who has hurt your head?'

Cara

- e. (A) *Tsá ke 'yànù 'yũ.*
2M.SG PRES porridge eat
'You eat porridge.'
- f. (B) *Tsá lgaba ts'áã-e-há.*
2M.SG bow steal-PASS-IPT
'Your bow was stolen.'

Xaise

- g. (A) *Tá ké hĩ-a líi-hĩ-m̃.*
1SG PRES make-JUNC (= "FUT") shave-REFL-NEG
'I shall not shave myself.'
- h. (B) *Ñ.tshè tá 'ábà 'yũ-ká.hu-tà.*
today 1SG dog eat-CAUS-PRES.NEG
'I don't feed the dog today.'

Deti

- i. (A) *Tshénà tá l'áã-kù-tà.*
NEG.FUT 1SG fight-REC-PRES.NEG
'I shall not fight.'
- j. (B) *'É.nà yáá-yàà-mà.nà-tó.*
3C.PL dance-REP-NEG-PERF
'They have danced time and again.'

3.2.7.8.1 Derivative Suffixes

Deverbal derivation by means of suffixes is very common in Shua. At least a dozen functions with partially varying forms occur throughout the subgroup. Some (e.g. reflexive, causative, dative, reciprocal, terminative) are more productive than others (e.g. inclinative, comitative). [Table 6.36](#) below gives an overview.

Table 6.36 Derivative Suffixes in Shua Varieties

Function	Suffix	Lg.	Basic verb	Gloss	Extended verb	Gloss
Causative ₁	-ka.xu	Ts'	<i>lái</i>	'run'	<i>lái-ka.xu</i>	'let run'
		Da	<i>l'àn</i>	'build'	<i>l'àn-kà.xù</i>	'let build'
	-xu	Ts'	<i>dáo</i>	'burn' (intr.)	<i>dáo-xù</i>	'burn' (tr.)
		Da	<i>kx'áá</i>	'drink'	<i>kx'áá-xù</i>	'water'
	-ka.hu	Ca	<i>hàá</i>	'come'	<i>hàá-kà.hu</i>	'bring'
		IX	<i>l'ái</i>	'buy'	<i>l'ái-kà.hù</i>	'sell'
-ka.xu	De	<i>nlgái</i>	'sing'	<i>nlgái-kà.xù</i>	'let sing'	
Causative ₂	REDUPL	Ts'	<i>l'òé</i>	'be full'	<i>l'òé-l'òé</i>	'fill'
		Ca/IX	<i>l'áé</i>	'fall'	<i>l'áé-l'áé</i>	'let fall'
		De	<i>l'áé</i>	'fall'	<i>l'áé-l'áé</i>	'let fall'
Repetitive	REDUPL	Ts'	<i>khiú</i>	'blow'	<i>khiú-khiú</i>	'keep blowing'
		Da	<i>l'am</i>	'slap'	<i>l'am-l'am</i>	'clap, applaud'
		Ca	<i>c'èé</i>	'cry'	<i>c'èé-c'èé</i>	'weep'
		IX	<i>káo</i>	'knock'	<i>káo-káo</i>	'keep knocking'
		De	<i>khiim</i>	'cut'	<i>khiim-khiim</i>	'cut open'
Dative	-ma	Ts'	<i>sóó</i>	'forge'	<i>sóó-ma</i>	'forge for'
		Da	<i>nlgóá</i>	'cook'	<i>nlgóá-má</i>	'cook for'
	-ma	Ca	<i>gáo</i>	'look at'	<i>gáo-má</i>	'look at for'
		IX	<i>liti</i>	'sing'	<i>liti-má</i>	'sing for'
	De	<i>hif</i>	'work'	<i>hif-má</i>	'work for'	
Reflexive	-si	Ts'	<i>yábá</i>	'love'	<i>yábá-si</i>	'love oneself'
	-sí	Da	<i>l'áá</i>	'wash'	<i>l'áá-si</i>	'wash oneself'
	-sin	Ca	<i>l'óm</i>	'cut'	<i>l'óm-sin</i>	'cut oneself'
	-hif	IX	<i>l'úm</i>	'cut'	<i>l'úm-hif</i>	'cut oneself'
	-sin	De	<i>lgám</i>	'love'	<i>lgám-sin</i>	'love oneself'
Reciprocal	-ku	Ts'	<i>l'am</i>	'beat'	<i>l'am-ku</i>	'fight with s.o.'
		Da	<i>sif</i>	'work'	<i>sif-ku</i>	'work together'
		Ca	<i>ám</i>	'agree'	<i>ám-ku</i>	'agree with each other'
	-kü	IX	<i>lám</i>	'hear'	<i>lám-kü</i>	'hear one another'
	-ku	De	<i>káá</i>	'help'	<i>káá-ku</i>	'help each other'
Inclinative	-kx'áo	Da	<i>yüü</i>	'eat'	<i>yüü-kx'áo</i>	'eat greedily'
Locative	-'ó	Ts	<i>péè</i>	'jump'	<i>pé-ré-'ó*</i>	'jump over'
		Da	<i>küü</i>	'go'	<i>küü-'ó</i>	'go to'
		Ca	<i>hàá</i>	'come'	<i>hàá-'ó</i>	'fetch, call for'
		IX	<i>k'áá</i>	'drink'	<i>k'áá-'ó</i>	'drink from'
		De	<i>ñábi</i>	'turn'	<i>ñábi-'ó</i>	'turn inside out'
Iterative	-ká.si	Da	<i>lgái</i>	'run'	<i>lgái-a-ká.si*</i>	'jog'
Comitative	-lxòá	Da	<i>küü</i>	'go'	<i>küü-lxòá</i>	'go with somebody'
Terminative	-xu	Ts'	<i>l'óá</i>	'pour'	<i>l'óá-xù</i>	'pour away'
		Da	<i>lxóé</i>	'scratch'	<i>lxóé-á-xù*</i>	'scratch off'
	-hu	Ca	<i>ñáá</i>	'put'	<i>ñáá-hu</i>	'put down'
		IX	<i>ciú</i>	'wipe'	<i>ciú-á-hu*</i>	'wipe off'
	-xu	De	<i>ñüü</i>	'put'	<i>Oüü-á-xù*</i>	'put down'
Intentional	-a	Ca	<i>küü</i>	'go'	<i>küü-á</i>	'in order to go'
	-'á	De	<i>küü</i>	'go'	<i>küü-'á</i>	'in order to go'

Notes: Ts' = Ts'ixa; Da = Danisi; Ca = Cara; IX =IXaise; De = Deti.

Comments: (1) Strictly speaking, reduplication is not a case of derivation; it has here been included because of the parallel paradigmatic patterns that derive from reduplicated verbs as compared to verbs extended by suffixes. The functions “repetitive” and “causative” often overlap or cannot clearly be distinguished. Likewise, repetitive and iterative in Danisi appear to be the same semantically. (2) More often than not, dative verb stems convey benefactive meaning. (3) Verbs containing the intentional suffix cannot be conjugated. (4) Extended verb forms marked by an asterisk contain the juncture morpheme which normally links tense/aspect markers to the verbal base, and not derivative suffixes. For an attempt at an historical explanation of this phenomenon, see Vossen (2010). (5) Derivative suffixes left unmarked in the “Suffix” column lack inherent tone and are tonally dependent on the verbal base. (6) Combinations of verbal extensions are possible throughout the subgroup.

3.2.7.8.2 Juncture

Shua varieties make use of the juncture only if the verb occurs in a past tense form. The base of the juncture is /a/, allomorphs are relatively few (see [Table 6.37](#) below) and their distribution does not always seem to be clearly conditioned.

Table 6.37 Juncture Allomorphs in the Shua Subgroup

	<i>a</i>	<i>ɲa</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>ro</i>	<i>na</i>	∅
Ts'ixa	+			+	+	+	+
Danisi	+					+	
Cara	+		+			+	+
!Xaise	+	+	+			+	+
Deti	+		+			+	+

In Ts'ixa, the juncture is most frequently represented by the allomorph *-na*, whose occurrence seems hardly predictable; this applies to the base form, too. A small number of verbs take no juncture at all while others employ the (presumably historically motivated) allomorphs *-ro* and *-rɛ*. Like in Kxoe varieties, the use of the juncture correlates with the tense/aspect form of the verb, as illustrated in (448):

(448) *k'òò-rò-tà* vs. *k'òò-ná-ha*
 eat-JUNC-PAST_{RECENT} eat-JUNC-PAST_{REMOTE}

However, since *k'òò-ró-ha* is also possible for the remote past one may eventually interpret the formation with *-na* as an indication of *-na* gradually becoming a kind of standard juncture in Ts'ixa. Such an hypothesis would be supported, for instance, by (449) below, where the use of *-na* following a high back nasal vowel contradicts clearly our general observation in Kalahari Khoe languages.

(449) *mũũ-nà-tà* vs. *l'ũũ-à-tà*
 see-JUNC-PAST_{RECENT} kill-JUNC-PAST_{RECENT}

In Danisi, the only known allomorph of the base form of the juncture is *-na*. While the base form can, in principle, follow any verb-final vowel except *ã* and must be used after nasal consonants, *-na* occurs sometimes after *ã* and frequently after back oral vowels in disyllabic verb stems. Out of the ordinary is the employment of the juncture on the verbs *khùí* 'lift, raise' and *ll'àrím* 'hit, strike' (450):

(450) *khùí-na-tá* vs. *khùí-à-há*
 lift-JUNC-PRET lift-JUNC-PRET
l'ám-nà-tá
 hit-JUNC-PRET

Here, the verb *khùí* appears in the two preterite forms of Danisi with different junctures. Possibly the distinction correlates with the tense/aspect form of the verb, as in Kxoe. Other verbs, however, do not behave in this way. As for the construction of ‘hit’ in (450), the use of *-na* following the nasal consonant is against any rule in Kalahari Khoe languages.

In Cara, the base form /a/ of the juncture occurs after nasal consonants and any verb-final vowel except *ã*. For as yet unknown reasons, some verbs fill the juncture slot with zero. The use of *-ra* after verb-final *a* and of *-na* following *ã* is verb-specific.

!Xaise largely follows the Cara pattern. On all CVCV and a few CVN verbs the juncture is zero. In some instances, the allomorph *-na* has been observed following the high front nasal vowel, e.g.: *!xũĩ* ‘vomit’ → *!xú-**na**-ha* vs. *tsĩĩ* ‘sneeze’ → *tsí-**à**-tá*.

In Deti, the juncture most frequently appears in its base form irrespective of word structure and phonological environment. On just a few verbs *-ra* (after verb-final *a*) and *-na* (following *ã*) are used.

3.2.7.8.3 Passive

The passive marker is *-e* throughout the subgroup. Alternatively, *-ε* and *-ye* can be used in Ts’ixa and Deti respectively.

3.2.7.8.4 Object Agreement Marker

Within the subgroup, object agreement marking appears to be restricted to one language: Deti. Moreover, according to my limited data, it is attested only for pronominal objects. One may assume, however, that nominal objects, too, can be encoded in the finite verb, as in the Kxoe varieties ǁAni and Buga (cf. 3.2.4.9.4).

Within the morphological sequence structure (type B) the object agreement marker falls into slot 3. It is largely unclear under which conditions it must be used or can be omitted. Even the fact that in my data its occurrence is confined to verbs in the negated present or in the past tense does not prove in principle its strict non-occurrence in connection with other tense/aspect forms (type A).

The use of object agreement markers in Deti is illustrated in (451):

- (451) a. *Kái xàm tá gào-tè-hà.*
big lion 1SG.OBJ look.at-1SG.OBJ_{AGR}-IPT
'The big lion looked at me.'
- b. *lám xàm húú.tsàrà gào.tsè.hà.*
two lion 3M.DU.OBJ look.at-OBJ_{AGR:3M.DU}-IPT
'Two lions looked at them (i.e. two male persons).'

3.2.7.8.5 Tense/Aspect Marker

Given the scantiness of data, it is hardly possible in Shua to distinguish between tense and aspect (TA). Occurring forms are therefore treated jointly.

Throughout the subgroup, present, past and future represent primary temporal levels. The negated present is expressed by a verbal suffix of its own. Secondary

temporal levels, which are attested for the past in the subgroup as a whole, cannot always be determined semantically due to the weak data basis.

Cross-linguistically, formal identity of TA markers prevails over differences, although a certain degree of variation must be admitted concerning the semantic attribution. This is reflected in the following chart (Table 6.38).

Table 6.38 Tense/Aspect Markers in Shua

TA category	Ts'ixa	Danisi	Cara	Xaise	Deti
Remote past	<i>-ha</i>				
Preterite		<i>-tá, -há</i>			
Recent past	<i>-tá</i>		<i>-tá</i>	<i>-tá</i>	<i>-tá</i>
Perfect					<i>-tó</i>
Imperfect			<i>-ha</i>		<i>-ha</i>
Indefinite past				<i>-ha</i>	
Present	<i>ko, kue</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ce</i>
Negated present	<i>-tã</i>	<i>-tã</i>	<i>-tã</i>	<i>-tã</i>	<i>-tã</i>
Future	<i>gèrè</i>	<i>kua</i>	<i>kià, ke hĩĩ-a</i>	<i>ke hĩĩ-a</i>	<i>kua</i>
Gerundive			<i>(-si)</i>		<i>-si</i>

The occurrence of two distinct present formatives in Ts'ixa cannot be explained sufficiently. More frequently employed is *kue*, whereas *ko* corresponds to progressive usage in some examples. The negated present formative *-tã* is likely to be related etymologically to *-tá* in the other varieties.

A high degree of functional variation is exhibited by the formative *-ha*. Future research must clarify the exact status of this element across the subgroup. In Danisi, a semantic distinction between *-tá* and *-ha* is not discernible.

To express future action Cara offers two options: *kùà* and *ke hĩĩ-a*; the latter can also be used in reverse order, i.e. *hĩĩ-a ke*. At any rate *ke hĩĩ-a* represents the only way of expressing future action in IXaise. Since *ke* is the present tense formative in Shua, it can be concluded that there no longer exists a genuine future form in this variety. In Deti, the future formative *kua* often shows up in connection with verb-final *-na*.

Gerundive *-si* and *-sì* in Cara and Deti, respectively, have not been found elsewhere in Shua.

For examples of TA employment in Shua, see 3.2.7.8 (447).

3.2.7.8.6 Negation

All varieties share the negated present formative *-tè* (*-tã* in Ts'ixa). Verbs in the past and future use *-íté* in Ts'ixa and *-bé* (most likely a borrowing from Kxoe) in Danisi. In the other varieties the negation strategies are of complex nature.

Cara has one joint and also separate negation markers for the two past formatives. The joint marker is *-ma.na*, a compound element of uncertain origin immediately suffixed to the verbal base:

- (452) a. *Tá k'òò-hú k'òò-mà.nà-tá.*
 1SG eat.meat-thing eat.meat-NEG-PAST_{RECENT}
 'I have not (yet) eaten meat (today).'
- b. *Tá k'òò-hú k'òò-má.ná-ha.*
 1SG eat.meat-thing eat.meat-NEG-IPT
 'I didn't eat meat.'

With separate markers the constructions in (452) are as follows:

- (453) a. *Tá k'òò-hú k'òó-tòm.tám.*
 1SG eat.meat-thing eat.meat-NEG-PAST_{RECENT}
 'I have not (yet) eaten meat (today).'
- b. *Tá k'òò-hú k'òó-tòm-(á)-ha.*
 1SG eat.meat-thing eat.meat-NEG-(JUNC-)_{IPT}
 'I didn't eat meat.'

The negation in (453a) presents itself like a negated (recent past) tense form in its own right, comparable to the negated present. One might hypothesize that the *tá* component in *-tòm.tám* is the recent past formative as such and, hence, the negation marker is rather *-tòm ... m̩*. The negation marker *-tom* in (453b) can optionally be followed by the juncture.

Future constructions in Cara, again, can be made in two ways: by means of the trisyllabic (!) particle *tátánà* in combination with the negated present *-tà* formative, e.g.

- (454) a. *'é.nà tátánà líí nlgài-tà.*
 3C.PL NEG song sing-PRES.NEG
 'They will not sing a song.'

or with the aid of the suffix *-m̩* :

- (454) b. *Tá kùà hĩ-m̩.*
 1SG FUT make-NEG
 'I shall not do it.'

In IXaise, the suffix *-tom* negates the two past tense formatives while in future constructions the present tense

marker *ke* combines with the verbal suffix *-m*, as in (455):

(455) *Kè tá tsĩĩ-m̃.*
PRES 1SG sneeze-NEG
'I shall not sneeze.'

Deti (like Cara) makes use of the suffix *-mà.nà* in past constructions. In the future tense, the negation particle *tshénà* is employed in combination with the negated present marker *-tà*.

3.2.8

Tshwa Subgroup

Rainer Vossen

3.2.8.1 Nouns

The two varieties described here, Kua and Tsua, exhibit similar but not identical person–gender–number (PGN) enclitics (see [Table 6.39](#)). As in the Shua subgroup, ongoing reduction of the nominal marking system is unmistakable. This process appears to be more advanced in Tsua than in Kua. In my data on the latter variety, the masculine plural and feminine singular markers, *-si* and *-ku* respectively, no longer occur on nouns themselves but are substantiated through agreement only. Tsua, on the other hand, has given up nominal PGN marking completely in everyday discourse; however, at least the dual forms and the feminine plural could be elicited, if only by means of structured questionnaires.

Table 6.39 Pgn Enclitics of Kua and Tsua

	Kua			Tsua		
	SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL
M	<i>-bè</i>	<i>-tsérà</i>	<i>(-ku)</i>	–	<i>-tsédè</i>	–
F	<i>(-si)</i>	<i>-sérà</i>	<i>-dzá, -dzi</i>	–	<i>-sédè</i>	<i>-dzè</i>
C	–	<i>-khórà</i>	<i>-rà</i>	–	<i>-khòdè</i>	–

3.2.8.2 Pronouns

Even the little data available tend to stress the unity of Kua, Tsua and Cua as against the Shua varieties (cf. 3.2.7.2), in particular in the first person dual forms. [Table 6.40](#) shows the pronominal subject paradigms deriving from my own data (Kua, Tsua) and from Köhler’s pioneering article (1962: 540f.) in which he offers two minimally diverse sets for Cua (“Tywa”) from different locations (Nata and Letakana).

Table 6.40 Pronominal Subject Paradigms of Tshwa Subgroup Varieties

	Kua	Tsua	Cua	
			Nata	Letakana
SINGULAR				
1	<i>kyé, kyédi</i>	<i>kyé, kyédè</i>	<i>tyirè</i>	<i>tyé</i>
2M	<i>tsá</i>	<i>tsá</i>	<i>tjá</i>	<i>tsá</i>
2F	<i>sá</i>	<i>sá</i>	<i>jà</i>	<i>sá</i>
3M	<i>'i.bè</i>	<i>'é.bè</i>	<i>'é.bè</i>	<i>'é.bè</i>
3F	<i>'i.si</i>	<i>'é.si</i>	<i>'é.fi</i>	<i>'é.sè</i>
3C	<i>'i.xiè</i>	—	—	—
DUAL				
1M	<i>tsábè</i>	<i>tsábè</i>	<i>tsábè</i>	<i>tsábè</i>
1F	<i>sábè</i>	<i>sábè</i>	<i>sábè</i>	<i>sábè</i>
1C	<i>khábè</i>	<i>khábè</i>	<i>khábè</i>	<i>khábè</i>
2M	<i>tsárò</i>	<i>tsárò</i>	<i>tsárò</i>	<i>tsárò</i>
2F	<i>sárò</i>	<i>sárò</i>	<i>sárò</i>	<i>sárò</i>
2C	<i>khárò</i>	<i>khárò</i>	<i>khárò</i>	<i>khárò</i>
3M	<i>'é.tsèrà</i>	<i>'é.tsédè</i>	<i>'é.tsàrà</i>	<i>'é-tsàrà</i>
3F	<i>'é.sèrà</i>	<i>'é.sédè</i>	<i>'é.sàrà</i>	<i>'é.sarà</i>
3C	<i>'é.khòrà</i>	<i>'é.khòdè</i>	<i>'é.khòrà</i>	<i>'é.khòrà</i>
PLURAL				
1M	<i>ká</i>	<i>ká</i>	<i>ká</i>	<i>ká</i>
1F	<i>sí</i>	<i>siè</i>	<i>siè</i>	<i>sí</i>
1C	<i>tsí</i>	<i>tsiè</i>	<i>tsiè</i>	<i>tsí</i>
2M	<i>káó</i>	<i>káó</i>	<i>káó</i>	<i>káó</i>
2F	<i>dzáó</i>	<i>sáó</i>	<i>sáó</i>	<i>sáó</i>
2C	<i>tó</i>	<i>tó</i>	<i>tó</i>	<i>tó</i>
3M	<i>'é.kiè</i>	<i>'é.kiè</i>	<i>'é.kiè</i>	<i>'é.kiè</i>
3F	<i>'é.dzi</i>	<i>'é.dzi</i>	<i>'é.dzè</i>	<i>'é.dzè</i>
3C	<i>'é.rè</i>	<i>'é.dè</i>	<i>'é.nàè</i>	<i>'é.rè</i>

Note: 3C.SO in Kua is to be interpreted as “neuter”.

In Kua and Tsua, a short and an extended form have been noted for the first person singular pronoun. The same seems to hold true of Cua since Köhler obtained a short form from Letakana and a long one from Nata. Apart from that, complex forms are confined to third person pronouns in all three numbers. They consist of the pronominal element 'é ('i in Kua) followed by a PGN marker.

Object pronouns have been elicited in Kua only. They end regularly in the vowel *a*. In comparison with the

subject pronouns no formal discrimination exists in the second person singular, the third person dual, and the first person masculine plural (see [Table 6.41](#)).

Table 6.41 Object Pronouns in Kua

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1M	<i>kyá</i>	<i>tsábà</i>	<i>ká</i>
1F	<i>kyá</i>	<i>sábà</i>	<i>siá</i>
1C	–	<i>khábà</i>	<i>tsiá</i>
2M	<i>tsá</i>	<i>tsáròà</i>	<i>káóà</i>
2F	<i>sá</i>	<i>sáròà</i>	<i>dzáóà</i>
2C	–	<i>kháròà</i>	<i>tóà</i>
3M	<i>'i.bà</i>	<i>'é.tsèrà</i>	<i>'é.kià</i>
3F	<i>'i.sà</i>	<i>'é.sèrà</i>	<i>'é.dzá</i>
3C	<i>'i</i>	<i>'é.khòrà</i>	<i>'é.rà</i>

3.2.8.3 Adjectives

More often than not, adjectival concepts in Shua varieties are conveyed by verbal adjectives of the English “to be X”-type. There are, however, limited sets of proper adjectives, some of which have been compiled in [Table 6.42](#).

Table 6.42 Some Common Adjectives in Kua and Tsua

Gloss	Kua	Tsua
‘heavy’	<i>kóm</i>	
‘stupid’	<i>bèè</i>	
‘big’		<i>llúũ</i>

‘short’	<i>llòm</i>	<i>llúṃ</i>
‘new’		<i>nllgáò</i>
‘sour’		<i>tsádú</i>
‘red’		<i>(w)údú</i>
‘hard’		<i>kádí</i>
‘cold’		<i>hùrú</i>
‘small, little’		<i>l’àré</i>

Predicative adjectives are placed after and attributive ones before the head noun. PGN marking is practically non-existent.

3.2.8.4 Numerals and Quantifiers

Cardinal numbers ‘one’ through ‘three’ are lexical stems (see 456). As in other Kalahari Khoe branches, numerals above ‘three’ are constructed periphrastically, e.g.: Kua ‘four’ *k’áò-tsàù* (lit.: ‘male hand’ = ‘index finger’).

(456)	Kua	Tsua
‘one’	<i>lúí</i>	<i>lúí</i>
‘two’	<i>lám</i>	<i>lám</i>
‘three’	<i>ṽúnà</i>	<i>ṽónà</i>

Neither ordinal numbers nor the use of numerals, be it morphological or syntactical, are documented in my data collection.

The most common quantifiers found are ‘many, much’ and ‘all’:

(457)		Kua	Tsua
	‘many, much’	<i>gùrí-’òè</i>	<i>tshíyáà</i>
	‘all’	<i>wíé</i>	<i>’úéè</i>

3.2.8.5 Demonstratives

Both Kua and Tsua have two proximal demonstratives, *ii* and *níni*, and one distal demonstrative, *úú*. Agreement with the head noun is largely optional and is marked by the nominal pgn forms (cf. Table 6.39). In the masculine singular the exceptional PGN *-bè* (of Kua) is replaced by the more common *-ma* enclitic, here reduced to the bilabial nasal, i.e. *-m*.

As a rule, demonstratives precede the head noun. Some examples from Kua:

(458)	<i>ii(-m)</i> DEM(-AGR:M.SG)	<i>k’áò-khò-bè</i> male-person-M.SG	‘this man’
	<i>úú</i> DEM	<i>’ábà</i> dog	‘that dog’
	<i>N ní-m</i> DEM-AGR:M.SG	<i>k’árò-!’òã.</i> boy-child	‘This is a boy.’
	<i>N ní-dzi</i> DEM-AGR:F.PL	<i>lgàé-!’òã.</i> female-child	‘These are girls.’

3.2.8.6 Possessive

The scant data on Tsua seem to suggest that juxtaposition is the only strategy in this variety; e.g. *kyé kài* ‘my house’, *tshòé kài* ‘a person’s house’ (with *rectum-regens* word order). In contrast to this, Kua can make use of both juxtaposition and the possessive particle *dì*; e.g. *tsá máà* or *máà tsá dì* ‘your (M.SG) head’. The possessive marker always follows the personal pronoun. With nominal possession, juxtaposition appears to be the only strategy (at least in my limited data); e.g. *cxòà máà* ‘the elephant’s head’, *k’áro káà.xù* ‘the boy’s knife’.

3.2.8.7 Interrogatives

In Kua, the following interrogatives have been found: *maa* ~ *nàá* ‘who?, which?’ and *ná.ũ* ‘what?’. Their employment is exemplified in (459):

- (459) a. *Ĭi máá k’áò-khòè?*
 DEM_{PROX} who male-person
 ‘Who is this man?’
- b. *Ná.ũ tsá kùà káà?*
 what 2M.SG PRES want
 ‘What do you want?’
- c. *Nà.re màà tsá l’ám-á-hà?*
 who 2M.SG beat-JUNC-IPT
 ‘Who has beaten you?’

Example (459c) demonstrates that *maa* and *nàá* may co-occur, in which case the second vowel in *nàá* is replaced by an enclitic *.re* that takes its high tone.

In possessive contexts, interrogatives follow the juxtaposition strategy whereby the interrogative *nàá* replaces the last vowel by high-toned *.ń*:

(460) *Nà.ń júá tsá kùà káà?*
 who stick 2M.SG PRES want
 ‘Whose stick do you want?’

3.2.8.8 Verbs

In principle, the verbal slot structures of Kua and Tsua diverge only slightly from the situation in Shua (cf. 3.2.7.8). For Kua, the following morphological sequence has been noted:

(461)	• TA	verbal base –	derivative suffix(es) –	• passive	TA
	• negation –			• juncture –	
	1	2	3	4	5

Maximal filling of slots is only possible if the tense/aspect marker falls into slot 5 and, at the same time, the statement is negative, in which case the negation marker occurs in slot 1. Such a constellation is given only if the verb is marked for either the negated preterite or negated future. If slot 1 is filled with the present or future marker, slot 5 can never be filled simultaneously. The juncture in slot 4 is restricted to the (non-passive) preterite.

In (462) below the filling of slots is briefly exemplified.

- (462) a. *Xóénà kûû-è-tà.*
 NEG go-PASS-PRES.NEG
 ‘One will not go.’
- b. *Kùà hî.á kûû-’ò-è.*
 FUT go-LOC-PASS
 ‘One will go on.’
- c. *Sá kyúù-ká.xù-rù-hì.*
 2F.SG buy-CAUS-JUNC-PRET
 ‘You sold.’

Tsua has almost the same slot structure as Kua except that no negation marker must occur in slot 1, thus:

- (463) TA – verbal base – derivative suffix(es) – • passive TA
 • juncture –
 1 2 3 4 5

While slot 1 can only be filled by the present or future tense marker, in slot 5 the verb is marked for the preterite or negated present tense. The juncture (slot 4) is used in non-passive constructions. Examples:

- (464) a. *Kyé xòé-xù-à-hà.*
 1SG run-TERM-JUNC-PRET
 ‘I ran away.’
- b. *Kyé kùà líí-è-tà.*
 1SG PRES sing-PASS-PRES.NEG
 ‘I did not sing.’

Example (464b) shows that the preterite is negated by the combination of present *kùà* (slot 1) and negated present *-tà* (slot 5).

3.2.8.8.1 Derivative Suffixes

Deverbal derivation by means of suffixes is less common in Tshwa than in Shua. Only eight functions with partially varying forms have so far been identified; all of them appear to be productive. Table 6.43 below gives an overview.

Table 6.43 Derivative Suffixes in Tshwa Varieties

Function	Suffix	Lg.	Basic verb	Gloss	Extended verb	Gloss
Causative ₁	-ka.xu	Kua	kāi	'recover'	kāi-kā.xu	'cure'
		Tsua	thūū	'hurt'	thūū-kā.xu	'cause pain'
Causative ₂	REDUPL	Kua	l'ôê	'be full'	l'ôê-l'ôê	'fill'
		Tsua	k'ôê	'cry'	k'ôê-k'ôê	'weep'
Repetitive	REDUPL	Kua	xiñ	'grind'	xiñ-xiñ	'keep grinding'
		Tsua	t'ââ	'carve'	t'ââ-mâ	'carve for'
Dative	-ma	Kua	xóó	'hold'	xóó-mâ	'hold for'
		Tsua	xóó	'hold'	xóó-mâ	'hold for'
Reflexive	-hi	Kua	k'ân	'cut'	k'ân-hi	'cut oneself'
		Tsua	l'îi	'shave'	l'îi-hi	'shave oneself'
Reciprocal	-ku	Kua	k'ũĩ	'live'	k'ũĩ-kũ	'live together'
		Tsua	khâê	'spear'	khâê-tsũ	'spear each other'
Locative	-o	Kua	kũũ	'go'	kũũ-'ô	'go on'
		Tsua	l'âm	'beat'	l'âm-'ô	'knock out'
Terminative	-xũ	Kua	'úê	'break' (tr.)	'úê-xũ	'smash'
		Tsua	xóê	'run away'	xóê-xũ	'run away from'

Comments: (1) Strictly speaking, reduplication is not a case of derivation; it has here been included because of the parallel paradigmatic patterns that derive from reduplicated verbs as compared to verbs extended by suffixes. The functions “repetitive” and “causative” often overlap or cannot clearly be distinguished. (2) More often than not, dative verb stems convey benefactive meaning. (3) Derivative suffixes left unmarked in the “Suffix” column lack inherent tone and are tonally dependent on the verbal base. (4) Combinations of verbal extensions are possible throughout the subgroup.

3.2.8.8.2

the mid-vowels /e/ and /o/, in which case the juncture allomorphs are also [e] and [o] respectively.

3.2.8.8.3

Passive

The passive marker is *-e* throughout the subgroup.

3.2.8.8.4 Tense/Aspect Marker

In view of the fragmentary data collection available on Tshwa it seems impossible to distinguish between tense and aspect (TA). Occurring forms are therefore treated jointly.

Throughout the subgroup, present, past (preterite) and future represent firmly attested temporal levels. Present and preterite appear as particles, while the future marker is a complex form. The negated present is expressed by a verbal suffix of its own. [Table 6.45](#) gives a brief overview of TA markers in Tshwa.

Table 6.45 Tense/Aspect Markers in Tshwa

TA category	Kua	Tsua
Preterite	<i>-hì.</i>	<i>-hì, -ha</i>
Imperfect	<i>-hà</i>	
Present	<i>kùà</i>	<i>kùà, kò</i>
Negated present	<i>-tà</i>	<i>-tà</i>

Future

kùà hĩ.á

kùà hĩ.á

The occurrence of two distinct present formatives in Tsua can presently not be explained sufficiently. Perhaps *kò* is a result of reciprocal vowel assimilation in *kùà*. Likewise, the accurate usage of *-ha/-hà* and *-hì* largely remains to be seen. The future marker is formed by a combination of present tense *kùà* plus *hĩ.á* which in itself may consist of the verb *hĩ* ‘make’ plus the base of the juncture. All in all, the data at our disposal are too meagre to provide deeper insight into the TA system of Tshwa varieties.

For examples of TA employment in Tshwa, see 3.2.8.8 (462 and 464).

3.2.8.8.5 Negation

Both varieties share the negated present formative *-tà*. Preterite and future constructions employ composite forms by making use of the negated present formative *-tà* as a general negation marker that is indirectly preceded by a TA marker (Tsua) or a particle of as yet unknown origin (Kua) (see 466).

(466)	Kua	Tsua
Preterite	<i>àkà . . . -tà</i>	<i>kùà (tũũ) . . . -tà</i>
Future	<i>xóénà . . . -tà</i>	<i>hĩ.á . . . -tà</i>

3.3 Southern Khoesan (Tuu)

Tom Güldemann

3.3.1 Taa (East !Xoon dialect)²

3.3.1.1 Introduction

East !Xoon shows a fairly neat distinction between lexical stems and grammatical morphemes (alias grams) regarding their phonotactic pattern. Stems have a strong preference for the shape C(C)V(C)V; grams have a simpler CV-form and their initial consonants are relatively low on the strength hierarchy (Traill 1985: 173ff.). The majority of word forms are constituted by either one lexical stem or one gram; in both cases the final vowel can be subject to certain inflectional changes (*inter alia* important for transitive verbs). Parts of speech referring to nominal entities more often involve one or more suffixes. In general, the language has relatively little bound morphology and the majority of grams are particles.

3.3.1.2 Pronouns

Pronouns mostly come in two series, an unmarked and an emphatic variant. There are six pronoun categories for speech-act participants, as given in [Table 6.46](#) (the allomorphs in the first person plural can be reconstructed as an earlier inclusive–exclusive distinction).

Table 6.46 Pronouns for Speech-Act Participants in East !Xoon

	Singular	Plural	Dual
1st person	<i>n̄n̄('n̄)</i>	<i>ih̄('i), 'tsi</i>	<i>h̄n̄āī('i)</i>
2nd person	<i>āh̄('a)</i>	<i>ūh̄('ū)</i>	<i>h̄n̄ūm̄('ū)</i>

A set of five pronouns is used to encode third persons; these are exponents of agreement classes which

constitute a rather complex system of noun categorization (see 3.3.1.3.1). These classes are also indexed by concords in certain inflected word forms. The forms of class indices are given in [Table 6.47](#).

Table 6.47 Third Person Pronouns and Concord Formatives in East !Xoon

	Free pronoun	Enclitic concord	Corresponding noun ending
Class 1	<i>ih</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-i, -li, -bi</i>
Class 2	<i>ãh('ã)</i>	<i>-ã</i>	<i>-ã, -n(a), -m(a)</i>
Class 3	<i>èh('è)</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>-(j)e, -le, -be</i>
Class 4	<i>ùh('ù)</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>-u, -lu, -bu</i>
Class 5	<i>ñh('ñ)</i>	<i>-n</i>	none

The dual pronouns are apparently related to the numeral *#núm* ‘two’ (see Güldemann 2004a); plural pronouns in general can co-occur with the stem *llâe* ‘three’.

All pronouns substitute for nouns in major syntactic contexts, functioning as subject, object, adjunct and possessor. After certain parts of speech they are supplemented or replaced by the enclitic concord forms (see [Chapter 7](#), section 3.3.1.5). Deictic, relative and interrogative markers are not expressed by way of canonical pronominal elements and thus are not treated here.

3.3.1.3 Nouns

3.3.1.3.1 Gender

The five agreement classes established by the above pronominal elements pattern according to the number categories singular and plural, thereby creating a system of genders, which are mostly pairs of singular–plural

classes. This is sketched in Figure 6.1 (cf. Güldemann 2000b).

Agreement class	Singular pronoun		Plural pronoun
1	<i>ih</i>		<i>ih</i>
4			<i>ìh</i>
3	<i>èh</i>		<i>èh</i>
2	<i>àh</i>		<i>àh</i>
5	<i>ńń</i>		<i>ńń</i>

Figure 6.1 Agreement Classes and Non-Inqurate Genders in East !Xoon

Note: Bold lines indicate inter-sententially relevant genders.

East !Xoon has two gender systems, one for *inter-sentential* contexts, and the other for intra-sentential contexts. The first one is simple and appears to have conflated the genders of the second, more complex system into a binary distinction according to animacy. The system holding for gender agreement within the clause is highly lexicalized and neither the meaning nor the form of a noun needs to betray its gender assignment. It is also important to recognize for this second system that the majority of agreement classes do not imply a number feature. That is, a class can refer with one noun to the singular, with another to the plural. This fairly free mapping of classes over number is one reason for the fact that there are fewer agreement classes than genders (alias class pairs). The preliminary analysis of gender assignment for a part of the nominal lexicon is given in Table 6.48.

Table 6.48 Noun Genders in East !Xoon (Preliminary)

Class pair	Number of items	Discernible assignment criteria (with number of items in brackets)
Intra-sentential agreement		
1	8	noun ending <i>-i</i> (4)
1/2*	1	
1/3*	1	
1/4	53	noun endings <i>-li/-lu</i> (18) and <i>-i/-ba</i> (8)
2/(2)	118	parts of a whole including body parts (53); offspring (2) and all diminutives; nationalities and other social groups (6); all deverbal <i>sà</i> -nominalizations (singular); harmful ~ dangerous things (12); human activity and associated objects (11)
3/2	25	noun endings <i>-e/-m</i> (16)
3/(3)	113	liquids and other entities without a fixed form (14); edible plants (especially those eaten for moisture) (8); 'meat' and

		alienated body parts (12); other non-count nouns (5); recent loanwords (39); all place names (singular)
3/4	11	terms of kinship and social relations (9); all personal names (singular)
5/2*	1	‘thing’

Inter-sentential agreement

3/4	animate
5/5	inanimate

Notes: * possibly inquirate gender; *n/(n)* gender with uni- and/or trans-numeral items, relevance of assignment criterion unclear.

The class pairs marked in [Table 6.48](#) by an asterisk seem to be lexical exceptions (cf. Corbett’s “inquirate genders”, 1991: 170–75), so the number of productive genders is likely to be lower than ten. In the class pairs comprising relatively many items one can discern groups of nouns which share a particular feature in meaning or form. These sets of nouns can be viewed as gender cores and reflect criteria that were, and/or still are, productive for the assignment of a noun to a particular gender. However, there are many exceptions to these

generalizations so the categorization system as a whole appears to be rather arbitrary.

One type of assignment is morphonological in nature: quite a few noun forms demonstrate a correlation between their inflectional ending (last column of [Table 6.47](#)) and the agreeing pronoun. However, since the majority of nouns do not show such a correspondence, nominal gender marking is mostly “covert”.

3.3.1.3.2 Number

Although there are only two categories, singular and plural, number marking on nouns is a complex matter in East !Xoon, because the formal alternations are quite diverse and irregular across the lexicon. Owing to this fact, and possibly also due to under-analysis, the following information can only be a list of marking devices and not a final set of morphological rules.

Some nouns do not change their form and are perhaps best analysed as not partaking in the number distinction, for example, the noun *lgâm* ‘*Crotalaria damanensis*’. A typical feature of Tuu languages in general is that a restricted set of nouns has different suppletive stems co-varying with number. Compare the following (agreement class in brackets):

(467)	SG	<i>tâa</i> (3)	<i>tâa qâe</i> (2)	<i>tâa ǵa</i> (2)	<i>!ùm</i> (3)
	PL	<i>tûu</i> (4)	<i>lǵã</i> (2)	<i>!xãã</i> (2)	<i>Øãã</i> (2)
		‘person’	‘woman’	‘man’	‘eland’ (T94: 154, 78)

As mentioned above, a noun form can display a recognizable inflectional ending. This often changes with number; its form may or may not correlate with the agreement class. For example, while the pair of endings

and the class indices correspond with *llgá.bi-tê* (sg, class 1), *llgá.bu-tê* (PL, class 4) ‘woman’s rear apron’, there is no such correlation with *lǝh.m* (SG, class 1), *lǝh.ma-tê* (PL, class 4) ‘violet-eared waxbill’.

Since number is so poorly integrated with gender, it is not surprising that this feature is expressed on many nouns by a separate set of true number suffixes. The default plural marker is *-tê*, because it occurs with the large majority of nouns. Other plural suffixes are *-ní*, *-sá*, *-sǝ* and *-tú*. Sometimes, a plural suffix replaces a separable suffix of the singular form; such possible singular markers are *-sìsì*, *-sè/-sê*, *-kú*, *-ká*, *-bà* and *-bè*. Some suffixes imply a particular agreement class; for example, plurals with *-tú* consistently go into class 4 (see 3.3.1.3.3 for a historical explanation).

Changes of suffix, inflectional ending, and the stem can all co-occur. For example, the singular form of ‘beetle’ *lgǝh.i-sí* (class 1) is changed to plural *lgǝh.m-sá-tê* (class 2), which has a different ending and even two suffixes; the plural changes of *Onǝũ* (class 1) ‘louse species’ to *Onàã-tê* (class 4) consist of adding a suffix as well as altering both stem (note the lost pharyngealization) and ending.

It is difficult to represent transparently the complexity and interaction of marking gender and number in the interlinearization of examples. The following conventions are applied, if found relevant: (a) a discernible inflectional ending of a noun form is set off from the rest of the stem by a dot, (b) relevant agreement classes are given in the gloss

line, also separated by a dot from the preceding meaning gloss. The second principle results in a two-digit number, the first digit for the singular class, the second for the plural one; the translation and the possible presence of a number suffix disambiguate which of the two agreement classes is relevant. Some nouns only occur in one number category and accordingly only have one glossed agreement class. These conventions convey the noun's gender, allow one to check whether noun ending and class correspond with each other, and finally help to identify agreement triggers within a syntactic phrase. Class markers on elements other than nouns either serve as pronouns or mark agreement: in the first case the glossed class number is followed by the gloss PRO, in the second case the class number is preceded or followed by an arrow which points towards the agreement trigger.

3.3.1.3.3 Derivation

The sparseness of affixal morphology is balanced by the existence of productive processes of noun compounding, conveying nominal concepts such as sex, shape ~ size, and social-group membership. The compounds are based on semantically generic human nouns as the head of the complex nominal.

- (468) *lǎi lǎi* *ts'óo l'óā qáe*
lion female bottle female
'female lion' 'a wide shaped bottle' (T94: 107, 177)
- (469) *táa àa* *lǎba àa* *!ōo àa*
person male thorn plant male knife male
'man' 'long thin thorn' 'spear' (T94: 195)
- (470) *l'āā Ōāa* *!xópa-tê Ō'āni*
fire child PROP-PL children
'a small/distant fire' 'the !Xoon people' (T94: 47)

There are also many lexicalized compounds expressing a great variety of concepts; their constituents do not always occur in isolation. A recurrent and semantically partly transparent pattern, especially frequent for body part terms, is found with certain relational nouns as compound heads such as *lnàn* 'fruit, head, tuber', *tshôe* 'inside', etc.

As can be expected, the gender of such compounds is that of the head noun (see Güldemann 2000b for a discussion of the seemingly problematic case of *ǎa-* and *qáe-* compounds). This is mostly gender 2/2, because the head nouns of compounds are inherently relational ('part of whole', 'child of', etc.) and such nouns on their own usually go into this gender (cf. Table 6.48). Somewhat more remarkable is the number marking of compounds in that both head and modifier are subject to relevant formal alternations, as with the double marking on the plural counterparts in (471) and (472).

- (471) SG *lxá.n tshô.e* (2)
 PL *lxá.na(-tê) tshô.ã-tê* (2)
 ‘floating ribs, flank’ (T94: 59)
- (472) SG *kâ lã.li Oàa* (2)
 PL *(kâ) lã.lu-tê O’âni* (2)
 ‘baby blue wildebeest’ (T94: 53)

Compound heads can grammaticalize into semantically opaque and/or more productive suffixes. This can explain grammatical features of certain complex words. For example, human plural nouns ending in *-tû* belong to class 4; the suffix is likely to be derived from an earlier compound head *tûu* ‘people’ which still exists as a class 4 noun.

Other phenomena related to derivation and morphologically complex nouns are still poorly understood. For example, Traill (1994: 24f.) mentions irregular lexicalized diminutives in addition to the productive diminutive compound; these often involve a prefix *kâ-* and/or a suffix *-bà*. A particle *kâ* is also attested as a lexicalized formative with non-diminutive nouns, for example, *kâ !ãhe*, a name for a plant species. The existence and kind of denominal derivation processes also need further study. At least some nouns appear to be converted into verbs by adding the MPO marker *kV*.

3.3.1.4 Nominal modifiers

The majority of elements which can function as attributive modifiers of nouns show a grammatical behaviour similar to canonical verbal lexemes. They take

tense-aspect markers as the nucleus of a predicative expression; they can undergo deverbal nominalization; and they must occur in a relative clause as nominal attributes. On account of these morphosyntactic characteristics, such items do not seem to constitute a word category in its own right – although called “adjectives” by Traill (1994: 33) -, they are best classified instead as stative verbs. Lexemes belonging to this group also serve to express notions that in other languages are taken care of by pronominal elements. In (473), the stem *ah’a* is the predicative nucleus of a relative clause and conveys the meaning ‘which’ in conjunction with the sentence-initial interrogative marker *ta*.

(473) *lā-n †’āa kēē lū.a tēē āh’ā kē?ē?*
 Q-1SG shoot MPO:3> springbok.32 REL:3 be.which REL:<3
 ‘Which springbok should I shoot at?’ (T94: 195)

Two demonstratives can also be viewed as such attributive predicates, as they have the form of canonical relative clauses: *t*-concord-*jà* *k*-concord (proximate) and *t*-concord-*sàk*-concord (remote).

(474) *túu tú’uu-sà kù*
 people.4 REL:4PRO-REM.DEI REL:<4
 ‘those (remote) people’ (T94: 20)

Cardinal numerals as a set are heterogeneous regarding their word category status. There are three such items: *†’ûã* ‘one’, *†’nûm* ‘two’, *llâe* ‘three’. When followed by the MPO marker *kV*, they are used as verbs and then mean ‘be at one with’, ‘pair up with’, ‘make a threesome’, respectively. As attributive modifiers, the stems for

‘two’ and ‘three’ directly follow the noun without any formal change – a behaviour that is identical to that of a head noun in a genitive construction. The stem for ‘one’ is different in that it agrees with its noun in class by way of stem-final concord changes. This is parallel to a few other post-posed nominal attributes like *!xaV* ‘big, senior, many’, *!lâhV* ‘old’, and the deictics *tV’V*, *tVV* and *’VV* (the last two are exemplified here).

(475)	<i>tâa</i>	<i>tēe</i>	<i>!qhuũ</i>	<i>’âã</i>
	person.3	DEI:<3	white.person.2	DEI:<3
	‘this person’		‘this white person’	(T94: 154, 197)

Modifiers of the last type constitute a separate small class of adjectives, which is different from both verbs and nouns.

3.3.1.5

Verbs

3.3.1.5.1 Nominal Cross-Referencing

Verb stems are not subject to morphological changes with one important exception: transitive verbs show object cross-reference, brought about by indexing the object’s noun class in the inflectional ending. With some verbs, this change not only affects the second syllable peak, usually a vowel, but also the C₂-position of the stem in that the consonants *b* or *j* are inserted vis-à-vis the neutral form. The consonant seems to correlate with the quality of the second vowel: the labial *b* occurs in stems with a rounded V₂ and the front glide *j* in stems with a non-rounded V₂ (compare the verb table in T94: 28).

Another type of non-morphological concordance between verb and noun can be identified: parallel to number marking on nouns, some basic verb meanings are expressed by a pair of suppletive stems, which co-vary with the number feature of an associated nominal (see also the discussion by Dickens and Traill 1977). The subject determines the stem form of intransitives, the object that of transitives.

(476)	Singular	Plural	Plural distributive		
	<i>tshûu</i>	<i>!ʼâã</i>		‘sit’	(T94: 271)
	<i>!ʼûi</i>	<i>!qʼân-tâ</i>		‘be small, few, thin’	(T94: 272)
	<i>ǰlu</i>		<i>!gâʼo</i>	‘enter, plant’	(T94: 226, 258)
	<i>!iia</i>	<i>!hâð</i>	<i>!áu</i>	‘take, catch’	(T94: 215)

3.3.1.5.2 Tense, Aspect, Modality and Other Clause Operators

Verbal categories like tense, aspect and modality are not encoded in the verb; instead, independent markers precede (and in one case follow) the verb or verb sequence. These are either auxiliary verbs or lexically opaque particles; a clear-cut distinction between the two cannot always be drawn, though, because the latter can emerge from the former via grammaticalization. The following functional characterizations of predicate markers are only tentative; a more conclusive analysis must await a careful examination of a larger number of tokens in their discourse contexts.

Two markers stand out regarding their position vis-à-vis the predicate: (a) *!iia*, marking resultative/perfect/stative and derived from the verb ‘be present, here’, occurs phrase-finally; (b) *bâ*, possibly an imperfective gram, tends to occur immediately before the main verb and,

thus, is normally preceded by all other predicate markers. Other verb grams are: *llqhüa* negation, *à* past, *ē* root possibility, *qúma* (also *qóma*, *qúba*, *qóba*) hearsay evidence; the marker *ńń* remains functionally unclear. It possibly encodes modality or sentence type.

3.3.1.5.3 Derivation

Valence-changing derivation is accomplished by particles or periphrastic constructions. The collocation of a verb and the MPO marker leads to an increase in valence, for example, *llnúu* ‘run (S)’ > *llnúu kV* ‘cause to run away’ (T94: 31). Passivization is achieved by placing the patient in subject position and putting the particle *kâ* before the transitive verb. The agent can be expressed in an adjunct phrase established by means of the MPO marker.

- (477) *èh ń bà t̄ē-e t̄aa.* ⇒
 3PRO ? IMPF hear-3> person.3
 ‘He hears the person.’
t̄aa ń bà kâ t̄ā k̄è.
 person.3 ? IMPF PASS hear MPO:3PRO
 ‘The person is heard by him.’ (T94: 31)

A particle *kâ* before the verb stem does not always render a passive derivation. In some cases, this element is an obligatory part of a complex lexical item (T94: 33), occurring with both intransitive and transitive verbs. Some examples are: *kâ qápa* ‘be beautiful (P)’, *kâ #’ãõ* ‘be short (P)’, *kâ !nābu* ‘stagger, shake, shiver’, *kâ !n̄ũ hũ sV* ‘remove’; the plural meaning with stative verbs is a partly regular semantic phenomenon (cf. Gruber 1975

and Collins 1998 regarding the similar effect of *kí* in #Hoan).

Fixed collocations of stem+particle, stem+stem, or even stem+particle *kâ*+stem are a generally pervasive phenomenon in the East !Xoon verb lexicon (T94: 31ff.). Their existence can be explained partially as a result of lexicalization and semantic specialization of serial verb constructions or sequences of verb+relational gram.

Verbal derivation is also accomplished by verbal periphrases: causatives of stative verbs can be formed by the verb *'àhn* 'do' and a deverbal nominalization as in (478):

- (478) *m̄m̄ n̄ bà 'àh-na #āba-sà.*
 1SG ? IMPF do-2> be.short-NOM.2
 Lit.: 'I am making shortness, i.e. shortening (it).'

Processes of category-changing derivation are also attested. Deverbal nominalizations are formed in two ways (T94: 29ff.): (a) the basic stem is converted without any morphological change into a noun of class 1 or 3, and (b) the enclitic *-sà* is attached to the last element of a verb phrase (see [Chapter 7](#), section 3.3.1.3.2). The distinction between the two appears to be abstract vs. process nominalization, respectively. Deverbal adverbializations of intransitive stative verbs are accomplished by means of the pre-posed particle *té* (T94: 18f.).

3.3.2 !Xam³

3.3.2.1 Introduction

Orthographic words in Bleek and Lloyd's lXam data can show considerable length and phonetic substance. Since the basic phonotactic patterns typical for Tuu languages, namely C(C)V(C)V for lexical stems and CV for grams, are also largely applicable to lXam (B28–30: 86f.), it is clear that such complex words (e.g. those with a non-initial strong consonant) involve more than one meaning-bearing unit from a synchronic or diachronic viewpoint.

However, nothing definitive can be said regarding the actual status of an orthographically bound morpheme as a suffix, particle, or even free word. It is not clear which word concept underlies the transcription and there exists considerable variation, in that one and the same element can be written as a bound or free form. In general, the degree of agglutination or isolation in lXam cannot conclusively be ascertained. From an areal perspective, isolation is more likely, but it is nevertheless possible that phonological words in lXam were more complex than in other languages.

A second problem in the analysis of lXam morphology relates to the identification of particular items, because a number of functionally different grams have an identical or similar orthographic form. For several reasons, these are often difficult to distinguish. Most importantly, the available text translations frequently fail to reflect the semantic-functional subtleties that are necessary to disambiguate the effect of a certain element in different contexts. Moreover, morphotactic clues for gram identification are rare as virtually all inflectional or derivational changes occur

host-finally. Also, while morphology differs in many languages across major parts of speech like nouns, verbs, etc., lXam grams are to a considerable extent similar or identical between nominal and verbal expressions, in spite of the fact that there seems to exist a noun–verb distinction. The same similarity or identity of grammatical morphemes holds from a historical perspective: a form which is a grammatically productive morpheme with some stems occurs in other lexemes as an obligatory element that appears to have become petrified and lost any independent meaning. Finally, the lack of prosodic information as well as morphonological gram alternations can also blur certain underlying distinctions. As will be demonstrated below, the above remarks apply in particular to the three morphological devices of stem reduplication, suffixation of *-ken*, *-gen*, *-ten*, *-ng*, and suffixation of *-a*.

3.3.2.2 Pronouns

lXam displays a distinction between unmarked pronouns used in subject, object and possessor function and oblique forms, which are the pronominal counterparts of nominal adjuncts and are possibly composed of a preposition and the unmarked form.

There are five pronominal categories for speech-act participants; the inclusive–exclusive distinction is absent in the oblique series.

Table 6.49 Pronouns for Speech-Act Participants in lXam

	Unmarked series		Oblique series	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st person inclusive		<i>i</i>		<i>hi</i>
1st person exclusive	<i>ng</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>hi</i>
2nd person	<i>a</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>haa</i>	<i>huu</i>

The two sets of third person pronouns are given in [Table 6.50](#). These can be mistaken as reflecting a canonical number opposition due to the fact that one of them is associated always with the singular and the other predominantly with the plural. In reality, they are exponents of agreement classes which encode two number and two gender categories.

Table 6.50 Third Person Pronouns and Related Agreement Forms in Ixam

	Unmarked pronoun	Pronoun + declarative <i>-ng</i>	Oblique pronoun	Deictic pronoun	Relative focus marker
Class 1	<i>hā, ha</i>	<i>hang</i>	<i>āa</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>aa</i>
Class 2	<i>hī, hi</i>	<i>hing</i>	<i>īi</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>ee</i>

The two variants of the unmarked pronouns are free allomorphs, or rather allographs, according to the available data. Their reduplication yields emphatic variants. The deictic pronouns occur either as independent pro-forms or together with post-posed appositional nouns; they combine back-reference with some form of pragmatic salience (topicality or focality) of the referential entity. The class-sensitive relative focus marker is used in relative and cleft-like constructions. (For further information, see [Chapter 7](#).)

3.3.2.3 Nouns

3.3.2.3.1 Gender

According to Güldemann (2000b), !Xam is a gender language. Its system is, however, restricted in having two genders only: gender I with an overt singular–plural distinction contains the majority of the nominal lexicon including all animate nouns; gender II has relatively few items, but among them unexpectedly many body parts (see Figure 6.2). The only agreement targets are the pronominal items listed in Table 6.50.

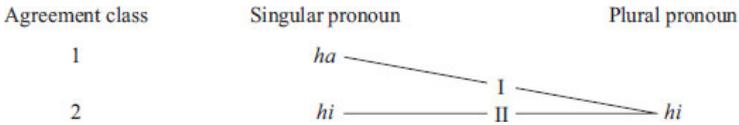


Figure 6.2 Agreement Classes and Genders

3.3.2.3.2 Number

Nominal number is highly irregular across the !Xam lexicon (see the overview in B28–30: 88–92). In view of this situation and the possible semantic complexity of this domain in some other Khoesian languages (see, e.g., Gruber 1975 and Collins 1998 regarding #Hoan), it is unclear whether the functioning of number marking will ever be recovered fully from the Bleek–Lloyd corpus.

From a formal point of view, the following marking patterns can be identified: there are quite a few nouns which are not subject to any, at least segmental, changes in the plural (particularly frequent with animal terms). Concerning segmental number changes it is useful to distinguish between simple and complex formations. Simple devices are:

- a. lexical suppletion (with a range of items comparable to East !Xoon of Taa),
- b. full and partial reduplication of the noun, and
- c. addition or replacement of a suffix.

Compare some examples from D.F. Bleek’s lists (discernible morpheme breaks marked by hyphens):

(479)	SG	<i>lʉi</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>lā</i>	<i>mama</i>	<i>lʉ’ui</i>	<i>gʉwa-ra</i>
	PL	<i>lʉ’e</i>	<i>tu-tu</i>	<i>lan-de</i>	<i>mama-gu</i>	<i>lʉ’ui-ten</i>	<i>gʉwa-ten</i>
		‘person’	‘mouth’	‘brother’	‘mother’	‘sieve’	‘metal knife’

Among the plural suffixes shown in (479), *-gu* has a special status because it is an “associative plural”: it can occur with kinship terms and all personal names and then means ‘X and his/her people’.

The majority of nouns employ more than one of the above strategies including additional stem-final mutations. Virtually every combination of different number changes (a notable exception is suppletion+reduplication) and order of their application appear to be attested. Compare the selection of singular–plural pairs in (480).

(480)	SG	<i>lwa-ra</i>	<i>lʉaa</i>	<i>lū-ru</i>	<i>kum</i>
	PL	<i>lwa-lwa-ra</i>	<i>lʉa-lʉaa-de</i>	<i>lu-lu-di</i>	<i>ku-kum-i</i>
		‘mother animal’	‘brother-in-law’	‘fingernail’	‘story’

The suffixes *-ken*, *-gen*, *-ten*, *-ng* as number markers deserve special treatment. They are frequent and combine even more freely with other devices as shown in (481).

(481)	SG	<i>lao</i>	<i>glo-glo</i>	<i>xu</i>	<i>g!ui-ten</i>
	PL	<i>lao-ken-lao-ken</i>	<i>glo-ken-glo-ken</i>	<i>xu-xuu-ken</i>	<i>g!ui-g!ui</i>
		‘hill’	‘whirlwind’	‘face’	‘silver jackal’
(482)	SG	<i>lua-ten</i>	<i>gou-ru</i>	<i>ko-ro</i>	<i>!au’u-ken</i>
	PL	<i>lua-lua-ten</i>	<i>gou-gou-ten</i>	<i>ko-ten-ko-ten</i>	<i>!au-!au-wa-ng</i>
		‘star’	‘blister’	‘jackal’	‘body’
(483)	SG	<i>lkha</i>	<i>g!eri-ten-ti</i>	<i>!ha</i>	<i>gwai</i>
	PL	<i>lkhai-ten</i>	<i>g!eri-ten-de</i>	<i>!hau-ken-gu</i>	<i>tu-ken(-gu)</i>
		‘stick’	‘little bird’	‘spouse’	‘male’

The status of such suffixes in individual word forms is a serious problem of analysis. Suffixes with identical orthographic shapes occur in a variety of morphotactically similar, but functionally different contexts, making it difficult to identify the appropriate function of a given suffix. D.F. Bleek (*ibid.*) sometimes equates in fact a suffix of a plural noun with the subject enclitic *-ken* – her “emphatic nominative” (see [Chapter 7](#), section 3.3.2.2.1). This analysis (applied, e.g., to the plural pattern of *lao* ‘hill’ in 481) is unlikely because it implies an awkward scope of plural reduplication. Moreover, a different allomorphic variation between the subject enclitic and the formally similar number suffix indicates that number markers like *-ken*, *-ten*, etc. are morphemes in their own right. Another problem is that such suffixes occur in some singular noun forms; this could partly be due to yet another suffix, *-ken*, found in derivational processes (see below). Since the status of plural *-ken*, *-ten*, etc. is not always clear, these may be glossed occasionally as ?PL.

3.3.2.4 Derivation

Derivational noun compounding in !Xam has a functional range largely similar to East !Xoon: the nouns ‘man, male’ and ‘woman, female’ after the modified

noun express the sex of animates; small size is conveyed by the noun ‘child, offspring’.

- (484) *to'i gwai to'i-ta tu-ken*
 ostrich male ostrich-? males-?PL
 ‘male ostrich’ ‘male ostriches’ (B28–30: 96)
- (485) *to'i l'aiiti to'i-ta laa-gen*
 ostrich female ostrich-? women-?PL
 ‘female ostrich’ ‘female ostriches’ (B28–30: 96)
- (486) *lho Owa lho-lho-ka lau-ken*
 bag child P-bag-? children-?PL
 ‘little bag’ ‘little bags’ (B28–30: 95f.)

As shown in (484–486), the plurals of these grammatically productive compounds are not achieved, as could be expected, by just changing the form of the head noun. Instead, they have the following structure: the head noun is pluralized (this happens to be complex itself involving the *-ken* suffix as well as a suppletive stem); the modified stem, too, occurs in the plural form as far as such exists; and an element *ka, ta* (segmentally identical with the genitive marker) occurs between the two.

Another pluralizing pattern holds for lexicalized compounds with body parts as head: only the modifier is marked for plural, while the head remains unchanged as in (487):

- (487) *n!oa-n!oa-ng xu lau-lau-ten tu*
 PL-foot-?PL face PL-?-?PL hole (< mouth)
 ‘soles’ ‘bellies’ (BL11: 12f., 153)

Provided Bleek and Lloyd did not miss non-segmental changes marking plural, this is identical to what Collins (1998: 17–23) calls in #Hoan “plural inheritance”, or rather to a particular case thereof. The general phenomenon is that the syntactic head in a complex nominal with plural interpretation “inherits” the number feature of the satellite. In the particular case of a body part as head, this “plural inheritance” is grammaticalized, i.e., number marking on the body part noun is obligatorily absent.

Derivational changes of a noun to another category have not yet been identified. Deverbal nominalizations and such elements as #*amOwa* ‘gently, a little’ and #*umOwa* ‘subsequently’, which have the form of diminutive nominals, encode manner in a predicate slot before the propositional main verb. Since this syntactic phenomenon is not accompanied by formal changes in the items concerned, and since there is no recognizable lexical category of adverbs, it does not necessarily reflect the conversion of nouns into adverbs; it can also be viewed as the employment of nominals in a non-typical context.

3.3.2.5 Nominal Modifiers

Some lexical stems are used predominantly as modifying attributes of nouns; these all occur post-nominally. This functional and structural commonality aside, they reveal hardly any other characteristic in morphological design or grammatical behaviour which would justify subsuming them under the unitary lexical category “adjective”. On the contrary, most items show features indicating their alignment with either of the two basic

categories, nouns and verbs. The suppletive or morphologically complex plural forms of some of the most frequent adjective-like items cannot resolve the problem, because such number marking devices apply primarily to nouns and verbs.

One group of modifiers follow the noun *asyndetically*. They are difficult to distinguish formally from nominal head nouns of derivational compounds; some items even show nominal properties: *korekore* (SG), *koritenkoriten* (PL) ‘round’ is also or even primarily a noun meaning ‘ball’; the phrase with *kuu* ‘all, whole’ betrays the syntax of genitive constructions, because it is linked to the modified noun via *ka*, *ta*, as in (488).

(488) *ha-ng n/le tāi g!wāxu ka kuu.*
 3PRO-PSE IMPF walk sky GEN whole
 ‘It travels across the whole sky.’ (BL11: 44f.)

However, some such items may meet the criterion of sufficient morphosyntactic distinctness from a synchronic perspective and could represent the core of an incipient class of adjectives. The formative *Owa* (SG) ‘small’ can be mentioned here: while its origin in the noun ‘child’ is clear from a comparative perspective, it does not occur as an independent lexeme in IXam. This also seems to apply to such items as *!eri* (SG), *!e!eten* (PL) ‘big’ and *koo* (SG), *kuiten* (PL) ‘other’.

There is another group of adnominal stems expressing qualities, for example, *luri* (SG), *luten* (PL) ‘short’; *!u’iya* (SG), *!u’i!u’ita* (PL) ‘large, grown, abundant’; and *!xoowa* (SG), *!xo!xooka* (PL) ‘tall, high’. When used as attributes, they must occur in a relative clause and they often

incorporate the stative suffix *-a*, which indicates their affinity to the word category verb. The deictic element *a*, which seems to encode proximity and is glossed in (489) as ‘be here’, also belongs partly to this group of nominal modifiers (but see below).

(489) *lu'i ee a hīi koq-ng se lo'aken di loo.*
 ashes.2 REL be.here 2PRO OBL-? SUBJ do.altogether become milky way
 ‘These wood ashes here must for ever become the milky way.’ (BL11: 72f.)

Some elements associated with the group of verb-like modifiers show an ambivalent formal behaviour. For example, the only numerals *!oai* ‘one’ (also ‘be alone’), *!uu* ‘two’, and *n!wona* ‘three’ appear as attributes in the form of both relative predicates and plain adnominal modifiers. The deictic *lee* (compared to *a*, it seems to indicate a greater distance from speaker and/or hearer) also displays a categorial ambiguity: while it can be used in a syntactic slot typical for verbs, as a nominal attribute it follows the noun asyndetically (in this context, it can be extended by the deictic *a* and postural verbs like *s'oo* ‘sit’ or *taa* ‘lie’). A similar ambiguity holds for *!ang*: it is used as a transitive verb ‘eat raw food’ or as an asyndetically linked noun modifier ‘new, fresh, raw’.

In general, the data on lexical stems used for the semantic modification of nouns indicate that an incipient closed class of adjectives could exist; at the same time, almost all items concerned still betray the historical fact that they have been recruited from the two major lexical categories, viz. nouns and verbs.

A remark on modifying deictics and determiners should be made here. The functions of such items could not yet be determined conclusively, but some of their structural

aspects are fairly clear already. The elements *ha* (class 1) and *he* (class 2), characterized by Bleek (1928–30: 94) as “demonstrative adjectives ... ‘this, these’ ”, are called here on account of the available data “deictic pronouns”, for two reasons. First, they are not pre-nominal attributes, but rather independent pro-forms to which a noun can, but need not be adjoined; it is in fact possible that they themselves originate in the unmarked pronouns modified by the deictic *a*, i.e. *ha+a* > *ha* and *hi+a* > *he* (such pronoun modification is attested in other Tuu languages). Second, they have so far been found only with a function referring to the discourse, rather than spatial deixis. All this sets them apart from the post-nominal, attributive deictics *a* and *lee*, which themselves differ in certain formal properties (see above). Finally, it can be observed that nominal words can be followed by the suffix *-a*; this is especially clear with nouns ending in the suffixes *-ken*, *-ten*, which then change to *-ka*, *-ta*. More research is needed for a conclusive analysis, but it is possible that such nominals are definite (hence the preliminary gloss ?DEF); that is, the suffix *-a* could represent a grammaticalized determiner, probably going back to the verbal deictic *a*. In general, the encoding of deixis is, parallel to the situation in East !Xoon, distributed over quite diverse morphosyntactic categories with an unexpected importance of verb-like items (see also [Chapter 7](#)).

3.3.2.6 Verbs

A verbal lexeme rarely changes morphologically in a word form. The sparseness of verbal affixes implies that the great majority of grams in predicates are auxiliaries

and particles. An alternation of the final vowel between *i* and *a* can be observed occasionally with certain verbs. It is attractive to view this as a reflex of cross-referencing the object on the verb, because the two nominal agreement classes have the same vowel distinction. Since this hypothesis is not corroborated by the data, the phenomenon remains unexplained, though.

There exists, however, an identifiable verb suffix *-a*. In the orthographic representation, this replaces final vowels of some short verbs, turns *-ken* and *-ten* into *-ka* and *-ta*, and surfaces as *-ya* and *-wa* after final front and back vowels, respectively. It has different functions which will be discussed below under the relevant headings.

3.3.2.6.1 Tense, Aspect, Modality and Other Clause Operators

IXam possesses a great number of markers that modify the state of affairs in its semantic and pragmatic representation. A more exhaustive and conclusive functional analysis of these grams would require a greater data corpus. The following remarks can only give a first glimpse of a picture of great variability and expressiveness and only consider those elements where the number of encountered tokens allows a first, if still preliminary functional interpretation.

Verb phrases can lack predicate markers completely, that is, only lexical stems occur. Sometimes this results in an *irrealis* meaning, especially after imperatives, as in (490).

- (490) *hoo s'aa ki Ohoo lwaa lee*
 take.up come 1SG.OBL branch broken.piece DEL.1
 'Bring me that piece of wood over there.
- ng lwe lho hīī ng laa lo'ite!*
 1SG ?put.on.fire put 2PRO 1SG burn grandmother
 that I may put (the end of) it (in the fire), that I may burn (it) towards
 grandmother Sirius!' (BL11: 338f.)

In the majority of cases, especially in narratives, the absence of predicate markers seems to represent the perfective member of an aspect opposition; the imperfective seems to be encoded by *n/e*, which tends to be placed close to the main verb.

One instance of a verb suffix *-a* appears quite consistently with verbs expressing an achieved state or a quality; such verb forms are sometimes called “participle” by Bleek (1928–30: 168ff.). While this suffix has mostly a resultative and stative function, some examples with dynamic verbs indicate that it could also be a marker of perfect and, in background clauses, of anterior taxis.

This suffix aside, predicate markers occur between subject and verb phrase. Some items only occur in this context and thus represent grammaticalized particles. Some, however, are semantically transparent auxiliary verbs which can also be used in another predicate slot with a lexical meaning or a different grammatical function. The following list gives the most important elements and tries to offer more precise, if still preliminary, functional characterizations compared to those in Bleek (1928–30: 162–67): *kx'au(ki)* negation; *lu* past; *s'oo* inferential ‘seem’; *kx'Qa* obligation and inferred certainty (the functionally similar *kQaa* is possibly only a transcriptional variant); *dQa* ability and

possibility; *sing* past habitual (also occurring in *irrealis* contexts); *ll'aa* or *ll'ang* itive ‘go and’, altrilocal, and future; *s'aa* ventive ‘come and’ and future; *s'ang* contingent ‘would’ (also co-occurring with the obligation marker); *se irrealis*-subjunctive.

3.3.2.6.2 Derivation

There are several derivations with or without effects for the valence of the verb. With respect to the first case, it is not yet possible to give the precise functional range of the marking devices, because there are already considerable difficulties in ascertaining the primary valence of a verb stem. This is due to two major facts. First, verbs with more than one valence pattern of the basic form seem to exist. Second, nominals often do not immediately follow their controlling verbs (see [Chapter 7](#), section 3.3.1.1), so that in a clause containing more than one verb stem – and this is the unmarked case –, it is often unclear which one controls a given nominal constituent.

One valence-changing derivation with a transitive–benefactive function is, however, clear; this is the second major domain where a verbal suffix *-a* is found.

- (491) ... *hīī se heru-ki lait-a hīī lō'ing.*
 2PRO SUBJ throw-? go.up-BEN 2PRO sun
 ‘... they should throw up the sun for them.’ (BL11: 54f.)

It attaches, as in (491), to the last stem in the nuclear verb chain and has the same phonetic (or orthographic) effects as the stative suffix; this often makes it difficult

to determine conclusively the function of *-a* in a particular utterance.

A suffix *-a* is also reported by Bleek (1928–30: 170) as a passive marker. Since my data do not contain relevant tokens, I cannot add to this information or evaluate the relation of this suffix to the stative and the valence-increasing *-a*.

Intransitive-causative verb pairs as *lara* ‘bask’ vs. *lara-ken* ‘make, give warmth’ in (493) and *#aa* ‘be bright’ vs. *#aa#aken* ‘make bright’ also give evidence for a derivational verb suffix *-ken*. This might be a possible explanation for the existence of a number of morphologically complex verb lexemes, which are composed of a stem and a lexicalized suffix *-ken*, *-ten*.

Causativization of intransitive verbs can be achieved as well by periphrasis, as in (492).

(492) ...*ha tɔba ki l'ee !utau au lɔ'ing-ta laraken-lara-ken.*
I_{PRO} make ? enter Sirius MPO sun-GEN NOM-warm.oneself-?CAUS
‘... he made Sirius come into the heat of the sun.’ (BL11: 340f.)

It should also be mentioned in this context that a number of semantic notions are conveyed by lexically complex predicates. Many of them are more or less lexicalized compound-like collocations of two verb stems, related syntactically to serial verbs, for example, *lii s'aa* ‘take’+‘come’ > ‘bring’ and *l am ll'aa* ‘take up’+‘go’ > ‘take away to’. Others appear to be fixed verb+noun combinations like *ta l'ii* ‘sense’+‘heat’ > ‘feel, be warm’.

The variable functions of verbal reduplication will be treated at the end of this section. This device is used (a)

for the expression of pluractional events with meanings like intensive, iterative, durative, etc.; (b) for causativization (BL11: 151ff.; B28–30: 171); and (c) for the formation of process and non-process nominalizations. Different types of verbal reduplication are reported from Khoekhoe languages and correlate there with distinct prosodic patterns; it is likely but cannot be ascertained from the data that this is also the case in !Xam.

Examples of nominalization by means of reduplication (c) are *lho'aken* 'be black' > *lho'akenlho'aken* 'blackness' and *ʔaken* 'speak' > *ʔakenʔaken* 'speech, language'. Note that the predicate slot before the propositional main verb marking manner allows the occurrence of nominal forms and often contains reduplicated verbs; it is hard to determine at this stage whether these reduplications are deverbal nouns of reduplication (c) or pluractional forms of reduplication (a).

The different derivation strategies can build up complex sets of related words as shown in (493); this also demonstrates how formally similar derivation is to nominal plurals.

(493)	Simplex form	<i>lara</i>	'warm oneself, bask'
	Nominalizing reduplication	<i>lara-lara</i>	'basking'
	Causativization with <i>-ken</i>	<i>lara-ken</i>	'make, give warmth'
	Nominalizing reduplication of <i>ken</i> -causative	<i>laraken-lara-ken</i>	'warmth, heat'

3.4 Eastern ʔHoan

Henry Honken[†]

Eastern #Hoan is poorly documented (though information on this language is beginning to accumulate through the studies of Collins and others) and, like many San languages, highly analytic in structure. Because of this poverty of data and relative lack of inflection, we will treat morphology and syntax together in this section.

3.4.1 Nouns

Nouns are inflected only for number and do not have gender (but cf. Collins's position below). There are two numbers, singular and plural, the productive plural suffix being *-qa*. There is a considerable variety of plural formations as illustrated below.

The majority of nouns simply add *-qa* to the base.

- (494) a. *lka'a* 'thing' *lka'a-qa* 'things'
 b. *n!nalo* 'chameleon' *n!nalo-qa* 'chameleons'

There is a subsystem of nouns which form the plural by vowel change and shifting the base tone to rising tone. Many of these are body part nouns.

- (495) a. *Okoa* 'eye' *Okoen-qa* 'eyes'
 b. *ciu* 'hand' *tceon* 'hands'
 c. *lna* 'arm' *lne* 'arms'
 d. *ts'iu* 'tooth' *ts'eon* 'teeth'

Some nouns are used only in the plural (these take, like mass nouns, singular adjectives). Examples are 'milk', 'garbage', 'honey', 'food'.

- (496) a. *oGo-qa qhāe.* 'The honey is sweet.'
 honey-PL sweet:SG
- b. *'am-qa n/na'a.* 'The food is bad.'
 food-PL bad:SG
- c. *Ma ki-lxai-'a lq'o'bu-qa ki lkoa na.*
 1SG take-SG-PERF garbage PREP house LOC
 'I take the garbage out of the house.'

Nouns that refer to natural pairs take the plural formative *nine*; these are all inalienable. The formative *nine* is also found in plural verb constructions.

- (497) a. *ya guru* 'his ankle'
ya guru n/ne 'his ankles'
- b. *#ki-si #ha"ma* 'the bird's wing'
#ki-si #ha"ma n/ne 'the bird's wings'

Finally, a few nouns have suppletive singular and plural forms,

- (498) a. *'a"ri-lga"i* 'woman' *lqha* 'women'
 b. *#am-koe* 'person' *tcon-!ka'e* 'people'

and the diminutive suffix *-si* has a suppletive plural *-lka'a*:

- (498) c. *gya"m-si* 'child' *gya"m-lka'a* 'children'

3.4.1.1 Possession

Eastern #Hoan distinguishes between alienable and inalienable possession. The possessive construction for alienable possession has the form noun+*ci*+noun, as in (499):

(499) *ʔam-koe ci kyeama*
 person POSS dog
 ‘the person’s dog’

The exact form of the alienable possessive construction depends on the semantic nature of the possessed noun. As in other languages that have this distinction, alienable nouns in Eastern #Hoan include body parts, kin terms, spatial relations and some miscellaneous nouns.

Collins (1998) divides the alienable nouns into a number of sub-classes: the kin-class, the many-class, the *ki*-plural class and others. The inalienable possession construction does not employ the possessive marker *ci* but it does require in some cases a plural marker *ki* (with high tone) that precedes the head.

3.4.1.2 The Kin-Class

When the possessed noun is [+human] (this includes all kin terms except *m’zale* ‘cousin’, a Bantu loanword), the two nouns are juxtaposed without a marker and the head noun is pluralized by *-qa*.

(500) a. *ʔam gye* ‘my mother’
 1SG:POSS mother
 b. *ʔam gye-qa* ‘my mothers’
 1SG:POSS mother-PL

When the noun expresses an aggregate or is a mass noun (per Collins, is in a “many-to-one” relationship with its possessor), the use of *ki* is obligatory with both singular and plural (*-qa* is optional if the head noun is plural).

- (501) a. *l'on* *kí* *gu* 'the tree's flower'
 tree PL flower
- b. *l'on-qa* *kí* *gu-qa* 'the trees' flower(s)'
 tree:PL PL flower-PL
- c. *O'u* *kí* *tc'u* 'the duiker's skin'
 duiker PL skin
- d. *O'u-qa* *kí* *tc'on-qa* 'the duikers' skins'
 duiker:PL PL skin:PL

Nouns that fall into this class include:

(502) *n#nu* 'feather'

kya''a 'bone'

gu 'flower'

nlnu 'vein'

lq'i 'blood'

llka''e 'meat'

Most of the remaining inalienable nouns fall into Collins's *kí*-plural class. With nouns in this class, *kí* is used only if the head noun is plural.

- (503) a. *gyam-si* *!ko* ‘the child’s stomach’
 child-DIM stomach
- b. *gya”m-!ka’a* *ki !ko* ‘the children’s stomachs’
 child-DIM:PL PL stomach
- c. *ʃam-koe* *!koa* ‘the person’s house’
 person house
- d. *tcon-!ka’e* *ki !koa* ‘the people’s houses’
 person-PL PL house

However, inalienable nouns that refer to natural pairs – ‘armpit’, ‘tusk’, ‘knee’, ‘kidney’, ‘wing’, etc. – take a special plural marker *nine* and do not permit *ki*; one example is:

- (504) *ya guru* ‘his ankle’
 ya guru n!ne ‘his ankles’

3.4.2 Pronouns

The pronominal system shows interesting differences from those of other San languages, which generally have a dental or velar nasal in 1SG, the form [a] in 2SG and contrasting vowels in 1PL and 2PL. The system is set out in Table 6.51.

Table 6.51 The Pronominal System in Eastern #Hoan

1SG	<i>ma</i>	1PL:EXCL	<i>n-!ka’e</i>
		1PL:INCL	<i>qa”a</i>
2SG	<i>u</i>	2PL	<i>dji</i>
3SG	<i>ya</i>	3PL	<i>tsi</i>

First person singular and third person singular and plural show some similarities to Northern Khoesan (cf. Jul’hoan 1SG *mi*, 3SG *ha* and 3PL *si*) but the other forms

are unique to Eastern #Hoan (though it is possible that 2sg *u* is copied from !Xóǝ 2_{PL} *u^hu*). The 1_{PL:EXCL} form appears to incorporate a non-productive plural suffix *-!ka'e*, also found in *tcon-!ka'e* ‘people’.

The distinction between inclusive and exclusive first person plural pronouns, also found in Northern Khoesan and !Xóǝ, may be an areal feature of San languages. However, Eastern #Hoan appears to be unique in having a special possessive form in the first person singular (*'am*); for the other persons, the possessive form is identical to the base form.

Some examples of pronouns in various constructions follow.

Subject and object:

(505) *Tsi i lqaen ya.* ‘They hit him.’
 PRO:3PL PAST hit PRO:3SG

Possessive:

(506) a. *tsi lqo'e* ‘their child’
 PRO:3PL child
 b. *'am gye* ‘my mother’
 PRO:1SG:POSS mother
 c. *'am ci 'am-qa* ‘my food’ (Collins 1998: 35)
 PRO:1SG:POSS food:PL

Pronouns may form a reflexive by suffixing *-!en*, as in (507):

(507) a. *ya- !en* ‘he himself’
 b. *Ya texoam-a ya- !en.* ‘He hides himself.’
 PRO:3SG hide-PERF PRO:3SG- REFL

3.4.3 Adjectives

Adjectives constitute a separate form class and are distinguished from verbs in two ways (Gruber 1975: 30). First of all, they are unable to take either the present continuous particle 'a or the perfect suffix -à. Second, plural adjectives are preceded by the particle *kí* (with high tone), e.g.

- (508) a. *N!nalo* 'a *cin.* 'The chameleon is dead.'
 chameleon PROG die
- b. *N!nalo-qa* 'a *cin-n/ne.* 'The chameleons are dead.'
 chameleon:PL PROG die:PL

but:

- (508) c. *IKà'a* *kuru.* 'The thing is hot.'
 thing hot
- d. *IKà'a-qa* *kí kuru.* 'The things are hot.'
 thing:PL PL hot

Some examples of adjectives are *kuru* 'hot', *cu* 'beautiful', *!ka'a* 'red', *!kaun* 'wise', *qhaen* 'delicious', *n!na'a* 'ugly'. According to Gruber (1973: 933), adjectives follow the noun:

- (509) *l'óõ †gào* 'the big tree'
 tree big

However, Collins (1998: 35) notes that only a few adjectives can be used attributively.

3.4.4 Quantifiers and Numbers

Eastern #Hoan belongs to that small group of languages which do not have complete number systems. In

languages of this type, number words, usually limited to two or three, behave like other quantifiers such as ‘some’ or ‘both’.

Eastern #Hoan has three such number-like quantifiers: *Omun* ‘one’, *Okoa* ‘two’, *qaen* ‘three’. Like adjectives, these follow the noun.

- (510) a. *ki ci Omun* ‘in one place’
 PREP place one
 b. *tsi Okoa* ‘they two’
 PRO:3PL two

The only other quantifier attested in the published data is *’ue* ‘all’, which also follows its head.

- (510) c. *kī kx’a kī na ’ue* ‘in all countries’
 PREP ground PL LOC:N all

3.4.5 Demonstratives

There are two demonstratives: proximal *ha* and distal *kyoa*. These follow the noun.

- (511) a. *’a”ri-djà ha ó ’àm dza-Okúì.*
 man DEM:PROX COP 1SG:POSS friend
 ‘This man is my friend.’
 b. *gyá”m-sì kyoa kyòan-’á.*
 child-DIM DEM:REM shelter-PERF
 ‘That child is sheltering from the sun.’

The enclitic *’u* can be combined with the other demonstratives to produce a remote demonstrative. In this construction, the phrase must be relativized.

- (512) a. *!hà'e* *!ná* *kyè-* *ńń* 'this lion'
 lion REL DEI:COP- REL
- b. *!hà'e* *!ná* *kyè-* *'u-* *ńń* 'that lion yonder'
 lion REL DEI:COP- REM- REL

3.4.6 Verbs

The basic word order is SVO. The verb is normally preceded by particles or auxiliaries which mark tense and aspect. According to Collins (1998), all post-verbal elements aside from the direct object are preceded by the general preposition *kì*. However, the direct object is marked by *kì* in ditransitive sentences to disambiguate it from the indirect object; the normal order is verb–indirect object–direct object.

- (513) *Má* *'á* *kí-cí* *ʔàm-kòe* *kì* *!kòà.*
 SUBJ VERB IO DO
 1SG PROG CAUS-see man PREP house
 'I am showing the man the house.'

3.4.6.1 Tense and Aspect

Tense and aspect are marked by particles which directly precede the verb in most cases. Eastern #Hoan has the tenses past and future and aspects progressive and perfective. Some aspectual distinctions may also be marked by auxiliary verbs although the perfective is marked by a suffix. The verbal particles are *'a* progressive, *i* past, *qo* future and there are further distinctions of near and remote past and future.

The perfective is marked by the suffix *-a*. This may co-occur with the other tense particles. Valence and other verbal properties may also be marked by prefixes

such as *kí-* causative and *kí-* passive, or the suffix *-tcu* repetitive. Auxiliaries may sometimes be derived from full verbs such as *tca*, near future, from the verb *tca* ‘to come’.

- (514) a. *Ma i kí- lkobo gya"m-si.* ‘I made the child jump.’
 1SG PAST CAUS- jump child-DIM
- b. *Ma i Okoa 'na Okoa.* ‘I killed the two anteaters.’
 1SG PAST kill anteater two
- c. *Ma qo kí- tsaxo 'am lka"e.* ‘I will cook and eat the meat.’
 1SG FUT CAUS cook eat meat
- d. *Yà lkoam- a kí kx'a ná.*
 3SG kneel- PERF PREP earth LOC:N
 ‘He is kneeling on the ground.’
- e. *Yà 'á 'ná-á kí 'óó-qà zá.*
 3SG PROG sit:SG PREP tree:PL LOC:N
 ‘He has been sitting by the trees.’
- f. *Čóó-!kà'e i kí-!kà- 'á kí !kòà ná.*
 people PAST sit:PL- PERF PREP house LOC:N
 ‘The people were sitting in the house.’

3.4.6.2 Other Verbal Categories

A number of additional verbal categories are marked by particles or affixes. Negative sentences are marked by the form *lho'on*, which precedes tense and aspect particles. Benefactive sentences are produced by forming a compound verb with *cu* ‘give’. Still other aspectual distinctions may be made by placing auxiliaries before the verb. Examples:

- (515) a. *Ya l'ho'on i l'hon O'u.* 'He did not kill the duiker.'
 3SG NEG PAST kill:SG duiker
- b. *Gya "m-lka'a 'a tsaxo- cu "am gye ki lka"e.*
 child-DIM:PL PROG cook- BEN 1SG:POSS mother PREP meat
 'The children cook meat for my mother.'
- c. *Jo 'a ki- lqhu- l'o ki kx'u na.*
 water PROG PASS pour- enter PREP pot LOC:N
 'Water is being poured into the pot.'
- d. *Ma i ki- lkobo kyeama.* 'I made the dog jump.'
 1SG PAST CAUS- jump dog
- e. *O'u-qà qó lná ki-kyà"o ki l'on zá.*
 duiker:PL FUT CONT:AUX go PREP tree LOC:N
 'The duikers are going by the tree.'

3.4.6.3 Copulas

Eastern #Hoan has several verbs that function as copulas: the existential verb 'a 'be located', the impersonal copula 'en and the general copula o.

The form o is used in equational sentences to express the idea that the two noun phrases are equivalent.

- (516) *Tsi o kyeama xa n/ne.* 'They are the dog's masters.'
 3PL COP dog master:PL

The form 'a is used to express location. It is probably the source of the present progressive tense–aspect marker.

- (517) a. *lka'a-si 'a ki l'on za.*
 thing:DIM LOC:COP PREP tree LOC:N
 'The thing is beside the tree.'
- b. *Kyeama 'a ki koloï na.*
 dog LOC:COP PREP truck LOC:N
 'The dog is inside the truck.'

The impersonal copula is used in deictic sentences such as 'Here's a ... , there are ...'.

(518) *ʔam-koe ki 'Omun-qa 'en.* 'Here are the person's heads.'
 person PL head:PL IMPS:COP

3.4.7 Other Word Classes

In addition to the major word classes described above, there are a number of minor classes: adverbs, prepositions and interrogatives. The interrogative class is somewhat heterogeneous in that some interrogatives are expressed by adding a suffix to a generalized noun while others are full forms of nominal or verbal origin. As in most languages, adverbs are derived from a variety of sources and are uninflected. The forms which Gruber and Collins call “prepositions” function somewhat differently from prepositions in other languages.

3.4.8 Interrogatives

The basic interrogatives ‘who, what’ are expressed by adding the interrogative sentence particle *-ya* to the nominal base *'a''ri*, the same base which appears in *'a''ri-dja* ‘man’, *'a''ri-llga''i* ‘woman’.

(519) *Ma 'a tsi 'a''ri- ya?* ‘Who/what do I see?’
 1SG PROG see person- Q

The form *nyima* ‘where’ seems to be borrowed from lGui. According to Gruber (p.c.), predicates other than ‘be’ predicates require the embedded verb phrase to be converted to a noun phrase by means of the correlative particle *na*.

(520) a. *Ø'ú-qà nyima?* ‘Where are the duikers?’
 duiker-PL be where
 b. *Nyima já kyà''o- 'á -ná?* ‘Where has he gone?’
 where Q go PERF- CORR

Eastern #Hoan has two additional interrogatives, *ki-llkain* ‘which’ and *ca* ‘how’. Gruber (p.c.) notes that *ki-llkain* contains the “inalienable possession particle *ki* which can occur in other determiner-like constructions.”

- (521) a. *Ū* *'á* *tsí* *Ō'ú* *kilküin* *(-ya)?*
 2SG PROG see duiker which Q
 ‘Which duiker do you see?’
- b. *Cá* *ú* *'á* *'ám?* ‘How do you eat?’
 how 2SG PROG eat

The interrogative ‘how’ is frequently linked with other predications such as #*'en* ‘appear’, *ye* ‘be some size’, *tc'am* ‘feel’, *'ao* ‘do, become’, *ko* ‘be many’ to translate various senses of the English ‘How or what is it like?’

- (522) *Cá* *yà* *yé?* ‘How big is it?’
 how 3SG be (size)

Finally, the marker *xe* can be used to topicalize some element in an interrogative sentence, as in (523).

- (523) *Ō'ú* *xè* *'á* *'ám* *lqhüi-qà* *ià?*
 duiker TOP PROG eat grass:PL Q
 ‘Is it the duiker eating the grass?’

3.4.9 Prepositions and Locative Nouns

Collins (1998: 24) notes that Eastern #Hoan has prepositions. One example is *ke* ‘with, and’ which also functions as a sentence conjunction.

- (524) *ke* *ma* ‘with me’
 PREP 1SG

Another example is the general preposition *ki*, which is used to mark a wide variety of constructions; in particular, *ki* interacts with a set of postpositions to form locative phrases. In origin, the postpositions appear to be nouns, most commonly body part nouns, a type of construction found in other African languages. Some of them are alienable nouns, as in

(525) *l'on ci lq'am* 'on the tree'
 tree POSS top

but most are inalienable nouns which assign genitive case to their dependent noun, e.g. *'am na* 'in me', *'am !qha'ne* 'near me'. These locative constructions take the form

GEN:PREP + NOUN + LOC:N

as in (526).

(526) *Ya ttxoam 'a ya l'en ki lha'a-qa na.*
 3SG hide- PERF 3SG REFL PREP rock-PL LOC:N
 'He hid himself in the rocks.'

3.4.10 Adverbs

Adverbs are derived from adjectives with the suffix *-sa*. Adverbial elements may precede the verb as in (527).

(527) *Ma qhaen- sa tsaxo- a lka''e.* 'I cook the meat well.'
 1SG good- ADV cook- PERF meat

If they follow the verb, adverbial phrases are marked by *ki*.

(528) *Koloi Igon- 'a kyeama ki Iq'o- sa.*
 car hit- PERF dog PREP hard- ADV
 'The car hit the dog hard.'

3.4.11 Some Issues in Syntax

3.4.11.1 High-toned *kí* and low-toned *ki*

One of the few issues in syntax which has been examined in some detail in the published material is the multifarious uses of the two markers *kí* and *ki*. Gruber and Collins study these two forms in detail and give numerous examples of their uses.

It should be clear from the examples given previously that the two forms occupy a central place in Eastern #Hoan structure. Both Gruber and Collins agree that all instances of *kí* represent a single morpheme; similarly for *ki*. To give some idea of the range of meaning covered by these two forms, we will begin by listing their functions as described in the published material.

3.4.11.1.1 High-Toned *kí*

- i. Causative. Gruber notes that *kí* may be pre-posed to verbs and adjectives to form causatives as in *cu* 'beautiful', *kí-cu* 'beautify', *tsi* 'see', *kí-tsi* 'show'.
- ii. Plural. High-toned *kí* is used in a number of plural constructions: to mark plurality in adjectives; to mark the plural in some inalienable possession constructions.

Collins has suggested that the *kí* in the inalienable possessive construction can be interpreted as a noun class marker, dividing

nouns into several groups according to whether they do or do not take *kí*. In this connection, he has additionally proposed that *kí* is cognate with the Northern Khoesan third person pronoun *ká*, also a gender marker. Collins (1998: 7) notes that “*kí* in #Hoan and *ká* in Jul’hoan each serve as morphological indicators for a non-animate noun class” and claims that “class 5 in Jul’hoan corresponds to the combination of the many-class and the *kí*-[PL]-class in #Hoan.”

- iii. Non-productive verbal prefix. High-toned *kí* occurs as a prefix to a subset of verbs with no clear function. These may even include loans, e.g. *kí-kyoam* ‘swallow’ and *kí-nyibu-ka* ‘cover’ from !Gui *tyoam* and *dyibu*, respectively.

3.4.11.1.2 Low-Toned *kì*

- i. Adjunct marker. Collins (2002) notes that all post-verbal adjuncts except the direct object are marked by *kì*. In ditransitive constructions, *kì* may thus serve to disambiguate the two objects. As we have seen, *kì* is also used in conjunction with a set of specialized nouns to form locative constructions, e.g.

- (529) a. *Ya 'a kí- tsi #amkoe kì lkoa.*
 SUBJ T VERB DO IO
 3SG PERF CAUS- show man PREP house
 'He showed the man the house.'
- b. *Ma 'i tchi O'u kì lka''a- qa.*
 SUBJ T VERB DO INSTR
 1SG PAST shoot duiker PREP aITOW PL
 'I shot the duiker with arrows.'
- c. *Koloi lgon- 'a kyeama kì gyeo na.*
 SUBJ VERB T DO LOC
 truck hit PERF dog PREP road LOC:N
 'The truck hit the dog in the road.'
- d. *Koloi lgon- 'a kyeama kì lq'o -sa.*
 SUBJ VERB- T DO ADV
 truck hit PERF dog PREP hard ADV
 'The truck hit the dog hard.'

- ii. Passive. Low-toned *kì* also serves as the passive prefix to verbs.

- (530) *#amkoe kì- lgon- 'a kì gyeo na.*
 SUBJ VOICE VERB T
 person PASS hit PERF PREP road LOC:N
 'A person was struck in the road.'

In discussing these forms the researchers make the following points: *kí* and *kì* are different morphemes. All appearances of *kí* represent the same morpheme; likewise for *kì*. *kí* has some connection with plurality, especially distributive plurality.

3.4.11.2 Suppletive Plurals in Verbs

A small number of verbs have distinct (suppletive) singular and plural forms. This is conceivably an areal feature since it is also found in other San languages (Jul'hoan, !Xóǝ). In all of these languages, the number of verbs affected is small, the forms are mostly suppletive and they follow an "ergative" pattern; that is,

with intransitive verbs, the subject controls the verb but in transitive sentences, the verb agrees in number with the object. Examples are:

- (531) a. *Ø'u* 'a *kya''o*. 'The duiker is going.'
 duiker PROG go:SG
 b. *Ø'u-qa* 'a *ki-kya''o*. 'The duikers are going.'
 duiker:PL PROG go:PL

Table 6.52 Verbs with Suppletive Singular and Plural Forms

Verb	SG	PL	Verb	SG	PL
'go'	<i>kya''o</i>	<i>ki-kya''o</i>	'kill'	<i>!hon</i>	<i>Okoa</i>
'come'	<i>tca</i>	<i>ki-tca</i>	'recline'	<i>!qi'i</i>	<i>!qhau</i>
'die'	<i>cin</i>	<i>cin-'!na</i>	'remove'	<i>ki-lxao</i>	<i>ki-n/mui</i>
'drop'	<i>cui</i>	<i>gun, qole</i>	'rise'	<i>kynu</i>	<i>ga</i>
'enter'	<i>!'u-co</i>	<i>!ka''m</i>	'run'	<i>ki-'!no</i>	<i>ki-n/qaen</i>
'fall'	<i>!q'ao</i>	<i>!qhe</i>	'seat'	<i>!a</i>	<i>!e-lka</i>
'grow'	<i>!ga''a</i>	<i>!ga''a-si</i>	'sit'	<i>!na</i>	<i>ki-lka</i>
'hang'	<i>!i</i>	<i>!ga</i>	'stand'	<i>!kui</i>	<i>lgan</i>
			'take'	<i>!ku</i>	<i>!q'ai</i>

To this group, Collins adds also:

Verb	SG	PL
'cry'	<i>!i</i>	<i>ki-!i</i>
'go from'	<i>!o</i>	<i>ki-!ko''o</i>
'laugh'	<i>nlgai</i>	<i>ki-nlgai</i>

The table has been arranged to group the forms by structure. The following points can be noted:

The set of verbs marked for plurality in Eastern #Hoan differs in a number of respects from similar sets in other San languages. First of all, the set shows a greater degree of regularity. The prefix *ki-* is used to pluralize in seven cases (though it also appears in the singular in two). The forms ‘sit’ and ‘seat’ comprise a mini-paradigm with the plural on the transitive verb derived by vowel change. Both ‘die’ and ‘grow’ base the plural on the singular. Second, almost all are intransitive verbs whereas in the other San languages there is a more even balance between transitive and intransitive.

To take Jul’hoan as an example, Dickens (1994) cites fourteen transitive and thirteen intransitive verbs. And the only forms that show any structure are ‘be long’, ‘be small’, ‘be short’, all adjectives. A similar situation obtains in !Xóǀ.

3.4.12 Larger Constructions

There is very little information available on more complex constructions. The examples given below barely scratch the surface.

3.4.12.1 Use of *ke*

The form *ke*, which can be used as a preposition meaning ‘with’, can also be used to link nouns. There is an example in Gruber (1975: 43):

- | | | | | | |
|-------|----|------------------|-----------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| (532) | a. | <i>lnobo</i> | <i>ke</i> | <i>tcon-!ka'e</i> | ‘talk with people’ |
| | | talk | with | person:PL | |
| | b. | | <i>ke</i> | <i>ma</i> | ‘with me’ |
| | | | with | 1SG | |
| | c. | <i>'a"ri-dja</i> | <i>ke</i> | <i>'a"ri-lga"i</i> | ‘the man and the woman’ |
| | | man | with | woman | |

3.4.12.2 Complements

As in !Xóǒ, complements may be formed by means of the possessive particle *ci*. The verb forming the complement may be accompanied by tense particles.

- (533) *Ma 'a tsi tcon-!ka'e ci 'a ki-n!gaen.*
1SG PROG see people POSS PROG run:PL
'I see the people who are running.'

3.4.12.3 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are formed with the relative pronoun *lna*; the verb must take relative marking.

- (534) a. *!hà'e lná kyè- 'ú- mím*
lion REL DEM- REM- REL
'yonder lion (= the lion which is yonder)'
b. *Ma 'a tsi kx'u lna u m- cu-'a ki gya"m-si.*
1SG PROG see pot REL 2SG REL give-PERF PREP child-DIM
'I see the pot which you have given to the child.'

3.4.12.4 Compound Verbs

Eastern #Hoan readily forms compound verbs of a type which have generally been described as serial verbs in other San languages. The first part of the compound carries the basic meaning while the second element has a modifying function. Collins (2001) notes that verbal compounds consist of two adjacent verbs sharing a single tense-aspect marker. All other functions (voice, negation, etc.) are also marked only once. There appear to be restrictions on the nature of the second verb; that is, V₂ is drawn from a small subset of the verbal lexicon.

The voice possibilities are: both intransitive (*!lkobo-kyu* 'jump up' ← *!lkobo* 'jump' + *kyu* 'rise'); both transitive

(*llqhu-l'o* ‘pour in’ ← *llqhu* ‘pour’ + *l'o* ‘put in’); intransitive/transitive (*kala-ka* ‘fly to’ ← *kala* ‘fly’ + *ka* ‘go to’).

For more data and examples, see Collins (2001).

3.4.12.5 Subjunctives

Subjunctive sentences are formed with the particle *ka*, which follows the subject.

(535) *ma lkoē na ka lhoam-lhoam tca*
 1SG still AUX SUBJ jog come
 ‘while I was still coming jogging’

This pattern is so similar to !Xóǝ that it is likely to be borrowed.

3.4.12.6 Pluractional verbs and other specialised verb compounds

Collins describes two such elements in considerable detail. These are *-tcu*, repetitive, and *-/qo*, action performed in several places.

(536) a. *Tsi 'a ki- n/obo-lqo ke tcon-lka'e.*
 3PL PROG PL- talk-around PREP people
 ‘They are going around talking to people.’
 b. *Ma ki- lq'ao- tcu- 'a †am-koe.*
 1SG PL- stab REP- PERF person
 ‘I stabbed the person repeatedly.’

The suffix *-llqo* (compare the form *-nll'ho* in Jul'hoan, which has a similar function) gives a sense to the verb of “doing around”, that is, performing the same action in different places. The suffix *-tcu* gives a repetitive

meaning to the verb. Both of these constructions require the distributive plural morpheme *kí*. According to Collins, the *kí-V-tcu* construction can only be used with transitive verbs of contact such as ‘stab’, ‘shoot’, ‘hit’, ‘bite’ and so on.

Two additional examples of more specialized compound verbs are *-cu*, benefactive, and *-l’o*, ingressive. Both of these are used as independent verbs: *cu* ‘give’ and *l’o* ‘enter’.

- (536) c. *N|gain-|ka’a ’a kyxai- su !xae.*
 girl-DIM:PL PROG dance BEN chief
 ‘The girls danced for the chief.’
- d. *Ma ’a !qhu-l’o jo ki kx’u na.*
 1SG PROG pour-enter water PREP pot LOC:N
 ‘I poured water in the pot.’

3.4.13 Sentence Inversion

As we noted earlier, standard word order in Eastern ≠Hoan is SVO with the indirect object preceding the direct and all verbal extensions (other than the direct object) being marked by the generalized preposition *kì*. It is also possible to front post-verbal elements for emphasis or focus.

- (537) a. *Ya !koa ya i !hai kì !qhwí-qa.*
 3SG house 3SG PAST thatch PREP grass:PL
 ‘His house, he thatched with grass.’
- b. *!qhwí-qa ya i !hai kì ya !koa.*
 grass-PL 3SG PAST thatch PREP 3SG house
- c. *Gyeo na koloí !gon-a kì ꞑ’amkoe.*
 road LOC:N truck hit-PERF PREP person
 ‘In the road, the truck hit a person.’

Note that in examples b and c, the direct object is marked with the preposition *ki*, presumably for clarity.

Eastern #Hoan is clearly of great interest in many respects. It is the best candidate for a relationship between two San groups, it may throw considerable light on the history of Northern Khoesan, it has a rich syntactic structure with many unusual constructions such as the various *k*-plurality forms and it challenges several standard assumptions about the Khoesan languages (e.g., that the labial click is restricted to the Southern group). As an endangered language, it deserves intensive study.

3.5 Kwadi⁴

Tom Güldemann

3.5.1 Pronouns

Pronominal categories and forms for speech act participants are tentatively as follows:

Table 6.53 Pronouns for Speech Act Participants in Kwadi

Person	SG	PL	DU
1st	<i>ta</i>	<i>(u)hina</i> (?INCL.) <i>ala</i> (?EXCL.)	<i>(h)amu</i>
2nd	<i>sa</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>urwa</i>

They are attested in subject, object and possessor function, however, with the following amendments: the first person singular possessor form is *tʃi*, the object pronouns are followed by *-le/-de*, and the first person dual object form is just *mu*.

Third person pronouns seem to consist of a demonstrative base *ha* and the gender–number suffixes *-dε*, *-e*, *-wa*, *-u*, *-’ε* yielding the five pronouns *hadε*, *hεε*, *hawa*, *hau*, and *ha’ε* (see below for their distribution over genders). These are only found in the material as subjects and possessors; instead of expected *hadε*, only *ha* is attested as possessor.

There are examples of pronouns followed by sex-denoting nouns and of almost all dual and plural pronouns followed by quantifiers like ‘two’, ‘many’, or ‘all’.

3.5.2 Nouns

Although some phrases suggest that noun stems can be used on their own, nouns are generally followed by the five gender–number suffixes mentioned above. Westphal (1971: 393, 395f.) describes them tentatively as constituting a system of three genders (masculine, feminine, common) and three numbers (singular, dual, plural). The whole range of paradigms in his notes yields a slightly different picture in that there are still other patterns of how suffixes map gender and number. [Table 6.54](#) only gives the securely attested patterns of masculine and feminine genders; there is no gender distinction in dual number (cf. Güldemann 2004b for more discussion).

Table 6.54 Noun Genders in Kwadi

	SG	PL	DU
M	-dɛ	-u	-wa
F	-e	-'ɛ	-wa

With some nouns, number appears to be conveyed by stem suppletion, for example, *kie tɕe* ‘woman’ vs. *tala kwa’e* ‘women’. There are several cases of agent-noun compounds with the noun *kho-* ‘human, person’ as head, for example, *tɕe’e-kôŋ-kho-wa* ‘murderers’ [= people-kill-person-DU] and *so-kho-de* ‘healer’ [= medicine-person-M.SG].

3.5.3 Verbs

Verbal morphology is the most complicated area in the data. Apart from many structurally opaque verb forms, there are also different conjugation patterns, the majority of which are morphologically complex. A basic distinction can be made according to whether the simple stem is used or some extended form thereof.

The simple stem can be found as the only predicate element, apparently functioning as hortative, present, and imperative, as in (538). The form also occurs with prefixes or suffixes in an auxiliary construction with *kôlako* ‘going to’, with the past marker *kale* as in (539), and as a complement before the verb ‘want’, as in (540).

(538) *u la!*

2PL.PRO leave

‘Leave ye!’

- (539) *ta kale θě-na. ta kale ke-la-kx'a.*
1SG.PRO PAST cook-? 1SG.PRO PAST ?-?-drink
‘I cooked.’ ‘I drank.’
- (540) *ta kx'o-'e kx'a-la-xe.*
1SG.PRO water-F.PL drink-?-want
‘I want to drink water.’

“Extended stem” refers to a form that seems to be elaborated morphologically by segments contained in the simple stem. This elaboration seems to target special syllable patterns as output. Full reduplication occurs with disyllabic stems as in *tanga-tanga* ‘read’. Reduplication with an intermediate affix, with *la*, *da* as the most frequent form in the data, is found with monosyllabic verbs as with *θě-la-θě* ‘cook’. More complex simple stems are changed to a shape with an affix and partial reduplication as in *hon-da-honeke* ‘write’. The extended stem of the trisyllabic verb ‘speak’ is *la-labala*, for which different analyses could be proposed. Extended stems occur in the material as citation forms and in at least three conjugation forms whose structures seem to be (a) subject + extended stem, (b) subject + *ka* + extended stem, and (c) subject + extended stem-*na*, as shown in (541).

- (541) *ta la-labala. ta ka la-labala. ta la-labala-na.*
1SG.PRO EXT-speak 1SG.PRO FUT EXT-speak 1SG.PRO EXT-speak-TA
‘I speak.’ ‘I will speak.’ ‘I speak.’

These dimly emerging regularities aside, there are first of all numerous questions for the analysis. This is already indicated by Westphal’s (1971: 396) remark

about a possible past marker within extended stems. The exact reproduction of the following verb paradigm in the present also demonstrates these problems.

(542)	Subject	Object- <i>le</i>	Predicate	
	<i>sa</i>	<i>ta-de</i>	<i>munana.</i>	'You (SG) see me.'
	<i>sa</i>	<i>moⁿ-de</i>	<i>mo'nana.</i>	'You (SG) see us two.'
	<i>sa</i>	<i>ala-de</i>	<i>munana.</i>	'You (SG) see us.'
	<i>ta</i>	<i>sa-le</i>	<i>mondana.</i>	'I see you (SG).'
	<i>ta</i>	<i>ⁿwa-le</i>	<i>monanana.</i>	'I see you two.'
	<i>ta</i>	<i>u-li</i>	<i>mɔɔna.</i>	'I see you (PL).'

It remains entirely unclear what the above transcriptions convey. Do the differences across the verb forms record irrelevant phonetic details or complex inflectional changes? If the latter were the case, do they index information about subject, object, tense–aspect or yet other categories, or even a composite thereof?

Even more important is the following caveat: all remarks above only apply to a subset of verbs, because many items listed do not have citation forms of the extended-stem design. Since there are virtually no examples with such verbs as predicates, the relevant conjugational rules for a large portion of the verb lexicon remain unknown.

Notes

1 *v* indicates a vowel identical in quality to the preceding vowel.

2 East !Xoon is the northernmost variety of the Taa language complex. The major published source is Traill (1994, to be abbreviated as T94). For further analysis,

Traill furnished me with three texts (Traill, in prep.): *Uhbuku's spoon and other dangers*:

!Xóǎ texts on then and now. He also took time to answer questions and to comment on first drafts, reflecting his research up to about 2000; his subsequent work is not integrated here. My sincere thanks to him for this help, without which this section could not have been written. It goes without saying that any shortcomings of the following presentation are my own.

3 I gratefully acknowledge the contributions by René Kriegler, who prepared with me the !Xam course held at the University of Leipzig in the winter semester 1998/99, and by the students Anja Langer, Jessica Ludwig, Christfried Naumann, and Tatjana Orechkina, who actively participated in bringing a selection of texts on the computer and taking the first steps towards their linguistic analysis. The description is first of all based on the analysis of this text material and is restricted to the Strandberg variety. The transliteration applied here is discussed briefly by Güldemann (this volume). When referring to Bleek and Lloyd (1911) and Bleek (1928–30), the abbreviations BL11 and B28–30, respectively, are used.

4 Sources as in [Chapter 4](#), section 3.5.

References

Bala 1998; Berger 1943; Berlin *et al.* 1968, 1974; D.F. Bleek 1928–30, 1931a, 1931b; Bleek and Lloyd 1911; Brown 1984; Coates Palgrave 1997; Collins 1998, 2001, 2002; Corbett 1991; Dempwolff 1916; Dickens 1994; Dickens and Traill 1977; Elderkin 1978. 1986b; Gruber

1973, 1975; Güldemann 2000b, 2004a, 2004b; Haacke 1995, 1998, 1999; Hagman 1977; Heikkinen n.d.; Heine 1986, 1999; Kilian-Hatz 2008; Köhler 1962, 1981, 1989, 1991; Lakoff 1987; Maingard 1957, 1962; Meinhof 1930; Nienaber 1963; Obst 1912; Schladt 1997, 2000; Tanaka 1996; Taylor 1989; Traill 1985, 1994; Tucker 1967a, 1967b; Vossen 1985, 1997a, 2010; Widlok 1995, 1999a, n.d.; Wuras 1920.

Chapter Seven

Syntax

1 Hadza

Bonny Sands

1.1 Constituent Order

Published syntactic information about Hadza is extremely limited, being restricted to a few loosely translated narratives (Berger 1943, Bala 1998). This section is largely based on those published accounts and on a small corpus of directly elicited structures collected by the author during short periods of fieldwork in 1992 and 1997. The source of the data must be taken into account as the directly elicited structures tend to follow the Kiswahili prompt SVO order and have more overt nominals than the narrative texts.

1.1.1 Dominant Order

Hadza is usually described with basic VSO order (e.g. Heine 1975c: 171), but this analysis is somewhat misleading as overt nominals are relatively infrequent, and sentences with two overt nominals are very infrequent. Hadza is best described as a pronominal argument language (cf. Jelinek 1984). The (en)clitic marking of arguments is less marked than the use of independent pronouns or overt nominals.

1.1.2 Variability in Constituent Order

In direct elicitation, for sentences in which the agent and patient in a phrase differ in either person, gender or

number, any of the constituent orders – SVO, SOV, OSV, OVS, VSO, VOS – were judged by consultants to be equal in meaning and grammaticality. Agreement morphology is sufficient alone to distinguish thematic relations in these cases. The noun which is higher in animacy (cf. Frawley 1992: 92–99) is taken to be the agent, unless the noun lower in animacy is in initial position, in which case it is taken to be the subject, as can be seen in (1). The verb *kwase* ‘hit’ is marked for a 3F.SG object *-ta-* and 3F.SG past tense subject *-kwa* and does not distinguish between the roles of the participants.

- (1) a. *Boni-ko kwase-ta-kwa akwitiko.* (SVO) ‘Bonny hit a/the woman.’
 b. *Boni-ko akwiti-ko kwase-ta-kwa.* (SOV)
 c. *Kwase-ta-kwa Boni-ko akwiti-ko.* (VSO)
 d. *Kwase-ta-kwa akwiti-ko Boni-ko.* (VOS)
 e. *Akwiti-ko kwase-ta-kwa Boni-ko.* (SVO) ‘A/the woman hit Bonny.’
 f. *Akwiti-ko Boni-ko kwase-ta-kwa.* (SOV)

Though direct questioning was not able to reveal particular discourse functions associated with different word orders, evidence from the texts suggests that nominals are positioned before the verb when emphasized or brought into focus. In (2), the emphasized *dongo-ko* ‘zebras’ occur pre-verbally, while the subjects *ichi-ko kalimo* ‘some animals’, and *komati-ko* ‘elands’ occur post-verbally.

- (2) *Dza-dza-'e kota*
 EMPH-come-STAT NARR.PAST.3F.SG(collective singular)
- fa-fa-ka-cho ichi-ko kalimo.*
 EMPH-drink-DISTR-PART some-3F.SG animal
 V [S]
- Dongo-ko 'a fa-ka-cho kota ts'u'a-iya.*
 zebra-3F.SG EMPH drink-DISTR-PROG NARR.PAST.3F.SG remove-REFL
 S V
- Welapi-na kota dza kota*
 morning-LOC NARR.PAST.3F.SG come NARR.PAST.3F.SG
- fa-ka-cho komati-ko kota ts'u'a-iya.*
 drink-DISTR-PROG eland-3F.SG NARR.PAST.3F.SG remove-REFL
 V S
- 'Some animals were coming and drinking away. Even zebras came to drink and then left. In the morning, elands came to drink and then left.' (Bala 1998: 26)

In (3), we see pre-verbal positioning of nominals being used to indicate a new topic. For instance, the second sentence has the object, *mana-ko* 'meat', in pre-verbal position, followed by an account of actions performed on the meat. A switch in topic is indicated by the dislocated *a unu* '(and) a person', preceding both the auxiliary *kaka* and the main verb. The noun phrase *bami 'ihi'a* 'this thing' is not pre-verbal and does not indicate a new topic.

- (3) ... "Mahi-te 'iba leke 'acho."
 go.with-3F.PL.IMP NARR.FUT.1PL.INCL cut.3M.SG.DO.DISTR skin(3M.SG)
 V V O
- Mana-ko yame tla-ka-tlatle ets'a-na.
 meat-3F.SG NARR.PAST.3F.PL EMPH-DISTR-carry camp-LOC
 O V
- Yame lut'u-ta yame se-ke-me ma-mako-ma.
 NARR.PAST.3F.PL collect-3F.SG.DO 3F.PL.PAST eat-DISTR EMPH-boil-3M.SG.OBL
 V V V
- A unu kaka tl'o-tl'odzo "Hamishe'ena
 EMPH person(3M.SG) NARR.PAST.3M.SG EMPH-say maybe
 S V
- dza-ya bami 'ihi'a lama.
 come-3M.SG.PRES 3M.SG.DEM thing(3M.SG) again
 V [S]
- Hama'isho ka 'iin, bahe-yakwa 'isho-ko."
 today CONJ EMPH finish-3F.SG.PAST sun-3F.SG
 V S

'... "Let's go and cut skin." They carried the meat home. They collected it up and boiled it up to eat. Someone said, "Maybe this thing will come again. And today is really ... the sun is finished." (Bala 1998: 32)

Objects typically occur after verbs, but occasionally objects occur before subjects, as in (4). Either the subject *ne'e-ko* 'baboons' is added as an afterthought, or there is a focus on the object, the hut filled with food by the baboons, rather than on the baboons themselves.

- (4) Tla-tlakwa l'o-ko-s-eta l'ets'a-be ne'e-ko.
 EMPH-pick fill-DISTR-3F.PL.DO hut-3F.PL baboon-3F.SG
 V V O S
- paki kaka l'okoso yamu'a.
 until NARR.PAST.3M.SG fill.DISTR place(3M.SG)
 V

'The baboons just picked and picked and filled up the houses until the space was all filled up.' (Bala 1998: 22)

1.2 Major Sentence Types

1.2.1 Simple Sentences

The most commonly occurring type of clause in Hadza narratives is one in which subject marking and tense/

aspect are indicated by an auxiliary rather than on the main verb. In (5), we see examples of sentences in which subject agreement is marked on a declarative past auxiliary. In (5a), there is no additional marking on the verb, but (5b) shows direct object agreement, and (5c) shows indirect object agreement.

- (5) a. *Kota* *wech'e.*
 NARR.PAST.3F.SG lack
 'They were not enough.' (Bala 1998: 22)
- b. *Kaka* *wech'e-ya.*
 NARR.PAST.3M.SG lack-3M.SG.DO
 'He missed them.' (Bala 1998: 26)
- c. *Kaka* *hama-sa.*
 NARR.PAST.3M.SG sit-3F.SG.OBL
 'He waited for them.' (Bala 1998: 26)

Verbs may show agreement with more than one nominal, as in (6a), but this is infrequent in the narrative texts. Agreement occurs with or without the overt nominals, as in (6b).

- (6) a. *Mu-musi-kwa-tita* *'ono.*
 EMPH-annoy-1SG.OBL-2SG.PRES 1M.SG.PRO
 'You really annoy me.' (Bala 1998: 24)
- b. *A* *'ono* *tl'imp-i-'a-na'a* *hich'i!* *Tl'imp-i-'a-na'a.*
 EMPH 1M.SG step.in-3M.SG.DO- 1SG.PAST
 1SG.PAST
 'Ah! I stepped in shit! I stepped in it.' (Bala 1998: 24)

Existential constructions with a presentative function are typically verb-initial, as in (7).

- (7) *Bahe-yamo* *lets'a* *yeta* *'akaka'ane-be.*
 be.present.-3M.SG.PAST camp(3M.SG) of.3F.PL first.people-3F.PL
 'There was a camp of old-time Hadzas.' (Bala 1998: 16)

There is also a negative existential construction, as in (8). The word *ukuwa* 'there.is.no' is usually followed by noun phrases, e.g. *ukuwa shida* 'no problem', but can also occur

after a noun phrase, e.g. *ika Hadza ukuwa* 'and there are no Hadza'. The root *'uku-* 'be without' also occurs in constructions such as *Semeyamo 'uku'eta te* 'he ate without you (SG)', and *Semena'a 'ukunama bami* 'I ate without him'.

- (8) *Ukuwa 'a 'atama-Ø. Ukuwa 'a mana-ko.*
 there.is.no EMPH blood-3M.SG there.is.no EMPH meat-3F.SG
 'There is not even any blood. There is no meat.' (Bala 1998: 16)

Predicate locatives can be expressed with a copula cliticized to a preceding noun or adverb, as in (9).

- (9) *Ika chikina l'ikititi-yako tafa-ko, 'undushi,*
 and inside storeroom-3F.SG.COP sp.berry-3F.SG sp.berry(3M.SG)
nguila-ko, 'embele 'aku seme-Ø.
 sp.berry-3F.SG sp.berry(3M.SG) what.kind food-3M.SG
A ets'a-na ma bami hi'iyeh-e-ya seme.
 EMPH home-LOC 3M.SG.OBL 3M.SG.PRO like.thus-3M.SG.PRES food(3M.SG)
 'But inside the storeroom there were *tafako* berries, *undushi* berries, *nguila*ko
 and *embele* berries – all kinds of food. Inside it there was food like this.'
 (Bala 1998: 24)

Predicate nominals (including predicate adjectives) are noted with the copula enclitic on a noun, adjective, or pronoun (cf. 10a and b). Some verbs can take the copula (often after a participial/stative suffix), e.g. *llangala-* 'to lie down', *llangal-i-neko* 'I (F) was lying down'.

- (10) a. *Bami-ya pa'anakwete, 'ashapo sa mana-ko.*
 3M.SG-3M.SG.COP old.man expert 3F.SG.OBL meat-3F.SG
 'He is an old man; a real meat expert . . .' (Bala 1998: 26)
- b. *luhi-yako hako.*
 mosquito-3F.SG.COP 3F.SG.DEM
 'This is a mosquito.' (Bala 1998: 32)
- c. *Hlalakama-te'e, te*
 be.crazy-2M.SG.COP 2M.SG.PRO
 'You are crazy.' (Bala 1998: 32)

1.2.2 Complex Sentences

Clauses may be linked through a variety of devices. Predicates are often co-ordinately linked with auxiliaries, as in (11). As in (11a), clauses in a chain may all take the same narrative particle. Relative particles, as in (11b–d), link clauses subordinately. These particles are typically clause-initial in the narrative texts.

- (11) a. *Kaka nlo'o kaka 'a-'ase.*
 NARR.PAST.3M.SG snore NARR.PAST.3M.SG EMPH-sleep
 'He just snored and slept.' (Bala 1998: 26)
- b. *Kwakwa nlak'afe 'ishoko kaka chi-'o'o.*
 REL.PAST.3F.SG be.late.afternoon sun(3F.SG) NARR.PAST.3M.SG run-EMPH
 'When it was the late afternoon, he really ran.' (Bala 1998: 26)
- c. *Kwete tla-tla-kwa dza-ne-hena bami seme . . .*
 REL.FUT.2F.PL EMPH-pick-1SG.IO come-COM-2SG.POSS 3M.SG.DEM food(3M.SG)
 'When/if you pick and bring to me this food . . .' (Bala 1998: 22)
- d. *Boko tl'a'i-yako kwako niki-'e seme.*
 3F.SG.PRO sing.STAT-3F.SG.PRES REL.PRES.3F.SG grind-STAT food
 'She sings while grinding food.'

Clauses may also be linked in which one predicate takes enclitics while others take auxiliaries. In the narratives, verbs with enclitics marking tense appear to mark the contingency, anteriority, or relevance of the predicate to following predicates, as in (12). Predicates with enclitics are more common than those with auxiliaries in the

elicited data, but this appears to be an artefact of the method of elicitation.

- (12) a. *Hla'a-tita mana-ko 'ina 'a lo-ta.*
 want-3F.SG.OBL meat-3F.SG 1SG.FUT EMPH kill-DO
 'I want meat to kill.' (Bala 1998: 28)
- b. *Ono haka-ta 'ina 'ase.*
 1M.SG.PRO go-1SG.PRES 1SG.FUT sleep
 'I am going off to sleep.' (Bala 1998: 24)
- c. *Haka-bitā ba !e-leke 'acho.*
 go-1PL.INCL.PRES 1PL.INCL.FUT EMPH-cut.3M.SG.DO.DISTR skin(3M.SG)
 'We will go and really cut the skin.' (Bala 1998: 16)

Adverbials may be used to make the contingent relations between clauses more explicit, as in (13). Note that *hla'a-* 'want' sub-categorizes for an oblique case marked object rather than an accusative case marked direct object.

- (13) *Isa hla'a-tita, 'ina 'akwe lupi.*
 as/since want-3F.SG.OBL 1SG.FUT NEG sleep
 'Since I want it, I won't sleep.' (Bala 1998: 30)

1.3 Negation

The particle that carries the negative sense, *'akw-*, patterns like an auxiliary in some cases. It can occur clause-initially with marking for tense and person–number–gender, as in (14). The subject enclitics that attach to the negative stem in the negative future are similar to the conditional enclitics, while the ones that attach to the negative past and negative present are similar to the (affirmative) past and “present” enclitics, as can be seen in (15).

- (14) a. *Hama gashenga 'akwe-so lupi-tikwa.*
 3M.SG.DEM thing NEG-FUT.3M.SG sleep-1SG.OBL
 'This thing won't let me sleep.' (Bala 1998: 30)
- b. *Nasema Mzee, 'akwe-'e'e 'obe'e tsi'a. 'A-'ase-'ota.*
 I.say, old.man NEG-FUT.PL.EXCL 1F.PL.EXCL.PRO diarrhea EMPH-sleep-1PL?
 'I say, Mzee, we won't shit. We'll just sleep.' (Bala 1998: 24)
- c. *Akwa-kwa talasha isho-ko kaka kenena 'ela ts'oko.*
 NEG.PAST.3F.SG set sun-3F.SG NARR.PAST.3M.SG early build fire(3M.SG)
 'The sun hadn't begun to set when he had already built his fire.' (Bala 1998: 26)
- d. *'Akwa-ta hla'a-ta tsi'a 'ika he.*
 NEG-PRES.1SG like-3M.SG.APPL diarrhea(3M.SG) like so
 'I don't like diarrhea like that.' (Bala 1998: 24)

The negative particle *'akw-* can take other endings, but examples of these are few. It can take conditional endings, e.g., *'akwe-ne'e haka* 'I (M) wouldn't go', *'akwa-nikwi* 'I (F) wouldn't go', and copula endings, e.g., *'akwe-ya hak-e-'ehe* 'it is him, he hasn't gone', *'akwe-pe'e hak-e-'ehe* 'it is them (F.PL), they haven't gone'.

(15)	Negative		
	Future	Past	Present
1M.SG	<i>'akwe-ne</i>	<i>'akwa-na</i>	<i>'akwa-ta</i>
2M.SG	<i>'akwe-to</i>	<i>'akwa-ta</i>	<i>'akwa-tita</i>
3M.SG	<i>'akwe-so</i>	<i>'akwa-mo</i>	<i>'akwa-ya</i>
3F.SG	<i>'akwe-ko</i>	<i>'akwa-kwa</i>	<i>'akwe-ko</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>'akwe-be'e</i>	<i>'akwa-ba</i>	<i>'akwa-bitá</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>'akwe-'e'e</i>	<i>'akwa-'a'a</i>	<i>'akwa'ota</i>
2M.PL	<i>'akwi-ti'i</i>	<i>'akwa-ti'a</i>	<i>'akwa-tita</i>
2F.PL	<i>'akwe-te'é</i>	<i>'akwa-te'a</i>	<i>'akwa-teta</i>
3M.PL	<i>'akwi-si</i>	<i>'akwa-mi</i>	<i>'akwa-pi'</i>
3F.PL	<i>'akwe-se</i>	<i>'akwa-me</i>	<i>'akwa-pe'</i>

In cases where an auxiliary (including relatives and narrative particles) is already present in the clause, the stem *'akwe/'akwa* occurs without marking for person–gender–number or tense, as in (16). However, an inflected negative particle can co-occur with an inflected verb, e.g., *'akwa-na baha-ta hako kazi* ‘I have not finished this work’, *'akwe-ne baha-ta hako kazi* ‘I am not finishing this work’. Note that *baha* is a non-finite verb with a 3F.SG.DO marker.

- (16) a. *Kaka 'a 'unu 'akwe tetata'o.*
 3M.SG even person not know
 ‘And no one in the camp knew.’ (Bala 1998: 18)
- b. *Kwako boko tl'akwe kwakwa 'akwe sam-iya*
 REL.PRES.3F.SG 3F.SG.DEM girl REL.PAST.3F.SG NEG eat-PASS
paka 'a hama'isho.
 until even today/now
 ‘The girl had not eaten up to then.’ (Bala 1998: 20)

In imperative sentences, a different negative particle is used, i.e. *takwe* (cf. 17). This is probably the *'akwe* negative particle with a fossilized *t-* second person prefix.

- (17) a. *Takwe kukuyi-ta yamu'a-Ø.*
 NEG worry-2SG.OBL country-3M.SG
 ‘Don’t be bothered with the great outdoors.’ (Bala 1998: 26)
- b. *Kaka tl'o-tl'odzo, "Takwe 'ihli."*
 3M.SG EMPH-speak NEG fear
 ‘He just said, “Don’t be afraid.”’ (Bala 1998: 22)

Existential constructions are negated with the stem *'uku(-)wa* ‘there is no’, e.g. *'ukuwa mana-ko* ‘there is no meat’, *'ukuwa shida* ‘no problem’, *'uku-weta* ‘there is nothing about them (3F.PL)’, *ukuwa-yina etebe kazi* ‘there is no work for you (3F.PL)’. Relative pronouns can

be negated, e.g. *'ono ma'a 'akwe haka* ‘it is not me who is going’. Hadza also has a ‘not know’ verb *'aho*, e.g. *'aho* ‘I don’t know’, *'aho-sa* ‘I don’t know about her’, *a-'aho-wena te* ‘I just don’t know about you’. More work needs to be done to discover other strategies Hadza may have for negation, such as constituent negation, and the negation of predicate nominals and predicate locatives.

1.4 Questions

Yes/no questions are formed with the use of the question particle, *'oma*, as in (18). The particle typically occurs directly after the predicate and copula or tense clitic, e.g. *Sabena hu-hupe-ya 'oma kwini-chana?* ‘Is Sabena still nursing?’; *Teko, hochani-teko 'oma, hama'isho?* ‘Are you pregnant now?’; *Haka-bitu 'oma?* ‘Are we going?’ Questions can also be formed with yes/no question intonation alone, e.g. *Bahe-be'e?* ‘Are they there?’

- (18) *Te, hla'a-tita-tita 'oma mana-ko?*
 2M.SG want-3F.SG.OBL-2SG.PRES Q meat-3F.SG
 ‘Do you really want meat?’ (Bala 1998: 30)

Information questions are typically formed with the question word placed clause-initially, taking predicate morphology (cf. 19).

(19)	Examples	
<i>tumu'usha</i>	'when?'	<i>Tumu'usha-ya dza?</i> 'He came when?' <i>Haka-bita tumu'usha?</i> 'When will we go?'
<i>tume'ika</i>	'where?'	<i>Tume'ika-ya Sagilo?</i> 'Where is Sagilo?' <i>Tume'ika-pe kikombe-be?</i> 'Where are the cups?' <i>Sasa, tume'ika-ta 'ono?</i> 'Now where shall I go?' <i>Tume'ika 'otaya 'ase?</i> 'Where will we sleep?'
<i>tum-</i>	'where?'	<i>Tum-ako mana-ko habi ts'ifi wa'in-echa?</i> 'Where is the meat all these nights?'
<i>tashe-</i>	'how much?, what size?'	<i>Tashe-ya sukari kwa-tita dzana?</i> 'How much sugar is it that you brought?' <i>'Onoko tashi-neko/'ono tashe-ne?</i> 'What size am I?' <i>Habi'i !'ikwi tashi-i-pi'i?</i> 'What kind of sleep is this?'
<i>tashi-</i>	'do what?'	<i>'Onoko tashi-na'a?</i> 'I did what?' <i>Tashi-nikwi'/tashi-ne'e?</i> 'I would do what?' <i>Tashi-tita?</i> 'You will do what?' <i>Nasema teko, tashi teko?</i> 'I say, what can you do?' <i>Sasa 'atonena 'iba tashi?</i> 'Now what will we do?'
<i>tashina</i>	'how?'	<i>Tashina-ta'a dza?</i> 'How did you come?' <i>Tashina-tita hama?</i> 'How do you sit?'
<i>taka-</i>	'how many?'	<i>taka-'i-pi'i?</i> 'how many?' <i>taka-'e-heya 'unu?</i> 'how many people?' <i>kwatl'a-be taka-'e-pe?</i> 'how many shoes?'
<i>ta-</i>	'who?'	<i>Tami-pi habi'i?</i> 'Of whose group, these?' <i>Nasema teko ta-me-ya?</i> 'I say, what kind of person are you?' <i>Ta-me?</i> 'Who are you (2M.SG, 2F.PL)?' <i>Ta-mi?</i> 'Who are you (2M.PL)?' <i>Ta-o?</i> 'Who are you (2F.SG)?' <i>Ta-o-ne'e?</i> 'Who am I?'
<i>'akwadza</i>	'who/what?'	<i>'Akwadza-a bami?</i> 'Who is he?' <i>'Akwadza-neko?</i> 'Who am I (F)?' <i>Akanabe-na 'akwadza 'itita?</i> 'What do you call it?'
<i>'aku</i>	'what kind?, who?, which?'	<i>'Aku 'umu-wa?</i> 'Is what kind of person?' <i>Habi'(i)-'aku-ni-pi'?</i> 'These are of what?' <i>'Aku meto dza?</i> 'Who has come?' <i>'Aku 'umu-wa kwa-tita /i-ya?</i> 'What kind of/which person did you see?' <i>Ika bami 'aku gashenga?</i> 'And what is this thing?'

1.5 NP Structure

The basic structure of a noun phrase (NP) is:

N – (agreement) (modifier)

Modifier: genitive, demonstrative, adjective, quantifier, relative

It is possible that at least some modifiers can alternatively occur before the noun. Demonstrative–noun and noun–demonstrative orders both occur in the narrative texts, as does quantifier–noun, e.g. *Yame kotula wa'ina-eta, lobe-be'e, wa'ina-ma l'ets'a 'atonena*. ‘Then they all started (saying), the big baboons, and the whole camp now.’ (Bala 1998: 22).

There is insufficient information available to determine the relative ordering of modifiers within an NP, as there are very few examples of an NP with more than one modifier, as each new piece of information is preferentially introduced in a separate clause. The few examples in (20) show that modifiers may precede oblique markers.

- (20) *'Aso-'o'o- sa Gwadiso-ko akwadza?*
parent-really- OBL.3F.SG-3M.SG.COP? Gwadiso-3F.SG who(3M.SG.COP?)
‘Who is really Gwadiso’s father?’
- Teko, taka-etete pa'a -tina -yina?*
you(3F.SG) how.many-2F.PL.COP your.mother -GEN-LOC -2F.PL.OBL
‘You (3F.SG), how many of you (3F.PL) from your mother are you (3F.PL)?’
(i.e. how many siblings do you have?)

Noun phrases may consist of more than one noun; they may be conjoined with the particle *'a* ‘and, even’, e.g. *Hadisi-ko kota bahe lola-ni-ko 'a ne'e-ko*. ‘Here ends the story of the hare and the baboon.’ (Bala 1998: 24); or occur without a conjunction, e.g. *Ko-kopandana-'a'a dza-na ll'ekwa, ba'ala-ko, 'aku gashenga*. ‘We just

found some *ll'ekwa* roots and honey and other things to bring to you.’ (Bala 1998: 20)

Relative clauses in Hadza are post-nominal. Relatives occur either with a relative pronoun which is marked for person–number–gender and tense/aspect, e.g. *ma'a* (3M.SG relative pronoun) in *!onga ma'a 'a'ane* ‘hare is who leads’, or with the relativizer *kwa* (cf. 21). Relative clauses with the *kwa* relativizer are headed by a demonstrative (e.g. *hako*, *hama*), followed by the relativizer *kwa*, which has a pronominal subject enclitic marked for person-gender-number and tense. A noun must be raised to subject status before it can be relativized, and the relative clause is a separate clause, e.g. (21a) ‘I saw the woman. It was she who hit Maria.’

- (21) a. *ll-ta-na'a* *'akwiti-ko* *hako-kwa-kwa*
 see-3F.SG.DO-1SG.PAST woman-3F.SG 3F.SG.DEM-REL-3F.SG.PAST
k'wase-ta *Maria-ko*.
 hit-3F.SG.DO Maria-3F.SG
 [I saw the woman. It was she who hit Maria.] ‘I saw the woman who hit Maria.’ (subject)
- b. *ll-ta-na'a* *Maria-ko* *hako-kwa-kwa*
 see-3F.SG.DO-1SG.PAST Maria-3F.SG 3F.SG.DEM-REL-3F.SG.PAST
k'was-iya *nena* *'akwiti-ko*.
 hit-PASS INSTR woman-3F.SG
 [I saw Maria. It was she who was hit.] ‘I saw Maria, who was hit by a woman.’ (direct object)
- c. *ll-ya-na'a* *mu'a* *hama-kwa-mo*
 see-3M.SG.DO-1SG.PAST stick(3M.SG) 3M.SG.DEM-REL-3M.SG.PAST
k'wase-ta *Maria-ko*.
 hit-3F.SG.DO Maria-3F.SG [possibly *-ako*, 3F.SG.COP]
 [I saw the stick. It was that which hit her Maria.] ‘I saw the stick that was used to hit Maria.’ (instrument)
- d. *ll-ta-na* *hako-kwa-kwa* *bami-ni-ye*.
 see-3F.SG.DO-1SG.PAST 3F.SG.DEM-REL-3F.SG.PAST 3M.SG.PRO-GEN-STAT
 [I saw it. It was the one of his.] ‘I saw that (3F.SG) which is his.’ (possessive)

1.6 Clause Structure

The basic structure of the verb phrase (VP) is:

V – (direct object clitic) – (indirect object clitic) –
(subject/tense clitic) (adjunct)

or

AUX – (subject/tense clitic) V – (object clitic)
(adjunct)

Adjuncts include lexical nouns and independent pronouns that are co-referential with direct and indirect object pronominal enclitics on either the auxiliary or verb, or postpositional phrases.

The location of adverbials has not been fully investigated, but there is a set of clitic adverbs that appear close to the predicate they are modifying, even before subject and object clitics, e.g. *Mits'i-kwa mite-'o'o-we-ya*. 'My brother is really getting fatter.'; *!o/o-'o'o-ko* 'really a praying mantis'; *Huma-'o'o-wako!* 'It is really!'; *Nasema mzee ya tumi'ika l'o-'aso'-aso-'eta?* 'I say, Mzee, where will we go when the house is really all filled up?' (Bala 1998: 22). These clitic adverbs attach to the main verb rather than the auxiliary, e.g. *Na 'ela-'ani ts'oko*. 'I'll quickly build a fire.'

1.7 Agreement

Hadza clauses contain subject clitics marked for person-gender-number and tense which agree with any adjoined independent subject pronouns or nouns. Direct and indirect object clitics are marked for person-gender-number and agree with any adjoined full

object nominals. Genitives, locatives and other case relations have markings also showing person-gender-number agreement. Agreement is discussed in more detail in sections 1.8 and 1.9 of Hadza in [Chapter 6](#).

2 Sandawe

Edward D. Elderkin

2.1 Basic Syntactic Structures

2.1.1 Constituents

As syntactic constituents, the following categories are used:

- (22)
- | | |
|------|-----------------------|
| NP | noun phrase |
| PP | postpositional phrase |
| TEMP | temporal |
| ADV | adverb |
| V | verb |
| VP | verb phrase |
| CONJ | conjunction |

A functional distinction is made between NPs (subject of a verbal clause) and NP_T (subject of a copula clause), and between NP_O (oblique, in a verbal clause or within a VP) and NP_C (complement, of a copula clause), as necessary.

VP is not analysed here as a constituent of any clause; NPO and V are taken as separate constituents. But VP is useful in the description because it can stand as a constituent in an NP; this is crucial in the statement of the structure of some nominal clauses, specifically the general negative and the irrealis.

The above categories are placed in a syntactic framework by the use of sequence, grammatical formatives and tone keys, which allow syntactic and informational relationships to be interpreted.

2.1.2 Symbolisation

Tree diagrams are used to illustrate structures, as they are described here; they refer to the surface structure only. They should not be taken as relating to any theory of language.

It should be repeated that the description here relates to an interpretation of what I see as the origin of certain structures: where clause structures derive from the nominal clause, and yet within them have a verb, they are susceptible to interpretation on the analogy of verbal clauses, which are here described as having a verb as a constituent; this reinterpretation has been demonstrated by Eaton (2002).

When what is here called a nominal PGN appears, it is assumed that what precedes it must be something which functions as a nominal stem, and such information is included in the tree diagrams for clarity: so “PP (= NSt)” identifies a postpositional phrase which functions as a noun stem (in that it is followed by a nominal PGN).

2.2 Clause Structures

2.2.1 Verbal Clause

2.2.1.1 Sequence

The sequence of the major constituents of verbal clause structure is:

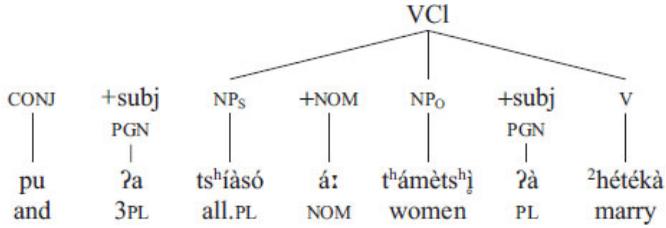
(23) NP_S NP_O V

Between the NP_S and the V are found also PP_S within the clause. At least one of the constituents is normally marked. Marking is by

- either \acute{a} : NOM suffixed to the NP_S
- or the subject PGN suffixed to any clause constituent except NP_S
- or both of the above.

One or more constituents may be so marked, except that if the verb is marked, no other constituent may be marked.

(24)



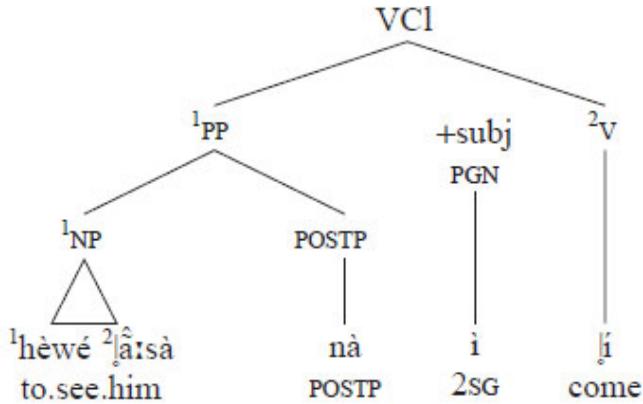
³ʔá: ¹tsʰiàsá: ¹tʰámètsʰà?` ²hétékà
'and they all had married wives'

Marking brings the constituent marked (except a conjunction) into prominence in the information structure of the clause; marking the verb could be interpreted as bringing the whole clause into prominence. More specifically, Eaton (2005) suggests that it focuses polarity.

2.2.1.2 Keys

NPS and NPO have an underlying Key 2, as do PPS; v has an underlying Key 3. A marked constituent is promoted to Key 1. Those unmarked constituents, NPS and PPS, which precede the marked constituent, are also promoted to Key 1. As keys may not be jumped downwards, v after a marked Key 1 is promoted to Key 2, although in practice, where the preceding marked constituent contains a downward key transposition or a downstep, downdrift often causes the Key 2 on v to be heard as Key 3.

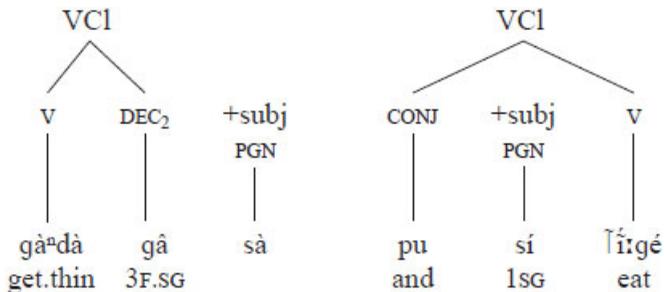
(25)



¹Hèwé ²á:sà nà i í.
'You came to see him.'

It is not obligatory that a clause should contain a marked constituent raised to Key 1; the following sentence has two clauses, but only one example of such raised marking.

(26)



¹Gà^adà gâ sà ³sí: ³í:igé.
'It got thin and I ate it.'

In the following example, where three clause constituents are marked, the speaker has had to resort to

There is much extrapositioning in conversation. Material following the verb should be considered as extrapositioned. As a rule of thumb, material should be considered to be preposed if it appears before the narrative conjunction, before a temporal (if no conjunction is present) or before the first marked constituent (if neither conjunction nor temporal is present before it). There is nevertheless also scrambling within the clause itself.

The first of the following two sentences has a fairly unmarked constituent sequence; in the second, *hèwéts'ò* 'for that reason' is given more prominence by preceding *ʔútá:*.

- (29) a. ³pó: ²ʔútá: ¹hèwéts'ò: ¹mǒ:tsò: ²k'ómé
 pó: ʔútá: hèwé ts'i ò mǒ:tsò nà ò k'ómé
 N.CONJ.1PL ago 3M.SG POSTP 1PL Moto LOC 1PL move
 'and at that time we moved to Moto for that reason'
- b. ³pó: ¹hèwéts'ò: ²ʔútá: ²ní?`
 pó: hèwé ts'i ò ʔútá: ní?`
 N.CONJ.1PL 3M.SG POSTP 1PL ago go (PL.SUBJ)
 'and for that reason we went at that time'

2.2.1.4 Temporal

ʔútá: in these examples is one of a small number of clause constituents, usually mono-morphemic, which relate to time and which have an underlying Key 3. They often appear towards the beginning of a clause preceding the marked constituent where they are promoted to Key 2. They are nouns, but when used with this underlying Key 3 within clause structure, can be considered as a distinct constituent category, temporals.

- (30) *ʔútè* ‘yesterday’
ʔútá: ‘some time ago’
swé ‘now’
- (31) ²*ʔútè* ¹*hàpú* ²*ts’ǎ:kùsà* ³*lě:*.
ʔútè *hàpú* *ts’ǎ:kù* *sà* *lě:*
 2SG home 3F.SG arrive
 ‘Yesterday she arrived at your house.’

2.2.1.5 Narrative Conjunction

It is convenient to refer to the word which contains the conjunction *pu* followed by a subject PGN as the narrative conjunction. Despite the presence of a subject PGN, the narrative conjunction is never promoted to Key 1. It is usually heard on Key 3, although occasionally it seems to have Key 2, especially where the following key is Key 1.

- (32) ²*kwá:* ¹*lúpà:* ²*tí’ǎ:*
kwá: *lúpà* *à* *tí’ǎ:*
 N.CONJ.3M.SG grass 3M.SG take
 ‘and he took the grass’

But the fact that the narrative conjunction contains a subject PGN does mean that the verb of the clause may not be so marked. To achieve the same effect as marking, the verb can be brought to an early part of the clause and given Key 1.

- (33) ¹kwá: ¹l'átá ²lái:ʔé:
kwá: l'átá lá:ʔè ǀ
N.CONJ.3M.SG be.tired hare SPEC
‘and the hare got tired’

2.2.1.6 Imperative

The imperative is a verbal clause. The nominative suffix *á:* can appear with an imperative PGN. (For the imperative PGN system, see [Chapter 6](#), p. 128 (65).)

- (34) ¹Dàrímòxjà ²ʔits^hàwà.
dàrímò xǐ sà ʔits^hàwà
field.shelter 3F.SG look.for (IMPF)
‘Let her look for a hut in the bush.’
- (35) ¹Hísà ²gàⁿdàjʔ. ¹ĩĩ:ǵékò ¹hàpá:
hí sà gàⁿdà jʔ. ǀĩ:ǵé kò hàpú á:
‘if..’ 3F.SG get.thin ‘..if’ eat 2SG NOM
‘If it gets thin, you eat it.’

2.2.2 Exclamatory Clause

The clause constituents found in a verbal clause may be used in the subject-initial, verb-final, sequence with *ts'ì* marking any object, and without either subject PGN or the nominative *á:*. All constituents are given Key 1. The import of such a clause is surprise or praise.

- (36) ¹Tàtá ¹t^hékáts'ì ¹! 'iné!
tátá t^héká ts'ì ! 'iné
father leopard OBL hunt
‘Father can really hunt leopards!’

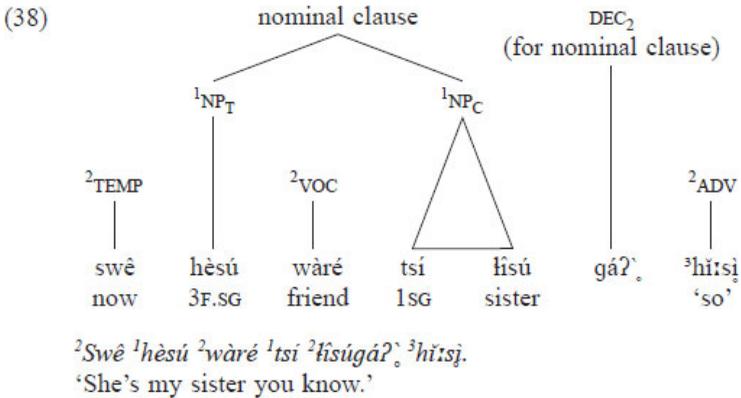
ts'ì suffixed to an object is also found in the basic sentences; the correlations of this are not yet understood (see also [Chapter 6](#), p. 134 (104)).

2.2.3 Nominal Clause

The structure of the nominal clause is

(37) NP_T NPC

The straightforward interpretation is as a copula. Each constituent is in Key 1.



The nominal clause forms the basis of the irrealis clause and of the general negative clause.

2.3 Phrase Structure

Three categories of phrase may be distinguished:

(39) NP noun phrase

PP postpositional
 phrase

VP verb phrase

2.3.1 Noun Phrase

It is difficult to give a sequenced structure for the NP; the following constituents are found dominated by NP:

(40) nominal

 demonstrative

 pronoun

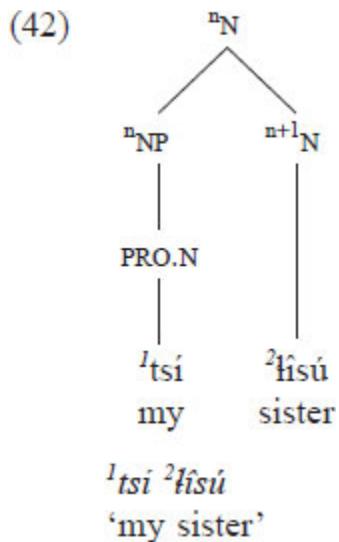
A nominal may be followed by the specificiser $\overset{2}{N}$. Nominals have the structure NSt + N.PGN. As the specificiser has the structure $\overset{2}{N}$ + N.PGN, it might be better to consider it syntactically a separate constituent within a phrase, although morphologically it forms one word with the preceding nominal.

2.3.1.1 Genitive

A genitive relationship between a noun and another constituent is achieved by using tone keys, the key of the noun is one key below that of the other constituent, which precedes the noun. The noun can be considered to be the head noun. The other constituent is an NP, the genitive constituent. In the following examples, n represents a key number, determined syntactically.

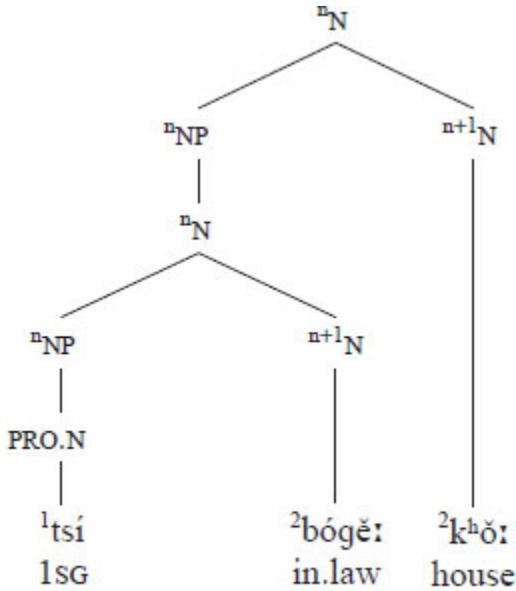
(41) ^nNP + ^{n+1}N

This structure stands as a noun.



The NP in this genitive structure may itself consist of a genitive construction:

(43)



¹tsi ²bogě: ²k'ö:
'my in-law's house'

Items otherwise used as TEMP, being nouns, may be found as the genitive constituent:

(44) ¹ʔútá: ²ĩěsɿ . . . ²ǰi.
ʔútá: ĩě sɿ ǰi
ago day 1SG come
'I came the day before yesterday.'

(45) ¹ʔèʔé: ²mírĩgĩ:
ʔèʔé: mírĩgi ȷ
that.time medicine SPEC
'the remedy of that time (the one which I showed you)'

A PP can also be used in the genitive position:

- (46) ¹n dɛ̀gèʔi: ²mĩ:dzó:ĩ
 n dɛ̀gè ʔi: mĩ:dzó i:
 plane POSTP journey SPEC
 ‘travel by air’

2.3.1.2

Genitive with Pronominal Head

The head noun in NP + N may be pronominalised. Its PRO form is *j*, which is morphologically cliticised to the last word of the preceding constituent; *j* is in the key of the preceding constituent, that is, there is no change of key.

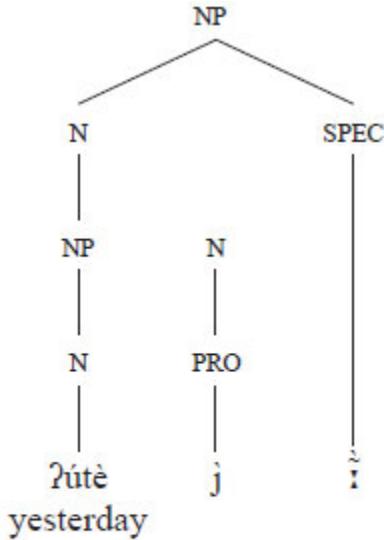
- (47) ¹hàpĩ:ts'é

hàpú *j* ts'é

2SG NEG

‘that’s not your (job)’

(48)



(²lō:;) ²ʒútěj
'(that child,) that one of yesterday'

This construction is the basis for one type of relative clause and clauses introduced by *hi*; see (88) and (93).

2.3.2 Postposition Phrase

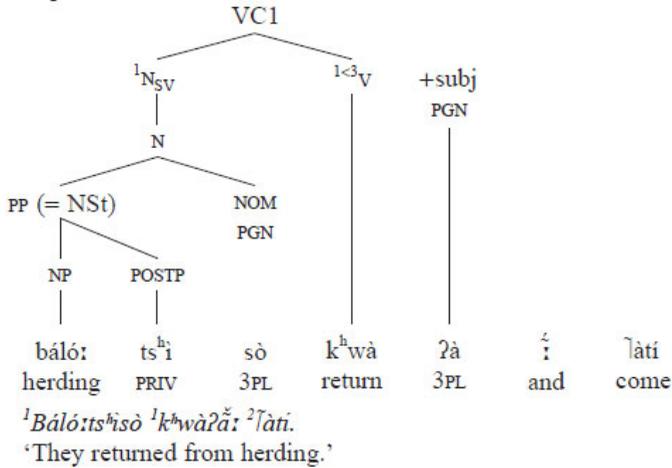
The PP has the structure

(49) NP + POSTP

More than one postposition can be found (see examples in the [Chapter 6](#), p. 131f. (81) and (82)): the structure of the PP can then be taken as PP + POSTP.

There is one postposition which has only been found as final constituent in a PP which functions as a noun stem in that the PP is always followed by a nominal PGN suffix. This postposition is *ts^hè/ts^hǰ* 'from' (privative), which is

(51) Postposition:



The form with the nominal PGN for 3M.SG is *tsʰè*.

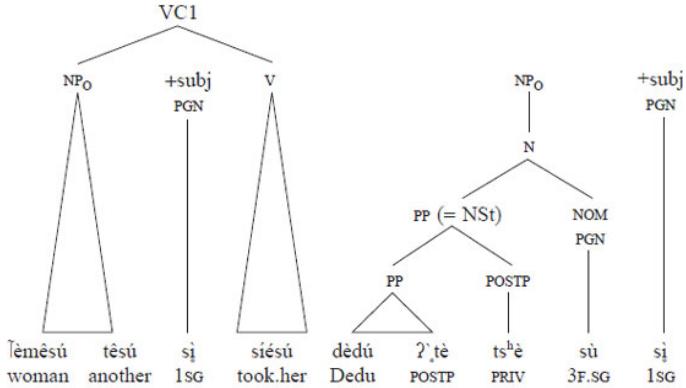
(52) ʔímésé: ʔtá: ʔsàᵐdàwě:tsʰèá: . . . ʔí.
 ʔímésé: tē á: sàᵐdàwě: tsʰè á: ʔí
 person other NOM Sandawe PRIV NOM come
 ‘Another person, from Usandawe, came.’

With 3MLT, a *wà* has been noted before the postposition (the PP, with a 3MLT NP, as in (53), takes the 3M.SG nominal PGN).

(53) ʔHě:ɣwèná ʔkibá?`xé: ʔtsʰá: ʔhákùwàtsʰè?
 há kù wà tsʰè Ø
 Q POSTP MLT PRIV 3M.SG
 ‘Where’s that fat on the hearth from?’

Such an N, that is with PP + NOM PGN, can stand, as would be expected, as an NP followed by the nominative marker or followed by the subject PGN in the normal way, as in the following example:

(54)



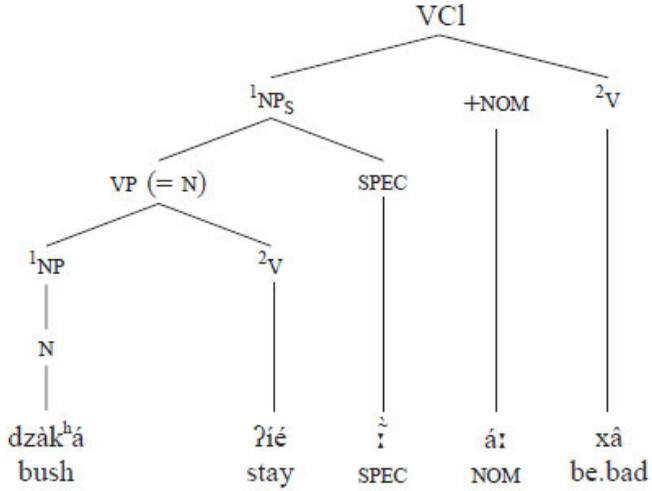
11ēmēsú 1tēsúsǐ 2siésú 1dēdúʔ,tètsʰɛsúsǐ.
 'I married another woman, from the Dedu area.'

2.3.3 Verb Phrase and the Irrealis

A VP consists of a series of one or more NP_{OS}, one or more PPS, and finally, a V; only V is obligatorily present, and none of the NPS is the NPS. It is, in other words, the predicate of a clause, that is, a clause without any NPS which constitute the subject, and without any subject PGN.

The VP, as it has been used in the present analysis, always stands in an NP; VP is used in the present analysis to explain the structure of two clause types, the irrealis, described in this section, and the general negative, for which see section 2.5.1 below. As the VP stands as a nominal, it may, in other uses, be followed by the specificiser .

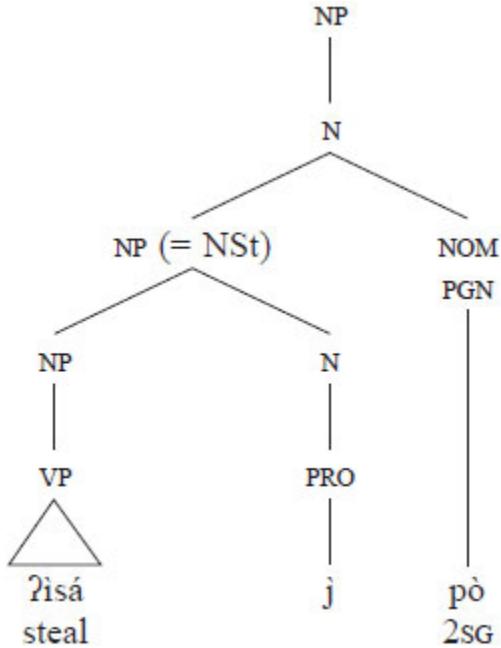
(55)



¹*dzàkʰá* ²*ʔié: gá:* ²*xâ*.
'Staying in the bush is bad.'¹

A *vp* can stand as the *np* in a genitive construction, where the head *n* is a *pro* form.

(56)



ʔisájpò.

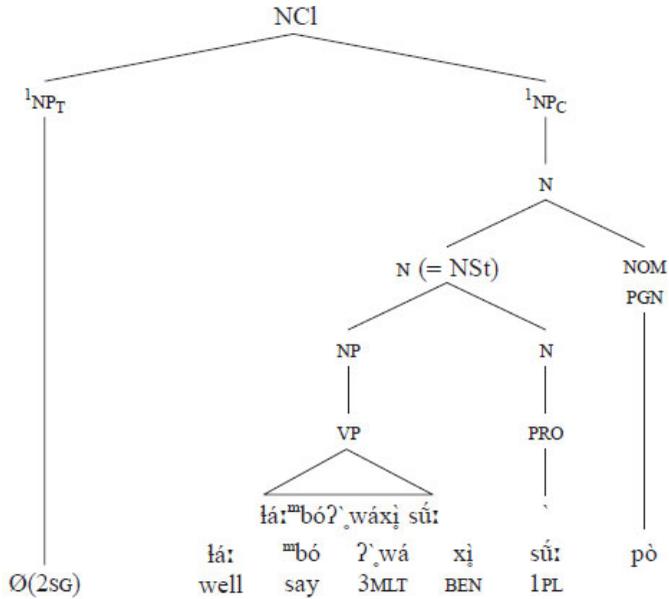
‘(You are) somebody who steals.’

As a nominal, this can take the specifier.

(57) *ʔisájpò* *ǝ*:*pò* (You are) that one who steals.’

However, this structure is further developed; if the PRO form is merely *ǝ*, that is, the lowering of an immediately preceding high mora, the clause becomes an irrealis clause, used for future events and events that did not happen. (The fuller form, *j*, is retained in the 3M.SG.)

(58)



¹lá: ^{2m}bó? wáxì sù: pò.
 ‘You will tell us properly.’

2.4

Declarative *gê ké:*

There are two forms, which seem likely to share a common origin: DEC₁ *ké:* and *gê/gâ*. *ké:* always retains this form, except when the final mora is lowered in the irrealis.

(59) ¹Tlă: sĭ kĕ: pò.
 tlă: sĭ kĕ: pò
 die IRR 2SG
 ‘You will die.’

ké: is found suffixed to constituents in verbal and in nominal clauses.

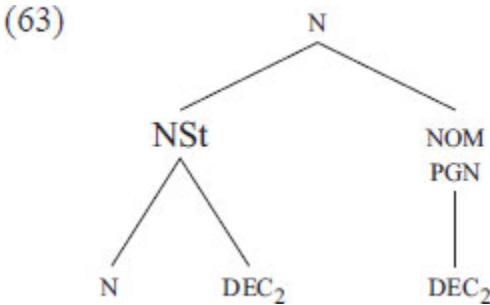
(60) ¹Hôké:á: ²xé: ²ǀi?
 hô ké: á: xé: ǀ i
 who NOM bring and come
 ‘Who came and brought it?’

(61) ¹Sú: ²ǀá? ²bô:kíná ¹télaké:gò: ²ǀùtési? ³tóv.
 sú: ǀá? bô: kí ná télá ké: gè ò ǀùtési? tóv
 our work even ‘so’ completely DEC₁ DEC₂ 2PL yesterday finish
 ‘As far as our work is concerned, we completely finished it yesterday.’

gê is found in the verbal clause, suffixed to a constituent other than the subject, where it is followed by a subject PGN.

(62) ¹Tsí ¹sèǀégàsǀ ²mě:nà: ²hě:w ²māⁿts^hǎ:
 tsí sèǀé gâ sǀ mě:nà: hě:w māⁿts^hǎ:
 1SG much 1SG like.it this food
 ‘I really like this food.’

It is also used within the following structure to form a nominal:



(64) ǀára:gê! (ǀára:gê) (with 3M.SG as Ø)
 ‘It’s true!’

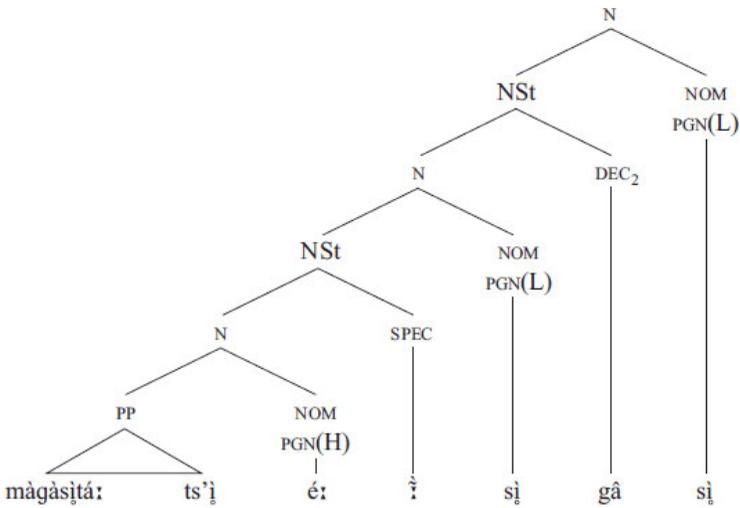
This structure is also found with demonstratives, as in

(65) *nêpògêpó*

‘you (2SG) there’

and with more complex nominals:

(66) *¹Tsí ²wàré ²swê ¹hãr̀w̃ ¹sã^hdãwê: [↑]1mãgàsìtã:tṣ ¹ǰé:1sìgàsì.*
 tsí wàré swê hãr̀w̃ sã^hdãwê: mãgàsìtã:tṣ ǰé:1sìgàsì
 1SG friend now that Sandawe
 ‘Now, friend, I’m that sort of Sandawe, a man from Mangastaa.’



Where *gê/gã* is suffixed to a nominal clause, the nominal PGN agrees with the clause. The appropriate nominal PGN for this is 3C.SG, $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{ǰ} \\ \text{0} \end{smallmatrix}$, giving the form *gã₀^ǰ*.

- (67) ¹Pútá:siḡ ¹siésúsḡgáḡ ²hèsú.
 ʔútá:siḡ síé sú ' sí gáḡ hèsú
 long.ago take 3F.SG IRR 1SG 3F.SG
 'I really was going to marry her a long time ago, that one.'
- (68) ¹Tsi ¹bógě:sisḡgáḡ.
 tsí bógě: sí sí gáḡ
 1SG uncle 1SG
 'I've got an uncle.'

2.5 Negative

As a clause, a verbal clause is not directly negated; a different structure, the general negative, is used for this purpose.

The negative formative is *ts^hèlts^hḡ*; just as the cognate homophonous postposition (cf. [Chapter 6](#), p. 131f.), it is always followed by a nominal PGN.

2.5.1 Negative Clause

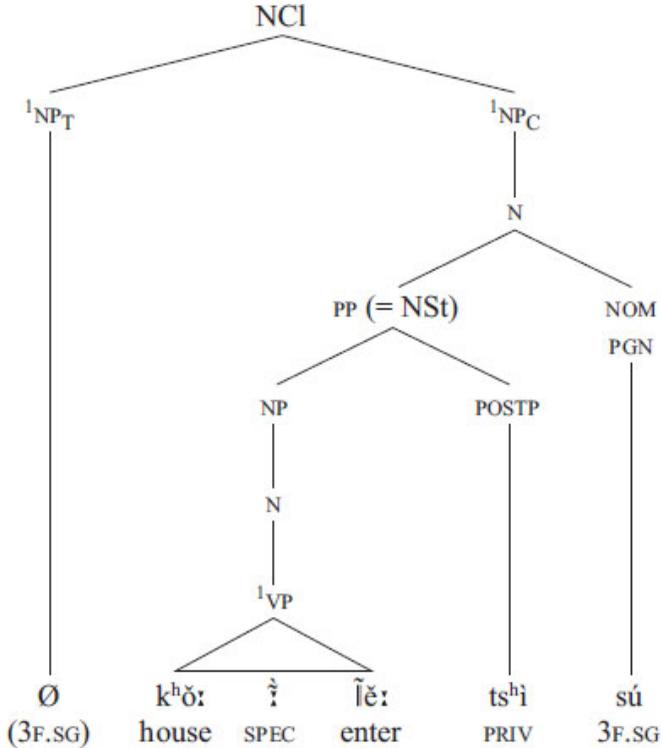
2.5.1.1 General Negative

The general negative serves as the negative to the verbal clause; its structure is that of a nominal clause, in which the complement is a noun whose stem is a postposition phrase. This can be stated as:

- (69) ¹NP_T ¹VP ts^hḡ NOM
 PGN

This constituency is illustrated below:

(70)



¹K^hõ: ²ǰ̣: ts^hú.

‘She did not enter the house.’

As the complement is an NP, it is not surprising that an NP with an identical structure should stand at other places. Compare the two following clauses:

(71) *¹Mâⁿts^hàts^hipó.* or *mâⁿts^hapó* (= ‘You do not eat.’
mâⁿts^hà pó)

¹Mâⁿts^hàts^hipá: ²||’ô.

‘You sleep
without eating.’

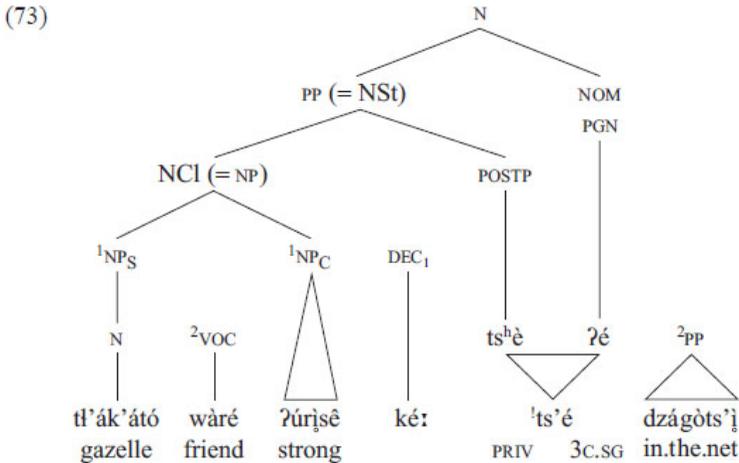
In the first clause, *māⁿts^hàts^hipó* stands as NPC, the NP_T is absent, but, as the nominal PGN suffix in the NPC shows, the absent NP_T is 2SG. In the second clause, *māⁿts^hàts^hipó* is the NP which is the subject of a verbal clause, and is suffixed with the nominative marker, *á:*.

2.5.1.2 Negative of Nominal Clause

In dealing with the declarative, it was noted that the nominal PGN suffix agreement for a clause is 3C.SG, *ʔé* (see 2.4). Negation of a nominal clause is achieved as follows:

(72) NCI + *ts^hè/ts^hé* + *ʔé*

The two last constituents coalesce to form *ts^hé*.



¹Tl'ák'átó ²wàré ¹ʔúrjéséké:¹ts'é ²dzágòts'ì.
 'A gazelle has no strength in the net.'

There is a fuller form of *ts'é*, which is *ts'èʔé*, in which the 3C.SG PGN is retained, but the *ts^hè* nevertheless appears as *ts'è*.

- (74) *²Swêsiʔ_o ¹ʔixi: ts'èʔé.*
swê siʔ_o ʔixi: ts'èʔé
 now 'then' thus
 'So now, it's not like this.'

2.5.1.3 Irrealis Negative

Not surprisingly, as the irrealis clause is based on the structure of a nominal clause, it forms its negative in the same way as a nominal clause, by postposing *'ts'é*.

- (75) *¹Hërɔw ¹kókô: ¹wáʔ₃má:tà ¹l'ójts'é.*
hërɔw kókó ʔ wáʔ₃má: tà l'ò j Ø ts'é
 3M.SG cockerel SPEC companions POSTP sleep IRR 3M.SG NEG
 'This cockerel doesn't sleep with his kind.'

2.5.1.4 Imperative Negative

The negative in an imperative is *mě:*.

- (76) *¹Mě:kò ²ʔísɿ!*
mě: kò ʔísɿ
 2SG refuse

'Don't refuse!'

Note that in an affirmative clause, *mě:* is to be understood as 'nearly'.

- (77) ¹l'wǎ: ¹mě:ǵà: ²sélé?`kô ²ǵù^mbũ:ts'ǵ.
 l'wǎ: mǎ: ǵê à sélé?` kô ǵù^mbũ: ts'ǵ
 millet DEC₂ 3M.SG be.missing 'so' Gumbu POSTP
 'There nearly wasn't any millet at Gumbu.'

2.5.2

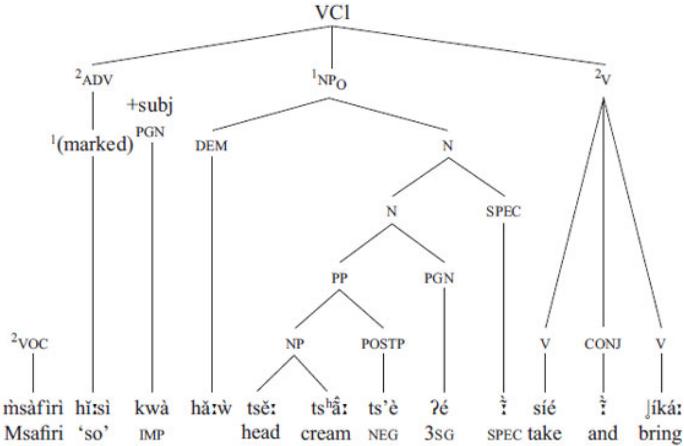
Negative Phrase

A phrase is negated *qua* nominal clause, and not *qua* phrase. If a phrase were negated as a phrase, it would be expected that the nominal PGN suffix which followed the negative marker *ts^hè/ts^hǵ* would be in agreement with the PGN of the phrase. A phrase is negated with *ts'é*, which incorporates the 3C.SG *ǵ*. But the object agreement in the verb of the next example seems to demonstrate that the PGN characteristics of the NP are retained in the agreement.

- (78) ¹ǵeměsũ:ts'é: ²ǵǎ:sũ:
 ǵeměsũ: ts'é è ǵǎ: sũ:
 person.1PL NEG 2PL see 1PL
 'You won't consider us to be (proper) people.' (lit.: you see us as being not (proper) people)

As a form negated with *ts'é* is a nominal, it can be followed by the specificiser. The following example contains the fuller form of the negative, *ts'èǵé*.

(79)



²msáfiri ¹hí:si kwá ¹há:w ¹tsè: ²ts'há: ¹ts'è ²ʔé ²síé: ²jìká:
 'Msafiri, go and get the cream which isn't hair cream.'

2.6 Interrogative

Interrogative constituents are characterised by an initial *h-*. Syntactically the only one deserving comment here is *híkí* (sometimes recorded as *híkí*) 'how', which, normally adverbial, in the irrealis has been noted used seemingly as a verb.

(80) ¹Híkísù: ¹lé?`
 híkí sù: lé?`
 IRR 1PL 'don't.know'
 'I don't know what we should do.'

2.6.1

Yes/No Interrogative, Affirmative

The yes/no interrogative has *nè*, which is suffixed to the constituent which is questioned. The categorial status of that constituent is not changed. In verbal sentences, that

constituent is marked by the subject PGN or the nominative suffix.

(81) TEMP VOC NP_C
²ʔútá: ²lé:bà ¹ts^hě: pónè?
 ʔútá: lé:bà ts^hě: pó nè
 absent Leeba not.be 2SG Q
 ‘At that time, Leeba, were you absent?’

(82) NP_S ADV V
¹Ts^híàná: ¹íá: ²l’ól’ó?
 ts^híà nè á: íá: ²l’ól’ó
 all Q NOM well sleep
 ‘Had they all slept well?’

(83) V
¹K^hé?éwàni:?
 k^hé?é wà nè i
 hear MLT Q 2SG
 ‘Have you heard (of it)?’

2.6.2 Yes/No Interrogative, Negative

The negative interrogative marker is *ts’énè* (for *ts’é*, see above). However, its use is often more of emphasis than of interrogation. It can be used in verbal clauses, where it can be seen as negating and querying a phrase, or even the verb itself.

- (84) V NP_O
¹Mànǎ: ¹ts'énà: ¹l'ínéwàts'è: ²l'è:?
mànǎ: ts'é nè à (see 89)
know NEG Q 3M.SG
'He knew, didn't he, when they'd be ripe?'
- (85) NP_S ADV V
¹Hèwé ¹l'ò:xìts'énà: ²l'è: ²l'ò?
hèwé l'ò:xì ts'é nè à l'è: l'ò
DEM still NEG Q 3M.SG stay and sleep
'He was *still* asleep?'

In an example such as the following, *hàpúts'énè* is taken as a nominal stem, suffixed with the 2SG *po*. As a clause on its own, *hàpúts'énè* would be taken as a nominal clause: 'It's not you, is it?'

- (86) NP_S VOC NP_O V
Hàpú ts'énè pò á: wàré tsí nà?ásò xwání: wà?
2SG NEG.Q 2SG NOM friend 1SG fruit.sp scrape MLT
¹hàpúts'énèpá: ²wàré ²tsí ³nà?ásò ⁴xwání:wà
'It's you isn't it who've grubbed up my fruits?'

The putative origin of *ts'é* given above is such that it would be expected to be final in a third person nominal. But in its use in *ts'énè*, it seems to have shed all status as a third person nominal; its suffixation, as the suffixation of *ne* alone, does not alter the categorial or PGN characteristics of the preceding constituent.

2.7 Parameters within a Clause

Perfective and imperfective forms of verbs have different syntactic possibilities. With an imperfective verb stem, the NP_O has the possibility of being suffixed with a *ts'ǐ* under circumstances unclear to me. With intransitive verbs, where no overt exponent of the

perfective has been noted, how, or if, any system of perfectivity is extended to them remains to be researched.

The question of agreements with multiple NP_s and the relationship between the ideas of multiple, pluriactional, frequentative and habitual and the like have yet to be disentangled; Kießling (2002) is a start.

2.8 Coordination and Subordination

2.8.1 Coordination

The frequent marker of coordination is \dot{a} , for which longer versions $h\dot{a}$ and $n\dot{a}$ exist. \dot{a} is also found conjoining verbs or clauses; the whole word which includes this \dot{a} is often in Key 1, as below.

(87) $^1\dot{p}o\dot{p}\dot{a}: ^1|\dot{a}: ^2!'\dot{o}:s\dot{u}i:$
 $\dot{p}o\dot{p}\dot{a}$ \dot{a} $|\dot{a}$ \dot{a} $!'\dot{o}$ $s\dot{u}i$
 here 3M.SG come meet 1PL
 'He came and met us here.'

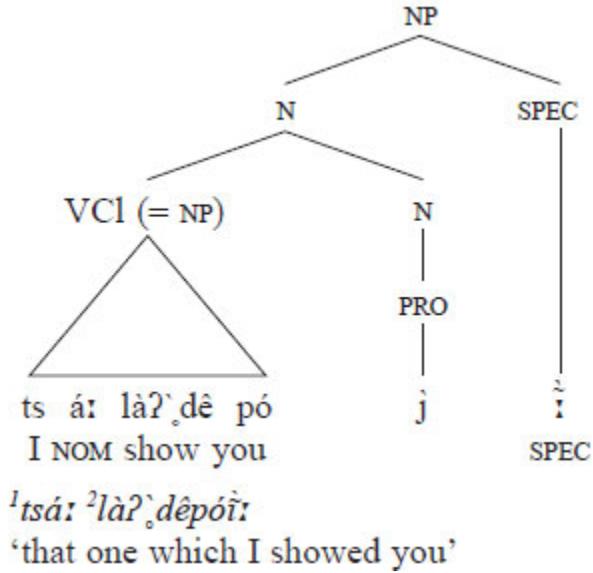
2.8.2 Relative Clauses

Where other languages might use a subject relative clause, Sandawe has the construction with $s\dot{i}$ (see [Chapter 6](#)). Two structures have been noted equivalent to non-subject relative clauses.

2.8.2.1 Pronominal Genitive with Clause

With a pronominalised N, the genitive constituent may be a verbal clause; the translation equivalent in English has a relative clause.

(88)



2.8.2.2

Relative Clause with *Ts'è*

I do not yet understand the structure or origin of the use of *ts'è* in relative clauses. Three examples are given here.

- (89) ¹*l'ínéwàts'è:* ²*ĩê:*
 l'íné wà ts'è Ì Ìê Ì
 ripen MLT SPEC day SPEC
 'the day they would be ripe'
- (90) ¹*Sú:* ¹*!wǎ:* ¹*!òts'èò* ²*?its'hà.*
 sú: !wǎ: l'ò ts'è ò ?its'hà
 1PL place sleep 1PL look.for
 'We're looking for a place to sleep.'
- (91) ¹*Hòsá:* ²*!wé:wàts'è:* *mànà:sípò?*
 hòsó á: !wé: wà ts'è Ì mànà:sípò
 3PL NOM do MLT SPEC you.know.it
 'Have you got to know what they do there?'

2.8.3 Temporal and Hypothetical Clauses

2.8.3.1 *hí ... ?*

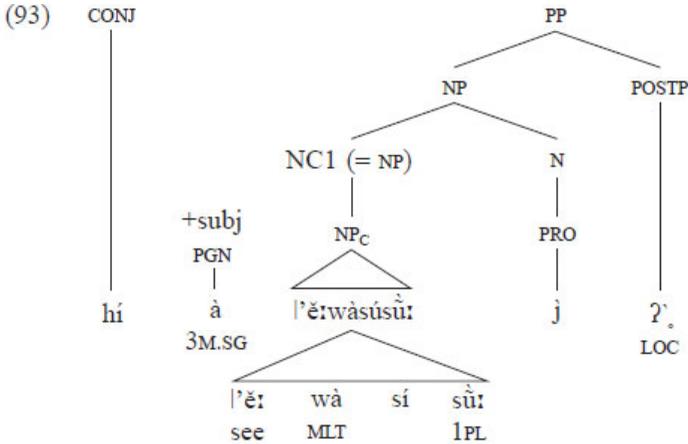
Such a clause is introduced by the conjunction *hí*, which must be followed by the subject PGN. It is closed by *j* followed by *?*.

- (92) ¹*hià* ²*!ě:j?* 'when he arrived'

Any number of clauses may appear between *hí* and *j?*.

Where the subordinated clause is a nominal clause, the subject PGN agreement is not available. Here, the subject PGN agreement relates to the whole clause; we have seen that the appropriate nominal PGN to refer to whole clauses is the 3C.SG *?* (its use in *gá?* and in the formation of the negative *ts'é*). There is no special 3C.SG subject PGN: the 3M.SG *à* is used. The following analysis

assumes a conjunctural analysis for $j\text{?}$ as pronominal in a genitive, (j), plus a locative, ($ts'\text{?} > \text{?}$). The presence of j with a basic clause is probably historically parallel, but synchronically opaque.



¹hià ²'ě:rwàsúsù:gi:?'

'when (if) we are capable of seeing (i.e. if we are alive)'

(94) ¹Hèwéxé:ki ¹hià ¹tlàkîpôj? ¹hákù?

hèwéxé: kí hí à tlàkî pó j ?' hákù

DEM.3MLT too 3M.SG lack 2SG where

'Those things, if you haven't got any, what is there to do?'

2.8.3.2 sí?

$sí\text{?}$ (see discussion of $sí$, p. 134f.) is also found suffixed to a clause to show a subordinate status.

- (95) ¹Kòⁿdóànàsǝ̀ ²hík'ǝ̀ ¹lívùár ²ts^hě:kísíǝ̀.
 kòⁿdóà nà si hík'ǝ̀ lívù á: ts^hě:ki síǝ̀.
 Kondoá POSTP 1SG go vacation NOM be.finished
 'I went to Kondoá when the holidays were over.'
- (96) ¹Wàgè:á: ²síésúsíǝ̀ . . . ¹hèwé ²! 'úmánà ³xé:swì:ts'éné
 wàgè: á: síé sú síǝ̀.
 stranger NOM take 3F.SG
 'If an outsider marries her,
 hèwé ! 'úma nà xé: sú j Ø ts'éné?
 3M.SG land POSTP bring 3F.SG IRR 3M.SG NEG Q
 he would take her to his country, wouldn't he?'

3 South African Khoesan

3.1 Northern Khoesan: !Xun²

Bernd Heine and Christa König

3.1.1 Introduction

The orthography used here is essentially that proposed by Dickens (1991, 1994). There are a few cases where, for phonetic and comparative consistency, we propose alternative symbols (with one exception, they involve ejective plosives). The relevant cases are presented below:

Dickens	Heine	Dickens	Heine
ang	ŋ	lk	l ^h kx'
dc	dc'	ʔk	ʔ ^h kx'
ds	ds'	!k	! ^h kx'
kx	kx'	lk	l ^h kx'
tj	tc'		
tz	ts'		

Tone marking differs from one author to another. The marking used here is essentially the one used by Köhler (1971a, 1973) but differs slightly from that proposed by Dickens (1994, 2005) and Heikkinen (1986, 1987). The correspondences in tone marking are:

Tone	Label	Köhler (1971a, 1981)	Dickens (1994, 2005)	Heikkinen (1986, 1987)	Snyman (1997: 35)	Heine/ König
extra-high	EH	á				á
high	H	á	ááá	á	á	á
mid	M	'a	á	á	'a	ā
low	L	à	à	à	à	à
extra-low	EL	à	a (unmarked)	à	ā	à

Following Heikkinen (1986, 1987), contour tones are described as combinations of two register tones, e.g., *áà* [á] high-low. (Since vowel length is not distinctive, using double vowels for tone marking does not cause a problem in !Xun.)

In the course of the present treatment, starred forms (e.g., *mí 'I') are used to refer to sets of etymologically related forms. Three different kinds of sets are distinguished: Proto-!Xun (*X), Proto-Northwestern !Xun (*NW), and Proto-Southeastern !Xun (*SE). While the starred forms have been set up using established approaches of diachronic reconstruction, comparative !Xun studies are still in their infancy and the reconstructions proposed have to be taken with care. The reader is therefore advised to treat the starred morphs as no more than convenient reference items for sets of what appear to be etymologically related forms.

Past studies of !Xun have been strongly biased in favour of one particular dialect, namely E1. But there do not

appear to be any intrinsic reasons for this preference: E1 is neither sociolinguistically nor linguistically in any way special. One of the main goals of the present sketch is to draw attention to the need that exists to embark on a cross-dialectal study of this language (cf. Miller-Ockhuizen and Sands 1999).

In view of requirements of space, the present treatment can do no more than provide a skeleton survey of !Xun morphology and syntax, with emphasis on presenting inventories of structural paradigms rather than grammatical descriptions. There are fairly reasonable grammatical accounts of E1, E2, W1 and W2 (see chart above) and the reader is referred to these works for further details and exemplification. In the present treatment an attempt is made to furnish examples most of all from dialects for which no or no appropriate data have been published. This applies in particular to N, for which no published information whatsoever exists.

3.1.2 The Clause

!Xun is a fairly isolating-analytic language having primarily a head-dependent order of constituents (but see below), and a noun class system. The basic word order is subject–verb–object (SVO), irrespective of whether pronominal or nominal participants are involved, e.g.

(97) E2 *Mī kú shē 'àà.*
 1SG PROG see 2SG
 'I see you.'

(98) N1 [...] *ta n!hēi !hēm̄ ke n!āò pòhó [...]*
 ... and then leopard PAST treat.well jackal ...
 '[...] and then the leopard treated the jackal well [...]'

Certain matrix verbs taking nominal complements, such as ‘want’ (N1 *tū*, E1 and E2 *àrè*, W1 *kàré*, W2 *kàlè*, K *kèrè*), require the object to precede the verb; hence, in such cases there is verb-final constituent order (see also Snyman 1970: 127; Köhler 1973: 63; Heikkinen 1987: 49f.; Heine and König 2012), e.g.

(99) E2 *Mi lōa àrè g!ú-à-kè tci.*
 1SG NEG want water-TR-DEM drink
 ‘I don’t want to drink this water.’ (Köhler 1973: 63)

There is no grammaticalized case system. Case relations are marked in particular by means of the following:

- a. word order, used in particular to distinguish between subject and object;
- b. the transitive suffix *-a (TR; see 3.1.3.5);
- c. the transitive preposition (TR) (**ke* in *NW and **kò* in *SE; see 3.1.5.2);
- d. postpositions (see 3.1.5.2); and
- e. verbal derivational forms (see 3.1.6.2).

These generalizations, however, do not take care of the many pragmatically determined variations that are possible. For example, participants expressing either topic or focus may be placed clause-initially, e.g.

(100) E2 *!Áŋ-à-kè mi lōa kú lòm.*
 tree-R-N4:DEM 1SG NEG PROG cut
 ‘This tree, I don’t cut it.’ (Köhler 1973: 63)

3.1.3 Verb Phrase

3.1.3.1 Introduction

Ignoring question words, adverbs and auxiliary elements that may also appear in the verb phrase, the order of main constituents is as summarized in [Table 7.1](#).

Table 7.1 The Main Constituents of the Verb Phrase in Six !Xun Dialects

N1	NEG	ASPECT	TENSE	V		object NP
W1	NEG	ASPECT	TENSE	V		object NP
W2	NEG	ASPECT		V		object NP
C1	NEG		TENSE	V	-PROG	object NP
E1	TENSE	ASPECT	NEG	V		object NP
E2		NEG	ASPECT	V		object NP

Note: ASPECT stands for categories such as imperfective, habitual, progressive, while TENSE stands for past and future.

In W2, and to some extent E3, declarative main clauses are marked for topic: the topic marker *má* is placed at the end of the topic constituent, which typically is the subject noun phrase but may also be an adverbial phrase or a subordinate clause:

(101) W2 *Hà má to'm l'àn láé.*
 N1 TOP be.near with die:SG
 'He is about to die.'

No conclusive evidence is available on dialects other than the ones listed in [Table 7.1](#). The listing takes care of the most common uses only. What it suggests is that Northwestern !Xun differs from Southeastern !Xun in its linear arrangement of verb phrase constituents, e.g.

- (102) N1 *Yà má lōā ú-á tci ñdī?*
 N1 Q NEG come-R come never
 ‘Will he ever come?’
- (103) N1 *Yà lōā kē tci.*
 N1 NEG PAST come
 ‘He has not yet come.’
- (104) N1 *Yà glúye ha ke ū-ā.*
 N1 yesterday PROG PAST come-R
 ‘He was going yesterday.’

In E1, the negation marker *lōá* follows the aspect marker *kú*, but in habitual negation (‘never’) the negation marker precedes:

- (105) a. E1 *Ē kú lōá ’m !há.*
 1PL:EX PROG NEG eat meat
 ‘We are eating meat.’
- b. *Ē lōá kú ’m !há.*
 1PL:EX NEG PROG eat meat
 ‘We never eat meat.’ (Dickens 2005)

3.1.3.2 Suppletive Verbs

All !Xun dialects have a set of suppletive verbs. These verbs have two different forms each, where one form refers to a singular and the other form to a plural participant. Which participant this is depends on the verb class concerned. In the case of intransitive verbs, there is number agreement between subject and verb: whether the singular or the plural stem of the verb is selected depends on the number of the *subject* noun. The following is an example of an intransitive suppletive

verb (for complete lists in E1, E2, W1 and W2, see, respectively, Snyman 1970: 110; Köhler 1973: 28; Heikkinen 1987: 76; Heine and König 2012):

(106)		SG	PL	Meaning
	N1	<i>tchú</i>	<i>gʔá</i>	‘lie down’
	W1	<i>sú</i>	<i>gʔà</i>	
	E1	<i>cú</i>	<i>gʔà</i>	
	E2	<i>cúú</i>	<i>gʔàà</i>	

(107)	a.	E2	<i>!Áŋ-ā-kè</i>	<i>kú</i>	<i>!òàh.</i>
			tree-R-DEM:N4	PROG	break:SG
			‘The tree there is breaking.’		
	b.		<i>!Áŋ-s-à-kè</i>	<i>kú</i>	<i>kx’ùm.</i>
			tree-PL-R-DEM:N4	PROG	break:PL
			‘The trees there are breaking.’		

Transitive verbs show number agreement with the *object* noun: whether the singular or plural stem is selected depends on the number of the clausal object, e.g.

(108)		SG	PL	Gloss
	N1	<i>!hún</i>	<i>!’ùàn</i>	‘kill’
	W1	<i>!hún</i>	<i>’n!àhbì, !’áj</i>	
	E1	<i>!hún</i>	<i>!’óàn</i>	
	E2	<i>!hun</i>	<i>!’òàn</i>	

(109)	a.	E1	<i>n!hài</i>	<i>!hún</i>	<i>gúmi</i>	‘The lion killed the cow.’
			lion	kill:SG	cattle	
	b.		<i>n!hài</i>	<i>!’óàn</i>	<i>gúmi</i>	‘The lion killed the cattle.’
			lion	kill:PL	cattle	

3.1.3.3 Aspect and Tense

Divergences among !Xun dialects are particularly obvious in the case of marking tense and aspect. First, with one exception there is no tense-aspect form which can be reconstructed safely back to Proto-!Xun. Second, there are some differences with regard to the tense-aspect concepts distinguished. For example, whereas Northwestern !Xun dialects have a habitual category, there is none in Southeastern !Xun. Third, even if the same category exists in different dialects, there are considerable differences in the frequency of occurrence. For example, while all dialects have a past tense, its use is obligatory only in N (*kē*), while neither W1 (*kē*), W2 (*kē*) nor E1 (*kōh*) mark past actions consistently by using the past tense form.

Table 7.2 summarizes the main tense-aspect categories that are distinguished. Note that our interpretation and terminology do not necessarily coincide with that of other authors. Note further that we have included only categories that are distinguished in at least two different dialects.

Table 7.2 The Main Tense-Aspect Categories in !Xun

Concept	N1	N2	W1	C1	E1	E2
Incompletive	zero	zero	zero		zero	zero
Imperfective (IMPF)	–	–	<i>ā</i>	<i>tī</i>	<i>kū</i>	<i>kū</i>
Progressive (PROG)	<i>hā</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>tī</i>	<i>kū</i>	<i>kū</i>
Habitual (HAB)	<i>ká</i>	<i>ke, kī</i>	<i>kī</i>		–	–
Completive (COMPL)	<i>tāni, tōān</i>	<i>toa</i>	<i>ōh-ā</i>		–	<i>tāni, tōān</i>
Past (PAST)	<i>kē</i>	<i>ka, ke</i>	<i>kē</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>kōh</i>	
Future	<i>ú, ō-tā</i>	<i>o</i>		<i>o(ga)</i>		<i>úú</i>

With the exception of the completive markers in N1 and E2, all markers are placed *before* the main verb. Whether they form proclitics or prefixes is unclear in most cases. Combinations of markers are possible; in E1, for

example, *kòh* and *kú* may combine to indicate a habitual action in the past, e.g.

- (110) E1 *Sì- lá kòh kú 'm !há n!è'ési.*
 3PL -PL PAST PROG eat meat only
 'They used to eat meat only.' (Dickens 2005)

3.1.3.3.1 Incompletive

This is the default tense–aspect category in !Xun. With reference to E1, Dickens (2005) says that the verb is never inflected for time and that tense is often determined by real-world context. Thus, sentence (111) can have any of the translations given; to express distinctions of time, adverbs are added, as in (112).

- (111) E1 *Hä ú-á Tc'ùm!kúí.*
 N1 go-TR Tsumkwe
 a. 'He goes to Tsumkwe.'
 b. 'He went/has gone to Tsumkwe.'
 c. 'He will go to Tsumkwe.'
- (112) a. E1 *Hä goàq'àn ú-á Tjùm!kúí.*
 'He went to Tsumkwe yesterday.'
- b. *!Ámà hè hä ú-á Tjùm!kúí.*
 'Today he goes to Tsumkwe.' (Dickens 2005)

These uses are characteristic of the incompletive aspect in E1. In other dialects they also show a wide range of uses, even if not nearly as wide as in E1.

3.1.3.3.2 Imperfective

Köhler calls the imperfective marker *kú* in E2 the “time marker” (1971a: 497) or “Aktionspartikel” (1973: 52).

The function of this particle, which is placed between subject and verb, is largely unclear. Köhler (1973: 52) says that it serves “eine Handlung des Subjekts einzuleiten, seltener ein Prädikat als Vorgang (Adjektivverben)” (to introduce an action of the subject, less frequently a predicate as a process (verbal adjectives)). Dickens (2005) treats E1 *kú* as an imperfective marker used “to show that an action is continuous or habitual or unfinished”. Southeastern !Xun *kú* is best characterized as a continuative morpheme which includes the functions of a progressive and an inchoative.

(113) E2 *Kā lām kú n#hàò zō kú cè kà úú ts'āā.*
 when sun IMPF set bees IMPF return and go sleep
 ‘When the sun sets the bees go back to sleep.’ (Köhler 1973: 16)

(114) E1 *N'úú n!a'àn. N'úú kú n!a'àn.*
 moon be.big moon AP be.big
 ‘The moon is big.’ ‘The moon is getting big.’

The imperfective marker *kú* corresponds to the incompletive marker *āā* in W1 (Heikkinen 1987) and to *tí* in T (Vedder 1910/11).

3.1.3.3.3 Progressive

All !Xun dialects have some grammaticalized notion of a progressive:

(115) N1 *Yà léyà hā tsí.*
 N1 today PROG come
 ‘He is coming today.’

(116) N3 *!Xe a tci glu.*
 dog PROG drink water
 ‘The dog is drinking water.’ (Bleek 1956: 3)

3.1.3.3.4 Habitual

Only in Northwestern !Xun is there a distinct category of a habitual. In N1, *ká* is used obligatorily for habitual actions or events:

- (117) N1 *lÁm wúcè m̄á ká glā ī kè gliúú.*
day all 1SG HAB give 2PL TA water
'Every day I give you (PL) water.'

The W1 marker *kí* serves as a marker of both habitual and continuous actions (Heikkinen 1987: 88).

3.1.3.3.5 Completive

The marker *òh-ā* of W1 expresses a “complete, continuous state”; it is etymologically the same as the equative copula (see 3.1.3.5).

The verbs **ñannì* and **toan*, both meaning ‘finish, be finished’, also serve to express a completive aspect in N1, N2, and E2, e.g.

- (118) N1 *Mi- 'ñ kē 'm tòàn lhà.*
1SG- DEM:PROX PAST eat COMPL meat
'I have eaten meat.'

- (119) N2 *Cuula kī cin l'á toa tci, toa txa.*
arrow PAST ? ? finished come let fly
'The arrow is shot off, let fly.' (Bleek 1956: 206)

- (120) E2 *Mi 'm lhā ñannì.*
1SG eat meat finish
'I have eaten the meat.' (Köhler 1973: 52)

3.1.3.3.6 Past

The use of the past tense marker *kē* in N1 is obligatory when past actions or events are involved while in E1 it is not consistently used for past actions (see above).

(121) N1 *Mà kúlímà kē ū-ā kú- ndú'à.*
 1SG long.ago PAST go-R LOC- DEM:DIST
 'I went there long ago.'

3.1.3.3.7 Future

The most common, though not the only means of expressing future events is by using some grammaticalized form of the verb *X *ú 'go'. No future tense appears to exist in W1 and E1.

(122) N *Yà lōā ú- á tci.*
 N1 NEG FUT -R come
 'He will not come.'

3.1.3.4 Negation

Verbal negation is fairly uniform across all dialects: (a) There are two markers, each associated with a clearly defined range of functions. (b) Negation markers are preverbal clitics (when there is a verb). (c) The negation markers are *lōā (general negation) and *kora (negative existence), their distribution across dialects is summarized below. Concerning the position of the negation marker, see 3.1.3.1.

*X *lōā *kora

N1 *lóa, lqá* *kūlā, kùla*

N2	<i>lwa,</i> <i>lwi(n)</i>	<i>kula</i>
W1	<i>lōā</i>	<i>kōrā</i>
W2	<i>lōā</i>	<i>kwàlā</i>
K	<i>lōā</i>	<i>kōrā</i>
C1	<i>loa</i>	
E1	<i>lóa</i>	<i>kòrà</i>
E2	<i>lōā</i>	<i>kōārà</i>

**lōā* cannot stand on its own, it requires a following predicate. **kora*, on the other hand, has a verb-like status, i.e., it occupies the slot of a main verb. The phrase *lōā + kú* (progressive) is often shortened to *lú* in Southeastern !Xun.

3.1.3.5 Copulas

There are a number of copula-like elements, but only two are of major significance: **gè* and **òh* ‘be, be somewhere, exist’. Both have a range of overlapping functions, with that range differing from one dialect to another. In E1, for example, only *gè* appears to be locative (Dickens 2005); in E2, *gèè* expresses existence and *gè-à* (‘exist’ + transitive suffix) location (‘be somewhere’), but *’o* is used for location as well (Köhler 1973: 59). The reflexes of these items are summarized below. Note that in Northwestern !Xun, **òh* almost

invariably takes the transitive suffix *-a. There is a verb òò ‘do, make’ in E1 which is presumably related to *òh (cf. Dickens 2005).

*X *gè *òh

N1 gè wa (< *òh-a)

N2 ge, gè o, o-a, w-a

W1 gè òh-ā

W2 gè òhā

K gē

C1 ge -ua

E1 gè(-à) ò

E2 gèè 'ó

(123) N1 *G!òà mā gè-ā kú- ndū'à?*
 tobacco Q COP-R LOC- DEM:DIST
 ‘Is there tobacco?’

(124) N1 *Tci-dē kā-ndū'ā wā n!āq-dē.*
 woman N4-DEM:DIST COP bush-woman
 ‘That woman is a Kxoe.’

3.1.3.5.1 The Transitive Suffix *-A (TR)

The transitive suffix could be treated in virtually any other section on !Xun grammar since it has a range of

functions that relate in much the same way to verbal and to nominal morphosyntax, to derivation and to inflection. The transitive suffix, called the qualifying copula (“Qualifikationskopula”) by Köhler (1973: 18), the transitive suffix by Heikkinen (1987: 5), and the transitive suffix *-a* by Dickens (2005) is added to verbs and nouns to express a number of different functions, including transitivity, and derivation. Its reflexes are presented below.

*X *-a

N1 -*ā*

N2 *a*

W1 -*ā*

W2 -*ā*

K -*ā*

E1 -*a*

E2 -*a*

The transitive suffix has a number of allomorphs, which usually take the following forms (cf. Snyman 1970: 71, 113; Köhler 1973):

-*wa* following back vowels (*o*, *u*),

- ya* following front vowels (*e, i*),
- nya* following front nasal vowels (*en, in*),
- an* following a low nasal vowel (*an*),
- \emptyset following *a*,
- a* following consonants.

Since the distribution of these allomorphs is predictable, we follow Dickens (1994, 2005) in ignoring them in the present orthography, hence N1 [ʼú-wá] ‘going’ will be written *ú-á*. In E1, the tone of this particle is the same as the last tone of the preceding item to which *-a is suffixed (Dickens 2005), but the situation is more complex in other varieties. Note in this connection that Dickens (1997: 108ff.) distinguishes two markers -*a*–: one that has low tone and serves as a relative clause marker (see 3.1.8.2), and another whose tone is a copy of that of the preceding syllable, which is used (a) as a transitivity marker and (b) as a suffix of compounds, marking the head of a compound (see 3.1.6.1).

3.1.4 Noun Phrase

The noun phrase consists essentially of either a pronoun or a noun with or without modifiers. While modifiers almost always follow their head nouns, some precede. The basic order of noun phrase constituents tends to be as follows (see 3.1.4.3 below):

PRE-NOMINAL MODIFIER NOUN (ADJ) (NUM) (DEM)
(relative clause)

3.1.4.1 Pronouns

Table 7.3 contains a complete list of personal pronouns. Note that third person singular personal pronouns are identical with the noun class markers of class 1 (N1). For a list of noun class markers, see Table 7.5.

Table 7.3 Personal Pronouns in !Xun

	Singular			Dual	Plural			
	1	2	3 (N1)		1:EX	1:IN	2	3
*X	*mi	*à	*hā	*sa	*è	*m̄	*i	*sĭ̄
*NW	*mi, *mā	*à	*hā	*sa	*è, *dju	*m̄hm̄	*i	*cĭ̄
N1	mi, mā	à, ā	yā	cā	djū	m̄m̄	i	cĭ̄
N2	mi, ma	a	(h)a	sa	e		i-hi	i, si
W1	mi, mā, nā	à, bà	hā	sā	è, zù	m̄hm̄	i, yà	sĭ̄, sē
W2	mi, mā	à, bà	hā	cā	è, djū	m̄m̄	i, yà	cĭ̄, yĭ̄
W3	mi, nā	à	hā	sā	è	m̄m̄	i	sĭ̄, yĭ̄
K	mi, mā, mé'ē, nā	à	hā		è, djūú		i	s(i)ŋ
C1	mi, na	a	hā		e	m'	i	sn
*SE	*mi	*à	*hā	*sā	*è	*m̄	*i	*si
E1	mi	à	hā	sā	è	m̄	i	si
E2	mī	'āá	hā		'ēē	m̄	'īī	sī
E3	mī, m̄	à	hā	sā, s̄ā	è	m̄	i, ī	sī

Table 7.5 !Xun Noun Class Markers (cf.)

	N1	N2	N3	N4
*X	*hā	*si	*yi	*kā
*NW	*hā		*yūi	*kā
N1	yà ¹		*yūi	kā
N2	hā, a	si	i, hi	ka
W1	hā	sē	yūi	kā
W2	hāā		yūi	kā
K	hā			
C1	hā	se		ga
*SE	*hā	*si	*yi	ka
E1	hā	si	yi, hi	kā
E2	hā	si	yi, hi	kā

Note: 1 N1 yà is probably an innovation, which replaced Proto-!Xun *hā.

The items listed in [Table 7.3](#) are used as subject and object pronouns, and – with few exceptions – also as possessive attributes (see 3.1.4.4.5). As subjects they precede the verb, as objects they follow the verb, and as attributive modifiers they precede the noun they modify.

The number suffixes *-tsan and *!ao ([Table 7.4](#)) differ from personal pronouns and noun class markers in that they do not stand on their own; rather they are suffixed to the former, or else to nouns or other noun phrase elements. The dual forms *-tsan (number suffix) and *sa (personal pronoun) can both be assumed to represent grammaticalized forms of the numeral *tsan ‘two’. Dual pronouns are obligatorily used in conjoining constructions such as the following:

Table 7.4 !Xun Number Suffixes

	Dual	Plural
*X	*-tsan (< *tsan ‘two’)	*-!ao (< *!ao ‘three’)
*NW	*-tcá	*-!áó
N1	-tcá	
N2	tsa	!o
W1	-tsâ, -sâŋ	-!âô, -!ô
W2	-tcá	
K		-!ó
C1	dsaan	g!ao (trial and plural)
*SE	*-tsá	*-!a
E1	-tsá	-!á
E2	-tsá	-!â

(125) E1 E- tsá mí tsú kú !ã qè g!ò'é.
 !EX:PL- DU:1SG uncle PROG hunt oryx
 ‘My uncle and I (lit.: we-two my uncle) were hunting oryx.’ (Dickens 2005)

Throughout the !Xun-speaking area, the simple personal pronouns (or noun class markers) are normally used; however, in Southeastern !Xun personal pronouns tend

to occur in a “strengthened” form, as in the following example from E2, where plurality is expressed three times in the subject pronoun 'iì-!â-s-à-fiè:

(126) E2 *fià tc(î)-ēè rēē 'iì- lā- s- à- fiè kòqà?*
 why Q 2PL- PL- PL- R- DEM fear
 ‘What are you (PL) afraid of?’ (Köhler 1973: 42)

There are a number of particles that can be placed after the personal pronouns to express specific textual functions. Perhaps the most common one is **hî* (EMPH), which immediately follows the first noun or pronoun of the clause, thereby “emphasizing” that NP, where “emphasizing” in many cases means expressing contrastive focus (‘X, rather than Y’). The cross-dialectal forms this pronoun takes are listed below.

*X	* <i>hî</i>
N1	- <i>hî̄</i>
N2	- <i>hî</i> , - <i>hn</i>
W1	- <i>hî</i>
W2	- <i>hî</i>
C1	- <i>xn</i>
E2	<i>hî</i>

- (127) N1 *Djū-* *hĵ* *djū* *l'ē-xà* *kē* *ō* *kā*.
 1PL:EX- EMPH 1PL:EX EMPH:REFL PAST do N4
 'We *ourselves* did it.'

In all dialects there is also a pattern whereby personal pronouns are “strengthened” by adding any of the demonstratives listed below (see 3.1.4.4.1). The main function of this strategy is to provide the hearer with deictic information on the location of the referent concerned, e.g.

- (128) a. N1 *Yā-* *'ĵ*. 'S/he (right here).'
 N1- DEM:PROX
 b. *Yā-* *ndū'ā*. 'S/he (over there).'
 N1- DEM:DIST

The structure these pronouns take is the following (where PRO = personal pronoun, TR = transitive suffix, DEM = demonstrative attribute):

- N1 PRO + DEM
 W1 PRO + DEM
 W2 PRO + DEM
 E1 PRO + TR + DEM
 E2 PRO + TR + DEM

The reflexive pronouns appear to be derived from a noun *l'ae 'body' (see below). In E2, the noun *l'x'a* 'heart',

preceded by a possessive attribute, serves as “emphatic self”, e.g., *mi !x'a* ‘I myself’ (lit.: ‘my heart’).

*X *l’ae ‘oneself’ (REFL)

N1 *l’é*

W1 *-l’ē*

W2 *l’ē*

E1 *l’àè*

E2 *l’ēē*

(129) N1 *Yà kēē !hún yà l’é.*
 N1 PAST kill:SG N1 REFL
 ‘He has killed himself.’

The forms of the reciprocal pronoun, conceivably derived from the noun *khòè ‘places’ (SG: *kò, cf. Köhler 1973: 50), are listed below. The verb preceding *khoe must have the transitive suffix *-a on it in all dialects.

*X *khoe

N1 *khōē, khòè*

W1 *-khōē* (emphatic marker), *-kòè*

W2 *kòè, khòè*

W3 *kòè*

C1 *goe*

E1 *khòè*

E2 *khwè*

E3 *khòè, kòèè*

(130) N1 *Cj̄ kē !òli- lá'ā khòè.*
3PL PAST fight- BEN REC
'They fought each other.'

3.1.4.2 Nouns

Nouns are marked neither for case nor for indefinite or definite reference, in Northwestern !Xun they also tend to be unmarked for number. Definiteness may be expressed by the demonstrative *l'àn (see 3.1.4.4.1), and specific (presentative) reference by *nlúí 'a certain'. Many verbs are what Köhler (1973: 26) calls "bivalent" (cf. Dickens's [2005] distinction between "verb" and "deverbal nominalization without change"), that is, they can be used as verbs or nouns, e.g.

(131) E2 'm (a) 'eat', (b) 'food, fruit'
'm- s̄ì 'veldkost'
eat PL

There are considerable differences in the treatment of nominal number marking. While in Southeastern !Xun count nouns are pluralized by adding the suffix *-s̄ì*,

nouns are essentially transnumeral in Northwestern !Xun, that is, they normally have no formal number marking, e.g.

N1 *g!áùn* ‘tree, trees’
n!éú ‘old man, old men’

To emphasize plurality or for disambiguation, however, plural suffixes can be used, e.g.

N1 *g!áùn-cʰj̃* ‘trees’
n!e?ú-cʰj̃ ‘old men’
djú bā-cʰj̃ ‘our fathers (i.e., not yours)’

The following are the predominant means of marking number distinctions:

a. Suppletion, e.g.

	SG	PL	Gloss
E1	<i>!ʰhò àn</i>	<i>nlǎ qè</i>	‘man’
	<i>dà ’ámá</i>	<i>dà ’ábí(-sì)</i>	‘child’
	<i>jù</i>	<i>jú</i>	‘person’

b. *-sì; see below:

*X *si
 N1
 W1 sě
 C1 se
 E1 si e.g., E1 tc'ù PL tc'ù-si 'house'
 E2 si

c. *-sin; see below:

*X *sin
 N1 cɨ̃
 N3 sɨ̃ŋ, sŋ
 W1 sǎ ŋ, hə ŋŋ
 C1 sn
 E1 sɨ̃n
 E2 sin

	SG	PL	Gloss
C1	dsàò	dsàò-sn	'woman'
	gome	gome-sn	'cattle'

d. *-mà, PL *-mhè

Diminutive nouns take the singular suffix *-mà, which they exchange for *-mhè in the plural (see section 3.1.6.2).

e. Transnumeral nouns

Names of plants, animals, and inanimate items normally have no formal singular/plural marker on them.

3.1.4.3 Noun Class System

A typological characteristic of !Xun is the presence of a noun class system. The system is covert, that is, nouns do not have any formal class marking on them. There are four individual noun classes, more precisely, agreement classes. Class membership can be derived only from pronominal exponents referring to nouns. The pronominal exponents of noun classes and their dialect distribution are summarized in [Table 7.5](#).

There is a slightly different set of agreement markers used as possessee pronouns (POSS:PRO), which are presented in [Table 7.6](#). Possessee pronouns are suffixed to the possessor noun or pronoun, e.g.

Table 7.6 Possessee Pronouns in !Xun According to Noun Classes

	N1	N2	N3	N4
*X	*wà	*hi	*yii	*gā
N1	-wà		-wīi	-gā
W1	-wa, -ya		-yīi	-gā
W2	-yā		-yīi	-gā
W3	-wà		-yīi	-gā
C1	-hà			-gā
E1	mà	hi, yii	yii	gā
E2	-mà		-yīi	-gā
E3	mā	hī-si	hī-si	-gā

(132) N1 *Tc'ú* *kā-'ŋ* *wā* *Dúmbà-gā*.
 home N4-DEM COP Dumba-POSS:PRO:N4
 'This home is Dumba's.'

While these class distinctions are found across dialects, there are a few individual differences. N1 differs from the other dialects in having replaced the N1 marker *hà by yà and by having lost class 2 (N1), and the Southeastern !Xun dialects (E1 and E2) have merged N1, N2, and N3 to one marker (hè) in their proximal

demonstrative forms, so that there remains only a two-way distinction *hè* non-N4 vs. *kè* N4.

Some of these classes combine into class pairs or genders (Güldemann 2000b). Depending on their association with noun classes, nouns can be said to belong to any of the genders listed below (cf. Köhler 1973: 29; Heikkinen 1987: 67ff.; Dickens 1994: 20; 2005). As shown below, there are altogether five genders, of which three have no formal number distinction.

*X	*N1/N2	*N1/N3	*N1	*N3	*N4
N1		N1/N3	N1	N3	N4
W1	N1/N2	N1/N3	N1	N3	N4
W2		N1/N3	N1	N3	N4
E1	N1/N2	N1/N3	N1	N3	N4
E2	N1/N2	N1/N3	N1	N3	N4

Since N1 and W2 have lost class 2, there is only one paired gender.

Nouns are inherently marked for class membership. For a detailed classification of nouns in E1, see the entries in the dictionary of Dickens (1994). A number of generalizations on membership of genders have been proposed (see especially Köhler 1971a; 1973: 31–35 for E2; Heikkinen 1987: 67f. for W1; Güldemann 2000b for E1). The

following are a few salient number and meaning characteristics of genders across the various dialects. Note that Köhler (1973) treats *N1/N2 plus *N1/N3 as one gender (his “I. Klasse”) in E2; accordingly, this

gender includes not only human nouns but also animal names.

Gender	Number	Salient meanings
*N1/N2	singular/plural	human nouns
*N1/N3	singular/plural	many animals, inanimate nouns
*N1	transnumeral	many plants and plant products, inanimate nouns
*N3	transnumeral	mostly inanimate nouns
*N4	transnumeral	inanimate nouns, body part nouns, abstract nouns

3.1.4.4 Nominal Modifiers

Nominal modifiers follow their head noun, with the exception of the following, which precede:

- a. the referential demonstrative *l'`àn (see 3.1.4.4.1),
- b. pronominal possessive attributes (see 3.1.4.4.6),
- c. two of the three main patterns of nominal attributive possession (see 3.1.4.4.5).

(133) W1 (a) *Mā sē kē- txà hā- l'`àn !'hòm.*
 1SG INT PAST- shoot 3SG DEM leopard
 'I was going to shoot that leopard.' (Heikkinen 1987: 18)

There is some variation in the way modifiers are placed relative to one another, both across dialects and within a given dialect (see, e.g., Köhler 1973: 66f. for E2). In Southeastern !Xun, though not in Northwestern !Xun, noun modifiers can be divided into two types: attributive and predicative modifiers. While the former are added to the head noun without any formal linkage, the latter require the relative suffix *-a*, PL *-sa* (see 3.1.3.5) as nominal (or pronominal) suffixes. The main characteristics of attributive and predicative modifiers in Southeastern !Xun are summarized roughly below:

	Attributive modifiers	Predicative modifiers
Linking element	<i>-Ø</i>	<i>-a</i> , PL <i>-sa</i>
Kinds of modifiers	adjectives, numerals, quantifiers	verbs of state, demonstratives, relative clauses

The following overview is confined to a few categories only to illustrate the structure of nominal attribution; for more details the reader is referred to a detailed treatment in Heine and König, 2012.

3.1.4.4.1 Demonstratives

With the exception of (e) below, demonstrative attributes follow the noun they qualify; their use tends to be accompanied by appropriate demonstrative gestures (Snyman 1970: 114). The primary demonstratives

distinguished are listed below. Note, however, that various dialects have strategies to form additional demonstratives to express more deictic distinctions. Dickens (1997) observes with reference to E1 that demonstratives are verbal in nature.

	Proto-!Xun form	Primary meaning	Conceptual label	Abbreviation
(a)	*-'è	'this (here)'	proximal, contrastive	PROX
(b)	*-'ij	'this (right here)'	here	HERE
(c)	*-to'á	'that (visible)'	distal	DIST
(d)	*ú + (a), (b) or (c)	'that (out of sight)'	far	FAR
(e)	*!'áen	'that (mentioned earlier)'	reference	REF

The meanings given are the ones most commonly associated with these categories; there is some variation both among different dialects and within one and the same dialect. Category (b) is only found in Northwestern !Xun (N1, W1, W2), while (e) is not found in N1. (e) appears to be used in E1 to some extent as a definite article. There is considerable variation in the form these demonstratives take; space limits do not allow us to describe this variation here.

Examples from N

(134)	N1	<i>tci-lxòà</i>	<i>kā-</i>	<i>'ēē</i>		'this person'	
		person	N4-	DEM:PROX			
	N1	<i>g'áúin</i>	<i>kā-</i>	<i>'ij ij</i>		'this tree'	
		tree	N4-	DEM:HERE			
	N1	<i>g'áúin</i>	<i>kā-</i>	<i>ndū'á</i>		'that tree'	
		tree	N4-	DEM:DIST			
	N1	<i>Dè'bè</i>	<i>yīi</i>	<i>ú</i>	<i>yīi-</i>	<i>ndū'á</i>	'the children (far away)'
		children	N3	go	N3-	DEM:FAR	

In Southeastern !Xun, demonstratives require the preceding head noun to take the transitive suffix *-a* (see

3.1.3.5), and the noun class markers have merged with the proximal demonstrative:

hǎ + 'è > *hè* 'this' N1
hì + 'è > *hè* 'this' N3
ká + 'è > *ké* 'this' N4

(135) E2 *dzháú-* à *h-* è 'this woman'
 woman- TR N1- DEM:PROX

In Northwestern !Xun there appears to be a “nasal extension” in the distal demonstrative, that is, there is a nasal element, the diachronic basis of which remains unclear (CL = noun class marker):

*X *-to'á

N1 CL + *ndū'á*

W1 CL + *ndò'á*, or CL + *-tò'á*

W2 CL + *ndù'á*

K CL + *tō'á*

C1 (*n*)*doaa* (“locative particle”; Vedder 1910/11: 15)

E2 -TR + *tòàh*

(136) a. W2 *tcháú* *fià-* *ndū'á* 'that woman'
 woman N1 DEM:DIST
 b. E2 *dzháú-* *s-* à *tòàh* 'the women there'
 woman- PL- TR DEM:DIST

3.1.4.4.2 Locative Pronouns

There is a locative root (LOC) *NW *ku, *SE *kò which combines with the set of demonstratives to form locative pronouns or adverbs. Frequently, the root is linked with the demonstrative by means of the transitive suffix *-a. The shape this root takes is as follows (see also under 3.1.7.2, ‘where?’):

*N	*ku			
N1	<i>kū-</i> , <i>kw-á-</i>	e.g.,	<i>kw-é-’ēē</i>	‘here’ (PROX)
N2	<i>kw-a</i>	e.g.,	<i>kw-á-’īj</i>	‘here’ (HERE)
W1	<i>kū-</i> , <i>ngū-</i>			
W2	<i>kū-</i> , <i>kw-ā-</i>			
K	<i>kū-</i>			
C1	<i>go</i>			
E1	<i>kò-à-</i>			

3.1.4.4.3 Adjectives

The treatment of adjectives is one of the more complex areas in !Xun grammar (see Heine and König 2012); for none of the dialects does there exist a satisfactory description. There are only few adjectives in the dialects. Most notions that translate as adjectives in other languages are treated as verbs of state.

(137)	N1	<i>lHá</i>	<i>kā-</i>	<i>’ij</i>	<i>tcj.</i>	<i>Mā</i>	<i>cj</i>	<i>lhā</i>	<i>tcj.</i>
		meat	N4-	DEM:HERE	fat	1SG	see	meat	fat
		‘This meat is fat.’				‘I see fat meat.’			

With reference to E1, Dickens (2005) observed that there is a small class of adjectives, while in another work (Dickens 1997: 110) he had argued that adjectives do not exist in E1. What other authors call “adjectives”

(Köhler’s “regelmäßige Adjektive”) or “descriptive adnouns” is referred to by him as *verbals* – a category that also includes demonstratives. The main reason for setting up such a category is that all these items require the head noun or pronoun to take the relative clause marker -à as a suffix. Dickens acknowledges, however, that there is a separate category of what others call “unregelmäßige Adjektive” or “irregular descriptive adnouns”. These are nominal in nature and differ from verbals in a number of ways; some have suppletive plural forms:

E1	<i>g!òq</i>	PL	<i>nlàqè</i>	‘male’	(see also under 3.1.6.2)
	<i>n!à’an</i>	PL	<i>làè(!àè)</i>	‘adult, grown-up’	

It would seem, however, that there is a cline between adjectives and verbals in most !Xun dialects: these two groups can be arranged along a scale extending from items behaving largely like nouns to items behaving like verbs which are added to nouns in the form of relative clauses. From the data available it is hard to determine the exact status of a given item. Adjectives and quantifiers follow their head noun and take the plural marking, while the preceding head noun loses its plural marking (Dickens 2005; see also Heikkinen 1987: 16):

(138)	E1	<i>dshàú</i>	<i>gè-</i>	<i>sín</i>	‘the remaining women’
		woman	other-	PL	

3.1.4.4.4 Numerals

Table 7.7 gives a list of cardinal numerals. Counting from ‘5’ onward is possible, there are somehow productive patterns in all dialects. As a matter of fact, numerals above ‘5’ are rarely used. Numerals are placed

after the head noun without inflectional markings (see Köhler 1973: 68f., Heikkinen 1987: 19f., Heine and König 2012). In E2, nouns that otherwise would take a plural suffix do not do so after any of the numerals ‘2’, ‘3’, and ‘4’, e.g. *Gòbà n!nannì* ‘three Mbukushu people’.

Table 7.7 Cardinal Numerals in !Xun

	1	2	3	4
*X	*n!è'e	*tsan	*!áo 'more than 2', '3'	*tsan ka óh(-a) tsan ('2 + 2')
N1	n!è'è	tcā	!áō	tcā-kā-yà-tcā; b!ñē
N2	n!èè	tsa	!ao	
W1	n!e'è	tsa	!ao	tsā-kā-òh-ā-tsā
W2	n!è'è	tcā	!áō	tcā-kā-yà-tcā; !ám
C1	lee	dsaan	g!ao	dsan-sā-dsan
E1	n!è'è	tsāqn, tsān	n!āmi	tsān-kā-tsān
E2	n!èh	tsān	n!āmi	tsān-kò-tsān

(139) W1 *Khómè hā n!üü hā l'hān tsā.*
 tomorrow N1 take:PL N1 son two
 ‘The next day he took his two sons.’

(140) W1 *Sāj !āō má !āō.*
 3PL three TOP three
 ‘They are three.’

3.1.4.4.5 Attributive Possession

There are three types of possessive constructions, which are:

	Construction type	Proposed label	Lectal distribution
(a)	possessor–possessee	Juxtaposition	N1, N2, W1, E1, E2
(b)	possessor–POSS–PRON–possessee	Specification	N1, E1, E2
(c)	possessee–REL–COP–possessor	Relativization	N1, W1, E1, E2

The possessive particle (POSS) has the following forms:

*X *!l'àn

N1 //ē

W1 –

E1 //àn

E2 //ā

With the exception of (b), which does not occur in W1, all constructions are found in all dialects for which there is a grammatical description. Note that while (a) and (b) have the possessor before the possessee, the possessee precedes in (c). The copula requires the transitive suffix *-a in N1 and W1 but not in E1 and E2. More research is required on how these three constructions differ from one another in their functions (see Heine and König 2012). On the whole, however, they are used interchangeably, e.g.

- (141) N1 (a) *Dúmbà tc'ú* 'Dumba's home'
(b) *Dúmbà l'e yà tc'ú*
Dumba POSS N1 home
(c) *tc'ú k̄- 'ŋ wā Dúmbà- gā*
home N4- DEM:HERE COP Dumba- POSS:N4

In E1 and E2, these forms receive the suffix *SE *-si when there is a plural referent, while N1 and W1 do not distinguish number.

Köhler (1973: 67) notes that construction (b) is used for inalienable possession in E2; neither in E1 nor in any other dialect is there any restriction of this kind. Furthermore, Köhler (1973: 22) mentions a construction

[POSSESSOR-POSSESSEE-TR], presumably a variant of (a), which, he says, is also used for inalienable possession in E2:

(142) E2 *tsxáú* *g!ū-* *ā*
 waterhole water- TR
 ‘water of the waterhole’

3.1.4.4.6 Pronominal Possessives

The forms used for a pronominalized possessor precede the possessee without formal linkage, e.g.

E2 *mī* *lú* ‘my name’
hà *lú* ‘his, her name’ (N1)

They are identical with the personal pronouns (see 3.1.4.1, [Table 7.3](#)). But there are a few exceptions:

- a. The first person singular attribute is *mí (frequently shortened to *m; see below) rather than *ma in N1 and W1.
- b. In some W1 (western) varieties, the second person singular attribute is *bà*, rather than ‘à.
- c. The first person pronoun *mí is shortened to **m̄* preceding the noun *ba ‘father’ and other kinship terms:

N1 *m̄* *bā* ‘my father’
 N2 *m* *bá* ‘my father’ (Bleek 1956: 221)
 E2 *m̄* *bāà* ‘my father’ (Köhler 1973: 43)

In the same way as the possessor can be pronominalized, so can the possessee. A pronominal possessee (POSS:PRO) is suffixed to the possessor noun or pronoun. The forms

it takes in the various dialects are listed in [Table 7.6](#), section 3.1.4.3.

- (143) a. N1 *Wā mi- gā.*
 COP 1SG- POSS:PRO:N4
 'It is mine.' (referring to a noun of class 4, e.g. *khindā* 'cup')
- b. *Wā mi- wā.*
 COP 1SG- POSS:PRO:N1
 'It is mine.' (referring to a noun of class 1, e.g. *dā'bā* 'child')

3.1.5

Adverbial Phrase

In most cases, adverbial phrases are not structurally different from noun phrases. Locative, temporal and some other adverbial participants are in most cases unmarked, but there is what may be called a multi-purpose postposition ***ǰǰ** (see below) that can be used (see also under 3.1.6.2).

3.1.5.1 Adverbs

!Xun has a minimum of inflectional morphology and expresses a number of concepts by means of adverbs. The language is therefore rich in what corresponds to the functional notion of an adverb. Adverbs, especially temporal adverbs, tend to be placed between subject and verb, but they also occur elsewhere, especially clause-initially or clause-finally. Like nouns, adverbs can be clause participants, taking the transitive preposition (TR; see 3.1.5.2), e.g.

- (144) N1 *Mā kēē 'm-ā lhā kē kúlímà.*
 1SG PAST eat-TR meat TR long.ago
 'I ate meat long ago.'

Many verbs, as well as some nouns, may function as adverbs (cf. Heikkinen 1987: 44), e.g.

(145) N1 *G/ú mā ú.*
 night 1SG go
 'I leave at night.'

(146) E1 *Ká khòècà ká dà'ábi kàqā 'm 'm-sì.*
 N4 seem COMPL children already eat food
 'It seems that the children have already eaten the food.'

Perhaps one of the main sources for adverbial concepts is verbs of state used in an adverbial function. Some of these have turned into verbal suffixes:

(147) E2 *'Í ì tsā gūù-tāqm-ā.* cf. *tāqm* 'to miss a target' (cf. 3.1.6.2)
 2PL DU take-miss-TR
 'You two don't grab it properly.'

3.1.5.2 Adpositions

Dickens (2005) says that there are no prepositions in E1. On the basis of cross-linguistic observations one may in fact call !Xun a postpositional language. Still, as we will see below, there are also items that one feels justified to call prepositions.

There is a multi-purpose postposition, *ǀǀ 'in, at', which has the following dialectal distribution:

*X *ǀǀ 'in, at'

N1 *n/ǀ̄*

N2 *n/i*

W1 *n!ḡ*

W2 *ḡ!ḡ*

T *!n*

E1 *n!ḡ*

E2 *n!ḡ*

The primary meaning of **ḡ!ḡ* is probably ‘inside’ and, in fact, this item has uses as a relational noun or adverb where it takes this meaning, cf.

N1 *tc’ù* ‘home’

tc’ù-n!ḡ ‘house’ (lit.: the home’s inside)

(148) N1 *Yà gè- ā n!ḡ.*
N1 stay- TR inside
‘S/he is inside.’

In addition there is what Dickens calls “locative nouns used in possessive construction”, which can with equal justification be interpreted as postpositions, and we will refer to them as secondary postpositions. With few exceptions they are etymologically transparent, that is, they can be used as nouns and postpositions. Many of them require to be headed by the primary postposition **ḡ!ḡ*.

- (149) N1 *Khëndä ge- a lăxũ !'úli.*
 cup COP- TR stool back
 'The cup is behind the stool.'

The only dialect that appears to have a range of prepositions is N2; note that this is the dialect that has been influenced most strongly by the (prepositional) Bantu languages.

- (150) N2 *A gu n!ai, a hm da na ha tcu.*
 N1 take lion N1 EMPH carry? LOC N1 home
 '(He) took the lion and then carried it home.' (Bleek 1956: 62)

In addition there is what we propose to call the transitive preposition (TR) *N *ke, *S *kò, called the “transitive particle” by Dickens (2005), the “Objektergänzungsartikel” by Köhler (1973: 19), and the “multi-purpose-oblique” (MPO) by Güldemann and Vossen (2000). It has the following distribution across dialects:

*N	*ke	*S	*kò
N1	kē	E1	kò
W1	kè	E2	kò
W2	kè	E3	kò
K	kē		

This marker has properties of an oblique case preposition; it is used to increase the valency of the verbs by being preposed to some extra-participant, mostly but not only locative, temporal, or instrumental noun phrases or adverbs. The syntactic slot occupied by the transitive preposition is preceding the second participant after the verb. This can be shown by reversing the order of the

two participants – a rule that is observed across dialects, e.g.

- (151) W1 *Hā l'ū- ā tōq kè †à.* or
 N1 put.in- R honey TR pot
Hā l'ū- ā †à kè tōq.
 N1 put.in- R pot TR honey
 'He put (the) honey into a/the pot.'

3.1.6

Compounding and Derivation

3.1.6.1 Compounding

Compounding is highly common and can be said to belong to the typological characteristics of this language. What appears to be the predominant pattern is that the last constituent is likely to be the semantic and syntactic head while the preceding one assumes the role of a modifier (cf. Köhler 1973: 37; Heikkinen 1987: 7f.; Heine and König 2012). Compounding may involve nouns and nouns, nouns and verbs, or verbs only (note that there is a partly productive pattern of deriving nouns from verbs without any formal marking). In certain cases, the transitive suffix (TR) is required on the second item.

- (152) a. E2 *kx'ōō-* *ts'i* 'opening of a pot'
 pot- mouth
- b. W1 *gà'ō-* *khúí* 'daytime'
 sun- be.hot
- c. W1 *Mā* *gù* 'à *tà* *l'hè-* *lē.*
 1SG take 2SG and pound- die:SG
 'I take you and pound you to death.'

3.1.6.2 Derivation

Both nominal and verbal derivation, achieved by means of enclitics or suffixes, are fairly common and productive mechanisms. The following treatment is confined essentially to a listing of the main derivative exponents.

The main nominal derivational enclitics or suffixes are:

Proto-!Xun form Meaning

- (a) *-a deverbals abstract nouns (NOMIN)
- (b) *-de female (F)
- (c) *-kòè reciprocal (REC)
- (d) *-kx'àò agent nouns (AGENT)
- (e) *-mà, PL ***-m̩** diminutive (DIM)
- (f) *-sí deverbals nouns (NOMIN)

- (g) *-gllòq, PL male (M)
 *-nllèè

a. *-a deverbial abstract nouns

E1	<i>jäqm</i>	'be thin'	<i>jäqm-a</i>	'thinness'
W1	<i>'ú</i>	'go'	<i>'ū-ā</i>	'visitor, journey'

b. *-de female. This suffix appears to be derived from a noun for 'mother'.

N1	<i>!xó</i>	'elephant'	<i>!xó-dé</i>	'female elephant'
W1	<i>!ü</i>	'wedding'	<i>!ü-dē</i>	'bride'

c. *-kòè reciprocal. This nominal extension, which must not be confused with the verbal reciprocal marker (see 3.1.4.1), does not seem to be productive. It is found exclusively in Northwestern !Xun, always preceded by the transitive suffix *-a.

(153)	N1	<i>!úú-</i>	<i>ā-kwè</i>	<i>tcá</i>	'(two) sisters'
		elder.sister-	TR-REC	DU	

d. *-kx'ào agent nouns

N1	<i>ts'áà</i>	'steal'	<i>ts'á-kx'āò</i>	'thief'
E1	<i>!äqè</i>	'hunt'	<i>!äqè-kx'āò</i>	'hunter'

e. *-mà, PL ***-m̩** the diminutive. This suffix still occurs as a relational noun 'child'. Its dialectal distribution is as follows:

	SG	PL
*X	*-mà	*-mfiē
N1	-mà	-mfiēē
N2	ma	me
W2	-mà	-m̃hè
E1	-mà	-mhi
E2	-mà	-mfĩi
N1	g'áúm	'tree'
	g'áúm-mà	PL g'áúm-mfiēē 'small tree'

- f. *-sí deverbals. This suffix has three main functions: (a) place, (b) manner, and (c) instrument. Nouns formed in this way are allocated to class 4 (N4).

	Verb	Meaning	Noun	Meaning
N1	<i>tc'á</i>	'sleep'	<i>tc'á-ci</i>	'sleeping place'
	<i>'m̃</i>	'eat'	<i>'m̃-ci</i>	'eating place, eating utensil'
E1	<i>gè'é</i>	'sing'	<i>gè'é-sí</i>	'way of singing'

- g. *-g!òq, PL *-nllàqè 'male'. This suppletive suffix has the following dialectal distribution (see also under 3.1.4.4.3):

	SG	PL
*N	*-g!òq	*-nllàqè
N1	-lòq	-nllàe
N2	<i>g!o</i>	
W1	-g!òq	<i>nllàqe</i>
E1	<i>g!òq</i>	<i>nllàqè</i>
N1	<i>!xó-lòq</i>	PL <i>!xó-nllāē</i> 'male elephant'
	<i>!hm̃-lòq</i>	PL <i>!hm̃-nllāē</i> 'male leopard'

The main verbal derivative affixes are listed below. It remains, however, unclear in most cases whether, or to what extent, we are in fact dealing with affixes rather than clitics, or even with independent words.

- | | |
|--------------------|----------------------------|
| (a) *-a | transitive suffix (TR) |
| (b) *-khoe | reciprocal (REC) |
| (c) *-ra | ‘away’ andative (AND) |
| (d) *-sòè | ‘out’ elative (ELA) |
| (e) *-taqm-a | frustrative (FRU) |
| (f) *tí | passive (PASS) |
| (g) *-la’a, *-l’àn | benefactive suffix (BEN) |
| (h) *-lx’oa ‘with’ | comitative (COM) |
| (i) *nǎú, *nǎí | causative proclitic (CAUS) |
| (j) *-tòà ‘like’ | similative (SIM) |
| (k) *-nlhòò | ‘aimlessly’ |
| (l) *-lx’áé | ‘together’ |

With the exception of the causative marker (i), all derivational elements follow the verb.

a. *-a transitive suffix

This item, which was mentioned already in section 3.1.3.5 and elsewhere, also acts in some way as a derivational device in that it extends *inter alia* the transitivity pattern of the verb: when added to a verb it allows for an extra participant.

b. *-khoe reciprocal

- | | | | | | | |
|----------|----|------------------|-----|-----|-------------------------|-------|
| (154) N1 | Yà | lǎù | mí. | Cj̃ | lǎù-à | khōē. |
| | N1 | like | 1SG | 3PL | like-TR | REC |
| | | ‘S/he likes me.’ | | | ‘They like each other.’ | |

c. *NW *-ra ‘away’ andative

This suffix appears to be confined to Northwestern !Xun. Note that in Angolan varieties of Northwestern !Xun it tends to be realized as *-la*:

PN **-rā*

N1 *-lā*

N2 *-la*

W1 *-rā*

W2 *-lā*

N1 *glā* ‘put’ PL *glā-lā* ‘throw away (PL)’

- d. *NW **-sòè* ‘out’ relative. This suffix, too, appears to be confined to Northwestern !Xun:

N1 *!xòè* ‘chase’ *!xòè-cúè* ‘chase away’

W1 *tsàq* ‘pour’ *tsàq-sòè* ‘pour out’

- e. **-taqm-a* frustrative

Except for E2, it is unclear whether this item is a derivative suffix or an independent verb **taqm* ‘to miss a target’.

(155) E1 *Hā !àqè tām- à g!ò’è.*

3SG hunt FRU- TR ORYX

‘He hunted the oryx in vain.’ (Dickens 2005)

- f. *NW **tí* passive

A genuine passive morpheme is found only in W1 and W2 (see Heikkinen 1987: 32, 83), e.g.

(156) W1 *Zū xáy n!ūm n!ūhi- sòè- tí tà xáy tè!’àn tà kú’àn.ŋ*

1PL:EX then just take:PL- ELA- PASS and then bring and here

‘We were then just taken out and then brought here.’ (Heikkinen 1987: 32)

- g. **-la’a*, **l’àn* benefactive

The benefactive clitic or suffix is derived from the verb ‘give’, with which it is homonymous (see Dickens 2005 for E1):

	General benefactive marker	‘give me, for me’	Verb ‘give’
*NW	*-la’a	*na	*la’a
N1	la’ā	na	la’a
N2	laa	na	laa, na
W1	-la’ā	nā	la’a
W2	-la’à	nà	la’à
C1	-lācm	na	lācm
*SE	*-l’àn	*na	*l’àn
E1	-l’àn	na	l’àn
E2	-l’āà	nāà	l’āà

(157) N1 *Ī* *gù* *la’ā* *pòhō* *kè* *mī!*
 2PL take BEN jackal TR 1SG
 ‘Catch the jackal for me!’

h. *lx’oa ‘with’ comitative

This suffix replaces the transitive suffix *-a* in E1. Its functions include the marking of comitative, instrumental, and means participants.

i. *n#ú, *n#ái causative proclitic

This verbal proclitic or prefix has the following dialectal distribution:

*NW*n#ú

N *n#ú*

W1 *n#ú*

W2 *nllú*³

*SE *n#ái

E1 n#ái

E2 n#éí-, n#í-

(158) N1 *Mí- h̄j f̄ā n̄ú gē'ē- à yà.* cf. *Yà f̄ā gē'ē.*
1SG EMPH PROG CAUS sing- TR N1 N1 PROG sing
'I am making him sing.' 'He is singing.'

(159) E1 *Farmakx'ò- sì n#ái #háí- á gúmi.*
farmer- PL make be.many- TR cattle
'The farmers increased the [number of] cattle.'

- j. *-#òà similitive. This verbal extension is only found in Northwestern !Xun.

(160) N1 *Cj f̄āā dj̄j- #ōā dē'bē.ē*
3PL PROG think- SIM children
'They think like children.'

- k. *nllhòò 'aimlessly'. This suffix appears to be confined to Southeastern !Xun. In E1 it occurs as a verb meaning '(wander) about, do something without direction' in Dickens (1994: 257).

(161) E2 *Zō kú n!nòm- nllhò.*
bee PROG fly- roam
'The bees fly around everywhere.'

- l. *llx'áé 'together'

This suffix is derived from the verb *llx'áé 'gather, meet'. The various extensions and their lexical sources are summarized below.

	Derivative	Verb	Meaning
*X	*lx'áé	*lx'áé	'walk together'
N1	-lx'áé	lx'áé	'walk together'
W2	lx'āē	lx'āē	'meet, find'
E1	llx'áé	llx'áé	'be together, be assembled'
E2	-lx'áé	lx'áé	'gather, meet'

- (162) N1 *Djū* *kē* *tcí-* *lx'áé.*
 m. 1PL:EX PAST come- together
 'We came together.'

3.1.7 Interpersonal and Textual Functions

3.1.7.1 Imperative

Singular imperatives are formed by using the simple verb stem. Not infrequently, the appropriate subject pronoun is added before the verb.

N2 *tòá* 'go away!' (said to children)

- (163) N1 *Ī* *lqá* *tc'á* *màlí.*
 2PL NEG steal money
 'Don't (you PL) steal money!'

- (164) W1 *m̀h̀m̀m̀* *'ū-* *ā* *ts'ù.*
 1PL:IN go- TR home
 'Let us go home!'

There are a few verbs having a suppletive imperative stem, especially the verb for 'come':

	Imperative		Elsewhere	
	<hr/>		<hr/>	
*X	*wohe	‘come!’	*tsí	‘to come’
N1	<i>wòhé, tci</i>		<i>tci</i>	
W2	<i>tci, glií</i>		<i>glè</i>	
E1	<i>höö</i>		<i>tsí</i>	
E2	<i>wéè</i>		<i>tsí</i>	
(165) N1	<i>Wòhé!</i>	or <i>Tci-</i>	<i>á</i>	<i>kwé-’e!</i> ‘Come here!’
		come-	TR	here-PROX
	E1	<i>höö</i>	‘come!’	
	E2	<i>wéè</i>	‘come!’	

Negative imperatives are formed by placing the verb *nllän ‘leave, let go’ before the main verb in W1, W2 (*nllà*), E1 and E2 (*nllàh* (*kú*), short form: *nlláú*).

(166) W1	<i>Nlä</i>	<i>n/ühì</i>	<i>n/òm</i>	<i>tìí.</i>
	NEG:IMP	take:PL	stone	heavy
	‘Don’t take heavy stones!’			

But more commonly, the negation marker *loa is used (see 3.1.3.4), e.g.

(167) N1	<i>Á</i>	<i>lóá</i>	<i>!xóé</i>	<i>ʔóà</i>	<i>yà-</i>	<i>ndū’á!</i>
	2SG	NEG	chase	giraffe	N1-	DEM:DIST
	‘Don’t chase the giraffe!’					

3.1.7.2 Interrogative

A general characteristic of !Xun is that questions invariably require the use of the question particle (Q), irrespective of whether sentence questions or word

questions are involved. The various forms the question particle takes are listed below.

*X *re

N1 *má*

W1 *rā*

W2 *lā*

K *rā*

C1 *a*

E1 *ré*

E2 *rēē*

The question particle is placed after the first noun phrase of the clause, e.g.

(168) E1 *N!hã ì ré !hún n!ŋ?*
 lion Q kill:SG eland
 'Does the lion kill the eland?'

Like sentence questions, word questions normally require the presence of the question particle. As a rule, interrogative pronouns occupy the clause-initial position. It is not possible to do justice to the wide range of forms and combinations of forms used for word questions. The following are perhaps the most salient categories.

- a. *nè ‘which?’. This attributive interrogative follows its head noun. It has the following dialectal distribution:

*X *nè

N1 *nì*

W2 *lē*

*SE *nè, *nìn

E1 *nè, nìn*

E2 *nè, nìn*

(169) N1 *Ā má cǐ tc'ù nì?*
 2SG Q see home which
 ‘Which home do you see?’

- b. ‘Who?’ The dialectal distribution of this interrogative, which is etymologically derived from the phrase ‘which person?’, is as follows:

N1 *m-djū (má)*

W1 *m̄zōē (rā), m̄zē (rā), m̄zūsē*

W2 *m̄djē*

E1 *hà-jò-è (ré)*

E2 *hà-jū-ē (rēē), hà nè (rēē), hà nìn (rēē)*

(170) N1 *M-djū dā'bà ma kē l ē?*
who child Q PAST die:SG
'Which child has died?'

(171) W1 *m̄-zōe ra hã 'è?*
who Q N1 DEM:PROX
'Who is this?'

c. 'what?'

The dialectal distribution of this pronoun, which is etymologically derived from a phrase 'which thing?', is as follows:

N1 *m-tí (má), m-tcí (má)*

W1 *m̄-tsé (rá), m̄-tsí-sè (rá)*

W2 *m̄-tcé (má), tcé (má)*

E1 *hã-tc-é (ré)*

E2 *hà-tcí-à nè (ree)*

(172) N1 *M-tí má à tù 'm?*
what Q 2SG want eat
'What do you want to eat?'

d. 'where?'

The dialectal distribution of this pronoun is as follows (see also 3.1.4.4.2):

N1 *kō'lē (mà), tè*

N3 *kuli*

W2 *lē, kū lē*

T *kore-ua*

E1 *kò (ré)*

E2 *kòh (rè), kò ré, kò rè cē rēē*

(173) N1 *Kō'lē má à ú- à?*
 where Q 2SG go- TR
 ‘Where are you going?’

e. ‘how?’

The dialectal distribution is as follows:

*NW *ne

N1 *nē*

W1 *nè*

W2 *lē*

E1 *nè, nàùn, nìn*

E2 *nàò, nīn*

(174) N1 *Yà má nē kē ú- á?*
 N1 Q how PAST go- TR
 ‘How did he go?’

(175) W1 *Yà ’è-hè òh- ā làē-lāē nē òh- ā?*
 2PL here be- TR adult how be- TR
 ‘What are you adults like?’

3.1.8 Clause Combining

3.1.8.1 Coordination

!Xun is primarily a coordinating language, that is, concatenating clauses by means of a coordinating conjunction constitutes the primary means of combining propositional contents. But clauses may be, and frequently are, combined without any formal linkage:

(176) N2 *Tumba bá kī lóle me lo, a lum, a toan*
 Tumba father PAST mark 1SG forehead N1 cut N1 finish
 ‘Tumba’s father marked my forehead, cut,
gu g’lova a l’elm, kī xwa l’ε.
 take leave and grass PAST rub.in grass
 took leaves and grasses, rubbed in grass.’ (Bleek 1956: 262)

There are two main coordinating conjunctions having overlapping functions: *tè and *ka. They belong perhaps to the most perspicuous elements of !Xun discourse structure. While they connect clauses, they may also introduce utterances. In addition to their coordinating functions, they also serve subordinating functions (see 3.1.8.2; see also Heikkinen 1987: 55). Their dialectal distribution is as follows:

*X *tè ‘and’ *ka ‘and’

N1 *tā* *kā-kē*

N2 *ta* *kā*

W1 *tà* *kā*

W2 *tà* *kā*

C1 *te, ɔ(gɔ)* *ga*

E1 *tè* *ká*

E2 *tè* *kā*

*tè ‘and’ is by far the most frequently used conjunction in !Xun (see, e.g., Heikkinen 1987: 56ff.), and the one expressing the widest range of functions. In addition to marking consecutive (and simultaneous) events, it may also signal subordinate functions such as introducing temporal, adversative, reason, manner and other clauses (see 3.1.8.2), e.g

(177) N1 *Yà-ndū'à* *kē* *!xòlù* *dóngí* *tā* *dìisá* *tā* *'ú.*
N1-DEM:DIST PAST mount donkey and be.slow and go
'He rode the donkey slowly.'

In some uses, *tè may even express the notion of a relative clause, e.g.

(178) N1 *Mā* *kē* *cj* *dā'bā* *tà* *yà* *tí.*
1SG PAST see child and N1 come
'I saw a child who is coming.'

*ka is used typically to combine propositions that are conceived as expressing one single event. It also appears to be used for combining simultaneous events or events occurring in quick succession (cf. Dickens 2005), e.g.

- (179) E2 *Zō kú cè k̄ā úú ts'á.*
 bee PROG return and go sleep
 'The bees return and go to sleep.' (Köhler 1973: 26)

Instead of *k̄ā*, *hè* is used in W1, E1, and E3 to conjoin subordinate clauses (Heikkinen 1987: 52).

In addition, verb serialization constitutes one of the strategies of clause combining. Dickens (2005) distinguishes two kinds of serial patterns in E1: (a) a transitive one (verb + transitive verb + object; see 180) and (b) an intransitive one (verb + intransitive verb + subject; see 181), both illustrated below.

- (180) E1 *Dā'ámà khù glái- á k̄atōngá.*
 child jump go.out- TR box
 'The child jumped out of the box.'

- (181) N1 (...) *tā hé pòhó kē !àà ú kē cā tc'ú.*
 and then jackal PAST run.away go TR DU home
 '(...) and the jackal ran away to their common home.'

3.1.8.2 Subordination

3.1.8.2.1 Complement Clauses

A number of different markers are used to introduce complement clauses, especially *tè and *ka (concerning the dialectal variants of these two markers, see 3.1.8.1), in E1 also *tcá* (< *tcí-à* 'that thing which'; cf. Dickens 2005).

Examples of *tè

- (182) a. N1 *Mm̄ n#hii tã yã- ndũ'ã kē cì- là.*
 1SG know and N1 DEM:DIST PAST leave- AND
 'I know that he has left.'
- b. W1 *Hã glà'è n!j tsà'ã tà hã kē lxòm hã.*
 3SG birth inside hear and 3SG PAST pity 3SG
 'His relatives heard that he had helped him.'

Example of *ka

- (183) E1 *Hã glà'ámá kòàq ká dǎ'ámà cè tè l!kx'èè.*
 N1 now fear COMPL child return COMPL be.sick
 'He now fears that the child will again be sick.'

In W1, *tà (nllàn) koè* or *kā (nllàn) kòè* ('and saying') introduce complements after cognition verbs. In E1, *tè kò* or *kà kò* ('and said') are used as quotative markers, and *tcà* (< 'the thing which') serves to introduce complement clauses after verbs of cognition (Dickens 2005).

3.1.8.2.2 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses follow their head noun. They are introduced by any of the following markers (or a combination thereof; see below), which are placed between the head noun and the relative clause:

- a. *hè,
- b. demonstrative (see 3.1.4.4.1),
- c. the transitive suffix *-a (see 3.1.3.5),
- d. the coordinating conjunction *tè (see 3.1.8.1).

The distribution of relative clause markers across dialects is typically as summarized below.

Form	(a) *hè	(b) Demonstrative	(c) *-a	(d) *tè
*X	*hè	PRON + DEM	*-a	*tè
N1	(hè)	PRON - <i>ndu</i> 'à, PRON - 'ɣ	—	tà
N2	e		-a	
W1	hè	PRON - 'è	—	
W2	-è			
E1	hè	PRON -è	-à, PL -sà	
E2	fiè, yè	-à tòàh (DEM:DIST)	-à, PL -sà	

These forms are not necessarily contrastive ways of expression; rather, they may be combined in some way or other. In the following example, (a), (b), and (c) are combined:

- (184) E2 *Mī lōā lhā !'òrè tci- s- à tòàh hè 'āà tānni.*
 1SG NEG know basin thing- PL- R DEM REL 2SG bring
 'I don't know the container that you brought.'

(a) and (b) in particular tend to be combined, that is, frequently a demonstrative of (b) may or must be followed by *hè, e.g.

- (185) E1 *Jù- à- hè hè lóá mí (. . .)*
 person- REL- DEM:N1 REL tell 1SG
 'This person, who told me (. . .)'

In the Northwestern !Xun dialects, demonstrative-based relative clause markers (b) appear to constitute the most frequently used means of forming relative clauses.

- (186) N1 *Mī lōā n#hii tán kã- 'ɣɣ 'ā kē tīni tci.*
 1SG NEG know container N4 DEM:HERE 2SG PAST bring come
 'I don't know the container that you brought.'
- (187) W1 *Kūuh lānim- ā !āē-hāɣ wēēsè yī- 'è !xūun òh- ā.*
 road pass- TR village all N3- DEM !Xun be- TR
 'The road went through all the villages where !Xun live.'

The transitive suffix *-à* (PL *-sà* in E1 and E2), figuring in (c), has been discussed elsewhere (especially section 3.1.3.5). It is perhaps the primary means of marking relative clauses in E1, and its use as a relative clause marker is largely confined to Southeastern !Xun, that is, to E1, E2 and E3, although it is also found in N2. In E1, (a) is used for non-restrictive relative clauses. Note that Dickens (1997: 108ff.) distinguishes two markers *-a-*: one that has low tone and serves as a relative clause marker, and another whose tone is a copy of the preceding syllable, which is used (a) as a transitivity marker and (b) as a suffix of compounds, marking the head of a compound (see 3.1.6.1). The plural form *-sà* of E1 and E2 is composed of the plural clitic *si* and the transitive suffix *-à*, hence *-si + -à > -sà*. Synchronically, however, *-sà* behaves like an invariable plural suffix which is used even after nouns such as *jú* ‘people’ or *n!j* ‘eland(s)’ which ordinarily would not take the nominal plural suffix *-sì*; cf.

(188) E1 *jú- sà mi kx'óá*
 people- TR:PL 1SG look.for
 ‘the people I am looking for’

In E1, the use of *-à*, PL *-sà* as relative clause markers appears to have been responsible for a number of grammaticalizations that have become a typological characteristic of this language. Using these markers seems to have become a ubiquitous strategy in !Xun.

Only in N1 can the coordinating conjunction **tè (> tà)* be used productively to introduce relative clauses (see 3.1.8.1):

- (189) N1 *Mā kē cij dā'bā tà yà teí.*
 1SG PAST see child and N1 come
 'I saw a child who is coming.'

3.1.8.2.3 Adverbial Clauses

There is a large variety of structures used to present adverbial clauses. Markers used to introduce adverbial clauses are not infrequently derived from, and still resemble to some extent, coordinating constructions involving the conjunctions *tè or *ka (see 3.1.8.1), and it is not always easy to trace a clear boundary between coordination and subordination. The following are a few adverbial clause functions and the most common means to encode them.

Clauses expressing cause tend to be introduced by the following markers (the W1 conjunction *ka'è* is also used for conditional, concessive, and comparative clauses):

N1 *tà (n!hei)* ('and then')

W1 *ōsi ka'è, (tsi) ka'è*

W2 *kā-ē... má*

E1 *khàmà (... tè), khàmà... nlá*

- (190) N1 *Mí-'j lōā wūnā 'nī tā (n!hēī) mí-'m kūlāā kwá-'j.*
 1SG NEG get food and then 1SG NEG: LOC: DEM:
 EXIST PROX
 'I'll get no food because I am not here.'

- (191) W1 *Kā'è má ōh- ā dābā- tāqē, kāndò'à bà ōō xáy tò'à.*
 as 1SG be- TR child- mother then 2SG must then go
 'Since I am the child's mother, you must go.' (Heikkinen 1987: 28)

Reason clauses are introduced most of all by complex conjunctions such as the following:

N1 (tà) kà-hŋŋ

W2 k̄ā-ē, k̄ā-hŋ̄ ŋ̄ŋ̄, k̄ā-hŋ̄ kùndò' à

C1 ga-xn ga

E1 khàmà, tè ll' à-kà-à-hìn, tè ll' à-kò-à-hìn

(192) N1 Yà h̄a #èhi ta k̄ā-hŋ̄ yà loa tci.
 N1 PROG be.sick and therefore N1 NEG come
 'He is sick, therefore he can't come.'

The following are the markers used primarily to introduce protasis clauses of conditional sentences:

*X *ká

N1 ká, k̄ābā

W1 k̄ā

W2 k̄ā, k̄ā-ē, k̄ē

C1 ga

E1 ká (... ókàà), ká (... ll' àkàà)

(193) N1 Ká à /ōā cà' à n#hĩĩ m̄ā n#á' m̄ ā.
 if 2SG NEG hear know 1SG beat 2SG
 'If you don't understand, I'll beat you.'

Purpose clauses are introduced by any of the following conjunctions (concerning the marker *hŋ, see 3.1.4.1; the W1 marker ahŋ is used only in imperative clauses):

*X *hŋ

N1 hŋ, nń, Ø

N2 hŋ

W1 ō, ahŋ

E1 n/ŋ, ll'à

E2 hŋ, n/ŋ, hīn

- (194) N1 *Tā n'hēi pòhó kē ú tá ú kē tchj glúu, tā tán*
 and then jackal PAST go and go PAST drink water and container
 'And the jackal went and went and he drank water, but there was no container,
kē kùlā hj yà f'è- á glú- hj tci- lá'ā n'háé.
 PAST NEG: PURP N1 fetch- TR water- EMPH come- give lion
 EXIST
 'so that he could draw the water and take it to the lion.'

3.2 Central Khoesan

3.2.1 Namibian Khoekhoe (Nama/Damara)

Wilfrid H.G. Haacke

3.2.1.1 Basic Syntax: the Underlying Structure of Nouns

The simplest sentence of Namibian Khoekhoegowab (N.Kh.), here termed minimal sentence, has only one (lexical) stem. A minimal sentence complies with the minimal requirement of having at least one, but only one

lexical stem: it consists of a subject-NP consisting of nothing more than a pro-form, viz. a PGN marker, (a) tense–aspect marker(s) (ta) and a verbal acting as predicate head (VBL). The verbal – the stem – could be a genuine verb or any morphological category that can act as predicate head (see [Chapter 6](#)). The sentence can, if a matrix sentence, be marked for mood by a sentence-type marker; in the case of the indicative (IND) by *ge*. Sentence-type markers must, if used, follow immediately on the (subject-)PGN.

PGNS are subject to the surface constraint that, as post-clitics, they cannot stand sentence-initially. Hence, either a conjunction (extraneous) has to precede them, or the lexical specification (see below) of the subject, or any other sentence constituent must be fronted. As a minimal sentence has no additional constituents, fronting is obligatory, leaving two options. TAS, like all grammatical formatives, can also not stand sentence-initially. The present stative marker *a* ‘be’, being non-specific with regard to time-span, is pivotal for the morphological derivation of surface nouns.

Underlying sentence (predicative):	#PGN		TA	VBL#
	*s	(ge)	a	kaira
	she	(IND)	is	old
Predicative surface strategy:	#VBL	PGN		TA#
	<i>Kaira</i>	<i>s</i>	(ge)	<i>a</i> .
				‘She is old.’
Copulative surface strategy:	#VBL	TA	PGN	#
	<i>Kaira</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>s</i>	(ge).
				‘She is an old one.’

Crucially, the latter strategy – where the *ta* as representative of the predicate precedes the subject –

receives a nominal interpretation. It is thus conventionally called copulative, alluding to the tradition that copulative sentences express “X be NP”. In the copulative strategy the present stative TA *a*, being least marked, can be elided. As embedded sentence (see phrase marker below, thus without sentence type marker *ge*) this minimal sentence will receive a (reduced) relative clause interpretation:

Kaira-s ‘She who is an old one’ > ‘the *or* an old one’

With a noun stem, and conjunctively spelt, the copulative strategy is grammaticalised to a surface noun in the nominative form, while the predicative strategy (without deletion of *a*) is grammaticalised to the oblique form (often erroneously referred to as accusative):

Underlying sentence (predicative):	*s	(ge)	a	tara
	she	(IND)	is	woman
Predicative surface strategy:	<i>Tara</i>	<i>s</i>	(ge)	<i>a</i> . >
	‘She is a woman.’			
	<i>Tara-sa.</i>	(oblique)		
Copulative surface strategy:	<i>Taras</i>	(ge).	>	
	‘She is a woman.’			
	<i>Tara-s.</i>	(nominative)		
	‘She who is a woman.’ > ‘(the/a) woman’			

The present derivation accounts plausibly for the fact that N.Kh. surface nouns can, next to the third person, also refer to the first or second person, and that nouns can be overtly marked for tense (T) and aspect (A), positively as well as negatively, e.g.

(195) *Student ge i- du ge suwuse sisen-e nī hō.*
 student T A- PGN IND readily work T find
 ‘You who were students will readily find work.’

As the subject of a minimal matrix sentence consists of a PGN only, any further lexical elaboration on the subject must be added by means of an embedded sentence. This embedded information, which can consist of the noun “stem” or qualifiers or both, is here called the lexical specification of the NP.

Where expedient for explicatory purposes, the following bracketing conventions may be applied:

Braces, curly brackets [] enclose the maximal projection of the NP (including appositions) with PGN markers, as governed by a case marker;

square brackets [] enclose the lexical specification of an NP, i.e. the noun stem with any qualifiers as governed by a PGN marker; after a closing square bracket no hyphen is used before the PGN;

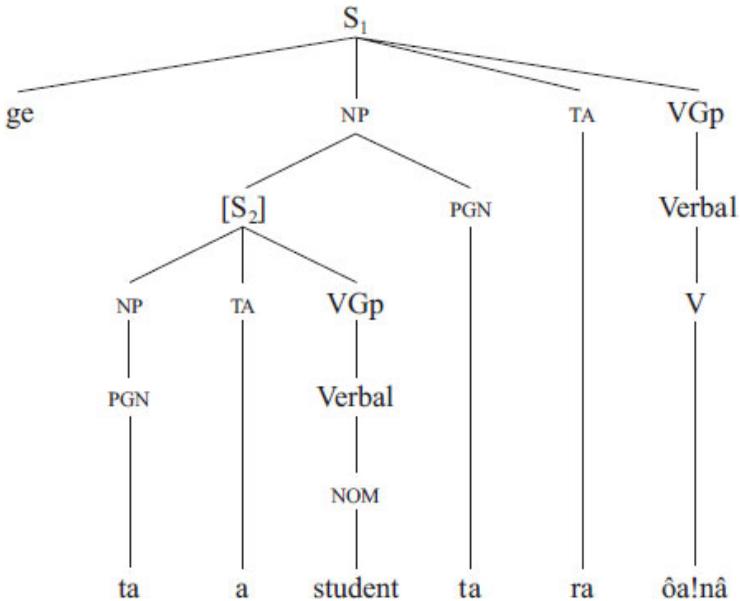
parentheses () – if used within square brackets – enclose qualifiers in an NP;

double underlining , where used, marks nominal heads, viz. [[(qualifier)(qualifier) noun stem]PGN_{head} phrase [(qualifier)]PGN_{apposition}]CASE, e.g.

(196) *{[(nē) (kaira) ao]gu} [(sari ra)]gu di*
 these old man+PGN visit PRES+PGN POSS
 ‘of these old men who are visiting’

The NP functioning as subject in the initial slot appears in the “nominative” strategy (NOM, with a zero suffix \emptyset). Objects, deposed subjects and subjects of interrogative sentences all appear in the “oblique” strategy (OBL) as parenthetic sentences (cf. below).

[Student] ta ge ra ôa!nâ (I, a student, am investigating)



Notes

S₁: tar a ôa!nâ = matrix-S.

S₂: *ta a student > student a ta > student ta (TA deletion)
> student (Equi-NP-Deletion)

(VGp = Verbal group. This category is needed, as in more complex sentences the predicate head can consist of more than one word.)

The true noun of N.Kh., therefore, is what is traditionally considered to be the stem of the surface noun (i.e. without PGN), as also is the case in the languages of the

Kalahari Khoe branch. Note that the noun “stem” appears without PGN even in N.Kh. when it functions as verbal in the predicate head; it also does so in adverbs, e.g. *nētsē* ‘this day = today’. (For implications of the underlyingly sentential origin of nouns, see Haacke 1977, 1979, 1992a, 1992b.)

3.2.1.2 Constituent Order

N.Kh. constituent order is very flexible, subject to the following major constraints:

- a. Grammatical formatives (PGNS, TAS, S-type markers) cannot stand sentence-initially.
- b. Only one constituent at a time can occupy the initial slot, i.e. the slot immediately preceding the subject PGN.

The reason for the flexibility is that the initial slot is the principal focus position of the sentence, hence all eligible constituents must be able to be moved into the initial slot.

A minimal sentence can be extended with an object NP consisting of an object marker only. The object marker (o^m), being a type of PGN marker, is post-clitic and must always follow immediately on the verb stem, e.g.

#PGN	TA	VBL	o^m #		
*b	ra	†gai	si	‘He is calling her.’	underlying
>					
†Gai	si-b	(ge)	ra.	‘He is calling her.’	predicative strategy
[†Gai	si ra]b	ge.		‘He is the one calling her.’	copulative strategy

The tilde (~) above and elsewhere indicates that the PGN marker does not form a constituent with the preceding morpheme(s). Standard orthographic convention

misleadingly prescribes conjunctive spelling of non-vocalic PGN markers (*b, s, ts, m, n*), even if they do not form a constituent with the preceding morpheme. The closing square bracket (]) implies that the immediately following pgn marker does form a constituent with the enclosed lexical specification.

If in N.Kh. the object is lexically specified, then this object NP in the oblique form will be inserted like a parenthetical sentence normally before the TA, and the *o^m* will be deleted. (In certain Kxoe dialects the *o^m* is not deleted, thereby corroborating the evidence that Khoe languages underlyingly are SVO languages.) The normal, least marked surface structure of a positive indicative sentence with lexically specified subject, lexically specified object(s) and with (an) adverbial(s) is

(197)	#NP _{Subject}	ge	NP(s) _{Object}	Adverbial(s)	TA	VBL#
	<i>Axa-b</i>	<i>ge</i>	<i>lgôa-sa</i>	<i>tsaurase</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>#gai.</i>
	boy	IND	girl	gently	PAST _{RECENT}	call
	'The boy gently called the girl.'					

Adverbials and object NPS have no preferential order. Sentences with lexically specified objects lead to the commonly held assumption that N.Kh. is an SOV language.

3.2.1.3 Sentence Permutations: Predicative and Copulative Renderings

Two types of permutation need to be distinguished in N.Kh.: fronting and inversion. During fronting a constituent other than the subject specification is moved into the initial slot for the purpose of focus assignment. Crucially, if a lexically specified subject is present, it is

always deposited from this initial slot by the fronted constituent. During inversion, on the other hand, a constituent is put before the (full) subject, without the lexical subject specification being deposited.

Subject deposition here refers to the syntactic process whereby the lexical specification of a subject is displaced from the initial focus position and resurfaces elsewhere in the sentence with a copy of the subject PGN and in the oblique form (-a): usually immediately after the indicative marker -ge, if present; otherwise at the end of the sentence (then often misconceived as “complement” of a copulative sentence), or – in a hortative sentence – even in front of the focus position.

Co-ordinating conjunctions can appear in the initial slot, or before the entire sentence. If within the initial slot, they likewise trigger subject deposition:

- (198) *Tsí-b ge axa-ba /gôa-sa tsaurase go †gai.*
 and he IND boy+OBL girl+OBL gently PAST_{RECENT} call
 ‘And then he, the boy, gently called the girl.’

3.2.1.3.1 Fronting

- (199) a. Object: */Gôa-sa_{FOCUS} ~b ge axa-ba tsaurase go †gai.*
 girl+OBL he IND boy+OBL gently PAST_{RECENT} call
 ‘The boy called *the girl* gently.’
- b. Adverbial: *Tsaurase_{FOCUS}~b ge axa-ba /gôa-sa go †gai.*
 ‘The boy called the girl *gently*.’
- c. Predicate: *†Gai go_{FOCUS}~b ge axa-ba /gôa-sa.*
 ‘The boy *did call* (the girl).’
/Gôa-sa tsaurase go †gai_{FOCUS}~b ge [axa]ba.
 ‘The boy *gently called the girl*.’ [= predicative rendering]
/[Gôa-sa tsaurase go †gai]-b ge [axa]ba.
 ‘He, the boy, is one gently calling the girl.’ [= copulative rendering]

Sentences in which the entire predicate is fronted, can be re-interpreted as co-referential copulative sentences, i.e. copulative sentences of the type “NP is NP”. Such sentences amount to cleft sentences (a sentence divided into two sections, each with its own verbal). This implies that in N.Kh. co-referential copulative sentences are not to be interpreted as consisting of “subject NP” with “complement NP”. Rather, the second NP is the deposed subject. In practice, both interpretations are found among speakers, depending on the context.

3.2.1.3.2 Inversion

Likewise, an inverted sentence (i.e. a sentence in which the order of the predicate and the lexically specified subject in its entirety is inverted, as indicated by the vertical line below) can have a predicative and a copulative reading:

- (200) a. *|Gôa-sa tsaurase go †gai | [axa]b ge.*
 ‘The boy gently called the girl.’ [predicative reading]
- b. *|Gôa-sa tsaurase go †gai [axa]b ge.*
 ‘It/he is the boy who gently called the girl.’ [copulative reading]

The latter, copulative reading is based on the copulative strategy of the minimal sentence discussed above in section 3.2.1.1, but here the verbal group is extended with a relative clause as attributive qualifier (in parentheses; cf. below) next to the head *axa*. Two types of copulative sentences can thus be distinguished:

simplex copulative sentences with one surface NP,
 e.g.

[*Axa*]b ge. (minimal)

‘It/he is a boy.’

[/(*Gôa-sa tsaurase go #gai*)]b ge. (extended)

‘It/he is a boy who ...’

co-referential copulative sentences with two surface
NPS, e.g.

[/(*Gôa-sa tsaurase go #gai*)]b ge [*axa*]ba.

‘He, the boy, is (the) one who gently called the
girl.’

Copulative sentences in N.Kh., thus, are not different
sentence types underlyingly but are derived from the
basic predicative sentence.

3.2.1.4

Compound and Complex Sentences

While co-ordination of sentences and constituents is
accomplished exclusively by means of conjunctions,
subordination of sentences can be effected by means of
conjunctions, (adverbialising) suffixes, relativisation,
complementisation and nominalisation. Subordinated
sentences are never marked by sentence type markers
(e.g. indicative *ge* or accreditive *kom o*).

3.2.1.4.1 Co-Ordination

Co-ordinating conjunctions precede the linked sentence. Hence they stand between the two sentences and are conventionally preceded by a comma, if not a full stop. They appear either before the entire sentence or, more commonly, stand in the initial slot, e.g.

- (201) *Sa-ts ge om-sa nī ōa/nā, tsī ti-ta ge kantor-sa nī ōa/nā.*
 you IND house+OBL T search and I IND office+OBL T search
 ‘You shall search the house and I shall search the office.’

or

- (202) *Sa-ts ge om-sa nī ōa/nā, tsī ~ ta ge (ti-ta) kantor-sa nī ōa/nā.*
 you IND house+OBL T search and IND I office+OBL T search
 ‘You shall search the house and I shall search the office.’

Subordinating conjunctions may be linked to the resumptive referential pronoun *!nā*, which refers to the initial sentence. Such combinations then introduce main sentences, e.g.

- (203) a. *!Aesen ~ta hā amaga ~ts ge ti soa-s !nā nī !gū.*
 ill I A because you IND my place in T go
 ‘Since I am ill you must go in my place.’ [subordinating]
 b. *!Aesen ~ta ge hā. !Nā amaga ~ts ge ti soa-s !nā nī !gū.*
 ill I IND A in because you IND my place in T go
 ‘I am ill. Therefore you must go in my place.’ [co-ordinating]

3.2.1.4.2 Subordination

3.2.1.4.2.1 Subordination by Conjunction

Subordinating conjunctions follow on the sentence they embed as adverbial clause (with the exception of the conjunction *î* ‘so that’). Exclusively subordinating conjunctions are mostly derived and are based on postpositional constructions or complementisers. *!Nūb*, for instance, is a fossilised noun with a meaning like ‘occasion’, followed by the postposition *ai* ‘on’:

- (204) *Mû bî ta go /mûbai ~b ge khoe-ba go /khoebê.*
 see him I T when he IND man+OBL T run.away
 ‘As I saw him, the man ran away.’

Most simple subordinating conjunctions can also have a co-ordinating function, depending on position, e.g.

co-ordinating:

- (205) *Ti-ta ge khô-na ní /noro tsî ta ge ní lamaxû ní. =>*
 I IND skins+OBL T tan and I IND T sell them
 ‘I shall tan skins and I shall sell them.’

deletion of joint subject and TA:

- (206) *Ti-ta ge khô-na — /noro tsî — — ní lamaxû ní. =>*
 I IND skins+OBL tan and — — T sell them
 ‘I shall tan skins and I shall sell them.’

subordination:

- (207) *Ti-ta ge khô-na /noro tsî ~ ta ge ní lamaxû ní.*
 I IND skins+OBL tan and I IND T sell them

or:

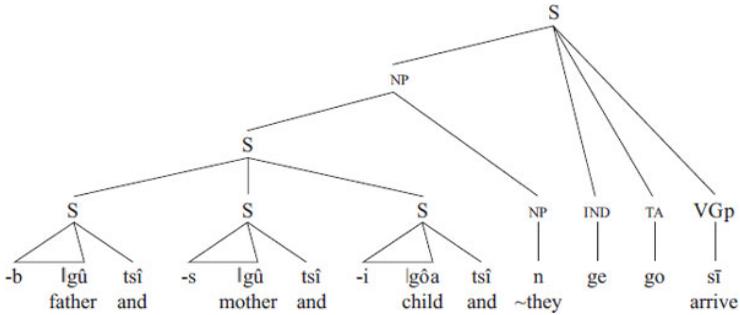
- (208) *Ti-ta ge ní lamaxû ní, khô-na /noro tsî.*
 I IND T sell them skins+OBL tan and
 ‘As I tan skins, I sell them.’

Compound noun phrases consist not of co-ordinated but of subordinated NPS which are lexical specifications (itemisations) of the “resumptive” PGN that seemingly concludes the compound NP. As the PGNS of the individual NPS are not identical with the all-encompassing PGN (*n*) of the matrix sentence, they cannot be deleted by equi-NP deletion. Hence the minimal copulative sentences that introduce the lexical specifications stay intact, each being followed by the subordinating *tsî*.

(209) [lgû-b tsî lgû-s tsî lgôa-i
 father and mother and child

tsî] n ge go sî.î
 and ~they IND TA arrive

‘They – being father, mother and child – have arrived.’



3.2.1.4.2.2 Subordination by Adverbialising Suffixes

Four suffixes can embed sentences as adverbial clauses:

- se for adverbial clauses of manner (cf. 210);
- for adverbial clauses of concession, to express irreconcilability/incompatibility/unexpectedness (cf. 211);
- !â
- ga for adverbial clauses of purpose (cf. 212);
- pa for adverbial clauses of place (cf. 213).

Examples:

- (210) *!Gû(-s) nî~se ~s ge #û-na nî lama.*
 go.she T ADV she IND food+OBL T buy
 ‘Having to go she will buy food.’
- (211) *!Gû(-s) nî~!â s ge #û-na nî lama.*
 go.she T ADV she IND food+OBL T buy
 ‘Although she must go she will buy food.’
- (212) *!Gû(-s) nî~ga ~s ge #û-na nî lama.*
 go.she T ADV she IND food+OBL T buy
 ‘In order to go she will buy food.’
- (213) *!Gû(-s) nî~pa ~s ge #û-na nî lama.*
 go.she T ADV she IND food+OBL T buy
 ‘Where she will go she will buy food’

If the subject of the adverbial clause is self-evident, it can be deleted in the adverbial clause. Speakers today use both an absolute and a relative tense system in the adverbial clause. In the absolute system the tense is chosen according to the actual speaking time, as for the matrix sentence. In the relative system the tense is chosen relative to the event of the matrix sentence: if the embedded action occurs simultaneously, present tense; if before, past tense; if afterwards, future tense. E.g.

‘Yesterday I saw children (they) going into hiding.’

- (214) a. *!Ari ~ta ge !gôa-na gau(~n) gose go mù.*
 day, removed ~I IND children hide they PAST~ADV T see
 [absolute system]
- b. *!Ari ~ta ge !gôa-na gau(~n) rase go mù.*
 day, removed ~I IND children hide they PRES~ADV T see
 [relative system]

3.2.1.4.2.3 Subordination as Relative Clauses

Relative clauses behave like other N.Kh. qualifiers and can, therefore, appear in attributive, appositive and

pronominal function in an NP (cf. below). As they are embedded sentences, sentence type markers will not occur in them. If the antecedent is also the referent of the subject or the (direct) object of the relative clause, it can be deleted in the relative clause; if it is the referent of a postpositional phrase or possessive, it cannot be deleted (see Haacke 1985).

Subject:

- (215) *Mû te ~b ge go. + [Khoe]b ge a lhôakao.*
 see me he IND T man IND A scoundrel
 'He saw me.' 'The man is a scoundrel.'
- ⇒ *[Mû te __ __ go khoe]b ge a lhôakao.*
 see me T man IND A scoundrel
 'The man who saw me is a scoundrel.'

Object:

- (216) *Mû bi ~ta ge go. + [Khoe]b ge a lhôakao.*
 see him I IND T man IND A scoundrel
 'I saw him.' 'The man is a scoundrel.'
- ⇒ *[Mû __ ~ta __ go khoe]b ge a lhôakao.*
 see I T man IND A scoundrel
 'The man whom I saw is a scoundrel.'

Postpositional phrase:

- (217) *Khoe-b lkha ~ta ge go lhoa. + [Khoe]b ge a lhôakao.*
 man with I IND T talk man IND A scoundrel
 'I chatted with the man.' 'The man is a scoundrel.'
- ⇒ *[[lî-b lkha ~ta __ go lhoa khoe]b ge a lhôakao.*
 man with I T talk man IND A scoundrel
 'The man with whom I chatted is a scoundrel.'

Possessive:

- (218) *Khoe-b di !khō-isi-ba ta ge go mû. + [Khoeb] ge a !hóakao.*
 man POSS photo+OBL I IND T see man IND A scoundrel
 'I saw a picture of the man.' 'The man is a scoundrel.'
- ⇒ *[!Í-b di !khō-isi-ba ta _ go mû khoeb] ge a !hóakao.*
 man POSS photo+OBL I T see man IND A scoundrel
 'The man whose picture I saw is a scoundrel.'

3.2.1.4.2.4 Subordination with the Complementiser **!khai-S**

The noun *!khai-s* 'affair, matter' Serves to embed complement sentences, i.e. the equivalent of English "that"-sentences. (See also the fossilised noun *!nūb* 'occasion' in the conjunction *!nūbai* above.) Being embedded in NPS, such complement sentences with *!khai-s* can then serve as subject, object or postpositional phrase in a sentence. Relative clauses and complement sentences have an identical surface structure. However, the difference is that, unlike the antecedent of the relative clause, *!khai-s* underlyingly is not part of the embedded sentence. (As our bracketing conventions refer to surface structure, the complement sentence also appears in parentheses, similar to relative clauses.)

Relative clause:

- (219) *Elisabet-s ge [(Eben-ni go !hoatsoatsoa) #hōa]sa ra #gom.*
 Elisabeth IND Eben T tell.begin story+OBL A believe
 'Elisabeth believes the story which Eben began to tell.'

Complement sentence:

- (220) *Elisabet-s ge [(Eben-ni go !hoatsoatsoa) !khai]sa ra #gom.*
 Elisabeth IND Eben T tell.begin (matter)+OBL A believe
 'Elisabeth believes (it), that Eben started to tell/talk.'

Complement sentences appear either attributively with *!khai-s*, or pronominally, but not appositively; e.g.

attributive:

- (221) *Matheu-b ge go hō#ui [(li-b di khoexabe ~di a) !khai]sa.*
Matthew IND T find.out he POSS relative they T matter
'Matthew found out that they are his relatives.'

pronominal:

- (222) *Matheu-b ge go hō#ui [(li-b di khoexabe ~di a)]sa.*
Matthew IND T find.out he POSS relative they T it
'Matthew found out that they are his relatives.'

In complement sentences the stative aspect marker *a* is not normally grammaticalised into an (oblique) suffix, nor is the copulative strategy possible. Sentences remain in their original predicative form:

(*)*Matheu-b ge go hō#ui [li-b di khoexabe-de !khai]sa* (NB: *di + a* → *de*)

**Matheu-b ge go hō#ui [li-b di khoexabe(a)-di !khai]sa.*

Complement sentences serve to embed indirect speech:

- (223) *Dì nì re [(malae ~n nì !gù) !khai]sa!*
ask them please when they T go matter
'Please ask them when they will go!'

Pronominally used complement sentences should be distinguished from nominalised/infinitive phrases. While both end in *-s*, complement sentences are finite, i.e. they have a subject and specify tense and aspect, while nominalised phrases are non-finite (hence infinitive) as they specify neither a subject, nor tense and aspect.

Nominalisation:

- (224) [*Rem-s ose !nari*] *s ge a tsū.*
brakes without drive PGN IND TA bad
'Driving without brakes is bad.'

Complement:

- (225) [*Maria-s rem-s ose go !nari (!khai)*] *s ge a tsū.*
Maria brakes without T drive matter PGN IND TA bad
'That Mary drove without brakes is bad.'

3.2.1.4.2.5 Subordination as Postpositional Phrase

Postpositional phrases have an adverbial function and have the structure #NP postposition#. Both complement sentences and infinitive phrases can be embedded as postpositional phrases.

Infinitive phrase:

- (226) [*Audo-ba !narimāi*] *s khao!gā ~b ge nī #ganamhe.*
truck+OBL park PGN after PGN IND T lock+PASS
'After parking a/the truck it must be locked.'

Complement:

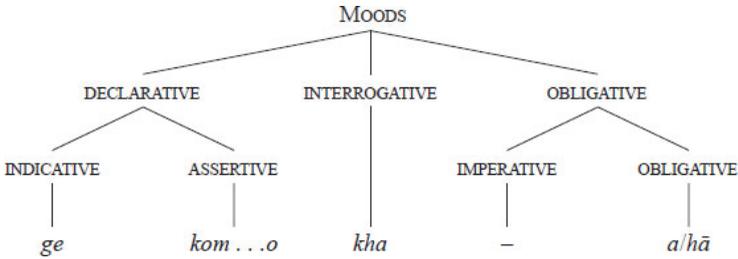
- (227) [*Audo-ba ~ts go !narimāi (!khai)*] *s khao!gā ~b ge nī #ganamhe.*
car+OBL you T park COMPLT PGN after PGN IND T lock+PASS
'After you have parked a/the truck it must be locked.'

3.2.1.5

Mood, Tense, Aspect

3.2.1.5.1 Moods

N.Kh. distinguishes five moods, the three normal moods pertaining to statements, questions and commands, but with two further subdivisions. Certain of these moods are explicitly marked by sentence type markers that follow immediately on the PGN of the subject.



Indicative: The particle *ge* marks indicative main sentences, i.e. ordinary statements.

(228) ... PGN_{subject} IND ... TA ... VBL
Hoan ge ra †nā.
 ‘All dance/All are dancing.’

Assertive: The assertive mood is an emphatic type of declarative, often used to remind someone of something that ought to be known.

(229) ... PGN_{subject} ASST ... TA ... VBL-O
Hoan kom ra †nā-o.
 ‘Surely then, all dance/are dancing.’

Interrogative: Questions are marked by the interrogative marker *kha* only if surprise or incongruity is to be conveyed. Otherwise the interrogative mood is conveyed by intonation (and the absence of a declarative marker). If the subject is lexically specified (and only then), it appears in the oblique with the case marker *-a*.

With lexically specified subject:

(230) NP-a_{subject} Q ... TA ... VBL
Hoana kha ra †nā?
 ‘Do all dance, then?/Are all dancing, then?’

Without lexically specified subject:

- (231) ... PGN_{subject} Q ... TA ... VBL
Mapa-nØ kha ra #nā?
 ‘Where do they dance, then?/Where are they dancing, then?’

Imperative: Imperatives and hortatives do not have sentence type markers like the above that follow immediately on the subject PGN. Unless rudely curt, they are marked by a sentence-final particle *re*, equatable with ‘please’, and they have no TA. The imperative addresses the second person, while the hortative normally – but not exclusively – addresses the first and third person. If the subject of the imperative is in the second person singular, it is omitted (unless rendered as address).

- (232) VBL (PGN) IMP
#Nā re! ‘Please dance!’ (SG)
#Nā ro re! ‘Will you two please dance!’ (DU)

Hortative: The term hortative is a misnomer, as the semantic import is not significantly different to that of the imperative. The name suggests itself by virtue of the fact that such sentences are translated as ‘Let us/them ...’. Hortatives are marked by sentence-initial *a* or *hā* ‘come’, and – like the imperative – have no TA but the particle *re*. The hortative construction is used primarily for subjects in the first or third person. The subject must always be present.

- (233) A PGN VBL *re!*
A da #nā re! ‘Please let us dance!’

3.2.1.5.2 Tense-Aspect System

A main and a subsidiary tense–aspect system can be recognised. Potential tenses with *ka/ga* are best accommodated in a subsidiary system, as they do not fit into the main paradigm. For the main system four tenses combine with four aspects (Table 7.8):

Table 7.8 Main Tense–Aspect System: Positive

ASPECT \ TENSE	Remote past <i>ge</i>	Recent past <i>go</i>	Present \emptyset	Future <i>nî</i>
Punctual	<i>ge</i>	<i>go</i>	–	<i>nî</i>
Progressive	<i>gere</i>	<i>goro</i>	<i>ra/ta</i>	<i>nîra</i>
Perfective	<i>ge há i</i>	<i>go há i</i>	<i>há</i>	<i>nî há i</i>
Stative	<i>ge i</i>	<i>go i</i>	(<i>a</i>)	<i>nî i</i>

Recent past *go*: This tense refers to events not longer than about a day ago, but may also be used to denote relative recentness.

Remote past *ge*: The remote past refers to any event further removed than ones for which the recent past would be used.

Present tense \emptyset : Hagman (1977: 62) has correctly pointed out that the present tense is not marked by a morpheme in N.Kh., contrary to the conventional misconception that *ra* marks the present tense.

Future/compellative tense *nî*: This particle serves to render future tense (‘shall/will’) as well as obligation (‘must’).

The above tenses combine with the following aspects:

Punctual aspect \emptyset : This aspect has semelfactive import, as it refers to actions that happen once at a discreet point

in time. Note that a punctual present tense * \emptyset/\emptyset does not exist.

Progressive aspect *rV*: This aspect marks iterative or continuous, ongoing action. The morpheme *ra* is subject to vowel assimilation in the past tenses.

Perfective aspect *hâ*: This aspect indicates that an action had been ongoing and was completed before the time the tense refers to, thus having brought about a situation still pertaining; e.g. present perfective *!Â ta ge hâ* ‘I have become hungry’, i.e. ‘I am hungry’. The implication is that this situation had not existed at some earlier stage.

Stative aspect *a/i*: The stative indicates an unchanging situation or state, without implying a beginning or end of this state. No progression or development is implied.

Example: Perfective recent past + punctual recent past:

- (234) *Luka-b ge laesen go hâ i, !gâu-s tawa ta go sîo.*
Luke IND become.ill T A A yard at I T arrive+when
‘Luke had become (= was) ill when I arrived at the homestead.’

See [Chapter 6](#) for the identification of verbs, adjectives and noun stems according to their distribution with aspects.

Past tenses with the punctual aspect occasionally contain a particle *a* (thus *ge a*, *go a*) which has no obvious function, other than perhaps being more formal. This *a* is not to be confused with the stative aspect marker. Rather, it is a remnant of what is known as junctures in the Kalahari Khoe languages of Central Khoesan. This juncture *a* is also found in !Gora.

The tenses with *ga/ka* dubbed “potential” (POT) here (Hagman: “indefinite”) cannot be treated as subjunctive (mood), as they do also occur in the indicative mood of main sentences (cf. IND *ge*) with optative import, e.g.

(235) *!Gû gu ge ga!*
 go they IND POT
 ‘If only they would go!’

The main import is to render (subordinate) conditional clauses (hence the allusion to the subjunctive). The present potential implies that occurrence of the event is still possible; the past potential and also the perfective aspect imply that it is no longer possible:

(236) a. *!Api i kao, o...*
 rain it POT+if then
 ‘Should it rain, then ...’
 b. *!Api i ka hâo, o...*
 rain it POT PERF+if then
 ‘Had it rained, then ...’

Only two tenses occur with the potential: present and past (preterite); cf. [Table 7.9](#). The future is expressed periphrastically with a nominalised clause in the future tense, with the present tense. Punctual and progressive aspect are not consistently distinguished.

Table 7.9 Potential Tense–Aspect System: Positive

	TENSE	Past	Present	(Future)
ASPECT				
Punctual	<i>Ø</i>		<i>ga</i>	[... <i>ní</i> ...] <i>ka</i>
Progressive	<i>ra</i>	<i>kara</i> <i>∇b</i> <i>i</i>	<i>kara</i> <i>∇b</i>	[... <i>ní</i> ...] <i>ka</i>
Perfective	<i>há</i>	<i>ga</i> <i>∇b</i> <i>há</i> <i>i</i>	<i>ga</i> <i>∇b</i> <i>há</i>	
Stative	<i>i/a</i>	<i>ga</i> <i>∇b</i> _{stat} <i>i</i>	<i>ga</i> (<i>a</i>) <i>∇b</i> _{stat}	

3.2.1.6 Negation

In the negative main paradigm the perfective and stative aspects merge into one, the “non-punctual” aspect (cf. Table 7.10).

Table 7.10 Main Tense–Aspect System: Negative

	TENSE	Remote past <i>ge</i>	Recent past <i>go</i>	Present <i>Ø</i>	Future <i>ní</i>
ASPECT					
Punctual	<i>Ø</i>	<i>ge</i> <i>tama</i> <i>i</i>	<i>go</i> <i>tama</i> <i>i</i>	<i>tama</i>	<i>tide</i>
Progressive	<i>rV</i>	<i>tama</i> <i>gere</i> <i>i</i>	<i>tama</i> <i>goro</i> <i>i</i>	<i>tama</i> <i>ra</i> <i>i</i>	<i>tama</i> <i>ní</i> (<i>ra</i>) <i>i</i>
Non-punctual	<i>há</i>	<i>tama</i> <i>ge</i> <i>há</i> <i>i</i>	<i>tama</i> <i>go</i> <i>há</i> <i>i</i>	<i>tama</i> (<i>há</i>)	<i>há</i> <i>tidetama</i> <i>ní</i> <i>há</i> <i>i</i>

Negative progressive present:

(237) *Íĭ-b ge bol-sa !khō tama ra i.*
 he IND ball+OBL catch NEG A A
 ‘He never catches the ball.’

Negative punctual remote past:

(238) *Petru-b ge lnā mari-e ū tama ge i.*
 Peter IND that money+OBL take NEG T A
 ‘Peter did not take that money.’

Negative non-punctual recent past + positive punctual recent past:

(239) *‡Nú tama go há i axa-b ge go lnamahe.*
 sit.down NEG T A A boy IND TA reprimand+PASS
 ‘The boy who had not sat down (= was not sitting) was reprimanded.’

The potential particle has a high or low tone, depending on its position relative to the verb. Hence two spellings occur in the standardised orthography: *ka* for the high tone version, *ga* for the low tone one. See [Table 7.11](#) for the negative of the potential tense–aspect system.

Table 7.11 Potential Tense–Aspect System: Negative

	TENSE	Past tense	Present	(Future)
ASPECT				
Punctual	<i>∅</i>	<i>ga Vb tama i</i>		
Progressive	<i>ra</i>	<i>kara Vb tama i</i>		<i>[... tama ... ni i]s kara</i> <i>[... tide ...]s kara</i>
Perfective	<i>há</i>	<i>ga Vb tama há i</i>	<i>ga Vb tama há</i>	
Stative	<i>i/a</i>	<i>ga Vb_{stat} tama i</i>		

Negative perfective past:

- (240) *lĭ-b ga hui te tama há io,*
 he POT help me NEG A A+if
o ta ge nēsisá /nai ga lō há.
 then I IND now already POT dead A
 ‘If he had not helped me, I would already be dead now.’

Negative future:

- (241) *[/Khī di tide]s karao, o ...*
 come they NEG.FUT TA+if then
 ‘Should it be the case that they will not come’, i.e.
 ‘Should they not come, ...’

3.2.1.7 NP Structure, Case

The minimal NP consists of a PGN marker, be it for the subject or the object (cf. section 3.2.1.4). These PGNS are the true pronouns of N.Kh. (see [Chapter 6](#)). The referent of this PGN can be more closely identified by means of a lexical specification, which can consist of a nominal

head (stem) and/or qualifiers. (Adjectives, demonstratives, articles, numerals, possessives and relative clauses are subsumed here under the category qualifier, as they have the same syntactic behaviour.) The normal position of a qualifier, for the attributive function, is to the left of the head. As such it is governed by the PGN to the right of the entire lexical specification and no further inflection occurs. If a qualifier is added after the head, it functions as apposition and, therefore, needs a copy of the PGN that governs the head. An appositively used qualifier thus has the same structure as a pronominally used qualifier. Both NPS, that of the head (with further optional attributive qualifiers) and that of the apposition, are part of the matrix [NP], i.e. the maximal projection, the function of which is marked by a case marker morpheme after the matrix NP, if it contains a lexical specification:

{NP}	<i>Ø</i>	nominative	for subject in initial slot of declarative sentences;
{NP}	<i>a</i>	oblique	for subjects of questions, deposed subjects, objects;
{NP}	<i>di</i>	possessive	as qualifier;
{NP}	<i>e</i>	vocative	in address;
{NP}	post- position		for adverbials.

The following structural patterns apply for all qualifiers, including relative clauses (but excluding the associative *â-*). The following words are used as representative examples: *nē* ‘this’, *kai* ‘big’, *goma-s* ‘cow’. The lexically specified NPS are illustrated for the oblique with *-a*.

minimal NP:	{PGN} (for subject) {s} 'she'	{o ^m } {si} 'her'	(for object)
stem alone:	{[stem]PGN} {[goma]s} 'cow'		case a
with attributive qualifier(s):	{[(qualifier) (qualifier) stem]PGN} {[(nē) (kai) goma]s} 'this big cow'		case a
with (attributive and) appositive qualifier(s):	{[(qualifier) stem]PGN ₁ [(qualifier)]PGN ₁ } {[(nē) goma]s [(kai)]s} 'this big cow'/'this cow, the big one'		case a

It is evident from the appositive usage that the case marker is not suffixed to a word but rather appended to an entire syntactic constituent, viz. [NP]. The appositive usage can be employed for stylistic reasons (as an afterthought), or it can be obligatory to avoid the wrong reference of another qualifier. This would be required if a second qualifier contains a noun, as in possessives or relative clauses. As any qualifier refers to the first noun to its right (with regular tone rules), such a noun would have to be removed into an apposition to avoid wrong reference:

(242) *nē* †*gāri-ao-b* *di* 'this farmer's cow' *not*
goma-sa *'this cow of the farmer'

/[(*nē*)
 [†*gāri-ao-b di*]/s]a *goma]s* 'this cow of the farmer', or

[[†*gāri-ao-b* *di*]
goma]s [(*nē*)]s]a *ibid.*

3.2.2 !Gora

Wilfrid H.G. Haacke

3.2.2.1 Basic Syntax: the Underlying Structure of Nouns

!Gora syntactic structures are essentially the same as for Namibian Khoekhoe (N.Kh.). Hence this discussion of !Gora syntax should be read in conjunction with the discussion of N.Kh. As observed earlier, the apparently irregular use of grammatical formatives and especially the frequent omission of them in !Gora may be the most conspicuous difference between N.Kh. and !Gora grammar, and may have been symptoms of imminent language death.

Further corroboration that the surface noun is derived from an underlying minimal sentence is provided by !Gora through the fact that – contrary to N.Kh. – equi-deletion appears *not* to be applied to the pgn marker of the embedded sentence that provides the lexical specification of the subject. The original PGN markers of both the matrix and the underlying sentence are thus retained, according to Meinhof (1930: 51):

(243) *!Nai-b bi tje na hā-ku lxa luru-e.*
giraffe PGN IND PRES.PROG horses with chase+PASS
'The giraffe is being chased with horses.'

The lexical specification of the subject np (*!nai a b 'he/it is a giraffe') is embedded as an S in the subject np of the matrix sentence, which otherwise consists of only a pgn marker *bi*:

(244) [S] *bi tje na hā-ku lxa luru-e*
 △
 !*nai-b*

For bracketing conventions, see 3.2.1.1. The brackets will be introduced here into the examples quoted from various sources. Hyphens from the original quote may then be omitted, though.

In N.Kh. the PGN marker of the embedded lexical specification would be deleted by virtue of equi-NP deletion, in the equivalent sentence *!Nai**b** ge ra hāgu lkha !haehe*:

(245) [S] *b ge ra hāgu lkha !haehe*

!nai-(b)

According to Meinhof's transcription the pgn is actually pronounced twice in !Gora, as he also explicitly confirms (1930: 37); cf. also ... *ha-b bi lkx 'ā-e hā* 'the horse (it) was stolen' (1930: 62), or *he hai-bbi na ham* 'this tree (it) smells'. An example of Maingard's (1962: 20) leaves no doubt about the iteration of the PGN: *kx'amma**p** î**p** kie kei hâ* 'truth is great'.

It is noteworthy that the syllabic PGN marker with the vowel *-i* is also manifested in the northern Damara dialects of N.Kh., e.g. in Sesfontein: *xo**eni** ge ra llō* 'people die'. However, no iterative articulation of the plosive has been observed. In !Gora the PGN with *i* is found not only in the subject but also in the object, according to Maingard (1962: 14):

(246) *Ats !guixats ko !kam* 'You, rascal, have killed
kwep-bi. a man.'

The total omission of the subject, even the PGN marker, appears to be more frequent in !Gora than in N.Kh. (This is another characteristic that !Gora has in common with the Sesfontein dialects of the Damara cluster; cf. Haacke 1986: 382.) While in N.Kh. it is only likely to occur as response in a dialogue, especially to a question, it seems to be less restricted in !Gora, e.g.

(247) *he_ tje kx'o-b-a* (Meinhof 1930: 50)

Note that the indicative marker *tje* here appears even without preceding PGN. But cf. the same sentence elsewhere by the same author (Meinhof 1930: 37):

(248) *He b tje kx'o-b-a.* Copulative
 this PGN IND meat+OBL
 'This is (the) meat.'

(249) *'Ā, !ū _ tje na.*
 yes go (PGN) IND PRES.PROG
 'Yes, we are going.' (Meinhof 1930: 76)

While in N.Kh. objects and *deposed subjects* consistently occur in the oblique form (with *-a*), this case suffix is often though not predictably omitted in !Gora (here indicated as \emptyset).

(250) a. *{{[!Na xani]s}∅ ma re.* topicalised object
 that book give me/please(?)
 'Please (?) give (me ?) that book.' (Meinhof 1930: 77)

b. *Mū tama da hā {{[gaida] 'ao]b-i}∅.* postposed object
 see NEG we PERF old man
 'We did not see the old man.' (Meinhof 1930: 75)

Likewise the oblique suffix may or may not be omitted in the deposed subject; with oblique:

- (251) *Mû re* *ko-* *a_(e)* *{[(l'āi-)] kû-} a.*
 see me (they) RECT.PAST+ JUNCT ART+ PGN+OBL
 'They saw me.' (Meinhof 1930: 44)

without oblique:

- (252) *i- {b} tje* *{[l'ami]b}Ø mi*
 and he REM.PAST(?) ostrich say
 'and then he – the ostrich – said' (Meinhof 1930: 37)

Meinhof had correctly recognised that the deposed subject is a lexical specification in the form of an epenthetic *sentence*: “Dies ‘Subjekt’ ist eine Art Apposition oder *Zwischensatz* zu dem vorhergehenden Subjektspronomen” (This ‘subject’ is a kind of apposition or *intrasentential clause* to the preceding subject pronoun.) (1930: 38; emphasis added).

The oblique suffix *-a* (derived from the stative aspect marker; cf. N.Kh.) assimilates to *-e* if it follows on PGN markers with *-i*; e.g. Meinhof (1930: 61):

- (253) *ʔants hã* *{[khoe] b}ē* *{[lna ha -b*
 know.you PERF person +PGN-**i** that horse +PGN
 +OBL
ko *[[kx'ã hã] b}a?*
 RECT.PAST steal PERF PGN+OBL
 'Do you know the man that had stolen that horse?'

The above example illustrates that the use of the vowel *-i* is erratic with PGN markers. In N.Kh., furthermore, the oblique case marker *-a* will only follow on the very last PGN marker of the all-comprising NP; in this case only on

the apposition, not on the preceding head. Cf. the equivalent sentence in N.Kh., where the head noun and the appositive relative clause are part of *one* [NP]:

(254) *!Ants a {[khoe]b [(lnā hā-b-a go lāa hāa)] b}a?*
 ‘Do you know the man that had stolen that horse?’

Despite the frequent neglect of the oblique suffix in the “predicative” strategy of a noun, nouns in isolation are frequently cited in the oblique when elicited as answer to the question for a term; e.g.

(255) *Xam+ma.* ‘It is a lion.’ instead of: *Xam+mi.*

The habit of using the oblique for citation forms explains the origin of Europeanised ethnonyms like “Korana” < *!Gora+n+a* < *n a *!Ora* or “Namakwa” < *Nama+gu+a*. While in the Nama dialects nouns (today) are never cited in the oblique, the oblique is occasionally used in the relic area on the northern Damara periphery, and in Naro.

3.2.2.2 Constituent Order

!Gora, like N.Kh., uses fronting and inversion as focusing strategies. The initial slot in the sentence (i.e. before the subject PGN) is the focus position. A few examples should suffice here:

(256) a. *!Xo-b-i r na !ae.* ‘I am smoking a pipe.’
 pipe+NOM I PRES.PROG smoke (Meinhof 1930: 60)

but

b. *!ae r na !xo-b-i.* ‘I am smoking a pipe.’
 smoke I PRES.PROG pipe+NOM

Copulative constructions are of the same kind as in N.Kh., with apparently one exception. Minimal copulative sentences consist of one NP, which may be extended with attributive qualifiers:

(257) {[!Guixa hâ lhû]b} pi kie.
 roguish PERF White+PGN IND (Maingard 1962: 26)

Maingard translates the sentence as: ‘The master was or has been a rogue.’ In N.Kh., at least, this sentence would have two readings, depending on its internal structure:

Predicative, with subject-predicate inversion (as Maingard): ‘The white man has become roguish.’

Copulative (as the above bracketing reflects): ‘He is a white man who has become roguish.’

Maingard’s spelling reflects a double PGN marker: *p+bi*. This would imply a non-occurrence of equi-deletion, as argued earlier. However, in the present construction the noun stem *lhû* is the verbal (i.e. predicate head) of the matrix sentence; hence there can be no question of embedding. Regrettably it can no longer be verified whether the transcription reflects the true syntactic situation.

Maingard’s predicative translation

(258) {[Tswi lkoap ko má tsi ga]s} kie.
 God RECT.PAST give you cleverness IND (Maingard 1962: 27)

as ‘God has given you cleverness’ appears to be misguided. The equivalent in N.Kh. would be read as a minimal copulative sentence extended with a relative

clause: ‘It is cleverness that God has given you’; i.e. ‘It is God-given cleverness.’

So-called “Coreferential copulative sentences”, i.e. sentences purportedly consisting of two (surface) NPS of the structure [NP]Ø *kie* [NP]*a* also are on record:

- (259) $\{[!N\alpha]ku\}\emptyset$ $\{[!xama]ku\}a$. ‘Those are hartebeest.’
 that+PGN (IND) hartebeest+PGN+OBL (Meinhof 1930: 37)

A more apt reading is one of subject deposition caused by fronting of the predicate head *lna*:

- (260) * $\{[!Xama] ku\}$ $\emptyset_{\text{Subject}}$ *kie* *a* *lna*. >
 !N α ~ {ku} $\emptyset_{\text{Subj.PGN}}$ (kie) - {[!xama] ku} $a_{\text{Dep.Subj}}$.
 ‘They – the hartebeest – are *those*.’

The following kind of sentence listed by Meinhof (1930: 38), with the oblique np occurring *before* the np in the nominative, does not occur in N.Kh.:

- (261) $\{[!Nani] tse\}ku\}a$ $\{[v\acute{e}khe]b\}\emptyset$.
 six day+PGN+OBL week+PGN+NOM
 ‘Eine Woche sind sechs Tage.’ = ‘A week consists of six days.’

Whether this was a frequent and accepted syntactic construction, or whether it was deviant usage suggestive of language death, can no longer be established. It is conspicuous that in !Gora copulative sentences the indicative marker *kie* is omitted in most instances.

3.2.2.3 Complex Sentences

3.2.2.3.1 Subordination by Conjunction

As in N.Kh., the principle applies that co-ordinating conjunctions precede the second constituent, while

subordinating conjunctions follow on the subordinated constituent.

(262) *Toa ku ta 'o, 'i na ll'anu*(Meinhof 1930:
khoedexu-tsî. 63)

‘And when they (will) finish, they will return home, leaving the women.’

In order to demonstrate the derivation, the above !Gora sentence is explained by way of its N.Kh. equivalent:

(263) *Toa gu rao, o gu ge ra laru, khoede xû tsî.*
 finish they PRES.PERF then they IND PRES.PERF return women leave and
 ~when

The underlined embedded clause in the above sentence is derived from the following two input sentences:

(264) *O gu ge khoede ra xû tsî gu ge ra laru.*
 then they IND women PRES.PERF leave and they IND PRES.PERF return
 ⇒ *O gu ge khoede xû tsî ra laru.*
 then they IND women leave and PRES.PERF return

(derivation via equi-deletion of subject PGN, IND and PRES.PERF)

⇒ *O gu ge ra laru khoede xû tsî.*
 then they IND PRES.PERF return women leave and

(derivation by postposing the VP with trailing conjunction)

Tsî in its subordinating function was, in earlier publications, wrongly treated as a suffix both in N.Kh.

and !Gora (for a discussion, see Haacke 1992b, esp. p. 191). This explains Meinhof's hyphen before *tsí*.

Compound NPS are constructed in the same way as in N.Kh. (Maingard 1962: 51):

- (265) *INā [t̥i ra]p tsí [t̥mu]p tsí-ka xa hampa sa diba?*
 that shine PRES.PERF and black+PGN and-PGN from which you POSS+PGN
 +PGN +OBL
 'Which one of those two – he being a shining one, he being a black one – is yours?'

3.2.2.3.2 Subordination by Adverbialising Suffixes

Adverbial clauses can, as in N.Kh., be embedded by means of adverbialising suffixes, e.g. the locative *-pa*:

- (266) *!Xao-da-'i mā ba.* = *!Xaoda-'i māpa.* (Meinhof 1930: 62)
 lamb+DIM+PGN stand ~ ADV.SUFF '(there) where the little lamb stood'

3.2.2.3.3 Subordination as Relative Clauses

Relative clauses appear in the typical three functions of qualifiers (in parentheses): attributively (to the left of the head, without PGN marker), appositively (to the right of the head, with identical PGN marker), or pronominally (with PGN marker).

Attributive (Meinhof 1930: 62):

- (267) *{{!(Kx'atse 'ir ko l'ama hā) ha}b} bi !kx'ā-e hā.*
 yesterday I RECT.PAST buy PERF horse PGN steal+PASS PERF
 'The horse that I bought yesterday has been stolen.'

Appositive (Meinhof 1930: 62):

- (268) *!Nou tje ta {{[khoe]b-i [(ha-b_ ko !kx'ā hā)}b}Ø.*
 beat we FUT man horse REC.PAST steal PERF+PGN+NOM
 'We will beat the man who stole the horse.'

Note that the above NP should have taken the oblique case suffix *-a* instead of \emptyset after the maximal projection of the [NP], it being the object of the sentence.

Meinhof (1930: 61) quotes a rare instance (according to N.Kh.) where the oblique case marker also occurs after the internal NP containing the head. This construction should, however, be interpreted as iterative NPS:

(269) *#ants hā {[khoe]b}e_(c) {[!(na ha-b ko !kx'ā hā)]b}a?*
 know~you PERF man+OBL that horse RECT.PAST steal PERF+PGN+OBL
 'Do you know the man who has stolen the horse?'

Pronominal (Maingard 1962: 36):

(270) *!Na re {[!(taip kam ta di)]b}∅.*
 tell me what we.two FUT do+PGN 'Tell me what we two shall do.'

The above example is actually an instance of a pronominal use with omission of the complementiser noun *!kxeip*. True relative clauses would have a similar surface structure in pronominal usage.

3.2.2.3.4 Subordination with the Complementiser *!kxelp/s*

Complement sentences, amounting to “that-sentences” in English, are formed as in N.Kh.:

Maingard (1962: 36):

(271) *!ts kana mubasin {[!(kamme kam na) !xei]p}∅.*
 you POT.PROG see+APPL+REFL kill+PASS we-two PRES.PROG matter
 'Then you may see for yourself that we (two) are killed'

Again, the oblique case marker *-a* is not used to mark the objectival position of the complement sentence. The N.Kh. equivalent of the above sentence would be:

(272) *Ots kara mübasen {[(!gamhe khom ra) !khai]s}a.*

3.2.2.4 Mood, Tense and Aspect

The same moods seem to appear as in N.Kh.

Indicative *tje* (Maingard *kie*):

(273) *i- da tje 'uri-ku-a u-hā tama* 'and we have no iron bars'
 and we IND iron.bars+OBL take+PERF NEG (Meinhof 1930: 37)

The indicative marker *tje* appears to be omitted more readily in !Gora than *ge* is in N.Kh. (cf. Maingard 1962: 24). (In the N.Kh. equivalent *ge* the palatalisation is no longer reflected in the standardised orthography, as it is predictable before front vowels. The obsolete spelling was *gye*.) On the other hand, *tje* may appear in !Gora even while the PGN marker of the subject is omitted – something not found in N.Kh.:

(274) *{[(He)_]} tje {[kx'o]b}a.* 'This is the meat.'
 this+ IND meat+PGN+OBL (Maingard 1962: 24)

Assertive *kum* ... *o*:

(275) *its kum #kaus #ū bi o*
 and~you ASST bowl eat it ASST
 'and you indeed eat (out of the bowl)' (Maingard 1962: 33)

The example above is fragmentary in that it has no tense–aspect marker and no (oblique) case marker or postposition with *#kaus*.

Interrogative *ka*:

(276) *Ham- tsē its ka ta lūa-xa?*
 which day you Q PRES.PROG come down
 'When then will you come down?'

Hortative *a/ha*:

- (277) *A- re kx'a.*
HORT I drink
'Let me drink!' (Maingard 1962: 30)

The *tense–aspect system* of !Gora is essentially the same as that for N.Kh. The difference seems to be more of a morphological or phonological nature. The N.Kh. (present) progressive aspect marker *ra/(ta)* is !Gora *nã*, with an occasional variant *ra*.

!Gora *ta* (*ra* after vowels) amounts to N.Kh. *nî* for the future tense, according to Meinhof (1930: 52), while !Gora uses *nî* to indicate obligation, i.e. 'must'. In N.Kh. *nî* indicates both future *tense* and obligation 'must'. Maingard (1962: 25) has, however, correctly recognised that *nã* is an *aspect* formative "for the incomplete action", rather than a present *tense* marker, as Meinhof (1930: 51) seems to take it.

It is remarkable that !Gora, like the older Damara dialects, makes use of a juncture *a*, a "juncture" as first described by Köhler for Central Khoesan languages of Botswana. This means that junctures are not as symptomatic for the Kalahari Khoe languages of the family as was hitherto maintained. Rather, it appears to be symptomatic for specifically the Nama dialects of N.Kh. not to use any juncture.

- (278) *Mũ-r kq-a xam-mi.* 'I have seen the/a lion.'
see I RECT.PAST+JUNCT lion (Meinhof 1930: 52)

Meinhof (1930: 52) reports the doubling of the past tense markers. Regrettably the significance of it is not clear. In

one example *ko-ko* appears with the perfect aspect marker *hã*, in the other example with the zero morpheme for the punctual aspect:

- (279) a. *Hama- ts ko-ko #ũ-b hõ hã?*
 where you RECT.PAST+RECT.PAST food find PERF
 ‘Where did you find the food?’
- b. *Xpasao-b tsĩ lxao-’i tsĩkhara ir ko-ko lam.*
 leopard and lamb and~them I RECT.PAST+RECT.PAST kill
 ‘I have killed a leopard and a lamb.’

It is not clear whether Meinhof’s example (1930: 4) for the remote past is an instance of duplication or an instance of the indicative marker followed by the (single) remote past tense marker:

- (280) *He-he !’a-s kx’ai i-r tje tje !nae- hã i-r*
 this+this place on I ? REM.PAST be born PERF and~I
- tje tje he-ba lxa-lxa-sen hã #ani-s koba-b.*
 ? REM.PAST here learn PERF book language
 ‘At this place was I born and have learnt the language of the book.’

Instances of the progressive aspect with the two past tenses and the future (*gere*, *goro* and *nĩra* in N.Kh.) do not seem to be on record. A combination with the subjunctive *ka* is on record (Meinhof 1930: 53):

- (281) *!Hami lũ kao ka na?* ‘Would you go hunting?’
 hunt+go you (M.PL) SUBJ+PROG

Too little information on *negation* is available to allow the establishment of a systematic paradigm. The indicative is said to be negated with *tama* as in N.Kh. (Meinhof 1930: 54). Commands use a positive predication as in N.Kh., which is then negated with the negative temporal adverb *ta* (‘never’):

(282) *!Na dao-b kx'ai i ta!* 'Never go on that path!'
that path on go never

In conclusion it may be observed that deviations between !Gora and N.Kh. are mainly of a phonological and morphological (including lexical) nature, while syntactic structures widely concur. Differences that occur in syntax are not systematic but largely amount to irregularities and omissions in !Gora. These irregularities in !Gora seem to be symptoms of imminent language death less than two generations after Meinhof conducted his research. Granting this, it can be claimed that !Gora and N.Kh. share the syntax of a common language, Khoekhoegowab, which is subdivided into dialects – albeit fairly diverging – by virtue mainly of the differences in phonology and morphology.

3.2.3 Haillom

Thomas Widlok

The late Terttu Heikkinen has provided an extensive classification of †Akhoe sentence types which is summarized here. Since her sample data are almost exclusively derived from narratives, especially from folktales, I have complemented her analysis with conversational data from my own data wherever it seemed useful. More examples for the sentence types described here and more details on the analysis of †Akhoe narratives are contained in Heikkinen's unpublished work (Heikkinen, n.d.).

3.2.3.1 Word Order

†Akhoe word order is flexible to the same degree as word order in Nama (see Moritz 1963: 93–97; Haacke,

this volume), which is nevertheless sometimes classified as an SOV language (see Rust 1965: 100).

3.2.3.2 Major Sentence Types: Basic Sentences

3.2.3.2.1 Positive Declarative Sentences

According to Heikkinen (n.d.: 40) topic is marked throughout #Akhoe discourse with the topic marker *ge*, the “declarative particle” (Hagman 1977: 54), which follows either the subject itself or the PGN marker that refers to it. In narrative speech declarative sentences normally start with the initial conjunctions *o* or *ao* and end with the verb-final particle *e*. In everyday speech #Akhoe declarative sentences characteristically end on *i ge* which, as pointed out by Heikkinen (n.d.: 41), “is the result of nominalising the sentence proper with the collective [neuter] class suffix *-i* and topicalizing the sentence as a whole so that it becomes a non-verbal stative sentence”.

(283) *Ao da ge léi-i lkha kere oa e.*
 CONJ 1PL.C DEC it with PAST return PART
 ‘And we returned with it.’

(284) *INati ge ûi ge há i ge.*
 this 1PL.M live PAST PAST AUX PART
 ‘This is how we lived.’

(285) *ÎÊi lasa ge #hába há i ge.*
 this place DEC need PAST AUX PART
 ‘This place we need.’

3.2.3.2.2 Event Sentences

The event sentence consists of the following sequence (optional elements are placed in parentheses, constituting parts are placed in square brackets):

(Pre-Sentence) [Subject (consisting of qualifier and noun)] [Predicate (consisting of adverb, object, verb)] [(Post-Sentence)]

(286) [O gu ge gôasagua] [hogu ge hâ e] [gôasade i-e].
 CONJ 3PL.M sons marry PAST.PERF daughters too
 ‘His sons were married, and so were his daughters.’

Pre-and post-sentences are optional. A pre-sentence contains a PGN suffix attached to a conjunction, an adverbial or an object. If there is a pre-sentence including the PGN suffix, another subject reference is not required. A post-sentence may contain qualifiers to nouns or modifications to verbs.

3.2.3.2.3 Stative Sentences

Stative sentences are of two types, either with a copula, *a* ‘to be’ or *i* ‘to become’, or without. Stative sentences with a copula may have a pre-sentence to complement the following basic sequence:

[(Subject)] [Predicate (consisting of (a copula and) a complement)]

(287)[*Khaira-i ge*] [*a #ui*].

food PART be much

‘There is plenty of food.’

Stative sentences without a copula which are non-verbal and consist of the declarative particles *ge* or *go* following the complement may also have an optional subject. The complement may also be an embedded nominalized sentence (see 289 below).

[Predicate (consisting of a complement)] [Subject]

(288) [*Damagu*] [*di gomadi ge*].
 Ndonga-men POSS cows DEC
 ‘They are the Ndonga men’s cows.’

(289) [*Arogôa tsu*] [*ta ge i i ge*?]
 boy only 1SG PAST be PART
 ‘I was just a boy.’

3.2.3.2.4

Modifications of Event and Stative Sentences

The simple sentence types described so far may be modified into what Heikkinen (n.d.: 46) called “focus sentences” and “expressive sentences”. Focus sentences may be either event sentences or stative sentences which are modified in that a focused element precedes the predicate (see 290). Expressive sentences (291) form a subtype of stative non-verbal sentences and they consist of a complement plus the emphatic declarative *ko mo* (see also Hagman 1977: 54). This is their basic structure:

[(Pre-Sentence)] [Focus] [(Subject)] [Predicate]
 [(Post-Sentence)]

- (290) [O khe aisa] [arokhoegu tsugua] [ra #na si e].
 CONJ giraffe-dance men only PRES dance PART
 ‘The giraffe [dance] is danced by the men only.’
- (291) [Nige di daoba] [sa] [#á i ko mo].
 we POSS path you go in DEC
 ‘You just pick up our trail.’

3.2.3.2.5 Imperative Sentences

The derivation of imperative sentences from positive declarative sentences entails a number of modifications to the form of the sentence.

The imperative particle *re* is added unless the imperative sentence is already preceded by an imperative sentence. In that case the connective *an(i)* is used instead of *re*.

Particles that mark topic, tense and aspect are dropped, and so is the sentence-final particle *e*.

The PGN marker is dropped in the second person singular (in all other persons it follows the verbal). The subject is only explicitly included for extra emphasis.

292 *Ha re!*

come IMP

‘Come!’

- (293) *IGam-e ma te re an ta a.*
 water give me IMP so that I drink
 ‘Give me water so that I can drink.’

There are instances of what Heikkinen calls “imperative equivalents”. These are imperative sentences in effect

(and intention) but they lack some of the formal features outlined above. In imperative equivalents the imperative particle is dispensable when the sequential connective *an(i)* is in place:

(294) *Ani tsi tare|gôate tsi ôahâ xuia |guisa kaoba te.*
 SEQ 2SG.M daughters 2SG.M have if one give.to.marry me
 ‘If you have daughters, give one to me for marrying [her].’

The imperative particle is also dispensable when the emphatic *ko* and the PGN marker (also in the second person singular) are in place.

(295) *Ma te tsi ko!*
 give me you EMPH
 ‘Do give it to me [now]!’

Furthermore, language pragmatics provides ways of expressing imperatives without using the form of a direct demand. Questions that are created with the interrogative particle *o* are often oblique imperatives, ‘Is there no water? [... Then get me some!]’. Similarly, declarative sentences using the evidential particle *goma* often work in an imperative way, ‘I’d like to smoke. [... Do give me some of your tobacco!]’. See Widlok (1997) for this and other aspects of the relationship between pragmatics and syntax in †Akhoe.

3.2.3.3 Interrogative Sentences

†Akhoe interrogative sentences may be divided into verbal and non-verbal sentences. Both types of interrogative sentences may be further divided into information questions and polar questions.

3.2.3.3.1 Interrogative Verbal Sentences

There are two ways of deriving interrogative verbal sentences from positive declarative sentences. Introducing an interrogative pronoun or adverb and dropping the topic marker (declarative particle) *ge* creates an information question. Using the intonation contour of a question (where the pitch does not descend at the end of the sentence) and dropping the topic marker *ge* creates a polar question. Most polar questions of the verbal type end on *-e* with a response usually ending in *i ge* (see above).

(296) *Taib boro om omde ndete?*
 who PAST build houses these
 ‘Who has built these houses?’

(297) *Sa gaikhoede há tsu di a e !gáise?*
 your women be only 3PL.F AUX PART well
 ‘Are your wives well?’

3.2.3.3.2 Interrogative Non-Verbal Sentences

Interrogative non-verbal sentences are derived from declarative non-verbal sentences by changing the intonation from final into non-final (see above) and by dropping the topic marker (declarative particle) *ge*. Information questions are created by introducing the interrogative particle *o*, ‘what about?’, at the end of the sentence. Polar questions do not require an interrogative particle but use the oblique form (final case) of the subject or the complement.

(298) *!Gam-e o?*

water Q

‘What about the water? [Is there none?]

(299) #*Nanirotsa?*

Kwanyama+diminutive+PGN

‘Are you a Kwanyama child?’

3.2.3.4 Negation

The negative particle *ta* appears at the beginning of the verb.

(300) *Tita ge ta ra mû.*
I DEC NEG PART see
‘I don’t see.’

This also applies in negative imperative constructions.

(301) *Ta du lao re.*
NEG 2PL.C fear IMP
‘Don’t be afraid.’

The negative particle *tama* follows the verb and frequently combines with the perfective aspect.

(302) ... *mû bi taman hâ î.*
see PAST NEG+3PL.C PAST PART
‘... while they were not looking.’

The negative particles *ti-* and *te-* are used in nominalized sentences. They follow the verb, and tense and aspect markers.

- (303) *O khe /góa-i ia ra ohe tisa.*
 CONJ PART children POSTP TAM eat+PASS NEG+3SG.F
 ‘It is not eaten by the children.’

3.2.3.5 Complex Sentences

3.2.3.5.1 Coordinating Nominal Compound Structure

The coordinating nominal compound structure is constructed with the help of the connective *i* which follows each constituent, including the last one. All nouns that are linked in this way appear in the oblique form (the final case, see [Chapter 6](#)). The structure is completed at the end with the connective *i* plus a PGN marker.

- (304) *!Naukhoroba i Ailgúba i tita i ge.*
 !Naukhorob and Ailgúb and myself and DEC
 ‘It is !Naukhoroba, Ailgúba and myself.’

- (305) *!Gaiaogu ge /gamgua i-e !nonagua i-e.*
 healers DEC two PART-PART three PART-PART
 ‘There are two or three healers.’

Note that in (305) the constituents are listed as alternatives. Instead of *i*, constituents may also be linked with the connective *a* but in this case the connective is only between constituents and not added in a summarizing fashion at the end of the structure. The connective *tsî* ‘and’ also occurs in the way it is being described for Nama (see Haacke, this volume).

3.2.3.5.2 Subordinating Nominal Compound Structures

Two types of subordinating nominal compound structures may be distinguished, one in which a qualifier may precede a noun and the other in which it may follow a noun. Except for nominal qualifiers, all other qualifiers that precede the noun remain uninflected. Qualifiers that follow the noun are inflected in concord with the noun. Adjectival qualifiers that precede the noun remain uninflected:

(306) *!nu !huba*

far country

‘a far-away country’

Adjectival qualifiers that follow the noun are inflected in concord with the noun that is also inflected:

(307) *mari-i hoa-e*

moneyall

‘all the money’

The possessive pronouns remain uninflected when preceding the noun:

(308) *di omsa*

my house

‘my house’

There are possessive constructions with *a* in which the qualifier follows the noun and is inflected:

(309) #*khanisiasa*

book her

‘her book’

Embedded sentences (relative clauses) may also occur as qualifiers preceding the noun and they, too, remain uninflected:

(310) *Gomade ra kure †Akhoe rob be.*
cows PRES herd †Akhoe.boy DEC
‘He is a †Akhoe boy who herds cows.’

When the embedded sentence follows the noun as a qualifier, it is also inflected:

(311) *Gaikhoeb be hā i ke, Igāusa †mūi hāba.*
man DEC PAST PART PAST house put be.there.3SG.M
‘There was a man who had put up a house.’

Preceding nominal qualifiers appear in the non-final case (see [Chapter 6](#)):

(312) *lībi gomade*

his cows

Nominal qualifiers following the noun receive the inflection of the noun:

(313) *lore tisa* (cf. *ti loresa*) 'my dish'
 dish my

Whenever there are two qualifiers, one precedes the noun and the other follows it:

(314) *sa mari-i hoa-e* 'all your money'
 your money all

3.2.3.5.3 Verbal Compound Structures

All verbal compound structures described here are coordinating. #Akhoe and Hailom have a considerable number of double verbs which are, however, considered to be one verb. They are clearly distinguishable from coordinate verbs because the elements of the compound verbs are separated from one another by one or more of the following elements:

Aspect or tense marker:

(315) *Aob be lgama ra ha e.*
 CONJ+3SG.M PAST draw.water TAM come PART
 'He drew water and came.'

Object, adverbial or another element of the predicate:

(316) *Ao ta ge si tarekhoesa ra !gamme e.*
 CONJ 1SG.M PAST go.to woman TAM marry PART
 'I went to marry a woman.'

Minimal subject (a PGN marker) or minimal object (a pronoun):

- (317) *Ao di ge laegua khau gua gere sâi si e.*
 CONJ 3PL.F DEC fires kindle them TAM cook her PART
 ‘They kindled fires and cooked her.’

The connective affix *-a* may also be used but it is optional:

- (318) *!Gumude gu !gaesun-a ra #na si i ge.*
 rattles 3PL.M tie+REFL+CON TAM stamp OBJ PART PART
 ‘They tie rattles (around their ankles) and stamp with their feet (when they perform the dance).’

The connective *-a* and the aspect marker *ra* may also separate auxiliaries from other elements of a compound verbal structure:

- (319) *Nakalebi gomade ta ge hâna ra kure e.*
 Nakale’s cows 1SG PAST AUX TAM herd PART
 ‘I used to herd Nakale’s cows.’

3.2.3.5.4 Adverbial Compound Structures

In these subordinate compound structures embedded sentences occur as adverbials. There are two ways of marking the relation between the elements of this compound structure, through introductory connectives or through suffixes that are attached to the embedded sentence (or through both).

Common introductory connectives are *an(i)* (indicating purpose) and *ise-* (indicating manner). Common suffixes are *-ka* (indicating purpose) and *-se* (indicating manner):

- (320) *Aob be !gôagua ra #khai#khai e, ani gu #ûka.*
 CONJ.3SG.M PAST sons TAM wake.up PART so.that OBJ eat+SUFF
 ‘He woke up the sons so that they might eat.’

- (321) *!Nani tsede tsum gere !gû i ge, !âsa tsuma lose.*
 six days IDUM tam walk PART PART hunger PGN die+SUFF
 ‘We walked for six days, dying of hunger.’

After an imperative construction, connectives and suffixes may be dropped:

- (322) *Ha re tsum !gû.*
 come IMP 1DU.M go
 ‘Come so that we may go.’

3.2.3.6 Clause Structure

Apart from the main clause and embedded clauses (see above) #Akhoe sentences may have two other clauses which Heikkinen has labelled pre-sentence and post-sentence. The pre-sentences mostly contain an introductory conjunction (or an interjection) and PGN marker to which a tense and a topic marker may be added. They may also contain an object or adverbial or a vocative (especially in imperative and interrogative sentences).

- (323) *Ao bi haiuib ai ra !gû e.*
 CONJ 3SG.M bush/forest to PRES go PART
 ‘He goes into the bush/forest.’

The post-sentence, too, may contain a vocative, an adverbial, and appositions or qualifiers that refer to the nominal constituents of the sentence.

- (324) *!Gû sa i ke sasa.*
 go 2SG.F PART DEC 2SG.F
 ‘You go.’

3.2.3.6.1 NP Structure

3.2.3.6.1.1 Subject Noun Phrase

The subject noun phrase is a simple or a compound nominal structure with or without qualifiers. It is minimally represented by a PGN marker only but it may also contain a topic marker. The noun has two potential forms identified by Heikkinen (n.d.) as “final” and “nonfinal” and by Haacke (this volume) as “subject paradigm” and “oblique” (see [Chapter 6](#)). Heikkinen (n.d.: 71) provides the following summary of the occurrence of these two forms:

The non-final case occurs with most postpositions, in possessive and associative constructions (with or without *di*) and when *ge ka* or *ko* follow.

The final case occurs with some postpositions (e.g. *xu* and *!o*) and as object or indirect object unless *ge ko* or *ka* follow, when anticipated or re-stated in the form of a PGN marker and in interrogative constructions.

(325) *!Gui gaikhoeb be hâ i ge.*
 one man (*non-final case*) PAST PAST PART DEC
 ‘There was a man.’

(326) *Aob be gaikhoeb bere hî khomâi ra hî e.*
 CONJ 3SG.M man PAST PAST do.as TAM do PART
 ‘He did as the man had done.’

3.2.3.6.1.2 Object Noun Phrase

Like the subject noun phrase the object noun phrase consists of a nominal with optional qualifiers that precede or follow it. Also, like the subject noun phrase, the object may be referred to with a minimal pronoun. For a table of †Akhoe minimal object pronouns, see [Chapter 6](#).

(327) *Tita hamati du ni hî te?*
 1SG what you FUT do OBJ
 ‘What will you do to me?’

(328) *Aob be ta lkhaba ra mû si e.*
 CONJ 3SG.M PAST NEG see again OBJ PART
 ‘He did not see her again.’

3.2.3.7 VP Structure

The predicate of a †Akhoe sentence may consist of the following elements: verb, object, adverbial, copula and complement (or non-verbal complement without a copula). Affixed to the verb stem are optional markers for aspect, tense, voice, mood, a minimal object, and the final *-e*. Since the latter two elements have already been discussed above, it should suffice to add some details on aspect, tense, voice and mood.

3.2.3.7.1

Aspect

Aspect is not obligatory. The completive *a* and the incompleted *ra* are complementary to one another, they cannot occur together. Both are optional and both may be combined with other aspect markers. The habitual *hâna* often co-occurs with the incompleted and the perfective *hâ* with the completive. As the Heikkinen collection of †Akhoe folktales shows, the incompleted *ra* is dominant. However, the vowel of *ra* is assimilated to the vowel of the preceding PGN marker as shown in [Chapter 6](#).

3.2.3.7.2 Tense

The inflection of verbs according to tense has been described above (see [Chapter 6](#)). The present tense is unmarked and consists of a verb stem plus a PGN marker and an aspect marker. The immediate past tense with *go* and the distant past tense with *ge* frequently combine with the incompleted *ra* and in a number of cases fuse with the preceding PGN marker (see [Tables 6.10](#) and [6.11](#)). Besides the future tense with *ni* or *ka hî* there are “future equivalents” (Heikkinen, n.d.: 64) created with *si* ‘come, arrive’ in combination with *ra* or *ni*.

3.2.3.7.3 Voice

The passive formative *-he* is always suffixed to the verb stem:

- (329) *Eliab ge ge #nau-he.*
 Eliab DEC PAST beat-PASS
 ‘Eliab got beaten up.’

3.2.3.7.4 Mood

The mood of necessity is expressed with the future particle *ni*:

- (330) *Tita ge hî ni tita.*
 1SG DEC DO FUT NEG
 ‘I won’t do it.’

The conditional mood is expressed with the particle *ka*, which combines often with *ra* but also with *ni*.

- (331) *Iti kara io, ...*
 this PART.PRES if
 ‘If this is so, ...’

The imperative mood is expressed with *re* or in expressive imperative sentences with *ko* (see above).

3.2.3.8 Agreement

According to Heikkinen (n.d.: 72), the concord relations in \neq Akhoe may be summarized as follows:

A subject or object concords with its anticipator, with its qualifiers that follow it, and with nominals that re-state or paraphrase it (usually a PGN marker). Subjects may also concord with the verb which is, however, not always inflected. A complement concords with the subject except when the complement follows the copular ‘a’ (then it remains uninflected).

3.2.4

Kxoe Subgroup: Khwe

Christa Kilian-Hatz

3.2.4.1 Introduction

Crucial for the understanding of Khwe syntax is the fact that Khwe is a discourse oriented language. It appears that there is always at least one constituent emphasized: either a noun phrase or a verb phrase. For that purpose, Khwe uses different syntactic strategies that will be described in the following subsections. Focus is understood here as a syntactic strategy of foregrounding. In Khwe it serves two purposes: to emphasize a certain referent or action in contrast to another possible candidate (“contrasting” or “identificational focus”), or to introduce new information (“informational” or

“presentational focus”). In this respect, the main aim of this section is to answer two implicitly interrelated questions. Both have been discussed in the existing literature on Khwe, albeit in different contexts:

- a. Which constituent order types exist in Khwe and what are the conditions for their use?
- b. What is the syntactical function of the marker *a*?

We will begin with a discussion of the different constituent order types. The conditions under which these different types are used will be examined in section 3.2.4.2. Section 3.2.4.3 explains the multiple functions of the marker *à*. In section 3.2.4.4 the formation of predicate focus will be briefly presented. Finally, section 3.2.4.5 sums up the results of the analysis.

3.2.4.2 Constituent Order

3.2.4.2.1 Basic Order with Core Participants

Generally, speakers accept three word order types with transitive verbs, namely OSV, SVO, and SOV. In the literature several other word orders are mentioned. Köhler (1973: 85) distinguishes four basic word order types (SVO, OSV, OVS, and SOV); he adds that the SOV order is frequently used and is, therefore, the “standard pattern”. Quite a different distribution is given in Köhler (1981: 539), where five basic word orders (OSV, SOV, SVO, OVS, and VSO) are listed. Köhler assumes that the use of a certain word order depends on the kind of morphological markedness of the referents. In his analysis all five word order types may occur with PGN marked nouns but only two types (SOV and SVO) are possible when the nouns are marked with the so-called neuter singular PGN *a*. All five constructions are said to be possible as long as the object is marked with *a*, whereas only SOV and SVO are possible when both subject and object are marked with *a*.

In order to confirm Köhler’s assumption that there is an interdependency between word order type and the kind of morphological markedness that nouns bear, a statistical survey was undertaken. The results are summarized in [Table 7.12](#). From a sample of 30 texts collected by Heine (1997) and Kilian-Hatz and Naude (1999) roughly 1,500 sentences have been examined. Despite the fact that only 37 cases showing a strictly basic word order (i.e. declarative sentences with nominal

referents) were found, the following distribution was observed and considered as representative.

Table 7.12 Distribution of Basic Word Order Types in Khwe Compared to the Morphological Markedness of the Referents

	Unmarked subject	Subject + PGN	Subject + PGN + <i>a</i>	Subject + <i>a</i>
Unmarked object	SOV: 1 SVO: 1		none	none
Object + PGN	SOV: 1	SOV: 2 SVO: 3	none	none
Object + PGN + <i>a</i>	SOV: 5 SVO: 1 OSV: 3	SOV: 4 SVO: 5 OSV: 3	none	none
Object + <i>a</i>	SOV: 2 SVO: 1 OSV: 1	SOV: 1 SVO: 2 OSV: 1	none	none

Although the number of examples in [Table 7.12](#) is low, the following preliminary conclusions can be drawn:

- a. Khwe has only three basic word order types: SOV, SVO, and OSV
- b. Subject and object are never marked simultaneously with *a*, i.e., *a* is restricted to the object.
- c. The occurrence of basic word order types seems to be restricted: as opposed to SOV and SVO, OSV is only possible when the object is marked with *a*.
- d. The occurrence of basic word order types does not seem to depend on whether the referents are PGN marked or not.
- e. Object and subject are identified as follows: the subject is placed sentence-initially (SOV, SVO). Only when the object is marked with *a* may it precede the subject in an OSV order.

In contrast to this, OSV only appears when the object is either marked with PGN and a, as in (334a), or only with *a*, as in (334b).

OSV:

- (334) a. *Nlátá cámi-m à kóo-a-tè córò.*
 thus polecat-3SG.M à hold.back-I-PRES rock.monitor
 ‘Thus the rock monitor (tries to) keep back the polecat.’
- b. *Tcém xó à qóro kx’úí-é-tè.*
 true thing à cock speak-I-PRES
 ‘It is true what the cock says.’

The order of core participants with ditransitive verbs is based on the word order of transitive verbs that are extended by the indirect object. Thus, ten possibilities of word order combinations (see [Table 7.14](#) and examples 445a-j) are found in sentences with three core participants (subject, direct and indirect object). However, only two combinations may be considered as kind of standard: S–O–IO–V and S–V–IO–O (indicated in italics *and* bold); finally, S–IO–V–O (in italics only) is found more frequently than the other six combinations that remain.

Table 7.14 Khwe Constituent Order with a Verbal Predicate and Core Participants

Intransitive	Transitive	Ditransitive	
S–V	S–O–V	<i>S–O–IO–V</i>	S–IO–O–V
	<i>S–V–O</i>	<i>S–V–IO–O</i>	<i>S–Q–V–IO</i>
	<i>Q–S–V</i>	IO–S–V–O	<i>S–V–O–IO</i>
		<i>IO–Q–SV</i>	<i>S–IO–V–O</i>
			<i>Q–IO–S–V</i>
			<i>Q–S–V–IO</i>

The question arises as to which of these word order types is the dominant one. A good candidate seems to be the SOV constituent order, which is reflected in relative clauses and some types of serial verb constructions. The evaluation of about 1,500 sentences in recent text collections (1999) reveals that the SVO order (see [Tables 7.13](#) and [7.14](#) below; in the latter, it is indicated in italics *and* bold) is used almost twice as often as the two other ones. As shown above, the OSV order occurs only under certain very specific conditions, whereas SOV and SVO orders appear to occur in all environments. In interrogative sentences, SVO order is only used when the subject is asked for or is foregrounded, whereas OSV order is employed when the object is asked for or is foregrounded. In “why”-questions both OSV and SOV are used; and with “how”-questions, where the verbal action is foregrounded, only SOV order is used.

Table 7.13 Frequency of Word Order Types in Khwe in Sentences with Nominal and Pronominal Referents

Word order type	Number	Percentage
SVO	51	10.04
OSV	35	6.90
SOV	33	6.50
OV	37	7.28
VO	5	0.98

SV	289	56.90
V	58	11.42

A very similar distribution can be observed in relative clauses where there is a clear basic SOV order. This is the case, for example, in relative sentences where the relativized noun is a sentence-initial, pronominal applicative/benefactive, instrumental, or temporal extension. An OSV order appears – as expected – when the relativized noun is the pronominal object in the relative sentence. When the relativized noun is the indirect object in the relative sentence, both object phrases (i.e. the pronominal indirect object followed by the nominal direct object) precede subject and verb. SVO order is not obtained because the relative pronoun is always suffixed to the finite verb when it is the subject in the relative sentence.

All these observations clearly indicate that Khwe has a dominant SOV word order. SOV is the most neutral order that occurs in all contexts except where, for foregrounding purposes, the object is fronted, thus giving an OSV order. In the case where an SVO order occurs, the subject takes a special emphasis. The fact that the majority of Central Khoesan languages are considered SOV languages (cf. Güldemann and Vossen 2000: 117) tends to support our hypothesis.

3.2.4.2.2 Constituent Orders in Sentences with Pronominal Referents

In basic sentences the identification of subject and object presents no particular difficulty. A different situation arises in sentences with purely pronominal, or nominal and pronominal referents. Compare examples (335)–(337) where the meaning is always ‘I see a house.’ In these cases all three word orders are possible without restrictions or morphological conditions. (a) always indicates a referent that is either marked with *a* or is unmarked, (b) shows the referent with a PGN suffix, and under (c) the referent is marked with a PGN marker plus *a*. Speakers consider the examples under (337) with OSV order as preferred variants.

SVO:

- (335) a. *Tí ngú à múû-à-tè.*
 1SG house à see-I-PRES
- b. *Tí ngú-mà múû-à-tè.*
 1SG house-3SG.M see-I-PRES
- c. *Tí ngú-m à múû-à-tè.*
 1SG house-3SG.M à see-I-PRES

SOV:

- (336) a. *Tí múû-à-tè ngú (à).*
 1SG see-I-PRES house à
- b. *Tí múû-à-tè ngú-mà.*
 1SG see-I-PRES house-3SG.M
- c. *Tí múû-à-tè ngú-m à.*
 1SG see-I-PRES house-3SG.M à

OSV:

- (337) a. *Ngú (à) tí múú-à-tè.*
house à 1SG see-I-PRES
- b. *Ngú-mà tí múú-à-tè.*
house-3SG.M 1SG see-I-PRES
- c. *Ngú-m à tí múú-à-tè.*
house-3SG.M à 1SG see-I-PRES

The restriction to three types of word order is also valid for sentences that are not basic. In a sample of 508 sentences with both nominal and pronominal referents, taken from nine narrations (cf. Heine 1997, Kilian-Hatz and Naude 1999) as well as from Köhler's texts (cf. Köhler 1991: 279ff., 428ff., 447ff., 462ff.), no other word order types are found. Thus, in sentences with nominal and pronominal referents, the following picture obtains: SVO is the most frequent word order, followed by OSV and SOV. It must be noted that in narrations the most frequently used sentence type is intransitive SV and/or transitive SV where the object is understood. Similarly, the high frequency of sentences without a subject (i.e., the OV and V types) can be explained by the fact that the subject, as well as the object, are most often elided in narrative sentences when the referent is known either from the context or in subordinated and co-coordinated sentences, when the referent is the same as in the main or preceding sentence (cf. 441 and 442). It must be added that there is no difference in the occurrence of word order types in main and subordinated sentences; subordinated sentences vary in the same way

as main sentences. The distribution of word order types (pronominal referents included) is shown in [Table 7.13](#):

Simple neutral sentences in Khwe appear to be a contradiction to our claim that Khwe has a dominant SOV order. Consider (338) which is most representative of sentences of its type. To all appearances we have here an OSV word order. The sentence is normally translated as in (a). If, however, the speaker intends to foreground the object, exactly the same word order appears. We may therefore conclude that in all sentences at least one element must be foregrounded and that the foregrounding of the object is the neutral case.

OSV:

- (338) *l'áò à tí ðxàrò-á-ta Mâtiaci-m ki / ... Mâtiaci-m à.*
 money à 1SG give-II-PAST M.-3SG.M to M.-3SG.M à
 a. 'I gave the money to Matthew.' or:
 b. 'I gave the *money* to Matthew.'

SVO order is chosen when the subject is emphasized:

- (339) *Tí ðxàrò-á-ta l'áò à Mâtiaci-m ki.*
 1SG give-II-PAST money à M.-3SG.M to
 'I gave the money to Matthew.'

Subject and object precede the verb (SOV) when the verbal action is emphasized:

- (340) *Tí l'áò (à) ðxàrò-á-ta Mâtiaci-m ki.*
 1SG money à give-II-PAST M.-3SG.M to
 'I gave the money to Matthew.'

In unconnected sentences SVO order is used to emphasize the subject. It also appears when the object is either the elliptic subject or the object of a following

sentence, i.e., the referent is identical in both sentences as demonstrated in examples (441) and (442):

- (441) *Pòò ú-ó-xu-a-hā xàa wiyàmbò xà-hé è. Cì-khiú-can-*
 jackal send-LOC-COMPL-II-PAST DEM arrow DEM-3SG.F è NEM-return-REFL-
a-kò xóm ki lǎá-é-tè nò pòò #í.
 II-CONV ground LOC descend-I-PRES when jackal be.without.any.voice
 ‘The jackal shot this arrow again. (The arrow) returns and comes down
 to the ground (but) the jackal doesn’t say a word.’
- (442) *lúú-hè húu cé-m à, lóé átaxa #ú.*
 mother-3SG.F collect bush.sp.-3SG.M à child thus eat
 ‘The mother collects the cé fruit, then the child eats (it).’

Thus, the flexibility of word order is primarily a feature of a highly pragmatically determined language where at least one sentence constituent is always emphasized through its position: either the verbal action or one of the referents (the focused constituents are underlined in [Table 7.14](#)). The relative frequency of SVO order in narrations can be explained by the fact that either the agent – encoded in the subject – is emphasized (i.e., narrative sentences are more agent-oriented) or the object becomes the elided subject or object in the following sentence. In interrogative sentences SVO order is only used when the subject is asked for or is foregrounded, whereas OSV order is used when the object is asked for or is foregrounded. In “why”-questions both OSV and SOV are used, while in “how”-questions where the verbal action is foregrounded only SOV order is used. Word order is used in particular to respond to “who”-questions and, thus, may express either argument focus or predicate focus. This is illustrated in examples (443a–b), (444a–c), and (445a–j).

- (445) a. S IO O V
Tí Mâtiaci-m à l'áò xârò-á-tà.
 1SG Matthew-2SG.M o money give-II-PAST
 'I gave the money to Matthew.'
- b. S O IO V
Tí Khwe-dam à tcá à láé-è-tè.
 1SG Khwe-language o 2SG.M o teach-I-PRES
 'I teach you Khwe.'
- c. S V IO O
Pólicà-lùà léú-á-tà khó-m à dàó à.
 police-3PL.M show-II-PAST man-3SG.M o way o
 'The police showed the way to the man.'
- d. S V O IO
Xá-má cóe-re-ma-à-tè yíiceregú à té à.
 DEM-3SG.M narrate-II-APPL-I-PRES tale o 1SG o
 'He tells us a folktale.'
- e. S IO V O
Tí tcá à láé-è-tè Khwe-dam à.
 1SG 2SG.M o teach-I-PRES Khwe-language o
 'I teach you Khwe.'
- f. S O V IO
Tí Khwe-dam à láé-è-tè lǎá-m à.
 1SG Khwe-language o teach-I-PRES child-3SG.M o
 'I teach Khwe to the boy.'
- g. O IO S V
Nlé xó-dji à tcá à tí dò-á-tè.
 DEM thing-3PL.F o 2SG.M o 1SG believe-I-PRES
 'As for these things, I believe you.'
- h. O S V IO
l'áò à tí xârò-ná-tà Mâtiaci-m à.
 money o 1SG give-II-PAST Matthew-3SG.M o
 'I gave Matthew the money.'

- i. IO S V O
Tcá à tí dò-á-tè n/é xó-dji à.
 2SG.M O 1SG believe-I-PRES DEM thing-3PL.F O
 ‘I believe you these things.’
- j. IO O S V
Màtiaci-m à l’áò à tí xàró-á-tà.
 Matthew-3SG.M O money O 1SG give-II-PAST
 ‘I gave the money to Matthew.’

3.2.4.2.3 Order of Attributes

Khwe has a modifier–head order. Therefore, manner adverbs precede the verb and adjectives and possessor attributes precede the noun. However, in order to emphasize an attribute they are postposed.

3.2.4.2.3.1 OVS and VSO Order? – Formation of Verbal Adjectives

Khwe does not have a coherent, proper word class of adjectives. It distinguishes formally between verbal adjectives, adjectives derived from nouns, adjectives related to pronouns, and numerals. An adjective in Khwe is defined as an attribute that immediately precedes the head noun which it modifies.

Verbs are the main source for qualifying adjectives. Köhler (1973: 32), therefore, defines adjectives in Khwe generally as verb stems and considers other sources as exceptions. Most adjectives are in fact pure verb stems that precede the head noun. The pure verb stem is otherwise used as a finite tenseless form; it denotes that states or events are not necessarily related to the time of speaking. This tenseless form is typically used with verbs of state or verbs like ‘be’ or ‘live’. An example is provided in (446a), the equivalent use as attribute is

given in (446b), and (446c–d) finally illustrate its use as predicate formed with a TAM marker.

- (446) a. *Yī á léú.*
tree FOC be.big
'The tree is big.'
- b. *Éú yì á.*
big tree COP
'It is a big tree.'
- c. *Yī á léú-à-tè.*
tree FOC be.big-I-PRES
'The tree becomes big.'
- d. *Yī á léú-a-hā.*
tree FOC be.big-II-PAST1
'The tree became big.' Or: 'The tree is actually big.' Or rarely: 'The tree was big (but it is not big any more).'

Köhler's "adjective" category only comprises the subclass of stative verbs. However, verbs from other verb classes are also used in the same way. Thus, in principle every verb may be used attributively in so far as it is semantically compatible with the head noun. In this respect, the open class of verbs is identical with the subclass of qualifying adjectives. (447a) contains the process verb *djàó* 'work', (447b) the derived reciprocal verb *llxúni-ku* 'mix with each other'; in (447c) the negated verb *llúu-nya* 'not give birth' is used, while (447d) presents the verb *ngúí* 'praise'.

- (447) a. *Tí mǔú-à-tè djàó lǎá-hè.*
1SG see-I-PRES work child-3SG.F
'I see a working girl.'
- b. *llxúni-ku khóé-nà*
mix-REC person-3PL.C
'mixed people' (i.e. people of different nationalities)
- c. *llúu-nya lgèe-khòè-hè*
give.birth-NEG female-person-3SG.F
'infertile/barren woman'
(lit.: 'woman that does not give birth')
- d. *ngúí lí-mà*
praise song-3SG.M
'hymn of praise'

Not only simplex and derived verbal stems but also complex verbs can be used as adjectives; this is

demonstrated in (448) with the serial verb construction consisting of ‘die’ and ‘stand’.

- (448) *l'ó-ó-xu-a* *fĩĩ* *nlgóé*
 die-II-COMPL-II stand moon
 ‘last stage of waning moon’
 (lit.: ‘dead standing moon’)

As shown in the examples above, verbal adjectives are most often verb stems that precede the head noun. There are, however, instances where the attributively used verb occurs in its finite form with a TAM marker. In contrast to the tenseless form, which indicates a timeless quality, the form with a TAM suffix indicates a special temporal relation, as in (449) and (450), and/or an aspectual relation, as in (451): the verb ‘do’ is used attributively in its tenseless form (451a) and with the verbal TAM suffix *-llòè* denoting the habitual in (451b). The verbal adjective *hĩĩ* ‘do, act’ → ‘doing’ is furthermore modified by the intensified adverb ‘well’ which still reflects its verbal-like character.

- (449) *ll'úu-a-tà* *càá*
 freeze-II-PAST2 water
 ‘ice, ice cream’ (lit.: ‘frozen water’)

- (450) a. *Kx'éí nyám-ka khóé-hè mà-hé?*
 first start-CAUS person-3SG.F who-3SG.F
 'Who was the woman who started first?'
 (lit.: 'Who is the first starting person?')
- b. *Kx'éí nyám-ka-ra-hĩ khóé-hè mà-hé?*
 first start-CAUS-II-PAST5 person-3SG.F who-3SG.F
 'Who was the woman who started first?'
 (lit.: 'Who is the first having started person?')
- (451) a. *Xá-má teèkà-kara hĩ khó-mà.*
 DEM-3SG.M good-INTS.ADV do person-3SG.M
 'He is the right person.' (lit.: 'He is a very well doing man.')
- b. *Xá-má teèkà-kara hĩ-è-lòè khó-mà.*
 DEM-3SG.M good-INTS.ADV do-I-HAB person-3SG.M
 'He is the right person.' (lit.: 'He is a usually very well doing man.')

Example (452) presents a typical predicative noun phrase formed with the copula/ presentative *à*. In (452a) the stative verb 'be small' appears in its tenseless form and

precedes the noun; it thus qualifies here as a verbal adjective 'small'. In (452b), however, the verb is marked with the TAM suffix *-hã* denoting past tense/resultative. However, here the verb does not form the predicate but is still the attribute to the following head noun. Constructions such as (446b) and (448)–(452) may have triggered the misleading assumption of a fourth and fifth basic word order (OVS and VSO respectively) where a verbal predicate may precede the subject. In fact, a VS order is not allowed in Khwe and not attested in any recent data; constructions like (453a–b) seem doubtful and are probably only found and accepted in sentences which are elicited under rather artificial fieldwork circumstances. A verb preceding the subject always forms its attribute and never its predicate. (Similarly, the verbal adjective and the following noun may form an object noun phrase, as in 447a.)

- (452) a. *ʔó dáó à.*
 small path COP
 ‘This is a small path.’ But NOT: ‘The path is small.’
- b. *ʔó-ró-hã dáó à.*
 small-II-PAST1 path COP
 ‘This is a small path.’ (lit.: ‘This is a have-become-small path.’)
 But NOT: ‘The path (recently) became small.’

OVS – “rare, but accepted”:

- (453) a. **Dóá-m à |x’ú-á-hã Khóé-lùà.*
 kudu-3SG.M O kill-II-PAST1 Khwe-3PL.M
 ‘The Khwe have killed a kudu.’ (Köhler 1981: 539)⁴

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VSO – “in narrations”:

- (453) b. **|x’ú-á-hã Khóé-lùà dóá-m à.*
 kill-II-PAST1 Khwe-3PL.M kudu-3SG.M O
 ‘The Khwe have killed a kudu.’ (Köhler 1981: 539)

3.2.4.2.3.2 Postposed Attributes

(a) Possessive Attributes

Attributive nouns or pronouns are postposed to lay focus on the possessor in a nominal possessive construction. The regular possessive construction has a strict modifier–head order; the possessor is followed by a possessive postposition and finally by the possessee, as illustrated in (454a) and (455a). The reverse order with a postposed possessor is used in order to emphasize the possessor. Here, the possessor attribute plus the appropriate possessive postposition are postposed as a kind of apposition to the head. Depending on whether the possessee is definite or indefinite, the modifying noun or pronoun is followed by the possessive

postposition *di* (with an indefinite possessee), as in (454b) and (455b), by the postposition *ù* plus a PGN suffix (with a definite possessee) which is co-referential to the PGN of the head noun, as in (456) and (457). The possessive postposition is commonly omitted if the possessor noun has a PGN, thus the possessor (N-PGN₁-PGN₂), as in (458a–c).

- (454) a. *Yaá-kà tí kǐ ngú-à ðì tcápi à!* possessor–possessee
 come-CAUS 1SG LOC house-GEN POSS key o
 ‘Bring me the key of the house!’
- b. *Yaá-kà tí ðì tcápi à ngú-à ðì à!* postposed attribute
 come-CAUS 1SG POSS key o house-GEN POSS o
 ‘Bring me the key of the house!’

Possessor–possessee postposed attribute:

- (455) a. *té ðì láé-è kǐ* b. *láé té ðí-è kǐ*
 1PL.C POSS camp-GEN LOC camp 1PL.C POSS-GEN LOC
 ‘in our camp’ ‘in our camp’ (lit.: ‘the camp, in ours’)
- (456) *Tcéé xè-hè bàì tí-m ðàmàci-mà ù-hè*
 really body-3SG.F so 1SG-3SG.M younger.brother-3SG.M POSS-3SG.F
bèrè-ná-xu-a-hà!
 be.left.over-II-COMPL-II-PAST
 ‘That’s it! Thus, only the body of my younger brother is left over!’
 (lit.: ‘The body, my brother’s, is left over.’)
- (457) *Nò á-m tá-khò-má lóé nò*
 CONJ DEM-3SG.M be.old-person-3SG.M sleep CONJ
ðàmàci-hè kx’éí tcé-i yò á-m
 younger.sister-3SG.F first send-IMPS while DEM-3SG.M
tcétcere-lòá-m kà xà-cí m à tí-ĩ-tá tcéere-e-tè.
 rattle-DIM-3SG.M INSTR DEM-3SG.F POSS o stand-II-PAST rattle-I-PRES
 ‘While the old man is sleeping, the younger sister is sent first to stand (near him)
 and to rattle with her small rattle (lit.: while she is rattling that small rattle, hers).’

Postposed possessor with omitted possessive postposition:

- (458) a. *ngúí lí-hè Cǎxàryà-m-hè (= . . . Cǎxàryà-m m-hè)*
 praise song-3SG.F Zacharias-3SG.M-3SG.F Zacharias-3SG.M POSS-3SG.F
 ‘Zacharias’ praise hymn’
- b. *ngúí #i-mà Mǎryà-ci-mà (= . . . Mǎryà-ci ù-mà)*
 praise song-3SG.M Mary-3SG.F-3SG.M Mary-3SG.F POSS-3SG.M
 ‘Mary’s’ praise hymn’
- c. *wò-ó-hè Yicàci-m-hè (= . . . Yicàci-m m-hè)*
 birth-LOC-3SG.F Jesus-3SG.M-3SG.F Jesus-3SG.M POSS-3SG.F
 ‘the birth of Jesus’

(b) Adjectives

A verbal adjective is emphasized by copying an emphatic possessive/genitive construction. Thus, in emphatic possession as well as in emphatic qualification the head noun is followed by the copula *à*; it precedes the modifier which itself is followed by the emphatic particle *di à* (examples are given in 459b, 460b, and 461–462):

HEAD *à* **MODIFIER** *di à*

The construction *di à* is composed of the possessive postposition *di* and the copula *à*. It goes back to an emphatic possessive construction where a modifying noun or pronoun is replaced by a verbal adjective; this can be paraphrased as “It is X, it has the quality of Y”. The underlying possessive structure can be schematized thus:

POSSESSEE *à* POSSESSOR *di à* → N/PRON *à* ADJ *di à*

The emphatic qualification still forms an afterthought which is reflected in constructions such as (462); here, the emphasized adjectival stative verb *léci* (‘be white’) is clearly separated from the preceding pronoun by a pause and, hence, forms an apposition to it. As demonstrated in

(461) and (462), emphatic qualification is used particularly to contrast two situations.

- (459) a. *kx'óá kx'óxò-dji* b. *kx'óxò à kx'óá dì à*
 be.raw meat-3PL.F meat COP be.raw POSS COP
 'raw meat' 'raw meat' (lit.: 'meat of being raw')
- (460) a. *lHóm tá-khòè à djàò-á-tè.*
 be.strong old-person FOC work-I-PRES
 'The sprightly elders are working.' (Köhler 1973: 34)
- b. *Tá-khòè à lHóm dì à djàò-á-tè.*
 old-person FOC be.strong POSS COP work-I-PRES
 'The elders, who are still sprightly, are working.' (Köhler 1973: 34)
- (461) *Tcéka #ú à tí lhè-é-loè; #ú à tc'ó dì à*
 be.good food O 1SG pick.up-I-HAB food O be.rotten POSS O
tí #hè-é-lò vé.
 1SG pick.up-I-HAB NEG
 'I am used to picking up good fruits; I am not used to picking up tainted fruits.' (Köhler 1973: 34)
- (462) *Nò xà-má, xàm à, xà-m m à, l'éci dì à*
 CONJ DEM-3SG.M lion COP DEM-3SG.M POSS O be.white POSS O
gùì nò á #qóvolhòè kí #áá nò lqúmu.
 take CONJ DEM clay.pot LOC put.in CONJ boil
 'And it's him, the lion; he takes his (parts), the white ones (i.e. fat parts of meat), puts them in the clay pot and boils them.'

3.2.4.3 Marking with *à*

The morpheme *à* is common in Central Khoesan languages as object marker as, for example, in Nama, and as copula with presentative function (cf. Heine 1986). It has various functions in Khwe as a presentative marker, as focus and object marker, and finally as a marker of oblique case.

According to Köhler (1981: 514f., 539), there are two different *à* morphemes in Khwe which exclude each other:

(a) Köhler (1981: 514f.) analyses a suffix *à* as a common or neuter singular marker, forming part of the PGN paradigm, as he demonstrates as follows:

	Singular		Dual		Plural
M	<i>lǒá-mà</i> ‘boy’		<i>lǒá-tcà</i> ‘two boys’		<i>lǒá-lià</i> ‘boys’
F	<i>lǒá-hèè</i> ‘girl’		<i>lǒá-cà</i> ‘two girls’		<i>lǒá-dji</i> ‘girls’
C	<i>lǒá (à)</i> ‘child’		<i>lǒá-khà</i> ‘two children (boy and girl)’		<i>lǒá-nà</i> ‘children (boys and girls)’

The function of the common singular is restricted syntactically to nouns being subject and/or used in the *status constructus* (i.e. a genitival construction with relational nouns and with postpositions). Furthermore, the marker *à* may be omitted

- i. if the PGN suffix does not distinguish natural gender but only grammatical gender;
- ii. if natural gender is expressed alternatively by the modifiers ‘male’ and ‘female’ as illustrated below:

khóé ‘person, human’ vs

kx’á-khà-mà ‘man’ (lit.: male-person-3SG.M)

kx’á-khòè ‘man’ (lit.: male-person)

(b) The second *à* morpheme is defined by Köhler (1981: 539) as a particle marking the direct object of nouns that have a PGN suffix but not the common singular PGN *à*. If, as in Köhler’s examples below, subject and object consist of such nouns that are marked with the singular

common suffix *à*, a formal object marking with the particle *à* is excluded. In this case, subject and object are identified by word order only, i.e., the subject always precedes the object (in SVO or SOV):

SOV: *Khwé à doá à lx'ú-á-hã.*
 Khwe SG.C kudu O kill-II-PAST
 'A Khwe has killed a kudu.' (Köhler 1981: 539)

SVO: *Tá-khòè à lhéù-à-tè ápà à.*
 old-person SG.C raise-I-PRES dog O
 'The elder raises a dog.' (Köhler 1981: 539)

It must be added here that the marker *à* is not only found in the contexts described by Köhler but also with indirect objects and with nouns that are used as local and temporal adverbials.

Despite the different functions, the marker *à* is in some way incompatible with the negation marker *vé*: in non-verbal clauses the negation marker replaces *à* (e.g., in *Khwé à* 'It is a Khwé' vs. *Khwé vé* 'It is not a Khwé'). In verbal clauses as (463) the negation marker never immediately follows a noun which is marked with *à*; therefore, the clause in (c) is ungrammatical.

(463) a. *Tí nlá̀m vé éruku à.* b. *Éruku à tí nlá̀m vé.*
 1SG like NEG dog O dog O 1SG like NEG
 'I don't like dogs.' 'I don't like dogs.'

but: c. **Tí nlá̀m éruku à vé.*
 1SG like dog O NEG

The syntactic restrictions and the exclusion of a double object marking with *à* (as object and as PGN) reveal that

there are not two separate, coincidentally homonymous morphemes *à*. It will be shown that the functions of *à* are closely interrelated so that there is only one multi-functional morpheme.

The hypothesis of a multi-functional morpheme *à* is furthermore supported if we compare the allomorphic distribution, as listed in Table 7.15. Although the form *à* may be used in all contexts, different allomorphic variants exist: *è* and the bound forms *-à* and *-è*. While the nouns have different syntactic functions they may take the same allomorphic variants.

Table 7.15 Distribution of the Allomorphic Variants of *à* in Khwe

Allomorph	Subject	Direct object	Indirect object	Temporal/Locative adverbial
<i>à</i>	+	+	+	+
<i>è</i> after PGN <i>-hè</i>		+	+	+
<i>-à</i>	+	+	+	
<i>-è</i> after final <i>-i/-e</i>	(+)	+	+	

A different scenario arises when looking at the interrelation of PGN and *à* in different sorts of texts provided by Köhler (1989, 1991), Heine (1997) and Kilian-Hatz and Naude (1999). The results are listed in Table 7.16 (where: + = “with”; – = “without”; () = “rarely”; / = “or”). Here it becomes obvious that:

Table 7.16 Marking Definite vs. Indefinite Noun Phrases in Khwe

	Definite			Indefinite	
	Pronoun	Proper N	Specific N	Generic N	Unspecific N
Subject	+PGN -à	-PGN -à	+PGN -à	-PGN -à	-PGN +/-à
Direct object	+PGN +/-à	+PGN +à	+PGN +/(-)à	-PGN -à	-PGN +/-à
Indirect object	+PGN +à	+PGN +à	+PGN +/(-)à	-PGN -à ?	+PGN +/-à
Local/temporal adverbial N			+PGN +/-à		-PGN +/-à

- a. PGN marking with a suffix is only possible on a referent which is identifiable for speaker and hearer, i.e. on pronouns, proper nouns, and specific nouns. In contrast to these, generic and unspecific nouns do not accept any PGN.
- b. Only unspecific subject nouns may take the marker à.
- c. à is very often used to mark a direct and/or indirect object, but it is not obligatory with all nouns. It is never found on generic nouns and is optional with unspecific object nouns and pronouns; it is the preferred and, therefore, the default marker with specific object nouns; it is only obligatory with proper nouns.

From this we can conclude that there is a crucial distinction between zero marking and PGN marking which corresponds to the grammatical categories indefinite vs. definite, as follows: the PGN markers in Khwe are used like definite articles with specific nouns, whereas unspecific and generic nouns are zero marked and, therefore, indefinite.

As summarized in [Table 7.17](#) below, only one core constituent is marked with à: in intransitive sentences it

is the subject, in transitive sentences the direct object, and in ditransitive sentences the indirect object (the less common case is indicated in brackets); or it is a local/temporal adverbial. This again supports the hypothesis that *à* is a focus marker that foregrounds a contrasted referent or introduces a new referent.

Table 7.17 Khwe Marking of Participants by *à*

	S (of intransitive V)		S (of transitive V)		O	IO	T	L
	Indefinite NP	Definite NP	Indefinite NP	Definite NP				
intr.	+/-	-					+/-	+/-
tr.	-		(+)/-	-	+/-		+/-	+/-
dtr.	-		(+)/-	-	+/-	+(-)	+/-	+/-

The following sub-sections provide examples for the use of *à* with definite and indefinite noun phrases in different syntactic functions.

3.2.4.3.1 Subject with *à*

Only unspecific and, therefore, indefinite nouns that are the subject of intransitive or verbless sentences may be marked with *à*. Here, the marker *à* is very frequently used, although it is not obligatory. It functions as a focus marker which introduces new information. The examples in (464) have an unspecific animal as subject of an intransitive clause. Although they are similar in structure, only the noun in (464b) is marked with *à*.

- (464) a. *lX'éri* *ʔãã-a-tè* *lx'álx'à-a* *ki*.
 scorpion enter-I-PRES grass.sp.-OO LOC
 'A scorpion is disappearing in the grass.'
- b. *Kúicugucugu* *à* *Igèviuu-à-tè*.
 eagle FOC fly-II-PAST
 'An eagle is flying.'

The sentences in (465) all begin with a local adverbial followed by a noun and the intransitive posture verb *té/té-ĩ* 'stay, stand, be'. While the noun 'store' is unmarked in (465a), the same noun is focused with *à* in (465b). The noun 'school' in (465c) and the nouns in (466) are marked with the allomorphic suffix variant *-a*.

- (465) a. *Kyáo ki* *Búma-n* *ókà* *lám* *cítórà* *té-é-hi*.
 later LOC Buma-3SG.M LOC two store be-II-PAST
 'Later there were two stores in Buma.' (Köhler 1989: 548f.)
- b. *Ándará ki* *lúu-xa* *lúú* *cítórà* *à* *té-é-hĩ*.
 Andara LOC one-GER be.big store FOC be-II-PAST
 'A big store exists only in Andara.' (Köhler 1989: 551f.)
- c. *Dikúndù ki* *cure-à* *ĩĩ*.
 Dikundu LOC school-FOC stand
 'There is a school in Dikundu.' (Köhler 1989: 534f.)
- (466) *Xú* *à* *hámbe*, *nám-kú-a* *hámbe*, *lúu-kú-a* *léú*.
 thing FOC not.be love-REC-FOC not.be hate-REC-FOC be.much
 'There is nothing [i.e. bad living conditions], there is no love, [but] there is much hate.'

(467a–b) are verbless sentences. Whereas (467a) contains an indefinite noun phrase 'rainless year' and a generic noun phrase 'year of drought', (467b) has a definite noun 'God' vs. an indefinite, generic verbal noun 'love'. Only the first noun in (467a) can be marked with *à*. None of the subjects in (468) may be marked with *à* because they are definite nouns.

(467) a. Ó-tí-kírí à poópo-kírí.
 PRIV-rain-year COP drought-year
 ‘A year without rain is a year of drought.’ (Köhler 1991: 46f.)

b. Khyàní-mà n/ám-ku.
 God-3SG.M love-REC
 ‘God is love.’

(468) *Nlátá Khóé-lù tamaxa Góává-lù tamaxa /Gánda-lù*
 thus Khoe-3PL.M also Mbukushu-3PL.M also Mbwela-3PL.M
 ‘So did the Khoe (men), the Mbukushu (men), as well as the Mbwela

tamaxa, tá thàngà-m kókàxa té-é hĩ-t-a-hĩ.
 also thus tribe-3SG.M all be-II do-FREQ-II-PAST
 (men), i.e. all tribes.’ (Köhler 1989: 551f.)

3.2.4.3.2 Direct Object With à

3.2.4.3.2.1 Indefinite Nouns as Objects

The marker à is also found with non-specific, indefinite nouns that form the direct object, as shown in typical examples such as (469a–c). The suffixed allomorphic variant -a is used in (470). Although the object is marked with à in most cases, à is not obligatory, as in (471a–b), where it does not occur. The direct object may be unmarked,

- a. if either the subject and object roles are clear from the context, as in (470a–b), where the inanimate objects cannot be the actor;
- b. or if another participant is marked with à. This is the case in (471a–b) where the indirect object is marked in (471a), and the possessive in (471b); the latter is already emphasized by its postposed position.

- (469) a. *Càá à tí kx'áà-ca yà-à-hā!*
 water O 1SG drink-PURP come-II-PAST
 'I (just) came to drink water!'
- b. *Tī kóróta-a-řī 'áò à Mātiaci-ń ókà.*
 1SG borrow-II-PAST money O Matthew-3SG.M LOC
 'I borrowed money from Matthew.'
- c. *Hā |aá à wò-á-gòè, nò kx'á-lòā à áva-a-gòè.*
 2SG.F belly O have-I-FUT CONJ male-child O give.birth-I-FUT
 'You will be with a child (lit.: you will get a belly) and give birth to a son.'
- (470) *Kyèhé-ń lút-mà |ám |ám n|góá-à gù!*
 each-3SG.M single-3SG.M two two stone-O take
 'Each one (of you) take two stones!' (Heine 1997: 10)
- (471) a. *Tàxúnò lháò tamaxa bó tamaxa lxào tamaxa phókò tamaxa*
 then hoe also axe also spear also knife also
 'Then they sold hoes, axes, spears, knives,
- kyáxù tamaxa lèu tamaxa lgoó tamaxa*
 dagger also razor.blade also pointed.iron also
 daggers, razor blades, as well as pointed irons,
- taá xoá-ń yókàxa té-é #ũũ-kà-t-a-hĩ.*
 thus iron-3SG.M all be-II buy-CAUS-FREQ-II-PAST
 i.e. all (kinds of) ironmongery.' (Köhler 1989: 447f.)
- b. *Pákò, á xó tcá ngúri-é-ń tama!*
 never DEM thing 2SG.M lie-I-PROG also
 'Never (i.e., it is not true)! That kind of affair you are also lying about!'
- (472) a. *Nò xà-ná cèú táva-na-hĩ |lũũ-ń à.*
 CONJ DEM-3PL.C hand wave-II-PAST father-3SG.M O
 'Then they made signs to his father (lit.: they waved their hands).'
- b. *Nàtiú |é xà-má #áã-na-tà á yó dì à?*
 why fire DEM-3SG.M put.on-II-PAST DEM size POSS FOC
 'Why has he lit such a big fire (lit.: a fire of such a size)?'

3.2.4.3.2.2 Definite Objects with à

The marker *à* can optionally follow a definite object noun phrase. This includes specific count nouns marked with a PGN suffix, as in (473a–b), pronouns, as in (474) and (475b), as well as proper nouns; the latter are obligatorily marked here with both a PGN suffix and *à*.

Most frequently, the marker *à* is found after a direct object; this may be due to the following facts:

- a. It is problematic to distinguish subject and object roles when both referents are animate, as in (475a–b) and (476a); *à* is used here to avoid ambiguity about subject and object roles, as in (476b–c).
- b. *à* functions to contrast the referents, as demonstrated in (477) where two direct objects are involved: the first object, ‘monitor’, is a re-called discourse topic which is focused with *à* and contrasted with the second object, ‘genet’, which is the actual discourse topic of the narration.

Although the general marking of direct objects with *à* appears to be the default case, there are still many contexts where *à* is lacking. This is again observed:

- a. when another referent is marked with *à*, as in (473b);
- b. if subject and object roles are identifiable from the former discourse or extra-linguistic context, as in (473a–b) and (474).

(473) a. *lÓè-hè átaxa #’ù-à-tè cé-djì à.*
 child-3SG.F thus eat-I-PRES bush.sp-3PL.F O
 ‘Thus the child eats the *cé* fruits.’

b. *Tcá dì mbóró à lxí xúni-mà.*
 2SG.M POSS chance FOC kill crocodile-3SG.M
 ‘It is your chance now to kill the crocodile.’ (Heine 1997: 21)

(474) *Kx’áá-èè, kx’áá-è, tí-è †gaamá yaáka, tí-è †gaamá yaáka!*
 vulture-voc vulture-voc 1SG-O bring 1SG-O wings bring
 ‘Vulture, Vulture, bring me (my) wings, bring me the wings!’

OSV:

(475) a. *Ó-’úú-khòè-tè té khóé-tè xà-má kx’ó.*
 PRIV-hair-person-1PL.C 1PL.C person-1PL.C DEM-3SG.M eat
 ‘He has to eat us, the ones without fur.’

SOV:

- (475) b. *Khó-mà xà-ní lxúni-mà à thúù-kara kyàè-e-hã*
person-3SG.M DEM-3SG.M crocodile-3SG.M o pain-INTS.GER tie-II-PAST
'The man had tied the crocodile on his horse in a way that was very painful;
bèyè-é kî; nIãã khóaná kî xã-má á-má kx'ó-ca.
horse-o LOC DEM reason LOC DEM-3SG.M DEM-3SG.M eat-PURP
that is why he (crocodile) wanted to eat him (that man).' (Heine 1997: 20)

OSV:

OSV:

- (476) a. *Tàn tîi tcá tí ú!* b. *Tcá tí à kx'óá!*
stand.up then 2SG.M 1SG bring 2SG.M 1SG o wait
'Stand up, then I may take you!' 'You have to wait for me!'

OSV:

- (476) c. *Yáá! Cáo à tí kyá-rá-hã!*
yes 2DU.F o 1SG love-II-PAST
'That's it! I love you two (women)!'
- (477) *Timù córó-mà-à Igàa-khòè-djì nIgóá-à-tè.*
then rock.monitor-3SG.M-o female-person-3PL.F cook-I-PRES
'Then the women are cooking the rock monitor,
Kx'á-khòè-lè tcámBa-mà nIgóá-à-tè.
male-person-1PL.M genet-3SG.M cook-I-PRES
(and) we men are cooking the genet.' (Heine 1997: 36)

From the observations with indefinite and definite objects we conclude that *à* has two functions: on the one hand, it contrasts possible referents in object position; contrasting is again a main function of focus. On the other hand, it serves to avoid ambiguity of the syntactic roles of core participants; at this stage the marker *à* also distinguishes grammatical, rather than purely pragmatic, contrast. This complex function of *à* is the reason why a double marking with a separate focus marker *à* and an object marker *à* is impossible.

3.2.4.3.3 Indirect Object with *à*

With indirect objects the marker *à* behaves similarly as with direct objects. If the sentence contains an indirect object, this is mostly marked with *à* regardless of its definiteness (see 481a–b). Only a few contexts are found where a sentence contains both a direct and indirect object because a participant is commonly omitted if it is known by the context. If both objects are mentioned, there are three possibilities of marking the referent with *à*:

- a. All objects are marked, as in (479–481a).
- b. Only the indirect object is marked, as in (478).
- c. Only the direct object is marked, as indicated by the brackets in (479) and (480).
- d. No object is marked, as in (481b) and (482); this is, however, rarely found.

(478) *Tiyò n/ĩkà tí yà-à-tá nò, tcá tí-è kwèè xó vé!*
 then there 1SG come-II-PAST CONJ 2SG.M 1SG-O refuse thing NEG
 ‘You can’t refuse this to me, when I come here!’

(479) *Matiaci-m̄ (à) /'áò à tí xàró-ná-tà.*
 Matthew-3SG.M (O) money O 1SG give-II-PAST
 ‘I gave money to Matthew.’

(480) *Igèe-khòè-dji (à) thàngà-m̄ à ù-à-má-t-a-hĩ.*
 female-person-3PL.F (O) clothes-3SG.M O buy-II-BEN-FREQ-II-PAST
 ‘(We) bought clothes for the women.’ (Köhler 1989: 549f.)

(481) a. *Á càá-hèè tí kx'áa-ca hĩ nò càá à tí à.*
 DEM water-3SG.F 1SG drink-PURP do CONJ water O 1SG O
kwèe-ka-t-i-t-a-tè!
 refuse-CAUS-FREQ-IMPS-FREQ-I-PRES
 ‘When I want to drink that water, they very often refuse me the water.’

vs. b. *Xà-má á càá-hè n/ĩkà té khóè-tè kwèe-ka.*
 DEM-3SG.M DEM water-3SG.F there 1PL.C people-1PL.C refuse-CAUS
 ‘We, the humans, refused him that water there.’

(482) *Á /'é-hè xà-má áta lhùáxu-i-hā nò.*
 DEM fire-3SG.F DEM-3SG.M thus take.away-IMPS-PAST CONJ
 ‘One (of us) has taken that fire away from him.’

3.2.4.3.4 Local and Temporal Adverbials with *à*

3.2.4.3.4.1 Local Adverbials

There are two ways to form a local adverbial: either the noun is followed by a local postposition, or the noun is marked optionally with *à* only.

Adverbials of the first type are used to specify and to focus on the kind of positioning, as in (483). This is achieved with three simple and semantically rather vague postpositions: “proximal” *ki* ‘in, at, to, on’; “distal” *kà* ‘in, at, to, on’ and “ablative” ‘from’; and *ókà* “distal directional” ‘to’ and “ablative” ‘from’.

In contrast to this, adverbials of the second type are used to focus on the kind of location itself; the location is mostly emphasized by the additional use of the focus marker *à*, as in (484a–b). Similar to the Latin dative case, the local noun in Khwe occurs with an intransitive motion verb or a transitive verb, as in (484b). It does not form the object because it is not depending on the valence of the verb; so passivization is not permitted. Syntactically it is an oblique case, therefore the focus marker *à* is glossed here as oblique “OQ”.

(483) *Divundu-ci ki ɬx'óá-rá-kò nákò Winduka kà lxán ngú.*
Divundu-3SG.F LOC go.out-II-CONV then Windhoek LOC very far
'It is very far from Divundu to Windhoek.'

(484) a. *M̄m! Cé kúú-à-tè n̄ú-à b'án ngúú nò tcá njki lóé-è-lòè!*
no 1PL.C go-I-PRES land OQ very far CONJ 2SG.M here lie-I-HAB
'Well, we are going to a very distant place, but you are used to lying here!'

b. *Tí njta tí xóm-à yáá-à-kó kúú-à-lòè khóé-rà!*
1SG so 1SG ground OQ come-I-CONV walk-I-HAB person-1SG
'This is the way I always walk along/on the ground! That's me!'

c. *Hámbe lé hĩ-é-kò wèrè-ná-kò cáá kx'áá-à-gò vé óo-à.*
be.absent 1PL.C do-II-CONV scoop-II-CONV water drink-I-FUT NEG place OQ
'There is no way to scoop water at that place and drink (it).'

3.2.4.3.4.2

Temporal Adverbials

Similar to the formation of local adverbials, temporal adverbials are formed either with a temporal noun that is followed by a temporal/local postposition, as in (485a–b), or with a temporal noun that is optionally marked with *à*, as in (486a–b) and (487a–c).

Adverbials formed with a postposition denote an exact, specific point in time, as in (485a–b). In contrast to this, adverbials without a postposition generally express a temporal extension answering the question ‘how long?’. If the time-period is emphasized, it takes the focus marker *à*, as in (487a–c); this is very often the case if the clause contains the intransitive verb *té* ‘stay’, as in (486a–b).

- (485) a. *Á lám-cì kà xà-n̄ m̄ xà-n̄ m̄ dam-mà*
 DEM time-3SG.F LOC DEM-3SG.M POSS DEM-3SG.M POSS tongue-3SG.M
khòaná-can-a-hĩ.
 loosen-PASS-II-PAST
 ‘Immediately (lit.: at that time . . .) his tongue was loosened.’
- b. *Xà-ná yà-à-hĩ líí cèú koro-kò n'óáma-kà l'ée-m̄*
 DEM-3PL.C come-II-PAST one hand plus three-ORD day-3SG.M
kí kũ lóá-m̄ à n'gí-ca.
 LOC be small child-3SG.M o circumcise-PURP
 ‘On the eighth day they came to circumcise the child.’

Without the marker *à*:

- (486) a. *Dicó-nyéú thýà kúri-nà Djáó nyú-m ókà*
 Dico-young.man many year-3PL.C Botswana country-3SG.M LOC
cii té-é-hĩ.
 arrive stay-II-PAST
 ‘The younger Dico lived already many years in Botswana.’ (Köhler 1989: 551f.)
- b. *Ūi /é té-é-hĩ ūá-m táā pòo-m táā gúa-m táā.*
 one.day be-II-PAST hare-3SG.M with jackal- 3SG.M with hyena- 3SG.M with
 ‘Once upon a time (one day) there was the hare, the jackal, and the hyena.’

With the oblique/focus marker *à*:

- (487) a. *Kúrikúri à hã té-è-gòè kx'é à!*
 time.time OQ 2SG.F stay-I-FUT how
 ‘You will live like that forever!’
- b. *Xà-hé #á-rá-hĩ fáèfi nlgóé à té-é-hĩ.*
 DEM-3SG.F hide-II-PAST five month OQ stay-II-PAST
 ‘For five months she remained in seclusion.’
- c. *Xà-má té à n/ám-a-hĩ á teiti-hè è.*
 DEM-3SG.M 1SG O love-II-PAST DEM time-3SG.F OQ
 ‘At/during that time, he loved us.’

3.2.4.3.5 Multiple Focus

As shown above, morphological marking of subject and object is optional because *à* is not a syntactic but a pragmatic marker. Its main function is to contrast possible candidates.

Whereas the subject of an intransitive or transitive clause is marked with *à* in less than 3 per cent of documented cases, the direct object is marked with *à* in about two thirds of cases; sentences with a focused subject *and* a focused object, as in (488)–(490), are rarely found. This is also due to the fact that most subjects in a narration are definite and do not allow *à*.

Examples where both subject and object are focused with *à* are provided in (488a–c) with definite objects and in (489a–b) with indefinite objects. Examples like the latter ones are exclusively found in elicited, isolated sentences in order to emphasize for didactic reasons; but it is not common in narrations. The sentences in (490) contain a focused subject and a temporal adverbial with *à*, and in (491b) even a focused object.

- (488) a. *Móúrúwàni à kyǎū-a-éi-a-xu-a-hĩ dáo-m à.*
border FOC close-II-PERM-II-COMP-II-PAST way-3SG.M O
'A border (fence) barred the way.' (Köhler 1989: 557f.)
- b. *Tc'áo-kx'òxò à tú-ca-m à djéxò-kà-à-lòè.*
bush-animal FOC rain-water-3SG.M O be.bad-CAUS-I-HAB
'Animals from the bush [new info] spoil the rainwater [old info].'
(Köhler 1991: 13f.)
- c. *Ndéé! Tómtom-xò à jkà tí à tòm-à-tè.*
my.mother swallow-NOMIN FOC here 1SG O swallow-I-PRES
'Mummy, a swallowing thing (i.e. a python) is here (and it) swallows me!'
- (489) a. *Áxàm à pá-à-tè ápa à.*
tick FOC bite-I-PRES dog O
'A tick bites a dog.'
- b. *Yi-yéú à yì á yáà-à-tè.*
tree-mouse FOC tree O climb-I-PRES
'A tree-mouse is climbing up a tree.'
- (490) a. *Kx'á-khòè à áta thiú à #'óm-á-lò vé.*
male-person FOC thus night OQ sleep-I-HAB NEG
'A man may not sleep in such a night.'
- b. *lũ á tcám à yaá-o-ro-xu-a-tà l'ée à!*
war FOC 1DU.M O come-LOC-II-COMPL-II-PAST day OQ
'The/a war has already come to us today!'

3.2.4.3.6 The Evolution of *à*

The diachronic evolution of the morpheme *à*, being a genuine copula in Central Khoesan, can finally be reconstructed in four stages. On the one hand, we

observe a contextual extension from indefinite to definite nouns, and on the other hand it develops from a marker of pragmatic contrast to a marker of more and more grammatical contrast. (The different functions are each indicated by different labels (“COP”, “FOC”, “O”, and “OQ”). The stages are summarized as follows:

- | | | |
|-----|-----|--|
| I | COP | The copulative/presentative use of <i>à</i> is restricted in Khwe to indefinite subjects in verbless clauses. |
| II | FOC | It becomes a focus marker that introduces new information: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. indefinite subjects; b. indefinite object participants. |
| III | O | Extension to new, but definite information encoded in the object(s): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. contrasting focus; b. disambiguating syntactic roles. |
| IV | OQ | Focus for local and temporal adverbials. |

3.2.4.4 Predicate Focus

In Khwe, the two motion verbs *yaá* ‘come’ and especially *cii* ‘arrive’ are used to focus on the verbal action and, thus, indicate that a new episode of narration starts, as in (492) and (493). The verbs are used as first verbs in a serial verb construction to express a “movement towards the stage”, as in (491a–b). In many

contexts, however, the movement is no longer transparent; here the verbs function as “new-event markers”, as in (492).

(491) a. *Djiri yà kx'áà-à-tè.*
 monkey come drink-I-PRES
 ‘When coming/arriving, the monkey drinks.’

b. *Djiri ci kx'áà-à-tè.*
 monkey arrive drink-I-PRES
 ‘When coming/arriving, the monkey drinks.’

(492) *‡Xoá-mà cì-l'ó-ó-xu-a-hã.*
 elephant-3SG.M NEM-die-II-COMPL-II-PAST
 ‘(Suddenly) one of the elephants died.’

(493) *Nlátá tĩ-xá nò córò cì-mũũ-a-xu kũũ-hè è.*
 thus stand-GER CONJ monitor NEM-see-II-COMPL go-3SG.F O
 ‘Thus the rock monitor stands there; and then (he) sees (their) arrival.’

3.2.4.5 Summary

To conclude, only three basic constituent orders are permitted in Khwe: SOV, OSV, and SVO. Thus, a verbal predicate always follows the subject. In this respect, Khwe shares the typological feature of a needed SV constituent order with all other Khoesan languages. In contrast to this, a finite verb (with or without TAM) that precedes the subject forms as a “verbal adjective” is an attribute; this conforms to the strict modifier–head order, with all other kinds of adjectives and with (non-emphatic) possessor constructions.

The variation of the three basic constituent orders is not indicative of a clause type (e.g. interrogations, main or subordinated clauses) but is primarily a feature of an expressive speech style where one sentence constituent is always emphasized: either the verbal action (SOV) or one of the referents (SVO or OSV). Thus, word order in

Khwe expresses pragmatic rather than syntactical relations.

Moreover, the use of the three word orders does not depend on the morphological markedness of the nouns, i.e., whether or not they are PGN marked. However, word order does interact with morphological markedness by means of *à*, which functions as a copula, as a focus and as a combined focus-object marker.

The grammatical evolution of *à* can be described in terms of a development from a rather pragmatic function (focus) to a more grammatical, syntactic function (object marking), where the latter is obligatory in basic OSV constructions. During its development *à* undergoes the following stages:

- I. A focused referent precedes the main clause in a copulative periphrasis with *à*; the referent is identical with the object of the main clause (O *à*, SOV).
- II. Reinterpretation of the copulative periphrasis as focused and topicalized object of the main clause (O *à* SV).
- III. Reinterpretation of the focus marker *à* as combined focus-object marker.
- IV. Expansion of the focus-object marker to objects in SOV and SVO constructions (SO *à* V and SVO *à*).

The syntactic status of subject and object in basic and non-basic sentences can finally be described as in [Table 7.18](#):

Table 7.18 Constituent Order Types in Khwe Sentences

Constituent order	Description
SV	standard in intransitive clauses and/or clauses with an elliptic object
OSV	topicalized object (partly neutral in isolated sentences, not allowed in basic sentences)
O à SV	topicalized object that is focus (obligatory variant in basic sentences)
SVO	emphasized subject
SVO à	emphasized subject with object in focus
SOV	emphasized verbal action
SO à V	emphasized verbal action with object in focus
“V”S (→ SV)	verbal adjective modifying the subject as its head noun, standard without objects
O“V”S (→ OSV)	verbal adjective modifying the subject as its head noun, topicalized object
“V”SO	verbal adjective modifying the subject as its head noun, object not topicalized

(→ SOV,
SVO)

It has been demonstrated that focus is an important concept of structuring information in Khwe. Focusing is achieved in two ways: through morphological marking and through the order of the constituents. While the order of the basic constituents always foregrounds one constituent, attributes are foregrounded by postponing. It has been discussed in detail that the use of the focus marker *à* increases the contrasting emphasis on arguments in different syntactic roles. In addition, the new-event marker focuses on the predicate and signals that it contains brand-new information. The different strategies are finally summarized in [Table 7.19](#).

Table 7.19 Focusing Strategies in Khwe

Strategy	Semantics	Focus		
		Predicate	Argument	
			Noun	Pronoun
Basic constituent order	informational focus	<u>SOV</u>	<u>QSV</u> , <u>SVO</u>	<u>QSV</u> , <u>SVO</u>
Postposed possessor	contrast and/or emphasis	–	possessor	possessor
Postposed adjective	contrast	–	modifier of noun	–
Marking with <i>à</i>	identificational	–	indefinite S/O	O
New-event marker	focus contrast signals brand-new information	+	–	–

3.2.5

Naro

Hessel Visser

3.2.5.1 Sentences

The sentence is defined as a series of elements with a VP as the nucleus. In this chapter, we are going to look at the position of the elements in a sentence that can consist of the following elements:

AP, LP, NP (NPS, NPO or NPIO), TP, VP (which is the head of the sentence).

There is a great deal of flexibility in terms of positioning of elements in the sentence. The general structure of a basic sentence is:

(element 1) (element 2) (element 3) (element 4) (...)

This means effectively that there is no fixed order for VP, NP, LP and AP. When the continuous marker *ko* or the future tense marker *ga* occurs in the sentence, it is placed after the first element in the sentence, e.g. (examples are elicited):

(494) NP_S ko NP_O LP VP
 Tii ra ko piri ne l'áé koe bóò.
 1SG *ko* goats at.home see
 'I see goats at home.'

If a PGN-1 marker is present in the sentence, this marker is placed between the first element and *ko*:

(495) NP_O NP_S ko LP VP
 Piri ne ra ko l'áé koe bóò.
 goats 1SG *ko* at.home see

Other PGN markers may be placed here as well, though not necessarily:

- (496) a. LP NP_O NP_S ko VP
l'áé koe ne r ko bóò.
 but also:
- b. LP NP_S ko VP NP_O
l'áé koe r ko bóò ne.
 'I see them at home.'

3.2.5.1.1 Intransitive Sentences

3.2.5.1.1.1 Intransitive Sentence Structure in the Present Tense

The structure of the simplest intransitive sentence in the present tense, containing a VP and an NP_S, is as follows:

(element 1) *ko* (element 2)

Since the elements may change position, we have two possibilities: NP_S first (497a), or VP first (497b).

- (497) a. NP_S ko VP
Khóè ba ko !òò.
 the.man ko walk
- b. VP PGN-1 ko NP_S
!Òò m ko khóè ba.
 walk he ko the.man
 'The man is walking.'

Note that a PGN-1 marker is added to the sentence. It takes the position between the first element and *ko*. If the NP_S is left out, this PGN-1 marker obligatorily remains:

(498) VP PGN-1 ko
!Ṑò m ko.
 ‘He is walking.’

If a further phrase is added, e.g. a locative phrase, the sentence structure is as follows:

(element 1) *ko* (element 2) (element 3)

Theoretically we have six possibilities (499a–f), illustrated for the sentence ‘the man is walking home’, consisting of the elements *khòè ba* ‘the man’, *ko* ‘continuous marker’, *!ò̀ò* ‘walk’ and *l’áé koe* ‘home – to’:

- (499) a. NP_S ko VP LP
Khòè ba ko !ò̀ò l’áé koe.
- b. NP_S ko LP VP
Khòè ba ko l’áé koe !ò̀ò.
- c. VP PGN-1 ko NP_S LP
!Ṑò m ko khòè ba l’áé koe.
- d. VP PGN-1 ko LP NP_S
!Ṑò m ko l’áé koe khòè ba.
- e. LP PGN-1 ko NP_S VP
l’áé koe m ko khòè ba !ò̀ò.
- f. LP PGN-1 ko VP NP_S
l’áé koe m ko !ò̀ò khòè ba.

Of course, some constructions are used more readily than others. It is difficult to evaluate, but of these six, (b)

and (e) are used often, while (d) is hardly acceptable and (c) and (f) are hardly ever used.

If the NPs with accompanying PGN-1 marker is taken out, we are left with two options:

- (500) a. LP PGN-1 ko VP
 l'áé koe *m* *ko* *!õò.*
 home.to he *ko* walk
- b. VP PGN-1 ko LP
 !Õò *m* *ko* *l'áé koe.*
 walk he *ko* home.to

If two further phrases are added, e.g. a locative and an adverbial phrase, the sentence structure is as follows:

(element 1) *ko* (element 2) (element 3) (element 4)

In theory, we have 24 possibilities, of which I will mention the most acceptable ones:

- (501) a. NP_S ko AP VP LP
 Khóè ba *ko* *!háése* *!õò* *l'áé koe.*
- b. NP_S ko AP LP VP
 Khóè ba *ko* *!háése* *l'áé koe* *!õò.*
- c. LP PGN-1 ko NP_S AP VP
 l'áé koe *m* *ko* *khóè ba* *!háése* *!õò.*
- d. AP PGN-1 ko NP_S LP VP
 !Háése *m* *ko* *khóè ba* *l'áé koe* *!õò.*

Of all of these, (b) is the most acceptable.

In general, there is a tendency for the VP to be put toward the end of the sentence and the NPS tends to come at the beginning.

3.2.5.1.1.2 Intransitive Sentence Structure in the Past Tense

The usual structure of a sentence in the past tense is with the tense marker at the beginning:

(502) tense NP_S VP
 !*Na* *m* !*õò*.
 PAST he walk
 ‘He walked.’

It can, however, also be put at the end:

(503) VP NP_S tense
 !*Õò* *m* !*na*.
 walk he PAST

We can in fact say that in the past tense, the tense marker functions as an “element”. The PGN-1 marker is always put in second position.

3.2.5.1.2 Monotransitive Sentences

3.2.5.1.2.1 Monotransitive Sentence Structure in the Present Tense

The structure of the simplest transitive sentence in the present, with NPS, NPO and VP as elements, is as follows:

(element 1) (*ko*) (element 2) (element 3)

We will exemplify the structure with *bòò* ‘to see’, *ko* ‘continuous marker’ *piri ne* ‘goats’ and *khòè ba* ‘the man’, hence: ‘The man sees the goats.’ The most acceptable sentence structures are:

- (504) a. NP_S ko NP_O VP
Khòè ba ko piri ne bòò.
- b. NP_O PGN-7 ko NP_S VP
Piri ne m ko khòè ba bòò.

We see once more that the VP has a tendency to come at the end of the sentence. We may say that this is the default position.

If one additional phrase is added, e.g. a locative phrase, the sentence structure is still the same:

(element 1) *ko* (element 2) (element 3) (element 4)

The most acceptable structures are the following:

- (505) a. NP_S ko NP_O LP VP
Khòè ba ko piri ne l'áé koe bòò.
- b. LP PGN-7 ko NP_S NP_O VP
l'áé koe m ko khòè ba piri ne bòò.
- c. NP_O PGN-7 ko NP_S LP VP
Piri ne m ko khòè ba l'áé koe bòò.
- d. NP_S ko NP_O VP LP
Khòè ba ko piri ne bòò l'áé koe.
- e. NP_S ko LP NP_O VP
Khòè ba ko l'áé koe piri ne bòò.

As in the previous examples, the VP is put at the end of the sentence. The NPS are put towards the beginning. NPS usually precedes NP_O.

If two phrases are added, e.g. a locative and an adverbial phrase, the sentence structure is as follows:

(element 1) *ko* (element 2) (element 3) (element 4) (element 5)

Here the additional elements *!háése* ‘home – to’ and *!háése* ‘quickly’ are used. The best options are as follows, in order of preference:

- (506) a. *!Háése m ko khòè ba piri ne l'áé koe bóò.*
 b. *l'áé koe m ko khòè ba piri ne !háése bóò.*
 c. *Khòè ba ko piri ne !háése l'áé koe bóò.*
 d. *Piri ne m ko khòè ba !háése bóò l'áé koe.*

The options with the LP or AP in first position score high. Again, the VP comes at or towards the end and the NPS towards the beginning. The AP and also the LP are placed close to the VP. The phrase that is in front has more emphasis.

3.2.5.1.2.2 Monotransitive Sentence Structure in the Past Tense

As with intransitive sentences, the usual structure of a monotransitive sentence in the past tense is with the tense marker at the beginning:

(507) *lnar piri ne bóò* or: *lnar bóò piri ne*

Because in fact it functions as an element (that can be placed anywhere), it can also be put later in the sentence.

The PGN-1 marker, however, is always placed in second position.

- (508) a. *piri ner bóò lna*
 b. *piri ner lna bóò*
 c. *boor lna piri ne*

The construction *X bóòr piri ne lna is not accepted.

3.2.5.1.3

Ditransitive Sentences

The structure of the simplest ditransitive sentence, with NPS, NPO, NP_{IO} and VP as elements, is as follows:

(element 1) *ko* (element 2) (element 3) (element 4)

Contrary to the monotransitive sentence, however, the order is much more prescribed. The default order is as follows:

- (509) NP_S *ko* NP_O NP_{IO} VP
Khòè ba ko piri ba lóá ba máà.
 ‘The man is giving a goat to the child.’

In the example, the elements *lóá ba* ‘(the) child’, *máà* ‘to give’, *ko* ‘continuous marker’, *piri ba* ‘(the) goat’, and *khòè ba* ‘(the) man’ are used. However, the NP_O can be placed after the NP_{IO}, with no difference in meaning. The context decides in this case which meaning is intended.

- (510) NP_S *ko* NP_{IO} NP_O VP
Khòè ba ko lóá ba piri ba máà.

When using PGN markers only, the order is as follows:

- (511) verb NP_{IO} NP_O NP_S ko
Màà tsi si r ko.
 give you it 1SG PRES
 'I give it to you.'

If the NP_{IO} consists of a PGN marker only, it is placed after the verb:

- (512) *l'ama máá tsi si*
 buy give you it
 'buy it for you'

The addition of more elements is possible, but more elements will make the sentence quite long. The added elements again can take any position in the sentence, but there is a preference for the beginning or end of the sentence:

- (513) a. *Khòè ba ko piri ba lóá ba màà l'áé koe.*
 'The man is giving a goat to the child at home.'
 b. *Khòè ba ko piri ba lóá ba màà !háése.*
 'The man is giving a goat to the child quickly.'

3.2.5.1.4 Passive Sentences

Passive sentences follow the same pattern as active sentences. The agent, when present, is indicated by the postposition *ka* 'by'.

Agentless passives:

(514) *Khóè ba ko bóò-è.*
 the.man PRES see-PASS
 ‘The man is seen.’

(515) *Bóò-è tsi ko.*
 see-PASS you PRES
 ‘You are seen.’

Passives with agents:

(516) *Khóè ba ko xas ka bóò-è.*
 the.man PRES her by see-PASS
 ‘The man is seen by her.’

(517) a. *Xas ka-m ko bóò-è.*
 her by-he PRES see-PASS
 b. *Bóò-è-m ko xas ka.*
 see-PASS-he PRES her by
 ‘He is seen by her.’

3.2.5.1.5 Auxiliary Verbs

In sentences with auxiliary verbs, the VP may be interrupted by other phrases:

(518) *Tsebe sa ko síi tshàan lài.*
 Tsebe PRES AUX water fetch
 ‘Tsebe is going to fetch water.’

In this sentence, *síi lài* is the AUX-verb group. The NPO *tshàan* ‘water’ is placed in its centre.

3.2.5.1.6 Nominal Predicative Sentences

In a nominal sentence, the last vowel of the PGN marker is duplicated. The structure of a nominal sentence is as follows:

(element 1) (element 2) (element 3) PGN-2 V

Examples:

- (519) a. *Bî i.* 'It is milk.'
 b. *Tshúù u.* 'It is bad.'
- (520) a. *Tsáá tsi tíí lárà tsi i.*
 age.mate you you COP
 'You are my age mate.'
- b. *Tirim !nàm-khoe me e.*
 POSS friend 3SG COP
 'He is my friend.'
- c. *!ēedaoka tsi !āè tsi i.*
 right you may you COP
 'Maybe you are right.'

Instead of a noun (as head of NP) a peripheral element of the NP may be used:

- (521) a. *!X'āè tsi i.* Adjective
 ugly you COP
 'You are ugly.'
- b. *!Noana lu u.* Numeral
 three they COP
 'They are three.'

- c. *lX'ãè lau tsi i.* Noun modified by adjective
 bad you COP
 'You are bad mannered.'

What is indicated in (521c) is better expressed in English by something one *has* (property/quality) than by something one *is* (equation). In (522) the difference is shown by the PGN marker. Example (522a), where the qualifier is unmarked for PGN, indicates a property, while in (522b) an equation is expressed by the PGN-marked adjective.

- (522) a. *T'òè !nǒó me e.*
 nice country he COP
 'He has a nice country.'
- b. *T'òè-m !nǒó me e.*
 nice-PGN country he COP
 'It is a nice country.'

3.2.5.1.7 Exclamatory Nominal Sentences

Some nominal sentences form a kind of exclamation with the structure ADJ – ee:

- (523) *Tshùù ee!* 'How bad it is!'
l'ooa eel 'How dry it is!'
lX'ãè eel 'How ugly it is!'

Compare the last example in (523) with the regular nominal sentence:

(524) *!X'ãè e.* 'It is ugly.'

3.2.5.1.8 Embedding of Sentences

Sentences can be embedded in other parts of speech, e.g. in a NP, where it may function as an adjective. In this section, we will only look at embedded sentences that function as adjectives.

The structure of an embedded sentence is basically the same as that of an independent sentence. The only difference is made by the absence of the PGN marker corresponding to the NP that the embedded sentence refers to. The process of embedding is as follows:

1. Produce the NP with a fictitious adjective instead of the embedded sentence:

(525a) *Khóèm !ãè ba* 'The good man has arrived.'
hààra.

2. Produce the sentence that you want to embed as an independent sentence:

(525b) *Mau koe-m xuua.* 'He comes from Maun.'

3. Remove the PGN marker (that agrees with the head in the corresponding noun phrase) in the sentence that is to be embedded:

(525c) *Mau koe-Ø xuua.*

4. Put this sentence instead of the fictitious adjective:

(525d) *Khòèm Mau koe xuua ba hààra.*

‘The man that comes from Maun has arrived.’

Notice the difference in the examples between the non-embedded and the embedded sentences to see the absence of the PGN marker:

(525) b. *Mau koe m xuua.* ‘He comes from Maun.’

d. *Khòèm Mau koe xuua ba hààra.*

‘The man that comes from Maun has arrived.’

In (525d) the PGN *-m* is missing in the embedded sentence. Notice that the PGN marker following the embedded sentence is the same as the one that the fictitious adjective in the same position would have:

(525a) *Khòèm !ǎè ba hààra.* ‘The good man has arrived.’

3.2.5.1.8.1 Other Constructions with Embedded Sentences

Sentences can be embedded in other phrases as well, e.g. into a postpositional phrase:

(526) *dàò tsara ko llhoabaku* _{koe} 'where the two paths cross'

3.2.5.1.8.2 Position of the Embedded Sentence

The embedded sentence takes the position of the adjective either before or after the noun. The choice probably depends on the length of the embedded sentence. A shorter sentence tends to precede the noun (527a), while a longer sentence tends to be placed after the noun (527b). Thus:

(527) a. *Mau koe xuum khòem di lx'õea ne Daxam m.*

'The name of the man who comes from Maun is Dagam.'

but: b. *Khòem ãe ko !nuum koe ll'ãea ba kòo lxòò zi !ae.*

'The man who lives in the house was hunting gemsbok.'

3.2.5.1.8.3 Relative Markers

If a sentence is embedded into e.g. an NP as a peripheral element, it may be connected to the head of the NP with the particle *ãe* as a relative marker. It functions as the first element of the sentence that is followed by eventual PGN markers and *ko*, after which the other elements of the sentence are placed.

- (528) a. *wèè xùàn èe lao ko lnàe* 'everything that you talk about'
 b. *khòem èe ko !nuum koe l'ãea ba* 'the man who lives in the house'

3.2.5.1.9 Comparatives and Superlatives

Comparatives are formed with the word *ka*, which may be translated as 'than' or 'in comparison with'. The referent with which another one is compared is followed by this *ka*. Together with the referent *ka* forms a postpositional phrase that can be used as an element in a sentence. Unlike in English, the quality being compared has no special marker (cf. *-er* in 'bigger').

- (529) a. *Tsáá ka m !áò me e.*
 you COMP PGN-1 tall he COP
 'He is tall in comparison with you.' > 'He is taller than you.'

or: b. *!Áò me e tsáá ka.*

A superlative is formally not distinguished from a comparative.

- (530) *xatá wèè ta ka kaia ba*
 'he big one in comparison with all of us' > 'the oldest of all of us'

3.2.5.1.10

Vocative

In order to form the vocative *-è* is added to

- a. a proper name:

(531) *Thama-è!* 'Thama!'

- b. PGN-1 marker,⁵ preceded by the prefix *a-*:

- (532) a. *A-tse-è!* 'Hey, you!' (SG.M)
 b. *A-tsao-è!* 'Hey you!' (DU.M)

c. a NP, followed by a PGN-1 marker:⁶

- (533) a. */Hōó tse-è!* ‘You white person!’
b. *l’áé di tu-è!* ‘You people at home!’
c. *Kx’alnao uì-è!* ‘You naughty Kg’anxao!’

3.2.5.1.11 Interrogative Sentences

To make a question in general, the particle *a* can be placed at the beginning of the sentence (534a) or added to the PGN marker (534b):

- (534) a. *A Naro sa tsi ko kx’ui?* ‘Do you speak Naro?’
b. *Naro sa tsi-a ko kx’ui?*

Interrogative sentences may also be formed with a series of question words. These form a closed class:

<i>dii</i>	‘who?’
<i>dii</i>	‘what?’
<i>diiútsi</i>	‘which? what kind of?’
<i>ndaka</i>	‘which (of a group)?’
<i>nda</i>	‘where?’
<i>n-lámá</i>	‘when?’
<i>nta (ma)</i>	‘how?’
<i>nta koo</i>	‘how many?’

In interrogative sentences, the NP may consist merely of an interrogative word:

(535) *Dii ba ko Xantsi koe* 'Who is going to Gantsi?'
!õò?

Other interrogative sentences may have interrogative words that are locative, temporal or qualificatory in nature:

- | | | |
|----------|--|------------------------------------|
| (536) a. | <i>Tsebe sa ko nda !õò?</i> | 'Where is Tsebe going?' |
| b. | <i>N-lámá tsi ga lxaa-lxaa te laoa ne?</i> | 'When will you teach me to shoot?' |
| c. | <i>Dúútsi l'aè ka tsi hààra?</i> | 'At what time have you come?' |
| d. | <i>Ndaka-s l'aa sa tsi ko l'ée?</i> | 'Which flower do you want?' |
| e. | <i>Hààr ga nta hée?</i> | 'What will I come to do?' |
| f. | <i>Tsarís dàra sa ko nta ii?</i> | 'How was your trip/visit?' |

The question word *nta ma* consists of two parts. Other elements may be placed between them:

(537) *Nta tsi ma !'ana?* 'How do you know?'

The particle *ma* may appear twice:

(538) *Nta ma ra ga ma hòò* 'How will I find them?'
zi?

To indicate a question about quantity, amount, length, measure, etc. *koo* is added to the particle *nta*:

- | | | |
|----------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (539) a. | <i>Nta koo se si sáàa?</i> | 'How much have you gathered?' |
| b. | <i>Nta koo se tsi kaia?</i> | 'How tall are you?' |

Another kind of question word expects a yes/no answer. With *dèè* one asks for affirmation. The answer can be positive or negative.

(540) *Tíí dèè?* ‘(Do you mean) me?’

With the particle *ná* one asks for confirmation. The answer is expected to be positive:

(541) *Tíí ra a ná?* ‘It is me, isn’t it?’

3.2.5.2 Complex Sentences

Naro allows a number of possibilities for combining two or more sentences. These may structurally be divided into those without and those with a conjunction. These in turn allow for a distinction between simple juxtaposition and sentential complementation, where certain verbs require sentential complements. We will discuss the possibilities in turn.

3.2.5.2.1 Connection without Conjunction

3.2.5.2.1.1 Juxtaposition

Sentences may be combined by just juxtaposing them. These often involve a series of commands.

(542) *Síí sée!* ‘Go (and) get!’

It is not unusual to find a sequential order reflecting the order of events:

(543) *!Ōò sīi tséé!*
 walk go work
 ‘Go and start working!’

When sentences are juxtaposed, it may happen that one sentence gives the background for the other one, to provide a reason for the statement that follows. No conjunction is required in these cases:

(544) *!Ám sa lna lheè, n-lámá si ga khàrà?*
 ‘The sun has set, when will you make your bed?’

In this example, the first part of the sentence gives the background for the second part. Formally, the sentences are coordinated. Content-wise, however, the first one is subordinated to the second.

3.2.5.2.1.2 Requesting Verbs

In sentences expressing a wish or desire, the verb *l'ēe* is used. If a desire is expressed in connection with an action, however, it is replaced by the verb *kx'oana*, which does not take the continuous marker *ko*. The content of the wish comes to the left of *kx'oana*, indicating a deeper SOV order:

(545) *!Ōò kx'oana ra.*
 go want 1SG
 ‘I want to go.’

In sentences where a strong request is uttered, the verb *mée* ‘must’ is used. It usually takes second position in

the sentence. Like *kx'oana*, *mée* is a defective verb. Neither takes the tense and aspect markers.

(546) a. *!Óá ba mée-m koa ba au te.*

‘The boy must give the blanket to me.’

b. *Kúmú mée-r.*

‘I must do it.’

Content verbs differ from requesting verbs in that they take tense and aspect markers. In sentences with a (general) request, the verb *llgàrà* is used:

(547) *Thama bar ko konean !nàri.*
llgàrà

‘I request Thama to drive cars.’

In sentences that express (absence of) knowledge, either the verb *!’ãa* ‘to know’ (548a) or the verb *!’úú* ‘not know’ (548b) is used.

(548) a. *!Nárá ner !’ana.* ‘I know (how) to read.’
b. *!Nárá ner !’uuu.* ‘I don’t know (how) to read.’

In these instances, the verb *!nárá ne* is a nominalised verb. It acts like a noun and is in fact not a combination of two sentences. In the sentence structure it takes the object position.

In a similar way, a construction with *lnàṣṣ* can be used to express what is liked:

- (549) a. *Gāa-toe tsi lnàṣṣ.* ‘You like swimming.’
b. *Kōer lnàṣṣ.* ‘I love playing/I like to play.’

3.2.5.2.2 Conjunctions between Sentences

Some conjunctions are always placed between sentences. Generally, it is possible to connect two sentences with *a*. The following changes occur:

- a. The conjunction *a* occurs between the two sentences. It takes the position of the first element in the second sentence.
- b. Elements in the two underlying sentences (like tense markers, PGN markers) that are the same are left out of the second sentence.
- c. As *a* takes the position of the first element in the dependent sentence, the subsequent elements are rearranged.

A construction with *a* may have the following functions.

Content. The second verb may give the “content” of the main verb. This is the case with verbs like ‘to know’, ‘to forget’, ‘to think’, ‘to tell’; thus:

- (550) *l'uru a táá tēekx'am.* → ‘She forgot to close.’
(she.)forget and not.close

Sequence. The construction may also indicate a “sequence”:

- (551) a. *Tíí ra ko tsxòà a lgiú.*
 ‘I strike (a match) and light (the fire).’
 b. */Na tsi lx’ara a diú kúú?*
 ‘What did you do after you had finished?’

Purpose. The construction may also indicate a “purpose”:

- (552) *Hàà si ga !’úú ka a lxáia te lx’aà.*
 ‘You will come tomorrow to wash my clothes.’

Consequence. The construction may also indicate a result. The second sentence gives the consequence of the first sentence:

- (553) *Diú sa tsi ko thu tséé a lhōea.*
 ‘What work have you done, so that you became tired?’

Reason. The first sentence may also give the reason for the second one:

- (554) *Káà mari si /na ii a ko lgàrà te.*
 ‘She was without money, so she asked me.’

Hendiadys. The construction with *a* may also result in a meaning that transcends the separate verb meaning. It is a sort of hendiadys:

- (555) *Diú ra ko /nēe koe l’óm a kúú?*
 ‘What is the use of sleeping here?’
 [What can I do here, I even have to sleep here then!]

Specific – general. Naro may give specific information first, followed by the more general information. Consider the following example:

(556) (*Thama barko t̄gàrà konean !nari xabà*) *!xaa-!xaa te tama a ko !xui.*
 ‘(I request Thama to drive cars, but) he refuses⁷ to teach me.’

7

!Óé, *ʔn̄õ* ‘while’. A special class of sentences with *a* uses verbs like *!Óé* ‘to lie’ or *ʔn̄õ* ‘to sit’. They usually express an action that is ongoing while something else happens. The verbs *!Óé* and *ʔn̄õ* have a sort of auxiliary function.

- (557) a. *!Óé a ra ko !õõ koes kóné sa punture.*
 ‘While I was travelling, the car had a puncture.’
- b. *Duutsa kxã sa lao xáé ʔn̄õ a ko !hóà?*
 ‘What news are you (sitting and) talking [about]?’

Naka. Two sentences may be connected by the word *naka*. The changes that occur are:

- a. Placed between the two sentences, *naka* takes the position of the first element in the second sentence.
- b. Elements in the two underlying sentences (like tense markers, PGN markers) that are the same are left out of the second sentence. The markers *ko* and *ga* are also removed.
- c. As *naka* takes the position of the first element in the dependent sentence, the subsequent elements are rearranged.

The action in the second sentence may be the content of the action in the first one, it may follow it, and it can be the result of it.

- (558) a. *Kom tsi ar naka tsi Inàè tama.* Content
 hear you 1SG and you sing NEG
 'I don't hear you singing.'
- b. *Hàà naka tee kx'áà!* Sequence
 come and tea drink
 'Come and drink tea!'
- c. *Xailara kx'ui naka kóm.* Result
 again speak so.that hear
 'Say (it) again so that (I can) hear.'

Sentences can be connected by *na* 'and'. The same rules apply as in the sentences connected by *naka*. The usual meaning is "content". The verb in the main sentence may be a content verb like 'to tell'.

- (559) a. *!Óá zi bìrí l'ee zi ko lgiúú!*⁸ ⇒
!Óá zi bìrí na zi l'ee lgiúú!
 'Tell the girls to light the fire!'
- b. *Thama ba bìrí nam lxaa-lxaa tsi!*
 'Tell Thama to teach you!'
- c. *Sáá méé si l'eea kúru na i tsãa.*
 'You must make the fire so that it will boil.'

To introduce a contrary statement, the word *xabà* or *ixaba(xa)* 'but' may be used.

- (560) *Thama ta tsi ma #iiè tite, ixabaxa tsi ga Tshabu ta ma #iiè.*

'You will not be called Thama, but you will be called Tshabu.'

3.2.5.2.2.1 Subsequent Sentences with Identical Subjects

In some dependent sentences the subject is marked by a PGN-7 marker (which is otherwise used to mark a “strong article”), preceded and followed by *a*. The two together are placed at the beginning of the dependent sentence. This PGN marker is the most important signal that the two sentences play an interdependent role. It indicates that the subject in the dependent sentence is the same as the subject in the main sentence. Various meanings are possible for this type of subordination. It may be temporal, conditional, or causal.

- (561) a. *Thama ba ko kx'om zi nabo, a ba a xam dis khòè sa máà.*

‘Thama harvested the berries and gave them to his wife.’

- b. *Me Thama !ðò, a ba a síí Xantsi koe ll'ãè.*

‘Thama went and lived in Gantsi.’

3.2.5.2.2.2 Connection by PGN-1 Marker

Sentences may be connected by a PGN-1 marker. The dependent sentence does not contain tense or aspect markers. The construction indicates a purpose.

- (562) a. *!Ii mem hàà!* ‘Call him to come!’
b. *!Xobe ter #huuseo!* ‘Give it so that I can dry myself!’
c. *!Xobe ter hòne!* ‘Give it so that I can stir!’

In some sentences the subject is marked by a PGN-2 marker (which is otherwise used to mark a nominal subject). It is placed at the beginning of the dependent sentence and is the most important indication that the two sentences play an interdependent role. This PGN-2 marker also shows that the subject in the dependent sentence is different from the subject in the main sentence. Various meanings are possible for this type of sentence.

- (563) a. *Thama bar ko ɣgàrà me konean !nàri lxaa-lxaa te.* Content
 ‘I request Thama to teach me driving cars.’
 b. *Xantsi koe ta ko lùù ìì sí kóné sa khōá.* Temporal
 ‘When we were near Gantsi, the car broke down.’

3.2.5.2.2.3 Conjunctions at the Beginning of the Dependent Sentence

The conjunctions in this section are not necessarily placed between two sentences. They may also occur at the beginning of the sentence.

- (564) a. *!nēe* ‘if’: *!nēe !gòmm ko ne . . .* ‘if he agrees . . .’
 b. *ēe* ‘when’: *ēem ko kómē . . .* ‘when he heard . . .’

Dependent sentences with *ká* indicate the reason for what is done in the main sentence. While *ká* is used at the beginning of the sentence that gives the reason, *khama* and *domka* are placed at the end of the dependent sentence (see also 3.2.5.2.2.4 below).

- (565) a. *Si xas dim lóá ba Thama ta ma lii*
ká xas dim lōò ba Thama me e domka.
 ‘She called her son Thama because her father was Thama.’
- b. *Ká xas dim lōò ba Thama me e domkas*
xas dim lóá ba Thama ta ma lii.
 ‘Because her father was Thama, she called her son Thama.’
- c. *Me laro, ká Buxu sa lxoá lxae mea khama.*
 ‘He ran because Bugu was angry with him.’

3.2.5.2.2.4 Conjunctions at the End of the Dependent Sentence

Several conjunctions are placed at the end of the dependent sentence. This dependent sentence can occur in either first or second position. If it appears in second position (which means that the conjunction comes at the end of the sentence), no changes occur compared with the underlying sentences. If it occurs in first position (so that the conjunction comes between the sentences), the elements in the second sentence are rearranged, as the conjunction is considered to be the first element.

A dependent sentence ending in *khama* ‘like, because’ indicates the reason for what is mentioned in the main sentence.

- (566) a. *!Ãè-#aorko lna si kabise khama.*

‘I am happy because (that) you came back.

- or: b. *lNa si kabise khamar ko !ãè-#ao.*

‘You came back, that’s why I am happy.’

A dependent sentence ending in *domka* ‘for, because’ indicates the reason for what is mentioned in the main sentence.

(567) a. *!Ãè-#aorko lna tsi hàà domka.*

‘I am happy because you came.’

or: b. *lNa tsi hàà domkar ko !ãè-#ao.*

‘You came, that’s why I am happy.’

The conjunction *ke* only occurs with imperatives. The dependent sentence with *ke* gives the reason for the action to be taken.

(568) a. *Xuu te, tsàar ko ke!* ‘Leave me, (because) I am sick!’
or: b. *Tsàar ko ke xuu te!* ‘I am sick, (so) leave me!’

The conjunction *ka* indicates purpose or a temporal meaning.

(569) a. *lNēes #’ò sar lna l’ama máa khaoa #’ò khaog ka.* Purpose
‘I have bought this food for you so that you can eat.’
b. *Thama ba kò 49 kuri ii Xantsi koem ko toe ka.* Temporal
‘Thama was 49 years old when he moved to Gantsi.’

The content of the main verb in the main sentence may be indicated in a coordinate sentence which ends in the word *sa*. This happens, for example, with verbs like ‘to know’, ‘to forget’, ‘to think’.

- (570) a. *!ʼana ra, !nēes hii sa !ʼooa sa.*
 ‘I know that this tree is dead.’
- b. *!Nēes hii sa !ʼooa sar !ʼana.*
 ‘That this tree is dead I know.’

It appears as if this *sa* is the same word as the PGN marker for 3SG.F. In fact, the dependent sentence as a whole can be considered to be the object of the main verb. Compare the difference between:

- (571) a. *!ʼurua tsia !xuka sa.* ‘Have you forgotten Xguka?’
 b. *!ʼurua tsia !xuka si i sa.* ‘Have you forgotten that it is Xguka?’

Sentences can be connected by the conditional (‘if’) or temporal (‘when’) particle *ne*. In a conditional sentence the verb often takes the word *kò*.

- (572) a. *!Āè-#aor ko hàà si **ko ne**.*

‘I am happy if/when you come.’

- or: b. *Hàà si **ko ner** ko !āè-#aor.*

‘If/when you come, I am happy.’

3.2.5.2.3 Direct and Indirect Speech

In Naro, there are direct quotes and indirect speech. Both are usually introduced with the word (*a*)*máá*, and mostly concluded by the word *témé* (which can be seen as a contraction of *ta méé*).

- (573) *Ke méé si **máá**: “Xam dir !ðè ra a,” **témé**.*

‘So you must say: “I am his sister”.’

A comparable construction is used for the contents of thoughts. Instead of *témé*, *ta #’ěea* is used:

(574) *!Něetam ko ma #’ěea*: “*Msem ga llxóà lxae te*,” *ta #’ěea*.

‘He thought: “Maybe he is angry with me”.’

3.2.5.2.4

More Complex Sentences

It is possible to have several levels of dependent sentences in one sentence. For instance, a sentence can be subordinate to another sentence while the two together may again be subordinate to yet a third sentence.

(575) *#’ěe tsi ko !ãè e !nuum ga !něe koe tshàoè sa?*

‘Do you think it is possible to build a house here?’

It might be expected that the nominal sentence would end in *sa*, but it does not, apparently because it is not necessary to put *sa* in the sentence twice. The *sa* (indicating content of both the “thinking” and the nominal sentence) is placed at the end of the two dependent sentences.

(576) *Hàà nar sîí lněes xùú sa tdo nam xabá táá bóò si.*

‘Let me go and put this away so that he cannot see it.’

3.2.6 ǁGana Subgroup: ǁGui

Hiroshi Nakagawa

3.2.6.1 Introduction

The syntax of ǁGana subgroup languages is virtually non-described. Syntactic features have sporadically been recorded in the literature (e.g. Güldemann and Vossen 2000, Köhler 1962, Silberbauer 1981, and Vossen 1997a). This section describes selected aspects of ǁGui syntax. It is based on the author’s field notes on the Xade dialect.

3.2.6.2 Simple Sentences

Like other Khoe languages (Güldemann and Vossen 2000: 117), dominant word order of simple sentences is SOV. It shows a wide range of variation. There are five other possibilities: SVO, OSV, VSO, OVS and VOS, which are all accepted as well-formed, although OSV is more common than the other four.

In order to better understand the variability of word order of simple sentences it is essential to consider the position of auxiliaries (AUX) for tense-aspect, which usually occur in simple sentences and concern the constraint of word order variation. If AUX is taken into account, dominant word order is S-AUX-O-V, as illustrated in (577).

(577)	S	AUX	O	V
<i>Kʰóè</i>	<i>bì</i>	<i>qɣ'ó</i>	<i>Jùù</i>	<i>mà</i>
person	3M.SG.NOM	PAST.REM	eland	3M.SG.ACC
‘The man saw a male eland.’				

A test using sentences like (577) and its potential alternatives reveals a constraint on word order variation which is presented in Table 7.20 above. Note that all ill-formed orders have AUX to the left of the subject. This constraint applies to sentences with different element combinations, such as S–AUX–V, S–AUX–LOC–V and S–AUX–O–O–V.

Table 7.20 Word Order Variation in lGui in Terms of S, O, V and AUX

*AUX–S–O–V	S–AUX–O–V	S–O–AUX–V	S–O–V–AUX
*AUX–S–V–O	S–AUX–V–O	S–V–AUX–O	S–V–O–AUX
*AUX–O–S–V	*O–AUX–S–V	O–S–AUX–V	O–S–V–AUX
*AUX–V–S–O	*V–AUX–S–O	V–S–AUX–O	V–S–O–AUX
*AUX–O–V–S	*O–AUX–V–S	*O–V–AUX–S	O–V–S–AUX
*AUX–V–O–S	*V–AUX–O–S	*V–O–AUX–S	V–O–S–AUX

Note: The varieties marked with * are judged as ill-formed.

As becomes clear from (577), the so-called PGN morphemes mark the morphosyntactic category of case of the relevant noun. Note that the two PGN morphemes *bì* and *mà*, both representing 3M.SG, indicate different cases, namely the nominative of S and the accusative of O. In addition to nominative and accusative, lGui has genitive case, as will be seen later. Case is implied not only in PGN morphemes but also in personal pronouns (cf., for instance, *cìré* ‘I’, *cá* ‘me’, *cí* ‘my’), and it forms the background of word order variation. My preliminary

investigation shows that IIGana, too, has nominal case marking and exhibits a considerable degree of variation.

3.2.6.3 Noun Phrase and Adpositional Phrases

Dominant word order within a noun phrase (NP) is head-final, i.e., the noun head occurs in final position, as illustrated in (578). Modifiers and demonstratives agree with their head noun in terms of person, gender and number. In (578), the PGN morpheme *m̩* agrees with the nominal PGN *mà* (for 3M.SG). Modifier and demonstrative occur in the genitive case within the NP, and the case of the head noun is indicated by the PGN morpheme which follows it.

(578) *ŋli m̩ ŋ!úú m̩ dzérá mà*
 DEM.NEAR 3M.SG.GEN black 3M.SG.GEN bird 3M.SG.ACC
 ‘this black bird’

Regarding possessive expressions, Güldemann and Vossen (2000: 115) state that two types of pronominal possessive constructions are possible in Khoe: (i) “juxtaposition of a personal pronoun and a referential noun” and (ii) “use of the associative particle” or “another morpheme of the same function”. IGui has both types, as exemplified in (579) and (580).

(579) *ʔésì màā*
 PRON.3F.SG.GEN head
 ‘her head’ (inalienable possession)

(580) *ʔésì kà ŋ!úú mà*
 PRON.3F.SG.GEN POSTP hut 3M.SG.ACC
 ‘her hut’ (alienable possession)

Example (579) illustrates the juxtaposition type, in which the pronoun occurs in the genitive case. In the other type shown in (580), the pronoun is also in the genitive case and is followed by the postposition *kà*, which functions as associative. In both examples the head noun appears in final position, i.e., the phrase has the possessor–possessee word order.

Note that the head noun does not have a PGN marker in (579). In this construction only the nominative case is marked with a morpheme *è*, other cases are not marked. The semantic distinction between the two types involves alienability: juxtaposition is used typically for inalienable possession, while the associative construction indicates alienable possession. In order to convey the meaning of ‘my head aches’, for instance, (581a) is grammatically correct, whereas (581b) is ill-formed because “my head” implies inalienable possession.

- (581) a. *Cí* *màā* *è* *c^húú.*
 PRON.1SG.GEN head (NOM) ache
 ‘my head aches’
- b. **Cí* *kà* *màā* *sí* *c^húú.*
 PRON.1SG.GEN ASS head 3F.SG.NOM ache

In (579)–(581) the possessors are all pronouns. If possessors are nouns, the constructions are basically the same, as illustrated in (582) and (583). Note that possessor nouns do not agree grammatically with possessee nouns in these constructions.

- (582) *kʰóè m màā (è)*
 person 3M.SG.GEN head (NOM)
 ‘the man’s head’ (inalienable possession)
- (583) *kʰóè sɪ kà ŋ!úū mà*
 person 3F.SG.GEN ASS hut 3M.SG.ACC
 ‘the woman’s hut’ (alienable possession)

All the attested adpositions in IGui are postpositional. (There is one locative morpheme, though, which behaves like a preposition.) The basic structure of the postpositional phrase is illustrated in (584). Postpositions are case-governing elements in IGui. Note that the PGN morpheme suffixed to the noun is in the genitive case before the postposition. All primary postpositions listed in Table 7.21 govern the genitive case.

Table 7.21 IGui Postpositions

Postposition	Gloss
<i>kà</i>	‘at, in, on, with’, etc.
<i>dá</i>	‘to, toward, for’
<i>wà</i>	‘in’
<i>lχàè</i>	‘on’
<i>lχòà</i>	‘with’
<i>kʰùà</i>	‘as’

<i>k^hìnà</i>	‘as’
<i>c^há</i>	‘like’
<i>c^hānā</i>	‘like’
<i>cà</i>	quotative, mimesis marker

(584) *ŋ!úú m wà*
hut 3M.SG.GEN POSTP
‘in a hut’

3.2.6.4 Coordination

IGui has a coordinating conjunction *á*⁹ which can roughly be translated as ‘and’. This conjunction is used for clausal and not for phrasal coordination. As illustrated in (585), *á* occurs between the subject and the auxiliary of the second clause. If subject and/or auxiliary in the second clause are the same as those in the first clause, then they are omitted obligatorily in the second clause, as exemplified in (586a–b).

(585) *Qχ'òòkò bì c^hú l?áékú glàèkò sî á kî l?óó.*
husband 3M.SG.NOM PAST return woman 3F.SG.NOM CONJ PAST die
‘The husband returned home yesterday, and the wife died today.’

(586) a. *Qχ'òòkò bì c^hú l?áékú á kî l?óó.*
husband 3M.SG.NOM PAST return CONJ PAST die.
‘The husband returned home yesterday and died today.’

b. *Qχ'òòkò bì c^hú l?áékú á l?óó.*
husband 3M.SG.NOM PAST return CONJ die
‘The husband returned home and died yesterday.’

3.2.6.5 Subordination

3.2.6.5.1 Complement Clause

A complement clause is illustrated in (587), in which the embedded clause in [] functions as the complement (i.e. object) of the main clause. The embedded complement clause is nominalized by means of the feminine singular PGN marker *sà*, which denotes the accusative case for the object of the main clause. Note that the subject in the complement clause is in the genitive case.

(587) *Cìrè kī [kʰóè ì cʰú àà sà] kím.*
 1SG.NOM PAST person 3M.SG.GEN PAST come 3F.SG.ACC hear
 'I heard today that the man came yesterday.'

3.2.6.5.2 Relative Clause

Another type of subordinating clause is the relative clause. There are two types of relative constructions in lGui. They differ in word order: one involves the pre-nominal and the other one the post-nominal relative clause.

The pre-nominal relative clause is illustrated in (588). The subject in the relative clause is in the genitive case, which is marked by the PGN morpheme. The PGN marker occurring in clause-final position grammatically agrees with the head noun, and the PGN formative attached to the head noun marks the case of this noun phrase.

(588) *[kʰóè ì qx'ó múù ì] dzérá mà*
 person 3M.SG.GEN PAST.REM see 3M.SG.GEN bird 3M.SG.ACC
 'the bird which the man saw'

The construction with the post-nominal relative clause involves the postposition *kà* as a relativizer, as illustrated in (589). The subject of the relative clause occurs in the genitive case marked by the PGN *ì*, and the case of this

noun phrase is marked by the PGN suffix in phrase-final position.

- (589) *dzérá kà [kʰóè m qx'ó múù mà]*
 bird POSTP.REL person 3M.SG.GEN PAST.REM see 3M.SG.ACC
 'the bird which the man saw'

3.2.6.5.3 Adverbial Clause

Adverbial clauses are formed basically by means of postpositions, such as *kà* (multifunctional: time, conditional, reason, purpose, etc.) and *kʰùnà* (manner), occurring in clause-final position. The subject of the adverbial clause is in the genitive case, like that of complement and relative clauses. An adverbial clause usually occurs before the main clause. Example (590) contains an adverbial clause of manner, as indicated by the postposition *kʰùnà*.

- (590) *Dlámī m ci lúù kʰùnà ʔàbì ci lúù.*
 pangolin 3M.SG.GEN HAB walk POSTP 3M.SG.NOM HAB walk
 'He walks like a pangolin walks.'

3.2.6.6 Negation

Standard negation is expressed by means of particles. There are two main negative particles, *cúá* and *cʰēmā*.

- (591) *ʔàbì cʰú cúá χántsi sì dá lúù.*
 3M.SG.NOM PAST NEG Ghanzi 3F.SG.GEN POSTP go
 'He did not go to Ghanzi yesterday.'

The negative particle *cúá* typically follows immediately S–AUX, as shown in (591), but it can also occur sentence-initially and immediately before the verb.

The negative particle *c^hēmā* negates either an entire clause (like *cúá*) or a particular clause constituent. The former instance is illustrated in (592) and the latter in (593).

- (592) *ʔàbì c^hú χántsi sì dá lúù c^hēmā.*
 3M.SG.NOM PAST Ghanzi 3F.SG.GEN POSTP go NEG
 ‘He did not go to Ghanzi yesterday.’
- (593) *ʔàbì c^hú xám ì c^hēmā mà múù.*
 3M.SG.NOM PAST lion 3M.SG.GEN NEG 3M.SG.ACC see
 ‘He saw no male lion yesterday.’

In addition to *cúà* and *c^hēmā*, there are other negative particles such as *céè* (always occurring immediately after the verb), *cū* (used for negative commands), etc.

3.2.6.7 Interrogative Sentences

3.2.6.7.1 Yes/No Questions

Yes/no questions are formed by means of a question marker *ì* which always occurs immediately after the subject, as exemplified in (594). When this question marker occurs, the subject noun phrase is in the genitive case.

- (594) *Kééxà ì ì c^hú tsá jírā.*
 Keexa 3M.SG.GEN Q PAST 2M.SG.ACC visit
 ‘Did Keexa visit you yesterday?’

3.2.6.7.2 Question-Word Questions

Question-word questions, so-called wh-questions, are formed by means of simple or complex question words. There are two simple question words, *ìxò*¹⁰ ‘what’ and *máā*¹¹ ‘how, which’, and various complex question

words that are combinations of simple question words and other elements such as postpositions, nouns, etc. Some complex question words are synchronically not analysable. In (595) the simple question word *ĩxò* is used as the object of the sentence. In general, question words can optionally occur in sentence-initial position, as in (596).

(595) *K^hóè bì kì ĩxò sà ts'áĩ*
 person 3M.SG.NOM PAST what 3F.SG.ACC do
 'What did the man do today?'

(596) *Máã kámā ʔàbì qx'āwā àà.*
 which time 3M.SG.NOM FUT.REM come
 'When will he come?'

3.2.6.8 Other Important Constructions

3.2.6.8.1 Nominal Predicate

Equation is expressed by mere juxtaposition of two noun phrases. In this construction, the subject (i.e. the first NP) is in the nominative and the predicate (the second NP) is unmarked for case, as shown in (597).

(597) *ʔàbì kééxà.*

3M.SG.NOM Keexa

'He is Keexa.'

In addition to this common construction, there are two other equation and identification constructions.

The first construction is formed with the copula *ʔà* in sentence-final position, cf. (598). The subject is always a demonstrative pronoun and the nominal predicate occurs in the accusative case.

- (598) *ʔáā kééxà mà ʔà.*
 DEM Keexa 3M.SG.ACC COP
 ‘That is Keexa.’

The other construction consists of a single NP with an identification clitic. Examples (599a–c) illustrate this peculiar construction. The noun appears in the nominative case and is followed by the identification “copula” *ʔi* in declarative sentences (599a), or it occurs in the genitive case and is followed by the question clitic *má* in interrogative sentences (599b). This construction may contain a tense–aspect auxiliary in final position, as exemplified in (599c).

- (599) a. *Dzérá bì ʔi.*
 bird 3M.SG.NOM DECL
 ‘(It) is a bird.’
- b. *Dzérá m má?*
 bird 3M.SG.GEN INT
 ‘Is (it) a bird?’
- c. *D!úū bì ʔi qx’ó.*
 hut 3M.SG.NOM DECL PAST.REM
 ‘(It) was a hut.’

It should be noted that this construction is not the “existential” construction, which consists of a subject and an existential verb, as illustrated in (600).

(600) *Dzérá bì háã.*
 bird 3M.SG.NOM exist
 ‘There is a bird.’

3.2.6.8.2

Compound Verb Construction

Compounds consisting of two verbs exhibit a peculiar syntactic behaviour, namely the leftward movement of the first component.

As shown in (601a), the basic structure of the compound verb consists of two joined verbs. The first component can be dislocated and moved to the left of the second component across several constituents, as demonstrated in (601b–d). (Note that the first component, *gllájã*, is bold-faced throughout.)

- (601) a. *ʔàri qx'ó glū si wà gllájã-lʔóó.*
 3C.PL.NOM PAST.REM bush 3F.SG.GEN POSTP constipate-die
 ‘They were constipated to death in the bush.’
 b. *ʔàri qx'ó gllájã glū si wà lʔóó.*
 c. *ʔàri gllájã qx'ó glū si wà lʔóó.*
 d. ***Gllájã*** *ʔàri qx'ó glū si wà lʔóó.*

3.2.6.8.3 “Focus” Construction

IGui has a construction in which a particular constituent is marked by the clitic *kí* for a certain pragmatic function that requires future research; I provisionally call it “focus” here. Example (602a) is a sentence without focus marking. In order to mark a constituent for focus, the clitic *kí* must be placed after the noun stem of the focused constituent. (602b–d) show that various constituents can be focused. Note that a clause cannot have more than one focused constituent.

- (602) a. *Qχ'ārū bi ci η'ābī m̄ kà k'òò sà lqàè.*
 Kx'aru 3M.SG. PROG chisel 3M.SG. POSTP fur 3F.SG. scrape
 NOM GEN ACC
 'Kx'aru is scraping fur with a chisel.'
- b. *Qχ'ārū kī bī ci η'ābī m̄ kà k'òò sà lqàè.*
 Kx'aru FOC 3M.SG. PROG chisel 3M.SG. GEN POSTP fur 3F.SG. scrape
 NOM ACC
 'It is Kx'aru who is scraping fur with a chisel.'
- c. *Qχ'ārū bi ci η'ābī kī m̄ kà k'òò sà lqàè.*
 Kx'aru 3M.SG. PROG chisel FOC 3M.SG. POSTP fur 3F.SG. scrape
 NOM GEN ACC
 'It is with a chisel that Kx'aru is scraping fur.'
- d. *Qχ'ārū bi ci η'ābī m̄ kà k'òò kī sà lqàè.*
 Kx'aru 3M.SG. PROG chisel 3M.SG. POSTP fur FOC 3F.SG. scrape
 NOM GEN ACC
 'It is fur that Kx'aru is scraping with a chisel.'

3.2.6.8.4 Complex Predicative Adjective

IGui has yet another uncommon construction involving the predicative adjective with locative information. Example (603) illustrates its structure: the morpheme *à* links a noun to an adjective. It is labelled as link here:

- (603) *ʔàbì láĩ jà ʔáó.*
 he good LINK heart
 'He is good in the heart.' (= 'He is happy.')

It is worth noting that the noun following *jà* (which is an allomorph of *à*, cf. note 9) is always part of the body of the subject. Thus, 'heart' in the example forms part of the subject 'he'. The semantic effect of this construction should be: adjective-noun-ed (e.g. good-hearted, big-eyed, etc.).

At first sight, *à* would seem to be a preposition, but this element occurs only in this construction, unlike other adpositions (i.e. postpositions) that are used in various

contexts. Probably *jà* is a linker which incorporates a noun into a complex adjective.

3.2.7 Shua Subgroup

Rainer Vossen

As has already been pointed out in [Chapter 6](#), information on Shua languages is very scarce; therefore, the following notes are limited in size and must be taken as provisional.

3.2.7.1 Word Order

The basic order of chief constituents appears to be SOV. By far the majority of examples represent this sequence structure.

- (604) a. Cara *Khóé-nà ké kài |gùì.*
person-C.PL PRES house thatch
'The people are thatching the/a house.'
- b. Deti *'ábá ce l'óã k'òò.*
dog PRES bone eat
'The/a dog is eating/eats the/a bone.'

In (604) the object is placed between the tense/aspect morpheme and the verb and is not marked morphologically.

Occasionally, the subject occurs sentence-initially and the object follows the verb, hence SVO (605a–b). In (605c) the object occurs sentence-initially and is followed by the subject and the verb; however, this word order type (OSV) is quite exceptional in my data.

- (605) a. Cara *A tsá ké múũ-re ìi k'ám-|ge?*
 Q 2M.SG PRES see-INT DEM animal
 'Do you see this animal?'
- b. Danisi *Tsá ké múũ-rè lábá tí dì?*
 2M.SG PRES see-INT hat 1SG POSS
 'Do you see my hat?'
- c. Deti *K'òò-xú tá k'òò-á-hà.*
 meat 1SG eat-JUNC-IMPERF
 'I ate meat.'

Although (605a–b) are interrogative sentences, SVO order does not seem to be restricted to questions.

The two examples from Danisi in (606) illustrate singular instances of VOS (a) and VSO (b) word order:

- (606) a. *Múũ ke tsá 'à tá.*
 see PRES 2M.SG OBJ 1SG
 'I see you.'
- b. *Múũ ke tsá tá 'à.*
 see PRES 2M.SG 1SG OBJ
 'You see me.'

Concerning the positioning of adverbials there would seem to be no restrictions. See the following examples of locatives in Cara (607) and Deti (608):

- (607) a. *Má-n l|xòà tsá 'áé kù l'áé-kù-à-tá?*
 who-C.PL POSTP 2M.SG home POSTP meet-REC-JUNC-PAST.RECT
 'Whom did you meet at the village?'
- b. *IGàà-khóé ke gũnu 'ò 'á táó.*
 female-person PRES mortar POSTP OBJ grind
 'The woman is grinding in the mortar.'

- (608) a. *Káú cè tá 'áé kà.*
 remain PRES 1SG home POSTP
 'I must remain **at home.**'
- b. *Ába tí dì 'áé kà hàà.*
 hat 1SG POSS home POSTP be
 'My hat is **at home.**'
- c. *!Xóm 'o hùú-mà kùú-à-ha.*
 river POSTP DEM-M.SG go-JUNC-IMPERF
 'He (lit.: that one) has gone **to the river.**'

In three of the five examples above, i.e. (607a–b) and (608b), the adverbial occurs in pre-final position, immediately preceding the verb and always following the subject. In contrast to this, (608a) and (608c) represent cases of sentence-final and sentence-initial positioning, respectively. In the latter example, however, the adverbial is clearly topicalized. Altogether, the five examples illustrate five different word order types: O–S–ADV–V (607a), S–AUX–ADV–V (607b), V–AUX–S–ADV (608a), S–ADV–V (608b), and ADV–S–V (608c).

A partly different picture obtains for temporal adverbials in the examples in (609) for Cara and (610) for Deti:

- (609) a. *A 'úika tsá tí |òǎ-|gǎé múù-à-hà rè?*
 Q yesterday 2M.SG 1SG child-female see-JUNC-IMPERF INT
 'Did you see my daughter **yesterday?**'
- b. *A tsá 'úika sùrì xún-á-hà rè?*
 Q 2M.SG yesterday tobacco grind-JUNC-IMPERF INT
 'Did you grind the tobacco **yesterday?**'
- c. *'Ókuri tá 'aká sùrì thiyá gòm-à-tá.*
 last.year 1SG EMPH tobacco much smoke-JUNC-PAST
 'Last year I smoked a lot of tobacco.'
- d. *Tá kùà 'úwá 'áiyá-khòè sī-a-ma.*
 1SG FUT tomorrow chief work-JUNC-DAT
 'I shall work for the chief **tomorrow.**'

- (610) *Húú-nà cé 'úúá Ináì.*
 DEM-C.PL PRES morning sing
 'They (lit.: those ones) sing **in the morning.**'

In (609a) and (609c) the adverbial is placed sentence-initially, followed by the chief constituents in SOV order. The preceding question marker in (609a) is obligatory (see 3.2.7.2.2 below) and does not impact otherwise on the sentence structure. In the remaining examples the temporal adverbial follows the subject and precedes the object (if applicable) and verb; thus: S-(AUX-)ADV-(O-)V.

3.2.7.2 Simple Sentences

3.2.7.2.1 Declaratives

Some general examples have already been given in (604), (605c) and (606). The examples in (611) illustrate copulative constructions.

- (611) a. Cara *Íí tí l'on 'è.*
 DEM 1SG name COP
 'This is my name.'
- b. *Tá Cárákhòè 'è.*
 1SG Cara.person COP
 'I am Carakhoe.'
- c. *Tá fúákhòè ì.*
 1SG Shua.person COP.NEG
 'I am not Shuakhoe.'
- d. *Jé lara gùrí 'í.*
 1M.PL field large COP
 'Our field is large.'
- e. Danisi *Íĩ tí dòngí 'è.*
 DEM 1SG donkey COP
 'This is my donkey.'
- f. Deti *Hĩĩ k'áá-khoe rù.*
 DEM male-person COP
 'This is a man.'
- g. *'àbámá Dètí rò.*
 my.father Deti COP
 'My father is Deti.'

They show that the affirmative copula is 'è in Cara and Danisi; in (611d) it has been assimilated to the final vowel of the preceding adjective. The variation between *rò* and *rù* in Deti is likely to be due to idiolectal speech. (611c) shows the use of the negative copula *ì* in Cara.

In the following sentence from Cara a paraphrastic ‘have’-construction is contained. Note that *hàã* ‘exist’ is a defective verb:

- (612) *Ím-khoe thiyá bee lxoá hàã.*
 chief many cattle POSTP (‘with’) exist
 ‘The chief has many cattle.’

3.2.7.2.2 Questions

Since wh-questions have already been touched upon in connection with interrogatives in [Chapter 6](#), section 3.2.7.7, the present section will exclusively be devoted to yes/no questions. In Cara these tend to begin, as a rule, with the question marker *à* and end with the interrogative particle *rè*, as in (613).

- (613) a. *À ùú-mà tsá cahú rè?*
 Q DEM-3M.SG 2M.SG brother INT
 ‘Is that (one) your brother?’
- b. *À ìí màà tí di rì?*
 Q DEM head 1SG POSS INT
 ‘Is this head mine?’
- c. *À tsá ke dàni lóã ‘úú-re-a-má rè?*
 Q 2M.SG PRES honey child collect-JUNC-JUNC-DAT INT
 ‘Are you collecting honey for your children?’

Note that in (613a–b) the interrogative particle would seem to imply copulative function. The form *rì* in (613b) has undergone progressive assimilation to the final vowel of the preceding possessive marker; cf. (611d).

In the following examples, the interrogative particle occurs sentence-medially. While in (614a) it follows the verb immediately, it is separated from the verb by the

tense/aspect marker in (614b). The two versions are said to be interchangeable.

- (614) a. *Á tsá ke kóm rè tí l'on?*
 Q 2M.SG PRES hear INT 1SG name
 b. *Á kóm ke re tsa tí l'on?*
 Q hear PRES INT 2M.SG 1SG name
 ‘Do you hear my name?’

Double occurrence of the interrogative particle is observed in (615). The fact that it shows up after *both* predicative adjectives may be further evidence for the assumption of the particle’s inherent copulative function (see above).

- (615) *Á tsá láo-á-ha láo gùrì rè re cū rè?*
 Q 2M.SG shoot-JUNC-IMPERF buffalo big INT CONJ small INT
 ‘Was the buffalo (that) you shot big or small?’

My field notes on Danisi confirm the description for Cara except that medial occurrence of the interrogative particle *rè* is confined to positioning right after the verb, as in (616) and (609b) above.

- (616) *Tsá ’à-ná-hà rè tí bà.*
 2M.SG know-JUNC-PAST INT 1SG father
 ‘Do you know my father?’

In Deti, sentence-final occurrence of the interrogative particle is the most common pattern:

- (617) a. *Tsá 'úikà tá gáo-tè-hà re?*
 2M.SG yesterday 1SG see-1SG.OBJ_{AGR}-IMPERF INT
 'Did you see me yesterday?'
- b. */Óã kukùrì cè bátsà k'áà re?*
 child all (= PL) PRES beer drink INT
 'Do children drink beer?'

The implicit copulative function of the interrogative particle becomes obvious in (618), especially when comparing the question in (618b) with the declarative sentence in (618c) where the interrogative *rè* in (b) takes exactly the position of the copula *rò* in (c).

- (618) a. *Tsá Muhura re?*
 2M.SG Hura INT
 'Are you (a) Hura (person)?'
- b. *Xáò káik'i rè?*
 hippo big INT
 'Is a hippo big?'
- c. *Xáò káik'i rò.*
 hippo big COP
 'A hippo is big.'

3.2.7.2.3 Imperatives

As a rule, simple imperatives consist of the verb stem only in the singular and plural (619a). A second person plural pronoun may be used after the verb stem in order to emphasize plurality, as in (619b).

- (619) a. *Cara INá!* 'Sing!' (SG and PL)
 b. *Deti IGá!* 'Run!' (SG) *IGá! tò!* 'Run!' (PL)
 run 2C.PL:OBJ

The same applies to imperative sentences with complements, e.g. Cara:

- (620) a. *Tsàã /nóá!* (SG/PL) ‘Cook soup!’
 soup cook
- b. *Tí /xóá hàá!*(SG/PL) ‘Come with me!’
 1SG POSTP come
- c. *Súri ’úú cáá-khoe-kùà /’ĩ!*
 tobacco give old-person-M.PL POSTP
 ‘Give (SG/PL) tobacco to the elders!’

Negative imperatives are formed by placing the particle *tí* after the verb stem, cf. Deti:

- (621) SG *!Náì tí!* ‘Don’t sing!’
 PL *!Náì! tí tò!* ‘Don’t sing!’

3.2.7.3 Complex Sentences

3.2.7.3.1 Coordination and Subordination

Generally speaking, it seems difficult to draw a dividing line between coordination and subordination on the basis of the available data. In most cases, coordinate clauses are not linked by conjunctions but occur in juxtaposition, as in the Cara examples below:

- (622) *K’áá-khoe ké ’é.ku lôā /xòà gimi ’ó kúü, /gaa-khóé*
 male-person PRES 3M.PL child POSTP hunt POSTP go female-person
 ‘The men go hunting with their sons (and) the women

kúk'ari ké 'é.dzi lóā lxòà 'úū-re 'ò kúū.
 all (= PL) PRES 3F.PL child POSTP gather-JUNC POSTP go
 go gathering with their daughters.'

- (623) *Tí lábò k'òá 'è, tí kūī-k'ái lábò Ináo-ha.*
 1SG sandal new COP 1SG sister sandal be.old-IMPERF
 'My sandals are new, (but) my sister's sandals are old.'

The sentence in (624) has a subordinate structure in English but is coordinate in Cara:

- (624) *'é.mà kúū-á-ha tóā-m lxòà k'òò-hú 'úika,*
 3M.SG go-JUNC-IMPERF friend-M.SG POSTP meat yesterday
 'Yesterday he went out with a friend (to)
'è.m 'úū-á-ha.e 'áé kúū-á-ha.
 3M.SG kill-JUNC-IMPERF home go-JUNC-IMPERF
 carry the hunted meat home.'

An intentional meaning is also contained in the following example from Deti, where the subordinate English clause '(in order to) eat meat' is replaced by a postpositional (adverbial) phrase:

- (625) *K'áró cé hàà k'òò-xú k'òò 'ò.*
 boy PRES come meat eat POSTP
 'The boy has come to eat meat.' (lit.: '... to the meat eating')

The examples in (626) from Cara (a) and Deti (b) represent subordinate participial constructions. The verb of the dependent clause is always followed by the participial clitic *si* (Cara)/*se* (Deti).

- (626) a. *Á tsá k'áró múū-á-ha re k'áró ke k'òò-hú ts'áá sí?*
 Q 2M.SG boy see-JUNC-IMPERF INT boy PRES meat steal PART
 'Did you see the boy stealing meat?'
 b. *Tá 'aba múū-à-há k'òò-xú ce k'òò sè 'ába.*
 1SG dog see-JUNC-IMPERF meat PRES eat PART dog
 'I saw the/a dog eating meat.'

Note that in either sentence the object of the main clause (*k'áró* and *'aba* respectively) is resumed in the dependent clause (as agent of the participial construction), pre-verbally in (a) and post-verbally in (b).

Finally, (627) illustrates an intriguing instance of clause embedding in Cara:

(627) *Tá ke tí cahu-m dani ká páá-é-hà k'ã.*
 ISG PRES ISG:POSS brother-M.SG bee POSTP bite-PASS-IMPERF laugh
 'I am laughing (because) my brother has been stung by a bee.'

Literally translated, the sentence reads: “I am lmy brother by a bee has been stung llaughing.” That is, the embedded clause (representing the subordinate clause) breaks up the verb phrase of the main clause.

3.2.7.3.2 Relative Clauses

Shua languages do not have relative pronouns. There exists, however, a post-verbal particle *e* (with varying tone) which is used in relative clause-like constructions; cf. (628a–c) for Cara and (628d–e) for Deti.

- (628) a. *Mái tsá tá 'a khàà-à-tá é kùri-ha.*
 egg 2M.SG 1SG OBJ give-JUNC-IMPERF REL finish
 'The eggs which you gave me are finished.'
- b. *Tá 'à tséé-ma k'áà-khòè xóm 'āā e!*
 1SG OBJ send-DAT male-person land know REL
 'Send me a man who knows the area!'
- c. *Īi kai tsá l'án-á-ha é t'ūĩ 'è.*
 DEM house 2M.SG build-JUNC-IMPERF REL nice COP
 'This house, which you have built, is nice.'
- d. *Igàà-khóé tá múū-á-há è*
 female-person 1SG see-JUNC-IMPERF REL
 'the woman whom I have seen'
- e. *K'áà-khòè lōā l'òò-há é kūū-a-ha.*
 male-person child die-IMPERF REL go-JUNC-IMPERF
 'The man whose child has died has left.'

3.2.8 Tshwa Subgroup

Rainer Vossen

Reliable information on the syntax of Tshwa languages and dialects is practically non-existent. The following observations, which derive from my own data collection, are poor in substance and are confined to the Kua variety of Malatswae in Eastern Botswana.

3.2.8.1 Word Order

Like in most Khoesan languages, SOV appears to be the basic order of chief constituents; cf. (629a). However, OSV was also found to be possible, as in the question in (629b), where the sentence-initial position of the object may be due to topicalization because the same sentence can be constructed in SOV order.

- (629) a. *Tsá kùà ìí k'óó-xù mùũ.*
 2M.SG PRES DEM animal see
 'You see this animal.'
- b. *N/ní k'óó-xù tsá kùà mùũ è?*
 DEM animal 2M.SG PRES see INT
 'Do you see this animal?'

3.2.8.2 Simple Sentences

3.2.8.2.1 Declaratives

Two types of copulative sentences occur in my data: while the examples in (630a–b) illustrate the use of the affirmative copula (*r*)è, no copula is used in (631). The conditions for the use or non-use of the copula are still unknown. From a comparison of (630b) with (631b) one might infer that the use is optional.

- (630) a. *N/ní-m tsá máá è.*
 DEM-M.SG 2M.SG head COP
 'This is your head.'
- b. *N/níè kí yìbè rè.*
 DEM 1SG:POSS axe COP
 'These are my axes.'
- (631) a. *N/ní-dzì lgàé-lòã.* 'These are girls.'
 DEM-F.PL female-child
- b. *N/níè kí yìbè.* 'This is my axe.'
 DEM 1SG:POSS axe

3.2.8.2.2 Questions

A few examples of wh-questions have already been provided in connection with interrogatives in [Chapter 6](#),

section 3.2.8.7. Yes/no questions are normally, but not always, marked with a sentence-final particle *è*. (630b) above is an example. In (632) this interrogative particle is missing and the sentence-initial question marker *à* (which in turn is missing in 630b) is used instead. (Remember that in Cara both question marker and interrogative particle must be employed; cf. 3.2.7.2.2.)

(632) *À tsá kùà kí yìbè mùũ?*
 Q 2M.SG PRES 1SG:POSS axe see
 ‘Do you see my axe?’

Finally, there are also examples without any interrogative elements, as in (633):

(633) *Tsá kí l’ún ’án-á-hà?*
 2M.SG 1SG:POSS name know-JUNC-IMPERF
 ‘Do you know my name?’

3.3 Southern Khoesan (Tuu)

Tom Güldemann

3.3.1 Taa (East !Xoon Dialect)¹²

3.3.1.1 Structure of Unmarked Clauses

The basic clause consists of at least a subject followed by a predicate. A complement of a verb immediately follows the verb. Any participant outside the valence of a verb as well as adverbial expressions are normally placed in a final adjunct position and require a relational gram. In the majority of cases, this is the default marker *ká*, *tá*, called here “multi-purpose oblique” (MPO) marker, but there are also other elements such as dative *lnàa*,

comitative #’á, and a particle *sà*, the function of which is still unclear. This general syntactic configuration yields a constituent order Subject–Predicate–Object–Adjunct; the adjunct position can occur more than once. The material available does not contain examples with both a nominal object and a nominal adjunct; example (634) only displays a pronominal object cross-referenced on the verb and a dative adjunct.

- (634) *āh sīi sáa l̥ə-be #hù-ma l̥nāi #nāiĩ*
 2SG CONN go chop-3 cut.up-2PRO DAT:1DU> 1DU
 ‘and you go to chop [class 3 concord speech error] it [skin.2] up for us two’
 (Traill, in prep.)

Clauses with two unmarked post-verbal nominals, that is, ditransitive clauses in the conventional sense, are rare, if existing at all. This is even true for the notion ‘give’: this is conveyed by (a) *l̥ua* (S), *!áõ* (P) ‘take’ followed by patient + DAT recipient, as in (T14), or (b) *!qháã* ‘give’ followed by either recipient + MPO-patient or MPO-patient + DAT-recipient, as in (635).

- (635) *!qháã k̥ūi #n̥im l̥g̥i-li-t̥e l̥e d̥txó’lu l̥nà-e #’á s̥g̥ā!*
 give MPO:4PRO two genital.22-PL GEN.3 stench.3 DAT-3PRO COM:2 fat.22
 ‘give him their stinking genitals [lit.: stench of their (DU) genitals] with the fat!’ (Traill, in prep.)

In general, the order Object-Adjunct is not reversible. While the sentence in (636) seems to be a counter-example, this evidence is inconclusive: the stem *l̥qhúu* and the gram *kV* are a lexicalized collocation rendering together the meaning ‘snatch’; moreover, the two post-verbal pronouns could also form a genitive construction ‘the one of you = yours’.

(636) *n̄ à lqhúu k̄a'a tán*
 1SG PAST snatch:2SG DEL.5
 'I snatched it from you.' (T94.118)

Regarding the order of semantic roles, both patient–recipient and recipient–patient are possible, also when expressed as two adjuncts and the recipient is human. While (635) illustrates the first order, (637) shows the second one.

(637) *!qhóo k̄e †ābe k̄e táa †àã*
 teach MPO:3> black.person.3 MPO:3> person.3 language.2
 'teach the black man person's language, i.e. !Xóó' (T94.88)

Each of the four major constituents can be structurally complex (for nominals, see below). The predicative nucleus of a clause conveying the state of affairs displays a particularly intricate organization. One reason for this is the existence and extensive employment of serial verb constructions. Such chains of lexical items express a unitary event/situation, whereby one verb stem encodes a particular aspect of the semantically complex state of affairs. The occurrence of other elements before and/or after such a verb series also contributes to the complexity of the predicate nucleus. The different types of semantic components tend to occur in specific structural slots of this larger chain of elements; the available East !Xoon data and comparative evidence from !Xam suggest the following preliminary generalization for the relative order of such slots.

I	II	III	IV
absolute deixis (spatial/temporal)	manner or con- comitant event	main event	relative deixis (path/location/aspect)

This sequence together with non-subject nominals seems to be a syntactic unit, because it falls under the scope of predicate markers and the clause linker *sí, î*, and it can be subject to complete repetition for the purpose of marking pluractionality (T10, T15).

The first slot contains such items as *tɔ̀i* ‘be far’, *làa* ‘go off’, and deictics like *té’e* or *tā’a*, which all encode the location where the state of affairs holds; even the locative

interrogative *āh’ā* occurs in this position (T12). The stem *sāa*, also belonging here and in fact the most frequent in the available material, has variable functions: it can express a spatial meaning of altrilocality or the temporal notion of future, both derived from its primary sense ‘go’. Absolute time deixis is also conveyed by items such as *khúbe* ‘morning’, *llnâe* ‘then’, *qáa* ‘long ago’.

Elements of slot I are not necessarily verbs. Some items are inherently ambivalent, being used as a verb or a noun (e.g. *!góa* ‘cool down (of sun), afternoon’). Also, stative verbs appear in this slot as bare stems (*tɔ̀i* ‘be far’) or in a nominalized form (*l’àm-sà* ‘be long’ > ‘far away’). This means that slot I elements need not be part of a serial verb construction; at the same time, it conforms with Traill’s (1994: 18f.) observation that adverbial meaning is expressed in two positions, before and after the nuclear verb (chain).

The same ambiguity regarding word category holds for the elements in slot II encoding manner and concomitant action. While a *sà*-nominalization like *lláli-sà* ‘often, much’ (T94.19) is possible, other items in this position

are verbs like *lllgâã* ‘spend day, for a long time’, *#háni* ‘be on top, much’, *’áa* ‘be alone’, and interrogatives and deictics of manner like *āh’āo* ‘how’, *!āh’u* ‘thus’, *’áu* ‘thus’.

Slot IV is filled by verbs of position and (caused) motion like *#n’áa* ‘take out ~ off’, *tshûu* ‘sit ~ on’, *’lu* ‘enter ~ in(to)’, *llqhuã* ‘place ~ at’, *lûa* ‘go around ~ about’. Especially frequent are the verbs *sâa* ‘go’ and *sûi* ‘come’, since they express ‘thither’ and ‘hither’ respectively; the use of these relative spatial notions depends highly on the speaker’s perspective at a particular point in the discourse. Some slot IV verbs appear to convey aspectual notions like stativity or terminativity. The fact that the stative-resultative marker *lîi*, which is derived from a verb meaning ‘be present, here’, also occurs in final position could be related to this phenomenon.

The main event/situation is encoded in slot III. In some sentences it is difficult to determine conclusively which verb in a series constitutes slot III, especially where two adjacent verbs belong to the same semantic domain. Thus, for the sequence *!’áa #hùbe* ‘chop’ + ‘cut into pieces’ > ‘chop up’ in example (634), I can only surmise that *ll’áa* constitutes slot III and *#hùbe* is a slot IV item encoding the patient’s affectedness and the final achievement of the cutting. This problem can sometimes be resolved when considering a verb’s general behaviour: if it is used frequently and with more flexible semantics, it is less likely to encode the main event in a disputable token. This seems to be the case with the second verb in the sequence *!núm tshûu* ‘live’ + ‘sit’ > ‘live, settle (for some time)’ or in (638) with the first

verb in *llgâã 'llnq̣h'*-, ‘spend day’ + ‘chop out’ > ‘chop out all day’. The decision is also less controversial in clauses with the imperfective marker *bà*, because as a rule of thumb it directly precedes the main verb (T15, T24, T25, T34).

Since the four predicate slots are hardly ever occupied simultaneously in the available clause tokens, the above order pattern in complex predicates is a synopsis of attested co-occurrences of two or three positions. The situation becomes even more complex because of the possibility of multiple occurrences of one slot. All in all, the above schematic outline must be checked against a far wider range of data and may well turn out to be a generalization which is not valid for all East !Xoon sentences. Nevertheless, the following examples show that the preliminary analysis is capable of accounting for clauses of considerable complexity.

Sequence I–II–III:

(638) *i qúba sáa lgâã 'lnq̣h'-na sá'ã*
 CONN HS go spend.day chop.out-2> seed.2
 ‘and are said to have chopped out (*tsamma*) seeds all day long’
 (Traill, in prep.)

Sequence I–III–IV (cf. also T38):

(639) *sí sáa #hābi tshūu līi*
 CONN go get.on.top sit STAT
 ‘to have gone to get on top’ (Traill, in prep.)

Sequence II–III–IV:

(640) *lqhû.je ēh kâ 'áu lqhâa sũ*
 bee.32 3PRO BG thus build hither
 'when the bees build along this way' (Traill, in prep.)

Some categorical fluctuation for items at the left and right margins of the above predicate core seems to exist, because elements in these positions can grammaticalize into grams that no longer belong to the slot sequence proper. Items in the first slot can end up as markers of tense, aspect, modality, clause linkage etc., which are placed before the nuclear predicate. In a parallel fashion, some oblique markers of valence-external nominals in the adjunct position are likely to be derived from earlier final verbs in serial constructions: dative *lnàa* is probably cognate with a verb meaning 'give' in other Tuu languages and comitative *#'ā* seems to originate from the East !Xoon verb *#'au* 'take possession of'. Also, lexicalized collocations between a verb and such an oblique marker may arise, as in (636).

3.3.1.2 Special Clause Types

3.3.1.2.1 Questions

All questions involve the interrogative particle *lá*; this is placed sentence-initially and incorporates a pronominal concord referring to the subject as in the polar question in (641).

(641) *lé lĩi?* 'Is he here?' (T94.53)
 Q:3PRO be.present

A term question is rendered by the combination of this particle with a clause containing a referentially unbound pro-form in place of the questioned constituent. When

asking for both ‘who’ and ‘what’, this pro-form is the class 3 pronoun *èh*; hence there is no formal difference between these two interrogative types, as in (642).

(642) *lā n̄ bà káne ké èh?*
 Q:2SG ? IMPF want MPO:3> 3PRO
 ‘Whom/what do you want?’ (T94.18)

In ‘where’ questions, the notion of place is rendered by a special non-referential locative verb glossed here as ‘be somewhere’ (T12). Adnominal ‘which’ is derived from this locative question in using the same verb within a relative clause, as in (643).

(643) *lā n̄ bà káne ká 'áá-sa táā āh'ā kàā?*
 Q:2SG ? IMPF want MPO:2> eat-NOM.2 REL:2PRO be.somewhere REL:<2
 ‘Which food do you want?’ (T94.18)

Other content questions are not treated here, as the available information is insufficient. Interrogatives in one-word utterances differ from those in sentential questions: *é èh'è é* ‘who (SG)?’, *ú ùh'ù ú* ‘who (PL)?’, and *tán āh'ā kán* ‘what?’.

3.3.1.2.2

Nominal Predicates, Copulatives, and Focus

An equational clause, exemplified in (644), displays a clause-medial copulative *kV*, *tV* which agrees in class with the predicate nominal. An invariable clause-final stem *ñnà* serves for identification, as in (645).

(644) *èh té'è ò kì g!xá'u.*
 3PRO DEL.3 ? be:1> south.wind.1
 'This one is the south wind.' (T94.87)

(645) *tâa ñnà.* 'It's a person.' (T94.19)
 person.3 ID.COP

Example (646) shows the possible combination of the two elements triggered by a marked pragmatic configuration; *ñnà* seems to be used here as a predication focus marker 'it is (the case) that' and its omission would yield a non-emphatic clause.

(646) *lqhúa kē tâa ñnà.*
 NEG be:3> person.3 ID.COP
 'It's not a person [lit.: it is, he is not a person], i.e. the person does not behave properly.' (T94.19)

Both equational *kV* and identificational *ñnà* are used in cleft-like term-focus constructions (cf. Güldemann 2010). With *kV*, the focused constituent is fronted and the following *kV* takes an enclitic co-referential with the subject of the background clause (T34, T39). With *ñnà*, the focus occurs between the background clause and the focusing copula, as *āh'ā* 'you' in (647).

(647) *tâa tãn ñ bà lqhãã tà kē āh'ā ñnà*
 person.3 REL:1SG ? IMPF give LOC.PRO REL:3 2SG ID.COP
 'the person to whom I am giving is you' (T94.87)

3.3.1.3 Clause Linkage

3.3.1.3.1 Coordinate Clauses

A clause coordinator of the 'and'-type has not been found in the material. A marker *sí, í* before the predicate core indicates a general semantic connection with the

preceding sentence and primarily creates textual coherence (see examples in the text). If the subjects across the linked clauses are co-referential, the subject need not surface in the second; then, *sî* ends up as a clause-initial marker. A sequential reading is a frequent but not an inherent feature of this connective, because it also turns up in non-sequential contexts and can co-occur with an explicitly consecutive auxiliary *lînâe*. Another clause connector marking (con)sequence is *lîi (tê)* ‘(this being) so’ (T35, T40).

3.3.1.3.2 Complement Clauses and Related Constructions

Traill (1994: 17) describes two complementation types. One involves a true nominalization achieved by attaching *-sà* to the last constituent of the embedded clause, converting it into a class-2 nominal. Since complex verb phrases retain their normal constituent order, *-sà* attaches either directly to the verb as in (648) or to a post-verbal constituent as in (649). The subject role of the subordinate predicate is encoded as an “alienable possessor” of the nominalization. The last word of the initial matrix clause has a pronominal enclitic, which either indexes the entire class-2 nominalization, as in (648), or cross-references, if present, its initial *genitivus subjectivus*, as in (649).

(648) *ùh ñ bà káne kà !qāhe-sà.*
 4PRO ? IMPF want MPO:2> hunt-NOM.2
 ‘They want to hunt/hunting.’ (T94.17)

(649) *ùh ñ bà lūm là lūã lāũ lnaa lnēe-sa.*
 4PRO ? IMPF refuse:1SG GEN:2> give-2> tobacco.2 DAT:3PRO-NOM.2
 ‘They refuse (disapprove of) my giving him tobacco.’ (T94.30)

The second type of complement clause (indicated in the following examples by square brackets) is marked by the final particle *tê* and is even more sentential in that it completely retains normal syntax. Accordingly, the pronominal enclitic on the last element of the matrix clause always indexes the embedded initial subject.

- (650) *n̄ n̄ b̄à ʔán s̄ān ln̄ā-e ln̄ūle t̄ê.*
 1SG ? IMPF wish [1SG see-3> country.3] COMPLT
 ‘I want to see the country.’ (T94.17)

Reported discourse, mostly introduced by *té ’ě*, does not show any sign of subordination and should not be viewed as sentential complementation proper. This also applies to the intention-proximate construction with the auxiliary *tā*, which precedes a finite clause.

- (651) *ùh n̄ tú’ù s̄āa.*
 4PRO ? INTENT:[4PRO go]
 ‘They intend going.’ [lit.: ‘they want, they go’] (T94.154)

3.3.1.3.3 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses (indicated in the examples by square brackets) are postnominal and framed by two markers, *tV* before and *kV* after the clause, each incorporating a cross-reference enclitic. In a subject relative clause, both enclitics refer to the head noun, which is simultaneously the relative subject as in (652).

- (652) *t̄uu tú b̄à l̄gáã k̄ù*
 people.4 REL:[4PRO IMPF work] REL:<4
 ‘the people who are working’ (T94.34)

In non-subject relatives like (653), only the final marker refers back to the head noun.

(653) *tíú tē táa bà lnábe sí kù*
 people.4 REL:3> [person.3 IMPF argue.with] REL:<4
 ‘the people with whom the person is arguing’ (T94.34)

The following can be generalized from this information: (a) the two relative markers indicate the boundaries of the embedded clause; (b) this clause retains a normal syntax; (c) preposed *tV* always incorporates a cross-reference to the initial subject noun phrase; and (d) postposed *kV* resumes in its cross-reference the head noun of the complex nominal.

3.3.1.3.4 Adverbial Clauses

Since the information on adverbial clause linkage is insufficient, only two more frequent devices are mentioned. First, a particle *ká* between subject and predicate marks the clause as a temporal or conditional background (T28, T32, T35, T47). Second, the verb *bV* ‘be (like)’ can be used as an initial conjunctive incorporating an enclitic referring to the subordinate-clause subject; the semantic relations between the linked clauses can be manner, reason (T27), and, when *bV* is preceded by *tà*, purpose.

3.3.1.4

Noun Phrase

3.3.1.4.1 Noun Coordination

Nominal conjunction is achieved by the comitative marker *#’á* which cross-references the following noun

(T1), or by placing the invariable *'ahn* after both conjuncts as in (654).

(654) *lû.m* *'ahn* *lâ.lu-tê* *'ahn*
 springbok.32 both wildebeest.14-PL and
 'springbok and wildebeest' (T94.197)

To convey 'or' the two constituents are linked by *kùn* followed by the copulative *kV*, on which the second nominal is cross-referenced (T33).

3.3.1.4.2 Head-Modifier Constructions

The majority of modifiers like adjectives, deictics, and relative clauses follow the nominal head and show anaphoric agreement. A noun can also be followed by what appears to be a plain pronoun; this might be a device to mark definiteness. Genitive constructions, however, have the modifier before the head. Traill (1994: 25f.) describes two genitive structures: juxtaposition of modifier and head is reserved for inalienable possession; the other structure is characterized by the medial attributor *IV*, which agrees with the possessee noun phrase and expresses alienable possession. Compare the following contrastive examples.

(655) a. *n̄* *àa* b. *n̄* *lè* *!nàa*
 1SG father 1SG GEN:3> money.3
 'my father' 'my money' (T94.26)

The juxtapositional structure also underlies adpositional phrases where a relational noun is the head of the construction. If the verb valence does not provide for an

object slot, the MPO marker must be used, yielding a circumposition as in (656) below.

There is a third construction for expressing attributive possession which will be called the “possessor-pro-form” strategy here (T34, T38, T40, T43, T46, T51). In this, the nominal possessor is repeated before the possessee in the form of a co-referential pronominal – the “pro-form” giving the structure its name. This element could be viewed as a definite marker of the possessor. However, it can also be argued that it forms a constituent of genitive juxtaposition with the possessee, which in turn is extended by the initial noun specifying the possessor lexically. The data are insufficient to determine conclusively the strategy’s function; all available examples involve inalienable relations.

3.3.1.5 Pronominal Enclitics and Agreement

Above, I have given many cases where a pronominal enclitic, called “concord” by Traill, obligatorily attaches to a gram or a lexical stem, called the “clitic host” here. Simple postnominal modifiers like adjectives etc. as well as the final relative marker *kV* hold a special position regarding this phenomenon in that they are the only hosts which take a concord referring to the *preceding* noun.

In all other cases, the co-reference trigger of the incorporated clitic *follows* the host. Here, the basic factor for the enclitic’s category of person, gender, and number is unusual from a typological perspective. It is predominantly determined by adjacency~proximity in

that the co-reference trigger is the nominal referent which, in terms of pure linear order, comes *first* in the following phrase or clause.

The function of a particular clitic host and the word order in the following phrase or clause determine the type of syntactic function the co-reference trigger is found to perform. Three trigger types can be distinguished:

- a. subjects after grams of sentence type and subordination (e.g. of question *lá*; term focus *kV*, *tV*; MPO *kâ*, *tâ*; manner-reason-purpose *bV*; relative *tV*; intention *tV*);
- b. complements of predicates (verbs; copulative *kV*, *tV*; simulative *bV*) and relational grams (e.g. MPO *kâ*, *tâ*; dative *lnàa*; comitative *#'á*; genitive *lV*);
- c. possessors, which can occur after all grams under (a) and (b).

It is important to recognize that, according to the above proximity principle, co-reference triggers need not be direct syntactic dependants of the clitic host. This is exemplified again in (656) by two genitive constructions which are in the scope of the MPO marker as clitic host; *kâ* does not agree in class, as could be expected, with the possessee as *head* of the genitive construction, but with the initial possessor *satellite* ‘tree’, which is class 3 in the singular and class 2 in the plural (the only apparent exception to this general rule in the available data seems to be in (T2) and (T40) which contrast with canonical examples like (T44)).

(656)	<i>ké</i>	<i>'Onà.je</i>	<i>lnà.n</i>	<i>ká</i>	<i>'Onà.ā</i>	<i>lnà.ā</i>
	MPO:3>	tree.32	head.22	MPO:2>	tree.32	head.22
	'on top of the tree'			'on top of the trees' (Dickens and Traill 1977: 136)		

Simple postnominal modifiers and the final relative marker aside, agreement in the conventional sense is therefore only found if (a) the clitic host has direct syntactic scope over the co-reference trigger and (b) this trigger follows immediately as a separate nominal. These two conditions do often not apply simultaneously to contexts involving pronoun cliticization. The different status of a third person pronominal enclitic as an agreement index of a separately expressed nominal vs. as a true pro-form is reflected in the present interlinearization according to the explanation given in [Chapter 6](#): while in the first case the glossed agreement class of the clitic host is accompanied by an arrow pointing towards the trigger, in the second case the enclitic is glossed as an anaphoric pronoun.

Sample text (Traill, in prep.)

1. *lù.m #í /nỳ.ũ*
 eland.3 COM:1> scrub.hare.14
 ‘Eland and Scrub hare.’
2. *lù.m à /’à-be /nỳ.ũ Oaa*
 eland.3 PAST take.SG-3> hare.14 child.34
 ‘Eland took the child of Hare.’
3. */nỳ.ũ /’à-be lù.m Oàa*
 hare.14 take.SG-3> eland.3 child.34
 ‘Hare took the child of Eland.’
4. *#nùm khàla*
 two separate
 ‘The two parted.’

5. *!ù.m 'ée Igāā*
eland.3 3PRO spend.day
'As for Eland, she spent the day.'
6. *!m̥.ũ i à l'â-be !ù.m Oàa sâa*
hare.14 1PRO PAST take.SG-3> eland.3 child.34 thither
'As for Hare, she took Eland's child away'
7. *sí dts'āā #é'e sâa #é'ee*
CONN hide COM:3PRO go COM:3PRO
and hid with it, went away with it.'
8. *!ù.m 'ée Igāā !āā ké*
eland.3 3PRO spend.day wait MPO:3PRO
'As for Eland, she waited the whole day for it,
9. *kè Oàa*
MPO:3PRO child.34
for her child,
10. *sí Igāā !āā ké Igāā !āā ké*
CONN spend.day wait MPO:3PRO spend.day wait MPO:3PRO
and waited for it and waited for it,
11. *sí kũ tē*
CONN indeed QUOT
and finally said,
12. *lē tâa āh'ā sâa #ā-n Oàa*
Q:3> person.3 be.somewhere go COM-1SG child.34
'Where did the person go with my child?'
13. *lē Iqhúa bà sīi l'â-be Oàa*
Q:3PRO NEG IMPF come take-3PRO child.34
Doesn't she come and take her child
14. *sí lū-n Oàa !nā-n*
CONN take.SG-1SG child.34 DAT-1SG
and give my child (back) to me?''
15. *èh Igāā n̄ bà tá-n Igāā n̄ bà tá-n*
3PRO spend.day ? IMPF speak-5PRO spend.day ? IMPF speak-5PRO
'She is saying it and saying it all the time.'
16. *ùh lū-n*
4PRO refuse-5PRO
'They (other people) disapproved of this
17. *sí tē*
CONN QUOT
and said,
18. *'ī'ī īh bà !nā.e*
no 1PL IMPF sing
'No! Let us all be singing

19. *èh sí ùh síi #é'e*
 3PRO CONN FUT come COM:3PRO
 so that she will bring it (back)!"
20. *lìi tē ùh sí lnā.e*
 so 4PRO CONN sing
 'So they sing
21. *sí lnā.e*
 CONN sing
 and sing.'
22. *kùma 'áã ñ láo lìi*
 curing.dance.2 2PRO ? hot STAT
 'The song is intense
23. *lúlu lèhe-sè kx'ua*
 fork.tailed.drongo.33-SG descend
 for Fork-tailed-drongo to come down.'
24. *ùh #háni mà lnā.e*
 4PRO be.up IMPF sing
 'They raise the singing.'
25. *ùh lálì-sà bà lnā.e*
 4PRO big-NOM IMPF sing
 'They sing intensively.'
26. *ùh lnúm lìi #é lúlu lèhe-sè*
 4PRO stay STAT COM:3> drongo.33-SG
 'They stay with Drongo,
27. *bé lù.m 'ée #kx'án 'ée ñmà*
 CAUS:3> eland.3 3PRO young.sibling.34 DEL.3 ID.COP
 because it is Eland's younger brother.'
28. *lúlu lèhe-sè kâ bà tǎ-ā kùma*
 drongo.33-SG BG IMPF sense-2> song.2
 'When Drongo hears the song,
29. *èh ñ bà lxãã*
 3PRO ? IMPF dance
 he is dancing,
30. *'áu tám*
 thus be.like
 this way.'
31. *lúlu lèhe-sè kx'ua #i glqhiú*
 drongo.33-SG descend COM:1> flvwhisk.14

33. *lâ.li lâ.ũ kim kí ʔà.m lâ.ũ*
 wildebeest.14 tail.22 or be:1> gemsbok.14 tail.22
 'It is a wildebeest tail or a gemsbok tail.'
34. *hàkiri glqhiú ke sũ bà l'â-be lù.m 'éè Oàa 'éè*
 'isn't it' flywhisk.14 be:3PRO come IMPF take-3> eland.3 3PRO child.34 DEL.3
 'You see, it's a flywhisk with which he comes fetching this child of Eland.'
35. *lũ tê lulu lèhe-sè kâ bà kx'ua ʔi glqhiú tũ'i*
 so drongo.33-SG BG IMPF descend COM:1> flywhisk.14 DEL.1
 'So Drongo when descending with this flywhisk
36. *sí dtshòhũ kâ kũma táa'ã ʔi glqhiú tũ'i*
 CONN stamp.2> dance.2 DEL.2 COM:1> flywhisk.14 DEL.1
 and stamping this dance with this flywhisk,
37. *'neh'è tũu dtshòhũ kâ sáa*
 right.then be.involved.in stamp:2PRO go
 right then was stamping and went away.'
38. *èh làa tshxũa tá 'nq-le lù.m 'éè Oàa kũ glqhiú tũ'i*
 3PRO go.off snatch take.out-3> eland.3 3PRO child.34 MPO:1> flywhisk.14 DEL.1
 'He went off to snatch away Eland's child with this flywhisk.'
39. *hàkiri lny.ũ kũ glkx'ó-e lũ*
 'isn't it' hare.14 be:1PRO carry-3PRO STAT
 'You see, it's hare carrying it (Eland's child).'
40. *lũ lù.m 'éè sí glkx'ó-e lny.ũ 'i Oàa lũ*
 so eland.3 3PRO CONN carry-3> hare.14 1PRO child.34 STAT
 'So Eland, she is carrying Hare's child
41. *ùh sí bà lxcã*
 4PRO CONN IMPF dance
 and they are dancing.'
42. *lù.m 'éè à bà tshũu*
 eland.3 3PRO PAST IMPF sit.SG
 'As for Eland, she was sitting.'
43. *lq'ái tá kx'ába*
 straight.up.suddenly get.up.SG
 'Suddenly (she) jumped up
44. *sí bà 'nq-li lny.ũ 'i Oàa*
 CONN IMPF remove-1> hare.14 1PRO child.34
 and was taking out Hare's child (from the skin she was carrying it in)
45. *sí bà lú-e lna-i lny.ũ 'i*
 CONN IMPF take.SG-3 DAT-1> hare.14 DEL.1
 and giving it to Hare.'
46. *è à bà l'â-be Oàa*
 3PRO PAST IMPF take-3PRO child.34
 'She was taking her child.'

47. *lúlu lèhe-sè kâ 'nǎ-le lù.m 'ée Oàa kǐ /nǐ.ũ*
 drongo.33-SG BG remove-3> eland.3 3PRO child.34 MPO:1> hare.14
 'When Drongo had taken Eland's child from Hare,
48. *lù.m 'ée /nǎe kx'ába*
 eland.3 3PRO CONS get.up.SG
 (only) then Eland got up
49. *ǐ /nǎe kx'ába 'nǎ-li /nǐ.ũ 'iǐ Oàa*
 CONN CONS get.up.SG remove-1> hare.14 1PRO child.34
 and surrendered Hare's child
50. *ǐ /nǎe /ù-e /ná-e*
 CONN CONS take.SG-3PRO DAT-3PRO
 and gave it to her.'
51. *è à /nǎe sáa /'à-be Oàa ké /lúlu lèhe-sè 'ée*
 3PRO PAST CONS go take-3> child.34 MPO:3> drongo.33-SG DEL.3
 'Then she went to take the child from Drongo
52. *sǐ /lúa 'nǎ-le Oàa ké /lù.m 'ée #'úm tshó.e*
 CONN take remove-3> child.34 MPO:3> eland.3 3PRO palm.22
 and took out the child from Eland's (apparently: Drongo's) palm
53. *sǐ /nǎe bà /gǐkx'ó-e*
 CONN CONS IMPF carry-3PRO
 and then was carrying it.'

3.3.2 I Xam

3.3.2.1 Structure of Unmarked Clause¹³

Unmarked clauses have the order Subject-Predicate-Object-Adjunct. Most verbs have a valence for maximally one non-subject nominal so that additional nominals usually go in the final adjunct position introduced by the multi-purpose oblique (MPO) marker *au*; accordingly, sequences of MPO adjuncts occur as in (657). Since this position can host all non-subject roles, it is best viewed as a *structural* slot defined by linear order and the term “oblique” here means a post-verbal valence-external nominal.

- (657) *lk'waa nla-ng lam u'i lhāu au lk'waa ts'axau.*
 hartebeest head-PSE take.up rise thong MPO hartebeest eye
 'The hartebeest's head removed the thong from its eye.' (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 6f.)
- (658) *hi-ng lüeng-ki l'ee lxauken au lq'a au hĩ lx'aa.*
 2PRO-PSE be.thus-? enter blood MPO stomach MPO 2PRO hand
 'They put the blood in the stomach by hand like this.' (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 278f.)

Only one basic verb has so far been found which can be followed by two post-verbal nominals without any relational gram, namely *a* 'give', as in (659).

- (659) *hĩ n/e l'a-ng a lu-koo hĩ.*
 2PRO IMPF go-? give person-other 2PRO
 'They go to give them to the other man.' (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 280f.)

Other predicates with such a pattern have their valence increased by means of the transitive-benefactive suffix *-a*, which in fact is likely to originate from *a* 'give'. Possible examples are (T27) and (T31), although the pronouns after the verbs there could also be analysed as referring to the possessor.

Nominals higher on the animacy hierarchy are regularly closer to the verb. This leads to a structure where the patient is not adjacent to the verb. If an MPO marker appears, the patient is marked more than the recipient (see T25, T29, T32, T34 where the patient nouns are clearly preceded by a possessor pronoun). In naming constructions, however, the human participant occurs at the end; such constructions are not normal transitive clauses but pertain to the domain of reported discourse.

- (660) *hĩ n/e ta lqo āa.*
 2PRO IMPF QUOT 'youth' MPO:1PRO
 'They call him *lqo*.' (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 378f.)

Like East !Xoon of Taa, !Xam is a verb-serializing language. It has an even stronger preference for keeping verbs in one uninterrupted chain followed by all post-verbal nominals (the only clear exception found so far is when this entire verb phrase is repeated to express pluractionality (T6)). This phenomenon also leads to *non-causative* sentences in which the subject of an intransitive verb is raised to be the higher clause object. This is regular with matrix verbs of perception but may also occur with other verbs.

(661) *si tang l'a-ng dō'a n/ī tēe !k'waa aa luuk-a.*
 1PLEX ?PF go-? ?can see lie hartebeest.1 IREL die-STAT
 'We did see a dead hartebeest lying there!' (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 10f.)

(662) ... *he hā lii s'oo ū*
 2REL 1PRO have sit.on MPO:2RES
 '... which (flesh.2) he has on (his body)' (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 4f.)

The order of predicate elements between subject and object is comparable to that in East !Xoon and most remarks made above also hold for !Xam. The above schema is repeated here.

I	II	III	IV
absolute deixis (spatial/temporal)	manner or concomitant event	main event	relative deixis (path/location/aspect)

The verb encoding the central state of affairs is framed by elements which convey supplementary information. Since this verb is directly preceded by the supposed imperfective marker *nle*, it can be identified more easily in such contexts. The first semantic slot contains deictic stems like *lee* and *kang*, or the altrilocal-future marker *l'aa* derived from 'go' (T27, T38). The second position encoding manner and concomitant activity is *inter alia*

established by *llxam(ki)* ‘again’ (T26), *lũeng(ki)* ‘thus’ (2), *tamOwa* ‘a little’ (T20), and by reduplicated verb stems, which are possibly nominalized forms. Some manner adverbials also appear after the main verb, for example, *aken* ‘be good > well’ or *llwẽ’i* ‘strongly, very’ (T14). The final slot for relative deixis contains such motion

and postural verbs as *s’aa* ‘come’ > ‘hither’, *ll’aa* ‘go’ > ‘thither’, *uu* ‘go away’, *u’i* ‘rise’, *lhing* ‘go out’, *l’ee* ‘enter’, *lkhee* ‘stand’, etc. Motion verbs, when employed to express a static position, are followed by an additional postural verb in order to remove its dynamic notion of path, for example, *l’ee taa* ‘enter’+‘lie’ > ‘in’.

Sometimes, elements like *kV* and *ng* follow auxiliary verbs and particles (cf., e.g., *kx’au-ki* negation, *llxam-ki* ‘again’, *ll’a-ng* ‘go and’) as well as lexical verbs, and then can interrupt a sequence of bare verb stems. They are mostly written as suffixes on the preceding element but also occur as separate orthographic words; their functional significance remains unclear.

3.3.2.2 Special Clause Types

3.3.2.2.1 Declaratives

One group of declarative sentences is unmarked in lacking formal features which characterize such sentence types as imperatives or interrogatives. However, this is not the case for the majority of declaratives. There is an enclitic element occurring after the subject noun phrase. It has a number of allomorphs: the basic form *-ken* changes to *-gen*, *-ten*, *-ng*, and *-(y)ang* after long, front, nasal vowels and nasal consonants, respectively. Bleek

(1928–30: 87f.) treats it under “case” and calls the relevant noun forms “emphatic nominatives”, without making clear what this means; an analysis of such clauses across the surveyed texts reveals that this *-ken* marks neither case nor focus. It shows, however, a strong tendency to be absent in the following contexts: complement and relative clauses, clauses with predication focus or marked modality features, and clauses introduced by the conjunctive elements *taa*, *he (ee)*, *he ti hing ee*, *he tiken ee*. (These elements introduce either background clauses or what underlyingly are relative clauses; see below.) In other words, *-ken* is largely restricted to assertive contexts suggesting that it is a marker of declarative sentences. There are sentences with an apparent *ken*-allomorph, albeit rare vis-à-vis the general picture, which are not declarative in the conventional sense as, for example, the interrogative in (664) below. Such cases do not necessarily preclude the declarative hypothesis, for two reasons. First, an apparent instance of *-ken* may turn out to be another gram with the same surface form. Second, if such a clause indeed contains the *-ken* in question, this could still be reconciled with the proposed analysis, because cases of declarative markers in interrogatives exist (see Sadock and Zwicky 1985: 166f.). An alternative approach is to analyse the marker as indicating entity-central theticity in terms of Sasse (1987). Since identifying markers of sentence type, attitude, and information structure is a generally difficult issue and the surveyed data are still relatively limited, I will provisionally gloss the postsubject enclitic *-ken* neutrally as PSE.

3.3.2.2.2 Questions

The particles *ba*, *xa*, *nlu* (or *lnũ*) in post-subject position give to a clause a general irrealis meaning of doubt and are also used to mark polar questions as in (673) below. It is not clear whether there are functional differences between the three markers in the interrogative domain except that only *nlu* seems to occur in contexts of indirect questions, as in (663).

- (663) ...*au hã l'aa lx'o'en glau'e lk'e ti ee*
 CONN 1PRO go look.at seek people matter.2REL 2REL
lk'e nlu l'aa l'en-a ha !khoa
 people Q go dwell-?TR 1DEI water.1
 '... he goes looking for the people, whether they went to dwell at that water' (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 380f.)

Content questions also employ the above markers but display, in addition, interrogative pro-forms in place of the questioned constituents. Most of them are transparently composed of an abstract noun denoting the onomasiological category of the questioned term and the final element *de*, conveniently translated as 'which'. Such forms are *lude* 'who' (< 'which person', additional form *ludi*), *tsade* 'what, why' (< 'which thing', additional form *tsara*), and *tide* 'where' (< 'which place'). Compare (664) and (665).

- (664) *nlein-yang nlu nla ti-de?*
 house-PSE Q be.at place-which
 'Where is the house?' (Bleek 1928–30: 168)

- (665) *lu-di xa aa nlaa lutau?*
 person.1-which Q 1TF see sirius
 'Who was it who saw Sirius?' (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 338f.)

Like East !Xoon *āh'ǎ*, the element *de* also conveys ‘where’, as in (666), so that it seems to be an indefinite existential predicate to be translated as ‘be somewhere’. Therefore, it is likely that the adnominal notion ‘which’ is also triggered in !Xam by the co-occurrence of the non-referential locative *de* and a general interrogative marker.

(666) *a xa de?*
 2SG Q be.somewhere
 ‘Where art thou?’ (Bleek 1928–30: 168)

3.3.2.2.3 Imperatives

Imperative clauses generally lack a subject and have the plain stem of the verb in sentence-initial position. However, if the addressee is expressed, subject inversion takes place: the second person pronouns (*a* singular, *u* plural) follow the verb phrase, as in (667); they are mostly written as suffixes on the verb.

(667) *!ann lwē'i-yu au !ō'ing!*
 hold strongly-2PL MPO old.man
 ‘Grasp you the old man firmly!’ (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 48f.)

3.3.2.3 Biclausal Periphrases

There is a set of auxiliary verbs which require a bisected predicative expression in that both the initial auxiliary and the following propositional main verb display a subject nominal referring to the same referent. Those found in the surveyed texts are: *mǫ'i* ‘do first’ (T10, T11), *ll'ēi* ‘do oneself’; *ka, ta* ‘intend, do soon’; *!āna* ‘do repeatedly’; *llxǎ* ‘do again, also’; *lũe da* ‘do thus’ (669). (Slightly different forms of the last two items, i.e.

llxam(ki) and *lǔeng(ki)*, have been discussed above in connection with the manner-slot II not requiring subject copy.)

Matrix and dependent clause need not agree regarding the occurrence of the postsubject enclitic. This can have different reasons. In example (668), the matrix does and the second predicate does not have the enclitic. The construction with the auxiliary *ta* is a declarative utterance, but derives from a configuration in which a predicative encoding intention controls an irrealis clause. The fact that irrealis clauses are not declarative seems to motivate the lack of *-ken*.

(668) *lu-koo-ken kx'auki n/e ta hã lu'iten.*
 person.1-other-PSE NEG IMPF do.soon lPRO return
 'The other is not going to return soon.' (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 380f.)

There are also cases where the subject enclitic occurs only in the second predicate, as in (669). Here, the higher clause is in the scope of a relative marker – a syntactic environment imposing restrictions on the occurrence of *-ken*, but the declarative sentence type is semantically relevant for the entire periphrasis, which possibly triggers the appearance of *-ken* in the lower predicate.

(669) *ti ee n/lu-tara lue da hã-ng #aken mĩ*
 matter.2 2REL elder-female.1 thus do lPRO-PSE speak MPO:2RES
 'the same manner in which the old woman spoke.' (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 46f.)

3.3.2.3.1 Nominal Predicates and Copulatives

Bleek (1956: 1, 35) gives both *a* and *e* as copulative elements. While on account of their forms it is tempting to associate them with the two agreement classes, there

are counter-examples. The general picture remains inconclusive and is complicated by two factors: there exists the formally similar verbal deictic *a* ‘be here’ and it remains unclear whether equational and identificational clauses are formally distinct. The available data only allow the secure identification of the copula *e*, as shown in (670) and (671).

- (670) *au loo-wa-ken n/e e loo*
 CONN milky.way.2-DEF-PSE IMPF COP milky.way.2
au hī sing e lu’i.
 CONN 2PRO PAST.HAB COP ashes
 ‘The milky way is becoming what it is, while it used to be ashes.’ (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 72f.)
- (671) *!k’waa kx’auki e.*
 hartebeest.1 NEG COP
 ‘It’s not a hartebeest.’ (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 4f.)

3.3.2.3.2 Clauses with Marked Information Structure

The clauses treated so far were mostly categorical statements where some state of affairs, the predicate, is attributed to some nominal entity, the subject or predication base. This information structure is not universal. !Xam seems to distinguish more configurations of information structure inside the clause by means of several morphosyntactic devices.

A construction of the cleft type can be used if a nominal constituent is the most salient information: this nominal is fronted and set off from the rest of the clause by the agreeing relative-term focus marker, as in (T35), (T37), and (672).

(672) *g!hwaxu-ken lu taa.*
 sky-PSE PAST lie
 ‘The sky lay (still).’

l̥a-l̥uat-a-ken lu ee t̥ai l̥’aa.
 PL-star-?DEF-PSE PAST 2TF walk thither
 ‘The stars travelled along.’ (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 74f.)

The relative-term focus marker, which might be a contraction of a copula and the deictic pronouns *hã* (class 1) and *he* (class 2), serves as a syntactic pivot in the bisected structure and also occurs in content questions, as in (665) above, and in relative clauses (see below). It is important to note that this construction not only occurs with contrastive focus, but seems to serve generally for the creation of an initial clause position whose nominal filler is in some way pragmatically sensitive (cf. Güldemann 2010).

Predication focus seems to be expressed by *kang* (*tang* after front vowels), placed in the same position as the subject enclitic. The sentence pair below is instructive: children report to their parents their adventure with the trickster. Trying to make sense of the story, the parents first express a conjecture (673); having heard the whole story they confirm what they had suspected from the very beginning (674).

(673) *u ba sing se lu l̥’aa l̥’āa hoo !ō’ing !agen?*
 2PL Q IRR SUBJ PAST go take.up old.man trickster
 ‘Have you perhaps gone to carve up the old man !Agen?’ (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 12f.)

(674) *u kang lu ee l̥’a-ng l̥’āa li-li !ō’ing !angdoro!’*
 2PL PF PAST 2TF go-? carve.up ?-get old.man tinderbox.owner
 ‘You did go and carve up the old man !Angdoro!’ (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 12f.)

There is also a kind of presentational clause marked by an element *llQang* occurring after the subject enclitic as

in (T1). Sentences marked by it frequently start a discourse or introduce a new discourse topic. While they are often akin to so-calledthetic statements, the precise function of this particle must be clarified on the basis of more extensive data.

3.3.2.4 Clause Linkage

3.3.2.4.1 Coordinate Clauses

The particle *au* is a functionally versatile element. Apart from being indistinguishable from the MPO marker it is a kind of default connector of sentences. The clause relation can but need not be sequential. (Con)sequential linkage is overtly conveyed by the complex conjunctives *he ti hing ee*, *he tiken ee*, *he (ee)* ‘therefore, so, then’. Their surface forms betray the fact that they are copulatives which contain or notionally refer to the class 2 noun *ti* ‘place, matter, way’. Syntactically speaking, the entire complex sentence is a cleft construction with a non-subject relative clause (see below) based on the antecedent noun *ti*, literally something like ‘this is (the matter) why ... , when ...’. That the construction is underlyingly a relative structure is also clear from the fact that the class 2 resumptive pronoun *ĩi* usually closes the sentence, especially with the two long forms with overt *ti* (T12, T40).

These complex expressions have a high text frequency, although their appearance is that of paragraph markers rather than mere conjunctives. It can be conjectured that this is an artifact of Bleek and Lloyd’s method of text elicitation which must have resulted in an unnatural communicative setting for the speaker. By necessity,

they had these long texts dictated sentence by sentence, in many interrupted working sessions, sometimes taking several weeks. It is likely, then, that the high frequency of these marked linkers betrays the impeded flow of speech on the part of the narrators who could only take up the thread of discourse after the previous phrase had been written down.

3.3.2.4.2

Complement Clauses and Related Constructions

In combinations of two clauses where the second clause can be conceived of as the notional object of the verb in the first clause, there are no clear signs that the second clause is a syntactic argument of the initial matrix, so the relation between the two clauses should not be viewed as proper subordination. This linkage type can be achieved by mere juxtaposition; this seems to be frequent when the second clause is irrealis (T24+25, T33+34). Also some of the biclausal periphrases discussed above can be viewed as grammaticalized cases of this type of juxtaposition.

There is also a syndetic linkage type exemplified in (663) above and again in (675), which seems to be restricted to factive clauses after verbs of locution, cognition, perception, etc.; the marker *ti ee* is literally ‘matter which’ (cf. the coordinators discussed above).

- (675) *hā !x'wqin-ya hā xo'a ti ee hā xo'a*
 IPRO be.angry-TR IPRO mother matter.2 2REL IPRO mother
kx'auki a hā !huing eng-eng ee !x'wai-ya.
 NEG give IPRO plant.name PL-root 2REL be.abundant-STAT
 ‘She was angry with her mother that she had not given her enough *!huing* roots.’ (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 76f.)

Reported discourse directly follows the intransitive speech verb *#aken* or semantically less transparent elements like *ka* or *ku'i*. In particular, *ku'i* is a quite versatile predicative which generally marks mimetic expressions (Bleek 1928–30: 171).

3.3.2.4.3 Relative Clauses

A relative clause is introduced by the class-sensitive relative focus markers *aa*, *ee*, if it immediately follows the head noun, e.g. (661) and (669) above, and by the deictic pronouns *hã*, *he* if separated from its antecedent, as in (676).

(676) *kum-ang aa a ha ng #ak-a haa ha.*
 matter.1-PSE 1TF be.here 1REL 1SG speak-TR 2SG.OBL 1RES
 ‘This is what I tell you.’ (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 46f.)

Subject relative clauses as in (661) lack a subject constituent; it is recoverable from the co-referential head noun. Object relatives are more complex in that they have a separate subject, and are closed by a second pronoun referring back to the antecedent, indicating the right margin of the embedded structure. This pronoun can occur with (662, 669) and without (676) the MPO marker. Since this seems to depend on the valence of the verb, this pronoun appears to be treated syntactically according to the function of the head noun in the relative clause, hence the gloss “resumptive pronoun”.

In certain contexts, however, it does not occur. In (677), for example, the relative clause depends on the conjunctive *he ti hing ee* and is itself followed by a complex constituent, namely a string of reported discourse (indicated by [...]).

(677) *he ti hi-ng ee ha-ng n/le †aken [...]*
 2DEI matter.2 2PRO-PSE 2REL 1PRO-PSE IMPF speak
 ‘so he says, ...’ (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 50f.)

3.3.2.4.4 Adverbial Clauses

The information on how the different relations in adverbial hypotaxis are expressed is largely incomplete. In general, simple and complex conjunctives can be identified. The default linker *au* possibly conveys temporal clauses; it is often translated by Bleek and Lloyd as ‘while’. Reason clauses and semantically similar background clauses are introduced by the element *taa* (T26, T35, T37), cf. (681). Notions like ‘usually when’, ‘whenever’, ‘if’, which focus on the (regular) temporal coincidence of two states of affairs, can be expressed by the verb *nllau* followed itself by a complex sentence. The first clause after the auxiliary would contain the background information and often be introduced by the default linker *au*. Example (678) illustrates the alternative without this *au*.

(678) *hā-ng n/au hā kook-a lu-koo hā-ng ka leng.*
 1PRO-PSE do.this 1PRO love-?STAT person.1-other 1PRO-PSE QUOT mate
 ‘If one likes somebody, one says ‘/eng’.’ (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 8f.)

Another type of reason clause is marked by the conjunctive [au S *ta ti (ee)*]: *au* is the default connective, *ta* is a predicative expressing an experience (either some internal awareness of its subject or some sensation emanating from it), and the final *ti (ee)* is the complementizer treated above. The whole expression could be translated as something like ‘realizing, having the idea that’ or ‘giving the sensation that’. The co-reference relation of its subject vis-à-vis the relevant nominals in main and dependent clause depends largely

on the particular sense in which *ta* is used. The subject of *ta-* in (T22+23), for example, is co-referential with both the main and the dependent clause subject so that the pattern is ‘they leave they thinking they return’. In (T16+17), the subject of *ta* is only co-referential with the dependent clause subject resulting in ‘it is abundant they doing they anoint’. The subordinate clause after the *ta*-predicate encodes the reason for the state of affairs in the matrix and is factive.

Non-factivity is the major characteristic of the formally related conjunctive of purpose [*au S ta*]. It lacks the complementizer *ti* (*ee*) and is followed by an irrealis subjunctive clause (cf. T14+15 and T17+18).

Purpose clauses can also be achieved by the plain sequence of a matrix and a following irrealis clause; this can also yield the related reading ‘until’, as in (679).

(679) *u kpa-ng s'ang !e-!e lō'ing lō'ing se Ooin tēe.*
 2PL OBL-? CONT PL-wait sun sun SUBJ sleep lie.down
 ‘You must wait for Sun until he lies down to sleep.’ (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 44f.)

3.3.2.5 Noun Phrase

3.3.2.5.1 Noun Coordination

Nouns are coordinated by the comitative marker *hing* (T34, T41) or the more complex *hing ko'a* (T26). Devices for expressing ‘or’ have not been identified so far.

3.3.2.5.2 Head–Modifier Constructions

With the exception of genitives, noun phrases are head-initial in that modifying attributes follow the nucleus. Apart from the fact that relative clauses come

last, nothing definitive can be said about the relative order of the different modifiers, because there are only a few tokens in the available data where they co-occur.

There are three types of genitive constructions which are all head-final. The most simple one is when modifier and head are merely juxtaposed. This strategy is used first of all, though not exclusively, to encode inalienable possession. It is also employed in locative expressions where a relational noun is used as the head of a complex nominal.

- (680) *au hā-ng !aten-laten bā'-ya !uiri lai'e.*
 CONN 1PRO-PSE PL-trot race-TR riverbed inside
 'And he ran with all his might into the river bed.' (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 12f.)

Another type of noun attribution encoding alienable relations inserts a gram *ka* (*ga* after long and *ta* after front vowels, respectively) between modifier and head, as in (T23).

Finally, there is the construction introduced above for East !Xoon of Taa as the possessor–pro-form strategy. It does not correlate with an alienable–inalienable distinction. It seems to be often, though not invariably, triggered by a syntactically complex possessor satellite. In (681), for example, the possessor 'her father' is modified by a subject relative clause.

- (681) *taa hā lu hī hā o'a aa nlu-kx'o hā !khwai.*
 BG 1PRO PAST eat 1PRO father.1 1REL elder-male 1PRO game
 'For, she ate the game of her father, who was an old man.'
 (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 76f.)

3.3.2.5.3 Reference Tracking

An intricate task, often unresolved in Bleek and Lloyd's translations of the IXam texts, is to determine what referent is referred to by a third person pronoun or a generic noun. This is *inter alia* caused by the fact that there are only two agreement classes which do not encode consistently such disambiguating features as number and gender, and by the absence of a genuine reflexive pronoun. Apparently, speakers relied on other strategies of reference tracking, which are not yet understood completely.

One interesting device can, however, be discerned from the second half of the sample text (T21 onwards). Note that in this text there are two central referents, namely the two exchange partners (indexed here as X, the one who provides the specularite and ochre, and Y, the one who provides the bags). If these and other singular human referents had to be referred to by the only possible pronoun *ha* of class 1, there would be considerable potential for confusion. The solution in the text is that a reference change is encoded by the consistent alternation between *hã_y* 'he', referring to Y, which is the person primarily talked about, and *!ukoo_x* 'other', which is introduced in this form in (T22). Only when X occurs for a second time in a clause, for example, as a reflexive possessor, is (s)he referred to by an unmarked class 1 pronoun (T25, T29, T34, T39).

While reference tracking as a whole is not yet fully understood, the pattern described above seems to be functionally similar to a so-called "obviation" system. That is, the speaker introduces the referents in the discourse but chooses at any one time only one referent

as the central character talked about; this is encoded by a normal anaphoric pronoun (in the text Y). Provided there is no change in the speaker's vantage point, all other referents (in the text X and the wife of Y) are referred to by fuller lexical forms.

This principle may even be applied to contexts where most languages would use a pronoun. This can be seen in (657) above: since the hartebeest is not the main story character, a lexical copy, rather than an anaphoric pronoun, can even show up in the role of a reflexive possessor.

Sample text

1. *lhara lqang ee lee lho'ak-a*
 specularite.2 PRES 2TF DEL.1 be.black-STAT
 'Specularite is black.' [perhaps *n/e* instead of *lee*, cf. (T3)]
2. *!k'e-ten tam ñi hĩ n/a-ng ñi*
 people.2-PSE anoint ? 2PRO head.2-? MPO:2PRO
 'People anoint their heads with it.'
3. *au too-gen n/e !ii-ya*
 CONN red.ochre.2-PSE IMPF be.red-STAT
 'But ochre is red.'
4. *he !k'e !x'au'i hĩ eng-eng ñi*
 2DEI people.2 rub 2PRO PL-body.part MPO:2PRO
 'Those people rub their body with it.'
5. *au hĩ !au hĩ*
 CONN 2PRO pound 2PRO
 'They pound it.'
6. *hĩ n/e !au hĩ !au hĩ !au hĩ*
 2PRO IMPF pound 2PRO pound 2PRO pound 2PRO
 'They pound it, and pound it, and pound it.'
7. *hĩ n/e !x'au'i hĩ eng-eng ñi*
 2PRO IMPF rub 2PRO PL-body.part MPO:2PRO
 'They rub their body with it.'
8. *hĩ n/e !au lhara*
 2PRO IMPF pound specularite.2
 'They pound specularite.'
9. *hĩ n/e tam hĩ n/aa*
 2PRO IMPF anoint 2PRO head
 'They anoint their heads.'
10. *au hĩ mǫ'i hĩ !au too*
 CONN 2PRO do.first 2PRO pound ochre.2
 'But they first pound ochre.'
11. *hĩ n/e mǫ'i hĩ !x'au'i hĩ eng-eng au too*
 2PRO IMPF do.first 2PRO rub 2PRO PL-body.part MPO ochre.2
 'They first rub their body with ochre.'
12. *he hĩ n/e !au lhara ñi*
 then 2PRO IMPF pound specularite.2 MPO:2PRO
 'Then they pound specularite.'
13. *hĩ n/e tam hĩ n/aa*
 2PRO IMPF anoint 2PRO head
 'They anoint their heads.'

14. *hī n/e tam ku'i aken hwē'i hī n/aa*
 2PRO IMPF anoint MIM be.good very 2PRO head
 'They anoint their heads very carefully'
15. *au hī ta hī n/aa lkhu-wa se lkho'e*
 CONN 2PRO EXP 2PRO head hair.2-?DEF SUBJ ?go.down
 so that their head's hair grows downwards.'
16. *he hī n/e lu'i ī*
 then 2PRO IMPF be.abundant MPO:2PRO
 'So it becomes abundant.'
17. *au hī ta ti hī tam ī hī n/aa*
 CONN 2PRO EXP matter 2PRO anoint MPO:2PRO 2PRO head
 because they anoint their heads
18. *au hī ta lkhu-k-a se lu lkho'e*
 CONN 2PRO EXP hair-?PL-?DEF SUBJ grow ?go.down
 so that the hair may grow downwards.'
19. *hī n/aa se di ku lkho kx'ueriten au lho'aken-lho'aken*
 2PRO head SUBJ become ? ?become darken MPO NOM-be.black
 'Their heads are to become dark because of the blackness.'
20. *au hī n/aa kx'au tamOua lho'ak-a*
 CONN 2PRO head NEG a.little be.black-STAT
 'Their heads are really black.'
21. *he hī n/e lu'iten*
 then 2PRO IMPF return
 'Then they return.'
22. *au hī n/e lhing lu-koo*
 CONN 2PRO IMPF leave person.1-other
 'They leave the other person_x
23. *au hī ta ti hī n/e lu'iten hī ta nlei-ng*
 CONN 2PRO EXP matter 2PRO IMPF return 2PRO GEN house-?
 because they return to their hut.'
24. *au hī tak-a lu-koo āa*
 CONN 2PRO speak-TR person.1-other MPO:1PRO
 'They inform the other_x about it (< *kum* 'matter.1')
25. *lu-koo se d-a hī āa lhara hing ko'a too*
 person.1-other SUBJ make-BEN 2PRO MPO:1PRO specularite.2 COM also ochre.2
 that he_x should prepare for them (more of) his_x specularite as well as ochre.
26. *taa hā l'aa l'aa*
 BG 1PRO do.again-? go
 as he_y also goes [to say]
27. *'aiti se l'aa luak-a hā lho-lho*
 female SUBJ go make.soft-BEN 1PRO PL-bag
 that the wife is to prepare bags for him_y

28. *lho-lho ee hā se l'xam-ki lii s'aa lu-koo hī*
 PL-bag 2REL 1PRO 1TF SUBJ do.again-? take hither person.1-other 2PRO
 bags which he_y is to offer in exchange to the other_x.
29. *au lu-koo aa se l'xam-ki lu-wa hā āa lhara*
 CONN person.1-other 1TF SUBJ do.also-? put-BEN 1PRO MPO:1PRO specularite.2
the other one_x should in turn put aside for him_y his_x specularite.'
30. *au lu-koo-wa l'xō'a lhara*
 CONN person.1-other-?DEF collect specularite.2
 'This person_x collects specularite
31. *he lu-koo n/e s'aa lu-wa hā lhara*
 then person.1-other IMPF come put-BEN 1PRO specularite.2
 and stores the specularite for him_y.'
32. *au hā l'xam-ki luaken lu lii-ya lu-koo*
 CONN 1PRO do.also-? make.soft put get-BEN person.1-other
āa lho-lho
 MPO:1PRO PL-bag
 'He_y in turn prepares his_y bags for the other_x (or probably passive: he_y in turn having his_y bags prepared for the other one_x).'
33. *au hā tak-a lu-koo āa*
 CONN 1PRO speak-TR person.1-other MPO:1PRO
 'He_y tells him_x about it
34. *lu-koo kōaa s'ang l'xam-ki lii s'aa hā*
 person.1-other OBL CONT do.also-? take hither 1PRO
āa lhara hing too
 MPO:1PRO specularite.2 COM ochre.2
 that he_x must bring him_y in exchange his_x specularite and ochre.'
35. *taa hā aa sing l'aa lu-koo*
 BG 1PRO 1TF PAST.HAB go person.1-other
 'After all, he_y used to go to the other_x.'
36. *he hā kx'auki s'ang n/e s'e lu-koo*
 then 1PRO NEG CONT IMPF come person.1-other
 'So he_y would not be coming to him_x.'
37. *taa lu-koo aa s'ang n/e l'e hā*
 BG person.1-other 1TF CONT IMPF go 1PRO
 because **the other_x** would be going to **him_y**.'
38. *lu-koo se l'aa lā lho-lho*
 person.1-other SUBJ go take PL-bag
 'He_x is to go and fetch (? 'from him_y', lā < lii-hā 'take+1PRO') the bags
39. *au lu-koo-wa lii l'aa hā too*
 CONN person.1-other-?DEF take thither 1PRO ochre.2
 while he_x brings his_x ochre there.'

40. *he ti-ken ee !u-koo ka-g n/e l'xam-ki ï*
 2DEI matter.2-PSE 2REL person.1-other ?-? IMPF do.also-? MPO:2PRO
 'So the other one_x is going to (?pay a visit) in return.'
41. *hã n/e lii l'aa !u-koo too hing lhara*
 1PRO IMPF take thither person.1-other ochre.2 COM specularite.2
 'He_y takes from him_x the ochre and specularite.'

3.4 Eastern #Hoan

Henry Honken[†]

For details regarding #Hoan syntax, see section 3.4.11 in [Chapter 6](#).

3.5 Kwadi¹⁴

Tom Güldemann

3.5.1 Clause Structure

Kwadi seems to be a consistent SOV language. Sometimes an element occurs between object and verb, which could represent a relational gram.

(682) *Ta sa-le kwaditfi'e lanja.*
 1SG 2SG-? Kwadi teach
 'I (?am to) teach you Kwadi.'

(683) *Ala kɔ-la 'ju.*
 1PL meat-? eat
 'We eat meat.'

Negation is expressed by *tçala*, *tçela*, *tçele*, *kçele*, occurring after the subject, and a verbal suffix on the simple stem.

(684) *Ta tçala ka kx'a-la.*
 1SG NEG FUT drink-?NEG
 'I shall not drink.'

Very little can be said about questions. In polar questions, no segmental change seems to be required, as in (685); the question whether *tçala* in (686) is the above negative gram or an interrogative sentence type marker cannot be answered.

(685) *Sa ùnda-t'-ñũ?*

2SG EXT-?-eat

'Have you eaten?'

(686) *Hamu tçala kō? Ee hamu kō!*
 1DU ? go yes 1DU go
 'Shall/may we two go?' 'Yes, let's go!'

Copulative and possessive predicates are also poorly represented in the data. Equational and locative copulatives cannot be identified clearly. The element *ya* before a number of nominals could be an identificational copula 'it is'. Predicative possession is encoded in a clause-final string, which possibly co-varies with subject features and tense and

which mostly displays an element *ka*. The most frequent forms are *kalena* as in (687) and, seemingly in negative contexts, *kanani*.

(687) *Ta tfi lã mupa-wa kalena.*
 1SG 1SG.POSS two friend-DU have
 ‘I have (my) two friends.’

3.5.2 Noun Phrase Structure

The encountered constructions involving a noun and a modifier are all head-final and without a special form of linkage. The only types of modifier found in the data are possessor pronouns, deictics, quantifiers, and attributive adjectives. It is not clear whether the frequent examples with number and sex encoded by both a modifier and a gender–number suffix as in (688) are a characteristic of the language or an artifact of data elicitation. Some adjectives seem to index number as in (689) and possibly also gender.

(688) *lã tyena ya-wa kx'o kho-de*
 two big thing-DU male person-M.SG
 ‘two big things’ ‘male person’

(689) *n/wifi kie tçe n/wina tala kwa'e*
 small woman small women
 ‘small woman’ ‘small women’

Associative constructions do not seem to distinguish alienable and inalienable relations.

(690) *tfi hanyu vs. tfi lamo*
 1SG.POSS father's.brother 1SG.POSS knife
 ‘my father's brother’ ‘my knife’

Locative phrases display suffixes and/or postpositions; some postpositions are possibly derived from relational nouns (cf. *tshō* ‘front’ in (691) with *tshũ-* ‘head’).

(691)	<i>phele</i>	<i>tshō.m-ba</i>	<i>Tshō</i>	<i>kha.βa</i>	<i>pe!</i>
	house	front-LOC	front	LOC	put
	‘in front of the house’		‘Put in front!’		

Notes

1 From a conversation about an old woman who had senile dementia and would go to the bush and sleep there.

2 We wish to thank Tom Güldemann for many valuable suggestions made on an earlier version of this chapter. Our thanks are also due to the !Xun people who assisted us during our field research in Namibia, and to the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (German Research Society) for having sponsored the work on which this chapter is based.

3 W2 “ll” is a retroflex, alveo-palatal, forward-released click corresponding regularly to palatal clicks in other dialects.

4 For (453a–b) the proper translation should be: ‘They are Khwe having killed a kudu.’

5 The singular forms end in *-e* instead of *-i*.

6 *Idem*.

7 Note that the subordinate sentence contains the main verb (‘he refuses’).

8 It seems as if the PGN marker *zi* is repeated, but in the main sentence *zi* is a PGN-7 marker, while in the dependent sentence it is a PGN-1 marker. It marks the object in the main sentence and the subject in the dependent sentence.

9

á has the allomorphs [á ~ já ~ wá] which are phonologically conditioned: [já] occurs after /i, ï/, [wá] after /u, ũ/, and [á] elsewhere.

10 *ĩĩχò* is etymologically analysed as *ĩĩ* and *χò*; the original meaning of *ĩĩ* is unclear, but *χò* means ‘thing, matter, place’.

11 The word *máã* is related to the interrogative clitic *má*, which is used for the identification construction outlined in 3.2.6.8.1.

12 Acknowledgements and sources as in [Chapter 6](#), section 3.3.1. Numbers in parentheses refer to examples, if preceded by T these are found in the sample text.

13 If preceded by T, examples are from the sample text taken from L. Lloyd’s research notes which are deposited in the “Manuscripts and Archives Department (University of Cape Town)” (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 374–77; cross-checked with Lloyd, notebook A2.1.89: 7273’-6’).

14 Sources as in section 3.5 of [Chapter 4](#).

References

Bala 1998; Berger 1943; D.F. Bleek 1928–30, 1956; Bleek and Lloyd 1911; Dickens 1991, 1994, 1997, 2005; Dickens and Traill 1977; Eaton 2002, 2005; Frawley 1992; Güldemann 2000b; Güldemann and Vossen 2000; Haacke 1977, 1979, 1985, 1986, 1992a, 1992b; Hagman 1977; Heikkinen 1986, 1987, n.d.; Heine 1975c, 1986, 1997; Heine and König 2012; Jelinek 1984; Kießling 2002; Kilian-Hatz and Naude 1999; Köhler 1962, 1971a,

1973, 1981, 1989, 1991; Maingard 1962; Meinhof 1930; Miller-Ockhuizen and Sands 1999; Moritz 1963; Rust 1965; Sadock and Zwicky 1985; Sasse 1987; Silberbauer 1981; Snyman 1970, 1997; Traill 1994; Vedder 1910/11; Vossen 1997a; Widlok 1997.

Chapter Eight

Language Contact and Sociolinguistics

Since time immemorial the southern African subcontinent was inhabited by speakers of mainly two – genetically unrelated – linguistic groupings: Khoesan and Bantu. While the former have traditionally been divided into herders (Khoekhoe) on the one hand, and hunter-gatherers (San) on the other, the latter are generally referred to as agro-pastoralists or mixed farmers. To the best of our knowledge, Khoesan speakers had long been distributed over much, if not all, of southern Africa when, probably more than 2,000 years ago, the first Bantu-speaking immigrants from the north arrived there.

Three of the ten sections of this chapter deal with some major aspects of the Khoesan-Bantu encounters and the traces that these have left behind in modern languages. While J.A. Louw (section 1) discusses earlier periods of the history of contacts with particular reference to Khoe and Nguni (Southeast Bantu) in what is South Africa today, Gabriele Sommer (section 2) and Wilhelm J.G. Möhlig (section 3) focus on most probably more recent Khoe-Bantu interactions in the larger Kavango area (Southwest Bantu) of Namibia and Botswana.

Not long after the advent of the first Europeans in the coastal areas of South Africa, i.e. roughly from the seventeenth century onwards, a third language component became part and parcel of the overall history of contacts in southern Africa: Dutch and, later on, Dutch-based Afrikaans. In section 4 Hans den Besten

highlights major issues of South African Khoekhoe in contact with Dutch/Afrikaans, whereas Wilfrid H.G. Haacke (Nama/Damara, section 5) and Thomas Widlok (Hailom, section 7) outline the essentials of Namibian Khoekhoe in contact with Afrikaans. Of a very recent origin are the Afrikaans-based, contact-induced changes as described in Amanda Miller's contribution on Northern Khoesan Jul'hoan (section 6).

At no time in history, one may assume, were language contact situations in southern Africa confined to Khoesan-Bantu or Khoesan-Dutch/Afrikaans interactions. Given the long-term presence of Khoesan speakers in this part of Africa, it would come as a real surprise if there had been no linguistic impact whatsoever among the Khoesan languages themselves. However, this is almost impossible to demonstrate for the pre-Bantu era, and is still difficult enough with respect to later periods. Tom Güldemann's contribution (section 8) is an interesting attempt, though, to point to the lines along which future research on Khoesan-internal contacts could be carried out.

Against the background of a current Khoesan presence in East Africa (Sandawe, Hadza), an investigation of Khoesan impact in that part of the continent suggests itself. In section 9 Christopher Ehret deals with interactions between extinct Khoesan-speaking communities on the one hand, and early Southern Cushitic, Kuliak ("Rub") and Yaaku (Eastern Cushitic) speech communities on the other. In view of the great time-depth involved, the author's conclusions are drawn largely from linguistic reconstruction.

The final section, 10, begins with a summary of features of the current sociolinguistic situation of Khoesan-speaking communities in southern Africa (Gabriele Sommer). It is followed by the presentation of the Haillom case as a specific situation (Thomas Widlok).

1

The Impact of Khoesan on Southern Bantu

J.A. Louw

1.1 Introduction

Since the earliest contacts with the Cape Nguni (Xhosa) most travellers, missionaries and linguists became aware of the influence of Khoe on the Southern Bantu dialects. The influence of San, the “Bush people”, was not so apparent to the first observers. This name, San, which the Khoe applied to them, is considered by them to be a derogatory term, emphasising their lowly status as collectors of the bounties of nature. However, one of the oldest place names from the seventeenth century near Cape Town is *Sonkwasdrif*, i.e. ‘the ford of the San people’.

One of the first linguistic observations of the impact of Khoe on a Bantu language was made in a Xhosa grammar by the missionary Boyce (1844: xi):

Thus the Kaffir, as spoken on the colonial border, has adopted the Hottentot click, which is unknown in the Sechuana dialects, except the Sitlokwe ...

A very early observer of the influence of Khoe was Colonel Gordon, a commander of the Dutch garrison at the Cape from 1780 till 1795. He spoke Khoe and was a great traveller into the interior of the Cape. He says in his published diaries translated into English by Raper and Boucher (1988-I: 114f.):

Today, and also [before] in Cafferland, I saw a number of old Hottentot graves. In addition the rivers in Cafferland, as far as I have heard, have Hottentot names. Just as we have, I think that the Kaffirs have advanced [their territory] further, since the Kaffirs say that they and all of their cattle come from the direction of the Mtamboenas.

Here we have the first evidence that the Late Iron Age Africans who entered South Africa came with their own cattle. There were some doubts expressed about this because the Nguni, Sotho, Tsonga and Venda adopted a Khoe word for cattle. As Louw (1958a) pointed out, the cattle strains of the Nguni and Sotho differ from those of the Khoe.

Mtamboenas is the river *Mthamvuna* on the border between Natal and the Eastern Cape. Many of the river names are easily recognisable as Khoe borrowings because of the clicks. The terminating feminine gender *s* in Gordon's *Mtamboenas* indicates that he must have made use of Khoe interpreters as he was fluent in their language. Many Xhosa were indeed bilingual as indicated by Gordon (1988-I: 142): "Tsaka who spoke Hottentot, asked for a gift ..." It is not surprising with the close contact between the Xhosa and Khoe that there

was a marked degree of assimilation as noticed by Gordon (1988-I: 145):

These Gounacas or Gounaqua Hottentots are larger than the other Hottentots; they have also been absorbed by the Kaffirs and have intermingled with them.

Appleyard (1850: 49) says in his important Xhosa grammar on which so many others were based that one of the great differences between Nguni and Sotho is that Nguni has

adopted *clicks*, as it is generally supposed, from the Hottentots, and in some instances words. In these respects, the kafir branch has apparently suffered more than others.

It would be wrong to suppose, however, that every word which contains a click sound is of Hottentot derivation. The fact appears to be, that the Kafirs have substituted the Hottentot clicks for other characters.

He made here an observation which has, since then, had among linguists many supporters, but also opponents. We cannot accept many of the examples he gave on the same page. Most of the examples are variations between palatal plosives or other post-alveolars and clicks. This is a variation which is also common in Nguni as we shall see. Traill (1980, 1986a) and, more recently, Traill and Vossen (1997) made several studies of the replacements in Khoe of clicks by non-clicks and we shall return to their remarks.

It seems as if San had a lesser impact on Southern Bantu. Very few words can be ascribed to them. Kropf (1889: 32) says about Rarabe after he crossed the Kei River and settled with the permission of the Khoe chieftainness Hoho in present-day Eastern Cape with his father Phalo:

Die Buschleute schaffte er aus dem Wege und vertilgte sie in ihren Höhlen und Felsenlöchern, bis er nach Kobonqaba kam. (He got the Bush people out of his way and destroyed them in their caves and caverns until he reached Kobonqaba.)

This persecution of the “Bush people” is immortalised in the praises of Rarabe and his grandson Ngqika. The lack of intimate contact between the Nguni and the “Bush people” may explain the little influence they had on one another. Doke (1926: 305) was more or less of the same opinion:

Evidently the Hottentots were strongest along the fertile south-east coast, so that it was the Zulus who came most into contact with them in the vanguard of the Bantu migration southwards, and acquired three types of click as part of this influence. It is possible also that the Zulus acquired a certain amount of this influence direct from the Bushmen, as they were to be found in close touch with them until comparatively recent times. No doubt the Sutos borrowed to a certain extent from the Zulus, but their having a retroflex nasal click points to direct contact with Bushmen influence as well.

The “Suto” is the Southern Sotho of Lesotho and the adjoining areas in the Free State, Natal and Eastern Cape. Sotho as the southernmost of the three Sotho languages shows the most Khoe and “Bush” influences, but most of it derives from later contact with Nguni. Sotho has, like Xhosa and Zulu, a special speech to express respect, used by women. It shows a marked influence of Nguni.

Sotho and Nguni are the two most southern groups of languages of Southern Bantu. Louw and Finlayson (1990) gave their attention to the time and routes of the entrance of Nguni and Sotho into South Africa. According to archaeological data, the Nguni were the first to cross the northern border of Natal. The Sotho entered further north, just south of the Limpopo River and made for the Highveld of the former Transvaal and the Free State. The Nguni came about 1000 AD and the Sotho about 1200 AD. As representatives of the Late Iron Age, they had as precursors members of the Early Iron Age who must have arrived before 300 AD. Who they were is very difficult to say, but they were probably related to early members of the present-day Shona of Zimbabwe. The Sotho is basically the people of the high plateau of South Africa and the Nguni is below the escarpment of the plateau along the regions of the south-eastern coast.

In their progress down to the Fish River, the Nguni had to cross very rough and sometimes mountainous terrain and in summer a number of not easily fordable rivers. Certain areas close to the coast were also densely forested. This country lent itself well as a terrain where

the Khoe and “Bush peoples” could defend themselves with great tenacity over a long time against any invaders.

The Nguni dialects have two main sub-divisions, the *zunda* and *tekela*, i.e. those who use a /z/ where the other would have a /t/. Southern Nguni and Zulu as *zunda* show the most marked indications of contact with Khoe and the “Bush people”. The *tekela* makes use of only the dental click /c/ and its variations; cf. Swati, the Lala dialects of Natal and Ntlangwini in the Eastern Cape.

Msimang (1989) in his thorough study of the *tekela* dialects showed that they have marked influences of Tsonga which has undergone at various times the influence of Nguni (cf. Louw and Marivate 1992: 282):

Note that not all breathy-voiced nasal compounds can be related to an underlying **mp* in Tsonga. Nouns borrowed from Nguni have *mbh* for the breathy-voiced Nguni *mb* [m^h].

Tsonga has like *tekela*, but only to a minor extent, the dental click /c/ with its variations. It has taken over from the neighbouring Zulu certain words of Khoe origin, a language with which Tsonga had no direct contact in historic times.

Venda is the connecting link with those languages north of the Limpopo River. For that matter many Venda live beyond the Limpopo River in Zimbabwe. As indicated by Finlayson (1972) Venda is a language which developed from the influence of Sotho on Shona-like dialects. The only traces of Khoe which one can find in Venda are those derived from a Sotho source.

It is by now clear that Southern Nguni, of which the peak dialect is Xhosa, showed the most influence of Khoe and “Bush”. The closely related Zulu is the other Southern Nguni language. The different Sotho languages did adopt to a lesser degree Khoe words, but with the exception of Southern Sotho they did not take over the clicks. Our study will therefore concentrate mainly on Xhosa.

1.2 The Influence of the Khoe and “Bush” Sound Systems

1.2.1 Preliminary Remarks

The clicks which occur in Khoe and “Bush” are the most obvious speech sounds which one can find in lexical items adopted from these languages. The *zunda* Nguni dialects have taken over three basic clicks with their aspirated, nasalised, prenasalised, and breathy-voiced forms. These clicks are:

c [!ʰ]: ejected dental click

q [!ʰ]: ejected alveo-palatal click

x [!ʰ]: ejected lateral click

Only the dental click occurs in the *tekela* dialects which are not contaminated by *zunda*. Xhosa, which has the longest history of an intimate association with the Khoe, has the highest percentage of lexical items from this foreign source. Zulu has less. It must be pointed out that the more northern Zulu speech forms lack in most cases the lateral click. This is also the case for the Nzundza-Manala Ndebele dialects in Gauteng and

Mpumalanga. They probably left Northern Kwazulu-Natal before the end of the seventeenth century.

It is important to remember that Khoe and “Bush” also have non-click consonants. Moreover, the Bantu languages were associated with the Khoe and “Bush” for a long time in their prehistory. One must be careful not to find Khoe influence because of certain correspondences. Only one word can be given here which shows a remarkable similarity with a starred Bantu form and its reflex in Nguni:

Nama *bous* ‘veld mouse’; cf. Guthrie (CS 194) *búgi/búgé* ‘squirrel’:

Xhosa *ibúzi* (cl. 5) ‘rat’

We shall be very careful not to force correspondence, but only take examples where the similarities are quite evident.

1.2.2 The Transfer of Syllable Peaks

Khoe and “Bush” show marked phonetic differences in the syllable peaks from the relatively simple vowel system of Southern Bantu where the usual situation is that only single vowels can act as peaks with the exception of certain sonorant consonants (liquids, nasals, trills).

The single syllabics in Khoe syllables give no problems, but the juxtaposed vowels of Khoe are usually simplified to one vowel or separated by a glide:

Nama *!arab* ‘throat; gullet’ Xhosa *umqala* (cl. 3) ‘throat’
Zulu *umqala* (cl. 3) ‘neck’

Nama *#aub* ‘peak, top’ Xhosa *incophó* (cl. 9) ‘peak, pinnacle’

“Bush” *#na^ldú* Xhosa *ukúnceda* ‘help’
‘make, do’
(Snyman 1975a) Zulu taken from Xhosa.

Nama *laiseni* Xhosa *icesina* (cl. 9a)
‘sickness’ ‘sickness’

Nama *lhao* ‘come together; congregation’ Xhosa *íCáwa* (cl. 9a)
cf. ‘Sunday’; *icáwé* (cl. 9a)
‘church’

The time when certain Khoe words were adopted can in certain cases be dated. The word for ‘church’ is one. The missionaries became active among the Xhosa during the first decade of the nineteenth century. They used Khoe interpreters, who took over Khoe words when there was not a Xhosa word. The class 9a prefix *i-* on nouns indicates that they are foreign adaptations.

The vowel cluster /ai/ becomes /e/ according to the rule of vowel coalescence in Nguni. The same rule applies when Khoe /au/ becomes /o/. Much more can be said, but the above examples ought to give an idea of how the Khoe vowels were adapted to Xhosa.

Khoe has the syllabic bilabial nasal *m* [m̥] which influenced the phonology of Xhosa very strongly. Nearly all examples of *mu* become a syllabic bilabial nasal in Xhosa. In many adaptations this syllabic nasal was taken over, except when it is transposed to an intervocalic position in the Xhosa adoption:

	Xhosa <i>úkhurúsha</i> ‘interpret’
Nama <i>khom</i> ‘speak’	Zulu <i>úkuhumúsha/úkukhumúsha</i> ‘interpret’
Nama <i>lam</i> ‘void urine’	Xhosa <i>ukúchama</i> ‘void urine’ Zulu <i>ukúchama</i> ‘void urine’

1.2.3

The Transposing of Non-Click Consonants

There are many lexical items in Khoé without clicks. Quite a number of these were adapted in Xhosa. They caused very few problems:

Nama <i>xoro</i> ‘make/dig a hole’	Xhosa <i>úkurholósha</i> ‘thrust hand or stick into a hole, ferret out’
Nama <i>has</i> ‘mare’	Xhosa <i>iháshe</i> (cl. 5) ‘horse’ Zulu <i>ihháshi</i> (cl. 5) ‘horse’

		Xhosa <i>ikhóboka</i> (cl. 5) ‘slave’
Nama	<i>khowob</i>	
‘bondsman’		Zulu <i>ikhóboka</i> (cl. 5)
		‘vanquished person, slave’

Tsonga has *hánci* (cl. 5) for ‘horse’. The nasal gives it a slightly different form from Zulu, which must have as its source Xhosa. It was always a custom for Dutch governors and colonists to give to the Xhosa horses as gifts and from there these animals spread. The grooved alveo-palatal fricative *sh* [ʃ] is a typical variant for Khoe [s].

-sha is a verbalising extension suffixed to foreign adaptations in Nguni. The *-ka* in *ikhóboka* is a fossilised case suffix. Appleyard (1850: 18) gives the plural suffix for the masculine gender as *-ku*, while in the *Nama/Damara Orthography* (1977: 73) it is *-gu*, cf. *goragu* ‘crows’. Nama [g] can, therefore, be in Eastern Cape Khoi [k]. Moreover, the dative suffix is *-ga* in Nama, cf. *Nama/Damara Orthography* (1977: 70) *guure-aoga* ‘for the shepherds’. The dative *-ga* in Nama must have been *-ka* in Eastern Cape Khoi and this was the origin of the last syllable in *ikhóboka*.

The most important word without clicks taken over from Khoe is the one for ‘cattle’, cf. Nama *gomab/gomas*, which is found in Nguni (Zulu and Xhosa) *inkomó* (cl. 9), Sotho (Tswana) *kgomó* (cl. 9), Venda *kholomó* (cl. 9), and Tsonga *homú* (cl. 9). The Khoe word *gomab* shows remarkable correspondence with Guthrie’s CS 849 *-*gòmbè* 9. It is possible that the word for ‘cattle’ might have come for the Khoe and the Bantu from the same

foreign source. We shall return to this word again when tone is discussed.

1.2.4 The Adapted Clicks

At the most, three basic clicks are used in Nguni (cf. Louw 1975). These sounds had been adapted to fit more or less into the sound system of the specific Nguni dialects. In my opinion there is no specific explicit velar release as given for Xhosa by Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996: 26):

These clicks may be accompanied by a voiceless, or an aspirated, or what we call a breathy voice velar plosive k , k^h , q .

Nowhere do they give a specific indication of how such an explicit velar release was established. All Xhosa speakers whom I approached failed in their pronunciation to enunciate clearly a voiceless and an aspirated velar release. The velar suction of clicks implies a velar breath control and it is completely redundant to indicate it in a phonetic transcription. What is said here about the velar release is in agreement with Snyman (1999: 115f.):

The release of the post-dorsal contact is therefore incidental to the production of the rarefied airstream and is not relevant for the click articulation.

The voiceless clicks in Xhosa are usually accompanied with ejection in careful speech: c [l'], q [l'], x [ll']. This ejection is also characteristic of other voiceless stops, cf. the plosives k [k'], t [t'], p [p'].

As indicated the palatal click [ʦ] does not occur in Nguni. In adaptations it is usually subsumed under the dental c, but sometimes it is under the alveo-palatal q. Examples for the adaptation of voiceless clicks are:

	Xhosa	<i>úkucêba</i>	‘plan, devise, advise, conspire’
Nama	<i>lawe</i>	‘devise, plan, scheme’	
	Zulu	<i>úkucéba</i>	(same as in Xhosa)

Nama	<i>!awa</i>	‘climb up, mount’	Xhosa	<i>úkuqabéla</i>	‘climb up, mount’
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Nama	<i>llama</i>	‘buy’	Xhosa	<i>ukúxhama</i>	‘gaining bride by paying too much’
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Some examples for the aspirated and breathy-voiced clicks are:

Nama	<i>!hoo</i>	‘mock’	Xhosa	<i>ukúqhula</i>	‘tease’
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Nama	<i>llhaa</i>	‘chop’	Xhosa	<i>ukúxhaxha</i>	‘chop’
------	--------------	--------	-------	------------------	--------

Nama	<i>llgarab</i>	‘shoulder’	Xhosa	<i>ígxalába</i>	(cl. 5) ‘shoulder (blade)’
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Nama	<i>lgum</i>	‘grove, thicket’	Xhosa	<i>íg cúme</i>	(cl. 5) ‘grove, thicket’
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Not all the transpositions are so regular. One example given is that of *iCáwa* (cl. 9a) ‘Sunday’, of which the Khoe original had an aspirated click. One must also remember that Nama was not exactly the same as Eastern Cape Khoe. Many of the breathy-voiced clicks in Nama are rendered as voiceless in Xhosa so one can only accept that these clicks might not have been pronounced the same in Eastern Cape Khoe:

Nama *!gae* ‘hire’ Xhosa *úkuqéssha* ‘hire’

Breathy-voiced Nama clicks can also be rendered as aspirated in Xhosa:

Nama *!gowi* ‘thick and round’ and Xhosa *íqhubu* (cl. 5) ‘protuberance, a swelling’

Breathy-voiced clicks in Xhosa and Zulu are all pronounced with delayed breathy voice phonation, the same as all the other egressive breathy voice stops (cf. Doke 1926). The phonetic transcription of the delayed breathy voiced clicks is my own. The superscript [^g] indicates delayed breathy-voiced phonation and does not imply an explicit egressive velar plosive release. As usual vowels following on the breathy phonation receive the delayed breathy voice of the consonants:

Nama *!gara* ‘disturb’ Xhosa *ukúgcala* [ukúl^ga
la] ‘disturb’

Nama <i>llga</i> ‘be thirsty’	Xhosa <i>úkunxâna</i> ‘be thirsty’
	Xhosa <i>isingé</i> (cl. 7) ‘small of back’
Nama <i>!neib</i> ‘kidney’	Zulu <i>isingé</i> (cl. 7) ‘buttock’
Nama <i>#aub</i> ‘peak, top’	Xhosa <i>incophó</i> (cl. 9a) ‘peak, top’
Nama <i>lâlâs</i> ‘irrigation’	Xhosa <i>úkuncenkéshela</i> ‘irrigate’
Nama <i>llhoró</i> ‘cut a hole’	Xhosa <i>ukúxhola</i> ‘carve, stab, peck’; cf. <i>inkxola</i> (cl. 9) ‘chisel’

The verb ‘irrigate’ in Xhosa can also be used with a nasalised click as a variant: *úkuncenkéshela*. However, the prenasalisation of the ejective click is still very much a productive rule when nouns of class 9 are formed in Xhosa, cf. *inkxola*. The word for ‘irrigate’ in Xhosa must have been adopted during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, because by then the colonists were settling down near the Fish River and building dams for irrigation. The word for ‘irrigation’ in Khoe must have been known to the Khoe early in the eighteenth century, because on the Elsenburg estate at Stellenbosch near Cape Town, irrigation was already used at that time. All aspirated initial stem consonants, whether egressive or

ingressive, become ejective when prenasalised in the formation of nouns of class 9.

Most Xhosa no longer make a distinction between the nasalised breathy-voiced click and the prenasalised breathy-voiced one (cf. Pahl 1989-III: xlix). Written Xhosa is based on the speech of those Xhosa who made this distinction, and it is still very common. In Zulu this distinction has been dropped, but it still occurs among some Zulu speakers.

The prenasalised breathy-voiced click occurs when the ejected click as the initial stem consonant is prenasalised in the formation of class 9 and 10 nouns:

<p>Nama (<i>xue</i>) <i>lee</i> ‘ask for something’</p>	<p>Xhosa <i>úkucêla</i> ‘ask for something’; cf. (cl. 9) <i>íngcêlo</i> ‘a request’</p>
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<p>Nama <i>!gao</i> ‘cut’; cf. <i>úqoqo</i> (cl. 11) ‘a notch’; see <i>íngqoqo</i> (cl. 10) ‘notches’</p>	<p>Xhosa <i>ukúqoqa</i> ‘notch’;</p>
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<p>Nama <i>llan</i> ‘settle, live at’</p>	<p>Xhosa <i>úxandé</i> (cl. 11) ‘rectangular European styled house’; <i>íngxandé</i> (cl. 10) ‘rectangular houses’</p>
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The nasalised breathy-voiced clicks do not occur in Rarabe type Xhosa, according to a productive

phonological rule. They are just adaptations of clicks of a Khoe or “Bush” origin, cf.

Nama *#nao-#nao* ‘make dirty’ Xhosa *ukúngcola* ‘be dirty’

Nama *!hû* ‘pound, stamp’ Xhosa *úkungqúsha* ‘pound, stamp’

Nama *!nora* ‘annoy, pester, bother’ Xhosa *úkungxóla* ‘quarrel, be noisy’

The *-la* and the *-sha* extensions in the Xhosa adaptations are verbalisers. The Nama examples show that it is Khoe words with a click followed by a nasal or by a nasalised vowel which can give rise to the nasalised breathy-voiced clicks in Xhosa. There is also another possibility when the [N] of class 9 is prefixed directly to an initial Khoe click forming a class 9 noun without being derived from a verb stem:

Nama *!howas* ‘grave’ Xhosa *ingcwaba* (cl. 9) ‘grave’

1.2.5 The Replacement of Clicks by Palatal Stops

Traill (1980: 188) makes the following important observation for “Tshukhoe” (i.e. Kalahari Khoe), which has important implications for Xhosa:

What is interesting is that there seems to be some sort of structural pressure in these languages to have

non-click palatal series of consonants. In one case this is satisfied by replacing the palatal click /#/ with a non-click palatal stop and in another by replacing the dental stops with palatal or palatalized ones in all environments.

If one makes an in-depth study of the phonology of Xhosa one will find that there is also a structural pressure to replace certain phonemes by post-alveolar or palatal obstruents (Louw 1976b). Xhosa differs from the other *zunda* language Zulu insofar as it has a full set of palatal stops, viz. *ty* [c’], *tyh* [c^h] and *dy* [ɟ]. As in “Tshukhoe” they can be used to replace clicks and it must be accepted that these palatals were taken over from Khoe and/or “Bush” dialects; cf.

Nama #ob ‘salt’	Xhosa <i>ityuwa</i> (cl. 9a) ‘salt’
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Nama <i>lhawo</i> ‘get an eye infection’	Xhosa <i>ukutyháphaka</i> ‘become blind’
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1.2.6 The Replacement of Clicks in Sotho

Sesotho (Southern Sotho) is the only Sotho language with clicks, but they are mostly derived in a secondary manner from Nguni. We do not have up to now a decent study of the influence of Khoe and “Bush” on Sotho. It seems that the clicks were replaced in Sotho by egressive consonants. This one can see from Tswana:

<i>amáXhosa</i>	Tswana <i>Mathosa</i>
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	<i>ukúxoxa</i>	‘discuss’	Tswana	<i>go tlotla</i>	‘converse’
			Tswana	<i>kgáma</i>	(cl. 9)
Nama	<i>llkamab</i>	‘hartebeest’			
		‘hartebeest’	Xhosa	<i>ixhama</i>	(cl. 5) ‘red hartebeest’

In the first example the lateral click was replaced by an aspirated alveolar plosive and in the second example by a lateral plosive. In the last example attention was given to the velar release of the click in the Tswana adaptation. One can see from these examples that there must not have been any close linguistic contact between Sotho and Khoesan.

1.2.7 Tone

The Nguni and Sotho languages are all tone languages like Khoe and “Bush”. Several different interpretations have been made about tone in Khoesan, which shows in any case widely different tonal structures. However, there seems to have been an attempt to keep as far as possible to the original tone patterns in Khoe when it comes to adaptations in Xhosa.

The initial syllable in *llgarab* ‘shoulder’ in Nama is low while the final one has a tone which is high. Several interpretations of the tone in Nama have been made and three to

four tonemes are given by different linguists (for a recent analysis, see Haacke 1999). We cannot go into any detail here, but the Xhosa transposition of *îgxalába* comes

close to a reasonable interpretation of the original tone pattern.

The adaptation of the word ‘head of cattle’ from Khoe is interesting when one looks at Nguni. This word must have been taken over by Nguni at a very early date, because the kind of delayed voice phonation in Nama is given as voiceless as in many other stops in Eastern Cape Khoe.

Nama *gomab/gomas* Xhosa and Zulu *inkomó*
‘head of cattle’ (cl. 9)

However, the tone pattern on the stem in Nguni is a close approximation to that of Khoe, viz. LH as given in the example for Zulu and Xhosa.

1.3 Influence on the Morphology

Louw (1986: 152f.) points out that quite a number of Khoe morphemes are found as fossilised parts of word stems in Xhosa. The actual productive morphemes in Xhosa are limited. The most common one is the adjectival suffix *-rha*, which is derived from an adjective suffix in Khoe; cf. Nama *-rha*:

Xhosa *-mhlóphe* ‘white’ *-mhlópherha* ‘somewhat white’

Xhosa is an agglutinating language in which morphemes are usually affixed round a root. Sotho and Nguni do not have the noun class prefixes 12 **ka-* and 13 **-tu*. These are the so-called diminutive classes. Guthrie (1967-I: 95)

says that “it is highly likely they arose late”. It is very likely that Sotho and Nguni had broken away before these classes became common. It was therefore possible to indicate diminutives in a different manner in these languages. One must be careful not to be over-eager to ascribe the influence of Khoe to certain morphological innovations, like the use of the diminutive *-(y)ana* and feminine suffix *-(k)azi*, which can also be used as augmentative and in a derogatory manner. After all, these suffixes can be traced back as reflexes of starred Bantu noun stems. Rather, a wide comparative study should be made within Southern Bantu.

Indications of the gradual grammaticalisation of these stems can be found in the Shona dialects. Hannan’s revised Shona dictionary (1984) gives some interesting examples:

- | | | | |
|--------------------|---------------|-------------------|---|
| <i>munhukadzi</i> | (cl. 1) | <i>munhurume</i> | ‘a male person’; |
| | | | ‘female person’; |
| cf. <i>mukádzi</i> | (cl. 1) | cf. <i>murúmé</i> | (cl. 1) ‘man, husband’ |
| | | cf. <i>mukóma</i> | (cl. 1) ‘older brother/sister’ |
| <i>mukómáná</i> | (cl. 1) ‘boy’ | <i>mwaná</i> | (cl. 1) ‘young animal, young human or small unripe fruit’ |

In the first two examples, the noun stems had been downgraded to suffixes as they had lost their original high tones. A similar observation can be made in the

case of ‘boy’. This shows that even in Shona the transformation of old Bantu noun stems to a new distinctive function is under way. Shona is certainly not a language where one would look for Khoe influence, except for those well-attested examples of recent Ndebele contact.

1.4 Conclusion

A thorough investigation of the influence of Khoe and “Bush” on the Southern Bantu languages is certainly of major importance in a comparative diachronic study of these

languages. Much of the prehistory of these languages can be explained in this manner. It will certainly show that Khoe and “Bush” did not disappear into thin air, but were an important part in the structuring of these languages.

The influence of Khoe and “Bush” on Sotho is not so obvious as for Nguni, but as shown in this section, it is there. This merits a much more thorough investigation and ought to give us some worthwhile insights into the impact of these languages on Sotho.

Only a very preliminary reference is made here to the influence of Khoe tone in the adaptations into Nguni. Standard written Xhosa is based on the men’s language, which was influenced the most by Khoe. There is also the language of the *ábákhwêtha* ‘young initiates undergoing circumcision’, the court language of the king and the avoidance in speech of the names of people of a certain standing. The language use of the Xhosa was always of a sophisticated nature.

2 Bantu–Khoesan Language Contacts in Northern Botswana

Gabriele Sommer

Outside Botswana, the linguistic consequences of historical contact between Khoesan speakers and members of the Nguni group (e.g. Xhosa, Zulu) have long been recognized (see Louw, this chapter, section 1). In contrast to this, the investigation of contacts between Khoesan and south-western Bantu languages has hardly begun (for examples, see Donnelly 1990 on Caprivi Yeyi; Sommer and Vossen 1992 on Ngamiland Yeyi; Baumbach 1997 on Caprivi Bantu; Legère 1998 on Kavango Bantu). From a historical perspective Bantu–Khoesan contacts must have taken place in several regions of southwestern Africa – including early migration routes of Bantu speakers along the Okavango, Linyanti and Zambezi river systems. The most likely extension of these contact zones stretches from areas in present-day Angola, Namibia (including the Caprivi) and Zambia to the Chobe, Ngamiland and Central districts of Botswana.

Among the Bantu languages with traces of Khoesan influence in phonology and the lexicon are Kavango languages such as Mbukushu, Kwangali and Manyo (see Möhlig, this chapter, section 3) as well as some Caprivi Bantu languages, viz. Fwe, Mbalangwe and Yeyi. The Yeyi language is also spoken in the Okavango Delta and along the Botletle River in Botswana. In most cases the exact circumstances of early Bantu–Khoesan interactions can no longer be reconstructed on the basis of synchronic evidence. Nevertheless, the assumption still

prevails that for several millennia southern Africa including Botswana was inhabited by scattered groups of Khoesan-speaking hunter-gatherers, whereas Bantu-speaking agro-pastoralists arrived much later from areas in the north (Legère 1998, Janson 2000). Archaeological evidence, however, strongly implies that in some Kalahari regions and in the Okavango Delta area of north-western Botswana socio-economic differentiation may have characterized the early subsistence patterns of Bantu and Khoesan groups alike (Wilmsen 1989).

While the external setting of early and current Bantu–Khoesan contacts – or more precisely the socio-economic relationship between Bantu and Khoesan populations – is often conceived of as involving Bantu dominance over Khoesan, past and present linguistic transfers appear to have followed the opposite direction. Khoesan influence varies between and within languages of the Kavango group as well as among Bantu languages of the Caprivi and Ngamiland areas. Differences also exist between regional varieties of individual Bantu languages such as Caprivi and Ngamiland Yeyi (see [Table 8.1](#)).

Moreover, Khoesan influence on south-western Bantu can in a few cases only be traced back to a specific “living” Khoesan source. Among those Khoesan languages that have so far been identified as possible donor languages for lexical borrowings into Bantu are Central Khoesan ǁAni, Buga and Khwe on the one hand, and Northern Khoesan dialects on the other (see [Table 8.2](#); Sommer and Vossen 1992: 24–7; Legère 1998: 201–5).

Table 8.1 Phonology – Click Consonants in the Ngamiland and Caprivi Varieties of Yeyi

	dental		alveolar		palatal		lateral	
	Ng	C	Ng	C	Ng	C	Ng	C
voiceless	ǀ	ǁ	ǃ	ǂ	ǆ	ǅ		ǁ
voiced	ǀǀ	ǀǁ	ǃǃ	ǃǂ	ǆǆ	ǆǅ	ǀǀ	
prenasalised-voiced	nǀǀ	nǀǀ*		nǃǃ*	nǆǆ			
nasalised emphatic	nǀn		nǃn		nǆn		nǀn	
uvular fricative	ǀx				ǆx			
ejective-uvular	ǀx'				ǆx'			
aspirated	ǀh	ǀh	ǃh	ǃh	ǆh		ǀh	ǀh
glottalised	ǀ'	ǀ'	ǃ'	ǃ'	ǆ'	ǆ'		ǀ'
prenasalised ejective	nǀ'		nǃ'		nǆ'		nǀ'	

Notes: Ng = Ngamiland Yeyi, C = Caprivi Yeyi.

Sources: Ng = Sommer and Vossen (1992: 6), C = Gowlett (1997: 257).

* Gowlett further differentiates between prenasalised /nx, nq/, nasalised /xn, qn/, and nasalised voiced /ngx, ngq/ dental and alveolar clicks in the Caprivi Yeyi variety.

Table 8.2 Lexicon – Some Click Words in Bantu Languages of North-Western Botswana

Gloss	Evidence from languages	Bantu	Evidence from Khoesan
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The Kavango group and Yeyi

- (1) 'basket' *θi-luma* 'basket made of reeds' Mb *lèúma* 'basket' Kh
- si-lukuma* 'basket made of bark' Kw

shì-lháò ‘basket, bag’ Ng_γ
(SV 31)

< Khwe into Kavango (L
202)

(2) ‘papyrus’ *ru-!ómà, shi-!óámà* Ng *kòmà* _{alveolar} _{influx} _{→ vl velar} _{llA,}

< llAni into Ngamiland Yeyi, early loan
(SV 26)

(3) ‘thick, -lɔ ‘very thick’ Mb (L_γ
narrow’ 213)

βù-#’ó ‘thick, narrow’ Ng_#, *ǒ* ‘narrow’ llA
(SV 32), also

wù-nkló ‘smallness’₁ C_γ
(Do 87)

< llAni into Ngamiland
Yeyi (SV 27)

Both Yeyi varieties

(4) ‘leaf, *shì-lgá* ‘area covered
thicket’ with small plants’ *lgã* ‘leaf’ Kx

Ng (SV 30)

mù-kázi ‘woman’ C (Do
49)

< some Central Khoesan languages (SV
27)

(8) ‘millet sp.’ *mà-n#nú-khòá* Ng ||Ani:
n#nú-kho(a)ba
‘millet’

< ||Ani (SV 27)

(9) ‘red’ *βù-lóá* Ng lóá ‘red, brown’
Bu

loa ‘red’ Shua
group

< Buga or a member of the Shua group
(SV 25)

Notes: ||A = ||Ani; Bu = Buga; C = Caprivi Yeyi; Do =
Donnelly (1990); Kh = Khwe language; Kw = Kwangali;
Kx = Kxoe group; L = Legère (1998); Mb = Mbukushu;
Ng = Ngamiland Yeyi; SV = Sommer and Vossen
(1992).

Khoesan influence has led, *inter alia*, to the adoption of
a variety of click consonants in some of the
south-western Bantu languages. Kavango languages in
general have only a single (dental) click influx combined
with several effluxes (see Möhlig, this chapter, section

3). Lexical evidence for click consonants in most of the Caprivi Bantu languages is also rather rare. Subiya and Totela do not seem to possess click phonemes at all while Fwe and Mbalangwe have incorporated a few lexemes with either alveolar or dental places of articulation (see Mbalangwe *-!imbila* ‘herd fish together’, Fwe *mu-nglulya* ‘monitor lizard’, cf. Baumbach 1997: 346, 398). Caprivi Yeyi, on the other hand, exhibits a more complex inventory of eighteen clicks with dental, alveolar, palatal and lateral influxes occurring in a larger number of lexemes. Most of these click words still have equivalents in the neighbouring Ngamiland variety of Yeyi where the number of click phonemes amounts to twenty-seven (see [Table 8.1](#)).

Borrowings from Khoesan differ not only with respect to the complexity and symmetry of click consonant inventories, also the overall percentage of click-containing words in the respective language’s vocabulary varies considerably. Click word borrowings from Khoesan are mostly not confined to particular semantic areas and in some cases even include core vocabulary (see [Table 8.2](#); rarely are click words [re]borrowed into Khoesan, e.g. Mbukushu *mu-lingo* ‘trap’ which occurs as *mú-cìngo* and, thus, with a Bantu noun class 3 prefix *mu-* in Khwe; cf. Legère 1998: 202). Although the actual source of Khoesan elements in Bantu is often no longer identifiable, some linguistic features appear to indicate long-term and intense contact relations between speakers of Bantu and Khoesan languages in different regions of south-western Africa (e.g. retention of clicks in Bantu vis-à-vis their egressive

substitutes in Khoesan, or degree of morphological integration into Bantu grammar).

3

Traces of Bantu-Khoesan Interaction in Manyo (Kavango Bantu, Namibia)

Wilhelm J.G. Möhlig

3.1 Introduction

The Manyo people are some 60,000 individuals living east of the district capital Rundu, in the middle section of the Kavango valley, which forms the national boundary between Namibia and Angola. Their economy is based on agriculture and cattle-keeping. There has been a strong component of fishing and, in former times, of hunting. The social structure of the people is matrilineal and they live under a traditional chief. Nowadays they have their elected deputies in the regional and central parliaments.

The Manyo speak a Bantu language which they call *ruManyo*. Their country is called *uManyo* and the people are named *waManyo*. According to their tradition, the Manyo originally came from the Upper Mashi in Zambia. Their forefathers took a southwestern route and reached the Lower Kwito, whose course they followed up to its confluence with the Kavango River. They first settled along the Lower Kwito and the northern shores of the Kavango. This area was the original *uManyo*. Later the name spread over the whole area that is now settled by the Manyo. Their language forms a cluster of two dialects, *ruGcîriku* in the east and *ruShámbyu* in the west. With the language still further to the west,

Kwángali, the Manyo dialect cluster has close genetic relations. However, with Mbúkushu, the language spoken to the east, genetic relationship is rather remote. As far back as they can remember the Manyo recruited dependants from the San community. From oral sources we know that the Kavango area was previously inhabited by Khoesan people called *waTjáube*. The Tjáube king was killed by the Bantu invaders, whilst most of his subjects were enslaved (Hartmann 1985–87; Fleisch and Möhlig 2002: 29–55). Yet some survived and were integrated into the Manyo community. Thus, historical tradition offers at least two possibilities of how Khoesan loans could have entered the Manyo language. In this section we shall deal with the most conspicuous Khoesan traces in the language, the lexical items that are marked by a click sound. There are certainly further Khoesan loans, but they are difficult to ascertain.

3.2 The Click Sounds

Manyo has forty-one phonemes and two distinctive prosodemes marked by either an acute [á] or a circumflex [â]. The phonemes can be divided into five oral vowels and thirty-six consonants. Five of them are click sounds. (A comprehensive description of the Manyo sound system can be found in Möhlig 2005.) Their phonological status cannot be attested by minimal pairs due to the rare occurrence of click words on the whole. In our lexical database of over 10,000 items only 128 words have a click. There is, however, a list of about forty place-names in the area south of the Kavango River which also contain a click sound.

If we follow the Khoesanist usage in distinguishing the two phases of influx and efflux in the production of clicks, the influxes of the Manyo clicks are mostly dental. However, in front of back vowels the place of articulation is rather alveo-palatal. There appears to exist a large individual variety as to the point of articulation. The influx can be voiceless [l̥] (written as *c*) or voiced [lg] (*gc*). It can be prenasalised voiceless [nl̥] (*nc*) or prenasalised voiced [nlg] (*ngc*). In all cases the efflux can be “direct” (*c* or *gc* + vowel) or nasal (*cn* or *gcn*). There is only one click sound where the efflux is distinct. It is a prenasalised voiceless click with a strongly aspirated efflux [nlh] (*nch*), as in the word *nchunú* ‘quiver’.

3.3 Lexical Material

Our list of 128 click words contains 77 nouns and 51 verb stems. If we count only the roots with a click sound, Manyo has 65 independent nominal roots and 39 verbal roots of this kind. It is conspicuous that almost 90 per cent of the click words fall under only six conceptual categories. These are: aquatic concepts (20.5 per cent), sensations and feelings (18.9 per cent), parts of the body and bodily activities (17.3 per cent), concepts of non-aquatic nature (11.8 per cent), objects (11 per cent), social concepts and behaviour (9.4 per cent).

All click nouns are integrated into the nominal class system of Manyo. However, not all of them are also preceded by a class prefix. Nouns without a prefix are, for instance:

cégca (cl. 9/10) ‘bed’ (trad.)

cókwe (cl. 9) ‘tinder’

cumáte (cl. 7/2) ‘tomato’

gcára (cl. 1/2) ‘peer’

gcérembe (cl. 9/2) ‘hippopotamus bull’

The majority of the click nouns do have class prefixes, e.g.:

ka-cána (cl. 12/13) ‘wooden plate’

li-gcûli (cl. 5/6) ‘horse-fly’

ma-cáva (cl. 6/2+) ‘crocodile’

Mu-cù (cl. 1/2) ‘!Kung, San’

ngcéve (cl. 9/10) ‘pipe’

ngcnogcnokádi (cl. 9/2+) ‘matron’

shi-cámakáku (cl. 7/8) ‘sandal’ (trad.)

u-gcûli (cl. 14) ‘underbelly of a hippopotamus’

Some of the click nouns are derived from verbal stems which are also used as such:

mu-ncôkoncoko (cl. 3/10+) ‘addiction’ < *-ncôkoka* v.intr. ‘be addicted’

mu-ncâkuro (cl. 3/10+) ‘click sound’ (phon.) < *-ncâkura* v.intr. ‘click’

Many click verbs form part of the verbal derivation system in Manyo, e.g.:

-gcúmp-uk-a v.intr. ‘go/climb down, descend’

-gcúmp-uk-ir-a v.tr. ‘climb down to’ [applied form]

-gcúmp-ut-a v.tr. ‘bring/take down’ [agentive]

-gcúmpw-it-a v.tr. ‘cause to unload’ [causative agentive]

Other click verbs can clearly be identified as derived forms, but the simplex stems are absent or lost, e.g. *-gcáp-ek-a* v.tr. ‘put aside (e.g. some food)’ [causative resultative]. The double suffix *-ek-a* marks a causative which aims at a particular result. The simplex verb would be **-gcápa*; however, it is not present in the actual lexicon.

There are a few disyllabic verbal stems which look like simplex forms; to our knowledge, however, they fall outside the system of verbal derivation. In other words, they cannot trigger derived forms. Examples are:

-gcára v.intr. ‘be satisfied’

-gcígca v.intr. ‘shiver with cold or fear’

-ncánta v.tr. ‘pinch’

3.4 Hypothetical Conclusions

On the whole we can say that because of the articulatory uncertainty of the click sounds and their low occurrence in the lexicon, click words are a comparatively young component of the Bantu lexicon. Yet, it is our basic

assumption that even the short list of 128 click words reflects at least two different strata of Khoesan contacts: one of

probably Northern, the other of Central Khoesan origin. Most, if not all, of the items which are marked by class prefixes or verbal derivative suffixes belong to the Northern Khoesan stock. From the fact that they are integrated into the grammatical system we draw two conclusions: first, they must be due to a long-enduring contact situation; second, the contact must be more ancient than in the case of the non-inflected and non-derived forms. To this day some of the Manyo families, particularly those of the royal clan, use San servants. From oral tradition we know that in former times “semi-dependent” San (*Mu-cù*) played a much greater role in the daily life of the Manyo than is the case today. Until recently, the San living among the Manyo belonged to the !Kung people. However, since the comparison with Snyman’s extensive wordlist of the !Kung dialect cluster (Snyman 1997) did not reveal any similarities with our Manyo list – although many glosses are comparable –, we conclude that “the old stratum” of click words came into the language at a much earlier stage of history when the forefathers of the Manyo still lived in the Upper Mashi area. Unfortunately, no living testimony of the San with whom the Manyo ancestors were associated is available. The only conclusion that can be drawn with some certainty is that they were genetically different from the present-day !Kung.

A small portion of click words might have entered Manyo after the extermination of the Tjáube, who probably spoke an !Ani-like language. Whereas in most

cases the donors of the click words in Manyo cannot be identified, we have at least some potential correspondences as to the latter group of loans, e.g.:

có n. (cl. 9) ‘thicket’ < ||Ani #’òó ‘narrow’ (Vossen 1997a: 431)

-ncûmita v.tr. ‘kiss’ < Proto-East Kalahari Khoe **n/núamá* (Vossen 1997a: 461)

ñncwà n. (cl. 9/10) ‘stick’ < ||Ani *n#úà* (Heine 1999: 117)

4 South African Khoekhoe in Contact with Dutch/Afrikaans

Hans den Besten[†]

4.1 Before 1652

In 1510 over fifty Portuguese men, including Francisco d’Almeida, viceroy of the Portuguese East Indies, died in a “skirmish” near Table Bay, then called Saldanha Bay. The Portuguese seem to have shunned the Cape ever since. Whether the Portuguese period left any traces in Cape Khoekhoe is questionable. Nienaber’s collection of early (mainly Cape) Khoekhoe only mentions two Portuguese Creole etyma, which points at the Dutch era as the period of borrowing (Nienaber 1963 sub a) *ramkie*, b) *kommandeur*, *meneer II*.)

In the 1590s the English and the Dutch arrived at the South African coast. They were soon followed by the French and the Danes. On the basis of Raven-Hart (1967) and Nienaber (1963: Ch. 1–3) we can more or less reconstruct the history of contact before 1652 – a

period of barter and rudimentary L2 acquisition during short stopovers.

In the early years signs and onomatopoeia were essential for communication. Dutch *boe* ‘moo’ soon became a word for ‘bovine animal’, which was succeeded by *boeba* ‘ox, cow’ in the early colonial period (< *boe* + Khoekhoe *-b* ‘3SG.M’ + *-a* ‘dependent case’); cf. Nienaber (1963) sub *koei I*, *melk II*, and *os I, II*, and *III*.

The acquisition of such words was part of a more general process of lexical learning, through which the Khoekhoen could create two trade jargons. These trade jargons, one English-based, one Dutch-based, were more or less kept apart, although there were “shifters”, such as Dutch *boe(ba)*, English *bras* ‘copper’ and *broqua/bruqua* ‘bread, ship’s biscuits’ (< Dutch *brood* ‘bread’ or *brok* ‘piece, chunk’ + Khoekhoe *-gu* ‘3PL.M’ + *-a* ‘dependent case’), while *breba/bree* etc. ‘bread’ (< English *bread*) became part of Khoekhoe (cf. Nienaber 1963 sub *koper I*, *brood I* and *II*.)

At the end of this period the Dutch coined the ethnonym “(H)ottento”, soon followed by “Hottentot”, which are slightly “Dutchified” versions of a dancing ditty that the Frenchman Augustin de Beaulieu (1620) heard as “hautitou” (Raven-Hart 1967: 101; for the etymology, see Nienaber 1963: Ch. 3–6; 1989: 514–48).

The two trade jargons mentioned above are relevant for the early colonial period. But there may have been another, French-based one, witness data in Bosman and Thom (1952–57-I: 84) and ten Rhyne (1686 [1933]: 110). Note that a speaker of a trade jargon often had to

resort to signs to support his rudimentary lexicon; cf. two cases in van Riebeeck's diary (1652; Bosman and Thom 1952–57-I: 24, 27).

In order to improve communication the English and the Dutch educated interpreters but most probably the quality of their English and Dutch was low. We know this only with certainty for Coree, an early interpreter, whose broken English foreshadows properties of the Dutch pidgin of the colonial period: SOV word order and empty *have* (Raven-Hart 1967: 63f.):

(1) Coree home go, Souldania go, home go (1613)

[Souldania: the Table Bay region]

(2) England God, great God, Souldania no God (1616)

[*no* 'negation']

Empty *have* may reflect the expression of possessive predication by means of *be* plus direct object in Cape Khoekhoe – if my interpretation of the Cape Khoekhoe version of the Lord's Prayer in Leibnitz (1717: 375f.) is correct.

The level of the Khoekhoen's knowledge of Dutch and English was directly related to the shortness of the periods of communication – the sole exception being the one year stay at the Cape of the crew of the shipwrecked *Haerlem* (1647/48). Four years later day-to-day contact with Dutch became the rule, when Jan van Riebeeck started a refreshment station at the Cape in 1652, which soon turned into a rapidly expanding colony. This colony was to give rise to a new language, Afrikaans (i.e. African (Dutch)). Part of this process was the

replacement of most of South African Khoekhoe by Cape Dutch/Afrikaans (cf. Raidt 1983, 1991; van Rensburg 1989; Roberge 1994; Ponelis 1993).

4.2 The Early Cape Colony

The first sixty years of Cape Colonial Dutch–Khoekhoe language contact were characterized by mutual borrowing and by the use of Cape Dutch Pidgin (henceforth CDP). For Dutch loans in Cape Khoekhoe, see Nienaber (1963, 1964). However, his main source, de Flacourt’s glossary of 1655 (Saldanha Bay) contains unlikely loanwords such as *ouata* ‘water’, but they may tell us something about the pronunciation of CDP.

Our CDP corpus spans a period from 1652 through 1825. However, the bulk of it stems from the period up until 1724 with ten Rhyne (1686) and Kolb (1719, Dutch translation 1727) as our main sources. In 1831 there is a fictitious letter by an *Ingesete van Stellebos* (‘Resident of Stellenbosch’, Nienaber 1971: 54; henceforth ‘the pidgin letter’), which probably mimics Masbieker-Afrikaans (a new SVO pidgin), but which also evidences syntactic features of CDP.

The following overview is based upon den Besten (1986, 1987, 1999, 2001, 2002, 2007) and ongoing research.

4.2.1 The Syntax of CDP

CDP may be characterized as a relexified version of Cape Khoekhoe stripped of all its functional elements, clitics included. This explains its SOV word order, empty *have* and *be* and optional pro drop under inversion:

- (3) *tZa lustigh, duijtsman een woordt Calm, ons V kelum*
 tza quiet. Dutch-man-[PL] one word say. we you cut-throat
 (1672; Franken 1953: 113)
- (4) *Namaqua boeba kros mos coqua [= mosco qua]*
 Namaqua-[PL] ox hide-[PL] very angry
 (1661; Bosman and Thom 1952–57-III: 484)
- (5) *wat maakum zoo?*
 what [3/2SG] do FUT?
 (Kolb 1727-I: 502; II: 163; cf. the pidgin letter)

Note that SOV is easy to access for speakers of Dutch. Dutch is SOV + verb2 and can be purely SOV in infinitival speech or foreigner-talk.

The loss of functional elements was remedied by the introduction of tense/aspect adverbs like *strack* ‘future’ (< Dutch *strak(s)* ‘presently’) as well as the Dutch negative adverb *niet* ‘not’ in sentence-medial position.

Only seldom do Khoekhoe functional elements show up:

- (6) *Was makom? =*

Wat-ts makom?

what-2SG.M do?

(ten Rhyne 1686 [1933]: 140)

(For the analysis of *-om/-um* as a pgn marker, see 4.2.3.)

Originally noun phrases were not marked for plural or definiteness. However, soon an optional definite article *die* (predecessor of Afrikaans *die* ‘the’) developed out of the distal demonstrative *die*: e.g. *die oud volk* ‘the old

people [= our forebears]’ (Kolb 1727-I: 520). Dutch Pidgin-internal word order was a compromise between Khoekhoe and Dutch in that the Khoekhoe postnominal attributives (*ao-b gei-b* ‘man-M.SG big-M.SG’) were shunned in CDP.

Unlike Khoekhoe CDP was prepositional. However, there is evidence for unmarked locatives and in the pidgin letter we find a postposition *sa(a)m* ‘with’ (< Dutch (*met*) ... *samen* ‘(with) ... together’):

(7) *nie bemoei ander mense sam*
 [I] not interfere other people with

For other attestations, see Trigardt (1836–38 [1977]: 61) and Engelbrecht (1936: 207, 209). *Saam* ‘with’, which can still be heard among some speakers (J. Oosthuizen, p.c.), survives as a suffix in Khoekhoe Afrikaans *handsaam* ‘with the hand(s)’ (cf. van Jaarsveld *et al.* 2001: 153).

4.2.2

Lexicological Matters, the Phonology of CDP, etc.

CDP was used by the Khoekhoen, the slaves and the colonists. As example (4) shows, certain lexical skills were required. Furthermore phonetics may have been a complicating factor, witness complaints by a visiting Dutch East Indian Company official, H.A. van Reede (1685 [1941]: 36, 202, 220).

To start with the latter, if we combine the scarce unedited pidgin data with the Dutch and English words in de Flacourt’s Khoekhoe glossary and with data on early twentieth-century Khoekhoe Afrikaans, we find (a)

$r < l$ but also $l < r$, (b) apocope of [r] and [d]/[t], (c) strengthening of non-coronal fricatives, (d) raising of mid-vowels, (e) unrounding of front vowels, (f) palatalization of velars, and (g) change of place of articulation with stops. Cf. Raven-Hart (1971-II: 405), examples (3) and (4) above; Nienaber (1963) sub *skaap II* and *God I*; Rademeyer (1938: 45, 53f.); Links (1989: 8, 14f., 23f.), and ten Rhyne (1686 [1933]: 140).

As for the lexicon, we have come across a couple of non-Dutch pidgin words already, such as *bras* (English), *k(a)ros* (Khoekhoe), and new formations such as *boeba*, *broqua*. There are more of such etyma in CDP but all in all our phrasal and sentential data seem to be completely “Dutch” in lexis, which might mean that Khoekhoe is grossly underrepresented, but this may be due to context, witness the list of *Mere Hottentottonica quae obiter occurrunt* ‘purely Hottentot words which occasionally show up’, with which ten Rhyne (1686 [1933]: 154) illustrates the limited contribution of Khoekhoe words to the language [= pidgin] of the Khoekhoen near the fortress.

This list is thematically organized and no doubt can be expanded with more words and categories, but only *Onkey* ‘Dutchman’ could have been used in the sentences and phrases of my database, and only by accident do we find *kros* ‘hide’ as in (4) above or *gisje/gisie* ‘ten’ as in *5 gisjes schapen... dewelke 50 in 't getal zoude zijn* ‘5 gisies of sheep ... which would be 50 in number’ (Rhenius 1724 [1947]: 134).

4.2.3 CDP Morphology and **-um/-me**

CDP morphology is not particularly interesting: there is (a) compounding, (b) adjectival *-s* ‘-ic/-ish’, (c) semantic bleaching of *-man* in compounds as in *Teeckemans* ‘steal-men’ [= ‘thieves’] (1660; Nienaber 1989: 873), which is comparable to the bleached use of *-ao* ‘man’ in Nama.

Intriguing, however, is the verbal ending *-um/-om/-(e)m* with its postvocalic allomorph *-me*. It also attaches to one or two adjectives and it sporadically alternates with Dutch infinitival *-en*. The verbs in the contemporaneous English pidgin are bare stems (cf. Bosman and Thom 1952–57-I: 417).

There are also three nouns that take this ending: *tabaqkom*, *Tubaccum* ‘tobacco’ (< Dutch *tabak/toebak*), and the nominalization *kortom* ‘small piece, the chief’s rightful share in case of bartering’ (< Dutch *kort* ‘short’ or *korten* ‘to cut back’).

In nouns *-Vm/-me* may be the Cape Khoekhoe pgn marker 3SG.M, which had many allomorphs, including *-m* and *-mi*, and which was also used as a nominalizer (cf. Nienaber 1963, e.g. sub *oog* ‘eye’). Therefore, the nouns ending in *-Vm* may very well – like *boeba* and *broqua* – go back to a very early period.

It seems nonsensical to derive V + *-um* verbs from nominalizations. But this may be due to the colonists, who may have perceived the Khoekhoe nominalizations of their own verbs as the Khoekhoe equivalents of infinitives, which they needed for infinitival (SOV) speech.

In view of our sources verbal *-Vm/-me* must have disappeared somewhere between 1745 and 1825. During that period there is only one attestation of a word with *-Vm*: the noun *kortom* (Wikar 1779 [1935]: 26). However, in quite a few cases *-um/-om/-me* can also be analysed as a Khoekhoe subject or object clitic 3SG.M. Since in one instance it can be shown beyond doubt that Kolb (1719, 1727) has added *-um* to an element which he mistook for a verb (*hottentot* interpreted as ‘to give’), more cases of “suffixal” *-um* may be artificial (cf. den Besten 2007).

4.2.4 An Aside on Cape Khoekhoe Sources

Most probably ten Rhyne could not distinguish between Khoekhoe and pidgin words. Nor could others, I fear. His own list of Khoekhoe words contains three pidginisms: *boeba* ‘ox, cow’, *debitja* ‘steers’ and *acqua* ‘horse’.

As Nienaber (1963) shows sub *os III*, more authors assign *boeba* to Khoekhoe. Similarly for *debitja*, whose <tj> is a transcription mistake, witness *Tibbesa*-and *dwiessa* ‘ox’ (Nienaber 1963 sub *os V*), and which – in view of Khoekhoe phonetics – may derive from L2 Dutch *die bees* ‘the/that bovine animal’ + Khoekhoe *-a* (standard Dutch *dat beest*).

The most telling case is *acqua* ‘horse’, usually spelt *hacqua*. Ten Rhyne and nine sources after him (up until 1805) treat this frozen masculine plural (*ha-gu-a*) as a singular. It also appears as a word for ‘ass, donkey’ in the Cape Khoekhoe translation of the Tenth Commandment (Leibnitz 1717: 381). This pidginism can

be dated back to the van Riebeeck period, when a certain type of zebras (*haqua*) were identified as ‘wild horses’ (cf. Bosman and Thom 1952–57-III: 308).

In view of the above there may be more pidginisms in the Khoekhoe glossaries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, similarly for the texts in Leibnitz (1717).

4.3 After 1700: Khoekhoe and Cape Dutch/Afrikaans

Around 1700 groups of Khoekhoen as well as colonists started to move out of the Cape Colony. Consequently the area of language contact was expanded, although the smallpox epidemic of 1713 broke off Dutch–Khoekhoe language contact in the original colony.

In the east and in the interior the subjugation and incorporation of the Khoekhoen (and the San) led to rapid language loss. Nevertheless, there must have been a long period of bilingualism among certain groups such as the Griquas. The Griquas belonged to the so-called *oorlamse*, i.e. acculturated, Khoekhoen who founded their own communities outside the Cape Colony – alongside groups of so-called Basters, who stressed their mixed descent. (For the history of the South African Khoesan until 1840, see Elphick 1977 and Elphick and Giliomee 1989.)

Due to the Oorlamse Khoekhoen and the Basters, Dutch/Afrikaans spread among free Khoekhoen outside the Cape Colony (roughly the present North Cape and southern Namibia and some adjacent areas). Due to special circumstances a Khoekhoe variety of Cape Dutch/Afrikaans could survive in these areas. Khoekhoe

Afrikaans (henceforth KhA) owes its existence to a combination of L2 acquisition and further adaptation of CDP. Afrikaans itself resulted from language contact between Dutch and various languages: Malay, Creole Portuguese, Khoekhoe, etc. Continuing migration exported the Asian influences to the north and the east, while the influx of “detrribalized” Khoekhoen brought some Khoekhoe influences to the southwest.

Nowadays Southern Khoekhoe (including varieties such as Griqua and Korana) seems to be extinct, similarly for Southern Khoesan to the south of the Gariep (Orange River).

However, Nama still survives – in tandem with Afrikaans – in the Richtersveld to the south, and in villages like De Mier to the north of the Gariep, similarly for southern Namibia.

Due to extensive bilingualism during the nineteenth century a new variety of relexified Khoekhoe arose, as we know through a letter by Theophilus Hahn to Hugo Schuchardt (1882; den Besten 1986: 216, 226). Hahn mentions imperatives like *Loop-tse* ‘go-2SG.M’ (< *!gun-tse*) and the case of an interpreter during a sermon, who rendered Cape Dutch “Van Natuur geheelenall [sic] bedorven” (‘completely deprived by nature’) as:

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| (8) | <i>Heeltetal-se</i> | <i>Natuur-a-xu</i> | <i>bedorven-he</i> | [relexified Khoekhoe] |
| | completely-ADV | nature-OBJ-from | depraved-PASS | |
| | ← | | | |
| | <i>Hoaraga-se</i> | <i>ʔūb-a xu</i> | <i>!gau-!gau-he</i> | [Khoekhoe] |

Relexified Khoekhoe may be due to heavy borrowing or to the wish to overcome dialectal differences between Southern Khoekhoe and Nama.

The following subsections will deal with lexical borrowings and the like and with structural influences from Khoekhoe in Afrikaans – the latter mainly on the basis of den Besten (1986, 1999, 2002, 2007) and ongoing research.

4.3.1 Borrowings and Onomastics

Lexical borrowings from Dutch/Afrikaans into Southern Khoekhoe mainly concern artefacts and institutions, witness the Korana glossaries in Engelbrecht (1928) and Meinhof (1930). A special case is Korana *kukuru-b/kukuru-s* ‘rooster, hen’, which derives from CDP *Courcour* ‘bird’, a Dutch onomatopoeia.

Khoekhoe borrowings in Afrikaans concern artefacts, plant and animal names, toponyms, interjections and everyday words like *ou* ‘to give’ (rare) and maybe *ou* ‘chap’. Clicks are not retained; cf. Nienaber (1953: 269–72), Boshoff and Nienaber (1967), Scholtz (1974) and Nienaber (1964).

Not surprisingly Links (1989: 61–66) found more loans for the KhA of Namaqualand, among which were many everyday words. Clicks are retained but their use is unstable, so Links decided to use only [!] for his phonetic transcriptions.

Note that many Dutch/Afrikaans toponyms such as *Vaal-rivier* ‘grey river’ are translations which we owe to the Khoekhoen themselves (cf. Nienaber and Raper 1977–80: 1983).

Similarly, several (often historical) Afrikaans names for Khoekhoe groups are translations, while others are free

inventions, e.g. CDP *Kaepmans* ‘Cape men’, or are based upon surnames of tribal leaders, such as *Afrikaners* and *Witboois* (cf. Nienaber 1989).

4.3.2 Khoekhoe and CDP Substrate in Afrikaans and Khoekhoe Afrikaans

One of the main contributions of Khoekhoe and CDP to Afrikaans syntax is invisible: they have helped to preserve the Dutch SOV word order. On the other hand, the absolute position 2 structure of Khoekhoe could not uproot the asymmetric verb2 + verb1 patterning of Dutch, although Afrikaans has become V2/V1-like in embedded interrogatives (wh-phrase finite verb; optional) and in *of*-clauses (*of* finite verb ‘whether finite verb’; rare).

In KhA we find the following possessive paradigm (Links 1989: 81ff.):

(9)	SG		PL		REV
	1	<i>my</i>	1	<i>ons (se)</i>	
	2	<i>jou</i>	2	<i>julle (se)</i>	2 <i>u (se)</i>
	3F	<i>haar/hy se, sy se</i>	3	<i>hulle (se)</i>	
	M	<i>sy/hy se</i>			
		[<i>hy</i> ‘he, she’ – <i>sy</i> ‘a) she, b) his’]			

Also compare Rademeyer (1938: 66f.). Contrary to what both authors – misled by le Roux (1923: 88), who was misled by his sources – believe, *se* in (9) does pattern like *di* in Khoekhoe. 1SG and 2SG are the sole possessive pronouns of Khoekhoe and they, therefore, hardly combine with *di* if at all. Note that the other pronominal expressions in the Khoekhoe possessive construction are in the nominative, which is mimicked by *sy se* and *hy se*.

Other potential Khoekhoeisms at the phrasal level in KhA are shared with (other varieties of) Afrikaans. Thus, circumlocutions like Afrikaans *hy/sy wat Piet/Anna is*, in ‘he/she that Pete/Anne is’, in KhA also *hy wat lou is* ‘he that lion is’, i.e. ‘the lion’ (Rademeyer 1938: 83f.), are reminiscent of the structure of noun phrases in Khoekhoe (e.g. Nama *xam-i* ‘lion-3SG.M’).

Less obvious is the connection between the Khoekhoe associative structure *X-hãã-3PL* and Afrikaans associatives like *Pa-hulle* ‘Dad-3PL’, in KhA also *Pa-goed* ‘Dad-stuff/things’ (Rademeyer 1938: 67f.; Links 1989: 31ff.). Yet, *-goed* may be a substitute for Khoekhoe *-gu* ‘3PL.M’ and in a transitional dialect area we find the associative *Paandoe(n)* ‘dad-and(?)-doe(n)’, which may derive from the Khoekhoe construction with Cape Khoekhoe change of place of articulation (Nienaber 1994). Therefore, Khoekhoe may be one of the sources for the Afrikaans associative construction.

Note that *-goed* may also have been a plural marker in early KhA, witness a word like (Khoekhoe) Afrikaans *kleingoed* ‘children’ (< *klein* ‘small’) and KhA data in Jacobs (1942: *inter alia* 10, 26, 31, 47, 87, 115) and van Zyl (1947: 5, 110, 131). On the other hand, unmarked plurals in KhA such as *skaap* ‘sheep’ and *perd* ‘horses’ (Rademeyer 1938: 62; Links 1989: 34) may go back to the unmarked plurals of CDP.

Probably due to reanalysis of *V-AUX* and *AUX-V* sequences as single verbs in CDP – prior to the acquisition of *V2* – KhA developed a “double” *V2* pattern which was taken over in general Afrikaans. Compare:

(10) *Daar bly staan hy*
there keep stand he

Similarly, reanalysis of Dutch particle verbs in CDP created preposition + verb compounds in KhA, as in (11), which was not borrowed into other varieties of Afrikaans (cf. Rademeyer 1938: 63):

(11) *Aan-ja vir my die skaap*
on-drive for me the sheep

Both types of reanalysis may be due to interference from Khoekhoe, where V + V and verb + postposition compounds are quite normal.

Finally: negation. It has been suggested that the SOV–NEG pattern of Khoekhoe may have been the source for *nie-2*, the sentence-final negative marker of Afrikaans (Nienaber 1955, den Besten 1986). However, *nie-2* is absent in CDP. Furthermore, *nie-2* can follow extraposed material, which is impossible for the Khoekhoe negative marker (den Besten 1986). Therefore, *nie-2* may rather derive from a reinterpretation of the Dutch colloquial negative tag *nee* ‘no’ (Roberge 2000). Most probably this reinterpretation is due to SOV–NEG speakers such as the Khoekhoen.

5 Contact-Induced Change between Khoekhoe and Afrikaans

Wilfrid H.G. Haacke

The mutual changes induced by Khoekhoe and Dutch have been considerable, though of a disparate nature, because of the different socio-political status of the

respective languages and their speakers. The influence of Khoekhoe (and also Malay) on Dutch amounted mainly to simplificatory substratum interference: these communities were shifting from their own language to Dutch without having mastered all the intricacies of the language, thus leading to the eventual emergence of the simplified language, Afrikaans. The influence of modern Afrikaans on contemporary Khoekhoe, though, amounts mainly to lexical interference through borrowing of vocabulary by the Khoe-khoe. Since the combined substratum interference by these typologically very diverse languages (Khoekhoe and Malayo-Polynesian languages) allowed for the introduction of neither vocabulary nor any marked grammatical structures into the prestige language Dutch, the influence of these communities on modern Afrikaans tends to be somewhat overlooked, even though the communities were instrumental in bringing about the actual emergence of Afrikaans as a separate language (cf. Luijks 2000). Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 38f.) summarise this typical situation:

Substratum interference is a subtype of interference that results from imperfect group learning during a process of language shift. That is, in this kind of interference a group of speakers shifting to a target language fails to learn the target language (TL) perfectly. The errors made by members of the shifting group in speaking the TL then spread to the TL as a whole when they are imitated by original speakers of that language.

... interference through imperfect learning does *not* begin with vocabulary: it begins instead with sounds and syntax.

These authors (1988: 251–56) justifiably argue that Afrikaans is probably not a Creole language as occasionally claimed, but indeed Dutch-based and simplified through the imperfect mastery of second-language speakers that then passed on the simplified “bad Dutch” to the children of their white masters that they had to rear – a claim corroborated by a diary entry from 1685 (van Reede). The kind of Cape Dutch spoken by *inter alia* the shifting Cape Khoe led to variants of Afrikaans that were accepted among academics only more recently as not just non-standard (non-white) but legitimate varieties of Afrikaans, notably “Orange River Afrikaans”. Those errors that were then imitated by the “original speakers” of Dutch – mainly by their children – led to the emergence of “standard” Afrikaans as spoken primarily by Whites. As said, the errors made did not lead so much to the introduction of marked grammatical structures, but mainly to a simplification of the inflectional system of Dutch and modification of the phonological system.

The reader is reminded that early Afrikaans was introduced to present-day Namibia not by white Afrikaners but by Africans, viz. by the Orlam Nama from South Africa who migrated over the Orange River in the early eighteenth century.

Superstratum interference of Dutch in Khoekhoe typically manifested itself most through lexical interference, i.e. through borrowing of terms for cultural

or technological innovations obtained from the immigrant Whites. In the *Khoekhoegowab Dictionary* (Haacke and Eiseb 2002) over 85 per cent of the entries that are marked as loans from Afrikaans are nouns; the remainder consists almost exclusively of verbs. The dominance of nouns is to be expected as items from the foreign material culture are more readily acquired than habits or actions as reflected in verbs.

Borrowings can be grouped mainly into adoptions (direct borrowings with more or less phonological adaptation), calques and hybrids (see also Haacke 1989: 420ff. for the creation of terminology as part of corpus planning). Adoptions form by far the majority:

ábèl-s ‘apple’ < Afrikaans *appel*

bàìgì-b/bàìgì-s ‘jacket’ < Afrikaans *baadjie*

spóók, sópók ‘be haunted’ < Afrikaans *spook*

Calques are quite rare. This is not surprising, as direct adoption by way of language mixing requires less intellectual effort than translation of concepts.

lǎé||gàù-b ‘rocket’ < Afrikaans *vuurpyl*; cf. *lǎé-b* ‘fire’: Afrikaans *vuur*
||gàù-b ‘arrow’: Afrikaans *pyl*
||nǎáǎgàǎ||ǎé-b ‘time to fall in line’ < Afrikaans *invaltyd*;
 cf. *||nǎá* ‘fall’: Afrikaans *val*
ǎgǎǎ ‘enter’: Afrikaans preposition *in*
||ǎé-b ‘time’: Afrikaans *tyd*

Calques pose an interesting question, namely which language borrowed (and translated) from which. The

following Afrikaans words do not seem to have their roots in Dutch. Hence, the alternative possibility that Afrikaans adopted them from Khoekhoe cannot be ruled out. (I am grateful to Hans den Besten, who verified the possible existence of Dutch equivalents for me.)

<i>sêgoed</i>	<i>mixū-i</i>	‘repartee, witty sayings’	cf. <i>mī</i> <i>xū-'i</i>	<i>sê</i> <i>goed</i>	‘say’ ‘thing’
<i>optelgoed</i>	<i>hōkhāixū-n</i>	‘things picked up/found’	cf. <i>hōkhāi</i> <i>xū-n</i>	<i>optel</i> <i>goed</i>	‘find, pick up’ ‘things’
<i>rybyl</i>	<i>!nari!ō-b</i>	‘adze’	cf. <i>!nari</i> <i>!ō-b</i>	<i>ry</i> <i>byl</i>	‘drive’ ‘axe, chopper’

The Afrikaans word *draadtrek* (vulgar for ‘masturbate (said of male)’; lit.: ‘pull wire’) is peculiar in its origin in that it is a calque not of the obvious Khoekhoe denotation ‘stimulate to erection’ of the causative verb *llnāillnāi* (from *llnāi* ‘become erect’ (v.intr.) (physiol.)), but is a pseudo-euphemistic calque of its meaning ‘pull taut (e.g. wire)’. The overall meaning of the causative verb *llnāillnāi* is ‘stiffen’ (v.tr.).

The compilers of the *Khoekhoegowab Dictionary* frequently were led to observe that a ready equivalent for the Khoekhoe word is easier to find in Afrikaans than in English. This may be due to typological reasons, as Khoekhoe compound verbs are more readily rendered like Afrikaans phrasal verbs than like English phrasal verbs. Afrikaans (and German, for that matter) particles are more likely to be semantically equivalent to those of Khoekhoe than particles of English are. Ample instance is provided by verbs with Afrikaans *uit-*(lit.: ‘out’) and Khoekhoe *-#ui*. Whether such words are calques borrowed into Khoekhoe or simply parallel manifestations of similar compounds cannot be said.

The following Afrikaans examples have cognates in Dutch and usually also German, so Khoekhoe has either borrowed them or has had them independently.

<i>uitlag</i>	<i>āi#ui</i>	‘laugh at someone, to scorn’	cf. <i>āi</i> <i>#ui</i>	<i>lag</i> <i>uit</i>	‘laugh’ ‘out’
<i>uitvra</i>	<i>dī#ui</i>	‘question closely’	cf. <i>dī</i> <i>#ui</i>	<i>vra</i> <i>uit</i>	‘ask, question’ ‘out’
<i>(drank)</i> <i>wegslaan</i>	<i>(āxū-e) ra</i> <i>#naubē</i>	‘down/quaff (drink)’	cf. <i>#nau</i> <i>bē</i>	<i>slaan</i> <i>weg</i> <i>(-gaan)</i>	‘hit, beat’ ‘(go) away’
<i>afneem</i>	<i>!khō//nā</i>	‘photograph’	cf. <i>!khō</i> <i>-//nā</i>	<i>neem</i>	‘grasp’ (in verbs: ‘down’)

The following instances of object incorporation in Afrikaans gerunds are paralleled in Khoekhoe verbs. In predicates, however, Afrikaans manifests incorporation as little as English, both being SVO languages.

<i>skoolgaan</i>	<i>skol!gū</i>	‘go(ing) to school’	cf. <i>skol-i</i> <i>!gū</i>	<i>skool</i> <i>gaan</i>	‘school’ ‘go’
<i>toutrek</i>	<i>tsūri#gae</i>	‘play(ing) tug-of-war’	cf. <i>tsūri-b</i> <i>#gae</i>	<i>tou</i> <i>trek</i>	‘rope’ ‘pull’

Hybrid borrowings are almost exclusively from Afrikaans into Khoekhoe:

<i>smokelxū-n</i>	‘contraband’	cf. Afrikaans Khoekhoe	<i>smokkel (goed)</i> <i>xū-n</i>	‘smuggle’ ‘things’
<i>rōs!khū-s</i>	‘rose’	cf. Afrikaans Khoekhoe	<i>roos</i> <i>!khū-s</i>	‘rose’ ‘flower’
<i>spullgam-mi</i>	‘rinsing-water’	cf. Afrikaans Khoekhoe	<i>spoel</i> <i>//gam-mi</i>	‘rinse’ ‘water’

Grammatical borrowing from Afrikaans is evident in Khoekhoe, though to a limited extent. Borrowing is to be expected, considering that the Khoekhoe as the shifting people have been bilingual for several centuries. On the

other hand, it may have been constrained by the fact that the two languages are typologically fairly divergent.

An instance of grammatical borrowing in informal speech is that of the Afrikaans superlative suffix *-ste*, though not the comparative *-er*, e.g.:

kaiste ao-b ‘biggest man’; cf. *kai* ‘big’, *ao-b* ‘man’

Khoekhoe has to resort to periphrastic constructions for the comparative and superlative:

hoa-n xa a kai ao-b ‘a man big from all, i.e. biggest man’

The opposite derivational process has also been observed: the Khoekhoe adverbial derivative suffix *-se* is appended to an Afrikaans root perceived as adjectival, to form an adverb in Khoekhoe:

lātse ‘late’ (adv.) cf. Afrikaans *laat* ‘late’ (adj./adv.)

fruxse ‘early’ (adv.) cf. Afrikaans *vroeg* ‘early’ (adj./adv.)

A few instances of phrasal calques that follow Afrikaans syntax irrespective of Khoekhoe syntax are on record, e.g.:

emers loa llgam-mi

(’n) vol water
emmer

‘a bucket full of water’

llhō-s loa lgãñ

(’n) sak vol gras

‘a bag full of grass’

A case of grammatical loan with wider-reaching consequences is attested in Khoekhoe. What makes the case extraordinary is that it is not an instance of *structural* change, but rather one of different *reading* of an existing pattern. The structure in question is the so-called “(co-referential) copulative” sentence with the alleged reading “NP₁ be NP₂”, e.g.:

[<i>lHōakaō</i>]- <i>b</i>	<i>ge</i>	[<i>Petrū</i>]- <i>b</i>	+ <i>a</i>
crook-PGN	IND	Peter-PGN	OBL

The question is whether such a sentence should be read as ‘The crook is Peter’ or as ‘Peter is the/a crook’. In practically all grammars on Khoekhoe this kind of sentence is read in a left to right sequence “NP_{subject} be NP_{complement}”, with NP₁ taken to be the subject of a “copulative” reading. This is the typical reading as encountered in Bantu copulative sentences.

Textual analysis, however, reveals that speakers of Khoekhoe fluctuate between the two readings, depending on the context. While the first reading, the “copulative” reading, is the one *claimed* by the grammars to be the typical (if not only) reading, the original Khoekhoe reading is rather one that in function is similar to a (pseudo-) cleft sentence, in which the predicate head has been topicalised into the initial slot, and the subject specification has been deposed to the end of the sentence:

<i>Petru+ba ge a</i>	<i>hōakao</i> > <i>Hōakao a~b ge Petru+ba</i> >	
	<i>Hōakao~b ge Petru+ba</i>	
Peter IND PRES.STAT crook		
‘Peter is (a) crook.’	>	‘He – that is Peter – is a crook.’

The lexical specification of the subject-NP (*Petru*) is demoted to a deposed subject, which as such takes the oblique case ending *-a*, which is the grammaticalised (present) stative marker *a* (cf. Haacke 1979). It is contended here that, as the second reading with the topicalised predicate (*lhōakao a*) consistently fits into the underlying syntax of Khoekhoe, the first, so-called “copular”, reading is based on a misinterpretation of Khoekhoe syntax by analogy to Bantu. As such it has been unwittingly imposed on Khoekhoe by (mostly German) missionaries and linguists. The “copulative” reading is indeed now also offered by mother tongue speakers, but it appears as a result of some indoctrination from the European side.

It may be assumed that a considerable amount of contact-induced change has as yet gone unnoticed especially in the lexicon of both, Khoekhoe and Afrikaans, as the topic has not been seriously

investigated yet by linguists conversant in both languages.

6

Namibian Jul'hoansi in Contact with Speakers of Afrikaans

Amanda L. Miller

6.1 Jul'hoan-Afrikaans Contact

Namibian Jul'hoansi have had prolonged contact with Afrikaans speakers most notably through their participation in the South West African Army. The geographic conditions of Bushmanland (the Bushman homeland under apartheid consisting of a portion of traditional Jul'hoansi lands), as well as the enforced segregation of Namibia through apartheid, lessened contact between Khoesan and Bantu groups. Thus, Namibian Jul'hoan loanwords illustrate direct contact between Afrikaans and Khoesan languages. Afrikaans loanwords are usually obvious, as there are so many structural dissimilarities between the languages. Yet, interesting assimilation patterns are also found.

6.2 Syllable Structure Repairs

Epanthesis repairs illicit consonant clusters, often resulting in trisyllabic roots that disobey the disyllabic root maximum. An epenthetic vowel, identical to the initial underlying vowel, is inserted between initial obstruent + liquid, and fricative + stop clusters:

(1) Epanthesis into obstruent + liquid clusters

<i>dörömä</i>	‘drum, garbage container’	<i>färürü</i>	‘floor’
<i>pälakisi</i>	‘flip flops’	<i>bürúkhè</i>	‘trousers’
Epenthesis into fricative + stop clusters			
<i>sikore</i>	‘school’	<i>sitora</i>	‘store’

The epenthetic vowel is prosodically weaker than the underlying vowels, resulting in more centralized vowels, when it creates a third syllable. Many loanwords are found in Dickens (1994) without epenthesis, due to the fact that bilingual Jul’hoan speakers often pronounce the words in correct Afrikaans pronunciation. Monolingual speakers always epenthesize.

Illicit final consonants (all consonants except [m]), are also repaired through epenthesis:

(2) Epenthesis following final consonants

<i>ápàrà</i>	‘apple’	<i>bürü</i>	‘ball’	<i>k^háni</i>	‘milk can’*
<i>kètàngà</i>	‘chain’	<i>rädä</i>	‘councillor’	<i>píni</i>	‘pen’

*Note that there is no height harmony in this root, presumably because the [i] is not underlying.

It is interesting to note that even final [ŋ] gains a final epenthetic vowel, which is evidence that final [ŋ] in roots like *n!àŋ* [n!^hŋ] ‘eland’ is an allophone of [n] due to assimilation to the preceding click.

6.3 Illicit Vowel Sequences

Some Afrikaans words are borrowed into Jul’hoan with epiglottalization on the vowels:

(3) Modal Afrikaans vowels are epiglottalized

<i>rok</i>	‘dress’	<i>hò^qórók^hòè</i>
<i>baaidjie</i>	‘jacket’	<i>bà^qiki</i>
<i>pyp</i>	‘hose’	<i>pǎ^qi, pǎ^qipà</i>

In the word ‘dress’, the presence of epiglottalization probably derives from the uvular Afrikaans [R]. The epenthesis of the initial syllable is due to the fact that [r] only occurs medially in Jul’hoan. In the word meaning ‘jacket’ [ai] is illicit. As shown by Miller-Ockhuizen (1999a: 316–19), co-articulation results in the diphthong [əi]. Additionally, the diphthong [ai] never occurs after a labial consonant. In the word ‘hose’, the [a^qi] sequence arises through the assimilation of the Afrikaans front rounded vowel *y* [ø].

6.4 Direct Contact

Visser (1998: 119f.) has claimed that many of the epenthesized words in Naro are first assimilated into Tswana, and then later borrowed into the Khoesan languages in their epenthesized forms. If this were always the case, then epenthesized forms in Khoesan languages would not tell us anything about the structure of the Khoesan languages themselves. In (4) below, I give a few illustrative forms of Afrikaans loanwords in Jul’hoan that have native vocabulary forms in the neighbouring Bantu languages, or as with the case of the word ‘chain’, occur in very different assimilated forms in most other languages.

(4) Epenthesis in Jul’hoan which correspond to native words in neighbouring Bantu languages¹

Afrikaans	English	Jul’hoan	Tswana	Herero	Kwangali	Mbukushu
<i>vloer</i>	‘floor’	<i>fāriri</i>	<i>bodilô</i>		<i>rugorongwa</i>	<i>thiramba</i>
<i>ketang</i>	‘chain’	<i>kêtàngà</i>	<i>kéétāne</i>	<i>ouketanga</i>	<i>elyenge</i>	<i>dyenge</i>
<i>pampoen</i>	‘pumpkin’	<i>pə̀fú</i>	<i>lephutshé</i>	<i>otjimbakama</i>	<i>etanga</i>	<i>dingadi</i>

Epenthesis in words such as ‘pumpkin’ is due to direct contact between Afrikaans and Jul’hoan, and indicates the disallowance of consonant clusters in the language. Of course, this does not rule out the possibility that some words, such as ‘chain’, may have entered through neighbouring Bantu languages, such as Herero.

7 Haillom Language Contact

Thomas Widlok

The Haillom language has not been subject to the same efforts of standardization and canonization as Nama/Damara has been. This may partly be due to the low public status of Haillom as a “Bushman” language but also due to a low academic status of Haillom as a “dialect” of Nama or even a “bowdlerized” version of Nama. Present-day Haillom speech includes borrowings from very different neighbouring languages. Borrowing from !Xũũ seems to occur less than one may expect, given the frequent interaction in some northern areas of Namibia. Important exceptions are the “words” used in the Elephant Medicine Dance of the †Akhoe which is practised frequently today and which is said to originate from the !Xũũ. The term for ‘being in trance’ itself is a compound verb, *!gaillo*, which is clearly related to the !Xũũ lexeme *!aia* ‘to fall into trance’ (Dickens 1994: 309).

Even though the following analysis is restricted to processes of borrowing from non-Khoesan languages this should not suggest that Afrikaans or Oshiwambo are, or have always been, more important sources of innovation to the Haillom language than Khoesan languages. The Haillom/ǀAkhoe lexicon shares many items with other Khoesan languages, in particular with Nama/Damara, so the line between shared origins and genuine borrowing

may not always be drawn easily. Borrowings from non-Khoesan languages are usually easier to trace although words may be borrowed from a language that has only recently borrowed these items itself (see below). In a historically long line of borrowing Afrikaans was in many cases the most recent link in the chain and, therefore, features prominently in the following examples.

Borrowings are most evident for nouns, which are often also recognized as “foreign words” even though they are inflected like Khoekhoe nouns. Examples are:

- bongi-e* ‘beans’ (< Afrikaans *boontjie*)
- oroso-s* ‘watch’ (< Afrikaans *horlosie*)
- stor-s* ‘shop’ (< English *store*)
- stul-s* ‘chair’ (< Afrikaans/German *stoel/ Stuhl*)
- swesta-s* ‘nurse’ (< German *Schwester*)

With regard to borrowing of Afrikaans nouns Haillom shares some incorporation practices that have been noted for Nama (see Hagman 1977: 30). In compound nouns a nuclear noun root from Khoekhoe may be complemented with a word borrowed from Afrikaans. Well-known examples are the days of the week: *sontatses* (consisting of *sontag*, Afrikaans for ‘Sunday’ and *tses*), and similarly *freitatses*, *sataratses*. Note that this borrowing is very selective in Haillom since other days of the week are not borrowed from Afrikaans, e.g. *lgamitses* ‘Tuesday’ (lit. ‘second day’). Similarly, the borrowing of numbers is selective. While numbers up to a hundred largely follow the Khoekhoe decimal system, the terms for ‘hundred’, *kai dissi*, and ‘thousand’, *loa kai dissi*, are usually replaced by *honnorsa* and *taisensa*, respectively.

Note with regard to the weekdays that the Afrikaans words are borrowed as units without breaking them down into their constituent parts. The *sonda* part already includes ‘day’ but is still compounded with Khoekhoe *tse*.

A complementary strategy also occurs insofar as a unit is added where in the original word there is none. This happens with borrowed Afrikaans words ending with a final released k-sound (see Hagman 1977: 30 for the same strategy in Nama), which are lengthened in the following manner:

<i>rok</i>	‘dress’	is turned into	<i>rokwes</i> (or <i>rokhoes</i>)
<i>broek</i>	‘trousers’	is turned into	<i>burukwes</i>
<i>tronk</i>	‘jail’	is turned into	<i>toronkwes</i>

As the preceding examples show, borrowed words may also be lengthened to allow easier pronunciation. It also facilitates the adding of the obligatory pgn endings. For instance, in everyday Haillom speech the Afrikaans word *trekker* ‘tractor’ is lengthened and shortened to facilitate its regular inflection according to the Haillom rules. The following phrases were elicited from a life history of a Haillom man:

<i>terekekeri lkha</i>	‘with a tractor’
<i>axagua terekegua māhe</i>	‘young men were given tractors’
<i>gu ge na terekerka gere</i> <i>!gãri</i>	‘they (the men) drove these tractors’

In other instances Afrikaans adjectives such as *arm* ‘poor’ are borrowed and then used either in the adjectival form (*aram*) or in compound nouns in combination with a Khoesan word (*aramkhoen* ‘poor people’).

Afrikaans terms denoting objects or concepts that have been introduced by Europeans are frequently borrowed even though the manifold derivational morphemes of Haillom provide the means to create precise Khoekhoe correspondences. The linguistic potential notwithstanding, many Afrikaans nouns are now used so frequently that they are no longer considered foreign words. Examples are: *skoli* ‘school’ (< Afrikaans/English), *dorom* ‘container’ (< Afrikaans/English *trom/drum*), *keteb* ‘chain’ (< Afrikaans/German *ketting/Kette*).

In some instances Khoesan words and borrowed words coexist. Examples:

‘garden’: *!hanas* (as in Nama/Damara) and *tuins*
(Afrikaans)

!khal!khaobwa (as in Nama/Damara) and
‘teacher’: *Mister* (also used as a general term for
male Whites)

These examples show that there is a likelihood of imported borrowing, i.e. borrowings from a language into which the term was borrowed fairly recently, e.g. *Mister* from English into Afrikaans.

The reason for these borrowings from Afrikaans in cases where original Khoesan words readily exist may be found in the low status of Khoesan languages and the fact that many of these words are frequently used in dealings with outsiders. Another reason is the tolerance of Hailom speakers with regard to synonyms of apparently different linguistic roots. There are a considerable number of synonymous pairs being used in everyday Hailom speech which are clearly both of Khoesan origin but which seem completely unrelated in their lexical form. Examples are:

taub and *xaib* ‘kudu’

tamb and ‘language’
kovab

‡*ama* and ‘because’
!aroma

In some cases the borrowed term retains some distinctive semantic features which separate it from the Khoesan lexeme. Examples:

nondas (< Ndonga *ondunda* or Kwanyama *onduda*) for ‘house’, *oms*, to designate a house built in Owambo style (that is with a thatched roof and wooden poles)

xeb (< Afrikaans *gif*) for synthetically produced poison, in contrast to plant poison (*!khore*)

This is also true with regard to more complex phrases (or elements thereof) that have been borrowed from Afrikaans and Oshiwambo. The use of Oshiwambo and Afrikaans in greeting phrases has also been noted. In these greetings ‡Akhoe speakers not only incorporate borrowed lexemes (*ombili* ‘peace’ and *tokela* ‘evening’ from Oshiwambo; *meda* and *xunda* from Afrikaans), but the pragmatic rules are selectively imported and transformed as well (see Widlok 1997: 119). This raises the question of correspondences between linguistic and social shifts. The example of the introduction of the Oshiwambo lexeme *olupale* and of the Owambo institutions of spatial behaviour associated with the *olupale* (the visitor’s fire) shows that there is no deterministic relation between linguistic and social shifts but that, nevertheless, there are instructive parallels between these two processes that are often intertwined (see Widlok 1999b: 135).

8 Khoesan-Internal Contacts²

Tom Güldemann

8.1 Introduction

Despite the vastness of South African territory once populated by Khoesan peoples, the attested languages belong to only two lineages, each correlating fairly consistently with a particular mode of life of their speakers. The languages of hunter-gatherers alias San are from the Tuu family, predominantly from its !Ui subgroup. The pastoralists spoke varieties of Khoekhoe. Due to differences in the contact patterns and the structural divergence between the interacting languages, a distinction can be made between (a) pastoralist-internal contacts, (b) San-internal, and (c) San–pastoralist contacts. Only the last two will be dealt with here.

8.2 San-Internal Contacts

The misconception that speech varieties of San peoples are merely dialects of one language pervades the early literature, reinforced by the inappropriate use of the label “Bushman languages” in a genealogical sense. Even judgements by authorities like Wilhelm Bleek must be taken with reservation in this respect. One wonders, for example, what can be concluded from his report (1873: 2) that “the different Bushman dialects spoken within this Colony [roughly the Cape south of the Orange River] vary very little from each other, and that one language, quite different from Hottentot, is spoken by all these Bushmen”. This statement may only have had a general typological significance for him, because he

usually contrasted the then known San languages from !Ui against Khoe and Bantu (cf. Bleek 1869), rather than among one another. In any case, Bleek's data at the time were restricted to very little and predominantly lexical material from half a dozen distant localities. Pace Traill (1996: 177f.), these would not allow one to draw firm conclusions about the actual closeness/distance between varieties of a generally close-knit genealogical unit like !Ui, so Bleek's generalization over the vast area of the Cape is potentially misleading. Especially in the South African context, where language "documentation" sometimes means nothing more than a short list of poorly transcribed words, the assessment of such a variety vis-à-vis another in terms of language versus dialect remains a notorious problem.

Since it is unclear what kind of linguistic varieties were actually in contact with each other, any evaluation of the pre-colonial sociolinguistic situation among South African San can only give a very rough picture; moreover, this can only be reconstructed by largely extrapolating from patterns observed among San of other areas, which remained relatively undisturbed until recently.

A clearly discernible pattern is the existence of extensive dialect clusters, for example, !Xam in the Karoo and the group of varieties called by Dorothea Bleek !Iǁ (= Nǁng), which spread over a large area north of the Orange River (including #Khomani and Nǁhuki, see Güldemann 2000a). The degree of their internal diversity remains unclear due to insufficient documentation. Generally, however, such dialect clusters can display

considerable linguistic diversity so that non-adjacent varieties need not be mutually intelligible (cf. Traill 1974: 29f. on differences between West and East !Xoon with the Taa complex). At the same time speakers are usually able, if need be, to adapt their speech habits easily towards those of a related variety.

This is not the case across more pronounced linguistic boundaries which are also attested for South Africa. Speaker judgements to this effect, however problematic these may be, come from the Upper Orange River regarding !Ui varieties from different sides of the river (Traill 1996: 177f.) or from around Upington regarding a N!ng variety vis-à-vis !Xam (D. Bleek, notebook A3.9: 302f.). Although the Lower Nosop area seems to be messy at first glance (see Güldemann 2000a), it provides an even clearer case of a language boundary on account of the available sociolinguistic and linguistic information (D. Bleek, notebooks A3.29+30), namely the distinctness of #Khomani from l'Auni and l'Haasi. This case also demonstrates another important aspect, viz. the possible results of

intensive social contacts between different speech communities in the form of bilingualism and mutual linguistic interference. Regarding the consequences of this type of language contact, it can safely be assumed that Traill and Nakagawa's (2000) conclusion is also valid for South Africa, namely that the contacts observed within and across genealogical units can account to a considerable extent for the existence of areal and sub-areal features in pre-Bantu southern Africa.

However, if the integrity of the different social units is retained, a possible linguistic boundary would be stable. Thus, the present entanglement of the #Khomani-l'Auni complex cannot be interpreted as reflecting inherent fluctuation and fuzziness of San linguistic identities. It should rather be evaluated in the light of loss of access to traditional territories on the part of these groups and their subsequent disintegration.

8.3 San-Pastoralist Contacts

For the colonial period, we are well informed that contacts between Khoekhoe speakers (especially !Ora, Xiri, and Basters) and San could be characterized by a fair amount of conflict (cf., e.g., Engelbrecht 1936). However, this will not have been the pattern throughout history, but rather seems to be associated with a particular historical situation: during the expansion of the Cape Colony in the nineteenth century, indigenous pastoral-ist and hunter-gatherer groups were societies under hard territorial, social, and economic pressure instigating a struggle for continuously dwindling resources.

One can also discern patterns of peaceful cohabitation of these different groups, which favoured mutual bilingualism and linguistic interference. That this was especially relevant in the early contact history is suggested by important structural isoglosses shared by !Ui and Khoekhoe (Güldemann 2002, 2006b). Despite the strong tendency in the previous literature to ascribe such similarities to the borrowing of Khoekhoe features on the part of San speakers, it is often far from clear which language is actually the source. In fact, substantial

data clearly point in the opposite direction and justify to conjecture a Tuu substrate that pervades Khoekhoe in general and involves features defining this branch against Kalahari Khoe.

Later periods, too, give evidence for the fact that bilingualism was often not unilateral; for example, Krönlein's !Ui data on Nluusaan from beyond the Lower Orange River was furnished to him by a Nama-speaking Orlam (Güldemann 2006a). A similar situation can be assumed for linguistic contacts between !Ui and !Ora along the Middle Orange River. However, the recent history more often gives evidence for the knowledge of more prestigious Khoekhoe varieties on the part of the San. During their large-scale acculturation in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this pattern sometimes culminated in a complete language shift towards Khoekhoe (cf., e.g., Traill 1995a, 1996).

9 The Extinct Khoesan Languages of Eastern Africa

Christopher Ehret

Just two languages, Sandawe and Hadza, of those that have been proposed for membership in the Khoesan language family are spoken today in East Africa. Both these speech communities inhabit areas not far from each other in north-central Tanzania. But indirect evidence exists that other languages of possible Khoesan relationship were formerly spoken in East Africa as far north as northern Kenya and north-eastern Uganda. What is the evidence for the existence of these now vanished communities? How do they fit into the earlier history of

eastern Africa? These are the questions we will be considering here.

The crucial evidence for the existence of these former communities consists of sets of loanwords adopted from their languages into the languages that superseded them. These word borrowings give us clues as to the locations and cross-cultural interactions of the different communities involved in this history. The most numerous examples of this kind of word borrowing occur in the Southern Cushitic (SC) languages of East Africa, but additional cases of loanwords from extinct languages of possible Khoesan relationships appear in the Rub (“Kuliak”) languages of the Nilo-Saharan phylum, spoken in recent centuries in north-eastern Uganda.

9.1 Loanwords in Early SC

The Southern Cushites were livestock-raising peoples whose cultural origins go back to the far southern Ethiopian highlands in the fourth millennium BCE. Over the last 3,500 years BCE, Southern Cushitic communities spread across successively wider areas of East Africa. As a result of these expansions, the Southern Cushites successively diverged into a number of distinct speech communities, as depicted in the updated tree of relationships in [Figure 8.1](#) (Ehret 2011). The dating estimates for this history derive from archaeological correlations first laid out in Ambrose (1982).

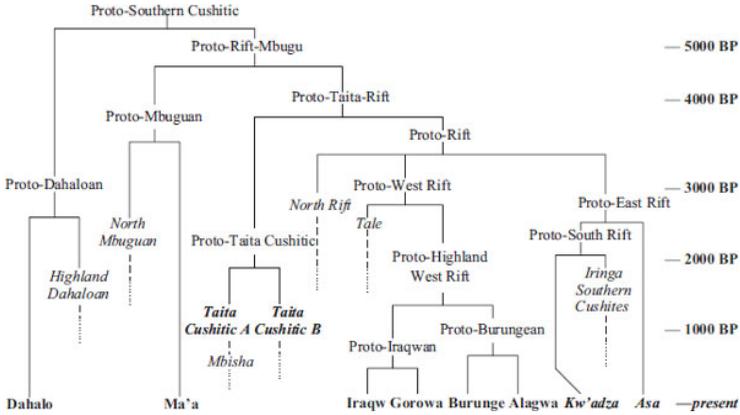


Figure 8.1 Expanded Family Tree of the Southern Cushitic Languages (Ehret 2011)

A number of apparently distinct sets of loanwords from the languages of the previous inhabitants of the land into which the early Southern Cushites moved can be discerned in the lexicons of SC languages. These reflect several eras of cross-cultural interaction. They include loanwords dating back to the Proto-SC period, to the Proto-Rift-Mbugu (PRM) era, and to the Proto-Rift period, as well as sets of words limited to particular SC languages.

What must be noted about the various sets of loanword data we will be considering here is that it is likely that they form only a portion of all the loanwords actually adopted in these early periods into SC from earlier-spoken East African languages. In addition, the languages from which the borrowings into SC came, if these languages did indeed belong to a greater Khoesan phylum, would have been separated by thousands of years of differentiation from any of the still

extant related tongues and so have had great differences in vocabulary from those existing languages, making the process of identifying loanwords all the harder.

On present evidence four words, and probably a fifth (for the *siafu* ant), of borrowed origin and with prototypes in Khoesan and proposed Khoesan languages (cf. List 1) can be tracked back to the Proto-SC language itself. The defining characteristic of these terms identifying them as probable loanwords are that they are not found anywhere else in the Cushitic branch of the Afroasiatic language phylum or in other branches of the phylum.

List 1 Loanwords of Proposed Khoesan Attribution in Proto-SC

Proto-SC	“Khoesan” attestations
*(b)aab-‘carry child on back’	Southern African Khoesan (SAK): Khoe: Proto-Khoekhoe *aba
*dama ‘(young?) female animal’ (Dahalo ‘female’)	SAK: Ju: Proto-Ju (PJ) *dama ‘child’; Sandawe ‘female (of large lungfish’; West Rift animals)’ (proposed original meaning ‘young female’)
*keek-‘to pay attention to’	Sandawe <i>k^hé’é</i> ‘to hear’; SAK: Proto-Khoe (PKh) *khe ‘to hear’ (cf. also Sandawe <i>kéké</i> ‘ear’)

*k'ad- 'arrow poison'	SAK: Ju <i>kx'aru</i> ; Hadza <i>k'ade</i>
*k ^w atl'aaɿ- 'siafu ant'	Sandawe <i>!wetl'áá</i> 'siafu ant'

A notable feature of the set of words in [List 1](#) is that their plausible source forms can occur either only in SAK (Khoe, Ju, and Tuu groups of southern Africa), Sandawe, or Hadza, or in Hadza and Sandawe, or in Hadza and/or Sandawe and in one or more SAK languages. This distribution pattern is one we will encounter repeatedly in the lexical sets considered here. It has implications for the hypothesis of a wider Khoesan phylum including Hadza and Sandawe that we will return to later.

A second set of such loans entered SC at least as early as the immediately subsequent PRM period.

Unlike the loanwords in Proto-SC ([List 1](#)), the features of the set of borrowings in [List 2](#) do suggest a particular relationship for its source language. The presence of all but one of the six loanwords in the Sandawe language, along with the fact that the word for 'five' appears to be a specifically Sandawean innovation, strongly imply that the source language of the loans, spoken on the order of 4,000 years ago, was an offshoot of the same line of linguistic descent as Sandawe. It is possible that one or more of the words of this set may actually go back to the Proto-SC period and might therefore once upon a time have been found in Dahalo. But the general attribution of these loanwords, unlike those in [List 1](#), to a

Sandawe-related language makes this possibility highly improbable for all except perhaps the one word, for ‘year’, not found in Sandawe today.

List 2 Loanwords in PRM from a Sandawe-Related Language

PRM	Attestations	outside Rift-Mbugu
*haaka ‘four’	Sandawe <i>haka-</i> ; PKh *haka	
*kǒ’an- ‘five’	Sandawe <i>kwǎ’ána</i> ‘five’ (stem *kwa-plus Sandawe <i>-ana</i> nominal suffix); Hadza <i>’ukwa</i> ‘arm; finger’	
*kôr- ‘year’	SAK: PKh *kuri; PJ *kúrí; Tuu: !Xǒǒ <i>kúli</i>	
*saax- ‘organ of chest’	Sandawe <i>sákà</i> ‘chest’; also SAK: Tuu: !Xǒǒ <i>tshxàǎ</i> ‘pith; mesophyll (of <i>Senseveria</i> sp.)’: proposed semantics: earlier ‘heart’ > ‘core of anything’, hence ‘pith’; for proposed pre-SAK *CVCV > CCV, hence !Xǒǒ <i>tshxàǎ</i> < earlier *tshaxa, see Ehret 1986)	
*k’ǎr- ‘lad, man’	young Sandawe <i>k’aré</i> ‘youth’; SAK: PKh *kx’ado ‘boy’; Ju <i>kx’arò</i>	

the borrowing of ‘five’ should also have been a development of the PRM language.

9.2 Historical Implications of the Early Khoesan Loanwords in SC

The Proto-SC society and its immediate descendant people, the PRM, inhabited lands to the east of Lake Turkana in the second half of the fourth millennium BCE. We must therefore locate the communities with whom they interacted in the same broad region.

If in fact the East Turkana communities were simply gatherer-hunters in contact with expanding, food-producing Southern Cushites, the semantic reach of the influences from a Sandawe-related language into the PRM vocabulary in particular seems surprisingly deep. The adoption into PRM of the old term for ‘year’ found so widely in the SAK languages suggests that the Southern Cushites, in moving into the northern Kenya regions, may have taken on their predecessors’ conceptions of the yearly cycle, despite presumed differences in their economic activities. The adoption of a term for a life stage already very old in Cushitic social history, that of a young man between circumcision and marriage, is even more surprising because it implies an outside cultural input affecting one of the core features of ancient custom in Cushitic societies.

Most surprising of all, however, was the Rift-Mbugu borrowing of their words for ‘four’ and ‘five’ from the Sandawe-related “East-Turkana” language. Gatherer-hunter communities in eastern African history have frequently adopted numerals from neighbouring,

economically dominant food producers, but borrowing the other way around is virtually unknown. The normal pattern in numeral borrowing, as we have seen, is for the higher part of a particular subset of numbers to be borrowed. In the case of PRM this same pattern appears, with older Cushitic roots used for ‘one’ and ‘two’ and apparently ‘three’ (Ehret 1980), but with ‘four’ and ‘five’ coming from the East-Turkana source language.

What this all strongly indicates is that we are not dealing here with a historical situation of simple expansion of food producers into previously gatherer-hunter country. The East-Turkana communities seem likely, from the loanwords they have left behind in SC languages, to have been a relatively numerous grouping of people long able to hold their own against the advance of Southern Cushites into their lands. Two explanations for this history seem possible. One is that these particular people were themselves already in part food producers; the other is that they followed a kind of gathering and hunting that allowed them to support a denser population than is typical of most gatherer-hunters.

The archaeology of the Turkana basin of the fourth and earlier third millenniums BCE offers a third alternative that combines these two. On the east of Lake Turkana there lived people who combined the highly productive Aquatic way of life – brought into the basin several thousand years earlier – with the raising of livestock. The pottery of these particular peoples living on the east of Lake Turkana belongs to the styles of the Southern Cushites (Ambrose 1982). The utilization of fishing resources, on the other hand, clashes with the general

Cushitic avoidance of fish eating. What we may have here, in other words, might be a mixture of sites – some inhabited by the proposed East-Turkana society, who fished but also kept livestock and used pottery they had adopted from their SC neighbours, and others inhabited by the PRM communities. If this kind of close interconnection held true, then the penetration of the East-Turkana loanwords into deep portions of Rift-Mbugu culture vocabulary would begin to make sense.

9.3 Loanwords in Proto-Rift SC

A third significant set of loanwords of proposed Khoesan attribution ([List 3](#)) can be traced at least as far back in time as the Proto-Rift SC language, spoken at around 3,000 years ago. Also a very few words are known at present from just the East Rift or the West Rift subgroup. These are too few as yet to justify setting up additional later loanword periods and so may be treated for now as Proto-Rift borrowings retained in just one or the other subgroup. Because only a single language of the Mbuguan branch, Ma'a, has survived in use down to the present, it is possible that one or two of these items may remain from the earlier set found in the PRM language, but happened to have been retained only in Rift languages. Against this possibility is the fact that the one borrowing that does have a prototype in Sandawe differs in its phonology from the borrowed shape, favouring the conclusion that these words entered Rift languages from a different source language or languages after the PRM period.

List 3 Words of Proposed Khoesan Attribution in Rift SC

Proto-Rift	Attestations in SAK, Hadza, and Sandawe
*daɸ-‘to burn’ (tr.)	SAK: PKh *dao ‘to burn’; Ju <i>dà’á</i> ‘fire’
*dabi ‘salt’ [corrects root in Ehret 1980: 19, 162]	SAK: PKh *dabi; Ju <i>dibi</i> ; Tuu: Nluuki <i>dyiβe</i> , etc.
*tlan-‘arrows’	Hadza <i>ll’ànà</i> ‘poisoned arrow’; Sandawe <i>ll’ani</i> ~ <i>dlani</i> ‘arrow’
*tanaɸ-‘brain’	SAK: Khoekhoe *tana-‘head’; Sandawe <i>tónó</i> ‘crown of head’ (also Sandawe <i>tíní</i> ‘brain’: loanword back from Rift SC, specifically < Alagwa <i>tinifo</i>)
*c’i’-‘aardwolf (?)’	SAK: !Xõõ <i>lǎi</i> ‘aardwolf’; Ju <i>laǐ</i> ‘red jackal’; PKh *lǐ ~ *li ‘aardwolf’

Word known so far only from West Rift:

Proto-West Rift
 *dan-‘honey’ [Ehret 1980
 makes the no longer SAK: PKh *dani-
 tenable postulation of this
 root as a Proto-SC item.]

Words known so far only from East Rift:

Proto-East Rift *’alala
 ‘scorpion’ (Kw’adza Sandawe *’ilàálàà*; Hadza
hala
aleleto, Asa *’alala*)

Kw’adza *dundumayo*
 ‘area below chin’ SAK ‘throat’: PKh *dom;
 (reduplicated stem plus Ju *d_om*
 Kw’adza nominal suffix
 -*ayo*)

The proposed source forms of these lexemes in [List 3](#), as in the case of the loanwords in Proto-SC ([List 1](#)), occur across a range of languages: in SAK (Khoe, Ju, and Tuu groups), in Sandawe, in Hadza, and, in one instance, in both Sandawe and SAK languages.

The Proto-Rift language was spoken most probably somewhere in the plains of southern Kenya and adjoining parts of Tanzania, considerably farther south than the Proto-SC and PRM languages that were ancestral to it. So the language or languages that were the sources of the influence on Proto-Rift must be placed somewhere in that expanse as well. Some of the loans, too, indicate a strong influence of the earlier peoples on SC culture history. They include

words for parts of the body, notably for ‘brain’ and also, it appears, at least one very basic verb, for burning in a transitive sense. At the least, the speakers of one of the source languages of these borrowings may initially have been numerically preponderant over the earliest incoming Proto-Rift people. The borrowing of a term for ‘arrows’, when this was a weapon of ancient provenance among the Cushites and their Proto-Afroasiatic ancestors (see Ehret 1995 and Orel and Stolbova 1995 for reconstructed bow and arrow lexicon), would fit with the donor people of the loanword having been gatherer-hunters.

In all three sets of early loanwords in SC, the number of words so far proposed is not great. In the cases of PRM and Proto-Rift, the penetration of the loans into core areas of culture and even into basic vocabulary suggests, though, that these items are the remnants of once significantly larger bodies of loanwords, in which many of the less basic items dropped out of use over the long intervening time span or remain still to be discovered by future research.

The single West Rift item listed here is likely to be an isolated retention of a word actually borrowed earlier, possibly at the Proto-Rift period. But the words limited to East Rift may be part of a larger set of Khoesan loanwords yet to be properly identified because of the paucity of evidence from the two East Rift languages cited here. A closer investigation still needs to be done in this instance, and there may well be more such items to be discovered once that effort is undertaken. The remaining Asa speakers in the twentieth

century were gatherer-hunters in economy, and the oral traditions of the Kw'adza claimed such a background for themselves in earlier times, thus enhancing the possibility that each community evolved out of a previously non-SC-speaking society that gave up their former language in favour of an SC one.

9.4 Loanwords in Dahalo

By far the largest and most striking set of loanwords attributable to a language of proposed Khoesan relationship occurs in Dahalo (List 4), the sole extant language of the Dahaloan branch. This language adopted not only numerous words but, most notably of all, a significant corpus of words containing that especially distinctive feature of Khoesan phonology, click consonants. A significant minority of the click-containing words in Dahalo can already be matched up with plausible source forms in Sandawe, Hadza, or SAK languages, but many more will probably be discovered in the future to have such prototypes. An interesting recent research discovery (author's unpublished field recordings, 1997 and 2007) is the presence in Dahalo of two less common click consonants, // and *n//*, additional to the more highly visible / and *n/* of that language.

List 4 Loanwords of Proposed Khoesan Attribution in Dahalo

Dahalo	Sandawe	Hadza	SAK
<i>lóóne</i> 'breast'	[/]'ine 'breast' probably does not belong here]		!Xöö /ò'na 'pectoral muscle'
<i>la'-</i> 'to dry out'			SAK * a 'to become stiff': Khoekhoe /khàà 'to stiffen'; Ju /ā āā 'to be stiff'
<i>laaf-</i> 'to wring'			Khoekhoe /àã 'to squeeze, press'; Khwe /'á 'to wring out'
<i>lu'u</i> 'excrement'			Khoekhoe /iù-s 'excrement', /iù-b 'urine' (* 'u-)
<i>lĩmbĩrik</i> '-iite' 'kind of lizard' (Dahalo sg. suffix -iite)	/'embè'là 'kind of lizard' (proposed earlier /'embèk'elà by metathesis < /'embèlek'-)		
<i>lwiji</i> 'night' (ideoph.)	/'un!uj 'to deprive of light, block out light'		
<i>làβà</i> 'nice smell (of oil)'			Khoekhoe /àwà-p 'taste of blood'
<i>lén è</i> 'sunbird'	<i>ts'ents'èna</i> 'sunbird': proposed example of occasional Sandawe <i>ts'~ /</i> alternance < original *		
<i>lunyuu</i> 'ið- 'to kiss' (stem + Dahalo -ið- causative)			Khwe <i>n inù</i> 'to inhale deeply'
<i>lnuſiite</i> 'thing that hurts the body, pain; bitterness' (stem + Dahalo ſ nom. suff.)		<i>lnu'u-</i> 'to feel ill'; <i>lnu'-ana</i> 'bitter' (Hadza -ana adj. suffix)	
<i>look-</i> 'to fill' (stem + Dahalo *k verb extension)		<i>l'o</i> 'to be full'	!Xöö /'óo 'to be stuffed, packed together': PKh (Khoekhoe, Khwe, etc.) * 'o 'confined, tight'

<p><i>lúútu</i> 'joint of tool; waist' (!Xöð and Dahalo meanings both apply to longitudinal link point of tool; Dahalo 2nd meaning and Hadza meaning both relate to longitudinal link point on body)</p>	<p><i>l^húti</i> 'neck' (joint of head with torso)</p>	<p>!Xöð <i>†qhúli</i> 'linkshaft of an arrow' (in SAK only *l ~ *r = PKh *d exists root-medially; hence, if earlier *t existed, then > *d ~ *r ~ *l)</p>
<p><i>lnaβa</i> 'forest'</p>		<p>!Xöð <i>†nāhbi</i> 'small clump of trees or bushes'</p>
<p><i>lap'</i> 'to plug' (i.e., stick stopper into)</p>	<p><i>l'api</i> 'to sew' (i.e., stick needle into)</p>	<p>Ju <i>l'ābē</i> 'to cut open (animal)'; Khwe <i>l'avé</i> 'to chop with axe' (i.e., stick blade into)</p>
<p><i>lof-</i> 'to pick fruit'</p>	<p><i>l'ɔ</i> 'to pull out, pluck' <i>l^hoko</i> 'to pierce'</p>	
<p><i>look-</i> 'to pierce' <i>lweh-</i> 'to strip back maize husks'</p>	<p><i>l^hwě</i> 'to crack' (e.g., potato skin when done) (semantics: peel away [intr.] of potato husk)</p>	
<p><i>luſ-</i> 'to strip, peel' <i>luſuſ-</i> 'to hatch (of egg)' (stem + Dahalo <i>ſ</i> intr. extension)</p>	<p><i>l^hu'</i> 'to split' (intr.)</p>	<p>SAK 'to split, crack apart': !Xöð <i>l^húu</i> 'to cut open, slit open'; Khoekhoe <i>l^hüü</i> 'to crack bones for marrow'; Khwe <i>l^hú</i> 'to crack' Ju <i>*n^hàbà</i> 'whip' (areal term, also in Khoekhoe)</p>
<p><i>nlap'ið-</i> 'to smack someone' (stem + Dahalo <i>-ið-</i> caus.) <i>n^hákwi</i> 'deserted homestead' (i.e., fallen, collapsed residence) (regular Dahalo shift: *x > k)</p>	<p><i>lnaxi</i> 'fallen tree trunk, branch'</p>	

<i>laf-</i> 'to carry child on back'	<i>l'aa</i> 'to hold/take in one's hands'	<i>la</i> 'to tie'	!Xõõ <i>lāa</i> 'to tie up, tether'
<i>la'</i> 'to sew'			
<i>laaf-</i> 'to tell'	<i>l'ā'mé</i> 'to mention' (stem + Sandawe - <i>me</i> v. extension)		
<i>lnó'o</i> 'sound of ripping or breaking'	<i>nlwé</i> 'to break, break off a piece'		Khoekhoe <i>lnòè</i> 'to cut open abdomen (of animal)'
<i>k'wai</i> 'arrowshaft'		<i>hik'o</i> 'arrow' (common Hadza *hV-prefix + stem *-k'o)	SAK 'sharp stick, arrow': Khoekhoe <i>óǎ-s</i> 'arrow tip, point of arrow' (< PKh *kx'oa); Ju <i>kx'óá</i> 'stick (planted in grave)'
<i>nuumu</i> 'younger brother'	<i>numu</i> 'younger sibling'		
<i>sool-</i> 'to catch after chasing'	<i>sóólà</i> 'to run to meet'		

Previous studies have argued that the Dahalo, who up till recently were gatherer-hunters in economy, were in fact direct descendants of an earlier Khoesan-related society, who at some point in the past, probably as early as the last millennium BCE, adopted the language of their SC food-producing neighbours. The evidence presented here gives renewed support for that conclusion. Borrowed words, with clicks, carried over from the earlier gatherer-hunter language, include such core vocabulary terms as for 'woman's breast', 'night', 'star' and 'yellow' (the latter two are not included in List 4), along with a large number of everyday verbs. This type of borrowing is a defining indicator that the majority component in Dahalo ancestry came from the society whose language contained these words (Ehret 2011: ch. 4). In addition, a variety of cultural terms, such as for a 'shell scraper' and for 'arrowshaft', reveal cultural knowledge passed along from that more ancient past despite the shift of language.

The overabundance of dental click consonants (/) in the Dahalo word-borrowings in comparison to the lateral clicks (ʘ) – with 71 dental-click words versus seven lateral-click words in the combined published (Ehret *et al.* 1989, Tosco 1991) and unpublished data (writer’s field collections, 1997 and 2007) – is striking. Superabundance of one consonant over its equivalent consonant at a second point of articulation typically in historical linguistics reflects an earlier history of consonant merger. The presence of the pattern in this instance makes it highly probable that all the clicks except for the lateral had merged either in the donor language of the loanwords or became the default click for non-laterals in Dahalo as part of the process of borrowing. This expectation is borne out by the consistent existence of plausible lateral-click correspondents for the lateral-click words in Dahalo, but the occurrence of dental, alveolar (/), and palatal (ʘ) click parallels for Dahalo’s dental-click words. In keeping with the proposals in Ehret (1986), two examples from Hadza show merger of the dental and palatal clicks (/ and ʘ) where the parallel terms in Southern African languages distinguish the two consonants. In addition, the click loanwords in Dahalo do not distinguish aspirated and glottalic clicks.

In several cases the Dahalo language adds a seemingly unnecessary causative suffix to an already transitive verb. This reflects a tendency also noted in Dahalo’s borrowed verbs from Swahili. It probably originated as a means of adjusting vowel-final verb stems to Dahalo’s own consonant-final pattern.

The extant occurrences of the source forms of the loanwords of Khoesan attribution in Dahalo, at least those so far discovered, are distributed very similarly to the borrowings in Proto-SC ([List 1](#)). They appear in relatively equal proportions in Sandawe, Hadza, and SAK, and in Sandawe or Hadza and South African groups.

The data we have considered so far highlight an interesting point for general borrowing theory. Click-containing words are rare in the three early loanword sets of possible Khoesan source in SC, but it is not difficult to discover non-click loanwords. This pattern suggests a more general principle, namely, that languages without click consonants, when strongly influenced by speakers of click languages, borrow non-click words relatively easily but tend to resist adopting words containing clicks.

The corollary of this conclusion would be that when click words do begin to be borrowed in large numbers, as in Dahalo, an extraordinarily strong impact of click speakers is present. In the case of Dahalo, it seems probable that the ancestral speech community carried over a great deal of lexical material, and thus phonological material also, into their adopted SC language. For southern African Bantu speakers such as the Nguni and Yeyi, we can similarly argue, because of the extraordinary penetration of click loanwords into their lexicons, that very large proportions of the human ancestry of such societies would have been speakers of a non-Bantu language. The Yeyi, in particular, might be an example of a society that, like the Dahalo, shifted en

masse to a new language, in this instance from Khoesan to Bantu.

9.5

Loanwords of Proposed Khoesan Origin in the Rub Languages

A very few loanwords of apparently Khoesan connections have been identified so far from the Rub (Kuliak) language group (List 5), a member of the Nilo-Saharan phylum of languages spoken in former times in eastern Uganda and far western Kenya. Again, however, more such loans probably remain to be discovered by future research.

List 5 Words of Proposed Khoesan Attribution in the Rub Languages

	Sandawe	Hadza
		<i>biso</i> ‘wildebeest’ (also Proto-Kalenjin [Nilo-Saharan])
Proto-Rub ‘blue-grey colour’ <i>bus</i> (stem + Rub adj. suffix)	*bosan colour’ <i>bus</i> (stem + Rub *-an’wildebeest’ adj. suffix)	*pus ‘bluish grey’ [wildebeest colour]; also in Takama [Bantu of western Tanzania] *-pusi ‘wildebeest’)

Ik *lok'ú* 'gourd for drinking'

nllókw'à 'gourd'

Ik *tits'* - 'to cover up hole' (i.e., *byt^hats'é* 'stuffing somethingshoot' in it) '*totets'* - 'to stick (into)'

rata 'sausage tree' (also Rub loan in Proto-Kalenjin and Kalenjin loan to Thagiicu [Mt. Kenya Bantu] as *-raatina)

Soo *rɔti* 'sausage tree (*Kigelia africana*)'

The loanwords in Rub seem attributable in roughly equal proportions to Hadza and Sandawe prototypes, and in two cases to prototypes with reflexes in both languages. The vowel outcome in the Proto-Rub *bosan fits closer to the Sandawe than the Hadza pronunciation, but the Ik verb *tits'*-, on the other hand, shows vowel fronting as does the Hadza, but not the Sandawe equivalent. So again, as in all but one of our previous cases, the putative Khoesan source language cannot be considered closer related to any existing language than to any other.

A few other words suggestive of old Hadza contacts with speakers of Rub languages have also been identified, but

these are ones that can better be understood as Rub loanwords in Hadza. The most striking of these is Hadza *wela* ‘morning’, corresponding to Ik *wel^a* ‘morning hours’. Here the Ik word can be shown to be a regular reflex of a Proto-Nilo-Saharan root (Ehret 2001, root 1395) and thus Hadza must in this case have been the borrower. Another example may be Hadza *kwic’i* ‘centipede’ and Proto-Rub **kw’ic* ‘worm’. This term, however, has a third referent in Dahalo *k’utsi* ‘bee larva’, suggesting the additional possibility that the Hadza and Rub terms may have been separate borrowings from early SC. Hadza *kwitsili* ‘worm’ appears to be still a fourth example of this root, but with an additional consonant. A possible explanation is that it was borrowed from an extinct Rub language in which ejection was lost from the two stem consonants and the Rub noun suffix in **l* was added to the stem, or alternatively from an SC language with these characteristics.

In addition, several plant names appear to be shared by Hadza and Ik (List 6). Some of these may be additional instances of Rub loanwords in Hadza; others may be old loans in Rub. The consonant *tl’* occurs in Ik only in loanwords; SC, Sandawe, and Hadza, which today have this consonant, are the possible candidates from which these terms could be borrowed. And because Elderkin’s field collections, from which the Hadza terms come, do not identify the species of plant involved, some of the comparisons may, of course, be chance resemblances.

List 6 Apparent Shared Plant Names in Hadza and Ik

Ik	Hadza
<p><i>tl'ɔt</i> <i>obesum</i>'</p>	<p><i>tl'atana</i> 'a fruit tree' (-ana ending is a common SC suffix, so an intermediate SC transmission may be involved here)</p>
<p><i>tàb</i> <i>triphylla</i>' (its fruits and young roots are eaten)</p>	<p><i>Lannea</i> <i>tafa</i> 'a fruit tree'</p>
<p><i>móz</i> <i>villosa</i>'</p>	<p><i>modzema</i> 'a bush sp.' (-ema ending has the shape of a common SC noun suffix, probably therefore indicating an intermediate SC source for this item)</p>
<p><i>tl'ao</i> <i>bicolor</i>' (it is used for spearshafts and hoe handles; arrows)</p> <p>Proto-Rub *h > Ik Ø/V_)</p>	<p><i>Grewia</i> <i>tl'eha</i> 'a tree (used for handles; arrows)'</p>

The presence of demonstrable Rub loanwords in Hadza – *wela* 'morning' is the clearest example – does not require that the Hadza have ever lived anywhere else than their current territories near Lake Eyasi. Several sets of Rub loanwords in Bantu languages indicate that

erstwhile Rub-speaking societies formerly inhabited a number of areas extending from the eastern and southern sides of Lake Nyanza (Victoria) as far as the Kondoa area east of Lake Eyasi. These consist of Rub loanword sets in the Bantu languages of each of these regions (Ehret 1998). And if the writer's identification of Oltome ware as the pottery of early Rub peoples (Ehret 1998) is correct, then the fact that this kind of pottery appears at Late Stone Age locations near Lake Eyasi further supports the indications of the word evidence that Rub communities did at one time live as neighbours of the Hadza.

In contrast, the loanwords in Rub cannot be attributed to a history that took place in north-central Tanzania. The examples so far identified either go back to the Proto-Rub language, which most certainly was spoken in north-eastern Uganda, or are known from the Ik and Soo languages, each of which evolved as a distinct Rub tongue in the same broad region. These considerations require that lands of people with the putative Khoesan words in their languages, too, must once have extended into eastern Uganda.

In a previous work this writer suggested that Khoesan loanwords occurred as well in an East African Eastern Cushitic language, Yaaku (Mokogodo), spoken on the north side of Mt. Kenya (Ehret 1974). This case seems in hindsight not to be supported. At least two of the items proposed as loans, *muc'a* 'bone' and *dεε'εw* 'thick, big', can now be shown to be Yaaku retentions of older Cushitic or Afroasiatic root words (in Ehret 1987 for 'bone' and

Ehret 1995 for ‘thick, big’). Another item, Yaaku *mɔqɔɔy* ‘man’, does bear a resemblance to Sandawe *máxà* ‘young man’; but the question to be asked is why Yaaku, which has the consonant /x/ in its own phonology, should not have maintained that sound, if the word is indeed a borrowing. We must conclude that, after all, the Yaaku and Sandawe words in this instance are simply chance resemblances. A last item, Yaaku *damatú* ‘woman’ (Ehret 1974), does indeed appear to be ultimately of Khoesan origin, but most likely entered Yaaku indirectly, as a loan from an SC language (see [List 1](#) above for this root).

9.6 Discussion

The majority of the proposed loanword sets presented here are not compelling by themselves. The members of the sets are few in number, and the proposed parallels for these words are scattered through several potential source languages. But two sets stand out as exceptions.

The first example is the set of reconstructed roots dating to the PRM stage in the evolution of the SC language group ([List 2](#)). Their number is relatively small, on current information comprising six items. On the other hand, the words in this set do have a consistent source: all but one of them is specifically attested in Sandawe, and the semantics of the comparisons are usually one-to-one. Most of the roots are demonstrable on phonological, distributional, or morphological grounds to have been loanwords in PRM. All but one of the root words in [List 2](#) seem certainly to have come into PRM from a Sandawe-related language, and the most economical explanation of the one exception, the root

word for ‘year’, is that it also came from the same ancient, long extinct Sandawe-related language as the rest of the set, but happened to have dropped from use at some point along the line of descent leading to modern-day Sandawe.

The second exception is the set of words, most of them with click consonants, cited from the Dahalo language (List 4). First off, the set is large. What is particularly striking for the hypothesis of a Khoesan source for the set is that 25, almost a third of the 78 words with click consonants recorded so far in Dahalo, match up with plausible source forms, both phonologically and semantically, in the lexicons of Sandawe and/or Hadza and/or SAK. This is a strikingly high proportion, considering the immense length of time separating the source language or languages of the proposed loanwords from any still spoken language, and the great amounts of lexical change that must have taken place over such long spans.

Second, although the plausible source items of these words appear today in a variety of click-possessing languages, a particular type of source consistency characterizes this set. What form does it take? The plausible parallels of the Dahalo word borrowings distribute in similar proportions across the various language groups that have been proposed to belong to a greater Khoesan language phylum. Ten of the Dahalo borrowed roots have counterparts in Sandawe, and ten in Hadza. The Dahalo parallels with lexemes in a third proposed deep division of Khoesan, comprising the Southern African groups Tuu, Ju, and Khoe, are

somewhat more numerous, at fifteen, but that is only to be expected, considering that Sandawe and Hadza are single languages, while the Southern African data combines evidence from several languages. A better measure is the relatively even distribution of the proposed parallel terms amongst the SAK groups: nine are from the best-attested language of the Khoe group, Khoekhoe, and five from less-well-attested Khwe; four from Ju; and six from !Xõõ of the Tuu group. In several instances the plausible parallel terms occur in more than one of the Southern African languages or both in one or more of those languages and in Sandawe or Hadza.

Does this mean that three or more source languages need be posited for the loanwords in Dahalo? Not at all. Rather, this is exactly the pattern that would be expected if

1. the words all indeed did come from one particular source language, and
2. that source language had a similar distance of relationship, although at a very deep remove in time, to Sandawe, to Hadza, and to the SAK language groups.

In such a situation, the great length of the span of time since the common point of ancestry of the still-spoken languages would mean that great amounts of lexical change would have taken place in each remaining language. Each would retain roughly comparable portions of the lexicon from the common ancestor language, but only now and then would different

languages have happened to retain the same particular words with the same or with a clearly relatable meaning. The terms parallel in phonological shape and in meaning to the loanwords in Dahalo have just the relatively even mix of distributions across Sandawe, Hadza, and the Southern African languages that this particular history would be expected to engender.

Because of the transitive logic of language relationship, this pattern has a further implication for the historical linguistics of the languages involved. It is probative evidence for the common membership of Sandawe, Hadza, Tuu, Khoe, Ju, and the extinct source language of the Dahalo word borrowings in one greater Khoesan phylum. The most parsimonious explanation of this kind of word distribution, in other words, is that Sandawe, Hadza, and the Southern African languages are related. Just one extinct language, formerly spoken in north-eastern Kenya and belonging to its own, fourth deep branch of the same “Khoesan” phylum, need be postulated to explain the Dahalo evidence.

At least one other now-extinct contact language in far northern East Africa, as already argued, belonged to the same deep line of descent as Sandawe. This “East-Turkana” loanword set in PRM ([List 2](#)) came from a language that would have been spoken around 4,000 years ago in northern Kenya. The possible sources of the very small set of loanwords so far identified in the Rub languages of north-eastern Uganda ([List 5](#)) remain unclear.

The two remaining sets of proposed loanwords, those in Proto-SC ([List 1](#)) and those limited to the Rift branch

(List 3), present a pattern similar to that in Dahalo, in that the plausible source forms of the individual lexemes of the set occur either in only SAK (Khoe, Ju, and Tuu groups of southern Africa), Sandawe, or Hadza, or in Hadza and Sandawe, or in Hadza and/or Sandawe and in one or more SAK languages. The sets are small enough, if considered in isolation, to be considered suspect, as combining old *Wanderwörter* with a few chance resemblances. But the close distributional parallelism between the large Dahalo set and the two small sets favours applying the same interpretive stance as in the Proto-SC and the Proto-Rift cases – that the attested words reflect separate contact periods, although earlier in time, at 5,000-plus and 3,000-plus years ago respectively, with languages belonging, like the source language of the Dahalo word borrowings, to separate deep branches of a very deep-time Khoesan language phylum.

If these hypotheses turn out to be correct – and they are the most parsimonious explanations of the evidence as it currently stands – much of eastern Africa would have been inhabited, before the arrival of Southern Cushites in the later fourth millennium BCE, by peoples speaking languages of one very widespread phylum, Khoesan. The geographically parallel distribution of facies of one overall archaeological complex, the Eastern African Microlithic or “Wilton” tradition, across much of eastern and southern Africa during those same eras fits this proposal very well indeed (Ambrose 1982, Ehret 1998).

Note on Sources

Without the work and data collections of many other scholars, this contribution would not have been possible. Because of the data formatting followed here, their contributions are not adequately cited in the body of the chapter. On the Rub languages, Bernd Heine's several published works (1974, 1975b, 1976), the thesis of Eithne Carlin (1993), field materials collected by John Weatherby, and my own field collections provide the evidence used here. For Hadza and Sandawe I have principally used the field materials of Edward Elderkin, although backed up by field collections of Bonnie Sands and Ian Maddieson and the field notes of Eric ten Raa. My use of SC materials takes advantage of a growing variety of new works by younger scholars on that group of languages, although again some of my own field collections and those of Derek Nurse have provided additional data. On the SAK languages, new dictionaries, in particular those of Anthony Traill for !Xõõ (1994), Christa Kilian-Hatz (2003) for Khwe, and Patrick Dickens for Jul'hoan (1994), have given much valuable information (and are cited elsewhere in the volume), as has Rainer Vossen's ground-breaking Khoe reconstruction, *Die Khoe-Sprachen* (1997a). These writers are of course not to blame for any mistakes I may have made in using their materials.

10 The Sociolinguistic Situation of Khoesan Languages Today

Gabriele Sommer and Thomas Widlok

10.1 The Situation in General

The sociolinguistic situation of Khoesan-speaking groups in southern Africa has for a long time been characterized by their status as minority language speakers (Traill 1995b, Batibo and Smieja 2000). One of the consequences of this situation as well as a reaction to it has been the tendency towards language shift among Khoesan speakers, i.e. the replacement of a Khoesan first language by some other Khoesan, Bantu or European language of wider communication (e.g. Nama, Tswana or Afrikaans).

In the past, language shift must have led to the extinction of a great number of Southern Khoesan languages. As Traill (1995b) has pointed out, very little is known about the actual process of increasing bilingualism, the gradual language replacement and final extinction of Southern Khoesan languages such as !Xam or !Xegwi in South Africa. Among the few surviving Southern Khoesan languages are l'Auni, spoken by a small number of terminal speakers mostly trilingual in l'Auni, Nama and Afrikaans in the Cape region, as well as N!nuu of Gordonia District, South Africa (Crawhall 2004). !Xõõ, on the other hand, is still used by approximately 2,000 first language speakers in southwestern Botswana and eastern Namibia. Most of these speakers also have a good proficiency in at least one other Khoesan language and in Kgalagadi, the language of their Bantu neighbours in the south-western Kalahari.

In some cases the vitality profile of Khoesan-speaking groups in southern Africa points to a common trend towards language shift. However, there are also a number of North and Central Khoesan languages which

function as vital means of communication for a considerable number of bi-or multilingual speakers. Jul'hoan in Botswana and Namibia as well as Naro in Botswana, for instance, are still used on a regular basis in intra-group communication. Both languages are also transmitted as first languages to the younger generations. In addition, both speech communities have meanwhile gained some official support. A variety of language planning activities are thus meant to strengthen or to revitalize the prestige of these minority languages in a multilingual environment and to support and enlarge language loyalty among its bi-or multilingual speakers (see Biesele and Hitchcock 2000; Visser 2000).

Central Khoesan-speaking groups in Botswana and Namibia, however, react quite differently to language shift and maintenance even under similar socio-economic conditions. Some of the East Kalahari Khoe languages such as Deti and Shua, currently spoken along the Botletle River and in the Makgadikgadi Salt Pans area of Botswana, are threatened by extinction. The minority status of their speakers as well as the impact of Tswana as the only officially recognized national language in Botswana have severely weakened the ethno-linguistic vitality of these Central Khoesan languages (Chebanne and Nthapelelang 2000). Nevertheless, speakers of Khwe in the Western Caprivi area, Namibia, appear to resist language shift under similarly unfavourable socio-economic conditions and without any official support. According to Brenzinger (1998), Western Caprivi Khwe still functions as a vital language. Parents continue to transmit Khwe as the first

language to their children. Khwe is the dominant language in all intra-group contexts, it is used as the preferred medium of communication in mixed marriages and also functions as a *lingua franca* in the wider Western Caprivi context. There is thus some good reason to assume that in spite of official neglect and even under unfavourable socio-economic circumstances, at least some of the Khoesan languages of southern Africa will still be maintained in the future.

10.2 The Case of Haillom

Haillom speakers have little difficulty in conversing with Nama/Damara speakers depending on the intensity of previous contacts and on their exposure to these other variants of Khoekhoe (Widlok 1997: 120f.). Therefore, code-switching in the strict sense occurs primarily between Haillom and Afrikaans. In specific speech situations Haillom speakers exploit the fact that there is a status difference between the two languages (Widlok 1999a: 139). In the particular instance referred to here a Haillom man with aspirations to local leadership switched to Afrikaans in what appeared to be an attempt to claim externally sanctioned authority.

Most Haillom speakers are bilingual, either in Afrikaans (for those living in the commercial farming districts) or in Oshiwambo (for those living in or near the settlement areas that were allocated to Owambo people). Multilingual Haillom are often mastering both these languages which are the *linguae francae* in their respective region. Many #Akhoe in particular also speak !Xũũ. Those who went into exile with SWAPO have some basic knowledge of Angolan languages; those who

spent most of their lives on farms owned by German speakers sometimes speak and understand German. Recently the number of English speakers has been growing among young Haillom. Despite this multilingual competence in everyday life, the community of Haillom speakers is at a disadvantage in the national context. When dealing with outsiders, especially language policy makers, Haillom speakers have to cope with two kinds of discrimination. First, they suffer from the fact that their language is looked down upon as a language of “Bushmen” and second, their language is sometimes considered to be not a genuine language in its own right, but an imported dialect of the (once) dominant Nama. Leaving aside the arguments of historical linguistics, it needs to be pointed out that the assumption of a historical language shift towards Khoekhoegowab erroneously assigns an impoverished language competence to Haillom speakers. In contrast to this, it has been

demonstrated in detail (Heikkinen n.d., Widlok 1999a) that the $\#$ Akhoe and Haillom that are currently in use are rich linguistic devices for complex social interaction as well as rich means for poetic creativity. Against this background the description and analysis of language in context seems an important corrective that may in the long run help to counter the prejudices against Haillom. However, the deplorable situation that Haillom is not a medium of school education anywhere in Namibia and that no mother-tongue teaching materials are being used with Haillom pupils is unlikely to change as long as the Haillom community remains underprivileged in other spheres of life, including land rights, political influence and a sufficient share in economic returns.

Apart from these policy-oriented considerations, there is also a more fundamental argument to be made about the role of pragmatics for a better understanding of languages such as Haillom. The argument (Widlok 1997) may be summarized as follows: instead of analysing any speech data firstly in terms of grammaticalized language, secondly in terms of a dialect within that language, thirdly in terms of a sociolect, and finally in terms of the pragmatic language use, there is an advantage in taking the inverse route. That is to say, the pragmatic strategies of the ways in which †Akhoe and Haillom are spoken can help to clarify the relation between languages and boundaries of a community of speakers which in turn sheds new light on the commonalities and diversities among Khoekhoe variants and between the Khoesian languages.

Notes

1 Thanks to Beth Myre and Jouni Maho for their assistance with collecting the words from the neighbouring languages.

2 The unpublished material collected by the Bleek family is hosted by the “Manuscripts and Archives Department” (University of Cape Town).

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Abbreviations

<i>AAP</i>	<i>Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere</i>
<i>AS</i>	<i>African Studies</i>
ASIUW	African Studies Institute, University of the Witwatersrand
<i>ASM</i>	<i>African Study Monographs</i>
<i>AuÜ</i>	<i>Afrika und Übersee</i>
<i>BS</i>	<i>Bantu Studies</i>
CUP	Cambridge University Press
<i>CWPL</i>	<i>Cornell Working Papers in Linguistics</i>
EAPH	East African Publishing House
IfAUK	Institut für Afrikanistik, Universität zu Köln
IfAUL	Institut für Afrikanistik, Universität Leipzig
IU	Indiana University
<i>JAAS</i>	<i>Journal of Asian and African Studies</i>
<i>JAL</i>	<i>Journal of African Languages</i>

<i>JALL</i>	<i>Journal of African Languages and Linguistics</i>
KFWP	Khoisan Forum, Working Papers
<i>LI</i>	<i>Linguistic Inquiry</i>
<i>SAJAL</i>	<i>South African Journal of African Languages</i>
<i>SAL</i>	<i>Studies in African Linguistics</i>
<i>SUGIA</i>	<i>Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika</i>
<i>SWJA</i>	<i>Southwestern Journal of Anthropology</i>
UChP	University of Chicago Press
UCP	University of California Press
UCT	University of Capetown
WUP	Witwatersrand University Press
<i>ZfES</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen</i>

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Index

ablative 374

abstractive 159

accreditiv e 330

accusative 326, 395

active 383

adhortative 198–199, 262, 328, 335–336, 346

adjectival 55, 443, 452, 458, 462; concept 170, 228

adjective 110–111, 132, 135, 143–145, 150, 153–154, 157, 159–160, 169–172, 179–181, 183, 189–190, 204, 208–209, 217, 228, 230, 239, 245–246, 252–253, 256–257, 259, 268, 272, 301, 307, 309, 337, 339, 363–364, 366, 377–378, 384–386, 400–401, 403, 414, 432, 443, 452, 462, 472, 475; attributive 208, 217, 230, 252, 432; compound 154; demonstrative 246; denominal 154; derivative 154, 160; deverbal 154; plural 252; predicate 268; predicative 171, 208, 217, 230, 400, 404; singular 249; stative 156; stem 132, 135; verbal 170, 209, 217, 228, 363–366, 377–378

adjunct 119, 235, 257, 273, 408–409, 411, 419; nominal 242, 408; phrase 240; pronominal 242

adpositional phrase 414

adverb 110, 150, 157, 164, 245, 255–256, 268, 274, 295, 298, 312–313, 327, 348, 350, 364, 402, 451, 458; locative 309; manner 363; negative 451; negative temporal 347; temporal 312

adverbial 55, 150, 157, 256, 269, 274, 277, 289, 312, 328–329, 334, 339, 348, 353–354, 374–375, 402–403, 408, 410, 425; derivative suffix 458; local 368–370, 374–375, 377; locative 369; manner 420; phrase 7, 204, 257, 295, 312, 379–380, 382, 406; temporal 368–370, 374–377, 402–403

adverbial clause 150, 324, 330–332, 344, 397–398, 413, 425; adversative 321; comparative 324; complement 241, 322, 397, 412–413, 425; concessive 324; conditional 194, 324, 337; coordinate 405, 412, 424; copula 274; equational 412, 423; exclamatory 278; imperative 325, 422; interrogative 171; intransitive 370, 376, 378; intrasentential 342; irrealis 279, 284, 288, 426; irrealis subjunctive 426; manner 321; negative 279, 286; nominal 135, 274–275, 278–279, 285–290, 292; operator 240, 247; protasis 324; purpose 325; reason 321, 324; relative 113, 144, 147, 153, 239, 246, 259, 273, 281, 291–292, 301, 307, 309, 321–324, 326, 329, 332–333, 339–340, 342–345, 352, 358, 397, 406, 411, 413–414, 421, 424–426; structure 30; subject relative 291, 413, 425, 427; subordinate 153, 295, 322, 406, 413, 426; subordinated 292, 377; subordinating 397; temporal 321, 425; transitive 376, 420; type 283; verbal 131, 274–275, 277–278, 285–287, 290–291, 368

adverbializer 204

affricate: alveolar 57, 68; ejected 81; glottalic 53; lateral 24, 39; voiced 83

Afrikaans 55, 93–94, 169, 434, 449–451, 453–463, 479–480; Khoekhoe 451–455; Orange River 456

Afroasiatic 467, 476; Proto– 470

agent 119, 159, 191–192, 265, 314–315, 383–384, 406

agentive 448; causative 448

agglutination 241

agreement 90, 109, 111, 113, 122–123, 136, 169, 173–174, 179, 184, 189–190, 210, 218, 228, 230, 235–238, 242–243, 267, 272, 274, 287, 289, 291, 305, 355, 414–415; anaphoric 414; class 28, 235–238, 242–243, 305, 423, 427; direct object 267; gender 236; grammatical 6; indirect object 267; nominal 108; nominal class 247; number 296; object 137, 139–140, 169–170, 175, 178, 207, 225, 289; object marker 170–171, 175, 178, 221, 225–226; oblique 137; pattern 6; PGN agreement 113, 209; subject 116, 267; subject PGN 292

Alagwa 466, 470

Algonkian 13

alienability 395

alienable 427, 432

allomorphic variation 244; consonantal 41; free 41, 60, 73

Altaic 13

alternative 176

altrilocal 247; –future 420

altrilocality 410

alveolar trill 55, 60, 73

American Indian 97

anaphoric word 179, 189–190

andative *see* itive

Angola 2, 9, 11, 17, 88, 444, 446

animacy 6, 236, 265, 420

animate 161, 236, 244, 372

antonym 150

apocope 452

applicative 120–121, 147–148, 156, 448

applied form *see* applicative apposition 342

appositive 144, 153–155, 332, 344

article 144–146, 153–156, 179, 187, 205, 339, 391;
definite 180, 308, 369, 451

Asa 466, 470–471

aspect 6, 15, 17, 100, 114–116, 118–119, 137, 140, 144,
150, 162–163, 175–179, 191, 193–197, 199, 201, 211,
213–214, 224–226, 231–232, 234, 253–255, 260, 263,
273, 295–297, 325–328, 331, 334–338, 345–346,
349–355, 389, 391, 394, 399, 401, 404, 411, 451;
completive 298; continuative 195, 206; imperfective
194, 197, 206; incompletive 298; neutral 193, 195, 206;
perfective 194–195, 197, 206, 336–337, 351; present
progressive 346; progressive 336–337, 347; punctual
336–337, 346; stative 334, 337, 342

aspirated affricative 58

aspiration 38, 49, 76, 78, 87, 107

assertive 335, 345, 421

assimilation 55–56, 68, 139, 151, 233, 460–461; nasal 153; partial 156; pattern 460; progressive 404

association 121, 160

associative 7, 27, 146–147, 156, 160–161, 339, 354, 395, 432, 455

attributive 144–145, 153–155, 171, 332, 334, 339, 344; modifier 239, 307; postnominal 451

augmentation 144, 159

augmentative 144, 159, 181, 443

auxiliary 117, 246, 253–254, 262, 267–270, 273–274, 295, 353, 390, 394–396, 398–399, 402–403, 413, 422, 426; consecutive 412; declarative past 267

Back Vowel Constraint 49, 78

Bantu: Caprivi 444–445; Kavango 2, 444, 446; language 2, 6, 15, 36, 58, 83, 111, 115, 136, 250, 313, 434, 438–439, 443–448, 459–460, 464, 474–476, 479; migration 436; pre- 434; pre-southern Africa 25, 30, 465; Proto- 98; Southeast 434; Southeastern 2; Southern 24, 435–436, 438, 443; Southwest 434, 444–445

Basque 22

Baster 453, 465

benefactive 121, 138, 164, 176, 224, 232, 248, 254, 261, 315–317

Benue–Congo 36

bilingual 458, 460

bilingualism 78, 453–454, 465, 479

borrowing 8, 23–24, 107, 111, 169, 176, 227, 435, 445, 449–450, 454, 456–458, 461–462, 465–471, 474–475, 477–478; hybrid 458

Botswana 2, 4, 9–11, 35, 99, 346, 407, 434, 444, 446, 479–480

breathiness 38, 76

Buga 10, 58–60, 153, 165, 169–179, 225, 445–446

Burunge 466

“Bush” languages 16, 436–437, 442–444

Bush people *see* San

Bushman language 1, 15, 21, 461, 464

Bushmen 1, 3, 436, 464, 480; Cape 2

calque 457; phrasal 458

canonic form *see* word structure

canonical form *see* word structure

canonical structure *see* word structure

Cape 435, 449–450, 453, 464, 479; Colony 1, 450, 453, 465; Eastern 435–437; Eastern Khoe (Khoi) 439–440; Khoe 456; Town 435, 441

Cape Nguni *see* Xhosa

Cara 8, 11, 14, 16–17, 71–73, 103, 215–222, 224–227, 401–406, 408

case 295, 326–327, 339–341, 395, 397, 399, 421, 439; accusative 120, 269, 397, 399; dative 374; dependent 449–450; genitive 123, 395–399; instrumental 123; marking 119, 153; nominal marking 36, 395; nominative 119, 395, 399; oblique 56, 111, 269, 335, 341, 344–346, 367, 374, 459; pronominal 109; relations 274, 295

causative 15, 97, 121, 138–139, 148–149, 160, 164, 175–176, 191–192, 212, 223–224, 232–233, 249, 254, 257, 315–317, 448, 472–474

causativization 248–249

change: derivational 242, 245; inflectional 242, 263; lexical 477–478; morphological 194, 240–241; morphophonemic 197; morphophonological 73; phonological 202; sound 16–17, 24, 67, 78, 81; vocalic 207

Chinese 97

Ciskei 440

Classical Hottentot *see* Khoekhoe

cleft 243, 423–424; pseudo– 459

click 6, 13, 15, 17, 19, 22, 24, 30–31, 33, 35–36, 41, 48–49, 51–52, 54–55, 57–61, 65, 72–74, 76–78, 81, 85–87, 107, 435–437, 439–442, 445, 447, 454, 460, 471, 474, 477; accompaniment 6, 17, 20, 24, 31, 41, 59–61, 65–67, 72–73, 75–76, 81, 85–87; adaptation of 441; alveolar 17–18, 20, 41, 48–49, 55, 58–62, 65, 67–68, 72–75, 86–87, 440, 445, 471; alveo-palatal 432, 440;

aspirated 20, 24, 38, 61, 76, 87, 437, 440, 471; bilabial 41; breathy-voiced 437, 440; cluster 80, 82; consonant 2, 41, 55, 57–58, 65–67, 74, 85–86, 445, 471, 474, 477; dental 41, 48–49, 55, 58, 60–62, 72–75, 86–87, 437, 440, 445, 447, 471; ejected 441, 471; ejected alveo-palatal 437; ejected dental 437; ejected lateral 437; glottalized 31; labial 18, 85–86, 261; language 474; lateral 17–18, 41, 48–49, 55, 58–62, 72–75, 86–87, 437, 440, 442, 445, 471; loss 17–18, 21, 60, 72–74, 83; nasal 31, 35, 41, 48, 76, 84–85; nasalized 41, 48–49, 58, 437, 441; nasalized breathy-voiced 440–441; noun 448; palatal 17, 20, 24, 48, 55, 58, 60–62, 72–75, 82–83, 86–87, 432, 442, 445, 471; palatal-alveolar 41; preglottalized 86; prenasalized 61, 86, 437; prenasalized breathy-voiced 440–441; prenasalized ejected 440–441; prenasalized voiceless 447; replacement 15–18, 60, 65, 67–68, 70–73, 75, 83, 436, 442; retention of 445; retroflex 17–18, 48, 432; retroflex nasal 436; symbol 57; type 6, 41, 48–49, 58, 60, 72–74; uvularized 49; verb 448; voiced 61, 84; voiced nasalized 440–441; voiceless 61, 76, 84, 440; word 445–449, 471, 474

cluster analysis 76

code-switching 480

collective 109, 142, 158, 160, 162–163, 348

collectivization 159

comitative 119, 123, 146, 156, 161, 175–176, 223–224, 315, 317, 408, 411, 414–415, 426

common 142, 170, 188, 207, 216

comparative 386, 458; construction 110;
historical-methodology 25; method 4, 19

complement 24, 160, 259, 262, 274, 286–287, 322, 328,
333–334, 345, 348–350, 354–355, 388, 397, 405, 408,
421; nominal 295; of predicates 415

complementary distribution 62

complementation 388, 412–413

complementization 330

complementizer 330, 333, 345, 426

completative 164

completive 297–298, 355

compound 154, 244–245, 301, 323, 330, 353, 400, 452,
455, 457; adverbial 353; agent–noun 262;
breathy-voiced nasal 437; derivational 245; nominal 28,
351; nominal structure 354; stems 153; verbal 260, 352;
verbal structure 158, 352–353

compounding 150, 314, 452; derivational noun 244;
noun 238

concord 414; enclitic 235; object 153; pronominal 411

conditional 117, 119, 269–270, 324, 391, 393, 397, 413

conjunction 151, 157, 165, 177, 256, 273–275, 277, 292,
321, 324–325, 328, 330, 333, 343, 347–348, 353,
388–389, 391–393, 396, 405; co-ordinating 157, 321,
323–324, 330, 343, 396; narrative conjunction 277–278;
nominal 414; subordinating 157, 330, 343

conjunctive 413, 421, 424–426

connective 349, 351, 353, 412, 426

consecutive 321

consonant 19, 31–32, 36, 39, 48–53, 55–58, 61–65, 69–72, 74, 76–78, 80–83, 85, 87, 95–96, 107, 127, 142, 234, 240–241, 301, 438–441, 447, 460, 471, 476–477; affricate 31; alveolar 63–64, 77; aspirated 49, 63, 88, 95; bilabial 53; cluster 70, 76–77, 460–461; combination 61; coronal 49; dental 85; depressor 53, 95; devoiced 53; egressive 6, 39, 48, 51–54, 57–58, 60–61, 68, 71, 73–74, 80, 82–85, 87, 441–442; ejected 49; ejective 63, 65, 98, 107, 441; elision 38, 51, 55; feature 31; glottalized 49, 78; ingressive 60, 73, 80, 82–84, 441; ingressive click 48, 59; labial 63–64, 77, 461; labialized 79; lateral 31, 83; merger 471; nasal 6, 48, 51, 55, 65, 156, 225, 233, 421; palatal 71, 77, 85, 442; pattern 107; post-alveolar 64; prenasalized 441; reflexes 53; series 79; sonorant 438; stop 35, 48, 76; subclass 31; suctive-ingressive 6; uvular 65, 67, 71; uvularized 49; velar 67; voiced 48–49, 53, 63, 80, 95, 98; voiceless 63

consonantal alternation 207

consonantalization 79

constituent order 30, 36, 111, 265, 275, 277, 294–295, 327, 342, 356, 358–359, 361, 377–378, 401, 403, 407, 412

continuative 193–194, 298

continuous 298–299, 336, 379, 381, 383, 389

coordination 151, 291, 321, 324, 330, 396, 405, 414, 426

copula 89–90, 108–109, 111, 113, 115, 117, 170, 254, 268, 270–271, 279, 300, 310, 348, 354, 364, 366–367, 376, 399, 405, 407, 412, 423–424, 431; affirmative 403, 407; equative 299; grammaticalized 177; impersonal 254–255; negative 403; predicate 109–110

copulative 325–326, 328–329, 331, 334, 341–343, 376, 403–405, 407, 412, 414–415, 423–424, 459; locative 431

corpus planning 457

correlative 255

counter-expectation 193–195, 200, 206

Creole 456; Portuguese 449, 453

Cua 11, 228–229

Cushites 470; Southern 466, 468–469, 478

Cushitic 15, 467–469, 476; culture history 470; Eastern 434, 468, 476; Proto-Southern 466–470, 474, 478; Proto-Taita 466; social history 468; Southern 2, 434, 466–471, 474–477, 479

Dahalo 2, 15, 466–468, 471–475, 477–478

Damara dialects 54, 148, 153, 341, 346

Damara *see* Namibian Khoekhoe

Danes 449

Danisi 11, 16, 71–73, 215–222, 224–227, 401, 403–404

dative 175–176, 212, 223–224, 233, 408–409, 411, 415, 439

declarative 162, 242, 285, 287, 295, 335, 339, 347–350, 356, 399, 403, 407, 421, 423

decomposition analysis 103–105

definite 369; reference 304

definiteness 109, 304, 373, 414, 451

deictic 145, 235, 246, 303, 420; distinction 307; verbal 246, 423

deictics 239, 246, 409–410, 414, 432; attributive 246

deixis: spatial 246, 409, 420; temporal 409–410, 420

demonstrative 20–22, 109–110, 135, 144–145, 153–154, 161, 169, 173, 179–181, 189, 209, 218, 230, 239, 253, 262, 272–273, 279, 285, 301, 303–304, 307–309, 322–323, 339, 395; distal 22, 209, 218, 230, 308, 451; distant 253; interrogative 161; near 21; proximal 173, 209, 218, 230, 305, 308; proximate 22, 253; referential 307; remote 21–22, 253

derivation 101, 116, 149, 157, 159, 164, 176, 179, 187, 212, 224, 232, 238–241, 244, 247–248, 300, 314, 326, 343–344, 349; of adjectives 160; of adverbs 157; denominal 239; deverbal 223, 232; ergative 164; morphological 325; nominal 314; of nouns 159; passive 241; tonal 143; transitive 102; valence-changing 240, 248; verbal 30, 36, 241, 314, 448

derivational 143, 160, 316, 462; affix 126, 137; process 244, 458; strategies 164

derivative 154; suffix 175–176, 211–212, 221, 223–224, 231–233, 449

Deti 8, 11, 14–16, 71–73, 103, 215–227, 401–406, 480

deverbal adverbialization 241

devoicing 96

diminution 144, 159

diminutive 48, 109, 123, 144–145, 153, 159, 164, 181, 236, 239, 250, 305, 314–315, 443

diphthong 49, 51, 56, 58, 65, 78–80, 93, 461; nasal 51–52; nasalized 52, 56; oral 51–52

diphthongization 49, 71, 73

directionality 122

discourse 265; structure 321

distal 374; directional 374

distributive 203

ditransitive 361, 370, 383, 409

downdrift 91, 125, 275

downstep 91–92, 124–125, 275

dual 6, 16–17, 141–142, 152, 158, 162–163, 169, 171, 185, 207–208, 216–217, 228–229, 235, 262, 301–302, 367; feminine 170

durative 248

Dutch 434, 449–458; Cape 450, 453–456; Cape Pidgin (CDP) 450–455; CDP substrate 454; East India Company 1; pidgin 450; standard 453

East Africa 434, 465–466, 478

Eastern !Xóǀ *see* East !Xoon

Eastern †Hoan *see* †Hoan

eastern Africa *see* East Africa

Eastern African Microlithic 478

Eastern Khoisan *see* East African Khoesan

East-Turkana 468–469, 478

efflux 6, 54, 57, 59, 76, 445, 447; affricated 57; aspirated 57–58, 447; fricative 58; nasalized 57

egressive: alveolar 81; aspirated 81; ejective 76; glottalic 39; nasal 76; uvular 35, 76; velar 76, 81–83

ejective bilabial 39

ejective velar 41; labialized 40

ejective: bilabial 68; egressive 31; uvular 76; velar 68, 71, 76

elative 315–316

elision 56

endonym 3

English 5, 21, 110–111, 127, 134–135, 154, 167–170, 180, 183, 189–190, 208, 217, 228, 256, 291, 333, 345, 385–386, 406, 435, 449–450, 452, 457–458, 461–463, 480; English pidgin 452

epenthesis 126, 460–461

epenthetic 117, 341

epiglottalization 95, 460–461

equation 385, 399

ergative 258

essive 117

ethno-linguistic vitality 480

Europeans 434

evidential 164, 350

exclusive 111, 242, 251

existence 300; negative 299

existential construction 267, 271

exonym 3

experiencer 119

extension 136–137, 160, 176; adverbial 150; applicative 358; benefactive 358; derivative verbal 175; instrumental 358; intransitive 473; nominal 314; pronominal 358; temporal 358–359; verbal 6, 17–18, 145, 147, 156, 176–177, 224, 232, 261, 317, 472, 474

feminine 109–110, 113, 123, 143, 151–152, 158, 162–163, 215, 443

flap 48, 60; alveolar 57, 73

flip-flop 97, 99, 101–102, 143, 149, 156

focality 243

focus 261, 295, 328, 342, 349, 356, 367, 370, 373–378, 400, 412, 415, 421, 423, 425; argument 361; contrasting 356, 377; contrastive 303, 424; identificational 356, 378;

informational 356; multiple 375; predicate 356, 361, 377; predication 412, 421, 424; presentational 356; relative 242–243

free pronoun *see* free standing pronoun

Free State 436

French 449–450

frequentative 137, 140, 291

fricative: alveolar 155; alveo-palatal 439; denti-labial 58; glottal 156; uvular 48, 70; velar 61, 63–64, 76, 78, 82; voiced 48, 55, 83; voiceless 48

frustrative 315–316

future 90, 113–119, 125, 177, 179, 193, 200–201, 213–214, 226–227, 232, 234, 247, 253, 270, 297, 299, 336–338, 347, 355, 410; near 214, 253–254; negated 232; negative 269, 339; remote 253

Fwe 444–445

Glwi *see* lGui

Gauteng 437

gender 20–22, 28, 89, 108–113, 122–123, 156, 161, 170, 185, 187–189, 207, 209, 218, 235–238, 242–243, 249, 257, 262, 265, 306–307, 427, 432; allocation 142, 153, 158–159; assignment 236–237; common 6, 16–17, 169, 207, 262; communal 141, 158; feminine 6, 16–17, 108, 141–142, 169, 207, 262, 435; grammatical 368; inqorate 237; masculine 6, 16–17, 108, 141–142, 169, 207, 262, 439; natural 108, 368; neuter 141–142, 158,

188; nominal 21, 237; nominal system 15, 17, 30; noun 187, 236, 238, 262; paired 306; pronominal system 15

genealogical classification 25, 33, 35

genetic relationship 7, 13, 17, 21, 447

genitive 27, 30, 112–113, 123, 239, 245, 256, 272, 274, 279–281, 283, 291–292, 409, 414–415, 426; pronominal 291

German 168, 457–459, 462–463, 480

Germanic 24

gerund 458

gerundive 226

glide: labial 156; labiovelar 110; palatal 17, 156

glottalic click *see* ejected click

glottalization 35, 38, 76, 80, 84

goal 120

Gorowa 466

governing noun *see* head noun

grammaticalization 177, 240, 324, 443

Grimm's Law 24

Griqua 453

habitual 117, 119, 137, 140, 177, 179, 291, 297–299, 355, 364; past 118–119, 247; present 118

Hadza 2–4, 6–9, 13–14, 16, 19–23, 26, 29–30, 33–34, 36, 38–39, 41, 89–90, 107–110, 115–116, 123, 265, 267, 271, 273–274, 434, 465, 467, 469–479

Hailom 8, 10, 52, 54, 56–58, 151, 157–164, 347, 352, 434, 461–463, 480–481

Hatsa *see* Hadza

height harmony 460

Herero 461

hiatus 120

Hittite 13

homonym 78

hortative *see* adhortative

Hottentot language *see* Khoekhoe

Hottentots 1, 3, 435–436, 450; Cape 1

hybrid 457

ideophone 57, 472

Ik 475–476

imperative 119, 128, 174, 197, 247, 262, 270, 278, 318, 335–336, 349–350, 353, 355, 393, 405, 421–422, 454; negative 157, 200, 288, 318, 350, 405; oblique 122, 350; singular 318; suppletive 318

imperfect 103–104, 211, 213, 226, 234

imperfective 119, 129, 134, 140, 193, 240, 247, 291, 297–298, 410, 420

inalienable 249, 414, 427, 432
inanimate 236, 305, 371
inchoative 119, 144, 150, 298
inclinative 175–176, 212, 223
inclusive 111, 242, 251
incomplete action 346
incompletive 297–298, 355
incorporation 149, 157, 458, 462; object 458
indefinite 337, 369; reference 304
indicative 56, 197, 325, 328, 330, 335, 341, 343–347;
negative 199
Indo–European 13, 24, 159
inferential 247
infinitival 119, 451–452
infinitive 142–143, 174, 197, 334, 452; negative 200;
phrase 334
inflection 157, 162, 193, 249, 300, 339, 352, 462;
nominal 110; verb 115
inflectional 310, 456; affix 126
influx 6, 17–18, 54–55, 57, 59, 65, 67, 87, 447; alveolar
6, 57, 67, 445; bilabial 6; dental 6, 57, 445; lateral 445;
lateral-alveolar 6, 57; palatal 6, 57, 445
information structure 275–276, 421, 423

ingressive 177, 179, 261

instrument 138

instrumental 123, 176, 317; phrase 23

instrumentative 159

intensive 248

intentional 176, 212, 224

intention–proximative 413

interference: lexical 457; linguistic 465; substratum 456–457

interjection 57, 164, 353, 454

interrogation 377

interrogative 62, 115, 136, 161–162, 174, 181, 198, 210–211, 219–220, 231, 235, 239, 255–256, 289, 319, 335, 346, 349–350, 354, 387, 403–405, 408, 410–411, 421–422, 433, 454; locative 409–410; negative 201, 290; yes/no 290

intonation 84, 201, 271, 335, 350

intonational system 276

intransitive 6, 102, 115, 119, 192, 240, 259–260, 322, 360–361, 370

intransitivity 191

Iraqw 466

Iron Age: Late 435–436; Early 436

irrealis 247, 274, 283, 285, 289, 421, 423, 425

isolation 241

iterative 101–102, 203, 224, 248, 336

itive 247, 315–316

Japanese 13, 22, 24

Jul'hoan 5, 14, 17–19, 21–23, 26–30, 33–35, 48–50, 57, 80, 87, 92–94, 96, 105, 251, 257–260, 434, 460–461, 479

Ju(u) *see* Northern Khoesan

Ju: Central 48; Proto- 18, 467

junction 15, 17, 152, 175–177, 211–213, 221–222, 224–225, 227, 231–234, 337, 346; allomorph 177, 213, 222, 224–225, 232–233

juxtaposition 51, 173–174, 210, 219–220, 231, 310, 388, 395, 399, 405, 414, 425; definite genitive 414; vowel 51

juxtapositional 414

Kalahari Basin 25

Kalahari East *see* Kalahari Khoe East

Kalahari Khoe 3, 26, 165, 169, 174, 208–209, 225, 230, 327, 337, 346, 442, 465; East 8, 72, 74, 480; Proto- 17; Proto-East 449; West 8, 218

Kalahari West *see* Kalahari Khoe West

Kalenjin 475; Proto- 475

Kenya 2, 465, 468–469, 475, 478

Kenyang 94

Kgalagadi 479

Khoe *see* Central (South African) Khoesan

Khoekhoe 1, 3, 8, 10, 15, 20–21, 23–24, 26, 29–30, 34, 36, 51, 99, 141–142, 144–147, 149–150, 159, 434–436, 449–458, 462, 464–465, 470, 472–474, 477; Cape 449–453, 455; Central 52; Namibian 2, 5, 8, 10, 13–17, 23, 26–28, 35, 51–58, 81, 87, 96–97, 141–142, 151–157, 159–162, 164, 190, 325–329, 332, 336, 339–347, 351, 367, 434, 438–443, 452, 454–455, 457, 461–463, 479–480; Oorlamse 453; Proto- 51, 467; varieties 81, 162, 248, 465, 480–481

Khoekhoe variants *see* Khoekhoe varieties

Khoekhoegowab *see* Namibian Khoekhoe

Khoe–Kwadi 5, 26, 30, 35–36; Proto- 21

Khoesan 3–8, 13–16, 18–23, 25, 30–31, 33, 36–37, 75–76, 78–80, 84, 86, 444–447, 460, 463, 465–472, 474–479; Central 4–5, 8, 10, 14–15, 22, 51, 72, 87, 94, 96, 131, 141, 153, 325, 337, 346, 359, 367, 376, 445–446, 449, 479–480; Central (South African) 3–4, 6–8, 14–17, 19–24, 26, 30, 35–36, 52, 65, 68, 103, 177, 328, 394–395, 434–444, 446, 464, 467, 469, 477–479; comparative 75; East African 3, 8–9, 15, 19, 25; impact 434–435; internal contact 434, 463; language 1, 4–8, 12, 18, 24, 27–30, 34–37, 51–52, 67, 78, 81, 84–85, 96, 103, 107, 243, 261, 377, 407, 434, 444–445, 460–461, 463, 465, 467, 477–481; Macro- 4, 23; Northern 3–4, 6, 8–9, 14–19, 22–23, 26, 30, 33, 35–36, 48, 81, 85–86, 92, 141, 251, 257, 261, 293, 434, 445, 449, 467, 469–470, 472–474, 477–479; Northern (South African) 3–4;

Northern varieties 49, 93; Proto- 2, 22; Proto-Northern 48; Southern 4, 8, 11, 14–15, 22, 24, 49, 75, 104, 234, 261, 408, 453, 479; South African 3–5, 8–9, 14–16, 19–20, 22, 25, 30, 33, 35–37, 56, 59, 70, 73–74, 92, 141, 293, 453, 467–474, 477–479; Southern (South African) 3–6, 8, 15–16, 18–19, 22–24, 26, 28, 30, 35–36, 75, 78–83, 234, 237, 241, 246, 408, 464–465, 467, 469–470, 477, 478; speakers 2, 434, 444

“Khoikhoi” *see* Khoekhoe

“Khoisan” *see* Khoesan

Khwe 5, 8, 10, 14–17, 22–24, 26, 34–35, 58–60, 97–98, 165–170, 177–179, 356–357, 359–361, 363, 365, 367, 369, 374, 376–378, 445–446, 472–473, 477, 479–480

kin term *see* kinship term

kinship 159; term 114, 123, 133, 173, 236, 243, 250, 311

Korafe 21

Korana *see* !Gora

Korana *see* !Gora

Kua 11, 14, 16, 26, 34–35, 73–75, 104, 228–234, 407; Northern 26

Kuando 23

Kuliak 434, 466, 475–476, 478, 479

Kw’adza 466, 470–471

Kwa 36

Kwadi 4, 8, 11, 16–17, 23, 26, 29, 36, 87–88, 261–262, 431

Kwangali 444, 446–447, 461

Kwanyama 463

Kwazulu-Natal 438

Kx'a 3, 4, 19

Kxoe *see also* Khwe

Kxoe: subgroup 8, 10, 16, 23, 58–60, 72, 97, 165, 177, 356, 446; varieties 59, 72, 165, 169, 177–179, 207, 213–214, 216–217, 224–225, 227, 328

L2 acquisition 453

labialization 83

Lala dialects 437

language: agglutinating 443; classification 4, 7; contact 2, 8, 17, 21, 37, 72, 78, 434, 437, 444, 450, 453, 460–461, 465; death 54, 151, 340, 343, 347; isolating-analytic 294; Kavango 445–446; loss 453; maintenance 480; mixing 457; moribund 216; planning 51, 480; relationship 478; replacement 479; shift 78, 456, 465, 471, 479–480

Late Stone Age 476

Latin 22, 374

Lesotho 436

lexical structure 8, 165, 168

linguistic diversity 464

linker 23, 103, 212, 401, 425–426; clause 409; verbal 103, 175

localization 159

location 255, 300

locative 109, 112–113, 119, 122, 128, 130, 176, 181, 212, 223, 233, 256–257, 274, 292, 300, 308–309, 312, 344, 387, 395–396, 400, 402, 411, 422, 426, 451; phrase 23, 256, 379–382, 432; predicate 268, 271

Ma'a 466, 469

Malay 453, 456

Malayo-Polynesian languages 456

Manyo 15, 444, 446–449; dialect cluster 447

masculine 109–110, 113, 123, 143, 151–152, 158, 162–163, 215–216

Mbalangwe 444–445

Mbukushu 169, 444–447, 461

metaphor 168

metathesis 472

metonymy 168–169

mimetic expression 425

minimal pair 6, 93, 447; tonal 89, 98–99

modality 240, 247, 411, 421

monophthong 58

monotransitive 381–383

mood 116, 119, 191, 197, 325, 335, 345, 354–355; assertive 335; conditional 119, 355; imperative 355; indicative 197, 337; interrogative 335; subjunctive 337

mora 90–94, 98, 100, 124, 284–285; sequences of -s 124

morphological 119, 167, 346–347, 359, 375, 378, 443, 445, 477; markedness 356–357, 377; process 123; rule 237; sequence structure 225, 231

morphological sequence *see* morphological sequence structure

morphology 5–6, 8, 26, 30, 79, 107, 141, 165–166, 241, 243, 249, 294, 347, 443, 452; affixal 238; agreement 108–109, 265; bound 235

derivational 6; inflectional 6, 312; nominal 27, 110, 142; predicate 271; pronominal 27; verbal 6, 26, 262

morphonological *see* morphophonological

morphophonological 237; alteration 8; alternation 242; process 117

morphophonology 55

morphosyntactic 239; category 246; distinctness 245

morphosyntax 8, 25–26; nominal 300

morphotonology 103

Nlhuki *see* Nluu(ki)

Nluu(ki) 4–5, 19, 23–24, 28, 78–79, 464, 470, 479

Nllng 78–79, 464

Nama dialects 54, 151, 342, 346

Nama *see* Namibian Khoekhoe

Nama/Damara *see* Namibian Khoekhoe

Namaqualand 454

Namibia 2, 9–11, 56, 434, 444, 446, 453–454, 456, 460–461, 479–481

naming strategies 168

Naro 7–8, 10, 15–17, 20–23, 35, 60–62, 70, 98, 179, 189–194, 199, 203, 205, 342, 379, 390, 393, 461, 479

narrative 179, 247, 265, 267, 269, 347, 360–361; particle 118, 268, 270; text 109, 267–268, 272

nasal: alveolar 54, 151; aspirated 88; bilabial 62, 230, 438; dental 251; egressive 35; labial 48, 88; preglottalized 35; velar 84, 251

nasality 140

nasalization 38, 76, 80, 84

Natal 435–437

Ndebele 443; dialects 437

Ndonga 463

negation 6, 175, 179, 199–201, 211, 214, 220, 222, 227, 231–232, 234, 240, 247, 260, 269, 271, 287, 295–296, 299, 319, 337, 347, 350, 368, 398, 421, 431, 450, 455; habitual 296

negative 17, 124, 176, 200, 254, 269–270, 274, 281, 283, 286–290, 292, 337–338, 350–351, 398, 431, 455–456; existential construction 267; formative 175; irrealis 288

neuter 142–143, 152, 156, 158, 162–163, 188, 207, 216, 229, 348

neutralization 216

new-event marker 377–378

Nguni 434, 436, 438–440, 442–444; dialects 437, 439; Southern 437–438

Nilo-Saharan 466, 475; Proto- 475

nominal 110, 116, 118–119, 131–134, 139, 141, 144, 146, 160, 215, 228, 238, 240, 242, 245–246, 248, 255, 265–267, 279, 281, 283–285, 289–291, 294, 307, 309, 326, 354–355, 409, 411–415, 419–420, 423–424, 426, 431, 470; attribute 239, 245–246; attribution 307; concept 238; constituent 354, 423; cross-referencing 240; diminutive 245; head 6, 160, 327, 339, 414; lexicon 236, 243; modifier 7, 239, 245–246, 307; object 274; phrase 193, 203; predicate 112, 268, 271, 399, 412, 423; property 245; referent 356, 359–360, 414; root 89, 142, 447; subject 422; stem 131–133, 169, 207, 275, 281–282, 290, 339

nominal class system *see* noun class system

nominalization 116, 142, 181, 241, 248, 330, 334, 412, 452; deverbal 236, 239, 241, 245, 304

nominalive 116, 132, 141, 152–153, 278, 282, 287, 290, 326–327, 339, 343, 395, 399, 455; emphatic 244, 421

non-Bantu African click languages 4

non-Cushitic African click languages 4

Non-Khoe 4, 6–7, 15–16, 18, 30, 35–36

Non-Khoekhoe *see* Kalahari Khoe

noun class 105, 108–109, 257, 301–302, 305–306, 308, 443, 445; system 6, 294, 305, 448

noun modifier *see* nominal modifier

noun: abstract 143, 159, 188, 307, 422; action 142; agentive 116; alienable 250, 256; animate 142, 170, 187, 243; appositional 242–243; attributive 365; bisyllabic 94; categorization 235; common 143; complement phrase 329; complementizer 345; compound 159, 462; compound phrase 190, 331, 344; compound stem 143; concrete 143; definite 370, 376; definite object phrase 372; definite phrase 369–370; deverbal 248, 314–315; deverbal abstract 314; ending 235–236, 238; feminine 108, 142, 158; head 111, 146–147, 155–156, 169, 171–173, 190, 209, 217–218, 230, 238–239, 244–245, 250–251, 262, 279, 281, 283, 301, 307–310, 319, 322, 342, 363–366, 378, 395, 397, 413, 425; head of phrase 179–183, 185; human 307; human head 238; human plural 239; inalienable 251, 256; inanimate 142, 145, 158, 170, 307; indefinite 370–371, 376; indefinite phrase 369–370; instrumental phrase 313; iterative phrase 345; juxtaposed 250; juxtaposed phrase 155; local 374; locative 256, 313; locative phrase 313; masculine 108, 142, 158; mass 249–250; modified 244–245; nuclear root 462; object 149, 157, 296, 369; object phrase 147, 153, 295, 328, 354, 365; oblique phrase 343; phrase 26,

30, 144, 146, 152, 155, 161, 179–180, 185, 187, 189–191, 197, 203, 255, 266–268, 272, 274–275, 277–283, 287, 289, 291, 301–302, 312, 319, 326–327, 329, 331–334, 339–340, 342–345, 354, 356, 370, 379–387, 395, 397–399, 414, 426, 432, 451, 455, 459; phrase order 30; plural 244; possessed 105, 112, 250; possessee 396; possessee phrase 414; predicative phrase 364; proper 142, 179, 369; relational 238, 313; root 89, 143, 164; sex-denoting 262; singular 244; stem 107–108, 132–134, 138–139, 142–144, 154, 157, 170, 207, 262, 275, 281, 326–327, 337, 343, 400, 443; subject 153, 296, 369; subject phrase 152, 295, 325, 328–329, 340, 354, 413, 421, 459; temporal 375; temporal phrase 313; transnumeral 304–305; verbal 370

number 6, 16–17, 112, 122, 141, 169–170, 185, 207, 228, 236–238, 240, 242–245, 249, 252, 258, 262, 265, 296, 301–302, 304, 306–307, 311, 427, 432; cardinal 172, 209, 217, 230; marking 28, 30, 36, 237–238, 240, 243, 245, 304; nominal 243, 304; ordinal 209, 217, 230

numeral 111, 136, 144, 146, 153, 155, 161, 169, 172–173, 179–180, 189–190, 204, 209, 217–218, 230, 235, 246, 301–302, 307, 310, 339, 363, 384, 468; cardinal 239, 310; ordinal 145–146, 154, 172; system 146, 155

object 23, 27–28, 119–120, 129, 140–142, 149–150, 152–153, 157–158, 170–171, 178, 183, 186, 205, 207–208, 216, 235, 240, 242, 247, 252, 257–258, 262–263, 265–267, 269, 273–274, 278, 295, 301, 322, 327–329, 333, 339, 341, 344, 348, 353–361, 367–368, 371–378, 389, 393–395, 397–398, 401–403, 406–409, 414, 419–420, 425, 431–432, 453; clausal 296;

cross-reference 240; definite 372–373, 376; direct 119–120, 122–123, 253, 257, 261, 269, 273–274, 332, 358, 368–369, 371–373, 376, 450; dual 262; elliptic 378; focused 376, 378; indefinite 373, 376, 378; indirect 121, 123, 253, 261, 273–274, 354, 358–359, 368–371, 373; nominal 153, 170, 178, 225, 408; nominal direct 358; postposed 341; pronominal 170, 178, 215, 225, 359, 408; pronominal indirect 358; syntactic 170; topicalized 341, 378

obligation 247, 336, 346

obligative 335

oblique 120–122, 141, 147, 152, 157, 242, 274, 326–328, 334, 339, 341–342, 350–351, 354, 374, 419; constituent 136; marker 113–114, 153, 272, 375, 411; multi-purpose marker 239–240, 313, 408–409, 414–415, 419–420, 424–425

obstruent: palatal 442; post-alveolar 442

OCP 48–49

Old Cape dialects 155

onomastics 454

onomatopoeia 449, 454

opaque particle 240

optative 128, 337

oral literature 148

Orlam Nama 456, 465

orthographic: convention 56, 328; diversity 5; effect 248; form 241; misrepresentation 147; practice 93; principle 53; representation 80–81, 247; series 82; shape 244; string 79; symbol 81, 84, 88; word 241, 421

orthography 32, 51–53, 55–58, 81, 84, 107, 162, 301, 338, 345, 439; practical 5

Oshiwambo 461, 463, 480

Owambo 58, 463, 480

palatalization 21, 56, 60, 65, 70–71, 73, 85, 345; velars 452

Papuan 21

participial 119, 122, 268, 406; past 154; subordinate 406

participle 116, 190; past 197; present 197

partonomical relationship 168

partonomy 165

passive 6, 15, 17, 23, 56, 121, 138, 147–148, 156, 164, 175–176, 178, 191–192, 203, 211, 213, 221, 225, 231–232, 234, 248, 254, 258, 315–316, 355, 383–384

passivization 240, 374

past 113, 116–119, 125, 178–179, 199–201, 213, 220, 226–227, 234, 240, 253, 262–263, 269–270, 297, 299, 337; distant 193; immediate 193, 195; indefinite 211, 213, 222, 226; intermediate 193; near 213–214, 253; nearest 213–214; negative 269; negative perfective 338; negative punctual remote 338; negative recent 338; perfective recent 337; punctual recent 337–338; recent 103, 178–179, 226–227, 336, 338; remote 178–179, 214, 225–226, 253, 336, 338, 346

patient 120, 265, 409, 420

paucal 109

perfect 104, 144, 150, 178–179, 226, 240, 247, 252, 346

perfective 15, 17, 134, 140, 163, 193–194, 247, 253–254, 291, 336–338, 355; present 336, 344

periphrasis 248; copulative 378

periphrastic construction 172, 240

person-gender-number *see* PGN

PGN 6, 16, 55–56, 109–110, 121, 128, 132–133, 141–143, 145, 147, 151–153, 155–158, 161–163, 169–170, 172–174, 178–182, 184–191, 193–194, 197–203, 205, 207, 209, 215, 217, 228, 230, 269–270, 273, 275, 288–289, 291, 325–328, 331, 339–345, 347–349, 351, 353–359, 365, 368–369, 372, 377, 379–387, 389–393, 395–397, 414, 432, 451–452, 462; common singular 368; imperative 278; indefinite 161; neuter singular 356, 367; nominal 128, 130–137, 173, 228, 230, 279, 281–282, 286–287, 289, 292, 395; resumptive 331; subject 128–129, 275, 277–278, 282–283, 285, 290, 292, 325, 327–328, 335, 342, 344

pharyngealization 35, 38, 60, 76, 80, 84, 237

phonetic realisation 124

phonetics 5–6, 25–26, 30, 36, 38, 78, 452–453

phonological 116, 216, 346–347, 447, 456, 477–478; adaptation 457; alternation 58–59, 70, 73, 75; environment 225; rule 441; word 241

phonological variation *see* phonological alternation

phonology 5–6, 25–26, 30, 36, 38, 56, 65, 78, 94, 124, 347, 438, 442, 444–445, 452, 469, 471, 477; click 86; segmental 41, 55; suprasegmental 55

phonotactic 33, 36, 51; constraint 59, 72, 89; pattern 76, 234, 241; structure 155

phonotactics 8, 55, 76, 79

pitch 91–92, 96, 100, 124, 126–127, 156, 350; -accent 6

plosive: alveolar 55; aspirated 53, 76, 81, 439; aspirated alveolar 442; bilabial 55; ejective 81, 293; glottal 53, 65; homorganic 81; lateral 442; palatal 35, 74, 436; uvular 35, 76; velar 56, 155, 439; voiced 53; voiceless 107, 439

pluractional 101–102, 248, 291

pluractionality 137, 409, 420

plural 6, 16–19, 22, 28, 109–114, 116, 123, 131, 141–142, 152, 158, 162–163, 169, 171, 185, 207–208, 216–217, 229, 235, 237–238, 240–245, 249–251, 257, 259, 262, 296, 302, 304–305, 307, 309, 310–311, 323, 367, 405, 415, 439, 451, 455; associative 243; collective 115; common 17, 22, 170, 178, 207, 209, 215; distributive 115, 240, 260; feminine 20–21, 112, 119, 122, 170, 178, 207, 215, 228; masculine 21, 112, 119, 122, 207, 209, 215–216, 228, 453; nominal 248, 323; stem 296; suppletive 258, 309

plurality 113, 134, 137, 257–259, 261, 302, 304, 405; distributive 258

polysemy 169

Portuguese 449; East Indies 449

possessed 112–113

possessee 184, 310–311, 365–367, 395, 414–415; definite 365; indefinite 365; pronominal 311

possession 113–114, 121, 146–147, 250, 366; alienable 250, 395–396, 414; attributive 310, 414; inalienable 114,

250, 255, 257, 311, 395–396, 414, 426; nominal 169, 231, 307; oblique 113; predicative 431

possessive 17, 21, 109, 112, 114, 144, 146, 150, 153, 155, 157, 161, 169, 173–174, 180–181, 183–184, 187, 205, 210–211, 218–220, 231, 250–252, 259, 310, 313, 332–333, 339–340, 352, 354, 365–366, 371, 395, 404, 455; alienable 250; attribute 301, 303, 365; feminine 21; inalienable 257; independent pronoun 113; interrogative 174; masculine 21; nominal 365; noun phrase 146, 155; postposition 365–366; predicate 431; predication 450; pronominal 311, 395; pronominal attribute 307; pronoun 146, 156, 161, 210, 352, 455

possessor 112, 114, 146–147, 155–156, 184, 235, 242, 250, 262, 310–311, 365–367, 377–378, 395–396, 414–415, 420, 427; alienable 412; attribute 363, 365; nominal 414; noun 157, 305, 311, 365, 396; pronoun 305, 311, 420, 432; reflexive 427; singular 262

postposition 100–101, 127, 131, 149–150, 157, 186–187, 203–204, 218, 256, 281–282, 286, 295, 312–313, 330, 334, 339, 346, 354, 365, 368, 374–375, 383, 395–398, 401, 432, 451, 455; compounded 150; derived 150; instrumental 172; local 374–375; locative 130, 135, 172; temporal 375

postpositional 151, 202, 330, 396; phrase 133, 149, 203–204, 273–275, 279–283, 286, 332–334, 386, 396, 406

potential 337–338; past 337; present 337

pragmatics 349–350, 481

predicate 112, 115, 122, 136, 144, 152, 160, 179, 240, 245–248, 255, 262–263, 268–269, 271, 274, 283, 325–326, 329, 343, 348–349, 353–354, 363, 365, 378, 399, 408–413, 419–423, 458; adjectival 110; attributive 239; copulative 431; head 325, 327, 343, 459; indefinite existential 422; relative 246; subordinate 412; topicalized 459

predication 170, 256, 347, 423

predicative 239, 325–326, 328–329, 334, 342–343, 409, 422–423, 425–426; modifier 307; nominal 384

prenasalization 62

preposition 19, 21, 27, 123, 150, 242, 253, 255–256, 259, 261, 281, 312–313, 396, 401, 455, 457; oblique case 313; transitive 295, 312–313

prepositional 312–313, 451

present 104, 116–119, 136, 177, 179, 193–194, 201, 213, 226, 232, 234, 262–263, 269–270, 336–338, 381; continuous 199, 252; negated present 220–221, 225–227, 232, 234; negative 199, 269; negative progressive 338

presentative 364, 376

preterite 220–221, 225–226, 232–234, 337; negated 232

preteritive 214

privation 154, 160

privative 150, 160, 281

proactive 164

progressive 119, 144, 156, 179, 226, 253, 295, 297–298, 336–338; present 213, 255

pronominal 117–119, 121, 144–147, 153–156, 170–171, 193, 207–208, 215–216, 228, 235, 239, 242–243, 251, 273, 292, 294, 305, 307, 332, 334, 345, 412–415, 455; argument 119, 265; head 281; referent 359–360; stem 112

pronoun: anaphoric 415, 427; attributive 365; cliticization 415; common 216; deictic 242, 246, 424–425; demonstrative 105, 112, 399; dual 216, 235, 262, 302; exclusive 235; feminine 20, 216; free standing 131, 235; head 309; inclusive 235; independent 21, 112–113, 265, 273; interrogative 161, 319, 350; locative 309, 320; masculine 20; modification 246; object 158, 207–208, 216–217, 228–229, 262, 301, 354; oblique 242; personal 111, 155, 173, 175, 215, 231, 301–303, 311, 395; plural 235–236, 243, 251, 262, 405, 422; possessee 17, 305–306; predicate 112; reciprocal 304; reflexive 303, 427; relative 114, 259, 271, 273, 359, 406; resumptive 424–425; resumptive referential 330; root 145; singular 22, 228, 235, 243, 422; stem 145, 154; subject 170, 207–208, 210, 216, 219, 228, 274, 301–302, 318, 342

prosodic pattern 248

prosody 79; phrasal 105

Proto-Dahaloan 466

Proto-Khoe 15, 17, 20–22, 72, 217, 467, 470, 472, 474

Proto-Mbuguan 466

Proto-Rub 475–476

Proto-Southern Nilotic 468

proximal 374

proximative 179

punctual 336–338

qualifier 144–147, 153, 155–156, 160, 169, 172, 326–327, 332, 339–340, 344, 348, 351–352, 354–355, 385; adjectival 351; attributive 329, 339, 342; attributive appositive 339; nominal 351–352

quantifier 111, 172–173, 181, 209, 217–218, 230, 252–253, 262, 272, 307, 309, 432

question 115, 161, 198, 271, 335, 388, 398–399, 403, 408, 411, 421–422; information 271; negative 201; particle 271, 319; wh- 398, 403, 408; word 174, 271, 295, 387–388, 398; yes/no 271, 398, 403–404, 408

quotative 322, 396

recipient 120, 409, 420

reciprocal 15, 17, 139, 147–148, 156, 164, 175–176, 191–192, 212, 223, 233, 314–316

reconstruction 14–15, 19; linguistic 434

reduplication 94, 99–100, 102, 116, 119, 125, 149, 156, 176, 190, 224, 232, 242–243, 248, 263; causative 101, 156; full 243, 263; lexical 99, 101–102; nominalizing 249; partial 94, 123, 243, 263; plural 244; stem 242; verb-deriving 101; verbal 149, 248

reduplicative 115

referential 145

reflexive 17, 102, 121, 147–149, 156, 164, 175–176, 191–192, 212, 223, 233, 252, 303

regular sound correspondence 7, 19, 24

relative 235, 259, 270, 272–273, 307, 386, 413–415, 423–424; construction 169, 243, 397, 406; object 425; particle 118, 268

relativization 310, 330

repetitive 116, 176, 212, 223–224, 232–233, 254, 260

resultative 240, 247, 365; causative 448

Rift 469–470, 478; East 469–471; -Mbugu 467–469; North 466; Proto- 466, 469–470, 478; Proto-East 466, 470; Proto-Rift-Mbugu 466–470, 477–478; Proto-South 466; Proto-Taita 466; Proto-West 466, 470; West 467, 469–470

Ritwan 13

root structure *see* word structure

Rub *see* Kuliak

Rub-speaking societies 476

Rundu 446

San 1, 261, 434–437, 447, 449, 453, 464–465; language 35, 87, 249, 251, 258–260, 436, 438, 464–465

Sandawe 2–9, 13–15, 19–23, 26, 28–30, 33–34, 36, 90, 124, 126, 131, 135, 140, 274, 291, 434, 465, 467–472, 474–479

sandhi 96–97

Sechuana dialects 435

semantic bleaching 452

semantics 7, 131, 160, 378

sentence: coordinate 393, 406; equational 255; event 348–349; interrogative 255–256, 327, 350, 353, 358, 361, 387, 398–399, 401, 431; intransitive 369–370, 379, 381–382; nominal 384–385, 394; subordinate 394, 432; transitive 258, 369, 381; type 240, 267

sequence of constituents *see* constituent order

Sesfontein 151, 341

Setswana *see* Tswana

shift: sound 15, 17, 70; stress 117; tonal 18

Shona 436–437, 443; dialects 443

Shua: subgroup 8, 10, 16, 23, 71, 103, 215–219, 221, 224, 228, 401, 446; varieties 17, 71–73, 103, 215–218, 223–224, 226, 228, 230, 232, 406, 480

similative 315, 317, 415

singular 6, 16–21, 28, 109–111, 113–114, 116, 119, 141–142, 146–147, 151–152, 155, 158, 162–163, 169–171, 186, 207–208, 210, 216–217, 228–229, 235–238, 240, 242–243, 249–251, 259, 262, 296, 302, 305, 307, 311, 335, 349, 367, 401, 405, 415, 427, 432, 453; common 367; feminine 7, 17, 20, 22, 112, 122, 142, 207, 209, 228, 393, 397; masculine 17, 20–22, 55, 112,

122, 142, 151, 153, 180, 197, 207, 209, 215, 230, 395;
–plural class 235; stem 296; suppletive 258

Sino-Tibetan 97

slot structure *see* verbal slot structure

sociolect 481

sociolinguistic 434, 464; domination 83; situation 464,
479

sociolinguistics 8, 434

Soo 475–476

Sotho 435–437, 439, 442–444; Southern 436–437, 442

source 120

South Africa 2, 4, 10–11, 169, 434–436, 456, 464–465,
479

South Cushitic *see* Southern Cushitic

southern Africa 467, 478–480

Southern African Khoesan *see* South African Khoesan

south-western Bantu *see* Southwest Bantu

specific reference 304

specification 310

specificiser *see* specifier

specifier 132–133, 279, 283–284

sprachbund 4

Standard Khoekhoe *see* Namibian Khoekhoe

standardization 461

stative 110, 116, 138, 144, 150, 240, 246–248, 268, 336–338, 348–349, 459; present 325–326; –resultative 410

Stellenbosch 441

stop: alveolar 48, 60, 73; aspirated 57, 76; bilabial 41, 57, 60–61, 73; dental 57, 442; egressive 83, 440; ejective 61; glottal 17, 21, 53–55, 57–58, 61, 86, 110; labial 48; nasalized 57; palatal 86, 442; prenasalized 38; uvular 67, 85–86; velar 48, 57, 67, 70, 84, 86; voiceless 440

Strandberg variety 264

strengthening 452

stress 98, 106–107

Subiya 445

subject 27–28, 116–120, 123, 129, 135, 141, 148–149, 153, 158, 170–171, 186, 191, 205, 207–208, 215–216, 235, 240, 242, 244, 247, 252, 258, 260, 262–263, 265–267, 269, 273–274, 283, 285, 287, 295, 298, 301, 312, 322, 325–329, 331–336, 339–341, 343, 345, 347–350, 353–361, 365, 368–372, 375–378, 391–392, 394–403, 408–409, 411, 413, 415, 419–420, 422–426, 431–432, 453, 459; collective 116; definite 376; dual 148; focused 376; indefinite 376, 378; nominal 186, 205, 392; past tense 265; plural 115, 148; pronominal 27, 228–229, 273; relative 413; singular 116

subjunctive 214, 247, 260, 337, 347

subordinate 293, 321, 337, 394, 406

subordination 135, 151, 291, 322, 324, 330–334, 343–345, 391, 397, 405, 413, 415, 425

superlative 386, 458

suppletion 28, 115, 129, 243, 304; lexical 243; stem 262

suppletive 17, 114, 116, 245, 250, 258, 315; stem 7, 237, 240, 245

suprasegmental: feature 79–80, 84; structure 103

Swahili 111, 123, 140, 265, 474

Swati 437

syllable: closure 91; pattern 262; peak 240, 438; structure 8, 62, 460

syntactic 356; constituent 274; head 245; pattern 146; phrase 238; process 328

syntax 5, 7–8, 124, 153, 212, 245, 249, 257, 265, 294, 340, 347, 350, 356, 394, 407, 413, 431, 454, 456, 459; basic 142, 340

Taa 3, 6, 16, 19, 24, 26, 75–76, 79–80, 82, 234, 243, 263, 408, 420, 427

Table Bay 1, 449

Takama 475

TAM 363–365, 377

Tanzania 2, 9, 13, 465, 469, 475–476

Tatí *see* Deti

taxonomy 165

tekela dialects 437–438

temporal 274, 277, 280, 292, 312, 387, 391–393, 413

tense 6, 15, 17, 103, 114–116, 118, 123, 162–163, 175–179, 191, 193–197, 199–201, 211, 213–214, 222, 224–226, 231–232, 234, 239–240, 247, 253–255, 259–260, 263, 267, 269–271, 273, 295, 297, 325–328, 331–332, 334–338, 345–346, 349, 351–355, 381–382, 389–391, 394, 399, 401, 404, 411, 431, 451; compellative 336; distant past 355; future 110, 163, 177, 193, 206, 220, 222, 227, 232, 253, 299, 332, 336–337, 346, 355, 379; immediate past 195, 355; near past 193; negated present 220, 222, 232; negated recent past 227; past 103, 110, 162–163, 177, 193–194, 206, 213, 224, 227, 253, 297, 299, 332, 336–338, 346–347, 365, 381–382; present 21, 104, 144, 162–163, 171, 193, 195, 206, 214, 220, 226–227, 232, 234, 332, 336–337, 346, 355, 379, 381; remote past 346

terminative 176, 212, 223–224, 233

Thagiicu 475

theticity 421

tonal: alternation 101–102; depression 96; dissimilation 101–103; melody 53, 55, 96, 99–102, 105, 155; pattern 94–95, 103–104, 170, 212, 215; sequence 98, 103; symbol 93

tone 6, 14, 18, 33, 57, 75, 80, 84, 89–91, 93–98, 100–105, 107, 124–125, 131–133, 138–140, 170, 174, 181, 190–191, 197–198, 201, 207–208, 212, 224, 231–232, 249–250, 252, 257, 274, 279, 293–294, 301, 323, 338, 406, 442–444; -bearing unit 6, 51, 55, 90,

93–94, 98, 100; change 202; class 103–105; combination 89, 94–95, 98; contour 94, 97, 104–105, 294; depression of 95; floating 105; level 93, 96, 99–100, 103, 105; lexical 89, 93–96, 104–105; melody 96–99, 105; pattern 89–90, 92–93, 95–98, 442–443; register 96, 98, 294; rule 97, 101, 340; sandhi 146, 155; sequence 93–95, 100, 102–105; syllabic 97–98; verbal 104; verbal class 98

tonogenesis 53, 96

tonological principles 156

tonology 5, 89–90, 92–93, 97, 99, 103; lexical 97, 104; phrasal 96, 105

topic 295, 347, 349–350, 353–354, 372

topicality 243

topicalization 407

toponym 454

Totela 445

transformative 164

transitive 19, 102, 115, 119, 240, 248, 259–260, 295, 300–301, 303–304, 308–309, 311, 313–317, 322–323, 360–361, 470; transitive-benefactive 420

transitivity 300–301, 316, 323

transnumeral 307

Transvaal 436

triphthong 79

Ts'ixa 10, 71–73, 215–222, 224–227

Tshila 86

Tshu-Khwe *see* Kalahari Khoe

Tshwa: subgroup 8, 11, 16, 23, 73, 104, 217, 228–229, 233, 407; varieties 73–75, 232–234, 407

Tsonga 435, 437, 439

Tsua 11, 16, 73–75, 104, 228–231, 233–234

Tswana 2, 5, 28, 176, 439, 442, 461, 479–480

Tuu *see* Southern (South African) Khoesan

typology: areal 25; cross-linguistic 5

Tywa *see* Cua

Uganda 465, 467, 475–476, 478

Upington 464

valency of the verb *see* valence of the verb

van Riebeeck 450, 453

velar suction 13, 439

Venda 435, 437, 439

ventive 147–148, 156, 247

verb compound *see* compound verb

verb lexicon *see* verbal lexicon

verb of state *see* stative verb

verb: adjectival stative 367; auxiliary 162, 193, 197, 240, 247, 253, 384, 421–422; biclausal 149; causative 149, 241, 457; chain 248; class 296; cognition 322, 425;

compound 101, 149, 156, 164, 254, 260–261, 352, 400, 457, 461; coordinate 352; defective 389, 403; diminutive 149; ditransitive 358; eating/digesting 168; event 162; existential 254, 399; finite 103, 169–170, 175, 177, 207, 220, 225, 267, 359, 377, 454; fossilized 147; head of phrase 191; imperfective stem 291; incorporating objects 143; independent 261; inflection of 162, 355; intransitive 97, 102, 147, 149, 191, 241, 248, 258–259, 291, 296, 322, 369, 375, 420, 425; intransitive-causative 248; intransitive motion 374; intransitive progressive 156; intransitive stative 241; intransitive suppletive 296; locative 411; locution 425; monosyllabic 262; motion 377, 421; movement 148; negative 163; nominalized 169, 183, 188, 389; nominalized finite 169; opaque 262; perception 425; phrasal 457 phrase 175, 191, 193, 241, 247, 255, 273–274, 279, 283, 295–296, 354, 356, 379–384, 406, 412, 420, 422; plural 129, 249; plural subject stem 129; pluractional 260; pretence 149, 156; progressive 149; reciprocal 363; reduplicated 149, 224, 232, 248; reduplicated stem 420; root 89–90, 107, 120, 143, 191; sequence 240; sequence structure of 175, 211; serial 248, 260; serial construction 241, 358, 364, 377, 409–411; serialization 322; serializing 6, 420; singular subject stem 129; stative 144, 150, 162, 239, 241, 307, 309, 312, 363–364, 410; stem 116–117, 125, 133, 136–141, 147, 162–164, 177, 212, 224, 240–241, 248, 318, 328, 354–355, 363–364, 405, 409, 421–422, 442, 447, 474; suppletive 19, 296; transitive 101, 147–149, 191, 235, 240–241, 246, 259–260, 296, 322, 356, 358, 369, 374, 474; transitivity of 147, 191; trisyllabic 262; valence of 6, 123, 147, 175, 212, 240, 247–248, 254, 313, 374, 408, 414, 419–420, 425

verbal 240, 242, 246, 248, 253, 255, 257, 300, 307, 309, 312, 317, 325, 327, 329, 343, 349–350, 431; action 358, 360–361, 377–378; derivational 295; derivative 315; derivative suffix 175; derived stem 364; expression 242; lexicon 241, 260, 263; negation 299; phrase 203, 210; predicate 361, 365, 377; root 98, 103, 143, 447; slot structure 221, 231–232; stem 448

verbal periphrase 241

verbalizer 441

vocalic: alternation 207; shift 18

vocative 110, 339, 353–354, 387

voice 260, 354–355; Onset Time 39, 48

voicing 52, 84, 86; breathy 84

vowel 6, 19, 22, 30, 33, 36, 38, 49, 51–53, 55–58, 60–65, 71, 73–75, 78–80, 83–88, 91, 93–96, 98, 107, 113, 115–117, 119–120, 126, 139–140, 142, 153, 156, 193, 213, 225, 228, 231, 233, 235, 240, 246–247, 251, 263, 294, 301, 345–346, 355, 384, 403–404, 424, 438, 447, 452, 460–461; alternation 22; assimilation 336; back nasal 225; back oral 225; breathy 6, 49, 75, 78, 84, 95–96; centralized 460; change 18, 249, 259; cluster 438; coalescence 438; colouring 6, 35, 75–76, 78, 80, 84; distinction 247; epenthetic 460; epiglottalized 95, 460; front nasal 225, 301, 421; fronting 475; glottalization 35; glottalized 6, 35, 49, 75, 78; harmony 110; height 113; height assimilation 87; height harmony 111; laryngealized 14, 84; length 38, 51, 58, 84, 93, 294; lengthening 117, 127, 140; long 51–52, 91, 155, 421, 427; nasal 6, 51–52, 56, 58, 60–61, 65, 71, 73, 87, 233,

301; nasalization 38; nasalized 38, 51–52, 63–64, 75, 84, 126, 441; oral 6, 51–52, 56, 58, 60–61, 63, 71, 73, 87, 126, 447; pattern 107; pharyngealized 6, 14, 60–61, 63, 65, 67, 75, 78, 84, 95; phonation type 48–49, 95; quality 38, 75, 80, 84, 139; reciprocal assimilation 234; sequence 51–52, 58, 71, 73, 75, 78–80, 84, 89, 233, 460; short 51, 91; symbol 79

vowel combination *see* vowel sequence

wh-phrase 454

word order 30, 231, 253, 261, 265, 294–295, 347, 356–361, 365, 368, 377, 394–395, 397, 401–402, 407, 415, 450–451, 454; dominant 7, 394–395

word structure 6, 8, 22, 51, 61–65, 85, 177

World War II 3

Xade dialect 394

Xhosa 15, 24, 435–444

Xiri 465

Yaaku 434, 476–477

Yeyi 15, 24, 36, 444, 446, 474; Caprivi 444–446; Ngamiland 444–446; varieties 446

Zambia 2, 444, 447

Zhu *see* Northern Khoesan

Zimbabwe 2, 436–437

Zulu 436–444

!Akhoe 23

!Ganda 153

!Gui 8, 10, 13, 16, 26, 34–35, 65–71, 85–87, 99–103, 207–214, 255, 257, 394–397, 400; varieties 64

!Haasi 11, 78–81, 464–465

!Xaise 11, 71–73, 215–218, 220–222, 224–227

!Xam 8, 11, 16, 19, 23, 26, 29–30, 78–84, 241–245, 247–248, 264, 419–420, 422, 427, 464,

!’Auni 78, 86, 464, 479

‡Ākhoe 10, 52, 56–58, 151, 157–161, 347, 350, 352–355, 461, 463, 480–481

‡Akhoe *see* ‡Ākhoe

‡Aullen *see* ‡X’ull’ê

‡Haba 10, 207–209, 211–214

‡Hōã *see* ‡Hoan

‡Hoan 3–8, 11, 18–19, 23, 26–30, 34–36, 67, 84–87, 105, 241, 243, 245, 249–257, 259–261, 431

‡Khomani 24, 26, 34–35, 78–79, 81, 85, 464

‡X’ull’ê(n) 17, 23, 93

!Gora 8, 10, 14, 22, 27, 51–56, 151–157, 337, 340–347, 453–454, 465

!Kung *see* !Xun

!Ora *see* !Gora

!Ui *see* Southern (South African) Khoesan

!Ui varieties [464](#)

!Ui-Taa *see* Southern (South African) Khoesan

!Wi *see* Southern (South African) Khoesan

!Xóǒ *see* !Xoon

!Xoon [4–5](#), [7–8](#), [11](#), [13](#), [19](#), [22–24](#), [26](#), [28–30](#), [33–35](#), [67](#), [85–87](#), [93](#), [104–105](#), [251](#), [258–260](#), [267](#), [470](#), [472–474](#), [477](#), [479](#); East [8](#), [26](#), [28](#), [33](#), [75–80](#), [82](#), [234–237](#), [241](#), [243–244](#), [246](#), [263](#), [408](#), [410–411](#), [420](#), [422](#), [427](#), [464](#); West [464](#)

!Xũ(ũ) *see* !Xun

!Xun [8–9](#), [13](#), [17–19](#), [23](#), [56–57](#), [141](#), [293–294](#), [297](#), [300](#), [302](#), [305–306](#), [309–310](#), [312](#), [319](#), [321](#), [324](#), [449](#), [461](#), [480](#); dialects [9](#), [295–298](#), [309](#); Northwestern (Ekoka) [5](#), [48](#), [296–298](#), [300](#), [304](#), [307–308](#), [314](#), [316–317](#), [323](#); Proto- [294](#), [297](#), [308](#), [314](#); Proto-Northwestern [294](#); Proto-Southeastern [294](#); Southeastern [296–298](#), [300](#), [302](#), [304–305](#), [307–308](#), [317](#), [323](#)

!Xung: Angolan [93](#); Gobabis [92](#); Grootfontein [48](#), [93](#), [95](#); Mangetti Dune [48–49](#), [93](#), [96](#); Okongo [92](#), [95](#); varieties [93](#)

!Xũũ: Northern [23](#); Southern [23](#)

!Xuun *see* !Xun

!Ani [8](#), [10](#), [14](#), [24](#), [26](#), [29](#), [35](#), [58–60](#), [97–98](#), [153](#), [165](#), [169–179](#), [213](#), [222](#), [225](#), [445–446](#), [449](#)

llGana 10, 16, 65–71, 207–214, 395; subgroup 8, 10, 16, 23, 64–65, 67, 70, 99, 207–210, 212–214, 394; –lGui variation 68, 70; varieties 64, 99, 207

llŋ79

llXegwi 11, 16, 19, 22–24, 28, 78–79, 82–83, 86, 479