

THE STRUCTURES OF KORA

The contrastive sounds (*phonemes*) of any given language are combined to form the small units of meaning (*morphemes*) that are its building blocks, where some of these, such as nouns and verbs, are lexical, and others, such as markers of number, or tense and aspect, are grammatical. The *morphology* of Kora and the ways in which its morphemes are used in turn to compose phrases, full length clauses and longer stretches of connected discourse (or in other words, the *syntax* of the language) will be the focus of this chapter.¹

The intention is to provide a short reference grammar for Kora, mainly to facilitate the study of the heritage texts in the original language, and chiefly with a non-specialist (though dedicated) reader in mind. For this reason, what the chapter offers is a primary description of the language, rather than a secondary linguistic modelling. (This is of course by no means to say that the description is ‘atheoretical’.) It will quickly become apparent that there are several aspects of the language that are not easily explained, even in the most basic descriptive terms, without some degree of linguistic analysis.) While we have tried as far as possible to avoid terminology that is associated with any specific linguistic framework² or else has become outdated jargon, it would have been difficult to proceed without drawing on at least some of the well-accepted and relatively transparent concepts that have come to form the received core of general linguistic description. The meanings of any mildly technical terms introduced in the course of the chapter will, it is hoped, become clear from the context.

It can be difficult to find a balance between trying on one hand to force a language into a pre-existing typological box that is plainly inappropriate – and extravagantly inventing new and exotic typological categories on the other. We have tried our best to find this medium, but one consequence of this is that some of our assessments may differ in small respects from those previously offered by others. In as far as they may be a spur to further debate and analysis, we hope our minor departures will be seen as positive.

In an ideal world, linguists work closely with speakers, and in many cases, are speakers themselves of the language under study. This makes it possible to elicit intuitions about the acceptability and appropriateness of certain formulations as opposed to others, where these speaker judgments can help in turn to confirm or disconfirm the validity of a particular analysis. In the case of Kora, of course, we are no longer able to carry out systematic and sustained investigations of this kind,

although the two consultants who worked with us certainly provided a number of illuminating phrases and sentences. The greater part of our data comes from the corpus of narratives and illustrative sentences that were written down by various authors over a period of about 60 years from 1879 to the end of the 1930s. We are fortunate also to have a few previous grammatical sketches, beginning with the brief notes prepared by Carl Wuras that were incorporated by John Appleyard³ into the introductory section of the latter's Xhosa grammar, and followed by the grammatical sketches provided by Carl Meinhof⁴ and Louis Maingard.⁵ We are equally fortunate that Andries Bitterbos was an astute commentator on his own language, and provided Jan Engelbrecht with usefully revealing literal translations of many of the texts, including some that Bitterbos had written down himself. Benjamin Kats, who likewise wrote down several texts, similarly worked closely with Meinhof. Lastly, Maingard tells us that the members of the Bloemhof Korana community worked collaboratively to dictate various narratives to him, and subsequently went through his transcriptions with him and helped to confirm their accuracy.

In addition to all this, there is much that we can learn from close relatives of Kora, such as South African Nama and the dialects of Namibian Khoekhoe. There is a long tradition of Nama grammatical description, with the 19th century studies of Johann Wallmann,⁶ Henry Tindall⁷ and Theophilus Hahn⁸ constituting highlights. In the early part of the 20th century, Meinhof⁹ contributed a grammar of Nama that was partly pedagogical and partly a reference grammar. A manuscript grammar circulated by Heinrich Vedder¹⁰ in 1909 was, as Wilfrid Haacke has explained,¹¹ revised by Johannes Olpp¹² in 1917, while the revised version was subsequently incorporated into Friederich Rust's Nama grammar of 1965.¹³ (Another study was contributed by Otto Dempwolff¹⁴ in the 1930s.) The first modern description of a Khoekhoe language, based loosely on the premises of an early version of generative syntax, came from Roy Hagman in the 1970s,¹⁵ while more recent studies by Wilfrid Haacke¹⁶ are couched in terminology that often implies a broadly similar framework. (A study of Nama by Gerhard Böhm was published in 1985, but appears, on the basis of its spelling conventions, to be an older work.)¹⁷

Lastly, it is occasionally helpful to consider aspects of the morphology and syntax of the related Kalahari varieties of KHOE. The structures of Khwe in particular have been extensively described by Christa Kilian-Hatz.¹⁸

One thing that the older studies reveal is the perennially recurring nature of certain problems of analysis, with respect not only to Kora but to the Khoekhoe varieties in general. These thorny and contested aspects include: the function of the *ke* particle (often written 'tje', 'kie' or 'kye'), which seems to occur after a sentence topic (or, as some have alternatively suggested, is perhaps used as a marker of declarative sentences); the function of a postnominal *-a*, which some have proposed to be the marker of an accusative case; and the function and distribution of two apparently copular predicators, *i* and *a*, which some describe as aspect markers. As we will see throughout the sections that follow, it is by no means an easy task to pin down the exact functions of these various small particles,¹⁹ and it is hoped that future

researchers may be sufficiently intrigued to conduct further investigations into some of the questions highlighted in the chapter.

Our account will begin with a description of the constituent morphemes that make up each of the three main sub-clausal structures of the basic sentence, namely:

- The *noun phrase*, which typically expresses an argument of the predicate, as in ‘the children’.
- The *adpositional phrase*, which typically expresses additional arguments, as in ‘behind the rocks’.
- The *verb phrase*, which contains the predicating expression (often but not always a verb), and any dependent arguments, as in ‘saw an injured wildcat’.

The term ‘argument’ used above is borrowed from the field of formal logic, where a proposition can be formulated in abstract terms as [(PREDICATE) x, y], with x and y standing for two arguments, as in [(RESCUE) the man, the wildcat]. The term ‘adpositional’ is a more general one than ‘prepositional’. It is used here because, as will be seen later, Kora – like all KHOE languages – makes use of *postpositions*, which are adpositions placed *after* the noun, unlike prepositions, which are adpositions placed *before* a noun.

Later sections will look at the ways in which sentences (clauses) are formulated by combining such phrases, with attention to the expression of syntactic relations (such as subjects and objects), as well as the ways in which clausal and sub-clausal constituents may be combined with, or embedded within other constituents, or used as the complements of certain verbs. The syntactic description will incorporate some reference to aspects of sentence-level semantics, including the significance of semantic roles. Lastly, aspects of pragmatics will be reflected in the sections describing the use of morphology and re-ordering strategies in the formulation of sentences according to function (as in positive and negative declaratives, interrogatives, desideratives, speculatives or imperatives), as well as information structure (for example in terms of topic and focus).

In principle, the basic and most neutral form of the Kora sentence presents the *subject* first; then one or two dependent *objects*; and lastly the *predicating expression*, which – when it is a verb, and provided it has not been moved to the front of the sentence – is generally preceded by most markers of tense, aspect, or mood. Any extra expressions that may be introduced, for example to indicate an agent, a means, a place (locus), or a path (goal or source), may be placed either before or after the verb. (Where an additional argument is not strictly required by the verb, it is said to occur as an adjunct to the verb phrase.) The following sentence, which describes the year in which Iis of the Bloemhof Korana was born, illustrates the simplest case, where the clause has the arrangement [Subject Object Verb – Adjunct]:²⁰

- (ii) *||xǎu-re ko uibi* (Mhf50)
sting-me (male) Rec.Past **the bee**
 V O S
 ‘the bee stung me’
- (iii) *ɸ’aib ab ko khǎa khoebi* (Mhf63)
 foot his Rec.Past break **the man**
 O V S
 ‘the man broke his foot’

Although various phrases may be freely ordered in this way within the sentence, the phrases reflect internal ordering principles that are generally more regular and predictable (where even any exceptions have their own regularity). For this reason, Kora, like other Khoekhoe languages, is often described as consistently ‘head-final’. What this means is simply that, within each type of phrase, the head (or minimally required constituent) occurs at the end of that phrase – at least in the default case – while any additional elements, such as the determiners and adjectives that may qualify a noun, precede it.²⁴

The rest of this chapter will describe the structures outlined above in more detail, under the following headings:

- 4.1 The noun phrase.
- 4.2 The adpositional phrase.
- 4.3 The verb phrase.
- 4.4 The Kora sentence, part I.
- 4.5 The Kora sentence, part II.
- 4.6 Miscellaneous.

4.1 The noun phrase²⁵

The minimally required constituent of a noun phrase is a nominal expression, which is to say, either a *noun* or a *pronoun*. The nominal may be optionally preceded by a range of determiners, including *demonstratives*, *quantifiers*, or *numbers*, and modifying *adjectives*, where any of these may take on the function, in some contexts, of a nominal. The structure of the noun phrase (or NP) is summarised in Figure 4.1, where the example shows how each ‘slot’ might be filled:

NP [Demonstrative	{ Quantifier Number }	Intensifier	Adjective	Nominal] NP
<i>hē</i>	<i> xara</i>	<i>kaise</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>khoeku</i>
<i>hē xara kaise kai khoeku</i> ‘these other very big men’				

FIGURE 4.1 The composition of the Kora noun phrase.

The section below will look at each of the constituents of the Kora noun phrase in turn.

4.1.1 Nominal expressions

4.1.1.1 Nouns

The nouns of Kora, like those of all languages belonging to the KHOE family, are divided into masculine and feminine genders,²⁶ with the option of a common (neutral) gender.²⁷ As is usual in languages of the Khoekhoe branch, these three grammatical genders are overtly indicated by means of noun suffixes.²⁸ In the preceding chapters, a hyphen has usually been introduced to demarcate these suffixes, to make things clearer. From now on they will be written conjunctively, in the style preferred by the official writing conventions for Namibian Khoekhoe, and by Engelbrecht and Maingard for Kora.

The assignment of masculine and feminine genders to nouns in the Khoekhoe languages is typically based on natural gender in the case of most animate referents, but is otherwise arbitrary. The common suffixes may be used in cases where the gender is not known (for example when people are seen at a distance), or is irrelevant, or in cases where two or more nouns of different genders are involved. The singular and plural suffixes used to express the genders of the Kora nouns are set out in Table 4.1. (When it comes to looking up words in the Dictionary, the reader may find it helpful to bear in mind that these suffixes are disregarded for purposes of alphabetical ordering.)

TABLE 4.1 The suffixes that express the grammatical genders of the nouns in Kora.

3 rd person	Singular	Plural
Masculine	-b	-ku-a
Feminine	-s	-di (~de)
Common	-i	-n-a

The figure reflects the habitual tendency on the part of Kora speakers, including our own two consultants, to add a final *-a* to citation forms. This tendency was explained by members of the Links family as a Kora feature: Lucy Lloyd's manuscript notes frequently show an alternative form *without* the postnominal *-a*, where the expression is specifically indicated as being characteristic of the Griqua variety.²⁹

Where a masculine noun ends in a nasal segment such as *m* or *n*, the singular suffix *-b* assimilates to it, as in the examples below.

<i>xammi</i>	'lion'
<i>/hommi</i> (~ <i>/homma</i>)	'cloud, sky'
<i>/xamma</i>	'spoon'
<i>//ammi</i>	'water'

<i>/kx'onna</i>	'name'
<i>/kx'anni</i>	'smoke'
<i>ɸ'anna</i>	'knowledge'

A certain degree of ambiguity arises in the case of the small set of masculine nouns ending in the alveolar nasal *n*, since it can be difficult to determine (in the absence of contextual clues) whether the intended suffix is the masculine singular variant *-ni* or the common plural *-n*.³⁰ This uncertainty is compounded in Kora because of the tendency to cite nouns by default with a postnominal *-a*, which further obscures the distinction, and which may also have been responsible for a phenomenon noted by both Wuras and Meinhof, involving the apparent use of the common plural in a singular sense. Wuras³¹ commented that there was no common singular form for */'ōb* or */'ōs* 'child', adding that 'in some cases, if they cannot distinguish (the child being at a distance) they used the plural */'ona*'. (There is much variation in the representation of the vowel as long or short.) Wuras also gave *arina* for 'dog', in a singular sense. Meinhof³² similarly noted occasional uses of the common plural suffix *-n* in association with singular nouns, including the word for 'child', and certain animals.³³ In two of the stories (BK14 and BK17) written down by Benjamin Kats, even the *diminutive* form of the word is used with the suffix of the common plural, yet with a singular implication (as */'o-da-na* and */'o-da-ni*). Our own consultants used */'ona* with a singular implication on one or two occasions, almost as if this was once perhaps a separate word with the same meaning as */'ō'i*.³⁴

The examples below show the standard singular and plural forms of a few nouns in each of the genders.

Singular		Plural
Masculine		
<i>gomab</i>	'ox'	<i>gomaku</i>
<i>khoeb</i>	'man'	<i>khoeku</i>
<i>/'ōb</i>	'boy'	<i>/'ōku</i>
<i>/nōab</i>	'steer'	<i>/nōaku</i>
<i>haib</i>	'stick'	<i>haiku</i>
<i>/harub</i>	'reed-mat'	<i>/haruku</i>
<i>//hoeb</i>	'vessel'	<i>//hoeku</i>
<i>!'ōb</i>	'edible wild bulb'	<i>!'ōku</i>
Feminine		
<i>gomas</i>	'cow'	<i>gomadi</i>
<i>khoes</i>	'woman'	<i>khoedi</i>
<i>/'ōs</i>	'girl'	<i>/'ōdi</i>
<i>/nōas</i>	'heifer'	<i>/nōadi</i>
<i>kx'oms</i>	'house'	<i>kx'omdi</i>
<i>/'uis</i>	'pebble'	<i>/'uidi</i>
<i>!'abus</i>	'gun'	<i>!'abudi</i>
<i>!nuis</i>	'trap, snare'	<i>!nuidi</i>

Common

<i>goma'i</i>	'head of cattle'	<i>goman</i>
<i>khoe'i</i>	'person'	<i>khoen</i>
<i>/'ō'i</i>	'child'	<i>/'ōn</i>
<i>!nōa'i</i>	'calf'	<i>!nōan</i>

It will be noted that an apostrophe is used in the case of the common singular: this is simply a convention to show that the vowel of the suffix *-i* is distinct from any vowel that may occur at the end of the noun stem. (It is usually pronounced with a slight glottal stop onset, and does not permit liaison by means of a glide.) The convention for Namibian Khoekhoe is to use a hyphen in these cases.

In some cases where animals are involved, nouns have an intrinsic default gender, where the unmarked (which is to say, more basic or neutral) term may for some animals be masculine, but feminine for others. As both Meinhof³⁵ and Maingard noted,³⁶ there is no obvious correlation between the size of the animal and the gender. The following examples were given by Piet Links during a visit to the Natural History Museum in Cape Town. (The original spellings used by Lucy Lloyd are retained here, and show her habit of writing the masculine singular suffix *-b* as '*-p*', because of the way it was regularly devoiced by the speaker. The letter 'k' after a click symbol in Lloyd's notation is most often redundant, seeming to have indicated merely a plain click, while her doubling of certain letters in the middle of a word probably indicated a shortening of the preceding vowel.)

Masculine

<i>doup</i>	'zebra' (<i>daub</i>)
<i>gaup</i>	'wildebeest' (<i>gaob</i>)
<i>uip</i>	'bee'
<i>!keyap</i>	'jackal'
<i>!gīp</i>	'aardwolf' (hyena species)
<i>!hōap</i>	'wildcat'
<i>!xammap</i>	'hartebeest'
<i>!nākx'op</i>	'bushpig'
<i>!gauīp</i>	'hunting dog'
<i>!noap</i>	'porcupine'
<i>‡gōp</i>	'springhare'
<i>‡goxum</i>	'anteater'
<i>‡xoap</i>	'elephant'

Feminine

<i>!kais</i>	'gemsbok'
<i>!kaus</i>	'buffalo' (<i>!aob</i>)
<i>!gannas</i>	'hare of the flats'
<i>!hukas</i>	'hyena'
<i>!koires</i>	'quagga' (<i>!ores ~ !oeres</i>)

<i>!xaus</i>	‘hippopotamus’ (<i>!xaos</i>)
<i>!kx’ãus</i>	‘dassie’
<i>!nabbas</i>	‘rhinoceros’
<i>‡hoas</i>	‘hare (with long ears)’
<i>‡nabbas</i>	‘mountain hare’

As far as some inanimate referents are concerned, where gender assignment is arbitrary, it is notable that Kora and Nama do not always assign nouns to the same gender. The following examples illustrate some of these contrary instances. (Our consultant Ouma Jacoba vacillated between masculine and feminine endings in the case of certain words, including the words for ‘sun’ and ‘nose’ shown below.)

Kora		Nama
<i>soreb/s</i> (Lloyd <i>sores</i>)	‘sun’	<i>sores</i>
<i>!xãs</i> (Lloyd)	‘moon’	<i>!khâb</i>
<i>‡uib/s</i> (Lloyd <i>‡kuip</i>)	‘nose’	<i>‡guis</i>

There are also a few sporadic cases where the use of the masculine plural *-ku* (sometimes spelled ‘*-gu*’ in early records) seems to be associated with a collective or ‘non-count’ implication. Examples include the following words given by Piet Links.

<i>kogu</i>	‘skin’ (<i>khōku</i>)
<i>!hummgu</i>	‘cloud, sky’ (<i>!homku</i>)

Lastly, much as in the BANTU languages, it is possible to reassign nouns to a different gender, with a resulting change in meaning, or sometimes with an affective implication such as disparagement. For example, whereas *haib* (with the masculine singular suffix) refers to a tall tree or long stick, *hais* (with the feminine singular suffix) refers to a small and rounded bush. The following examples were noted by Lloyd (first three pairs), and Meinhof.

<i>tūp</i>	‘black thunder cloud’
<i>tūs</i>	‘rain’
<i>!karep</i>	‘mountain’ (such as Devil’s Peak)
<i>!kares</i>	‘hill, low mountain’ (perhaps ‘ridge’)
<i>‡gōp</i>	‘pointed mountain’
<i>‡gōs</i>	‘a small hill’
<i>gōab</i>	‘spear’
<i>gōas</i>	‘knife’
<i>!uib</i>	‘boulder, rock’
<i>!uis</i>	‘stone, pebble’

In addition to singular and plural values for number, nouns in the Khoekhoe languages may also be grammatically marked as *dual*, where only two things or people are referred to.³⁷ The full set of the 3rd person gender suffixes in Kora is set out in Table 4.2.

TABLE 4.2 The full set of noun suffixes that express the three genders of Kora in the singular, dual, and plural.

3 rd person	Singular	Dual	Plural
Masculine	-b	-khara	-ku-a
Feminine	-s	-sara	-di (~de)
Common	-i	-kha	-n-a

The form of the masculine dual suffix *-khara* is one of numerous respects in which Kora differs from Nama, where the equivalent morpheme is *-kha*. The members of the Links family who worked with Lucy Lloyd were clearly aware of various differences between Giri and Kora, and it emerges from Lloyd's annotations that the form of the masculine dual in the Griqua variety was similar to that of Nama. (There are a number of variations in the spelling of the masculine and common suffixes, with 'kara' sometimes given for *-khara*, 'kao' for the 2nd person masculine plural, and 'ka' for the 3rd person common dual.) Although the use of the dual should in principle make it redundant to use the number term for 'two', it seems that speakers often combined them.³⁸

Kora nouns may be extended by the diminutive suffix *-da*, which in actual use is sometimes expressed by the variant *-ra*. In Lucy Lloyd's notes, diminutive forms with *-da* are specifically marked as Griqua, while those with *-ra* are apparently taken to be truer for Kora. This is an instance where both Kora and Giri differ from Nama and the Namibian Khoekhoe dialects, where the diminutive suffix is *-ro*. Examples of nouns extended by the Kora-Griqua diminutive suffix sourced from Meinhof's Glossary are shown below, and incidentally illustrate the contrary use of *-da* (rather than *-ra*) on the part of Benjamin Kats. (The hyphens are provided here to show the morpheme divisions, but would not ordinarily be used in writing the language.)

<i>!hari-da-s</i>	'small village'
<i>≠xam-biri-da-i</i>	'small young goat'
<i>/'o-da-n</i>	'small child' (with common plural suffix)
<i>!amo-ro-b (~s)</i>	'star'

There are nevertheless a few cases where a Kora word has the Nama-like diminutive suffix *-ro*, as in the last example above, which was recorded by Meinhof. A few other cases where the *-ro* form is found most often involve the names of plants or animals, where it is sometimes represented with a raised or even fronted vowel, as *-ru* or *-ri*. It is not easy to say whether such words are archaic, or whether some inter-dialectal transfer has occurred. (Another morpheme frequently seen in the names of plants and animals is *-be*, of unknown significance.) Hagman noted the additional existence in Nama of an augmentative suffix *-kara*. We have not found any instances of its use in Kora.³⁹

- *Compounding, and other means of word formation*

As in other Khoekhoe languages, nouns in Kora may be compounds, where the words in the combined forms can be other nouns, verbs, or adjectives. We will write such words here without a hyphen between them, following the convention used for Namibian Khoekhoe, where conjunctive (that is, ‘joined together’) spellings are prescribed. (In the Namibian orthography, hyphenation is avoided as far as possible, with the use of a hyphen generally only being advocated where vowels would otherwise cluster, or where a glottal stop precedes the vowel.⁴⁰ For purposes of writing Kora we will use an apostrophe – rather than a hyphen – in cases where two adjacent vowels are not diphthongs. One exception to this principle involves the 3rd person common singular marker *-i*, which is written with an apostrophe when it occurs as an ordinary noun suffix, but will be written with a hyphen when it occurs as a dependent pronominal form, so as to show the nature of its attachment to the host.)

Examples of Kora compound nouns sourced mainly from Meinhof’s Glossary are shown below.

Noun plus noun (N+N)

<i>!hoas!ānāb</i>	‘rainbow’ (Nama <i>!hanab</i> ; <i>!ganab</i> = ‘mythical snake’)
‡ <i>’ās!aib</i>	‘reed-flute dance’
<i>sorebtābab</i>	‘sunshine’

Verb plus noun (V+N).

<i>hā!xaib</i>	‘resting place, campsite’
<i>’ān!xaib</i>	‘dwelling place’
<i>huni xamma</i>	‘stirring spoon’
<i>!aigomab</i>	‘pack-ox’

Adjective plus noun (Adj.+N)

<i>!kx’ākhaos</i>	‘digging stick’ (literally ‘sharp digger’)
<i>!kx’aba!xarib</i>	‘wine’ (lit. ‘red honey-beer’)
<i>karo!’aub</i>	‘hard veld’ (> Karoo)

Some nouns are used with particular frequency in the formation of such compounds, including the root *kx’ao-* ‘one who is skilled at doing’, or ‘master of’, where the preceding element is usually a verb. Examples from Meinhof’s Glossary include the following:

<i>kurukx’aoob</i>	‘creator’ (<i>kuru</i> ‘create, make, construct’)
<i>xā xākx’aoob</i>	‘teacher’ (<i>xā</i> <i>xā</i> ‘teach’)
<i>’amaxx’aoob</i>	‘trader’ (<i>’ama</i> ‘trade, barter’)
‡ <i>onakx’aoob</i>	‘beggar’ (‡ <i>ona</i> ‘beg’)
<i>!kx’ākx’aoob</i>	‘thief’ (<i>!kx’ā</i> ‘steal’)

Other nouns occasionally found in compounds include *xūb* ‘thing’ and *haib* ‘wood’, as illustrated below, where *xūb* (plural *xūkua*) is used in terms that refer indirectly (possibly for avoidance purposes) to valued possessions such as livestock and tools, while *haib* is used in the context of names for plants with specific properties (typically

medicinal). (The use of certain avoidance terms may have been gender-specific, and may also have been confined to specific situations.)⁴¹

<i>guxukua</i>	‘ <i>kleinvee</i> , small livestock’	(AB6)
<i>/kx’ui/nūguxub</i>	‘ <i>dunbeengood</i> , thin-legged small stock’	(AB3)
<i>!naxuku</i>	for ‘intestines’ (lit. ‘inside things’)	(BK9)
<i>tanixukua</i>	for ‘collecting bags, tools’ (lit. ‘carry things’)	(BK14)
<i>dūhaib</i>	plant sp., <i>swartstorm</i> (‘blackstorm’) medicine	(Ebt28)
<i>bīhaib</i>	plant sp., used to increase milk yield	(Ebt28)
<i>/xorahaib</i>	wild garlic, named for smell	(Ebt28)

Interestingly, examples of words based on *xūb* as well medicinal terms based on *haib* are found in the speech of the elderly N|uu consultants. (There is a rich corpus of material in the †Khomani San Hugh Brody archive,⁴² which includes film footage of interviews with these speakers, who now use a Northern Cape variety of Afrikaans, with some switching into Nama.) One of these speakers uses the expression *wolgoed* (literally ‘wool things’) for ‘sheep’, and another refers to medicinal herbs as different kinds of *hout*, as for example *maaghout*, where the Afrikaans expression literally means ‘stomach wood’ but is used in the sense of ‘remedy for a stomach ailment’.⁴³ It is probable that Afrikaans expressions of this last kind are loan-translations of original Khoekhoe words built on *haib*. (This usage parallels the use of words such as *muthi* or *sethlare*, both meaning ‘tree, wood’ but also ‘medicine’ in neighbouring languages.)

Hagman⁴⁴ notes a few words in Nama that participate productively in the formation of compounds, citing */gaus* ‘manner’, *!nōa* ‘type of’, and *hāa* ‘plus other things of the sort’ – but we have not identified instances in the Kora corpus where the equivalents of these words are used.⁴⁵ Hagman also mentions⁴⁶ a suffix *-si*, which he says can be used in Nama and Dama dialects to derive nouns from adjectives, where the results are often abstract nouns similar to English nouns ending in ‘-ness’, and which are apparently always assigned to the masculine gender, taking the suffix *-b* in the singular. Examples from Namibian Khoekhoe include: *kaisib* ‘bigness’ and */am’osib* ‘endlessness’. Nouns reflecting this strategy are not frequently found in Kora, but there may be a rare instance in *doroxasib* ‘membership (of the initiation lodge, the *doro*)’, while another two cases may be reflected in *!Orakhoesib* ‘Korana nationhood’ and *‡nūsasib!xull’ūb* ‘kingdom’. (Hagman notes the converse case as well, where *-si* may in some cases be used with nouns to derive adjectives.)

- *Nominalisations (a preliminary note)*

There are other nouns in Kora, or at least noun-like expressions, of a much more complex kind, where these have been derived from extended phrases or even whole clauses. In some cases, these have given rise to stable, fully lexicalised complex expressions, but at other times they seem to be dynamic projections of the syntax, and may be ‘participial’⁴⁷ phrases or relative clauses. A few preliminary examples are

given below, where hyphens show the morpheme division, and where the abbreviation ‘3ms’ stands for 3rd person masculine singular. (The abbreviation Prog stands for the marker of progressive (imperfective) aspect.)

<i>dao-!ũ-kx'aosa-b</i>	‘traveller’	(Bkr1)
[[road-go]-master]-3ms (lit. ‘road-go man’)		
<i>thã-!ãu- xoa-xũ-b</i>	‘flotation device’	(AB9)
[[swim-go.across-with]-thing]-3ms (lit. swim-cross-with thing’)		
<i> onã-na-!ãu-kx'ai-he-!nao-b</i>	‘solo-crossing log’	(AB9)
[[alone-Prog-go.across-on-Passive]-log]-3ms (lit. ‘alone-being-crossed-on log’)		

More detailed discussion of these complex nominalisations will be reserved for a later section.

- *Special terms for social categories of age, gender, and relationship*

There are a number of nouns in Kora that express distinct social categories, such as life stage and relationship. These terms may take the form of ordinary simple or compound nouns, but they occasionally have special formal properties, including the use of a personal possessive (such as *ti* ‘my’) in the case of kinship terms.

<i>kaikhoeb</i>	‘senior man, elder’
<i>kx'aokhoeb</i>	‘adult man’
<i>kx'aosab</i>	‘adult man’
<i>kx'arob</i>	‘young man’
<i> ũb</i>	‘father’
<i>ti ãb</i>	‘my father’
<i> naosob</i>	‘uncle’
<i>ti naob</i>	‘my uncle, grandfather’
<i>ti nurib</i>	‘my cousin (male), uncle’
<i>ti !'ãb</i>	‘brother, cousin’
<i>ti xai</i>	‘my husband’
<i>ti !'uib</i>	‘father in law’
<i>ti õab</i>	‘my son’
<i>õaxais</i>	‘young unmarried woman’
<i>taras</i>	‘wife’
<i>tarakhoes</i>	‘wife’
<i> ũs</i>	‘mother’
<i>ti ãs</i>	‘my mother’
<i>ti !'ãs</i>	‘my cousin (female)’
<i>ti !'uis</i>	‘mother in law’
<i>ti õas</i>	‘my daughter’

There were some differences, it seems, in the terms used by Griqua speakers. The alternative terms *abob* and *tatab* for ‘father’ in Giri were not as widely used by the Korana, although *abob* is certainly reflected in some of the old records for Cape Khoekhoe.

4.1.1.2 Pronouns

As in many other languages of the world, the pronouns of the Khoekhoe languages may be subdivided into free-standing (or independent) and dependent forms. The dependent forms, which are exact copies of the gender-indexing noun suffixes, cannot stand on their own but must attach themselves to (or ‘lean on’) some other part of speech. (The technical term for them is ‘clitic’ pronouns.) These dependent forms can be used for purposes of cross-reference, especially for subjects and objects, but are also used to create the free-standing pronouns of the 3rd person (‘he’, ‘she’, or ‘it’) through attachment to a base, which in Kora has the form //’*āi*. (In Nama, this base has become contracted through a series of sound shifts to //i.)⁴⁸ The free-standing pronouns of the Kora 3rd person are shown in Table 4.3, where the hyphens are included only so as to make the morpheme divisions clearer.

TABLE 4.3 The free-standing (or independent) pronouns of the 3rd person in Kora.

3 rd person	Singular	Dual	Plural
masculine	//’ <i>āi-b</i> ‘he’	//’ <i>āi-khara</i> ‘they two (masculine)’	//’ <i>āi-ku-a</i> ‘they (masculine)’
feminine	//’ <i>āi-s</i> ‘she’	//’ <i>āi-sara</i> ‘they two (feminine)’	//’ <i>āi-di</i> (~ <i>de</i>) ‘they (feminine)’
common	//’ <i>āi-i</i> ‘it’	//’ <i>āi-kha</i> ‘they two (common)’	//’ <i>āi-n-a</i> ‘they (common)’

The citation form of the feminine plural pronoun in Ouma Jacoba’s pronunciation is //’*āide* (with some palatalisation). This form (that is, with the suffix pronounced as *-de* rather than *-di*) is also the one that was recorded by Meinhof. This does not seem to be grammatically significant, however, and in all likelihood reflects a typical fluctuation between *i* and the close allophone of *e*.

We now introduce the pronouns for two other persons, which are somewhat different in their role from those of the 3rd person, being the terms of reference used by the participants in the communicative process, of themselves and of each other. These are the interlocutive persons, or the 2nd and 1st persons’, essentially meaning ‘you’, and ‘I’ or ‘we’.

In the real world, it is not unusual for such expressions – notably those of address – to reflect formally graded degrees of politeness, where age, gender, social standing, and relationship may all be factors. It is probably for this reason that languages sometimes have distinct pronouns in the 2nd and even 1st person for male and female discourse participants.⁴⁹ Distinctions of this kind are found in the Khoekhoe languages, where gender-differentiated pronouns are used in the singular, dual, and plural. While Nama and Namibian dialects of Khoekhoe make no distinction in the 1st person, Kora had separate pronouns for ‘I (male)’, and ‘I (female)’.

One final distinction needs to be introduced, namely the indication of inclusive versus exclusive reference in the 1st person.⁵⁰ While it is possible to express this kind of meaning by informal methods in English, using phrases such as ‘you and I both’ versus ‘we two, not you’, Khoekhoe languages use a grammatical strategy, and build up the relevant pronouns on two different bases, where in the 1st person, *sa-* expresses the inclusive sense, and *si-* the exclusive.⁵¹ (It will be noticed that *sa-* is also the base for the 2nd person.)

The complete set of independent Kora pronouns for all persons, based on the paradigm originally drawn up by Meinhof,⁵² is set out in Table 4.4. The 1st person masculine plural marker here spelled *ke* is written ‘*tje*’ by Meinhof. (It is spelled ‘*ge*’ in the Namibian orthography.) The aspirated velar stop written ‘*kh*’ is frequently produced in reality with some affrication, so that it may sound more like *kx*, whereas the voiceless unaspirated stop *k* is often heard as *g*. There is some ambiguity about the exact phonetic form of the masculine non-singular suffixes: Meinhof and Douglas Beach both recorded *kao* (Nama *go*) for the masculine plural in the 2nd person (‘you (2mp)’), but *kharo* (Nama *kho*) and *khara* (Nama *kha*) for the masculine dual in the 2nd (‘you (2md)’) and 3rd persons (‘they (3md)’), respectively, as well as *kha* for the common dual in the 3rd person (‘they (3cd)’).

TABLE 4.4 The free-standing (or independent) pronouns of Kora, for all persons.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st person, inclusive of addressed party			
Masculine	<i>ti-re</i> (~ <i>ti-r</i> , <i>ti-te</i>) ‘I (male)’	<i>sa-kham</i> ‘you and I both (male)’	<i>sa-ke</i> [~ <i>tje</i> , <i>kje</i>] ‘we all (male)’
Feminine	<i>ti-ta</i> ‘I (female)’	<i>sa-sam</i> ‘you and I both (female)’	<i>sa-sē</i> ‘we all (female)’
Common		<i>sa-m</i> ‘you and I both’	<i>sa-da</i> ‘we all’
1st person, exclusive of addressed party			
Masculine		<i>si-kham</i> ‘us two (male)’ [not you]	<i>si-ke</i> [~ <i>tje</i> , <i>kje</i>] ‘us all (male)’ [not you]
Feminine		<i>si-sam</i> ‘us two (female)’ [not you]	<i>si-sē</i> ‘us all (female)’ [not you]
Common		<i>si-m</i> ‘us two’ [not you]	<i>si-da</i> ‘us all’ [not you]
2nd person			
Masculine	<i>sa-ts</i> ‘you (male)’	<i>sa-kharo</i> ‘you two (male)’	<i>sa-kao</i> [? <i>khaō</i>] ‘you (male)’
Feminine	<i>sa-s</i> ‘you (female)’	<i>sa-saro</i> ‘you two (female)’	<i>sa-sao</i> ‘you (female)’
Common		<i>sa-khao</i> ‘you two’	<i>sa-du</i> ‘you’
3rd person			
Masculine	//’āi-b ‘he’	//’āi-khara ‘they two (male)’	//’āi-ku-a ‘they (male)’
Feminine	//’āi-s ‘she’	//’āi-sara ‘they two (female)’	//’āi-di (~’de) ‘they (female)’
Common	//’āi-i ‘it’	//’āi-kha ‘they two’	//’āi-n-a ‘they’

We could not obtain recordings of all possible pronouns listed in the paradigm above, partly because it was difficult without taxing the stamina of our consultant to sketch the kinds of complex scenarios that would have called for the use of the inclusive and exclusive dual forms with all their differentiations for gender, and partly because Ouma Jacoba Maclear did not always have complete confidence in her memory.

In addition to their role in forming the free-standing pronouns, the dependent pronouns may also lean on other parts of speech, including qualifying expressions

such as demonstratives, quantifiers, or adjectives, as well as verbs and connectives, where they then typically cross-reference a subject or an object. We will discuss this in more detail below, where it will be seen that certain of the hosting parts of speech may function as noun-like expressions when they carry a dependent (clitic) pronoun in this way.

In the 1st person, male speakers typically use *-r* or *-re*, as in some of the examples given previously, where *-r* seems to be the form of the dependent pronoun used where the speaker is the *subject* of the action or process, and *-re* the form used where he is the *object* (although the shortened form may well be merely a random variant without grammatical significance).

- (a) (i) *dītog-r ko sīsēni* (Mhf78)
finish-I (m) Rec.Past the work
 'I finished the work'
- (ii) *mũ-r na* (Mhf)⁵³
see-I (m) Prog.
 'I am seeing'
- (iii) *||xǎu-re ko uibi* (Mhf50)
sting-me (m) Rec.Past the bee
 'the bee stung me'

Examples of pronouns used of themselves by women are rather rare in the texts, although the most commonly recorded dependent pronoun for the 1st person is *-te*, where it typically occurs in contexts where the speaker is the object (or recipient). The pronoun most commonly used by our consultant Ouma Jacoba Maclear, however, is *-ti*. A minor difficulty of analysis arises in these cases because the vowel of the unstressed clitic pronoun *-ti* is easily confused with that of *-te*, while in the speech of Ouma Jacoba it is sometimes elided altogether. There are a few isolated and ambiguous cases in the texts (but not in the usage of our consultant) where *-ta* occurs, where it may be the form used by a female speaker in contexts where she is the subject of the action or process, but is also open to interpretation as a form of the 1st person common plural *-da* 'we'.

- (iv) *mũ-ta na* (Mhf)⁵⁴
see-I (f) Prog.
 'I am seeing'
- (v) *|xom-t na* (JM)
pity-I (f) Prog.
 'I pity [him]'
- (vi) *||xǎ||xǎ-t na* (JM)
teach-I (f) Prog.
 'I am teaching [the Korana language]'

- (vii) *haba-te* (JM)
help-me (f)
 ‘help me’
- (viii) *au-te baxaba* (JM)
give-me (f) tobacco
 ‘give me tobacco’

4.1.2 Qualifying expressions

There is a sense in which determiners and adjectives help to bridge the gap between the abstract denotation of a referring expression – and the set of real world referents it may potentially apply to in the context of an exchange between speakers. In the next few sections we will look at the various kinds of qualifying expressions used in Kora, and the ways in which they occur within the expanded noun phrase.

As noted earlier, the Kora noun occurs at the end of the phrase it heads, with the various expressions that may qualify it typically occurring before it. Readers familiar with the terminology long used in the South African tradition of African language study will recognise that the various form classes referred to here as ‘qualifying expressions’, are essentially equivalent to the parts of speech termed ‘qualificatives’ in older descriptions of languages such as those of the Nguni or Sotho-Tswana groups. Much like the qualificatives in these other languages of southern Africa, determiners and adjectives in Khoekhoe may function as pronominal expressions when they are combined with a dependent pronoun, where these pronominal forms can then not only *stand in for* a noun (as anaphors), but may optionally *stand alongside* a noun (that is, in apposition to it), in which case, however, they follow it.

4.1.2.1 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are used to indicate various degrees of proximity or distance, not only in the real world, as in ‘here’, ‘there’, or ‘way over there’, but often also in reference to the discourse itself, as in ‘just mentioned’ or ‘previously mentioned’. Kora seems to have had two main demonstratives, where one has a ‘near’ and the other a ‘far’ implication. A third demonstrative was nevertheless noted by both Maingard and Lloyd, while Wuras recorded what seems to have been a variant of the same morpheme.

<i>hē</i>	‘this’ (may vary as <i>hi</i>)
<i>nā</i>	‘that’
<i>hau</i>	‘that (remote)’ (recorded by Maingard and Lloyd)
<i>nau</i>	‘that (remote)’ (noted only by Wuras)

The possible existence of the third demonstrative (*hau ~ nau*) is intriguing, given that, in addition to forms for near and distant deixis, Nama has *nau* ‘that’. There are a few instances in the texts, as Meinhof notes,⁵⁵ where *hē* is reduplicated, to give *hēhē*, which has an implication similar to Afrikaans *hierdie* ‘this here’.

The form of the near demonstrative *hē* is yet another respect in which Kora differs from Nama, where the equivalent demonstrative is *nē*. (Cape Khoekhoe, as mentioned in a previous chapter, similarly used *hē* rather than *nē*.)

Meinhof noted that the demonstratives could be used both as determiners and, when combined with a dependent pronoun, as nominal expressions in their own right. He cited various examples from texts contributed by Benjamin Kats to illustrate these different functions. When they are used as straightforward determiners, the demonstratives occur *before* the noun, as in the following phrases given by Meinhof.⁵⁶

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|
| (a) <i>hē haib-bi</i> | ‘this tree’ |
| <i> nā ǂxanis</i> | ‘that book’ |
| <i>hēhē gaode</i> | ‘these here laws’ |

The first example in the set above incidentally illustrates what seems to be a further type of demonstrative strategy, involving the placement of a dependent pronominal element – in this case *-bi* (3rd person masculine singular) – after the noun and its suffix. The general implication seems to be one of definiteness. This pattern was regularly found in Kora by both Meinhof and Maingard, and is reflected also in some of Lloyd’s transcriptions. Meinhof noted⁵⁷ its similarity to a common pattern in BANTU languages, which likewise generally place demonstratives before the noun, but may in some cases additionally use post-placed forms with a relatively weak deictic force.⁵⁸

The demonstratives can sometimes be placed *after* the noun, in which case, though, they must cross-reference the latter by means of a dependent pronoun. (Another way of looking at such instances would be to say that when they carry dependent pronouns, the demonstratives take on a noun-like character, and may then be placed after the nouns they qualify, in an appositional usage.) We have chosen to adopt the convention of the current Namibian orthography, where the dependent pronouns in these cases are written conjunctively, which is to say, without a hyphen.⁵⁹ The following example phrases are again from Meinhof.⁶⁰

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------|
| (b) <i>khoebi hēb</i> | ‘this man’ |
| <i> hūbi hēb</i> | ‘this master’ |
| <i>ǂ’ūbi nāb</i> | ‘that food’ |

When they are nominalised in this way, the demonstratives may also behave as forward-looking pronouns (cataphors), as in the following sentences:

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|---------|
| (c) (i) <i>Hēb ke kx’ob a.</i> | ‘This is the meat.’ | (BK9) |
| (ii) <i> Nāku xamaku a.</i> | ‘Those are hartebeests.’ | (Mhf18) |

The two examples above incidentally illustrate the ubiquitous postnominal *-a*, which is used in these cases as part of the non-verbal (copular) predication, and expresses the sense of English ‘be’. The first example also includes an instance of the much-debated *ke* particle (spelled ‘*tje*’ by Meinhof in the original), which here appears after the topic of the sentence. We will discuss these aspects of sentence and information structure at a later stage.

4.1.2.2 Quantifiers

The following quantifiers are found in Kora:

<i> ui</i>	‘only, solely, alone’
<i> kx’oro</i> (~ <i> ’oro</i>)	‘a few’
<i> kx’oasa</i> (~ <i> ’oasa</i>)	‘many, much’
<i>hoa</i>	‘all’
<i> nai</i> (~ <i> ni</i>)	‘some other’ (same?)
<i> xara</i>	‘other, another’ (different?)
<i> xā</i>	‘the selfsame’

The phrases below illustrate the use of some of these quantifiers as they occur in the texts. As we would expect, they are primarily used *before* the noun:

(a) <i> ’oro khoekua</i>	‘a few men’	(Bhf1)
<i> xā khoeb</i>	‘the same man’	(Bhf10)
<i>hoa ’omakhoen ab</i>	‘all his friends’	(AB6)
<i>hoa khoena</i>	‘all people’ (= everyone)	(JM)

Although the quantifiers are normally placed before the noun, they may (like the demonstratives) also be used *after* the noun in the appositional pattern, in which case they must express cross-referential agreement by means of a dependent pronoun. The following example illustrates this usage:

(b) <i>!hūb hoab</i>	‘the whole world’	(Mhf) ⁶¹
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When combined with a dependent pronoun, the quantifiers may be used as anaphoric expressions standing in for a noun, as in the following sentence from a description by Andries Bitterbos of different kinds of traditional vessels (*xabaku*). The translation into Afrikaans was provided by the speaker.

(c) <i> Naiku ke ’okx’am hā, naiku ke nubukx’am hā.</i> ⁶²	(AB1)
‘Annerse is oop-bek, annerse is nou-bek.’	
‘Some are wide-mouthed, others are narrow-mouthed.’	

4.1.2.3 Numbers

Number terms essentially provide a more precise form of quantification. The Kora terms listed below are for the cardinal numbers from one to ten, but speakers were well able to combine them in order to express higher numbers, using multiples of the

decimal base and the comitative /*kx'a* 'with', as seen in the additional examples. The Kora number names are similar to those of Nama, except that the term for 'seven' in Nama has been reduced to *hû*. (In Cape Khoekhoe, the term for 'seven' was recorded as '*honcko*'.)

<i>lui</i>	'one'
<i>lam</i>	'two'
<i>!nona</i>	'three'
<i>haka</i>	'four'
<i>koro</i>	'five'
<i>!nani</i>	'six'
<i>hãukx'ũ</i>	'seven'
<i> xaisi</i>	'eight'
<i>guësi</i>	'nine'
<i>disi</i> (~ <i>dzisi</i> , <i>tfsi</i>) ⁶³	'ten'
<i>disi lui kx'a</i>	'eleven'
<i>lam disi</i>	'twenty'
<i>hãukx'ũ disi !nona kx'a</i>	'seventy-three'

The number terms are used in the same way as the enumeratives and other determiners: usually they are placed before a noun, but they may under certain circumstances be used appositionally.

In the ordinal use, Meinhof reported that the numbers were combined with the same base that is used to form the absolute pronouns, namely *||'ãi*, as in *!nona ||'ãi* 'third'. (This is also the pattern used in Namibian Khoekhoe.) Examples of the ordinal use can be seen in Benjamin Kats's story (BK15) about the woman who took a thorn from a lion's paw. It is intriguing, nevertheless, to note Maingard's spelling '*ãeb*' in association with similar ordinals in the text about the making of karosses (Beth1), since this suggests that the word may come from *||kx'aeb* 'time', which was occasionally recorded with a nasalised diphthong. A separate word, *kx'aise*, is used for 'first' (where it has an adverbial implication, as in 'do first').

4.1.2.4 Adjectives

Adjectives can occur after a demonstrative and a quantifier or a number. While Kora has an extensive set of basic adjectives, the language could readily derive descriptive terms from other parts of speech. Some of the basic adjectives are listed below, where it will be seen that a number of them include a suffix *-sa*. This suffix is used productively in the derivation of new adjectives from a range of categories, but perhaps most commonly from verbs.

<i>kai</i>	'big'
<i>gaida</i>	'aged, old'
<i> ã</i>	'small'
<i>≠xam</i>	'young'

<i>lāi</i>	‘good’
<i>subu</i>	‘light, easy’
<i>l’ō</i>	‘dry’
<i>l’ō</i>	‘naked, open, exposed’
<i>‡kx’ū</i>	‘tame’
<i>!nari</i>	‘wild’
<i>āu</i>	‘thick’ (of curdled milk)
<i> kx’ā</i>	‘sharp’
<i> kx’ā</i>	‘wet’
<i>‡haba</i>	‘wide, broad’
<i>!nubu</i>	‘short, narrow’
<i>‡xabu</i>	‘weak’
<i> ū</i>	‘nearby’
<i>lom</i>	‘heavy, difficult’
<i>l’ūi</i>	‘thin’
<i>thamsa</i>	‘soft’
<i>ĩsa</i>	‘beautiful’
<i>l’āsa</i>	‘new’
<i> aisa</i>	‘strong’
<i>soesa</i>	‘crazy, infatuated’
<i>kx’ausa</i>	‘bitter’
<i> kx’oasa</i>	‘brave’
<i>karo(sa)</i>	‘hard’
<i>thūsa</i>	‘painful’
<i>kausa</i>	‘fat’
<i>!nonakurisa</i>	‘three-year-old’ (of livestock)

Colour (or animal coat pattern) terms.

<i>‡nū</i>	‘black’
<i>xati</i>	‘white’
<i> hai</i>	‘yellow, buff, pale’ (Afrikaans <i>vaal</i>)
<i>!oa</i>	‘brown (dark)’
<i>!noa</i>	‘blue, grey’
<i>!kx’am</i>	‘green’
<i> kx’aba</i>	‘red and white’ (Sotho <i>-tjhaba</i>)
<i> hō</i>	‘striped, spotted, marked’
<i> garu</i>	‘dappled, speckled, mottled’

The adjectives may be modified by an intensifier equivalent to English ‘very’, namely *kaise* ‘greatly’, which is used before the adjective. Addition of the diminutive suffix to an adjective seems to imply ‘slightly’.

In addition to *-sa*, a number of other suffixes are occasionally used in the derivation of adjectives. These include:

- xā* similar in implication to English ‘-ful’, as in ‘beautiful’ or ‘plentiful’
- o* similar in implication to English ‘-less’, as in ‘endless’ or ‘timeless’

Examples of Kora adjectives featuring these suffixes are shown in the set below, where it will be seen that the so-called ‘privative’ suffix *-o* is separated from the noun by an apostrophe. This convention is adopted to keep it distinct from any vowels that might precede it.

<i> kx'orexa</i>	‘bad, wicked’
<i>!āixa</i>	‘happy’
<i>≠'ūxa</i>	‘(plentifully) supplied with food’
<i>!am'o</i>	‘endless’
<i> kx'ae'o</i>	‘disease-free’
<i> kx'ae'o</i>	‘hasty’ (lit. ‘lacking time’)

As we would expect, adjectives are usually placed *before* the noun, although they may also be used appositionally. The examples below show the straightforward usage:

- (d) *||kx'ā !uib* ‘sharp stone’ (JM)
- !xōhesa khoena* ‘captured people’ (with passive verb) (JM)

• *Summary of qualifying expressions*

The determiners and adjectives discussed above may occur in various combinations in the context of an expanded noun phrase. The sketch previously given is repeated below as a summary of possible combinations, in the basic case where they are placed *before* the noun.

NP	{ Quantifier } { Number }	Intensifier	Adjective	Nominal] NP
<i>hē</i>	<i> xara</i>	<i>kaise</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>khoeku</i>
<i>hē xara kaise kai khoeku</i> ‘these other very big men’				
<i>hē xati !'ūib</i>		‘this white <u>stone</u> ’		(JM)
<i> nā !nona khoedi</i>		‘those three <u>women</u> ’		(JM)
<i> nā haka ≠xam !'ōdi</i>		‘those four young <u>girls</u> ’		(constructed)

FIGURE 4.2 Summary of the composition of the Kora noun phrase, with additional examples.

4.1.2.5 *The possessive*

There is one last type of quasi-determiner, which may broadly be termed possessive, and which involves the qualification of a noun by placing it into an associative relationship with another. The associative relation may be expressed in several ways:

by means of a possessive pronoun ('my', 'your', 'his'), or a simple nominal apposition, or else – but perhaps less commonly in Kora – by the use of a possessive particle *di*, which is placed between two nouns expressing a possessor and a possessee. Lastly, the dependent pronouns may attach to a possessive base *a-*, in which case they have the capacity to stand as anaphoric expressions. The following examples illustrate these various strategies.

(a) Pronominal possession (possessor expressed by a pronoun)

<i>ti ñna</i>	'my parents'	(JM)
<i>ti ñnaxuku i-r ke na ꞑũ</i>	'I am eating my intestines' ⁶⁴	(BK9)

(b) Nominal apposition (possessor and possessee juxtaposed)

<i>l'õb ãb</i>	'the boy's father'	(AB6)
<i>uĩb xãbi</i>	'the bee's sting'	(Mhf1)
<i>ꞑũb l'onni</i>	'the food's name'	(BK1)
<i>xammi saob</i>	'the lion's tail'	(BK14)

(c) Possessive particle *di*

<i>l'õs di lhabab</i>	'the girl's coming-of-age ceremony'	(Bhf4)
<i>goman di ñnãku</i>	'cattle horns'	(AB1)
<i>ꞑUntub, Teteb di ñnausab</i>	' ꞑUntub, Teteb's uncle'	(Bhf1)

Possessive base *a-*.

The following examples show the slightly more complex strategy involving the use of the possessive base *a*, which is combined with a dependent pronoun expressing the possessor, and placed *after* the thing possessed. (In Namibian Khoekhoe, this particle has a nasalised vowel.) In the interest of achieving some degree of standardisation, we have again settled on the convention of the Namibian orthography, where possessive formulations based on *a-* are written conjunctively, or in other words, without a hyphen.⁶⁵

(d) <i>lharukx'omku ana</i>	' <u>their</u> reed-mat houses'	(AB9)
<i>l xã xãkx'aob ada</i>	' <u>our</u> teacher'	(BK5)
<i>kobab ada</i>	' <u>our</u> language'	(BK7)
<i>tsĩ lĩiku are uꞑkx'oasi</i>	'and take out <u>my</u> intestines' (male speaker)	(BK9)
<i>ꞑ'aib ab ko khõa khoebi</i>	'the man broke <u>his</u> foot'	(Mhf63)
<i>hoa l'omakhoen ab</i>	'all <u>his</u> friends'	(AB6)

4.1.2.6 More complex kinds of qualification (a preliminary note)

As we would expect, the noun can be qualified in more complex ways by means of embedded phrases, which may be translated into English by participial phrases such as 'the *dancing* child', or relative clauses such as 'the child *who loves to dance*', where these take the place of simple adjectives. An example of such a phrasal adjective in Kora is seen in the sentence below, where the deliberately literal Afrikaans translation was provided by Andries Bitterbos. (Note that Kora does not have an overt relative marker equivalent to English 'who'.)

- (a) *//nā kx'ōa-#kx'oasihe ko a kx'arob*
 'daardie soek-uitkom-geweeste-jongman' (AB7)
//nā kx'ōa-#kx'oa-si-he ko a kx'arob
 that select-emerge-Causative-Passive Recent.Past Copula young.man
 'that young man (who) **had been selected**'

Since the formulation of these embedded phrases is rather intricate, we will postpone further discussion of them until later in the chapter.

4.2 The adpositional phrase

We saw an example of an adpositional phrase (*!garib !na* 'in the river') at the beginning of this chapter, in the sentence now repeated below:

- (a) *i ke tarakhoedi !garib !na |hākua dī|hao|hao* (Bhf5)
 'and the women gathered reeds in the river'

As the example demonstrates, the Kora adpositions are placed *after* the noun, so that they are actually postpositions rather than prepositions. In terms of their general role within the sentence, the adpositional phrases typically occur within the adjunctive part of the sentence, where they are associated with optional additional arguments having peripheral (rather than core) semantic roles.

The following are the main postpositions used in Kora, with the kinds of arguments they typically introduce noted in parentheses:

<i>xa</i>	'by' (agent, instrument)
<i>/xoa</i>	'with' (comitative)
<i>/xa</i>	'with' (means)
<i>diba</i> (~ <i>daba</i>)	'at, in the vicinity of' (locus)
<i>!nā</i> (~ <i>!na</i>)	'in' (locus)
<i>kx'ai</i>	'on, at' (locus)
<i>kx'am</i>	'on, over, around' (locus)
<i>//kx'aigu</i>	'between' (locus)
<i>ɬ'ama</i>	'on, above' (locus)
<i>thoa</i>	'under, beneath' (locus)
<i>!oa</i>	'to' (path)
<i>xu</i>	'from' (path)
<i>/xī</i>	'to, towards' (path) [rare]

It is likely that some of these postpositions have arisen from nouns, in much the same way as similar sets of adpositions found widely in other languages throughout Africa.⁶⁶ While the nominal origins of the Kora expressions are not always apparent, the following sources proposed by various older authors, including Meinhof,⁶⁷ seem plausible:

<i>!nã</i>	'in'	<	<i>!nãb</i> 'belly'
<i>kx'ai</i>	'on, at'	<	<i>kx'aib</i> 'face, surface'
<i>kx'am</i>	'on, around'	<	<i>kx'ammi</i> 'edge, rim'
<i>ɕ'ama</i>	'on'	<	<i>ɕ'amma</i> 'peak, tip, top'
<i>!xa</i>	'with, alongside'	<	<i>!xãb</i> 'body, side'

At the same time, and as Meinhof noted, one or two of the postpositions, including *!oa* 'towards' and *xu* 'from', appear to be verbal in origin.

The following passage, which is from an historical account given to Maingard by members of the Bloemhof Korana, shows the use of several postpositional phrases:

- (b) *I ke !nãba xu Mamusaba !oa doe,*
i-ku ke !nãba xu
!oro khoekua !Hai !Garib !oa doe,
i ke hã-ku ke hã,
!xaodi hãba mũhe
!Hai !Garib !na.

(Bhf1)

'**From** there they trekked **to** Mamusa,
and then **from** there
a few people trekked **to the Vaal River**,
and when they had come,
hippopotamuses (*!xaodi*) were seen here
in the Vaal River.'

The extract above includes an example, in *Mamusaba*, of how the nouns in some adpositional phrases (but not all) are assigned what seems to be a postnominal *-a*. Rust⁶⁸ provided a rule to account for such instances in Nama, noting that *xu*, *ũ* and *!oa* always take what he called the 'a-Accusative'. It is by no means clear, however, that *-a* marks an accusative in these instances, and indeed, it looks rather more as though the postnominal *-a* is associated with nouns that have the typically peripheral semantic roles associated with 'path', such as a goal or a source. (Meinhof suggested⁶⁹ that the postpositions involved might be specifically ones that have arisen from verbs rather than nouns, which would be compatible with their associated arguments having such roles.) The possibility arises that *-a* in these instances is perhaps a reduced form of some other morpheme (such as the locative *-ba*). This problematic particle will be revisited in a later section below.

4.3 The verb phrase

In this section, we will look at the constituents of the Kora verb phrase, beginning with the verb itself.

4.3.1 Verbs

Like other Khoekhoe languages, Kora distinguishes two kinds of verbs: ordinary action verbs, and process verbs. (Verbs of the second kind are often termed ‘stative’, because the completion of the process leads to a state.) These two kinds of verbs differ from one another in the way they behave syntactically (for example, in terms of the ways they express tense and aspect), and are often also differently characterised from a semantic point of view, in terms of the roles associated with their arguments.

A further point to remember is the more general one that, while most predications use verbs as the predicating expression, there are nevertheless some kinds of predications that are *non-verbal*, as in cases where it is an identity, attribute or locus that is predicated of the subject, rather than an action or process. Because predications of this kind link a subject to some kind of property, they are often referred to as ‘coupling’ (or copular) predications. The sense of such predications is typically conveyed in English by the verb ‘be’, but there are many languages of the world that do not use an overt copula, or else use verbs with possessive or locative implications.

4.3.1.1 *The basic stems, and different kinds of verbs*

Many of the verbs in Kora, as in other Khoekhoe varieties, consist of a simple bisyllabic word, or at very least a monosyllable with two prosodic morae. (It will be remembered that nasalised vowels are always long.) The following examples are some of the more commonly occurring verbs in the texts:

Verbs of perception or sensation, which do not necessarily imply deliberate agency, although they inevitably require sentient (and therefore animate) subjects:

<i>hō</i>	‘discover, see, find’
<i>mũ</i>	‘see’
<i>thã</i>	‘taste, feel’
<i>//nãu</i>	‘listen’
<i>!’ã</i>	‘hear’
<i>≠om</i>	‘believe’
<i>≠’an</i>	‘know’

Verbs of stage or transition, which are sometimes referred to as verbs of position or posture, where there is no necessary implication of volition and subjects may be inanimate:

<i>hã</i>	‘stay, remain’
<i>mã</i>	‘stand, stop’
<i>sã</i>	‘rest a while’
<i>//oe</i>	‘lie down’
<i>≠nũ</i>	‘sit’

Verbs with directional meaning, where there is again not necessarily any implication of volition and subjects may be inanimate:

<i>bē</i>	‘go away, depart’
<i>hā</i>	‘come’
<i>khā</i>	‘go up, rise’
<i>sī</i>	‘get to, arrive’
<i>xū</i>	‘go from, leave’
<i>lū</i>	‘go to, travel towards’
<i>!‘aba</i>	‘go up, ascend’
<i>!xaru</i>	‘go through’
<i> ōa</i>	‘go down, descend’
<i>‡’ā</i>	‘go in, enter’
<i>‡kx’oa</i>	‘come out from, emerge’

Verbs that mostly imply deliberate agency or intentionality on the part of the subject (and so by implication also animacy), where some can or must express an object, or even two objects:

<i>dī</i>	‘do, make’
<i>doe</i>	‘trek, flee, fly’
<i>huri</i>	‘jump’
<i>koa</i>	‘praise’
<i>koba</i>	‘speak’ (address?)
<i>kuru</i>	‘create, make’
<i>khao</i>	‘dig’
<i>khom</i>	‘speak’
<i>kx’ā</i>	‘drink’
<i>kx’āi</i>	‘laugh’
<i>kx’am</i>	‘roast, braai’
<i>kx’om</i>	‘build’
<i>mī</i>	‘say’
<i>oe</i>	‘answer, return’
<i>sī</i>	‘send’
<i>thā</i>	‘swim’
<i>ū</i>	‘take’
<i> ai</i>	‘dance, sing’
<i> huru</i>	‘play’
<i> ‘ama</i>	‘trade’
<i> nae</i>	‘sing’
<i>!hoba</i>	‘return home’
<i>!xō</i>	‘catch’
<i>!xoē</i>	‘run’
<i>‡’ū</i>	‘eat’

<i>ʃkx'ao</i>	'lift, pick up'
<i>ʃnā</i>	'kick out, dance'
<i>ʃnau</i>	'hit, strike'
<i>ʃnoa</i>	'punch, throw stones at, shoot with arrows, lob'
<i>au</i>	'give' (someone something)
<i>mã</i>	'give' (someone something)

4.3.1.2 *The verb extensions*

The basic verb root may be extended by one or more suffixes. Much like the familiar verb extensions of the BANTU languages and other languages of Africa, these have a range of functions, but typically affect the number of participants necessarily involved in the action or process, as well as their semantic roles.⁷⁰ The participants in any given action or process are syntactically expressed as arguments of the verb, and since most verbs have an inherent 'quota' of core arguments⁷¹ – where the number required depends on whether the verb is transitive or intransitive – the main significance of the verb extensions lies in their alteration of that original quota, mostly by adding, but sometimes by subtracting, arguments.

The following verb extensions are the ones most commonly found in Kora:

<i>-he (-e)</i>	passive	(subject argument with non-agentive role)
<i>-ba</i>	applicative	(additional dependent argument with the role of beneficiary)
<i>-gu</i>	reciprocal	(additional argument with same role as the original subject, and with transitivity of the verb implied)
<i>-sen (-sn)⁷²</i>	reflexive	(one argument with two roles, where the agent is identical with the experiencer)
<i>-si</i>	causative	(additional argument with instigating role, <i>without</i> implication of sentient original subject)
<i>-kasi</i>	impellative	(additional argument with instigating role, <i>with</i> implication of sentient original subject)
<i>-/xa</i>	instrumental	(additional argument with the role of means)
<i>-/xoa</i>	comitative	(multiple subject arguments with the same role, without transitivity of the verb implied)

In addition to these extensions, reduplication may be used (perhaps particularly with verbs of process) to add the implication that a state of affairs is made to come about. For example, whereas the verb */kx 'ā* means 'be sharp', the reduplicated form */kx 'ā/kx 'ā* means 'make sharp' or 'sharpen'.

A few verbs have extensions that are intrinsic to their meaning, and these verbs never occur without them. Examples include *! 'āgu* 'fight', *sisen* 'work' and */kx 'aesēn* 'be ill'. For Nama, Hagman noted⁷³ that in the case of certain verbs of 'position' (stage or transition), some of them feature a suffix *-i* that seems to reflect an old causative, as in *māi* 'make something stand' (from *mā* 'stand') or *//gui* 'make something lie'

(from //goe ‘lie down’). (Another example is #nûi ‘put in place, position’ from #nû ‘sit’.) In fact, Meinhof expressly noted⁷⁴ that the Kora equivalents of such words typically preserved *-si*, and cited the case of Nama *ūkhâi* ‘pick up’, where Kora has *ūkhâsi*.

- *The passive extension*

In cases where several extensions are used in combination, the passive is always placed last. It may occur optionally as *-he* or *-e*, but for purposes of standardisation will be written as *-he*. (A palatal glide is sometimes reflected in the texts where speakers used the reduced form of the passive extension after a preceding vowel. This tells us that the passive *e* did not have a glottalised onset, and for this reason it would be misleading to use an apostrophe to separate the vowels in spellings.)

Verbs featuring the passive extension seem to be in the neuter or ‘middle’ voice of old-fashioned grammars. This is to say that the verb requires only a single argument, where this has the syntactic function of a subject, but the semantic role of an undergoer or theme. Any additional arguments, such as an actual agent, are not obligatory, and seem to require introduction as syntactic adjuncts, where they are then typically expressed in the form of an adpositional phrase using *xa* ‘by’, in association with which the noun concerned is often assigned a postnominal *-a*.

The passive is used with great frequency throughout the heritage texts, in what seems to have been a stylistic convention of the narrative genre, as was observed by Schultze⁷⁵ in regard to Nama. It is not always appropriate in these cases to use the equivalent passive forms in the English translation, and in some instances it may be better to use an impersonal formulation.

- *The applicative extension*

The addition of the applicative extension allows for the introduction of an extra argument into the verb phrase with the thematic role of a beneficiary. In the case of the sentence below, the verb *dī* ‘make’ also has a passive extension, which implies a non-agentive role for the syntactic subject, which in this case is *!kharedi* ‘bored stones (digging stick weights)’. The object of the applicative *-ba* ‘for’ is *tarakhoedi* ‘the women’. Neither the beneficiary nor the theme need be expressed by nouns featuring the postnominal *-a*, perhaps because they represent arguments that fall within the allowed quota by virtue of the verb plus its extension.

The adpositional phrase *kx’aosakua xa* ‘by the men’ in the same sentence is a syntactic adjunct, however, and introduces an additional argument associated with the role of agent. (It is not clear why the postnominal *-a* is used in this instance, and for the present it may simply be noted as an apparent requirement for nouns governed by the adposition *xa*.)

- (a) *!kharedi (kx’aosakua xa) tarakhoedi dībahe* (Bhf7)
 ‘the bored stones were made for the women (by the men)’

- *The reciprocal and reflexive extensions*

The following examples illustrate the reciprocal and reflexive extensions:

Reciprocal:

‖*xãugu* ‘shoot arrows at one another’

Reflexive:

‖*xaosen* ‘scratch self’

- *The causative and impellative extensions*

The causative expressed by *-si* typically implies the introduction of an external instigating agent. It is frequently used in the context of compound verbs, where the subject of the second verb in its unextended form is non-agentive (and non-sentient), as in the examples below.

<i>!xōkhāsi</i>	‘snatch up’	(snatch-rise-Caus)
<i>‡ae‡kx’oasi</i>	‘undress, take off’	(drag-emerge-Caus)
<i>xora‡kx’oasi</i>	‘scrape out’	(scrape-emerge-Caus)
<i>ū‡kx’oasi</i>	‘take out’	(take-emerge-Caus)

Compound verbs of this kind will be discussed in slightly more detail in a later section, where these remarks should become clearer.

The impellative *-kasi* implies, on the other hand, that the original subject of the verb is sentient, and that the additionally introduced argument compels the initiation of the action. This extension does not seem to have been previously noted in Kora. Although Nama has the cognate morpheme *kai*, the latter is not usually counted as a verb extension. Notably, though, some languages belonging to the Kalahari branch have *-ka* as a causative extension. (It may also be significant that Kora has another morpheme *ka*, which functions as a marker of the potential mood, but can be used to introduce a purposive clause, as will be discussed later.) The examples below show occurrences of *-kasi* in Kora:

<i>ūhākasihe</i>	‘be made to keep’	(have-Impel-Pass)	(AB4)
<i>!xōekasihe</i>	‘be made to run away’	(run-Impel-Pass)	(Bhf2)
<i>‡ae‡kx’oasikasi</i>	‘make take off’	(take off-Impel)	(BKr1)

- *The instrumental and comitative extensions*

The instrumental extension *-/xa* allows the verb to take an additional argument with the role of a ‘means’, as in the example below:

(a) *tsĩ !garib !ãu|xa*

‘en die rivier deurgetaan daarmee’

(AB9)

‘and crossed the river with them’ [by means of rafts]

The comitative extension $-/xoa$, on the other hand, permits multiple subjects with the same semantic role, and essentially adds the implication ‘do together with’. The comitative extension occurs in several places in the texts contributed by the Links Korana of Bloemhof, and is sometimes written by Maingard as $/kxwa$ and sometimes as $/kwa$, as in the following two examples (which incidentally also reflect the ‘narrative passive’):

(b) *I na xon/kxwahe* ‘and they would grind together’
 [The older women are teaching the young girl how to prepare food] (Bhf4)

(c) *I ke /nai khoeb Mamusaba !oa s̄he,* ‘Another man was sent to Mamusa,
i ke //nāba xu khoeku a and men [who] were from there
‡noa/kwahe were fought alongside with.’ (Bhf1)

Like the impellative, the comitative extension $-/xoa$ does not appear to have been explicitly noted before in Kora, or at least has not always been distinguished from the instrumental extension $-/xa$. This may be because the two extensions bear a partial resemblance to one another, at least in form. There are several instances in the Kora corpus, indeed, where the extension $-/xa$ is used in place of $-/xoa$, even in contexts where its implication is clearly comitative. An example is seen in the sentence below:

(d) *!’āse-r ta //amma huri‡’ā/xā-si*
 ‘netnou ek sal water spring-in met jou’ (AB12)
 ‘soon I will jump into the water with you’ [together with you]

It is notable that Wuras conversely recorded a *postposition* with the same form $/xoa$, and having the meaning ‘with’. There are examples of this postposition’s use in the heritage texts, as in the sentence below, where the *instrumental* implication is clear:

(e) */xūdi⁷⁶ thi gaokua thikua* ‘The springboks and the wildebeest
surugub !na !xōhe, were caught in the pitfall trap,
i ke gōab /kwa lamhe. and were killed **with** [by means of]
 a spear.’ (Bhf8)

It is not clear whether there were originally two different morphemes that have gradually converged by processes of syncretism, or whether one has developed from the other. Whatever the source of the verb extension $-/xoa$, its presence in Kora is another instance where this South African Khoekhoe variety reflects a feature that is found also in the related languages of the Kalahari branch of KHOE, but is not widely found in Nama.⁷⁷

- *The use of reduplication*

The following examples illustrate reduplication, and a case of combination:

Causative reduplication:

<i>ãu'ãu</i>	'cause to become thick' (of milk, as in buttermilk)
<i>//xã//xã</i>	'teach' (from <i>//xã</i> 'be able')

Causative reduplication combined with reflexive:

<i>//xã//xãsen</i>	'study, learn'
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- *More on combinations of the extensions*

The sentences below, from a text dictated to Maingard by two members of the Bloemhof Korana community, provide a few more examples of the extensions in use, and show how they may be combined with one another. Here there is an example of the passive in every line, plus another example of a passivised applicative (*dībahe*), and an example of a passivised causative (*//goesihe*). There is even an example of a verb (*!āsibahe*) with causative, applicative *and* passive extensions.

(a) <i>Gaoxaob ta !nauhe o,</i>	'When a Chief is <u>buried</u> ,
<i>i na !hobab !nauhe,</i>	then a grave is <u>dug</u> ,
<i>i na !xaib dībahe,</i>	and a space is <u>prepared for</u> [him],
<i>i na haikua !narahe,</i>	and [with] twigs is <u>raked smooth</u> ,
<i>i na !harub !āsibahe,</i>	and a reed-mat is <u>spread</u> [caused to be
	<u>spread] for</u> (him),
<i>i na !xã //õb †nammi xa xamihe,</i>	and the dead body with a kaross is <u>wrapped</u> ,
<i>i na //nāba //goesihe,</i>	and there is <u>laid</u> [caused to <u>lie</u>],
<i>i na !nai !haruba !ãukx'amhe,</i>	and [with] another reed-mat is <u>covered over</u> ,
<i>i na !hūba thorohe.</i>	and [with] earth is <u>sprinkled</u> .' (Bhf6)

The question has now been raised on several occasions above whether the apparent postnominal *-a* that occurs in certain contexts is really a marker of case. The passage above shows how the nouns in phrases that either express the theme of a passive verb or else are phrases introduced by means of the applicative extension can occur *without* the postnominal *-a*. In other words, it seems to be the case that nouns associated with core or 'licensed' arguments of the extended verb do not require any marking. On the other hand, the three nouns seen here with *-a* (*haikua* 'twigs', *!haruba* 'reed-mat', and *!hūba* 'earth') all occur in passive phrases where they are *peripheral* arguments, and where their use in combination with *-a* seems to express what Meinhof referred to⁷⁸ as a kind of 'ablative case'. It is notable that there are no postpositions in these phrases, and it is a marginal possibility that *a* here is simply a contracted form of *xa* 'by'. Clearly, though, such an analysis would not explain instances where a noun is seen with both the postnominal *-a* *and* the postposition *xa*, as in the example below, which is one we have seen before:

- (b) *!kxaredi kx'aosakua xa tarakhoedi dibahe* (Bhf7)
 'the bored stones were made for the women by the men'

An entirely different possibility, where *a* is analysed as a copula rather than any sort of case marker – at least in some instances – will be introduced later.

4.3.1.3 Compound verbs

In addition to the simple and extended verbs illustrated above, the Khoekhoe languages can create new verbs with ease by combining verbs with a variety of other stems, including other verbs, postpositions, nouns or noun phrases, and adverbs. Just like the ordinary simple verbs, these compound verbal expressions may be modified by adverbs, may take suffixed extensions, and may be used in the creation of derived nouns and adjectives. We have chosen here to write such compounds conjunctively, which is to say, without a hyphen between the two roots: this follows the Namibian convention, where 'compounded verbs are written conjunctively if they are merged into one concept'.⁷⁹ The only exceptions to the broad principle of conjunctive spelling would be where two adjacent vowels might interfere with readability, or where in a specific context the two verbs could be separated by 'and'. (There are occasional instances in the texts, for example in BK14, where the verb *sī* 'go to' is used in combination with another verb, in the sense of 'and then go and do *x*', and in these cases, it is not always clear whether *sī* should be interpreted as part of an actual compound.)

Verb plus verb (V_1+V_2), where both verbs come from open classes:⁸⁰

<i> nāu!ā</i>	'understand'	(listen-hear)
<i>mū!ā</i>	'recognise'	(see-hear)
<i>dīthā</i>	'test, try'	(make-feel)
<i>dītoa</i>	'complete'	(make-finish)

Verb plus verb (V_1+V_2) where V_2 is from a limited (or 'closed') class of verbs with implications of directional movement, and may – in a subset of cases – include a causative extension:

<i>huri!xaru</i>	'jump through'	(jump-go through)
<i>huri!ā</i>	'jump into'	(jump-enter)
<i> hā!ū</i>	'run away'	(run away-go)
<i>ūkhāsi</i>	'pick up'	(take-rise-Caus)
<i>!xōkhāsi</i>	'snatch up'	(snatch-rise-Caus)
<i>!ae!kx'oasi</i>	'take off, undress'	(drag-emerge-Caus)
<i>xora!kx'oasi</i>	'scrape out'	(scrape-emerge-Caus)
<i>ū!kx'oasi</i>	'take out'	(take-emerge-Caus)
<i>kx'ōa!kx'oasi</i>	'choose'	(seek-emerge-Caus)
<i>thoro!ā</i>	'shake into'	(shake-enter)
<i>!nabibē</i>	'wipe away'	(wipe-depart)
<i>ūhā</i>	'bring, fetch'	(take-come)

Compounds of the kind shown in the second subset above are sometimes held out as examples of a special type,⁸¹ where each component verb has its own separate subject, and where the subject of the second verb ‘switches’ its function so as to become the overall object of the compound form. The example below may help to make this clearer:

- (a) *Ūkhāsi ||nā /'uib!* (JM)
 ū-khā-si *||nā* */'uib*
 take-rise-Caus that stone
 ‘Pick up that stone!’

It is possible here to analyse the understood 2nd person addressee (‘you’) as the subject of the first verb *ū* ‘take’, whereas the subject of the second verb *khā* ‘rise’ is strictly speaking */'uib* ‘stone’ (since it is the stone that does the rising). The understanding, nevertheless, is that the animate 2nd person is the overall subject of the complex predicating expression, while ‘stone’ is the object.

Because of their perceived aberrancy, compounds of this kind in Khoekhoe are sometimes proposed to reflect the external influence of some other group of languages, such as languages from the TUU family, where similar patterns are found. Are these verbs really unusual? It will be noted that many of the verbs listed above have a causative extension – and it is possible that in an older usage, all such compounds would have been similarly extended. (The Nama equivalent of *ūkhāsi* is *ūkhāi*, where the original causative has been partially eroded.) This extension appears to be associated specifically with the second verb, and has its usual effect of introducing an additional argument with an instigating role. This role can only be assigned to an expression that refers to a sentient (hence animate) subject, and the immediate candidate is then the subject of the first verb. The sentence is then understood as ‘[you] *take* [and] *make rise* that stone’. The upshot is that verbal compounds of this kind seem to be fully explicable in terms of ordinary Khoekhoe syntax.

Another interesting question is whether compound verbs of this kind should be analysed as participating in syntax-driven *serial verb constructions* – or whether they should be analysed merely as *compound verbs* arrived at by ordinary processes of lexical innovation. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to explore this topic in any detail, but it is worth noting that verbal compounds of Khoekhoe origin are sometimes found in other languages, such as |Xam, where it is clear that they must have been perceived and borrowed as ready-made words. (An example is the word *mūʔen* ‘recognise’, from Khoekhoe *mūʔan* ‘see-know’, which was recorded by Lloyd⁸² in the Katkop dialect spoken by Dia!kwāin.) It is also notable that compounds of the kind illustrated below, which feature combinations of verbs plus postpositions, pattern in a similar way to those involving two verbs, even though the postpositions in these examples do not seem to be of verbal origin.

Verb plus postposition (V+Postp):

<i>kobakx'ai</i>	'read'	(read-on)
<i>!gūkk'ai</i>	'cover'	(cover-on)
<i>!āukx'am</i>	'close up, wrap up in'	(go.across-around)
<i>sī!na</i>	'reach'	(arrive-in)

Noun plus verb (N+V):

<i>!om#noa</i>	'fight with fists, box'	(fist-fight)
<i>!au!xō</i>	'catch fish'	(fish-catch)
<i>dao!ū</i>	'travel'	(road-go)

In the case of the noun plus verb combinations, it is likely that some were perhaps established in the vocabularies of speakers as fully lexicalised items. In other cases, though, the (N+V) patterns seem, at least in certain situations of use, to reflect syntactic formulations involving the incorporation of a noun into a verb. (It is notable in the examples above that the nouns appear in this case without their usual suffixes.) Further examples of this kind of noun-incorporation will occasionally be encountered in the heritage texts.

The various types of compound verbs described above may be used in the same way as simple verbs to form compound nouns, where these may be intricately complex. Some of these examples were shown earlier, and can now be described as 'compounds of compounds'.

<i>thā!āu xoa#ūb</i>	'flotation device'
[[<i>(thā-!āu)- xoa</i>]-xu]-b	(lit. ' <u>swim-cross-with-thing</u> ')-b
[[<i>(V+V)-Comitative</i>] _v + N] _N	V+N = N
<i>#'ūkk'ai#habahaib</i>	'table'
[[<i>(#'ū-kx'ai)</i>]-[#haba-hai]]-b	(lit. ' <u>eat-from-broad-wood</u> ')-b
[[<i>(V+Postp)</i>] _v + [[<i>(Adj-N)</i>] _N] _N	V+N = N
<i>sūkurukx'aos</i>	'potter (female)'
[[<i>(sū-kuru)</i>]-kx'ao]-s	(lit. ' <u>pot-make-master</u> (f)')
[[<i>(N+V)</i>] _v + N] _N	V+N = N
<i>'urikurukx'aob</i>	'metalworker, smith (male)'
[[<i>(!'uri-kuru)</i>]-kx'ao]-b	(lit. ' <u>iron-make-master</u> (m)')
[[<i>(N+V)</i>] _v + N] _N	V+N = N

4.3.2 Adverbs

As in Nama and Dama, Kora adverbs are most often formed from adjectives by addition of a characteristic adverbial suffix *-se*. Some of the examples below are from Maingard,⁸³ and the remaining ones are from the texts and our own data:

<i>kaise</i>	‘greatly, much’
<i>kx’amase</i>	‘truly’
<i>kx’aise</i>	‘firstly’
<i>kx’ũise</i>	‘in a lively manner’
<i>sũse</i>	‘quickly’
<i>laisase</i>	‘strongly’
<i>luise</i>	‘once, only’
<i>l’āse</i>	‘soon, shortly’
<i>lhabuse</i>	‘foolishly, feebly’
<i>lause</i>	‘lastly’
<i>lnōse</i>	‘quietly’

The adverbs are sometimes reduplicated, as in *l’āse/l’āse*, which was recorded by both Meinhof and Engelbrecht, who gave the translations ‘suddenly, soon, imminently’ and ‘now now’ respectively.

A few adverbial expressions, as shown below, occur without the suffix *–se*:

<i>ho’o</i>	‘now’
<i>tī</i>	‘thus’
<i>lnika</i>	‘already, always’
<i>llxaba</i>	‘again’
<i>llnāti</i>	‘thus, in that way’

Note that *ho’o* is spelled with an apostrophe so as to indicate the separate pronunciation of the two vowels. A few other adverbial expressions end in *–ka* (~ *ha*), while some (such as *ll oakaka* ‘early in the morning’ and *hētsēka* ‘once upon a time’) are perhaps idiomatic.

When an adverb is used, it most often appears *before* the verb and any markers of tense or aspect. Nevertheless, the flexibility of ordering in Kora frequently manifests itself here, as in some of the examples below:

- (a) (i) *kaise na kx’ā l’o’i*
 ‘the child cries **much**’ (PL)
- (ii) *kx’aise i-t na ɬ’ũ*
 ‘I eat **first**’ (JM)
- (iii) *kx’amase ti ka n’ koba xūkua*
 ‘I am telling things **truly**’ (JM)
- (iv) *lnōse ɬnũ a*
 ‘(he) is sitting **quietly**’ (JM)
- (v) *i ke ɬ’Oabi thoathoa laisase lom hã*
 ‘then Wind began to blow **strongly**’ (BKr1)
- (vi) *i na ho’o khaø thoathoa khoedi*
 ‘and **now** the women begin to dig’ (BK1)

- (vii) *i-bi na /nika na kx'ōahe xoasaokua*
 'and he is **always** sought by the leopards' (PL5)
- (viii) *Hã'ã, ti na mĩ*
 'No, **thus** (she) said' (Bhf10)

4.4 The Kora sentence, part I

From this point onward, it will be easier to discuss the syntax of Kora if we expand our frame of reference to include the structure of the sentence as a whole. We noted earlier that verbs in Kora may be divided into *action* and *process* verbs. We also noted that some kinds of predications do not make use of verbs at all, but are *non-verbal* – as in cases where it is an identity, attribute, or locus that is being asserted. We will begin by looking at the basic formulation of verbal predications involving action and process verbs, starting with a discussion of the ways in which tense, aspect, and modality are expressed, before moving on to a discussion of non-verbal predications.

4.4.1 Action verbs in Kora, and the expression of tense, aspect, and mood

With a handful of exceptions, and unless the statement in question is an unusually broad one covering some universal and timeless truth, the overall event or process described by a predication is generally envisaged as taking place at some more or less *quantifiable* point in time, such as the remote or recent past, the present, or the imminent or remote future. The grammatical indication of such points along an imaginary timeline is effected by markers of *tense*.

The event or process may also be characterised *qualitatively* – in terms of its duration, since a process may be completed (perfect), or still progressing (imperfect), at the specified point in time. The grammatical expression of such qualities is effected by perfective and imperfective markers of *aspect*. Some languages of the world formally encode several sub-qualities of duration, such as continuous, punctuated, occasional, habitual, or inceptive in the case of ongoing processes and actions. The expression of an aspect may also be combined with an expression of tense, since a process may, for example, be completed in the present with current effect, completed in the past with temporary effect, or completed in the past with lasting (permissive) effect.

Lastly, a sentence that describes some event or process may be making a simple assertion or enquiry (in the affirmative or negative) about a situation that actually obtains in reality, or at least once obtained, or will in future. On the other hand, it may express some state of affairs that does not actually obtain in the present, past or future, but instead is being conjectured, stipulated, desired, or demanded. Such differences in the status of a proposition are referred to as differences in *modality*, and different languages make use of different strategies when it comes to the grammatical

expression of such modalities, where these may involve changes in word order and intonation, or the use of auxiliary verbs, grammatical morphemes, or grammatical inflection. It will be seen below that the Khoekhoe languages make use of various particles as well as a number of auxiliary verbs.

There may be some degree of overlap between these different aspects of syntax, and it is common to find cases where grammatical elements originally used to express, for example, a modal category (such as a potential mood) may take on a function of tense (such as the expression of a future implication). Similarly, elements used to express an ongoing (progressive) aspect may in some cases take on the meaning of a present tense, while morphology formerly used for a past perfect aspect may start to be used as a marker of past tense in general.

We will now look at the particles (and in some cases, auxiliaries) used to express tense, aspect, and mood in Kora.⁸⁴ Readers familiar with Namibian Khoekhoe dialects will notice that there are several differences here between Kora and Nama.

Tense:

<i>ko</i>	recent past
<i>ta</i> (~ <i>ra</i>)	future
<i>ke</i> (<i>tje</i> , <i>kie</i>)	remote past

There is no specific particle for the present tense, and in many cases this tense is either implied by the absence of any marker, or else is conveyed by the imperfective marker *na*, which we will here simply term the ‘progressive’ marker. Note that in Namibian Khoekhoe, the future tense is expressed by *nî*, whereas in Kora *nî* is a modal particle used to express obligation. In Namibian Khoekhoe, it is the imperfect aspect that is expressed by *ra* (~*ta*).

Aspect (particles):

<i>na</i>	progressive (= ongoing action or process, or ‘imperfect’)
<i>hã</i>	perfect (= completed action or process)

Aspect (auxiliary verb):

<i>thoathoa</i>	inceptive (equivalent to English ‘begin to’) ⁸⁵
-----------------	--

The perfective marker used to express a completed process will here simply be referred to as the ‘perfect’ marker. It takes the form in Kora of *hã*, and differs from other grammatical morphemes of tense and aspect in the language in that it occurs *after* the verb, while it may also be used in its own right as an independent verb meaning ‘stay, remain’. In its use as a marker of aspect, it seems to behave much like the second verb of a verbal compound, and indeed this is almost certainly its origin. (In languages belonging to the Kalahari branch of the KHOE family, a linking particle occurs between the verb and markers of aspect such as *hã*, which expresses a perfect, and *hî*, which seems to express a past perfect.)

The Khoekhoe particles of tense and aspect may occur in combination with each other, and even sometimes in a doubled formulation, for example as *ko ko*. (While the doublings occur freely in Namibian Khoekhoe, they are not common in the Kora

texts, although they occur occasionally in contributions made by Piet Links, where they may be a reflection of Giri influence.)

In Kora, both the tense and aspect particles frequently ‘lean on’ the connective *i*, so that some older authors even wrote them conjunctively, for example as *ina* or *ikie*.⁸⁶ In a few cases, possibly under the partial influence of Afrikaans, this combination was produced as *ena* (compare Afrikaans *en* ‘and’) or even *dana* (Afrikaans *dan* ‘then’). The likelihood is that *i* was originally a verb.

Mood (particles):

<i>nĩ</i>	obligative (equivalent to English ‘must’ or ‘should’)
<i>ka</i>	potential (equivalent to English ‘may’ or ‘might’)
<i>a, hã</i>	hortative (equivalent to English ‘do please’, or ‘let us’)

The potential marker *ka* is typically used in sentences that reflect a modality of desire, or intended purpose, or even polite exhortation, and is sometimes used in combination with the future tense. The hortative particle *hã* resembles the verb meaning ‘come’, and may well have arisen from it. Examples of sentences featuring its use will be provided in a later section of the chapter.

Hagman⁸⁷ identified a number of modal auxiliary verbs in Nama, where they are used to express positive or negative volition, intention or capacity. They include *‡gao* ‘want’, *‖khã* ‘be able’, *‖oa* ‘be unable’, *tsã* ‘try’, and *kai* ‘compel’. In Kora, apart from a few cases involving *‡ao* ‘want’, a few instances of *‖’oa* ‘be unable’ in a text contributed by Piet Links (where it may be a Giri usage), and one or two examples of *‖xã* (or *‖xã*) ‘be able’, the expected counterparts of these auxiliaries are not widely found. (The Kora counterpart of *kai* is *kasi*, which we discussed earlier under the heading of the verbal extensions.) We can nevertheless list the following verbs, which appear to behave much like the Namibian Khoekhoe auxiliaries mentioned by Hagman, and which provide similar periphrastic expressions of mood.

Mood (auxiliary verbs):

<i>‡ao</i>	volitive (equivalent to English ‘would like to’)
<i>kx’ao</i>	abilitive (equivalent to English ‘can’)
<i>‖xã</i> (~ <i>‖xã</i>)	abilitive (equivalent to English ‘can’)
<i>‖’oa</i>	inabilitive (equivalent to English ‘cannot’)

The following examples illustrate the use of some of the particles and auxiliaries set out above. It will be noticed that, in the relatively few cases where the verb is placed at the end of the phrase in its basic (which is to say, neutral or unmarked) position, the particles of tense and aspect, with the notable exception of *hã*, almost always appear *before* the verb (and any adverbs). In cases where the verb is placed at the beginning of the sentence, the particles most often *follow* the verb (and any dependent pronouns it may be carrying).

It will also be noticed that the subject of a sentence can be expressed simply by a dependent pronoun, such as *-r* ‘I (male)’, while in a few cases it is omitted. The nominal subjects in these examples typically feature a postnominal *-i*, which here

seems to express definiteness. (The verbs are underlined in these examples and the subjects are placed in parentheses to make the structures clearer.)

- (a) Tense: recent past, with *ko*
- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|---------|
| (i) †'aib ab ko <u>khōā</u> (khoebi) | '(the man) <u>broke</u> his foot' | (Mhf63) |
| (ii) <u>hā</u> ko (khoebi) | '(the man) <u>came</u> ' | (Ebt45) |
| (iii) <u>l'ō</u> ko (l'xāsi) | '(the moon) <u>died</u> ' | (Mhf54) |
| (iv) <u>hā</u> ko (gomani) | '(the cattle) <u>came</u> ' | (Mhf6) |
| (v) <u>l'xāu-re</u> ko (uibī) | '(the bee) <u>stung me</u> (m)' | (Mhf50) |
| (vi) <u>dītoā</u> -(r) ko sīseni | '(I (m)) <u>finished</u> the work' | (Mhf7) |
| (vii) <u>mū</u> -(r) ko uīb xābi | '(I (m)) <u>saw</u> the bee's sting' | (Mhf1) |
- (b) Tense: future, with *ta*
- | | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|----------|
| (i) l'xaba-(ri) ta <u>hā</u> | '(I (m)) will <u>come</u> again' | (Ebt38) |
| (ii) <u>hā</u> ta (khoebi) | '(the man) will <u>come</u> ' | (Ebt46) |
| (iii) <u>l'xarahe</u> ta (khoebi) | '(the man) will <u>be punished</u> ' | (Mhf22) |
| (iv) <u>l'ō</u> ta (gūsi) | '(the ewe) will <u>die</u> ' | (Ebt157) |
| (v) †nau-(re) ta | '[he] will <u>hit</u> (me (m))' | (Mhf58) |
| (vi) <u>l'nā</u> -(ts) ta | '(you (ms)) will <u>fall</u> ' | (Mhf30) |
- (c) Tense: remote past, with *ke*
- | | |
|--|--------|
| (i) <i>i ke</i> (†'Oabi) <u>thoathoa</u> aisase <u>!om</u> <u>hā</u>
'then (Wind) <u>began</u> to <u>blow</u> strongly' | (BKr1) |
| (ii) <i>i ke</i> (Inai khoeb) Mamusaba <u>!oa</u> <u>sīhe</u> ,
'then (another man) <u>was sent</u> to Mamusa,
<i>i ke</i> (l'nāba xu khoeku a)
and (men [who] were from there)
<u>†noa</u> <u>xoahē</u>
<u>fought-alongside.</u> ' | (Bhf1) |
- (d) Aspect (particles): progressive, with *na*
- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|-----------|
| (i) (khoebi) na <u>hā</u> | '(the man) is <u>coming</u> ' | (Ebt43ii) |
| (ii) (he haib-bi) na <u>ham</u> | '(this tree) <u>smells</u> ' | (Mhf33) |
| (iii) (l'nā haibi) na !āise <u>ham</u> | '(that tree) <u>smells</u> nice' | (JM) |
| (iv) l'nāti-(r) na <u>mī</u> | 'thus (I (m)) am <u>saying</u> ' | (Ebt34) |
| (v) l'nāti-(ta) na <u>mī</u> | 'thus (I (f)) am <u>saying</u> ' | (Ebt35) |
| (vi) !xobi-(r) na †ae | 'a pipe (I (m)) am <u>smoking</u> ' | (Mhf57) |
| (vii) <u>hā</u> na (khoebi) | '(the man) is <u>coming</u> ' | (Ebt43i) |
| (viii) <u>!um</u> na (†'oabi) | '(the wind) is <u>blowing</u> ' | (Mhf59) |
| (ix) <u>l'ō</u> na (gūsi) | '(the ewe) is <u>dying</u> ' | (Ebt154) |
| (x) <u>l'kx'an</u> na (l'aebi) | '(the fire) is <u>smoking</u> ' | (Mhf67) |
| (xi) †'ā na (soreb) ke | '(the sun) is <u>setting</u> ' | (JM) |
| (xii) <u>mū</u> -(r) na (l'kx'anni) | '(I (m)) <u>see</u> (the smoke)' | (Mhf29) |

- (e) Aspect (auxiliary verbs): inceptive, with *thoathoa*
- (i) *i ke (≠Oabi) thoathoa laisase lom hã* ‘then (Wind) **began to blow** strongly’ (BKr1)
- (ii) *i na ho’o khaq thoathoa (khoedi)* ‘and now (the women) **begin to dig**’ (BK1)
- (f) Mood: obligative, with *nĩ*
- (i) *!kx’axase i-(b) tje nĩ loq* ‘and (he) must count quickly’ (AB6)
- (ii) *!’on |xa i-(b) tje nĩ ta loq* ‘and (he) must not speak with children’ (AB6)
- (iii) *hẽ kx’õb nĩ ≠ũ – (arib tje)* ‘(the dog) will [surely] eat this meat’ (JM)
- (iv) *||xarahe-(b) tje nĩ* ‘(he) must be punished’ (Mhf23)
- (g) Mood: potential, with *ka* (or, marker of an interrogative and a purposive clause respectively?)
- (i) *!hamilũ-(kao) ka na?* ‘might (you (mp)) go hunting?’⁸⁸ (Mhf12)
- (ii) *kuru ka kx’ommi ≠goab* ‘[so that he] might make a clay house’ (PL5)
- (h) Mood (auxiliary verbs): abilitive, with *kx’ao*
- (i) *!om≠noagu kx’ao-(ts) hã?* ‘can (you (ms)) fist-fight?’ (BK10)

4.4.2 Process verbs

We now need to acknowledge that the picture given above is overly simple, and that in reality some verbs make use of a more complex strategy. The verbs in question are particularly those of process and sensation, where the completion of the process leads to a presently obtaining state or outcome. Such verbs of process, which are technically termed *stative* verbs, are assigned a perfect aspect to express a present implication.⁸⁹

The examples below show various process verbs used in combination with *hã*, where the resulting sense is that the process has run its course. In some cases, it will be seen that a marker of tense may be used as well. The use of *ko*, for example, indicates that the process was completed in the past.

- (a) Aspect: perfect, with *hã*
- (i) *!hõasi-(ri) ũhã* ‘(I (m)) have got a wildcat’ [ũ = ‘take’] (Ebt147)
- (ii) *||kx’ã (tite) hã* ‘(I (f)) am sated’ [have eaten enough] (JM)
- (iii) *≠an tama-(r) hã* ‘(I (m)) don’t know’ (Mhf64)
- (iv) *hã ko hã* ‘[he] came’ (JM)
- (v) *mũ-(ti) ko hã* ‘(I (f)) saw’ (JM)

In Namibian Khoehoe, the marker of perfect aspect *hã* may be used in combination with another stative marker, which frequently also functions as a linking verb (copula) in the case of non-verbal predicates. This marker occurs as *a* when the process or state of affairs is present or ongoing, but as *i* in the context of past or completed processes.⁹⁰ Within the finite corpus of the Kora texts and example sentences, the use of the copula, either as *a* or *i*, is not greatly in evidence – although there are

occasionally instances where we might suspect a missing *a* that was simply not heard as distinct from a preceding *hã*, while at other times it is possible that *hã* has been misheard as *a*. In a footnote to his transcription of a Kora version of one of Aesop's fables, Beach commented⁹¹ that he often heard *hã* pronounced by Benjamin Kraalshoek with an oral vowel rather than a nasal one. He also noted that 'Ben often pronounced *!om hã* 'blow' without the *h*, and with oral *a*, so that it often sounded like *!om-a*'.

While the *i* form of the copula appears fairly frequently in association with the perfect aspect in the texts contributed by Piet Links, it is seen only occasionally in the narratives given by other speakers – with the possible exception of some of the stories written down by Benjamin Kats. It seems to occur in the last two lines of the following miniature text,⁹² which was a brief remark made by Links to explain the name of the quagga-vygie ('*!koire||gabib*' in Lloyd's spelling):

- (b) *!koire||gabib na tsoatsoa ||kaib !na,*
 'at the time when the quagga-vygie began,⁹³
i ke na !koire ||garu||kã,
 that is when we went to hunt quagga,
i ||na ||kaib !na,
 and at that time,
kai hã kx'aiku ã,
 their livers having grown fat,
i subusa ||garu ã.
 then hunting was easy.' (PL)

Apart from the apparent illustration of the *i* form of the copula in use, the example is interesting also for its record of Piet Links's nasalised pronunciation of this marker, as *ã*. Hagman⁹⁴ has suggested that the aspect marker (or copula) *a* or *ã* arises ultimately from *hã* – and it seems likely that *i* or *ã* may have arisen in turn from the past tense form of *hã* that occurs in some languages of Kalahari KHOE as *hĩ*. The brief text also gives us an example, in the fourth line, of *kai* being used as a verb of process, in the sense of 'become big'. The combination of this verb with the perfective marker *hã* gives a sense more or less equivalent to English past participles such as 'full-grown', 'enlarged', or 'swollen'.

Hagman noted in addition⁹⁵ that two process verbs (in fact verbs of 'position', or 'posture'), namely *ɸnũ* 'sit' and *mã* 'stand' undergo certain changes when they are followed by *hã*. A similar tendency is seen in Kora, where *ɸnã* or *ɸnoa* (apparently from *ɸnũ hã*) occurs in several of the texts. In these contexts, *ɸnã*, which behaves almost like a past participle, seems to have the meaning 'seated'. It can be used in compounds with other verbs, and may take causative and passive extensions, as in *!aiɸnoasihe* 'tie-make be seated', which is used (AB9) in reference to the action of fastening a bundle of clothing securely in place. The effects in the case of *mã* 'stand' are less visible, although the resulting participle seems to have the meaning 'set' or 'established'. It is reflected in a few possibly idiomatic expressions, such as

‡'anmāsisa 'well-known' (Bhf2), and mīmāsihe 'appointed' (BK1). It is possible that the postposition *!oa* 'towards' arises in a similar way from *!ũ hã*, where *!ũ* means 'go'.⁹⁶

4.4.3 Non-verbal predications in Kora

Non-verbal predications are sentences which, rather than presenting the subject as a participant in a process or action, instead attribute some *property* to a subject – where the predicated property may be an identity, a quality, or a spatial location. In other words, the predicate is not a verb, but instead is a nominal or other type of expression, as in 'That animal is a wildcat,' or 'It is afraid,' or 'It is under the rock ledge.' While some languages of the world express the relation between the subject and the property by means of an overt linker (or copula), such as the word 'be' in English, this is not essential, and there are many languages that use simple appositions to express the linking of the two terms (especially in cases of identity), while others use linking verbs such as 'have' (especially for properties), or verbs of position or posture, such as 'sit' or 'stand' (especially for spatial location).

4.4.3.1 Predication of identity

In Kora, sentences expressing a straightforward identity (x BE y , where both x and y are nominal expressions), can be expressed in a variety of ways, where the differences can involve word order, the optional use of the *ke* particle (~ *gye*, *tje*, *kie*), and the use (seemingly) of the copula (or present stative marker) *a*, which is typically represented as being added to the end of the second noun, and is one of the manifestations of the problematic postnominal $-a$. (This *a* is interpreted in the case of the examples below as a copula, but other analyses are possible.)

One of the difficulties presented by the Kora data is that the preferred way of formulating such sentences seems to differ from one speaker to the next, and there is not always an easy way to decide whether these variations reflect subtle distinctions in meaning, or local dialectal differences, or even purely personal preferences on the part of a speaker. Examples of the different formulations are given below:

(a) Pattern with optional *ke*: Subject (*ke*) Nominal predicate *a*

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|---------|
| (i) <i>hēb ke kx'ob a</i> | 'this is <u>the meat</u> ' | (BK9) |
| (ii) <i>hē khoeb ke Gaokx'aob a</i> | 'this man is <u>the Chief</u> ' (' <i>is kaptein</i> ') | (Ebt70) |
| (iii) <i>xammi ke lgaib a</i> | 'the lion is <u>a strong one</u> ' (is strong) | (Ebt33) |
| (iv) <i>sida !'āb ke heb a</i> | ' <u>this</u> is our land' | (JM) |
| (v) <i>!nā †'ūb !'onni !'ōku a</i> | 'that food's name is <u>!'ōku</u> ' | (BK1) |

As the examples show, either of the two nominal expressions may be placed first, where the differences in ordering are probably pragmatically motivated. The first expression is definite, either by virtue of a determiner, or the use of the postnominal $-i$. The second expression (or complement) is either straightforwardly a noun, or may be a nominal expression based on a qualifying expression such as an adjective

or demonstrative in the appositional formulation with a dependent pronoun attached. In sentence (iii), the complement */gaib* behaves syntactically like a noun, but still reflects its original adjectival meaning ‘strong’, so that the sentence can be read as meaning either ‘the lion is a strong one’ or ‘the lion is strong’.

The last example above shows a case where *ke* is omitted – and this is perhaps as good a point as any to discuss the nature of the *ke* particle. We mentioned earlier that there are a few small particles in Kora that present surprisingly large difficulties when it comes to their analysis. Since both the problematic *ke* particle (~ *gye*, *tje*, *kie*) and the postnominal *-a* will occur with increasing frequency in our examples from now on, it seems best to pause and briefly address the issues that surround them.

- *The analysis of the ke particle: marker of a sentence type or marker of a topic?*

The *ke* particle in Namibian Khoekhoe – where it is spelled ‘*ge*’ – is currently interpreted as a ‘sentence type marker for indicative main sentences’.⁹⁷ This analysis essentially follows the proposal by Hagman⁹⁸ to treat it as a marker of a ‘declarative’ sentence, and has replaced older analyses that saw *ke* as a kind of ‘subject determinative’ or ‘emphasiser’.⁹⁹

When we look at occurrences of *ke* in Kora, however, it is clear that it can occur in sentences *other* than declaratives, as in the following examples:

- | | | |
|---|--|---------|
| (b) (i) <i> xarahe-<u>b</u> ke nĩ</i> | ‘punished <u>he</u> must be’ | (Mhf23) |
| (ii) <i>!kx’axase i-<u>b</u> ke nĩ !oa</i> | ‘quickly <u>he</u> must count’ | (AB6) |
| (iii) <i>!’on xa i-<u>b</u> ke nĩ ta !oa</i> | ‘with children <u>he</u> must not speak’ | (AB6) |

These examples incorporate the modal particle *nĩ*, which expresses the obligative mood, while at the same time they feature the *ke* particle after the subject.¹⁰⁰

It seems that we will need to find an alternative way of accounting for the function of *ke* – and we would here like to propose that the *ke* particle, which always immediately follows the subject or its pronominal stand-in, might be better analysed as a discourse marker of *topic*.¹⁰¹ (In some languages of the world, a topic is expressed ahead of a sentence, as a way of indicating what the following question or observation will refer to, as in: ‘The wildcat – it’s an indigenous small species.’ There are other languages, however, where a topic is marked by morphology.) This is only a slight change to the idea of the *ge-subjektivum* originally put forward by Dempwolff, and accords with Rust’s description of the nominal marked by *ke* as being the ‘prop’ (or perhaps ‘hook’, ‘pivot’ or ‘peg’) of the sentence.¹⁰²

Some support for this analysis is provided by the following example, where the given (previously mentioned) part of the sentence (‘the dog’) is expressed as a kind of afterthought at the end of the sentence, following the expression of the focused phrase at the beginning, and after a pause. Notably, this afterthought is associated with the *ke* particle:

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|------|
| (c) <i>hē kx’ōb nĩ ≠n’ũ – arib ke</i> | ‘this meat [he] will surely eat – the dog’ | (JM) |
|---------------------------------------|--|------|

In many cases, though, the *ke* particle simply follows an ordinary subject at the beginning of a sentence, probably because the syntactic subject is in a sense the pragmatic topic by default, even when there has been no re-ordering or pre-presentation of constituents.¹⁰³

- *The analysis of post-nominal –a: the marker of accusative case, or a copula, or the vestige of some other morpheme?*

As we have seen, the *a* that occurs in predications of identity has an apparently copular function, in the sense that it couples together two nominal expressions. There are cases, however, where nouns in other syntactic contexts seem to take a superficially similar *a* almost as a suffix – where this particular *a* has been analysed in the past as a possible marker of accusative case (which ordinarily indicates a syntactic *object*).¹⁰⁴ The question has already been raised, however – in the sections on the adpositional phrase and the verb extensions – whether the postnominal *–a* really functions as a case marker. The alternative possibility is that in at least some of these instances, *a* might likewise be a copula.

Here again the picture is complicated by variability in the data from different consultants in the past, and the ever-present possibility of inaccuracies in the transcriptions. The heritage texts present surprisingly few examples of its use, and indeed provide numerous instances where syntactic objects are expressed *without* the supposed marker of case, as well as equally numerous instances where syntactic subjects occur *with* it. The only semi-consistent usage is one we have previously noted, where nouns in adjunctive phrases introduced by certain specific adpositions that arise from verbs sometimes take *–a*. (In some of these instances, the relevant nouns have the peripheral role of a *path* or a *locus*, and it is possible that *a* here is a vestige of the locative morpheme *–ba*.)

Another factor to consider is that speakers sometimes make more complex use of a copula to create sentences similar to English ones of the kind ‘It was an eland the lion stalked.’ When used in answer to the question ‘What did the lion stalk?’ this formulation has the effect of making the object of the lion’s stalking the *focused* constituent. Of course, it is equally possible to focus a subject in this way. For example, the question ‘Who made the necklaces?’ can be answered either with ‘They made the necklaces’ or ‘It was them who made them’ (where only pedants would use ‘they’).

The sentence below, where Andries Bitterbos was explaining the names given to different kinds of wooden vessels, illustrates the use of a similar strategy in Kora:

(d) *i !nubukx’amsaku a ke na ‘//hoeb’ ti Ꞥai,*

i ke na !’ōkx’amsaku a ‘!xabib’ ti Ꞥai.

‘die nou-bekke het hulle ‘//hoeb’ genoem,

en hulle het die oop-bekke ‘!xabib’ so genoem.’

(AB1)

<i>i</i>	<i>!nubu-kx’am-sa-ku</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>‘//hoeb’</i>
Conn	narrow-mouth-Adj-3mp	<i>a</i>	Rem.Past	Prog	<i>//hoeb</i>

<i>ti</i>	<i>‡ai</i>				
thus	call				
<i>i</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>/'ō-kx'am-sa-ku</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>'!xabib'</i>
Conn	Rem.Past	Prog	open-mouth-Adj-3mp	<i>a</i>	<i>!xabib</i>
<i>ti</i>	<i>‡ai.</i>				
thus	call				

'And the narrow-mouthed ones they called *'//hoeb'*,
and the broad-mouthed ones they called *'!xabib'*.

If we take *a* here to be the copula rather than any postnominal marking of case, then the two sentences might be translated as: 'The narrow-mouthed ones it was they called *//hoeb*, and the broad-mouthed ones it was they called *!xabib*.'¹⁰⁵

In the remaining cases where we have seen instances of an apparent postnominal *-a*, it is notable that they occur in association with passive forms of the verb, and are typically associated with arguments having roles such as that of an agent or means. If the *a* in these instances is not simply a contracted form of the agentive or instrumental postposition *xa*, it is possible that it is again the copula.

Let us now return to the theme of non-verbal predications. We have already looked at predications of *identity*, where the predicate is a nominal expression. The next type of non-verbal sentence involves predications of the kind where a subject is said to be possessed of, or to display some *quality*.

4.4.3.2 Predication of a quality

For Nama, Rust suggested¹⁰⁶ that predications of this kind could be made using the *ke* particle after the subject, and the linker (which is to say, the copula) *a* before the descriptive term. He also showed an alternative pattern based on the use of *hã* after the descriptive predicate, instead of the copula *a* before it. Yet another formulation has the predicated quality given first, with a dependent pronoun attached to it in expression of the subject (followed by an optional *ke*), and with either *a* or *hã* ending the sentence.

There do not seem to be many instances of such patterns in Kora (although it is possible that this simply reflects accidental gaps in the material). We find instead that, as in pattern (1) below, the predicated quality is typically expressed first, in conjunction with the adjectival suffix *-sa*, with the subject noun following immediately after it, typically with a postnominal *-i*. In other words, the attribute is expressed first, and is followed by the noun in what seems to be the definite form.

In Ouma Jacoba's usage, the subject noun could, as in pattern (2), be followed by *ke*, in which case, however, it does not have the postnominal *i*. Lastly, Ouma Jacoba gave us a number of other examples, as in pattern (3), where she expressed the noun first (in the definite form with *i*) and the quality afterwards, using the copula *a* after the quality, in a pattern similar to some predications of identity. Examples of these patterns are given below, where subjects are underlined to aid in their identification.

- (e) Predication of a quality, pattern (1): Adj Subject *-i*
- | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------|
| (i) | <i>lgaisa khoebi</i> | 'the man is strong' | (Ebt5) |
| (ii) | <i>lgaisa xaisi</i> | 'the fever is strong' | (Mhf69) |
| (iii) | <i>fnūsa gumasi</i> | 'the cow is black' | (Ebt24) |
| (iv) | <i>karosa lhūbi</i> | 'the ground is hard' | (Ebt25) |
| (v) | <i>gaidasa biribi</i> | 'the goat ram is old' | (Ebt142) |
| (vi) | <i>gaidasa birisi</i> | 'the goat ewe is old' | (Ebt143) |
- (f) Predication of a quality, pattern (2): Adj Subject *ke*
- | | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------|----------------------|------|
| (i) | <i>ḥhabusa kōas ke</i> | 'the knife is blunt' | (JM) |
| (ii) | <i>l'kx'oasa xūb ke nllāba</i> | 'that thing is full' | (JM) |
| (iii) | <i>thūsa khoeb ke</i> | 'the man is bad' | (JM) |
| (iv) | <i>lāsa khoeb ke</i> | 'the man is poor' | (JM) |
| (v) | <i>karosa khōb ke</i> | 'the skin is hard' | (JM) |
- (g) Predication of a quality, pattern (3): Subject *-i* Adj *a*
- | | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------|----------------------|------|
| (i) | <i>hē khoebi kx'au a</i> | 'this man is fat' | (JM) |
| (ii) | <i>nllā khoebi ll'kx'aro a</i> | 'that man is thin' | (JM) |
| (iii) | <i>nllā bībi ḥhon a</i> | 'that milk is sweet' | (JM) |

It is interesting that pattern (1) above was also used by Engelbrecht's first consultants in other contexts where the quality predicated can only with some difficulty be interpreted as adjectival. Rather, there is something intrinsically verbal about them, as the sentences below illustrate.

- (h) Predication of a completed process with ongoing effects: V-*sa* Subject *-i*
- | | | | |
|-------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|----------|
| (i) | <i>bēsa gūri</i> | 'the (sheep) are gone' | (Ebt11) |
| (ii) | <i>thūsa (lnāba)-ri</i> | 'my (stomach) hurts' | (Ebt7) |
| (iii) | <i>hāsa (khoebi)</i> | 'the (man) has come' | (Ebt58) |
| (iv) | <i>ll'ōsa (gūsi)</i> | 'the (ewe) is dead (has died?)' | (Ebt156) |

It seems possible that the function of *sa* in these cases is that of a perfective aspect marker, which differs from the perfect marker *hā* in its implication that not only has the process in question completed its course, but that its effects are enduring. Some degree of confirmation for this analysis is provided by the following sentences given to us by Ouma Jacoba.

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|------|
| (v) | <i>lnāsa sores ke</i> | 'the sun is shining' | (JM) |
| (vi) | <i>khōasa</i> | 'it broke' ('hy het gebreek') | (JM) |

If *sa* is indeed the marker of a 'permansive' aspect, as the Kora data would seem to suggest, it may also be the source of the adjectival suffix *-sa*, given that many of the descriptive roots are probably verbal in origin. The marker itself may arise from the verb *sā* 'rest a while, sojourn, sit'.

4.5 The Kora sentence, part 2

Up to now we have focused largely on the expression of positive declarative sentences, whether they involve ordinary verbs of action or stative verbs of process, or non-verbal predications. We now need to look at the formulation of negative declaratives, and interrogatives, after which we will turn to the kinds of sentences that express other modalities, such as commands, requests, wishes and speculations. Finally, we will look at aspects of coordination, discourse connectives, and various kinds of clausal embedding.

4.5.1 Negatives

The expression of the negative is fairly complex in Khoekhoe, and ranges from the use of a simple negative morpheme *tama* or *ta*, to the use of verbs with inherently negative meanings.

4.5.1.1 Negation by means of *tama*

The examples below show the use of *tama* to express the negative form of a straightforward declarative sentence. The negative marker is typically placed after the predicating expression, which is most often a verb, but may be a verb-like descriptive term, as in example (vii), where *ĩ* means ‘be nice’. (The verbs in the examples are underlined for easier identification.)

- (a) (i) *ǂ'an tama-r* (Mhf64)
 ‘I (m) do **not** know’
- (ii) *i ke !Orakua !āb dī|xoa tama* (Bhf8)
 ‘and the Korana did not use poison’
- (iii) *||guru!uikua i-da ke dī tama* (Bhf7)
 ‘we (c) did **not** make stone-knives’
- (iv) *khās |xa ke ||kx'aũhe tama* (BK3)
 ‘[they] were **not** shot with a bow’
- (v) *i-da ke !'urikua ūhã tama* (BK3)
 ‘and we (c) did **not** have iron’
- (vi) *koba ti ke na, ma ||'āibi ||nau tama* (JM)
 ‘I (f) am talking, but he does **not** listen’ [*ma* = Afrikaans *maar*]
- (vii) *ĩ tama !'oeb ke* (JM)
 ‘swearing is **not** nice’

4.5.1.2 Negation by means of an auxiliary verb

The negative auxiliary //’*oa* was briefly noted during the earlier discussion of modality, where it was introduced as a marker of the inability mood, equivalent to English ‘cannot’ or ‘be unable to’. The examples of its use below are both from a narrative dictated by Piet Links, and may have been more characteristic of Giri than Kora. The auxiliary is used after the verb it negates, in much the same way as *tama*. In both cases, the predications seem to express a hypothetical state of affairs.

- (a) (i) *i-r tir ti ða’i hō //’oa hāba?* (PL3)
 ‘why I (m) have been **unable** to get my child?’
- (ii) *sas mū!’a //’oa-s ka hā?* (PL3)
 ‘might you (fs) have been **unable** to recognise?’

4.5.1.3 Negative commands

The negative marker *ta* seems to be associated with modalities other than the declarative, and is used especially in commands, where it typically occurs at the beginning of the sentence, and before the verb. In some cases it is found as *tae* (~ *tai*) or *te*. The following examples illustrate the rules (*gaoku*) given to young men attending the initiation school (*doro*).

- (a) (i) *Sida !Orada di dorogaoku a:*
Ta *!kx’ā!*
Ta *!ae!* (BK4)
 ‘The *doro*-rules of we the Korana are:
Do not steal!
Do not lie!’
- (ii) **Tāe** *!gaba ≠’aib xu!* (Bhf2)
 ‘**Do not** look at its foot!’ [referring to a lamed animal]
- (iii) **Tai** *!xamxu n//ā xūb!* (JM)
 ‘**Do not** forget that thing!’

A negative command may also be expressed by adding *xu* ‘depart from’, which in association with a verb *x* seems to mean ‘leave off, desist from, abstain from doing *x*’. The first example below was given to Engelbrecht by one of his early consultants, while the second is from a further set of rules given to young initiates.

- (b) (i) **≠Nau xu!** ‘**Don’t** hit!’ (Ebt41)
 (ii) **!’Oas ≠’ū xu!** ‘**Do not** eat hare!’ (Bhf2.1)

In Namibian Khoekhoe, a negative associated with some hypothetical or speculative future event is negated by means of the auxiliary *tide*. This form is not found as often (if at all) in Kora, and its only counterpart would seem to be a very occasionally seen *te*, which is liable to be confused with the dependent pronoun of the 1st person feminine singular.

4.5.1.4 Negation by means of verbs with inherently negative meanings

Certain verbs in the Khoekhoe languages have inherently negative meanings, so that there is no need to use any additional indication of negation with them. The negative auxiliary //’*oa* mentioned above is one such verb. Another is /’*u* ‘not know’, as seen in the next example.

- (a) /’*U-r hã* (*hamba xũ i-b na hã*) !*xaib*. (Mhf72)
 ‘I **don’t know** (where he comes from).’

Note that /’*u* is one of the process (or stative) verbs, so that its use with the perfect marker *hã* gives it a present implication. In this case, the thing (or effective object) that is not known is a clause in itself (‘he comes from where’), and !*xaib* is the complementiser, ‘that’. We will briefly discuss what might be termed phrasal nominals of this kind in a later section.

In some cases, speakers can *create* a verb with a negative implication by using the negating or privative suffix *-o*. In the example of this below, the sentence has the form of a non-verbal predication, and the verb *hã’o* ‘not come’ behaves like a participial adjective (as in the English phrase ‘the crouching wildcat’).

- (b) *Hã’osa khoebi* ‘The man is **not coming**’ (Ebt49)

4.5.2 Interrogatives

The simplest kind of interrogative is one that asks about the validity of a particular proposition as a whole, and essentially asks, Is it true that [*x DO/BE/SEEM y*]? The questioned proposition may be negative or affirmative, and the event or process or state of affairs may not only be specified for tense and aspect, but may also reflect one of the modalities associated with states of affairs that do not actually obtain.¹⁰⁷

Questions of this kind are typically formulated with the predicate in the initial position, as in the following examples given to Meinhof:

- (a) (i) *Hõ-ts ko //ũse?* ‘Did you (ms) find the springbuck?’ (Mhf11)
 (ii) !*Hami!ũ-kao ka na?* ‘Might you (mp) go hunting?’ (Mhf12)

The second type of interrogative asks for information about a specific part of a predication. The information requested can involve details about the participants (‘*Who* did *y*?’ or ‘*Who*’ or ‘*What* did *x* do *y* to?’), or the event itself (‘*What* did *x* do?’); or it can involve the specification of an adjunctive detail (‘*With what* did *x* do *y*?’, ‘*Where* did *x* do *y*?’, ‘*When* did *x* do *y*?’ or ‘*Why* did *x* do *y*?’). In semantic terms, the scope of such questions is either the predicating expression, or any of the arguments within either the verb phrase or the adjunct. (The new information given in response to such questions is typically formulated in a way that focuses it.)

Kora seems to have two main base morphemes that are used in the formulation of the constituent interrogatives. The base *ta* or *tae* (sometimes heard as *da*) is used mainly to ask for further information about core participants, but nevertheless

occurs in a few other contexts as well. It is typically used in combination with a dependent pronoun, and behaves syntactically as a free-standing pronoun. The first four interrogative expressions listed below are from Meinhof:¹⁰⁸

<i>taeb?</i>	‘who?’	(Mhf)
<i>ta’i?</i>	‘what?’	(Mhf)
<i>dan?</i>	‘who?’	(Mhf)
<i>dabi?</i>	‘who?’	(Mhf)
<i>taeba?</i>	‘why, wherefore?’	(JM)

(In Namibian Khoekhoe, the equivalent expressions are *ta(r)i?* for ‘who?’ and *ta(r)e?* for ‘what?’.) The examples below illustrate some uses of the interrogative forms in Kora:

- (b) (i) //Nā khoeb **taeb** na arib mã om te ≠’ũ? (JM)
 ‘What does the man give the dog to eat?’ [*om te* is Afrikaans]
- (ii) **Taeb** ka i-b kx’ommi areb oe te hã? (PL5)
 ‘Why should my house not have answered?’
- (iii) **dan** ka? ‘who is it?’ (JM)
- (iv) **taeb** ka? ‘what is it?’ (JM)

It is intriguing to note Ouma Jacoba’s use of *ka* (~*ga*) in the last two examples above. Meinhof¹⁰⁹ recorded a similar use, citing expressions such as *dab gã* ‘who is it (male)?’ *das gã* ‘who is it (female)?’ and *da’i gã* ‘who (or what) is it?’ It is possible, on one hand, to treat this morpheme as a separate interrogative particle. Certainly, Engelbrecht¹¹⁰ interpreted certain uses of *ka* in the speech of Andries Bitterbos as straightforwardly interrogative. On the other hand, this morpheme bears a strong resemblance to the marker of the potential mood, which we have previously seen used in sentences with a non-declarative modality, such as speculations or wishes. If it is the same morpheme, then its function in the interrogative environment appears to be that of a kind of existential predicator, creating sentences that are almost the counterpart of old-fashioned English expressions such as ‘who might he be?’

Where the question concerns a peripheral participant, the base *ham* seems to be frequently used. It is used productively, which may be why not all authors list all of the potential question words that can occur. The set below may not be exhaustive.

<i>ham(b)a?</i>	‘where?’ (what place?)	(Mgd)
<i>hãba?</i>	‘why?’ (wherefore?)	(PL3)
<i>hamtsẽ?</i>	‘when?’ (what time?)	(Mhf)
<i>hamti?</i>	‘how?’ (what manner?)	(Mgd)
<i>hamti?</i>	‘why?’ (what reason?)	(Lld)
<i>ham i?</i>	‘where to?’	(Mgd)
<i>ham xĩ?</i>	‘where to?’	(JM)
<i>hamxusa?</i>	‘where from?’	(JM)

The interrogative expression meaning ‘where to’ (*ham|xĩ ~ ham|ĩ*) incidentally provides one of the few examples of the adposition *|xĩ* ‘to’, which otherwise seems to have been more widely used in Giri and Nama than in Kora. The examples below are drawn from the texts:

- (c) (i) **Hamma**-ts ko ko \neq ’ũb hō hã? ‘Where did you (ms) find food?’ (BK9)
 (ii) **Hamti**-ts ka |habu hã? ‘How could you (ms) be [so] foolish?’ (PL3)

4.5.3 Commands and polite requests

There are various ways of expressing requests in Kora, where some are politer than others. It is possible to express a direct command (or iussive) simply by using the verb and without any form of second person address, although such direct expressions are not generally considered courteous. The first set below illustrates these more forceful direct commands as they are occasionally expressed in Kora.

- (a) (i) *’Ase* !ae! ‘Wait a bit!’ (Mhf71)
 (ii) *Hēba* hā! ‘Come here!’ (Mhf32)
 (iii) *||Nāti* koba! ‘Say so!’ (JM)
 (iv) *Hoa* \neq ’ũkua xora! ‘Serve all the food!’ (JM)
 (v) *||Nā* \neq ’xanis mã-re! ‘Give me that book!’(ms) (Mhf52)
 (vi) *Au-te* baxaba! ‘Give me tobacco!’ (fs) (JM)
 (vii) *Khāiba-te!* ‘Stand up for me!’(fs) (BK11)

The more commonly used strategies for issuing a polite exhortation in Kora seem to be based on either *a* ‘let’, or *hā* ‘come’, which may also be combined. (The similar particles used in Namibian Khoekhoe are written disjunctively.)¹¹

Nama speakers may also make use of a ‘politeness particle’ *re* in the context of hortatives, but it can be difficult in Kora to decide whether the occasionally seen instances of *re* are not simply the dependent form of the first person masculine singular pronoun *tire*. That they are really dependent pronouns seems the more likely case, given the parallel use of other dependent pronouns in some of the examples below.

- (b) (i) **Hā-sam** !ũ! ‘Come let us (fd) go!’ (Mhf42)
 (ii) **Hā-ke** !ũ! ‘Come let us (mp) go!’ (Mhf43)
 (iii) *Ti* **hā-ke** ||xā||xāsen! ‘Thus let us (mp) study!’ (BK7)
 (iv) **A hā-kham** hē khoeb ||hau! ‘Come let us (md) tie up this man!’ (BK10)

4.5.4 Coordination

The various constituents and sub-constituents of the kind discussed above can be expanded in many languages of the world by a chaining together of one or more additional similar elements, where a conjunction may then be used to indicate their coordinate status. The basic coordinating conjunction used for this purpose in Kora

and other Khoekhoe languages is *tsĩ*, which means ‘and’. (It occasionally appears in the texts as *thĩ*, *thi* or *ti*). In a few cases, as we will see below, the meaning of *tsĩ* is not so much conjunctive as disjunctive, and it is then better translated as ‘or’.

4.5.4.1 Coordinated nouns

When two or more nouns are coordinated, the conjunction in Kora is sometimes repeated after each noun,¹¹² and then occurs in a final repetition with a dependent pronoun expressing a dual or plural. (Where the conjunct nouns are in different genders, the common gender is used.) This pattern with the final resumption seems to occur mainly in the titles and opening lines of the traditional animal fables, however, and is possibly an archaic formulation.

- (a) (i) *tūs tsĩ* /*xurub* ‘rain **and** drought’ (AB4)
 (ii) |leb *tsĩ* Xoasaob *tsĩkhara* ‘Jackal **and** Leopard’ (3md) (BK9)
 (iii) |Eieb *tsĩ* Sore|’os *tsĩkha* ‘Jackal **and** the Sun-girl’ (3cd) (AB12)
 (iv) |Naitab *tsĩ* !Oaxaidi *tsĩna* ‘Baboon **and** the Quaggas’ (3cp) (Bhf11)

The example below shows the use of coordinated nouns in the context of a complete sentence, where it is clear that the two parties referred to are equal participants in the action:

- (b) |leb *tsĩ* Xoasaob *tsĩkhara* ke !hamilũ. (BK9)
 ‘Jackal **and** Leopard went hunting.’

In a few unusual cases, the comitative postposition /*xa* may be used instead of *tsĩ*, as in the next example:

- (c) !nona *tsēku* /*xa* !nona *thũxuku* (BK5)
 ‘three days **plus** three nights’

4.5.4.2 Coordinated qualifiers

In the example below, where two determiners of number are coordinated, the semantic implication of the coordinator *tsĩ* seems to be disjunctive, since the phrase has to be translated by means of ‘or’:

- (a) Koro *tsĩ* !nani *tsēkua* na !’aub !na hã *khoedi*. (BK1)
koro tsĩ !nani tsēku a na !’aub !na hã khoedi
 five **or** six days a Prog veld in stay women
 ‘The women stayed in the veld for five or six days.’

The following two examples show instances of coordinated nouns and coordinated qualifiers within an adpositional phrase. In the second example, the sense of the conjunction is once again ‘or’ rather than ‘and’.

- (b) (i) |hommi *ti* |hũb *tikha* ||*kx’aigu* (Mhf68)
 ‘between heaven and earth’ (3md)
 (ii) *i na* |am *tsĩ* |nona *gomāku* /*xa* (BK1)
 ‘then with two or three oxen’

4.5.4.3 Coordinated verbs

The conjunction *tsĩ* may also be used to combine two coordinate verbs, as in the following example, where there is an implied suggestion of sequence, since in real world terms, the second action follows the first. The subject of the two conjunct verbs in such cases is always the same.

- (a) *Tsēb ta hā o,*
i na |am tsĩ !nona gomāku |xa
lūbahe tsĩ ūhāhe. (BK1)
- ‘When the day came,
 then with two or three oxen,
 [the women] were gone for **and** brought [back home].’

4.5.5 Discourse connectives

We have seen above that several words from the same class can be linked together as coordinate constituents by means of the conjunction *tsĩ*. This connective is also occasionally used to join entire clauses, although it is more usual in Kora to find this function expressed by *i*, meaning ‘and (then)’. (This is a little different from the situation in Namibian Khoekhoe, where the conjunctions more commonly used are *tsĩ* ‘and’ and *o* ‘if, when, since’.) In the simplest cases where two clauses are combined, the implication is typically sequential or at most consequential – much as in the case of English clauses joined by conjunctions such as ‘and’, ‘or’, ‘but’, ‘when’, ‘if’, or ‘since’. Where the implication of the linkage is more complex, as in the case of a causal or purposive relation, various other connectives are used, with meanings such as ‘because’ or ‘on account of’.

4.5.5.1 Clausal combination with a sequential implication

The Kora discourse connective *i*, which usually stands at the beginning of a clause, is frequently used in combination with *ta*, *na*, *ko* and *ke*, which are the particles used to express implications of tense and aspect. If this connective has arisen from the verb *ĩ* ‘go, pass by’, as seems likely, then the occurrence of the tense and aspect particles after it would fit the pattern noted previously in connection with fronted verbs. Maingard suggested¹¹³ that the grammatical implications in such frequently used Kora expressions as *i na* and *i ke* were somewhat diluted, and that ‘more often than not, the two combinations have no other force than that of resuming the thread of the narrative’.

The clausal connective *o* (‘if, when’) always occurs at the *end* of a clause in Kora, after the verb. It is frequently used in combination with *i*, and has the effect of setting up either a temporal sequence ‘when *x* then *y*’ or the condition-consequence sequence ‘if *x* then *y*’. Examples of clauses connected by *i* and *o* are seen in the extract below, for which the Afrikaans version was provided by Andries Bitterbos.

- (a) (i) *!Orakhoede ke ke na !'ō#hū*
 (ii) *i ke na !'ōku |kx'oasase hāba*
 (iii) *i-de ta sī o,*
 (iv) *!nūb kx'om,*
 (v) *tsī tsēkua ||nāba hā,*
 (vi) *tsī !'ōkhao.*

'Die Koranna-vrouens het uintjie (vir 'n doel) gegaan
en het waar uintjies volop staan,
as hulle sal aangekom het,
 pondok gebou,
 en dae daardie gebly,
 en uintjie gegrawe.'

(AB2)

'The Korana women would go bulb-gathering
and when they (3fp) arrived
 where the bulbs were staying plentifully,
 [they would] build a shelter,
 and stay there for days,
bulb-digging.'

[line (iii)]

[line (ii)]

In line (iii) above, the initial particle *i* in this case is not the connective *i* of clausal sequence, but rather is a separate element introduced to support the dependent pronoun *-de*, which cross-references the subject, *!Orakhoede* 'the Korana women'. It bears a close resemblance to the verb *ī*, which was said by Meinhof to mean 'seem, be', but which was in all probability the past tense form of the perfect (or stative) marker, which often functions much like a copula. (Like the latter, it was occasionally written as *ĩ* by Lloyd, Maingard, and Meinhof.) The example above is additionally interesting for its illustration in lines (i) and (vi) of instances where an object noun (*!'ōb* 'bulb') is incorporated into verbs (*#hū* 'gather' and *khao* 'dig'). In cases like these, the noun suffix is typically dropped, while any markers of tense and aspect (such as *ke* and *na*) are placed before the complex unit that consists of the verb together with its incorporated object.

Two more examples featuring the connectives *i* and *o* are given below:

- (b) *Tsēb ta hā o,*
i na |am tsī !nona gomāku |xa
!ūbahe tsī ūhāhe.

(BK1)

'**When** the day came,
then with two or three oxen
 [the women] were gone for and brought [back home].'

- (c) *Baxab i-ku ta ūhā tama hā o,*
i ke na !amhe.

(AB5)

'**If** they should not have brought tobacco,
Then they were killed [by the San who had asked for tobacco].'

A further connective sometimes used in Namibian Khoekhoe is *xabe*, meaning ‘but’, ‘nevertheless’, ‘although’. There are not many instances of it in the Kora texts, and the word is possibly a loan from Tswana, which has *gabe* with the equivalent meaning.

4.5.5.2 Clausal combination with causal and purposive implications

Other combinations of clauses with more complex implications typically require connectives with meanings such as ‘therefore’ or ‘because’. The narratives dictated by Andries Bitterbos contain a few examples of connectives based on the demonstratives *||nā* and *hē*, where these are used to cross-reference previous sentences in a stretch of discourse, where a *causal relation* between the circumstances described by the connected clauses is implied (‘because of that’ or ‘on account of this’). The examples below illustrate this kind of inter-sentential deixis:

- (a) *Baxab i-ku ta ūhā tama hā o,*
i ke na !amhe,
||nāxūba *ke na †nenib ||xaubahe.* (AB5)
 ‘If they should not have brought tobacco,
 then they were killed,
on account of which the tar residue from their pipes was scraped out for
 [the San].’

In the example above, the expression *||nāxūba* has almost the same meaning as the English ‘wherefore’, which embodies a similar locative element. (Note Namibian Khoekhoe *||nā-amaga* and *||nāxa* ‘therefore, because of that’.) The Vocabulary compiled by Wuras includes *||nāti i o* for ‘because, on account of’, where the literal meaning seems to be ‘since [it] is thus’ – but the texts do not provide an example of its use.

An example of an expression based on the near demonstrative *hē* and *ti* ‘thus’ occurs in one of the texts Benjamin Kats wrote down for Engelbrecht, along with his own Afrikaans version.

- (b) *I-ku !hamikx’aokua †’aib ||’āin dib hō!’ā o,*
i na gaugausen !hamikx’aoku,
hetih *||’āiku †’an hā*
Sān !nū tamab ||nāba.
 ‘As die jagters die spoore van hulle gewaar
 dan steek die jagters vir self weg,
wand [want] hulle weet
 Boesmans es ni veer ni.’ (BK18)

‘If the hunters came across their tracks,
 then the hunters hid themselves,
because they knew [on account of this]
 the San were not far from there.’

Meinhof mentions a further connective *tu'i* with the meaning 'because', but since it is not found in the texts, its exact role is difficult to ascertain.¹¹⁴

As far as *purposive* clauses are concerned, they are very occasionally expressed by means of a morpheme we have previously encountered as a marker of the potential mood, namely *ka*, as seen in the example below. (In Namibian Khoekhoe, the equivalent morpheme *ga* is described as a 'purposive clause suffix', and is written conjunctively with the verb.)¹¹⁵

(c) *kuru ka kx'ommi †goab* '[so that he] **might make** a clay house' (PL5)

4.5.6 Phrasal adjectives, phrasal nominals, and phrasal adverbs

In some cases, an additional clause is not merely added to but is syntactically incorporated into a sentence, so as to function as a phrasal adjective, a phrasal nominal, or a phrasal adverb. As some of the extended examples given earlier have begun to reveal, the Khoekhoe languages are capable of intricate embeddings of this kind. The main kinds encountered in the texts are briefly outlined here.

4.5.6.1 Phrasal adjectives

In addition to being qualified by an ordinary determiner or adjective, a noun may be qualified by embedded phrases of a kind that are perhaps best translated into English by relative clauses (as in, 'the child *who loves to sing*'). While the Khoekhoe languages do not use overt relativisers similar to English 'who' or 'which', the embedded nature of these phrasal adjectives is clearly indicated by the use of a copula, an aspect marker, or other means. The examples below show how the verb in the embedded phrase may feature the passive *-he*, or *hã* as a locative existential predicator, or the adjective-forming *-sa* (where the adjectival suffix attaches to the last element of the phrase).

(a) *I |ona na !ãukx'aihe !naob ke na 'bã's' ti †aihe.*

'*En alleen-is-deurqaan-op-geword* blok is die 'bã's' so genoem-geword.' (AB9)

<i>i</i>	[<i>Jonã</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>!ãu-kx'ai-he</i>]	<i>!naob</i>	<i>ke</i>
Conn	[alone	Prog	cross-on-Pass]	log	Rem. Past?
<i>na</i>	<i>'bã's'</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>†ai-he</i>		
Prog	<i>'bã's'</i>	thus	call-Pass		

'And the log [that] a solo-crossing was made on was called the 'bã's.'

(b) *Tãe sausub dao-xu !'aub !na hã |aiba!* (Bhf2)

<i>tãe</i>	<i>sausub</i>	<i>dao-xu</i>	[<i>'aub !na hã</i>]	<i> aiba</i>
do.not	pipe	light-from	[veld in be]	fire

'Do not light your pipe from a fire [that] is in the veld!'

- (c) *!ʼAub Ina khauhesa !ʼaeb xa i-b tje nĩ ta !xob dāukxʼi.*
ʼIn die veld wat-is-vuurgemaakte vuur van hy moet nie pyp opsteek. (AB6)
 [!ʼAub Ina khauhe-sa] !ʼaeb xa
 [veld in kindled-Adj] fire from
 i-b ke nĩ ta !xob dāukxʼi
 Conn-he Topic? Oblig Neg pipe light
 ‘He must not light his pipe from a fire [that] was kindled in the veld.’

4.5.6.2 Phrasal nominals

Just as an ordinary adjective can be turned into a nominal expression by the addition of a suffix (as in *!gaixab* ‘sorcerer’ or *kxʼaosab* ‘man’) so a phrasal adjective of the kind seen in the last example above can be made into a complex nominal expression. The first example below shows the nominalisation of a phrasal adjective, where the nominalising suffix *-b* is attached to the last element of the phrase.

- (a) *!xōasa jas anasab* (BKr1)
 [!xōasa jas ana-sa]-b
 [warm jacket wear-Adj]-3ms
 ‘one wearing a warm jacket’ (lit. ‘warm-jacket-wearing one (m)’)

In the next example, a complex phrasal nominal is used – just as an ordinary nominal expression might be – in apposition to another noun phrase, which in this case is *sida īb* ‘our father’.

- (b) *I na !nabi sida īb !kxʼoase kxʼōb tanisab.* (Bhf10)
 i na !nābi sida īb
 Conn Prog there our father
 [!kxʼoa-se kxʼob tani-sa]-b
 [plenty-Adv meat carry-Adj]-3ms
 ‘There is our father, carrying plentiful meat’
 (lit. ‘plentifully meat carrying one (m)’)

A particularly complex example of syntactic nominalisation is found in the Fable of the Sun and the Wind as retold to Beach by Benjamin Kraalshoek. The example is shown below:

- (c) *!ʼĀikhara na !xʼabeb dī,*
dao!ūkxʼaosab di jasa ta kxʼaise ꞑaeꞑkxʼoasikasib
!nabi !aisa kxʼarob. (BKr1)
 !ʼāi-khara na !xʼabeb dī
 they-3md Prog plan make
 [dao!ūkxʼaosab di jasa ta kxʼaise ꞑaeꞑkxʼoasi-kasi]-b
 [traveller Poss jacket Fut first take.off-Impel]-3ms
 !nā-bi !aisa kxʼaro-b
 that-3ms strong man-3ms

'The two of them decided,
 the one [who] should first force the traveller to take off his cloak,
 he was the stronger man.'
 (lit. 'first the traveller's jacket will force take off one (m)')

A phrasal nominal may also be used as the complement of verbs of saying, knowing (or not knowing), discussing, planning, or remembering, just as we might say in English, for example, either 'The man knows something' or 'The man knows that the injured wildcat is out there.' We saw an example of such a formulation earlier, where the verb /'u 'not know' was used in combination with a clausal complement to express 'the thing that is not known'. The example is repeated below:

(d) /'U-r hã hamba xu i-b na hã !xaib. (Mhf72)
 /'u-r hã [ham-ba xu i-b na hã] !xaib
 not.know-I (m) Perf [where-Loc from he Prog come] that
 'I don't know where he comes from.'

Sentences of this kind in Kora make use of a complementiser, which is best translated simply as 'that', although it originates from a noun !xaib meaning 'place'. That the word retained some residual semantic content is suggested by certain formulations in the narratives where the locative morpheme *-ba* is suffixed to an interrogative morpheme (as it is to *ham* here), and where that locative compound then appears to cross-reference !xaib. (Despite Meinhof's occasional spelling of it as !xaeb, it is more usually seen as !kx'aib or !xaib. The equivalent complementiser in Namibian Khoekhoe is feminine in gender. There are a few instances in the texts contributed by Piet Links where the complementiser !xai is used with the suffix *-i* of the common gender.) The following sentence provides a further example:

(e) I ke †'Oabi †'an Sores bā-bi hã !xaib. (BKr1)
 i ke †'oabi †'an [sores bā-bi hã] !xaib
 Conn Rem.Past wind know [sun defeat-him Perf] that
 'Then Wind knew that Sun had defeated him.'

4.5.6.3 Phrasal adverbs

There are various ways of formulating a complex adverbial expression in Kora. In the case of locative phrasal adverbs, these make use of the locative particle *ba* 'where'. The locative *-pa* of Namibian Khoekhoe varieties is written conjunctively (as is the purposive *-ga*), but we have chosen here to write the locative *ba* separately so as to distinguish it from instances of the dependent masculine singular pronoun, which in Kora sometimes occurs as *-ba*.

(a) I hamba ib ta soreb †'ã ba i ke na //om. (BK18)
 i ham-ba [i-b ta soreb †'ã ba]
 Conn where-Loc [it Fut sun enter Loc]

i ke na //’om
 Conn Rem.Past Prog sleep
 ‘And [they] slept **there where the sun will go down.**’

A further and perhaps marginal type of phrasal adverb in Kora seems to make use of an adverbialising particle *xa* (occasionally spelled *ka*). It adds an implication somewhat similar to the English adverbial suffix ‘-ly’, and in some cases is more appropriately translated by a phrase similar to such English forms as ‘laughingly’. It may have been the source of the idiomatic adverbial expression *//oakaka* ‘early in the morning’, which Ouma Jacoba gave to us as *//oaxaka*. It is probably also seen in the name *!Urikamākhoena*, which meant Hoogstanders or High-standing people. One of the reasons these phrases are difficult to pin down with certainty is that in some cases, the *xa* that follows the verb is open to interpretation as merely a type of venitive verbal extension that may have arisen from the same root as *hā* ‘come’. The examples below reflect this ambiguity:

(b) *I ke //na tsē abas !na !noa!xoehāxa ke,*
hāb xa //nā|xahe. (BK5)

i ke //nā tsē abas !na [[!noa-!xoe-hā]-xā] ke
 Conn Rem.Past that day snow in [[rush-race-come]-Adv] ?
hāb xa //nā|xa-he
 horse from fall-with-Pass
 ‘And [as he] came hurryingly racing through the snow that day,
 [he] was thrown from his horse.’

(c) *A-da !nāb !na na ≠’oaxa*
!haos !haos a. (Bhf14)

a-da !nāb !na na ≠’oa-xa
 let-us light in Prog emerge-Venitive [?]/Adv
!haos !haos a
 nation nation Cop
 ‘Let us emerging into the light be a nation among nations.’

(d) *//Na //kx’aeb !na dao!ũkx’aosab !ũ!oaxa,*
//xōasa jas anasab. (BKr1)

//na //kx’aeb !na dao!ũkx’aosa-b !ũ!oa-xa
 that time in traveller-3ms go.towards-Venitive [?]
//xōasa jas anasa-b
 warm jacket wearing-3ms
 ‘At that moment, a traveller wearing a warm jacket came travelling towards
 [them].’

In other instances, *ka* in its role as an adverbialiser may have almost the implication of an existential predicator. An example can be seen in the Kora version of the Lord’s Prayer as recorded by Campbell in 1813, which has been shown before but is given here again.¹¹⁶

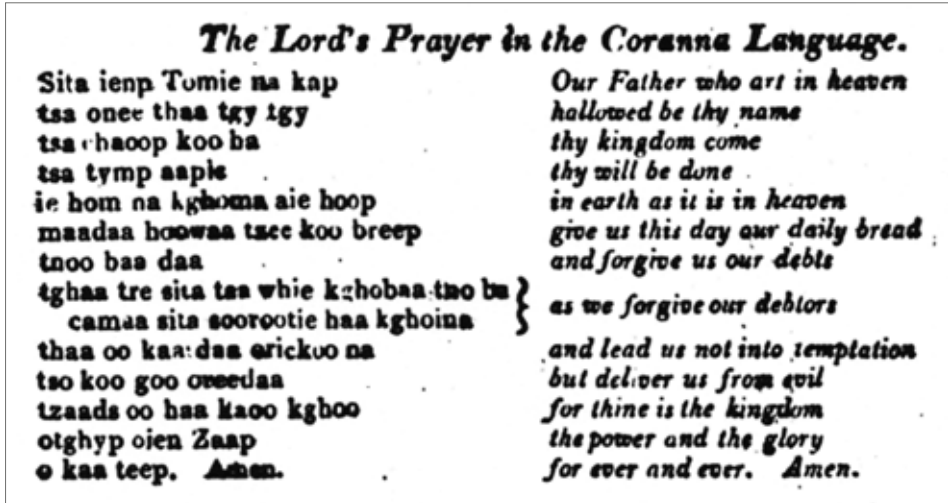


FIGURE 4.3 Version of the Lord's Prayer in Kora, written down by the missionary John Campbell in 1813. (The prayer is from an appendix to his *Travels in South Africa* (London: Black, Parry and Co. and T. Hamilton, 1815), 388–389.)

The first line of this prayer may be re-written as follows:

- (e) *Sida ĩb |hommi !na kab*
 sida ĩ-b [[|hommi !na] ka]-b
 our father-3ms [[heaven in] Adv]-3ms
 'Our heavenly-dwelling Father'

Here *ka* seems to function partly as an existential predicator and partly as an adverbialiser as it creates a participial phrase with the literal meaning 'heaven-in-being'. The singular masculine suffix *-b* turns the entire phrase into a nominal expression, which is used in apposition to *ĩb* 'Father'.

It is likely that there are still many more syntactic strategies that were used to embed phrases and clauses in rather subtle and complex ways, and we hope that a new generation of linguists will be inspired to undertake further investigations of Kora syntax – particularly since a closer understanding of the syntax should enable us in future to arrive at more nuanced translations of the heritage texts. (In some cases, the translations that have been handed down to us seem to assume and project only a simple linear sequencing of clauses.)

4.6 Miscellaneous

This final section touches on a few last things it has not been possible to include in any of the sections above, such as ideophones and idiomatic expressions.

Although there are none specifically recorded, it is likely that Kora would have had a set of ideophones, given that they occur not only in other Khoekhoe languages,

but also widely throughout almost all African languages. The term ideophone was coined in the early 1930s by Clement Doke¹¹⁷ to describe a class of words used as lexically specific intensifiers, rather like such English set expressions as ‘rose red’ or ‘sky blue’. They are used by skillful story-tellers as vehicles for expressive intonation, so that they may feature multiple reduplications, unusual stress patterns, and unusual phonation, but they are not in themselves onomatopoeic, and are typically derived by regular processes (at least in BANTU languages) from other words. The following may have been unrecognised examples in Kora:

<i>gõgõ</i> (~ <i>gũgũ</i>)	describes roaring of water	(Ebt1928)
<i>dubudubu</i>	describes gurgling of water	(Mhf)
<i>!a!a</i>	describes banging	(AB6)

Ideophones are often introduced by a special quotative (which in Namibian Khoekhoe is *timî* ‘thus say’) but they may also be used more directly as appositions to the words they enhance.

Several expressions that recur in the texts are perhaps idiomatic formulations. They include expressions such as the following that describe emotional states, and which all incorporate *!aob* ‘heart’ (with a variant spelled *!gaob*, which is possibly an error):¹¹⁸

<i>!gãi(x)a!gao</i>	‘be happy, with cheerful heart’	(Ebt1928)
<i>!xõ!aokx’ai</i>	‘be angry’	(Mhf)
<i>thũ!aokx’ai</i>	‘be angry, sore, resentful, with hurting heart’	(Mhf)

Another recurring expression, which makes use of *!xã* ‘the same’, has the literal meaning ‘be the same person’, and probably meant something along the lines of ‘be restored to one’s old self’, as in the examples below:

- (a) (i) *i na kx’oa i-ta !xã khoeb !aob*
‘if you want to be your same old self’ (Bhf10)
- (ii) *i-r na a !xã khoēs !xã*
‘I am my usual self again’ (BK9)

In some cases, a few isolated words contain morphemes that must at one time have been productive, but which now seem to have become fossilised. Mention has already been made of the diminutive *-ro* (~ *ru*, *ri*) and the obscure *-be*, which both appear in the names of various plants and animals. There are also instances of the postural verb *mã* ‘stand’, which shows up in some of the old Korana names for clans and months, where it may have functioned at one time as either a marker of aspect or a locative existential predicator. Examples suggestive of this are shown below:

<i>!Are(ka)mã!ais</i>	‘Links or Left-standing clan’	
<i>Kx’aise!mã!hare!xãm</i>	‘November’ (? < <i>kx’aise</i> ‘first’)	(Wrs)
<i>!Ause!mã!hare!xãm</i>	‘December’	(Wrs)
<i>!Ause!mã!xãb</i>	‘December’ (? < <i>!ause</i> ‘last’)	(Mhf)

!Urisēmāb	‘highlander’ (<i>bostaander</i> , sometimes taken as ‘proud person’)
!nakamāgaokx’aoob	‘chief’s advisor or deputy’ (standing below the chief)
!’aukamāsi	‘put something outside’ (make stand outside)
!onamākx’am ab	‘separate entrance’ (alone-standing door)

Our consultant Ouma Jacoba provided us quite by chance with an unusual instance of an emphatic negative particle *tē*, which she used at the end of a sentence, as follows:

(b) *!nika ti ka hā, tē* ‘I will never come, ever’ (*ek sal nooit kom nie*) (JM)

While the particle used by Ouma Jacoba has a decidedly nasalised vowel, the word may nevertheless be an affine of the Khwe emphatic particle *tè*, which seems to have a similar function.¹¹⁹

Various set or semi-formulaic expressions are used in Kora to indicate the introduction of directly quoted speech. These quotative expressions are almost all based on combinations of *ti* ‘thus’ and *mī* ‘say’, and sometimes additionally include the demonstrative *hē* ‘this’, as in the following example:

(c) *||Xās ke ke hē ti mī*
 “*Khoen ke nī ti-r na ||’ō khama, ||’ō.*”
I ke !’ōas ti mī, “||’ō tsē nī ||’ō!ū.” (PL1)

‘Moon said this:

“People must, just as I die only seemingly, die.”

But Hare said: “[They] must die and die forever [lit. die-go]”

The words for ‘yes’ and ‘no’ as used in direct speech are shown below:

ā ‘yes’
hā’ā ‘no’

Lastly, the following everyday expressions for greetings and exchanges were obtained by Maingard¹²⁰ from some elderly members of the Right-Hand clan (Kx’am||ōakua), who were living in Bloemfontein when he met them, but who came originally from the settlement based on the farms around Wuras’s old mission station at Bethany.

- (d) (i) *Hamti-ts sāu i a?* ‘How are you (ms)?’ (Note Nama *mâtits tsâ?*)
 (ii) *Hamti-ts khāi hā?* ‘How are you (ms)?’ (lit. ‘How do you wake [rise, stand up]?’)
 (iii) *Hamti-ts fara?* ‘How do you (ms) fare?’ (with Afrikaans loanword *vaar*)
 (iv) *Īsa !ū.* ‘Go well, goodbye.’
 (v) *||Xaba mūgu.* ‘[Till we] see each other again.’

Endnotes

- 1 This chapter has benefited from stimulating discussions with colleagues at Stellenbosch University. Special thanks are due to members of the informal inter-departmental reading group in Linguistics, African Languages and Ancient Languages: Johan Oosthuizen, Kate Huddleston, Erin Pretorius, Alex Andrason, and Christo van der Merwe. Thanks also to Camilla Christie for countless conversations on aspects of syntax in a range of languages, as well as the basic metalanguage of linguistic description in general.
- 2 For discussion of the concept see Martin Haspelmath, “Framework-free grammatical theory” in *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Analysis*, ed. Heine and Narrog (Oxford: OUP, 2015), 287–310.
- 3 John Whittle Appleyard, *The Kafir Language* (King William’s Town: Wesleyan Mission Printing Establishment, 1850), 17–26.
- 4 Carl Meinhof, *Der Koranadialekt des Hottentottischen* (Berlin: Reimer, 1930), 32–63; hereafter Mhf.
- 5 Louis F. Maingard, *Koranna Folktales: Grammar and Texts* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 1962), 11–39.
- 6 Johann Christian Wallmann, *Die Formenlehre der Namaquasprache* (Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz, 1857).
- 7 Henry Tindall, *A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Namaqua-Hottentot Language* (Cape Town: A. S. Robertson, 1858).
- 8 Theophilus Hahn, *Die Sprache der Nama* (Leipzig: Barth, 1870).
- 9 Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, with contributions by Hermann Hegner, Diedrich Westermann and Carl Wandres (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1909).
- 10 Heinrich Vedder, “Grammatik der Nama-Sprache” (Gaub: manuscript, 1909).
- 11 Wilfrid H. G. Haacke, “A Nama Grammar: The Noun Phrase” (Cape Town: University of Cape Town MA thesis, 1976), 2.
- 12 Johannes Olpp, “Grammatik der Nama-Sprache” (Wuppertal: typewritten manuscript, 1917).
- 13 Friederich Rust, *Praktische Namagrammatik auf Grund der Namagrammatiken von H. Vedder und J. Olpp* (Cape Town: Communications from the School of African Studies 31, University of Cape Town, 1962).
- 14 Otto Dempwolff, “Einführung in die Sprache der Nama-Hottentotten” *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* 25 (1934/35), 30–134; 188–229.
- 15 Roy S. Hagman, *Nama Hottentot Grammar* (Indiana University: Research Centre for Language and Semiotic Studies, 1977). (The dialect described by Hagman was apparently Dama rather than Nama.)
- 16 For example, Haacke, “Syntactic focus marking in Khoekhoe (“Nama/Damara”)” *ZAS Papers in Linguistics* 46 (2006), 105–127; and chapters on the morphology and syntax of Khoekhoe in *The Khoesan Languages*, ed. Rainer Vossen (London: Routledge, 2013), 141–157; 325–347.
- 17 Gerhard Böhm, *Khoe-kowap: Einführung in die Sprache der Hottentotten, Nama-Dialekt* (Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 25 Vienna: Institute for African Studies, University of Vienna, AFRO-Pub, 1985). [Not seen.]
- 18 Christa Kilian-Hatz, *A Grammar of Modern Khwe* (Central Khoisan) (Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 2008); and chapters on the syntax of Khwe in *The Khoesan Languages*, ed. Vossen (London: Routledge, 2013), 356–378.

- 19 It may not be strictly correct to describe *a* as a particle, since this term is usually reserved for syntactic elements that are not subject to any kind of inflection or other morpho-phonemic change, whereas *a* (at least in its guise as a linking predicator (copula, or aspect marker) seems to have *i* as a past tense counterpart.
- 20 Examples used throughout this chapter have been adapted so as to reflect the standardised spellings chosen for the main entries in the Dictionary.
- 21 The codes in parentheses indicate the source narratives or sentence sets as identified in Chapter 2. The letters ‘JM’ indicate that Ouma Jacoba Maclear is the source of an example.
- 22 The more usual word for ‘reed’ in Kora is $\neq \bar{a}b$.
- 23 Rust, *Praktische Namagrammatik*, 56.
- 24 Although some theoreticians now doubt the reality of syntactic heads, the term is retained here since it remains a useful concept for expository purposes.
- 25 In some models, the noun phrase is now more commonly referred to as a determiner phrase. It has been decided not to follow this usage here, partly because it is still largely framework-specific, and partly because the older term is more transparent and hence likely to be more useful to the general reader.
- 26 Grammatical genders are simply categories into which nouns are divided, where these categories, in worldwide terms, do not necessarily have anything to do with natural gender, and where the different genders are not always overtly marked. The semantic basis for such categorisations is often difficult to pin down, but in some languages of the world, criteria may include properties such as animacy, or edibility. It is sometimes only possible to recognise the existence of different genders in a language through their expression as systematically related changes that are differently but consistently reflected in parts of speech other than the relevant nouns, where these associated forms are typically aspects of grammatical cross-reference (agreement). See Greville G. Corbett, *Gender* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). In simpler situations, particularly in languages where the genders are overtly indicated, the correlations may show up more directly in a set of regularly distinct plural forms – as in the case of the Khoekhoe languages.
- 27 In many Afroasiatic languages, the common gender is inherently plural.
- 28 Since the gender suffixes convey information about person, gender, and number, they are sometimes referred to as ‘pgn markers’, where the acronym stands for person, gender and number.
- 29 Meinhof suggested that the variant *-de* is the outcome of a phonetic assimilation involving *i* plus the postnominal *-a*, but this seems doubtful, given that this is not the way vowel coalescence generally works.
- 30 The word for ‘meat’ in Namibian varieties of Khoekhoe is sometimes interpreted as a noun with the common gender suffix ($\int\text{gan-i}$), and sometimes as reflecting an assimilated form of the masculine singular suffix ($\int\text{ganni}$).
- 31 Carl F. Wuras, *Vokabular der Korana-Sprache* [1858], ed. Walther Bourquin (*Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen*: Suppl. 1) (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, Hamburg: C. Boysen, 1920), 15.
- 32 Mhf, 36.
- 33 This may be the source of the Nama word $\int\text{gôab/s}$ for ‘child’.
- 34 The Nama word for ‘child’ is $\int\text{gôab/s}$, where the nasalised diphthong suggests the former presence of a medial nasal segment.
- 35 Mhf, 35.

- 36 Maingard, *Koranna Folktales*, 12.
- 37 In worldwide terms, the use of a dual is a common feature of languages, and is also found, for example, in languages of both the Afroasiatic and Indo-European groups.
- 38 We tried to obtain examples of the dual from Ouma Jacoba, but found that she preferred to use a periphrastic expression, simply combining the number term for ‘two’ with the ordinary plural.
- 39 This suffix brings to mind the Sotho-Tswana *-ngata* ‘much, many’.
- 40 Curriculum Committee for Khoekhoegowab, *Orthography 3* (Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan, 2003), 42–70. This work is hereafter referred to as *Orthography*.
- 41 For discussion of avoidance in particular contexts, see Kuno Budack, “The †Aonin or Topnaar of the Lower !Khuseb valley and the sea” *Khoisan Linguistic Studies*, no. 3 (1977), 1–42.
- 42 The †Khomani San Hugh Brody archive, UCT Libraries Digital Collections (<http://www.digitalcollections.lib.uct.ac.za>).
- 43 Hendrik Wikar referred to a curing process that involved being ‘*getovert met hoorns en houtjes*’ (‘enchanted by means of horns [containing medicines] and little bits of wood’), *The Journal of Hendrik Jacob Wikar (1779)* ed. E. E. Mossop, transl. A. W. van der Horst (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1935), 92, 152.
- 44 Hagman, *Nama Grammar*, 28–29.
- 45 Kora either had a greater ability to derive nouns directly from verbs without incorporating a neutral noun, or else these nouns have been lost. For example, the word for ‘chair’ in Kora is derived from a verb plus postposition, and is nominalised simply by the addition of a gender suffix, giving †*nükxais* (lit. ‘sit-upon-(thing)'), whereas the Nama equivalent is †*nü-ai!naos*, where *!naos* is a log or block of wood.
- 46 Hagman, *Nama Grammar*, 27.
- 47 The term ‘participial’ is borrowed from the South African tradition of African language study, and refers to a phrase most easily translated into English with the aid of a present participle, as in ‘the singing child’.
- 48 In the Links narratives, the pronominal base most often used for the third person is //’i, which is probably another case of Griqua influence.
- 49 Such distinctions were also present, for example, in the pronominal paradigm of Ancient Egyptian.
- 50 Once again, this is by no means an uncommon feature in worldwide terms.
- 51 Languages belonging to the Kalahari branch of the KHOE family typically do not have this feature.
- 52 Mhf, 43.
- 53 Mhf, 51.
- 54 Mhf, 51
- 55 Mhf, 46.
- 56 Mhf, 41
- 57 Mhf, 37.
- 58 Deixis means ‘pointing’, and the notion of a variable deictic force captures the idea that demonstrative expressions may vary in the extent to which they have a literal, spatially-based function.
- 59 *Orthography*, 56.
- 60 Mhf, 41.

- 61 Mhf, 41.
- 62 The text has *!hubukx'am*, where *!hubu* is obscure.
- 63 Since the original term for 'ten' may have been *gisi*, it is worth noting the Ndebele word *isigidi*, which means 'a great number' and is also used to express 'a thousand'.
- 64 This slightly bizarre phrase occurs in the context of a folktale.
- 65 *Orthography*, 64.
- 66 A similar strategy is used in English, where prepositions are used in combination with periphrastic locative expressions, as in 'at the foot of the hill' or 'in the heart of the city'.
- 67 Mhf, 55–56.
- 68 Rust, *Praktische Namagrammatik*, 31.
- 69 Mhf, 38.
- 70 In a recent study of the Nilo-Saharan language Kipsigis, John Bii, Mary Lonyangapuo, and Andrew Chelimo suggest that the effective function of a verb extension such as the benefactive is not merely to increase the number of arguments linked to the verb, but also 'brings a peripheral participant onto center stage by making it a direct object' ("Verbal extensions in Kipsigis" *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 4, no. 9, 1 (2014), 304).
- 71 This is sometimes referred to as the 'valency' of a verb.
- 72 The vowel in *-sen* is unstressed and may be hardly heard even as [ə]. It is occasionally seen in the older texts as '*-sn*'.
- 73 Hagman, *Nama Grammar*, 73.
- 74 Mhf, 48.
- 75 Leonhard Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari* (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1907), 394.
- 76 Although this word *!ūdi* for 'springboks' seems unusual (compare *!ūdi*), a similar form was also obtained by Engelbrecht from one of his first consultants.
- 77 Two other verb extensions reconstructed by Vossen for the Kalahari branch of KHOE are **-!ʰo*, with a 'directive-locative' implication, and **-xu*, which he terms a 'terminative-itive'. Provided that **-!ʰo* can be matched with *!oa* – which is perhaps questionable – then it is intriguing that the equivalent items in Kora and Nama (*!oa* and *xu*) seem to occur only as *postpositions*. Another extension, which Vossen was able to reconstruct only for Western Kalahari Khoe is **-kxʰao*, which he describes as an 'inclinator'. Kora has an auxiliary verb *kx'ao*, which expresses capacity or volition.
- 78 Mhf, 38.
- 79 *Orthography*, 52.
- 80 From a comparative point of view, it is interesting to note that in related languages of the Kalahari branch of KHOE, there is frequently linking morphology between the two verbs in such formulations. This is perhaps not as common in Naro, but where it occurs, the linker takes the form *-a-*. An example from Naro (Hessel Visser, *Naro Dictionary* (Gantsi, Botswana: Naro Language Project, 2001), 3) is *bóò-a-!āa* 'recognise, understand', from *bóò* 'see' and *!āa* 'hear' (compare Kora *mū* and *!ā*).
- 81 For discussion see Wilfrid Haacke, "Verb serialisation in northern dialects of Khoekhoegowab: convergence or divergence?" in *Beyond 'Khoisan': Historical Relations in the Kalahari Basin*, ed. Tom Güldemann and Anne-Maria Fehn (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2014), 125–152; and Christian Rapold, "Areal and inherited aspects of compound verbs in Khoekhoe" in *Beyond Khoisan*, 153–177.

- 82 Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd, *Specimens of Bushman Folklore* (London: George Allen & Co, 1911), 400.
- 83 Maingard, *Korana Folktales*, 33.
- 84 The terms used for the categories are based on those suggested by F. R. Palmer, *Mood and Modality* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001). This section has also been informed by the work of Bernard Comrie, *Aspect* (Cambridge: CUP, 1976).
- 85 While *thoathoa* seems to have an auxiliary function, there is room for debate concerning its syntactic status as a periphrastic marker of aspect and its possible analysis as part of a separate clause. It is intriguing that both the completive *toa* (used in Nama) and the inceptive *thoathoa* (used in Kora) are almost certainly loanwords from Sotho-Tswana sources, where recognisable counterparts occur among the ‘deficient verbs’ of the highly complex multi-verb tenses. While it is generally acknowledged that morphology of almost any category may be susceptible to borrowing, it is nevertheless relatively unusual to find grammatical elements that are loanwords. It is even more striking that equivalent words are used with similar grammatical implications in languages belonging to the JU and TUU families.
- 86 Maingard notes that some of these combinations in Kora are semantically reduced, to the point that *ikie* and *ina* have little meaning other than ‘and then’, *Korana Folktales*, 25.
- 87 Hagman, *Nama Grammar*, 92.
- 88 This sentence was translated by Meinhof as ‘*wollt ihr Männer jagen gehen?*’
- 89 Statives are of course widely found in other languages of the world, including languages of the BANTU family.
- 90 Rust, *Praktische Namagrammatik*, 54; Hagman, *Nama Grammar*, 83.
- 91 Douglas Martyn Beach, *The Phonetics of the Hottentot Language* (Cambridge: Heffer, 1938), 192.
- 92 Lucy C. Lloyd, “Manuscript notebooks on !Kora [1879]” MP2, 109–110.
- 93 The sense is, ‘when the quagga-vygies started flowering’. Note that ‘*//kaib*’ is Lloyd’s spelling of *//kx’aeb* ‘time’.
- 94 Hagman, *Nama Grammar*, 84.
- 95 Hagman, *Nama Grammar*, 67–68.
- 96 If *!oa* is not in itself a postposition but rather a type of adverbial expression with the implication ‘gone’ or ‘having gone’, then its use in combination with various additional locative morphemes might be explained. See for example, *i tje //na tsē !ū !’aub xa !oa !hami!ū*, ‘and on that day he went going to the veld to hunt’, from BK15.
- 97 Wilfrid H. G. Haacke and Eliphaz Eiseb, *A Khoekhoegowab Dictionary, with an English-Khoekhoegowab Index* (Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan, 2002), 41.
- 98 Hagman, *Nama Grammar*.
- 99 That *ke* could be translated on a literal level as a verb meaning ‘be’ was suggested by Wallmann (*Formenlehre*, 33) in his early grammar of Nama, and Meinhof seems to have been initially of a similar mind, noting (*Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 53) that the present tense in Nama could be ‘strengthened’ by means of the ‘auxiliary verb’ *gve*. Subsequently, though, the idea that *ke* was not a linker after all, but rather played some part in indicating or *emphasising the subject* of the Nama sentence was proposed by Dempwolff (*Einführung*) and the theory that *ke* was a ‘subject determinative’ was more or less accepted by Meinhof (Mhf, 50) by the time he came to write his short grammatical account of Kora. Rust, writing much later about Nama, likewise followed Dempwolff, and

- retained the notion of the ‘*ge-subjektivum*’, commenting (*Praktische Namagrammatik*, 57) that the nouns marked by *ke* were the ones that gave a sentence its ‘hook’.
- 100 Hagman was perhaps able to sustain his analysis that *ke* is a marker of the declarative sentence type because he did not acknowledge the existence of modals in Nama (Dama), but treated both the potential and the obligatory as instances of tense (*Nama Grammar*, 83).
- 101 The fact that it seems to function as a type of ‘predicating linker’ (copula) in certain contexts may be an indicator of its origins.
- 102 The word used by Rust (*Praktische Namagrammatik*, 57) is *Stütze*.
- 103 Some linguists define a topic purely in syntactic terms (even though the concept is rooted in pragmatics), and may speak about a ‘left dislocated’ constituent. This kind of terminology is not only based on written text, but on the writing conventions of only some societies! The notion that a topic is expressed by a constituent presented ahead of a clause is equally culture-specific.
- 104 It can be argued that case in fact marks semantic (or ‘thematic’) roles, rather than syntactic relations.
- 105 Haacke (“Syntactic focus marking in Khoekhoe”) provides a broadly similar analysis of this focusing strategy, which he terms ‘inversion’, but he retains the identification of *ke* as a marker of ‘indicative sentence type’, and of *a* as a marker of ‘accusative case’.
- 106 Rust, *Praktische Namagrammatik*, 57.
- 107 Some linguists analyse interrogatives (in general) as constituting a modality in their own right.
- 108 Mhf, 46.
- 109 Mhf, 46.
- 110 Jan A. Engelbrecht, *The Korana* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1936), 211.
- 111 Orthography, 76.
- 112 In technical terms, this is known as bisyndetic coordination.
- 113 Maingard, *Korana Folktales*, 25.
- 114 Mhf, 61.
- 115 Orthography, 50.
- 116 John Campbell, *Travels in South Africa* (London: Black, Parry and Co. and T. Hamilton, 1815), 388–389.
- 117 Clement M. Doke, *Outline grammar of Bantu* (Grahamstown: Rhodes University, Department of African Languages, 1982), v.
- 118 A much more extensive range of similar expressions occurs in Sotho-Tswana languages, where they are built on the base word *pelo* ‘heart’, and in Venda and Shona, which use the base *moyo* ‘heart’.
- 119 Christa Kilian-Hatz, *Khwe Dictionary* (Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 2003), 117.
- 120 Louis F. Maingard, “The Korana dialects” *African Studies* 23, no. 2 (1964), 60.

* Tka tpo Klein spitzkopf
S May Tka !kareš "Klein kopje"
Tho striped

Tho !na tkap striped shirt

Tgauru checked, variegated,
~~var~~, mottled

!kammi waten

Taip fire

kaip tree

Tuip stone

!kammi

!kareš hill

!kup & the earth