

by

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## 1. PHONETIC characteristics common to all Bushman languages are:

1. the preponderance of monosyllables.
2. the use of tones.
3. the indistinctness and variation of vowels.
4. the very limited use of some ordinary consonants.
5. the use of clicks.

MONOSYLLABLES ending in vowels or nasals form the bulk of the vocabulary, particularly in the Northern group. Slight second syllables, also ending in vowels or nasals, occur, and become more frequent in the Southern, very frequent in the Central group. For example:

|                | am                | bee                | father            | sister             | speak               |
|----------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| <u>iku</u>     | <u>hā</u> (V.)    | <u>dzho</u> (L.)   | <u>bā</u> (V.)    | <u>tsisi</u> (L.)  | <u>cywi</u> (L.)    |
| <u>ixam</u>    | <u>iku</u> (B.)   | <u>ikhōu</u> (L.)  | <u>ōā</u> (B.)    | <u>ukaxai</u> (B.) | <u>hkaiken</u> (B.) |
| <u>Hlethwa</u> | <u>tsau</u> (Do.) | <u>denee</u> (Do.) | <u>bara</u> (Do.) | <u>gweke</u> (Do.) | <u>ikwi</u> (Do.)   |

Reduplication is much used in ixam, as ikwain!kwain 'to strengthen' (B.), and double words are not unknown, as inu-yau 'old man' (L.), or in hkaiken he-lo 'arrow' (D.B5). The endings may be contractions of these. Third syllables occur, but not often except in Hadza, which is only half Bushman. ixam, ikauiken 'body' (L.), ikwain, upukwa 'foot'. (D.B.)

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## 2. TONES often distinguish otherwise identical words, but are sometimes

used optionally. All Bushman languages have high, medium, and low tones, the Northern group has more, and uses tones more frequently, with greater rise and fall of voice than the other groups. <sup>including</sup>

Five tones <sup>are found</sup> in iku and rising and falling tones, also in phomani and auuni. The symbols used are shown with a:

High tone -a, (B. & L.) ā, (V.) á, (Mh.) ā.

Middle " unmarked.

Low " -a, (B. & L.) unmarked or a, (V.) ā, (Mh.) ā.

Rising " á, (V.) ā.

Falling " ā, (V.) ā.

Dornon does not mark the tones in Hlethwa, but states that they occur.



Examples: !kū, !gō 'elder brother', !gō 'to look with hand over eyes' (K), !hā 'to know', !hā 'spring' (V). !khomani, !ku-ba 'skin petticoat', !ku-ba 'dun-coloured' (Dk). !auni, !kwa 'to run', !kwa 'to speak'. !xam a, and a 'to give' (B).

STRESS is usually on the first syllable, except in Hiechwa, where it is on the last, and in Hadza, where it varies. It is marked á in this paper, as by Bleek, Lloyd and Meinhof. Vedder marks it a.

3. VOWELS are pronounced indistinctly and varied greatly, the same word being given with different vowels for no apparent reason. We find examples of the following: i, i:, e, e:, ɛ, ɛ:, ə, ʌ, a, a:, aʰ, o, o:, o:, oi, u, u:, uʰ, also sounds between a and o, and o and u. Of diphthongs we find ei, ai, ao, au, oi=wi, oe=we, oa & oa=wa, ia=ja. Some languages, mainly Southern ones, have pressed vowels with "voiced friction in the throat....caused by a contraction and narrowing of the pharynx, which make the epiglottis vibrate roughly." (Dk) This he marks aʰ. Hiechwa has no diphthongs, but many double vowels, pronounced separately, (Do). All vowels and diphthongs may be nasalized, usually quite optionally. This is marked ã.

4. CONSONANTS little used in Bushman are p, b, f, v, m, l. As however a few examples of these do occur, they will be treated among the other sounds.

Plosives.

P.B. The Hiechwa and Hadza differ from the other tribes in using these freely at the beginning of words as well as in endings, as Hiechwa, bara, 'father', bee 'to hiss' pela 'rock rabbit', pii 'milk' (Do). Hadza, upukwapi 'feet', bongongo 'to thunder'. Naron B is otherwise rare as an initial sound, but occurs in unstressed second syllables, where it sometimes changes with m or v. Naron, kweba 'a man'. !kū, dāba 'child', dāmmi 'children' (L). !khomani, !ʔoba, !ʔova 'fish' (Dk). The Northern group has no p, The Southern only uses it in foreign words, in imitating natural phenomena and after the lip click. Masarwa, bupi 'flour'. !xam, ppuppuppuppu 'the sound of a stick being thrown', !ʔpwa 'child' (L).

T.D. T is found as initial sound and in second syllables. as in !khomani, tu 'mouth', toi 'ostrich', !koite 'grandmother' (Mg). It often interchanges with k and g, as !auni, tian or kian 'to feel'.



ixam, -ta, -ka, -ga 'possessive ending'. T occurs optionally in ixam, T forms the combinations ts, tsʔ, tʃ, tj, th, tx, in Hadza tlʔ. ikū, tso 'string', tsʔl 'mouth' (V). #khomani, tju 'listen' (Mg). #kaullen, t(u): 'hut', tka & 'shoot'. ~~(Dk & Mg)~~ Hiechwa, tha 'drink' (Do), Hadza, tlʔome 'man'.

D occurs often as initial sound, rarely in endings. ikū, da 'fire' (L). ixam, di 'do' (B). Naron, debi 'return'. D forms the combinations dz and dʒ found chiefly in Northern and Central Languages. Naron, kwe-dʒi 'men'. #kaullen, dzou 'woman'. !o!ikū, dʒu 'man'. Dh is found in Hiechwa, dham 'tortoise' (Do).

K.G. K is the most used consonant in all Bushman languages, as initial sound, in second syllables, and in conjunction with all the clicks save the lipclick. ixam, ka 'wish' (B). ikū, kom-a 'small' (V). #khomani, ikaika 'to-morrow' (Mg.) ikū, ikl, 'smoke' (V). launi, ki: 'paaui', iko: 'door'. Kh occurs in ixam and Hiechwa as initial sound as well as with clicks, in the other languages only with clicks. Hiechwa, kham 'lion' (Do). launi, ikhi 'witgatboom'. The ejective kʔ is a distinctive feature of ixam with and without clicks. It occurs less frequently in other tongues. It is marked in many different ways. (B & L) ɣ, or ɤk. (Mh) kr. (V) ɬ. ixam, ɣauki 'not' (B), ɣeyenn 'little birds', ~~(Dk)~~ ɤkā 'riverbed' (L). #kxau kr'a 'stomache' (Mh) ikū, ɬai 'roar' (V). Kr and krʔ are found occasionally. launi, kxau 'sit'. #khomani, krʔain 'laugh' (Mg). Kj (c of Dk & Mg) occurs in the #, #khomani and launi languages. #khomani, ance 'father' (Mg). #, kia 'lie down'. launi, kian 'feel'. K often interchanges with t and g, s. above.

G is used in the same manner as k, but less frequently. ikū, gu ixam, ikwāgen 'leg' (B). 'take' (V). !o!ikū, igāda 'spirit'. ~~(Dk)~~ Gh is found in Hiechwa, gham 'sun' (Do). gi occurs occasionally, written ɟ by (Dk & Mg), gy by (V). #khomani, ɟisi xai 'what is it' (Mg). ikū, igya 'eye' (V).

## 5. Nasals.

M is not much used. It occurs alone used syllabically, occasionally as initial sound, more often as final sound, and in unstressed second syllables sometimes interchanging with b, s. above. It may follow the lip click. ixam, m 'my' before labials. (B). ikū, mi 'I' (V). Naron, ikam 'two'. #kaullen, kama 'when'. ixam, ɣmaɪnya 'kiss' (B).



N is more often used, not as initial sound, but alone, syllabically, or in second syllables interchanging with r and P, or at the end of words, or after clicks. lxam, n, 'I', #enni or #erri 'small' (B). ||ŋ, ne 'if', lnutu 'nose', lna: 'winter', tukən 'men'. It often changes into ŋ. This sound seems a variant of n, often used quite optionally, though it occasionally gives a different meaning to a word. lxam, haŋ and han 'he' (B). #khomani, ||ŋ 'out of house', lnaPisi 'skaapsterker' (Dk). ŋ. The use of this sound for n or ŋ is exceptional and optional. #khomani, ŋa for na 'I' (Dk). Hiechwa words written ny may have the same sound, nyin 'think' (Do).

## § 6. Laterals.

L is not a Bushman sound. The Hiechwa and Hadza tongues, much influenced by Bantu languages, have a few words with it, mostly adopted ones, and Hadza also shows l, tl<sup>?</sup>, and kl<sup>?</sup>, the latter two sounds replacing the lateral click occasionally. In the speech of the Kakia Masarwa and the ||kx<sup>?</sup>au are some endings in l, showing Bantu influence. Hiechwa, lebaka 'time' [Tswana] (Do). Hadza, elati 'worker', laati 'like', kl<sup>?</sup>odzo 'talk', mutl<sup>?</sup>e 'much'. Masarwa, ||kale 'dig'. ||kx<sup>?</sup>au, telin 'short' (Mh).

P is a sound between l and r, described by Doke as "the flapped lateral consonant" in #khomani. Much the same sound is heard in ||ŋ, in launi and probably in lxam, where Bleek and Lloyd write lx. Doke writes the corresponding sound in iku l, and describes it as "the flapped retroflex consonant". These only occur in second syllables, and sometimes interchange with n, s. above. #khomani, keP<sub>o</sub> 'jackal' (Dk). launi, ||oPa 'cold'. iku, boP<sub>o</sub> 'a dumb person' (Dk).

R, a rolled sound, is found in lxam beginning a few words, otherwise only in second syllables, sometimes changing into n, s. above; Ṛ is also found. Vedder calls the r of iku a voiced alveolar, pronounced with one stroke of vibration. Dornon says the r of Hiechwa is strongly trilled. lxam, ra 'interrogative particle' (B). launi, -haru 'far'. iku, kora 'spread' (V). Hiechwa, doro 'bore' (Do).

## § 7. Fricatives:

F is only found in languages exposed to foreign influence, and rarely in these. Hiechwa, fiela 'sweep' [Tswana feela] (Do). Hadza, fua 'drink'.

V occurs as a variation of b in second syllables in a few languages.



s. § 4. Hadza, akwiti-be akwiti-ve 'women'. Bilabial f and v are sometimes used in imitations of wind or fire.

S is very common both as initial sound and in second syllables, also after t, s. above. In ixam s<sup>?</sup> is found, but seems an optional variation of s. iku, si<sup>l</sup> 'laugh', tsasn 'sister' (V). ixam, s'a = sā 'eland' (B).

Z is much less used, usually as a variant of s, <sup>or ts</sup> after d, s. above. iku, za'-ssin-sa'-ssin = 'little sister' tsa'-ssin (L).

ʃ is very common in the Central Group as initial sound or in endings, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~. In Naron ʃ at the end of a word is the sign of the feminine gender. In ixam it is a dialectical variation of s. Tʃ occurs often in the Central and Northern Groups, and ʃx is found. s. above, ixam, sshi-ssi 'will' (B). Naron, ʃs 'fetch', ʃu 'pot', tʃane 'dance'. iku, ʃxo: 'to skin' (Dk).

ʒ rarely used in the South, is common in the Northern and Central groups, especially after d, s. above. Wkauilen, ʒo 'bee'. Naron, dʒi<sup>3</sup> 'them'.

X the velar fricative, is much used as initial sound, in second syllables, after clicks, and in the combinations kx, kʔx, tx, txx, sx, xx ʃx, ʒx, and tʔx. ixam, xu 'face', ikauxu 'hunting ground' (B). launi, ixau 'cut', txu: 'master', kxau 'squat'. iku, ʒxani 'dance' (Dk). Wkauilen, tʃxi 'clap'.

H occurs as initial sound and after clicks. Hiechwa and Hadza have it in second syllables. ixam, ha 'he', ihu 'European', oho 'tree' (B). Wkx'au, ihō 'awaken' thōa 'wild boar' (Mh). Hiechwa, horehe 'scratch' (Do). H is often found after k and t, in Hiechwa also after g and d, s. above.

## § 8. Semi-vowels.

J occurs often in second syllables and in conjunction with k<sup>g</sup> and t. launi ije 'speak', gjeja 'yes'. khomani, tj<sup>h</sup>u 'listen' (Mg).

W is found in second syllables or diphthongs. As initial sound it is rare. ixam, we 'vocative ending', gwai-goai 'male', korruwa 'cheated' (B).

## § 9. Clicks.

Four clicks are found in all Bushman languages, the Northern group adds a variant of one of them, the Southern group adds the lip



click. Doke says: "a click may be defined as an injected consonant produced by a rarefaction between two points of closure, one of these points always being velar.....i.e., the back of the tongue is raised to touch the soft palate."

The difference between the clicks is caused by a different front closure and manner of release.

- I, the dental click, made by pressing the front of the tongue against upper teeth or alveolus and releasing it gently with a sucking sound. (Nguni c).
- ‡, the alveolar click, made by pressing the front of the tongue against <sup>the</sup> alveolus and releasing it smartly.
- ! , the palatal or palato-alveolar click, made by pressing the tip of the tongue against the palate, or the junction of palate and alveolus, and releasing it smartly. (Nguni q).
- ||, the lateral click, made by spreading the tongue tip across the alveolus or palate, and withdrawing it gently, letting the air in from the side with a sucking sound. (Nguni x).
- |||, the retroflex lateral click, made as ||, but with the tongue further turned back. This click is often used instead of || in iku, but generally as an optional variation.
- @, the lip click, made by pressing the lips together, (or the upper teeth against the lower lip, Doke), and releasing them with the sound of a kiss.

The clicks are only used at the beginning of syllables, generally of words. The clicks I, ‡, !, ||, |||, are most often followed by k, sometimes by kh, k?, kx, or g, occasionally by h, x, or a vowel often with the glottal stop. They may also be accompanied by a nasal, mostly written n, sometimes ɲ. @ is followed by p, b, m, occasionally by a vowel or diphthong with glottal closure or h. It is the least used of the clicks.

ixam, iki 'take', ikhē 'ground-squirrel', inā 'head', ihā 'wife', ixā 'shoot', li 'fire', igebbi 'fool' (B). #khomani, #kx?oa 'elephant', #ko:ce 'lover', #chi 'somebody', #g?oen 'big', #?ābe 'throw' (Mg).

iku, hau 'grave' ||gā 'knife', ||gao 'stick', ||hom 'young', ||kai 'poison' ||ko 'pipe', ||nā 'speak' (V). launi, obwa 'tree', eme 'duiker', epwai 'young', Batwa, cho 'tree', e?ari 'child'.

Naron, igwa:ka 'afternoon', laba 'climb', ihai 'throw up', iku 'go', !baba 'rhinoceros', !xoba 'pipe'.



## Different spellings used by authors.

## Vowels:

i, e, a, o, u written by (B) & (L) ĩ, ẽ, ã, õ, ũ

ĩ, e, ã, õ, ũ written by (B), (L), (V), (Mh) ĩ, ẽ, ã, õ, ũ

ẽ, ã written by (B), (L), (Mh) ẽ, ã.

ẽ, ã written by (B) & (L) ẽ, ã.

ẽ, ã written by (B), (L), (Mh) ẽ, ã.

ẽ, ã written by (B), (L), (V), (Mh) ẽ or õ, ã.

Consonants: are

All consonants doubled by (B) & (L) to denote a more emphatic pronunciation, not a difference in sound.

k written by (B & L) γ & ɣ, the latter being a less plosive sound,

by (V) ɣ, by (Mh) kk.  
kj (or ki before another vowel) written by (Dk) & (Mg) c.

sj written by (Dk) & (Mg) ɟ

ŋ written by (B), (L), (V), (Mh) ŋ.

ʃ written by (B) & (L) sh, by (V) ʃ, by (Do) sh.

ʒ written by (B) zh, by (L) zh, or j, by (Do) j.

tʃ written by (B) tsh, by (L) tsh & tch, by (Do) ch.

j written by (B), (L), (Do) y.

ʔ written by (B), (L), (Mh) ʔ.

Click before vowel written by (Mh) l'a, by (Dk) l'a.

Click before k written by (Mh) without k as la.

Labial click before consonant written by (Dk) ok, ol, og.



§ //

The history of Bushman languages is unknown, but some facts point to lines of development. We find the same words with and without clicks, as in launi, lkai, -kai, -ai 'mother', -lka:a, -kha 'water'. Among the lo!kū the older generation say, lgau 'tree', lk<sup>?</sup>wi 'hair', lkū 'person', while the younger people say, gau, k<sup>?</sup>wi, kū. (the majority of words In any real Bushman language have clicks, but in a page of text we find more words without clicks, because words of grammatical significance have none, such as pronouns, demonstratives, verbal particles, conjunctions, and much used verbs, ~~xxx~~ as si 'to come', ā 'to eat', or nouns as ti 'thing', ōa 'father'. The reduplication of nouns in the plural among the ixam, is replaced in other languages and partially in ixam by endings, which, as Maingard shows, are derived from demonstratives and pronouns. The phrase he ti, hiŋ ē 'these things, they are'; therefore, 'that being so, 'then' in ixam often becomes he tiken ē, the ending ken being clearly the omitted hiŋ 'they'. This shows a tendency to amalgamate words and turn some into endings. It looks as if a monosyllabic speech, in which all words had clicks, had grown into speech with roots and endings, and many formative words without clicks. In § we shall see how rows of verbs take the place of adverbs and prepositions, and in some cases drift into them, losing their independent meaning.

Another feature of Bushman language is the variation of sound heard for the same word, often used by the same speaker. This "imprecision of Bushman speech", as Maingard calls it, leads to quick formations of dialect, and explains why a population of very limited number has at least twenty-six dialects, which we may cut down to about a dozen languages belonging to three language groups.



## M O R P H O L O G Y

## § 12 NOUNS, GENDER.

Bushman speech is difficult to describe in grammatical terms. A word may play many different parts, as ā 'to eat' and ā 'food' (ixam).

Still words used as nouns are treated according to certain rules.

In the Southern and Northern groups and in Hiechwa nouns have no genders, sex is shown by words for male and female. In terms of relationship the Southern group often shows a nasal for males, the ending -xai or opening x for females, ||kā 'brother', ||kaxai 'sister', óa 'father', xóa 'mother' (ixam). Naron and Hadza show gender by endings reminiscent of Nama forms: Naron: mas. ba, b, m, fem. sa, sa, se.

Hadza: mas. ba, ja, fem. ko, ku.

§ 13 NUMBER. The plural endings are in these two languages ix, Hadza: mas. bi, vi, pi, fem. be, ve, pe, Naron: mas. tji, dzi, fem. si, si, com. n, ne, ni; Naron has dual endings, mas. tjera, fem. jera, com. khara. Hiechwa takes the plural ending re or ra.

In the Northern group the plural endings are si, siq, sn, q, hq, usually omitted before numerals. The Southern group has various plural endings, even some for the singular. Inullen, Masarwa, and launi use ni, n, the latter also ke, ki, te ti, si, with occasional singular endings ri, ba, sa. khomani shows an occasional singular ending si changing to a plural ke, or a singular ending ke, turning to the plural prefix ka. Sometimes it has no endings in singular or plural. (Mg).

The ||kxau may use si in the singular, their plurals take kn, tn, n.

The ||q form the plural in n, jen, njen. The ixam have some plural endings ken, gen, ten, or de (probably a separate word), but their plurals are chiefly reduplications of the singular, often shortened, sometimes adding an ending. Occasional reduplications are found in

other Southern languages. The various endings in n are probably changed pronouns, s. § 11. Some words remain unchanged in the plural.

ixam has gu as a plural ending for persons, in Naron ||kwa is a plural ending for male persons only.

§ 14 CASE. No special forms distinguish the objective case, but ixam has emphatic forms occasionally used in the nominative. These resemble the plural, adding ken, gen, ten, an or jan to the word. A few emphatic forms are found in other Southern languages.

In the possessive case, the possessor precedes the thing possessed.



in the Northern group and Hiechwa without connection, in the Southern joined by ka, ga, ta, in Naron by di. Hadza, under Bantu influence places the thing possessed first, joined to the possessor by sa or ma 'of'.

Vocative endings, mostly used with proper names, are found in ixam we, in Hn and Masarwa be, in iku we, in Naron je.

#### 15 PRONOUNS.

Southern group. The 1st person sing. is n, ŋ, na, m before labials. ixam has a second form, ka generally found in subordinate clauses, and datives ke, ki. There are ~~two~~ forms for the plural, i or e including the person addressed with the speaker, and si, se, sa, a, excluding him, as in Nama.

The 2nd person sing. is a, ixam dative ha. The plural u is found in all the Southern languages save inullen, which has i, also occurring in Masarwa. #khomani has additional plurals pa, ba, and launi du. As dative ixam has hu, as objective Hn has ju and Masarwa wa, ja.

The 3rd person sing. is ha, ha, Han, han, hi, except in inullen which has e, also found in Masarwa. #khomani has also ka, ku, kwa. The plurals vary, in ixam hi, he, hir, in Hn he, ha, hn, in #khomani ha, hn, ke, ku, ken, ca, cen, in launi hu, du, in Masarwa u, wa, in inullen u. The possessive is treated as with nouns, and emphasis is shown by reduplication of the word or an ending as nouns take.

Northern group. The 1st person sing. is mi, mihi, ma, iku also na. The plural varies: Wkauŋen has a fem. ehe, and mas. e-ika. iku has i incl. and e excl., the ~~latter~~ former rarely used. !o!ku has i, e, ehŋ.

The 2nd person sing. is a, ahi, iku also ma. The plural is i, i-sa, Wkauŋen has a fem. ihi, and mas. i-ika.

The 3rd person sing. is ha, h<sup>a</sup>-i, the plural si, sa, sin, hasn, sn, Wkauŋen mas. si-ika. iku sometimes uses ga and gasn for things, showing a trace of a division into noun classes, as Wkauŋen shows a trace of gender.

Central group. The 1st person sing. of Hiechwa, chi, cha, chira, and of Naron, ti, tira, tire are reminiscent of Nama, Hadza with ono, x-na, -ma, mi approximates more to the other groups. The plurals show gender. Hiechwa has tse, with ka as a little used mas. Naron mas.

!i-!kei, fem. !i-ta, com. !i-si are like Nama, Hadza forms a logical mas. plural one-bi, -obi, -ba, -o, fem. obe, -obe, -ba.



and plur. kau, kare

In the 2nd person Hiechwa has the sing. cha without gender, while Naron has sing. mas. sa(a), fem. sa(a), plur. mas. sadzi, fem. sa(i), com. satu. Hadza strikes a new line with mas. te, teta, fem. teko, and the plurals mas. itibi, -tasa, -ta, fem. itibe, -teya, -ta.

In the 3rd person Hiechwa has sing. ebe, plur. ere, ana, reminiscent of the Inullen 3rd person. Naron and Hadza either put the noun endings to the demonstratives, respectively xa and ite, or use them alone with the verb, therein also resembling Hottentot usage.

§ 16 DEMONSTRATIVES are often the pronoun of the 3rd person used adjectively, or they are formed by a relative with the verb 'to be', as Unein a a 'hut which is' & 'this hut' (ixam). Ini or Ine may be 'one' or 'this' in Ikauilen, merely 'this' in Naron. The verbs Ike 'to be always' and Ina 'to stay' are often used as 'yonder', 'there'.

§ 17 RELATIVE pronouns are found in the Southern group and in Hiechwa. In ixam they are very similar to the verb 'to be', namely a (sing.), plur. e. These are nominatives, the objectives being ha, hi, i. In the other languages they also seem formed either from the 3rd person of the pronoun, or the verb 'to be'. The Hiechwa relatives are also interrogatives.

§ 18 INTERROGATIVE particles are a Bushman feature. They may be used alone with verbs, or joined to words such as 'person', 'thing', 'place' to form interrogative pronouns and adverbs. The most widely distributed are de or du, changing to te or tu, ba, xa, ra or re, and inu, changing to ine and in Hiechwa to na. For example: Iku, Iku-de 'who?' tsa-de 'what?' kore 'where?' ixam, ta-de 'where?' Ikauilen, zu-ba 'who?' khomani, tjhuxai 'who?' Hiechwa, nare 'who?' nate 'what?'

§ 19 ADJECTIVES are generally replaced by verbs, but a few words are found only qualifying nouns and pronouns. In the Southern group and in Ikauilen these follow the words they qualify directly, or with a copula, 'to be' or a relative. In Iku, Hiechwa, Naron and Hadza they may precede or follow the noun, in the latter two languages sometimes taking endings agreeing with the noun. In ixam a few adjectives have plural forms. In Ikxau all take plural endings. Diminutives are attached to the nouns they qualify. They are closely related to the words for 'child', in the Southern group



Opwa, in in the Northern ma, in Naron Igwa.

{ 20 NUMERALS are confined to 'one' and 'two' in real Bushman words.

'Three' is borrowed, chiefly from Nama, but well known, other numerals are also borrowed and little known. Bushmen have nothing to count, so do not use them. Numerals follow the noun they qualify directly or with a copula.

{ 21 VERBS are not altered according to the person governing them save in exceptional cases. One verb can be used alone with the subject, or can be modified by others. Most of these can also be used alone, but some have lost their independent meaning, or been altered, have become auxiliaries or verbal particles. Maingard <sup>(8)</sup> shows that the words so used in \*khomani, ka, can, cen, ken are variants of the verb 'to go', used to show that action has begun, but is not completed, <sup>and</sup> si, sija means 'to come', ~~and is~~ used to show that action has not yet started. It is not certain that all verbal particles can be so identified, but the origin of many is clear. In ixam se, si 'to come' is used to express an incomplete, often a future action, or one consequent upon a preceding action. ik'e kuiten sse sse ha 'people other will come (to) him' (L). Here the stress alone differentiates participle and chief verb. han ka !kauken se la ha 'he wishes children should cut him' (B). sin, a form of to sit shows duration, often in the past. Ham, evidently derived from ha 'to go', shows the beginning of action long past. oa, 'to get up' 'go out' 'go away' sometimes changed to oa, designates completed action. Ka 'to wish' 'intend', and ta, ta 'to feel' 'think' are also used to express habitual action. Other particles are not to be identified with any independent verb, nor can their meaning be given in more than general terms. They do not match our tenses, though some will often be translated by a certain tense. When several follow each other before the chief verb, it is difficult to fix their exact meaning. Each language has different particles. Of Hiechwa Dornon <sup>(3)</sup> says that the verb has two voices, five moods and a large number of tenses (like Bantu verbs). The principal particles given are: kwa present, ka....kwa past, na future.

{ 22 VERBENDINGS are found, generally -a, turning into -ja, -wa, -ka, -ta. In ixam these may express duration, repetition, a participle, the passive or the imperative. Maingard <sup>(8)</sup> surmises that -ja and -wa



(6)  
are used for emphasis in #khomani. Meinhof says -a in #kxau expresses duration, which is given in ixam by -ā or -ī. The !n language has plural endings to some w verbs, as kia 'to sleep', plural kiwa.

The Northern group has no verb endings.

In Naron the passive is shown by the ending -e, in Hiechwa by -ee; -bee, -tha and -thi are negative endings in that language.

§ 23 CHANGE OF VOWEL is found in short verbs in the Southern group without apparent reason. We find si, se, sa 'to come', !le, !la 'to go', !ni, !ne, !na 'to see' and others. The forms in i and e seem the most usual, those in a sometimes occur in the past, or in ixam in subordinate clauses, but not always.

§ 24 REDUPLICATION of verbs occurs, chiefly in ixam. It often expresses repeated or continuous action, or causative action, as kiki 'to make grow' from ki 'to grow'. !kaggen-ka enyan #hau#hau #!kē 'the Mantis's flesh kept springing together' ixam (B).

§ 25 ADVERBS are generally replaced by verbs, as !kōē 'to descend' for 'down', !la 'to go' for 'thither'. ixam has verbs 'to do now', 'to do again', 'to do thus', after which the subject is repeated, while the ending -ki to some apparent adverbs, as yauki 'not', !xamki 'also', shows they are originally verbs, though no longer used alone. Words such as aken 'good' 'well' are used as adjectives or adverbs without alteration.

A regular formation of adverbs only occurs in a few Northern and Central Languages. Naron adds se to the adjective: -kei 'big', -keise 'much'. Hiechwa occasionally does the same, as kaa 'clear', kaase 'clearly'. !kaulien adds si; as !m 'nice', !msi 'nicely'. !kū adds -a, as !hom 'good', !hom-a 'well'.

Time is expressed by nouns or noun phrases, as in !ku, !kam a e 'sun which is' 'to-day'.

§ 26 AFFIRMATIVES AND NEGATIVES. The actual words for 'yes' and 'no' vary greatly in the different tongues, but the intonation is mainly the same. 'Yes' has falling intonation as ixam ī-ī, !n je, !nullen and !kaulien e; Masarwa and !kū ŋ-ŋ. 'No' has sharply rising intonation, as !auni ē-ē, !o!kū a-a, Masarwa, xku, !nullen, !kaulien, !kū, Naron and Hadza ŋ-ŋ. This is one of the few Bushman sounds adopted by the



white man. All South Africans are apt to say n-n for an informal no.

§ 27 PREPOSITIONS. Most Bushman languages have one word and its variations connecting verb and noun which can be translated 'in, at, to, for, with, by'. Some languages have two or three. In the South these precede the noun, in the North they often follow it. In ixam and !n we find au, o, ā, in !khome, and iku, loiku a. N, n, na, na are found in Batwa, !n, !kxau, !khome, !auni, and in Hadza ina. These are probably clipped forms of ina, ina 'to stay', 'be with'. Other such words are ke, kie, ka and kwe probably derived from ika 'to be with', s. Maingard (8).

Often the double verb makes a preposition unnecessary, as in le s'o !nein 'enter sit house' for 'go into house' ixam (B). !u?e !na !kau 'action of shooting' 'action of being with' 'bow', 'shoot with bow' !khome (Mg).

§ 28 CONJUNCTIONS. All Bushman languages have a word which we translate 'and'. The Central and Northern languages have words for 'as', 'when', Naron and Hadza also for 'when....then'. ixam having subordinate clauses, has more conjunctions, au, o stands for 'when', 'as', 'because', ta for 'but', 'because', ki for 'if', 'although'. The phrase ti ē 'things<sup>are</sup>' or 'thing<sup>s</sup> which' often stands for 'that' introducing subordinate clauses. Hé ti hi ē 'these things they are' stands for 'then', 'therefore' introducing coordinate clauses or new sentences.



## SYNTAX

- 29 THE SEQUENCE OF THE SENTENCE is direct, excepting Naron and Hadza, subject, verb or verbs, object. Maingard (8) points out "that secondary verbs expressing verbal aspects precede the main verb, whilst the secondary verb expressing adverbial qualifications generally follows the main verb." The indirect object generally precedes the direct, a noun with a preposition follows the object. For example: ixabbi-an-an ine ikha' ke loa-opua 'ixabbi-an did kill (for)me(the) leveret. ixam (L). ikauken se la ha au ikurru 'the children should cut him with a knife' ixam (B). na mi iga 'give me the knife' iku (V). For emphasis this sequence may be reversed and the stressed part of the sentence come first, particularly in the imperative, as am ikoen yu ixabbiten ixabbiten na gwal 'first look ye (at) ixabbiten's big head. ixam (L). In ixam two or more subjects are enumerated, then repeated with a plural pronoun, often with koa 'and'.

In Naron and Hadza, both much influenced by other languages, any part of speech may stand in any position, particularly in Naron, which is difficult to understand in consequence, there being no case endings for subject and object, the listener is left guessing which is which.

- 30 SHORT CLAUSES are common to all Bushman languages, generally coordinate ones loosely strung together, sometimes joined by a conjunction, more often by the sense. The Northern and Central languages and the more northerly of the Southern languages use little else. The subject is often omitted, when it has been previously mentioned, or when 'I' is understood. Many short clauses begin with a or ta, which may be a conjunction or a verbal particle, sometimes also with some form of ~~ixam~~ 'then'.

ixam and in do not omit the subject, they have more complicated sentences with subordinate clauses, which can, however, be broken up into short coordinate clauses, some of which have become mere phrases. Even the many relative clauses are merely joined by the relative pronouns which may be only forms of the verb 'to be'.

For example: He tiken e, ik'e ike!kerriten ka a hi a

These Things are, People old will give us of  
tss'a a yauki inerritya, ha-ka ha. xam.  
 thing which not fleet its flesh. (L).



## S M O I D I

Ik'eten lnāu, ō ī lā ikhwai, hin yauki ā hī ā whāi-tā  
 people do, when we shoot gembok, they not give us of springbok's  
ā, ō hin ttā, lka <sup>ti</sup> khing ē, whāi yauki ttām-ssē ttai.  
 flesh, for they feel, that thing is, springbok not little walks.

lxam. (L). The following passages show the simpler forms used fur-  
 ther north. ko/ō lna lnāu. cen ce sija. lloxou. kaxx

jackal see hare, they -- come (to the) waterhole.

ko/ō lna lnāu. ko/ō ce ku "l<sup>~</sup>kawā" lnāu nce sija. a ce

jackal see hare. jackal -- say "wait a bit". hare --- come. and --  
sija hou. khomani. (Mg). Ta lxue e lxue, ta sau, ta gu  
 come dance.

And lxue is lxue, and arose, and took  
ne+nebbi lyui-ssin, ta shxue ne+nebbi lyui-ssin, ta shuwa  
 woodpigeons' feathers, and donned woodpigeons' feathers, and lay (on)

ya. lku. (L) An example of haphazard Naron speech is: lōa a lōa  
 ground.

hare-doe (to)

lnweba koa a l'abo k'e. le: kwe kuru kurua, me ma: "kwellkwa

Moon kaross threw face. fire in singed (it), him gave. "men

ga i lō: tite, "ta mi. xa a ma: "kwellkwa ga lō: "ta-  
 shall die not," so (he) said. she said, "men shall die," so she

mi. kam ε bo a, a lkau k'am a. Naron (D.F.B.)

said. then (he) took axe, and split (her) mouth.

- 31 QUESTIONS are asked without inversion of the regular sequence of the  
 sentence by inserting one or more of the interrogatives mentioned  
 in 18. For instance: ikhwa ā xā tē da ? 'what does this child say ?' lxam (L)  
ū bbā sīn ss'e lku lā lā hho lkoīn lkaggen ? 'have you been and cut  
 up old man Mantis ?' lxam (B). hān ttuttū hū hū-ka lkauken, hū hū-  
ka lkauken lno yau lkoen, tī ē, lxabbiten lxabbiten ē lkerri ? 'he  
 asked the baboons' children, did not the baboons' children see, that  
lxabbiten lxabbiten was grown-up ?' lxam (L). a xā lām 'e ? 'stösst  
 du mit dem Kopf ?' (dost thou butt with the head ?) lkxau (Mh) a  
dsū xe-ua ? 'welcher Mensch denn ?' (what person ?) lku (V) lām  
dē ? lām ē. 'where is the sun ? the sun is here.' lku (L). cha nam  
kho ? 'where do you come from ?' Hiechwa (Do).



## IDIOM &amp; STYLE

§ 32 REPETITION is the most striking feature of Bushman narrative and conversation. A people for whom time does not exist, they enjoy saying the same thing over and over again with slight variations, sometimes merely of tone. The rise and fall of the voice are used descriptively: words expressing quantity or distance tend to have a high tone, the greater the quantity or the distance, the higher the tone. Their stories committed to paper often seem unclear, but in speaking play of voice and gesture express much.

Abstract nouns occur in very few languages, and rarely in these. General terms, such as 'limbs', 'features', 'weapons' are also lacking. Such words as 'thing', 'person' are made to replace any wants in the language.

§ 33 SPECIAL FEATURES OF IXAM are multiplicity of verbs, paucity of nouns, and use of introductory phrases in stories.

Motion of all sorts, especially walking and running, is described by countless words, for each of which we use two or three, as 'to walk stooping', 'to walk on tiptoe', 'to run swinging the arms', and so on. Five different verbs express degrees of hunger, from 'starving' to 'being replete.' A story-teller often coins new verbs imitative of sound, similar to the phrase 'it went pop', as ha lne kui xupp, i. 'he made bang it' 'he hit it',

On the other hand every face or surface is called by the same word, likewise every hole, from the mouth to a cavern. One title means 'old man', 'grandfather' and 'uncle'. A man's arm, a buck's foreleg, a bird's wing have the same name.

Many stories begin with an introductory phrase using a formal verb, such as nnau, 'to act thus', 'to do as follows', and many sentences in a story begin with the phrase 'these things are', meaning 'therefore, that being so, then'. For example: kuatten kkan nnaū, ũkē ā ī īī ttatten ikūī ā, hā ũkē ā, kuatten ixam ttatten ikūī ā, ō kuattaken ttā ũka ti ē, ī īī ikhe iXuonni. He tiken ē, kuatten ttatten ikūī ī. He tiken ē, ik'ē kā nnaū, hē īnā kuatten, ō kuattā ikūī, he kū-kū, hē ũkē, ũkoen yū, tss'a dāin ā, kuatten ikūī ā ? 'The star acts thus, (at the) time (at) which our heart falls down (at) it, that time (it) is, the star



also falls ~~over~~ down (at) it, when the star feels that thing is, our heart falls over. These things are, people act thus, they see the star, when the star falls, they speak, they say, "look ye, thing which is (it) , star falls(for) it?" ixam (L).

Certain groups of verbal particles are found in the opening sentences of stories, equivalent to our 'once upon a time' Ikuan ha' oa, usually translated 'formerly', is one of them. Hi Ikuan ha' oa, #kagara ha' oa #xanna ha' #xa-opua 'they formerly, #kagara formerly fetched his younger sister. (L)

§ 34 THE STYLES OF THE NORTHERN AND CENTRAL BUSHMEN may be seen in this iku passage, translated into Hiechwa by Dornon (4)

Zau ti tcha dzhu tanki tshi, ha ti debbi ha  
Woman does steal person other('s) thing, she does return (To) her  
Ikao, ha Ikao ti ssi dzhu tanki tshi, ha Iya ti  
husband, her husband does see person other('s) thing, his heart does  
kwi, ta ha ti !kun ha, ha ti !kun ara ha zau. !ku(L).  
ache, and he does kill her, he does kill altogether his wife.  
Ka lgaicho ke kwa nikhare biba tsa, ka e sha gure kho she  
If woman should another's thing steal, if she come back to her  
kauchu, #kham thoo kauchu kwa ke eye biba moo  
husband, sparkle on account of husband does other's thing seem  
ka. En choo e kwa thoo, ebe kwa sha lgoo, e kwa sha  
it. it  
then. His heart ~~does~~ does ache, he does her kill, he does her  
lgoo ~~is~~ ii si. Hiechwa (Do).  
kill and all.

§ 35 CONCLUSION. These examples show the marked difference between the three groups, in spite of underlying similarity. As in other ways the Northern group exhibits the greatest simplicity, the two others have both developed, but along different lines. The Central group has evidently been much influenced by both Hottentot and Bantu speech, the former showing most in Naron, the latter most in Hiechwa. Hadza bears traces of both influences.

The Southern group has developed along specifically Bushman lines, which are more prominent, the further south the people live. The languages spoken by the Kalahari branches of this group approach



the Northern ones in many ways, particularly in simplicity of style. It is a significant fact, that these simpler languages have a simpler folklore, while <sup>in</sup> the language with the greatest development along original lines we find a unique and original Folklore.

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# PHONETICS

Phonetics.

1. PHONETIC characteristics common to all Bushman languages are: the preponderance of monosyllables, the use of tones, the indistinctness and variation of vowels, the very limited use of ordinary consonants and the use of clicks.

MONOSYLLABLES ending in vowels or nasals form the bulk of the vocabulary, particularly in the Northern group. Slight second syllables with the same endings occur, and become more frequent in the Southern, very frequent in the Central group. For example:

|             |                |                 |                |                 |
|-------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| am          | bee            | father          | sister         | speak           |
| <u>iku</u>  | <u>#hā</u> V   | <u>dzhō</u> L   | <u>bā</u> V    | <u>tsisi</u> L  |
| <u>ixam</u> | <u>iku</u> B   | <u>ikhōu</u> L  | <u>oā</u> B    | <u>ikaxai</u> B |
| <u>Hie</u>  | <u>tsau</u> Do | <u>denee</u> Do | <u>bara</u> Do | <u>gweke</u> Do |

Reduplication is a great feature of ixam and occurs less frequently in the other languages. as ikwain!kwain 'to strengthen' B, Double words are not unknown, as ixam ~~in-ixam~~ ikui-la 'girl' B, or ikauilen he-lo 'arrow'. The endings may be contractions of reduplications or double words. Third syllables are frequent in Hadza, which is only half Bushman, as upukwa 'foot'; they occur in other tongues, but generally in words where a grammatical ending has been attached to the root, as ikhomani <sup>in</sup> the tribal name Mg, in which the syllable ni is merely the plural ending, or in ixam ikuattaken, the emphatic form of ikuatten 'star' L.

2. TONES often distinguish words that are otherwise identical, but sometimes they are used optionally. All Bushman languages have high, medium and low tones. Five tones are found in iku including rising and falling tones. These occur occasionally in ikhomani and launi, but less frequently; the Northern group uses tones more and with greater rise and fall of the voice than the other groups. For the symbols used for tones see § 10. Examples: iku, igō 'elder brother', igō 'to look with <sup>the</sup> hand over <sup>the</sup> eyes', ihā 'to know', ihā 'spring' V. ikhomani, iku-ba 'skin petticoat', iku-ba 'dun-coloured' Dk. ~~khomani~~ ixam a and a 'to give' B. <sup>both used for</sup>

Stress is usually on the first syllable, except in Hie, where it is on the last, and in Hadza, where it varies. Both these languages have been much influenced by Bantu speech.



3. VOWELS are pronounced indistinctly and ~~pronounced~~ <sup>given</sup> varied greatly, the same word being ~~pronounced~~ with different vowels for no apparent reason. We find the following: i, i:, e, ei, ɛ, ɛi, ə, ʌ, a, a:, aʔ, ɔ, ɔ:, o, oi, oʔ, u, ui, also sounds between a and o, and between o and u.

Of Diphthongs we find ei, ai, ao, au, ou, oi and ui turning into wi, oe and ue turning into we, oa, oa and ua turning into wa, and ia turning into ja.

Some languages, mainly Southern ones, have pressed vowels with "voiced friction in the throat....caused by a contraction and narrowing of the pharynx, which make the epiglottis vibrate roughly." Dk. Hie has no diphthongs, but many double vowels pronounced separately Do.

4. <sup>CONSONANTS</sup> ~~Consonants~~ little used in Bushman are the plosives p and b, the nasal m, the lateral l, and the fricatives f and v. On the other hand we find frequent use made of the plosives t and d, k<sup>?</sup> and g, the nasals n and ɲ, the fricatives s, z, ʃ, ʒ, x, h, the laterals r, ɸ, ɕ and the semi-vowels j and w. Combinations of plosives and fricatives are frequent, as ts, tʃ, tj, th, tx, dz, dʒ, dh, kx, kj, kh, gj, gh. The glottal stop is often used.

The following explanation of the use made of these sounds includes also those rarely used.

5. <sup>PILOSIVES</sup> ~~Plosives~~.

p <sup>is</sup> used by the Hie and Hadza, as pli<sup>Hie</sup> 'milk', pela 'rockrabbit' Do, Hadza, upukwapi 'feet'. Not used by the Northern group. Found in the Southern only in foreign words or imitations of natural phenomena, and after the lip click, which is rarely used. Masarwa, bupi 'flour', ixam, ppuppuppupu 'the sound of a stick being thrown', opwa 'child' L.

B <sup>is</sup> rare as an initial sound, but occurs in unstressed second syllables, where it sometimes interchanges with m or v. Naron kweba 'man'. Iku daba 'child', damm 'children' L. #khomani, l?oba, l?ova 'fish' Dk. ixam ba 'father' B.

T is found as initial sound and in second syllables. It often interchanges with k and g. T? occurs optionally in ixam. As stated above it forms combinations with fricatives. #khomani,