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BUSHMAN GRAMMAR.

A grammatical sketch of the language of the /*xam-ka-lk'e*
by Dorothea F. Bleek.

Introduction.

A number of different Bushman languages are still spoken in parts of South Africa, and we have records of others that have died out. This sketch deals only with the speech of the Bushmen who lived south of the Orange River, who all from east to west spoke one language with slight dialectical variations. They called themselves /*xam-ka-lk'e* or /*xam* people, the word having no other meaning than nationality. It is spelt /*kham* by some writers. The tribe is almost extinct, but the language was fully written down fifty to sixty years ago by my father, Dr. W. H. I. Bleek, and my aunt, Miss Lucy Lloyd. This grammar is based on the folklore collected by them.¹⁾ I have myself visited old Bushmen in Prieska and Kenhard districts some years ago, and my remarks on pronunciation are based as much on my own experience as on their notes.

The tribe living north of the Orange River in Gordonia and Griqualand West call themselves //*q-ike* or 'home people'. Their language is related to the /*xam* speech. So is the language of the tribe found in the eastern Transvaal at Lake Chrissie, who call themselves Batwa, the Swazi word for Bushman. Other allied tongues are those of the extinct Bushmen of the Orange Free State and Basutoland, of the /*auni* on the lower Nossop, of the Bushmen of Kakia in southern Bechuanaland, who call themselves Masarwa, a Sechuana name for Bushmen, and of the /*nu-//en* who inhabit the country round the upper Nossop and the Auboup. These form one division of Bushman languages which I call the Southern Group.

Very different languages are spoken beyond the Tropic of Capricorn. On the land stretching from the north-west side of the Oas-Ngami road to about the 19° east longitude we find the ≠*au-//en* or //*k'au-//en*, generally called Auen by Europeans; north of these live the /*kuy*, whose boundaries extend from Ngami to about the 13° south latitude and from about the 22° to the 19° east longitude in the south, and to about the 16° in the north; to the west of the /*kuy* scattered

¹⁾ cf. Specimens of Bushman Folklore collected by W. H. I. Bleek and L. C. Lloyd edited by the latter, with an introduction by G. Mc. Theal, translation into English, illustrations and appendix; London (G. Allen) 1911, SS. XL—468.

over the South West Protectorate the *hei-//kum*. The latter have to a great extent adopted Nama as their speech, but their own language, still found in some isolated villages, is closely allied to the former two. All three are distantly related to the Southern Group. I call this the Northern Group.

In the wedge-shaped space between the Tropic of Capricorn and the Oas-Ngami road are tribes speaking languages which have a good deal of resemblance to Hottentot. Among them are the Tati Masarwa, who appear to call themselves *hie-tfware*, the *tanna-kwe*, the *tsau-kwe*, the *tsoro-kwe*, the *!gij-kwe* and the *naron* or *//ai-kwe*; the latter are the most westerly of the group and their speech has the greatest likeness to Nama. I call this the Central Group.

In this sketch I am dealing with the */xam* language only, so for convenience sake I use the word Bushman to apply to this tribe only, to the Bushman of the old Cape Colony to whom the name was first given.

Orthography.

Bushmen do not open their mouths much in speaking, it is therefore not easy to distinguish the vowels clearly. Slurred indefinite vowel sounds are in the majority and often vary slightly with individual speakers.

We find: *i, i:, e, e:, a, a:, a, a:, o, o:, u, u:, ʌ, ɛ:, y, y:, u, u:*.

There are the diphthongs: *ei, ai, au, ao, ɔi, oi, ua* and *ɔa* often turning into *wa*, and *ia* turning into *ja*.

All vowels and diphthongs may be nasalized, which is indicated by ~ above the vowel or vowels. If two vowels occurring together are to be pronounced separately, I have placed the trema ˆ over the second.

The following consonants occur:

p only after the labial click or in foreign words, exclamations, and imitations of sound, in the latter it may be at the end of a word.

b occasionally at the beginning, more often in a dissyllabic word.

t very frequently used both at the beginning, and in dissyllabic words.

d chiefly at the beginning of words.

t' and *d'* probably occur occasionally. Some of the double letters at the beginning of words in 'Specimens of Bush-

man folklore' may represent them, but do not always do so; they generally indicate the more noisy manner of sounding consonants common to Bushmen.

k occurs very frequently at the beginning of words either alone or following a click, occasionally in words of two syllables.

g is used in the same manner as *k*, but less frequently.

k' and *k''* occur either alone or after a click. The latter sound is a very loud plosive croak. In Specimens of Bushman Folklore *k'* is written ʘ and *k''* y.

m is rarely used at the beginning of a word, more frequently at the end of a syllable.

n only occurs after clicks at the beginning of words, except in some forms of the first personal pronoun sing. and in words connected with animals' cries, but it is very frequent at the end of a word or syllable.

ŋ occurs alone as the first personal pronoun sing., and in "no", it is very frequent at the end of words.

r is only used at the beginning of a word in exclamations; then it is rolled properly. In the middle of a two syllabled word it occurs frequently, but the rolling is very slight, the sound is often nasal, sometimes almost *l*. There is no real *l* in the language.

f *v* only occur in imitations of sound, as of the wind. They are bilabial.

w *j* are frequent, but not at the beginning of words; they seem to have developed from vowels.

s *f* are only used at the beginning of words sometimes after *t*. They often change in different local dialects.

z *ʒ* are likewise only used at the beginning of words sometimes after *d*, but are far less frequent.

h is used at the beginning of a word either alone or after a click or *k*.

x is used at the beginning of a word alone or after a click or *k*. The position of the tongue varies according to the following vowel, being further forward before front vowels than before back ones.

So far I have followed the orthography of the International Phonetic Association. For the clicks I use the old signs well known to all students of Bushman and Hottentot languages.

The clicks are implosive sounds with a double closure, formed either by pressing the tongue against the teeth or palate, or the lips together, while the back of the tongue touches the velum, or the glottis is closed, more often the former. By lowering the tongue the air space is increased, then the front closure is withdrawn, the air is sucked into the half-filled space and makes the click. After the front release comes the back release, which may be silent or not. If it is not silent, a velar sound follows the click, unless it is the lip click; if it is silent, a vowel or *h* follows. Only the nasal sound can be made at the same time as the click, in which case it would be more correct to put *n* above the click, rather than *n* after it. But in Bushman the click always seems to come first, and has always been written first, so I have kept to this orthography.

The Bushman vocabulary proper has five clicks:

- / the dental or alveolar fricative click is formed by pressing the front of the tongue against the teeth or alveolus and releasing it gently with a sucking sound.
- ! the retroflex plosive click is made by pressing the tip of the tongue against the palate and snapping it off smartly as if imitating the drawing of a cork.
- // the retroflex fricative click is made by spreading the tip of the tongue across the palate and releasing it gently, perhaps letting the air in at the sides. This click somewhat resembles the Bantu lateral click.
- ≠ the alveolar plosive click is made by pressing the front of tongue far forward on the alveolus, almost on the teeth, and snapping it off smartly.
- ⊙ the lip click is made by pressing the lips together and releasing them as in a kiss.

Clicks always stand at the beginning of a word, or of a syllable in a compound word. The following examples will show in what manner they are used:

/a	to fight	!a:	along	//a	to go	≠abakən	to burn
/ha	husband	!ham	first	//hagən	to equal	≠hau	to jump
/ka	to leave	!kā	to await	//ka	wet	≠ka:	bare
/kha	stick	!khau	bee	//khā	lion	≠khara	feather
/xā	to shoot	!xagən	crow	//xā	again	≠xama	to fetch
/k'a:	riverbed	!k'ao	to skin	//k'ao	cursed	≠k'ana	to call
/ga	hippo	!gā	frog	//ga:	night	≠gabəten	to throw
/na	head	!na	winter	//na	there	≠na	to forget

! is sometimes used with a glottal release before vowels as
!ʔāū bone,

⊙ may be followed by *p*, *b*, *m* or *h*.

⊙pwa little, ⊙bu:-ta to rain gently, ⊙mwainja to kiss, ⊙ho wood, tree.

Some writers subdivide the retroflex clicks further according to the position of the tongue on the palate. As this movement of the tongue is automatic, the click being made a little further forward before a front vowel than before a back one, I do not think it necessary to express it in writing.

No other clicks are used in the ordinary vocabulary, but in Bushman folklore the speech of certain animals and of the Moon is distinguished by the recurrence of some particular sound at the beginning of each noun and verb instead of the ordinary click or consonant. Some of these sounds are clicks. Thus the Jackal has a lip click described as bearing the same relation to the ⊙ click, as the alveolar plosive click bears to the alveolar fricative click. I have never heard these special clicks from a Bushman; from hearing my aunt pronounce the Jackal's click, I should say it is a strongly plosive *p*. The Moon, the Hare and the Anteater have a most unpronounceable click made "by curling up the tip of the tongue backwards in a sort of roll and then withdrawing the turned up part of the tongue from the palate". This click has a sort of palatal croak with it. The Ichneumon's speech is distinguished by replacing all initial clicks and consonants by *ts* or *tʃ* or *tj* or *dy*. The tortoise changes initial sounds into labials, the Blue Crane adds *t* to most words.

The four clicks /, !, //, ≠ are common to all Bushman and Hottentot languages, the lip click ⊙ is found in all languages of the Southern group, but nowhere else.

Tones.

Bushman words may vary in meaning according to the tone in which they are spoken. There are three tones to be distinguished, high, middle and low. The middle tone I leave unmarked. The high tone is indicated by placing — before a syllable, the low tone by placing _ before it. There are very few examples of rising or falling tones on one syllable, but often the low tone is followed by the middle tone or the middle tone by the high tone, rarely the other way round. The variation in tone among the Southern Bushmen is not so great as among the Northern Group.

The following examples show the use of the tones: *ha* he, *ha* auxiliary of past tense; /*kē-ī* to seize, /*kē ī* follow —*gauō* to poison, —*doā* could, *γ* I, —*γ-γ* no, —*ī-ja* yes; this last word is not pronounced staccato, as the negative is, but falls from the high to the low tone without arrest of breath.

Tones are also used descriptively to denote quantity or distance. The larger or farther a thing is, the higher is the tone of the adjective or adverb describing it.

The accent in Bushman is generally on the first syllable, always if the syllable has a click. The few cases of accentuated second syllables I mark with an accent '. This occurs most frequently in reduplications.

Before leaving the subject of pronunciation I will give a Bushman's comparison of his method of speaking with a European's: /*xam-ka-ke'tən* /*ku* ≠*kakən* *au* *hi* /*eni* /*kauükən*, *au* /*hū*—/*hūgag* /*ne* *e*: ≠*kakən* *au* *hi* /*eni* /*em*. 'The Bushmen talk with the body of their tongue, while the Europeans are those who talk with the tip of their tongue'.

The Vocabulary.

In my MS Bushman dictionary there are three and a half boxes of words without clicks, seven and a half of words with clicks. Of these, two boxes hold words with /, three hold words with /, two hold words with //, while the words with ≠ and ⊙ share half a box between them. Yet if we count up the words with and without clicks on half a dozen pages of "Specimens of Bushman Folklore" taken at random, we find that less than two fifths are words with clicks, more than three fifths are words without clicks. This shows that the words in most frequent use are without clicks.

Among the words beginning with a vowel or *h* we find nearly all the pronouns and demonstrative adjectives, most of the prepositions and conjunctions, a few adjectives and adverbs, some verbal particles and a few much used verbs, but hardly any nouns.

Among words beginning with consonants but without clicks we find a moderate number of nouns, about twice as many verbs, some adjectives and adverbs, many grammatical particles, a few pronouns, prepositions and conjunctions.

Among words beginning with clicks we find countless nouns and verbs, some adverbs, mostly with the form of verbs, and very little else.

Words of one syllable are in the majority. Some words of two syllables are reduplications or compound words, but not all; a number are formed of root and endings.

The Noun.

Gender.

Bushman has no genders referring to sex; in fact it has only slight signs of any classification of nouns at all. The pronouns referring to nouns have two forms, one used only in the singular, — *ha* he, she, it, *a*: who, which, that —, and one mainly used in the plural, — *hi* they, *e*: who, which, that —. The latter forms are however used with certain nouns where the singular number is clearly indicated. This looks as if there had been two classes of nouns in the singular, and that the plurals of both had been the same, and now outwardly agree with the second classes singular, that is to say as far as the pronouns are concerned. There is no distinguishing feature in the nouns themselves. Some of these are: —/*gai* shoulderblade, *tū* skin, // *na*: kareebloom, // *neiy* hut, *horo* eggshell. They are all things, not persons, but the majority of things belong to the first class.

The terms of relationship show traces of endings referring to sex. In masculine terms we frequently find a nasal vowel or *γ* at the end of the word, in feminine terms we find the endings *xai*, *ti* or *te*; or *x* at the beginning of the word. According to Krönlein *xai* is 'to cohabit' in Nama, and *xais* is often used for 'wife'. *Te* and *ti* are feminine plural endings in Nama. In Bushman we find:

//*kā* brother, // *kaxai* sister; ⊙ *pwog* son, ⊙ *pwaxai* daughter; *oā* father, *xoā* mother; /*kōγ* grandfather, /*kōite* grandmother, // *k'en* child's father-in-law; // *k'aiti* child's mother-in-law. The last named word seems to contain the adjective /*aiti* female; male is *gwai*. These adjectives follow the nouns they qualify. Occasionally they are used alone as man and woman. Their irregular plurals *tukən* males, men, and /*kagən* females, women, are joined to the nouns they qualify by the possessive particle, or they may be used alone. This looks as if they were really nouns, though sometimes used as adjectives, especially as they correspond to roots of words for men and women in other Bushman languages.

Case.

Nouns have a simple form always used in the objective case and sometimes in the nominative, and an emphatic nominative formed

by adding *-kən* to the simple form. After a long vowel this may be modified to *-gən*, after *i* and *e* to *-tən*, and after a diphthong or nasal vowel it can be shortened to *ŋ*. If the noun already ends in *kən*, *gən* or *tən* in the simple form, these endings are changed to *kakən* or *takən* in the emphatic form, sometimes shortened to *ka:* or *ta:*. If the simple form ends in *ŋ*, the emphatic form adds *-aŋ* or *-jaŋ*.

The possessive case is formed by adding *-ka* to the simple form. This particle may be changed to *-ga* or *-ta* according to the rule shown above. The thing possessed follows the possessor.

The vocative case is made by adding *-we* to the simple form.

The dative has no special form; it is expressed by position or by a preposition. The dative precedes the accusative.

Number.

There is no particular form for the dual, the plural is formed in different ways, mostly by reduplication, occasionally by an ending, or by both. The following tables show the different forms:

I. Reduplication of the simple form.

	Singular.	Emphatic.	Plural.
foot	/nəa	/nəaŋ	/nəa/nəa
hand	/k'a	/k'akən	/k'a/k'a
mouth	tu	tukən	tutu
eggshell	həro	hərokən	hərohəro
lung	fo	fokən	fofo
stone	/kou	/kougən	/kou/kou
perforated stone	/kwe	/kwetən	/kwe/kwe
night	//ga:	//ga:gən	//ga://ga:
ravine	/kwiri	/kwiritən	/kwiri/kwiri
dog	/kuŋ	/kuŋjaŋ	/kuŋ/kuŋ

II. Reduplication of the emphatic form.

thing	ti	tikən	tikəntikən
bed-skin	/ki:	/ki:tən	/kitən/ki:tən
bow	/hou	/houkən	/houkən/houkən
hill	—/kao	—/kaokən	—/kaokən—/kaokən
net	/ūi	/ūiŋ	/ūiŋ/ūiŋ

III. If the singular is already a reduplication, the plural is a reduplication of the forms with *-kən*.

	Singular.	Emphatic.	Plural.
whirlwind	//go//go	//go//gokən	//gokən//gokən
bush, a certain	/kwe/kwəri	/kwe/kwəritən	/kwəritən/kwəritən
beast of prey	//kei//kei	//kei//keitən	//keitən//keitən

IV. Joining the simple and emphatic forms.

face	xu:	xu:kən	xu:xu:kən
fight, death	/a:	/a:kən	/a/a:kən
fieldmouse	//khou	//khoukən	//khou//khoukən
tortoiseshell	—!goē	—!gweitən	—!gwei—!gweitən
spot	≠u:	≠u:kən	≠u≠u:kən
gland	—≠k'wā	—≠k'wāŋ	≠k'wā—≠k'wāŋ
head	/na	/naŋ	/na/naŋ
leg	/kwa:	/kwa:gən	/kwa/kwa:gən

The tendency to shorten the first half of the reduplication shown by these examples, is more marked in the following:

shoulder- blade	—//gai	—//gaitən	—//ga—//gaitən
dark stripe on buck	≠hāi	≠hāiŋ	≠ha≠hāiŋ
thigh bone	!kūi	!kūitən	!ku!kūitən

V. Nouns ending in *-kən*, *-gən*, *-tən*, *-ŋ* form the plural

a. by reduplication of the root only:

black crow	/ka:gən	/ka:kakən	/ka: /ka:
silver jackal	!gwi:tən	!gwi:takən	!gwi!gwi
hut	//neiŋ	//neiŋjaŋ	//nei//nei and //nei//neiŋ
kaross	!nwiŋ	!nwiŋjaŋ	!nwi!nwi

b. by joining the root and the whole word:

star	/kwatən	/kwatakən	/kwa/kwatən
korhaan, vaal	—/kaukən	—/kaukakən	—/kau—/kaukən
tick	/ke:n	/ke:njaŋ	/ke!ke:n
barblet	//kukən	//kukakən	//ku//kukən
feather brush	—/koäkən	—/koäkakən	—/ko—/koäkən

VI. Nouns ending in *-m* or *-n* take a or *i* after the reduplication.

	Singular.	Emphatic.	Plural.
story	<i>kum</i>		<i>kukumi</i>
tip	<i>/em</i>		<i>/ε/emi</i>
collarbone	<i>/kham</i>	<i>/khamay</i>	<i>/kha/khami</i>
stone pipe	<i>_kan</i>	<i>_kanay</i>	<i>_kan_kana</i>

VII. Nouns of two or more syllables form the plural by reduplication of the first syllable only.

wrist	<i>//khore</i>	<i>//khoretən</i>	<i>//kha//khore</i>
mother animal	<i>//kwara</i>	<i>//kwarakən</i>	<i>//kwa//kwara</i>
little bird	<i>k'eni</i>		<i>k'ek'en</i>

This is particularly marked in compound nouns formed with *xu* face, surface, or *tu* mouth, hole.

hunting ground	<i>/kauxu</i>	<i>/kauwukən</i>	<i>/kau/kauru</i>
back	<i>tsəyaxu</i>	<i>tsəyaukən</i>	<i>tsətsəyaxu</i>
chest	<i>/ka:xu</i>	<i>/ka:xukən</i>	<i>/ka/katən_xu</i>
stomach	<i>/kouxu</i>	<i>/kouwukən</i>	<i>/ku/kutən_xu</i>
ear	<i>/nuntu</i>	<i>/nuntukən</i>	<i>/nu/nuntu</i>
belly	<i>/kautu</i>	<i>/kautukən</i>	<i>/kau/kautəntu</i>
arm hole	<i>//khatu</i>	<i>//khatukən</i>	<i>//kha//khatu</i>

VIII. *R* and *t* in the second syllable often change in the plural.

blister	<i>gouru</i>	<i>gourukən</i>	<i>gougoutən</i>
edge	<i>/ara</i>		<i>/at/atən</i>
stone knife	<i>//kuru</i>	<i>//kurukən</i>	<i>//kutən//kutən</i>
pipe	<i>/xoro</i>	<i>/xorokən</i>	<i>/xotən/xotən</i>
larynx	<i>-/here</i>	<i>-/horetən</i>	<i>/hatən/hatən</i>
Koranna	<i>/kwara</i>	<i>/kwarakən</i>	<i>/kwatən/kwatən</i>
breastbone	<i>//goro</i>	<i>//gorokən</i>	<i>//gotən//gotən</i>
jackal	<i>_koro</i>	<i>_korokən</i>	<i>_kotən_kotən</i>
cat	<i>_//gwatən</i>	<i>_//gwatakən</i>	<i>_//gwa_//gwara</i>
old woman	<i>/nutara</i>	<i>/nutarakən</i>	<i>/nu/nutatən</i>

IX. Other irregular reduplications.

old man	<i>/nuk'au</i>	<i>/nuk'aukən</i>	<i>/nukən/nukən'au</i>
youth	<i>k'audoro</i>	<i>k'audorokən</i>	<i>k'auk'aurukən</i>

	Singular.	Emphatic.	Plural.
middle	<i>//kaie</i>		<i>//ka//katənī</i>
mouse	<i>/henixa</i>	<i>/henixakən</i>	<i>/he/henixaxa</i>
white man	<i>/hū</i>	<i>/hūy</i>	<i>/hū/hūnay</i>
body	<i>/kauwukən</i>		<i>/kau/kauwaxay</i>
place	<i>/kwei</i>	<i>/kweitən</i>	<i>/kwei/kworeay</i>
eye	<i>tsa-xau</i>	<i>tsa-xaitakən</i>	<i>tsa-xaitən and tsatsa-xukən</i>
fool	<i>/gebi</i>	<i>/gebiwakən</i>	<i>/gi/gitən and /gebitən-gebitən</i>

X. Some plurals are formed without reduplication by adding one of the endings *-kən*, *-gən*, *-tən*, *-y*.

bone	<i>/kwa</i>	<i>/kwakən</i>	<i>/kwa:gən</i>
tree	<i>○ho</i>	<i>○hokən</i>	<i>○ho:gən</i>
branch	<i>/khwe</i>	<i>/khwetən</i>	<i>/khwetən</i>
stick	<i>//kha</i>	<i>//khakən</i>	<i>//khaitən</i>
young girl	<i>//hi:</i>		<i>//hitən</i>
sister	<i>//kaxai</i>	<i>//kaxaitən</i>	<i>//kaxukən</i>
sieve	<i>-/k'wi</i>		<i>-/k'witən</i>
metal knife	<i>/gwara</i>	<i>/gwarakən</i>	<i>/gwatən</i>

XI. Some plurals are formed by adding *-de* or *-di* with or without reduplication.

son	<i>○pwoy</i>		<i>○pwo:de</i>
brother	<i>//kā</i>	<i>//kay</i>	<i>//kande</i>
brother-in-law	<i>/xa:</i>		<i>/xa:xa:de</i>

In these three examples *de* seems identical with a plural for 'man' found in the *//y* Bushman language, in the following it seems to stand for *di* things, doings, corresponding to a singular *ti* thing, deed.

lath	<i>/kwainti</i>	<i>/kwaintikən</i>	<i>/kwainde</i>
little birds	<i>//geritənti</i>	<i>//geritəntikən</i>	<i>//geritənde</i>
screen of bushes	<i>//kui</i>	<i>//kuitən</i>	<i>//kui//kuide</i>
eyeball	<i>/goritən</i>		<i>/gwiri/gwiride</i>
finger nail	<i>//kūru</i>	<i>//kūrukən</i>	<i>//ku//kudi and //ku//kuti</i>

XII. Some nouns denoting persons form the plural by adding *-gu*; usually to the emphatic form. This ending, which in Nama denotes the masculine plural, may be added to a proper name or the name of a personified animal to express 'family', 'friends'.

	Singular.	Emphatic.	Plural.
father	<i>oā</i>	<i>oākən</i>	<i>o:kəngu</i> : parents
"	<i>bobo</i>		<i>bo:kəngu</i> :
mother	<i>xoā</i>	<i>xoākən</i>	<i>xoākəngu</i> :
"	<i>mama</i>	<i>maməy</i>	<i>maməgu</i> :
husband or wife	<i>/ha</i>	<i>/hakən</i>	<i>/haukəngu</i> : husband and wife
brother-in-law	<i>/khwī</i>	<i>/khwī:y</i>	<i>/khwī:khwī:yggu</i> :
jackal, the	<i>kəro</i>		<i>kərogu</i> : the jackal and party
Jantje	<i>//kabo</i>		<i>//kabogu</i> : Jantje and his people

XIII. Irregular plurals.

thing	<i>tsa</i>	<i>tsakən</i>	<i>tʃuey</i> and <i>tʃwītʃwi</i>
egg	<i>/kauī</i>	<i>/kauītən</i>	<i>/kwītən</i>
child	<i>/khwā:</i>	<i>/khwā:y</i>	<i>/kaukən</i>
little sister-in-law	<i>/kouki</i>		<i>/koukukən</i>
person, man	<i>/kui, /kyi</i>	<i>/kuitən</i>	<i>/kē:</i>
man, male	<i>gwai</i>	<i>gwaijakən</i>	<i>tukən</i>
woman, female	<i>/aiti</i>	<i>/aitikən</i>	<i>/ka:gen</i> women, mates

XIV. A number of nouns have no separate form for the plural. Many names of animals are among these, for instance: springbok *wai*; ostrich *toī*; hartebeest *Pwa:*; lion *//khā:*; black korrhaan */kwa_kwara*; eland *s'a*; ox *xoro*; beetle *zu:*; butterfly *dadabasi*; moth *goro*; ichneumon */ni:*; owl */hū/hū*; baboon */hu/hu*; elephant *≠xwē*; also names of plants, as thornbush */naba*; kareeboom *//na:*; grass */khe:*; berry */gara*; also parts of the body, as thumb *//phāi*; liver *//khā:*; skin *tū:*; neck */kou*; nose */nūnu*; throat *_dəm*; and some other nouns, as bead */k'i:*; sorcerer */gi:*; hole, den */kwe/kwe*; winter */na:*.

Examples of the declension of nouns:

	Singular.			
	bag	leg	hut	fieldmouse
Simple	<i>//ho</i>	<i>/kwa:</i>	<i>//neiγ</i>	<i>//khou</i>
Emphatic	<i>//hokən</i>	<i>/kwa:gən</i>	<i>//neiγjəy</i>	<i>//khokən</i>
Possessive	<i>//ho-ka</i>	<i>/kwa:-ga</i>	<i>//neiγ-ka</i>	<i>//khou-ka</i>
Vocative				<i>//khou-we</i>

	Plural.			
Simple	<i>//ho//ho</i>	<i>/kwa/kwa:</i>	<i>//nei//nei</i>	<i>//khou//khokən</i>
Emphatic	<i>//ho//hokən</i>	<i>/kwa/kwa:gən</i>	<i>//nei//neiγ</i>	<i>//khou//khokakən</i>
Possessive	<i>//ho//ho-ka</i>	<i>/kwa/kwa:-ka</i>	<i>//nei//nei-ta</i>	<i>//khou//khokən-ka</i>
Vocative				<i>//khou//khokən-we</i>

	Singular.			
	ostrich	white man	hyena	son
Simple	<i>toī</i>	<i>/hū</i>	<i>/gwāi</i>	<i>⊙pwəy</i>
Emphatic	<i>toītən</i>	<i>/hūy</i>	<i>/gwāin</i>	<i>⊙pwəy</i>
Possessive	<i>toī-ta</i>	<i>/hū-ka</i>	<i>/gwāi-ta</i>	<i>⊙pwəy-ka</i>
Vocative	<i>toī-we</i>	<i>/hū-we</i>	<i>/gwāi-we</i>	<i>⊙pwəy-we</i>

	Plural.			
Simple	<i>toī</i>	<i>/hū/hū</i>	<i>/gwāigu:</i>	<i>⊙pwənde</i>
Emphatic	<i>toītən</i>	<i>/hū/hūnəy</i>	<i>/gwāigu:kən</i>	<i>⊙pwəndekən</i>
Possessive	<i>toī-ta</i>	<i>/hū/hū-ka</i>	<i>/gwāigu:-ka</i>	<i>⊙pwənde-ka</i>
Vocative	<i>toī-we</i>	<i>/hū/hū-we</i>	<i>/gwāigu:-we</i>	<i>⊙pwənde-we</i>

Pronouns.

Personal.

The personal pronoun has no gender referring to sex. We find the following forms:

	Singular.			
	1st person	2nd person	3rd person	
Simple	<i>γ, ka</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ha, hā</i>	<i>hi</i>
Emphatic	<i>γ-γ, kakən, ka-γ</i>	<i>a-a, akən</i>	<i>ha-ha, hā-hā, haγ</i>	<i>hi-hi</i>
Possessive	<i>γ-ka, γ-γ-ka</i>	<i>a-ka, a-a-ka</i>	<i>ha-ka, ha-ha-ka</i>	<i>hi-ta</i>

	Plural.			
Simple	<i>i</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>hi, hī</i>
Emphatic	<i>i-i, itən, si-si, sitən</i>	<i>u-u, ukən</i>	<i>hi-hi, hī-hī, hiγ</i>	
Possessive	<i>i-ta</i>	<i>si-ta</i>	<i>u-ka</i>	<i>hi-ta, hi-hi-ta</i>

No exact rule can be given for the use of the two forms of the 1st person; *ŋ* is far more often used than *ka*, which often but not invariably appears in subordinate clauses. Nor does there seem to be any fixed rule for the use of the nasal in the third person; it seems to depend on individual choice. The use of *hi* for *ha* in the 3rd person singular has been explained above under 'gender of nouns'.

In the 1st person plural the form *i* includes the person or persons addressed with the speaker, the form *si* excludes those addressed. In Nama *si* is also used in the exclusive forms of the 1st person plural.

Before nouns denoting relationship or parts of the body the possessive particle *-ka* is generally dropped.

my wife *ŋ/ha*; my hut *ŋ-ka//neiy*; thy grandfather *a/!kōiy*; thy bag *a-ka//ho*; his mouth *ha tu*; his bow *ha-ka/hou*; the lion's head *//khā:/na*; the lion's home *//kha:-ga//neiy*.

Relative.

The relative pronoun has two forms only: *a*: referring to all pronouns in the singular, and to the singular of all nouns which take the personal pronoun *ha*; and *e*: to all pronouns and nouns in the plural and to the singular of those nouns which take the personal pronoun *hi*.

A: and *e*: are apparently nominatives, they stand at the beginning of the subordinate clause. To express the objective case, *a*: and *e*: precede the verb, which is followed by *ha*, *hi*, or *z*: the latter is contracted from *au ha* or *au hi*, to him, to them. For example:

/kui a: /kha wai /kwa:ŋen e: ha /kworetən hī
man who kills springbok. bones which he gnawed them.

//goro e: /kwa:ŋen /Δhī so hī
breastbone which bones upon sit it, (the breastbone on which the bones are) *hay //kei//kei Pwa: a: /ku:ka*
he resembled hartebeest who died.

Demonstrative.

The demonstrative adjectives *ha* and *hi* 'this, these,' are similar in form to the personal pronouns 'he, they,' but are spoken with more emphasis. They precede the nouns they qualify. *A*:-a that, *e*:-a those follow the nouns they qualify. They probably represent the relative pronouns and the verb 'to be'. */kwi a:-a* man who is, that man. */ke'e:-a* people who are, those people.

/ke: yonder is also used after the noun it qualifies with or without the following *-a*. *a χu/ke:-a* thy face yonder, *-/kēi/ke:* the joy yonder.

Reflexive.

The reflexive pronouns myself, thyself etc, when used emphatically, are translated by *//ē* or *//ēi*, which often has the form of a verb. *i /ku //ēi*, *i /χaiti ha* we did ourselves, we follow him = we followed him ourselves. *hi se //ēi*, *hi //k'o'en* they may themselves, they see = that they may see for themselves. *//ēi* is similar to the root of the 3rd personal pronoun in Nama.

If not emphasized, the reflexive pronoun is rarely used, and is identical with the personal pronoun.

Interrogative.

The interrogative pronouns who? what? are expressed by the words for person and thing with an interrogative ending *-de*, followed by one of the interrogative verbal particles *xa*, *ba*, */nu*; */kui* is shortened to */ku*.

/ku-de xa a:-a? what person is that? who is that?

tsa-de ba -a? what thing is it? what is it?

The Adjective.

Bushmen do not use many adjectives, they are less interested in the quality of anything than in its actions. Adjectives follow the nouns the qualify and are often preceded by the relatives *a*: and *e*:

⊙ho a: P'ain bush which soft, a soft bush; *//go//go /keri* whirlwind great, the great whirlwind; */kaukən e: ʔen* children who small, small children; *hā: e: akən* food which good, good food.

Most adjectives are the same in singular and plural. As exception, we find the indefinite adjective *ko* other, plural *kwitən*, and the following adjectives of size:

	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
tall	<i>/xo:wa</i>	<i>/xolxo:ka</i>	short <i>/yri</i>	<i>/ytən</i>
large	<i>/kuija</i>	<i>/kuilkuita</i>	small <i>ts'ere:</i>	<i>ts'etən</i>
round	<i>korekore:</i>	<i>koritənkoritən</i>	little <i>⊙pwa</i>	<i>-ka /kaukən</i>

These last two are almost nouns, *korekore:* being also 'a ball' and *⊙pwa* turning into 'children' with the possessive particle in the plural, as *//ho ⊙pwa* little bag, *//ho//ho-ka /kaukən* bags children, little

bags. In several other Bushman languages *Opwa* means 'child' and probably did so once in the */xam* language.

As mentioned under 'gender of nouns' the words *gwai* male and */aiti* female can be used either as adjectives or nouns. Their irregular plurals are certainly nouns, for when used to qualify a noun they are joined to it by the possessive particle. */ka:gən* has the double meaning of 'mates, companions,' and 'women'. *gwai* can be used as 'big, strong' as well as 'male'.

/kwi gwai man, strong person *toĩ gwai* male ostrich, strong ostrich
/k'e-ta tuken men *toĩ-ta tuken* male ostriches
/kui /aiti woman *toĩ /aiti* female ostrich

/k'e-ta /ka:gən women, men's mates *toĩ-ta /ka:gən* female ostriches
Ku 'all' is also joined to the noun it qualifies by the possessive particle. *!ʔāũ-ka ku*: all the earth; *ti-ta ku*: the whole place; *i-ta ku*: we all.

Numerals.

There are three numeral adjectives in Bushman:

/kwai one */ku*: two */mwona* three

They may follow the nouns they qualify directly or after the relatives *a*: and *e*:. Thus we find

/kui a: */kwai* and */kui /kwai* one man

/kauken e: */ku*: and */kauken /ku*: two children

/ka:gən e: */mwona* and */ka:gən /mwona* three women

/kwai is sometimes used for 'alone'. There are no other numerals.

The Adverb.

Adverbs are difficult to distinguish from verbs in Bushman. They are often used in both capacities. Thus we find:

<i>oā, u:ĩ</i> away and to leave	<i>//kaitən</i> up and to ascend
<i>//a</i> thither „ to go	<i>//kau</i> upon „ to mount
<i>sa</i> hither „ to come	<i>//koe</i> down „ to descend
<i>/e</i> : in „ to enter	<i>/hiy</i> out „ to come out
<i>!Δhi</i> in front of and to head	

Besides these there are a number of words which we translate as adverbs but which are clearly used as verbs, for the subject is always repeated after them by a pronoun; yet they are never used without another verb following. Among them are:

—mai first; */hau* afterwards; */!Δm* later; *//xā*: again; */kana* repeatedly; */kwēĩ* thus; *//nau* then or as follows.

/kui -a a: *—mai*, *ha /e*: *xwara*; *xōākəngu*: */ku /ne /hau*, *hiy sa*.

The girl did first, she enters the spring; the mothers did afterwards, they come.

Other adverbs show that they have once been verbs by taking as ending one of the particles *ki*, *ko*, *kau* which are used to join verbs.

kau, *kauki* not; */ka:gən /ka:gənkau* early; */kaiti* later;

//xΔm, *//xΔmki* also; */naunko* still, yet.

These adverbs precede the verbs they modify; so do *≠kΔm-Opwa* subsequently and *tΔm-Opwa* gently, a little, which seem from the ending to be derived from nouns. Adjectives are often used as adverbs without any change; these generally follow the verb. We find:

akən good, well; */hanūwa* comfortable, comfortably; */nu*: angry, angrily; *kwe*: quiet, quietly; *twaiĩ* sweet, sweetly.

Other adverbs do not show their derivation clearly. They sometimes precede and sometimes follow the verb, but are always close to it. *//kwēĩ* 'very' generally follows the adverb it modifies.

The Preposition.

There is really only one preposition in Bushman *au* or *o*, which can mean 'to, for, at, in, with, on account of'. It directly precedes the noun it governs. The other words we translate with prepositions are really adverbs or verbs, and retain their place before the principal verb.

/kauken se /a: *ha au //kuru* the children will cut it with a knife
ha !Δhi tiy /kauken he in front lay the children, he lay in front of the children

hiy /e: *s'o //neiy* they in sat house, they sat in the house.
 Many verbs need no preposition where we employ one: *ta*, *tiy* to lie in or at; *≠xi*: to shine upon; *tum* to listen to.

The Conjunction.

All conjunctions stand at the beginning of the clauses or sentences they introduce. We find the following:

<i>au</i> or <i>o</i>	when, as because, while
<i>ta</i> :	for, because, but
<i>he</i> or <i>he</i>	and (joining sentences)

he ti hiŋ e: then, therefore (lit 'these things they are')
he tikən e, he e: (the above shortened)
ti e: that (lit. 'things which') introduces the subordinate clause, if a conjunction is used at all.
koä and (joining words) is always preceded by a plural pronoun, for example:

/kagən hiŋ koä /kwaməŋa mantis they and */kwaməŋa*, the mantis and */kwaməŋa*

Sometimes *koä* is dropped and the pronoun alone remains:

/gwāŋgu: //kwaŋ e:, hiŋ kərogu: hiŋ //hoëgu:

the hyenas were (there), and the jackals, and the crows.

(To be continued.)