

BUSHMAN GRAMMAR.

A grammatical sketch of the language of the */xam-ka-!k'e*
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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-!k'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 *//ŋ-!ke* 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 Auhoup. 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, 88. 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:, α, α:, ɔ, ɔ:, u, u:, ʌ, ə:, y, y:, w, w:*

There are the diphthongs: *ei, ai, au, ao, əɔ, oi, ɔi, 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 *¨* 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 \sphericalcap 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.
- y* 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	≠gabətən	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, *_dā* could, *ɣ* I, *_ɣ-ɣ* 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-!k'etən* /*ku ≠kəkən* *au hi /eni !kauükən*, *au /hū-/hūŋaŋ /ne e: ≠kəkən* *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: kareboom, //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 *ŋ* 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; ⊙*pwon* son, ⊙*pwaxai* daughter; *oā* father, *xoā* mother; !*kōiŋ* 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	<i>!nəa</i>	<i>!nəaŋ</i>	<i>!nəa!nəa</i>
hand	<i>/kʰa</i>	<i>/kʰakən</i>	<i>/kʰa/kʰa</i>
mouth	<i>tu</i>	<i>tukən</i>	<i>tutu</i>
eggshell	<i>həro</i>	<i>hərokən</i>	<i>hərohəro</i>
lung	<i>fo</i>	<i>fokən</i>	<i>fofo</i>
stone	<i>/kou</i>	<i>/kougən</i>	<i>/kou/kou</i>
perforated stone	<i>!kwe</i>	<i>!kwetən</i>	<i>!kwe!kwe</i>
night	<i>//ga:</i>	<i>//ga:gən</i>	<i>//ga//ga:</i>
ravine	<i>!kwiri</i>	<i>!kwiritən</i>	<i>!kwiri!kwiri</i>
dog	<i>!kuiŋ</i>	<i>!kuiŋjaŋ</i>	<i>!kuiŋ!kuiŋ</i>

II. Reduplication of the emphatic form.

thing	<i>ti</i>	<i>tikən</i>	<i>tikəntikən</i>
bed-skin	<i>!ki:</i>	<i>!ki:tən</i>	<i>!kitən!ki:tən</i>
bow	<i>/hou</i>	<i>/houkən</i>	<i>/houkən/houkən</i>
hill	<i>—/kao</i>	<i>—/kaokən</i>	<i>—/kaokən—/kaoken</i>
net	<i>/üi</i>	<i>/üiŋ</i>	<i>/üiŋ/üiŋ</i>

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	<i>xu:</i>	<i>xu:kən</i>	<i>xuxu:kən</i>
fight, death	<i>/a:</i>	<i>/a:kən</i>	<i>/a/a:kən</i>
fieldmouse	//khou	//khoukən	//khou//khoukən
tortoiseshell	—!gəē	—!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	} ≠hāī	} ≠hāīŋ	} ≠ha≠hāīŋ
thigh bone			

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

a. by reduplication of the root only:

black crow	—!ka:gən	—!ka:—kəkən	—!ka:—!ka:
silver jackal	!gwi:tən	!gwi:təkən	!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:naŋ	!ke!ke:n
barblet	//kukən	//kukakən	//ku//kukən
feather brush	—!koākən	—!koākakən	—!ko—!koākən

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>/εm</i>		<i>/ε/εmi</i>
collarbone	<i>!khΔm</i>	<i>!khΔmaŋ</i>	<i>!kha!khΔmi</i>
stone pipe	<i>!kan</i>	<i>!kanaŋ</i>	<i>!kan!kana</i>

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

wrist	<i>//khœε</i>	<i>//khœretən</i>	<i>//kha//khœε</i>
mother animal	<i>//kwaru</i>	<i>//kwarakən</i>	<i>//kwa//kwaru</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>!kauxukən</i>	<i>!kau!kauxu</i>
back	<i>tsəŋxu</i>	<i>tsəŋxukən</i>	<i>tsətsəŋxu</i>
chest	<i>!ka:xu</i>	<i>!ka:xukən</i>	<i>!ka!katənxu</i>
stomach	<i>/kouxu</i>	<i>/kouxukən</i>	<i>/ku/kutənxu</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.

blisters	<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>!xətən!xətən</i>
larynx	<i>!hœre</i>	<i>!hœretən</i>	<i>!hatən!hatən</i>
Koranna	<i>!kwaru</i>	<i>!kwarakən</i>	<i>!kwatən!kwatən</i>
breastbone	<i>//goro</i>	<i>//gorokən</i>	<i>//gətən//gətən</i>
jackal	<i>_koro</i>	<i>_korokən</i>	<i>_kətən_kətən</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	//kaie		//ka//katənī
mouse	!henixa	!henixakən	!he!henixə
white man	/hū	/hūŋ	/hū/hūnəŋ
body	!kauūkən		!kaulkauwəŋ
place	!kwei	!kweitən	!kwei/kworeəŋ
eye	tsa-xau	tsa-xaitakən	tsa-xaitən and tsatsa-xukən
fool	/gebi	/gebiwakən	/gi/gitən and /gebitən- /gebitən

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

bone	!kwa	!kwakən	!kwa:gən
tree	⊙ho	⊙hokən	⊙ho:gən
branch	/khwe	/khwetən	/khwetən
stick	//kha	//khakən	//khaitən
young girl	//hi:		//hitən
sister	//kaxai	//kaxaitən	//kaxukən
sieve	-!k ^ʷ wi		-!k ^ʷ witən
metal knife	!gwara	!gwarakən	!gwatən

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

son	⊙pwaŋ		⊙pwaŋde
brother	//kā	//kaŋ	//kaŋde
brother-in-law	!xa:		!xa!xa:de

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

lath	!kwainti	!kwaintikən	!kwainde
little birds	//gəritənti	//gəritəntikən	//gəritənde
screen of bushes	//kuī	//kuītən	//kuī//kuīde
eyeball	!gəritən		!gwiri!gwiride
finger nail	//kūru	//kūrukən	//ku//kudi and //ku//kuti

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>oä</i>	<i>oäkən</i>	<i>o:kəngu:</i> parents
„	<i>bobo</i>		<i>bo:kəngu:</i>
mother	<i>xoä</i>	<i>xoäkən</i>	<i>xoäkəngu:</i>
„	<i>mama</i>	<i>mamaŋ</i>	<i>mamaŋ:</i>
husband or wife	<i>/ha</i>	<i>/hakən</i>	<i>/haukəngu:</i> husband and wife
brother-in-law	<i>!khwī</i>	<i>!khwī:ŋ</i>	<i>!khwī!khwi:ŋgu:</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>tsʉeŋ</i> and <i>tsʉwitʉwi</i>
egg	<i>!kauī</i>	<i>!kauītən</i>	<i>!kwītən</i>
child	<i>!khwā:</i>	<i>!khwā:ŋ</i>	<i>!kaukən</i>
little sister in law	<i>!kouki</i>		<i>!koukukən</i>
person, man	<i>!kui, !kyi</i>	<i>!kuitən</i>	<i>!kʰe:</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 *!ʉwa:*; lion *—//khā:*; black korhaan *—kwa—kwara*; eland *sʰa*; ox *xəro*; beetle *zu:*; butterfly *dadabasi*; moth *gəro*; ichneumon */ni:*; owl *!hū/hū*; baboon */hu/hu*; elephant *≠xəē*; also names of plants, as thornbush *!naba*; kareeboom *//na:*; grass */khe:*; berry */gara*; also parts of the body, as thumb *//ǝhái*; liver *//khā:*; skin *tū:*; neck *!kou*; nose */nūnu*; throat *—dəm*; and some other nouns, as bead */kʰi:*; sorcerer *!gi:*; hole, den *!kwe/kwe*; winter *!na:*.

Examples of the declension of nouns:

Singular.

	bag	leg	hut	fieldmouse
Simple	//ho	!kwa:	//neiŋ	//khou
Emphatic	//hokən	!kwa:gən	//neiŋjaŋ	//khoukən
Possessive	//ho-ka	!kwa:-ga	//neiŋ-ka	//khou-ka
Vocative				//khou-we

Plural.

Simple	//ho//ho	!kwa/kwa:	//nei//nei	//khou//khoukən
Emphatic	//ho//hokən	!kwa!kwa:gən	//nei//neiŋ	//khou//khoukakən
Possessive	//ho//ho-ka	!kwa!kwa:-ka	//nei//nei-ta	//khou//khoukən-ka
Vocative				//khou//khoukən-we

Singular.

	ostrich	white man	hyena	son
Simple	toī	/hū	!gwāī	⊙pwəŋ
Emphatic	toītən	/hūŋ	!gwāīn	⊙pwəŋ
Possessive	toī-ta	/hū-ka	!gwāī-ta	⊙pwəŋ-ka
Vocative	toī-we	/hū-we	!gwāī-we	⊙pwəŋ-we

Plural.

Simple	toī	/hū/hū	!gwāīgu:	⊙pwənde
Emphatic	toītən	/hū/hūnaŋ	!gwāīgu:kən	⊙pwəndekən
Possessive	toī-ta	/hū/hū-ka	!gwāīgu:-ka	⊙pwənde-ka
Vocative	toī-we	/hū/hū-we	!gwāīgu:-we	⊙pwənde-we

Pronouns.

Personal.

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

Singular.

	1st person	2nd person	3rd person	
Simple	ŋ, ka	a	ha, hā	hi
Emphatic	ŋ-ŋ, kakən, ka-ŋ	a-a, akən	ha-ha, hā-hā, haŋ	hi-hi
Possessive	ŋ-ka, ŋ-ŋ-ka	a-ka, a-a-ka	ha-ka, ha-ha-ka	hi-ta

Plural.

Simple	i	si	u	hi, hī
Emphatic	i-i, itən, si-si, sitən	u-u, ukən		hi-hi, hī-hī, hiŋ
Possessive	i-ta	si-ta	u-ka	hi-ta, hi-hi-ta

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 /how*; 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 *ɿ:*; the latter is contracted from *au ha* or *au hi*, to him, to them. For example:

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

//gɿro e: !kwa:gən !Δhí so hi
breastbone which bones upon sit it, (the breastbone on which the bones are) *haŋ //kei//kei !wa: 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'oen* 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 they qualify and are often preceded by the relatives *a:* and *e:*.

⊙*ho a:* *t'ain* bush which soft, a soft bush; *//go//go !keri* whirlwind great, the great whirlwind; *!kaukən e:* *≠en* 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>!xo!xo:ka</i>	short	<i>/yri</i>	<i>/ytən</i>
large	<i>!kuija</i>	<i>!kui!kuita</i>	small	<i>ts'əre:</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 $\odot pwa$ 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'.

!*kui gwai* man, strong person *toï gwai* male ostrich, strong ostrich

!*k'e-ta tukən* men *toï-ta tukən* male ostriches

!*kui /aiti* woman *toï /aiti* female ostrich

!*k'e-ta /ka:gən* women, men's mates *toï-ta /ka:gən* female ostriches

Ku 'all' is also joined to the noun it qualifies by the possessive particle. *!āū-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 *!nwəna* 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

!*kaukən e*: *!ku*: and *!kaukən !ku*: two children

/*ka:gən e*: *!nwəna* and /*ka:gən !nwəna* 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>oä, u:i</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>hiŋ</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; *!hΔm* later; *//xā:* again; *!kana* repeatedly; *!kwēi* thus; *//nau* then or as follows.

!kui—/a a: —mai, ha /e: xwara; xoākəngu: /ku /ne !hau, hiŋ 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 nōt; !ka:gən !ka:gənkau early; *!kai:ti* 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; *twaii* sweet, sweetly.

Other adverbs do not show their derivation clearly. They sometimes precede and sometimes follow the verb, but are always close to it. *//kwē:i* '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.

!kaukən se /a: ha au //kuru the children will cut it with a knife
ha !Δhí tiŋ !kaukən he in front lay the children, he lay in front of the children

hiŋ /e: s'o //neiŋ they in sat house, they sat in the house.
Many verbs need no preposition where we employ one: *ta, tiŋ* to lie in or at; *≠χi:* 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>hε</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 sub-
ordinate clause, if a conjunction is used at all.
koä and (joining words) is always preceded by
a plural pronoun, for example:

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

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

!gwāiŋu: //kwaŋ e; hiŋ kərogu: hiŋ //hoëgu:

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

(To be continued.)

BUSHMAN GRAMMAR.

A grammatical sketch of the language of the /*xam-ka-!ʔe*
by Dorothea F. Bleek.

(Continuation.)¹⁾

The Verb.

In conjugating a verb the different persons are not distinguished save by the subject; one says: *ŋ ʔkəkən* I speak; *a ʔkəkən* thou speakest; *oā ʔkəkən* father speaks; *sitən ʔkəkən* we speak; *ukən ʔkəkən* you speak; *hi ʔkəkən* they speak; */ka:gən ʔkəkən* the women speak.

Two or three verbs can be strung together in a sentence, sometimes joined by one of the particles *ki*, *ko*, *kau*, *ti*, *to*, *tau*, *si*, or by */ki* 'to take', sometimes without any connection. It is possible that the adverbs and prepositions which have also a verbal meaning are really verbs used in this manner.

/ha /ki sa wai the husband takes comes springbok, brings the springbok.
!khwā:ŋ /ne //kara so child did bask sit, the child sat basking.

ŋ _koä _tā:i kau !nu:i I must walk and bark, I must bark as I walk.
oākən siŋ _/kame:n ki //a !kwitən father did carry and go eggs, took the eggs.

ha se !khe tau !nau he will stand and bury (it).

ha se //a di /ki siŋ ha he will go make take sit it, he will go to sit preparing it.

Moods and tenses are formed by placing one or more verbal particles or auxiliaries before the verb in chief. A few of these can be used as independent verbs, others are not found alone, though they may once have been so used. These particles do not correspond exactly with one mood or tense in English, it is therefore difficult to give exact rules for their use, particularly when several are employed together, but the following examples will show the most usual meaning. Occasionally also the verb takes an ending, generally when it can be translated as a participle. Sometimes however the ending seems to include the object. There are evidently so many more ways of expressing nuances of action in Bushman than in English, that we shall see many different Bushman forms translated by one and the same English expression.

¹⁾ cf. Vol. XIX, p. 81—98.

se indicates the future or subjunctive. It is generally used in clauses expressing the effect of the preceding clause. Sometimes it can be translated by 'must'. It may be derived from *sa, si* 'to come'.
!kwiŋ fo ≠ī, ti e; !kwiŋ se /ka ha, au !kwiŋjaŋ k'auki se /ka ha
 the dog seems to think that the dog will kill it, but the dog will not kill it.

/kao -!kwa: !kʔwa: !khou, //xa Opwa se -/kamme:ŋ !kʔwa:
 cut break hartebeest's neck, (that) sister little may carry hartebeest's
/na:.
 head.

haŋ !kurukən!kurukən //kau ta: !kwa: /na: ts'ī-ta. !pāū, ha se
 he dries (his feathers) upon lie water's head's back's earth, he will

!hau ha -ta:ē u.
 afterwards he walk away, i. e. he dries his feathers lying upon the water's bank, that he may afterwards walk away.

he e; toī se aro:ko /ku:kən ī: then ostrich will quickly die from it; he ti hiŋ e; i se -tai au //kōiŋya /esta therefore we will go when the sun has set.

!kwi gwai se ≠kam-Opwa -taba /ki /e: so-|ōā -/kwai au ha /ha
 the man must first work put in herb scent on his wife,
he e: ha se-g /ne -tai //koē !khe ha /ka:gən.
 then she may walk among stand her mates, i. e. the man must first work scenting his wife with herbs, so that she may walk about among her companions.

siŋ indicates the past tense, also the perfect, pluperfect and subjunctive perfect. It may be derived from one form of the verb 'to sit'.

!kʔwa:gən siŋ ka, ŋ /kvm u !hāū au ha ts'axau.
 hartebeest did want, I take away thong from his eye, i. e. the hartebeest wanted me to take the thong away from his eye.

ts'wa:-ga !kʔe:-ta kukumi hε: //kabogu: siŋ ≠kaka hu hī,
 Flat's Bushmen's stories which the Jantjes have told you them,

he e: i se xōāxōā hī, ta: //kabo k'auki !naunko /ki kum
 they are we will write them, for Jantje not still gets story

a: ha se ≠kaka.

which he may tell, i. e. the Flat-Bushmen's stories, which Jantje and his people have told you are what we will write, for Jantje no longer hears a story that he may tell.

/kagən kukui:tən /k'e:, ha sij /kai:tji //k'oən ho:-Opwakən //gwitən
Mantis answering said, he had just seen springbok little play

//koë !khe: ≠xoä-ka !kauken.

among stand elephant's children, i. e. the Mantis answered that he had just seen the little springbok playing among the little elephants.

ŋ ≠i:, ti e: ŋ !ku sij !ke!kè _k'agn, _!k'aka sij //na
I thought that I would await the crow, the crow might be with

ŋ, ha sij //k'oən !kwi:tən.

me; it might see the eggs.

sʔaŋ, _saŋ appears to be one form of the verb *si, sa* 'to come'. Sometimes it can be translated as 'come', at others it expresses future or conditional action. It is often used with other particles.

hiŋ _sʔaŋ !gua:n !ʔaŋ !khe hiŋ !kotən.

it came to join upon stand its top of neck, i. e. it came to join onto the top of its neck.

he e: kə:ro _saŋ _hami ha /na: then the jackal will fear his head.

!kwi /akən ≠i ti e: ha _saŋ //kau ki //kaiten !huiŋ egeŋ the girl thought that she would throw up the *!huiŋ* roots.

oä perfect or pluperfect.

!kwi a: -a _oä tuko _a: a a man this has really been here, i. e. this man has really been here.

hiŋ e ha //kaxai /ne ≠enna, ti e: ha _oä !xwəni, ti e: ha /k'a/k'a _oä sə:nja !khwā then his sister would know, that he had turned back, that his hands had been upon the child.

ha indicates the past. It is generally used with other particles. The word is identical with the verb 'to come' in Naron and Hottentot, and similar to the Bushman *-hā* 'to go'.

!kwi /akən _ha //k'oən ha the girl looked at him.

he ti hiŋ e:, /aiti _ha /ne /kau/kau ho u:i ha !nu!nuŋtu: therefore his wife cut away his ears.

/ne expresses either the indicative or imperative. In the indicative it may denote a state, when it may be translated by the verb 'to be', or a habitual action, or a simple continuation of the narrative.

!khou /ne _kə:iŋ. !kwaitəntu:wa //kə:wa, hī /ne xubu !kuŋ //e. !kauka-g /ne /ni: ha the honey is lean. The flowers having dried, they break off. The children saw him.

ts'uits'uītən /ne /ke:tən hi /ka:gən, /ne -hā: the things call to their mates, go.

/ne ≠ *kaka ke a-a-ka kum* tell me thy story.

//kei//kei-wε, */ne //kaotən s'a:* o beast of prey, rise up.

/ku a narrative particle, either past or present, often used similarly to the verb 'to be'.

/kaggən /ku a: /kərruwa !kauken the Mantis was one who cheated the children.

ha /na: ka /ku -mai, *hi /hiŋ //e*, *au ha eŋeŋja: /ku //nū: /na:; ha /na: /ku !gōä ā* his head is wont first to go out, while his body is behind the head; his head looks round.

!kaukən /ku !kei //a: //neŋ the children reached home.

he /ku !ki:ja they are red.

ha /na: /ku /hoä:ka his head is black.

/ku /ne, */ku-g /ne* is often used in narratives; it seems to express either continuous action, or a repetition of the preceding tense.

ha /ku-g /ne /kan/kan au !ku/ku, *au haŋ /ku-g /ne butən xa au ha -//gai* he was stepping along with his shoes, while he jogged along with his shoulderblade.

hi /ku /ne dabba-ī it opens and shuts its eyes, i. e. it is opening and shutting its eyes.

he tikən e;, *ha xóa /ku-g /ne -taba_taba*, *ha xóakən /ku-g /ne /ki //a ha ā hā* therefore, his mother worked and worked, his mother brought him food.

/ne /ku likewise used in narratives to carry on any tense.

!khwa: kaŋ -ha -oa //haita !kwi /a, *au !kwi /akən //na //neŋ;*

!kwa:-gən /ne /ku !khau ha, *he !khwa: /ne /ku /hiŋ i:* the rain formerly courted a girl, while the girl was at home; the rain scented her, and the rain went forth on account of it.

doä 'must, can', or a past tense. It is generally used with other particles.

/hā: -oä -doä e: /ka -!hoä !k?e Boers must have been those who killed off the people.

ŋ !noa kan k'auki -doä i:ja my foot can not do so.

ŋ /ke /ku -doä /kurrija //na//na: kə:ro-ka //neŋ, *au ŋ k'auki //e*

ŋ-ga //neŋ, *ŋ /ku -doä !lhaitən uī:* I there have been writhing at the jackal's hut, and I did not go to my home, I had to limp away.

ŋ a: -ha: k'au -doä !ku:xe I am the one who was not able to run.

-kóä 'must' or 'should' is usually followed by another verbal particle or a verb of motion.

u -kóä se //ka: hi: !kuttau you must burn for us to Sirius.

a -kóä /ne se /e: //ko:ä ke -!kə:a au //ho-⊙pwa thou must pack up for me stamped meat in the little bag.

ŋ *_kóä _tāē /ha !xwe; u _kóä _tōē /kuŋ so ŋ* I must walk to the wife first; you must walk behind me.

k''oa, k''oa, _k''oä 'should, seems to', may also be translated 'must'.
haŋ /ne ta ti e: ha /eni _k''oä k'auki si //xā: hi //k'i: tiŋ he wished that his tongue should not again stick fast.

au ka _k'oä /ku se /ne di /a: while I was obliged to fight.
to:i a: /xara ha k'oä e a different ostrich she seems to be.

kwa: and *kwaŋ* also *_kwa* and *_kwaŋ*, are generally used in one of a series of clauses to express sequence or effect. They may be translated 'shall', 'should' or 'must', or by an adverb 'then', 'henceforth' etc.

ŋ /kōiŋja /ne /k'e: ŋ, ŋ kwaŋ k'auki _!kaitən-ī //kerri my grandfather told me, I must not throw stones at the bird.

hī ꞑen-a ti e: so /ōä _/kwai _saŋ _!kwa:ŋ, so /ōä _/kwai _kwaŋ //k'ʉere hī /i they know that the herb scent would be angry, the herb scent would hurt their hearts.

!khwetən ts'u //koe ta: ŋ-ka //neiŋ //kaiē, au akən kwaŋ /ku //keri //na au !khwa: the wind blows into my hut's middle, while thou art just screaming there about the rain.

ŋ ka !aruxu kwaŋ k'auki ꞑi: I wish the Dassie should not think.
ha //nœintuwa: si-g /ne /kwē: da, ha kwa: /ne //kΔm//kΔm his chest will be thus, that he may bellow.

au ha ꞑgou /ki so, ŋ kwa: /ku i:ja while it sat silent, I consequently did so.

au //kōiŋ a: //hiŋ s'a, ha kwa: /ne !khe while the sun comes out, he still stands.

//kuay seems to emphasize the following verb; it is sometimes merely narrative, sometimes adverbial in meaning.

!kwiŋ //kuay e a dog it is.

//koxaitən kuay //khōä a Kafir it seems (to be).

tswey e: _darakən hī _//kuay /ne e things which move they are.

ibogu _//kuay /ke: _/kamen s'a: our fathers yonder come carrying.

haŋ /ne aroko ho: //kha, au haŋ tatti e:, ha _//kuay /ne ꞑhauꞑhau i: he quickly picks up the stick, because he is just springing away.

ŋ _//kuay /ne ho akən ŋ-ka tswiŋwi, au kakən /ne ꞑgouwa, ŋ _//kuay siŋ /ne _/kameŋ akən hī I picked up nicely my things, while I was at peace, I carried them nicely.

ka 'to wish', 'to mean', 'to intend' is also used to express habitual action or a state.

au haŋ ka, ha si /ki /e: /k''i: a: !nuntu for he wishes. he shall stick in beads to his ears.

ŋ ɸi, ti e:, ŋ ka ŋ !nɔa se...!ham kwere I think that I want my foot first to cool.

ha ka-g /ne //a !kwi!kwisitən -/ni: he meant to go to tell lies to the ichneumon.

/ha !gwāŋ a: ka aroko -/kameŋ ti sa to:i-ta !kwitən the male hyena is one who quickly carries off the ostrich eggs.

he e: !nwa: ka !khe wai then the arrow stands in the springbok.

ha a: ka //ku: wa; /ku:i /ku a: ka ...kɔ:iŋ he is one who is fat: the broody ostrich is one who is lean.

kaŋ expresses continuous action or a state.

/ga: ra kaŋ swe: nja ŋ //ku: /na: the berries are sitting on my shoulder.

/auä !khwā, !khwā kaŋ k'wa: listen to the child, the child is crying.

au /a a:, ha kaŋ da: ha au !kauxu about the fight which he had been making on the hunting ground.

ha-g /ne !hái ho //khwai, au /ni: ja kaŋ //k'oen !khe: //neŋ he slung on the quiver, while the ichneumon stood looking at the hut.

ŋ kaŋ -//kaŋ-a I am hungry.

si kaŋ e: /k'abbe:ja we are those who conspired.

ta, tā 'to feel' is used in the same sense as *ka*.

si ta si di si ɔpwaxai au hā-hā we thought we should make our daughter of her.

to:i k'auki ta ɸkaka !kʔe an ostrich does not talk to people.

he e:, !gwāŋ ta !khwai!khwai hī they are those whom the hyena frightens.

tan 'to feel', 'to seem', is also used to emphasize the following verb.

ha k'auki taŋ //ku: he does not feel tired.

ti taŋ, to:i se /ka ha it seems, the ostrich will kill him.

ŋ taŋ ts'auwa I do milk.

!kwi taŋ /ke sa:, !kɔiŋ taŋ /ke sa: a man yonder comes, Grandfather yonder comes.

kië 'would' used after conditional clauses.

ta ha //nau, ha xa /kwēi /kwē/kwā:, ha di, hiŋkië se...tai hī ha for she knew, if she did not act in this manner, they would go out with her.

In many cases a number of particles are used together. The following are some combinations frequently found.

-ha oä, -//kuay -ha oä, kaŋ or taŋ -ha oä are often used at the beginning of a story, where we should say 'once' or 'once upon a time'. They have generally been translated 'formerly'.

!xwē-//na-s'o !kui _//kuay _ha oä /hay-a ≠neru a man of the early race once married a ≠neru bird.

_!kha-ü _//kuay _ha oä ka the lizard once sang.

/kui: _ha oä da hi //kaxai au -!kui the vultures formerly made their sister of a person.

!khwa kay _ha oä //haita !kui/a the rain once courted a girl.

!khwe tay _ha oä /kuc ≠gouwa the wind was formerly still.

kay s'ay 'will'

η kay s'ay _/ka:ti _!gwa: /ki a tu I will soon beat thy mouth.

η kay s'ay i: I will come.

k''oä _döä 'must have'

η _k''oä _döä //khwaitən//khwaitən I must have been mistaken.

au ha -/k''oä _döä mai, ha !Δhi ho η while he must have first passed in front of me.

au hī _k''oä _döä !khwetən /ki /xoë for they must have disturbed the place.

/ne and */ku* or both are often used with particles expressing tense without apparently affecting the meaning.

/hu/hu _ha /ne //ay _//gauë hī the baboons went to seek it.

he !gauë- /i _ha /ku /ne /k'e: ha !kouki-⊙pwa and the Dawn's-Heart scolded his younger sister-in-law.

se /ku-g /ne or */ku se-g /ne* are equivalent to 'will be doing'.

!khwa /ku se-g /ne kãũ, /ki se wai the rain will be falling, bringing the springbok.

i se /ku-g /ne /xã-a wai we shall be shooting springbok.

Interrogative particles.

/nũ, /nu expresses a question, doubt or possibility.

aken /nũ k''au so _döä-g /ne _//kwakka? dost thou not seem able to understand?

η k'' auki ≠enna, ti e: !kui /nũ e I do not know whether it be a man.

/ka:gen tutu: ha i, ti e:, ha /nu k''au /na: /k'e i the women asked, whether it had not seen the men.

hiη _//kuay //khoä hī /nũ !kõä they seem as if they may be travelling.

ba is used in direct questions.

a ba /ku /uru: wa ha !khwã? hast thou forgotten this child?

u bu siη se /ku //a: /ã !kõiη? have you been and cut up the old man?

ha ≠kaka /ni:, ts'a ba a:, !kõiη _//kuay so da: /a: ? she said to the ichneumon, what is it that the old man seems to have?

de, di is used in direct and indirect questions, but with a second interrogative particle. *ti de* 'what place,' stands for 'where,' *tsa de* 'what thing' for 'what' or 'why', *!ku de* or *!ku di* 'what person' for 'who'; there is even an example of *dekən* used as 'who'. We might almost look upon the particle as adjective, adverb, or pronoun.

ra is another particle used in questions with a second interrogative. It generally follows *tsa* 'thing' and may be translated by 'what' or 'why'.

xa when used with one of the above mentioned interrogatives certainly expresses a question, occasionally it is used without them as a negative, expressing 'lest' or 'unless'.

//neinjay /nu //na ti de? where is the house?

tsa de ba a:, u-//kuay //kōā /kī:-ā //kazai? what is it, you have really got sister?

a xa de? where art thou?

/ōā xa de? where is the hare?

γ xa si //kaitən ti de? where shall I ascend?

a-a: !kain Opwa, a xa /ke: swe:γswe:γ ti k'wa? thou little orphan, art thou sitting there crying?

tsa de xa e, he !khwā k'auki ≠kakən ke? what is the matter that the child does not speak to me?

!khwā-we, tsa ra xa a:, a-ka //kandi //kwēi tā ā? o child, why is it that thy foolishness is like this?

!ku di xa a: /na: !kuttau? who was it saw Sirius?

hay !xe:ī ha !k'a/k'a, !kuko xa se !nī: he he hid his hands, lest the other should see them.

See also the example to *kiē*.

Verbal endings.

-ī The termination *-ī* to a verb expresses duration of action, corresponding to the forms with the present participle.

au hiγ tattī Oho //kən-ī hī as it felt the bush was pricking it.

he eγ-eγ -dōā-g /ne -darakən, he -k'ōā e:, hi ≠ko:-ī, ī: its flesh is able to move, that must be why it is shrinking away from it (the second *ī:* is the pronoun).

he tikən e:, /kaggən /ne //kabo-ī !khwa therefore the Mantis was dreaming about the child.

-ā, -a after a verb expresses duration or repetition of action, it can sometimes be used as a participle.

/hu /hu a: kay hā-a //xī hoā a baboon who feeding went by.

ha oā se //karro-ā !k'e e: !kau!kau !Δhi!Δhi !khe !kukən !kukən that his father might take aim at the people who sit upon their heels.

a In the cases quoted above the ending *a* or *ā* remains distinct from the verb in pronunciation, but there is another ending *a* which connects itself more closely with the verbal root in one of the following ways:

(1) In short verbs the final *e* or *i* turns into *a*. Such verbs are *se*, *si* 'to come', *//e* 'to go', *di* 'to do', *hī* 'to eat', *//ke* 'to burn', */ki* 'to kill', */i* 'to cut', */ni* 'to see', */xi* 'to shoot'.

(2) In longer verbs, especially in those ending in a diphthong or *n* the *a* is joined to the root by *w*, or *j*, forming *-wa* or *-ja*, as *//kei//keija*, */korruwa*, *!kammenja*.

(3) Verbs ending in *kən* or *tən* change these syllables into *ka* and *ta*, *≠kaka*, *tatta*.

(1) The rules governing the change of *i* and *e* to *a* are not clear; sometimes the latter form expresses the perfect, sometimes it is used after *se* as the subjunctive, sometimes it seems to be used as an applied form, but then again there are cases where no reason can be found for its use.

haŋ hī: kerru-ka !kaukən he eats young bushes.

sitən k''auki !naunko hā: to:i eŋ-eŋ we have not yet eaten ostrich flesh.

ha ka, ha /ka tsa, ha se hā: to:i eŋ-eŋ he thought he would kill something, that he might eat ostrich flesh.

ŋ k''auki taŋ, ŋ se tāē ha:ŋ I do not want to walk feeding myself.

!na: ko:wa se /ku-g /ne se another winter will come.

//go//go *Opwa:kən /ne sa hīhī* a little whirlwind came to them.

sa:gən sai:, sa:gən /ke sa the eland comes, the eland yonder comes.

sitən k''auki se //k'oən !ka!kauru,o si /xā: Opwai we may not look at the moon, when we have shot game.

(2 and 3) The endings *wa*, *ja*, *ka*, *ta* seem to indicate the imperative, an applied form, a participle, or the passive.

/kaggən ku a: /korruwa !kaukən the Mantis is one who cheated the children.

haŋ //kei//keija ha /ku:ka he seemed as if he were dead.

!k'wa: /na: //k'oən//k'oenja //nūŋ ta ŋ ts'ēŋxu the hartebeest's head lay looking behind my back.

au haŋ /xoroka sa as he rustling came.

hiŋ /xerrija //kūtən-ka !k'āū they scratch up the screen's earth, or they scratch up earth for the screen.

haŋ /ne toŕriŕrija //koē: he having whirled round fell.

mamaŋ ≠kakka ke mother told me.

//koŋ se !karaka hī !k'āū the sun should warm for them the earth.

//khweitən//khweita /ku sa: lying come forward.

haŋ ꜜkakkən kweitənkweita !kwā: it speaks whispering to the child.

/ne ꜜkakka ke speak to me.

//k'oenja ti e: look at this place.

These endings may be forms of a verbal particle *a* or *a:* sometimes still found before the verb, probably denoting past action. A similar particle in the Auen language denotes the repetition of any tense. As this particle is almost identical with the singular of the relative pronoun, it is difficult to say which is meant after nouns in the singular. *ŋ xoā a: ꜜkakka ke* may be 'my mother was the one who told me' or 'my mother told me'. But in the following instance the *a* follows a noun in the plural, so it is clearly not a relative. *!k?e a !hən/hən _tai* the people had gone hunting.

That the *a* may be a verbal particle sometimes preceding the verb is indicated by the fact, that the endings *wa* and *ja* are occasionally found attached to the noun, yet affecting the verb, not merely emphasizing the noun.

i se _tai, au //kōinja /e: ta we will go, when the sun has set.

/kaggən tūway !karokən!karokən suttən /hiŋ hī au !kaukən /k'a/k'a the Mantis's skin snatched itself out of the children's hands.

The ordinary emphatic form of *tū* is *tūn*.

//khetən//khetən saŋ hī Opwai, au Opwaija /ku:kən ta the beasts of prey would eat the game, while the game lay dying.

In the following example the particle seems attached to both noun and verb.

!kwaitəntu:wa //korwa, hī /ne /xubu the flowers having dried, they break off.

The participle in *a*, *wa*, *ja*, *ka*, *ta* is occasionally used as the passive.

!k'āū /ne ꜜkaꜜkaka the ground is made light (lit up).

!kwā gwai Opwakən u !kauwa ha /k'a a little boy is cut in this hand.

!ka!karro //kuay /a: the moon has been cut.

Many adjectives seem to be simple participles of verbs.

!k'āū-ka ku: ꜜxi: ja all the earth is bright (shining).

!k'āū /ne !ki: ja the earth is red.

ha siŋ _doā khwiya, ka ku-gmwiŋ ku a khwiya it had to be cunning, for the lynx was one who is cunning.

Reduplication of the verb.

Reduplication expresses either repeated, continuous action such as might be translated 'kept on doing', or else transitive and causative action.

!kway !ku: tī !k'wa: /na: the child let fall the hartebeest's head.

ha //kaxukakən !ku!ku: tī /kaggən-ka eŋ-eŋ her sisters let fall (one after another) the Mantis's flesh.

/kaggən-ka eŋjaŋ ʔhauʔhau //k'e: the Mantis's flesh sprang together, kept springing together.

ha /ne!kattən!kattən //koä !khe //a: he running went before the wind.

haŋ kiki ha he makes himself grow, from *ki* 'to grow'.

ha se tā:ē !kwain!kwain ha !nəa!nəa he will walk strengthening his feet, from *!kwain* 'to grow strong'.

a a: saŋ /ki/ki !khwāŋ thou art the one who shall take care of the child, from *!ki* 'to get, have, bring'.

ku

A very frequent form of expressing action is the use of the verb *ku* before the chief verb, which is often an imitation of sound; such a phrase as 'it went pop', 'er machte plumps'.

ku alone generally means 'to speak, say'. It is often used with another verb of speech.

he ha ku: ta ti e:, ŋ siŋ //xam ta he and he said: feel that which I have also felt.

he mama kukuītən /k'eja ke and mother speaking said to me.

When used with other verbs *ku* corresponds more to 'to make' or 'to do' in so far as it need be translated at all.

he //go:gən ku tʃotto //ko ha /na: o ha //kua//kuan and the tortoise made slide in her head to her neck, i. e. and the tortoise drew her head into her neck.

ha /ku-g /ne ku //nip(p) au /khwā ʘpwa he makes nip to the little child, i. e. he catches hold of the little child.

haŋ /ne ku //khabbe(t) ā: /khwī he fended off his brother-in-law.

he ti /ku di ku taŋtaŋ !kwa: !kan !haŋ si tsaxaitən these things made to feel water holding shut our eyes, i. e. it seemed as if the rain were closing our eyes.

Syntax.

The sequence of the sentence or clause is the direct one: subject, verb, object; or amplified: connective, subject, verbal particle, verb, indirect object, direct object, extension.

Only in the Imperative does the subject occasionally follow the verb, for example:

_amm //k'oen ju //xabbitən//xabbitən /na: gwai first look ye at
//xabbitən//xabbitən's big head.

Where there are several subjects they are first enumerated, then repeated by a pronoun. Several verbal particles may precede the chief verb or verbs, for as stated above, several verbs can be strung together to express one action. One of these verbs, where there are two or more, has generally an adverbial effect indicating place or manner. An extension of the verb expressed by a noun with a preposition follows the verb, and has more the nature of an indirect object with a preposition.

The whole speech is broken up into small clauses, joined either by connectives which precede the subject, by relatives, or by the meaning. Many of these clauses are adjectival phrases, others are adverbial phrases with the form of verbs, after which the subject is repeated (see Adverbs, Part 1).

he ti hiḡ e:, haḡ /ne ku: /e _//khā: tu au /xabba:, haḡ /ne
these things they are, he did fill in lion's mouth with soup, he did

/kei /e: _//khā:ḡ /na: au !koō, au haḡ tattī (ta ti) e:
put in lion's head to pot for he felt thing which (or this)

ha //ko:äkən /ki /e: _//khā: /na: au !koā; ha si //ko:äkən /ka_//khā:
he altogether put in lion's head to pot; he will altogether kill lion

au /xabba-ka /i; au han (ta ti) tattī e: ha e /gwāi a dattən
with soup's heat; for he feels thing this, he is hyena who deceives

!k?e kuitən, haḡ ≠kakkən, he ti hiḡ e:, ha ≠kakka _//khā:, i:
people other, he speaks, these things they are, he spoke to lion, of them.
i. e. therefore, he poured soup into the lion's mouth, he put the
lion's head into the pot, while he felt that he altogether put the
lion's head into the pot, that he might altogether kill the lion with the
soup's heat; while he feels that he is a hyena who deceives other
people, he speaks, therefore he talked to the lion about it.

The *i:* that finishes so many sentences is sometimes clearly a part of the relative, referring back to a preceding pronoun or demonstrative, but occasionally it seems only a final 'in this manner', 'like this', 'on account of it'.

he _//khā: tuī, o ha k''wa: //na, he_//khā: /kΛm sa ha i: and lion heard.
as she cried there, and lion came to her on account of it.

The use of the adverbial phrase //nau is shown in these examples:

he /xΔm-ka /nuk^o //nau, haŋ //k^o:gən //a: /aitji ā:,
and Bushman old man did this, he gathering wood went for wife of it,

/aitji se //ke: //kau //khō o !kuī-se, ha /auwi _//khā:, o _//khā:ŋ
wife should make fire upon place on !kuī-se, he espied lion, as the lion

!khai /hiŋ sa:, ti e:, k^oaudoro siŋ !khai /hiŋ sa: he,
crossing over came, place this, youth had crossing over come it, i. e.
and an old Bushman, as he went along getting wood for his wife, in
order that his wife might make a fire above the !kuī-se, espied the
lion, as the lion came over the hill at the place which the young
man had come over.

Di-xerretən _//kuay _ha oä //nau, _//khā //kuarakən //na !khwa: /kuenja,
Di-xerretən once did this, lioness mother at water was dipping up,

haŋ /ne //aŋ /kuen //na, Di-xerretən ta ti e: (tatti e:), _//khā
she had gone to dip up there, Di-xerretən felt this thing, lioness

a: !kan!kan //k^e:ja !k^oe-ta !kaukən, au _//khāŋ tatti,
was one who gathered together people's children, for lioness felt thing,

_//khā e -//o:sa, //nwaintu; he tikən e:, ha /ne !kan!kan
lioness was weak in chest; these things are, she did gather

//k^e: !k^oe-ta !kaukən, !kauka: siŋ //na ha, !kauka siŋ
together people's children, children might be with her, children might

da: ha ā; ta ha e -//o:sa, he ha k^oauki di /gi: tŋueŋ.
do for her of it; for she was weak, and she not does hard things.

The following examples show adjectival phrases:

he tikən e:, !kaukən e: !ku:, hi _ha /ne uī, hiŋ /ne /kΔm
these things are, children are two, they did arise, they did reach
//a hī-ta !k^oe.

go their people, i. e. therefore two children arose, they went away
to their own people.

:kui a: a, haŋ /ki !xui!xui.

man who here }
man is here } he has feather brushes. This man has feather brushes.

Repetition seems the most striking feature of Bushman speech.
Every part of a story is generally told over and over again with
slight alterations in the forms of speech, for instance:

he tikən e:, !khwā _ha /ku-g /ne -ki, ī:; haŋ /ku-g /ne di
these things were, child was growing, during them; it was becoming

kui //kho ti e: ha siŋ /kuē ʔ:. *he tikən e:*
 making to resemble thing which it had been like it. these things were
/kaggən _ha /ne sa:, *ī:*; *au haŋ sa: //k'oen;* *he ha _ha /ne*
 Mantis did come, during them; while he came to look; and he did
/kuēi -/ki, haŋ _tai sa:. *haŋ _ha //nau, au haŋ _tai tau //k'oenja*
 like this, he walking came. he did as follows, as he walking and looking
-sa:, haŋ /ne /ouwi !khwā, au !khwāŋ /ne /kara s'o:.
 came, he espied child, as child did basking sit, i. e. then the child
 grew; it became like that which it had been. Then the Mantis came,
 while he came to look; and he in this manner walking came. While
 he came walking and looking, he espied the child, as the child was
 sitting in the sun.

Poetry.

The repetition found in the stories is even more evident in the poetry, which consists in short sentences or phrases recurring again and again with very small changes, and an occasional chorus of sounds, not words. A good example is the Blue Crane's song:

/ga:ra /ku swe:nja ŋ //ku/na:,
 berries are sitting on my shoulder (arm's head),
/ga:ra kaŋ swe:nja ŋ //ku/na:,
 berries do sit on my shoulder,
/ga:ra haŋ swe:nja ŋ //ku/na:,
 berry it sits on my shoulder,
!ga:ra kaŋ swe:nja ŋ //ku/na:,
 berries do sit on my shoulder,
/ga:ra kaŋ kaŋ -/ke: ho,
 berries are up here, (yonder placed),
rrru kaŋ -/ke: ho,
 rrru are up here,
/ga:ra kaŋ kaŋ -/ke: ho,
 berries are up here,
rrru kaŋ -/ke: ho,
 rrru are up here,
kaŋ kaŋ -/ke: ho,
 are are up here,
/ga:ra rru kaŋ -/ku: ha.
 berries rru are put on it.