17 QUELLEN ZUR KHOISAN-FORSCHUNG

RESEARCH IN KHOISAN STUDIES

Patrick J. Dickens

A Concise Grammar of Juǀʼhoan

with a Juǀʼhoan-English glossary and a subject index

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edited by
Rainer Vossen and Megan Biesele

Quellen zur Khoisan-Forschung sind eine Schriftenreihe, die sich vorzugsweise der Veröffentlichung von Quellenmaterial im Bereich von Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur der khoisansprachigen Bevölkerung Afrikas widmet. Darüber hinaus bietet sie die Möglichkeit zur Vosterllung, Besprechung und Diskussion analytisch ausgerichteter Studien. Die Reihe erscheint in loser Folge und nimmt sowohl monographien als auch Aufsatzsammlungen auf. Beiträge sind zu richten an:

Introduction
Patrick Dickens' Linguistic Work as an Enabling Factor in Juǀ'hoan Language Development

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This *Introduction* provides personal background on Patrick DICKENS' Grammar manuscript and an outline of advances his linguistic work has made possible in Juǀ'hoan-language education and writing. The present book is a posthumous publication made with permission of the Kalahari Peoples Fun (KPF). Scholars of the Khoisan languages including GÚLDEMANN, MILLER-OCKHUIZEN, and VOSSEN agree that DICKENS' Grammar was complete before his tragic death from AIDS at the age of 39. Written in the late 1980s and early 1990s, it appears here with virtually no editorial change beyond the addition of a glossary and a subject index. The present book has been prepared from the grammar manuscript DICKENS used for training local teachers in the Nyae Nyae Village Schools Project (VSP) he co-founded in Namibia.

An anthropologist and community development worker, I was a second founder of the VSP. Because we worked closely together on the Juǀ'hoan curriculum materials for the schools, Patrick DICKENS entrusted his linguistic writings to me before he died. I have informally curated them via the non-profit KPF, which has promoted Juǀ'hoan- and other San-language educational activities from its incorporation in 1978 up to the present. Many of the materials have been made available via KPF to scholars, especially Amanda MILLER-OCKHUIZEN, for research and further development. MILLER-OCKHUIZEN has used them in a number of educationally pro-active projects involving the Juǀ'hoan language, including an update and extension now in progress on DICKENS' *English-Juǀ'hoan, Juǀ'hoan-English Dictionary,* which was volume 8 in the *Quellen zur Khoisan-Forschung* (Research in Khoisan Studies) series of Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

The KPF is thus continuing Patrick DICKENS' practical focus on the use of linguistic scholarship to benefit local language communities. For information on this and other aspects of the work of the KPF, readers are referred to the website above. Interested parties may use either the website or the mailing address of KPF to contribute to its linguistic, educational, or general development activities on behalf of the peoples of the Kalahari.

DICKENS' work and the Village Schools Project

Between 1989 and 1992, Patrick DICKENS learned Juǀ'hoan, revised and streamlined its existing orthography for practical use by native speakers and scholars, and used Jan SNYMAN's Ju-Afrikaans dictionary (SNYMAN 1975) as basis for his *English-Juǀ'hoan, Juǀ'hoan-English Dictionary* (DICKENS 1994). He wrote the present Grammar manuscript as part of the numerous curriculum materials he produced in typescript for teaching Juǀ'hoan, until then an exclusively oral language written only by a handful of scholars. DICKENS then used these materials to teach adult literacy and the first sixteen young Juǀ'hoan people who would become primary teachers in the Nyae Nyae communities.

This work, done under conditions of extreme remoteness and hardship, and in the knowledge that it would take the last years of his life, has had profound effects on Juǀ'hoan cultural development. As an educational program for and with the Juǀ'hoan in their own language, based on DICKENS' linguistic and pedagogical fieldwork, the VSP was launched in 1991. It has continued much as he envisioned it up to the present. in September of last year, 2004, the VSP was incorporated into the national educational system of Namibia: this development, too, was foreseen by DICKENS and was part of the original plan. Though it has experienced expectable political ups and downs through the first years of Namibian independence, the VSP has been seen as a model for a number of other educational efforts by indigenous peoples of southern Africa. It is particularly its combination of local-language promotion with an alternative, holistic approach to community education that has made it attractive to otherwise marginalized peoples who still value their own traditions.

The VSP made possible in part by Patrick DICKENS' work is one of several current struggles and victories of Khoisan-speaking peoples of Namibia and Botswana in gaining control of their own educational

and language development activities. At last seen by the world community as human cultural rights, long-term language preservation and locally-defined education are increasingly being undertaken by indigenous communities themselves.

In what follows I place the Juǀ'hoan case within a critical look at the "mainstream" educational and language policies common to many countries with indigenous minority populations (cf. BIESELE & HITCHCOCK 2000). Even in countries where government lip service is paid to educational experience that says literacy is best achieved through a first 3-4 ears in the mother tongue, then generalized to the necessary *lingua franca*, all too often there is no provision for further development of an adult literate tradition. projects like the VSP aim to propel literacy efforts for and with Juǀ'hoan people towards a truly lasting and meaningful status, one that will grow along with political empowerment and other human rights.

Here I foreground education in Nyae Nyae, northeastern Namibia, but also point out the increasingly shared language development activities of the Juǀ'hoan people there with Juǀ'hoan speakers in the Omataku and Omaheke areas of Namibia, as well as the Botswana Juǀ'hoan of Ngamiland. For some years, I myself have been part of a team in southern Africa doing training and research work involving the production of authoritative texts of many kinds by members of these communities. Some of this work has been supported by academic grants, and some by the KPF, a non-profit organization started by anthropologists on behalf of the San and other peoples of the Kalahari.

I thus include below a report on dovetailing academic and practical activities that facilitate Juǀ'hoan writing and reading. These activities include training in the use of electronic literacy media and in the production of educational and cultural materials toward the development of a literate tradition for long-term language preservation. They were undertaken under a general request articulated to me and to Patrick DICKENS in the late 1980s by the then Nyae Nyae Farmers' Cooperative (NNFC) and reaffirmed several times since 2000 by the Education Committee of the Nyae Nyae Conservancy (NNC), its current successor.

In 1990, working with DICKENS and his VSP trainees, I began to turn my folklore collections back to the people in the form of school curriculum materials for the VSP. Due to technological developments in the

last decade, it has become possible to do this in ever-closer collaboration with Juǀ'hoan adults and children, in simultaneous promotion of their own heritage preservation and language development.

The NNC of northern Namibia, a Juǀ'hoan San people's organization, had since 1987 been making requests to the KPF for Juǀ'hoan-language literacy texts. The basic need for literacy primers in some minority languages, including Juǀ'hoan, is at last being addressed to some extent by the Namibian government (GÜLDEMANN 1998). But KPF agreed with the NNC's Education Committee that without reading materials beyond the primers, Juǀ'hoan would fall out of use as children became literate in English. Thus in the interest of linguistic and cultural preservation, KPF has begun to be instrumental in helping Juǀ'hoan community members in developing, publishing, and evaluating enrichment materials to promote Juǀ'hoan reading and writing skills over the first three years of school and beyond. Teachers and other local Juǀ'hoan speakers have been involved in each phase of the project, which has an ultimate goal of encouraging publication of works of all kinds by Juǀ'hoan authors.

The NNC, formerly the NNFC, acknowledges the importance of mother-tongue education for the development of critical thinking and of language preservation for authoritative representation on the national scene in areas such as land rights. A fruitful collaboration of linguists such as DICKENS, MILLER-OCKHUIZEN, GÜLDEMANN and others with anthropologists such as myself and this people's organization produced since Independence the imaginative and comprehensive materials for the VSP, providing a matrix for a broad range of authoritative language and teaching materials in Juǀ'hoan written or transcribed by Juǀ'hoan people.

Juǀ'hoan language development

Juǀ'hoan has only been responsibly written with DICKENS' user-friendly, professional linguistic orthography for about fifteen years. For the literate educucation desired by the Juǀ'hoan people and endorsed by the NNC, it has been critical that materials and language development take place in a context of consistent orthography and grammatical convention. Thus the VSP, designed to provide an appropriate social and linguistic bridge to national education after the first three years, could only be attempted after the Namibian Government accepted the new

(DICKENS) orthography to replace an earlier, cumbersome, Dutch Reformed Church orthography.

The VSP's philosophy was to honor and continue some of the very effective ancient means of learning and child socialization long practiced by the Juǀ'hoan. As we know, San societies have greatly valued equality and sharing, and their children's learning has taken place in a hands-on, informal, narrative, and experience-rich environment involving children of all ages with many adults. (The intersection of this vision with the national education systems of both Namibia and Botswana has, as one might imagine, produced ongoing debate. However, there are signs in recent years that international educational experience may gradually bring about a confluence of approaches more acceptable to all - definitely in Namibia and possibly in Botswana as well.)

One critical area where the VSP has managed to keep open a space for creativity is in promoting the idea of Balanced Literacy (called Integrated Literacy in Southern Africa). Balanced Literacy is an international reading and writing program that matches the egalitarian values of the Juǀ'hoan and their deep belief in the value of children's work. In particular, there has been a realization that genuinely creative literature and non-fiction learning materials must be produced for readers beyond the first three years, to enable an actual literate tradition to develop - for adults, as well. To do this, Juǀ'hoan literate in their own language had to be enabled, through tools and practice, to generate their own written materials. Authoritative text production has demanded, thus, the creation of a political, social, and technological environment to foster organic intellectual growth.

The technology of materials development

Accordingly, in June through September, 2003, several training and language research activities took place in Nyae Nyae, Namibia. These involved a number of electronic techniques of creativity and preservation, including the word-processing of life histories and contemporary stories, both oral and written, in a creative writing workshop, and transcription from digital audio recordings supplemented by video. notes on equipment and approaches similar to those used often appear in the journal M*ultilingual Computing* (www.multilingual.com) about similar projects in Nvaho and other minority languages. "Best practice" in such

projects is now also constantly reported and update online in *the Linguist List/E-Meld* and by the Preservation and Access Division of the US national Endowment for the Humanities. Those associated with the generation of language materials for the Nyae Nyae VSP are attempting to use this best practice to best serve the educational needs of the Juǀʼhoan people.

In July, 2003, international educators worked with the trainees and teachers of the VSP to develop school enrichment materials based on the cultural legacy and environmental knowledge of the Juǀʼhoan. Their workshop was based on Balanced Literacy, which meshes with the egalitarian Juǀʼhoan ethos. Concurrently, training was given by Leipzig linguist Tom GÜLDEMANN on the use of "Shoebox", a program that progressively "learns" the syntax of a language and helps those inputting information on usage to understand its structure in diagrammatic form. This exercise is not only useful for external students of this language, but also helps local teachers to systematize the teaching of grammar to young people. Trainees Kaqece Kallie N!ANI and Dahm Kim DABE were invited by the Juǀʼhoan Curriculum Committee (JCC) to join it and share this expertise.

Creating authentic written texts of the Juǀʼhoan language, authoritatively generated and transcribed, and in some cases translated into English, provides not only a reservoir for curriculum materials but an archive of cultural heritage for the Juǀʼhoan people. But perhaps as important as the above materials facilitated in 2003 was the setting up of educational and electronic channels to facilitate the ongoing return of previously collected oral cultural materials to them.

Returning cultural texts, developing literacy materials

Both development of literacy materials and the return of textual materials previously collected by anthropologists and linguists is long overdue. KPF has long believed it important to empower Juǀʼhoan individuals, including the VSP teachers, in both the technical tools for literacy development and in an analytic, grammatical understanding of their language so that those who chose could not only teach their language more effectively to young people, but could become scholars of it, as well. This aim reflects a growing worldwide movement in the linguistic and technical empowerment of young indigenous people, particularly

those whose languages are only recently written down, for documentation of oral history, relationships to ancestral environments and life-ways, and organic language and intellectual development of the materials for this project is the Nyae Nyae Tape Archive (NNTA), which consists of audio tapes (some now digitalized) of meetings of the NNFC, the forerunner of the NNC. These tapes were recorded during the years just prior to and after Namibian Independence (1988-1992) by myself, acting at the time as Project Director and then Director of the present Nyae Nyae Development Foundation (NNDF) of Namibia. Copies of audiotapes of the archive were made available to the NNFC in the mid 1990s; funds are now being sought via KPF to complete their digitization and transcription.

To develop and return such materials in authoritative written form, it minimally takes the creation and adoption of orthography, grammar, etc; the founding and development of a community-based education project as a matrix for literacy; technical advances (e-mail, laptops, digital recording and transcribing equipment); community consultation and training; comprehensive provision of computer-literacy training; and constant technical updating for best practice. In the Juǀ'hoan case, these activities have been carried out over the last fifteen years through a complex infrastructural and funding collaboration involving academic, non-profit, and government funding sources. None of the activities would have been possible, however, without the sound linguistic basis in the Juǀ'hoan language provided by Patrick DICKENS. The current Grammar is but one small part of the pro-active linguistic research that has made the program possible.

Recent developments in San literacy

After a long period of difficulty in arranging for the production of school literacy materials in Juǀ'hoan and other San languages, 2003 and 2004 saw some promising developments. In June, 2003, a teacher workshop in the development of classroom materials was held at the Windhoek College of Education under auspices of WIMSA, the Working Groups of Indigenous Minorities in Namibia. This was followed in July by the above-mentioned workshop KPF carried out specifically for Juǀ'hoan teachers and materials, held in Baraka, Nyae Nyae by the Coordinator of the VSP, Beverley CARPENTER, along with Early Childhood

Educator Melissa HECKLER and writer-educator-publisher Lesley BEAKE. Also in 2003 an enormously important initiative was undertaken by NAMAS, the Namiian Association of Norway, to fund and develop a teacher-resource center for Tsumkwe, Nyae Nyae, as the "cluster center" for schools in Otjozondjupa District. Following on the enrichment materials teacher-training workshop held by the KPF in July, 2003, KPF has contributed information towards the development of further Juǀʼhoan school materials for the use of NAMAS under Norwegian Aid Agency (NORAD) funding.

Of utmost importance has been the participation of closely involved local communities, organizations, and committees themselves, including the (Namibian) JCC, which brings together the three Juǀʼhoan dialect areas in Namibia; and the Namibian Government's Intersectoral Task Force on Educationally Marginalized Children (ITFEMC) which brings together the government and NGO entities involved in education for San and other marginalized children. These two groups provide instructive examples to similar San literacy projects in Botswana. In turn, from the Botswana side, the Trust for Okavango Cultural and Development Initiatives (TOCaDI), in conjunction with PANOS Institute (London), the Bernard van Leer Foundation (The Netherlands), and the University of Botswana San/Basarwa Research project, has enabled community-based oral history projects and publications in San and Kohekhoe languages in Botswana that now serve as models for similar projects in Namibia (cf. CHUMBO & MMABA 2002). In late 2004, a publication San communities prepared from their own oral traditions, *Voices of the San*, was published to celebrate the ending of the United Nations Decade of Indigenous Peoples (LEROUS & WHITE 2004).

For Juǀʼhoan literacy in northwest Ngamiland, Botswana, where national language and education policies have enforced mainstream learning in Setswana and English only, the participation of community-based organizations has been essential to recent progress. Starting in 2003, TOCaDI has budgeted for Juǀʼhoan language work to be done in the Dobe, Qoshe, Cgae Cgae and Tsodilo areas (spellings follow current Botswana map conventions). This work has been advanced by digital Juǀʼhoan language learning materials created by myself and technical assistant Catherine COLLETT under the auspices of the KPF. It will be based on the model and mentoring of the Khoekhoegowab project of the

Khwe people (under leadership of David NAUDE) further north, already successfully anyway.

A language development project in each area is to be started as part of the CBO (community-based organization) development there. This project will be supervised by a Language and Education Committee chosen from the participating communities. The committees appoint one or two literacy specialists tasked to hold community workshops and train others to train their own children and families on their own schedules. Texts are developed for use in literacy work and to prepare community history books from testimonies already collected. In future this project will include some land mapping in the Tsodilo area as well as a "cultural audit" with the Juǀ'hoan. Two literacy workers already taken on by this group of projects are Dahm ǀAI!AE and N!aici KOMMTSA, both of whom received early literacy training in Juǀ'hoan with Patrick DICKENS at the VSP in Namibia.

Conclusion: current Juǀ'hoan linguistic projects and goals

Hundreds of Juǀ'hoan texts have been taped and translated (some digitally) and some have been linguistically interlinearized. Tapes made earlier are in process of being digitized for sound quality and greatest accessibility. These processes could not have taken place unless DICKENS' published Juǀ'hoan orthography had been adopted at the outset by the Namibian government as well as by the Juǀ'hoan communities (DICKENS 1991). His dictionary is undergoing updating by linguist Amanda MILLER-OCKHUIZEN, now at Cornell University, and the JCC. Two successive classes of Juǀ'hoan teachers have been trained to teach Grades 1-4 to read and write in their own language. New material to be collected by trainees under proposed projects includes digitally captured sound and video recordings of Juǀ'hoan people still using the language.

I end with a selection from a creative writing workshop I conducted with Patrick DICKENS' VSP teacher trainees in 1992, after he had to leave the project to return to Johannesburg. Group-transcribed and translated from the Juǀ'hoan of a young woman named N!hunkxa ǀKAECE, it has now gone through the JCC and been processed for publication as school material for Grades 2-4 (BIESELE 1992, PFAFFE 2003). This is an account of a true event in 1991, one that had a strongly politicizing effect on the ǀAotcha community in Nyae Nyae:

"The Day the Tourists Pretended We Were Flamingoes"

One day, on the Sunday before Christmas, we went down to swim in \Aotcha Pan. While we were swimming, some white people came in two cars. We went towards them. Then one car drove this way, and the other car drove that way, and they tried to chase us with the cars. When we wanted to get out of the pan, they would block our way so that we had to run back into the water. When we were in the water again, they would stop. When we wanted to get out again, they would do the same thing again. So we went back and forth, back and forth, over and over again.

When they tried to drive into the pan with one of the cars, its tires slid and it got stuck. So we were able to get out of the water and run back to the village with nothing on but our underpants. When we told the other people what had happened, Tsamkxao went down to the pan with all the people from the village. Tsamkxao asked the white people, "Yau! What is this about chasing our children while they're swimming?" And the white people said, "We only wanted to chase the flamingoes." So Tsamkxao said, "Why is it that the children have always swum in that water but never chased flamingoes, and now you are trying to kill the children but say you are just chasing the flamingoes?" Then the white people wanted to hit Tsamkxao. They said he was like the sand under their feet.

The current chance to produce and preserve texts like these is a priceless one that must be taken at all costs. All participating groups and individuals should be able to collaborate in the production of intellectual heritage and educational materials (cf. WINBERG 2001, WIMSA 2003, CRAWHALL 2004). We could not agree more with Patrick DICKENS' strong feeling that there should be a rich written, as well as oral heritage for Juǀ'hoan and other San learners and community members to call on. It was largely his work that had made this option a real one for the Juǀ'hoan.

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Contents

LESSON ONE

General Sentence Structure

1. Lack of articles

    In Juǀʼhoan there are no true articles corresponding to 'the' and 'a' (or 'an') in English. So for example, **n!haì** corresponds to 'lion' or 'the lion' or 'a lion'; **!xó** corresponds to 'elephant' or 'the elephant' or 'an elephant'; **tjù** corresponds to 'house' or 'the house' or 'a house', and so on.

2. Basic structure of statements and questions

    Juǀʼhoan statements have essentially the same structure as English statements, *viz.*, a *subject* followed by a *verb* followed by an *object*; for example:

    SUBJECT   VERB   OBJECT

    n!haì   **!hún**   **n**
    the lion   kills   **!àng**
                          the eland

    mí   **ho**   **tjù**
    I   find   the house

    da'àmà   **nǁaq'àrà** **ǂxanù**
    the child   reads   the book

    The most common way of forming a question is to place the *question particle* **ré** immediately after the subject of a statement, for example:

    <u>**N!haì ré !hún n!àng?**</u>   <u>Does the lion</u> kill the eland?

    <u>**Mí ré ho tjù?**</u>   <u>Do I</u> find the house?

    <u>**Da'àmà ré nǁaq'àrà ǂxanù?**</u> <u>Does the child</u> read the book?

It is also possible to question specifically an *object* by moving it to the beginning of a sentence and placing **ré** after it, for example:

    <u>**N!àng ré n!haì !hún?**</u>   Does the lion kill <u>the eland</u>?

    <u>**Tjù ré mí ho?**</u>   Do I find <u>the house</u>?

    <u>**ǂXanù ré da'àmà nǁaq'àrà?**</u> Does the child read <u>the book</u>?

3. Negation

    To make a sentence negative (whether it is a statement or a question) the *negative particle* **ǀóá** is placed immediately preceding the verb:

    Mí !hún n!haì.   I kill the lion.

    Mí ǀóá !hún n!haì.   I do <u>not kill</u> the lion.

    Mí ré !hún n!haì?   Do I kill the lion?

    Mí ré ǀóá !hún n!haì? Do I <u>not kill</u> the lion?

This rule does not change even if the object is questioned and brought to the front of the sentence, thus:

    N!haì ré mí !hún?   Do I kill the lion?

    <u>N!haì</u> ré mí ǀóá !hún?   Do I <u>not</u> kill <u>the lion</u>?

LESSON TWO

Pronouns Referring to People (Class 1)

1. Same pronoun form irrespective of function
　　Juǀʼhoan pronouns, unlike their English equivalents, do not change their form according to whether they function as subjects, objects or possessives. So for example, Juǀʼhoan **mí** corresponds to 'I', 'me' and 'my' in the sentences below:

<u>**Mí**</u> **dchùún !xó.**	<u>I</u> bump into an elephant.
!Xó dhùún <u>mí</u>.	An elephant bumps into <u>me</u>.
<u>**Mí**</u> **útò dchùún !xó.**	<u>My</u> car bumps into an elephant.

2. Sex not indicated in third person singular
　　In the third person singular pronoun, the sex of the person referred to is not shown in Juǀʼhoan as it is in English, so Juǀʼhoan **ha** corresponds to all of the following English pronouns: 'he', 'him', 'his', 'she', 'her'. Thus:

<u>**Ha**</u> **!hún !xó.**	<u>He/she</u> kills the elephant.
!Xó !hún <u>ha</u>.	The elephant kills <u>him/her</u>.
<u>**Ha**</u> **útò !hún !xó.**	<u>His/her</u> car kills the elephant.

3. Singular, dual, plural
　　Juǀʼhoan pronouns differ according to whether they refer to one individual (singular), two individuals (dual) or more than two individuals (plural), for example:

<u>**Ha**</u> **úá Tjùm!kúí.**	<u>He/she</u> goes to Tsumkwe.
<u>**Sà**</u> **úá Tjùm!kúí.**	<u>They (two of them)</u> go to Tsumkwe.
<u>**Sì!á**</u> **úá Tjùm!kúí.**	<u>They (more than two of them)</u> go to Tsumkwe.

4. Inclusive, exclusive in the first person dual or plural
　　The first person dual and plural pronouns (those corresponding to English 'we', 'us' and 'our') differ further according to whether the *addressee* is included or excluded, for example:

<u>**M!á**</u> **ʼm !há.**	<u>We (including the person addressed)</u> eat meat.
<u>**E!á**</u> **ʼm !há.**	<u>We (excluding the person addressed)</u> eat meat.

A complete table of the personal pronouns is given below:

	SINGULAR		DUAL		PLURAL		
1ST PERSON	**mí**	I, me, my	**mtsá**	we, us, our	**m!á**	we, us, our	INCLUSIVE
			ètsá	we, us, our	**è!á**	we, us, our	EXCLUSIVE
2ND PERSON	**à**	you, your	**ìtsá**	you, your	**ì!á**	you, your	
3RD PERSON	**ha**	he, him, his, she, her	**sà**	they, them, their	**sì!á**	they, them, their	

5. Optional deletion of *-!á*

It is common for the **-!á** of the plural pronouns to be omitted, thus **m** instead of **m!á**, **è** for **è!á** etc.

6. The indefinite pronoun

The indefinite pronoun 'one' is expressed in Juǀ'hoan by **jù** 'a person', for example:

Jù ǀóá dcàá.   <u>One</u> doesn't steal.

Jù ré kú nàùn kúrúá tchì?   How does <u>one</u> make an arrow?

LESSON THREE

Tense and Aspect

1. Tense often determined by real-world context

In Juǀ'hoan, the circumstances in which a sentence is spoken often determine its tense, and the verb itself, unlike its English equivalent, is never inflected for time. So for example, the sentences from the previous lesson, such as **Ha úá Tjùm!kúí**, 'He/she goes to Tsumkwe', could also be translated in the *past* or *future*, as 'He/she *went (has gone)* to Tsumkwe' or 'He/she *will* go to Tsumkwe', depending on the context.

2. Tense indicated by means of an adverb of time

Adverbs of time may also be used to imply the tense of a sentence, for example ǀ**ámà hè** 'today' (*present*), **goàqꞥ'àn** 'yesterday' (*past*) and **n!homà** 'tomorrow' (*future*).

Ha ǀámà hè úá Tjùm!kúí.   He/she <u>goes</u> to Tsumkwe <u>today</u>.

Ha goàqꞥ'àn úá Tjùm!kúí. He/she <u>went</u> to Tsumkwe <u>yesterday</u>.

Ha n!homà úá Tjùm!kúí.   He/she <u>will go</u> to Tsumkwe <u>tomorrow</u>.

A common position of such an adverb is between the subject and the verb of a sentence, as shown above, but placing the adverb at the beginning of the sentence is also possible, for example:

ǀAmà hè úá Tjùmkúí.   <u>Today</u> he/she <u>goes</u> to Tsumkwe.

Other common and useful adverbs of time are the following:

present	**kà**	now, at this moment
	ǁà'íkè	now, today, nowadays
	n!úíà hè	this month
past	**goàq**	in the past, logn ago
	n!úíà tòàn hè	last month
	kàqá	already
future	**n!úíà !'àn hè**	next month

*3. The auxiliary use of **koh** to indicate the past*

Another, but less usual way of indicating the past tense, is to put **koh** before a verb, for example:

Mí koh 'm gúmí!há.   I <u>ate</u> the beef.

| **Ha koh !óá mí.** | He/she told me. |

Koh may also be used in conjunction with an appropriate adverb, for example:

| **Goàqǂ'àn ha koh ho da'àmà.** | Yesterday he/she found the child. |

When used as a main verb **koh** simply means 'do thus, do so', and like other verbs, has no particular temporal significance.

4. The imperfective particle kú

The imperfective particle **kú** is used preceding a verb to show that an action is continuous or habitual or unfinished, for example:

Ha n!homà kú úá Tjùm!kúí.	He/she will be going to Tsumkwe tomorrow.
Ha ká kú úá Tjùm!kúí.	He/she is going to Tsumkwe now.
Ha goàqǂ'àn kú úá Tjùm!kúí.	He/she was going to Tsumkwe yesterday.
ǀAm waqnsì ha kú úá Tjùm!kúí.	Every day he/she goes/will go/ used to go to Tsumkwe.

Auxiliary **koh** may optionally be used with **kú** to indicate a habitual action in the past, for example:

| **Sì!á koh kú 'm !há nǀè'ésí.** | They used to eat meat only. |

Note that the position of the negative ǀóá relative to **kú** makes a difference to the meaning: If ǀóá follows **kú**, then the action is simply negated, for example:

| **E kú 'm !há.** | We are eating meat. |
| **E kú ǀóá 'm !há.** | We are not eating meat. |

However, if ǀóá precedes **kú**, then the implication is that the action *never* happens, or *will never* happen:

E kú 'm !há.	We (habitually) eat meat.
E ǀóá kú 'm !há.	We never eat meat.
Ha kú kxóá dà'ámá.	He/she will be looking for the child.
Ha ǀóá kú kxóá dà'ámá.	He/she will never look for the child.

The sequence ǀóá kú is often shortened to ǀú:

| **Ha ǀú 'm !xó!ha.** | She never eats/will never eat elephant meat. |

LESSON FOUR

Noun Plurals

1. Non-predictability
　　It is often not possible to predict how the plural of a noun will be fiormed from the noun itself. Some guidelines can be given, but it is better to learn the plural of a noun when one learns the noun itself.

*2. The suffix **-sì**.*
　　The most common way of making a noun plural is to suffix **-sì**, for example:

tjù	house	**ǂxanù**	book	**útò**	car
tjùsì	houses	**ǂxanùsì**	books	**útòsì**	cars

*3. The suffix **-sín***
　　The usual way to form the plural of kinship terms, such as 'father', 'aunt', etc., is to suffix **-sín**, for example:

bá	father	**taqè**	mother	**g‖àq**	aunt
básín	fathers	**taqèsín**	mothers	**g‖àqsín**	aunts

*4. The diminutive plural suffix **-mhí***
　　Diminutives, which in the singular always end in the diminutive suffix **-mà**, change this to **-mhí** in the plural, for example:

!xómà	little elephant, elephant calf
!xómhí	little elephants, elephant calves
gǂhúínmà	little dog, puppy
gǂhúínmhí	little dogs, puppies

The suffix **-mhí** may also be pronounced and written as **-mh**.

　　Note that there are a few nouns ending in **-mà** which do not change in the plural. These nouns probably had an original diminutive significance which has now been lost. An example of such a word is **tzàmà** 'bird, birds'.

5. No change in the plural

Many nouns, especially the names of animals and plant-foods show no change in the plural, for example:

!xó	elephant, elephants
n!haì	lion, lions
nǀàng	raisin, raisins

6. Irregular plurals

Three nouns have completely irregular plurals. These are:

!'hoàn	man
nǁaqè	men
dà'ámá	child
dà'ábí or **dà'ábísí**	children
jù	person
jú	people

júsì is also possible as the plural of **jù**, but the meaning then is 'one's own people/one's family members'.

LESSON FIVE

Adjectives

1. Small inventory of adjectives
The number of words, which can be categorised grammatically as *adjectives*, is very small since in Juǀ'hoan the descriptive function is normally performed by verbs (see Lesson Eleven).

2. Singular and plural adjectives
Many adjectives have singular and plural forms. Like nouns, the plural of an adjective cannot be predicted from the adjective itself. A complete list of adjectives is given below:

with plural in -sín
dí   female
dóré   strange, different, other
gèsín (already plural)   the remaining, the other
jàn   good, correct
zé or **zàqí**   new

with plural in -sì
ǀ'hoàn   real, actual, true
ǂ'àng, !'àn   old, worn-out

with irregular plural
g!oq, pl. **nǁaqè**   male
n!a'àn, pl. **!àè** or **!àè!àè**   adult, grown-up

singular only
nǀè'é   one
nǀúí   a certain, another
waqnhè or **waqnkè**   each, every

plural only
n!ànì   three
tsàqn or **tsán**   two
tsánkútsán   four
waqnsì or **wècè** or **wècèsì**   all, the whole
!xàrè   some

3. Position of adjectives

Juǀ'hoan adjectives follow the nouns they qualify, for example:

Mí kxàè t̲j̲ù̲ ̲z̲é̲.	I have a <u>new house</u>.
Kaùh ó j̲ù̲ ̲j̲à̲n̲.	Kaùh is a <u>good person</u>.
Ha !hún n̲!̲h̲a̲ì̲ ̲n̲!̲a̲'̲à̲n̲.	He killed an <u>adult lion</u>.
J̲ù̲ ̲d̲ó̲r̲é̲ ǀóá è.	A <u>different person</u> told us.
G̲ú̲m̲í̲ ̲g̲!̲o̲q̲ kú kxóá gúmí dí.	The <u>bull</u> is looking for the cow.
J̲ú̲ ̲n̲!̲à̲n̲ì̲ tsí.	<u>Three people</u> have come.
D̲à̲'̲á̲b̲í̲ ̲!̲x̲à̲r̲è̲ ǀóá ho !há jàn.	<u>Some children</u> didn't get good meat.

4. Deletion of *-sì* or *-sín* from nouns in plural expressions

In plural cases where the noun would ordinarily end on **-sì** or **-sín**, these endings are left out and the plural function is carried by the adjective alone, for example:

dshàú gèsín (not: *dshàúsì gèsín)	the remaining woman
bá jànsín (not: *básín jànsín)	good fathers
tjù zésín (not: *tjùsù zésín)	new houses
!aìhn waqnsì (not: *!aìhnsì waqnsì)	all the trees

LESSON SIX

Noun Classes and Pronouns

1. Five classes

Juǀʼhoan nouns can be categorised according to five sets of third person pronouns used to refer to them. The class 1 pronouns have already been dealt with above in Lesson Two. They were:

ha	he/his/him/she/her (referring to singular human nouns, e.g. 'hunter')
sá	they/them/their (referring to dual human nouns, e.g. 'two hunters')
sìǃá or **sì**	they/them/their (referring to plural human nouns, e.g. 'hunters')

Nouns other than those referring to humans have different sets of pronouns (although there is some overlapping). Unfortunately, it is not always possible to predict the class of a noun by its meaning, so the class must be learnt when the noun itself is learnt. General guide-lines can be given but one should be aware of exceptions.

2. Class 2 (ha/hì)

There are two main groups of nouns which belong to this class:

(i)   those referring to animals, such as **ǃxó** 'elephant', **nǃhaì** 'lion', and **tzàmà** 'bird'; and

(ii)   those referring to race/nationality (except **Jùǀʼhoàn**), such as **ǀʼHún** 'white person', **Tamah** 'Herero', and **Bùrù** 'Afrikaner)

The pronouns are as follows:

singular:	**ha**	he/him/his/she/her/it/its
dual:	**hì tsán**	they two/them two/their two
plural:	**hì**	they/them/their

Note the overlapping between class 1 and class 2 in the singular **ha**.

Examples:

Tamah ho ǃxó.	The Herero found the elephant.
<u>**Ha**</u> **ho** <u>**ha**</u>.	<u>He</u> found <u>it</u>.

Tamahsì ho !xó.	The Hereros found the elephants. (**!Xó** may be singular or plural.)
Hì ho hì.	They found them.
ǀ'Hún tsán 'm tzàmà.	Two white people ate the bird.
Hì tsán 'm ha.	They two ate it.
ǂAbèsì kú !xóáná Tjùm!kúí.	Tswanas are living at Tsumkwe.
Hì kú !xóáná Tjùm!kúí.	They are living at Tsumkwe.
Gòbá ǁháí n!haì !xúí.	The black man pulled the lion's tail.
Ha ǁháí ha !xúí.	He pulled its tails.
Gòbá ǁháí n!haì !xúísì.	The black man pulled the lions' tails. (**N!haì** may be singular or plural.)
Ha ǁháí hì !xúísì.	He pulled their tails.
N!haì hòré !xó.	Lions hate elephants.
Hì hòré hì.	They hate them.

3. Class 3 (ha)

Most plants, as well as the food-products that come from them, belong to this class. There are, however, many exceptions to this generality. For example, **!aìhn** 'tree' and **ǁàìsì** 'grass' are both members of class 5 (see § 5 below). The other nouns belonging to this group have no semantic coherence (e.g., **útò** 'car', **gǀaàxú** 'chair', **tí** 'tea'), except that they never refer to humans or animals.

No formal difference is made between singular and plural pronouns of this class:

singular:	**ha**	it/its
dual:	**ha tsán**	they two/them two/their two
plural:	**ha**	they/them/their

Note again the overlapping of classes 1, 2 and 3 in the singular **ha**.

Examples:

Utò ǀú ǁkòà.	The car never works.
Ha ǀú ǁkòà.	It never works.
Utòsì ǀú ǁkòà.	The cars never work.
Ha ǀú ǁkòà.	They never work.
ǀAm kú 'm nǀàng.	ǀAm is eating a raisin/raisins.

ǀAm kú ’m <u>ha</u>.	ǀAm is eating <u>it/them</u>.
Kópì gèà tafere ǀhó.	The cup is on the table’s surface.
<u>Ha</u> gèà <u>ha</u> ǀhó.	<u>It</u> is on <u>its</u> surface.
Kópìsì gèà tafere ǀhó.	<u>They</u> are on <u>its</u> surface.
<u>Ha</u> gèà <u>ha</u> ǀhó.	

4. Class 4 (*hi*)

This is the smallest noun class. Many objects belonging to this class are characterised by *length* (e.g. **n!àmà** ‘road’, **gǂúí** ‘springhare hooking pole’), but apart from this, there i slittle semantic coherence among its members.

As in class 3, there is no formal singular/plural distinction in the pronouns:

singular:	**hì**	it/its
dual:	**hì tsán**	they two/them two/their two
plural:	**hì**	they/them/their

Note the correspondence of **hì** with the plural of class 2.

Examples:

Dà’ábí ǀóá ho n!àmà.	The children did not find the road.
Dà’ábí ǀóá ho <u>hì</u>.	The children did not find <u>it</u>.
Dà’ábí ǀóá ho n!àmàsì.	The children did not find the roads.
Dà’ábí ǀóá ho <u>hì</u>.	The children did not find <u>them</u>.
Jù nǀúí ǀxòà dà’á.	Someone lit a fire.
Jù nǀúí ǀxòà <u>hi</u>.	Someone lit <u>it</u>.
Dà’ásì kú !àò.	The fire are dying.
<u>Hì</u> kú !àò.	<u>They</u> are dying.
Dà’á g!ohsì g!’ámá mí gǀà’ásì.	The fire’s smoke enters my eyes.
<u>Hì</u> g!ohsì g!à’ámá mí gǀà’ásì.	<u>Its</u> smoke enters my eyes.

5. Class 5 (**ka**)

All parts of the body (such as **nǀáí** ‘head’ and **!óm** ‘leg’) belong to this class, but apart from this, there is no semantic cohesion. However, all nouns derived from verbs without change (e.g. **tsítsà’á** ‘question’ from

tsítsà'á 'ask') or by means of the high-toned suffix **-sí** (e.g., **tzàsí** 'sleeping-place' from **tzà** 'sleep') belong to this class as well.

Once again, no singular/plural distinction is made:

singular:	**ká**	it/its
dual:	**ká tsán**	they two/them two/their two
plural:	**ká**	they/them/their

Examples:

Mí g|à'ásì kú ‖'àn.	My eyes are hurting.
<u>**Kà tsán kú ‖'àn.**</u>	<u>They</u> are (<u>both</u>) hurting.
Sì!á ǂxùrù !aìhn.	They climbed the tree.
Sì!á ǂxùrù <u>ká</u>.	They climbed <u>it</u>.
Sì!á ǂxùrù !aìhnsì.	They climbed the treees.
Sì!á ǂxùrù <u>ká</u>.	They climbed <u>them</u>.

Ká is also used to stand for an event expressed by a clause, for example:

Mí ho tca !'hoàn kú òò	I saw how the man gave his wife
|'àn ha dshàú kò còrò.	tobacco.
Mí ho <u>ká</u>.	I saw <u>it</u>.

LESSON SEVEN

Possession

1. No possessive marker

The most common way of indicating possession is simply to place the *possessor* noun or pronoun in front of the *possessee*. This has been illustrated in the preceding lessons, some of the examples of which are repeated below:

possessor	*possessee*	
ha	**útò**	his/her car
mí	**g∣à'ásì**	my eyes
n!haì	**!xúí**	the lion's tail
tafere	**∣hó**	the table's surface
dà'á	**g!ohsì**	the fire's smoke

Note that in the expression 'my father', **mí** is replaced by **m**:

m bá	my father

The expression 'my mother' is translated by the single word **áíá** (or **áíé**), and no possessive **mí** is needed preceding it. The word **taqè** is used for someone else's mother and may be preceded by a possessor pronoun in the usual way:

áíá	my mother
ha taqè	his/her mother

2. The possessive particle ∥'àn

When the possessor is a noun, it is also possible to use the possessive particle ∥'àn together with a pronoun of the appropriate class which refers back to the possessor. The last three examples given above could thus also be:

possessor	*particle*	*pronoun*	*possessee*	
n!haì	**∥'àn**	**ha**	**!xúí**	the lion's tail
tafere	**∥'àn**	**ha**	**∣hó**	the table's surface
dà'á	**∥'àn**	**hì**	**g!ohsì**	the fire's smoke

If the possessee is a kinship term, then the use of this construction is obligatory, for example:

Kaùh ǁ'àn ha ba	Kauh's father
dshàú ǁ'àn ha !'hoàn	the woman's husband
Gǂkàò ǁ'àn ha !ú-n!a'àn	Gǂkao's grandfather

Note that after **ǁ'àn** the class 1 plural pronoun **sì** is replaced by **hì** (the same as classes 2 and 4), for example:

dà'ábí ǁ'àn hì taqèsín	the children's mother
nǁaqè ǁ'àn hì dshàúsì	the men's wives

The **ǁ'àn** construction is also obligatory if the possessor noun is qualified by a following adjective (or relative clause, see Lesson Eleven), for example:

dshàú gèsín ǁ'àn hì 'msi	the other women's food
n!haì nǁaqè ǁ'àn hì !xúísì	the male lion's tail
jù dóré ǁ'àn ha ǁah	the stranger's (strange person's) hat

LESSON EIGHT

Transitivity

1. Definition of transitive and intransitive

For our purposes, a transitive verb is one which may be followed immediately by a noun phrase which may be its object or show the direction or location in which the action of the verb happens. On the other hand, an intransitive verb may not be followed by a noun phrase with such a function. Examples of both kinds of verbs are shown below:

transitive

Ha kú ǁohm !aìhn.	He was chopping <u>the tree</u>.
Dà'ámá n‡áú ǀAotcha.	The child headed <u>toward ǀAotcha</u>.
Ha !xóáná ǀAotcha.	He resides <u>at ǀAotcha</u>.

intransitive

Ha kú ú.	He was going.
Aíá tsí.	My mother came.
Kaùh kú nǀáng.	Kaùh was sitting.
Mí !ú-n!a'àn !áí.	My grandfather died.

Note that it is also possible to leave out the noun phrase following a transitive verb and that this does not affect its transitivity, for example:

Ha kú ǁohm.	He was chopping.
G‡húín 'm.	The dog ate.

2. The transitive suffix -a.

In order to make an intransitive verb transitive, the suffix **-a** is added to it. The tone of this suffix is always the same as the (last) tone of the verb itself. A noun phrase now placed after such a verb will normally have locative or temporal significance, for example:

locative significance

Ha kú <u>úá Tjùm!kúí</u>.	He was <u>going to Tsumkwe</u>.
Aíá <u>tsíá mí</u>.	My mother <u>came to me</u>.
Kaùh kú <u>nǀángá kxà</u>.	Kaùh was <u>sitting on the ground</u>.
Mí !ú-n!a'àn <u>!áíá ǀAotcha</u>.	My grandfather <u>died at ǀAotcha</u>.

Note that the preposition in the English translation must in each case be determined by the combined meaning of the particular verb and the noun phrase.

temporal significance

Ha kú úá ǀámà hè.	He was <u>going today</u>.
Mí !ú-n!a'àn <u>!áíá goàqǂ'àn</u>.	My grandfather <u>died yesterday</u>.

Note that noun phrases having temporal significant (those which act as adverbs of time are more commonly placed between the subject and the object or at the beginning of the sentence (see Lesson Three). Since in these positions they do not follow the verb, the suffix **-a** would not be required, thus:

Ha <u>ǀámà hè</u> kú ú.	He was going <u>today</u>.
Mí !ú-n!a'àn goàqǂ'àn !áí.	My grandfather died <u>yesterday</u>.

*3. Double transitivity and the transitive particle **kò***

The suffix **-a** may also be added to a verb which is already transitive, and the effect of this is to increase the transitivity of the verb, that is, to allow a second noun phrase to be added after the first. In this case, the second noun phrase must be preceded by the transitive particle **kò**. The second noun phrase will have locative, temporal or instrumental significance, depending again on the combined meanings of the particular verb and nouns, for example:

locative significance

Ha kú ǁohma !aìhn <u>kò gǀúí</u>.	He was <u>chopping</u> the tree <u>in the forest</u>.
Dà'ámá <u>hoa</u> ha bá <u>kò Tjùm!kúí</u>.	The child <u>found</u> his father <u>in Tsumkwe</u>.
Aíá nǀóáá 'msì <u>kò tzí</u>.	My mother <u>cooked</u> the food <u>in the open</u> (outside).
Gǂhúín <u>'má</u> ka <u>kò tjù ǀhó</u>.	The dog <u>ate</u> it <u>in the village</u>.

temporal significance

Ha kú ǁohma !aìhn <u>kò ǀámà hè</u>.	He was <u>chopping</u> the tree <u>today</u>.
Aíá nǀóáá 'msì <u>kò n!homà</u>.	My mother will <u>cook</u> food <u>tomorrow</u>.

Note again that the more usual position for noun phrases acting as adverbs of time would be between the subject and the verb, in which case **-a** and **kò** would not be used:

Ha ǀámà hè kú ǁohm !aìhn.	He was chopping the tree <u>today</u>.
Aíá n!homà kú nǀóá 'msì.	My mother will cook food <u>tomorrow</u>.

intrumental significance

Ha gúá tjù kò ǁ'àìsì.	He <u>built</u> the house <u>with grass</u>.
Mí bá ǁohma !aìhn kò ǀ'áí.	My father <u>chopped</u> the tree <u>with (by means of)</u> and axe.

Intransitive verbs to which the **-a** has been added may also be followed by **kò** plus a second noun phrase, for example:

Ha tsíá mí <u>kò mí tjù</u>.	He <u>came</u> to me <u>at my house</u>.
Ha <u>!áíá</u> ǀAotcha <u>kò ǀámà hè</u>.	He <u>died</u> at ǀAotcha today.

4. Order of nouns after doubly transitive verbs

Since the semantic relations (object, locative, temporal or instrumental) between the noun and the doubly transitive verb are determined by their meanings, the order of the nouns is not important and can be reversed without a change of meaning, for example:

Ha kú ǁohma !aìhn kò gǀúí. Or: **Ha kú ǁohma gǀúí kò !aìhn.**	He was chopping the tree in the forest.

Ha gúá tjù kò ǁ'àìsì. Or: **Ha gúá ǁ'àìsì kò tjù.**	He built the house with grass.

Ha !áíá ǀAotcha kò ǀámà hè. Or: **Ha !áíá ǀámá hè kò ǀAotcha.**	He died in ǀAotcha today.

5. The instrumental particle ǀxòà

Another way of expressing the instrumental relation is to use the particle ǀ**xòà** instead of the transitive suffix **-a**. ǀ**xòà** immediately follows the verb, but the order of the nouns afterwards is again not important to the meaning, for example:

Ha gú ǀxòà ǁ'àìsì kò tjù.	He <u>built</u> the house <u>with</u> (by means of)
Or less commonly:	grass.
Ha gú ǀxòà tjù kò ǁ'àìsì.	

Apart from 'with' in the sense of 'by means of', ǀ**xòà** may also be 'with' in the sense of 'accompany', for example:

Mí bá kú ǁkòà ǀxòà mí.	Are you <u>going with</u> the nature-
A ré kú ú ǀxòà !há!'úínkxàò.	conservator?

There are, however, other more common ways of expressing this meaning of 'accompanying', for example the sentences above could also be expressed thus:

Etsà mí ba ǁkòà ǁkáé.	My father and I worked together (lit.: we-two my father worked together).
A rè kú ǁxàm !há!'úínkxàò.	Will you be accompanying the nature-conservator?

6. Doubly transitive verbs without the transitive suffix *-a*

Some verbs which allow the two noun phrases after them, and which already end in **-a** (or **-an**), do not take the transitive suffix, for example, ǀ**'àn** 'give' and **gǂàrá** 'ask for, beg', for example:

Dà'ámá jàn ǀ'àn ha bá kò màrì.	The good child <u>gave</u> his father money.
Mí !'hoàn gǂàrá mí kò 'msì.	My husband <u>asked</u> me for food.

Note that the sequence ǀ**'àn mí** 'give me' is replaced in nearly all contexts by the single word **nà** 'give me', for example:

<u>**Nà**</u> **'msì!!**	<u>Give me</u> food!
Kaùh ǁxòàsì kú <u>nà</u> 'msì.	Kaùh always <u>gives me</u> food.

From the second example it can be seen that **kò** is not used, since formally, there is one verb (**nà**) and only one noun (**'msì**).

7. 'for, on behalf of'

The verb ǀ**'àn/nà** 'give/give me' is also used to mean 'for' or 'on behalf of'. In such cases it immediately follows the verb which expresses the (main) action, for example:

Dshàú nǀóá ǀ'àn ha dà'ámá kò 'msì.	The woman cooked food <u>for</u> her child.
Ha ǁ'ámá ǀ'àn ha júsì kò zo.	He bought sugar <u>for</u> his people.
Aíá kxóní nà̲ gǀò'ó.	My mother fixed the beadwork <u>for me</u>.

8. Exception: ǀ'àn mí

In the expression ǁàè ǀ'àn mí 'apologize', ǀ'àn mí is not replaced by **nà**, for example in the sentence

| **ǁAè ǀ'àn mí khámá mí ǀóá !óá à...** | <u>I apologize/I'm sorry</u> that I didn't tell you ... (lit.: hold for me because I not tell you ...) |

LESSON NINE

Imperatives

1. Punctuation
    Commands, orders and exclamations can be shown in Juǀ'hoan by a double exclamation mark (!!) at the end of the sentence, for example:

ǀXòà dà'á!!	Make a fire!
G!à'ámá!!	Enter!
ǀOrè ká!!	Write it!
Nǁaú úá ǁ'àkòà!!	Don't go there!

2. Positive and negative
    With the exception of three verbs (see § 3 below), the positive imperative is not different from any other form of the verb. Some more examples:

Nǁaq'àrà ǂxanù!!	Read the book!
Hàq'áré g!ú!!	Fetch water!
!Hún ha!!	Kill it!

    Negative imperatives are preceded by the verb **nǁah** 'leave' or **nǁah kú**. **Nǁah kú** is usually contracted to **nǁaú**. Examples:

N̲ǁ̲a̲ú̲ tzà!!	<u>Don't</u> sleep!
N̲ǁ̲a̲ú̲ ú!!	<u>Don't</u> go!
N̲ǁ̲a̲ú̲ ǂ'àrì!!	<u>Don't</u> forget!

3. Exceptional forms
    In the following three cases the imperative differs from the usual form of the verb:

Hoe!! (not: *tsí)	Come!
Kho!! (not: *!Háí mí)	Wait for me!
Nà!! (not: *ǀ'An mí)	Give me!

4. Use of second person pronouns
    To add emphasis to an imperative, the appropriate second person pronoun may be used, for example:

I̲t̲s̲á̲ hoe!!	Come, <u>you two</u>! (Hey <u>you two</u>, come!)

A dù ká!!   Do it! (addressing <u>one</u> person)

There is a special hortative form of the second person singular pronoun (normally **-à**) which is used to invite an action politely. This is **há** (not to be confused with class 1, third person singular **ha**, which has a low tone), and it is usually used with the verbal particle **m**, for example:

Há m sé!!   Look! (<u>You should</u> look!)
Há m hoe!!   Come (<u>please</u>)!

5. Use of other pronouns
To express a sense obligation about oneself or others, a noun phrase or a first or third person pronoun may also occur before an imperative (the verbal particle **m** may be used here as well). Examples:

Ha m sé!!   <u>He should</u> look! (Let <u>him</u> look!)
M!á ú!!   Let'<u>s</u> go! (<u>We should</u> go!)
Sá hoe!!   <u>The two of them should</u> come!
Ha nǁaú ú!!   <u>He shouldn't</u> go!
Gúmí nǁaú g!à'ámá!!   <u>The cattle should</u> not enter!
Dà'ábí nǁaú 'm dsùú-n!ùsì!!   <u>Children shouldn</u>'t eat ostrich eggs!

LESSON TEN

Where?

*1. The locative pronoun **kò***

To express the question 'where?' the locative pronoun **kò** is used together with the question particle **ré**. (The use of **kò** as a locative pronoun is an extension of its function as transitive particle with locative significance.) The sequence **kò ré** is usually placed at the beginning of a sentence, but may also occur after the verb. Examples:

Ha úá <u>kò ré</u>? or **<u>Kò ré</u> ha úá?**   <u>Where</u> wil he go?
<u>Kò ré</u> ha ǁohma̠ !aìhn?   <u>Where</u> did he chop?
<u>Kò ré</u> dà'ámá nǀángá?   <u>Where</u> does the child sit?

Note that the transitive suffix **-a** must always be used in a 'where?' question, since **kò ré** here is standing for a noun phrase with locative significant. This is easily understood when the questions above are compared to their possible answers:

question	*answer*
<u>Kò ré</u> ha úá? <u>Where</u> will he go?	**Ha uá Tjùm!kúí.** He will go <u>to Tsumkwe</u>.
<u>Kò ré</u> ha ǁohma̠ !aìhn? <u>Where</u> did he chop the tree?	**Ha ǁohma̠ !aìhn <u>kò gǀúí</u>.** He chopped the tree <u>in the wood</u>.
<u>Kò ré</u> dà'ámá nǀángá? <u>Where</u> does the child sit?	**Dà'ámá nǀángá kxà.** The child sits <u>on the ground</u>.

*2. Re-analysis of the locative pronoun as **kòré***

Instead of **kò ré**, one commonly hears **kòré ré**, for example:

<u>Kò ré</u> ha úá?   <u>Where</u> will he go?
<u>Kò ré</u> mí bá gúá tjù?   <u>Where</u> will my father build the house?

This usage appears to have originated in the re-analysis of the locative pronoun plus the question particle (**kò+ré**) as a single word.

*3. The use of **ó** and **gèà***

Gèà, literally 'stay (at)', is used instead of **ó** 'be' when referring to the position of something, for example:

Kò ré Gǀàq'ó gèà?	Where is Gǀàq'ó?
Ha gèà ǀAotcha.	He is at ǀAotcha.
Kò ré xarao gèà?	Where is the spade?
Ha gèà kòàkè.	It's here.

LESSON ELEVEN

Relative Clauses

1. The relative pronoun suffixes -à and -sà
 The relative pronoun suffixes are added to the (last element of a) head noun phrase of a relative clause, **-à** if it is singular and **-sà** if it is plural, and translate as the English 'who(m), which, that'; for example:

Mí !'hàn jùà kù dcàá mí tcísì.
I know the person who is stealing my things.
Mí !'hàn jùsà mí tshìn ‖kòà xòà.
I knew the people whom my brother worked with.
Ha txá ǀaoà kú !aàh ú.
He shot the buffalo that was running away.
ǀAosà !aàh ú ǀáó ce.
The buffaloes that ran away did not return.
Jù nǀúíà mí !'hàn ...
A certain person who I know ...

Note that in nouns ending on **-n**, the singular relative suffix **-à** is written *preceding* the **-n**, for example:

Ha tzún gǂà'ín.   His nose is long.
Ha kxàè tzúàn gǂà'ín.   He has a long nose.

The reason for this is that the **-à** is nasalised if the vowel to which it is suffixed is already nasalised.

2. Replacement of -sì by -sà
 In nouns whose plural normally ends in **-sì**, this **-sì** is replaced with **-sà** when they are the heads of relative clauses, for example:

tjùsà mí bá koh gú (not: *tjùsìsà)   houses which my father built
n!órésà m!á kú !xóáná (note: *n!órésìsà)   areas that we inhabit

3. 'whose'
 There is no separate possessive relative form in Juǀ'hoan and to express 'whose', the pronoun suffixes **-à** or **-sà** are used together with the possessive particle **‖'àn** and an appropriate pronoun, for example:

Mí !'hàn <u>dshàúà</u>   ǁ'àn   ha dà'ámá !áí.
[I   know woman-who POSS her child   die]
I know the <u>woman whose</u> child died.
Mí !'hàn <u>dshàúsà</u>   ǁ'àn   hì   taqè   !áí.
[I   know women-who POSS their mother die.]
I know the <u>women whose</u> mother died.

4. 'where'

To express 'where (place which)', the relative suffix **-à** is added to the locative pronoun **kò** to form **kòà** [kwà], for example:

Mí !hàn <u>kòà</u> ha úá.	I know <u>where</u> he went.
E tsíá <u>kòà</u> !há kú gǀxaiàn.	We came to <u>where</u> the animals were grazing.
Sì!á tzàà <u>kòà</u> jú dù ǁxàrà.	They slept <u>where</u> the people had made a garden.

5. "Descriptive" verbs

In Lesson Five it was mentioned that in Juǀ'hoan there are very few adjectives, since the descriptive function was normally performed by verbs. In translation these verbs would be rendered by the verb 'be' plus an adjective in English, for instance **gǀaoh** 'be strong', **g!ààn** 'be red'. When these verbs are used to qualify a noun, they must like any other verb occur after the relative suffixes **-à** or **-sà**, for example:

Jù gǀaoh.	The person is strong.
<u>Jùà gǀaoh</u> gù ká.	The strong person (<u>person-who is-strong</u>) took it.
Utòsì g!ààn.	The cars are red.
Ha n!arih <u>útòsà g!ààn</u>.	He drove the red cars (<u>cars-which-are-red</u>).

Note that when the imperfective particle **kú** is used with these "descriptive" verbs, then the sense of 'becoming/getting' is imparted, for example:

N!úí n!a'àn.	The moon is big.
N!úí <u>kú</u> n!a'àn.	The moon <u>is getting</u> big.
N!oh n!óm.	The orange is ripe.
N!oh <u>kú</u> n!óm.	The orange <u>is becoming</u> ripe.

6. Demonstratives: 'this' and 'that'

In Juǀ'hoan, **hè** 'this/these' and **to'à** 'that/those' are also verbal in nature and can be thought of literally as 'be here/be this one' and 'be there/be that one', respectively. When qualifying a noun, they must, like any other verb, be preceded by a noun with a relative suffix, for example:

Jùà hè !óá mí.   This person (person-who-is-here) told me.
N!ohsà to'à ǀóá n!óm.   Those oranges (oranges-which-are-there) are not ripe.

In order to express 'this is' or 'that is', a noun is simply followed by **hè** or **to'à** respectively, for example:

Jù hè.   This is a person (person is-this one).
N!oh to'à.   That is an orange (orange is-that one).

Note that with class 5 nouns, **hè** is replaced by **kè**, for example:

Tjù kè.   This is a house.
Ha ǀóá gú tjùà kè.   He did not build this house.

*7. The sequential/non-restrictive relative pronoun **hè***

If there is more than one verb following the relative suffix **-à** or **-sà**, then the second and subsequent verbs must be preceded by the sequential relative pronoun **hé** 'and who/which'. For example:

Mí ǀóá ho tjùà n!a'àn hè g!ààn.
I did not find the big red house (house-which be-big and-which be-red).
Jùà to'a hè gǀaoh !óá mí.
That strong person told me (person-who is-there and-who-is-strong).

In non-restrictive clauses, **hè** is used instead of the usual relative suffixes **-à** or **-sà**, for example:

Mí nǁá Gǀaq'ò, hè ó Díǁxàò ǁ'àn ha !'hoàn.
I mean Gǀaq'o, who is Diǁxao's husband.
E !xóáná Baraka, hè cú tò'má n!óréǂ'ànsàràsí.
We live at Baraka, which lies close to the border.
Goàqhà n!arohkxàò nǀúí, hè ó sonda, ǁàmà Mangetti.
Long ago, a certain teacher, who was a soldier, came from Mangetti.

The demonstrative **hè** 'this/these' should not be confused with the sequential/non-restrictive relative pronoun. Th example below shows that they can both occur in a single sentence:

> **Jùà <u>hè hè</u> !óá mí ...**
> <u>This</u> person <u>who</u> (person-who be-here and-who) told me ...

8. Verbs of position and motion

Verbs indicating position (such as **cú** 'be horizontal, lie down') and verbs of motion (such as **ɬaeh** 'go down') can be combined with the demonstratives to give a more exact meaning. These verbs follow the relative suffix and precede the demonstrative, for example:

Mí nǁá juà̠ <u>cú hè</u>.	I mean <u>this</u> person <u>lying down</u>.
!Háà̠ n!ún to'à ó n!hoan.	<u>The</u> animal <u>standing there</u> is a kudu.
Mí ho tjù̠sà̠ <u>ɬaeh kè</u>.	I found <u>the</u> houses <u>which are down here</u>.

Using the relative locative pronoun **kòà** and the demonstratives (especially **kè**, and less often **to'à**), many useful expressions of general location can be made, for example:

kòà ɬaeh kè	down(wards), below, down there
kòà !'àn kè	up(wards), above, up here (**!'àn** 'go up')
kòà tsí kè	here, on this side (**tsí** 'come here')
kòà gǀàè kè	there, on that side (**gǀàè** 'come there')
kòà ú to'à	over there (**ú** 'go away')

LESSON TWELVE

Conjunctions of Noun Phrases

1. Dual conjunctions of noun phrases
     When two singular nouns or noun phrases are joined, then the dual cnojunction **sá** is used. For example:

Mí !ó s̲à̲ mí !úí !óá mí.	My older brother <u>and</u> my older sister told me.
Gǂhúín s̲á̲ nǀoàhn !aah ú.	The dog <u>and</u> the cat ran away.

In pronoun-noun conjunctions, the singular pronouns **mí** 'I/me', **à** 'you (sg)' and **ha** 'he/him/she/her' are replaced by their dual equivalents (**ètsá** or **mtsá** for **mí**, **ìtsá** for **à**, and **sá** for **ha**). These dual pronouns are simply placed before the noun (phrase) to which they are conjoined, without the use of a separate conjunction:

<u>**Etsá mí** tsú</u> kú !aqè gǃò'é.	<u>My uncle and I</u> (we-two my uncle) were hunting an oryx.
Ha hoa <u>**ìtsá** Kxàò</u> kò tzí.	She found <u>you and Kxao</u> (you-two Kxao) in the veld.
<u>**Sá ha** bá</u> ú.	<u>He and his father</u> (they-two his father) went.

2. Plural conjunctions of noun phrases
     When the result of a conjunction of noun phrase is plural rather than dual, then **kòtá** (or its variants such as **kòtí**, **kètá**, **kèsín**) is used:

ǀAm n!úí, <u>mí kòtá m bá kòtá Moses</u> ǁàmà ǀAotcha ...
One day, <u>my father, Moses and I</u> came from ǀAotcha ...

Sì!á ho <u>n!hoan kòtá gǃò'é</u>.
They found <u>kudus and oryxes</u>.

Note from the first example that there is no need to place **mí** 'I' at the end of the conjoined phrases, as one would in English.

LESSON THIRTEEN

Conjunctions of Clauses

*1. **tè** and **ká** as coordinating conjunctions 'and' or 'but'*
    Clauses (sentence parts consisting of at least a verb) may be linked with **tè** or **ká** 'and', for example:

Aíá n∣óá 'msì tè è 'm.	Mother cooked food <u>and</u> we ate.
E ∣xòà dà'á ká n∣óá 'msì.	We lit a fire <u>and</u> cooked food.

In narratives, **tè** (and less commonly, also **ká**) may be used at the beginning of a sentence to connect it to the previous one, for example:

    Sá úá Tjùm!kúí tè tzà. Tè n!ómà sá úá skóré tè kxóá skoolhoof.
They went to Tsumkwe and slept. <u>And</u> in the morning they went to the school and looked for the headmaster.

    The difference in meaning between **tè** and **ká** is that whereas **tè** simply connects clauses in a neutral way, **ká** implies the immediacy (or even simultneity) of the clause following it. **Ká** is therefore more likely to be used when one describes a chain of events which follow one another in quick succession. Consider the following examples (from actual reminiscences):

    Tè khoè n!úí !há kú kúá !áí, <u>ká</u> à kúá g!á tjù ∣hó <u>ká</u> !óá jú <u>ká</u> kò ...
And perhaps the animal would soon die, <u>and</u> you would soon go to the village <u>and</u> tell the people <u>and</u> say ...

In this example the use of **ká** highlights the urgency and speed of the things you would do if the animal died soon.

    Mí káícé ‖'hùín tè cú <u>ká</u> tzà.
I was very tired and lay down and slept.

Here the **ká** shows that the person fell asleep as soon as he had lain down.

    N!haì ∣óá ‖'àè è tè sìn kù tsí <u>ká</u> !'árú.
The lion did not heed us and was just coming and roaring.

Ká here shows that the lion's "coming" and "roaring" were happening at the same time.

In Juǀʼhoan the difference between 'and' and 'but' is generally not made explicit, and **tè** (though not **ká**) may often be translated as 'bur' in English, for example:

Kaùh !òmà tè Kxàò g╪àʼín.   Kauh is short <u>but</u> Kxao is tall.

If it is considered necessary to express the contrastive implication of 'but', then the adverb **ǁoeh**, 'in contrast', may be placed following **tè**, for example:

Nǁaqè g!àʼámá tòrà tè ǁoeh ǀóá ǁʼámá tcí n!úí.
The men entered the shop, <u>but</u> didn't buy anything.

Occasionally the word **màrà** (borrowed from the African Dutch *maar* 'but') is used:

Ha khòècà gèà ǀAotcha, màrà mí ǀóá !ʼhàn.
Perhaps she is staying at ǀAotcha, <u>but</u> I don't know.

2. tè and ká as complementisers

Tè and **ká** are also used to introduce the complements of certain verbs, where in English one would use the infinitive (e.g. 'to work', 'to sing') or gerund (e.g. 'working', 'singing'), or place 'that' in front of the complement. In these cases, **tè** and **ká** are generally not interchangeable, the choice being determined by the verb itself. Three verbs which are followed by **tè** are **còàcòà** 'start, begin', **nǁurì** 'try' and **╪ʼàn** 'do first (before anyone else)'; for example:

E còàcòà tè n!arih.   We started <u>to ride</u>.
E nǁurì tè kxóní ǀʼùrì !óm.   We tried <u>to fix</u> the bicycle wheel.
Kxòàrà ╪ʼàn tè ╪xùrù !aìhn.   Kxoara <u>climbed</u> the tree <u>first</u>.

A verb which may be followed by **tè** *or* **ká** is **ce**. As a free-standing verb **ce** means 'return', but when followed by **tè** or **ká** it translates 'again' or 'also', for example:

Ha ce tè !óá mí.   He told me <u>again</u>.
Daʼàmà ce ká kxóní ǀʼùrì.   The child fixed the bicycle <u>again</u>.

E kxàè ǀʼùrìsì, tè Tsàmkxàò ce tè kxàè`ha ǀʼùrì.
We had bicycles, and Tsamkxao <u>also</u> had his bicycle.

Some verbs which take **ká** to introduce their complements are **kàrè** 'want', **kòàq** 'fear' and **n!òó** 'wish':

Ha <u>kàrè ká</u> da'àmà g!à'ámá skóré.
<u>She wants </u>the <u>child to enter the school.</u>

Mí <u>n!òó ká</u> m bá koh gèà kòàkè.
<u>I wish that my </u>father <u>were here.</u>

Ha g‖à'ámá <u>kòàq ká</u> da'àmà ce tè ‖kàè.
He now <u>fears that </u>the child will again be sick.

Note that where the subject of the main clause is the same as the subject of the complement, then it is usual to leave out the **ká**, for example:

Mí kàrè <u>ká</u> mí g!à'ámá skóré.   I want to enter the school.
or simply
Mí kàrè g!à'ámá skóré.

    Ká is also used to introduce the complements of certain impersonal verbs. These verbs, **ǂ'àùn** 'be appropriate, be necessary, must', **‖àmà** 'do afterwards, do then, do next' and **khòècà** 'seem', take as their subject the class 5 pronoun (coincidentally also **ká**), for example:

<u>Ká ǂ'àùn ká</u> da'àmà <u>g!à'ámá</u> skóré.
<u>It is necessary</u> for the child <u>to enter</u> school. (The child <u>must enter</u> school.)

Mí kxáícè ‖ká mí g!áúsì, tè <u>ká ‖àmà ká</u> mí 'm.
<u>I first wash my hands, and <u>afterwards</u> I <u>eat</u>.

<u>Ká khòècà ká</u> dà'ábí kaqa 'm 'msì.
<u>It seems that </u>the children have already eaten the food.

These impersonal verbs may also be used with other subjects, but this is less common. The first example above could thus also be

Da'àmà ǂ'àùn ká ha g!à'ámá skóré.
The child must go to school.

Note that **khòècà** can also stand alone as an adverb meaning 'perhaps', for example:

Da'ábí <u>khòècà</u> kaqa 'm 'msì.
The children have <u>perhaps</u> already eaten the food.

3. tè kò ... tè or ká kò ... tè as the complementiser 'that'

Tè kò (or less commonly **ká kò**) must follow verbs of speaking, such as **!óá** 'tell', **mànì** 'answer' to introduce direct speech. The verb **kò** means 'say', so **tè kò** or **ká kò** literally means 'and say'. Examples:

M bá !óá mí tè kò: "Jú kaqa ú."
My father <u>told</u> me (<u>and said</u>): "The people have already gone."

Nǀomkxàò mànì ká kò: "Mí ǀóá !'hàn."
The doctor <u>answered</u> (<u>and said</u>): "I don't know."

If the speech is reported, the same construction is used, except that the complement particle **tè** (never **ká**) must be placed after the subject of the (reported) complement clause. Thus, if the speech of the above examples were reported, the sentences would be:

M bá !óá mí tè kò jú tè kaqa ú.
My father <u>told</u> me (<u>and said</u>) <u>that</u> the people had already left.

Nǀomkxàò mànì ká kò ha tè ǀóá !'hàn.
The doctor <u>answered</u> (<u>and said</u>) that he did not know.

Note that **tè kò ... tè** (or **ká kò ... tè**) are translated here simply by 'that'. This usage has been extended to certain other verbs (which do not involve speaking) to introduce their complements, for example **!'hàn** 'know' and **ǂ'áng** 'think':

Mí !'hàn tè kò ha tè kaqa ú.
I <u>know that</u> he has already left.

!Aqèkxàò ǂ'áng tè kò n!hoan tè !ái.
The hunter <u>thinks that</u> the kudu is dead.

4. tcá ... tè as the complementiser 'that'

Tcá .. tè may be used instead of **tè kò ... tè** or **ká kò ... tè** to introduce the complements of verbs of speaking and of **!'hàn** 'know' and **ǂ'áng** 'think' (**tcá** is derived from the relative **tcí+à** 'thing which'), for example:

!Aqèkxàò !óá mí tcá ha tè !hún n!hoan.
The hunter <u>told</u> me <u>that</u> he had killed the kudu.

Dshàú ǀóá !'hàn tcá ha da'àmà tè ú.
The woman did not <u>know that</u> her child had gone.

Tcá must also be used to introduce the complements of **ho** 'find' and **tsà'á** 'hear, understand', for example:

!Há!'uínkxàò ho tcá !aqèkxàòsì tè kaqa !hún n!haì.
The nature-conservator <u>found that</u> the hunters had already killed the lion.

Mí tsà'á tcá ha tè goàqǂ'àn gù !'hoàn.
I <u>understand that</u> she got married (lit.: took a man) yesterday.

5. Clause of purpose

Nǀàng 'so/so that/in order to' may be used to introduce a clause of purpose, for example:

Nà !há nǀàng mí nǀóá ká!!
Give me meat <u>so that</u> I (can) cook it! (Give me meat for me to cook!)
!'Oahn !hú tzí nǀàng gúmí g!à'ámá!!
Open the kraal gate <u>so that</u> the cattle (can) enter! (Open the kraal gate for the cattle to go in!)

Nǀàng is often used instead of **tè** 'and' before clauses which ultimately lead up to a clause of purpose, for example:

Itsá gèà kòà tsí kè nǀàng kxóá, nǀàng mí gèà kòà gǀàè kè nǀàng kxóá, nǀàng m!á ho ká.
You two stay on this side <u>and</u> look, <u>and</u> I'll stay on that side <u>and</u> look <u>so that</u> we (can) find it.
A ǁàè à !'hán, nǀàng mí ǁàè mí !'hán, nǀàng m!á ǁxàm n!hoaan to'à.
You keep your son, <u>and</u> I'll keep my son <u>so that</u> we (can) follow that kudu.

Another way of expressing 'so/so that/in order to' is **ǁ'à** or **káǁ'à**, for example:

Ha g!xà ǂ'hànù ǁ'à ha !hún à.
He takes out a knife <u>so that</u> he (can) kill you.

6. 'because'

'Because' can be translated by **khàmà**. The subject of the clause of reason that **khàmà** introduces is normally followed by the complement particle **tè** (see § 3 above) or by the explanatory adverb **nǀá**, for example:

Ha kú kxóá ǁkòàsì <u>khàmà</u> ha <u>tè</u> kòàrà màrì.
Ha kú kxóá ǁkòàsì <u>khàmà</u> ha <u>nǀá</u> kòàrà màrì.
He is looking for work <u>because</u> he has no money. (**kòàrà** 'not have')

Note that **nǀá** can be used as a free-standing adverb without **khàmà** when the sentence is intended as an explanation. In this case it may be translated by 'you see' or some similar phrase, for example:

Ha <u>nǀá</u> kòàrà màrì.   He had no money, <u>you see</u>.

7. 'before' and 'after'
    There are no precise Juǀ'hoan equivalents to the English temporal conjunctions 'before' and 'after'. Instead there are adverbs, verbs and phrases relating in different ways to earlier or later time:

earlier time

kxáícè	firstly
ǂ'àn (tè)	do first (before someone else)
ká ... cíníhá ǀóá	while ... still not

later time

tòànsí, tòàndísí	lastly, eventually
dinn!ángkhòèà	afterwards
tè nǁhaa	and only then
ǁàmà (ká)	do then, afterwards
ká ... tòàn, ǁ'àkáà	when ... do finished, then (for an explanation of this construction, see Lesson Fourteen)

A basically synonymous sentence pair in English, such as 'Before he lit the fire, he looked for the children' *and* 'After he looked for the children, he lit the fire', could thus be rendered in various ways, for example (with literal translations given):

<u>Ká</u> ha <u>cíníhá ǀóá</u> ǀxòà dà'á, ha kxóá dà'ábí.
<u>While</u> he had <u>still not</u> lit the fire, he looked for the children.

Ha <u>kxáícè</u> kxòà dà'ábí, tè ká <u>ǁàmà ká</u> ha ǀxòà dà'á.
He <u>first</u> looked for the children and <u>then</u> he lit the fire.

<u>Ká</u> ha kxóá <u>tòàn</u> dà'ábí, <u>ǁ'àkáà</u> ha ǀxòà dà'á.
<u>When</u> he <u>had finished</u> looking for the children, (<u>then</u>) he lit the fire.

Ha kxóá dà'ábí, <u>tè nǁhaà</u> ǀxòà dà'á.
He looked for the children, <u>and only then</u> he lit the fire.

8. 'whether'

'Whether' is translated by **nǀàng kò** or **nǀàng ká kò**, and the subject of the complement clause must be followed by the question particle **ré**, for example:

Mí ǀóá !'hàn <u>nǀàng kò</u> m bá <u>ré</u> kaqa ú.
I don't know <u>whether</u> my father has already gone.
Da'àmà tsítsà'á mí <u>nǀàng ká kò</u> ha taqè <u>ré</u> gèà khúínkèhè.
The child asked me whether his mother was here.

LESSON FOURTEEN

Deixis

1. Explanation of deixis

"Deixis" means referring back to something previously mentioned, or to something already known by the addressee. In English, when a noun phrase is mentioned for the first time, or when it refers to something not known, it is usually preceded by the indefinite article '*a*', for example: 'I saw *a person* in the yard.'

If the newly introduced noun phrase is then repeated in the discourse, it will usually be preceded by the indefinite article '*the*' or the demonstrative 'that', which shows that it had previously been mentioned, or known. For example: '*The person* was running.'

2. n|úí and ǁ'à ...-à / -sà with nouns

In Juǀ'hoan a new topic if often introduced introduced by the adjective **n|úí** 'a certain', for example:

   Mí hoa jù n|úí ko !aòh.   I saw a (certain) person in the yard.

In subsequent mentions of that topic, it is usual to place ǁ**'à** before the noun phrase and add the suffix **-à** (or in the plural **-sà**) to its end, for example:

   ǁ**'A jùà̱ kú !aàh.**   The (that) person was running.

This suffix **-à/-sà** is the same as the relative suffix (see Lesson Eleven) and in the plural **-sà** replaced the usual noun suffix **-sì**, for example:

   E !'hàn ǁ'à̱ n!órés̱à̱. (not: *n!órésìsà)
   We know those (previously mentioned) areas.

Note also that if the noun phrase contains more than one word, then **-à** or **-sà** is added to the last word, for example:

   !Aqèkxàò txá ǁ'à̱ n!hoan tsáns̱à̱.
   The hunter shot those two (previously mentioned) kudus.

3. ǁ'à ... -à / -sà with pronouns

Deictic pronouns are formed in the same way as nouns and noun phrases, but they are always written as one word. First and second per-

son deictic pronouns are rare, but third person pronouns frequently occur. These are:

class 1	ǁ'àhaà	that one, he/she
	ǁ'àsá	those two/the two of them
	ǁ'àsìsà or ǁ'àhìsà	those ones, they
class 2	ǁ'àhaà	that one, it
	ǁ'àhìsà	those ones, they
class 3	ǁ'àhaà	that one, it
	ǁ'àhasà	those ones, they
class 4	ǁ'àhìà	that one, it
	ǁ'àhìsà	those ones, they
class 5	ǁ'àkáà	that one, it
	ǁ'àkásà	those ones, they

Note the minor irregularity in the class 1 dual and plural forms! In the dual (ǁ'àsá) there is no relative suffix added, and in the plural (ǁ'àsìsà) the suffix **-sà** has been added to **-sì**, instead of replacing it.

The examples below show that deictic pronouns are often used to emphasise the identity of a noun (in which case they would not normally be translated in English):

Tè ha tshínsín, ǁ'àhìsà tsítsà'á dshàú n!à'án tè kò: "...
And his younger brothers, <u>they</u> asked the old lady and said: "...

Goàq n!aròhkxàò nǀúí hè ó sonda, ǁ'àhaà ǁàmà Mangetti ...
Long ago a certain teacher who was a soldier, <u>he</u> came from Mangetti

Ha ho !aìhn nǀúí, ǁ'àkáà ha kàrè ǂxùrù.
He found a certain tree, <u>that one</u> he wanted to climb (and that was the one he wanted to climb).

!'Hoànmà nǀúí hè ó Gǀàq'ó ǁ'àn ha !'án, ǁ'àhaà !áí.
A certain boy who was Gǀaq'o's son, <u>he</u> died.

Tè g!úsà è koh ǁàè, ǁàkásà è kú tchì, kà tzèàmh.
And the water which we carried, <u>that which</u> we were drinking, was now little.

Note that **g!ú** 'water' is used in the plural here!

4. Deixis indicated by pronouns preceding the noun

Another way of indicating previous mention and/or emphasis is simply to place a (non-deictic) pronoun of the appropriate class before the nonu, for example:

ha dshàú	that (previously mentioned) woman
ká !aìhn	that (previously mentioned) tree

Note that with class 1 plural, class 2 plural and class 4 singular, the form **hìà** (usually pronounced **yà**) is used instead of **sì** and **hì**, for example:

hìà dà'á	that (previously mentioned) fire

This means of indicating previous mention is not so common however, probably because most such forms (other than those with **hìà**) are ambiguous, and could be possessive constructions, for instance, the examples above, **ha dshàú** and **ká !aìhn**, could mean 'his wife' and 'its tree', respectively.

5. 'when ... then' and 'if ... then'

'when' is translated by **ká**. (Note that this is identical to the class 5 pronoun **ká** 'it'.) For example:

<u>Ká</u> ǀám nǂhao ...	<u>When</u> the sun set ...
<u>Ká</u> è!á tsíá Gura ...	<u>When</u> we came to Gura ...

Like the class 5 pronoun, **ká** meaning 'when' also has a deictic form, **ǁ'àkáà**, and this is used, especially in narratives, to introduce the second part of a 'when ... then' sentence. Like the deictic pronouns shown above in § 2, this **ǁ'àkáà** would usually not need to be translated into English:

<u>Ká</u> ǀám nǂhao, **ǁ'àkáà** è cíníhá gèà ǀAotcha.
<u>When</u> the sun set, (<u>then</u>) we were still at ǀAotcha.

<u>Ká</u> è!á tsíá Gura, **ǁ'àkáà** ǀ'ùrì !óm !hárá.
<u>When</u> we came to Gura, (<u>then</u>) the bicycle tyre burst.

Ká also translated 'if', but to show that one is dealing with a logical, as opposed to purely temporal sequence, the second part of the sentence is introduced by the special deictic form **ókáà**, for example:

<u>Ká</u> ǀám nǂhaoa è!á, <u>ókáà</u> è!á n!àn.
<u>If</u> the sun sets on us, (<u>then</u>) we will be lost.

Ká mí koh kxàè màrì, ókáà mí kú ǁ’ámá ’msì.
If I had money, (then) I would be buying food.

Ókáà is sometimes used instead of **ǁ’àkáà** where the connection between the first and second clauses appears to be temporal rather than logical (but **ǁ’àkáà** is never used for **ókáà** to show a logical connection).

Note that **ǁ’àkáà** and **ókáà** need not always be preceded by a **ká**-commencing clause (although that is common); for example:

Tè nǃómà nǀúí, ǁ’àkáà mí ǃú-nǃa’àn ǃóá mí ...
And one morning (then) my grandfather told me ...

Tè tchòàtchòà ǁ’à ǀámà, ókáà Kxòàrà sìn ǀóá ǃaqè ...
And starting from that day, (then) Kxoara just didn't hunt ...

Both **ǁ’àkáà** and **ókáà** have shortened forms which are pronounced and may be written as **ǁ’àká** and **óká** respectively.

6. 'there'

The locative pronoun **kò** (see Lesson Ten) also has a deictic form, *viz.* **ǁ’àkòà**, meaning 'there, that (previously mentioned) place'; for example:

Jú úá ǀAotcha tè ǃxóáná ǁ’àkòà.
The people went to ǀAotcha and settled there.

7. 'therefore' and 'that's why'

Two common ways of translating 'therefore' or 'that's why' are **ǁ’àkáàhìn** and **ǁ’àkòàhìn**. These are simply the deictic class 5 pronoun **ǁ’àkáà** and the deictic locative pronoun **ǁ’àkòà** to which the emphatic particle **hìn** has been suffixed. Examples:

Ha dcàá mí màrì tè ǁ’àkòàhìn mí nǂà’m ha. Or:
Ha dcàá mí màrì tè ǁ’àkáàhìn mí nǂà’m ha.
He stole my money and therefore I hit him.

Jú kòàrà màrì tè ǁ’àkòàhìn sì ǀóá ǁ’àmà ’msì. Or:
Jú kòàrà màrì tè ǁ’àkáàhìn sì ǀóá ǁ’àmà ’msì. Or:
The people had no money and that's why they didn't buy food.

ǁ’àkáàhìn may also be followed by the demonstratives **kè** 'this' or **to’à** 'that' to mean 'for this reason' and 'for that reason', respectively; for example:

Ha kòàrà màrì tè ǁ'àkáàhìnkè ha ǀú ǁ'ámá tcísì.
He has no money, and <u>for this reason</u> he will not be buying things.

Ha goàqǂ'àn txá n!oan, tè ǁ'àkáàhìnto'à jú kà kú 'm !há.
Yesterday he shot a kudu, and <u>for that reason</u> people are now eating meat.

8. 'that thing'

ǁ'àtcá means 'that' or 'that (previously mentioned) thing/matter' and it is a very commonly used word. (It comes from the deictic form of the nnoun **tcí** 'thing', i.e. **ǁ'à + tcí + à**.) Examples:

Ha tsà'á tcá Kxàò tè kú nǂà'm ha dshàú, tè ha ǀóá kàrè ǁ'àtcá.
She heard that Kxao was beating his wife, and she didn't like <u>that</u>.

Ha kú !'àù ha taqè, tè ká ha dù ǁ'àtcá, ǁ'àkáà ha taqè kúá ǁàmà.
He called his mother, and while he was doing <u>that</u>, she suddenly appeared.

LESSON FIFTEEN

Possessed Pronouns

1. Restricted position of possessed pronouns
    Possessed pronouns, as their name implies, occur only as the possessed object in a possessive construction, that is, following a possessor noun or pronoun. Like other third person pronouns, they must agree with the class of the noun they refer to. The possessed pronouns are as follows:

class 1 and 2	singular	**mà**
	plural	**hìsì**
class 3	singular	**mà**
	plural	**màsì**
class 4	singular	**hì**
	plural	**hìsì**
class 5	singular	**gá**
	plural	**gásì**

Although the possessed pronouns may be translated by English 'one' or 'ones', they are normally left untranslated. Examples of the use of the pronouns:

class 1

Kaùh ǁ'àn ha dshàú ǀ'hóm.	Kauh's wife is pretty.
Kàuh ǁ'àn ha <u>mà</u> ǀ'hóm.	Kauh's (<u>one</u>) is pretty.
Kxòàrà ǁ'àn ha júsí kaqa ú.	Kxoara's relatives have already gone.
Kxòàrà ǁ'àn ha <u>hìsì</u> kaqa ú.	Kxoara's (<u>ones</u>) have already gone.

class 2

Mí gǂhúín jaqm.	My dog is thin.
Mí <u>mà</u> jaqm.	Mine (<u>my one</u>) is thin.
Mí gǂhúínsì jaqm.	My dogs are thin.
Mí <u>hìsì</u> jaqm.	Mine (<u>my ones</u>) are thin.

class 3

ǂ'Hanù útò n!a'àn.	The government's car is big.
ǂ'Hanù <u>mà</u> n!a'àn.	The government's (<u>one</u>) is big.

ǂ'Hanù útòsì !àè!àè.	The government's cars are big.
ǂ'Hanù <u>màsì</u> !àè!àè.	The government's (<u>ones</u>) are big.

class 4

Dà'á hè ó ha dà'á.	This fire is his fire.
Dà'á hè ó ha <u>hì</u>.	This fire is his (<u>one</u>).

Dà'ásà hè ó ha dà'ásì.	These fires are his fires.
Dà'ásà hè ó ha <u>hìsì</u>.	These fires are his (<u>ones</u>).

class 5

Mí !óm ce tè khúí.	My leg is also painful.
Mí <u>gá</u> ce tè khúí.	Mine (<u>my one</u>) is also painful.

Mí !ómsì ce tè khúí.	My legs are also painful.
Mí <u>gásì</u> ce tè khúí.	Mine (<u>my ones</u>) are also painful.

2. Possessed pronouns as alternative to the possessive construction

A very common alternative to the possessive construction discussed in Lesson Seven is to use the possessed pronoun in a relative clause following the possessed noun. For example, the phrase **mí tjù** 'my house' could be replaced by **tjùà ó <u>mí gá</u>** 'house which is <u>mine</u>', and **Kxàò ‖'àn ha dà'ábí** 'Kxao's children' could be replaced by **dà'ábísà ó <u>Kxàò hìsì</u>** 'children who are <u>Kxao's</u>'.

Often in this way of expressing possession, the relative suffix **-à**/**-sà** is omitted, thus the examples above could also be:

tjù ó mí gá	my house
dà'ábí ó Kxàò hìsì	Kxao's children

LESSON SIXTEEN

Locatives

1. Locative nouns instead of prepositions

   There are no prepositions in Juǀʼhoan, and to express the position of something relative to something else, locative nouns are used in the possessive construction. So for example, and English phrase such as 'in the house' must be translated as Juǀʼhoan **tjù n!áng**, literally 'in the house's inside'. As with any other possessive (see Lesson Seven), if the possessor noun is qualified, then the construction using the possessive particle **ǁʼàn** must be used, for example 'in the big house' would be **tjù n!aʼàn ǁʼàn ká n!áng**. The positional significance of the locative nouns appears to be derived by metaphorical extension from the "primary" meanings. In the list below, the primary meanings of the nouns are given first, with the locative meanings (translated by English prepositions) afterwards.

locative noun	primary meaning	locative meaning
n!áng	innards, inside	in (an enclosed place)
tzí	veld, outside	out, around
din	buttock, backside	under
ǀhó	face, flat surface	on (something flat)
ǁʼámí(á)	centre, middle	between
!ká	heart	in (the midst of)
!óm	side (of the body)	beside, next to

   Some of the locative nouns are compounds beginning with a part of the body (such as **gǀàʼá** 'eye') and ending in **-n!áng** 'in'.

compound locative	locative meaning
gǀàʼá-n!áng	in front of, ahead of (lit.: 'in the eye')
g!òʼá-n!áng	in front of, ahead of (lit.: 'in the cheek')
!ʼó-n!áng	behind, at the back of (lit.: 'in the back')

In a few cases the first part of the compound no longer appears to have independent significant, for example:

compound locative	locative meaning
ǁʼhànn!áng	on (something not flat, e.g. a pole)
ǂàbà-n!áng / ǂàbàtá-n!áng	under

Examples of the use of locative nouns:

Dà'ábí gèà tjù n!áng.	The children are in the house.
Sì g!hòóá dà'á tzí.	They are sitting around the fire.
Ha hoa gòqrú kò n!òm din.	He found the lizard under the stone.
N!úán mí !'óm.	Stand beside me.
Kauh g!ámá ǁxòbákxàm ko !aìhàn to'à ǁ'àn ká !ká.	Kauh hid the key in that bush.
Jù kòàrà mí !'ó-n!áng.	There is no one behind me.
G‡húín n!úán tafere ‡àbàtá-n!áng.	The dog stood under the table.
ǁUá à ǁah kò pàrà ǁhànn-n!áng!!	Hang your hat on the pole!

2. Position often included in the meaning of a verb

Often a meaning, which would be expressed by a preposition in English, is included in the meaning of a verb in Juǁ'hoan, and in such cases no locative noun would be used. Some such verbs are:

nǁhumì	go around, surround
nǁhurì	go underneath
n!áú	go over
ǁ'àbà	step over
ǁxàrì	go through
ǁhàm	go right through
tò'má	be near to, be close to
‡xáán	be far from
gǀáíá, g!à'íá	go out (**g!à'íá** is used when the subject is plural)
g!à'ámá	go in, enter
ǀ'ú	put in, insert
khàrúá	get off, get down from

These verbs can be used as the main verb of a sentence, for example:

Gǀuih nǁhumì tjùǀhó.	The hyena <u>went around</u> the village.
ǁ'Abà g‡húíàn cú hè.	<u>Steo over</u> this dog lying here.
E ‡xáán ǀAotcha.	We <u>are far from</u> ǀAotcha.
Jú khàrùà útò.	The people <u>got off</u> the car.

They are, however, also commonly used to qualify the action of another

verb, for example:

G∣uih !aàh n∥hurì !aìhn ∥'háúsì.
[hyena run go-under tree branches]
The hyena ran under the tree's branches.

Mí !òmà tè ∣óá sé ∥'àbà !aìhnsì.
[I be-short and not see step-over trees]
I am short and cannot see over the trees.

Tzàmà n!òm n!áú tjù.
[bird fly go-over house]
The bird flew over the house.

N!haì tsí tò'má è!á.
[lion come be-close-to us]
The lion came close to us.

N!arihkxàò ∥háí khàrúá ∣háósì kò útò.
[driver pull get-down bags PART car]
The driver pulled down the bags from the truck.

Ha n∣haò ∣'ú ǂxanù.
[she throw insert letter]
She posted the letter.

Da'àmà khu g∣áíá kàtongá.
[the-child jump go-out-of box]
The child jumped out of the box.

Two verbs used in this way are called "serial verbs", and they are dealt with in more detail in Lesson Nineteen.

LESSON SEVENTEEN

Noun Derivation

1. Agentive suffix -kxàò

The suffix **-kxàò**, often corresponding to English '-er', can be added to any verb to indicate the agent or actor of that verb, for example:

verb		*agent noun*	
n!arih	drive	**n!arih<u>kxàò</u>**	driver
dcàá	steal	**dcàá<u>kxàò</u>**	thief
n!aròh	teach	**n!aròh<u>kxàò</u>**	teacher
!aqè	hunt	**!aqè<u>kxàò</u>**	hunter
ǀòrè	write	**ǀòrè<u>kxàò</u>**	writer

It is also possible to add **-kxàò** to other noun, for example:

noun		*agent noun*	
nǀom	medicine	**nǀom<u>kxàò</u>**	healer
n!óré	territory	**n!óré<u>kxàò</u>**	inhabitant of a territory
ǁxàrà	garden	**ǁxàrà<u>kxàò</u>**	gardener

2. Place/manner suffix -sí

The suffix **-sí** added to a verb gives a class 5 noun indicating the place where the action of that verb is carried out. The tone of this suffix must always be written so that it is not confused with the plural noun suffix **-sì** which has a low tone. Examples:

verb		*noun of manner/place*	
tzà	sleep	**tzà<u>sí</u>**	sleeping place
nǀáng	sit	**nǀáng<u>sí</u>**	sitting place, seat
zà	pour	**zà<u>sí</u>**	pouring place, *i.e.* fuel station
!háí	wait	**!háí<u>sí</u>**	waiting place, e.g. bus stop
n!ún	stand	**n!ún<u>sí</u>**	standing place, position

The same suffix may be used to indicate the manner in which the action of a verb is carried out, for example:

verb		*noun of manner*	
ǀòrè	write	**ǀòrèsí**	way of writing, *i.e.* orthography
òò	do, act	**òòsí**	way of doing, *i.e.* custom
gè'é	sing	**gè'ésí**	way of singing

3. Verb and noun have the same form

Verbs and nouns often have the same form (and such nouns are always of class 5). Some such are:

verb		*noun*	
gǀaoh	be strong	**gǀaoh**	strength
ǀòrè	write	**ǀòrè**	writing
ǁháí	smoke	**ǁháí**	smoking
ǁ'àn	be painful	**ǁ'àn**	pain

Examples:

Ká ǀóá gǀaoh.	It is not strong.
Ká kòàrà gǀaoh.	It lacks strength.

Mí ǀòrè ǂxanù.	I wrote a letter.
ǂXanù ǀòrè ǀóá sòàn.	Letter-writing is not easy.

Júsà ǂháí ǁháí còrò.	Many people smoke tobacco.
Còrò ǁhàì kxúíá jù.	Tobacco-smoking destroys one.

Mí gǀà'ásì kú ǁ'àn.	My eyes are painful.
Mí kxàè ǁ'àn.	I have a pain.

4. The suffix -a

A few nouns are derived from verbs by means of the suffix **-a** (which always has the same tone as the preceding vowel), for example:

verb		*noun*	
jaqm	be thin	**jaqma**	thinness
ǂháí	be much/many	**ǂháíá**	majority, most of

Examples:

Kxàò jaqm.   Kxao is thin.
Kxàòjaqmạ kǀàù.   Kxao's <u>thinness</u> is bad.

Júsà ǂháí !xóáná ǀAotcha.   Many people live at ǀAotcha.
Jú ǂháíạ́ !xóáná ǀAotcha.   <u>Most of</u> the people live at ǀAotcha.

This **-a** suffix is also often used in noun+noun compounds, for example:

nǀomtjùạ̀   hospital (< **nǀom** 'medicine' + **tjù** 'house')
nǀáí!'úạ́   skull (< **nǀáí** 'head' + **!'ú** 'bone')

LESSON EIGHTEEN

Other Question Words

1. Use of the question particle
   All question words must be used in conjunction with the question particle. The most common question particle is **ré** (see Lessons One and Ten), but **baah** or **kaq'é** may also be used without any change in meaning.

2. Interrogative pronouns
   The interrogative pronouns are as follows:

   hatcé ré?   what?   **hajòè ré?**   who?/whom?

Examples of the usage of these words:

   <u>**Hatcé ré** kè?</u>   <u>What</u> is this?   **Tjù kè.**   It's a house.

   <u>**Hatcé ré** à hoa ǁ'àkòà?</u>   **N!hoan n|è'é mí ho.**
   <u>What</u> did you find there?   I found one kudu.

   <u>**Hajòè rè** ú?</u>   <u>Who</u> went?   **Kàuh.**   Kauh.

   <u>**Hajòè ré** à !óá?</u>   **Mí |óá !óá jù n|úí.**
   <u>Who</u> did you tell?   I didn't tell anyone.

'Whose?' is expressed by means of a **hajòè** plus a possessed pronoun, for example:

   Tjùà kè ó <u>hajòè gá?</u>
   [house this-one be <u>who one</u>]
   <u>Whose</u> house is this?

   Da'àmà ó <u>hajòè mà</u> n!àn?
   [child be <u>who one</u> get-lost]
   <u>Whose</u> child got lost?

3. 'why?'
   'Why?' is expressed by **hatcékhòèà ré**, or simply by **hatcé ré**. (It will always be clear from the context whether **hatcé ré** means 'why?' or 'what?'.) Examples:

   <u>**Hatcé ré** sí ú?</u> or <u>**Hatcékhòèà ré** sí ú?</u>
   <u>Why</u> did they leave?

(Note that **hatcé** here could not mean 'what', since the verb **ú** is intransitive.)

<u>Hatcé ré</u> ha kú ǀóa ǁohm pàràsì? or
<u>Hatcékhòèà ré</u> ha kú ǀóá ǁohm pàràsì?
<u>Why</u> isn't he chopping poles?

(Here again **hatcé** obviously does not mean 'what?', since the object of ǁ**ohm** 'chop' is already mentioned, *viz.* **pàràsì** 'poles'.)

4. 'which?', 'what kind of?', and 'when?'
    'Which?' is expressed by the demonstrative interrogative **nè ré**, and like the demonstratives **hè** (or **kè**) and **to'à** (see Lesson Eleven), it is verbal in nature and must be preceded by a noun with the relative suffix **-à/sà**. Literally then, **nè** (**ré**) may be translated as 'be which-one', just as **hè** (or **kè**) is translated as 'be this-one' and **to'à** as 'be that-one'. Examples of the use of this expression:

N!óréà <u>nè ré</u> à !xóáná?
[area-REL be-which-one QUES you live-at]
<u>Which</u> area do you live in?

Utòsà nè ré !ò'á?
[cars-REL be-which-ones QUES be-broken]
Which cars are broken?

'Which/what kind of?' is expressed by **tcíà nè ré** placed directly after the noun which is being questioned, for example:

Utò <u>tcíà nè ré</u> a kàrè?   <u>What kind of</u> car do you want?

Tcíà nè ré literally means 'which thing?'.

    There is no single word to ask the question 'when?', and instead time words such as ǁ**'àè** 'time', ǀ**ám** 'day', **írí** 'hour' etc. must be used with **nè ré**, for example:

ǁ**'Aèà nè ré ha tsí?**   <u>When</u> (<u>what time</u>) did she come?

Sì <u>ré</u> kú !'oahan tòrà kò <u>íríà nè?</u>
<u>When</u> (<u>at what hour</u>) will they be opening the shop?

5. 'how?'

　　'How?' is expressed by the auxiliary use of the verb **nàùn** (or **nìn**) 'do how?/be how?' in a serial verb construction. The verb following **nàùn** or **nìn** always has the transitive suffix **-a**, for example:

I ré <u>nàùn</u> kxóníá̰ ‖'àtcá?	<u>How</u> do you fix that (thing)?
Gúmí ré <u>nìn</u> !àò̰à̰?	<u>How</u> did the cattle die?
Dshàúsì ré <u>nàùn</u> n!aroha̰ n‖aq'àrà?	<u>How</u> did the women teach reading?
A ré <u>nàùn</u>?	<u>How</u> are you (doing)?

LESSON NINETEEN

Serial Verbs

1. Definition of serial verbs

For our purposes, serial verbs can be defined for Juǀ'hoan simply as two verbs in a sequence. Some serial verbs constructions have already been seen in Lesson Sixteen. In those cases, the second verb showed the direction of place in which the action of the first verb was carried out; for example:

Mí !òmà   tè   ǀóá sé ǁ'àbà   !aìhn.
[I   be-short and not see step-over tree]
I am short and cannot <u>see over</u> the tree.

Da'àmà <u>khù gǀáíá</u>   kàtongá.
[child   jump go-out-of box]
The child <u>jumped out of</u> the box.

2. Types of serial verbs

In a serial verb construction, the second verb may be transitive, for instance **ǁ'àbà** 'step over', or in a transitive form, e.g. **gǀáíá** 'go out of' from intransitive **gǀáí** 'go out'. In such cases the noun phrase following it would be its *object*, i.e. in the examples above, **!aìhn** 'tree' is the object of **ǁ'àbà** 'step over', and **kàtongá** 'box' is the object of **gǀáíá** 'go out of'. To summarise this type of serial construction:

*verb + verb*_{*trans*} *+ object*

A second type of serial verb construction is one in which the second verb is intransitive, and the noun phrase following it is its *subject*, for example:

Utò n‡àq'ú <u>!àò</u>   <u>jù</u>.
[car knock fall-over person]
The car knocked <u>the person over</u>.

Here the noun **jù** 'person' is the subject of **!àò** 'fall over'. Another example:

Dshàú   ǁkòà <u>ú</u>   <u>ha</u> !'hán.
[woman send go-away her son]
The woman sent <u>her son away</u>.

Here the noun phrase **ha !'hán** 'her son' is the subject of **ú** 'go away'. This kind of serial verb construction can thus be summarised:

verb + verb$_{intrans}$ + subject

Note that in this kind of serial construction the second verb does not normally require the transitive suffix because the noun phrase following it is its subject. However, when a second noun phrase (with locative, instrumental or temporal significant, see Lesson Eight) is added, then the transitive suffix **-a** and the transitive particle **kò** must be used, for example:

Ha n‡àq'ú !àòa̠ dshàú ko̠ útò.
He knocked the woman over with the car.

Dshàú ‖kòà ua̠ ha !'hàn ko̠ |Aotcha.
The women sent her son (away) to |Aotcha.

3. Some common serial verbs

Type 1: *verb + verb$_{trans}$ + object*

n!òm n!áu	fly over (fly + go over)
!aàh n‖hurì	run under (run + go under)
!aàh ‖xám	run after (run + accompany)
!'àù kxóá	look for by calling (call + look for)
n‡haoh n‖humì	walk around (walk + go around)
tà'm tsà'á	touch (feel + sense)
zà |ú	pour in (pour + insert)
‡'ábí sé	look under (lift up + look at)
tkúrí sé	peer at (peer over/around + look at)
|kúrí sé	spy on (be cunning + look at)
‡'áí g‖xún	push down (push away + put down)
sé !'àn	look up at (look + go up)
sé ‡aeha	look down at (look + go down + **a**)
tsí tò'má	come near to (come + be near + **a**)
ú ‡xáán	go far from (go + be far)
tsí g!áá	come back/home to (come + go back/home + **a**)
tsí g|àèà	arrive at (come + arrive + **a**)
tsí ‡aeha	come down to (come + go down + **a**)

Note that **tsí g!áá** specifically means 'come back/home to somewhere *during the day*', and that another meaning of **tsí ɬaeha** is 'come back/home to somewhere *after dark*'.

Note also that especially in narratives, verbs of coming and going, for example, **g∣àè** (ordinary meaning 'arrive') are frequently used as the first in a serial construction, but without much meaning. This usage as the first in a serial construction, but without much meaning. This usage can be compared to that of 'went and' in an English narrative such as "... we were all just sitting there and suddenly she went and poured her drink over him ...".

From Lesson Eight it has been seen that it is also possible for the object of a transitive verb to be omitted, for example:

Ha n!òm n!áú.	It flew over (something).

In the case of intransitive verbs used in this way, they will naturally then not require the transitive suffix **-a**, for example:

Da'àmà khù g!áí.	The child jumped out (of something).
N!haì tsí tò'm.	The lion came close (to something).

Type 2: *verb + verb*_{intrans} *+ subject*

gù tsáú	lift (take + rise)
∥àè !hárá	start (a car) (hold + be ripped)
n‡àq'ú !àò	knock over (hit + fall)
tání tsí	bring (carry + come)
tání ú	take (carry + go)
∥kòà ú	send (away) (send + go)
∣'àn ce	give back (give + return)
∥àè ∥aq'ìn	tear (hold + become torn)

This construction is also used when in English one would use two verbs, the second as a present participle, for example:

Ha <u>sé</u>   n∣áng ∥'à dshàúà.
[he watch sit   that woman]
He <u>watched</u> the woman <u>sitting.</u>

Ha <u>tsà'á</u> n‡oahn dà'ábí.
[he hear talk   children]
He <u>heard</u> the children <u>talking</u>.

4. Causatives

To show causation, the verb **n‡áí** 'cause, make' is used as the first verb, for example:

> **Mí n‡áí ǀ'hóm mí tjù.**
> [I cause be-pretty my house]
> I <u>caused</u> my house <u>to be pretty</u> (= I <u>made</u> my house <u>pretty</u>)

It is common for the second verb in such constructions to have the transitive suffix, for example:

> **Farmakxàòsì n‡áí ‡háíá̱ gúmí.**
> [farmers cause be-many cattle]

However, it cannot be predicted from the second verb itself whether it will take the transitive suffix, so it is better to learn this as one goes along. (There is even disagreement among Juǀ'hoan speakers in some cases.)

Naturally enough, when a second noun phrase follows a serial verb with **n‡áí**, then the transitive suffix will always be used, plus the transitive particle **kò** preceding the second noun phrase, for example:

> **Dshàú n‡áí 'mà̱ ha dà'ábí kò márí.**
> [woman causes eat-**a** her child kò mealie meal]
> The woman fed her child mealie meal.

The use of causative **n‡áí** is particularly useful with the so-called "descriptive verbs" (see Lesson Eleven, § 5), for example:

descriptive verb		causative form	
gǀaoh	be strong	**n‡áí gǀaoha**	strengthen, make strong
!òmà	be short	**n‡áí !òmà**	shorten, make short
n!a'àn	be big	**n‡áí n!a'àn**	enlarge, make big
n!o'ò	be fast	**n‡áí n!o'òà**	cause to be quick

5. The verb **dù**

Dù, when it is used alone, simply means 'do' or 'make', for example:

> **Hàtcé ré à kú dù?** What are you <u>doing</u>?

Rather similar to the English use of 'do', Juǀ'hoan **dù** may act as a kind of "pro-verb" for verbs with a more specific meaning, so for exam-

ple in the appropriate context **mí dù !há** could mean 'I slaughtered the animal' (**tcxò** 'slaughter') or 'I cooked the meat' (**n|óá** 'cook'), and so on.

As the first verb in a serial construction, **dù** can take the place of **n‡áí** in many causative constructions, and like **n‡áí** sometimes causes the second verb to take the transitive suffix **-a**, for example:

Bòhá <u>dù</u> |'hùrù   útò !óm.
[nail   make be-punctured car wheel]
The nail <u>caused</u> the wheel <u>to be punctured</u> (= <u>punctured</u> the wheel)

<u>Dù</u>   g!à'ín droma!!
[make full   drum]
<u>Make</u> the drum <u>full</u> (= <u>fill</u> the drum)!

<u>Dù</u>   n!o'òà da'àmà!!
[make hurry-**a** child]
<u>Make</u> the child <u>be quick</u> (= <u>hurry</u> the child <u>up</u>)

Dshàú <u>dù</u>   'mà ha da'àmà kò márí.
[woman make eat-**a** her child   **kò** mealie meal]
The woman <u>made</u> her child <u>eat</u> mealie meal.

Another possible effect of preceding **dù** is to emphasise the following verb, for example:

Mí <u>dù 'mà</u> !xó !há.
[I do eat elephant meat]
I <u>do</u> <u>eat</u> elephant meat (= I <u>do indeed eat</u> elephant meat)

A |óá kxóní ká.   **Yáú, mí <u>dù</u> kxóníá ká.**
You did not fix it.   Hey! I <u>did</u> <u>fix</u> it.

6. The verbs *òò* and *nàùn (or nìn)*

The verb **nàùn** (**nìn**) has been dealt with as a question-word already in Lesson Eighteen and can be translated as 'be how?/do how?'. Note again that it always causes the following verb to take the transitive suffix **-a**. Further examples with **nàùn** are:

Jù ré kú <u>nàùn</u> kúrúạ tchì?   <u>How does</u> a person make an arrow?
N!haì ré <u>nàùn</u> !húạn !xó?   <u>How did</u> the lion kill the elephant?

When **nàùn** is used with **tà'má** (intransitive form: **tà'm**), which ordinarily means 'be like', this combination usually means 'how much?/how many?', for example:

Júsà   nàùn tà'má ré   gèà   tjù   n!áng?
[people-who be-how be-like QUES stay-**a** house inside]
<u>How many</u> people are there in the house?

Jú tsán gèà tjù n!áng.   There are two people in the house.

Oò is the noun-question equivalent of **nàùn** (**nìn**) and usually means 'do thus, do so, do in such a way'. So the questions above could be answered as follows:

Jù kú <u>òò</u> kúrúá tchì.   This is <u>how</u> a person makes an arrow.
N!haì <u>òò</u> !húán !xó.   The lion <u>thus</u> killed the elephant.

In subordinate "how" clauses (such as the English "I want to watch *how you drive*"), **òò** (together with the conjunction **tcá**) is used instead of **nàùn**, for example:

Mí kàrè sé <u>tcá</u> à   <u>òò</u>   n!ariha.
[I   want see that you do-so drive]
I want to see <u>how</u> you drive.

Oò can also be used simply to mean 'do, make' and can often be used instead of **dù** (see above), for example:

A rè <u>òò</u> ká?   Did you do it?
Iìn, mí <u>òò</u> ká.   Yes, I <u>did</u> it.

7. The verbs tàm and tàmà
    On its own, the negative verb **tàm** means 'not know', thus **mí ǀóá !'hàn** 'I don't know' could be replaced by **mí tàm** 'I don't know'. When **tàm** is used with the transitive suffix (**tàmà**) as the second verb in a serial construction, then it indicates that the action of the first verb is unsuccessful, or in vain, for example:

Ha !aqè <u>tàmà</u> g!ò'é.   He hunted the oryx <u>in vain</u>.
M bá sá áíá kxóá <u>tàmà</u> mí. My father and my mother searched for me <u>without success</u>.
Dshàú gǁà'í <u>tàmà</u>.   The woman gave birth <u>unsuccessfully</u> (*i.e.* miscarried).

LESSON TWENTY

Irregular Verbs

1. Irregularity in verbs

Some verbs have irregular plural forms, which cannot be formed straightforwardly from their singular counterparts (or *vice versa*). When these verbs are intransitive, the plural form is used if the *subject* is plural, but when they are transitive, the plural is used if the *object* is plural (irrespective of the number of the subject). Some of these verbs are listed below.

2. Intransitive irregular verbs

with singular subject	*with plural subject*	
n!áng	**g!hòó**	sit
n!ún	**g‖á**	stand
cú	**g‡à**	lie (down)
g!áí	**g!à'í**	go out
tsáú	**tuìh**	rise
n‡hao	**tàqm**	fall, land, go down
!áí	**!àò**	die

Some examples:

Mí n‖ángá dà'á tzí.	I sat at the fire.
M!á g!hòóá dà'á tzí.	We sat at the fire.
Jù n‖è'é !áí.	One person died.
Júsà ‡háí !àò.	Many people died.

3. Transitive irregular verbs

with singular subject	*with plural subject*	
gù	**n!huì**	take
!hún	**!'óán**	kill
n!áng	**g‖à**	put down
!ò'á	**xáí**	break, snap

Examples:

N!haì !hún gúmí.	The lion killed the cow.

N!haì !'óán gúmí. The lion <u>killed the cow</u>.

Mí gù ǂxanù n|è'é. I <u>took one</u> book.
Mí n|huì ǂxanù n!ànì. I <u>took three</u> books.

LESSON TWENTY-ONE

Reflexive and Reciprocals

1. Reflexives

To express a reflexive action, **ǀ'àè** (plural **ǀ'àèsì**) 'self/selves' is used. With the personal pronouns **m!á** 'we (inclusive)', **è!á** 'we (exclusive)', **ì!á** 'you (pl)' and **sì!á** 'they', the **-!á** is left out preceding **ǀ'àèsì** 'selves'. Examples of reflexives:

Hàjóé ré à nǁá?	Whom do you mean?
Mí nǁá <u>mí ǀ'àè</u>.	I mean <u>myself</u>.
Ká ǂ'àùn ká dà'ábí ǁká <u>sí ǀ'àèsì</u>.	The children must wash <u>themselves</u>.
Hàtcé ré ì!á kú dù?	What are you doing?
Ekú séa <u>è ǀ'àèsì</u> kò spírí.	We are looking at <u>ourselves</u> in the mirror.

2. Passive use of reflexives

There is no construction corresponding to the passive in English, and usually passives are expressed by the reflexive in Juǀ'hoan, for example:

Gùú ré nàùn <u>dcàa</u> hì <u>ǀ'àèsì</u>?
How <u>were</u> the sheep <u>stolen</u>? (Lit.: How did they <u>steal themselves</u>?)

Tjùà kè goàqǂ'àn gú ká <u>ǀ'àè</u>.
The hut <u>was built</u> yesterday. (Lit.: The hut <u>built itself</u> yesterday.)

3. Some idioms using the reflexive

To express the concepts "accidentally" and "on purpose", one says in Juǀ'hoan **ǀóá !'hàn jù ǀ'àè** 'not know oneself' and **!'hàn jù ǀ'àè** 'know oneself', for example:

!'Hoàn <u>ǀóá !'hàn ha ǀ'àè</u> tè !hún ha dshàú.
The man killed his wife <u>accidentally</u>. (Lit.: The man <u>didn't know himself</u> and killed his wife.)

!'Hoàn <u>!'hàn ha ǀ'àè</u> tè !hún ha dshàú.
The man killed his wife <u>on purpose</u>. (Lit.: The man <u>knew himself</u> and killed his wife.)

'Very/Very much' can be expressed by the simple adverb **káícè**, or by the reflexive phrase **ho jù |'àè** (lit.: 'find oneself'), for example:

Gúmí <u>káícè</u> |kàè.   Or   The cattle are <u>very</u> sick.
Gúmí ho hì |'àèsì tè |kàè.

Ha <u>káícè</u> kàrè ú.   Or   He <u>very much</u> wants to go.
Ha <u>ho ha |'àè</u> tè kàrè ú.

'Do something slowly' can be expressed by the reflexive **n‡haoh jù |'àè** (lit. 'walk oneself'), for example:

Jú kú <u>n‡haoh hì |'àèsì</u> tè ‖kòà.   The people are working <u>slowly</u>.

'Fall' of animate beings is generally expressed by the reflexive **!àò jù |'àè** (lit.: 'fall oneself'), for example:

Dshàú n!a'àn g‡xàbá tè <u>!àò ha |'àè</u>.
The old woman stumbled and <u>fell</u> (over).

Note that **!àò** used by itself means 'die (plural)'.

4. Reflexives used to show emphasis

The emphatic reflexive pronouns **|'àèhà** (plural **|'àèhàsì**) are used to emphasies a preceding noun phrase or pronoun, for example:

<u>Mí |'àèhà</u> úá Tjùm!kúí.   <u>I myself</u> went to Tsumkwe.
!Aqèkxàò ho <u>n!hoan |'àèhàsì</u>. The hunter found <u>the kudus themselves</u>.

Another way of expressing emphasis of this kind is to use instead of **|'àèhà/|'àèhàsì** the noun **ámá/ámásì** 'body/bodies'. So the second example above could also have been:

!Aqèkxàò ho <u>n!hoan ámásì</u>.   The hunter found <u>the kudus themselves</u>.

Note that although **|'àèhà(sì)** and **ámá(sì)** are given as singular/plural pairs, it is quite acceptable to use the plural form with a singular subject in the emphatic function, thus:

<u>Mí |'àèhàsì</u> úá Tjùm!kúí.   <u>I myself</u> went to Tsumkwe.

Another way of emphasising a noun phrase is to place the emphatic particle **hìn** after it.

5. Reciprocals

A reciprocal action is shown by the reciprocal pronoun **khòè** 'each other/one another'. The verb preceding **khòè** must always have the transitive suffix **-a**, for example:

Sá áréá khòè.	They love <u>each other</u>.
Jú kú ‖'ààn khòè.	The people are fighting <u>one another</u>.

6. Passive use of reciprocals

Like reflexives, reciprocals may also be used to express what would be a passive construction in English. For example, the verb **!'àm** 'put together, assemble', when used reciprocally, can mean 'be assembled'. For example:

Utò ‖áú !'àmà khòè.
The car <u>has been assembled</u> well. (Lit.: The car <u>assembled each other</u>.)

Another example would be:

!Aìhnsì ǂhòà khòè.
The sticks are crossed. (Lit.: The sticks cross each other.)

LESSON TWENTY-TWO

Pronouns as Heads

1. Nouns, noun phrases or pronouns as heads

In the preceding lessons on adjectives and relatives (Lessons Five and Eleven) the examples given showed nouns as the head qualified by the adjective or relative clause, for example:

with adjectives

tjù zé	a new house
tjù zésín	new houses
jù jàn	a good person
jú jànsín	good people

with relative clauses

tjùà mí gú	the house which I build
tjùsà mí gú	the houses which I build
jùà g!ààn	brown person (lit.: person who is brown)
júsà g!ààn	brown people (lit.: people who are brown)

In such constructions, it is possible to replace the noun by a pronoun of the appropriate class, so in the examples above class 5 **ká** can replace **tjù** 'house' or **tjùsì** 'houses', and class 1 **ha** can replace **jù** 'person' and **sì** can replace **jú(sì)** 'people'. Thus:

with adjectives

ká zé	a new one (house etc.)
ká zésín	new ones (houses etc.)
ha jàn	a good one (person etc.)
hì jànsín	good ones (people etc.)

with relative clauses

káà mí gú	the one (house etc.) I build
kásà mí gú	the ones (houses etc.) I build
haà g!ààn	the brown one (person etc.)
sìsà g!ààn	the brown ones (people etc.)

Sì standing as a head can be replaced by **hì**, so the last example could aso be **hìsà g!ààn**.

2. Demonstrative pronouns written as one word

When a pronoun is the head of one of the demonstratives **hè/kè** 'be this one', **to'à** 'be that one' or **nè** 'be which one?', then the pronoun + relative suffix + demonstrative is written as a single word, for example:

Káàkè ó mí gá.
This one (referring to a singular noun of class 5) is mine.

Kásàto'à 'óá ó mí gásì.
Those ones (referring to a plural noun of class 5) are mine.

Haànè ré tsí?
Which one (referring to a singular noun of class 1 or 2) came?

Hìsànè ré tsí?
Which ones (referring to a plural noun of class 1 or 2) came?

In the examples given above, the pronouns have all been third person, but it is possible to use first and second person pronouns as well, especially with **hè** 'be this one'. The effect of this is to emphasise the pronoun, for example:

Míàhè, à ré n‖á?   Do you mean <u>me</u>? (Lit.: This me, do you mean?)
I‖àsàhè ré ú?   Are <u>you</u> going? (Lit.: Are these-you going?)

The demonstrative pronouns are listed below:

	-hè/-kè	**-to'à**	**-nè**
first person			
mí	mìàhè		
mtsá	mtsásàhè		
m!á	m!ásàhè		
ètsá	ètsásàhè		
è!á	è!ásàhè		
second person			
à	ààhè		
ìtsá	ìtsásàhè		
ì!á	ì!ásàhè		

	-hè/-kè	-to'à	-nè
third person			
class 1			
ha	haàhè	haàto'à	haànè
sì	sìsàhè	sìsàto'à	sìsànè
class 2			
hà	haàhè	hààto'à	hàànè
hì	hìsàhè	hìsàto'à	hìsànè
class 3			
hà	hààhè	hààto'à	hàànè
hà	hàsàhè	hàsàto'à	hàsànè
class 4			
hì	hìàhè	hìàto'à	hìànè
hì	hìsàhè	hìsàto'à	hìsànè
class 5			
ká	káàkè	káàto'à	káànè
ká	kásàkè	kásèto'à	kásènè

Abbreviations and symbols

excl.	exclusive	*	ungrammatical
e.g.	for example	§	paragraph
i.e.	that is	-	morphological segmantation
obj.	object	+	plus
PART	particle		
pl.	plural		
POSS	possessive		
QUES	question particle		
REL	relative		
sg.	singular		
subj.	subject		
v.	verb		
viz.	namely		

Ju|'hoan - English Glossary

à   you, your (sg.)
áíá   my mother
ámá   body
áré   love

bá   father
Bùrù   Afrikaner

ce   returner
ce tè, ce ká   again, also
còàcòà   start, begin
còrò   tobacco
cú (with sg. subj.)   lie (down), be horizontal

dà'á   fire
da'àmà, pl. **dà'ábí(sí)**   child
dcàá   steal
dcàákxàò   thief
dchùún   bump
dí   female
din   buttock, backside; under
dinn!ángkhòèà   afterwards
dóré   strange, different, other
droma   drum
dshàú   woman, wife
dsùú-n!nú   ostrich egg
dù   do

ètsá (dual excl.)   we, us, our
è!á (pl. excl.)   we, us, our

farmakxàò   farmer

gèà   stay (at)
gèsín   the remaining, the other

gè'é	sing
gè'ésí	way of singing
goàq	in the past, long ago
goàqhà	long ago
goàqǂ'àn	yesterday
gòbá	black man
gòqrú	lizard
gú	build
gú (with sg. obj.)	take
gù tsáú	lift
gúmí	cow, cattle
gúmí!há	beef
gùú	sheep
gǀaàxú	chair
gǀàè	come here, arrive
gǀáí (with sg. subj.)	go out
gǀaoh	be strong, strength
gǀà'á	eye
gǀà'á-n!áng	in front of, ahead of
gǀò'ó	beadword
gǀúí	forest
gǀuih	hyena
gǀxaiàn	graze
gǂà (with pl. subj.)	lie (down)
gǂàrá	ask for, beg
gǂà'ín	be long, tall
gǂhúín	dog
gǂhúínmà (pl. **gǂhúínmhí**)	little dog, puppy
gǂúí	springhare hooking pole
gǂxàbà	stumble
g!á	go back/home
g!ààn	be red/brown
g!ám	hide
g!áú	hand
g!à'ámá	enter, go in
g!à'í (with pl. subj.)	go out
g!hòó (with pl. subj.)	sit

g!oh	smoke
g!oq, pl. **n‖aqè**	male
g!ò'á-n!áng	in front of, ahead of
g!ò'é	oryx
g!ú	water
g!xà	take out
g‖à (with pl. subj.)	stand
g‖à (with pl. obj.)	put down
g‖àq	aunt
g‖à'ámá	now
g‖à'í	give birth
g‖xún	put down
ha	he, him, his, she, her
hajòè ré?	who?, whom?
hàq'áré	fetch
hatcé ré?	what?, why?
hatcékhòèà ré?	why?
hè	this, these
ho	find, get, see
hoe!!	come!
hòré	hate
iìn	yes
írí	hour
ìtsá (plural)	you, your
ì!á (pl.)	you, your
jàn	good, correct
jaqm	be thin
jaqma	thinness
jú	people
jù	person
júsì	one's own people/family members
kà	now, at this moment
ká	and, but; if, when

ká ǁ'à	so (that), in order to
káícé	very
kàqá	already
kàrè	want
kàtongá	box
khàmà	because
khàrú	get off, get down from
kho!!	wait!
khòè	each other, one another
khòècà	perhaps, seem
khòè nǀúí	perhaps
khu	jump
khúí	be painful
khúínkèhè	here
kò	say
kòà gǀàè kè	there, on that side
kòà tsí kè	here, on this side
kòà ú to'à	over there
kòà ǂaeh kè	down(wards), below, down here
kòà !'àn kè	up(wards), above, up here
kòàkè	here
kòàq	fear
kòàrà	not have
koh	do thus, do so
kópì	cup
kúá	soon, suddenly
kúrú	make
kxà	ground
kxàè	have
kxáícè	first
kxóá	look (for), search
kxóní	fix
kxúíá	destroy
mànì	answer
màrà	but
màrì	money

márí	mealie meal
mí	I, me, my
mtsá (dual)	we, us, our
'm	eat
'msi	food
m!á (pl. incl.)	we, us, our
nà!!	give!
nàùn	do how?, be how?
nàùn tà'má	how many/much?
nìn	do how?, be how?
n|áí	head
n|áí'úá	skull
n|àng	raisin(s); so, so that, in order to
n|àng (ká) kò	whether
n|áng (with sg. subj.)	sit
n|ángsí	sitting place, seat
n|è'é	one
n|è'ésí	only
n|huì (with pl. obj.)	take
n|óá	cook
n|oàhn	cat
n|om	medicine
n|omkxàò	doctor
n|omtjùà	hospital
n|úí	a certain, another
n‡áí	cause, make
n‡áí g|aoha	strengthen, make strong
n‡áí n!a'àn	enlarge, make big
nn‡áí n!o'òà	cause to be quick
n‡áí !òmà	shorten, make short
n‡áú	head (v.)
n‡àq'ú	hit
n‡àq'ú !àò	knock over
n‡à'm	hit
n‡haò	throw
n‡haoh	walk

nǂhaoh nǁhumì	walk around
nǂhao (with sg. subj.)	set, fall, land, go down
n!àmà	road
n!àn	be lost
n!àng	eland
n!áng	innards, inside; in
n!áng (with sg. obj.)	put down
n!ànì	three
n!arih	drive, ride
n!arihkxàò	driver
n!aròh	teach
n!arohkxàò	teacher
n!áú	go over,
n!à'án, pl. **!àè(!àè)**	be old, adult, grown-up
n!á'àn	be big
n!haì	lion(s)
n!hoan	kudu
n!homà	tomorrow
!hú	kraal
n!oh	orange
n!òm	stone
n!òm	fly (v.)
n!òm n!áú	fly over
n!óm	be ripe
n!ó(mà)	(in the) morning
n!òó	wish
n!óré	area, territory
n!órékxàò	inhabitant of a territory
n!óréǂ'ànsàràsí	border
n!o'ò	be fast
n!úí	moon, month
n!úán (with sg. subj.)	stand by/at
n!ún (with sg. subj.)	stand
n!únsí	standing place, position
nǁá	mean
nǁah	leave
nǁaqè	men

n‖aq'àrà	read
n‖aú!!	don't!
n‖humì	go around, surround
n‖hurì	go under(neath)
n‖urì	try
ó	be
òò	do (so/thus), act
òòsí	custom
pàrà	pole
sà (dual)	they, them, their
sé	look
sé ‡aeha	look down at
sé !'ààn	look up at
sì'á (pl.)	they, them, their
skoolhoof	headmaster
skóré	school
sòàn	be easy
sonda	soldier
spírí	mirror
tafere	table
tàm	not know
Tamah	Herero
tání tsí	carry
tání ú	bring
taqè	take
tàqm (with pl. subj.)	mother
tà'm	fall, land, go down
tà'm tsà'á	feel
tchì	touch
tchòàtchòà	start (v.)
tcí	thing
tcíà nè ré?	what kind of?

tcxò	slaughter
tè	and, but
tè nǁhaa	and only then
tí	tea
tjù	house
Tjùm!kúí	Tsumkwe
tjùǀhó	village
tkúrí	peer over/around
tkúrí sé	peer at
tòàndísí	lastly, eventually
tòànsí	lastly, eventually
tòrà	shop
to'à	that, those
tò'm	be near to, be close to
tsán	two
tsánkútsán	four
tsàqn	two
tsáú (with sg. subj.)	rise
tsà'á	hear, understand, sense
tshín	(younger) brother
tsí	come (here)
tsí gǀàèà	arrive at
tsí g!áá	come back/home to
tsí tò'má	come near to
tsítsà'á	question, ask
tsí ǂaeha	come down to
tsú	uncle
tuìh (with pl. subj.)	rise
txá	shoot
tzà	sleep
tzàmà	bird(s)
tzàsí	sleeping-place
tzè	little
tzí	open, outside, veld; out, around
tzún	nose
ú	go (away)

ú ǂxáán	go far from
útò	car
waqnhè, waqnkè	each, every
waqnsì	all, the whole
wècè(sì)	all, the whole
xáí (with pl. obj.)	break, snap
xarao	spade
zà	pour
zà ǀ'ú	pour in
zàqí	new
zàsí	pouring place, fuel station
zé	new
zo	sugar
ǀám	day
ǀámà hè	today
ǀàò	buffalo
ǀháó	bag
ǀhó	face, (flat) surface; on
ǀkàè	be sick
ǀkàù	be bad
ǀkúrí	be cunning
ǀkúrí sé	spy on
ǀòrè	write, writing
ǀòrèkxàò	writer
ǀòrèsí	orthography
ǀú	never
ǀxòà	light (fire)
ǀ'àè, pl. **ǀ'àèsì**	self, selves
ǀ'áí	axe
ǀ'àn	give
ǀ'àn ce	give back
ǀ'hoàn	real, actual, true
ǀ'hóm	be pretty

ǀ'hún	white person
ǀ'hùrù	be punctured
ǀ'ú	put in, insert
ǀ'ùrì	bicycle

ǂàbà(tá)-n!áng	under
ǂAbè	Tswana
ǂaeh	go down
ǂ'áí	push away
ǂ'áí gǁxún	push down
ǂháí	be many/much
ǂháíá	majority, most of
ǂhòà	cross
ǂxáán	be far from
ǂxanù	book, letter
ǂxùrù	climb
ǂ'ábí	lift up
ǂ'ábí sé	look under
ǂ'àn	do first (before anyone else)
ǂ'àng	old, worn-out
ǂ'áng	think
ǂ'àrì	forget
ǂ'àùn	be appropriate/necessary, must
ǂ'hànù	knife
ǂ'hanù	government

!aàh	run
!aàh nǁhurì	run under
!aàh ǁxám	run after
!áí (with sg. subj.)	die
!aìhàn	bush
!aìhn	tree, stick
!àò	fall (over)
!àò (with pl. subj.)	die, be dead
!aòh	yard
!aqè	hunt
!aqèkxàò	hunter

!há	animal, meat
!háí	wait
!háísí	waiting place, bus stop
!hárá	burst, be ripped
!há!'úínkxàò	nature-conservator
!hún (with sg. obj.)	kill
!ká	heart; in (the midst of)
!ó	older brother
!óá	tell
!óm	leg, wheel, tyre
!òmà	be short
!ò'á (with sg. obj.)	break, snap
!úí	older sister
!ú-n!a'àn	grandfather
!xàrè	some
!xó (sg./pl.)	elephant(s)
!xóáná	live at, reside, inhabit
!xómà, pl. **!xómhí**	little elephant, elephant calf
!xúí	tail
!'ààn	go up
!'àm	put together, assemble
!'àn	old, worn-out; go up
!'árú	roar
!'àù	call
!'àù kxóá	look for by calling
!'hàn	know
!'hán	son
!'hoàn, pl. **n‖aqè**	man, husband
!'hoànma	boy
!'óán (with pl. obj.)	kill
!'oahn	open
!'óm	side (of the body); beside, next to
!'ó-n!áng	behind, at the back of
!'ú	bone
‖àè	hold, keep, carry
‖àè !hárá	start (a car)

ǁàè ǁaq'ìn	tear
ǁah	hat
ǁàmà	come from, do afterwards, do then, do next, appear
ǁàq'ìn	become torn
ǁà'íkè	now, today, nowadays
ǁháí	pull, smoke, smoking
ǁhàm	go right through
ǁká	wash
ǁkáé	together
ǁkòà	send
ǁkòà	work
ǁkòà ú	send (away)
ǁoeh	in contrast
ǁohm	chop
ǁú	hang
ǁxàm	accompany, follow
ǁxàrà	garden
ǁxàràkxàò	gardener
ǁxàrì	go through
ǁxòàsì	always
ǁxòbákxàm	key
ǀǀ'à	so (that), in order to
ǀǀ'ààn khòè	fight one another
ǀǀ'àbà	step over
ǀǀ'àè	heed; time
ǀǀ'àì	grass
ǀǀ'àkáàhìn	therefore, that's why
ǀǀ'àkòà	there
ǀǀ'àkòàhìn	therefore, that's why
ǀǀ'ámá	buy
ǀǀ'ámí(á)	centre, middle; between
ǀǀ'àn	hurt, be painful, pain
ǀǀ'àtcá	that (thing/matter)
ǀǀ'hànn!náng	on
ǀǀ'háú	branch
ǀǀ'hùín	be tired

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