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NAMA HOTTENTOT GRAMMAR

Roy Stephen Hagman

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ABSTRACT

NAMA HOTTENTOT GRAMMAR

Roy Stephen Hagman

Nama Hottentot, the most famous and the most widely spoken of the Khoisan languages, is spoken by about 30,000 people spread over all but the most northern part of the territory of South West Africa. It belongs to Greenberg's Central Khoisan group of languages, along with Korana Hottentot and several languages of northern Botswana.

In the Introduction, a brief history of linguistic research on Nama is presented, followed by a discussion of how the present study fits into the historical sequence by incorporating some modern developments in linguistic theory. There follows, in Chapter I, a new analysis of Nama phonology which attempts to answer some hitherto unanswered questions about tone, stress, and vowel length in Nama by recognizing a phenomenon of "sentence stress," the assignment of dynamic stress and vowel length by syntactic rules operating above the word level.

The major portion of the study is a broad descriptive survey of Nama grammar reflecting concerns about language structure which have only come into focus recently with the development of generative-transformational grammar. The survey is taxonomic in form, however, to facilitate a broad coverage of all of the most important grammatical character-

istics of the language. There is an emphasis on the precise description of the meanings of grammatical morphemes and on using meaning to explain the distribution of grammatical morphemes. The description is based primarily upon texts gathered from native speakers, although phonological and grammatical elicitation was also used. Rules of grammar are illustrated by numerous examples drawn from this data, and a short sample text is included in the appendix.

The first unit of grammar to be discussed is the noun phrase, treated in Chapter II, which is analyzed in terms of a set of order classes. Attention is devoted to restrictions on the co-occurrence of members of different classes. In Chapter III, the structure of the declarative sentence is introduced and a particular type, the equational sentence, is discussed in detail. Chapter IV is really the heart of the grammar in that it deals with the verb phrase including the topic of the relationship between the noun phrases and the verb, the effect of negation on tense and aspect, and the status of auxiliary verbs. Chapter V is devoted to the "adverbial," a unit which includes both the adverb and the post-positional phrase. The last five chapters treat of the more complicated syntactic topics of permutation, conjunction, embedding, the interrogative sentence, and the imperative-hortative sentence.

The grammar is supplemented by two tables of contents, a bibliography of linguistic work on Hottentot, an index of

grammatical roots, particles, and words, and an index of suffixes.

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ANALYTICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Of all the languages in Greenberg's Khoisan phylum, the language called Nama Hottentot, or simply Nama, is both the most famous and the most widely spoken. Nama is spoken by about 30,000 people spread over all but the most northern part of the territory of South West Africa. The total of speakers is evenly divided between two racially and culturally different groups: (1) the Namas, the people to whom the term "Hottentot" is usually applied, who occupy the area to the south of Windhoek, and (2) the negroid Damaras, or Bergdamas, who occupy the area to the north of Windhoek. Most speakers of Nama also speak Afrikaans as a second language, and a small number can speak English, German, or Herero (a Bantu language) as well.

Nama belongs to Greenberg's Central Khoisan group of languages. Within this group, the language most closely related to it is Korana Hottentot, also called Korana or Kora, spoken by a very small number of people in a small area just west of Kimberley in South Africa. Nama and Korana are so similar that there is some degree of mutual intelligibility. Also in the Central Khoisan group are some languages spoken in northern Botswana, the most notable of which are Naron and Hietschware, but these are not nearly so related to Nama

as Korana is.

Previous Studies

The earliest attempt at the linguistic description of a Khoisan language was made by the philosopher Leibnitz in 1717. Leibnitz devotes nine pages in his Colectanea Etymologica (pp. 375-84) to the discussion of a dialect of Cape Hottentot, a language which is now long extinct but which appears to be closely related to Nama and Korana Hottentot (Meinhof 1909:33).

It was during the latter half of the nineteenth century, however, as the territory which is now called South West Africa was explored and settled by Europeans, that interest in the description of the Nama language reached its peak. In the half-century between 1855 and 1905, no fewer than six grammars of Nama were published: one in English (Tindall 1857), four in German (Wallman 1857, Hahn 1870, Seidel 1892, and Planert 1905), and one in French (Schils 1891). To these may be added the short grammatical sketches in W. H. I. Bleek's A Comparative Grammar of South African Languages (1862) and in Cust's A Sketch of the Modern Languages of Africa (1862). All of these descriptions have been surpassed by later work, so that they are mostly of historical interest. Also in the same period were published four dictionaries: three in German (Wallman 1854, Olpp 1888, and Kroenlein 1889), and one in French (Schils 1894). The dictionary by Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-khoin (1889), is

a work of great thoroughness and remains to this day the best Nama dictionary. It has been expanded and republished by F. Rust as Nama Wörterbuch (1965).

The first grammatical analysis of Nama which is rigorous enough to merit our serious attention is contained in Meinhof's Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache, published in 1909. The third part of this work, "Wortbildungslehre," is still a valuable reference work on Nama morphology, although the first part, "Lautlehre," depends too much on the orthographies devised by Kroenlein and Olpp. The second part, "Grammatik," contributed by Diedrich Westermann, is only a slight improvement over previous accounts.

In a series of three articles in the Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen during 1934-5, Dempwolff published an account of Nama phonology and grammar which corrected some of the more noticeable errors in previous grammatical descriptions. The reliability of this work is limited, however, by the fact that Dempwolff used Kroenlein's translation of the Bible as his primary source of data for the grammatical analysis. The work is entitled "Einführung in die Sprache der Nama-Hottentotten."

The phonological analysis of Beach in his The Phonetics of the Hottentot Language, which appeared in 1938, represents the undisputed peak of the linguistic literature on Nama and Korana. Though Beach's concept of phonemics is closer to "broad transcription" than to abstract phonemics, his analysis

of the segmental phonemes of Nama can still stand today, despite the advances which have been made in the theory of phonology since his time. The description includes an abundance of observational and instrumental data on Nama phonetics, data which is especially important in connection with the click sounds which, before Beach, were a phonological puzzle. His analysis of the tonemes of Nama, however, is only partial in that it does not account for the tones of particles and suffixes. Beach admits the analysis to be incomplete and open to reinterpretation (Beach 1938:147). Some recent attempts have been made to complete Beach's analysis by Otto von Essen (Essen 1957, 1962, and 1966), but he makes some sweeping simplifications of Nama phonology, such as making [t] and [r] allophones of one phoneme and reducing the tonemic system to two simple tones, which do not hold up if tested against a large enough body of data.

The study of Nama grammar has just recently been considerably advanced by the publication of F. Rust's Praktische Namagrammatik (1965). This grammar is actually the culmination of a tradition of grammatical studies of Nama maintained by German missionaries in South West Africa. Rust bases his grammar on a number of studies which have hitherto not been easily available, viz., Vedder's grammatical studies of 1909, with the additions and revisions made by Brockman and Olpp in 1917. His description also incorporates many of the advances in Nama grammar made by Meinhof (1909) and

Dempwolff (1934-5). The Praktische Namagrammatik is, both in its content and form of presentation, a didactic grammar intended for practical instruction in the Nama language. Though it is an enormous improvement over all previous Nama grammars and is manifestly written by someone well acquainted with the language, the grammatical theory according to which it is written is that of traditional grammar very much influenced by the categories of Latin grammar as clearly evidenced by Rust's thoroughgoing use of Latin grammatical terminology. Still, the book is of considerable value, especially on account of its practice excercises. Phonologically, however, Rust has made no advances; the orthography is that of Kroenlein and so does not embody any of Beach's excellent analysis of Nama phonology. This is unfortunate since some grammatical constructions involve alterations of tone, and the orthography used by Rust does not indicate tone at all, in conformity with current orthographic practice in South West Africa. Rust has also recently published a German-Nama dictionary (Rust 1960).

The Present Study

The view of Nama phonology and grammar presented here is an entirely new one, based on an original analysis of fresh data and cast in a modern theoretical mold. Though the treatment of phonology is admittedly brief in comparison with the work of Beach, I believe that it answers many of the questions about tone and vowel length which he was unable

to handle with the theoretical apparatus available to him. The key to the solution is the recognition of the phenomenon of "sentence stress," which is essentially the assignment of dynamic stress and vowel length by syntactic rules operating above the word level (see p. 29).

The major portion of the present study is a broad descriptive survey of Nama grammar. The theory of human language which underlies it can only adequately be conveyed by the description itself, though it might be mentioned here that it reflects concerns about language structure which have only come into focus recently with the development of generative-transformational grammar. This is most obvious in chapters VI through X, but it is true also of the earlier chapters. Be this as it may, an effort has been made throughout to cling fast to the data and to resist the impluse to go off onto theoretical tangents about the deeper levels of language structure which are the delight of theoretical linguistics but which would be out of place in a descriptive survey such as the present one is conceived to be. It is hoped that the analysis is incisive enough to suggest such theoretical questions at numerous points. An effort has also been made to avoid notational snarls, which would divert attention away from Nama and toward the problems of grammatical description, by using concrete examples as much as possible to assist in the presentation of grammatical facts. To do this, the description is interlarded with samples of

Nama drawn from the textual data upon which the analysis is based. This also has the advantage of giving to the grammar something of a didactic effect, gradually acquainting the reader with some of the lexical substance conveying the grammatical form, and, hopefully, painting a fuller picture of what the language is like. It will be seen that the examples are naturally graded by the structure of the description so that they do not place too much of a burden upon the reader at any one point.

The analysis is based upon phonological, grammatical, and textual elicitation from native speakers. The primary source of data for the later stages of analysis was a set of thirty-four recorded and transcribed texts averaging about fifteen minutes in length. Some of these were recountings of personal experiences, others were folktales, and a few were conversations on a particular topic between two native speakers. What success this investigation may have achieved is due in no small part to the linguistic insight, enthusiasm, and devotion to their native language displayed by the two informants who assisted in the research: Theoben Gurirab from Usakos, and Brian Bassingthwaighte from Windhoek. Both are Damaras and about thirty years of age. The dialectal differences between them were found to be very minor, involving only a handful of lexical items.

In the appendix there is presented a very short text, a folktale, as a sample of connected discourse. The story

was told to me by Theoben Gurirab.

I. PHONOLOGY

Ever since D. M. Beach's famous 1938 study, The Phonetics of the Hottentot Language, Nama Hottentot has been considered by many linguists to be one of those languages whose phonology is quite will understood. His analysis of the consonant and vowel phonemes is, indeed, sound and will probably never be superceded except perhaps to be recast into another theory of phonology as Chomsky and Halle have recently attempted to do for the clicks (Chomsky and Halle 1968:319). The description which follows will be found to agree with Beach's analysis on the question of the consonant and vowel phonemes. With tone, however, Beach was not so successful. His analysis of the tonemic system of Nama as a set of contours whose domain is the "strong root" (termed simply "root" in this study) which may have one or two syllables, is considered to be very unlikely by Pike (1948:11), since it contradicts the basic principles by which tone languages are constructed. Beach never did extend his analysis beyond the "strong roots" to the "weak roots" (termed "particles" and "suffixes" in this study) and had he done so he would, no doubt, have had to revise his analysis, since the

"weak roots" clearly have register tones and not contours. If the present description is compared with that of Beach, it will be found that his "contours" are nothing more than a sequence of two register tones, and that his "strong roots of class 2" with the form CV actually have the form CVV with two identical vowels each having its own register tone. He arrived at these CV roots, which provided the only strong argument in favor of his contour interpretation, by eliminating the length marks which had usually been placed on the vowels in these roots by previous orthographic systems, notably that of Kroenlein. Beach claimed that vowel length was predictable from the CV form of these roots and hence not phonemic, but if we look upon the length as a result of the presence of two vowels which just happen to be identical, a considerable simplification in the canonical forms is achieved and a tonemic analysis in terms of register tones can be extended to cover all of the morphemes in the language. The following are examples of the three different orthographies: the verb root meaning "go away" was written by Kroenlein as bē with no indication of tone; it was simplified by Beach to ˊpe with his tonal contour ˊV; and it is phonemicized in the present description as pèé with a low tone on the first vowel and a high tone on the second.

The phonology of Nama is best presented in three stages: the phonemes, morpheme structure, and morphophonemics.

This tripartite scheme allows us to focus our attention, in turn, upon the units of the phonology, the rules according to which these units combine to form morphemes, and the phonological effects of one morpheme upon another. Under this scheme, the allophony of phonemes belongs properly under the heading of "morpheme structure," since the environments conditioning the allophones of the Nama phonemes are internal to the morpheme, the most important of these environments being the boundaries of the morpheme itself.

A topic of phonological relevance which will not be discussed in this section is the question of sentence intonation. The intonations of declarative, interrogative, and imperative-hortative sentences will be presented later with the structural descriptions of these types of sentences (pp. 107, 261, 270). For now, the intonation phonemes may be listed as: /./ "very falling," /?/ "slightly falling," and /!/ "level." These intonation phonemes affect the whole sentence from beginning to end.

A. THE PHONEMES

The two major classes of phonemes are the segmental phonemes, comprising the consonants and vowels, and the super-segmental phonemes, comprising the tones and the intonation phonemes just mentioned. In addition, there

is one phoneme, /˜/ "nasalization," which has phonetic realization as a super-segmental, but whose distribution is more similar to that of a consonant phoneme. Only groups of two adjacent vowels may have nasalization, never a single vowel, so that nasalization is best phonemicized as a consonant which may only occur intervocalically. It will accordingly be written both above and between the vowels with which it occurs, e.g., a͠a, a͠i, a͠u, u͠u, u͠i, o͠a, i͠i, and will be listed among the consonant phonemes.

1. The Consonants

Among the consonant phonemes, there is a clear division into two groups according to the mechanism used to produce the sounds: (a) the non-click consonants which use the breath-stream mechanism, and (b) the clicks which use the linguo-palatal suction mechanism, as well as the breath-stream mechanism, to produce distinctive sounds.

a. The Non-Click Consonants

The system of non-click consonants is very uncomplicated. The following system of thirteen consonants is the complete non-click system for native Nama words, i.e., all words which have not recently been borrowed from Afrikaans, German, or English. To these may be added the phonemes /f/, /v/, and /l/ to cover the most common borrowed

words.

p	t	k	'	
	ts	kx		
	s	x	h	
m	n			~
	r			

/t/, /ts/, /s/, /n/, and /r/ are apico-alveolar. /r/ represents an alveolar flap [ɾ]. The stop series is voiceless unaspirated; /'/ is the glottal stop. The affricates are written with the digraphs /ts/ and /kx/ in conformity with previous orthographic systems. The tongue articulation in the latter two consonants is rather lax, and their release is often followed by slight glottal friction, e.g., [tsh] and [kxh].

Nasalization is included in the table for the distirbutional reasons mentioned above. It acually has no point of articulation but is realized on adjacent vowels.

b. The Clicks

Nama has a conpletely symmetrical system of twenty clicks. Each click has two parts termed by Beach the "influx" and the "efflux." Each click is symbolized digraphically, the first symbol representing the influx and the second the efflux. The total of twenty results from the combination of four influxes with five effluxes.

The mechanism by which these sounds are produced

requires considerable explanation, since the click mechanism of sound production occurs nowhere outside of the Khoisan languages and the few Bantu languages which have taken over some clicks in words which they borrowed from the Khoisan languages. The production of click sounds is rather a long and complicated affair compared to the production of non-click consonants, but it is possible to produce quite a number of distinct sounds by this mechanism: twenty in Nama Hottentot and twenty-four in Korana Hottentot. The mechanism may be a difficult one, but it produces a high yield in phonemic distinctions. I have divided the following description of the click mechanism into four stages: (1) Onset, (2) Suction, (3) Influx, and (4) Efflux. No acoustic effect is produced until stages (3) and (4).

(1) Onset

The term "onset" is used in phonetics to denote the placing of the articulator in position for the production of a sound. The onset of a click is the upward movement of the entire body of the tongue toward the top of the mouth. During the onset of all clicks, the dorsum of the tongue makes contact with the velum, but the apex of the tongue can make contact at two different points: (a) on the gum ridge behind the front teeth, (b) post-alveolar with a consequent cupping of the tongue. These two points of articulation, or "targets" of the onset,

have a differential effect on the shaping of the resonant cavities, the post-alveolar producing a larger cavity between the blade of the tongue and the palate than the other.

(2) Suction

All clicks have basically the same suction movement which consists of a downward and backward pull of the central portion of the tongue while maintaining the two articulations, apical and dorsal. This is probably the most forceful tongue movement in any language since the tongue alone must produce sufficient rarefaction (energy) to excite the resonant cavity formed above the tongue during the next stage, the influx. Furthermore, there can be no vowels or resonants adjacent to the influx whose formants might be bent to carry some of the distinctions between the different influxes.

(3) Influx

The influx is essentially a "follow-through" of the suction movement and consists of the release of the forward articulation with a resulting "influx" of air into the cavity formed above the blade of the tongue. This influx can excite the resonant cavity above the tongue in two ways: (a) by a sudden release in a manner analogous to a stop, and (b) by a delayed or "affricative" release. In combination with the two types of onset, these two manners

of release make possible four distinct sounds at this stage of the click which are the four influxes:

		Manner of Influx	
		sudden	affricated
Onset	gingivial	≠	/
	post-alveolar	!	//

The necessity of producing turbulence to excite the cavity in the affricative influxes, symbolized / and //, requires that the two be released at different points of articulation. Both make use of the rough surfaces provided by the teeth to create the necessary turbulence, but they use different teeth in conformity with their different points of onset. The gingivial, /, is displaced forward so that air is drawn through the incisors and canines when the tongue tip is released. The post-alveolar suffers displacement in that the release occurs first at the blade of the tongue, either unilaterally or bilaterally, so that air is drawn through the bicuspids and molars, after which the tongue tip follows silently.

Observe that at this point, when the influx has been completed, the dorso-velar articulation made at the onset is still maintained. If it had been released during the influx, some of the suction would have been lost and the acoustic effect would have been diminished. In addition,

at this point the tip and blade of the tongue have snapped downward because of the forceful pull of the suction movement.

(4) Efflux

The term "efflux" refers both to the release of the residual dorso-velar closure and to the activity of the glottis before the beginning of the following vowel; these two articulators may interact to produce a variety of distinct acoustic products.

The dorso-velar closure may be released rapidly in a continuation of the downward movement of the body of the tongue, or its release may be delayed producing turbulence in the manner of the fricative consonant /x/.

The voicing of the following vowel may begin as the dorso-velar closure is released, sometimes producing a lenis [g] sound, or it may be delayed by a glottal closure with no velar transitional sound resulting. This glottal closure, in turn, may be released suddenly as a glottal stop, or delayed producing friction as in the fricative consonant /h/. These four effluxes are diagrammed below:

		glottal stop	glottal friction
smooth velar release	(g)	'	h
delayed velar release	x		

In addition to these effluxes, the velic closure may be opened during the entire production of the click resulting in nasalization. Though previous studies of the Hottentot languages have considered this nasalization to be another efflux, it is more accurately described as a nasalization of the entire click. Because air is escaping through the nasal passages, none of the effluxes proper can co-occur with nasalization, though it is the smooth dorso-velar release which occurs. This nasalization will be symbolized as n following the influx symbol.

The combination of the four influxes with the five effluxes yield the following complete inventory of click consonant phonemes.

≠(g)	≠x	≠'	≠h	≠n
/(g)	/x	/'	/h	/n
!(g)	!x	!'	!h	!n
//(g)	//x	//'	//h	//n

The transitional velar sound, (g), is included in the table to distinguish the symbols in the first column of clicks from those used earlier for the influxes alone. However, this sound often is not present and it is rather the absence of an audible efflux which distinguishes this column of clicks from the others. From now on, the (g) will be omitted from the symbols for these clicks.

2. The Vowels

In vowel system of Nama consists of five vowels:

i u

e o

a

These vowels are pronounced very much like the phonetic symbols which they resemble [i], [e], [a], [o], [u]. The phoneme /u/ is always very rounded; the /o/, in contrast, is always only slightly rounded. The only vowel phoneme to undergo significant allophonic variation is /a/ which is centralized to schwa, [ə], before the high vowels /i/ and /u/, e.g., /kai/ "big" is realized as [kəi], and /nau/ "the other" is realized as [nəu].

3. The Tones

There are three phonemic register (as opposed to contour) tones: high indicated by an acute accent, /V́/ or /Ń/; middle indicated by no accent mark, /V/ or /N/; and low indicated by a grave accent, /V̀/ or /Ǹ/. These tones may be carried by a vowel or a morpheme-final nasal, as will be explained when morpheme structure is described. These tones, of course, represent relative pitches and these relative pitches are superimposed upon the intonation contour of the sentence. For example, in a declarative sentence

there is a steadily falling intonation contour from the beginning to the end of the sentence. This falling in absolute pitch affects all of the tones so that the relative pitch intervals between them are unaffected. As a convenient point of reference, we may say that, at the beginning of a declarative sentence, a high tone is pronounced at the top of the comfortable speaking register, and, at the end of a declarative sentence, a low tone is pronounced at the bottom of the speaking register.

When the high tone occurs on the high vowels, /í/ and /ú/, or on a morpheme-final nasal, /ḿ/ and /ń/, it is pronounced phonetically higher than when it is carried by any of the other vowels, /é/, /á/, and /ó/.

B. MORPHEME STRUCTURE

The combination of phonemes to form morphemes is highly restricted in Nama, i.e., there is a very limited number of canonical forms which a morpheme may have and only certain specific consonants and vowels may fill certain positions within these canonical forms. For this reason, recent loan words from Afrikaans, English, or German are easily identifiable because they almost always violate the morpheme structure rules which apply unfailingly to all native Nama words. The description

which follows excludes all such recent borrowings since the words are formed according to morpheme structure rules which are foreign to Nama. Borrowings are always adapted to a certain extent, however, in that Nama phonemes are substituted for the foreign ones. For example, the distinction between voiced and voiceless stops is always eliminated in the process of borrowing, and strong stress becomes high tone, medium stress becomes middle tone, and weak stress becomes low tone. There is also usually a substitution of the Nama phoneme /ts/ for the foreign sounds [tš] and [dž], and consonant clusters are simplified by the elimination of one of the consonant sounds. The phonemes /f/, /v/, and /l/ clearly came into the language through such borrowings from European languages; they occur only in such borrowed words. The degree to which borrowed words are adapted depends on the degree of bilingualism of the speaker; an extremely bilingual speaker may bring words from Afrikaans into his Nama discourse with essentially no change at all. The question of recent borrowings is an interesting one, but it is too complicated a problem to concern us here.

The first unit of phonological structure above the phoneme is the mora, which is a unit of quantity. We can not speak of "syllables" except in morphemes of only a few canonical forms, CVCV, CV, CN, so that the "syllable" is useless as a generally applicable level of structure.

A mora consists of either a vowel or a morpheme-final nasal, plus the consonant which immediately precedes it, if there is one. If the vowel or morpheme-final nasal is followed by a word-final /p/, /s/, or /ts/, this also belongs to the mora. Here are a few typical words divided into morae: kò-máp "the bull," kù-ú-ǹ "sheep (common, plural);" in this word -ǹ is a morpheme, /ǃa-óp "the snake (masc.)," ǂxa-ḿ "young," ǃú-ũ "go." When the vowels, or vowel and morpheme-final nasal, of two adjacent morae are not separated by a consonant, the quantities of the two morae are added but there is no definite syllabic "pulse" on each mora; For example, the word kùúǹ consists of three morae but the vowels and nasal flow into each other without any syllabic breaks. The word does, however, take three times as long to pronounce as would a word of one mora, e.g., kò "past tense," since each vowel and the nasal must take its own quantum of time. Under the same conditions, i.e., no intervening consonant, a very similar thing happens to the tones carried by the vowels or vowel and morpheme-final nasal: the tones flow into each other without any syllabic breaks. This means that each sequence of two tones becomes a gliding tone. Thus, in our example word, kùúǹ, the tones are tonetically realized as a glide from low to high tones on the sequence ùú, and a glide from high to low tones on the sequence úǹ. For the whole word, the contour starts at low for the first ù, rises to high by the second ú, and

drops back down to low by the end of ǹ, all in a continuously curving pattern. When a consonant does intervene between two vowels, or a vowel and a morpheme-final nasal, then there is a distinct syllabic break and the tones are distinct in that they are not blended into a glide. For example, in the word kòmáku "bulls," the tonetic contour of the word jumps from low on ò, to high on á, to middle on u.

It should be noted that the above definition of the mora in Nama conforms to the classical usage of the term as a unit of quantity. The Nama mora always consists of at least one phoneme, so that the mora is never a sub-phonemic unit. In the tonal analysis of some other tone languages, a "mora" unit which is sub-phonemic must be recognized, but this is not the case here.

We may divide the total set of Nama morphemes into two major classes according to structure (1) roots, which have two (or, in rare cases, three or more) morae, and (2) particles and suffixes, which have a maximum of one mora.

1. Roots

The morpheme structure class of "roots" contairs morphemes with two (or, in rare clases, three or more) morae. They may have the following canonical forms: CVCV, CVV, and CVN. There are two general restrictions

which apply to all three of these canonical forms. Firstly, the initial consonant may be a click or any non-click consonant except /r/, and of course nasalization. Secondly, the first mora may have any of the three tonemes, high, middle, or low, but the second mora may only have a high or a middle tone. Thus, there are six possible tone combinations in a root; letting the symbol "M" stand for "mora" we have: ḾḾ, M̀M, MḾ, MM, M̀Ḿ, and M̀M. There are two exceptions to this which are not obviously borrowed words, kúnlɛ̀ "the wagon" and tsúrlǫ "the rope." These exceptional words may have arisen from contraction of compounds, or they may just be older borrowings from another African language.

Morphemes which have a more "lexical" as opposed to "grammatical" meaning always have the morpheme structural form of roots, and a few "grammatical" morphemes do as well. The distribution classes which are filled by morphemes with this form are: noun root, verb root, simple adjective, simple number, simple associative, demonstrative, universal, pronominal, post-position, future tense, negative, past copula, conjunction, clause relator. There are also a few suffixes with this form: -kàra "augmentative," -tsámá "adjective-deriving suffix," and -//'íí which converts a cardinal to an ordinal number.

We shall now examine each canonical form in turn.

In roots of the canonical form CVCV, the medial consonant may be either p, r, m, or n. When the phoneme /p/ occurs in this position, it is voiced and usually slightly spirantilized, so that phonetically it is somewhere between [b] and [v]. There is one word with a medial t and that is tàtáp "father." The vowels in the form CVCV tend to be the sequences listed for the form CVV, but there are a significant number of exceptions.

In roots of the canonical form CVV, only a limited number of vowel sequences may occur: ii, ee, aa, oo, uu, ai, ae, ao, au, oe, oa, and ui. As mentioned earlier, the sequences ai, and au are phonetically realized as [əi] and [əu]. When nasalization occurs between the vowels, all of the above sequences ending in e or o are excluded; there remain: ĩi, ãã, ũũ, ãĩ, ãũ, õã, and ũĩ. Though every root of the form CVV contains two morae, in phonetic realization the quantities with which these sequences are pronounced varies according to certain definite rules. The sequences ending in high vowels are pronounced more quickly than those ending in mid or low vowels. Thus, ii, ùu, ai, au, and ui are pronounced more quickly than ee, aa, oo, ae, ao, oe, and oa. Similarly, ĩi, ũũ, ãĩ, ãũ, and ũĩ are pronounced more quickly than ãã and õã. In addition, the quantity with which the sequence is pronounced varies according to the amount of stress placed upon that morpheme in the sentence in which it occurs.

The greater the stress, the greater the quantity. Stress will be treated in detail presently.

In roots of the canonical form CVN, the vowel may be either a, o, or u, and the nasal may be either m or n. There are thus only six possible VN sequences: am, an, om, oṅ, um, and un. One word appears to have the canonical form CNV, kxmí "like, as," though this word may be a contracted form for kxemí.

In the few cases where a roots contains three or more morae, the extra morae follow the rules for particles and suffixes, e.g., súrútèp "debt."

2. Particles and Suffixes

The morpheme structure class of "particles and suffixes" contains morphemes with a maximum of one mora. Particles are free forms and have one mora, suffixes are bound and have one mora or none. Any consonant except a click consonant may occur in morphemes of this structural class. There are no restrictions on the vowels: i, e, a, o, or u may occur; and neither are there any restrictions on the tones: high, middle, or low may occur.

Particles may have the canonical forms CV and CN. (The C may not be a nasal in CN.) They are always words with more "grammatical" than "lexical" meaning. The distribution classes which are filled by a morpheme with the form of a particle are: associative particle (tì),

imperative-hortative particle (re), present copula ('a), declarative particle (ke), emphatic declarative particle (km), imperfective aspect particle (ra), tense (all except the future), quotative particle (ti), and vocative particle (he).

Suffixes may have the canonical forms CV, CN, V, N, and C. The last case contains no morae and there are only three morphemes with this form. They are all markers of person, gender, and number: -p "first person masculine singular," -s "second and third person feminine singular," and -ts "second person masculine singular." Suffixes of the other canonical forms are far more numerous and comprise the following distribution classes: markers of person, number, and gender, the diminutive (-ró on noun, verb, and adjective roots), adjective-deriving suffixes, number-deriving suffix (-kó), subordinative suffix (-à on nouns), adverb-deriving suffixes, verb derivational suffixes (with some exceptions), and V-NP derivational suffixes.

3. Stress

Dynamic stress, i.e., stress consisting of variation in loudness exclusive of pitch, occurs in Nama but it is not phonemic. As mentioned earlier, however, stress does greatly affect the quantities with which morae are phonetically realized. All of the morae contained in a sentence are equal in quantity only on a phonemic level. Stress and

vowel quality alter the quantities of morae according to definite rules with the result that the morae contained in a sentence are different in quantity on the phonetic level. We have already discussed the effect of vowel quality on quantity (see p. 25), now we are in a position to discuss the other factor.

Two levels of predictable stress must be distinguished: word stress and sentence stress. Though these two levels of stress are conditioned by essentially different factors, the phonetic stress and quantity of any individual mora is determined by both of them in combination.

a. Word Stress

Within a word that contains two or more morae, which implies that the word contains at least one root, the first mora is the most highly stressed, and the stress declines slightly each mora thereafter. A corrolary of this rule is that suffixes always have a low degree of stress. The quantity of the morae decreases as stress decreases. For example, in the compound noun ≠àe-≠úí'aoku "the leaders (masc.)," the loudness of the word decreases from beginning to end, and the pace of the word increases from beginning to end, all of this independently of the tones. In this example, the sequence ui in ≠úí is further shortened because it ends in a high vowel. If we represent quantity as the length of a line under the mora, we have: ≠àe-≠úí'aoku.

b. Sentence Stress

Within a sentence, whole words are given varying degrees of stress depending on what distribution class of the syntax they represent. Like word stress, sentence stress increases the quantity with which the morae affected by it are realized, but it equally affects all of the morae contained in the word upon which the sentence stress falls. Relative quantities of morae within the word are thus not changed.

As a general rule for the assignment of sentence stress to the words in a sentence, we may say that sentence stress is greatest on words whose meanings are most "lexical," and lowest on words whose meanings are most "grammatical." However, it is possible to be more specific. We may divide all possible words in Nama into four "stress classes" according to the amount of sentence stress, and its effect on quantity, which they receive in the context of a sentence. The members of each such stress class are defined according to the distribution class to which they belong in the syntax. The stress classes are numbered in the order of decreasing sentence stress.

Stress Class 1 comprises all words which may contain more than one morpheme (except for tense-aspect combinations): noun, verb, adjective, number, and adverb. Stress Class 2 comprises: simple associative, demonstrative, universal, pronominal, post-position, perfective, and negative. Stress Class 3 comprises: conjunction, clause relator, past copula,

and future tense. Stress Class 4 comprises all distribution classes filled by particles, as listed above under the section on that morpheme structure class.

To summarize the foregoing treatment of stress and quantity, let us take one Nama sentence and illustrate how the relative stresses and quantities of all the morae contained in it are phonetically realized. As before, the length of the line under the mora indicates both its dynamic stress and quantity. Here is the sentence with a word-for-word rough translation:

/úí	//'áé'ì	'áíp ke	/nîí	!hùú'ì	!nâã
one	time	at	some	land	in
káíse káíse	!xuu hãã	'áopà	kè hãã	'íí	
very very	rich	man	was		

Free translation: "At one time, in a certain land, there was a very, very rich man." As the first stage in the realization of its morae, vowel sequences whose second vowel is a high vowel are shortened slightly. Thus:

/úí //'áé'ì 'áíp ke /nîí !hùú'ì !nâã
káíse káíse !xuu hãã 'áopà kè hãã 'íí

At the next stage, word stress is assigned to each mora within each word:

/úí //'áé'ì 'áíp ke /nîí !hùú'ì !nâã
káíse káíse !xuu hãã 'áopà kè hãã 'íí

To assign relative sentence stress to each word in the sentence, we must take into account its syntactic distribution class. For Stress Class 1, we have: the nouns //'áé'ì "time," !hùú'ì "land," and 'áopà "man"; the verb !xuu "get rich"; the number /úí "one"; and the adverb (two cases) káíse "very." For Stress Class 2, we have: the demonstrative /nĩĩ́ "some," the post-positions 'áí "at," and !nãã "in," and the perfective (two cases) hãã. For Stress Class 3, we have: the past copula 'íí. For Stress Class 4, we have the particles: ke "declarative," and kè "remote past tense." So, assigning a stress class to each word, the sentence would be:

/úí$_1$ //'áé'ì$_1$ 'áíp$_2$ ke$_4$ /nĩĩ́$_2$!hùú'ì$_1$!nãã$_2$
káíse$_1$ káíse$_1$!xuu$_1$ hãà$_2$ 'áopà$_1$ kè$_4$ hãà$_2$ 'íí$_3$

If we now decrease the stress and quantity of each mora according to the stress class of the word in which it occurs, we have:

/úí //'áé'ì 'áíp ke /nĩĩ́ !hùú'ì !nãã
káíse káíse !xuu hãà 'áopà kè hãà 'íí

The phonetic quantities of the morae above are those which were noted when the sentence was originally transcribed.

The question of dynamic stress and quantity has been treated in such detail because lack of attention to it has led to much misunderstanding and distortion in previous studies of Nama phonology.

There is still a third type of stress which should be distinguished from the previous two, and that is contrastive stress. Unlike word and sentence stress which are dynamic and quantitative, contrastive stress raises all of the tones contained in the word upon which it falls, as well as increasing loudness and quantity. Actually, contrastive stress is rarely used. It is usually possible to manipulate sentence order in order to place emphasis on contrasting words. Only words of Stress Class 1 and Stress Class 2 may have contrastive stress. It is, in fact, most frequently used with the demonstratives, nee "this," //naá "that," náú "that other," //xaá "the same," and /nîí "some." (See p. 75 for an example.) Double underlining will be used to transcribe contrastive stress where it occurs.

C. MORPHOPHONEMICS

There is very little morphophonemic alternation in Nama, and much of what there is comes under the heading of "tone perturbation," or "morphotonemics." Each morphophonemic change is treated in the grammar which follows when the morphemes affected by it are introduced. Since each of the few morphophonemic rules is of very limited applicability, such a manner of introducing the rules adds to the clarity of the presentation. For our present

purpose of getting an overview of Nama morphophonemics, let us list the rules and describe the phonological processes involved and give page references to the points in the grammar where the rules fit. We may start with the rules affecting segmental phonemes, and then go on to those affecting tonemes.

1. Segmental Morphophonemics

There are four morphophonemic rules affecting segmental phonemes, each involving two specific distribution classes of morphemes in contact. Each will be named according to the distribution classes involved.

a. Person-Gender-Number Suffixes and the Subordinative Suffix

Only one suffix in Nama has the canonical form V, the subordinative ("case") suffix -à, and when it occurs it always follows a noun suffix which indicates person, gender, and number with one of the following canonical forms C, CN, N, or CV. When it follows suffixes of the forms C, CN, or N, it simply adds a mora and there are no morphophonemic changes, e.g., -ts plus -à becomes -tsà, -p plus -à becomes -pà, -s plus -à becomes -sà, -m̃ plus -à becomes -m̃-à (two morae), -n̄ plus -à becomes -n̄-à (two morae), -kxm̃ plus -à becomes -kxm̃-à (two morae). When, however, the suffix has the form CV, the sequence of two vowels which results is reduced to one mora, i.e., CVV

becomes CV. The way this reduction is achieved depends upon vowel height. If the first vowel is mid or low, then the tone of -à is imparted to that vowel and the segment a is lost, e.g., -ta plus -à becomes -tà, -kxò plus -à becomes -kxò, -kxà plus -à becomes -kxà, -ke plus -à becomes -kè, -ko plus -à becomes -kò, -rò plus -à becomes -rò, -rà plus -à becomes -rà, -se plus -à becomes -sè, -so plus -à becomes -sò, and -tà plus -à becomes -tà. If the first vowel is high, however, the vowel sequence reduces to the corresponding mid vowel, e.g., -tì plus -à becomes -tè, -tù plus -à becomes -tò, and -'ì plus -à becomes -'è. The one exception to this rule is the third person masculine plural, -ku, which when followed by -à becomes either -kuà (with a very short /u/) or, more often, -kà. The two possible results are in free variation but disfavoring -kuà probably because it violates the phonotactic rules of the language. If this morpheme did follow the morphophonemic rule, the result would be -kò, and thus be indistinguishable from the first person masculine singular -ko plus -à, which also becomes -kò. Here we have paradigmatic resistance to a morphophonemic rule.

When the -à follows the -i allomorph of the third person masculine singular, the /i/ is dropped entirely, e.g., xám-i "the lion" plus -à becomes xám-à.

For the glosses to all of these examples, see p. 113.

b. Vowel Harmony between Tense and Imperfective Aspect

When the imperfective aspect particle (ra) occurs after the tense particles indicating immediate past (kò), remote past (kè), or indefinite (kà), tense, then the ra is suffixed to the tense morpheme and its vowel is changed to become identical in quality and tone with the vowel of the tense morpheme. Thus: kò plus ra becomes kòrò, kè plus ra becomes kèrè, and kà plus ra becomes kàrà. This change does not occur after the future tense morpheme: nǐí plus ra becomes nǐí ra. Notice also that the future tense morpheme belongs to the morpheme structure class of "Roots," unlike the other tense morphemes. The present tense is indicated by the absence of a tense morpheme so that ra occurs alone in this tense. See p. 125.

c. Deletion of /p/ after /m/ in the Enumerative Adverb

The enumerative adverb is formed by adding -pese to a reduplicated number, e.g., /úí/úípese "one by one." The number /ám "two," however, ends in /m/ and the /p/ is deleted, e.g., /ám/ám-ese "two by two." This is not a rule of wide applicability in Nama since elsewhere /b/ may occur after /m/, e.g., !ómpà "be difficult for (someone)." However, a rule similar to this one may underlie the allomorphy of the third person masculine singular suffix -p~-i , of which the second allomorph occurs after a resonant. This morpheme appears to be historically descended from an earlier morpheme -pi, a form still

retained in the corresponding object suffix -pi.

For the "enumerative adverb" see p. 189.

d. Sandhi of the Present Imperfective

The /r/ of the present imperfective ra becomes /t/ if the word preceding it ends in a consonant. For example, !ʉ́ʉ̃ ra kxòep ke "He is the man who is going.", but ǂóḿ ta kxòep ke "He is the man who believes.", and ǂáń ta kxòep ke "He is the man who is asking." We have further, mãã́ /ĩ̀ ta ra !ʉ́ʉ̃ "What direction am I going?", but mãã́ /ĩ̀ts ta !ʉ́ʉ̃ "What direction are you (masc. sing.) going?" For the present imperfective see p. 125.

2. Morphotonemics

Morphophonemic changes affecting only tones occur in a number of grammatical constructions. The most important ones operate in compound noun roots, compound verb roots, and reduplicated verb roots. A few more are tied to specific morphemes.

a. Compound Noun Roots

A compound noun root is a noun root composed of two simple roots. The first root in the sequence is tonally unchanged, but in the second root the tones of both morae become slightly lowered middle tones. For example: kàó́ "to dominate" plus 'áop "the man" becomes kàó'aop "the ruler"; /'urí "metal, iron" plus háãp "the horse" becomes

/'uríhaap "the bicycle." See p. 54.

b. Compound Verb Roots

A compound verb root is a verb root composed of two simple verb roots. In this construction, both tones on the first root are lowered slightly, and both tones on the second root are raised slightly. This morphotonemic change will be marked by a hyphen between the verb roots, e.g., ≠'ãí "think" plus hòo "find" becomes ≠'ãí-hòo "re-member"; mùu "see" plus ≠'áń "know" becomes mùu-≠'áń "realize." See p. 133.

c. Reduplicated Verb Roots

A reduplicated verb root results from the reduplication either of a simple verb root or of a simple adjective root, the result in each case has a causative meaning. In this construction, the tones of the second member all become slightly lowered middle tones. For example, reduplication of the adjective !óḿ "difficult" produces !óḿ!om "to make (something) difficult"; reduplication of the simple verb root tsùù "feel pain" produces tsùútsùù "injure"; reduplication of the simple verb root pùrú "wonder" produces pùrúpuru "cause to wonder." This change is very similar to that associated with compound noun roots. See p. 142.

d. Reduplicated Verb Roots before -sa

When a reduplicated verb root occurs before the adjective-deriving suffix -sa, it acquires the same tonal

alterations as a compound verb root. The tones of the first root are lowered and those of the second root are raised, e.g., pùrúpuru "cause to wonder" plus -sa becomes pùrú-pùrúsa "wondrous, wonderful."

e. Initial NPà in an Interrogative Sentence

The subordinative case suffix -à has its tone raised from low to middle when it occurs suffixed to a noun phrase in the initial position of an interrogative sentence. This change may be considered to be part of interrogative intonation. See p. 261.

f. The Imperative-Hortative Negative táá

The negative morpheme táá, which may occur before the predicate phrase of an imperative-hortative sentence, lowers all of the tones in any word which may happen to follow it by about one tone, e.g., táá plus !ûũ "go" is pronounced as táá !uũ! "Don't go!"

3. The "Position Verbs"

There are three very frequent verb roots in Nama which undergo the same morphophomenic changes to the extent that they should be singled out for special treatment. These are the "position verbs": mãã "stand up," ǂnũũ "sit down," and //óé "lie down." Only these verbs may take a special transitivizing suffix -í and, when they do, the result is: mãĩ "stand up (something)," ǂnũĩ "sit down (some-

thing)." When they are followed by the perfective hǎ̀a, the change is similar: mǎ̀a "be in a standing position," ǽnǔ̀a "be in a sitting position," //òe "be in a lying position." See p. 130 and p. 247.

A NOTE ON THE USE OF THE HYPHEN

In the following grammatical study, a hyphen will be placed between morphemes to mark two different phonological phenomena:

1. When placed between two simple verb roots in a compound verb root, it marks the morphotonemic lowering of all the tones on the first root and the raising of all the tones on the second, as mentioned above, p. 37.
2. It will occasionally be placed between a root ending in a nasal and its suffix to indicate that the nasal is morpheme-final and, therefore, constitutes a mora, e.g., xaḿ-i "the lion" (-i is the 1° sing. masc. suffix), /ám/am-ese "two by two" (see p. 189). This is done merely for convenience to help the reader in the pronunciation of the transcription.

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II. THE NOUN PHRASE

For the sake of clarity in the presentation, the Nama noun phrase will be described before the structure of the sentence as a whole is discussed. To do so is possible because the noun phrase has a structure which is most intelligible by itself, i.e., aside from reference to other constructions. To do so is desirable because the noun phrase is a constituent in many other constructions, specifically: the predicate of the "equational sentence," the verb phrase, and the adverbials.

A noun phrase in a Nama sentence may be one of four different types according to its structure. It may be a "simple noun phrase", which is the basic type; it may be an "appositive noun phrase" or a "conjunctive noun phrase," both of which have simple noun phrases as constituents; or it may be an "interrogative noun phrase," which is structurally slightly different from a simple noun phrase and is used only in interrogative sentences and relative clauses. What all noun phrases have in common is that they end in a word which is inflected for gender, number, and person. Each type will be discussed in turn.

A. THE SIMPLE NOUN PHRASE

The minimal constituent of a simple noun phrase is a noun; the noun may be preceded by optional constituents filling six order classes. The noun phrase with its constituent classes is as follows:

(Pronominal)	+ (Universal)	+ (Demonstrative)	+ (Associative)	+ (Number)	+ (Modifier)	+ Noun
6	5	4	3	2	1	

There are two restrictions on the realization of these order classes: (a) A pronominal (class 6) and a universal (class 5) may not both occur in a simple noun phrase, and (b) A pronominal (class 6) and a demonstrative (class 4) may not both occur in a simple noun phrase. Aside from these two restrictions, all other possible combinations of constituents may be realized.

1. The Noun

The noun consists of a noun stem plus a suffix which indicates gender and number. The noun stem consists of a noun root plus an optional derivational suffix.

a. Gender and Number

The Nama language distinguishes three genders: masculine, feminine, and indefinite-common; and three numbers: singular, dual, and plural. Each combination of gender and number

is indicated by a particular suffix, two of which have two allomorphs each. The suffixes are as follows:

	singular	dual	plural
masculine	-p ~ -i	-kxà	-ku
feminine	-s	-rà	-tì
indefinite-common	-ǃì	-rà	-ǹ~-ìǹ

The allomorphs of the masculine singular and the indefinite-common plural suffixes are phonologically conditioned, and the conditioning is the same in both cases. The second allomorph of each, -i and -ìǹ, is used only after stems ending in a consonant, which means after the nasal resonants, /n/ and /m/, in native Nama words such as xáḿ-i "the lion" and //aḿ-i "the meat," and after the resonants /l/ and /r/, as well as /m/ and /n/, in borrowed words such as skól-i "the school," méester-i "the teacher," tóm-i "Tom," and jón-i "John." Examples of -ìǹ are rare but do occur, e.g., méesterìǹ "the teachers, common plural."

With regard to the question of gender, noun stems are divided into two main classes: "animate," containing stems referring to people and animals, and "inanimate," containing all other stems.

An animate noun stem is inflected for masculine or feminine gender according to the biological sex of the individual(s) referred to, e.g., /íríp "the male jackal,"

/íríś "the female jackal," kxòep "the male person," kxòes "the female person." A few noun stems referring to human beings have sex contained in their meanings and hence only occur with one gender, e.g., !áop "the man or husband," tarás "the woman or wife," tàtáp "the father," màmás "the mother."

An inanimate noun stem has either masculine or feminine gender assigned to it arbitrarily in the lexicon of the language. There are a few pairs of inanimate nouns having phonologically identical stems which may lead us to speculate about possible original meanings for the genders when applied to inanimate nouns, e.g. tàop "the road," tàos "the gate (which tends to be on a road)," !'áap "the river," !'áas "the town (which tends to be on a river)," but such pairs are not common and will not permit us to set up any reliable rule for the assignment of gender to inanimate nouns. Names of cities always have feminine gender, e.g., /'aé//ams "Windhoek," johánesbèrs "Johannesberg," and names of countries tend to have masculine gender, e.g., seetáfrikàp "South Africa," 'amérikàp "the U.S.." We can see the source of this rule in cases where the name of the country ends in a stop consonant,e.g., nju jóok tì !'áas "New York, lit., the city of New York," 'íńklàǹt tì !hùúp "England, lit., the country of England." These circumlocutions tend to be used when a gender suffix after the name would be difficult for a Nama speaker to pronounce, but they show clearly that

the generic terms !áas "city" and !hùúp "land or country" are the source of the rule for assigning gender to the names of cities and countries. All inanimate nouns which have been borrowed from other languages, whether Afrikaans, English, or German, are assigned either masculine or feminine gender. Because the assignment of gender in the Nama lexicon is arbitrary, many of these borrowed words are used sometimes with one gender and sometimes with the other with no difference in meaning, e.g., skól-i and skóls "the school" alternate freely. Some words have become established in usage with one gender, e.g., plén̄s "the plane," and pén-i "the pen," but there is no perfectly reliable way to say why one gender has been chosen over the other. Though my informants have volunteered several theories on the subject, viz., that long things tend to be masculine and round things feminine, or that impressive things tend to be masculine, there are so many nouns which do not conform to any such rules, especially in native Nama words, that we really have to discount these theories.

Although every inanimate noun stem is assigned a gender in the lexicon, any such noun may be used with the suffix of the other gender to express that there is something unusual about the referent of the noun, e.g., 'oms "the house," 'om-i "the big house, apartment or office building," mú̀ùtì "eyes," mú̀ùku "eyes open wide in astonish-

ment," pén-i "the pen," pén̄s "the unusually fat pen." This phenomenon may be called the morpheme of "gender replacement." The exact meaning of this morpheme cannot be pinned down precisely because it varies according to the noun stem with which it occurs and according to the larger linguistic and extra-linguistic context. The usual meaning conveyed is unusual largeness of size but often with overtones of disgust or derogation, e.g., sams "the breast," sam-i "the big ugly breast," 'ám̄s "the mouth," 'ám̄-i "the big, fat mouth." If it is not unusual for the referent of a noun to be large, gender replacement may actually convey the opposite meaning, e.g., xā̄as "the penis," xā̄ap "the small penis." In some cases of gender replacement there are no emotional overtones whatsoever, 'om-i "the big house, etc." is such a case. We may generalize by saying that gender replacement conveys the meaning "largeness of size with derogation" when largeness is an undesireable characteristic of the referent of the noun stem, it conveys simply "largeness of size" when largeness is neither desireable nor undesireable, and it may even convey the meaning "smallness of size" if smallness is undesireable. The effective use of gender replacement contributes much to emotional expressiveness in the use of the Nama language; when it is to be used is actually more a matter of "style" than grammar. There are a few pairs of nouns with identical stems which have

undoubtedly resulted from gender replacement at one time but have become established with permanent and separate meanings, e.g., ǂxanís "the letter, book," ǂxanîp "the newspaper, official document."

In the diagram at the beginning of this section was the category "indefinite-common" about which no mention has yet been made. The hyphenated term for this gender category may be a trifle misleading. "Indefinite" and "common" are two essentially different gender categories; "indefinite" is a category independent of number, while "common" is a category only applicable to non-singular number since it involves the combination of masculine and feminine genders. It just happens that the categories share two members, the dual -rà and the plural -ǹ~-ìǹ. The reason for this will be discussed shortly when the question of number is taken up; first, we will discuss the "indefinite."

No noun stem, be it animate or inanimate or any other category yet to be discussed, is assigned the indefinite gender in the lexicon. At the same time, any noun stem may be used with this gender, which completely replaces any gender which my be assigned to the noun stem in the lexicon, conveying the meaning that the referent of the noun stem is unknown, hypothetical, or even non-existent. A Nama noun with indefinite gender is difficult to translate into English. The simplest approximation is to translate it with the "indefinite article" of English,

e.g., kxòeɒ "the male person," kxòe'ì "a person." Unfortunately, the meanings of the English articles and the Nama genders do not correspond very closely at all. First of all, the Nama indefinite gender is used much less frequently in Nama than is the indefinite article in English. Correspondingly, the Nama masculine and feminine genders are used more frequently in Nama than is the definite article in English. Perhaps the best way to convey the meaning of kxòe'ì is to translate it "some person or other." Thus, tàtáɒ "the father," tàtá'ì "some father or other," /írís "the female jackal," /íří'ì "some jackal or other," xuuɒ "the thing," xuu'ì "something," skól-i "the school," skól'ì "some school or other." There is a phonological peculiarity of the morpheme -'ì which remains to be mentioned. The glottal stop, /'/, may be elided in the flow of conversational speech, e.g., kxòe'ì may become kxòeì, but the final /i/ is still fully syllabic.

Any noun may be inflected for the plural, with the slight irregularity that mass nouns take the common plural suffix -ǹ ~ -ìǹ, no matter which gender is assigned to them in the lexicon. Thus we have ǂ'úúɒ "the food (a certain type)," ǂ'úúǹ "the food (a variety of types as in a meal)"; mass nouns, however, very often take the indefinite gender in the singular, e.g., ǂúú'ì "food, some food or other," ǂ'oo'ì "salt." The last example would never have occasion to be used in the plural,

which is true of many other mass nouns. The example might be glossed "some kind of salt or other," but since there is only one kind of salt, such a gloss would be redundant.

With the exception of a small group of nouns, a noun is inflected for the dual when its referent is two individuals, and for the plural when its referent is three or more individuals. The masculine dual and plural suffixes, -kxà and -ku, are used if all the individuals refered to would be denoted by nouns with masculine gender, and the feminine dual and plural, -rà and -tì, if they would be denoted by nouns having feminine gender. With animate nouns, of course, biological sex determines the gender, with inanimate nouns, the gender is arbitrarily assigned by the lexicon though it may be switched by the gender replacement mentioned earlier. Thus we have: kxòekxà "the two male persons," kxòeku "the three or more male persons," tarárà "the two women," taráti "the three or more women," ≠xanírà "the two letters," ≠xaníti "the three or more letters," 'omkxà "the two big houses, apartment or office buildings," 'omku "the three or more big houses, etc.."

If the noun refers to a group of individuals that would be noted by a mixture of genders, the common dual and plural suffixes, -rà and -ǹ ~ -ì ǹ, are used, e.g., kxòerà "the two persons, male and female," kxòeǹ "the

group of persons containing both males and females," /íríràˀ "the two jackals, male and female," /íríⁿ "the group of jackals containing both males and females." The common gender suffixes are used with some inanimate nouns when the plural denotes a group of things some of which may be denoted by nouns having masculine gender and some by nouns having feminine gender, e.g., xuuⁿ "the things." The common gender was grouped with the indefinite gender into "common-indefinite" because the common gender suffix, -ⁿ~-ìⁿ, is sometimes used to denote a plurality of individuals which is unknown, hypothetical, or non-existent, thus xuuⁿ may mean "some things," and ǂ'úúⁿ "some food." It is up to context or paraphrase, however, to convey the meaning of indefiniteness, since the forms are identical to the common plurals.

There is a small group of nouns denoting body parts that are usually found in pairs, which never take the dual suffixes, only the plural, despite the fact that it is almost always two individuals which are denoted. This is the case even if the number /ám "two" precedes them. Thus, /ám !'óḿku means "the two hands"; the form is never */ám !'óḿkxà. Other examples are: //'cáku "the arms," mùútì "the eyes," //oátì "the knees," ǂ'áátì "the feet," /nùúku "the legs," ǂaétì "the ears."

It may have been noted that the feminine and

indefinite common dual suffixes, -rà and -rà, are homophonous, yet they should be considered separate morphemes because feminine and common gender are distinguished in the plural suffixes, -tì and -ǹ~-ìǹ.

b. Derivation

The term "derivation," as it is used in linguistic description, is almost always ambiguous and covers two very different linguistic phenomena. A derivational affix may be: (a) an affix which, when added to a root, adds an increment of meaning to the meaning of the root without the resulting stem having a different distribution than would a stem consisting of the root alone (Examples would be the diminutive suffix in many European languages, or the comparison of adjectives in English); or it may be (b) an affix which, when added to a root, results in a stem which has an entirely different distribution class than would a stem consisting of the root alone (Examples would be affixes which are called by such names as: "deverbal-nominalizer, "deadjectival-verbalizer.") The ambiguous use of the term "derivation" can do nothing but confuse the description of any language which has both of the above phenomena; this would certainly be the case in Nama. So, a terminological distinction will be introduced for the present study. An affix of type (a) will be called, for the case of nouns, a "noun derivational affix" to be treated under the heading

of "Noun Derivation." An affix of type (b) will be called, for the case of nouns, a "noun deriving affix" to be treated under the heading "Derived Nouns," or, if it is the noun root which is being considered, "Derived Noun Roots." The same terminological distinction will be maintained in the case of adjectives and verbs.

In the preceding discussion of gender and number in the Nama noun, all of the examples contained noun stems which consisted of a simple noun root. The noun stem may, however, consist of a noun root plus a derivational suffix. There are two such suffixes: the diminutive suffix, -ró, and the augmentative suffix, -kàra.

When added to a noun root, the suffix -ró conveys the meaning "smallness of size," e.g., kxòerós "the little female person," xuuró'ì "some little thing," tàtáróp "the little father," //amṕró'ì "a little (bit of) water." Like the diminutive in many languages, and like the word "little" in English, -ró also may convey an attitude of fondness, e.g., màmárós does not necessarily mean "the mother who is small in size"; it may just be an affectionate way of saying "mother." This same diminutive suffix is used for adjective and verb derivational as well.

The meaning of the suffix -kàra might better be described as "super-augmentative" than simply "augmentative." When added to a root is conveys the meaning "tremendous size," e.g., 'áokàrap "the enormous man," 'omkàras "the

enormous house." Often, gender replacement accompanies the use of -kàra, !omkàraku "the enormous houses, office or apartment buildings"; the result is to intensify the augmentative meaning, though gender replacement may add a tone of deprecation, which -kàra by itself would not have. -kàra is only used in noun derivation, in contrast to -ró.

c. The Noun Root

The root of a Nama noun may be either a "simple noun root," a "derived noun root," or a "compound noun root."

(1) The Simple Noun Root

In all of the examples cited in this section, the root has been a simple, i.e., monomorphemic, noun root. Since the subclassification of these roots has already been discussed in connection with gender and number, there is little left to say about them here. There is one type of root, though, that deserves special mention. Noun roots whose meanings must be defined in terms of personal relationships, i.e., family or friendship, all exist in two forms. One form is simply the root itself. e.g., !ǎǎp "the brother," !ǎǎs "the sister, /hòop "the male comrade," hóréǹ "the friends." The other is the root plus the suffix -sà, e.g., !ǎǎsàp "the brother," !ǎǎsàs "the sister," /hòosàp "the male companion,"

hóréśàǹ "the friends." The two forms are completely interchangeable; -sà contributes nothing to the meaning.

(2) The Derived Noun Root

Strictly speaking, there is only one true noun deriving suffix. A derived noun root may, however, also result from sentence embedding, specifically, by nominalization or relativization. A detailed discussion of embedding will be delayed until the very end of this description because it presupposes a knowledge of sentence structure.

The suffix -sì may be added to any adjective resulting in a noun root having masculine gender and thus taking the suffix -p in the singular. The resulting noun is the generic term for the quality which the adjective denotes, e.g., káí "big, great," káísìp "bigness, greatness," /'uríxà "dirty," /'uríxàsìp "dirtiness," /'am'o "endless," /'am'osìp "endlessness, eternity." The combination of suffixes -sì plus -p may also be added to many animate noun stems with the same semantic result, e.g., khòe'ì "some person," khòesìp "humanness, humanity," //ũũ'ì "some parent," //ũũsìp "the quality of being parental," kàó'ì "some ruler," kàósìp "domination, dominion." In the case of the use of -sì with noun stems, however, the stem plus -sì, without -p, may be used as an adjective; this point will be discussed under "derived adjectives."

(3) The Compound Noun Root

A compound noun root has two constituents the second of which is always a simple noun root whose animacy and gender almost always determine the animacy and gender of the compound as a whole; the first constituent is generally either a verb root or another noun root, but in a few cases it may be an adjective. The second constituent, the noun root, undergoes tonal changes as part of a compound in that, whatever combination of tones the noun root may have as a separate item in the lexicon, all its tones become mid tones when it constitutes the second part of a compound noun root. Tonetically, these mid tones are slightly lower than are mid tones in a simple noun root. The special behavior of this second constituent, in tending to govern animacy and gender and in its morphotonemic changes, merit it being given a special name; it shall be called henceforth the "nuclear noun root" of the compound noun root.

Many of the more frequent compound noun roots in Nama result from the combination of a limited class of nuclear noun roots with either: (a) any verb root, or (b) any other noun root. This class of nuclear noun roots may be called "productive," and the results "productive compounds." In other compounds, the combination of roots is not so free in that only specific combinations occur. Such compounds may be called "special compounds." Each

type will now be discussed and exemplified in turn.

There are two productive nuclear noun roots which may be combined with any verb root to form a compound. They are the roots in: /aú̱s "the manner," and 'á̱op "the man." Examples of compounds with the first are: ≠'ũ̱ṹ/aus "the manner of eating," with ≠'ũ̱ṹ "eat"; !narí/aus "the manner of stealing, the stealthy manner," with !narí "steal," !hóá/aus "the manner of speaking or conversing," with !hóá "speak or converse." Examples of compounds with the second are: !'ũ̱ĩ́'aop "the shepherd or guard," with !'ũ̱ĩ́ "watch over"; //xáa//xaa'aop "the missionary," with //xáa//xaa "teach," !narí'aop "the thief," from !narí "steal"; ≠àe-≠úí'aop "the leader," with ≠àe-≠úí "lead." The verbs used in these latter compounds can be seen to describe the social role of an individual rather than an activity which the individual happens to be performing. (In that case a relativization would be used, e.g., ≠àe-≠úí ra 'á̱op "the man who is leading.") Although 'á̱op is always of masculine gender when it occurs as a simple noun root, compounds with this root may have feminine gender if the individual to be described is female, e.g., !'ũ̱ĩ́'aos "the female shepherd," !narí'aos "the female thief." Both /aú̱s and 'á̱op may occur as simple nouns in a noun phrase, in which case there is no morphotonemic change, e.g., !árí /aú̱s "the tough manner," kái 'á̱op "the big man." The examples are combinations of adjective plus

noun which are not to be confused with compounds.

There are two productive nuclear noun roots which may be combined with any other noun root to form a compound. These two roots, unlike /aú and 'áo, have no gender or animacy assigned to them in the lexicon and, in fact, they cannot occur as simple noun roots, only as the second constituent of a compound. The gender of the compounds which they can form is either: (a) the gender of the noun root with they are combining, or (b) indefinite gender (which any noun stem may be given). The indefinite gender is most common with these compounds. The roots are: !nõa "type of," and hãã "and other things of the sort." Examples of compounds with the first are: kxòe!nõap "the type of male person," from kxòep "male person"; kxòe!nõa'ì "a type of person," the same with indefinite gender; /'apé!nõatì "the types of decisions," with /'apétì "the decisions"; /'apé!nõá'ì "some type of decision," the same with indefinite gender and singular number; /aú!nõa'ì "some type of manner." Examples of compounds with hãã are: saŕúhãàǹ "cigarettes and other things (associated with smoking)," with saŕúǹ "cigarettes" with indefinite gender; 'ádelèdhãàǹ "Adelaide and the others (who live with her), with 'ádelèas "Adelaide" and common gender; práíǹhãàku "Brian and the guys (who are with him)," with práíǹ-i "Brian." It will be seen that plural number always occurs with hãã compounds.

Part of the gloss for each of the preceding examples was put in parentheses because that part of the meaning was not conveyed by the Nama form but rather was derived from the context in which each of these words occured and may perhaps clarify the use of these hãã compounds. The words are very imprecise out of context, but in their context they are not so, since there it is clear who or what the "other things of the sort" are. They are simply a convenient device for naming of group of things by whichever member of the group is of primary interest.

The remaining type of compound noun root is the "special" compound. Each member of this type is a separate item in the lexicon, i.e., each combination is unique. Many of these compounds, in fact, can be seen to have been "special creations" which were made under the impact of Westernization. Native Nama roots were combined to create names for things which were unknown to the speakers of the language before the advent of the Europeans in southern Africa. Some examples are: !xóó'oms "the jail," from the verb !xóó "catch" and 'oms "the house"; !xóókxoep "the jailbird," from the same verb and kxòep "the male person"; ǂ'oákunis "the airplane," from the root in ǂ'oáp "the wind" and kúnìs "the wagon or vehicle"; /'uríhaap "the bicycle," from the root in /'uríp "the iron or metal" and hãáp "the male horse"; /'urítaop

"the railroad tracks," from /'urí and tàop "the road"; 'áíǂoas "the East," from 'áís "face" and ǂ'oás "the big wind."

Some compound noun roots of this type have resulted from the adaptation of words borrowed from Afrikaans. In these compounds, the nuclear noun root is a native Nama root and the other constituent is a borrowed word. Typical examples are the days of the week, e.g., sóntatsees "the Sunday," from the Afrikaans word "sontag" and the Nama word tsèes "the day"; fráítatsees "the Friday," from the Afrikaans "freitag" and tsèes. (These words minus the suffix -s may be used as time adverbials with the meanings "Sunday" and "Friday.") Notice that the Afrikaans words are borrowed as units without analysis; "tag" means "day." A few compound noun roots have resulted from the adaptation of Afrikaans words ending in a final released [k] sound. This sound was folk-etymologized into the nuclear noun root kxòep or kxòes though the meanings of the resulting compounds have nothing to do with "persons" at all. For example: trónkxoes "the jail," from Af. "tronk" meaning "jail"; prúukxoep "the pants," from Af. "broek" meaning "pants"; ròokxoes "the dress," from Af. "rok" meaning "dress"; kérkxoep "the church," from Af. "kerk" meaning "church" also kérkxep by elision of the /o/. This method of adaptation has the advantage of providing an easy pronunciation of the obligatory gender suffix.

2. Class 1: The Modifier

A noun may optionally be preceded by either an adjective alone, or an adverb plus an adjective. This constituent class of the noun phrase, the "modifier", may be diagrammed thus:

(Adverb) + Adjective

The adjective will be discussed first.

a. The Adjective

An adjective may be either a simple adjective or a derived adjective.

(1) The Simple Adjective

Nama has a rather limited number of monomorphemic adjectives but these "simple adjectives" are frequently used. Some of the more common ones are:

káí	"big, great"	ǂxarí	"small"
ǃáí	"good, desireable"	tsùu	"bad, annoying"
ǂxaḿ	"young"	/ˈóró	"old"
ǃˈanu	"clean"	ǃóḿ	"difficult"
/xará	"different"	supú	"easy"

National or tribal affiliation is often expressed by an adjective, e.g., nàmá kòoap "the Nama language," nàmá ǃhùúp "Namaland," nàmá kxòeˈì "some Nama person," /hûú kxòep "the male European person."

(2) The Derived Adjective

A derived adjective consists of a noun or verb root plus an adjective deriving suffix. An adjective deriving suffix is "productive" if it may be added to any noun root or any verb root to form an adjective; it is "special" if it may only be added to particular noun or verb roots, in other words, when it is morphologically restricted. Besides forming an adjective from a noun or verb root, suffixes of both types also add an element of meaning.

The two most frequently used productive suffixes have meanings which are opposite to each other. They are -xà "attributive," and -'o "privative." Either of these may be used with any noun or verb root. The precise translation into English depends on which class of root the suffix is added to, noun or verb. When suffixed to a noun root, -xà can usually be translated "full of --;" when suffixed to a verb, "having a tendency to ---," where the blanks are to be filled by the translation of the root. Similarly, -'o can usually be translated "lacking ---" with a noun root, and "having a tendency not to ---" with a verb root. There is often a more idiomatic translation, however. We should not be misled by such difficulties arising from translation, each suffix can be seen to have only one meaning in Nama which the words "attributive" and "privative" accurately describe. Here are some examples:

//amxà !xáis "the watery place," from the noun root in //am-i "the water"; //am'o !xáis "the waterless place"; //xaéxa tàop "the sandy road," from the noun root in //xaép "the sand"; tsàraxà tàop "the dusty road," from the noun root in tsàrap "the dust"; //'áé'o kxòep "the man who has no time," from the noun root in //'áép "the time"; //uũxà !hùúp "the Fatherland," from the noun root in //uũp "the father" (!hùúp means "earth, land"); //'oréxà kxòeku "the deceitful male persons," from the verb root //'oré "lie"; //nàũ-/nàmxà 'aop "the obedient man," from the (compound) verb root //nàũ-/nàm "obey"; //nàũ-/nàm'o 'áop "the disobedient man." It might be noted here that these two suffixes are often used with compound verbs in which the second verb root is /nàm "love, like," as in the last example, or tsáã "try, experience"; in compound verb roots, these two roots emphasize a tendency toward a particular activity.

Another productive adjective-deriving suffix is -sa which may be added to any verb root to form an adjective with the meaning "able to be ---ed," e.g., kéésa "visible," from the verb root kéé "see"; //nàúsa "audible," from the verb //nàú "hear"; /naósa "able to be met," from the verb root /naó "meet." This suffix is frequently used with reduplicated verb roots, in which case it must be translated a bit differently, e.g., tsùũ-tsũũsa xuu'ì "a tragic thing," from the reduplicated verb root tsùũtsùũ "to cause

to suffer"; pùrú-pùrúsa "wonderful," from the reduplicated verb root pùrúpuru "to cause to wonder." There is a morphotonemic change in the second half of the reduplicated verb root before -sa in that all of the tones of that root are raised in relative pitch to the other tones in the word; this change is marked by the hyphen.

One adjective-deriving suffix in the language presents a problem in description because its distribution is rather complicated; it is somewhere between a "productive" and a "special" suffix. Let us divide its distribution into three smaller distributions: (a), (b), and (c). The form of the suffix is -sá in all cases, but its meaning is clearly analyzible only in distribution (a). In this distribution, the suffix -sá is added to a small number of verb roots to form an adjective with the meaning "intrinsically ---ed." For example: ≠nàà́sá hàíp "the dry stick," with the verb root ≠nàà́ "dry out (by itself)"; !nòó́sá tàop "the quiet road," with the verb root !nòó́ "quiet down (by itself)"; /áḿsá tàop "the hot road," with the verb root /áḿ "warm up (by itself)"; /'óasá tsèes "the full day, the whole day," with the verb root /'óa "fill up (by itself)." The suffix has no connotation of a completed action, such a meaning would be conveyed by another construction. (It would be by relativization of a sentence with perfective aspect, e.g., !nòó́ hàà́ tàop "the road which has quieted down.") In distribution (b), we have pairs of adjectives

having identical meanings and differing in form only in that one consists of a root plus -sá and the other of the same root alone. For example: 'anu kxòèp, 'anusá kxòèp "the proper male person"; ǂ'oó tàop, ǂ'oósá tàop "the narrow road, path"; /'áá xuup, /'ááśá xuup "the sharp thing" or "the new thing." In these cases, the root to which -sá may be added is not a verb root because it is not found in verbs, so we must consider it a type of simple adjective. Yet -sá may not be added to any of the common simple adjectives listed earlier, i.e., forms such as *káísá for "big," or *!óósá for "difficult" do not occur. In distribution (c), -sá occurs after a root which does not occur as a simple noun or verb root, or adjective. For example: 'ísá 'oms "the beautiful house," also 'íxá 'oms with the same meaning (-xá with high tone only occurs in this one word); we also find this root in a reduplicated form 'í'íí "make beautiful." For distributions (b) and (c) we may retain the meaning of -sá in distribution (a) as "intrinsically ---(ed)" so that it will just be added redundantly in case (b) when, e.g., "the narrow path" and "the intrinsically narrow path" do not mean anything very different. The probable cause of this complicated distribution is phonological and semantic change. The adjective 'anu "right, proper" probably comes historically from the verb !'anu "to clean." The adjective ǂ'oó may have come from a verb which meant

"to sharpen," etc.

The suffix -tsí, a frequent adjective-deriving suffix in texts of the Nama dialect of Nama, is not used in the Damara dialect. The meaning of -tsí is the same as the meaning of -sá and it has the same complex distribution as -sá. Damara speakers, though they tend not to use adjectives with -tsí, understand them and accept them as correct.

The "special" adjective-deriving suffix -tsáma, sometimes pronounced -tsmá in rapid speech, occurs with a couple of roots where it appears to have an "apperceptive" meaning, e.g., 'úítsáma "alive" with the root in 'úíp "life"; 'áítsáma "lone, alone," with the verb root 'aí "to be first" which is not used as a simple verb root but occurs in many derived words; hòárákatsáma "complete," with the universal hòáráka "all." The meaning might be roughly translated: "feeling it/him/herself to be ---." It is likely that -tsáma is etymologically related to the verb root tsáá "feel, try, experience."

The suffix -re forms adjectives describing sex membership from the roots in 'áop "the man" and tarás "the woman," e.g., 'áore kxòep "the male person," taráre kxòe'ì "some female person."

Another special suffix -sì derives adjectives from noun roots which mean "behaves in a ---ly manner," e.g.,

//ũũsì 'áop "the fatherly man." It is probably the same -si, etymologically, that is used freely to derive nouns from adjectives in combination with the masculine gender suffix -p.

The suffix -kám derives adjectives from a few adverbs, e.g., 'áípekám //'áéku "ancient times," from the adverb 'áípe "first," //'arikám pérép "yesterday's bread," from the adverb //'ari "yesterday."

The suffix -ra is the most "special" of the adjective-deriving suffixes in that it only is used with one root, i.e., káíra kxòep "mature male person," with the verb káí "grow."

(3) Adjective Derivation

The diminutive suffix -ró may be added to any adjective, whether simple or derived, to form another adjective with the meaning: "slightly ---" where the blank is to be filled by the translation of the adjective. For example: !óḿró tàop "the slightly difficult road," ǂxaríró "rather small," /'uríxàró "slightly dirty."

b. The Adverb

An adjective may optionally be proceded by a manner adverb, though the only such adverb to occur with any frequency is káíse "very, very much," e.g., káíse 'íìxá /ǒátì "the very beautiful daughters," káíse káí 'áop "the very big man." This may be called the "augmentative" use of káíse which compensates for the absence of an augmentative adjective derivational suffix.

3. Class 2: The Number

The order class immediately before the modifier, Class 2, may optionally be realized by one of a class of constructions called "numbers." According to its form, a number may be a "simple number," or a "derived number," and a certain class of simple numbers, the "cardinal numbers," may undergo derivation.

a. The Simple Number

Simple, or monomorphemic, numbers may be divided into two classes according to their ability to take the number-derivational suffix which will be treated presently. These classes are: the "gross numbers" and the "cardinal numbers" mentioned in the previous paragraph.

(1) The Gross Number

There are two gross numbers: ≠uí "many," and /'oro "few," and they may only be used in a noun phrase which ends in a plural noun, e.g., ≠uí kxòeǹ "the many people (common gender), or many people (indefinite gender)"; ≠uí ká̋í 'áoku "the many big men"; /'oro 'íixá /ó̋átì "the few beautiful women." These words do not have the meanings "much" and "little"; these meanings are conveyed by the adjectives ká̋í "big, great," and ≠xarí "little" when they occur before a mass noun, e.g., ≠xarí maríro̊ǹ "a little money (indefinite gender)." In this example the diminu-

tive -ró is added to the noun marín "some money" for emphasis.

(2) The Cardinal Number

Nama has a decimal numbering system. There are ten monomorphemic cardinal numbers for one to ten, and two polymorphemic numbers for hundred and thousand:

/úí	"one"	!naní	"six"
/ám	"two"	húú	"seven"
!noná	"three"	//xáísá	"eight"
hàká	"four"	kxòese	"nine"
kóro	"five"	tìsí	"ten"

kái tìsí "hundred" (lit. "big ten")

/'óa (kái) tìsí "thousand" (lit. "full big ten")

By their canonical form, the numbers //xáísá "eight" and kxòese "nine" appear to have been, etymologically, composed of a root plus a suffix, though, at present, there is no root with the form //xáí and the only word with which we may compare kxòese "nine" is the homophonous form kxòese "in a human manner." The number tìsí "ten" also diverges from the usual form of Nama roots in having an inter-vocalic /s/ in the root. It is undoubtedly a borrowed word for reasons to be mentioned.

Numbers above ten are formed by juxtaposition according to the common formula that if a smaller number follows a larger number the two are added, and if the smaller

number follows the larger the two are multiplied. The conjunction tsíí "and" may optionally follow kʼáí tìsí "hundred" if the number is not yet complete.

There is one complication. In numbers above tìsí "ten," the morpheme which follows tìsí, if there is one, the "units digit," will itself be followed by another morpheme /ʼaa which we may call the "units marker." For example: tìsí /úí /ʼaa "eleven" (lit. "ten + one /ʼaa") !noná tìsí /ám /ʼaa "thirty-two" (lit. "three x ten + two /ʼaa"). In numbers from "eleven" to "nineteen," the tìsí is optional, e.g., "eleven" may be /úí /ʼaa. It seems plausible that the "units marker" /ʼaa may have been an earlier morpheme for "ten" before tìsí was borrowed from whatever source.

Here are some examples of large numbers as illustrations of the above description: /úí /ʼóa kʼáí tìsí kxòese kʼáí tìsí (tsíí) !naní tìsí /ám /ʼaa "one thousand nine hundred (and) sixty-two" (lit."one x thousand + nine x hundred + six x ten + two 'units'"); /úí kʼáí tìsí (tsíí) tìsí /àisá ʼáoku "a hundred and ten strong men." When the number in a noun phrase is /úí "one" or /ám "two" the noun must, of course, agree with it in number, e.g., /úí kʼáí /íríp "one large male jackal," /ám kʼáí /íríkxà "two large male jackals," and with numbers !noná "three" and above the noun must be plural, !noná kʼáí /íríku "three large male jackals."

Though cardinal numbers may contain quite a large number of morphemes, all possible cardinal numbers should be regarded as "simple" from the point of view of grammatical description, although "simple" in all other constituent classes is synonymous with "monomorphemic." We should consider them so because the formula according to which large numbers (above ten) are constructed is very different from what we would call a "grammatical rule." Nowhere else in the grammar does the order of constituents convey meanings such as "addition" and "multiplication" depending on a precise semantic ranking of the morphemes such as the "size" or "lateness in the counting series" of numbers. That is why the formation of large numbers has been referred to as following a "formula" and not a "grammatical rule." This formula more properly belongs in the lexicon of the language and reflects the "mathematical technology" of the speakers of the language. Any large number contructed by formula is equivalent as far as the grammar of the language is concerned in that the noun with which it occurs must have a plural suffix; such is true of all numbers above !noná "three."

b. The Derived Number

A derived number consists of a demonstrative manner adverb plus the suffix -kó "as much as, as many as."

For example: neetíkó //'áép "this much time," with the demonstrative manner adverb neetí "thus, in this manner"; neetíkó kâí 'áoku "this many big men"; //nããtíkó //'áép "that much time, so much time," with the demonstrative manner adverb //nããtí "thus, in that manner"; //nããtíkó kùúñ "that many sheep, so many sheep." Besides neetíkó and //nããtíkó, there is an interrogative derived number, mããtíkó "how much," with the interrogative demonstrative manner adverb mããtí "how, in what manner"; this one will be discussed presently under "The Interrogative Noun Phrase."

c. Number Derivation: The Ordinal Number

There is one number-derivational suffix in Nama: the suffix -//'íĩ which may be added to any cardinal number to form an "ordinal number." For example: !noná-//'íĩ tsèes "the third day," with the cardinal number !nòna "three"; /ám-//'íĩ ≠xarí tàóp "the second small road," with the number /ám "two"; /úí /'oa kâí tìsí kxòese kâí tìsí tsíí !naní tìsí /ám /'aa-//'íĩ kuríp "the one-thousand-nine-hundred-and-sixty-second year, the year 1962." There is one exception: -//'íĩ is never added to the number /úí "one"; there is a separate lexical item ≠úro "first," e.g., ≠úro tsèes "the first day."

The suffix -//'íĩ is phonologically an anomaly. It is the only suffix in the language which contains a click, it is always pronounced with a very low degree of dynamic stress, and the vowel sequence /íĩ/ becomes considerably shortened in rapid speech.

4. Class 3: The Associative

The third order class before the noun may be represented by an associative which may be either a simple associative, which is monomorphemic, or an associative phrase. The associative has a rather broad range of meaning which might be compared to what is usually understood by the term "genitive," but the precise range of meaning will have to be discussed with each type, simple and phrase.

a. The Simple Associative

There are two simple associative morphemes: tíí "my (first person masculine or feminine singular)," and sáá "your (second person masculine or feminine singular)." These forms mean that the referent of the noun which ends the noun phrase is possessed by, or related to the speaker, with tíí, or the person spoken to, with sáá, making no distinctions about gender in either case. For example: tíí 'oms "my house (either by possessing it or living in it)," sáá 'oms "your (sing.) house," tíí /'apés "my decision," tíí !noná 'íìxá 'ǎǎtì "my three beautiful daughters," sáá màmás "your (sing.) mother," tíí /hòop "my male friend."

b. The Associative Phrase

An associative phrase consists of a noun phrase, which may be simple, appositive, conjunctive, or inter-

rogative, plus the associative particle tì which may often be translated "of," but not always. The meaning of this post-posed particle tì is that "the referent of the noun ending the noun phrase containing the associative is possessed by, related to, contained in, or in some way associated with or defined by, the referent of the noun phrase contained in the associative phrase." This complicated gloss attempts to cover the range of meanings which tì may have; the term "associative" is an attempt to summarize that range which should best be illustrated by some examples: 'áop tì 'oms "the man's house (either by possessing it or living in it)"; /hũũp tì fáràms "the european's farm"; fáràms tì /hũũp "the european of the farm (because he lives or works there)"; /hũũp tì !àaku "the european's male servants"; tíí màmás tì !áásàs "my mother's sister"; seetáfrikàp tì póótàp "the south african border"; xurí-xuútsaus tì /hũũs "the United Nations organization," with the associative containing the noun xurí-xuútsaus "the United Nations (lit. draw-from well)"; //náá !hùúp tì kòpaku "the languages of that land," with the demonstrative //náá "that" in the same noun phrase as !hùúp "the land"; //náá kuríp tì /'unís "the end of that year"; nee pétroli tì stásìs "this gas statation," with the demonstrative nee in the same noun phrase as stásìs "the station"; sáá màmás tì tánisens "your mother's bearing, behavior."

Because of the existence of the simple associative morphemes tíí "my," and sáá "your," there are three "pronouns" which may not occur in an associative phrase. ("Pronouns" are yet to be discussed.) These are tiíta "I (masc. or fem.)," saáts "you (masc. sing.)," and saás "you (fem. sing.)." For what would be *tiíta tì there exists the simple associative tíí, and for what would be *saáts tì and *saás tì there is the simple associative sáá.

In any associative phrase, the associative particle tì may be deleted without changing the meaning; this happens more frequently in rapid speech than in deliberate speech, e.g., 'áop 'oms "the man's house," tíí màmás !áásàs "my mother's sister," //nãã !hùúp kòpaku "the languages of that land."

There is a small number of nouns which may only occur in a simple noun phrase if it contains an associative. These are nouns containing the noun root 'íì "parent" and 'óã "child," e.g., tíí 'íìp "my father," sáá 'íìs "your (sing.) mother," nee kxòep tì 'óãp "this man's son," /hũũp tì /ám 'óãrà "the european's two daughters." When the simple noun phrase does not contain an associative, nouns formed with two different roots are used to convey the same meanings; they are //ũũ "parent" and /óã "child," e.g., !ãì //ũũp "the good father," 'íìxá /óãtì "the beautiful daughters."

5. Class 4: The Demonstrative

The fourth order class before the noun may be represented by a demonstrative. All demonstratives are simple, with the exception of one demonstrative phrase constructed around the simple demonstrative /nîî "some," and there are six of them in the language. They are: nee "this," //nâá "that," náú "that (contrastive)," máá "what," //xaá "the same," and /nîî "some." The interrogative demonstrative máá will be discussed with the interrogative noun phrase. The glosses represent the usual approximate translations; the precise Nama meanings, or "rules for their use," require further discussion since they are very closely connected with the speech situation and the structure of discourse.

When a speaker of the language is referring to persons or things actually present at the time of speaking, he will use nee with a noun if the referent of the noun is physically near to him, e.g., nee kxòep "this male person," and //nâá if it is not, e.g., //nâá kxòep "that male person." The English translation of the latter example, however, is too "demonstrative," so to speak. The word //nâá is used much more frequently in Nama than is the word "that" in English and represents a much lower degree of deixis comparatively; we often have to translate //nâá with the English article "the" though, then, the degree of deixis in the gloss will

probably be too low. A certain indication of this low degree of deixis is the fact that //náá may never be used contrastively with nee. For example, if there are two individuals, one near by and one farther away, a speaker would never say *nee kxòèp tsíí //náá kxòèp to mean "this male person and that male person." He would say rather nee kxòèp tsíí náú kxòèp, which brings us to our next demonstrative, náú. The word náú is used, in an immediate speech situation, to identify the farther member in a contrast of proximity, such as in the last example. In fact, if neither of the individuals to be identified are near at hand, náú may be contrasted with //náá, e.g., //náá kxòèp tsíí náú kxòèp "that male person and that other male person." We should not make the mistake, however, of thinking that nee, //náá, and náú represent merely three different degrees of proximity; if three individuals are to be distinguished, a speaker will say nee kxòèp tsíí náú kxòèp tsíí náú kxòèp with an especially emphatic stress on the last náú which raises both its tones slightly.

Leaving the context of an immediate speech situation, we can see how the meanings of the three demonstratives, as just established, can be used in a metaphorical sense in the context of a discourse, such as a story. In one folktale, nee is used preceding nouns which denote previously-mentioned characters who are present during

a specific scene in the story, //náá is used preceding those which denote previously-mentioned characters or things which are not present during that specific scene, and náú only occurs before a noun when one previously-mentioned character, whether present or not, is being contrasted with another. In that case, nee or //náá occurs preceding the noun which denotes the most recently mentioned character, and náú before that which denotes a character mentioned yet earlier.

It is only within the context of a discourse that we can understand the meanings of our remaining two demonstratives, //xaá and /nîí. The gloss, "the same," given above for //xaá quite accurately conveys its meaning. It is used preceding a noun to emphasize that the referent of that noun is exactly the same as the referent of a noun which has occurred in a closely preceding sentence. The gloss, "some," for /nîí, however, is not quite so good, since we might remember that "some" has been used earlier as the gloss for the indefinite gender and the two do not mean the same thing. Let us contrast the two. The indefinite gender suffix is added to a noun when the speaker does not know what individual person or thing the referent of the noun denotes, or just does not know its name, e.g., kxòe'ì "some person or other," ǂxarí ǃáaró'ì "some little town or other." The demonstrative /nîí is used when the speaker does not expect his

hearer to know what individual person or thing the referent of the noun which follows it denotes, e.g., /nĩ́ kxòep "some male person," or better, "a certain male person," when it is understood "I know who he is but I don't expect you to."; ǂxarí !'áarós "a certain little town," with the same understanding. It is certainly possible to have both the indefinite gender suffix added to the noun and the demonstrative /nĩ́ preceding it, in which case both their meanings are present, e.g., /nĩ́ kxòe'ì "some person or other," with the understanding "I don't expect you to know him/her either." As might be expected if one thinks about it, where we find an indefinite gender suffix on the noun, there is usually also a /nĩ́ somewhere preceding it.

In stories, the demonstrative /nĩ́ is a favorite device for introducing new characters as the subject of a sentence. (They may be introduced without it as objects of a sentence.) It signals the introduction of a new character because, by indicating that the hearer should not know who the character is, it implies that the character has not yet been mentioned, whether that "character" be a person or a thing. Once the character is introduced though, it is known for the purposes of the narration, and one of the other demonstratives may be used.

There is one demonstrative construction in the language which is formed with the demonstrative and is very much the same in meaning as /nĩí alone. It consists of /nĩí followed by the verb root hà̃a "to exist, to be (in a place)." This unique construction with hà̃a merely emphasizes an assumption which is always present when /nĩí, or any other demonstrative for that matter, is used. That assumption is that the noun which follows denotes something which exists. For example, /nĩí hà̃a kxòep and /nĩí kxòep both mean the same thing, namely, "a certain male person." But the first phrase draws more attention to the noun and implies, when it is being used to introduce a new character in a story, that the referent of the noun will now play an important part in the story. Often, when several characters are being introduced, this demonstrative construction also contains the manner adverb //xaápá "again." Thus we may have: /nĩí hà̃a //xaápá kxòep "a certain other man," or /nĩí //xaápá hà̃a kxòep, or even /nĩí //xaápá kxòep with the same meaning.

Here are some examples of demonstratives in more complicated noun phrases: nee !naní-//'ĩi /ṍás "this sixth daughter" as opposed to náú kóro /ṍátì "those five daughters (mentioned earlier)"; //nãá siítà tì ≠àe-≠úí'áop "that leader of ours."

6. Class 5: The Universal

The fifth order class of the noun phrase may be represented by a universal. The term "universal" covers only three words all of which are very similar in form and meaning. They are: hòá, hòárá, and hòáráka and they all mean roughly "the totality of," e.g., hòá //nâã tsèes "all that day," hòá //nâã tsèerà "both those days," hòá //nâã tsèetì "all those days." Either hòárá or hòáráka may be substituted for hòá in these examples with little change in the meanings. Note that, although the English translation changes according to the number conveyed by the suffix on the noun, the Nama meaning is the same in all three examples.

There is a slight difference in meaning between hòá, on the one hand, and hòárá or hòáráka, on the other in that the latter forms are more "emphatic," that is, they are used to emphasize the fact that a totality of persons or things is being talked about; the form hòá has no such emphatic meaning. The way this meaning difference often shows up in a text is that the first mention of a totality will involve hòáráka, while any later reference to the same totality will involve hòá. Thus, in one text, the first mention of "all the black people" is hòáráka ǂnùu kxòèǹ, while later the same people are referred to as hòá ǂnùu kxòèǹ or ǂnùu kxòèǹ hòáǹ "the black people, all of them." The second is an appositive noun phrase.

7. Deletion of the Noun Root

Before we discuss the sixth and last order class of the simple noun phrase, it will be convenient first to mention the option of noun root deletion, an option which is frequently taken advantage of in the language.

Under the condition that it is highly redundant, i.e., predictable from the context, a noun root may be deleted from the simple noun phrase, in which case the gender-number suffix, and the preceding derivational affix if there is one, are suffixed to the next remaining constituent. For example: kǎí 'áop "the big man" becomes káíp "the big one (masc.)"; !noná tarátì "the three women" becomes !nonátì "the three of them (fem.)"; sáá 'fíp "your father" becomes sááp "yours (masc.)"; ǂnùu kxòeǹ tì kòpaku "the languages of the black people" becomes ǂnùu kxòeǹ tìku "those (masc.) of the black people"; hòá kxòeǹ "all the people" becomes hòáǹ "all of them"; tíí 'ǒǎróp "my little boy" becomes tííróp "my little one"; //naǎ ǂàe-ǂúí'aop "that leader (masc.)" becomes //naǎp "that one (masc.)"; //naǎ siítà tì /hòoku "those male friends of ours" becomes //naǎ siítà tìku "those ones (masc.) of ours."

The condition of redundancy under which this noun root deletion occurs is difficult to define precisely. When this phenomenon occurs in a text, the root which is deleted is always one which has occurred recently either

in the same sentence or in a closely preceding sentence. The most frequent use of this deletion is in the appositive noun phrase which will be described presently.

8. Class 6: The Pronominal and "Pronouns"

The sixth order class of the noun phrase may be represented by one of four possible pronominal roots each of which indicate the grammatical category of "person." Whether the occurrence of a pronominal root is obligatory or optional is dependent on a complicated set of conditions which will be discussed in its place.

It will be remembered that, at the beginning of this chapter, the statement was made that "all noun phrases . . . end in a word which is inflected for gender, number, and person." However, in the ensuing discussion, no mention was again made of the category "person." This neglect was an intentional device to simplify the presentation by putting off the discussion of person until the pronominal was reached in our progression through the order classes of the noun phrase. We are now in a position to correct this distortion and treat the matter fully. In truth, all the noun phrases heretofore exemplified have been inflected for person; they have been inflected for the third person. The gender-number suffixes in the table near the beginning of the chapter are, in truth, person-gender-number suffixes of the third person. From here

forward, the term "person-gender-number suffix" will be abbreviated to "pgn suffix."

The indication of person in Nama is a bipartite affair. Both the obligatory pgn suffix on the noun and the pronominal of the sixth order class indicate person. In any one noun phrase, the pronominal and pgn suffix indicate the same person (first, second, or third) except in two cases: (a) the first person non-singular (dual or plural) inclusive, and (b) sometimes when the noun phrase occurs in an equational predicate. Exceptional case (b) will be discussed later when the equational predicate is taken up (see p.110). Let us now discuss the members of the pronominal and pgn suffix morpheme classes and then remark on their combination in the simple noun phrase.

a. The Pronominal

The four pronominal roots are: tií "first person singular," sií "first person non-singular," saá "second person," and //'íi "third person." Note that a singular vs. non-singular number distinction is maintained in pronominals of the first person but not in the other two persons.

b. The pgn Suffix

On the following page is a complete table of the pgn suffixes in the language. It recapitulates those of the third person, which appeared alone in the previous table.

TABLE OF PGN SUFFIXES

	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
Masculine			
Singular	-ta[1]	-ts	-p ~ -i
Dual	-kxm̀	-kxò	-kxà
Plural	-ke	-ko	-ku
Feminine			
Singular	-ta[1]	-s[5]	-s[5]
Dual	-m̀ ~ -l̀m̀[2]	-rò[3]	-rà[4]
Plural	-se	-so	-tì
Common			
Dual	-m̀ -l̀m̀[2]	-rò[3]	-rà[4]
Plural	-tà	-tù	-ǹ ~ -l̀ǹ
		Indefinite Singular	-'ì

The suffixes having two allomorphs, -p ~ -i and -ǹ ~ -l̀ǹ have been mentioned earlier (see p.42). To these may be added the 1° dual fem. and com. suffix -m̀ ~ -l̀m̀ whose allomorphs have the same distribution, i.e., the second allomorph occurs after a stem ending in a (resonant) consonant and the first elsewhere.

There are five cases of duplication in the table which have been marked with superscript numerals. Masculine and feminine gender are not distinguished in the 1° sing. -ta, neither are feminine and common in the dual suffixes of all persons -m̀ ~ -l̀m̀, -rò, and -rà. The second and third

persons are not distinguished in the fem. sing. -s.

A quick perusal of the table will reveal that the system of pgn suffixes is a truly inflectional system, that it is impossible to analyse the suffixes into morphemes which separately indicate the categories of person, gender, and number in any completely generalizable way. Thus, the suffixes are presented in paradigmatic form. The minor regularities that are present do, however, suggest that at earlier stages in the history of the language some parts of the paradigm were analysable, and a comparison of this Nama paradigm with those of other Khoisan languages does reveal this to be the case, but such a discussion would be out of place here.

c. Pronominal and pgn Suffix in the Noun Phrase

Aside from some exceptional cases which will be discussed presently, there are two simple rules which govern the co-presence of pronominal and pgn in the same simple noun phrase: (a) The pronominal and pgn suffix must agree in person, and in the case of first person pronominals in number as well. (b) The first and second person pronominals, tíí, síí, and saá, are obligatorily present, and the third person pronominal, //'íĩ is obligatorily absent.

All of the simple noun phrases cited so far in this chapter may be considered illustrations of the obligatory absence of the third person pronominal //'íĩ. It is this

second part of rule (b) which has enabled us until now to ignore the pronominal in our description of the simple noun phrase since all the examples have been in the third person. Here are some examples of simple noun phrases inflected for the first and second persons: tíí kxòeta "I the person," saá kxòets "you person (masc.)," saá kxòes "you person (fem.)." síí ǂxarí 'áokxm̀ "we small men (dual, exclusive)," saá ǂxarí 'áokxò "you small men (dual)," síí !ǎí tarám̀ "we good women (dual, exclusive)," saá !ǎí tarárò "you good women (dual)," síí !noná kàó'áoke "we three kings (exclusive)," saá !noná kàó-'áoko "you three kings," síí /ǒ̂ase "we female children (plural, exclusive)," saá /ǒ̂aso "you female children (plural)," síí kxòetà "we people (com., plural)," saá kxòetù "you people (com. plural). The following are ambiguous as to feminine or common gender: síí kxòem̀ "we people (fem. or com., dual)," saá kxòerò "you people (fem. or com., dual)." Here are some examples with noun root deletion: saá ǂxaríkxò "you small ones (masc. dual)," síí !nonáke "we three (masc., exclusive)."

The most important exception to rule (a), that the pronominal and pgn suffix must agree in person, is in the formation of the first person non-singular inclusive. Note that all the first person non-singulars above are exclusive. The first person non-singular inclusive is formed by including the second person pronominal saá

and one of the first person pgn suffixes in the same noun phrase, e.g., saá kxòekxm̀ "we people (masc., dual, inclusive)" or "you and I (masc.)," saá 'áoke "we men (plural, inclusive)," saá tarése "we women (plural, inclusive)," saá ǂnùu kxòetà "we black people (com., plural, inclusive)."

The only other exception to rule (a) is when the noun phrase occurs in an equational predicate. (See p. 114).

Rule (b), that tií, sií, and saá are obligatorily present, and //'íĩ is obligatorily absent, also has several exceptions. The first and second person pronominals, tií, sií, and saá, must be absent if the simple noun phrase in which they would occur is either: (1) the second or later noun phrase in an appositive noun phrase (see p. 88), or (2) in an equational predicate (see p. 114). The third person pronominal, //'íĩ, may be present if: (1) the noun phrase occurs in an equational predicate (see p. 114), or (2) there is no noun root in the noun phrase and none of the other five order classes are filled. We may call this last exceptional case the "pronoun" case which we will now treat in detail.

d. The "Pronoun"

A "pronoun" may be defined as "a simple noun phrase containing neither a noun root nor any construction filling order classes 1 through 5," or positively as "a noun phrase containing only a pronominal, an optional noun derivational

suffix (the diminutive -ró), and a pgn suffix. Since the "pronoun" construction is of very frequent occurrence in the language, the total set of possible pronouns, minus the diminutive, is tabulated below.

TABLE OF PRONOUNS

	1st Person Exclusive	1st Person Inclusive	2nd Person	3rd Person
Masculine				
Singular	tiíta[1]		saáts	//'ĩip
Dual	siíkxm̀	saákxm̀	saákxò	//'ĩikxà
Plural	siíke	saáke	saáko	//'ĩiku
Feminine				
Singular	tiíta[1]		saás	//'ĩis
Dual	siím[2]	saám[2a]	saáro[3]	//'ĩirà[4]
Plural	siíse	saáse	saáso	//'ĩitì
Common				
Dual	siím[2]	saám[2a]	saáro[3]	//'ĩirà[4]
Plural	siítà	saátà	saátù	//'ĩìn
			Indefinite Singular	//'ĩì'ì

Duplications have been marked with superscript numerals corresponding to those in the table of pgn suffixes. Note that duplication 5 of the pgn table is absent here since the pronouns saás and //'ĩis are differentiated by the pronominal.

Any of the above pronouns may contain the diminutive

suffix -ró between the pronominal and pgn suffix, e.g., tiíróta "little me," saáróts "little you (masc.. sing.)," //'fíróp "little him."

Two of the second person pronouns have special uses as forms of address. The second person common plural pronoun saátù may be used as a "polite" form when addressing a person of either sex who is entitled to a high degree of respect from the speaker. The second person masculine plural pronoun saáko may be used by a male speaker when addressing a male equal with whom the speaker has an especially close personal relationship; this use of saáko may be called the "familiar" second person masculine singular pronoun; saáts, however, may always be used in its stead.

B. THE APPOSITIVE NOUN PHRASE

An appositive noun phrase consists of two or more adjacent simple noun phrases all of which have the same pgn suffix since they all have the same referent. No pronominals occur in the second and later simple noun phrases of an appositive construction, even if the pgn suffix indicates first or second person. Depending on whether or not there is a noun root present in the second or later simple noun phrase, an appositive noun phrase may be of two types: (1) without noun root deletion,

and (2) with noun root deletion.

1. The Appositive Without Noun Root Deletion

This is the type of construction which is usually denoted in linguistic terminology by the term "appositive." The first simple noun phrase in this construction either contains a noun root or is a pronoun, and the second and later noun phrases all contain noun roots which are very often proper noun roots, e.g., tíí !áásàs maríàs "my sister Maria," sáá /hòosàp /'uírap "your friend /Uirab (masc.)," siítà tì ≠àe-≠úí'aop mamúxùèp "our (pl., com.) leader Mamuxueb," saáts /íríts "you jackal (masc., sing.)," saátà ≠nùu kxòetà "we (com., pl., incl.) the black people," Jésùp siítà tì ≠àe-≠'úí'aop siítà tì kàó'aop "Jesus our leader, our king." Usually, there are only two simple noun phrases in an appositive, but there can be indefinitely many in theory. It is usual, but not necessary, for all the noun roots in this construction to be different, as they are in the above examples. When there is no proper noun root in either noun phrase, they may, indeed, by the same. For example: tíí !áásàp ≠xarí !áásàp ≠xam !áásàp "my brother, the small brother, the young brother." This is an acceptable construction but it is repetitive in Nama just as the translation is repetitive, and would be avoided unless repetition is desired for effect. But, normally, the second and third noun roots are deleted

which brings us to our next type of appositive noun phrase.

2. The Appositive With Noun Root Deletion

This is by far the most frequently used type of appositive and can be looked upon as resulting from the deletion of repeated noun roots from the second and later simple noun phrases of the appositive. The last example given would be, with noun root deletion: tíí !áásàp ǂxaríp ǂxaḿ-i "my brother, the small one, the young one." Any of the constructions which can fill the first five order classes before the noun in a simple noun phrase can thus occur in the second or later simple noun phrase of an appositive construction as an alternative to placing them before the noun in the first simple noun phrase, e.g., we can have /óáp ǂxaríp "the boy, the small one," as well as ǂxarí /óáp "the small boy." There is a slight difference in meaning between these two alternatives which is exaggerated, unfortunately, in the glosses given for the two examples. In the appositive /óáp ǂxaríp the "smallness" of the "boy" is given as parenthetical information, i.e., the meaning of ǂxarí is not emphasized; in the simple noun phrase ǂxarí /óáp, on the other hand, the "smallness" of the "boy" is given as necessary information, i.e., the meaning of ǂxarí is

emphasized. Actually, the two examples would both have to be translated "the small boy" in a text since it is impossible to convey the slight difference in meaning with an English gloss; "the boy, the small one" is far too awkward and rare in English to translate a construction like /ǒǎp ≠xarí̀p which is natural and frequent in Nama.

Here are some varied examples of appositive noun phrases with noun root deletion: tíí !ǎ́ás káís "my big (elder) sister," tíí /hòosàkxà /ámkxà "my two friends (masc., dual)" or "the two friends of mine," siíke !nonáke "us, the three of us (masc.)," siíke hòá !nonáke "us, all three of us (masc.)," xuuǹ //'íǐku tìǹ "their (masc., plural) things (com., plural)" or "the things of their's," xuup tíí̀p "my thing (masc.)" or "the thing of mine," stásìs /'aé //ámś tìs "the Windhoek station" or "the station of Windhoek," 'áop //nǎ́ap "that man" or "the man, that one." The universal hòá "all of, both, all" more frequently occurs in an appositive construction than it does in its order class before the noun in a simple noun phrase, e.g., xuuǹ hòáǹ "everything" is more likely that hòá xuuǹ with the same meaning. This peculiarity of the hòá form of the universal has been mentioned earlier (see p. 79). Thus we have: siíke hòáke "all of us (masc., plural, excl.)," ≠nùu kxòeǹ hòáǹ "all the black people," !hùúku hòáku "all the lands."

a. Special Appositive Constructions

There are two very common constructions in Nama which are appositive noun phrases in form but which have special meanings that cannot be predicted from their component parts.

The first of these we may call the "particular-universal" construction. It is an appositive noun phrase containing two simple noun phrases the first of which contains the demonstrative mãã́ plus a noun and the second of which contains nothing but the universal hòá with the agreeing pgn suffix. The particular-universal construction has the meaning "every ---" or "each and every ---" where the blank is to be filled by the gloss of the noun. Except in this construction, the demonstrative mãã́ is the interrogative demonstrative "what?." For example: mãã́ tsèes hòás "every day," mãã́ xuu'ì hòá'ì "everything (indef.)," mãã́ !hùúp hòãp "every land," mãã́ //'áé'ì hòá'ì "every time (indef.)." This construction should be considered to contain the discontinuous morpheme mãã́ . . . hòá "every."

The second special appositive construction is formed in an analogous manner with the demonstrative //xaá "the same. The first simple noun phrase consists of //xaá plus a noun, and the second of //xaá plus the agreeing pgn suffix. This construction has the meaning "the very same ---," e.g., //xaá tsèes //xaás "the very same day,"

//xaá ≠hõãs //xaás "the very same story," //xaá xuup //xaáp "the very same thing." The demonstrative //xaá occurs more frequently in this appositive construction than it does in a lone simple noun phrase.

b. Special Appositive Roots

There is a handful of roots which can occur only in the second member of an appositive noun phrase. Three of them /úí, ≠'úú, and ≠hání have the same meaning, "only ---, ---alone," where the blank is to filled by the gloss for the preceding noun. For example, //nãã kxòep /úíp, //nãã kxòep ≠'úúp, and //nãã kxòep ≠hánípo all mean "only that person (masc.)" or "that person (masc.) alone." Another special appositive root xare means "no --- (at all)," e.g., /íríp xarep "no jackal (masc.) at all," kxòe'ì xare'ì "no person at all." The xare appositive is only used in a sentence with a negative verb.

c. The Ownership Appositive

There is another root which can only occur in the second member of an appositive noun phrase: the root 'ãã which denotes ownership. To this 'ãã is added the pgn suffix denoting the owner of the referent of the first simple noun phrase of the appositive construction, and to that is added the agreeing pgn suffix, e.g., xuup 'ããtap "my thing." In this example, -ta denotes a first person singular owner and -p is the pgn suffix which agrees with

that of xuup "the thing." It is only when the pgn suffix -ta "1st person sing." denotes the owner, however, that the construction may have an agreeing pgn suffix; when any other pgn suffix denotes the owner, there is no agreeing suffix, e.g., xuup 'a̋ats "your (masc. sing.) thing," xuup 'a̋aku "their (masc., plural) thing," and, in fact, the agreeing suffix is optional with -ta, e.g., xuup 'a̋ata "my thing." To classify this construction as an appositive, we must assume that the agreeing pgn suffix is obligatorily deleted after every pgn suffix denoting the owner except -ta after which it may optionally be deleted since, by definition, an appositive must have an agreeing pgn suffix on the second simple noun phrase. Thus, we would assume that xuup 'a̋aku "their thing" results from the deletion of -p from *xuup 'a̋akup.

It will be remembered that the associative construction in the third order class of the simple noun phrase may also denote ownership as part of its range of meaning. The following constructions with the noun kùúp "sheep (masc., sing.)" have exactly the same meaning: kùúp 'a̋atap, kùúp 'a̋ata, tíí kùúp "my sheep"; kùúp 'a̋aku, //'íiku tl kùúp "their (masc., plural) sheep." The associative forms tend to be used more frequently than the ownership appositives.

C. THE CONJUNCTIVE NOUN PHRASE

On its outer level of structure, the conjunctive noun phrase is analogous to the noun in that it consists of a "conjunctive noun phrase stem" plus a pgn suffix. What is being called the "conjunctive noun phrase stem," for the purpose of analogy with the noun, consists of a series of noun phrases each of which is followed by the conjunction tsíí. The outer level of structure may be diagrammed thus:

$$[NP_1 \text{ tsíí} + NP_2 \text{ tsíí} + \ldots NP_n \text{ tsíí}] + \text{pgn}$$

The brackets enclose the "conjunctive noun phrase stem." The pgn suffix which is suffixed to the last tsíí of the series, denotes the sum of all the persons, genders, and numbers denoted by the pgn suffixes of the noun phrases in the series; this suffix we may call the "conjunctive pgn suffix" and abbreviate it "pgnc." For example: if NP_1 is masc. sing., and NP_2 is fem. sing., then the pgnc is com. dual, e.g., 'áop tsíí tarás tsíírà "the man and the woman." When the noun phrases in the series have pgn suffixes indicating different persons then the following rules apply: (1) If one of the noun phrases has a first person pgn suffix, then the pgnc suffix is first person, (2) If the first rule does not apply and one of the noun phrases of the series has a second person pgn suffix, then the pgnc suffix is second person, (3) other-

wise, the pgnc suffix is third person. Here are examples of all three situations: (1) If NP_1 is 1^o masc. dual, and NP_2 is 2^o fem. sing., then the pgnc suffix is 1^o com. plural, e.g., sií 'aókxm̀ tsíí saá tarás tsíítà "we men (dual) and you woman"; síikxm̀ tsíí saás tsíítà "we (masc. dual) and you (fem. sing.)." (2) If NP_1 is 2^o masc. sing, and NP_2 is 3^o masc. sing., then the pgnc suffix is 2^o masc. dual, e.g., saáts tsíí nee 'áop tsíikxò "you (masc. sing.) and this man." (3) If both NPs are third person then, of course, the pgnc suffix is third person as in 'áop tsíí tarás tsíírà above.

Although gender is not distinguished in the first person singular pronoun tiíta, the Nama translation of "I and you (masc.)" would be tiíta tsíí saáts tsíikxm̀ if the speaker is male, and tiíta tsíí saáts tsíím̀ if the speaker is female, -kxm̀ being 1^o masc. dual and -m̀ 1^o com. dual. Thus, we must conclude that tiíta is assigned a covert gender according to the sex of the speaker which can be realized overtly in a conjunctive noun phrase. The same principle holds with the other duplications in the chart of pgn suffixes. The sentence "I (fem.) and you (dual)" would be tiíta tsíí saám̀ tsííse if both of you are female, and tiíta tsíí saám̀ tsíítà if one of you is male and the other is female. Thus, the category of gender is also contained covertly in the identical sets of feminine and common dual suffixes.

Although all of the examples given above contain two noun phrases, it is of course possible to have three or more according to the same rules: tiíta tsíí tíí 'íis tsíí tíí !áásàs tsíítà "I (masc.), my mother, and my sister," /íríp tsíí /'aóp tsíí hááp tsííku "the jackal, the snake, and the horse (all male)." It is also possible to have a conjunctive noun phrase contained in an appositive noun phrase. Very frequently, in fact, conjunctive noun phrases with three or more noun phrases are often contained in an appositive the other member of which contains the universal hòá, e.g., /íríp tsíí /'aóp tsíí hááp tsííku hòáku "the jackal, the snake, and the horse, all of them."

With the pgnc indicating the total person, gender, and number of the whole conjunctive noun phrase, it is possible to delete one member of the series with the tsíí that follows it, since the missing part can be inferred from the pgnc suffix. For example, the noun phrase tíí 'íip tsíí tiíta tsííkxm̀ "my father and I" is synonymous with the phrase tíí 'íip tsííkxm̀. Since -kxm̀ is 1° masc. dual, while tíí 'íip with -p is 3° masc. sing., it is inferred that there is a missing tiíta tsíí and that the tiíta denotes a male person. With a phrase such as sáá 'íip tsíítù, -tù being 2° com. plural and sáá 'íip with -p 1° masc. sing., it is inferred that there is a missing noun phrase (plus tsíí) denoting two or more

individuals of the second person of either female sex or mixed sexes, such as saárò (2^{o} fem. dual), saáso (2^{o} fem. plural), saárò (2^{o} com. dual), or saátù (2^{o} com. plural). The construction has a four-fold ambiguity which could only be resolved by the context in which the phrase occurs.

Similar in form to the conjunctive noun phrase with deletion, there is a construction in Nama which consists of a noun phrase plus tsíín in which the tsíín may be translated "also," e.g., /íríp tsíín "the jackal also," tiíta tsíín "I also." Just as in the examples of the previous paragraph, the plurality of -ǹ that other individuals besides /íríp "the jackal" or tiíta "I" are denoted by the noun phrase as a whole. The construction is not a conjunctive noun phrase with deletion, however, since tsíín is an invariant form and its -ǹ is not sensitive to the person, gender, and number of the noun phrase which it follows. It is therefore a single morpheme. There is another such morpheme 'ooǹ with the same meaning and distribution though it is rarely used.

Sometimes, if the last noun phrase in a series (NP_n) has the pgn suffix -ǹ (3^{o} com. plural), the expected tsíín (not the "also" form above) may be deleted, e.g., //'íip tì 'ǒátì tsíí //'íip tì !aaǹ tsíí hòrésàǹ hòáǹ (tsííǹ), "his daughters and his servants and all his friends."

D. THE INTERROGATIVE NOUN PHRASE

As mentioned at the very beginning of this chapter, the interrogative noun phrase is structurally slightly different from the simple noun phrase. An interrogative noun phrase is a noun phrase which contains an interrogative word, an interrogative word being a word which contains an interrogative morpheme. The presence of an interrogative word of any order class in a particular simple noun phrase causes restrictions on the realization of the other order classes and also the morpheme class of the pgn suffix. If an interrogative word is present, then: (1) order positions of higher number than that filled by the interrogative word may not be filled, i.e., nothing may precede the interrogative word in the noun phrase, and (2) the pgn suffix at the end of the noun phrase may not be a first person suffix. Interrogative words and constructions occur in order classes 1, 2, 3, 4, and the pronominal class. First, interrogative "pronouns" will be discussed, then interrogatives of the other order classes in numerical order.

A peculiarity of interrogative noun phrases over against all other noun phrases is that certain syntactic rules obligatorily apply to them. See the chapter on the interrogative sentence, especially p. 264.

1. The Interrogative "Pronoun"

The usual form of the interrogative pronoun consists of an interrogative pronominal plus a pgn suffix. There are two interrogative pronominals: tarí, the animate interrogative pronominal, and taré, the inanimate interrogative pronominal. The pgn suffix which usually follows these is the indefinite singular -'ì, e.g., tarí'ì "who," taré'ì "what," though if the gender and number of the unknown referent of the noun phrase is known, any other pgn suffix of the third person may be added, e.g., taríp "who (masc. sing.," tarís "who (fem. sing.)," taríkxà "who (masc. dual)," tarítì "who (fem. plural)," but this is rarely the case when the unknown referent is inanimate, so that pgn suffixes other than -'ì on taré just do not occur. There may even be a second person pgn suffix on tarí, though the result is very hard to translate, e.g., tarít̀s "who you (masc. sing.)," taríso "who you (fem. plural)." There is one construction with the interrogative pronominal taré that contains a noun root, and that is taré xuu'ì "what thing," which is just about synonymous with taré'ì "what." Aside from taré xuu'ì, nothing intervenes between the interrogative pronominal and the pgn suffix.

Though it is slightly out of place here, it should be mentioned that, when they occur in interrogative sen-

tences, interrogative noun phrases, such as the pronouns above, almost always are followed by the suffix -à with accompanying morphophonemic changes. All of this will be discussed with the interrogative sentence (p. 260), but a certain contraction phenomenon involving the pronoun taré'ì plus -à deserves special mention. With the morphophonemic changes (see p. 33), taré'ì plus -à becomes taré'è. This very frequently occurring word is often shortened to taá'è in speech at a normal conversational speed, though it is always taré'è in deliberate speech.

2. Class 1: The Interrogative Modifier

The first order class before the noun may be represented by the interrogative modifier, tarépe "what kind of" clearly composed of taré plus a suffix -pe, e.g., tarépe 'áo'ì "what kind of man," tarépe kòmáǹ "what kind of cattle," tarépe xuu'ì "what kind of thing."

3. Class 2: The Interrogative Number

For class 2, there may be an interrogative number, the derived number maátíkó "how much," composed of the interrogative demonstrative adverb maátí "how" plus the number-deriving suffix -kó (cf. //naátíkó above, p. 69), e.g., maátíkó //'áép "how much time," maátíkó káí kòmáǹ "how many big cattle." There is also an equivalent form

hamtíkó with the same meaning and distribution, though it is rarely used.

4. Class 3: The Interrogative Associative

The interrogative associative of class 3 is an associative phrase consisting of an interrogative noun phrase plus the associative particle tì, e.g., tarí'ì tì kùúp "whose sheep (masc. sing.)," tarí'ì tì !noná káí kòmáǹ "whose three big cattle."

5. Class 4: The Interrogative Demonstrative

As mentioned earlier when the demonstrative was discussed, the interrogative demonstrative is the morpheme mãã. When the noun phrase in which mãã occurs ends in an indefinite pgn suffix, mãã is translated "what," e.g., mãã kxòe'ì "what person," mãã ǂxarí /õãró'ì "what small child." When the noun phrase ends in a pgn suffix of any other gender, i.e., when the gender and number of the unknown referent of the noun phrase are known, then mãã must be translated "which," e.g., mãã kxòeǹ "which person (masc.)," mãã !xáis "which place," mãã 'íǂxá /õãtì "which beautiful daughters," mãã ǂxaríp "which small one," mããs "which one (fem. sing.)."

When the unknown referent is animate, another interrogative demonstrative ham is often used, provided that

there is nothing else in the noun phrase but a pgn suffix, e.g., ham̀'ì "who," ham̀-i "who (masc. sing.)," hamś "who (fem. sing.)."

III. THE SENTENCE

To perform the three communicative functions of giving information, requesting information, and commanding, Nama has three types of sentence: declarative, interrogative, and imperative. Each of these types has a characteristic structure which distinguishes it from the other two types. The declarative sentence, however, is the most frequently used and elaborated type and exemplifies most clearly the basic structure underlying all sentences; the interrogative and imperative sentences should be considered special modifications of the syntactic structure exemplified in the declarative. The primary function of language is to convey information and the declarative sentence is the device by which this function is most plainly carried out. Requesting information and giving commands are secondary functions which require special sentence structures derived from that of the declarative. An interrogative sentence is a declarative sentence with an information gap which is marked in the sentence by an interrogative morpheme. An imperative sentence is a declarative sentence which dispenses with a "subject," and whose imperative function is marked by an "imperative particle" at the end of the sentence.

For the exposition of the structural principles

which underlie all Nama sentences, it will be best to restrict ourselves for the time being to the declarative sentence, and save the other types for later chapters. We will devote our attention, in turn, to its structure, intonation, and to one of its constituents, the predicate phrase.

A. STRUCTURE

In Nama, the declarative sentence is not simply the "unmarked" type of sentence in contradistinction to the other two types; it is marked by the "declarative particle" ke. The structure may be diagrammed as follows:

NP + ke + PredP

The abbreviation "PredP" stands for "predicate phrase." For illustration, here are a few examples of simple declarative sentences: //'íip ke kxòepà. "He is the person."; kxòep ke 'a !áî. "The person (masc.) is good." where 'a is the present form of the copula; 'áop ke //nâápá kè mâá. "The man stood there" where //nâápá is a locative adverb meaning "there," kè is the remote past particle, and mâá is the verb meaning "stand"; //'íip ke 'áopà kè ǂaí. "He called the man." where ǂaí is the verb meaning "call."

In general, the particle ke is present after the NP

in every declarative sentence. It is never present in an interrogative or imperative sentence and, except for one specific construction, it is never present in an embedded sentence. The meaning of ke is accurately conveyed by the word "declarative"; it means that information is being presented without making any assertion as to the truth or falsity of that information since it is possible for the sentence to contain the evidential adverb kóómá which indicates that the information is dubious, e.g., 'áop ke kóómá 'a !ǎĭ. "The man is supposedly good." There is another declarative sentence construction which does assert the truth of the information:

NP + km + PredP + 'oo

For example: //'ĭĭp km kxòepà 'oo. "He is certainly the person."; 'áop km //nǎǎpá kè mǎá 'oo. "The man certainly stood there." For this construction, we must recognize a discontinuous assertive morpheme km . . . 'oo since neither part occurs without the other. This construction is quite emphatically assertive, and is usually used when the speaker expects that his hearer believes otherwise.

Since the particles ke and km occupy the same distributional class, we might generalize for all declarative sentences in the structural formula:

NP + Dec + PredP

where the abbreviation "Dec" stands for "declarative" which is usually realized by ke, but may also be realized by the assertive km . . . 'oo.

B. INTONATION

There are two parts to the intonation of all declarative sentences: "general sentence intonation" which occurs over the entire sentence from beginning to end, and "lowered final intonation" which is limited to the last mora of the sentence. We shall discuss each part separately.

1. General Sentence Intonation

This phenomenon was mentioned earlier when the question of tone was discussed (p. 20). It applies not only to declarative sentences, but to interrogative and imperative sentences as well. Every Nama sentence tends to decline gradually in pitch from beginning to end. This decline affects all tonemes in a sentence equally, whether high, middle, or low, so that their relative pitch relationships are undisturbed. This decline may be counteracted by a word which is affected by emphatic stress or interrogative intonation, but even in a sentence containing such a word, the rest of the sentence experiences

the decline in pitch. In a short sentence the decline may be very rapid and noticeable, but in a long sentence it is, as a rule, very gradual and somewhat erratic since it is spread over a longer period of time.

The general sentence intonation of Nama should not be equated with what is commonly known as the "terracing effect." In the "terracing effect," the lowest tone remains constant while all of the other tones decline in pitch with the result that the relative difference between the tones is decreased. In the Damara dialect of Nama, which is object of the present study, all three of the tones are affected, a low tone being pronounced higher at the beginning of a sentence than at the end.

It should be remarked here that speakers tend to pause between the NP + Dec and the PredP, and never between NP and Dec. For example, here is a previous example with the pause marked by three dots: !áop ke . . . //nǎápá kè máá. "The man . . . stood there." This pause is almost always present to some degree.

2. Lowered Final Intonation

In addition to its general intonation, every declarative sentence has "lowered final intonation" as well. This consists of a lowering by one tone of the last mora of the sentence, i.e., high tone becomes middle, middle tone

becomes low, and low tone becomes extra-low, when the sentence is pronounced. The period "." will be used to symbolize lowered final intonation, which is present in all declarative sentences and in some types of imperative sentences as well.

Because most Nama sentences end in verbs, the tonal sequences of verbs usually occur in a form which has been altered by lowered final intonation. For example, the verb /xíí "come" at the end of a declarative sentence would be pronounced [/xii]; similarly, síí "go and arrive" would become [síi]; tìí "do" would become [tìi]; !úú "go" would become [!ûù]; tíí "ask" would become [tîì]; and mùù "see" would become [mùù]. Since this tonal alteration is automatic at the end of every declarative sentence, the distinctness of the three tonemes is maintained. It must be emphasized here that this is an intonational phenomenon, not a morphotonemic one, so that the tones are not altered in the transcription. "Extra-low tone" [V̏] is a tonetic category; there is no such toneme in the language, e.g., the sequence síità "send us," at the end of a declarative sentence would be pronounced [sîì tà̏], with an especially low pitch on the last mora. Very often, a low tone at the end of a sentence will be so low in pitch that it strains the speaking register resulting in some laryngealization on the vowel of the mora as a secondary effect.

C. THE PREDICATE PHRASE

There is only one constituent of the declarative sentence left to be discussed: the predicate phrase (PredP). This constituent may be realized in two different ways, i.e., there are two different kinds of predicate phrase. They are: (1) the equational predicate phrase, and (2) the active/stative predicate phrase. The two types are very different in structure as will soon be evident.

1. The Equational Predicate Phrase

An equational predicate phrase has a structure which may be diagrammed thus:

NP + -à

The suffix -à in this formula is the "subordinative" suffix. This grammatical morpheme is a "case" suffix which marks noun phrases of subordinate status in the sentence in contrast to those noun phrases which do not have the suffix. A noun phrase followed by this suffix may be termed a "subordinated noun phrase," and we may abbreviate the construction as "NPà." Let us examine this suffix in detail before continuing our discussion of the equational predicate, since it is of great importance in the grammar.

a. The Subordinative -à

The subordinative -à in Nama is analogous to what is called a "case" morpheme in other languages. That is, it is a bound morpheme which indicates the grammatical status of a noun phrase in the sentence. If we look upon Nama as a "case" language, then we must recognize two cases: (1) an "unmarked" case where there is no suffix on the noun phrase, and (2) a "marked" case with the subordinative -à suffix on the noun phrase. There are also remnants of what might be called an "agentive case," marked by -ì in certain fixed expressions (see p. 199). However, an analysis of the grammar of Nama noun phrases in terms of a "case system" would be unnecessarily complex since there is really only one grammatically productive morpheme involved. To describe the distribution of the morpheme -à, and to attempt to give a general meaning to the morpheme based upon that distribution, is by far the simplest and best solution.

The question of this -à morpheme is being brought up here, with the equational predicate, only because this is the first time we have come accross a construction with this morpheme. Actually, we will be meeting with it again and again because, like case morphemes in other languages, -à has many "uses," meaning that it has a complex distribution which makes it difficult for us to assign a single meaning to it that would cover all of its occurrences. Here is

a list of the constructions in which -à occurs along with the number of the page upon which the discussion of each of these constructions begins:

Equational Predicate NPà: p. 110.

Direct or Indirect Object NPà: p. 146ff.

Temporal NPà: p. 199.

NPà before a Subordinating Post-position: p. 192.

Deposed Subject NPà: p. 203-4.

Interrogative Subject NPà: p. 260-1.

Imperative-Hortative Subject NPà: p. 270-1.

The term "subordinative" has been chosen for this morpheme in an attempt to convey the meaning which -à may be said to have in all of these constructions. The meaning is that "the noun phrase marked by -à is subordinate in grammatical status to any other noun phrase without -à which does occur or may occur in the sentence." Of course, what is meant by the phrase "subordinate in grammatical status" is not meant to be self-evident at this point. However, as each of the above facets of its distribution is treated, the meaning should become clearer.

Since -à is always suffixed to a noun phrase, and since every noun phrase ends in a pgn suffix, -à always occurs bound to a pgn suffix. As mentioned earlier (p. 33), there is a morphophonemic change whenever the pgn suffix ends in a vowel, to reduce the combination to one mora. The phonological nature of the change has been described pre-

viously, but here is a reference table of pgn suffixes alone and the same suffixes combined with the subordinative -à morpheme:

TABLE OF PGN SUFFIXES
WITHOUT -a AND WITH -a

	1st Person		2nd Person		3rd Person	
Masc.						
Sing	-ta[1]	-tà[1]	-ts	-tsà	-p~-i	-pà~-à
Dual	-kxm̀	-kxm̀à	-kxò	-kxò	-kxà	-kxà
Plu	-ke	-kè	-ko	-kò	-ku	-kà~-kùà
Fem						
Sing	-ta[1]	-tà[1]	-s[5]	-sà[5]	-s[5]	-sà[5]
Dual	-m̀~-ì̀m[2]	-m̀à~-ì̀m̀à[2]	-rò[3]	-rò[3]	-rà[4]	-rà[4]
Plu	-se	-sè	-so	-sò	-tì	-tè
Com						
Du	-m̀~-ì̀m[2]	-m̀à~-ì̀m̀à[2]	-rò[3]	-rò[3]	-rà[4]	-rà[4]
Plu	-tà	-tà	-tù	-tò	-ǹ~-ì̀ǹ	-ǹà~-ì̀ǹà
				Indefinite Singular	-'ì	-'è

Duplications in the table are again marked by numerals which correspond to those used in previous tables of the pgn suffixes. It will be noted that all nasals remain syllabic before -à because they are still morpheme-final; dots instead of dashes have been used in the table to indicate this, due to space limitations. Refer to page 33 for a discussion of the morphophonemic changes represented in the table.

b. The Equational Sentence

An equational sentence is a sentence with an equational predicate which, therefore, has the following structure:

NP + Dec + NPà

As in the appositive noun phrase, both of the noun phrases in the equational sentence have the same referent, so that the pgn suffix on both noun phrases must be identical. For example, in the equational sentence //'íip ke kxòepà. "He is the person," both noun phrases have the 3° masc. sing. suffix -p~-i. It is, of course, possible for one noun phrase to have one allomorph and the other noun phrase to have the other allomorph of the same pgn suffix morpheme. For example, in the sentence //'íip ke xám̀-à. "He is the lion," the first noun phrase has the -p allomorph, and the second noun phrase has the -i allomorph which, when followed by the subordinative -à, is deleted so that the result is simply -à. (See the table on the previous page.)

There is a special restriction on the occurrence of pronominals in the noun phrases of an equational sentence. The rule is simply that if there is a pronominal in one of the noun phrases, there is none in the other. This rule may be looked upon as a deletion of a redundant pronominal, since both pronominals would be identical because the pgn suffixes are identical. The actual effect of this rule is to delete

a first or second person pronominal, tií, sií, or saá, from one noun phrase of the sentence, since the third person pronominal, //'ĩĩ, is not present anyway, except in the pronoun case. Here are some examples: saáts ke ǂàe-ǂúí'aotsà. "You (masc. sing.) are the leader."; ǂàe-ǂúí'aots ke saátsà. "The leader is you (masc. sing.)."; hàíp ke //náápà. "The stick is that one."; //nááp ke hàípà. "That (one) is the stick."; tiíta ke !úí'aotà. "I am the guard, shepherd."; !úí'aota ke tiítà. "The guard, shepherd is me."

There are two ways in which the translations given above do not accurately convey the meanings of the Nama sentences. First of all, the English translations do not convey the definiteness of the Nama predicate noun phrase. For instance, in the first example, "You (masc. sing.) are the leader." refers to a definite "leader" who is under discussion. It might better be rendered: "You (masc. sing.) are (that specific) leader." saáts ke ǂàe-ǂúí'aotsà. The essential point to keep in mind is that both of the noun phrases in an equational have a definite referent. There is another sentence construction in Nama, the stative sentence with noun complement, which often ends up being translated the same way as the equational sentence though quite different in meaning (see p. 164). We will look at this construction later, but here is an example for contrast: saáts ke 'a ǂàe-ǂúí'ao. which may be translated "You are a leader," "You are leader," or even "You are the

leader," depending on the context. This construction is parallel to: saáts ke 'a káí. "You are big." The equational saáts ke ǂàe-ǂúí'aotsà would be parallel to saáts ke káítsà. "You are the big one." The second way that the translation is inaccurate is in the fact that it conveys the present tense, while the Nama sentences are tenseless. Thus, in the context of a past-tense narrative, saáts ke ǂàe-ǂúí'aotsà. might be translated "You were the leader." It is, however, possible to get the idea of tense across by making one of the noun phrases a relativization of a stative sentence with a noun complement: saáts ke ǂàe-ǂúí'ao kè 'iítsà. "You were the leader," literally, "You are the one who was the/a leader."; ǂàe-ǂúí'ao kè 'iíts ke saátsà. "The leader was you," literally, "The one who was the/a leader was you." However, this is a result of the process of relativization, not of the equational sentence, though the equational sentence construction often occurs with one of its noun phrases being the product of relativization. (See p. 229 for relativization.)

2. The Active/Stative Predicate Phrase

The active/stative predicate phrase has the following structure:

(Advl) + VP

where the abbreviation "Advl" stands for "Adverbial," and "VP" stands for "Verb Phrase." This type of predicate

occurs much more frequently than the equational predicate and is far more complex in its structure since the expansions of Advl and VP are quite involved. In fact, they are so involved that they will form the subject matter of the next two chapters. First we will discuss the verb phrase, since it is the obligatory constituent of the active/stative predicate phrase, and then we will discuss the adverbial, which is a cover term for a number of optional constituents including adverbs and post-positional phrases.

An active/stative sentence is a sentence with an active/stative predicate phrase, which thus has the following structure:

NP + Dec + (Advl) + VP

An attempt will be made to give full sentences as examples whenever it is desireable in the rest of this study.

IV. THE VERB PHRASE

An active/stative predicate must contain a verb phrase, though it may optionally contain one or more adverbial constructions preceding the verb phrase. A verb phrase may be either, (a) an active verb phrase, or (b) a stative verb phrase. These two types of verb phrase are structurally very different, as will gradually become evident. Of the examples given at the beginning of the last chapter, 'áop ke //nǎápá kè mǎá. "The man stood there." and //'íip ke 'áopà kè ǂaí. "He called the man." contain active verb phrases, while kxòep ke 'a !ǎi. "The person (masc.) is good." contains a stative verb phrase. We shall now describe each type in detail.

A. THE ACTIVE VERB PHRASE

The active verb phrase has a structure which may be diagrammed as follows:

(NPà) + (NPà) + Te + (Imp) + V[+act] + (Perf)

where the abbreviation "Te" stands for "Tense," "Imp" stands for "Imperfective Aspect," "Perf" stands for "Per-

fective Aspect," and "V[+act]" stands for "Active Verb." The optional constituents "Imp" and "Perf" are mutually exclusive; they may not both be present in the same sentence. The number of NPà's, or subordinated noun phrases, which may be present in the verb phrase is determined by the verb, a matter which will be discussed at length a bit later. It should be noted that the only obligatory constituents of the active verb phrase are the tense morpheme and the active verb.

An active sentence is a sentence whose predicate contains an active verb phrase. A complete, though, basic diagram, for such a sentence would be:

NP + Dec + (Advl) + (NPà) + (NPà) + Te + (Imp) + V[+act] + (Perf)

An example of such a sentence with all possible constituents filled is: píli ke //nāápá maríàsà ≠xanísà kèrè màa. "Bill was giving the letter to Mary there." where //nāápá is the demonstrative locative adverb meaning "there," ≠xanísà is the feminine noun ≠xanís "letter" plus the subordinative -à, kèrè is the remote tense morpheme kè plus the imperfective aspect morpheme rè, and màa is the verb meaning "give." The optional constituent of perfective aspect could not be present because imperfective aspect was present. Here, for contrast, is an active sentence with only the obligatory constituents present: píli ke kè !úũ. "Bill went." where kè is the remote past tense morpheme, and !úũ is the verb

meaning "go." In the formula above, the constituent Advl, Adverbial, stands for any number of adverbial constructions, though only one, viz. //nā́pá, was present in the first example.

Let us now focus on the individual constituents of the active verb phrase.

1. Tense

The Nama language distinguishes five tenses, four of which are each conveyed by a specific tense morpheme, and one of which is conveyed by the absence of a tense morpheme. The tenses and morphemes are:

remote past	kè
recent past	kò
present	ø
future	nì̃í
indefinite	kà

Note that the future tense morpheme nì̃í belongs to the morpheme structure class "Roots," while the others are "Particles."

The semantic difference between remote (kè) and recent (kò) past is difficult to define precisely. One informant says he would use kò "recent past" in describing an event which happened today or yesterday, e.g., //'ĩip ke kò !ṹu. "He went.," and kè "remote past" in describing

an event which happened before yesterday, e.g., //'íip ke kè !úu. "He went." An examination of the use of these two past tenses in narrative material shows that, in the great majority of cases, this rule is not contradicted. In fact, most uses of kò are in connection with events occurring earlier in the same day. There are enough cases that contradict it, however, to show that speakers of Nama follow no such definite rule in deciding whether an event is recent enough to be described with the recent past kò. For example, nee kò ≠'oá kurío "this past year," is a relativization which means literally "this year that went out." Here the recent past kò is used even though it was months before that the year "went out," not just the day before. This example and others like it clearly indicate that the recent past marked by kò and the remote past marked by kè are relative concepts, and it is up to the judgement of the speaker which events he wants to describe as "recent" and which as "remote." In the example, nee kò ≠'oá kurío, the recent past is used because the event described is the most recent case of a year coming to termination. Actually, the best way to translate the kò tense in Nama is with the just tense in English, e.g., //'íip ke kò !úu. "He just went.," as opposed to //'íip ke kè !úu. "He went." In all cases of kò encountered in text material, the translation with just was perfectly acceptable, though it did convey just a bit too much recency. Such a translation brings out clearly

the degree to which the two tenses are relative to one another since no one would attempt to put a time limit on the recency of an event which could be described with the just tense in English.

Another tense which requires elucidation is the "indefinite" tense mark by kà, since few languages distinguish such a tense, though they may get across the same idea with different means. A sentence whose verb phrase contains an indefinite tense marker describes an event whose time of occurrence is indefinite, and, hence, the occurrence of the event itself is indefinite. Almost all instances of kà occur within "conditional" sentences. For example: !ʉ́ʉp kà 'oo, 'oota ke nɨ̀ɨ́ !ʉ́ʉ. "If he should go, I will go." or more freely, "If he goes, I will go." Word-for-word, the sentence translates:

!ʉ́ʉ	p	kà	'oo,	'oo	ta	ke	nɨ̀ɨ́	!ʉ́ʉ.
go	he	ind.	when	then	I	Dec	fut.	go.

The clause relator 'oo as in !ʉ́ʉp kà 'oo translates as "when" with all other tenses but the indefinite, in which case the combination of kà and 'oo in the same clause results in the translation "if." It is possible for the first clause to be uttered alone, e.g., !ʉ́ʉp kà 'oo. which means "If he'd only go!" Such an utterance is understood as being part of a larger sentence, the second part of which has been deleted; it is elliptical.

The conditional sentence given above can be seen merely to be a case of embedding, and it should be noted that the indefinite tense marker kà occurs in the embedded sentence (subordinate clause). The use of this tense is not restricted to "conditional" sentences like the one above; it may be used in a variety of other types of embedded sentences when the speaker chooses to leave the tense indefinite, such as embedded sentences introduced by the clause relator 'íí "so that, that" (see p. 249). If the kà tense is to be compared with analogous phenomena in other languages, one will see that the closest thing to it is usually termed "subjunctive mood."

We have been speaking of the Nama tenses as if they had meanings which were comprehensible in isolation. Such is not really the case. The system of tenses is very much inter-connected with the system of aspects; the two systems, as will be shown, are not readily understandable when taken separately. This is true of the active verb phrase only, since the stative verb phrase does not involve the system of aspects.

2. Aspect

Here, once again, is the formula for the active verb phrase, with the aspect constituents underlined:

(NPa) + (NPa) + Te + (Imp) + V[+act] + (Perf)

Both imperfective and perfective aspect are marked by morphemes, which realize the symbols "Imp" and "Perf." However, as noted by the parentheses, these aspect markers are optional. When neither of them is present, the active verb phrase is inflected for a third, unmarked, aspect which we may call the "punctual aspect." Since "Imp" and "Perf" cannot co-occur, we thus have an aspect system with three members. The unmarked punctual aspect will be treated first.

a. Punctual Aspect

Punctual aspect may occur with all tenses except the present tense. A sentence whose verb phrase has this aspect describes an event as happening at a discrete point in time. Verb phrases with punctual aspect have the following structure with the different tenses:

$$(\text{NPà}) + (\text{NPà}) + \left\{\begin{array}{l}\underline{\text{kè}} \\ \underline{\text{kò}} \\ \underline{\text{nìí}} \\ \underline{\text{kà}}\end{array}\right\} + \text{V[+act]}$$

kè — in the remote past
kò — in the recent past
nìí — in the future
kà — in the indefinite

Here are some examples: tiíta ke kè !úú. "I went."; saáts ke kò /xií. "You (masc. sing.) just came."; tíí /hòop ke nìí ǂ'oá. "My friend (masc.) will go out." As an example of the indefinite tense we may use the earlier example: !úúp kà 'oo, 'oota ke nìí !úú. "If he should go, I will go."

The fact that a verb phrase cannot have both present tense and punctual aspect is amenable to semantic explanation. Since the punctual aspect is used to describe an event as happening at a discrete point in time, a sentence whose verb phrase had present tense as well would describe an event whose happening is exactly coterminous with the point in time at which the sentence is uttered. The unacceptable sentence *//'íǐo ke !úũ. would mean "He goes." and that the event of "his going" both begins and ends as the sentence is pronounced, an extremely unlikely occurrence. It might be noted that the English gloss "He goes." would not be used to describe a present event either. We can conclude that the meanings of present tense and punctual aspect are semantically incompatible.

Punctual aspect will be seen to contrast with imperfective aspect, in that the event depicted by the sentence in which it occurs is complete, and with the perfective aspect, in that event described by the sentence in which it occurs is contemporary with the time indicated by the tense.

b. Imperfective Aspect

Imperfective aspect may occur with all tenses. A sentence whose verb phrase has this aspect describes an event as being in progress at the time indicated by the tense, and, therefore, incomplete. Verb phrases with imperfective aspect have the following structure with the

different tenses:

$$(\text{NPà}) + (\text{NPà}) + \left\{\begin{array}{ll} \underline{\text{kèrè}} & \text{in the remote past} \\ \underline{\text{kòrò}} & \text{in the recent past} \\ \underline{\text{ra}}\sim\underline{\text{ta}} & \text{in the present} \\ \underline{\text{nǐǐ}}\ \underline{\text{ra}} & \text{in the future} \\ \underline{\text{kàrà}} & \text{in the indefinite} \end{array}\right\} + \text{V[+act]}$$

The morpheme indicating imperfective aspect is a suffix after the tense morphemes kè "remote past," kò "recent past," and kà "indefinite. It is a particle with Ø "present," and nǐǐ "future," the tense morphemes which are anomalous in their phonological structure. When a particle, the form is ra, but when a suffix, the vowel and tone of the imperfective tense morpheme is determined by absolute vowel harmony with the vowel of the preceding mora, viz., that of the tense morpheme, resulting in -rè after kè, -rò after kò, and -rà after kà. One of the informants reports having heard the form niri for imperfective future from speakers of other dialects of Nama, but such a form does not exist in the Damara dialect under examination here. See p. 35.

With present tense, the imperfective morpheme has two allomorphs; ra and ta, which participate in sandhi alternation. The allomorph ta occurs when the preceding word ends in a consonant (this consonant can only be /p/, /s/, /ts/, /m/, or /n/ in native Nama words), while the allomorph ra occurs when the preceding word ends in a vowel,

which is usually the case. For example: saáts ke ra !úũ. "You (masc. sing.) are going., but maápáts ta !úũ? "Where are you going?" For more examples, see p. 36. On occasion this rule is violated after /m/, e.g., ≠hòmi kxm̀ ra !xáisà "that we are lying." This violation of the rule is fairly frequent, but the informants always wanted to correct ra to ta during the transcription of texts.

The incomplete event which a sentence having imperfective aspect describes may be either: (a) an event in progress, in which case the sentence would be translated with the "progressive aspect" in English, or (b) an habitual event, in which case the sentence would be translated with the English "used to" aspect in the past tenses, and the English "simple present" and "future" in the other tenses. Cases (a) and (b) are not distinguished in the aspect system of Nama. Here are some examples: //'ĩip ke !xóó'omsà xuú kèrè ≠'oá. "He was getting out of jail."; kxòeǹ ke 'áutusà kèrè síĩ. "The people used to send a car."; //'ĩis ke kòrò //nàe. "She was just (recently) singing."; tiíta ke //áusà xuú ra !xóé. "I am running away from home."; tiíta ke saátsà nĩ́ ra sáó. "I will be following you (masc. sing.)."; ≠hòmi kxm̀ kàrà 'oo "if we (masc. du.) were lying," with the verb ≠hòmi "lie."

The imperfective aspect contrasts with both the punctual aspect and the perfective aspect in that the event described by the sentence in which it occurs is incomplete.

c. Perfective Aspect

Perfective aspect may occur with all tenses. A sentence whose verb phrase has this aspect describes an event as having been completed before the time depicted by the tense morpheme, and resulting in a "state of affairs" obtaining at the time depicted by the tense morpheme. Verb phrases with perfective aspect have the following structures with the different tenses:

(NPà) + (NPà) +	kè	+ V[+act] +	hǎa 'ií	remote past
	kò		hǎa 'ií	recent past
	ø		hǎa	present
	nǐí		hǎa hǎa	future
	kà		hǎa	indefinite

The perfective aspect can be seen to be morphemically complex with three tenses: remote past, recent past, and future. With all tenses, the perfective aspect contains hǎa which elsewhere is a stative verb meaning "to exist" or "to be (in a place)" (see pp. 163, 181). With both past tenses, hǎa is followed by 'ií, the past allomorph of the copula (see p. 161). With the future tense, hǎa is reduplicated. There is a reason for this complexity. Functionally, the construction realizing the symbol "Perf" with each tense is an instance of a single category, "perfective aspect," which contrasts with the two other aspects in a three-member aspect system. On the basis of

structure, however, hǎa is a stative auxilliary verb, so that the presence of the past copula with the past tenses is not suprising since such is the case with all stative verbs. We shall come back to this question later. The reduplication of hǎa with the future cannot be explained on this basis, though, so it will just have to be considered an irregularity in the paradigm. It is interesting to note regarding the future-perfect construction that the informants considered this construction to be "too complicated," and that a sentence having it can always be recast so that is simpler and clearer. It can be deduced from this that the construction with nǐí ... . hǎa hǎa occupies a rather marginal position in the grammar of Nama.

There is a phenomenon of the stative verb phrase which also applies to active verb phrases with perfective aspect. This phenomenon is "tense movement" and consists of a reversal in the order of tense and verb with no change in the meaning. An active verb phrase with perfective aspect and tense movement would have the structure below:

(NPà) + (NPà) + V[+act] + Te + Perf

In the case of the future perfect, the tense may also be moved after "Perf" resulting in: hǎa hǎa nǐí. For the other tenses the forms would be: kè hǎa 'íí with the remote past, kò hǎa 'íí with the recent past, kà hǎa with the indefinite. The present is the same since "Te" is Ø.

Here are some examples of sentences with perfective aspect: kxòeǹ ke kè ǂ'aí hãã 'íí. "The people had thought."; //'íîp ke seetáfrikàpà xuú kò /xií hãã 'íí. "He had just come from South Africa."; //'íîp ke /'aésn hãã. "He has got sick." with the verb /'aésn "get sick," may also be translated "He is sick."; tiíta ke nĩĩ //áé hãã hãã. "I will be lying (there)."; //nããpáku kà !'áú hãã 'oo "if they (masc. pl.) had waited there," where //nããpá means "there."

There are a handful of active verbs in Nama which are almost always found with perfective aspect. The most common ones are: !'aã "get hungry," //aã "get thirsty," //'aã "get satisfied," /'aésn "get sick" (actually, this verb has the reflexive suffix -sn, so it would be literally "sicken one's self"), !xuu "get rich." For example, tiíta ke !'aã hãã. "I have gotten hungry." should really best be translated "I am hungry." Similarly, tiíta ke //aã hãã. "I have gotten thirsty." should be translated "I am thirsty."

There are two active verbs which undergo morphophonemic ahanges when they occur before hãã. These are the "position verbs" maã "stand up," and ǂnúú "sit down." The change is:

ǂnúú hãã becomes ǂnũã

maã hãã becomes mãã

This happens in all tenses. For example: tiíta ke mãã. "I have stood up." or "I am standing." Contrast this with: tiíta ke ra maã. "I am (in the process of) standing up."

The same change may occur with the third "position verb" //óé "lie down" so that //óé hãã becomes //òe, but this is optional while the changes are obligatory for the other two position verbs.

The perfective aspect contrasts with the imperfective aspect in that the event described by the sentence in which it occurs is complete, and with the punctual aspect in that the event described was completed previous to the time depicted by the tense morpheme.

3. The Verb Stem

The remainder of our discussion of the active verb phrase will, in one way or another, involve the verb itself. The Nama verb consists of an obligatory verb root plus two layers of optional derivational suffixes. The verb root plus the inner layer of suffixes constitute the "verb stem," to which may be added the outer layer of suffixes. These latter suffixes alter the relationship of the verb to its NP's; they will be treated in the next section (see p. 150). Calling the inner suffixes "verb stem derivational suffixes," the verb stem has the following structure:

Verb Root + (Verb Stem Derivational Suffix)

The verb root may be either a "simple verb root" or a "compound verb root." Furthermore, a simple verb root may contain

an optional "verb root derivational suffix." We shall examine each of these structural types in turn.

a. The Simple Verb Root

The verbs in all of the examples given so far have consisted of simple verb roots without any suffixes, e.g., !úú "go," /xií "come," ≠'oá "go out," máá "stand up," ≠aí "call," sí̀i "send." Each simple verb root consists of one morpheme belonging to the morpheme structure class of "Roots."

The structural formula for the active verb phrase, it will be remembered, specifies that the verb be an "active verb" (V[+act]). This brings us to the first major subcategorization of Nama verbs. Each verb is specified in the lexicon as to whether it may occur in (a) an active verb phrase only, (b) a stative verb phrase only, or (c) an active verb phrase or a stative verb phrase. Each group may be characterized in terms of features thus: (a) V[+act, -sta], (b) V[-act, +sta], (c) V[+act, +sta]. All of the verbs listed in the preceding paragraph belong to group (a). Some examples of purely stative verbs in group (b) are: /'úú "be ignorant (of)," /xaí "be absent," //xáa "be able," //'óá "be unable. (For more see p. 162 ff.) There are only a few verbs in group (c), e.g., ≠áó "want," tóá "finish," //'óó "die." Since we are presently concerned with the active verb phrase, we shall restrict our attention to verbs of groups (a) and (c).

b. The Compound Verb Root

Quite a number of Nama verb roots are compound verb roots consisting either of two simple verb roots or of a simple verb root plus a post-position. The construction of compound verb roots does not appear to be a completely productive syntactic process; not every random combination of verb roots and post-positions results in a compound verb root. However, there are so many of these compounds, most of them neatly analyzable on the semantic plane, that it would really be inconceivable to list each compound as a separate item in the lexicon without analysis. The solution is to consider each compound to be a lexical item composed of two morphemes, if it is semantically analyzable, and one morpheme, if it is not semantically analyzable. Perhaps a more extensive study of this grammatical construction than is possible here would reveal some system in the formation of these compounds. It is, no doubt, the most difficult problem in Nama syntax, if, indeed, it is a problem in syntax at all as opposed to lexicon. Let us now look at the two types of compound verb root: verb root plus verb root, and verb root plus post-position.

(1) Verb Root Plus Verb Root Compounds

Most compound verb roots are of the type "verb root plus verb root." In this construction there is a morphotonemic change: all tones of the first root are lowered

slightly and all tones of the second root are raised (see p. 37). The morphotonemic change will be marked by a hyphen between the two roots as mentioned earlier (p. 39). In the first root of a compound, the tone of the first mora is lowered a bit more than the tone of the second mora. For example, in the compound *//'áń-≠ā̃a* "cook in (a stain)," composed of *//'áń* "be cooked" and *≠ā̃a* "go in," the tone of *//'áń* starts out as a middle tone on the first mora and rises slightly on the nasal, then the tone of *≠ā̃a* starts out just slightly below that pitch and remains level through its second mora. The contour might be pictured thus: []; without the morphotonemic change it would have been: []. The same rules apply to all the other verb-root-plus-verb-root compounds, so that their pitch contours can be predicted in a similar fashion. It is only when both parts of the compound are verb roots that the tonal alteration occurs, however.

To be considered a compound verb root, as opposed to a verb root plus derivation, the compound must consist of two roots both of which may occur alone in a verb with the same semantic value. Such is not the case with the derivational suffixes which will be discussed later, though a few such derivations may look, on the surface, like com- ound verb roots. True compounds are always identifiable by the morphophonemic alterations in the two parts.

For illustration, here are a few of the more common compound verb roots along with their English glosses and the glosses of their component simple verb roots: ≠'aĩ-hòo "remember, realize," from ≠'aĩ "think" plus hòo "find"; mũũ-≠'áñ "recognize," from mũũ "see" plus ≠'áñ "know"; 'óa-/xií "return (home)," from 'óa "go home" plus /xií "come, arrive"; !ũũ-pèé "go away," from !ũũ "go" plus pèé "go away"; kéé-'óa "look back (in time)," from kéé "look" plus 'óa "go home"; kxàĩ-máá "stand up," from kxàĩ "get up" plus máá "stand"; 'úú-kxàĩ "lift up," from 'úú "take" plus kxàĩ "get up"; 'úú-hàa "bring," from 'úú "take" plus hàa "come"; 'úú-síí "take (to someone)," from 'úú "take" plus síí "go and arrive"; 'úú-háá "have," from 'úú "take" plus háá "stay"; ≠áñ'am-≠aa "lock up (someone)," from ≠áñ'am "close up" plus ≠aa "put in"; /hoó-≠aa "tuck in," from /hoó "push towards" plus ≠aa "put in"; ≠nũũ-//'ae "sit next to," from ≠nũũ "sit down" plus //'ae "be next to."

There are a few simple verb roots which occur very frequently as the second element in a compound but rarely occur by themselves. They are, therefore, somewhere between being compounds and being derivations, and form what might be called "semi-derivational compounds." One such root is sáá "miss, err" which may form a compound with any other verb root. For example: ≠'aĩ-sáá "wrongly think," from ≠'aĩ "think"; //nàũ-sáá "hear wrongly," from //nàũ "hear";

mĩĩ-sáá "say wrongly," from mĩĩ "say." Another such verb root is ≠áń "block, get in the way"; mãã-≠áń "block by standing," from mãã "stand up"; ≠nũũ-≠áń "block by sitting," from ≠nũũ "sit down"; mãĩ-≠áń "block by standing something in the way," from mãĩ "stand up (something)"; ≠nũĩ-≠áń "block by sitting something in the way," from ≠nũĩ "sit up (something)." Yet another is //xáń "squeeze, put in a tight place": ≠nũũ-//xáń "squeeze (someone) by sitting," from ≠nũũ "sit up"; !xóé-//xáń "corner someone," from !xóé "run."

It seems that all verbs with compound verb roots are active verbs, even if one member of the compound is stative, e.g., mũũ-≠'áń "recognize" contains the stative verb root ≠'áń "know" but the compound is an active verb.

(2) Verb Root Plus Post-position Compounds

The second type of compound verb root results from the combination of an active simple verb root and a post-position. Virtually any such combination is acceptable if it is not semantically anomalous, though several specific combinations occur frequently in verbs and so should be regarded as individual lexical items containing two morphemes. There are a few compounds of this type which are not readily analyzable on the semantic plane and so should be regarded as a single morpheme each. For a full discussion of post-positions, see p. 194ff.

Here are some examples of the more frequent compounds of this type: 'ǒã!nãã "search," from 'ǒã "observe" plus !nãã "in"; koó/'iĩ "look upon (as)," from koó "look" plus /'iĩ "towards"; koótàpa "recall, look back," from koó "look" plus tàpa "at"; tsáã/xáa "touch emotionally," from tsáã "feel, experience" plus /xáa "with"; //'amáxuú "sell," from //'amá "buy" plus xuú "away from"; //nàaxuú "leave," from //nàa "depart" plus xuú "away from"; ≠aí≠'úí "announce, proclaim," from ≠aí "call" plus ≠'úí "out"; síĩ≠'úí "send out," from síĩ "send" plus ≠'úí "out."

There should be included in this group a few compounds formed with the post-position !nãã "in" in which the meaning of !nãã has been metaphorically extended to denote an inner state of personal being rather than a location in space. A few of these are: hòo!nãã "suspect," from hòo "find"; !'áo!nãã "be cowardly," from !'áo "to fear."

Of the examples given in the preceding paragraphs, koótàpa "recall, look back" and //'amáxuú "sell" do not have meanings which are the sums of the meanings of their component parts, so that we are forced to consider them to be single morphemes, or at least to be more "unified" compounds than the other examples.

(3) Other Compound Verb Root Types

There are a small number of compound verbs which have a noun root as one of their members, but such compounds do

not appear to be formed according to any regular grammatical rule. The noun root may be either the first member or the second: kxáókun "suspect," from the noun root in kxáós "backside" plus the verb root kunu "rub," literally meaning "have an itchy feeling in the backside"; //xae≠áó "console," from //xae "to curb" plus the noun root in ≠áóp "the heart." Compounds of this type are usually of a very metaphorical nature.

c. Verb Root Derivation

A few verb roots are the result of the addition of a suffix to a simple verb root. Such a suffix may be called a "verb root derivational suffix." This type of suffix is not "productive" in that it only occurs in a very small number of verbs, in contrast to the "verb stem derivational suffixes" (to be treated in the next section) which may be suffixed to any active verb root. Furthermore, a verb root with a "verb root derivational suffix" may be one member of a compound verb, e.g., in ≠áń'am-≠aa "lock up (someone)" where ≠áń'am "close up" is composed of the simple verb root ≠áń "block up" plus the suffix -'am which roughly means "mouth." Another example is máĭ-≠áń "block by standing something in the way," where máĭ "stand up (something)" is composed of máă "stand up" plus the causative suffix -'ĭ. There are four verb root derivational suffixes and we will now look

at each of them in turn.

(1) -'am

A dozen verbs or so have the suffix -'am. Although its meaning is often not precisely definable, the morpheme -'am appears to be etymologically related to the morpheme in the noun 'am̀s "mouth." The following examples should show the semantic basis for such a relationship: //xopá'am "to open," with the simple verb root //xopá "break," thus, "break-mouth"; ǂáǹ'am "to close," with the simple verb root ǂáǹ "block," thus, "block-mouth"; !xóó'am "agree," with the simple verb root !xóó "catch, grab," thus, "catch-mouth"; //úí'am "take aim," with the verb //úí "place (something) in a lying position," thus, "place-mouth"; //oe'am "waylay," with the verb root //ǒé "lie down," thus, "lie down (at the) mouth." There are a few more verbs with -'am that cannot be analyzed so easily: !'ere'am "answer"; /uu'am "to near"; m̀ǎǐn'am "drink by mouth"; //àén'am "have a snack." In the last two examples, the /n/ in m̀ǎǐn and //àén may be etymologically connected to the reflexive suffix -sn, in which case they would translate literally, m̀ǎǐn'am "place in a standing position-one's self-mouth," and //àén'am "chew-one's self-mouth." In all of the above examples, -'am can be glossed as "mouth" in various degrees of metaphorical extension, from m̀ǎǐn'am where it refers to a bodily orifice, to !xóó'am where it refers to an abstract

idea.

(2) -í

The suffix -í, which has a "causative" meaning, only occurs with a small number of roots and, in each case, is accompanied by morphophonemic changes (see p. 38). Along with the subordinative suffix -à, this is the only other suffix which does not begin with a consonant. This peculiarity of structure accounts for the morphophonemics of this suffix and the subordinative suffix since it results in the contiguity of two vowels. Causative -í occurs most frequently with the position verbs: mǎ́í "place (something) in a standing position," with the verb root mǎ́ǎ "stand up"; ≠núí "place (something) in a sitting position," with the verb root ≠nú́ú́ "sit down"; //úí "place (something) in a lying position," with the verb root //ó́é "lie down." The morphophonemic change consists of the loss of the second vowel of the root, and in //úí, the change of /o/ to /u/ which avoids the unacceptable vowel sequence oi. A few other verbs may have this suffix as well: sàí "to cook," with the verb root sǎ́ǎ "to warm one's self by the fire, rest."

(3) -xà

The suffix -xà only occurs suffixed to three verb roots denoting motion and, in all cases, has the meaning "come": ≠ǎ̀ǎxà "come in," with the verb root ≠ǎ̀ǎ "go in"; ≠'oáxà "come out," with the verb root ≠'oá "go out";

//ǒǎxà "come down," with the verb root //ǒǎ "go down." It is highly likely that this suffix -xà is related, at least etymologically, to the verb root hàa "come," so that the verbs given above come from compound verbs: *≠ǎǎ-hàa, *≠'oá-hàa, and *//ǒá-hàa. That the starred compounds do not occur in Nama is significant, if negative, evidence.

(4) -rú

A small number of verbs have the suffix -rú, whose meaning may be approximately rendered "---along": káurú "go along," with the verb root káu "go"; sáorú "follow along," with the verb root sáo "follow." There are some verbs which appear to have this suffix, but in which the root does not occur independently elsewhere, e.g., //'aurú "go home."

d. Verb Stem Derivation

Verb stem derivation is to be clearly distinguished from verb root derivation. Verb stem derivation is "productive" in that it may be applied to any active verb, and, for this reason, the meanings of the various stem derivational suffixes are more definable and systematic. In fact, each verb stem derivational morpheme or rule can be labeled with a term which quite accurately conveys its meaning: "causative," "repetitive," "diminutive," "distributive," and "durative."

(1) Reduplication "Causative"

A simple verb root, active or stative, or simple adjective may be reduplicated to convey a "causative" meaning. The second member of the reduplication undergoes a morphotonemic change in that both of its tones become slightly lowered middle tones (see p. 37). All verbs containing a reduplicated root are active verbs, regardless of the syntactic status of the root which is being reduplicated. The meaning "causative" does not include that of "compelling someone to do something." The latter meaning is conveyed in Nama by the use of the auxilliary verb káí as will be explained on p. 180 and is termed "sponsor." The meaning "causative" may thus be more accurately rendered "cause something to happen or to be." Here are some examples, with active verb roots: ǂxíǐ≠xiǐ "make happy," with the active verb root ǂxíǐ "be happy"; 'uǐ'uǐ "enliven," with the active verb root 'uǐ "live"; /haó/hao "collect," with the active verb root /haó "come together"; tsǔǔtsuǔ "hurt (someone)," with the active verb root tsǔǔ "feel pain"; with stative verb roots: ǂ'áń≠'an "inform," with the stative verb root ǂ'áń "know"; //xáa//xaa "teach," with the stative verb root //xáa "be able"; with simple adjectives: !óḿ!om "make (things) difficult," with the simple adjective !óḿ "difficult"; !aríǃari "harden," with the simple adjective !arí "hard"; /'urí/'uri "make dirty," with the root in the

adjective /'uríxà "dirty."

(2) Reduplication with -ka "Repetitive"

The meaning "repetitive" may be conveyed by the reduplication of any simple active verb root with the morpheme -ka placed between the two members of the reduplication. The same morphotonemic alterations occur as in the "causative" reduplication: //nàeka//nae "sing over and over," with //nàe "sing"; !hóákа!hoa "talk over and over," with !hóá "talk, converse"; ≠'oákа≠'oa "go out again and again," with ≠'oá "go out"; /xiíka/xii "come again and again," with /xií "come."

(3) -ró "Diminutive"

Just as with nouns (p. 51) and adjectives (p. 65), the diminutive suffix -ró may be suffixed to any verb root, in which case it would be translated "---a bit": //nàeró "sing a bit," !hóáró "converse a bit," !'áoró "be a bit afraid," ≠óńró "believe a bit," !xóéró "run a bit."

(4) -mã̀ã "Distributive"

The verb stem derivational suffix -mã̀ã has the meaning "distributive" when suffixed to an active verb root. There is a morphotonemic change accompanying the suffix which consists of a lowering by one tone of the first mora of the root which precedes it: mã́ãmã̀ã "stand around," with the root mã́ã "stand up"; ≠nṹũmã̀ã "sit around, " with the root ≠nṹũ

"sit down"; !uũmãã "go around," with the root !úú "go"; sàrimãã "travel around," with the root sari "travel"; sãĩmaa "cook around," with the root sãí "cook"; !ùrumãã "thunder around," with the root !ùru "to thunder." Note that if the first mora of the root is already low in tone, it is not lowered further.

The suffix -mãã, as well as those in section (5) to come, belongs to the morpheme structure class of "Roots," not that of "Particles and Suffixes." In fact, it would be possible to look upon constructions with -mãã as compounds if it were not for the fact that mãã does not occur independently with the same meaning, and the fact that it is so freely combinable with verb roots. It would be best to look upon this construction as being on the borderline between compounding and derivation.

(5) -sóre≠ãã and -≠xáí "Solar Durative"

The suffix -sóre≠ãã may be translated "---all day," and the suffix -≠xáí may be translated "---all night." All components of there suffixes occur as roots elsewhere. The suffix -sóre≠ãã is composed of the noun root in sóres "the sun" plus the verb root ≠ãã "go in." Similarly, the suffix -≠xáí is composed of a verb root which, independently, means "awaken (by one's self)." These suffixes are accompanied by the same morphotonemic changes as -mãã above: !hoásóre≠ãã "talk all day," !hoá≠xáí "talk all night," !uũsóre≠ãã "go

all day," !ũũ≠xáí "go all night," !ùrusóre≠áa "thunder all day," !ùru≠xáí "thunder all night."

e. A Verb Deriving Suffix

There is one suffix which derives verb roots from noun roots, but it has a very specific meaning and should be considered a syntactic anomaly. The suffix is -re which, when suffixed to a noun root, has the meaning "look for ---," or "look after ---." It is only used with a few noun roots: kùúre "look after sheep," with the noun root in kùúp "the sheep (masc.sing)"; kòmare "look after cattle," with the noun root in kòmap "the bull"; /'áére "look for firewood," with the noun root in /'áés "the fire"; ≠'ũũre "look for food," with the noun root in ≠'ũũp "the food." The first example, kùúre "look after sheep," is sometimes treated as a single morpheme meaning "to shepherd." Thus, it is possible to say píríkùúre "shepherd goats," with the noun root in píríp "the goat," or kòmakùúre "shepherd cattle."

* * *

All of the constructions described in this section go toward the construction of the verb stem, which is the constituent to which the next layer of suffixes is added. Since all of the constructions are optional, a verb stem may consist of a simple verb root only, a simple verb root with derivation, a compound verb root, or any verb root with stem derivation. Any of these may constitute a whole verb.

4. The Noun Phrases of the Verb Phrase

Before discussing the outer layer of optional derivational suffixes on the verb, it will be to our advantage to treat the noun phrases which are contained in the verb phrase. Let us look once more at the formula for the active verb phrase:

(NPà) + (NPà) + Te + (Imp) + V[+act] + (Perf)

The first noun phrase in the formula is the "indirect object" and the second the "direct object." They are both enclosed in parentheses to indicate that they are optional, but the situation is more complicated than that. The number of noun phrases which may be present is determined by the verb. The entire class of possible verb stems may be divided into three "subcategories" according to the number of noun phrases with which they may co-occur in the verb phrase. Furthermore, the subcategorization of a verb may be altered by derivational suffixes of the outer layer, V-NP verb derivational suffixes, which will be discussed in section 5. For now, let us restrict ourselves to the subcategorization of verb stems.

The noun phrases which occur in an active verb phrase are followed by the subordinative suffix -à, as was mentioned earlier (p. 118). The -à is suffixed to the last word of the noun phrase and undergoes morphophonemic changes

with the pgn suffix (see p. 33 and the table on p. 113). This means that in an appositive or conjunctive noun phrase the -à is saved for the end, e.g., ≠nùu kxòeh hòáhà "all the black people" (lit. "black people all"), 'áoku tsíí tarás tsííhà "the men (du.) and the woman."

The three subcategories to which a verb may belong are: (a) intransitive [0 NP], (b) transitive [1 NP], and (c) ditransitive [2 NP]. The numbers in brackets refer to the number of noun phrases which may be in the verb phrase, and do not include the "subject" noun phrase, which is in immediate constituency with the predicate phrase and is always present, anyway, in some form, in a declarative sentence.

Every simple verb root belongs to one of the three subcategories. In a verb stem which is more complex than a simple root, compounding and root or stem derivation act in a more complicated way to determine the subcategorization. We shall now look at each subcategory in turn.

a. Intransitive [0 NP]

Many simple verb roots belong to the subcategory "intransitive," and so may not co-occur with a noun phrase in the same verb phrase. Some examples are: /xií "come," as in //'íip ke kè /xií. "He came."; !úú "go," as in tarás ke ra !úú. "The woman is going."; máá "stand up," as in //náá 'áoku ke nìí máá. "Those men (pl.) will stand up.";

!xóé "run," as in saáts kà !xóé 'oo "if you (masc. sing.) run."

Also in this subcategory are verb plus verb compounds in which both roots are intransitive, e.g., 'óa-/xií "return home," !úu-pèé "go away," and any verb stem consisting of a root with the verb root derivational suffix -xà, e.g., ≠'oáxà "come out," since this suffix only occurs on roots which are intransitive.

b. Transitive [1 NP]

The greatest number of simple verb roots belong to the category "transitive," and so may occur with only one noun phrase in the same verb phrase. This noun phrase is the "direct object," or the second NPà in the diagram. Some examples are: mũũ "see," as in 'áop ke 'àrípà kè mũũ. "The man saw the dog (masc.)."; 'úú "take," as in sáá 'íìp ke ≠xanísà kò 'úú. "Your father just took the letter."; !'áo "fear," as in tiíta ke saátsà ra !'áo. "I fear you (masc. sing.)."

Also in this subcategory are verb plus verb compounds in which at least one root is transitive, e.g., 'úú-síí "take (to someone)," where 'úú "take" is transitive and síí "go and arrive" is intransitive, /hoó-≠aa "tuck in," where both roots are transitive. In addition, all stems consisting of roots with the "causative" verb root derivational suffix -í, e.g., máí "stand up (something)," or

consisting of a reduplicated root, e.g., ≠xîì≠xîì "make happy," are transitive. All verb plus post-position compounds belong to this subcategory.

c. Ditransitive [2 NP]

Very few simple verb roots belong to the subcategory "ditransitive," and so may occur with as many as two noun phrases in the same verb phrase, an "indirect object" followed by a "direct object." Some examples are: màa "give," as in 'áop ke tarásà pérépà kè màa. "The man gave the woman bread."; hùí "help," as in //'îîp ke tiítà sisenà ra hùí. "He is helping me with the work." Others are: /xai "give as a gift," /xupi "lend," ≠áń "ask," tìí "do."

Also in this subcategory are verb plus verb compounds in which at least one of the roots is a ditransitive verb, e.g., tìí-sáá "do wrongly," but there are not many of them.

* * *

The verb root derivational suffixes -'am and -rú, and the verb stem derivational suffixes -ka "repetitive," -ró "diminutive," -mãa "distributive," -sóre≠ãa "all day," and -≠xáí "all night," have no effect on the subcategorization of the verb stem.

As a general rule, when a verb contains more than one morpheme, it belongs to the subcategory of the component morpheme with the "highest" transitivity.

5. The V-NP Derivational Suffixes

The outer layer of derivational suffixes on the verb i.e., those suffixed to the verb stem, have meanings which alter the relationship between the verb and the noun phrases in the sentence. Hence, these suffixes are called "V-NP derivational suffixes." Their relationship to the verb stem is described in the following formula:

$$\text{Verb Stem} \begin{matrix} [0\ \text{NP}] + (\underline{\text{-'ú}}) \\ [1\ \text{NP}]\ \text{or}\ [2\ \text{NP}] \end{matrix} \Big\} + (\underline{\text{-pa}}) + (\text{Patient Suffix})$$

The suffix -'ú is the "accompanitive suffix." The suffix -pa is the "applicative suffix." The item "Patient Suffix" in the formula represents a large system of suffixes which includes the "object suffixes," the "passive suffix," the "reflexive suffix," and the "reciprocal suffix." The formula states that the accompanitive suffix -'ú may only occur after an intransitive verb stem. There is another restriction not depicted above: the patient suffixes may not occur directly after an intransitive verb stem. The implications of these restrictions will be explained when each suffix is discussed.

One syntactic characteristic that all of these suffixes have in common is that they change the subcategorization of the verb, i.e., they alter the number of noun phrases which may be present in the verb phrase.

We shall start with the suffix closest to the verb stem and work our way outward.

a. -'ú "Accompanitive"

When the accompanitive suffix -'ú is added to an intransitive verb stem, the verb which results is transitive. Since the meanings of most intransitive verbs involve motion of one sort or another, the presence of -'ú in the verb and an NPà in the verb phrase has the meaning "the referent of the NPà accompanies the 'subject' NP in the movement conveyed by the verb stem, usually under the agency of the 'subject' NP." To translate a Nama verb with -'ú into English, we must often use an entirely different English verb than that used to translate the same Nama verb stem without -'ú. We shall best understand this suffix by a comparison of sentences differing from each other only by the presence of -'ú on the verb and an "object" NPà: ≠'oákunis ke kè !ũũ. "The plane went." to be compared with ≠'oákunis ke kxòeǹà kè !ũũ'ú. "The plane took the people."; /'ápá!nàmku ke kèrè !nàrí. "The policemen were travelling." to be compared with /'ápá!nàmku ke tíí /hòokà kèrè !nàrí'ú. "The policemen were transporting my friends."; tiíta ke ra /xií. "I am coming." as compared with tiíta ke ≠'úúnà ra /xií'ú. "I am bringing food."; 'áop ke kèrè !xarú. "The man was passing." to be compared with 'áop ke //'íip tì /'apésà kèrè !xarú'ú. "The man was carrying out his plan."

The accompanitive suffix -'ú very probably has an etymological relationship to the simple verb root 'úú "take," since the similarity in form and meaning is very close. In fact, it is tempting to analyze these verbs with -'ú as, rather, compound verb roots whose second member is 'úú. Thus, instead of !úú'ú "take," we would write *!úú-'úú "take." Though such compounds are the probable etymological source of -'ú, the short length with which this morpheme is pronounced, as well as the freedom of its combination with intransitive verb stems, rules out its analysis as part of a compound, and supports its analysis as a V-NP derivational suffix.

b. -pa "Applicative"

The applicative suffix -pa, unlike -'ú, may be added to any verb stem, whether intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive. When -pa is added to a verb stem, it is always accompanied by an added "indirect object" NPà at the beginning of the verb phrase. Thus, it increases the number of noun phrases with which the verb stem may co-occur by one, and this NPà is always the first NPà of the verb phrase. The meaning of -pa can usually be rendered: "to ---," "for ---," "on behalf of ---," where the blank is to be filled by the gloss of the extra NPà. Let us compare some sentences with and without this suffix on the verb and an extra NPà: //'íip ke kò mí̀ . . . "He just said . . , " as compared

with //'íǐp ke tiítà kò mǐípa . . . "He just told me . . ," or, more literally, "He just said to me . . ."; nee kxòep ke xuu'è kè tìí. "This person (masc.) did something.," as compared with nee kxòep ke tiítà xuu'è kè tìípa. "This person (masc.) did something for me."; //'íǐs ke xuuhà nǐǐ !ómǃom. "She will make things difficult (!óm)." as compared with //'íǐs ke //'íǐpà xuuhà nǐǐ !ómǃompa. "She will make things difficult for him." When the verb stem is ditransitive, the addition of -pa to the verb stem may result in a verb which is "tritransitive." Here is such a sentence using the ditransitive verb stem màa "give," and with English proper names for clarity: píli ke jónà maríasà ǂxanísà kè màapa. "Bill gave Mary the letter for John." It can be seen here that the order of the NPà's in the verb phrase is significant, identifying the various indirect and direct objects. Actually, a certain amount of scrambling of these NPà's is permitted, as long as some semantic features of the noun phrases themselves can allow the hearer to sort out the NPà's. Thus, the last example might as well have the following forms: píli ke jónà ǂxanísà maríasà kè màapa. píli ke ǂxanísà jónà maríasà kè màapa. The inanimacy of ǂxanís "the letter" makes it obviously the direct object so that its ordering in the scheme is redundant and may be relaxed. If the order of the proper names is changed, however, the meaning of the sentence is changed. More will be said about the ordering of sentence components later.

c. The Patient Suffixes

At the end of any verb which is not intransitive, there may occur a patient suffix. Semantically, all patient suffixes indicate who or what is the "immediate patient" of the action expressed by the active verb. By "immediate patient" is meant the "direct object" of a transitive verb, the "indirect object" of a ditransitive verb, or the first "indirect object" of a verb which has been made tritransitive by the suffix -pa. Remember, however, that what we are here calling the "immediate patient" may also be indicated by an NPà, in fact, the first NPà of the verb phrase in the case of all three of the above mentioned subcategories of verbs. So, what the patient suffix does is take over the function which would otherwise be performed by the first NPà of the verb phrase. Accordingly, there is one less NPà in the verb phrase of a verb with a patient suffix. For example, here is a series of similar sentences to illustrate the various types of patient suffix: First, here is a sentence with a transitive verb, an NPà, and no patient suffix: //'íìku ke //'íìpà kè mùù. "They (masc., pl.) saw him." Now, here is a sentence with an "object suffix" on the verb: //'íìku ke kè mùùpi. "They (masc., pl.) saw him (-pi)."; one with the "passive suffix" (-hè) on the verb: //'íìku ke kè mùùhè. "They (masc., pl.) were seen."; one with the "reflexive suffix" (-sn) on the verb: //'íìku ke kè mùùsn. "They (masc., pl.) saw themselves."; and one with

the "reciprocal suffix" (-ku) on the verb: //'ííku ke kè mǔǔku. "They (masc., pl.) saw one another.," and with a dual subject: //'ííkxà ke kè mǔǔku. "They (masc., du.) saw each other." In all of these examples of sentences whose verbs have patient suffixes, an NPà may not occur in the verb phrase. Each type of patient suffix, however, has its own syntactic peculiarities which we will proceed to look at in detail.

(1) The Object Suffixes

The object suffixes are the least complicated from of syntactic point of view. They are simply "pronominal" suffixes which indicate the immediate patient of the verb by person, gender, and number. It should come as no suprise that most of them are identical to the pgn suffixes, as may be seen from the table on the next page.

The existence of this complete system of object suffixes is interesting because it appears to be entirely unnecessary, since for any of these suffixes on the verb may be substituted a pronoun as the first NPà with no change of meaning. The first example sentence is a good illustration: //'ííku ke //'íípà kè mǔǔ. and //'ííku ke kè mǔǔpi. both mean "They (masc., pl.) saw him." In the first sentence "him" is expressed by a pronoun NPà //'íípà, and in the second by an object suffix -pi. The construction with a pronoun NPà is the more frequent in texts. The only difference in meaning between the two constructions appears to

be one of emphasis, the construction with the object suffix representing a very low degree of emphasis on the "patient" of the verb, in this case "him."

TABLE OF OBJECT SUFFIXES

	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
Masculine			
Singular	-te[1]	-tsi	-pi
Dual	-kxm̀	-kxò	-kxà
Plural	-ke	-ko	-ku
Feminine			
Singular	-te[1]	-si[5]	-si[5]
Dual	-'m̀[2]	-rò[3]	-rà[4]
Plural	-se	-so	-tì
Common			
Dual	-'m̀[2]	-rò[3]	-rà[4]
Plural	-tà	-tù	-'ǹ
		Indefinite Singular	-'ì

Duplications are again marked by superscript numerals. The 1° fem. du. -'m̀, 1° com. du. -'m̀, and 3° com. pl. -'ǹ are often pronounced with an epenthetic vowel /i/, but this vowel sound is short, toneless, and does not represent an extra mora.

Comparing this table with the table of pgn suffixes on p. 83, we can see that in these suffixes the morpheme

structure is regular, consisting of one CV mora, while some of the pgn suffixes have the form C and others VN. Perhaps the most interesting correspondence is that between the 3° masc. sing. object suffix -pi and the corresponding pgn suffix -p∼-i, which can lead us to a good etymological explanation of the allomorphy of the latter suffix.

Here are some sentences whose verbs have object suffixes: tíí /hòoku ke nǐǐ !'ǎúkxm̀. "My friends will wait for (!'ǎú) us."; /ǒãs ke ≠hõãsà kè mǐǐpapi. "The daughter told him the story.," which means the same as /ǒãs ke //'íìpà ≠hõãsà kè mǐǐpa. A ditransitive verb may have two object suffixes, indirect object preceding direct, e.g., tiíta ke nǐǐ !'úǐpatsipi. "I will watch over (!'úǐ) him (-pi) for (-pa) you (-tsi, masc., sing.)."

(2) -hè "Passive"

The meaning of the passive suffix -hè is that the subject NP is the immediate patient of the verb; the "agent" may be indicated by a post-positional phrase consisting of an NP plus the post-position xaa "by," but in most Nama passive sentences there is no such "agent" indicated. For example: 'ǎoku ke kèrè !narí'úhè. "The men (pl.) were being transported."; !xóókxõeku ke nǐǐ xoréhè. "The prisoners (masc., pl.) will be released."; sííkxm̀ ke ≠xaníkà kè màahè. "We (masc., du., excl.) were given papers."

The post-positional phrase with xaa, which indicates "agent," is one of the constructions included under "Adver-

bial" in the formula for the active/stative predicate. The post-position xaa has, actually, a broader meaning than that of indicating the agent in a sentence whose verb has the passive suffix (see pp. 170, 194). Here are some examples where this post-positional phrase is present: !xóókxòeku ke !'úí'áoku xaa kè míípahè. "The prisoners (masc., pl.) were told by the guards (masc., pl.)."; sííkxm̀ ke //nãã kxòeku xaa hùíhè. "We (masc., du.) were helped by those people (masc., pl.)." A disproportionate number of passive sentences in Nama have ditransitive verbs, considering the small number of ditransitive verbs which there are. (Notice màa and hùí in the examples above.) A possible reason for this is that the order of noun phrases in a passive sentence with a ditransitive verbs is freer than is the oder in the corresponding active sentence. As an illustration, let us take an earlier example of an active sentence with a ditransitive verb: 'áop ke tarásà pérépà kè màa. "The man gave the woman the bread." In this sentence, the ordering of tarásà "the woman +-à" and pérépà "the bread +-à" is significant, identifying the "indirect" and "direct" objects. However, in the corresponding passive sentence, all of the noun phrases are marked differently so that their order is not significant: tarás ke 'áop xaa pérépà kè màahè. "The woman was given the bread by the man." The differential marking of each noun phrase makes permutation of the sentence without changing the essential meaning easier (see p. 200ff.).

(3) -sn "Reflexive"

The meaning of the reflexive suffix -sn is that the subject NP expresses both the agent and the immediate patient of the action expressed by the verb, as in //'ĩĩp ke kè mũũsn. "He saw himself." There is often an epenthetic vowel pronounced between the /s/ and the /n/ that sounds close to /e/, though it is short, toneless, and does not constitute an extra mora, e.g., [-sẹn]. Here are some examples of common uses of -sn: tiíta ke ra //xáa//xaasn. "I am learning." with a verb stem consisting of the reduplicated verb root //xáa//xaa "teach," from the simple root //xáa "be able," thus, literally, "I am teaching myself." or "I am making myself able."; //nãã 'áop ke kèrè ≠'ãĩpasn . . . "That man was thinking to himself . . ." with a verb stem ≠'ãĩ "think" followed by the applicative suffix -pa; siíkxm̀ ke nĩĩ hùísn. "We shall help ourselves." In a few rare cases, -pa and -sn may be found reversed with a different meaning. Compare /õãp ke sarahà ke //'ãápasn. "The boy washed the clothes for himself." with /õãp ke skóla kè //'ãásnpa. "The boy washed himself for school." The reflexive is the only one of the patient suffixes to occur in this position before -pa.

(4) -ku "Reciprocal"

The reciprocal suffix -ku may only occur on a verb when the subject NP is non-singular, i.e., dual or plural. Its meaning is that the agent and immediate patient of the

verb are both to be found among the set of individuals denoted by the non-singular subject NP, but agent and immediate patient are not the same individual. For example: !áásàkxà ke kè tapétaku. "The brothers (du.) greeted each other." (tapéta "greet"); saátà ke nìǐ mũũku. "We (incl., com., pl.) shall see one another."; //'ǐìku ke kè /haó'úkù. "They (masc., pl.) met." with the root /haó "come together," the accompanitive -'ú, and -kù; !áásàrà ke ≠xanítè kèrè xóápakú. "The sisters (du.) were writing letters for one another."

B. THE STATIVE VERB PHRASE

Disregarding a few complexities, the stative verb phrase has a structure which may be diagrammed as follows:

Te + (Pred) + Cop

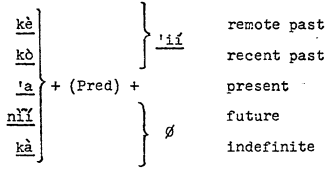
where the abbreviation "Te" stands for "Tense," "Pred" stands for "Predicate," and "Cop" stands for "Copula." Note that the predicate is an optional constituent, as indicated by the parentheses. The case of a stative verb phrase without a predicate will be discussed in detail presently.

The only constituent which the stative verb phrase has in common with the active verb phrase is "Tense," and it is the same tense system that realizes this constituent in both types of verb phrase.

The complexity which was disregarded in the formula above is that of the realization of the copula. The copula in the stative verb phrase has different realizations with the five different tenses, much in the same manner as the aspect morphemes of the active verb phrase.

1. The Copula and Tense

If we expand the formula given above for the five tenses, we get the following pattern:



Here is a series of examples, in each of which the predicate is realized by the adjective !ǎî "good"; 'áop ke kè !ǎî 'íí. "The man was good."; tarás ke kò !ǎî 'íí. "The woman was good (recently)."; saáts ke 'a !ǎî. "You (masc., sing.) are good."; //'íîp ke nìǐ !ǎî. "He will be good."; !ǎîts kà 'oo . . . "If you (masc., sing.) were good . . . "

We may distinguish three forms of the copula: 1. the past copula 'íí which occurs after the predicate with both past tenses, 2. the portmanteau present tense-copula 'a which occurs before the predicate, and 3. the zero copula which occurs with the future and indefinite tenses. In

some older texts of the language, 'ií is found with the future and indefinite tenses, i.e., with all tenses except the present.

2. The Predicate

The predicate may be realized in three possible ways: (a) by a stative verb, (b) by a noun-phrase complement (to be abbreviated to NP-Comp), or (c) by nothing at all, as indicated by the parentheses. Each will be treated in turn.

a. The Stative Verb

Earlier, in the discussion of the simple verb root of the active verb phrase (p. 132), three subcategories of verbs were distinguished: V[+act, -sta], V[-act, +sta], and V[+act, +sta]. A stative verb is a verb which belongs to either of the last two categories, i.e., any verb whose root is marked in the lexicon as [+sta] including the last category of active-stative verbs. There is only a total of about a dozen [+sta] verbs, and they constitute a closed class. Below is a list which is complete to the best of my knowledge. Verbs followed by an asterisk are both active and stative.

≠'áń	"know"	/'úú	"not know"
hãã	"be present"	/xaí	"be absent"
//xáa	"be able"	//'óá	"be unable"
≠áó*	"want"	tsáã*	"feel, try"
tóá*	"finish"	//'óó*	"die"
≠óḿ*	"believe"		

To this list should also be added the rare verb 'ii "seem, be" which is only used in a few cliché expressions, especially in a sentence whose adverbial is the "simile" postposition kxmí "like, as," e.g., //'íìp ke //'íìp tì tàtáp kxmí kè 'ii 'íí. "He was like his father."

One remarkable feature of this set of stative verbs is that all of the purely stative verbs (those without the asterisk) can be neatly grouped into pairs of contradictories as they are in the list, viz., ≠'áń vs. /'úú "know" vs. "not know," hã̀a vs. /xaí "be present" vs. "be absent," and //xáa vs. //'óá "be able" vs. "be unable." The first members of each pair, ≠'áń, hã̀a, and //xáa, may not be negated in the usual manner with tama (see p. 172), but, rather, the second members of the pairs, /'úú, /xaí, and //'óá, must be used. From this we may conclude that the meaning of the second member of each pair has two components: (1) the meaning of the first member, plus (2) a negative meaning. These appear to be the only verbs in Nama to be so organized semantically.

When the frequently used verb hã̀a "be present" occurs in the present tense, the present tense-copula morpheme 'a is deleted. Thus, rather than *tiíta ke neepá 'a hã̀a. "I am here.," we have tiíta ke neepá hã̀a. (neepá "here"). In the other tenses, hã̀a behaves like any other stative verb: tiíta ke neepá kè hã̀a 'íí. "I was here." However, when a present tense sentence is permuted, the 'a reappears. Thus,

the sentence /ǒã̀s ke neepá hã̀ã̀. "The girl is here." may be permuted to hã̀ã̀s ke 'a /ǒã̀sà neepá. "There is a girl here." For permutation, see p. 200. This verb has a likely etymological relationship to the hã̀ã̀ which is used to form the perfective aspect (p. 128), as well as to another (active) verb, hã́ã́ "stay," with which it differs in tone.

Here are a few examples of sentences with stative verbs: siíkxm̀ ke kè /'úú 'ií práíni 'a /xaí !xáisà. "We did not know that Brian was absent. (lit. "that Brian is absent."), where siíkxm̀ is 1º masc. du. excl. and !xáisà would be translated "that."; tiíta ke 'a ≠'áñ //nã̀ã̀sà. "I know that." More examples will be found in the section on auxiliary verbs (p. 179), since ≠áó "want," tsã́ã́ "try," and tóá "finish" may also be used as auxiliaries, while //xáa "be able" and //'óá "be unable" may only be used as auxiliaries. But let us postpone our discussion of auxiliary verbs until later, since it is a complex topic.

b. The Noun Phrase Complement

Rather than a stative verb predicate, a stative verb phrase may have a noun phrase complement predicate (NP-Comp). The term "noun phrase complement" denotes a construction having a great deal of structural similarity to the noun phrase construction, yet with several important differences. The syntactic relationship between these two constructions is an interesting problem, but one which we can only briefly

go into here though it would be illuminating for a deeper study of Nama syntax.

The structure of the NP-Comp may be described by the following diagram:

(Associative) + (Number) + (Adjective) + (Noun Stem)

All constituents have been made optional since neither is more obligatory than any other. If none of them is present, we simply would have a case of the absence of the predicate (see p. 170). The order is fixed just as it is in the noun phrase construction. For comparison, the structure of the noun phrase is repeated below:

(Pronominal)	+ (Universal)	+ (Demonstrative)	+ (Associative)	+ (Number)	+ (Modifier)	+ Noun
6	5	4	3	2	1	

An examination of the two structures reveals three differences between the NP-Comp construction and the NP: (a) the lack of order classes 4, 5, and 6, (b) the absence of the adverb in the modifier, which thus reduces to an adjective, and (c) the absence of the pgn suffix on the noun, which thus reduces to a noun stem.

Let us illustrate the foregoing discussion with some examples. The sentence saáts ke 'a 'áo. means "You are a man.," 'áo being the noun stem of the noun 'áoo "man." The corresponding sentence in the past would be saáts ke kè 'áo 'ií.

"You were a man., and in the future saáts ke nĭí 'áo. You will be a man." As a point of interest, we might contrast these sentences with an entirely different construction, viz., the quational sentence saáts ke 'áotsà. "You are the man.," which is actually tenseless in Nama. A superficial impression would be that, in the first sentences, 'áo is "a noun stem acting like a verb." However, the NP-Comp may be more complicated as in the following examples: saáts ke 'a 'áore kxòe. "You are a male person." where the NP-Comp consists of the derived adjective 'áore "male" plus the noun stem kxòe as in kxòe'ì "some person"; saákxm̀ ke 'a /ám 'áore kxòe. "We (masc., du., excl.) are two male persons." where the number /ám "two" is added to the NP-Comp; saáts ke 'a siítà hòátà tì ǂàoǂúí'ào. "You are a leader of all of us (com., pl., excl.)." where the NP-Comp consists of an associative siítà hòátà tì "of all of us" plus a noun stem consisting of the compound noun root ǂàoǂúí'ao as in ǂàoǂúí'aop "the leader (masc.)." A noun stem need not be present, as in saáts ke 'a 'áore. "You are male."; //naás ke 'a tíí. "That (fem.) is mine." with the simple associative tíí "my."

We are now in a position to examine the differences between the NP-Comp and the NP. In regard the the first difference, (a) the lack of order classes 4, 5, and 6, we may note that such sentences as the following are not acceptable: *tiíta ke 'a tií. "I am me." with the first person pronominal tíí;*//naán ke 'a hòá. "Those are all." with the universal

hòá "all"; *'oms ke 'a //nāá. "The house is that." with the demonstrative //nāá "that." The fact that these do not occur can be explained, quite simply, by the fact that the pronominal, universal, and demonstrative have meanings which are highly deictic, more so than the associative, number, or adjective, and this deixis clashes semantically with the indefinite meaning conveyed by the stative verb phrase with NP-Comp. In fact, the unacceptable sentences above cry out for equational sentences such as: tiíta ke tiítà. "I am me."; //nāáǹ ke hòáǹà. "Those are all of them."; 'oms ke //nāásà. "The house is that one."

There is one demonstrative, however, which may occur as NP-Comp, and that is the interrogative demonstrative māá "what, which." Thus, the sentence 'oms ke 'a māá? "The house is what?" is a good sentence. The semantic difference between the interrogative demonstrative and the other demonstratives should be noted in this connection.

In regard to the second difference, (b) the absence of the adverb in the modifier, we may note that the following sentence is unacceptable: *'áop ke 'a káíse !ā̀i. "The man is very good." Just by moving the adverb káíse "very" away from the adjective !ā̀i "good" and into the Adverbial of the main sentence, we get the acceptable sentence 'áop ke káíse 'a !ā̀i. which we would translate "The man is very good." but which means more literally "The man is good very much." This sheds some light on the relationship between the adverb

and the adjective in the modifier of the noun phrase.

In regard to the third difference, (c) the absence of the pgn suffix on the noun, we must look upon this as the most basic characteristic of the NP-Comp since no NP may lack as pgn suffix, though it may well lack a pronominal, universal, demonstrative, or adverb. However, we might notice that //'ĩĩp ke !a kxòe. and kxòep ke. would both be translated "He is a person.," though the second sentence has a stative VP without a predicate (see p. 170), and would be translated more literally "The person (masc.) is." It is conceivable that the second sentence might be analyzed as a relativization of the first with deletion of the third person pronominal (as per the rule on p. 84) and the copula. The intermediate form would be *//'ĩĩ kxòe 'ap ke., but this is too speculative to concern us further here.

When a stative verb phrase has one of the past tenses and an NP-Comp, the tense morpheme may be shifted to the position immediately following the predicate and, therefore, before the past tense copula 'ií. The previous example sentence saáts ke kè 'áo 'ií. "You were a man." would be indistinguishable in meaning from saáts ke 'áo kè 'ií. When the NP-Comp is rather long, this tense movement is very likely. Thus, saáts ke siítà hòátà tì ≠àe≠'úí'áo kè 'ií. "You were leader of all of us (pl., com., excl.)." would be more likely than saáts ke kè siítà hòátà tì ≠àe≠'úí'áo 'ií. In fact, the latter sentence is rather awkward.

(1) The Adjective as Noun Phrase Complement

The case of a NP-Comp which consists only of an adjective deserves to be singled out for special attention for its divergent syntactic properties. First of all, we might ask why an adjective NP-Comp, as in 'áop ke 'a kái. "The man is big.," is different from a stative verb, as in 'áop ke 'a ≠'áń. "The man knows." which we might be tempted to translate more literally as "The man is knowledgeable." The difference is, of course, that the stative verb may not occur in the first order class of the noun phrase so that kái 'áop "the big man" is acceptable while ≠'áń 'áop is not. (though the relativization ≠'áń 'a 'áop "the man who knows" is acceptable).

An adjective as NP-Comp may undergo the same V-NP Derivation as an active verb (p. 150) provided that the applicative suffix -pa is affixed to the adjective. In the sentence //nãá 'ũĩp ke kè !ómpate 'ií. "That life was difficult for me.," the NP-Comp consists of the adjective !óḿ "difficult" followed by the applicative suffix -pa "for," followed in turn by the object suffix -te "me." The last suffix may even be the passive suffix -hè as in the sentence siíke ke //nãá !'áas xaa kè !nùupahè 'ií. which must be translated "That town was too far for us." but is literally "We (siíke) were (kè . . . 'ií) too far-ed for (!nùupahè composed of !nùu "far," applicative -pa, and passive -hè) by that town (//nãá !'áas xaa)."

Something about the "comparison of adjectives" in Nama should be said at this point, though to recognize this as a topic at all is to think comparatively as opposed to descriptively; few languages have a neat set of derivational suffixes like -er and -est in English which makes the "comparison of adjectives" one grammatical system. In Nama, this topic reduces to the meaning of one post-position xaa which usually can be glossed "by" (p.194). Here is a sequence of sentences: 'áop ke 'a káí. "The man is big."; 'áop ke 'àríp xaa 'a káí. "The man is bigger than the dog." or, more literally, "The man is big by the dog."; 'áop ke hòáǹ xaa 'a káí. "The man is biggest." or, more literally, "The man is bigger by all of them." The post-positional phrases 'àríp xaa "by the dog" and hòáǹ xaa "by all of them" belong to the Adverbial constituent of the predicate phrase.

c. Absence of the Predicate

It is possible for the predicate of a stative verb phrase to be absent entirely, as in the sentence 'áop ke kè 'íí. "It was the man." or, 'áop ke kò 'íí. "It was the man (recently)." Observe that this type of sentence must be translated with the impersonal "it" in English; it would be closer to say "The man was." In the present tense, we would expect 'áop ke 'a. "It is the man." However, this construction is recognized by the informants to be "Deep Nama," a form of solemn speech never used in ordinary

conversation. The form which we actually find in usual speech is 'áop ke. "It is the man." with the present tense-copula 'a deleted. We do not find this construction used with the future or indefinite tenses.

Most cases of a stative verb phrase without a predicate occur after a noun phrase which has resulted from relativization or nominalization, e.g., !xuu hàã 'áop ke kè 'íí. "It was a rich man.," or better, "He was a rich man." (Compare this with 'áop ke !xuu hàã. "The man has gotten rich.") The sentence //'íip ke !xuu hàã 'áo kè 'íí. has basically the same meaning but with an emphasis on the "he": "He was a rich man.," though this sentence has an NP-Comp predicate, viz., !xuu hàã 'áo. A very frequent use of the stative verb phrase without a predicate is with a nominalized sentence in the future tense; the whole resulting construction must be translated with the expression "supposed to." For example, if the sentence //'íip ke nìí !úú. "He will go." is nominalized and made the subject of a sentence with a stative verb phrase without a predicate in the past tense the result is: //'íip nìí !úús ke kè 'íí. "He was supposed to go." (A literal approximation would be "His will going was.") The last sentence would, most likely, occur in the permuted form: //'íip nìí !úú kè 'iís ke. The subjects of relativization and nominalization will be discussed later (p. 229ff.).

C. NEGATION

A negative sentence in Nama is a sentence having a negative morpheme as a constituent of the verb phrase. Although the two types of verb phrase, active and stative are different in structure, they are negated in very much the same way: by the presence of the negative mono-morphemic word tama after the verb, in the active verb phrase, or after the predicate, in the stative verb phrase, in all tenses but the future where the word is títe. However, the introduction of the negative tama (or títe) causes several syntactic and semantic complications, the most important of these being a major alteration in the aspect system of the active verb phrase which, surprisingly, helps to explain some complications in the negation of the aspectless stative verb phrase. Let us now look at some of the ways in which the two types of verb phrase are affected by negation.

1. Negation of the Active Verb Phrase

It will be remembered that in the unnegated active verb phrase, there is a system of three aspects: punctual, imperfective, and perfective (p. 123ff.). In the negated active verb phrase, the meanings "imperfective" and "perfective" are merged into one general meaning which we will call "non-punctual," resulting in a system of two aspects:

punctual and non-punctual. The meaning "non-punctual" is conveyed morphologically by forms similar to those conveying the meaning "perfective" in the unnegated case (p. 128).. as will be seen presently. The meaning of "punctual" is the same with or without negation, so we will discuss the punctual aspect first.

a. Negation in the Punctual Aspect

As defined earlier (p. 124), a sentence whose verb phrase has punctual aspect describes an event as happening at a discrete point in time; punctual aspect may occur with all tenses except the present tense. Negative verb phrases with punctual aspect have the following structure with the different tenses:

$$(\text{NPà}) + (\text{NPà}) + \left\{\begin{matrix} \underline{\text{kè}} \\ \underline{\text{kò}} \\ \underline{\text{kà}} \\ \text{ø} \end{matrix}\right\} + \text{V[+act]} + \left\{\begin{matrix} \underline{\text{tama}} + \underline{\text{'íí}} & \text{remote past} \\ & \text{recent past} \\ & \text{indefinite} \\ \underline{\text{títe}} & \text{future} \end{matrix}\right.$$

If this chart is compared with the one on p. 124, we note the following differences: 1. the presence of the negative word tama followed by the past copula 'íí after the verb in the past and indefinite tenses, 2. the absence of the future particle nĭ̃ĭ́ before the verb, and 3. the presence of títe after the verb in the future. The last two differences amount to the fact that we have V[+act] + títe where we would expect nĭ̃ĭ́ + V[+act] + tama + 'íí.

The same tense movement which may occur with the perfective aspect in the active verb phrase (p. 129) and in the stative verb phrase (p. 162) may also occur in any negated verb phrase. In fact, negated verb phrases almost always occur with the tense particle following the verb and tama. With tense movement, the preceding diagram would appear as follows:

$$(NPà) + (NPà) + V[+act] + \begin{cases} \text{tama} + \begin{cases} \text{kè} \\ \text{kò} \\ \text{kà} \end{cases} + \text{'íí} & \begin{matrix} \text{remote past} \\ \text{recent past} \\ \text{indefinite} \end{matrix} \\ \text{títe} & \text{future} \end{cases}$$

From now on, diagrams of negated verb phrases will be presented in this form.

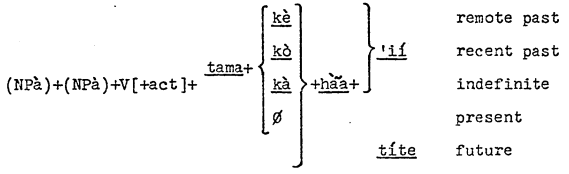
Here are some examples: tiíta ke tíí !áátè míípa tama kè 'íí. "I did not tell my sisters (tíí !áátè)."; //'íip ke //óé tama kò 'íí. "He did not just lie down."; hàa tama ta kà 'íí 'oo . . . "If I (ta) do not come . . ."; saáts ke nĩĩ !úú títe. "You (masc., sing.) will not go."

b. Negation in the Non-punctual Aspect

Active verb phrases with negation tend more frequently to occur with non-punctual aspect than with punctual aspect. Since the meaning "non-punctual" contains within it both the meaning "imperfective" and "perfective," a sentence whose verb phrase has non-punctual aspect describes an event as being either incomplete at the point in time depicted by the

tense morpheme, or completed prior to that point in time and resulting in a "state of affairs" obtaining at that time; in short, it describes an event as not happening at a discrete point in time, but us being more "diffuse" temporally. The frequent use of this aspect with negation may be explained by the fact that the non-occurrence of an event is not as definable in time as its occurrence.

Negative active verb phrases have the following structure with the different tenses (with tense movement):



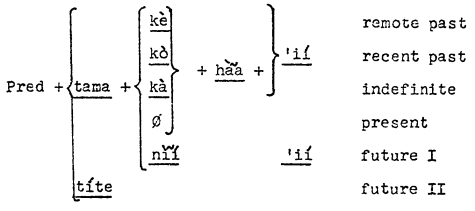
Although this diagram may seem complicated, it differs from the one on the preceding page only in the presence of hã̀ã after the tense marker in all tenses but the future where it precedes títe; the present tense, of course, may occur with this aspect while it could not with the punctual aspect.

Here are some examples: sííkxm̀ ke ǂxaníǹ-à 'úú-há́á tama kè hã̀ã 'íí. "We (masc., du., excl.) did not have papers."; //'íǐp ke !hóá tama kò hã̀ã 'íí. "He was not just conversing."; tiíta /'aésn tama kà hã̀ã 'íí 'oo . . . "If I have not gotten sick . . ."; //'íǐs ke neepá //'an tama hã̀ã. "She does not live here (neepa)."; //'íǐp ke //óé hã̀ã títe.

"He will not have lain down."

2. Negation of the Stative Verb Phrase

As stated earlier, the stative verb phrase is negated in much the same way as the active verb phrase. Considering that the structure of the stative verb phrase without negation is Te + (Pred) + Cop, we would expect the negated form to differ only in the presence of tama (or títe) after the predicate and be thus Te + Pred + tama + Cop, which is the form of the negated active verb phrase in the punctual aspect (p. 173). However, this is not the case. The stative verb phrase with negation is more similar in form to the negated active verb phrase in the non-punctual aspect in all tenses but the future; this fact should not surprise us very much if we consider that the "state" conveyed by a sentence with a stative verb phrase cannot be viewed as happening at a discrete point in time ("punctual"), but rather it must be viewed as temporally diffuse ("non-punctual"). Below is a structural diagram of a stative verb phrase with negation (and tense movement):



The forms for the remote past (Pred + tama kè hãã 'ii), the recent past (Pred + tama kò hãã 'íí), the indefinite (Pred + tama kà hãã 'íí), and the present (Pred + tama hãã) resemble the non-punctual aspect forms of the negated active verb phrase. There are two alternate structures for the future tense which are the same in meaning, called "future I" and "future II" in the diagram. Future II (Pred + títe) resembles the future tense punctual aspect form of the negated active verb phrase, while future II (Pred + tama nĩĩ 'íí) resembles the expected, but non-occurring, form of the same thing.(p. 173).

Here are some examples: méris ke 'íĩxá tama kè hãã 'íí. "Mary was not beautiful." (affirmative: méris ke 'íĩxá kè 'íí.); //'íĩs ke neepá hãã tama kò hãã 'íí. "She was not just here." (affirmative: //'íĩs ke neepá kò hãã 'íí.); //nãã́s ke !áĩ tama hãã. "That is not good." (affirmative: //nãã́s ke 'a !áĩ.); //'íĩǹ ke neepá hãã tama nĩĩ 'íí. or //'íĩǹ ke neepá hãã títe. "They will not be here." (affirmative: //'íĩǹ ke neepá nĩĩ hãã.).

When a negated stative verb phrase in the present tense is relativized, hãã is deleted. Therefore, the above sentence //nãã́s ke !áĩ tama hãã. could be relativized to //nãã́ !áĩ tamas "that which is not good." Equational sentences often have a predicate containing a noun phrase resulting from such a relativization, e.g., jóni ke kùúre 'áo tamaòà. "John is the one who is not a shepherd." (shepherd = kùúre 'áoǹ)

D. VERBS WITH SPECIAL SYNTACTIC PROPERTIES

A number of Nama verbs may be used to form complex verb phrase constructions. These verbs may be divided into two types according to their syntactic properties: 1. the copular verb kái "become," and 2. the auxiliary verbs //xáa "be able," //'óá "be unable," ǂáó "want," tsáá "try," tóá "finish," and kái "make."

1. The Copular Verb kái "become"

A verb phrase with the following structure can be formed with the copular verb verb kái "become":

Te + (Imp) + Pred + kái + (Perf)

This structure may be looked upon as a hybrid of the active (p. 118) and stative (p. 160) verb phrases. It has aspects like the active verb phrase, yet it has a predicate like the stative verb phrase. Here are some examples: nee kxòèp ke nǐǐ ǂàeǂúí'ao kái. "This person (masc.) will become a leader." (ǂàeǂúí'aop "the leader"); //náás ke kè tíí !'ere'am kái. "That became my responsibility." (!'ere'ams "the responsibility"); //'íip ke ra /'uríxà kái. "He is becoming dirty." The complex verb phrase with kái is negated in the same manner as an active verb phrase: méris ke 'íǐxá kái tama nǐǐ 'íí. "Mary will not become pretty." (also: méris ke 'íǐxá kái títe.). See below p. 180 for another verb kái "make."

2. The Auxiliary Verbs

The auxiliary verbs of Nama are a small class of verbs which may enter into constructions with other verbs to form complex verbs. A complex verb consists of any verb followed by an auxiliary verb; it is active or stative according to whether the auxiliary verb is active or stative, while its transitivity (intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive) is determined by the first verb. A complex verb may realize the symbol V[+act] in an active verb phrase if it is active, or V[+sta] in the predicate of a stative verb phrase if it is stative.

We may divide the auxiliary verbs into three groups according to their syntactic properties: (a) the ability auxiliaries //xáa "be able" and //'óá "be unable," (b) the volition auxiliaries ǂáó "want," tsáá "try," and tóá "finish," and (c) the sponsor auxiliary káí "make, cause or allow to do."

a. The Ability Auxiliaries

The two stative verbs //xáa "be able" and //'óá "be unable" may occur only as auxiliary verbs. A complex verb formed with these verbs, e.g., !úu //xáa "able to go," may be the V[+sta] in the predicate of a stative verb phrase, e.g., tiíta ke 'a !úu //xáa. "I can go." Since transitivity is determined by the first verb, the stative verb phrase may be preceded by NPà's like an active verb phrase: sííkxǹ ke xuuǹ-à kè //nàú-!'áá //'óá 'íí. "We (masc., du., excl.) did

not understand (//nãṹ-!'áá) the things (xuuñ-à)."; siíkxm̀ ke //nãá ≠xaníkà kè 'úú-hãã //'cá 'ií. "We could not have ('úú-hãã) those papers (//nãá ≠xaníkà)."

b. The Volition Auxiliaries

The three active verbs ≠áó "want," tsãá "try," and tóá "finish" may occur both as ordinary verbs and as auxiliary verbs. Here are some examples of sentences with these verbs as ordinary verbs: //'ĩĩp ke nee /óása ra ≠áó. "He wants this girl."; saáts ke ≠'ũú'è nĩí tsãá. "You (masc., sing.) will try (or "taste") some food."; maséns ke kè tóá. "The train finished.," i.e., "The train does not run anymore." A complex verb formed with these verbs, e.g., !ũú ≠áó "want to go," may be the V[+act] in an active verb phrase, e.g., tiíta ke ra !ũú ≠áó. "I want to go." We thus have sentences such as the following: tiíta ke saáko tì ≠xaníñ-à ra mũũ ≠áó. "I want to see (mũũ) your (masc., pl.: saáko tì) papers (≠xaníñ-à)."; //'ĩĩp ke masénsà !nàrí tsãá tama hãã. "He has not tried riding (!nàrí) the train (masénsà)."; //'ĩĩku ke /'úní 'am̃sà kò !nàí tóá. "They (masc., pl.) just finished playing (!nàí) the last song (/'úní 'am̃sà)."

c. The Sponsor Auxiliary

The active verb káí "make, cause or allow to do" may occur only as an auxiliary verb. A complex verb formed with káí, e.g., !xóé káí "make run, cause or allow to run," may be the V[+act] in an active verb phrase; the transitivity of such

a complex verb is one NPà higher than that of the first verb alone, e.g., tiíta ke //'íìpà kè !xóé kái. "I made (or allowed him to) run." Note that !xóé is intransitive by itself. Some more examples: /'ápá!nàmku ke masénsà kò máá kái. "The police (/'ápá!nàmku) just stopped (máá kái "make stand") the train (masénsà)."; jóni ke pílà tómà kè ≠naú kái. "John made Bill hit Tom." or, "... . allowed Bill to hit Tom." It is clearly possible to analyze such sentences as cases of embedding. Thus, the last sentence may be considered to have the following structure: jóni ke kè [pílì ke tómà kè ≠naú] kái. Such an analysis would be necessary in a deeper study of Nama syntax.

The meaning of kái is not what is usually understood by the term "causative," since it covers the meanings "make," "cause," "compel," and "allow." The term "sponsor auxiliary" is an attempt to cover all of the meanings.

The sponsor auxiliary kái may be combined with the copular verb kái "become," to form the complex verb kái "cause to become." We would expect kái kái, but one member is deleted: tiíta ke nee kxòepà nìǐ ≠ào≠úí'ao kái. "I will make ("cause to become") this person (kxòepà, masc.) a leader (≠ào≠úí'aop = leader)."

d. A Note on hãã and 'íí

It might be remarked at this point that the word hãã, used to form the perfective and non-punctual aspects and used in the negation of the stative verb phrase, and the

past tense copula 'íí have syntactic properties in common with the auxiliary verbs. Indeed, it is possible to look upon each of them as a special type of auxiliary verb.

Picking an earlier example of the perfective aspect at random, the sentence kxòeǹ ke kè ǂ'aǐ hãã 'íí. "The people had thought." might be considered to contain the complex stative verb ǂ'aǐ hãã "have thought" as the predicate of a stative verb phrase preceded by the remote past tense marker kè and followed by the past tense copula 'íí. Even the same sentence in the present tense, kxòeǹ ke ǂ'aǐ hãã. "The people have thought.," can be analyzed as a stative verb phrase, since the present tense-copula 'a is deleted with hãã (p. 163). The same analysis could be made of any sentence containing hãã as part of the non-punctual aspect or the negation of a stative verb phrase. However, there are two ways in which hãã differs from the auxiliary verbs. First, the perfective and non-punctual aspects, in which hãã is used, are both part of a larger aspect system, i.e., they contrast semantically with the imperfective and punctual aspects (neither of which is conveyed by an auxiliary verb). Second, the tense marker may by moved between the first verb and hãã, e.g., kxòeǹ ke ǂ'aǐ kè hãã 'íí. "The people had thought.," something which can never be done to a complex verb, e.g., tiíta ke kè !úũ //xáa 'íí. "I could go.," but not *tiíta ke !úũ kè //xáa 'íí. Thus, we must retain for hãã special status in the grammar.

In a similar manner, we might look at the past tense copula 'íí, in a sentence with a stative verb phrase, as an auxiliary verb. A sentence such as //'íìp ke kè /'úú 'íí. "He did not know." could be analyzed as containing the complex verb /'úú 'ii "not know" as the V[+act] of an active verb phrase: //'íìp ke kè [/'úú 'íí]. However, the participation of 'íí in a larger system where it alternates with the present tense-copula 'a, and the tense movement which may separate 'íí from the verb which precedes it, e.g., //'íìp ke /'úú kè 'íí., guarantee 'íí special status in the grammar.

Although hǎa and 'íí have syntactic properties which set them apart from all other morphemes in the language, we cannot ignore the existence of two verbs which are identical to them in form and similar in meaning, viz., the verbs hǎa "to exist, to be (in a place)" and 'íí "to happen, to go." The former is a stative verb and the latter an active verb. Though these are different morphemes in the language today, there can be little doubt but that they are the etymological source of the grammatical morphemes hǎa and 'íí.

V. THE ADVERBIAL

The verb phrase described in the preceding chapter is only one constituent of the active/stative predicate phrase. Let us return to the formula for the latter construction:

(Advl) + VP

As indicated in this formula, repeated from p. 116, the other constituent of the active/stative predicate phrase is the adverbial, which is optional. The constituent Advl may be realized by any number of the following three constructions in any order: (a) an adverb, (b) a post-positional phrase, (c) a temporal NPà. These constructions which realize the Advl express concepts such as "place," "time," "manner," "attitude," "accompaniment," "instrument," "agent," and "comparison." To illustrate the three different adverbial constructions, let us take a simple active/stative sentence and add to it: 'áop ke kè !xóé. "The man ran."; 'áop ke !háése kè !xóé. "The man ran rapidly."; 'áop ke 'oms !'oá kè !xóé. "The man ran to the house."; 'áop ke /hàpé //'áépà kè !xóé. "The man ran for a long time." As an illustration of how complicated the Advl constituent may be, take the following sentence: píli ke méris xaa //'ari hàíp /xáa 'oms !náà kè ǂnaúhè. "Bill was hit by Mary yesterday (//'ari) with the

stick (hàíp /xáa) in the house ('oms !nã̀ã). " The adverbial constructions in this sentence, méris xaa, //'ari, hàíp /xáa, and 'oms !nã̀ã, may be rearranged in any order without changing the meaning of the sentence. We shall now now look at each of the construction types in turn.

A. THE ADVERB

Most adverbs consists of two morphemes, the first belonging to the morpheme structure category "Roots," and the second to that of "Suffixes." Therefore, they tend to have the form CV(C)V+CV. According to the distribution class of the first morpheme, we may distinguish two types of adverb: (1) the demonstrative adverb, and (2) the derived adverb. A small third class of adverbs is that of "simple adverbs" which are monomorphemic.

1. The Demonstrative Adverb

A demonstrative adverb consists of a demonstrative (p. 74) plus a special type of suffix which we may term "demonstrative adverb suffix" and abbreviate "das." There are five such suffixes: -pá "place," -/'íì "direction," -tse "day" (clearly from the root in tsèes "the day"), -tí "manner," and -si which only occurs in two words and whose meaning is uncertain. The four demonstratives nee "this," //nã̀á

"that," náú "the other," and the interrogative máá "which," combine freely with the suffixes to form demonstrative adverbs. Since the different combinations occur frequently, they are listed below:

neepá	"here"	nee/'íi	"in this direction"
//naápá	"there"	//naá/'íi	"in that direction"
náúpá	"at the other place"	náú/'íi	"in the other direction"
máápá	"where"	maá/'íi	"in which direction"
neetse	"today"	neetí	"in this manner"
//naátse	"on that day"	//naátí	"in that manner"
náútse	"on the other day"	náútí	"in the other manner"
		máátí	"how"

The demonstrative //xaá "the same" forms two demonstrative adverbs whose meanings cannot be predicted from its components, viz., //xaápá "again" (not "at the same place"), and //xaátí "also" (not "in the same manner"). The demonstrative /níí "some, a certain" also forms two adverbs, viz., /níítí "somehow" and /níísi "perhaps." The suffix in the last example also occurs in the adverb neesi "now" (neesisà has the same meaning).

The suffix -tse form two adverbs with roots which are not demonstratives, viz., táátse "never" and 'áítse "the day before yesterday." The root in the first is probably the negative imperative táá (p. 274), and the root in the second that in 'áís "the face."

Another demonstrative adverb is hamǵ'oo which is composed of the interrogative demonstrative hamǵ plus the temporal clause relator 'oo (p. 237).

The form //naǎtí "in that manner" occurs sometimes as a noun, e.g., //naǎtí ke 'a !aǐ. "That (manner) is good."

2. The Derived Adverb

The demonstrative adverb described in the preceding section is merely a special type of derived adverb. Besides the demonstrative adverb suffixes, Nama has a number of suffixes which may be suffixed to roots other than demonstratives to form adverbs. The suffixes will be presented in order of decreasing productivity.

a. -se "Manner"

The suffix -se "manner" may be added to an NP-Comp or a verb root to form an adverb.

Most often, the NP-Comp to which the suffix is added consists only of an adjective: káíse "very," with káí "big"; !aǐse "well," with !aǐ "good"; supúse "easily," with supú "soft"; /'urixàse "in a dirty manner," with /'urixà "dirty"; ǂxaríróse "a little bit," with ǂxaríró "a little"; 'amǵ'ase "truly," with 'amǵ'a "true." The suffix may also be added to a few numbers: /úíse "alone," with /úí "one"; //naǎtíkóse "so much," with the derived number //naǎtíkó "so much."

The NP-Comp may also be a noun stem, e.g., kàó'aose

"in a kingly manner," with the root in kàó'aop "king." Adverbs derived from noun stems are used in sentences like the following: //'íîp ke kàó'aose hãã. "He is being a king." or "He is behaving like a king."; //'íîp ke kàó'aose ra mũũsn. "He thinks he is a king.," literally, "He sees himself in a kingly manner."; tíí kxòeǹ ke ≠ae≠úí'aose tiítà ra kóó/'íî. "My people (tíí kxòeǹ) look upon (kóó/'íî) me (tiítà) as a leader (≠ae≠úí'aose)."

More rarely, the suffix is added to a verb root, e.g., !xóése "in a running manner," with !xóé "run." If, in a sentence, the verb root to which -se is added is the same as the verb root in the verb of the verb phrase, the adverb has an "intensive" meaning: //'íîp ke ≠núúse kè ≠núú. "He really sat down!"; 'àríp ke !xóése nĩĩ !xóé. "The dog will really run!" Sometimes, -se is used also with nouns in this "intensive" meaning, e.g., 'àríse 'àríp "a real dog!" or "quite some dog."

For -se as a clause relator, see p. 243.

b. -pe "Manner"

The suffix -pe has been glossed "manner" because its meaning appears to be very similar to -se but with a slight difference which is difficult to define since -pe is not a productive suffix like -se. The only case of their contrast is in the two adverbs //'áúse "in vain" and //'áúpe "almost," both derived from the adjective root //'áú "scant." Usually, adverbs with -pe have an implication of "periodicity."

We can see this to be true in the few remaining examples of adverbs with -pe: ǂnàrupe "around, in a circle," with the verb root ǂnàru "to go in a circle"; 'áípe "firstly, in the meantime," with the verb root 'ái "be forward" (this verb root only appears in derived forms, e.g., 'áís "face").

Though adverbs with -pe are rare, two complex suffixes formed with -pe are used quite productively. They are -pese and -kórópe and each deserves some detailed attention.

(1) -pese "Enumerative"

The enumerative adverb consists of a reduplicated simple number plus the suffix -pese and semantically defines a counting set. When the number is reduplicated, the tones of the second member are raised with respect to the first. Only the numbers from /úí "one" to !naní "six" may occur in this construction: /úí-/úípese "one by one," /ǽm-/ǽm-ese "two by two," !noná-!nonápese "three by three," hàká-hàkápese "four by four," kóro-korópese "five by five," and !naní-!nanípese "six by six." Note the morphophonemic deletion of /p/ in /ǽm-/ǽm-ese (p. 35).

(2) -kórópe "Periodic"

The suffix -kórópe forms adverbs denoting periodic repitition when suffixed to noun roots denoting units of time: tsèekórópe "daily," with the root in tsèes "the day"; //xáakórópe "monthly," with the roots in //xáap "the month, the moon"; kuríkórópe "yearly," with the root in kurí‖ "the year."

c. -pá "Place"

The suffix -pá may be added to any associative phrase to form an adverb indicating "place." For example: kopábis tìpá "at the place of Gobabis," stási'ì tìpá "at the place of some station," puuruku tìpá "at the Boers's (masc., pl.) place," //'ara-!'aás tìpá "at the place of the severing, at the border" (//'ara-!'aás "the severing," nominalization of //'ara-!aá "sever").

For -pá as a clause relator, see p. 236.

There is another locative suffix which occurs in only one form, viz., -ká in !'aukâ "outside," with the root in !aup "the forest."

d. -ka "Time"

The suffix -ka occurs on a few adverbs of time: //óaka "in the morning," with the root in //óas "the morning" (note: //óa is a verb meaning "brighten"); huúka "already," with the adjective huú "entire, complete"; huúka/úí "immediately"; 'éékа "later," with a root 'éé that does not occur elsewhere.

e. -'a "Time"

The suffix -'a (whose glottal stop is often elided) also occurs on a few adverbs of time and appears to have just about the same meaning as -ka: /úí'a "once," with the number /úí "one"; /ám'a "a second time," with the number /ám "two"; tsèe'a "by day," with the root in tsèes "the day"; !'úi'a "in the evening," with the verb root !'úi "go out in the evening."

This suffix probably also occurs in the clause relator híí'a "while" along with the verb root híí "do, make." (See p. 239)

Temporal adverbs formed with either -ka or -'a are often preceded by a derived adjective consisting of another temporal adjective with the suffix -kám (p. 65): //naátsekám //óaka "on the morning of that day," neetsekám !'úi'a "this evening, on the evening of this day."

3. The Simple Adverb

Nama has very few mono-morphemic adverbs. We may list the following: //'ari "yesterday or tomorrow," //naí "then," /nàí "already," and ǂúro "first" (also an ordinal number).

There are two adverbs which indicate the attitude of the speaker to the truth of the statement in which they are included. They are: kómá "supposedly," which indicates that the speaker disclaims any responsibility for the veracity of his statement, and háána "actually," which indicates that the speaker wishes to emphasize that his statement is true: //'íìp ke kòmá /'aésn hãã. "He has supposedly gotten sick."; //'íìp ke háána /'aésn hãã. "He actually has gotten sick."

In the category of simple adverbs belong two adverbs borrowed from Afrikaans but very much integrated into the language. Each of them occurs in two forms an unassimilated form ("foreignism") and one which has been given the usual structure of an adverb CV(C)V+CV by the addition of the

meaningless sequence of phonemes -opa. The adverbs are: nox, noxopa "still" and tox, toxopa "please." The latter is often used idiomatically and must be translated "really": mââtíta toxopa tíí kxòeǹà nĩĩ //nàaxuú? "How can I really leave my people (family)?"

B. THE POST-POSITIONAL PHRASE

A post-positional phrase consists of a noun phrase, or a locative demonstrative adverb (Dem + -pá), plus a post-position. There are three post-positions, which may be called the "post-positions of motion," before which the noun phrase must have the subordinative suffix -à; they are: !'oá "toward," xuú "from, away from," and 'úú "along, following." We might generalize these facts into the following formula:

$$\left.\begin{matrix} NP(\underline{-à}) \\ Dem + \underline{-pá} \end{matrix}\right\} + PP$$

There is some variability in that the post-position !'oá "to, toward," may sometimes be preceded by a noun phrase without -à, but this is not true of xuú or 'úú. Here are some examples of sentences whose adverbial is a post-positional phrase: xuuǹ ke kúnìs 'áí kè !nàúhè. "The things (xuuǹ) were loaded (kè !nàúhè) on the wagon (kúnìs 'áí)."; 'áoku ke ≠xarí !'áaró'ì tàpa kè síí. "The men ('áoku) arrived (kè síí) at a certain small town (≠xarí !'áaró'ì tàpa)."; 'àríp ke 'omsà xuú kè pèé.

"The dog (!àríǫ) went away (kè pèé) from the house (!omsà xuú)."; siíkxm̀ ke /'aé//amsà !'oá kè !nàrí. "We (siíkxm̀, masc., du., excl.) travelled (kè !nàrí) to Windhoek (/'aé-//amsà !'oá)." In the last example, the post-positional phrase could as well have been /'aé//ams !'oá. As an example of a post-positional phrase with a locative demonstrative adverb, we may adduce the following: siíke ke //nāāpá xuú kè //'aurú. "We (siíke, masc., pl., excl.) went home (kè //'aurú) from there (//nāāpá xuú)."

Before we describe the system of post-positions, it is important first to mention the use of spatial metaphors for temporal relations in Nama. Many Nama post-positions do "double duty" as indicators of temporal relations as well as spatial ones, e.g., //nāā //'áép 'aí "at that time," //nāá kuríp !nāa "in that year." In the definitions that follow, temporal glosses will be given after spatial ones, separated by a semi-colon. We shall return to the question of metaphor later in our discussion.

According to morphological structure, the total class of post-positions may be divided into: (1) simple post-positions, (2) compound post-positions, and (3) derived post-positions. In neither of the last two types, compound and derived, is there a productive morphological process involved; they are merely post-positions which are analyzable.

What follows is an inventory of Nama post-positions which attempts to be as thorough as possible.

1. The Simple Post-position

Simple post-positions are mono-morphemic. The simple post-positions of Nama are the following:

!áí	"on, onto; at"	!'oá*	"to, toward"
tàpa	"at"	//áa	"to, toward"
!naã	"in, into; in"	xuú*	"from, away from; since"
≠'ám	"over"	'úú*	"along, following"
!ào	"under, at the foot of, at the base of"		
/xáa	"with"	kxmí	"like"
xaa	"by, than, about"	!'áróma	"because of"

Those which must be preceded by a subordinated noun phrase (NPà) are followed by an asterisk. There is one more simple post-position which is not on the list; it is 'oma "at" which is identical in meaning to tàpa, though rarely used.

The bottom four post-positions do not indicate spatial relationships and so deserve special comment and exemplification. /xáa indicates "accompaniment" or "instrument": //'íĩku ke ≠'oákunis /xáa kè síí. "They (//'íĩku. masc., pl.) arrived (kè síí) by airplane (≠'oákunis /xáa)."; siíkxm̀ ke /'apá!namku /xáa kè !hóá. "We (siíkxm̀, masc., du., excl.) conversed (kè !hóá) with the policemen (/'apá!namku /xáa)."

xaa indicates "agent" or "comparison"; tiíta ke //aãs xaa kè //'óó. "I (tiíta) died (kè //'óó) of thirst (//aãs xaa)."; siíkxm̀ ke /'apá!namku xaa kè !xóóhè. "We (siikxm, masc., du.,

excl.) were grabbed (kè !xóóhè) by the policemen (/'áoá!namku xaa)."; hááp ke 'àríp xaa 'a kái. "The horse (hááp) is bigger ('a kái) than the dog ('àríp xaa)." See p. 157 for the passive, and p. 170 for the comparison of adjectives. The post-position xaa is also used in sentences like the following: tiíta ke //naás xaa 'a ≠'áñ. "I (tiíta) know ('a ≠'áñ) that (//naás xaa)." Note also: //añ'è xaa "some meat."

kxmi indicates "analogy": tíí ≠áóp ke ≠xarí turúró'ì ≠áóp kxmí kèrè ≠nàa. "My heart (tíí ≠áóp) was pounding (kèrè ≠nàa) like a little mouse's heart (≠xarí turúró'ì ≠áóp kxmí)."

!'áróma indicates "cause": //naás !'áróma "because of that, therefore." The noun phrase with which it occurs is almost always a nominalization (see p. 252).

2. The Compound Post-position

Compound post-positions are bi-morphemic, and both of the morphemes belong to the morpheme structure category of roots (CV(C)V). In some compounds, the component morphemes are both simple post-positions; in others, only the second member of the compound is a post-position, while the first member can be identified with a noun root. The latter type of compound is undoubtedly of metaphorical origin.

The compound post-positions of Nama are the following:

≠'ám'áí	"on top of"	from: ≠'ám "over" plus 'áí "on, onto"
!nãã'úú	"through"	from: !nãã "in, into" plus 'úú "along"

kxáó!aǎ "behind; after" the first root of which is identifiable with that in kxáós "buttocks," and the second with that in !aǎp "back"

'áí!'aǎ or 'áí!naǎ "in front of; before" the first root of which is identifiable with that in 'áís "face," and the second with the post-position !naǎ "in, into"

xóó/xáa "near" the first root of which is identifiable with that in xóóp "cheek," and the second with the post-position /xáa "with"

There are also a number of what are commonly called "idiomatic expressions" which, while not having the structural form of post-positions, are functionally equivalent to post-positions. These must always be preceded by an associative and consist of a noun plus post-position which is 'áí "on, onto" in all recorded cases. We might compare them with combinations like "in front of," "instead of," or "at the foot of" in English. Some common ones are: 'aḿs 'áí "instead (of)," literally "on the mouth (of)" as in: //'íǐp tl 'aḿs 'áí "instead of him"; kxáós 'áí "behind," literally "at buttocks (of)" as in //'íǐp tl kxáós 'áí "behind him"; !aǎp 'áí also "behind, but literally "at the back (of)"; /aú́s 'áí "like, in the same manner as," literally "on the manner"; toḿ-i 'áí also "like, in the same manner as." It is expressions such as these which might well be the etymological source of compound post-positions.

The list given above is probably not exhaustive, but it does include the most commonly found forms.

3. The Derived Post-position

Derived post-positions are also bi-morphemic, but the second or both morphemes belong to the morpheme structure class of suffixes (CV). It is difficult to make any generalizations about the component morphemes as can be seen in the list below:

!'oáku "with respect to, opposite" composed of the post-position !'oá "to, toward" plus the V-NP patient suffix -ku "reciprocal" (p. 159)

//'aeku "between" composed of the verb root //'ae "come together" plus the V-NP patient suffix -ku "reciprocal" (p. 159)

!naǎká "under, underneath" composed of the post-position !naǎ "in, into" plus a suffix -ká which only occurs in this and the next form

!'auká "outside of" composed of the noun root in !'aup "forest" plus the suffix -ká

'óse "without" composed of the morpheme which is elsewhere the adjective deriving suffix -'ó "privative" (p. 60) plus the adverb deriving suffix -se "manner," so that 'óse might be said to mean "in the manner of not having"

kóse "up to, as far as; until" composed of what is elsewhere the number deriving suffix -kó (p. 69) plus the adverb deriving suffix -se "manner," so that

kóse might be said to mean "in the manner as much as"

From a syntactic point of view, the derivation of these post-positions is very peculiar. It must be emphasized, however, that there is not a hint of productivity in these derivations, which makes them etymological in essence.

4. Temporal Relations

Several of the post-positions listed in the above sections may indicate temporal relations in addition to spatial ones. They are re-listed below with only their temporal translations and an example phrase:

'áí	"at": //nâá //'áép 'áí "at that time"
!nâa	"in": //nâá kuríp !nâa "in that year"
xuú	"since": //nâá tsèesà xuú "since that day"
kóse	"until": /'únis kóse "until the end"
kxáó!ãã	"after": ǂxarí //'áéró'ì kxáó!ãã "after a little time"
'áí!'ãa	"before": /uí //xãap 'áí!'ãa "before one month"

Spatial-to-temporal metaphor is only one kind of metaphor but it is the most frequent. The other kinds are interesting but not capable of systematic treatment. Some examples are: nama kòpap !nâa "in the Nama language," nee !óḿ-à xuú "from this difficulty," tíí fámilip !nâa "in my family," //nâá /'apés /xâa "with (according to) that decision."

C. THE TEMPORAL NPà

A temporal NPà (subordinated noun phrase) is a noun phrase whose noun denotes a unit of time, followed by the subordinative suffix -à. The meaning conveyed by a temporal NPà is that of "duration," as can be seen in the following sentences: siíkxm̀ ke /ám tsèerà //nā́ápá kè hā́ā. "We (siíkxm̀, masc., du., excl.) stayed (kè hā́á) there (//nā́ápá) for two days (/ám tsèerà)."; tiíta ke /hàpé //'áépà nī́í !ū́u-pèé. "I (tiíta) will go away (nī́í !ū́u-pèé) for a long time (/hàpé //'áépà)."

D. THE AGENTIVE CASE

One further type of adverbial occurs in a few fixed expressions. This adverbial has the meaning "agent" and consists of a noun phrase followed by the suffix -ì. Here are some examples: tiíta ke ≠'ā́asì ra //'óó. "I (tiíta) am dying (ra //'óó) of hunger (≠'ā́asì, which is ≠'ā́as "hunger" plus -ì "agent")."; //'ī́ip ke //ā́ásì kè //'óó. "He (//'ī́ip) died (kè //'óó) of thirst (//ā́ásì, which is //ā́ás "thirst" plus -ì "agent")." This suffix has the same meaning as the post-position xaa "agent" (p. 194) which can always be substituted for it with no change in meaning, e.g., tiíta ke ≠'ā́as xaa ra //'óó. "I am dying of hunger."

VI. PERMUTATION

So far, all example sentences have been presented in what we might call "normal" sentence order, i.e., in the order which occurs with the greatest frequency and which can, therefore, be assumed to be basic. Furthermore, it is only when the sentence is in this normal order that a constituent analysis as neat as the preceding one can be performed. An important feature of Nama syntax, however, is that it allows for considerable variety in the ordering of sentence constituents to emphasize or de-emphasize a particular element in the sentence. The variability in ordering is best viewed as the result of departures from the normal order and, as such, can be reduced to three simple principles of permutation. They are: (a) initialization, whereby an element is brought to the beginning of the sentence, (b) finalization, whereby an element is brought to the end of the sentence, and (c) internal scrambling, whereby certain elements within the sentence are re-ordered. Each of these principles of permutation incorporates a set of syntactic restrictions which govern which element may be moved, and where it may be moved without destroying the acceptability of the sentence to a native speaker and without changing its essential meaning.

Permutation is optional for all declarative sentences.

It is obligatory for many interrogative sentences, specifically, those which contain interrogative words, in which case the interrogative word must be initialized. Though such interrogative sentences have not yet been discussed, and will not be discussed until the question of the interrogative sentence can be treated as a whole (p. 264), it is useful to point out here that the permutation of an interrogative sentence is governed by the same restrictions as that of a declarative sentence. For now, let us restrict ourselves to the optional permutation of a declarative sentence.

There is a way in which the structure of the interrogative sentence does play a role in the optional permutation of the declarative. In conversation, when a declarative sentence is uttered as a direct answer to a question posed in the form of an interrogative sentence, that declarative sentence may be modeled on the permuted form of that interrogative sentence. As an illustration, the answer to the question mǎǎpáts ta !ǔǔ? "Where (mǎǎpá) are you (-ts) going (ta !ǔǔ)?" may very well be !'áas !'oáta ke ra !ǔǔ. "I (-ta) am going (ra !ǔǔ) to the town (!'áas !'oá)." The first sentence has mǎǎpá "where," an interrogative word, initialized obligatorily, while the second has the post-positional phrase !'áas !'oá "to the town" initialized optionally. The answer might also be given with the normal order, tiíta ke !'áas !'oá ra !ǔǔ. It must be emphasized that permutation is by

no means restricted to answers to questions; it is just more likely in such cases. Permutation may often be used in other contexts, such as narrative or description, to emphasize or de-emphasize a particular element in a sentence. It happens that emphasis on a particular sentence constituent is inherent in an interrogative sentence such as the one given above, and that emphasis may stimulate a corresponding emphasis in the response to the question.

The topic of embedding has yet to be introduced though it too does have some bearing on the topic of permutation. The embedding of a sentence in certain sentence constituents often makes permutation of the matrix sentence more likely; this is especially true of embedding in adverbials (p. 235).

We shall now discuss the three principles of permutation, and then try to formulate a general statement.

A. INITIALIZATION

Initialization is the bringing of an element to the beginning of the sentence. In the normal sentence order, the subject NP is in initial position, the position of highest emphasis; in a declarative sentence, it is followed by the declarative particle ke. We may define the initial position as the position before ke in a declarative sentence. It is a rule of Nama grammar that when another sentence element is brought into initial position, the subject NP must be

moved out. This is accomplished by a syntactic phenomenon which we may call the "deposed subject." To illustrate how this mechanism works, let us take the liberty of dividing the NP into two parts. Since every NP ends in a pgn suffix, we may divide any noun phrase into: (1) a noun phrase stem (NPS), which is everything preceding the final pgn suffix, and (2) a pgn suffix. Thus, every declarative sentence in the normal order begins in the following manner:

NPS + pgn + ke + ...

When another sentence element is brought into initial position, it must be placed in the position of the NPS. When this happens, the NPS must be deleted, but may be reintroduced in an NPà after the declarative particle ke. If we symbolize the initialized element as "X", the following structure results:

$$X + pgn_1 + ke + (NPS + pgn_1 + -à) + ...$$

The two pgn suffixes are marked with a subscript numeral to indicate that they must be the same morpheme. What is contained in parentheses amounts to a noun phrase duplicating the original subject NP followed by the subordinative suffix -à. It is to this unit that we give the term "deposed subject." It is important to emphasize that the deposed subject is optional; in fact, in the greater number of permuted sentences it is not present. If the original subject NP was

only a pronoun, a deposed subject would be entirely redundant and would only be present if special emphasis on the pronoun were desired. The pgn$_1$ is thus a "clitic pronoun."

We may term the pgn suffix which is retained before ke the "subject indicator" (si). With those pgn suffixes which have allomorphs, which allomorphs is realized is conditioned by the last phoneme in the initialized element.

A simple example should elucidate the foregoing discussion. Take the following sentence in normal order: nee 'áop ke !'áas !'oá ra !ũũ. "This man (nee 'áop) is going (ra !ũũ) to the town (!'áas !'oá)." According to the preceding analysis, the beginning of this sentence has the following structure:

nee 'áo + -p + ke . . .

If the adverbial, !'áas !'oá, is initialized, the beginning of the permuted sentence would be as follows:

!'áas !'oá + -p + ke + (nee 'áo + -p + -à) . . .

The permuted sentence would thus be: !'áas !'oáp ke nee 'áopà ra !ũũ. "This man is going to the town." If the deposed subject is not introduced after the original subject is deleted, the sentence would be: !'áas !'oáp ke ra !ũũ. "He is going to the town."

In a sentence in the normal order whose subject NP is a pronoun, the process is exactly the same. The sentence

//'ǐǐp ke !'áas !'oǽ ra !úũ. "He is going to the town" could be permuted to either !'áas !'oǽp ke //'ǐǐpà ra !úũ. "He is going to the town." or, with deletion, !'áas !'oǽp ke ra !úũ. "He is going to the town." Note that the last sentence is identical to the last sentence of the previous paragraph.

An interesting result of initialization is that it enormously widens the syntactic distribution of the pgn suffix when it becomes a subject indicator. In this construction, a pgn suffix may be suffixed to virtually anything, as in the above examples where it is suffixed to a post-position !'oǽp. Added to this is the problem that, on rare occasions, a speaker may pause between the initialized element and the rest of the sentence, which amounts to pausing in the middle of a word. When the subject indicating pgn suffix constitutes a mora, this is not a problem, as in the earlier example !'áas !'oǽ . . . -ta ke ra !úũ. "I am going . . . to the town." When it does not constitute a mora, as in the above examples, the result would be unpronounceable: !'áas !'oǽ . . . -p ke ra !úũ. "He is going . . . to the town." In such cases, an epenthetic vowel /i/ may be added to facilitate pronunciation: !'áas !'oǽ . . . ip ke ra !úũ. This does not always happen, however, with the result that the subject indicator gets lost entirely. The problem rarely occurs since pausing at this point is avoided; the usual place to pause is after the declarative particle ke.

We are now in a position to deal with the question of which elements are subject to initialization. The vague term "elements" has been used up to this point to denote permuted parts of a sentence, but in the following sections exactly what it is that is initialized will be defined. For clarity, the active and stative sentences will be treated separately.

1. Initialization in the Active Sentence

Any active declarative sentence in the normal order may be described by the following diagram:

$$NP+ke+(\underline{Advl_1})+(\underline{Advl_2})+(\underline{NP\grave{a}})+(\underline{NP\grave{a}})+Te+(Imp)+\underline{V[+act]}+(Perf)$$

Only two adverbials have been included though there may be more. Any element which is underlined may be initialized, viz., any adverbial, any NPà, or the verb (whether it is simple or complex). Although it can not be indicated in the diagram, even the tense and aspect particles may be brought to the beginning of the sentence when the verb is initialized, as will be explained presently.

Unless the verb is initialized, only one of the underlined sentence constituents may be initialized in any one sentence and deposition of the subject NP is obligatory. To illustrate this, let us take a few sentences and permute them in various ways. Take the following sentence in the normal order: /ǒǎp ke !háése 'oms !'oǵ kè !xóé. "The son

(/ɔ́ɑ́p) ran (kè !xóé) quickly (!háése) to the house ('oms !'oá)." With the adverbial !háése "quickly" initialized, the sentence is: !háésep ke /ɔ́ɑ́pà 'oms !'oá kè !xóé. "The son ran quickly to the house." With the adverbial 'oms !'oá "to the house" initialized, it is: 'oms !'oáp ke /ɔ́ɑ́pà !háése kè !xóé. "The son ran quickly to the house."

Here is another sentence in the normal order: 'áop ke //'ĩĩpà hàípà kè màa. "The man ('áop) gave (kè màa) the stick (hàípà) to him (//'ĩĩpà)." With the indirect object NPà //'ĩĩpà "to him" initialized, the sentence is: //'ĩĩpàp ke 'áopà hàípà kè màa. "The man gave the stick to him." With the direct object NPà hàípà "the stick" initialized, the sentence is: hàípàp ke 'áopà //'ĩĩpà kè màa. "The man gave the stick to him.

When the verb alone is initialized, deposition of the subject is also obligatory: !xóép ke 'áopà !háése 'oms !'oá kè. "The son ran quickly to the house." màap ke 'áopà //'ĩĩpà hàípà kè. "The man gave the stick to him." In such sentences the tense particle is usually moved to the position between the declarative particle ke and the deposed subject: !xóép ke kè 'áopà !háése 'oms !'oá. màap ke kè 'áopà //'ĩĩpà hàípa. This variety of tense movement prevents the sentence from ending in a tense particle; the sentences which end in a tense particle are considered acceptable but awkward. Any aspect particles which may be present are moved with the tense particle. In the imperfective aspect, the last sentence

would be: màap ke kèrè 'áopà //'ĩpà hàípà. "The man was giving the stick to him." In the perfective aspect: màap ke kè hã̀a 'íí 'áopà //'ĩpà hàípà. "The man had given the stick to him."

All of the initializations which have been described so far have been of one sentence constituent and have required subject deposition. In another type of initialization, the verb plus all tense and aspect morphemes may be brought to the beginning of the sentence, but the subject may not be deposed. For example, the simple sentence 'áop ke ra ≠'ãĩ. "The man ('áop) is thinking (ra ≠'ãĩ)." may be permuted to ≠'ãĩ ra 'áop ke. "The man is thinking." Note that in this example, the imperfective aspect particle ra must follow the verb. This type of initialization is subject to the condition that the sentence not begin with a tense particle or aspect particle, hence the inversion of ra and ≠'ãĩ. Here are some examples with other tenses and aspects: ≠'ãĩ kè 'áop ke. "The man thought."; ≠'ãĩ nĩĩ 'áop ke. "The man will think."; ≠'ãĩ kèrè 'áop ke. "The man was thinking."; ≠'ãĩ hã̀a 'áop ke. "The man has thought."; ≠'ãĩ kò hã̀a 'íí 'áop ke. "The man had just thought." If the subject is a pronoun, the pronominal may be deleted: ≠'ãĩ rap ke. "He is thinking." When both the verb and all tense and aspect particles are initialized, any other of the sentence constituents may optionally be initialized as well. The sentence 'áop ke neetse tarásà kò ≠aí. "The man ('áop) just called

(kò ≠aí) the woman (tarásà) today (neetse)." may thus be permuted to: neetse kò ≠aí 'áop ke tarásà. "The man just called the woman today.," tarásà kò ≠aí 'áop ke neetse. "The man just called the woman today.," or neetse tarásà kò ≠'aí 'áop ke. "The man just called the woman today." Note that the tense particle kò and the verb ≠aí need not be inverted because in no case does the sentence begin with a tense particle. Sentences in which several constituents are initialized, such as the last few examples, occur only rarely in narrative or conversation.

The negative word tama always follows the verb, no matter where the verb may be permuted to; however, the non-punctual aspect morpheme hàã is deleted if it is initialized. Thus the sentence /óás ke neepá ≠núú tama hàã. "The daughter (/óás) has not sat (≠núú tama hàã) here (neepá)." may be permuted to ≠nuú tamas ke /óásà neepá. "The daughter has not sat here."

2. Initialization in the Stative Sentence

Any stative declarative sentence in the normal order may be described by the following diagram:

$$NP + ke + (Advl_1) + (Advl_2) + Te + Pred + Cop$$

Any underlined constituent may be initialized, and tense and copula may be initialized if the predicate is.

Unless the predicate (V[+sta] or NP-Comp) is initial-

ized, only one of the underlined sentence constituents may be initialized in any one sentence, and deposition of the subject NP is obligatory. The sentence /ǿás ke 'a 'ĩixá. "The daughter (/ǿás) is beautiful ('a 'ĩixá)." may have its predicate 'ĩixá, an NP-Comp consisting of an adjective, initialized resulting in 'ĩixás ke /ǿásà 'a. "The daughter is beautiful." When the predicate is initialized, the tense and copula are usually moved to the position after the declarative particle ke and before the deposed subject: 'ĩixás ke 'a /ǿásà. With the past tense, the sentence /ǿás ke kè 'ĩixá 'ií. or /ǿás ke 'ĩixá kè 'ií. "The daughter was beautiful." would be permuted to 'ĩixás ke kè 'ií /ǿásà. "The daughter was beautiful."

A frequent type of stative sentence with an adverbial is the "comparative" construction (p. 170). Observe the following sentence in the normal order: hááp ke 'àríp xaa 'a káí. "The horse (hááp) is bigger ('a káí) than the dog ('àríp xaa)." The adverbial 'àríp xaa "than the dog" may be initialized, resulting in: 'àríp xaap ke háápà 'a káí. "The horse is bigger than the dog." The predicate may be initialized, resulting in: káíp ke 'a háápà 'àríp xaa. "The horse is bigger than the dog."

Another frequent adverbial in a stative sentence is the adverb káíse "very." The sentence saraň ke káíse kè /'uríxà 'ií. "The clothes (saraň) were (kè . . . 'ií) very (káíse) dirty (/'uríxà)." may have its adverbial káíse

initialized, resulting in: káiseh ke sarahà kè /'uríxà 'íí. "The clothes were very dirty."

Initializations have so far been of only one constituent. However, in another type of initialization, the tense particle and copula may be initialized with the predicate, and, optionally, any adverbials which may be present: the subject NP may not be deposed. To prevent the sentence from beginning with a tense particle or copula, the tense particle and predicate may be reversed. Thus, the sentence /ǒǎs ke 'a 'ĩixá. "The daughter is beautiful." may be permuted to 'ĩixá 'a /ǒǎs ke. "The daugher is beautiful." The sentence /ǒǎs ke káíse kè 'ĩixá 'íí. "The daughter was very beautiful." may be permuted to káíse kè 'ĩixá 'íí /ǒǎs ke. or káíse 'ĩixá kè 'íí /ǒǎs ke. "The girl was very beautiful." Reversal of tense and predicate is not required in the last sentence since the adverb káíse prevents it from beginning with the tense particle kè.

The negative word tama always follows the predicate, no matter where the predicate may be permuted to; the morpheme hàà is deleted if it is initialized. The sentence /ǒǎs ke 'ĩixá tama hàà. "The daughter is not beautiful." may thus be permuted to 'ĩixá tama /ǒǎs ke. "The daughter is not beautiful."

There are many obvious parallels between active and stative sentences in the principles governing initialization. We shall return to this question later.

B. FINALIZATION

Finalization is the bringing of an element to the end of the sentence. Unlike initialization, the process of finalization is very simple, being governed by one rule: Any adverbial or subordinated noun phrase (NPà) may be finalized. More than one such unit may be finalized, but this happens rarely. Here are the formulas for the active and stative sentences with the constituents which may be finalized underlined:

NP+ke+(Advl$_1$)+(Advl$_2$)+(NPà)+(NPà)+Te+(Imp)+V[+act]+(Perf)

NP+ke+(Advl$_1$)+(Advl$_2$) +Te +Pred +Cop

Here is an active sentence in the normal order: siíke ke //nāápá paas /xáa kè síí. "We (siíke. msc., pl., exc.) arrived (kè síí) there (//nāápá) by bus (paas /xáa)." This sentence may have the following forms with finalization of different constituents: siíke ke paas /xáa kè síí //nāápá. siíke ke //nāápá kè síí paas /xáa. siíke ke kè síí //nāápá paas /xáa. Unlike initialization, finalization causes no great difference in emphasis; all of the last three sentences would best be glossed the same as the sentence in normal order.

Here is another example, this time with a sentence having a subordinated noun phrase (NPà): !xuu hāā 'áop ke kāí tāāsìp tsèesà kè ≠aí≠'úí. "The rich man (!xuu hāā 'áop)

declared (kè ≠aí≠'úí) a day of great celebration (kái tǎǎsìp tsèesà)." The direct object NPà kái tǎǎsìp tsèesà "a day of great celebration" may be finalized, resulting in: !xuu hǎa 'áop ke kè ≠aí≠'úí kái tǎǎsìp tsèesà.

In a stative sentence, the only constituent which may be finalized is an adverbial, since stative sentences lack subordinated noun phrases (NPà) as a rule. Thus, the earlier example hááp ke 'àríp xaa 'a kái. "The horse (hááp) is bigger ('a kái) than the dog ('àríp xaa)." may be permuted to: hááp ke 'a kái 'àríp xaa. which would have the same gloss.

One other construction must be included in this discussion of finalization, and that is the finalized deposed subject, which is a special case of a subordinated noun phrase and, therefore, falls under the rule given at the beginning of this section. This phenomenon may only occur in a sentence where some constituent is initialized. If the direct object in the sentence !xuu hǎa 'áop ke kái tǎǎsìp tsèesà kè ≠aí≠'úí. "The rich man declared a day of great celebration." is initialized, the result is: kái tǎǎsìp tsèesàp ke !xuu hǎa 'áopà kè ≠aí≠'úí. "The rich man declared a day of great celebration." Then, if the deposed subject !xuu hǎa 'áopà is finalized, the result is: kái tǎǎsìp tsèesàp ke kè ≠aí≠'úí !xuu hǎa 'áopà. This last sentence is so permuted as to verge on awkwardness.

Finalization is much less frequent in Nama than is initialization, except in the case of certain constructions resulting from embedding, as we shall see later.

C. INTERNAL SCRAMBLING

Internal scrambling is a form of permutation which occurs only in an active sentence; it is the re-ordering of the adverbials and subordinated noun phrases, i.e., the underlined elements in the following formula:

NP+ke+(Advl$_1$)+(Advl$_2$)+(NPà)+(NPà)+Te+(Imp)+V[+act]+(Perf)

Of course, a sentence must have at least two of the underlined optional elements before scrambling may occur.

The following sentence is in the normal order: /'ápá-!namku ke //'ari !árop !nǎa !narí'aopà kè !xóó. "The policemen (/'ápá!namku) caught (kè !xóó) the thief (!narí'aopà) yesterday (//'ari) in the forest (!árop !nǎa)." The direct object noun phrase !narí'aopà "the thief" and the adverbials //'ari "yesterday" and !árop !nǎa "in the forest" may be permuted in any way to produce an acceptable sentence. The following are the possibilities: /'ápá!namku ke !narí'aopà //'ari !árop !nǎa kè !xóó. /'ápá!namku ke !narí'aopà !árop !nǎa //'ari kè !xóó. /'ápá!namku ke //'ari !narí'aopà !árop !nǎa kè !xóó. /'ápá!namku ke !árop !nǎa !narí'aopà //'ari kè !xóó. /'ápá!namku ke !árop !nǎa //'ari !narí'aopà kè !xóó.

In a sentence with both an indirect object NPà and a direct object NPà, their order may be reversed as long as the meaning of the sentence is still clear. Here is a sentence in the normal order with two NPà's: 'áop ke 'àrípà

hàípà kè màa. "The man ('ácp) gave (kè màa) the stick (hàípà) to the dog ('àrípà)." The sentence may be permuted to: 'áop ke hàípà 'àrípà kè màa. without any change in meaning, since the fact that hàíp is an inanimate noun excludes it from being interpreted as the indirect object. However, this sentence may not undergo the same form of permutation: jón-i ke píl-a mérisa kè ≠aípa. "John called Mary for Bill." Order is the only factor which may distinguish the indirect object NPà píl-à from the direct object NPà mérisà.

As in finalization, a deposed subject NPà may also participate in the scrambling.

D. GENERALIZATIONS

Now that we have examined the three types of permutation, we can now try to make some generalizations about all three and how they apply to both active and stative sentences. On the basis of the preceding analysis, the formulas for the active and stative sentence may be generalized into one comprehensive formula. They are duplicated below followed by the comprehensive formula:

NP+ke+(Advl$_1$)+(Advl$_2$)+(NPà)+(NPà)+Te+(Imp)+V[+act]+(Perf)

NP+ke+(Advl$_1$)+(Advl$_2$) +Te +Pred +Cop

NP+ke+ (Optional Elements) +TAC$_1$ +VPN +TAC$_2$

The adverbials and subordinated noun phrases have been

generalized to "Optional Elements." Tense, aspect, and copula have been generalized into a tense-aspect-copula complex "TAC" in two parts. The active verb and the predicate have been generalized to a verb phrase nucleus "VPN."

General rules for permutation may now be stated:

1. Optional elements may be: (a) initialized with subject deposition, (b) finalized, or (c) scrambled, provided the meaning of the sentence is not changed.
2. The VPN may be initialized with subject deposition, and, if so, the TAC may be moved in front of the deposed subject.
3. The VPN and TAC may be initialized without subject deposition, and, if so, any number of optional elements may be initialized also. The TAC and VPN may be reversed to prevent the sentence from beginning with TAC_1.

Note: In short sentences where the verb alone is initialized, the declarative particle ke is frequently left out with no change in meaning. For example, a sentence like !úúta ra. "I (-ta) am going (!úú . . . ra)." is just as acceptable as !úúta ke ra. Similarly, /'úúta 'a "I (-ta) don't know (/'úú . . . 'a)." is just as acceptable as /'úúta ke 'a. In declarative sentences longer than these, ke is always included.

VII. CONJUNCTION

Sentence conjunction is a syntactic device which explicitly relates a sentence to a larger context, that context being either a whole discourse or merely a preceding sentence. The conjunctions are a class of mono-morphemic words which are part of this syntactic device. Nama has five conjunctions: tsíí "and," 'oo "then," xapé "but," 'íí and 'a "that." The last two, 'íí and 'a, are the hortative conjunctions, which serve to relate an imperative sentence to a larger context. They will be discussed later with the imperative sentence (p. 273).

In sentence conjunction, all conjunctions precede the sentence to which they belong; this is in contrast to all other constructions in which conjunctions occur. We have seen the conjunction tsíí "and" before in the context of the conjunctive noun phrase (p. 95) where it related a series of noun phrases into a larger unit according to the following pattern:

$$[NP_1 + tsíí + NP_2 + tsíí + \ldots NP_n + tsíí] + pgnc$$

Note that in the conjunctive noun phrase tsíí follows each noun phrase in the series. We shall see tsíí, 'oo, and xapé later as "subordinating conjunctions" (p. 235) with which

a sentence is embedded into an adverb; in this construction the subordinating conjunction follows the embedded sentence. The subordinating conjunctions must be translated differently, tsíí "as," 'oo "when," and xape "however," though they are clearly the same morphemes as the sentence conjunctions. The difference in meaning can be attributed to a difference in syntactic environment. In fact, it is almost possible to consider sentence conjunctions to be initialized subordinating conjunctions, as should become evident chen we deal with subordinating conjunctions in the next chapter.

Sentence conjunction may result in two different constructions: (a) the conjunctive sentence, and (b) the sequential sentence.

A. THE CONJUNCTIVE SENTENCE

A conjunctive sentence is a sentence which begins with a conjunction. Except for this fact, a conjunctive sentence is no different from an ordinary declarative sentence, i.e., it has all the obligatory constituents of a declarative sentence. Semantically, the conjuction in this type of sentence relates the sentence to the discourse as a whole; it indicates that the meaning of the sentence is part of a series of events. It frequently occurs that all sentences in a narrative, including the first, are conjunctive sentences. So, in translating a story into acceptable English, it will often be necessary to leave some conjunctions untranslated.

With the conjunctions tsíí "and" and xapé "but," subject deposition, according to the same rules which apply in the initialization permutation (p. 202), is usual but optional. Failure to depose the subject indicates emphasis on that subject noun phrase. For example, the following two sentences have the same basic meaning but differ in the distribution of emphasis: tsíí̃p ke nee 'áopà kè !úũ. "And (tsíí) this man (nee 'áopà) went (kè !úũ)." tsíí nee 'áop ke kè !úũ. "And this man went." The second sentence would be most likely in a contrastive context where one man were being contrasted with another, but such contexts are relatively infrequent.

With the same two conjunctions, tsíí and xapé, there may be initialization of some element in the sentence. For example: tsíí //nããpá xuúkxm̀ ke paasà kè 'úú. "And (tsíí) from there (//nããpá xuú) we (-kxm̀, masc., du.) took (kè 'úú) the bus (paasà)."; xape 'éékap ke práinà maríǹà kè hòo. "But (xapé) later ('ééka) Brian (práinà) found (kè hòo) the money (maríǹà)."

With the conjunction 'oo "then," subject deposition is obligatory and initialization of a sentence element may not occur. This means that all conjunctive sentences with 'oo begin with the sequence: 'oo + subject indicator + ke. Here are some examples: 'oos ke //'íísà kè tíí . . . "Then ('oo) she (//'íísà) asked (kè tíí) . . ."; 'oop ke tíí /hòopà //nãã ≠xaníkà kè //aupi. "Then ('oo) my friend (tíí /hòopà) showed (kè //au) him (-pi) those papers (//nãã ≠xaníkà)."

The adverb //nãá'am'aka "therefore" (//nãá "that" plus 'am'a "be true" plus -ka "temporal") and the post-positional phrase //nãás !'ároma "because of that" occur rather frequently, and almost exclusively in initialized position, i.e., in the same distribution as the sentence conjunction 'oo "then." However, they do occur in the adverbial position of the normal order on rare occasions, so they must be considered to be adverbials. Observe the following sentence: //nãás !'árómakxm ke xuuhà kè //nàú-!'áá //'óá 'ií. "Therefore (//nãás !'ároma) we (-kxm, masc., du.) could not (kè . . . //'óá 'ií) understand (//nàú-!'áá) things (xuuhà)." An acceptable, but less likely, form of the same sentence would be: siíkxm ke //nãás !'ároma xuuhà kè //nàú-!'áá //'óá 'ií.

Before we leave the conjunctive sentence, it would be well to make some comment on its analysis as a unit of syntactic description, since it may be a bit difficult to conceive. As mentioned earlier, a whole narrative may consist of nothing but conjunctive sentences. Yet not one sentence taken out of such a narrative will sound "complete" or self-contained to a native speaker. This comes as no surprise since the sentence is, after all, part of a story. However, if we deny the conjunctive sentence status as a unit of description on the grounds of this "incompleteness," we would be forced to regard whole narratives as not adding up to one sentence. This could hardly be true.

B. THE SEQUENTIAL SENTENCE

A sequential sentence is a series of sentences, of which all but the first must be conjunctive sentences with tsíí "and," in which redundant items have been deleted according to certain rules. Semantically, the conjunction is each component conjunctive sentence relates that sentence to the one preceding. The sequential sentence as a whole describes a necessarily consecutive sequence of events.

The definition of the sequential sentence includes the fact of deletion; a series of conjunctive sentences in which no deletion has taken place must be regarded as a series of separate conjunctive sentences. The following items may be deleted: (a) the entire subject NP plus ke (and the subject indicator in the case of deposition) in all sentences except the first, where the subject NP is identical to that in the first sentence of the series, and (b) the entire tense, aspect, and copula complex in all sentences except the last, where the tense, aspect, and copula complex is identical to that in the last sentence of the series. Both types of deletion are optional, but the presence of either of them requires that we regard the series of sentences as one sequential sentence.

To illustrate the structure of a sequential, let us take a series of conjunctive sentences where the necessary redundancies are present, and perform the deletions. In the following series, all the sentences are conjunctive,

although it is not necessary that the first one be: tsĩĩta ke náútse stásis 'áí kè //ȍà. tsĩĩta ke masénsà kè 'úú. tsĩĩ-ta ke /'áé//amsà !'oá kè !xarú. "And (tsĩĩ) the next day (náútse) I (-ta) went down (kè //ȍà) to the station (stásis 'áí). And I took (kè 'úú) the train (masénsà). And I proceeded (kè !xarú) to Windhoek (/'áé//amsà !'oá)." If we delete the subject indicator (-ta)in the second and third sentences (the deposed subject, which would be tiítà, is not present), and the tense particle (kè) in the first and second sentences (there are no aspect or copula morphemes present), the result is the following sequential sentence: tsĩíta ke náútse stásis 'ái //ȍà tsĩĩ masénsà 'úú tsĩĩ /'áé//amsà !'oá kè !xarú. "And the next day I went down to the station, took the train, and proceeded to Windhoek." Notice that only in the first member sentence is there a subject indicator, and only in the last is there a tense particle. It should also be remarked that final sentence intonation has also been deleted after the first and second sentences. Here is another sequential sentence, this time with imperfective aspect: tsĩĩke ke //nãã 'áútus 'áí !nàóhè tsĩĩ ≠nũu kxòeǹ //ãupà kèrè //ȍà. "And (tsĩĩ) we (-ke, masc., pl.) would be loaded (!nàóhè) onto that car (//nãã 'áútus 'áí) and (tsĩĩ) would go down (kèrè //ȍa) to the black people's district (≠nùu kxòeǹ //ãupà !'oá)." The same deletions rules apply to active sentences with perfective aspect, and to stative sentences.

An examination of the examples given in the previous paragraph will reveal that the events described by a sequential sentence must necessarily follow one upon the other. It is no coincidence that all of the verbs in these two sentences describe motion from one place to another; this is usually true of sequential sentences. However, is many cases the last verb is not a verb which describes motion, and in such cases a special type of embedding usually occurs. The two verbs síí "go and arrive" and hàa "come and arrive" may be embedded into the last sentence as adverbs without any "clause relator," or morphological indicator of embedding (p. 247); these verbs are often accompanied by a place adverb such as //nǎápá "there." The embedding of these verbs has the semantic effect of designating the last verb as describing the termination of a sequence of motions. This can be seen in the examples which follow: tsíí̀ta ke tiítà síí tsíí̀ tíí !ǎátì /xáa síí kè !hóá. "And (tsíí̀) I (tiítà) went (síí) and (tsíí̀), having arrived (síí), conversed (kè !hóá) with my sisters (tíí !ǎátì /xáa)."; tsíí̀ku ke /'apá!namkà /xií tsíí̀ //nǎápá hàa siíkè kè !xóó. "And (tsíí̀) the policemen (/'apá-!namkà) came (/xií) and (tsíí̀), having arrived (hàa) there (//nǎápá), caught (kè !xóó) us.(siíkè, masc., pl., excl.)." The device is so frequently used, that it would be more accurate to eliminate "having arrived," which translates síí in the first sentence and hàa in the second, from the translation.

VIII. EMBEDDING

Like conjunction, embedding is a syntactic device which explicitly relates a sentence to a larger context, but while the context of sentence conjunction is the discourse or the preceding sentence, the context of embedding is a matrix sentence in which the embedded sentence is included. Embedding may only occur within certain constituents of the sentence, specifically, the noun, the adverb, and the quotational phrase. The last named constituent will be introduced in this chapter. Though it may be possible to consider the complex verb phrase formed with an auxiliary verb to be a form of embedding within the verb phrase, we will not attempt to deal with this problem in the present chapter since it is a type of embedding very different from the constructions to be treated here. It would be well to refer to the discussion of the auxiliary verb beginning on p. 178 as a complement to the following discussion.

Though there is a great variety of embedding constructions in Nama, two features are common to nearly all of them. The most fundamental of these is that an embedding construction has two parts: an embedded sentence (S') and a clause relator (CR), a morphological item whose meaning makes precise the relationship between the embedded sentence and the

matrix sentence. The two parts are always in the same order:

S' + CR

The only exceptions to this rule are the special participial construction (p. 247), which has no clause relator, and the embedded imperative (p. 274), in which the parts are in the reverse order.

The second feature common to nearly all embedding constructions concerns the embedded sentence (S') itself. An embedded sentence does not contain the declarative particle ke. The only exception to this rule is direct quotation (p. 254), where anything whatsoever may be embedded. In our description of Nama syntax up to now, we have dealt only with the non-embedded declarative sentence, which is distinguished from all other types of sentence by the presence of this ke particle. For this reason, all of the example sentences have contained it, and so have all of our formulas. But the embedded sentence which we will examine in this chapter, as well as the interrogative and imperative sentences which we will examine in the next two chapters, do not contain ke. So, if we are to apply previous syntactic diagrams to these new types of sentence, we must delete ke from the diagrams.

The two similarities described above are major structural similarities. However, within the general structure given above there are possible numerous differences in detail which distinguish different types of embedding constructions.

These differences, to which we will devote our attention in the remainder of this chapter, may involve the entire embedding construction (S' + CR), the embedded sentence (S'), or the clause relator (CR).

Embedding constructions may differ in their locus, i.e., whether it is in a noun, adverb, or quotational phrase that they are embedded. This is by far the most important difference between embedding constructions and it is according to this criterion that we will categorize them in the description which follows. It is characteristic of embedding constructions that they are usually accompanied by permutation, by which they are moved either to the beginning of the sentence by initialization, or to the end of the sentence by finalization. The type of permutation usually accompanying a particular construction provides the second way in which they may differ.

Often in embedded sentences it happens that a constituent of the sentence which would be obligatorily present in a non-embedded sentence is deleted. Since we already know that ke is not present in an embedded sentence, the remaining obligatory constituents are the subject NP, tense, and verb in an active sentence (assuming the unmarked punctual aspect), and the subject NP, tense, and copula in a stative sentence (though a predicate is almost always present when a stative sentence is embedded). A verb or copula is never deleted, so the deletable elements are the subject NP and tense.

Which of these actually is deleted in a particular embedding construction gives us our third possible difference between embedding constructions--deletion. It also often happens that the embedded sentence have a particular aspect in a certain construction, our fourth difference. For the purposes of the present discussion, we may simplify the system of aspects into a binary distinction by lumping the categories "imperfective," "perfective," and "stative" into one large "non-punctual" aspect category to be opposed to the "punctual." We have found this binary categorization useful before in the discussion of negation (p. 172). Note also that it might as well be termed "marked" and "unmarked" aspect since the punctual is distinguished by the absence of any aspect morpheme. We shall find that a few embedding constructions require that the embedded sentence have non-punctual aspect, and that a few others require that it have punctual aspect.

The fifth and sixth differences concern the clause relator. Most distinctive of an embedding construction is the particular clause relator morpheme with which it is constructed. We shall find it very convenient to refer to many types of embedding constructions by citing the clause relator; this will especially be true in the case of embedding in the adverb. We shall find that some clause relators are separate words, and that others are suffixes added to the last word of the embedded sentence. Thus, our last difference is whether the clause relator is free or bound.

Before we get to the specific examples which will give some substance to the preceding abstract discussion, there is one more matter which applies to all embedding constructions and so should be discussed now. In our original discussion of the category of tense, we defined the remote past, recent past, present, and future all with respect to the moment of speaking, i.e., the present. When we come to the embedded sentence, our definitions still hold for the remote past, recent past, and present, but not for the future whose meaning proves to be more flexible than the others. When an embedded sentence has the future tense, and its matrix sentences has one of the past tenses, then the future is defined with respect to the point in time depicted by the past tense. For example, in the following sentence the embedded sentence has the future tense and the matrix sentence has the remote past: tíí màmás ke !noná tsèetì tiíta nĩĩ !úũs 'áí!'ãã kè //'óó. "My mother (tíí màmás) died (kè //'óó) three days (!noná tsèetì) before ('áí!'ãã) I (tiíta) left (nĩĩ !úũ)." The embedded sentence is tiíta nĩĩ !úũ "I will go," a sentence in the future tense, since the "going" is future with repect to the "dying." The sentence might be more literally translated "My mother died three days before I would go." with "would" having its purely temporal meaning.

The following discussion is divided according to the category of locus, and within each locus category according to the clause relator with which the embedding is constructed.

A. EMBEDDING IN THE NOUN

The two types of embedding in the noun are relativization and nominalization. In both of these, the embedding construction ends in a pgn suffix which is either the clause relator or part of the clause relator. It is characteristic of both relativized and nominalized constructions that they have no tendency to be moved within the sentence by permutation, and that the embedded sentence may have any aspect.

1. Relativization

In relativization, the clause relator is a noun drawn from the embedded sentence; if the root of that noun has been deleted, then the clause relator is the pgn suffix which remains. For example, the relativized construction, //nąą̀ !hùúpà xuú kè /xíí hą̀a 'íí kxòeh "the people who had come from that land," contains the embedded sentence: kxòeh (ke) //nąą̀ !hùúpà xuú kè /xíí hą̀a 'íí. "The people (kxòeh) had come (kè /xíí hą̀a 'íí) from that land (//nąą̀ !hùúpà xuú)." The clause relator is the noun kxòeh "people," which has been brought to the end of the sentence by initializing everything else in the sentence according to the permutation rules in chapter VI. Thus, the noun kxòeh has a dual membership, in the embedding construction as the clause relator, and in the embedded sentence as the subject NP; this phenomenon is often designated by the term "raising." A relativized con-

struction which is the same except for noun root deletion would be: //nã̃á !hùúpà xuú kè /xiĩ hã̀a 'iĩǹ "those who had come from that land," which can be considered a relativization of the sentence //'ĩĩǹ (ke) //nã̃á !hùúpà xuú kè /xiĩ hã̀a 'iĩ. "They (//'ĩĩǹ) had come from that land." The clause relator in this case is the pgn suffix -ǹ "third person plural common" which is all that remains of the noun after noun root deletion since the third person pronominal //'ĩĩ can only occur directly before a pgn suffix (or a diminutive suffix) as we saw earlier (p. 84).

There is no deletion of the subject NP or of tense in embedding constructions resulting from relativization, as can be seen in the above examples. The noun root deletion mentioned at the end of the last paragraph is not to be confused with subject NP deletion; noun root deletion is a phenomenon which is restricted to the noun and leaves the noun phrase as a unit intact.

In the examples given above, the noun which becomes the clause relator constitutes the subject NP of the embedded sentence. Yet there are other places in a sentence where an NP may occur: in the verb phrase as a direct or indirect object NPà, in the adverbial as the NP of a post-positional phrase, or even within some other NP as part of an associative phrase. It is also possible for an NP in any of these three environments in the embedded sentence to become the clause relator of a relativization embedding construction, but it

is a bit more complicated. There are two alternate methods. The simplest and most frequently used method is to place the noun at the end of the embedded sentence, deleting the subordinative suffix -à, post-position, or associative particle which follows it, and leaving the correct interpretation of the embedded sentence to be determined by the context. The embedded sentence in the relative construction tiíta síí nĭ̀ĭ̀ //xáa//xaa !'áas "the town where I am going to teach" contains the embedded sentence tiíta (ke) !'áas (tàpa) síí nĭ̀ĭ̀ //xáa//xaa. "I (tiíta) am going to teach (síí nĭ̀ĭ̀ //xáa//xaa) at the town (!'áas tàpa)." The noun !'áas "the town" has been moved out of its post-positional phrase !'áas tàpa "at the town," to the end of the construction and the post-position tàpa "at" has been deleted. In actual fact, there is nothing in the embedding construction which tells us that !'áas "the town" is part of a post-positional phrase; this has to be inferred from the context. Here is an example where the direct object NPà becomes the clause relator: /'apéta ra xuu'ì "whatever thing I am planning," which contains the embedded sentence /'apéta (ke) ra xuu'è which, in the normal order is tiita (ke) xuu'è ra /'apé. "I (tiíta) am planning (ra /'apé) something (xuu'è from xuu'ì plus -à)." In both these sentences, the fact that the final noun is not the subject NP is signalled by the presence of a subject (tiita "I") in the embedded sentence.

The second method for bringing nouns in these environ-

ment is to fill in the gap they leave with a pronoun having the same pgn suffix. By this method, the previous examples would become: tiíta //'ĩis tàpa síí nĩĩ //xáa//xaa !'áas "the town in which I am going to teach," and //'ĩ'ètà ra /'apé xuu'ì "whatever I am planning." This second method is rarely used when the noun to be made clause relator is a direct or indirect object NPà, but it is used frequently when the noun occurs in a post-positional or associative phrase.

The relative construction with noun root deletion, in which the clause relator is a pgn suffix, very frequently occurs as the second or later member of an appositive noun phrase. In such an environment, it might be compared to the "unrestrictive clause" in English, in that it simply adds parenthetical information without "restricting" the first simple noun phrase. For example, in the appositive noun phrase maríǹ !ũũ'uta raà "the money, which I am going with," the second simple noun phrase !ũũ'uta raà "which I am going with" contains an embedded sentence which would be, in the normal order: tiíta (ke) //'ĩìnà ra !ũũ'u. "I (tiíta) am going with (ra !ũũ'u) them (//'ĩìnà; maríǹ "money" is a plural common noun)." Usually, the relative construction begins with a special conjunction, hĩĩ'a, when it occurs as the second or later member of an appositive noun phrase. For example, the appositive noun phrase maríǹ hĩĩ'ata ke 'úúhãã 'iíǹ "the money, which I had" has as its second simple

noun phrase the construction hĩĩ'ata ke 'úúhãã 'iíñ "which I had" consisting of the special conjunction hĩĩ'a plus the relativized sentence -ta ke 'úúhãã 'iíñ which would be in the normal order tiíta (ke) //'ĩĩñà kè 'úúhãã 'ií. "I (tiíta) had (kè 'úúhãã 'ií) them (//'ĩĩñà)." The special conjunction hĩĩ'a is always optional and adds nothing to the meaning of the relative construction when it is present. Without hĩĩ'a, the preceding example would be marín tiíta kè 'úúhãã 'iíñ. which would have precisely the same meaning.

2. Nominalization

In nominalization, the clause relator is the pgn suffix -s, which is identical in form to the third person feminine singular pgn suffix. Nominalization differs from relativization in that the embedded sentence as a whole becomes a noun by the addition of the pgn suffix -s, while in relativization one noun is "raised" from the embedded sentence to become the clause relator. For example, the nominalized construction, tiíta //nããtí kè ≠'aĩ hãã 'iís "my having thought that way," contains the embedded sentence: tiíta (ke) //nããtí kè ≠'aĩ hãã 'ií. "I (tiíta) had thought (kè ≠'aĩ hãã 'ií) that way (//nããtí)." In the following example, the embedded sentence is permuted in that the direct object is initialized: //nããñ hòáñàkxm̃ kè //nãũ tóás "our finishing hearing all that," which contains an embedded sentence which, in the normal order, would be: sííkxm̃ (ke) //nããñ hòáñà kè

//nǎǔ tóá. "We (síǂkxm̀, masc., du., excl.) finished hearing (kè //nǎǔ tóá) all that (//naǎǹ hòáǹà, an appositive noun phrase)." Cases of nominalization such as these, where the embedded sentence is entire, most frequently occur in post-positional phrases, e.g., tiíta //naǎtí kè ≠'aǐ hǎa 'iís ǃ'áróma "because of (ǃ'áróma) my having thought that way," or, better, "because I had thought that way"; //naǎǹ hòáǹàkxm̀ kè //nǎǔ tóás kxáóǃǎa "after (kxáóǃǎa) our finishing hearing all that," or, better, "after we finished hearing all that." We shall return to the question of nominalization in post-positional phrases in the next section when we deal with [illegible] embedding in the adverbial (p. 250).

The indefinite singular pgn suffix -'ì may be substituted for the -s of nominalization, just as it may be substituted for any other pgn suffix. The result is a nominalization construction with indefinite meaning, e.g., tiíta //naǎtí kè ≠'aǐ hǎa 'ií'ì "whether I had thought that way."

Both the subject NP and the tense may be deleted in nominalization, with the result that the only really obligatory constituent is a verb, e.g., //nǎǔs "the hearing," tóás "the finishing," ≠'aǐs "the thinking." Of course, other optional constituents of the embedded sentence may be present even though the subject NP and tense are deleted, e.g., //naǎǹ hòáǹà //nǎǔs "the hearing of all that," //naǎtí ≠'aǐs "the thinking in that way." Several nouns clearly result from this nominalization with deletion, e.g., mǐǐs "the saying,

the word" from the verb mĩĩ "say," mũũs "the seeing, the eye" from the verb mũũ "see," //ɓas "the morning" from the verb //ɓa "brighten." There are numerous other examples, since nominalization is a productive syntactic process.

B. EMBEDDING IN THE ADVERBIAL

The category "adverbial" includes both adverbs and post-positional phrases. As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, the adverb is the second possible locus of embedding; we shall deal with the adverb first. Embedding in the post-positional phrase is really a case of nominalization, but we shall discuss it again since post-positional phrases with embedding have special permutational tendencies.

1. Embedding in the Adverb

It is when it occurs in an adverb that embedding in Nama achieves its widest variety of forms, both in the variety of clause relators and in the syntactic rules governing the form of embedded sentences. Among adverbial clause relators, we may distinguish two morphological types: (a) the adverbial suffix, -pá, -se, -ka, and -'a, which were discussed earlier when we dealt with the derived adverb (p. 187ff.), and (b) the subordinating conjunction, which includes the sentence conjunctions of the preceding chapter, tsĩĩ, 'oo, and xape,

when they occur in sentence-final position, and a few new polymorphemic subordinating conjunctions, hĩĩ'a "while," xui'ao, xuike, and 'aḿ'aka, all three of which mean "since." Adverbial embedding constructions differ widely in their tendency to be permuted, either by initialization or finalization, and the embedded sentences themselves have many different rules governing deletion and aspect. The only generalization which we can make about embedded sentences in the adverb is that what deletion there is is obligatory.

Our discussion will be divided into four semantic categories, "locative," "temporal," "causal," and "participial," each of which has its own particular syntactic characteristics. The embedding constructions will be named according to the clause relator.

a. Locative -pá

The only clause relator in the locative category is the adverbial suffix -pá. There is no deletion in the embedded sentence, and any aspect may be present. The construction does not have any permutational tendencies. Here is an example in context: síke ke !hùúkxà //'arahè hãapá nĩĩ !aũ. "We (síke, masc., pl., excl.) will cross (nĩĩ !aũ) where the (two) lands have been cut (!hùúkxà //'arahè hãapá)." The embedding construction is !hùúkxà //'arahè hãapá which consists of the embedded sentence !hùúkxà (ke) //'arahè hãa. "The countries (!hùúkxà, dual) have been cut (//'arahè hãa)." followed by the locative clause relator -pá.

b. Temporal

There are two clause relators in the temporal category: 'oo "when" and hĩĩ'a "while." Embedding constructions formed with these clause relators tend to be initialized; the embedded sentence in such a construction has no subject deletion. However, embedded sentences in a construction with 'oo "when" differ from those with hĩĩ'a "while" in the question of the deletion of tense, and in the question of aspect restriction.

(1) 'oo "When"

The embedded sentence in construction with 'oo "when" has no deletion of subject NP or tense, but it may have any aspect. The meaning of the clause relator 'oo is that the event described by the embedded sentence is approximately simultaneous with that described by the matrix sentence. In most actual cases, the event of the embedded sentence has happened a short time before that of the matrix sentence. Here are some examples: tsĩĩ /'aé//ams 'áíta kè síí 'oop ke tíí /hòopà kè !'ãũte hãã 'íí stásis tàpa. "And (tsĩĩ) when I arrived in Windhoek (/'aé//ams 'áíta kè síí 'oo) my friend (-p . . . tíí /hòopà) had been waiting for me (kè !'ãũte hãã 'íí) at the station (stásis tàpa)." The embedded sentence here is /'aé//ams 'áíta kè síí which, in the normal order, would be tiíta (ke) /'aé//ams 'áí kè síí. "I (tiíta) arrived (kè síí) in Windhoek (/'aé//ams 'áí)." The following example has an embedded sequential sentence: neesita ra kóótàpa tsĩĩ ra ≠'ãĩpasn 'oota ke //nããsà ra mũũ-≠'áñ. "Now (neesi) when

I look back and reflect, I (-ta) realize (ra mũu-≠'áñ) that (//nãásà)." The embedded sentence here is neesita ra kóótàpa tsĩĩ ra ≠'áĩpasn which, in the normal order would be tiíta (ke) neesi ra kóótàpa tsĩĩ ra ≠'áĩpasn. "I (tiíta) look back (ra kóótàpa) now (neesi) and (tsĩĩ) reflect (ra ≠'áĩpasn)."

Very frequently, the sentence embedded with the clause relator 'oo has the indefinite tense, marked by the particle ka. When this happens, 'oo must be translated "if," and the matrix sentence has either indefinite or future tense. This can be seen in the following sentences: ≠xaríróseku kà !'ũu hãã 'ooku kà !xóóhè tama hãã. "If they had waited a bit (≠xaríróseku kà !'ũu hãã 'oo) they (-ku, masc., pl.) would not have been caught (kà !xóóhè tama hãã)." The embedded sentence is ≠xaríróseku kà !'ũu hãã which, in the normal order, would be //'ĩĩku (ke) ≠xaríróse kà !'ũu hãa. "They (//'ĩĩku) had waited (kà !'ũu hãã, indefinite, not past) a little bit (≠xaríróse)." Notice that ke is omitted from the matrix sentence when it has indefinite tense. tsĩĩ ≠hòmikxm̀ kàrà 'ookxm̀ ke //nãã !hùúp tì kòpaku ≠'áñ títe. "And (tsĩĩ) if we were lying (≠hòmikxm̀ kàrà 'oo), we (-kxm̀, masc., du.) would not know (≠'áñ títe) the languages (kòpaku) of that land (//nãã !hùúp tì)." The embedded sentence is ≠hòmikxm̀ kàrà, which, in the normal order, would be sííkxm̀ (ke) kàrà ≠hòmi. "We (sííkxm̀) were lying (kàrà ≠hòmi)." It is important to emphasize here that the preceding examples are not in the

past tense, despite what it may seem from the English translations; the past tense in the translations comes from the narrative context in which the sentences were spoken, not from the sentences themselves. The past tense had to be put into the translations to produce acceptable English sentences.

Occasionally, an embedding construction with 'oo may be initialized to precede a sentence conjunction 'oo "then" in the matrix sentence, with a resulting sequence 'oo 'oo: mǔ̃uta kà 'oo 'oota ke nǐ́ ≠'áń. "If I see (mǔ̃uta ka 'oo), then ('oo) I (-ta) will know (nǐ́ ≠'áń)." The embedded sentence is mǔ̃uta kà which, in the normal order, would be tiíta (ke) kà mǔ̃u. "I (tiíta) see (kà mǔ̃u, indefinite)."

A very common expression which, in reality, is an embedding construction with 'oo is ≠áó 'ì kà 'oo which means "perhaps." Literally, the expression means "if it wants" but it is often pronounced very quickly to the extent that we might consider it one word ≠áó'ìkà'oo, which would then be an evidential adverb. However, sentences like the following can be formed: ≠áóp kà 'oo //nā́pá hā̃a. "Perhaps (≠áó ... . kà 'oo) he (-p) is (hā̃a) there (//nā́pá)." but this construction is syntactically anomalous.

(2) hǐ́'a "While"

The embedded sentence in construction with hǐ́'a "while" has tense deletion, but not subject NP deletion, and must have non-punctual aspect. The meaning of the clause relator

is that the embedded sentence describes an event whose time of occurrence encompasses that of the event described by the matrix sentence, i.e., that the meaning of the embedded sentence forms a "background" to that of the matrix sentence. For a possible stymology of hĩĩ'a, see p. 191. In the sentence !'áas 'áíkxm̀ skóla ra //xáa//xaa hĩĩ'akxm̀ ke ≠hõãsà kè //nãã́. "While we were teaching school in the town (!'áas 'áíkxm̀ skóla ra //xáa//xaa hĩĩ'a) we (-kxm̀, masc., du.) heard (kè //nãã́) the story (≠hõãsà)." the embedded sentence is !'áas 'áíkxm̀ skóla ra //xáa//xaa which, in the normal order would be siíkxm̀ (ke) !'áas 'áí skólà ra //xáa//xaa. "We (siíkxm̀, masc., du.) were teaching (ra //xáa//xaa) school (skólà) in the town (!'áas 'áí)." Observe that the embedded sentence is translated incorrectly, ra //xáa//xaa looks like the present imperfective which would be translated "are teaching." Actually, the sentence is not in the present tense; tense has been deleted, which in this case would be remote past tense kè, and all that remains is the aspect particle ra. An English approximation might be: "While we be teaching school in the town, . . ." The following sentence is an example with perfective aspect: trónkxoes !nãã́aku hãã́a hĩĩ'ap ke //'ĩĩpà !ãĩ /'apé'ì kè tìí. "While they were in prison (trónkxoes !nãã́aku hãã́a hĩĩ'a), he (-p . . . //'ĩĩpà) made (kè tìí) a good plan (!ãĩ /'apé'ì)." The embedded sentence, in the normal order, would be //'ĩĩku (ke) trónkxoes !nãã́a hãã́a. "They (//'ĩĩku, masc., pl.) were (hãã́a) in prison (trónkxoes !nãã́a)."

A special type of sentence may be embedded with the clause relator hĺĺ'a "while"; it contains a verb describing motion followed by kàúrú "along." For example: masé̋ns 'áíkxm̀ !nàrí kàúrú hĺĺ'akxm̀ ke /úí kxòe'l̀ kè /nàó'ú. "While we were travelling along by train (masé̋ns 'áíkxm̀ kè !nàrí kàúrú hĺĺ'a) we (-kxm̀, masc., du.) met (kè /nàó'ú) a certain person (/úí kxòe'l̀)." The embedded sentence, in the normal order, would be síkxm̀ (ke) !nàrí kàúrú. "We (síkxm̀) were travelling (!nàrí) along (kàúrú)." The last sentence may only occur embedded with hĺĺ'a.

c. Causal

There are five clause relators which we may include in the causal category: xui'ao, 'aḿ'aka, and xuike, all three of which mean "since" or "because," xutamai'ao "since not" or "because not," and xape "although, however." Embedding constructions formed with these clause relators tend to be either initialized or finalized. There is no deletion in the embedded sentence of subject NP or tense, and any aspect may be present.

The clause relator xuike "since, because" is restricted to imperative sentences, so we will discuss it in a later chapter (p. 276). The rest we shall treat in two groups: (1) xui'ao, xutamai'ao and 'aḿ'aka, and (2) xape.

(1) xui'ao, xutamai'ao and 'aḿ'aka "Since, Because"

The clause relators xui'ao and xutamai'ao clearly were

once parts of temporal embedding constructions: *xuu'ì 'a 'oo* "when it is the thing" and *xuutama'ì 'a 'oo* "when it is not the thing." The clause relator *'ám'aka* is clearly the adjective *'ám'a* "true" plus the adverbial suffix *-ka*, the whole thus meaning "being true." Here are some examples: *nee sisen-i ke kè !ómpate 'ií sóres kè káíse 'ámsá 'ií xui'ao*. "This work (*nee sisen-i*) was (*kè . . . 'ií*) difficult for me (*!ómpate*) because the sun was very hot (*sóres ke káíse 'ámsá 'ií xui'ao*)." The embedded sentence is: *sóres (ke) kè káíse 'ámsá 'ií*. "The sun (*sóres*) was (*kè . . . 'ií*) very hot (*káíse 'ámsá*)." The clause relator *xutamai'ao* is only used in cliché expressions like the one in the following sentence: *xapetà ke määtítà nĩĩ tìí xutamai'ao kè ≠nűű≠xaí /'aé'ams 'áí*. "But (*xapé*) we (*-tà*, com., pl.) sat up all night (*≠nűű≠xaí*) at the fireside (*/'áé'ams 'áí*) since we couldn't do anything (*määtítà nĩĩ tìí xutamai'ao*)." The embedded sentence is a common expression used to denote futility and means "since (neg. *xutamai'ao*) what (*määtí*) will (*nĩĩ*) we (*-tà*, com., pl.) do (*tìí*)."

(2) *xape* "Although, However"

The clause relator *xapé* has a meaning which is the converse of that of *xui'ao* and *'ám'aka* which is that the event described by the embedded sentence would have tended to *prevent* that described by the matrix sentence. For example: *kxòeǹ ke hàa tama 'ií xapes ke //'ĩĩsà nĩĩ tìíhè*. "It (*-s . . . //'ĩĩsà*) will be done (*nĩĩ tìíhè*) although the people

did not come (kxòeǹ kè hàa tama 'íí́ xapé)." The embedded sentence is: kxòeǹ (ke) kè hàa tama 'íí́. "The people (kxòeǹ) did not come (kè hàa tama 'íí́)."

d. Participial

There are three clause relators in the participial category; -se, !'a̋a, and tsíí̋ and they all have approximately the same meaning--that the event denoted by the embedded sentence is "background" to that denoted by the matrix sentence. Also in this category is the "special participial construction," which does not have a clause relator but which always has one of a special set of verbs in the embedded sentence. The most striking characteristic of the participial embedding construction is that both subject NP and tense are deleted, being considered identical to those of the matrix sentence. The different participial embedding constructions differ among themselves in the aspect which may occur in the embedded sentence, and in the permutational tendencies of the construction as a whole.

No attempt will be made to give short, simple English glosses for these clause relators since it is virtually impossible. A good approximation is "as" or "-ing" for the lost of them. Hopefully, the meaning will be made clear by the examples.

(1) -se and !'a̋a

The adverbial suffix -se (p. 187) and the subordinating

conjunction !'ãã are completely interchangeable as clause relators for embedding in the adverb, though -se is by far the most frequently used of the two. Their meaning is that the event described by the embedded sentence occurred simultaneously as "background" to that described by the matrix sentence. This meaning is connected with the fact that the embedded sentence must have non-punctual aspect. The construction as a whole is usually either initialized or finalized, but need not be permuted. Usually, the subject NP of the embedded sentence is identical to the subject NP of the matrix sentence: !ấĩ'a≠áó rasep ke kè pèé. "Rejoicing (!ấĩ'a≠áó rase), he (-p) left (kè pèé)." The embedded sentence is: //'ĩĩp (ke) ra !ấĩ'a≠áó. "He (//'ĩĩp) was rejoicing (ra !ấĩ'a≠áó)." Though translated with the past tense, the embedded sentence is actually tenseless, something like: "He be rejoicing." Note the initialization of the construction.

It is also possible for the deleted subject NP of the embedded sentence with -se or !'ãã to be identical with a direct object NPà of the matrix sentence. This is the case in the following sentence which has two such embedding constructions, both in their normal position: tsĩĩku ke !'ũĩ'aokà síí tsĩĩ /ṍárópà !xáíǹ !nãã !amíhè hããse pétlems !nãã //òese síí kè mũũ. "And (tsĩĩ) the shepherds (-ku . . . !'ũĩ'aokà) went (síí) and (tsĩĩ) arriving (síí) saw (kè mũũ) the child (/ṍárópà) having been draped in linens (!xáíǹ !nãã !amíhè hããse) having lain down in Bethlehem (pétlems !nãã //òese)."

The embedded sentences are: (/óáróɒ) (ke) !xáíǹ !nāa !amíhè hāa. "The child (/óárób) had been draped (!amíhè hāa) in linens (!xáíǹ !nāa)." (/óáróɒ) (ke) pétlems !nāa //ðe. "The child (/óáróɒ) has lain down (//ðe, from //óé hāa) in Bethlehem (pétlems !nāa)." Here again, though the sentences have been translated with the past tense, they are tenseless (and identical in form to the sentences as they would be in the present tense, since present tense is unmarked). It should be observed that this sentence is actually ambiguous; it is up to the hearer to deduce whether it the shepherds or the child that is draped in linens and lying in Bethlehem, since the deleted subject NP or the embedded sentences may be identical either to the subject NP or object NP of the matrix sentence. When it is necessary to resolve an ambiguity like this one, the subject NP (or si) of the embedded sentence may be retained, e.g., !xáíǹ !nāaɒ !amíhè hāase "he having been draped in linens."

(2) tsīí

The subordinating conjunction tsīí (cf. tsīí as sentence conjunction, p. 217) has a meaning very much like that of -se and !'āa. Its meaning is that the event denoted by the embedded sentence occurred contiguously as "background" to that described by the matrix sentence. The difference in meaning from -se and !'āa is connected with the fact that the embedded sentence must have punctual aspect, and the event which it describes is therefore unlikely to be simultaneous

with that described by the matrix sentence. In fact, it has usually immediately preceded that described by the matrix sentence. The construction as a whole is almost always either initialized or finalized. Here are some examples: !xóókxoeku kè !nàrí'úhè kxéteh /xáa !áéhè tsíí. "The prisoners (!xóókxoeku) were transported (kè !nàrí'úhè) bound with chains (kxéteh /xáa !áéhè tsíí)." The embedded sentence is: (!xóókxoeku) (ke) kxéteh /xáa (kè) !áéhè. "The prisoners (!xóókxoeku) were bound (kè !áéhè) with chains (kxéteh /xáa)." !xóóhè tsííku ke !xóó'oms !'oá kè !nàrí'úhè. "Caught (!xóóhè tsíí), they (-ku) were transported (kè !nàrí'úhè) to the prison (!xóó'oms !'oá)." The embedded sentence is: (//'íìku) (ke) (kè) !xóóhè. "They (//'íìku) were caught (kè !xóóhè)." In the last example, everything has been deleted except the verb, each deleted item being identical to the corresponding item in the matrix sentence.

When the verb in the embedded sentence is negated, and in a past tense, the past tense copula 'íí is retained even though the past tense particle is deleted. For example, in the sentence 'oos ke nee /óásà náú /óátì kò míís kxama tama 'íí tsíí kè míí . . . "Then ('oo) this daughter (-s . . . nee /óásà), not being like what the other daughters said (náú /óátì kò míís kxamá tama 'íí tsíí), said (kè míí) . . ." The embedded sentence is: (nee /óás) (ke) náú /óátì kò míís kxamá tama (kè) 'íí. "This daughter (nee /óás) was not (tama kè 'íí) like what the other daughters said (náú /óátì kò míís kxamá)."

(3) The Special Participial Construction

The special participial construction is the only embedding construction without a clause relator. It has a meaning which is the same as that of -se or tsíí, depending on the aspect of the embedded sentence. The construction as a whole is never moved in the sentence by permutation.

The embedded sentence in a special participial construction must contain one of a small set of verb-aspect combinations. They are: síí "go and arrive," hàa "come and arrive," or kàú "come along" plus the punctual aspect; hãã "be in a place," or any of the position verbs in the perfective aspect (p. 38, 130), viz., ǂnũã "have sat down," mãã "have stood up," or //òe "have lain down"; the unusual word !ũãxà "going along," probably consisting of !úu "go" plus the perfective morpheme hãã plus the adjective-deriving suffix -xà (p. 60). The use of síí and hàa in sequential sentences has been discussed previously (p. 223). Since the subject NP (or si) and tense are deleted in a participial embedding construction, and since all of the above verbs are intransitive so that they may take no direct or indirect object NPà, often all that is present of the embedded sentence is one of the verb-aspect combinations above and, perhaps, an adverbial. This can be seen in the following examples: tsííku ke hããna !ãise //'íìkà síí //nãã póotapà kè !xarú. "And (tsíí) they (-ku . . . //'íìkà) actually (hããna), arriving (síí), passed (kè !xarú) that border (//nãã póotapà)

safely (!áise "well")." The embedded sentence is: (//'ĩĩku) (ke) (kè) síí. "They (//'ĩĩku) arrived (kè síí)." For more examples of síí and hàa, see p. 223. tsĩĩku ke //'ĩĩkà /'uní 'ańsà //nàe tóá tsĩĩ ≠nũa //nááṕá 'áo//nàasà kèrè !'ãu. "And (tsĩĩ) they (-ku . . . //'ĩĩkà) finished singing (//nàe tóá) the last song (/'uní 'ańsà) and (tsĩĩ), sitting (≠nũa), were waiting for (kèrè !'ãu) the sermon ('áo//nàasà) there (//náá-pá)." The embedded sentence is: (//'ĩĩku) (ke) ≠nũa. "They (//'ĩĩku) had sat down (≠nũa, with past tense deleted)." tsĩĩta ke ≠xĩíse máá tsĩĩ fénsters !nãa mãa kèrè ≠'ui. "And (tsĩĩ) I (-ta) leisurely (≠xĩíse "happily") stood (máá) and (tsĩĩ), standing (mãa), was looking (kèrè ≠'ui) out the window (fénsters !nãa, lit., "in the window")." The embedded sentence is: (tiíta) (ke) mãa. "I (tiíta) had stood up (mãa, with past tense deleted)."

e. Intentional Participial nĩĩ ... -se, nĩĩ ... -ka

The intentional participial may have the same clause relator as a participial construction, the adverbial suffix -se, or it may have the adverbial suffix -ka (p. 190), used in no other embedding construction. Unlike the participial embedding constructions described in the previous section, however, there is no deletion of subject NP (or si) or of tense, but it is part of construction that the future tense (nĩĩ) be present. The meaning of the whole is "intention" or "purpose." The construction as a whole is usually either initialized or finalized, as in the following examples:

!ámeta nīīseta ke tíí soresà kè ≠nűí-!'om hãa 'ií. In order to marry (!ámeta nīīse), I (-ta) had gotten engaged to (kè ≠nűí-!'om hãa 'ií) my girlfriend (tíí soresà)." The embedded sentence is: tiíta (ke) nīī !áme. "I (tiíta) would get married (nīī !áme)." siíkxm̀ ke kè kxāī-mãã !űűkxm̀ nīīka. "We (siíkxm̀, masc., du., excl.) jumped up (kè kxāī-mãã) in order to go (!űűkxm̀ nīīka)." The embedded sentence is: siíkxm̀ (ke) nīī !űű. "We (siíkxm̀, masc., du., excl.) would go (nīī !űű)."

The above we may call the normal form of the intentional participial construction. However, there is a variant of this construction which is used with even greater frequency than the normal form. This variant construction is similar to the nīī . . . -ka form, but with two important differences: (1) The future morpheme nīī is initialized and, at the same time, undergoes a morphophonemic change to 'īī, a form which we may call the "intentional conjunction" because of its distributional similarity to the sentence conjunctions. (This is the only case of tense initialization in the language.) and (2) The suffix -ka is often deleted if it is at the end of a sentence, which is almost always the case. Although this variant is quite different in structure from the normal form of the intentional participial, its meaning is the same; it is usually translated as "so that," "in order that," or "to." The construction is always finalized. In the following sentence, -ka is retained: tsīīku ke //'īīkà marínà kè /haó/hao 'īīku hùíkxm̀ ka. "And (tsīī) they (-ku . . . //'īīkà) collected

(kè /haó/hao) money (marínà) to help us ('ĩĩku hùíkxm̀ ka)." The embedding construction 'ĩĩku hùíkxm̀ ka would be more literally translated "so that they would help us" and contains the embedded sentence //'ĩĩku (ke) nĩĩ hùíkxm̀ "They (//'ĩĩku, masc., pl.) would help us (nĩĩ hùíkxm̀)." Usually, the embedded sentence is longer than this and -ka is deleted as in: tsĩĩp ke //'ĩĩpà tìsí siléntè kè màakxm̀ 'ĩĩkxm̀ kóro siléntè /òráku siíkxm̀ //'aeku. "And (tsĩĩ) he (-p . . . //'ĩĩpà) gave us (kè màakxm̀) ten shillings (tìsí siléntè) so that we would divide it into five shillings between us ('ĩĩkxm̀ kóro siléntè /òráku siíkxm̀ //'aeku)." The embedded sentence is: siíkxm̀ (ke) kóro siléntè nĩĩ /òráku siíkxm̀ //'aeku. "We (siíkxm̀, masc., du.) would divide it into (nĩĩ /òráku) five shillings (kóro siléntè) between us (siíkxm̀ //'aeku)." Often a matrix sentence will contain several of these embeddings with the intentional conjunction, following one upon another at the end of the sentence: 'ĩĩ . . . 'ĩĩ . . . 'ĩĩ . . . "so that . . . and so that . . . and so that . . ."

2. Embedding in the Post-positional Phrase

Embedding in the post-positional phrase is not really another type of embedding, but rather a case of nominalization or relativization in a specific environment, viz., before a post-position. However, there are two facts about embedding of this sort which necessitate our giving it special treatment:

(a) Embedding in a noun before certain post-positions is semantically very similar to embedding in certain adverbial constructions., and (b) A post-positional phrase which contains a case of embedding is more likely to be moved in the sentence by permutation than is one that contains an ordinary noun phrase, usually by initialization.

Nominalization before the compound post-positions 'áí!'áa "before" and kxáó!áa "after" functions semantically in the language very much like embedding in the adverb with the temporal clause relators 'oo "when" and híí'a "while," though from a syntactic point of view the two types of embedding are very different. The sentence which follows has an initialized post-positional phrase with embedding: tsíí //naáh hòáhàkxm̀ kè //nàú tóás kxáó!áakxm̀ ke neesi siíkxm̀ tì /hòop !'oá kèrè !úu ≠áó. "And (tsíí) after we finished hearing all of that (//naáh hòáhàkxm̀ kè //nàú tóás kxáó!áa), we (-kxm̀, masc., du.) now (neesi) were wanting to go (kèrè !úu ≠áó) to our friend (siíkxm̀ tì /hòop !'oá)." The construction //naáh hòáhàkxm̀ kè //nàú tóás kxáó!áa would be more literally translated "after (kxáó!áa) our finishing hearing of all of that (//naáh hòáhàkxm̀ kè //nàú tóás)," since the first part is a nominalization of the sentence //naáh hòáhàkxm̀ (ke) kè //nàú tóá. "We (-kxm̀) finished hearing (kè //nàú tóá) all of that (//naáh hòáhà)." We might compare this construction with the temporal adverb embedding construction //naáh hòáhàkxm̀ kè //nàú tóá 'oo . . . "When we finished hearing all of that

. . ," which would tend to be initialized also and would produce a sentence with very much the same meaning. With the post-position 'áí!'ā̃a "before," the embedded sentence usually has future tense, as in the following sentence: tsīí stásisà !'oákxm̀ nīí //ǒās 'áí!'ā̃ap ke //nā̃átse káí kérkepà kè hā̃a 'ií. "And (tsīí) before we went down to the station (stásisà !'oákxm̀ nīí //ǒās 'áí!'ā̃a), that day (//nā̃átse) there was (kè hā̃a 'ií) a big church service (-p . . . káí kérkepà, the subject NP)." The embedded sentence is: stásisà !'oákxm̀ (ke) nīí //ǒā. "We (-kxm̀) would go down (nīí //ǒā) to the station (stásisà !'oá)."

Another post-position which frequently follows nominalization constructions is !'áróma "because of," as in the following sentence: tíí kxòeh !'úsa!xoos 'áí hā̃as !'árómata ke tiítà !'úsa!xoos 'áí kè //ǒā. "Because my family was in Usakos (tíí kxòeh !'úsa!xoos 'áí hā̃as !'áróma), I (-ta . . . tiítà) got off (kè //ǒā "went down") at Usakos (!'úsa!xoos 'áí, lit., "on Usakos")." The embedded sentence is: tíí kxòeh (ke) !'úsa!xoos 'áí hā̃a. "My family (tíí kxòeh, lit., "my people") are (hā̃a) in Usakos (!'úsa!xoos 'áí)." Compare this construction with the causal adverb embedding tíí kxòeh !'úsa!xoos 'áí hā̃a xui'ao . . . "Since my family is in Usakos ... ." or, if it were in the same textual context as the first sentence, "Since my family was in Usakos . . ."

The post-positions 'áí!'ā̃a, kxáó!ā̃a, and !'áróma are the ones most frequently preceded by nominalization construc-

tions, but there are several others that are important. They are: xuú "since (in time)," kóse "until, so that," kxmí "as, like" (often with an appositive, viz., //xaás kxmí "just like"), 'óse "without," and xaa "by."

C. THE QUOTATIONAL PHRASE

Unlike the two loci of embedding that we have discussed so far in this chapter, the noun and the adverb, the quotational phrase is an entirely new syntactic unit, i.e., one that was not introduced in an earlier chapter. The reason we have not mentioned the quotational phrase until now is because this construction is by nature an embedding construction, which is true neither of the noun nor of the adverb. There are two types of quotational phrase: (1) the direct quotation, and (2) the indirect discourse NPà. Though the internal structure of these two constructions is quite different, they have in common the fact that they may occur in the predicate of only a limited set of verb denoting communicative or cognitive processes. The actual set of such verbs is not the same for both constructions, but does overlap. They also have in common that they are usually finalized if they are long, occur in the normal position if short, and are rarely initialized.

There is also an indirect discourse NP which will be discussed in this section.

1. The Direct Quotation

The direct quotation has a structure which may be diagrammed as follows:

Quote + tí

This construction has the peculiarity that the internal structure of the unit "Quote" is outside the syntax of the language. It is true that the quote is usually a Nama sentence, whether declarative, interrogative, or imperative, in which case it is governed by the rules which define any non-embedded Nama sentence, but it need not be. The quote may also be a Nama phrase or word, some utterance in another language, an animal sound, or it may be any sound at all which may be imitated by the human voice. The quotative particle tí (which should be identified with the -tí which forms demonstrative manner adverbs, p. 185) is not a clause relator like the ones we have seen so far since the unit it follows, the quote, does not meet the structural qualifications for an embedded sentence, which we have found to be very well defined.

The direct quotation may only occur in a predicate which contains one of a small set of verbs, all of which denote processes of speaking or thinking: mĩĩ "say," ≠aí "call," tĩĩ "ask," !'ere'ám "answer," or ≠'aĩ "think." It should be added to our list of adverbial constructions in chapter V.

Here are a few examples: 'oos ke //'ĩisà //xaápá kè mĩ́ĩ́ /'úúta 'a tí. "She (-s . . . //'ĩisà) said (kè mĩ́ĩ́) again (//xaápá) "I don't know." (/'úúta 'a tí)." The quote is: /'úúta 'a. "I (-ta) don't know (/'úú . . . 'a)." tsĩĩkxm̀ ke //'ĩisà kè tĩi mã́á/'ĩis ta !úũ? tí. "And (tsĩĩ) we (-kxm̀, masc., du.) asked (kè tĩĩ) "Which way are you going? (mã́á-/'ĩis ta !úũ? tí)." The quote is: mã́á/'ĩis ta !úũ? "Which way (mã́á/'ĩĩ) are you going (-s ta !úũ)?" xam̃ku ke /xáa-/xáa-/xáa tí /ãán̄ !nã́a kèrè !ũũmã́a. "The lions (xam̃ku, masc., pl.) were going around (kèrè !ũũmã́a) "swish, swish, swish" (/xáa-/xáa-/xáa ti) in the grass (/ãán̄ !nã́a)." The quote is: /xáa-/xáa-/xáa, an imitative sound.

The direct quotation construction is always used to cite a name in a sentence, in which case one of the following verb plus aspect combinations is present in the verb phrase: ra mĩ́ĩhè "being said, being called," ra ≠aíhè "being called," /'òn hã́a "has been named." The matrix sentence frequently occurs relativized as the second member of an appositive noun phrase as in: siíke tì ≠àe-≠úí'aop pítap tí ra ≠aíhèp "our leader (siíke tì ≠àe≠úí'aop) who was called "Peter" (pítap tí ra ≠aíhèp)." The second part is a relativization of the sentence: //'ĩip (ke) pítap tí ra ≠aíhè. "He (//'ĩip) is called (ra ≠aíhe) "Peter" (pítap tí)." The quote is pítap.

Sometimes, the word tímí is used instead of the word tí, the second part is clearly a contraction of the verb mĩ́ĩ́ "say." It tends to be used after imitative sounds.

2. The Indirect Discourse NPà

The indirect discourse NPà is an indirect discourse NP followed by the subordinative suffix -à. The NP form is rarely found without that suffix, but we shall discuss it now because it is the embedding construction contained in the indirect discourse NPà.

The indirect discourse NP is a true embedding construction consisting of an embedded sentence plus a clause relator. The clause relator is the word !xáis "that," which is sometimes shortened to -s suffixed to the last word of the embedded sentence. The suffix -s, both on the word !xáis and in the shorter form -s, is the same as the feminine singular pgn suffix. As with all pgn suffixes, the indefinite singular suffix -!ì may be substituted for -s to produce the indefinite form !xái'ì "whether." The embedded sentence in an indirect discourse NP is characterized by having no deletion of subject NP (or sí) and being able to have any aspect; past tense may be deleted when the aspect is nonpunctual, but otherwise there is no tense deletion. The construction as a whole has the distribution of a noun phrase, as in the following sentence where it is the subject NP: !úũta nĩĩ !xáis ke 'a 'aḿ'a. "That I will go (!úũta nĩĩ !xáis) is true ('a 'aḿ'a)." Examples like this one are rare since there are few predicate phrases which can follow an indirect discourse NP as subject NP. However, it occurs very frequently with the subordinative suffix -à.

The indirect discourse may be the direct object NPà only in a verb phrase which contains one of a limited set of verbs which denote communicative or cognitive processes. The set of verbs includes those denoting processes of speaking and thinking with which a direct quotation may occur, mĩí "say" (usually in the form mĩípa "tell"), ǂaí "call," tĩí "ask," ǃ'ere'áḿ "answer," and ǂ'aĩ "think," but it also includes many other verbs which denote receptive communicative or cognitive processes, of which a few are: //nàũ "hear," mũu "see," mũu-ǂ'áḿ "realize," ǂ'áḿ "know," /'úú "not know," ǂóḿ "believe," ǂáó "want," //aũ "show," //nàoku "reach agreement," ǃaĩ'aǂáó "rejoice," tsũu'aǂáó "be unhappy," and kxáókun "suspect." The following sentences are typical: tsĩí //'ĩípàkxm̀ ke kè mĩípa ǃũukxm̀ ta ǃxáisà. "And (tsĩí) we (-kxm̀, masc., du.) told (kè mĩípa) him (//'ĩípà) that we were going (ǃũukxm̀ ta ǃxáisà)." The embedded sentence is: ǃũukxm̀ (ke) ra. "We (-kxm̀) were going (ǃũu . . . ra)." which has the past tense deleted. //'ĩip ke 'aḿ'ase kèrè ǂóḿ /'aé-//amsà xuúkxm̀ /xií hãã ǃxáisà. "He (//'ĩip) really ('aḿ'ase) believed (kèrè ǂóḿ) that we had come from Windhoek (/'aé//amsà xuúkxm̀ /xií hãã ǃxáisà)." The embedded sentence is: /'aé-//amsà xuúkxm̀ (ke) /xií hãã. "We (-kxm̀, masc., du.) had come (/xií hãã) from Windhoek (/'aé//amsà xuú)." which has the past tense deleted. siíkxm̀ ke kè //nàũ //'ĩip kò ǃũũ ǃxáisà. "We (siíkxm̀, masc., du.) heard (kè //nàũ) that he had just gone (//'ĩip kò ǃũũ ǃxáisà)." The embedded sentence is:

//'ĩĩp (ke) kò !ũũ. "He (//'ĩĩp) just went (kò !ũũ)." Note that the recent past in the last example is recent relative to the context, i.e., the matrix sentence.

When the indefinite clause relator !xái'ì is followed by the suffix -à, as it almost always is, the form is !xái'è which still means "whether." Embedding constructions with the indefinite clause relator occur only in the verb phrase of a few negated verbs such as: /'úú "not know," /'uru "forget," mĩĩ //'óá "be unable to say," mũũ //'óá "be unable to see," //nàũ //'óá "be unable to hear." The meaning of this constructions is best demonstrated by contrasting the following two sentences: tiíta ke kè /'úú 'íí !ũũts ta !xáisà. "I (tiíta) didn't know (kè /'úú 'íí) that you were going (!ũũts ta !xáisà)." tiíta ke kè /'úú 'íí !ũũts ta !xái'è. "I didn't know whether you were going." In both, the embedded sentence is: !ũũts (ke) ra. "You (-ts) were going (!ũũ . . . ra)." which has the past tense deleted. The difference in meaning between the two is that the first sentence implies the truth of the embedded sentence, while the second sentence is indefinite about the truth of the embedded sentence. The indefiniteness about the truth is relative to the speaker of the sentence--a fact which we found to be true of the meaning of -'ì. (The suffix -'è consists of -'ì plus -à.) (See p. 76)

Indirect discourse is the only embedding construction by which an interrogative sentence may be embedded in a declarative sentence. (See p. 265 in the next chapter.)

IX. THE INTERROGATIVE SENTENCE

In chapter III, where sentence structure was first introduced, we decided to focus our attention on the declarative sentence to the exclusion of interrogative and imperative sentence. It was argued at the latter two types can best be viewed as resulting from modifications upon the basic sentence structure exemplified in the declarative to enable them to perform the special linguistic functions of requesting information and commanding. Now that we have exposed in sufficient detail the structure of the Nama declarative sentence, it is possible for us to show in precisely what ways that structure is modified. This will be our concern in the present and the following chapters.

For the interrogative sentence, our description will be structured in the same way that it was for the declarative sentence in chapter III. We shall devote our attention in turn to its structure, its intonation, and then to its two variant forms, the content interrogative and the truth interrogative.

A. STRUCTURE

There are two very simple structural differences between

the interrogative and declarative sentence. For convenience, the formula for the declarative sentence (in the normal order) is reproduced below:

NP + Dec + PredP

where "Dec" represents either the declarative particle ke or the emphatic declarative km . . . 'oo. Now, as we would expect, the interrogative sentence does not have either declarative particle. Instead, it either has no particle in that position at all, or it may have the emphatic interrogative particle kxa. The second difference is that the first constituent, what we have been calling the "subject NP," is followed by the subordinative suffix -à in the interrogative sentence. We may thus represent the structure of the interrogative sentence as follows:

NPà + Int + PredP

where "Int" represents either nothing or the emphatic interrogative particle kxa. The formula represents the interrogative sentence in the normal order. When some element of the sentence is initialized, the deposed subject already has the subordinative suffix -à, so that the only remaining difference between the interrogative and declarative sentence is the constituent "Int" as opposed to "Dec":

$$X + pgn_1 + (kxa) + (NPS + pgn_1 + -\grave{a}) + \ldots$$

This diagram may be compared with the one for the declarative sentence on p. 105.

There is one more syntactic difference distinguishing the interrogative sentence and that is the presence of an interrogative noun phrase or adverbial in the case of the "content interrogative" which is to be explained presently.

B. INTONATION

There are two intonational differences between the interrogative and the declarative sentence. One of these is a morphemically restricted tone perturbation, and the other is a pattern of general sentence intonation.

In an interrogative sentence, when an NPà occurs before the constituent "Int" (Ø or kxa) either as the subject NPà or an initialized direct or indirect object NPà, the tone of the subordinative suffix -à is changed from low to middle. Thus, NPà becomes NPa, and we will write it as such in our transcription since it clearly a case of change from one toneme to another.

The general sentence intonation of the interrogative sentence differs from the declarative in that the pitch of the voice does not decline nearly so much from the beginning to the end of the sentence. It is, in fact, nearly level throughout. Neither is there as much lowering of the tone of the final mora of the sentence, so that a verb at the end

of an interrogative sentence has its tone sequence almost intact. Sometimes it is only this general sentence intonation which tells us that a particular sentence is interrogative, so we will indicate this nearly level intonation by the symbol "?" placed at the end of the sentence. Usually, though, one of the several syntactic and intonational features mentioned above also marks a sentence as being interrogative.

C. THE CONTENT INTERROGATIVE

A content interrogative sentence is used by a speaker of the language to request more information about a particular event or state of affairs. It is a sentence having an information gap which is marked by an interrogative morpheme, to which the hearer is expected to reply with a word or phrase which would fill the information gap. The interrogative morpheme is contained in an interrogative word, wich, in turn, is contained in an interrogative phrase.

The content interrogative sentence is distinguished by the presence either of an interrogative noun phrase (or NPà) or of an interrogative adverbial. We may generalize over the two by using the term "interrogative phrase" to cover both of them. Though the interrogative noun phrase and the interrogative adverbial have each been discussed in their proper place within previous chapters, it will be convenient to bring all the information together here in one place.

An interrogative noun phrase, which we may abbreviate "INP," may have five different forms. It may consist of an interrogative pronoun, composed of the interrogative pronominal tarí "who" or taré "what" (6th order class) plus a pgn suffix, or it may be a noun phrase which contains the interrogative modifier tarépe "what kind of" (1st order class), the interrogative number máátíkó (or hamtíkó) "how much, how many" (2nd order class), the interrogative associative INP + tì "who's, what's" (3rd order class), or the interrogative demonstrative máá (or hamí) "which, what" (4th order class). There is also the special case of an interrogative noun phrase complement, which we may abbreviate "INP-Comp" consisting of an interrogative noun phrase of any of the above forms minus the pgn suffix, which may be the predicate of a stative verb phrase.

An interrogative adverbial may be either an interrogative adverb or an interrogative post-positional phrase. Of the five interrogative adverbs, four of them are demonstrative adverbs: máápá "where," máátí "how, in what manner," máá/'íi "which way (direction," and hamí'oo "when." One more interrogative adverb is máátíkóse (or hamtíkóse) "how much." An interrogative post-positional phrase consists of an interrogative noun phrase of any type described in the preceding paragraph plus a post-position (INP + PP). There are also two contracted forms of this construction: taréxa "by what," a contraction of taré'ì xaa, and taré!'áróma "why, because of

what," a contraction of taré'ì !'áróma.

The principal syntactic rule of the content interrogative is that an interrogative phrase must be initialized if it is not the subject NPa, which is already initial. This rule applies within interrogative sentences, as we shall see when we deal with the embedding of interrogative sentences. In the following sentence, the interrogative phrase is the subject NPa: tarí'e //aǹ'è kè ≠'ʊ́ʊ́? "Who (indef., sing.) ate (kè ≠'ʊ́ʊ́) some meat (//aǹ'è)?" Note the tone on -'e in tarí'e. In the preceding example, the indefinite suffix -'ì (-'ì + -à = -'è) was used because the gender of the subject was unknown, but in the following sentence the subject is known to be masculine singular: tarípa //aǹ'è kè ≠'ʊ́ʊ́? "Who (masc., sing.) ate the meat?" The next example has an interrogative direct object NPa obligatorily initialized: taré'ep //'íípà kè ≠'ʊ́ʊ́? "What (taré'e) did he (-p . . . //'íípà) eat (kè ≠'ʊ́ʊ́)?" In the normal order this would be: *//'íípa taré'è kè ≠'ʊ́ʊ́? which is ungrammatical. In the sentences which follow, the initialized element is an interrogative adverb: matí'ì kxòe'è séetvesà xuú !'auka hãã !hùúku !'oǽ ra !ʊ́ʊ? "How (matí) does a person (-'ì . . . kxòe'è) go (ra !ʊ́ʊ) from Southwest Africa (séetvesà xuú) to foreign lands (!'auka hãã !hùúku !'oǽ)." mããpákxò ra !ʊ́ʊ? "Where (mããpǽ) are you (-kxò, masc., du.) going (ra !ʊ́ʊ)?" mãã/'ííts ta !ʊ́ʊ? "Which way (mãã/'íí) are you (-ts, masc. sing.) going (ta !ʊ́ʊ)?" And here is a sentence with an interrogative post-positional

phrase: mǎá //'áép 'áíp //áusà xuú !ûu? "At what time (mǎá //'áép 'áí) did he (-p) go (!ûu) from the district (//áusà xuú)?" A sentence like this one, inquiring about past time, may have its tense particle omitted since the speaker does not know whether to use remote or recent past tense.

The deposed subject NPà in an interrogative sentence may always be re-initialized to the very beginning of the sentence, even though some other element such an interrogative phrase has already been initialized: saákxo taré'ekxò neepá ra hĩĩ? "What (taré'e) are you (saákxo . . . -kxò, masc., du.) doing (ra hĩĩ) here (neepá)?"

Sentences consisting of one word may be formed when a content interrogative sentence contains a stative verb phrase. As we know from our description of the stative verb phrase, the predicate is an optional constituent: we may thus have declarative sentences such as //'ĩĩp ke. "It is he." where the present tense-copula 'a is deleted. An analogous interrogative sentence may be formed: tarí'e? "Who is it?," taré'e? "What is it?," tarípa? "Who is he?," tarísa? "Who is she?," etc.

As was mentioned at the very end of the last chapter, an interrogative sentence may be embedded in an indirect discourse NPà with the clause relator !xáisà. Here are some examples: siíkxm̀ ke //'ĩĩku tsĩĩhà míípa tama kè hǎa 'ií mǎípákxm̀ ta !ûu !xáisà. "We (siíkxm̀. masc., du., excl.) didn't tell (míípa tama kè hǎa 'ií) them either (//'ĩĩku

tsĩĩǹà) where we were going (mãápákxm̀ ta !ǘu !xáisà)." The embedded sentence is: mãápákxm̀ ta !ǘu? "Where (mãápá) were we (-kxm̀) going (ta !ǘu)?" Like many cases of indirect discourse, past tense is deleted in the embedded sentence, which would be more literally translated "Where are we going?" //'ĩĩku ke kè ≠'áń 'ií mãá !xáis 'áíkxm̀ hãa !xáisà. "They (//'ĩĩku, masc., pl.) knew (kè ≠'áń 'ií) at what place we were (mãá !xáis 'áíkxm̀ hãa !xáisà)." The embedded sentence is: mãá !xáis 'áíkxm̀ hãa? "At what place (mãá !xáis 'áí) were (hãa, lit., "are") we (-kxm̀. masc., du.)?"

If a content interrogative sentence is embedded within another interrogative sentence, then the entire embedding construction must be initialized in the matrix sentence. This serves to bring the interrogative phrase to the beginning of the sentence where it belongs. For example: taré'e nĩĩ mũũsetù kxa kò !ǘu-≠'oá? "What did you go out to see?" or, more literally, "In order to see what (taré'e nĩĩ mũũse) did you (-tà, com., pl.) just go out (kò !ǘu-≠'oá)?" The embedded sentence is: taré'e(-tà) nĩĩ mũũ? "What (taré'e) will (nĩĩ) you (-tà) see (mũũ)?" The construction is an intentional participial embedding.

D. THE TRUTH INTERROGATIVE

With a truth interrogative sentence, a speaker requests his hearer to judge a particular statement as being either

true or false. The simplest response to such a sentence is either 'àa "yes" or hm̃'fí "no."

In its syntactic structure, the truth interrogative is actually more general in form than the content interrogative. By this is meant that it is constructed according to the rules for an interrogative sentence given in sections A and B of this chapter, but its structure is not altered by the presence of an interrogative phrase and the concomitant obligatory permutation. However, because there is no obligatory permutation, a truth interrogative sentence is subject to many different possibilities of optional permutation which can bring different parts of the sentence into semantic focus in the question. This semantic focus is the same as the "emphasis" which initialization gives to an NPà, adverbial, or verb in a declarative sentence. But while most declarative sentences are in the normal order and permutation is only used to produce a special emphatic effect, permutation, specifically initialization, occurs more often that not in a truth interrogative sentence where it is most important to indicate which part of the sentence is most in question.

In the normal order, the semantic focus is on the subject NPa: //'fípa //aǹ'è kè ≠'ʊ́ʊ́? "Did he (//'fípa) eat (kè ≠'ʊ́ʊ́) the meat (//aǹ'è)?" It is important to notice here that the normal order in a truth interrogative is by no means an interrogative without special emphasis, but gives a sig-

nificant emphasis to the subject NPa. Here is the same sentence with the direct object NPà initialized: //añ'ep //'ĩipà kè ≠'ũú? "Did he (-p . . . //'ĩipà) eat (kè ≠'ũú) the meat (//añ'e)?" The verb may be initialized in a similar fashion: ≠'ũúp kè //'ĩipà //añ'è? "Did he (-p . . . //'ĩipà) eat (≠'ũú . . . kè) the meat (//añ'è)? Notice how, in the last example, the tense particle is moved to the position after the constituent "Int," here represented by Ø, to prevent the sentence from ending with a tense particle. Nama's aversion to having a sentence begin or end with a tense, aspect, or copula particle has been mentioned earlier in chapter VI. With the emphatic interrogative particle kxa, the last sentence would be: ≠'ũúp kxa kè //'ĩipà //añ'è? "Did he eat the meat?!"

As is the case with the content interrogative sentence, a deposed subject NPà may always be re-initialized, even though another part of the sentence has already been initialized. Thus, we may have: //'ĩipa ≠'ũúp kè //añ'è? "Did he (//'ĩipa . . . -p) eat (≠'ũú . . . kè) the meat (//añ'è)?" Here, the semantic focus is on both the subject NPa and the verb, which is equivalent to saying that the direct object NPà is de-emphasized. This doubly permuted sentence is, in actual fact, a very frequent form of the truth interrogative. It is the closest thing to a truth interrogative without special emphasis, that is commonly used.

The type of initialization which occurs in a declarative

sentence whereby the VPN and TAC are both initialized is not permissible in an interrogative sentence; the TAC may never be initialized. For an explanation of VPN and TAC, see the last section of chapter VI.

When the verb (or predicate) has been initialized, and the subject NPà has been re-initialized, the direct object NPà may also be initialized to occur between them: //'ĩipa //aní'e ≠'ũúp ke? "Did he (//'ĩipa . . . -p) eat (≠'ũú . . . kè) the meat (//aní'e)?" Sentences with a triple permutation like this do not occur at all frequently. Note that the sentence unavoidably ends in a tense particle.

X. THE IMPERATIVE-HORTATIVE SENTENCE

The hyphenated term "imperative-hortative" has been given to this type of sentence because the term "imperative" means that the sentence is used to give a command, which means that the subject of an imperative sentence must always be in the second person. However, in Nama, the same sentence structure which is used to issue commands may also be used to form sentences with a subject in the first or third person; this type of sentence we shall call a "hortative" sentence. Thus, the imperative sentence and the hortative sentence are two special cases of a more general type of sentence, though there are a few minor structural differences between them. The meaning of this more general type of sentence, the imperative-hortative, is that the speaker expects his hearer to turn the proposition contained in the sentence into reality. It is hoped that this semantic definition will become clearer when we examine some specific examples later in the chapter.

A. STRUCTURE AND INTONATION

As with the interrogative sentence, the imperative-hortative sentence differs from the declarative in that it has no declararive particle, and in that the subject NP is followed

by the subordinative suffix -à. However, the imperative particle re, which is optional, instead of occurring in the position between the subject NPà and the PredP, is at the very end of the sentence. We will now repeat all three formulas at this level or structure for comparison:

NP + Dec + PredP	declarative
NPa + Int + PredP	interrogative
NPà + PredP + IH	imperative-hortative

In the last formula, IH is the imperative hortative particle re or nothing at all. The presence of re makes the command or exhortation conveyed by the sentence more polite; it is most often used when addressing more than one individual.

There are two special characteristics of the predicate phrase of an imperative-hortative sentence: Firstly, the predicate phrase must contain an active verb phrase, and secondly, that active verb phrase may have neither tense nor aspect morphemes, though future tense and punctual aspect are implied by the general meaning of this type of sentence. Expanding in turn the predicate phrase and the verb phrase, the structure of the imperative-hortative sentence may be diagrammed as follows:

NPà + (Advl) + (NPà) + (NPà) + V[+act] + (re)

Here, (re) has been substituted for IH in the earlier formula.

The intonation of an imperative-hortative sentence is

level from beginning to end with no dropping of the tone of the last mora in the sentence. The symbol "!" will be used to indicate this intonation; it cannot be confused with the identical click influx synbol "!" because a click can never end a word. There is one morphotonemic change connected with the negation of this type of sentence which will be explained in its proper place.

The formula given above does not tell the whole story. Each of the two subtypes, imperative and hortative, has its own particular structural features which further alter this general formula. It is to these that we must now turn our attention.

1. The Imperative Sentence

An imperative sentence is an imperative-hortative sentence whose subject NPà is in the second person. The imperative sentence differs from the hortative in that the subject NPà may be deleted, and it usually is. Thus, the imperative sentences saátsà mŭ̀u re! "You (masc., sing.) see!," saárò mŭ̀u re! "You (fem. or com., du.) see!," and saátò mŭ̀u re! "You (com., pl.) see!" may all be reduced to mŭ̀u re! "See!" or, since re is optional, to mŭ̀u! "See!." The subject NPà is only likely to be retained if it is more complicated than a simple pronoun form as in: saáts /íríts tsĭ́ saáts ǂhlírats tsĭ́kxò !ŭ́u! "You jackal (saáts /íríts, masc.) and (tsĭ́) you wolf (saáts ǂhlírats, masc.) go (!ŭ́u)!"

Permutation according to the principles of chapter VI may occur in the imperative sentence just as it may in the interrogative or declarative. Actually, imperative sentences very frequently occur with verb initialization and the accompanying subject deposition, the deposed subject usually being deleted. Thus, there are sentences like: mǐípatekxò re! "You (-kxò, masc., du.) tell (mǐípa) me (-te)!," /'ǽpá!namkàso ≠aí re! "You (-so, fem., pl.) call (≠aí) the police (/'ǽpá!namkà)!" In the last example, it is the direct object NPà which is initialized.

2. The Hortative Sentence

A hortative sentence is an imperative-hortative sentence whose subject NPà is in the first or third person. In contrast to the imperative sentence, the subject NPà of a hortative sentence may not be deleted, except in the case of subject deposition as explained in chapter VI where the subject NPà is represented by a subject indicator (si). Note the following examples: !ǔǔke re! "Let us (-ke, masc., pl.) go (!ǔǔ)!" or "Let's go!," mǐíta re! "Let me (-ta) say (mǐí)!" Despite the fact that they are translated by "us" and "me" into English, the suffixes -ke and -ta indicate the subject. The full pronoun deposed subject NPà is deleted.

The most usual form of the hortative sentence is introduced by the hortative conjunction 'a. This 'a causes obligatory subject deposition just as does any sentence conjunction.

In the sentence *'ake //nāápá !ṹu tsīī //am̃'è síí ≠áń!* "Let us (*-ke*, masc., pl.) go (*!ṹu*) there (*//nāápá*) and (*tsīī*), arriving (*síí*), ask for (*≠áń*) some water (*//am̃'è*)!" the deposed subject has been deleted. It would have been *siíkè* and would have occurred in the position after *'ake*. The deposed subject may be initialized to the position before the hortative conjunction *'a*, as it is in the following sentence: *sáá ≠'āísà 'as 'ií re!* "May that which you think (*sáá ≠'āísà*, where *≠'āís* is a nominalization with the verb *≠'āī* "think") happen (*'ií*)!," or, "Thy will be done!" A hortative sentence formed with the conjunction *'a* may be embedded in a declarative sentence with a distribution similar to an indirect discourse NPà: *siíke ke kè /'apé 'akxm̀ siíkxm̀à xuuh̀à 'úú*. "We (*siíke*, masc., pl.) decided (*kè /'apé*) that we two (*-kxm̀ siíkxm̀à*, masc., du.) would take (*'úú*) the things (*xuuh̀à*)."

3. Negation

An imperative-hortative sentence is negated by placing the imperative-hortative negative particle *táá* before the predicate phrase. This, in our previous formula would be:

NPà + *táá* + PredP + IH

Here are some examples: *táá !ṹu!* "Don't go!"; *táá //xaápá 'oa-/xií!* "Don't (*táá*) come home (*'oa-/xií*) again (*//xaápá*)!"; *'ata táá !'áo re!* "Let us (*-ta*, com., pl.) not (*táá*) be

afraid (!'áo)!" A re-initialized deposed subject NPà must be placed in front of this táá: saátsà táá !ǔǔ! "You (saátsà) don't (táá) go (!ǔǔ)!" (See p. 38.)

There is a morphotonemic change affecting any word that occurs after táá in that all the tones in such a word are lowered by about one tone.

4. Embedding

There are two varieties of embedding which have special relevance to the imperative-hortative sentence: (a) the intentional participial construction with 'ĭĭ, by which one imperative-hortative sentence may be embedded in another, and (b) the causal embedding construction with xuike, by which a declarative sentence may be embedded within an imperative-hortative.

a. The Intentional Participial with 'ĭĭ

This construction was discussed earlier in the chapter on embedding (p. 249), as a variety of the nĭĭ . . . ka embedding construction. It is being mentioned here because of the great frequency with which it occurs in this type of sentence, often with a meaning close to that of the conjunction tsĭĭ "and." A short sentence like 'úú 'ĭĭ ≠'ǔǔ!" means, literally "Take ('úú) in order to ('ĭĭ) eat (≠'ǔǔ)!" but may just as well be translated "Take and eat." Often, a series of imperative-hortative sentences are linked together

in this manner.

b. The Causal Construction with xuike

The causal embedding construction with xuike, mentioned briefly in the chapter on embedding (p. 241), is notable in that it may only occur within an imperative-hortative sentence where it embeds a declarative sentence. The following examples are typical: táá //xaápá míípate //nǎǔta kò xuike! "Don't (táá) tell me (míípate) again (//xaápá) because I just heard (//nǎǔta kò xuike)!" The embedded sentence is: //nǎǔta (ke) kò. "I (-ta) just heard (//nǎǔ . . . kò)." hǎá tiíta tàpa sóres kò ǂaà xuike! "Stay (hǎá) with me (tiíta tàpa, lit., "at me") because the sun went in (sóres kò ǂaà xuike)!" The embedded sentence is: sóres (ke) kò ǂaà. "The sun (sóres) just went in (kò ǂaà)."

B. IMPERATIVE-HORTATIVE EQUIVALENTS

The imperative-hortative sentence is not the only means by which speakers of Nama issue a command or an exhortation. Declarative sentences with either the future or indefinite tense may be used for the same purpose. The hearer must judge from the non-linguistic context whether the sentence is to be interpreted as a command or exhortation, or whether it is simply a declarative sentence in the future or indefinite tense. A sentence with future tense may be interpreted

with a meaning of strong obligation: saáts ke nĭĭ ≠núú. "You (saáts, masc., sing.) must sit down (nĭĭ ≠núú)." A sentence with indefinite tense may be interpreted with a meaning of mild obligation or suggestion: saáts ke kà ≠núú. "You (saáts, masc., sing.) should sit down (kà ≠núú)."

C. THE VOCATIVE

The vocative construction, used to call someone or attract their attention, may be considered to be similar in meaning to the imperative-hortative sentence, though, strictly speaking, it is not really a sentence. There are three forms of the vocative construction consisting of: (a) a noun phrase in the second person plus the particle he, (b) a noun phrase in the second person, and (c) a noun stem phrase, i.e., a noun phrase without a pgn suffix. Forms (a) and (c) are more familiar than form (b), which is the polite form. The intonation of all three vocative constructions is level, like the imperative-hortative sentence. The combinations of the masculine and feminine singular suffixes -ts and -s plus he are always contracted to -tse and -se. Here are some examples: (a) tíí 'ǒátse!, (b) tíí 'ǒáts!, (c) tíí 'ǒá! "My son!"; (a) maríase!, (b) maríás!, (c) maría! "Maria!" A common familiar form of the vocative is formed with the demonstrative nee "this": neetse! "Hey you (masc., sing.)!"; neese! "Hey you (fem., sing.)!"

APPENDIX:

A SAMPLE TEXT

xaḿ-i ke 'a /úrúǹ hòáǹ tì kàó'ao káísep 'a /aísa, /óḿ //xáí, xápú-kxáó, tsíǐ ǃhéése ra ǃxóés ǃ'áróma.

tsíǐ maátsekáḿ //óakas hòásàp ke ≠xaḿ xaḿ-à ǃárop ǃnaa ≠'oá tsíǐ //'íǐp tì /aísìpà síí kèrè /noóku náú /úrúǹ /xáa. tsíǐ maá tsèes hòásàp ke //'íǐpà kèrè 'óa-/xií tàń'aose. tsíǐ nee ≠hõas ke /úrúǹ ǃhùúp hòárakap ǃnaa kè //nàúhè tsíǐ ≠'áńnè 'íí xaḿ'i 'a /úrúǹ tì kàó'ao ǃxáisà. tsíǐ maá tsèes híǐ'ap kèrè 'óa-/xií tàń tsíǐs kxáó!áa 'oos ke //'íǐp tì //uusà kèrè koápi "tíí 'ǒátse! /óḿ ǃnórótse! xápú kxáótse! /óḿ //xáítse! 'aore kxòetse!" tí.

xapes ke /úí tsekáḿ //óaka kxàí-maá tsíǐp ke ≠xaḿ xaḿ-à kàrósn 'oo ǃxóó/xáapi "/óḿ //xáítse! /óḿ ǃnórótse! xaḿ //ǒátse! xápú kxáótse!" tí, ǃxóó/xáapi tóá tsíǐ kè míǐ "aḿ'aseta ke ra ≠óḿ saáts maá /úrúǹ hòáǹ xaa 'a /aísa ǃxáisà. maá tsèes hòásàts ke saátsà ≠'oá ǃárop ǃnaa tsíǐ 'óa-/xií tsíǐ ra //aute 'aḿ'asets saátsà 'a /úrúǹ tì kàó'ao ǃxáisà. xape, tíí 'ǒátse! /úí tsèets ke nìǐ ≠'oá ǃárop ǃnaa. tsíǐ ≠'oá tsíǐts ǃárop ǃnaa ra ǃũumaa híǐ'ats ke ≠xarí xuuróp ≠hanúse ra ǃúu ǃxodtì ǃnaa ≠nùa tànásepà nìǐ mùu. tsíǐ, tíí 'ǒátse! /óḿ //xáítse! /óḿ ǃnórótse! xápú kxáótse! //naá ≠xarí xuuróp /xáats kàrà /haó'ú tsèes //naás

'áís ke sóresà nı̃ı̌ ≠ãà 'ɗa-/xií tamats hãa nı̃ı́'a. //nãá xuurόp tı̀ /'ɔ̀ns ke "kxɗep" tí ra ≠aíhè."

The lion is king of all the beasts because he is very strong, thick of chest, slim of waist, and runs fast.

Every morning, the young lion would go out into the forest and compare his strength with the other beasts. And every day he would return the victor. This news was heard and known throughout the animal world: that the lion was king of the beasts. Every day that he would return victorious, his mother would praise him, "Son of mine! Thick of neck! Thick of chest! He-man!."

But one morning, when having got up the young lion was stretching, she praised him, "Thick of chest! Thick of neck! Lion-armed! Slim of waist!," finished praising him and said, "I truly believe that you are strongest of all the beasts. Every day you go out into the forest and return, and show me that you are truly king of the beasts. But, my son, one day you will go out into the forest. And while you are out walking around in the forest, you will see a little thing which walks straight, its head sitting on its shoulders. And, Son of mine! Thick of chest! Thick of neck! Slim of waist!, the day you meet that little thing, on that day the sun will set while you have not returned. The name of that little thing is called 'man.'"

The following is a morphological analysis of the text with an approximate morpheme-by-morpheme English translation. Those morphemes which are not easily translated are designated by abbreviations. For a thorough understanding of the text these should be looked up in the indexes. The abbreviations are:

Abs	abstract	Neg	negative
Acm	accompanitive	Par	participial
Ajd	adjective deriving	Pass	passive
Avd	adverb deriving	Pcop	past tense copula
Cop	copula	Perf	perfective aspect
Dec	declarative	Rcp	reciprocal
Dim	diminutive	Rfl	reflexive
Dqt	direct quotation	Rmp	remote past tense
Fut	future tense	Sub	subordinative
Idd	indirect discourse	Voc	vocative
Ind	indefinite tense	2Pro	2° pronominal
Imp	imperfective aspect	3Pro	3° pronominal

Suffixes which denote person, gender, and number are designated as follows: 1s = 1° sing., 2ms + 2° masc. sing., 3ms = 3° masc. sing., 3fs = 3° fem. sing., 3cp = 3° com. pl. In cases where these suffixes are not attached to nouns, the grammatical constructions in which they participate are abbreviated as follows: si = subject indicator (p. 203), ap = appositive (p. 90), nom = nominalization (p. 233), obj

= object suffix (p. 155).

xaḿ	-i	ke	'a	/úrú	-ǹ	hòá	-ǹ	tì	kàó	-'ao
lion	3ms	Dec	Cop	animal	3cp	all	3cp/ap	of	rule	man
kái	-se	-p	'a	/aí	-sa,	/ǒḿ	//xáí,	xápú		
big	Avd	3ms/si	Cop	strong	Ajd	thick	chest	slim		
kxáó,	tsíǐ	!háé	-se	ra	!xóé	-s	!'áróma.	tsíǐ		
waist	and	fast	Avd	Imp	run	3fs/nom	because	and		
mấá	-tse	-káḿ	//ǒa	-ka	-s	hòá	-s	-à	-p	
which	day	Ajd	morning	Avd	3fs	all	3fs/ap	Sub	3ms/si	
ke	≠xaḿ	xaḿ	-à	!árop	!naã	≠'oá	tsíǐ	//'íǐ		
Dec	young	lion	3ms+Sub	forest	into	go out	and	3Pro		
-p	tì	/aí	-sì	-p	-à	síí	kè	-rè	/noó	
3ms	of	strong	Abs	3ms	Sub	arrive+Par	Rmp	Imp	measure	
-ku	náú	/úrú	-ǹ	/xáa.	tsíǐ	mấá	tsèe	-s	hòá	
Rcp	other	animal	3cp	with	and	which	day	3fs	all	
-s	-à	-p	ke	//'íǐ	-p	-à	kè	-rè	'ǒa-	
3fs/ap	Sub	3ms/si	Dec	3Pro	3ms	Sub	Rmp	Imp	go back	
-/xiǐ	tàń	-'ao	-se.	tsíǐ	nee	≠hõã	-s	ke		
come	conquer	man	Avd	and	this	news	3fs	Dec		
/úrú	-ǹ	!hùú	-p	hòá-rá-ka	-p	!naã	kè	//nãú		
animal	3cp	land	3ms	all	3ms/ap	in	Rmp	hear		
-hè	tsíǐ	≠'áń	-hè	'iǐ	xaḿ	-i	'a	/úrú	-ǹ	
Pass	and	know	Pass	Pcop	lion	3ms	Cop	animal	3cp	
tì	kàó	-'ao	!xái	-s	-à.	tsíǐ	mấá	tsèe	-s	híǐ'a
of	rule	man	Idd	3fs	Sub	and	what	day	3fs	that

-p	kè	-rè	'óa-	-/xií	tàń	tsíí	-s
3ms/si	Rmp	Imp	go back	come	conquer	Par	3fs/ap

kxáó-!áa	'oo	-s	ke	//'íi	-p	tì	//ú̀u	-s
after	then	3fs/si	Dec	3Pro	3ms	of	parent	3fs

-à	kè	-rè	koá	-pi	tíí	'óá	-ts	-e!	/óḿ
Sub	Rmp	Imp	praise	3ms/obj	my	child	2ms	Voc	thick

!nóró	-ts	-e!	xápú	kxáó	-ts	-e!	/óḿ	//xáí	-ts
neck	2ms	Voc	slim	waist	2ms	Voc	thick	chest	2ms

-e!	'áo	-re	kxòe	-ts	-e!	tí.	xape	-s	ke
Voc	man	Ajd	person	2ms	Voc	Dqt	but	3fs/si	Dec

/úí	-tse	-káḿ	//óa	-ka	kxàĩ-	-máá	tsíí	-p
one	day	Ajd	morning	Avd	jump up	stand	Par	3ms/si

kè	≠xaḿ	xaḿ	-à	kàró	-sn	'oo	!xóó-/xáa
Rmp	young	lion	3ms+Sub	stretch	Rfl	when	praise

-pi	/óḿ	//xáí	-ts	-e!	/óḿ	!nóró	-ts	-e!	xaḿ
3ms/obj	thick	chest	2ms	Voc	thick	neck	2ms	Voc	lion

//óa	-ts	-e!	xápú	kxáó	-ts	-e!	tí,	!xóó-/xáa	-pi
arm	2ms	Voc	slim	waist	2ms	Voc	Dqt	praise	3ms/obj

tóá	tsíí	kè	míí	'aḿ'a	-se	-ta	ke	ra	≠óḿ
finish	and	Rmp	say	true	Avd	1s/si	Dec	Imp	believe

saá	-ts	maá	/úrú	-ǹ	hòá	-ǹ	xaa	'a	/aí
2Pro	2ms	which	animal	3cp	all	3cp/ap	than	Cop	strong

-sa	!xái	-s	-à.	maá	tsèe	-s	hòá	-s	-à
Ajd	Idd	3fs	Sub	which	day	3fs	all	3fs/ap	Sub

-ts	ke	saá	-ts	-à	≠'oá	!áro	-p	!naa	tsíí
2ms/si	Dec	2Pro	2ms	Sub	go out	forest	3ms	into	and

'óa-	-/xií	tsĩĩ	ra	//au	-te	'ám'a	-se	-ts
go back	come	and	Imp	show	1s/obj	true	Avd	2ms/si

saá	-ts	-à	'a	/úrú	-ǹ	tì	kàó	-'ao	!xái	-s
2Pro	2ms	Sub	Cop	animal	3cp	of	rule	man	Idd	3fs

-à.	xape,	tíí	'õá	-ts	-e!	/úí	tsèe	-ts	ke
Sub	but	my	child	2ms	Voc	one	day	2ms/si	Dec

nĩí	≠'oá	!áro	-p	!nãã.	tsĩĩ	≠'oá	tsĩĩ	-ts
Fut	go out	forest	3ms	into	and	go out	Par	2ms/si

!áro	-p	!nãa	ra	!ũu-	-mãa	hĩĩ'a	-ts	ke
forest	3ms	into	Imp	go	around	while	2ms/si	Dec

≠xarí	xuu	-ró	-p	≠hanú	-se	ra	!ũu	!xoó
small	thing	Dim	3ms	straight	Avd	Imp	go	shoulder

-tì	!nãa	≠nũa	tàná	-se	-p	-à	nĩí	mũu.
3fp	in	sit+Perf	head	Avd	3ms/ap	Sub	Fut	see

tsĩĩ,	tíí	'õá	-ts	-e!	/óm̃	//xáí	-ts	-e!	/óm̃
and	my	child	2fs	Voc	thick	chest	2ms	Voc	thick

!nóró	-ts	-e!	xápú	kxáó	-ts	-e!	//nãá	≠xarí	xuu
neck	2ms	Voc	slim	waist	2ms	Voc	that	small	thing

-ró	-p	/xáa	-ts	kà	-rà	/haó	-'ú	tsèe
Dim	3ms	with	2ms/si	Ind	Imp	come together	Acm	day

-s	//nãá	-s	'áí	-s	ke	sóre	-s	-à	nĩí
3fs	that	3fs/ap	on	3fs/si	Dec	sun	3fs	Sub	Fut

≠ãa	'óa-	-/xií	tama	-ts	hãa	hĩĩ'a.	//nãá
go in	go back	come	Neg	2ms/si	Perf	while	that

xuu	-ró	-p	tì	/'òn	-s	ke	kxòe	-p	tí	ra
thing	Dim	3ms	of	name	3fs	Dec	person	3ms	Dqt	Imp

ǂaí -hè.
call Pass

Note: The sequence !xóó/xáapi . . . !xóó/xáapi tóá "praised him . . . finished praising him" is a repetition which is not really grammatically acceptable, but it has the desirable stylistic effect of "framing" the quote. Either of the !xóó/xáapi's could be eliminated and the sentence would be grammatical.

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