Chris Collins / Levi Namaseb

A Grammatical Sketch
of Nǀuuki with Stories

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QUELLEN ZUR KHOISAN-FORSCHUNG

RESEARCH IN KHOISAN STUDIES

Chris Collins and Levi Namaseb

A Grammatical Sketch of Nǀuuki with Stories

This series is primarily concerned with the publication of source material on the language, history and culture of the Khoisan speaking population of Africa. It furthermore provides a forum for the presentation and discussion of analytical linguistic studies. The series will appear at irregular intervals and comprises both monographs and collections of papers. Contributions should be addressed to:

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Acknowledgements

List of Abbreviations

Overall, we follow the Leipzig glossing conventions and abbreviations. Nǀuu-ki proper names are phonetically transcribed, but appear in Nǀuuki orthography in the gloss and the translation. Deviations from the Leipzig glossing conventions will be noted in the grammar. The most frequent deviation is when two morphemes are written together with no morpheme boundary and given a single word gloss (e.g., for some idiomatic or frequently used expressions). On a number of occasions in the stories, we used "??" to gloss an unknown morpheme.

1	first person	MANN	manner
2	second person	NEG	negation
3	third person	NH	non-human
APPL	applicative	NMLZ	nominalizer
COND	conditional	PFV	perfective
DAT	dative	PL	plural
DECL	declarative	POSS	possessive
DIM	diminutive	PST	past
EXCL	exclusive	Q	question particle
FOC	focus	RECP	reciprocal
HAB	habitual	REL	relative
INCL	inclusive	REP	repetitive
IRR	irrealis	SG	singular
LK	linker	STAT	stative
LOC	locative		

1 Introduction

Nǀuuki is a Khoisan language spoken by a few elderly people in and around the town of Upington, South Africa in the Northern Cape. The word Nǀuu is a verb meaning to speak the language described in this grammar. The nominal form of Nǀuu is Nǀuuki. In the past, the language and the group of people were often referred to as ǂKhomani (e.g., MAINGARD 1937). Nowadays, both Nǀuu and Nǀuuki are used to refer to the language. This grammar is largely based on the western Nǀuuki dialect.

The primary field work for this grammatical sketch was carried out in the summers of 2004, 2005, and 2007. In addition, Levi NAMASEB has made yearly field trips for the purposes of recording oral texts and teaching the language to the youth since 1998. We hope to continue working on Nǀuuki and produce a much larger reference grammar in the future. Since the present document is meant to be a grammatical sketch, and not a full grammar, we point out areas where more work is needed.

Nǀuuki is a tonal language. Each word must be pronounced with a particular tone (e.g., high, low, rising). Tone levels are not indicated in this grammar, because the tonal system has not been worked out yet. We anticipate adding the tonal levels in a future expanded version of this grammar. Similarly, there has been no phonological study of vowel length in Nǀuuki, and so indications of vowel length must be taken as very preliminary.

We used broad IPA phonetic transcriptions in the grammar, since no standard orthography has been developed yet (for a preliminary proposal, see Appendix 2). There are a few minor deviations from strict IPA to keep the text less cluttered: First, nasalization and pharyngealization are only indicated on the first vowel in diphthongs and long vowels. Second, click accompaniments are not superscripted, but left on the same level as the click symbol, so that ǃh and ǃʔ are the aspirated and glottal releases respectively. Third, contextual nasalization on a vowel from a preceding or following nasal consonant is not indicated. Fourth, word-initial glottal stops are omitted (including for the pronouns). Fifth, [ɦ] is systematically written as "h". Further information about the phonology and phonetics of Nǀuuki can be found in MILLER *et al.* (2009).

In order to illustrate various aspects of Nǀuuki grammar, we include four transcribed stories at the end of the grammatical sketch in Appendix 1. One of those stories is presented in Appendix 2 in a preliminary orthography. Each oral text was checked with the speaker who produced it, sometimes leading to minor changes (mostly undoing fast speech pronunciations). Loan words from Afrikaans and Khoekhoe are not indicated in the grammar or the texts. Examples in the grammar taken from texts have an abbreviated form of the story name following them (e.g., "Jackal").

The recordings of all the phrases (9,416 short sound files) and stories (four sound files) used to prepare this grammatical sketch are posted online at the NYU Faculty Digital Archive on a password protected site. For researchers interested in accessing this material, please send a request to Professor Chris COLLINS (cc116@nyu.edu).

The grammar of Nǀuuki shares a number of properties with the other Khoisan languages. For example, all non-central Khoisan languages make use of the linker described in chapter 12, and serial verbs described in chapter 15. See COLLINS (2001, 2002, 2003, 2004) for general background on the syntax of the non-central Khoisan languages and NAMASEB (2006) for background on Nǀuuki oral traditions. See also GÜLDEMANN (2004b) for a short overview of the grammar of Nǀuuki.

2 Basic Sentences

This chapter presents the basic structure of a Nǀuuki sentence, including the declarative marker, the position of subjects and direct objects, and sentential negation.

2.1 The declarative marker

In a Nǀuuki sentence, the subject precedes the verb, as shown in the following example:

(1) a. ɲǀaŋgusi   ke   ǂqheeke
Nǀangusi   DECL   sing
"Nǀangusi is singing."

    b. ɲǂhau   ke   ǀʔee !oo
dungbeetle DECL enter hole
"The dungbeetle is entering the hole."

In this example, the declarative marker *ke* appears between the subject *Nǀangusi* and the verb. *ke* only appears in declarative sentences, and never in questions, relative clauses, or imperatives. Furthermore, the declarative marker is mostly absent in complement clauses (see section 17.2). For a similar morpheme *ke* in Khoekhoegowab, see HAGMAN (1977: 53-54).

When the subject is a pronoun, the declarative marker *ke* can be optionally replaced by *-a*.

(2) a. ŋ   ke   s̃iisen
1SG DECL work
"I am working."

    b. n-a   s̃iisen
1SG-DECL   work
"I am working."

(3) a. ku   ke   ǀqhõ̀ʕo
3SG DECL dance
"He is dancing."

    b. ku-a   ǀqhõ̀ʕo
3SG-DECL   dance
"He is dancing."

A pronoun plus the following *-a* is called the A-form of the pronoun. See chapter 8 for a detailed discussion of pronouns.

The declarative markers *ke* and *-a* are often dropped, for example with negation and also in stories. We have not studied this dropping systematically, and we will not indicate dropped alternatives in the grammar.

2.2 Transitive and intransitive verbs

A noun phrase immediately following the verb is called the direct object. A verb that has a direct object is referred to as a transitive verb. Some examples of transitive verbs are given below:

(4) a. ku-a   ǀx'oo   ⊙oo-ke
3SG-DECL chop   wood-PL
"He is chopping wood."

   b.   ǂharuxu   ke   ãi   ⊙oe
        ǂHaruxu   DECL   eat   meat
        "ǂHaruxu is eating meat."

A verb without a direct object is called an intransitive verb. The examples in (1-3) involving "sing", "work" and "dance" above are intransitive verbs.

2.3 Negation

When a sentence is negated, negation is placed between the declarative marker and the verb.

(5)   a.   n-a   lu   s̃iisen
           1SG-DECL   NEG work
           "I am not working."

      b.   ǂharuxu   ke   lu   ãi   ⊙oe
           ǂHaraxu   DECL   NEG eat   meat
           "ǂHaruxu is not eating meat."

There are three other negative morphemes in Nǀuuki. *ǁam* is for past tense sentences, and it is discussed in section 3.4. *ǁae* is for identificational sentences, and it is discussed in section 14.2. Lastly, negative imperatives are formed with *ǂi*, which is discussed in chapter 16.

3 Tense and Aspect

3.1 Future

The future is expressed with the irrealis marker *si*, which is placed between the declarative marker and the verb.

(1)   a.   ŋǀaŋgusi   ke   si   ǂqheeke
           Nǀangusi   DECL   IRR   sing
           "Nǀangusi will sing."

      b.   ku-a   si   hoo   ku   aŋki
           3SG-DECL   IRR   find   3SG father
           "He will find his father."

      c.   n-a   si   s̃iisen
           1SG-DECL   IRR   work
           "I will work."

The irrealis marker *si* has a broader range of meaning than just future time reference. For example, it can also be used to express an obligation, as "should" does in English:

(2)   ku-a   si   ǃhaekin   lʔae
      3SG-DECL   IRR   now   go
      "He should go now."

(3) a   si   gereki   ǂhoa
     2SG IRR   softly   speak
     "You should speak softly."

When the sentence is negated, the negation precedes the irrealis marker:

(4) a.   n-a   lu   si   sĩisen
          1SG-DECL   NEG IRR   work
          "I will not work."

     b.   ŋlaŋgusi   ke   lu   si   ǂqheeke
          Nǀangusi   DECL NEG   IRR   sing
          "Nǀangusi will not sing."

     c.   ku-a   lu   si   hoo   ku   aŋki
          3SG-DECL   NEG IRR   find 3SG   father
          "He will not find his father."

Another very common way to form the negation is by adding the verb *ku* "say" in addition to the negation morpheme *lu*, as shown in (5). The meaning of this sentence is "I will not work" even though the verb "say" is used.

(5) a.   n-a   lu   si   ku   ŋ   sĩisen
          1SG-DECL   NEG IRR   say   1SG   work
          "I will not work."

     b.   a   lu   si   ku   a   ǂhoa   ŋla   ŋ
          2SG NEG   IRR   say   2SG   speak with 1SG
          "You shouldn't speak to me."   ("Hyena and Jackal")

3.2 Perfective and past

For action verbs, the addition of the perfective suffix *-a* gives rise to a past tense interpretation:

(6) a.   ŋlaŋgusi   ke   ǂqheeke-a
          Nǀangusi   DECL sing-PFV
          "Nǀangusi sang."

     b.   n-a   sĩisen-a
          1SG-DECL   work-PFV
          "I worked."

     c.   ku-a   hoo-a   ku   aŋki
          3SG-DECL   find-PFV   3SG   father
          "He found his father."

In talking about the past, it is often the case that the past tense marker *xa* is inserted between the subject and the verb, even when the perfective marker is already present. The past tense marker can also be pronounced *xŋ* or *xe*.

(7) a.   ŋlaŋgusi   ke   xŋ   ǂqheeke-a
          Nǀangusi   DECL PST   sing-PFV
          "Nǀangusi sang."

b.   n-a   xa   sĩisen-a
      1SG-DECL   PST   work-PFV
      "I worked."

c.   ku-a   xŋ   hoo-a   ku   aŋki
      3SG-DECL   PST   see-PFV   3SG   father
      "He found his father."

There are a number of ways of distinguishing past perfective and past imper-
fective in Nǁuuki. The following sentence is a reply to somebody who has asked
you to wash the baby, not knowing that you had already washed it today.

(8)   n-a   gǀuni   ǀx'am-a   ǀoba
      1SG-DECL finished   wash-PFV baby
      "I already washed the baby."

While (8) is past perfective, the following sentence is interpreted as past im-
perfective. Suppose that you worked for somebody a year ago. When asked what
your job was, you reply that you washed the baby (as your job). No perfective
marker appears in the reply.

(9)   n-a   xa   ǀx'am   ǀoba
      1SG-DECL   PST   wash   child
      "I washed the baby."

Another minimal pair shows the same contrast between past perfective and
past imperfective. (10) describes a situation where Siso left yesterday.

(10) siso   ke   ǀʔũi-ǀʔana   caˤn-a
      Siso   DECL   day-go   walk-PFV
      "Siso left yesterday."

In (10), ca ⁀n is glossed as "walk" following SANDS et al. (2006). However, it
is often the case that the most natural translation into English is "leave" or "go".
A lexical study of the distinction between ca ⁀n "walk" (Afrikaans *loop*) and ǁʔae
"go" (Afrikaans *gaan*) is needed.

In the second example, Siso was still going while the others with him have
stopped:

(11) siso   ke   xa   noxoβa   caˤn
      Siso   DECL   PST   still   walk
      "Siso was still going."

Both (10) and (11) are past, but only (10) is past perfective.

The adverb ǀqhaa "first" forces perfectivity. The following example describes
a situation where you first worked (then you took a rest):

(12) n-a   ǀqhaa   sĩisen-a
      1SG-DECL   first   work-PFV
      "I first worked."

In the next example, somebody asks why you were not at a concert yesterday,
and you reply that you wanted to go, but you were still working.

(13) ... maar   ŋ   xe   noxoβa   sĩisen
     ... but   1SG   PST   still   working
     "... but I was still working."

In the above examples (8), (10) and (12), there is a perfective suffix, but no past tense marker. The reason for this is that an action verb in the perfective is interpreted as taking place in the past, so no past tense marker *xe* is needed.

However, as already noted in (7), there are examples that show that it is possible to have both the past tense marker *xe* and the perfective suffix -*a* at the same time, such as the following, which are alternatives to (12):

(14) a.   ŋ   ke   xe   ǀqhaa   sĩisen-a
          1SG   DECL   PST   first   work-PFV
          "I first worked."

     b.   n-a   xe   ǀqhaa   sĩisen-a
          1SG-DECL   PST   first   work-PFV
          "I first worked."

We leave for future work a detailed examination of how the various tense and aspect markers are used in stories, such as those found at the end of the grammatical sketch.

3.3 Stative verbs and the perfective

Stative verbs can be divided into two classes with respect to the perfective suffix. In the first class, the stative verb takes the perfective suffix even when no past tense is implied:

(15) a.   ku-a   ǂao-a   ǀhaike
          3SG-DECL   want-PFV   milk
          "He wants milk."

     b.   n-a   ǀhae-a   a   kaǀ̃ii
          1SG-DECL   know-PFV   2SG   name
          "I know your name."

In the second larger class, the stative verb never takes the perfective suffix, even in the past tense. Some examples of such stative verbs are given below. The following examples are of the form V-*ʔ̃i*, and correspond semantically to adjectives in English. However, we do not classify them as adjectives because no copula verb is used (unlike predicate adjectives in English, "John was sick"). We gloss the final -*ʔ̃i* as STAT for stative, although it must be kept in mind that (a) not all stative verbs end in -*ʔ̃i* (e.g., *ki* "have" is stative) and (b) the V part of V-*ʔ̃i* does not appear independently (in our materials).

(16) ku-a   ʘʔui-ʔ̃ii
      3SG-DECL   sick-STAT
      "He is sick."

(17) ŋ̥ǂhau   ke   chaa-ʔii
     honey   DECL   delicious-STAT
     "The honey is delicious."

(18) ǂqhoe   ke   kiri-ʔii
     wind   DECL   cold-STAT
     "The wind is cold."

(19) solʔõa   ke   ǁx'aˤa-ʔii
     medicine DECL   bitter-STAT
     "The medicine is bitter."

Other stative verbs which do not take the perfective suffix include "have", "feel" and "look like":

(20) ku -a   ki   maari
     3SG-DECL   have money
     "He has money."

(21) n-a   chin ǁqan
     1SG-DECL   feel hunger
     "I am hungry."

(22) siso ke   chin ǁʔũi
     Siso DECL   feel sun
     "Siso is thirsty."

(23) ka-ǁq'oeke ke   ku   ǃhoe
     PL-coal   DECL   look.like black
     "The coals are black."

(24) ka-ǁq'oeke ke   ku   ǁaa
     PL-coal   DECL   look.like night
     "The coals are black."

(25) ku-a   ku   ŋ   lãu
     3SG-DECL   look.like 1SG   brother
     "He looks like my brother."

(26) ŋǀŋ   ke   ku   ǂqii   [alternative: ŋǀŋ ke ǁx'aβa]
     house DECL   looks.like red
     "The house is red."

(27) ŋǀŋ   ke   ku   ǁhauke
     house DECL   looks.like blood
     "The house is red."

As mentioned, stative verbs in this class (all examples from (16) to (27)) do not take the perfective suffix -a. Rather the past tense is indicated using xa, the past tense marker.

(28) ku-a   xa   ʘʔui-ʔii
     3SG-DECL   PST sick-STAT
     "He was sick."

(29) ku-a   xa   ki   maari
     3SG-DECL   PST   have money
     "He had money."

(30) nou, ǀee   ke   xa   ki   ǀeeki
     now, blue.wildebeest   DECL PST   have wife
     "Now the Blue Wildebeest had a wife."   ("Blue Wildebeest")

(31) siso ke   xa   chin ǀʔũi
     Siso DECL PST   feel sun
     "Siso was thirsty."

(32) ku-a   xa   ku   ŋ   ǀãu
     3SG-DECL   PST   look.like   1SG brother
     "He looked like my brother."

Sometimes the past tense of stative verbs is formed with *ǂon*:

(33) a.   ku-a   ǂon   ⊙ʔui-ʔii
           3SG-DECL   PST   sick-STAT
           "He was sick."

     b.   ku-a   ǂon   ki   maari
           3SG-DECL   PST   have money
           "He had money."

     c.   n-a   ǂon   chin ǀq'an
           1SG-DECL   PST   feel stomach
           "I felt hungry."

     d.   n-a   ǂon   ǂao-a   ŋ   ǀʔae
           1SG-DECL   PST   want-PFV   1SG go
           "I wanted to go."

The use of the past tense marker *ǂon* needs further research. For example, we have not investigated whether there are any semantic differences between (33a) and (28), nor whether *ǂon* could also appear in the past tense for non-stative verbs used imperfectively.

3.4 Negation in the past tense

A verb in the past tense is usually negated with *ǁam*.

(34) a.   n-a   ǀam   s̃iisen
           1SG-DECL   NEG.PST   work
           "I did not work."

     b.   ku-a   ǀam   hoo   ku   aŋki
           3SG-DECL   NEG.PST   find 3SG   father
           "He did not find his father."

     c.   ŋǀaŋgusi   ke   ǀam   ǂqheeke
           Nǀangusi   DECL NEG.PST   sing
           "Nǀangusi did not sing."

Occurrences of the following sequences are also found: *ǁam xa* (NEG PST) and *ǁu xa* (NEG PST). In the above examples, there is no perfective suffix. Whether or not the perfective suffix can appear with a negated verb remains to be investigated.

3.5 Progressive and habitual

If a verb is not in the past or future, and does not end in the perfective suffix, then it is interpreted as progressive (35) or habitual (36), depending on the context and on adverbs present in the sentence.

(35) a. cui xae a   kx'uu   [glottal stop of *ʔa* often dropped]
         what Q   2SG do
         "What are you doing?"

     b. n-a   s̃iisen, xuu-a   ŋ
         1SG-DECL   work,   leave-2SG 1SG
         "I am working, leave me alone."

(36) ku-a   ĩlaa   s̃iisen   [alternative: *laa*]
     3SG-DECL   always work
     "He always works."

4 Nouns

This chapter discusses how nouns are put into the plural, as well as a couple of other noun suffixes including the singular suffix, the nominalizing suffix, and the diminutive suffix.

4.1 Noun plurals

To put a noun into the plural, one of three basic strategies is followed: suppletion (an idiosyncratic change to the noun stem), *ka*-prefix, and *ke*-suffix. These strategies are also combined in certain cases. The way that a noun forms its plural must be memorized for each noun.

First, some nouns have suppletive plurals, where a change in the noun stem indicates plurality.

(1) a. ǂhun   "dog"   ǂhũi   "dogs"
    b. ŋǀŋ   "house"   ŋǀai   "houses"
    c. ŋǀŋ-ǃui   "person"   ŋǀŋ-ǂe   "people"

The second class of nouns form their plurals with a *ke*-suffix. These nouns are called *ke*-plurals. Note that in the case of nouns ending in the singular suffix *si*, the plural suffix replaces the singular suffix.

(2) a. gom   "cow"   gom-ke   "cattle"
    b. ǂhii   "tree"   ǂhii-ke   "trees"
    c. blom-si   "flower"   blom-ke   "flowers"
    d. doŋki-si "donkey"   doŋki-ke   "donkeys"
    e. beker-si "cup"   beker-ke   "cups"

f. hãa-si "horse" hãa-ke "horses"

There are many examples that combine a *ke*-suffix with an accompanying change in the noun stem:

(3) a. xaŋki "mother" xau-ke "mothers"
     b. ǂoo   "man"   cuu-ke "men"
     c. loβa   "child"   loe-ke "children"
     d. gao   "thing"   guu-ke "things"

In general, a plural such as *cuu-ke* should be glossed as "man(PL)-PL", where "man(PL)" indicates that the form of the stem is not the same in the plural as in the singular. However, to simplify glossing, we will gloss *cuuke* (without the hyphen) as "men" in English. Similarly, *loeke* will be glossed "children".

The [uu] of *cuuke* is consistently shorter than the [oo] of *ǂoo*, and it may turn out that writing it as a short vowel is more appropriate. Similar remarks hold for other singular-plural pairs. Clearly, a systematic phonological study of vowel length in Nǀuuki is needed.

The third class of nouns form their plurals with the *ka*-prefix. These nouns are called *ka*-plurals.

(4) a. mⵔõa   "cat"   ka-mⵔõa   "cats"
     b. ǂqhii   "hat"   ka-ǂqhii   "hats"
     c. ku lq'ãa "his stomach" kɪn ka-lq'ãa "their stomachs"
                                [alternative: *kɪn ka-lq'ane*]
     d. ku xuu "his face"   kɪn ka-xuu "their faces"
     e. ku ǂquu "his neck"   kɪn ka-ǂquu "their necks"

Note that (4c,d,e) are inalienable body part nouns. This is why we include the pronominal possessor in the examples.

It is often the case that *ke*-plurals take an optional *ka*-prefix, and that *ka*-plurals take an optional *ke*-suffix (on double plurals in ǂHoan, see COLLINS 2001).

(5) (ka-)gom-ke
     PL-cow-PL
     "cows"

(6) ka-mⵔõa(-ke)
     PL-cat-PL
     "cats"

A near minimal pair showing the difference between *ke*-plurals and *ka*-plurals is "hat" *ǂqhii* (*ka*-plural) and "tree" *ǂhii* (*ke*-plural).

(7) a. ka-ǂqhii "hats"
     b. ǂhii-ke   "trees"

In general, in the use of the *ka*-prefix and *ke*-suffix there is a great deal of variation between speakers. Speakers differ from each other as to the kind of plural a noun takes, and whether or not both a *ka*-prefix and a *ke*-suffix may be used simultaneously. Individual speakers change the form from time to time

(even seconds apart). Therefore, the three classes established (suppletion, *ka*-prefix, *ke*-suffix) above should be seen as guidelines, not as strict rules.

4.2 Other suffixes

In the use of the singular form a noun is unmarked. However, there are nouns where the singular is regularly marked with the *si*-suffix (glossed SG), including all borrowed nouns, and other nouns as well.

(8) a.   Nama-si   "a Nama person"   (ka-)Nama-ke   "Namas"
     b.   ŋǀhuu-si   "a white person"   ŋǀhuu   "white people"
     c.   lãˤa-si   "snake"   ka-lãˤn   "snakes"
     d.   lqhui-si   "bird"   lqhui-ke   "birds"
     e.   ǂuu-si   "fly"   ǂuu-ke   "flies"

There is a suffix in Nǀuuki that changes a verb into a noun:

(9) a.   ŋǀuu   "to speak the Bushman language"
          ŋǀuu-ki   "the Bushman language"

     b.   ãa   "to eat"
          ãa-ki   "food"

     c.   lx'õa   "to hunt"
          lx'õa-ki   "hunting"

     d.   ǂhoa   "to speak"
          ǂhoa-ki   "language"

(10) n-a   ǂhoa   ŋ   xaŋki   ǂhoa-ki
     1SG-DECL   speak   1SG   mother   speak-NMLZ
     "I speak my mother's language."

(11) a   si   xuu   koake-ki
     2SG   IRR   stop   gossip-NMLZ
     "You should stop gossiping."

We have not yet investigated how verbs with direct objects are nominalized, nor the issue of how nominalized verbs are modified (by demonstratives, possessors, etc.).

The suffix ⊙ũ is used to form diminutives. It is homophonous with the word for "son".

(12) a.   ŋ-⊙ũ
          1SG-son
          "my son"

     b.   ŋ-⊙unuke
          1SG-sons
          "my sons"

(13) a.   ŋǃuu-⊙ũ   "small dune"
     b.   ŋǀŋ-⊙ũ   "small house"

    c.   ǃʔoakerasi-Oũ   "young girl"

    d.   Ooe-Oũ   "a little piece of meat"

The plural of the diminutives uses the suffix *Oone*. Note that for *ke*-plurals the diminutive plural suffix comes after the plural suffix *-ke*. For suppletive plurals, the diminutive plural suffix follows the suppletive plural (see (14d)).

(14) a.   ǃʔoakekera-ke-Oone
             girls-PL-DIM.PL
             "young girls"

      b.   (ka)-ǃao-ke-Oone
             PL-rock-PL-DIM.PL
             "small rocks"

      c.   ka-ǂʔao-ke-Oone
             PL-rip-PL-DIM.PL
             "small rips"

      d.   ŋǀai-Oone
             houses-DIM.PL
             "small houses"

The diminutive plural suffix also appears following mass nouns to mean a small quantity:

(15) a.   ǃqhaa -Oone
             water-DIM.PL
             "a little water"

      b.   tii-Oone
             tea-DIM.PL
             "a little tea"

A last suffix is *xe*, which is used at the end of some nouns indicating female relatives. The plural form of this suffix is *xuke*.

(16) a.   Ooa-xe   b. Ooa-xuke
        "daughter"   "daughters"

(17) a.   ǀaa-xe   b. ǀaa-xuke
        "sister"   "sisters"

(18) a.   ǀaa-xe   b. ǀaa-xuke
        "niece"   "nieces"

5 Verbs

In section 3.2, we saw that some verbs take a perfective suffix *-a*. This chapter discusses other kinds of verbal morphology, including suppletive verbal plurals, the *ka*-prefix and stem vowel changes.

5.1 Suppletive plurals

There are two verbs whose form changes depending on whether or not the subject of the sentence is plural. The plural form of the verb is called a suppletive plural. For example, for the verb "sit", the form of the verb depends on whether one person is sitting, or more than one person is sitting.

(1) a.   ǂoo   ke   si   sũi
           man   DECL   IRR   sit
           "The man will sit down."

     b.   cuuke   ke   si   ǃqhãu
           men   DECL   IRR   sit.PL
           "The men will sit down."

The other example is the verb "go" when it is used before another verb. In this case, it changes form to ǁʔŋ if the subject is plural. Note that ǁʔŋ independently means "to go out".

(2) a.   ǂoo   ke   si   lʔaa   ãa
           man   DECL   IRR   go   eat
           "The man will go eat."

     b.   cuuke   ke   si   lʔŋ   ãa
           men   DECL   IRR   go.PL   eat
           "The men will go eat."

We have found no other examples of suppletive plural verbs. For example, consider the verb "go" when it is not followed by another verb. Here the form of the verb is the same no matter whether the subject is singular or plural. See COLLINS (2001) and GRUBER (1975) for a discussion of suppletive verbs in ǂHoan.

(3) a.   ǂoo   ke   si   lʔae
           man   DECL   IRR   go
           "The man will go."

     b.   cuuke   ke   si   lʔae
           men   DECL   IRR   go
           "The men will go."

5.2 The *ka*-prefix

The *ka*-prefix is sometimes used to indicate a repetitive action:

(4) ku   ka-ǃqora   ka-ǃqora   ka-ǃqora   ka-ǃqora
     3SG   REP-play   REP-play   REP-play   REP-play
     "She played and played and played and played."   ("Jackal")

(5) ǂqhaeke ke   ka-ǂhũu-cĩi
     boys   DECL   REP- jump-lie
     "The boys are jumping around."

Although the *ka*-prefix can be used to show an iterated action, it also forms a part of the stem of some verbs. For example, the locative verb "to be" is ŋǀaa, whereas the verb "to stay" or "to live" is *kaŋǀaa*. In such cases, no morpheme boundaries are indicated.

(6) loβa   ke   ŋǀaa   ki   a
     child   DECL   be.LOC   place   this
     "The child is here."

(7) lalaˤe   ke   kaŋǀaa   gǃari
     ǀAǀaqe   DECL   stay   Upington
     "ǀAǀaqe stays in Upington."

(8) a.   kiɟa   a   kaŋǀaa
          where   2SG   stay
          "Where do you stay?"

     b.   gǀa   kaŋǀaa   kiɟa
          2SG   stay   where
          "Where do you stay?"

5.3 Stem vowel changes

For a small number of verbs, there are two variants that differ only with respect to a final vowel. The second member of the pairs below involves either the front vowel [e] or the front vowel [i]. The pairs are given below.

(9) a.   n-a   si   lʔaa
          1SG-DECL   IRR   go
          "I will go."

     b.   n-a   si   lʔae
          1SG-DECL   IRR   go
          "I will go."

In the recordings of utterances, *ǁʔae* is much more frequent than *ǁʔaa* (except when "go" is used as a helping verb, as in "go hunt").

(10) a.   kama   ku   saa   ŋǀa   a   ku   ǀxʼee   s-a
          when   3SG   come   LK   and   3SG   tell   1PL-DAT
          "When he comes, he will tell us."

     b.   kama   ɟa   xae   ku   si   see   ŋǀa
          when   which Q   3SG   IRR   come   LK
          "When will she come?"

(11) a.   kɪn   ke   ŋǀaa   ku
          3PL   DECL   see   3SG
          "They see him."

     b.   kɪn   ke   ŋǀii   ku
          3PL   DECL   see   3SG
          "They see him."

(12) a. kɪn ke   si   ãa
         3PL DECL IRR   eat
         "They will eat."

     b. kɪn ke   si   ãi
         3PL DECL IRR   eat
         "They will eat."

Even though the two verbs in each pair seem to be identical in meaning, they may be distinguished morphologically. For example, there are no attested examples of ŋǀĩi "see" or ãi "eat" with the perfective suffix -a (although there are examples of ǁʔae "go" in the perfective, see section 19.1, example (5)). We have not examined the behavior of the stem vowel changes with other verbal suffixes such as the imperative suffix and the applicative suffix. Nor have we investigated stem vowel changes within serial verb constructions.

In two cases, "sit" and "lie", the change in vowel gives rise to a change in meaning. In both cases the form ending in [i] takes on a non-stative meaning:

(13) a. ǂhun ke   caa
         dog   DECL lie
         "The dog is lying."

     b. ǂhun ke   c̃ii
         dog   DECL lie.down
         "The dog is lying down."

(14) a. n-a   soo
         1SG-DECL   sit
         "I am (already) sitting."

     b. n-a   sũi
         1SG-DECL   sit
         "I am sitting down."

The topic of the interaction of the stem vowel changes with aspect needs much further research. For example, do the contrasts in (13) and (14) hold even when "sit" and "lie" are used internal to verbal compounds?

6 Adverbs

Adverbs modify the verb by adding further information about the manner in which an event took place (well, slowly, quickly) or the time at which it took place. Adverbs appear in between the declarative marker *ke* and the verb. If the A-form of the pronoun is used instead of the declarative marker, the adverb appears between the A-form of the pronoun and the verb.

Some manner adverbs are given below. Note that *gereki* has a variety of uses that would be translated into English as "softly", "a little", or "slowly".

(1) takase ke   gereki ǂhoa
     Takase DECL   softly speak
     "Takase is speaking softly."

(2) ku-a   gereki   ǂqheeke
     3SG-DECL   softly   sing
     "He is singing softly."

(3) ŋǀaŋgusi   ke   lu   gereki   ǀhaˤoka
     Nǀangusi   DECL   NEG a little   beautiful
     "Nǀangusi is very beautiful."

(4) a   si   gereki   ŋǃari
     2SG IRR   slowly   drive
     "You should drive slowly."

(5) siso   ke   xŋ   gereki   ǁqhõˤo
     Siso   DECL   PST   slowly   dance
     "Siso danced slowly."

(6) ku-a   xa   ǂqhii   ǃai-a
     3SG-DECL   PST   fast   run-PFV
     "He ran fast."

(7) ku-a   si   ǂqhii   kx'uu
     3SG-DECL   IRR   quick   do
     "He will do (it) quickly."

The following adverb "well" is a borrowing from Khoekhoe that some speak-
ers use. As can be seen, it occupies the preverbal position:

(8) a.   ǃaˤese   caˤn-a
          well   walk-2SG
          "Go well!"

     b.   ku-a   ǃaˤese   s̃iisen
          3SG-DECL   well   work
          "She works well."

Some examples of temporal adverbs are given below:

(9) ku-a   si   ǃhaeka   ǁqhõˤo
     3SG-DECL   IRR   tomorrow   dance
     "He will dance tomorrow."

(10) kın   ke   si   ǃhaeka   gereki   ǁqhõˤo
     3PL   DECL   IRR   tomorrow   slowly   dance
     "They will dance slowly tomorrow."

(11) ǀhaǀhau   ke   si   ǃhae   caˤn
     ǀHaǀhau   DECL   IRR   soon   walk
     "ǀHaǀhau will soon go."

(12) ŋǀaŋgusi   ke   xŋ   ǀʔũi-ǀʔana   ǁqhõˤo-a
     Nǀangusi   DECL   PST   sun-go   dance-PFV
     "Nǀangusi danced yesterday."

(13) kın   ke   ŋǀai   khuǀʔŋ
     3PL   DECL   then   get.up
     "Then they (the dungbeetles) stood up."   ("Dungbeetles")

(14) ǀeeki   ŋǀa   ǀʔaa
      woman   then   die
      "The woman then died."   ("Jackal")

When a temporal adverb follows the verb, it must be preceded by a linker (see chapter 12 for more on linkers):

(15) ku -a   si   ǀqhõˤo   ŋ   !haeka
      3SG-DECL   IRR   dance   LK   tomorrow
      "He will dance tomorrow."

Some other adverbs including "first", "again" and "alone" are illustrated below:

(16) n-a   si   ǀqhaa   sĩisen
      1SG-DECL   IRR   first   work
      "I will first work."

(17) n-a   si   gǀoe   sĩisen
      1SG-DECL   IRR   again   work
      "I will work again."

(18) n-a   si   gǀoe   ǀʔũi   sĩisen
      1SG-DECL   IRR   again   alone   work
      "I will work alone again."

Adverbs usually follow the past tense marker and the irrealis marker, as illustrated in the above examples. However, occasionally the adverb appears preceding the past tense marker, as shown in (20) below. Such orders merit further investigation.

(19) siso   ke   xŋ   gǀoe   sĩisen-a
      Siso   DECL   PST   again   work-PFV
      "Siso worked again."

(20) siso   ke   gǀoe   xŋ   sĩisen-a
      Siso   DECL   again   PST   work-PFV
      "Siso worked again."

In some cases, a concept expressed by an adverb in English is expressed with a serial verb construction in Nǀuuki:

(21) ku   ke   si   sĩisen-ǁhaa   ku
      3SG   DECL   IRR   work-kill   3SG
      "He will work hard."   (literally: "He will work and kill himself.")

7 Prepositions and Postpositions

A preposition comes before a noun. Nǀuuki has three prepositions, the linker *ŋ*, the preposition *ŋǀa* "with" and the preposition *ǁa* "like".

The following example illustrates the linker. In this example, the linker could be glossed as "about", but as shown in chapter 12, it is impossible to assign it such a specific meaning. Note that the word *neti* is from Afrikaans.

(1) a   ku   neti ǂʔĩ ŋ   gao a
    and 3SG   only think LK   thing this
    "and he just thinks about this thing"   ("Wildebeest")

The following example illustrates the instrumental preposition:

(2) a. n-a   si   laa   ⊙oe   ŋla   ŋǂona
        1SG-DECL   IRR   cut   meat with knife
        "I will cut the meat with a knife."

    b. n-a   si   ǀx'oo ǂhii ŋla   ǃʔoo
        1SG-DECL   IRR   chop   tree with axe
        "I will chop the tree with an axe."

    c. Griet ke   kuru-a   ŋǀŋ   ŋla   ǀqhee
        Griet DECL make-PFV   house with grass
        "Griet built a house with grass."

The comitative preposition is also *ŋla*:

(3) a. ǀalaˤe   ke   sĩisen   ŋla   ŋlaŋgusi
        ǀAlaqe   DECL work   with Nǀangusi
        "ǀAlaqe works with Nǀangusi."

    b. n-a   sĩisen   ŋla   a
        1SG-DECL   work   with 2SG
        "I work with you."

The following example illustrates the preposition "like":

(4) a. ku   ke   ǃhao-a   lʔii la   ŋ
        3SG   DECL   light-PFV   fire like 1SG
        "He made a fire like me."

    b. ku-a   si   ǀqhõˤo ku-a   la   coe
        3SG-DECL   IRR   dance   3SG-DAT   like ostrich
        "He will dance for him like an ostrich."

In addition to these three prepositions, there are locative postpositions, which come after the noun. Some examples are: *ǁã̀ʔẽ* "in", *xuu* "in front of", *tsʔĩ* "behind" and *ǀqhaa* "next to".

(5) a. n-a   xŋ   ǀhoo-a   maari   ŋ   ǃao ǀqhaa
        1SG-DECL   PST   put-PFV   money   LK   rock next.to
        "I put the money next to the rock."

    b. maari   ke   ŋlaa   ǃao ǀqhaa
        money   DECL be.LOC   rock next.to
        "The money is next to the rock."

(6) a. a   ke   si   hoo   maari   ŋ   ǃao tsʔĩ
        2SG DECL IRR   find money   LK   rock behind
        "You will find the money behind the rock."

b. ‡hun   ke   ŋǀaa   !ao   tsʔĩĩ
    dog   DECL   be.LOC rock   behind
    "The dog is behind the rock."

(7) ǀx'esi   lʔaa   sũi   loβa   xuu
     necklace go   sit.down   child   front
     "The necklace fell in front of the child."   ("Dungbeetles")

(8) a. n-a   lʔee   ŋǀŋ   lãʔẽ
         1SG-DECL   go.in   house   in
         "I am going into the house."

     b. siso   ke   ŋǀaa   ha   ŋǀŋ   lãʔẽ
         Siso   DECL   be.LOC 3SG   house   in
         "Siso is inside his house."

Nǀuuki has no specific prepositions or postpositions for "on", "under" and "across". Some locative relations are expressed using serial verbs, as described in chapter 15.

8 Pronouns

There are three series of pronouns in Nǀuuki: the simple forms, the A-forms and the click forms (see GÜLDEMANN 2004b for a preliminary description). There are no gender distinctions in Nǀuuki, although in the third person singular a distinction is made between human and non-human. The three series of pronouns are shown below. A preliminary indication of the tones is also given, as high (H), low (L), mid (M), rising (R):

(1) Summary of pronouns

Pronouns	Simple	Click	A-Form
1SG	ŋ (H)	ŋǀŋ (L)	n-a (H)
2SG	a (H)	gǀa (L)	a (H)
3SG			
human	ku (H)		ku-a (H)
non-human	ki (H)		ki-a (H)
H-form	ha (R)		ha (R)
1PL			
incl	i (H)	gǀi (L)	c-a [ki-a] (H)
excl	si (H)		s-a (H)
2PL	u (H)	gǀu (L)	b-a [u-a] (H)
3PL			
general	kın (H)		kın-a (H)
object	kike (HM)		kik-a (HM)
H-form	hn (L)		hn-a (L)
Indefinite	‡i (H)		‡a (H)

8.1 Simple pronouns

The simple subject pronouns appear in subject position (for non-questions), object position, possessor position and sentence-initial focus position (see chapter 20). They are illustrated below:

(2) a.   ŋ   ke   si   lʔae
          1SG DECL   IRR   go
          "I will go."

     b.   a   ke   si   lʔae
          2SG DECL   IRR   go

     c.   ku   ke   si   lʔae
          3SG DECL   IRR   go

     d.   ki   ke   si   lʔae
          3SG.NH   DECL   IRR   go

     e.   i   ke   si   lʔae
          1PL DECL   IRR   go

     f.   si   ke   si   lʔae
          1PL DECL   IRR   go

     g.   u   ke   si   lʔae
          2PL DECL   IRR   go

     h.   kɪn   ke   si   lʔae
          3PL DECL   IRR   go

The simple subject pronouns are not "weak" in the traditional sense of the term, since they can appear in coordinate structures (chapter 18), they can be modified by numerals and "only" (chapter 11), and they can be focused (chapter 20). Hence there does not appear to be a distinction between "weak" and "strong" pronominal forms, conforming with the traditional use of these terms.

There are two first person plural pronouns: *i* and *si*. GÜLDEMANN (2004b) claims these are inclusive and exclusive respectively (see also MAINGARD 1937: 244). The data we have are consistent with this claim. In sentences that force an inclusive interpretation *i* is used, and in sentences that force an exclusive interpretation *si* is used:

(3) a.   sii-a   i   lʔae   [pronounced: *sii ǁʔae*]
          come-2SG 1PL.INCL go
          "Let's go!"

     b.   u   ŋlŋ   ke   lae   si   ŋlŋ   ke
          2PL house   it.is   NEG   1PL.EXCL   house   it.is
          "It is not your house, it is ours."

     c.   xuu-a   si
          leave-2SG 1PL.EXCL
          "Leave us alone!"

     d.   gǀa   ŋǀaa si
          2PL   see   1PL.EXCL?
          "Did you see us?"

e.   a   kaŋǀaa, s-a   lʔaa
      2PL   stay,   1PL.EXCL-DECL go
      "You stay, we are going."

However, we have not investigated the distinction been inclusive and exclusive systematically. For example, we do not know if the first person plural click pronoun gǁ also contrasts with *si*, the way that *i* does. Henceforth, both *i* and *si* will be glossed as 1PL.

In the third person singular, a distinction is made between the human and the non-human pronouns. No such distinction is made in the third person plural. We have not systematically investigated non-human animates, although preliminary evidence (for ǂnun "dog") shows that they take the pronoun *ki* in the third person singular. Some examples are given below:

(4)   a.   ǃao   kee,   gǀa   ŋǀii   ki
            rock it.is, 2SG   see   it
            "This is a rock, do you see it?"

      b.   ǀoba kee,   gǀa   ŋǀii   ku
            child it.is, 2SG   see   him
            "This is a child, do you see him?"

(5)   a.   ǃao-ke kee, gǀa   ŋǀii   kike
            rock-PL it.is, 2SG   see   3PL
            "These are rocks, do you see them?"

      b.   ǀoeke   kee, gǀa   ŋǀii   kike
            children it.is, 2SG   see   3PL
            "These are children, do you see them?"

The H-form of the third person pronouns is very common in stories. It is also used as a resumptive pronoun when a dative noun phrase is extracted, as shown in chapter 13. All of the following examples are from stories. In each example, the referent of *ha* 3SG or *hn* 3PL has been mentioned earlier in the sentence or story.

(6)   koro   ŋǀa   ha   ǀeeki
      Jackal and   3SG   wife
      "Jackal and his wife"   ("The Jackal")

(7)   hn   gǃuru   hn   gǃuru   hn   gǃuru
      3PL   groan   3PL   groan   3PL   groan
      "They groaned and groaned and groaned."   ("The Dungbeetles")

(8)   hn   ǃhau   hn   ǁx'aβe
      3PL   sit.PL   3PL   plan
      "They were sitting and planning."   ("The Dungbeetles")

(9)   ha   lu   hoo   gao
      3SG   NEG   find thing
      "He did not find anything."   ("The Jackal")

We do not have any data showing *ha* and *hn* following a linker and so the H-forms may correspond to the simple first and second person pronouns (which cannot follow the linker). Much more work is needed to distinguish the properties of the H-forms from the other third person pronouns.

Object pronouns are the same morphologically as subject pronouns. The one exception is the third person plural, where the subject pronoun is *kɪn* and the object pronoun is *kike*. The full paradigm of object pronouns is given below:

(10) a. lalaˤe   ke   !ʔai   ŋ
         ǀAlaqe   DECL   call   1SG
         "ǀAlaqe is calling me."

     b. lalaˤe   ke   !ʔai   a
                   DECL   call   2SG

     c. lalaˤe   ke   !ʔai   ku
                   DECL   call   3SG

     d. lalaˤe   ke   !ʔai   ki
                   DECL   call   3SG.NH

     e. lalaˤe   ke   !ʔai   i
                   DECL   call   1PL

     f. lalaˤe   ke   !ʔai   si
                   DECL   call   1PL

     g. lalaˤe   ke   !ʔai   u
                   DECL   call   2PL

     h. lalaˤe   ke   !ʔai   kike
                   DECL   call   3PL

In this context, the vowel-initial pronouns and *ŋ* 1SG are preceded by a glottal stop: *ʔŋ*. We systematically leave this glottal stop out of our broad phonetic transcriptions.

In the chart, the general form of 3PL is *kɪn*, and the object form is *kike. kɪn* is called the general form because it appears in all positions except as a (unmodified) direct object. First, *kɪn* can be used as a possessor (we have no attested examples of *kike* as a possessor in our corpus of examples), and in the *-a* form as an indirect object (see chapter 13). Second, when the object 3PL pronoun is modified by a numeral or "all", then *kɪn* is used:

(11) a. n-a   ŋlii   kike
         1SG-DECL   see   3PL
         "I see them."

     b. n-a   ŋlii   kɪn   !ʔuu-ko
         1SG-DECL   see   3PL   two-PL
         "I see them two."

    c.   n-a   ŋǀii   kɪn ŋǃona
        1SG-DECL see   3PL three
        "I see them three."

    d.   n-a   ŋǀii   kɪn huniki
        1SG-DECL see   3PL all
        "I see them all."

The indefinite pronoun, which is usually translated as "one" in English, is illustrated below:

(12) a. ǂi   ɟee kaa ŋ   mⴲoa ŋ   mana
       one how say LK   cat   LK Afrikaans
       "How does one say 'cat' in Afrikaans?"

    b.   ǂi   ãi   ǃhoβasi
        one eats hoodia
        "Does one eat hoodia?"

    c.   ǂa   ãi   ǃhoβasi
        one-DECL eat   hoodia
        "One eats hoodia."

8.2 Click pronouns

The click forms of the pronouns appear obligatorily in a limited number of contexts. This rule is so important in Nǀuuki grammar, that we give it a name (cases (a) and (b) are unified in COLLINS 2010).

(13) 1/2 Person Pronoun Rule

    a.   If a question starts with a first or second person pronoun, the pronoun must take the click form.

    b.   If a first or second person pronoun immediately follows a linker, the pronoun must take the click form.

Since the subject of a yes-no question is the initial noun phrase of a question, it will take the click form if it is a first or second person pronoun. But it is important to note that if a non-subject pronoun is in the initial position in a question (e.g., the possessor of a subject), it will take the click form as well (see section 19.1). It is also important to note that (13) governs all questions types, not just yes-no questions (see chapter 19 for discussion). The paradigm of the click forms of the pronouns in the subject position of a yes-no question is given below.

(14) a. ŋǀŋ si ǁʔae
       1SG IRR go
       "Will I go?"

    b.   gǀa si ǁʔae
        2SG IRR go

    c.   ku   si ǁʔae
        3SG IRR go

    d.   ki   si   lʔae
         3SG.NH IRR go

    e.   gǀi   si   lʔae
         1PL   IRR go

    f.   gǀu   si   lʔae
         2PL   IRR go

    g.   kɪn   si   lʔae
         3PL   IRR go

Note that the third person pronouns (*ku*, *ki*, *kɪn*) do not have a distinct click form that is used in yes-no questions. The use of a click pronoun following the linker is shown below:

(15) a.   ku-a   ǂʔii ŋ   ŋǀŋ
         3SG-DECL think LK 1SG
         "He is thinking about me."

    b.   ku-a   ǂʔii ŋ   gǀa
         3SG-DECL think LK 2SG

    c.   ku-a   ǂʔii ŋ   ku
         3SG-DECL think LK 3SG

    d.   ku-a   ǂʔii ŋ   ki
         3SG-DECL think LK 3SG.NH

    e.   ku-a   ǂʔii ŋ   gǀi
         3SG-DECL think LK 1PL

    f.   ku-a   ǂʔii ŋ   gǀu
         3SG-DECL think LK 2PL

    g.   ku-a   ǂʔii ŋ   kike
         3SG-DECL think LK 3PL

We do not have data on the occurrence of *si* 1PL in the contexts shown in (14) and (15).

8.3 The A-form of simple pronouns

The A-form of the simple pronouns appears as the subject of declarative clauses, and also as the first object of a double object construction (see chapter 13). As discussed in section 2.1, in a declarative clause, the simple subject pronoun can be followed by the *ke* declarative marker. An alterative way of forming a declarative clause is to delete *ke*, and use the A-form of the pronoun instead:

(16) a.   n-a   xŋ lʔae-a gǃari
         1SG-DECL PST go-PFV Upington
         "I went to Upington."

b.   ŋ   ke   xŋ   ǀʔae-a gǃari
      1SG DECL PST go-PFV Upington
      "I went to Upington."

(17) a.   n-a   si   ʘun
       1SG-DECL IRR sleep
       "I will sleep."

b.   ŋ   ke   si   ʘun
      1SG DECL IRR sleep
      "I will sleep."

Neither the declarative *ke* nor the A-form can be used in imperatives, questions, or relative clauses. The full set of A-form subject pronouns is given below.

(18) a.   n-a   si   ǀʔae
       1SG-DECL IRR go
       "I will go."

b.   a   si   ǀʔae
      2SG-DECL IRR go

c.   ku-a   si   ǀʔae
      3SG-DECL IRR go

d.   ki-a   si   ǀʔae
      3SG.NH-DECL IRR go

e.   c-a   si   ǀʔae
      1PL-DECL IRR go

f.   s-a   si   ǀʔae
      1PL-DECL IRR go

g.   b-a   si   ǀʔae
      2PL-DECL IRR go

h.   kɪn ke   si   ǀʔae
      3PL DECL IRR go

The A-forms are derived from the simple pronouns by adding the declarative suffix *-a*. Putting aside the third person pronouns, the simple pronoun is syllabified as the onset of the A-form. In (18a), the velar nasal of the simple pronoun becomes a dental nasal. This is the result of the fact that there are no velar nasal onsets (preceding a vowel) in the language. In (18e) the simple pronoun [i] becomes the onset of the A-form [ca], being realized as a palatal (perhaps because there are no initial glides in Nǀuuki). In (18g), the simple pronoun [u] becomes the onset of the A-form [ba].

While *ke* can appear following all subject types (pronouns, proper names, full DPs), the use of the A-form as subject is restricted to pronouns. Furthermore, the A-form of the pronoun *kɪn* 3PL is avoided in subject position, with many speakers using *kɪn ke* instead.

The paradigm for the A-form of the indirect object pronoun is given below. We did not test *kɪn-a* in the paradigm below, but we have other examples of dative *kɪn-a* (see (20)).

(19) a. Andries ke   xa   ãa   n-a   ha   maari
         Andries DECL PST give 1SG-DAT 3SG money
         "Andries gave me his money."

     b. Andries ke   xa   ãa   a   ha   maari
                 DECL PST give 2SG-DAT 3SG money

     c. Andries ke   xa   ãa   ku-a   ha   maari
                 DECL PST give 3SG-DAT 3SG money

     d. Andries ke   xa   ãa   ki-a   ha   maari
                 DECL PST give 3SG-DAT 3SG money

     e. Andries ke   xa   ãa   c-a   ha   maari
                 DECL PST give 1PL-DAT 3SG money

     f. Andries ke   xa   ãa   s-a   ha   maari
                 DECL PST give 1PL-DAT 3SG money

     g. Andries ke   xa   ãa   b-a   ha   maari
                 DECL PST give 2PL-DAT 3SG money

     h. Andries ke   xa   ãa   kik-a   ha   maari
                 DECL PST give 3PL-DAT 3SG money

(20) cui   xae sini xa   ãa   kɪn-a
     what Q   Sini PST give 3PL-DAT
     "What did Sini give to them?"

8.4 Reflexive pronouns

Nǀuuki does not have a morphologically distinctive reflexive pronoun. Rather, a non-reflexive simple pronoun is used (see also MAINGARD 1937: 246):

(21) a. ku   ke   xa   ǀaa-a   ku
         3SG DECL PST cut-PFV 3SG
         "He cut himself."

     b. n-a   si   ǂaˤe   ŋ
         1SG-DECL   IRR look.at 1SG
         "I will look at myself."

     c. ku-a   si   sĩisen -ǀhaa   ku
         3SG-DECL   IRR work-kill   3SG
         "He will work himself to death."

     d. n-a   ǂʔĩ   ŋ   ŋǀ̃ŋ
         1SG-DECL   think LK 1SG
         "I am thinking about myself."

     e. kɪn   ke   si   hui   kike
         2PL DECL IRR help 3PL
         "They will help themselves."

We have not investigated whether the H-forms can serve as reflexive pro-
nouns.

8.5 Reciprocal pronouns

Reciprocal pronouns are illustrated below. They have the form of a possessed
noun ǃũi, where the simple pronoun is the possessor (see section 9.3 on posses-
sed nouns).

(22) a.   kın   ke   ŋǀii   kın   ǃũi
          3PL   DECL   see   3PL   RECP
          "They see each other."

     b.   b-a   si   hui   u   ǃũi
          2PL-DECL   IRR   help 2PL   RECP
          "You will help each other."

     c.   kın   ke   si   ŋǃuu kın   ǃũi
          3PL   DECL   IRR   visit 3PL   RECP
          "They will visit each other."

     d.   s-a   lʔãa si   ǃũi
          1PL-DECL   love 1PL   RECP
          "We love each other."

9 Noun Phrases

This chapter discusses the structure of the noun phrase, including demonstra-
tives and possession.

9.1 Definite versus indefinite

A noun can in general be understood as definite ("the man") or indefinite ("a
man"). There are no definite and indefinite articles like "the" and "a" as are
found in English.

(1) a.   ǂoo   ke   ŋǀaa   ŋǀŋ   lãʔẽ
         man   DECL   be.LOC house   in
         "There is a man in the house."

    b.   siso   ke   ku-a   ǂoo ŋǀaa   ŋǀŋ   lãʔẽ
         Siso   DECL   say-PFV man be.LOC house in
         "Siso said there is a man in the house."

(2) n-a   lu   hoo   gao
    1SG-DECL   NEG   find thing
    "I don't find anything."   ("The Jackal")

(3) gǀãi   lʔana   ŋǀa   ǃao
    Hyena stand   with rock
    "Hyena stood with the rock."   ("Hyena")

Whether or not a noun is understood definitely ("the man") or indefinitely ("a
man") is determined by the context in which the sentence is used. For example,

in (2), the Jackal is hunting for food, and nothing in particular has been mentioned in the story that *gao* "thing" could refer back to, so a definite interpretation would not make sense. In (3), the rock has already been mentioned in the story so only the definite interpretation is appropriate. A definite interpretation can be signaled overtly with the proximal demonstrative (see (17) below).

9.2 Demonstratives

Most demonstratives follow the noun that they modify. There is no morphological difference between demonstratives that modify human nouns ("man") and those that modify non-human nouns ("shoe").

(4) !uuke   a   ke   ǂxũi
     shoe   this   DECL   ugly
     "This shoe is ugly."

(5) ǂoo   a   ke   ǂxũi
     man   this   DECL   ugly
     "This man is ugly."

(6) n-a   ǂao-a   !uuke   ŋlaaha
     1SG-DECL   like-PFV   shoe   that
     "I like that shoe."

(7) ǂoo   ŋlaa   ke   ǂxũi
     man   that   DECL   ugly
     "That man is ugly."

(8) ka-!uu   ŋke   ke   ǂxũi
     PL-shoe   these DECL   ugly
     "These shoes are ugly."

(9) cuuke   ŋke   ke   ǂxũi
     men   these DECL   ugly
     "These men are ugly."

(10) ka-!uu   ŋlaake   ke   ǂxũi
     PL-shoe   those   DECL   ugly
     "Those shoes are ugly."

(11) n-a   tsʔaʔa   cuuke   ŋlaake
     1SG-DECL   like   men   those
     "I like those men."

If an object is found at a great distance away, this is indicated with vowel length:

(12) ka-!uu   ŋlaaake
     shoes   those
     "those shoes way over there"

(13) cuuke   ŋlaaake
     men   those
     "those men way over there"

The only exception to the generalization that demonstratives follow the noun that they modify is that the frequently used *kea* "that" or "those" precedes the noun it modifies.

(14) a.   kea   ǃuuke   b. kea   ka-ǃuu
           that   shoe   those PL-shoe
           "that shoe"   "those shoes"

(15) a.   kea   ǂoo   b. kea   cuuke
           that   man   those men
           "that man"   "those men"

The following chart summarizes all the preceding examples of demonstratives (NP stands for noun phrase). Alternative pronunciations are indicated in the chart:

(16) Summary of demonstratives

	Singular	Plural
Proximal	this	these
	NP a	NP ŋ-ke
	[alternative: *a ha*]	[alternative: *hŋ-ke*]
Distal	that	those
	kea NP	kea NP
	NP ŋǁaa	NP ŋǁaa-ke
	[alternative: *ŋǁaa ha*]	

The *ha* in the alternative for "this" and "that" and the *hŋ* in the alternative for "these" are identical (segmentally) to the H-forms of the third person pronouns. This suggests that *ha* should be glossed 3SG and *hŋ* could be glossed 3PL when they occur in demonstratives. Therefore, *hŋ-ke* would be glossed 3PL-PL, and translated as "these". To simplify glossing, we write all the demonstratives (singular or plural) as one word: *aha* "this", *ŋǁaaha* "that", *ŋke* "these" *hŋke* "these", *ŋǁaake* "those".

We have not investigated whether these demonstratives can be used without a noun phrase, as in the English: "I like these" or "I need that".

Sometimes demonstratives are used in stories where one would expect the definite article in English. In the story that the following example is from, Jackal is talking to his mother, while his child is listening to their conversation. In this context, the definite article would be used in English, whereas the demonstrative "this" was used in the story:

(17) loβa   a   ke   cumʔii
      child this DECL   listens
      "The child listens."   ("The Jackal")

The locative adverbs "here" and "there" are formed using the demonstratives:

(18) loβa   ke   ka-!qora   ŋ   ki   a
      child DECL   REP-play   LK   place this
      "The child is playing here."

(19) loβa   ke   ka-!qora   ŋ   ki   ŋǀaa
      child DECL   REP-play   LK   place that
      "The child is playing there."

To express "other" and "another", the morpheme *koo* is combined with a demonstrative:

(20) a.   n-a   ŋǀii   cuuke   ŋ   koo-ke
         1SG-DECL   see   men   3PL   other-PL
         "I see the other men."

     b.   n-a   ŋǀii   ǂoo   a
         1SG-DECL   see   man   this
         "I see this man.

         maar ŋ   lu   ŋǀii   ǂoo   a   koo
         But 1SG NEG see   man   this other
         But, I don't see the other man."

9.3 Possessors

To indicate a relation of possession between two noun phrases, a possessor noun is placed before the possessed noun:

(21) a.   ǂhun ŋǀucu
         dog nose
         "the dog's nose"

     b.   loβa lq'ãa
         child stomach
         "the child's stomach"

     c.   siso ŋǂona
         Siso knife
         "Siso's knife"

     d.   ǂhae xaŋki
         boy   mother
         "the boy's mother"

     e.   laβa !ao
         child rock
         "the child's rock"

     f.   ǂoo ǂhun
         man dog
         "the man's dog"

An optional particle *si* or *se* can be used between the two NP. This particle was probably borrowed from Afrikaans *se*:

(22) a.   a   xaŋki   ŋǀaa
           2SG   mother   head
           "your mother's head"

     b.   ku   xaŋki   se   ŋǀaa
           3SG   mother   POSS   head
           "his mother's head"

The order of the possessor and the possessed noun is the same when the possessor is a pronoun. The simple forms of the pronouns can be used as possessors.

(23) a.   ŋ   xaŋki   i/si   ŋǀŋ
           1SG mother   1PL   house
           "my mother"   "our house"

     b.   a   ǂhun   u   ǂhun
           2SG dog   2PL   dog
           "your dog"   "your dog"

     c.   ku ŋǂona   kɪn   xaŋki
           3SG knife   3PL   mother
           "his knife"   "their mother"

There are no special possessive pronouns like "mine" in English. Rather, a full noun has to be used:

(24) ŋ   gao   kee
     1SG thing it.is
     "It's mine."

The H-forms *ha* (3SG) and *hn* (3PL) are often used as possessors, especially in stories:

(25) a.   ha   laaxe
           3SG   sister
           "her sister"

     b.   hn   laaxe   si   ʘoaxe
           3PL   sister   POSS   daughter
           "their sisters' daughter"

The click forms of the pronouns are used as possessors of the subject noun phrases in questions (when the subject is sentence-initial) and following linkers:

(26) ŋǀŋ   ŋǂona   jee
     1SG   knife   where
     "Where is my knife?"

(27) a.   n-a   ǂʔĩ   ŋ   gǀa   xaŋki
           1SG-DECL   think LK   2SG   mother
           "I am thinking about your mother."

     b.   n-a   ǃauke-a ŋ   gǀa   ǂhun
           1SG-DECL   afraid LK   2SG   dog
           "I am afraid of your dog."

10 Relative Clauses

A relative clause follows the noun it modifies. The relative clause is introduced by a complementizer. In the English example "the shoe that Sini bought", the noun that is modified is "shoe" and the relative clause is "that Sini bought". The complementizer is "that".

The form of the complementizer in Nǀuuki depends on the plurality of the modified noun. It also depends on whether the subject or the object becomes the head of the relative clause. The relative clause complementizer shows no distinction for human ("child") versus non-human ("shoe"). A summary of the relative clause complementizers is given below:

(1)   Summary of relative complementizer

	Subject	Object
Singular	he	he
Plural	ne	he

(alternative pronunciation of subject plural form: *ni*)

In the following examples, the head noun is singular. Furthermore, it is understood as the object of the relative clause verb.

(2)   ǃuuke   he   sini   xŋ   lʔama-a
      shoe   REL Sini PST buy-PFV
      "the shoe that Sini bought"

(3)   loβa   he   ku   xŋ   ŋǀaa-a
      child REL 3SG PST see-PFV
      "the child that he saw"

In the following examples, the head noun is plural. Furthermore, it is understood as the object of the relative clause verb.

(4)   ka-ǃuu   he   sini   xŋ   lʔama-a
      PL-shoe   REL Sini PST bought-PFV
      "the shoes that Sini bought"

(5)   loeke   he   ku   xŋ   ŋǀaa-a
      children REL 3SG PST see-PFV
      "the children that he saw"

(6)   Ɵoo-ke   he   griet si   ǁx'oo ŋ   ǃuu
      wood-PL REL Griet IRR chop   LK   veld
      "the wood that Griet will chop in the veld"

In the following examples, the head noun is singular, and it is understood as the subject of the relative clause.

(7)   ǃuuke   he   xŋ   ǂqau-cĩ-a
      shoe   REL PST drop-lie-PFV
      "the shoe that dropped"

(8)   loβa   he   xŋ   lʔama-a   ka-ǃuu
      child REL PST buy-PFV   PL-shoe
      "the child who bought the shoes"

In the following examples, the head noun is plural, and it is understood as the subject of the relative clause. Only in this case is *ne* used as the relative clause complementizer.

(9) ka-ǃuu   ne   xŋ   ǂqau-cĩi-a
     PL-shoe   REL.PL PST   fall-lie-PFV
     "the shoes that dropped"

(10) loeke   ne   xŋ   lʔama-a   ka-ǃuu
     children   REL.PL PST   buy-PFV   PL-shoe
     "the children who bought the shoes"

11 Adjectives, Numerals and Quantifiers

In this chapter, we show how a noun is modified by adjectives, numerals and quantifiers.

11.1 Adjectives

Most examples where an adjective modifies a noun in English, such as "a sick man" or "black cow" are expressed in Nǀuuki as relative clauses with a stative main verb:

(1) a.   ǂoo   he   ⨀ʔui-ʔii
           man   REL   sick-STAT
           "the sick man"

     b.   gom   he   ku   ǃhoe
           cow   REL   look   black
           "the black cow"

     c.   ŋǀŋ   he   ǃhoo-a
           house   REL   big-PFV
           "a big house"

     d.   ǂoo   ŋǀaa   he   ǂxũi
           man   that   REL   ugly
           "that ugly man"

For example, in (1d), *ǂxũi* "ugly" is a verb, since it appears without a copula. Therefore, a more accurate gloss would be "be.ugly". However, to simplify glosses, we gloss *ǂxũi* as "ugly", and similarly for other stative verbs in Nǀuuki that denote properties (e.g., "fat", "beautiful", etc.).

There are a small number of cases of direct adjectival modification in Nǀuuki where a relative clause complementizer is not used. The three examples we have found where four informants agree that a relative clause complementizer is not needed are presented below. We are still searching for examples of this type of modification:

(2) a.   ǂoo   ǂãa
           man   unknown
           "an unknown man"

b. cuuke   ǂãa
    men   unknown
    "unknown men"

c. ǂoo   ǂhuu
    man   good
    "a good man"

d. ǂoo   ŋ!ai
    man   adult
    "the adult man"

The word *ǂãa* also means "other", but we have not investigated how it differs from *-a ko* (see section 9.2). SANDS *et al.* (2006) give "big" as the literal meaning of *ŋ!ai*.

We have not yet investigated whether the forms in (2) can be used predicatively (e.g., to translate "I am good"). Nor have we investigated degree modifiers ("a very good man").

11.2 Numerals

To combine a noun and a numeral, a relative clause complementizer must be used:

(3) a. ŋǀŋ   he   ǀʔoe
         house   REL   one
         "one house"

     b. ǂoo   he   ǀʔoe
         man   REL   one
         "one man"

The numerals "two" and "three" are illustrated below. There are no further numerals in Nǀuuki. Note that the form of the complementizer is *ni* because the modified noun is plural and it is understood as the subject of the numeral.

(4) a. ŋǀai   ni   ǀʔuu
         houses REL.PL two
         "two houses"

     b. cuuke   ni   ǀʔuu
         men   REL.PL two
         "two men"

(5) a. ŋǀai   ni   ŋ!ona
         houses REL.PL three
         "three houses"

     b. cuuke   ni   ŋ!ona
         men   REL.PL three
         "three men"

All three numerals can be used as the main predicate of a clause:

(6) a.   ŋ   ke   lʔoe
           1SG   DECL   alone
           "I am alone."

     b.   s-a   neti   !ʔuu
           1PL   only   two
           "We are two."

     c.   kın   ke   ŋ!ona
           3PL   DECL   three
           "They are three."

A numeral can modify a pronoun directly (without the use of a relative complementizer):

(7) a.   si   !ʔuu-ko   si   ŋ!ona
           i   !ʔuu-ko   i   ŋ!ona
           1PL   two-PL   1PL   three
           "we two"   "we three"

     b.   u   !ʔuu-ko   u   ŋ!ona
           2PL   two-PL   2PL   three
           "you two"   "you three"

     c.   kın   !ʔuu-ko   kın   ŋ!ona
           3PL   two-PL   3PL   three
           "them two"   "them three"

In the above examples, it is often possible to hear [kho] and [ke] instead of [ko] following the numeral "two". Some further examples of "two" in sentences are given below:

(8) a.   u   !ʔuu-ko ke   si   kaŋǀaa ki   a
           2PL   two-PL   DECL   IRR   stay   place   this
           "You two will stay here."

     b.   ku-a   !ʔai   u   !ʔuu-ko
           3SG-DECL   call   2PL   two-PL
           "He is calling you two."

Although the object form of the third plural pronoun is *kike*, when it is modified by a numeral or "all", only *kın* (not *kike*) is used.

(9) a.   ku-a   !ʔai   kike   .
           3SG-DECL   call   3PL
           "He is calling them."

     b.   ku-a   !ʔai   kın   !ʔuu-ko
           3SG-DECL   call   3PL   two-PL
           "He is calling them two."

     c.   ku-a   !ʔai   kın   huniki
           3PL-DECL   call   3PL   all
           "He is calling them all."

Click pronouns can also be modified by numerals in the appropriate context (e.g., following a linker or as the subject of a yes-no question):

(10) a. ku-a   ǂʔĩ ŋ   gǀi   !ʔuu-ko
         3SG-DECL   think LK 1PL two-PL
         "He is thinking of us two."

   b.   ku-a   ǂʔĩ ŋ   gǀu   !ʔuu-ko
         3SG-DECL   think LK 2PL two-PL
         "He is thinking of you two."

   c.   gǀu   !ʔuu-ko (xae) si   kaŋǀaa ki   a
         2PL   two-PL   Q   IRR stay   place   this
         "Will you two stay?"

There are no ordinals modifying nouns in Nǀuuki. There is an adverb *ǀqhaa*
"first" (see chapter 6).

11.3 Quantifiers

The quantifier "many" is expressed with a relative clause in Nǀuuki:

(11) ǀoeke   ni   keβeke
     children REL many
     "many children"

A number of quantificational modifiers modify the noun directly (without a
relative complementizer). These include "all" and "only".

(12) a. ǂhii-ke huniki
         tree-PL all
         "all the trees"

   b.   cuuke   huniki
         men   all
         "all the men"

   c.   i/si   huniki
         1PL   all
         "us all"

(13) a. ku-a   si   ãa   i   huniki-a   maari
         3SG-DECL   IRR give 1PL all-DAT   money
         "He will give us all money."

   b.   i   huniki ke   si   lʔae
         1PL   all   DECL IRR go
         "We all will go."

   c.   ku-a   !ʔai u   huniki
         3SG-DECL   call 2PL all
         "He is calling you all."

(14) a. siso lʔooke ke   si   caˤn
         Siso only   DECL IRR walk
         "Only Siso will go."

b. ŋ   ǀʔooke ke   si   caˤn
    1SG only   DECL   IRR   walk
    "Only I will go."

c. ŋ   ǀʔooke ke   si   Ɵun
    1SG only   DECL   IRR   sleep
    "Only I will sleep."

d. a   ǀʔooke ke   si   ǀʔaa ǀxʼõa
    2SG only   DECL   IRR   go   hunt
    "Only you will go hunting."

Click pronouns can also be modified by "only" and "all" in the appropriate context (e.g., following a linker or as the subject of a yes-no question):

(15) a. ku-a   ǂʔii   ŋ   gǀi   huniki
         3SG-DECL   think LK   1PL   all
         "He is thinking of us all."

     b. gǀi huniki xae si   ǀʔae
         1PL all   Q   IRR   go
         "Will we all go?"

     c. gǀa ǀʔooke xae si   ǀʔaa ǀxʼõa
         2SG only   Q   IRR   go   hunt
         "Will only you go hunting?"

11.4 Combinations

The following examples illustrate various combinations of the modifiers discussed above. Note that numerals, quantifiers and demonstratives are closer to the noun than relative clauses expressing properties like "big", "black", "beautiful", etc.

(16) ŋǀai   ni   ǃʔuu ni   ǃhoo-a
     houses   REL.PL   two   REL.PL   big-PFV
     "two big houses"

(17) gum-ke   ni   ǃʔuu ne   ku   ǃhoe
     cow-PL   REL.PL   two   REL.PL   look.like black
     "two black cows"

(18) rokesi he   ǀʔoe he   ǀhaˤoka
     dress   REL   one   REL   beautiful
     "one beautiful dress"

(19) ǂoo he   ǀʔoe he   ǃqhũi-a
     man REL   one   REL   fat-PFV
     "one fat man"

(20) cuuke   huniki ni   ǃqhũi-a
     men   all   REL.PL   fat-PFV
     "all the fat men"

(21) ǂoo   a   he   ǂxũi
      man   this REL   ugly
      "this ugly man"

(22) ǂoo   ŋǀaa he   ǂxũi
      man   that REL   ugly
      "that ugly man"

(23) cuuke hŋke   ni   ǂxũi
      men   these REL.PL ugly
      "these ugly men"

(24) cuuke ŋǀaake ni   ǂxũi
      men   those REL.PL ugly
      "those ugly men"

12 The Linker

This chapter describes the role of the linker in introducing locative expressions and other types of expressions. When an intransitive verb is followed by a locative, the locative must be introduced by the linker. The following examples illustrate a locative following an intransitive verb:

(1) a.   ku   ǃũu   ke   xa   ǀʔaa   ŋ   gǃari
          3SG grandfather DECL   PST die   LK   Upington
          "His grandfather died in Upington."

     b.   lãˤn-si   ke   si   ǀʔŋ   ŋ   ǃoo
          snake-SG   DECL   IRR   go.out   LK   hole
          "The snake will go out of the hole."

     c.   ku-a   ǀqhõˤo   ŋ   ku   ŋǀŋ   lãʔẽ
          3SG-DECL   dance   LK   3SG house   in
          "He is dancing in his house."

     d.   ku-a   ǂqheeke   ŋ   ku   ŋǀŋ   lãʔẽ
          3SG-DECL   sing   LK   3SG house   in
          "He is singing in his house."

A locative can also be added to a verb that has a direct object. In this case, the locative follows the direct object, and the locative is introduced by a linker.

(2) a.   ku-a   si   hoo   ku   aŋki   ŋ   gǃari
          3SG-DECL   IRR   find   3SG father LK   Upington
          "He will find his father in Upington."

     b.   ku-a   si   ǀx'oo   ʘoo-ke   ŋ   ǃuu
          2SG-DECL   IRR   chop   wood-PL   LK   veld
          "He will chop wood in the veld."

     c.   kunisi   ke   si   ǂam   ǃao   ŋ   ǃan
          wagon   DECL   IRR   hit   rock   LK   road
          "The wagon will hit the rock in the road."

The following examples show that the linker introduces various kinds of non-locative expressions as well:

(3) a.   ku-a   si   ǀqhõˤo   ŋ   ǃhaeka
          3SG-DECL   IRR   dance   LK   tomorrow
          "He will dance tomorrow."

     b.   ku-a   si   ǃxama   ãaki ŋ   ǃhaeka
          2SG-DECL   IRR   cook   food LK   tomorrow
          "He will cook food tomorrow."

(4) a.   n-a   si   ŋǃhuia   maari ŋ   ku
          1SG-DECL   IRR   ask   money LK   3SG
          "I will ask him for money."

     b.   n-a   si   gaake   maari ŋ   ku
          1SG-DECL   IRR   steal   money LK   3SG
          "I will steal money from him."

     c.   gǀa   ǂao-a   a   ǂhoa ŋ   ku   maari   (ǃʔama)
          2SG   want-PFV   2SG   talk LK   3SG   money   about
          "Do you want to talk about his money?"

Temporal expressions also appear in the preverbal position, in which case they are not preceded by a linker (see also chapter 6):

(5) a.   ku-a   si   ǀqhõˤo   ŋ   ǃhaeka
          3SG-DECL   IRR   dance   LK   tomorrow
          "He will dance tomorrow."

     b.   ku-a   si   ǃhaeka   ǀqhõˤo
          3SG-DECL   IRR   tomorrow   dance
          "He will dance tomorrow."

When a locative is placed at the beginning of the clause, as in questions and relative clauses, the linker *ŋ* must be replaced by *ŋǀla* which is homophonous with the locative verb "to be". We assume that the linker has two forms, a clitic form *ŋ* and a non-clitic form *ŋǀla*.

(6) a.   kiɟa   xae ku   ǃũu   xŋ   ǀʔaa ŋǀa
          where Q   3SG grandfather PST   die   LK
          "Where did his grandfather die?"

     b.   ǃhoe he   ku   ǃũu   xŋ   ǀʔaa ŋǀa
          place REL 3SG grandfather PST   die   LK
          "the place where his grandfather died"

(7) a.   kiɟa   xae ku   ǀqhõˤo   ŋǀa
          where Q   3SG dance   LK
          "Where is he dancing?"

     b.   ǃhoe he   ku   ǀqhõˤo   ŋǀa
          place REL 3SG dance   LK
          "the place where he is dancing"

(8) a.   ǃuu   a   he   griet si   ǁx'oo   ⊙oo-ke   ŋǀa
          veld   this REL   Griet IRR   chop   wood-PL   LK
          "the veld where Griet will chop wood"

     b.   kiʝa   xae griet si   ǁx'oo   ⊙oo-ke   ŋǀa
          where   Q   Griet IRR   chop   wood-PL   LK
          "Where will Griet chop wood?"

As noted in section 8.2, when a first or second person pronoun follows the linker, the click form must be used. As the examples in (9b,c) show, even if the pronoun is modified, the click form must be used:

(9) a.   ku   xa   ŋǃhuia ãaki ŋ   ŋǀŋ
          3SG   PST ask   food LK   1SG
          "She asked me for food."

     b.   n-a   ǂʔĩ   ŋ   gǀu   ǃʔuu-ko
          1SG-DECL   think LK   2PL   two-PL
          "I am thinking of you two."

     c.   ku-a   ǂʔĩ   ŋ   gǀi   huniki
          3SG-DECL   think LK   1PL   all
          "He is thinking of us all."

Similarly, if the first and second person pronoun is the possessor of a noun phrase immediately following the linker, the pronoun must appear in the click form.

(10) a.   n-a   ǂʔĩ   ŋ   gǀa   xaŋki
          1SG-DECL   think LK   2SG   mother
          "I am thinking about your mother."

     b.   n-a   ǃauke-a   ŋ   gǀa   ǂhun
          1SG-DECL   afraid-PFV LK   2SG   dog
          "I am afraid of your dog."

     c.   ku-a   ǂʔĩ   ŋ   ŋǀŋ   xaŋki   se   ǂhun
          3SG-DECL   think LK   1SG   mother POSS   dog
          "He is thinking about my mother's dog."

As noted in section 14.1 below, the linker is also used for the nominal copula verb "be". In this case too, a following first or second person pronoun must take the click form:

(11) ǂoo   ŋǀaa ke   ŋ   gǀa   ǀãu
     man   that DECL   LK   2SG   brother
     "That man is your brother."

13 Double Object Constructions and Applicatives

Double object constructions are defined as a verb followed by two noun phrases. In Nǀuu, the first noun phrase bears a dative marker. By convention, we will call the dative marked object the indirect object, and the second object the

direct object. The indirect object must precede the direct object. Some examples
are given below:

(1) a. ku-a   si   ãa   ku   aŋki-a   kea   maari
         3SG-DECL   IRR   give   3SG   father-DAT   that   money
         "He will give his father that money."

     b. griet ke   si   ãa   ku-a   doŋki-si
         Griet DECL   IRR   give   3SG-DAT   donkey-SG
         "Griet will give him the donkey."

(2) a. ãa   ku-a   ku   xaŋki   ka-ǀhãi
         give   3SG-DAT   3SG   mother   PL-breasts
         "Give her her mother's breasts."   ("The Jackal")

     b. ãa   ku-a   maar   ku   xaŋki   se   ŋǀaa
         give   3SG-DAT   but   3SG   mother   POSS   head
         "Give her her mother's head."   ("The Jackal")

(3) a. griet ke   si   kaɟama   ku-a   si   doŋki-si
         Griet DECL   IRR   show   3SG-DAT   1PL   donkey-SG
         "Griet will show him our donkey."

     b. ku-a   si   kaɟama   ŋǀaŋgusi-a   ⊙oe
         3SG-DECL   IRR   show   Nǀangusi-DAT   meat
         "He will show Nǀangusi the meat."

The benefactive is expressed with the verbal suffix -*a*, glossed as APPL
(applicative). It is plausible that the benefactive suffix is a reduced form of the
verb "give" (cf. (1a,b)):

(4) a. ku-a   si   kura-a   n-a   ǀx'ãike
         3SG-DECL   IRR   make-APPL   1SG-DAT   beads
         "He will make beads for me."

     b. n-a   si   lee-a   ku-a   ki
         1SG-DECL   IRR   send-APPL   3SG-DAT   3SG.NH
         "I will send it to him."

     c. kɪn   ke   ŋǃhau-a   ku-a   ⊙oe
         3PL   DECL   roast-APPL   3SG-DAT   meat
         "They are roasting meat for him."

It is also possible to add an applicative suffix to an intransitive verb:

(5) a. n-a   si   gǀuu-a   ku-a
         1SG-DECL   IRR   lie-APPL   3SG-DAT
         "I will lie to him."

     b. n-a   si   sĩisen-a   ku-a
         1SG-DECL   IRR   work-APPL   3SG-DAT
         "I will work for him."

     c. n-a   si   ǀqhõˤo-a   griet-a
         1SG-DECL   IRR   dance-APPL   Griet-DAT
         "I will dance for Griet."

For some speakers, a particle [i] follows the indirect object. Since this particle always follows the indirect object when it occurs, it is also glossed as DAT, dative (with the consequence that in some examples there are two separate morphemes glossed DAT).

(6) n-a   si   kaʝama simon-a   (i)   ʘoe
     1SG-DECL   IRR   show   Simon-DAT   DAT   meat
     "I will show Simon the meat."

(7) a.   hn   ǀx'ee hn   xauke-a   i
           3PL   tell   3PL   mothers-DAT DAT
           "They told their mothers."   ("The Dungbeetles")

     b.   ku   klaar   gǀuu-a   gǀãi   i
           3SG finish   lie-APPL   hyena   DAT
           "He lied to Hyena."   ("Hyena")

When the indirect object is moved to the front of the clause, as in questions and relative clauses, it must leave behind the H-form of the 3SG pronoun. In this context, the pronoun is being used resumptively:

(8) a.   ǀeeki   he   griet si   ãa   ha   si   doŋki-si
           woman REL   Griet IRR   give 3SG.DAT   1PL   donkey-SG
           "the woman Griet will give our donkey to"

     b.   cuu   xae griet si   ãa   ha   si   doŋki-si
           who   Q   Griet IRR   give 3SG.DAT   1PL   donkey-SG
           "Who will Griet give our donkey to?"

(9) a.   ǀeeki   he   griet si   kaʝama ha   si   doŋki-si
           woman REL   Griet IRR   show   3SG.DAT   1PL   donkey-SG
           "the woman Griet will show our donkey to"

     b.   cuu   xae griet si   kaʝama ha   si   doŋki-si
           who   Q   Griet IRR   show   3SG.DAT   1PL   donkey-SG
           "Who will Griet show our donkey to?"

In contrast, there is no resumptive pronoun when the second object of a double object construction is extracted:

(10) a.   doŋki-si   he   griet si   ãa   ku-a
           donkey-SG REL   Griet IRR   give 3SG-DAT
           "the donkey that Griet will give him"

     b.   cui   xae griet si   ãa   ku-a
           what Q   Griet IRR   give 3SG-DAT
           "What will Griet give him?"

(11) a.   doŋki-si   he   griet si   kaʝama ku-a
           donkey-SG REL   Griet IRR   show   3SG-DAT
           "The donkey that Griet will show to him"

     b.   cui   xae griet si   kaʝama ku-a
           what Q   Griet IRR   show   3SG-DAT
           "What will Griet show to him?"

Lastly, a resumptive pronoun is also left by extraction from the position following an intransitive verb with an applicative suffix:

(12) a. cuu xae a   si   gǀuu-a   ha
         who Q   2SG IRR lie-APPL   3SG.DAT
         "Who will you lie to?"

   b. cuu xae a   si   sĩisen-a   ha
       who Q   2SG IRR work-APPL   3SG.DAT
       "Who will you work for?"

   c. cuu xae a   si   ǃqhõˤo-a   ha
       who Q   2SG IRR dance-APPL 3SG.DAT
       "Who will you dance for?"

We do not have data on whether the 3PL H-form *hn* can be used as a resumptive pronoun.

14 How to say 'BE'

Nǀuuki does not have a single verb corresponding to all the uses of the verb "be" in English or Afrikaans. It relies on a variety of different ways to translate all of the forms of "be" in English. Three different types of sentences are discussed: predicate nominal sentences, identificational sentences, and locative sentences.

14.1 Predicate nominals

Consider first the following sentences where a noun serves as the predicate of the sentence. In these examples, the linker is used as a nominal copula:

(1) ku-a   ŋ   gǀa Ɵũu
     3SG-DECL   LK   2SG son
     "He is your son."

(2) ǂoo ŋǀaa ke   ŋ   gǀa lãu
     man that DECL LK   2SG brother
     "That man is your brother."

(3) ku-a   lu   ŋ   janasa
     3SG-DECL   NEG LK   thief
     "He is not a thief."

(4) cuu xae ŋ   gǀa
     who Q   LK   2SG
     "Who are you?"

(5) a. gǀa kalĩ jee ka
         2SG name what say
         "What is your name?"

   b. ŋ   kalĩ ke   ŋ   elsie
       1SG name DECL LK   Elsie
       "My name is Elsie."

A first or second person pronoun following the linker must take the click form, as shown for second person in (1), (2) and (4) (see section 8.2).

14.2 Identificational

Suppose somebody knocks at the door, and you want to know who it is. The following phrases can be useful in this situation.

(6) cuu xae
     who Q
     "Who is it?"

(7) siso kee
     Siso it.is
     "It is Siso."

(8) siso xae
     Siso is.it
     "Is it Siso?"

(9) siso ke   ǀae
     Sisi it.is NEG
     "It is not Siso."

In (7) and (9), the noun phrase is followed by *ke*, which is homophonous with the focus marker (see chapter 20). In (7), it is often lengthened just like the focus marker. The exact conditions under which *ke* is used instead of *kee* need to be investigated more. For questions, *xae* is used instead of *ke*.

(10) cui xae
     what Q
     "What is it?"

(11) cui xae a
     what Q   this
     "What is this?"

(12) cui xae ŋǀaa
     what Q   that
     "What is that?"

Sometimes it is possible to use either the identificational or the copula strategies:

(13) ǂoo ŋǀaa, a   ǀãu   ke
     man that, 2SG brother it.is
     "That man is your brother."

(14) ǂoo ŋǀaa ke   ŋ   gǀa ǀãu
     man that DECL   LK   2SG brother
     "That man is your brother."

14.3 Locatives

The locative copula verb "be" is *ŋǁaa*:

(15) loeke   ke   ŋǀaa   kamaku
     children DECL   be.LOC veld
     "The children are in the veld."

(16) loeke   ke   lu   ŋǀaa   kamaku
     children DECL   NEG   be.LOC veld
     "The children are not in the veld."

(17) loβa   ke   ŋǀaa   ki   a
     child   DECL   be.LOC place   this
     "The child is here."

(18) ku-a   ŋǀaa   siso
     3SG-DECL   be.LOC Siso
     "He is with Siso."

(19) kɪn   ke   si   !hae   ŋǀaa   i
     3PL   DECL   IRR   soon   be.LOC 1PL
     "They will soon be on us."

(20) ku-a   ŋǀaa   a   ŋǀŋ   lã?ẽ
     3SG-DECL   be.LOC 2SG   house   in
     "He is in your house."

(21) caᵷbakusi ke   ŋǀaa   gǃari
     Caqbakusi   DECL   be.LOC Upington
     "Caqbakusi is in Upington."

As pointed out in chapter 12, when a locative phrase follows an intransitive verb, the locative must be preceded by a linker. In (21), a locative phrase *gǃari* "Upington" follows *ŋǀaa* with no linker. From this we conclude that *ŋǀaa* is transitive, taking *gǃari* "Upington" as its direct object. The examples in (18) and (19) show that the direct object of *ŋǀaa* can be a non-locative noun phrase, such as a proper name or a pronoun.

As pointed out in chapter 12, the locative verb "be" *ŋǀaa* is the same as the non-clitic form of the linker which is used when the noun phrase introduced by the linker has been extracted, as in the where-question in (22b). The linker is transcribed with one vowel, *ŋǀa*, instead of with two vowels, *ŋǀaa*, because it sometimes has an almost inaudible pronunciation (which makes its duration hard to measure).

(22) a. ku   !ũu   ke   xa   l?aa   ŋ   gǃari
         3SG   grandfather   DECL   PST   die   LK   Upington
         "His grandfather died in Upington."

     b. kija   xae   ku   !ũu   xŋ   l?aa   ŋǀa
         where   Q   3SG   grandfather   PST   die   LK
         "Where did his grandfather die?"

15 Serial Verbs

A serial verb construction in Nǀuuki is where one verb immediately follows another. Such a construction is also referred to as a verbal compound. The extensive use of serial verbs is part of the genius of the Nǀuuki language. Serial verbs are used to express a wide variety of semantic relations, including locatives, causatives and benefactives (see COLLINS 2002 on the range of serial verb constructions in ǂHoan, see also DICKENS 2005 and HAGMAN 1977 on other Khoisan languages). Many concepts expressed by prepositions in other languages are expressed by serial verbs in Nǀuuki.

As the examples below show, nothing can intervene between the two members of a serial verb construction. The close morphological connection between the two verbs is indicated by a hyphen: V-V. The perfective is formed with the perfective suffix following both verbs V-V-*a*. The imperative is formed with the imperative suffix following both verbs V-V-*a*. Lastly, nominalizations are formed with the nominalization suffix following both verbs: V-V-*ki*.

In the following examples the second verb indicates the direction of motion:

(1) a.   ǂhun ke   ǂhũu-a
          dog DECL   jump-PFV
          "The dog jumped."

     b.   ǂhun ke   ǂhũu-lãi-a   kunisi
          dog DECL   jump-climb-PFV wagon
          "The dog jumped onto the wagon."

(2) a.   n-a   si   ǂhãu !qhaa
          1SG-DECL   IRR   pour water
          "I will pour water."

     b.   n-a   si   ǂhãu-ǀʔee !qhaa   ŋ   xaβasi   lãʔẽ
          1SG-DECL   IRR   pour-put.in water   LK   cup   in
          "I will pour water into the cup."

(3) a.   n-a   si   ǂqhaake
          1SG-DECL   IRR   jog
          "I will jog."

     b.   n-a   si   ǂqhaake-ǀʔae   gǃari
          1SG-DECL   IRR   jog-go   Upington
          "I will jog to Upington."

In the following example, either the verb "to let go" or the verb "to go" is added to the verb "to buy" to yield a serial verb construction meaning "to sell":

(4) a.   n-a   si   ǀʔama   doŋki-si
          1SG-DECL   IRR   buy   donkey-SG
          "I will buy the donkey."

     b.   n-a   si   ǀʔama-xuu doŋki-si
          1SG-DECL   IRR   buy-let.go donkey-SG
          "I will sell the donkey."

c.   ŋ   ke   si   lʔama-lʔaa   doŋki-si
     1SG   DECL   IRR   buy-go   donkey-SG
     "I will sell the donkey."

In the following example, the verb *ǀai* "run" is followed by a wide range of other verbs, indicating the direction of motion of the running:

(5)   a.   caˤbakusi   ke   ǃai-saa
           Caqbakusi   DECL   run-come
           "Caqbakusi comes running."

      b.   caˤbakusi   ke   ǃai-ǀʔee   ŋǀŋ   lã̃ʔe
           Caqbakusi   DECL   run-enter house in
           "Caqbakusi is running into the house."

      c.   caˤbakusi   ke   ǃai-lʔŋ   ŋ   ŋǀŋ
           Caqbakusi   DECL   run-go.out LK house
           "Caqbakusi is running out of the house."

      d.   caˤbakusi   ke   ǃai-lʔaa Keimos
           Caqbakusi   DECL   run-go   Keimos
           "Caqbakusi is running to Keimos."

      e.   caˤbakusi   ke   ǃai-lã̃i   ŋǃuu
           Caqbakusi   DECL   run-climb dune
           "Caqbakusi is running up the dune."

      f.   caˤbakusi   ke   ǃai-cĩ̃
           Caqbakusi   DECL   run-lie
           "Caqbakusi is running around."

In a number of cases, a serial verb construction is used where English would use a locative preposition. The locative verb appears as the first verb in this case:

(6)   a.   maari   ke   ǃai-soo   ǃao
           money   DECL   on.top-sit rock
           "The money is on top of the rock."

      b.   ǃao   ke   lʔi-soo   ǂqõa
           rock DECL   enter-sit pot
           "The rock is in the pot."

      c.   ǂhun   ke   ǂʔa-soo   ǂhii
           dog   DECL   next.to-sit tree
           "The dog is sitting next to the tree."

To form a causative in Nǀuuki, the verb *kxʼu* "make" forms a serial verb construction with the following verb.

(7)   n-a   si   kxʼu   ŋǀŋ
      1SG-DECL   IRR   make   house
      "I will build a house."

(8) a.   n-a   si   kx'u-lʔae   ku
          1SG-DECL   IRR   make-go   3SG
          "I will make him go."

     b.   n-a   kx'u-Ⓞun-a   loeke
          1SG-DECL   make-sleep-PFV   children
          "I made the children sleep."

     c.   n-a   kx'u-lx'õa-a   ku
          1SG-DECL   make-hunt-PFV   3SG
          "I made him hunt."

     d.   n-a   xŋ   kx'u-ʔãa   ku
          1SG-DECL   PST   make-eat   3SG
          "I made him eat."

When a transitive verb (a verb having a direct object) is causativized, the linker appears before the direct object of the causativized verb (a similar fact holds for ǂHoan and Julʼhoansi, see COLLINS 2003):

(9) a.   n-a   kx'u-lx'õa-a   ku   ŋ   ǂqhee
          1SG-DECL   make-hunt-PFV   3SG   LK   duiker
          "I made him hunt a duiker."

     b.   n-a   xa   kx'u-ʔãa   ku   ŋ   ku   ãaki
          1SG-DECL   PST   make-eat   3SG   LK   3SG   food
          "I made him eat his food."

A wide variety of other semantic relations can be expressed with serial verbs as well:

(10) ǂqhaeke ke   ka-ǂhũu-cĩi
      boys   DECL   PL-jump-lie
      "The boys are jumping around."

(11) n-a   si   kx'u-coa   ŋlŋ
      1SG-DECL   IRR   make-finish   house
      "I will finish building the house."

(12) ku   ke   si   sĩisen-lhaa   ku
      3SG   DECL   IRR   work-kill   3SG
      "He will work hard."   (literally: "He will work and kill himself.")

(13) caˤn   ǂhuu-a
      walk well-2SG
      "Go well!"

The following examples have the form V-ʔuu, but -ʔuu can only be used as the second verb of a serial verb construction. It cannot be used as an independent verb. Often, -ʔuu means "up", but not always as shown in (14c). We will henceforth gloss ʔuu as "up" to reflect its most common usage.

(14) a.   kɪn   ke   si   lee-ʔuu   !ao
          3PL   DECL   IRR   take-up   rock
          "They will pick up the rock."

b.   na   si   ‡hũu-ʔuu
     1SG-DECL   IRR   jump-up
     "I will jump up."

c.   si   aŋki   ke   xa   coa-ʔuu-a   ŋ   kuri   ŋǀaa
     1PL   father   DECL   PST   finish-up-PFV   LK   year   that
     "Our father died last year."

In the following serial verb construction, neither the first part nor the second part can be used as an independent verb (outside of the serial verb construction). We will write these as one word, with a one word gloss.

(15) ha   gǀoe   kheeʔuu   ŋ   kea   lʔũi
      3SG   again   return   LK   that   day
      "He came back the same day."

16 Imperatives

Imperatives are used to command somebody to do something (or to not do something).

For imperatives directed at a single person, the second person singular simple pronoun -a is suffixed to the verb:

(1)   a.   ǃai-a
           run-2SG
           "Run!"

      b.   ʘun-a
           sleep-2SG
           "Sleep!"

(2)   a.   sii-a   i   lʔae [pronounced: *sii ǁʔae*]
           come-2SG 1PL   go
           "Let's go!"

      b.   sii-a   ŋǀa   i   lʔae
           come-2SG so.that 1PL   go
           "Let's go!"

(3)   ŋ   kxʼu-a   ŋ   ki
      MANN   do-2SG   LK   3SG
      "Do it like this!"

(4)   ǁhuike-a   [pronounced: *ǀhuica*]
      be.quiet-2SG
      "Be quiet!"

(5)   gereki   nǃari-a
      slowly   drive-2SG
      "Drive slowly!"

(6)   ǁxʼoo-a   ʘoo-ke
      chop-2SG   wood-PL
      "Chop wood!"

The plural imperative (a command to more than one person) is formed by suffixing the second person plural pronoun to the verb, followed by the morpheme *we*:

(7) a. !ai-u-we
         run-2PL-we
         "Run!"   (to several people)

     b. ʘun-u-we
         sleep-2PL-we
         "Sleep!"   (to several people)

For some speakers, there is an *-a* following "run" in (7a) (which is not present in (7b)). It is unclear whether this is the same morpheme as the second person singular imperative suffix.

The negative imperative is formed by adding the negative particle *ǂi* before the positive form of the imperative:

(8) a. ǂi   !ai-a
         NEG run-2SG
         "Don't run!"

     b. ǂi   ǂhoa-a
         NEG speak-2SG
         "Don't speak!"

(9) a. ǂi   !ai-u-we
         NEG run-2PL-we
         "Don't run!"   (to several people)

     b. ǂi   ǂhoa-u-we
         NEG speak-2PL-we
         "Don't speak!"   (to several people)

17 Subordinate Clauses

A subordinate clause is any clause that is not a main clause. This chapter discusses adverbial clauses that serve to indicate the time of an event or the reason that some event takes place. This chapter also discusses the clausal complements of verbs such as "say", "know", "think" and "want".

17.1 Adverbial clauses

To express a situation where one event takes place at the same time as another event, or at a time overlapping another event, English uses subordinate clauses introduced by *when*. In Nǀuuki, such clauses are formed in two different ways: as relative clauses introduced by *kama* "when", or using a preverbal marker *!ũu* "if/when".

Consider first *kama*-clauses. Example (3) shows that *kama* can be optionally followed by *he*, showing that *kama* is a noun modified by a relative clause. In all three examples, the word *kama* "when" is placed at the beginning of the when-

clause, and the non-clitic form of the linker ŋǀa is placed at the end of the when-clause.

(1) kama   ŋ   ãi   ŋǀa   ŋ   loβa ke   ãi
     when   1SG   eat   be   1SG   child DECL   eat
     "When I eat, my baby eats."

(2) n-a   si   sĩisen   kama   ŋ   ǂoo   ʘun-a   ŋǀa
     1SG-DECL   IRR   work   when   1SG   man   sleep-PFV LK
     "I will work when my husband sleeps."

(3) ŋ   ke   xŋ   ãa   kama   he   ǂhuu xŋ   ǂqau ŋǀa
     1SG   DECL PST   eat   when   REL   rain PST   fall LK
     "I ate while it was raining."

The preverbal marker ǃũu (alternatively, ǃon) can be used to express conditional sentences and temporal adverbial clauses. It will be glossed as "if" or "when", depending on the interpretation of the sentence.

(4) ŋ   ǃũu   ǀʔee-a   ŋǀŋ   lã̃ʔẽ   ŋ   ŋǀii ǂharuxu
     1SG   when enter-PFV   room in   1SG   see   ǂHaruxu
     "When I walked into the room, I saw ǂHaruxu."

(5) ŋ   aŋki   ke   xa   si   ǃũu   ʔũi-a
     1SG   father DECL   PST   IRR   if   alive-PFV
     "If my father were alive,

     ha   ke   xa   si   ǀʔaa ǁx'õa
     3SG   DECL   PST   IRR   go   hunting
     he would go hunting."

The above sentence shows that it is possible to combine the past tense marker *xa* and the irrealis marker *si* into one clause to get the interpretation of a counter-factual conditional. We have not investigated this combination.

To express a conditional sentence with a consequence in the future, either the future marker *si* can be used or the conditional marker *u*:

(6) a. ku-a   si   ǃũu   see   n-a   si   ǃxama
         3SG-DECL   IRR   if   come 1SG-DECL   IRR   cook
         "When he comes, I will cook."

     b. ku-a   si   ǃũu   see   a   n-u   ǃxama
         3SG-DECL   IRR   if   come and   1SG-COND   cook
         "When he comes, I will cook."

(7) a   lu   si   ku   a   ǃũu   ǃxama   ʘoe   a   n-u   ǀʔaa
     2SG   NEG   IRR   say   2SG   if   cook   meat and   1SG-COND   go
     "If you don't cook the meat, I will go."

The complete paradigm of the conditional *-u* after pronouns is given in (8). The phonological changes that take place in this series are identical to those that take place in the A-forms of the pronouns (e.g., the 1SG velar nasal becomes a dental nasal). We do not have data on *si* 1PL in this context.

(8) a.   a   n-u   !xama
          and   1SG-COND   cook
          "I will cook."

     b.   a   a-u   !xama
          and   2SG-COND   cook

     c.   a   ku-u   !xama
          and   3SG-COND   cook

     d.   a   c-u   !xama
          and   1PL-COND   cook

     e.   a   u-u   !xama
          and   2PL-COND   cook

     f.   a   kɪn-u   !xama
          and   3PL-COND   cook

Reason clauses are expressed by clefting *kea gao* "that thing" and adding the non-clitic form of the linker to the end of the sentence:

(9) ku-a   lam   ãi
     3SG-DECL   NEG   eat
     "He did not eat.

     kea   gao   kee   ku   chin   ǀq'an   ŋla
     that thing it.is   3SG   feel   hunger   LK
     That's why he is hungry."

17.2 Clausal complements

Clausal complements of verbs like "say", "know", "think" and "want" are not introduced by a complementizer (e.g., the word "that" in the sentence "I think that John left"). As (10b) shows, there are occasional examples where the declarative marker *ke* (or *-a*) appears in a clausal complement, but generally it is absent.

(10) a.   n-a   ǂʔĩ-a   siso xŋ   lʔae-a
          1SG-DECL   think-PFV   Siso PST go-PFV
          "I think Siso went."

     b.   n-a   ǂʔĩ-a   siso ke   xŋ   lʔae-a
          1SG-DECL   think-PFV   Siso DECL   PST   go-PFV
          "I think Siso went."

     c.   n-a   ǂʔĩ   i   si   lʔae
          1SG-DECL   think 1PL IRR   go
          "I think we should go."

(11) a.   n-a   ǂao-a   kɪn   lʔae
          1SG-DECL   want-PFV   they go
          "I want that they go."

     b.   siso   ke   ǂao-a   ŋ   lʔae
          Siso   DECL   want-PFV   1SG   go
          "Siso wants that I go."

(12) gǀa   ǂʔĩ-a   ǃqoma   si   ǀʔaa   ǀx'õa
     2SG think-PFV ǃQoma IRR go   hunt
     "Do you think ǃQoma will go hunting?"

(13) a.   n-a   ǁhae-a   ku   ki   maari
           1SG-DECL   know-PFV 3SG have money
           "I know he has money."

     b.   ŋ   ke   ǁhae-a   ǃqoma   si   ǀʔaa   ǀx'õa
           1SG DECL know-PFV ǃQoma IRR go   hunt
           "I know that ǃQoma will go hunting."

(14) a.   kɪn   ke   ku-a   ŋ   ŋǀŋ   ŋ   ǀʔae
           3PL DECL say-PFV LK   1SG 1SG go
           "They told me to go."

     b.   kɪn   ke   xa   ku-a   ŋ   ŋǀŋ   ʘoe coa-a
           3PL DECL PST say-PFV   LK   1SG meat finish-PFV
           "They told me there is no meat."

(15) n-a   xŋ   ku-a   siso xŋ   ǀʔae-a
     1SG-DECL   PST say-PFV Siso PST go-PFV
     "I said Siso went."

We have not investigated cases of anaphora where a pronoun in the comple-
ment clause has an antecedent in the main clause.

Embedded questions are also a type of clausal complement. They are intro-
duced by the linker, which is sometimes inaudible (see chapter 19 for more ex-
amples):

(16) a.   n-a   ǁhae-a   a   ts'aaʔa ŋ
           1SG-DECL   know-PFV 2SG like   1SG
           "I know that you like me."

     b.   ŋ   lu   ǁhae-a   ŋ   gǀa   ts'aaʔa ŋ
           1SG NEG know-PFV LK   2SG like   1SG
           "I don't know if you like me."

18 Coordination

Two noun phrases are coordinated using *ŋǀa* "and" in the following way:

(1) a.   siso ŋǀa   ha   ǀeeki ke   si   ǀʔae
          Siso and 3SG wife   DECL IRR go
          "Siso and his wife will go."

    b.   ǂhun ŋǀa   mʘoa   ke   xa   ǀʔãa
          dog   and cat   DECL PST fight
          "The dog and the cat fought."

    c.   a   ŋǀa   siso ke   si   see
          2SG and Siso DECL IRR come
          "You and Siso will come."

Recall from chapter 7 that ŋǀa is also the word for "with" used with instrumental and comitative expressions.

Other phrase types may be coordinated too. Here are some examples of verb phrase coordination from the stories:

(2) ǂhaeke   nox   soo   na   sĩisen
     young.men   still sit   and work
     "The young men were still sitting and working."   ("Blue Wildebeest")

(3) ŋǂhau-ke-⊙one   ka-ǃqora   ŋ   ǃʔuu na   ǃqora ...
     dungebeetle-PL-DIM.PL REP-play   LK   dune and play ...
     "The little dungbeetles played and played on the dune ..."   ("The Dungbeetles")

(4) hn   kacuu   ha   xauke   lamlam   na   ǂhoa ...
     3PL   hear   3SG   mothers discuss and talk ...
     "They heard her mothers discussing and talking ..."   ("The Dungbeetles")

Verb phrase coordination is distinct from serial verb constructions (see chapter 15), which also occur quite frequently in oral texts. In serial verb constructions, as opposed to verb phrase coordination, the verbs must be adjacent.

Some examples of clause coordination are given below:

(5) hm   hm,   leeki   kx'ai-a   a   ha   ǁhuike
     Ha   ha   woman   laugh-PFV   and 3SG keep.quiet
     "Ha ha, the woman laughed and kept quiet."   ("Wildebeest")

(6) kɪn   ke   lu   xa   ǃʔua   a   hn   nǃona
     3PL   DECL NEG   PST   two   and 3PL three
     "They were not two, they were three."   ("The Dungbeetles")

Just as often, clauses are simply juxtaposed:

(7) ǀʔũi   lu   nox   ǀʔŋ-a   ku   caˤn
     sun   NEG still go.out-PFV   3SG walk
     "The sun had still not risen, and he went."   ("Wildebeest")

(8) kɪn   xauke   kɪn   nou   ǃʔũu
     3PL   assemble 3PL   now   go
     "They assembled and they now went."   ("The Dungbeetles")

As can be seen from the examples above, there are three conjunctions: ŋǀa, na and a. a and na look like reductions of ŋǀa. We have not studied to what extent each of the three conjunctions can be used with different phrase types (noun phrase, verb phrase, clause).

ŋǀa can also be used with clauses, but then the consultants translated it as "so that":

(9) n-a   si   ǀʔae   ŋǀangusi ŋǀa   ŋ   hoo   ŋ   maari
     1SG-DECL   IRR go   Nǀangusi so.that 1SG find 1SG money
     "I will go to Nǀangusi in order to get my money."

(10) ku-a   ǀʔama   ãaki   ŋǀa   ku   ǃxama
     3SG-DECL   buy   food   so.that 3SG cook
     "He buys food so that he can cook."

19 Questions

19.1 Yes-no questions

A yes-no question is a question that is answered by either "yes" or "no". Yes-no questions are formed in Nǃuuki by dropping the declarative marker. If the yes-no question begins with a first or second person pronoun, the click form of the pronoun must be used. We have not yet investigated whether there are intonational differences between declarative clauses and yes-no questions in Nǃuuki.

(1) a.   griet ke   si   hoo   maari
            Griet DECL   IRR   find   money
            "Griet will find money."

     b.   griet si   hoo   maari   [declarative *ke* is dropped]
            Griet IRR   find money
            "Will Griet find money?"

(2) a.   n-a   si   lʔae
            1SG-DECL   IRR   go
            "I will go."

     b.   ŋǀŋ   si   lʔae   [declarative *-a* is dropped, click form of 1SG pronoun used]
            1SG   IRR   go
            "Will I go?"

(3) a.   ku-a   si   lʔae
            3SG-DECL   IRR   go
            "He will go."

     b.   ku   si   lʔae   [declarative *-a* is dropped]
            3SG IRR   go
            "Will he go?"

(4) gǀu   cuu   ŋ
     2PL   hear 1SG
     "Do you (PL) hear me?"

Even when the possessor of the subject is a first or second person pronoun, it must take the click form.

(5) gǀa   xaŋki   lʔae-a
     2SG   mother go-PFV
     "Did your mother go?"

If a pronoun is not the initial constituent in a yes-no question it does not take the click form. In (6a), the pronoun is the object and in (6b) the pronoun is the possessor of the object.

(6) a.   ŋǀaŋgusi   ǃʔai   ŋ
            Nǃangusi   call   1SG
            "Is Nǃangusi calling me?"

b. ŋǀaŋgusi   ǃʔai   ŋ   xaŋki
    Nǀangusi   call   1SG   mother
    "Is Nǀangusi calling my mother?"

Yes-no questions can also appear in embedded clauses, in which case they must be preceded by the linker (which is sometimes hard to hear). Furthermore, just like unembedded yes-no questions, if a first or second person pronoun is the subject (and hence the first element in the yes-no question), it must take the click form.

(7) ŋ   ǀu   ǀhae-a   ŋ   gǀa   ts'aaʔa   ŋ
     1SG NEG   know-PFV   LK   2SG   like   1SG
     "I don't know if you like me."

(8) ǀalaˤe   ke   kacuu-ʔĩ   ŋ   gǀa   ǂao-a   ãaki
     ǀAlaqe   DECL   ask   LK   2SG   want-PFV   food
     "ǀAlaqe is asking if you want some food."

19.2 Who- and what-questions

To form a who-question, *cuu* "who" is put at the beginning of the sentence, immediately followed by the question word *xae*. The question word *xae* is used for all questions where some word such as "who", "what", "when", "where" or "why" is fronted to the beginning of the sentence.

(9) cuu   xae   ǀʔae-a   gǃari
     who   Q   go-PFV   Upington
     "Who went to Upington?"

(10) cuu   xae   i   si   hoo   ŋ   kea   xoe
     who   Q   1PL   IRR   find   LK   that   place
     "Who will we find there?"

There are two words for "what" in Nǀuuki, *jisi* and *cui*. They are illustrated below:

(11) cui   xae   griet   si   ãa   ku-a?
     what Q   Griet   IRR   give 3SG-DAT
     "What will Griet give him?"

(12) cui   xae   griet   si   ǀʔaa   ǀx'oo   ŋ   ǃuu
     what Q   Griet   IRR   go   chop   LK   veld
     "What will Griet go chop in the veld?"

(13) a.   jisi   xae?
          what   Q
          "What is it?"

     b.   cui   xae?
          what   Q
          "What is it?"

(14) ɟisi   xae   a   kxʼuu
     what Q   2SG   do
     "What are you doing?"

(15) cui   xae   a   kxʼuu
     what Q   2SG   do
     "What are you doing?"   [alternative: *kuru*]

(16) cui   xae   tsʼii-a   a
     what Q   bite-PFV   2SG
     "What bit you?"

As noted in section 19.1, embedded questions are preceded by a linker:

(17) ŋ   lu   lhae   ŋ   cui   xae   a   ǂao-a
     1SG NEG know   LK   what Q   2SG   want-PFV
     "I don't know what you want."

There is another form of what-question that does not involve moving a question word to the front of the sentence. Note that in this type of what-question, the click form of the pronoun is used in conformity with the 1/2 Person Pronoun Rule of section 8.2.

(18) ŋǀŋ   si   ɟe   kxʼuu
     1SG IRR   what do
     "What should I do?"

19.3 Which-questions

The word *ɟa* "which" follows the noun phrase, just like the demonstratives (see chapter 9).

(19) ʘoo-ke   ɟa   xae   griet si   ǁxʼoo
     wood-PL   which   Q   Griet IRR   chop
     "Which wood will Griet chop?"

(20) doŋki-si   ɟa   xae   griet si   ãa   ku-a
     donkey-SG   which   Q   Griet IRR   give 3SG-DAT
     "Which donkey will Griet give to him?"

19.4 Where-questions

To ask where something or someone is, you use the following construction:

(21) a.   siso   ɟee
       Siso   where
       "Where is Siso?"

     b.   ǂoo   ɟee
       man   where
       "Where is the man?"

When the noun in the examples above is replaced by a pronoun, the simple form must follow *ɟee* "where", and the question-initial pronoun takes the click form:

(22) a. ŋǀŋ   ɟee   ŋ
         1SG where 1SG
         "Where am I?"

    b. gǀa   ɟee   a
         2SG where 2SG

    c. ku   ɟee   ku
         3SG where 3SG

    d. ki   ɟee   ki
         3SG.NH   where 3SG.NH

    e. gǀi   ɟee   i
         1PL where 1PL

    f. si   ɟee   si
         1PL where 1PL

    g. gǀu   ɟee   u
         2PL where 2PL

    h. kɪn   ɟee   kike
         3PL where 3PL

In the second type of where-question, the word *kiɟa* "where" is moved to the front of the sentence, and the linker *ŋǀa* is inserted at the end of the sentence.

(23) a. kiɟa   xae   ku   ǃũu   xŋ   ǀʔaa   ŋla
         where   Q   3SG grandfather PST die   LK
         "Where did his grandfather die?"

    b. kiɟa   xae   ku   ǀqhõˤo   ŋla
         where   Q   3SG dance   LK
         "Where is he dancing?"

If the verb takes a location as a direct object, then *ŋǀa* is not inserted when *kiɟa* "where" is moved to the front of the sentence. In (24), *ŋǀaa* is not the linker, rather it is the locative verb "be" which takes a locative direct object (see section 14.3).

(24) kiɟa   xae   ŋ   ŋǀaa
      where   Q   1SG be.LOC
      "Where am I?"

(25) a. ku-a   si   ǀʔae   gǀari
         3SG-DECL   IRR go   Upington
         "He will go to Upington."

    b. kiɟa   xae   ku   si   ǀʔae
         where   Q   3SG IRR go
         "Where will he go?"

It is also possible to leave the question word in place at the end of the sentence, but in this case, the question morpheme *xae* is dropped and a first or

second person pronominal subject must appear in the click form (by the 1/2 Person Pronoun Rule in section 8.2), as shown in (26b):

(26) a.   kiʝa   xae   a   kaŋǀaa
            where   Q   2SG   live
            "Where do you live?"

      b.   gǀa   kaŋǀaa   kiʝa
            2SG   live   where
            "Where do you live?"

Example (26b), like how-questions below, shows that the click forms of pronouns are not restricted to yes-no questions, but appear in other question types as well.

19.5 When- and why-questions

In both when- and why-questions, the LK ŋǀa is used at the end of the sentence.

(27) kama   ʝa   xae   siso si   see   ŋǀa
      when   which   Q   Siso IRR   come   LK
      "When will Siso come?"

(28) kama   ʝa   xae   a   xe   ŋǀaa lʔũi   ŋǀa
      when   which   Q   2SG   PST   see   day   LK
      "When were you born?"

(29) cui   ǃʔama   xae   kɪn   lʔae ŋǀa
      what   reason   Q   3PL   go   LK
      "Why did they go?"

(30) cui   ǃʔama   xae   a   caˤn   ŋǀa
      what   reason   Q   2SG   walk   LK
      "Why are you leaving?"

Why-questions can also be formed by moving the word *cui* "what" to the front of the sentence, and inserting the linker ŋǀa at the end, as in (31):

(31) cui   xae   ŋ   lu   ŋǀii   ŋ   lãu   ŋǀa
      what   Q   1SG   NEG   see   1SG   brother   LK
      "Why don't I see my brother?"   ("The Blue Wildebeest")

(32) ʝisi   xae   kɪn   ʘun-a   ŋǀa
      what   Q   3PL   sleep-PFV   LK
      "Why do you sleep (so late)?"

(33) n-a   lu   ǁhae-a
      1SG-DECL   NEG   know-PFV
      "I don't know

      ŋ   cui   ǃʔama   xae   ku   ŋǀaa   ki   a   ŋǀa
      LK   what   reason Q   3SG   be.LOC   place   this   LK
      why he is here."

Note that just like what-, who-, when- and where-questions in which the question word has been moved to the front of the clause, the simple form of the subject pronoun is used. This is why *a* 2SG is used instead of *gǀa* 2SG in (28) and (30).

19.6 How-questions

How-questions are formed very differently from the other question types. In particular, there is no question word that is put at the front of the sentence, unlike what was shown above for what-, who-, where-, when-, and why-questions. A common how-question used in morning greetings is given below (with the response):

(34) a. gǀa   ɟee   ŋ   khulʔŋ-a
         2SG   how   MANN   get.up-PFV
         "How did you wake up?"

    b.   n-a   khulʔŋ-a
         1SG-DECL   get.up-PFV
         "I woke up."

How-questions for transitive verbs are illustrated below:

(35) a. ku   si   ɟee   ŋ   ǀx'oo   ŋ   ʘoo-ke
         3SG IRR how MANN chop   LK   wood-PL
         "How will he chop the wood?"

    b.   ku   si   ɟee   ŋ   hoo ŋ   ku   ʔaŋki
         3SG IRR how MANN find LK   3SG father
         "How will he find his father?"

    c.   ku   si   ɟee   ŋ   lʔae ŋ   gǃari
         3SG IRR how MANN go   LK   Upington
         "How will he go to Upington?"

    d.   simon   si   ɟee   ŋ   hoo ŋ   ku   ŋ   gǃari
         Simon   IRR how MANN find LK   3SG LK   Upington
         "How will Simon find him in Upington?"

    e.   ǂi   ɟee   kaa   ŋ   mʘoa   ŋ   mana
         one how   say   LK   cat   LK   Afrikaans
         "How does one say 'cat' in Afrikaans?"

In these examples, the question word *ɟee* is placed before the verb, and a linker is inserted before the direct object. Examples (35d,e) show it is possible to have two linkers following the verb. We gloss the velar nasal that usually precedes the verb in how-questions as MANN ("manner"), not LK, because there is no way to verify whether a first or second person pronoun immediately following it takes the click form.

As in the case of a yes-no question, a first or second person subject pronoun must be in the click form:

(36) gǀa   si   ɟee   ŋ   lʔae   ŋ   g!ari
     2SG   IRR how   MANN go   LK   Upington
     "How will you go to Upington?"

If a how-question is formed with a verb taking a pronominal object, then the click form is used for first and second person objects, just like with other pronouns that are immediately preceded by the linker:

(37) a.   simon   ke   si   hoo   ŋ
          Simon   DECL   IRR   find   1SG
          "Simon will find me."

     b.   simon   si   ɟee   ŋ   hoo   ŋ   ŋǀŋ
          Simon   IRR how   MANN find   LK   1SG
          "How will Simon find me?"

When the verb is intransitive, no linker appears following the verb in a how-question:

(38) a.   ku-a   si   ⊙un
          3SG-DECL   IRR   sleep
          "He will sleep."

     b.   ku   si   ɟee   ŋ   ⊙un
          3SG IRR how   MANN sleep
          "How will he sleep?"

The linker also precedes the direct object in expressions of the adverbial notion "thus":

(39) a.   ku   xa   ŋ   lx'oo   ŋ   ⊙oo-ke
          3SG PST MANN chop   LK   wood-PL
          "He chopped the wood thus."

     b.   ku-a   si   ŋ   !ai
          3SG-DECL   IRR   MANN run
          "He will run thus."

20 Focus

Focus is expressed in Nǀuuki by moving the focused constituent to the front of the sentence followed by *kee* "it is". Here are some examples:

(1) a.   siso   kee   xŋ   kuru-a   ŋǀŋ
         Siso   it.is PST   build-PFV house
         "It was Siso who built the house."

    b.   lʔũi   lʔana   kee   siso   kuru-a   ŋǀŋ   ŋǀa
         sun   go   it.is Siso   build-PFV   house   be.LOC
         "It was yesterday that Siso built the house."

    c.   siso   kee   ŋ   ka   ŋ   ŋǀaa [alternative: ǂuo-a]
         Siso   it.is 1SG   want 1SG see
         "It is Siso who I want to see."

When the subject is focused, the sentence resembles a regular declarative sentence:

(2) a.   ǃqoma   ke   kxʼãiʔĩ
            ǃQoma   DECL   laugh
            "ǃQoma is laughing."

     b.   ǃqoma   kee   kxʼãiʔĩ
            ǃQoma   it.is   laughing
            "It is ǃQoma who is laughing."

But, as indicated by the spelling of *ke* versus *kee*, the duration of the vowel of *kee* may be longer in the focused version. We have not investigated these differences instrumentally, but to the ear, it is easy to distinguish the focused and non-focused sentences above.

If a first or second person pronoun is focused in a declarative sentence, it is the simple form of the pronoun, not the click form that is used:

(3) a.   a   kee   ǀu   sĩisen
            2SG   it.is   NEG   work
            "It is you who does not work."

     b.   i   kee   ǀu   sĩisen
            1PL   it.is   NEG   work
            "It is us who do not work."

     c.   ŋ   kee   caˤbakusi   ǃʔai
            1SG   it.is   Caqbakusi   call
            "It is me who Caqbakusi is calling."

     d.   u   kee   caˤbakusi   ǃʔai
            2PL   it.is   Caqbakusi   call
            "It is y'all who Caqbakusi is calling."

When a noun phrase in a yes-no question is focused, it is followed by the question focus marker *xae*.

(4) siso   xae   a   ǃʔai
     Siso   Q   2SG   call
     "Is it Siso who you are calling?"

Recall the 1/2 Person Pronoun Rule (from section 8.2) which states that if a first or second person pronoun is in the initial position of a question, it takes the click form. Given this rule, a first or second person pronoun in focus position (preceding *xae*) takes the click form in a yes-no question, even if the pronoun is not the subject, as in (5b).

(5) a.   gǀa   xae   ǀu   sĩisen   [alternative: *xae he*]
            2SG   Q   NEG   work
            "Is it you who does not work?"

     b.   ŋǀŋ   xae   caˤbakusi   ǃʔai
            1SG   Q   Caqbakusi   call
            "Is it me who Caqbakusi is calling?"

This generalization also holds for embedded questions. In the following example, non-subject *gǀa* "you" is initial in the embedded question:

(6) ŋ   ǀu   ǀhae-a   ŋ   gǀa xae ku   !ʔai
    1SG NEG know-PFV LK   2SG Q   3SG call
    "I don't know if it is you that he is calling."

Similarly, a first or second person pronominal possessor of a focused constituent in a yes-no question takes the click form:

(7) a.   ŋ   xaŋki   kee   a   !ʔai
         1SG   mother it.is 2SG   call
         "It is my mother who you are calling."

    b.   ŋǀŋ   xaŋki   xae   a   !ʔai
         1SG   mother Q   2SG   calling
         "Is it my mother who you are calling?"

When the object is focused in a yes-no question, a first or second person pronoun in subject position no longer takes the click form, since it is not in the initial position of the question. This is why in (8) the second person singular pronoun is realized as *a* not *gǀa*.

(8) ŋǀŋ   xae   a   !ʔai
    1SG   Q   2SG   call
    "Is it me who you are calling?"

Appendix 1: Nǀuuki Stories (Interlinear Glossed Text)

In this appendix, we give fully glossed versions of four Nǀuuki stories.

A. The Blue Wildebeest

lee

As told by Katrina ESAU.

1. Nou lee   ke   xa   ki   leeki
    now blue.wildebeest DECL   PST have wife
    Now the Blue Wildebeest had a wife.

2. ŋ   lu   lhae-a   ŋ   cui leeki xae
    1SG NEG know-PFV LK what woman Q
    I don't know what kind of woman it was

3. gǃae   xae of ǃae   xae of
    springbok Q   or gemsbok   Q   or
    A springbok, or a gemsbok

4. maar kea leeki xa   lhaˤoka
    but that woman PST beautiful
    But that woman was beautiful.

5. nou kea leeki ki   laaxe ki   ha   laaxe
    now that woman have sister have 3SG sister
    Now that woman had a sister, had her sister.

6. maar ku   laaxe eers ŋlaa   ŋlŋ
    but 3SG sister first be.LOC home
    But at first, her sister was at home.

7. eendag ha   besluit-a   ǂao-a
    one.day 3SG   decide-PFV   want-PFV
    One day, she wanted

8. ha   lʔaa ŋǃuu ha   laaxe
    3SG go   visit 3SG sister
    to go visit her sister

9. lʔaa ŋǃuu
    go   visit
    to go visit.

10. kɪn ŋlaa kea xoe kɪn ŋlaa kɪn ŋlaa
    3PL stay that there 3PL stay 3PL stay
    They stayed there, stayed and stayed.

11. maar vroe-môre   lee   khulʔŋ ha   caˤn
    but early-morning blue.wildebeest get.up 3SG walk
    But early in the morning, the Blue Wildebeest used to get up and go.

12. a   ku   saa ŋ   laa
    and 3SG come LK   darkness
    And he came home at night.

13. ⊙un ku   ǀaaxe   ⊙un
    sleep 3SG sister sleep
    Her sister slept.

14. ander dag ku   lu   verstaan-a
    other day 3SG   NEG   understand-PFV
    Another day, she didn't understand:

15. ŋ   cui   nou
    LK   what   now
    "What now?"

16. ŋǀŋ   lãu   jee   a   ǂoo
    1SG   brother where 2SG   man
    "Where is my brother (in law)? Your husband?"

17. ŋ   lu   ŋǀii   ku
    1SG NEG   see   3SG
    "I didn't see him."

18. nee ku   vroeg caˤn-a   ǀʔaa ku   ǁx'õa
    no   3SG early walk-PFV   go   3SG hunt
    "No, he went early hunting."

19. nou kama   ɟa   xae ku   si   see
    now when   which Q   3SG IRR   come
    "Now, when will he come?"

20. ku-a   si   gǀoe   see ŋ   ŋ̣ǃhũikin
    3SG-DECL   IRR   again come LK   dusk
    "He will come again tonight."

21. ŋ   ǂao-a   ŋ   ŋǀaa ku
    1SG want-PFV 1SG see   3SG
    "I want to see him."

22. jaa a   si   ŋǀaa ku
    yes, 2SG IRR see   3SG
    "Yes, you will see him."

23. ǃhaeka   ha   gǀoe   ⊙un
    next.day 2SG   again sleep
    The next day, she slept again.

24. ŋ   ǀaaxe   ke   ǂao-a   tox   ha   ŋǀaa a
    1SG sister DECL   want-PFV please 3SG   see   2SG
    "My sister wants to see you, please."

25. lee   lu   ǂao-a   a   ha   mos   ǂxũi
    blue.wildebeest NEG   want-PFV and 3SG   certainly ugly
    The Blue Wildebeest didn't want it, because he is certainly ugly.

26. ǃhaeka   ku   gǀoe   khuǀʔŋ   gǀoe ǀʔae
    next.day 3SG again get.up   again go
    The next day, he got up and went again.

27. gǀoe ku   see   ŋ   laa
     again 3SG come LK   darkness
     He came again at night.

28. jong ŋ   laaxe   ǂao-a   ha   ŋǀaa a
     hey, 1SG sister   want-PFV 3SG see   2SG
     "Hey you, my sister wants to see you."

29. jong cui   xae   makeer a
     hey   what Q   matter 2SG
     "What is the matter with you?"

30. gǀoe ǃhaeka   ku   gǀoe khulʔŋ
     again next.day 3SG again get.up
     Again, the next day, he got up.

31. ha   gǀoe   lʔae   ǀx'õa
     3SG again   go   hunt
     He went hunting.

32. cui   xae   ŋ   lu   ŋǀii ŋ   lãu   ŋla
     what Q   1SG NEG see   1SG brother stay
     "Why don't I see my brother?"

33. ja,   maar jong   xuu-a   tox
     yes,   but   hey.you leave-2SG please
     "Yes, but just leave it please."

34. ku-a   seker   ǂxũi
     3SG-DECL   perhaps ugly
     "He is perhaps ugly."

35. hm   hm   leeki   kx'ai-a   a   ha   ǁhuike
     ha   ha   woman   laugh-PFV and   3SG keep.quiet
     "Ha ha", the woman laughed and kept quiet.

36. ǂoo   saa
     man   come
     The husband came.

37. a   ku   ŋǀai ku   ŋ   ǂoo
     and   3SG then say   LK   man
     Then she said to the man,

38. a   si   tox   see   lʔũi nox   ŋǀaʔa
     2SG IRR   please come   sun   still   stand
     "You should come while the sun is still up."

39. a   mos   ǁhae ŋ   lu   si   ku   ŋ   see
     2SG obviously know 1SG NEG IRR   say   1SG come
     "You obviously know that I will not come,

40. lʔũi nǃaʔa   ŋla   a   laaxe   ŋǀaa ŋ
     sun   stand   so.that 2SG sister see   1SG
     while the sun is up, so that your sister sees me."

41. ja   maar kea   gao   kee   ŋ   ǁaaxe   ka
     yes   but   that thing it.is 1SG sister say
     "Yes, but that is the reason my sister says,

42. a   seker   ǂxũi
     2SG   perhaps ugly
     you are perhaps ugly."

43. ku   ku   ku   lee   ǀʔaake
     oh   oh   oh   blue.wildebeest angry
     Oh, oh, oh, the Blue Wildebeest was angry.

44. ǀʔũi   a   ko   ha   ǃhaeka   khuǀʔŋ-a
     sun   this other 3SG   morning get.up-PFV
     Another day, he got up in the morning.

45. ǀʔũi   lu   nox   ǀʔŋ-a   ku   caˤn
     sun   NEG   still go.out-PFV   3SG   walk
     The sun had still not risen, and he went.

46. ǀx'õa ǀx'õa ǀx'õa ǀx'õa
     hunt   hunt   hunt   hunt
     He hunted and hunted and hunted and hunted.

47. maar ǀx'õa-ki   soo   ŋ   ǀx'õˤa-ʔi
     but   hunt-NMLZ   sit   LK   bad
     But, the hunting was bad.

48. a   ku   neti ǂʔĩ   ŋ   gao   a
     and   3SG   only think LK   thing this
     He just thinks about this thing.

49. ǀʔũi   ǃare ha   saa
     sun   pass 3SG   come
     The sun passed by,

50. nǃaʔa   ǀʔaa ki   a
     stand   go   place this
     and stood here.

51. ǃx'ara   gao   saa   leeki   ǃʔoakera   kee
     damn.it thing come woman   young.woman   it.is
     Damn, the thing came, the woman saw.

52. ǃʔoakera-Ɵũ   nox   soo
     young.woman-little   still sit
     The young woman was still sitting.

53. ha   cuu   hhhh shhh shhh shhh shhh
     3SG   hear
     She hears, "hhhh shhh shhh shhh."

54. ŋǀai   ǂaˤe ŋǀaa
     then   look see
     Then she looks and sees.

55. gao   he   ǂqhii   saa   ŋ   ki   a
    thing REL   quick   come   LK   place this
    The thing that was coming quickly.

56. ha   ku   kuuuk   cui   xae   a   cui   xae   a
    3SG   say   gosh   what Q   this what Q   this
    She said, "Gosh, what is it? What is it?"

57. ǀhau   ǀhui-cĩi-a   ha   ǀaaxe
    run   around-lay-PFV   3SG   sister
    The younger sister ran behind the older sister (because she is afraid of thing).

58. ǀaaxe ka   hui-a   ŋ
    sister say   help-2SG   1SG
    The young sister said, "Help me.

59. xuu-a   ŋ   xuu-a   ŋ
    leave-2SG   1SG   leave-2SG   1SG
    Leave me, leave me."

60. jong   jong   xuu-a   gao
    hey.you   hey.you   leave-2SG   thing
    "Hey you! Hey you! Leave the thing alone."
    (The elder sister is speaking to the younger sister.)

61. (sounds of attack)

62. ǃhaqm-ǃʔu   ku
    grab-quickly   3SG
    He grabbed her quickly.

63. ǀee-ʔuu   ku   ǂam-ǃuu-cĩi   ku
    take-up   3SG   hit-throw.down-lie   3SG
    He picked her up, and threw her down.

64. ha   ǂʔoˤla
    3SG   separate
    He separated (her thighs).

65. ha   ǀaa-ǀqhu   ŋ   ki   a
    3SG   cut-remove LK   place this
    He cut off from there.

66. kiɟa   xae   ŋ   ǀʔee   ki
    where   Q   1SG   put   3SG.NH
    "Where should I put it?"

67. ŋ   ǀʔee   ki   ŋ   ki   a
    1SG   put   3SG.NH   LK   place this
    "I put it here."

68. ŋ   ǀaa-ǀqhuu   ŋ   ǂãusi   ŋ   ǀʔee   ŋ   ki   a
    1SG   cut-off   LK   buttock 1SG   put   LK   place this
    "I cut off a piece of the buttock, and I put it here."

69. ku   ǀʔaa   kea   loβa
    3SG   go   that child
    He went (the Blue Wildebeest), that child.

70. !ʔoakera-Ɵũ   si   laaxe   si   xauke
    young.woman-small   POSS   sister   POSS   mothers
    The young woman's sister's mothers,

71. kın   ŋǀaa   !hãu-a,
    3PL   stay   sit.PL-PFV
    They sat,

72. kın   cuu   hhhh   hhhh   hhhh   hhhh
    3PL   hear   hhhh   hhhh   hhhh   hhhh
    They heard "hhhh, hhhh, hhhh, hhhh."

73. ǂhũi a ku   ke   lõaa ku   ke
    (language of the Blue Wildebeest)
    "This side smells good, this side stinks."

74. hhhh hhhh hhhh hhhh
    (noise made by Blue Wildebeest)

75. ǂhũi a ku   ke   lõaa ku   ke
    (language of the Blue Wildebeest)
    "This side smells good, this side stinks."

76. ǂhaeke   nox   soo   na   sĩisen
    young.men   still   sit   and   work
    The young men were still sitting and working. (Two brothers related to the sisters.)

77. ŋǀaa nox   !hãu   na   sĩisen
    stay still   sit.PL   and   work
    were still sitting and working.

78. !oo   ke   cuu   !oo   ke   ku
    one   DECL   hear   one   DECL   say
    One heard, one said,

79. jong   kacum-a   ki   a
    young   listen-2SG place   this
    "Man, listen here!"

80. huh   cui   xae   cuu   ki   a
    huh   what Q   hear   place   this
    "Huh, what is it?" "Listen here!"

81. gao   !ai -saa   ŋ   ki   a
    thing run-come   LK   place   this
    "The thing is running here."

82. hhhh hhhh hhhh hhhh
    (sound made by Blue Wildebeest)

83. ǂhũi a ku   ke   lõaa ku   ke
    (language of the Blue Wildebeest)
    "This side smells good, this side stinks."

84. ha   ku   hee   ǁii-a   a   lau
    3SG   say   hee   take-2SG   2SG   bow
    He said "hey! Take your bow!"

85. lii-a   a   lau   ŋǀa   i   ŋǂoa   ku
     take-2SG   2SG   bow   so.that   1PL   shoot   him
     "Take your bow, so that we shoot him."

86. ku-a   ǀhaa   i   ǀaaxe
     3SG-DECL   kill   1PL   sister
     "He killed our sister."

87. mm   kx'am   ke
     yes   truth   it.is
     "Yes, indeed."

88. lii   ka-lau-ke   kɪn   ŋǀai   khulʔŋ
     take   PL-bow-PL   3PL   then   get.up
     (They) took the bows, and stood up.

89. ku   ŋǀai   see   ku   lãi
     3SG   then   come   3SG   climb
     Then he came climbing (the dune).

90. ǀhoˤo   he   ǂxũi   ŋǀa   saa
     devil   REL   ugly   then   come
     The ugly devil then came.

91. ŋǀa   saa   lãi   ŋǃuu
     then   come   climb   dune
     Then came climbing over the dune.

92. ŋǀai   nǂõa   ki
     then   shoot   3SG.NH
     Then shot it.

93. ŋǀa   ku   lʔaa   ku   sũi
     and   3SG   go   3SG   sit.down
     And he went and he sat down.

94. hn   lʔaa   lʔae   ǃʔoakera   leeki
     3PL   go   go   young.woman   woman
     They went, went to the woman.

95. cui   xae   cui   xae   cui   xae   gebeur   ŋ   ki   a
     what   Q   what   Q   what   Q   happen   LK   place   this
     "What, what, what happened here?"

96. hm   ǃʔoakeresi-Oũ   ke   kacũuʔi-a
     no   young.woman-little   DECL   ask-PFV
     "No, the young woman asked,

97. ŋ   ŋǀŋ   ǂoo   ǂxũi
     LK   1SG   man   ugly
     if my husband is ugly."

98. a   ǀx'ee-a   ku-a   n-a   ǀx'ee-a   ku-a
     2SG   tell-APPL   3SG-DAT   1SG-DECL   tell-APPL   3SG-DAT
     "You told him." "I told him." (talking to the brothers)

99. nou   ja   toe   nou
     now   yes   come.on   now
     "Now, come on."

100. nou   s-a   ǀhaa ku   ku   ke   ǀʔaa
     now   1PL-DECL   kill 3SG 3SG DECL die
     "Now we killed him, he is dead."

101. ǀaaxe   ke   ǀʔaa ku   gǀoe   ǀʔaa
     sister   DECL   die   3SG again die
     "Our sister died. He also died."

102. ŋǀa   kın   ǀhomom ǀhomom   ki   a
     then   3PL   open   open   place this
     Then they opened here (the armpit).

103. ku   ǀʔaa ku   ǀʔaa-cĩ-a
     3SG   die   3SG   die-lie-PFV
     He died, he lay there dead.

104. ku   ǀhomom   gǀaˤe   a
     3SG   open   armpit   this
     He opened the armpit.

105. o   ǂʔaˤbaˤlosi ki   a
     oh   labia   place   this
     Oh, here is the labia.

106. ǀhomom   ki   a   ǂãusi   ki   a   ǀii
     open   place   this buttock place this   take
     Open here. Here is the buttock. (He) took (them).

107. jama kın   xaŋki   ŋǀa   kın   aŋki
     show 3PL   mother and   3PL   father
     (They) showed their mother and their father.

108. ǀii   !ʔoakera   !ʔoakera   ǀʔaa ŋǀŋ
     take   young.woman   young.woman go home
     They took the young woman home.

109. leeki   ǀʔaa ŋǀŋ
     woman   go   home
     The woman went home.

110. cui   xae gebeur-a   hʔm
     what Q   happen-PFV   no
     "What happened?" (the parents asked)

111. !ʔoakerasi-Ɵũ   ke   kacũuʔi-a
     young.woman-little   DECL   ask-PFV
     "The young woman asked,

112. ŋ   ŋǀŋ   ǂoo   ǂxũi
     LK   1SG   man   ugly
     if my husband is ugly.'"

113. a   ǀx'ee-a   ku-a   n-a   ǀx'ee-a   ku-a
     2SG   tell-APPL   3SG-DAT   1SG-DECL   tell-APPL   3SG-DAT
     "You told him." "I told him."

114. a   ǀu   xe   si   ǀx'ee-a   ku-a
     2SG   NEG   PST   IRR   tell-APPL   3SG-DAT
     "You should not have told him."

115. a   ku   mos   nou   lʔaaka
     and   3SG   obviously   now   angry
     "So that he became angry."

116. kea   gao   ke   ku   xa   kx'uu-a kea   gao   ŋǀa
     that   thing it.is   3SG   PST   do-PFV that   thing LK
     "That's why he did that thing."

117. ja   ki ke   c-a   ǀu   nou   kx'uu   gao   ŋǀa
     yes   it it.is   1PL-DECL   NEG now   do   thing LK
     "Yes, that is it. We can't do a thing now."

118. Fluit-fluit, uit is my storie.

B. The Dungbeetles and the Springbok

ŋǂhau ŋǀa gǃae

As told by Anna KASSIE.

1.   ŋǂhau   ŋǂhau   ŋǀa   gǃae
     dungbeetle dungbeetle and   springbok
     Dungbeetle, dungbeetle and springbok

2.   ŋǂhau   ŋǀa   gǃae
     dungbeetle and   springbok
     dungbeetle and springbok

3.   ŋǂhau-ke   ka-ǃqora
     dungbeetle-PL   REP-play
     The dungbeetles were playing.

4.   ŋǂhau   ka-ǀoeke   ka-ǃqora
     dungbeetle PL-children   REP-play
     The dungbeetle children were playing,

5.   ka-ǃqora-cĩi !qora-cĩi   ǃqora-cĩi
     REP-play-lie REP-play-lie play-lie
     playing around, playing around, playing around.

6.   ŋǀa   ŋǀaa   gǃae-ke-⊙one
     then   see   springbok-PL-DIM.PL
     Then they saw the young springboks.

7.   ŋǂhau-ke   a   ǃqãˤa   saa   ǃare
     dungbeetle-PL   this   migrate   come pass
     The dungbeetles trekked by,

8.   ǃqãˤa   ǃare
     migrate pass
     trekked by.

9.   ŋǂhau-ke   a   ǃqãˤa   ǃare
     dungbeetle-PL   this   migrate pass
     The dungbeetles trekked by.

10. hn   ŋǀaa   gǃae-ke
     3PL see   springbok-PL
     They saw the springboks.

11. ŋǀai   ǂaˤm-ǀʔaa   ǁxʼesi
     then   hit-go   necklace
     Then they threw the necklace.

12. ǁxʼesi   ǀʔaa sũi   loβa   xuu
     necklace go   sit.down   child front
     The necklace fell in front of the child.

13. loβa   ŋǀa   le-ʔuu   ǁxʼesi
     child then take-up   necklace
     The child picked up the necklace.

14. ǁxʼesi   le-ʔuu   ha   ŋǀa   ǃʔao
     necklace take-up   3SG   then carry
     The necklace picked up the child, carried her,

15. ǃai-ǀhoo   ku   ŋ   ŋǂhau   ǃuke
     on.top-put   3SG   LK   dungbeetle back
     and put her on the back of the dungbeetle.

16. kɪn   ǀʔana   ŋǀa   ha
     3PL   go   with   3SG
     They went with her.

17. hn   ke   ǃqãˤa   ŋǀa   loβa
     3PL DECL   migrate   with   child
     They migrated with the child.

18. kɪn   kxʼu   ǃhoo-a
     3PL   make   big-PFV
     They raised her.

19. ku   ǀanuke   hn   kaŋǀaa
     3SG   brothers 3PL stay
     Her brothers, they stayed,

20. hn   kaŋǀaa   hn   kaŋǀaa   hn   kaŋǀaa
     3PL stay   3PL stay   3PL stay
     stayed, and stayed, and stayed.

21. hn   kacuu   ha   xauke   ǀamǀam
     3PL hear   3SG   mothers discuss
     They heard her mothers discussing.

22. n-a   ǂhoa na   ǀamǀam
     1SG-DECL   talk and   discuss
     and talking and discussing,

23. na   ǀamǀam na   ǀamǀam
     and   discuss and   discuss
     and discussing, and discussing.

24. hee gǀi   ǀu   xe   ki   ǀaaxe
     hey 1PL NEG PST have sister
     "Hey! Didn't we have a sister?"

25. ǀu   xe   ki   ǀaaxe
     NEG PST have sister
     "Didn't we have a sister?"

26. b-a   xeŋ ki   u   ǀaaxe
     2PL-DECL   PST have 2PL sister
     "You had your sister."

27. ǀaaxe ǀu   gereke ǁhaˤoka
     sister NEG little   beautiful
     "The sister was not just a little beautiful."

28. he   ŋǂhau-ke   xeŋ gaake-a
     REL dungbeetle-PL   PST steal-PFV
     "Who the dungbeetles stole."

29. kiɟa   xae kın   ŋǀaa
     where   Q   3PL be.LOC
     "Where are they?"

30. kın   ke   xeŋ ǃqã-ǀʔae-a
     3PL DECL PST migrate-go-PFV
     "They migrated away."

31. a   kın   ǃhãu
     and   3PL sit.PL
     And they were seated.

32. kın   ǀx'abe-cĩi   ǀx'abe-cĩi   ǀx'abe-cĩi
     3PL plan-lie   plan-lie   plan-lie
     They planned and planned and planned.

33. ǃʔuu-ko tweelinge hn   ǃʔuu-ko ǃhãu
     two-PL   twins   3PL two-PL sit.PL
     The two twins, the two sat,

34. hn   ǀx'abe
     3PL plan
     and planned.

35. ǃu   ǃʔãi ŋǀa   ǃu   he   ǂʔĩi
     one   elder and   one   REL young
     The elder one and the younger one (brothers),

36. hn   ǃhãu hn   ǁx'abe
    3PL   sit   3PL   plan
    they sat and planned,

37. ǁx'abe ǁx'abe a   hn   klaar-maak-a
    plan   plan   and 3PL   finish-make-PFV
    and planned and planned and they finished.

38. a   hn   ǃʔũu hn   caˤn
    and 3PL   go   3PL   walk
    Then they went, they went.

39. hn   xa   ǃʔũu lam   ǁx'ee xauke-a   i
    3PL   PST   go   NEG.PST tell   mothers-DAT DAT
    They went, and didn't tell their mothers.

40. a   hn   neti ka-ǃʔũu-a
    and 3PL   only REP-go-PFV
    And they just went.

41. hn   caˤn hn   ǁx'ee laaxe-Ѳũ   ǂʔĩi
    3PL   walk 3PL   tell   sister-DIM young
    They went and they told their younger sister (who stayed behind).

42. hn   ǁhaa ǃhao ǃhoe
    3PL   first burn black
    They first burned black strips in the grass.

43. hn   kx'u   ǃhoe   hn   kx'u   ǃhoe   hn   kx'u   ǃhoe
    3PL   make   black 3PL   make   black 3PL   make   black
    They made black strips, they made black strips, they made black strips.

44. a   hn   ku   ŋ   laaxe-Ѳũ
    and 3PL   say   LK   sister-DIM
    They told their younger sister,

45. gǀa   ŋǀii ki   a
    2SG   see   place this
    "Will you look here?"

46. a   si   elke   more   a   khuǀʔŋ
    2SG   IRR   every morning 2SG   get.up
    "You will every morning wake up,

47. ŋǀa   lʔaa ŋǀaa
    then go   see
    and go see."

48. a   ǃʔũu a   ŋǀaa ǂhaosi   [alternative: ǂhaˤosi]
    2SG   go   2SG   see   dew
    "You go, you see dew."

49. a   ǃũu ŋǀaa ǃhoe   hu   ǂʔuna ŋ   ǂhaosi
    2SG   if   see   garden just full   LK   dew
    "If you see the garden full of dew,

50. u   si   ǁhae   kee   si   si   !au-a   ŋǀaa
     2PL   IRR   know   it.is 1PL   IRR   live   stay
     you will know that we are still alive."

51. u   si   ŋǀaa   ǂhaosi
     2SG   IRR   see   dew
     "You will see the dew,

52. hu   ǀunia   hu   ǀoa
     just   disappear just   dry
     has disappeared, has dried."

53. u   si   ǁhae   kee   he   si   lu   !aua
     2PL   IRR   know   it.is REL   1PL   NEG   live
     "You will know that we are not alive."

54. a   ŋǂhau-ke   lʔŋ   ǁhaa   si
     and   dungbeetle-PL   go.out   kill   1PL
     "And the dungbeetles have gone and killed us."

55. lʔŋ   lãʔã   si   si   lʔae   lãʔã   ŋǂhau-ke
     go.out   look.for 1PL   IRR   go   look.for dungbeetle-PL
     "We will go and look for the dungbeetles,

56. ŋǀa   si   hoo   i   ǀaaxe
     so.that   IRR   find   1PL   sister
     so that we find our sister."

57. a   hn   lʔana hn   caˤn   hn   caˤn   hn   caˤn
     and   3PL   go   3PL   walk   3PL   walk   3PL   walk
     Then they walked and walked and walked and walked.

58. die   derde dag   lʔŋ   caˤn   !ai-ǁhoo
     the   third day   go.out walk   on.top-put
     The third day, they went out, walked and came upon

59. ŋ   ŋǂhau-ke-ʘone
     LK   dungbeetle-PL-DIM.PL
     the little dungbeetles.

60. ka-!qora   ŋ   lʔũu   na   !qora   na   !qora   ŋ   lʔũu
     REP-play   LK   dune   and   play   and   play   LK   dune
     (They) played on the dune, and played and played on the dune,

61. na   !qora ŋ   lʔũu
     and   play   LK   dune
     and played on the dune.

62. loeke   ŋǀa   ǁhau   saa
     children then   run   come
     Then the children came running.

63. kın   ke   ŋǀaa   kike   gǀoe   ŋǀaa
     3PL   DECL   see   3PL   again see
     They saw them, again saw the two.

64. ǃʔuu-ko   ke   ŋ   gǀi   laaxe   si   ʘoaxu-ke
    two-PL DECL LK   1PL   sister   POSS   daughter-PL
    "The two are our sister's daughters."

65. hee   oompie-ke oompie-ke oompie-ke oompie-ke kee
    hey   uncle-PL   uncle-PL   uncle-PL   uncle-PL   it.is
    "Hey uncles, uncles, uncles, it is uncles,"

66. ŋ̥ǂhau-ʘũ   gǀoe   ka   oompie-ʘone
    dungbeetle-DIM again   say   uncle-DIM.PL
    The dungbeetle child also said "our little uncles".

67. kɪn-a   ǀii   ǃʔãu ŋǀa   buxu
    3PL-DECL   take sand and   boegoe
    They took sand and boegoe,

68. die   dom   buxu   ǀi   ãa   ŋ̥ǂhau-ke-a   i
    the   dumb   boegoe take give   dungbeetle-PL-DAT   DAT
    the dumb boegoe. They took it and gave it to the dungbeetles.

69. hn   ǀii   slim   buxu   hn   ǀʔee   ãa
    3PL   take clever   boegoe 3PL   put.in   give
    They took the clever boegoe and gave it

70. hn   laaxe   si   ʘoaxe(-a)   i
    3PL   sister   POSS   daughter(-DAT) DAT
    to their sister's daughter.

71. hn   ãa   hn   laaxe   si   ʘoaxe(-a)   i
    3PL   give 3PL   sister   POSS   daughter(-DAT)   DAT
    They gave it to their sister's daughter.

72. kɪn   ãa   hn-a   ǀʔaike
    3PL   give 3PL-DAT   boegoe
    They gave them boegoe

73. he   si   neti oopmaak-a   ku   verstand
    REL   IRR   only open-PFV   3SG   understanding
    which will just open her understanding judgement.

74. kɪn   ǀii   ǀʔaike   hn   ke   kx'u
    3PL   take boegoe 3PL   DECL   do
    They took the dagga. They did

75. ŋǀa   hn   ǀhaa ka   ŋ̥ǂhau-ke-ʘone
    so.that 3PL   kill   PL   dungbeetle-PL-DIM.PL
    so that they killed the dungbeetle children.

76. kɪn   ãa   ka-ŋ̥ǂhau-ke-a   i
    3PL   give PL-dungbeetle-PL-DAT   DAT
    They gave it to the dungbeetles.

77. ǃãu   ǃãu   hn   xauke
    wait   wait   3PL   mothers
    They were waiting for their mothers. (the dungbeetle children)

78.   ŋǀa   hn   ǂqhii   see
      so.that   3PL   quickly   come
      so that they come quickly

79.   ŋǀa   hn   xuu   kamaku hn   ǀʔŋ   kx'u   ǂauǀa
      so.that   3PL   come.from veld   3PL go.out   do   melon.seeds
      so that they come from the veld. They went to gather melon seeds.

80.   hn   ǀʔaa kamaku hn   kx'u   ǂauǀa
      3PL   go   veld   3PL do   melon.seeds
      They went to the veld. They gather melon seeds.

81.   ŋǀa   kɪn-a   saa
      then 3PL-DECL   come
      Then they (their parents) came.

82.   hn   ǀʔaa gǀoe ǃai
      3PL   go   again run
      They went again and ran.

83.   hn   ǀx'ee hn   xauke-a   i
      3PL   tell 3PL mothers-DAT DAT
      They told their mothers.

84.   hn   kama   ka   hn   ǂhoa
      3PL   apparently want 3PL   speak
      They (the children) wanted to speak.

85.   ŋǀai hn   gǃuru hn   gǃuru hn   gǃuru
      then 3PL   groan 3PL   groan 3PL   groan
      Then they groaned and groaned and groaned.

86.   hn   gǃuru la   ou   hans padmaker se   ⊙uu
      3PL   groan like old   Hans Padmaker POSS   son
      They groaned like old Hans Padmaker's son.

87.   hn   gǃuru hn   gǃuru hn   gǃuru ŋǀa   ǀhuike
      3PL   groan 3PL   groan 3PL   groan and   be.quiet
      They groaned and groaned and groaned and were quiet.

88.   ǀoeke   ke   ŋǀaa ke   ŋǀaa
      children   DECL stay DECL stay
      The children stayed and stayed.

89.   ǀoeke hn   kx'aa
      children 3PL cry
      The children cried.

90.   hee ǀoeke   ke   ⊙ʔui-ʔii ǀoeke   ke   ⊙ʔui-ʔii ǀoeke   ⊙ʔui-ʔii
      hey children DECL sick-STAT children DECL sick-STAT children   sick-STAT
      "Hey, the children are sick, the children are sick, the children are sick."

91.   i   si   ǃq'oeke
      1PL   IRR   trance.dance
      "Let us (dungbeetle men) trance dance,

92. ŋǀa i kaǀhii hŋke
    so.that 1PL heal these
    so that we heal them,

93. ŋǀa i ǀii ǀhau guu-ke hŋke
    so.that 1PL take remove thing-PL these
    so that we remove these things,

94. he hn ǂhoaki ǀuni ŋǀa
    REL 3PL speech disappear LK
    that took away their speech."

95. !q'oeke die derde dag
    trance.dance the third day
    They trance danced the third day.

96. ŋǀa hn xaoke hn !q'oeke
    then 3PL assemble 3PL trance.dance
    Then they assembled, and they trance danced.

97. hn !q'oeke hn ǀqhõˤo hn ǀqhõˤo hn ǀqhõˤo hn ǀqhõˤo
    3PL trance.dance 3PL dance 3PL dance 3PL dance 3PL dance
    They trance danced, and danced and danced and danced and danced.

98. terwyl hn !ʔana na ǀqhõˤo ŋǀa
    while 3PL stand and dance LK
    While they were dancing,

99. ǀuiǀuiǂorobe ǀuiǀuiǂorobe ŋǀai kx'u ŋǀhu
    ǀuiǀuiǂorobe ǀuiǀuiǂorobe then make cold
    ǀuiǀuiǂorobe then made a storm.
    (name given by dungbeetles to the stolen Springbok girl)

100. ŋǀãi kx'u ǂqhoe
     then do wind
     Then she made wind. (so that she can escape)

101. ǀʔee ǀʔai ke ŋ ǀʔii
     put.in go ?? LK fire
     She put things into the fire.

102. ha kx'u ǂqhoe
     3SG make wind
     She made wind.

103. ŋǀa kın ǀhau ǀʔae ŋǀŋ kın ǀʔae kın ⊙un
     so.that 3PL run go home 3PL go 3PL sleep
     So that they (dungbeetles) could run home and sleep.
     (Once the dungbeetles start singing and dancing they never stop.)

104. kın ŋǀai ǀhau ǀʔae ŋǀai kın ǀʔae kın ⊙un
     3PL then run go houses 3PL go 3PL sleep
     They then ran away to their houses. They went. They slept.

105. nou ǀuiǀuiǂorobe ǀʔaa gloe ŋǃhui   ǀʔaa ŋǀŋ
     now ǀuiǀuiǂorobe go   again flee   go   home
     Now ǀuiǀuiǂorobe again fled and went home.

106. a   kɪn-a   xa   ãa   ku-a   i
     and 3PL-DECL   PST give 3SG-DAT DAT
     They gave her

107. ku   kalĩi   he   ŋ   ǀuiǀuiǂorobe
     3SG   name   REL LK   ǀuiǀuiǂorobe
     her name which was ǀuiǀuiǂorobe.

108. ǀuiǀuiǂorobe ǀʔaa ha   ǀʔaa cĩi
     ǀuiǀuiǂorobe go   3SG go   lie
     ǀuiǀuiǂorobe went. She went to lie down.

109. kɪn   ke   ǀʔana   kike kɪn ǀʔaa kɪn cĩi
     3PL   DECL   go   3PL   3PL go   3PL lie.down
     There they went. They went and they lay down.

110. kɪn   ŋǀa   kheeʔuu   kɪn-a   ǃai ǀʔaa
     3PL   then return   3PL-DECL   run go
     Then they returned. They (the dungbeetles) ran away.

111. ku   ǀʔaa ʘun ŋ   kea xoe ku   ǀʔũi   ʘun
     3SG go   sleep LK   that place 3SG alone   sleep
     She went to sleep in that place. She slept alone.
     (The dungbeetle man sleeps alone.)

112. ǀii   ku   ǀaa   ǀhau   ku   ŋǀucu
     take 3SG   cut   remove 3SG   nose
     They caught him (the dungbeetle husband) and cut off his nose.

113. a   ku   ŋǀucu   xe   ǀʔãa
     and 3SG   nose   PST   long
     And his nose was long.

114. nǂhau   se   ŋǀucu   xe   ǀʔãa
     dungbeetle POSS   nose   PST   long
     The dungbeetle's nose was long.

115. ha   ŋǀaa   ha   ŋǀucu   xeŋ   ku   renoster   ŋǀucu
     3SG   see   3SG nose   PST   look.like rhino   nose
     He saw his nose looked like an rhino's nose.

116. kɪn   la   ǀhau   kea   ǀqhoesi
     3PL   cut   remove that horn
     They cut off that horn.

117. la   ǀhau   kea   ǀqhoesi
     cut   remove that horn
     They cut off that horn.

118. a   kɪn   ǃʔũu kɪn caˤn
     and 3PL   go   3PL walk
     And they went and walked.

119. kɪn   caˤn   ŋla   kɪn   ǁaaxe
     3PL   walk   with 3PL   sister
     They walked with their sister,

120. ŋla   loβa   ŋla   ha   xaŋki
     with   child   with 3SG   mother
     and the child with her mother.

121. kɪn   ǃhau-a   kɪn   ǀʔana   kɪn   caˤn-a
     3PL   carry-PFV 3PL   go   3PL   walk-PFV
     They carried, they went, they walked.

122. daardie ǃhaeka   kɪn   gǀoe   verslaap
     that   morning 3PL   again sleep.in
     That morning they slept in.

123. ŋǂhau-ke   gǀoe   verslaap-a
     dungbeetle-PL   again sleep.in-PFV
     The dungbeetles again slept in.

124. hn   ʘun   hn   ʘun   hn   ʘun   hn   ʘun   hn   ʘun
     3PL   sleep 3PL   sleep 3PL   sleep 3PL   sleep 3PL   sleep
     They slept and slept and slept and slept and slept.

125. ŋlai   ʘun-ca   hn   ke   ŋǀhoo   ŋ   tien   uur
     then   sleep-lie.PFV 3PL   DECL   get.up LK   ten   hour
     And they slept, and they got up at 10:00.

126. hee   jisi   xae   i   soo   ŋ   ʘun-a   ŋla
     hey   what   Q   1PL so   LK   sleep-PFV   LK
     "Hey, why do we sleep like that?" (dungbeetle women)

127. ǀʔaa   u   ǀʔaa   u   ŋlaa
     go   2PL   go   2PL   see
     "You go, you go see."

128. ǀuiǀuiǂorobe   si   ǀʔi   ke   ǀqhaa   ǃhao
     ǀuiǀuiǂorobe   POSS   fire DECL   first   burn
     ǀuiǀuiǂorobe's fire burns first.

129. jisi   xae   ǀuiǀuiǂorobe   gǀoe   ŋ   ʘun-a   ŋla
     what   Q   ǀuiǀuiǂorobe   again MANN   sleep-PFV   LK
     "Why is ǀuiǀuiǂorobe again sleeping?"

130. ǀʔana   kike   loβa ǀʔaa   ǃai-a   ha   ǀʔaa   ŋlaa
     go   3PL   child go   run-PFV   3SG   go   look
     There they go. The child (dungbeetle) went and ran and he went and saw.

131. ǀʔaa   ŋlai   ǀʔee   ŋǀŋ   lãʔẽ   ha   ŋlaa
     go   then   go.in house   in   3SG   see
     He then went in the house and he saw.

132. ǂoqeǂoqe   ǃai-caa
     ǂoqeǂoqe   on.top-lie
     ǂoqeǂoqe lay on top.

(She has two children, one is a boy who looks like his dungbeetle father. The other is a girl who looks like her Springbok mother. The son lies on top of the father.)

133. ha   aŋki   ha   ts'i-cii   kahabonsi
     3SG   father   3SG   bite-lie   foam
     His father has foam coming out of his mouth.

134. ke   xa   ǃʔana   ha   ǃʔai
     DECL   PST   stand   3SG   call
     He stood calling.

135. tintinkie   ǃʔana   ǃʔai   kike
     bird   stand   call   3PL
     Tintinkie stood calling them,
     (The Tintinkie is calling the dungbeetles, he is working for them.)

136. ǃʔai   hn   ǃʔai   ǃʔai   hee
     call   3PL   call   call   hee
     calling, calling, calling "hee".

137. ǂoqeǂoqe   ke   lu   ŋ   kaa
     ǂoqeǂoqe   DECL   NEG   MANN   speak
     ǂoqeǂoqe does not speak that way.
     (The dungbeetles are speaking.)

138. u   lʔaa   u   lʔaa   ŋlaa
     2PL   go   2PL   go   see
     "You go, you go see."

139. ǃu   gloe   ǃai   ha   lʔaa   ŋlaa
     one   again   run   3SG   go   see
     One ran again and he went and saw.

140. ha   ŋla   lʔaa   gloe
     3SG   then   go   again
     He went again.

141. ha   gloe   ŋ   ku
     3SG   again   MANN   say
     He again said like that,

142. ǂoqeǂoqe   ke   lʔii-ki-ca
     ǂoqeǂoqe   DECL   go.in-??-lie
     "ǂoqeǂoqe lies underneath."

143. ha   ts'i-cii   kahabonsi
     3SG   bite-lie   foam
     He was foaming in the mouth.

144. ha   Ѳũu   a   ǃai-ki-caa
     3SG   son   this   on.top-??-lie
     His son lies on top.

145. ha   lʔaa   ǃai-caa   ha   aŋki
     3SG   die   on.top-lie   3SG   father
     He dies on top of his father.

146. kɪn   ke   ŋǀai   khuǀʔŋ
     3PL   DECL   then   get.up
     Then they (dungbeetles) stood up.

147. ŋǀai   ǀãʔã   ǃan
     then   look.for road
     Then they looked for the tracks.

148. kɪn   ǀãʔã   kɪn   ǃqãike
     3PL   look.for 3PL   tracks
     They looked for their tracks.

149. ŋǀaa   kɪn   ǃqãike
     see   3PL   tracks
     They saw these tracks.

150. ǀʔaa   kɪn   ŋǀai   ǀʔana
     go   3PL   then   go
     They went, then they went.

151. kɪn   ŋǀaa   kɪn   ǃqãike   nǀona
     3PL   see   3PL   tracks   three
     They saw their three tracks.

152. kɪn   ke   ǀu   xa   ǃʔuu   a   hn   nǀona
     3PL   DECL   NEG   PST   two   and   3PL   three
     They were not two, they were three.

153. kɪn   ǀhun   kɪn   ǃqane   kɪn   ǀhun   kɪn   ǃqane
     3PL   track 3PL   tracks   3PL   track 3PL   tracks
     They were tracking their tracks, tracking their tracks.

154. kɪn   ǀhun   kɪn   ǃqane   kɪn   ǀhun   kɪn   ǃqane
     3PL   track 3PL   tracks   3PL   track 3PL   tracks
     They were tracking their tracks, tracking their tracks.

155. ŋǂhau-ke   ǃqãi-a   saa
     dungbeetle-PL   storm-PFV   come
     Many dungbeetles were storming. (The entire group comes.)

156. van   agter   af   na   saa
     from   behind from   and   come
     They come from behind.

157. ŋǂhau-ke   huniki   ka-dzeˤe-a
     dungbeetle-PL   all   REP-fly-PFV
     All the dungbeetles were flying.

158. a   kɪn   hn   ke   ŋǀai   caˤn caˤn caˤn caˤn caˤn caˤn caˤn
     and   3PL   3PL   DECL   then   walk walk walk walk walk walk walk
     And they went and went and went and went and went and went and went.

159. kɪn   ku   ŋ   ǃuri
     3PL   say   LK   ǃuri
     They told the ǃuri,

160. ǃuri, ǃuri-a   a   lq'ãa   a   lãi-a   ŋlaa
      ǃuri   massage-2SG 2SG stomach   and climb-2SG   see
      "ǃuri, massage your stomach and climb up and see."

161. ǃuri   hu   ǃuri-a   ha   lq'ãa   ha   lãi-a   ha   ŋlaa
      ǃuri   just   massage-PFV 3SG stomach   3SG climb-PFV   3SG see
      ǃuri just massaged his stomach and flew and saw.

162. a   ǃuri   hu   lãi   ha   lʔaa   ŋlaa
      and ǃuri   just   climb   3SG go   see
      And ǃuri just climbed, and he went to see.

163. ǃuri   ku   ŋ   kike kɪn   ke   ŋlaa   kike
      ǃuri   say   LK   3PL   3PL   DECL be.LOC 3PL
      ǃuri said to them, "There they are."

164. kɪn   ke   kx'u   lʔãusi
      3PL   DECL make   dust
      They (the dungbeetles) make dust.

165. kɪn   lʔãusi   kɪn   lu   meer   ǃhoo-a
      3PL   dust   3PL   NEG no.more   big-PFV
      Their dust was not big any longer.

166. a   ha   nou   net   ǂʔĩi
      and 3SG now   only   small
      And it was only small now.

167. al nader   saa
      nearer   come
      They came nearer.

168. kɪn   gǀoe caˤn   kɪn   gǀoe caˤn   kɪn   ŋlai   gǀoe caˤn
      3PL   again walk 3PL   again walk 3PL   then   again walk
      Again, they went, went, went.

169. kɪn   gǀoe caˤn   kɪn   gǀoe caˤn   kɪn   gǀoe caˤn
      3PL   again walk 3PL   again walk 3PL   again walk
      Again, they went, went, went.

170. kɪn   ku   ŋ   ǃuri
      3PL   say   LK   ǃuri
      They said to ǃuri,

171. ǃuri-a   a   lq'ãa   a   lãi-a   ŋlaa
      massage-2SG 2SG stomach and   climb-2SG   see
      "Massage your stomach and climb and see."

172. ǃuri   hu   gǀoe lãi   ha   gǀoe   ŋlaa
      ǃuri   just   again climb   3SG again   see
      ǃuri just climbed again, he saw again.

173. kɪn   ŋlai   caˤn   kɪn   ŋlai   caˤn   kɪn   ŋlai   caˤn
      3PL   then   walk 3PL   then   walk 3PL   then   walk
      Then they went, went, went.

174. ǃʔãusi   a   saa   ǃʔãusi   a   saa   ǃʔãusi   a   saa
     dust   this   come   dust   this   come   dust   this   come
     The dust came, the dust came, the dust came.

175. ǃʔãusi   al duideliker   al duideliker   al duideliker
     dust   clearer   clearer   clearer
     The dust became clearer and clearer and clearer.

176. ǃʔãusi   a   saa   ǃʔãusi   a   saa   ǃʔãusi   a   saa
     dust   this   come   dust   this   come   dust   this   come
     The dust came, the dust came, the dust came.

177. ǃuri   gǀoe   ǃuri-a   a   ǀq'ãa   a   ǀãi-a   ŋǀaa
     ǃuri   again   massage-2SG   2SG   stomach and   climb-2SG   see
     "ǃuri, again massage your stomach and climb and see."

178. ǃuri   ŋǀai   ǃuri-a   ha   ǀq'ãa   ha   ǀãi-a   ŋǀaa
     ǃuri   then   massage-PFV   3SG   stomach 3SG   climb-PFV   see
     ǃuri then massaged his stomach, he climbed and saw.

179. ǃũu-ke   neti   ǃʔuu-a
     dune-PL   only   two
     There are only two dunes.

180. kɪn   si   ǃhae   ŋǀaa   i
     3PL   IRR   soon   be.LOC 1PL
     They will soon be on us.

181. a   si   ǂhoa   la   a   ke   xa   ŋ   ǂhoa
     2SG   IRR   speak   like   2SG   DECL   PST   MANN   speak
     "Speak like you used to speak."
     (brother is speaking to ǀuiǀuiǂorobe, asking her to do magic)

182. kɪn   ke   ŋ   ka   ŋ   kɪn   laaxe
     3PL   DECL   LK   say   LK   3PL   sister
     They spoke to their sister like this.

183. kɪn   laaxe   gǀoe   ŋ   ku
     3PL   sister   again   LK   say
     Their sister said like this.

184. ǂqhii   ku   ŋǀai   ǀʔŋ
     tree   3SG   then   go.out
     A tree grew

185. he   ŋǀaa   kuu   kea   ǁhabasi
     REL   head   look.like   that   Korhaan
     whose head looks like that Korhaan. (which has a flat head)

186. ha   ku   ǁhao   hn   ǃai-soo
     3SG   look.like   shelf   3PL   on.top-sit
     It looked like a shelf, they sat

187. ŋ   ǁhao   ǃai-soo
     LK   shelf   on.top-sit
     on the shelf, they sat on top.

188. ku   ǁãu   he   links-a
     3SG   brother   REL   left-PFV
     Her brother who is left-handed,

189. ha   ǀʔũi   soo   ǃqhaa   aha
     3SG   alone   sit   side   this
     he sits alone on this side.

190. a   ǃo   he   regs-a
     and   one   REL   right-PFV
     And the one who was right-handed,

191. ha   ǀʔũi   soo
     3SG   alone   sit
     he sits alone.

192. kın   ǀʔana   kike   kın   ǁhau   see
     3PL   go   3PL   3PL   run   come
     There they went. They came running.

193. kın   ke   saa   ŋǀa   ǃʔoo-ke
     3PL   DECL   come   with   axe-PL
     They came with axes. (referring to the dungbeetles)

194. kın   ŋǀãi   ǁx'oo
     3PL   then   chop
     Then they chopped.

195. ǃʔoo   ŋǀãi   kheʔuu   ha   ǂauke   kheʔuu
     axe   then   return   3SG   hit   return
     The axe then turned around and came back and hit.

196. ha   ǂam   ǃqhãa
     3SG   hit   die
     It beat them to death. (referring to the axe)

197. na   dinges   ŋ̍ǂhau
     and   thing   dungbeetle
     And that thing, the dungbeetle.

198. kın   ŋǀai   ǀʔaa   kın   ŋǀai   ǀʔaa   kın   ŋǀai   ǀʔaa
     3PL   then   die   3PL   then   die   3PL   then   die
     They then died, they then died, they then died.

199. kın   ŋǀai   ǀʔaa   kın   ŋǀai   ǀʔaa
     3PL   then   die   3PL   then   die
     They then died, they then died.

200. ǃo   ku-a   saa
     one   3SG-DECL   come
     The elder (the last dungbeetle) came.

201. ǃo   kın   ǁaa   ǃqhau   kın   ŋǀani
     one   3PL   cut   remove   3PL   heads
     They cut off their heads. (little magic knife cutting off dungbeetles heads)

202. ǀx'oo ǀqhau   kın   ŋǀani   ǀx'oo ǀqhau   kın   ŋǀani
     chop remove 3PL   heads   chop remove   3PL   heads
     They chopped off their heads, they chopped off their heads.

203. ǀx'oo ǀqhau   kın   ŋǀani
     chop remove 3PL   heads
     They chopped off their heads.

204. kın   ke   ǀx'oo-habu   kike
     3PL   DECL   chop-finish   3PL
     They finished chopping them.

205. ǀhaa   huniki   kike
     kill   all   3PL
     They killed all of them.

206. ku   ǁãu   gǀoe   net   ku   a   gǀoe   laat   sak-a
     3SG   brother again   only   say   2SG again   let   lower-PFV
     The brother said "Let lower."

207. gǀoe   laat   sak-a   ǂqhii
     again   let   lower-2SG   tree
     "Again, lower the tree!"

208. a   leeki   gǀoe   a   ǃʔoakera   gǀoe
     and   woman   again   and   young.woman   again
     And the woman again, the young woman again,

209. laat   sak   ǂqhii
     let   lower   tree
     lowered the tree.

210. a   ŋǀa   ku   kacũu-ʔi
     and   then   3SG   asked
     And then she asked,

211. ŋǀŋ   si   ǀhoe   ŋ   kiɟa
     1SG   IRR   get.down   LK   where
     "I will get down where?"

212. ǃaake-a   guu-ke   ǀq'ane
     step-2SG   thing-PL   stomachs
     "Step on the things' stomachs"

213. kın   ŋǀai   ǃaaka   kın   ǀq'ane
     3PL   then   step   3PL   stomachs
     They then stepped on their stomachs.

214. kın   ǀhoe   kın   ǀhoe
     3PL   get.down   3PL   get.down
     They got down, they got down. (They are getting down from the tree.)

215. kın   xaoke   kın   nou   ǃʔũu
     3PL   assemble   3PL   now   go
     They assembled and they now went.

216. ǂqhoeke   ts'uu-a
     wind   blow-PFV
     The wind has blown.

217. voeltjie   gefluit.
     Small.bird   whistle
     The small bird whistled.

218. uit is die storie
     out is the story
     The story is over.

C. Hyena and Jackal

gǃãi ŋǀa koro

As told by Anna KASSIE.

1.   gǃãi   ŋǀa   koro   koro   ku   ŋ   gǃãi
     hyena   and   jackal jackal say   LK   hyena
     Hyena and Jackal. Jackal said to Hyena,

2.   oom   piet   c-a   si   kx'u   ŋǀa   i   lʔae
     Uncle   Piet   1PL-DECL   IRR   do   so.that 1PL   go
     "Uncle Piet, we should go,

3.   la   ca   ǃhaˤm   lʔu   kea   vis
     take   lie   grab   quickly that fish
     take (a fishing line) to grab quickly that fish

4.   ŋ   ǃhũki   ki   a
     LK   tonight place   this
     tonight here."

5.   kije   klaas   sii-a   sii-a
     where   Klaas   come-2SG   come-2SG
     "Where Klaas? Come, come!"

6.   ŋ   si   lʔŋ   kajama   a   i
     1SG   IRR   go.out   show   2SG.DAT   DAT
     "I will go and show you."

7.   kɪn   lʔana   kike
     3PL   go   3PL
     There they go.

8.   kɪn   ke   lʔaa   ku   kajama   klaas-a   i
     3PL   DECL go   3SG   show   Klaas-DAT   DAT
     They went, and he showed to Klaas.

9.   dinges-a   i   gǃãi-a   i
     thing-DAT   DAT   hyena-DAT   DAT
     To the thing, to the Hyena.

10. ŋǀaa   ki   a   a   si   ǀʔee   a   ǃhai   ŋ   ǃqhaa   a
     see   place   this   2SG   IRR   put.in   2SG   tail   LK   water   this
     "See here. You will put your tail in this water."

11. ŋ   si   gǀoe   ǀʔee   ŋ   ǃhai   ŋ   ǃqhaa
     1SG   IRR   also   put.in 1SG   tail   LK   water
     "I will also put my tail in the water."

12. kea   xae   a   ii   ŋ   vange   kike   ŋǀa   ja
     that Q   2SG   usually   MANN   catch   3PL   LK   yes
     "Is that how you usually catch them? Yes!"

13. kea   kee   ŋ   ii   ŋ   ǀii   kike   ŋǀa
     that it.is 1SG   usually   MANN   take   3PL   LK
     "That is how I usually catch them."

14. ku   ŋǀai   ǀʔee   ku   ǀʔee   ku   ǃhai   ŋ   ǃqhaa
     3SG   then   go   3SG   put.in   3SG   tail   LK   water
     He then went and put his tail in the water.

15. koro   ǃai-cĩĩ   ha   ǃhai   ŋ   ǃqhaa   ǀhaa
     jackal   on.top-lie   3SG   tail   LK   water   next
     Jackal sat on his tail in the nearby water.

16. nou   weet   ek   nie   laat   die
     now   know   1SG   NEG   let   the
     I wonder how

17. ou   dan   so   maklik   aan
     guy   then   so   easily   to
     this damn guy so easily

18. die   slaap   geraak   het   nie
     the   sleep   become   PST   NEG
     fell asleep.

19. ǃʔãi   ke   ☉un   ǃʔãi   ŋǀa   ǃhoo
     elder DECL   sleep elder   then   woke.up
     The elder went to sleep and then woke up.

20. klaas   klaas   n-a   ǀii-a   vis   ǃʔãi
     Klaas   Klaas   1SG-DECL   catch-PFV   fish   big
     "Klaas, Klaas, I caught a big fish.

21. baber   ke   ŋ   xa   ǀii-a
     barber   it.is 1SG   PST   take-PFV
     It is a barber I caught."

22. haa   baber   ke   ŋ   ǀii-a
     pardon   barber   it.is 1SG   take-PFV
     "Pardon?" "It is a barber that I caught."

23. chin-a   chin-a   chin-a   om   piet
     feel-2SG   feel-2SG   feel-2SG   Uncle   Piet
     "Feel it, feel it, feel it, Uncle Piet."

24. ǃʔãi   ku-a   chin
    elder 3SG-DECL   feel
    The elder felt.

25. n-a   ŋ   ku-a   ŋ   gǀa   ŋ   ǀii-a   baber
    1SG-DECL   MANN   say-PFV   LK   2SG   1SG take-PFV   barber
    "I told you I caught a barber."

26. (ku) ke   ǀu   darem   maar uitkry   kea   ǃhai
    3SG   DECL   NEG   at.least but   get.out that tail
    But he could not get out that tail.

27. (ku) ŋǀai   ǃai -ǀʔee ǀhũu ǀʔaa ku   ŋ   ǀhũu
    3SG   then   run-go   boer   go   say LK   boer
    He then ran to the boer and told the boer,

28. boer boer boer boer see-ʔuu   ŋǀaa klaas
    boer boer boer boer come-up   see   Klaas
    "Boer, Boer, Boer, Boer, come see Klaas."

29. ka-ǀhũu   boer boer see-ʔuu   ŋǀaa oom   piet
    PL-boer   boer boer come-up   see   Uncle   Piet
    "Boers, Boer, Boer, come see Uncle Piet."

30. oom   piet ke   mors   ŋ   gǀu   ǃqhaa
    Uncle   Piet DECL   spoil   LK   2PL   water
    "Uncle Piet is spoiling your water,

31. in julle se drink water
    in your drinking water

32. ki-a   mors ŋ   gǀu   ǃqhaa
    3SG.NH-DECL   spoil LK   2PL   water
    it is spoiling your water."

33. ǀhũu ŋǀai ǀii   hn   see   ǂam-ǃqhãa
    boer then take 3PL   come   hit-kill
    The boers then took him, then came and hit him hard.

34. vir   dinges   gǀãi
    for   thing   hyena
    For the thing, hyena.

35. ǂama   gǀãi   ǂama   gǀãi   ǂama   ǂama   ǂama
    hit   hyena   hit   hyena   hit   hit   hit
    Hit the hyena, hit the hyena, hit, hit, hit.

36. ku   ǀʔana ku   ku   ǃhui-a   ku   ke   ǃhui-a
    3SG   go   3SG   3SG   flee-PFV   3SG   DECL   flee-PFV
    He went. He fled, he fled.

37. kın   ŋǀai klaar   ǂama   gǀãi   kın   xuu   gǀãi
    3PL   then   finish   hit   hyena   3PL   leave   hyena
    They then finished hitting hyena. They left Hyena.

38. gǀãi   ŋǀa ǃon   ǀʔũu ha   ǀii
    hyena   then when   go   3SG   take
    Hyena then went and followed,

39. ha   ǂoeke   ǀhuna   ku   !qãi
     3SG   limp   follow   3SG   tracks
     he limped and followed his tracks.

40. ha   ǀʔana   ha   ǀʔana   ha   ǀʔana   ha   ǀʔana   ha   ǀʔana
     3SG   go   3SG   go   3SG   go   3SG   go   3SG   go
     He went, and he went, and he went, and he went, and he went

41. ŋǀa   ku   (!qãi)
     with   3SG   tracks
     with his tracks.

42. ǀʔana   ŋǀa   ku   !qãi   ǀʔana   ŋǀa   ku   !qãi
     go   with   3SG   tracks go   with   3SG   tracks
     He went with his tracks, went with his tracks,

43. ǀʔana   ŋǀa   ku   !qãi   ǀʔana   ŋǀa   ku   !qãi
     go   with   3SG   tracks go   with   3SG   tracks
     went with his tracks, and went with his tracks.

44. ŋǀa   hoo   ku   ǀhan   ǀʔaa
     then   find   3SG   hold   go
     He found him holding a rock up.

45. !ao   ha   ǀii   ǀhan   ǀʔaa   !oo-a   !ao
     rock   3SG   take   hold   go   firm-PFV   rock
     He held a rock up firmly.

46. Hmm   ku   ŋǀa   ku   hoo   ku-a   soo   ku   !hau
     no   3SG   then   3SG   find   3SG-DECL   sit   3SG   fry
     He then found him sitting and frying

47. ǀhaoke   ka-!hai-ke   !hai-ke
     lambs   PL-tail-PL   tail-PL
     lamb tails, tails.

48. ku   ŋǀai   net   so   xuu   ka-!hai-ke   ku   caˤn
     3SG   then   only   like.that   leave   PL-tail-PL   3SG   walk
     He just left the tails like that and left.

49. ku   klaar   gǀuu-a   gǀãi   i
     3SG   finish   lie-APPL   hyena   DAT
     He lied to Hyena.

50. gǀãi   ǂom   ku
     hyena   believe   3SG
     Hyena believed him

51. a   ku   khuǀʔŋ   ǀʔũu   ku   ǀʔõasi   ǀuni
     and   3SG   get.up   go   3SG   continue   disappear
     and he got up and went. He went never to return.

52. a   gǀãi   sui   ha   cumʔa   ǀʔãu   ǀʔãu   ǀʔãu   ǀʔãu   ǀʔãu
     and   hyena   sit   3SG   listen   wait   wait   wait   wait   wait
     And Hyena sat and listened and waited, waited, waited, waited, waited.

53. ha   ŋǁii ku   ɬu   saa
    3SG   see   3SG   NEG   come
    He saw he didn't come back.

54. ha   ǃʔũu ku   ǁii   ku   ǃqãi
    3SG   go   3SG   take 3SG   tracks
    He went and he followed his tracks,

55. ǁii   ku   ǃqãi ǁii   ku   ǃqãi
    take 3SG   tracks take 3SG   tracks
    followed his tracks, followed his tracks.

56. a   hoo   ku   caa   ǃʔana ŋ   ǃao
    and   find 3SG   lie   stand LK   rock
    And he found him standing under a rock.

57. ku   ǀʔaa ku   ǁi-ǃo-a
    3SG   go   3SG   take-firm-PFV
    He went, and he took it firmly.

58. a   si   net   soo   a   si   net   so
    2SG   IRR   only so   2SG   IRR   only so
    "You will only, you will only

59. ǁii   ki
    take 3SG.NH
    take it like this."

60. ŋ   ǀʔŋ   ǁii   ☉oo-ke he   ki   mik-si
    1SG   go.out take stick-PL REL   have fork-SG
    "I will go out and take sticks that have a fork."

61. i   si   ǁii   ǁqan ki
    1PL   IRR   take firm 3SG.NH
    "We will hold it firmly."

62. ku   ŋǀai ǀʔõasi   caˤn
    3SG   then continue   walk
    Then he went without stopping.

63. ku   ŋǀai ǀʔana ku
    3SG   then go   3SG
    There he went.

64. gǀãi ǃʔana ŋǀa   ǃao
    hyena stand with rock
    Hyena stood with the rock.

65. gǀãi ǃʔana ŋǀa   ǃao
    hyena stand with rock
    Hyena stood with the rock.

66. u   ŋǀheʔao see   ha   saa
    ??   baboon   come 3SG   come
    The baboon came,

67. ǁi-ǃqhau   ha   ŋ   coxe
     take-remove   3SG   LK   there
     and removed him from there.

68. ha   ku   n-a   gǀunuka   elke   dag   ǃqora-cĩi
     3SG   say   1SG-DECL   PST.HAB   every   day   play-lie
     He said, "I used to play around (here) everyday

69. ǃai-cĩi   ǃao-ke   hŋke
     on.top-lie   rock-PL these
     on these rocks."

70. hn   lã   ǂqau-cĩi
     3PL   NEG   fall-lie
     "They don't fall."

71. cui   xae   kın   si   vandag   ǂqau-cĩi   ŋla
     what   Q   3PL   IRR   today   fall-lie   LK
     "Why should they fall today?"

72. ha   kheeʔuu-a
     3SG   return-PFV
     He (the baboon) returned.

73. ǀʔana   ha   ǁhun
     go   3SG   track
     There he went. He tracked him.

74. ku   ǃqãi   ha   lee-ʔuu   ǃqãi   ha   lee-ʔuu   ǃqãi
     3SG   tracks   3SG   take-up   tracks   3SG   take-up   tracks
     He followed his tracks, he followed his tracks,

75. ha   lee-ʔuu   ǃqãi
     3SG   take-up   tracks
     he followed his tracks.

76. ha   ǀʔaa   hoo   ku   caa   ku   soo   gǀiisi
     3SG   go   find   3SG   lie   3SG   sit   anthill
     He went and found him sitting next to the anthill.

77. ha   soo   kacumʔii   kama   ǃq'o-ke
     3SG   sit   listen   not.really   bee-PL
     He (Jackal) sat pretending to listen to the bees.

78. ǁii   ǁqhau   hoedsi
     take   remove   hat
     He (Jackal) took off his hat.

79. a   lu   si   ku   a   ǂhoa   ŋla   ŋ
     2SG   NEG IRR   say   2SG   speak   with   1SG
     "You shouldn't speak to me."

80. ǂi   ǂhoa   ŋla   ŋ   ǂi   ǂhoa   ŋla   ŋ
     NEG speak   with   1SG   NEG speak   with   1SG
     "Don't speak to me! Don't speak to me!"

81. a   ŋǀŋ╪e   ke   bid   ŋ   ki   aha
    and   people   DECL pray   LK   place   this
    "The people are praying here."

82. ╪qaoke-a   a   ts'axam
    close-2SG 2SG   eye
    "Close your eye."

83. waar   die   mense   al   gesê het
    where   the   people   already   told PST
    Where the people told

84. die   ander   een   sy   oë   toe
    the   other   one   his   eyes   closed
    the other one that he has to close his eyes

85. maak   en   nox   hard   praat
    make   and   still   loud   speak
    and not speak loud.

86. ǃʔãi   ke   ha   gǀoe   sũi   ha   ☉un
    elder   DECL   3SG   again   sit   3SG   sleep
    The elder one sat again and he slept.

87. a   ǃqabe   sũi
    then   sleep   sit
    Then he sat sleeping.

88. ha   ŋǀai   ǀʔaa-soo   coxe
    3SG   then   die-sit   there
    He sat there dead still. (having been tricked into listening to a church service)

89. ku   khuǀʔŋ   ku   ǃʔũu   ǀʔana   ku
    3SG   get.up   3SG   go   go   3SG
    He stood up. He went. There he went.

90. ku   ŋǀai   ☉un-soo   ku   ŋǀa   nox   gǀoe   soo
    3SG   then   sleep-sit   3SG   then   still   again sit
    He was sitting, sleeping. He was still sitting.

91. ku   kacumʔii   kua   soo   cumʔii
    3SG   listen   3SG   sit   listen
    He was listening. He was listening.

92. ǀhuǃausi   saa   ku   khuǀʔŋ-a
    honey.badger   come   say   get.up-2SG
    Honey Badger came and said, "Get up!"

93. klaas   cui   xae   a   ǀʔãʔĩ   ki   a
    klaas   what   Q   2SG look.for   place   this
    "Klaas, what are you looking for here?"

94. khuǀʔŋ-a   khuǀʔŋ-a   ŋ   ki   aha
    get.up-2SG   get.up-2SG   LK   place   this
    "Get up, get up here."

95. gǀãi   oom   piet
     Hyena   uncle   Piet
     "Hyena, uncle Piet."

96. cui   xae   a   soo   kx'uu   ŋ   ki   a
     what Q   2SG   sit   do   LK   place   this
     "What are you doing here now?"

97. khulʔŋ-a   khulʔŋ-a
     get.up-2SG   get.up-2SG
     "Get up! Get up!"

98. a   ŋ   ʔãi   guu   hŋke
     and   1SG   eat   things   these
     "I eat these things." (Honey Badger speaking)

99. voeltjie   het   gefluit   uit   is   die   storie
     small.bird   PST   whistled   out   is   the   story
     The small bird has whistled. The story is out.

D. The Jackal, his Wife, his Daughter and his Mother

koro ŋǀa ha ǀeki ŋǀa ha ⊙oaxe ŋǀa ha xaŋki

As told by Griet SEEKOEI.

1. ŋǀa   koroo   koro   ŋǀa   ha   ǀeeki
    and   jackal   jackal   and   3SG   woman
    And Jackal, Jackal and his wife

2. ŋǀa   ha   ⊙oaxe   ŋǀa   ha   xaŋki
    and   3SG   daughter   and   3SG   mother
    and his daughter and his mother

3. kɪn   ŋǀaa   ŋǀaa   kɪn-a   ǀhoa
    3PL   stay   stay   3PL-DECL   stay
    they stayed for a long time.

4. a   koro   ǀʔaa   ǀx'õa   ǀx'õa   ǀx'õa   ǀx'õa   ǀx'õa   ǀx'õa
    and   jackal   go   hunt   hunt   hunt   hunt   hunt   hunt
    And Jackal hunted and hunted and hunted.

5. ha   ǀu   hoo   gao   a   koro   a   saa
    3SG   NEG   find   thing   and   jackal   this   come
    He couldn't find anything, and this Jackal came

6. sa   ǀx'ee   ha   xaŋki-a
    came   tell   3SG   mother-DAT
    came and told his mother,

7. maa   n-a   ǀu   hoo   gao   ŋǀŋ   si   je   kx'u
    mom   1SG-DECL   NEG   find   thing   1SG   IRR   what do
    "Mom, I couldn't find anything. What should I do?"

8. haa   a   gǁoe !haeka   lʔaa ǀx'õa
    haa   2SG   again tomorrow go   hunt
    "Haa! You should go hunting again tomorrow."

9. a   ku-a   maar gǁoe   caˤn ku   lʔaa ku   ǀx'õa
    and   3SG-DECL   but again   walk 3SG   go   3SG   hunt
    And he went again, he went hunting.

10. lʔaa lʔaa ku   ǀx'õa lʔaa ku   ǀx'õa lʔaa ku   ǀx'õa
    go   go   3SG   hunt go   3SG   hunt go   3SG   hunt
    He went hunting, hunting, hunting.

11. hee   n-a   ǀu   hoo gao
    hee   1SG-DECL   NEG   find thing
    "Hee, I didn't find anything."

12. ku-a   saa   ku   saa   ku   ku   hee n-a   ǀu   hoo gao
    3SG-DECL come   3SG   come 3SG   say   hee 1SG-DECL   NEG   find thing
    He came, he came, he said, "I didn't find anything."

13. ŋǀŋ   si   xabi ɟe   kx'uu
    1SG   IRR   but what do
    "What must I do now?"

14. n-a   kx'uu ŋ   ǁhaa ǀeeki a
    1SG-DECL   do   1SG   kill woman this
    "I will kill this woman."

15. ku-a   !qhũi-a
    3SG-DECL   fat-PFV
    "She is fat."

16. eeee kx'am kee   a   si   ǁhaa ku   a   si   ǁhaa ku
    eeee truth it-is 2SG IRR   kill 3SG   2SG IRR   kill 3SG
    "Eeee, that's true, you will kill her, you will kill her."

17. a   ku-a   kx'am !qhũi-a
    and   3SG-DECL   truly fat-PFV
    "She is truly fat."

18. loβa a   ke   cumʔii loβa ke   cumʔii
    child this DECL   listen child DECL   listen
    The child listens, the child listens.

19. ander   dag   !haeka   ǀii   ǀeeki
    other   day   morning take woman
    The next day, he took the woman.

20. ǀqhai-cĩ   ǂoa   ǀqhai-cĩ   ǂoa
    spread-lie skin.mat   spread-lie skin.mat
    (He) spread out the skin mat, spread out the skin mat.

21. ha   ke   ǀqhai-cĩ   ǂoa,   ǂoa   he   ki   pen-ke
    3SG DECL   spread-lie skin.mat   skin.mat REL have pin-PL
    He spread out the skin mat, the skin mat with pins,

22. ki   pen-ke ki   ʘoo-ke   ki   ʘoo-ke   ki   ʘoo-ke
     have   pin-PL have wood-PL   have wood-PL   have wood-PL
     with pins, with wood, with wood, with wood.

23. ku   ǃqora ŋǀa   leeki   ǃqora
     3SG   play   with woman   play
     He played with the woman, played.

24. Iʔĩ   Iʔĩ   Iʔĩ   Iʔĩ   Iʔĩ   Iʔĩ   Iʔĩi
     oh   oh   oh   oh   oh   oh   oh
     "Oh, oh, oh, oh, oh, oh!" (in pain)

25. a   kxʼu ʘʔui-ʔii ŋ   a   kxʼu ʘʔui-ʔii ŋ
     2SG   do   sick-STAT 1SG   2SG   do   sick-STAT 1SG
     "You are hurting me! You are hurting me!"

26. leeki ŋǀaa Iʔaa leeki lii   ha   Iʔaa
     woman then die   woman take 3SG   die
     The woman then died, the woman died.

27. a   ku   ǀhaa a   ku   ǃqʼao
     and   3SG   kill and   3SG   skin
     And he killed her, and he skinned her.

28. kɪn   ǃqʼao leeki a   loβa kxʼaa
     3PL   skin woman and   child cry
     They skinned the woman, and the child cried,

29. loβa kxʼaa ŋ   xaŋki ŋ   ǂao   ŋ   xaŋki se   ǀhãi
     child cry   1SG   mother 1SG   want 1SG   mother POSS breasts
     the child cried, "I want my mother's breasts."

30. gǀa   si   ɟe   kxʼuu ŋǀa   a   xaŋki se   ka-ǀhãi
     2SG   IRR   what do   with 2SG   mother POSS PL-breasts
     "What will you do with your mother's breasts?"

31. ŋ   ǂao   ŋ   xaŋki ka-ǀhãi
     1SG   want 1SG   mother PL-breasts
     "I want my mother's breasts."

32. ãa   ku-a   ãa   ku-a   maar ãa   ku-a   ku   xaŋki ka-ǀhãi
     give   3SG-DAT give 3SG-DAT but give 3SG-DAT 3SG   mother PL-breasts
     "Give them to her! Give them to her! Give her her mother's breasts!"

33. loβa lii   ǃaiii
     child take run
     The child took them and raaaaan.

34. ha   Iʔae ǃai-ǀhoo ŋ   dingesi ŋ   gǀiisi
     3SG   go   on.top-put LK   thing   LK   termite.hill
     She went and put them on a termite hill,

35. a   ŋǃaʔa ha   ǂaˤe
     and   stand 3SG   look
     and stood and looked.

36. n-a   ǂao   ŋ   xaŋki   ŋǀaa
     1SG-DECL   want   1SG   mother   head
     "I want my mother's head."

37. gǀa   ǂao   a   ɟe   kx'u   ŋǀa   a   xaŋki   ŋǀaa
     2SG   want   2SG   what   do   with   2SG   mother   head
     "What do you want to do with your mother's head?"

38. ŋ   ǂao   ŋ   xaŋki   ŋǀaa
     1SG   want   1SG   mother   head
     "I want my mother's head."

39. ãa   ku-a   maar   ku   xaŋki   se   ŋǁaa
     give   3SG-DAT   but   3SG   mother   POSS   head
     "Give her her mother's head!"

40. loβa   ku   ǃai   a   ǃai-ǀhoo   ŋ   gǀiisi
     child   3SG   run   and   on.top-put   LK   termite.hill
     The child ran and put it on top of the termite hill.

41. saa   saa   ŋǃaʔa   ǂaˤe
     come   come   stand   look
     She came and stood looking.

42. ǃq'ao   ǃq'ao   ŋ   ǂao   ŋ   xaŋki   ka-gǂau-ke
     skin   skin   1SG   want   1SG   mother   PL-buttock-PL
     They were skinning, and skinning. "I want my mother's buttocks."

43. ãa   ku-a   a   ha   cũu-ʔĩ
     give   3SG-DAT   and   3SG   ask
     "Give them to her!" And she asked.

44. ŋ   lu   si   ku   ãa   a   sun   sun   lʔunii
     1SG   NEG   IRR   say   give   2SG   fat   fat   only
     "I will not give you the fat. It is the only fat we have."

45. ãa   ku-a   maar   ŋla   ku   lʔae   lʔaa
     give   3SG-DAT   but   so.that   3SG   go   go
     "Give it to her so that she goes."

46. kɪn   ãi   ãa-coa   ki   ãa-coa   leeki
     3PL   eat   eat-finish   3SG   eat-finish   woman
     They ate, and finished eating it, finished eating the woman.

47. nou   kɪn   kaŋlaa   kɪn   kaŋlaa   kɪn   kaŋlaa
     now   3PL   stay   3PL   stay   3PL   stay
     Now, they stayed and stayed and stayed.

48. loβa   elke   dag   ha   lʔaa   gǀiisi   ha   ǂaˤe
     child   every   day   3SG   go   termite.hill   3SG   look
     Every day the child went to the termite hill and looked.

49. gǀiisi   a   ki   soo   bars
     termite.hill   this   it   sit   crack
     The termite hill has a crack.

50. bars   loβa xa   ǂaˤe ha   saa   ha   ǂao saa
    crack   child PST look 3SG arrive   3SG want arrive
    The child looked. She arrived (home). She was arriving.

51. hee kija   xae a   hoo   ŋla
    hee where   Q   2SG come.from LK
    "Hee, where have you come from?"

52. ŋ   ke   maar !qora ŋ   ki   a
    1SG DECL   but play   LK   place this
    "I (child) was but playing here."

53. ka-!qora   ka-!qora   ka-!qora   ku   !ai
    REP-play   REP-play   REP-play   3SG   run
    She was playing, playing, playing and she ran.

54. ku   !ai   ku   lʔaa ku   ǂaˤe
    3SG   run   3SG go   3SG look
    She ran and looked.

55. ke   bars   kxʼu !hoo
    that crack   do   big
    That crack became bigger.

56. hee maa kija   xae loβa a   !ai-cĩ   lʔaa
    hee mom where   Q   child this run-lie   go
    "Hee mom, where does this child around run to?"

57. ŋ   lu   lhae-a   ŋ   lu   lhae   cui   xae ku   ǂaˤe
    1SG NEG know-PFV   1SG NEG know   what Q   3SG look
    "I don't know. I don't know what she is looking at?"

58. een dag loβa ku-a   ka-!qora   !qora lʔaa ǂaˤe
    one day child 3SG-DECL   REP-play   play   go   look
    One day, the child played and played and went and looked.

59. ki   heeltemaal   lxʼoβa ku   ka-!qora
    3SG.NH   completely   open.up 3SG REP-play
    It (the crack) completely opened up. She continued playing,

60. ka-!qora   ka-!qora   ka-!qora
    REP-play   REP-play   REP-play
    and playing, and playing, and playing.

61. ku   gloe lʔaa ku   ǂaˤe ku   gloe   lʔaa ku   ǂaˤe
    3SG   again go   3SG look 3SG again go   3SG look
    She went again and looked, she went again and looked.

62. ku   ŋla saa   ku   ŋlaa ku   xaŋki ha   soo
    3SG   then arrive   3SG see 3SG mother 3SG sit
    When she came, she saw her mother sitting,

63. ku-a   lʔuuuriii-a   ku   ŋlhũu-si   lʔoara ha   soo
    3SG-DECL   white-PFV   like white.person-SG   woman 3SG sit
    like a white woman, she was sitting.

64. ŋ   xaŋki   ŋ   xaŋki   ŋ   xaŋki
    1SG mother 1SG mother 1SG mother
    "My mother, my mother, my mother."

65. ǁi   kx'ãa   ŋ   ku   xaŋki   ka-ǁhãi
    take drink   LK   3SG mother PL-breasts
    She took and drank from her mother's breasts.

66. kx'ãa   ku   xaŋki   ka-ǁhãi   ku   saa
    drink 3SG mother PL-breasts 3SG arrive
    She drank her mother's breasts. She arrived.

67. cui   xae   m m m m m   ŋǀaa ki   a
    what Q   (with milk in her mouth) look place this
    "What is it?" (mother) "M m m m m." (child) "Look here!"

68. kija   xae   loβa a   hoo   ǁhaice ŋǀa
    where Q   child this   find milk   stay
    "Where did the child find milk?"

69. kija   xae   loβa a   hoo   ǁhaice ŋǀa
    where Q   child this   find milk   stay
    "Where did the child find milk?"

70. ku   xaŋki   xae   ǀae ku   xaŋki   ǀae
    3SG mother Q   NEG 3SG mother NEG
    "Is it not her mother? Is it not her mother?"

71. ee   ŋ   xanki   kee   ku   xaŋki   ke   sekare
    yes 1SG mother it.is 3SG mother it.is perhaps
    "Yes, it is my mother." "It is her mother perhaps."

72. kija   xae   a   hoo   ǁhaice ŋǀa
    where Q   2SG   find milk   stay
    "Where do you get the milk?"

73. mm ŋ   lu   si   gǀunuka   ǀx'ee β-a
    no   1SG NEG IRR emphatic tell   2PL-DAT
    "No. I will not tell you (PL)."

74. koro   koro   se   xaŋki   ŋǀa   ha   Ɵũu
    jackal jackal POSS mother and 3SG son
    Jackal, Jackal's mother and her son.

75. hn   ǃhãu
    3PL sit
    They sit.

76. kija   xae   ku   hoo   ǁhaice ŋǀa
    where Q   3SG find milk   stay
    "Where did she find milk?"

77. ǂi   ǀx'ee-a   ku   ǃai   loβa ǀʔae
    NEG tell-APPL 3SG run   child go
    "Don't tell them!" She ran.

78. sii Iʔae-Iʔŋ sii Iʔae ǂaˤe Iʔae ǂaˤe
  come go.out come go look go look
  "Let us go out, go out and look."

79. koro loβa Iʔaa Iʔaa ŋǀaa ha xaŋki
  jackal child go go see 3SG mother
  Jackal, the child went and saw her mother.

80. a kɪn k'xu-saa ku xaŋki
  and 3PL make-come 3SG mother
  And they brought her mother.

81. kɪn saa ŋǀŋ
  3PL arrive home
  They arrived home.

82. koro huuuuuujene ŋ leeki
  jackal huuuuuuoh.gosh 1SG woman
  Jackal: "Huuuuu, oh gosh, my wife,

83. ŋ leeki ǂhaiki ǀhaˤoka
  1SG woman extremely beautiful
  my wife is very beautiful."

84. ja leeki lam ku ha gǀoe ǀii koro
  yes woman NEG.PST say 3SG again take jackal
  But the woman did not take Jackal again,

85. a koro xa ǀhaa ha
  and jackal PST kill 3SG
  and Jackal had killed her.

86. a ku caˤn a ku ǀii ku loβa
  and 3SG walk and 3SG take 3SG child
  And she went and took her child,

87. a ku ke caˤn
  and 3SG DECL walk
  and she left.

88. Fluit-fluit, my story is uit.

Appendix 2: The Jackal, his Wife, his Daughter and his Mother (Orthography, English and Afrikaans)

In this appendix, we present a Nǀuuki story, using the orthography originally devised by Levi NAMASEB, and modified by the team of Chris COLLINS, Amanda MILLER, Johanna BRUGMAN and Bonny SANDS. The story is translated into English and then Afrikaans. We hope that publishing this story will give rise to further collaborative work on Nǀuuki orthography. The overriding principle is to make the orthography accurately reflect the pronunciations of the words, while making it easy for a language learner to learn it and write it. The specific principles of the orthography are given below:

1. Non-contrastive vowel length is not indicated.
2. Non-contrastive glottal stops (e.g., at the beginning of simple pronouns and other words) are not indicated.
3. Nasal clicks are indicated by *nC*.
4. Glottalized clicks (and glottalization generally) are indicated with an apostrophe following the click *C'V*. Delayed aspiration is indicated with *C'hV*.
5. Words from Afrikaans are written as in Afrikaans.
6. The first singular pronoun and linker are both written as *ng*.
7. Nasalization is indicated by a wedge over the nasalized vowel (as in Khoekhoegowab orthography).
8. Pharyngealization of vowels is indicated with a *q* (as in Julʼhoan orthography).
9. Morpheme boundaries are not indicated, rather bound morphemes are written as one with the word they are joined to (e.g., the plural morpheme -*ke*, or the perfective morpheme -*a*).
10. Serial verbs are written as one word (*khuǀǀʼng* "get up").
11. For words showing a lot of speaker variability, one form is chosen by convention: *xa* (PST), *xae* (question marker).
12. The first roman (non-click) letter of sentence is capitalized, as is the first letter of a proper name.
13. Object pronouns are written with a space before them (*nǀa a* "see you").
14. Demonstratives are written apart from the noun (*gao a* "this thing").

Koro nǀa ha ǀeki nǀa ha ⊙oaxe nǀa ha xanki

(The Jackal, his Wife, his Daughter and his Mother,
Die Jakkals, sy vrou, sy dogter en sy moeder)

As told by Griet SEEKOEI.

Nǀa Koro, Koro nǀa ha ǀeki, nǀa ha ⊙oaxe nǀa ha xanki, kin nǀa nǀa kina ǁhoa. A Koro ǀʼa ǀxʼôa ǀxʼôa ǀxʼôa ǀxʼôa ǀxʼôa ǀxʼôa. Ha ǀu ho gao. A Koro a sa sa ǀxʼe ha xankia,

"Ma, na ǀu ho gao. Nǀng si je kxʼu?"

"Haa, a gǀoe ǃhaeka ǀʼa ǀxʼôa."

A kua maar gǀoe caqn. Ku ǀʼa, ku ǀxʼôa ǀʼa ǀʼa, ku ǀxʼôa ǀʼa, ku ǀxʼôa ǀʼa, ku ǀxʼôa.

"Hee, na ǀu ho gao."

Kua sa, ku sa, ku ku,

"Hee na ǀu ho gao. Nǀng si xabi je kxʼu? Na kxʼu ng ǀha ǀeki a. Kua ǃqhûia."

"Eeee, kxʼam kee. A si ǀha ku, a si ǀha ku. A kua kxʼam ǃqhûia."

ǀOba a kacumʼi, ǀoba kacumʼi. Ander dag ǃhaeka ǀi ǀeki. ǀQhaicî ǂoa, ǀqhaicî ǂoa. Ha ke ǀqhaicî ǂoa, ǂoa he ki penke, ki penke ki ⊙oke, ki ⊙oke, ki ⊙oke. Ku ǃqora nǀâ ǀeki, ǃqora.

"ǀʼî ǀʼî ǀʼî ǀʼî ǀʼî ǀʼî ǀʼî. A kxʼu ⊙ʼuiʼi ng, a kxʼu ⊙ʼuiʼi ng."

ǀEki nǀa ǀʼa. ǀEki ǀi ha ǀʼa. A ku ǀha a ku ǃqʼao. Kin ǃqʼao ǀeki. A ǀoba kxʼa. ǀoba kxʼa,

"Ng xanki, ng ǂao ng xanki se ǀhâi."

"ǀA si je kxʼu nǀa a xanki se kaǀhâi?"

"Ng ǂao ng xanki kaǀhâi."

"Â kua, â kua maar, â kua ku xanki kaǀhâi."

ǀOba ǀi ǃai. Ha ǀʼae ǃailho ng dingesi ng gǀisi. A nǃaʼa ha ǂaqe.

"Na ǂao ng xanki nǀa."

"ǀA ǂao a je kxʼu nǀa a xanki nǀa?"

"Ng ǂao ng xanki nǀa."

"Â kua maar ku xanki se nǀa."

ǀOba, ku ǃai a gǃailho ng gǀisi. Sa, sa nǃaʼa ǂaqe. ǃqʼao … ǃqʼao …

"Ng ǂao ng xanki kagǂauke."

"Â kua."

A ha cû'i,

"Ng ǀu si ku â a sun. Sun ǀʼuni."

Â kua maar nǀa ku ǀʼae ǀʼa. Kin âi âcoa ki, âcoa ǀeeki. Nou, kin kanǀâ, kin kanǀâ, kin kanǀâ. ǀOba eǀke dag ha ǀʼa gǀisi, ha ǂaqe gǀisi. Ki so bars. ǀOba xa ǂaqe. Ha sa, ha ǂao sa.

"Hee, kija xae a ho nǀa?"

"Ng ke maar ǃqora ng kia."

Kaǃqora, kaǃqora, kaǃqora. Ku ǃai, ku ǃai, ku ǀʼa, ku ǂaqe. Ke bars kxʼuǃho.

"Heee, ma kija xae ǀoba a ǃaicî ǀʼa?"

"Ng ǀu ǀhaea ng ǀu ǀhae cui xae ku ǂaqe."

Een dag, ǀoba kua kaǃqora ǃqora ǀʼa ǂaqe. Ki heeltemaal ǀxʼoba. Ku kaǃqora, kaǃqora kaǃqora, kaǃqora. Ku gǀoe ǀʼa, ku ǂaqe, ku gǀoe ǀʼa, ku ǂaqe. Ku nǀa sa, ku nǀa ku xanki ha so, kua ǃuria ku ǀʼhûsi ǀʼoara. Ha so.

"Ng xanki, ng xanki, ng xanki!"

ǁ kx'â ng ku xanki kaǀhâi, kx'â ku xanki kaǀhâi. Ku sa.

"Cui xae?"

"M m m m m."

"Nǀa kia. Kija xae ǀoba a ho ǀhaike nǀa?"

"Kija xae ǀoba a ho ǀhaike nǀa?"

"Ku xanki xae ǀae? Ku xanki ǀae."

"Ee, ng xanki kee."

"Ku xanki ke se kare."

"Kija xae a ho ǀhaike nǀa?"

"Mm, ng ǀu si gǀunuka ǀx'ae ba."

Koro, Koro se xanki nǀa ha ⊙û, hn ǃhâu.

"Kija xae ku ho ǀhaike nǀa?"

"ǂI ǀx'ea!"

Ku ǃaia. ǀOba ǀ'ae.

"Si ǀ'ae ǀ'ng, si ǀ'ae ǂaqe, ǀ'ae ǂaqe."

Koro, ǀoba ǀ'a ǀ'a nǀa ha xanki. A kin kx'usa ku xanki. Kin sa nǀng.

Koro: "Huuuuuu jene ng ǀeki, ng ǀeki ǂhaiki ǀhaqoka."

Ja, ǀeki ǀam ku ha gǀoe ǁi Koro. A Koro xa ǁha ha. A ku caqn. A ku ǁi ku ǀoba. A ku ke caqn.

Fluit-fluit, my storie is uit.

English Version

And Jackal, Jackal and his wife and his child and his mother, they stayed for a long time. And Jackal hunted and hunted and hunted. He couldn't find anything. And this Jackal came, came and told his mother,

"Mom, I couldn't find anything. What should I do?"

"Haa! You should go hunting again tomorrow."

And he went again, he went hunting. He went hunting, hunting, hunting.

"Hee, I didn't find anything."

He came, he came, he said,

"I didn't find anything. What must I do now? I should kill this woman. She is fat."

"Eeee, that's true, you should kill her, you should kill her. She is truly fat."

The child listens, the child listens. The next day, he took the woman. He spread out the skin mat, spread out the skin mat. He spread out the skin mat, the skin mat with pins, with pins, with wood, with wood, with wood. He played with the woman, played.

"Oh, oh, oh, oh, oh, oh (in pain). You are hurting me! You are hurting me!"

The woman then died, the woman died and he killed her, and he skinned her. They skinned the woman, and the child cried, the child cried,

"I want my mother's breasts."

"What will you do with your mother's breasts?"

"I want my mother's breasts."

"Give them to her! Give them to her! Give her her mother's breasts!"

The child took them and ran. She went and put them on a termite hill, and stood and looked.

"I want my mother's head."

"What do you want to do with your mother's head?"

"I want my mother's head."

"Give her her mother's head!"

The child ran and put it on top of the termite hill. She came and stood looking. They were skinning, and skinning.

"I want my mother's buttocks."

"Give them to her!"

And she asked.

"I will not give you the fat. It is the only fat we have."

Give it to her so that she goes. They ate, and finished eating it, finished eating the woman. Now, they stayed and stayed and stayed. Every day the child went to the termite hill and looked at the termite hill. It has a crack. The child looked. She arrived (home). She was arriving.

"Hee, where have you come from?"

"I was but playing here."

She was playing, playing, playing and she ran. She ran and looked. That crack became bigger.

"Hee mom, where does this child run around to?"

"I don't know. I don't know what she is looking at."

One day, the child played and played and went and looked. It (the crack) completely opened up. She continued playing, and playing, and playing, and playing. She went again and looked, she went again and looked. When she came, she saw her mother sitting, like a white woman, she was sitting.

"My mother, my mother, my mother!"

She took and drank from her mother's breasts. She drank her mother's breasts. She (child) arrived.

"What is it?"

"M m m m m." (child, with milk in mouth)

"Look here! Where did the child find milk?"

"Where did the child find the milk?"

"Is it not her mother? It is not her mother."

"Yes, it is my mother."

"It is her mother perhaps."

"Where do you get the milk?"

"No, I will not tell you."

Jackal, Jackal's mother and his child, they sit.
    "Where did she find milk?"
    "'Don't tell them!'"
She ran. The child went.
    "Let us go out, go out and look."
Jackal, the child went and saw her mother. And they brought her mother. They arrived home.
    Jackal: "Huuuuu, oh gosh, my wife, my wife is very beautiful."
But the woman did not take him again. Because Jackal had killed her. And so she went and took her child, and she left.

Whistle-Whistle, my story is over.

Afrikaans Version

En Jakkals, Jakkals en sy vrou en sy kind en sy moeder-hulle het lank saam-gebly. En Jakkals het gaan jag en gejag en gejag. Hy kry niks nie. Toe kom Jak-kals en vertel sy moeder,
    "Ma, ek kry niks nie. Wat moet ek doen?"
    "Haa! Jy moet maar weer môre gaan jag."
En hy gaan weer, hy gaan jag. Hy gaan jag, jag, jag.
    "Hee, Ek kry niks nie."
Hy kom, hy kom en sê,
    "Ek kry niks nie. Wat moet ek nou doen? Ek moet dié vrou doodmaak. Sy
    is vet."
    "Eeee, dis waar, jy moet haar doodmaak. Sy is rêrig vet."
Die kind luister, die kind luister. Die volgende dag vat hy die vrou. Hy maak die velmat oop, die velmat met dorings, met dorings, met hout, met hout. Hy speel met die vrou, speel.
    "Eina, eina, eina, eina, eina, eina. Jy maak my seer! Jy maak my seer!"
Die vrou is toe dood, die vrou is dood en hy het haar doodgemaak en hy slag haar af. Hulle slag die vrou af, en die kind het gehuil, die kind huil.
    "Ek wil my ma se borste hê."
    "Wat sal jy met jou ma se borste doen?"
    "Ek wil my ma se borste hê."
    "Gee dit vir haar! Gee dit vir haar! Gee vir haar haar ma se borste!"
Die kind neem dit en haaardlooop. Sy gaan en sit hulle op die miershoop neer, en staan en kyk.
    "Ek wil my ma se kop hê."
    "Wat wil jy met jou ma se kop doen?"
    "Ek wil my ma se kop hê."
    "Gee vir haar haar ma se kop!"
Die kind hardloop en gaan sit dit bo-op die miershoop. Sy kom en staan daar en kyk. Hulle slag haar af, en hulle slag haar af.

"Ek wil my ma se sterre hê."

"Gee dit vir haar!"

En sy vra,

"Ek sal nie vir jou die vet gee nie. Dis die enigste vet wat ons het."

Gee vir haar laat sy gaan. Hulle eet en het opgeëet, die vrou opgeëet. En toe bly hulle, bly en bly. Elke dag het die kind miershoop toe gegaan en na die miershoop gekyk en langs die kraak gesit. Dit het 'n kraak. Die kind kyk. Sy (die kind) kom toe (by die huis). Sy het aangekom.

"Hee, waarvandaan kom jy?"

"Ek het maar hier gespeel."

Sy het gespeel, gespeel, gespeel en gehardloop. Sy het gehardloop en gekyk. Die kraak het groter geword.

"Hee, ma, waar hardloop dié kind altyd heen?"

"Ek weet nie. Ek weet nie wat sy rondkyk nie."

Een dag het die kind gespeel en gespeel en gegaan en gaan kyk. Dit (die kraak) was heeltemal oop. Sy het aangehou speel, speel, speel en speel. Sy het weer gegaan en gekyk. Sy het weer gegaan en gaan kyk. Toe sy kom, sien sy haar ma sit soos n blanke, sy het gesit.

"My ma, my ma, my ma!"

Sy neem en drink van haar ma se borste. Sy drink van haar ma se borste. Sy (die kind) het aangekom.

"Wat is dit?"

"M m m m m." (die kind met melk in haar mond)

"Kyk hier! Waar het die kind melk gekry?"

"Waar het die kind melk gekry?"

"Is dit nie haar ma nie? Dit is nie haar ma nie."

"Ja, dit is haar ma."

"Dit is miskien haar ma."

"Waar kry jy die melk?"

"Nee, ek sal julle nie vertel nie."

Jakkals, Jakkals se moeder en sy kind, hulle sit.

"Waar het sy die melk gekry?"

"Moenie vir hulle vertel nie!"

Sy hardloop. Die kind loop.

"Kom ons gaan uit en gaan kyk."

Die Jakkals, gaan en sien die ma. En hulle bring haar ma. Hulle kom huis toe.

"Huuuuu, my genade, my vrou, my vrou is baie pragtig."

Maar die vrou het hom nie weer teruggeneem nie. En die Jakkals het haar doodgemaak gehad. En sy gaan neem haar kind en hulle gaan.

Fluit-fluit, my storie is uit.

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