

32

QUELLEN ZUR  
KHOISAN – FORSCHUNG

RESEARCH IN KHOISAN STUDIES

Chris Collins / Jeffrey S. Gruber

A Grammar of †Hõã



RÜDIGER KÖPPE VERLAG KÖLN



## A Grammar of #Höã

QUELLEN ZUR KHOISAN-FORSCHUNG

---

RESEARCH IN KHOISAN STUDIES

Herausgegeben von Rainer Voßen  
Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main

ISSN 0176 - 3369

Band 32

Chris Collins and Jeffrey S. Gruber

# A Grammar of ꞖHõã



RÜDIGER KÖPPE VERLAG

KÖLN 2014

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:

Rainer Voßen,      Institut für Afrikanistik  
Bockenheimer Landstrasse 133  
Sozialzentrum Neue Mensa (5. OG)  
Campus Bockenheim  
Hauspostfach 144  
60325 Frankfurt am Main  
Germany

**Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek**

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data is available in the Internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.

ISBN 978-3-89645-876-6

© 2014 The Authors

RÜDIGER KÖPPE VERLAG

P.O. Box 45 06 43

50881 Cologne

Germany

*www.koeppe.de*

All rights reserved.

Production: Heimdall DTP & Verlagsservice, Rheine / Germany

∞ Printed on acid-free paper which falls within the guidelines of the ANSI to ensure permanence and durability.

## Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	9
List of Abbreviations	9
Phonetic Symbols	11
1. Introduction	13
2. A Note on Sàsí	17
3. Basic Sentences	21
4. Tense, Aspect and Negation	23
4.1. Progressive and Habitual	23
4.2. Past	25
4.3. Future	32
4.4. Summary of Tenses	38
4.5. Stative Verbs	38
4.6. Sàsí	39
5. Ordering of Pre-Verbal Elements	43
5.1. <i>nà</i> Itinerate	43
5.2. Positional Preverbs	44
5.3. <i>kyà</i> “go”	45
5.4. Dubitive	46
5.5. <i>lqe</i> “can”	47
5.6. Summary of Ordering Restrictions	49
6. Predicate Adjectives	51
7. Verbs with Suppletive Plurals	57
7.1. Intransitive Verbs	57
7.2. Transitive Verbs	59
7.3. Sàsí Suppletive Plural Verbs	61
8. Pluractionality	63
8.1. <i>kí-V-llqò</i>	63
8.2. <i>kí-V-čú</i>	65
8.3. <i>V-n ne</i>	67
8.4. Reduplication	68
8.5. Once, Twice, Three or Many Times	69
9. Pronouns	71
9.1. Subject and Object Pronouns	71
9.2. Genitive Pronouns	74
9.3. Sàsí Pronouns	76

9.4.	Modification of Pronouns by Numerals	78
9.5.	Reflexive Pronouns	79
9.6.	Reciprocal Pronouns	81
9.7.	The Possessed Pronoun	83
10.	Nouns	85
10.1.	Nominal Plurals	85
10.2.	Other Nominal Suffixes	87
10.3.	Definite vs. Indefinite	88
10.4.	Vocative	89
11.	Possession	91
11.1.	Alienable Possession	91
11.2.	Inalienable Possession	92
11.2.1.	Kin-Class	92
11.2.2.	Many-Class	93
11.2.3.	kí[PL]-Class	93
11.3.	Plural Deletion	96
11.4.	Pair-Classes A and B	98
11.5.	Possession in Sàsí	99
12.	Prepositions and Postpositions	101
12.1.	Prepositions	101
12.2.	Noun Phrase Coordination	102
12.3.	Postpositions	103
13.	Relative Clauses	107
13.1.	Imperfective vs. Perfective	107
13.2.	Ordering of REL	110
13.3.	Locative Relative Clauses	112
13.4.	Sàsí Relative Clauses	114
14.	Demonstratives	117
14.1.	Proximal Demonstratives	117
14.2.	Distal Demonstratives	119
14.3.	Combinations	121
14.4.	Presentationals	122
14.5.	Locatives	123
14.6.	Sàsí Demonstratives	125
15.	Adjectives, Numerals and Quantifiers	129
15.1.	Attributive Adjectives	129
15.2.	Numerals	133
15.3.	Quantifiers	137



15.4.	Ordering with Relative Clauses	139
16.	The Linker	141
16.1.	Range of Expressions	141
16.2.	The Linker in Sàsí	144
16.3.	Fixed Order	145
16.4.	Extraction	146
16.5.	Optional Linker	147
16.6.	Pronouns Following the Linker	148
16.7.	Locative Copula	148
17.	Adverbs	149
17.1.	Linker-Adverb Generalization	149
17.2.	Adverbial Suffixes	152
17.3.	Sàsí Adverbs	153
18.	Copulas	157
18.1.	Predicate Nominal	157
18.2.	Locative	158
18.3.	Identificational	161
19.	Passive	163
20.	Causative	165
21.	Serial Verbs	167
21.1.	Diagnosing Serial Verb Constructions	167
21.2.	Clause-Chaining	168
21.3.	Directional	169
21.4.	Resultative	171
21.5.	Aspectual	171
21.6.	Simultaneous	171
21.7.	Sequential	172
21.8.	Benefactive	173
22.	Comparison	175
23.	Imperatives	177
23.1.	Positive Imperatives	177
23.2.	Negative Imperatives	178
23.3.	Bare Form of the Verb	179
24.	Subordinate Clauses	181
24.1.	<i>ka</i> -Clauses	181
24.2.	“because”-Clauses	182
24.3.	Infinitival Clauses	183
24.4.	Declarative Embedded Clauses	184

24.5.	Subjunctive Clauses	185
24.6.	“so that”-Clauses	186
25.	Questions	187
25.1.	Yes-No Questions	187
25.2.	“What” Questions	190
25.3.	“Who” Questions	192
25.4.	“Which” Questions	194
25.5.	“When” Questions	196
25.6.	“Where” Questions	197
25.7.	“How” Questions	199
25.8.	“Why” Questions	202
25.9.	“How Many/Much” Questions	203
25.10.	Summary of Question Words	205
25.11.	Embedded Questions	205
26.	Focus and Topic	207
	References	211

## Acknowledgements

We wish to thank first and foremost Titi Matshabanega, who served as the main consultant for Jeff Gruber's work and one of the two main consultants for Chris Collins' work. We learned that Titi passed away in 2011, and so we dedicate this grammar to his memory. He was an excellent consultant without whom this work would not have been possible.

We also thank other speakers whom we have worked with: Leha Rasello, Serurubele (Mathibatsela), Bistolo (Tshwaane), Batiliki (Khekhenye), Ngalang Mokho, Mmalekgoa Nlnobo, Gakekgathege Ramoroko, Mma Dipitse, Sekhebene Radiphuti (Shorilatholo), Bakane (Sàsí, Dibete), Mmamorula Lulu (Sàsí, Lethajwe), Mmamotalane Baboneng, Mmantshesane Motlogelwa, Mma Kebonye Omphile, Maithoko Bathamile, Mma Gabaitewe Oratilwe (Sàsí, Mokgenene).

We thank the following people: Maureen Page for her support and assistance to Jeff Gruber during his 4 years of field research in Botswana; Hooshmand Fat'he-Aazam of the Baha'i Universal House of Justice for suggesting to Jeff to apply for NEH support; Tony Traill for assisting Jeff on his arrival in southern Africa, helping to buy equipment, introducing him to clicks, and accompanying him several times to the Kalahari settlements; Akuwa Collins for her support of Chris Collins' research during 1996-1997 and 2011-2012; Andy Chebanne of the University of Botswana for helping Chris Collins in many important ways during the 2011-2012 academic year; Bonny Sands for sending us her #Hðã word list (Sands, Chebanne and Shah 2010), e-versions of several useful papers, and for advising Jeff Gruber on tonal diacritics; Tim Mathes for helping to digitize the oral texts, and for discussions of Khoisan tone; Amani Lusekelo for digitizing the vocabulary, parts "A" and "C" of the recorded utterances and half of the oral texts; Nicole Holliday and Jayden Ziegler for last-minute proofreading; Linda Gerlach for answering questions about the tonal and segmental transcriptions of particular lexical items; Linda Gerlach, Maria Mammen and Björn Bernhardt for digitizing part B of the recorded utterances. We thank the Department of African Languages and Literature and the San Research Center of the University of Botswana for hosting Chris Collins as a Fulbright scholar during the academic year 2011-2012. We thank of the Government of Botswana for issuing us the necessary research permits to accomplish this work.

Jeff Gruber's work was supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities. Chris Collins' work was supported by the National Science Foundation and two Fulbright scholarships.

## List of Abbreviations

Overall, we follow the Leipzig glossing conventions and abbreviations. Deviations from the Leipzig glossing conventions will be noted in the grammar. The full set of abbreviations we use is given below. When the correct gloss is not known, "???" is used.

1	first person	LK	linker
2	second person	LOC	locative
3	third person	NEG	negation
ADV	adverbializing suffix	PASS	passive
AUX	auxiliary	PFV	perfective
CAUSE	causative prefix	PL	plural (both nominal and verbal)
COP	copula	POSS	possessive
DEM	demonstrative	PROG	progressive
DIM	diminutive	PST	past
DUB	dubitive	Q	question particle
EMPH	emphatic particle	QF	question focus particle
EXCL	exclusive	REL	relative marker
FUT	future	REP	repetitive
GEN	genitive	SBJ	subject marker (Sàsí only)
HAB	habitual	SBJV	subjunctive
INCL	inclusive	SUB	subordination marker
INF	infinitive V	SG	singular
ITIN	itinerate	VBLZ	verbalizer prefix
IPFV	imperfective	VOC	vocative
		XCL	exclamation (used in stories)

## Phonetic Symbols

We do not use IPA transcriptions in this work. Rather, we rely on the transcription system devised by Jeff Gruber in his work on #Hðǎ. The correspondences between Gruber’s system and IPA are transparent overall. We comment on a few less transparent cases here.

Symbol	IPA	
ky	c	voiceless palatal stop
gy	ɟ	voiced palatal stop
ny	ɲ	palatal nasal
q̂	g	voiced uvular stop
č	tʃ	voiceless alveopalatal affricate
c	ts	voiceless alveolar affricate
ǰ	dʒ	voiced alveopalatal affricate
š	ʃ	voiceless palatal fricative
x	χ	voiceless uvular fricative
V <sup>◌</sup> V	V <sup>◌</sup> V <sup>◌</sup>	pharygealized/pressed vowel
V <sup>◌</sup> V	V <sup>◌</sup> ?V	glottalized vowel
nCnV	ŋC	nasal click
CnV	?ŋC	preglottalized nasal click
C <sup>◌</sup> V	C <sup>◌</sup> ?V	glottalized click
C <sup>◌</sup> hV	ŋC <sup>h</sup>	delayed aspiration

#Hðǎ is a tonal language. Each word must be pronounced with a particular tone: high, mid, low, extra low, low-mid (rising) and mid-low (falling). Although tone levels are indicated in this grammar, at the time of publication, there has not been any systematic phonological or phonetic study of the tones; hence, all tones marked must be viewed as provisional (see Collins 2012 for a preliminary analysis). Forthcoming work by Linda Gerlach will provide more definitive tonal transcriptions.

In parentheses, we give Gruber’s original tone marking scheme (see Gruber 1975b). In the grammatical sketch and oral texts, the mid tone is not marked. In the vocabulary and recorded utterances, mid tone is marked.

ǰ	(ǰ)	high tone
v or v̄	(v̄)	mid tone
ǰ̄	(ǰ̄)	low tone
ǰ̄̄	(ǰ̄̄)	extra-low tone
ǰ̄̄̄	(ǰ̄̄̄)	rising (low-mid) tone

Gruber's extra-low class actually merges two classes, extra-low and mid-low falling (as described in chapter 2). Therefore, we propose to add the following new class:

∨
mid-low falling tone

If this analysis is correct, then #Hðǎ has the same number of tone classes as nearby central Khoisan languages like |Gui and Kua.

There has been no phonetic/phonological study of vowel length in #Hðǎ. But it is clear that vowel length is not contrastive. Content morphemes are always bimoraic ([CVV] or [CVm]), and grammatical morphemes are usually monomoraic [CV] (e.g., the linker *kì*, the plurality prefix *kí-*, the imperfective particle *'a*, the perfective suffix *-'a*, the 1SG pronoun *ma*, the future markers *o* and *qo*, the plural suffix *-qâ*, etc.).

Moreover, the distinction between CV and CVV in this monograph is purely orthographical, and does not reflect phonetic vowel length. The notation CVV is used to mark nasalization, pharyngealization and glottalized vowels. For example, in a syllable of the form CV<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub>, V<sub>1</sub> carries the tone mark and V<sub>2</sub> carries the nasalization tilde. If there is no nasalization, then the word is written CV, where V carries the tone mark. So a content word written CV (no nasalization) will be pronounced as a long vowel [CVV].

## 1. Introduction

†Hðǎ is a (non-central) Khoisan language spoken south of the Khutse game reserve in Botswana. Some of the places where speakers can be found today are (from west to east): Khekhenye, Tshwaane, Dutlwe, Salajwe and Shorilatholo (and nearby cattle posts). It is closely related to Sàsí, whose speakers are found in eastern Botswana in Bodungwane, Dibete, Mokgenene, Poloka and Lethajwe (and nearby cattle posts). We group †Hðǎ and Sàsí into a group we call †'Amkoe (meaning “person” in both languages). In this grammar, we focus on †Hðǎ, but we occasionally give comparisons to Sàsí where we have the relevant data. We look forward to writing a full grammar and lexicon of Sàsí in the future.

There is no exact estimate of the number of fluent speakers of †Hðǎ remaining, in part because they are scattered widely over various small villages and cattle posts, in part because there is no definition of what a “fluent speaker” is. In 2011, Chris Collins and Andy Chebanne established that there are at least 10 elderly fluent speakers in Shorilatholo. Similar pockets of speakers exist at other locations. We tentatively put the total number at 50, maybe a few more. The number of Sàsí speakers is similar. There are no young speakers of †Hðǎ or Sàsí left at this point of time.

Overall, †Hðǎ has a very close resemblance to the northern Khoisan languages (e.g., Ju!hoan, see Traill 1973, 1974; and Westphal 1974). Recently, Heine and Honken (2010) and Honken (2010) have claimed that †Hðǎ and the northern Khoisan languages form a group, which they call Kx'a. Therefore, we claim that †'Amkoe is a branch of Kx'a. Collins and Honken (2012a, 2012b) claim that Kx'a in turn forms a group with !Ui and Taa on the basis of commonalities involving plurality and the linker, which clearly distinguish these languages from the central Khoisan languages.

The field work for the grammatical sketch was done by Jeff Gruber from January 1971 to December 1975, and by Chris Collins during the academic year 1996-1997 and the summer of 1999. Chris Collins returned to Botswana in 2011-2012 as a Fulbright scholar and did some fact checking with speakers from Shorilatholo (for a total of eight weeks of work with the consultants). He also did an additional three weeks of fieldwork on Sàsí during 2011-2012. Other than this fact checking, the grammatical sketch is completely based on the following sources: (a) the published papers by Gruber (1973, 1975a), (b) the published papers by Collins (1998a, 2001, 2002, 2003), (c) the vocabulary and recorded utterances of Gruber (1975b; see Appendices 1 and 3), (d) the sixteen oral texts recorded and transcribed by Chris Collins (see Appendix 4), (e) Jeff Gruber's unpublished grammatical notes (Gruber 1975c, 1975d, 1975e) and (f) Chris Collins' unpublished grammatical notes (Collins 1999). We have attempted to incorporate most of this material into the grammatical sketch, although we have sacrificed comprehensiveness to comprehensibility.

The main consultant for Jeff Gruber's field work was Titi, who was also one of the two main consultants for Chris Collins' work in 1996-1997. Overall, this grammar reflects Titi's

dialect. For the areas of grammar that we have been able to check with both the Shorilatholo consultants and Titi, there is almost always complete agreement (e.g., in the possessive system, relative clauses, demonstratives, questions, etc.). The difference seems to mostly be lexical. The Shorilatholo consultants feel that Titi's lexicon has been influenced by Sekhute (a dialect of Glui). Whenever we have reason to believe there might be some difference between Titi's dialect and that of the Shorilatholo consultants, we discuss it in the grammar. The main area where this comes up is in the system of future markers, where Titi uses *ča/ɔo* and the Shorilatholo consultants use *o/ɔo*.

According to our notes, Titi was born in Dutlwe. His mother was from Mabuakolobe, which is a pan in the Khutse game reserve (north of Dutlwe), and his father was from Kang. His dialect is clearly different phonetically from that of Bistol (see the oral texts), who is from Tswaane (just to the west of Dutlwe). For example, Bistol says *'àm síu* "my hand", *sí* "how" and *ca* "come" instead of *'àm šú, ší* and *ča*. This information corresponds to the information given to us by Linda Gerlach, who says that consultants in Khekhenye and Tswane all say *'àm síu*. Also, Linda Gerlach informs us that she has never heard *o* as a future marker in Khekhenye.

Based on these facts, we can set up a western dialect of #Hðǎ centered around Khekhenye and Tswaane, and an eastern dialect of #Hðǎ centered around Shorilatholo and probably Salajwe. Titi came from an area between these two poles, sharing features with each. Interestingly, Sásí, which is further to the east than any #Hðǎ dialect, shares features with the Shorilatholo dialect: "hand" is *šú*, and "come" is *ča*. Furthermore, the *o*-future marker is used.

Appendix 1 is a set of lexical items collected by Jeff Gruber. Tonal and segmental transcriptions throughout the grammar respect the transcriptions of the lexical items in this list (with a small number of changes indicated in Appendix 2). In order to illustrate various aspects of #Hðǎ and Sásí grammar, we include an extensive list of recorded utterances in Appendix 3 (recorded and transcribed by Jeff Gruber) and sixteen oral texts in Appendix 4 (recorded and transcribed by Chris Collins).

The vocabulary and recorded utterances are close reproductions in print of Jeff Gruber's original handwritten manuscripts. We have not changed any of the transcriptions, even in cases where they should be updated and refined (e.g., transcription of delayed aspiration). We have included a small addendum (in Appendix 2) to Gruber's vocabulary including some new words, a few tonal changes and some words with delayed aspiration (see Bell and Collins 2001, who were the first to discuss delayed aspiration in #Hðǎ). The only systematic change we made from Gruber's original handwritten manuscript is in the notation used for tone marking, and the notation used for glottal stops and pharyngealization.

We indicate the source of each example. Examples in the grammar taken from Jeff Gruber's recorded utterances have the tape number and tape position indicated (e.g.,



“Utterances 3:1 664” = tape 3, side 1, position 664). Examples from Chris Collins’ oral texts have an abbreviated form of the oral text name and line number following them (e.g., “Eland Woman 43”). Examples from Jeff Gruber’s grammatical notes are indicated by the subject, followed by the card number (e.g., “JG SLogic 32” = Jeff Gruber’s grammatical notes, the sentence logic section, card 32). Examples from Chris Collins’ grammatical notes are indicated by the subject, followed by the notebook number, followed by the page number (“CC Sàsí 3:4” = Chris Collins’ grammatical notes, the Sàsí notebooks, notebook number 3, page 4). The notation “CC Shori 2: QUES” means a questionnaire on questions administered to the Shorilatholo consultants. When a set of sentences associated with a single number in the grammar (e.g., example number (22)) comes from a single source, the source will be listed one time after the last sentence.

Gruber (1975c) consists of about 1,030 3x5 grammar note cards. The full list of abbreviations for the sections is given below, followed by the number of digitized note cards in each section.

(1) Gruber’s Note Cards

JG Noun	136 cards	JG Loc	44 cards
JG SLogic	113 cards	JG Aux	179 cards
JG Pred	43 cards	JG CompV	88 cards
JG VerbMod	77 cards		

In addition, there are about 960 3x5 vocabulary note cards corresponding to the words in Appendix 1. These cards have additional examples, and notes on meaning and morphosyntactic properties.

The full list of abbreviations for Collins’ work is given below.

(2) Collins’ Notebooks

CC Plurals	12 notebooks	CC Tone and Seg	4 notebooks
CC Compounds	7 notebooks	CC Field Trips	3 notebooks
CC Pred Rel	3 notebooks	CC Syntax Misc	5 notebooks
CC Sàsí	11 notebooks	CC Grammar Rec	1 notebook
CC Shori	7 notebooks	CC Correspondences	5 notebooks

Audio recordings of the recorded utterances, the oral texts, and all of the sentences recorded during 2011-2012 are available upon request to Chris Collins ([cc116@nyu.edu](mailto:cc116@nyu.edu)). We are planning to post all source materials online. For a digital copy of Professor Jeff Gruber’s grammatical notes, write to Chris Collins.



## 2. A Note on Sàsí

Sàsí and #Hðã are mutually intelligible languages. Chris Collins brought a speaker of Sàsí together with speakers of #Hðã in 1996-1997 and they were able to communicate in their languages, even though they found the differences amusing. However, the Sàsí have no knowledge of the existence of the #Hðã or vice versa.

To say “I speak Sàsí” in the language of the Sàsí, one says: *ma ’a n/nobo n!na“a* (“I speak n!na“a”). The Sàsí people are called *n!na“a-kðe-qà*. This suggests that the word Sàsí itself is an exonym, assigned to the group by others, and that a more appropriate name for the language would be *n!na“a*.

Many Sàsí report that their parents or grandparents come from Kweneng, around Molepolole. For example, in 2011 in an informal survey done by Chris Collins and Andy Chebanne: An 85-year-old man stated he was born in Poloka, but his parents were born around Molepolole; a 75-year-old woman stated she was born in Lethajwe, but her parents came from Molepolole; a 67-year-old man stated that he and his parents were born in Lethajwe, but his grandparents came from around Molepolole; a 93-year-old woman stated she was born in Kweneng.

Records of when people are born are not precise, so the ages given above need to be viewed as approximations. Also, when the Sàsí claim that their origin is Molepolole, we can interpret this to mean areas ruled by the Kwena chief. But we can say roughly that a migration took place in the early 1900s. Since such a short period of separation (less than 100 years) would probably not have been enough to account for all the lexical and phonological differences between #Hðã and Sàsí, we speculate that the division between them took place earlier than the early 1900s.

There has been no systematic study of Sàsí. The data in this grammar come from the few weeks that Chris Collins was able to spend studying the language in 1996-1997, 1999 and 2011-2012. The main differences between Sàsí and #Hðã are phonological and lexical. A summary of some of the phonological differences is given below. In all the following comparisons, #Hðã is in the left column, and Sàsí is in the right column.

As noted, we follow the #Hðã transcriptions in Appendix 1 (Gruber 1975b) (with the exception of the list given in Appendix 2). Transcriptions of Sàsí deviate from those of #Hðã in two ways. First, high nasalized vowels in Sàsí are transcribed with mid nasalized vowels in #Hðã. For example, “tree” is transcribed as /’úú in Sàsí but as /’óó in #Hðã. Since the #Hðã words were almost all transcribed by Gruber, and the Sàsí words were all transcribed by Collins, we suspect this is just a difference in transcription practice and not a phonological difference between the languages. However, no study of nasalization has been done on either #Hðã or Sàsí. Second, there are a number of monomoraic low tone morphemes that Gruber transcribes as extra-low (*yà* 3SG, *ð* COP, *šř* POSS, *-šř* DIM, *čã* “one”, *-kðe* “per-

son”). Since these morphemes are monomoraic, it is difficult to distinguish between extra-low and low, so we transcribe them all as low in Sàsí.

First, all palatals {ky, gy, ny} in #Hḏǎ correspond to dentals {t, d, n} in Sàsí (see Traill 1980: 175):

(1)	a.	“leaf”	gyò“ba	dò“βa	[CC Sàsí 9:9]
	b.	“mother”	gye	de	[CC Sàsí 9:9]
	c.	“get up”	kyú	tú	[CC Sàsí 1:4, 9:10]
	d.	“go”	kyà“o	tà“o	[CC Sàsí 3:8, 9:10]
	e.	“where”	nyimà	namà	[CC Sàsí 1:34]

Second, words of the form C{i/e}Ca in #Hḏǎ correspond to words of the form CaCa in Sàsí:

(2)	a.	“tongue”	cèla	càla	[CC Sàsí 2:9]
	b.	“small (child)”	gyina	dàna	[CC Sàsí 2:4, 9:30]

Lastly, words of the form C{i/e}{o/u} in #Hḏǎ correspond to words of the form Ca{o/u} in Sàsí:

(3)	a.	“hand”	šiu	šáu	[CC Sàsí 3:1, 9:9]
	b.	“dig”	šiu	šàu	[CC Sàsí 1:32, 9:9]
	c.	“tooth”	c’iu	c’áu	[CC Sàsí 3:1, 9:9]
	d.	“tomorrow”	#héu	#háu	[CC Sàsí 9:31]
	e.	“path”	gyèo	dǎo	[CC Sàsí 12:10]

There have been no phonetic or phonological studies of the tones of #Hḏǎ or Sàsí. However, it is possible to note a number of differences, based on impressionistic data. First, here are some examples of rising tones (low-mid). In these examples, the low-mid tone of Sàsí ends in a small final pitch lowering (which is absent in #Hḏǎ):

(4)	a.	“eland”	čhǎ	čhǎ	[CC Sàsí 12:9]
	b.	“to kill”	!hḏō	!hǔū	[CC Sàsí 12:9]
	c.	“steenbok”	lqhḏō	lqhǔū	[CC Sàsí 12:9]
	d.	“sheep”	gǔ	gǔ	[CC Sàsí 12:9]
	e.	“gravy”	čǎǎ	cǎǎ	[CC Sàsí 12:9]
	f.	“nose”	!q’ḏō	!’ǔū	[CC Sàsí 12:26]

Examples of the correspondence between super-low tones in #Hḏǎ and rising tones in Sàsí are given below. Impressionistically, these tones in Sàsí are identical to the low-mid rising tone illustrated in (4). In these examples, the low-mid tone also ends in a small final pitch lowering, just like in (4):

(5)	a.	“night”	chào	chảo	[CC Sàsí 12:10]
	b.	“mat”	kḥi̯u	tǎu	[CC Sàsí 12:10]
	c.	“vulture”	lg̣ùì	lg̣ũì	[CC Sàsí 12:10]
	d.	“fire”	ŋg̣õã	ŋg̣õã	[CC Sàsí 12:10]
	e.	“path”	gyèo	đảo	[CC Sàsí 12:10]
	f.	“water”	ʝõ	ʝõ	[CC Sàsí 12:26]
	g.	“shoe”	ḷnãõ	ḷnãũ	[CC Sàsí 12:27]

Mid-low falling tones in †Hḏã map to mid-low falling tones in Sàsí. Some examples are given below:

(6)	a.	“house”	!kôa	!kôa	[Sàsí 12:20]
	b.	“chief”	!xâe	!xâe	[Sàsí 12:20]
	c.	“korhaan”	!kôõ	!kũũ	[Sàsí 12:20]
	d.	“star”	†kôõ	†kũũ	[Sàsí 12:20]
	e.	“mole snake”	ḷgôõ	ḷgũũ	[Sàsí 12:27]
	f.	“mogonono tree”	!gôa	!gôa	[Sàsí 12:27]

Gruber (1975b) transcribed this last class as extra-low in †Hḏã. However, impressionistically, they do not sound like the extra-low tone found in the †Hḏã words in (5) above (e.g., lg̣ùì “vulture” in †Hḏã). Rather, phonetically, they are mid-to-low falling tones (ML) in both †Hoa and Sàsí (and they sound much like the HL tone found in Kua, Tsua and other central Khoisan languages). Furthermore, as seen above in (5), extra-low tones in †Hḏã always map to rising tones in Sàsí, so we suggest the nouns in (6) do not have extra-low tones.

The consequence for tonal transcription is that Gruber merged two tone classes (ML and extra-low) into one class, which he wrote as c̣ṿ. These two classes need to be distinguished in an analysis of tone in Sàsí and †Hḏã. As noted, we have not made any corrections to Gruber’s vocabulary or recorded utterances, which are presented in the appendices of this book as historical documents. However, we include an addendum in Appendix 2 giving some of those words that have the new ML tone category. We write this as: c̣ṿ. These changes as well as the changes in delayed aspiration are reflected in the grammar and the oral texts (although there may still be words in the grammar and oral text that are mistranscribed).

Other than these phonological differences, here is a list of the main morphosyntactic differences we have found between †Hḏã and Sàsí (and the sections where they are discussed in the grammar).

(7)	#Hðǎ	Sàsí
Subject Marker (chapter 3)	none	i
Order of Negation (section 4.6)	PRON before NEG (lhð'õ)	NEG (n\ñù) before PRON
Immediate Past (section 4.6)	i	n!na“e
Reduplicated Numeral (section 9.4)	yes	no
Relative Pronoun (chapter 13)	l\na ('a reduced)	ka
Imperfective Relative (sections 13.1, 13.4)	'a ma	ma
Attributive Adjective (section 15.1)	NOUN llkoba/ǰǎ (f/m)	NOUN s\i llkoba/ǰǎ (f/m)
Adverbial Suffixes (chapter 17)	ADJ-sa, ADJ-xàsa	ADJ-na, ADJ
Question Focus Particle (section 25.1)	xà/xè	none
Distinct “what”/“who” (section 25.2)	no: 'ǎri yà	yes: nda/'ǎli yà
Bimorphemic “how” (section 25.6)	no: š\i	yes: llkà š\i

It is important to keep in mind that the information about Sàsí in this grammar is preliminary, since it is based on just a few weeks of work with the consultants.

### 3. Basic Sentences

#Hðã is an SVO (Subject-Verb-Object) language. The subject precedes the verb, as shown in the following example:

- (1) a. N|nobo-n|lgà'e 'a kyà'o  
N|nobo-n|lgà'e PROG go  
"N|nobo-n|lgà'e is going." [CC Shori 1:58]
- b. |qhà 'a kyxái  
women PROG dance  
"The women are dancing." [CC Shori 1:58]

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:

- (2) a. Titi 'a 'ám llkà'e  
Titi PROG eat meat  
"Titi is eating meat."
- b. yà 'a llx'ao l'óõ -qà  
3SG PROG chop wood -PL  
"He is chopping wood." [CC Shori 1:58]

In (2a), the direct object of the verb is *llkà'e* "meat", and in (2b), the direct object of the verb is *l'óõ-qà* "wood".

A verb without a direct object is called an intransitive verb. The examples in (1) involving "go" and "dance" above are intransitive verbs. Ditransitive verbs will be discussed in chapter 16.

The above sentences show that there are no subject markers (unlike the Bantu languages) or subject-verb agreement (unlike English). Furthermore, there are no case markers on noun phrases (unlike the central Khoisan languages). As to be discussed in chapter 9, with the exception of the 1SG genitive pronoun, pronouns do not show case distinctions either. Lastly, there is no declarative marker following the subject, unlike what is found in N|uu (see Collins and Namaseb 2011).

A major difference between #Hðã and Sàsí is the subject marker (SBJ), illustrated below for various kinds of sentences:

- (3) a. l'úũ ha ì çà'a  
tree this SBJ tall  
"This tree is tall." [CC Sàsí 12:23]

- b. 'am -qà ì 'a  
 food -PL SBJ COP  
 “There is food.” [CC Sàsí 11:33]
- c. yà ì 'a nlnobo ka kì ma  
 3SG SBJ PROG talk with LK me  
 “He is speaking with me.” [CC Sàsí 4:7, 9:13]
- d. ma ì !hũũ -'a ⊙'u  
 1SG SBJ kill -PFV duiker  
 “I killed a duiker.” [CC Sàsí 12:23]

Here are some sentences where SBJ was not found:

- (4) a. yà 'a !hà  
 3SG PROG hunt  
 “He is hunting.” [CC Sàsí 9:31]
- b. nda sî jǒ lkò'a  
 what ADV water absent  
 “Why is there no water?” [CC Sàsí 12:7]

One generalization is that SBJ always appears in sentences with predicate adjectives and existential sentences (except for the question in (4b)). The sentences in (3c) and (4a) show that SBJ is not obligatory in progressive sentences. Other than these very tentative generalizations, we know little about the subject marker. Factors that need to be investigated are: differences between pronouns and full noun phrases as subjects, differences between different pronouns (1SG vs. others), aspectual differences and differences between clause types (questions, relative clauses, declaratives, subjunctives).



#### 4. Tense, Aspect and Negation

In the following section, we give a brief overview of tense, aspect and negation. No attempt is made to investigate all the various possible combinations of the tense/aspect morphemes and auxiliaries. For a systematic exposition of the various combinations, the reader should consult JG Aux.

##### 4.1. Progressive and Habitual

The progressive is formed with the particle 'a.

- (1) a. ma 'a kyxái  
1SG PROG dancing  
“I am dancing.” [CC Shori 1:46]
- b. Titi 'a 'ám llkà'e  
Titi PROG eat meat  
“Titi is eating meat.” [CC Shori 1:49]

The progressive can also be used with non-action verbs like “see” and “want”. In the following scenario, you ask your friend why he is afraid. He answers that he sees a lion:

- (2) ma 'a cí !'hà'e  
1SG PROG see lion  
“I see a lion.” [CC Shori 2:29]

In this sentence, “see” is a stative verb being used in the progressive (see Comrie 1976: 35 for similar cases). Another example of the use of the progressive with a stative verb occurs in the following sentence:

- (3) ma 'a kīni šī kyà'o kī Gaborone  
1SG PROG want INF go LK Gaborone  
“I want to go to Gaborone.” [CC Shori 4:22]

Negation always comes between the subject and the verb. Negation precedes the progressive particle. There is some dialectal variation. In the Shorilatholo dialect, negation is pronounced /'hðð/ with delayed aspiration and a non-glottalized vowel. In Western #Hðã, there is an aspirated click (p.c., Linda Gerlach). In Sàsí, there is a nasal click (see (82) below for an example), instead of either aspiration or delayed aspiration. Henceforth we transcribe all instances of negation in #Hðã as in Gruber (1975b).

- (4) a. ma lhð'ð 'a kyxái  
1SG NEG PROG dance  
“I am not dancing.”

- b. Titi lhò'ō 'a 'ám llkà'e  
 Titi NEG PROG eat meat  
 "Titi is not eating meat." [CC Shori 1:49]

In fact, negation, adverbs and tense/aspect particles may not come between the progressive particle and the verb.

- (5) a. yà lhò'ō 'a č'eō yà  
 3SG NEG PROG do 3SG  
 "He/she is not doing it."  
 b. \*yà 'a lhò'ō č'eō yà  
 3SG PROG NEG do 3SG [JG Aux 31, 69]
- (6) a. ma llhá'a-sa 'a č'eō  
 1SG quick-ADV PROG do  
 "I am quickly doing."  
 b. \*ma 'a llhá'a-sa č'eō  
 1SG PROG quick-ADV do [JG VerbMod 53]

Only the relative imperfective marker *ma* (see chapter 13) and the subordinating particle *ka* (see chapter 24) may appear between the progressive particle and the verb.

The habitual is also expressed with *'a* (identical to the progressive particle *'a*):

- (7) llkam ma 'a cí Titi  
 often 1SG HAB see Titi  
 "I often see Titi." [CC Shori 1:54]
- (8) č'a kí- na ũe ma 'a kyà'o kì Gaborone  
 day PL- in all 1SG HAB go LK Gaborone  
 "Every day, I go to Gaborone." [CC Shori 1:55]
- (9) n!ka'e lhò'ō 'a 'ám llkà'e  
 1PL.EXCL NEG HAB eat meat  
 "We never eat meat." [CC Shori 1:54]

Because *'a* covers both the progressive and habitual, it would be possible to gloss it as IPFV for "imperfective". However, we will continue to use the distinct glosses PROG and HAB where appropriate.

The habitual can also be expressed with *ina*, which is homophonous with the verb *ina* "sit". Note that the habitual appears with a following imperfective particle:



(15) ma i ča č'eõ yà  
 1SG PST FUT do 3SG  
 "I was going to do it." [Utterances 2:1 75]

(16) ma i cí !'hà'e kì phakela  
 1SG PST see lion LK morning  
 "I saw a lion this morning." [CC Shori 1:60]

In the examples we have elicited, negation precedes the recent past tense marker (compare to (34) below):

(17) ma lhð'õ i cí Titi kì c'ã-c'ã  
 1SG NEG PST see Titi LK morning  
 "I did not see Titi this morning." [CC Shori 2:14]

For events taking place yesterday, the recent past marker is no longer used. Rather, the perfective is used in its place, plus the adverb /kù "yesterday". In the following scenario, you visit your friend who has a frightened look about him. You ask what the matter is and he responds:

(18) lkù ma lkù cí -'a !'hà'e  
 yesterday 1SG yesterday see -PFV lion  
 "Yesterday I saw a lion." [CC Shori 2:29]

Note that the adverb /kù "yesterday" is repeated twice. The doubling of "yesterday" is not obligatory as the following two sentences show. These sentences show that "yesterday" can be in either the pre-verbal position or the post-verbal position. When "yesterday" appears in the post-verbal position, it must be preceded by a linker, as show in (19b). The pattern whereby a post-verbal adverb takes a linker but a pre-verbal adverb does not is general to all adverbs, to be discussed in chapter 17.

(19) a. ma lkù kyà'o -'a kì Gaborone  
 1SG yesterday go -PFV LK Gaborone  
 "I went to Gaborone yesterday."  
 b. ma kyà'o -'a kì Gaborone kì lkù  
 1SG go -PFV LK Gaborone LK yesterday  
 "I went to Gaborone yesterday." [CC Shori 1:47]

The following illustrates how the "yesterday" past tense is negated:

(20) ma lkù lhð'õ kyà'o -'a kì Gaborone  
 1SG yesterday NEG go -PFV LK Gaborone  
 "I didn't go to Gaborone yesterday." [CC Shori 1:5]



- (26) ma cí -'a !'hà'e kì khãẽ 'a m̀ llkúi -'a  
 1SG see -PFV lion LK year which REL pass -PFV  
 “I saw a lion last year.” [CC Shori 2:30]

As noted, the use of the perfective with an action verb entails that the action took place in the past. However, for certain verbs (see section 4.5), the use of the perfective does not entail past time reference. For example, the stative verb *čí* “know” takes the perfective to express knowing in the present, whereas the homophonous verb *čí* “see” takes the progressive to express seeing in the present.

- (27) a. ù xà 'a cí Titi yà  
 2SG Q PROG see Titi Q  
 “Do you see Titi?” [CC Shori 1:49]
- b. ù xà cí -'a Titi yà  
 2SG Q know -PFV Titi Q  
 “Do you know Titi?” [CC Shori 1:49]

If there is a when-clause that makes the time of the event clear, then there is no need for a past tense marker in the main clause:

- (28) a. ma i 'a ka n|nobo ke Thabo  
 1SG PST PROG SUB talk with Thabo  
 “When I was talking to Thabo,  
 yà !'áu  
 3SG fell  
 he fell.”
- b. ma i 'a ka n|nobo ke cì  
 1SG PST PROG SUB talk with 3PL  
 “When I was talking with them,  
 cì šú ma kì l'í  
 3PL give 1SG LK money  
 they gave me money.”
- c. ma i 'a ka 'ám  
 1SG PST PROG SUB eat  
 “When I was eating,  
 Thabo !'ú-šo kì !kôa na  
 Thabo entered LK house in  
 Thabo entered the house.” [CC Shori 4:5]

- (29) ma llkõe ka ò gyá“m-si, ma cí !’hà’e  
 1SG still SUB COP child -DIM 1SG see lion  
 “When I was a child, I saw a lion.” [CC Shori 4:13]

Many examples in the oral texts show that if the time of the event is clear (given the setting of the story), no tense marker needs to be used at all:

- (30) ma !qhào cì, cì kí- n!qǎě  
 1SG chase 3PL, 3PL PL- run.PL  
 “I chased them, they ran.” [Ngalang’s Lion Story 10]

- (31) llgama -qà !xòbe cì kì !’hà“a -qà ke !kôa  
 god -PL lend 3PL LK blanket -PL and house  
 “The gods lent them some blankets and a house.” [Village of Gods 4]

- (32) cì !kù !güi ha kì kí- kyà“o  
 3PL take vulture this EMPH PL- go  
 “They took this vulture and went.” [Vulture 87]

- (33) cì Okúi !güi ha kì  
 3PL roast vulture this EMPH  
 “They roasted this vulture.” [Vulture 94]

The following examples show that negation can go on either side of //ke.

- (34) a. yà lho’õ llke č’eõ  
 3SG NEG PST do  
 “He did not do.”
- b. yà llke lhò’õ č’eõ  
 3SG PST NEG do  
 “He did not do.”
- c. yà lhò’õ llke ’a č’eõ  
 3SG NEG PST IPFV do  
 “He was not doing.”
- d. yà llke lhò’õ ’a č’eõ  
 3SG PST NEG IPFV do  
 “He was not doing.” [JG Aux 65]

Similarly, adverbs may appear on either side of the past tense marker:

- (35) a. ma llke llhá“a-sa č’eõ  
 1SG PST quick-ADV do  
 “I did fast.”





Thabo i 'a 'ám  
 Thabo PST PROG eat  
 Thabo was eating.” [CC Shori 4:4]

Similarly, one can combine the habitual with the past tense:

(42) n!ka'e l!ke lna 'a kí- kyà“o kì Gaborone  
 1PL.EXCL PST HAB IPFV PL- go LK Gaborone  
 “We used to go to Gaborone.” [CC Shori 2:31]

In the following example of the habitual, past time reference is given by the adverbial clause, while the main clause has no tense marker. Note that *bogobe* “porridge” is a borrowing from Setswana.

(43) ma l!ke ka ò gyá“m -sì, ma 'a 'ám bogobe  
 1SG PST SUB COP child -DIM 1SG HAB eat bogobe  
 “When I was a child, I ate *bogobe*.” [CC Shori 1:59]

Just as the past tense can be combined with the imperfective particle 'a, it can also be used in combination with the perfective suffix -'a, although such examples are more difficult to elicit (a simple past tense or a simple perfective aspect being preferred instead). In the following situation, you go to Thabo's house to talk to him, but he is not there. When you return to your own house, somebody asks “Did you see Thabo?”, and you respond:

(44) yà i kyà“o -'a  
 3SG PST go -PFV  
 “He had already left.” [CC Shori 4:4]

This example shows that at the time you had gone there, he had left before that moment. So in this example, using the perfective means that the leaving time precedes the time when you went to his house.

Other ways of answering the same question (“Did you see Thabo?”) are the following (note that *hithela* “find” is a borrowing from Setswana). In these examples, the verb “find” is in the recent past, and the embedded verb “go” is in the perfective:

(45) a. sala, ma i hithela yà i kyà“o -'a  
 already 1SG PST find 3SG PST go -PFV  
 “I found he had already left.”

b. ma i hithela yà kyà“o -'a  
 1SG PST find 3SG go -PFV  
 “I found he had left.”



		Titi (Western)	Shorilatholo (Eastern)	
(48)	a.	qo	after today	after today
	b.	o	N/A	general
	c.	ča	today	general (not investigated)

We first discuss the general future marker *o* in the Shorilatholo dialect. As the following examples show, *o* can be used for same day future marking. Note that the temporal adverb may appear either pre- or post-verbally, showing the now familiar pattern that the post-verbal adverb must be introduced by the linker (see chapter 17). The data in (49b, c) also show that the temporal adverb may either precede or follow the future marker, mirroring the adverb ordering data for the past tense marker in (34) and (35).

(49)	a.	ma	o	kyà“o	kì	hà“ma	
		1SG	FUT	go	LK	afternoon	
		“I will go this afternoon.”					
	b.	ma	o	hà“ma	’a	kyà“o	
		1SG	FUT	afternoon	IPFV	go	
		“I will go this afternoon.”					
	c.	ma	hà“ma	o	kyà“o		
		1SG	afternoon	FUT	go		
		“I will go this afternoon.”					

[CC Shori 2:56]

Note that the imperfective marker appears in (49b) but not (49a, c), without any apparent change in interpretation. Crucially, the temporal adverb separates the future marker and the verb in (49b), but not in (49a, c). We return to this fact in (64) and (65) below. In this kind of example, where the imperfective particle is used to describe a future event, we use IPFV for the gloss, instead of PROG or HAB.

Some other examples of *o* as a same day future marker are given below:

(50)	Leha	llkò-sa	o	kyà“o	kì	Gaborone	
	Leha	later	FUT	go	LK	Gaborone	
	“Leha will go to Gaborone later today.”						[CC Shori 1:68]
(51)	!gòà	yà	o	nlnobo	ke	yà	ču
	late.afternoon	3SG	FUT	talk	with	3SG	father
	“He will talk with his father in the late afternoon.”						[CC Shori 1:68]

As noted, the *o* future marker in the Shorilatholo dialect is also used for events taking place after today:

- (52) ma o cí Titi kì beke 'a nà ma ča  
 1SG FUT see Titi LK week which ITIN REL come  
 “I will see Titi next week.” [CC Shori 2:32]

Just as negation normally precedes the past tense marker (see (17) and (34) above), it also precedes the future marker:

- (53) ma lhǎ'ǎ hà“ma o kyà“o  
 1SG NEG afternoon FUT go  
 “I will not go this afternoon.” [CC Shori 2:57]

- (54) a. yà lhǎ'ǎ o kyà“o kì Gaborone  
 3SG NEG FUT go LK Gaborone  
 “He will not go to Gaborone.”
- b. yà lhǎ'ǎ o nlnobo ke yà ču  
 3SG NEG FUT talk with 3SG father  
 “He will not talk with his father.” [CC Shori 4:13]

An example of the *ča* future from the oral texts is given below. The speaker is Bistol, who is from Tshwaane, which is in the Western part of the #Hǎ area. In the story, it is clear that *ča* refers to the immediate future.

- (55) sí yà ma ča 'ào  
 how Q 1SG FUT do  
 “What will I do?” [Kudu 52]

The future marker *ča* is homophonous with the verb *ča* “come”. They can be distinguished when the subject is plural. In that case, the verb *ča* “come” takes the suppletive plural form *kí-ča*, but the future marker remains unchanged:

- (56) a. cì ča č'eǎ yà  
 3PL FUT do 3SG  
 “They will do it.”
- b. cì kí- ča -'a  
 3PL PL- come -PFV  
 “They came.” [JG Aux 23]

In both dialects (Titi’s and Shorilatholo), to make reference to events happening tomorrow, it is sufficient to use the adverb “tomorrow” with the imperfective particle. No future marker is needed.

- (57) ma †héu 'a č'eõ yà  
 1SG tomorrow IPFV do 3SG  
 “I will do it tomorrow.” [JG Aux 35]

The adverb “tomorrow” is often doubled (with reduction of the copy following the subject for the consultants from Shorilatholo), parallel to the doubling found with “yesterday” (see (18) above).

- (58) †héu yà †hú 'a 'ám ʘ'ú kí- †kà'e  
 tomorrow 3SG tomorrow IPFV eat duiker POSS- meat  
 “Tomorrow he will eat duiker meat.” [CC Shori 2:32]

- (59) yà †hú 'a šú Bafoko kì l'í kì †héu  
 3SG tomorrow IPFV give Bafoko LK money LK tomorrow  
 “He will give Bafoko money tomorrow.” [CC Shori 2:32]

- (60) †héu cì †hú 'a c'eõ yà  
 tomorrow 3PL tomorrow IPFV do 3SG  
 “They will do it tomorrow.” [CC Shori 2:33]

In the examples above, the imperfective particle 'a is used. In fact, it cannot be dropped in the “tomorrow” future:

- (61) a. ʘ'u †héu 'a č'eõ yà  
 duiker tomorrow IPFV do 3SG  
 “Tomorrow the duiker will do it.”  
 b. \*ʘ'u †héu č'eõ yà  
 duiker tomorrow do 3SG [JG Aux 117]

If the context is clear from an adverbial clause, the future marker is not needed, although the imperfective particle is always present. So in the following scenario, somebody gave me some money for Thabo, and I assure them that when he arrives, I will give it to him:

- (62) Thabo 'a ka khoa ča ma 'a šú yà kì l'í  
 Thabo PROG SUB arrive come 1SG IPFV give 3SG LK money  
 “When Thabo arrives, I will give him money.” [CC Shori 6:45]

- (63) čo'a 'a ka ʘhõa ma 'a kyà'o kì †kàwa na  
 rain PROG SUB fall 1SG IPFV go LK home in  
 “When it rains, I will go home.” [CC Shori 6:29]

When the future markers are separated from the verb by an adverb or negation, then the imperfective particle is necessary:

- (64) a. ma kúe khì qo č'eõ yà  
 1SG indeed FUT do 3SG  
 "I will indeed do it."
- b. ma qo kúe khì 'a č'eõ yà  
 1SG FUT indeed IPFV do 3SG
- c. \*ma qo kúe khì č'eõ yà  
 1SG FUT indeed do 3SG [JG Aux 92]
- (65) a. ma {ča, qo, kx'ǒ} llhá'a-sa 'a č'eõ  
 1SG FUT quick-ADV PROG do  
 "I will quickly do."
- b. ma {ča, qo, kx'ǒ} ('a) č'eõ  
 1SG FUT PROG do  
 "I will do." [JG Aux 137]

These examples suggest that future markers are generally associated with imperfective aspect, where the imperfective marker is often not realized. The conclusion is supported by the fact that the future takes the imperfective relativizing particle *ma* in relative clauses (see chapter 13).

In addition to the *qo* future marker, there is a remote future marker *kx'ǒ*. We have not investigated the remote future for the Shorilatholo consultants.

- (66) a. ma {qo, \*kx'ǒ} č'eo yà kì khàē llna nà ma ča  
 1SG FUT do 3SG LK year which ITIN REL come  
 "I will do it in the coming year."
- b. ma {qo, kx'ǒ} č'eo yà kì khàē -qà  
 1SG FUT do 3SG LK year -PL  
 llna -qà nà ma kí- ča  
 which -PL ITIN REL PL- come  
 "I will do it in the years to come." [JG Aux 121]

The future can be combined with the progressive, just like the past tense can be combined with the progressive. In the following scenario, somebody calls and says he will come to the wedding at 6:00. You tell them:

- (67) a. cì o 'a kyxái  
 3PL FUT PROG dance  
 "They will be dancing." [CC Shori 3:23]



#### 4.4. Summary of Tenses

In the following chart, we summarize the tense system. We include the remote past and remote future, which are discussed further in JG Aux.

As noted, for future events taking place tomorrow, the adverb #*héu* “tomorrow” is used with the imperfective marker. For past events which took place yesterday, the adverb /*kù* “yesterday” is used with the perfective marker.

#### (72) Tense Markers

	Past	Future
Today	i	ča (Titi/Western)
(within day)		o (Shorilatholo/Eastern)
One day away	lkù...V-'a	#héu... 'a V
Distant	llke	qo
		o (Shorilatholo/Eastern)
Remote	llkhàm	kx'õ

#### 4.5. Stative Verbs

There are two classes of stative verbs. In the first class, the verb takes the imperfective particle for a present time interpretation. In the second class, the verb takes the perfective suffix - 'a for a present time interpretation.

Some examples of stative verbs that take the imperfective particle for a present time interpretation are given below:

- (73) a. yà 'a cǎ  
 3SG IPFV sick  
 “He is sick.”

- b. cì 'a cǎ  
 3PL IPFV sick  
 “They are sick.”

[CC Shori 5:30]

- (74) ma 'a kîni šî kyà“o  
 1SG PROG want INF go  
 “I want to go.”

[CC Shori 5:30]

In the past tense, a past tense marker is added, with the imperfective particle remaining:

- (75) a. yà llke 'a cǎ  
 3SG PST IPFV sick  
 “He was sick.”

[CC Shori 1:66]



- b. ma i 'a kɪni ʃi kyà“o  
 1SG PST IPFV want INFL go  
 “I wanted to go.” [CC Shori 1:72]

Some examples of stative verbs that take the perfective for a present time interpretation are given below:

- (76) lko'õ lhõõ -'a ma  
 hunger kill -PFV 1SG  
 “I am hungry.” [CC Shori 1:71]

- (77) č'a lhõõ -'a |Nòõ-kí-jõa  
 sun kill -PFV |Nòõ-kí-jõa  
 “|Nòõ-kí-jõa is thirsty.” [CC Shori 5:21]

- (78) ma #q'ao-kí -'a  
 1SG become.tired -PFV  
 “I am tired.” [CC Shori 5:21]

- (79) ma cí -'a Titi  
 1SG know -PFV Titi  
 “I know Titi.” [CC Shori 5:21]

In the past tense, these verbs maintain the perfective marking, so that a past tense particle and the perfective suffix occur with the same verb:

- (80) a. lko'õ i !hõõ -'a ma kì #héu  
 hunger PST kill -PFV 1SG LK morning  
 “I was hungry this morning.”
- b. ma ||ke cí -'a Titi  
 1SG PST know -PFV Titi  
 “I knew Titi.” [CC Shori 1:72]

#### 4.6. Sàsí

We have not investigated the tense/aspect system of Sàsí in detail yet. With the exception of the placement of negation, the system seems to be identical to that found in the Shorilatholo dialect in that it uses *o* as a future marker.

The progressive is expressed with the particle 'a:

- (81) yà 'a !hà  
 3SG PROG hunt  
 “He is hunting.” [CC Sàsí 9:31]

Interestingly, the negative particle precedes the subject pronoun. This is a striking difference from #Hḏā, where the negative particle follows the subject pronoun:

- (82) nlnūū yà 'a !hà  
 NEG 3SG PROG hunt  
 “He is not hunting.” [CC Sàsí 12:1]

Some other examples illustrating the placement of negation and the subject pronoun in Sàsí are given below:

- (83) a. nlnūū cì 'a í- tà“o  
 NEG 3PL PROG PL- go  
 “They are not going.”  
 b. nlūū j̄i 'a í- tà“o  
 NEG 2PL PROG PL- go  
 “You (PL) are not going.” [CC Sàsí 11:34]

However, proper names and other non-pronominal noun phrases precede the negation, just as in #Hḏā:

- (84) a. Bakane 'a !hà  
 Bakane PROG hunt  
 “Bakane is hunting.”  
 b. Bakane n!ūū 'a !hà  
 Bakane NEG PROG hunt  
 “Bakane is not hunting.”  
 c. 'àm čú nlūū 'a !hà  
 1SG.GEN father NEG PROG hunt  
 “My father is not hunting.” [CC Sàsí 12:1]

In the following example, a full noun phrase precedes negation, while a pronoun (referring back to the noun phrase) follows negation:

- (85) da“m -sì Ɔkoa tǒa nlūū cì 'a í- tà“o  
 child -DIM two that NEG 3PL PROG PL- go  
 “Those two children are not going.” [CC Sàsí 11:34]

The same particle 'a is also used for the habitual, just as in #Hḏā:

- (86) č'a ka k̄i č'a cì 'a 'ám llkà“e  
 day and LK day 3PL PROG eat meat  
 “Every day they eat meat.” [CC Sàsí 9:32]

Note that in the following sentence, the linker appears before the direct object. This use of the linker is discussed for a similar sentence in #Hðã in section 16.5.

- (87) č'a kò cì 'a 'ám kì lkà'e  
 day all 3PL PROG eat LK meat  
 "Every day they eat meat." [CC Sàsí 10:18]

The future is expressed with *o* and *ča*, as in the Shorilatholo dialect. The *ča* future is not restricted to same day future, as (89) shows. We have not studied the conditions under which the *ča* future is used. We have heard the *qo* future used once by one consultant. Furthermore, we do not have data on whether *o* can be used for future times later than today.

- (88) a. lkòsa yà o tà'o  
 later.today 3SG FUT go  
 "He will go later today."  
 b. qa'βa ma o tà'o  
 afternoon 1SG FUT go  
 "I will go this afternoon." [CC Sàsí 9:33]
- (89) yà ča 'a !hà kì ngwaga ka ma ča  
 3SG FUT PROG hunt LK year which REL come  
 "He will hunt next year." [CC Sàsí 9:31]

For events occurring the next day, "tomorrow" is doubled, and the imperfective particle is used, exactly as in #Hðã:

- (90) #háu yà #háu 'a !hà [yà pronounced à]  
 tomorrow 3SG tomorrow PROG hunt  
 "He will hunt tomorrow." [CC Sàsí 9:31]

Similarly, "yesterday" can be doubled in the past tense:

- (91) lkù yà lkù !hà -'a [yà pronounced à]  
 yesterday 3SG yesterday hunt -PFV  
 "He hunted yesterday." [CC Sàsí 9:31]

However, doubling of "yesterday" is not obligatory:

- (92) !'hà'e ma lkù cí  
 lion 1SG yesterday see  
 "I saw a lion yesterday." [CC Sàsí 9:31]

The immediate past is indicated by *n!na*“e. In the following example, *phakela* “morning” can go on either side of the verb, but if it follows the verb, the linker must be used. The immediate past is often used in a reduced form, such as *'a*“e or even *'a*“a.

- (93) a.   phakela       ma   n!na“e       cí   !'hà'e  
           morning       1SG PST           see   lion  
           “I saw a lion this morning.”
- b.   ma   n!na“e       cí   !'hà'e kì   phakela  
           1SG PST           see   lion LK   morning  
           “I saw a lion this morning.”                               [CC Sàsí 9:32]

An example of the immediate past is given in the following formulaic ending to oral texts:

- (94) ma       n!na“e   kì-khúri  
       1SG       PST       finished  
       “I have finished.”   [Korhaan 8]

The distant past is expressed with //ke:

- (95) llkǎm       ma   llke   cí   !'hà'e  
       long.ago   1SG PST   see   lion  
       “I saw a lion long ago.”                                       [CC Sàsí 9:32]

## 5. Ordering of Pre-Verbal Elements

In the previous section, we discussed the tense/aspect markers and negation, all of which occur between the subject and the verb. In this section, we will discuss a few additional elements that appear between the subject and the verb. We cannot discuss all combinations of the tense/aspect elements with the following pre-verbal elements. We will discuss adverbs, which also appear between the subject and the verb, in chapter 17.

### 5.1. *nà* Itinerate

*nà* (glossed ITIN) has the meaning of doing while on a trip or while going. *nà* ITIN is also used frequently in the Shorilatholo dialect.

- (1) a. ma    *nà*    č'eō    yǎ  
       1SG ITIN do    3SG  
       “I am doing it while on a trip.”
- b. ma    *nà*    ča  
       1SG ITIN come  
       “I am coming.” (on the way)
- c. khàe    lna    *nà*    mà    ča  
       year which ITIN 1SG come  
       “the year (on the way) coming” (next year)    [JG Aux 37]

It is often used in oral texts. In the following sentence, on the way back home, the mothers are collecting firewood:

- (2) 'àm            gye    -qà    kì    *nà*    !káni, *nà*    !káni  
       1SG.GEN mother-PL EMPH ITIN collect ITIN collect  
       “My mothers collected, collected,  
       ... *nà*            !káni    l'óō    -qà,    *nà*    !káni    l'óō    -qà  
       ... ITIN        collect wood -PL ITIN collect wood -PL  
       ... collected wood, collected wood.”    [Keboheditse Lion Story 11, 12]

In the following story, the two brothers are gathering birds on the way:

- (3) cì    ○koa    *nà*    í-    kyà“o    *nà*    n+ná“m  
       3PL two ITIN PL- go ITIN gather  
       “The two walked and walked and gathered ...”    [Elephant Woman 22]

*nà* cannot be used with either the imperfective or the perfective:

- (4) a. \*ma    *nà*    'a    č'eō  
       1SG ITIN IPFV do

b. \*ma 'a nà č'eõ  
1SG IPFV ITIN do

c. \*ma nà č'eõ 'a  
1SG ITIN do PFV

[JG Aux 38]

Negation can come before, but not after, *nà* ITIN:

(5) a. yà lhò'õ nà č'eõ yà  
3SG NEG ITIN do 3SG

b. \*yà nà lhò'õ č'eõ yà  
3SG ITIN NEG do 3SG

[JG Aux 69]

## 5.2. Positional Pre-Verbs

There are a number of positional pre-verbs, with complex semantics, that appear directly before the verb and take the place of the imperfective marker. We have not investigated these positional pre-verbs in the Shorilatholo dialect. Moreover, a preliminary attempt to elicit (7) with some of the Shorilatholo consultants was unsuccessful.

(6) yà !gò'a 'ám  
3SG stand.AUX eat

“He eats standing.”

[Utterance 2:2 1912]

(7) ma †gà'a 'ám  
1SG recline.AUX eat

“I am eating reclining.”

[Utterances 2:2 1958]

In this section, we will discuss †gà'a (recline.AUX). For more information, see JG Aux. These pre-verbs have a complex range of meanings:

(8) a. yà †gà'a kyà“o  
3SG recline.AUX go

“He passes by going.”

b. yà †gà'a lna  
3SG recline.AUX sit

“He is beginning to sit down.”

[JG Aux 41]

c. yà †gà'a nllgà“e llkà'a-qà  
3SG recline.AUX put.down thing-PL

“He intends to put the things down.”

[JG Aux 47]

The positional pre-verb is not possible with either the imperfective or perfective markers:

- (9) a. \*ya †gà'a 'a kyà'o  
 3SG recline.AUX IPFV go
- b. \*yà 'a †gà'a kyà'o  
 3SG IPFV recline.AUX go
- c. \*ya †ga'a kyà'o -'a  
 3SG recline.AUX go -PFV [JG Aux 52]

Tense markers appear before (not after) the positional pre-verbs:

- (10) a. yà qo †gà'a kyà'o  
 3SG FUT recline.AUX go  
 “He will be passing going.”
- b. \*yà †gà'a qo kyà'o  
 3SG recline.AUX FUT go [JG Aux 54]

Just like with the imperfective marker, negation cannot appear between the positional pre-verb and the verb:

- (11) a. yà lhò'ō †gà'a č'eō yà  
 3SG NEG recline.AUX do 3SG  
 “He doesn't do it reclining.”
- b. \*ya †gà'a lhò'ō č'eō yà  
 3SG recline.AUX NEG do 3SG [JG Aux 52, 69]

### 5.3. kyà “go”

The meaning of *kyà* is physical motion toward an intended action. The physical motion is definitely implied. We will gloss it as “go.AUX”. *kyà* is commonly used in all dialects, including Sàsí. *kyà* occurs before the imperfective 'a:

- (12) a. ma kyà 'a č'eō yà  
 1SG go.AUX IPFV do 3SG  
 “I go to do it.”
- b. ma kyà 'a càxú  
 1SG go.AUX IPFV cook  
 “I go cooking.” [CC Shori 3:20]

No tense marker or adverb can appear between *kyà* and the imperfective particle.

- (13) a. yà qo kyà 'a č'eō yà  
 3SG FUT go.AUX IPFV do 3SG  
 “He will go to do it.”

- b. \*yà kyà qo 'a č'eõ yà  
 3SG go.AUX FUT IPFV do 3SG [JG Aux 175]

Furthermore, adverbs cannot appear between *kyà* and the verb:

- (14) a. ma llhá" a-sa kyà 'a č'eõ yà  
 1SG quick-ADV go.AUX IPFV do 3SG  
 "I will quickly go do it."
- b. \*ma kyà llhá" a-sa ('a) č'eõ yà  
 1SG go.AUX quick-ADV IPFV do 3SG [JG Aux 176]

In Sàsí, *tà* has the same use as *kyà* "go.AUX":

- (15) ma tà 'a càxú  
 1SG go.AUX IPFV cook  
 "I go to cook." [CC Sàsí 12:5]

#### 5.4. Dubitive

The dubitive expresses uncertainty and can be translated with "perhaps", although other translations are possible (e.g., incredulity or doubt). We have not studied the full range of meanings or the situations of use. The dubitive is also used in the Shorilatholo dialect. A couple of examples give the general idea.

In this example, I go past Mma Dipitse's house to see Keboheditse, and I ask Mma Dipitse if Keboheditse is at home. Because Mma Dipitse sees the fire lit in her courtyard, she replies with the following sentence:

- (16) yà lkama 'a  
 3SG DUB COP  
 "Probably she is there." [CC Shori 6:13]

Some additional examples are given below:

- (17) a. ma lkama ča cí yà  
 1SG DUB FUT see 3SG  
 "Can it be that I will see him?"
- b. yà lkama 'a  
 3SG DUB COP  
 "How can he be there!" [JG Aux 84]
- (18) a. yà lkama i kyà"o  
 3SG DUB PST go  
 "Perhaps he left." [CC Shori 3:13]



- b. yà lkama lhò'õ 'a kyà“o  
3SG DUB NEG IPFV go  
“Perhaps he isn’t going.” [CC Shori 6:14]
- (19) a. yà lkama č'eõ yà  
3SG DUB do 3SG  
“Perhaps he has just done it.”
- b. yà lkama 'a č'eõ yà  
3SG DUB IPFV do 3SG  
“Can he be doing it!”
- c. yà lkama č'eõ -'a yà  
3SG DUB do -PFV 3SG  
“I doubt whether he has done it.” [JG Aux 86]

The dubitive can occur on either side of the tense markers:

- (20) a. yà lkama {ča, qo, kx'o} cí yà  
3SG DUB FUT see 3SG
- b. yà {ča, qo, kx'o} lkama cí yà  
3SG FUT DUB see 3SG [JG Aux 85]

But the dubitive cannot occur after the imperfective particle (or similar particles):

- (21) a. \*yà 'a lkama č'eõ yà  
3SG IPFV DUB do 3SG
- b. \*yà na lkama č'eõ yà  
3SG ITIN DUB do 3SG
- c. \*yà †gà'a lkama č'eõ yà  
3SG AUX.recline DUB do 3SG [JG Aux 85]

We have found that Sàsi also has the word /kama/, with a similar meaning, although we have not studied it in detail.

### 5.5. lqe “can”

Modality is expressed with a separate particle /qe/ (for some people /ke/). The following question is about the linguistic abilities of the addressee:

- (22) ù lqe n/nobo kx'à yà  
2SG can speak kx'a Q  
“Can you speak Kx'a?” [Utterances 1:1 479]

In the following situation, the house worker wants to leave early to buy something, and you say (23), giving them permission to leave:

- (23) ù lke kyà“o  
 2SG can go  
 “You can go.” [CC Shori 3:21]

In the following situation, the baby is crying. So the mother tells the elder daughter that the helper can feed the baby (also a kind of permission):

- (24) yà lke ’a kí- ’ám gyá“m -sì  
 3SG can IPFV CAUSE- eat child -DIM  
 “He/she can feed the baby.” [CC Shori 3:21]

A similar usage appears in the following sentence:

- (25) ha ù lhð’õ ’a ka #kao ma, ù lqe kyà“o  
 if 2SG NEG PROG SUB love 1SG 2SG can go  
 “If you don’t love me, you can go.” [JG Slogic 2]

In the following example, /qe “can” indicates the possibility of butterflies being seen, given what is known about the world.

- (26) khi-khibi-qà lqe kì- cí kì kx’à kí- na ùe  
 butterfly-PL can PASS- see LK land PL- in all  
 “Butterflies can be seen in every land.” [Utterances 1:1 1,041]

/qe “can” almost always appears without any tense marker. But if combined with a tense marker, /qe appears to the left of it:

- (27) a. yà lqe qo č’eõ  
 3SG can FUT do  
 “He will be able to do it.” (after some days)
- b. \*yà qo lqe č’eõ  
 3SG FUT can do [JG Aux 144]

Sàsí also has /ke, meaning “can”:

- (28) a. ù lke tà“o  
 2SG can go  
 “You can go.” (giving permission to leave early)
- b. yà lke kí- ’ám da“m -sì  
 3SG can CAUSE- eat child -DIM  
 “He/she can feed the baby.” [CC Sàsí 12:5]

### 5.6. Summary of Ordering Restrictions

The chart below gives the ordering restrictions on all the elements we have described so far. If A is to the left of B in the chart, then it necessarily has to precede it. We do not illustrate all combinations, some of which may not be possible, but examples throughout the book give data on how they work. On the position of the relative marker, see section 13.2 for many examples.

The chart accurately characterizes Titi's dialect. Many of the words in the chart are either not found in the Shorilatholo dialect or have not been investigated, in particular the remote past, remote future, positional pre-verbs, the subjunctive marker *qù* and the habitual marker /'a. All the other forms exist in the Shorilatholo dialect.

#### (28) Summary of Ordering Restrictions

Modal	>	Tense >	ASP1	>	ASP2	>	PRE-V
		markers					
lqè		ča/qo/kx'ǒ	l'a		'a		ka
can		FUT	HAB		IPFV		SUB
		i/lke/lkħàm	lna		na		qù
		PST	HAB		itinerate		SBJV
			kyà		‡gà'a!/gò'a		ma
			go.AUX		(positional)		REL



## 6. Predicate Adjectives

Predicate adjectives take neither the imperfective particle 'a nor the perfective suffix -'a (nor the predicate nominal copula ð):

- (1) a. yà čà'a  
3SG tall  
"He is tall."
- b. \*yà 'a čà'a  
3SG PROG tall
- c. \*yà cà'a -'a  
3SG tall -PFV [JG Pred 10]

- (2) a. \*llkà'a 'a kǔru  
thing PROG hot
- b. \*llkà'a kǔru -'a  
thing hot -PFV [Collins 1998a: 34]

Furthermore, as opposed to the stative verbs listed in section 4.5, these forms take the kí[PL] prefix in the plural:

- (3) a. llkà'a kǔru  
thing hot  
"The thing is hot."
- b. llkà'a -qà kí- kǔru  
thing -PL PL- hot  
"The things are hot."
- c. \*llkà'a -qà kǔru  
thing -PL hot
- d. \*llkà'a kí-kǔru  
thing PL-hot [Gruber 1975a: (1a)]

- (4) a. \*gyá"m -sì 'a šù  
child -DIM PROG beautiful
- b. \*gyá"m-sì šù -'a  
child-DIM beautiful -PFV [Collins 1998a: 34]

- (5) a. gyá"m -sì šù  
child -DIM beautiful  
"The child is beautiful."

- b. gyá“m -lkà’a kÍ- šù  
 child -DIM.PL PL- beautiful  
 “The children are beautiful.”
- c. \*gyá“m -lkà’a šù  
 child -DIM.PL beautiful
- d. \*gyá“m -sì kÍ -šù  
 child -DIM PL -beautiful [Gruber 1975a: (1b)]

Some more examples illustrating predicate adjectives are given below:

- (6) a. #kÍ -sì #hà“ma !kà’a  
 bird -DIM wing red  
 “The bird’s wing is red.”
- b. #kÍ -sì #hà“ma -nlne kÍ- !kà’a  
 bird -DIM wing -PL PL- red  
 “The bird’s wings are red.”
- c. \*#kÍ -sì #hà“ma -nlne !kà’a  
 bird -DIM wing -PL red
- d. \*#kÍ -sì #hà“ma kÍ- !kà’a  
 bird -DIM wing PL- red [Gruber 1975a: (1c)]

The following example shows that a suppletive plural noun used as the subject also requires kÍ[PL] on the predicate adjective:

- (7) a. ’ã“ri-llgá“i čà’a  
 woman tall  
 “The woman is tall.”
- b. |qhà kÍ- čà’a  
 women PL- tall  
 “The women are tall.”
- c. \*|qhà čà’a  
 women tall
- d. \*’ã“ri-llgá“i kÍ- čà’a  
 woman PL- tall [Gruber 1975a: (1d)]

Plural pronominal subjects also require kÍ[PL] on the predicate adjective:

- (8) a. yà !kaō  
3SG wise  
“He is wise.”
- b. cì kí- !kaō  
3PL PL- wise  
“They are wise.”
- c. \*cì !kaō  
3PL wise
- d. \*yà kí- !kaō  
3SG PL- wise
- [Gruber 1975a: (1e)]

We analyze these forms as predicate adjectives, despite the absence of a copular verb (cf., “I am happy” in English), because they cannot be put into either the progressive or the perfective (which distinguishes them from verbs).

Another property of predicate adjectives is that they may optionally take the *n/ne*-plural:

- (9) llkà’a -qà ha kì kí- kũru -nlne  
thing -PL this EMPH PL- hot -PL  
“These things are hot.”
- [CC Shori 2:51]

There are a few predicate adjectives that do not take k[PL] when the subject is plural. In the following example, the lack of the imperfective and perfective shows that /x’òa “few” is a predicate adjective, yet it does not take k[PL]:

- (10) a. qà“a (\*kí-) lx’òa  
1PL.INCL PL- few  
“We are few.”
- b. \*qà“a ’a lx’òa  
1PL.EXCL IPFV few
- c. \*qà“a lx’òa -’a  
1PL.EXCL few -PFV
- [Gruber 1975a: (16d),  
Collins 1998a: (68)]

Another example of a predicate adjective that cannot take k[PL] is /kò’a “absent”:

- (11) a. cì lkò’a  
3PL absent  
“They are absent.”
- b. \*cì kí- lkò’a  
3PL PL- absent
- [JG Noun 15]

Mass nouns do not trigger *kí*[PL] on predicate adjectives:

- (12) a. jð kǔru  
water hot  
“The water is hot.”
- b. \*jð kí- kǔru  
water PL- hot [JG Noun 43]
- (13) a. |q’i !kà’a  
blood red  
“The blood is red.”
- b. \*|q’i kí- !kà’a  
blood PL- red [JG Noun 43]

There are a set of mass nouns that bear the plural suffix *-qà*. Those mass nouns also do not trigger *kí*[PL] on a predicate adjective:

- (14) a. ’àm šì ’àm -qà (\*kí-) ||qô  
1SG.GEN POSS food -PL PL- heavy  
“My food is heavy.”
- b. ’àm šì ’àm -qà (\*kí-) kǔru  
1SG.GEN POSS food -PL PL- hot  
“My food is hot.” [Collins 1998a: 35]
- (15) a. n#nòõ -qà qhǎě  
milk -PL delicious  
“The milk is delicious.”
- b. \*n#nòõ-qà kí- qhǎě  
milk -PL PL- delicious
- c. ||q’ó’bu -qà nlna’a  
garbage -PL ugly/awful  
“The garbage is ugly.”
- d. \*||q’o’bu -qà kí- nlna’a  
garbage -PL PL- ugly [JG Noun 43]

Locative nouns do not take *kí*[PL]:

- (16) a. ||kà’a -qà ||q’àm ’a  
thing -PL above COP  
“The things are above.”



- b. \*llkà'a -qà kí- llq'am 'a  
 thing -PL PL- above COP [JG Noun 33]
- (17) #kĩ -lkà'a 'ú 'a kì llq'am  
 bird -DIM.PL far COP LK above  
 "The birds are above." [CC Shori 3:9]

kí[PL] appears on predicate adjectives with plural subjects in Sàsí as well:

- (18) a. l'úū ha ì čà'a  
 tree this SBJ tall  
 "This tree is tall."
- b. l'úū -qà ha ì kí- čà'a  
 tree -PL this SBJ PL- tall  
 "These trees are tall." [CC Sàsí 12:23]

These examples illustrate a striking difference between #Hòã and Sàsí. In all Sàsí examples with a predicate adjective (and also many other kinds of sentences), there is a subject marker that appears between the subject and the verb.

The plural marker *n/ne* is also used in Sàsí (see (9) above for #Hòã).

- (19) a. tēmà ha i nlna'a  
 dog this SBJ ugly  
 "This dog is ugly."
- b. tēmà -qà ha i kí- nlna'a -nlne  
 dog -PL this SBJ PL- ugly -PL  
 "These dogs are ugly." [CC Sàsí 12:23]

In the following Sàsí examples, the predicate adjectives are used within relative clauses:

- (20) a. ù 'a cí !kôa ka m šù  
 2SG PROG see house which REL beautiful  
 "You see the beautiful house."
- b. ù 'a cí !kôa -qà ka m kí- šù  
 2SG PROG see house -PL which REL PL- beautiful  
 "You see the beautiful houses." [CC Sàsí 12:23]



## 7. Verbs with Suppletive Plurals

### 7.1. Intransitive Verbs

There is a small set of intransitive 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, as shown below (for other non-central Khoisan languages, see Collins and Namaseb 2011 on Nluu, and Dickens 2005 on Jul’hoan).

- (1) a. #’àmkkòe lna -’a kì lkôa na  
person sit -PFV LK room in  
“The person is sitting in the room.”
- b. čòčò-!ka’e kí- llkà -’a kì lkôa na  
people PL- sit.PL -PFV LK room in  
“The people are sitting in the room.”
- c. \*čòčò-!ka’e lna -’a kì lkôa na  
people sit -PFV LK room in
- d. \*#’àmkkòe kí- llka -’a kì lkôa na  
person PL- sit.PL -PFV LK room in [Gruber 1975a: (4a)]

Some other intransitive verbs that show the same pattern are given below:

- (2) a. ʘ’ú ’a kyà“o kì l’óč za  
duiker PROG go LK tree by  
“The duiker is going by the tree.”
- b. ʘ’ú -qà ’a kí- kyà“o kì l’óč za  
duiker -PL PROG PL- go LK tree by  
“The duikers are going by the tree.”
- c. \*ʘ’ú -qà ’a kyà“o kì l’óč za  
duiker -PL PROG go LK tree by
- d. \*ʘ’ú ’a kí- kyà“o kì l’óč za  
duiker PROG PL- go LK tree by [Gruber 1975a: (4b)]

We gloss *kí-* in the suppletive plural forms as PL, even though the use of *kí*[PL] here is irregular. The reason is that *kí*[PL] is only used productively when the verb has one of two suffixes (*kí-V-llqò* or *kí-V-čü*). Neither of these suffixes appears in (2b), so we claim that (2b) is an irregular use of *kí*[PL]. Further examples of suppletive plurals are given below:

- (3) a. llkà'a-sĩ      šùì    -'a    kì    l'óõ    č'òne  
 thing-DIM    fall    -PFV    LK    tree    surface  
 "The thing has fallen from the tree."
- b. llkà'a-lkà'a    gúũ    -'a    kì    l'óõ    č'òne  
 thing-DIM.PL fall    -PFV    LK    tree    surface  
 "The things have fallen from the tree."
- c. \*llkà'a -lkà'a      šùì    -'a    kì    l'óõ    č'òne  
 thing    -DIM.PL    fall    -PFV    LK    tree    surface
- d. \*llkà'a -sĩ    gúũ    -'a    kì    l'óõ    č'òne  
 thing    -DIM    fall    -PFV    LK    tree    surface      [Gruber 1975a: (4c)]
- (4) a. n!nàlo      'a    šĩĩ  
 chameleon    PROG dying  
 "The chameleon is dying."
- b. n!nàlo      -qà    'a    šĩĩ    -nà  
 chameleon    -PL    PROG die    -PL  
 "The chameleons are dying."
- c. \*n!nàlo      -qà    'a    šĩĩ  
 chameleon    -PL    PROG die
- d. \*n!nàlo      'a    šĩĩ    -nà  
 chameleon    PROG die    -PL      [Gruber 1975a: (4d)]

Such suppletion is not general. Most intransitive verbs do not take a suppletive plural, and may not take kí[PL] as the plural marker when there is a plural subject:

- (5) a. yà    llkòam -'a    kì    kx'à      na  
 3SG    kneel -PFV    LK    ground    in  
 "He is kneeling on the ground."
- b. cì    llkòam -'a    kì    kx'à      na  
 3PL    kneel -PFV    LK    ground    in  
 "They are kneeling on the ground."
- c. \*cì    kí-    llkòam -'a    kì    kx'à      na  
 3PL    PL-    kneel -PFV    LK    ground    in      [Gruber1975a: (5a)]
- (6) a. n!qũĩ      'a    kàla    kì    l'óõ    za  
 weaver.bird    PROG fly    LK    tree    by  
 "The weaver bird is flying by the tree."

- b.     n!q̄ũi           -qà    'a     kàla   kì     l'óō   za  
 weaver.bird -PL   PROG fly   LK     tree   by  
 “The weaver birds are flying by the tree.”
- c.     \*n!q̄ũi           -qà    'a     kí-    kàla   kì     l'óō   za  
 weaver.bird -PL   PROG PL- fly   LK     tree   by  
 [Gruber 1975a: (5b)]

- (7) a.     n!ná“a-kòe    †xáno        -'a    kì     gyòam   na  
 Bushman    descend        -PFV LK     river.bed   in  
 “The Bushman descended into the river bed.”
- b.     n!ná“a-kòe    -qà    †xáno        -'a    kì     gyòam   na  
 Bushman    -PL   descend        -PFV LK     river.bed   in  
 “The Bushmen descended into the river bed.”
- c.     \*n!ná“a-kòe    -qà    kí-   †xáno        -'a    kì     gyòam   na  
 Bushman    -PL PL-descend        -PFV LK     river.bed   in  
 [Gruber 1975a: (5c)]

## 7.2. Transitive Verbs

There are also small a number of transitive verbs that take suppletive plurals when the object is plural. In the following examples, the subject is singular, but the object is either singular (8a, c) or plural (8b, d). The suppletive plural is used only in (8b).

- (8) a.     'ǎ“ri-llgá“i   l'a    -'a    yà    llqo'e   kì    kx'à        na  
 woman        seat -PFV 3SG child LK   ground    in  
 “The woman seated her child on the floor.”
- b.     'ǎ“ri-llgá“i   l'e-llka -'a    yà    llqo'e-qà   kì    kx'à        na  
 woman        seat.PL-PFV 3SG child-PL LK   ground    in  
 “The woman seated her children on the floor.”
- c.     \*'ǎ“ri-llgá“i   l'e-llka -'a    yà    llqo'e   kì    kx'a        na  
 woman        seat.PL-PFV 3SG child LK   ground in
- d.     \*'ǎ“ri-llgá“i   l'a    -'a    yà    llqo'e-qà   kì    kx'à        na  
 woman        seat -PFV 3SG child-PL LK   ground in  
 [Gruber 1975a: (7a)]

In the following examples, the subject is plural but the object is either singular (9a, c) or plural (9b, d). The suppletive plural is used only in (9b).

- (9) a. lqhà l'a -'a cì llqo'e kì kx'à na  
 women seat -PFV 3PL child LK ground in  
 “The women seated their child on the floor.”
- b. lqhà l'ě-llkà -'a cì llqo'e-qà kì kx'à na  
 women seat.PL-PFV 3PL child-PL LK ground in  
 “The women seated their children on the floor.”
- c. \*lqhà l'ě-llkà -'a cì llqo'e kì kx'à na  
 women seat.PL-PFV 3PL child LK ground in
- d. \*lqhà l'a -'a cì llqo'e -qà kì kx'à na  
 women seat -PFV 3PL child -PL LK ground in  
 [Gruber 1975a: (7b)]

There are no transitive verbs that take a suppletive plural when the subject is plural, but the object is singular.

The lists below give the set of suppletive plural verbs found in #Hðã.

- (10) a. Intransitives
- | Singular | Plural    |           |
|----------|-----------|-----------|
| !q'áo    | lqhe      | “fall”    |
| šùì      | gúũ, qòle | “drop”    |
| lna      | kí-llkà   | “sit”     |
| !kúì     | llgã      | “stand”   |
| ‡qí'i    | !qhãu     | “recline” |
| ll'í     | !gã       | “hang”    |
| kí-lno   | kí-n!qãě  | “run”     |
| kyà“o    | kí-kyà“o  | “go”      |
| ča       | kí-ča     | “come”    |
| !'ú-šo   | !ka“m     | “enter”   |
| kyú      | gã        | “rise”    |
| šĩ       | šĩ-lnà    | “die”     |
| llga“a   | llga“a-šĩ | “grow”    |
- b. Transitives
- | Singular | Plural   |                                  |
|----------|----------|----------------------------------|
| l'a      | l'ě-llkà | “seat”                           |
| kí-lxào  | kí-nlnùì | “remove”, “take off”, “take out” |
| !kù      | ‡q'ai    | “take”, “get”, “receive”         |
| !hõõ     | Okoa     | “kill”                           |

As explained above, we gloss the *kí-* prefix in suppletive plurals as PL (even though the use of *kí*[PL] here is irregular). However, for verbs with *kí-* in the singular (e.g., “run”), PL would not be an appropriate gloss. Furthermore, the *kí-* in “run” does not appear to be either the causative prefix (chapter 20) or the verbalizing prefix (see section 8.5). With this singular verb, we deviate from Leipzig glossing conventions and leave in the hyphen indicating a morpheme boundary, without providing a gloss for *kí-* (so that *kí-/no* is glossed as “run”). In this we follow the conventions of Gruber (1975a). See section 21.3 for more examples.

### 7.3. Sàsí Suppletive Plural Verbs

Sàsí also has suppletive plurals, although the plural forms are sometimes optional. We have not investigated the whole range of verbs:

- (11) a. yà 'a tà“o  
3SG PROG go  
“He/she is going.”
- b. cì 'a kí-tà“o  
3PL PROG PL-go  
“They are going.” [CC Sàsí 12:23]
- (12) a. !kù yà  
take 3SG  
“Take it!”
- b. !kù cì  
take 3PL  
“Take them!”
- c. †q'ái cì  
take 3PL  
“Take them!” [CC Sàsí 12:23]
- (13) a. yà 'a !'ú-šo kì !kôa na  
3SG PROG enter LK house in  
“He is entering the house.”
- b. cì 'a !'ú-šo kì !kôa na  
3PL PROG enter LK house in  
“They are entering the house.”
- c. cì 'a !ka“m kì !kôa na  
3PL PROG enter.PL LK house in  
“They are entering the house.” [CC Sàsí 12:23]





## 8. Pluractionality

A pluractional suffix indicates that the action described by the verb takes place more than one time. #Hðā has three suffixes which indicate pluractionality: *-llqò*, *-čū* and *-n/ne*. Each of these will be discussed in turn. We will also briefly mention reduplication, and lastly a strategy for indicating whether an event has taken place one, two, three or many times.

### 8.1. kí-V-llqò

The *-llqò* suffix indicates that the action of the verb is sequentially repeated at several different places. For example, in (1a), Jeff is walking around to different places, and in (2a), Titi is eating at several different villages or perhaps several places in one village.

- (1) a. Jefo 'a kí- kyà“o-llqò  
 Jeff PROG PL- go-around  
 “Jeff is walking around.”
- b. \*Jefo 'a kí- kyà“o  
 Jeff PROG PL- go
- c. \*Jefo 'a kyà“o-llqò  
 Jeff PROG go-around [Collins 2001: (26)]
- (2) a. Titi 'a kí- 'ám-llqò  
 Titi PROG PL- eat-around  
 “Titi is eating around.”
- b. \*Titi 'a kí- 'ám  
 Titi PROG PL- eat
- c. \*Titi 'a 'ám-llqò  
 Titi PROG eat-around [Collins 2001: (27)]

As these sentences show, pluractionality requires not only the *-llqò* suffix, but also the kí[PL] prefix. If either is missing, the sentence is unacceptable.

Some examples from oral texts are given below. *Jaano* “now” is a borrowing from Setswana.

- (3) jaano, cì 'a kí- !hà-llqò ○gò -qà  
 now 3PL PROG PL- hunt-around honey -PL  
 “Now, they were looking around for honey.” [Eland Woman 4]
- (4) kí- kini-llqò !hà“ba -qà kí- kini-llqò !hà“ba -qà  
 PL- look.for-around anthill -PL PL- look.for-around anthill -PL  
 “... and went around looking for anthills and went around looking for anthills.”  
 [Elephant Woman 108]

The fact that the pluractional suffix is doubled by the *kí*[PL] prefix is similar to what is found in the nominal domain where it is possible for a noun to have both a plural suffix *-qà* and the *kí*[PL] prefix (chapter 10). In the sentences below, the plural suffix *-qà* is obligatory.

- (5) a. #’àmkðe      kí-      !kôa    -\*(qà)  
           person        PL-      house -PL  
           “the person’s houses”
- b. #’àmkðe      kí-      Onúũ    -\*(qà)  
           person        PL-      head -PL  
           “Here are the person’s heads.”
- c. gyá“m -sì      kí-      lkôam    -\*(qà)  
           child -DIM PL-      sack -PL  
           “the child’s sacks”
- [Collins 2001: (9)]

In the sentences below, the pluractional verb is followed by the modifier *kì ší mOnú* “in one place”. In each case, the sentence is unacceptable, since the use of *-lqò* entails more than one location, which is inconsistent with the modifier “in one place”.

- (6) a. \*Titi    i      kí-      ’ám-llqò      kì      ší      mOnú  
           Titi    PST    PL-      eat-around    LK      place    one
- b. \*yà      ’a      kí-      kîni-llqò      O’ú      kì      ší      mOnú  
           3SG    PROG PL-      want-around    duiker LK      place    one
- c. \*kyëamà      i      kí-      šiu-llqò      kì      ší      mOnú  
           dog                    PST    PL-      dig-around    LK      place    one
- [Collins 2001: (31)]

Even if the subject is plural, there still needs to be a sequence of events as shown below:

- (7) a. cì      i      kí-      ’ám-llqò  
           3PL    PST    PL-      eat-around  
           “They ate around.”
- [Collins 2001: (32)]
- b. cì      ’a      kí-      n|nobo -llqò      ke      ðð-!ka’e  
           3PL    PROG PL-      talk-around      with    people  
           “They are going around talking to people.”
- [Collins 2001: (33)]

Sentence (7a) cannot mean that Chris ate in one place, Titi ate in another place, and Leha ate in a third place. It can only mean that they went around eating (separately or together) in different places. Similarly, (7b) can only mean that they are going around (separately or together) talking to different people.

8.2. *kí-V-čú*

The pluractional suffix *-čú* also entails that the action is repeated several times, as illustrated in the following examples.

- (8) a. Jefo *kí-* *lq'ào* *-čú* *-’a* *ʃ’ámkðe*  
 Jeff PL- stab -REP -PFV person  
 “Jeff stabbed the person repeatedly.”
- b. \*Jefo *kí-* *lq'ào* *-’a* *ʃ’ámkðe*  
 Jeff PL- stab -PFV person
- c. ?Jefo *lq'ào* *-čú* *-’a* *ʃ’ámkðe*  
 Jeff stab -REP -PFV person [Collins 2001: (34)]
- (9) a. Jeff *kí-* *čhí* *-čú* *-’a* *⊙’ú* *kì* *lka’a* *-qà*  
 Jeff PL- shoot -REP -PFV duiker LK arrow -PL  
 “Jeff shot at the duiker repeatedly with arrows.”
- b. \*Jefo *kí-* *čhí* *-’a* *⊙’ú* *kì* *lka’a* *-qà*  
 Jeff PL- shoot -PFV duiker LK arrow -PL
- c. ?Jefo *čhí* *-čú* *-’a* *⊙’ú* *kì* *lka’a* *-qà*  
 Jeff shoot -REP -PFV duiker LK arrow -PL [Collins 2001: (35)]

As these sentences show, if the pluractional suffix *-čú* is used, then *kí[PL]* must be used as well, in the same way that *kí[PL]* is obligatory with the pluractionality suffix *-lqò* above.

The pluractional suffix *-čú* is restricted to transitive verbs of aggressive contact such as *lq'ào* “stab”, *čhí* “shoot”, *!gái* “bite”, *ʃná’m* “hit” and *lqǎē* “hit”. Verbs such as *ču* “drink” or *lkóbo* “jump over” cannot take *-čú*. As another example, *ʃná’m* means either “hit (something) physically” or “play (an instrument)”. Only on the former interpretation can *ʃná’m* take the *-čú* suffix.

Unlike the *-lqò* suffix, the use of *-čú* does not entail that the actions take place at different locations. Whereas *-lqò* entails sequential repetition at different places, *-čú* entails pure repetition. In the following example, the use of the adverbial phrase *kì ší mOnú* is acceptable:

- (10) Jefo *kí-* *lq'ào* *-čú* *-’a* *l’óō* *kì* *ší* *mOnú*  
 Jeff PL- stab -REP -PFV tree LK place one  
 “Jeff stabbed the tree repeatedly in one place.” [Collins 2001: (38)]

The interpretation of the pluractional suffix *-čú* interacts with the plurality of the subject and object. In the following sentence, the subject *ma* 1SG is singular, and the object *čòò-!ka’e* “people” is plural:

- (11) ma i kí- lqǎě -ču čòð-!ka'e  
 1SG PST PL- hit -REP people  
 "I hit people."

[Collins 2001: (39)]

Sentence (11) can be said if there are three people and I hit each person once. It can also be said if I hit the first person once, the second person once, and the third person many times. The only requirement is that there be several hittings. If I take a long stick, and hit all three people at the same time, then (11) can no longer be used. Rather, (12) (without a plural suffix) must be used to describe the action:

- (12) ma i lqǎě cì  
 1SG PST hit 3PL  
 "I hit them."

[Collins 2001: (40)]

If I take the long stick and hit the three people simultaneously three times in row, then (11) becomes possible again.

Similarly, if I shoot three people one by one, then (13) is acceptable, but not if I shoot a single bullet that passes through all three of them.

- (13) ma i kí- čhî -ču cì  
 1SG PST PL- shoot -REP 3PL  
 "I shot them (one by one)."

[Collins 2001: (41)]

If the subject is plural and the object is singular, we get a similar distributed interpretation. For example, (14) can be said if there are three people and each hits Jeff once. However, if all three people hold a stick and hit Jeff together, (14) cannot be used.

- (14) cì i kí- lqǎě -ču Jefo  
 3PL PST PL- hit -REP Jeff  
 "They hit Jeff."

[Collins 2001: (42)]

If both the subject and object are plural, as in (15), a number of different interpretations are possible. We list two of the possible interpretations, although others may be possible. First, suppose that there are two groups of people: A, B, C and X, Y, Z. If A hits X once, B hits Y once, and C hits Z once, then (15) can be used. It can also be used if A hits X, then Y, then Z, and B hits X, then Y, then Z, and C hits X, then Y, then Z.

- (15) cì i kí- lqǎě -ču cì  
 3PL PST PL- hit -REP 3PL  
 "They hit them."

[Collins 2001: (43)]

### 8.3. V-nlne

Another pluractional suffix is *-nlne*. *-nlne* also occurs regularly with predicate adjectives (see chapter 6) and irregularly with some nouns (see chapter 10). In this section, we only consider the use of *-nlne* with verbs. Consider first:

- (16) cì 'a nlnobo -nlne  
 3PL PROG talk -PL  
 “They are talking (in different places).” [CC Plurals 9:31]

The use of this pluractional suffix means that people are talking in different places (but not necessarily at different times). When then consultants use this form, they routinely point their hands at different locations around them (as if they are pointing to where the people are talking). This kind of reading, involving pointing the hands to different locations, does not characterize the use of *-nlne* with predicate adjectives, or as an irregular nominal plural.

Furthermore, note that the use of the *-nlne* plural does not require the *kí[PL]* prefix, unlike the other pluractional suffixes *-čú* and *-llqò* (see JG Noun 56 for discussion of variation amongst predicates as to whether *kí[PL]* can appear with *nlne*).

If the subject in (16) is changed to a singular subject, the sentence is unacceptable, since if the subject is singular, there is only one location.

- (17) \*yà 'a nlnobo -nlne  
 3SG PROG talk -PL [CC Plurals 9:31]

Another example showing the different locations requirement is given below. When there is only one house that the people are entering, then *-nlne* cannot be used. If there are different houses (necessarily at different locations), then *-nlne* can be used.

- (18) a. cì !ka“m (\*-nlne) -'a kì !kôa na  
 3PL enter.PL -PL -PFV LK house in  
 “They entered the house.”
- b. cì !ka“m (-nlne) -'a kì !kôa -qà kí- na  
 3PL enter.PL -PL -PFV LK house -PL PL- in  
 “They entered the houses.” [CC Plurals 9:33]

Other examples illustrating the use of the pluractional suffix *-nlne* are given below.

- (19) a. cì 'a kí- kyà“o l'hàla -nlne  
 3PL PROG PL- go divide -PL  
 “They are dispersing.”
- b. Jefo Okoa -nlne -'a O'ú -qà  
 Jeff kill -PL -PFV duiker -PL  
 “Jeff killed the duikers.”

- c.      cì      gúū   -nlne   -'a   kì   l'óō   -qà   kí-   č'òne  
 3PL   fall.PL -PL   -PFV   LK   tree   -PL   PL-   surface  
 “They (the leaves) fell from the trees.”                      [CC Plurals 9:31]

Note that in examples (19b) and (19c), the *-nlne* plural suffix occurs between the verb and the perfective suffix. Such facts indicate that the perfective is not really a verbal suffix, since it does not have to attach directly to the verb. It may be more accurate to call it a particle or a clitic.

As noted, *-nlne* is also a marker of nominal plurality (see chapter 10). In contrast, the regular nominal plural marker *-qà* (whether or not *-nlne* appears) is never used as a plural suffix:

- (20) a.      \*cì      'a      nlnobo (-nlne) -qà  
 3PL   PROG talk   -PL   -PL
- b.      \*cì      'a      kí-      kyà“o l'hàla (-nlne) -qà  
 3PL   PROG PL-   go   divide -PL   -PL   [CC Plurals 9:31]

The following examples show that the object of a transitive verb does not have to be plural in order for the *-nlne* suffix to be used (as opposed to the plural object requirement for the use of a suppletive transitive verb; see chapter 7).

- (21) a.      cì      cí      -nlne   -'a   †gǝbi (kì   kx'à   kí-   na   ũe)  
 3PL   see   -PL   -PFV   moon LK   land   PL-   in   all  
 “They saw the moon from every land.”
- b.      čòō-!ka'e      'a      kǝni   -nlne   l'ǝ   (kì   kx'à   kí-   na   ũe)  
 people            PROG want   -PL   money LK   land   PL-   in   all  
 “People want money in every land.”                      [CC Plurals 9:34]

#### 8.4. Reduplication

There is also a strategy of verbal reduplication that indicates sequential repetition. Some examples follow. We have not studied this reduplication strategy (which also exists in Setswana) in detail:

- (22) a.      'àm      Okǝǝ -qà      'a      qàba   ma   'a      ka   cí      llkà'a -šǝ  
 1SG   eye   -PL   IPFV   blink   1SG   HAB   SUB   see   thing -DIM  
 “My eyes blink when I see something.”                      [Utterances 3:1 2,687]
- b.      ma      'a      qàba-qàba  
 1SG   PROG blink-blink  
 “I am blinking (repeatedly).”                      [CC Shori 2:23]

- (23) a. ma 'a llkõbo l'óõ -šì  
 1SG PROG jump tree -DIM  
 “I am jumping over the bush.” [Utterances 3:1 2,855]
- b. llkõbo-llkõbo kì ší mŌnú  
 jump-jump LK place one  
 “Jump in one place.” [Utterances 3:1 2,859, JG Loc 15]
- c. ma 'a llkõbo-llkõbo  
 1SG PROG jump-jump  
 “I am jumping up and down repeatedly.” [CC Shori 2:23]

The following examples show that it is not possible to use the *-čũ* pluractional suffix with *qàba* “blink” and *llkõbo* “jump”. The reason is that these verbs are not transitive verbs of contact.

- (24) a. \*ma 'a kì- qàba -čũ  
 1SG PROG PL- blink -REP
- b. \*ma 'a kì- llkõbo -čũ  
 1SG PROG PL- jump -REP [Collins 1998: 49]

### 8.5. One, Two, Three or Many Times

In the above examples, a pluractional suffix indicates that the action described by the verb takes place more than once. In the following examples, the number of times that the action takes place is specified: 1, 2, 3 or many.

- (25) a. yà lqǎě kì-mŌnú -'a na ma  
 3SG hit kì-one -PFV REL 1SG  
 “He hit me once.”
- b. yà lqǎě kì-Ōkoa -'a na ma  
 3SG hit kì-two -PFV REL 1SG  
 “He hit me twice.”
- c. yà lqǎě kì-qaě -'a na ma  
 3SG hit kì-three -PFV REL 1SG  
 “He hit me three times.”
- d. yà lqǎě kì-ǰà -'a na ma  
 3SG hit many -PFV REL 1SG  
 “He hit me many times.” [CC Grammar Rec:18]

The fact that *kí* appears before “one” in (25a) shows that it is not *kí*[PL] (since there is no multiplicity of events). We suggest it is a verbalizing suffix that allows the numeral to form a verbal compound with the verb (see also section 9.4 on another use of this verbalizing suffix). The *-na* is identical in form and position to the locative relative marker (also used in locative questions), which we gloss as REL (see section 13.3).

The event-counting construction is also possible with intransitive verbs:

- (26) a. yà i ča kí-᠐koa na  
 3SG PST come kí-two REL  
 “He came two times.”
- b. yà i ča kí-ḣða na  
 3SG PST come many REL  
 “He came many times.” [CC Shori 2:23]

It is not possible to use the *kí*[PL] prefix with this construction:

- (27) a. yà (\*kí-) lqǎē kí-ḣða -’a na Jefo  
 3SG PL- hit many -PFV REL Jeff  
 “He hit Jeff many times.”
- b. yà (\*kí-) lqǎē kí-᠐koa -’a na Jefo  
 3SG PL- hit ki-two -PFV REL Jeff  
 “He hit Jeff two times.” [Collins 1998a: fn. 17]

Sàsí has the same construction:

- (28) a. yà ’a’e †ná“m kí-m᠐nú na ma  
 3SG PST hit kí-one REL 1SG  
 “He hit me once.”
- b. yà ’a’e †ná“m kí-᠐koa na ma  
 3SG PST hit kí-two REL 1SG  
 “He hit me twice.”
- c. yà ’a’e †ná“m kí-qāi na ma  
 3SG PST hit kí-three REL 1SG  
 “He hit me three times.”
- d. yà ’a’e †ná“m kí-ḣða na ma  
 3SG PST hit many REL 1SG  
 “He hit me three times.” [CC Sàsí 12:8]



## 9. Pronouns

### 9.1. Subject and Object Pronouns

The same series of subject pronouns is found in the subject position for all tenses and aspects (e.g., future, past, progressive). The subject pronouns in the progressive are illustrated below:

- (1) a. ma 'a !hà ☉'ú  
1SG PROG hunt duiker  
“I am hunting a duiker.”
- b. ù 'a !hà ☉'ú  
2SG PROG hunt duiker
- c. yà 'a !hà ☉'ú  
3SG PROG hunt duiker
- d. qà‘a 'a !hà ☉'ú  
1PL.INCL PROG hunt duiker
- e. n!ka'e 'a !hà ☉'ú  
1PL.EXCL PROG hunt duiker
- f. jî 'a !hà ☉'ú  
2PL PROG hunt duiker
- g. cì 'a !hà ☉'ú  
3PL PROG hunt duiker

[CC Grammar Rec:1]

Note that *yà-qà* 3SG-PL and *ù-qà* 2SG-PL are not possible as plural pronouns (cf. JG Noun 92). The 1PL.EXCL form *n!ka'e* is bimorphemic, and could be written *n-!ka'e* with the gloss 1-PL. The nasal appears as a first person morpheme with numerals: *m-Okoa* “we/us two” [Elephant Woman 12]. The morpheme *-!ka'e* appears in the irregular plural for people: *č'òð-!ka'e*.

The difference between the inclusive 1PL and the exclusive 1PL is illustrated below:

- (2) a. qà‘a kî-kyà‘o  
1PL.INCL go  
“Let’s go!”
- b. jî xú n!ka'e  
2PL leave 1PL.EXCL  
“You leave us alone!”

[CC Shori 1:7]

In (2), the command “Let’s go!” forces an inclusive reading, since the speaker is commanding the addressee to accompany him. In (2), the command “You leave us alone!”

forces an exclusive reading, since the addressee is not in the group referred to by *n!ka'e* 1PL.EXCL.

Pronouns in #Hðǎ do not show any distinctions in animacy, noun class or gender. The 3SG subject pronoun can be translated “he”, “she” or “it”.

- (3) a. ma 'a ḱini yà  
1SG PROG want 3SG  
“I want it.” (of a rock)
- b. ma 'a ḱini yà  
1SG PROG want 3SG  
“I want it.” (of a dog) [CC Shori 1:3]
- c. ma lhò'õ cí -'a yà  
1SG NEG know -PFV 3SG  
“I don't know her.” (of a female person named Mma Lekgoa)  
[CC Shori 1:13]
- d. ma lhò'õ cí -'a yà  
1SG NEG know -PFV 3SG  
“I don't know him.” (of a male person named Leha) [CC Shori 1:3]

Object pronouns (4) are identical to subject pronouns. Also, the same series is used for pronouns following the preposition *ke* “with” (not illustrated; see CC Shori 1:6):

- (4) a. Titi 'a ḱini ma  
Titi PROG look.for 1SG  
“Titi is looking for me.”
- b. Titi 'a ḱini ù  
Titi PROG look.for 2SG
- c. Titi 'a ḱini yà  
Titi PROG look.for 3SG
- d. Titi 'a ḱini qà'a  
Titi PROG look.for 1PL.INCL
- e. Titi 'a ḱini n!ka'e  
Titi PROG look.for 1PL.EXCL
- f. Titi 'a ḱini j̃i  
Titi PROG look.for 2PL
- g. Titi 'a ḱini cì  
Titi PROG look.for 3PL [CC Grammar Rec:2]

The third person pronoun changes in form depending on the ending of the previous verb. The basic form of the 3SG pronoun is [ja]. If it follows one of the back vowels [o] or [u], it is [wa]. If it follows [m], it syllabifies with the [m] to form [mma]. However, we will write 3SG as *yà* in all cases for simplicity. See section 25.1 for a similar phonological pattern found with the yes-no question marker *yà*.

- (5)
- |    |     |      |         |     |         |
|----|-----|------|---------|-----|---------|
| a. | ma  | 'a   | kíni    | yà  | [ja]    |
|    | 1SG | PROG | want    | 3SG |         |
| b. | ma  | 'a   | ʔkè     | yà  | [ja]    |
|    | 1SG | PROG | want    | 3SG |         |
| c. | ma  | 'a   | !kù     | yà  | [wa]    |
|    | 1SG | PROG | take    | 3SG |         |
| d. | ma  | 'a   | kĩ-llhá | yà  | [ja]    |
|    | 1SG | PROG | show    | 3SG |         |
| e. | ma  | 'a   | lkà     | yà  | [ja]    |
|    | 1SG | PROG | skin    | 3SG |         |
| f. | ma  | 'a   | llq'ào  | yà  | [wa]    |
|    | 1SG | PROG | stab    | 3SG |         |
| g. | ma  | 'a   | 'ám     | yà  | ['amma] |
|    | 1SG | PROG | eat     | 3SG |         |
- [CC Shori 3:26]

The phenomenon needs much further investigation. For example, for two speakers from Shorilatholo, for the words *n/nobo* “speak” and *llkõbo* “jump” (both bisyllabic), the 3SG pronoun is [ja].

The indirect object pronouns are also identical to the subject and object pronouns, illustrated below for the two second person pronouns (see Collins and Namaseb 2011 for Nluu, where the indirect object bears a distinct case suffix):

- (6)
- |    |                                |     |      |     |    |       |
|----|--------------------------------|-----|------|-----|----|-------|
| a. | yà                             | i   | lgò  | ù   | kì | l'í   |
|    | 3SG                            | PST | give | 2SG | LK | money |
|    | “He gave you your money.”      |     |      |     |    |       |
| b. | yà                             | i   | lgò  | ji  | kì | l'í   |
|    | 3SG                            | PST | give | 2PL | LK | money |
|    | “He gave you your (PL) money.” |     |      |     |    |       |
- [CC Grammar Rec:2]

When the object pronoun is fronted to the beginning of the sentence, it keeps the same form as the subject and object pronouns above, although the vowel of the pronoun is clearly lengthened (see chapter 26 for the linguistic context of this fronting). This shows that there

is no morphological distinction in #Hðã between weak and strong/independent/focused pronouns.

- (7)
- |    |                 |     |      |      |
|----|-----------------|-----|------|------|
| a. | ma              | yà  | 'a   | ‡qè  |
|    | 1SG             | 3SG | PROG | want |
|    | “Me, he wants.” |     |      |      |
| b. | ù               | yà  | 'a   | ‡qè  |
|    | 2SG             | 3SG | PROG | want |
| c. | yà              | yà  | 'a   | ‡qè  |
|    | 3SG             | 3SG | PROG | want |
| d. | qà“a            | yà  | 'a   | ‡qè  |
|    | 1PL.INCL        | 3SG | PROG | want |
| e. | n!ka'e          | yà  | 'a   | ‡qè  |
|    | 1PL.EXCL        | 3SG | PROG | want |
| f. | ǰì              | yà  | 'a   | ‡qè  |
|    | 2PL             | 3SG | PROG | want |
| g. | cì              | yà  | 'a   | ‡qè  |
|    | 3PL             | 3SG | PROG | want |

[CC Grammar Rec:3]

## 9.2. Genitive Pronouns

With the exception of the 1SG pronoun, the genitive pronouns are identical to the subject and object pronouns. The 1SG genitive is 'àm instead of the form *ma* (which is used in all other positions).

- (8)
- |    |                    |       |     |
|----|--------------------|-------|-----|
| a. | 'àm                | !kôa  | ‡hĩ |
|    | 1SG.GEN            | house | big |
|    | “My house is big.” |       |     |
| b. | ù                  | !kôa  | ‡hĩ |
|    | 2SG                | house | big |
| c. | yà                 | !kôa  | ‡hĩ |
|    | 3SG                | house | big |
| d. | qà“a               | !kôa  | ‡hĩ |
|    | 1PL.INCL           | house | big |
| e. | n!ka'e             | !kôa  | ‡hĩ |
|    | 1PL.EXCL           | house | big |

f.     jì     !kôa   #hĩ  
       2PL   house   big

g.     cì     !kôa   #hĩ  
       3PL   house   big

[CC Grammar Rec:2]

The pronoun series found with the object of a postposition is identical to the genitive pronoun series, indicating that postpositions are a type of inalienable noun (see section 12.3 on postpositions).

- (9) a.     'ani-qà     'a     kì     'àm             č'òne  
          clothes       COP   LK     1SG.GEN       surface  
          "The clothes are on me."
- b.     'ani-qà     'a     kì     ù                č'òne  
          clothes       COP   LK     2SG             surface
- c.     'ani-qà     'a     kì     yà                č'òne  
          clothes       COP   LK     3SG             surface
- d.     'ani-qà     'a     kì     qà'a            kí-     č'òne  
          clothes       COP   LK     1PL.INCL       PL-     surface
- e.     'ani-qà     'a     kì     n!ka'e          kí-     č'òne  
          clothes       COP   LK     1PL.EXCL       PL-     surface
- f.     'ani-qà     'a     kì     jì     kí-     č'òne  
          clothes       COP   LK     2PL     PL-     surface
- g.     'ani-qà     'a     kì     cì     kí-     č'òne  
          clothes       COP   LK     3PL     PL-     surface     [CC Grammar Rec:3]

In the above examples, when the object of the postposition is plural, kí[PL] must be used. In effect, kí[PL] pluralizes the postposition, making it denote a plurality of locations.

The following examples give further illustrations of the 1SG genitive pronoun with locative postpositions.

- (10) a.     llkà'a   'a     kì     'àm             na  
          thing   COP   LK     1SG.GEN       inside  
          "There is something inside me."
- b.     kyěamà     'a     kì     'àm             za  
          dog       COP   LK     1SG.GEN       beside  
          "There is a dog beside me."                     [CC Shori 2:24]

The third person singular pronoun can be used as an impersonal pronoun:

- (11) a. yà    ší    #kǎ“a  
           3SG place cold  
           “It is cold outside.”
- b. yà    ší    kǔru  
           3SG place hot  
           “It is hot outside.”
- c. yà    ší    ò    chǎo  
           3SG place COP night  
           “It is night.”

[CC Shori 3:7]

The complete pronominal chart is given below:

(12) #Hòǎ Pronouns	Subject/Object	Genitive
1SG	ma	'àm
2SG	ù	ù
3SG	yà	yà
1PL.INCL	qǎ“a	qǎ“a
1PL.EXCL	n!ka'e	n!ka'e
2PL	ǰì	ǰì
3PL	cì	cì

### 9.3. Sàsí Pronouns

The Sàsí pronominal paradigm is almost identical to the #Hòǎ pronominal paradigm.

- (13) a. ma    'a    tà“o  
           1SG PROG go  
           “I am going.”
- b. ù    'a    tà“o  
           2SG PROG go
- c. yà    'a    tà“o  
           3SG PROG go
- d. ǰì    'a    kí-    tà“o  
           2PL PROG PL- go
- e. !kaĩ    'a    kí-    tà“o (pronounced !ka)  
           1PL.EXCL PROG PL- go
- f. cì    'a    kí-    tà“o  
           3PL PROG PL- go

[CC Sàsí 12:24]



e. yà 'a †ke !kaĩ  
3SG PROG want 1PL.EXCL

f. yà 'a †kè cì  
3SG PROG want 3PL

[CC Sàsí 12:24]

The entire pronominal paradigm, including notes on differences with #Hðã, is given below:

(18) Sàsí Pronouns

1SG	ma	
1SG.GEN	'àm	
2SG	bù, ù	only ù in #Hðã
3SG	yà	
1PL.INCL	!kaĩ	not preceded by [n] (unlike #Hðã), reduced to !ka as subject before progressive marker 'a, some pronounce it as !ka'e
1PL.EXCL	qà	no pharyngealization (unlike #Hðã)
2PL	ǰì	
3PL	cì	

9.4. Modification of Pronouns by Numerals

The plural pronouns can be modified by numerals. In the following example, cì 3PL is modified by the numeral *Okoa* “two”:

- (19) lnaqè cì Okoa ke yà kísì kí- kyà“o  
then 3PL two and 3SG older.sibling PL- go  
“Then, he left with his older brother.” [Elephant Woman 19]

In the above example, cì *Okoa* “they two” is conjoined with yà *kísì* “elder sibling”, but only two people, not three people, are involved (see also Ngalang’s Lion Story 4,5).

To say “We are two” or “We are three” (in response to a question like “How many are you?”), the numeral is reduplicated:

- (20) a. m-Okoa kí- Okoa Okoa  
1-two VBLZ- two two  
“We are two.” [CC Shori 2:46]

- b. n!ka'e kí- qaē qaē  
1EXCL.PL VBLZ- three three  
“We are three.” [CC Shori 2:46]



- (21) a.    cì     Okoa kí-     Okoa Okoa  
           3PL two    VBLZ- two two  
           “They are two.”
- b.    cì     kí-     qaē qaē  
           3PL   VBLZ- three three  
           “They are three.”

[CC Shori 3:34]

We assume that the *kí-* here allows the reduplicated numeral to act as a verb; hence we will gloss it as VBLZ-. See also section 8.5 for a similar use of *kí-* in the event-counting construction.

Sàsí has a similar construction, except the numeral is not reduplicated. Also, when the pronoun is modified by the numeral, the final vowel of the pronoun is lengthened a bit:

- (22) a.    !kaĩ           Okoa í-           Okoa  
           1PL.EXCL two   VBLZ-       two  
           “We are two.”
- b.    !kaĩ           qaĩ i-           qaĩ  
           1PL.EXCL three VBLZ-       three  
           “We are three.”

[CC Sàsí 12:16]

In #Hðã, if we are talking about two particular people, and somebody asks “Who is going to go to the shops?”, the answer is:

- (23) cì     Okoa 'a kí-     kyà“o  
       3PL two   PROG PL- go  
       “The two of them are going.”

[CC Shori 6:35]

Out of a group of people, I ask who is going:

- (24) m-Okoa     'a kí-     kyà“o  
       1-two       PROG PL- go  
       “The two of us are going.”

[CC Shori 6:35]

When we are talking about two people, and I see them through the window, I can say:

- (25) ma     'a     cí     cì     Okoa  
       1SG   PROG see   3PL two  
       “I see the two of them.”

[CC Shori 6:35]

## 9.5. Reflexive Pronouns

Reflexive pronouns are formed with /'ẽ which has the syntax of an inalienable noun. For example, in (26a) the genitive form 'ãm of the 1SG pronoun is used.

The example below shows that when the reflexive pronoun is used, the non-reflexive pronoun is disallowed (compare this to N|uu, where there is no distinct reflexive pronoun; see Collins and Namaseb 2011).

- (26) a.     ma    'a    cí    'àm           l'ē  
           1SG  PROG see  1SG.GEN   self  
           “I see myself.”
- b.     \*ma   'a    cí    ma  
           1SG  PROG see  1SG  
   [JG Noun 7]

Another example of a reflexive pronoun is given below:

- (27) ma    i       čxa    'àm           l'ē   kì   ||gàma  
       1SG  PST   cut    1SG.GEN   self  LK   knife  
       “I cut myself with a knife.”  
   [CC Shori 1:8]

The full paradigm is given below. Note in particular that the plural reflexive pronouns all involve kí[PL] (see section 11.2.3 on the kí[PL]-class of nouns), which again shows that “self” is an inalienable noun:

- (28) a.     ma            i    cí    'àm           l'ē  
           1SG           PST see  1SG.GEN   self  
           “I saw myself.” (e.g., in the water)
- b.     ù            i    cí    ù           l'ē  
           2SG        PST see  2SG        self
- c.     yà            i    cí    yà           l'ē  
           3SG        PST see  3SG        self
- d.     qà“a         i    cí    qà“a   kí-   l'ē  
           1PL.INCL  PST see  1PL  PL-  self
- e.     n!ka'e        i    cí    n!ka'e   kí-   l'ē  
           1PL.EXCL  PST see  1PL  PL-  self
- f.     jî            i    cí    jî    kí-   l'ē  
           2PL        PST see  2PL  PL-  self
- g.     cì            i    cí    cì    kí-   l'ē  
           3PL        PST see  3PL  PL-  self  
   [CC Shori 1:9, 1:13]

Sàsí has the same reflexive pronoun:

- (29) a. ma 'a cí 'àm l'ĩ  
 1SG PROG see 1SG.GEN self  
 “I see myself.”
- b. cì 'a cí cì í- l'ĩ (alternative: kí-)  
 3PL PROG see 3PL PL- self  
 “They see themselves.” [CC Sàsí 11:18]

### 9.6. Reciprocal Pronouns

The reciprocal pronoun is *Okoa ší*, illustrated below. We assume that the reciprocal pronoun can be broken up into two parts: *Okoa* “two” and *ší* PL (an irregular plural).

- (30) a. n!ka'e cí -'a Okoa -ší  
 1PL.EXCL know -PFV two -PL  
 “We know each other.”
- b. jĩ cí -'a Okoa -ší  
 2PL know -PFV two -PL  
 “You know each other.”
- c. cì cí -'a Okoa -ší  
 3PL know -PFV two -PL  
 “They know each other.” [CC Shori 1:12]
- (31) qà“a cí -'a Okoa -ší  
 1PL.INCL know -PFV two -PL  
 “We know each other.” [JG Noun 5]

The *ší* found in reciprocals is probably the same as the irregular plural found in the following nouns (see JG Noun 95):

- (32) a. l'óô-qà †gào -ší  
 tree-PL big -PL  
 “big trees” [Utterances 2:1 774]
- b. 'àm šĩ llga“a -ší  
 1SG.GEN POSS elder -PL  
 “my elders” [Utterances 2:1 779]

Note that even though the reciprocal is composed of the morpheme *Okoa* “two”, its use is not restricted to sets of two people.

- (33) n-qaē 'a cí Ọkoa -ší  
 1-three PROG see two -PL  
 “We three see each other.” [CC Shori 2:64]
- (34) ẽ'òò-!ka'e ɺna -qà ì kí-jða 'a cí Ọkoa -ší  
 people which -PL REL many PROG see two -PL  
 “Many people see each other.” [JG Noun 42]

Some further examples of reciprocals are given below:

- (35) gyá“m-lkà'a 'a nɺnobo ke Ọkoa -ší  
 child-DIM.PL PROG talk with two -PL  
 “The children speak with each other.” [Utterances 2:1 811]
- (36) ɔ̀òò-!ka'e Ọkoa 'a b̀òlo Ọkoa -ší  
 people two PROG scold two -PL  
 “The two people scold each other.” [Utterances 3:1 3,647]
- (37) qà“a 'a cí Ọkoa -ší šì Ọ'ú  
 1PL.INCL PROG see two -PL POSS duiker  
 “We see each other’s duiker.” [JG Noun 5]

Lastly, recall from chapter 7 that certain transitive verbs have both a singular form and a plural suppletive form (depending on the number of the object). When the object of such a verb is a reciprocal, the plural form is chosen, as expected:

- (38) c̀ 'a Ọkoa Ọkoa -ší  
 3PL PROG kill two -PL  
 “They are killing each other.” [JG Noun 41]

One has the same expression for reciprocals in Sàsí:

- (39) a. c̀ !q'a 'a Ọkoa ši  
 3PL know PFV two PL  
 “They know each other.”
- b. !ka'e !q'a 'a Ọkoa ši  
 1PL.EXCL know PFV two PL  
 “We know each other.”
- c. tẽmà -qà 'a !gái Ọkoa ši  
 dog -PL PROG bite two PL  
 “The dogs are biting each other.” [CC Sàsí 11:14]

### 9.7. Possessed Pronoun

The possessed pronoun *čà* “one” (different from the numeral “one”) is the pronoun that one gets in expressions like “This is mine”:

- (40) *llna m̄ ha k̄i ò ’àm čà*  
 which REL this EMPH COP 1SG.GEN one  
 “This is mine.” [CC Shori 2:47]
- (41) *llna -qà m̄ ha k̄i ò ’àm čà -qà*  
 which -PL REL this EMPH COP 1SG.GEN one -PL  
 “These are mine.” [CC Shori 2:47]
- (42) *llna m̄ ha k̄i ò n!ka’e čà*  
 which REL this EMPH COP 1EXCL.PL one  
 “This is ours.” [CC Shori 2:47]
- (43) *llna -qà m̄ ha k̄i ò n!ka’e čà -qà*  
 which -PL REL this EMPH COP 1EXCL.PL one -PL  
 “These are ours.” [CC Shori 2:47]

Sàsí has the same possessed pronoun *čà*:

- (44) a. *těmà ha ’àm čà ʔĩ*  
 dog this 1SG.GEN one it.is  
 “This dog is mine.”
- b. *těmà -qà ha ’àm čà -qà ʔĩ*  
 dog -PL this 1SG.GEN one -PL it.is  
 “These dogs are mine.”
- c. *těmà ha !ka’e čà ʔĩ*  
 dog this 1PL.EXCL one it.is  
 “This dog is ours.”
- d. *těmà -qa ha !ka’e čà -qà ʔĩ*  
 dog -PL this 1PL.EXCL one -PL it.is  
 “These dogs are ours.” [CC Sàsí 11:1]



## 10. Nouns

Nouns can be distinguished from other syntactic categories by the fact that they can stand after a copula (see (1a)). Unlike predicate adjectives, they require a copula (see (1b)). Unlike verbs, they cannot appear with the imperfective or perfective markers (see (1c, d)):

- (1) a. yà ò †'àmkòe  
3SG COP person  
“It is a person.”
- b. \*yà †'àm-kòe  
3SG person
- c. \*yà 'a †'àmkòe  
3SG PROG person
- d. \*yà †'àmkòe -'a  
3SG person -PFV [JG Noun 1]

### 10.1. Nominal Plurals

There are four main strategies for marking nouns as plural in #Hòã: a regular plural marker *-qà*, a diminutive plural marker *-/kà'a*, an irregular plural marker *-n/ne*, and a large number of suppletive noun plurals. In addition to these strategies, there are two formatives that are irregularly used to form plurals (for *-š*, see section 9.6 and for *-/ka'e*, see section 9.1).

In addition to these plural marking strategies for simple nouns, different possessor constructions have different plural marking strategies – one class involving the plural prefix *kí[PL]* – but we delay discussion of possessor constructions (and their plurals) until chapter 11.

The regular plural is formed by adding the suffix *-qà* to the end of the noun, as in the following examples:

- (2) a. gòme-qà “cows”  
b. kyěama-qà “dogs” [CC Grammar Rec:4]

In addition to the regular plural, there is also a diminutive plural *-/kà'a* for small things. The diminutive plural is always paired with the diminutive singular *-š*.

- (3) a. gòme-š gòme-/*kà'a*  
“small cow” “small cows”  
b. kyěamà-š kyěamà-/*kà'a*  
“small dog” “small dogs” [CC Grammar Rec:5]

Nouns that obligatorily take the diminutive suffix *-š* obligatorily form their plurals with *-/kà'a*.

- (4) a. gyá“m -sì                  gyá“m -lkà’a                  \*gyá“m                  -qà  
 child -DIM                  child -DIM.PL                  child                  -PL
- b. #kĩ -sì                  #kĩ -lkà’a                  \*#kĩ                  -qà  
 bird -DIM                  bird -DIM.PL                  bird -PL [CC Grammar Rec:5]

Examples of the irregular plural suffix *-n/ne* are given below. The *-n/ne* plural suffix is also used with predicate adjectives (see chapter 6) and as a pluractional suffix (see chapter 8). Many of the nouns that take the *-n/ne* plural naturally occur in pairs (e.g., “wings”, “knees”).

- (5) ma ’a cí #kĩ -sì #hà“ma -n/ne  
 1SG PROG see bird -DIM wing -PL  
 “I see the bird’s wings.” [CC Grammar Rec:7]
- (6) ma ’a cí #’àmkkõde ha #’hème -n/ne  
 1SG PROG see person this knee -PL  
 “I see the person’s knees.” [CC Grammar Rec:7]

However, not all nouns that take the *-n/ne* plural naturally occur in pairs.

- (7) n!nǎu                  n!nǎu                  -n/ne  
 male.youth                  male.youth                  -PL  
 “male youth”                  “male youths”                  [Utterances 2:1 1,622]
- (8) lnaqè č’ile lnaqè ča llx’áe ke cì xǎ -n/ne  
 then return then come meet with 3PL master -PL  
 “Then they [the dogs] returned and met up with their masters.” [Village of Gods 30]

And lastly, not every noun that denotes objects which naturally occur in pairs takes the *-n/ne* plural:

- (9) ma ’a cí ’ǎ“ri-llgá“i ččõ -qà  
 1SG PROG see woman hand.PL -PL  
 “I see the woman’s hands.” [CC Grammar Rec:7]
- (10) ma ’a cí ’ǎ“ri-jǎ Očkõ -qà  
 1SG PROG see man eye.PL -PL  
 “I see the man’s hands.” [CC Grammar Rec:7]

The examples in (5) and (6) are from Pair-Class A, and the examples in (9) and (10) are from Pair-Class B (see section 11.4).

The nouns in the last two examples are members of a group of inalienably possessed nouns that form their suppletive plurals in a very specific way: the plural is nasalized and



bears a rising tone, often with a change in vowel quality (to [e]). Examples of this class are given below (see Collins 1998a: (62)):

(11)	a.	Okoa	“eye”	Okǒě	“eyes”
	b.	šiu	“hand”	čěō	“hands”
	c.	!gá’u	“foot”	!gǎ’ũ	“feet”
	d.	nlná	“arm”	nlně	“arms”
	e.	lqhǒě	“ear”	lqhǒě	“ear”
	f.	lkam	“upper leg”	lkǎm	“upper legs”
	g.	c’iu	“tooth”	c’ěō	“teeth”
	h.	nlná-nlná	“branch”	nlně-nlně	“branches”

Lastly, we present examples of suppletive noun plurals (cf. suppletive verb plurals in chapter 7). These suppletive plurals exist alongside the regular *-qà* plurals for the same nouns (e.g., #’àm-kǒě-qà; see JG Noun 92).

(12)		Singular		Plural
	a.	’ǎ“ri-llgá“i	“woman”	lqhà “women”
	b.	’ǎ“ri-jǎ	“man”	n!nào “men”
	c.	#’àmkǒě	“person”	čǒō-!ka’e “people”

## 10.2. Other Nominal Suffixes

In addition to the nominal plural suffixes discussed above, there are a handful of other nominal suffixes. The noun *ču* “father” is used in agent nominalizations, such as the examples below.

(13)	a.	kí-chù’u	ču	
		to.steal	father	
		“thief (male)”		[Utterances 1:2 1,903]
	b.	Okǒě“u	ču	
		medicine	father	
		“wizard, medicine man”		[Utterances 1:2 1,906]
	c.	llha	ču	
		to.cultivate/field	father	
		“farmer (male)”		[Utterances 1:2 1,912]

For the Shorilatholo consultants, it is clear that these have female counterparts with *gye* “mother” (see also Gruber 1975e):

- (14) a. kí-chù'u gye “thief (female)”  
 b. Ǫgð“u gye “wizard, medicine woman”  
 c. lha gye “farmer (female)” [CC Shori 3:3]

*-kðe* is a non-productive suffix used to mean “person, tribesman”:

- (15) a. #’àm-kðe  
 ??-person  
 “person” [Utterances 2:2 591]
- b. n!ná“a-kòè  
 Bushman.language-person  
 “Bushman” [Utterances 2:2 595]
- c. kx’à-kðe  
 ground-person  
 “kx’a-Bushman” [Utterances 2:2 599]

We have been unable to identify a word #’àm in #Hðǎ. The word #’àm means “south” in Jul’hoan (see Dickens 1994: 305), so #’àm-kðe could have originally meant “southern person” (e.g., south of the Ju group, or possibly south of the Batswana). We will write #’àm-kðe (no hyphen) with the gloss “person”.

Although we have not studied nominalizations systematically, there is no nominalization suffix. Bare verbs are used as nominals. A few examples illustrate nominalizations:

- (16) ’ám-qà (cf., ’ám “to eat”)  
 food-PL

- (17) a. yà nlnobo qhǎě  
 3SG language nice  
 “His language is nice.”

- b. ’àm kyxái šù  
 1SG.GEN dance beautiful  
 “My dancing is beautiful.”

- c. Ǫ’ú šì !hà kí-llq’o  
 duiker POSS hunt hard  
 “Hunting a duiker is hard.”

[CC Shori 3:27, 4:36; Gruber 1975e: 11]

### 10.3. Definite vs. Indefinite

A noun phrase in English can be definite (“the man”) or indefinite (“a man”). There are no definite and indefinite articles in #Hðǎ like “the” and “a” which are found in English. Whether or not a noun is understood as definite (“the man”) or as indefinite (“a man”) is

determined by the context in which the sentence is used (see Collins and Namaseb 2011 for Nluu, which also relies on context). Some examples from stories illustrate the point.

In the following example, the eland woman has already been mentioned in the story. The bare noun may be used to refer to her subsequently.

- (18) yà salà |gò cì kì čhǎ-||gá“i  
 3SG remain give 3PL LK eland-woman  
 “He (the elder brother) had stayed behind and had given it to the eland woman.”  
 [Eland Woman 13]

In the following example, the elephants are coming for revenge, but these elephants have been mentioned several times earlier in the story, so that the most natural translation in English would be “the elephants”.

- (19) !xú -qà nà í- ča nà í- ča  
 elephant -PL ITIN PL- come ITIN PL- come  
 “The elephants were coming and coming.” [Elephant Woman 126]

Another strategy of indicating definiteness is with the demonstrative *ha (kì)* “this” (see chapter 14 on demonstratives). In the following story, the people are deciding what to do with the dead vulture, which has been mentioned in the story before:

- (20) a. qà“a xú yà ’e’e qà“a !kù yà  
 1PL leave 3SG no 1PL take 3SG  
 “We will leave it. We will take it.”
- b. cì !kù |gùì ha kì kí- kyà”o  
 3PL take vulture this EMPH PL- go  
 “They took the vulture and went.” [Vulture 96, 97]

#### 10.4. Vocative

Although there is no case-marking on full noun phrases, there is a commonly occurring vocative particle:

- (21) !kǒǒ-!kǒǒ-!kà bè  
 !kǒǒ-!kǒǒ-!kà VOC  
 “!kǒǒ-!kǒǒ-!kà” (calling the name) [Eland Woman 23]
- (22) yà †x’a yà kǐsǐ kǐrǐ kì kyě bè  
 3SG tell 3SG older.sibling say LK Kye VOC  
 “... he said to his older brother, ‘Kye, ...’” [Elephant Woman 69]

- (23) †gõle           bè,    salà ...  
 blind.person VOC remain ...

“Blind person, remain ...”

[Vulture 47]

We have heard this particle used in casual speech by the Shorilatholo consultants as well.

## 11. Possession

In this chapter, we discuss the range of strategies available in #Hòã for expressing possession. The syntactic marking of possession in #Hòã depends on (a) the distinction between alienable and inalienable possession and (b) the plurality of the possessed noun. We discuss the different cases below.

### 11.1. Alienable Possession

Alienable possession is indicated by placing the possessive particle *šì* between the possessor and the head noun [NP *ñ* N], as in (1). Inalienable possession is indicated by the absence of *šì* (2):

- (1) a. +’àm kòe      šì      kyěamà  
person      POSS dog  
“the person’s dog”
- b. čòò-!ka’e      šì      kyěamà      -qà  
people      POSS dog      -PL  
“the people’s dogs”
- [Collins 2001: (1)]

- (2) gyá“m -šì      (\*šì) !ko  
child -DIM POSS stomach  
“the child’s stomach”
- [Collins 2001: (2)]

- gyá“m -šì      (\*šì) gye  
child -DIM POSS mother  
“the child’s mother”
- [Collins 2001: (3)]

Other examples of alienable possession are given below:

- (3) a. ’àm      šì      l’óó      -qà  
1SG.GEN      POSS tree      -PL  
“my trees”
- b. cì      šì      gòme      -qà  
3PL      POSS cow      -PL  
“their cows”
- c. Titi      šì      !gái  
Titi      POSS snake  
“Titi’s snake”
- d. ʘ’ú      šì      ’àm      -qà  
duiker      POSS food      -PL  
“the duiker’s food”

- e.      Jefo              šī      koloi  
           Jeff              POSS truck  
           “Jeff’s truck”
- f.      #kèbe                      šī      jǒ  
           Kgalagadi person      POSS water  
           “the Kgalagadi person’s water”
- [CC Grammar Rec:6]

## 11.2. Inalienable Possession

Inalienable possession involves kinship terms, spatial relations (postpositions), body parts, and a few artifacts. The morphosyntactic classes of inalienable nouns are: the Kin-Class, the Many-Class, the kí[PL]-Class. We discuss these three classes in turn.

### 11.2.1. The Kin-Class

The nouns in the Kin-Class denote family relationships (e.g., father, mother, etc.). For nouns in the Kin-Class, the possessor and the head noun are simply juxtaposed with no intervening particle:

- (4) a.      gyá“m -šī      gye  
           child -DIM mother  
           “the child’s mother”
- b.      gyá“m -lkà’a              gye  
           child -DIM.PL              mother  
           “the children’s mother”
- c.      gyá“m-              lkà’a              gye      -qà  
           child-              DIM.PL              mother-PL  
           “children’s mothers”
- [Collins 2001: (5)]

While *xǎ* “master” is not a kinship term, it is also in the Kin-Class:

- (5) a.      ma      ò      kyěamà      xǎ  
           1SG COP dog              master  
           “I am the dog’s master.”
- b.      cì      ò      kyěamà      -qà      xǎ      -nīne  
           3PL COP dog              -PL      master -PL  
           “They are the dog’s masters.”
- [Collins 1998a: (10)]

Other nouns that show this kind of marking of possession include: *kyxàna* “uncle”, *//qo’e* “child”, *jǐu* “wife” and *jǎ* “husband”. See Gruber (1973) for much more information on kinship terms in #Hǒǎ.

### 11.2.2. The Many-Class

The nouns in the Many-Class denote objects that usually occur in groups of many (such as leaves or flowers). In this class, the possessive prefix *kí-* separates the possessor and the head noun (whether or not the head noun is singular or plural). We gloss this possessive prefix as POSS to distinguish it from *kí*[PL], which does not appear when the head noun is singular.

- (6) a. l'óō      kí-      gyð“ba  
tree      POSS- leaf  
“the leaf of the tree”
- b. l'óō-qà      kí-      gyð“ba (-qà)  
tree-PL      POSS- leaf      -PL  
“the leaves of the trees” [Collins 2001: (4)]
- (7) a. l'óō      kí-      gǔ  
tree      POSS- flower  
“the flower of the tree”
- b. l'óō-qà      kí-      gǔ      (-qà)  
tree-PL      POSS- flower (-PL)  
“the flowers of the tree” [Collins 1998a: (6)]

Other nouns of this group include: *n#nú* “feather”, *kyá“a* “bone”, *n/nú* “vein”. Mass nouns are also in this group: *č'ú* “skin”, */q'í* “blood”, *llkà“e* “meat”.

- (8) a. ʘ'ú      kí-      llkà“e  
duiker POSS- meat  
“duiker meat”
- b. ʘ'ú      kí-      č'ú  
duiker POSS- skin  
“duiker skin” [CC Shori 6:2]

Gruber lists some of the nouns in the Many-Class as having a *kí-* prefix in the non-possessed form (see Appendix 1). For example, Gruber lists “leaf” as *kí-gyð“ba*, but the Shorilatholo consultants produce the isolation form as *gyð“ba*.

### 11.2.3. The *kí*[PL]-Class

The largest class of inalienable nouns is the *kí*[PL]-Class. The nouns in the *kí*[PL]-Class are inalienable nouns which are in neither the Kin-Class nor the Many-Class. In the *kí*[PL]-Class, if the head noun is plural, the morpheme *kí* appears between the possessor and the possessed. Otherwise, no possessive particle appears.

- (9) a. gyá“m -sì !ko  
child -DIM stomach  
“the child’s stomach”
- b. gyá“m -lkà’a kí- !ko -( \*qà)  
child -DIM.PL PL- stomach -PL  
“the children’s stomachs” [Collins 2001: (6)]

- (10) a. ☉’ú ☉núũ  
duiker head  
“the duiker’s head”
- b. ☉’ú -qà kí- ☉núũ -( \*qà)  
duiker -PL PL- head -PL  
“the duikers’ heads” [Collins 2001: (7)]

- (11) a. †’àm kðe !kôa  
person house  
“the person’s house”
- b. čðð-!ka’e kí- !kôa -(qà)  
people PL- house -PL  
“the people’s houses” [Collins 2001: (8)]

In the above examples, the plural morpheme *-qà* is obligatorily absent in (9) and (10) even though the head noun is semantically plural. In (9), one is talking about a set of stomachs, and in (10), about a set of heads. In (11), the plural marker *-qà* is optional with no change in meaning. We return to the issue of the missing plural marker *-qà* in the next section below.

When the head noun is plural, and the possessor is singular, kí[PL] is also used. In this case, the plural suffix *-qà* is obligatory.

- (12) a. †’àm kðe kí- !kôa -( \*qà)  
person PL- house -PL  
“the person’s houses”
- b. †’àm kðe kí- ☉núũ -( \*qà)  
person PL- head -PL  
“the person’s heads” (for a multi-headed imaginary person)
- c. gyá“m -sì kí- lkôam -( \*qà)  
child -DIM PL- sack -PL  
“the child’s sacks” [Collins 2001: (9)]



Even though the plural suffix *-qà* is incompatible with numerals (see chapter 15), numerals appear with *kí[PL]*:

- (13) a. 'àm           !kôa  
1SG.GEN   house  
“my house”
- b. 'àm           kí-   !kôa   -qa  
1SG.GEN   PL-   house   -PL  
“my houses”
- c. 'àm           kí-   !kôa   Okoa  
1SG.GEN   PL-   house   two  
“my two houses”
- d. 'àm           kí-   !kôa   qaē  
1SG.GEN   PL-   house   three  
“my three houses”

[CC Shori 3:34]

Some postpositions fall into the *kí[PL]*-Class (see chapter 12 on postpositions). When the object of the postposition is singular, the object and the postposition are juxtaposed with no intervening *kí[PL]*. When the object of the postposition is plural, *kí[PL]* appears between them.

- (14) a. kyěamà       'a   kì   koloji   na  
dog           COP   LK   truck   in  
“The dog is in the truck.”
- b. kyěamà       -qà   'a   kì   koloji   na  
dog           -PL   COP   LK   truck   in  
“The dogs are in the truck.”
- c. kÿeamà       -qà   'a   kì   koloji -qà   kí-   na  
dog           -PL   COP   LK   truck -PL   PL-   in  
“The dogs are in the trucks.”

[Collins 2001: (20)]

In (14a), one dog is in one truck. In (14b), a number of dogs are in one truck. As Gruber (1975) notes, (14c) is naturally interpreted distributively, where there is a different dog in each truck. When *kí[PL]* precedes the postposition, the postposition is being pluralized. We can interpret this as meaning that there are several locations, each defined by the inside of a truck. Some Shorilatholo consultants produced (14c) without the *kí[PL]*, but others produced it with the *kí[PL]*.

The postposition *na* “in” can never take the *-qà* plural, as shown in the following example:

- (15) koloi-qà      kí-      na      (\*-qà)  
 truck-PL      PL      in      -PL  
 “in the trucks” [Collins 2001: (21)]

The following sentences are all unacceptable:

- (16) a. \*kyěama      ’a      kì      koloi      -qà      kí-      na  
 dog      COP      LK      truck      -PL      PL-      in  
 b. \*kyěama      -qà      ’a      kì      koloi      kí-      na  
 dog      -PL      COP      LK      truck      PL-      in  
 c. \*kyěama      ’a      kì      koloi      kí-      na  
 dog      COP      LK      truck      PL-      in [Collins 2001: (23)]

The example in (16a) is unacceptable because it is impossible for a single dog to occupy several trucks at the same time. Example (16b) is unacceptable because one truck cannot define several locations. For the same reason, (16c) is unacceptable.

Some body part nouns that belong to the kí[PL]-Class include: *Onúũ Ono* “a “brain”, *!q’ō* “nose”, *#xui* “breast” (of a non-human animal), *khyiã* “neck”, *!q’ō* “heart”, *!kḡḡō* “trunk”, *kũ* “odor”, *ṣī* “door, mouth”, *kúí* “liver”, *!’úí* “spine”, *Ōxui* “tail”, *!nḡō* “throat”, *!go’ē* “animal’s chest”, *n!gã* “ma” “chest” (of humans), *ṣīna* “chin”, *!xanu* “palate”, *č’ōne* “body”, *cèla* “tongue”, *!gḡxḡlo* “adam’s apple”, *!nã* “a “manner”.

Some artifact nouns that belong to the kí[PL]-Class include: *!hã* “a “blanket”, *!kḡa* “house” and *!gãma* “knife”.

Some locative postpositions that belong to the kí[PL]-Class include: *na* “in”, *za* “by” (for some people), *!qa’ne* “near to” and *č’ōne* “surface”.

### 11.3. Plural Deletion

As noted above, sometimes the head noun is semantically plural, but the plural suffix *-qà* does not show up. We refer to this state of affairs as “plural deletion”. In this section, we review the generalizations governing plural deletion.

First, plural deletion is only possible if the possessor is plural. In (17a), the possessor is singular, and plural deletion is not possible (as shown by the *\*(-qà)* notation). In (17b), the possessor is plural, and plural deletion is possible.

- (17) a. #’àm kḡè      kí-      !kḡa      \*(-qà)  
 person      PL-      house      -PL  
 “the person’s houses” [Collins 2001: (13)]



- b.     ⊙'ú   -qà    kí-    ⊙núũ \*(-qà)  
       duiker -PL  PL-    head   -PL  
       “the duikers’ heads”
- c.     čðð-!ka’e    kí-    !kôa   (-qà)  
       people        PL-    house -PL  
       “the people’s houses”

[Collins 2001: 458f.]

### 11.4. Pair-Classes A and B

Lastly, we discuss the ill understood Pair-Classes A and B. These classes admit lots of variation between speakers (which we do not describe). The information below must be taken as very tentative (see Collins 1998a for a more detailed discussion). They are called the Pair-Classes, because their members denote elements that naturally occur in pairs.

The main difference between Pair-Class A and Pair-Class B is that the nouns of Pair-Class A take the plural suffix *-n/ne*, whereas the nouns of Pair-Class B form their plurals by suppletion (see section 10.1 for a list of members of this class of suppletive plurals) plus the plural suffix *-qa*.

The following examples illustrate #hà“*ma*, “wing” which is a member of Pair-Class A.

- (22) a.    #hǐ    -sǐ                    #hà“ma  
       bird  -DIM                    wing  
       “the bird’s wing”
- b.    #hǐ    -sǐ           (kí-) #hà“ma    -n/ne  
       bird  -DIM           PL-  wing       -PL  
       “the bird’s wings”                                    [Collins 1998a: (60)]
- (23) a.    #hǐ    -lkà’a        kí-    #hà“ma    (-n/ne)  
       bird  -DIM.PL    PL-  wing       (-PL)  
       “the birds’ wings”
- b.    #hǐ    -lkà’a           #hà“ma    -n/ne  
       bird  -DIM.PL           wing       -PL  
       “the birds’ wings”                                    [Collins 1998a: (60)]

The following examples illustrate *Okoa* “eye”, which is a member of Pair-Class B.

- (24) a.    #’àmkkðe    ⊙koa  
       person        eye  
       “the person’s eye”

- b.     #’àmkkòe     Okǒě (-qà)  
           person         eye.PL -PL  
           “the person’s eyes”
- c.     \*#’àmkkòe     kí-     Okǒě (-qà)  
           person         PL-     eye.PL -PL   [Collins 1998a: (61)]
- (25)   čòō-!ka’e     (kí-)   Okǒě (-qà)  
           people         PL-     eye.PL -PL  
           “I see the people’s eyes.”   [Collins 1998a: (61)]

On other occasions, other judgments were obtained, both for the same lexical items and for different lexical items in the same classes (see CC Grammar Rec:7, CC Plurals and Agreement 6:10 for more discussion).

### 11.5. Sàsí

The system of possession and plurality works the same way in Sàsí as in #Hǒā. The following examples show alienable possession in Sàsí.

- (26) a.     #’àmkkòe     sì     těmà  
           person         POSS dog  
           “the person’s dog”
- b.     čo-!kaĩ     sì     těmà -qà  
           people         POSS dog -PL  
           “The people’s dogs”   [CC Sàsí 6, 9:11]

The following examples show pluralization in the Kin-Class:

- (27) a.     da“m -sì     de  
           child -DIM mother  
           “the child’s mother”
- b.     da“m -lkà’a     de  
           child -DIM.PL mother  
           “the children’s mother”
- c.     da“m -lkà’a     de-qà  
           child -DIM.PL mother-PL  
           “the children’s mothers”   [CC Sàsí 6, 9:11]

The following examples show pluralization in the Many-Class. In the plural, the -qà is optional, but mostly absent:

- (28) a. l'úũ kí- dð"βa  
 tree POSS- leaf  
 "the leaf of the tree"
- b. l'úũ -qà kí- dð"βa (-qà)  
 tree -PL POSS- leaf -PL  
 "the leaves of the trees" [CC Sàsí 6:1, 9:12]

The following examples show pluralization in the kí[PL]-Class:

- (29) a. †'àmkòe !kôa  
 person house  
 "the person's house"
- b. čo-ka'ě !kôa  
 people house  
 "the people's house"
- c. čo-ka'ě kí- !kôa (-qà)  
 people PL- house -PL  
 "the people's houses"
- d. †'àmkòe kí- !kôa -qà  
 person PL- house -PL  
 "the person's houses" [CC Sàsí 6:4]

A plural head noun with a singular possessor does not always bear a plural suffix (contrary to what is found in #Hðǎ; see section 11.2.3):

- (30) yà í- !kôa ma 'a cí  
 3SG PL- house 1SG PROG see  
 "I see his houses." [CC Sàsí 9:27]

## 12. Prepositions and Postpositions

There are two prepositions and a handful of nominal locative postpositions.

### 12.1. Prepositions

There are two prepositions in #Hdā. One preposition is the general linker *kì*, which we discuss in detail in chapter 16. The other is *ke* “with”. It is used for accompaniment and a few other semantic relations. *ke* is also used as the conjunction for NP coordination.

The following examples show the use of *ke* for accompaniment:

- (1) ma 'a kyà'o ke 'àm j̄ju  
1SG PROG go with 1SG.GEN wife  
“I am going with my wife.” [CC Shori 2:25]
- (2) Jaano, n!ka'e 'a n!nōō ke cì  
now 1PL PROG play with 3PL  
“Now, we played with them.” [Keboheditse’s Lion Story 6]
- (3) qà'a j̄j̄i -'a ke llkà'e  
1PL stay -PFV with meat  
“We are staying with meat.” [Vulture 29]
- (4) !gòa yà o n!nobo ke yà ču  
late.afternoon 3SG FUT talk with 3SG father  
“He will talk with his father in the late afternoon.” [CC Shori 1:68]

Possession is expressed with *ke*:

- (5) yà 'a ke l'ì  
3SG COP with money  
“He has money.” (lit.: “He is with money.”) [CC Shori 1:65]

Comparison is also expressed with /*ku* “like” followed by *ke*.

- (6) l'ui-xàm 'a 'ám lku (ke) #'àmkd̄e  
monkey PROG eat like with person  
“The monkey is eating like a person.” [CC Shori 2:25]
- (7) llka čà'a lku ke !ḡi  
hartebeest tall like with gnu  
“The hartebeest is as tall as the gnu.” [Utterances 1:2 2,124]

*ke* “with” is also used for a few locative relations, such as “near to” (*gaufi le* in Setswana) and “far from” (*kgakala le* in Setswana):

- (8) a. Molepolole kya“m ke Gaborone  
 Molepolole near with Gaborone  
 “Molepolole is near to Gaborone.”
- b. gyòã kyĩã †gõã ke Gaborone  
 kudu neck far with Gaborone  
 “Shorilatholo is far from Gaborone.” [CC Shori 3:9; JG Loc AV 2.3.]

*ke* can also be used to mean “along” as in the following examples:

- (9) yà ’a kyà“o ke gyèò  
 3SG PROG go with path  
 “He is going along the path.” [CC Shori 3:9; JG Loc AV 40]

Although *ke* “with” is used for accompaniment, and the linker *kì* is never used for accompaniment, we have not studied whether there is any overlap in function between *ke* “with” and the linker *kì*.

In Sàsí, to express accompaniment, one uses *ka kì*. The *kì* is the linker.

- (10) yà ì ’a nlnobo ka kì ma  
 3SG SBJ PROG talk with LK me  
 “He is speaking with me.” [CC Sàsí 4:7, 9:13]
- (11) yà ì ’a ka kì l’i -qà  
 3SG SBJ COP with LK money -PL  
 “He has money.” [CC Sàsí 10:24]

## 12.2. Noun Phrase Coordination

When two noun phrases are coordinated, the word *ke* “with” is used:

- (12) a. ma ’a kını gòme ke Ɔ’ú  
 1SG PROG want cow and duiker  
 “I want a cow and a duiker.”
- b. ma ’a kını gòme Ɔkoa ke Ɔ’ú qaẽ  
 1SG PROG want cow two and duiker three  
 “I want two cows and three duikers.”
- c. ma ’a kını gòme -qà ke Ɔ’ú -qà  
 1SG PROG want cow -PL and duiker -PL  
 “I want cows and duikers.” [CC Grammar Rec:13]



- (13) N|nobo-n|lgà“e ke Thabo ’a kí -kyà“o  
 N|nobo-n|lgà“e and Thabo PROG PL -go  
 “N|nobo-n|lgà“e and Thabo are going.” [CC Shori 5:24]

There does not seem to be a word for “or”. Rather, the Setswana word *ampo* “or” is used.

In place of coordination involving a pronoun, a construction involving a pronoun modified by a numeral is often used:

- (14) a. m-Okoa ke N|nobo-n|lgà“e ’a kí- kyà“o  
 1SG-two and N|nobo-n|lgà“e PROG PL- go  
 “Me and N|nobo-n|lgà“e are going.” [CC Shori 6:15]
- b. jì-Okoa ke N|nobo-n|lgà“e ’a kí- kyà“o  
 2PL-two and N|nobo-n|lgà“e PROG PL- go  
 “You and N|nobo-n|lgà“e are going.” [CC Shori 5:24]
- c. cì-Okoa ke N|nobo-n|lgà“e ’a kí- kyà“o  
 3PL-two and N|nobo-n|lgà“e PROG PL- go  
 “He/she and N|nobo-n|lgà“e are going.” [CC Shori 6:15]

For Sàsí, *ka kì* is used instead of *ke* in coordination:

- (15) a. ma ’a †kè gòme ka kì  ’ú  
 1SG PROG want cow with LK duiker  
 “I want a cow and a duiker.”
- b. Bakane ka kì Thabo cì ’a kí- tà“o  
 Bakane with LK Thabo 3PL PROG PL- go  
 “Bakane and Thabo are going.” [CC Sàsí 12:5]

### 12.3. Postpositions

Postpositions express various locative relations and are all nominal. There are two kinds: those that take *š̄* and those that do not take *š̄*. Recall that *š̄* is the possessive marker found with alienable possession of nouns.

- (16)  ’ú ’a kí l’óō š̄i †’hàã  
 duiker COP LK tree POSS front  
 “The duiker is in front of the tree.” [JG Pred 4; Loc AV 26]

The following sentences give a range of locative relations (note that in casual speech, the linker *kì* is often reduced to *ì*). There is no attempt at an exhaustive list of locative postpositions.

- (17) a. kyěamà 'a kì !kôa na  
 dog COP LK house in  
 “The dog is in the house.”
- b. kyěamà -qà 'a kì !kôa -qà kí- na  
 dog -PL COP LK house -PL PL- in  
 “The dogs are in the houses.” [CC Shori 2:26]
- (18) a. kyěamà 'a kì !kôa za  
 dog COP LK house by  
 “The dog is by the house.”
- b. kyěamà -qà 'a kì !kôa -qà za  
 dog -PL COP LK house -PL by  
 “The dogs are by the houses.” (even if distributed) [CC Shori 2:28]
- (19) a. kyěamà 'a kì !kôa šì ||q'àm  
 dog COP LK house POSS above  
 “The dog is on top of the house.”
- b. kyěamà -qà 'a kì !kôa -qà šì ||q'àm  
 dog -PL COP LK house-PL POSS above  
 “The dogs are on top of the houses.” [CC Shori 2:26]
- (20) a. kyěamà 'a kì !kôa šì #kã  
 dog COP LK house POSS below  
 “The dog is under the house.”
- b. kyěamà -qà 'a kì !kôa -qà šì #kã  
 dog -PL COP LK house -PL POSS below  
 “The dogs are under the houses.” [CC Shori 2:26]
- (21) a. kyěamà 'a kì !kôa †gì na  
 dog COP LK house backside in  
 “The dogs are behind the house.”
- b. kyěamà -qà 'a kì !kôa -qà †gì kí- na  
 dog -PL COP LK house -PL backside PL- in  
 “The dog is behind the house.” [CC Shori 2:27]
- (22) a. kyěamà 'a kì !kôa šì †'hãã  
 dog COP LK house POSS front  
 “The dog is in front of the house.”

- b. kyěamà -qà 'a kì !kôa -qà šì †'hãã  
 dog -PL COP LK house -PL POSS front  
 “The dogs are in front of the houses.” [CC Shori 2:27]
- (23) a. kyěamà 'a kì !kôa šì kya“m  
 dog COP LK house POSS near  
 “The dog is near the house.”
- b. kyěamà -qà 'a kì !kôa -qà šì kya“m  
 dog -PL COP LK house -PL POSS near  
 “The dogs are near the houses.” [CC Shori 2:27]

The alienably possessed locative nouns can be used with no complement:

- (24) a. kyěamà 'a kì †'hãã  
 dog COP LK front  
 “The dog is ahead.”
- b. kyěamà 'a kì †kã  
 dog COP LK under  
 “The dog is underneath.” (e.g., the table)
- c. †kî-šì 'ú 'a kì !q'àm  
 bird-DIM far COP LK above  
 “The bird is above.” [CC Shori 4:2]

Some examples from the oral texts indicating this usage are given below:

- (25) yà !kâm kì !naqè čxoam †kí'i kì kya“m  
 3SG younger.sibling EMPH then hide recline LK near  
 “The younger brother then hid nearby.” [Eland Woman 20]
- (26) !kõe yà !kâm ka salà -'a kì †kã ...  
 still 3SG younger.sibling SUB remain-PFV LK behind  
 “While his younger brother remained behind, ...” [Elephant Woman 63]

The following two sentences give an example where the postposition is first used with the complement, and subsequently without (because the complement is then understood):

- (27) a. †nîbi !kûi kì !güi šì !q'àm  
 arrow.shaft pass LK vulture POSS above  
 “The arrow passed over the vulture.”
- b. †nîbi !kûi kì !q'àm  
 arrow.shaft pass LK above  
 “The arrow passed over it.” [Vulture 38, 41]

The distinction between alienably possessed postpositions and inalienably possessed postpositions also holds for Sàsí, although we have not had a chance to investigate it systematically:

- (28) a. tǝmà 'a i !kôa na  
 dog COP LK house in  
 “The dog is in the house.”
- b. tǝma 'a kî !kôa sî #'hǎǎ ší  
 dog COP LK house POSS front PLACE  
 “The dog is in front of the house.” [CC Sàsí 12:22]

### 13. Relative Clauses

A relative clause in #Hḏā follows the noun it modifies. In the English example “the shoe which Jeff bought”, the noun that is modified is “shoe” and the relative clause is “which Jeff bought”. In this example, “which” is a relative pronoun.

#### 13.1. Imperfective vs. Perfective

Relative clauses in #Hḏā are divided into three classes. The first division is locative vs. non-locative. The second division depends on whether the verb is in the imperfective (progressive/habitual/future) or not. If the verb is in the imperfective, then the relative particle *ma* must appear between the imperfective particle and the verb, forming the sequence *'a-ma-V*. Otherwise, the particle *m̄* appears before the verb. The particle *m̄* appears both for verbs in the perfective as well as in copula constructions.

Starting first with relative clauses in the progressive, the following two examples illustrate object relative clauses (where the modified noun is the object of the relative clause) for singular and plural nouns.

- (1) ㊦'ú lna ma 'a ma !hà  
duiker which 1SG PROG REL hunt  
“the duiker that I am hunting” [CC Shori 2:15]

- (2) ㊦'ú -qà lna -qà ma 'a ma !hà  
duiker -PL which -PL 1SG PROG REL hunt  
“the duikers that I am hunting” [CC Shori 2:15]

In the above examples, we gloss *lna* as the relative pronoun “which”. The pre-verbal particle is glossed REL (Relative Clause).

Similarly, the object of an embedded clause can be relativized:

- (3) ma cí -'a 'ǎ“ri-llgá“i lna ma 'a ma †qè šī cí  
1SG know -PFV woman which 1SG PROG REL want INF see  
“I know the woman I want to see.” [JG Comp 85]

The following two examples illustrate subject relative clauses (where the modified noun is the subject of the relative clause) for singular and plural nouns:

- (4) ㊦'ú lna 'a ma 'ám lqhūi -qà  
duiker which PROG REL eat grass -PL  
“the duiker that is eating grass” [CC Shori 2:15]

- (5) ㊦'ú -qà lna -qà 'a ma 'ám lqhūi -qà  
duiker -PL which -PL PROG REL eat grass -PL  
“the duikers that are eating grass” [CC Shori 2:15]

Next we illustrate relative clauses in the perfective, where the particle *m̃* must be placed before the verb. The following two examples illustrate object relative clauses for singular and plural nouns:

- (6) ☉'ú    ʎna    ma    m̃    !hà    -'a  
 duiker which 1SG REL hunt -PFV  
 “the duiker that I hunted” [CC Shori 2:15]
- (7) ☉'ú    -qà    ʎna    -qà    ma    m̃    !hà    -'a  
 duiker -PL which -PL 1SG REL hunt -PFV  
 “the duikers that I hunted” [CC Shori 2:15]

To complete the paradigm, the following two examples illustrate subject relative clauses for singular and plural nouns in the perfective:

- (8) ☉'ú    ʎna    m̃    'ám    -'a    lqhũi    -qà  
 duiker which REL eat -PFV grass -PL  
 “the duiker that ate grass” [CC Shori 2:16]
- (9) ☉'ú    -qà    ʎna    -qà    m̃    'ám    -'a    lqhũi    -qà  
 duiker -PL which -PL REL eat -PFV grass -PL  
 “the duikers that ate grass” [CC Shori 2:16]

There is also a reduced form of the relative clauses, where the relative pronouns *ʎna* and *ʎna-qà* are replaced by *'a*. For the consultants from Shorilatholo, this is the most common way of forming a relative clause, although use of the full relative pronoun *ʎna* is also possible.

The following examples illustrate the reduced relative pronoun for object relatives modifying singular nouns:

- (10) ☉'ú    'a    ma    'a    ma    !hà  
 duiker REL 1SG PROG REL hunt  
 “the duiker that I am hunting” [CC Shori 2:15]
- (11) ☉'ú    'a    'àm    ču    'a    ma    !hà  
 duiker REL 1SG.GEN father PROG REL hunt  
 “the duiker that my father is hunting” [CC Shori 2:5]

The following examples illustrate the reduced relative pronoun for object relatives modifying plural nouns:

- (12) ☉'ú    -qà    'a    ma    'a    ma    !hà  
 duiker -PL REL 1SG PROG REL hunt  
 “the duikers that I am hunting” [CC Shori 2:15]

- (13) ☉'ú -qà 'a 'àm ču 'a ma !hà  
 duiker -PL REL 1SG.GEN father PROG REL hunt  
 “the duikers that my father is hunting” [CC Shori 2:5]

Relative clauses based on the future tense use the imperfective particle *ma* (see section 4.3 for other ways that the future is associated with the imperfective):

- (14) a. †'ámkðe lna qo ma 'ám  
 person which FUT REL eat  
 “the person who will eat”  
 b. †'ámkðe lna qo ma !hà  
 person which FUT REL hunt  
 “the person who will hunt” [CC Grammar Rec:7]
- (15) gyá“m -šì ja -šì 'a llq'à lna ča ma nlnobo  
 child -DIM male -DIM PROG listen which FUT REL speak  
 “The boy is listening to whoever will speak.” [Utterances 1:1 1,953]

With object relatives in the future, the future marker appears before the subject. We have not investigated this ordering fact with the Shorilatholo consultants.

- (16) a. 'ám -qà lna qo Titi ma 'ám  
 food -PL which FUT Titi REL eat  
 “the food Titi will eat”  
 b. ☉'ú lna qo Titi ma !hà  
 duiker which FUT Titi REL hunt  
 “the duiker Titi will hunt” [CC Grammar Rec:7]

Relative clauses based on locative copula constructions and predicative adjectives take the *m̄* particle (and hence pattern with the perfective).

- (17) ma 'a kīni kyěamà lna m̄ 'a kī !kōa na  
 1SG PROG want dog which REL COP LK house in  
 “I want the dog that is in the house.” [CC Shori 2:17]

Relative clause constructions based on predicate adjectives are the most common way to express concepts that would be expressed by attributive adjectives in English (see chapter 15 for a list of genuine predicate adjectives).

- (18) j̄ð 'a m̄ k̄ru  
 water which REL hot  
 “the water which is hot” [CC Shori 2:17]

- (19) llkà'a lna m çà'a  
 thing which REL long  
 “the thing which is long” [JG Pred 10]

When the subject of the nominal copula is relativized, *m* REL changes to *b* before the copula *o*. In some examples, an extra *o* is inserted before the REL marker *b*. We have not investigated this alternation in the Shorilatholo dialect:

- (20) a. ma cí 'a †'àmkdø lna (ð) b -ð !xâe  
 1SG see PFV person which COP REL -COP chief  
 “I know the person who is chief.” [JG Pred 26]
- b. 'ã“ri-llgá“i lna ð b-ð ù gye ča -'a  
 woman which COP REL-COP 3SG mother come -PFV  
 “The woman who is your mother has come.” [Utterances 1:1 378]
- c. gyá“m -sì lna qo b -ð 'ã“ri -jã-sì 'a nlnobo  
 child -DIM which FUT REL -COP man -DIM PROG speak  
 “The child who will be a young man is speaking.” [Utterances 1:2 684]
- d. gyo“ne ð llkà'a lna lqe b -ð 'ám  
 porcupine COP thing which can REL -COP food  
 “A porcupine is something which can be food.” [Utterances 1:2 692]

### 13.2. Ordering of REL

The relative clause markers *m* and *ma* follow adverbs and tense/aspect markers and any other pre-verbal elements. In this section, we illustrate the ordering of *m* and *ma* for a wide range of preverbal elements.

The following examples illustrate the placement of adverbs in relative clauses:

- (21) a. lna jì llhá“a-sa m !há -'a  
 which 2PL quick-ADV REL hunt -PFV  
 “which you have hunted quickly”
- b. lna lkù m ča (-'a)  
 which yesterday REL come -PFV  
 “who came yesterday” [JG Noun 124]

The following examples illustrate the placement of tense markers in relative clauses:

- (22) a. lna {ča, qo, kx'ð} ma č'eõ yã  
 which FUT REL do 3SG  
 “who will do it”



- b.    llna    {i, lke, llkhâm} m̄    č'eõ    yà  
       which PST                   REL do    3SG  
       “who did it”
- c.    llna    qo    ma    †kéu  
       which FUT REL    short  
       “who will be short”
- d.    llna    llke    m̄    †kéu  
       which PST REL    short  
       “who was short”
- e.    llna    qo    ma    č'eõ    -'a    yà  
       which FUT REL do    -PFV 3SG  
       “who will have done it”

[JG Noun 24]

The following examples illustrate the position of a positional pre-verb in a relative clause:

- (23) a.    llna    †gà'a           ma    lna  
       which TRANS           REL sit  
       “who is beginning to sit”
- b.    llna    †gà'a           ma    č'eõ  
       which TRANS           REL do  
       “who does while lying”
- c.    llna    †gà'a           ma    kyà“o  
       which TRANS           REL go  
       “who is going by, passing”
- d.    llna    llke    †gà'a           ma    č'eõ  
       which PST TRANS           REL do  
       “who did while lying”

[JG Aux 55]

The following example illustrates the position of negation in relative clauses:

- (24) a.    llna    lhò'õ m̄    č'eõ    yà  
       which NEG REL do    3SG  
       “which did not do it”
- b.    llna    llke    lhò'õ m̄    č'eõ    yà  
       which PST NEG REL do    3SG  
       “which did not do it”

- c.    ||na   lhð'õ   ||ke   m̄   č'eõ   yà  
       which NEG PST REL do 3SG  
       “which did not do it”
- d.    ||na   qo   lhð'õ   ma   č'eõ   yà  
       which FUT NEG REL do 3SG  
       “which will not do it”
- e.    ||na   lhð'õ   m̄   č'eõ   -'a   yà  
       which NEG REL do -PFV 3SG  
       “which did not do it”

[JG Aux 66]

The following example illustrates the position of the auxiliary verb *kyà* “go” in relative clauses. Note that *kyà* “go” appears before the imperfective particle, which in turn appears before the imperfective relative marker.

- (25) a.    ||na   kyà       'a       ma   č'eõ   yà  
       which go.AUX IPFV REL do 3SG  
       “which is going to do it”
- b.    ||na   qo   kyà       'a   ma   č'eõ   yà  
       which FUT go.AUX IPFV REL do 3SG  
       “which will go do it”

[JG Aux 179]

The following example shows the position of *lqe* “can” in a relative clause:

- (26) ||na   lqe   ma   č'eõ  
       which can REL do  
       “which can do”

[JG Noun 127]

The following examples illustrate the position of pre-copular locative adverbs in relative clauses. They appear before the relative particle, just as other adverbs do.

- (27) a.    ||na   #kà       m̄   'a  
       which behind REL COP  
       “which is behind”
- b.    \*||na   m̄   #kà   'a  
       which REL behind COP

[JG Loc Av 21]

### 13.3. Locative Relative Clauses

Locative relative clauses are formed in a different way from subject and object relative clauses. With locative relative clauses, a particle *na* must be placed post-verbally, between the verb and the direct object (if there is one). We gloss this *na* as REL as well, since one

and only one of the three particles *ma* (imperfective relative), *m̂* (perfective relative) and *na* (locative relative) appears in a relative clause. Furthermore, in locative relative clauses, there is no relative pronoun *//na* “which”.

The locative relative particle *na* also appears in the event-counting construction (see section 8.5) and in where-questions (see section 25.6).

Examples of locative relative clauses in the imperfective and perfective aspect are given below:

- (28) a. ma 'a kyà“o k̄i Titi 'ú 'a 'ám na  
 1SG PROG go LK Titi far PROG eat REL  
 “I am going to where Titi is eating.”
- b. ma 'a kyà“o k̄i Titi 'a !hà na  
 1SG PROG go LK Titi PROG hunt REL  
 “I am going to where Titi is hunting.” [CC Grammar Rec:7]
- (29) a. ma 'a kyà“o k̄i Titi 'ám -'a na  
 1SG PROG go LK Titi eat -PFV REL  
 “I am going to where Titi ate.”
- b. ma 'a kyà“o k̄i Titi !hà -'a na  
 1SG PROG go LK Titi hunt -PFV REL  
 “I am going to where Titi hunted.” [CC Grammar Rec:7]

When there is an object in a locative relative clause, the object must appear after the relative particle *na*. There are no attested exceptions to this generalization.

- (30) ma 'a kyà“o k̄i Titi 'a 'ám na !kà“e  
 1SG PROG go LK Titi PROG eat REL meat  
 “I am going where Titi is eating meat.” [CC Shori 2:48]
- (31) čhǎ-!lgá“i !xoba !na k̄i yà 'ám na c̄i  
 eland-woman sit(of animal) sit LK 3SG eat REL 3PL  
 “The eland woman sat where she usually ate it (the honey).” [Eland Woman 24]
- (32) n!ná“a-k̄ðe -qà !kama !ke 'a siù na gyo“ne -qà  
 Mosarwa -PL dubitive PST PROG dig REL porcupine -PL  
 “a place where perhaps Bushmen were digging porcupines” [Kudu 60]

Gruber (1975c) gives another use of the relative marker illustrated below. This usage is not recognized by the consultants from Shorilatholo. Its presence may constitute a dialectal difference.

- (33) jð ð ču na  
 water COP drink REL  
 “water is something for drinking” [Utterances 1:1 1,147]

#### 13.4. Sàsí Relative Clauses

Relative clauses work in much the same way in Sàsí as in #Hðǎ. The same distinction is made between imperfective, perfective and locative relative clauses. The main difference is that the relative pronoun is *ka* (which never takes the plural marker *-qà*) in Sàsí.

Some examples of imperfective relative clauses are given below. Note that in Sàsí imperfective relative clauses, the imperfective particle *'a* does not appear preceding the relative clause particle *ma* (unlike #Hðǎ).

- (34) a. ☉'ú ka cì ma !hà  
 duiker which 3PL REL hunt  
 “the duiker which they are hunting”
- b. ☉'ú -qà ka cì ma !hà  
 duiker -PL which 3PL REL hunt  
 “the duikers that they are hunting” [CC Sàsí 9:28]
- (35) #'àmkòde ka ma ču  
 person which REL drink  
 “the person who is drinking” [CC Sàsí 4:15]
- (36) a. da“m -sì ka ma !'í  
 child -DIM which REL cry  
 “the child that is crying”
- b. da“m -lkà'a ka ma í- !'í  
 child -DIM.PL which REL PL -cry  
 “the children that are crying” [CC Sàsí 9:21]

Examples of perfective relative clauses are given below:

- (37) a. ☉'ú ka ma m !hǔũ 'a tìtè  
 duiker which 1SG REL kill PFV here  
 “Here is the duiker that I killed.” [CC Sàsí 9:23]
- b. ☉'ú -qà ka ma m !hǔũ 'a tìtè  
 duiker -PL which 1SG REL kill PFV here  
 “Here are the duikers that I killed.” [CC Sàsí 9:27]

Finally, an example of a locative relative clause is given below:

- (38) ma 'a kà Bakane 'ú 'a 'am na llkà“e  
 1SG PROG go.to Bakane far PROG eat REL meat  
 “I am going to where Bakane is eating meat.” [CC Sàsí 10:24]



## 14. Demonstratives

Demonstratives follow the noun they modify. There is no morphological difference between demonstratives that modify human nouns and those that modify non-human nouns. There is also no difference between demonstratives that modify singular nouns and plural nouns (unlike in English where singular “this/that” is distinguished from plural “these/those”).

### 14.1. Proximal Demonstratives

The following examples illustrate the proximal demonstrative *ha* “this/these” for things within the vicinity of the speaker. The modified noun is the inanimate noun “shoe”.

- (1) a.    llnãõ   ha    šù  
          shoe this    nice  
          “This shoe is nice.”
- b.    llnãõ   ha    kì    šù  
          shoe this    EMPH nice  
          “This shoe is nice.”

[CC Shori 2:37]

Note that the *kì* EMPH is optional in (1). There are examples in the oral texts showing the use of *kì* EMPH (modifying a noun) without a preceding demonstrative (e.g., Eland Woman 23: *yà //kâm kî* 3SG younger.sibling EMPH). Furthermore, the use of *kì* EMPH without a preceding demonstrative can also be heard in casual conversation. However, we have not studied this usage.

When the noun is plural, the demonstrative follows the plural marker:

- (2) llnãõ   -qà   ha    kì    kí    -šù   -nlne  
      shoe -PL this    EMPH PL   -nice -PL  
      “These shoes are nice.”

[CC Shori 2:37]

In the following examples, the modified noun is in object position. Once again, the *kì* is optional.

- (3) a.    ma    'a    #kè   llnãõ   ha  
      1SG PROG want shoe this  
      “I want this shoe.”
- b.    ma    'a    #kè   llnãõ   ha    kì  
      1SG PROG want shoe this    EMPH  
      “I want this shoe.”

[CC Shori 2:37]

As before, the demonstrative follows the plural marker:

- (4) ma 'a kɪni ʎnǎõ -qà ha kɪ  
 1SG PROG want shoe -PL this EMPH  
 “I want these shoes.” [CC Shori 2:37]

In the following sentences, the modified noun is the animate noun “Kgalagadi person”. Note that the demonstrative used for human nouns (e.g., “Kgalagadi person”) is the same as the one used for inanimate nouns (e.g., “shoe”).

- (5) #kèbe ha kɪ #hĩ  
 Kgalagadi this EMPH fat  
 “This Kgalagadi person is fat.” [CC Shori 2:37]

- (6) #kèbe -qà ha kɪ kɪ- #hĩ -nɪne  
 Kgalagadi -PL this EMPH PL- fat -PL  
 “These Kgalagadi people are fat.” [CC Shori 2:37]

- (7) ma cí -'a #kèbe ha kɪ  
 1SG know -PFV Kgalagadi this EMPH  
 “I know this Kgalagadi person.” [CC Shori 2:37]

- (8) ma cí -'a #kèbe-qà ha kɪ  
 1SG know -PFV Kgalagadi-PL this EMPH  
 “I know these Kgalagadi people.” [CC Shori 2:37]

Nouns modified by proximal demonstrative *ha* “this” can also appear as genitives. Once again, *kɪ* EMPH is optional:

- (9) #kèbe ha (kɪ) ʃi kyěama #hĩ  
 Kgalagadi this EMPH POSS dog fat  
 “The dog of this Kgalagadi person is fat.” [CC Shori 2:41]

To express “this one” and “these ones”, *ha* (*kɪ*) “this” modifies a minimal relative clause construction (involving only the relative pronoun *ʎna* and the perfective relative marker *m̃*):

- (10) ʎna m̃ ha kɪ nʎna'a  
 which REL this EMPH ugly  
 “This one is ugly.” (said of a person) [CC Shori 2:38]

- (11) ʎna -qà m̃ ha kɪ kɪ- nʎna'a -nɪne  
 which -PL REL this EMPH PL- ugly -PL  
 “These ones are ugly.” (said of people) [CC Shori 2:38]



## 14.2. Distal Demonstratives

When the object is within the vicinity of the addressee, the demonstrative used is *kyǒa*. The use of the emphatic particle *kì* with *kyǒa* is preferred in all positions. The following sentences have the inanimate head noun “shoe”:

- (12) ɲnǎǎ kyǒa kì nɲna'a  
 shoe that EMPH ugly  
 “That shoe is ugly.” (pointing to a shoe the addressee is holding) [CC Shori 2:39]

In eliciting this sentence, the main problem is that *ha* (*kì*) “this” can be used in a wide range of situations, including the situation where the addressee is holding the shoe. It depends on how one understands the set of objects that are near to the speaker, which can be quite inclusive.

The demonstrative *kyǒa kì* “that” follows the plural marker:

- (13) ɲnǎǎ -qà kyǒa kì kí- nɲna'a -nɲne  
 shoe -PL that EMPH PL- ugly -PL  
 “Those shoes are ugly.” [CC Shori 5:30]

We have a recording of the combination of *kyǒa* and *ha*. We have not investigated such doubling systematically, and other consultants have claimed similar sentences are unacceptable (see (29) below):

- (14) ma 'a kɪni ɲnǎǎ kyǒa ha kì  
 1SG PROG want shoe that this EMPH  
 “I want that shoe.” [CC Shori 2:DEM]

The following sentences illustrate direct objects modified by *kyǒa kì* “that”:

- (15) ɲnǎǎ kyǒa kì ma 'a #kè  
 shoe that EMPH 1SG PROG want  
 “That shoe, I want.” [CC Shori 2:39]
- (16) ɲnǎǎ -qà kyǒa kì ma 'a #kè  
 shoe -PL that EMPH 1SG PROG want  
 “Those shoes, I want.” [CC Shori 2:39]

For the following sentences, the modified noun is human. Once again, there is no difference between the demonstratives modifying a noun denoting a human and a noun denoting an inanimate object:

- (17) #kèbe kyǒa kì #hĩ  
 Kgalagadi that EMPH fat  
 “That Kgalagadi person is fat.” [CC Shori 2:39]

- (18) #kèbe -qà kyǒa kì kí- #hĩ -nlne  
Kgalagadi -PL that EMPH PL- fat -PL  
“Those Kgalagadi people are fat.” [CC Shori 2:39]
- (19) ma cí -’a #kèbe kyǒa kì  
1SG know -PFV Kgalagadi that EMPH  
“I know that Kgalagadi.” [CC Shori 2:39]
- (20) ma cí -’a #kèbe -qà kyǒa kì  
1SG know -PFV Kgalagadi -PL that EMPH  
“I know those Kgalagadi people.” [CC Shori 2:39]

To express “that one” and “those ones”, *kyǒa kì* modifies a minimal relative clause construction (involving only the relative pronoun //na and the perfective relative marker *m̄*):

- (21) a. //na m̄ kyǒa kì #hĩ  
which REL that EMPH fat  
“That one is big.” (of an axe)
- b. //na -qà m̄ kyǒa kì kí- #hĩ  
which -PL REL that EMPH PL- fat  
“Those ones are big.” (of axes) [CC Shori 3:10]

Although we have characterized *kyǒa* “that” as being used with objects near to the addressee, it has a much wider range of usages, as can be seen in the oral texts. In the first example, the particular day is no closer to the addressee than the speaker, but *kyǒa* is nevertheless used.

- (22) lhò’ō cí cì kì č’a kyǒa kì  
not see 3PL LK day that EMPH  
“but did not see it (the honey) that day” [Eland Woman 49]

In the next example, the elephant woman is not physically near to either the speaker or the addressee:

- (23) m-Ḑkoa kyà |xòbe ’ǎ“ri-llǎ“i kyǒa kì  
1-two go.AUX borrow woman that EMPH  
“We two will go borrow that woman.” [Elephant Woman 12]

The following table summarizes the demonstratives in #Hḏǎ. The *kì* is an emphatic particle.

(24) Summary of Demonstratives

		Singular		Plural
Proximal	this			these
	NP	ha		NP ha
Distal	that			those
	NP	kyõa		NP kyõa

When the object referred to is away from both the speaker and the addressee, then a relative clause is used to express the distal demonstrative.

- (25) a. #kèbe 'a 'ú m kyè #hĩ  
 Kgalagadi REL far REL here fat  
 “That Kgalagadi person over there is fat.”
- b. #kèbe -qà 'a 'ú m kyè kí- #hĩ -n/ne  
 Kgalagadi -PL REL far REL here PL- fat -PL  
 “Those Kgalagadi people over there are fat.” [CC Shori 2:40]

An alternative form using *ha* instead of *kyè* is given below:

- (26) a. #kèbe 'a 'ú m ha #hĩ  
 Kgalagadi which far REL this fat  
 “That Kgalagadi person (over there) is fat.”
- b. #kèbe -qà 'a 'ú m ha #hĩ  
 Kgalagadi -PL which far REL this fat  
 “Those Kgalagadi people (over there) are fat.” [CC Shori 2:DEM]

A few more examples are given below:

- (27) a. l'óõ 'a 'ú m kyè nlna'a  
 tree which far REL here ugly  
 “That tree over there is ugly.”
- b. gõme 'a 'ú m kyè nlna'a  
 cow which far REL here ugly  
 “That cow over there is ugly.” [CC Grammar Rec:10]

14.3. Combinations

Combinations of the various demonstratives modifying nouns are not generally allowed (but see example (14) above):

- (28) a. \*l'óõ ha 'a 'ú m kyè nlna'a  
 tree this which far REL here ugly

- b. \*l'óó 'a 'ú ì kyè ha nla'a  
tree which far REL here this ugly
- (29) a. \*gòme ha kyõa lhò'õ qhãẽ-sa 'ào -'a  
cow this that NEG good-ADV do -PFV
- b. \*gòme kyõa ha lhò'õ qhãẽ-sa 'ào -'a  
cow that this NEG good-ADV do -PFV
- (30) a. \*gòme kyõa 'a 'ú ì kyè nla'a  
cow that which far REL here ugly
- b. \*gòme 'a 'ú ì kyè kyõa nla'a  
cow which far REL here that ugly

[CC Grammar Rec:10]

#### 14.4. Presentationals

The *kyè* in the relative clauses in (25) is also used in declarative clauses in presentational expressions such as “here is my father” (see JG Pred 150 for more examples):

- (31) a. àm            ču    kì    kyè  
1SG.GEN    father EMPH here  
“Here is my father.” (e.g., introducing him)       [CC Shori 2:40, 54]
- b. 'àm            ču    kyè (vowel of *kyè* lengthened)  
1SG.GEN    father here  
“Here is my father.”                                   [CC Shori 5:21]

The word *kyè* “here” needs some comment. First, it would have been more accurate to gloss *kyè* as here.PRED, or perhaps “be here”, since *kyè* only appears in predicate position. It can never appear as an adverb (unlike *'ãĩ* “here”). Second, we gloss it as “here” since one of its main uses is in “here” presentational sentences as shown in (31). However, examples like (34) below (and (25) above) show that *kyè* is not restricted to indicating proximity to the speaker if combined with the adverb *'ú* “far”. As we show below in section 14.5, adverbial *'ãĩ* “here” also has the property of meaning “there” when combined with *'ú* “far”.

Lastly, *kyè* in presentationals most often occurs with a preceding *kì*. The gloss of this particle is not entirely clear at the present time. It is clear that this preceding *kì* is not the linker, because it corresponds to *tì* (and not *kì*) in Sàsí. We tentatively gloss it as EMPH. Since the combination of *kì* EMPH and *kyè* “here” is so frequent, in the stories we simply gloss the complex *kìkyè* as “here”.

*kyõa*, which is a demonstrative (see (24)), also has a predicative use. In its predicative use we gloss it as “there” to make it parallel with the gloss of *kyè* as “here”. The *kyò* in



- (37) a. 'àm ču 'ãĩ 'a kyxái  
 1SG.GEN father here PROG dance  
 “My father is dancing here.” [CC Shori 2:41]
- b. 'àm ču 'a kyxái kì 'ãĩ kì  
 1SG.GEN father PROG dance LK here EMPH  
 “My father is dancing here.” [CC Shori 2:DEM]

“There” (in the vicinity of the addressee) is expressed with *šĩ kyõa kì* (or, dialectally, *šú kyõa kì*) “place that”:

- (38) a. 'àm ču šú kyõa kì 'a 'ám  
 1SG.GEN father place that EMPH PROG eat  
 “My father is eating there.” [CC Shori 2:DEM]
- b. 'àm ču 'a 'ám kì šú kyõa kì  
 1SG.GEN father PROG eat LK place that EMPH  
 “My father is eating there.” [CC Shori 2:43]
- (39) šú kyõa kì yà 'a jĩĩ  
 place that EMPH 3SG PROG stay  
 “He is staying there.” [CC Shori 2:43]
- (40) a. lnãõ šĩ kyõa 'a  
 shoe place that COP  
 “The shoe is in that place.” [Utterances 2:1 889]
- b. lnãõ 'a kì šĩ kyõa  
 shoe COP LK place that  
 “The shoe is in that place.” [Utterances 2:1 901]

For places away from the speaker and the addressee, the particle 'ú is used:

- (41) a. ù ču nyiñ  
 2SG father where  
 “Where is your father?”
- b. 'ãĩ yà 'ú 'a  
 here 3SG far COP  
 “He is there.” (pointing to place away from speaker and addressee)
- c. 'ãĩ n!nú yà 'ú 'a  
 here far 3SG far COP  
 “He is there.” [CC Shori 2:43]

The use of *’āī* “here” to mean “there” when in combination with the adverb *’ú* is parallel to a similar usage for *kyè* “here” illustrated in (34) above.

**14.6. Sàsí Demonstratives**

The facts of Sàsí parallel those of †Hðã with some differences. One major difference is that the *kì* EMPH which frequently appears optionally at the end of †Hðã demonstratives (*ha kì, kyõa kì, ’āī kì*) appears only very rarely in our Sàsí data (realized as *tì*).

Just like in †Hðã, the proximal demonstrative is *ha*, which appears outside the plural marker.

- (42) a.   **bõ    ha    ì    šù**  
           axe    this    SBJ    nice  
           “This axe is nice.”
- b.   **bõ    -qà    ha    ì    kí-    šù**  
           axe    -PL    this    SBJ    PL-    nice  
           “These axes are nice.” [CC Sàsí 11:25]

- (43) a.   **bõ    ha    ma    ’a    †kè**  
           axe    this    1SG    PROG    want  
           “I want this axe.”
- b.   **bõ    -qà    ha    ma    ’a    †kè**  
           axe    -PL    this    1SG    PROG    want  
           “I want these axes.” [CC Sàsí 11:25]

- (44) a.   **†kèbe            ha    ì    čà’a**  
           Ngwato        this    SBJ    tall  
           “*This Ngwato person is tall.*”
- b.   **†kebe            -qà    ha    ì    kí-    čà’a**  
           Ngwato        -PL    this    SBJ    PL-    tall  
           “*These Ngwato people are tall.*” [CC Sàsí 11:26]

- (45) a.   **ma    ì    !q’a    -’a    †kèbe    ha**  
           1SG    SBJ    know    -PFV    Ngwato    this  
           “*I know this Ngwato person.*”
- b.   **ma    ì    !q’a    -’a    †kèbe    -qà    ha**  
           1SG    SBJ    know    -PFV    Ngwato    -PL    this  
           “*I know these Ngwato people.*” [CC Sàsí 11:26]

“This one” and “these ones” are formed by modifying the pronoun by a demonstrative (compare to the †Hðã in (10) and (11)). The Shorilatholo †Hðã consultants recognize (46a).

Whether or not this difference constitutes a genuine difference between Sàsí and #Hðã, or simply a preference amongst my consultants, remains to be investigated.

(46) a. yà ha ì čà'a  
3SG this SBJ tall  
“This one is tall.”

b. cì ha ì čà'a  
3PL this SJB tall  
“These ones are tall.”

[CC Sàsí 11:27]

The demonstrative *tõa* “that” is used for reference to objects near the addressee.

(47) a. bõ tõi ì šù  
axe that SBJ nice  
“That axe is nice.”

b. bõ -qà tõi kí- šù  
axe -PL that PL- nice  
“Those axes are nice.”

[CC Sàsí 11:27]

(48) a. ma 'a †kè bõ tõi  
1SG PROG want axe that  
“I want that axe.”

b. bõ -qà tõi ma 'a †kè  
axe -PL that 1SG PROG want  
“I want those axes.”

[CC Sàsí 11:28]

(49) a. †kèbe tõi ì čà'a  
Ngwato that SBJ tall  
“That Ngwato person is tall.”

b. †kèbe -qà tõi cì kí- čà'a  
Ngwato -PL that 3PL PL- tall  
“Those Ngwato people are tall.”

[CC Sàsí 11:28]

(50) a. †kèbe tõi ma ì !q'a -'a yà  
Ngwato that 1SG SBJ know -PFV 3SG  
“I know that Ngwato person.”

b. †kèbe -qà tõi ma ì !q'a -'a cì  
Ngwato -PL that 1SG SBJ know -PFV 3PL  
“I know those Ngwato people.”

[CC Sàsí 11:28]



“That one” and “those ones” are formed by modifying the pronoun by a demonstrative (parallel to the formation of “this one” and “these ones”; compare to the #Hòã in (21)):

- (51) a. yà tǒa ì čà'a  
 3SG that SBJ tall  
 “That one is tall.”
- b. cì tǒa ì kí- čà'a  
 3PL that SBJ PL- tall  
 “Those ones are tall.” [CC Sàsí 11:29]

To indicate an object that is not near the speaker or the addressee, one uses a relative clause construction where *tè* “here” is the predicate of the relative clause:

- (52) a. bǒ ka m tè ha ì šù  
 axe which REL here this SBJ nice  
 “That axe over there is nice.”
- b. bǒ -qà ka m tè ha cì kí- šù  
 axe -PL which REL here this 3PL PL- nice  
 “Those axes over there are nice.” [CC Sàsí 11:30]
- (53) a. #kebe ka m te ha ì čà'a  
 Ngwato which REL here this SBJ tall  
 “That Ngwato person over there is tall.”
- b. #kebe -qà ka m tè ha cì kí- čà'a  
 Ngwato -PL which REL here this 3PL PL- tall  
 “Those Ngwato people over there are tall.” [CC Sàsí 11:30]

Presentational expressions in Sàsí are given below:

- (54) a. 'àm čú òi tè  
 1SG.GEN father EMPH here  
 “Here is my father.”
- b. 'àm cu ì tè (vowel of *tè* lengthened)  
 1SG.GEN father SBJ here  
 “Here is my father.” [CC Sàsí 11:19]
- (55) 'àm čú òi 'ú tè  
 1SG.GEN father EMPH far here  
 “There is my father.” [CC Sàsí 11:19]

We do not have data on whether *tǒa* “that” has a presentational use (see (32) and (33) above).

As in #Hðǎ, the locative adverb “here” is expressed with ’ǎĩ.

- (56) a. ’àm čú ’ǎĩ ’a  
 1SG.GEN father here COP  
 “My father is here.”
- b. ’àm čú ’ǎĩ ’a txái  
 1SG.GEN father here PROG dance  
 “My father is dancing here.” [CC Sàsí 11:31]

And “there” is expressed with šú tǒa tì “that place”:

- (57) a. ’àm čú šú tǒa tì ’a ’ám  
 1SG.GEN father place that EMPH PROG eat  
 “My father is eating there.” (pointing to place near addressee)
- b. ’àm čú ’a ’ám kì šú tǒa tì  
 1SG.GEN father PROG eat LK place that EMPH  
 “My father is eating there.” [CC Sàsí 11:32]

For places far away from the speaker and the addressee, the particle ’ú is used:

- (58) a. ù čú namà  
 2SG father where  
 “Where is your father?”
- b. ’ǎĩ yà ’ú ’a  
 here 3SG far COP  
 “He is over there.” [CC Sàsí 11:32]

## 15. Adjectives, Numerals and Quantifiers

In this chapter, we show how a noun is modified by adjectives, numerals and quantifiers. In many (but not all) cases, examples where an adjective or a quantifier modifies a noun in English are expressed with a relative clause construction in #Hðã.

### 15.1. Attributive Adjectives

Most examples where an adjective modifies a noun in English, such as “a big house” or “an ugly man”, are expressed in #Hðã as relative clauses with a predicate adjective (see chapter 6 for the properties of predicate adjectives):

- (1) a. lkôa lna m ðhĩ  
house REL REL big  
“a big house”
- b. ’ã“ri-jã ’a m nlna’a  
man REL REL ugly  
“an ugly man” [CC Shori 1:33]

- (2) a. gðme ’a m lkà’a  
cow which REL red  
“a red cow”
- b. l’óõ ’a m çà’a  
tree which REL tall  
“a tall tree” [CC Shori 5:29]

Since these are predicate adjectives, in the plural they take kí[PL].

- (3) a. lkôa -qà ’a m kí- ðhĩ -nlne  
house -PL REL REL PL- big -PL  
“big houses”
- b. n!nào ’a m kí- nlna’a -nlne  
men REL REL PL- ugly -PL  
“ugly men” [CC Shori 1:41]

- (4) a. gðme -qà ’a m kí- lkà’a  
cow -PL which REL PL- red  
“red cows”
- b. l’óõ -qà ’a m kí- çà’a  
tree -PL which REL PL- tall  
“tall trees” [CC Shori 5:29]

As in other non-central Khoisan languages (see Collins and Namaseb 2011: 40f. and Dickens 2005: 29), there are a small number of cases of direct attributive adjectival modification (where the relative pronoun and the relative marker REL are not used). A few examples (in both the singular and plural) are listed below (see also JG Noun 78).

- (5) a. ㉟'ú j̃ā  
duiker male  
“a male duiker”
- b. ㉟'ú -qà kí- n!nào -n!ne  
duiker -PL PL- male.PL -PL  
“male duikers” [CC Shori 1:33]
- c. ㉟'ú -qà kí- j̃ā -n!ne  
duiker -PL PL- male -PL  
“male duikers” [CC Shori 3:35]
- (6) a. ㉟'ú ʔkoba  
duiker female  
“a female duiker”
- b. ㉟'ú -qà kí- ʔqhà -n!ne  
duiker -PL PL- female.PL -PL  
“female duikers” [CC Shori 1:34]
- c. ㉟'ú -qà kí- ʔkoba -n!ne  
duiker -PL PL- female -PL  
“female duikers” [CC Shori 3:11]

For some people, the plural marker can follow the adjective *ʔkoba* “female”, in which case kí[PL] does not appear. We have not investigated this phenomenon for the other attributive adjectives:

- (7) ㉟'ú ʔkoba -qà  
duiker female -PL  
“female duikers” [CC Shori 3:35]

A few more examples of attributive adjectives are given below:

- (8) a. kx'ù z̃ā  
pot new  
“a new pot”

- b. kx'ù -qà kí- zà -nlne  
 pot -PL PL- new -PL  
 “new pots” [CC Shori 1:34]
- (9) a. ma †kùũ -'a lnàõ kí-kúri  
 1SG buy -PFV shoe old  
 “I bought an old shoe.”
- b. ma †kùũ -'a nllàõ -qà kí-kúri  
 1SG buy -PFV shoe -PL old  
 “I bought old shoes.” [CC Shori 1:44]
- (10) a. ㊵ú ㊵kui  
 duiker other  
 “the other duiker”
- b. ㊵ú -qà jào -šǐ  
 duiker -PL other -PL  
 “the other duikers” [CC Shori 3:6, 1:44]
- (11) ma 'a lkù 'ám -qà kì †'àmkðe ǎ'òne  
 1SG PROG take food -PL LK person surface  
 “I am taking the food from one person,  
 'a šú cì kì †'àmkðe ㊵kui  
 PROG give 3PL LK person other  
 and giving it to another.” [Utterances 2:2 1,206]

*Okui* “other” is also used to express negative polarity items (e.g., “any” in English).

- (12) ma lhò'ǒ 'a cí †'àmkðe ㊵kui  
 1SG NEG PROG see person other  
 “I don't see anyone.” [CC Shori 3:12; SLogic 83]

The following example shows the contrast between attributive adjectives and relative clauses:

- (13) a. ㊵ú †gǎo  
 duiker big  
 “a big duiker”
- b. ㊵ú 'a m̄ †hǐ  
 duiker which REL fat  
 “a fat duiker” [CC Shori 3:12]

We have not yet investigated whether the forms in (5-13) can be used predicatively (e.g., to translate “The pot is new”). Nor have we investigated degree modifiers (“a very old shoe”).

Demonstratives follow attributive adjectives:

- (14) ù xà 'a cí ㊀'ú jã ha  
2SG QF PROG see duiker male this  
“Do you see this male duiker?” [CC Shori 6:38]
- (15) ù xà 'a cí ㊀'ú -qà kí- n!nào -nlne ha  
2SG QF PROG see duiker -PL PL- men -PL this  
“Do you see these male duikers?” [CC Shori 6:38]
- (16) ù xà 'a cí ㊀'ú llkoba ha  
2SG QF PROG see duiker female this  
“Do you see this female duiker?” [CC Shori 3:35]
- (17) ù xà 'a cí ㊀'ú -qà kí- llkoba -nlne ha  
2SG QF PROG see duiker -PL PL- female -PL this  
“Do you see these female duikers?” [CC Shori 6:38]

For ethnic terms, *-llgá* “female” and *-jã* “male” are used to indicate gender. They do not have the syntax of attributive adjectives, since the possessive marker intervenes between them and the head noun in some cases (see JG Noun 71 and Utterances 1:1 2,123):

- (18) a. #kèbe -llgá“i “Kgalagadi woman”  
b. #hðã -llgá“i “#Hðã woman”  
c. #kèbe šī rí-jã “Kgalagadi man”  
d. #hðã šī rí-jã “#Hðã woman” [CC Shori 4:11]  
e. lhà-ci (šī) llgá“i “Tshase woman” [Gruber 1975e: 8]

Attributive adjectives also exist in Sàsí, although we have not done a full study:

- (19) a. kx'ù zà  
pot new  
“new pot”
- b. kx'ù -qà í- zà -nlne  
pot -PL PL- new -PL  
“new pots” [CC Sàsí 11:35]

With “male” and “female”, the possessive particle was systematically inserted between the head noun and the adjective (unlike the parallel #Hðã examples):

- (20) a. ma 'a cí ㊦'ù sì ʎkoβa  
 1SG PROG see duiker POSS female  
 “I see a female duiker.”
- b. ma 'a cí ㊦'ù -qà sì ʎkoβa -nʎe  
 1SG PROG see duiker -PL POSS female -PL  
 “I see female duikers.” [CC Sàsí 11:35]
- c. ma 'a cí ʎka -qà sì ʎkoβa  
 1SG PROG see hartebeest -PL POSS female  
 “I see female hartebeests.” [CC Sàsí 12:23]
- (21) a. ma 'a cí ㊦'ù sì ǰǎ  
 1SG PROG see duiker POSS male  
 “I see a male duiker.”
- b. ma 'a cí ㊦'ù -qà sì ǰǎ -qà  
 1SG PROG see duiker -PL POSS male -PL  
 “I see male duikers.” [CC Sàsí 11:35]

## 15.2. Numerals

There are three numerals in Titi’s dialect of †Hðǎ: *mOnú* “one”, *Okoa* “two” and *qaē* “three”. They modify the noun directly, without any intervening relative clause complementizer. The Shorilatholo consultants also have *qàa* “four” (as does Sàsí; see below):

- (22) a. kyěamà mOnú  
 dog one
- b. kyěamà Okoa  
 dog two
- c. kyěamà qaē  
 dog three [JG Noun Quantity 6]
- (23) a. ma i !hǒǒ ㊦'ú mOnú  
 1SG PST kill duiker one  
 “I killed one duiker.”
- b. ma i Okoa ㊦'ú Okoa  
 1SG PST kill duiker two  
 “I killed two duikers.”
- c. ma i Okoa ㊦'ú qaē  
 1SG PST kill duiker three  
 “I killed three duikers.” [CC Grammar Rec:11]

The numeral “one” is also used for “only”:

- (24) llkà‘e mŌnú ma ’a ’ám  
 meat one 1SG PROG eat  
 “I only eat meat.” [CC Shori 2:64]

An important property of numerals in #Hðǎ is that they exclude the presence of the post-nominal plural suffix *-qà*.

- (25) a. kyěamà -qà  
 dog -PL  
 b. \*kyěamà -qà Ōkoa  
 dog -PL two  
 c. \*kyěamà Ōkoa -qà  
 dog two -PL [JG Noun Quantity 6]
- (26) a. ma i Ōkoa lnà -qà  
 1SG PST kill anteater -PL  
 “I killed anteaters.”  
 b. ma i Ōkoa lnà Ōkoa  
 1SG PST kill anteater two  
 “I killed two anteaters.”  
 c. \*ma i Ōkoa lnà -qà Ōkoa  
 1SG PST kill anteater -PL two  
 d. \*ma i Ōkoa lnà Ōkoa -qà  
 1SG PST kill anteater two -PL [CC Grammar Rec:11]

However, when the diminutive plural is used, the numeral and plural marker may occur simultaneously:

- (27) a. gyá‘m -lkà’a Ōkoa  
 child -DIM.PL two  
 “two children”  
 b. #kĩ -lkà’a Ōkoa  
 bird -DIM.PL two  
 “two birds” [CC Shori 1:40]

Similarly, irregular plurals can appear with numerals:

- (28) a. čðð-!ka’e Ōkoa  
 people two



- b. n!nào qaē  
men three
- c. lqhà Ɔkoa  
women two

[JG Noun Quantity 6]

Numerals are parallel to the plural marker *-qà* in their placement with respect to the demonstratives. Both, a numeral and the plural marker *-qà* must precede a demonstrative modifying a plural noun phrase.

- (29) a. ma i !hǒǒ Ɔ'ú mƆnú ha  
1SG PST kill duiker one this  
“I killed this one duiker.”

- b. \*ma i !hǒǒ Ɔ'ú ha mƆnu  
1SG PST kill duiker this one [CC Grammar Rec:11]

- (30) a. ma i Ɔkoa Ɔ'ú Ɔkoa/qaē ha  
1SG PST kill duiker two/three this  
“I killed these two/three duikers.”

- b. \*ma i Ɔkoa Ɔ'u ha Ɔkoa/qaē  
1SG PST kill duiker this two/three [CC Grammar Rec:11]

- (31) a. gǒme -qà ha lhǒ'ǒ qhaē -sa 'àò -'a  
cow -PL this NEG good -ADV do -PFV  
“These cows are not good.”

- b. \*gǒme ha -qà lhǒ'ǒ qhaē -sa 'àò -'a  
cow this -PL NEG good -ADV do -PFV  
[CC Grammar Rec:12]

- (32) a. gǒme -qà kyǒa lhǒ'ǒ qhaē -sa 'àò -'a  
cow -PL that NEG good -ADV do -PFV  
“Those cows are not good.”

- b. \*gǒme kyǒa -qà lhǒ'ǒ qhaē -sa 'àò -'a  
cow that -PL NEG good -ADV do -PFV  
[CC Grammar Rec:12]

The numeral “one” follows the adjective, as in (33a), and the numerals “two” and “three” normally precede the adjective as in (33b), in the same way that the plural marker precedes the attributive adjective.

Parallel to the word order N-ADJ-PL that was illustrated in (7), the order N-ADJ-NUM is also possible, as in (33c). When the numeral follows the adjective, kí[PL] does not appear.

- (33) a. ɔ'ú jǎ mɔnú  
duiker male one  
“one male duiker”
- b. ɔ'ú ɔkoa kí- n!nào -nlne  
duiker two PL- male.PL -PL  
“two male duikers” [CC Shori 2:20]
- c. ɔ'ú jǎ ɔkoa  
duiker male two  
“two male duikers” [CC Shori 6:16]
- (34) a. ɔ'ú ɭkoba mɔnú  
duiker female one  
“one female duiker”
- b. ɔ'ú ɔkoa kí- lqhà -nlne  
duiker two PL- female -PL  
“two female duikers” [CC Shori 2:20]
- c. ɔ'ú ɭkoba ɔkoa  
duiker female two  
“two female duikers” [CC Shori 6:16]
- (35) a. kx'ù zǎ mɔnú  
pot new one  
“one new pot”
- b. kx'ù ɔkoa kí- zǎ -nlne  
pot two PL- new -PL  
“two new pots” [CC Shori 2:21]

In Sàsí, one has numerals up to 4. Just as in #Hðǎ, the plural marker *-qà* does not occur with the numerals.

- (36) a. ma 'a ka ì tǐmà mɔnú  
1SG COP with LK dog one  
“I have one dog.”
- b. ma 'a ka ì tǐmà ɔkoa  
1SG COP with LK dog two  
“I have two dogs.”

c. ma 'a ka ì tēmà qāi  
 1SG COP with LK dog three  
 “I have three dogs.”

d. ma 'a ka ì tēmà qàa  
 1SG COP with LK dog four  
 “I have four dogs.”

[CC Sàsí 11:36]

### 15.3. Quantifiers

The quantifiers “many” and “few” are expressed with relative clauses:

(37) lqhǒǒ llna -qà m̀ kí-ǰǒa 'a k̀ kx'à na  
 steenbok which -PL REL many COP LK land in  
 “There are many steenbok in the land.” [Utterances 1:2 1,566]

(38) a. Ǿ'ú -qà llna -qà m̀ kí-ǰǒa  
 duiker -PL which -PL REL many  
 “many duikers”

b. Ǿ'ú -qà llna -qà m̀ lxòa  
 duiker -PL which -PL REL few  
 “few duikers”

[JG Noun Quantity 5]

It is also possible to express “few” as the negation of “many”:

(39) a. gyá“m -kà'a 'a m̀ kí-ǰǒa  
 child -DIM.PL which REL many  
 “many children” (lit.: “the children who are many”)

b. gyá“m -kà'a 'a lhǒ'ǒ m̀ kí-ǰǒa  
 child -DIM.PL which NEG REL many  
 “few children” (lit. “the children who are not many”) [CC Shori 1:40]

The quantificational modifier “all” modifies the noun directly (without a relative pronoun intervening):

(40) a. l'óǒ -qà ŷe  
 tree -PL all  
 “all the trees”

b. n!nào ŷe  
 men all  
 “all the men”

[CC Shori 1:31]

Note that the universal quantifier follows the regular plural marker *-qà*. In this way it differs from numerals, which are incompatible with the regular plural marker.

*ǔe* “all” can also modify a singular noun, with the meaning of “the whole of”:

- (41) yà 'ám -'a Ɔ'ú ǔe  
 3SG eat -PFV duiker all  
 “He ate the whole duiker.” [Utterances 2:2 481]
- (42) kyěamà ǔe  
 dog all  
 “the whole dog” [JG Noun Quantity 4]

Pronouns can be modified directly with “all”:

- (43) a. n!ka'e ǔe  
 1PL.EXCL all  
 “us all”  
 b. jǐ ǔe  
 2PL all  
 “you (PL) all”  
 c. cì ǔe  
 3PL all  
 “them all” [CC Shori 1:31]
- (44) a. yà o šú n!ka'e ǔe kì l'í  
 3SG FUT give us all LK money  
 “He will give us all money.”  
 b. cì ǔe i kí-kyà“o kì Gaborone  
 3PL all PST go LK Gaborone  
 “They all went to Gaborone.” [CC Shori 1:31]

Demonstratives follow the universal quantifier:

- (45) llkà'a -qà ǔe ha  
 thing -PL all this  
 “all these things” [Utterances 1:1 148]

Universal quantification in Sàsí is expressed with *kò*, which seems to have the same syntax as *ǔe* in #Hðã, although a more systematic study is needed:

- (46) a. tēmà -qà kò 'a bú  
 dog -PL all PROG bark  
 “All the dogs are barking.”



- (53) !kôa 'a m̄ ðhĩ m̄nũ ma 'a k̄ni  
 house which REL big one 1SG PROG want  
 “I want one big house.” [CC Shori 3:33]
- (54) !kôa m̄nũ 'a m̄ ðhĩ ma 'a ðkè  
 house one which REL big 1SG PROG want  
 “I want one big house.” [CC Shori 6:17]
- (55) ma 'a k̄ni !kôa m̄nũ l̄na m̄ ðhĩ  
 1SG PROG want house one which REL big  
 “I want one big house.” [CC Shori 6:46]

Demonstratives always follow the relative clause:

- (56) !kôa -qà 'a m̄ k̄- ðhĩ ha k̄ k̄- šù -n̄ne  
 house -PL which REL PL- big this EMPH PL- pretty -PL  
 “These big houses are pretty.” [CC Shori 3:33]
- (57) ù xà 'a cí ð'a-ðka 'a m̄ n̄na'a ha  
 2SG QF PROG see dress which REL ugly this  
 “Do you see this ugly dress?” [CC Shori 3:33]

The quantifier *ũe* “all” can either follow or precede the relative clause:

- (58) !kôa -qà 'a m̄ k̄- ðhĩ 'ãi 'ú 'a  
 house -PL which REL PL- big here far COP  
 “All the big houses are over there.” [CC Shori 3:33]
- (59) !kôa -qà ũe 'a m̄ k̄- ðhĩ -n̄ne ũe 'ãi 'ú 'a  
 house -PL all which REL PL- big -PL all here far COP  
 “All the big houses are over there.” [CC Shori 6:18]

## 16. The Linker

This chapter describes the linker, which introduces (“links”) a variety of expressions into the verb phrase, including locatives, the second object of a double object construction, the second object of a causative, instruments, and various adverbs. As discussed in Collins (2003, 2004, 2006) and Baker and Collins (2006), the linker is an important typological feature of the non-central Khoisan languages. See Collins and Namaseb (2011) for an extensive discussion of the linker in N|uu. See Collins and Honken (2012b) for a discussion of the possible historical implications of the linker for Khoisan language classification. See JG Verb Mod for some additional uses of the linker.

### 16.1. Range of Expressions

When an intransitive verb is followed by a locative, the locative must be introduced by the linker *kì*.

- (1) a. gyá“m -šì ’a l’í k̀ì !kôa na  
child -DIM PROG cry LK house in  
“The child is crying in the house.” [Collins 1998b: (8)]
- b. c̀ì ’a kyxái k̀ì !kôa na  
3PL PROG dance LK house in  
“They are dancing in the house.” [Collins 1998b: (9)]

Similarly, when a locative expression is added to a transitive verb, it must be introduced by a linker.

- (2) a. yà ’a llx’ao l’óõ k̀ì llxào na  
3SG PROG chop tree LK forest in  
“He/she was chopping the tree in the forest.” [Collins 1998b: (4)]
- b. gyá“m -šì ’a †ná“m Jefo k̀ì !kôa na  
child -DIM PROG hit Jeff LK house in  
“The child is hitting Jeff in the house.” [Collins 1998b: (2)]

The linker is also used obligatorily in double object constructions to introduce the second object.

- (3) ma ’a šú Jefo k̀ì setinkane  
1SG PROG give Jeff LK hand-harp  
“I am giving Jeff the hand-harp.” [Baker and Collins 2006: 331]
- (4) Thabo o k̀í-llhá ma k̀ì llkà“e  
Thabo FUT show 1SG LK meat  
“Thabo will show me the meat.” [CC Shori 1:26]

Just like the linker introduces the second object of a double object construction, it also introduces the second object of a causative construction:

- (5) ma 'a kí- ču gyá“m -sì kì jð  
 1SG PROG CAUSE- drink child -DIM LK water  
 “I am making the child drink water.” [CC Shori 1:27]
- (6) cì kí- 'ám -'a ma ì Ɔgð“u  
 3PL CAUSE- eat -PFV 1SG LK poison (medicine)  
 “They fed me poison.” [CC Shori 2:23]
- (7) ma 'a kí- cí 'ǎ“ri-llgá“i kì llkà'a -sì  
 1SG PROG CAUSE- see woman LK thing -DIM  
 “I am showing the woman the thing.” [Utterances 2:1 454]

The linker is used to introduce instruments, means and materials:

- (8) ma 'a 'ám kì ǎ-#ám  
 1SG PROG eat LK spoon  
 “I am eating with a spoon.” [JG VerbMod 4]
- (9) #'ámkðe 'a #'éé kì yà Ɔnúú Ɔnó“a  
 person PROG think LK 3SG head brains  
 “A person thinks with his brains.” [Utterances 3:1 664]
- (10) #kǐ -sì 'a kàla kì yà #hà“ma -nlne  
 bird -DIM PROG fly LK 3SG wing -PL  
 “The bird flies with its wings.” [Utterances 3:1 2,092]
- (11) gyá“m -sì 'a #ná“m Jefo kì setinkane  
 child -DIM PROG hit Jeff LK hand harp  
 “The child is hitting Jeff with a hand harp.” [Collins 1998b: (3)]
- (12) ma 'a šiu kì 'ám šiu Ɔnúú  
 1SG PROG dig LK 1SG.GEN hand head  
 “I am digging with my finger.” [Utterances 1:2 2,246]
- (13) yà i !hai yà !kôa kì lqhúí -qà  
 3SG PST thatch 3SG house LK grass -PL  
 “He thatched his house with grass.” [Collins 1998b: (5)]
- (14) yà 'a !'àbo kà l'óó šì llq'am kì yà ččõ -qà  
 3SG PROG climb go.to tree POSS top LK 3SG hand.PL -PL  
 “He is climbing to the top of the tree with his hands.” [JG VerbMod 5]



The linker is used to introduce sources in the transfer of possession, as in (15) and (16), or change of location (17):

- (15) cì kǐ-čù'u-'a l'í kǐ yà č'òne  
 3PL steal -PFV money LK 3SG surface  
 “They stole money from him.” [CC Shori 1:27]
- (16) yà 'a |xòbe ||'hà'a kǐ 'ǎ“rǐ-jǎ č'òne  
 3SG PROG borrow kaross LK man surface  
 “He is borrowing the kaross from the man.” [Utterances 3:1 3,048]
- (17) 'ǎ“rǐ-jǎ 'a !kù ||hò'a kǐ čǎ'na na  
 man PROG take stone LK hole in  
 “The man took the stone from out of the hole.” [JG VerbMod 16; Loc AV 22]

Without *č'òne* “surface” in (16), there is sometimes ambiguity:

- (18) yà 'a |xòbe 'ǎ“rǐ-jǎ kǐ ||'hà'a  
 3SG PROG borrow man LK kaross  
 “He is borrowing the kaross from the man.”  
 “He is lending the kaross to the man.” [Utterances 3:1 3,043; JG Loc Av 22]

The linker is used to introduce the subject matter of “talk” or “ask”:

- (19) a. n!ka'e 'a nlnobo kǐ yà šì l'í  
 1PL PROG talk LK 3SG POSS money  
 “We are talking about his money.” [CC Shori 1:27]
- b. ma 'a kǐ- cǎ †'àmkòde kǐ čò'a  
 1SG PROG CAUSE- hear person LK rain  
 “I ask the person about the rain.” [Utterances 1:1 832]

Lastly, the linker is used to introduce manner adverbs and temporal adverbs. This use of the linker will be discussed in chapter 17 on adverbs.

- (20) a. ma 'a 'ám ||kà'e kǐ ||há'a -sa  
 1SG PROG eat meat LK fast -ADV  
 “I am eating meat quickly.”
- b. ma 'a 'ám ||kà'e kǐ č'a -qà ũe  
 1SG PROG eat meat LK day -PL all  
 “I am eating meat every day.” [Collins 1998b: (24)]

It is possible to have more than one linker in one sentence:

- (21) a.    cì     šú    -'a   Titi   kì    llkà‘e   kì    !kôa   na  
           3PL   give   -PFV   Titi   LK    meat   LK    house   in  
           “They gave Titi meat in the house.”            [CC Shori 1:26]
- b.    cì     'a     nlnobo        kì     gḏme -qà   kì     !kôa   na  
           3PL   PROG   talk            LK    cow   -PL   LK    house   in  
           “They are talking about cows in the house.”       [CC Shori 1:42]
- (22) 'ám-llkà‘e   'a   llx'ǎru-!kù   llkà‘e   kì   kyá‘a   č'òne   kì   llgàma  
       eat-meat   PROG   scrape-take   meat   LK   bone   surface   LK   knife  
       “‘The meat-eater scrape-takes the meat off of the bone with a knife.”  
   [Utterances 1:2 2,044]

## 16.2. The Linker in Sàsí

The linker is found in the same range of sentences in Sàsí as one finds it in #Hḏā, although a much more systematic study is needed. As in #Hḏā, the linker is often reduced to [i].

The linker is used to introduce locatives:

- (23) a.    cì     'a                    'ám   kì    !kôa   na  
           3PL   PROG                eat   LK   house   in  
           “‘They are eating in the house.”
- b.    da‘m -lkà'a       'a       txái   ì   !kôa   na  
           child -DIM.PL   PROG     dance   LK   house   in  
           “‘The children are dancing in the house.”       [CC Sàsí 12:18]

The linker appears between the two objects in a double object construction:

- (24) cì     'a     šú     ma     kì     l'í     -qà  
       3PL   PROG   give   1SG   LK    money -PL  
       “‘They are giving me money.”                    [CC Sàsí 12:18]

The linker introduces instruments:

- (25) da‘m -sì   'a     'ám   kì     #h'ǎ-#kàm  
       child -DIM   PROG   eat   LK    spoon  
       “‘The child is eating with a spoon.”               [CC Sàsí 12:18]

The linker appears between the two objects of a causative:

- (26) kí-               'ám   da‘m -sì   kì   #qoni  
       CAUSE-        eat   child -DIM   LK   bogobe  
       “‘Feed the child *bogobe!*”                   [CC Sàsí 11:11]

The linker introduces source phrases:

- (27) cì í-chù'u-'a l'í -qà kì 'àm 'ana  
 3PL steal -PFV money -PL LK 1SG.GEN from  
 “They stole money from me.” [CC Sàsí 12:19]

And the linker introduces the subject matter of the verb “talk”:

- (28) cì 'a nlnobo kì 'àm kí- l'í  
 3PL PROG talk LK 1SG.GEN POSS- money  
 “They are talking about my money.” [CC Sàsí 12:19]

### 16.3. Fixed Order

The order of the post-verbal constituents illustrated above is fixed, as is illustrated below. In this fixed word order, #Hōā is like Nluu (see Collins and Namaseb 2011), and unlike Jul’hoan (see Collins 2003), where the word order is more flexible.

- (29) a. gyá“m-sì 'a #ná“m Jefo kì !kôa na  
 child -DIM PROG hit Jeff LK house in  
 “The child is hitting Jeff in the house.”
- b. \*gyá“m-sì 'a #ná“m !kôa na kì Jefo  
 child -DIM PROG hit house in LK Jeff [Collins 1998b: (2)]
- (30) a. gyá“m-sì 'a #ná“m Jefo kì setinkane  
 child -DIM PROG hit Jeff LK hand.harp  
 “The child is hitting Jeff with a hand harp.”
- b. \*gyá“m-sì 'a #ná“m setinkane kì Jefo  
 child -DIM PROG hit hand.harp LK Jeff [Collins 1998b: (3)]
- (31) a. yà 'a llx'ao l'óó kì llxào na  
 3SG PROG chop tree LK forest in  
 “He/she was chopping the tree in the forest.”
- b. \*yà 'a llx'ao llxào na kì l'óó  
 3SG PROG chop forest in LK tree [Collins 1998b: (4)]
- (32) a. yà i !hai yà !kôa kì lqhũi -qà  
 3SG PST thatch 3SG house LK grass -PL  
 “He thatched his house with grass.”
- b. \*yà i !hai lqhũi -qà kì yà !kôa  
 3SG PST thatch grass -PL LK 3SG house [Collins 1998b: (5)]

## 16.4. Extraction

When the locative following an intransitive verb is extracted to the beginning of the sentence, the linker is stranded at the end, as shown below. The notation \*(kì) means that the linker is obligatory in this position.

- (33) a. gyá“m -sì ’a l’í kì !kôa na  
 child -DIM PROG cry LK house in  
 “The child is crying in the house.”
- b. !kôa na gyá“m -sì ’a l’í \*(kì)  
 house in child -DIM PROG cry LK  
 “In the house, the child is crying.” [Collins 1998b: (8)]
- (34) a. cì ’a kyxái kì !kôa na  
 3PL PROG dance LK house in  
 “They are dancing in the house.”
- b. !kôa na cì ’a kyxái \*(kì)  
 house in 3PL PROG dance LK  
 “In the house, they are dancing.” [Collins 1998b: (9)]

However, when the locative expression following a transitive verb is extracted, the linker is no longer stranded at the end; rather, it comes between the verb and the direct object:

- (35) a. koloi llgðð -’a †’àmkðe kì gyèo na  
 truck hit -PFV person LK path in  
 “The truck hit a person on the path.”
- b. gyèo na koloi llgðð -’a kì †’àmkðe  
 path in truck hit -PFV LK person
- c. \*gyèo na koloi llgðð -’a †’àmkðe kì  
 path in truck hit -PFV person LK [Collins 1998b: (1)]
- (36) a. gyá“m -sì ’a †ná“m Jefo kì !kôa na  
 child -DIM PROG hit Jeff LK house in  
 “The child is hitting Jeff in the house.”
- b. !kôa na gyá“m -sì ’a †ná“m kì Jefo  
 house in child -DIM PROG hit LK Jeff
- c. \*!kôa na gyá“m -sì ’a †ná“m Jefo kì  
 house in child -DIM PROG hit Jeff LK [Collins 1998b: (2)]

Extraction in relative clause constructions follows the same pattern:

- (37) a. *gyëo lna na koloi m̄ lgðõ -'a k̄i †'amkðe*  
 path which in truck REL hit -PFV LK person  
 “the path on which the truck hit the person”
- b. *lkôa lna na gyá“m-s̄i 'a ma †ná“m k̄i Jefo*  
 house which in child -DIM PROG REL hit LK Jeff  
 “the house in which the child is hitting Jeff”
- c. *setinkane lna gyá“m-s̄i 'a ma †ná“m k̄i Jefo*  
 hand.harp which child -DIM PROG REL hit LK Jeff  
 “the hand harp with which the child is hitting Jeff” [Collins 1998b: (7)]

### 16.5. Optional Linker

When *č'a-qà ũe* “every day” is introduced post-verbally, the linker is obligatory, as with other post-verbal adverbial expressions:

- (38) a. *gyá“m-s̄i 'a l'í k̄i č'a -qà ũe*  
 child -DIM PROG cry LK day -PL all  
 “The child is crying every day.”
- b. *yà 'a kí-!no k̄i č'a -qà ũe*  
 3SG PROG run.SG LK day -PL all  
 “He is running every day.” [Collins 1998b: (26a), (27a)]

But when the adverbial expression *č'a-qà ũe* “every day” appears in clause-initial position, the linker is optional in the final position.

- (39) a. *č'a -qà ũe gyá“m-s̄i 'a l'í (k̄i)*  
 day -PL all child -DIM PROG cry LK  
 “The child is crying every day.”
- b. *č'a -qà ũe yà 'a kí-!no (k̄i)*  
 day -PL all 3SG PROG run.SG LK  
 “He is running every day.” [Collins 1998b: (26b), (27b)]

Consider first the option in (39a) where a linker appears. In that case, *č'a-qà ũe* “every day” is introduced into the verb phrase, and then extracted to clause-initial position. Now consider the option in (39a) where there is no linker. In that case, *č'a-qà ũe* modifies the clause directly, without ever having been introduced into the verb phrase. Hence no linker is required.

A similar pattern appears when there is a direct object, except in this case the linker appears between the verb and the direct object:

- (40) a. ma 'a 'ám llkà“e kì č’a -qà ũe  
 1SG PROG eat meat LK day -PL all  
 “I eat meat every day.”
- b. \*ma 'a 'ám č’a -qà ũe kì llkà“e  
 1SG PROG eat day -PL all LK meat
- c. č’a -qà ũe ma 'a 'ám (kì) llkà“e  
 day -PL all 1SG PROG eat LK meat [Collins 1998b: (24)]

### 16.6. Pronouns Following the Linker

The pronoun series found after the linker is identical to the pronoun series found in subject and object position (see Collins and Namaseb 2011, where there is a distinct pronoun series called the “click pronoun” following the linker in Nluu). The complete paradigm is shown below:

- (41) a. cì 'a †'éē kì ma  
 3PL PROG think LK 1SG  
 “They are thinking about me.”
- b. cì 'a †'éē kì ù  
 3PL PROG think LK 2SG
- c. cì 'a †'éē kì yà  
 3PL PROG think LK 3SG
- d. cì 'a †'éē kì qà“a  
 3PL PROG think LK 1PL.INCL
- e. cì 'a †'éē kì n!ka'e  
 3PL PROG think LK 1PL.EXCL
- f. cì 'a †'éē kì j̄i  
 3PL PROG think LK 2PL
- g. cì 'a †'éē kì cì  
 3PL PROG think LK 3PL [CC Shori 1:5]

### 16.7. Locative Copula

The linker is used to introduce a locative expression following the locative copula:

- (42) gyá“m -lkà'a 'a kì !kôa na  
 child -DIM.PL COP LK house in  
 “The children are in the house.” [CC Shori 1:15]

## 17. Adverbs

Adverbs modify the verb by adding further information about an event, e.g., the manner in which it took place (well, slowly, quickly) or the time at which it took place. They may appear either pre-verbally or post-verbally. If they appear after the verb, they must be preceded by the linker.

### 17.1. Linker-Adverb Generalization

In the following example, the adverb appears between the subject and the verb and no linker appears:

- (1) a. ma llhá“a -sa ’a ’ám llkà“e  
1SG fast -ADV PROG eat meat  
“I am eating the meat quickly.”
- b. koloi llq’o -sa llgðõ -’a †’àmkkòe  
truck hard -ADV hit -PFV person  
“The truck hit the person hard.” [Collins 1998b: (22)]

When the adverb appears between the subject and the verb, there is flexibility with respect to the ordering of the adverb and the tense marker. Preferably, the adverb follows the tense maker, but it can also precede it. Note that in these cases, no linker appears.

- (2) a. ma llke llhá“a-sa č’eõ  
1SG PST quick-ADV do  
“I quickly did.”
- b. ma llhá“a -sa llke č’eõ  
1SG quick -ADV PST do  
“I quickly did.” [JG VerbMod 52]

Similarly, if the adverb appears before the subject, no linker appears:

- (3) a. llhá“a -sa ma ’a ’ám llkà“e  
fast -ADV 1SG PROG eat meat  
“Quickly, I am eating the meat.”
- b. llq’o -sa koloi llgðõ -’a †’àmkkòe  
hard -ADV truck hit -PFV person  
“Hard, the truck hit the person.” [Collins 1998b: (20), (21)]

The adverb cannot appear between the verb and the object:

- (4) a. \*ma ’a ’ám llhá“a -sa kì llkà“e  
1SG PROG eat fast -ADV LK meat  
“I am eating meat quickly.”

- b. \*koloji ɫgḏḓ -'a ɫq'o -sa kɪ #'ǎmkḏe  
 truck hit -PFV hard -ADV LK person  
 “The truck hit the person hard.” [Collins 1998b: (20), (21)]

When the adverb appears post-verbally (following the direct object, if there is one), a linker must appear before the adverb:

- (5) a. ma 'a 'ám ɫkǎ'e kɪ ɫhá'a -sa  
 1SG PROG eat meat LK fast -ADV  
 “I am eating meat quickly.”
- b. koloji ɫgḏḓ -'a #'ǎmkḏe kɪ ɫq'o -sa  
 truck hit -PFV person LK hard -ADV  
 “The truck hit the person hard.” [Collins 1998b: (20), (21)]

This generalization about adverbs is quite robust in #Hḏǎ. Furthermore, it holds across all the non-central Khoisan languages (see Collins and Honken 2012b). We state it here:

(6) Linker-Adverb Generalization

If an adverb appears post-verbally, it is preceded by a linker. If an adverb appears pre-verbally (between the subject and the verb, or preceding the subject), no linker appears.

Adverbs are characterized by their mobility in the clause. They are generally able to appear before the subject, between the subject and the verb, and after the verb (if introduced by a linker). On the other hand, auxiliaries are not able to appear post-verbally when preceded by a linker:

- (7) a. \*ma 'a č'eḓ kɪ ɫkḓe  
 1SG PROG do LK still  
 “I am still doing.”
- b. \*ma č'eḓ kɪ qo  
 1SG do LK FUT  
 “I will do.”
- c. \*ma č'eḓ kɪ ɫke  
 1SG do LK PST  
 “I did do.” [JG Aux 17]

Nor can they appear before the subject:

- (8) a. yǎ ɫhḓ'ḓ 'a č'eḓ yǎ  
 3SG NEG PROG do 3SG  
 “He/she is not doing it.”



- (9) b. \*lhð'õ yà 'a č'eõ yà  
NEG 3SG PROG do 3SG [JG Aux 20]
- a. \*l'a yà č'eõ yà  
HAB 3SG do 3SG
- b. \*qo yà č'eo yà  
FUT 3SG do 3SG
- c. \*lqe yà č'eõ yà  
can 3SG do 3SG [JG Aux 20]

In (1-5) above, the pre-verbal manner adverb does not take a linker, but the post-verbal manner adverb does. This pattern is shared by temporal adverbs:

- (10) a. ma lkù kyà'o -'a kì Gaborone  
1SG yesterday go -PFV LK Gaborone  
“I went to Gaborone yesterday.”
- b. ma kyà'o -'a kì Gaborone kì lkù  
1SG go -PFV LK Gaborone LK yesterday  
“I went to Gaborone yesterday.” [CC Shori 1:47]
- (11) a. Nlnobo-nlga“e hà“ma i ča  
Nlnobo-nlga“e afternoon PST come  
“Nlnobo-nlga“e came in the afternoon.”
- b. Nlnobo-nlga“e i ča kì hà“ma  
Nlnobo-nlga“e PST come LK afternoon  
“Nlnobo-nlga“e came in the afternoon.” [CC Shori 3:5]

The same pattern is found with locative nouns:

- (12) a. ɔ'ú †'hã 'a 'ám  
duiker front PROG eat  
“The duiker is eating up front.”
- b. ɔ'ú 'a 'ám kì †'hã  
duiker PROG eat LK front  
“The duiker is eating up front.” [JG Loc AV 26]

Even though locative nouns can appear pre-verbally, complex locative expressions can not:

- (13) a. \*ɔ'ú l'óõ šî †'hã 'a 'ám  
duiker tree POSS front PROG eat  
“The duiker is eating in front of the tree.”

- b.    ⊙'ú   'a   'ám   kì   l'óõ   šì   #hãã  
       duiker PROG eat   LK   tree   POSS front  
       “The duiker is eating in front of the tree.”       [JG Loc AV 26]

## 17.2. Adverbial Suffixes

Manner adverbs end in *-sa*, *-xàsa*, or neither (*-xà* cannot be used by itself to form an adverb). Adverbs formed with *-sa* or *-xàsa* are based on predicate adjectives. The choice between *-sa* and *-xàsa* for a particular adverb is idiosyncratic and has to be memorized. In the following examples, a sentence with the adverb is given first, followed by a sentence with the corresponding predicate adjective.

- (14) a.    yà    šù-xà       -sa   'a    kyxái  
       3SG   beautiful   -ADV PROG dance  
       “He/she dances beautifully.”                   [Utterances 1:1 500]
- b.    'ã“ri-llgá“i   ha   kì       šù  
       woman       this   EMPH   beautiful  
       “This woman is beautiful.”                   [CC Shori 5:21]
- (15) a.    ma   llke   č'eõ   yà   kì   lkòlo-xà   -sa  
       1SG   PST   do   3SG   LK   long       -ADV  
       “I did it for a long time.”                   [Utterances 3:1 3,806]
- b.    yà   ll'a   lkòlo  
       3SG   life   long  
       “His life is long.”                           [CC Shori 5:21]
- (16) a.    ù    'a    nlnobo   kì   #hĩ-xà   -sa  
       2SG   PROG talk   LK   big   -ADV  
       “You talk a lot.”                           [CC Shori 2:61]
- b.    kyěamà       ha   kì       #hĩ  
       dog         this   EMPH   big  
       “This dog is fat.”
- c.    'ám         šì   !kôa   #hĩ  
       1SG.GEN   POSS house big  
       “My house is big.”                       [CC Shori 5:21]
- (17) a.    yà   qhãě   -sa   'áo   -'a  
       3SG   good   -ADV do   -PFV  
       “It is OK.”

- b. llkà'a ha kî qhǎě  
 thing this EMPH nice  
 “This thing is nice.” [CC Shori 5:21]
- (18) a. koloi llq'o -sa llgðō -'a †'àmkkòe  
 truck hard -ADV hit -PFV person  
 “The truck hit the person hard.”
- b. yà kî-llq'o  
 3SG hard  
 “It is hard.” (e.g., the table) [CC Shori 2:61]
- (19) a. yà i 'ám kî lx'úi -sa  
 3SG PST eat LK little -ADV  
 “He ate a little.”
- b. ☉'ú ha kî lx'úi  
 duiker this EMPH little  
 “This duiker is little.” [CC Shori 3:25]

Some examples of adverbs that are not formed with the *-sa* or *-xàsa* suffixes are given below:

- (20) a. llkǎo ù 'a nlnobo  
 much 2SG PROG talk  
 “You talk a lot.”
- b. ù 'a nlnobo kî llkǎo  
 2SG PROG talk LK much  
 “You talk a lot.” [CC Shori 2:61]
- (21) kàka yà 'a nlnobo  
 alone 3SG PROG talk  
 “He is talking by himself.” [CC Shori 2:61]
- (22) čǒ-ču 'a čǒ kî kyā  
 doctor PROG heal LK thus  
 “The doctor heals thus.” [Utterances 1:1 643]

### 17.3. Sàsí Adverbs

Adverbs in Sàsí are not formed in the same way as in †Hǒǎ. In particular, neither of the suffixes *-sa* or *-xàsa* is used. We have not done a full study of Sàsí adverbs, and but we give a few examples below. One strategy involves using *-na*:

- (23) da“m -sì ha ’a l’i kì #hĩ na  
 child -DIM this PROG cry LK big in  
 “This child is crying hard.” [CC Sàsí 8:6, 9:15]

The #Hòã consultants did not recognize *#hĩ na*. They suggested *#hĩ-sa* or *//q’o-sa* as substitutes. So we conclude that *-na* is an adverbial suffix in Sàsí, but not in #Hòã.

Another apparent strategy is just to use the predicate adjective, as in (24c) below (with no adverbial suffix):

- (24) a. tà“o kì sente  
 go LK well  
 “Go well!”
- b. tà“o kì lkóm  
 go LK well  
 “Go well!”
- c. tà“o kì qhǎě (\*qhǎě-sa)  
 go LK good  
 “Go well!” [CC Sàsí 8:2, 9:24]

In (24a), *sente* is a borrowing from Setswana. For (24b), the #Hòã speakers did not recognize *lkóm*. For (24c), the #Hòã speakers preferred *qhaě-sa*, which the Sàsí speaker did not accept. The #Hòã speakers also allowed *qhǎě*.

A similar example in Sàsí of a predicate adjective being used as an adverb is given below:

- (25) a. ㊦’ú llhá“a ’a ’ám  
 duiker quick PROG eat  
 “The duiker is eating quickly.”
- b. llhá“a ㊦’ú ’a ’ám  
 quick duiker PROG eat
- c. ㊦’ú ’a ’ám kì llhá“a  
 duiker PROG eat LK quick [CC Sàsí 3:1, 9:24, cf. 8:2]

A final strategy involves the suffixes *-sàsì* or *-sì* added onto a predicate adjective. We have found one example of each so far.

- (26) a. ma ’a txái kì lx’úi -sàsì  
 1SG PROG dance LK little -ADV  
 “I am dancing a little.”

- b. tǎma -sì lx'úi  
 dog -DIM small  
 “The dog is small.” [CC Sàsí 10:26]
- (27) a. ma 'a txái kì dana -sì  
 1SG PROG dance LK little -ADV  
 “I am dancing a little.”
- b. tǎma -sì dana  
 dog -DIM small  
 “The dog is small.” [CC Sàsí 10:26]



## 18. Copulas

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

### 18.1. Predicate Nominal

The nominal copula is ᄃ. It serves to indicate that the following noun is a predicate nominal:

- (1) a. ma ᄃ ù llqoe  
1SG COP 2SG child  
“I am your child.”
- b. ma lhᄃ’ō ᄃ ù llqoe  
1SG NEG COP 2SG child  
“I am not your child.” [CC Shori 1:19]
- (2) a. ù !ko ᄃ ’ǎ“ri yà  
2SG name COP what Q  
“What is your name?”
- b. ’àm !ko ᄃ Titi  
1SG name COP Titi  
“My name is Titi.” [CC Shori 1:15]
- (3) a. ù xà ᄃ ’ǎri yà [xò]  
2SG Q COP who Q  
“Who are you?”
- b. ma ᄃ Titi  
1SG COP Titi  
“I am Titi.” [CC Shori 1:16]
- (4) ’ǎi ší ᄃ ’àm !kōa  
here place COP 1SG.GEN house  
“This place (the place here) is my house.” [Utterances 1:2 362]
- (5) gyá“m-sì ha khì llkōe ᄃ zìla  
child -DIM this EMPH still COP infant  
“That child is still an infant.” [Utterances 3:1 3,212]

Various pre-verbal elements can precede the copula:

- (6) a. #`amkõe llke ò !xâe  
 person PST COP chief  
 “The person was the chief.”
- b. #`amkõe lhõ’õ ò !xâe  
 person NEG COP chief  
 “The person is not the chief.”
- c. #`amkõe ka ò !xâe, ...  
 person SUB COP chief  
 “If the person is the chief, ...” [JG Pred 24]

The same nominal copula exists in Sàsi:

- (7) a. ù ’ãli yà  
 2SG who Q  
 “Who are you?”
- b. ma ò Thabo  
 1SG COP Thabo  
 “I am Thabo.” [CC Sàsi 11:23]

## 18.2. Locative

The locative copula is ’a, which is identical to the progressive marker ’a. When a locative expression follows the copula, it is introduced by the linker:

- (8) a. gyá“m -lkà’a ’a kì !kôa na  
 child -DIM.PL COP LK house in  
 “The children are in the house.”
- b. gyá“m -lkà’a lhõ’õ ’a kì !kôa na  
 child -DIM.PL NEG COP LK house in  
 “The children are not in the house.” [CC Shori 1:15]

When the locative expression precedes the copula, there is no linker (see (9a)). But when it follows the copula, there is a linker (see (9b)).

- (9) a. gyá“m -sì ’ãì ’a  
 child -DIM here COP  
 “The child is here.”
- b. gyá“m -sì ’a kì ’ãì  
 child -DIM COP LK here  
 “The child is here.” [CC Shori 3:14, 1:16]



Some locative postpositions (without their complement) can appear before the copula, but with their complements, they cannot appear before the copula (see also chapter 17):

- (10) a. ☉'ú 'a kì †'hãã  
 duiker COP LK front  
 “The duiker is in front.” [JG Pred 5]
- b. ☉'ú †'hãã 'a  
 duiker front COP  
 “The duiker is in front.”
- c. ☉'ú 'a kì l'óõ šì †'hãã  
 duiker COP LK tree POSS front  
 “The duiker is in front of the tree.”
- d. \*☉'ú l'óõ šì †'hãã 'a  
 duiker tree POSS front COP [JG Pred 4; Loc AV 26]

Other examples showing that complex locative expressions cannot precede the copula are given below:

- (11) a. 'ă“ri-jã 'a kì !kôa na  
 man COP LK house in  
 “The man is in the house.”
- b. \*'ă“ri-jã !kôa na 'a  
 man house in COP [JG Loc AV 26]
- (12) a. 'ă“ri-jã 'a kì llkà'a ší  
 man COP LK thing place  
 “The man is at the place of the thing.”
- b. \*'ă“ri-jã llkà'a ší 'a  
 man thing place COP [JG Loc AV 26]

Existential sentences use the locative copula 'a:

- (13) a. 'ám -qà 'a  
 food -PL COP  
 “There is food.”
- b. 'ám -qà 'a kì kx'ù na  
 food -PL COP LK pot in  
 “There is food in the pot.” [CC Shori 1:19]

Negative existentials are expressed with the verb /kò'a “absent”:

- (14) a. 'ám -qà lkò'a  
 food -PL absent  
 “There is no food.”
- b. 'ám -qà lkò'a kì kx'ù na  
 food -PL absent LK pot in  
 “There is no food in the pot.” [CC Shori 2:23]

To express “have”, the locative copula is followed by “with”:

- (15) n!ka'e 'a ke 'ám -qà  
 1PL.EXCL COP with food -PL  
 “We have food.” [CC Shori 1:19]
- (16) a. yà 'a ke l'í  
 3SG COP with money  
 “He has money.”
- b. yà l!ke 'a ke l'í  
 3SG PST COP with money  
 “He had money.” [CC Shori 1:65]  
 (last year he had money, now he is poor)

The negation of “have” uses a form related to /ko'a “absent” (in fast speech, the initial *kí* is often realized as *í*-)

- (17) yà kí-lkò'a-kì ke l'í  
 3SG kí-absent-kì with money  
 “He has no money.” [CC Shori 2:24]

The same locative copula is found in Sàsí. The main difference is that the SBJ marker *ì* always shows up in locative and existential sentences in Sàsí.

- (18) a. 'am -qà ì 'a  
 food -PL SBJ COP  
 “There is food.”
- b. 'am -qà ì 'a kì kx'ù na  
 food -PL SBJ COP LK pot in  
 “There is food in the pot.” [CC Sàsí 11:33]
- (19) a. 'am -qà ì lkò'a  
 food -PL SBJ absent  
 “There is no food.”

- b. 'ám -qà ì lkò'a kì kx'ù na  
 food -PL SBJ absent LK pot in  
 “There is no food in the pot.” [CC Sàsí 11:33]

### 18.3. Identificational

If you see somebody you do not know, and ask somebody who it is, the following question answer pair is possible:

- (20) a. 'a“rĩ yà 'ěě  
 who Q COP  
 “Who is it?”
- b. Titi 'ěě  
 Titi COP  
 “It is Titi.” [CC Shori 5:21]

If somebody is knocking at the door, you can ask the person next to you if it is Thabo:

- (21) a. Thabo xà 'ěě  
 Thabo QF it.is  
 “Is it Thabo?”
- b. Thabo 'ěě  
 Thabo it.is  
 “It is Thabo.” [CC Shori 2:48]

The use of a copula is obligatory in the answer to an identificational question, as (22d) shows. Either the identificational copula or the nominal copula can be used in the response.

- (22) a. 'ă“rĩ yà xè?  
 what Q QF  
 “What is it?”
- b. ⊙'ú 'ěě  
 duiker it.is  
 “It is a duiker.”
- c. yà ò ⊙'ú  
 3SG COP duiker  
 “It is a duiker.” [JG Pred 34]
- d. \*⊙'ú  
 duiker  
 “a duiker” (bad as answer) [JG Pred 31]

For negative answers, only the nominal copula strategy is possible:

- (23) a. !xâe yà xè?  
 chief Q QF  
 “Is it the chief?”
- b. \*!xâe lhð’õ ’èě  
 chief NEG it.is
- c. yà lhð’õ ð !xâe  
 3SG NEG COP chief  
 “It is not the chief.”

[JG Pred 35]

Even though negation is not possible preceding the identificational copula, the past tense markers are possible:

- (24) ☉’ú llke ’èě  
 duiker PST it.is  
 “It was a duiker.”

[JG Pred 35]

For the following sentence, I learn that somebody was looking for me. When I ask who, the answer is:

- (25) Thabo i ’ěě  
 Thabo PST it.is  
 “It was Thabo.”

[CC Shori 3:36]

The identificational copula also exists in Sàsí:

- (26) a. ’ăli yà  
 who Q  
 “Who is it?”
- b. Thabo ǎĩ  
 Thabo it.is  
 “It is Thabo.”

[CC Sàsí 11:23]

## 19. Passive

The passive is formed by adding the prefix *kì-* (which follows all tense/aspect particles) to the verb:

- (1) a. #’àmkòe ’a kì- cí  
 person PROG PASS- see  
 “The person is seen.”
- b. ’ǎ“ri-llgá“i llke kì- cí  
 woman PST PASS- see  
 “The woman was seen.” [JG SLogic 88]

Unlike in English, it is impossible to add the agent:

- (2) \*#’àmkòe ’a kì- cí (kì) ma  
 person PROG PASS- see LK 1SG  
 “The person is seen by me.” [JG SLogic 86]

The closest one can get to expressing “The person was seen by me” directly in #Hòā is the following sentence, where the object has been moved to the front of the sentence:

- (3) #’àmkòe ma ’a cí  
 person 1SG PROG see  
 “The person is seen by me.” [JG SLogic 86]

The object of the linker can be passivized:

- (4) !kôa na ’a kì- !’ú-šo kì  
 house in PROG PASS- enter LK  
 “The house is being entered.” [JG SLogic 89]

Both objects of a double object construction can be passivized, but the linker always comes immediately after the verb (as in other cases of extraction; see section 16.4):

- (5) a. ’ám ’a kì- šú kì ’ǎ“ri-llgá“i  
 food PROG PASS- give LK woman  
 “Food is being given to the woman.”
- b. ’ǎ“ri-llgá“i ’a kì- šú kì ’ám  
 woman PROG PASS- given LK food  
 “The woman is being given food.”
- c. \*’ám ’a kì- šú ’ǎ“ri-llgá“i kì  
 food PROG PASS- give woman LK  
 “Food is being given to the woman.” [JG SLogic 91]

A similar paradigm holds for verbs having both a direct object and a locative expression:

- (6) a. koloï ḷgðð -'a †'àmkðe kì gyèo na  
 truck hit -PFV person LK path in  
 “The truck struck a person in the road.”
- b. †'àmkðe kì- ḷgðð -'a kì gyèo na  
 person PASS- hit -PFV LK route in  
 “A person was struck in the road.”
- c. gyèo na kì- ḷgðð -'a kì †'àmkðe  
 path in PASS- hit -PFV LK person  
 “In the road was struck a person.” [Collins 1998b: (19)]

Some examples from the oral texts and recorded utterances are given below.

- (7) khi-khibi -qà lqe kì- cí kì kx'à kí- na ŷe  
 butterfly -PL can PASS- see LK land PL- in all  
 “Butterflies can be seen in every land.” [Utterances 1:1 1,041]

In the following story, the elder brother arrives home and finds his wife (an eland) being eaten:

- (8) ḷkà“e 'a kì- 'ám  
 meat PROG PASS- eat  
 “Meat was being eaten.” [Eland Woman 55]

Sàsí has the same passive prefix *kì-*. Note that the passive morpheme is often reduced to *ì-*.

- (9) a. ḷka“e 'a kì- 'ám  
 meat PROG PASS- eat  
 “Meat is being eating.”
- b. ma ì kì- cí -'a  
 1SG SBJ PASS- see -PFV  
 “I was seen.” [CC Sàsí 11:12]

## 20. Causative

Causatives are formed with the high tone prefix *kí-* (clearly distinguished from the low tone passive prefix *kì-*):

- (1) a. *kí-* kyú gyá“mi -sì  
 CAUSE- get.up child -DIM.PL  
 “Wake the child up!”
- b. *yà* i kyú  
 3SG PST get.up  
 “He woke up.” [CC Shori 3:8]
- (2) ’á“ri *yà* *xà* ’a *kí-* l’í *yà*  
 what Q QF PROG CAUSE- cry 3SG  
 “What is making him/her cry?” [CC Shori 3:8]

When a transitive verb is causativized, the direct object of the transitive verb must be introduced by the linker after the causativized verb:

- (3) a. †’ámkðe ’a cí !kôa  
 person PROG see house  
 “The person sees the house.”
- b. *ma* ’a *kí-* cí †’ámkðe *kì* !kôa  
 1SG PROG CAUSE- see person LK house  
 “I am showing the person the house.” [Gruber 1975a: 4]

When a causative verb is passivized, the sequence *kì-kí* (PASS-CAUSE) is reduced to *kí-*:

- (4) a. *kí-* ’ám gyá“m -sì  
 CAUSE- eat child -DIM  
 “Feed the child!”
- b. *kí-* ’ám gyá“m -sì *kì* bogobe-qa  
 CAUSE- eat child -DIM LK bogobe-PL  
 “Feed the child *bogobe!*”
- c. *gyá“m -sì* i *kì-* í- ’ám *kì* bogobe-qà  
 child -DIM PST PASS-CAUSE- eat LK bogobe-PL  
 “The child was fed *bogobe.*” [CC Shori 3:8]

One can also causativize predicative adjectives, although we have not looked into the issue in detail:

- (5) a. !kôa ṣù  
house beautiful  
“The house is beautiful.”
- b. yà ’a kí- ṣù !kôa  
3SG PROG CAUSE- beautiful house  
“He is beautifying the house.” [Gruber 1975a: 4; JG VerbMod 27]

In Sàsí, the causative is also formed with a high-tone *kí-* prefix on the verb:

- (6) a. kí- ’ám da“m -sì  
CAUSE- eat child -DIM  
“Feed the child!”
- b. kí- ’ám da“m -sì kì †qoni  
CAUSE- eat child -DIM LK bogobe  
“Feed the child *bogobe!*” [CC Sàsí 11:11]
- (7) nda kí- l’í yà  
what CAUSE- cry 3SG  
“What is making him/her cry?” [CC Sàsí 11:11]

There are two ways to say “show”, one of them being the causative of *cí* “see”:

- (8) a. ma ’a kí- cí †’àmkòe kì !kôa  
1SG PROG CAUSE- see person LK house  
“I am showing the person the house.”
- b. ma ’a kí-llhǎ †’àmkòe kì !kôa  
1SG PROG show person LK house  
“I am showing the person the house.” [CC Sàsí 11:11]



## 21. Serial Verbs

A serial verb construction (SVC) is where one verb immediately follows the other without any intervening adverbs, negation, tense/aspect markers, passive prefix, or conjunctions. Such a construction is also referred to as a verbal compound. Serial verbs are used in #Hðã to express a wide range of semantic relations, including directions, results, sequences of actions and benefactives. Many concepts expressed by prepositions in other languages are expressed by serial verbs in #Hðã. Serial verb constructions are a feature of all known Khoisan languages (northern, central and southern). Many additional examples can be found in JG Pred.

### 21.1. Diagnosing Serial Verb Constructions

Nothing can intervene between the two members of a serial verb construction, a generalization we give in (1).

- (1) In serial verb constructions involving verbs V1 and V2, V1 and V2 are adjacent and share one tense/aspect/voice marker.

Although we cannot pursue it here, we note that generalization (1) does not hold in some of the central Khoisan languages, where a juncture morpheme appears between the two verbs in a serial verb construction (see Chebanne and Collins 2012 on Kua).

The examples below illustrate this generalization. In (2), a serial verb construction is in the progressive. The two verbs //hù “pour” and /’o “put in” are adjacent. Putting the direct object or the progressive marker between the two verbs yields an ungrammatical sentence as show in (2b) and (2c).

- (2) a. ma 'a llhù l'o jð kì kx'ù na  
 1SG PROG pour put.in water LK pot in  
 “I am pouring water into the pot.”
- b. \*ma 'a llhù jð l'o kì kx'ù na  
 1SG PROG pour water put.in LK pot in
- c. \*ma 'a llhù 'a l'o jð kì kx'ù na  
 1SG PROG pour PROG put.in water LK pot in  
 [Collins 2002: (4)]

Similarly, neither an adverb (3b) nor the negation marker (4b) can intervene between the two verbs of a serial verb construction:

- (3) a. ma qhǎẽ -sa 'a llhù l'o jð kì kx'ù na  
 1SG good -ADV PROG pour put.in water LK pot in  
 “I am pouring water into the pot well.”

- b. \*ma 'a llhù qhǎě-sa l'ò jð kì kx'ù na  
 1SG PROG pour good-ADV put.in water LK pot in  
 [Collins 2002: (5)]

- (4) a. ma lhð'ò 'a llhù l'ò jð kì kx'ù na  
 1SG NEG PROG pour put.in water LK pot in  
 “I am not pouring water into the pot.”

- b. \*ma 'a llhù lhð'ò l'ò jð kì kx'ù na  
 1SG PROG pour NEG put.in water LK pot in  
 [Collins 2002: (6)]

If a serial verb construction is passivized, the passive marker *kì-* appears before the first in the sequence of two verbs (see also JG Pred 114 for another example):

- (5) jð 'a kì- llhù l'ò kì kx'ù na  
 water PROG PASS- pour put.in LK pot in  
 “Water is being poured into the pot.” [Collins 2002: (7)]

Lastly, the order of the verbs in a verbal compound is rigidly fixed. In (2), “pour” precedes “put in” and it is not possible to change the order:

- (6) \*ma 'a l'ò llhù jð kì kx'ù na  
 1SG PROG put.in pour water LK pot in [Collins 2002: (1)]

In the remainder of this chapter, we will go through a few semantic types to show the range of the construction. But first we distinguish serial verbs from clause-chaining, another commonly occurring construction in #Hðǎ.

## 21.2. Clause-Chaining

There are many naturally occurring examples of the progressive marker or perfective marker occurring with each of two verbs in a sequence. We assume that these are not serial verb constructions, and we will henceforth refer to this kind of construction as clause-chaining:

- (7) a. cì 'a č'ile 'a !qhào n!ka'e  
 3PL PROG return PROG chase 1PL  
 “They came after us again.” [Keboheditse Lion Story 26]
- b. ma 'a ča 'a č'eõ  
 1SG PROG come PROG do  
 “I am coming and doing.” [JG SLogic 40]

In (7), the progressive marker comes between the two verbs. Therefore, by (1), the examples in (7) are not serial verb constructions.

One condition of clause-chaining is that the understood subject of the second clause is identical to the subject of the first clause. So in the example (7), the subject of “chase” is also the subject of “return”, which is “they”.

### 21.3. Directional

In the following examples, the second verb indicates the direction of motion of the action specified by the first verb:

- (8) ma llkõe na ka lloam-lloam ča  
1SG still ITIN SUB jog come  
“while I was still coming jogging” [Collins 2002: (39)]
- (9) llkà’a -šì ’a llkõbo kyú  
thing -DIM PROG jump rise  
“The thing is jumping up.” (as if by magic) [Collins 2002: (41)]
- (10) gyá“m -šì ’a llkõbo †’o kì lori na  
child -DIM PROG jump exit LK car in  
“The child is jumping from the car.” [Collins 2002: (43)]
- (11) ma qo kí!no khoa kì Molepolole  
1SG FUT run.SG arrive LK Molepolole  
“I will run to Molepolole.” [Collins 2002: (44)]
- (12) †kĩ -šì ’a kàla kà l’óó šì llq’am  
bird -DIM PROG fly go.to tree POSS on  
“The bird is flying to the top of the tree.” [Collins 2002: (47)]
- (13) gyá“m -šì ’a n!nàm kyà“o  
child -DIM PROG crawl go  
“The child is crawling away.” [CC Grammar Rec:19]

In the above examples, the first verb is intransitive, but it is also possible to have directional serial verb constructions where the first verb is transitive:

- (14) ma ’a llhù l’o jð kì kx’ù na  
1SG PROG pour put.in water LK pot in  
“I am pouring water into the pot.” [Collins 2002: (52)]
- (15) Titi ’a llhái khy’a lefeelo kì Jefo  
Titi PROG pull bring broom LK Jeff  
“Titi is pulling the broom to Jeff.” [Collins 2002: (54)]

- (16) ma 'a llhái !xàò !gái kì čena na  
 1SG PROG pull remove snake LK hole in  
 “I am pulling the snake from the hole.” [Collins 2002: (55)]

For these serial verb constructions, there is transitivity harmony, whereby if the first verb is transitive, then so is the second. In (17b), “put in” must be used rather than “enter”, and in (18b), “remove” must be used rather than “exit”. We have not fully studied the scope of this constraint:

- (17) a. jð 'a !'ú-šo kì kx'ù na  
 water PROG enter LK pot in  
 “The water is entering the pot.”
- b. ma 'a llhù l'ò (\*!'ú-šo) jð kì kx'ù na  
 1SG PROG pour put.in (\*enter) water LK pot in  
 “I am pouring water into the pot.” [Collins 2002: (75)]
- (18) a. !gái i kí-†'ò kì čena na  
 snake PST exit LK hole in  
 “The snake exited the hole.”
- b. ma i kí-!xàò !gái kì čena na  
 1SG PST remove snake LK hole in  
 “I removed the snake from the hole.”
- c. ma llhái !xàò (\*kí-†'ò) !gái kì čena na  
 1SG pull remove (\*exit) snake LK hole in  
 “I pulled the snake from the hole.” [Collins 2002: (76)]

Note that in (18c) the *kí-* normally found with *kí-!xàò* “remove” is deleted. Other examples show that this deletion is optional:

- (19) ma 'a llhái (kí-)!xàò llkà'a-sì kì l'óõ na  
 1SG PROG pull remove thing-DIM LK tree in  
 “I am pulling the thing out of the tree.” [JG Pred 112]

Sàsí also has directional serial verb constructions:

- (20) ma 'a llhoam-llhòam ča  
 1SG PROG jog come  
 “I am coming jogging.” [CC Sàsí 12:14, 7:1]
- (21) da“m -sì 'a llkõbo !'úšo kì lori na  
 child -DIM PROG jump enter LK truck in  
 “The child is jumping into the truck.” [CC Sàsí 12:14]

#### 21.4. Resultative

In the following examples, the second verb specifies a result of the first. For example, in (22), the people are dead as a result of the beating, and in (23), the ostrich eggs are broken as a result of the hitting.

(22) ma i lqǎě ○koa cì  
 1SG PST beat kill 3PL  
 “I beat them dead.” [Collins 2002: (56)]

(23) ma †ná“m k’oa n!núi khǒ’ě  
 1SG hit break ostrich egg  
 “I smashed the ostrich egg.” [Collins 2002: (57)]

#### 21.5. Aspectual

When the second element is the predicate adjective “absent” (see chapter 6, example (11)), there is an aspectual reading, meaning to finish or complete the action of the first verb.

(24) a. cì lkò’a  
 3PL absent  
 “They are absent.”  
 b. yà i č’eō lkò’a cì  
 3SG PST make absent 3PL  
 “He finished making them.” [Collins 2002: (83)]

(25) a. ma lnáqè ○koa lkò’a kyeǎma -qà  
 1SG then kill absent dog -PL  
 “I then killed all my dogs.”  
 b. ’àm šì kyeǎma-qà ma ○koa lkò’a  
 1SG.GEN POSS dog -PL 1SG kill absent  
 “My dogs, I killed them.” [Mogopudi 58, 59]

Sàsí also has a resultative serial verb construction:

(26) yà a“a č’áũ lkò’a cì  
 3SG PST do absent 3PL  
 “He finished making them.” (“He made them all.”) [CC Sàsí 12:15]

#### 21.6. Simultaneous

In the following SVC, the actions of the two verbs take place simultaneously (in the example below, one calls at the same time as one looks for).

- (27) ma 'a kí-gyè'o kɪni Jefo  
 1SG PROG call look.for Jeff  
 "I am calling Jeff, looking for him." [Collins 2002: (58)]

However, even though the two actions are simultaneous in (27), simultaneity is not in general sufficient to guarantee the possibility of a SVC, as shown by the unacceptability of the following examples:

- (28) \*ma 'a kí-!no kí-sile n!úí  
 1SG PROG run.SG imitate ostrich  
 "I am running imitating an ostrich." [Collins 2002: (49)]

- (29) \*ma 'a nɪnobo 'ám ɪkà'e  
 1SG PROG speak eat meat  
 "I am eating meat while speaking." [Collins 2002: (50)]

- (30) \*yà 'a l'í nɪnobo  
 3SG PROG cry speak  
 "He is crying and speaking." [Collins 2002: (51)]

### 21.7. Sequential

It is also possible for the actions of the first and second verbs to be in a (non-directional, non-resultative) sequential relation. But in this case, there is a repetitive interpretation, and kí[PL] must precede the first verb. An example is given below:

- (31) a. ma qo kí- càxó 'ám ɪkà'e  
 1SG FUT PL- cook eat meat  
 "I will cook and eat meat (repeatedly)."  
 b. \*ma qo càxó 'ám ɪkà'e  
 1SG FUT cook eat meat  
 c. \*ma qo kí- 'ám ɪkà'e  
 1SG FUT PL- eat meat  
 d. \*ma qo kí- càxó ɪkà'e  
 1SG FUT PL- cook meat [Collins 2002: (60)]

(31b) shows that the SVC is impossible without kí[PL]. (31c, d) shows that a single verb cannot be used with kí[PL] (unless there is a pluractional suffix; see chapter 8).

Other examples illustrating the same type of SVC are given below:

- (32) ma 'a kí- čxa 'ám 'a kí- čxa 'ám  
 1SG PROG PL- cut eat PROG PL- cut eat  
 "I cut it up and eat it, cut it up and eat it." [Hunting Story 18, 19]

- (33) yà 'a kí- c'ã †kè  
 3SG PROG PL- sleep wake.up  
 “He is nodding off and waking up alternately.” [Collins 2002: (65)]

### 21.8. Benefactive

Lastly, a benefactive relation is expressed when the second verb of a SVC is *šú* “give”. An example where the first verb is intransitive is given in (34), and an example where the first verb is transitive is given in (35).

- (34) n!nǎu -lkà'a 'a kyxái šú 'àm kyxàna  
 boy -DIM PROG dance give 1SG.GEN uncle  
 “The boys are dancing for my uncle.” [Collins 2002: (86)]
- (35) gyá“m -lkà'a 'a caxó šú 'àm gye kì llkà“e  
 child -DIM.PL PROG cook give 1SG.GEN mother PART meat  
 “The children are cooking meat for my mother.” [Collins 2002: (88)]

The benefactive can have an adversative sense:

- (36) sale yà sī šú -'a ma  
 long.ago 3SG die give -PFV 1SG  
 “He died on me long ago.” [CC Shori 6:20]

It is also possible to use /*o* “put in” to express a benefactive relation:

- (37) cì 'a kyxái l'ò !xâe  
 3PL PROG dance put.in chief  
 “They are dancing for the chief.” [CC Shori 6:20]
- (38) nlgǎi -šī ha 'a khyúru l'ò qà“a  
 maiden -DIM this PROG boast put.in 1PL.EXCL  
 “The maiden boasts to us.” [Utterances 1:2 1,479; JG Pred 147]

The benefactive is also used in Sàsí:

- (39) a. cì 'a txái šú !xâe  
 3PL PROG dance give chief  
 “They are dancing for the chief.”
- b. cì 'a caxú šú 'àm de kì llkà“e  
 3PL PROG cook give 1SG.GEN mother LK meat  
 “They are cooking meat for my mother.” [CC Sàsí 11:21]





## 22. Comparison

“More than” is expressed with the verb *qòma* “pass”. It is expressed with two sentences or a clause-chaining construction.

- (1) ma 'a qòma 'àm !kôa  
 1SG PROG pass 1SG.GEN house  
 “I am passing by my house.” [CC Shori 3:17]
- (2) a. ma čà'a ma qòma -'a Thabo  
 1SG tall 1SG pass -PFV Thabo  
 “I am taller than Thabo.” [CC Shori 3:17]
- b. ma čà'a qòma -'a Thabo  
 1SG tall pass -PFV Thabo  
 “I am taller than Thabo.” [CC Shori 5:31]
- (3) 'àm šī kyéamà #hĩ qòma -'a ù čà  
 1SG.GEN POSS dog fat pass -PFV 2SG one  
 “My dog is fatter than yours.” [CC Shori 3:17]
- (4) yà čà'a qòma -'a ma  
 3SG tall pass -PFV 1SG  
 “He is taller than me.” [CC Shori 5:5]
- (5) yà 'a ke gòme -qà 'a m̀n kí-ǰòa m̀n qòma -'a ma  
 3SG COP with cow -PL which REL many REL pass -PFV 1SG  
 “He has more cows than me.” [CC Shori 5:5]

We have also recorded the following, which seems to be a calque of the Setswana since it uses the infinitive of the verb *qòma* “to pass” (*go feta* “to pass”):

- (6) yà 'a ke gòme -qà 'a m̀n kí-ǰòa šī qòma -'a ma  
 3SG COP with cow -PL which REL many INF pass -PFV 1SG  
 “He has more cows than me.” [CC Shori 5:31]

Equality is expressed with *lku ke* “like”:

- (7) a. ma čà'a lku ke Thabo  
 1SG tall like with Thabo  
 “I am as tall as Thabo.” [CC Shori 5:5]
- b. ma 'a ke gòme -qà 'a m̀n kí-ǰòa lku ke ù  
 1SG PROG with cow -PL which REL many like with you  
 “I have as many cows as you.” [CC Shori 3:22]



## 23. Imperatives

Imperatives are used to command somebody (or a group of people) to do something (or to not do something).

### 23.1. Positive Imperatives

For imperatives directed at a single person, the bare form of the verb is used:

- (1) a. xú ma  
leave me  
“Leave me alone!”
- b. !no  
“Be quiet!”
- c. kí-!no  
“Run!” (spoken to one person)
- d. c’ã  
“Sleep!” [CC Shori 1:38]

Adverbs may precede the imperative verb, just like they can precede a non-imperative verb. If the adverb follows the verb, as in (2b), it must be preceded by a linker.

- (2) a. gyè -sa nlnobo  
slow -ADV talk  
“Speak slowly!”
- b. nlnobo kî gyè -sa  
talk LK slow -ADV  
“Speak slowly!” [CC Shori 3:6]

In the plural, the second person pronoun precedes the verb:

- (3) a. jî kí- n!qǎě  
2PL PL- run.PL  
“You (PL) run!”
- b. jî c’ã  
2PL sleep  
“You (PL) sleep!” [CC Shori 5:33]

When the speaker is included, the first person inclusive pronoun precedes the verb:

- (4) qà“a kí- kyà“o  
1PL.INCL PL- go  
“Let’s go!” [CC Shori 5:33]

### 23.2. Negative Imperatives

The negative imperative is formed with *qhũ*, in both the singular and the plural. The same negation particle *qhũ* is used in the subjunctive (see section 24.5). The Shorilatholo consultants put the imperfective particle before the negated verb. It is unclear whether this represents dialectal variation, or just one of several strategies all speakers have:

- (5) a. kyà“o  
“Go!” [CC Shori 2:45]
- b. qhũ ’a kyà“o  
NEG IPFV go  
“Don’t go!” [CC Shori 2:45]
- c. qhũ j̄i ’a kí- kyà“o  
NEG 2PL IPFV PL- go  
“Don’t go!” (more than one person) [CC Shori 2:45]
- (6) qhũ llhá“a-sa nlnobo  
NEG quick-ADV speak  
“Do not speak quickly!” [Utterances 1:2 1,853]
- (7) a. č’eõ llkà’a kyõa k̄i  
do thing that EMPH  
“Do that thing!” [CC Shori 2:45]
- b. qhũ ’a č’eõ llkà’a kyõa k̄i  
NEG IPFV do thing that EMPH  
“Don’t do that thing!” [CC Shori 2:45]
- c. qhũ j̄i ’a č’eõ llkà’a kyõa k̄i  
NEG 2PL IPFV do thing that EMPH  
“Don’t do that thing!” [CC Shori 2:45]

In Sàsí, there is a similar strategy for negative imperatives:

- (8) a. thũ nlnobo  
NEG talk  
“Don’t talk!”
- b. thũ tà“o  
NEG go  
“Don’t go!” [CC Sàsí 9:24]

### 23.3. Bare Form of the Verb

In addition to being used in the imperative, the bare form of the verb is also used to express wishes not involving the addressee:

- (9) čo'a Ǫhǫa  
rain fall  
“Let it rain!” [JG Aux 13]

As for the Shorilatholo consultants, they embed the bare form of the verb in a Setswana construction (e.g., *a pule e ne* “let it rain”):

- (10) a. a čo'a Ǫhǫa  
let rain fall  
“Let it rain!”  
b. a †gǫbi sǫi  
let moon die  
“Let the month end!” [CC Shori 5:27]

Some other examples of the bare form are given below:

- (11) hà'o ma cí  
bring 1SG see  
“Bring it, let me see!” [CC Shori 3:19]

In the following sentence, a group of children want to see the paper I am reading. So my friend says:

- (12) xú gyá“m -lkà'a cì cí  
leave child -DIM.PL 3PL see  
“Let the children see!” [CC Shori 3:19]

In Titi's dialect, such sentences are often accompanied by the subjunctive morpheme *qù*, although no sentence elicited from the Shorilatholo consultants contained *qù*. It may be that *qù* is absent in the Shorilatholo dialect.

- (13) a. †'ámkǫe (qù) cí  
person SBJV see  
“Let the person see!”  
b. ma (qù) cí  
1SG SBJV see  
“Let me see!” [JG SLogic 50]

The bare form of the verb is also what is often used in subordinate subjunctive clauses, as discussed in section 24.5.

- (14) ma 'a #kè #gibi sũ  
1SG PROG want moon die  
“I want the month to end.”

[CC Shori 5:27]

## 24. Subordinate Clauses

### 24.1 *ka*-Clauses

A *ka*-clause is a subordinate clause where *ka* appears immediately before the main verb (after the subject and all tense/aspect particles). A *ka*-clause cannot be used as a main clause. *ka*-clauses have a variety of meanings, described below.

One common use of clauses with *ka* is to set the scene in a narrative. We gloss *ka* as SUB for clausal subordination. Some examples from oral texts are given below:

- (1) yà ka ò 'àò Okui ...  
 3SG SUB COP time other  
 “One time, ...” [Eland Woman 15]
- (2) yà ka ò !gòà hà“ma šì !gòà ...  
 3SG SUB COP dusk midday POSS dusk  
 “It was early afternoon, ...” [Elephant Woman 27]
- (3) n!ka'e 'a ka khoa ...  
 1PL.EXCL PROG SUB arrive  
 “As we were coming back, ...” [Keboheditse Lion Story 10]
- (4) yà šì #héu ka ò #héu ...  
 3SG place tomorrow SUB COP tomorrow  
 “The next day, ...” [Eland Woman 32]

Note that in example (3) the position of *ka* follows the imperfective marker 'a. The imperfective relative clause marker *ma* REL is the only other morpheme that can appear between the imperfective marker and the verb (see chapter 13).

*ka*-clauses are used to express “if”-clauses, “when”-clauses, “even though”-clauses (see JG SLogic 2), “before”- and “after”-clauses (see JG SLogic 27), and in the clausal complement of “know” (JG CompV 33).

Some additional examples of *ka*-clauses are given below:

- (5) ù lqe kyà“o ù 'a ka kíni šì kyà“o  
 2SG can go 2SG PROG SUB want COMP go  
 “You can go, if/when you want to go.” [JG SLogic 23]
- (6) ha ù lhò'ò 'a ka #kao ma, ù lqe kyà“o  
 if 2SG NEG PROG SUB love 1SG 2SG can go  
 “If you don't love me, you can go.” [JG Slogic 2]
- (7) !Kári lke 'a ka kyà“o, ma lke šú-'a yà kì tikiti  
 !Kari PST PROG SUB go 1SG PST give-PFV 3SG LK ticket  
 “When !Kari was leaving, I gave a ticket to him.” [JG SLogic 23]

*ka*-clauses are also used with perception verbs:

- (8) ma 'a cã †'àmkðe yà 'a ka č'eõ yà  
 1SG PROG hear person 3SG PROG SUB do 3SG  
 "I hear the person doing it." [JG CompV 39]
- (9) yà cí †'àmkðe yà 'a ka č'eõ yà  
 3SG see person 3SG PROG SUB do 3SG  
 "He sees the man doing it." [JG CompV 57]

## 24.2. "because"-Clauses

"because"-clauses are formed using *kúe* or *qa*, which mean the same thing (see JG SLogic 15). Note that the *ka* SUB does not appear in "because"-clauses. *qa* is probably a borrowing from Setswana. *qa* is attested in the Shorilatholo dialect. We have not investigated *kúe* in the Shorilatholo dialect.

- (10) ma cí -'a ma kúe kî- ɬhã šú -'a  
 1SG know -PFV 1SG because PASS- tell give -PFV  
 "I know, because I have been told." [JG SLogic 14]
- (11) a. qà'a qo xú yà, yà kúe 'a nni'ni  
 1PL.EXCL FUT leave 3SG 3SG because PROG refuse  
 "We will leave him, because he refuses."
- b. yà kúe 'a nni'ni, qà'a qo xú yà  
 3SG because PROG refuse 1PL.EXCL FUT leave 3SG  
 "Since he refuses, we will leave him." [JG SLogic 15]
- (12) qa yà nni'ni, qà'a qo xú yà  
 since 3SG refuse 1PL.EXCL FUT leave 3SG  
 "Since he refuses, we will leave him." [JG SLogic 2]
- (13) ma 'a xú yà qa yà 'a kǒ  
 1SG IPFV leave 3SG because 3SG PROG refuse  
 "I will leave him because he refuses." [CC Shori 4:1]

Unlike *qa*, *kue* cannot appear clause-initially:

- (14) a. ɔ'ú kúe 'a nni'ni ...  
 duiker because PROG refuse  
 "because the duiker refuses ..."
- b. \*kúe ɔ'ú 'a nni'ni ...  
 because duiker PROG refuse  
 "because the duiker refuses ..." [JG SLogic 3]



### 24.3. Infinitival Clauses

*šĩ*-complements correspond to infinitival complements in English.

- (15) kyěamà 'a †kè šĩ 'ám  
 dog PROG want INF eat  
 “The dog wants to eat.” [CC Shori 5:33]
- (16) 'ă“ri-jă-sĩ ha kì i l'ũru šĩ kí- čile gòme -qà  
 man -DIM this EMPH PST forget INF CAUSE- return cow -PL  
 “The boy forgot to bring in the cattle.” [CC Shori 2:58]
- (17) n!núi 'a lhae šĩ kàla xú yà šĩ  
 ostrich PROG fail INF fly leave 3SG place  
 “The ostrich fails to fly away from its place.” [Utterances 2:2 133]

JG CompV shows that with *šĩ*, an inversion in word order is possible (not investigated in the Shorilatholo dialect):

- (18) a. ma 'a †qè šĩ cí ù  
 1SG PROG want INF see 2SG  
 “I want to see you.”
- b. ma 'a †qè ù šĩ cí  
 1SG PROG want 2SG INF see  
 “I want to see you.” [JG CompV 9]
- (19) a. ma 'a †qè šĩ cí †'àmkòe  
 1SG PROG want INF see person  
 “I want to see the person.”
- b. ma 'a †qè †'àmkòe šĩ cí  
 1SG PROG want person INF see  
 “I want to see the person.” [JG CompV 9]

As is clear from the form of the first person pronoun, this inversion is actually a nominalization, where the inverted noun phrase is the possessor:

- (20) a. †'àmkòe 'a †qè šĩ cí ma  
 person PROG want INF see 1SG  
 “The person wants to see me.”
- b. †'àmkòe 'a †qè 'àm šĩ cí (\*ma)  
 person PROG want 1SG.GEN INF see  
 “The person wants to see me.” [JG CompV 9]

Other distinct uses of *šì* are discussed in Gruber’s grammatical notes. See SLogic 9 for *šì* as an alternative to *n/ne* “in order that”. This usage was rejected by the Shorilatholo consultants, and may be a dialectal difference.

- (21) ma 'a 'ám šì ma qù lga“a  
 1SG PROG eat INF 1SG SBJV grow  
 “I eat so that I grow.” [Utterances 2:1 983]

In this usage, the subject of the embedded clause must be present. Also, in this usage, *šì* can appear before or after the embedded clause subject.

The Shorilatholo consultants render (21) as (22), where *xore* is a Setswana borrowing:

- (22) ma 'a 'ám xore ma kì lgà“a  
 1SG PROG eat that 1SG SBJV grow  
 “I eat so that I grow.” [CC Shori 6:45]

Sàsí has a similar infinitive using *sì*.

- (23) ma 'a †kè sì !hà  
 1SG PROG want INF hunt  
 “I want to hunt.” [CC Sàsí 10:29]

#### 24.4. Declarative Embedded Clauses

Clausal complements are introduced by *xore* “that”, which is a borrowing from the Setswana *gore*. In some cases (which we have not investigated), *xore* “that” is dropped.

- (24) ma 'a †'éē xore llkà“e lkò'a  
 1SG PROG think that meat absent  
 “I think there is no meat.” [CC Shori 2:49]

- (25) cì cí -'a xore yà 'a ke l'í  
 3PL know -PFV that 3SG COP with money  
 “They know he has money.” [CC Shori 5:6]

- (26) ma 'a llkñãã šú †'ámkðe xore 'ã“ri-llgá“e lqe kyà“o  
 1SG PROG tell give person that woman can go  
 “I am telling the person that the woman can go.” [JG CompV 71]

The linker *kì* can introduce a complement clause following a direct object (see JG CompV 7, 60, 63, 71). The Shorilatholo consultants did not produce this use of the linker. The following example is from an oral text:

- (27) ma llke †x'a jì kì †'ámkðe 'èē  
 1SG PST tell 2PL LK person it.is  
 “I told you it is a person.” [Vulture 63]

In the oral texts, direct speech is often expressed with *kì ʔ kì* (following the verb “tell” or by itself):

- (28) a. yà qoma †x’a yà llkâm ...  
 3SG it.is.said tell 3SG younger.sibling  
 “He (the older brother) told the younger brother:
- b. kìʔ kì m-Okoa !hà  
 say LK 1-two hunt  
 Let’s hunt!” [Eland Woman 33, 34]

#### 24.5. Subjunctive Clauses

Certain verbs take a subjunctive complement. They are expressed either by the bare form of the verb, the auxiliary *kì*, the auxiliary *qù* or some combination thereof. None of the sentences elicited from the Shorilatholo consultants contained the subjunctive *qù*. It is unclear whether or not it exists in the Shorilatolo dialect. If *qù* does not exist in the Shorilatholo dialect, that would constitute a dialectal difference.

- (29) cì i llhà šú ma xore ma kì kyà“o  
 3PL PST tell give 1SG that 1SG SBJV go  
 “They told me to go.” [CC Shori 2:49]
- (30) cì i llhà šú ma xore qhũ ma kì kyà“o  
 3PL PST tell give 1SG that NEG 1SG SBJV go  
 “They told me not to go.” [CC Shori 6:27]
- (31) cì llhà šú -’a xore kyãm ma kì kyà“o  
 3PL tell give -PFV that NEG 1SG SBJ go  
 “They told me not to go.” [CC Shori 6:45]
- (32) cì ,’a khoa cì kyà kì ’ám  
 3PL PROG arrive 3PL go.AUX SBJV eat  
 “They are going home to eat.” [CC Shori 5:3]
- (33) ma ’a †kè xore yà kì ’ám  
 1SG PROG want that 3SG SBJV eat  
 “I want him to eat.” [CC Shori 2:50]
- (34) ma ’a kını cì ’ám  
 1SG PROG want 3PL eat  
 “I want them to eat.” [CC Shori 5:2]

- (35) cì !'ala -'a yǎ xore yǎ kì lkà Ǫ'ú  
 3PL ask -PFV 3SG that 3SG SBJV flay duiker  
 "They asked him to flay the duiker." [CC Shori 2:62]
- (36) cì !'ala -'a yǎ xore yǎ qhǔũ kì lkà Ǫ'ú  
 3PL ask -PFV 3SG that 3SG NEG SBJV flay duiker  
 "They asked him not to flay the duiker." [CC Shori 6:27]
- (37) ma 'a †qè †'ǎmkðe (qù) cí 'ǎ"ri-llgá"i  
 1SG PROG want person SBJV see woman  
 "I want the person to see the woman." [JG CompV 4]

We have one example from Sàsí of the subjunctive. Note that the subjunctive *kì* is used:

- (38) ma 'a †kè cì kì 'ám  
 1SG PROG want 3PL SBJV eat  
 "I want them to eat."

#### 24.6. "so that"-Clauses

"So that" is expressed by using the adverbial subordinator *n/nè* followed by a subjunctive clause. *n/nè* is also used by the Shorilatholo speakers.

- (39) ma 'a kì !kôa na n/nè ma 'ám  
 1SG COP LK house in so.that 1SG eat  
 "I am in the house that I may eat." [JG Slogic 6]
- (40) yǎ 'a !kù jð n/nè yǎ qù ču yǎ  
 3SG PROG take water so.that 3SG SBJV drink 3SG  
 "He takes water so that he may drink it." [Utterances 2:1 1,624]
- (41) ma ča -'a n/nè ma ča qù cí ù  
 1SG come -PFV so.that 1SG FUT SBJV see 2SG  
 "I have come in order that I may see you." [Utterances 1:2 1,814]

The same particle is used in imperatives with conjoined verbs:

- (42) a. kyú n/nè n/nobo  
 get.up and speak  
 "Get up and speak!"
- b. 'ám n/nè kyà"o  
 eat and go  
 "Eat and go!" [CC Shori 3:19]
- (43) n/nobo n/nè kyà"o  
 speak and go  
 "Speak and go!" [JG SLogic 8, 53]

## 25. Questions

In this chapter, we give an overview of question formation in #Hòã. Occasionally, we give typical answers to the questions as well. Answers to questions are also discussed in chapter 26.

### 25.1. Yes-No Questions

To form a yes-no question, the question particle *yà* is added at the end of the sentence:

- (1) ㊦'ú 'a 'ám lqhǔi -qà yà  
duiker PROG eat grass -PL Q  
“Is the duiker eating grass?” [JG SLogic 57]

No other position is allowed for *yà* Q in yes-no questions:

- (2) a. \*㊦'ú 'a 'ám yà lqhǔi -qà  
duiker PROG eat 3SG grass -PL  
b. \*㊦'ú yà 'a 'ám lqhǔi -qa  
duiker Q PROG eat grass -PL [JG SLogic 57]

The subject is often placed before the particle *xà* (pronounced *xè*, *xà* or *xàe* depending on the speaker and factors we have not investigated).

- (3) ㊦'ú xè 'a 'ám lqhǔi -qà yà  
duiker QF PROG eat grass -PL Q  
“Is it a duiker that is eating the grass?” [JG SLogic 58]

- (4) a. ù xà 'a kyà“o yà  
2SG QF PROG go Q [CC Shori 2:8]  
“Are you going?”

- b. ee, ma 'a kyà“o  
yes 1SG PROG go  
“Yes, I am going.” [CC Shori 2:QUES]

- (5) a. čo'a xà 'a ㊦hǒa yà  
rain QF PROG fall Q  
“Is the rain falling?”

- b. ee, yà 'a ㊦hǒa  
yes 3SG PROG rain  
“Yes, it is raining.” [CC Shori 2:QUES]

If you see a *mongwato* (a Ngwato person), whose totem is the duiker, eating meat, and you think perhaps he is eating duiker meat, you can ask:

- (6) ù xà 'a 'ám Ɔ'ú kí- llkà'e yà  
 2SG QF PROG eat duiker POSS- meat Q  
 “Are you eating duiker meat?” [CC Shori 2:12]

We gloss *xà/xè/xàe* as QF (“Question Focus”) since it often appears after the question word in constituent questions (see the following sections). However, in the examples in (2), (3) and (4), is it not clear that either “you” or “rain” is a focus. Rather, the generalization is the following:

- (7) Distribution of Question Focus Particle *xà*  
 In the absence of a question word (e.g., “who”, “where”, etc.) or focused phrase in clause-initial position, *xà* follows the subject (if *xà* is used at all).

In the following examples, the element preceding the *xà* is in focus. Note that in the case where there is a focused element preceding *xà*, the question particle *yà* follows the focused element.

- (8) a. maa yà xà cì 'a ḱini  
 1SG Q QF 3PL PROG want  
 “Is it me that they want?”
- b. 'àm ču yà xà cì 'a ḱini  
 1SG.GEN father Q QF 3PL PROG want  
 “Is it my father that they want?” [CC Shori 3:32]
- (9) #'àm kðe yà xè ù cí  
 person Q QF 2SG see  
 “Is it a person you see?” [Utterances 2:1 1,387]

Just like the phonological realization of the third person object pronoun varies depending on the phonological segment at the end of the verb (see (5) of chapter 9), the form of the yes-no question particle varies depending on the preceding segment. If the preceding segment is a back vowel ([o] or [u]), then the phonological form of the particle is [wa]. If the preceding segment is the nasal [m], then the phonological form is [a].

- (10) a. ù xà 'a l'í yà [ja]  
 2SG QF PROG cry Q  
 “Are you crying?”
- b. ù xà 'a !hà yà [ja]  
 2SG QF PROG hunt Q  
 “Are you hunting?”

c.      ù      xà      'a      'ám      yà      [mma]  
 2SG   QF    PROG eat    Q  
 “Are you eating?”

d.      ù      xà      'a      čò      yà      [wa]  
 2SG   QF    PROG vomit Q  
 “Are you vomiting?”

e.      ù      xà      'a      ču      yà      [wa]  
 2SG   QF    PROG drink Q  
 “Are you drinking?”

[CC Shori 6:26]

In our database, we have not found *xà* in Sàsí yes-no questions or other kinds of questions. When the Sàsí speakers are played the sound file of the #Hðã yes-no questions, they note the presence of *xà* immediately and say that it is different from Sàsí. Note that Sàsí borrows the Setswana initial question particle *a*.

(11) à      čo'a      'a                      Ǿhõa      yà  
 Q    rain    PROG                      fall    Q  
 “Is it raining?”

[CC Sàsí 11:16]

In Sàsí, the phonological form of the question particle also depends on the final segment of the preceding word, just as in #Hðã.

(12) a.      à      ù      'a      l'í      yà      [ja]  
 Q    2SG    PROG cry    Q  
 “Are you crying?”

b.      à      ù      'a      !hà      yà      [ja]  
 Q    2SG    PROG hunt    Q  
 “Are you hunting?”

c.      à      ù      'a      'ám      yà      [mma]  
 Q    2SG    PROG hunt    Q  
 “Are you hunting?”

d.      à      ù      'a      čò      yà      [wa]  
 Q    2SG    PROG vomit Q  
 “Are you vomiting?”

e.      à      ù      'a      čú      yà      [wa]  
 Q    2SG    PROG drink Q  
 “Are you drinking?”

[CC Sàsí 11:16]

## 25.2 “What” Questions

The phrase used to express both “who” and “what” is *’ǎ“ri yà*, where *yà* is the question particle. In the usual case, *ǎ“ri yà* “what/who” is placed at the beginning of the sentence, where it is optionally followed by the question focus particle *xà*. There are many variants of this strategy. Sometimes the simple *’a“ri* is used instead of *’ǎ“ri yà*. It is also possible for the question word to remain *in-situ* (without moving to the front of the sentence). When *’ǎ“ri yà* “who/what” remains *in-situ*, it is never followed by the question focus particle *xà* in the data that we have collected. No effort is made to give all of the possible options for each question, although when we have the data, we give some of the possible options.

The following example illustrates an object question (and the response):

- (13) a. *’ǎ“ri yà xà cì #kùũ -’a*  
 what Q QF 3PL buy -PFV  
 “What did they buy?” [CC Shori 1:28]
- b. *cì #kùũ -’a gõme*  
 3PL buy -PFV cow  
 “They bought a cow.” [CC Shori 2:QUES]

Subject questions work in the same way:

- (14) *’ǎ“ri yà xà i !gái ù*  
 what Q QF PST bite 2SG  
 “What bit you?” [CC Shori 1:28]
- (15) *’ǎ“ri yà xà i č’eõ yà l’ẽ*  
 what Q QF PST do 3SG self  
 “What happened?” [CC Shori 1:28]
- (16) *’ǎ“ri yà xà ’a kì kx’ù na*  
 what Q QF COP LK pot in  
 “What is in the pot?” [CC Shori 2:34]

The following example shows that the question word may either be moved to the clause-initial position or left in the object position. When the question word is in the object position, it is not followed by *xà* QF.

- (17) a. *’ǎ“ri yà xà ù ’a č’eõ*  
 what Q QF 2SG PROG do  
 “What are you doing?” [CC Shori 2:QUES]
- b. *ù ’a č’eõ ’ǎ“ri yà*  
 2SG PROG do what Q  
 “What are you doing?”



c. ma lhò'ò 'a č'eō llkà'a  
 1SG NEG PROG do thing  
 "I am not doing anything." [CC Shori 1:28]

(18) cì lkù cí 'ǎ'ri yà kì lkù  
 3PL yesterday see what Q LK yesterday  
 "What did they see yesterday?" [CC Shori 2:7]

(19) llkà'a ha ò 'ǎ'ri yà?  
 thing this COP what Q  
 "What is this thing?" [Utterances 1:2 349]

The following examples show that the question particle *yà* Q is optional in some cases:

(20) a. 'ǎ'ri yà xà jì 'a kíni  
 what Q QF 2PL PROG want  
 "What do you want?"

b. 'ǎ'ri jì 'a kíni  
 what 2PL PROG want  
 "What do you want?" [CC Shori 1:28]

c. n!ka'e 'a kíni čò  
 1PL.EXCL PROG want tobacco  
 "We want tobacco." [CC Shori 2:QUES]

The subject of the presentational constructions may be questioned:

(21) 'ǎ'ri yà kì kyè  
 what Q EMPH here  
 "What is this?" [CC Shori 2:34]

The subject of an identificational copula may be questioned too:

(22) a. 'ǎ'ri yà xà 'ěě  
 what Q QF it.is  
 "What is it?" [CC Shori 1:29]

b. ㊀'ú 'ěě  
 duiker it.is  
 "It is a duiker." [CC Shori 2:QUES]

There is a plural form of "what":

(23) 'ǎ'ri -qà xà 'ěě  
 what -PL QF it.is  
 "What are these?" [CC Shori 3:7]

“What” questions in Sàsí are expressed with *nda*, a question word which does not exist in #Hðǎ:

- (24) a. *nda*  
 what  
 “What is it?”
- b. *nda* ɔ'ú 'a 'ám  
 what duiker PROG eat  
 “What is the duiker eating?” [CC Sàsí 9:17]
- (25) a. *nda* 'a kî kx'ù na  
 what COP LK pot in  
 “What is in the pot?”
- b. *nda* Bakane 'a cí  
 what Bakane PROG see  
 “What does Bakane see?” [CC Sàsí 11:22]

### 25.3. “Who” Questions

Now consider “who” questions in #Hðǎ. As noted, “who” has the same form as “what”. For example, you hear somebody knocking at the door and ask who it is:

- (26) a. ù ò 'ǎ“ri yà  
 2SG COP who Q  
 “You are who?” [CC Shori 2:7]
- b. ù xà ò 'ǎ“ri yà (pronounced: xo = xa + o)  
 2SG QF COP who Q  
 “You are who?” [CC Shori 1:16]
- c. ù 'ǎ“ri  
 2SG who  
 “Who are you?” [CC Shori 2:QUES]
- d. 'ǎ“ri yà 'ěě  
 who Q it.is  
 “Who is it?” [CC Shori 2:7]

Note that in (26b), *xà* follows the subject, and the question word appears at the end of the sentence, consistent with the generalization in (7).

The following examples make a similar point, showing that when the question word is *in-situ* (in direct object position following the verb), *xà* QF can appear after the subject:

- (27) a. 'ǎ“ri yà xà kyěamà 'a bú  
 who Q QF dog PROG bark  
 “Who is the dog barking at?”
- b. kyěama xà 'a bú 'ǎ“ri yà  
 dog QF PROG bark who Q  
 “Who is the dog barking at?” [CC Shori 2:34]

When “who” asks about more than one person, the plural morpheme *-qa* is added:

- (28) a. 'ǎ“ri yà xà 'a l'í  
 who Q QF PROG cry  
 “Who is crying?”
- b. 'ǎ“ri -qà xà 'a kí -l'í  
 who -PL QF PROG PL -cry  
 “Who (PL) is crying?” [CC Shori 2:QUES]
- (29) a. ma 'a cí 'ǎ“ri (yà)  
 1SG PROG see who  
 “Who do I see?”
- b. ma 'a cí 'ǎ“ri -qà (yà)  
 1SG PROG see who -PL Q  
 “Who (PL) do I see?” [JG SLogic 63]
- c. 'ǎ“ri -qà xà ma 'a cí  
 who -PL QF 1SG PROG see  
 “Who (PL) do I see?” [CC Shori 2:QUES]

When the question word is the possessor, 'ǎ“ri without the question particle *yà* appears in possessor position. Also, the *xà* appears after the possessed noun (not directly after 'ǎ“ri “who”):

- (30) 'ǎ“ri llqǒ'e -šì xà 'a l'í  
 who child -DIM QF PROG cry  
 “Whose child is crying?” [CC Shori 5:32]
- (31) 'ǎ“ri šì kyěamà xà 'a bú  
 who POSS dog QF PROG bark  
 “Whose dog is barking?” [CC Shori 2:8]
- (32) a. ma 'a cí 'ǎ“ri šì llkà'a yà  
 1SG PROG see what POSS thing Q  
 “Whose thing do I see?” [JG SLogic 64]

- b. 'ǎ“ri šī llkà'a xà ma 'a cí  
 who POSS thing QF 1SG PROG see  
 “Whose thing do I see?” [CC Shori 2:34]

Sàsí expresses “who” questions in a similar way:

- (33) a. 'ǎli yà  
 who Q  
 “Who is it?” [CC Sàsí 9:18]
- b. 'ǎli yà Bakane 'a cí  
 who Q Bakane PROG see  
 “Who does Bakane see?” [CC Sàsí 9:17]
- c. ù 'ǎli ya  
 2SG who Q  
 “Who are you?” [CC Sàsí 9:18]

As a consequence, in Sàsí, there is a difference between “who” and “what” (*'ǎli yà* and *nda*), whereas in #Hòã there is no difference. They are both expressed by *'ǎ“ri yà*.

When “who” is the possessor in Sàsí, the question particle *yà* is not used, just as in #Hòã:

- (34) a. 'ǎli tēma 'a bú  
 who dog PROG bark  
 “Whose dog is barking?”
- b. 'ǎli llqo'e 'a l'í  
 who child PROG cry  
 “Whose child is crying?” [CC Sàsí 11:24]

#### 25.4. “Which” Questions

“Which” questions are formed with the nominal modifier *kí-llkǎi yà*. In casual speech, the *kí* in *kí-llkǎi yà* is often reduced to *í*. We will not represent this reduction in the following examples.

In the following example, the head noun is singular:

- (35) a. kyěamà kí-llkǎi yà xà 'a bú  
 dog which Q QF PROG bark  
 “Which dog is barking?” [CC Shori 2:8]
- b. kyěamà kí-llkǎi 'a bú  
 dog which PROG bark  
 “Which dog is barking?” [CC Shori 2:QUES]

In the following example, the head noun is plural, and there is no change to “which”:

- (36) a. kyěamà -qà kí-llkǎi yà xà ’a bú  
 dog -PL which Q QF PROG bark  
 “Which dogs are barking?” [CC Shori 2:8]
- b. kyěamà -qà kí-llkǎi ’a bú  
 dog -PL which PROG bark  
 “Which dogs are barking?” [CC Shori 2:QUES]

The following example illustrates “which one”. Just like with the other question words, the which-phrase may be either moved to the sentence-initial position or left in direct object position:

- (37) a. yà kí-llkǎi yà xà cì ’a kí-gyè’o  
 3SG which Q QF 3PL PROG call  
 “Which one are they calling?” [CC Shori 2:7]
- b. cì ’a kí-gyè’o yà kí-llkǎi yà  
 3PL PROG call 3SG which Q  
 “Which one are they calling?” [CC Shori 2:QUES]
- (38) yà kí-llkǎi yà xà †kùũ -’a qa’na  
 3SG which Q QF buy -PFV salt  
 “Which one bought the salt?” [CC Shori 2:7]
- (39) yà ò l’óò kí-llkǎi yà  
 3SG COP tree which Q  
 “Which tree is that?” [Utterances 2:2 174]
- (40) ù ’a †kao yà kí-llkǎi yà  
 2SG PROG like 3SG which Q  
 “Which one do you like?” [Utterances 2:2 190]
- (41) a. ù ’a cí ⊙’ú kí-llkǎi (yà)  
 2SG PROG see duiker which Q  
 “Which duiker do you see?” [JG SLogic 65]
- b. ma ’a cí llna ’ǎi za m̀ ’a  
 1SG PROG see which here beside REL COP  
 “I see the one on this side.” [CC Shori 5:25]

In Sàsí, “which” questions are formed in the same way (with the *kí-* of “which” sometimes reduced to *í-*):

- (42) a. tǎma í-llkǎi 'a bú  
 dog which PROG bark  
 “Which dog is barking?” [CC Sàsi 9:26]
- b. Ǫ'ú kí-llkǎi yà ù 'a cí  
 duiker which Q 2SG PROG see  
 “Which duiker do you see?” [CC Sàsi 2:30]

### 25.5. “When” Questions

“When” questions are a type of “which” question formed from 'ào (which we gloss as “time”) and *kí-llkǎi* “which”. However, for many speakers, the *kí-* in “which” is completely dropped (there is not even a weak [i] in its place) whenever “when” is used. Some examples to show the variation are given below.

- (43) qà'a qo č'ile kì !kôa kì 'ào kí-llkǎi yà  
 1PL.INCL FUT return LK house LK time which Q  
 “When will we return home?” [Utterances 1:2 527]

In (44a) below, the word *nako* “time” (in Setswana) is substituted for 'ào.

- (44) a. u kì- llhǎa -'a kì nako kí-llkǎi yà  
 2SG PASS give.birth -PFV LK time which Q  
 “When were you born?” [CC Shori 2:12]
- b. 'ào llkǎi yà ù kì- !kù -'a  
 time which Q 2SG PASS- give.birth -PFV  
 “When were you born?” [CC Shori 2:QUES]
- (45) 'ào llkǎi yà ù qo kyà'o kì Gaborone  
 time which Q 2SG FUT go LK Gaborone  
 “When are you going to Gaborone?” [CC Shori 5:25]
- (46) yà ča ča kì 'ào kí-llkǎi yà  
 3SG FUT come LK time which Q  
 “What time will he come?” [Utterances 2:2 182]
- (47) 'ào llkǎi yà cì i kí -kyà'o  
 time which Q 3PL PST PL -go  
 “When did they go?” [CC Shori 2:QUES]

In Sàsi, “when” questions are also based on “which” questions (*mothla* is a Setswana word meaning “a season, era, date” which is not so much used nowadays):

- (48) a. mòthé llkãĩ (motha + i + llkãĩ)  
 b. ìnthé llkãĩ  
 c. ìntháí llkãĩ [CC Sàsí 9:26]
- (49) ìnthé llkãĩ yà Bakane n!na“e tà“o  
 date which Q Bakane PST go  
 “When did Bakane go?” [CC Sàsí 10:23]

25.6. “Where” Questions

When forming a “where” question, *nyim yà* “where” (pronounced *nyimà*) is placed at the beginning of the sentence, optionally followed by *xà*. In the stories, we simply gloss *nyimà* as “where” (not “where.Q” or “where-Q”). The locative relative particle *na* must appear after the verb:

- (50) a. nyim -à ù ’a kyà“o na  
 where -Q 2SG PROG go REL  
 “Where are you going?” [CC Shori 1:36]
- b. ma ’a kyà“o kì llha na  
 1SG PROG go LK fields in  
 “I am going to the fields.” [CC Shori 2:QUES]

In getting out of the bus at a strange location, if one is lost, one can say:

- (51) nyim -à xà ma ’a na  
 where -Q QF 1SG COP REL  
 “Where am I?” [Shori 1:29]

The following questions show that even though *xà/xè* often marks the question word, it does not have to, consistent with the generalization in (7):

- (52) nyim -à xà llkà’a ’a nlnobo na  
 where -Q QF thing PROG talk REL  
 “Where is the thing talking?” [Vulture 10]
- (53) ’àm gye xà nyim -à i kyà“o na  
 1SG.GEN mother QF where -Q PST go REL  
 “Where did my mother go?” [Vulture 23]

If the verb is in the perfective, the locative relative marker follows the perfective marker:

- (54) nyim -à yà kyà“o -’a na  
 where -Q 3SG go -PFV REL  
 “Where did he go?” [JG SLogic 66]

The following sentences show that the linker *kì* normally associated with a locative disappears in a locative question. Sentence (55b) is the response to sentence (55a):

- (55) a. nyim -à yà 'a kyxái na  
 where -Q 3SG PROG dance REL  
 “Where is he dancing?” [CC Shori 1:36]
- b. !kõa na yà 'a kyxái kì  
 house in 3SG PROG dance LK  
 “He is dancing in the house.” [CC Shori 2:34]

When there is a direct object, the relative marker appears between the verb and the direct object:

- (56) nyim -à cì i kyà lhà na ɔ'ú  
 where -Q 3PL PST go.AUX hunt REL duiker  
 “Where did they go hunt a duiker?” [CC Shori 2:QUES]
- (57) nyim -à yà 'a 'ám na llkà'e  
 where -Q 3SG PROG eat REL meat  
 “Where is he eating meat?” [CC Shori 5:33]

When asking where somebody is, *nyimà* “where” directly follows or precedes the noun phrase. The locative relative particle does not appear:

- (58) a. Titi nyim -à  
 Titi where -Q  
 “Where is Titi?”
- b. nyim -à Titi  
 where -Q Titi  
 “Where is Titi?” [CC Shori 2:QUES]
- (59) a. gyá“m -lkà'a nyim -à  
 child -DIM.PL where -Q  
 “Where are the children?”
- b. nyim -à gyá“m -lkà'a  
 where -Q child -DIM.PL  
 “Where are the children?” [CC Shori 2:7]

Although “where” is most often *nyimà*, we have a few recordings where *nyim* is used instead:



- (60) a. gyá“m -lkà’a nyim  
 child -DIM.PL where  
 “Where are the children?” [CC Shori 2:QUES]
- b. ù ču nyim  
 2SG father where  
 “Where is your father?” [CC Shori 2:41]

These examples make it clear that *nyimà* should be decomposed as *nyim yà* (just like other question words that take an optional *yà*).

“Where” questions in Sàsí are formed with *namà*. They have the same syntax as “where” questions in #Hòã, both involving the locative particle *na*:

- (61) Bakane nam -à ’a !hà na O’ú  
 Bakane where -Q PROG hunt REL duiker  
 “Where is Bakane hunting the duiker?” [CC Sàsí 4:11]
- (62) a. Bakane nam -à  
 Bakane where -Q  
 “Where is Bakane?”
- b. nam -à Bakane  
 where -Q Bakane  
 “Where is Bakane?” [CC Sàsí 9:25]
- (63) nam -à cì ’a txái na  
 where -Q 3PL PROG dance REL  
 “Where are they dancing?” [CC Sàsí 9:25]

### 25.7. “How” Questions

“How” questions are formed with the particle *ší* “how” followed by the question particle *yà*. *ší yà* “how” may follow the subject or come at the beginning of the sentence.

- (64) a. bogobe -qà ší yà ’a kì- c’eõ  
 bogobe -PL how Q PROG PASS- make  
 “How is *bogobe* made?”
- b. ší yà bogobe -qà ’a kì- c’eõ  
 how Q bogobe -qa PROG PASS- make  
 “How is *bogobe* made?” [CC Shori 2:36]
- (65) ší yà ù o č’eõ cì  
 how Q 2SG FUT make 3PL  
 “How will you make it?” (meaning *bogobe*) [CC Shori 2:QUES]



- (70) a.    ší    yà    yà    yé  
           how Q    3SG be.what.size  
           “How is he in terms of size?”
- b.    yà    #kéu  
       3SG be.short  
       “He is short.”

[CC Shori 2:10]

*ší* “how” in combination with *č’ám* “be like” is used for asking about sensations (other than sight), tastes, temperature, texture, weight, and personal feelings (e.g., “be irritated”) (see JG SLogic 73 for more examples):

- (71) a.    ší    yà    č’ám           (pronounced: *šáá*)  
           how Q    be.like  
           “How is it?”
- b.    yà    kǔru  
       3SG hot  
       “It is hot.”

[CC Shori 2:36]

*ší* “how” plus the verb *’ào* “do” is a general way to ask about how something is. It includes conditions not covered under the previous categories above, and can overlap as the example below shows (see JG SLogic 74 for more examples):

- (72) a.    ší    yà    yà    ’ào    -’a    (pronounced: *šáá*)  
           how Q    3SG do    -PFV  
           “How is it?”
- b.    yà    kǔru  
       3SG hot  
       “It is hot.”

[CC Shori 2:13]

In Sàsí, the word for “how” is *llkà ší*.

- (73) llkà-ší yà cì ’a í- tà’o  
       how Q 3PL PROG PL- go  
       “How are they going?” (asking about mode of transportation) [CC Sàsí 9:19]
- (74) a.    llkà-ší yà cì ’a kì- cí  
           how Q 3PL PROG PASS- see  
           “How do they look?”
- b.    cì kì- čà’a (often pronounced: *í-*)  
       3PL PL- tall  
       “‘They are tall.”

[CC Sàsí 9:25]

## 25.8. “Why” Questions

“Why” questions are a kind of “how” question meaning “How did it happen that ...”.

- (75) šâ ù 'ao, (ù) kyà'o (šâ = ší + yà)  
 how.Q 2SG do 2SG go  
 “Why are you going?” [JG SLogic 76]
- (76) a. ší yà 'ào -'a jð lkò'a  
 how 3SG do -PFV water absent  
 “Why is there no water?” [CC Shori 2:12]
- b. ší llkà'a 'ào -'a jð lkò'a  
 how thing do -PFV water absent  
 “Why is there no water?” [CC Shori 2:QUES]
- (77) a. ší yà 'ào -'a 'àm jřiu llke xú ma  
 how 3SG do -PFV 1SG.GEN wife PST leave me  
 “Why did my wife leave me?”
- b. ší yà xà llkà'a 'ào -'a 'àm jřiu lkù xú ma  
 how Q QF thing do -PFV 1SG.GEN wife yesterday leave 1SG  
 “Why did my wife leave me yesterday?” [CC Shori 2:QUES]

Since these “why” questions are expressed with “How did it happen ...”, it is not surprising that “why” questions are also expressed with “What happened ...”:

- (78) 'ă“ri yà xà i c'eõ yà l'ě jð lkò'a  
 what Q QF PST do 3SG self water absent  
 “What happened such that there is no water?” [CC Shori 2:QUES]

Another strategy is like the English “What ... for?”:

- (79) 'a“ri yà ù 'a kyà'o šú  
 what Q 2SG PROG go give  
 “Why are you going?” [CC Shori 6:36]

Sàsí has the following kind of “why” question, and perhaps others which we have not investigated. In the following examples, the adverbial suffix *-sì* is added to *nda* “what”:

- (80) a. nda -sì jð lkò'a  
 what -ADV water absent  
 “Why is there no water?”
- b. nda -sì 'àm jău xú -'a ma  
 what -ADV 1SG.GEN wife leave -PFV 1SG  
 “Why did my wife leave me?” [CC Sàsí 12:7]

Sàsí also has the “What ... for?” construction:

- (81) nda ù 'a tà“o šú  
 What 2SG PROG go give  
 “Why are you going?” [CC Sàsí 12:23, 2:31]

### 25.9. “How Many/Much” Questions

“How many” questions are formed using *kò*. “How much” questions are formed using *yé* “be how (in terms of size)”.

- (82) ší yà cì kò kì 'āi kì  
 how Q 3PL how.many LK here EMPH  
 “How many (people) are here?” [CC Shori 2:11]

- (83) a. cì ší kò  
 3PL how how.many  
 “How many are there?” (e.g., people) [CC Shori 2:QUES]

- b. ší yà cì kò (pronounced: *šáá*)  
 how Q 3PL how.many  
 “How many are there?” (e.g., people) [CC Shori 2:36]

- (84) ù 'a ke gðme -qà 'a ší m kò yà  
 3SG COP with cow -PL REL how REL how.many Q  
 “How many cows do you have?” [CC Shori 2:9]

- (85) ší yà jð kì yé  
 how Q water EMPH be.how  
 “How much water is there?” [CC Shori 2:11]

- (86) ù 'a ke jð 'a ší m yé yà  
 2SG COP with water which how REL be.how Q  
 “How much water do you have?” [CC Shori 2:QUES]

The following examples show that *kò* cannot be used in “how much” (mass) questions:

- (87) a. jð šâ yé  
 water how.Q how.much  
 “How much water is there?”  
 b. \*jð šâ kò  
 water how.Q how.many

- c. llkà'a šâ yé  
 thing how.Q how.much  
 “How big is the thing?”
- d. \*llkà'a šâ kò  
 thing how.Q how.many [JG SLogic 77]

However, *yé* can also be used for “how many” questions:

- (88) a. ☉'ú -qà šâ {kò/yé}  
 duiker -PL how how.many/much  
 “How many duikers are there?”
- b. šâ ☉'u -qà {kò/yé}  
 how duiker -PL how.many/much
- c. ma 'a cí ☉'ú -qà llna -qà  
 1SG PROG see duiker -PL which -PL  
 šâ ìn {kò/yé}  
 how REL how.much/many  
 “I see how many duikers.” [JG SLogic 77]

Neither *kò* “how many” nor *yé* “how much” can occur with the imperfective or perfective particles (and hence they fall together with predicate adjectives):

- (89) a. ?\*šâ ☉'ú -qà 'a {yé/kò}  
 how duiker -PL PROG how.much/many
- b. ?\*šâ ☉'ú -qà {yé/kò} -'a  
 how duiker-PL {how.much/many} -PFV [JG SLogic 77]

“How many” and “how much” questions are based on “how” questions in the same way in Sàsí:

- (90) a. llkà-ší yà cì kò  
 how Q 3PL how.many  
 “How many are there?”
- b. ù 'a ka kì jö ka llkà-ší ìn yé yà  
 2SG COP with LK water which how REL how.much Q  
 “How many cows do you have?” [CC Sàsí 11:17]

25.10. Summary of Question Words

Here is a summary of the question words:

(91)	‡Hðǎ		Sàsí	
yes-no		yà		yà
who	’ǎ“ri	yà	nda	
what	’ǎ“ri	yà	’ǎli	yà
where	nyim	yà	nam	yà
	(pronounced: <i>nyimà</i> )		(pronounced: <i>namà</i> )	
which	kí-llkǎi	yà	kí-llkǎi	yà
when	’ào (kí) llkǎi	yà	mothé llkǎi	yà
how	ǎi	yà	llkà ǎi	yà
	(pronounced: <i>ǎǎi</i> )			

“When” questions are a kind of “which” question. “Why”, “how much” and “how many” questions are a kind of “how” question in both languages.

25.11. Embedded Questions

Embedded questions are often formed with relative clauses. (92a, b) are locative relatives, and (92c) is a subject relative.

(92)	a.	ma	lhð’õ	cí	-’a	Thabo	’ú	’a	na		
		1SG	NEG	know	-PFV	Thabo	far	COP	REL		
		“I don’t know where Thabo is.”							[CC Shori 6:10]		
	b.	ma	o	kí-cǎ	cì	i	kí-	kyà“o	na		
		1SG	FUT	ask	3PL	PST	PL-	go	REL		
		“I will ask where they went.”							[CC Shori 6:10]		
	c.	ma	lhð’õ	cí	-’a	’a	m̀	’a	kì	!kôa	na
		1SG	NEG	know	-PFV	which	REL	COP	LK	house	in
		“I don’t know who is in the house.”							[CC Shori 6:12]		

It is also possible to have questions directly embedded under *xore* “that” (a lexical borrowing from Setswana):

(93)	a.	ma	lhð’õ	cí	-’a	xore	Thabo	nyimà	
		1SG	NEG	know	-PFV	that	Thabo	where	
		“I don’t know where Thabo is.”							[CC Shori 6:37]
	b.	kí-cǎ	cì	xore	’ǎ“ri	’a	kì	!kôa	na
		ask	3PL	that	who	COP	LK	house	in
		“Ask them who is in the house!”							[CC Shori 6:12]

- c. kí-cā cì xore 'ă“ri yà 'a kì !kôa na  
 ask 3PL that who COP Q LK house in  
 “Ask them who is in the house!” [CC Shori 6:37]
- d. cì cí -'a xore bogobe-qà ší 'a kì- č'eõ  
 3PL know -PFV that bogobe-PL how IPFV PASS- make  
 “They know how *bogobe* is made.” [CC Shori 6:12]
- e. cì cí -'a xore ší bogobe 'a kì- č'eõ  
 3PL know -PFV that how bogobe IPFV PASS- make  
 “They know how *bogobe* is made.” [CC Shori 12:37]



## 26. Focus and Topic

We have not systematically studied the expression of focus in #Hòã. However, we can make a few remarks. The work in this section is based on the Shorilatholo consultants. In general, focus is expressed by using intonation and word order. As noted in chapter 25, the particle *xè/xà* is used to express focus in questions. Cleft constructions (involving a copula, such as “It is John that I saw”) are not naturally used, and do not appear in any of the stories.

Consider first the answer to a “who” question. In the following scenario, there is a dance contest, and several people are going to dance. Then the organizer asks: Who is dancing?

(1) a.    ʔã“ri   yà    xà    ’a    kyxái  
          who   Q    QF    PROG dance  
          “Who is dancing?”

      b.    maa    ’a    kyxái  
          1SG   PROG dance  
          “I am dancing.”

[CC Shori 3:28]

The response involves drawing a distinction between me and the others in the contest. One needs to compare the intonation of the answer with the intonation of a neutral statement of “I am dancing” (a statement which is not a response to a “who” question):

(2)   ma    ’a    kyxái  
      1SG   PROG dance  
      “I am dancing.”

[CC Shori 3:28]

There are two differences between (1b) and (2). First, the duration of the pronoun is much greater in (1b). Second, there is a dropping pitch from an extra-high level in (1b), whereas (2) has its normal mid-tone (which also drops a bit). The answer in (1b) corresponds to the Setswana sentence *go bina nna* “I am dancing” where the *nna* is the independent form of the pronoun.

A similar difference can be detected with proper names:

(3)   Thabo       ’a    kyxai  
      Thabo       PROG dance  
      “Thabo is dancing.”

[CC Shori:FOC]

When this sentence is the answer to the question “Who is dancing?”, then the final vowel of *Thabo* is prolonged. When this sentence is the answer to the question “What is Thabo doing?”, then there is no such final lengthening of the vowel of *Thabo*.

In Sàsí, a similar lengthening of the vowel takes place in a similar context:

- (4) maa 'a txái  
 1SG PROG dance  
 “I am dancing.” [CC Sàsí 12:6]

For object questions in #Hòǎ, there is a change in intonation, but in addition, the object pronoun may optionally be fronted. In the following scenario, some people are sitting at a house, and a group of policemen are approaching the house. If the question is “Who do they want?”, the response can be:

- (5) a. maa cì 'a kını  
 1SG 3PL PROG want  
 “They want ME.” [CC Shori 3:28]
- b. cì 'a kını maa  
 3PL PROG want 1SG  
 “They want ME.” [CC Shori 4:FOC]

Once again the vowel of the pronoun is lengthened, and the pitch drops from extra-high. The fronting of the focused pronoun seems to be optional. The answer corresponds to the Setswana sentence *ba batla nna* “They want me”, once again using the independent form of the pronoun.

In Sàsí, one uses word order and intonation in an identical way to signal focus:

- (6) maa cì 'a †kè  
 1SG 3PL PROG want  
 “They want ME.” [CC Sàsí 12:6]

Environments of contrastive focus use the same strategy that is used in responses to questions. Suppose that I hear somebody is sick at the place I am visiting. So I ask “Is Thabo sick?”, and the response is “No, it is me who is sick.” This is rendered in #Hòǎ as the following, with the characteristic lengthening of the vowel of the pronoun.

- (7) maa 'a cǎ  
 1SG PROG sick  
 “It is me who is sick.” [CC Shori 3:31]

If, on the other hand, I see you and you look sick, so I ask “What is the matter?”, the response is:

- (8) ma 'a cǎ  
 1SG PROG sick  
 “I am sick.” [CC Shori:FOC]

In this sentence, the length of the vowel of the 1SG pronoun is short, not long.

A similar strategy is used when the object is contrastively focused. If we see the police coming to the house, and I ask “Do they want Thabo?”, the response is “No, it is me that they want.”

(9) a. maa cì 'a ḱini  
 1SG 3PL PROG want  
 “It is me that they want.” [CC Shori 3:31]

b. cì 'a ḱini maa  
 3PL PROG want 1SG  
 “It is me that they want.” [CC Shori 4:FOC]

The same lengthening and fronting is found with the other pronouns. As noted, the fronting seems to be optional.

(10) a. ùu cì 'a ḱini  
 2SG 3PL PROG want  
 b. yàa cì 'a ḱini  
 3SG 3PL PROG want  
 c. j̄i cì 'a ḱini  
 2PL 3PL PROG want  
 d. cìi cì 'a ḱini  
 3PL 3PL PROG want [CC Shori 4:31]

Consider now the response to the question “Who wants tea and who wants coffee?” The response involves the use of *ha ki* “this EMPH” modifying the pronoun. The use of *ha ki* adds the idea of “as for me”, which is a topic (see also JG SLogic 109):

(11) ma ha k̀i 'a ḱini tea  
 1SG this EMPH PROG want tea  
 “I want tea.”  
 cì ha k̀i 'a ḱini koshwi  
 3PL this EMPH PROG want coffee  
 “They want coffee.” [CC Shori 3:30]

Similarly, in the following scenario, we are at the lands (“farm”), and there is no food. So one person must get food, while the other stays and watches the lands. Once again, *ha ki* conveys “as for you”:

(12) a. ma ha k̀i 'a kyà'o  
 1SG this EMPH PROG go  
 “I am going.”

b.    ù     ha    kì    'a     salà  
       2SG   this   EMPH PROG   remain

“You are staying.”

[CC Shori 3:30]

In Sàsí, one uses the same construction, except that *kì* is replaced by *tì*.

(13) ma    ha    tì     'a        tà“o  
       1SG   this   EMPH   PROG     go

“I am going.”

ù     ha    tì     'a        sarà  
       2SG   this   EMPH PROG     remain

“You are staying.”

[CC Sàsí 12:6]

## References

- Baker, Mark & Chris Collins. 2006. Linkers and the internal structure of vP. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 24: 307-54.
- Bell, Arthur & Chris Collins. 2001. #Hoan and the typology of click accompaniments in Khoisan. In: Arthur Bell & Paul Washburn (eds.), *Khoisan: Syntax, Phonetics, Phonology and Contact*. (Cornell Working Papers in Linguistics, 18.) Ithaca, NY: CLC Publications, 126-53.
- Chebanne, Andy & Chris Collins. 2012. Tense and Aspect in Kua: A Preliminary Assessment. Ms., University of Botswana and New York University.
- Collins, Chris. 1998a. *Plurality in #Hoan*. (Khoisan Forum, Working Paper 9.) Köln: Institut für Afrikanistik, Universität zu Köln.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1998b. The Extraction of Adjuncts in #Hðã. Talk given at the Department of Linguistics, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1999. Field Notes on #Hðã and Sàsí. Ms.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2001. Aspects of plurality in #Hðã. *Language* 77: 456-76.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2002. Multiple verb movement in #Hoan. *Linguistic Inquiry* 33: 1-29.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2003. The internal structure of vP in Jul'hoãsi and #Hoã. *Studia Linguistica* 57: 1-25.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2004. The absence of the linker in double object constructions in N!uu. *Studies in African Linguistics* 33: 163-98.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2006. Notes on \*LK <gap> in Non-Central Khoisan. Talk given at the "Tales of the Missing Link" Conference, New York University.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2012. A Preliminary Analysis of the Tonal System of #Hðã. Ms., New York University.
- Collins, Chris & Henry Honken. 2012a. The Plural Prefix in Kx'a, !Ui and Taa. Ms., New York University.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2012b. The Linker in Kx'a, !Ui and Taa. Ms., New York University.
- Collins, Chris & Levi Namaseb. 2011. *A Grammatical Sketch of N!uuki with Stories*. (Research in Khoisan Studies, 25.) Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1976. *Aspect*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dickens, Patrick. 1994. *English-Jul'hoan, Jul'hoan-English Dictionary*. (Research in Khoisan Studies, 8.) Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2005. *A Concise Grammar of Jul'hoan, with a Jul'hoan-English glossary and a subject index*. Edited by Rainer Vossen & Megan Biese. (Research in Khoisan Studies, 17.) Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Gruber, Jeffrey S. 1973. Kinship terms in #Hoã. *Linguistic Inquiry* 4: 427-49.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1975a. Plural predicates in #Hoã. In: Anthony Traill (ed.), *Bushman and Hottentot Linguistic Studies*. (A.S.I. Communication, 2.) Johannesburg: African Studies Institute, University of the Witwatersrand, 1-50.

- Gruber, Jeffrey S. 1975b. Bushman Languages of the Kalahari: #Hoã – vocabulary – stems, #Hoã – vocabulary – recorded utterances. Technical project report to the National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington DC.
- \_\_\_\_ 1975c. #Hoã Grammatical Notes and Vocabulary. Ms.
- \_\_\_\_ 1975d. The Structure of Bushman Verb Juxtaposition. Ms.
- \_\_\_\_ 1975e. The Expression of the Agentive Noun Derived from the Verb. Ms.
- Heine, Bernd & Henry Honken. 2010. The Kx'a family: a new Khoisan genealogy. *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 79: 5-36.
- Honken, Henry. 2010. #Hoã as a Northern Khoesan Language. Ms.
- Sands, Bonny, Andy Chebanne & Sheena Shah. 2010. #Hoan Wordlist. Ms.
- Traill, Anthony. 1973. 'N4 or S7': another Bushman language. *African Studies* 32: 25-32.
- \_\_\_\_ 1974. Westphal on 'N4 or S7': a reply. *African Studies* 33: 249-55.
- \_\_\_\_ 1980. Phonetic diversity in the Khoisan languages. In: Jan W. Snyman (ed.), *Bushman and Hottentot Linguistic Studies*. Pretoria: University of South Africa, 167-89.
- Westphal, Ernst O.J. 1974. Notes on A. Traill 'N4 or S7'. *African Studies* 33: 243-47.