

Click Consonants in Contact

*A Comparative Sociohistorical Analysis
with Special Reference to Nama-Afrikaans Contact*

a thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR of PHILOSOPHY

*in Linguistics
at Rhodes University*

by

Camilla Rose Christie

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1072-9650>

Abstract

Despite their ubiquity across southern Africa, click consonants are among the world's most poorly understood speech sounds. Details of their phonological behaviour during language contact remain unclear, in large part because of the under-documentation of contact events of marginalised languages in rural contexts. Working within a sociohistorical linguistic framework with reference to material socioeconomic theories of language contact, this thesis compares and contrasts the diachronic phonological outcomes of various click loan events.

The primary event under investigation is the donation of loanwords from an endangered click language, Nama, via substrate interference with the lexicon of a socially dominant clickless language, Afrikaans, in the Namaqualand region of the Northern Cape. The phonological adaptations employed to integrate donated lexical material into a host grammar ought ordinarily to be fairly regular, but the cross-linguistic rarity of click consonants complicates this process. The twenty click consonants expected of Nama undergo phonemic neutralisation when realised in Namaqualand Afrikaans, such that contrast embedded in click 'type' and click 'accompaniment' is collapsed. Speakers of Namaqualand Afrikaans employ any click type when uttering any click word, and may even use different click types in different tokens of the same lexical item. This unpredictability neutralises contrast. Nonetheless, there is some evidence of a diachronic trend from the unpredictable use of multiple click types and accompaniments toward the stable use of only the linguopulmonic dental click.

When these novel data are set against the phonological outcomes of other contact events between a click language and a clickless languages across southern Africa, the normal outcome of click loan under is shown to be the collapse of 'type' contrasts. An important outlier is the large 'type'-contrasting click inventory still shared by isiXhosa and isiZulu long after the extinction of donor click languages in the Khoekhoe branch, suggesting that this contact event must historically have entailed sustained community-wide bilingualism. These comparative observations are used to develop a cross-linguistic typology of click loan events that aims to improve our understanding of the precolonial linguistic landscape of southern Africa. The improved documentation of click consonants in rural language varieties is urgently recommended.

Acknowledgements

‡Âureb tamab, ‡aroreb ge.

‘It’s not all berry-picking. It’s harvesting thorn trees too.’
(Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 377)

Inyaka yakha ngoboya bezinye.

‘A bird builds [its nest] with other birds’ feathers.’
(Calana 2002: 25).

primi inter pares I must thank my supervisors, Prof. Will Bennett & Prof. Mark de Vos. Will repeatedly went beyond the call of duty during field research, from gamely hunting down the only wifi in Springbok to facilitate an urgent Zoom session, to making a heroic twelve-hour drive from Hondeklipbaai to Cape Town and back again to ensure that our research assistant got safely onto the right bus. Mark served as the much-needed voice of reason, stepping in with tempering insight whenever Will and I got too excited about clicks, tirelessly reading and reviewing my sociohistorical writing, and offering kind and important advice on publishing and research.

*

L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans data used for this project were provided by an anonymous consultant from Nababeep; Marsilino MacDonald; two anonymous consultants from Steinkopf; Gert Strauss; Mariane Papier; Gert Engelbrecht; Gertruide Hakskeen; Dira Davids; an anonymous consultant from Bergsig; Anna Engelbrecht; Catherine van Wyk; LeÉve Fillis; an anonymous consultant from Matjieskloof; Adam Willem; Sarah Maerman; Andy Pienaar; Marilyn Jaars; an anonymous consultant from Paulshoek; an anonymous consultant from Leliefontein; Corneels Links; an anonymous consultant from Klipfontein; and three anonymous consultants from Okiep. Many of these Namaqualanders spoke of the shame and isolation that their L1 Nama parents or grandparents historically faced, while many others expressed regret that they had never had the opportunity to acquire the language to fluency themselves. That Nama has survived in their Namaqualand Afrikaans lexis at all is a testament to linguistic resilience against all odds.

L1 Nama data were provided by Ina Basson & Elias Basson; Dorothea Davids; Charlotte Links; Paul Vogelsang & Fredricka Vogelsang; and fellow Rhodes University student Elaine Konjore. Language conservation is not only a cultural imperative but also a scientific duty. These speakers are the frontline defenders of language diversity in an increasingly homogenised global landscape, and as such deserve better academic support and respect than they have had. I sincerely hope that this thesis can contribute in some small way to rousing academic interest in the Nama language in South Africa, while also encouraging collaboration and solidarity between L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans speakers seeking to learn more about their linguistic heritage and L1 Nama speakers fighting to keep their language alive.

The efficiency of data collection was greatly improved during the April 2021 trip by the assistance of our two interpreters, Meitjie Diko and Sheldan Dolf, whose presence helped us to break the ice, explain technical details, and foster good relations with our consultants. Both also provided valuable insight into non-standard dialects of Coloured

Afrikaans, including unexpected but fascinating click items from their own repertoires, confirming that there remains rich regional variation awaiting study. I am immensely grateful for their help, and am only sorry that we did not have more opportunities to work together.

Other knowledgeable Namaqualand residents who welcomed, advised, and assisted us included Leticia van Wyk, Paul Swartbooi, Malcolm Mostert, Dina Christiaan, and the friendly and helpful staff of Radio Namakwa FM. I am also grateful to Piet van Wyk for sharing some of his early efforts at capturing Richtersveld Nama plant names with me, and eagerly await their publication.

*

I am forever grateful to the staff and students of the RU Department of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies. My time here has been greatly enriched by my fellow postgraduate tutors, who were a constant source of GIFs and solidarity. Sasha-Lee Schaffli could always be relied upon to commiserate about the woes of postgrad over tea. Erwina Karupu generously recorded a set of L1 ruManyo click consonants for us and shared valuable insights from her MA research into ruManyo literacy. Onelisa Slater was a welcome fellow SAMWOPer in the foreign land of Potchefstroom. I also benefited immensely from discussions with some of the only other brave souls in the department to undertake click research, including Kelly Kilian, Tyler Miller, and Andrea Harrison.

I feel privileged to have spent the past five years working and studying *emaXhoseni*. The value to this thesis of lecturing and tutoring undergraduate L1 speakers of click languages, and of listening to their anecdotes and observations on their own language usage, cannot be overstated. I must also mention the lecturers in the African Languages section of the SLL, including Ms Bulelwa Nosilela, Prof. Russel Kaschula, Ms Ntosh Mazwi, and especially the late Prof. Mhlobo Jadezwi, whose wonderful classes on isiXhosa language and culture greatly expanded my initial interest in Eastern Cape language history. September will always be eyoMsintsi to me.

*

Outside of RU, I must mention Dr Bonny Sands, whose steadfast commitment to accessibility sets the standard for all researchers in the global north, and Dr Kerry-Lee Jones, both for calling my attention to the existence of Prinsloo 2008 and for offering many kind words of support. They are in many way my ethical role models. Together they ensured that I had access to the long-awaited Nluuki dictionary within a fortnight of its publication, which not only allowed for improved !Ui-branch comparison, but also considerably bolstered my spirits in the last difficult months of this project and reminded me of the value of perseverance.

Dr Hilde Gunnink was generous with time and advice and provided copies of upcoming publications, many of which were integral to the writing of Chapters 11 & 12. Dr Menán du Plessis was always willing to help me track down obscure references and long-lost papers, and also shared drafts of her forthcoming IXam dictionary, which greatly facilitated !Ui-branch comparison. Dr Lee Pritchett and Dr Alena Witzlack-Makarevich provided exciting opportunities to share some of my preliminary findings with the extended KBA Network, members of which offered valuable commentary.

I must also thank Dr Kristina Riedel and Hlumela Mkabile of the University of the Free State for organising and hosting the Seshegopuo Winter School at the UFS campus during July 2022. This not only gave me the opportunity to connect with L1 seSotho-speaking postgraduates in Linguistics, whom I thoroughly enjoyed meeting, but also to record two sets of L1 seSotho click consonants from anonymous consultants whose time and assistance I deeply appreciate. Dr Erin Pretorius and Dr Ian Bekker, who organised and hosted SAMWOPs 9 and 10 respectively, are similarly to be commended for strengthening collegiate relations between formal linguists in South Africa. These workshops offered me the opportunity to meet and talk to Dr Michel Lafon, Dr Peniah Mabaso, and Fr Simon Donnelly, all of whom recommended resources and offered valuable input.

I am further grateful to fellow South African postgraduates currently working with post-shift Khoekhoe communities, Martin Mössmer and Sharon Gabie, for talking to me about their important work and sharing their data.

*

I am indebted to interlibrary loan staff at RU Library, particularly Rina Goosen, for humouring my increasingly bizarre requests for obscure resources. The NLSA assisted in providing access to certain early Cape manuscripts. Lauren Rushby & Hajiera Davids at UCT Special Collections and Susan Marsh & Nikki Haw at UP Onderstepoort Veterinary Library were instrumental in tracking down and digitising 19th-century resources containing early attestations of certain important loanwords. Dr Viktoria Kempf and Carmen Geisenheyner arranged for the digitisation of back issues of *Afrika und Übersee*. Christian Froese of the Vereinte Evangelische Mission archives very kindly assisted me in gaining access to digital copies of Rev. J. F. Hein's letters and diaries. Staff members Marcel Klein and Christian Rooi at the Garden Route NBG confirmed an especially obscure plant name.

*

Dr Patrick Lenahan offered wonderful historical discussion during nature walks and recommended many valuable resources on Eastern Cape history. Prof. Molly Brown invited me to join much-needed holidays and always made me feel very much at home. Claire Lenahan kindly recommended beginner-friendly GIS software and resources. I am aware how privileged I am to have a family that so wholeheartedly supports my academic pursuits, and so I must thank my parents for their encouragement and enthusiasm throughout. My sister Aurora Christie and her partner Zain Kariem frequently hosted me at their Cape Town home on frantic stopovers between research trips, conferences, and archive viewings, providing crucial access to hot tea and small cats. *longi sola laboris conscia* Helen Lenahan με έκπλήττει διαισθανόμενον ὅτι οὐδ' οἱ σύμπαντες ἄλλοι φίλοι τε καὶ οἰκεῖοι μοῖραν φιλίας οὐδεμίαν παρέχονται πρὸς τὸν ἔνθεον φίλον.

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgments	ii
List of Figures, Diagrams, Tables, & Maps	xii
List of Figures & Diagrams	xii
List of Tables	xiii
List of Maps	xiv
Notes on Formatting, Abbreviations, & Translation	xv
Formatting Conventions	xv
Common Lexicographic Abbreviations	xv
Common Optimality Theory Abbreviations	xvi
Comparative Linguistic Conventions	xvii
Notes on Racial Terminology	xix
Notes on Translation	xix
Notes on Illustrations	xix
Introduction	1
PART 1 – Compilation	7
Chapter 1 – Some Sociohistorical Contexts of Loan: A Literature Review	8
1.1. Contact, Colonialism, & Shift	8
1.1.1. Language Contact in Settler-Colonial Contexts	8
1.1.2. Colonialism & Language Endangerment	10
1.1.3. Colonialism & Language Shift	11
1.1.4. Common Characteristics of Endangered & Moribund Languages	16
1.2. Contact-induced Change in the Lexicon	18
1.2.1. Lexical Influence as a Contact Phenomenon	19
1.2.2. Bilingualism & Lexical Influence	21
1.2.3. Phonological Adaptation of Lexical Borrowings	25
1.3. Click Consonants	27
1.3.1. The Phonetics & Phonology of Click Consonants	28
1.3.2. Non-Native Perception & Adaptation of Click Consonants	32
1.3.3. The Cross-Linguistic Distribution of Click Consonants	38
1.4. Research Questions & Conclusions to the Literature Review	41
Chapter 2 – A History of Language Shift in Namaqualand	43

2.1. The Khoekhoe-Branch Languages	43
2.1.1. The KHOE Language Family	43
2.1.2. The Historical Distribution of Khoekhoe-branch Languages in South Africa	45
2.2. A Brief Historical Overview of Cape Dutch-Khoekhoe Language Contact	47
2.1.1. Cape Dutch and *Cape Khoekhoe	47
2.1.2. Afrikaans and †Kora	49
2.1.3. Afrikaans and *Eastern Khoekhoe	51
2.3. Language & Evangelism in Klein Namaland: 1816 – 1846	53
2.3.1. A Geographical Sketch of Klein Namaland	57
2.3.2. The Leliefontein Mission	59
2.3.3. The Kookfontein Gospels	66
2.3.4. The Kuboes Bossiekerk	72
2.3.5. The Impact of Evangelism on the Nama Language	76
2.4. Linguistic Impacts of Colonial Socioeconomic Restructuring in Klein Namaland	78
2.4.1. Race, Labour, Language: 1847 – 1913	78
2.4.2. Capitalism on the Coloured Reserves: 1913 – 1994	86
2.5. The Present Status of Nama in South Africa	91
2.5.1. Socioeconomic Conditions in Modern Namaqualand	91
2.5.2. A Modern Language Emergency: 1994 – 2019	92
2.6. Drivers of Shift in Namaqualand: Some Conclusions	94
Chapter 3 – A Corpus of Click Consonants in Regional Afrikaans	97
3.1. Khoekhoe-branch Influence on Afrikaans: The Current Consensus	97
3.1.1. Morphosyntactic Influence	97
3.1.2. Lexical Influence	99
3.1.3. Predicting Clicks in Regional Afrikaans	104
3.2. Compiling a Corpus	106
3.2.1. Selection of Sources	106
3.2.2. A Representative Review of Four Primary Sources	107
3.2.3. Including Items in the Corpus	114
3.2.4. Excluding Items from the Corpus	115
3.3. Analysing the Corpus	118
3.3.1. Preliminary Phonological Observations	119
3.3.2. Semantic Distribution of Items	122
3.3.3. The Degree of Lexical Interference	130
3.4. Conclusions on the Corpus	132

PART 2 – Replication	133
Chapter 4 – Methods for Documenting Namaqualand Afrikaans Clicks	134
4.1 Preliminaries to the Project	134
4.1.1. Aim & Scope of Data Collection	134
4.1.2. Selection of Research Area	135
4.1.3. Selection of Participants	136
4.2. Project Design	138
4.2.1. Selecting Items for Elicitation	139
4.2.2. Stimulus & Orthography	143
4.3. Ethical & Practical Considerations	146
4.3.1. Ethical Clearance	146
4.3.2. Additional Covid-19 Safety Protocols	148
4.3.3. Translation & Transcription	149
4.4. Summary of the Data Collection Process	150
Chapter 5 – Namaqualand Afrikaans Click Consonants Collected in the Field	152
5.1. Detailed Transcription Practices	152
5.1.1. Transcribing Click Type	152
5.1.2. Transcribing Click Accompaniment	153
5.2. Coding of Consultants	154
5.3. Control Data – L1 Nama	155
5.4. Non-Standardised Test Data – L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans	156
5.4.1. Non-Standardised Test Data: Pilot Trip	156
5.4.2. Non-Standard Test Data: Second Trip	158
5.5. Standardised Test Data – L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans	161
5.5.1 Standardised Test Data: Second Trip	161
5.5.1 Standardised Test Data: Third Trip	174
5.6. Data Collated	181
5.6.1. All Nama Lexical Items Collected from Namaqualand Afrikaans	181
5.6.2. All Click Consonants Collected from Namaqualand Afrikaans	186
5.7. Conclustions to Chapter 5	187
Chapter 6 – Phonetic Description of Clicks in Namaqualand Afrikaans	188
6.1. Phonetic Description of Anterior Releases	188
6.1.1. Articulatory Undershoot of the Anterior Release	188
6.1.2. Description of Alveolar Clicks	189
6.1.3. Description of Dental and Palatal Clicks	193

6.1.4. Description of Lateral Clicks	200
6.1.5. General Trends of Click Type in Namaqualand Afrikaans	200
6.2. Phonetic Description of Anterior Releases & Accompaniments	211
6.2.1. Description & Discussion of the Audible Dorsal Release	211
6.2.2. Description & Discussion of the Ejective Accompaniment	215
6.2.3. Description & Discussion of the Nasal Linguopulmonic Accompaniment	217
6.2.4. Other Frequent Click Accompaniments	221
6.2.5. Rare or Idiosyncratic Accompaniments	222
6.3. Instances of Click Evanescence & Click Loss	223
6.3.1. Click Evanescence	223
6.3.2. Click Loss	224
6.4. Miscellaneous Phonological Adaptations	228
6.4.1. Adaptation of Tone	228
6.4.2. Adaptation of Vowels	229
6.5. Conclusions to Chapter 6	231
Chapter 7 – Consistency and Variation of Clicks in Namaqualand Afrikaans	232
7.1. Intraspeaker Click Inventories	232
7.1.1. Intraspeaker of Variation on Click Type	232
7.1.2. Intraspeaker of Variation on Click Accompaniment	235
7.1.3. Intraspeaker Consistency in Click Type and Accompaniment	237
7.2. Interspeaker Variation in Click Usage	239
7.2.1 Challenges in Analysing Interspeaker Variation	239
7.2.2. Interspeaker Variation on Glottalised, Affricated & Aspirated Input Clicks	242
7.2.3. Interspeaker Variation on <i>tenuis</i> Input Clicks	247
7.2.4. Interspeaker Variation on Nasalised Input Clicks	250
7.2.5. Discussion of Interspeaker Consistency and Variation	252
7.3. Regional Interspeaker Variation	253
7.4. Conclusions to Chapter 7	259
Chapter 8 – Click Neutralisation in Context	260
8.1. Neutralised Clicks in Daily Discourse	260
8.1.1. Lexical Extension	260
8.1.2. Homophony, Conflation, & Folk Etymology	262
8.2. Homophony in Context	272
8.2.1. Metalinguistic Awareness of Homophony	273
8.2.2. Redressing Homophony	278
8.3. Conclusions to Chapter 8	287

Chapter 9 – Contemporary Sociolinguistic Commentary	288
9.1. Contemporary Sociolinguistic Commentary by Consultants	288
9.1.1. Literacy & Orthography	288
9.1.2. Descriptions of Code-Mixed Input	290
9.2. Language Attitudes in Namaqualand	297
9.2.1 L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans Language Attitudes	297
9.2.2. L1 Nama Language Attitudes	304
9.3. Conclusion to Chapter 9: Commonalities in Language Attitudes	313
Chapter 10 – Nama Substrate Interference with Namaqualand Afrikaans: Lexical & Phonological Outcomes of Language Shift	316
10.1. Reconstructing the Input: Morphosyntactic Clues	316
10.1.1. Loss of PGN Marking	316
10.1.2. Application of Afrikaans Morphology	317
10.1.3. Productivity of Loanblends	320
10.2. Establishment of Loanwords via Substrate Interference	325
10.2.1. Distribution of Loaned Nama Items across Consultants	325
10.2.2. Distribution of Loaned Nama Items across Semantics Categories	328
10.2.3. Caretaker Codeswitching	334
10.3. Conditioning a X-Variety	336
10.4. All This Individuality: Sociohistorical Conclusions	341
PART 3 – Comparison	344
Chapter 11 – Neutralisation of Type Contrasts in Comparable Instances of Click Loan	345
11.1 Comparable Instances of Click Loan in WEST GERMANIC	345
11.1.1. Click Loan from Kora as ‘Khoemana’	345
11.1.2. Click Loan from Kora and Ixam as ‘Tum’i’	347
11.1.3. Click Loan from ‘Xri’	348
11.2. Well-Studied Instances of Click Loan in Southwestern NTU (swB)	348
11.2.1. Overview of Click Loan in swB	348
11.2.2. New Insights into Click Loss in ruManyo	353
11.2.3. Difficulties with shiYeyi	358
11.3. Understudied Instances of Clicks in Southeastern NTU (seB)	360
11.3.1. Click Loan in Tswa-Rongo	360
11.3.2. Click Loan in seSotho	362
11.3.3. Click Replacement in seTswana	371

11.4 Clicks in the isiTekela Languages	372
11.4.1. Internal Descent Relations in Nguni	373
11.4.2. Click Consonants in siSwati	377
11.4.3. Click Consonants in ST isiNdebele and NT Sindebele	379
11.4.4. Click Consonants in siPhuthi	382
11.4.5. Summary of Click Consonants in isiTekela	386
11.5. Conclusions to Chapter 11	387
Chapter 12 – Preservation of Type Contrast: The Click Diffusion Problem	388
12.1. Some Problems in Khoekhoe-isiZunda Contact	388
12.1.1. The Click Diffusion Problem	389
12.1.2. Lexical & Phonological Influence of Khoekhoe on isiZunda	391
12.1.3. Innovation of Clicks on *proto-NTU Roots	395
12.2. Practical Approaches to Explicating Khoekhoe-isiZunda Contact	399
12.2.1. A Revised List of Khoekhoe-isiZunda Loanwords	399
12.2.2. A Note on Long-Distance Correspondences	400
12.2.3. Comparative Phonological Findings	401
12.2.4. A Restatement of the Click Diffusion Problem	407
12.3. Historical Sociolinguistic Explanations for the Click Diffusion Problem	409
12.3.1. Against Identity: A Review of <i>isiHlonipha</i> Theory	409
12.3.2. Against Substrate Interference: The Case for Predominant Bilingualism	412
12.3.3. A Straight Sword for a Tangled Knot	414
12.4. Conclusion to Chapter 12: Towards a Typology of Click Loan Events	419
Conclusions & Recommendations	422
13.1 Historical Socioeconomic Drivers of the Nama-Afrikaans Shift Event	422
13.2 Nama Substrate Interference with Namaqualand Afrikaans	425
13.2.1. Clicks in Namaqualand Afrikaans	425
13.2.2. Idiosyncratic Post-shift Lexical Retention	427
13.2.3. Constraints & Conditions	429
13.3 A Comparative Assessment of Click Loan	431
13.3.1. Similar Outcomes	431
13.3.2. Different Outcomes	433
13.4 Final Recommendations	434
References & Sources	437

APPENDIX A – An Etymological Corpus of Click Items in Afrikaans

Preamble to Appendix A

A1 Corpus Proper

A2 Corpus Irretrievable

APPENDIX B – *An Etymological Corpus of Click Items in NTU Languages*

Preamble to Appendix B

B0 – Scenario 0 ('Declicking')

B0.1 Click Replacement in seTswana (S31)

B1 – Scenario 1 ('Click Loan')

B1.1 Southeastern NTU Click Loan

B1.1.1. Click Etymologies in seSotho (S33)

B1.1.2 Click Etymologies in Tshwa-Rongo (S50)

B1.1.3 Click Etymologies in siSwati (S43)

B1.2 Southwestern NTU Click Loan

B1.2.1 Click Etymologies in ruManyo (K332)

B1.2.2 Click Etymologies in thiMbukushu (K333)

B1.2.3 Click Etymologies in ruKwangali (K33)

B1.2.4. Click Etymologies in chiFwe (K402)

B2 – Scenario 2 ('Click Diffusion')

B2.1 Khoekhoe-branch influence on isiZunda

B2.2 !Ui-branch influence on isiZunda

B3 – Scenario 3 (Mixed Outcomes)

B3.1 Click Etymologies in siPhuthi (S404)

B3.2 Click Etymologies in shiYeyi (R41)

List of Figures, Diagrams, Tables, & Maps

List of Figures & Diagrams

Figure 2.1 – the arid quartzfields of the Knersvlakte	55
Figure 2.2 – the seasonal waters of the Hantam plateau	55
Figure 2.3 – the deep fynbos of the Kamiesberg	56
Figure 2.4 – the succulent scrubland of the Hardeveld	56
Diagram 2.5 – the ‘Hymn of Haimap’	62
Figure 4.1 – Matjieskloof, a small Coloured township outside of Springbok	137
Figure 4.2 – Steinkopf, the second-largest dorp in Namaqualand	137
Diagram 6.1 – acoustic properties expected from Namibian Khoekhoe clicks	188
Figure 6.2 – waveforms of L1 Nama alveolar clicks	190
Figure 6.3 – waveforms of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans alveolar clicks	191
Figure 6.4 – waveforms of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans ‘weak’ alveolar clicks	192
Figure 6.5 – waveforms of L1 Nama dental clicks	194
Figure 6.6 – waveforms of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans dental clicks	195
Figure 6.7 – waveforms of L1 Nama palatal clicks	196
Figure 6.8 – waveforms of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans ‘weak’ palatal clicks	197
Figure 6.9 – waveforms of L1 Nama lateral clicks	198
Figure 6.10 – waveforms of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans lateral clicks	199
Figure 6.11 – spectrograms of L1 Nama <i>tenuis</i> clicks	202
Figure 6.12 – spectrograms of L1 Nama <i>tenuis</i> clicks, audible posterior releases	204
Figure 6.13 – spectrograms of L1 N. Afrikaans voiceless linguopulmonic clicks	205
Figure 6.14 – spectrograms of L1 N. Afrikaans voiced linguopulmonic clicks	209
Figure 6.15 – spectrograms of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans ejective clicks	218
Figure 6.16 – spectrograms of L1 N. Afrikaans nasalised linguopulmonic clicks	219
Figure 9.1 – examples of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans click orthographies	292
Figure 9.2 – further examples of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans click orthographies	292
Figure 9.3 – a roadsign for a river on the N14 between Pofadder and Springbok	293
Figure 9.4 – signage for a community food programme in Karkhams	293
Figure 10.1 – examples of !hǎǎbanke	332
Figure 10.2 – a close-up view of a !hǎǎbank	337
Diagram 10.3 – a visualisation of clicks in substrate interference	333
Figure 11.1 – Praat images of L1 ruManyo click consonants	354
Figure 11.2 – Praat images of L1 seSotho click consonants	365
Diagram 11.3 – a visualisation of proposed descent relationships in S40 Nguni	376
Diagram 12.1 – a visualisation of click diffusion via sustained bilingualism	415

List of Tables

Table 3.1 – phonetic inventory of standardised Namibian Khoekhoe	100

Table 3.2 – phonetic inventory of standardised Afrikaans	101
Table 3.3 – dialectal variation in Namibian Khoekhoe	117
Table 3.4 – orthographic replacement of a <i>tenuis</i> click with /g/	120
Table 3.5 – orthographic replacement of a glottalised click with /k/	120
Table 3.6. – orthographic replacement of a nasalised click with /n/	121
Table 3.7 – orthographic replacement of an affricated click with /x/	121
Table 3.8 – semantic fields of the corpora compared	124
Table 3.9 – semantic fields of the corpus entire	125
Table 4.1 – comparative distribution of click consonants	140
Table 4.2 – test battery codes 0 – 4	141
Table 4.3 – test battery sentences & translations	144
Table 5.1 – regional coding of consultants	155
Table 5.2 – items elicited in Series 0 – 4	181
Table 5.3 – items elicited in Series 5	182
Table 5.4 – items elicited in Series 6	183
Table 5.5 – items elicited in Series 7	184
Table 5.6 – irretrievable items elicited in Series 8	184
Table 5.7 – a Namaqualand Afrikaans click inventory	186
Table 6.1 – vowelbreaking across Kora and Namibian Khoekhoe	230
Table 7.1 – interspeaker variation on reduplicated click in battery item 2d	236
Table 7.2 – interspeaker variation on battery item 0b	243
Table 7.3 – interspeaker variation on battery item 1d	244
Table 7.4 – interspeaker variation on battery item 3d	244
Table 7.5 – interspeaker variation on battery item 1c	245
Table 7.6 – interspeaker variation on battery item 3c	245
Table 7.7 – interspeaker variation on battery item 2a	246
Table 7.8 – interspeaker variation on battery item 5a	246
Table 7.9 – interspeaker variation on battery item 5b	246
Table 7.10 – interspeaker variation on battery item 0a	248
Table 7.11 – interspeaker variation on battery item 2b	249
Table 7.12 – interspeaker variation on battery item 3b	249
Table 7.13 – interspeaker variation on battery item 1b	251
Table 7.14 – interspeaker variation on battery item 4c	251
Table 7.15 – interspeaker variation on battery item 4d	252
Table 7.16 – clicks in Kamiesberg Afrikaans	255
Table 7.17 – clicks in Hardeveld Afrikaans	256
Table 8.1 – minimal pairs in standardised Namibian Khoekhoe by tone melody	263
Table 8.2 – minimal pairs in standardised Namibian Khoekhoe by tone melody	263
Table 8.3 – near homophony in standardised Namibian Khoekhoe	264
Table 8.4 – KMG_AP ideolectal generation of contrast	284
Table 8.5 – CDA_CW ideolectal generation of contrast	285
Table 8.6 – KMG_AW & KMG_SM ideolectal generation of contrast	287

Table 10.1 – semantic categories of Nama items in Namaqualand Afrikaans	329
Table 11.1 – interspeaker variation on click consonants in Gariep Afrikaans	346
Table 11.2 – a pan-KBA wanderword for <i>Cyperus</i> sp.	351
Table 11.3 – click items elicited from L1 seSotho	370
Table 11.4 – some phonological correspondences between isiZulu and siSwati	375
Table 11.5 – historical click consonants in NT Sindebele	380
Table 11.6 – click replacement in NT Sindebele	381
Table 11.7 – seSotho influence on siPhuthi click consonants	384
Table 11.8 – palatal splitting across siPhuthi and isiXhosa	385
Table 12.1 – proposed instances of ‘click insertion’ in Appleyard 1850	396
Table 12.2 – replacement of clicks with palatal nasals in isiXhosa	397
Table 12.3 – Kalahari-branch etyma for isiNguni Loanwords	401
Table 12.4 – palatal splitting in Khoekhoe-isiZunda loanwords	402
Table 12.5 – palatal doublets in Khoekhoe-isiZunda loanwords	403
Table 12.6 – examples of minimal pairs from Poulos & Msimang 1989	404
 List of Maps	
Map 1 – historical distribution of Khoekhoe-branch languages in South Africa	47
Map 2 – regions of Namaqualand	54
Map 3 – Namaqualand elicitation sites	155
Map 4 – historical distribution & movement of S40 Nguni languages	408

Notes on Formatting, Abbreviations, & Translation

Formatting Conventions

boldface = used to draw attention to a particular morpheme within a KHOE, KX'A, TUU, or NTU item, including Khoekhoe-branch lexemes within loanblends.

italics = used to supply GERMANIC items, including GERMANIC lexemes within loanblends (e.g., the forming **noenieboom** should be taken to indicate the specifier is of Khoekhoe-branch origin, while the head is GERMANIC). This convention is not applied to general Afrikaans loanwords in SA English for which no global English equivalent is available (e.g., *-boom*, *-kop*, *-klip*, but *vlei*, *matjieshuis*, *trekboer*, etc.).

underscore = used to draw attention to a particular section within longer quotations, i.e., emphasis mine

'single quotation marks' = used to quote English-language source material

'*italics in single quotation marks*' = used to quote source material in a language other than English

"double quotation marks" = used to indicate that a quote has been translated into SA English

<angled brackets> = used to indicate that an item is supplied in formal or informal orthography, rather than in IPA; thus <isiXhosa> is the standard isiXhosa orthography for /isill^hosa/ in IPA, while <xhou> = 'to shout' is the non-standard Namaqualand Afrikaans orthography for <!au> in the standardised Namibian Khoekhoe orthography, /!ʔau/ in IPA.

Common Lexicographic Abbreviations

B&N = Boshof & Nienaber 1967

C&D = Cocks & Dold 1999

DUPI = Di Pisani 1983

DuP = Du Plessis 2019

D&V = Doke & Vilakazi 1952

ENG = Engelbrecht 1936

GDX = Tshabe *et al.* 1996

GSPB = Gunnink *et al.* 2015

H&E = Haacke & Eiseb 2002

HEG = Haacke, Eiseb, & Giess 1991

KROEN = Kroenlein 1889

LEROUX = Le Roux 1981

LINKS = Links 1989

MAR = Marloth 1917

MAIN = Maingard 1930

NIEN = Nienaber 1963

POWRIE = Powrie 2004

PRINS = Prinsloo 2008
SARR = Sarrisam 2006
SCHUL = Schültze 1907
SCHIL = Schils 1895
SULL = Sullivan 1998
SMITH = Smith 1966
WAND = Wandres 1926
WIDL = Widlok 1994

λ *traditur* = the same record of an item has been brought forward into a newer resource, rather than having been rerecorded

λ *non traditur* = the item was not brought forward into a newer resource

hapax = ‘attested only once’

duakis = ‘attested only twice’

LD = ‘usage locality given’

LND = ‘usage locality not given’

Common Optimality Theory Abbreviations

UR = ‘underlying representation’

SR = ‘surface representation’

I = ‘input’

O = ‘output’

» = ‘rank the preceding constraint higher than the following constraint’

FAITH = ‘faithfully realise’

MAX = ‘maximally realise’

MAX_{IO} = ‘maximally realise the input in the output’

^t = any toneme

C = any consonantal segment

N = any nasalised consonantal segment

V = any vowel segment

X = any click segment

X^l = any click segment with any click accompaniment

{curly brackets} = variable segment

{X} = variable click segment (including in its scope {X^l} as needed)

Comparative Linguistic Conventions

All Guthrie numbers follow NUGL (Maho 2009). All *proto-NTU reconstructions follow BLR3 (Bastin *et al.* 2002) and are compared with careful reference to zoned representation. All *proto-KHOE reconstructions follow Voßen 1997.

Names of language superfamilies and families are referred to ALL CAPS in order to indicate that they are abstract entities and to avoid confusion with ethnonyms. Thus KHOE and GERMANIC both refer to proposed language families, *not* to the communities or individuals who speak the languages within these families. Names of lower-order clades are supplied in sentence case, but suffixed with ‘-branch’ or ‘-group’ as needed, e.g., ‘Khoekhoe-branch languages’, ‘Nguni-group languages’.

KHOE = the language family incorporating Kalahari-branch languages such as Naro and Khwedam, and Khoekhoe-branch languages such as Kora and Nama; grounds for incorporating [†]Kwadi into the higher-order entity KHOE-KWADI are acknowledged.

HIIO = Hai Ilom

DA = Damara

NA = Nama

KO = Kora

KW = Khwedam (as sourced primarily from Schladt 2000, Kilian-Hatz 2003)

NH = Naro (as sourced primarily from Barnard 1985, Visser 2000)

TUU = the language family incorporating the Taa-branch languages of Botswana and the !Ui-branch languages of South Africa (see detailed overview at Güldemann 2014). The term ‘!Ui-speaking communities’ is preferred throughout as a scientific linguistic alternative to the unhelpfully vague anthropological term ‘San’ as used in South Africa.

NIU = Nluuki doculect (as sourced primarily from Sands & Jones 2022)

IXA = IXA_m doculect (as sourced primarily from Du Plessis *in preparation*)

llXE = llXegwi doculect (as sourced primarily from Lanham & Hallows 1954)

!XO = !Xóõ (as sourced primarily from Traill 1997)

KX'A = the Angolan and Namibian continuum incorporating the !Xun and Jul'hoan language complexes. As linguistic variation within this continuum is both subtle and outside my area of expertise, I have used only the two best-documented varieties for comparison:

JU = eastern Jul'hoan (as sourced primarily from Dickens 1994)

!XU = northwestern !Xun (as sourced primarily from Heine & König 2008)

NTU = used for the ‘Bantu’ language family in order to avoid pejorative Apartheid-era connotations; ‘B’ is used throughout as an abbreviation in keeping with international conventions, e.g., *pB = *proto-NTU.

seB = ‘southeastern NTU click languages’

XH = S41 isiXhosa
ZU = S42 isiZulu
ZN = S44 Zimbabwean isiNdebele
ST = S407 Southern Transvaal isiNdebele

SW = S43 siSwati
PH = S404 siPhuthi
NT = S408 Northern Transvaal Sindebele

swB = 'southwestern NTU click languages'

KWA = K33 ruKwangali
MA = K332 ruManyo
MBU = K333 thiMbukushu
FW = K402 chiFwe
YE = R41 shiYeyi

KBA = 'Kalahari basin area'

Notes on Racial Terminology

Following precedent set by Oosthuizen 2016, historical instances of ethnic slurs are replaced with the appropriate contemporary ethnonym using square brackets, but with the initial of the original slur indicated in superscript, so [Khoekhoe]^H, [amaXhosa]^K, in order to strike a balance between accessibility and erasure. This is not done when a historical source has quoted a consultant *referring to themselves* using a slur. Slurs are retained in the list of references and sources solely for the sake of bibliographic completeness.

The formal South African racial categories White, Black, Coloured, and Indian are written with an initial capital throughout. This indicates that they are constructed political categories rather than biological realities, but that they nevertheless have material socioeconomic ramifications. The racial category 'Coloured' is used in formal South African administration as a blanket term to refer to mixed-ethnicity communities of Cape Dutch, Khoekhoe, Cape Malay, and Black descent. It is acknowledged that this term is a racist slur in some European and North American countries. In a South African context, its usage is not without complexity, but its connotations are not so extremely pejorative as in, for example, US English. Today it is the ordinary term used by communities of mixed ethnic descent to refer to themselves.

The historical ethnolinguistic term 'Baster' (*lit.*, 'bastard', originally referencing the low socioeconomic status of the disinherited sons of Cape Dutch trekboers and Cape Khoekhoe women), as applied to mixed-ethnicity Afrikaans-speaking communities during the 18th and 19th centuries, is used throughout. It was historically the term preferred by many if not most mixed-ethnicity communities themselves prior to the imposition of the formal category Coloured, and is still used today in Namaqualand by some speakers as an important descriptor of their own ethnolinguistic affiliation.

The term 'Bushman', sometimes considered an ethnic slur against historical !Ui-speaking communities in South Africa, is used in this thesis only in the placename Boesmanland, as there is no alternative term.

Notes on Translation

I am L1 SA English and L2 Afrikaans. All transcriptions of and translations from Afrikaans and Nama consultant commentary are my own, with notes on translation choices supplied for clarification where necessary. All translations from languages other than SA English are my own unless otherwise stated. I take full responsibility for any translation errors and welcome corrections.

Notes on Illustrations

All photographs and diagrams are my own. All maps are my own and were prepared in QGIS using opensource GIS datasets.

Introduction

At least four click languages in the Khoekhoe branch of the broader KHOE family were historically spoken south of the Gariep. A large *Cape Khoekhoe continuum, directly attested but functionally undocumented beyond crude colonial wordlists, was spoken from Saldanha Bay in the west to Gqeberha in the east. After a protracted shift that lasted the better part of the 18th century, it probably went extinct c.1860 – 1880. An undocumented *Eastern Khoekhoe continuum must have existed beyond Gqeberha, but it was likely endangered before 1795 and certainly moribund by 1853. A large Kora¹ continuum was spoken along the Gariep River and is fairly well-documented. Although the last fluent speakers passed away in 2011, semi-speakers do remain scattered across the Karoo Highlands. A southerly dialect of Nama was historically spoken all throughout the Namaqualand and Boesmanland regions of the Northern Cape. An unknown number of speakers still remains, but there is virtually no formal documentation of Nama as it is spoken in South Africa rather than in Namibia.

All of these languages save Nama went extinct via separate but parallel processes of language shift to Cape Dutch or Afrikaans; Nama as spoken in the Northern Cape is today critically endangered by the advanced stages of a shift to Afrikaans. As a special kind of contact event, language shift is capable of generating a special kind of contact-induced language change classically called ‘substrate interference’. Via this mechanism of change, the ‘substrate’ language is said to interfere with the lexicon, phonology, and potentially even the morphosyntax of the ‘adstrate’ language. The historical potential for Khoekhoe-branch lexical material to have entered Afrikaans clearly does exist, but is severely understudied. The concomitant degree to which click consonants may have entered regional post-shift varieties of Coloured Afrikaans via substrate interference with the lexicon has never been adequately assessed.

Click consonants are used by 30 million speakers of nearly 40 different click languages every single day. Nonetheless, the bulk of linguistic research into click consonants is conducted by North American and European researchers, who still insist on presenting

¹ It is acknowledged that international authorities including Voßen 1997 and Güldemann 2014 use the term !Ora, but this would be unrecognisable to a South African readership. The name Kora, and its parallel ethnonym Korana, are used throughout instead.

click consonants as mysterious, rare, or even, alarmingly, ‘primitive’. Furthermore, in the massively multilingual communities of southern Africa, the movement of lexical material hosting click consonants between languages via ordinary processes of borrowing must be normal – but the behaviour of click consonants as they move from a click language into a click/less language during contact events remains under-documented and under-researched.

The overarching aim of this thesis is therefore the development of a comparative cross-linguistic typology of click loan by conducting a sociohistorical analysis of one specific click loan event that has occurred between Nama and Namaqualand Afrikaans in the Northern Cape, then comparing and contrasting the phonological outcomes of this scenario with those arising from other click loan events across southern Africa.

*

Part 1 of this thesis serves to establish that the Khoekhoe-branch languages have contributed lexical material to regional varieties of post-shift Coloured Afrikaans in the Northern Cape. With this transfer of lexical material has come also the introduction of click consonants into an ordinarily clickless grammar. Because the historical details of these contact events are available, the sociolinguistic factors that conditioned click loan can be extrapolated. Unfortunately, however, the poor linguistic calibre of what little research into these contact events is available means that detailed phonological conclusions about the behaviour of click consonants cannot yet be drawn.

- Chapter 1 serves as a review of relevant contact linguistic theory, including contact under colonial conditions and the phonological behaviour of loanwords during contact, while also offering an overview of the current consensus on the phonetics, phonology, and cross-linguistic distribution of click consonants in southern Africa. Of particular interest is the theoretical relationship between what language conservationists term ‘language obsolescence’ in a synchronic context, and what historical linguists term ‘substrate interference’ in a diachronic context. The phrase **post-shift lexical retention** is coined to describe the recalled L2 lexes of post-shift speakers, frequently present in the very last stages of language death, that *have not yet* gone on to become established as general loanwords via substrate interference. Generally, this review serves to contextualise the present research within a sociohistorical

linguistic framework. Five research questions developed from the review are discussed in detail in Section 1.4.

- Chapter 2 examines the history and background of three separate Khoekhoe-Afrikaans shift events, with a special focus on the shift from Nama to Namaqualand Afrikaans that occurred within the research site. This detailed sociohistorical linguistic discussion is the first of its kind to focus narrowly on the drivers of language shift in Namaqualand. This will assist not only in accounting for the phonological behaviours of Namaqualand Afrikaans, but will also be crucial to the comparative analysis of click loan under contrasting contact conditions across southern Africa conducted in Chapters 11 & 12.
- Chapter 3 examines the available evidence for shift from the Khoekhoe-branch languages to have interfered with contemporary Afrikaans by donating click consonants via lexical borrowing. The question of how precisely language obsolescence becomes substrate interference is again considered. Finding that the formal linguistic research is scant, informal and lay sources are instead examined for evidence of click loan. A lexicographical corpus of all Khoekhoe-branch lexical items containing orthographic evidence of having retained click consonants in an L1 Afrikaans context is compiled from resources spanning 1913 – 2015. This is provided in full as *An Etymological Corpus of Khoekhoe-branch Items in Afrikaans* in Appendix A. Unfortunately, however, a detailed phonological understanding of click loan into Afrikaans cannot be extracted from the available data. This motivates for the development of a documentary project in Namaqualand in Part 2.

Part 2 of this thesis documents and describes the click consonants employed by monolingual speakers of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans in a post-shift context in order to compare their phonetic and phonological properties directly with L1 Nama clicks.

- Chapter 4 discusses the research methods employed to collect click data in the Northern Cape. The selection of Namaqualand as the ideal research site is presented and defended, and sampling methods, interview methods, and

stimulus materials are developed. Importantly, this chapter establishes the need for two consultant pools, a small ‘control’ pool of L1 Nama speakers who can provide tokens of click consonants in the context of the donor ‘substrate’ language, and a larger ‘test’ pool of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans speakers who can provide tokens of click consonants in the context of the host ‘adstrate’ language. This will allow for close comparison of the same click consonant in the same word before and after loan from a click language to a clickless language.

- Chapter 5 presents scientific transcriptions of all click tokens collected from speakers of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans. It also sorts and codes all lexical items collected for ease of analytical reference.
- Chapter 6 offers a description of the phonetic features of click consonants collected from speakers of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans. This includes formal description both of the click ‘types’ and of the click ‘accompaniments’ encountered, as well as some preliminary articulatory explanations for the preponderance of certain ‘accompaniments’. Formal visual analysis of click consonants, including waveforms, spectra, and spectrographs, is supplied via images prepared using Praat speech analysis software.
- Chapter 7 attempts to show the absence of any regular correspondences between expected L1 Nama click consonants and actual L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans click consonants by cataloging the unpredictability of inter- and intraspeaker variation when realising click ‘type’. Regional variation in the interspeaker usage of click ‘type’ is then discussed in the hopes of determining the sociohistorical progression of ‘type’ variation under contact conditions.
- Chapter 8 examines the effects of phonemic neutralisation of click ‘type’ and click ‘accompaniment’ on daily discourse. In particular, the development of extreme homophony following the collapse of the contrastive click inventory is discussed, and some strategies used by speakers to navigate and redress this homophony are examined.

- Chapter 9 compiles and qualitatively assesses a variety of linguistic attitudes from both L1 Nama and L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans consultants in order to provide sociolinguistic context for the present-day contact scenario. This includes speaker commentary on the use of click consonants in everyday Afrikaans discourse; speaker discussion of standard and non-standard click orthographies; and speaker attitude toward the Nama language.
- Chapter 10 presents sociohistorical linguistic conclusions on the phonological behaviour of click consonants that have entered an ‘adstrate’ language following language shift. Historical speculation on the nature of fluent bilingual Nama-Namaqualand Afrikaans codemixing in prior generations is used to sketch a likely picture of the input that donated lexical items. The ultimate effects of the fragmentation of L1 Nama communities on click consonants in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans are predicted.

Part 3 of this thesis is an excursus into comparable click loan events. Results from Part 2 are set against reports of click loan from all across southern Africa, allowing for the detection of similarities and distinctions. Appendix B provides etymological datasets supporting these discussions. In addition to using findings from Part 2 to offer a novel solution to a longstanding puzzle (the ‘Click Diffusion Problem’), this excursus exemplifies the kind of historical sociolinguistic analysis that could be used to enrich our understanding of pre-colonial language history, if only detailed data on regional variation in our indigenous languages were better available.

- Chapter 11 collates and compares all known instances in which loaned click consonants behave similarly to loaned click consonants in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans. In addition to presenting new evidence of progressive click loss in the swB languages, the first formal spectrographic images of L1 seSotho clicks, the only detailed commentary on seSotho click etymologies available, and the only detailed commentary on siPhuthi click etymologies available, new assessments of the dispersal of click consonants across the ‘isiTekela’ languages in the Nguni group are proposed.

- Chapter 12 compares the only known instance in which loaned click consonants behave *differently* to loaned click consonants in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans – namely, the click inventory that arose from contact between unknown languages in the Khoekhoe branch and the ‘isiZunda’ languages c. 1450 – 1850. In addition to providing a polemic review of existing sociohistorical analyses of this event, this section reassesses and critically restates the unique properties of the Khoekhoe-‘isiZunda’ click loan event, before offering a new perspective on the socioeconomic historical conditions that conditioned the development of the click inventory in isiXhosa and isiZulu.

*

Sociohistorical linguistic analysis is a powerful tool, but one that has not yet been applied to its full potential in a modern southern African context. Certain socioeconomic conditions can (sometimes) predict certain linguistic outcomes with reasonable consistency, and the inverse is also (sometimes) true: present-day linguistic outcomes can be used in the judicious reconstruction of historical socioeconomic conditions. Lost history can be retrieved and meticulously rebuilt using the comparative sociohistorical linguistic method. Crucially, however, both sides of the equation must be present. Only if *both* the phonological outcomes of a click loan event *and* the historical socioeconomic conditions under which this event occurred are known can we begin to develop a predictive schema of how click consonants will behave during any given language contact event.

This thesis therefore aims to improve our comparative understanding of the phonological behaviour of click consonants during lexical borrowing into an ancestrally clickless grammar under contrasting socioeconomic contact conditions. This, in turn, can contribute to our understanding of the pre-colonial linguistic landscape of southern Africa by allowing us to reconstruct the contact relationships between different ethnolinguistic groups.

Part 1

Compilation

'The first-order witnesses to the more distant linguistic past are written texts: inscriptions, manuscripts, printed books. This fundamental importance, however, does not imply ease of interpretation. ... [T]here are enormous difficulties, partly because of uncertainties about the nature of documents or texts themselves. How far are they 'representative' of 'languages', and in what ways? How do we separate the variations ... from genuine scribal error, distinguish evidence from garbage?'

Lass 1998: 44

'A considerable amount of contact-induced change has as yet gone unnoticed especially in the lexicon of both Khoekhoe and Afrikaans, as the topic has not been seriously investigated yet by linguists conversant in both languages.'

Haacke 2013: 928

Chapter 1

Some Sociohistorical Contexts of Loan: A Literature Review

This chapter provides a review of sociohistorical linguistic and phonological theory and analysis relevant to the research topic. It discusses literature on language contact under colonial conditions; contact-induced changes to the lexicon and the phonology; and the phonetics and phonology of click consonants. It then develops a series of research questions that will structure the further development of the research project.

1.1. Contact, Colonialism, Shift

This section reviews relevant literature on the behaviour of languages during colonial contact events, with particular reference to the development of shift conditions.

1.1.1. Language Contact in Settler-Colonial Contexts

Language contact refers any scenario in which two or more languages are regularly employed in close proximity (Weinreich 1953; Appel & Muysken 1987; Thomason & Kaufman 1988). While language contact may occur via physical interaction between speakers of two or more languages, it may also occur via channels of telecommunication, including internet-based interactions and the dissemination of global media. Although language contact is of interest to a number of sub-disciplines within linguistics and sociology, it is studied primarily for the role it plays in initiating and conditioning language change. Language change of this sort is characterised as external language change (in contrast with language-internal processes of change that do not arise from contact scenarios), and is typically limited to effects on the lexicon and discourse pragmatics, although more dramatic restructuring of the phonology and the morphosyntax may also occur.

The deliberate project of claiming and controlling territories, usually through military operations, is referred to throughout this thesis as imperial expansion. Settler-colonialism, by contrast, is considered to be a particular mode of land occupancy, in which one social group gains control over territories and associated resources previously occupied by another group or groups, usually via violent dispossession, in order to establish permanent domestic settlements. The dispossessed group or groups may variously be forced to relocate to different territories, enslaved or

indentured within the occupied territory, or subjected to genocide. Settler-colonialism may occur outside of a unified imperial agenda, as disjunct but allied groups together engage in the violent occupation of a region without operating under the auspices of a centralised empire. Conversely, imperial control may be established over a territory without installing permanent settler-colonial projects in all or any subjugated regions. These two modes of contact do nonetheless occur in concert, and so their various sociolinguistic ramifications are here considered together.

The Khoekhoe-branch languages historically spoken south of the Gariep River were subjected to successive waves of sustained colonial influence by Western European powers from the mid-17th century onwards. This influence manifested first in the form of Dutch settler-colonialism (1652 – 1804), then of British imperial rule (1804 – 1962), and finally of the Afrikaner nationalist Apartheid regime (1948 – 1994). This last was abetted as a neo-imperialist interest and capitalist bastion by the UK and the USA throughout the Cold War, thus extending the period of Western colonial influence on South Africa for several decades after it was declared a republic 1961. Furthermore, Khoekhoe-branch languages historically spoken within present-day Namibia were, together with the Kalahari-branch and KX'A-family languages, subjected first to German imperial rule (1881 – 1920) that involved periods of genocide, and subsequently to violent and illegal South African military control (1920 – 1990). Although each of these imperial periods differs with regard to the particulars of language contact that resulted, when taken together, they nevertheless constitute three hundred and fifty years of sustained settler-colonial influence on the Khoekhoe-branch languages during their contact relationships with English, German, and Afrikaans.

This thesis therefore situates its sociohistorical linguistic analysis within the framework of colonial contact linguistics, which positions colonial contact as a specialised kind of language contact with the capacity to yield a number of specialised sociolinguistic results. Within the broad schema of imperial hegemony, different models of socioeconomic dominion necessarily result in different kinds and degrees of contact between the subjugator and the subjugated. These differing scenarios will, in turn, result in differing sociolinguistic outcomes. A key concern for this project is the examination of how colonial contact scenarios may drive language shift, and how

language shift in turn may facilitate substrate interference with the lexicon and potentially the phonology of the preferred (colonial or indigenous) language.

1.1.2. Colonialism & Language Endangerment

Language contact occurring under imperial and settler-colonial conditions typically results in a loss of regional language diversity. That the deliberate suppression or extirpation of regionalised indigenous languages or dialects served as a method of furthering the imperial agenda has been extensively discussed in international colonial contexts (Hock & Joseph 1988: 44). Commonly encountered in earlier research into colonial and post-colonial language contact events in Africa was the observation that colonial languages had tended not to be the direct targets of language shift (Brenzinger *et al.* 1991; Mufwene 2002; Mous, 2003: 158; Batibo 2005), with colonial languages such as English, Portuguese, and French instead being used as *linguae francae* alongside indigenous languages in situations of stable multilingualism. Such instances were attributed largely to so-called ‘internal factors’, including pressure exerted by large or otherwise sociopolitically powerful indigenous languages and population movement, rather than to ‘external factors’ such as colonial sociolinguistic intervention (Kandybowicz & Torrence 2017: 2).

More recently, this position has been contested. While colonial languages themselves may not be the preferred target of language shift in many cases, and so may not have directly replaced minority indigenous languages, colonial language attitudes have nevertheless influenced language planning policy in modern African states. Paramount among these attitudes is the Western imperialist notion that ‘linguistic boundaries largely coincided (or should coincide) with political boundaries’ (Connell 2007: 109). This attitude resulted, in multiple separate historical contexts on the African continent, in either the splitting of closely-related and mutually-intelligible languages into distinct prescribed standards, or in the artificial ‘harmonisation’ of distantly-related languages (see Heugh 2015 for a review of this process in a South African context). This artificial and untenably rapid disruption of established language communities prioritised certain indigenous varieties over others, positioning them as the languages of education, socioeconomic advancement, and official policy, and may well have directly precipitated shift away from smaller, disenfranchised varieties

toward the newly-prescribed indigenous standard, ultimately resulting in the loss of language diversity (see discussion at Janse 2003: x).

The language policies employed by the Apartheid regime in both South Africa and Namibia, for example, involved the standardisation of indigenous NTU language continua and their deployment in schools as media of education in order to ‘balkanise’ ethnolinguistic groups. This careful curation of multilingualism allowed the regime to frustrate anti-Apartheid organisation while also strictly controlling curriculum development. Furthermore, the restriction of access to English-medium education also limited participation in pan-African socialist and global anti-imperialist discourses. These languages were therefore not subjected to deliberate suppression or extirpation, but were nonetheless shaped and controlled by colonial powers to colonial ends.

Language extirpation in colonial contexts may also occur independent of official state policy, potentially as a result of ethnolinguistic prejudices generated by the imperialist agenda. As Chapter 2 will discuss, internalised language prejudice inherited from racialised colonial attitudes contributed significantly to the suppression of the Nama language in South African schools, despite the lack of any formalised suppression efforts of Nama by the Apartheid regime. Accordingly, any investigation into language shift in South Africa must be grounded within an understanding of how settler-colonialism conditions the outcomes of language contact events.

1.1.3. Colonialism & Language Shift

Assessing language endangerment on the broader African continent at the turn of the century, Mous judged that languages with 50 000 speakers or fewer, while comparatively small by comparison with globalised languages, were not necessarily in immediate danger of extinction and may still be productively acquired, ultimately setting the upper limit for language endangerment in an African context at 10 000 speakers and 300 such languages (Mous 2003: 157). More recent estimates, however, suggest that indigenous African languages at immediate risk of endangerment may in fact be closer to 600 (Sands 2017: 29), a number that makes up almost 10% of all languages worldwide. Following genocide, entire speech communities may, in fact, be wiped off the map, and with them their languages (Campbell & Muntzel 1992: 182 – 184; Austin & Sallabank 2017: 5). Small or minority

speech communities that are materially disenfranchised or exploited by a larger and more socially dominant speech community are particularly vulnerable to this reality. Such instances have been called 'rare' (Mous 2003: 158), although an example is almost certainly to be found in the extinction of the !Ui-branch languages in South Africa (Traill 1995: 9).

The study of **language shift**, however, typically exempts the loss of a language following total or near-total genocide, and focuses instead on instances in which an ethnolinguistic community endures, but abandons one or more languages in favour of another (see Mous 2003: 158 for examples of shift scenarios in an African context). At a material level, colonial expansion may restructure extant sociolinguistic units, whether through military occupation, forced removals, the imposition of new political boundaries or the dismantling of old ones, or the development of new trade- and labour-related transhumance patterns. Such restructuring may disrupt established dialect areas, ongoing contact situations between two or more dialects or languages, and existing norms of social, civil, and familial organisation. Diaspora to this degree may also lead to the sociolinguistic isolation of speakers of certain languages, rapidly relegating them to minority status and hence prompting shift to the communal majority language, which may not necessarily be the colonial language. For an example of how the forced relocation and reorganisation of existing speech communities may contribute to language endangerment in a colonial context, see discussion of the endangerment of Pama-Nyungan languages in occupied Australia (Wurm 2003: 40 – 42).

The adoption of colonial subsistence methods and the entry into the globalised economy may further result in trends of migrant labour and urbanisation, even in post-colonial contexts following a region or country's independence from imperial rule. Urbanisation is particularly associated with shift events, as the interaction of heterogenous ethnolinguistic communities in an urbanised context will often result in the prioritisation of a socially dominant *lingua franca* over the maintenance of language diversity (Harbert 2011: 408). Conversely, the retention of minority languages is usually associated with isolated rural communities (Grenoble 2017: 35). Population explosions following industrialisation, coupled with the imposition of centralised administration and government, may similarly require the codification of majority *linguae francae* as official languages in order to govern massive populations; by

contrast, smaller and more decentralised communities may be more capable of sustaining multilingualism without shift during contact events. This allows for the important observation that multilingualism itself does not obligatorily result in shift to a *lingua franca*; rather, shift is triggered by the preference of one language over another for socioeconomic reasons (Campbell 1994: 1963; Aitchison 2001: 246; Harbert 2011: 404).

Once a given language or language variety has become associated with materially powerful social classes, this **prestige language** may confer or become *perceived* to confer access to material benefits (Thomason & Kaufmann 1988; O'Shannesy 2011). Speakers of other language or languages varieties may then aspire towards the use of the prestige language. This aspiration may take the form of preferential codeswitching to the prestige language in professional situations for reasons other than simply facilitating communication; extensive lexical borrowing from the prestige language for reasons other than pragmatic novelty; conducting media production and consumption preferentially or exclusively in the prestige language; selecting education for one's children in the prestige language; internalised speaker prejudice against and rejection of a stigmatised L1; and ultimately total abandonment. Whether the adoption of a prestige variety will in fact improve access to material benefits, or will have little to no material effect on the speaker's socioeconomic position, varies widely depending on a variety of numerous other factors.

In colonial contexts, the development of language preferences is typically bound up in sociological processes of cultural assimilation that result in the widespread jettisoning of existing cultural norms in favour of colonial cultural norms, a process referred to as **acculturation**, or else as **cultural homogenisation** (Grenoble 2011: 34). The association of fluency in the colonial language with access to colonial education and hence colonial employment, for example, has often been culpable for the generation of prestige splits. Similarly, speakers may develop positive attitudes towards the colonial language (or to a majority indigenous language as spoken in urban environments) because of progressive associations with globalised modernity and socioeconomic advancement, while rural indigenous or minority languages may be negatively associated with localised conservatism and impoverishment (see O'Shannesy 2011: 92). The preference for a language offering access to globalised culture increased socioeconomic opportunity, and the concomitant rejection and

stigmatisation of localised culture, may be referred to as **social dislocation**, and has been described as ‘one of the most powerful motivating factors in language shift’ (Grenoble 2011: 34).

Language loss may be assessed both at the communal level, in that it may occur through the mass failure of a generation to acquire the dispreferred language, and at the individual level, in that it may also occur within a speaker who no longer makes use of their L1, and so prefers their L2, in all or most speech situations. A wide variety of socioeconomic contexts may condition this (see Dressler 1991 for speaker loss of L1 Breton under conditions of language endangerment, for example, but Gürel 2004b for speaker loss of L1 Turkish in immigrant communities). In a detailed typology of speakers of endangered languages (Grinevald & Bert 2011: 49 – 52), **semi-speakers**, who are considered to have ‘very limited knowledge’ of an endangered language, are positioned as ‘the result of either very partial acquisition ... or of an advanced level of attrition in someone who might have been a more fluent speaker in childhood’ (Grinevald & Bert 2011: 51; see also discussion at Sasse 1992: 61 – 62). This thesis distinguishes more strictly between these two profiles, differentiating between speakers who display **attrition of L1 competence**, and speakers who display **partial acquisition**.

In the case of the former, it is assumed that the speaker acquired the language to fluency as an L1 in childhood. However, subsequent sociolinguistic pressures, including the diaspora of speech communities and speaker isolation, deliberate language suppression, and internalised prejudice, may discourage the speaker from using their L1 in favour of an L2 for many years, if not decades. When an individual L1 speaker of an obsolescing language exhibits impaired linguistic competence, such that the phonology, morphology, and syntax have undergone significant deterioration, and the speaker must either codeswitch excessively into the L2 or rely solely on the L2, this is considered **speaker attrition** (Kaufman & Aronoff 1991; Seliger 1996). In the case of the latter, however, children rarely or only intermittently exposed to a dispreferred language in the domestic space may acquire parts of the lexicon and the phonology, or may even be able to recall chunked phrases; alternatively, the acquisition process may be interrupted early on should a child move out of the household or otherwise be cut off from regular exposure, following which a secondary environmental language is acquired as the L1 instead (described as the Language

Replacement Hypothesis by Pallier *et al.* 2003). Such a scenario is subsequently termed **partial acquisition**.

The total death of a language, or a **completed shift**, is sometimes dated to the death of the last fluent speaker, but even this can be difficult to determine. Shift under colonial conditions is exacerbated by the socioeconomic and geographic disruption of speech communities, yielding a scattered population of isolated speakers; thus a language may become extinct multiple times over in multiple different regions. In cases complicated by the historical presence of undocumented dialectal variation, it can also be difficult to determine whether the death of a particular speaker should mark the death of a language proper, or of a language variety. When a number of L1 speakers' competence has undergone attrition, the exact date at which fluency was lost is impossible to determine on an individual level, and further complicates the process of determining whether or not a shift event is complete on a communal level. The last generation to acquire the language to fluency during childhood is here treated as the final generation of fluent speakers, and the final generation pre-shift. At this stage, when no new speakers are being born, and the finite number of L1 speakers begins to dwindle without reasonable hope of increase, the language is considered **moribund** (Connell, 2002: 168). The subsequent generation, in which acquisition to fluency does not occur during childhood in any speakers at all, is treated as the **first generation post-shift**.

The multifaceted nature of shift as a phenomenon should of itself imply that the completion of a shift is often difficult to determine with precision, especially as assessment may depend on self-reporting by consultants. This thesis acknowledges that language shift is overall a staggered and highly variable language change event, and accepts that the boundaries between shift, L1 attrition, and partial acquisition are fuzzy. In between vitality and extinction, there may exist a generation or generations which possess **partial competence**. By enabling the dispreferred language to come into intra- and interpersonal contact with the prestige language, this scenario may give rise to a kind of contact-induced change that has classically been termed **substrate interference**, a concept further explored in 1.2.2. below.

For the purposes of sociohistorical linguistic analysis, however, and in order to maintain terminological clarity with regard to substrate interference, all subsequent

discussion defines language shift as the cessation of productive acquisition – that is, the cessation of acquisition within one generation followed by acquisition within a subsequent generation. **Partial acquisition**, in which a limited lexicon and perhaps some phonology are acquired, but the full phonology and morphosyntax required for fluency are not, is not considered to constitute productive acquisition specifically because it cannot furnish the *subsequent* generation with acquisition. In other words, this thesis defines the fluent acquisition of a language, in purely sociohistorical terms, as the ability to pass that language onto one's children as their L1. Language shift is the interruption of this ability within a speech community.

1.1.4. Common Characteristics of Endangered & Moribund Languages

A number of structural and typological peculiarities are considered common to endangered or moribund languages. These features together characterise **language obsolescence**. Language shift as conditioned by **acculturation** or **social dislocation** frequently begins as attrition in the lexicon.² The abandonment of extant technologies, subsistence methods, literary and artistic practices, religions, and the like in favour of colonial conventions may significantly impoverish the lexicon, resulting in the loss of specialised lexis, particularly jargons (Bavin, 1989: 270 – 281; Sands *et al.* 2007; Batibo 2013). Related effects include 'negative borrowing' (Sasse 1992: 65), by which special features of the endangered language *not* present in the dominant language,

² Crucial to note is the communal quality of the oral repository in societies that historically did not rely on writing, and hence the communal quality of literature, historiography, and similarly stylised applications of language. Isolation following colonial reorganisation may remove speakers from the collaborative speech networks required to generate stylised oral corpora, and hence strip them not only of the ability to recall these corpora satisfactorily through constant performance and renewal, but also of competence in certain registers and jargons. Depriving communities of the specific discourse contexts that historically positioned a language as a medium of artistry and intellectual exploration will certainly see lexical impoverishment in atomised speakers, and may of itself contribute to language shift. Hofmeyr, for example, offers discussion of how Western-style town planning under the Apartheid regime physically razed the discourse contexts that had sustained the productive use of Southern Transvaal isiNdebele as a medium of oral education and literature (Hofmeyr 1994: 98 – 101).

Communal orality therefore not only sustains certain specialised registers or jargons, but also entrenches the language as a medium of art, culture, and intellectualism that is worth speaking; 'languages at the lower end of the prestige scale retreat [...] until there is nothing left for them appropriately to be used about' (Dennison 1977: 21). Confronted with a dwindling lexis, a piecemeal oral history, and an upsetting dearth of narrative art, speakers may come to consider the language inferior and under-developed, and so turn instead to vital languages which appear more robustly equipped. For an illustration of how speaker isolation precludes the preservation of oral traditions, and hence may hinder not only documentation efforts, but also revival attempts that hinge on promoting the language as a carrier of culture, consider Ouma Jacoba Maclear's refusal to provide researchers with any long-form Kora narrative because 'there was no one left to help her' to tell stories (Du Plessis 2019: 56).

such as cross-linguistic phonological *rara*, are subject to 'gradual reduction and eventual loss' (Dorian 2006: 557 – 558). In the final stages of obsolescence, a severe degree of lexical attrition may manifest as massive relexification, with substantial portions of the lexicon replaced through loanwords derived from more socially dominant languages. This is evidently the result of socioeconomic influences on the language, rather than any psycholinguistic or speaker-internal causes. However, processes of attrition and simplification, also broadly termed **language contraction**, are also detectable in functional material and in the morphosyntax of contracting or obsolescing languages (Aitchison, 1981: 242 – 246; Austin 1986; Campbell & Muntzel 1989; Bavin, 1989; Van Engelenhoven 2003: 72 – 73), suggesting that material socioeconomic factors are not solely to blame.

Among the most frequently-encountered characteristics of moribund language is **extreme variation** between individual speakers, especially with regard to the phonology (Campbell & Muntzel 1989: 189 – 191; Connell 2002; Tse 2013), but attested also for the morphosyntax (Skilton 2017: 107). This variation would further seem to occur independently of transfer from or restructuring by the preferred language (Connell 2002). This phenomenon may be considered akin to ordinary processes of language change, but occurring at an untenably rapid rate (Sasse 1992: 60). Importantly, variation associated with obsolescence seems not to be dependent on the sociolinguistic variables ordinarily implicated (Palosaari & Campbell 2011: 111), although it has been cautioned that certain sociolinguistic variables may be culturally invisible to outside researchers (Skilton 2017: 111 – 112). Furthermore, in cases where severe language under-documentation is coupled with massive geographical disruption of speech communities, it should be acknowledged that apparently extreme interpersonal variation may in fact be a relic of normal patterns of regional variation that can no longer be observed (see discussion at Sands 2017: 27 – 28).

Although still poorly understood, the variation associated with language endangerment has been linked with 'relatively relaxed sociolinguistic norms' (Connell 2002: 181 – 182) that would allow for greater heterogeneity in competence. Effectively, variation is characteristic of attrition, and results at least in part from the effects of extreme sociolinguistic isolation. If sociolinguistic variables within a cohesive speech community condition regular and structured variation in a vital language, then the absence of a sociolinguistic speech community absents also the presence of

structured variation in an endangered language, resulting in apparently unpredictable idiosyncrasy. This is in keeping with the paradoxical but sound implication that variation is a necessary precondition of regularity. As a pragmatic assessment, isolation is a reasonable explanation for unstable variation in L1 speakers whose competence has undergone attrition following decades of disuse.

However, speakers who only ever **partially acquired** the endangered language for a brief period in early childhood, and who instead acquired the more socially dominant language as their functional L1, may also display certain idiosyncrasies when deploying the endangered language, but for different reasons. Certainly if extreme interpersonal or even intrapersonal variation exists in the moribund stimulus, this would necessarily be reflected in irregular acquisition, thus exacerbating variation in partial speakers. However, despite the fact that shift-induced endangerment is fundamentally a contact event, and so may feasibly be analysed in terms of contact linguistics, relatively little discussion has applied theories of loan and loan rephonologisation to the discussion of phonological oddities that arise in obsolescing languages.

For example, when it is noted that ‘difficult contrasts may not be learned, or not learned well’ (Palosaari & Campbell 2017: 113), what precisely is meant by ‘difficult’ contrasts is not specified here, but it may be assumed that these contrasts are *difficult relative to the phonological contrasts* of the socially dominant language that partial speakers use as their L1. The same authors observe also that ‘unusual’ phonological features may be variably overgeneralised, although the parameters of ‘unusual’ are again undescribed (Palosaari & Campbell 2017: 113). Here the application of featural approaches to rephonologisation strategies, of the sort ordinarily applied in adaptational analysis of loanwords, might assist in determining the relationship between the phonology of the socially dominant L1 and the dispreferred partially-acquired L2, perhaps granting insight into why certain features are so variably employed.

1.2. Contact-induced Changes in the Lexicon

Lexical borrowing is a broad term encompassing the transfer of lexical material from one language to another during a contact event. Substrate interference is a particular set of contact-induced changes involving the transfer of linguistic features from the

dispreferred language to the prestige language under shift conditions. During rapid L2A events, substratum interference can result in massive restructuring of the preferred language; under slower shift conditions, the substrate language typically interferes only with the lexicon, which allows in turn for the introduction of limited amounts of phonological material. Interference of this kind may also be treated as the persistence of lexical archaisms, and is typically highly regionalised.

1.2.1. Substrate Interference: Shift as a Facilitator of Lexical Borrowing

Classical sociohistorical approaches to lexical borrowing distinguished between two essential kinds of contact phenomena. The process of **adoption**, in which a speaker adopts lexical material from an L2 into their L1, has been considered **borrowing** or **loan** proper. The process of **imposition**, in which a speaker imposes lexical material from their L1 onto their L2, has been associated with **substrate interference** (Thomason & Kaufman 1988); **imposition** is also associated with the term **retention** (Van Coetsem, 1988; Ross 1991; Haspelmath 2009). **Lexical borrowing** may occur via either of these processes, and the same speaker may be responsible for both. Directions of influence may also be expressed with reference to donor and recipient languages, so that the process of **lexical adoption** is characterised as occurring under **recipient language agency**, while the process of **lexical imposition** occurs under **donor language agency** (Van Coetsem 1988).

While alien phones present in borrowed items may be adapted to suit the constraints of the host language, they may also be adapted only minimally or not at all, and so survive loan, as it were, to enter into the phonetic inventory of the host language. Under conditions of brief or otherwise casual contact, the distribution of such phonemes is typically restricted to the loaned material, with the result that they are referred to as **marginal phonemes** within the host inventory. Lexical items can therefore be loaned with little to no reorganisation of the phonological structure of the host language, and typically with zero reorganisation of its morphosyntactic structure. However, under more intense and often very specific contact conditions, influence can also affect the phonological and morphological structures of the host language, leading in extreme cases to forms of language syncretism (including creolisation). **Substrate interference** may, under certain conditions, facilitate syncretism, such that imposition

from the L1 ultimately restructures the L2 at the phonological and morphosyntactic level.

For the substrate language to have exerted significant structural influence over the adstrate language, however, there must have been no significant or sustained period of bilingualism (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 47). In other words, although lexical imposition may result from substrate interference, lexical imposition alone is insufficient to motivate for creolisation, as it tends to occur when 'both the source language and the receiving language are maintained, at least for a considerable period of time' (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 113; see also discussion in Traill 1995, Sankoff 2004; O'Shannessy 2017: 81). Shift necessarily precludes the potential for significant phonological and morphosyntactic restructuring, and so generates small but cohesive speech communities of non-standard varieties that diverge predominantly in the lexicon and the phonology. Substrate interference with the lexicon visible in diachronic data should therefore be understood as the end result of synchronic processes of language endangerment and language shift.

Lexical traces of otherwise extinct languages have sometimes been assessed as **archaisms**, which are especially associated with rural or otherwise geographically isolated varieties of a language. This is likely because, firstly, rates of language change tends to be slower in isolated communities; broader trends of shift may reach rural areas later, effectively staggering death and allowing for more isolated areas to preserve dispreferred material for longer. Once the shift event *has* been initiated in farflung regions, the process itself may be slower, allowing for more protracted periods of bilingualism, and hence providing greater opportunity for the transfer of lexical material. Secondly, biological endemism in flora and fauna, as well as localised geographical or meteorological features, may generate a lexis of necessity that is pragmatically bound to a certain region, or to certain subsistence methods associated with the peculiarities of that region (see Christie 2021: 203 – 205).

As a form of contact-induced change, then, interference associated with shift generates highly localised non-standard varieties associated with particular regions, ethnicities, or cultural enclaves; such varieties have been called 'ethnolects' (Muysken 2010: 9). This thesis motivates for the discussion of Namaqualand Afrikaans as an ethnolect that has undergone lexical interference following language shift from Nama.

1.2.2. Bilingualism & Lexical Borrowing

Classical linguistic assessments of contact-induced change viewed languages as collections of macrosocial trends, and so discussed language contact as the interaction between abstract language entities governed by broad socioeconomic factors. This focus has been repositioned in recent decades, narrowing the scope of interest in contact-induced change from macrosocial diachronic assessments to focus instead on the synchronic role of the bilingual speaker (Campbell 1987: 57; Appel & Muysken 1987: 1 – 9; Field 2002: 2), with especial focus on explicating the grammatical rules (Poplack 1993; Muysken 1995) and psychosociolinguistic cues (Gumperz 1982; Myers-Scotton 1993b) that govern codeswitched speech. This body of scholarship has influenced the analysis of contact-induced language change, giving rise to discussion of how bilingual codeswitching behaviours may facilitate the diffusion of loaned lexical items into the monolingual linguistic repertoire (Appel & Muysken 1987: 166). Contemporary theories of bilingualism and codeswitching have also successfully been introduced to sociolinguistic appraisals of historical contact events (Chirita 2003; Clackson 2012; Butts 2016).

Macrosocial explanations for loan have typically devolved upon **pragmatic need** and **socioeconomic prestige**. Contact situations do not limit contact to the linguistic, and a degree of cultural exchange is usually unavoidable; as a result, pragmatic novelties introduced to one speech community by another range from the abstract to the concrete. Exposure of this kind may necessitate the loan not only of lexical sets referencing the novelties proper and any associated jargon, but also of the semantic hierarchies required to organise these sets. Processes of loan motivated by exposure to novelty would therefore not select for core semantic concepts, or ‘basic vocabulary’ common to both languages (see critical discussion at Haspelmath, 2008: 45 – 46; Matras 2009: 166). The second primary motivation for lexical borrowing, typically invoked to explain the loan of core semantic concepts, is **prestige**; effectively, ‘the borrower must stand to benefit in some way from the transfer of linguistic material’ (McMahon 1994: 201, citing Winter 1973: 138). The adoption of lexical items from a prestige variety into a dispreferred variety may be perceived to convey a degree of prestige onto the speaker, even if the prestige language itself is not fluently used. This motivation is necessarily bound up in socioeconomic inequality, and so is frequently

encountered in colonial and post-colonial contexts (as, for example, in the proliferation of SA English loanwords into urban youth varieties of isiXhosa).

When considering the codeswitching and codemixing tendencies of the bilingual speaker as a vector for the diffusion of lexical items outward into the monolingual population, however (McMahon 1994: 200), numerous further motivations, often narrowly context-dependent, have been identified. Under the 'markedness' model of codeswitching (Myers-Scotton 1993b: 75 – 149, it is understood that codeswitching 'marks a sociopsychological change of some kind' (Ritchie & Bhatia, 2006: 339). In certain multilingual contexts, competence in a given language or language variety, and hence the capacity to codemix or to understand codemixed utterances, may be restricted by sociolinguistic variables including age, race, class, or the like, thus driving the creation of an 'in-group' of bilingual speakers (on the construction of 'we'/'they' codes, see Gumperz 1982; Sebba & Wootton 1998; Torras & Gafaranga 2002), with the result that codemixing may serve as a vehicle for the construction and performance of a particular sociolinguistic identity.³ The use of codeswitching by children has also been identified as a potential means by which younger interlocutors may attempt to negotiate imbalanced power-relations with adults (Jørgensen 1998).

Psychosocial motivations for codeswitching were codified in Gumperz 1982: 75 – 84 and have since been greatly elaborated upon by authors including Auer 1984a and Myers-Scotton 1993b; a general selection is collated and adapted below. These motivations will be invoked in Chapter 8 when discussing monolingual L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans speakers' reports of bilingual Nama-Afrikaans caretaker codeswitching.

Some Psychosocial Motivations for Codeswitching

- (1) quotation, fixed phrase, and idiom
- (2) reiteration, emphasis, intensification of existing discourse
- (3) comment on or further qualification of existing discourse
- (4) euphemism or circumlocution of sensitive, taboo, or culturally closed discourse
- (5) sociolinguistic variables in the discourse context, including the language repertoire, age, gender, race, ethnicity, class, professional status, or similar of all or some interlocutors

³ This thesis does not accept that sociolinguistic identity (an abstract social construct) can *generate* language change (a material natural reality) *ex nihilo*, and prefers instead the inverse: that language change drives or at least is intimately implicated in the construction of sociolinguistic identities (see Trudgill 2008).

(6) interjection

The close but complex relationship between bilingualism and contact-induced lexical influence has spurred considerable debate as to how to distinguish between **single-word codemixes** during bilingual speech, and **loanwords** proper. Psycholinguistic approaches to bilingualism and codeswitching, for example, have sought to determine whether single-word codemixes and loanwords are generated through different psycholinguistic processes, as outlined at Poplack *et al.* 1993, Poplack & Meechan 1998a, or whether they are produced via broadly similar means (summary adapted with reference to Stammers & Deuchar 2011: 630). In practice, a distinction is often drawn based on whether or not (or the degree to which) alien lexical material has been adapted to conform to the host language (Muysken 2000: 69; Bullock 2009: 164 – 167). Under this stipulation, **loanwords** proper have been fully integrated into the morphosyntactic systems of the host language, and have also been adapted to meet its phonological constraints through a process of **rephonologisation**; diffusion across a broad speech community, coupled with regularity of usage, contributes significantly to the rephonologisation of the diffused items (Poplack *et al.* 1988; Stammers & Deuchar 2010: 632). By contrast, single-word codemixes tend not to involve significant phonological or morphological adaptation.

Even with these distinctions in place, ambiguous items are still encountered, especially in fluent bilingual speech (Appel & Muysken 1987: 173; Sankoff 2004: 487 – 488; Bullock 2009: 165). Additional criteria used in cases of such ambiguity have included, firstly, whether or not an item has become accessible to monolingual speakers; secondly, the extent to which it has been broadly diffused across the entirety of a speech community; and, thirdly, the frequency and regularity of its usage. Since monolinguals are incapable of codeswitching, items in their repertoire must have been widely dispersed throughout a community through contact with bilingual speakers. Furthermore, since monolinguals have only a single phonology, any items in their repertoire must also obligatorily have undergone some degree of phonological adaptation. When assessing utterances by fluent bilinguals, however, it should be understood that distinctions between loan and codeswitching may need to be drawn on a case-by-case basis.

The third criterion, which requires that a loanword be regularly used and broadly diffused across the speech community, such that they are generally recognisable and interpretable by monolingual speakers, is less easily assessed, especially when working with under-documented or under-resourced languages. Furthermore, the broad diffusion of a word does not necessarily correspond with the regularity of its usage, and *vice-versa*. In an extreme view, any adopted L2 item constitutes a loanword as soon as it is uttered by an L1 speaker, ‘publically or even silently’ (Calabrese 2009: 67), thus prioritising the repertoire of the individual. By contrast, Haspelmath puts forward the strict criterion that a loanword must be the result of a completed change event that has become established in the general daily lexicon of the host language (Haspelmath, 2009: 40), thus prioritising the repertoire of the community.⁴

As outlined in 1.2.1. above, the extent to which a given speaker in a shifting community can in fact be termed bi- or monolingual is not always clear. Neither the speaker who has undergone **L1 attrition**, nor the speaker who only ever **partially acquired** the dispreferred language, precisely fits either a monolingual or a bilingual profile. This complicates efforts to determine whether lexical items that have entered the prestige language from the substrate via shift should properly be considered single-word codemixes or loanwords, especially when the shift is still ongoing. As will be detailed in Chapter 2, the shift from Nama to Namaqualand Afrikaans progressed in sporadic bursts occurring at fluctuating centres of language contact over the course of two centuries, hence allowing for at least one or two bilingual generations. The set of diffused items lexical, examined in Chapter 3, is highly variable by region, and would moreover appear to be limited to specific, potentially ethnolectal Afrikaans enclaves demarcated by complex intersections of geopolitical (‘Namaqualand Afrikaans’) and racial (‘Coloured Afrikaans’) lines. Furthermore, some ostensibly loaned items are so

⁴ The Nonce Loan Hypothesis (Poplack *et al.* 1988) serves to blend elements of both the established loan and the single-word codeswitch. Under this model, the non-native item is adapted to the phonological and morphosyntactic constraints of the recipient language, but may still be relatively sparsely distributed across a given community, and access may also be conditioned by bilingual lexical proficiency. This definition, while useful for describing material that has ostensibly undergone adaptation, but that is not generally attested, still does not circumvent the difficulties of determining how widespread a word in fact is; I would add that such a task would be insurmountable when working with under-documented and under-resourced languages, for which no large digital corpora are available for quantitative research of the sort conducted in Stammers & Deuchar 2011. For arguments against the treatment of the nonce loan as a discrete category, see the Null Borrowing Hypothesis of Samar & Meechan 1998.

obscurely documented that it is most likely their retention was limited to discrete individuals, and were never productively diffused throughout the enclave.

For the sake of analytical clarity, this thesis adopts the position that speakers who acquired the socially dominant language as their L1, and who only partially acquired some lexical items from the obsolescing language, should be considered functionally monolingual. Their L1 phonology will therefore condition their perception and production of the lexis donated by the endangered language, effectively yielding **lexical borrowing** rather than **single-word codemixing**. However, because many of these lexical items are idiosyncratic, used only by a handful of speakers rather than by the community as a whole, they fall short of meeting the criteria for loan, or at least have *not yet* developed into loans. Without the widespread diffusion of such items across the broader community, it should perhaps be expected that rephonologisation strategies likewise remain idiosyncratic and highly variable. Further discussion of how such items should best be termed follows in Chapter 3 and Chapter 8.

1.2.3. Phonological Adaptation of Lexical Borrowings

While lexical borrowing may not effect structural change to the same degree as other forms of borrowing, such as syntactic, it nevertheless has the potential to introduce into the target language not only unfamiliar lexical items, but also unfamiliar phonological material, and, depending on the typology of both languages, also unfamiliar morphological and syntactic material. The integration of non-native L2 input into nativised L1 output therefore necessarily involves at least some degree of phonological adaption to suit the constraints of the L1.

In keeping with general theories of L1 transfer onto the L2 (see reviews at Bohn 2002; Major 2008), the phonemic inventory of a speaker's L1 grammar should condition their perception of non-native phonological material (Weinreich 1953; Flege 1995; Peperkamp & Dupoux 2003; Calabrese 2009), and hence their psycholinguistic construction of an underlying representation (UR) of a non-native segment or string. The L1 inventory will similarly condition the production of a surface representation (SR), yielding the 'nativised' or 'adapted' loanword. On a more mechanical level, articulatory competence may also condition the phonetic realisation of the L2 input in L1 output. As has been discussed above, adaptation of this sort is taken as an

indication that an item has been established as a loanword within the host language, in that it has been processed by a monolingual grammar.

Principles of similarity suppose that an alien segment should tend to be adapted to as similar a segment as is available from the L1 inventory. Discussions have tended to centre on phonetic features and on natural phonological classes, but definitions of 'similarity' are necessarily contentious, and, furthermore, lose their usefulness when applied to language systems that, through natural chance, happen to be extremely *dissimilar*. The Transfer to Somewhere Principle (Andersen 1983) stipulates that some degree of similarity must be present between the two systems in contact, or else transfer from the L1 simply fails to function as a viable means of interacting with the L2. Kellerman 1995, however, proposed a Transfer to Nowhere Principle, which does allow for transfer even between radically different systems (the application of these two positions to click consonants is further discussed in 1.3.2. below).

Because adaptive strategies, sometimes collectively called **rephonologisation** strategies or **loan phonology**, have supposedly been conditioned by a set of phonological constraints common to the monolingual speakers of the host language, the expectation is that they should be fairly regular. However, numerous sociolinguistic factors may yield variable phonological adaptations across a community (see discussion at Lev-Ari & Peperkamp 2014). Underlying phonological variation in the host language may produce variable adaptive strategies; this is especially relevant in the case of poorly-documented endangered languages, as unrecorded underlying variations may account for unexpected adaptations that cannot otherwise be explained. Furthermore, adaptive strategies may be more variable during initial periods of contact (Winter-Froemel 2014), when only small or incidental populations of monolingual speakers will have access to non-native material, and less variable following sustained or intensive contact, when the majority of monolingual speakers will have accepted non-native material into their repertoire, suggesting that the regularisation of adaptive strategies seems to keep pace with the diffusion of the loanword into the broader monolingual population.

As an analytical method, Optimality Theory (Prince & Smolensky 1993) has been employed in the investigation of rephonologisation during loan (Yip 1996; Broselow,

Chen & Wang 1998; Hancin-Bhatt 2008). Several recent studies have fruitfully applied OT to the analysis of how English loanwords are adapted into indigenous southern African languages, including chiShona (Kadenge & Mudzwinga 2012), isiZulu (Khan 2016), and xiTsonga (Vratsanos 2017). Here the focus has been predominantly on how a CVCV phonotactic structure optimally adapts loanwords that violate this structure; in other words, OT has been used to assess, explain, and predict the adaptation of impermissible strings during southern African colonial language contact events, rather than impermissible segments.

OT has been used to explain the adaptation of loaned segments (Boersma & Hamann 2009) effectively by determining the most ‘similar’ available L1 segments as candidates to replace the alien segment, then ranking these options preferentially. While this thesis draws on many of the founding tenets of OT, including the assumption that a grammar will naturally seek to output the most harmonious possible SR, the absence of detailed data on non-native featural perception of click consonants, not to mention the lack of a consensus on the phonological analysis of native click consonants, does limit the close application of OT as an analytical framework. Click-specific models of perception have been developed, but are significantly limited, as is discussed in Section 1.3 below, and are also not intended to be applied in the analysis of loanwords specifically.

The primary aim of Part 2 of this thesis is therefore to elicit and collate data on the featural relationship between native click consonants as realised in L1 Nama speech, and loaned click consonants as realised in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans speech. While the phonetic and phonological features of these data will be discussed and some preliminary phonetic explanations offered, a fully predictive explanation of the behaviours observed is beyond the scope of this thesis, in that the models required for such an analysis do not yet exist. It is hoped that the collation and preliminary discussion of these data will allow for further studies to engage in more rigorous application of OT to the featural analysis of click consonants in loan.

1.3. Click Consonants

This thesis works only with click consonants used as speech sounds in sub-Saharan Africa. It will reference the weak allophonic clicks apparently emergent in otherwise clickless languages (Ohala 1995) such as German (Fuchs *et al.* 2007), kinyaRwanda

(Demolin 2016), and chiShona (Doke 1931), since these instances offer useful comparative insight into circumstances through which click consonants may arise via normal processes of language-internal sound change. However, it will not engage with paralinguistic clicks, such as those used in multiple unrelated languages to express disapproval, or with click consonants which have only limited distributions within marked registers, such as the clicks documented to have occurred in the extinct ritualistic jargons Damin and Lardil (Hale & Nash 1997). To assist in the identification and acoustic analysis of click consonants, this thesis makes use of Praat spectrographic imaging software following practices outlined at Ladefoged & Maddieson, 1996: 246 – 280 and Fulop & Wright, 2020: 241 – 275. An overview of the Nama phonetic click inventory is provided in Chapter 3.

1.3.1. The Phonetics & Phonology of Click Consonants

Click consonants are articulated using a double closure, in which two sections of the tongue make simultaneous contact with two sections of the roof of the mouth to form a pocket of trapped air, or cavity (Beach 1938; Ladefoged & Traill 1984; Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996: 247; Miller *et al.* 2009; Sands 2020: 2). A momentary expansion of the tongue rarifies the air within the cavity, creating a low-pressure environment; following the release of both closures, high-pressure air from the surrounding environment moves to fill the cavity, creating a **lingual ingressive consonant** or click. The positioning of the tongue during the anterior closure corresponds best with the PLACE feature of non-click consonants, in that it is this closure which determines the shape of the cavity, and hence the quality of the acoustic burst (Miller *et al.* 2009: 133). Accordingly, the PLACE of the anterior closure is used to determine the click ‘type’ (Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996: 247 – 257; Miller *et al.* 2009: 133; Fulop & Wright 2020: 250). A variety of further contrastive modifications may be applied, including nasalisation, phonation, and glottalisation, with the number and scope of modifications applied varying from language to language. The concept of the ‘accompaniment’ (Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996: 260) as a category for these further modifications has been interrogated as ‘phonetically empty’ (Miller *et al.* 2009, 132), in that it does not

form ‘a natural class of speech gestures’ (Sands 2020: 22 – 23), but the term is still conventionally applied.⁵

The posterior closure implicates the dorsum or occasionally the radix of the tongue. While early discussion assumed either that all posterior closures were velar (Beach, 1938; Ladefoged & Maddieson, 1996: 260), more recent research has shown that, in some languages, uvular closures predominate (Miller *et al.* 2009: 130), while, in other languages, whether or not the closure is velar or uvular may depend on the place of the anterior closure (Proctor *et al.* 2020). As the posterior closure is typically formed using the dorsum of the tongue, its release may also be referred to as ‘dorsal’, rather than velar or uvular. Typically, the anterior and posterior closures occur nearly simultaneously (Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996: 262). However, there may be ‘audible lag’ on the dorsal burst following the anterior release during the production of different click consonants across different languages (Sands 2020: 28 – 29).

Furthermore, Praat imaging software does allow for magnification and enhancement of the waveform image, so that the apical or laminal burst of the anterior closure may be viewed and analysed separately from the dorsal burst of the posterior closure, even when the two releases are near-simultaneous (Fulop & Wright 2020: 257). Nasalisation and glottalisation of the click will typically ‘block’ the visible appearance of the dorsal burst in the waveform (Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996: 262 – 264; Fulop *et al.* 2003: 244 - 245), although prenasalisation and voiceless nasalisation will not (Fulop & Wright 2020: 260). In certain languages, an audibly delayed dorsal release may generate contrast with clicks produced using near-simultaneous releases; in such instances, ‘a dorsal symbol such as q’ is used in order to indicate an audible delay between the dorsal release and the dorsal burst (Sands 2020: 29). Some authors treat the audible dorsal release to be uvular (Bennett 2020: 107), while Gunnink, for example, observes that the posterior release is ‘audibly velar’ (Gunnink, 2020: 162) in chiFwe click consonants.

⁵ Contrary to the general South African pedagogic position, which erroneously accounts only for ‘type’, the total number of click phonemes represented in a given inventory should be calculated with reference both to click ‘type’ and to click ‘accompaniment’; thus isiXhosa has between fifteen and eighteen click consonants, depending on dialectal variation, not three, and Namibian Khoekhoe has twenty, not four.

The twin points of articulation, coupled with the wide array of potential modifications, have fuelled debate over the phonological classification of click consonants, which in turn complicates the assignation of differential features to click consonants. Bewilderment at the size and complexity of the !Xóõn consonant inventory (Traill 1985: 208) sparked interest in the development of an analytical model that would bring this inventory in line with cross-linguistic norms. The treatment of click consonants as clusters, rather than as individual segments, effectively reduces the number of segments represented in the inventory (see discussion at Bradfield 2014: 10).

Following Traill 1993, Güldemann 2001 codifies this approach through the application of feature geometry, with subsequent cluster analyses including Nakagawa 2006 and Naumann 2008. In cluster analysis (Güldemann 2001), the term **simple** describes the [±VOICE] stop consonants /p ~ b/, /t ~ d/, /k ~ g/, /q ~ ɢ/, and /ʔ/; retroflex and palatalised stop consonants are not considered simple, but the affricates /ts ~ dʒ/ are. The term **complex** is applied to the ‘coarticulations’ aspiration /^h/ and ejection /ʔ/, with ejection being considered a form of glottalisation /ʔ/. The term **clustered** is used of two segments, both consonants with phonemic status within the inventory of the given language, which occur sequentially and so combine into a single segment. This terminology is carried over onto the analysis of click consonants, which are treated as simple stops, complex stops, or consonant clusters. Consequently, nasal clicks and plosive clicks are ‘simple’ clicks (effectively, [±NASAL], [±VOICE]), while any additional features are the result of ‘elaboration’ via which a series of additional features are cumulatively added to yield complex stops or consonant clusters.

Subsequent criticism, however, observed that that this model does not accurately generate the actual inventories of all known languages containing click consonants (see detailed exemplification and discussion at Bennett, 2020: 101 – 114). Perhaps most influentially, high-speed ultrasound imaging of clicks in N|uu found that clicks previously considered to have a velar closure in fact involved inaudible uvular constrictions (Miller *et al.*, 2009; compare similar MRI analyses of Namibian Khoekhoe and siSwati in Proctor *et al.* 2020). This finding forced reanalysis of the cluster model, since N|uu does not contain certain independent uvular segments that would be required to generate uvular click consonants as consonant clusters. Additional arguments against the cluster model include the observation that languages which do

permit click consonants do not permit consonant clusters (Miller 2011: 425), and will in fact strongly disprefer consonant clusters when adapting loanwords (Bennett, 2020: 116 – 177).

Rather than aiming to reduce the size of click consonant inventories, therefore, the unitarian approach argues that large inventories arise naturally following the introduction of the ingressive lingual airstream as an additional contrastive feature, and do not need to be brought in line with cross-linguistic norms (Miller *et al.* 2009; Miller, 2011: 425). This approach argues that descriptive adequacy of large click inventories is possible through the application of features pertaining to place, manner, phonation, and airstream. Rather than viewing clicks as combinations of static consonants, in other words, it opts instead to describe them as individual dynamic consonants (Miller *et al.* 2009: 134). The place feature is expressed in compound terms, such as ‘dental-uvular’, in order to account for the twin closures, while phonation and nasalisation features are realised with the assistance of normal pulmonic airflow. Under cluster analysis, an affricate click is considered the clustering of two consonants, the first a stop that happens to take the form of a click, and the second a consonantal fricative. The unitarian position, however, proposes that the manner of articulation of a click consonant is the result of a shift between airstream mechanisms, or a **contour** from one airstream mechanism to another. Such **airstream contours** are positioned as analogous to those which inform the production of normal affricates via the contour of manner from a stop to a fricative, or the production of prenasalised stops via the contour of nasality from nasal to oral (Miller *et al.* 2009: 134; see further discussion at Bennett, 2020: 98 – 99).⁶

⁶ Bradfield 2014 has proposed **concurrency** analysis, which operates as a theoretical fusion of the **cluster** and **contour** models. Rather than separate the click inventory into simple segments and clusters following Traill 1993 and Güldemann 2001, all click consonants are treated as consonant clusters. In contrast to the understanding of consonant clusters typically applied outside of click phonology, these clusters are characterised as concurrent, or simultaneous, rather than sequential (note that Fulop & Wright 2020: 257 holds that the closures may not be simultaneous); *contra* Miller *et al.* 2009, airstream contours are not permitted. Concurrency has not yet been developed in any further major analyses of click phonology.

1.3.2. Non-native Perception and Adaptation of Click Consonants

As discussed in Section 1.2.3. above, principles of similarity invoked in the study of L1 transfer suppose that an alien segment should tend to be adapted to the optimally similar segment available from the L1 inventory. The limited cross-linguistic distribution of click consonants, coupled with the sheer dynamism of their articulation and the complexity of their phonetics, means that clicks are rather exceptionally *dissimilar* to segments available from the inventories of languages outside of the KX'A, KHOE, and TAA families. This dissimilarity must complicate both non-native perception and adaptation. This complexity, although formidable, would not be beyond the realm of explanation if only contextualising data were available. In order to develop a rigorous analysis of the adaptation of specific alien segments as specific L1 segments using existing methods for the study of loan phonology, as reviewed in Section 1.2.3. above, a robust understanding of *both* the phonological properties of the alien segments *and* of the L1 perceptions of these segments must be in place. Unfortunately, neither of these are yet available for click consonants.

The best-known studies of click perception by speakers of non-click languages, and the only such studies to have generated theoretical frameworks of perception that explicitly include click consonants, are those spearheaded by Best. Findings in Best *et al.* 1988 showed that L1 speakers of non-click languages who had never previously been aware of the concept of click consonants, or 'click-naive' speakers, performed very accurately when asked to distinguish between the plain dental and alveolar clicks, but that 'all reported hearing the clicks as non-linguistic events (finger snap, cork pop, clops, percussion instrument, plop, water drip, tongue clucking or popping)' (Best 2020: 191). The Perceptual Assimilation Model (Best 1995) was grounded in part in these findings, and predicted that non-native phones should be sorted as Categoricalised, Uncategoricalised, and Non-Assimilable, with click consonants generally considered 'Non-Assimilable', or incapable of being mapped to a native phone or class of phones. A subsequent examination (Best *et al.* 2003) of L1 English, seSotho, and isiZulu speakers' capacity to accurately identify certain !Xóõn click consonants *not* present in either seSotho and isiZulu, namely /ʘ/ and /ǀ/, found that, while the English-speaking participants continued to perceive !Xóõn click consonants as non-speech events, the seSotho and isiZulu listeners did accept unfamiliar clicks as clicks, and assimilated them into their native click inventories.

Other available studies of click acquisition in L1 speakers of non-click languages have been similarly limited. Lewis 1996, for example, tested the acquisition of isiXhosa click consonants by L1 Afrikaans-speakers, but only in children between the ages of 10;0 and 13;0 years. This study found that the dental click type was recalled and produced consistently and accurately more frequently than the lateral and alveolar click types, suggesting that the dental click is ‘the easiest of the three click types to be acquired by non-mother-tongue speakers’ (Lewis, 1996: 104). This would align both with findings that children acquiring click languages as an L1 master the dental click earliest (Gxilishe 2004), and with the tendency of dental clicks to be utilised most frequently during loan in the SWB languages at (Gunnink *et al.* 2015: 199). Unfortunately, however, comparable experiments on test groups of different ages are not available.⁷

It is only relatively recently that the *ArtiVarK* click study used MRI imaging to observe the physical processes involved in articulating speech consonants as produced by adult click-naïve speakers. Findings showed that a lowered velum was particularly characteristic in ‘learners of click consonants’, and further noted that that ‘successful perception of click articulation ... is presumably required to know how to take the appropriate motor actions to respond with a successful click production’ (Moisik & Dediu, 2020: 408 – 409), and hence that theories of speech perception pertaining to motor processes of the articulatory system may be of use in discussing the perception of click consonants. Here, too, the study primarily involved speakers of non-click languages who had previously had no exposure to click consonants, and who had to be trained in their production by the research team (Moisik & Dediu 2020: 387). While this served the aims of the *ArtiVarK* study, it does not offer particularly relevant detail on the perception of click consonants by adults who do not speak a click language as their L1, but who are neither strictly ‘click-naïve’ in the sense of Best 2020.

⁷ Another major criticism of the few existing studies is their narrow focus on non-native perception of click ‘type’, with little to no special consideration for the non-native perception of click ‘accompaniment’. Arguably, phonemic contrasts carried in click ‘accompaniments’ such as voicing and nasalisation should be more consistently and accurately perceptible to non-native speakers than contrasts carried in click type, as here some L1 analogue exists, but no studies exist to confirm this. A clearer understanding of which features of clicks are more readily perceived and acquired by non-native speakers could very easily contribute to the improved teaching of click languages. Unfortunately, despite the enormous pedagogic potential of an improved linguistic understanding of click perception, articulation, and acquisition in L2 learners of click languages, this field has been sorely neglected by South African linguists and educators.

Outside of Best *et al.* 2003, however, virtually no detailed cross-linguistic studies have assessed accuracy in identifying either click type or click accompaniment in participants who, despite being speakers of non-click languages, have nonetheless been familiar with the concept of click consonants for most of their lives, and who *would* therefore accept them as speech sounds from the outset.⁸ This would presumably have been the condition of most speakers involved in long-term multigenerational contact events in precolonial southern Africa, and certainly is the condition of all southern African speakers currently participating in contact events between click and non-click languages, meaning that perceptual models developed from the assessment of click-naïve adults are not helpful in a southern African context. Speakers of clickless NTU or GERMANIC languages who are resident in southern Africa and who have basic familiarity with click consonants through everyday exposure would be ideal candidates for perception studies of this sort. The only effort to replicate the click perception test conducted in Best *et al.* 1988 (which returned a 90% rate of accuracy in click type differentiation in click-naïve participants) with southern African speakers who had previously been exposed to click consonants as speech sounds garnered drastically different results, with all participants, including L1 speakers of isiXhosa, performing near chance (Tyler Miller, *pers. comm.*, 2021; an MA thesis refining these results is forthcoming in 2023).

Here it is worth noting studies that compare accuracy of perception in ‘high-exposure’ and ‘low-exposure’ speakers. In assessments of non-native perception and native phonological attrition, for example, ‘a non-native sound discrimination test in ... non-words was better performed by low-experienced learners than by high-experienced ones’; similarly, ‘low-experienced subjects’ could identify ‘prominent phonetic cues in ... non-words but not in the linguistic processing of real words’ (Celata & Cancila 2010: 202). This supports the PAM theory developed by Best *et al.* 1988, which is in essence a modular perception schema separating the perception and analysis of non-speech sounds from the perception and analysis of phonemic contrast. Entirely click-naïve speakers, who do not perceive click consonants as speech sounds, may use a more

⁸ A small pilot experiment conducted with only two participants exposed speakers of isiXhosa and isiZulu to the same two alien click consonants, [ʘ] and [ǀ], although it is not clarified which language provided the test material, and the data extracted are minimally conclusive (Bradfield 2014: 26–28).

generalised auditory apparatus that is effective in differentiating between non-linguistic stimuli. Thus they can accurately distinguish between an acoustic wave lasting 3 milliseconds at 930 Hz and an acoustic wave lasting 25 milliseconds at 8 000 Hz. On the other hand, speakers who *have* been exposed to clicks consonants in speech, and who *do* perceive them as speech sounds, may use a specialised auditory apparatus that, sensitised only to certain acoustic qualities by their own L1 phonological repertoire, is ineffective in differentiating between non-native linguistic stimuli. Thus they struggle to distinguish between an alveolar click and a dental click.

Given the paucity of data available on cross-linguistic click perception, and especially cross-linguistic perception of click accompaniments, it is not yet possible to introduce robust perceptual considerations into any feature-based analysis of how click consonants are rephonologised when loaned. However, some preliminary observations about the behaviour of click consonants during contact events may be inferred from available data on language-internal sound change. Traill & Voßen 1997 describe a process of ‘click loss’ underway in a number of languages, including selected Botswanan Kalahari-branch languages and Angolan !Xũ. This study not only demonstrated that ‘clicks do indeed cross-classify with other sounds in a systematic way’ (Traill & Voßen 1997: 22), but also that ‘click weakening’, involving a reduction in the acoustic abruptness of // and /ʔ/ (Traill & Voßen 1997: 48), occurs as an intermediate stage in the diachronic process of a click consonant being replaced by a stop consonant during a sound change event.⁹

Follow-up surveys have also provided ample data demonstrating that click consonants alternate regularly with stop consonants during language-internal sound change events (Fehn 2020a, Fehn 2020b). In languages of the broader KHOE-KWADI family, the alveolar click // may be replaced by ‘velar stops, fricatives, or nasals’ (Fehn,

⁹ Traill & Voßen 1997 ultimately positioned click replacement as a broader process of ‘click loss’, attributed to the supposed sociolinguistic effects of language prejudice and language death; however, this is untenably grounded in the assumption that the negative language attitudes towards click languages apparently held by contemporary baTswana-speakers (no formal attitudinal surveys exist) predate colonial disruption of KBA speech communities. Fehn 2020a: 330 – 331 offers a more measured reconstruction of pre-colonial interaction between seTswana and Kalahari-branch speech communities, and argues plausibly that rapid mass 2LA events may have conditioned wide-scale trends of click replacement. For a proposed relationship between click loss and contact with clickless languages, see Sands & Gunnink 2019: 710 – 713.

2020a: 306), while /ʃ/ is replaced by ‘palatal stops or nasals, palatal affricates, or postalveolar affricates’ (Fehn 2020a: 317). Fehn frames these replacements in terms of a loss of the alveolar and palatal influxes, in that the adaptation of a click consonant into an obstruent consonant should technically involve the replacement of the lingual airstream mechanism with the pulmonic airstream, and hence the loss of the feature [+LINGUAL]. Importantly, certain features do seem to be preserved during the rephonologisation process, as evidenced by the fairly regular replacement of /!/ by /k/, both of which share the [+GRAVE] feature, and by the frequency with which /ʔ/ was observed to replace /!ʔ/ (Fehn 2020a: 306).

Non-native adaptation of click consonants would *tentatively* seem to follow similar patterns when adapted as consonants *other than clicks*. L1 Afrikaans children tended to replace isiXhosa click consonants with dental or velar stops (Lewis 1996: 107 – 108); importantly, nasalised clicks tended to be replaced by alveolar nasals, and breathy-voiced clicks by voiced stops (Lewis 1996: 109). Recent comparison with the best-documented instances of the lexical borrowing of items containing click consonants from a click language into a non-click language suggest that similarly regular processes may occur when click consonants are rephonologised as non-click consonants. In chiFwe, for example, click consonants present in loanwords may be replaced with non-click consonants, usually velar stops (Gunnink, 2020: 165), and features including nasality and voicing are typically preserved during the transformation of a click into a non-click (Gunnink, 2020: 174), demonstrating again that click consonants do participate in regular sound correspondences based on featural relationships.

Less is understood, however, about the adaptation of click consonants *as click consonants* by non-native speakers. Even in language-internal contexts, available appraisals of click phonology have tended to focus on the relationship between clicks and non-clicks, as discussed above, and there is little consensus either on the phonological relationships between click types, or on sound change trends affecting clicks *as clicks* (see Sands 2014: 10 for some preliminary efforts at identifying a /ʃ/ > /!/ merger in Kora). This makes the adaptation of click consonants *as clicks* under contact conditions even harder to predict. In comparing the Transfer to Somewhere (Andersen 1983) and Transfer to Nowhere (Kellerman 1995) Principles, Major

observes that, '[i]n phonology, the [Transfer to Somewhere] Principle would predict that English speakers would *not* transfer English sounds when they tried to imitate clicks; however, the [Transfer to Nowhere Principle] would predict they might' (Major, 2008: 66). He goes on to offer anecdotal discussion describing how click-naïve adult students attempted to engage with click consonants:

In teaching phonetics classes over the years I have produced various clicks and have asked students to reproduce them. Hardly ever have they produced an English consonant; instead they have produced some click-like sound, though not necessarily the one I had produced. Thus, the Transfer to Somewhere Principle seemed to operate, since there was no obvious similar English consonant.

Yet, recently I asked a class of native speakers of English to write the closest English consonant when I produced nonce words with a voiceless alveolar lateral click and a voiceless palatal click. The results were varied. The majority wrote the English consonant *t* or *d* but some were unable to do so, instead writing a question mark. In a similar vein, when most English speakers pronounce the first sound in the word *Xhosa* they use an English consonant instead of a click [...]. These results suggest that, depending on the conditions, both Andersen and Kellerman can be correct.

Major 2008: 72 – 73

This offers some insight into the question of how click consonants are adapted by click-naïve speakers, not under laboratory conditions, but during historical and ongoing contact events yielding lexical borrowing from a clickless language into a click language. Effectively, TtS would assume that, since clicks are *too* dissimilar from any segments available from the L1 inventory, no transfer can occur; they are 'non-assimilable' in Best's terminology. Clicks are therefore adapted *not* with reference to the L1 inventory, but *as clicks*, thus introducing marginal segments to the inventory rather than adapting existing segments. TtN, however, allows for transfer to occur even between extremely dissimilar systems, and so would permit the (ostensibly) extreme adaptation or assimilation of a click consonant as, say, a velar stop, an alveolar nasal, or the like.

Both strategies are attested in L1 Afrikaans interaction with isiXhosa clicks (Lewis 1996) and in L1 chiFwe interaction with KX'A and KHOE clicks (Gunnink 2020a). Furthermore, as will be shown in Chapter 3, both strategies are attested for Afrikaans

adaptation of Khoekhoe-branch loanwords, and socioeconomic variables conditioning the selection of one over the other can be proposed; these observations are then integrated into broader theories of contact-based click diffusion in Chapters 11 & 12. A primary aim of this thesis is to determine which socioeconomic contact conditions will give rise to which style of adaptation, and, crucially, whether or not any further outcomes may be possible. Chapter 12 will argue that the phonological outcomes of click loan from Khoekhoe-branch languages into isiXhosa and isiZulu suit neither prediction, and will attempt to offer explanations as to why.

1.3.3. The Cross-Linguistic Distribution of Click Consonants

Large regular inventories of click phonemes that effect contrast through type as well as through accompaniment are, alongside numerous other shared typological features, considered the hallmark of the KHOE, TUU, and KX'A languages of southwestern Africa (Güldemann & Fehn 2017). Click consonants have been reconstructed for *proto-KHOE (Voßen 1997) as well as for *proto-KHOE-KWADI (Güldemann & Elderkin 2010), suggesting that they are an ancestral condition of the Kalahari- and Khoekhoe-branch languages at least. Type-contrasting click inventories have also been observed at greater removes in the isolate languages Hadza (Sands *et al.* 1996) and Sandawe (Hunziker *et al.* 2008), although the potential for a genetic relationship between the southern and eastern click languages remains disputed.

That the distribution of click consonants as phonemic segments within ordinary speech is limited to eastern and southern Africa has prompted analysis of the Kalahari Basin Area (KBA) as a linguistic area, one of the primary features of which is the use of large inventories of phonemic click consonants, although other typological similarities are also present (Güldemann & Fehn 2017; Güldemann & Nakagawa 2018; Sands & Gunnink 2019). This model hypothesises that the modern geopolitical location of languages hosting the largest click inventories would correspond with the historical geopolitical origin point of click consonants. Thus the central Kalahari Basin, currently home to such click-rich languages as !Xóón, Ju|'hoan, and !Xũ, is identified as the core click area (Gunnink & Sands 2019: 704 – 710), and hence as the most likely location for a single historical click genesis event, from which all contemporary click inventories derive, either through genetic descent, or through contact-based diffusion. The presence of relic click languages in eastern Africa, coupled with the understanding

that KHOE-speaking communities likely migrated southwest from this region approximately two millennia ago, therefore implies the historical existence of a much larger click area, and of much more broadly distributed click languages.

In southern Africa, large click inventories also predicated on type contrasts are broadly held to have been diffused from the Khoekhoe-branch languages into the Nguni-group NTU languages (S40), most notably isiXhosa (S41), isiZulu (S42), and Zimbabwean isiNdebele (S44) (Appleyard 1850; Meinhof 1905; Bourquin 1951; Louw 1977; Traill 1995; Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996); R41 shiYeyi has also been assessed as utilising a ‘type’-contrasting click inventory that historically originated in neighbouring KX'A and KHOE languages (Somer & Voßen 1992), although the status of clicks in this language is complicated by the presence of extreme intra- and inter-speaker variation (Fulop *et al.* 2003). Smaller click inventories, usually involving either a single click type and a small number of accompaniments, or else multiple click types that are non-contrastive, are attested in several NTU languages in the general region of the Okavango Delta, including thiMbukushu (Fisch 1999), ruManyo (Möhlig 1967), ruKwangali (Kloppers 1994) and chiFwe (Gunnink 2020a), which collectively may be termed the ‘SWB click languages’ (Gunnink *et al.* 2015).

Lesser-studied instances of single-type click inventories appear in S33 seSotho and several dialects in the S50 Tswa-Rhonga complex; these will be discussed in detail in Chapter 11. Reports of click consonants in S311 sheKgalakgadi dialects such as sheTjhauba (Gunnink 2020c), as well as in some varieties of S50 including Karanga and Ndaui in Zimbabwe (Sands & Gunnink 2019: 713 – 714) do exist, probably loaned from Zimbabwean isiNdebele, but detailed data were not available at the time of this study. In eastern Africa, the moribund CUSHITIC language Dahalo also employs a single-type click inventory (Maddieson *et al.* 1993), presumably gained via contact with an unknown and extinct click language.

The development of click inventories in the NTU languages via multiple contact events are of particular interest from a sociohistorical linguistic perspective specifically because they are so difficult to contextualise. Detailed data on the sociolinguistic conditions of precolonial contact events are broadly lost beyond recall, and even contemporary instances of click loan that are likely to have originated from colonial or

post-colonial contact events are sorely undercontextualised. The extensive lexical borrowing from the Khoekhoe branch present in the Nguni languages, coupled with the relatively large click inventory, has attracted scholarship (Meinhof 1905, Faye 1925, Bourquin 1951, Louw 1977, Ownsby 1985, Herbert 1990b, and more recently Gunnink 2019), but no studies have yet produced a fully explanatory model of Khoekhoe-Nguni language contact. The historical development of the click inventories of the 'SWB click languages' has recently begun to receive increased attention from international researchers (Somer & Vossen 1992; Seidel 2005; Bostoen & Sands 2012; Gunnink *et al.* 2015). Unfortunately, the phonetics and phonology of South African click languages (or 'SeB click languages'), especially those in S30 and S50, have largely been ignored by South African linguists, and the available data are sparse and often outdated. Part 3 of this thesis therefore aims to compare insights gained into Nama-Afrikaans click loan, for which at least some contextualising sociohistorical detail may be supplied, with click loan in the SeB languages, in the hopes of improving our sociohistorical understanding of similar pre-colonial contact events.

Very little formal academic treatment of loaned click consonants in the GERMANIC languages SA English or Afrikaans currently exists. Two recent MA theses that interviewed monolingual speakers of Gariep Afrikaans have both observed that the click consonants apparent in lexical items retained from Kora (Killian 2009) and IXam and Kora (Kilian 2020) exhibit extreme variation, but offer no detailed comparison of the expected L1 click consonants with their loaned counterparts. Links 1989 offers the sole multi-page academic linguistic appraisal of Nama-language loanwords in Kharkams Afrikaans, and notes that the click consonants in these loanwords varied dramatically by type from speaker to speaker, and even within utterances by the same speaker. Traill 1995, Den Besten 2013, and Mesthrie 2017 all briefly note the existence of 'unstable clicks' (Den Besten 2013) in the Links 1989 data; preliminary discussion is available from Appendix C of Christie 2020, and a detailed review is conducted in Chapter 3 and Appendix A of this thesis.

Haacke 2013 acknowledges the presence of loaned Khoekhoe-branch items in some varieties of Afrikaans, noting that 'a considerable amount of contact-induced change has as yet gone unnoticed especially in the lexicon of both Khoekhoe and Afrikaans, as the topic has not been seriously investigated yet by linguists conversant in both

languages' (Haacke 2013: 928; see also Haacke 2016 on Afrikaans loanwords in Khoekhoe). Bennett 2020 notes the existence of a marginal click consonant in one isiXhosa loanword in Afrikaans, while the existence of click consonants with a 'low functional load' in Namibian Afrikaans is mentioned in Gunnink & Sands 2019 and Best 2020. Stell 2020: 60 reports the use of Damara lexical items containing click consonants in Windhoek Kasietaal, an Afrikaans-matrix urban vernacular with lexical borrowing from a number of Namibian languages, but does not provide detailed phonetic or phonological descriptions. No further discussion is available.

1.4. Research Questions & Conclusions

The following five questions were developed in order to structure the progress of this research.

1. What historical socioeconomic factors conditioned the language contact event between Nama and Afrikaans in Namaqualand between 1816 and 2016?
2. To what degree has Nama interfered with the lexicon and phonology of Afrikaans in present-day Namaqualand?
3. What phonological adaptations have affected the Nama click inventory during loan into Afrikaans, and how were these adaptations conditioned by historical socioeconomic factors during contact?
4. How do the phonological outcomes of click loan in the Nama-Afrikaans contact event compare with those arising from other historical and ongoing contact events in southern Africa?
5. What phonological adaptations should we expect to affect click consonants during contact events between a click language and a clickless language, and how are these adaptations conditioned by historical socioeconomic factors during contact?

To ensure that engagement with these questions progresses in an orderly fashion, this thesis has been divided into three parts. The first part, *Compilation*, addresses Question 1 and part of Question 2 through a sociohistorical linguistic survey of the research area, and through a comprehensive review of the rural Afrikaans lexicography, but concludes that a phonological understanding of click loan into

Afrikaans cannot be gained from the available data. Appendix A, *An Etymological Corpus of Khoekhoe-branch Lexical Items in Post-Shift Afrikaans*, supplements Part 1. The second part, *Replication*, aims to answer Question 2 more fully, as well as Question 3, through the collection and description of click consonants in Afrikaans as spoken in the Namaqualand area. The final part, *Comparison*, answers questions 4 and 5 by comparing findings with other click inventories that have resulted from language contact, and in so doing attempts to develop a typology of click loan events. Appendix B, *An Etymological Corpus of Click Items in NTU Languages*, supplements Part 3.

Chapter 2

A History of Language Shift in Namaqualand

This chapter situates the donor language Nama within the Khoekhoe branch of the broader KHOE language family, and also provides a detailed sociohistorical linguistic outline of its contact relationship with the host language Afrikaans within the research area, Klein Namaland (present-day Namaqualand). Somewhat neglected by historians in favour of the better-documented Great Namaland region of southern Namibia (see, for example, Kienetz 1977; Dederling 1989), this semi-arid sliver of the Northern Cape has since Penn's 1995 doctoral dissertation (published in 2005 as *The Forgotten Frontier*) begun to attract better discussion, much of which has focused on questions of post-Apartheid land ownership (such as Archer & Meer 1997; Rohde & Hoffman 2007), as well as questions of racial and ethnic identity (Berzborn 2003). No historical analysis of the region has comprehensively examined the diachronic distribution and vitality of the Nama language, with most available linguistic commentary focusing instead on the dispersal of Afrikaans into Namibia via Klein Namaland and its subsequent sociohistory (Stals 2001; Groenewald 2010; Stel & Groenewald 2016).

2.1. The Khoekhoe-branch Languages

This section discusses the genetic relations of the historical Khoekhoe-branch languages of South Africa, and also outlines what is known of their historical geographic distribution immediately prior to Dutch contact.

2.1.1. The KHOE Language Family

Although previously treated as a single family (Greenberg 1963: 66), the notion of a single, uncomplicated 'Khoisan' phylum has largely fallen away (see detailed review at Güldemann 2014). Modern consensus acknowledges three distinct lineages of non-NTU languages spoken in the Kalahari Basin Area (KBA). The KX'A family, historically spoken in Angola and northern Namibia, and more recently also among refugee populations in South Africa, incorporates the various dialect continua of the !Xũ and Jul'hoan languages. The TUU family consists of two branches, with the Taa branch comprising the Botswanan language !Xõón and attendant doculects, and the !Ui branch comprising the South African languages |Xam and N|uu, as well as peripheral doculects such as ǁXegwi. The KHOE family likewise consists of two branches, with

the Kalahari branch incorporating languages spoken from eastern Namibia, across Botswana, and into western Zimbabwe, and the Khoekhoe branch incorporating languages spoken in western Namibia and south into South Africa.¹⁰ Of these diverse languages, spoken at vast geographical removes by hundreds of thousands of people who belong to very different cultures and lead very different lives, only the Khoekhoe-branch and !Ui-branch languages are relevant to Part 1 and Part 2. Where necessary, comparison will be drawn in Part 3 with the Kalahari-branch languages, the Taa-branch language !Xóón, and with some dialects in the KX'A family.

The geographic position of *proto-KHOE before the early first millennium is uncertain. Archaeological research has established the presence of livestock, including goats, sheep, and cattle, along the western coastline of South Africa throughout the period 550 – 1050 CE, and suggests also that, prior to this, 'livestock-keeping [had] spread rapidly from present-day Namibia across a wide area southwards and eastwards (Lander & Russel, 2018: 13). Although subsistence method cannot, of course, be infallibly linked with any particular language family,¹¹ this corroborates at least to some degree the favoured anthropological explanations for the current distribution of KHOE-speaking communities across the KBA, which has long involved theories of a pastoralist migration event or series of events from eastern Africa (see Westphal, 1980: 70, Elphick, 1981: 14 – 22; Barnard, 1992: 36 for classical anthropological and archaeological examinations of this theory; more recently, see Barbieri *et al.* 2014: 435 – 437, Fehn *et al.* 2022). That the KHOE languages of the Cape and western interior of South Africa differ substantially from those of Botswana and eastern

¹⁰ Some analyses propose a higher-order entity, KHOE-KWADI (Güldemann & Elderkin 2010), that would incorporate the extinct Angolan language Kwadi into the lineage at a rank above that of the Kalahari and Khoekhoe branches. Given its disjunctive distribution, this thesis does not consider the Kwadi language relevant to a primarily South African and southerly Namibian context, and so treats only with the KHOE family.

¹¹ A simplistic schema of precolonial South African subsistence, in which !Ui-speakers are all uniformly hunter-gatherers, Khoekhoe-speakers are all uniformly herders, and Nguni-speakers are all uniformly agriculturalists, is sometimes perpetuated without comment or criticism. Although these are useful generalisations, it must be understood that they do not and cannot encapsulate the complex and shifting socioeconomic realities of these communities' lives (Elphick 1981: 41 – 42; see also discussion at Blackburn 1996: 210, as cited at Lander & Russel 2015: 33). Subsistence method is not inextricably linked with ethnicity, and ethnicity cannot be infallibly linked with language. For one thing, many mixed-ethnicity and multilingual communities existed in pre-colonial southern Africa, complicating efforts to assign strict models of subsistence to any one language. For another, certain communities are on record as having shifted from one subsistence method to another even during the relatively early stages of colonial intervention in southern Africa (Gordon 1992: 27 – 28; Wallace 2011: 37). It must be accepted that similar patterns of change and adaptation had also characterised the precolonial landscape.

Namibia has been accepted at least since the 1960s, when Maingard and Westphal, among others, began to add newly-encountered dialects of Tshwe and other Botswanan KHOE languages to their comparative analyses of Kora, Nama, and Naro (Westphal 1962; Maingard 1963). The presumed motion of *proto-KHOE south through the Kalahari and hence into the Karoo aligns with the linguistic division of the broader KHOE family into two major branches, the Kalahari and the Khoekhoe (Voßen 1997: 41 – 53).

2.1.2. The Historical Distribution of Khoekhoe-branch Languages in South Africa

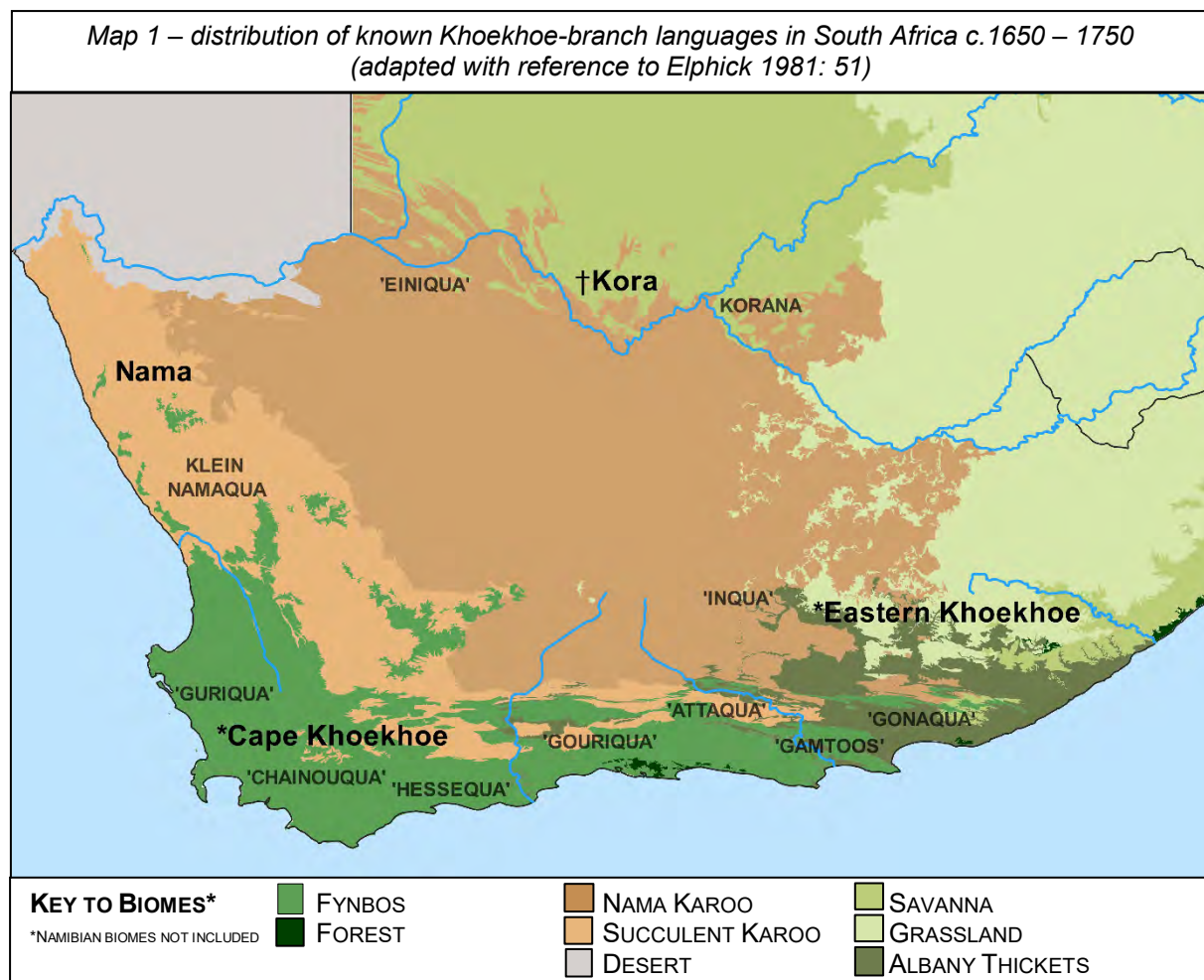
The west coast of southern Africa is a winter rainfall region, receiving the bulk of its precipitation in the form of cold frontal rainstorms between April and August. Winter is the growing season, in which natural resources are at their most abundant; summer is the dead season, in which water is scarce, most plants are dormant, and the veld is bare. On the eastern coast, the inverse prevails. Rain falls primarily during hot convection thunderstorms between the spring and summer months of October and March, while the harsh winters are cold and dry. The interior regions are arid, and, although rainfall may occur year-round, both the Groot Karoo and the Kalahari rely primarily on summer thunderstorms for their precipitation. In the extreme south of the continent, the Overberg, Klein Karoo, Garden Route, and Albany regions together constitute something of a transitional rainfall zone, receiving precipitation in biennial peaks during autumn and spring.

These complementary rainfall patterns, which render different areas better habitable at different times of year, conditioned seasonal transhumance as the dominant mode of human existence in the western and interior parts of southern Africa. Dependant on small flocks of hardy goats, and so capable of moving swiftly across the drier shrublands, merchant and pastoralist communities speaking languages in the Khoekhoe branch followed regular transhumance routes along the western and southern coastlines, with some also taking riverine passageways into the interior Karoo and the dry grasslands along its eastern periphery. In the southerly regions of the Overberg and the Garden Route, communities were better able to sustain large herds of cattle obtained through trade with their amaNguni neighbours to the east. Hunter-gatherer groups speaking languages in or closely allied with the modern !Ui branch were less tied to the availability of water and good grazing, and hence would

seem to have been more peripatetic. By contrast, amaNguni communities in the less arid east tended to be more sedentary and hence more committed to agriculture.

Transhumance was not haphazard or driven only by whim, but rather structured carefully around seasonal yield and a thriving merchant economy. Khoekhoe-speaking communities had conveyed material goods including copper, iron, ivory, ostrich feathers, hides, beads, and, following Portuguese contact, tobacco, from as far afield as Walvis Bay since at least the 16th century and likely earlier (Elphick 1981: 65 – 67; Gordon 1992: 21 – 35; Wallace 2011: 33 – 38). Under such conditions, we should understand that seasonal language contact, in which relatively small, relatively multilingual speech communities of !Ui, Khoekhoe, and amaNguni periodically moved in and out of contact with each other, was a prevailing norm.

The earliest Dutch colonial writings on the Khoekhoe are more concerned with understanding clan groupings, geographical territories, and political allegiances than with the niceties of language documentation and comparison. Although colonial sources do record the names and mid-17th century distributions of many Khoekhoe-speaking communities, the precise nature of these groupings varies wildly, from broad linguistic separations made without reference to smaller communities, to nicely-distinguished clan names recorded with little attention paid to the language spoken. Furthermore, primitive Dutch orthographies were incapable of capturing either click consonants or lexical tone, which often makes the identification of certain communities difficult, and which has occasionally resulted in erroneous conflation. As a result, it is not known precisely how many Khoekhoe-branch languages were spoken in South Africa prior to the advent of Dutch settler-colonialism, or how each of these languages was related to the others. This thesis accepts the historical existence of at least four major language continua within the Khoekhoe branch of the broader KHOE family within South Africa: a *Cape Khoekhoe continuum; Kora; some form of *Eastern Khoekhoe continuum; and Nama. A parent language, *Old Khoekhoe, is also assumed to have existed, roughly analagous to Voßen's *proto-Non-East-KHOE.



2.2. A Brief Historical Overview of Cape Dutch-Khoekhoe Language Contact

This section offers an overview of contact between Cape Dutch and Afrikaans with languages in the Khoekhoe branch *other* than Nama.

2.2.1. Cape Dutch and *Cape Khoekhoe

*Cape Khoekhoe is directly attested to have existed, and fragmentary wordlists were taken by early colonial explorers (Nienaber 1963 collates most of the available lexical material), but it is otherwise undocumented. Khoekhoe groups in the southern Cape are classically identified as the Chariguriqua near Saldanha Bay, a collection of 'Peninsular' clans, the Chainouqua and the Hessequa in the Overberg, the Gouriqua and the Outeniqua, and the Attaqua along the Garden Route, the Gamtoos closer to the Baviaanskloof, the influential Inqua in the Karoo Heartland region near Graaff-Reinet, and the Gonaqua in the region of the Sondaaisriver (Elphick 1981: 49 – 53; detailed discussion of clan names and associated localities is available from Nienaber

1989). Early Dutch East India Company (VOC) observations of the apparently close and complex systems of political allegiance between Peninsular and Overberg with groups in the Garden Route would, when contrasted with the dearth of detailed information on Namaqua clans, suggest that the Cape Khoekhoe's closest sociolinguistic ties ran eastward rather than westward (Elphick 1981: 49 – 53). For the purposes of this thesis, it suffices to consider *Cape Khoekhoe a continuum of mutually intelligible dialects stretching roughly from Saldanha Bay to at least the Sondaaisrivier at Gqeberha.

VOC influence was largely contained on the Peninsula and its immediate surrounds during the first fifty years of its operations at the Cape. That the 1701 policy opening the livestock trade and permitting trekboer agriculture further inland precipitated the 'disintegration' of existing socioeconomic structures among Khoekhoe communities is now broadly accepted (Penn, 1995: 70). The total number of Khoekhoe fatalities from the First Smallpox Epidemic of 1713 – 1714 is unclear, but has been described as 'dreadful', and in the Piketberg region may have been as high as 90% (Penn 1995: 72 – 74). That near-total collapse of the interior Khoekhoe economy must have followed the literal decimation of their western trading partners is further discussed in Chapter 12. The few west coast survivors of the epidemic were isolated and vulnerable, and most therefore sought employ in their customary territories on newly-established Dutch farms, usually as livestock herders or in other positions related to agricultural labour.

It is therefore only from the 1720s onward that historians of Afrikaans consider significant bilingualism in Cape Dutch and Cape Khoekhoe to have taken hold in the Western Cape beyond the Peninsula (Stals, 2001: 6).¹² *Contra* Deumert 2004, who

¹² The degree to which Cape Dutch settlers ever acquired fluency in any Khoekhoe-branch language is difficult to determine. While intermarriage and close living quarters together make it entirely possible that Dutch and mixed-ethnicity children regularly acquired Khoekhoe, prejudice or even simple disinterest would seem to have precluded discussion in most contemporary Dutch writings. Some observational travel writers, including Coetse and Gordon, apparently achieved competence in some dialect of Khoekhoe sufficient to manage without an interpreter, but it is only the late arrival of cultural outsiders to the Cape Colony during the transition to British rule in the early 19th century that sees discussion of what may have been a bilingualism so normal as to have escaped prior commentary altogether.

Philip 1828 writes that 'many of the Boors speak [the language] with as much fluency as the [Khoekhoe]^H themselves' (as quoted in de Voogt 2019: 2). Shaw 1840 offers the observation that, although the acquisition of Khoekhoe would at first seem wholly impossible by any European, 'many of the Dutch peasantry who reside in the frontier districts, and who have been born in the country, can

claims that ‘by the mid-eighteenth century most Western Cape Khoekhoe languages had disappeared’ (Deumert 2004: 25 – 26), the shift in fact took the better part of the century. The very earliest tentative missions¹³ found monolingual speakers of *Cape Khoekhoe at Genadendal in 1737, and, as late as 1801, ‘it was necessary to repeat the sermon after each service in the Khoekhoe language for the benefit of a number of older people’ (Traill 1995: 33). Tindall noted that speakers were still to be found on the eastern borders of the Colony, and that ‘two or three of the lepers at the Robben Island Establishment converse in [Cape Khoekhoe] with fluency’ (Tindall 1857: 4). Over twenty years later, Hahn the Younger submitted a desperate plea for government funding to support work with four elderly consultants who had lexical recall of Cape Khoekhoe (Hahn, 1880: 118). This suggests that the last productive acquisition of *Cape Khoekhoe occurred in the generation born c. 1795 – 1805.

2.2.2. Afrikaans and †Kora

Kora is extinct but relatively well-documented. Clan names associated with the Korana were recorded on the Peninsula in 1652, but speakers would seem to have made a rapid exodus inland toward the Gariep River along well-established trade and transhumance routes. Colonial descriptions emerging from the interior over a century later portray the Korana as strongly conservative, retaining cultural markers such as clothing as well as language (Schapera 1930: 138; Kienetz 1977: 559). By the early 19th century, however, the Korana were in regular contact with predominantly

speak it with fluency’ (Shaw 1840: 36). Backhouse 1844 notes that, in the more southerly regions of Klein Namaland, ‘notwithstanding the difficulty of the [Khoekhoe] language, many of the Boors ... spoke it fluently, having learned it in childhood, by association with the children of their [Khoekhoe]^H servants’ (as quoted in Carsens 1966: 234). At least one reference to a Khoekhoe-speaking boer is on record from the Eastern Cape in the 1850s (Kirk 1973: 413 – 414), as discussed in Section 2.1.4 below. Writing in an early 20th-century southerly Namibian context, Vedder finds it ‘remarkable that the difficult clicks of the Nama can be produced with the same ease as any other sounds and that European children playing with Nama children often pick up the language’ (Hahn *et al.* 1928: 140).

¹³ Crucial to the socioeconomic dynamics of Dutch colonial expansion was the strictness of the VOC’s policies against the Christian conversion of indigenous and slave communities, and hence their deep suspicion towards and sometimes hostile discouragement of missionary activity in the Cape (Villa-Vicencio & Grassow 2009: 5 – 8, 13 – 26 offer a useful overview). This delayed any real potential for language documentation to be used as a tool of evangelism until after the British gained control of the Cape in 1806, by which point Cape Dutch was long established as a *lingua franca* among *baster* communities, and shift from *Cape Khoekhoe was already well underway. This is further discussed in Section 2.3. below.

Afrikaans-speaking communities of mixed-ethnicity *basters* who had adopted the ethnonym ‘Griekwa’¹⁴ during their eastward expansion along the Gariep.

¹⁴ This thesis does not accept the existence of ‘Xri’ either as a discrete language or as a dialect of *Cape Khoekhoe originating on the West Coast, but assumes all references to a ‘Griekwa’ language spoken in the interior Gariep region from the 19th century onward to have referred in fact to Kora.

The modern ethnonym ‘Griekwa’ first appeared in 1813 (spelled ‘Griqua’) as a euphemism for the term *baster*, broadly-used by followers of Adam Kok II at Griquatown in the interior Karoo, which the London Missionary Society was disinclined to print (Nienaber & Raper 1977: 18). Considering that Adam Kok I had held land near the Piketberg during the 1750s, close to the historical distribution of the Chariguriqua group known to Van Riebeeck and Van der Stel a century earlier, it is reasonable to propose a connection between ‘Chariguriqua’ and ‘Griekwa’ (Penn 2005: 157; Mössmer 2019: 49 – 59). However, the mixed-ethnicity and class-conscious *baster* communities positioned close to the Peninsula were among the very first to shift from *Cape Khoekhoe to Cape Dutch, and there is no evidence in any contemporary writings that the Griekwa had carried any Khoekhoe-branch language with them from the West Coast.

A Khoekhoe-branch language spoken by Karoo consultants who used the ethnonym ‘Griekwa’ for themselves was sporadically documented in the earlier part of the 20th century (Meinhof 1930; Beach 1938). The glossonyms ‘Xiri’ (Sands 2001) and ‘Xri’ (Haacke & Snyman 2019) have since been developed to discuss this doculect, the position which within the broader Khoekhoe branch is hotly contested. Data collected from Siela Links by Lucy Lloyd in 1879 are described in Du Plessis 2019 as ‘recognisably different’ from Kora and hence considered to exemplify ‘Xri’ (Du Plessis 2019: 12), but no extended discussion of these apparent differences is offered. Working with speakers from the interior Karoo who identified themselves variously as Korana and as Griekwa, Meinhof 1930 reported that, while the Griekwa consultants used a dialect closer to Nama in its phonology and its grammar, at least one Nama-speaker claimed to understand the Kora consultants better than the Griqua consultants (Meinhof 1930: 146), although this may well have been due to the advanced language attrition and Afrikaans relexification in Griekwa consultants (as pointed out by Mössmer 2019: 46). By contrast, Beach 1938 considered Xri to constitute a dialect of Kora (Beach 1938: 183). The earliest available linguistic data are therefore dependent on speaker judgements rather than detailed comparison, and so are inconclusive.

Furthermore, the departures between Kora and Nama are greatest in the morphosyntax (Du Plessis 2019: 113 – 181), not in the lexicon or the phonology, and it stands to reason that any putative historical divergences between a *Cape Khoekhoe-adjacent ‘Xri’ dialect originating on the West Coast and Kora would likewise have been syntactic. Certainly the small ‘Chariguri’ lexis recorded by Van der Stel 1685 overlaps broadly with both Nama and Kora. Unfortunately, no extended specimens of ‘Xri’ are available in the literature on 19th- or 20th-century Gariep speakers. Only two of the 21st-century speakers of ‘Xri’ were judged even ‘semi-fluent’ and so capable of composing limited sentences (Mössmer 2021: 95), but no comment on their morphosyntax is offered beyond the observation that they ‘sometimes use[d] Afrikaans morphology and syntax to fill in the gaps in their knowledge’ when producing longer Xri utterances (Mössmer 2021: 95). No detailed morphosyntactic comparison between Kora and ‘Xri’ can therefore be carried out.

Contra Haacke & Snyman 2019 and Mössmer 2021, therefore, this thesis does not consider ‘Xri’ to constitute a discrete linguistic entity. That the Afrikaans-speaking Griekwa enjoyed a dominant and sometimes oppressive socioeconomic position in Gariep communities of Khoekhoe descent throughout the 19th century is broadly accepted, and that mixed-ethnicity Baster communities regularly absorbed new members of diverse backgrounds through marriage and clientship is also established (Waldman 2008: 104). Many Kora-speakers thus adopted the Griekwa ethnonym (Luiks 2001: 191, as cited at Mössmer 2019: 47) because of its associations with social prestige and a consolidated national identity. I argue that such speakers then continued to use the Kora language, but came very naturally to refer to it as *Griekwataal* in accordance with their own social identification. Certainly this would account for the fact that Killian 2009 encountered difficulty in assessing his consultants’ apparently overlapping

The pride which Baster communities took in their European heritage, contrasted with a deeply internalised hatred of their Khoekhoe heritage, meant that Dutch culture, material goods, and language were all considered prestigious, while Khoekhoe culture and language were rejected. This preference for Cape Dutch likely drove shift away from Kora in Gariep communities during the later 19th and early 20th centuries. Of the 33 primary consultants who worked with Engelbrecht during the 1930s, Andries Bitterbos, Benjamin Kats, Sanna Lukas, Monica Kraalshoek, Gideon Rooi, and Abraham and Dirk Springbok, all elderly, are identified as having spoken the language fluently (Engelbrecht 1936: 197 – 198), and a further eleven names are provided as potential future consultants (Engelbrecht 1936: 236). The last known fluent speakers of Kora, all upward of ninety years old, passed away only in the 2010s (Du Plessis 2019: 53 – 57).¹⁵ Under the glossonyms ‘Xri’ and ‘Tum’i’, specimens were retrieved from functionally monolingual Afrikaans speakers with some lexical recall in the 1970s (Nurse 1975; Haacke & Snyman 2019) and into the 2010s (Killian 2009; Mössmer 2019; Kilian 2020). The *terminus ante quem* the last productive acquisition of Kora should therefore be placed around 1910 – 1925.

2.2.3. Afrikaans and *Eastern Khoekhoe

Speakers of Khoekhoe-branch languages certainly lived beyond present-day Gqeberha, but of them very little is known. It is not even clear where precisely we should consider the *Cape Khoekhoe continuum to have ended, and a putative *Eastern Khoekhoe to have begun. The easternmost Khoekhoe group about which any definitive sociolinguistic information is available are the Gonaqua of the Eastern Cape, best known for their influential role in the Kat River Rebellion of 1851 – 1853. They were encountered in the Albany Region from at least the 1750s, and also along

usage of the terms *Korana* and *Griekwa*, which required him to coin ‘Khoemana’ as a catch-all term. In this sense, Beach’s assessment of ‘Xri’ as a dialect of Kora is perhaps the most accurate, in that it would have been the Kora language as spoken by a smaller subset of the broader Kora population.

Effectively, ‘Xri’ is treated as a glossonym used by Kora-speakers who prioritised a Griekwa social identity, and so no further distinction need be drawn between the two during this project. Haacke & Snyman 2019 will occasionally be consulted as an additional source of lexical data, but, as the authors themselves show, the available lexis is virtually identical to that of Kora.

¹⁵ Note the imposition of structural elements of Afrikaans onto the very late Kora of Ouma Jacoba Maclear, as in ‘*koba ti ke na, ma ll’āibi ll nau tama*’ (‘I am talking, but he does not listen’), where *ma* loans the Afrikaans contrastive conjunction ‘maar’ (Du Plessis 2019: 160) in place of the expected Kora *xabe* ‘yet’, ‘still’, ‘but’. This implies strong interference by Afrikaans with Kora, rather than the reverse. A similar degree of morphosyntactic and structural interference from Afrikaans may be observed in the moribund Nluuki narratives related by Katrina Esau, Anna Kassie, and Ouma Griet Seekoei at Collins & Namaseb 2001: 71 – 108.

the coast at the present-day Sundays River during the 1770s (Blackbeard 2018: 32). amaXhosa expansion westward between c.1700 – 1795 was rapid and extensive (Peires 1981: 22 – 23; Mostert 1992: 208 – 210), and significant sociolinguistic interaction occurred, but it would appear that ‘the Gonaqua remained distinguishably [Khoekhoe]’ until at least the 1820s (Kirk 1973: 412).

At least as late as the 1850s, there are traces of a putative *Gona dialect at the Kat River Settlement. The prominent Khoekhoe leader Andries Stoffels is known to have been bilingual in both Cape Dutch and Gona (Blackbeard 2018: 65). Rev. James Read Jr. (himself of English-Khoekhoe parentage, but fluent only in English and Cape Dutch) apparently attempted to develop a grammar in collaboration with his Khoekhoe colleague Andries Hatta, although the project came to nothing (Ross 2014: 289).¹⁶ Following the conclusion of the Rebellion in 1853, ‘a Boer who lived near the Settlement was summoned to testify before an Enquiry on it because he spoke “the [Khoekhoe]^H language” fluently’, which permits the inference that ‘at least some of the Settlement people still used a [Khoekhoe] language’ (Kirk 1973: 413 – 414).

Given the linguistic and cultural heterogeneity of the Settlement and the dominant position of Cape Dutch, however, the rate of acquisition of Gona by children born at Kat Rivier between the settlement’s inception in 1829 and its destruction in 1853 was probably low to non-existent. The brutality with which colonial forces ultimately rose to crush the Rebellion was such that it has occasionally drawn charges of genocide, especially in its targeting of Khoekhoe women (Blackbeard 2018: 27); ultimately, ‘the last remnant of the Gonaqua lost its unity and disappeared’ (Kirk 1973: 427). In such

¹⁶ Hatta had accompanied Read Jr. from Bethelsdorp to found the mission at Philipton in Kat River in the early 1830s. He appears frequently as an avuncular figure in Read Jr’s letters to the *Commercial Advisor*, written during 1851 – 1852, in which the author attempted to show that not all Khoekhoe at the settlement were in favour of the rebellion in the hopes of securing British leniency.

At least one utterance by Hatta potentially evidences Khoekhoe-Afrikaans codeswitching at Kat River. ‘The taciturn, mild, and best-reasoning man among the [Khoekhoe]^H, Andries Hatta ... listened ... every now and then saying dat alles is gekheid – “that all is nonsense.”’ (Read 1852: 35). **-khei-** is transparently not GERMANIC, but has been integrated into the Afrikaans matrix as a past participle using the appropriate morphology.

I would suggest that Hatta used an easterly reflex of Damara **llgai** = ‘bad’, ‘ugly’; ‘shoddy’, ‘of poor quality’; ‘wicked, vile (of character)’ H&E245, attested also in Kora in an adjectival form **llgaissa** = ‘ugly’ DuP301, as this would serve well to translate the sentiment, ‘What nonsense!’ Coincidentally, it would parallel the contemporary use of **llgai** in Windhoek Kasietaal (Stel 2020: 60). On the productive insertion of Nama lexical items into Afrikaans participial expressions constructed using **ge-**, see Section 10.1.2 below.

a climate, we should probably say that the last generation to acquire any dialect in the *Eastern Khoekhoe continuum to fluency was born between 1795 – 1829, and that, although its usage continued at least until 1853, it was likely extinct well before the end of the 19th century.

Even with this information in place, the relatedness of the language used by the Gonaqua to either *Cape Khoekhoe or Kora is entirely unclear. That Khoekhoe-branch languages existed in the Eastern Cape is all that can reliably be determined. *Eastern Khoekhoe is therefore adopted as a catchall term, geographic rather than genetic, used to describe Eastern Cape continua *incertu sede*.

2.3. Language & Evangelism in Klein Namaland: 1816 – 1857

Languages of the Khoekhoe branch are today spoken primarily in Namibia. The northerly Damara language and the central Nama language have been standardised together as Namibian Khoekhoe, and are spoken as an L1 level by at least 200 000 people (Frederiks 2013: 9). The southernmost dialect of Nama accounted for in the Namibian standard, Bondelswarts Nama (Haacke, Namaseb, Eiseb 1997: 148 – 149), is predominantly spoken in the ǀKaras region of Namibia, but also across the border by communities at Pella and Riemvasmaak within the summer-rainfall Boesmanland region of the Karoo. A potentially distinct dialect of South African Nama is still spoken in the Steinkopf and Richtersveld areas (Witzlack-Makarevich 2006), but virtually nothing is known about it, and there is no clear indication of how many speakers exist today, or of the extent to which it may diverge from the Namibian standard. This section offers a detailed historical overview of the history of language contact between Nama, as it was historically spoken in Klein Namaland (present-day Namaqualand in South Africa) and Cape Dutch, in the first half of the 19th century.



Map 2 – regions of Namaqualand.

The southerly riverine boundary, the Olifantsrivier, is the last perennial watersource for 350km before the northerly riverine boundary, the Gariep. The Knersvlakte, the Hardeveld, and the Richtersveld are the three primary winter-rainfall regions; note the islands of fynbos along the Nieuwoudtville Escarpment and in the Kamiesberge. The majority of Namaqualand is semi-arid, and true desert is encountered only in the Richtersveld. The summer-rainfall regions to the east, Boesmanland and the Karoo Highlands, are not considered to form part of Namaqualand, but are close cultural neighbours.



Figure 2.1 – the arid quartzfields of the Knersvlakte, here viewed stretching west towards the coast, predominate from Vanrhynsdorp in the south almost to Garies in the north, and would have been a formidable natural barrier to herders seeking to enter the Hardeveld.



Figure 2.2 – the seasonal waters of the Hantam plateau, east of the Knersvlakte, would have better supported northward transhumance.



Figure 2.3 – the deep fynbos of the Kamiesberg, thriving after the winter rains, would have made this region a welcome refuge for Klein Namaqua communities.



Figure 2.4 – the succulent scrubland of the Hardeveld, here pictured north of Springbok after a long hot summer, typifies the Namaqualand landscape.

2.3.1. A Geographical Sketch of Klein Namaland

Perhaps the attribute most frequently ascribed to Namaqualand is its isolation from the rest of South Africa (Kotze 1942; Carstens 1966; Sharp & West 1984; Penn 1995). Although the misty coastal flats surrounding the Piketberg historically supported fynbos and renosterveld sufficient even for cattle, the climate becomes dramatically more arid north of the Bergriver, and the hot labyrinthine Cederberg probably deterred attempts at travel by pastoralists accustomed to the temperate Peninsula and Overberg regions. The *Cape Khoekhoe did not venture much further than Saldanha Bay, and considered their somewhat intimidating Namaqua trading partners to be ethnically distinct from themselves (Elphick 1981: 20 - 21).

The westernmost periphery of the Cederberg would have been navigable by dryland specialists, especially with the assistance of the Olifantsrivier, but north of this watershed lies the first major natural barrier to transhumance, the quartzfields of the Knersvlakte (Figure 2.1 above). These heavy clay soils, thickly crusted with white quartz, host a diverse array of dwarf plants but are devoid of larger shrubs, and so prohibit the traffic even of smallstock. It is most likely that Namaqua transhumance routes veered inland at this point, up the Niewoudtville escarpment and into the Agter-Hantam (Figure 2.2 above), which historically supported fynbos palatable to smallstock, not to mention restios of the sort used in matjieshuis construction, as well as a profusion of carbohydrate-rich hypogeal plants capable of sustaining communities throughout a dry summer.

Beyond the natural barrier of the Knersvlakte, which defended the Namaqua against *trekboer* expansion at least for a little time, lie the Kamiesberge, readily accessible from the inland Agter-Hantam region via the Kamiespas (Figure 2.3 above). Stretching from Garies in the south to just outside Springbok in the north in a narrow belt, this mountain range forms the bulk of the Hardeveld region, sometimes also referred to as the Namakwaland Klipkoppe (Figure 2.4 above). In addition to enjoying perhaps the best rainfall in the entirety of the Klein Namaland region, the Kamiesberge's numerous springs and generally temperate climate rendered them considerably better suited to Khoekhoe pastoralism.

Further north, where the brutal aridity of the Richtersveld and the Sperrgebiet again threaten smallstock, an easy Boesmanland passage over flat grassland allows for

transhumance eastward into the grassy summer-rainfall regions surrounding the Gariep, and hence into Groot Namaland proper. A careful understanding of climate meant that, although harsh, Klein Namaland was continuously travelled for some centuries, both by specialised pastoralists who remained south of the Gariep, and by merchant communities who carried material goods from Groot Namaland to the Peninsula.

The Namaqualand region remained relatively sheltered from direct trekboer interference during the earlier part of the 18th century. Mixed-ethnicity groups of Cape Dutch-speaking Basters and Oorlams, independent of agricultural requirements and equipped with horses and guns, enjoyed 'considerably more space in ... Little Namaqualand' from around the 1730s (Dederling 1997: 52), and many of these groups were actively hostile towards Namaqua communities (Penn, 1995: 291). It is not until 1750 that the first two trekboer farms appear in the records of the VOC at 'de Leliefontein' and 'Groene Rivier', both in the Kamiesberg, although Penn cautions awareness that registration often followed some while after the fact of settlement, and that the establishment of permanent Dutch presence in Klein Namaland had likely already been underway some years prior (Penn 1995: 286). Ousted from their established transhumance routes both by baster groups and by the Dutch expansion radiating outward from the Peninsula, many Namaqua fled north across into Groot Namaland (Dederling 1989; Stals 2001: 8). Both Klein Namaland and Groot Namaland rapidly become contested territory, with the Oorlam captain Cupido Witbooi and his two petty-captains Abraham Vigilant and Paul Links establishing their authority over the region by the beginning of the early 19th century (Trüper 2006: 20).

Very few Namaqua spoke Cape Dutch at the turn of the century (Kelso 2010: 143), and Shaw's mission found even the southernmost Kamiesberg almost entirely monolingual as late as 1816. However, Stals observes that, after the formal acquisition of the Cape Colony by the British in 1811 but before the annexation of Klein Namaland in 1847, missionary activity at Leliefontein, Komaggas, and Pella involved the use of Afrikaans as both '*omgangs- en onderrigtaal*' (Stals 2001: 7). By the end of the 1860s, Campbell was able to predict the loss of Klein Nama with upsetting accuracy:

As there seems but little chance of the Namaquas ever becoming a great or powerful nation, or that their language will be found to exist beyond another century or two, it is satisfactory to see that there are men to be found who are

writing and printing books in this very singular language, with its awkward clicks. When the [Khoekhoe]^H races shall have become absorbed, or otherwise lost sight of, in the great influx of Europeans into South Africa, or by the rapid progress of other tribes in comparison with their own fast-thinning ranks, these books will be looked upon with peculiar interest, as curious memorials of the language of an extinct and barbarous race.

Campbell 1866: 427

A scant fifty years after the first deliberate missionary introduction of Cape Dutch to monolingual Klein Namaqua, shift was already underway. Bilingualism alone is insufficient to motivate shift, and so closer scrutiny of the sociolinguistic conditions in Klein Namaland during is required if the loss of Klein Nama is to be explained. In the absence of hard demographic data that would allow for quantitative assessment of the rate of language shift during the first half of the 19th century, this section provides a historical overview of three events that would go on to have major sociolinguistic repercussions on Klein Namaland: the first missionary introduction of Cape Dutch to speakers of Nama in the Kamiesberg, the first efforts to produce written Nama-language material for missionary purposes at Steinkopf, and the first missionary introduction of Nama-language religious materials to Khubus.

While the London Mission Society (LMS) instigated the earliest missionary activity in the area, it was the Rhenish Mission Society (RMS) which established mission stations at Steinkopf, Komaggas, Concordia, and later Kuboes, interrupting established habits of decentralised transhumance with the result that ‘various [Khoekhoe]^H and Baster groups in the area were integrated into a distinct community with a unified and specific form of local government’ (Emmett 1987: 33). The communities involved in these events were, by post-industrial standards, very small, with the average Klein Nama kraal rarely numbering more than 800 – 1 000 speakers, and so it is possible to glean insight into general community language usage through profiling influential community members.

2.3.2. The Leliefontein Mission

Caught between the trekboers and the Oorlams, both of which groups were armed and mounted, what groups of Klein Nama remained south of the Gariep in the early 1800s were becoming increasingly indigent and harried. A prominent leader of one such group was ‘Jantje’ Haaimap Wildschot. A local captain of a group of Klein Namaqua, he had also appointed a number of petty captains to smaller communities

of Klein Namaqua particularly in the west, including one Kurip at Buffelsrivier (Bregman 2010: 44). Despite having managed to obtain legal rights to seek refuge at Leliefontein in the Kamiesberg during the early 1800s (Bregman 2010: 44), Wildschot and his kraal of 800 or so Klein Namaqua remained vulnerable to both the Oorlams and the trekboers. Apparently impressed by what he had learned of Christianity from an earlier LMS visitor, Seidenfaden, in 1808 (Carstens 1966: 237), Wildschot was actively seeking missionary presence at Leliefontein when he secured the services of Barnabas Shaw, a Scottish Methodist.

Shaw served as the presiding reverend of the Methodist mission station at Leliefontein between October 1816 and May 1827, and even after this period made intermittent return visits before settling at Somerset West in Cape Town in 1834. His journals, first published in 1840 as *Memorials of South Africa*, reveal him to have been broadly disinterested in the Nama language, and to have focused instead on learning Cape Dutch. In his trek to the Kamiesberg, Shaw was initially accompanied by the German missionary Schmelen, who split from the party on October 16th 1816 to continue on to Namibia proper, and who would later become influential at Steinkopf. Shaw expresses regret at Schmelen's departure, since 'though surrounded by Namacquas, we were truly solitary, as many of them spoke a language which we could not understand' (Shaw 1840: 90). As Shaw had already begun preaching in Cape Dutch by this point, he can only have meant the Nama language.

After reaching Leliefontein on October 23rd 1816, his first sermons were delivered 'to as many as understood the Dutch language' (Shaw 1840: 92); subsequent interactions reveal that, while most residents of Leliefontein were monolingual Nama-speakers, a few spoke just enough Cape Dutch to serve as *ad hoc* interpreters (Shaw 1840: 94; compare Burchell). This would suggest that, while Baster influence had served to carry some Cape Dutch to younger speakers of Klein Nama, it had not yet taken any serious foothold. Closer scrutiny of Shaw's journals provides useful insight into bilingualism among Kamiesberg residents, especially influential community leaders who rapidly established themselves as Shaw's religious pupils.

For example, Wildschot himself, already elderly at the establishment of the Mission, was observed to have had little familiarity with Cape Dutch, although his capacity to use brief phrases and to comprehend the Methodist gospel suggests that he must

have acquired some degree of passive comprehension. Fascinatingly, an anecdote from his life suggests that the congregation had begun to compose hymns in Klein Nama. On hearing children sing the following verse, ‘the first he had heard in his own language, he appeared to be filled with delight and joy unspeakable’:

nee kyp oorip Jesop gooaa
saatsa houwa orre
yp aup orrega ums annoo
yp aup orreta taa

‘He breaks the power of cancell’d sin,
He sets the prisoner free,
His blood can make the foulest clean,
His blood availed for me.’

Shaw 1840: 267

As shown in Diagram 2.5 below, most of the expected TMA particles and verb extensions are absent from Shaw’s transcription,¹⁷ making phrases proper difficult to extract, but the lexis of the original Nama is broadly retrievable and displays close familiarity with Christian doctrine. This suggests that the younger generations were already sufficiently fluent in both Cape Dutch and Nama to translate theology accurately. However, Wildschot’s extreme emotional reaction also indicates that Nama-language worship was a rarity; Cape Dutch must then have been the unmarked theological language of the congregation.

¹⁷ Here one is tempted to compare Schmelen’s observations that ‘it is extremely difficult to find out the proper meaning of the words’, and that ‘they can tell me the meaning of a whole sentence, but taking every word by itself they are at the lost to give a firm significant [*sic*], that is to say of some, of others they are sure’ (Schmelen 1823, as cited at Trüper 2006: 97). As is to be expected of L1 speakers who have not had extensive metalinguistic training, Nama-speakers likely found it difficult to explain the intricacies of grammar to similarly undertrained missionaries, especially when all parties were limited by having to express themselves in L2 Cape Dutch. It is likely that lexical items were among ‘the others [of which speakers] were sure’; by contrast, postpositive particles and TMA markers were probably those for which they could not provide ‘a firm significance’. After first singing the hymn in fluent and grammatically sound Nama, a bilingual speaker likely took Shaw through the composition word-by-word to facilitate transcription, emphasising the lexical items they could gloss confidently while omitting function items.

‘The Hymn of Haimap’ (Shaw 1840: 267)				
1. ‘Jesus breaks the power of sin.’				
nee	kyp	oorip	Jesop	gooaa
nee	lgaib	lloreb	Yesub	lû #am
DEIC	NOUN.3SGM.	NOUN3SGM’	NOUN.3.SGM	v.t.
‘this’	‘power’	‘sin’	‘Jesus’	‘to break (e.g., a law)’
2. ‘Even you, a captive, are made free.’				
saatsa	houwa	orre		
saátsa	lkhōba	lnora		
PRO.2SGM.OBL	NOUN.3SGM.OBLv.i.			
‘you’	‘captive’	‘to become free’		
3. ‘His blood cleanses sinful folk.’				
yp	aup	orrega	ums	annoo
llêip	laob	llorexa	oms	lanu
PRO.3SGM	NOUN.3SGM	ADJ	NOUN	v.t.
‘he’	‘blood’	‘sinful’	‘house’, ‘family’	‘to clean’
4. ‘His blood has redeemed me.’				
yp	aup	orreta	taa	
llêip	laob	oreta	hâ	
PRO.3SGM	NOUN.3SGM	v.t. + 1SGM.OBL	PERF	
‘he’	‘blood’	‘to redeem’ + ‘me’	‘has’	

Diagram 2.5 – a rough attempt to gloss the Klein Nama of the ‘Hymn of Haimap’, with reference to modern standardised Namibian Khoekhoe.

Youth interpretation from Cape Dutch into Nama would seem to have served a crucial theological function. Although Wildschot’s Cape Dutch was limited, ‘the young people and children were always ready to become his interpreters’ (Shaw, 1840: 314). Similarly, anecdotes concerning an elderly man, apparently with limited Cape Dutch but illiterate, sitting among young children and asking them to read to him, and an old woman of seventy learning a new hymn from a group of schoolchildren, suggest the rapid development of bilingualism (Shaw 1840: 131 – 132). We should therefore position the generation of children born around 1810, and hence still within the critical acquisition period during the early years of the Leliefontein mission school, as the first to acquire Cape Dutch productively and *en masse* in the Kamiesberg, and probably in Klein Namaland as a whole.

Although Wildschot would appear to have been the ranking captain in Klein Namaland at the time, he himself was indigent. Better established and more influential in the Leliefontein community were his relatives in the Links family, particularly the elderly man Keudo Links and his sons Jacob and Robert. Born in 1799, Jacob Links was seventeen when Shaw arrived in 1816. Despite apparently having little or no Cape

Dutch, he immediately devoted himself to the missionary project. An early anecdote suggests that he would seem to have taken to preaching before he himself was fully fluent in Cape Dutch, and presumably also while most members of the congregation were still monolingual. Despite being capable of delivering several paragraphs' worth of a sermon centred on a parable in the *Gospels of Matthew* in Cape Dutch, Links broke off midway to switch into Nama.

He complained of the difficulty he had in expressing himself in Dutch, and being told to go on in the Namaqua language, his countenance became animated, and with fluency of speech, and fervency of expression, he continued his discourse. Jacob made considerable improvement after this, both in speaking and reading Dutch.

Shaw 1840: 113

Although some members of the community had travelled from settlements along the Gariiep to attend the mission at Leliefontein, there is no suggestion that any spoke, for example, Kora or seTswana, and so Cape Dutch cannot yet have had any use as a *lingua franca*. Rather, this suggests that the use of Nama at a religious ceremony was marked, and that free codeswitching was not encouraged. Links was making a deliberate and conscious effort to use Cape Dutch, and had to seek permission (ostensibly from Shaw) before switching to Nama. Despite the 'fluency and fervency' of Links' Nama-language sermon, and despite some youth initiative in composing hymns in Nama, the language of salvation at Leliefontein was from the first Cape Dutch and Cape Dutch alone.

It is perhaps relevant to the question of language attitude to note the extent to which speech acts of this nature apparently contravened accepted sociolinguistic norms among Namaqua communities. Shaw himself is deeply complimentary of Links' efforts, and the encouragement of local members of the congregation to take up preaching seems to have been a general strategy adopted by the LMS in southern Africa, as it occurred also at Steinkopf in Klein Namaland, as well as at Warmbad and Rehoboth in Groot Namaland. Available anthropological evidence suggests that public speech was an honour reserved for older Nama men, and tolerance of this break from the established sociolinguistic norms has been taken as indicative both of the radical social restructuring then underway in Klein Namaland, and also of the enthusiasm of the Namaqua to engage with Christianity (Trüper 2006: 33). However, the shock of this transition may also have been softened by the use of Cape Dutch, rather than

Nama, in a markedly European discourse context. This may in turn suggest the early development of a pragmatic split in usage habits, which saw the use of Cape Dutch associated with radical new discourse behaviours in radical new discourse contexts, while Nama remained the familiar language of the home.

By 19th November 1819, at the age of twenty, Jacob Links had sufficient literacy to pen a letter to the London Missionary Society, and his scholarly dedication is further indicated by his apparently regular inquiries after Cape Dutch idiom (Shaw 1840: 127), and his close reading of his personal scripture books, which he annotated in Cape Dutch (Shaw 1840: 111). The well-loved son of an important community leader, Links seems to have been an influential figure across multiple age groups. He directly encouraged older residents to pursue literacy, and would seem to have been broadly adored by the children at the mission school (Shaw 1840: 318). This degree of influence would certainly have had the potential to effect rapid change in sociolinguistic attitudes and behaviours in a small community of under 800; since he served as a schoolmaster and educational assistant who taught Cape Dutch language and literacy, he had the direct capacity to prescribe certain sociolinguistic behaviours. Additionally, he modelled the usage of Cape Dutch as a language associated not only with religious salvation, but also with good social standing, authority, and the kind of missionary favour that bestowed high-status material goods such as European-style clothing and agricultural supplies. The impact of such a figure on the schoolchildren of Leliefontein, already acquiring Cape Dutch to fluency, should not be underestimated.

Visiting Leliefontein for the last time in October 1833, seventeen years after the establishment of the mission station, Shaw participated in a final service in which no fewer than seven community members are recorded as having preached in Cape Dutch. Considering the date, it is likely that many of these speakers were themselves among the generation born c.1805 – 1810, who acquired Cape Dutch under Jacob Links' instruction as children, and who, as adults in their mid-to-late 20s, now participated in communal religious services conducted apparently entirely in Cape Dutch. These children who had been so 'strongly attached' to Jacob Links in 1816 were likely already beginning to have children of their own, and to have them educated in the prestigious Cape Dutch that had become so closely associated with communal worship. By 1840, "the people mostly used [Khoekhoe]^H in conversation," but ... most of them had 'acquired a knowledge of Dutch' (Carstens 1966: 238). Bilingualism was

therefore established at Leliefontein within twenty-five years of the first serious introduction of Cape Dutch.

There is no universal social axiom of prestige. Language attitudes among a small village in Klein Namaland in the 1800s were not necessarily constructed along Westernised global conceptions of sociolinguistic prestige, which are typically centred on class status, economic income, and access to certain educational and employment opportunities. This is not to say that these or similar factors were *not* perceived as prestigious in Klein Namaland in the first half of the 19th century, but rather that *additional* factors may also have been in play. In the particular case of Wildschot's eagerness for missionary presence in the Kamiesberg, and the subsequent community willingness to have their children attend the mission school, two factors often overlooked in modern constructions of sociolinguistic prestige emerge: access to material protection from depredation and exploitation, and access to Christian salvation.

As has been successfully argued by both Kelso 2010 and Rawson 2018, it is likely that Wildschot and the Leliefontein Nama were aware that Shaw's involvement would increase their chances of survival. Seeking out missionary presence ensured that Leliefontein had access to a politically powerful advocate with allies and resources, who knew and understood colonial law, and who was willing to train community members in a language that would allow them to represent themselves before said law. Whether Shaw, or indeed any other European missionary active in Namaqualand in the 1820s, was in fact as infallibly kind-hearted and benevolent as his own journal makes him out to be is beside the point. Far more materially relevant is that he was willing to argue against trekboere on behalf of the Namaqua, advocating for their right to reside at the mission station and thus preventing them from having to enter the harsh employ of the Dutch.

Certainly doing so served Shaw's missionary agenda, but it also served Wildschot's far less sinister agenda of securing protection for his community. This protection was in turn conditional upon conversion and baptism. The religious zeal that seems to have inspired the Namaqua congregation at Leliefontein may well have been genuine, but this is impossible to assess. Of the few compositions that survive, such as Wildschot's Nama-language hymn and Jacob Links' letter to the LMS, none can be said to have

been produced entirely free of missionary coercion, or to have been reproduced without missionary editorial. Nevertheless, whether genuine, performative, or a mixture of both, Methodist conversion through Cape Dutch theological instruction and congregational participation ensured access to missionary protection.

At Leliefontein at least, formal theological instruction was fairly exclusively carried out in Cape Dutch. A generic assessment of willing acculturation is insufficient; rather, the strong association of Cape Dutch with religious conversions, and hence with missionary favour, material goods, and physical safety, was fundamental to the development of a prestige split between Cape Dutch and Nama. The nature of this prestige must be qualified within the specific sociohistorical context of the speech community. Cape Dutch was desirable at Leliefontein primarily because it opened up a path to conversion, and conversion was desirable because it secured missionary protection in an increasingly hostile frontier zone.

2.3.3. The Kookfontein Gospels

The gateway to the mountainous deserts of the Richtersveld, Steinkopf receives less than a third of Leliefontein's annual rainfall despite lying barely 120km north. The population density was likely low even in the early 19th century, and few farms are recorded from this period, indicating that both agricultural and missionary expansion into the region was slow. Missions lingered only briefly in the Hardeveld region of Klein Namaland before pushing northeast into Boesmanland, through Pella to present-day Vioolsdrift, in order to make the crossing into Groot Namaland. Christian Albrecht made initial attempts to explore northwest of Steinkopf in 1805, but found the Richtersveld overall unsuitable for a mission station, and instead founded Warmbad in Groot Namaland, although this fell to the depredations of the Oorlams captain Jager Afrikaner within the decade. Campbell likewise considered the Richtersveld virtually uninhabited, and preferred to continue northeast into Boesmanland and along the Gariep after only a brief stay in Klein Namaland.

Despite its remote position, the Steinkopf region, then occupied by smaller Klein Namaqua communities, was slowly beginning to attract new residents. At least one group of Oorlams held the nearby Byzondermeid outpost during the early 1800s under the authority of petty captain Abraham Vigilant and his over-captain Cupido Witbooi; also present was a small number of refugees from the Warmbad settlement. It has

been suggested that LMS representatives sought to settle at Byzondermeid specifically because the presence of Oorlams speakers of Cape Dutch would have facilitated initial contact, while the familiarity of the Groot Nama refugees from Warmbad with mission activity meant that a Christian foothold existed already (Trüper, 2006: 19). Nearby, Komaggas had been settled as a permanent outpost by Jasper Cloete (sometimes identified as a Baster, sometimes as Dutch), which had begun to attract additional groups of Basters and Klein Namaqua by the 1820s (Bregman, 2010: 44 – 45; see also critical discussion of the figure of Jasper Cloete at Sharp 1994: 408 – 410). The diverse communities at both of these locations would have offered ample opportunity for bilingualism to develop.

Nonetheless, Trüper has shown that early efforts to introduce literacy in Cape Dutch as a medium of theological instruction did not take hold in Klein Namaland under German auspices. A small party of German missionaries including Helm, Sass, Ebner, and Schmelen reached Byzondermeid in February 1812, and from there headed on to Kamas at present-day Pella. Ebner's journals make clear reference to the reliance on interpreters from Cape Dutch into Nama in order to interact with the majority of the congregation, while attempts to foster Dutch literacy among children were stymied both by a lack of classroom resources and by an adherence to transhumance patterns, which regularly saw children leave the mission school to accompany their parents elsewhere (Trüper 2006: 27). Of the 750 residents of the general Pella region in 1813, Ebner counted only 150 as regular attendants at the mission school (Trüper 2006: 28).

Unlike either of the missionaries Albrecht, who declared the Nama language 'impossible to learn', or Shaw at Leliefontein, who had no facility with Nama whatsoever, several of the agents attached to RMS activity in both Klein Namaland and Groot Namaland sought not only to achieve conversational fluency in Nama, but also to produce textual Nama-language resources. Not only did this approach align with deeply-entrenched German ideals that attached strong nationalist importance to language, it also offered a practical solution to the difficulties of communicating with seasonally transhumant congregations that experienced only intermittent exposure to Cape Dutch. Rather than relying on the hope that remote communities further into the

interior of Groot Namaland would speak Cape Dutch, experienced RMS agents sought instead to equip missionaries to speak Nama.¹⁸

The first Nama-language translations of the *Gospels* as produced by the Klein Nama-speaker Zara Hendricks were published by her husband Johann Heinrich Schmelen in 1831. Hans Christian Knudsen, a Norwegian agent of the RMS, took extensive early notes on Groot Nama and produced a number of early translations and compositions, excerpts of which were published between 1845 and 1854. Knudsen's translation of the *Gospel of Luke* appeared attached to the *Vocabular der Namaqua Sprache nebst einem Abrise der Formenlehre derselben* published by Johann Christian Wallmann in 1854, using the graphemes <'>, <'>, <:>, and <.> to indicate click consonants. Increasing German Imperial interest in Africa had seen major advances in the scientific study of African linguistics, including, in 1854, the development of a click orthography from which the standardised IPA characters descend (Lepsius 1855), and these were adopted by Hahn the Younger, who had grown up a bilingual speaker of German and Groot Nama at his father's RMS mission station in Bethanien, in his work *Die Sprache der Nama* (Hahn 1870). Of the RMS scholars involved in the documentation of Nama, Johann George Kroenlein was undoubtedly among the most prolific, and his *Wortschatz der Khoikhoi* (Kroenlein 1889), also written using the Lepsius characters, remained the standard Nama lexicographic reference for over a century.

By contrast, the only standardised English-language reference work discussing Nama language published during this period was *A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Namaqua-Hottentot Language* (Tindall 1857). Although aware of the Lepsius conventions, Tindall chose to indicate click consonants using <c>, <q>, <v>, and <x>, with reference to the usefulness of similar Anglophone conventions already established for isiXhosa (Tindall 1857: 8). In the preface to his work, he makes explicit reference to the loss of Cape Khoekhoe within the borders of the Cape Colony:

When the Missionary Societies of Europe turned their attention to South Africa, their agents found numbers of [Khoekhoe]^H conversant with the Dutch language in which they commenced to communicate religious instruction to them. Wherever the native language still prevailed interpreters were employed, until the Missionaries had succeeded, not as has generally been the case with foreign Missions, in learning the language of the aborigines, but in teaching them theirs. With reference to those Missions

¹⁸ A full bibliography of early missionary efforts to record Nama is available at Hahn *et al.* 1928: 151 – 152.

which have long been in operation among the [Khoekhoe]^H within the Colony, or those on its immediate border, the event has justified the course pursued: from a [Khoekhoe]^H a click is seldom heard.

Tindall 1857: 3

The preparation of Nama-language grammars by German scholars, however, was already underway, and Tindall considered this work important specifically because it would facilitate mission activity in Groot Namaland and beyond.

Several tribes of the [Khoekhoe]^H race, and some others who speak the same language, are so remotely situated from the Colony, that it is highly probable a considerable time will elapse before they shall have formed a sufficient acquaintance with either the English or the Dutch language to enable them to dispense with their own, however certain its ultimate extinction may appear to be. For these it is necessary to provide translations of Scripture, in order to instruct them in the truths of Christianity.

Tindall 1857: 4

Both other major Anglophone works produced during this period were in fact written by Germans, and both were massive comparative works rather than practical grammars or phrasebooks. The first and most monumental, *A Comparative Grammar of South African Languages* (Bleek 1862), included references both to Nama specimens and to the Kora specimens being compiled by Wuras. The second, *TsunǀGoab: The Supreme Being of the Khoekhoe* (Hahn 1880), was an exercise in comparative mythography, rather than in comparative linguistics, and aimed to reconstruct lost Cape Khoekhoe theological systems. As broad academic investigations rather than practical teaching materials, neither Bleek 1862 nor Hahn 1880 would have been of immediate use to Anglophone missionaries seeking to learn to communicate in Nama.

The commitment of the RMS and attached scholars to the production not only of Nama-language material, but also to establish Nama as a language of the church, is crucial to understanding the sociolinguistic history of Klein Namaland. Of all of these works, Zara Hendricks' early translations are perhaps the best-known, and have been singled out as the most influential on the course of language usage in Klein Namaland. Born at Kookfontein¹⁹ (present-day Steinkopf) around 1793 (Trüper 2006: 76), she

¹⁹ Calqued from the Nama |Gūtas, "where the water wells from the ground as though boiling" (Schültze 1907: 168), ex |gūu 'to simmer', 'to boil' (H&E198).

was among the first members of the Pella congregation to be baptised in 1813, apparently having already spent some years training in the catechism. Attached to Johann Heinrich Schmelen as a mission assistant following her baptism, they married in 1814 and proceeded together into Groot Namaland, eventually founding a mission station at Bethany in the present-day !Karas region. Here they met with suspicion from both Oorlams and Groot Nama clans, and were eventually forced to return south to seek refuge with Barnabas Shaw at the Leliefontein mission in 1823, where their work on translating the *Gospels* into Nama intensified and was completed by the end of 1824.

That Hendricks was the primary translator is clear from Schmelen's correspondence:

As my wife has been from the first my assistant, she has now more knowledge of the language than any other to find out the proper signification, as also grammatical knowledge of what she has heard of me. Every sentence I translate she is obliged to set it over to remain close to the words, but especially to take the proper meaning of what is said in the text and at the same time to make it sound Namaquas, and not Dutch Namaquas.

J. H. Schmelen, *letter dated 29 August 1823*
as reproduced at Truper 2006: 97

Hendriks would appear to have developed a mastery of the subtleties of idiomatic translation, comparable with Jacob Links' deep scholarly interest in the nuances of Cape Dutch,²⁰ and her religious devotion is now acknowledged to have served as the 'driving force' behind the project (Trüper 2006: 61). Unable to return to Groot Namaland, the Schmelen family settled at Komaggas, founding mission stations both there and at Steinkopf nearby. Mechanical delays prevented the printing of the *Gospels* until 1831, and Hendricks passed away very soon afterward.

Working from the observations of Backhouse in 1840, Carstens 1966 suggests that Schmelen's apparent fluency in Nama was sufficient to delay the introduction of widespread bilingualism to the Namaqua in the Steinkopf and Komaggas regions at least until the early 1850s:

²⁰ Although Hendricks lived in Links' hometown for a period of at least eighteen months between 1823 – 1824, Links had already departed Leliefontein in 1821 for Groot Namaland, where he was killed very young in 1825. It is a great historical pity that these two Nama linguists never had the opportunity to meet.

In 1840, Backhouse visited Leliefontein, Komaggas, and Steinkopf. He tells us that in Leliefontein, 'the people mostly used [Khoekhoe] in conversation', but that most of them had acquired a knowledge of Dutch. In Komaggas, he says, 'The language of the [Khoekhoe] was chiefly in use, and the fact that the missionary, J. H. Schmelen, used his translation of the Gospels and a hymn book, suggests that few people knew Dutch. And at Steinkopf Backhouse was told that 'few people understood anything but [Khoekhoe], and that the missionary generally used an interpreter when he preached. ...Schmelen's knowledge of [Khoekhoe] and the use of his translation of the Gospels may have retarded the learning of Dutch by the indigenous population, but the missionaries who succeeded him on his death in 1848 used only Dutch and increased the amount of formal education in the school.

Carstens 1966: 238 – 239

Modern scholarship has revised claims of Schmelen's fluency, and has instead positioned Hendriks as the key figure in the preservation of Klein Nama at Steinkopf and Komaggas (Trüper 2006: 54). Regardless of whether Schmelen or Hendricks was in fact responsible for the bulk of the translations, the mere presence of a German-Khoekhoe missionary family with strong ideological inclinations toward the use of Nama in theological instruction would seem to have instituted stable Nama-Cape Dutch bilingualism. Hendricks' position as schoolteacher at these missions would certainly have enabled her to carry out Nama-language paedagogy with young children (although see especially Cluver 2000: 89 on the difficulties of introducing Nama-language literacy using early orthographies).

As late as 1866, Rev. J. F. Hein describes bilingual Nama-Cape Dutch translation and instruction at the mission school in Komaggas:

Eerst ging ik in de school van de Eerste Klas, die door Mr King gehouden werd. Daar hoorde ik, hoe die kinderen (omtrent 30 in getal) eers Hollandsch en dan verder Engelsch uit dazelde N. Testament²¹ lasen.

First I went into the Grade One school, which is taught by Mr King. There I heard how the children (around 30 in number) read first in Dutch, then further in English, from the same Namaqua Testament.

Daghbericht of Rev. J. F. Hein,
26 July 1866

The association of Cape Dutch with theology, education, and access to material goods, as contrasted with the association of Nama with impoverishment, was likely

²¹ The phrase 'N. Testament' is consistently used to refer to the 'Namaqua Testament' throughout Hein's diaries, and must here have referred to the newly-published *!Asa Testaments* (Kroenlein 1866).

not as strong here as it was at Leliefontein. It is not necessarily that Schmelen's interest in Nama translation 'retarded the learning of Dutch', as Carstens has it, but rather that the RMS commitment to carrying out theological instruction in Nama *alongside* Cape Dutch did not prompt shift from one to the other. Furthermore, Schmelen's continued presence at Steinkopf until his death in 1848 seems to have established it as something of a hub for the dissemination of Nama-language text resources by other RMS agents as they passed through on their way to Groot Namaland. That the Kommaggas, Concordia, and later the Kuboes mission stations were considered offshoots of the Steinkopf mission would explain the proliferation of Nama-language instruction into these communities, and hence their relatively late retention of Nama.

The use of Nama as a language of religious instruction would ultimately have been of most use to RMS agents among remote Groot Nama and Damara communities in central Namibia, who had not yet been exposed to Cape Dutch via contact with Oorlams and Basters, and who, crucially, had not yet settled into a sedentary lifestyle around mission stations. From this perspective, established mission stations in Klein Namaland, where bilingual speakers of Nama and Cape Dutch were available to assist with translation and documentation, would have served almost as incubators for the preparation of language materials that would later assist the RMS in making imperial inroads into Groot Namaland and beyond. Bilingualism in both Klein Nama and Cape Dutch may well have been socially advantageous to mission station assistants in Klein Namaland between 1831 – 1847.

2.3.4. The Kuboes Bossiekerk

Although several missionaries had made cursory expeditions west into the Richtersveld by the mid-19th century, most had been intimidated by its extreme aridity and had turned back without serious ambitions toward establishing a station. Small Khoekhoe and !Ui communities survived there through careful seasonal transhumance, and, having been largely sheltered from contact with both Basters and missionaries (Carstens 1966: 206), had not yet been exposed to Cape Dutch. The Richtersveld was thus home to precisely the sort of 'tribe so remotely situated from the Colony' (Tindall 1857: 4) that Nama-language fluency and teaching materials were necessary for missionary expansion.

Six hundred kilometres to the south lived a young goatherd, Willem Hein, born in 1826 to a Dutch trekboer and a woman identified only as ‘*n gekleurde*’ (“a Coloured”) (Meyer 1960: 59), but probably of Cape Khoekhoe descent. Where this union transpired is not made clear, only that the woman was forced to flee with her son, and found refuge at Wuppertal²² in the Cederberg, where she married the ‘*Kleurling*’ (“Coloured”) Adriaan Hein (Meyer 1960: 59). An RMS agent, Johann Friderik Budler, arranged for Hein to be educated, employed him as his assistant, and ultimately brought him to the mission at Steinkopf, where he was baptised Johann Frederik Hein in October 1842.

By 1846, aged twenty, Hein had made a home for himself near Komaggas, but had also established contact in the Richtersveld with Paul Links, the captain of a small Namaqua kraal that had also absorbed at least some !Ui-speakers (Carstens 1966: 206 – 207) of uncertain affiliation. Links himself was considered a petty captain under the increasingly influential Witbooi clan, but nonetheless “possessed a relatively independent status” and also had connections with the Griekwa captain Adam Kok II (Dederling 1997: 62); from Hein’s diaries, he seems to have spoken Cape Dutch, but was not always present in the Richtersveld with his kraal. Very few other members of this small community spoke any language but Nama, as indicated by Hein’s 18 March 1847 letter to his mentor Budler:

...Het is Mynheer niet onbekend, dat ik nu myne werkzaamheit onder de Grootriviers volk heb. ...[I]k heb die meeste tyd 70 kinderen gehad, maar het gant moeilijk met het leeren onder hem, zy kunnen geen Hollans spreken, nog verstaan. Zeer weinigen van de volwasens enen verstaaning, ik kan niet veel doen onder hem, ik leer hem slechts Lieder en letteren en tellen.²³

It is not unknown to Sir that I have my new post among the people of the [Gariep] River. Most of the time I have had 70 children [at the mission school], but learning is difficult for them, as they can speak no Dutch, nor understand it. Even fewer of the adults have any understanding, and I cannot do much with them; I only teach them songs, letters, and counting.

Rev. J. F. Hein,
March 1847

Employed as he was by the RMS, Hein was in regular contact with the school at Steinkopf, and so had access to the very latest Nama-language teaching material, including the new translation of *The Gospel of Luke in the Namaqua Language*

²² For further details on the history of the RMS station in the Wuppertal region, see Bilbe 2009.

²³ Access to digital copies of the Richtersveld letters and diaries of Rev. J. F. Hein was kindly facilitated by the Vereinte Evangelische Mission.

(Knudsen 1848), which had been at least partially based on the original translations of Schmelen and Hendricks. The following excerpt suggests that Hein made a dutiful effort to engage with up-to-the-minute scholarly material on his congregation's mothertongue:

Het Namaqua boek door den Heer Knudsen heeft ook grooten zegen verweckt; des avond las ik in myn huis in het Namaqua boek, by welke gelegendheid ik vele toehouders kryg, en daarna Namaqua gezangen en ook nederduitsehe.

The Namaqua book by Mr Knudsen has also been the cause of much discussion; this evening while at home I read the Namaqua book in my home, through which opportunity I had much edification, and then and afterwards sang Namaqua and also translated it.

Rev. J. F. Hein,
August 1848

Even after nearly five years of living and teaching in the Richtersveld, however, Hein still relied on the assistance of Johannes Domorogh, an elder of the community who had sufficient Cape Dutch to serve as *tolk* ("interpreter"):

Der Zondags morgens als er velen menschen zyn word eerst door de Ouderling Johannes Domroch biduur gehouden; daarna komen de menschen weder zamen, dan lees ik eerst [...] het Geloofsartikelen voor, dan worde een lied gezangen, en gebeden weder gezangen, daarna lees ik enigen versen voor uit de Bybel of eene geschiedenis, en maak het weinig duidelik, zoo goed ik kan, terwyl Johannes de Ouderling de woorden verder in de Namaqua Taal aan de gemeente vertellen.

On Sunday mornings, if there are many people, first a prayer hour is held by the Elder Johannes Domroch; afterwards, the people come together again, and first I read out the Twelve Commandments, then a hymn is sung, and prayers are sung again. After that I read any verse from the Bible, or else a history, and explain it a little bit as best as I can, while Johannes the Elder further recounts the words to the congregation.

Rev. J. F. Hein,
8 May 1851

These initial forays into Richtersveld evangelism during the late 1840s were complicated both by the kraal's seasonal transhumance and by increased RMS activity, which required Hein's presence first south at Ebenhaeser near present-day Vanrhynsdorp, and then east at Amandelboom in the Karoo Highlands (Meyer 1960: 65). It was not until late in 1862 that Hein returned to the Richtersveld, where he again began to hold church services and offer mission education from a *bossiekerk*, or a temporary 'church in the wild'. What little Cape Dutch Hein may have impressed upon the kraal during his first few years in the region had clearly been forgotten:

Den 1sten December 1862, nadat de meeste familien reeds op de plaas waren, began ik met de School. In het begin ging het zeer moeilijk met het leeren onder de kinderen, want behalve de zeer verre gaande domheid onder hen, kunnen de weinistens iets van het Hollandsch verstaan.

On the 1st of December 1862, once most of the families were already on my farm, I began with the school. In the beginning learning was very difficult for the children, because, even apart from the badly advanced stupidity among them, only the minority could understand anything of Dutch.

Rev. J. F. Hein,
1863

This monolingualism contrasts starkly with the rapidity with which children acquired Cape Dutch through the mission school at Leliefontein, and is likely because of the regularity with which the Links kraal dispersed along its established transhumance routes, complicating Hein's efforts to establish a permanent RMS foothold. Most families departed the mission station in small groups between November and April, the dead season, to find summer pasture probably either in Groot Namaland or Boesmanland. During the devastating droughts of the late 1860s and early 1870s, Hein reports that some left the Richtersveld even during July, ordinarily the wettest month of the year, complaining that there was not enough water.

These long sojourns in the veld, beyond any Cape Dutch contact, would have allowed time for families to discuss newly-introduced theological principles in their own language. This would have contributed significantly to the establishment of Nama as a language of the church in later decades, preventing the dangerous prestige split between Nama and Cape Dutch that sped shift elsewhere in Namaqualand. Certainly during Hein's visits to Steinkopf, the Domorogh family successfully took over teaching duties in the Richtersveld, with Domorogh himself continuing to preach in Nama to the adults of the kraal, and his daughter Magdalena teaching the children; by 1880, Domorogh's son Andries had succeeded his father as interpreter.

A description from 1872, ten years into Hein's residency in the Richtersveld, shows that both Nama and Cape Dutch were used in schools, but predominantly the former:

'Omdat hier nog velen zijn, die de Hollandisch taale niet verstaan, zoo lees ik in de afwesigheid des Tolks somtyd uit het Namaqua Test. vertaling van Rev. Krönlein iets voor aan de toehoorders, en geregeld des Zontags voor de Predikatie. ...[H]et kinderen in het Hollandsch nog ... onervaren zijn. Ik lees hun dus uit het Namaqua Geschiedenis Boek eerst voor, en laat hun

eerst in het zelve beantwoorden, om my te vertuigen, of zy het verstaan hebben, en dan moeten zy in het weder in H[ollandsch] geven....

Because there are still many here who do not understand the Dutch language, in the absence of the interpreters I sometimes read parts of the Namaqua Testament²⁴ translation by Rev. Kroenlein out to the listeners, and also regularly on Sundays before the sermon. ...[T]he children are still inexperienced in Dutch. Therefore I first read aloud from the Namaqua [Biblical] History Book,²⁵ and first have them answer in the same [language] to convince me of whether they had understood, and then they must give it again in Dutch.

Rev. J. F. Hein,
1872

Carsten's opinion that Hein spoke fluent Nama (Carstens 1966: 206) is perhaps too flattering given his lifelong reliance on the Domorogh families' interpretative skills, but he must have had some ability both to read aloud and to understand simple responses. The construction of a permanent church at Kuboes was not completed until 1893, when Hein was ordained as the first non-European minister of the RMS in South Africa. The descendants of the Links kraal ultimately maintained the productive use of Nama at Kuboes until well into the mid-20th century (Kotze 1942: 438 – 347; Carstens 1966: 208). Although regular schooling lapsed at Kuboes during the 1920s, once it was reinstated in 1931, 'Gert Cloete, [later] superintendent of the Steinkopf Reserve ... had to give some of his lessons in Nama to make himself understood' (Carstens 1966: 240).

Afrikaans-medium schooling was introduced in 1937 following the arrival of a teacher from the Western Cape (Carstens 1966: 240), but Nama remained in productive usage at Kuboes for at least another decade, as is clear from a description of children singing *Namaliédjies*, 'Nama hymns', during a church service in 1944 (Meyer 1960: 68). The kraal's near-total isolation from both Cape Dutch and baster communities, the Domorogh family's capacity to supply Nama-medium schooling, and Hein's early provision of Nama-language teaching material via his RMS colleagues, were all unique factors that contributed to productive language maintenance in the Richtersveld.

2.3.5. Conclusions on the Impact of Evangelism on the Nama Language

Content to use Cape Dutch as a *lingua franca* and unmoved by the old Teutonic ideals that implicated linguistic unity in nationalist cohesion, British colonists apparently considered it neither scientifically relevant nor socially convenient to engage with

²⁴ *!Asa Testamens* (Kroenlein 1866)

²⁵ *!Nai-Keiti !Neisa tsi !Asa Testamens* (Kroenlein 1866)

extant German-language resources on Nama, far less to carry out documentary work of their own. Anglophone missionary presence in the Kamiesberg provided immediate incentive for speakers of Nama to learn Cape Dutch, but did not actively seek to promote the abandonment of Nama, at least in its earliest stages. Nonetheless, the enthusiastic early adoption of Cape Dutch by influential individuals, the failure to position Nama as a feasible language of the church, and internalised language prejudices likely instilled by contact with Baster communities, soon saw Cape Dutch established as the language of socioeconomic stability.

By contrast, the German emphasis on ‘tribalism’, and particularly on the inflexible association of one language with one ‘tribe’, has been identified as a key feature of German mission schools in South Africa well into the 20th-century (Chisholm 2017: 81 – 85), and is also considered to have influenced Apartheid-era ethnolinguistic segregationist policy (Pugach 2004: 827). Germanophone missionary presence at Steinkopf therefore facilitated the development of Nama-language teaching materials, as well as the establishment of Nama as a language of theological education. While German agents of the RMS clearly saw some value in equipping both themselves and their future colleagues to preach to Nama congregations in Nama, it cannot be denied that an understanding of Cape Dutch would also have been valuable to Klein Namaqua communities, both in securing missionary favour, and in contributing to translation work. This scenario may well have meant that productive bilingualism in Klein Nama and Cape Dutch was beginning to develop before the British Cape Colony annexed Klein Namaland in 1847.

The mission work conducted by a mixed-ethnicity reverend under German tutelage in the farflung Richtersveld thus serves to illustrate the importance of two factors in forestalling language shift: isolation from Baster influence, and the use of Nama in mission schools. At Kuboes, the delayed advent of Cape Dutch, coupled with the provision of Nama-language materials by RMS scholars that successfully established Nama as a language of the church, would seem to have conveyed a degree of protection from shift that lasted until at least the mid-20th century. This is certainly not to exculpate the RMS, or to suggest that its interest in developing Nama-language teaching materials was in any way altruistic, since the missionary agenda served explicitly to bolster the imperial agenda of subjugation, assimilation, and exploitation throughout southern Africa (Drechsler 1966: 18; Katjavivi 1988: 6; Heugh 2015: 3).

However, it does demonstrate how the arbitrary traditions of a given colonial group can hold the power of life or death over colonised languages.

2.4. Linguistic Impacts of Colonial Socioeconomic Restructuring on Klein Namaland

By the mid-19th century, new opportunities for colonial economic investment in the northern frontier had somewhat reduced the isolation and inaccessibility that had previously characterised Klein Namaland's relationship with the Cape Colony, thus altering language contact conditions. Although the ramifications of colonial activity further south had long since been felt in Klein Namaland, the introduction of large-scale mining, increased government oversight, and racialised restrictions on access to land and employment, all served to codify and formalise the adoption of European cultural practices by Klein Nama communities, and ultimately saw reliance on wage-labour replace herding as the primary subsistence method of Klein Namaland by the mid-20th century. This radically altered not only the socioeconomic structures of Klein Nama speech communities, but also these speech communities' language attitudes.

In addition to the assessment criteria outlined above, three further criteria become relevant to determining the roots of language shift from Klein Nama to Afrikaans during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The formal association of certain languages with certain racial or ethnic groups has the potential to entrench existing language attitudes and intensify nascent language prejudices. Additionally, the introduction of additional languages into an existing contact event has the potential to destabilise productive bilingualism through the necessary selection of a single *lingua franca*. Finally, the fragmentation of established speech communities, especially through relocation for wage labour and through exogamy, may isolate speakers such that regular childhood exposure is no longer feasible, resulting in reduced rates of acquisition.

2.4.1. Race, Labour, Language: 1847 – 1913

Early settler-colonial contact between Cape Dutch and Cape Khoekhoe, as well as between slaves brought to the Cape from the African east coast and from several regions of the Indian Ocean (including Madagascar and Indonesia), resulted in both ethnic admixture and extensive cultural influence. Occupying a social rank lower than

that of landowning Europeans but higher than that of enslaved and indentured Africans, entitled to some privileges but often mistreated and disenfranchised (Boonzaier *et al.* 1996: 85 – 87), mixed communities began to depart the Cape Colony in search of better prospects from as early as the 1730s (Dedering 1997: 52 – 53), but in considerable numbers from 1780 onwards (Wallace, 2011: 50), diffusing outward onto the frontiers into Nama and Kora territory ahead of trekboer expansion. These groups were notable for their adoption of Dutch culture and technology, especially rifles, horses, and European styles of dress (Kienetz, 1977: 560).

Certain of these groups were considered ‘semi-Europeanised [Khoekhoe]^H ... from around 1800 known as Orlam’ (Kienetz, 1977: 559). Others were referred to as Basters, a term which ‘indicate[d] children of mixed parentage, especially children born to white and [Khoekhoe]^H parents’ (Waldman 2007: 10), although it should be remembered that ‘the boundary between “Baster” and “[Khoekhoe]^H” was by no means fixed’ (Sharp, 1994: 407). Recent linguistic work has distinguished the Oorlams as ‘clans of westernised [Khoekhoe]’ and the Basters as ‘a group of families with a mixed European-[Khoekhoe] background (Stell & Beyer 2012: 116), although this is likely an oversimplification, since, especially in Groot Namaland, ‘the term Oorlam referred to all strangers from the colony (Dedering 1997: 86), while, in Klein Namaland, “Baster” identity was the subject of continual negotiation’ (Sharp, 1994: 407).²⁶

To a sociohistorical linguistic assessment of Klein Namaland, these groups are most significant not only for their role in spreading Cape Dutch across Namaqualand and northward into Namibia proper (as detailed by Kienetz 1977; Stals 2001; Groenewald 2010), but also for their particular language attitudes and for their considerable socioeconomic influence over several Khoekhoe-branch speech communities. While the perception that Basters were permitted to own land and employ labour initially prompted connotations of economic superiority among Klein Nama communities during the earlier stages of contact, these privileges were increasingly curtailed as the 18th century wore on, with the result that Basters and Oorlams groups increasingly

²⁶ For more detailed overviews of Oorlams communities and their relations with Nama clans, see Dedering 1997: 53 – 64; for a history of the Basters and their movement through Namaqualand and into Namibia, see Britz, Lang, & Limpricht 1999. For theoretical perspectives on the often rapid adoption of European culture even prior to formal European colonisation in comparative historical scenarios, see Steinmez 2007: 41 - 43. Additional discussions of early mixed-ethnicity groups and the later development of the racial category Coloured are available from Marais 1962; Legassick 1969; Boonzaier *et al.* 1996: 128; Pickel 1997; Reddy 2001; Berzborn 2003; Adhikari 2009; Besten 2009.

sought to move into Groot Namaland, where British colonial mandate did not yet extend. Often driving out established Groot Namaqua communities, groups settled in the south and founded towns including Rehoboth, Bethanier, and Warmbad, and were observed to be engaged in a largely self-motivated process of casting off Nama and preferring Afrikaans as the language of politics and religion, while also attempting to establish Afrikaans-language education.

During his time in Groot Namaland prior to 1809, Albrecht was able to note that the members of his congregation were not only conversant in Cape Dutch, but also that 'in general the natives of this country are fond of the Dutch language, and the sound of it is familiar to them' (quoted Dederling 1997: 95). By 'the early 1840s' (Harlech-Jones 1990: 72), this apparent 'fondness' for Cape Dutch had progressed to an insistence upon it:

The influence which Dutch (Afrikaans) exerted over the indigenous inhabitants of the south [of Namibia] may be gauged from an incident recorded by Vedder, who tells of how the Nama chief, David Christian of Bethanie, rejected Knudsen's attempt to teach through the medium of the Nama language: 'Only Dutch. Nothing but Dutch. I despise myself and want to creep into the bushes for very shame when I speak Hottentot.'

Knudsen 1840, as recorded by Vedder, 1938: 241
quoted by Harlech-Jones, 1990: 72

Similar observations were again made at Bethanie within the decade:

The Bethaniers do not want one to speak with them in their language, because as they say: 'it is stupid and makes one even more stupid.' ... Not only the Bethaniers but the whole people look down upon their language.... Should one consider it arrogance when David Christian [*captain at Bethanien*] wants to have Dutch taught? Even today Amraal, whose people speak Nama, does not command th[e] language."

Mattäus Gorth 1852
quoted by Kienetz, 1977: 562

These are among the first explicit indications not only that Cape Dutch was strongly associated with socioeconomic advancement, but that Nama had become associated with stupidity. It is only to be expected that the influential Oorlams captains, who interfaced most closely with missionaries, fixed language policy to favour their own Cape Dutch.²⁷ It has also been widely observed that mixed-ethnicity groups across

²⁷ Despite the apparent eagerness of many Basters to conduct all church services in Afrikaans during the 1850s, Nama is estimated to have survived at Rehoboth until at least the early 1900s (Louw 2010:

the Cape Colony had a long history of seeking to distance themselves from various Khoekhoe groups, whom they perceived as their social inferiors. This speaks to the extent to which racialised European prejudices had taken root in communities of mixed ethnic descent, and had manifested there as a deeply-ingrained shame at their African origins; this shame apparently extended to the use of Khoekhoe-branch languages. However, the observation that ‘not only the Bethaniers’ (that is, the Oorlams resident at Bethany) held negative attitudes towards Nama, but that the Groot Nama themselves were beginning to ‘look down upon their language’ suggests that the self-hatred so deeply engrained in Oorlams groups had spread also to the Groot Nama, and that it was fostering associations of the Nama language with ignorance.

At this stage, ‘familiarity with Dutch was still the quality that separated the Oorlams from the [Groot Nama] ... but ... intermarriage and assimilation were progressively breaking down the original distinctions’ (Kienetz 1977: 563). With this assimilation must have come also the adoption by Groot Nama communities of Oorlams language attitudes. Similar information on language attitudes is unfortunately not available for Klein Namaland, and it is difficult to extrapolate the interaction of RMS interests in promoting Nama-language mission education with the unknown language attitudes held by Baster and mixed-ethnicity groups attached to mission stations south of the Gariep. Nonetheless, it is clear that, ‘in both the colonial and ... the segregation eras’, Basters received preferential treatment from ‘government officials and employers ... on the grounds that they were, ostensibly, a better breed of people’ (Sharp 1994: 407). It is probable that negative attitudes toward the Nama language, originating in negative internalised attitudes towards the Namaqua identity as a whole, were embryonic in mid-century Klein Namaland.

The Cape Colony had been relatively disinterested in the political tensions developing along its distant northern frontiers during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, but increasingly violent clashes between LMS agents and several trans-Gariep groups defending their territories against missionary incursions during the 1820s saw the Colony establish an allegiance against Oorlams raiding parties with Bondelswarts groups in Groot Namaland in 1830 (Wallace 2011: 55 – 56). Within the decade,

4). Writing in 1936, Beach estimated that around 25 000 speakers of Groot Nama remained (whether of Oorlams or indigenous Namibian descent) in the southerly regions of modern Namibia; speakers of Damara he estimates are ‘nearly, if not quite, as numerous as the Nama’ (Beach 1936: 8).

prospectors from the Cape had begun to take interest in the mineral wealth of Klein Namaland; although colonial powers had been aware of copper deposits in the Springbok mountains since the earliest VOC tenure at the Cape, the first serious proposals outlining largescale extraction did not appear until 1843 (see Smalberger 1969: 9 – 29 for an overview). Klein Namaland was formally annexed by the Cape Colony as Namaqualand in 1847, and the first large copper mine began production at Springbok in 1852 (Emmett 1987: 36).

It was around this time that the colonial government began to issue 'tickets of occupation' to the Klein Namaland mission stations and the small communities that had sprung up around them, formalising these communities' residency on colonial land. Certain of these made explicit reference to ethnicity, 'specif[ying] that the inhabitants should be 'aborigines or bastards of aboriginal descent' (Boonzaier *et al.* 1996: 131). This legislature has been identified as an early effort to impose centralised and colonial racial categories on the subtle and complex ethnic relations²⁸ that had previously characterised Klein Namaland communities (Sharp & West 1984: 5 – 8; Emmett, 1987: 36). So unshakeable was the faith among Basters in the inherent supremacy of European claims that 'there was widespread popular endorsement of the view that the [Baster] community's rights to land originated in their special relationship with the British monarch rather than their Nama connection' (Sharp 1994: 407). This formal codification not only of ethnicity, but also of the relationship between ethnicity and land ownership, very probably entrenched developing language attitudes towards Cape Dutch and Nama. Throughout assessments of this time period, the aspirational status of the Baster identity emerges as fairly explicit, in large part because of its adjacency to European identity (see discussion at Sharp & Boonzaier, 1994: 408, as well as general commentary on the 'progressionist' approach to Coloured racial identity at Adhikari 2005: 17 – 18). The reciprocal deprecation of Klein Nama identity, by contrast, is implicit, but it is reasonable to assume that it had begun to foster internalised language prejudice.

Both Basters and Klein Nama were employed as labourers from the outset of serious mining activity, but additional workforces were also introduced from further afield.

²⁸ For a full discussion of the ethnographic groupings still observable at Steinkopf during the 1950s, see Carstens 1966: 105 – 119.

Bregman quotes a comment from an anonymous writer 'J. S. H.' on difficulties experienced in integrating these labourers to Okiep, a mining town outside present-day Springbok, at some point c. 1850 – 1870. The ethnicity of these particular labourers is not clear, but such migrant workers were typically from 'the Eastern Cape or areas further afield' (Emmett 1987: 37), and it is most probable that they were either amaXhosa (large numbers of whom had been forced into labour at Cape Town and beyond in the aftermath of the Cattle Killing of 1853) or else baTswana. A sudden influx of speakers of a foreign language will create demand for a *lingua franca*; as the language shared by both the European overseers and by the socially influential Basters, Cape Dutch was the obvious candidate over Nama.

...[T]he majority of them, when they come first to work at the mines, [are] from tribes unacquainted with civilization; they have never seen work done, are entirely ignorant of the use of the names of the tools, and are unacquainted with the language, and all these preliminary difficulties have to be got over before they can be taught.

anonymous author 'J. S. H.', as quoted in
Bregman 2010: 74

It is probable that as more and more *kommers* sought subsistence on the mines, Cape Dutch became increasingly favoured as a means of communication among various indigenous communities, while Klein Nama was restricted to private usage in the home. The rapid proliferation of roads and railways affording high-speed travel between mining towns (Smalberg 1969: 110 – 116; Bregman 2010: 72) would, I suggest, have further increased the rate and rapidity of language contact between formerly remote corners of Klein Namaland, potentially resulting in the dispersal of language attitudes that were already contributing to shift. The usefulness of Cape Dutch specifically as a *lingua franca* is corroborated by the observations of the French missionary Bishop Simon, who, in describing his early work at Pella during the 1880s, noted that 'few apply themselves to the study of [Nama] inasmuch as the Dutch used by the Boers is used practically all over southern Africa' (as translated at Bouchard, 1959: 47).

The last two decades of the 19th century not only saw the continued development of the mining industry in Klein Namaland, but also successive droughts which severely impacted grazing and small-scale agriculture. Increased taxation and privatisation of land under the auspices of the Cape Colonial government also installed European

agriculturalists to the detriment of Klein Nama herders, whose communal grazing areas were severely curtailed (Rohde & Hoffman 2008: 195). This resulted in an increasingly sedentary way of life, as well as a reliance on European models of wage-labour for subsistence (Emmett, 1987: 34 – 35) to the point where, by the 1890s, ‘the majority of the inhabitants of Namaqualand were dependent’ on the Cape Copper Company for their livelihoods (Smalberg, 1969: 129). The increasing commercialisation of Klein Namaland through both mining and large-scale agriculture also meant that ‘the association of race and status ... was entrenched’ (Emmett, 1987: 36), further codifying the Baster identity as aspirational, and the Klein Nama way of life as shameful (Sharp, 1994: 407). These three pressures – lack of access to traditional subsistence methods, dependence on colonial wage-labour, and the imposition of colonial racial categories – have been identified as significant blows dealt to what remained of precolonial cultural practices among the Klein Namaqua (Bregman 2010: 73) following a century’s worth of gradual attrition by both missionary and Baster influence.

Based in both Klein and Groot Namaland during the early years of the 20th century, the bulk of Leonhard Schültze’s research was carried out against the backdrop of the War of Resistance (1904 – 1907), during which the Namaqua and ovaHerero sought to defend themselves against German Imperial rule. An estimated 80% of the ovaHerero population was dead within a year (Katjavivi 1988: 10; Wallace 2010: 166), and by 1911 the Groot Namaqua population had been reduced by between 35 – 50% (Katjavivi 1988: 10 – 11). While Schültze makes no explicit reference to these events, certain sections of his work describe sociolinguistic conditions that must have attended genocide. Notes to an onomastic excursus indicate that the loss of the Nama language was progressing on both sides of the Gariep, but that it was far more advanced in Klein Namaland.²⁹

Im Anschluß an die oben genannten Bezeichnungen der [Khoekhoe]^H für die natürlichen Stützpunkte auf den weiten Flächen ihrer regenarm Heimat sei hier einigen ihrer alten Ortsnamen ein bescheidener Platz eingeräumt. Viele dieser Namen (so die des Klein-Namalandes) leben in ihren

²⁹ Evidence of codeswitching is already apparent in the sixty-eight Groot Nama folktales collected at Schültze 1907: 393 – 540. For example, in Tale 37 *!Garub ôana gere !lkhāllkhā !giriba* ‘Leopard Cubs Taught by a Jackal’ (Schültze 1907: 465 – 466), the murderous jackal assures a suspicious leopard, ‘*Ne ohm, kaise !gāise ra !lkhāllkhāsen !gōaron!*’ (“*Nee, oom, the kids are studying really hard!*”). This suggests that Afrikaans had begun to find its way into narrative registers.

ursprünglichen Bedeutung jetzt nur in der Erinnerung eines klein Teil der eingeborenen Bevölkerung weiter und werden, wenn auch diese Erinnerung ausgelöscht ist, nur hier und da noch, zur Unkenntlichkeit verstümmelt, als leere Worte auf der Landkarte figurieren. Wo in Groß-Namalande dank guter Sprachkenntnisse des Kartographen Ortsname ihre einheimischen Namen korrekt beibehalten haben, habe ich doch das Bedürfnis einer Aufsprache, die auch unserer Zunge ohne weiten geläufig ist, zu einer „offiziellen Schreibweise“ geführt, in der das [Khoekhoe]^H zum Schatten verblaßt ist. ... Es wird in Zukunft wenig praktische Bedeutung haben, wir vor zehn Jahren üblich, den germanisierten Ortsnamen die eingeborene Urform beizufügen. So schwinden auch von den Altanten bald die Spuren der alten Einwohner.³⁰

In connection with the above-mentioned Khoekhoe names for the natural pitstops across their rain-scarce home, their old placenames are collated here. Many of these names (such as those belonging to the Klein Namalanders) survive with their original sense now only in the memory of a small portion of the indigenous population, and, once even these memories are lost, will remain only here and there as empty words on the map, garbled through unfamiliarity. In some cases, the official placenames have correctly retained their native names in Groot Namaland thanks to good knowledge of the language. Here, because of the required pronunciations, which are broadly unmanageable in our own tongue, I have tried to develop a 'standard orthography', in which the Khoekhoe is reduced to a shadow. ... It will be less practical to provide the translations in the future, since within ten years it will be the norm for us to add the Germanised placenames to the indigenous 'Ur'-names. So even the traces of the old inhabitants will soon vanish from the atlas.

Schültze 1907: 162 – 163

In a footnote to this passage, Schültze notes explicitly that English-speaking colonists in Klein Namaland had failed to adopt the German orthography established for Groot Nama ('der Engländer läßt sich in der Orthographie von Buren-Namen volle Freiheit', "the Englishman permits himself great freedom in the orthography of district names", Schültze, 1907: 163). The 'Germanisation' process would largely seem to involve the removal of click consonants to produce 'standard' versions for use in cartography (as, for example, Kubub for !Khubub, Narreis for ≠Naraes, Aridisch for !Harides, Onas for !On ≠Ās, and the like), while many of the Klein Namaland toponyms provided use *ad hoc* orthographies to represent click consonants (**H'N**oomas for !Hunumas, and **Kamat'k**abies for Gama!gábes). Similar orthographies for click consonants, especially

³⁰ The implications both of the 'Germanisation' of the Namibian landscape, and of the predicted disappearance of the Groot Namaqua even from the cartographic records, are especially sinister in the context of colonial efforts at historical revisionism. The Bundestag did not acknowledge the ovaHerero and Namaqua Massacre as an act of genocide until 2015, and did not offer monetary compensation until 2021 ([Titjemisa 2021](#); [Oltermann 2021](#)). The close association of the loss of the language with the loss of the people themselves further alludes to the function of language extirpation within a eugenicist imperial agenda. This alone should caution modern sociohistorical linguists against attempts to frame RMS language documentation projects in Klein Namaland as altruistic rather than strategic.

t', have since become the informal norm used by modern Namaqualand writers to transcribe lexical items of Nama origin (see further Chapter 3).

This suggests that the broad Anglophone disinterest in linguistic research that had characterised the works of the LMS had become the norm in early 20th-century Klein Namaland. If one accepts the view that the Germanophone RMS efforts to develop Nama-language materials in Klein Namaland during the 1840s were motivated primarily by a desire to extend missionary influence north into Groot Namaland, and hence to pave the way for future imperial expansion, then this may also indicate that the overall RMS interest in the documentation of Klein Nama declined after Klein Namaland was annexed by the British Empire, which made it clear that the best German Imperial prospects lay north of the Gariep (on the progression of factors contributing to the German decision to lay to claim to Namibia, see Wallace, 2011: 115 – 116). The brief usefulness of the Klein Nama language to the imperial agenda had run its course by 1889, with the result that what little protection from shift RMS presence had offered was no longer available to defend Klein Nama against internalised language prejudice and the growing use Afrikaans as a *lingua franca*.

2.4.2. Capitalism on the Coloured Reserves: 1913 – 1994

The Communal Reserves and Mission Stations Act (No. 29 of 1909) nominally sought to 'relieve the missionaries of secular administrative duties' (Boonzaier *et al.* 1996: 124), but practically lessened the influence of mission stations as *de facto* local authorities in Namaqualand by affording the colonial British government greater control (Carstens 1966: 9, Emmett 1987: 4). This served as a first step towards the creation of 'the Coloured reserves', the legal status of which was consolidated under the Natives Land Act (No. 27 of 1913). Now considered the first major legislative move towards the racial segregation of South African land, this act permitted the purchase and sale of land by 'natives' only within small select territories or 'reserves'. 23 'reserves' across South Africa were set aside for usage by the Coloured population; of these 23, the communal areas surrounding the original Klein Namaland mission stations Leliefontein, Steinkopf, Concordia, Komaggas, Pella, and the Richtersveld constituted six. The local *raad* or 'council' of each reserve was fairly independent, and, over the course of the 20th century, these bodies would become responsible for a host

of sundry concerns, including ‘the granting of residence and grazing rights town planning, provision of services, and the erection of fences, wind-pumps, and reservoirs’ (Boonzaier *et al.* 1996: 128).

Overcrowding at the Leliefontein mission station resulted in the dispersal of residents throughout the Kamiesberg and the foundation of other small dorpe (Rohde & Hoffman 2008: 195), thus consolidating the presence of Afrikaans in the southern reaches. The First World War proved briefly lucrative to the copper mines of Namaqualand, but this industry never replicated its early boom of the latter half of the 19th century, and ultimately shipping difficulties exacerbated by the War saw the disbandment of the Cape Copper Company in 1918 (Sharp & West 1984: 9). Although the discovery of diamonds at Port Nolloth between 1925 – 1927 saw some revival of economic interest in the region, state intervention ‘curtailed opportunities for private entrepreneurs, and was designed to supply a source of employment exclusively for Poor Whites in the region’ (Sharp & West 1984: 9). Around the same time, Schapera claimed that, ‘in Little Namaqualand... a few of the older people still know their own language, but the great majority now speak only Afrikaans, the regular medium of intercourse even among themselves’ (Schapera 1930: xiv). Carstens states definitively that the language of Steinkopf during the 1940s and was ‘Afrikaans, although some of the older people use Nama as well’ (Carstens 1966: 3), suggesting that shift was already well-advanced.

Kotze makes only cursory mention of ‘*nie-Blankes*’ (“non-Whites”) in Namaqualand, offering a sensationalist description of “a completely different type of non-White ... that has retained to a considerable degree the posture and features of the original Namaqua” in the Richtersveld (Kotze 1942: 443). Discussing the reliance of such communities on *veldkos*, or foraged vegetable foodstuffs, he does record at least five plantnames of Nama origin: **ngabo** (*Fockea* spp., ex Nama **ǀhǎwáb**); **kamaru**, or **kambro** (*Fockea* spp., ex southerly Nama **ǀgamarib**, *hapax* at Schültze 1907: 196); **barroe** or **baroe** (*Cyphia* spp., recorded as a southerly Nama term **berroe** as early 1685, but ultimately with the historic L1 pronunciation irretrievable); the **tnom**, and the **tnoenieke**. The former three are ubiquitous loanwords encountered across general Afrikaans; the latter are *hapax*, and, without Linnaean IDs or phytomorphological descriptions, cannot be further identified. This indicates the retention of Nama plant names at least by Richtersveld communities in the late 1930s. The use of **tn** also

indicates the continued South African academic disinterest in the Nama language, and the ongoing failure to adopt the orthographic conventions that had long since been established for the transcription of Groot Nama click consonants. No formal linguistic projects aimed at documenting Nama were forthcoming south of the Gariep.

Following the return to power of the National Party (NP) and its formal legal implementation of Grand Apartheid, forced removals and relocations began to take place within Namaqualand, including the resettlement of Nama-speaking labourers who had previously been living on White-owned farms into Coloured reserves (McDermott 2006: 161). The isolated Nama speech communities of the Richtersveld had previously been without extended periods of contact with Afrikaans, but several groups of Bosluis Basters were resettled at Eksteenfontein and Lekkersing in 1949, carrying Afrikaans with them (Carstens 1966: 208; Berzborn 2004: 345). With conditions exacerbated by the extreme droughts that had plagued the west coast between 1930 and 1950s (Rohde & Hoffman 2008: 201), the introduction of rigidly-controlled access to grazing saw communities shift rapidly from semi-transhumant herding to sedentary mixed agriculture and, ultimately, to wage labour (Sharp & West, 1984: 5; Emmett, 1987: 36 – 39; Boonzaier *et al.* 1996: 126 – 127; Rohde & Hoffman, 2008: 201 – 203). Although Steinkopf residents continued to employ *matjieshuisies* while engaged in herding away from the *dorp*, families were increasingly seeking to build *muurhuise*, ‘brick houses’, which seem to have served as something of a status symbol (Carstens 1966: 4), and which also consolidated the commitment to a sedentary life in a permanent residence.

Ironically, although old communal transhumance patterns had largely been abandoned, the advent of wage-labour, especially minework, saw the increasing emigration of individuals away from their home reserves to seek permanent employment elsewhere in Namaqualand. Carstens considered Komaggas and Kuboes to have been exceptionally isolated up until the 1940s, but observes that ‘a large-scale exodus of migrant workers began’ both in these towns and in Steinkopf and Concordia around 1952 (Carstens 1966: 208); similar trends developed in the Kamiesberg during the 1960s (Rohde & Hoffmann 2008: 203). Unlike precolonial transhumance, which saw the constant, regular migration of the entire *kraal* and which hence preserved the structure of speech communities, migrant labour in Namaqualand was atomised, operating at the level of the individual worker.

Migration of this kind fragmented already fragile Nama speech communities, and likely also increased the potential for sociolinguistic exogamy into Afrikaans speech communities. Nama-speakers who had perhaps left behind their speech communities in Khubus or Steinkopf and married into Afrikaans-speaking communities in the Kamiesberg, for example, would have been largely isolated from other speakers. Even if such speakers had wanted the use of Nama to be passed on, their children would not regularly have been exposed to Nama-language discourse either in the home or in the community, and at school would have learnt only Afrikaans. Under such conditions, the opportunity for the productive acquisition of Nama was likely extremely low regardless of language attitude.

In such scenarios, however, it is doubtful whether isolated Nama-speakers would in fact have wanted their children to speak Nama at all. The series of subsistence shifts had not only disrupted extant speech communities, but also brought long-held cultural prejudices to the fore. In the obsessively racialised context of the Apartheid state, ideals of social development were unavoidably informed by eugenicist anxieties of purity and progression. Adhikari discusses in detail the ‘progressionist’ attitudes held by several influential Coloured writers and intellectuals (Adhikari 2005: Chapter 2), including such opinions as ‘this hybrid race [...] gradually developed more and more homogeneity as they became subjected to positive and constructive forces of European society’ (Hendricks & Viljoen 1938, as cited at Adhikari 2005: 19), and ‘the hybrids of South Africa, the coloured people, are in many cases partly descended from English people, and must of necessity have inherited some of the virtues of that race’ (Ziervogel 1938, as cited at Adhikari 2005: 20). Attitudes of this sort had long since been entrenched in Klein Namaland communities by missionaries, who since the 19th century had ‘sought to distinguish between the Nama, on the one hand, and half-castes or Basters, on the other, regarding the Basters as more amenable to civilisation than the Nama’ (Sharp & Boonzaier 1994: 408). Similar opinions were also encountered in Eastern Cape communities where Basters and Gonaqua interacted (Blackbeard 2018: 56).

The increased racialisation of Namaqualand under Apartheid would thus have seen the codification not only of socioeconomic prejudices that associated Klein Nama culture with ignorance and poverty, but also of eugenicist ideologies that positioned the Coloured identity as closer to the White ideal, and hence as aspirational. This

culminated in the first explicit indications that suppression of Klein Nama culture, and hence indirectly also of the Klein Nama language, was underway from 1950 at least (MacDermott 2006: 161.) Berzborn agrees that that 'in the 1960s and 1970s, the principal of the Lekkersing school ... was very rigid in promoting Afrikaans and banning Nama at his school', although no clear source for this information is offered (Berzborn 2003: 345). Namaqualand residents who grew up during this time period 'still recount how school teachers (invariably self-conscious 'Basters' themselves) used to beat them for daring to speak Nama in public, and how they were turned down for jobs in the region because prospective employers decided that they were "too Nama"' (Sharp & Boonzaier 1994: 408).

The apparently rapid dispersal of anti-Nama sentiment has been attributed to a prominent class of educators, civil servants, and small business-owners, styled the 'New People', whose influence over Namaqualand was felt at least from 1945 onward (Carstens 1966: 131 – 143). As economically ambitious petty capitalists, this group despised and rejected all aspects of Klein Nama culture, and considered the Apartheid government to be 'European and civilised' (Carstens 1966: 131). Although certain aspects of the influence wielded by this group had altered by the mid-1980s, Emmett notes that 'school teachers still maintained an economically advantaged position in the community', that their attitudes were 'progressive or change-oriented', and that they 'appeared to have a profound influence on younger members of the community and shared with them many of their attitudes and grievances' (Emmett 1987: 158). This suggests that the effort by schoolteachers and other 'New People' to purge Klein Nama from the repertoire of schoolchildren between the early 1950s and the late 1980s would have been seen as socially progressive.

That indigenous Namibian languages had been the targets of concerted government suppression has been strongly argued with reference to OtjiHerero (Ohly 1987), and similar claims have been made for Nama in South Africa (Berzborn 2003: 343). Describing attempts to promulgate Nama-language material in Namibia prior to its independence from unconstitutional South African rule, however, Cluver writes,

I have not been able to find any evidence for [the] assumption that the South African Government intentionally underdeveloped the Namibian languages. In fact there is strong evidence pointing in the opposite direction — *i.e.*, a considerable amount of money was spent on developing at least five of the Namibian languages. However, the bureaucratisation of language

development led to the isolation of the project from the speech community. This in turn merely served to worsen the stigmatisation of the indigenous languages.

Cluver 2000: 95

North of the Gariep, enough of a speech community remained that the development of educational resources in Groot Nama was a viable project, and one that would serve not only to secure close ideological control over the syllabus, but also to further the Apartheid agenda of segregating or 'balkanising' colonised communities along ethnolinguistic lines (as outlined at Pugach 2004: 827; Heugh 2016: 4). Following Cluver's assessment, the obvious colonial disinclination to accord Groot Nama community stakeholders authority over or even basic engagement with this project, however, saw such resources rejected. South of the Gariep, it can be assumed that what remained of Klein Nama was too fragmented to be of much use to the segregationist agenda, and the regional *lingua franca* Afrikaans became the accepted medium of official discourse and hence of education by default. Ethnic prejudices against Klein Nama culture, coupled with aspirations toward upward social mobility that could only be achieved by embracing European ideals of progression, saw many people who had been lumped into the Coloured racial category seek to disavow their Klein Nama heritage, which included the use of the Klein Nama language. Although no official Apartheid policy forbidding the use of Klein Nama either in schools or in the workplace can be identified, language suppression certainly did occur.

2.5. The Status of Nama in South Africa: 1994 – 2019

This section reviews what little is known of Nama as it spoken in present-day Namaqualand.

2.5.1. Socioeconomic Conditions in Namaqualand Today

Since the collapse of the Apartheid regime, territories in present-day Namaqualand have been at the heart of several land rights restoration movements. The majority of research carried out from a social scientific perspective in the region over the last two decades has focused on questions of land rights and the parallel reclamation of ethnic autonomy (Sharp 1994; Sharp & Boonzaier 1994; Archer & Meer 1997; Berzborn 2003; Hoffman & Rhode 2007). Of particular interest is renewed awareness of the extent to which the Apartheid regime worked to subsume Nama and other Khoekhoe-

branch ethnicities into the Coloured racial category, and how this impacted constructions of sociological identity within Namaqualand.

The Namakwa District Municipality, with a total population of around 108 000, is subdivided into five local municipalities, of which two fall within the research site: the Kamiesberg Local Municipality in the south, and the Nama Khoi Local Municipality in the north. Together they are home to around 55 000 people.³¹ Springbok is the largest town in the region, at around 12 000 permanent residents, with Steinkopf following at around 8 000; few other dorpias exceed 2 000 residents. Okiep, close to Springbok and easily accessible via a good road, is the home both of the Namakwa FM radio station, and of the only tertiary education institution in the District Municipality, the Namakwa TVET campus. A number of Facebook pages serve the dorpias as community messageboards, but access to both desktop computers and to wifi is limited. Following my observations, most residents use data to access the internet via their cell phones, with WhatsApp functioning as a universal text-messaging service, but cellular reception is often patchy. NFM Radio is therefore the best-accessible community platform, and is much beloved by residents.

The N7 national road, which connects Cape Town with Windhoek via the Vioolsdrift border post, is tarred and well-maintained, but virtually all other municipal roads are untarred and can be hazardous. Many of the smaller dorpias are therefore profoundly isolated. Mining remains the primary industry, but smallstock farming is also practised, mostly by White landowners, and some of their Coloured shepherds still spend significant amounts of time at *veeposte*, ‘stockposts’, in the veld. Snoek fishing is an important local source of income in Port Nolloth and Hondeklipbaai. With the growing ecological awareness of Namaqualand’s global importance as a region of exceptional floral biodiversity has come also a wave of botanical interest. *Blommekyk* (‘flower-viewing’) by tourists and academics alike renders Namaqualand almost inaccessibly crowded in spring.

2.5.2. A Modern Language Emergency

Unfortunately, renewed interest in the Namaqualand region has produced virtually no linguistic research into the current state of the Nama language within South Africa. For

³¹ All population data are taken from the 2011 census. Results from the February 2022 census had not been finalised at the time of writing, and so all population figures are unavoidably out of date.

a review of the general failure of either the South African San Institute (SASI) or the Pan-South African Language Board (PanSALB) to have contributed to the documentation, scientific study, or revitalisation of any KX'A, TUU, or KHOE language in any meaningful way, see Jones 2017: 26 – 34. Recent economic and ethnographic investigations into quality of life in Namaqualand typically make some mention of language usage (see, for example, Sharp & Boonzaier 1994: 408 – 409; McDermott 2006: 161), but these discussions tend to be limited and are usually sociolinguistic in scope. The claim that 'there are approximately five to ten thousand Nama-speaking people living in the Northern Cape' presented by Crawhall 1999: 7 is an untenably high figure and is also entirely unsourced. Berzborn 2004 offers the clearest overview of Klein Nama at the turn of the century, observing that 'all the elderly and many adults speak Nama [at Kuboes], whereas knowledge of Nama among the youth varies greatly' (Berzborn 2004: 345), and also that 'Nama is commonly spoken at stockposts, [and] even young people will switch to Nama as soon as they arrive at the stockpost' (Berzborn 2004: 350). This suggests a split in discursive spheres between Afrikaans and Klein Nama, making Nama vulnerable to dissipation should reliance on livestock herding also falter. Unfortunately, no specimens of Klein Nama are provided in Berzborn 2004, and no exact data on the number of speakers remaining is available.

Only one South African effort to collect linguistic data from the Namaqualand region has transpired in the last three decades, and here the focus was on Namaqualand Afrikaans as spoken in the southerly region of Kharkams (Links 1989, extensively discussed in Chapter 3); the retrieval of some post-shift lexical data in Klein Nama, poorly transcribed using the **t'** convention to represent any and all click consonants, was incidental. The sole international attempt to collect Klein Nama language data from the Richtersveld found, upsettingly, that even at the 'heart of Nama-ness in South Africa', only one in every four or five of the thousand residents of Khubus was fluent in Nama to any degree (Witzlack-Makaverich 2006: 9). This suggests that the largest remaining speech community of Klein Nama could not have numbered more than 200 – 250 individuals fifteen years ago. When contrasted with the observation that Nama was 'the home language of the majority of the Richtersveld's population' in the mid-1950s (Carstens 1966: 208), it becomes clear that the aggressively negative attitudes toward the Klein Nama language that proliferated through Richtersveld schools during the 1950s – 1980s have resulted in rapid language endangerment.

With regard to Nama-language education in South Africa, Berzborn observes that unqualified teachers from Riemvasmaak had been teaching Nama at Johan Hein Primary School at Kuboes from 1999, but that, as these teachers spoke a different dialect, children exposed to these lessons came to argue with their parents about the 'correctness' of the language they had been taught (Berzborn 2004: 354). More recent comment on Nama language-teaching in the Khubus school is not available beyond the fact that it apparently continues; Nama has also been taught at the Riemvasmaak Primary School since 2018 (Jones 2019: 10). There is no formal academic or linguistic engagement with these initiatives, and it is most likely that the teaching materials used are standardised Namibian Khoekhoe resources produced across the border for use in Groot Nama speech communities. This effectively endangers Klein Nama even further, as introducing standardised Namibian Khoekhoe into the Richtersveld without formal linguistic assessment risks erasing a regionalised language variety in the name of language revitalisation.

2.6. Drivers of Language Shift in Namaqualand: Some Conclusions

The drivers of language shift from Klein Nama to Afrikaans in Namaqualand may be sorted into four broad categories. Colonial pressures that forced acculturation for the sake of survival, restructuring of speech communities in the wake of massive subsistence reorganisation, social prejudices including external and internalised racism, and a lack of teaching resources have all contributed to extreme and probably irreversible language endangerment.

Following the colonial disruption of established sociopolitical boundaries, the first half of the 19th century saw the Klein Nama in an increasingly tenuous and vulnerable socioeconomic position. Most krale had little recourse other than to attach themselves to mission stations in order to survive. This resulted in an early association of the Afrikaans language with missionary protection, and hence with the alleviation of poverty and access to European material goods. These associations were only strengthened by socioeconomic developments of the 20th century, when, following racialised restrictions on land usage and the introduction of a capitalist market economy to Namaqualand, communities abandoned Klein Nama herding practices and instead adopted wage labour as their primary mode of subsistence. Attached to this shift in subsistence were associations of Klein Nama culture with indigence; by

contrast, integration into Afrikaner culture provided access to capital, material goods, and status. These negative attitudes towards Klein Nama culture spread also to the Klein Nama language.

The development of separate discursive spheres for each language saw Afrikaans positioned as the language of the church, of the school, and of public and official discourse, while the use of Nama was likely relegated to the home and to stock-keeping posts. This of itself would not necessarily have the power to induce shift without massive restructuring of the speech community proper, but an influx of labourers from other parts of South Africa during the copper boom in the latter half of the 19th century meant that Afrikaans was elevated to the level of *lingua franca*, further establishing it as the accepted language of public discourse and secluding the use of Nama. Early missionary mistrust for the tendency of Klein Nama congregations to evade their influence through transhumance had seen some effort to encourage sedentary modes of living during the 19th century, but it was not until the mid-20th century that sedentary occupation in permanent *muurhuise* became aspirational. At the same time, the widescale adoption of migrant wage-labour saw an increase in individuals leaving their home reserves to seek employment elsewhere, usually in speech communities whose public language repertoire would have been dominated by the Afrikaans *lingua franca*. The social organisation of Namaqualand as a whole effectively underwent a massive shift in three stages, from communal transhumance to nuclear residence to individual migrance. The fragmentation of Klein Nama speech communities, and the subsequent isolation of Klein Nama-speaking individuals within Afrikaans speech communities, can only have resulted in reduced rates of childhood acquisition of Klein Nama.

While the nominal aim at least of the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act was to define, sort, and segregate like with like, the imposition of the Coloured racial category onto the complex ethnographic and sociolinguistic landscape of Namaqualand forced abrupt interactions between speech communities of Baster Afrikaans and Klein Nama. This brought some centuries' worth of ethnic prejudice, and particularly the internalised self-hatred among Baster communities for their Khoekhoe origins, to bear on already fragmented speech communities. Assimilation with Whiteness was characterised as aspirational, and ideals of racial progression entailed the jettisoning of all aspects of Klein Nama culture, language included.

Stringent and sometimes violent suppression of the use of the Klein Nama language occurred in Richtersveld schools and workplaces between at least the 1950s and the 1980s.

Finally, there is a total dearth of standardised language-teaching resources for Klein Nama. This is, in part, the inevitable historical result of different colonial attitudes across different regions and different periods of time. Where Anglophone missionaries favoured the use of Cape Dutch as a medium of instruction, as in the Kamiesberg, language shift was rapid and total. Where Germanophone missionaries exploited Klein Nama speakers for the compilation of Nama-language materials that they hoped would be beneficial in Groot Namaland, language shift was more protracted. The Apartheid government saw no potential for inculcation in what vestiges of Klein Nama survived into the 20th century, while the post-Apartheid academy has apparently seen no scientific value in language documentation and no humanitarian value in language conservation.

In the absence of teaching resources suitable to a Klein Nama context, desperate and under-supported community efforts at language revitalisation have had to make use of standardised Namibian Khoekhoe materials, thus potentially worsening the situation through no fault of their own. Although clear demographic data pertaining to the rate of decline of Klein Nama are not available, all signs point to the language being moribund.

Chapter 3

A Corpus of Click Consonants in Regional Afrikaans

Taking the propensity for language shift to donate lexical material via substrate interference, and hence also to introduce phonological material into the adstrate language, this chapter predicts that regional varieties of Afrikaans spoken in post-shift communities should logically be expected to contain small lexes of items containing click consonants. Although virtually no formal linguistic documentation of this phenomenon is available, it is broadly attested from lay and ethnobotanical sources. This chapter therefore compiles a corpus of all Khoekhoe-branch items recorded from an L1 Afrikaans context over the past century in order to demonstrate that lexical borrowing *and* click loan have both occurred. It concludes that, given the poor calibre of the available resources, no detailed phonological inferences about the behaviour of these post-shift click consonants can be drawn.

3.1. Khoekhoe-branch Influence on Afrikaans: The Current Consensus

This section offers a brief overview on the available literature on the influence of the Khoekhoe-branch languages on the development of Cape Dutch into Afrikaans. Noting that the bulk of evidence cited is morphosyntactic,

3.1.1. Morphosyntactic Influence

The unsurprising existence of an early Dutch-Cape Khoekhoe pidgin used in the environs of the Cape of Good Hope is well-known and frankly over-discussed. The few surviving specimens have been thoroughly examined (Den Besten 2003, Holm 2004, Deumert 2005, Van Rensburg 2016), but its use is likely to have been situational and ephemeral. Thomason & Kauffman 1988 acknowledge that the socioeconomic hegemony of Dutch colonial settlers at the Cape would initially seem to have made creolisation unlikely, but, summarising Valkhoff 1966, agree that ‘the process of the transmission of Dutch at the Cape was not as clear-cut as one might have assumed’ (Thomason & Kauffman, 1988: 251 – 256). The role of rapid L2A by speakers of Cape Khoekhoe who came into the employ of Cape Dutch trekboers may have contributed to the levelling of standard Dutch inflection (Haacke 2013: 922). Attention has also been directed to the important role played by mixed-ethnicity groups such as the Griqua, Baster, and Oorlam communities in spreading Cape Dutch beyond the

boundaries of the Cape Colony (Stals, 2001: 15 – 38; Groenewald 2010: 76 – 78; Haacke 2013: 922), especially as there are indications that such groups used “their own form of Afrikaans” (Nienaber & Raper 1977: 18, as cited at Mössmerr 2019: 53). Certain of the morphosyntactic regionalisms present of Gariep Afrikaans may have originated in such communities, potentially with some Khoekhoe-branch structural influence exerted by rapid L2A among Kora-speakers (Den Besten 2002).

Best-known among potential examples of substrate structural interference is the suggestion that that the Afrikaans double negative construction may have arisen from Khoekhoe-branch influence (Combrink 1978; Den Besten 1986; Ponelis 1993). In both standardised Namibian Khoekhoe and in Kora, the negative marker **tama** occurs in a post-verbal position in indicative constructions, suggesting that a similarly post-verbal construction was also historically used in Cape Khoekhoe. It has been extrapolated that the phrase-final *nie* used to indicate negation in Afrikaans was influenced by Khoekhoe-branch post-verbal negation, presumably transferred onto early L2 Afrikaans utterances by Cape Khoekhoe learners of Cape Dutch.

As has been accepted even by proponents of this theory, however (Den Besten 2002: 243–245), no language in the Khoekhoe branch (or even in the broader KHOE family) has yet been observed to employ negative concord in the form of a double negative construction (see further discussion at Mesthrie 2017: 532). Combrink 1978 was aware of similar constructions in Flemish, but did not consider them worth comparing with Afrikaans; only more recently has it been observed that ‘all the dialects of the standard Germanic varieties such as English, German and Dutch reveal negative concord, whereas their written standards do not’ (Cornips & Poletto 2004: 12). Extensive discussion is available from Deumert 2004: 196 – 202. It remains unclear whether the Afrikaans double negative resulted from L2 interference by early Cape Dutch-Cape Khoekhoe bilinguals, or whether it arose from a non-standard GERMANIC construction present in some varieties of Cape Dutch, but it is more probably the latter.

More credible are arguments that Khoekhoe-branch compounds predicated on the suffix **-haan**, *lit.*, ‘and other things of the sort’ (Hagman 1977: 29) influenced the development of Afrikaans compounds such as *pa-hulle* (‘dad and the others’) through calquing (Haacke 1994: 41 – 43). There is also some potential for the Central Nama

and Oorlams replacement of the second-person pronoun with a third-person kinship term as a form of honorific address to have influenced a similar Afrikaans usage (Haacke 2015: 71). The development of the Afrikaans periphrastic possessives *ek se, ons se* has also been attributed to restructuring, with reference to the Khoekhoe-branch postpositive genitive marker **di** (Le Roux 1923: 88; Links 1989: 83; Deumert 2004: 213). Although these tentative examples may indicate some degree of substrate interference with the morphosyntax, they are marginal and do not attest to significant influence from any Khoekhoe language; modern assessments conclude that Afrikaans was only ‘partially restructured’ (Holm 2004) or is ‘creoloid’ (Deumert 2004) at best.

Here it must be understood that the tradition of Afrikaans historical linguistics has been steeped from the first in nationalist anxiety, and remains fraught by questions of race, ethnicity, and language ownership. Scholarly biases range from the Afrikaner nationalist attitudes that sought to elevate their language’s grammatical quirks beyond the status of uneducated backwater Dutch into a rich colonial creole worthy of academic attention, to the post-Apartheid analyses that have desperately and sometimes poignantly scoured Coloured dialects of Afrikaans for the merest trace of Khoekhoe syntax in the hopes of rehabilitating the language’s colonial legacy. That the very earliest speakers of Cape Dutch were of Dutch-Khoekhoe descent is historically well-attested, and in this sense the modern arguments for reclaiming Afrikaans as a Coloured language are sound. However, the fact of the linguistic matter is that there is only very limited evidence that Khoekhoe-speakers ever exerted anything more than marginal influence on the development of contemporary Afrikaans morphosyntax.

3.1.2. Lexical Influence

Almost entirely overlooked in the literature on the influence of Khoekhoe-branch languages on Afrikaans is the potential for shift events to have facilitated lexical borrowing,³² rather than morphosyntactic restructuring. A handful of examples of

³² Better researched is lexical influence by Afrikaans on Namibian Khoekhoe. Afrikaans has donated upward of 300 loanwords to Namibian Khoekhoe (Haacke 2015: 60), and has also exerted some morphosyntactic influence, as in the use of the Afrikaans superlative suffix *–ste* with Namibian Khoekhoe adjectives, e.g., **kaiste aob**, ‘biggest man’ (Haacke 2013: 926). The extended contact between these languages has allowed for multiple diachronic points of entry, with some items clearly having been loaned from older stages of Cape Dutch (Haacke 2015: 61 – 62) rather than from contemporary Afrikaans. Such a lengthy period of productive bilingualism would have had the potential for items to pass also from Namibian Khoekhoe into regionalised varieties of Namibian Afrikaans.

Table 3.1
Phonetic Inventory of Standardised Namibian Khoekhoe

Standardised Namibian Khoekhoe employs the five cardinal vowels, which may also be distributed across five geminations or in seven sequences. Of the geminate vowels, all except the mid geminations /ee/ and /oo/ may be nasalised; of the vowel sequences, all except the mid sequences /ael/, /aol/ and /oel/ may be nasalised. Each vowel carries a toneme (super high HH, high H, low L, or super low LL) which combine to yield tone ‘melodies’.

CARDINAL VOWELS				GEMINATE VOWELS			
	FRONT	CENTRE	BACK		FRONT	CENTRE	BACK
HIGH	i ĭ		u ũ	HIGH	ii ĩĩ		uu ũũ
MID	e		o	MID	ee		oo
LOW		a ǎ		LOW		aa ǎǎ	

VOWEL SEQUENCES			
ai ǎi	au ǎu	ui ũi	
ae	ao	oe	
	ǎa		

Standardised Namibian Khoekhoe employs thirty-two consonants, of which twelve are pulmonic. Of these, only /p m n r/ may occur in the intervocalic position and are prone to elision. Depending on the tonemic environment, intervocalic /p/ may be allophonically realised [b] or [v]; similarly, word-final /p/ may be realised [b]. The twenty click consonants are restricted to the onset position.

PULMONIC CONSONANTS				
	LABIAL	DENTAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
STOP	p	t	k	ʔ
AFFRICATE		ts	kx	
FRICATIVE		s	x	h
NASAL	m	n		
APPROXIMANT		r		

CLICK CONSONANTS				
	DENTAL	ALVEOLAR	LATERAL	PALATAL
GLOTTALISED	ǀʔ	ǃʔ	ǂʔ	ǁʔ
TENUIS	ǀ	ǃ	ǂ	ǁ
PREN. ASPIRATED	ǀʰ	ǃʰ	ǂʰ	ǁʰ
AFFRICATED	ǀǂ	ǃǂ	ǂǂ	ǁǂ
NASALISED	ǀ̃	ǃ̃	ǂ̃	ǁ̃

Table 3.2
Phonetic Inventory of Standardised Afrikaans

Regional variation in Afrikaans is somewhat better-studied than in indigenous South African languages, and so some research into variation in urban dialects of Coloured Afrikaans has been conducted; Kaaps, or Coloured Afrikaans as spoken on the Cape Flats, is the best-studied. Rural varieties, however, are significantly understudied, and, outside of Links 1989, no detailed description of regional phonological variation in Namaqualand Afrikaans is available. Common to consultants interviewed for this project, for example, was the tendency to front the long low back vowel, and so to pronounce 'taal' as /ta:l/ in place of the standard /tɑ:l/. This inventory is therefore provided as a general guideline, and transcription protocols employed in Part 2 may vary as needed.

Standardised general Afrikaans employs both short and long monophthongs, as tabulated below. Unrounded vowels appear to the left of their rounded counterparts. Diphthongs include /əi/, /œul/, /aɪ/, /œɪ/, /ɔɪ/, /ʊə/, /ɪə/, /ɪʊ/.

	FRONT	CENTRE	BACK
HIGH	i y		u
MID		ə œ	
CLOSE-MID	ɛ		ɔ
LOW	a		

	FRONT	CENTRE	BACK
HIGH	i:		u:
MID	e:	œ:	o:
CLOSE -MID			
LOW			ɑ:

Standardised general Afrikaans employs 16 consonants (excluding marginal consonants, such as /g/ and /z/, which are present only in loanwords). As in some varieties of SA English, the glottal stop /ʔ/ may precede V in onset position. The voiceless velar stop /k/ may be realised [c] in the onset of the diminutive suffix <tjie>; some Kaaps speakers will use [c̥] or even [tʃ]. Similarly, [d̥] may replace [j] in certain dialects (e.g., /jəi/ 'you' may appear as [d̥ʒəi]).

	bilabial	labio-dental	alveolar	post-alv.	palatal	velar	glottal
stop	p b	t d				k	
affricate							
fricative	m	f v	s			x	
nasal			n			ŋ	
trill				r			
lateral				l			
approximant					j		h

Khoekhoe-branch items that have been generally established in Afrikaans and SA English are offered in general discussions of South African colonial language history, usually including **buchu**, **kierie**, **gogga**, **abba**, and the like (see, for example Roberge 1994: 84; Boonzaier *et al* 1996: 11; Mesthrie 2017: 257; Du Plessis, 2019: 22). Such items are ubiquitous and well-known across SA English and general Afrikaans. Unfortunately, the original Khoekhoe-branch forms of these loanwords, or else their closest possible Namibian Khoekhoe or Kora reflexes, are never provided; if the original forms are, in fact, unknowable, then this is never discussed.³³

The potential for language shift to have donated Khoekhoe-branch items to *regional* varieties of Afrikaans, rather than to the general lexicon, has never been adequately assessed. Substrate interference with an adstrate lexicon tends to be limited both in its geographic distribution, as it implicates only minority groups, and also in its diachronic persistence, since it typically endures for only a few generations after the completion of the shift even. Since post-shift lexical retention is so localised and so ephemeral, it is likely to escape the notice of linguists working with more general varieties.

Occasional accounts of lexical retention among older members of Gariep Afrikaans communities are available (Rademeyer 1938; Nurse 1975) suggesting that, even after productive acquisition of Kora and Xri had fallen away, fragments of the language were still used. Unfortunately, no detailed record of such items was produced by linguists until well into the 21st century. More detailed examples of post-shift lexical retention encountered in communities along the Gariep and in the interior Karoo are available from Killian 2009, Kilian 2020, and Mössmer 2021; these are discussed further in Chapter 11.

Vir baie wilde plante en bome soos rapuisbos, slangkop, skilpadbos, ystervarkbos, vermeerbossie, olienhoutboom, ens. as ook vir die verskillende veldiere het die ou Griekwas by voorkeur die Khoekhoe^H

³³ The ‘obvious lexical borrowing from Khoekhoe’ apparently visible in **kierie** = ‘walking stick’ (Roberge 1994: 84) is not defended, even though comparative etyma easily are sourced from Namibian Khoekhoe (**[khárúb]** = ‘walking stick’ H&E212) and Kora (**[xarus ~ xaurus]** = ‘walking stick’ DuP297). That this borrowing required rephonologisation of an affricate click consonant to a voiceless velar stop offers valuable historical linguistic data on the behaviour of click consonants during loan, but the failure to cite Khoekhoe-branch etyma obscures this. Here there is significant room for improvement. Rather than stating that, for example, **abba** ‘piggyback’, is one of ‘many [Khoekhoe] words common in everyday Afrikaans and English speech in South Africa’ (Boonzaier *et al.*, 1996: 11), and requiring the reader to take this assertion on faith, it should be standard practice to cite a dictionary entry, such as ‘**áwà, ápà {apa}** to carry on one’s back (esp. a child)’ (Haacke & Eiseb, 2002: 16).

name gebruik. Sekere oues ken die name nog, dog tensy 'n mens vertoud is met die Khoekhoe^H taal met al sy klapgeluide en ander eienaardige, sal 'n poging om die Khoekhoe^H name op te teken nie die moeite loon nie.

For many wild plants and trees, such as 'resin bush', 'snakehead', 'tortoise bush', 'porcupine bush', 'vomitbush', 'olivewoodtree', and so forth, as well as for different wild animals, the old Griquas preferred to use Khoekhoe^H names. Certain of the elders still know the names, but unless one is confident in the Khoekhoe^H language, with all its click consonants and other peculiarities, any attempt to transcribe the Khoekhoe^H names would not be worth the trouble.

Rademeyer 1938: 101 – 102

Only one comparable account (Links 1989) is available for the regionalised Namaqualand Afrikaans as used at Kharkams in the Kamiesberg, where communities shifted from the use of Klein Nama to Afrikaans during the 19th century. Links' descriptions of Namaqualand Afrikaans as used at Kharkams in the Kamiesberg includes a list of 61 Nama-language lexical items, less placenames and personal names, as used by monolingual Afrikaans speakers. While these items are regionalised, Links 1989 did consider them to be locally common, even some generations after near-total shift had all but extirpated Klein Nama from the Kamiesberg. Importantly, speakers pronounced these copied items using click consonants. Even though these items are rare and regional, they nonetheless have the capacity to demonstrate how certain features of Khoekhoe are rephonologised when loaned into Afrikaans, and particularly to illustrate the behaviour of click consonants when deployed in an ordinarily clickless language.

Traill considers the retention of Nama items in Kharkams Afrikaans to indicate that 'shift must have been more gradual than it had been earlier in the western Cape' (Traill 1995: 33). Den Besten remarks that the presence of such items was 'not surprising', but offers no comment on the condition of click consonants other than 'their use is unstable' (Den Besten 2013: 917). Mesthrie also acknowledges Links' findings, but refers to the consultants interviewed only as 'descendants of Khoisan people', even though the language in question is transparently Nama, and engages in no further critical examination of the data (Mesthrie 2017: 529). No further linguistic comment on post-shift lexical retention in Namaqualand is available outside of Christie 2020, Christie 2021.

Most recently, Stell 2020 has recorded instances of lexical borrowing from several Namibian languages in a *kasietaal* (*lit.*, ‘township language’) or urban youth vernacular Afrikaans, as used at Windhoek by young speakers from working class Damara and Ovambo communities. Of 982 lexical items considered characteristic of Windhoek Kasietaal, 8.1% are considered to have originated in Namibian Khoekhoe (Stell 2020: 60). Unfortunately, no narrow IPA transcriptions of these items as pronounced by speakers of *kasietaal* is provided, and so it is unclear what rephonologisation strategies, if any, have been applied to click consonants used in Afrikaans-matrix sentences. Since eight of the speakers interviewed were Damara, and so presumably had acquired the production of Damara click consonants to L1 fluency, it may be that such speakers preserve L1 pronunciation of click consonants when inserting items into Afrikaans.

By contrast, at least one of the Damara-speaking participants observed that “people use words from each other’s languages wrongly and [kasietaal] starts like that” (Stell, 2020: 59). Whether this may indicate that L1 speakers of Afrikaans, otijHerero, and oshiWambo may rephonologise clicks consonants when using Kasietaal items of Damara origin is not clear. It is recorded that **nx** is used to spell click consonants, with **!gáwà** ‘to look’, ‘to gaze’ (H&E 313) ‘spelt mostly as (n)**xaba**’ and the Damara item **llgái** ‘bad’, ‘rotten’, ‘shoddy’ (H&E245) ‘spelt mostly as **nxe/ndje**’ (Stell 2020: 60). Whether this is because speakers have received minimal instruction in standardised Namibian Khoekhoe orthography,³⁴ or because this orthography is not considered appropriate for use with click consonants in Windhoek Kasietaal, would make for important further research.

3.1.3. Predicting Clicks in Regional Afrikaans

Language shift implies at least one generation of fluent bilingual speakers, and hence the opportunity for bilingual codeswitching by adults to contribute to the lexis of monolingual children. Lexical borrowing provides an opportunity, however slight, for phonological interference; and the best immediate indicator of phonological interference would be the monolingual Afrikaans retention of click consonants in

³⁴ See Fredericks 2013: 144 – 151 for a valuable collection of informal orthographies used in a Namibian context to represent click consonants on road signs, maps, social media, and similar.

Khoekhoe-branch loanwords. The sociohistorical record reviewed in Chapter 2 suggests that multiple Khoekhoe-branch languages should have exerted at least some degree of lexical influence on regionalised varieties of Afrikaans. This influence, scattered across multiple shift events at multiple localities, need not necessarily have been widespread or enduring, or to have resulted in the establishment of loanwords; it may have produced only one or two generations of Afrikaans monolinguals with access to a limited and evanescent Khoekhoe-branch lexis. Nevertheless it must have occurred. We should predict that the absence of formal linguistic records of post-shift lexical retention represents a gap in the literature, rather than that lexical influence did not occur at all.

Given the general failure by South African linguists to have contributed meaningfully to Khoekhoe-branch research post-Apartheid, our best opportunity for detecting Khoekhoe-branch lexical influence on regionalised Afrikaans will arise not from formal linguistic material, but from lay language resources. These were not developed by academics trained in phonological notation or in language history, and for the most part have been poorly transcribed and relegated to appendices without comment or analysis. Click consonants are indicated using a host of *ad hoc* orthographies, the narrow phonological significance of which is utterly opaque; all that can be gleaned is that click consonants do seem to survive shift to surface in the retained lexes of monolingual Afrikaans-speakers. In addition to being phonologically unworkable, the lack of consistent temporal, geographic, and demographic metadata renders such sources virtually useless in developing any detailed diachronic understanding of this phenomenon. These records are the best we have.

The aim of Part 2 of this project is to provide narrow phonological descriptions of Khoekhoe-branch items generated by an L1 Afrikaans phonology, and hence to contribute to the cross-linguistic understanding of how a clickless phonology will rephonologise a click consonant under contact conditions. In order to do so, it must first compile a corpus of Khoekhoe-branch items that are known to have survived shift into Afrikaans. Crucially, it must also allow for the phonological comparison of the original Khoekhoe-branch material with the Afrikaans copy; there is no value in eliciting post-shift L1 Afrikaans click consonants if the original L1 Khoekhoe-branch click consonant is not known, as this curtails any effort at developing an understanding of click rephonologisation strategies. Accordingly, retrieval of the Khoekhoe-branch

targets is the chief priority of the corpus. Detailed discussion of etymological methods employed during retrieval is supplied in the *Preamble to Appendix A*.

While it cannot hope to be exhaustive, and while there certainly must exist resources which could have made further contributions but of which I am not aware, the corpus developed and presented in Appendix A should provide a representative sample of Khoekhoe-branch items that have, at some point over the course of the last century, been elicited from monolingual Afrikaans-speakers within an Afrikaans-language utterance. This sample will in turn inform the development of the test battery used in further elicitations during Part 2.

3.2. Compiling a Corpus

This section details the pursuit of lay lexicographic evidence of click loan in regional Afrikaans, and the subsequent compilation of a fully-etymologised corpus (Appendix A) of all available examples.

3.2.1. Selection of Sources

This section serves as a review of the lexicographical sources which have contributed most significantly to the compilation of the corpus. Two primary difficulties emerge during this survey, namely the potential for some lexicographical resources to have conflated L1 and L2 datastreams, and the failure by most lexicographical resources to indicate currency. Were this project solely lexicographical, obsolescence or extreme archaism would not exclude an item from the corpus. However, this corpus is intended to serve as a guide when developing phonological test batteries to be deployed during data collection in Namaqualand. Attempting to elicit archaic or obsolete items will be counterproductive, and therefore it is important that a rough estimate of the currency of the majority of items be available.

In light of these two limitations, this review restricts itself to a century's worth of records, beginning with Pettman 1913 and concluding with Nortje & van Wyk 2015. Since shift was widespread in both Kora- and Nama-speaking communities by the beginning of the 20th century, this diachronic limitation will not only curtail the entry into the corpus of obsolete post-shift items, but will also reduce the chances of the authors of having worked with L1 speakers, and hence for the conflation of L1 and L2 datastreams. Given the tendency of the authors sampled to bring certain archaic items

forward without commentary, however, even this limitation cannot definitively rule out the inclusion of L1 and obsolete L2 items.

3.2.2. A Representative Review of Four Primary Sources

The earliest of the three primary lexicographical sources selected was *Afrikaanse Etimologieë* (Boshoff & Nienaber 1967), as this work collates and comments on items of Khoekhoe-branch origin recorded in Afrikaans lexica from the first half of the 20th century. Its chief source was the 1950 edition of the *Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal* (WAT), in addition to monographs on early SA English and Afrikaans usage including *Africanderisms* (Pettman 1913), *Ons Geselstaal* (Von Wielligh 1925), and *Kleurling Afrikaans* (Rademeyer 1938). In accordance with the prevailing misconceptions of the time, Cape Khoekhoe is treated as the general '[Khoekhoe]^H' language, while Kora and Nama are termed dialects of this language. Older WAT suggestions for generic '[Khoekhoe]^H' etymologies are regularly cross-referenced with the *Nama Wörterbuch* (Kroenlein 1889), the revised *Deutsch-Nama-Wörterbuch* (Rust 1960), and the *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache* (Meinhof 1909), as well as with *Der Koranadialekt des Hottentotischen* (Meinhof 1930) and *The Korana* (Engelbrecht 1936). With regard to possible sources for !Ui-branch targets, *A Comparative Grammar of Southern African Languages* (Bleek 1862), *Specimens of Bushman Folklore* (Bleek & Lloyd 1911), and *A Bushman Dictionary* (Bleek 1954) are all present in the list of sources. However, it is noted that loaned items apparently of !Ui-branch origin are also often to be found in Khoekhoe-branch resources, and hence that it is “difficult” to determine which language served as the donor (B&N 1967: 27).

Although they offer no discussion of whether or not they have personally heard loanwords from these language spoken aloud, Boshoff & Nienaber 1967 do state explicitly that Khoekhoe-branch and !Ui-branch loanwords are typically realised without click consonants in Afrikaans (B&N 1967: 27). Worth remembering, however, is that *Afrikaanse Etimologieë* was fundamentally a lexicographical effort, and little to no data collection was carried out during its compilation; as a result, its orthography is almost entirely secondhand. This complicates considerably the question of how many of their lemma should be taken to have retained a click consonant during loan. It is never entirely clear which of their source materials heard and faithfully transcribed the substitution of a velar stop for a click consonant; which may have heard a click

consonant and simply chose not to transcribe it; which may not in fact have understood that earlier orthographies such as **ghnarrabos** did in fact constitute an effort to transcribe a click consonant; and which may have attempted to standardise earlier transcriptions, such as **t'kouboom**, by removing the non-standard element **t'**.

All of these orthographic uncertainties are inherited by *Afrikaanse Etimologieë*. Certain entries will acknowledge that an older source indicated a loan click consonant (for example, in the discussion of the plantname **nakaa** (B&N, 1967: 429) where the apostrophe in the earlier spelling **'nakaa** (Marloth, 1917: 140) is accepted as having indicated a click consonant), but headwords of Khoekhoe-branch origin are in the main clickless. Only four headwords are spelled using the **t'** convention **t'kooibos**, **t'kouboom**, **t'norra**, and **tnou**. Of these in turn, **t'kouoom** and **t'norra**, unsourced, are both redirected to the clickless headword **kouboom** and **norro**, neither of which is cross-referenced with the forms **t'kouboom** or **t'norra**; this would suggest that the clickless orthographies are preferred. The items **t'kooibos** and **tnou** are replicated from von Wielliegh 1925 and Marloth 1917 respectively, and no clickless counterparts are on record, suggesting that the forms containing **t'** are included in Boshoff & Nienaber 1967 only because no alternative exists. Similarly, only two headwords of Nguni-branch origin contain click consonants. The items **nceta** = *Cisticola aberrans* and **ncetekie** = [*Cisticola*] *fulvicapilla* do technically contain a nasalised dental click,³⁵ but the loaned pronunciation of both is subjected to scrutiny. With regard to the former, the “Afrikaans spelling and pronunciation should not be considered certain without more data”, while, of the latter, it is noted that, “Pett[man 1913] provides a Dutch pronunciation *knedike*”, but that “attempts to confirm this information were unsuccessful” (B&N, 1967: 443). Overall, the retention of click consonants during loan is barely discussed and is presented as minimal. Further commentary is impossible without attendant metadata such as currency and geographic distribution of loans.

The second major contributor of items is *So praat ons Namakwalanders* (Links 1989). The only modern resource on language usage in Namaqualand to have been compiled by an author with linguistic training, it was in many ways ahead of its time, but has

³⁵ Excepting the presence of the Afrikaans diminutive *-tjie* in <**ncetekie**>, these items are of course identical and should be sunk into a single lemma deriving *ex isiXhosa* **incédè** = *Cisticola fulvicapilla* GDX2.449. The standardised term for this bird in contemporary SA English is now <**neddicky**> /'nedəki:/, but it is impossible to tell whether click loss was the result of an organic rephonologising strategy, or of the standardised diffusion of a clickless transcription.

been sadly neglected by linguists. The majority of the research was carried out during the mid-1980s at Kharkams, with additional data collection taking place at Leliefontein, Kheis, and Tweerivier; these are all small dorpe in the Leliefontein Municipality in southern Namaqualand, where shift from Klein Nama to relatively modern Afrikaans is known to have begun between the 1820s and the 1840s. Beyond this locality, however, little additional metadata is provided. It is assumed that the majority if not all of the consultants belonged to the racial category Coloured and were monolingual Afrikaans-speakers, but there is no indication of which consultants had been exposed direct L1 Nama input, of whether all consultants had been born at Kharkams, or of whether their parents or grandparents had relocated there. Some such demographic information may be extracted from interviews, but there is no comprehensive cross-referencing of these metadata with the Nama items elicited. Ultimately, 61 items³⁶ from Links 1989 have been admitted to the corpus.

The following exchange, as transcribed in the interview selections between Links 1989: 89 – 105, is representative of the discussion of post-shift lexical retention throughout. The loanword **λ9.16a tkai**, further glossed at Links, 1989: 65 as “to make fast”, targets the Nama **!gǎé** = ‘to tie up’, ‘to fasten’, ‘to bind’, with a sense also of ‘to erect (fence)’ H&E306; here the phrase ‘dan **!gǎé** jy jou huis’ refers to the finishing process of tying together the *matjies* before erecting the house.

TL: Kyk, ek is nou dom. Ek ken nie eens daardie soort huis nie.

HW: Nee, jy maak mos eers die matjies en dan moet jy mos die pale maak en dan maak jy mos die huis. Jy plant jou pale. En as jy jou pale geplant het, dan **tkai** jy jou huis.

TL: **Tkai**, wat is dit nou?

HW: Dis die opsit wat ons sê **tkai**.

³⁶ Two further items apparently containing click consonants appear as *kleinname*. A community member Pietjie Links is noted to have the *kleinnaam* Pietjie **Tdoepens**, and that, “this person has a large round belly, hence the word from the Khoi language to describe him” (Links, 1989: 42). This *kleinnaam* is a hybrid compound of the Nama **!guǃwú** = ‘round’ H&E324 + Afrikaans *pens* = ‘belly’, which suggests that at least one consultant accurately retained the sense of **!guǃwú** post-shift. In the excerpts from interviews, a consultant Jan Beukes, then eighty years old, is “also known as Grandpa **Tkomma**” (Links, 1989: 90). No gloss or context for this name is offered, although it is worth noting that this consultant must have been born in or around 1909. Since Nama was likely still in use in the Leliefontein Municipality at least during the early part of the 20th century, this consultant may well have been given a Nama name by L1 Nama parents or grandparents, and it may have been this name that was remembered as his *kleinnaam*. Neither of these items has been admitted to the corpus, as further clarification on the frequency with which click consonants occur in *kleinname* would first have been required. It is a great pity that Links does not provide discussion of the pronunciation of these two items, as it would have been valuable to compare click consonants as retained in common nouns, and click consonants as used in personal names.

TL: Ken Ouma die [Khoekhoe]taal^H?

HW: Nee, ek ken hom nie praat nie.

TL: Look, I'm ignorant. I'm not familiar with that sort of house at all.

HW: Don't worry. First you just make the *matjies*, and then you just make the posts, and then you just make the house. You stake your posts. And after you've staked your posts, then you **tkai** your house.

TL: **Tkai**, now what is that?

HW: It's the rigging up that we call **tkai**.

TL: Do you know the [Khoekhoe]^H language, Granny?

HW: No, I don't know it well enough to speak it.

Links 1989: 102

Important to note is Links' difficulty with the transcription of click consonants he heard in these items, the result of extreme variation both interpersonally between consultants, and intrapersonally in the repertoire of individual consultants.

In baie gevalle was die respondente ook nie meer heeltemaal seker oor die uitspraak van sommige leksikon-items nie en het die navorser maar op grond van talle navrae by 'n besondere item se uitspraak probeer uitkom. Die uitsprake verskil dus heel dikwels van spreker tot spreker en daarom is sekere vorms na aanleiding van die wisselende uitsprake gerekonstrueer. Die respondente het egter nie twyfel oor die betekenis wat aan besondere vorms geheg word nie.

Aangesien Afrikaans en die Khoi-taal se klanksisteme verskil en die Afrikaanssprekende dikwels probleem ondervind om bepaalde Khoi-klanke te artikuleer, kan aanvaar word dat transfonemisering in 'n groot mate plaasgevind het. So het die Khoi-taal byvoorbeeld suigklanke wat nie voorkom in die Afrikaanse inventaris nie. ... Dit is baie opvallend in die spraak van die respondente dat die fyn onderskeidings by die vorming van die suigklanke nie meer gehandhaaf word ... nie. By die uitspraak van 'n woord soos [n!gu] sal 'n bepaalde respondent byvoorbeeld die suigklank [!] laat hoor en by 'n ander gebruiksgeval van dieselfde word weer [ll]. Daar is dus baie onvastheid op hierdie gebied.

In many cases, the consultants were also no longer entirely certain of the pronunciation of some lexicon items, and could try to provide the researcher with the pronunciation of a particular word only on the basis of much further questioning. Thus the pronunciations differ very frequently from speaker to speaker, and, on account of this, certain forms have been reconstructed with reference to the varying pronunciations. Nonetheless, the consultants had no doubts about the meanings attached to each form.

Since the phonemic inventories of Afrikaans and the Khoe language differ, and since Afrikaans-speakers often encounter difficulties when articulating certain Khoe phonemes, it can be accepted that there has been a great deal of phonological adaptation. ...It is clearly apparent in the speech of the consultants that the subtle distinctions in the production of the click consonants are no longer maintained.... When pronouncing a word like [n!gu], for example, a certain consultant will produce the click consonant [!], but then, in another use of the same word, use [ll]. As a result, there is a great deal of uncertainty in this area.

His solution to this variation was to deploy two separate orthographic strategies to capture click consonants. The first was to spell each item out according to Afrikaans orthographic practices, producing aggregate spellings of variable items through comparison across speakers, and using the graphemes **dg**, **nt**, **ntg**, **ntk**, **tgn**, **tk**, **tkn**, and **tn** to indicate click consonants. He also included IPA transcriptions, but, since the click consonants he encountered varied so dramatically across tokens and between consultants, chose to use only [!] to indicate every click consonant he heard; accordingly, it must be understood that [!] in the Links transcriptions does *not* indicate the tenuis alveolar click, but rather has a scope closer to that of /X/.

Unfortunately, neither of these transcription methods allows for the retrieval of the actual phonetic strings encountered. The practice of attempting to reconstruct a single aggregate form from many variable forms, effectively standardising the items as best as possible, was understandable in the context of a research project with a broad scope that had aimed to describe regionalised Afrikaans as a whole, as opposed to a single feature of the lexicon. However, while aggregate orthographies were perhaps the best strategy for saving time and space, narrow IPA capture of each individual token of each item uttered by each speaker would have been the only way to provide conclusive evidence of the extreme variation described. The proliferation of items including **n-** may indicate the nasalisation or prenasalisation was perhaps a significant feature of the click consonants he heard. Beyond this, all that can be determined is, firstly, that Links heard click consonants used by Afrikaans monolinguals, and, secondly, that these click consonants varied considerably from token to token of the same item, within a single utterance from a single speaker. The extreme variation in these click consonants has been noted by at least three linguists (Traill 1995: 33 – 34; Den Besten 2013: 917; Mesthrie 2017: 529) across the thirty years since the publication of Links 1989, but no follow-up data collection was ever carried out.

The third major contributor of items is *Annerlike Afrikaans: Woordeboek van Afrikaanse kontreitaal* (Prinsloo 2008). Like Boshoff & Nienaber 1967, this work is a lexicographical effort, with apparently little to no independent field research conducted. Although a source list is provided, the sources consulted for each individual headword are not cited within the dictionary proper, meaning that it is difficult to trace each item

to its original appearance. Only 43 sources appear, among which the WAT is identified as the “backbone” (Prinsloo 2008: 7), but of which a good portion is Afrikaans-language fiction; 23 sources, over half of the total, are short stories from the anthology *Uit die kontreie vandaan* (De Vries 2000). Curiously, Links 1989 is not cited, even though certain entries are verbatim replications both in the spelling of their headwords and in their glosses.

Overall, *Annerlike Afrikaans* is of very poor linguistic calibre, as the following paragraph on the inclusion of items containing click consonants shows:

Die spelling van die suig- en klapklanke van tale soos Khoi en Nama lewer ook probleme op. Verskillende skrywers het verskillende skryfwyses om hierdie klanke weer te gee; dit wissel van die uitroepteken (!) voor of na die eerste letter (of twee) van die woord, die afkappingsteken, een of twee skuisstrepe (/, //), die letter x, die tekens !x, d! en nog meer. Dit was nie moontlike om hierdie tekens/letters te standaardiseer in hierdie woordeboek nie en die trefwoorde is opgeneem soos hulle deur verskillende skrywers geteken is.

The spelling of the ingressive sounds and click consonants in languages such as Khoi and Nama also cause problems. Different authors use different orthographies to represent these sounds; it varies from the exclamation mark (!) in front of the first one or two letters of the word, the apostrophe, one or two slashes (/, //), the letter x, the graphemes !x, d!, and still more. It was not possible to standardise these graphemes/letters in this dictionary, and the headwords were adopted exactly as spelled by various authors.

Prinsloo 2008: 11

This is the sole discussion of the presence of items containing click consonants provided. The reference to “Khoi and Nama” languages would unfortunately seem to have been influenced by the infamously nonsensical clause in the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* at Section 6, Point 5a (ii) (see further comment at Jones 2019: 2). Not one of the orthographies listed resembles the standardised Namibian Khoekhoe practice, even though *A Khoekhoegowab Dictionary* (Haacke & Eiseb 2002) had been widely available for six years prior to the publication of this work. There is no speculation, for example, as to whether the use of <!> in a source did in fact represent an alveolar click, or of whether </> and <//> are efforts to represent <|> and <||> for the dental and the lateral click. There is additionally no consideration of whether these items were originally elicited as L1 utterances, or whether they were in fact used by monolingual Afrikaans-speakers.

These failings are further reflected in the poor attempts at providing etymological information throughout the work; items of Khoekhoe-branch origin are marked only as

‘*uit Khoi*’, with no further specification of which language in particular served as the donor, and with no attempt whatsoever to source loans to their target. Despite the effusive praise heaped upon ‘Griekwa Afrikaans’, to which the author ascribes “a wit, an ingenuity, a resourcefulness which sometimes leaves one breathless” (Prinsloo, 2008: 7), it is clear that no serious research into the language history of Griekwa or any other Khoekhoe communities was involved at any stage in the compilation of this work. This attitude, at once performatively enthusiastic and intellectually lazy, is unfortunately characteristic of the bulk of White South African engagement with the Khoekhoe-branch languages. Perhaps the best value to be found in Prinsloo 2008 is the extreme thoroughness of the variant orthographies collated, and in the locality data, as these have provided clarifying opportunity for cross-reference with Boshoff & Nienaber 1967 and Links 1989.

Finally, an anthology of short stories, *Vonke uit die koeroeklip: ’n Eie verhaal uit Namakwaland* (Sarrisam 2006) was included in the survey as an example of the usefulness of localised literature to lexicography. There must certainly exist Namaqualand poetry, fiction, and autobiography which would offer further examples of Khoekhoe-branch influence on regionalised Afrikaans (as, for example, the anthology *Uit die kontreie vandaan* (De Vries 2000) utilised by Prinsloo 2008), and further linguistic assessments are encouraged by researchers who are more familiar with contemporary Afrikaans literature, especially Namaqualand poetry. This source was selected for inclusion both because it is among the best-known recent works to have come out of the region, and because the author made a deliberate stylistic choice to use Namaqualand Afrikaans to describe his Namaqualand childhood. Representative examples of Nama items used in Sarrisam 2006 include **tjon-on** = ‘a small species of lizard’ ex **llónillóns**, **t’kierie** = ‘healthy’, ‘active’ ex **‡urú**, **t’nouroebossies** = ‘shrubs in Mesembryanthemaceae’ ex **lharus**, **vas-t’kam** = ‘to grip tight’ ex **llkhǎm**, and **!nthooivleise** = ‘the upper portion of the arm’ ex **!khóóllhǎñniš**; in the footnotes glossing the latter four, the author states explicitly that they are to be pronounced using a click consonant (Sarrisam 2006: 50, 88, 186, 255).

3.2.3. Including Items in the Corpus

The first and most obvious criterion for selection of a copied item is semantic and morphological opacity within the host language. If an item cannot easily be broken down into its component morphemes by an L1 speaker, or if these morphemes are not immediately semantically transparent, it is likely to contain material that historically originated outside its host language. The best-studied languages known to have donated items to general Cape Dutch are Malay (which also indirectly donated items from Arabic) and Portuguese (which also indirectly donated items from Arabic, Nahuatl, and Japanese). SA English has naturally served as a donor language to Afrikaans over the past two centuries, with a number of globalised items also infiltrating the lexis from US English via modern exposure to international media. I have been careful to familiarise myself with the more ubiquitous loans from Malay, Portuguese, and Arabic as possible so as to avoid assuming that their semantic opacity indicates Khoekhoe-branch origin.

Any item transcribed using **t'**, **!**, **'n**, **d'** or any other convention commonly used to indicate a click is immediately considered a candidate. A full overview of orthographies taken to indicate click consonants is available below. Any item that is indicated as to have been of Khoekhoe or !Ui origin in the source is further submitted for scrutiny, regardless of whether a click consonant is indicated in the orthography. Because of the extreme variation in orthography across sources, some items are recorded with evidence of a click consonant having been retained in one author, and without this evidence in another. In such instances, both variants are submitted. From the clickless spellings it may be deduced that the orthographies **gh** indicating [g], **k** indicating [k], and **n** indicating [n] may all replace click consonants. Of course, not all Khoekhoe-branch lexical items were click-initial, and many such items have also been loaned. Here the presence of phonemes with a marginal presence in Afrikaans, especially [g] and [tʰs], are prioritised as an indicator of potential loan.

Useful is the prevalence of the C₁V₁C₂V₂- structure characteristic of Khoekhoe-branch nouns, to which the inflectional person-gender-number (PGN) marker is suffixed in the form typically of C₃ or C₃V₃. This essential structure is frequently detectable even in very garbled orthographies, and can be used to earmark likely loans. The 'oblique' inflections of the PGN markers, which terminate in **-a** across both Namibian Khoekhoe

and Kora, do not generally seem to survive loan, but the nominative 3.SG.F and 3.SG.M markers sometimes do; accordingly, items transcribed as ending in **-b**, **-p**, or **-s** are identified as potential loans and set aside for further study. Additional function morphemes which may survive loan include the diminutive infix **-ro-** and the infix **-si-** used to derive abstract nouns, both of which typically occur left of the inflectional suffix, as well as the suffix **-xa** used to derive adjectives, typically lexeme-final unless further suffixed with a PGN marker to serve as a substantive.

Orthographies vary not only across authors, but also within individual sources, especially those which have deliberately sought exhaustive capture of regionalised forms. Certain variants are readily lumped into a single lemma despite spelling discrepancies. SA Nama and Kora reflexes of the Namibian Khoekhoe **dāwéb** = *Tamarix usneoides*, a small tree in Tamaricaceae, have proliferated into Afrikaans lexicographical resources as **daweeboom**, **dubbee**, **dabbieboom**, **dawib**, **daweep**, **dabbeboom**, **davib**, and **dabbi**. Here the choice to lump is facilitated by the uniformity of the referent, since, despite the variety of spellings, this term always refers to *Tamarix usneoides*. However, certain items are so variable in either their spelling, or their scope, or both, that more detailed argumentation may be required to demonstrate that they constitute a single lemma. This is seen mostly in items which entered Afrikaans at multiple diachronic and geographic points, resulting in the proliferation of doublets. Where necessary, the term **series** is used to refer to these doublets, and careful evidence is provided to justify the interpretation of a given item as an **entry into a series**; that is, as a variant (regional, orthographic, or otherwise) on a single lemma.

3.2.4. Excluding Items from the Corpus

Three primary grounds for exclusion³⁷ were established: toponymy, child language, and entomology.

³⁷ Great care has also been taken to exclude items that are more reasonably be derived from the Nguni or Sotho-Tswana languages than from the Khoekhoe or !Ui languages.

For example, the item **koeboebessie**, entered also as **kaboebessie** or **kububessie** = [*Mystroxylon aethiopicum*] (Smith, 1966; 263, 302, 316), would at first seem to fit the profile for a Khoekhoe-branch loanword, in that it is semantically opaque in Afrikaans, refers to an indigenous southern African tree, contains a velar stop in lexeme-initial position that may well have substituted a click consonant, and additionally displays the characteristic C₁V₁C₂V₂- shape. Furthermore, the only historical locality data available for the usage of this item implicates a region between Bredasdorp in the southerly Western

Place names, including but not limited to names of regions, towns, mountains, and rivers, have been excluded from this study for three reasons. Firstly, place names diffused across multiple languages are not true loanwords. As pragmatic points of reference obligatorily adopted by traders, colonists, tourists, and the like from a variety of linguistic backgrounds, they are effectively an outlier class, and their inclusion would skew cross-linguistic typologies of loan. A second and in many ways more significant drawback is the particular susceptibility of placenames to folk etymologisation, and hence even for L1 glosses to obscure diachronic actuality. This makes glossing placenames a semantically risky process. Inaccurate translations will result in inaccurate correspondences between L1 input and loaned L2 output, and inaccurate correspondences will result in inaccurate phonological observations. Thirdly, the extant onomastic resources available for South Africa are methodologically unsound and frankly pseudoscientific, and I am hesitant to engage with this tradition at all for fear of contaminating my own data. On these grounds, no place names of Khoekhoe-branch origin will be admitted to the corpus.

Also excluded are certain loaned items associated with childhood play. Partial exposure to the dispreferred language during childhood is the primary channel facilitating the passage of lexical material from the dispreferred language during a shift event. In a racialised colonial context, childhood may additionally be a relatively desegregated period of a speaker's life; play between children of distinct sociolinguistic backgrounds, as well as relationships with caretakers of distinct sociolinguistic backgrounds, may afford lexical material the opportunity to cross ethnic

Cape and Humansdorp in the Eastern Cape (Smith 1966: 302), suggesting that *Cape Khoekhoe may have served as the donor language.

Here, however, it is important to pay attention to the distribution of the referent. The nominate subspecies *Mystroxylon aethiopicum* subsp. *aethiopicum* is distributed only in the Western Cape and Eastern Cape ruling out the possibility that a reflex might have existed in Nama or Kora. The subspecies *Mystroxylon aethiopicum* subsp. *schlecteri*, however, is distributed from the Eastern Cape to KwaZulu-Natal and further north along the east coast. This suggests that isiXhosa, isiZulu, and other Nguni or NTU terms for this tree are likely to exist. The isiXhosa name for *Mystroxylon aethiopicum* is in fact **umgxube** (C&D20; GDX1.698), a straightforward source for **koeboebessie**. It is therefore reasonable to speculate that **-gxube** was historically loaned from an unrecorded item shared between *Eastern Khoekhoe and *Cape Khoekhoe; hence it would have been the Cape Khoekhoe reflex which entered into Afrikaans usage at Bredasdorp. In the absence of deeper written records on the usage of the Afrikaans term in the southern Cape, however, this cannot be corroborated.

Similarly close scrutiny is applied to locality data of loans wherever known, especially those pertaining to regionalised or endemic plants, in order to identify those more likely to have originated in NTU languages.

and racial boundaries that later in life become less permeable. Items associated particularly with childhood and childhood nostalgia ought therefore to offer rich prospects for examining post-shift lexical retention. Unfortunately, however, the language of childhood play does not lend itself usefully to historical analysis. Such items are cross-linguistically prone to rapid and sometimes irregular change, resulting in phonological variation so extreme that it may obscure historical origin. Even if such items could reliably be demonstrated to have originated in the Khoekhoe branch, they may further have been applied out of context or adapted at whim to suit play.

Table 3.3
Dialectal Variation in Namibian Khoekhoe - ‘MILLIPEDE’
(adapted from Haacke, Eiseb, Namaseb 1997: 170)

DIALECT	lemma 1	lemma 2	lemma 3	lemma 4
‡Äkhoe		xummeb		
Hai l!Om	xōtsixunibeb	xommeb		
	xûitsixunibeb	xûbeeb		
	xunsaxuninib			
	xuntaxunib			
Ghaub	xuotsixunib			
Sesfontein	xōtsixunubeb	xorotsillgammeb	nanun ôan	gūgagūheb
	xûtsixunu			
	‡nûtsixunu			
Namidama	xurutsixūbeeb			gūgagūeb
	xurutsixunneb			
	xorotsigunib			
	xoregaxunneb			
	xusigunne			
	‡nûtsixunubeb			
Central Dama	‡nûtsixunubeb	xoroeb		
	xunitsixūbeeb	xorotsillgammeb		
	xontsixonneb			
Topnaar			tūs ôab	
Central Nama	‡nûtsixunubeb		tūs ôab	
	xōtsixunubeb			
Gobabis	‡nûtsixunubeb	xorotsib	tūs ôab	
Bondelswarts			tūs ôab	

Similar concerns over variation arise when dealing with terms for insects, arthropods, small lizards, and other members of the lay taxon ‘goggas’ or ‘creepy-crawlies’. Cross-linguistic data would suggest that, as a semantic category, names for creepy-crawlies are particularly susceptible to extreme regional variation. That ‘the names for creepy-

crawly kinds of animals (e.g., millipede, centipede, scorpion, butterfly, cicada, bat) invite onomatopoeic licence and phonetic fluctuations' has been noted for a number of insect names across dialects of Namibian Khoekhoe and other KHOE-family languages (Haacke, Eiseb & Namaseb 1997: 130), and the dialectal variations on Namibian Khoekhoe terms for 'millipede' in adapted Table 3.1. above illustrate this. The childhood fascination for 'creepy-crawlies' adds a further degree of variability; that the ubiquitous Afrikaans and SA English word **gogga** is itself derived from Khoekhoe-branch reflexes of the Namibian Khoekhoe **xóòxóò-** = '(child language) creepy-crawlies, insects' H&E156, is a strong indicator that individual loaned items in this class may also have originated in child language.

Note that all choices to exclude certain semantic fields as outlined in this section have been made to maximise the potential for etymological retrieval for the sake of phonological comparison. If a given item has undergone such extreme phonological variation in loan that no base form is detectible, or such extreme semantic extension that convoluted argumentation is required even to hazard a guess at its etymon, then any effort to draw phonological comparisons between loan and etymon will inevitably prove a waste of time.

3.3. Analysing the Corpus

The corpus identifies 275 lexical items of Khoekhoe-branch origin that have appeared in monolingual Afrikaans sources between 1913 and 2015. The corpus proper consists of 198 items which clearly and demonstrably derive from a specific documented lexical item in one or more Khoekhoe-branch languages.³⁸ An additional 77 items have been admitted to the corpus irretrievable, with plausible but ultimately inconclusive suggestions for derivations offered in some cases. Even though these items cannot be used for phonological comparison, their inclusion was warranted in that they do evidence the use of Khoekhoe-branch items by monolingual Afrikaans speakers over the past century.

³⁸ Where reflexes of these items are also present in Nguni or !Ui, this is noted both for the sake of phonological comparison and for sociohistorical linguistic interest. However, this is assumed by default to be the result of lexical diffusion from Khoekhoe-branch languages outward into multiple other languages, as it can be reasonably argued that the direct donor language for all items in the corpus proper belonged to the Khoekhoe branch. In cases where there exists even minor suspicion that loanwords present across both Khoekhoe and Nguni may more readily have entered Afrikaans or SA English via Nguni, these items are not admitted to the study.

The clear majority of items are accepted to have been of direct Khoekhoe origin, although a small number may have been loaned first from the Khoekhoe-branch languages into isiXhosa and then into Afrikaans (most notably **λ16.71 nxa**, probably directly ex isiXhosa ukuthi **ngca**, and **δ8.53ae tgaukum**, probably directly ex isiXhosa **igcukuma**). Points of !Ui-branch comparison are offered wherever possible in order to acknowledge the ubiquity of Khoekhoe-!Ui loan. Higher-order KHOE-family cognates from the Kalahari-branch languages are included for the sake of deeper historical comparison where relevant.

3.3.1. Preliminary Phonological Observations

Of the 198 items in the corpus proper, 165 carry orthographic evidence of a click consonant in lexeme-initial position in at least one source, and may be reasonably sourced to a target containing a click in the same position, while 33 contain no orthographic evidence of click consonants and may be reasonably sourced to Khoekhoe-branch targets that do not and have never contained click consonants. Of the 78 items in the corpus irretrievable, 36 of these items contain clear orthographic evidence of click consonants in lexeme-initial position, 33 are attested only with an initial velar stop or alveolar nasal and so may or may not historically have contained a click consonant, and the remaining 9 are orthographically vowel-initial and so are unlikely to have historically contained a click consonant. The absence of Khoekhoe-branch targets means that these sources offer little to no information on how these items were pronounced either in a historical L1 context prior to language shift, or in a contemporary L1 context prior to loan. Given the uncertainty of the available transcriptions, only preliminary observations on rephonologisation strategies may be volunteered at this point. Since no accurate transcriptions of loaned click consonants are available, this section limits itself to discussion of how any type of click consonant may feasibly have been replaced with a non-click consonant.

The ubiquity of the use of the voiced velar stop [g] to replace a click consonant (Table 3.2 below) merits some discussion. The plain or *tenuis* click is, in standardised Namibian Khoekhoe, voiceless (Brugman 2009: 34 – 39; Bennett, 2020: 108; *pace* Fredericks 2013: 152). Nevertheless, such click consonants are typically realised using the voiced velar stop [g] in loan; it may be assumed that this is the result of a

kind of illusory voicing that anticipates the rapid VOT following the *tenuis*, perhaps caused by perceptual difficulties in clickless speakers in discerning segment boundaries. Worth noting is that Afrikaans permits no voiced velar stop <g> save in loan (as in, for example the loan of English ‘guitar’ as Afrikaans <ghitaar> /gita:r/). This would initially suggest that the perception of voicing where none exists is sufficient to prompt the substitution of a relatively rare segment.

Table 3.4 orthographic replacement of a <i>tenuis</i> click with /g/			
λ	gloss	Nama	Afrikaans
	‘hat’, ‘head covering’	gáwàs / áwàs/	ghabba /gaba/
	<i>Ficus ilicina</i> (Moraceae)	llgaus /llaus/	ghabessie /gɑ:bəsi/
	‘tasteless’, ‘insipid’	!gǎbú /!ǎbu/	ghaboe /gabu/
	‘to be thin’	‡gǎwa /‡ǎwá/	ghabba /gaba/

An interesting point of comparison with the loan of the *tenuis* click /|/ as /g/ is offered by some orthographies for loans of items containing the glottalised click /|ʔ/ as /k/.³⁹ These examples would suggest that the presence of the glottalised feature is sufficient to disrupt the perception of the posterior closure as a *voiced* velar stop, and to yield instead a voiceless velar stop. Taken together, may indicate that the regular rephonologisation strategy affecting the *tenuis* click, at least in Khoekhoe-Afrikaans contact events, is to target the posterior closure in order to produce a velar stop, while omitting the anterior closure altogether; in other words, the [+LINGUAL] feature is judged illicit, and is not realised in the output. This aligns with patterns of click loss and click replacement seen language-internally in some Kalahari-branch languages.

Table 3.5 orthographic replacement of a glottalised click with /k/			
λ	gloss	Nama	Afrikaans
	rainfall, rain; drizzle	ǎpīb / ʔǎpīb/	kabie /kɑ:bi/
	<i>Lycium oxycarpum</i> (Solanaceae)	llǎrīs /llʔǎrīs/	kriedoring /kri:duərən/
	<i>Ziziphus mucronata</i> (Rhamnaceae)	‡ǎrós /‡ʔǎrós/	karas /karas/
	<i>Agama</i> spp. (Agamidae)	!ǎrób /!ʔǎrób/	kargop /karxɔp ^h /

³⁹ Note, however, that the Kora and Nama phonological inventories were not identical. /‡ʔǎrós/, for example, is the standardised Namibian Khoekhoe pronunciation, but the Kora reflex of this item would seem to have been /‡ǎrós/. We cannot, in many cases, determine whether an item was loaned from Nama, Kora, or both, and hence it is not clear precisely which click this item may historically have targeted. Underlying variation across donor languages complicates efforts to describe regular rephonologisation strategies.

Both the standardised Namibian Khoekhoe prenasalised aspirated click /^hǀh/ and the nasalised click /^hǀ/ would appear in many instances to have been copied using the alveolar nasal /n/. This offers some evidence for the preservation during loan of the nasal feature at least.

Table 3.6 orthographic replacement of a nasalised or prenasalised click with /n/			
λ	referent	Nama	Afrikaans
	<i>Boscia albitrunca</i> (Capparaceae)	hùnis / ^h ǀhùnis/	noenieboom /nunibuem/
	'to rummage through;	llnàrà / ^h ǀlànà/	narra /nara/
	<i>Sarcocaulon</i> spp. (Geraniaceae)	llnorab / ^h ǀh ^h orab/	norra /nɔra/
	'bone pipe'	!hàib / ^h ǀh ^h àib/	nei /nei/
	<i>Acanthosicyos horrida</i> (Cucurbitaceae)	!nàras / ^h ǀ ^h àras/	narra /nara/
	Scincidae spp.	†nòwòs / ^h ǀ ^h òwòs/	nobbo /nɔbɔ/

Finally, there does exist some orthographic evidence that the affricated click consonant /ǀχ/ is regularly loaned /x/, indicated <g> in Afrikaans orthography. However, in the absence of adequately transcribed data, and the lack of clarity as to whether many of the older items were in fact elicited with click replacement, or whether this is in fact an orthographic artefact reflecting only the transcriber's individual and presumably untrained perception, all of these observations should be considered preliminary at best.

Table 3.7 orthographic replacement of an affricated click with /x/			
λ	referent	Nama	Afrikaans
	'drought', 'time of scarcity'	khurú /ǀχurú/	goeroetyd /xurutèit/
	<i>Gnidia polycephala</i> (Thymelaceae)	llkhónáb /ǀǀχónáb/	gonna /xɔna/
	<i>Vulpes chama</i> ; <i>Otocyon megalotis</i>	!khàmáb /ǀǀχàmáb/	gamma /xama/

The extreme orthographic variance with which the loaned words are transcribed, and the total lack of orthographic differentiation between phonemic click consonants, means that homophony and even homography are rife. The reduction of a complex contrastive system of twenty or more click consonants to a single unspecified click, as occurs when any and all clicks are transcribed using <t> or <!>, may therefore result in the realisation of multiple unrelated targets as orthographically identical or near-identical loanwords. Similar orthographic conflation occurs when an expected click consonant has been transcribed using only <gh>, <k>, or <n>. Here it is unclear from the available literature whether conflation of this kind is solely lexicographical, or

whether the extreme variation noted to occur in the pronunciation of click consonants may have resulted in a similar degree of conflation in daily spoken usage.

Essentially, the lexicographical record would seem to indicate that the phonological systems of Khoekhoe-branch languages have been substantially simplified and reduced during rephonologisation into Afrikaans and SA English, at least as represented by the available orthographies. Both the phonemic clicks and the tonemic melodies, arguably the two most significant sources of contrast in the phonological inventory of the Khoekhoe branch, have not been adequately transcribed in post-shift items. It is further unclear as to whether these two features did in fact survive shift, and *are* still retained in the pronunciation of lexical items; whether they have fallen away entirely or been systematically replaced; or whether they may perhaps still be in use to some degree. A lack of detailed description of the rephonologisation processes in play, coupled with poor transcription, has resulted in strings of homographs, all ostensibly of Khoekhoe-branch origin, but with vastly disparate definitions.

In short, neither clear and well-reasoned L1 targets, nor narrow and accurate transcriptions of L2 loans, are furnished by the available lexicographical materials. Text-based phonological comparison is therefore impossible. All that can reliably be gleaned from is that some degree of language contact has occurred and is probably ongoing; that some aspect of this contact, likely language shift, has facilitated lexical transfer of items from Khoekhoe-branch languages into Afrikaans; and that at least 189 of these items did, at some point between 1967 and 2015, contain a click consonant when uttered by Afrikaans-speakers.

3.3.2. Semantic Distribution of Items

A strong indicator that little in the way of Khoekhoe subsistence methods, social organisation, and culture survived colonisation appears in the paucity of items in **19 social & political relations**, **20 warfare & hunting**, **21 law**, and **22 religion & belief**. Although these fields would historically have included referents for which Cape Dutch had no lexis, intangible cultural practices were more likely to have been rendered obsolete by the assimilatory colonial agenda, and hence are unlikely to have survived shift. Here novelty *could potentially have gone on* to motivate loan, but this novelty was obliterated, and so necessity was circumvented. The only two items in **22 religion**

& belief are **λ22.43 d!yga** ‘osgooier’, i.e. “healer” PRINS58 ex Kora **!aixab** = ‘sorcerer, healer’ DuP308, and **λ22.51 n!abasas** = ‘[girl undergoing an] initiation ceremony’ PRINS425, recorded from Griqualand West, hence ex Kora **!habab** = ‘young woman’s coming-of-age ceremony’ DuP295.⁴⁰ Both refer to social practices connected with belief – a religious occupation and a ritual respectively – as opposed to intangible beliefs *per se*. Retention here may well have been influenced by the ubiquity of the isiXhosa item **ǀgqírhà** = ‘diviner’ GDX1.622, itself a well-established loan of Kora **!aixab** DuP308. It is only the orthography **y**, which ordinarily indicates the Afrikaans pronunciation /əi/ and hence implies the retention of the Kora vowel sequence /ai/ as opposed to the isiXhosa /i/, and the locality Griqualand West, which prevent this from being conclusively identified as having entered Afrikaans from Nguni. The other, **λ22.51 n!abasas** = ‘[girl undergoing an] initiation ceremony’ PRINS425, is again recorded from Griqualand West, notable for its relatively late retention of Khoekhoe culture and Kora language; the same item has more recently been retrieved from Douglas and Griekwastad (Mösmmer 2021: 111). A detailed discussion of the practise of **!habab** is available from Engelbrecht 1936: 163 – 168 based on descriptions provided by consultants during the 1930s, which suggests that this practice did survive into the 20th century at least.

By contrast, by far the highest concentration of loanwords occurs in semantic fields **8 agriculture & vegetation**, **3 animals**, and **1 the physical world**. That Afrikaans items of Khoekhoe-branch origin pertain primarily to flora and fauna has been generally observed by commentators such as Rademeyer 1938 and Boshoff & Nienaber 1967, but no tallies had previously existed to support this claim. An additional source of novelty may have appeared in material artefacts of Khoekhoe culture, as represented by the 5 items in **6 clothing & grooming** and the 4 in **7 the house**, as for example, **λ6.41a t’ghaaitjie** = “loincloth” PRINS484 ex Nama **!gàés** = ‘loincloth, apronlike, for children’ H&E306, and **λ6.41b tkjaeu** = “loincloth” PRINS486, ex Nama **!gùúǀb** ‘loincloth’, ‘skirt’ H&E324. That the only retained terms pertaining to clothing are for the loincloth, frequently an object of racist derision, rather than for any of the detailed

⁴⁰ There was debate as to whether **λ1.73 ntwangweer** belonged in **1 the physical world** or **22 religion & belief**. Ultimately it was relegated to the former, since no meaning subcategory in 22 quite suited, but had it been indexed under the latter, it would represent the only clear indication of a Khoekhoe cultural belief lexically instantiated in Afrikaans post-shift in the material surveyed. Even in this case, the retention of belief is likely grounded through reference to a meteorological event.

Khoekhoe systems of jargon for apparel (as evidenced for Nama at Schültze 1907: 233 – 241, and for Kora at Engelbrecht 1936: 103 – 109), is probably indicative not only of lexical attrition following assimilation, but also that racial stereotyping may have conditioned the retention only of certain items after all others had been jettisoned. The retention of two items pertaining to Khoekhoe architecture, namely **λ7.52 tko** = “[reed used for] matjies” LINKS97 ex Nama **!gūb** = “reed mats” KROEN and **λ9.16b tkoeiam** = “to make fast, especially a *matjie* for the *matjieshuis*” LINKS66; ex Nama **!hūú-ám** = ‘to knot the end of (string)’ H&E340, suggests that *matjies*-weaving technology may likewise have carried the potential to donate items via novelty, but that this potential was cut short by colonial assimilation.⁴¹

Table 3.8
Semantic Fields of the Corpora Compared

Corpus Proper			Corpus Irretrievable		
#	semantic field	λ	#	semantic field	δ
8	agriculture & vegetation	53	8	agriculture & vegetation	36
3	animals	27	3	animals	7
1	the physical world	23	4	the body	6
5	food & drink	16	5	food & drink	5
16	emotions & values	10	10	motion	6
4	the body	10	16	emotions & values	4
13	quantity	9	7	the house	3
9	basic actions & technology	6	15	sense perception	3
18	speech & language	6	1	the physical world	2
10	motion	5	17	cognition	2
15	sense perception	4	2	kinship	1
2	kinship	4	6	clothing & grooming	1
6	clothing & grooming	5	9	basic actions & technology	1
11	possession	5	21	law	1
19	social & political relations	3	11	possession	0
20	warfare & hunting	3	12	spatial relations	0
7	the house	2	13	quantity	0
12	spatial relations	2	14	time	0
17	cognition	2	18	speech & language	0
22	religion & belief	2	19	social & political relations	0
14	time	1	20	warfare & hunting	0
21	law	1	22	religion & belief	0
23	modern world	0	23	modern world	0
24	miscellaneous	0	24	miscellaneous	0
TOTAL		198	TOTAL		78

⁴¹ Here again, assumptions coded into the semantic fields have skewed the semantic distribution somewhat. Sewing and weaving are effective means of joining the lightweight, flexible, and reusable building materials preferred by pastoralist groups in southern Africa, but are not associated with **7 the house** by the LWT, and so have instead been placed by necessity in **9 basic actions & technology**.

So far, the distributions discussed align with the expectation that lexical necessity should prove the primary driver of copying across a contact event. A novelty-driven explanation would therefore predict that a post-shift lexis retained by post-colonial speakers would be comprised primarily of concrete and highly localised referents, and contain few to no items referring either to abstract cultural concepts, or to generic and universal referents. However, between the high concentration of copied items in concrete fields such as **8 agricultural & vegetation**, **3 animals**, and **1 the physical world**, and the underrepresentation of copied items in abstract fields such as **19 social & political relations** and **22 religion & belief**, lie a series of distributions that is less easily accounted for. These include **4 the body** with 16 items, **16 emotions & values** with 15 items, and **10 motion** with 11 items. These contain meanings that have been called core semantic concepts that traditional assessments of language contact have considered relatively unlikely to be loaned.

Table 3.9
Semantic Fields of the Corpus Entire

	semantic field	lemma tallied
8	agriculture & vegetation	87
3	animals	34
1	the physical world	26
5	food & drink	21
4	the body	16
16	emotions & values	15
10	motion	11
13	quantity	9
9	basic actions & technology	7
15	sense perception	7
18	speech & language	6
6	clothing & grooming	6
2	kinship	5
11	possession	5
7	the house	4
17	cognition	4
19	social & political relations	3
12	spatial relations	2
20	warfare & hunting	2
21	law	2
22	religion & belief	2
14	time	1
23	modern world	0
24	miscellaneous function words	0
	TOTAL	275

In discussing such unexpected distributions, it should immediately be observed that the concentration of items in **13 quantity** is the result solely of a string of numerals

recorded from Griqualand West (Prinsloo, 2008: 42, 432, 483, 487). These certainly should not be considered established loanwords, and if anything are likely to indicate that some L1 Kora caretakers sought to pass the basic ability to count to three on to monolingual Afrikaans children as a last-ditch attempt at providing them with some small fragment of Kora. Data collection in Namaqualand revealed a similar capacity to count to five in Nama in some monolingual Afrikaans consultants, with numerals always strung together in a phrase and never used separately (see further discussion in Chapter 6). Were all the numerals present in Prinsloo 2008 tallied only as a single item, which is arguably the better practice, **13 quantity** would contain only 5 items. This is perhaps our first indicator that post-shift lexical retention is not conditioned by precisely the same factors as classical loan, and that under shift conditions, core semantic concepts, which are generalised across both languages and hence will be easier for monolingual children to learn and recall, may in fact be very likely to be copied.

One might expect that the relatively high concentration of items in **5 food & drink** might result from lexical necessity, in that Cape Dutch would have lacked the vocabulary to refer to Khoekhoe meals. However, only two items of the 21 in this field refers to the name of a particular method of food preparation, **λ5.61a komvleis** ex Nama **#khòmlgànì** = ‘meat that has been fricasseed’ H&E132, and **λ5.12 ghwa** ex Nama **|hääb** = ‘biltong’ H&E197; the latter of these clearly possesses an Afrikaans lexical equivalent. Here again it is probable that the shift in subsistence methods from pastoralism to urban residence which accompanied language shift failed to protect Khoekhoe-branch terminology for specific meals, foodstuffs, or methods of food preparation. Given also the importance of foraging to pastoralist subsistence methods, it may be taken that a number of loans which do in fact refer to Khoekhoe foodstuffs are represented instead at **8 agriculture & vegetable** as plant names; this distribution may simply be a methodological artefact, the result of employing semantic fields structured around sedentary subsistence and agriculture rather than around transhumance and pastoralism.

Instead, the remainder of items in this field are generic, and many are well-provisioned with existing Cape Dutch or Afrikaans lexical equivalents. They refer to the act of eating (**λ5.11a koerie** ex Nama **kürí** = ‘to nibble, to pick clean’ H&E37; **λ5.11b tkaau**

ex Nama **llǎó** = ‘to refuse food’ H&E206; **λ5.11c tkna** ex Nama **llǎà** = ‘to satisfy one’s hunger’ H&E237), to generic food and drink (**λ5.51 koutjie** ex Nama **khǎúb** = ‘breadcrust’ H&E71; **λ5.9 ghoes** cf Nama **ǂguǖ** = ‘to drink in one draught’ H&E397), to generic food vessels and means of food preparation (**λ5.32 gabbagoed** ex Nama **xàpǎn** = ‘crockery’, ‘tableware’ H&E 152; **δ5.12 knoeroebie** = “crust, fond, dregs”; **δ5.122 ghei** = “raw”; **δ5.22 kouboe** = “to reheat”; **δ5.26 kampot**, **tkampot** = “small cookingpot”), to dairy (**λ5.87a bokbies** ex Kora **bīb** = ‘milk’ DuP278; **λ5.87b ghoenie** ex Nama **ǂnǖnǐ** = ‘to scrounge leftover milk’ H&E421; **δ5.87 tgarra** = ‘to milk’), or to the scarcity or absence of food (**λ5.14 tkabba** ex Nama **ǂgǎwá** = ‘to become lean, thin, skinny, scrawny’ H&E391; **λ5.141 goeroetyd** ex Nama **llkhóró** = ‘scarce (of: esp. food/commodities)’ H&E281), or else are specific anatomical terms used in butchery (**λ5.61b ntgǔmsgom** ex Nama **!gǎòxǎdòǀ** = ‘to slit or cut the throat’ H&E311; **λ5.791 bokgoup** ex Nama **kǎúb** = ‘piece of fat’ H&E62). The last is an obscure term, glossed “birdsmouth” but apparently referring to wild figs (**λ5.71 anitkam** ex Nama **ǎnǐs** = ‘bird’ H&E10 + **ǎms** = ‘mouth’ H&E7).

That so many of these are fairly generic items, for which Afrikaans certainly contains existing terms, does not suggest exposure to novelty as a motivator for loan. The existence of **λ5.87a bokbies** is especially interesting, not only in that it contains a loaned item clearly of Kora origin but is recorded from a region where Nama would be expected as the donor language, but also in that it seems to represent a hybrid calque of *bokmelk*, “goatsmilk”. In compound plant names, the generic lexeme is typically Afrikaans (*-bos*, *-boom*, *-doring*, *-vygie*), while the specifying lexeme is Khoekhoe, the result of monolingual Afrikaans speakers adopting specialised Khoekhoe-branch terms for endemic plants out of lexical necessity (see further discussion at Christie, 2019: 49 – 50). In **λ5.87a bokbies** however, the loan is the generic lexeme, a core semantic concept for which the Afrikaans equivalent *melk* is easily accessible. A hybrid of this sort would imply a bilingual speaker who was capable of compounding freely in either language, who was part of a community of bilingual speakers capable of understanding these compounds, and who then transferred this hybrid compound to a monolingual child. Again, that the loaned element had as its referent an object so cross-culturally ubiquitous as milk may in fact have facilitated this transfer, in that a core semantic concept was easier to convey to a monolingual child.

A similar proliferation of items for which exact Afrikaans lexical equivalents exist occurs in **4 the body**. Among the best-attested of all items in this corpus outside of plant names is **λ4.281b norrakop** ex Nama **!nòrōs** = “back of the head”. Since SA English lacks a conveniently informal term for this part of the body, and cannot distinguish the *nape* from the *back of the head* without resorting to such overly technical jargon as *occiput*, a loan might have been expected. However, the apparently widespread diffusion of **λ4.281b norrakop** would seem to have developed despite the native Afrikaans term *agterkop*, which is both specific and informal. It appears across all three primary lexicographic sources as **norro**, **t’norra**, **ghnorra** = “occiput, neck” BN451; **tnorro** = “occiput” LINKS66; **t’norro** = “back of a person’s neck” PRINS486; and also as **norratjie** = ‘nape (of the neck)’ BOSvdMH496. Anecdotally and prior to formal data collection for this project, it was collected with a click in 2018 from a monolingual Afrikaans speaker from Makhanda (Bennett, 2020: *pers. comm.*), heard in conversation in 2019 without a click from a monolingual Afrikaans speaker from Bloemfontein (Du Plessis 2019: *pers. comm.*), and recognised without a click by our L1 Afrikaans research assistant Mr Dolf from Uitenhage in 2021. The following entry in Prinsloo 2008 exemplifies extreme orthographic variance across a wide range of localities, presumably cited from numerous sources, suggesting that this item is both current and widespread.

norra (s. nw.; *uit Khoi*) – holte tussen die twee neksenings aan die agterkant van ’n mens se kop waar die skedel aan die ruggraat kom; ook, plek waar ’n dier se nek aan die kop kom (Ceres, Cradock, Graaff-Reinet, Murraysburg, Namakwaland, Noordwes-Kaap, Somerset-Oos); *sinonieme*: **ghnorra**, **ghnorro**, **knorra**, **njorra**, **norka**, **norra**, **norreka**, **norro**, **tkjorro**, **tknorro**, **t’norro**, **n!orra**

norra (common noun; *from Khoekhoe*) – hollow between the two sinews of the neck at the back of the head where the skull meets the spine; also, the place where an animal’s neck joins the head (Ceres, Cradock, Graaff-Reinet, Murraysburg, Namaqualand, Northwest Cape, Somerset East); *synonyms*: **ghnorra**, **ghnorro**, **knorra**, **njorra**, **norka**, **norra**, **norreka**, **norro**, **tkjorro**, **tknorro**, **t’norro**, **n!orra**

Prinsloo, 2008: 434

Items which similarly would seem to have been retained in competition with native Afrikaans items appear among the 15 entrants into **16 emotions & values**. Noteworthy are **λ16.42a ghau** = “to be angry” BN249 ex Nama **|gàò |gàó** = ‘to become angry, vexed, furious’ H&E184, and **λ16.42b tkam** = “to be annoyed” LINKS65 ex Nama **llàmi** = ‘to become cross, angry, annoyed’ H&E231, for both of which a multitude

of Afrikaans alternatives exist. Here again, factors conditioning the semantic distribution of post-shift lexical retention may well differ from those expected of classical loan. The retention also of such emotionally-charged items as **λ13.331 tkoeie** LINKS66 ex Nama **!ũĩ-ǎĩ** = ‘to feel lonely, desolate, lonesome’ H&E304; in glossing this item, Links notes that it means “solitary, but not ordinary solitude. It is a more intense word, which often refers to a loneliness that is painful.” (Links, 1989: 66). This may speak to the usefulness of loanwords in connoting especial intensity (see Section 1.2.2. above).

This tendency to replace an otherwise unmarked lexical item with a copied item for the sake of intensifying or emphasising its role in the discourse may also have motivated the loan of certain items in **9 basic actions & technology**, **10 motion**, and **11 possession**. Examples here include **λ10.23 ghôm, kôm** = “to implode”, “to collapse” PRINS96 ex Nama **!khò̃m** = ‘to collapse’ H&E359 and **λ11.14 tkam** LINKS65, **vas-tkam** SARR186 ex Nama **llkhǎm̃** ‘to hold’ H&E274. Scrutiny of the remaining semantic fields, however, reveals several more items for which Afrikaans equivalents are freely available which are not particularly emotive, and which describe actions so understated that special emphasis is unlikely to have been required by the discourse. These include **λ15.31a kam** = “taste” PRINS190 ex Kora **kx’ ã** = ‘drink’ DuP284, where the exemplifying exchange “‘How does the water taste?’ ‘No, it’s fine, **kam** for yourself” is not suggestive of a particularly charged discourse context, as well as **λ6.35 tkjom** = “to sew up” PRINS486 ex Nama **ǂóm̃** = ‘to sew’ H&E 378, **λ9.16a tkai** = “to make fast” LINKS65 ex Nama **!gǎe** ‘to tie together’, ‘to bind’ H&E306.

3.3.3. The Degree of Lexical Interference

Perhaps the most frustrating aspect of compiling this corpus has been the lack of clarity on the degree of currency and general usage of these items. All available records are either too early, too far removed from the linguistic sphere, or simply too methodologically flawed to offer a robust indication of the currency and distribution of the post-shift items they record. It is therefore impossible to tell from lexicographical surveys alone whether items of Khoekhoe-branch origin have become well-established as loans across general Afrikaans; whether they are well-known and broadly used only within small speech communities of localised Afrikaans; or whether

they are remembered only by a few monolingual speakers who do not employ them in everyday Afrikaans conversation.

With regard to currency, certain terms may be judged 'obsolete' or 'very old' by the contributing sources, but without any reasoning provided. In the case of older sources, such as Boshoff & Nienaber 1967, sociolinguistic science was in its infancy at the time of their publication, and so they cannot be faulted for failing to adopt practices which had not yet been developed. Similarly, while a familiarity with basic sociolinguistic method is advantageous to the production of modern ethnographic research, it is not obligatory; certainly it is frustrating to the linguist that such authors as Archer 1994 did not think to discuss the currency and context of the post-shift items they record, but these authors were not writing for linguists. However, in the case of Prinsloo 2008, which is linguistic in nature, and which was written long after the establishment of modern sociolinguistic method, it is not clear that the author made any attempt to determine the currency of his items, or even to indicate clearly which items were independently elicited and which were brought forward from older works.

With regard to distribution, Links 1989 indicates that these items are well-known and frequently used within Namaqualand, hence with Nama serving as the donor language, while Prinsloo 2008 suggests that such items also appear across the interior Karoo, hence with Kora serving as the donor language. It is therefore to be assumed that these items should appear primarily in areas with large historical Nama and Kora communities, and that they should be limited to the post-shift population. However, no systematic effort has been made to produce a language atlas capturing the extent of this phenomenon, and it is not known whether more modern trends of urbanisation, or even of tourism within the Namaqualand region, may potentially have brought these items into more general Afrikaans or SA English.

It is for this reason that this chapter has so far avoided the use of the term 'loanword' wherever possible, and has instead preferred terms such as 'lexical interference' and 'retention', so as to avoid claiming the widespread existence of Khoekhoe loanwords in general Afrikaans without evidence while still exploring the possibility that localised influence has occurred. Considering the semantic distribution of the items surveyed, and accounting also for the relative ubiquity of some and hapacity of others, we should expect that the degree of this localised influence is arranged across a spectrum. I

predict that some items will be idiosyncratically retained and rarely if ever used during everyday conversation; others will be generally familiar, but not employed as loanwords; and others still will be well-established, if perhaps regionalised to specific speech communities, as loanwords used during daily Afrikaans discourse.

This further predicts that any lexical transfer facilitated by shift, even protracted shift occurring over several generations, may have a relatively short lifespan. If we posit that childhood mimicry of caretaker codeswitching is among the motivators for lexical transfer, and that the rate of adult retention depends heavily and idiosyncratically on the interaction of attitudes toward childhood nostalgia and localised lexis, then it may be expected that these items will not endure longer than a generation or two post-shift, and will only rarely enter the general repertoire of the broader speech community unless bolstered by additional motivation such as pragmatic reference. From a phonological perspective, this indicates that shift may be capable of exerting phonological influence on a language, but only insofar as it exerts lexical influence and no further. In the absence of rapid shift, and hence of massive L1 transfer onto the preferred L2, alien phonological segments will be limited in their distribution to alien lexical material recalled by monolingual speakers of the preferred language, and so will not outlive the currency of this lexical material.

3.4. Conclusions on the Corpus

The diffusion of post-shift Khoekhoe-branch items into regionalised Afrikaans constitutes a major gap in the available literature. The poor methodology employed by the lexicographical and ethnobotanical sources surveyed, coupled with a near-total absence of recent linguistic work, means that there is no way of determining the extent, currency, and degree of establishment of Khoekhoe-branch items in contemporary Namaqualand and Karoo Afrikaans. All that can conclusively be known is that lexical retention has occurred, potentially at staggered intervals and across great geographical distances, in shifting communities over the course of the last century, and that this lexical retention has not infrequently also involved the use by monolingual Afrikaans speakers of click consonants.

The only sources that offer any detail concerning the phonology of these click consonants indicate that they are pronounced variably across tokens of the same item, and that this variation may occur both from speaker to speaker, and within the

utterances of an individual speaker. There is additionally no discussion whatsoever of the relationship between the target click, as used by L1 speakers of the relevant Khoekhoe-branch languages, and the copied click, as used by monolingual L1 speakers of Afrikaans. That click consonants may vary by type across tokens of the same item would suggest that a significant degree of phonemic contrast has been lost during the rephonologisation process. This in turn implies that a specific click phoneme, where both type and accompaniment yield phonemic contrast when used as part of an L1 Khoekhoe phonology, may apparently be targeted by *any* click consonant, regardless of type or accompaniment, when used as a copy by an L1 Afrikaans-speaker in a post-shift context. Whether any restrictions on this rephonologisation apply cannot be determined from the lexicographical sources alone.

The key questions arising from this survey therefore concern the phonetic and phonological nature of the click consonants retained post-shift. It is these questions that motivate the new collection of post-shift lexical data from Namaqualand in Part 2.

Part 2

Replication

'Unlike the printed page, the countryside is seldom smooth or flat, and once one has to transfer the boundary line of the diagram into the reality of the veld there are, of course, rivers, hills, trees and bumps to confound the best-laid plans. While boundaries remain unfenced, such issues do not surface. However, once fencing starts going up, the problems of determining the supposedly fixed boundaries become apparent.'

Hofmeyr 1993: 73

'The severely fragmented status of what is left of Lowland Renosterveld makes it extremely vulnerable. The key danger of ... fragmentation is that the remaining patches start to function not as parts of a greater unit but as small isolated islands. ... This will eventually result in a significant decline ... and a breakdown in ecological functioning.'

Curtis-Scott *et al.* 2020: 33

Chapter 4

Methods for Documenting Namaqualand Afrikaans Clicks

This chapter details the research methodologies implemented to collect click consonants from post-shift Afrikaans communities in Namaqualand.

4.1 Preliminaries to the Project

This section sets out initial considerations required before designing the data collection process, including the ideal research site and participants, and the overarching goals.

4.1.1. Aim & Scope of Data Collection

As Chapter 3 has shown, there is significant textual evidence that Khoekhoe-branch lexical material has entered rural Afrikaans. However, this textual evidence suffers from three primary deficits. Firstly, the only available records make use of non-standard and non-scientific orthographies to represent click consonants, meaning that the precise qualities of the click consonants employed by monolingual speakers of rural Afrikaans when pronouncing a Khoekhoe-word loanword are not adequately captured. Secondly, what limited phonological commentary on this phenomenon does exist suggests that, although click consonants are retained in loan, their realisation is highly variable with respect to type; no explicit commentary is available on whether or not accompaniments are likewise variable. Here again, records do not exhaustively record each instance of variation, instead representing any and all clicks using the same non-standard character, meaning that the rate and nature of this apparent variation cannot be determined. Finally, no sources save Boshoff & Nienaber 1967 have made any serious effort to source these loanwords to their Khoekhoe-branch origins, meaning that it is impossible to compare the expected L1 Khoekhoe click with its rephonologised L2 Afrikaans counterpart. In short, we do not know what these clicks sound like; we do not know how they vary either interpersonally or intrapersonally; and we do not know whether or how they differ from L1 Khoekhoe click consonants.

Accordingly, the data collection phase of this research project is guided by three primary goals. The first is the documentation and scientific description, using both IPA transcription protocols and spectrographic analysis, of a representative sample of Khoekhoe-branch loanwords containing click consonants as used by monolingual

speakers of rural Afrikaans. The second is to seek clarification on the reports of variation in click type between tokens, ideally through recording multiple tokens of the same item from the same participant and transcribing each one. The third, and arguably the most important, is the comparison of these loanwords with their Khoekhoe-branch counterparts, both with reference to the standardised Namibian Khoekhoe textual resources, and to tokens of these targets as pronounced by L1 speakers. It is beyond the scope of this project to offer a full or formal phonological explanation for the reported peculiarities of click consonants as used in rural Afrikaans, but some preliminary theories concerning the extremity of variation and certain unusual phonetic features will be offered towards the end of Chapter 8.

An ancillary goal is to gain some insight into the contact processes that have facilitated the diffusion of these items, primarily to allow for a clearer understanding of the relationship between language shift, post-shift lexical retention, and loan, but also to facilitate broader comparative discussion of similar contact events across sub-Saharan Africa. In particular, it will be valuable to determine whether these items are accessible only to speakers who have had direct input from an L1 speaker of a Khoekhoe-branch language, or whether they have in fact entered the broader speech community and are used by Afrikaans monolinguals who have never had direct L1 Khoekhoe input. In addition to standard sociolinguistic variables, such as race and age, this will be the major variable under investigation, largely in the hopes of determining whether or not exposure to L1 input will condition accuracy in click loan. Similarly, it would be worthwhile to ascertain which lexical items are generally established in Afrikaans; which are known to some Afrikaans-speakers but not most; and which are idiolectal and accessible only to select individuals. This would not only contribute to the cross-linguistic development of a semantic typology of loan, but would also offer the opportunity to investigate in real-time how language shift as a contact phenomenon can facilitate lexical borrowing.

4.1.2. Selection of Research Area

The historical distribution of Khoekhoe-branch speech communities, coupled with what locality data are available for the use of loanwords, suggest that the most recent points of intense language contact occurred between Kora and Afrikaans in the Karoo Highlands, especially along the Gariep River, and between a southerly lect of Nama

and Afrikaans in Namaqualand. Anecdotal observations during conversations with research assistants from the Willowmore and Uitenhage regions have also indicated that Kora, Cape Khoekhoe, or an undescribed and extinct easterly Khoekhoe lect may have contributed loanwords along the more southeasterly periphery of the Karoo, but further investigation is required here.

No formal linguistic documentation of Nama as retained in Namaqualand has taken place since Links 1989, and the current position of Nama-language loanwords in Namaqualand Afrikaans is entirely unknown. Furthermore, standardised Namibian Khoekhoe is well-documented, and what information is available would suggest that at least some fluent speakers of 'Klein Nama' do remain, allowing for comparison (although the potential presence of regional variation in the Nama continuum, and hence of undocumented regionalisms in 'Klein Nama' as spoken south of the Gariep, does complicate the retrieval of certain lexical items). Namaqualand was therefore selected as the primary research site.

4.1.3 Selection of Participants

Two separate pools of participants were required. The first, larger pool would be monolingual speakers of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans, or else bilingual speakers of Namaqualand Afrikaans and English, who had no fluent command of Nama. The second, smaller pool would be a control group of L1 Nama speakers, ideally from the Namaqualand region within South Africa, but failing this, from the Bondelswarts or Central Nama dialect areas of Namibia.

Potential participants for the L1 Afrikaans pool were selected in three ways. Random sampling practices involved going door-to-door in predominantly Coloured neighbourhoods in dorps in the Nama Khoi and Kamiesberg LMs and asking residents preliminary questions about their language usage. More specific sampling involved enquiries after likely participants at community hubs such as pubs, spaza shops, post offices, and tourism information kiosks. Targeted sampling involved identifying specific individuals who had publically displayed a repertoire of loanwords and arranging interviews with them. Only two consultants were selected using the last method; the majority of participants were selected through random sampling, or else on the further recommendation of selected participants.



Figure 4.1 – Matjieskloof, a small Coloured township outside of Springbok, exemplifies the Namaqualand dorps where research was conducted.



Figure 4.2 – Steinkopf, the second-largest dorp in Namaqualand, and the gateway to the Richtersveld.

The ideal participant was envisioned as a monolingual speaker of Namaqualand Afrikaans who had been born in or around the Namaqualand region, and who had lived within Namaqualand for at least ten years. Since the use of Nama has declined significantly in recent years, speakers older than forty were preferred. The presence of L1 Nama input during childhood was not used to exclude or to select for participants, although this criterion was noted as an important sociolinguistic variable. Since it had been found that both White and Coloured speakers of Afrikaans had access to Nama loanwords (Christie 2020: 86 – 87), prospective participants were not excluded on grounds of race, although, since the overwhelming majority of Namaqualand residents is Coloured, so too was the majority of participants. Gender was not a significant sampling criterion.

Random sampling practices were initially unsuccessful. While prospective participants displayed familiarity with Nama loanwords and were eager to assist, most were self-deprecating about their knowledge of Nama, stressing that they knew very little and recommending instead that we refer to fluent Nama-speakers, often very kindly suggesting potential candidates. The introduction of a small pre-test during later sessions served to establish consultant confidence in their linguistic repertoire. We also learned to emphasise that we did not want to hear *suiwer Namataal* – the ‘formal’ or ‘pure’ Nama language – but rather that we were interested in *Namakwaatal*, which term seems to signify regional Afrikaans. These two protocols significantly improved uptake during random sampling.

Participants for the control pool were selected primarily on community recommendation. The only major criterion was that the participant should be a fluent speaker of SA Nama, Bondelswarts Nama, or southerly Central Nama, rather than of Damara. This would ensure that the control material would be as similar as possible to the variety of Nama which was historically spoken in Namaqualand, and which presumably served as the donor language for the loanwords under investigation. Race, gender, and age were not significant sampling criteria for this pool.

4.2. Project Design

Fairly straightforward at its core, this project required the elicitation and recording of Nama loanwords. It was of paramount importance that the loanwords elicited be clearly derived from a known Khoekhoe-branch lexical item. Only in this case would

the data enable close analysis of adaptive strategies. It was further necessary to ensure to ensure that all twenty click consonants were represented in the set of loanwords elicited. This would allow for each expected click, as pronounced by an L1 speaker, to be compared with multiple attestations of its pronunciation in loan.

Designing stimulus material that would satisfy both of these requirements involved navigating two primary difficulties. Firstly, it required the selection of items that were both sufficiently general to be recognised by most participants, but that were also sufficiently specific to represent, in onset position, each of the twenty standardised Namibian Khoekhoe click consonants. Secondly, it required the selection of an orthography that was accessible to monolingual speakers of Afrikaans with no literacy in standardised Namibian Khoekhoe, that would consistently indicate the presence of a click consonant in a loanword, but that would not bias the participants' pronunciation.

4.2.1. Selecting Items for Elicitation

All items tested were pulled from the corpus proper (Appendix A.1), as compiled in Chapter 3. As has been discussed, there are relatively few clues in the available literature as to which items are widespread and generalised, and which are ideolectal. Educated guesses could, of course, be made, based both on semantic category, and on rate of incidence in the literature. For example, the loaned plant name **kaniedoring** = [*Vachellia*] *nebrowonii* SMITH275 ex Hai Ilom **khǎnúś** = [*Vachellia*] *nebrowonii* H&E210 is *hapax* in Smith 1966 and has not been rerecorded in any more recent ethnobotanical resources to my knowledge; furthermore, the referent does not grow further south than Keetmanshoop. It was therefore barred from selection both on grounds of potential obsolescence, and because it could be inferred that it was not historically a 'Klein Nama' term.

Beyond some very common items which were represented in multiple sources and recorded from multiple locations, there was no surety that any selections would be generally recognisable to all consultants. Following the pilot phase, however, two very commonly-encountered items were included as a pre-test, used prior to the interview proper as a verbal means of determining whether or not potential consultants were familiar with the loaned lexis.

Table 4.1.
Comparative Distribution of Click Consonants

ETYMA IN CORPUS PROPER			H&E 2002		
onset click	λ	%	onset click	λ	%
alveolar tenuis	23	14.8	alveolar tenuis	171	7.0
alveolar affricate	14	9.0	dental glottalised	162	6.6
dental tenuis	13	8.4	alveolar nasalised	163	6.6
alveolar glottalised	11	7.1	alveolar glottalised	156	6.3
dental glottalised	9	5.8	lateral tenuis	155	6.3
dental aspirated	9	5.8	dental tenuis	146	5.9
lateral tenuis	8	5.2	dental aspirated	145	5.9
palatal glottalised	8	5.2	alveolar aspirated	136	5.5
lateral glottalised	7	4.5	palatal tenuis	132	5.4
palatal tenuis	7	4.5	lateral glottalised	121	5.0
dental affricate	6	3.9	palatal glottalised	117	4.8
lateral affricate	6	3.9	alveolar affricate	116	4.7
alveolar aspirated	6	3.9	dental affricate	114	4.6
alveolar nasalised	6	3.9	lateral aspirated	105	4.3
palatal affricate	6	3.9	palatal aspirated	101	4.1
palatal aspirated	5	3.2	lateral affricate	92	3.8
lateral nasalised	4	2.6	lateral nasalised	93	3.8
palatal nasalised	4	2.6	palatal nasalised	91	3.7
lateral aspirated	2	1.3	dental nasalised	74	3.0
dental nasalised	1	0.5	palatal affricate	70	2.8
TOTAL	155	100	TOTAL	2460	100

When cross-indexing the need for generally-known terms with the requirement that the items selected must contain certain very specific phonemes, the pool for potential items became even smaller. Fascinatingly, the corpus proper does seem to show a general correspondence between the incidence of onset click in each loan, and the incidence of onset click in standardised Namibian Khoekhoe as tallied by headword (see comparison of onset clicks in Table 4.1), although this may well be simply because, as H&E served as the primary source of targets, the rate of retrieval was higher among items beginning with the better-represented clicks in H&E. Practically, this meant that click phonemes that were less represented in standardised Namibian Khoekhoe, such as the nasalised dental and nasalised palatal, were also less represented in the corpus of Nama loanwords in Afrikaans. For example, only one option, **kna** (= ‘lekker’ PRINS287 LD Prieska; **tkô**, **tka** = “nice, pleasant” PRINS486; **n|a** ~ **n!a** = “nice” Bennett, 2020: 94 ex Namibian Khoekhoe **|nǎm** = ‘to love’ H&E 220)

was available for the nasalised dental click, and so had to be used during elicitation, even though it is a probable wanderword with a complex history that likely entered Afrikaans predominantly through isiXhosa **ngca** rather than through direct contact with any Khoekhoe-branch language.

Table 4.2. Test Battery Codes 0 – 4				
#	item	sources	etymon	click represented
0a	xhouboe	BN252, LINKS64, PRINS485	!gǎbú	alveolar <i>tenuis</i>
0b	t'koenie	PRINS486	!unĩb	alveolar glottalised
1a	t'kariebier	PRINS485	!khàrib	alveolar affricate
1b	t'norrapkop	BN451, LINKS66, PRINS486	!nòròs	nasalised alveolar
1c	xhorro	PILOT	‡khòròb	palatal affricate
1d	xhoulag	CHRISTIE90	!ǎú	alveolar glottalised
1e	tgabba	BN246, LINKS65, PRINS89	‡gǎba	palatal <i>tenuis</i>
2a	t'noenieboom	SMITH351, POWRIE51, PRINS432	!hùnis	pren. dental asp.
2b	t'gharrabos	BN249, SARR19	!garas	dental <i>tenuis</i>
2c	t'outsiamma	LEROUX310, LINKS63, POWRIE65	‡hǎutsiamma	pren. palatal asp.
2d	t'oon t'oontjie	BN254, LINKS64, SARR134	!lón!lóns	lateral glottalised
2e	t'kwa	LINKS63	!lhòab	pren. lateral asp.
3a	xhoe	LINKS66	!úú	dental glottalised
3b	t'koukind	BN368, LINKS65, PRINS486	!gàò	alveolar <i>tenuis</i>
3c	t'kam	LINKS65, SARR186	!lkhǎm	lateral affricate
3d	t'narra	PRINS247	‡ǎe	palatal glottalised
3e	t'kaai	PRINS174	!lnàrà	nasalised lateral
4a	xhoeroe	PILOT	!khurúb	dental affricate
4b	t'kammie	PRINS485	!lgǎm̃mi	lateral <i>tenuis</i>
4c	t'na	PRINS287, BENNETT94	!nǎm	nasalised dental
4d	t'noenie	BN254, PRINS95	‡nǎni	nasalised palatal
4e	tkoeiam	LINKS66	!hùu-añ	pren. alveolar asp.

The extreme orthographic variation used for these items in an Afrikaans context, coupled with the anticipation that speaker data might similarly exhibit extreme phonological variation, meant that ordinary methods of representation for each item would not suffice. All twenty-two test items collated in Table 4.2 above were therefore assigned an alphanumeric code in order to ensure that each item could be narrowly identified and easily referenced without having to repeat variant non-standard orthographies, multiple tokens, or lengthy semantic definitions. Wherever possible, the standardised Namibian Khoekhoe orthography is employed as the lemmatised form of these test items. Further alphanumeric codes will be assigned to serendipitous items collected from consultants in Section 5.6.1 below.

In order to compare the click consonants produced by the test pool with the click consonants produced by the control pool, the best practice would have been to have the control pool read out the L1 targets of the standardised test battery. However, this was not always practical or possible, since certain of the best-known loanwords distributed in Namaqualand would appear to derive from a Klein Nama lexis that is either regional or archaic. For example, the fairly ubiquitous loanword **t'noutsiam** = *Cheiridopsis denticulata*, *Cheiridopsis* spp., derives from the item **#hautsiam** (Schültze 1907: 83, recorded specifically in Klein Namaland). An apparently old-fashioned term (it has not been brought forward into either HEG 1991 or Haacke & Eiseb 2002, but does contain the lexeme **#hãũb**, 'a stain', considered an archaic form of **#nãóǃ** H&E402), **#hautsiam** refers to a genus of mesemb that is near-endemic to South Africa, crossing the Namibian border only at the very northernmost extension of the Succulent Karoo biome, and so would likely be unfamiliar to speakers even of very southerly dialects of standardised Namibian Khoekhoe.

In other words, while L1 tokens of the exact targets would obviously provide the best grounds for comparison, it was clear that, in some instances, this would not be possible. Following initial observations of this during the pilot round of research, all subsequent L1 elicitation sessions were structured using two wordlists. The first contained the targets, ordered and coded to reflect the organisation of the loanwords. The second contained an alternative set of items, each serving as a replacement for one of the targets, selected both for the same click consonant followed wherever possible by the same or similar vowel, and for general familiarity. For example, as an alternative to **#hautsiam**, the item **#haba**, a general adjective meaning 'flat' or 'broad', would be supplied; as an alternative to **#nuni**, a fairly specialised agricultural term meaning 'to struggle to milk an animal', the item **#nũ**, a general adjective meaning 'black', would be supplied. Should the consultant encounter a lexical item with which they were unfamiliar, they would note the code of the item and continue reading through the targets. Subsequently, they would move onto the supplementary list and read out the replacement items for the targets they had missed. This ensured the elicitation of a full set of click consonants, in phonological environments as similar as possible to the click consonants in the target items.

4.2.2. Stimulus & Orthography

Given the high rate of homophony, and hence of semantic conflation, that characterised corpus items, Afrikaans-matrix context was necessary in order to prompt items. I therefore developed twenty brief and clear Afrikaans sentences, some with two or three attendant lines of dialogue to provide exemplification, and situated a loanword within each one.

The question of orthography, however, remained difficult to resolve. I had initially feared that the use of written prompts might prime click insertion or otherwise influence pronunciation, and, in order to avoid this, sought to develop stimulus materials that did not involve transcription. During my MA research, for example, I had successfully made use of photographic stimulus material of Namaqualand plants in order to elicit loaned plant names. However, while some of the loanwords selected for this project could feasibly be represented pictorially, most could not. As a stopgap measure, I developed a series of fill-in-the-blanks exercises. These presented the participant with either a sentence or a brief snippet of dialogue, in which one word had been left blank, as indicated by underscoring _____. These prompts were accompanied either by illustrative images acquired from open source image repositories, or by large emojis indicating tone and content. The consultant would then be asked to supply a 'Namakwalandse' word in order to fill in the blank.

I was apprehensive about implementing these materials, as there was no guarantee that they would necessarily elicit Nama items. Discussions with potential consultants during the pilot phase indicated that many, although certainly not all, Namaqualand residents would already be loosely familiar with the use of **t'** to indicate the presence of a click consonant. Pilot consultants, when asked if they were familiar with any loanwords containing click consonants, neither fabricated items nor inserted click consonants onto clickless items, but made use of loanwords that I recognised from the lexicographical review and that contained click consonants in the expected places. Further observations of local Namaqualand Facebook groups indicated that both **t'** and **xh** were fairly commonly used in Afrikaans-matrix posts in order to indicate the presence of a click consonant.

Table 4.3 Test Battery Sentences & Translations			
#	item	sense	sentence
0a	xhouboe	tasteless, insipid	Ek wil nie hierdie koppie tee drink nie. Dit is xhouboe . <i>I don't want to drink this cup of tea. It is xhouboe.</i>
0b	t'koenie	the elbow	Die kind het geval. Nou het hy 'n snywond op sy t'koenie . <i>The child fell down. Now he has a graze on his t'koenie.</i>
1a	t'kariebier	home-made beer	Hulle sit mos by die huis en brou die t'kariebier van heuning. <i>They just sit at home and brew t'karie-beer from honey.</i>
1b	t'norrakop	the back of the head	Die hare op my t'norrakop is weer vandag so 'n bietjie droog. <i>The hair on my t'norra-head is a bit dry again today.</i>
1c	xhorro	to chat, talk, gossip	Ek kuier Saterdag oggend by my sussie – ons gaan lekker xhorro ! <i>I'm visiting my sister on Saturday morning – we're going to xhorro!</i>
1d	xhoulag	to shout with laughter	Ek sit saam met my vriende en grappies maak en xhoulag . <i>I sit together with my friends and tell jokes and xhou-laugh.</i>
1e	tgabba	to become very thin	As daai maer skapie nie beter begin vreet nie, sal hy binnekort tgabba . <i>If that thin little sheep doesn't begin to eat better, he's going to tgabba soon.</i>
2a	t'noenieboom	<i>Boscia albitrunca</i>	In Namakwaland noem ons die witgatboom ook die t'noenieboom . <i>In Namaqualand, we also call the witgat-tree the tnoenie-tree.</i>
2b	t'gharrabos	<i>Searsia burchellii</i>	Daar staan nog 'n klomp bessies op die ou t'gharrabos . <i>There are still lots of berries on the old t'gharrabush.</i>
2c	t'outsiamas	<i>Cheiridopsis denticulata</i>	Die t'outsiamas vygies groei altyd so plat op die grond. <i>The t'outsiamas vygies always grow flat on the ground.</i>
2d	t'oon t'oontjie	<i>Ptenopus garrulus</i>	Kyk vir daai klein t'oon t'oontjie wat op die rotse sit. <i>Look at the little t'oon t'oontjie sitting on the rocks.</i>
2e	t'kwa	a cliff, a steep overhang	Die mooiste blommetjies groei voor die t'kwa . <i>The prettiest flowers grow in front of the t'kwa.</i>
3a	xhoe	not to know something	Hy is mos baie dom. Hy xhoe nooit iets nie. <i>He's just very stupid. He xhoes nothing.</i>
3b	t'koukind	youngest child	Ouma het my kleinsussie altyd baie bedorf, want sy was mos die t'koukind . <i>Granny always used to spoil my baby sister, because she was the t'kou-child.</i>

3c	t'kam	to grab, to hold tight	Ek vat die bokooi aan die agterbeen en t'kam die poot tussen my knieë.
			<i>I take the nanny-goat by the hindleg and t'kam the hoof between my knees.</i>
3d	tkaai	to stick to	Die stroop het vas aan my hande get tkaai .
			<i>The syrup tkaaied to my hands.</i>
3e	t'narra	to search through	Die stout hondjie t'narra deur die inkopies.
			<i>The naughty dog t'narras through the groceries.</i>
4a	xhoeroe	a craving	Ek het 'n xhoeroe vir ietsie soet.
			<i>I have a xhoeroe for something sweet.</i>
4b	t'kammie	water	Sjoe, maar ek's dors! Bring vir my asseblief 'n glas xhammie .
			<i>Sho, I'm thirsty! Get me a glass of xhammie, please.</i>
4c	t'na	nice, pleasant, delicious	Daai stukkie sjokoladekoek was baie t'na .
			<i>That piece of chocolate cake was really t'na.</i>
4d	t'noenie	to struggle to milk	Ek sukkel mos om hierdie ou bokooi te t'noenie .
			<i>I'm struggling to milk t'noenie old nanny-goat.</i>
4e	tkoeiam	to tie off	Hy tkoeiam die tou vas om die matjie klaar te maak.
			<i>He tkoeiams the rope tight to complete the matjie.</i>

This considerably relaxed the fear of priming click insertion through orthography, and revised stimulus materials were prepared for data collection proper using a mixture of **t'** and **xh** orthographies, in order to reflect local usage. Each of the twenty items selected in Section 4.2.1, plus the two pre-test items, was used in an exemplifying sentence in order to provide context (as shown in Table 2). Wherever possible, I used spellings that had been recorded in Le Roux 1981, Links 1989, or Prinsloo 2008, and based the prompt sentences on utterances that I had elicited from correspondents during the MA data collection process, or else on utterances recorded by Links 1989, in order to ensure that the usecases of the loanwords were as accurate as possible. The twenty test sentences were grouped into four sections of five, in order to provide some structure to the interview and offer consultants opportunity for brief rest breaks if necessary. As far as was possible, I tried to sort ubiquitous and well-known items into the first three sections in order to increase confidence, leaving the lesser-known items for last. The five items pertaining to plant names, animal names, and the veld were supplemented with open source images.

These materials were then printed out in colour and inserted into flipfiles, which could easily be sanitised in between interviews (see Section 4.3.2. below). These materials will subsequently be referred to as the standardised test battery. Structured interviews conducted using the test battery elicitation materials are referred to as standardised; unstructured interviews conducted without using these elicitation materials are

referred to as non-standardised. Although only some consultants proved familiar with the orthographies used, none complained that they made elicitation more difficult, and all were easily able to use the context of the sentence in order to supply the relevant loanword. Following elicitation, each consultant was asked to provide some basic sociolinguistic context for their performance, including where they had grown up, what languages they spoke at home, and what languages their family had spoken at home.

4.3. Ethical & Practical Considerations

This section details the process of obtaining ethical clearance for this project, as well as additional protocols followed to ensure safe fieldwork practices were carried out during the Covid-19 pandemic.

4.3.1. Ethical Clearance

Consisting as it did of a brief semi-structured sociolinguistic interview, not usually lasting longer than 30 minutes, and discussing, for the most part, fairly bland topics, this data collection method posed no immediate physical or emotional risk. Regulation ethical clearance application forms were filled in and submitted to the Rhodes University Human Ethics Committee (RU HEC). The application was reviewed and granted clearance, with reference number 2020-1339-4657, on 10 September 2020, and was renewed for each subsequent year of the doctoral project.

In order to ensure that consultants fully understood the nature of the research in which they were participating, they were provided with information sheets that outlined the topic, structure, and goals of the research project. They also contained the names and contact details of myself, my supervisors, and the RU HEC. Consultants could choose to read these sheets in either English or Afrikaans, according to their preference, and were also invited to talk through the content of these sheets either with myself or with Ms Diko, our fluent L1 Afrikaans research assistant. They then signed forms declaring that they consented to free and informed participant in the project. Afterwards, participants were encouraged to keep the information sheets and to make use of the contact details should they have any further questions.

Perhaps the only real element of data collection that posed any serious emotional risk were the questions concerning personal language usage and family language usage,

as these had the potential to initiate discussion of systemic language prejudice and language suppression, and hence to lead to broader conversations surrounding the colonial destruction of cultural heritage. Although no formal charges have ever been laid and no detailed investigations have ever been carried out, allegations of deliberate suppression of the Nama language by schoolteachers and employers during the latter half of the 20th century have been made (Berzborn 2003: 345). I was aware that I might encounter consultants whose parents or grandparents had experienced precisely this kind of discrimination, and who had themselves been cut off from their linguistic heritage as a result. While frank discussion of these topics would be welcome, as it would provide invaluable insight into the sociohistory of language shift in Namaqualand, it could nevertheless cause emotional distress.

Linguistic disinheritance further had the potential to result in a loss of face for participants. Most consultants were very self-conscious about their lack of fluency in Nama, and many expressed the outwardly lighthearted but sincere concern that this might result in their providing inaccurate or inappropriate data. Some joked that, if they pronounced a word incorrectly, they might accidentally produce a swear word, and hence face disapproval from L1 Nama-speakers. Others emphasised that their recall was faulty and that they were afraid of misrepresenting the Nama language. In order to prevent potential loss of face or any communal retribution, all consultants were therefore offered the opportunity to provide data anonymously, and several ultimately did choose this option. They are identified in coding only through reference to their general place of residence.

Finally, it was crucial to my personal ethical approach to language description that the consultants not feel that the aim of this research is to showcase their ‘incorrect’ click pronunciations, or to compare them unfavourably with L1 Nama-speakers. This project does not seek to chastise speakers of Namaqualand Afrikaans for ‘mispronouncing’ click consonants, or to position them as ignorant of ‘correct’ linguistic standards, especially since racialised colonial oppression deprived so many of these speakers of the opportunity to acquire their parents’ language. I took great pains during interviews to highlight the uniqueness of Namaqualand Afrikaans, and to impress upon consultants that their usage of click consonants, although not representative of ‘*suiwer*’ Nama, is nonetheless of real social and scientific value. I hope that speakers of

Namaqualand Afrikaans who read this thesis know that the resilience of these fragile and precious words in the face of a global language extinction event is something to be celebrated with pride.

4.3.2. Additional Covid-19 Safety Protocols

Barely three months into the beginning of this project, on 26 March 2020, South Africa entered a national lockdown in response to the Covid-19 pandemic. This significantly curtailed opportunities for fieldwork. Even after interprovincial travel restrictions were relaxed, I was still concerned about spending too long in the Northern Cape. As a remote and sparsely-populated province, its Covid-19 case numbers and death toll were low throughout the pandemic, but this was an indication *against* travel, since residents had had less overall exposure and hence reduced opportunity to develop immunity. Furthermore, I was aiming to work primarily with middle-aged to elderly consultants, who were more likely to suffer serious complications should they contract the disease.

After much discussion with my supervisors, however, and careful assessment of weekly infection trends, we agreed that limited amounts of fieldwork, carried out only during Level 1 restriction periods and with stringent safety protocols in place, could be safely implemented. In keeping with the South African legal code, we wore masks in public at all times, as well as during the few interviews that did take place indoors. In addition to ensuring that our hands were sanitised every time we entered a public space, such as a restaurant or a shop, we carried with us our own cleaning materials, which allowed us to sanitise our hands every time we exited the car to meet with consultants, and every time we re-entered the car after an interview. We also carried a stock of disposable masks in case we met with a consultant who did not have access to protective facewear.

Fortunately, the *kuier* culture that characterises Namaqualand social interaction dictates that most short-term visits take place outside on the stoep. Most interviews were therefore conducted in an open area, with good ventilation and appropriate distancing. Recording outside did mean that audio quality was sometimes compromised by ambient noise, especially by birdsong, while the fact that consultants wore masks muffled some tokens. However, I consider the collection of lower-quality

audio data an acceptable compromise if it better protects the safety of the participants.⁴² Only three interviews were conducted inside, and here stringent safety measures were applied, with masks worn, hands sanitised, and the advised distance of 1.5 – 2m maintained between individuals at all times. As per legal stipulations, gatherings never exceeded six individuals all told. The use of lapel-mounted microphones on long cords meant that consultants could sit at a safe distance from the recorder, and hence from the interviewers, while the plastic flipfiles containing stimulus materials could be sprayed with sanitiser and wiped clean between interviews.

Conducting field research during a pandemic naturally entailed greater-than-ordinary risks. However, I vouch that the research team took every possible effort to mitigate these risks, and that we adhered to government-recommended safety protocols to the best of our ability throughout the data collection process.

4.3.3. Translation & Transcription

Nearly all Namaqualand residents are L1 Afrikaans, and, although most will have some conversancy with English, many prefer not to make use of it. I am conversationally fluent in L2 Afrikaans, and am also confident in general Afrikaans transcription and translation. However, it must be noted that I speak White Afrikaans with a markedly Capetonian accent, which runs the risk of alienating me from rural speakers of Coloured Afrikaans. Furthermore, certain technical aspects of data collection, especially jargon pertaining to ethics, academic research, and recording technology, are beyond my Afrikaans repertoire. We therefore chose to make use of an L1 Afrikaans research assistant when possible. Ms Meitjie Diko, a professional court interpreter with several years of experience in translating to and from Afrikaans, accompanied us during the April 2021 trip, and was invaluable both in breaking the ice

⁴² One form of data collection that I deemed too risky to implement during a respiratory pandemic was palatography, as this method requires the researcher to apply a dye to the inside of the mouth of the consultant, and then to photograph the distribution of the dye within the oral cavity after the articulation of a specific consonant. Having been encouraged to conduct palatographic studies of Namaqualand Afrikaans click consonants by the examiners of my MA thesis, I was initially very eager to incorporate this method into my PhD data collection process. Unfortunately, however, palatography does require extended periods of close face-to-face interaction between researchers and maskless consultants. Even if rubber gloves are worn and all applicators immediately disposed of in between articulations, it also carries the risk of skin-to-saliva contact. This would have increased the chances of Covid-19 transmission. Although palatographic data would have greatly contributed to the description of the click consonants analysed in this project, the potential benefits did not outweigh the increased risk factor.

with potential consultants, allowing us to record freer and more natural conversation, and in explaining the more technical details of the consent forms and associated paperwork.

The majority of recordings were taken on Prof. Bennett's H4n device, using lapel microphones that were clipped to the consultant's collars or shirtfronts. His backup Zoom H1n recorder ran continuously in case of failure. Some supplementary material, taken during interviews which Prof. Bennett could not attend, was recorded using my personal Zoom H1n recorder. Tokens were clipped and cleaned in Audacity, then exported in .wav format for spectral analysis in Praat. All recordings were transcribed by myself, with Dr Bennett also listening to and advising on the transcription of certain more difficult tokens.

Extended excerpts from interviews are presented first in Afrikaans, then with my English translation. Where necessary, items containing click consonants are transcribed in narrow IPA within these excerpts. Nama items spoken by L1 Nama speakers are spelled according to the standardised Namibian Khoekhoe orthography developed for use in Haacke & Eiseb 2002, against which all L1 Nama material recorded during this project is checked; where necessary, L1 items are also provided in narrow IPA to show phonological regional variation within Nama. Detailed discussion of the protocols adopted in transcribing L1 Afrikaans click consonants follows in Section 5.1 below.

4.4. Summary of the Data Collection Process

The Pilot Round was carried out with preliminary materials during 31 October – 8 November 2020. We ultimately recorded non-standardised L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans data from four test speakers, and L1 Nama data from three control speakers, as well as general sociolinguistic commentary from L1 Nama control speakers. We also had the opportunity to make contact with the NFM Radio team at Okiep, and were kindly invited to give a short Afrikaans-language talk on our interest in language usage in Namaqualand over the radio.

Round 1 of data collection was carried out with standardised materials during 24 April – 4 May 2021. This time, Dr Bennett and myself were accompanied by Mr Sheldan Dolf, a Rhodes University Linguistics alumni who has a research interest in non-standard varieties of Afrikaans and was eager to observe our research, and Ms Meitjie

Diko, our interpreter and research assistant. Mr Dolf was only able to join us for a few days before work commitments required him to return to the Eastern Cape, but Ms Diko accompanied us throughout. We recorded non-standardised L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans data from two speakers, and standardised L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans data from nine test speakers.

Round 2 of data collection was carried out with standardised materials during 24 – 30 November 2021. Unfortunately, our research assistants were unavailable to join us. We recorded standardised L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans data from seven test speakers, and L1 Nama data from three control speakers. An additional L1 Nama control speaker was recorded at Makhanda in September of 2021.

Overall, we collected L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans data from twenty-four test speakers and L1 Nama data from seven control speakers.

Chapter 5

Namaqualand Afrikaans Click Consonants Collected in the Field

This chapter transcribes and collates all tokens of click items collected from L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans speakers during field research. In order to evidence neutralisation of contrast by click type, and hence the high degree of inter- and intraspeaker variation in the realisation of click consonants, all tokens of every item are attributed and transcribed in IPA, and an inventory of click consonants is compiled for each speaker. All items are then collated, coded, and categorised by semantic field in order to structure and assist analysis in subsequent chapters.

5.1. Detailed Transcription Practices

The click consonants recorded here do not constitute a cohesive phonemic inventory. Neither the standardised Namibian Khoekhoe click orthography, nor existing IPA protocols for the transcription of Khoekhoe-branch click consonants, is sufficient to capture the range of click sounds recorded. Several IPA protocols were therefore adapted to suit the requirements of this project, predominantly those used in Brugman 2009, Miller 2011, and Bennett 2020. Superscript notation is favoured over diacritic notation wherever possible for the sake of clarity and legibility, but some use of diacritics is required.

5.1.1. Transcribing Click Type

The dental click is accepted as a click produced by contact between the coronal region of the tongue with either the teeth or the pre-alveolar region, and is notated [l̪]. The palatal click is accepted as a click produced by contact between the coronal region of the tongue with the hard palate, even if in loan it is not typically realised with the abruptness associated with the L1 Nama palatal click. There was some discussion as to whether this click should instead be captured as a significantly retracted dental, as its noisiness renders it most similar to a low-frequency dental click, but this would have required reliance on impressionistic criteria to determine whether or not a dental click was retracted or modal. Instead, clicks produced using a closure in the palatal region are notated [ɟ̞] throughout. This is further discussed in Section 6.1.3 below.

The alveolar click is accepted as a click produced by contact between the coronal region of the tongue with the post-alveolar or alveolar region. As with the palatal click, loaned alveolar clicks are not always realised with the abruptness characteristic of the L1 Nama alveolar click; nonetheless, this click is notated [!] throughout. The lateral click is accepted as a click produced by contact between the margins of the tongue with the lateral palatal region and the apex of the tongue with the alveolar region, with the closure at both margins released simultaneously or near-simultaneously, producing a distinctly noisy burst. This click is notated [l̥] throughout.

Encountered as a preferred articulatory gesture in some speakers was a ‘abrupt lateral click’, which involved a closure produced using the margins and the apex, as in the lateral click proper, but which saw only one margin of the tongue released. This produces a low-frequency, rather hollow sound, less abrupt than the alveolar click proper, but less noisy than the lateral click proper. There was debate as to whether this click should be treated as an undershot alveolar or an undershot lateral, as it does technically implicate both an alveolar closure and lateral closures. Since it is the lateral closure that seems to be released in order to create the click burst, it was eventually decided that it should be considered a lateral click. The ‘abrupt lateral’ release is notated [l̥], using the diacritic [̥] to indicate ‘weak articulation’ as recommended by *Extensions to the IPA* revised to 2015.

5.1.2. Transcribing Click Accompaniment

The *tenuis* or ‘plain’ click is indicated by the provision of the type in IPA with no attendant superscript or diacritic notation. The nasalised accompaniment, in which nasalisation preceding the click is audible, and strong nasalisation lines are visible in the spectrogram preceding the click, is transcribed using a superscript [ᵐ] preceding the click. The prenasalised accompaniment, some heard prior to aspirated or glottalised clicks, is transcribed using a superscript [ᵐ] preceding the click. The glottalised accompaniment is notated using [ʔ] following the click. All of these protocols align with the IPA used for Namibian Khoekhoe by Brugman 2009 and Bennett 2020.

Linguopulmonic clicks involve an airstream contour from the lingual to the pulmonic over the course of the segment, with the result that the posterior closure is clearly audible as a plosive. It was in most cases impossible to determine whether the posterior closure was uvular or velar; this difficulty is discussed extensively at Chapter

6.2.1. In the absence of conclusive insight into the position of the posterior closure, I defer to Miller *et al.* 2009 in assuming the uvular position as the cross-linguistic default, especially with studies having shown that the posterior closure in standard Namibian Khoekhoe click consonants is predominantly uvular (Miller, Namaseb, Iskarous 2007; Proctor *et al.* 2020). As a result, all linguopulmonic clicks are transcribed using [q̤] to indicate a voiceless uvular posterior closure, and [ḡ] to indicate a voiced uvular posterior closure, with the tiebar indicating the presence of an airstream contour within the segment. When items are ‘dedlicked’ such that the onset becomes a pulmonic plosive, it is assumed that they are pronounced using [k] or [g], as uvular plosives do not occur in the ordinary Namaqualand Afrikaans inventory. Unexpectedly common was the voiceless ejective linguopulmonic click, in which the posterior closure is strongly ejected prior to the VOT. This is indicated using [ʔ] following the linguopulmonic ligature [q̤].

5.2. Coding of Consultants

Each consultant is referred to by a three-letter abbreviation of the town in which they were interviewed, an underscore, and their initials (see Table 5.1 below). Thus OKP_MM indicates a consultant with the initials MM who was interviewed at Okiep. Consultants who preferred to remain anonymous are referred to only by the three-letter abbreviation of the town in which they were interviewed, an underscore, and ANON; if more than one anonymous consultant was interviewed in one town, ANON1, ANON2, ANON3, and so on were used as necessary. Thus SBK_ANON indicates an anonymous consultant who was interviewed at or near Springbok. A short profile of each consultant is appended to each dataset, including their personal linguistic history, in order to contextualise the elicitations. Assessment of whether or not phonological trends align with any of the sociolinguistic variables collected is provided in Section 7.3 below. An in-depth discussion of the sociolinguistic and historical sociolinguistic context of these loanwords follows in Section 10.2.

All items that were included in the standardised test battery are coded with reference to their identifying tags as discussed in Chapter 4.2.1; these are referred to as ‘Series 0 – 4’ where necessary. Serendipitous items are sorted into a further three series. Series 5 is used to sort serendipitous items that were volunteered by consultants. Series 6 is used to sort serendipitous items that were volunteered by the consultant

MTK_ANON, and Series 7 is used to sort serendipitous items that were volunteered by the consultant WKL_GE, as both of these consultants had extensive idiosyncratic loaned lexes. Series 8 is used to sort generalised or recurrent loanwords for which the etymon is still uncertain, or else is irretrievable without improved documentation of Richtersveld Nama. A full list of all items elicited is supplied in 5.6. below.

Table 5.1 Regional Coding of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans Consultants <i>in the Nama Khoi Local Municipality</i>		
CDA	Concordia	3
KMG	Komaggas	3
MTK	Matjieskloof	1
OKP	Okiep	4
SBK	Springbok	4
SKF	Steinkopf	2
<i>in the Kamiesberg Local Municipality</i>		
KFN	Klipfontein	1
KKS	Kharkams	1
LFN	Leliefontein	1
PHK	Paulshoek	1
HKB	Hondeklipbaai	2
WKL	Wallekraal	1

KEY TO MUNICIPALITIES	
	KAMIESBERG LM
	NAMA KHOI LM
	RICHTERSVELD LM



5.3. Control Data – L1 Nama

Control data were collected from seven L1 Nama-speakers. Not all consultants provided tokens of all twenty L1 Nama click consonants, but, between the seven speakers, a full set of clicks was collected, with at least two speakers providing tokens of each click. Four speakers were either born in the !IKaras Region of southern Namibia, or else had been educated at Afrikaans-medium southern Namibian schools where they received at least some instruction in standardised Namibian Khoekhoe literacy. Two speakers were born in South Africa and were educated at Afrikaans-medium schools, and so had had no formal instruction in standardised Namibian Khoekhoe literacy. One speaker, born in Windhoek, received English-medium schooling, but had been exposed to Namibian Khoekhoe literacy via her !IKaras Region parents.

PLA_IB and PLA_EB provided some L1 Nama items, including local plant names, and general sociolinguistic commentary, and were recorded together at Pella on 3 November 2020. SKF_DD was recorded at Steinkopf on 6 November 2020. KKS_CHL was recorded at Kharkams on 26 November 2021 together with her L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans husband. The youngest L1 Nama speaker, WHK_EK, was recorded at Makhanda on 21 September 2021. PNL_PV and PNL_FV were recorded together at Port Nolloth on 29 November 2021.

We were unable to record any speakers of Richtersveld Nama as a result of ethical difficulties with obtaining access to gatekept communities inside the Transfrontier Richtersveld IAI IAI Park.

5.4. Non-Standardised Test Data – L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans

This section collates data collected via non-standardised, semi-structured interviews, in which L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans did not make use of the standardised testing battery, and instead volunteered their own examples of items containing clicks.

5.4.1. Non-Standard Test Data: Pilot Trip

The following data were collected during the pilot research trip, carried out between 2 – 8 November 2020.

5.4.1.1. NBP_ANON

These data were elicited on 4 November 2020 at Nababeep. The middle-aged Coloured consultant claimed no exposure to Nama in the home, but had had contact with L1 Nama-speakers during his time working on the mines. His tokens use only the dental click, with two accompaniments.

NBP_ANON
5 tokens of 2 items

	dental
ejective linguopulmonic	3
voiced linguopulmonic	2

0a **!gǎbú** – [ǀǃœubu]; [ǃœubu]

1c **ǂkhòròb** – [ǀǃ'wɔ]; [ǀǃ'wɔ]; [ǀǃ'wɔ]

5.4.1.2. OKP_MM

These data were elicited 5 November 2020 at Okiep. The young adult coloured consultant claimed no childhood exposure to Nama in the home, but had had exposure to L1 Nama-speakers in the workplace as an adult. This consultant worked as a radio host at the NFM radio station and invited us to conduct an interview on-air discussing our research, which we hoped might reach other Namaqualanders interested in language history and encourage them to contact us with information about loanwords.

OKP_MM
12 tokens of 4 items

	dental
nasalised	6
voiceless linguopulmonic	6

1b !nòróś – [ʰlɔɾɔ], [ʰlɔɾɔ]

4c !nām – [ʰla:pap], [ʰla:pap], [ʰla:], [ʰla:]

5b #hābā – [lḡaba], [lḡaba], [lḡaba]

8a IRR – [lḡœuburu:], [lḡœuburu:], [lḡœuburu:]

5.4.1.3. SKF_LM

These data were elicited 7 November 2020 at Steinkopf. The middle-aged Coloured consultant was uncertain of whether or not he had had exposure to L1 Nama in the home, but he knew L1 Nama-speakers in the neighbourhood. SKF_LM and SKF_RM were colleagues who were interviewed together at their place of work.

SKF_LM
23 tokens of 10 items

	dental	alveolar	palatal
<i>tenuis</i>		9	1
glottalised	3	3	2
fricated	3		
voiced l/p		3	

	velar
voiceless affricate	1

0b !ùnīb – [!uni], [!ʰuni], [!ʰuni]

1a !khàrib – [ʰʔaribi:r], [ʰʔaribi:r]

1d !àú – [ʰʔœu], [!ʰœu]

1e #gāba – [lʰava], [kxava], [lḡava], [lḡava], [lḡava]

2a !hūnīs – [!uni]

4d #nūnī – [!ḡuni], [!ḡuni], [!ḡuni]

5o !nūnūb – [!unu], [!unu], [!unu]

5v #gūnī – [!uni], [!uni]

5x !khām – [!ʰam]

8h IRR – [!ʰambos]

5.4.1.4. SKF_RM

These data were elicited 7 November 2020 at Steinkopf. This elderly Coloured consultant was uncertain of whether or not he had had exposure to L1 Nama in the home not certain, but he knew L1 Nama-speakers in the neighbourhood. LM_SKF and RM_SKF were colleagues who were interviewed together at their place of work.

SKF_RM
15 tokens of 8 items

	dental	alveolar	lateral
<i>tenuis</i>	1	9	
glottalised		3	1
ejective linguopulmonic			1

- 0b !ùñĩb – [!ʔuni:], [!ʔuni:], [!ʔuni:]
 1a !khàrĩb – [!ari:]
 1e #gǎba – [laba]
 2a !hũnĩs – [!unibɔm]; [!unibɔm]
 3c llkhǎm – [llq'am], [llʔam]
 4d #nũñĩ – [!uni], [!uni]
 5o llnũnũb – [!unu], [!unu], [!unu]
 5v #guĩnĩ – [!uni]

5.4.2. Non-Standard Test Data: Second Trip

The following data were collected during the second research trip from consultants who preferred not to use the standardised test battery, and who were instead interviewed using a less structured format.

5.4.2.1. WKL_GE

These data were elicited on 27 April 2021 on a farm near Wallekraal. The elderly white consultant is an author of several novels and collections of short stories concerning Namaqualand, and is considered a local authority on language usage. He was not tested using the standardised battery, but interviewed with reference to his handwritten own list of some hundred or so Namaqualand Afrikaans regional expressions, twenty-five of which were of Nama origin.

He claimed some exposure to L1 Nama from labourers and childhood friends on his farm, and referenced having heard certain phrases spoken out loud. However, he also had access to print resources on regional Afrikaans, including Le Roux 1981 and Links 1989; certain of his definitions were *verbatim* Links 1989. Some of his items, therefore, will represent efforts to replicate auditory input, either from L1 Nama speakers or from

speakers of Namaqualand Afrikaans with some lexical retention of Nama. Others, however, represent an attempt to learn a lexis using text resources that made use of the *ad hoc* **t'** orthographies. His pronunciation was likely influenced by these orthographies and so may not always represent efforts to replicate auditory input.

WKL_GE
102 tokens of 27 items

	dental	lateral	palatal	'clicklet'
<i>tenuis</i>	1	3	3	
nasalised	3			1
glottalised	5	3		
fricated	3		1	4
voiceless linguopulmonic	19		1	
voiceless ejective linguopulmonic	14			
voiced linguopulmonic	17			
nasalised voiced linguopulmonic	8			1

	alveolar	velar	glottal
voiceless plosive	3		4
voiced plosive		5	
voiceless fricative		3	

0a **!gǎbú** – [lǎ'œubu]; [lǎ'œubu]; [lǎœubu]; [lǎœubu]

0b **!unǎb** – [l'unic:]; [l'unic:]; [l'unic:];

1b **!nòròs** – [lǎ'œora] [lǎ'œora]

2b **!garas** – [garabɔs]; [gara]; [l'ara]; [lǎ'ara];

2d **!lónǎlóns** – [ʔɔnʔɔn]; [ʔɔnʔɔn]; [ʔɔnʔɔn]; [ʔɔnʔɔn]

2e **!lhòáb** – [ʔɰwa:]; [ʔɰwa:]; [ʔɰwa:]

3b **!gàò** – [lǎ'aukənt]; [lǎwakənt]; [lǎwaukənt];

3c **!lkhǎm** – [lǎ'am]; [lǎ'am]; [lǎ'am]; [lǎ'am]

3d **ǎé** – [lǎ:ia:əɐx]; [l'ia:əɐx]

4c **!nǎm** – [lǎ'a:]; [l'ǎ'a:]; [l'ǎ'a:]; [l'ǎ'a:]; [lǎ'a:]; [l'ǎ'a:]; [l'ǎ'a:]

5c **!harus** – [lǎœurubɔs]; [lǎœurubɔs]; [lǎɰbiənlǎœurubɔs]; [lǎɰbiəŋgœuru]; [lǎɰbiəŋgœuru]

5h **!ǎpǎǎkhǎs** – [ro:ilǎo:i]; [ro:ilǎo:i]; [ro:ilǎo:ihœut]; [taraxo:ibɔs]; [taraxo:ibɔs]; [taraxo:ibɔs]

5m **!lgaus** – [lǎ:]; [lǎ:]; [lǎ:bu:m]; [lǎ:bu:m]; [lǎ:bu:m]; [lǎ:bu:m]

5k **!gawerab** – [lǎ'abəra:]; [lǎ'abəra:]; [lǎ'abəra:]; [lǎ'abəra:];

5q **!ǎrób** – [lǎartɔ:ɔ]

7a **!gǎǎb** – [lǎoa:]; [lǎoa:]; [lǎ:]

7b **!gǎǎb** – [lǎi:xat]; [lǎi:xat]; [lǎi:jakɬs]; [lǎi:xat]

7c **!hǎí** – [xəl'i:]; [xəl'i:]; [xəl'i:]

7d **!khǎǎǎ** – [lǎ:ia:əɐx]; [lǎ:ia:əɐx]; [lǎ:ia:əɐx]; [lǎ:ia:əɐx]

7e **ǎé** – [xəlǎi]; [xəlǎi]; [xəlǎi];

7f **ǎpǎ** – [lǎ'ɔbɔ]; [lǎ'ɔbɔ]; [lǎ'ɔbɔ]

7g **ǎurú** – [lǎ'eri:]; [lǎ'eri:]; [lǎ'eri:]

7h **ǎhǎms** – [lǎo:xat]; [lǎo:xat]; [lǎo:xat]; [lǎo:xat]

7i **sǎwé** – [zəbi:]; [zəbi:]

7j **tsurú** – [zu:ru]; [afxəzu:ru]

8b **IRR** – [lǎ'u:i]; [lǎ'u:i]; [lǎ'u:i]; [lǎ'u:i]

8k **IRR** – [ʔɰunibɛ:ɛsɪs]; [ʔɰunibɛ:ɛsɪs]; [lǎ'u:nibɛ:]

8l **IRR** – [lǎœubibu:m]; [lǎœubibu:m]; [lǎœubi:]

5.4.2.2. SBK_LJ

These data were elicited on 7 May 2021 at Belville, Cape Town. The consultant, an older Coloured millennial, was born in Springbok and speaks L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans, but is currently living and working in Cape Town. Her paternal grandparents were Nama, but they passed away very early, before she knew them; her maternal grandparents did not use Nama in the home. She attributes her knowledge of loanwords to general community influence, noting, '*ek dink nie jy kan in Namakwaland wees en jy pick nie 'n woord of twee op nie*' ('I don't think you can be in Namaqualand without picking up a word or two').

A well-known professional radio and television presenter with a strong interest in Afrikaans-language film and theatre, and in indigenous languages such as Richtersveld Nama and Platfontein !Xun, this consultant had high sociolinguistic awareness. She noted that, after experiencing linguistic prejudice from Capetonians who mocked her Namaqualand Afrikaans accent, she made a conscious effort to use Namaqualand Afrikaans, including Nama loanwords, as a point of pride. She regularly incorporates the loanwords **xhou/ag** ('to laugh out loud') and **xhorro** ('to have a deep conversation') into her Afrikaans-language broadcasts and Facebook posts.

SBK_LJ
33 tokens of 12 items

	dental	alveolar
glottalised		2
nasalised	4	1
voiceless linguopulmonic	16	6
voiced linguopulmonic	4	

0a **!gäbú** – [ǀǃœubu];

0b **!unĩb** – [ǀǃuni]; [ǀǃuni]; [ǀǃunici]; [ǀǃuni]

1b **!nòròs** – [ǀǃoraci:]; [ǀǃoraci:]; [ǀǃora]

1c **ǂkhòròb** – [ǀǃɔɔɔ]; [ǀǃɔɔɔ]

1d **!àú** – [ǀǃœulax]; [ǀǃœulax]

4c **ǀnām** – [ǀǃǃǃ:] [ǀǃǃǃ:] [ǀǃǃǃ:] [ǀǃǃǃ:]

5ag **ǀnóhne** – [ǀǃuni]; [ǀǃuni]; [ǀǃuni]

5ah **ǀlkhóó** – [ǀǃǃǃ:]; [ǀǃǃǃ:]; [ǀǃǃǃ:]; [ǀǃǃǃ:]; [ǀǃǃǃ:]

5ai **ǀhóá** – [ǀǃǃǃ:]; [ǀǃǃǃ:]

5aj **ǀkhòhǃǃǃ** – [xǃǃǃœuəm]; [xǃǃǃœuəm]

5ak **ǂnũwís** – [xǃǃǃuisi:]; [xǃǃǃuisi:]

8a IRR – [ǀǃœuburu:]; [ǀǃœuburu:]; [ǀǃœuburu:]

5.5. Standardised Test Data – L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans

These data were collected using the standardised test battery developed for the second and third research trips.

5.5.1 Standardised Test Data: Second Trip

The following data were collected during the second research trip, between 24 – 30 April 2021. Updated stimulus material were used throughout, and a pre-test requiring consultants to demonstrate familiarity with two ubiquitous loanwords was introduced into the sampling procedure.

5.5.1.1. HKB_GS

These data were elicited on 25 April 2021 in Hondeklipbaai. The middle-aged coloured consultant was born in the Richtersveld, but was monolingual in Namaqualand Afrikaans. He explained this by noting that, with regard to ethnicity, he considered himself a Baster, rather than a Nama. He did claim L1 Nama input during childhood from a Nama shepherd who worked for his family and cared for him.

On the other hand, Shupala who worked on his family and cared for him.

HKB_GS

43 tokens of 15 items

	dental	lateral	palatal
tenuis	2		
glottalised	1		1
nasalised	3	1	4
voiceless linguopulmonic	15		5
ejective linguopulmonic	1		1
voiced linguopulmonic	1	1	
nasalised voiced linguopulmonic	2		1

‘clicklet’

1

	velar
voiceless ejective	3

0a !gābú – [ʔqœuvu]; [ʔqœuvu]

0b !unīb – [ʔquni:]; [ʔquni:]

1b !nòròs – [ʔʔora], [ʔʔora], [ʔʔora]

1c #khòròb – [ʔʔora], [ʔʔora], [ʔʔora]

1d !àú – [ʔqœulax], [ʔqœulax], [ʔqœulax]

2a !hūnīs – [ʔunibom] [ʔunibom]

2b !garas – [ʔqara], [ʔqara], [ʔqarabos], [ʔqara], [ʔqaras], [ʔqaras]

2e !hòáb – [ʔqwa:], [ʔqwa:], [ʔqwa:], [ʔqwa:]

3b !gàò – [ʔqœukent], [ʔqœukent]

3c !lkhām – [ʔqam], [ʔqam]

3d #áé – [ʔai], [ʔai], [ʔlai], [ʔlai]

4c !nām – [ʔʔā:], [ʔʔā:]

4d #nūnì – [ʔʔuni], [ʔʔuni]

5t !hūì – [ʔqu:], [ʔqu:]

5u #àpó – [ʔqabo], [ʔqabu], [ʔqabu], [ʔqabu]

5.5.1.2. HKB_MP

These data were elicited on 26 April 2021. The middle-aged coloured consultant had been born in Hondeklipbaai, and had had childhood exposure to her L1 Nama mother, who had been born at Steinkopf. As an adult, she spent some time working as a schoolteacher at Lekkersing and had exposure to L1 Nama children, but was never able to learn Nama. Like HKB_GS, she noted that few or no other residents in Hondeklipbaai used Nama. She interviewed in the presence of her husband, who had grown up in the Western Cape and knew no Nama loanwords despite having lived in Hondeklipbaai for much of his adult life.

HKB_MP
34 tokens of 11 items

	dental	palatal
tenuis	1	
nasalised	1	4
voiceless linguopulmonic	9	16
voiced linguopulmonic		3

0a **!gàbú** – [lq̥aɸubu]; [lq̥œubu]; [lq̥abu:]; [lœubu:]; [lq̥œubu], [lq̥œubu]

0b **!ùnĩb** – [lq̥uni], [lq̥uni], [lq̥uni], [lq̥uni];

1b **!nòròs** – [ʰɕɔrakɔp], [ʰɕɔrakɔp]

1c **ʰkhòròb** – [ʰq̥ɔɔɔ], [ʰq̥ɔɔɔ], [ʰɕɔɔɔ], [ʰq̥ɔɔɔ], [ʰq̥ɔɔɔ], [ʰɕɔɔɔ]

1d **!àú** – [ʰq̥œulax], [ʰq̥œulax], [ʰq̥œulax]

3b **!gàò** – [ʰq̥aucɪənt]; [ʰq̥aucɪənt]

3c **llkhám** – [ʰq̥am]; [ʰq̥am]; [ʰq̥am]

3d **ʰáé** – [ʰḡə:i]; [ʰḡə:i]

4b **llgàṁmi** – [ʰḡami]

4c **!nām** – [ʰlā:]

5x **ʰápá** – [ʰq̥aba], [ʰq̥aba], [ʰq̥əba], [ʰq̥aba]

5.5.1.3. SBK_GH

These data were elicited 28 April 2021 at Bergsig outside of Springbok. The middle-aged Coloured consultant was born in Rietfontein in the Kamiesberg, she attended school at Leliefontein before settling at Bergsig. She claimed L1 Nama input from her paternal grandmother, who was born at Brandvlei.

SBK_GH
52 tokens of 21 items

	dental	lateral	alveolar	palatal
tenuis			2	1
glottalised				4
nasalised	2	1	1	
voiceless linguopulmonic	10		2	6
voiceless ejective linguopulmonic	2			3
voiced linguopulmonic	5		6	7

0a **!gàbú** – [!ḡœubu]

0b **!unĩb** – [!ḡuni]; [!ḡ'uni]; [!ʔuni]; [!ḡuni]

1b **!nòròs** – [ʎ!ɔɔkɔp]

1c **ʃkhòròb** – [!ḡɔɔra], [ʃḡɔɔra]

1d **!àú** – [!ḡœulax], [ʃḡœulax]; [ʃḡ'œulax]; [!ḡœulax]

1e **ʃgàba** – [!ḡava], [ʃḡava]

2a **!hūnís** – [!ḡunibɔs]; [!ḡunibɔm]

2b **!garas** – [!ḡara]; [!ḡarabɔs] noisy; [ʃḡarabɔs]

2c **ʃhaũtsiama** – [!ḡœutsiʔama]; [!ḡœutsiʔama]; [!ḡœutsiʔama]; [ʔœutsiʎama]

2e **!lhòáb** – [!oa:]; [ʃoa:]

3b **!gàò** – [ʃḡœuciənt]; [ʃḡœuciənt]

3c **!lkhám** – [ʃḡ'am]; [ʃḡ'am]

3d **ʃaé** – [ʃḡa:i]; [ʃḡa:i]; [ʃḡa:i]

3e **!lnàrà** – [ʃḡara], [!ḡara]

4b **!lgàǹmi** – [ʃḡami]; [!ḡami]

4c **!nām** – [ʎ!a:] this is actually a good lateral, [ʎ!a:]

4d **ʃnũni** – [!ḡuni]; [!ḡuni]; [!ḡuni]

5i **!òwé** – [!ḡu:]; [!u:]

5f **!gũrũ** – [ʃḡuru]; [ʃḡuru]; [!ḡuru]

5z **!khàas** – [ʃʔā:bɔm]; [ʃʔā:bɔm] [ʃʔā:bɔm]

8k **!IRR** – [!ḡəbə]; [!ḡəbəfəi]; [!ḡəbəfəi]

5.5.1.4. SBK_DD

These data were elicited 28 April 2021 at Bergsig outside of Springbok. A young adult coloured consultant, he had been born and raised in Springbok. Both of his parents were from Riemvasmaak in Boesmanland and spoke L1 Bondelswarts Nama. They spent much of the Apartheid Era in Windhoek and returned to South Africa permanently only in the early 1990s, as was fairly common in the Riemvasmaak Nama community. The consultant noted that his parents did not like to speak Nama in his presence, “because I was born in Springbok, I wasn’t born on that side [of the border]”.

SBK_DD
45 tokens of 17 items

	dental
nasalised	21
voiceless linguopulmonic	16
voiceless ejective linguopulmonic	2
voiced linguopulmonic	6

0a **!gäbú** – [ʔǣøubu]; [ʔǣøubu]

0b **!unīb** – [ʔǣunici:]; [ʔǣunici:]

1b **!nòròs** – [ʔǣrɔ]; [ʔǣrɔ]; [ʔǣrɔ]; [ʔǣrɔkɔp]

1c **ʔkhòròb** – [ʔǣrɔ]; [ʔǣrɔ]; [ʔǣrɔ]

1d **!àú** – [ʔǣøulax]; [ʔǣøulax]; [ʔǣøulax]

1e **ʔgäba** – [ʔǣaba]; [ʔǣaba]

2a **!hūnīs** – [ʔǣunibo:m]; [ʔǣunibo:m]; [ʔǣunibo:m]

2b **!garas** – [ʔǣarabɔs]; [ʔǣarabɔs]; [ʔǣarabɔs]

3a **!úù** – [ʔǣu:]; [ʔǣu:]; [ʔǣu:]

3b **!gàò** – [ʔǣaukənt]; [ʔǣaukənt]

3c **!lkhám** – [ʔǣam]; [ʔǣam]; [ʔǣam]

3d **ʔáé** – [ʔǣa:i]; [ʔǣa:i]; [ʔǣa:i]

3e **!lnàrà** – [ʔǣara]; [ʔǣara]

4a **!khùrúb** – [ʔǣluru]; [ʔǣluru]; [ʔǣluru]; [ʔǣluru]

4b **!lgàǹmi** – [ʔǣami]; [ʔǣami]

4c **!nām** – [ʔǣa]

4d **ʔnūnì** – [ʔǣluni]; [ʔǣluni]; [ʔǣluni]

5.5.1.5. SBK_ANON

These data were elicited 28 April 2021 at Bergsig outside of Springbok. The middle-aged coloured consultant was born at Steinkopf and raised at Bulletrap, but now resided permanently outside of Springbok. She had L1 Nama input during childhood from her grandparents, who spoke L1 Steinkopf Nama, but noted that they did not use Nama in front of the children, and that she was only occasionally able to pick up one or two words.

SBK_ANON
41 tokens of 17 items

	dental	alveolar	palatal
tenuis	3		
glottalised	1		
nasalised	2		1
voiceless linguopulmonic	23	1	
voiceless ejective linguopulmonic	3		
voiced linguopulmonic	7		

0a **!gǎbú** – [ǧabu]; [ǧabu]

0b **!unĩb** – [ʔuni]; [luni]; [ʔuni]

1b **!nòròs** – [ǧòròkɔp]; [ǧòròkɔp]; [ǧòròkɔp]

1c **ǂkhòròb** – [ǧòrò]; [ǧòrò]; [ǧòrò]

1d **!àú** – [ǧʰœulax]; [ǧʰœulax]

2b **ǧaras** – [ǧarabɔs]; [ǧarabɔs]

2d **!lónillóns** – [ǧuənǧuəŋci:]; [ǧuənǧuəŋci:]

3a **!úú** – [ǧui:]; [ǧui:]; [ǧui:]; [ǧui:]

3b **ǧàò** – [ǧaukənt]; [ǧœukənt]

3c **llkhǎm** – [ǧʰam]; [ǧam]; [ǧam]

3d **ǂǎé** – [xəǧa:i];

3e **!nǎrà** – [ʰara]; [ʰara]

4a **ǧhùrúb** – [ʔuru]; [luru]; [luru]

4c **ǧǎm** – [ʰa:];

4d **ǂnùni** – [ʔuni]; [ʔuni]; [ʔuni]

5f **ǧùrù** – [ǧuru]

5u **ǂǎpó** – [ǧaba]; [ǧaba]; [ǧaba]; [ǧaba]

5.5.1.6. CDA_AE

These data were elicited 29 April 2021 at Concordia. The middle-aged Coloured consultant had been born at Steinkopf, but now lived permanently in Concordia. She claimed L1 Steinkopf Nama input from her maternal grandmother during childhood, but was monolingual L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans.

CDA_AE
43 tokens of 21 items

	dental	palatal
nasalised	6	2
voiceless linguopulmonic	14	1
voiceless ejective linguopulmonic	16	
voiced linguopulmonic	3	

	velar
voiced plosive	1

0a **!gäbü** – [l̥aubu]; [l̥aubu]

0b **!unīb** – [ʔa'uni]; [l̥uni]; [l̥uni]; [l̥uni]

1a **!khàrib** – [l̥a'aribi:r]; [l̥a'aribi:r]

1b **!nòròs** – [gora], [l̥'ora]

1c **ʔkhòròb** – [l̥'ora]

1d **!àú** – [l̥'œulax]; [l̥'œulax]

1e **ʔgäba** – [l̥aba]; [l̥aba]; [l̥aba]

2a **!hūnīs** – [l̥unibom]; [l̥unibom]

2b **!garas** – [l̥arabos]

2c **ʔhaūtsiama** – [l̥œutsi?ama]; [l̥œutsi?ama]

2d **!lón!lóns** – [l̥'ɔnl̥'ɔŋci]; [l̥'ɔnl̥'ɔŋci]; [l̥'ɔnl̥'ɔŋci]

2e **!lhòáb** – [l̥oa]; [l̥oa]

3a **!úú** – [l̥u:]; [l̥u:]

3b **!gàò** – [l̥'aukənt]; [l̥'œukənt]

3c **!lkhám** – [l̥'am]; [l̥'am]

3d **ʔáé** – [l̥'a:i]; [l̥'a:i]

3e **!lnàrà** – [l̥'ara]; [l̥'ara]; [l̥'ara]; [l̥'ara]

4a **!khùrúb** – [l̥luru]

4c **!nām** – [l̥'a:]

4d **ʔnūnī** – [l̥ūni]

5g **ʔámà** – [l̥'ama]; [l̥'ama]

5.5.1.6. CDA_CW

These data were collected 29 April 2021 in Concordia. The elderly Coloured consultant had been born and raised in Concordia.⁴³ She claimed no L1 Nama input in the home, but attributed her knowledge of some Nama loanwords to community exposure. She interviewed together with her younger relative CDA_LF.

CDA_CW			
49 tokens of 21 items			
	dental	alveolar	palatal
tenuis			2
nasalised			2
voiceless linguopulmonic	3	26	10
voiced linguopulmonic		4	1

	velar
ejective affricate	1

0a **!gǎbú** – [!qœubu]; [!qœubu]

0b **!únĩb** – [!q̥unici]; [!q̥unici]; [!q̥unici]

1b **!nòròs** – [!q̥ɔɔɔ]; [!q̥ɔɔɔ]; [!q̥ɔɔɔ]

1c **!khòròb** – [!q̥ɔɔɔ]; [!q̥ɔɔɔ]

1d **!àú** – [!q̥œulax]; [kx'œu]; [!q̥œu]; [!q̥œu]

1e **!gǎba** – [!q̥ava]; [!q̥ava]; [!q̥ava]

2b **!garas** – [!q̥ara]; [!q̥ara]; [!q̥ara]; [!q̥ara]

2c **!haũtsiama** – [!q̥œusihama]; [!q̥œusihama]

3a **!úù** – [!q̥ui]; [!q̥ui]

3b **!gàò** – [!q̥aucint]; [!q̥aucint]

3c **!lkhǎm** – [!q̥am]; [!q̥am]

3d **!ǎé** – [!q̥ǎ:i]

4b **!lgàǎmi** – [!q̥ami]; [!q̥ami]

4c **!nǎm** – [!q̥a:]; [!q̥a:]

4d **!nũni** – [!q̥uni]; [!q̥uni]

5a **!hàòb** – [!q̥auban̥k]

5l **!gũu** – [!q̥u:]; [!q̥u:]; [!q̥u:]; jou [!q̥unici]; [!q̥u:]

5s **!gǎé-ǎm** – [!q̥a:ijəm]

5w **!khòǎ** – [!q̥omfləis]; [!q̥omfləis]

8c **!IRR** – [!q̥amku:]; [!q̥amku:]; [!q̥amku:]

8d **!IRR** – [!q̥əimi:]

⁴³ This consultant replaced the expected Afrikaans [r] with an unusual intervocalic rhotic consonant, akin to the 'Malmesbury brei' documented from certain southwesterly dialects of White Afrikaans. It is transcribed as the velar approximant [ɰ] throughout, although it may have been more appropriate to treat it as a uvular fricative [ʁ] in certain vocalic environments. I have encountered at least one other speaker of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans who used a similar rhotic consonant (captured at Christie 2020: 82 in realisation [ɰo:i] 'red' of the more general /ro:i/). This feature is not described in the literature on Coloured Afrikaans to my knowledge, but an unexpected 'uvular trill' was attested in the Kora of Oupa Dawid Cooper (Du Plessis 2019: 78).

5.5.1.7. CDA_LF

These data were collected 29 April 2021 in Concordia. The young adult coloured consultant had been born in Concordia, but had spent some time outside of the Northern Cape for work purposes. She interviewed with her older relative CDA_CW and likewise claimed no L1 Nama exposure in the home. This consultant had excellent metalinguistic awareness and was able to volunteer insightful commentary on diachronic variation, contemporary language contact events, and systemic prejudice against non-standard varieties of Coloured Afrikaans, including those which had integrated Nama lexical items. She would be well worth interviewing again for further projects and would make a wonderful research assistant.

CDA_LF			
40 tokens of 19 items			
	dental	alveolar	palatal
nasalised			2
voiceless linguopulmonic	9	7	12
voiced linguopulmonic	3	3	4

0a **!gàbú** – [ʃǣuɓu]

0b **!unĩb** – [ʃuniki]; [ʃquniki]

1b **!nòròs** – [ʃqɔɔ];

1c **ʃkhòròb** – [ʃqɔɔ]; [ʃqɔɔ]

1d **!àú** – [ʃqœulax]; [ʃqœulax]

1e **ʃgàbá** – [ʃqaba]; [ʃqaba]; [ʃqaba]

2b **!garas** – [ʃqarabɔs]

3a **!úú** – [ʃqui]; [ʃqui]

3b **!gàò** – [ʃqaukənt];

3c **llkhám** – [ʃqam];

3d **ʃáe** – [xəʃqə:i]; [ʃqə:i]

4b **llgàǹmi** – [ʃqami]; [ʃqami]

4c **!nām** – [ʃqɑ:]; [ʃqɑ:]

4d **ʃnūni** – [ʃquni]; [ʃquni]

5a **!hàòb** – [ʃqəubəŋk]; [ʃqə:ubəŋk]; [ʃqə:ubəŋkə]; [ʃqə:ubəŋk]; [ʃqə:ubəŋk]

5g **ʃámà** – [ʃqama]; [ʃqama]; [ʃqama]

5l **!gūù** – [ʃqū:]; [ʃqū:]

5s **!gǣ-ǻm** – [ʃqə:ijəm]; [ʃqə:ijəm]; [ʃqə:ijəm]; [ʃqə:ijəmpi:]

8d **IRR** – [ʃqəimi:]; [ʃqəimi:]; [ʃqəimi:]

5.5.1.7. MTK_ANON

These data were elicited on 29 April 21 at Matjieskloof outside of Springbok, where the elderly coloured consultant was born and raised. A monolingual speaker of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans, he stressed repeatedly that he was not fluent in Nama and was concerned that he would provide us with inaccurate pronunciations. He claimed L1 Steinkopf Nama input from his father, who had made a deliberate effort to provide the consultant with a Nama lexis, including animal names, plant names, body parts, and some numeracy. When recalling certain items, the consultant also cited input from colleagues in his youth. He had strong metalinguistic awareness of regional variation, including an understanding of the distinction between Nama and Damara.

MTK_ANON				
140 tokens of 49 items				
	dental	lateral	alveolar	palatal
tenuis	1		1	1
glottalised	54	6	24	36
nasalised	3			
voiceless linguopulmonic	7		4	2

	glottal
voiceless plosive	1

0a !gǎbú – [ʔǎbú]; [ʔǎbú]

0b !unīb – [ʔunī]; [ʔunī]

1b !nòròs – [ʔòrò]; [ʔòrò]; [ʔòrò]

1c #khòròb – [ʔòrò]; [ʔòrò]; [ʔòrò]

1d !àú – [ʔǎulax]; [ʔǎulax]; [ʔǎulax]; [ʔǎulax]

1e #gǎba – [ʔaba]; [ʔaba]

2a !hūnīs – [ʔunibòm]; [ʔunibòm]

2b !garas – [ʔara]; [ʔara]; [ʔara]; [ʔara]

2c #haūtsiama – [ʔǎutsihama]; [ʔǎutsuʔama];

2d !lón!lóns – [ʔonʔǎinǎi]; [ʔonʔǎinǎi];

2e !hǎǎb – [ʔǎa:]; [ʔǎa:]

3a !úú – [ʔu:]; [ʔu:]

3b !gǎò – [ʔǎukənt]; [ʔǎukənt]

3c !khǎm – [ʔam]; [ʔam]

3d #ǎé – [ʔǎ:]; [ʔǎ:]; [ʔǎ:]; [ʔǎ:ǎəx]

3e !nǎrà – [ʔǎǎǎ]; [ʔǎǎ]

4b !gǎǎmi – [ʔami]; [ʔami]

4c !nǎm – [ʔǎ:]; [ʔǎ:]; [ʔǎ:]

4d #nūnì – [ʔunī]; [ʔunī]

4e !hūú-ǎm – [ʔuiam]; [ʔuiam]; [ʔuiam]; [ʔuiam]

5a !hǎòb – [ʰau]; [ʰau]
5b #hǎbá – [ʰabɔbru:t]; [ʰabu]; [ʰabɔ]; [ʰabɔ]
5c !harus – [!ʰœuru] [!ʰœuru] [!ʰœuru]; [!ʰœurubɔs] [kɛiʰʰœuru] [kɛiʰʰœuru]
5d !ǎǎ – [!ʰa:]; [!ʰa:]; [!ʰa:]; [!ʰa:]; [!ʰa:]
5e !gǔrǔb – [ʰuru] [ʰuru] [ʰuru] [ʰuruklɔp]
5f !gǔrǔ – [danʰʰurudivɪər]; [ʰuru]; [ʰuru]
5n !nǎrǔ – [!ʰœuru]; [!ʰœurukuərɛŋ]; [!ʰœurukuərɛŋ]
5r !ǎrǔb – [!qartɔtɔ] [!qartɔtɔ] [!qartɔtɔ] [!qartɔtɔ]
5s !gǎrǔ – [!ʰɛiri]; [!ʰɛiri]; [!ʰɛiri]
5v #khòǎ – [!ʰɔmfleis] [!ʰɔmfleis] [!ʰɔmfleis] [!ʰɔmfleis]
5u #khóǎ – [!ʰo:i] [!ʰo:i] [!ʰo:i] [!ʰo:ibɔs]

6a *!uitsumǔb – [ʰutsimu:]; [!ʰutsimu:]
6b !gǐrǔb – [!ʰirip]; [!ʰirip]; [!ʰirip]
6c !gǎǎb – [!qoa:]; [!qoa:]
6d !hǔǐkhóm – [!ʰuixɔm]; [!ʰujəxɔm]; [!ʰuixɔm]; [!ʰujəxɔm]; [!ʰujəxɔm]; [!ʰuixɔm]
6e !khómǎ – [!ʰɔmklɔp]; [!ʰɔm]
6f !nǎǎǎb – [!ʰɛirap]; [!ʰɛirap]; [!ʰɛirap]; [!ʰɛirap]
6g !lǎrǔ – [!ʰɛiri]; [hœlɛnumhɔmilʰɛiridurɛŋ]; [!ʰɛiri]
6h !lǎib – [ʰɛici:] [ʰɛici:] [ʰɛici:]
6i !anas – [!ʰana]; [!ʰana]; [!ʰana]
6j !oǎ – [!ʰo:i] [!ʰo:i] [!ʰo:i]
6k !úú – [!ʰu:]
6l !gawob – [ʰabɔ], [ʰabɔ], [ʰabɔ]
6m *#hǎǎrudǎb – [!ʰœurudap]
6n #gǎǎ – [!ʰwana]
6o ǎrǔ – [ɛiris]; [ɛiris]
6p xǎǎxob – [xajaxɔb] [xajaxɔb]

8e IRR – [œuruna] [œuruna] [œuruna]
8f IRR – [!ʰɛibi:] [!ʰɛibi:]
8g IRR – [!ʰabada] [!ʰabada]
8h IRR – [ʰɛibi:] [!ʰɛibi:bɔs] [!ʰɛibi:]
8m IRR – [!ʰoara] [!ʰoara] [!ʰoara]

5.5.1.7. KMG_AW

These data were elicited on 30 April 2021 at Komaggas. The elderly coloured consultant had been born in Hondeklipbaai, but spent most of his working life at Kleinsee before settling in Komaggas. He claimed L1 Nama input from his mother. He interviewed with his wife, KMG_SM.

KMG_AW
52 tokens of 25 items

	dental	lateral	alveolar	palatal
tenuis	6	2	4	3
glottalised	3		2	2
nasalised	2		1	
voiceless linguopulmonic	9		1	5
voiced linguopulmonic	4	1	2	2

	velar
voiceless plosive	1
voiceless ejective	2

0a !gäbú – [!œubu]; [!œubu]

0b !unĩb – [!uni]

1b !nòròs – [ʔorokɔp]

1c #khòròb – [!orɔ]

1d !àú – [!ʔœu]; [ʔœulax]

1e #gäba – [ʔaba]; [laba]

2a !hùnis – [!œunibu:m]

2b !garas – [ʔlara]; [!œarabɔs]; [!œarabɔs]

2d !lónlónis – [!ʔu:nci]; [!u:nci]; [!ʔu:nci]; [!u:nci]; [!u:nci]

2e !hòáb – [!œoa:]; [!œuwa:]

3a !úù – [!œui:]; [!ui:]

3b !gàò – [!œau]; [ʔœaukənt]; [ʔœaukənt]; [ʔœœukənt]

3c !lkhám – [ʔam]; [ʔam]

3d #áé – [!œa:i]; [ʔœa:i]; [!œa:i]

3e !nàrà – [!œara];

4a !khúrí – [!ʔuru:]; [!œuru:]

4b !lgàmmi – [ʔami]

4c !nàm – [!œa:]

4d #nũnĩ – [!uni]; [!uni]; [!uni:]

5a !hàòb – [ʔœau] [!œau] [!œau]

5j !gàùs – [k'au]; [!œœu]; [k'œu]

5q !àùb – [ʔœau] [!ʔau]

5z !láo – [!œau]

8k IRR – [!œobofəi] [!œobofəi]

8m IRR – [kœubɛ:] [!œœubɛ:]

5.5.1.8. KMG_SM

These data were elicited on 30 April 2021 at Komaggas. The elderly coloured consultant had been born at Steinkopf, but worked at Kleinsee, where she met her husband KMG_AW, before settling in Komaggas. She was unsure where she had learned these items, speculating that it may have been from her parents or grandparents, but noting that her family members had not spoken Nama in her presence. She had had exposure to Nama cultural practices at Steinkopf during her childhood, including livestock herding. She was trained in the style of weaving historically used in *matjieshuis* construction, and, while discussing 4e !hùú-ám, demonstrated its usecase by bringing out a *matjie* sampler that she had sewn.

KMG_SM				
53 tokens of 25 items				
	dental	lateral	alveolar	palatal
tenuis		1	5	1
glottalised	5	1	6	
nasalised		1	1	1
voiceless linguopulmonic	4			2
ejective linguopulmonic	3	4	9	4
voiced linguopulmonic	1	1	1	2

0a !gàbú – [!æubu]; [!ḡæubu]; [!œubu]

0b !unĩb – [!ḡuni]; [!ḡuni]

1b !nòròs – [!ḡʔɔɔ]; [!ḡʔɔɔ];

1c #khòròb – [ʔḡʔɔɔ]; [!ḡɔɔ]

1d !àú – [!ḡœulax]; [!ḡœulax]

1e #gàba – [!ḡaba]; [!aba] a very good alveolar

2a !hùnis – [!ḡuni]; [!ḡuni]

2b !garas – [!ḡarabɔs]; [!ḡarabɔs];

3a !úú – [!ḡui]; [!ḡui]

3b !gàò – [!ḡau]; [!ḡau]; [!ḡau]; [!ḡœukənt]; [!ḡœukənt]

3c !khám – [!ḡam]; [!ḡam]

3d #áé – [ʔḡa:i]; [ʔḡa:i]; [!ḡa:i]

3e !nàrà – [ʔḡara];

4a !khùrũb – [!ḡuru]

4b !lgàṁmi – [ʔami]

4c !nám – [ʔ#a:] [ʔ!a:]

4d #nũni – [!ḡuni]; [!ḡuni]; [!ḡuni]

4e !hùú-ám – [!ḡuijəm]; [!ḡuijəm]; [!ḡuijəm]

5a !hàòb – [ʔḡau]

5i !òwé – [ʔ!u:]

5j !gàús – [!ḡœu]; [!ḡœu]; [!ḡœu]

5q !àúb – [ʔḡau]

5z !láó – [!ḡau]; [!ḡau]; [ʔḡau]

8k IRR – [!ḡbo] [!obofəi];

8m IRR – [ʔḡœubɛ:] [!ḡœubɛ:]

5.5.1.9. KMG_AP

These data were elicited on 30 April 2021 at Komaggas. The older middle-aged coloured consultant, who had been born and raised at Komaggas, was considered a prominent local organiser and leader. He had had limited childhood exposure to L1 Nama via his father, and also cited a Kora-speaking grandparent. He had good historical and metalinguistic awareness of language loss and used technical linguistic jargon to describe click consonants, suggesting that he had received some formal training in the basics of Nama phonology; he was also familiar with several L1 Nama-speaking residents from Namibia who had settled in Komaggas. He expressed a strong negative attitude toward Afrikaans as a colonial language and was keenly interested in the idea of Nama language revitalisation programmes.

KMG_AP				
56 tokens of 25 items				
	dental	lateral	alveolar	palatal
tenuis			10	
glottalised		1		
nasalised		1	3	
affricated			1	2
voiceless linguopulmonic	1		27	2
voiced linguopulmonic	2	1	5	

0a !gäbú – [!ḡæubu]; [!ḡœubu]

0b !unīb – [!uni:]; [!uni:]; [!uni:]

1b !nòròs – [!ḡṛṛṵ] [!ḡṛṛṵ]; [!ḡṛṛṵ]

1c #khòròb – [!ḡṛṛṵ]; [!ḡṛṛṵ]

1d !àú – [!ḡœu]; [!ḡœu]; [!ḡœu]

2b !garas – [!ḡara] **vp**; [!ḡara]; [!ḡara]

2d !lónillónis – [!ḡṛṛṵ!ḡṛṛṵ]; [!ḡṛṛṵ!ḡṛṛṵ];

2e !hðàb – [!ḡoa]; [!ḡoa]; [!ḡoa]; [!ḡowa]

3a !úù – [!ḡui:]; [!ḡui:]; [!ḡui:]

3b !gàò – [!ḡœuciənt]; [!œuci:]

3c !khám – [!am]; [!am]; [!am]

3d #áé – [xə^h!a:i]; [!^ha:i]; [!ḡa:i]

4a !khùrúb – [!ḡuru]; [!ḡuru]

4b !lgàñmi – [!ami]

4c !nám – [!a:]

4d #nùnì – [!ḡuni]; [!ḡuni]

5a !hàòb – [!ḡau];

5e !lgurúb – [!ḡuru]; [!ḡuru]; [!ḡuru]

5k !lgas – [!a:]; [!a:bo:s]

5o !khòrób ~ tòrób – [!ḡṛṛṵ]; [!ḡṛṛṵ]

5p #hòró – [!ḡṛṛṵ]; [!ḡṛṛṵ]

5q !gàù – [!œu]

5r !gapà – [!ḡaba]; [!ḡaba]; [!ḡaba]

5s !guí – [!ḡui:]; [!ḡui:hi:rsə]

6o !qàrí – [!əri]

5.5.2 Standardised Test Data: Third Trip

The following data were collected during the third and final research trip, between 24 – 30 November 2021. The same stimulus material, pre-test, and terminology used in the second research trip were employed.

5.5.2.1. LFN_ANON

These data were elicited at Leliefontein on 25 November 2021. The young adult coloured consultant from Leliefontein who had had no exposure to L1 Nama in the home, but overheard loanwords from older community members. This consultant used only the dental click, with three accompaniments.

LFN_ANON 20 tokens of 8 items	
	dental
nasalised	2
linguopulmonic voiceless	14
linguopulmonic voiced	4

0a !gǎbú – [!qœubu:] [!qœubu:]

0b !únĩb – [!quni:] [!quni:]

1b !nòròs – [!q̥rə] [!q̥rə] [!q̥ra] [!q̥ra]

1c #khòròb – [!q̥ra] [!q̥ra] [!q̥ra] [!q̥ra]

1d !àú – [!qœulax] [!qœulax]

3a |úú – [!qui:] [!qui:]

3b !gàò – [!q̥aukənt] [!q̥aukənt]

4c |nǎm – [!la:] [!la:]

5.5.2.2. PHK_GE

These data were elicited at Paulshoek on 25 November 2021 from an older middle-aged coloured consultant. He learned loanwords from his monolingual Namaqualand Afrikaans father, who had in turn learned them from *his* father, who could speak some Nama. The consultant had had some exposure later in life to younger speakers of fluent Richtersveld Nama while working for a mining company.

PHK_GE			
47 tokens of 15 items			
	dental	palatal	'clicklet'
glottalised	8		1
nasalised	20		
voiceless linguopulmonic	13	2	
	alveolar	velar	
voiceless plosive		2	
nasal	1		

0a !gäbú – [ʔlœubu:] [ʔlœubu:] [ʔlœubu:]

0b !unīb – [lʔuni:] [lʔuni:] [kuni:]

1b !nòròs – [ʔlɔra] [ʔlɔra]

1c #khòròb – [lʔɔɔ] [lʔɔɔ] [lʔɔɔ]

1d !àú – [ʔœulax] [lʔœulax]

1e #gäba – [ʔlaba] [ʔlaba]

2b !garas – [ʔlara] [ʔlara] [n'ara]; [ʔlara]

2c #haũtsiama – [ʔœuʔsija:ma] [lʔœuʔsija:ma] [lʔœuʔsija:ma] [lʔœuʔsija:ma]
[ʔœuʔsija:ma]

2e !lhòab – [lʔoa:] [lʔoa:]

3b !gàò – [lʔœuciənt] [lʔœuciənt] [lʔœuciənt] [lʔœuciənt]

3c !lkhám – [lʔam] [lʔam]

3d #áé – [ʔlai] [ʔlai] [ʔlai]

4c !nàm – [ʔla:] [ʔla:] [ʔla:]

4d #nũni – [ʔluni:] [lʔuni:] [lʔuni:] [lʔuni:]

5w !ärób – [ʔlɔrtəman] [ʔlɔrtəman] [kɔrtəman] [nɔrtəman]

5.5.2.3. KKS_COL

These data were elicited at Kharkams on 26 November 2021 from an older middle-aged consultant. He had spent time growing up at a veepost in the veld, and so was familiar with several loaned plant names. He was married to an L1 Nama-speaker, KKS_CHL, and they interviewed together, comparing and discussing their respective pronunciations. He was pleased to hear that we were conducting follow-up research to the findings in *Só Praat Ons Namakwalanders*, as Tony Links had been a second cousin of his.

KKS_COL
38 tokens of 14 items

	dental
<i>tenuis</i>	1
nasalised	12
voiceless linguopulmonic	24
ejective linguopulmonic	1

0a **!gǎbú** – [ʔǎɸubu:] [ʔǎɸubu:]

0b **!unĩb** – [ʔuni:] [ʔuni:]

1b **!nòròs** – [ʔɔɔra], [ʔɔɔra], [ʔɔoara], [ʔɔɔɔ]

1c **ʔkhòròb** – [ʔɔɔɔ], [ʔɔ'ɔɔɔ] [ʔɔɔɔ]

1d **!àú** – [ʔæu] [ʔæulax]

2b **!garas** – [ʔɔara] [ʔɔara] [ʔlara] [lara]

3a **!úù** – [ʔu:i] [ʔu:i] [ʔu:i]

3b **!gǎò** – [ʔaʊkənt]

3c **!lkhǎm** – [ʔam] [ʔam] [ʔam]

3d **ʔǎé** – [ʔla:i] [ʔla:i]

4d **ʔnũnĩ** – [ʔluni] [ʔluni]

5g **!hǎòb** – [ʔlaʊ] [ʔlaʊ] [ʔlaʊ]

5h **ʔámà** – [ʔama] [ʔama] [ʔama] [ʔama]

8j **!harub** – [ʔæuru:] [ʔæuru:] [ʔæuru:]

5.5.2.4. KFN_ANON

These data were elicited at Klipfontein on 27 November 2021. This Coloured consultant was the oldest speaker interviewed, born at Steinkopf in 1949. She considered herself an *inkommer* to the Kamiesberge, having moved to Klipfontein after her grandmother passed away. She stated definitively that they had had no L1 Nama input in the home as a child, although she acknowledged that older community members may have used some Nama.

When asked what language she spoke, she confidently replied [lʰœunəɾta:l], but could not gloss this name further. This is likely a loanblend of Nama **lóró** = ‘from long ago’, ‘ancient’ + Afrikaans *taal* = ‘language’, effectively calquing *outaal*, ‘the old language’, which recall a phrase used by KKS_CHL to describe Nama as used in the Kamiesberge; see further discussion of this term in Sections 7.3 and 9.2.1 below.

KFN_ANON
44 tokens of 15 items

	dental
<i>tenuis</i>	1
glottalised	17
nasalised	2
voiceless linguopulmonic	10
voiced linguopulmonic	10

	velar	glottal
voiceless plosive	1	3

0a !gäbú – [l̥ǧabu] [lʰabu] [l̥ǧabu]

0b !ùnĩb – [lʰuni] [lʰuni] [lʰuni] [ʔuni]

1b !nòròs – [l̥ǧɔɾɔ] [lʰɔɾɔ] [l̥ǧɔɾɔ] [l̥ǧɔɾɔ]

1c #khòròb – [l̥ǧɔɾɔ] [l̥ǧɔɾɔ] [kɔɾɔ]

1d !áu – [lʰœulax] [lʰœulax] [lʰœulax]

2b !garas – [ʔarabu:m] *sic*, [l̥ǧara], [l̥ǧara]

3b !gàò – [lʰœuciənt] [lʰœuciənt] [lʰœuciənt] [lʰœuciənt]

3c !lkhám – [lʰəm], [lʰəm]

3d #áé – [l̥ǧai] [l̥ǧai]

4c !nām – [l̥a:] [l̥a:] [l̥ǧa:] [l̥ǧa:kuk]

4d #nũni – [l̥ũni] [l̥ũni] [l̥ũni]

5e !lgurúb – [lʰuruklɐpə] [lʰuruklɐpə] [ʔuruklɐpə] *sic*

5v !gawerab – [l̥ǧabəɾa:ici] [l̥ǧabəɾa:ici] [l̥ǧabəɾa:]

5x #hābá – [l̥ǧabɔ] [l̥ǧabɔ]

6c !lnàru – [lʰœurukuəɾəŋ]

5.5.2.5. OKP_ANON1

These data were elicited at Okiep on 30 November 2021. The older middle-aged Coloured consultant interviewed together with her colleagues OKP_ANON2 and OKP_ANON3. She had no exposure to L1 Nama in the home, but explained that she had heard loanwords used by older community members.

OKP_ANON1
32 tokens of 15 items

	dental	palatal
nasalised	1	
voiceless linguopulmonic	19	3
voiced linguopulmonic	4	

	velar
voiceless plosive	3
voiced plosive	2

0a !gǎbú – [lǣʉʉu:] [lǣʉbu:]

0b !unĩb – [kunici:] [kunici:]

1b !nòròs – [ʔǣra] [lǣra] [lǣra] [lǣra]

1c ʔkhòròb – [lǣra] [lǣra] [lǣra] [lǣra]

1d !àú – [lǣœʉlax]

2b !garas – [lǣrabɔs] [karabɔs]

3a !úú – [lǣui:]

3b !gàò – [lǣʉuci:nt] [lǣʉuci:nt]

3c !lkhǎm – [ʔǣam] [lǣam]

3d ʔǎé – [lǣai] [lǣai]

4a !khùrúb – [lǣuru] [lǣuru]

4c !nǎm – [ʎla:]

5g !hàòb – [gaʉbaŋk] [gaʉbaŋk]

5j !lǎà – [lǣa:xəʔi:ət] [ʔǣa:xəʔi:ət]

5x ʔhǎbá – [lǣava] [lǣaba] [lǣaba]

5.5.2.6. OKP_ANON2

These data were elicited at Okiep on 30 November 2021. The older middle-aged Coloured consultant interviewed together with her colleagues OKP_ANON1 and OKP_ANON3. She had had no exposure to L1 Nama in the home, but considered the use of loanwords to have been an everyday phenomenon. Noting that many of the older community members had been ethnically Nama (as opposed to Afrikaans-speaking ‘Basters’), she attributed the mixture of the Nama and Afrikaans languages to *gemengde ouerskap*, ‘mixed parentage’.

OKP_ANON2
28 tokens of 15 items

	dental	alveolar	palatal
nasalised		2	
voiceless linguopulmonic		18	7
voiced linguopulmonic	1		

0a !gǎbú – [!q̠aubu:]

0b !ùnĩb – [ʃq̠unici] [!q̠unici]

1b !nòròs – [!q̠orɔ] [!q̠orɔ] [!q̠orɔ]

1c #khòròb – [ʃq̠orɔ] [xəʃq̠orɔ] [xəʃq̠orɔ]

1d !ǎu – [!q̠œulax] [!q̠œulax]

2b |garas – [!q̠arabɔs] [!q̠arabɔs]

2d llónllónis [!q̠on!q̠ɔ:n] [!q̠on!q̠ɔ:n]

3a |úú – [!q̠u:i] [!q̠u:i]

3b !gàò – [!q̠auci:nt] [ʃq̠auci:nci:]

3c llkhǎm – [!q̠am] [!q̠am]

3d #ǎé – [xəʃq̠a:i]

4a |khùrúb – [!q̠uru] [!q̠uru]

4c |nǎm – [ʎ!a:] [ʎ!a:]

5g !hǎòb – [!ḡauban̩k]

5x #hǎbá – [ʃq̠aba]

5.5.2.7. OKP_ANON3

These data were elicited at Okiep on 30 November 2021. The young adult Coloured consultant was shy in front of her older colleagues OKP_ANON2 and OKP_ANON3, and tended only to repeat her colleagues' items rather than volunteering any of her own, always acknowledging when she did not recognise a word. She had had no exposure to L1 Nama in the home, but agreed with OKP_ANON1 that she must have picked up loanwords from older community members.

OKP_ANON3
18 tokens of 12 items

	dental	alveolar	palatal
voiceless linguopulmonic	2	7	9

0a !gäbú – [ʃqœubu:] [!qœubu:]

0b !unīb – [!qunici:]

1b !nòrös – [!qɔra] [!qɔra]

1c #khòròb – [!qɔrɔ] [!qɔrɔ]

1d !äú – [ʃqœulax]

2b |garas – [ʃqarabɔs] [!qarabɔs]

3a |úù – [!qu:i] [!qu:i]

3b !gàò – [ʃqaukint] [ʃqaukint]

3c llkhām – [ʃqam]

3d #áé – [ʃqai]

5g !hàòb – [ʃqauban̩k]

5x #hàbá – [ʃqaba]

5.6. Data Collated

This section collates the lexical items and click consonants recorded across all test consultants.

5.6.1. All Nama Lexical Items Collected from Namaqualand Afrikaans

Table 5.2 below collates all 22 test items, organised in order of frequency collected. They are identified using the alphanumeric codes assigned in Section 4.3.

#	etymon	elicited from	tally
0b	!unf̥b	SKF_LM; SKF_RM; WKL_GE; CPT_LJ; HKB_GS; HKB_MP; SBK_GH; SBK_DD; SBK_ANON; CDA_AE; CDA_CW; CDA_LF; MTK_ANON; KMG_AW; KMG_SM; KMG_AP; LFN_ANON; PHK_GE; KKS_COL; KFN_ANON; OKP_ANON1; OKP_ANON2; OKP_ANON3	23
1b	!nòròs	OKP_MM; WKL_GE; CPT_LJ; HKB_GS; HKB_MP; SBK_GH; SBK_DD; SBK_ANON; CDA_AE; CDA_CW; CDA_LF; MTK_ANON; KMG_AW; KMG_SM; KMG_AP; LFN_ANON; PHK_GE; KKS_COL; KFN_ANON; OKP_ANON1; OKP_ANON2; OKP_ANON3	23
0a	!gàbú	NBP_ANON; WKL_GE; CPT_LJ; HKB_GS; HKB_MP; SBK_GH; SBK_DD; SBK_ANON; CDA_AE; CDA_CW; CDA_LF; MTK_ANON; KMG_AW; KMG_SM; KMG_AP; LFN_ANON; PHK_GE; KKS_COL; KFN_ANON; OKP_ANON1; OKP_ANON2; OKP_ANON3	22
1c	ʔkhòròb	NBP_ANON; CPT_LJ; HKB_GS; HKB_MP; SBK_GH; SBK_DD; SBK_ANON; CDA_AE; CDA_CW; CDA_LF; MTK_ANON; KMG_AW; KMG_SM; KMG_AP; LFN_ANON; PHK_GE; KKS_COL; KFN_ANON; OKP_ANON1; OKP_ANON2; OKP_ANON3	21
1d	!àú	SKF_LM; CPT_LJ; HKB_GS; HKB_MP; SBK_GH; SBK_DD; SBK_ANON; CDA_AE; CDA_CW; CDA_LF; MTK_ANON; KMG_AW; KMG_SM; KMG_AP; LFN_ANON; PHK_GE; KKS_COL; KFN_ANON; OKP_ANON1; OKP_ANON2; OKP_ANON3	21
4c	!nām	OKP_MM; WKL_GE; CPT_LJ; HKB_GS; HKB_MP; SBK_GH; SBK_DD; SBK_ANON; CDA_AE; CDA_CW; CDA_LF; MTK_ANON; KMG_AW; KMG_SM; KMG_AP; LFN_ANON; PHK_GE; KKS_COL; KFN_ANON; OKP_ANON1; OKP_ANON2	20
3b	!gàò	WKL_GE; HKB_GS; HKB_MP; SBK_GH; SBK_DD; SBK_ANON; CDA_AE; CDA_CW; CDA_LF; MTK_ANON; KMG_AW; KMG_SM; KMG_AP; LFN_ANON; PHK_GE; KKS_COL; KFN_ANON; OKP_ANON1; OKP_ANON2; OKP_ANON3	20
3c	!lkhǎm	SKF_RM; WKL_GE; HKB_GS; HKB_MP; SBK_GH; SBK_DD; SBK_ANON; CDA_AE; CDA_CW; CDA_LF; MTK_ANON; KMG_AW; KMG_SM; KMG_AP; PHK_GE; KKS_COL; KFN_ANON; OKP_ANON1; OKP_ANON2; OKP_ANON3	20
3d	ʔae	WKL_GE; HKB_GS; HKB_MP; SBK_GH; SBK_DD; SBK_ANON; CDA_AE; CDA_CW; CDA_LF; MTK_ANON; KMG_AW; KMG_SM; KMG_AP; PHK_GE; KKS_COL; KFN_ANON; OKP_ANON1; OKP_ANON2; OKP_ANON3	19
2b	!garas	WKL_GE; HKB_GS; SBK_GH; SBK_DD; SBK_ANON; CDA_AE; CDA_CW; CDA_LF; MTK_ANON; KMG_AW; KMG_SM; KMG_AP; PHK_GE; KKS_COL; KFN_ANON; OKP_ANON1; OKP_ANON2; OKP_ANON3	18
4d	ʔnūni	SKF_LM; SKF_RM; HKB_GS; SBK_GH; SBK_DD; SBK_ANON; CDA_AE; CDA_CW; CDA_LF; MTK_ANON; KMG_SM; KMG_AP; PHK_GE; KKS_COL; KFN_ANON	15
3a	!úú	SBK_DD; SBK_ANON; CDA_AE; CDA_CW; CDA_LF; MTK_ANON; KMG_AW; KMG_SM; KMG_AP; LFN_ANON; KKS_COL; OKP_ANON1; OKP_ANON2; OKP_ANON3	14
1e	ʔgàba	SKF_LM; SKF_RM; SBK_GH; SBK_DD; CDA_AE; CDA_CW; CDA_LF; MTK_ANON; KMG_AW; KMG_SM; PHK_GE	11
2a	!hūnis	SKF_LM; SKF_RM; HKB_GS; SBK_GH; SBK_DD; CDA_AE; MTK_ANON; KMG_AW; KMG_SM	9
4a	!khǔru	SBK_DD; SBK_ANON; CDA_AE; KMG_AW; KMG_SM; KMG_AP; OKP_ANON1; OKP_ANON2	9
4b	!lgǎm̃mi	HKB_MP; SBK_GH; SBK_DD; CDA_CW; CDA_LF; MTK_ANON; KMG_AW; KMG_SM; KMG_AP	9
2e	!lhōab	WKL_GE; HKB_GS; SBK_GH; CDA_AE; MTK_ANON; KMG_AW; KMG_AP; PHK_GE	8
2d	!lónlóns	WKL_GE; SBK_ANON; CDA_AE; MTK_ANON; KMG_AW; KMG_AP; OKP_ANON2	7
3e	!lnàrà	SBK_GH; SBK_DD; SBK_ANON; CDA_AE; MTK_ANON; KMG_AW; KMG_SM	7
2c	ʔhǎutsiama	SBK_GH; CDA_AE; CDA_CW; MTK_ANON; PHK_GE	5
1a	!khàrib	SKF_LM; SKF_RM; CDA_AE	3
4e	!hūu-àm	MTK_ANON; KMG_SM	2

Table 5.3 below collates 39 serendipitous items elicited from the general consultant pool, organised in order of frequency collected. These are coded as Series 5, in order to distinguish them from the battery items, and are assigned an alphanumeric identifier to assist in transcription and discussion. 27 of these items have never previously been formally recorded in an L1 Afrikaans context to my knowledge (although attestations of several do appear on social media).

Table 5.3. Items eclited in series 5			
#	etymon	sense	collected from
<i>attested from ten consultants</i>			
5a	!hǎòb	'flat layer of hard rock', <i>klipbank</i>	CDA_CW; CDA_LF; MTK_ANON; KMG_AW; KMG_SM; KMG_AP; KKS_COL; OKP_ANON1; OKP_ANON2; OKP_ANON3
<i>attested from six consultants</i>			
5b	#hāba	<i>lit.</i> , 'flat', used of unleavened bread	OKP_MM; MTK_ANON; KFN_ANON; OKP_ANON1; OKP_ANON2; OKP_ANON3
<i>attested from three consultants</i>			
5c	!harus	fruticose mesembs	WKL_GE; MTK_ANON; KMS_COL
5d	!lǎà	'to feel satisfied after eating'	MTK_ANON; OKP_ANON1; OKP_ANON2
5e	!lgurūb	'quartz', 'white quartz stones'	MTK_ANON; KMG_AP; KFN_ANON
5f	!gūru	'to thunder'	SBK_GH; SBK_ANON; MTK_ANON
5g	#amā	'to boast', 'to show off'	CDA_AE, CDA_LF; KKS_COL
5h	(lapā) #khóēs	<i>Stoeberia utilis</i>	WKL_GE; MTK_ANON; KMG_AP
<i>attested from two consultants</i>			
5i	!òwě	'to bore'	SBK_GH; KMS_SM
5j	!gāus	'vulva', 'vagina'	KMG_AW; KMG_SM
5k	!gawerab	<i>Scincidae</i> spp., small lizards	WKL_GE; KFN_ANON
5l	!gūu	'to scab (of skin)'	CDA_CW, CDA_LF; WKL_GE
5m	!lgaus	<i>Ficus ilicina</i> , <i>klipvy</i>	WKL_GE; KMG_AP;
5n	!lnàru	'to roast grain over the fire'	MTK_ANON; KFN_ANON
5o	!lnūnub	'bridge of the nose'	SKF_LM, SKF_RM
5p	!àub	'veld', 'grazing lands'	KMG_AW; KMG_SM
5q	!ārób	<i>Agama</i> spp.	MTK_ANON; PHK_GE; WKL_GE
5r	!gāe-ām	'to tie up'	CDA_CW; CDA_LF
5s	!gārí	'not sweet enough (of tea)'	MTK_ANON; KMG_AP
5t	!hūi	'to hate', 'to avoid'	HKB_GS; KMG_AP
5u	#àpó	'to catch off guard';	HKB_GS; SBK_ANON
5v	#gūní	'to be troublesome'	SKF_LM; SKF_RM
5w	#khòmlgāñi	'venison stewed until tender'	CDA_CW; MTK_ANON
<i>attested from one consultant</i>			
5x	!khám	'to urinate'; 'to leak'	SKF_LM
5y	#āpa	'to inconvenience'	HKB_MP
5z	!khāās	<i>Parkinsonia africana</i>	SBK_GH
5aa	!lǎó	'to reject a scanty meal'	KMG_SM
5ab	!guí (adv.)	'only just', 'just now'	KMG_AP
5ac	!gapà	'to look'	KMG_AP
5ad	!gàu	'to be left over (of food)'	KMG_AP
5ae	!khòrób	'limestone'	KMG_AP
5af	#hòró	'to drink the last drops'	KMG_AP
5ag	!nónhē	'to massage the scalp'	CPT_LJ
5ah	!lkhóó	'strenuous', 'intensive'	CPT_LJ
5ai	!hóá	'to tell'	CPT_LJ
5aj	!khòónǎm	'to be shocked'	CPT_LJ
5ak	#nūwís	'a crowd', 'a press of people'	CPT_LJ
5al	!khòòmpóó	'stupid', 'ignorant'	PHK_GE
5am	!gòòs	'initiation ceremony'	KKS_COL

Table 5.4 below collates 16 serendipitous items used only by MTK_ANON in order to accommodate his outlying lexical performance. These are coded as Series 6, in order to distinguish them from the battery items, and are assigned an alphanumeric identifier to assist in transcription and discussion. 11 are previously unattested in L1 Afrikaans to my knowledge.

Table 5.4. Items elicited in Series 6			
#	etymon	sense	notes
6a	* uitsumûb	*klipblinkoog, 'gecko'	etymon reconstructed with reference to several comparable gecko names in Nama & Kora; see detailed discussion at λ3.96g in Appendix A
6b	giĩrĩb	<i>Canis mesomelas</i>	may or may not be cognate with with 7b giĩb; unclear whether or not these should be treated as variants on the same lemma even within a standardised Namibian Khoekhoe context
6c	gòab	<i>Hoodia</i> sp., <i>Larryleachia</i> sp.	
6d	hũikhóm	'to gossip', 'to whisper'	
6e	khòm̃s	brittle stone used in curing hides	
6f	neèrǎb	<i>Papio ursinus</i>	
6g	llàrĩs	<i>Lycium</i> sp.	
6h	llnaib	<i>Pelargonium incrassatum</i>	
6i	!anas	<i>Searsia lancea</i>	<i>hapax</i> at Schültze 1907: 200
6j	!oēs	'dimly-lit', 'twilight'	
6k	!uús	'forehead'	
6l	!gawob	<i>Fockea edulis</i> ,	
6m	!'arurub'	<i>Panthera pardus</i>	direct etymon on record only from Kora !'arurub ~ !xuruxub = spotted wildcat smaller than the leopard DuP312, cognate with Nama !àrũb = 'cheetah' H&E296 but elicited from this consultant with characteristic southerly vowelbreaking; also quite probably connected, at least by folk etymology, with Nama #hàú' = 'to be seen unexpectedly', as used in praises of the leopard H&E399
6n	#gòná	'to wait hoping for food'	
6o	ǎrís	<i>Canis familiaris</i>	
6p	xaiaxob	<i>Orbea namaquensis</i>	<i>hapax</i> at Du Pisani 1983: 13, used at Berseba and Gibeon in southern Namibia

Table 5.5 below collates 11 serendipitous loans used only by WKL_GE, in order to accommodate his outlying lexical performance. These are coded as Series 7, in order to distinguish them from the battery items, and are assigned an alphanumeric identifier to assist in transcription and discussion. 7 are previously unattested in L1 Afrikaans to my knowledge.

Table 5.5. Items elicited in Series 7			
#	etymon	sense	notes
7a	!gàǎb	'grass'	
7b	!giǐb	<i>Proteles cristata</i>	may or may not be cognate with 6b !giǐrǐb
7c	!hùì	'to break wind silently'	probable conflation with !khuú = 'to come up suddenly (of a fog)'
7d	!khàèrá	'slovenly', 'untidy'	
7e	ǂée	'londotic', 'swaybacked'	
7f	ǂòpó	'fatigued', 'lifeless'	possible conflation with òbà = 'to suffer from chilblains' and ǂòpèrà = "clumsy"
7g	ǂùrú	'to be in good health'	
7h	!oob	'hole', 'well'	very obscure; marked ? at H&E325 and probably historically of non-KHOE origin
7i	sàwè	'to drizzle'	
7j	tsurú	'to scrape clean'	
7k	lluí	'to grow big and strong'	

Table 5.6 below collates 13 serendipitous items, used by a number of consultants across the test pool, that cannot reasonably be matched with a Nama etymon. These are coded as Series 8, in order to distinguish them from the battery items, and are assigned an alphanumeric identifier to assist in transcription and discussion. They are further designated 'IRR' for irretrievable, as they cannot be used to compare an L1 Nama pronunciation with an L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans pronunciation. 2 are previously unattested in L1 Afrikaans, although attestations do exist on social media. 10 are well-known plant names that I consider irretrievable; most are discussed in Christie 2021, and are further examined Appendix A of this thesis.

Table 5.6 Irretrievable items elicited in Series 8				
#	item	sense	elicited from	notes
8a	[!qœuburu:]	'to party', 'to drink'; 'a beer'	OKP_MM; CPT_LJ; OKP_ANON3	Not previously attested in Afrikaans, but apparently well-known in Namaqualand. Of unclear origin. L1 Nama speaker Dina Christiaans spells it !khauburu (<i>pers. comm.</i>), but this is not in H&E. Note that a lláú's, literally a 'get-together', can mean 'festivities', 'celebrations'. The second element remains unclear, unless it is possibly a reborrowing of English 'brew'?
8b	t'kamkoe	'to taste good'; used of food	CDA_CW; CDA_LF	Frequently attested in Afrikaans. Present also in isiZulu as nqaba = 'to be very excellent', nqambothi = 'fine flavour', nqwambothi = 'delicious food'.

				If not a loan directly from isiZulu into Afrikaans, then assume a Khoekhoe-branch etymon with either '!' or 'ǃ' as the onset. Probably connected with !gâi ǃûúsa = 'tasty' (lit., 'excellent' + 'food' + ADJ), but ultimately unclear.
8c	t'keimie	'rival', 'enemy'	CDA_LF	Not previously attested in Afrikaans. Used of interpersonal rivalries; for example, if a girl steals one's boyfriend, she becomes one's [ǃq̤imi:] and is disliked. Possibly connected with !nũillnũis̃en, a reduplicative reflexive verb with a sense 'to dislike each other', 'to be mutually antagonistic or unfriendly', but ultimately unclear.
8d	ouroena	<i>Quaqua</i> spp., <i>Orbea</i> spp.	MTK_ANON	Frequently attested in Namaqualand Afrikaans (see ǃ8.53a in Appendix A). Etymon irretrievable.
8e	t'aibie	'fluitjiesbos' with 'geel blommetjies' and pale leaves that are 'nie groen nie' = <i>Calobota sericea</i> (Fabaceae)	MTK_ANON	Frequently attested in Namaqualand Afrikaans. Probably connected with Hai llo !gaëb = <i>Mundulea sericea</i> (Fabaceae), but uncertain (see ǃ8.53aa in Appendix A).
8f	t'kabbada	<i>Tylecodon paniculatus</i> (Crassulaceae)	MTK_ANON	Frequently attested in Namaqualand Afrikaans (see ǃ8.53z in Appendix A). Etymon irretrievable.
8g	t'kaibebos	<i>Pteronia incana</i> (Asteraceae)	MTK_ANON	Frequently attested in Namaqualand Afrikaans (see ǃ8.53w in Appendix A). Etymon irretrievable.
8h	t'kambos	<i>Sysindite sparteae</i> (Zygophyllaceae)	SBK_GH; SKF_LM	Frequently attested in Namaqualand Afrikaans (see ǃ8.53ab in Appendix A). Etymon irretrievable, unless it is connected with Hai llo !lgâǃhâiròs = <i>Zygophyllum simplex</i> , a closely-related but phytomorphologically dissimilar plant.
8i	t'kobovy	<i>Carpobrotus edulis</i> (Aizoaceae)	KMS_SM; KMS_AW; SBK_GH	Frequently attested and widespread (see ǃ8.53ae in Appendix A). I have heard it in Afrikaans as far east as Hankey and Willowmore, with both White and Coloured speakers using an onset click. In isiXhosa as igcukuma .
8j	t'koeoebe	<i>Diospyros ramulosa</i> sp. (Ebenaceae)	WKL_GE	Frequently attested in Namaqualand Afrikaans. Etymon irretrievable (see ǃ8.53ac in Appendix A).
8k	t'oubee	<i>Dodonaea viscosa</i> (Sapindaceae)	KMG_SM; WKL_GE	Frequently attested in Namaqualand Afrikaans (see ǃ8.53ad in Appendix A). Etymon irretrievable.
8l	t'waraa	a 'harpuisbos' that provides 'gom' = <i>Euryops lateriflorus</i> (Asteraceae)	MTK_ANON	Frequently attested in Namaqualand Afrikaans (see ǃ8.53ae in Appendix A). Etymon irretrievable, unless it is connected with Klein Nama ǃhoras = [<i>Crassothonna floribunda</i>] (Asteraceae) SCHUL108 as suggested at Christie 2021: 221.

5.6.2. All Click Consonants Collected from Namaqualand Afrikaans

1075 tokens of 100 lexical items of Nama origin were attested in the repertoire of twenty-four monolingual speakers of Namaqualand Afrikaans between April 2020 – November 2021. 47 of the overall 100 items have never previously been attested in Afrikaans loan. 87 of the overall 100 items can conclusively be matched with their Nama etyma, while 13 remain unsolved; 10 of these are highly localised plant names for endemic or near-endemic Namaqualand plants and are thus irretrievable.

5 of the overall 100 items, represented by 11 tokens from two consultants, contain no click in either L1 Nama or L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans. Less these 11, the remaining 1064 tokens of 95 items are tallied below. 36 display click loss, through which an expected L1 Nama click was replaced by a pulmonic consonant in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans. The remaining 1028 are submitted as evidence of click consonants in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans.

Table 5.7 – A Namaqualand Afrikaans Click Inventory

1064 tokens of 95 items from 24 consultants

	dental	lateral	alveolar	palatal	'clicklet'	total
<i>tenuis</i>	17	15	34	9		75
glottalised	97	9	40	45	2	191
nasalised	90	7	7	16	4	122
affricated	6		1	3	1	14
voiceless linguopulmonic	234		99	64		399
ejective linguopulmonic	54	5	9	27		95
voiced linguopulmonic	73	3	23	17		116
nasalised linguopulmonic	11	1	1	3	1	17
total	586	41	214	184	8	1028

total instances of click borrowing: 1028

	alveolar	velar	glottal
nasal	1		
voiceless plosive	3	6	8
voiced plosive		8	
voiceless fricative		3	
voiceless affricate		1	
voiceless ejective		5	
voiceless affricate ejective		1	

total instances of click replacement: 36

5.7. Conclusions to Chapter 5

This chapter has transcribed all tokens of all click items elicited from L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans consultants. It further collates, codes, and categorises all click items in order to facilitate reference and analysis in the chapters ahead. The transcriptions above are exhaustive, but it should be recalled that all previous efforts at documenting Namaqualand Afrikaans clicks have captured them only as <t'> or <!> or <xh> (as in Le roux 1981, Links 1989, Wheat 2013, Nortje & Van Wyk 2015, and the like), thus disguising their complexity. Accurately recording each instance of individual variation is an important step in demonstrating the behaviour of click consonants under contact conditions.

Chapter 6

Phonetic Description of Namaqualand Afrikaans Clicks

This chapter provides a phonetic description of the click consonants collected from L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans speakers recorded in Chapter 5.

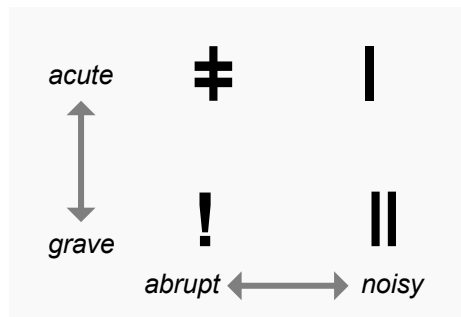
6.1. Phonetic Description of Anterior Releases

This section describes and discusses the anterior releases of Namaqualand Afrikaans click consonants, with a focus on the ‘types’ of clicks collected.

6.1.1. Articulatory Undershoot of the Anterior Release

Click consonants may be categorised acoustically according to whether they are more abrupt or more noisy, and whether they are more acute or more grave (Traill & Voßen 1997: 23; see also Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996: 257 – 259; Fulop & Wright 2020: 250 – 256). An abrupt acoustic event is relatively brief and ‘impulse-like with rapid damping’ (Traill & Voßen 1997: 23), while a noisy event dissipates more gradually,. On a separate axis, an acoustic event may be considered grave, characterised by a concentration of low frequencies, or acute, characterised by a concentration of high frequencies; this is visualised in Fig. 6.1. This allows the four click types expected of standardised Namibian Khoekhoe, and hence also of southerly Nama, to be categorised as the abrupt and acute [ǀ], the abrupt and grave [ǃ], the noisy and acute [ǂ], and the noisy and grave [Ǆ], although it should be noted that the degree of each property is relative, not absolute, and will vary naturally across L1 speakers. These qualities are treated as acoustic properties, not as phonological features.

Diagram 6.1 – Acoustic properties expected from Namibian Khoekhoe clicks



Trends of click loss affecting the two abrupt clicks, /ǀ/ and /ǃ/, are heralded in the eastern Kalahari-branch languages at least by a process of ‘click weakening’, through which these clicks became ‘noisier’ (Traill & Voßen 1997: 44 – 51; see also Miller 2019:

3 – 5). Although the drivers of this sound change are still poorly understood, it has been connected with an inferred contact event that presumably saw adult L1 speakers of clickless NTU-family languages learning eastern Kalahari-branch click languages (Fehn 2020a: 330); the substitution of clicks for non-clicks may thus have occurred via transfer during 2LA. Although occurring under different conditions, this process of ‘click weakening’ followed by click loss most closely parallels the phonetic conditions observed in Namaqualand Afrikaans clicks, and is referenced throughout this section. To avoid confusion with the distinct phonological processes of lenition and fortition, the term **undershoot** (Traill & Voßen 1997: 53; Bennett, 2020: 78) will be used instead of ‘weakening’.

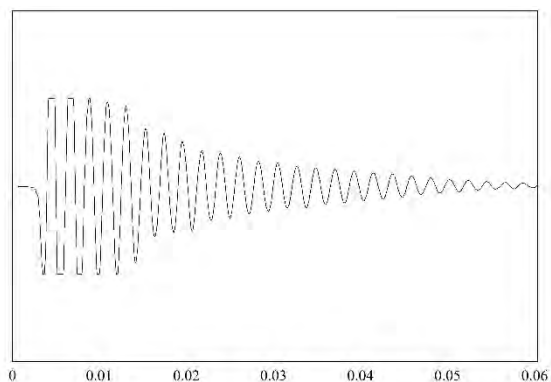
6.1.2. Description of Alveolar Clicks

The majority of alveolar clicks collected from L1 Nama speakers display the expected gravity and abruptness. Four tokens of the glottalised alveolar click, selected from four speakers, are illustrated via waveform and spectral slice in Figure 6.2. All of these tokens display the rapid dampening of the initial impulse of the alveolar release, as well as a relatively low centre of spectral gravity registering between 900 – 1300 Hz.

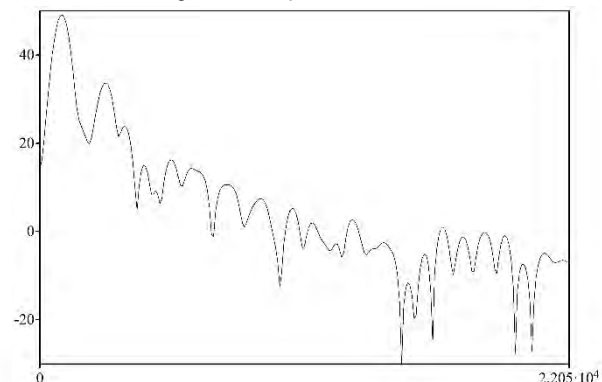
The alveolar clicks collected from L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans, by contrast, are inconsistent. Some few L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans alveolar clicks, illustrated in Figure 6.3, were similar to L1 Nama alveolar clicks, but these are by far the minority, and tokens were difficult to find. Many consultants varied between producing abrupt and noisy alveolar clicks across tokens of the same item. For example, of the three alveolar ejective clicks that MTK_ANON produced across three tokens of **6i !anas**, the first and third both displayed substantial noisiness in the waveform. In between these two tokens, however, MTK_ANON produced an extraordinarily beautiful alveolar ejective click, pictured in Figure 6.3 (a), showing a waveform comparable in its compact regularity to the especially clear alveolar clicks produced by SKF_DD, and registering a spectral gravity of 1233 Hz. Similarly, CPT_LJ was capable of producing an appropriately abrupt alveolar click, pictured in Figure 6.3 (b), displaying the expected spectral profile with a COG of 1356 Hz in her first token of **5aj !khòóǀnǎm** [xə!ʔœuəm]. Acute alveolar clicks, however, were a great rarity among speakers of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans. Noisiness and significant weakening of the waveform was overall characteristic, as illustrated in Figure 6.4.

Figure 6.2 – Waveforms of L1 Nama alveolar clicks

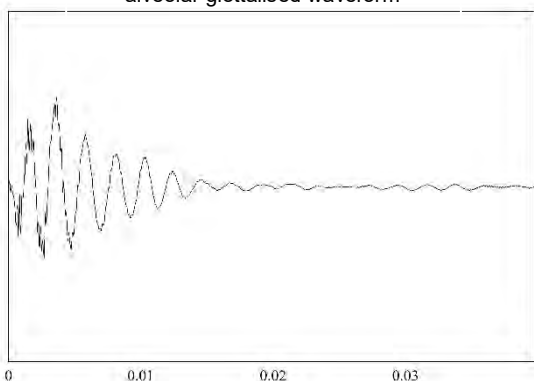
(a) SKF_DD – onset of /!ʔunib/
alveolar glottalised waveform



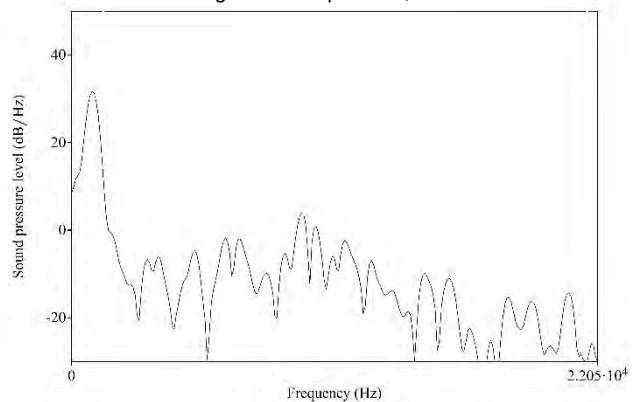
(b) SKF_DD – onset of /!ʔunib/
alveolar glottalised spectrum; COG = 989 Hz



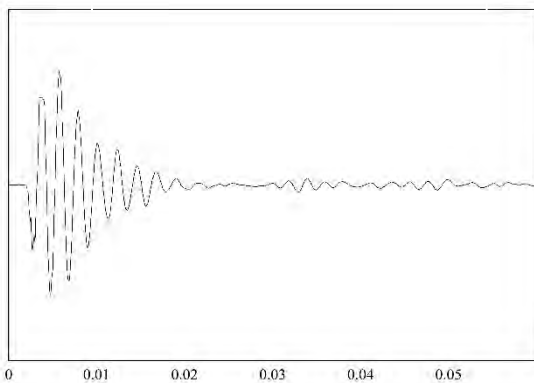
(c) PNL_FV – onset of /!ʔunib/
alveolar glottalised waveform



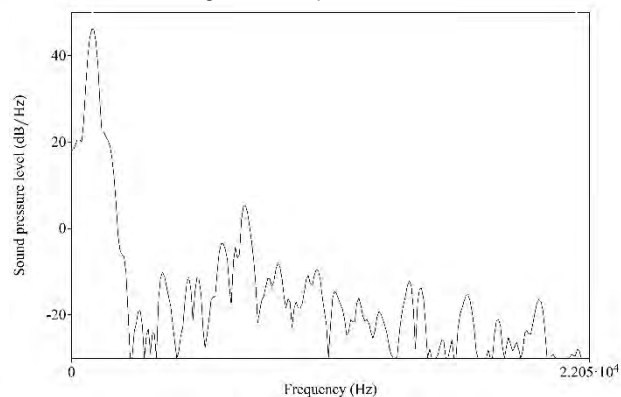
(d) PNL_FV – onset of /!ʔunib/
alveolar glottalised spectrum; COG = 912 Hz



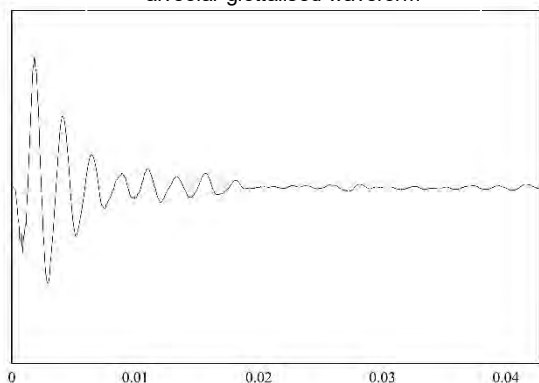
(e) PNL_PV – onset of /!ʔunib/
alveolar glottalised waveform



(f) PNL_PV – onset of /!ʔunib/
alveolar glottalised spectrum; COG = 898 Hz



(g) KKS_CHL – onset of /!ʔunib/
alveolar glottalised waveform



(h) KKS_CHL – onset of /!ʔunib/
alveolar glottalised spectrum; COG = 898 Hz

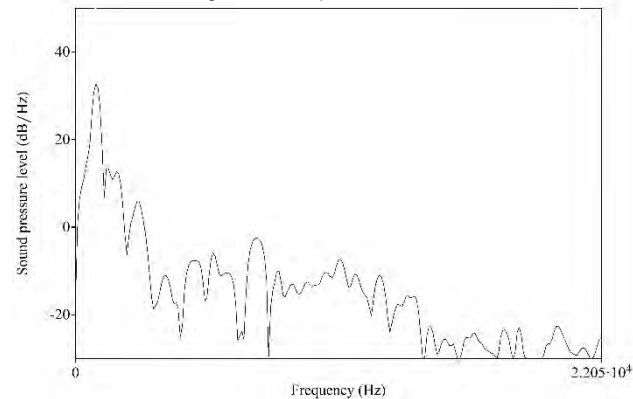


Figure 6.3. – Waveforms of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans alveolar clicks

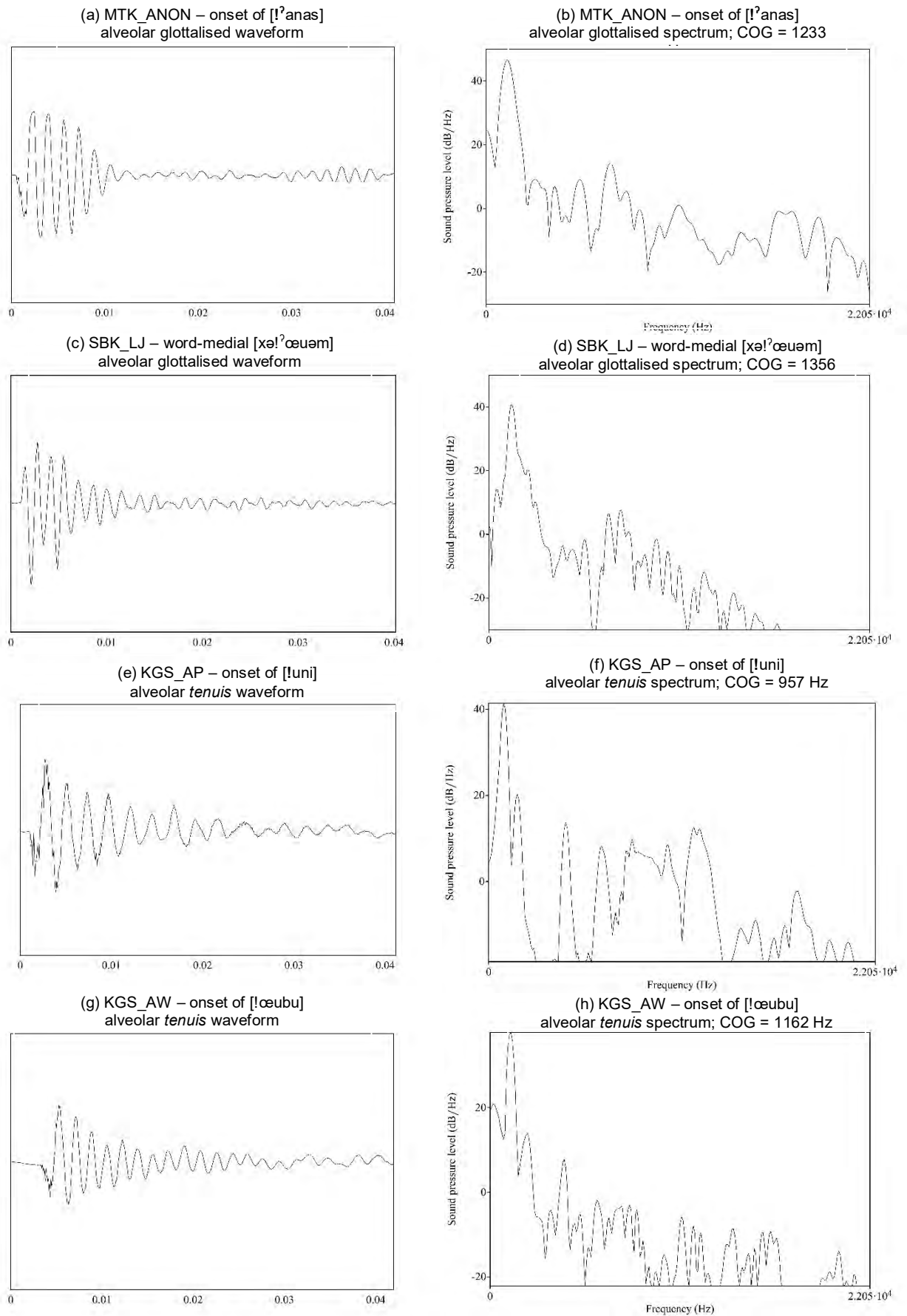
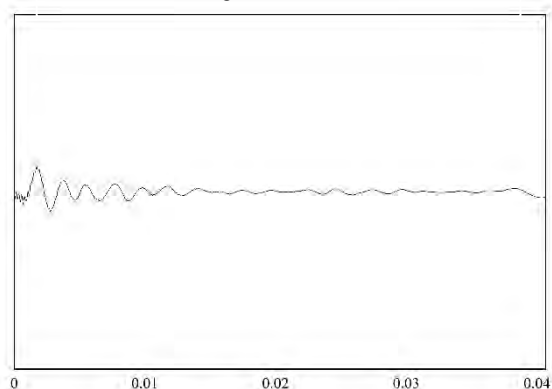
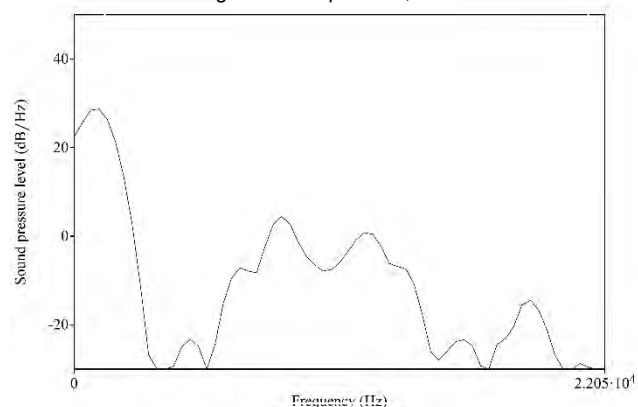


Figure 6.4. – Waveforms of L1 ‘weak’ Namaqualand Afrikaans alveolar clicks

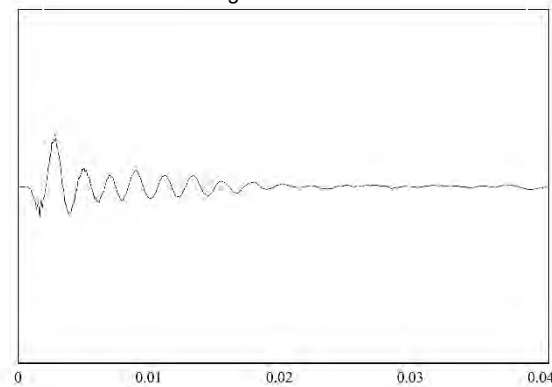
(a) KGS_AW – onset of [!ʔuni]
alveolar glottalised waveform



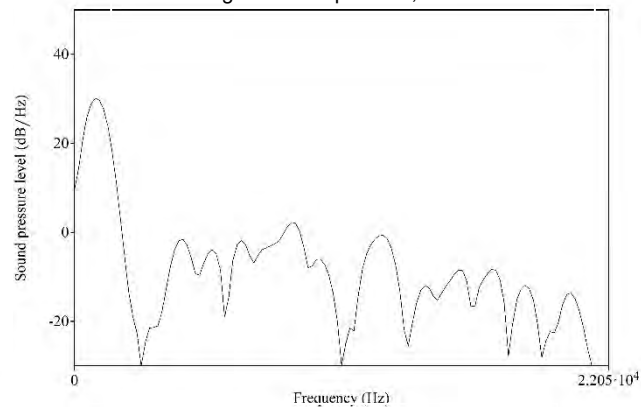
(b) KGS_AW – onset of [!ʔuni]
alveolar glottalised spectrum; COG = 928 Hz



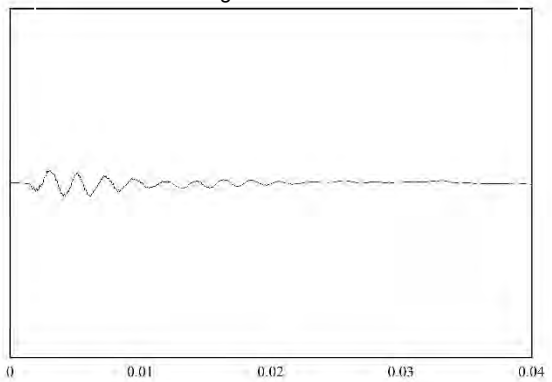
(c) SKF_LM – onset of [!ʔuni]
alveolar glottalised waveform



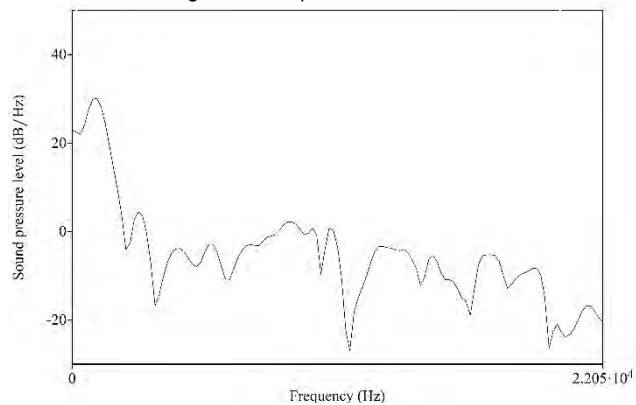
(d) SKF_LM – onset of [!ʔuni]
alveolar glottalised spectrum; COG = 957 Hz



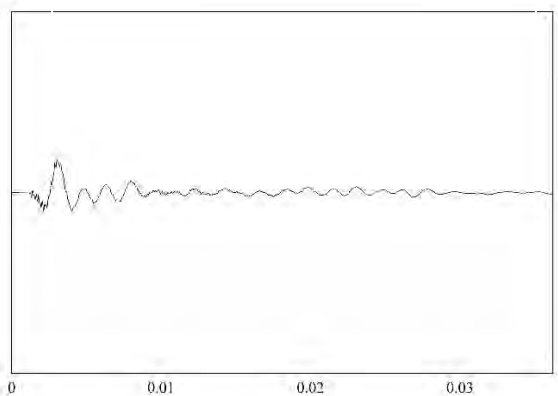
(e) SKF_RM – onset of [!ʔuni:]
alveolar glottalised waveform



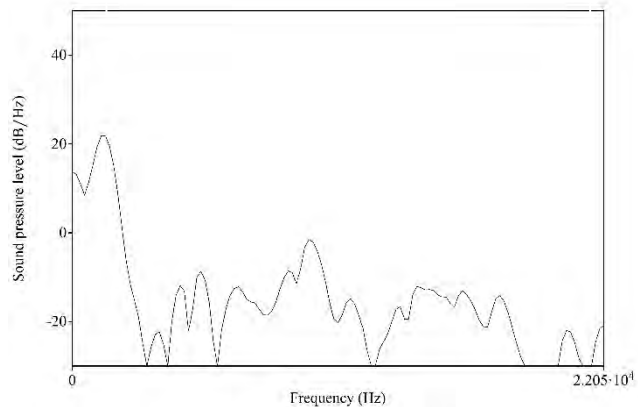
(f) SKF_RM – onset of [!ʔuni:]
alveolar glottalised spectrum; COG = 955 Hz



(g) KGS_SM – onset of [!ʔuijəm]
alveolar glottalised waveform



(h) KGS_SM – onset of [!ʔuijəm]
alveolar glottalised spectrum; COG = 1255 Hz



6.1.3. Description of Dental and Palatal Clicks

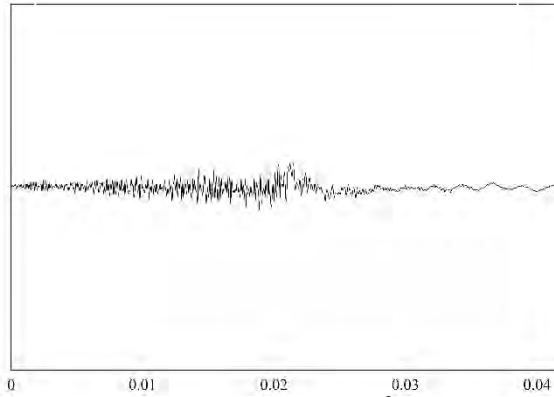
The L1 Nama dental click is very high-pitched and ostensibly apical (Proctor *et al.* 2020: 232), and is expected to be very noisy, with some bursts lasting up to 5 ms; four examples are illustrated in Figure 6.4. The L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans dental click, illustrated in Figure 6.5. is similarly acute and noisy, although the waveform is generally weaker and more diffuse, and the overall duration of the segment tended to be briefer.

Perhaps the most challenging aspect of transcription required for this project was the assessment of palatal clicks. The palatal click expected of L1 Nama speakers is both abrupt and acute, as demonstrated in Figure 6.6., and the burst produces a characteristically jagged spike in the waveform, followed by very rapid damping. Many L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans click tokens judged to employ a palatal or generally post-alveolar anterior release, as shown in Figure 6.7, were nonetheless significantly more grave than would be expected of a dental, and their release gesture was clearly noisy. Some, as illustrated in Figure 6.7. (c) and (d), were more abrupt, and more similar in general profile to the L1 Nama palatal clicks, but, as with the abrupt L1 Namaqualand alveolars of Figure 6.2., these were very rare overall. The noisiness of the majority of palatal tokens meant that, in the absence of palatographs, it was often difficult to determine whether or not a given click was, in fact, palatal or dental.

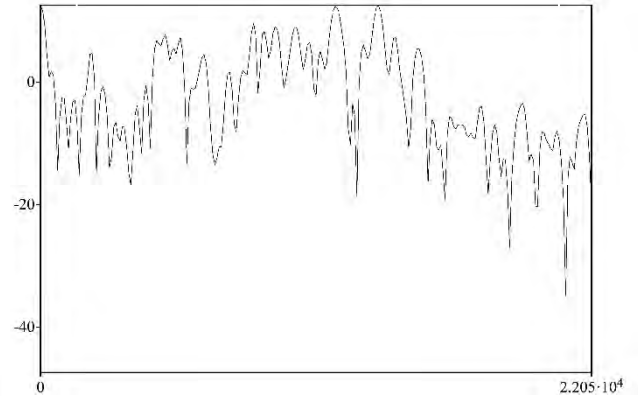
It may well be that this noisiness was effected through dorsal lowering, the same gesture apparently used to release the noisy L1 Nama dental and lateral click consonants, rather than the whole-tongue lowering associated with the abrupt L1 Nama alveolar and palatal click consonants (Proctor *et al.* 2020: 232). Effectively, the articulatory gesture as a whole is that associated with the dental click; it is simply the position of the anterior closure that is palatal. Given this blurring of acoustic categories, it might have been more appropriate for comparative purposes to categorise particularly noisy palatal clicks as extremely retracted dental clicks. In effect, the palatal click proper is only rarely achieved in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans; the noisy palatal, which may bleed over into the noisy dental, would seem to be far more frequent. Here it may well be worth comparing the reports of noisy or ‘fricated’ palatals present in the loaned click lexis of shiYeyi (Fulop *et al.* 2003: 239; Sands 2020: 10; Fulop & Wright 2020: 256).

Figure 6.5. Waveforms of L1 Nama dental clicks

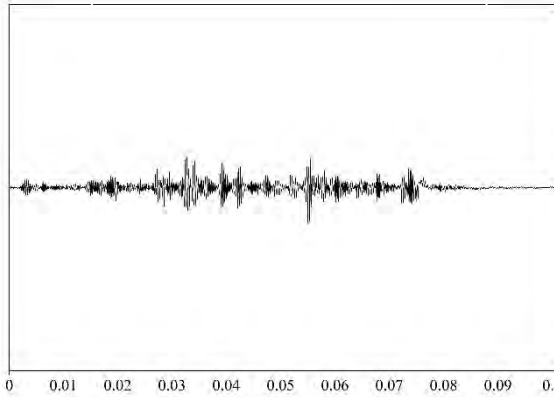
(a) SKF_DD – onset of /lʰuu/
dental glottalised waveform



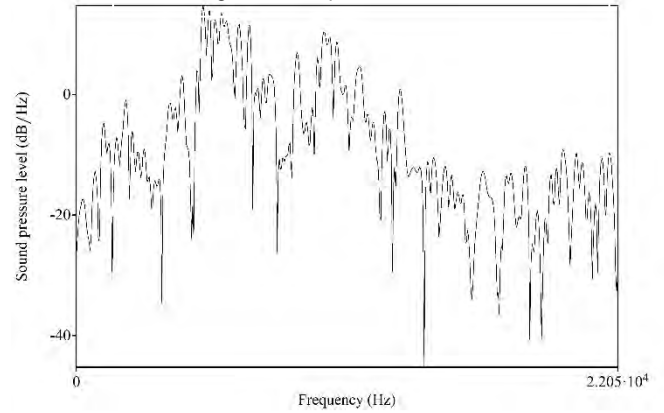
(b) SKF_DD – onset of /lʰuu/
dental glottalised spectrum; COG = 9441 Hz



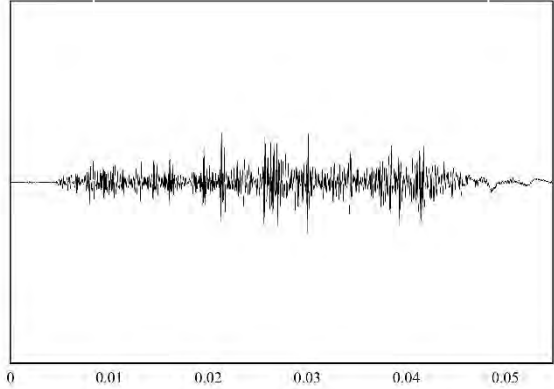
(c) PNL_FV – onset of /lʰuu/
dental glottalised waveform



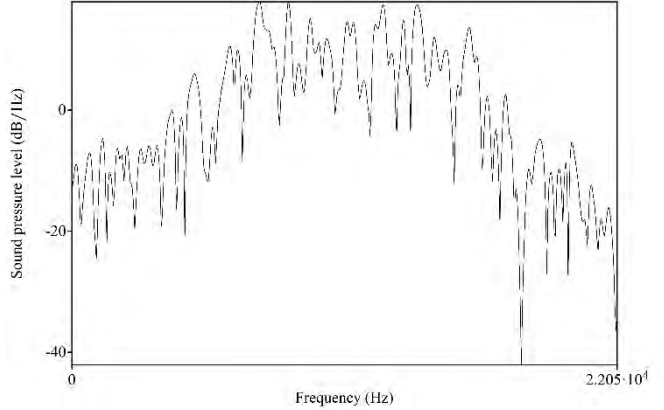
(d) PNL_FV – onset of /lʰuu/
dental glottalised spectrum; COG = 7077 Hz



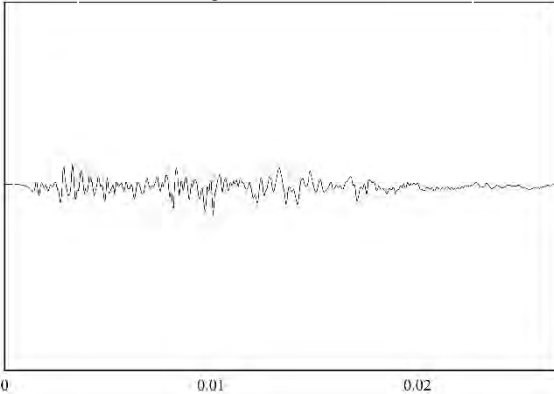
(e) PNL_PV – onset of /lʰuu/
dental glottalised waveform



(f) PNL_PV – onset of /lʰuu/
dental glottalised spectrum; COG = 11054 Hz



(g) KKS_CHL – onset of /lʰuu/
dental glottalised waveform



(h) KKS_CHL – onset of /lʰuu/
dental glottalised spectrum; COG = 4432 Hz

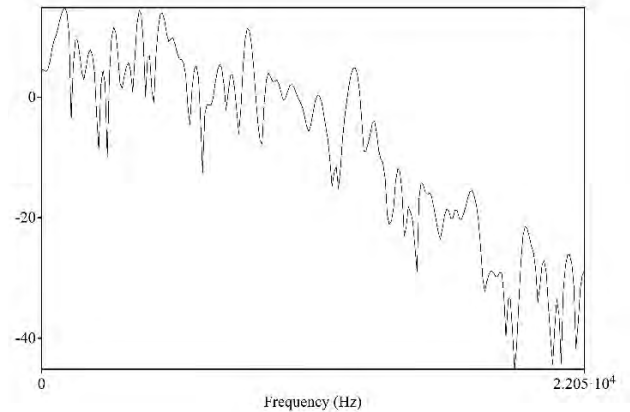


Figure 6.6. Waveforms of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans dental clicks

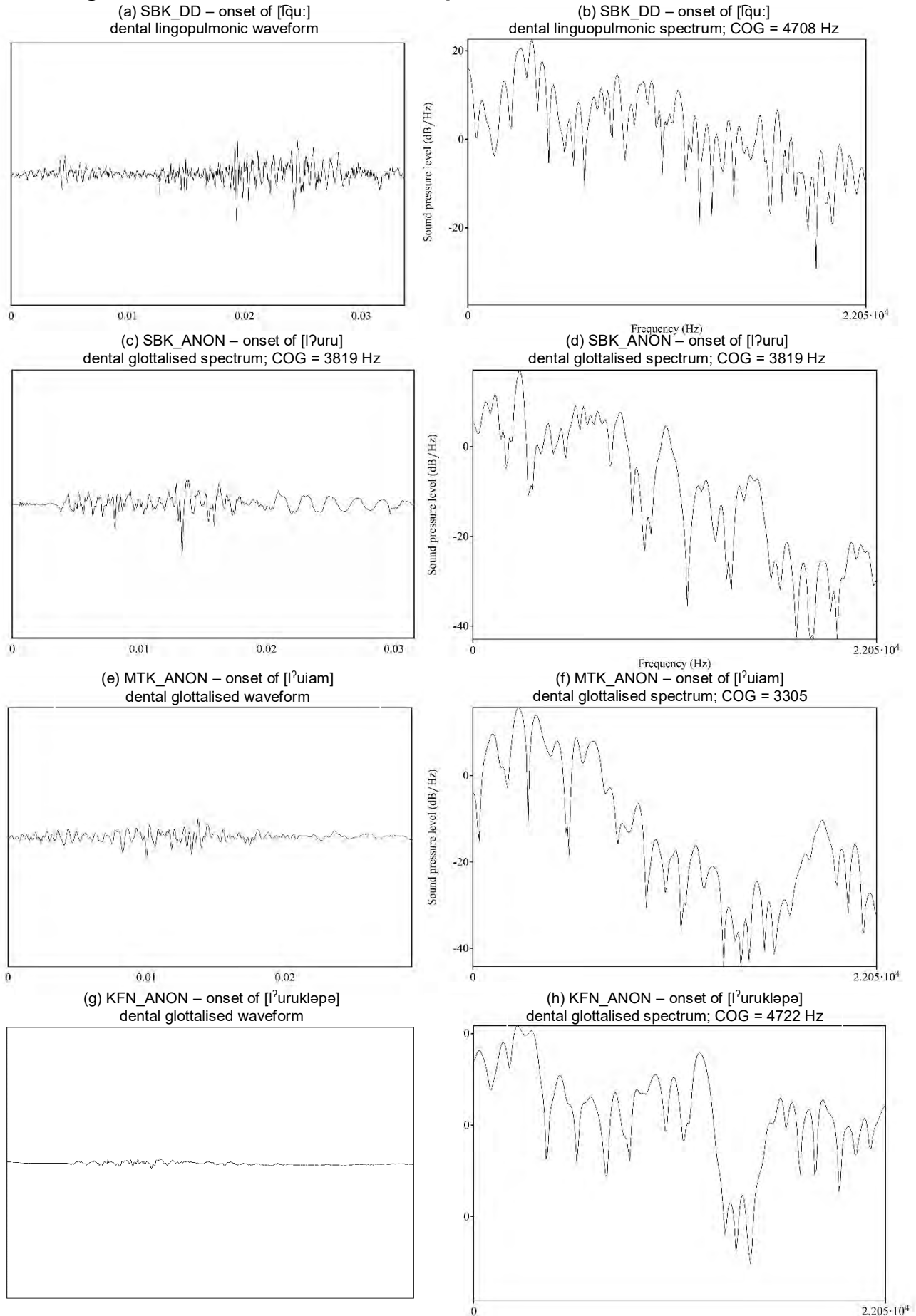
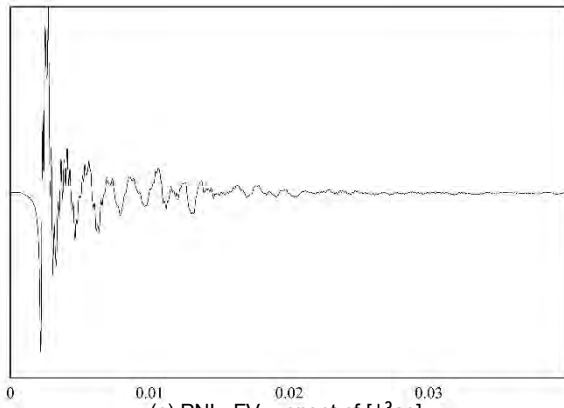
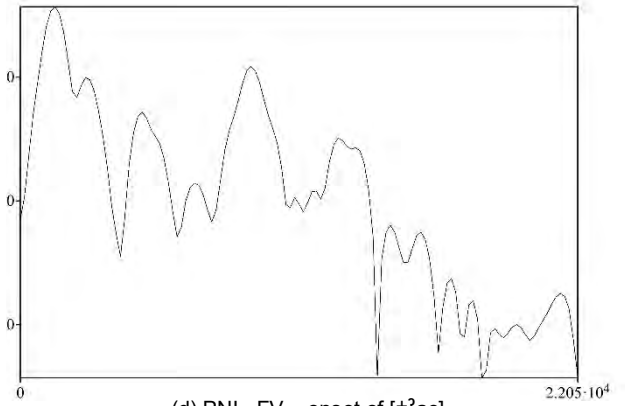


Figure 6.7. Waveforms of L1 Nama palatal clicks

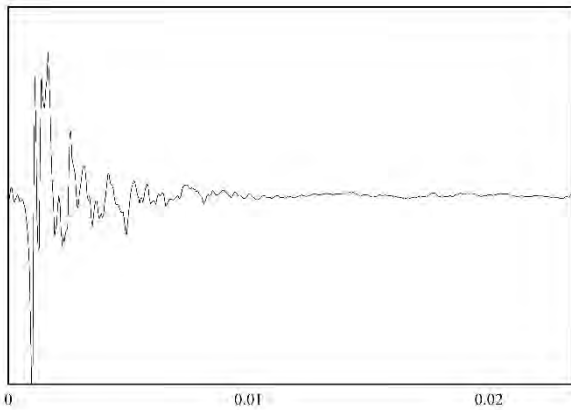
(a) SKF_DD – onset of [ʔʰuru]
palatal glottalised waveform



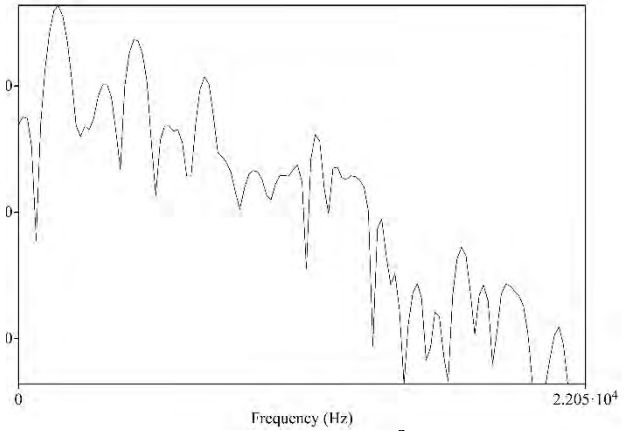
(b) SKF_DD – onset of [ʔʰuru]
palatal glottalised spectrum; COG = 2493 Hz



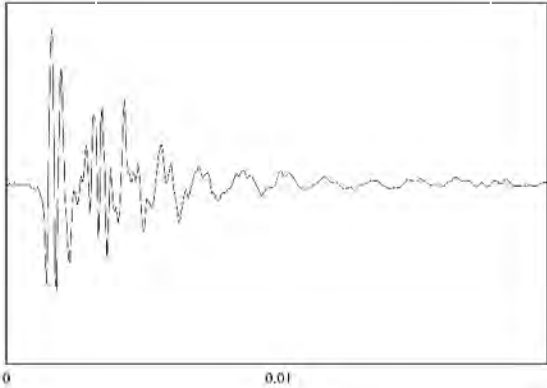
(c) PNL_FV – onset of [ʔʰae]
palatal glottalised waveform



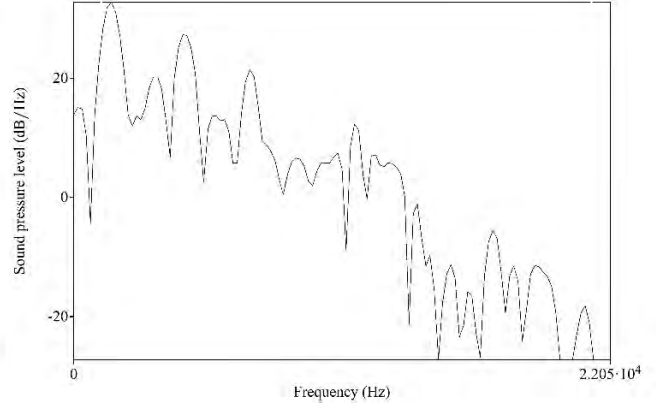
(d) PNL_FV – onset of [ʔʰae]
palatal glottalised spectrum; COG = 3455 Hz



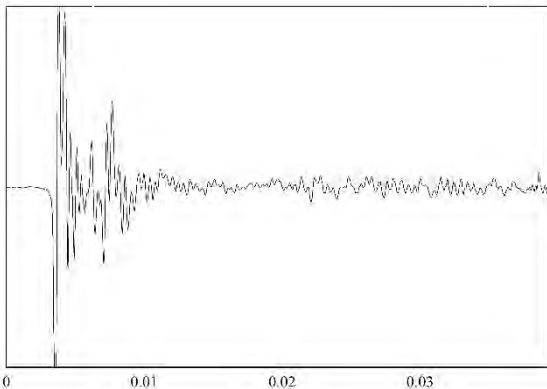
(e) PNL_PV – onset of [ʔʰae]
palatal glottalised waveform



(f) PNL_PV – onset of [ʔʰae]
palatal glottalised spectrum; COG = 2666 Hz



(g) WHK_EK – onset of [ʔʰaib]
palatal glottalised waveform



(h) WHK_EK – onset of [ʔʰaib]
palatal glottalised spectrum; COG = 2748 Hz

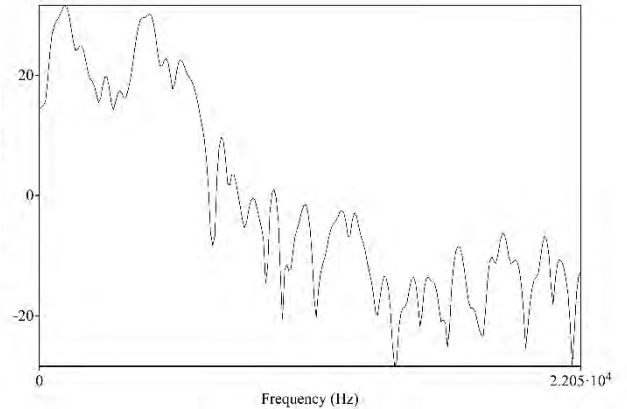
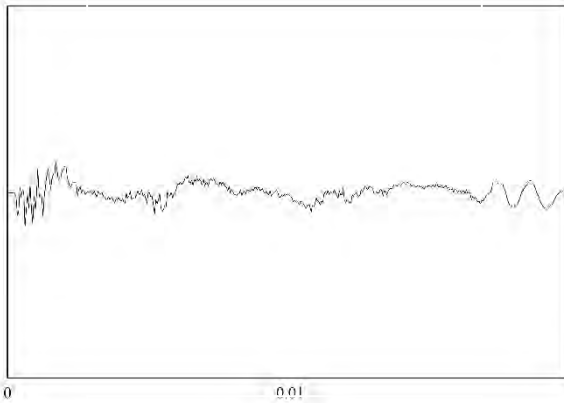
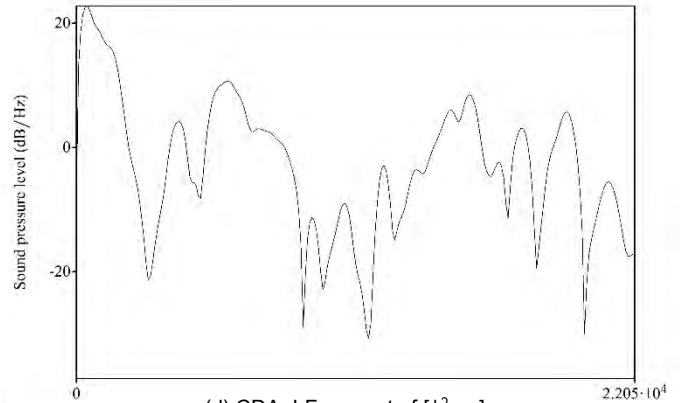


Figure 6.8. Waveforms of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans ‘weak’ palatal clicks

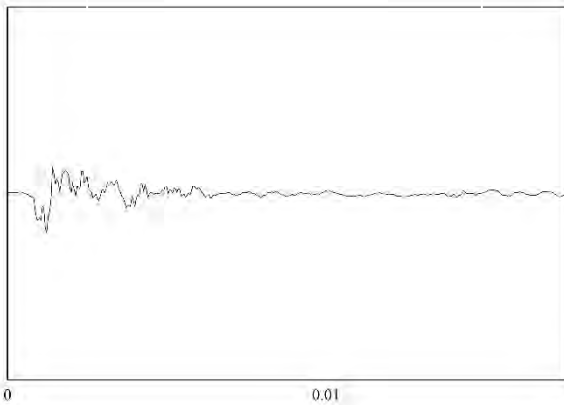
(a) MTK_ANON – onset of [ʔoro]
palatal glottalised waveform



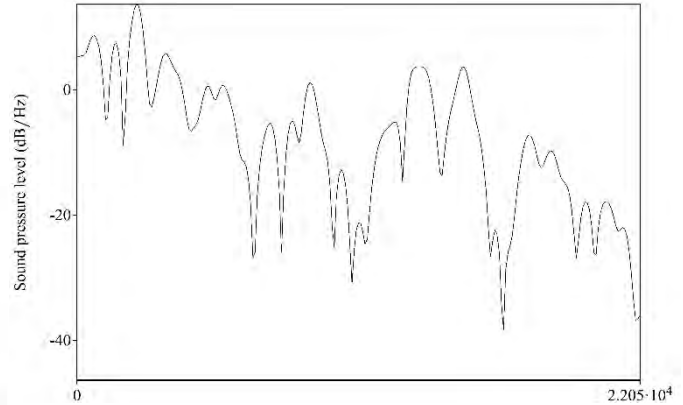
(b) MTK_ANON – onset of [ʔoro]
palatal glottalised spectrum; COG = 2355 Hz



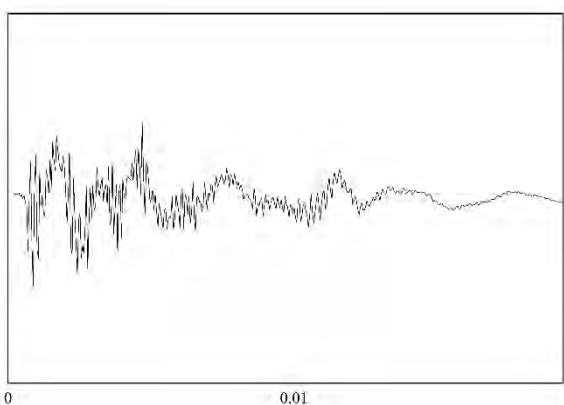
(c) CDA_LF – onset of [ʔoro]
palatal glottalised waveform



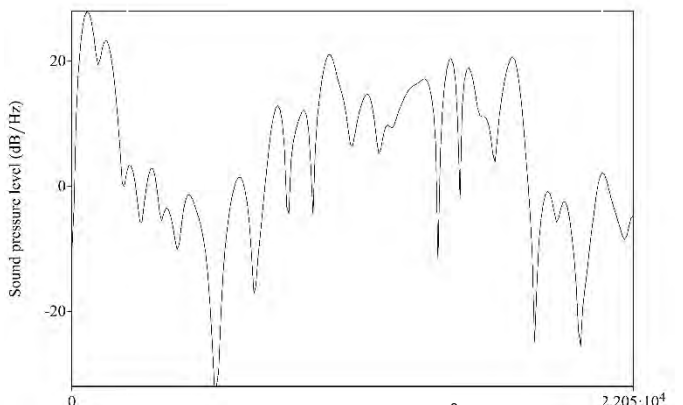
(d) CDA_LF – onset of [ʔoro]
palatal glottalised spectrum; COG = 4221 Hz



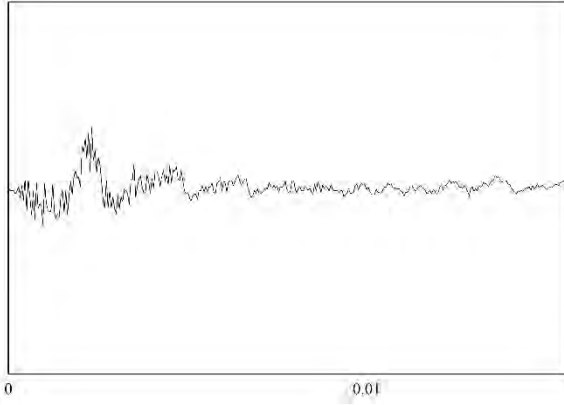
(e) SBK_GH – onset of [ʔuni:]
palatal glottalised waveform



(f) SBK_GH – onset of [ʔuni:]
palatal glottalised spectrum; COG = 6619 Hz



(g) SKF_LM – onset of [ʔaribi:r]
palatal glottalised waveform



(h) SKF_LM – onset of [ʔaribi:r]
palatal glottalised spectrum; COG = 4665 Hz

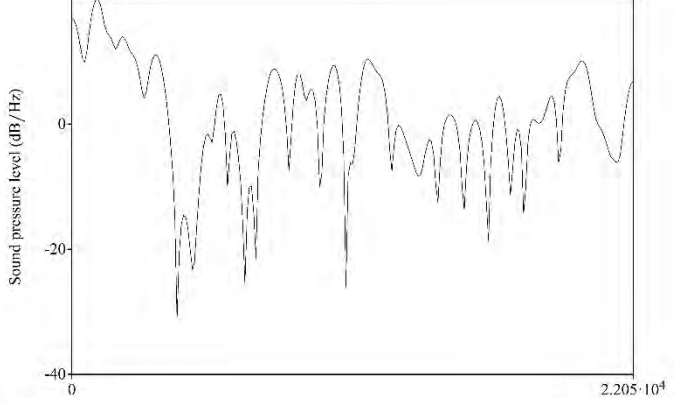
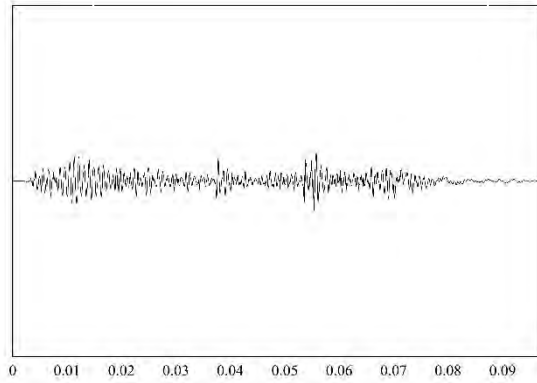
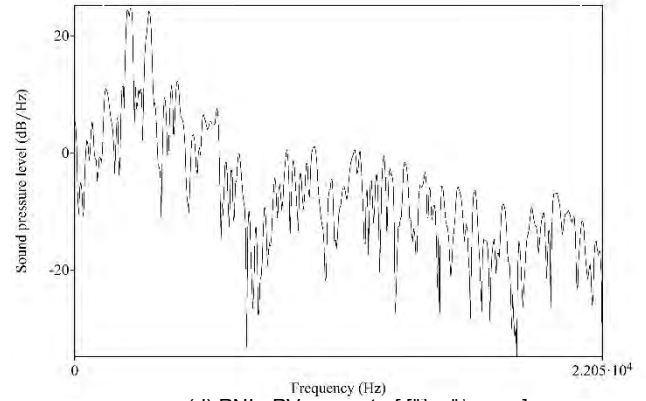


Figure 6.9. Waveforms of L1 Nama lateral clicks

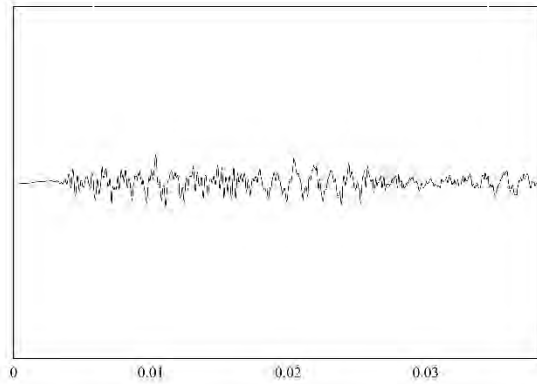
(a) SKF_DD – onset of [l²ari]
lateral glottalised waveform



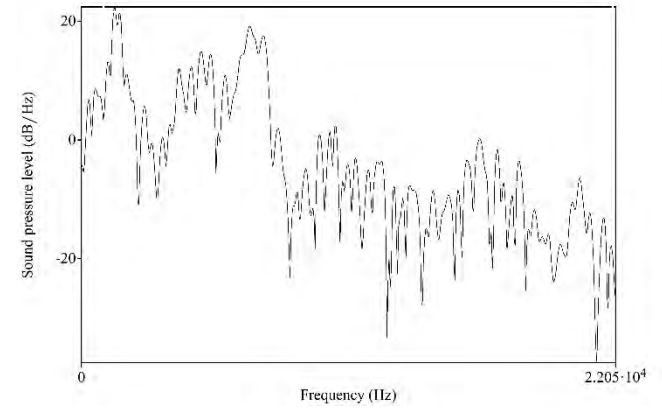
(b) SKF_DD – onset of [l²ari]
lateral glottalised spectrum; COG = 2865 Hz



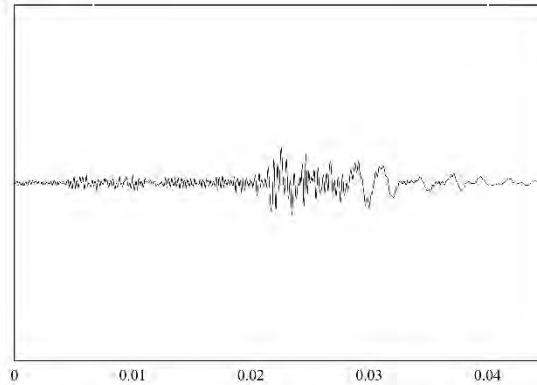
(c) PNL_PV – onset of [l²onll'ones]
lateral glottalised waveform



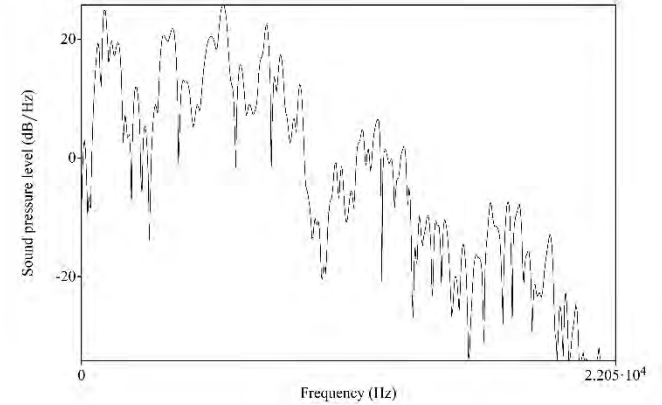
(d) PNL_PV – onset of [l²onll'ones]
lateral glottalised spectrum; COG = 4422 Hz



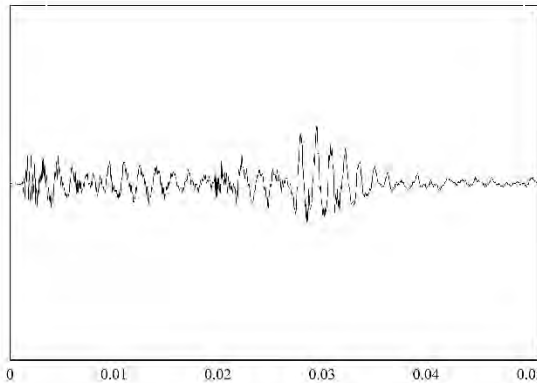
(e) PNL_PV – onset of [l²ora]
lateral glottalised waveform



(f) PNL_PV – onset of [l²ora]
lateral glottalised spectrum; COG = 4537 Hz



(g) WHK_EK – onset of [l²ora]
lateral glottalised waveform



(h) WHK_EK – onset of [l²ora]
lateral glottalised spectrum; COG = 3731 Hz

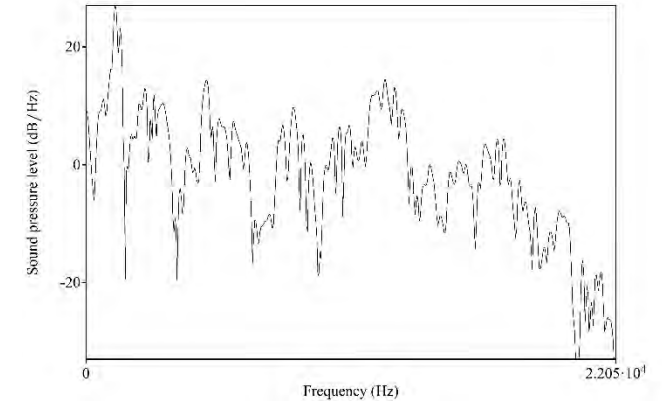
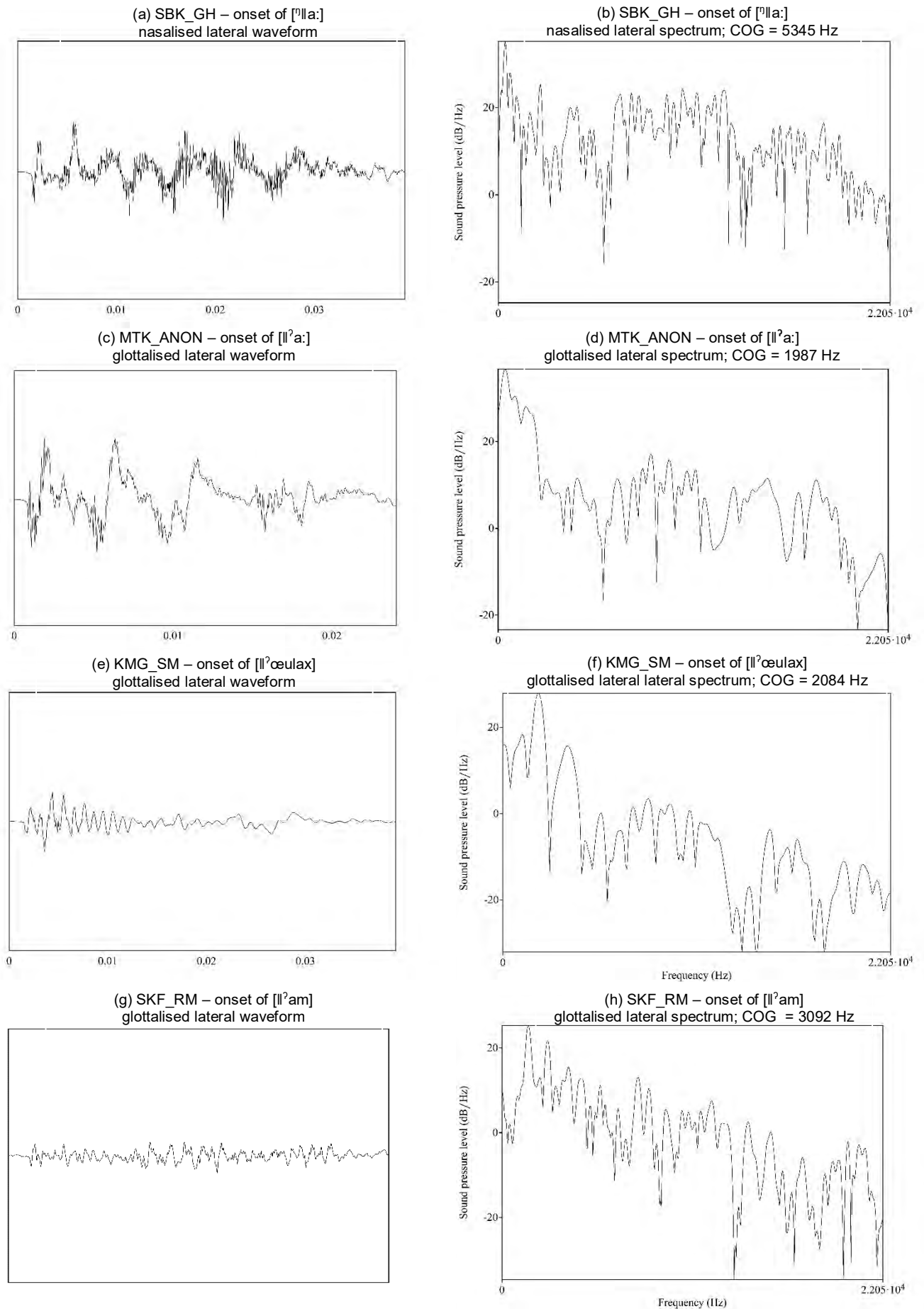


Figure 6.10. Waveforms of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans lateral clicks



6.1.4 Description of Lateral Clicks

Five items containing a lateral click in L1 Nama were tested for using the standardised elicitation battery of 22 items (including the very common item **3c Ilkhǎm**, which was attested in 43 tokens from 20 consultants) which together prompted 103 tokens. A further 9 items containing a lateral click in L1 Nama were volunteered by consultants, resulting in 47 tokens. A total of 151 tokens of 14 items ought therefore to have had as their etymon an L1 Nama lateral click. Lateral clicks were nonetheless underrepresented in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans, accounting for only 41 of the total 1028 tokens.

A small number of these closely resemble L1 Nama lateral clicks (as illustrated in Figure 6.8. above), in that they are noisy, and also display a fairly high-pitched spectral gravity, although typically lower than was expected of the dental; an unusual example of such an L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans lateral click is illustrated in Figure 6.9 (a) above. However, as for all the L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans clicks described above, tokens that conformed to the L1 Nama profile were the exception. An unexpected phenomenon was the collection of clicks that were judged to be lateral, but that were strangely abrupt, lasting barely 2 milliseconds; L1 Nama lateral clicks, by contrast, tended to dissipate over the course of 3 – 7 ms. A similar phenomenon was observed in the loaned lateral click of shiYeyi, which ‘quite frequently joins the alveolar in being somewhat sharp with a short release phase’ (Fulop *et al.* 2003: 239).

6.1.5. General Trends of Click Type in Namaqualand Afrikaans

The dental click is clearly the optimal L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans selection for the replacement of any given L1 Nama click, with the alveolar click (albeit significantly noisier in its realisation than would be expected from L1 Nama) being the second most frequent. The lateral was overall very rare, although, if particularly noisy palatals had instead been tallied as dental clicks, then truly abrupt palatal clicks would be nearly as underrepresented as the truly noisy lateral clicks.⁴⁴ This profile aligns with cross-linguistic descriptions of click loan events, particularly those associated with siSwati

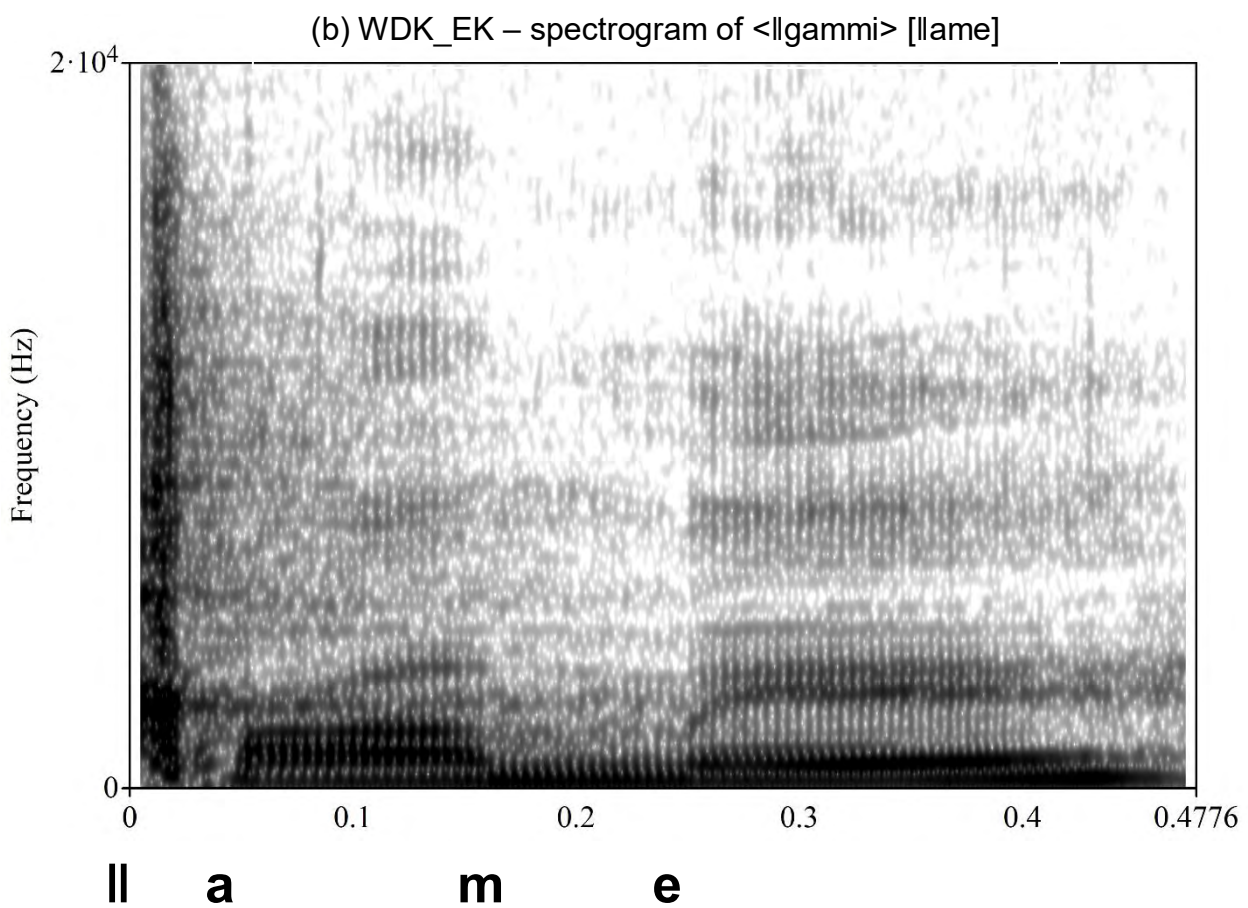
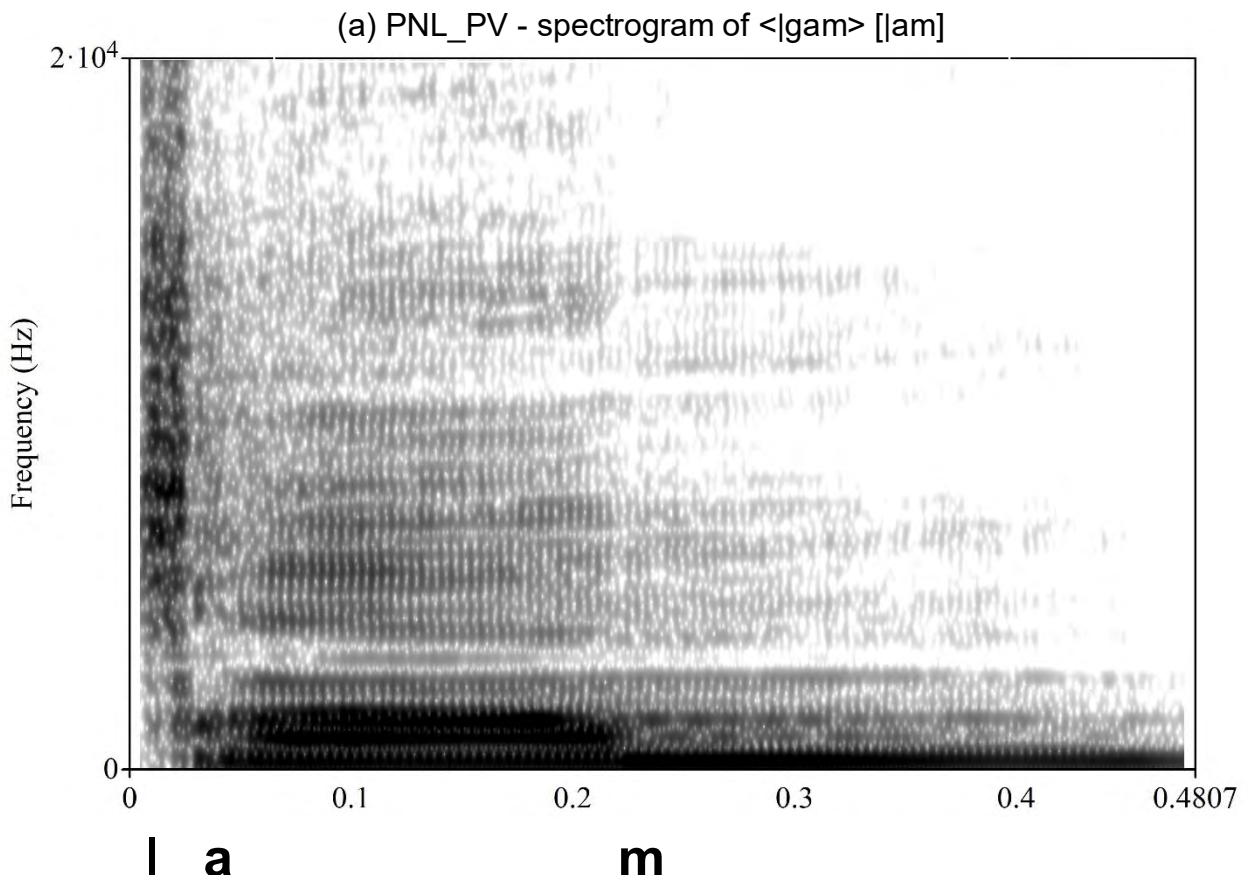
⁴⁴ Here it is perhaps worth observing that the lateral click and the palatal click are present across slightly less of the standardised Namibian Khoekhoe click lexis as presented in Haacke & Eiseb 2002, at 21% and 23% of the total headwords respectively, than the more ubiquitous dental and alveolar clicks, at 26% and 30% of the total headwords respectively, although of course a lexicographical tally cannot adequately reflect average daily usage in conversation.

and seSotho, in which only the dental and occasional alveolar clicks are reported, and those associated with ruManyo, thiMbukushu, ruKwangali, and chiFwe, in which the dental click is considered the most prevalent; this is further discussed in Chapter 11.

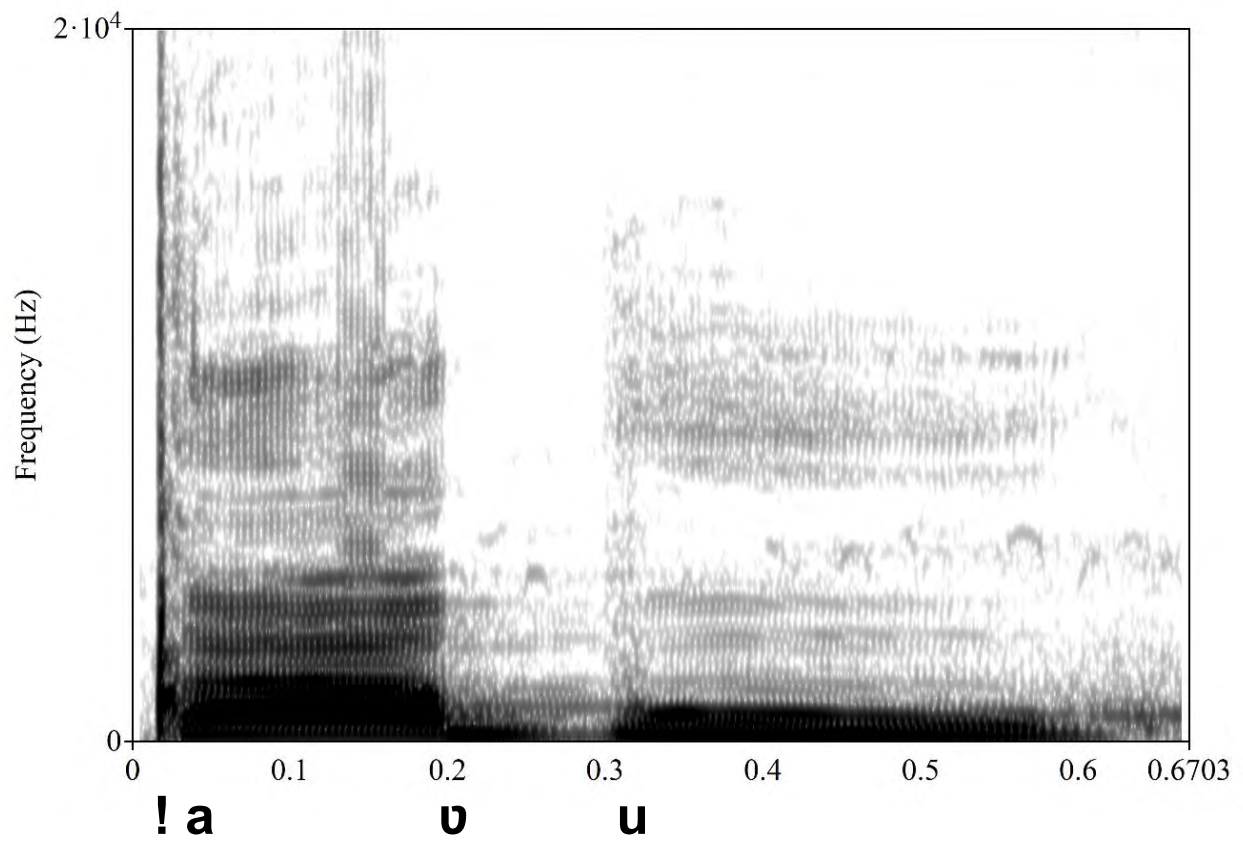
Inconsistent intraspeaker positioning of the anterior closure of the click across tokens of the same lexical item is a clear property of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans click consonants, and confirms the observations in Links 1989. Our limited understanding of click perception in L1 clickless speakers under a comprehensive variety of contact conditions prevents conclusive discussion of whether this inconsistency arises from inaccurate perception of L1 Nama input, from difficulties in the consistent storage and recall of click consonants within the mental lexicon, or from articulatory inability. As is discussed in further detail in Section 8.2 below, this indicates that the place of anterior release is not a contrastive feature in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans click consonants.

Inconsistency in the production of acuteness and noisiness in click consonants, however, has not previously been reported from L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans. The release mechanism of the two abrupt clicks is also associated with **tongue lowering**, while the release mechanism of the two noisy clicks is associated only with **dorsal lowering** (Proctor *et al.*, 2020: 232), at least in L1 Nama. Abruptness may therefore be a more difficult acoustic property for L1 Afrikaans or L1 English learners of click consonants to produce, in that it is generated via a rapid, closely-controlled, whole-tongue gesture of the sort not required for the articulation of any pulmonic consonants in the GERMANIC inventory. However, the frequent realisation of lateral clicks as unexpectedly abrupt suggests that L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans speakers *can* approximate an abrupt release, and hence that something more than articulatory inability may underlie this phenomenon. Further investigation into the roles of perception and recall in learners of click consonants is therefore required.

Figure 6.11 – Spectrograms of L1 Nama *tenuis* clicks



(c) SKF_DD – spectrogram of <!gabu> [!avu]



(d) PNL_FV – spectrogram of <‡gaba> [‡ava]

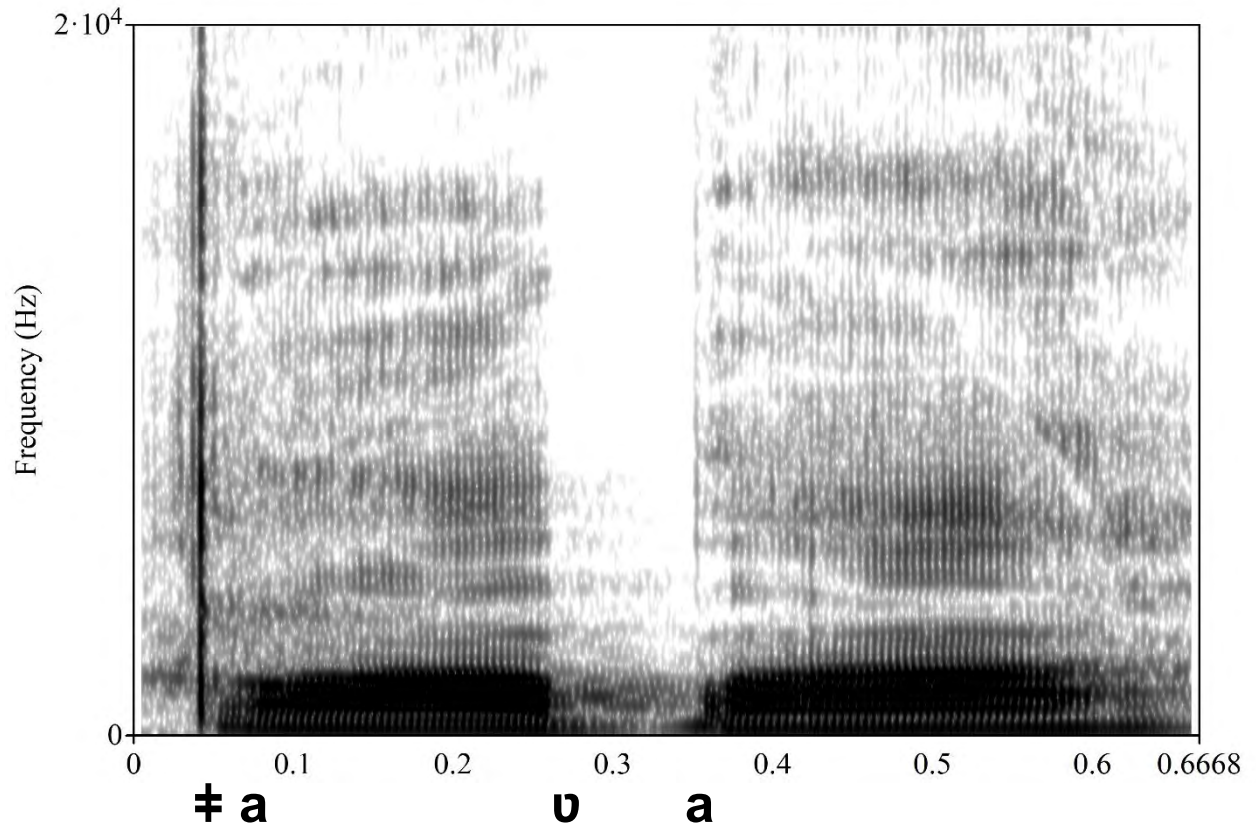
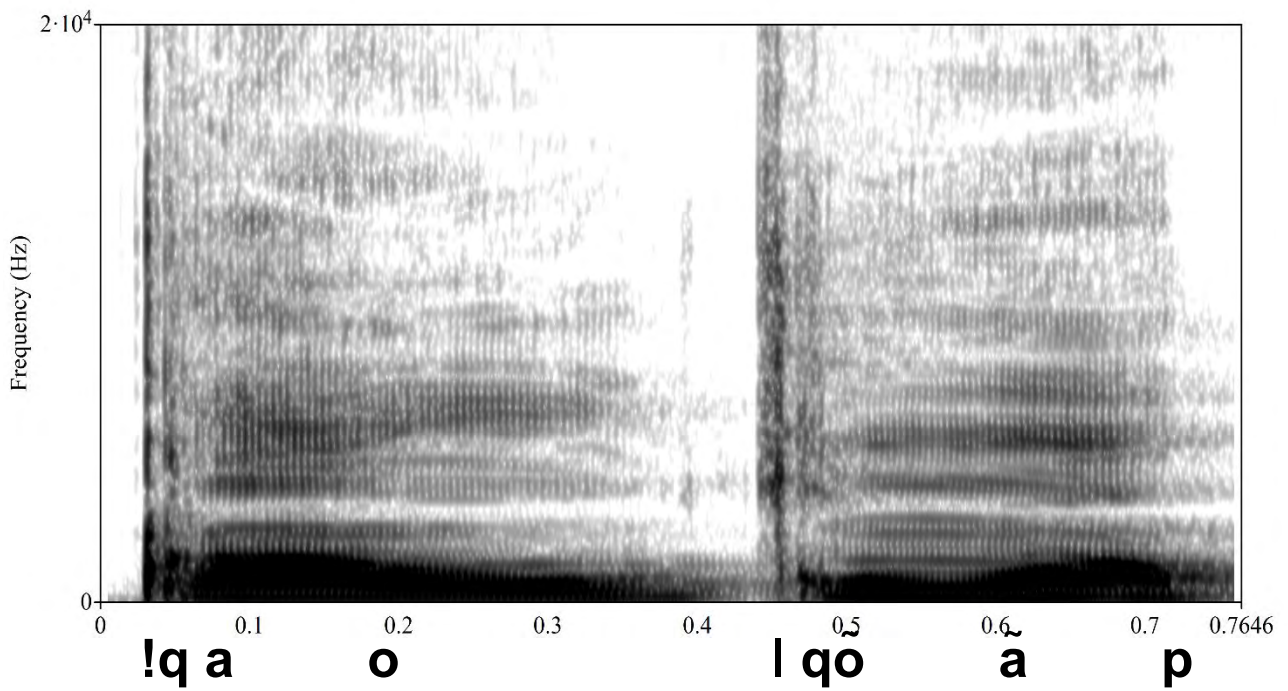


Figure 6.12 – Spectrograms of L1 Nama *tenuis* clicks with audible posterior releases

(a) PNL_PV - spectrogram of <!gao|gôab> [!q̱aolq̱õãp]



(b) WHK_EK – spectrogram of <!gabū> [!q̱avū]

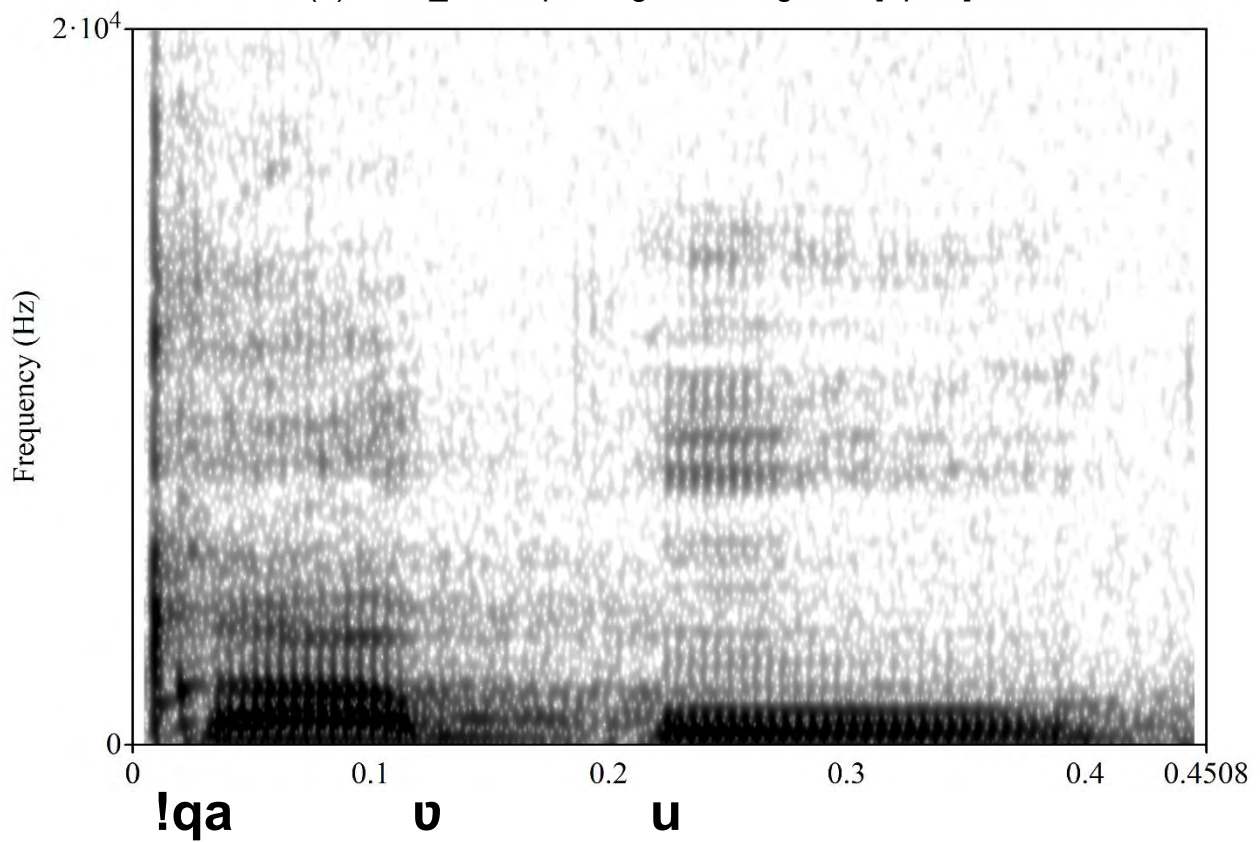
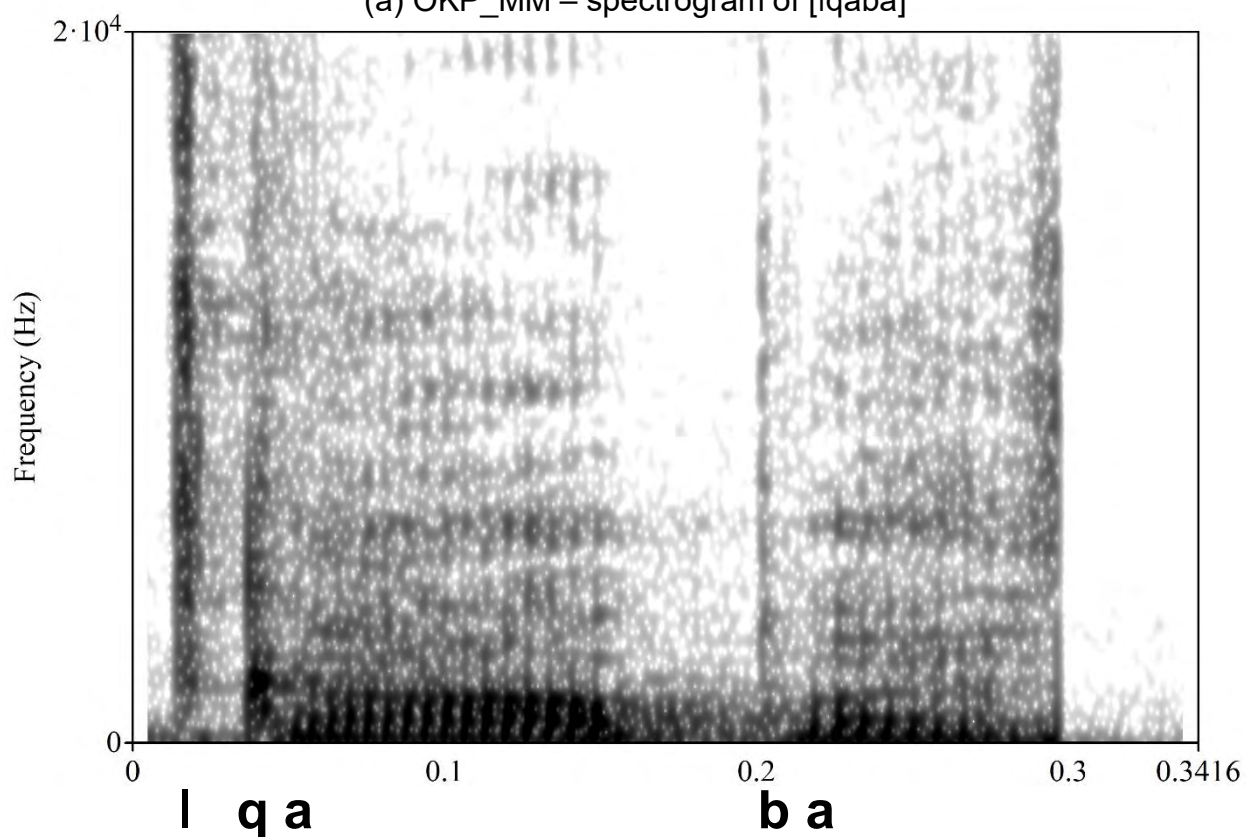
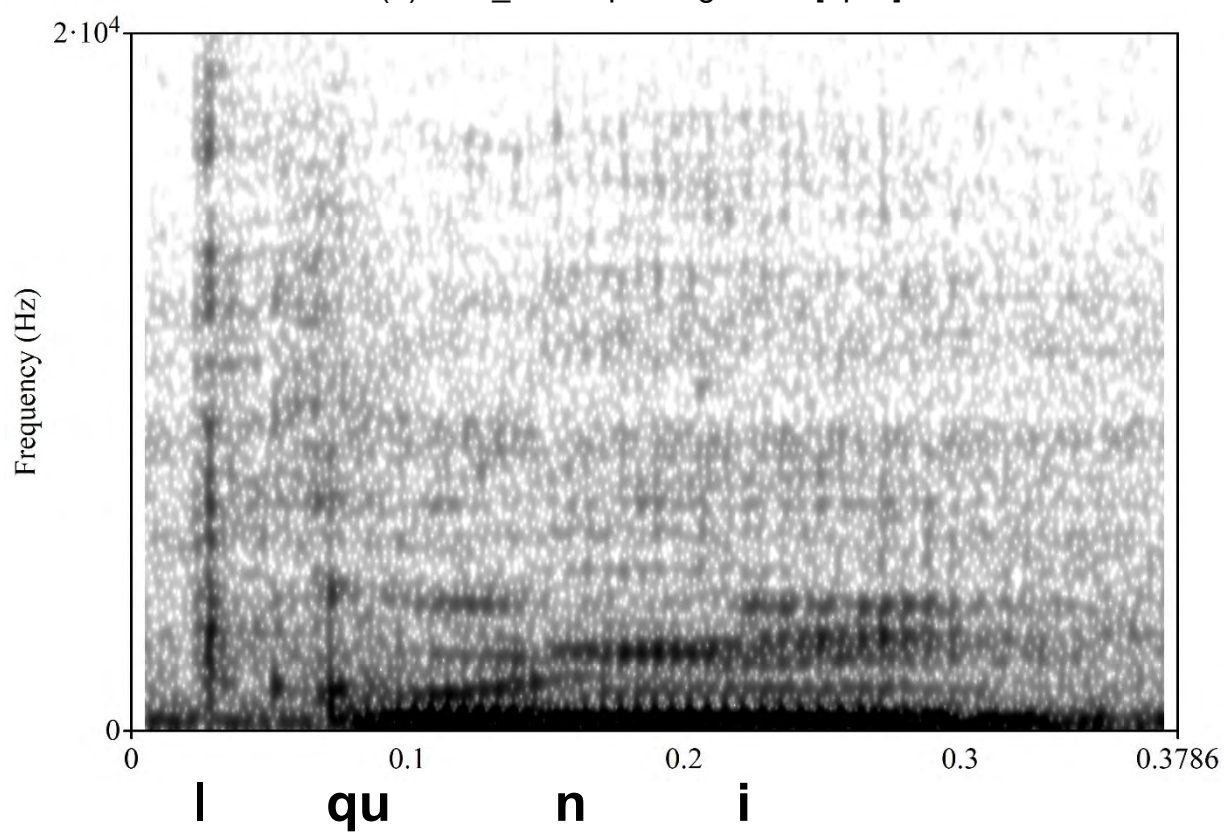


**Figure 6.13 – Spectrograms of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans
voiceless linguopulmonic clicks**

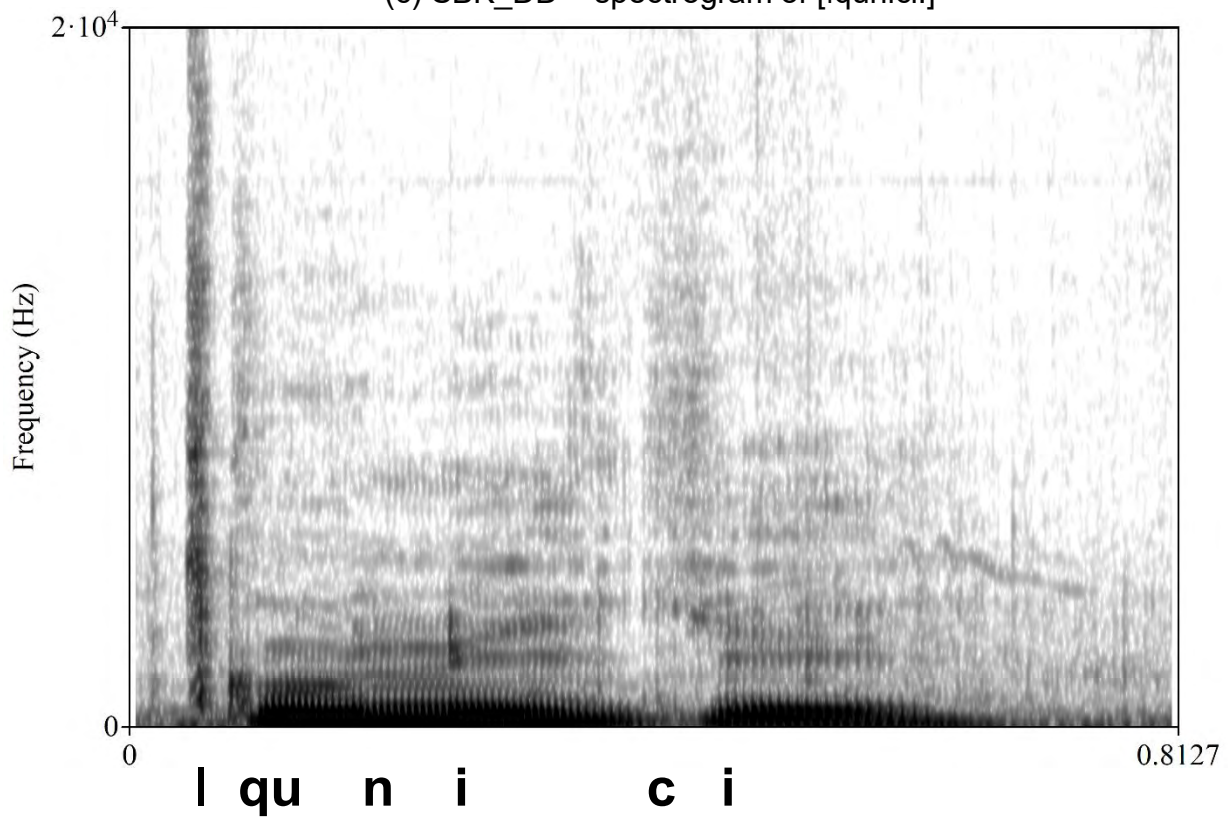
(a) OKP_MM – spectrogram of [l̥qaba]



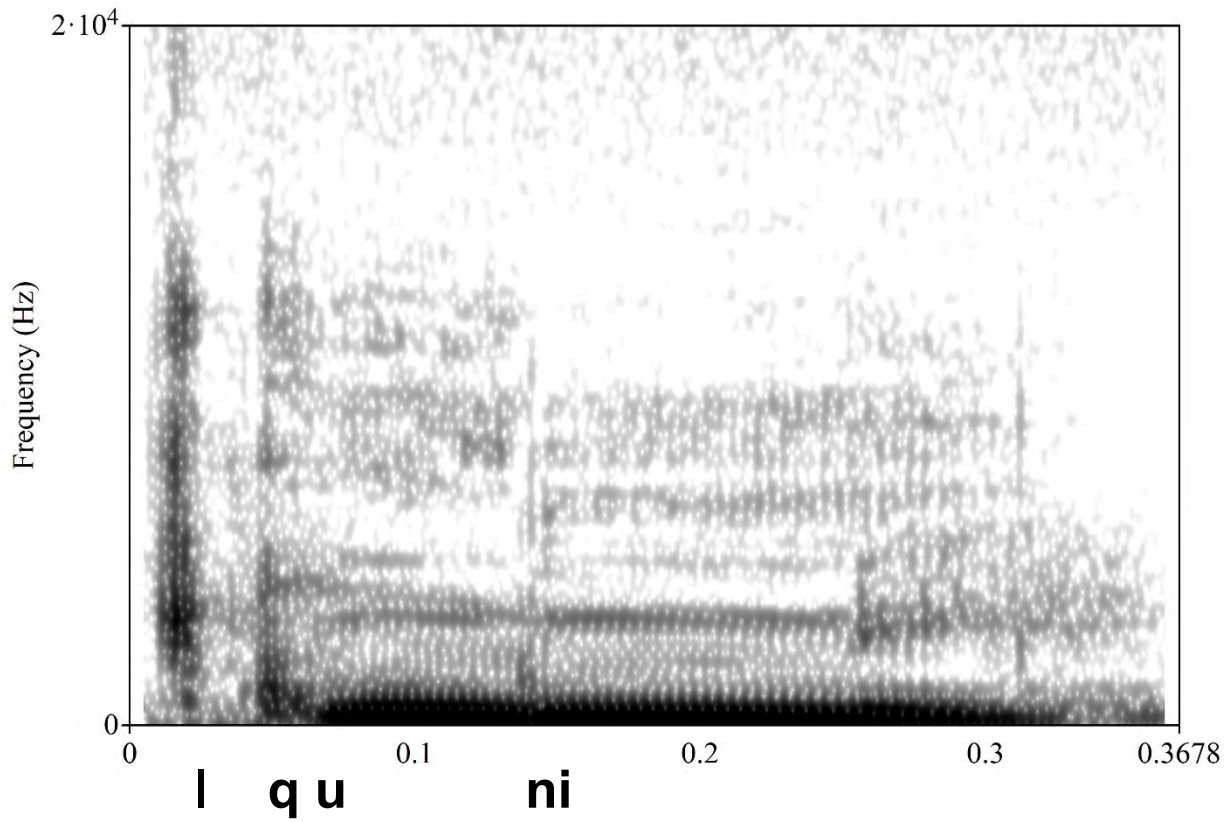
(b) HKB_GS – spectrogram of [l̥quni]



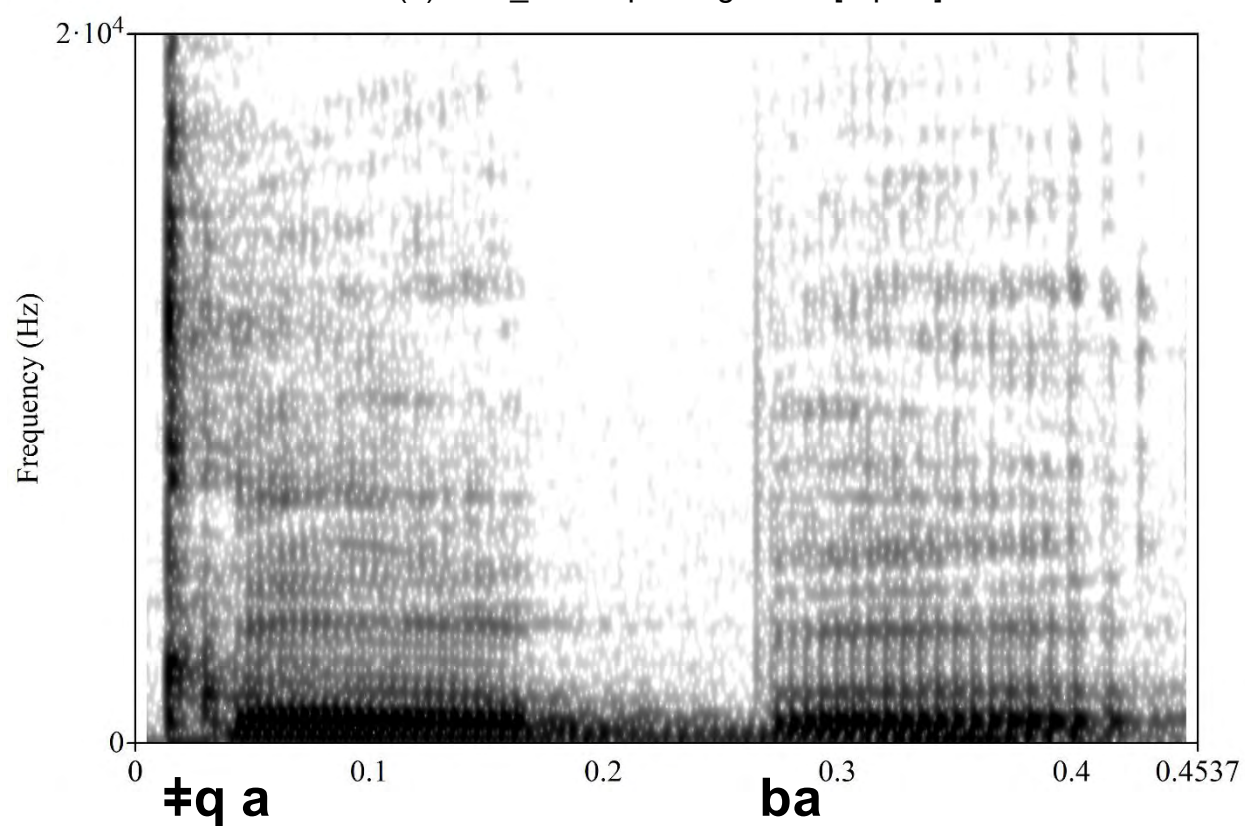
(c) SBK_DD – spectrogram of [l̥ʷunici:]



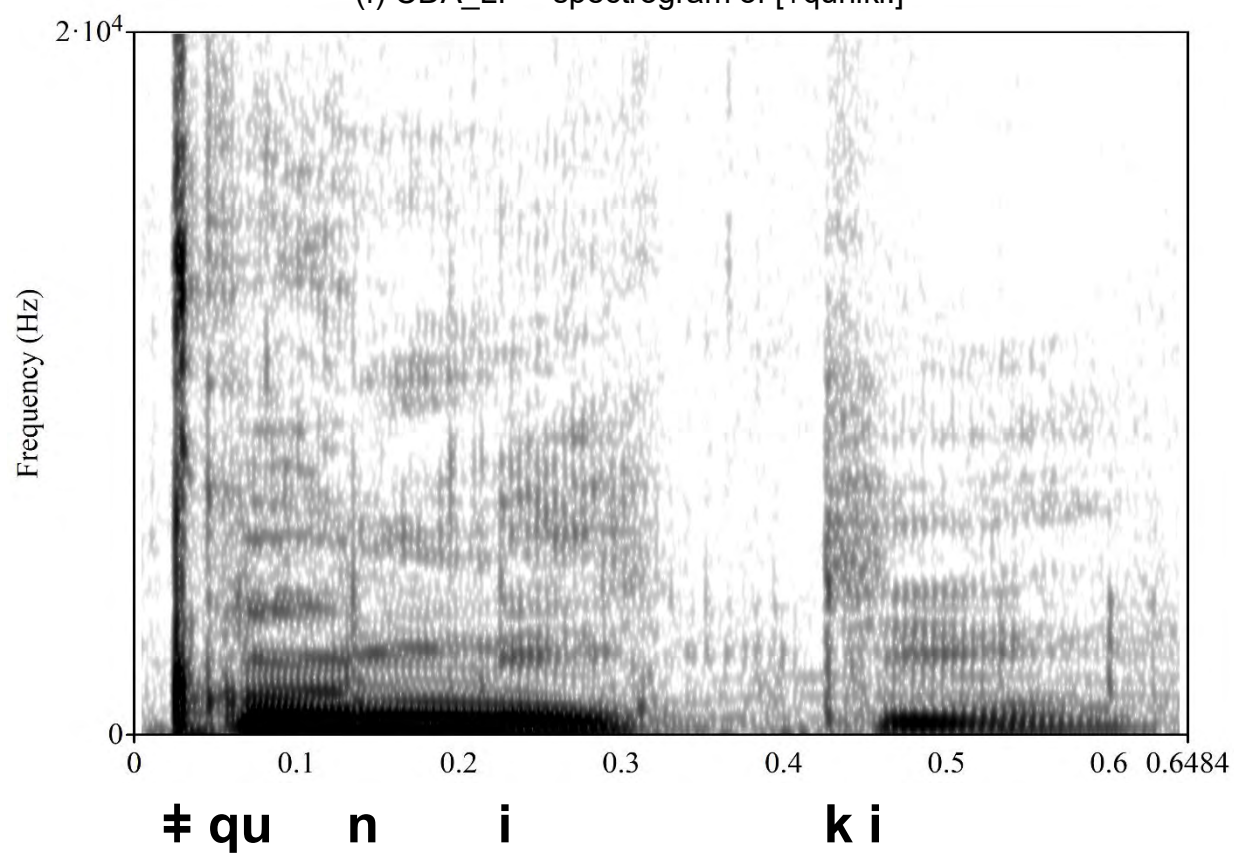
(d) LFN_ANON – spectrogram of [l̥ʷuni]



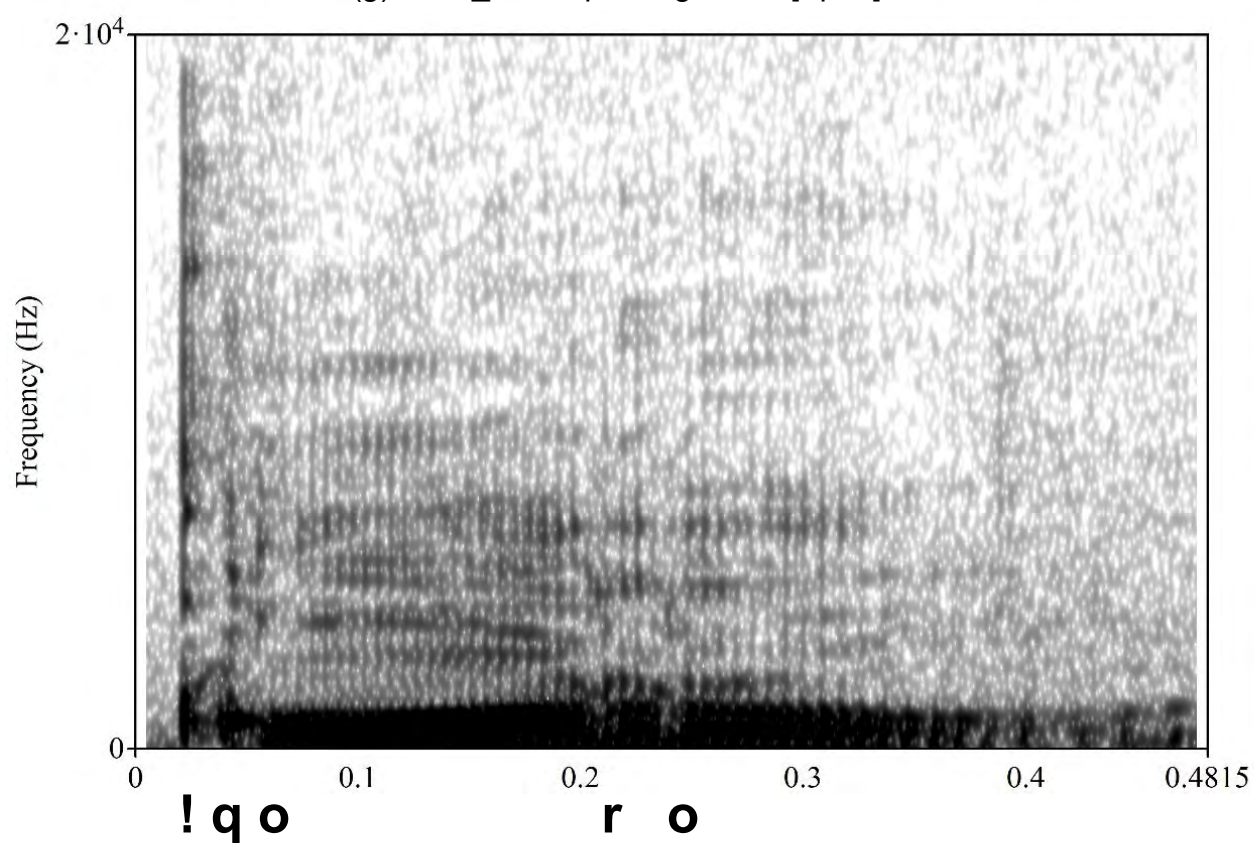
(e) HKB_MS – spectrogram of [ʔqaba]



(f) CDA_LF – spectrogram of [ʔquniki:]



(g) KMG_AP – spectrogram of [!qoro]



(h) OKP_ANON2 – spectrogram of [!quniki:]

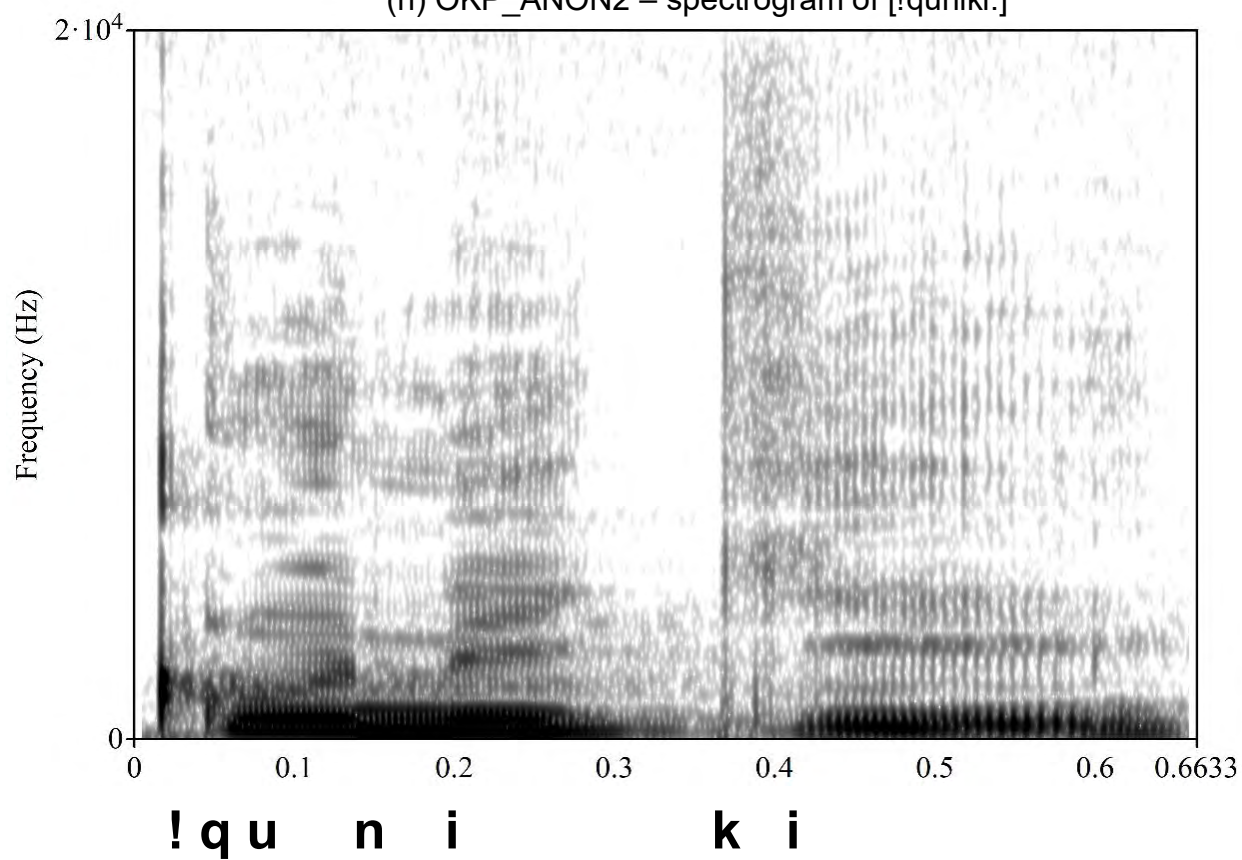
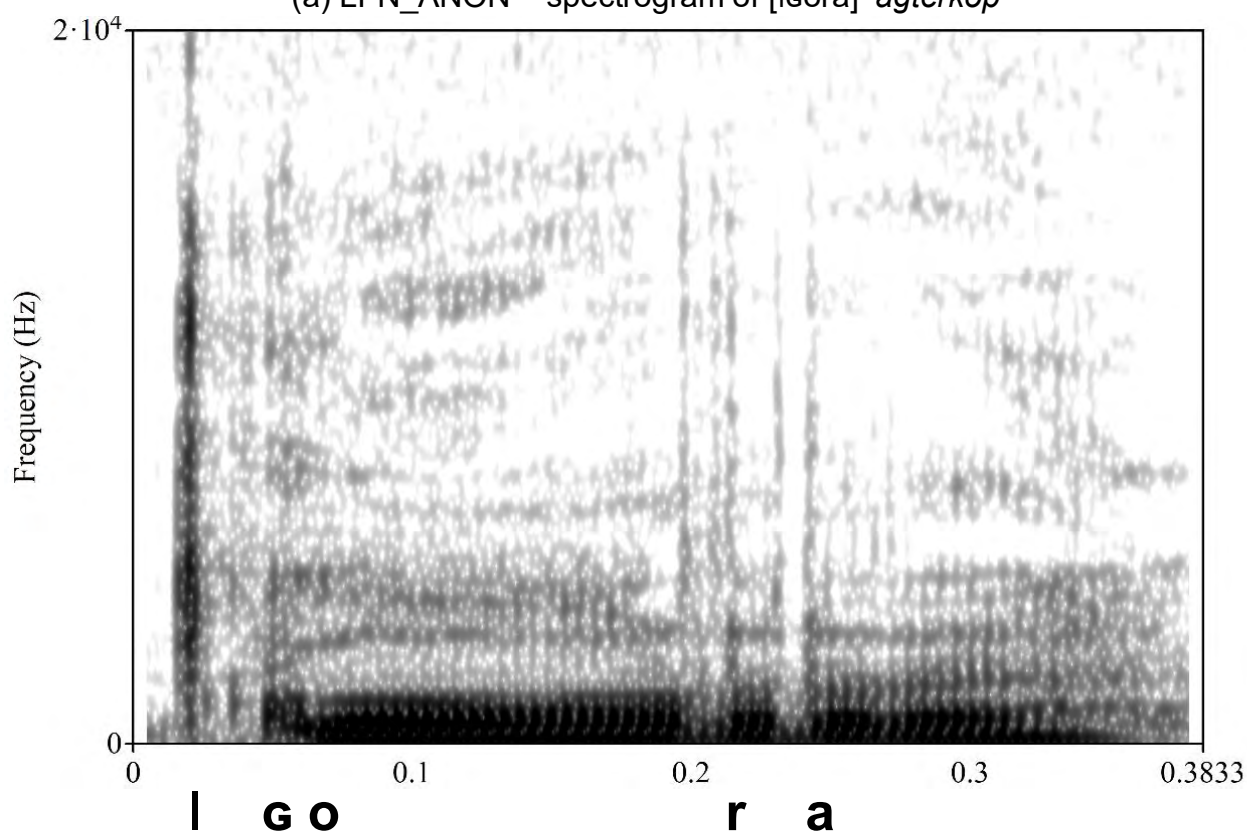
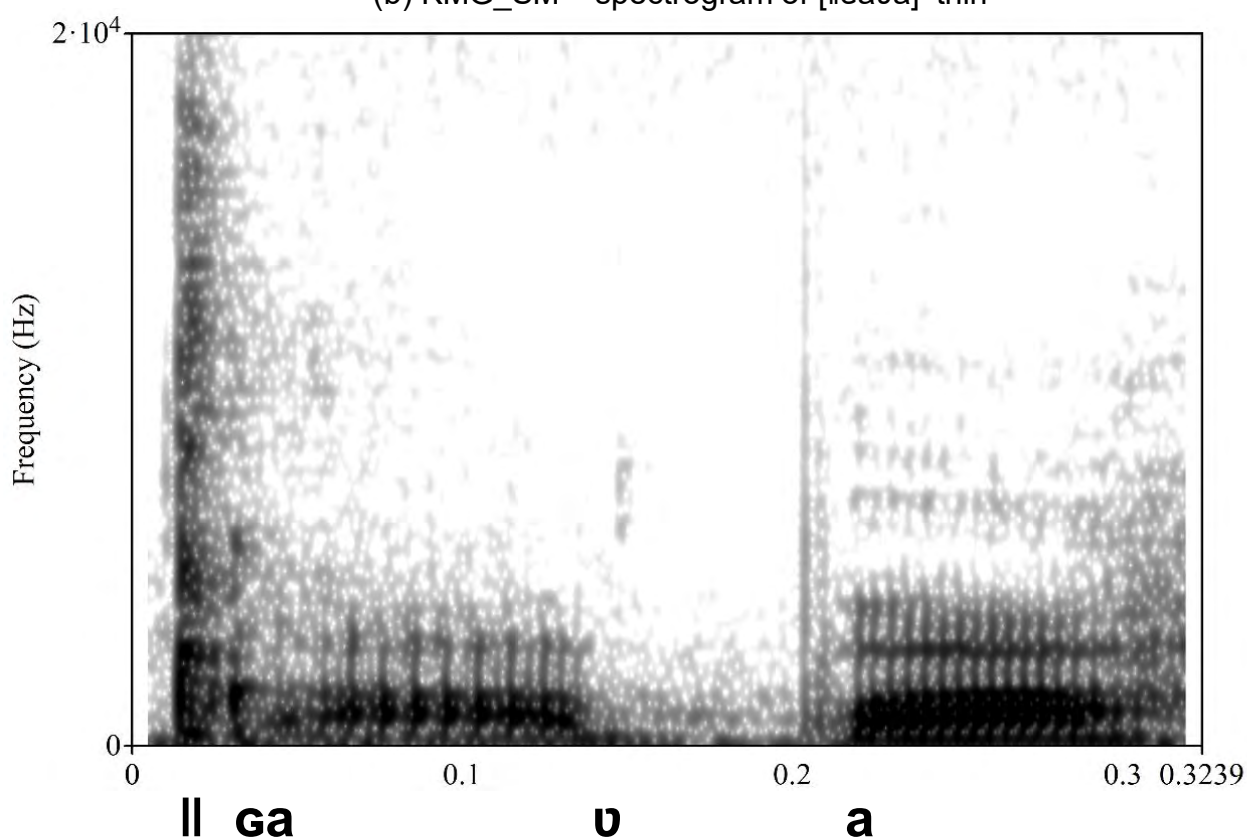


**Figure 6.14 – Spectrograms of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans
voiced linguopulmonic clicks**

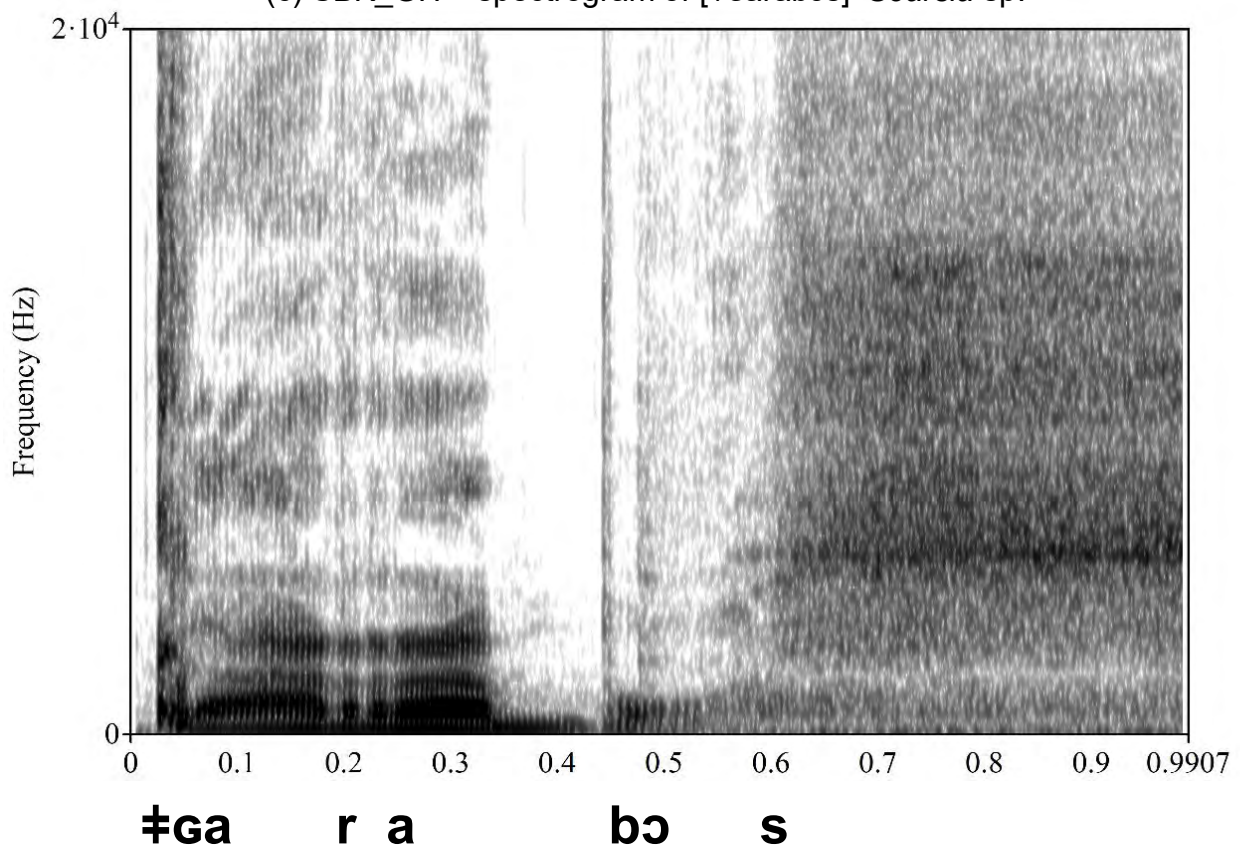
(a) LFN_ANON – spectrogram of [l̥ɔra] ‘agterkop’



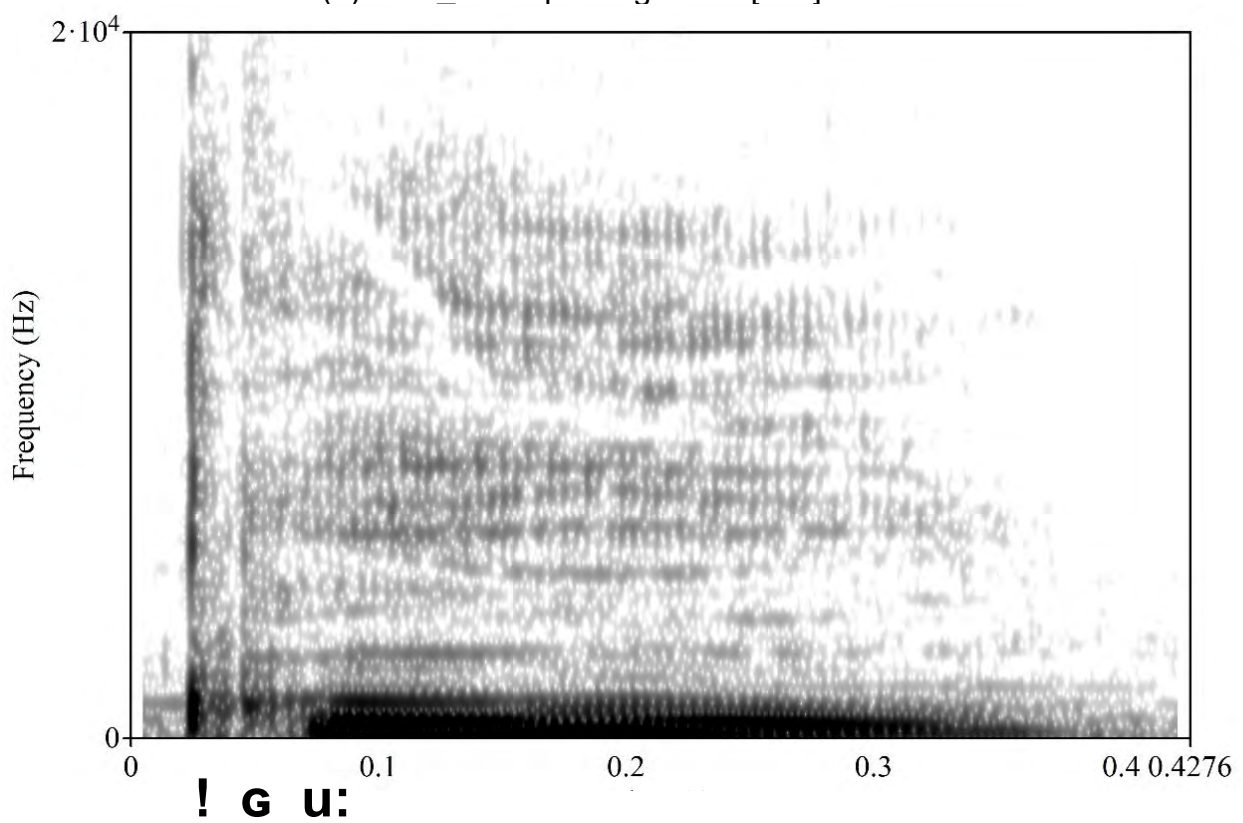
(b) KMG_SM – spectrogram of [ll̥ava] ‘thin’



(c) SBK_GH – spectrogram of [ʔ̠arabos] ‘Searsia sp.’



(d) CDA_LF – spectrogram of [!ḡu:] ‘to scab’



6.2. Phonetic Description of Posterior Releases & Accompaniments

This section describes the posterior releases of Namaqualand Afrikaans click consonants, noting an unusual prevalence of audible dorsal releases not expected from the L1 Nama input. It also discusses accompaniments such as nasalisation.

6.2.1. Description & Discussion of the Audible Dorsal Release

Although all click consonants incorporate both an anterior and a posterior release, these typically occur nigh-simultaneously, with the result that the burst of the posterior release is usually subsumed into the burst of the anterior release. Certain accompaniments will regularly preclude the appearance of a dorsal burst in spectral readings; for example, Sands 2020: 24 – 25, Nakagawa 2006: 201, and Fulop & Wright 2020: 264 – 265 distinguish between an ejective click and a glottalised click by observing that glottalised clicks will not display a posterior burst.

Since the posterior closure involves the dorsum of the tongue, it is here referred to as a **dorsal closure**. However, it should be noted that the precise mechanism used to achieve the posterior release may vary across languages and even within inventories; for example, L1 Nama dental and lateral clicks are released through dorsal lowering, while the alveolar and palatal clicks are released through tongue lowering (Proctor *et al.* 2020: 232). In the absence of ultrasound imaging technology, all Namaqualand Afrikaans posterior release mechanisms are referred to as **dorsal releases**, although it should be understood that the precise mechanism is not known. Where necessary, clicks exhibiting audible dorsal releases will also be discussed as **linguopulmonic**.

In describing languages where audible delayed dorsal releases contrast phonemically with inaudible immediate dorsal releases, the dorsal character **q** is typically employed, as in the N|uu series /|q̤ ʔq̤ !q̤ ʔq̤/. This format is associated especially with uvular clicks, as ultrasound imaging was able to determine that the N|uu closures are achieved through contact between the dorsum of the tongue and the uvula (Miller *et al.* 2009), which has significant implications for the unitary analysis of click consonants (Miller *et al.* 2009; Bradfield 2014; Bennett 2020). In the case of Namibian Khoekhoe, the dental click is achieved through a velar release, while the alveolar, lateral, and palatal clicks incorporate a uvular release (Proctor *et al.* 2020: 232).

With regard to click consonants produced in recent loanwords using a clickless L1 grammar, the position of the posterior closure is unclear, as no ultrasound imaging studies are available. The spectral analysis of loaned clicks in shiYeyi reveals several instances of audible dorsal closures that are treated as velar (Fulop *et al.* 2003: 244) but it should be noted that this paper precedes Miller *et al.* 2009, and that posterior closures were, at this time, assumed to be velar unless proven otherwise (see discussion at Miller 2019: 3 – 4). In discussing click items that were loaned into chiFwe under similar circumstances, Gunnink notes that most contain delayed posterior releases, and that these are ‘audibly velar’ (Gunnink, 2020: 162), but does not incorporate this feature into the transcriptions. Recording monolingual speakers of Karoo Afrikaans who had some lexical recall of Kora and |Xam, as well as a broader familiarity with loanwords of Kora origin common in Karoo Afrikaans, Kilian 2020 found frequent instances of an audible dorsal release, but does not comment on its positioning, instead transcribing all clicks using [ʔq̠] and treating them as linguopulmonic. Preliminary ultrasound imaging of the siSwati dental click would also suggest a velar posterior closure (Proctor *et al.* 2020: 232).

For the purposes of transcription and tallying, all audible posterior click releases in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans have been indicated [ʔq̠] or [ʔq̠̠], using the uvular symbols [q] and [q̠] in keeping with the positioning expected of at least the lateral, alveolar, and palatal L1 Nama clicks. However, it is not clear whether any clicks used in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans would necessarily replicate the dorsal positioning expected of the L1 Nama inventory, and, in the majority of cases, it simply was not possible to determine whether these releases were uvular or velar, although I will note that, to my impressionistic judgement, they were in the main velar. The plain fact that authorities misjudged uvular posterior closures as velar posterior closures for nearly a century should suggest that distinguishing between the two can be prohibitively difficult without the assistance of ultrasound imaging, and analysis at Fulop & Wright 2020: 257 – 259 shows that even close spectrographic analysis often yield results ‘unfortunately too similar’ to differentiate a velar closure from a uvular, although they do advise aiming to identify a velar pinch wherever possible as a diagnostic method (as does Sands 2020: 32). Rather than attempt to qualify each individual token as velar or uvular, all audible posterior releases were tallied together in a single category throughout, and referred to simply as **dorsal**.

Regardless of its precise positioning, the linguopulmonic airstream is a significant feature of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans click consonants, occurring in some form on 60% of all click tokens (but, strangely enough, not on any lateral click tokens to my judgement). In such tokens, dorsal releases are clearly visible in the spectrogram itself, as amply evidenced in Figure 6.11, and are typically audible. The majority of dorsal releases (401 out of a total of 622) were voiceless and unaspirated plosives, transcribed [Xq̠], but many consultants also produced what appears to be a voiced dorsal release, transcribed or [Xḡ] and illustrated in Figure 6.12. The prevalence of the linguopulmonic airstream may originate in the apparent tendency of some clickless speakers to perceive a voiced or voiceless posterior closure on L1 clicks, as described below, but not replicated by more modern perception data:

Da für die Bildung der Schnalze ein Verschluß am weichen Gaumen notwendig ist, wird gewissermaßen ein *g* oder *k* vorbereitet. Der Hörer glaubt auch *g* oder *k* in vielen Fällen zu vernehmen, ...während die Eingeborene bestreitet, daß solche Laute wirklich gesprochen werden.

Since a closure is required at the soft palate in the construction of the clicks, a *g* or a *k* is prepared, so to speak. In many instances, the listener in fact believes that a *g* or a *k* has been heard, ... while the indigenous people contend that no such sounds have actually been uttered.

Meinhof 1930: 26

However, the prominence of the dorsal release in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans may simply be a question of articulatory competence in timing. In *tenuis* clicks, the anterior and posterior closures are released ‘almost simultaneously’ (Fulop & Wright 2020: 257) in fluent speakers of click releases, meaning that the burst of the posterior release is simply drowned out by the far more intense burst of the anterior release; this is illustrated by spectrograms of L1 Nama *tenuis* click at Figure 6.10. L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans speakers may simply lack the articulatory competence required to release closures near-simultaneously, resulting instead in two sequential bursts. One observation that may explain the prevalence of these audible dorsal closures as an epenthetic gesture comes from a study that took ultrasound images of clicks produced by clickless speakers. The following excerpt, in which all emphasis is mine, suggests that the lowering of the velum might be a cross-linguistic artefact of articulatory inexperience in clickless speakers. Unfortunately, there is no discussion of whether or

not the ‘preference to lower the velum’ also coincided with an audible dorsal release.⁴⁵

‘A common tendency in our data was for participants to produce clicks with a lowered velum. Some of these productions occurred as voiced nasalized clicks, which one might transcribe as [!ᵐ] or [lᵐ] (implying, here, nasality throughout the greater part of the click). However, most clicks occurred without any obvious nasality – even voiceless nasality. The intended learning target sequences, [a!a] and [ala], contain plain oral unaspirated clicks, thus it is intriguing that most participants showed a preference to lower the velum in forming the posterior stricture of the click gesture. We might be tempted to speculate that this is a property peculiar to learners of clicks. Moreover, it is indeed puzzling that, even though oral-nasal control for consonants is phonologically mandatory in the native languages of all of our participants, many participants did not master oral click production. Perhaps it is somehow easier to form the posterior stricture when the velum is lowered.’

Mosik & Didiu, 2020: 396

While speakers of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans are not necessarily clickless *per se*, they are both underexposed and underpractised. With the exception of ten or so very common daily items, many click words are rare in daily discourse, and most are in fact idiosyncratic (as discussed in Section 10.2.1 below). Accordingly, click consonants make up a relatively small and sidelined portion of the speakers’ inventories. While more accustomed to clicks than the speakers tested in Mosik & Didiu 2020, their anterior releases show clear traits of articulatory undershoot. It may therefore be that their posterior releases are similarly undershot; that this involves an unexpected lowering of the velum as an epenthetic gesture, more readily accessible than the raising of the dorsum, in creating the posterior closure; and that this gesture effectively delays the posterior release until after the burst from the anterior release (undershot in any case, and therefore less intense than in L1 clicks) has dissipated, rendering it better audible.

Outside of perceptual and articulatory explanations, underlying regional variation in the substrate should also be considered. An audible posterior closure judged to be

⁴⁵ A lowered velum should of course yield nasal venting in non-click consonants, and many of the trial speakers ‘did not master oral click production’ (Mosik & Didiu 2020: 396). However, the fricated audible posterior release of the affricate click series in Namibian Khoekhoe co-occurs with oral venting, but the aspirated series is accompanied by passive nasal venting in the form of prenasalisation, and *blocks* an audible posterior release (Traill 1991). At the very least, this does not rule *out* a lowered velum as the cause of the audible release in the L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans clicks.

uvular has been recorded as an apparently allophonic variation on the affricated ejective series of click consonants that historically persisted in some varieties of L1 Kora (Du Plessis 2019: 95). Similarly, some of the L1 Nama consultants interviewed for this project *did* produce audible dorsal releases on at least some tokens of click consonants expected to be *tenuis* (as illustrated in Figure 6.10), although these tended to be less perceptible than the very salient dorsal releases used by L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans speakers. Although such audible posterior closures are not formally recorded from standardised Namibian Khoekhoe, phonetic and variation in click consonants across Namibian dialects is almost entirely undescribed (with Haacke, Eiseb & Namaseb 1997 being the only modern resource on dialectal variation).

It would not be out of the question to propose that the linguopulmonic clicks unexpectedly recorded from some speakers of L1 Nama represent an intermediate stage in the sound change from the earlier affricated ejective series to the *tenuis* series, and that this stage still lingers in more conservative dialects of the south. If this is the case, then the prevalence of linguopulmonic clicks in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans may actually reflect relatively accurate preservation of an accompanying feature that *is* present in understudied southerly L1 Nama. This is further discussed in Section 6.2.2. below.

6.2.2. Description & Discussion of the Ejective Accompaniment

Many consultants also made use of ejective click consonants, illustrated in Figure 6.13 below. For the purposes of transcription and tallying, these clicks have been indicated [ʔq̠], and are considered distinct from the series [ʔq̠].⁴⁶ In the spectral array, they manifest as a double burst in narrow proximity, with the VOT following at a significant delay, essentially producing a characteristic ‘triple band’ indicating the anterior release, the ejective posterior release, and the VOT. This aligns with descriptions of audible dorsal releases identified as ejective in several languages, including the specimens presented at Fulop, Ladefoged, Liu, & Vossen 2003: 244 – 245 and Fulop & Wright 2020: 264 – 265. The delay between the ejective dorsal release and the onset of the vowel could vary, but apparently without yielding contrast.

⁴⁶ Again, although the posterior closures have been represented using the uvular character <q>, it is not clear whether they are all in fact uvular.

The presence of ejective click came as something of a surprise, as ejectivity is not attested for click consonants in standardised Namibian Khoekhoe, and so could not have formed part of the pool of L1 Nama click consonants to which speakers of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans were exposed. A simple explanation might be that the glottalised click, which does appear in standard L1 Nama, is, like ejective click consonants, realised with a significant delay between the burst of the click and the VOT. It is possible that, in seeking to replicate the delayed VOT associated with the glottalised click series of L1 Nama (which was possible, given the collection of 190 tokens of glottalised click consonants), speakers of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans also produced ejective linguopulmonic clicks.

A more complex explanation is introduced by the fact that, although the affricate ejective click reconstructed for *proto-KHOE has been lost across the board in all documented varieties of Nama and Damara, it was retained in easterly varieties of Kora up until its extinction in 2013 (whether or not Richtersveld Nama was or remains similarly conservative cannot be guessed). KMG_AP noted that his maternal grandmother had been part of a small Korana community (*'n klein groepie mense'*) that had moved from Griekwastad in the vicinity of Danielskuil, east of Upington, to Sanddrif in the Richtersveld. As the consultant was a respected local historian, and as Namaqualand culture places strong emphasis on the accurate preservation of genealogy, there is no reason to doubt this. At least one other consultant, SBK_GH, noted that she had had family born as far east as Upington, within the historical vicinity of Kora. Additionally, the item **6m**, realised [lʰœurudap] by MTK_ANON, is directly attested only for Kora as **!arurub**, and was explicitly attributed by this consultant to migrant labourers with whom he had worked on farms during his youth. It is therefore not at all impossible that westerly varieties of Kora, perhaps associated with the so-called 'Einiqua' clans known to have lived along the western reaches of the Gariep, were historically in contact with some varieties of Nama spoken in Boesmanland and Namaqualand, perhaps even as recently as the mid-20th century.

However, the potential presence of some Kora on the eastern borders of Namaqualand, allowing for the historical exposure to an ejective click series that is otherwise not attested for the surviving Khoekhoe-branch languages, cannot reasonably account for the fact that 95 ejective tokens were used by L1 Namaqualand

Afrikaans consultants today. Indeed, Maingard 1930 reported that this accompaniment was not present in the more westerly varieties of Kora, which are those most likely to have been in contact with Nama, and was ultimately attested only from the easterly and apparently more conservative varieties of the Upper Gariep (as discussed at Du Plessis 2019: 95).⁴⁷ Even *if* Kora-speakers were present in Boesmanland and Namaqualand, the affricate ejective click may not have been in their repertoire.

6.2.3. Description of Nasalised Linguopulmonic Clicks

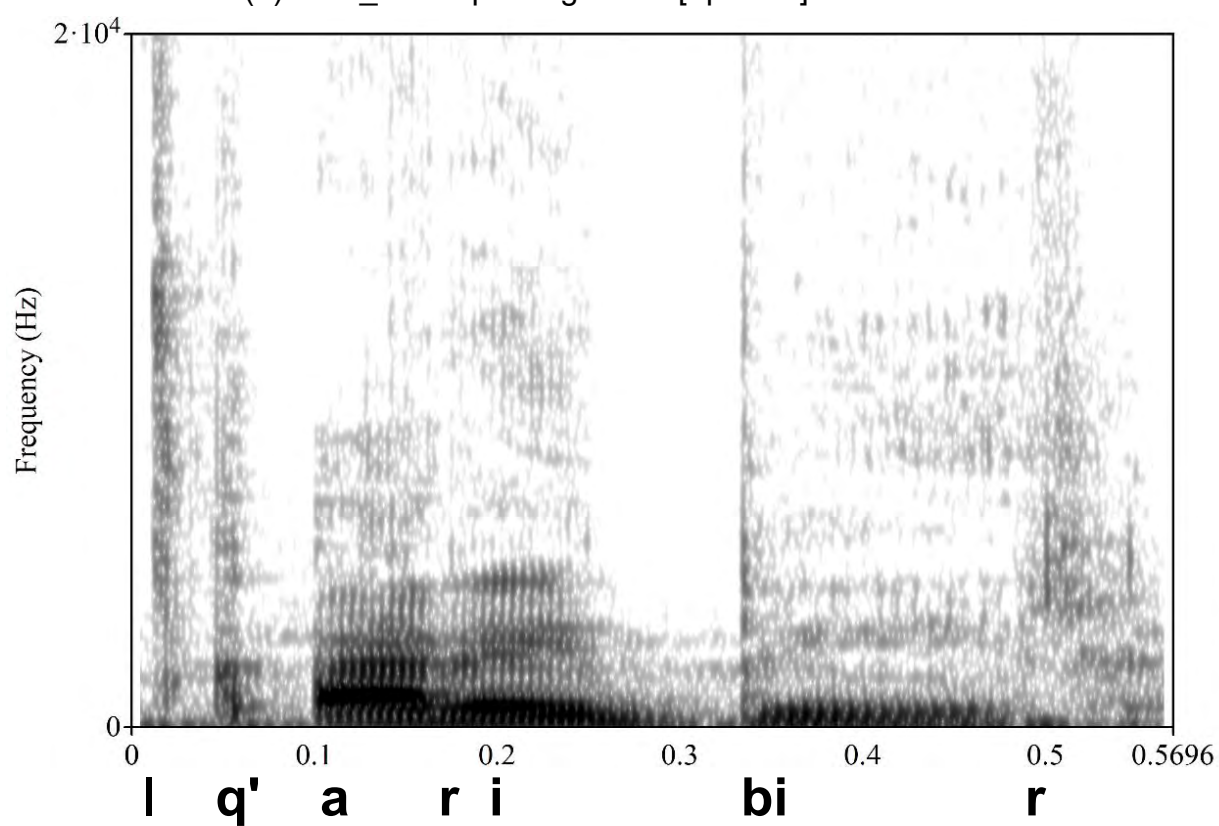
Nonetheless, the proposal that L1 Nama as historically spoken in Namaqualand and the Richtersveld may have retained a number of archaic phonetic features is strengthened by the strangest of the linguopulmonic clicks recorded from L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans, which I have termed ‘nasalised linguopulmonic’ and transcribed, a little clumsily, as /^ŋXg/. These were characterised by strong nasalisation that preceded and continued throughout the click burst, then terminated in an audible voiced dorsal release of the click. They account for only 17 tokens collected from two consultants, WKL_GE and HKB_GS, the first of whom was elderly and whose repertoire was extremely idiosyncratic, and the second of whom was the only consultant to have had direct childhood exposure to L1 Richtersveld Nama at Lekkersing. Four typical tokens are illustrated in Figure 6.14 above.

Similar click accompaniments are on record for some Kalahari-branch languages. The prenasalised voiced click series entails an audible voiced posterior release following the click burst in Khwedam and ǁAnikhwe (Kilian-Hatz 2003: 8, Vossen 2013: 167), although in these clicks the nasalisation does not typically continue throughout the click burst, but only precedes it (note also that such clicks are not reconstructed for *proto-KHOE at Vossen 1997: 322). Nothing comparable to this is attested in Damara,

⁴⁷ Note the early description by Hahn 1870: 16 of not five but *seven* Nama click accompaniments. Those indicated <n> (nasalised <!n>), <h> (aspirated <!h>), <g> (assume the modern *tenuis* <!g>), <k> (assume the modern glottalised <!>), and <x> (assume the modern affricated <!kh>) are expected, but the scope of remaining two orthographies, <kh> and <kx>, is unclear. Both are described as *faucalgutturalen* sounds, suggesting some degree of affrication, and both are described as being *selten*, ‘rare’, potentially suggesting that some vestige of the affricate ejective series may still have been obsolescing in some dialects of ‘Groot’ Nama at this point.

Figure 6.15 – Spectrograms of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans ejective clicks

(a) CDA_AE – spectrogram of [l̥q'aribi:r] 'homemade beer'



(b) KMG_SM – spectrogram of [ll̥q'uni] 'elbow'

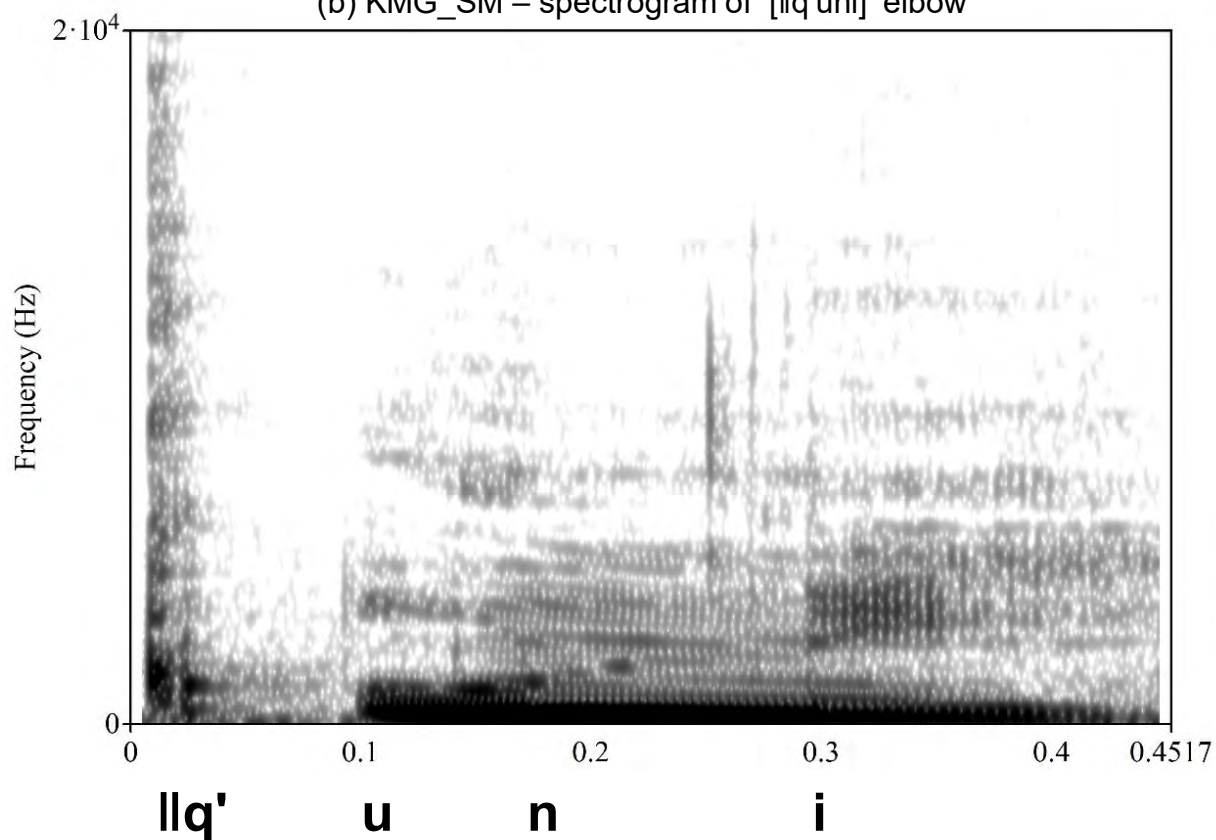
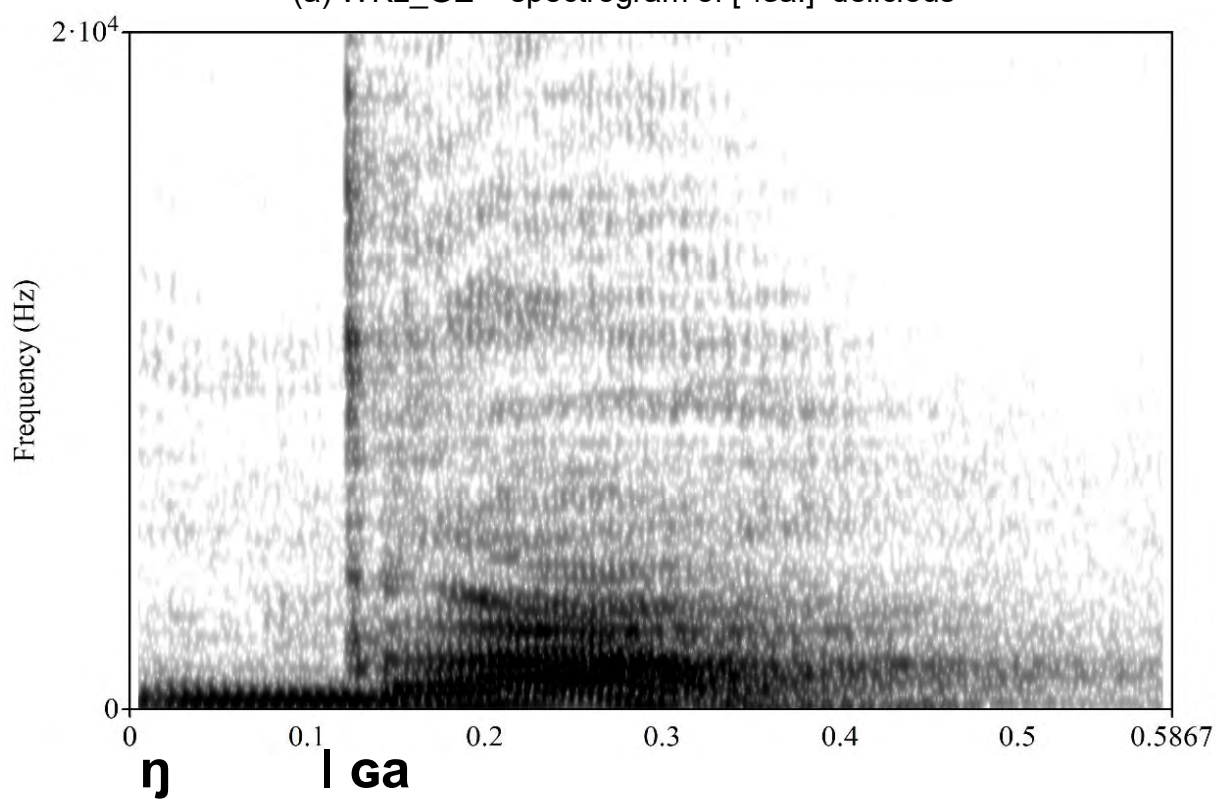
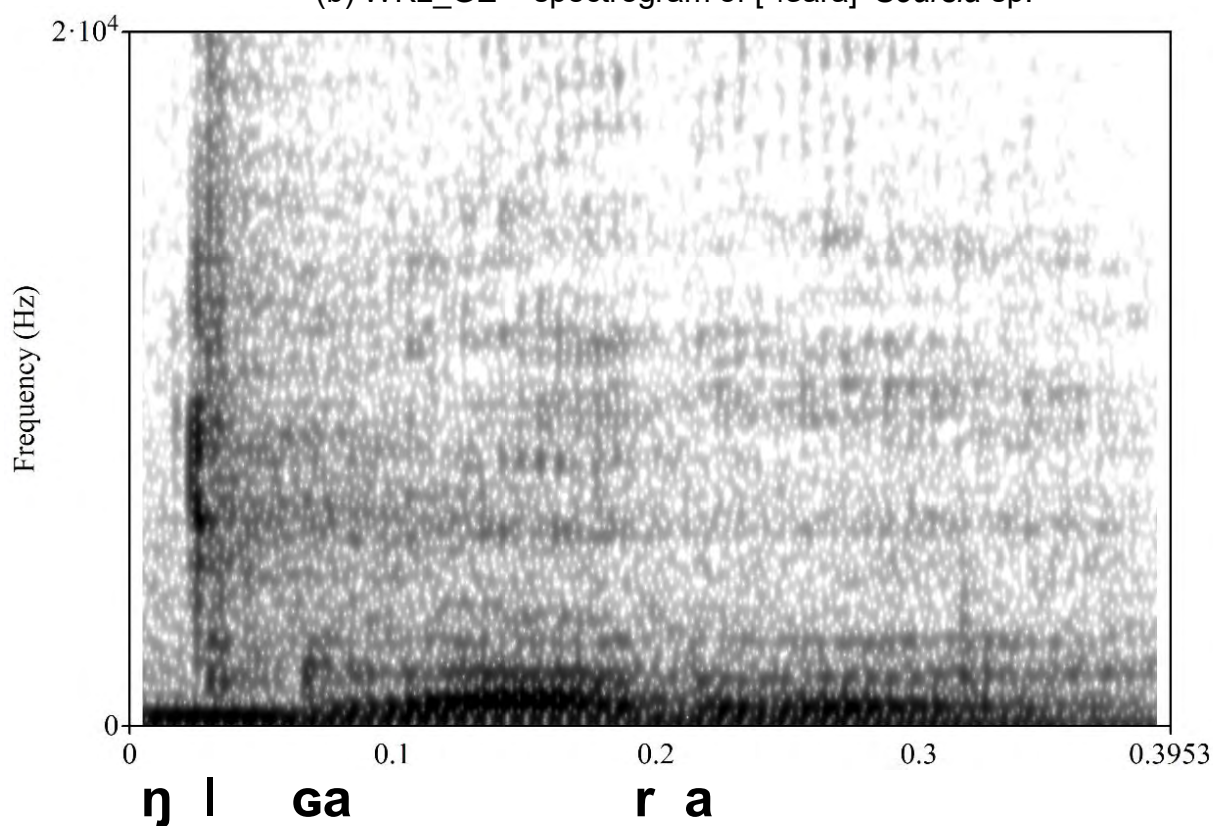


**Figure 6.16 – Spectrograms of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans
nasalised linguopulmonic clicks**

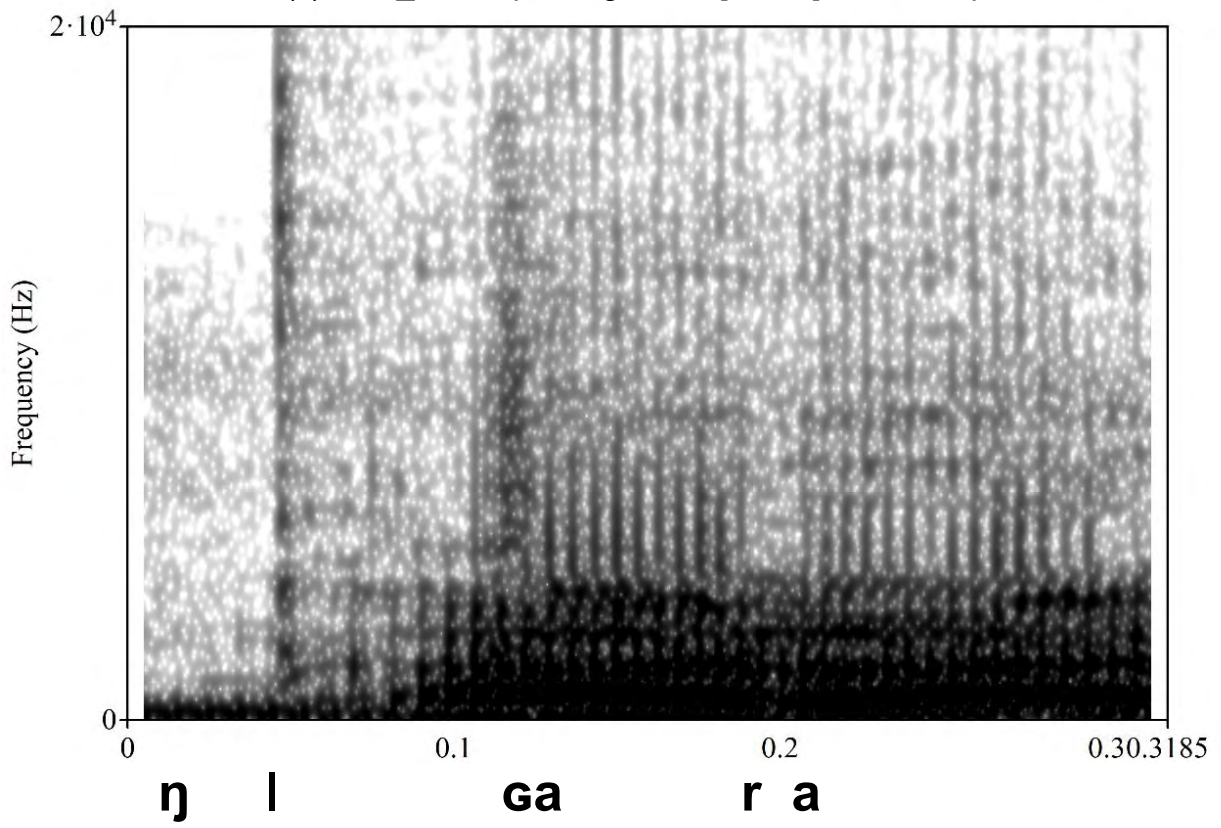
(a) WKL_GE – spectrogram of [ŋl̥Ga:] ‘delicious’



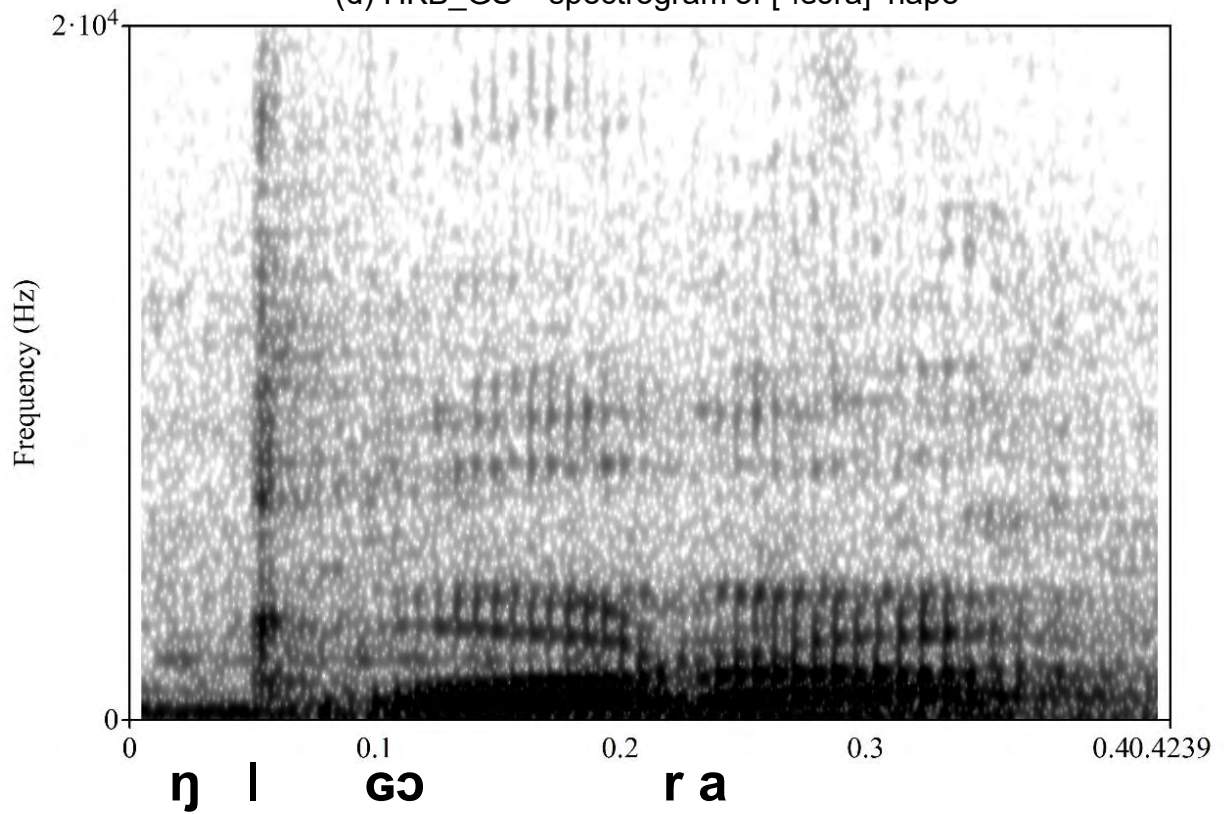
(b) WKL_GE – spectrogram of [ŋl̥Gara] ‘*Searsia* sp.’



(c) HKB_GS – spectrogram of [ᵿlᵿara] ‘*Searsia* sp.’



(d) HKB_GS – spectrogram of [ᵿlᵿora] ‘nape’



Nama, or Kora, except for a single token, recorded from the L1 Kora of Ouma Jacoba Maclear of <n!gausa> = ‘brown’ that contained a ‘nasalised click with audible release of the posterior closure as a voiced stop [g]’; this unexpected pronunciation has been associated with an early 20th-century record of a coat colour term in the archaic southerly Nama of Schültze 1907 (Du Plessis 2019: 96).⁴⁸ It is remotely possible, therefore, that some Khoekhoe-branch varieties in southerly Namibia, Namaqualand, Boesmanland, and the broader Gariiep region preserved this accompaniment, and that it lingered in the post-shift repertoire of speakers of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans who had been exposed to these more conservative varieties.

In short, the unexpected presence of ejective and nasalised linguopulmonic click consonants in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans hints that these features, broadly considered archaic in the Khoekhoe-branch languages and better known from the more conservative Kalahari-branch languages, may historically have been retained in very southerly varieties of L1 Nama spoken in Namaqualand. Urgent documentation of Richtersveld Nama is advised in order to determine whether or not these click accompaniments may still be in use.

6.2.4. Other Frequent Click Accompaniments

Cross-linguistically, both the glottalised and the ejective click releases involve a significant delay in the VOT, but the glottalised release may be reliably distinguished from the ejective in that it should always block the appearance of the posterior release. This was the second most frequent click accompaniment overall, accounting for 18% of the total, and was generally very similar to the glottalised click series expected of L1 Nama. Small amounts of prenasalisation were impressionistically detected on some glottalised tokens, although not consistently enough to be worth tallying separately. Nasalisation was the third most frequent click accompaniment overall,

⁴⁸The association of Ouma Jacoba’s word <n!gausa> = ‘brown’ with Schültze’s word **!gāu !huni** suggested at Du Plessis 2019: 96 is tenuous. The spelling **!gāu !huni** does not in fact seem to be present at Schültze 1907: 265, and **!āu !huni** ‘auf die grau-gelbbraune Färbung des Klipdachses verweisend’ (‘referring to the grey-yellowbrown colouring of the hyrax’) is more readily explained as an early record of Namibian Khoekhoe **!āu !hūnī**, *lit.*, *dassiegeel*, ‘dun or tan-coloured like a dassie’ (H&E299), than as a putative term meaning ‘dirty-yellow’. I would prefer a connection instead between <n!gausa>, assuming the vowel-breaking that increasingly seems to be characteristic of southerly Khoekhoe, with **ʔnūu** = ‘to be dark in colour’, ‘to be black’, used in a number of coat colour terms (H&E421 - 422), which notably in Khwedam uses a prenasalised click with a voiced velar accompaniment <nʔgu> (Kilian-Hatz 2003: 260).

used in 122 tokens or 12% of the total, making it only slightly more common than the voiced linguopulmonic accompaniment (used in 113 tokens or 11% of the total). This click was distinguished by the presence of nasalisation lines clearly preceding the click, and usually continuing through at least part of the click burst. The *tenuis* or ‘plain’ click was utilised in 77 tokens, or 7% of the total. Here the posterior release is subsumed into the anterior release and is inaudible; it usually follows too rapidly after the anterior release to be visible in the waveform, or else is visible only with significant magnification.

6.2.5. Rare or Idiosyncratic Accompaniments

The battery tested for four target items with an L1 Nama onset affricate click (1a **!khàrib**; 1c **ʔkhòròb**; 3c **llkhǎm̐**; 4a **[khùrúb]**), while 10 such items were volunteered serendipitously (5h **ʔkhóés**; 5w **ʔkhòm̐**; 5x **lkhǎm̐**; 5z **!khàás**; 5ae **!khòrób**; 5ah **llkhóó**; 5aj **!khòónǎm̐**; 5al **!khòòmpóó**; 6e **[khòm̐s]**; 7d **!khàèrá**). Nonetheless, only 14 affricated tokens were collected from three consultants, SKF_LM, WKL_GE, and KMG_AP. When they do occur, they are transcribed [ʔx̠] in keeping with the standard IPA representation of the Namibian Khoekhoe affricate click. As above, uvular frication [x̠] is assumed, but cannot be demonstrated.

A series of slightly prenasalised but strongly aspirated clicks is also expected of L1 Nama, and it has been observed also that oral aspiration may alternate with uvular frication in producing the affricate series of L1 Nama clicks (Bennett, 2020: 108 – 109). Once again, there was ample material in both the standardised test battery (2a **[hùnis]**; 2c **ʔhâutsiama**; 2e **llhòáb**; 4e **!hùú-ám̐**) and the serendipitous items (5a **!hàòb**, 5b **ʔhàbá**; 5c **lharus**; 5t **!hùì**; 5af **ʔhòró**; 5ai **!hóá**; 6d **[hùíkhóm̐]**) to have elicited aspirated clicks. However, no lingual clicks with any kind of aspiration were recorded to my judgement. Two voiceless linguopulmonic clicks elicited from OKP_ANON2 may have carried slight aspiration on the audible dorsal release, but the spectra were inconclusive.

6.3. Instances of Click Evanescence & Click Loss

This section discusses the replacement of segments expected to be realised as click consonants with pulmonic consonants, a phenomenon generally referred to as ‘click loss’.

6.3.1. Click Evanescence

Around 8 tokens document extreme click weakening, such that the click itself is nearly inaudible. Certain of the clickless tokens, in which the expected L1 clicks were replaced with a pulmonic consonant, gave the auditory impression of containing minute clicklike sounds, but no evidence for this could be detected during spectral or waveform analysis. Of these eight clicks, most were akin to an extremely weak dental click, although two at least gave the impression of being slightly more retracted, perhaps implying a post-alveolar or pre-palatal anterior closure. Their presence in the spectrogram was nearly invisible. Since it was virtually impossible and probably fairly meaningless overall to assign a ‘type’ based on the place of anterior release, these clicks were tallied separately, as a fifth ‘click type’, and, for want of a better transcription protocol, were indicated using the IPA symbol for the dental click in superscript [ʔ].

These miniature clicks cannot be *tenuis*. Rather, they must precede or implicate an accompaniment of some sort, and so are effectively parasitic upon pulmonic consonants. If these miniature clicks *could* stand *tenuis*, then the subsequent stage of click loss would logically be tantamount to a zero segment. As will be discussed in 6.3.2 below, outright deletion was not attested as a form of click loss, with all 36 tokens replacing a click with a consonant of some kind; MAX_{IO} is therefore prioritised throughout.

In at least one instance, the pulmonic consonant that followed was immediately attested in subsequent tokens that featured total click loss. This suggests that the production of miniature clicks is connected with the total replacement of a click with a pulmonic consonant; it would be worth testing whether or not miniature clicks are perhaps a more frequent option during connected speech than during elicitation. Miniature clicks may also appear during nasalisation, as evidenced by WKL_GE 7b [ʔi:jakʔs]. At least one intervened between nasalisation and an audible dorsal release,

as in WKL_GE in [ŋ̠i:xat], peculiar given that */ŋg/ is not a licit onset in Afrikaans; this token would have been tallied as an example of the nasalised linguopulmonic accompaniments discussed in Section 6.2.3. above were it not for the click's almost imperceptibly minute acoustic profile.

In addition to the discussions of click 'weakening' in the Kalahari-branch languages in Traill & Voßen 1997, it has been observed that younger speakers of ǀHoan had a tendency to produce pharyngeal lateral clicks 'with barely audible clicks but with strong pharyngealisation' (Sand 2017: 14), suggesting that this may occur in an L1 context. Also worth comparing are the emergent clicks discussed in German and possibly in other European languages (Ohala 1996, Simpson 2007) as well as in some NTU languages including kinyaRwanda (Demolin 2016). The elusive emergent bilabial click, attested sporadically in dialects of chiShona throughout the 20th century (Doke 1931, Ladefoged 1968), has more recently been detected in spectrographic analysis (Demolin 2016; Harrison & Bennett *pers. comm.*).

Such clicks are similar to the Namaqualand miniature clicks only in their exceptionally low acoustic power, as their diachronic developmental process is entirely distinct. I would recommend that the Namaqualand 'clicklets' be termed 'evanescent clicks', in contrast to 'emergent clicks', as they should probably be understood to precede total click loss. It would be useful to establish whether or not they are also present in Kalahari-branch languages that have undergone click loss, or in SWB languages like ruManyo that are steadily losing loaned clicks, in order to determine whether evanescent clicks are associated only with click loss during lexical borrowing, or whether they may also be implicated in language-internal click loss events.

6.3.2. Click Loss

The replacement of click consonants with pulmonic consonants is generally referred to as 'click loss' (Traill & Voßen 1997; Miller 2017; Fehn 2020a), although this term properly describes a broad and consistent community-wide trend. Where necessary, this section also employs the informal but nonetheless serviceable term 'declicking' (used in Güldemann & Elderkin 2010) to refer to nonce instances of click loss from specific tokens. Of the total 1064 L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans tokens which derived from an L1 Nama item hosting a click consonant, only 35 exhibited click loss – that is,

the replacement of a click consonant with a pulmonic consonant (including the glottal stop /ʔ/). There were no instances of a click being lost in favour of a zero segment, suggesting that MAX_{IO} is prioritised. Since we led the pre-test to the interviews by exemplifying items that contained clicks, and since consultants then went on to volunteer their own examples of items that contained clicks, it may well be that instances of click retention were over-collected; in everyday connected speech, click loss may be more common.

In language-internal patterns of click loss, in which click loss occurs as a set of regular sound changes affecting a well-established contrastive inventory, the correspondences between clicks and their pulmonic replacements are at least somewhat regular (Trail & Voßen 1997; Fehn 2020a). Furthermore, the lexicographic survey conducted in Chapter 3 suggested that the favoured means of ‘declicking’ an item was simply to replace the click with a velar plosive, either voiced or voiceless, while nasal consonants frequently replaced historically nasalised clicks. This is not the case in a post-shift context, in which no stably contrastive inventory exists to condition patterns of loss. This lends strength to the suggestion that at least some of the Khoekhoe-branch items noted in the lexicographic survey were elicited from speakers who had some degree of L1 fluency in a Khoekhoe-branch language and who realised clicks using consistent accompaniments. This would allow for lexicographers to engage in conscious orthographic ‘declicking’, transcribing these items using only <n> for a nasalised click, <k> for a glottalised click, and <g> or <gh> for a tenuis click. The inconsistencies in adaptation noted in Chapter 3, therefore, may well have been the result of collapsing L1 Khoekhoe and L1 post-shift Afrikaans datastreams.

In L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans, the use of segments *not* present in the native GERMANIC inventory, notably ejective and affricate ejective consonants, is fascinating. Although ejective consonants and click consonants do not form a natural phonological class, the impressionistic similarities between their acoustic profiles have long been noted, and have even been known to result in the spurious description of ejective consonants as click consonants by early linguists (Miller 2020: 440 – 441). The acoustic similarities between these two classes may therefore underlie the apparent capacity of ejectives to serve as acceptable replacements for clicks. Here again it should be noted that historical speakers of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans may

not necessarily have generated these cross-linguistically rare segments *ex nihilo*. Kora historically contained affricate ejective consonants, and, as explored in Section 6.2.2. above, it may well be the case that these consonants were also present in the historical inventory of Nama as spoken in Namaqualand. Speakers of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans may therefore have been exposed to the usage of ejective consonants via language contact, and have adopted these consonants as potential click replacements.

The sole instance of a click being lost in favour of an alveolar nasal collected for this project was a borderline case, and was nearly entered as a nasalised evanescent click, as discussed in Section 6.3.1. above; it occurred during the realisation of a series of nasalised clicks. Glottal stops, although relatively numerous, should nonetheless be considered outliers, in that they were idiosyncratic choices preferred by a limited number of consultants. Four of the eight tokens were elicited from WKL_GE, another three from KFN_ANON, and the final token from MTK_ANON; these three speakers were by far the most elderly consultants. One test item, 2d **llónillóns**, contained a reduplicated syllable, the interesting ramifications of which are further discussed in Section 7.1.1 below. One consultant, KMG_AW, chose to elide the second iteration across all tokens, referring to *Ptenopus garrulus* only as a [lu:inci], in Afrikaans perhaps best represented <t'ootjie>, but, given the reduplicative nature of the target, these instances have not been tallied as click deletion. Four tokens from WKL_GE, however, preserve both syllables, but display click deletion on the second syllable, such that the expected word-medial click is consistently replaced by a glottal stop; since the target click is glottalised, this potentially represents a degree of regular correspondence in declicking.

The velar plosive was by far the most frequent replacement for a click consonant, accounting for 23 of all 36 instances. The three voiceless alveolar plosives are unusual, but can be explained. All were produced by WKL_GE targeting 5h **lápá** **‡khóēs**, a localised southerly Nama term for the large arborescent vygie bushes *Stoeberia utilis*, as [taraxo:ibos]. His own Afrikaans orthography for this term, as used both in the handwritten notes he provided and in his published works, is <tarragooi>, with none of the usual informal Afrikaans orthographic indications of any click consonant (see Figure 9.2 below). The Le Roux 1981 orthography, however, is <t'arra

t'kooi>, where <t'> signals the presence of a click. In the first lexeme, click loss in favour of the alveolar plosive is likely the result of the orthographic omission of the apostrophe, such that WKL_GE read his own notation as <t> rather than {X}.

There is no clear trajectory for the loss of the click in the second element, however, unless WKL_GE was familiar with another source that used <t'gooi>, and then similarly omitted <t'>, resulting in an orthography <g> and an appropriate Afrikaans pronunciation <x>. Here again, it is worth observing that a velar fricative has replaced an affricate click. Again, older orthographies may, in fact, have been recorded from L1 Nama speakers, and so may have consistently captured, using *ad hoc* Afrikaans convention, such accompaniments as frication. Speakers learning these items from the lay record, without having ever heard them said aloud, might feasibly have 'declicked' these items, and replaced them with the Afrikaans pulmonic consonant implied by the orthography, allowing this form to pass into the common repertoire.

In at least one instance, click loss was the result of nonce metathesis. SBK_GH had realised three tokens of 2c **#haütsiama** as [ʔœutsiʔama]. All three used a voiceless linguopulmonic dental click word-initially, and used a clear glottal stop in the onset position of the penultimate syllable (instead of the palatal glide or voiced glottal fricative favoured by some other consultants in pronouncing the same item). On the fourth token, she metathesised the initial and penultimate syllables, yielding a token [ʔœutsiʔlama]. The click was transposed to the onset of the penultimate syllable, where it was nasalised, while the glottal stop, the original onset of the penultimate syllable, was transposed to the word-initial position. Why nasalisation then occurred is unclear.

Lastly, it is metalinguistically interesting to note that clickless forms were offered as a deliberate adaptation of L1 Nama items for L1 speakers of Afrikaans. 'Baie mense sê [gara],' WKL_GE observed, 'maar die Nama mense sê [ʔlara]'.⁴⁹ A comparable observation was made by a White consultant of similar age and socioeconomic station in the Kamiesberg in 2019, when he advised his wife, who had no familiarity with

⁴⁹ Here a particularly widespread informal Afrikaans spelling may have served to condition click loss. The orthography <ghnarra> was popularised by a 20th-century poem by C. Louis Leipoldt which describes the Hantam district of Namaqualand (see detailed discussion at **18.53e** in Appendix A). Two separate consultants quoted this poem to me when prompted for tokens of 2b **lgaras**, while several others recognised it when I quoted it to them. Contemporary settings of this poem to music (such as [this](#) rendition by a White L1 Afrikaans singer) seem to favour the pronunciations [gara] or [nara] for <ghnarra>, without attempting a click at all. Popular 'declicking' efforts may thus have codified the use of the voiced velar stop or alveolar nasal.

loaned click items, that, ‘Jy moet hom nou seker maar [**kǝribom**] sê, maar [**ʔǝri**] is die Namawoord’ (Christie 2019: 92 – 93). It may be a particular view of White speakers at least that an item must be ‘declicked’ before it can be considered Afrikaans.

6.4. Miscellaneous Phonological Adaptations

This section briefly describes phonological adaptations made to Nama items in Namaqualand Afrikaans that do not pertain to click consonants.

6.4.1. Adaptation of Tone

Precise details on the tonemic systems of Nama as historically spoken in Namaqualand are unknown, but it is not likely to have differed significantly from the tonemic system well-documented for Nama and Damara, and partially documented for Kora. As should be expected of interactions between a tonal and toneless language, contrastive tone was entirely neutralised on lexical material borrowed into L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans. This contributed to the high degree of homophony discussed in detail in Chapter 9 below.

6.4.2. Adaptation of Vowels

The cardinal vowel system of L1 Nama was adapted to L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans more or less as expected. As an example of a simple adaptation, the cardinal /o/ expected of L1 Nama is rather higher than the general Afrikaans /ɔ/, and so was occasionally mapped instead to the general Afrikaans /u/, as evidenced by CPT_LJ’s rendering of 0b **!unĩb** and 5ag **Inóńne** as homophones, both realised [ʔuni]. Certain geminate vowel sequences did cause trouble, especially L1 Nama /ao/, which was adapted predominantly as /œu/, but also sometimes as /au/.

More interesting were the occasional tokens suggesting that a target /a/ had historically been encountered in schwa reduction. WKL_GE consistently realised 7i **sàwé** as [zəbi:], and spelled it <zibbie>. The sole token 5s **!gàrí** [!əri] from KMG_AP likewise displays schwa reduction; strangely, the only other elicitations of this item, from MTK_ANON as 5s **!gàrí** [lʔəiri]; [lʔəiri]; [lʔəiri], display the vowel-breaking further discussed below. Both tokens of 3c **llkhám** from KFN_ANON were realised [lʔəm]. However, these four records were by far in the minority; most consultants consistently produced the expected Afrikaans /a/, indicating that the only adaptation during loan

had been slight backing of the cardinal L1 Nama /a/. This contrasts starkly with Cape Khoekhoe loanwords present in SA English, such as **kierie**, which must clearly have been loaned from a reflex of Kora **!xaurus** ~ **!xarus**, Nama **!khǎrúb** in schwa reduction, and with *Cape Khoekhoe or Kora-like loanwords present in isiXhosa, such as **iqhilika** = ‘honeybeer’, which must have been loaned from a reflex of Kora **!xarib**, Nama **!khàrib** in schwa reduction, and **inciniba** = ‘ostrich’, which must evidence schwa reduction of Nama **làmbib**, Kora **lamib** (for which a form **lemib** is attested at Du Plessis 2019: 294).⁵⁰

Perhaps the most salient vocalic adaptation concerns a number of items that very consistently displayed vowel-breaking or diphthongisation, such that standardised Namibian Khoekhoe strings /aCuC/ were consistently realised /œuCuC/ in Namaqualand Afrikaans. 0a **!gǎbú** in particular was realised /Xœubu/ (38 tokens across 17 speakers), or occasionally /Xaubu/ (8 tokens across three speakers), far more than as /Xabu/ (6 tokens across three speakers); L1 Nama-speaker KKS_CHL seemed to accept /Xœubu/ as the Namaqualand variation on the Namibian standard without much concern. A similar pattern was detected in the realisation of 5n **!lnàrú** as /Xœuru/ across two consultants, MTK_ANON and KFN_ANON. The fairly well-known plant name <t’nouroebos> /Xœurubɔs/ or /^ŋXœurubɔs/ (attested during this project only from WKL_GE, MTK_ANON, and KMS_COL, but amply documented in

⁵⁰ Post-shift material collected at historically Kora-speaking dorpies in the eastern Karoo, including Prieska (Kilian 2020; Kilian, Christie & Bennett *in preparation*) and Carnarvon (Christie & Bennett, field observations November 2020) also displays schwa reduction, to the extent that I would consider [l̥q̥əri] ‘homemade beer’ to be the regular Karoo Highlands isogloss of the Namaqualand [l̥q̥əri].

Furthermore, our interpreter Ms Meitjie Diko surprised everyone including herself by recognising several Namaqualand Afrikaans items from her own Willowmore Afrikaans repertoire, including 1a **!khàribier** and 3c **!lkhǎm**, further suggesting substrate interference with more easterly varieties of Coloured Afrikaans from a *Cape Khoekhoe or *Eastern Khoekhoe lect. Importantly, all of her tokens were supplied in schwa reduction, as [l̥q̥əribiər] and [l̥q̥əm] respectively. Discussing these examples in April 2021, Ms Diko and our research assistant Mr Sheldan Dolf, a speaker of L1 Coloured Afrikaans from Uitenhage, abruptly realised that they shared a Coloured Afrikaans adjective [l̥əmərəx] or [l̥q̥əmərəx], essentially <cimmerig>, which they glossed as *taaierig*, as used of sticky dough or stubborn dirt. To this compare the Nluuki <l’am> = ‘to be sticky’, realised both [l̥l’am] and in schwa reduction as [l̥l’əm] (Sands & Jones 2022: 62); this item was itself probably loaned into Nluuki from a Coloured Afrikaans loan of a reflex in schwa reduction of Nama [ʔǎē], Kora [ʔ’ai] = ‘to stick to’, ‘to cling to’.

These data, though sporadic in the absence of systematic regional surveys, hint that schwa reduction may historically have been more prominent in southerly and easterly communities in the broader Khoekhoe continuum across the central Karoo, and less prominent in northwesterly communities of the west coast. This also strengthens the hypothesis that *Cape Khoekhoe and Kora were more phonologically similar to each other than to southerly Nama at least.

the lexicographical record and elicited in the Kamiesberg at Christie 2019: 83) had long defeated my etymological efforts. I suggest the obscure Klein Nama item 5c **lharus** at Christie 2021: 225, but it is only on the strength of consistent observations of vowel-breaking in **!gäbü** and **!lnàru** in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans that I now feel this etymology to be certain.

There is some evidence also that strings /aCiC/ in standardised Namibian Khoekhoe are diphthongised /əiCiC/ in Namaqualand Afrikaans, as MTK_ANON consistently realised 5s **!gäri** as /l^ʔəiri/, 6g **llàris** as /l^ʔəiri/, and 6o **àris** as /əiri/. This pronunciation in loan of 6g **llàris** is elsewhere attested by the orthography of at least one lexicographic record <**eirie**> (Prinsloo 2008: 61). Furthermore, when referencing the *swart ebenhout* (*Euclea pseudobenus*), in standardised Namibian Khoekhoe **tsàbìs**, consultant PLA_1 used a variant form [tseibi:], not previously recorded to my knowledge. Perhaps relatedly, PNL_FV and PNL_PV both used an adjective [n^ʔɛisa] to mean ‘proud’, in standardised Namibian Khoekhoe attested only as <**†nìisà**>. At least some items considered to belong to the southerly Bondelswarts Nama dialect display a similar pattern (e.g., standardised Namibian Khoekhoe **†gǐi**, Bondelswarts **†gǎi** = ‘blind’ H&E392). Assuming this vowelbreaking to have been a general characteristic of the Nama historically spoken in the region, it is likely that MTK_ANON’s items replicated (and slightly raised) undocumented southerly Nama isoglosses with the shape /aiCiC/ or /eiCiC/.

Table 6.1 Vowelbreaking across Kora and Namibian Khoekhoe		
gloss	Kora	Namibian Khoekhoe
<i>Proteles cristata</i>	Igaib ~ Igib	Igǐib
‘a fly’	Igāineb ~ Igānab	Igǐinǎs
‘dappled’	Igauru ~ Igaru	Igaǐru
‘a walking stick’	Ixaurus ~ Ixarus	Ikhǎrúb
‘baboon’	Inirab ~ Inaidab	Ineèrǎb
‘evil spirit’, ‘trickster figure’ (<i>folkloric</i>)	llgaunab ~ llganab	llGǎúnǎb

Closer scrutiny of variation across the Khoekhoe branch suggests that this may in fact have been an underlying regional feature of certain southerly languages. At least some Kora lexical items exhibit variable diphthongs (as shown in Table 6.1 above); the standardised Namibian Khoekhoe isogloss is always the monophthongised form, *except* in the case of the archaic mythical term **llGǎúnǎb**. A similar phenomenon is

apparent also in personal names in Naro in the Kalahari branch (Visser 2013: 176). This suggests that the Klein Nama historically spoken in Namaqualand may have been more Kora-like than the Nama currently spoken in southern Namibia.

6.5. Conclusions to Chapter 6

This chapter describes and discusses the chief phonetic properties of the Namaqualand Afrikaans click inventory. The tendency for ordinarily ‘acute’ clicks to be realised as ‘noisy’ is compared with cross-linguistic trends of click ‘weakening’ in the Kalahari-branch languages. Particularly noteworthy is the preponderance of click consonants employing the linguopulmonic accompaniment, both voiced and unvoiced, which manifests as delayed and audible release of the posterior closure after the burst from the anterior closure has dissipated. Ejective click consonants, which likewise entail an audible posterior release, were also surprisingly common. Neither linguopulmonic nor ejective click consonants are expected from L1 Nama, and so their prevalence in Namaqualand Afrikaans seems to result from articulatory undershoot of the gestures required to release both closures in quick succession.

Also discussed was the small number of clicks that exhibited a very low acoustic power, referred to as ‘evanescent’ clicks. Click loss occurred relatively infrequently, but this is possibly because sampling methods emphasised the collection specifically of click items; ‘declicking’ may well occur more frequently in ordinary connected speech. No evidence of click insertion, either on historically clickless Nama items or on items of GERMANIC origin, was collected. Some further description is also offered of non-click phonemes, including an apparent trend toward diphthongisation in items of southerly Nama origin that suggests underlying historical regional variation in the substrate.

Chapter 7

Consistency and Variation of Namaqualand Afrikaans Clicks

This chapter describes and attempts preliminary explanation of the extreme intra- and interspeaker variation in the realisation of click type in Namaqualand Afrikaans. With results from this discussion largely inconclusive, it then attempts to detect interspeaker variation as conditioned by sociolinguistic variables such as age and place of birth in the hope of detecting any patterns in the usage of click consonants.

7.1. Intraspeaker Click Inventories

This section discusses the individual inventories of certain speakers in order to assess the degree of intraspeaker variation in click realisation.

7.1.1. Intraspeaker Variation of Click Type

Part of the difficulty involved in determining any regularity in click adaption during lexical borrowing that these adaptations do not vary only from speaker to speaker, but also within the repertoires of individuals. Links 1989:62 states explicitly that he encountered variation in the click type used between token and token of the same item, as produced by the same speaker, sometimes even within the same utterance. He does not comment on intraspeaker variation in click accompaniment, but this is probably because he was simply not aware of the concept. As was and still remains the South African convention when discussing click languages, he erroneously describes Nama as containing four click consonants, and does not tally the individual twenty phonemes independently. This section observes that intraspeaker variation in the realisation of click consonants affects both click type and click accompaniment.

Each individual speaker tended to use one particular click type most frequently, usually the dental but sometimes also the alveolar, and one particular accompaniment, usually the linguopulmonic. SBK_ANON, for example, used the dental click in 39 of 41 tokens. That her three tokens of 4a **|khùrúb** [luru] all used the dental click is not indicative of consistent recall and realisation of the L1 Nama target, but rather reflects her general tendency to realise any and all target clicks as dental. Her only two tokens that did *not* use the dental click were [ʰɛara] for 3e **llnàrà**, and [l̥quni] for 4d **ɛnùñi**, neither of which

suggests a deliberate effort to match the target type. Similarly, KMG_AP used the alveolar click across 46 of 56 tokens. That he consistently realised the expected click type, although not the expected click accompaniment, in 1b **!nòròs** [!ṽɔɾɔ], does not necessarily indicate accurate recall and articulation of an L1 Nama target, especially when set against such realisations as 4a **!khùrúb** [!ṽuru] and 5e **!lgùrúb** [!ṽuru].

In speakers with a more diverse profile of clicks and click accompaniments, assessments of adherence to the expected L1 Nama targets become more tenuous. CDA_LF, for example, had a relatively even distribution of click type across her 40 tokens, using the alveolar ten times, the dental twelve times, and the palatal eighteen times. Type matching was present across such tokens as 3a **!úù** [!ṽui], and 3b **!gàò** [!ṽaukənt], but did not appear on such tokens as **4b !lgàǎmi** [!ṽami] and **0b !ùnĩb** [!ṽunici] ~ [ǂṽunici]. Likewise, KMG_SM used the dental thirteen times, the lateral eight times, the alveolar 22 times, and the palatal ten times across her 53 tokens. Some items are both expected and consistent with regard to type, if not accompaniment, such as 0a **!gàbú** [!œubu] ~ [!ḡœubu], or 2a **!hùníś** [!ḡuni] ~ [!ʔuni]; others are both inconsistent and unexpected, such as **1d !àú** [!ṽœulax] ~ [!ʔœulax] and **1e ǂgàbá** [!ḡaba] ~ [!aba]. In such speaker profiles, it is impossible to distinguish instances of consistent recall and realisation of the expected L1 Nama target click from accidental correspondences.

A typical strategy to investigate retention of contrast in accompaniment was to ask consultants to elaborate on the distinction between 1b **!nòròs** and 1c **ǂkhòròb**, which are homophonous or near-homophonous in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans. Only one consultant consistently utilised the nasalised accompaniment to distinguish 1b. As [ʔ!ɔra] is a common pronunciation of 1b, she initially used the harmonious [!ṽɔra] for 1c, but ultimately corrected it to [!ṽɔɾɔ]. Significantly, even though the click *type* employed in loaning 1c **ǂkhòròb** varied, the voiceless linguopulmonic accompaniment did not. Although other consultants also preserved the nasalisation on 1b **!nòròs**, SBK_GH was the only consultant who consistently and deliberately used this feature to effect contrast with 1c **ǂkhòròb**.

CRC: en ook hierdie ene
 SBK_GH: [ʔ!ɔrakop]
 CRC: ja, wat beteken dit?
 SBK_GH: (*gesturing to back of head*) jou agterkop, hierdie
 CRC: maar miskien sit mense en hulle praat baie lekker, wat sê julle?
 SBK_GH: mm, dan [!qɔra] hulle
 CRC: kan tannie dit weer sê asseblief?
 SBK_GH: [!qɔra], hulle [!qɔra]
 CRC: wat is die verskil van, tussen die, die norrakop=
 SBK_GH: =die [ʔ!ɔrakop]=
 CRC: =en om te
 gesels, wat is die verskil?
 SBK_GH: as jy [ʔ!ɔra] dan gesels jy mos nou, maar as jy van die [!qɔra] praat
 praat jy mos van die agterkop [...]
 CRC: as jy van die korreltjies praat, dan sê jy mos?
 SBK_GH: dit sit op jou, die [ʔ!ɔra]
 CRC: en as jy gesels, sê jy mos?
 SBK_GH: [!ʔɔra]
 CRC: [!ɔra]?
 SBK_GH: [!qɔɔɔ], [!qɔɔɔ], [!qɔɔɔ]

 CRC: and this one as well
 BSG_GH: [ʔ!ɔra]
 CRC:) yes, what does it mean?
 BSG_GH: (*gesturing to back of head*) the back of the head, this
 CRC: but maybe people are sitting and they're chatting really nicely, what would you guys say?
 BSG_GH: mm, then they [!qɔra]
 CRC: Auntie, can you say that again, please?
 BSG_GH: [!qɔra], they [!qɔra]
 CRC: what is the difference between the, the norrakop=
 BSG_GH: =the [ʔ!ɔrakop]=
 CRC: =and to chat, what is the
 difference?
 BSG_GH: if you [ʔ!ɔra] then you're chatting, but if you talk about the [!qɔra] then you're talking
 about the back of the head [...]
 CRC: if you're talking about the new growth of hair, then you say?
 BSG_GH: they grow on your, the [ʔ!ɔra]
 CRC: and if you're chatting, then you say?
 BSG_GH: [!ʔɔra]
 CRC: [!ɔra]?
 BSG_GH: [!qɔɔɔ], [!qɔɔɔ], [!qɔɔɔ]

Outside of these rare instances of consistency, it becomes difficult to quantify intraspeaker variation across tokens. The six consultants who used only the dental click tended to have similarly limited accompaniment inventories, ranging from five to only two. Nonetheless, intraspeaker variation still occurred, effected through the use of differing accompaniments from token to token of the same item. The only consultants who pronounced every token of each item using precisely the same click

type and click accompaniment were OKP_MM and NBP_ANON. This was likely a chance result of the speakers' restricted repertoire (12 tokens of 4 items, and 5 tokens of 2 items, respectively) combined with a restricted inventory (the nasalised dental click and the linguopulmonic dental click, and the ejective linguopulmonic dental click and voiced linguopulmonic dental click, respectively). Among the remaining four consultants who used a reduced inventory of only the dental click type, all produced at least one instance of variable click accompaniments. KFN_ANON, for example, realised **4c** **!nǎm** as both [ᵑla:] and [l̠ga:], and **4d** **ʔnǔnǐ** as both [luni] and [l̠uni]. KKS_COL used [l̠qara], [ᵑlara], and [lara] for **2b** **!garas**, and both [l̠qɔɔ] and [l̠q'ɔɔ] for **1c** **ʔkhòròb**. LFN_ANON realised **0a** **!gǎbú** as [l̠qœubu:] and [l̠gœubu:], while SBK_DD used both [l̠qaba] and [l̠gaba] for **1e** **ʔgǎbá**, [ᵑlunibo:m] and [lunibo:m] for **2a** **!hǔnís**, and [l̠garabɔs] and [l̠qarabɔs] for **2b** **!garas**.

7.1.2. Intraspeaker Variation of Click Accompaniment

Among consultants who made use of more than one click type, variation occurred both with regard to click type, and click accompaniment. CPT_LJ was exceptionally consistent in their realisation of accompaniment, varying tokens only with regard to click type, as for example in using both [ᵑ!ǎ:] and [ᵑl̠ǎ:] for **4c** **!nǎm**, or both [l̠qɔ:] and [l̠qɔ:] for **5ai** **!hóǎ**. SKF_RM, although typically consistent in their realisation of type, and also unusual in their use of a lateral click to target a lateral click across both tokens, nonetheless realised **3c** **llkhǎm** as both [ll̠q'am] and [ll̠ʔam]. Many consultants would produce tokens of the same item that varied *both* by click type, and by click accompaniment. SBK_GH, for example, used both [l̠q'u:] and [!u:] to target **5i** **!òwě**, while MTK_ANON used both [l̠quni] and [l̠ʔuni] to target **4d** **ʔnǔnǐ**. Both [ʔqau] and [l̠ʔau] were acceptable realisations of **5q** **!àùb** for KMG_AW, while KMG_SM pronounced **1c** **ʔkhòròb** as [ʔq'ɔɔ] and as [llɔɔ]. Accompaniment was broadly more stable from token to token than click type, but was nevertheless susceptible to variation from token to token.

Table 7.1 Interspeaker Variation on Reduplicated Click in Battery Item 2d

2d /ll'ón ll'óns/			
	dental	alveolar	palatal
<i>tenuis</i>	2	1	4
voiceless l/p	3		1
glottalised	1	1	2
ejective	1		
	7	2	7
	glottal		
voiceless plosive	4		
	4	[-VOICE] [-NASAL]	

7	11	[-VOICE] [-NASAL]
4		
4	5	[-VOICE] [-NASAL] <i>delayed VOT</i>
1		

WKL_GE – [ɬɔnɔn]; [ɬɔnɔn]; [ɬɔnɔn]; [ɬɔnɔn]
SBK_ANON – [lɔʊənɔʊɛɪ]; [lɔʊənɔʊɛɪ]
CDA_AE – [lɔʊənɔʊɛɪ]; [lɔʊənɔʊɛɪ]; [lɔʊənɔʊɛɪ]
MTK_ANON – [ɬɔnɔʊɛɪ]; [ɬɔnɔʊɛɪ];
KMG_AW – [lɔʊ:nci]; [lɔʊ:nci]; [lɔʊ:nci]; [lɔʊ:nci]; [lɔʊ:nci]
KMG_AP – [lɔʊənɔʊɛɪ]; [lɔʊənɔʊɛɪ]
OKP_ANON2 – [lɔʊənɔʊ:nci] [lɔʊənɔʊ:nci]

Of especial interest was the item **2d ll'ónll'óns**, which requires reduplication of the prenasalised glottalised lateral click. All tokens are compared across speakers in Table 7.1 above. No consultant produced the expected L1 Nama click, but all consultants who produced two click consonants reduplicated them precisely. Although consultants varied the click consonants used to realise each token, no variation whatsoever occurred *token-internally*. Thus, for example, a consultant like CDA_AE might use both [lɔʊənɔʊɛɪ] and [lɔʊənɔʊɛɪ], but nothing akin to *lɔʊənɔʊɛɪ was attested.

As discussed above, the deletion of the word-medial click in favour of a glottal stop was attested in four tokens from WKL_GE, and one consultant, KMG_AW, regularly deleted the second syllable entirely, instead appending the Afrikaans diminutive <tjie> after the first, but, in the eleven tokens in which both syllables contained an onset click, this click was always consistently reduplicated. Whether or not this was caused specifically by reduplication, or whether this would have held also for compound items containing a click in the onset position of each internal lexeme, cannot be determined from the available data, but should certainly be a point of further investigation.

7.1.3. Intraspeaker Consistency in Click Type and Accompaniment

A handful of exceptional instances of adherence to L1 Nama expectations were observed. For example, KMG_AP's realisation of 2b **|garas** [l̠̠ara] [l̠̠ara] [l̠̠ara] is interesting, both in that it is internally consistent in its use of the expected L1 Nama click, and in that the dental click appears in these tokens and only these tokens across the consultant's entire inventory. Similarly, SKF_RM was the only consultant to consistently use the lateral click across all tokens of 3c **llkhǎm**, as [ll̠̠am], [ll̠̠am], despite generally preferring the alveolar click. He and his interview partner SKF_LM were both unusually consistent in realising 0b **!ùnĩb** using *both* the expected alveolar click *and* the expected glottalised accompaniment. SKF_LM utilised the glottalised alveolar on two of three tokens, preferring the alveolar overall, the *tenuis* for the majority of his alveolar accompaniments, and the glottalised accompaniment overall, which is not an especially conclusive profile. SKF_RM, however, who was the older of the two, consistently utilised the glottalised alveolar on all three tokens of 0b **!ùnĩb**, despite strongly preferring the *tenuis* accompaniment overall; he also consistently used the expected glottalised accompaniment for both tokens of 1d **!àũ** [ʔ̠̠œu], [ʔ̠̠œu]. He may therefore have had a better-than-average ability to recall and articulate glottalised accompaniments. However, his remaining five glottalised accompaniments did not match the expected L1 Nama accompaniments.

MTK_ANON was the only consultant to distinguish consistently and correctly between 4c **|nǎm**, realised across three tokens as [n̠̠a:]; [l̠̠a:]; [n̠̠a:], and 5d **llǎà** [ll̠̠a:]; [ll̠̠a:]; [ll̠̠a:]; [ll̠̠a:]; [ll̠̠a:], realised with total consistency across five tokens. That the nasalised dental click was used for two of three tokens of 4c **|nǎm** is not exceptional; as discussed below, this is the only item to show strong consistent realisation across all consultants, probably because of a well-known orthography that indicates a nasalised click. That the expected glottalised lateral click was consistently utilised for 5d **llǎà** (albeit without the prenasalisation usually present in L1 Nama) is exceptional, especially given that MTK_ANON strongly dispreferred the lateral click; of his 139 click tokens, only six were lateral, of which five were tokens of 5d **llǎà**. His sole remaining lateral token was used in one of his two tokens of 3c **llkhǎm**, realised first [ll̠̠am], then [l̠̠am]. This suggests that he may have had some capacity to recall and articulate lateral clicks. However, none of the eight other items which should have elicited a lateral click in L1 Nama were realised using a lateral in his performance.

An extraordinary demonstration of MTK_ANON's recall of a geographically restricted term ran as follows:

MTK_ANON: kyk sy Nama naam is mos nou ah . die [!ʔana], [!ʔana]. dis hy.
hulle noem hom mos nou [!ʔara]. kyk die [!ʔara] is eintlik dit wat hy dra.

CRC: okay, dit is die bessies.

MTK_ANON: ja, die bessies se naam is [!ʔara]. maar die hele struik is die [!ʔana].

MTK_ANON: see so its Nama name is ah. the [!ʔana], [!ʔana]. that's it. now they do just call it [!ʔara]. see the [!ʔara] is actually what is bears.

CRC: okay, it's the berries

MTK_ANON: yes, the name of the berries is [!ʔara]. but the whole bush is the [!ʔana].

This exchange was prompted by the stimulus used to elicit 2b **lgaras**, several photographs of *Searsia burchellii* including a close-up of its fruit. MTK_ANON recognised this shrub and termed it the *taaibos*, its general Afrikaans name. As is discussed at **λ8.53e** in Appendix A.1, **lgaras**⁵¹ does not appear in HEG 1991 or in H&E 2002, but is used of [*Searsia lancea*] at Schültze 1907: 144, where it is used in a hybrid compound **lgaras-Baum** in a discussion of shrubs and trees that grow in the present-day !Karas region, that is, the south of Namibia. The term appears again as **lgaras** at Schültze 1907: 345, here describing 'die beerenartige Frucht vom [*Searsia lancea*]' (Compare also the Kora **lgaranakua** (Engelbrecht 1936: 118), apparently a generic term for berries of *Searsia* spp.). The term **lanas** is recorded at Schültze 1907: 200, where it is used of 'eine Taaibusch', [*Searsia undulata*]; it is brought forward to H&E294, but marked obscure with '?'. Although several rare Nama regionalisms do appear in Afrikaans-language ethnobotanical material, and so are available to Namaqualanders who have never had L1 Nama input (Christie 2021), this is not the case for **lanas**; there are no records of its usage in a post-shift context in any of the ethnobotanical Namaqualand resources.

⁵¹ This item was, however, elicited from PNL_PV in an L1 Nama context. This consultant had consistently excellent tonemic awareness, and so was able to provide the L.H tones Igàrás, never before captured. There are almost certainly further rare or southerly plant names waiting to be rerecorded from Namibian speakers of southerly Nama.

MTK_ANON therefore recalled an extremely rare term, possibly a southerly Nama regionalism, presumably as used by his Steinkopf Nama father. Despite being unable to replicate the expected click consonants consistently, he did correctly distinguish the sense of **!anas** from the sense of **!garas**. Furthermore, in his second token of **!anas**, he produced the expected glottalised alveolar click so clearly that it sounded in every respect like an L1 token, as though he had suddenly and briefly been able to replicate his father's exact input. Certainly he is an exceptional case, both in that he had had direct L1 Nama exposure to a parent who took great pains to confer a Nama lexis, and in that he himself clearly placed great value on maintaining his recall. Nevertheless, this exemplifies the real historical linguistic value of the archaic Nama lexis still retained in Namaqualand Afrikaans.

7.2. Interspeaker Variation in Click Usage

This section attempts to assess interspeaker variation in Namaqualand Afrikaans clicks by determining whether or not there exist any regular and predictable phonological correspondences between any given L1 Nama input click and its counterpart as output in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans. L1 Nama etyma for the twelve most frequently-collected items are compared directly against all tokens of their corresponding L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans realisations in an effort to detect any underlying patterns of adaptation.

7.2.1 Challenges in Analysing Interspeaker Variation

Consultant lexes were variable in size and scope and prone to idiosyncrasy. The top ten most frequently-recorded items were shared by upward of eighteen consultants, or across 75% of the consultant pool; by contrast, 51 items were known only to one consultant. This distribution is discussed in greater detail in below. Here, it is noted that the relatively small pool of common items represents a challenge in assessing interspeaker variation. The idiosyncratic items may very well be more variable than the general items, but, precisely because of their rarity, this cannot be confirmed. As such, only the items which were general in the consultant pool can be submitted for detailed assessment of adaptation and variation during loan. In this section, all tokens of each of the ten most commonly-recorded items are collated, allowing for the

assessment of consistency across eighteen or more consultants. As this sample did not include tokens etymologised to aspirated clicks, two well-represented aspirated items were also selected and included, for a total of twelve items compared using this method.

As has been suggested by all the available literature throughout the course of this project, there is no detectibly regular correspondence between the anterior placement of the L1 Nama click and the anterior placement of the loaned L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans click. It was hoped that some degree of conditioning interaction between vowel height and click type might be observed, since this is one of the few environmental interactions that has occasionally been observed to condition placement of the anterior closure (Elderkin 2016; Bennett 2020: 84 – 86; unfortunately, this does not seem to be apparent. This suggests that the phonemic contrast embedded in the anterior placements of the L1 Nama click inventory has been neutralised during loan. Overall, L1 Namaqualand consultants display a clear preference for the dental click type, regardless of the input L1 Nama click, followed by the alveolar click type. As has been discussed above, many tokens of the L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans palatal click should perhaps be better described as significantly retracted dental clicks; accounting for this, the preference for the dental click would be even more striking.

The data on click accompaniment were more fragmented across a wider pool of categories, and so required more careful sorting in order to assess. Most difficult to account for was the fact that L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans clicks utilise accompaniments that simply are not present in the L1 Nama input (see discussion at Sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2.). This was clearly not the case for type; no consultants employed a bilabial click, because they could not have been exposed to a bilabial click in L1 Nama. Many consultants *did*, however, employ ejective clicks, despite not having been exposed to ejective clicks in L1 Nama. A strong articulatory hypothesis, which assumes that contrast embedded in click consonants is imperceptible or near-imperceptible to monolingual speakers of Namaqualand Afrikaans, would hold that output realisations are favoured purely because they happen to be unmarked or otherwise readily available within the consultant's articulatory repertoire, and so are not meaningfully constrained by output faithfulness to the input (FAITH_{IO}). A strong phonological

hypothesis would hold that certain contrastive features, potentially those which, like [±VOICE] and [±NASAL], are present in the host inventory, are perceptible, and hence that output realisations are constrained *both* by FAITH_{IO} and by articulatory competence.

Disregarding the presence of the linguopulmonic accompaniment as an articulatory artefact, L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans clicks fall into three broad categories: clicks that carry [-VOICE] [-NASAL], namely the *tenuis* click, the voiceless linguopulmonic click, the glottalised click, the ejective click, and the rare affricate click; clicks that carry [+VOICE] [-NASAL], namely the voiced linguopulmonic click and the very rare voiced click; and clicks that carry [+VOICE] [+NASAL], namely the nasalised click, which displays nasalisation throughout the duration of the burst, and the rare nasalised linguopulmonic click. The [-VOICE] [-NASAL] category is further subdivided into clicks that result in a substantially delayed VOT (the glottalised and the ejective), and clicks that do not (the *tenuis* and the voiceless linguopulmonic). Taking into account also the tentative adaptive strategies observed from the orthographic record, it is possible to propose that certain L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans realisations may indicate an effort to approximate FAITH_{IO} to certain L1 Nama click accompaniments using contrastive features available from the Afrikaans inventory.

Here the greatest concern is to account for the existence of clicks carrying [+VOICE] [-NASAL], as no voiced clicks are present in L1 Nama. The *tenuis* clicks are the most likely culprits in this regard, as the immediacy of the VOT following or sometimes even just preceding the conclusion of the click burst may well have been interpreted as voicing on the click proper. Even the very rare nasalised linguopulmonic click is not entirely unattested in L1 Khoekhoe-branch material, as discussed above. It is further worth noting that the glottalised, aspirated, and affricated L1 Nama clicks (or all three of the L1 Nama clicks which are, technically, [-VOICE] [-NASAL]) also involve a delayed VOT, and hence that any of these three might feasibly be targeted by a glottalised or ejective click in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans, as these also functionally effect a delayed VOT. Why the glottalised and ejective accompaniments are so much more frequent than the aspirated and affricated releases, which one would assume would be less cross-linguistically marked, is entirely unclear. Nonetheless, it is loosely possible to account for all L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans click accompaniments as having

been built from L1 Nama click accompaniments, albeit with significant modifications. This suggests that the accompaniment repertoire of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans is in some way constrained by the accompaniment repertoire of L1 Nama. What remains to be determined is whether or not these rough equivalencies are consistently used to realise the input form appropriate to each item.

7.2.2. Interspeaker Variation on Glottalised, Affricated & Aspirated Input Clicks

Targets containing onset clicks with glottalised accompaniments accounted for three of the ten most commonly-used loanwords: **0b !ùnĩb**, **1d !àú**, and **3d #áé**. In the first two, all onsets recorded across all tokens, whether involving a click or a pulmonic replacement, were [-VOICE] [-NASAL], suggesting that this is the optimal adaptation for a glottalised click. Clicks without a marked delay in the VOT, such as the glottalised and the ejective, were *not* preferred for either 0b or 1d, despite their both being glottalised in the L1 Nama input. However, for 3d, 20 tokens [+VOICE] [-NASAL], and 11 were [+VOICE] [+NASAL], for a total of 31 tokens carrying [+VOICE] in some way. A glottalised click accompaniment is clearly within the articulatory capabilities of speakers of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans, since 190 tokens, or 18.5% of all elicited clicks, involved glottalisation.

Nonetheless, consultants clearly preferred to realise 3d **#áé** with some kind of voiced accompaniment, rather than with the expected prenasalised glottalised accompaniment. The preference here for some form of [+VOICE] was so distinct, and so unexpected, that I reviewed all possible targets in order to ensure that speakers were not, in fact, seeking to loan a distinct lexical item that carried a nasalised click. This led me to conclude that I had incorrectly selected **#áé**, ‘to stick to’, ‘to adhere to’ as the etymon of <**t’gaai**>, and that a more likely solution was in fact **#nǎi** = ‘to catch with birdlime’, as this would account for the large portion of [+VOICE] and [+NASAL] tokens. Some conflation between the two may well have occurred. Unfortunately, this meant that the glottalised palatal click was not represented in the test battery, and that the nasalised palatal click was represented twice.

Table 7.2 – Interspeaker Variation on Battery Item 0b

0b /!ʔunīb/				
	dental	lateral	alveolar	palatal
<i>tenuis</i>	1		5	
voiceless l/p	26		4	2
glottalised	8		5	3
ejective	1	2		1

36	2	14	6

velar	
voiceless plosive	3

6	38	[-VOICE] [-NASAL]
32		
16	20	[-VOICE] [-NASAL] <i>delayed VOT</i>
4		

3	[-VOICE] [-NASAL]

SKF_LM – [lʉni], [lʉʹuni], [lʉʹʹuni]
SKF_RM – [lʉʹuni:], [lʉʹʹuni:], [lʉʹʹʹuni:]
WKL_GE – [lʉʹʹʹunici:]; [lʉʹʹʹunici:]; [lʉʹʹʹunici:]
CPT_LJ – [lʉʹʹʹunici]; [lʉʹʹʹunici]; [lʉʹʹʹunici]; [lʉʹʹʹunici]
HKB_GS – [lʉʹʹʹunici:]; [lʉʹʹʹunici:]
HKB_MP – [lʉʹʹʹunici], [lʉʹʹʹunici], [lʉʹʹʹunici], [lʉʹʹʹunici]
SBK_GH – [lʉʹʹʹunici]; [lʉʹʹʹunici]; [lʉʹʹʹʹunici]; [lʉʹʹʹunici]
SBK_DD – [lʉʹʹʹuniciʃi:]; [lʉʹʹʹuniciʃi:]
SBK_ANON – [lʉʹʹʹunici]; [lʉʹʹʹunici]; [lʉʹʹʹunici]
CDA_AE – [lʉʹʹʹʹunici]; [lʉʹʹʹunici]; [lʉʹʹʹunici]; [lʉʹʹʹunici]
CDA_CW – [lʉʹʹʹʹunici]; [lʉʹʹʹʹunici]; [lʉʹʹʹʹunici]
CDA_LF – [lʉʹʹʹʹunici]; [lʉʹʹʹʹunici];

MTK_ANON – [ʔ²uni]; [ʔ²uni]
KMG_AW – [!uni]
KMG_SM – [lq̣uni]; [lq̣uni]
KMG_AP – [!uni]; [!uni]; [!uni:]
LFN_ANON – [lq̣uni:] [lq̣uni:]
PHK_GE – [lq̣uni:] [l²uni:] [kuni:]
KKS_COL – [lq̣uni:] [lq̣uni:]
KFN_ANON – [l²uni] [l²uni] [l²uni] [ʔuni]
OKP_ANON1 – [kunici:] [kunici:]
OKP_ANON2 – [ʔq̣unici] [lq̣unici]
OKP_ANON3 – [lq̣unici:]

The second of the pre-test items, 0b !²un̥ib/ was the most commonly recorded item, with 61 tokens elicited from 23 consultants. 3 tokens replaced the expected prenasalised glottalised alveolar click consonant with the voiceless velar stop /k/; all others included a click consonant of some kind in onset position, suggesting that consultants prefer to realise this item using a click. However, only 5 tokens of the expected alveolar glottalised click were elicited from two consultants, SKF_RM and SKF_LM. Only 8% of all L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans tokens of this item employed the expected L1 Nama prenasalised glottalised alveolar click; overall, 11 different clicks were employed.

Table 7.3 – Interspeaker Variation on Battery Item 1d

	1d /!ʔǀǃ/						
	dental	lateral	alveolar	palatal			
voiceless l/p	17		5	9	31	31	[-VOICE] [-NASAL]
glottalised	5	1	1	5	12	19	[-VOICE] [-NASAL]
ejective	6			1	7		delayed VOT

	velar
affricate ejective	1

1	[-VOICE] [-NASAL] delayed VOT

SKF_LM – [ʔǃǃǃ], [!ʔǃǃǃ]

CPT_LJ – [!ǃǃǃǃ]; [!ǃǃǃǃ]

HKB_GS – [!ǃǃǃǃ], [!ǃǃǃǃ], [!ǃǃǃǃ]

HKB_MP – [ʔǃǃǃǃ], [ʔǃǃǃǃ], [ʔǃǃǃǃ]

SBK_GH – [!ǃǃǃǃ], [ʔǃǃǃǃ]; [ʔǃǃǃǃ]; [!ǃǃǃǃ]

SBK_DD – [!ǃǃǃǃ]; [!ǃǃǃǃ]; [!ǃǃǃǃ]

SBK_ANON – [!ǃǃǃǃ]; [!ǃǃǃǃ]

CDA_AE – [!ǃǃǃǃ]; [!ǃǃǃǃ]

CDA_CW – [!ǃǃǃǃ]; [kx'ǃǃǃǃ]; [ʔǃǃǃǃ]; [!ǃǃǃǃ]

CDA_LF – [!ǃǃǃǃ]; [!ǃǃǃǃ]

MK_ANON – [ʔǃǃǃǃ] [ʔǃǃǃǃ] [ʔǃǃǃǃ] [ʔǃǃǃǃ]

KMG_AW – [!ʔǃǃǃ]; [ʔǃǃǃǃ]

KMG_SM – [!ǃǃǃǃ]; [!ʔǃǃǃǃ]

KMG_AP – [ʔǃǃǃǃ]; [!ǃǃǃǃ]; [!ǃǃǃǃ]

LFN_ANON – [!ǃǃǃǃ] [!ǃǃǃǃ]

PHK_GE – [ʔǃǃǃǃ] [!ʔǃǃǃǃ]

KKS_COL – [!ǃǃǃǃ] [!ǃǃǃǃ]

KFN_ANON – [!ʔǃǃǃǃ] [!ʔǃǃǃǃ] [!ʔǃǃǃǃ]

OKP_ANON1 – [!ǃǃǃǃ]

OKP_ANON2 – [!ǃǃǃǃ] [!ǃǃǃǃ]

OKP_ANON3 – [ʔǃǃǃǃ]

51 tokens of 1d !ǃǃǃ were elicited from 21 consultants. Only one token of the expected alveolar glottalised click was elicited from one consultant, who lived in Steinkopf and so was in direct environmental contact with L1 Nama, meaning that 2% of all L1 Namaqualand tokens of this item employed the expected L1 Nama alveolar glottalised click.

Table 7.4 – Interspeaker Variation on Battery Item 3d

	3d /ʔǃǃǃǃ/						
	dental	lateral	alveolar	palatal			
voiceless l/p	2			3	5	13	[-VOICE] [-NASAL]
glottalised	2	1		2	5	8	[-VOICE] [-NASAL]
ejective	2	1			3		delayed VOT
voiced l/p	9	2	1	8	20	20	[+VOICE] [-NASAL]
nasalised	8	2	1		11	11	[+VOICE] [+NASAL]

WKL_GE – [!ǃǃǃǃǃ]; [!ǃǃǃǃǃ]

HKB_GS – [!ǃǃǃǃ], [!ǃǃǃǃ], [!ǃǃǃǃ], [!ǃǃǃǃ]

HKB_MP – [ʔǃǃǃǃ]; [ʔǃǃǃǃ]

SBK_GH – [ʔǃǃǃǃ], [ʔǃǃǃǃ], [ʔǃǃǃǃ]

SBK_DD – [!ǃǃǃǃ]; [!ǃǃǃǃ]; [!ǃǃǃǃ]

SBK_ANON – [xǃǃǃǃ];

CDA_AE – [!ǃǃǃǃ]; [!ǃǃǃǃ]

CDA_CW – [ʔǃǃǃǃ]

CDA_LF – [xǃǃǃǃ]; [!ǃǃǃǃ]

MTK_ANON – [ʔǃǃǃǃ]; [ʔǃǃǃǃ]; [!ʔǃǃǃǃ]; [!ʔǃǃǃǃ]

KMG_AW – [!ǃǃǃǃ]; [ʔǃǃǃǃ]; [!ǃǃǃǃ]

KMG_SM – [ʔǃǃǃǃ]; [ʔǃǃǃǃ]; [!ǃǃǃǃ]

KMG_AP – [xǃǃǃǃǃ]; [!ʔǃǃǃǃ]; [!ǃǃǃǃ]

PHK_GE – [!ǃǃǃǃ] [!ǃǃǃǃ] [!ǃǃǃǃ]

KKS_COL – [!ǃǃǃǃ] [!ǃǃǃǃ]

KFN_ANON – [!ǃǃǃǃ] [!ǃǃǃǃ]

OKP_ANON1 – [!ǃǃǃǃ] [!ǃǃǃǃ]

OKP_ANON2 – [xǃǃǃǃǃ]

OKP_ANON3 – [ʔǃǃǃǃ]

44 tokens of 3d ʔǃǃǃǃ were elicited from 19 consultants. Only two tokens, elicited from one consultant from Matjieskloof who claimed direct L1 Steinkopf Nama input during childhood, used the expected glottalised palatal click, although both palatals were noisy.

Table 7.5 – Interspeaker Variation on Battery Item 1c

	1c /#χòròb/						
	dental	lateral	alveolar	palatal			
<i>tenuis</i>		1	1		2	40	[-VOICE] [-NASAL]
voiceless l/p	17		7	14	38		
glottalised	4			3	7	12	[-VOICE] [-NASAL] <i>delayed VOT</i>
ejective	3			2	5		
nasalised	2			2	4	4	[+VOICE] [+NASAL]

	velar
voiceless plosive	1

1	[-VOICE] [-NASAL]

NBP_ANON – [l'q'wɔ]; [l'q'wɔ]; [l'q'wɔ]
CPT_LJ – [l'q'wɔ]; [l'q'wɔ]
HKB_GS – [ɬ'wɔ]; [ɬ'q'wɔ]; [ɬ'q'wɔ]
HKB_MP – [ɬ'q'wɔ]; [ɬ'q'wɔ]; [l'wɔ]; [ɬ'q'wɔ],
 [ɬ'q'wɔ], [l'wɔ]
SBK_GH – [l'q'wɔ]; [ɬ'q'wɔ]
SBK_DD – [l'q'wɔ]; [l'wɔ]; [l'wɔ]
SBK_ANON – [l'q'wɔ]; [l'q'wɔ]; [l'q'wɔ]
CDA_AE – [l'q'wɔ]
]CDA_CW – [l'q'wɔ]; [l'q'wɔ]
CDA_LF – [ɬ'q'wɔ]; [ɬ'q'wɔ]

MTK_ANON – [ɬ'wɔ]; [ɬ'wɔ]; [l'wɔ]
KMG_AW – [l'wɔ]
KMG_SM – [ɬ'q'wɔ]; [l'wɔ]
KMG_AP – [l'q'wɔ]; [l'q'wɔ]
LFN_ANON – [l'q'wɔ] [l'q'wɔ] [l'q'wɔ] [l'q'wɔ]
PHK_GE – [l'wɔ] [l'wɔ] [l'wɔ]
KKS_COL – [l'q'wɔ]; [l'q'wɔ] [l'q'wɔ]
KFN_ANON – [l'q'wɔ] [l'q'wɔ] [k'wɔ]
OKP_ANON1 – [l'q'wɔ] [l'q'wɔ] [l'q'wɔ] [l'q'wɔ]
OKP_ANON2 – [ɬ'q'wɔ] [xəɬ'q'wɔ] [xəɬ'q'wɔ]
OKP_ANON3 – [l'q'wɔ] [l'q'wɔ]

57 tokens of 1c #khòròb were elicited from 21 consultants. No tokens made use of the expected affricated palatal click. The clear majority of tokens used either the dental (26) or palatal (21) clicks.

Table 7.6 – Interspeaker Variation on Battery Item 3c

	3c /llχǎm/						
	dental	lateral	alveolar	palatal			
<i>tenuis</i>	1		3	1	5	27	[-VOICE] [-NASAL]
voiceless l/p	12		4	6	22		
glottalised	3	2		1	6	19	[-VOICE] [-NASAL] <i>delayed VOT</i>
ejective	8	1	2	2	13		

SKF_RM – [ll'q'am], [ll'q'am]
WKL_GE – [l'q'am]; [l'q'am]; [l'q'am]; [l'q'am]
HKB_GS – [l'q'am], [lam]
HKB_MP – [ɬ'q'am]; [ɬ'q'am]; [ɬ'q'am]
SBK_GH – [ɬ'q'am]; [ɬ'q'am]
SBK_DD – [l'q'am]; [l'q'am]; [l'q'am]
SBK_ANON – [l'q'am]; [l'q'am]; [l'q'am]
CDA_AE – [l'q'am]; [l'q'am]
CDA_CW – [l'q'am]; [l'q'am]
CDA_LF – [ɬ'q'am];

MTK_ANON – [ll'q'am]; [ll'q'am]
KMG_AW – [ɬ'q'am]; [ɬ'q'am]
KMG_SM – [l'q'am]; [l'q'am]
KMG_AP – [l'am]; [l'am]; [l'am]
PHK_GE – [l'q'am]; [l'q'am]
KKS_COL – [l'q'am]; [l'q'am]; [l'q'am]
KFN_ANON – [l'əm]; [l'əm]
OKP_ANON1 – [ɬ'q'am] [l'q'am]
OKP_ANON2 – [l'q'am] [l'q'am]
OKP_ANON3 – [ɬ'q'am]

45 tokens of 3c llkhǎm were elicited from 20 consultants. No tokens made use of the expected lateral affricate click.

Table 7.7 – Interspeaker Variation on Battery Item 2a

	2a / ^h h̥n̩s/	
	dental	alveolar
<i>tenuis</i>	2	3
voiceless l/p	2	1
glottalised	3	
voiced l/p	2	
nasalised	4	

SKF_LM – [!uni]
 SKF_RM – [!unibòm]; [!unibòm]
 HBK_GS – [!unibòm] [!unibòm]
 SBK_GH – [!qunibòs]; [!qunibòm]
 SBK_DD – [!unibo:m]; [!unibo:m]; [!unibo:m]

5	8	[-VOICE] [-NASAL]
3		
3	3	[-VOICE] [-NASAL] delayed VOT
2	2	[+VOICE] [-NASAL]
4	4	[+VOICE] [+NASAL]

CDA_AE – [!qunibòm]; [!unibòm]
 MTK_ANON – [!unibòm]; [!unibòm]
 KMG_AW – [!qunibu:m]
 KMG_SM – [!quni]; [!uni]

17 tokens of 2a /^hh̥n̩s/ were elicited across 9 consultants; none produced the expected prenasalised aspirated dental click.

Table 7.8 – Interspeaker Variation on Battery Item 5a

	5a / ^h h̥àòb/		
	dental	alveolar	palatal
voiceless l/p			3
glottalised			2
voiced l/p	3	3	4
nasalised	3		

	velar
voiced plosive	2

MTK_ANON – [ɛ̥ʔau]; [ɛ̥ʔau]
 KMG_AW – [ɛ̥gau] [!gau] [!gau]
 KMG_SM – [ɛ̥qau]
 KMG_AP – [!gau]
 CDA_CW – [ɛ̥qauban̩k]
 CDA_LF – [ɛ̥gauban̩k]; [!ga:uban̩k]; [!ga:uban̩kə]; [ɛ̥ga:uban̩k]; [ɛ̥ga:uban̩k]

3	[-VOICE] [-NASAL]
2	[-VOICE] [-NASAL] delayed VOT
10	[+VOICE] [-NASAL]
3	[+VOICE] [+NASAL]

2	[+VOICE] [-NASAL]

KKS_COL – [!lau] [!lau] [!lau]
 OKP_ANON1 – [gauban̩k] [gauban̩k]
 OKP_ANON2 – [!gauban̩k]
 OKP_ANON3 – [ɛ̥qauban̩k]

20 tokens of 5a /^hh̥àòb/ were elicited from 10 consultants. No tokens employed the expected alveolar aspirated click.

Table 7.9 – Interspeaker Variation on Battery Item 5b

	5b / ^h ɛ̥h̥àb̩/	
	dental	palatal
voiceless l/p	7	2
glottalised		4
voiced l/p	1	

OKP_MM – [!qaba], [!qaba], [!qaba]
 KFN_ANON – [!qabò] [!qabò]
 OKP_ANON3 – [!qava] [!qaba] [!qaba]

9	[-VOICE] [-NASAL]
4	[-VOICE] [-NASAL] delayed VOT
1	[+VOICE] [-NASAL]

OKP_ANON2 – [ɛ̥qaba]
 OKP_ANON3 – [ɛ̥qaba]
 MTK_ANON – [ɛ̥ʔabobru:t]; [ɛ̥ʔabu]; [ɛ̥ʔabò]; [ɛ̥ʔabò]

14 tokens of 5b /^hɛ̥h̥àb̩/ were elicited from 6 consultants. No tokens employed the expected palatal aspirated click.

Etyma containing onset clicks with affricate accompaniments accounted for two of the ten most commonly-used items: 1c **ʔkhòròb** and 3c **llkhǎm̐**. Although consultants could not, in the main, articulate the affricate accompaniment (with only 14 affricate tokens recorded overall), all tokens recorded for 3c were [-VOICE] [-NASAL], and all but four of the total 57 tokens recorded for 1c were [-VOICE] [-NASAL], suggesting that this is the preferred adaptation. Items targeting aspirated input clicks did not appear in the set of items used by upward of 75% of consultants, and so three relatively well-known such items were selected instead. Here again results were mixed. Clicks categorised [-VOICE] [-NASAL] were clearly preferred for 2a **!hùnis**, accounting for 11 of 17 tokens, and for 5b **ʔhàbá**, accounting for 13 of 14 tokens. Unexpectedly, however, [+VOICE] accompaniments were preferred for 5a **!hàòb**, accounting for 13 of the 18 click tokens; the two clickless tokens, both sourced from the same consultant, both employed voiced velar plosives. The surrounding environmental material could not reasonably have conditioned this, in that the V₁ positions immediately following the click across all three items host the same LL tone.

For eight out of ten items targeting the glottalised, affricate, and aspirated L1 Nama input clicks – that is, clicks which are [-VOICE] in the input – consultants preferred to produce output clicks [-VOICE]. Taken independently, this could suggest that consultants are capable of perceiving when clicks do not carry either voicing or nasalisation, and of consistently replicating these traits during loan. However, it should be observed that, considering the broader data, [-VOICE] is clearly the preferred option for realising a click overall. From an articulatory perspective, the preponderance of these clicks across these seven tokens could therefore be an artefact of their universality – in other words, these items seem to be more faithfully adapted solely because the adaptations that would yield greatest FAITH are also the least marked. There is no way to control for this correlation using the available dataset. Furthermore, the existence of two items which clearly *do* show a preference for a [+VOICE] output cannot reasonably be explained.

Table 7.10 – Interspeaker Variation on Battery Item 0a

	0a /!äbú/		
	dental	alveolar	palatal
<i>tenuis</i>	1	4	
voiceless l/p	12	4	5
glottalised	1		
ejective	2		
voiced l/p	12	2	1
nasalised	5		

5	26	[-VOICE] [-NASAL]
21		
1	3	[-VOICE] [-NASAL]
2		<i>delayed VOT</i>
15	15	[+VOICE] [-NASAL]
5	5	[+VOICE] [+NASAL]

NBP_ANON – [!ḡœubu]; [!ḡœubu]

WKL_GE – [!ḡœubu]; [!ḡœubu]; [!ḡœubu]; [!ḡœubu]

CPT_LJ – [!ḡœubu]

HKB_GS – [!ḡœubu]; [!ḡœubu]

SBK_GH – [!ḡœubu]

SBK_DD – [!ḡœubu]; [!ḡœubu]

SBK_ANON – [!ḡabu]; [!ḡabu]

CDA_AE – [!ḡabu]; [!ḡabu]

CDA_CW – [!ḡœubu]; [!ḡœubu]

CDA_LF – [!ḡœubu]

MTK_ANON – [!ḡœubu]; [!ḡœubu]

KMG_AW – [!œubu]; [!œubu]

KMG_SM – [!œubu]; [!ḡœubu]; [!œubu]

KMG_AP – [!ḡœubu]; [!ḡœubu]

LFN_ANON – [!ḡœubu]; [!ḡœubu]

PHK_GE – [!œubu]; [!œubu]; [!œubu];

KKS_COL – [!œubu]; [!œubu];

KFN_ANON – [!ḡabu]; [!ʔabu]; [!ḡabu]

OKP_ANON1 – [!ḡabu]; [!ḡabu];

OKP_ANON2 – [!ḡabu];

OKP_ANON3 – [!ḡœubu]; [!ḡœubu];

HKB_MP – [!ḡabu]; [!ḡœubu]; [!ḡabu]; [!œubu];

[!ḡabu]; [!ḡœubu]

The first of the pre-test items used to assess potential consultants' familiarity with Nama loanwords, 0a !ḡäbú was the second most commonly recorded item, with 49 tokens elicited from 22 consultants. 11 different L1 Namaqualand clicks were employed to target a single L1 Nama click. The overall most frequent instantiation was [-VOICE] [-NASAL], accounting for 29 of the total 49 tokens.

Table 7.11 – Interspeaker Variation on Battery Item 2b

	2b /ǀàras/		
	dental	alveolar	palatal
<i>tenuis</i>	1		2
voiceless l/p	13	3	3
glottalised	6		
ejective	1		
voiced l/p	9	1	1
nasalised	8		
nasalised voiced l/p	2		

	velar	glottal
voiceless plosive	1	1
voiced plosive	3	

3	22	[-VOICE] [-NASAL]
19		
6	7	[-VOICE] [-NASAL] delayed VOT
1		
11	11	[+VOICE] [-NASAL]
8	10	[+VOICE] [+NASAL]
2		

2	2	[-VOICE] [-NASAL]
3	3	[+VOICE] [-NASAL]

WKL_GE – [garabos]; [gara]; [ᵐlara]; [ᵐl̥ara]; [gara]; [ᵐlara]
SBK_GH – [l̥ara]; [l̥arabos]; [ʃarabos]
SBK_DD – [l̥arabos]; [l̥arabos]; [l̥arabos]
SBK_ANON – [l̥arabos]; [l̥arabos]
CDA_AE – [l̥arabos]
CDA_CW – [ʃara]; [ʃara]; [ʃara]; [ʃara]
CDA_LF – [l̥arabos]
MTK_ANON – [l̥ara]; [l̥ara]; [l̥ara]; [l̥ara]
KMG_AW – [ᵐlara]; [l̥arabos]; [l̥arabos]

KMG_SM – [l̥arabos]; [l̥arabos];
KMG_AP – [l̥ara]; [l̥ara]; [l̥ara]
PHK_GE – [ᵐlara] [ᵐlara] [n'ara] [ᵐlara]
KKS_COL – [l̥ara] [l̥ara] [ᵐlara] [lara]
KFN_ANON – [ʔarabu:m], [l̥ara], [l̥ara]
OKP_ANON1 – [l̥arabos] [karabos]
OKP_ANON2 – [l̥arabos] [l̥arabos]
OKP_ANON3 – [ʃarabos] [l̥arabos]
HKB_GS – [ᵐl̥ara], [l̥ara], [l̥arabos], [l̥ara], [l̥aras], [l̥aras]

55 tokens of **2b** /ǀgàras/ were elicited from 18 consultants. Only one token, elicited from a speaker from Kharkams, who claimed no L1 Nama input during childhood, used the expected dental *tenuis* click. 12 clicks were used in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans to realise a single L1 Nama click, although it should be noted that the expected dental was strongly preferred, accounting for 40 of the 50 tokens that did not undergo click loss. Onsets that were both [-VOICE] and [-NASAL] were preferred overall, comprising 31 of the 55 tokens total.

Table 7.12 – Interspeaker Variation on Battery Item 3b

	3b /ǀàò/		
	dental	alveolar	palatal
<i>tenuis</i>	4	1	
voiceless l/p	17	5	11
glottalised		3	
ejective	4	4	

5	38	[-VOICE] [-NASAL]
33		
3	11	[-VOICE] [-NASAL] delayed VOT
8		

5	38	[-VOICE] [-NASAL]
3	11	[-VOICE] [-NASAL] delayed VOT

5	38	[-VOICE] [-NASAL]
3	11	[-VOICE] [-NASAL] delayed VOT

WKL_GE – [l̥aukənt]; [l̥wakənt]; [l̥waukənt]
KHB_GS – [l̥œukənt]; [l̥œukənt]
HKB_MP – [ʃaukənt]; [ʃaukənt]
SBK_GH – [ʃœukənt]; [ʃœukənt]
SBK_DD – [l̥aukənt]; [l̥aukənt]
SBK_ANON – [l̥aukənt]; [l̥œukənt]
CDA_AE – [l̥aukənt]; [l̥œukənt]
CDA_CW – [ʃaukənt]; [ʃaukənt]
CDA_LF – [l̥aukənt];
MTK_ANON – [l̥aukənt]; [l̥œukənt]

KMG_AW – [l̥au]; [ʃaukənt]; [ʃaukənt]; [ʃœukənt]
KMG_SM – [l̥au]; [l̥au]; [l̥au]; [l̥œukənt]; [l̥œukənt]
KMG_AP – [l̥œukənt]; [l̥œuci:]
LFN_ANON – [l̥aukənt] [l̥aukənt]
PHK_GE – [ʔœukənt] [l̥œukənt] [ʔœukənt] [l̥œukənt]
KKS_COL – [l̥aukənt]
KFN_ANON – [l̥œukənt] [l̥œukənt] [l̥œukənt]
OKP_ANON1 – [l̥aukənt] [l̥aukənt]
OKP_ANON2 – [l̥aukənt] [ʃaukənt]
OKP_ANON3 – [ʃaukənt] [ʃaukənt]

48 tokens of **3b** /ǀàò/ were elicited from 20 consultants. Only one token contained the expected alveolar *tenuis* click, used by a consultant from Komaggas who claimed L1 Nama input during childhood, and had environmental L1 Nama exposure as an adult.

7.2.3. Interspeaker Variation on *tenuis* Input Clicks

All three common items that targeted a *tenuis* click preferred the expected [-VOICE] [-NASAL] onset, although only narrowly in the case of 0a **!gǎbú**, with 29 onsets voiceless, 15 voiced, and 5 nasalised out of 49 tokens total. This suggests that, in some cases, however, the *tenuis* click may be perceived as [+VOICE] as a result of the rapid VOT following the click burst, and so is loaned [+VOICE]; in others, it is perceived [-VOICE], and so is loaned [-VOICE]. However, items targeting *tenuis* click consonants were not *more* likely to utilise a voiced onset, especially when set against, for example, the unexpected prevalence of voiced onsets for 5a **!hǎòb**, which properly targets a [-VOICE] click.

7.2.4. Interspeaker Variation on Nasalised Input Clicks

Similarly, there is little in the way of clear patterning for either 1b **!nòróś**⁵² or 4d **ǀnǔ̀nǐ̀**. For the former, tokens were split nearly evenly between [-VOICE] and [+VOICE], at 29 and 28 tokens respectively; of the 28 [+VOICE] tokens, 15 were [+NASAL]. For the latter, 25 tokens were [-VOICE], while 15 were [+NASAL], and 12 were [+VOICE]. Again, it does not seem as though items targeting nasalised clicks were more likely to be realised using nasalised clicks; compare especially the 10 inexplicably nasalised onsets used for 2b **/ǀàrás/**.

⁵² Note here that, as with 3d **ǀáé ~ ǀnǎí**, some conflation may well have occurred. The item tested for was **!nòróś** = 'occiput', but several consultants volunteered an ancillary sense, not detected in the lexicographical survey, of 'small hairs on the back of the head'. This likely arose from the Nama **!nǎrás** = 'tuft of hair', which term is near-homophonous with **!nòróś**. Here conflation would not have interfered with output realisations, as both etyma employ the nasalised alveolar click.

Table 7.13 – Interspeaker Variation on Battery Item 1b

	1b /ᵐlòrós/						
	dental	lateral	alveolar	palatal			
<i>tenuis</i>	2	1	1	3	2	21	[-VOICE] [-NASAL]
voiceless l/p	7				19		
glottalised	2				5	8	[-VOICE] [-NASAL] <i>delayed VOT</i>
ejective	1				3		
voiced l/p	12	1	4		12	12	[+VOICE] [-NASAL]
nasalised	9				14	15	[+VOICE] [+NASAL]
nasalised l/p	1				1		

	velar
voiced plosive	1

1	1	[+VOICE] [-NASAL]

OKP_MM – [ᵐlɔɔ]; [ᵐlɔɔ]
WKL_GE – [ɔɔ] [ɔɔ]
CPT_LJ – [lɔɔraci:]; [ᵐlɔɔraci:]; [lɔɔra]
HKB_GS – [ᵐɔɔra]; [ᵐɔɔra]; [ᵐlɔɔra]
HKB_MP – [ᵐɔɔrakɔp]; [ᵐɔɔrakɔp]
SBK_GH – [ᵐlɔɔrakɔp]
SBK_DD – [ᵐlɔɔ]; [ᵐlɔɔ]; [ᵐlɔɔ]; [ᵐlɔɔrakɔp]
SBK_ANON – [lɔɔrakɔp]; [lɔɔrakɔp]; [lɔɔrakɔp]
CDA_AE – [gɔɔra]; [lɔɔra]
CDA_CW – [lɔɔɔɔ]; [lɔɔɔɔ]; [lɔɔɔɔ]
CDA_LF – [ɔɔɔɔ];

MTK_ANON – [ɔɔɔɔ]; [lɔɔɔɔ]; [ɔɔɔɔ]
KMG_AW – [ɔɔɔɔɔɔ]
KMG_SM – [lɔɔɔɔ]; [lɔɔɔɔ];
KMG_AP – [lɔɔɔɔ] [lɔɔɔɔ]; [lɔɔɔɔ]
LFN_ANON – [lɔɔɔɔ] [lɔɔɔɔ] [lɔɔra] [lɔɔra]
PHK_GE – [ᵐlɔɔra] [ᵐlɔɔra]
KKS_COL – [lɔɔra]; [lɔɔra]; [lɔɔara]; [lɔɔɔɔ]
KFN_ANON – [lɔɔɔɔ] [lɔɔɔɔ] [lɔɔɔɔ] [lɔɔɔɔ]
OKP_ANON1 – [lɔɔɔra] [lɔɔra] [lɔɔra] [lɔɔra]
OKP_ANON2 – [lɔɔɔɔ] [lɔɔɔɔ] [lɔɔɔɔ]
OKP_ANON3 – [lɔɔra] [lɔɔra]

57 tokens of 1b /ᵐlòrós/ were elicited from 22 consultants. The expected nasalised alveolar click was attested only in one token from one consultant, who claimed no direct L1 Nama input within the home. Overall, 29 tokens used a [-VOICE] [-NASAL] onset; 15 used [+VOICE] [+NASAL], and 13 used a [+VOICE] [-NASAL] onset.

Table 7.14 – Interspeaker Variation on Battery Item 4c

	4c /ᵐlām/						
	dental	lateral	alveolar	palatal			
glottalised	1	3	3	9	4	4	[-VOICE] [-NASAL]
voiced l/p	2				2	2	[+VOICE] [-NASAL]
nasalised	21	2			35	38	[+VOICE] [+NASAL]
nasalised l/p	3				3		

OKP_MM – [ᵐla:pap]; [ᵐla:pap]; [ᵐla:]; [ᵐla:]
HKB_GS – [ᵐɔ̃ɔ̃:]; [ᵐɔ̃ɔ̃:]
HKB_MP – [ᵐlɔ̃ɔ̃:]
SBK_GH – [ᵐlla:]; [ᵐla:]
SBK_DD – [ᵐla]
SBK_ANON – [ᵐla:]
CPT_LJ – [ᵐla:]
CDA_AE – [ᵐɔ̃ɔ̃:]; [ᵐɔ̃ɔ̃:]
CDA_CW – [ᵐɔ̃ɔ̃:]; [ᵐɔ̃ɔ̃:]
CDA_LF – [ᵐɔ̃ɔ̃:]; [ᵐɔ̃ɔ̃:]
MTK_ANON – [ᵐla:]; [lɔ̃ɔ̃:]; [ᵐla:]

KMG_AW – [ᵐla:]
KMG_SM – [ᵐɔ̃ɔ̃:]; [ᵐlla:]
KMG_AP – [ᵐla:]
LFN_ANON – [ᵐla:]; [ᵐla:]
PHK_GE – [ᵐla:]; [ᵐla:]; [ᵐla:]
KFN_ANON – [ᵐla:]; [ᵐla:]; [lɔ̃ɔ̃:] [lɔ̃ɔ̃:kuk]
OKP_ANON1 – [ᵐla:]
OKP_ANON2 – [ᵐla:]; [ᵐla:]
WKL_GE – [ᵐlla:]; [llɔ̃ɔ̃:]; [ᵐla:]; [llɔ̃ɔ̃:]; [ᵐlla:]; [llɔ̃ɔ̃:]; [llɔ̃ɔ̃:]

44 tokens of 4c /ᵐlām/ were elicited from 20 consultants; 21 of these tokens used the expected nasalised dental click.

Table 7.15 – Interspeaker Variation on Battery Item 4d

	4d /^hʔuni/		
	dental	alveolar	palatal
<i>tenuis</i>	4	4	
voiceless /p/	10	4	1
glottalised	1	1	
voiced /l/p/	4	4	1
nasalised	6		

8	23	[-VOICE] [-NASAL]
15		
2	2	[-VOICE] [-NASAL] <i>delayed VOT</i>
9	9	[+VOICE] [-NASAL]
6	6	[+VOICE] [+NASAL]

SKF_LM – [ʔuni], [!uni], [!uni]

SKF_RM – [!uni], [!uni]

HKB_GS – [ʔuni], [!uni]

SBK_GH – [!uni]; [!uni]; [!uni]

SBK_DD – [ɲluni]; [ɲluni]; [ɲluni]

SBK_ANON – [!uni]; [!uni]; [!uni]

CDA_AE – [!uni]

CDA_CW – [!uni]; [!uni]

CDA_LF – [ʔuni]; [!uni]

MTK_ANON – [!uni]; [!uni]

KMG_AW – [luni]; [luni]; [luni:]

KMG_SM – [!uni]; [!uni]; [!uni]

KMG_AP – [!uni]; [!uni]

PHK_GE – [ɲluni:] [!uni:] [!uni:] [!uni:]

KKS_COL – [ɲluni] [ɲluni]

KFN_ANON – [!uni] [luni] [!uni]

40 tokens of 4d ʔuni were elicited from 16 consultants. No tokens employed the expected nasalised palatal click.

Across all 95 items, the only item which was frequently realised in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans using the expected L1 Nama input click was 4c **ɲām**. 21 tokens of 44 employed the expected L1 Nama click, a truly exceptional figure where most other items were realised using the expected click across fewer than 5 tokens, and 35 overall used some form of nasalised click. This word, however, is of contentious origin.⁵³ It is the only item that is *not* restricted to Afrikaans speech communities influenced by recent Khoekhoe-branch shift; indeed, it is increasingly widespread across informal varieties of Coloured Afrikaans all across the country. I hear it regularly in Coloured Afrikaans as used by younger speakers at Makhanda, and it is frequently encountered in Afrikaans-matrix posts on social media including Facebook and Twitter, where it is typically spelled <**nxa**>. Its sheer ubiquity rouses my suspicions that this item was in fact loaned directly from isiXhosa or isiZulu, rather than from Nama, and that its usage on social media was first popularised by isiXhosa or isiZulu speakers using the more standard Nguni spellings <**nca**> or <**ngca**> to capture the expected nasalised or breathy-voiced nasalised click. I strongly suspect orthography, diffused via social media, of having conditioned the prevalence of the nasalised click.

7.2.5. Discussion of Interspeaker Consistency and Variation

The results of the comparative efforts in Section 7.2. have in the main been inconclusive, in that no clearly preferred or consistent correspondence between the L1 Nama input click and the L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans output click could be determined with regard either to type or to accompaniment. There was no interspeaker tendency for the better-known items to be more consistent and less variable, as might have been expected for well-established loanwords whose integration in the host language is complete or nearly complete; if anything, such items display a more fragmented profile, with more click types and click accompaniments used to realise the single expected input click. Here it must be remembered that interspeaker variation

⁵³ I increasingly doubt that a *Cape Khoekhoe or *Eastern Khoekhoe reflex of Nama **ɲām**, properly a transitive verb meaning ‘to love’, is in fact the etymology of the isiXhosa phrase ‘ukuthi **nca**’ or ukuthi **ngca**’ as suggested by Louw at GDX.2.443. An alternative origin would require ukuthi **ngca** to be lumped with such isiXhosa items as ukungcamla = ‘to take a small mouthful’; isingca = ‘a small portion of food’, and ingcathu = ‘person who only nibbles at food’, all of which are best derived from a reflex of Nama **ɲǎu** = *lit.*, ‘to suck’, but with a figurative sense of ‘to eat or drink abstemiously’. From this would arise ‘ukuthi **ngca**’ in its sense of ‘to be choice’, ‘to be carefully selected’, hence ‘[food that is] to be preferred’, and finally ‘tasty’. Regardless, the entry point of **ngca** into general Coloured Afrikaans is almost certainly isiXhosa.

is a hallmark of an ongoing or relatively recent change event, and is not of itself unusual, especially under conditions of obsolescence. Likewise, that click consonants pose an articulatory challenge to clickless speakers is accepted. It is only the combination of recent change with these phonological *rara* that has produced the apparently extreme phonological variation in loaned click consonants in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans.

It is clear that the pool of possible L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans output realisations of click types is in some way constrained by the pool of possible L1 Nama input click types, but these types are not regularly or consistently used to output specific inputs. It may be that the pool of possible L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans output realisations of click accompaniments is in some way constrained by the pool of possible L1 Nama input click accompaniments, but these accompaniments are not regularly or consistently used to output specific inputs. It should be observed that the majority of all L1 Nama input click types, or 16 out of 20, are [-VOICE] [-NASAL], and that this majority seems to be reflected in the frequency of [-VOICE] [-NASAL] clicks across all consultants. The presence of some [+VOICE] clicks in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans is difficult to explain, unless it is the result either of anticipating the VOT following the click burst, or of interpreting nasalised clicks, which are technically [+VOICE] for at least a portion of the click burst, as voiced.

The overall capacity to distinguish between either click type or click accompaniment in speakers who have not acquired a click inventory to L1 fluency, but who do have partial inconsistent exposure to the use of click consonants in their social environment, would seem from these data at least to be virtually null; but further variables remain to be considered.

7.3. Regional Interspeaker Variation

Far clearer findings result from the comparison of interspeaker inventories by region, and, by extension, of direct exposure to L1 Nama speakers during childhood. As was discussed extensively in Chapter 2, the arrival of the prestige language Afrikaans among Nama communities in Klein Namaland was staggered in the first half of the 19th century by a number of factors, including geographic isolation and differing evangelistic approaches at Anglophone and Germanophone mission stations. Cape Dutch was established in the southerly Kamiesberg in 1816 (today the Kamiesberg

Local Municipality) as the language of learning and teaching at the Leliefontein mission under the auspices of the London Mission Society, and bilingualism was apparent by the mid-1830s; by the early 1900s, shift was already far advanced. Vanishingly few Nama-speakers remain in the area today, and most are *kommers* from Namibia who have married Kamiesbergers or who work in South Africa. In essence, the shift event in the Kamiesberg is complete.

By contrast, Rhenish Mission Society agents in the more northerly Hardeveld region (today the Nama Khoi Local Municipality) sought to document Nama as a potential medium of evangelism during the 1820s – 1850s, and Nama endured as the language and learning and teaching in the Richtersveld until at least the 1940s. Nama is still spoken at Steinkopf, Springbok, Kuboes, and Pella, and regular transfrontier interaction means that, although shift is sufficiently advanced to constitute a language emergency, the contact event between Nama and Afrikaans in the Hardeveld is not yet concluded.

Table 7.16 – clicks in Kamiesberg Afrikaans				
	dental	lateral	alveolar	palatal
<i>outside of a former Coloured Reserve</i>				
LFN_ANON	20			
PHK_GE	44			2
KFN_ANON	44			
<i>on a former Coloured Reserve without L1 Nama input</i>				
KKS_COL	38			

The vast majority of click consonants collected in the southerly Kamiesberg were dental. Links 1989 reported extremely variable inventories at Kharkams, historically a Coloured Reserve set aside for Nama communities, in elderly residents born in the early 1900s. He explicitly notes that he encountered both lateral clicks and alveolar clicks in intraspeaker repertoires (Links 1989: 61). Forty years later, these inventories have been considerably reduced. Even KKS_COL, who was married to an L1 Nama speaker, used only dental clicks; this can be explained by understanding that he grew up without regular familial or communal exposure to L1 Nama at Kharkams. Similarly, the very elderly consultant interviewed at Klipfontein had been born at Steinkopf in the north and could remember very early childhood exposure to a language she termed [lʰæunər]taal (probably *lóró* ‘from long ago’ + Afrikaans *taal* ‘language’ = ‘die outaal’, ‘the old language’). Nonetheless, she exhibited a clear tendency toward reduction, using only dental clicks throughout. This implies that growing up in a predominantly

Namaqualand Afrikaans dorpie in the Kamiesberg, without regular L1 Nama input, was sufficient to yield a reduced inventory.

Certainly some consultants in the Hardeveld exhibited limited inventories, particularly the younger consultants interviewed at Okiep and Nababeep, which dorpie were *not* historically Coloured Reserves, but rather copper mining towns. The middle-aged to elderly consultants interviewed at Steinkopf, Komaggas, and Concordia, which were historically Coloured Reserves, and in the environs of Springbok, a hub of transfrontier contact with Namibian speakers of Nama, exhibited the largest and most varied click inventories, and also tended to have far larger lexical inventories. The crucial sociolinguistic variable is probably neither region nor age alone; rather, the interaction of region and age⁵⁴ will condition the likelihood that a speaker will have had exposure to L1 Nama during childhood.

Table 7.17 – clicks in Hardeveld Afrikaans				
	dental	lateral	alveolar	palatal
<i>outside of the former Coloured Reserves without childhood L1 Nama input</i>				
NBP_ANON	5			
OKP_MM	12			
OKP_ANON1	24			3
OKP_ANON2	1		20	7
OKP_ANON3	2		7	9
SBK_LJ	24		9	
SBK_DD	45			
<i>outside of the former Coloured Reserves with childhood L1 Nama input</i>				
WKL_GE	70	6	5	
HKB_GS	25	3		12
HKB_MP	11			23
SBK_GH	19	1	11	21
SBK_ANON	39		1	1
MTK_ANON	65	6	29	39
<i>on the former Coloured Reserves with childhood L1 Nama input</i>				
SKF_LM	6		15	3
SKF_RM	1	2	12	
CDA_AE	39			3
CDA_CW	3		30	15
CDA_LF	12		10	18
KMG_AW	24	3	10	12
KMG_SM	13	8	22	10
KMG_AP	3	3	46	4

⁵⁴ As will be further discussed in Chapter 9, it was an error on my part to assume that Millennial and younger Namaqualanders would not have access to click items; on the contrary, many did. However, it should be predicted that such speakers would employ these click items using only the dental click, or occasionally using a ‘noisy’ palatal.

Speakers who had grown up outside of the former Coloured Reserves, and who stated that they had not had exposure to L1 Nama in the home, had less varied inventories overall, tending to use one click type most frequently; this includes speakers such as SBK_DD, who was the son of two L1 Nama-speakers, but who noted that they adamantly did not speak Nama in his presence because he was born in South Africa rather than in Namibia. Importantly, none of these speakers used the lateral click at all. If, as discussed in Section 6.1.3, the ‘noisy’ palatals used throughout Namaqualand are not classed as the truly ‘abrupt’ palatals expected of the KX’A, KHOE, and TUU languages, but are instead treated as significantly retracted dentals, then this distribution accords with cross-linguistic tendencies expected of click loan events, in which ‘noisy’ dental or ‘noisy’ post-alveolar clicks seem to be the least marked option for realising a click within an ancestrally clickless grammar.

By contrast, speakers who had grown up either on the former Coloured Reserves (Steinkopf, Komaggas, Concordia) and so had either familiar or communal L1 Nama input, or outside of the former Coloured Reserves but who noted direct L1 Nama input in the home, had larger and more variable click inventories. Only these consultants employed the lateral click, although still rarely. The dental click is still the most commonly used click type overall, but several consultants in this category did favour ‘noisy’ alveolar clicks, notably CDA_CW, KMG_SM, and KMG_AP.

The best explanation for this pattern likely has to do with degree of exposure to the full inventory of L1 Nama click consonants. In consultants with direct L1 Nama input in the home, or the generation immediately post-shift, exposure was far too sporadic to facilitate the fluent phonological acquisition of a contrastive inventory; nonetheless it *was* sufficient to furnish these consultants with at least some degree of access at least three click types of the expected four (the dental and the ‘noisy’ palatal; the ‘noisy’ alveolar; and the lateral, often unexpectedly ‘abrupt’). Despite employing a variety of click types, such consultants still ultimately favour one type, usually the dental or ‘noisy’ palatal, occasionally the ‘noisy’ alveolar.

In consultants of the *subsequent* generation, or one generation removed from direct L1 Nama input, the only available exposure is via communal interaction with

Namaqualand Afrikaans monolinguals, who use the dental more frequently than other type of click. This yields the reduced and less variable inventories of northerly speakers with no direct L1 Nama input, and most prominently of southerly speakers who are now at least two generations post-shift and very little opportunity for direct L1 Nama exposure during childhood. Essentially, there is a diachronic trend towards the further reduction and simplification of the donor inventory in each generation following the conclusion of the contact event.

Comparatively, these findings align with observations that, even within the same language, regional varieties that have been out of contact with donor click languages for longer host smaller click inventories. *shiYeyi*, for example, is comprised of two largely disjunct geographic varieties (Somer & Voßen 1992), R41A Caprivi *shiYeyi* in Namibia, now largely out of contact with its donor click languages, and R41B Ngamiland *shiYeyi* in Botswana, more regularly in contact with Kalahari-branch languages. Gunnink & Sands 2019 consider R41A to contain only 12 phonemes, and note that velar stops may alternate with items containing click consonants, suggesting ongoing trends of click loss; in R41B, however, they tally 22 click phonemes (Gunnink & Sands 2019: 711).

Similarly, northerly varieties of K402 *chiFwe* used in Zambia, out of contact with donor click languages, have replaced loaned click consonants with velar consonants, but southerly varieties spoken in the Caprivi Strip, in contact with *shiYeyi*, still make use of click consonants (Gunnink & Sands 2019: 710 – 711; Gunnink 2020a: 156 – 157). As will be further discussed in Chapter 10, similar process of click loss have occurred both in general Afrikaans, which, despite evidence of historical lexical borrowing from *Cape Khoekhoe, retains no click consonants today; and also in *ruManyo* following the removal of the KX'A and Kalahari-branch and the increasing exposure of younger generations to entirely clickless languages.

In precisely the same pattern, the click inventory of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans in the northerly *Hardeveld*, where contact is ongoing, is larger and more varied. The click inventory of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans is far smaller and less variable in the southerly *Kamiesberg* region, where shift is nearly complete, and where Afrikaans has been out

of contact with Nama for at least two generations. We should therefore anticipate that subsequent generations of Namaqualand Afrikaans will retain the use of Nama lexical items, but increasingly fewer Nama clicks.

7.4. Conclusions

This chapter found little in the way of regular correspondence between the input L1 Nama click consonant and the output L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans click. In other words, it was not possible to show that one particular click type was always and regularly rephonologised as another particular click type. Attempts at determining whether or not click accompaniments were regularly adapted into Namaqualand Afrikaans were likewise inconclusive. No certain conclusions can be reached without hard data on click perception in click-exposed speakers, but this does imply that the perception scores for both click type and click accompaniment would be very low among speakers of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans. The sheer unpredictability of whether a given word will be uttered using one click type or another indicates the absence of phonemic contrast.

However, some degree of regularity *was* detected in the regional distribution of click types. Speakers who had grown up on the former ‘Coloured Reserves’ in the more northerly Hardeveld region of Namaqualand, where shift is ongoing and contact with the donor click language still occurs, used far larger click inventories containing more click accompaniments and more click types, although the dental click was still the most frequently-employed overall. Speakers from the southerly Kamiesberg region, where shift is complete and contact with the donor click language has ended, had far smaller click inventories and almost exclusively used the dental click. This implies a diachronic progression from the use of a large and unpredictably variable click inventory including all four click ‘types’ immediately post-shift toward the use of a smaller and far simpler click inventory consisting only of one click type. Essentially, extreme and apparently chaotic unpredictability characterises the early stages of the change event; simplification resulting in stability characterises the later stages.

Chapter 8

Neutralised Namaqualand Afrikaans Clicks in Context

From this complex phonological scenario arises the question of how speakers of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans navigate extreme click variation in everyday speech. The broad neutralisation of the L1 Nama contrastive click inventory in loan, not to mention the total loss of tonemic contrast, should logically yield extreme homophony, and, subsequently, difficulties in maintaining semantic boundaries between lexical items. This section examines some strategies employed by speakers in mitigating the complexities associated with post-shift click variation and replacement.

8.1. Neutralised Clicks in Daily Discourse

This section notes the extreme propensity for homophony in Nama lexical items following the collapse of both the contrastive click inventory and the tonemic system in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans, in addition to exploring potential developments of semantic conflation and folk etymology.

8.1.1. Lexical Extension

Lexical and semantic extension are common results of lexical borrowing, and a number of straightforward examples are present in post-shift Namaqualand Afrikaans. The ubiquitous item 0a **!gǎbú** carries the literal sense of ‘tasteless’, ‘bland’, or ‘insipid’, used of food or especially drink, and of ‘boring’, ‘uninteresting’. Both of these senses are present in Nama, and both seem to have come across into L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans. All consultants who were tested on 0a **!gǎbú** accepted that it could be applied to food and drink, but, as had been previously observed at Links 1989: 63, several others used it also of a boring or uninteresting person. One also used the phrase ‘**!gǎbú** besigheid’ (*lit.*, ‘boring business’) to refer to an outright unpleasant conversation or to bad news. Here the polysemy of the item present in the donor language has been preserved in the host language. By contrast, some items developed new senses in loan that are not present in the donor language.

1d **!ǎú** was attested in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans both in the very well-known loanblend **!ǎú!ag**, ‘to shout with laughter’, ‘to laugh out loud’, and independently, with

a sense of either ‘to shout aloud’, or ‘to call someone’. MTK_ANON gave the example, ‘Of jy hoor iemand wat roep, dan sê jy, ‘Wie [lʰœu] so?’ (‘Or you hear someone shouting, then you say, ‘Who’s [lʰœu]ing like that?’), while CDA_CW used the sentence, ‘[lʰœu] daai kinders vir my!’ ([lʰœu] those children for me!). Only KMG_AP refused the sense of *skreeulag* outright, accepting 1d !àú only as ‘to call’. The double sense of Afrikaans *roep* is precisely the same as that of English ‘call’, in that both can signify either the intransitive ‘to shout aloud’, or the transitive ‘to call someone’, but the Germanic polysemy is ostensibly not present in Khoekhoe. The use of 1d !àú to mean ‘to call someone’ in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans would seem to be the equivalent of extending English ‘cry’, in the sense of ‘to cry aloud’, to signify also ‘to cry for someone’, i.e., ‘to call someone’. Even though serialisation is a core feature of Khoekhoe verbal morphosyntax, no L1 Nama consultants accepted the loanblend !àúlag, suggesting that it is an L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans innovation calquing *skreeulag* (see further discussion in Section 10.1.3 below).

The ubiquitous loan spelled <**xhorro**> on Facebook was among the more difficult to etymologise, but must derive from **‡khòròb**, ‘bottle’, as used in the idiomatic phrase **‡khoroba xu ra ams**, *lit.*, ‘to put the bottle to the mouth’, *fig.*, ‘to debate’, ‘to discuss’, ‘to converse’ H&E7. This fairly obscure origin presented some difficulty for L1 Nama speakers. L1 Nama consultant KKS_CHL did not accept the loan <**xhorro**>, as used by her L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans husband KKS_COL, as meaning ‘to converse’ or ‘to talk about’ at all, instead preferring !hóá. Despite having been eminently capable of providing all other expected L1 Nama etyma, PNL_PV struggled to identify the origin of this loan, hesitating and ultimately offering [lʰoro]. The standardised Namibian Khoekhoe **!hòró** means only ‘to behave drunkenly’, ‘to be intoxicated’ H&E206, with no associated sense of ‘to discuss’. Given his use of the dental click, demonstrably the click most frequently employed in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans, and also associated with L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans loaned clicks by both SKF_DD (Christie 2019: 95 – 96) and KKS_CHL (see Section 9.3. below), I strongly suspect that PNL_PV’s use of [lʰoro] reflects an instance of reborrowing.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ For a comparable instance of click languages reborrowing clicks that had previously undergone reduction during loan into a clickless language, note the presence in Khwedam of *both* the original KHOE item !ùrú = quiver (not reconstructed for *proto-KHOE, but cf. !gùrúb = ‘quiver’ in Namibian

In loan, **1e #gǎbá** carried two senses, one extended from the other: ‘to be or to become thin’, and ‘to starve to death’. This item was elicited using a description of very small goat or sheep that refused to eat, prompting consultants to complete the sentence using **#gǎbá**. Asked to comment on what precisely would happen to the animal, certain consultants interpreted **#gǎbá** to mean that it would become thin. Others, however, interpreted the sentence as indicating that the animal would become dangerously thin and die; SKF_RM, for example, glossed **#gǎbá** using Afrikaans relative forms, explaining ‘*nie net maer, hy’s brandmaer, amper doodgaanmaer*’ (‘not just thin, he’s thin as a rail, so thin he’s about to die’). Only the former sense appears in Haacke & Eiseb, and SKF_DD, an L1 Nama control consultant, strongly rejected the sense of ‘to starve to death’, accepting only ‘to be thin’. She also rejected my suggested translation *skraal*, ‘skinny’, and insisted on *maer*, ‘thin’. This would suggest that some degree of semantic intensification has occurred during loan.

8.1.2. Homophony, Conflation, & Folk Etymology

These examples of semantic extension are logical and are all readily explained, and are not cross-linguistically remarkable. However, certain Nama items have undergone lexical and semantic extension in Afrikaans not through the ordinary processes expected from loan, but through conflation precipitated by the collapse of phonemic contrast in the Nama click inventory, as well as the loss of contrastive lexical tone. The particular capacity of click consonants to stack phonological features means that they carry a high functional load; when combined with lexical tone, this allows a relatively small phonetic inventory to form a lexis of relatively short strings, contrasted primarily through the efficient interaction of click consonants and tone melodies. Table 8.1 below exemplifies minimal pairs that carry identical onset clicks and are differentiated only by tone melody (in citation form); Table 8.2 exemplifies minimal pairs that carry identical tone melodies (in citation form) and differentiated only by onset click. With both of these contrastive mechanisms unavailable in Namaqualand Afrikaans, the potential for homophony, and hence for lexical conflation and semantic confusion, is high.

Khoekhoe, in**qulu** loaned with the alveolar click intact in isiZulu and isiXhosa), *and* the reborrowing **!huúnú** (Kilian-Hatz 2003: 333), which clearly derives from the ruManyo loanword **nchunú**.

Table 8.1. Minimal pairs in standardised Namibian Khoekhoe by tone melody			
item	citation melody	onset click	sense
!gaàb	LL.L	alveolar tenuis	'slave', 'servant', 'menial labourer' (n)
!gaab	L.H	alveolar tenuis	'poison' (n)
!gaã	L.HH	alveolar tenuis	'to become visible', 'to reappear' (v.i.)
!gáa	HH.H	alveolar tenuis	'to break open', 'to split', (v.t.)
!aób	H.L	dental glottalised	'blood' (n)
!aóḃ	L.HH	dental glottalised	'snake' (n)
!aó	L.HH	dental glottalised	'to milk (e.g., a cow, a goat)' (v.t.)
!áo	HH.H.	dental glottalised	'to call names', 'to taunt', 'to scold' (v.t.)

Table 8.2. Minimal pairs in standardised Namibian Khoekhoe by onset click			
item	citation melody	onset click	sense
!aó	L.HH	dental glottalised	'to milk (e.g., a cow, a goat)' (v.t.)
‡aó	L.HH	palatal glottalised	'to plaster', 'to smear', 'to stick on' (v.t.)
!lgaĩ	LL.L	lateral tenuis	'stooped', 'bent' (adj)
‡gaĩ	LL.L	palatal tenuis	'to sneeze', 'to snort (e.g., of a goat)' (v.i.)
!huĩ	LL.L	dental aspirated	'to hiss', 'to break wind silently' (v.i.)
!huĩ	LL.L	alveolar aspirated	'to hate' (v.t.)
!lkharàb	L.L.	lateral affricate	'gravel', 'shingle' (n)
‡kharàb	L.L	palatal affricate	'scrotum', 'testes' (n)
!lnóĩ	L.HH	lateral nasalised	'to graze', 'to abrade', 'to excoriate' (v.t.)
!nóĩ	L.HH	alveolar nasalised	'to become calm', 'to quieten' (v.i.)

Building on a set of six items which display minimal or near-minimal tonemic contrast, and which have been used since Haacke 1976 to exemplify lexical tone in Namibian Khoekhoe, Table 8.3 below shows how, if both tone and click type are relieved of their functional duty, the base string /{**ʎ**}^t**óms**/ can feasibly support 16 homophonous or near-homophonous permutations. This tally could be expanded even further to incorporate homophones or near-homophones achieved through stripping the click accompaniment to yield /{**ʎ**}^t**óms**/ Effectively, the UR of a given L1 Nama input string /{**ʎ**}^t**VCVC**/ or similar processed by an L1 Afrikaans grammar should take the form /{**ʎ**}**VCVC**/. As is typical of interactions between a fairly inflectional and a fairly

analytical language, case and PGN suffixes also fall away in loan (see Section 10.1.1. below) further levelling these sets. This should illustrate how that monolingual Afrikaans speakers who recall Nama items without access either to tone or to a contrastive click inventory, and who are capable of distinguishing with reference only to toneless non-click segments, have the potential to generate extensive sets of potential homophones. This extreme process of levelling in turn facilitates lexical conflation and lexical reanalysis, and may also lead to the development of folk etymologies.

Table 8.3.
Near homophony in standardised Namibian Khoekhoe

item	melody	sense	item	melody	sense
òṃ	L.L	'to breathe'	llòṃ	LL.H	'plonk!' (<i>ideo</i>)
òṃ	L.HH	'to sprout'	llòṃs	L.L	'a cave'
óṃ	H.L	'to dry up'	llóṃ	H.L	'to nod off', 'to drowse'
óṃs	HH.H	[<i>Vachellia arenaria</i>]			

item	melody	sense	item	melody	sense
!òṃ	LL.LL	'to butt', 'to push'	‡òṃ	LL.H	'to dip', 'to immerse'
!òṃs	L.H	'udder'	‡òṃs	L.HH	'sleep' (<i>noun</i>)
!òm	L.L	'to force an exit'	‡òm	H.L	'to sew'
!óm	H.H	'to coagulate'			
!óṃs	H.HH	'pollard'			
!óṃs	HH.HH	'fist'			

A clear example of conflation in the absence of tone contrasts is present in the twin senses of <**t'norra**>. In standardised Namibian Khoekhoe, 1b **!nòròs** carries the sense only of 'occiput', 'back of the 'head' H&E367, and it is with this sense that it comes over into isiXhosa **isinqolontsi** = 'the back of the head' GDX2.722. In Namaqualand Afrikaans, however, it may also signify '*korreltjies*' or '*die klein pitte van die hare*', that is, the new growth on the nape of the neck characteristic of Afro-textured hair. Some L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans consultants accepted 1b **!nòròs** (L.LL) as signifying only the back of the head; other accepted it as signifying properly the *korreltjies*; others accepted it as both. Here I note that the near-homophonous **!nòrás** (L.HH), an unrelated term properly referencing plaited tobacco, serves also as an informal term for 'a tuft of peppercorn hair' (H&E366). The split sense of 'nape of the neck' and '*pitte van die hare*' attested for **t'norrakop** likely derives from the conflation of **!nòròs** and **!nòrás**, facilitated by the loss of tonemic contrast.

Consultants often volunteered their own examples of Nama items through reference to homophony or near-homophony, a process here termed **string association**. Having discussed a battery item, consultants might recall an item that, although distinct in Nama, was homophonous in Afrikaans. For example, after discussing 0b **!ùñĩb** in its sense of ‘elbow’, CPT_LJ recalled an item, homophonous in her repertoire, that refers to playing with someone’s hair or massaging someone’s scalp as a gesture of affection. This item was difficult to trace, but must ultimately be 5ag **Inóñné**, *lit.*, ‘to probe the scalp for lice using the fingers’. In addition to the collapse of the nasalised dental click into the alveolar glottalised click, both vowels have been significantly raised, and the contrastive tonemic melodies L.HH and HH.LL have been entirely stripped. The loss of nominal morphology, in this case the PGN suffix –b, is also a prerequisite for the confusion of the second syllable of the noun 0b, –**ñĩb**, with that of the verb 5ag, –**ñné**.

CPT_LJ: maar die grootmense het ook 'n manier waarop hulle [ṽquni] gebruik het, sê byvoorbeeld nou soos ‘Ouma Lena was lief gewees vir 'n mens te [ṽquni]’. nou [ṽquni] beteken nou, ah, jy weet jou hare word ge, jy weet jou skilwers word gekrap of jou hare word so gevrywe. dis ook 'n manier van [ṽquni] te praat’

CPT_LJ: but the oldfolk also have a way of using [ṽquni], say for example now, ‘Ouma Lena used to love to [ṽquni] people.’ so here [ṽquni] means now, ah, you know, your hair gets, you know, you get your scabs scratched, or you get your hair massaged like so. that’s also a way of talking about [ṽquni].

CPT_LJ attributed the distinction in semantic scope to a generational divide, considering 0b **!ùñĩb** [ṽquni] = ‘elbow’ more general, and associating 5ag **Inóñné** [ṽquni] = ‘to rub the scalp’ with more elderly speakers. This could indicate, firstly, that more specialised lexes are better recalled by older Namaqualanders, but also, secondly, that its usage is highly context-dependent, and that it would likely be uttered only during the grandmotherly gesture of grooming a child’s hair.

In a more complex example, MTK_ANON discusses 1d **!àú** in its sense of ‘to shout’ or ‘to call loudly’, but then recalls ‘then you get another word’, as goes on to explain the process of roasting maize (a historical method of food preparation in Namaqualand, as discussed at Schültze 1907: 125; the same method was described by KFN_ANON, who was of an age with MTK_ANON). This ultimately produces a hybrid compound noun 5n **llnàrukoring**, realised [ʔœurukʊərən].

MTJK ANON: maar [ʔœu]^{1d} aan die ander kant is weer as jy iemand roep. [...] of jy hoor iemand wat roep, dan sê jy, 'Wie [llʔœu]^{1d} so?' [...] dis ook hard praat 'wie praat –?' of 'wie raas so hard? wie [ʔll ʔœu]^{1d} so?' [...] nou kry jy nog 'n ander woord. as jy koring in 'n pot op die vuur en jy brand hom nou, dan is dit dan [ʔœuru] jy die koring. [...] dis [ʔʔ ʔœurukuærən], dis koring wat gebrand is. amper soos jy *popcorn* maak.

MTJK ANON: but [ʔœu]^{1d} on the other hand is if you call someone. [...] or if you hear someone calling, then you say, 'who's ^{1d}[llʔœu]ing like that?' it's also to talk loudly, 'who's talking –?' or 'who's making such a loud noise? who's ^{1d}[ʔll ʔœu] ing like that?' [...] then you get another word again. if you have maize and now you're roasting it, then it's, then you [ʔʔ ʔœuru] the maize. it's [ʔʔ ʔœuru]maize, it's maize that's been toasted. almost as though you're making popcorn.

Here the first syllables of the L1 Nama items 1d **!àú** and 5n **llnàru** have become homophonous or near-homophonous in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans. In addition to the loss of phonemic contrast between the glottalised alveolar click and the nasalised lateral click, this association depends on the vowel-breaking discussed in 8.4. We might suggest that, in place of the standardised Namibian Khoekhoe **llnàru**, southerly Nama employed a form ***llnauru** (the effects of this regional variation on tone cannot be reconstructed without further data). This would allow for both 1d **!àú** and 5n ***llnau-** to be reasonably adapted into L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans as /{ʔʔ}œu/.

As has already been found during the compilation of the lexicographic corpora, the high potential for homophony of this often required that close and careful attention be paid in order to avoid erroneously conflate two items used by different consultants. HKB_GS, for example, volunteered a serendipitous item with a sense of 'to surprise'. This clearly targets **5a ʔàpó** = 'to take someone by surprise', 'to catch someone off guard'.

HKB_GS: jy jy jy jy . [ʔqabɔ] hom nè jy eintlik jy veras hom. jy [ʔqabɔ] hom, jy vang hom, jy't hom uitgevang. [k'abu], jy't hom ge[k'abu]=

CRC: =ja so dit beteken om iemand te veras of uit te vang=

HKB_GS: =ja jy't hom ge[ʔqabɔ] jy't hom uitgevang.

HKB_GS: you you you you . [ʔqabɔ] him right you actually you surprise them, you [ʔqabɔ] him, you catch him, you've caught him out, [k'abu], you've [k'abu]ed him=

CRC: =yes so it means to surprise someone or catch them out=

HKB_GS: =yes you've [ʔqabɔ]ed him, you've caught him out

The next consultant interviewed used a very similar term that was virtually homophonous, and that seemed to share a similar usecase.

MP: julle kom nou hierso. nou kom julle en julle kom vra nou vir my 'n ding om te doen. nou ek kán dit doen, maar julle het my nou onverwags vertrap. nou sê ek, 'julle het my ge[ʔqaba]'.
[ʔqaba]

MP: say you guys come here. now you come, and you come and ask me to do something. now I *can* do it, but you guys have taken me by surprise. so I'll say, 'you guys have [ʔqaba]ed me'.

However, the item used by HKB_MP in fact originates in **5b #ǎpá** = 'to come at an awkward time or inconvenient time' H&E380. Importantly, the general Namibian Khoekhoe form would be #ówá, while #ǎpá is marked as a Bondelswarts regionalism by Haacke & Eiseb, suggesting either recent Bondelswarts Nama influence on Namaqualand Afrikaans, or that southerly Nama historically shared this item with Bondelswarts Nama. Regardless of the origin of this target, it is distinct from **5a #àpó**; although both consultants use [ʔq] to target [ʔ], and, although neither replicated either the L.HH or the HH.H melody, each did recall the expected final vowel. Great care was applied throughout the etymologising process discussion to ensure that homophonous or near-homophonous items were sourced to the appropriate targets.

In some instances, homophony drove conflation of one or more distinct Nama items into a single Afrikaans item. WKL_GE interviewed using a list of Namaqualand Afrikaans regionalisms that he had compiled in preparation for our visit. Reading from an initial example, 'Daai ou is baie [lǎa:ǐǐǐǐ]^{7c}', he glosses the loan as 'slordig', "messy". He then begins to read his next example, 'Die bokke se bekke...' ("The goats' muzzles...") but breaks off to explain that the same item has another meaning in this context, and that, in Nama, [lǎa:ǐǐǐǐ]^{3d} in fact means 'sticky', as exemplified in the sentence, "The goats muzzles are [ʔlǎa:ǐǐǐǐ]^{3d} from eating the *melkbos*." The *melkbos* may be any one of a number of *Euphorbia* sp. in Namaqualand, but here is likely *Euphorbia mauritanica*, a widespread and thornless shrub that is palatable to smallstock, but that does produce a thick and sticky sap. WKL_GE explains what he perceives as the lexical extension of 'sticky' to 'messy' by describing how the sap not only makes the goats sticky, but also dries down dark and stains their muzzles and throats.

WKL_GE: [l̥Ga:iəɾəx]^{7c} ... daai ou is baie [l̥Ga:iəɾəx]^{7c}, dit wil sê, hy is slordig . hy's vuil . [l̥Ga:iəɾəx]^{7c}, ook soos daai ander woord ah [l̥qœuʋu]^{0a} hy het viel betekenisse . 'die bokke se bekke' nou hier het hy 'n ander betekenis . [l̥Ga:iəɾəx]^{3d} beteken in die Namataal eintlik 'taai' . dis 'taai' . nou gebruik hulle dit hierso, 'die bokke se bekke is [l̥lla:iəɾəx]^{3d} . van die . dis taai van die melkbos vreet. die melkbos gee mos 'n druppel af. daan raak hy so bruin. sy bek raak bruin, sy keel, sy nek raak bruin, soos die, of swart soos die ahhh die melkbos, dit vlek. so dan sê ek hy't 'n paar betekenisse.

WKL_GE: [l̥Ga:iəɾəx]^{7c} [...] that guy is very [l̥Ga:iəɾəx]^{7c}, that is to say, he is messy. he is dirty. [l̥Ga:iəɾəx]^{7c}, also like that other word ah [l̥qœuʋu]^{0a} it has a lot of meanings . 'the goats' muzzles' now here it has another meaning. [l̥Ga:iəɾəx]^{3d} actually means 'sticky' in the Namataal . it's 'sticky'. so they use it like so, 'the goats' muzzles are [l̥lla:iəɾəx]^{3d} from the. they're sticky from eating the *melkbos*. the *melkbos* gives off sap, of course. then it gets brown. its muzzle gets brown, its throat, its neck gets brown, like the, or black like the ahhh the *melkbos*, it stains. so I would say it has several meanings.

The double sense of [l̥Ga:iəɾəx], however, does not arise through lexical extension, but through the conflation of two separate targets. The first item discussed is **7c !khaèrǎ**, which means 'untidy' or 'slovenly' H&E343; the second, **3d †aé**, is 'to stick' or 'to cling', with an adjectival derivation **†aésǎ** H&E370. Both of the loaned use-cases are entirely in keeping with those expected of Nama, and so WKL_GE is wholly correct in his semantic observations on these two targets, adapted homophonously in Namaqualand Afrikaans and hence effectively as a single item. Interestingly, this conflation coupled with reanalysis apparently has the potential to condition morphosyntactic integration. The syllable **-rǎ** in **7c !khaèrǎ** has been reanalysed as the Afrikaans adjectival suffix **-rig /rəx/**, effectively producing a blended item **!khaèrig**. This in turn allows for the homophonous **3d †aé** to be derived into the adjectival **†aérig**.

In a similar example, homophony in loan may apparently contribute to the development of folk etymologies.

RM: (*reading from stimulus*) hierdie boom se naam is . [!unibɔm]^{2a}

LM: die ja ... (die werklikheid is eintlik [!ʔunibɔm]^{2a} hierdie

RM: (is hy 'n groot

LM: nou [!ʔuni]^{4d} beteken om=

RM: =dis melk=

LM: =dis 'n ding melk=

LM: =of is dit 'n ooi of 'n bok of iets melk. nou gewoonlik het die mense mos nou, ah ah op die plaas, daai boom is eintlike amper soos, as daar 'n boom by die plaas, maar . dis amper maar soos hier sit ('n (*indistinct*)

RM: (soos by soos byvoorbeeld in die somertyd, dan kom staan die skape of die bok kom staan onder daai [!unibom]^{2a} en dan melk jy hom
LM: ja ja want hy so 'n art van sambreel, sambreeltipe boom wat 'n lekker skaduwee maak ja

RM: [reading from stimulus] this tree's name is. [!unibom]^{2a}
LM: this one, yes ... (the truth is it's actually [!²unibom]^{2a} this one
RM: (so it's a big]
LM: now [!²uni]^{4d} means to=
RM: =it's milk=
LM: =it's milk something=
LM: =it's milk a ewe or a goat or something.
 now, usually, the people would just have, ah ah on the farm, that tree is actually almost like, if there is a tree near the farm, but . but it's almost like here there's (a *indistinct*)
RM: (so for, so for example in the summertime, then the sheep come or the goat comes to stand under that [!unibom]^{2a} and then you milk it
LM: yes yes because it's almost a sort of umbrella, an umbrella-like tree that gives good shade, yes

Here the target prompted, through visual stimulus, was 2a /ᵀʰᵤnís/ = *Boscia albitrunca*, realised as SKF_RM as [!unibom] and by SKF_LM as [!²unibom], stripped of the 3.F.SG suffix **–s** and appended to the Afrikaans *–boom* 'tree' to yield a hybrid compound. SKF_LM then noted that [!²uni] meant 'to milk', clearly targeting 4d /ᵀʰᵤnì/ = 'to milk a second time', 'to scrounge milk from an animal' with lexical generalisation, thus conflating /ᵀʰᵤnì/ and /ᵀʰᵤnís/ string /{ᵀʰ}uni/. This leads to the formulation of a folk etymology associating the *Boscia albitrunca* with milking.

Continuing in their discussion of the string /{ᵀʰ}uni/, SKF_RM and SKF_LM went on to conflate another near-minimal pair. Here the introductory tag, 'en kry jy nóg 'n ander ene', 'and then you get *yet another* one', indicates that SKF_LM had another semantic usecase available for the string /{ᵀʰ}uni/.

LM: en kry jy nog 'n ander ene wat eintlik . k jy moet my ernstig kan jy hoor wat ek. hulle sê 'moenie my [!uni] laat klim nie' moenie jy my kwaad maak nie
RM: ja ja en daar's die ander een [!uni] moenie my neus=
LM: =toe laat toe trek=
RM: =kom
 ek sê . moenie my kwaad maak
LM: moenie my [!²uni] laat klim nie
RM: ja my (my [!unu]
LM: (my [!unu]=
RM: =[!unu]
LM: ja dis nou eintlik=
RM: =[!unu] is neus
LM: ja my neus laat ja ja soos jy nou sê (my neus trek toe

RM: (ja moenie my kwaad maak
WB: ok
RM: moenie my kwaad maak
CC: ookay
LM: jy kan mense sê terloops ‘Ô, ek sien sy neus trek toe!’ met ander woorde, jy kan sien hy begin om te vererg, ‘nee nee nee, moenie my [**!unu**] laat klim nie’.

LM: and then you get yet another one that actually. ok you must seriously. can you hear what I. they say ‘don’t get my [**!uni up**]’ you mustn’t make me cross
RM: yes yes and there’s the other one [**!uni**] my nose mustn’t=
LM: =mustn’t get blocked up=
RM: =which is
to say . you mustn’t make me cross
LM: don’t get my [**!uni**] up
RM: yes my (my [**!unu**]
LM: (my [**!unu**]=
RM: =[**!unu**]
LM: yes now it’s actually=
RM: =[**!unu**] is nose
LM: yes make my nose yes yes like you just said (my nose gets blocked up
RM: (yes don’t make me cross
WB: ok
RM: don’t make me cross
CC: ookay
LM: you could say to someone offhand ‘oh, I see his nose is getting blocked!’ in other words, you can see he’s beginning to get annoyed, ‘no no no, don’t get up my [**!unu**]’.

Here SKF_LM volunteers an item pronounced first [**!uni**], then [**!unu**], in a phrase ‘moenie my [**!unu**] laat klim nie’, where the loaned item is glossed as ‘nose’. Although the underlying reference was clearly to an idiom expressing annoyance or frustration, the precise item targeted remained opaque for some months. It was not until CDA_CW volunteered an item approximating [**!Guni**] and glossed it as ‘to tease’, that the above exchange became clear. The initial item is **#gúní** = ‘to trouble’, ‘to bother’ H&E396. SKF_LM realises the expected /**#úní**/ as [**!uni**], and locates it within a phrase that likely represents chunked recall of insertional codemixing. At this point, SKF_LM has not introduced any reference to the nose. It is SKF_RM who introduces the association of the nose and annoyance, first noting, ‘Yes, yes, and there’s the other one.’ He subsequently corrects SKF_LM’s use of [**!uni**] as a realisation of /**#úní**/ to [**!unu**], clearly originating **llnùnúb** /**ʔllùnúb**/ = ‘nasal bone’ H&E291. Both then agree that [**!unu**] signifies ‘nose’.

The rural Afrikaans here is difficult, and the construction, ‘Moenie my [**!uni**] laat klim nie,’ could feasibly translate either as, ‘Don’t get my [**!uni**] up,’ or as, ‘Don’t get up my [**!uni**].’ Prior to the association with the nose, where the target is properly /**ʔllùní**/, I

have chosen the former, ‘Don’t get my [**!uni**] up,’ as it better approximates the English idiom, ‘Don’t get *my temper* up.’ After the phrase ‘moenie my neus toe laat trek nie’ (“don’t block my nose”) is introduced, and the recalled codemix becomes ‘moenie my [**!unu**] laat klim nie’, where the target is properly /**ʔllùnúb**/ I have chosen the latter, as ‘Don’t get up my [**!unu**],’ is analogous to the English idiom ‘Don’t get on my nerves,’ ‘Don’t step on my toes,’ ‘Get off my back!’ and the like. Regardless of the target, the item is never inserted into the phrase, ‘Moenie my neus toe laat trek nie’ (“Don’t block my nose”), which is offered as elucidation of the idiom, but appears solely in the phrase, ‘Moenie my {**!uni**; **!unu**} laat klim nie.’

SKF_LM was recalling lexical insertion of **ǀguńí** onto this specific Afrikaans matrix phrase, but that SKF_RM, in conflating this item with **llnùnúb**, connected it with a different idiom involving the nose. This suggests that the inability to recall or realise either the distinction between the tenuis palatal click and the nasalised lateral click, or the distinction between the HH.H and LL.H melodies, coupled with an unfamiliarity with the morphosyntactic knowledge required to differentiate between parts of verbs, has resulted in near-homophony and hence conflation of two separate targets.

In a comparable example, KMG_SM and KMG_AW conflate 3b **!gàòkind** = ‘youngest child of the family’ with 5aa **llǎó** = ‘to reject food’.

SM: en, en daar is ook nog ’n woord, dis amper soos, as jy, as ek nou iets kry
[...] ek kry brood. dan is ek nie vrede met die brood nie.
AW: jy [**ǀau**]=
SM: =jy [**ʔau**]=
AW: (=hulle is nie vrede nie.
SM: (dis hoekoem dit [**ʔau**]kind bykom. want ek [**ʔau**]. ek is nie
vrede with die brood.
CC: okay=
SM: = mm, mm=
CC: =dit is interessant=
SM: =of sy, sy [**ʔau**] die kos, die kos is te min

SM: and, and there is also another word, it’s almost like, if you, say I’ve just been given food
[...] I’ve been given bread. but then I’m not satisfied with the bread.
AW: you [**ǀau**]=
SM: =you [**ʔau**]=
AW: (=they’re not satisfied.
SM: (that’s why it gets added into [**ʔau**]kind. because I [**ʔau**]. I’m not satisfied
with the bread.
CC: okay=

SM: = mm, mm =
 CC: =that's interesting=
 SM: =or she, she [lʔau]s the food, there is too little food

The practice of refusing food, apparently particularly associated with young children H&E206, is here associated with the ubiquitous loan **!gàòkind** via an apparent folk etymology that characterises the youngest child as a particularly fussy eater.

8.2. Homophony in Context

Having demonstrated the tendency toward homophony in Nama lexical items in Namaqualand Afrikaans, this section collates some examples of speaker attitudes toward this phenomenon, and also reports on some strategies for redressing homophony in everyday discourse.

8.2.1. Metalinguistic Awareness of Homophony

When pressed for commentary on the homophony observed above, or when asked to explain precisely *why* they felt that their pronunciations differed from L1 Nama, consultants offered a variety of explanations. While discussing the distinction between 1b **!nòròs** and 1c **‡khòròb**, which were effectively homophonous in his repertoire, MTK_ANON suggested that stress might play a role in distinguishing one word from another in an L1 Nama context.

MTK_ANON: kyk, die ene word nou, miskien nou beklemtoon die voorste gedeelte en die ander ene weer nie, om hulle uit mekaar – maar hulle sal nou beter weet, iemand wat nou die taal magtig is.

MTK_ANON: look, the one [word] is, maybe the first syllable is emphasised, and then the other [word] isn't, to differentiate them – but they would know better, someone who is confident in the language.

Several L1 Nama speakers made passing reference to tone, and PNL_PV spontaneously offered his professional expertise on tonemic contrast throughout his elicitation session, providing multiple valuable examples of minimal tone pairs for test items and displaying exceptional tonemic awareness throughout. However, the only possible reference to lexical tone from an L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans consultant came in the exchange detailed in Section 8.2.2 below, in which a consultant referred to a distinction between two tokens as depending on both a change in syllabic emphasis,

or ‘a deeper sound’. No other consultants referenced the relative depth or height of sound when discussing possible distinctions between L1 Nama pronunciations.⁵⁶

Most consultants were aware, however, that L1 Nama makes use of different click consonants, and also that the distinction between these click consonants was crucial to fluency, as exemplified below:

HKB_MP: ek het . watter jaar was dit geweës . sewentig, een en sewentig het ek in Lekkersing skool gehad.

CC: Lekkersing? ook in die Richtersveld?

HKB_MP: mm. nou daar is dit die rou Namataal. as die kindertjies skool toe gekom het, dan leer hulle Afrikaans in die skool. nou toe het ek probeer om by die kinders daai taal te leer, maar dis ’n moeilike taal. want as jy hom nie reg uitspraak nie, as jou tong nie reg klap nie, dan kan jy maar vergeet. jy praat nie wat jy dink jy wil praat nie, dis verkeerd.

HKB_MP: I used to . what year was it . seventy, seventy-one, I taught at Lekkersing.

CC: Lekkersing? also in the Richtersveld?

HKB_MP: mm. now there it is the deep Nama language. when the kids came to school, they learned Afrikaans in the school. now I tried to learn the language from the children, but it’s a difficult language. because if you don’t pronounce it correctly, if your tongue doesn’t click correctly, then you can forget about it. you’re not saying what you think you’re saying, it’s wrong.

During some interviews, I would deliberately repeat an item volunteered by a consultant using a different click type, then ask if my pronunciation was acceptable. This tactic was not always implemented, as it also had the potential to induce confusion and distract from the elicitation process; additionally, consultants tended to be too polite to correct me explicitly. In the example below, after KMG_AP realised 0b !ùñĩb as [!ùñí], I queried the acceptability of a pronunciation [ᵑ!ʰuni], which gave him considerable pause.

CC: (*gesturing to elbow*) en ook daai woord vir hierdie deel van die liggaam

KMG_AP: [!ùñí] ja [ᵑ!ʰuni]

CC: ok. as ek byvoorbeeld [ᵑ!ʰuni] sê, is dit verkeerd? [ᵑ!ʰuni]?

KMG_AP: hoe?

CC: [ᵑ!ʰuni:], nie [!uni] nie

KMG_AP: ahh nee. dis nie noodwendig verkeerd nie as jy as jy dit so sê, maar ons ken dit maar soos [ᵑ!ʰuni] [...] en belangrik ook, nè, wat ek geleer het, is dat

⁵⁶ That the Khoekhoe-branch languages are tonemic is in my experience virtually unknown among even South African linguists, let alone among the general populace, but the same is true of the Nguni languages. Despite a proliferation of research into the interaction of metalinguistic awareness with literacy over the past decade, no quantitative assessment of tonemic awareness in any South African speech community exists to my knowledge.

jy die klank, die klikgeluid wat jy maak, móét reg wees. byvoorbeeld, jy kan nie [ll] en [] en ah . ja met jou, teen jou verhemelte en uit jou kieste uit en die klikgeluide maak, dan het jy byvoorbeeld 'n ander betekenis, dan sê jy iets anders.

CC: (*gesturing to elbow*) and also that word for this part of the body

KMG_AP: [l̥uni] yes [l̥quni]

CC: ok. if I said for example [l̥huni], is it wrong? [l̥huni:]?

KMG_AP: what?

CC: [l̥huni:], not [l̥uni]

KMG_AP: ahh no. it's not necessarily wrong if you say it like that, but we just know it as [l̥quni]. [...] and what I've learned is also important, hey, is that you, the sound, the click-noise that you make, *must* be correct. for example, you can't [ll] and [] and ah . ja with your, against your palate and from your jowls and the click sound makes, then you have a different meaning, then you're saying something else.

Here KMG_AP is, of course, completely correct in requiring an alveolar click for 0b l̥unib. As has been discussed above, he used the alveolar click most frequently overall, and it cannot be determined whether this correction reflected from his capacity to consistently perceive, recall, and articulate the expected glottalised alveolar click in this item at least, or whether it stemmed from his general preference for the alveolar. However, his subsequent discussion of click type indicated that he had had at least some exposure to Nama-language education, as indicated by his use of formal Afrikaans linguistic terminology to refer to the palatal and lateral clicks.

KMG_AP: jy kan nou net 'n . verstaan nou nie, waar jou klikgeluid vandaan nou kom, ah, kom hy jou van jou verhemelte af.

CC: mm

KMG_AP: dan kom hy uit jou kieste . jou vorigste verhemelte, jou agterste verhemelte

CC: mmhmm

KMG_AP: en ah òf kom hy uit jou kieste uit, of uit die, tussen jou tande, dis 'n suiggeluid, [], []. [] . [ll]. [llɔɔɔ].

CC: so daar is mos 'n fýn verskil

KMG_AP: ja daar is die klein verskilletjie

CC: oookay

KMG_AP: ja, so, daar is die vier basiese klikgeluide wat mos ons het, so daar is 'n klein verskilletjie

CC: mm, mm, maar dis miskien baie moeilik om te hoor, as jy nie met die taal grootgeword is, soos ek.

KMG_AP: as jy nie met die taal grootgeword het dan is dit moeilik om die verskille te hoor.

KMG_AP: now you can just a . now, do you understand, where your click sound comes from, ah, it comes from your palate

CC: mm
 KMG_AP: then it comes from your jowls . your hard palate, your soft palate
 CC: mmhmm
 KGM_AP: and uh or it comes from your jowls, or from the, between your teeth, it's a sucking sound, [ɿ], [ʲ] . [ɿ] . [ʲ].
 CC: so then there is a slight difference
 KMG_AP: yes there is a tiny little difference
 CC: ookay
 KMG_AP: yes, so, those are the four basic click sounds that we have, so there is a tiny little difference.
 CC: mm, mm, but maybe it's very difficult to hear, if you weren't brought up with the language, like me.
 KMG_AP: if you didn't grow up with the language then it is difficult to hear the differences.

A similar exchange occurred when I challenged SKF_LM's realisation [!aribi:r], which made use of the expected alveolar click, by asking whether or not [!aribiər] would also be acceptable. SKF_LM hesitated for some seconds after my question, before kindly telling me that my interlocutor would understand me so long as I clarified that I meant 'traditional beer'. He then went on to cite regional variation as a possible grounds for different pronunciations.

LM: ja die [!aribi:r] ... die [!aribi:r] is die een wat jy met die bos maak
 CC: ja
 WB: mmhmm
 RM: en heuning
 LM: jy kry daai bos in die veld en jy kry [die heuning
 RM: [en suiker
 [...]
 CC: en is dit verkeerd as ek [!aribiər] sê?
 LM: mm?
 CC: as ek [!aribiər] sê, is dit verkeerd?
 LM: iemand sal jou verstaan
 RM: ja
 CC: hy sal my verstaan
 RM: ja
 CC: want dis, dis die, die regte uitspraak is [!ari]
 LM: as ek vra, 'Wat sê jy daar?' dan sê jy, 'Dis die bier wat die bos . die bos van gemaak.'
 WB: ohhh
 CC: ja ja ok
 LM: want jy sien kyk soos even soos soos daardie ene is maar ook soos in in elke taal die, die streekdialek
 WB: mm
 CC: ja
 LM: dit differ van
 WB: ja
 LM: van tyd na tyd jy weet=
 CC: =of van dorp na dorp=

LM: =of plek ja ja dan sal jy kry dis
'n effense variasie in mense se uitspraak ja

LM: ja the [!aribi:r] ... the [!aribi:r] is the sort you make using a plant
CC: ja
WB: mmhmm
RM: and honey
LM: you get the plant from the veld and you get [the honey
RM: [and sugar
[...]
CC: and is it wrong if I say [ʔaribiər]?
LM: mm?
CC: if I say [!aribiər], is it wrong?
LM: someone would understand you
RM: yes
CC: he would understand me
RM: yes
CC: because it's, it's the, the correct pronunciation is [!ari]
LM: if I asked 'what did you say?' then you would say 'it's beer that's made. that's made from a plant'
WB: ohhh
CC: yes yes ok
LM: because you see, even like, like this one, it's also like this in every language, the, the regional dialect
WB: mm
CC: yes
LM: it differs from
WB: yes
LM: from time to time you know=
CC: =or from town to town=
LM: =or place yes yes then you will get a slight variation in people's pronunciation

At least one consultant, however, attributed potential variation not solely to regional distinctions, but to processes of diachronic change.

CDA_LF: net vir interessant, soos, hulle het voor ons grootgeraak so hulle gebruik woorde en uitspraak different as wat ons dit sal gebruik. ons ken die woord, maar ons gebruik dit in different sentence constructions, verstaan? [...] soos, ek is van Namakwaland, maar ek *slang different* of ek praat anders as Hatta⁵⁷, wat ook van hier is, verstaan jy?

MD: daar's 'n ouderdom verskil op die *slang*.

CDA_LF: yes, op die *slang*, yes, omdat ek ook nou weg van die huis was en huistoe weer gekom, so, sy sal sê [!qɔrɔ]¹ᵇ, dan sal ek miskien sê [!qɔrɔ]¹ᵇ, of

⁵⁷ In keeping with ordinary Afrikaans etiquette, CDA_LF never referred to her older relative CDA_CW in the second person or using a personal name, but only in the third person using a kinship term [hata], which I have spelled <hatta>. I suspect this is the same term **adda** recorded at Carstens 1966: 89 for the eldest sister in a family who undertakes childcaring duties. The other sororal terms recorded by Carstens for Namaqualand, **lala** and **nana**, are used across South Africa as familiar-polite forms of address between women, and are probably of isiXhosa or isiZulu origin, but **adda** or **hatta** is unique to Namaqualand in my experience, and its derivation is unclear. Carstens tentatively associates it with **ápà** = 'to carry on one's back' (Haacke & 2002: 16), as the referent is 'the person who carried her brothers and sisters on her back' (Carstens 1966: 93), but I would connect it more closely with **àikáís** = 'maternal aunt' (Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 3).

[ᵿᵿᵿᵿ]^{1b}, [ᵿᵿᵿᵿ]^{1b} [...] soos miskien sal Hatta sê [ᵿᵿᵿᵿ]^{1b}, maar ek sê [ᵿᵿᵿᵿ]^{1b}, maar dit . is diesel'e woord

CDA_CW: dit is diesel'e woord

CDA_LF: maar Hatta sal dit weet, sy sal dit verstaan, want ek is van Namakwaland . maar die uitspraak van die woord sal verskil

CDA_LF: just for the sake of interest, like, they grew up before us so they use words and pronunciations differently compared to how we would use them. we know the word, but we use it in different sentence constructions, you understand? [...] like, I am from Namaqualand, but I use slang differently, or I speak differently from Hatta, even though she's also from here, you understand?

MD: there's an age difference in the slang.

CDA_LF: yes, in the slang, yes, also because I've been away from home and then come back home, so, she'll say [ᵿᵿᵿᵿ], and then maybe I'll say [ᵿᵿᵿᵿ], of [ᵿᵿᵿᵿ], [ᵿᵿᵿᵿ] [...] so, maybe Hatta will say [ᵿᵿᵿᵿ], but I say [ᵿᵿᵿᵿ] but it is the same word

CDA_CW: it is the same word

CDA_LF: but Hatta will recognise it, she will understand it, because I'm from Namakwaland . but the pronunciation of the word will differ.

Despite the high potential for confusion of targets, CDA_LF went on to note that, when confronted with homophonous or near-homophonous items, context allowed speakers to identify the appropriate sense.

CDA_LF: dis hoekom ek sê [ᵿᵿᵿᵿ]^{1b} en wat was die ander woord wat jy daar gebruik het dis twee, dis [ᵿᵿᵿᵿ]^{1b} en=

CRC: =en as jy gesels, dis=

CDA_LF: =[ᵿᵿᵿᵿ]^{1c} [ᵿᵿᵿᵿ]^{1c} =

CDA_CW: =ja, [ᵿᵿᵿᵿ]^{1c} =

CDA_LF: =yes=

CDA_CW: =[ᵿᵿᵿᵿ]^{1c}=

CDA_LF: =verstaan jy, die resemblance, so jy moet mooi luister. ek probeer nou gou twee sinne dink. ok. my [ᵿᵿᵿᵿ]^{1b} is weer droog vandag. [ᵿᵿᵿᵿ]^{1b} hoor nou die uitspraak, [ᵿᵿᵿᵿ]^{1b}, maar as ek nou praat van gesels, ek [ᵿᵿᵿᵿ]^{1c} darem nou lekker, hy klink dieselfde. [...] sê Hatta gou 'n sin van [ᵿᵿᵿᵿ]^{1c}

CvW: my [ᵿᵿᵿᵿ]^{1b} [ᵿᵿᵿᵿ]^{1b} [ᵿᵿᵿᵿ]^{1b}

CRC: mm

CvW: [ᵿᵿᵿᵿ]^{1b} is darem nou droog

LF: nou moet daar (tussen die

CvW: (nou sit en [ᵿᵿᵿᵿ]^{1c} ons darem=

LF: =hoor (jy . die uitspraak

CvW: (nou sit en [ᵿᵿᵿᵿ]^{1c}

[ᵿᵿᵿᵿ]^{1c} ons darem

LF: *it's more or less the same*, hoor jy? maar in die sin sal jy wéét=

CvW: =jy kan síén,

jy kan hoor, daar ís 'n verskil

CDA_LF: that's why I said [ᵿᵿᵿᵿ]^{1b} and what was the other word you used there, there were two, it's [ᵿᵿᵿᵿ]^{1b} and=

CRC: =and and and if you have a conversation, it's=
CDA_LF: =[[q̥ɔɾɔ]^{1c} [[q̥ɔɾɔ]^{1c} =
CDA_CW: =yes, [[q̥ɔɾɔ]^{1c} =
CDA_LF: =yes=
CDA_CW: =([q̥ɔɾɔ]^{2c}=
CDA_LF: =do you understand, the resemblance. so you have to listen carefully.
I'm just quickly trying to think of two sentences. ok. my [ʔq̥ɔɾɔ]^{1b} is dry again today. [ʔq̥ɔɾɔ]^{1b},
now listen to the pronunciation, [[q̥ɔɾɔ]^{1b}, but if I'm talking about 'have a conversation', I just
[[q̥ɔɾɔ]^{1c} nicely now, it sounds the same. [...] can Hatta quickly say a sentence with [ʔq̥ɔɾɔ]^{1c}
CvW: my [[q̥ɔɾɔ]^{1b} [[q̥ɔɾɔ]^{1b} [[q̥ɔɾɔ]^{1b}
CRC: mm
CvW: [[q̥ɔɾɔ]^{1b} is a bit dry now
CRC: mm
LF: now surely (between the
CvW: (now we sit and just [[q̥ɔɾɔ]^{1c} =
LF: =do (you hear. the pronunciation
CvW: (now we sit and just [[q̥ɔɾɔ]^{1c}, [[q̥ɔɾɔ]^{1c}
LF: it's more or less the same, do you hear? but in the sentence, you will know =
CvW: =you can *tell*, you
can hear, there *is* a difference

Discussing the distinction between 1b **!nòròs** and 1c **ʔkhòròb**, CDA_LF and CDA_CW decide that, although the two terms sound like, there is no danger of their being confused. CDA_CW used an unusual intervocalic rhotic consonant to realise her tokens, but this was not commented on at all, and seems to be an accepted regional variation. Although there was some intraspeaker variation on click type in CDA_LF's tokens, both speakers overall preferred the alveolar. All tokens were realised with identical voiceless linguopulmonic accompaniments. CDA_LF twice insisted that the two words '*klink dieselfde*' and are 'more or less the same'. However, this has no potential to cause confusion, since, '*in die sin sal jy weet*' ('in the sentence, you will *know*') which sense is intended.

8.2.2. Redressing Homophony

As discussed above, CDA_LF suggested that interspeaker variation in the pronunciation of click consonants was the result of intergenerational diachronic change. Elaborating on this, she explained that her older relative CDA_CW might pronounce 1b **!nòròs** as [[q̥ɔɾɔ], while she herself might use [ʔ!ɔɾɔ].

CDA_LF [...] sy sal sê [[q̥ɔɾɔ]^{1b}, dan sal ek miskien sê [[q̥ɔɾɔ]^{1b}, of [ʔ!ɔɾɔ]^{1b},
[ʔ!ɔɾɔ]^{1b} [...] soos miskien sal Hatta sê [[q̥ɔɾɔ]^{1b}, maar ek sê [ʔ!ɔɾɔ]^{1b}, maar dit .
is diesel'e woord
CDA_CW: dit is diesel'e woord

CDA_LF: maar Hatta sal dit weet, sy sal dit verstaan, want ek is van Namakwaland . maar die uitspraak van die woord sal verskil

CDA_LF: [...] she'll say [l̥q̥ɔɔ], and then maybe I'll say [l̥q̥ɔɔ], or [l̥ɔɔ], [l̥ɔɔ] [...] so, maybe Hatta will say [l̥q̥ɔɔ], but I say [l̥ɔɔ] but it is the same word

CvW: it is the same word

LF: but Hatta will recognise it, she will understand it, because I'm from Namakwaland . but the pronunciation of the word will differ.

This nasalisation did not reflect either consultant's actual usage (when initially tested on this item, they used [l̥q̥ɔɔ] and [l̥q̥ɔɔ] or [l̥q̥ɔɔ] respectively), nor was it used to illustrate phonemic contrast effecting a lexical distinction. This should not, therefore, be considered an example of click nasalisation having survived loan. Rather, it served as nonce exemplification of an acceptable diachronic variation on the same item.

When discussing different interspeaker pronunciations resulting from regional variation, at least two other consultants also introduced nasalisation onto a click in order to provide deliberately distinct tokens. On being asked to discuss 1b **!nòròs**, CPT_LJ, for example, used the voiced linguopulmonic dental click for her initial token [l̥ɔɔraci:], then spontaneously observed that '*sommige mense sê die* [l̥ɔɔraci:], *anders sê die* [l̥ɔɔra]', distinguishing between the two variant forms through nasalisation. Similar observations were volunteered by HKB_MP not only for 1c **!khòròb**, but for 0b **!un̥ib**, suggesting that consultants do have some capacity to perceive and articulate varying accompaniments on items used in their direct environment. Emphasis in the following exchange was clearly being placed on variation on the accompaniment, rather than the click type. Nasalisation would therefore seem to be a readily available means of exemplifying variation, even if it is not consistently used to generate contrast during ordinary discourse.

HKB_MP: (*reading from stimulus*) ek kuier Saterdag oggend my by sussie, ons gaan lekker [l̥q̥ɔɔ]. nou party sê [l̥q̥ɔɔ], party sê [l̥ɔɔ].

CRC: maar dis dieselfde woord, of=

HKB_MP: =dis die diesel'e woord. [...] jou [l̥q̥uni] is jou elmboog [...] en hy het ook verskillende maniere want dis [l̥q̥uni], [l̥luni], so

CC: maar beteken dit die selfde ding?

HKB_MP: dis diesel'e ding, ja

HKB_MP: (*reading from stimulus*) 'I'm visiting my sister on Saturday morning, we're really going to [l̥q̥ɔɔ]. Now some people say [l̥q̥ɔɔ], some say [l̥ɔɔ].

CRC: But it's the same word, or=

HKB_MP: =it's the same word. [...] your [l̥q̥uni] is your elbow [...] and it also has different ways, because it's [l̥q̥uni], [l̥luni], like that

CC: but it means the same thing?
 HKB_MP: it's the same thing, yes

Other consultants, however, sought to provide contrast on homophones or near-homophonous items. After SKF_RM and SKF_LM had discussed 4a **ʔnũnĩ** as outlined in 8.2.1 above, I introduced 0b **!ũnĩb** using a clickless form [**kuni**], and enquired after the distinction.

CRC: en miskien ken julle ook . ons het gister iemand van die (*gesturing to elbow*) van die [**kuni**]
SKF_RM: [**!ʔuni**]
SKF_LM: ja [**!ʔuni**] is die elmboog ja (ja ja nou [**!ḡuni**]
CRC: (hoe verskil dit van die=
SKF_LM: =ja [**!ʔuni**] kyk jy
 daar waar die aksent val die ene en [**!ḡuni**]=
CRC: =(ohh
SKF_RM: (mmm=
SKF_LM: =met 'n dieper klank.
WB: kan jy die die twee?=
SKF_LM: =ja [**!ḡuni**] is . is=
SKF_RM: =is melk=
SKF_LM: =ja ja en [**!ʔuni**]=
SKF_RM: =[**!ʔuni**]=
SKF_LM: =is
 jou elmboog.

CRC: and maybe you guys also know. yesterday someone (*gesturing to elbow*) about the [**kuni**]
SKF_RM: [**!ʔuni**]
SKF_LM: yes [**!ʔuni**] is the elbow ja [ja ja now [**!ḡuni**]
CRC: [how is it different from the=
SKF_LM: =ja [**!ʔuni**] have a look where the
 accent falls on the one, and [**!ḡuni**]=
CRC: =(ohh
SKF_RM: (mmm=
SKF_LM: =with a deeper sound.
WB: can you, the two ?=
SKF_LM: =ja [**!ḡuni**] is . is=
SKF_RM: =is to milk=
SKF_LM: =ja ja and [**!ʔuni**]=
SKF_RM: =[**!ʔuni**]=
SKF_LM: =is your elbow.

At first, SKF_LM (correctly) explains that 4a **ʔnũnĩ** (LL.L) should be pronounced *met 'n dieper klank*, 'with a deeper sound' than 0b **!ũnĩb** (L.HH), but then refers to the distinction as comprising a change in syllabic emphasis. Pitch analysis in Praat did not reveal any distinctions between tokens volunteered for 4a **ʔnũnĩ** and tokens volunteered for 0b **!ũnĩb**. The sole distinction to my judgement is that 4a **ʔnũnĩ** is

consistently realised with a voiced linguopulmonic alveolar click, while 0b **!un̥ɪb** is consistently (and correctly) realised with a glottalised alveolar click. It is not clear entirely what the consultant intended with the phrase '*n dieper klank*', unless it was to refer to the voicing; rather than evidencing awareness of tone, this is probably an example of consultants employing a voicing distinction to differentiate between near-homophones, and possibly also of the use of [+VOICE] to output a [+VOICE] [+NASAL] input click. Effectively, these consultants were aware that some phonetic distinction existed between the clicks expected from each token, and did consistently produce this phonetic distinction, but were unable to state precisely what it was, indicating a fairly normal degree of phonological awareness.

When drawing a distinction between 1d **!àù** = 'to shout' and 5ad **!gàù** = 'leftover', KMG_AP consistently realised the former, which employs a glottalised alveolar click in L1 Nama, using, a voiceless linguopulmonic alveolar click, and the latter, expected to carry a *tenuis* alveolar click, using a voiced linguopulmonic alveolar click. This might suggest a distinction, at least in this consultant's repertoire, premised on realising the delayed VOT expected of 1d **!àù** as [-VOICE], and the rapid VOT expected of 5ad **!gàù** as [+VOICE].

KMG_AP: dis nie net as jy lag dat jy [!qœu]^{1d} nie, as jy seerkry ook, as jy, ek weet nie, ander *expressions* van *emotion*, dan [!qœu]^{1d} jy. [...] en dan het jy baie verskillende ah ah betekenisse rondom daai klein woord. as jy, as jy jou klikgeluid verkeerd maak, dan beteken hy=

CC: =ja, dan is daar nog 'n betekenis=

KMG_AP: =ja, sien. so [!qœu]^{1d} is baie naby aan [!gœu]^{5ad}, oorskiet.

KMG_AP: it's not only when you laugh that you [!qœu]^{1d}, it's also if you get hurt, if you, I don't know, other expressions of emotion, then you [!qœu]^{1d}. [...] and then you lots of different ah ah meanings surrounding that little word. if you, if you make your click sound wrong, then it means=

CRC: =ja, then there's another meaning=

KMG_AP: =ja, you see. so [!qœu]^{1d} is very close to [!gœu]^{5ad}, leftovers.

The same consultant used a comparable strategy when discussing a far more complex series of homophones.

CC: (*gesturing to nape of neck*) byvoorbeeld, ons het van hierdie deel van die liggaam gepraat

KMG_AP: [!quni]^{0b}? ah, ah [!qɔɔɔ]^{1b}. ja.
 CC: ja. maar dan is daar nog 'n woord wat baie . soos daai woord klink
 KMG_AP: [!qɔɔɔ]^{1b}?
 CC: ja? beteken om te?
 KMG_AP: (*long pause*) eksuus tog?
 CC: so, hierdie deel is the [ɱ!ɔɔɔkop]^{1b}
 KMG_AP: ja
 CC: maar as jy baie gesels, of as jy praat
 KMG_AP: [!qɔɔɔ]^{1c}
 CC: [!ɔɔɔ]^{1c}
 KMG_AP: jy [!qɔɔɔ]^{1c}. of en dan is die, die klip, daai . amper sandsteen, nè, bruin sandsteen, sê vir ons [!qɔɔɔ]^{5o}.
 CC: en wat is die verskil tussen daai drie woorde?
 KMG_AP: ja, die, die, die . [!qɔɔɔ]^{5o} is die sandsteen, òf, òf, ja, heh. (*laughs*) [...] òf, òf, òf jy [!qɔɔɔ], jy praat, jy gesels, veral as jy . as jy onsaamhangend praat, jy praat aanmekaar, ja. en ah. dan jou [!qɔɔɔ]^{1b}, hier agter, jou agterkop.
 CC: en is daar 'n klankverskil tussen dié woorde of is dit net die konteks van die sin?
 KMG_AP: nee, daar's 'n 'n 'n éffense, jy kan hoor, as ek sê [!qɔɔɔ]^{5o}, dan beteken ek nou van die klip. [!qɔɔɔ]^{5p} kan ook beteken, jy drink die laaste bietjie uit.
 CC: ok
 KMG_AP: ja, ja [!qɔɔɔ]^{5p}. dan kan jy hoor.

CC: (*gesturing to nape of neck*) for example, we talked about this part of the body
 KMG_AP: [!quni]^{0b}? ah, ah [!qɔɔɔ]^{1b}. yes.
 CC: yes. but then there is another word that very . sounds like that word
 KMG_AP: [!qɔɔɔ]^{1b}?
 CC: yes? means to?
 KMG_AP: (*long pause*) come again?
 CC: so, this part is the [ɱ!ɔɔɔkop]^{1b}
 KMG_AP: yes
 CC: but if you talk a lot, or if you have a conversation
 KMG_AP: [!qɔɔɔ]^{1c}
 CC: [!ɔɔɔ]^{1c}
 KMG_AP: you [!qɔɔɔ]^{1c}. or, and then there's the, the stone, the. almost sandstone, right, brown sandstone, among ourselves we call it [!qɔɔɔ]^{5o}.
 CC: and what is the difference between those three words?
 KMG_AP: yes, the, the, the. [!qɔɔɔ]^{5o} is the sandstone or, or, yes, heh. (*laughs*) [...] or else, or else, you [!qɔɔɔ], you talk, you converse, especially if you . if you talk disjointedly, you're just talking among yourselves, yes. and ah. then your [!qɔɔɔ]^{1b}, here at the back, your occiput.
 CC: and is there a difference in sound between these words, or is it just the context of the sentence?
 KMG_AP: no, there's a a a faint, you can hear, if I say [!qɔɔɔ]^{5o}, then I'm talking about the stone. [!qɔɔɔ]^{5p} can also mean, you drink the very last bit.
 CC: ok
 KMG_AP: yes, yes, [!qɔɔɔ]^{5p}. so you can hear.

Here five Nama etyma at least are under discussion, as four Namaqualand Afrikaans items: 1b **!nòróś** = ‘occiput’; 1c **‡khòròb** = ‘bottle’, with a post-shift sense of ‘to converse’; an apparent conflation of **tòrób** = ‘red sandstone’ with **!khòrób** = ‘limestone’, coded singly as 5ae; and 5af **‡hòró** = ‘to drink to the last drops’, ‘to drain to the dregs’. 1b **!nòróś** = ‘occiput’ and 1c **‡khòròb** = ‘to converse’ are both consistently realised [ʎ̥ɔɾɔ], even after I attempt to introduce a nasalised alternative [ʎ̥ɔɾɔ̃]. The Nama **tòrób**, which properly signifies the ‘*bruin sandsteen*’ intended by KGM_AP, has likely been conflated with **!khòrób**, which in Nama refers to limestone, and so has undergone click insertion. It is first volunteered with an alveolar click followed by an audible unvoiced dorsal release, as a third sense for the item [ʎ̥ɔɾɔ]. After I press for a distinction, KMG_AP pauses, uses an alveolar click with a voiced dorsal release [ʎ̥ɔɾɔ] to signify sandstone, seeks to introduce further terms, then trails off with a small laugh, suddenly uncertain. He ultimately uses the unvoiced form [ʎ̥ɔɾɔ] to realise both **!nòróś** = ‘occiput’; 1c **‡khòròb**, and the voiced form [ʎ̥ɔɾɔ] to realise both **5o tòrób** ~ **!khòrób** and **5p ‡hòró**.

Table 8.4 – KMG_AP Ideolectal Generation of Contrast

Namibian Khoekhoe			Namaqualand Afrikaans	
/ʎ̥!òróś/	nasalised alveolar	→	/ʎ̥ɔɾɔ/	voiceless linguopulmonic
/‡χòròb/	palatal affricate			
/ʎ̥òrób/	alveolar affricate	→	/ʎ̥ɔɾɔ/	voiced linguopulmonic
/‡hòró/	prenasalised aspirated palatal			

As shown in Table 8.4 above, there is no regular phonological correspondence between the click consonants in the expected target item and the loaned output item; there is no evidence of an effort to represent nasalisation as voicing, for example, or affrication as voicelessness. Unlike in the case of 1d **!àù** = ‘to shout’ and 5ad **!gàù** = ‘leftover’, in which some correspondence at least can be surmised with regard to VOT, here there is no clear means of predicting which Nama accompaniments should be realised [+VOICE] in Namaqualand Afrikaans. Rather, it seems as though [±VOICE] is *available* to consultants as a source of contrast, and so may be used as needed to generate contrast during discussions of near-homophony. Whether or not these contrasts would be consistently applied during unmonitored conversation is unclear.

60km east, in Concordia, a similar approach was used to distinguish between 0a **!unĩb** = ‘elbow’ and 5v **ǂguńĩ** = ‘to be troublesome’.

CDA_CW: daai woord sê 'n mens [!ḡunici]
 CDA_LF: ja dis die [!ḡunici]
 CC: ok. maak dit saak as ek [ǂḡhuni] se of [!uni]? is daar 'n verskil?
 CDA_CW: [!ḡuni] . [!ḡuni] beteken iets anders . [!ḡunici] [...] nou sê jy die elmboog is [!ḡunici]
 CC: wat is die ander woord, die . [!unici] beteken iets anders jy't gesê
 CDA_CW: [!ḡuni], [!ḡuni] is
 CDA_LF: 'n ander *manner* is *you're teasing that person*

 CDA_CW: you say that word [!ḡunici]
 CDA_LF: yes it's the [!ḡunici]
 CC: ok. does it matter if I say [ǂḡhuni] or [!uni]? is there a difference?
 CDA_CW: [!ḡuni], [!ḡuni] means something else . [!ḡunici] [...] now the elbow you say [!ḡunici]
 CC: what is the other word, the . [!unici] means something else you said
 CDA_CW: [!ḡuni], [!ḡuni] is is .
 CDA_CW: another way [of using it] is you're teasing that person

Here it is possible to speculate again that the rapid VOT expected after the *tenuis* dental click 5v **ǂguńĩ** /**ǂuńĩ**/ may have prompted the use of a voiced linguopulmonic release, while the delayed VOT associated with 0a **!unĩb** = ‘elbow’ may have leant itself to realisation via a voiceless linguopulmonic release. Again, however, it is unclear as to whether these were effectively nonce contrasts generated for the sake of *ad hoc* distinction following questioning, or whether they would, in fact, be regularly observed during daily discourse.

Table 8.5 – CDA_CW Ideolectal Generation of Contrast

Namibian Khoekhoe			Namaqualand Afrikaans	
/ǂuńĩ/		palatal tenuis	→	/ḡuni/ voiced linguopulmonic
/ǂǃuńĩ/		prenasalised glottalised alveolar	→	/ḡuni/ voiceless linguopulmonic

A final example of the generation of contrast through the application of voicing to a linguopulmonic release was recorded at Komaggas:

KMG_AW: kyk daar by die bome nè?
 MD: ja papa?
 KMG_AW: en oor die withaak, daai daai platklip
 MD: mm
 CRC: daai platklip

KMG_AW: [ʃḡau]
 CRC: ok
 KMG_AW: [...] het julle nie met die vee [ʃḡau] toe
 KMG_SM: [ʃḡau]! daár's die plek se naam!=
 KMG_AW: =['ʔḡu]
 CRC: wat is dit?
 KMG_SW: is (*gesturing to stimulus image*) hierdie
 CRC: ja
 KMG_SW: hierdie ons is nou hier ons is nou hier gebly met die vee. nou moes
 ons nou met die vee . uit die lande of uit die blomme uit . dan gaan ons na die=
 KMG_AW: =['ḡau]=
 KMG_SW: =dis nou nie eintlik berg nie,
 so 'n berg noem hulle die, klippe wat lyk so=
 CRC: =plat=
 KMG_AW: =['ḡau]

KMG_AW: look there by the trees, right?
 MD: yes grandpa?
 KMG_AW: and above the *withaak*⁵⁸ that, that sheetrock
 MD: mm
 CRC: that sheetrock
 KMG_AW: [ʃḡau]
 CRC: ok
 KMG_AW: [...] didn't you guys go to the [ʃḡau] with the livestock
 KMG_SM: [ʃḡau]! *that's* the name of the place!=
 KMG_AW: =['ʔḡu]
 CRC: what is it?
 KMG_SW: it's (*gesturing to stimulus image*) this
 CRC: yes
 KMG_SW: this we would here we would stay here with the livestock. then we would, with the
 livestock, out from the fields or out from the flowers . then we would go to the =
 KMG_AW: =['ḡau]=
 KMG_SW: =it's not
 really a mountain, a sort of mountain they call it, rocks that look like this=
 CRC: =flat=
 KMG_AW: =['ḡau]

The stimulus sentence, *Die mooiste blommetjies groei voor die t'kwa* ('The prettiest flowers grow in front of the **t'kwa**') had been designed to elicit 2e **lhòáb** = 'a cliff', 'a slope', 'a steep overhang', and was accompanied by a photograph of a slope leading up to a flat-topped hill, with a level field of *Dimorphotheca sinuata* growing in the foreground. Both consultants were familiar with 2e **lhòáb** and supplied several tokens, before going on to discuss further terms for hills. The first volunteered was [ʃḡau], with an audible voiced dorsal release, which KMG_AW supplied while gesturing to a flat-

⁵⁸ *Vachellia tortilis*, a conspicuous and well-known mimosoid thorn tree.

topped hill nearby, and which he glossed as ‘*platklip*’, ‘sheetrock’. I thought that I recognised this as 5a **!hàòb** = ‘a shelf, ridge, layer of rock’, which had previously been used by several consultants to signify a flat-topped, stony hill, and so repeated his definition ‘*platklip*’. However, I should note that conflation may well have occurred here with **‡ǎóǃ** = ‘mountain, top of a mountain’.

KMG_SM had grown up at Steinkof, and had had exposure to historical Nama practices including *matjieshuis* construction and seasonal pastoralism. KMG_AW turned to her to ask about another item, [**‡q̱au**], that he associated with her childhood experiences of pastoralism. It was identical to the previous item, [**‡Gau**] = ‘flat-topped hill’, save for the voiceless dorsal release. Nonetheless, KMG_SM immediately recognised it as distinct, and reacted as though she had been struggling to recall it (‘*daár’s die plek se naam!*’), despite [**‡Gau**] having been used only a few utterances before. She then used the stimulus image to explain that [**‡q̱au**] or [**!ʔ̱au**] signified the flat country in front of the slope, where the flowers in the image grew; this item must be derived from Nama **!àùb** = ‘veld’, ‘open land’, ‘grazing land’. [**‡Gau**] or [**!Gau**], on the other hand, signified the flat-topped hill.

Table 8.6 – KMG_AW & KMG_SM Ideolectal Generation of Contrast

Namibian Khoekhoe			Namaqualand Afrikaans		
/ʔ̱hǎòb/	pren. asp. alveolar	‘layer of flat rock’	→	/Ɂ̱Gau/	voiced l/p ‘flat-topped hill’
/ʔ̱‡ǎóǃ/	glottalised palatal	‘mountain’, ‘peak’			
/ʔ̱!ʔ̱àùb/	glottalised alveolar	‘open land’	→	/Ɂ̱q̱au/	voiceless l/p ‘open land’

There followed much discussion of moving livestock from the plains to the hills, and of which location offered the better grazing. The voiceless item was consistently used to indicate the plains, although the click varied between a palatal and an alveolar, while the voiced item was used to indicate the hills. As indicated in the excerpt above, KMG_AW did use [**!ʔ̱au**], with a glottalised release, to indicate ‘plains’ at least once (thus approximating the expected L1 Nama pronunciation of **!àùb** /ʔ̱!ʔ̱àùb/, but this seemed not to matter, or else was an isolated incident of undershoot; the distinction was drawn based on whether or not voicing was present. For these two consultants at least, linguopulmonic voicing served a contrastive function.

8.3 Conclusions to Chapter 8

The neutralisation of the twenty contrastive phonemes in the Nama click inventory, coupled with the loss of tonemic distinctions, has resulted in a high degree of homophony affecting click items in Namaqualand Afrikaans. Certain very common homophones are readily distinguished by their distinct semantic uses, and discourse context ensures that no confusion is encountered. In other instances, however, consultants volunteered folk etymologies that proposed logical connections between homophonous items, suggesting that some degree of conflation has occurred following the collapse of the contrastive click inventory. Folk etymologies are a natural and fascinating phenomenon, particularly cross-linguistically associated with archaisms that are no longer semantically transparent, and more almost certainly await documentation. Finally, certain exchanges did suggest that some consultants had attempted to reintroduce idiosyncratic contrasts into homophonous items through the application of such accompaniments as nasalisation and linguopulmonic voicing, although closer investigation is required.

Chapter 9

Contemporary Sociolinguistic Commentary

This chapter collates and qualitatively assesses commentary from both L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans and L1 Nama consultants on a number of relevant sociolinguistic matters, including literacy, orthography, codemixing, and language attitude. This commentary is included not only to contextualise the contemporary status of click consonants in the broader Namaqualand region, but also to offer a glimpse into the psychosocial ramifications of language shift and language loss on the community as a whole.

9.1. Contemporary Sociolinguistic Commentary by Consultants

This section discusses commentary by L1 consultants on such contemporary sociolinguistic matters as the everyday spelling of click consonants and codemixed Nama-Afrikaans input.

9.1.1. Literacy & Orthography

Although written resources containing written examples both of standardised Namibian Khoekhoe and of Nama loanwords in Namaqualand Afrikaans do exist, it is difficult to judge the penetration of these materials into the Namaqualand population. Some test speakers exhibited a passing familiarity with standardised Namibian Khoekhoe orthography, referencing for example the use of the exclamation mark to represent a click, and our Steinkopf host owned a copy of the Afrikaans-Khoekhoegowab edition of Haacke & Eiseb 2002. KKS_CHL had access to Links 1989 and was proud of his family connection to the author, and several of the botanical specialists interviewed in Christie 2019 did have copies of older editions of Le Roux 1981. Both of these authors use informal click orthographies, and both are clearly accessible to at least some working-class Namakwalanders. Links 1989 is out of print and difficult to come by, but the fourth edition of Le Roux 1981, not to mention Sarrisam 2006, written by WKL_GE, are both available at the Springbok Lodge bookshop.

Nonetheless, nearly all older L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans speakers stated that they themselves did not write Nama loanwords down, and that they had never seen them written down. Despite being married to an L1 Nama-speaker, KKS_COL observed that Nama was '*moeilik*' ('difficult') to write. When such consultants were shown the

informal Afrikaans click orthographies **t'k**, **t'g**, or **t'n**, they did not recognise them. The following are typical exchanges:

- (1) CRC: gebruik julle hierdie skryfwyse, of nie? [...] Met die t apostroof n?
KMG_AW: ons kan hom mos nou nie skryf nie maar, ons kan hom net praat.

CRC: do you guys ever use this orthography, or not? With the t apostrophe n?

KMG_AW: we can't write it at all, we can only speak it.

- (2) CRC: het jy al ooit hierdie skryfwyse gesien? gebruik mense hierdie skryfwyse?
SBK_ANON: hm-mm. ons leer net die woorde, maar ons het nog nie 'n idee – ons het nog nie gesien hoe word dit geskryf nie.

CRC: Have you ever seen this orthography? Do people use this orthography?

SBK_ANON: Hm-mm. We just learn the words, but we have no idea – we've never seen how it's written.

- (3) CRC: erken jy hierdie skryfwyse? met daai t apostroof?
OKP_ANON2: nee. ôs skryf dit nie rêrig mos so uit nie maar, dis mos nou net die spraak.

CRC: Do you recognise this orthography? With that t apostrophe?

OKP_ANON2: no. we don't really write it out like that at all, it's really just in speech.

WKL_GE was the only older consultant in the test group who provided informal Afrikaans click orthographies, most offered exactly as published in his literary works. His wife was aware of Le Roux 1981 and consulted it during the interview. While he did not explicitly cite Links 1989, he was certainly aware of its existence, and several of his written definitions are *verbatim*. As a White landowner, WKL_GE occupies a distinct social class from the majority of the Coloured working-class consultants we interviewed, and so has better access to language resources.

I should emphasise that it is not a dearth of interest in language history that bars Coloured consultants from these resources; KMG_AP expressed a desperate desire for educational Nama-language material to be made available in Komaggas. Rather, lack of disposable income makes the purchase of such material unfeasible. The newer editions of Le Roux 1981 can retail for up to R399, which is nearly 20% of the median monthly household income in the Northern Cape, and more than the R350 national social relief grant offered monthly to citizens living below the poverty line. Furthermore,

the prohibitively high costs of car ownership and petrol, coupled with the geographic isolation that characterises so many Namaqualand dorpies, mean that most residents cannot afford regular travel to Springbok, which hosts the only bookshops in the Nama Khoi LM. Racialised class inequality is thus a significant barrier to accessing language resources.

However, younger Coloured consultants, such as CPT_LJ, OKP_MM, and CDA_LF, did volunteer orthographies. They tended to prefer the **xh** convention, widespread on social media such as WhatsApp (virtually costless) and Facebook (slightly more expensive given its higher usage of data), which can be accessed relatively cheaply and rapidly via mobile phone regardless of class. Small groups of younger twenty-somethings in Concordia and Hondeklipbaai who were approached but ultimately not interviewed also showed familiarity with better-known loans and their usage on WhatsApp. CDA_LF provided anecdotes of schoolchildren using spellings such as **ndja** for 4c |nǎm in their essays (see Fig. 9.1 below) as further discussed below in Section 9.2.3. I did not apply for ethical clearance to interview minors, as I had assumed that only middle-aged and older consultants would have access to Nama items, but this was clearly an error. A survey of Nama usage and related language attitudes among Namaqualand teenagers should urgently be undertaken.

9.1.2. Descriptions of Codemixed Input

Most L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans consultants were comfortable referring to their incidental use of Nama in their everyday Afrikaans as a mixed repertoire of sorts. Ironically, two used English codeswitches to demonstrate their point.

- (1) CDA_CW: ek praat nie vlot Nama nie. rêrig nie. ek praat nie vlot Nama nie. ek sal dit *pick 'n' choose*, soos nou.
 ALL: (*laughter*)
 CRC: I like that
 CDA_CW: ontbuitend kom die woord in daár=
 CDA_LF: =ja so jy moet praat dan sal daar
 soos 'n Nama woord miskien net opduik.

CDA_CW: I don't speak fluent Nama. I really don't. I don't speak fluent Nama. I'll 'pick and choose' it, like now.

ALL: (*laughter*)

CRC: I like that

CDA_CW: unexpectedly the word comes in *there*=

CDA_LF:
Nama word will just emerge.

=yes so you have to talk, then maybe like a

CDA_AE: my moedertaal is Afrikaans *gemixup* met Namataal en 'n bietjie Engels en so aan [...] ons is Afrikaans maar meestal word die Namawoorde so tussen-in gebruik.

CDA_AE: my mothertongue is Afrikaans 'mixed up' with the Nama language and a bit of English and so on [...] we're Afrikaans[-speaking], but most of the time the Namawords are used in-between.

The ubiquity of Nama lexical borrowing in regional Afrikaans across Namaqualand was stressed by offhand observations such as, '*almal ken daai woord*' and '*almal maak so*'. Although these comments were necessarily anecdotal and informal, at least three consultants sought to define Afrikaans hosting Nama loanwords as a distinct Namaqualand variety. The term 'Namakwataal' was used by an anonymous consultant from the Springbok region, who emphasised that speakers 'had their own way' of pronouncing click consonants in 'their own Namaqua language'. Although sociolinguistic attitudes and awarenesses were not formally surveyed, this suggests at least some codified awareness among speakers that Nama loanwords are a unique feature of Afrikaans as spoken in Namaqualand.

SBK_ANON: ons het ons eie manier. op onse manier het ons probeer leer, op onse taal, op onse eie taal, ons Namakwalandse plattetaal⁵⁹ [...] dis onse Namakwataal.

CRC: ja, ja, OK. so jy het gesê jou moedertaal is Afrikaans.

SBK_ANON: ja, ja, maar daar is altyd 'n snaakse woordjie tussen-in.

SBK_ANON: we have our own way. we tried to learn in our own way, in our language, in our own language, our Namaqualand dialect. [...] it's our Namaqua language.

CRC: yes, yes, OK. so you said your mothertongue is Afrikaans.

SBK_ANON: yes, yes, but there's always a funny little word in between.

⁵⁹ The use of 'plattetaal' here is a fairly ordinary Afrikaans term for a rural language variety, coined by early Afrikaner linguists to emulate the distinction between 'Platdeutsch' and 'Hochdeutsch'; I have translated it 'dialect'.



Figure 9.3 – a roadsign for a river on the N14 between Pofadder and Springbok, south of Pella. The orthography <t'g> is used to indicate a click consonant, while the Afrikaans <oe> for /u:/ replaces the standardised Namibian Khoekhoe orthography <ū>. The river in question is a small seasonal distributary of the Gariep, and so <t'goep> probably approximates a historical name *#Nūb (as in #Nū!Garib, *lit.*, 'Black River', the usual Kora term for the Gariep).



Figure 9.4 – signage for the Xhammarob Soup Kitchen, a community food project based in Kharkams, displaying the <xh> orthography used to indicate a click; inquiries after the meaning of the name were unsuccessful.

Discussing the contact between labourers from all over the Northern Cape on the mines in southern Namibia, KKS_COL compared the development of a localised Afrikaans with the development of Fanagalo, the Zulu-based pidgin associated with minework in Gauteng, and probably the best-known example of a mixed language within South Africa:

KKS_COL: sê nou ek gaan by die myne. die myne het ook hulle eie soort van Fanagalo. want Namakwaland, omdat jy by die myne mense kry van Richtersveld, en jy kry mense van Steinkopf, en jy kry nou mense van die Kamiesberge, dan sal jy maar verstaan hoekom hulle 'n paar Nama woorde gebruik.

KKS_COL: say now I go to the mines. the mines also have their own kind of Fanagalo. because Namaqualand, since on the mines you get people from the Richtersveld, and you get people from Steinkopf, and then you get people from the Kamiesberg, so you'd understand why they would use a few Nama words.

Familiar with the pun 'Afrikaaps' used to describe varieties of Coloured Afrikaans associated particularly with the Cape Flats regions of Cape Town, CPT_LJ noted that she and a friend had sought to 'coin' a parallel term 'Afrinama' to refer to varieties of Namaqualand Afrikaans that contain Nama loanwords:

SBK_LJ: ek en 'n ander vriendin het nou amper *gecoin* het, ons noem dit 'Afrinama'. want ons praat Afrikaans meng met 'n bietjie Nama, so. Afri, Nama. [...] ek dink nie jy kan in Namakwaland wees en jy pick nie 'n woord of twee op nie, verstaan jy? dit het nou deël geraak, dit het 'n vermenging geraak, soos ek sê, Afrinama.

SBK_LJ: a friend and I just sort of 'coined', we call it 'Afrinama'. because we speak Afrikaans mixed with a bit of Nama, like so. Afri, Nama. [...] I don't think you can be in Namaqualand without picking up a word or two, you know? it's become part of it, it's become a mixture, like I said, Afrinama.

The historical origins of this '*vermenging*' can never be precisely extrapolated, but consultants' own commentary on how they came to learn Nama loanwords may offer some insight. Asked whether or not he had been exposed to L1 Nama during childhood in the Kamiesberg during the 1970s, KKS_COL hesitated to answer one way or another, before describing a complex post-shift environment. The consultant's own parents (who would have been of a generation with the speakers interviewed by Links 1989) had been monolingual children of bilingual parents; nonetheless, they 'unconsciously' made use of Nama words during everyday conversation.

KKS_COL: in ons moet u agterkom, in die gemeenskap waar jy groot raak, en jou ouers, jou pa- en jou ma-hulle, gebruik hulle baie kere Namataal onbewustelik, is daar woorde wat nou gebruik word in Nama. [...] hulle spreek dit uit, hulle praat dit, maar in daai sin [...] hulle's nie eers bewus dat hulle Nama praat of Nama woorde verwys nie.

CRC: ja, so, julle ouers het nie Nama gepraat nie, maar hulle het=

KKS_COL: =baie Nama woorde gebruik

CRC: het hulle ouers Nama gebruik? jou grootouers?

KKS_COL: ja, die meeste mense kon Nama praat.

KKS_COL: with us, you have to understand, in the community you grew up in, your parents, you father and your mother, that a lot of the time they would use Nama language unconsciously, that there are words that are used in Nama. they say it out loud, they speak it, but in that sentence, they're not even aware that they're speaking Nama or referencing Nama words.

CRC: ja, so, your parents didn't speak Nama, but they=

KKS_COL: =used lots of Nama words

CRC: did their parents use Nama? your grandparents?

KKS_COL: yes, most people could speak Nama.

Further north, a speaker of the same generation described a similar process, providing an example of how she might hear an older speaker use a codemixed sentence, then, having deduced the sense of the inserted material, go on to copy them in a similar context.

CDA_CW: al verstaan jy nie die taal nie, nou hoor jy dááí woord kom dáárin=

CDA_LF: =by dááí sin=

CDA_CW: =so môre maak ek ook so, dan sê ek ook daai sin. [!qœu] daai kinders vir my. só.

CDA_CW: Even if you don't understand the language, if you hear *that* word comes in *there*=

CDA_LF: =in *that* sentence=

CDA_CW: =then the next day I'll do the same thing, then I'll also say that sentence. [!qœu] those children for me. Like that.

CDA_LF then compared her experiences with normal processes of adult language contact between Afrikaans and isiXhosa with her experiences of growing up in Namaqualand. She described how she would *vang 'n woordjie*, 'catch hold of a little word' while her colleagues were speaking isiXhosa, and that they, in turn, would show interest in such Namaqualand regionalisms as [ɽ|ɽo]. She then notes that this was how she grew up, suggesting that she must have been exposed to at least some degree of Nama-Afrikaans codemixing during childhood.

LF: nog iets wat interessant is, ek het op 'n tyd in Richmond gewerk het, so elke keer as ek 'n woord gebruik het soos [ʔɪɾɔ] dan . 'Phyllis, wat beteken die woord nou weer?' so hulle het dit ook interessant gevind, ek het by hulle geleer, hulle het by my geleer . dis mos nou . naby die *Eastern Cape*, Richmond, nou so, hulle het ook lekker [kɔza]⁶⁰ gepraat het, waar ek weer 'n woordjie gevang het, 'OK, dit beteken dit', kan ek weer vir hulle geleer het. soos eintlik so soos ons grootraak het.

LF: another thing that's interesting, I worked in Richmond for a while, so every time when I would use a word like [ʔɪɾɔ], then . 'Phyllis, what does this word mean again?' so they also found it interesting, I learned from them, they learned from me . that's of course . near the Eastern Cape, Richmond, so then, they also spoke [kɔza] very well, and I would catch hold of a little word from it, 'OK, this means this', and then I could teach them something in turn. like, actually how we grew up.

Similarly, SBK_LJ described 'growing up with' some Nama terms overheard during intermittent use by older community members:

CRC: as ek mag vra, jyt gesê Afrikaans is jou moedertaal

SBK_LJ: Afrikaans is my moedertaal

CRC: was daar enigiemand in jou *household* wat Nama gepraat het?

SBK_LJ: glad nie.

CRC: glad nie. so nie 'n ouma, nie eers n=

SBK_LJ: =glad nie=

CRC: =jy het dit net in die omgewing gehoor? of van ouer mense in die=

SBK_LJ: =van ouer mense in die omgewing gehoor, en jy weet 'n mens is geïntereseerd, jy hoor iets en, 'wat is daai?' en daar's 'n paar woorde waarmee jy het groot geraak, verstaan? [...] so *basically* die Nama en goeters, dis hier 'n woord wat jy op[getel het], en hier 'n woord wat so 'n juffrou gebruik en nou hoor julle en dit *stick*.

CRC: if I can ask, you've said Afrikaans is your mothertongue

SBK_LJ: Afrikaans is my mothertongue

CRC: was there anyone in your household who spoke Nama?

SBK_LJ: not at all

CRC: not at all. so not a granny, not even a=

SBK_LJ: =not at all=

CRC: =you just heard it in the area? or from older people in the=

SBK_LJ: =from older people in the area, and you know, people get interested, you hear something and, 'what's that?' and there are a few words that you grow up with, see? [...] so basically the Nama and so on, it's a word over here that you picked [up] , and a word over here that some lady used, and then you hear it and it sticks.

⁶⁰ Note the replacement of the lateral aspirated click with a voiceless velar stop, as per the ubiquitous GERMANIC adaptation of 'Xhosa' within South Africa, *even in* a consultant who regularly uses loaned Nama clicks in her Afrikaans repertoire.

Particularly useful were instances in which consultants illustrated their familiarity with an item through quotation. Most consultants who were familiar with 4d **ʔnùni** first accepted a general sense of ‘to milk’, but then went on to note the narrower sense, ‘to struggle to milk’, ‘to go from goat to goat searching for milk’, ‘to milk but to obtain only the last droplets’. Both CDA_CW and KMG_AP exemplified this by describing being asked to go outside to obtain a little milk for a parent’s tea. Here the Nama term may well have been preferred by bilingual caretakers for its restricted and almost cajolingly diminutive sense, effectively allowing them to understate the favour to the child.

These anecdotes reasonably describe how even consultants a generation or more removed from direct L1 Nama input, and evidence the diffusion of lexical material across monolingual speech communities. Far more importantly, however, they imply a trend of codemixing behaviour, in which Nama lexical material is imposed onto an Afrikaans matrix, that cannot have originated either in monolingual Nama or monolingual Afrikaans speech communities. Colonial regimes that institutionalised assimilation did engineer such atrocities as monolingual children unable to communicate with monolingual parents, but there is no historical evidence that this could have occurred in Namaqualand. Rather, we must accept the logical existence of a generation of Namaqualand bilinguals who spoke fluent Nama with their monolingual Nama parents, and fluent Afrikaans with their monolingual Afrikaans schoolteachers and employers. Even if such speakers underwent significant attrition later in life and ultimately disengaged from the productive use of all Nama whatsoever, as may have been the case following marriage or removal into a predominantly Afrikaans speech community, they must at one point have been capable of engaging in codemixed discourse with fellow bilinguals.

9.2. Language Attitudes in Namaqualand

This section collates and compares language attitudes towards Nama held by both L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans speakers and L1 Nama speakers.

9.2.1 L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans Language Attitudes

L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans consultants were not ashamed to be heard using Nama loanwords, but many seemed to consider the use of click consonants funny. Several attempts to engage with Namaqualanders by exemplifying the kind of click words we

sought to record were met with startled giggling. One Concordia resident laughed so hard at my enquiries that she had to cover her face with the corner of her dressing gown. Even during interviews, consultants often laughed cheerfully at themselves after volunteering items; the trio of colleagues interviewed at Okiep giggled so much throughout the interview that clipping clean tokens became a challenge. My general impression was that these words were fondly considered to be an unremarkable local quirk, not inherently humorous in an everyday context, but certainly not expected to be of interest to White outsiders.

Test speakers could be somewhat self-conscious, not of their use of Nama, but of their use of Nama that they perceived to be incorrect. These consultants took great pains to ensure that we understood that they were *not* fluent Nama speakers, and some attempted to provide us with directions to a Nama-speaking neighbour or acquaintance who they hoped would be able to provide us with more appropriate data. The below is a typical example of a consultant caveat.

HKB_MP: kyk, ons praat mos in elk geval nie die taal reg nie. nou aanvaar ons mos, maar 'n kenner sal vir jou kan sê, 'nee, jy spreek hom nie reg uit nie.'

HKB_MP: look, we don't speak the language correctly anyway. we accept that, but an expert would be able to say to you, 'no, you're not pronouncing it right.'

Many consultants in fact underestimated their own familiarity with Nama loanwords, claiming at first to know only a few items, then volunteering more and more as their confidence grew. Such speakers were keenly aware that their pronunciations would not match those of an L1 Nama-speaker, although they could not say precisely how. HKB_MP noted quite sadly that, although she had tried to learn click consonants while working at Lekkersing in the Richtersveld, '*as jou tong nie reg klap nie, dan kan jy maar vergeet. Jy praat nie wat jy dink jy wil praat nie.*' ('If your tongue doesn't click correctly, you can forget about it. You're not saying what you think you're saying.')

NBP_ANON insisted on anonymity specifically because he did not want to mispronounce a Nama word, then face social repercussions for accidentally having said something rude. MTK_ANON stressed, repeatedly, '*onthou jy, as jy by 'n regte Nama kom, sal hy vir jou die regte uitspraak gee.*' ('Remember, if you go to a real Nama [person], they will be able to give you the correct pronunciation.')

Behind the initial humour, then, this self-deprecation hinted at the losses suffered during the region's history of language shift. Older speakers, especially those who had grown up with an L1 Nama parent, were more capable of describing historical language prejudice. At least three speakers noted that speaking Nama was historically perceived as a *skande*, 'something shameful', with the result that parents and grandparents were reluctant to speak the language in the presence of any children in the household. Describing her Steinkopf mother's isolation as one of the only speakers in Hondeklipbaai, HKB_MP observed simply that '*niemand het belang gestel in Nama nie.*' ('No one was interested in Nama.') A constant complaint from speakers of both L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans and speakers of L1 Nama was the total lack of Nama-language schooling, or even the option of L2 Nama at Afrikaans-medium schools, within Namaqualand. One consultant noted explicitly that Nama had historically been *verban* ('banned') from both schools and churches in the Kamiesberg; as a result, Nama was used only by older speakers as a *skindertaal* ('gossip-language') that children could not understand.

KKS_COL: ja, die meeste mense kon Nama praat, maar verstaan jy, was Nama. kom ons sê so. in hierdie deel van die Kamiesberge, in hierdie deel van Namakwaland, was Nama, omdat dit uit die skole amper verban is, kan jy feitlik sê, en oral in die kerke en so, was Namataal eintlik 'n skindertaal. in die aand het die grootmense alleen stilletjies Nama gepraat, sodat die kinders nie hoor nie. veral as hulle nou miskien oor iets praat wat hulle nie wil hê die kinders moet hoor nie.

KKS_COL: ja, most people could speak Nama, but you have to understand, Nama was. let's put it like this. in this part of the Kamiesberg, in this part of Namaqualand, Nama was, because it was almost banned from the schools, you could actually say, and everywhere in the churches and so on, Nama was actually a gossip-language. in the evening the old folk would talk Nama alone very quietly, so that the children didn't hear. especially if they wanted to talk about something that they didn't want the children to overhear.

Among speakers of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans, KMG_AP was the only speaker who expressed a strong negative attitude toward colonial languages for having displaced the indigenous Khoekhoe-branch languages. At the time of his interview, our department was still formally the 'Department of English Language and Linguistics'; seeing this on the letterhead attached to our consent forms, he understandably became suspicious of our intent, and it was necessary to reassure him that our research interest was primarily in indigenous language history and in click consonants. He went on to note that his paternal grandfather had spoken Nama, his paternal

grandmother had spoken both Nama and an unspecified !Ui language, and that his maternal grandmother had been Korana. Despite this rich linguistic heritage, so characteristic of the multilingualism historically present across the Northern Cape, KMG_AP observed that neither he nor his father had had a choice in being obliged to use Afrikaans.

KMG_AP: [Afrikaans] is die taal wat ek [...] in die skool geleer het, en wat ek hoërskool toe gegaan het, maar dis nie eie aan myself nie. sien? dis nie eie aan myself nie, want, ah, as ek hoor net na aan my pa, dan hy wil ook nie Afrikaans gepraat het, maar hy móés hom praat. [...] en die selle ding met my ook. ek wil hom nie praat nie, maar dit kan nie anders wees, ek het nie 'n ander taal om te praat nie. maar ek het 'n probleem met hom. [...] en omdat ons nie móg die taal gepraat het nie, nê, ons móg dit nie gepraat het nie, soos, ek was *inquisitive* gewees, en toe het ek wil geweet het van die taal, verstaan? wat het van my taal geword het? wat het van my identiteit geword het of my *culture* en daai dinge. so, toe hunker ek daarna. daar was 'n [Iquru] daarvoor, nê?

KMG_AP: [Afrikaans] is the language that I learned in school, and that I went to high school with, but it's not part of my own self. do you understand? it's not part of my own self, because, ah, when I listened to my father, he also didn't want to speak Afrikaans, but he *had* to speak it. [...] and the same goes for me, too. I don't want to speak it, but it can't be any other way, I don't have another language to speak. But I have a problem with [Afrikaans]. [...] and because we were not allowed⁶¹ to speak the language, right, we were not allowed to speak it, like, I became *inquisitive*, and then I wanted to know about the language. What became of my language? What became of my identity or of my *culture* and that sort of thing. So then I began to long for it. There was a [Iquru] for it, you know?

KMG_AP even noted that he would prefer to speak Kaaps (the variety of Coloured Afrikaans spoken in the Cape Town region, and popularised in recent years as a marker of Coloured identity across the country by social media brands such as Vannie Kaap), instead of the standardised Afrikaans used by Afrikaners – that is, by White speakers. This indicates a clear dislike for standardised White Afrikaans, and a desire instead to use a language that better aligns with KMG_AP's identity as a Namaqualander of Kora-, Nama-, and !Ui-speaking descent.

⁶¹ The most literal translation of *ons mog die taal nie gepraat het nie*, using *mog* as the perfect tense of the deontic auxiliary *mag* 'may', is the archaic 'we *mightn't* have spoken the language'. Unfortunately, this can only be rendered in contemporary English using such impersonal constructions as 'it was not permitted', or such passive constructions as 'we were not allowed'. Even 'we couldn't speak the language' does not capture the strength of the deontic mode. I must therefore clarify that the use of the passive translation is an unfortunate necessity, as no agent is present in the Afrikaans. The overall sense is that speaking Nama simply was not socially acceptable.

KMP_AP: dis hoekom ek sal liever wil vir Kaaps, Kaapse Afrikaans wil ek praat as hierdie gewone Afrikaner-Afrikaans praat. [...] die mense wat hulle noem Afrikaans, nê, ek wil nie hulle taal praat nie, want ek wil nie *associate* met hulle nie.

KMG_AP: That's why I would rather speak Kaaps, Kaapse Afrikaans, instead of this ordinary Afrikaner-Afrikaans. [...] The people they call Afrikaners, right, I don't want to speak their language, because I don't want to associate with them.

These repeated insistences that Namaqualanders were not permitted to speak Nama, coupled with the references to the use of Nama having been seen as '*n skande*', align precisely with existing descriptions of linguistic prejudice in the Richtersveld and broader Namaqualand area during the 1950s – 1980s. As explored in Chapter 2, the colonial ideologies that associated Khoekhoe-branch languages with ignorance, poverty, and degradation had by the mid-20th century become internalised into the ethnolinguistically complex communities newly classified as Coloured. Although the claims presented in Berzborn 2003 of the deliberate suppression of Nama in Richtersveld schools by L1 Afrikaans teachers have never been proven, I have personally heard too many discussions of the prejudice, suppression, and deep shame that afflicted my consultants' parents and grandparents to discount these reports. Further investigation into historical practices of language suppression in Namaqualand is urgently required, if only so that formal apologies can one day be offered.

Rather than being self-conscious of their sociolinguistic repertoire, two younger and metalinguistically savvy consultants instead observed that historical linguistic prejudice against Nama still had ramifications for their use of Namaqualand Afrikaans. Entirely unprompted, CDA_LE initiated critical and insightful discussion of linguistic prejudice against the use of Nama loanwords in Afrikaans-medium schools:

LF: en dan die ander ding wat ek wou genoem het, dis eintlik baie interessant wat julle doen, want baie mense *slang* mos, dis hoekom . as die kinders Afrikaanse opstel moet skryf, net so deurmekaar vandaan gebruik hulle vir [ʔllœulax] en al daai woorde wat nie Afrikaans is nie, nie juis Afrikaans Huistaal nie, so dis baie interessant – moet jy dit verkeerd *mark*? want dis wat die kind geleer het! dis hoe hy grootgeword het in sy omgewing!

ALL: [sounds of agreement]

CRC: so dis nie *standard* Afrikaans nie?

LF: yes, yes, it's not something like that. nou dis wat ek eintlik vra. sê maar die kind skryf [ʔq̣ɔɾɔ], 'die ouers [ʔq̣ɔɾɔ] by die huis' =

CRC:

=ja=

LF: =hy's Afrikaans-sprekend,
 is dit reg of is dit verkeerd?
 CRC: dis reg!
 LF: want die kind het so groot geraak, verstaan jy? maar, 'n universiteit vraestel,
 wat gaan die dosent skryf? gaan hy dit reg *mark* of gaan hy dit onderstreep?
 CRC: hy gaan dit onderstreep, hy gaan sê dis verkeerd, maar dis nie regverdig
 nie.
 LF: nou dis waar my vraag inkom, moet jy die kind penaliseer vir wat hy inglo?

LF: and the other thing that I wanted to mention, it's actually very interesting what you guys are
 doing, because . a lot of people do use slang, and that's why . if the children have to write
 Afrikaans composition, then, all just mixed-up because of that, they make use of [ʔilœulax] and
 all those words that aren't Afrikaans, or at least not Afrikaans Home Language, so it's very
 interesting – are you supposed to mark it wrong? because that's what the child has learnt! that's
 how he grew up in his environment=
 ALL: [sounds of agreement]
 CRC: so it's not standard Afrikaans?
 LF: yes, yes, it's not something like that. now that's exactly what I'm asking. say the child writes
 [ʔqprɔ]=
 MD: =mmm=
 LF: =‘the parents [ʔqprɔ] at home’=
 CRC: =yes=
 LF: =he's Afrikaans-speaking, is it right or wrong?
 CRC: it's right!
 LF: because the child grew up that way, understand? but, a university exam, what is the lecturer
 going to write? is he going to mark it right or is he going to underline it?
 CRC: he's going to underline it, he's going to say it's wrong, but that's not fair.
 LF: now that's where my question comes in, should you penalise the child for what he believes
 in?

The phrase *Afrikaans Huistaal*, literally ‘Afrikaans Home Language’, here refers to the name of the Matric subject L1 Afrikaans as stipulated by the public school curriculum, and so carries a sense of ‘standardised Afrikaans’ or ‘school Afrikaans’. The subsequent discussion of whether a lecturer would accept a Nama loanword in a written Afrikaans examination is contextualised by the fact that a Matric certification is required in order to enrol for a bachelor's degree, and suggests that, in CDA_LF's experience at least, standardised Afrikaans is emphasised in public school curricula specifically because it is required to enter university. That Nama loanwords in particular are considered to have no place in standardised education, and are allegedly marked as incorrect by schoolteachers, would indicate that prejudice against the use of Nama is so institutionalised that even the post-shift lexis has become a target of extirpation.

Similarly, SBK_LJ noted that she faced sociolinguistic prejudice for her Northern Cape accent after her move to Cape Town. Her response to this prejudice, enabled by her influential position in the media, was to make the decision to use L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans proudly.

CPT_LJ: [...] en toe besef ek eintlik [...] kyk ons is baie gespot altyd, Namakwalanders, vir die manier ons praat. so as jy Kaap toe kom dan sê hulle ken hulle ken altyd 'n Namakwalander uit [...] mense het altyd verwys na ons as die Onderland. 'hulle kom van die Onderwêreld af.' en dan dink ek, dan kom net iewers 'n *switch* in jou, wat jy besef nou (*bangs fist on table*) mens het nou genoeg da'heen gevat. ons moet baie trots wees waarvandaan ons kom. [...] maar ons is nooit rêrig trots gelaat voel op, op daai nie. en dan iewers skielik, en dan besef jy mos, '*but we've got something unique here.*' ons het 'n taal.

CPT_LJ: [...] and then I realised actually [...] look, we get made fun of a lot, Namaqualanders, for the way we talk. so if you come to the Cape, they say they can always spot a Namaqualander, because of how we talk. [...] people always used to refer to us as the Undercountry. 'they come from the Underworld.' and then I thought, then a switch turns on inside you, and you suddenly realise (*bangs fists on table*) you've had enough of that. we have to be very proud of where we come from [...] but we were never really allowed to feel proud of, of that. and then suddenly, somewhere, then you suddenly just realise, 'but we've got something unique here.' we have a language.

As a result of this personal realisation, CPT_LJ now regularly uses two Nama loanwords, 1c **#khòròb**, which she spells <xhorro>, and 1d **!àú**, which she spells <xhoulag>, as catchphrases on her radio show, and frequently includes them on Facebook posts on her public-facing Facebook page. Certainly this decision seems to resonate positively with her audience; a particularly lovely comment saw a regular listener note that they enjoy hearing CPT_LJ on the radio specifically because her accent reminds them of how their 'Griekwa granny' used to speak. Clearly this listener had been exposed to a variety of Gariep Afrikaans with Kora-language influence, possibly even including some loanwords containing clicks, and recognised something familiar in CPT_LJ's repertoire. In this sense, the use of Khoekhoe-branch loanwords may be developing into a sociolinguistically significant marker of identity and heritage among speakers of archaic or regionalised Coloured Afrikaans.

CPT_LJ's solution to experiencing linguistic prejudice, then, was to combat her own internalised linguistic prejudice, and hence to use her influential platform to position

her dialect as a source of sociolinguistic pride. Although this brought personal catharsis, and may perhaps even have contributed to shifting linguistic attitudes in at least some of her listeners, it is hardly a solution available to all speakers of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans, or indeed to most speakers and writers of general Coloured Afrikaans. Socioeconomic power imbalances materially prohibit this kind of response from child speakers within a prejudiced educational system, for example, or from adult employees within a prejudiced work environment. Systemic reform is required to ensure that speakers of regional dialects of Afrikaans, including those which carry contact-induced influence from the Khoekhoe-branch languages, do not face unfair repercussions at school or in the workplace.

The acknowledgement of Nama loanwords by local Namaqualand curricula, the acceptance that they do form a natural part of the Namaqualand repertoire, the standardisation of Afrikaans orthographies for these loanwords, and perhaps even age-appropriate historical linguistic education on the origin of these words, could together constitute a first step towards reducing language prejudice against both non-standard varieties of Coloured Afrikaans, and against the regionalised Nama that influenced these varieties.

9.2.2. L1 Nama Language Attitudes

All L1 Nama speakers exhibited a strongly positive attitude towards the Nama language, describing it as a source of pride. PNL_PV and PNL_FV deliberately used the Nama language to express this.

PNL_PV: en ons is trots op ons taal. tot my dooddag toe sal ek hom sit en vir jou uitbrei en uitgee, want dis iets wat niemand by my kan afvat nie, dis my *mothertongue*. **kaise da lnam ti gowab ge.**

PNL_FV: **‡nĩsa=**

PNL_PV: **=‡nĩsa** is die ander woord. **‡nĩsa** beteken=

PNL_FV: **=trots.**

PNL_PV: mm. so, **‡nĩsa ĩ da sĩda gowab ge.**

PNL_PV: and we are proud of our language. until my dying day I will keep spreading it and promoting it, because it's something that no one can take away from me, it's my *mothertongue*. **I love my language very much.**

PNL_FV: **‡nĩsa=**

PNL_PV: **=‡nĩsa** is the other word. **‡nĩsa** means=

PNL_FV: **=proud.**

PNL_PV: mm. so, **we are proud of our language.**

PLA_2 stressed that the use of Nama language was, for her, more broadly connected with the preservation of Nama culture. She disliked the increased intrusion of Western culture, and saw the use of the Nama language as a means of ensuring that Nama culture would be preserved for future generations.

CRC: hoekom is dit so belangrik vir julle?

PLA_2: dis belangrik om terug na die *heritage* kultureel terug te gaan. soos ek nou kyk is die lewe besig om na die Westers, die Westers se mode toe te gaan, verstaan jy? en ek wil graag dit wat my *heritage* was behoue hou. ek wil nie Westers toe nie. ek wil oorspronklik, dit wat oorspronklik hier was, hier behoue hou. sodat nageslag tot nageslag 'n geskiedenis het om kan te vertel vir hulle se nageslagte.

CRC: why is so important for you guys?

PLA_2: it's important to get back to the 'heritage' culturally. as I see it now, life is busy moving towards the Westerners, the Westerners' way of life, you understand? and I want to keep what was my heritage protected. I don't want it to move toward the West. I want originally, what was originally here, to be protected here. so that generation after generation has a history that they can tell to the next generation.

Similarly, KKS_COL associated the use of Nama with deeper cultural influence from her grandmother, while the introduction of 'modern life' required the use of English.

KKS_COL: ek het van my, albei van my ouers, en dan dit was ook mos op die skool in Sub A.⁶² maar dit is die tye wat hulle begin het nou met Afrikaans, en dan het ek meer by my ouma weer altyd geloop luister. maar dis nou weer soos die moderne lewe, dit word nou Engels.

KKS_COL: I [learned Nama] from my, both of my parents, and then it was also at school in Sub A. but that is the time when they begin with Afrikaans, and then I always used to go listen more to my grandmother instead. but it's also like the modern life, it's becoming English now.

L1 Nama speakers were very much aware of the propensity for speakers of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans to loan Nama words. During elicitation of 3a |úú, KKS_CHL said simply, '*Ja, dis maar ook in Afrikaans, want hulle mos altyd daai word leen ook van die Outaal af.*' ("Ja, but it's also in Afrikaans, because they always just borrow that word from the Old Language.") However, discussing the difficulties of learning Nama with her L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans husband, she opined that the most important

⁶² Sub A was the Apartheid-era term for the first year of primary school in both Namibia and South Africa, equivalent to Grade 1 under the contemporary curriculum, and is still used by many older residents.

aspect of language learning was close listening. She volunteered an example of a pun on the first line of the Lord's Prayer that depended on the correct observance of click type contrasts. Note here that the stems **lhòṁ-** and **!hòṁ-** both carry the LL.L tone melody, and thus form a true minimal pair; the joke depends entirely on the contrast in click type.

KKS_CHL: en die luister. luister is baie belangrik, want sê maar jy sê nou, '**Sida !tse !homku !nâ hâtse**,' en iemand anders wat nou 'n *joke* wil maak of so iets sê, '**Sida !tse !homku !nâ hâtse**,' nê? dan is die **!homku** en **!homku** dan twee verskillende dinge.

CRC: so dis soos 'n grappie, julle speel met die klanke?

KKS_CHL: ja, dis eintlik daai, want as jy nou '**!homku**' sê, dan sê jy 'hemel', en '**!homku**' is weer 'in die berge'.

KKS_CHL: and the listening. listening is very important, because say for example you're saying, 'Our Father who art in heaven,' and someone else who wants to make a joke or something says, 'Our Father who art in the mountains', right? Then the **!homku** en **!homku** are two different things.'

CRC: so it's like a joke, you're playing with the sounds?

KKS_CHL: yes, that's it, because if you say, '**!homku**' then you're saying 'heaven', but '**!homku**' is 'in the mountains'.

Throughout their shared interview, KKS_CHL displayed awareness that Afrikaans-speakers like her husband confused click types in precisely this way when loaning Nama items. Prompted for 3b **!gàòkind** and 3c **llkhǎm**, she and KKS_COL provided their L1 Nama and L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans realisations respectively.

KKS_CHL: ons sê weer [**!ao**]

KKS_COL: ons sê hom weer [**!qaukənt**]

KKS_CHL: julle sê [**!aokənt**], nê=

KKS_COL: =dis die [**!qaukənt**]=

KKS_CHL: =en ons sê [**!aokənt**]

CRC: en as jy iets vashou?

KKS_COL: as jy as jy, hoe was sy naam-

KKS_CHL: [**llχam**]. ons sê [**llχam**].

KKS_COL: ons sê jy jy [**!ʔam**]

KKS_COL: [**lam**], julle sê [**lam**]

KKS_CHL: again, we say [**!ao**]

KKS_COL: while we say it [**!qaukənt**]

KKS_CHL: you guys say [**!aokənt**], right=

KKS_COL: =it's the [**!qaukənt**]=

KKS_CHL: =and we say [**!aokənt**]

CRC: and if you hold something tight

KKS_COL: if you if you, what was its name-

KKS_CHL: [**llχam**]. we say [**llχam**].

KKS_COL: we say you you [lʔam]
KKS_COL: [lam], you guys say [lam]

KKS_CHL mimicked the L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans use of the dental click throughout, and draws a distinction between *ons* (L1 Nama-speakers) and *julle* (L1 Afrikaans-speakers). She was capable of recognising the intended L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans item, since context has been provided, and also of correcting it to its appropriate L1 Nama realisation. KKS_COL, by contrast, could not match clicks by type, even when provided with his wife's examples, but continued to use the dental throughout. KKS_CHL also explained the distinctions between her repertoire and her husband's click repertoire by observing that '*Kyk, ons in Namibia praat weer 'n baie suiwer Nama, as wat die mense hierdie kant praat.*' ("Look, in Namibia we actually speak a very pure Nama, rather than what the people speak on this side [of the border].") Both speakers seemed to accept that these variations were to be expected in the Kamiesberg, and resulted from a lack of exposure to Nama.

A younger L1 Nama speaker, WDK_EK, considered the centre of Nama-language fluency in Namibia to be 'the south', that, is, the !Karas Region, especially at Keetmanshoop, where her parents grew up. Like KKS_COL, WHK_EK cited the importance of regular language exposure, and further considered geographic location to be an important factor in one's ability to distinguish between clicks.

WHK_EK: In the south, they speak Nama all the time, so it's easier to practise your clicks. With the clicks, it is a practice thing. [...] The more you speak it, the more fluent you become in the clicks, and you know the differences. 'Cause some are harsher, like deeper, and others are not that deep, it's like soft, it's just a little click, like nothing too hectic. But a person who doesn't really know Nama, or understand Nama, they don't know that difference. They just think all the clicks sound the same, and they all mean the same thing.

Like KKS_CHL, WDK_EK associated the overuse of the dental click with monolingual Afrikaans-speakers. Having previously used **!lgamme**, 'water', as an example of a word that might be used in codemixed Afrikaans-Nama phrases, she went on to pronounce it using a dental click to mimic an Afrikaans pronunciation.

CRC: If there's someone who, like, predominantly speaks Afrikaans, and they only know little bits of Nama, do you find anything strange about their pronunciation?
WHK_EK: Yes, the clicks are definitely off. It's always like, instead of, they speak more like [l], [l], so they'll say [**lgame**], and then you're just like, 'Oh, I know what she means,' but the clicks are off, completely.

WB: All of the clicks, or?

WHK_EK: (*sighs*) Ja, they never get it right. When someone gets it right, you're like, 'Oh, wait! (*laughs*) Who taught you?' And then they will tell you, maybe, 'Oh, my nanny was Nama, she taught me,' or something. But usually the clicks are off.

Asked if any speakers of indigenous Namibian languages experienced similar difficulties with click consonants, she noted that, because of close Nama-otjiHerero language contact, ovaHerero tended to have better access to click consonants at Windhoek; speakers of other languages, however, 'just don't get it right.'

WHK_EK: Hereros, they will try. They will definitely still use some Nama words, but [...] funnily enough, they get it the most correct. They're the closest to getting it correct. I don't know why, but the Nama and the Hereros, they tend to have a close relationship. So they tend to speak the most correctly. But oshiWambo, no. No, no. (*laughs*) They get it wrong, they really do. And then everyone else also. If you're English-speaking, no. (*laughs*) They just don't get it right.

South African L1 Nama speakers interviewed at Pella had never received schooling in Nama, and noted that they were not confident in writing it down. PLA_2 explained that, during a previous effort to develop Nama language teaching at a local school, many of the L1 Nama-speaking adults in Pella had also expressed interest in attending classes in order to improve their literacy, but had been told that no funding was available. As a result, both PLA_ and PLA_ were familiar with the informal Afrikaans **t'** orthography, and expressed that they were comfortable with using it while sending text messages. PLA_ also stated that she enjoyed posting Nama status updates on WhatsApp and Facebook. When she did so, she would first use WhatsApp to speak the sentence aloud to her nephew's wife, a Nama schoolteacher in Namibia, who would then transcribe it for her, greatly impressing her friends. This reflects both the general lack of Nama-medium instruction in South Africa, even among adults who do have fluent spoken command, and the lack of accessible linguistic resources that might allow adult speakers to at least begin to familiarise themselves with the standardised Namibian Khoekhoe orthography. It also indicates that, to some present-day speakers within South Africa at least, the ability to read and write Nama is desirable and perhaps even prestigious.

PLA_1: Ek maak so, nê. As ek wil 'n Facebook *post* maak of 'n WhatsApp *status*, dan vra ek vir Juffrou⁶³ Rosa in Namibië. Ek stuur vir haar 'n *voicenote* en dan

⁶³ Despite the referent being married, *Juffrou* (*lit.*, 'Miss') is here used as a sign of respect for her position as a knowledgeable schoolteacher.

sê ek vir haar, 'Ek soek hierdie woord se Nama beskrywing.' Dan skryf sy dit vir my in Nama en dan sit ek dit neer. Nou met die mense, ek is so *famous* vir die Nama! [*laughter*]

PLA_2: Jy kry hom mooi van daai kant af.

PLA_1: Ek kry dit van Namibië af dan sit ek hom so lekker neer. (*laughter*) Nee, ek sê vir Juffrou Rosa, 'Skryf hom vir my in Nama!' en dan skryf jy hom op. (*addressing PLA_2*) Roep hierdie bos. Die skaapbos.

PLA_2: **Gū !uru.**⁶⁴

PLA_1: **Gū !uru.** Ek het ook vir Rosa gesê, 'Rosa, skryf dit nou vir my, **gū !uru.**' Toe het Rosa hom geskryf en toe het ek '**gū !uru**' gelaat **‡nûi** op my WhatsApp status.

PLA_: I do it like this, right. If I want to make a Facebook post or a WhatsApp status, then I ask Miss Rosa in Namibia. I send her a voicenote and I say to her, 'I'm looking for the transcription of this Nama word.' Then she writes it for me in Nama and then I post it. Now I'm so famous for the Nama among everyone!

PLA_2: You get it properly from across the border.

PLA_1: I get it from Namibia and then I post it really nicely. (*laughter*) Yes, I say to Miss Rosa, 'Write it for me in Nama!' and then you post it. (*addressing PLA_2*) Name this bush. The *skaapbos*.

PLA_2: **Gū !uru.**

PLA_1: **Gū !uru.** I also said to Rosa, 'Rosa, write this for me, **gū !uru.**' Then Rosa wrote it and then I **‡nûied** '**gū !uru**' to my WhatsApp status.

This exchange is valuable also in that it demonstrates bilingual lexical insertion of Nama into an Afrikaans matrix. PLA_2 asks her husband, who has better veld knowledge, to remind her of the Nama name of the *Dicoma capensis* plant in their garden, a photograph of which she had shared on WhatsApp. In describing the action of uploading media onto the internet, she initially uses the Afrikaans verbs '*neersit*', 'to put down', and *opskryf*, 'to write up'. Apparently primed by the use of **gū !uru**, she goes on use a blended phrasal verb '*laat ‡nûi*'. The Afrikaans *laat* is used in a number of causative constructions, while the Nama **‡nûi**, 'to place', is almost exactly equivalent in function to Afrikaans *sit*. This attests at least some degree of

⁶⁴ In full **gūú !urũs**, regularly the *Dicoma capensis* (H&E45); the consultants also used the expected Afrikaans common names *skaapbos* and *koorsbossie*.

codeswitching among Nama-Afrikaans bilinguals, of precisely the sort that L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans speakers described in older generations. It further implies that, instead of loaning English terminology, there has been some semantic extension and adaptation of the existing Nama lexis in order to describe interactions via contemporary media, which is a potential indicator of vitality.

Further descriptions of Nama-Afrikaans in a Namibian context were provided by WHK_EK. In Afrikaans-matrix sentences, ethnolinguistic recognition might prompt codeswitching; in Nama-matrix sentences, single-word Afrikaans and English codeswitches apparently predominate in younger speakers. The exclusive use of Nama was associated strongly with elder speakers from the IlKaras Region, and was, according to WHK_EK, occasionally difficult for younger speakers to follow because of this. Again, better descriptions of English-Afrikaans-Nama codeswitching would provide invaluable insight not only into historical language contact, but also into the current position of Nama in South Africa and southern Namibia.

WHK_EK: It's just like generic words, especially if they realise that you're Nama? Then like, you'll be speaking-speaking, and they'll like throw in words like, 'Give me **llgamme**.' That's water. Or they're like, '**Pere-e au tire**?' which is, 'May I have some bread?' [...] They'll just, like, throw in little phrases. [...] I think, like, the youngsters, we tend to mix it up with Afrikaans more, or English words. Like, the sentence is predominantly Nama, but there'll be an Afrikaans word or an English word at the end. But when the elders speak, they use every single word in the Nama language.

WHK_EK expressed fairly moderate opinions on the mispronunciation of click consonants. Acknowledging that click consonants are difficult for learners, she felt that a fluent Nama-speaker would be able to understand an L2 speaker's intent, and that pointing out errors would be rude:

WHK_EK: It's a difficult language because if you get the click wrong, you're saying a completely different thing. Like you could be saying one thing now, and then, like maybe you means something but you say something else. And the other person will be like, 'Uh-uh. No.' [...] But I mean a proper Nama-speaking person will pick up on what you're saying either way. So if they point it out they're probably just trying to be rude. But like usually you won't, you'll know what she meant, you'll be like, 'Oh, OK,' because you'll understand the context. So you'll be like, 'Oh, she said this, but actually she meant this.' So you just pay close attention to the context of the sentence.

She went on to draw a distinction between making mistakes despite sincere efforts to learn a click language, and making mistakes because of a disrespectful lack of

interest. The former she accepted as an ordinary part of learning a language; the latter she considered inappropriate.

WHK_EK: I feel like, if you really want to get to know the language, then I think you would make that effort to really get to know the clicks and really know how to speak it. But if you don't care, it can come off as disrespectful or just rude. Then I'd rather you just speak English or Afrikaans. It's like, why are you gonna implement the Nama word if you're not at least gonna attempt to do it the correct way? [...] The context also matters, you know. If you're like, 'Oh, Elaine, I'm really trying to learn Nama, can you help me?' then I don't mind, but if you're just trying to show, 'Oh, I know Nama words, let me say this!' then it's like, 'No, you don't know, there's no need for this.' It's not your language, and if you're not gonna respect it, don't speak it then. Some people definitely can make a mocking out of it, and just like make clicks, and then suddenly they're just going, '[ʔfa ʔfa ʔfa ʔfa]',⁶⁵ oh, you make clicks,' and you're just like (*pulls a face*) 'Why? Why are you doing that?'

L1 Nama speakers who had had formal Nama-language education in Namibia, on the other hand, strongly disliked the use of informal Afrikaans click orthographies, and were very concerned about mispronunciation. PNL_FV and PNL_PV stated explicitly that seeing spellings like **t'g** and **xh** on Facebook made them 'angry', 'bitterly unhappy'.

PNL_FV: daai skryf hulle ook op die Facebook. ek raak so kwaad vir dit.

CRC: mm, hulle skryf hom met daai 'x', 'h' =

PNL_FV: =hulle skryf hom met daai.

PNL_PV: dis nie [ʔau] nie, dis [xau]lag daai

PNL_FV: mm

PNL_PV: want 'x' is 'n 'g' by ons. en **xaub** is 'stront'. [...] dit maak saak. jy moet dit reg sê [...] [xau]lag, hulle skryf hom [xau]lag. nou vir my is dit 'kaklag' nou.

CRC: [...] so julle het mos hierdie woorde op Facebook gesien.

PNL_PV: yes, [yes

PNL_FV: [ek het van die woordie op Facebook gesien, en dit maak 'n mens ongelukkig.

CRC: kan julle die woorde herken?

PNL_PV: ek herken hulle, ek sien hulle op die Facebook, maar ek hou nie van hulle nie. [...]

PNL_FV: hulle gee my eintlik die gevoel dat hulle spog met die taal, en dit maak my bitterlik ongelukkig.

⁶⁵The production of meaningless strings of syllables with click onsets, which WHK_EK considers 'mocking', is certainly used by monolinguals with only a surface-level familiarity with click languages. At least three Namaqualand Afrikaans speakers (who were ultimately not interviewed) produced babbling click strings when asked if they were familiar with the Nama language, and Mike Besten recorded much the same from Gariep Afrikaans speakers mimicking Kora (Du Plessis, *pers. comm.*). The effect is rather like an English-speaker using a garbled mixture of voiced post-alveolar fricatives and nasalised vowels to imitate French, and, judging by WHK_EK's response, is upsetting and insulting to L1 Nama speakers.

PNL_PV: ek raak nou baie opstanding. my mens! ek raak opstanding vir my mama se taal.

PNL_FV: they also write that on Facebook. I get so angry about it.

CRC: mm, they write it with that 'x', 'h' =

PNL_FV: =they write it like that.

PNL_PV: that's not [!ʔau], that's [xau]laugh

PNL_FV: mm

PNL_PV: because 'x' is a 'g' for us. and **xaub** is 'dung'. [...] it matters. you have to say it correctly. [...] [xau]laugh, they write it [xau]laugh. now, for me, that's 'shitlaugh'.

CRC: [...] so you guys have seen these words on Facebook

PNL_PV: yes, [yes

PNL_FV: [I've seen some of these words on Facebook, and it makes me unhappy.

CRC: can you recognise the words?

PNL_PV: I recognise them, I see them on Facebook, but I don't like them.

[...]

PNL_FV: they actually give me the feeling that they're mocking the language, and that makes me bitterly unhappy.

PNL_PV: it makes me very defensive. good grief! I get defensive about my mother's language.

PNL_PV had moved down from Namibia with the express intent of assisting with language teaching in South Africa, and was closely involved in producing materials aimed at introducing Nama-language instruction into Northern Cape schools. He observed that efforts at reintroducing the Nama language into South African communities should be led by Nama-speaking community members. Having wasted too much time becoming involved with local political disputes, he also cautioned against temporary projects instigated by outsiders, rather than long-term community-run programmes. The following observation, offered with goodwill towards research but contextualised by long experience, encapsulates the difficulties facing Nama revitalisation today:

PNL_PV: ek hou nie daarvan dat die Namagoed deur ander mense gelei word. as jy iemand wat oorspronklik die ding ken en v^{ir} die ding is, dan sal die ding florer, maar ons Namagoed word net gebruik om geld ingekry. [...] ek soek nie *pay* of so iets nie as my taal net reg uitgebeeld is en nie hier halfpad dood gaan nie, en as hy reg gebruik word. [...] want dit help nie – jy's nou met 'n projek besig. as die projek klaar is, dan is jy klaar. nou soms vat hulle hom as 'n projek. ons wil hom nie 'n projek maak nie. ons wil hom 'n amptelike taal maak.

PNL_PV: I don't like that Nama affairs are led by other people. if you're someone who originally knows [the language], and you're *for* it, then it will flourish, but our Nama affairs are only used to get money in. [...] I don't want pay or anything, so long as my language is properly represented and doesn't die halfway along the road, and as long as it is used correctly. [...] because it doesn't help – you're busy with a project right now. when the project's finished, then you're finished. now sometimes people take [the language] on as a project. we don't want to make it into a project. we want to make it into an official language.

9.3. Conclusion: Commonalities in Language Attitude

Arising from these attitudinal comments is the difficult question of how to reconcile post-shift speakers of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans, who retain Nama lexical items as part of their linguistic heritage but struggle to employ fluent pronunciation and standardised orthography, with speakers of L1 Nama, who are understandably concerned that any relaxation of these standards might further exacerbate language attrition, and who are committed to the preservation of what they consider *suiwer* Nama. This unhappy schism between partial speakers and fluent speakers is a characteristic outcome of language endangerment the world over. The solution, rooted in the understanding that ‘an unyielding purism is the worst possible scenario for language survival’ (Crystal 2000: 117), is solidarity.

Emphasis must be placed on the commonalities that naturally exist between both groups of speakers. Both PLA_2 and SBK_LJ, for example, take great pride in their Nama heritage. Neither is literate in Nama, but both enjoy using the Nama language on social media to perform this pride in their sociolinguistic identity. PLA_2 asks for orthographic assistance from Namibian relatives before posting, and is pleased when people compliment her on her Nama. SBK_LJ uses informal Afrikaans click orthographies to post status updates containing Nama loanwords on Facebook, having made the deliberate decision to love her regional dialect. Both also feel that Nama is badly neglected in favour of Afrikaans. Discussing her time spent interviewing !Xun and Khwedam speakers at Platfontein in her capacity as a journalist, SBK_LJ described the fluent usage of these languages as ‘*die mooiste klink*’ (“the loveliest sound”) and expressed regret that Nama was not similarly widely used in Namaqualand. PLA_2, for her part, was exhausted by the homogenising trend of globalised modernity towards Westernisation, and emphasised the importance of ensuring that both the Nama language and the Nama culture be available to future generations.

Similarly, CDA_LF discussed ongoing language prejudice against local Afrikaans that has been influenced by Nama. She spoke insightfully about the unfair practices of penalising children for the use of Nama items, a natural part of the post-shift Namaqualand Afrikaans lexis, in their essay compositions, because these items are

seen as non-standard and hence inappropriate for an educational context. This continued prescriptivism is the modern legacy of the prejudice against the use of Nama in schools across Namaqualand that afflicted the Nama-speaking parents of so many consultants. It is precisely because of this prejudice that PNL_PV and KMG_AP, for example, suffer real language bereavement. KMG_AP longs for his father's language, which he was never allowed to learn, while PNL_PV is desperate to prevent his mother's language from dying out. Both are hindered by a lack of funding, teaching resources, meaningful academic collaboration, and formal governmental support.

Speakers of L1 Nama and L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans share a common goal. Both communities have suffered severe sociolinguistic bereavement, whether because they watched their parents deliberately stifle their own use of Nama in the past, or because they are watching their children fail to acquire Nama in the present. Both communities clearly want improved Nama-language education and better access to language history. WHK_EK's nuanced approach to Nama-Afrikaans contact would perhaps be the most measured and practical to incorporate into language education efforts, in that, while she expresses pride in her language and does not tolerate disrespect and mockery, she is nonetheless supportive of speakers who make pronunciation errors but who are sincerely interested in learning more. This attitude would best support initiatives aimed at providing post-shift speakers with improved access to the Nama language.

Here the development and provision of academically sound but lay-accessible Nama- and Afrikaans-language material on language history would be a relatively achievable mid-term goal. I would even suggest that the usage of Nama items in post-shift speakers should be encouraged as a positive means of redressing the grief at colonial language extirpation so potently expressed by KMG_AP. At the same time, programmes offering education in Nama orthography and pronunciation to speakers of Namaqualand Afrikaans could be used to mitigate the real distress felt by PNL_PV and PNL_FV in the face of continued language loss.

Despite terrible odds, some precious fragments of Nama have survived shift in Namaqualand. Even if speakers of Namaqualand Afrikaans are unable to access

fluent Nama, they can still make use of loanwords of Nama origin. Given appropriate access to resources, ideally prepared by L1 Nama speakers, L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans speakers can receive orthographic support and historical context for their everyday language usage, and so begin to reclaim their language heritage, while also connecting with speakers who are eager to educate. Mutual language aid is the only way forward.

Chapter 10

Nama Substrate Interference with Namaqualand Afrikaans: The Lexical & Phonological Outcomes of Language Shift

This chapter serves as a sociohistorical conclusion to Part 2 by using morphosyntactic observations to suggest a brief intermediate generation of fluent Nama-Afrikaans bilinguals, and developing a theory of caretaker codeswitching as the primary entry point of click items into Namaqualand Afrikaans. It then discusses how the small and fragmented nature of Nama-speaking communities conditioned the degree to which Nama was capable of interfering with the Afrikaans lexis and phonology.

10.1. Reconstructing the Input: Morphosyntactic Clues

This section uses morphosyntactic observations to develop an understanding of how codemixed Nama-Afrikaans input donated lexical items to L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans.

10.1.1. Loss of PGN Marking

As generally occurs when lexical material from a language featuring overt PGN- and case-marking is loaned into a language with only rudimentary inflectional morphology, the PGN suffixes expected from L1 Nama nouns are stripped virtually across the board in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans, fossilised only in a handful of instances. HKB_GS, for example, used the appropriate prefix **-s** on 2b **lgaras** across two tokens; however, since he went on to note that the term properly applies to the plural *bessies* ('berries') or *trosse* ('bunches') produced by the plant, rather than to the plant itself, it is unclear whether this morpheme **-s** is in fact the Nama 3.SG.F suffix, an Afrikaans plural suffix, or a reanalysis of the former as the latter.

The only consultant who regularly recalled PGN suffixes was MTJK_ANON, always in the nominative case. Even here, there is a distinction between his realisation of PGN on general items and on idiosyncratic items. Nouns that were reflected also in the general repertoire of the test consultants did not exhibit PGN; four nouns that were restricted to his repertoire did. This suggests that the loss of PGN is part of a broader adaptive process applied to widespread and better-established items, rather than to items recalled privately.

10.1.2. Application of Afrikaans Morphology

Several chance typological overlaps between the Khoekhoe branch and the West Germanic branch have allowed for the productive application of Afrikaans morphosyntax to Nama items. TMA in Nama is indicated analytically through a series of free morphemes or ‘particles’, and so is not marked directly onto the verb. The levelling of the Afrikaans present-tense verbal paradigm means that Nama verbs may be introduced into an Afrikaans matrix without having to append suffixes of number. Thus Nama /^ʔàú/ may be introduced into such sentences as, ‘Hy {X^ʔ}œu’, ‘Ons {X^ʔ}œu’, ‘Julle {X^ʔ}œu ook’ with no further morphosyntactic adaptation required. Once loaned, these items may productively be inflected as past participles using the prefix *ge-*, yielding, for example, ‘Hy het gister ge{X^ʔ}œu’, and require no further modification at all to serve as participles in further tenses, such as ‘Ons is nog besig om te {X^ʔ}œu’. Similar attempts to loan Nama verbs into SA English would have required some inflection even in the present tense (‘He {X^ʔ}œus’), and certainly would have involved the resolution of infelicitous vocalic strings in other paradigms (‘Yesterday he {X^ʔ}œued’, ‘We’re still busy {X^ʔ}œuing’).

The Afrikaans diminutive morpheme *-tjie* was applied to several Nama nouns, most prominently **Ob** !ùñĩb = ‘the elbow’, which four consultants discussed as the !ùñĩtjie; **6h** llñaitjie = *Pelargonium incrassatum*, which to my knowledge is unattested in Afrikaans without a diminutive; and **2d** llónillóns = *Ptenopus garrulus*, which three consultants discussed as the llónillónitjie and one as the llónitjie. In the case of the latter, items elicited without the application of the diminutive realised the expected cardinal Nama vowel /o/ as the General Afrikaans /ɔ/, e.g., WKL_GE [llɔnɔn], KGM_AP [lɔqɔn!qɔn]. Of the twelve tokens elicited across four consultants supporting diminutives, however, seven effected some process of diphthongisation on the element directly supporting the diminutive suffix (CDA_AE [lɔqɔnlɔqɔŋci]; MTK_ANON [lɔqɔnlɔqɔŋci]; KMG_AW –[lɔu:nci]; [!u:nci]; [lɔu:nci]; [lu:nci]; [lu:nci], and two on both reduplicated elements (BSG_ANON – [ɤquənɤquəŋci]; [ɤquənɤquəŋci]). To this compare the same tendency in General Afrikaans, e.g., *pampoen* /pampun/ → *pampoentjie* /pampuənci:/, *hond* /hɔnt/ → *hondjie* /hɔinci:/. This indicates productive

interaction between the Afrikaans phonological system and the Nama item in the repertoire of at least some consultants.

At least two applications of the diminutive effected grammatical derivation of a verb into a loaned noun. The element **3b gào-**, as used in the compound noun **!gào|gǒáb**, is properly a Nama verb (H&E310). However, outside of the hybrid compound noun **!gàòkind** in Namqualand Afrikaans, it was used as the noun **!gàòtjie**. Similarly, a consultant used the verb **5i !gǎé-ǎm̃** = ‘to tie up (e.g., bag, shoes), to fasten’ H&E306, never previously attested in loan, as a noun signifying, ‘a parcel’, ‘a package’; she spelled this item <**thainam**> (see **Fig. 9.1** above). She then suffixed the diminutive allomorph *-pie*, as regularly applied to Afrikaans nouns carrying a word-final bilabial nasal, effectively yielding **!gǎé-ǎmpie**.

CRC: wat is dit?

CDA_LF: as ek kom kuier by Hatta vir die *weekend* so Hatta moet vir my 'n [!q̣a:ijəm] maak, 'n hoendertjie 'n vleisietjie 'n rysietjie 'n bietjie suiker=

CDA_CW: =dis nou 'n [!q̣a:ijəm] daai=

CDA_LF: = 'n [!q̣a:ijəm] maak.

MD: 'n pakkie=

CDA_LF: = 'n pakkie=

MD: =dis eintlik padkos=

CDA_LF: =yes 'n pakkie vir die huis, yes, 'n [!q̣a:ijəmpi:] dis 'n [!q̣a:ijəmpi:]

CRC: what is it?

CDA_LF: if I'm coming to stay with Hatta for the weekend, now Hatta has to make a [!q̣a:ijəm] for me, a bit of chicken, a bit of meat, a bit of rice, some sugar=

CDA_CW: =that's a [!q̣a:ijəm]=

CDA_LF: =make a [!q̣a:ijəm]

MD: a little parcel=

CDA_LF: =a little parcel=

MD: =it probably means *padkos*=

CDA_LF: =yes a little parcel for the house, yes, a [!q̣a:ijəmpi:] that's a [!q̣a:ijəmpi:]

Perhaps the strongest examples of the integration of Nama lexical item into the Afrikaans morphosyntax are two items used by SBK_LJ. One, an item which she spelled <**xhoeis**> and used to signify ‘a crowd’, is straightforwardly derived from the Nama noun **ʔnūwís**, ‘a crowd’, but was twice used prefixed with Afrikaans *ge-* to build a nominalised participle, and also apparently suffixed with the diminutive suffix *-ie*, effectively yielding *geʔnūwísie*, <**gexhoeisie**>, ‘a bit of a crowdedness’. This suggests

analogy with such nominalised participial Afrikaans equivalents as 'n *gedrang* (cognate with English 'throng', *lit.*, 'a thronging').

SBK_LJ: 'hayi⁶⁶ nie! ek hou nie van so 'n [xəl̥ɠuisi:], jy weet, dit beteken dis so deurmekaar. [...] of jy is nou by 'n wedstryd, maar jy wil nie nou deur die hek gaan nie, want daar's ook te veel mense, dan, 'ek hou nie van 'n [xəl̥ɠuisi:] nie.'

SBK_LJ: 'no way! I don't like a [xəl̥ɠuisi:] like this,' you know, that means there's lots of confusion. [...] or say you're at a sports match, but you don't want to go through the gates because there are still too many people, then [you'd say], 'I don't like a [xəl̥ɠuisi:].'

Similarly, an item which the same consultant spelled <gexhouam> was glossed as meaning 'shocked':

CRC: hierdie ene. ek het nog nooit daai ene gesien nie.

SBK_LJ: [xəl̥ɠœuəm]

CRC: wat beteken dit?

SBK_LJ: (*laughs*) geskok! geskok uit jou sokke!

CRC: this one. I have never seen this one.

SBK_LJ: [xəl̥ɠœuəm]

CRC: what does that mean?

SBK_LJ: (*laughs*) shocked! shocked out of your socks!

The etymon is **!khòǀńǎm** H&E351, with a literal sense of 'to cover the mouth [with the hand]' (**!khóǀ** 'to grab', 'to hold' + **ǎm** 'mouth'), but a figurative sense of 'to be shocked'; it has no passive or reflexive scope in Nama. Throughout this interview, SBK_LJ used it only as a participle, **ge!khòǀńǎm**, suggesting analogy with the Afrikaans *geskok*, 'shocked'. In the stimulus for this exchange, a screenshot of a Facebook post that the consultant had made a few months before, SBK_LJ had originally used a form <gexhouamste>, effectively **ge!khòǀńǎmste**, 'most shocked', indicating that Afrikaans superlative morphology may be suffixed to items of Nama origin. To this compare the report at Haacke 2015: 69 – 70 that the application of *-ste* to Namibian Khoekhoe adjectives in Namibian Khoekhoe-matrix utterances is a 'common instance', suggesting that CPT_LJ may have been exposed to a blended form originating from a bilingual speaker.

⁶⁶ The interjection 'Hayi!', 'No way!', is technically an isiXhosa loan, but its usage is widespread across Coloured Afrikaans (including variant forms 'Hayike!', 'Hayibo!') and several varieties of SA English, and so should not here be taken as evidence of especially close contact between isiXhosa and Namaqualand Afrikaans.

10.1.3. Productivity of Loanblends

That Afrikaans loan into Namibian Khoekhoe has produced a number of loanblends is exemplified at Haacke 2015: 65 – 66, and is evident also from a cursory glance through Haacke & Eiseb 2002. This is likely due in part to the chance similarity of compound derivation processes across Khoekhoe and West Germanic, as discussed at Christie 2020: 49 – 54. Both Afrikaans and Nama compound *spec-HEAD*, and both can technically produce exocentric compound nouns while generally preferring endocentric compound nouns. With regard to verbs, there is still a great deal of the syntactic interaction between Nama and Afrikaans in fluent codeswitching contexts that is not yet understood, but it has been noted that ‘the high degree of translational equivalence between [Namibian] Khoekhoe serial verbs and Afrikaans compound verbs’ make blended verbs particularly productive in a Namibian Khoekhoe-matrix context at least (Haacke 2015: 68). The examples reviewed below suggest that loanblends originating in L1 Nama may assisted in the diffusion of Nama items into L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans.

Blended plant names are well-attested in Appendix A, usually with the Khoekhoe item serving to specify generic heads including *-bos*, *-boom*, *-doring*, *-vy*,⁶⁷ *-wortel*, *-hout*, *-patat*, *-bessie*, *-blommetjie*, and the like. Examples elicited during data collection include such well-known and expected loanblends as 2b |**garabossie** and |**garabessie** for *Searsia burchellii*, 5c |**harubos** for several species of frutescent mesemb including *Ruschia* spp., 5h (lápǎ)|**khóébos**, 8h **t’kaibebos** for *Pteronia incana*, 8i **t’kambos** for a noID plant but probably *Augea capensis*; 6g |**lārīdoring** for *Lycium* sp.; 8j **t’kobovy** for a noID mesemb but probably *Carpobrotus* sp.; 2a |**hūniboom** for *Boscia albitrunca*, 5m |**lgauboom** for *Ficus* sp., and 5z |**khàáboom** for a noID mimosoid thorn tree. Occasionally encountered are instances in which a Khoekhoe-branch item has entered Afrikaans so ubiquitously as to serve as a generic plant name outside of compounding, to which Afrikaans items are then applied as specifiers (e.g. *slang* ‘snake’ + |**gòáb** ‘*Hoodia* sp.’ = **slangghaap**, usually for *Stapelia* spp. with a procumbent or metaphorically ‘serpentine’ habit; *berg* ‘mountain’ + |**lārēb** ‘*Searsia* spp.’

⁶⁷ Afrikaans *vy*, lit., ‘fig’, may refer either to indigenous fig trees in Moraceae, e.g. *klipvy* = *Ficus ilicina*, or to mesembryanthemoid succulents in Aizoaceae, e.g., *suurvy* = *Carpobrotus edulis*. A narrower distinction is sometimes but not always drawn via the application of the diminutive, such that *vygie* will always signify a mesemb, but that *vy* may signify either a mesemb or a fig.

= *bergkaree* for species associated with a montane habitat). These are generally rarer; the only example collected during fieldwork was 5h *rooi#khóẽ* (a variation on *#khóẽbos* = *Stoeberia* sp.), which is a blended calque of the Nama *làpá#khóés*.⁶⁸ Also elicited were loanblends for several kinds of food and drink, including 1a *!khàribier* as a technically pleonastic term for homemade beer; 5b *#hàbábrood*, *lit.*, Nama ‘flat’ + Afrikaans ‘bread’ and probably calqued from Afrikaans *platbrood*; 5n *!lnàrũkoring* for a particular kind of roasted corn; and 5w *#khòm̃vleis*, *lit.*, Nama ‘stew’ + Afrikaans ‘meat’, associated especially with venison. Here the head is always Afrikaans, with the Nama serving as a specifier in order to indicate a variety particularly associated with historical Namaqualand culture.

The very well-known term 3b *!gàòkind*, *lit.*, Nama ‘to end’ + Afrikaans ‘child’, as used by 20 consultants, directly calques the Nama *!gàò|góáb*. Certain physical environmental features were referred to using loanblends, particularly the fairly common pleonasm 5a *!hàòbank* attested from 10 consultants. Lesser-known terms, used by three or fewer consultants apiece, included two Nama items used to specify the Afrikaans *–klip*, ‘stone’, 5e *!lgũrũklip* (*lit.*, Nama ‘quartz’ + Afrikaans ‘stone’) and 6e *!khòm̃klip* (*lit.*, Nama term for a nold mineral consistently associated with preparing hides for tanning + Afrikaans ‘stone’). The blend 5f *!gũrũweer* (*lit.*, Nama ‘thunder’ + Afrikaans ‘weather’), attested only from two consultants, is an easy calque from Afrikaans *donderweer*.

More unusual compounds, each restricted to one consultant, were formulated on unexpected heads based on discursive context, suggesting productivity. Having discussed the verb *#gàbá*, ‘to be very thin’ or ‘to starve’ BSG_GH went on to refer to a *#gàbábok*,⁶⁹ ostensibly with a sense of ‘goat about to die’, ‘very thin goat’, which

⁶⁸ Worth noting across the morphology of all attested compound nouns is that PGN suffixes are uniformly removed from nominal specifiers prior to compounding, as is proper for the compounding process expected of L1 Nama (*i.e.*, only the nominal head may carry PGN). This might indicate that such blends were originated by fluent Nama-Afrikaans bilinguals capable of transferring the expected behaviour of PGN marking in Nama compound nouns onto loanblends in an Afrikaans context. Given the propensity for PGN material to fall away nearly across the board (see Section 10.1.1. above), however, this cannot be proven.

⁶⁹ At least one other instance of a blended compound noun is premised on *-bok* is attested for Afrikaans, λ3.28 *orrabok* = “goat which is in milk, but whose kid is dead, or has been taken away, or perhaps has already been weaned” PRINS449, ex Nama *òrós* = ‘animal which has lost its offspring’ H&E104 + Afrikaans *bok* = ‘goat’. Unfortunately this term was not encountered during fieldwork, and its usage is

was nowhere else encountered. Similarly, having used 4c **|nām** several times as an adjective capable of describing either a cold beer after work or a hot bowl of pap in the morning, OKP_MM then used the phrase “*n baie lekker |napap*”, *lit.*, ‘a very tasty [bowl of] tastyporridge’. These exemplify the relative freedom, characteristic of both Nama and Afrikaans, with which compound nouns may be generated. Similarly expedient during a discussion of farm landmarks with WKL_GE was the nonce application of -*koppie*, ‘hillock’, to the extant blended plant name 5m **llgauboom** in the sentence, ‘*die kruis staan op ’n [l̥ga:bu:mkopi:]*’, *lit.*, ‘the cross is on a figtreehill’.

Precisely the opposite occurred during discussion of 7b **|gǝib** = *Proteles cristata*, in which an unusual compound premised on -*gat* was recalled through reference to a figurative expression the consultant considered general in the Namaqualand area:

WKL_GE: en dan die ander ene is. ’n man kan nie van die huis af weggaan. hy moet sy vrou oppas want enige tyd moet sy kooi toe gaan, dis nou omdat sy swanger is. hy kan nie weggaan nie, dan sê ôs, ‘hy sit voor ’n [l̥gi:xat]’. en dit kom van, die [ʔli:xat], dis ’n [ʔli:jakʰs]. [...] dis ’n maanhaarjakkals. [...] hy wag sy tyd af vir die kind se geboorte. vroeër jare die maanhaarjakkals is gejag en geëet. hulle het hom geëet. maar nou sit en wag hy, die man, tot hy uitkom, en hy sit so ’n entjie van die gat af. da’ hou hy hom dop, daar kom hy nou uit, hy kom skemeraand uit, en dan sit hy die honde, staan hy voor die gat en die honde hom kan vang. dit wil sê, hy wag sy tyd af. en dis waar die gesegde ‘hy sit voor ’n [l̥gi:xat]’ kom.

WKL_GE: and then the other one is. a man can't leave his house. he has to look after his wife because any time now she's going to have to go her lying-in, that's because she's pregnant. if he can't leave, then we'll say, ‘he's sitting in front of a [l̥gi:]den’. and that comes from, [ʔli:]den, it's a [ʔli:]jackal [...] it's a maned jackal. [...] he's biding his time before the child's birth. in the olden days, the maned jackal was hunted and eaten. they used to eat it. so he sits and watches it, the man, until it comes out, and he sits a little way away from the den. so he keeps watch, and then it comes out, it comes out in the evening, then he looses the dogs, he stands in front of the den and the dogs can catch it. that is to say, he bides his time. and that's where the saying, ‘hy sit voor ’n [l̥gi:xat]’ comes from.

Here the phrase ‘to sit before the **|gǝigat**’, historically with a literal meaning originating in veldcraft, has taken on an idiomatic sense of ‘to wait anxiously for a birth’. Although 7b **|gǝib** is fairly well-attested in general Afrikaans, I can find no other references either to a **|gǝigat** as a literal compound noun, or to this particular figurative expression. This suggests that it may no longer survive outside of an idiomatic context, paralleling the

probably now restricted to older veewagters. Whether or not any special Nama jargon associated with herding is retained particularly at the veeposte should urgently be investigated.

general cross-linguistic tendency of lexical archaisms to persist in compound nouns and fixed phrases long after they have ceased to be productive elsewhere.

Another example of a loanblend preserved in archaic idiom explicitly associated with older speakers was volunteered as follows:

CDA_LF: Die grootmense het altyd gesê, 'Op 'n [ʔGa:ubaŋk] groei nie gras nie.' En dan is it, wanneer ek 'n seun sal sê, miskien hy's jonk, hy kry nie baard nie, sien jy, dis 'n [ʔGa:ubaŋk].

CDA_LF: The elders always used to say, 'Grass doesn't grow on a [ʔGa:ubaŋk].' So that's, if I want to describe a boy, maybe he's young, his beard hasn't come in, do you see, that's a [ʔGa:ubaŋk].'

Here the loanblend 5a **!hàòbank** (a fairly well-known item further discussed in 10.2.2 below) is preserved in a localised expression that compares the bare, flat intrusions of granite characteristic of the Namaqualand Klipkoppe with the bare face of pre-pubescent boy (see Figure 10.2 below for an illustration). Additional wordplay on Afrikaans *bank* 'flat expanse' and *wang* 'cheek' may also be present, effectively implying a punning loanblend **!hàòwang** for 'a cheek like a stone bank'. That CDA_LF explicitly associated this fixed expression with older speakers is in keeping with the crosslinguistic propensity for lexical archaisms to be preserved in idiom long after they have fallen out of general usage.

One definite case of a blended compound verb was attested. The best known by far was a compound of 1d **!àú**, independently used to mean 'shout' or 'call', with Afrikaans *om te lag*, 'to laugh', yielding **!àúlag**. This almost certainly calques the Afrikaans compound verb *om te skreeulag*, an elative compound 'to shriek with laughter', 'to laugh out loud'. Of the 21 consultants who used 1d **!àú**, 20 accepted it or in fact used it primarily in this compound; only KMG_AP did not accept it in a compound, and used it narrowly to signify 'shout'. When asked to use this verb in past tense (for example, by prompting, 'And if the party were *yesterday*, and you wanted to describe how hard you laughed *yesterday*, what would you say?'), consultants consistently used **ge!àúlag**, indicating that, like *skreeulag*, it is inseparable (i.e., *om te skreeulag*, but **om skreeu te lag*; *om te !àúlag*, but **om !àú te lag*).

More complex is the use of 5d **llaà**, attested in Links 1989 and retrieved from three consultants at Matjieskloof and Okiep. The Nama verb is intransitive and used

especially in stative constructions with the perfective aspect marker **hâ** for a sense of ‘satisfied’, ‘full’, ‘no longer hungry’, effectively conveying that the speaker is in a state of having already eaten. In an L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans matrix, it was consistently used in the stative phrases ‘*ek is llǎǎ geëet*’ and ‘*ek het my llǎǎ geëet*’, *lit.*, ‘I have eaten [myself] satisfied’. This does not calque any Afrikaans verb to my knowledge, and is very probably the result of transfer from the Nama equivalent **llǎǎ ta hâ**, *lit.*, ‘I am [in a state of being] satisfied’. This in turn suggests that the idiom is a fossilised codeswitch historically used by bilingual Nama-Afrikaans speakers. Detailed syntactic questioning was not carried out here, but all extant utterances indicate that this phrase is used in prolepsis as a reflexive verb (‘I’ve eaten myself full’), and hence that **llǎǎ** should function as the adverbial component in a separable verb (*i.e.*, *om llǎǎ te eet*, but **om te llǎǎeet*). Further attestations in diverse tenses and constructions would be most valuable.

10.2. Establishment of Loanwords via Substrate Interference

Sociohistorical linguistics has classically analysed the results of language endangerment and language shift decades if not centuries after the fact. Contemporary studies of language obsolescence effectively documents potential substrate interference as it unfolds, and so must grapple with the complexities of analysing a change event that has not yet been completed, including questions of acquisition, attrition, and variation. There is little in the way of a consensus on when, precisely, a shift event *becomes* an example of substrate interference, and hence no criteria for assessing when an ongoing shift *has exerted* a completed change onto the preferred language. It is this intermediate stage, between shift and substrate, that characterises Namaqualand. This section assesses the extent to which the shift event away from Nama can be said to have effected lexical interference via the donation of loanwords to Namaqualand Afrikaans, and also offers some predictions for the linguistic future of the region.

10.2.1. Diffusion of Nama Items Across Consultants

A primary concern arising from the lexicographic survey in Chapter 3 was the failure by authorities to indicate the frequency or ubiquity of usage attached to a given item. In some cases, items were so frequently recorded across so many resources that it could be inferred that they were generalised and well-established even in

predominantly monolingual Afrikaans communities. In other cases, items were *hapax* in the available records, making it was unclear whether the item had been retrieved from a speaker who had idiosyncratic recall, or whether it was perhaps widely-used but under-documented. The catch-all term **post-shift lexical retention** was introduced in order to accommodate all instances of Khoekhoe-branch lexical material encountered in ostensibly monolingual Afrikaans contexts.

Data elicited during fieldwork, however, allow for a closer assessment of the diffusion of L1 Nama items across the L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans community. Of the 100 Nama loanwords successfully elicited, ten were readily available to 18 or more consultants, or 75% of the total, and were by all accounts commonly incorporated into everyday Afrikaans-language discourse. However, 51 were elicited from only one consultant, or 4% of the total, and ten consultants knew at least one item that was unique among the loanwords collected. In between these two extremes are 39 items known to between 15 consultants and 2 consultants (60 – 8%). This indicates that a small set of items, broadly diffused across the Namaqualand Afrikaans and well-established as loanwords in daily usage, exists alongside a much larger set of items that are known only to a handful of individuals, and that do not enter into everyday conversation.

The latter, far larger set is associated, at least in some individuals, with direct L1 caretaker input. MTK_ANON is the clear outlier in this study, both in that he had the largest Nama lexicon overall, and in that he was familiar with a number of highly regionalised items unattested in the L1 Afrikaans lexicographic record and only rarely in the L1 Nama lexicographic record. Of his 32 serendipitous items, 16 were idiosyncratic, and 11 previously unattested in Afrikaans-language material. In a Nama-language context, he knew items that were both very general and very obscure. He knew, for example, two rare botanical terms that would likely have historically been southerly Nama regionalisms (**!anas** for *Searsia burchellii*, recorded only from Schültze 1907: 200 in Klein Namaland and marked ‘?’ in H&E, and **xaiaxob** for an *Orbea* sp., likely *O. namaquensis*, recorded only from Du Pisani 1983: 16 at Berseba and absent from H&E). He was also familiar with items that would historically been in widespread Nama usage, including bodyparts, numerals, and placenames.

Importantly, however, it cannot be overlooked that consultants without direct L1 input also knew idiosyncratic items. SBK_LJ volunteered five idiosyncratic items, only one of which, **5aj !khòóǎm** is elsewhere attested in Afrikaans (**gonna** BN264), but she considered these items common to the repertoire of her particular friend group. The relatives CDA_CW and CDA_LF shared the item 5r **!gǎé-ǎmpie**, ‘a little package of food’, which I have found nowhere else attested. This suggests that ‘Namaqualand’ may, in fact, have been too wide of a linguistic area to survey; smaller enclaves of regionalisation, sharing smaller lexes of Nama items, may have developed or be in the process of developing, and detailed surveys of individual dorpiers would no doubt reveal clearer micro-trends. Considering the fragmentation of Nama-speaking communities, which were historically small to begin with, across larger Afrikaans-speaking communities, and the resultant isolation of speakers, it should perhaps not come as a surprise that their linguistic legacy is likewise fragmented. Regardless, access to rare items is not restricted to consultants with direct L1 Nama input.

It is also necessary, therefore, to pay close attention to speakers who claimed no direct L1 input, but who still had access to the very general items. Such speakers invariably described themselves as having occasionally overhead Nama items used in Afrikaans-matrix sentences within the community, typically by older speakers referred to as *oumense* or *grootmense*, or else by their parents or grandparents, despite acknowledging that their parents were not L1 Nama. In essence, such consultants are describing a prior stage **lexical recall**. These older generations, although monolingual, clearly *had* had L1 Nama input, and employed Nama lexical items used by *their* L1 Nama caretakers, thus diffusing them diachronically and ensuring continued access by monolinguals. Although restricted to Namaqualand Afrikaans, such items are recognisable to most members of the post-shift community, are used in daily discourse, and may even compete with native items. The result of enduring substrate interference with the communal lexicon, these items may be considered **loanwords** proper.

Juxtaposing these two scenarios allows for the conceptualisation of a diachronic process of post-shift diffusion, in which one monolingual generation’s **lexical recall** is the next generation’s **loan**. Even items which were relatively infrequently recalled are

nevertheless accessible to monolinguals who had no L1 Nama input, provided that their monolingual caretakers made sufficiently regular use of them, and so must be accepted as loans, or at least as highly regionalised loans. Such items may go on to diffuse more broadly into the general repertoire; may remain stable regionalisms; or may vanish entirely from the preferred language in the subsequent generation. There is, effectively, a transitional period in the very last stages of shift in which **lexical recall may gain the potential to become loan**. Here the contemporary obsession with language standardisation may condition a different outcome from historical scenarios in which no such agenda existed. Even with linguistic prejudice driving shift in comparable contexts, the general human lack of historical linguistic awareness likely bleached recalled items of this stigma following the extinction of the donor language, allowing for their productive integration and diffusion without prescriptivist scrutiny from executors of centralised language policy. In other words, substrate interference may have been a more productive condition for loan prior to the relatively recent onset of modern language standardisation.

A third, incidental category may perhaps be required to capture items which were broadly familiar to consultants as a result of community exposure, but which were not necessarily loanwords. 9 speakers with L1 Nama input recognised the word 4b **llgàǎmi** ‘water’, but did not indicate that they implemented it into daily Afrikaans conversation, and did not volunteer phrases including it as they did with other, better-integrated items. In much the same way, an entirely monolingual L1 English child growing up in Cape Town will recognise and be able to interpret the isiXhosa word *amanzi*, but will not make use of it items in English-matrix sentences, and will not use it competitively with ‘water’. Such items are best classed as **familiar** but non-competitive.

10.2.2. Distribution of Loaned Nama Items across Semantic Categories

Table 10.1 below organises all items collected into semantic categories, in keeping with the organisation of Appendix A, and with the general protocols recommended for the cross-linguistic categorisation of ‘borrowability’ (Haspelmath 2009). As discussed in Section 10.2.1. above, only a small number of items were generalised across the entire pool of consultants, while the majority were used by only one consultant.

Table 10.1 Semantic Categories of Nama Items in Namaqualand Afrikaans

#	semantic field	items	tally
8	agriculture & vegetation	8.51 7a !gàāb; 8.53 2b !garabos; 8.53 2c #hāutsiama; 8.53 5c !harubos; 8.53 5h #khōés; 8.53 6c !gòāb; 8.53 6g !lārīdoring; 8.53 6h !lnaitjie; 8.53 6i !anas; 8.53 6l !gawob; 8.53 6p xaiaxob; 8.53 8e ouroena; 8.53 8f t'aibie; 8.53 8g t'kabbada; 8.53 8h t'kaibebos; 8.53 8i t'kambos; 8.53 8j t'kobovy; 8.53 8k t'koeoebe; 8.53 8l t'oubee; 8.53 8m t'waraa; 8.6 2a !hūniboom; 8.6 5m !lgauboom; 8.6 5z !khāāboom	23
4	the body	4.205 !úús; 4.23 5o !lnūnūb; 4.281 1b !nōrōkop; 4.32 0b !unīb; 4.493 5j !gāūbeen; 4.64 7c !hūi; 4.65 5x !khām; 4.83 7g #urū; 4.85 7j tsurū; 4.858 5l !gūū; 4.91 7f #òpó	11
3	animals	3.61 6o ārīs; 3.72 6m !kx'aururub; 3.74 6a !giirīb; 3.74 7b !giīb; 3.76 6f !neērāb; 3.834 7h #hōms; 3.96 2d !lōnīlōns; 3.96 5k !gawerab; 3.96 5q !ārōb; 3.96 6a *!uitsumūb	10
5	food & drink	5.11 5d !lāā; 5.11 5aa !lāō; 5.12 5ad !gāu; 5.13 5af #hōrō; 5.51 5b #hābābrood; 5.87 4d #nūnī; 5.94 1a !khārībier; 5.94 8a xhouboeroe; 5.23 5n !lnārūkoring 5.61 5w #khōmīvleis	10
1	the physical world	1.222 2e !lhōāb; 1.23 5p !āub; 1.31 4b !lgāmī; 1.44 5a !hāōbank; 1.44 5e !lgūrūklip; 1.44 5ae !khōrōb; 1.44 6e !khōmīklip; 1.56 5f !gūrūweer; 1.75 7i sāwē	9
16	emotions & values	16.0 5i !jōwē; 16.0 5v #gūnī; 16.11 5u #āpō; 16.11 5y #āpā; 16.11 5aj !khōōnām; 16.41 5t !hūi; 16.62 4a !khūrū	7
15	sense perception	15.3 0a !gābu; 15.3 4c !nām; 15.3 8b xhamkoe; 15.37 5s !gārī; 15.52 5ac !gapā; 15.88 7d !khāērā	6
18	speech & language	18.13 1d !āu; 18.15 6d !hūikhōm; 18.21 1c #khōrōb; 18.221 5ai !hōā; 18.35 6n #gōnā; 18.45 5g #āmā	6
9	basic actions & technology	9.16 4e !hūū-ām; 9.16 5r !gāe-ām; 9.5 3d #āē	3
12	spatial relations	12.53 8b xhoei; 12.65 1e #gābā; 12.74 7e #ēē	3
17	cognition	17.22 3a !ūū; 17.22 5a !khōōmpōō; 17.47 5ah !lkhōō	3
11	possession	11.14 3c !lkhām; 11.31 3e !lnārā	2
14	time	14.181 5ab !guī; 14.46 6j !oēs	2
2	kinship	2.27 3b !gāōkind	1
6	clothing & grooming	6.9 5ag !nōñhē	1
13	quantity	13.9 5ak #nūwīs	1
19	social & political relations	19.52 8d 'xheimie'	1
22	religion & belief	22.51 5am !gōōs	1
7	the house		
10	motion		
20	warfare & hunting		
21	law		
23	modern world		
24	miscellaneous		
	TOTAL		100

We might predict that the particularly rare or idiosyncratic items should fall into particularly rare or cross-linguistically under-loaned categories. Their rarity should, *ceteris paribus*, be conditioned by the unsuitability of their semantic category to loan. This would predict that a term for an action as universal as 'to speak' would not be subject to general loan, while a referent as specific to the Karoo and hence as alien to the ancestral GERMANIC lexis as the *Stoeberia utilis*, a tall succulent mesemb, should

be especially conducive to loan, and should be broadly diffused across the general lexis. Items that are associated with core semantic concepts and human universals, and hence that fall under categories such as Kinship Terminology, the Body, Speech & Language, Sense Perception, and Emotions & Values should be underrepresented and idiosyncratic. Items that are associated with novelty, particular terms for flora and flora, geology, meteorology, subsistence, and religion, should be well-represented and general.

However, the reverse was observed. The best-represented categories are those encompassing human universals, while the more idiosyncratic items tended to fall into categories likely to have contained novel referents. Furthermore, among the ten best-known items, only one refers to a South African plant for which Cape Dutch historically lacked a term; the remainder refer to speech & language, bodyparts, sense perception, and kinship terminology. Items in categories such as the physical world, plants & animals, geology, and localised food and subsistence, which ought to be productive sources of loan, tended to be known by between two to four speakers, indicating that, while certainly examples of loan proper, they were nonetheless not widely established. Novelty cannot have been the only driver of lexical interference. This suggests that the conditions of the shift event were nuanced, and that further patterns of historical language usage must be extrapolated.

While Nama botanical jargon remains the best-represented category overall, individual plant names tended to be idiosyncratic. Only one plant name, 2b **lgarabos**, was known to more than 75% of the consultants, and, as shown at **λ8.53e** in Appendix A, it has a fairly well-known literary representation. Of the remaining plant names in the test battery, 2c **#hâutsiama** and 2a **lhùniboom** were known, but, unexpectedly, were not general. This illustrates the paradoxical position of specialised botanical terminology during a shift conditioned in large part by massive colonial assimilation and associated urbanisation. The novelty of the referents motivates their retention, but decreased exposure to the referents constrains their diffusion.

A similar difficulty is encountered in the case of terminology associated with historical Nama technology. The loan of 4e **!hũú-ám** is attested only once at Links 1989: 66, where it is spelled **tkoeiam**, and exemplified in a sentence concerning matjiesweaving. As the test battery aimed to compile loanwords that would be broadly recognisable,

hapax items were generally dispreferred. However, given the lack of any other suitable items with prenasalised aspirated alveolar onset [ʰ!h], 4e **!hũú-ám** was included as a last resort. As expected, it proved to be generally unfamiliar, and only two consultants were confidently able to discuss it. Following an initial struggle to decide on its usage KMG_SM brought out a matjie sampler, described how to sew reeds using an awl, and then concluded that, to finish the work, ‘Jy **[!uiəm]** die matjie.’ Her husband, KMG_AW, further implied that KMG_SM should know this item specifically because she had grown up at Steinkopf, while he, originally from Hondeklipbaai, had no understanding of it. As Steinkopf was historically one of the primary dorpies where both Nama language and precolonial Nama technology were preserved, this suggests that residents of Steinkopf had access to matjiesweaving instruction as children, and hence also to associated jargon, whereas residents of Hondeklipbaai did not.

The only other consultant who was able to demonstrate a clear understanding of this item was MTK_ANON, who was able to compose an original sentence in Afrikaans which demonstrated clear independent familiarity with the sense and usecase of 4e **!hũú-ám**. Both of these examples would suggest that the insertion of 4e **!hũú-ám** onto Namaqualand Afrikaans was pragmatically associated with exposure to precolonial architecture; that its retention therefore necessitated close exposure to certain precolonial practices, such as learning to weave with one’s elders or gathering firewood with one’s father; and that it has not passed into general usage as an established loanword in competition with the general Afrikaans *vasmaak*. Here again, pragmatic necessity alone was insufficient to drive the establishment of a loanword, and instead confined a post-shift item to idiosyncratic repertoires. The socioeconomic assimilation that accompanied and in many ways drove language shift also reduced the opportunity for jargon associated with precolonial subsistence to appear in discourse. Pragmatic necessity, *coupled with* the diffusion and widespread adoption of the practice in question, should be considered the stronger indicator for loan via substrate interference.



Figure 10.1 – examples of 5a !hãòbanke, or large flat intrusions of bare granite, in the Kamiespas. These are conspicuous and localised geological features of the Namaqualand veld.



Figure 10.2 – a close-up view of a 5a !hãòbank outside Kamieskroon. Note the sparse tufts of grass compared in a localised idiom to the beard of a teenage boy, as discussed in Section 10.1

The two most frequently-volunteered of the serendipitous items, 5a **!hàòbank** and 5b **#hàbábrood**, fall into **1 the physical world** and **4 food & drink** respectively, and both are easily explained. The former refers to the broad flat expanses of reddish sandstone, usually situated high up on the hillsides, that are eponymous to the Klipkoppe (*lit.*, the ‘stoneheads’ or ‘stonehills’). While *klipbank* is available as an Afrikaans alternative, 5a **!hàòbank** seems to be preferred as a specific reference to the Namaqualand veld (see Figures 10.1 & 10.2 below). Similarly, 5b **#hàbábrood** refers to a style of flatbread, probably of early 20th-century origin after the introduction of commercial wheat flours, cooked in Namaqualand as *potjiekos* and often eaten with such meat-based dishes as *kaiings* or *bredie*. The Afrikaans *platbrood* is the standard term for unleavened breads of international origin, including *naan*, *pita*, and the like, but 5b **#hàbábrood** is associated specifically with flatbread made in the Namaqualand region, after the Namaqualand fashion. Although the concepts are broadly universal, the particular referents are still sufficiently localised as to merit localised names.

However, there is nothing particularly localised about such items as 1c **#khòròb**, loaned with a sense of ‘to chat’, or 1d **!àuílag**, ‘to shout with laughter’, which needlessly calques the ubiquitous *skreeulag*. 0a **!ùnīb** and 1b **!nòròs** are bodyparts for which the readily accessible Afrikaans terms *elumboog* and *agterkop* exist. 3c **llkhǎm** and 3d **#áé** are ordinary verbs. While 3b **!gàòkind** is not exactly a universal in kinship jargon, not one but two exact synonyms exist in general Afrikaans (the ubiquitous *laatlammetjie*, *lit.*, ‘late lamb’, and the rarer exocentric *droëpram*, *lit.*, ‘drybreast’). Pragmatic novelty cannot therefore have been the only motivation either for the incidental post-shift recall and usage of lexical items, or for the establishment of loan proper. Furthermore, as has been adequately explored in Trudgill 2008, the desire to conform to a particular sociolinguistic identity can drive the widespread *adoption* of an initial change, but cannot *instigate* that change to begin with; the change informs the identity, not the other way around. Certainly **xhoulag**, **xhorro**, and **xhoukind** are now sufficiently established in the Namaqualand Afrikaans lexis to appear on tourist merchandise, suggesting that their usage may today have come to function as a marker of localised identity; but, logically, such a motivation cannot historically have existed to *initiate* their loan.

The underrepresentation of items pertaining to novel referents is thus explained by social dislocation attending shift, and by either the alienation of speakers from or the annihilation of these referents. The overrepresentation of very general terms, however, requires further discussion.

10.2.3. Caretaker Codeswitching

To explain both the idiosyncrasy of the post-shift lexis as explored in Section 10.2.1, and the unexpected semantic categories of the few very general loanwords noted in Section 10.2.2., **caretaker codeswitching** is suggested as the primary facilitator of lexical retention in the post-shift generation.

Conditions in Namaqualand during the shift from Nama to Afrikaans were such that the use of Nama was stigmatised very early on, while Afrikaans was rapidly established as a prestige language. Expressed another way, bilingualism, and especially the public performance of bilingualism, was socially disadvantageous. The unmarked condition of the Namaqualand populace, especially in public discourse contexts, was monolingual in 1816 and monolingual in 2016; the only real change that occurred was the transition from one style of monolingualism to another, with as little bilingualism intervening as possible.⁷⁰ Nonetheless, there must have existed at least one generation, staggered across the region, in which a significant portion of Namaqualand residents were fluent Nama-Afrikaans bilinguals. Although colonial atrocities in other parts of the world have resulted in monolingual children being unable to communicate with their monolingual parents, no such scenario is attested for Namaqualand. The bilingual generation must have engaged in regular codemixing, such that monolingual Afrikaans children were exposed to fluent Nama lexical material imposed onto a fluent Afrikaans matrix.

This is the crucial stage of shift which on which substrate interference hinges, the pivot at which insertion onto the L2 becomes adoption into an L1. The motivation for

⁷⁰ For the sake of argumentative clarity, I am here disregarding the presence of Khoekhoe-!Ui bilinguals. Nama-Nluuki bilinguals must have historically been present in Namaqualand and Boesmanland, probably even as recently as the beginning of the 20th century, but the socioeconomic status of Nluuki was so low that it has left no lexical traces on the contemporary linguistic landscape. Nama exerted massive influence on the surviving lexicon of Nluuki, but the reverse cannot be demonstrated, and the evidence for any uniquely !Ui-branch lexical interference with Namaqualand Afrikaans is null.

retention is in fact the motivation for lexical insertion during bilingual codemixing, and contemporary analyses of bilingual performance become relevant to the assessment of historical codemixing behaviours. Here we must accept that Nama-Afrikaans lexical insertion by bilinguals was situationally conditioned by the unknowable minutia of private discourse contexts within a private domestic context. Day-to-day motivations would certainly have included the situational discussion of pragmatic referents (plant names, geological features, food items), but also emphasis and intensification of the discourse (*ons het darem so lekker gesit en **xhorro***, ‘we really had a good conversation’; *ek is nou uiters **gexhouam***, ‘I’m now completely shocked’).

Relevant here are the descriptions by consultants of Nama as a *skindertaal*, a ‘gossip language’ used by adults to discuss adult affairs in the privacy of the home. That a powerful curiosity concerning this *skindertaal* developed in some monolingual consultants is unsurprising, and could further have served to establish Nama as something of a prestige language within the family sphere: a privileged domestic register normally accessible only to older bilingual family members, but occasionally opened up to younger monolingual family members. The couching of a favour (*loop **tnoenie** die bok vir my sodat ek so ’n bietjie melk vir die tee kan kry*, ‘run and milk the goat for me so that I can have a bit of milk in my tea’; ***tkou** dan daai kinders vir my*, ‘call those children for me’), a gentle scolding (*hoekoem **tkou** jy daai kossie so?*, ‘why are refusing your food?’), an interpersonal bonding activity such as grooming (*buig maar die **tnorrakop** sodat ek die hare kan sny* ‘bend your neck so that I can cut your hair’; *sy was lief om ’n mens te **tnoenie***, ‘she used to love rubbing someone’s scalp’), or a petname (*ek was my ma se **tkou**kind*, ‘I was my mom’s last child’) in the inaccessible mixed code of the adults may even have played a cajoling or indulgent role in caretaker-child discourse.

The recall and integration of these lexical insertions by the first monolingual generation, GEN₂ in Diagram 10.3 below, would almost certainly have been motivated by quotation. Having been privileged with only occasional access to this domestic ‘in-group’ code as children, monolingual speakers would, as adults, go on to engage in chunked recall of lexical insertion onto codemixed sentences uttered by bilingual caretakers. This **fossilised codemixing** then allows for the establishment of loan

proper in the subsequent generation, GEN₃, in that monolingual speakers of Namaqualand Afrikaans who claim no exposure to L1 Nama have access to Nama item via community exposure. Further explanation cannot be definitive without better data on bilingual Nama-Afrikaans codemixing behaviours. In essence, the recalled lexis immediately post-shift is idiosyncratic because caretaker codeswitching was idiosyncratic.

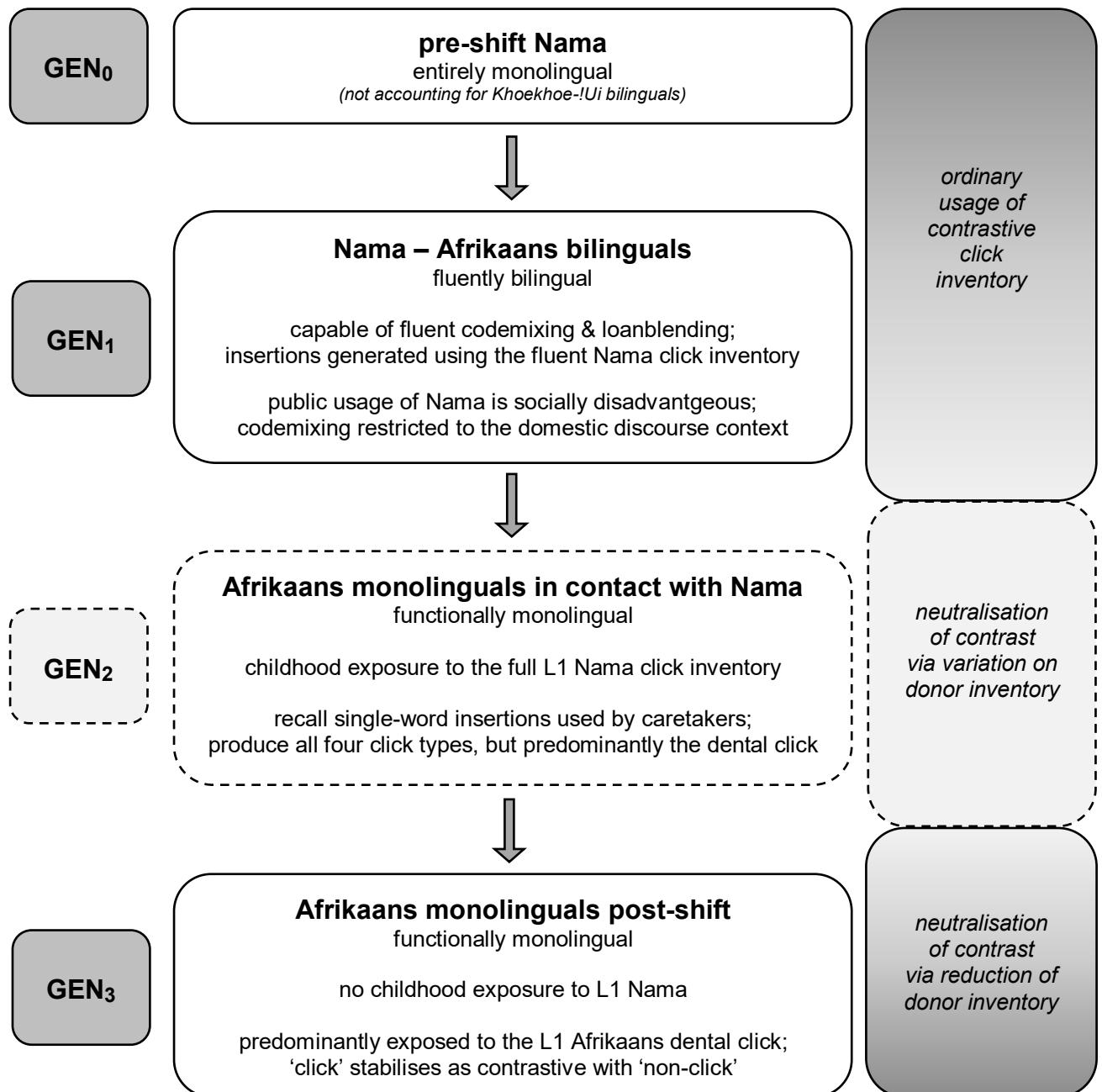
10.3. Conditioning a ʘ-Variety

The ordinary adaptation of loanwords containing click consonants into a clickless language, under contact conditions in which the clickless language is the more prestigious, involves replacement with pulmonic consonants. While an individual speaker of White SA English (WSAE) may attempt to produce a click in rendering isiXhosa /isíllʰòsà/ depending on the discourse context, the ubiquitous communal adaptation of /isíllʰòsà/ as an established loanword⁷¹ is /kʰòsa/, with the aspirated lateral click replaced by an aspirated voiceless velar stop.⁷² Here there is no socioeconomic motivation to learn the donor language to any fluency; the number of bilinguals in WSAE and isiXhosa is very small; and the unmarked sociolinguistic expectation is for L1 isiXhosa speakers to accommodate L1 WSAE speakers.

⁷¹ The declinking of 'isiXhosa' as an adaptive strategy is so ubiquitous in SA English that the racist pun 'Xhosa *nostra*', used especially in the late 2000s to liken alleged cronyism among amaXhosa members of parliament to organised crime via the Italian euphemism *cosa nostra*, depends upon it. Comparable puns proliferated on social media after the renaming of Port Elizabeth to Gqeberha in 2021, with a popular joke taking the form of, 'Do the mense in PE mos know what a gebba is?' The term *gebba* /gɛba/ is localised Kaaps slang for a chip roll popular as street food; the joke only functions if the breathy-voiced alveolar click expected from the L1 isiXhosa pronunciation of 'Gqeberha' can reasonably be replaced with a voiced velar stop in L1 Kaaps. The phonological relationship between a click and a velar stop is so naturally apparent to L1 speakers of SA English and Afrikaans that it can be used in wordplay.

⁷² While tempting to propose that the aspiration on /llʰ/ is retained even during realisation as a pulmonic consonant, this of course cannot be shown for SA English. Anecdotally, speakers of L1 Afrikaans tend to prefer [kɔsa] or [kɔza], implying that aspiration cannot survive loan. Exploring whether this would be true also in speakers of a clickless L1 that *does* employ contrastive aspiration on stops could provide valuable insight into cross-linguistic perception of click accompaniments.

Diagram 10.3
Clicks in Substrate Interference



Such a strategy would seem to accord with the Transfer to Nowhere (TtN) Principle (Kellerman 1995), as outlined with relation to click consonants at Major 2008: 66, as this prefers that even exceptionally dissimilar sounds should be mapped to segments present in the host inventory, rather than that alien segments should be added. That click consonants do seem to form a natural phonological class with stop consonants, and that click accompaniments such as nasalisation and glottalisation, for example, may similarly correspond with nasal and glottal consonants after processes of ‘declicking’, has been made clear from language-internal sound change events (Traill & Voßen 1997; Miller 2011; Fehn 2020a). The adaptation of click consonants as stop consonants under contact conditions may not, then, be so extreme as positioned by Major 2008; but this adaptation outside of their narrow class nonetheless involves the removal of certain defining features.

Click ‘type’, although of itself not a holistic phonological class, can crudely be called a combination of anterior [±PLACE] and [±LINGUAL] airstream. With regard to the [±PLACE] feature, alveolar clicks are regularly ‘declicked’ as velar stops during language-internal sound change processes, probably because /!/ and /k/ exhibit a similar acoustic gravity (Traill & Voßen 1997: 31; Fehn 2020a: 306). Palatal clicks may be ‘declicked’ as palatal stops, but also as a complex variety of other replacements that are harder to explicate (Fehn 2020a: 317 – 321). This alone should suggest that the anterior [±PLACE] feature should not be expected to govern adaptive strategies in language contact scenarios, and hence that we should not, for example, expect speakers of SA English to replace dental clicks with dental stops, alveolar clicks with alveolar stops, and so forth. It must be understood that it is the [±LINGUAL] airstream feature that is functionally removed, via the total jettisoning of the twin release gesture; as a result, phonemic contrast embedded in the anterior [±PLACE] feature, which depends upon the existence of [±LINGUAL], can only be nullified.

The adaptation of a click as a pulmonic consonant should therefore *not* be considered to constitute the loss of the anterior [±PLACE] feature, leaving only the dorsal closure intact to produce a uvular or velar stop. Rather, it is the realisation of ‘a subtype of stop’ (Best 2020: 195) as a more readily available type of stop. This adaptive strategy does not prevail in Namaqualand Afrikaans. Although click loss was sporadically

attested (and may certainly be more frequent in everyday discourse), this strategy exists alongside a strategy by which click consonants are added to the Afrikaans inventory. This, in Major 2008's analysis, would implicate the Transfer to Somewhere (TtS) Principle (Andersen 1983). Click consonants are *too* dissimilar to any available segments, and adaptive transfer from the host inventory cannot provide assistance, necessitating that a [±LINGUAL] feature be added.

To couch these two opposing strategies in more modern terms, we might propose the existence of a clickless grammar that treats any and all click consonants as strictly illicit – an impregnable *X-grammar – and a clickless grammar that will accept the contact-induced change of adding marginal click segments – a more permeable X-grammar. Whether or not a clickless grammar will allow an input click consonant to surface in its output depends on how highly this grammar ranks the constraint *X » FAITH |X|. In a *X-grammar such as WSAE, the well-formedness constraint that no click segments may be output at all outranks the faithfulness constraint that a click segment present in the L2 input should remain a click segment in the L1 output (FAITH_{IO}; FAITH |X|). In a X-grammar such as Namaqualand Afrikaans, FAITH |X| » *X is more highly ranked; that a click consonant be realised is more important than the fact that a click consonant does not exist in the host grammar.

The most fascinating outcome of FAITH |X| » *X is, of course, the neutralisation of contrast arising from the dynamic interaction of [±PLACE] and [±LINGUAL], such that the L2 input phonemes /l ll ʃ !/ are effectively realised in L1 output as {X}.⁷³ As explored in Section 1.1.4 above, inter- and intraspeaker phonological variation is a common property of languages in the final stages of obsolescence. The behaviour of clicks under such conditions is no different; variation only seems especially extreme because it centres on a phonological *rarum* which, in its markedness, presents particular challenges to L2 perception and articulation. The exposure of post-shift speakers to

⁷³ Here it must be recalled that, even in *X-Variety, the same neutralisation of contrast occurs, in that all clicks are reduced to a velar stop, or perhaps to an alveolar nasal, through the removal of [±LINGUAL] and hence obligatorily of [±PLACE]. This neutralisation is simply less dramatic than the variable clicks of X-Variety.

click consonants was sufficient to codify their usage as speech sounds (which knowledge did *not* contextualise the perception of entirely click-naïve speakers in Best *et al.* 1988), but insufficient to foster either L1 perceptual acquisition or L1 articulatory acquisition. The contrasts embedded in [±PLACE] and [±LINGUAL] cannot be consistently perceived or predictably articulated, but FAITH |X| » *X still prefers the output of any click segment, {X}, to the total pulmonic replacement of the click.

Idiosyncratic articulatory convenience then determines the realisation of type in any given utterance; the least marked output candidates would seem, for reasons probably grounded in the cross-linguistic availability of articulatory gestures, to be the dental linguopulmonic click, or else a distinctly noisy alveolar linguopulmonic click. The natural diachronic tendency is for variation to be most extreme and least predictable during and immediately after the conclusion of a contact-induced change event, then to stabilise into orderly, better predictable patterns with time. This is manifested in the reduction of click inventories to a single type in regional varieties further diachronically removed from the contact event.

Which constraint is more highly ranked – in other words, whether clicks are adapted as clicks or as non-clicks – would thus appear to depend on the recency and intensity of contact with the click language. While the donor language is still in regular contact with the host language, click consonants may be adapted as click consonants, implying that FAITH |X| » *X. After the donor language has been removed from the scenario, however, and the clickless grammar is no longer in regular close contact with any input containing clicks, the temporary intrusion of marginal click segments into the host inventory begins to be resolved, and click segments are adapted instead as pulmonic consonants. Preserving the *status quo* of the host inventory takes priority.

The cluster of contact events between the Khoekhoe-branch languages and Afrikaans is not yet concluded. Currently, *X » FAITH |X| and FAITH |X| » *X are competitively distributed across Afrikaans depending on regional and socioeconomic conditions, and probably compete even within ideolects. We can say that, in general Afrikaans, *X » FAITH |X| has already established itself the victorious constraint; established

loanwords of Khoekhoe-branch origin, such as **kierie**, **kareehout**, **ghaap**, and **gonnabos**, are no longer produced with click consonants. It is reasonable to predict that, in Namaqualand Afrikaans, *ǀ » FAITH [ǀ] will also emerge as the victorious constraint. This will signal the end of the contact event.

The normal result of a functionally clickless speaker, attempting without formal instruction to realise click consonants in lexical material donated during contact, is therefore the total neutralisation of contrast embedded in click type. As a style of monolingualism in which bilingualism is actively dispreferred, shift inherently curtails opportunities for exposure and hence acquisition. Underexposed speakers do not acquire either the perceptual or articulatory competence required to distinguish between contrastive click type. Substrate interference cannot facilitate the preservation of type contrast in loaned clicks.

10.4. Sociohistorical Conclusions: ‘All This Individuality’

In an older but still influential criticism of the theoretical approaches that had characterised codeswitching research during the 1980s, especially those developed by Gumperz 1982 and Auer 1984b, Myers-Scotton 1993b questions the predictive value of analysing codeswitching at the micro-social level, and of framing ‘interactions as individual units’ and ‘focus[ing] on individuals making choices, not on overall patterns’ (Myers-Scotton 1993b: 60 – 61). She goes on to argue that such a minutely ‘local negotiation’ of the sociolinguistic meanings underlying codeswitching, within the micro-communities that form the domestic sphere, would be unable to generate the macro-social meanings attached to codeswitching clearly observed in productively bi- and multilingual communities:

‘The problem I see with these views is that it is difficult to reconcile all of this individuality, and the accompanying view that social meaning is locally created, with the empirical fact that, in general, members of the same speech community interpret the same interaction as communicating more or less the same social intention. ... At issue are the mechanisms (both cognitive and social) by which a local negotiation of the social significance of linguistic choices might be accomplished. How are speakers able to do this unless their interactions are conducted against a common social backdrop of shared views of salient situational factors? ... If speakers are each going their own way ... based only on personal choice, the results will

be too fragmented to yield the common interpretations which are, in fact, found.

Myers-Scotton, 1993b: 61 – 62

This observation, of course, motivates for the development of the ‘markedness model’ at Myers-Scotton 1993b: 115 – 149. I note, however, that this hypothetical description of ‘speakers ... each going their own way ... based only on personal choice’ matches precisely with the operation of codeswitching under colonial shift conditions, and so may account for the inability of such conditions to yield significant diachronic interference. The failure of more than a handful of lexical items to enter the common Namaqualand Afrikaans repertoire, and the tendency instead for individuals to have developed idiosyncratic post-shift lexes, is reflective of precisely this kind of ‘local negotiation’ – the only mode of negotiation socioeconomically permitted.

Consultants described the use of Nama by their caretakers as a secretive affair, shrouded in much adult mystery, kept quite deliberately separate from the majority of Afrikaans interactions. From this we can extrapolate that Nama-Afrikaans caretaker codeswitching occurred predominantly within private domestic discourse contexts, and hence for minutely context-dependent reasons negotiated within the microsocial community of the individual household, precisely *because* of the very real shame associated with the public use of Nama. There existed only limited macro-social discourse spheres in which socioeconomic factors motivated Nama-Afrikaans codeswitching to any significant degree. Bilingual speakers of the 1950s – 1990s stood very little to gain, and apparently a great deal to lose, from any public display of fluency in both Nama and Afrikaans.

If post-shift lexical retention represents fossilised recall of caretaker codeswitching that occurred primarily in private domestic spheres for private domestic reasons, then the stimulus would indeed have been ‘too fragmented to yield ... common interpretations’ (Myers-Scotton, 1993b: 61 – 62). Here I would implicate also the disruption of historical speech communities and the resulting extremity of speaker isolation. Private domestic discourse between what few speakers had interlocutors within the household might be especially rife in kin-behaviours and household-specific codeswitching tendencies,

unmediated by the macro-social dynamics that condition public codeswitching (see Connell 2002 on the relaxation of social norms in isolated speakers as a possible driver of variation in endangered languages). Speech communities undergoing massive and deleterious shift are steadily rendered less and less communal, until 'all this individuality' is, terribly, all that remains.

Since the lexical material that has survived shift is of itself so idiosyncratic, it cannot furnish the subsequent generation with a common lexis; thus post-shift lexical retention has exponentially less diachronic vitality. It is only the chance (and hence unpredictable) overlap of these private behaviours that may furnish communities with a small lexis of general items. The click consonants attending so small a lexis are unlikely to be integrated productively or even persistently into the host inventory: the lexical material itself may survive in subsequent generations, but the clicks will prove ephemeral.

Part 3

Comparison

'[T]he long-tongued fly *Proseca peringueyi* ... visits the flowers of more than 42 plant species. All these different species have flowers that share many traits in common, including violet petals, a winter flowering period, and long nectar tubes of 30 to 60mm in length. Yet not all of these 42 species are related; they belong to three families and five different genera. We thus have a convergence of floral traits between unrelated species associated with a shared pollinator.'

Grenier 2019: 305 – 306

Chapter 11

Neutralisation of Type Contrast in Comparable Instances of Click Loan

The behaviour of loaned click consonants in Namaqualand Afrikaans is not unique or even particularly rare. Click loan has been an ordinary part of language contact for as long as clicks have existed in sub-Saharan Africa. This chapter and the next together serve as an excursus into contact events, completed and ongoing, between click languages and clickless languages. The historical socioeconomic conditions that characterised each event, and the resultant phonological behaviours of loaned click consonants, are compared and contrasted with those observed in Namaqualand Afrikaans, with the aim of developing a typology of click loan.

11.1. Comparable Instances of Click Loan in WEST GERMANIC

As was discussed in detail in Chapter 3, a portion of the lexicographic evidence for click consonants having been retained in regionalised varieties of Afrikaans do seem to have been recorded in the interior Karoo, and so are more likely to represent Kora interference than Nama. However, detailed phonetic and phonological descriptions are unavailable from the largely lay lexicographic sources. Only three recent efforts at formal linguistic transcription of these click consonants have been made.

11.1.1. Click Loan from Kora as ‘Khoemana’

Operating within a framework centred on phonological attrition, rather than on language contact, Killian 2009 describes click consonants present in a post-shift lexis retained by several ‘partial speakers’ of a Gariep Khoekhoe dialect, collected at Douglas, Kimberly, and Bloemfontein during July – August 2008. Encountering differences of opinion on terminology among consultants and recognising the political complexities of post-colonial ethnolinguistic identity, Killian ultimately decided to coin the glossonym ‘Khoemana’ to describe his data. For the present comparative purposes, the data are considered linguistically Kora given the geographic distribution, but it is acknowledged that several consultants were ethnically or culturally Griekwa.

Some of Killian’s data were collected from consultants whose initial fluency in Kora had undergone attrition. For example, the consultant ‘SW’ claimed to have been a monolingual speaker of Kora until marriage, after which she learned and shifted

entirely to Afrikaans (Killian, 2009: 74). Although she did retain a relatively broad lexis, and seems to have produced click consonants consistent with L1 Kora data, her utterances show evidence of significant morphosyntactic attrition and compensatory fabrication (Killian, 2009: 74 – 75). Other consultants, however, ought to be treated as monolingual Afrikaans-speakers with some post-shift lexical recall, in that the majority of their utterances employed Afrikaans matrices with some Kora lexical insertion. Of such speakers, Killian notes, ‘They did not have any of the grammar of the language internalized; instead, they would just use crystallized forms of individual words in an otherwise completely Afrikaans sentence: a type of short codeswitching or borrowing’ (Killian, 2009: 72). There is little reason to think that these consultants had acquired Kora to fluency at any point, unless perhaps they experienced partial acquisition during very early childhood.

Table 11.1 Interspeaker Variation on Click Consonants in Gariep Afrikaans <i>adapted from Killian 2009: 65 – 57</i>						
gloss	L1 Kora	‘SW’	‘DC’	‘MK’	‘LJ’	‘MP’
<i>one</i>	ui	kui	kui	!u		ui
<i>two</i>	am	kam	kama	!kam		am
<i>ears</i>	llnauku	llāū		‡āūku	‡na	‡nō
<i>water</i>	llammi	llgami	‡nami	‡ami		

Linguopulmonic clicks were collected from all consultants, although, since the term had not yet been published, Killian 2009 does not identify them as such, instead referring to a ‘velar plosive’ clearly audible following the initial burst of the anterior release and transcribed throughout as [!k], [!k], and so forth. Spectrographic analysis presented at Killian 2009: 56 – 58 exhibits the same ‘double burst’ formation observed in the linguopulmonic clicks of Namaqualand Afrikaans (see Figures 6.14 in Chapter 6 above). Phonologically, ‘[n]early all the speakers’ clicks were constantly changed, deleted, or inserted; the variation with clicks was at times extreme. ... [I]n one partial speaker’s speech, there was a complete collapse of all alveolar and palatal clicks into dental and lateral.’ (Killian, 2009: 76) Although exhaustive description of this variation is not available, selected data presented at Killian 2009: 65 – 67 have been adapted into Table 11.1 above. Note that only ‘SW’, the L1 Kora speaker in attrition, matches the expected L1 Kora click by type; the remaining four consultants, all considered ‘partial speakers’, do not. Detailed information on intraspeaker variation is not supplied, but it is noted that at least one speaker, not identified, variously replaced and

retained clicks, while another two, not identified, variously uttered different tokens of the same word using different click types (Killian, 2009: 76 – 79).

11.1.2. Click Loan from Kora and !Xam as ‘Tum’i’

Erroneously presented as evidence of ‘a new Khoisan language’ dubbed ‘Tum’i’, the data collected at Prieska during 2019 by Bennett, Kilian & Namaseb, and analysed in Kilian 2020, in fact constitute post-shift lexical recall of Kora and !Xam (Kilian, Christie & Bennett, *in preparation*). Many of the items volunteered are widespread Kora loanwords that are well-attested across the lexicographical record. The 21st-century retention of !Xam is so far unique, although exhaustive surveys of regional Afrikaans in appropriate localities have not been conducted. There is no evidence that the consultants themselves were ever fluent in either language to any degree; rather, I would consider them monolingual in post-shift Gariep Afrikaans.⁷⁴

Preliminary comparison of the !Xam items with !Ui-branch data was attempted (Kilian 2020: 103 – 104), but Kora-language items were presented without etyma. Significant is the intraspeaker variation recorded in the realisation of click consonants, evidenced by the observation that ‘many of these segments are not produced consistently and may exhibit phonetic variation across different tokens,’ and that ‘phonetic analyses of multiple tokens representing the same lexical items indicate variation in the click type produced’ (Kilian, 2020: 51), with variation attributed to linguistic obsolescence (Kilian, 2020: 71). Many of the clicks elicited are linguopulmonic, described with reference to Miller 2009 and noted to carry a ‘uvular’ accompaniment (Kilian 2020: 64 – 67).

The data from these surveys may be compared, *qua* post-shift L1 Gariep Afrikaans hosting substrate lexical interference from Kora, with post-shift L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans hosting substrate lexical interference from Nama. The condition of click consonants across both post-shift dialects would appear to be identical. In all known instances of a Khoekhoe-branch language contributing lexical material hosting clicks

⁷⁴ The two consultants, elderly sisters, did not assign separate linguistic identities to any items, but presented their data as a unified lexis of click items inherited from their mother. As their family originated from Carnarvon, and earlier from the western periphery of the Karoo near Calvinia, which region was historically associated with the ‘Katkops !Xam’ dialect documented in Bleek & Lloyd 1911, it is reasonable to speculate either that the consultants’ mother was fluently bilingual in both Kora and !Xam, or, more likely, that she spoke L1 Kora with an unusual number of !Xam loans, inherited in turn from a fluently bilingual parent.

to regional Afrikaans⁷⁵ via substrate interference, click consonants have undergone extreme interpersonal and intrapersonal variation, ultimately neutralising the phonemic contrasts historically carried in the click inventories of the donor languages. From this commonality it may be posited that the neutralisation of contrast embedded in click type is the normal outcome during lexical interference by a click language with a clickless language *under shift conditions*.

11.1.3. Click Loan from ‘Xri’

Assessment of partial and post-shift speakers of a Khoekhoe-branch lect termed ‘Xri’ at a number of rural dorps near Kimberly in the Northern Cape found a similar degree of phonemic collapse in the click inventory. Consultants were liable ‘to substitute clicks ... without being aware of the contrast’, and ‘would sometimes use different clicks for the same lexical item in the same utterance’ (Mössmer 2021: 107). Of the 27 consultants who provided ‘Xri’ data, only two were considered ‘rusty semi-speakers’ with any degree of fluent recall (Mössmer 2021: 95); of these, one was the ‘SW’ interviewed by Killian 2009 who consistently produced the expected L1 click type (see Table 11.1 above). Here again, even partial fluency meant that the ‘rusty semi-speakers’ exhibited click convergence only ‘to a lesser degree’ (Mössmer 2021: 107), but ‘those informants who routinely and habitually substitute or confuse click ... ‘types’ can be confidently grouped as non-L1 speakers’ (Mössmer 2021: 102).

11.2. Well-Studied Instances of Click Loan in Southwestern NTU (SwB)

This section collates existing research on the click loan in a cluster of NTU languages in the Okavango region, while offering new insights and new assessments into the diachronic legacy of clicks in this region.

11.2.1. Overview of SwB Click Languages

Spoken primarily in the north-eastern regions of Namibia, the K-zone click languages, also called the ‘southwestern NTU’ or SwB click languages, are classically identified

⁷⁵ No examination has yet been made of dialects of Coloured Afrikaans that are in close contact with isiXhosa in the urban townships of the Western Cape and the rural dorps of the Eastern Cape. I strongly suspect that Coloured Afrikaans-isiXhosa bilingualism has been on the rise, and that this may have precipitated new click loan into Coloured Afrikaans. Further study of click consonants in Coloured Afrikaans as spoken on the Cape Flats, as well as at Knysna, Willowmore, Uitenhage, Graaff-Reinet, and Makhanda, might prove richly rewarding.

as the closely-related cluster of K33 ruKwangali and K332 ruManyo (standardised from two dialects ruShambyu and ruGciriku) within the Kavango group, the more divergent K333 thiMbukushu of disputed lineage, and K402 chiFwe, now usually placed in Botatwe NTU (Gunnink 2020: 157). K33 ruKwangali was historically used as the language of colonial administration at Nkurunkuru in the Kavango East region, and so remains the most widely spoken, but all of these languages are relatively small, with fewer than 30 000 speakers each. The donors of the click lexis are primarily the KX'A continuum languages Jul'hoan and several varieties of !Xun, and the Kalahari-branch language Khwedam. For a full review of clicks in these languages, see Boestoen & Sands 2012; Gunnink *et al.* 2015; Pakendorff *et al.* 2017; Gunnink 2018; and Gunnink & Sands 2019.

Click consonants in the K-zone languages are distributed across very small lexical sets, and although between two and five accompaniments are attested, click type does not seem to be contrastive. Detailed historical context is not available, but, given the limited intrusion of alien phonological material, the conditions of contact are assumed to have been either relatively brief; to have occurred under drastically unequal socioeconomic conditions; or to have involved shift from marginalised donor languages to the socioeconomically dominant host language. The relatively restricted semantic scope of loans would seem to support the notion that contact centred on fishing and hunting life donated a 'small core' of items containing click consonants, with loan motivated primarily by exposure to a novel environment as K-zone NTU-speaking communities moved into the Okavango region (Gunnink *et al.* 2015: 217). Certainly this would parallel the entry of plant-related Khoekhoe-branch material into Afrikaans, but would not have historically been accompanied by a massive shift in subsistence method, or by acculturation and urbanisation associated with European colonial contact, granting the click lexis some degree of longevity.

In determining the origin of SwB click loanwords, it has been the practice to admit only etyma from languages which were known to be in direct contact with the host languages. Gunnink *et al.* 2015, which offers the largest list of etyma for these click items so far prepared, restricts donors to the Kalahari branch and the KX'A continuum. This is inadequate for several reasons. For one thing, the general underdocumentation of the KX'A, KHOE, and TUU languages means that gaps are prolific and inevitable.

Conversely, however, the high degree of lexical sharing between these languages can often fill these gaps, with apparently untenable long-distance correspondences explicable only by assuming that an intervening language carried an undocumented reflex.⁷⁶ As many source languages as possible ought to be utilised in order to fill these gaps. The introduction of Khoekhoe-branch and TUU languages into consideration can furnish a number of previously invisible etyma for click words in the SwB languages.

Here we must assume *not* that these languages were the direct donors, but rather that their documentation happens to have preserved reflexes of items that were not adequately documented in the actual donors. Allowing for comparison with Khoekhoe and TUU as well as Kalahari and KX'A, it is possible to source rather more items than previously assumed, as shown in Appendix B1.3. Of the 73 ruManyo click items in Möhlig & Shiyaka-Mberema 2005, 43 can be etymologised; of the 53 thiMbukushu click items in Wynne 1980, 22 can be etymologised; and of the 29 ruKwangali click items in Kloppeers *et al.* 1994, 12 can be etymologised. The tally of click items for chiFwe is presented as 87 at Gunnink 2020: 164; sinking several items that I consider minor variants and derivations, I would suggest a total of 70, of which 40 can be reasonably etymologised. This allows for the clear demonstration that click type contrasts historically embedded in click 'type' in the donor languages have been neutralised.

An additional caveat against sourcing etyma only from the Kalahari-branch languages without broader comparison is the extremity of click loss in this branch. The present-day state of the Kalahari-branch phonology does not necessarily provide an accurate picture of click distribution even a hundred years ago. Ancillary comparison with Khoekhoe-branch cognate can once again assist in building up a clearer picture of the donor language prior to massive click loss, ensuring that accurate conclusions are drawn. A strong example of this is the claim that chiFwe **ru!koma** (spelled ru|óma in Gunnink *et al.* 2015) and shiYeyi ru!ómà represent innovation on a clickless root present not only in thiMbukushu **dikoma**, ruManyo **likoma**, but also in !Anikhwe as

⁷⁶ Certainly the Hai !lom botanical lexis documented at Widlok 1994: 387 – 387 evidences several !Xun loanwords not present in standardised Namibian Khoekhoe (e.g., Hai !lom **!gui** ex !Xun **lū'i** = *Guibourtia coleosperma*; Hai !lom **!noe** ex !Xun **n!ð** = *Strychnos spinosa*; Hai !lom **!lgoos** ex !Xun **gllòàn** = *Grewia* spp.; etc.). Reciprocal Hai !lom loan into !Xun would have allowed for the entry of Khoekhoe-branch material into the swB languages without direct contact.

kòma and in Khwedam as **koóma**. All terms reference *Cyperus* spp., or sedges used primarily for their edible hypogeal tubers; *Cyperus esculentus* is widely cultivated across Africa and India, and increasingly also in Central America. Boeston & Sands 2009 acknowledge the suggestion at Somer & Voßen 1992: 26 that shiYeyi ‘borrowed the word from lAni before it lost the click’, but nonetheless maintain that ‘the Yeyi click could be an independent innovation and the Fwe word a Yeyi borrowing’ (Boeston & Sands 2009: 126).

A cursory review of the Khoekhoe-branch material shows that Somer & Voßen 1992 had it right. *Cyperus marginatus* in Kora is **!oob** = ‘edible bulb’, and the same item can be detected also in isiXhosa and isiZulu as in**qoba** = ‘*Cyperus esculentus*’, ‘river grass’. Finally, **lom** n|ai = *Cyperus longus* is in fact present in Ju|’hoan (Dickens 1994: 343), with **lom** being the generic lexeme, and was probably the direct etymon. This item is a pan-KBA wanderword that has maintained an alveolar click through much meandering (shown in Table 11.2 below). Rather than assume that shiYeyi coincidentally happened to reintroduce precisely the same click that had been lost from the Kalahari branch reflexes, it is far more parsimonious to accept that it borrowed an earlier click form.

Table 11.2 A pan-KBA Wanderword for <i>Cyperus</i>		
host	item	referent
K30		
thiMbukushu	dikoma	‘papyrus’
ruManyo	likoma	<i>Cyperus papyrus</i>
K402		
chiFwe	ru!koma, ru óma	‘papyrus’
R40		
siYeyi	rù!ómà, maqoma	‘papyrus’
S40		
isiXhosa	inqoba	<i>Cyperus esculentus</i>
isiZulu	inqoba	<i>Cyperus esculentus</i>
siSwati	inchoboza	‘swamp rush’
KX’A		
Ju ’hoan	lom n ai	<i>Cyperus longus</i>
TUU		
!Xóǝn	ǂgǝo	<i>Cyperus magaritaceus</i>
KHOE		
lAnikhwe	kòma	<i>Cyperus</i> sp.
Khwedam	koóma	<i>Cyperus</i> sp.
Kora	!oob	<i>Cyperus esculentus</i>

The overall trend towards neutralisation in the swB languages has been attributed to the proposal that clicks do not serve ‘a phonological purpose’, but ‘may have had an emblematic function of emphasising a separate sense of identity’ in speakers of SwB languages (Gunnink *et al.* 2015: 202), or else the usefulness of clicks as a source of sound symbolism (Bostoen & Sands 2012: 128 – 129). This seems a needlessly complex explanation, and furthermore treads dangerously close to treating click consonants as somehow inherently paralinguistic, rather than as ordinary consonants subject to ordinary processes of adaptation during loan. Again, sociolinguistic identities are constructed and performed *after and in response to* the establishment of a particular code. How the properties of this code are conditioned in the first place depends on how material socioeconomic factors mediate exposure, acquisition, and fluency within the community.

It is clear that contact between the swB languages and the donor KX'A and Kalahari-branch languages was sufficiently shallow or short-lived that very few speakers acquired the donor languages to fluency, and that productive bilingualism, spanning multiple generations, was never the predominant condition of the speech communities. Under such circumstances, it is most straightforward to accept that neutralised clicks are the result of a clickless monolingual majority adapting a wide array of input click types from the click-using bilingual minority as the dental click.

The possibility that language shift facilitated the entry of click consonants in the SwB languages is assumed without detailed historical evidence in Gunnink *et al.* 2015, and is used to further the importance of sociolinguistic identity in click loan. Here the argument is premised on the observation that shift tends not to facilitate particularly massive long-term substrate interference *unless* the shifting community was significantly larger than the community of speakers of the target language (Gunnink *et al.* 2015: 218, citing Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 119 – 121), and so that an additional condition must explain the presence of click consonants in the swB languages following shift. To my mind the obvious conclusion here should be that language shift – a very specific *kind* of contact – simply was not implicated at all. Nonetheless, it is argued that, ‘as the size of the shifting community would have been too small to be ... responsible for the maintenance of [clicks], it is likely that special functions of prestige have played a role’ (Gunnink *et al.* 2015: 218).

Here it is the term ‘maintenance’ that must be questioned. From a diachronic perspective, contact with the donor click languages has only just concluded. The marginal presence of a feature in the immediate aftermath of contact does not guarantee its longevity. Rather, it should be understood that donor click languages *have not yet* exerted long-term interference with the phonology of the swB languages. In other words, no special explanation is *yet* required for ‘the maintenance of [clicks]’, because it is entirely possible that clicks *will not be maintained* for any significant number of generations following the conclusion of the contact event.

11.2.2. New Insights in Click Loss in ruManyo

In addition to the examples of clear click loss in the SeB languages described at Boestoen & Sands 2012: 126 – 128 and Gunnink & Sands 2019: 710 – 713, I present new evidence of progressive click loss in at least one SwB language.

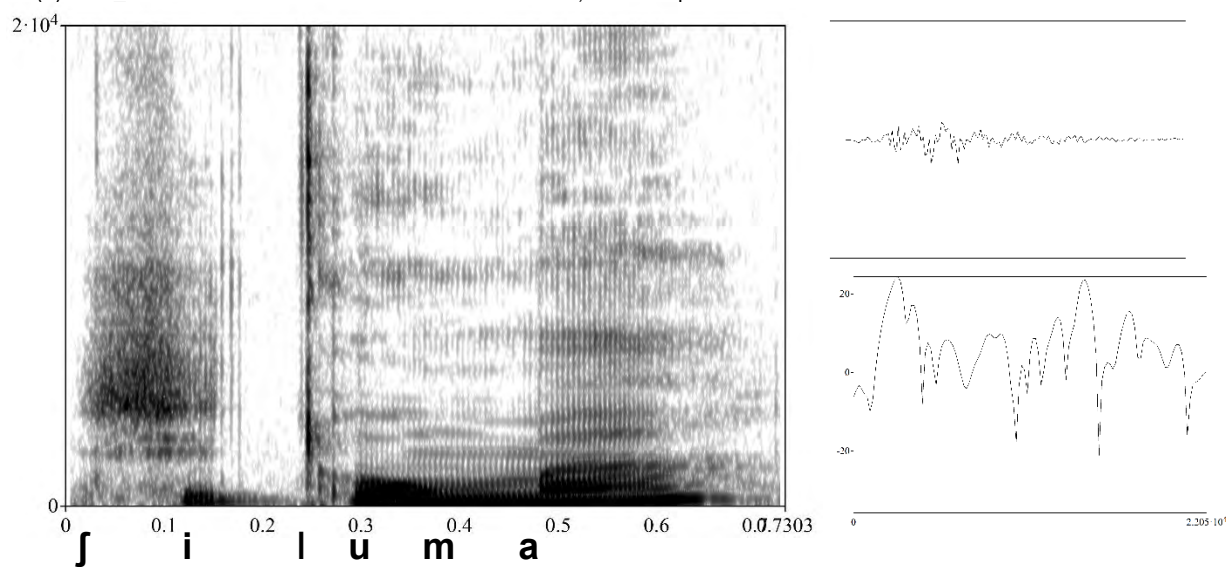
A Namibian linguistics postgraduate at RU, Erwina Karupu (RUN_EK), recently completed her MA thesis on L1 ruManyo literacy and education, and was kind enough to collaborate with us for an interview at Makhanda in November 2021.⁷⁷ She was tested on 15 standardised ruManyo items sourced from Möhlig & Shikeremba 2005, with three items selected randomly per click accompaniment; selected tokens are visualised in Figure 11.1 below. Striking in her discussion were her confirmations of lexical obsolescence. She remembered older speakers occasionally using **kugcigca** = ‘to shiver with cold or fear’, for example, but considered it archaic.

RUN_EK: I almost got confused with this one as well, because for a long time now I haven’t heard about it, but I just recalled while I was young at the rural area, some parents would say **gcigca**.

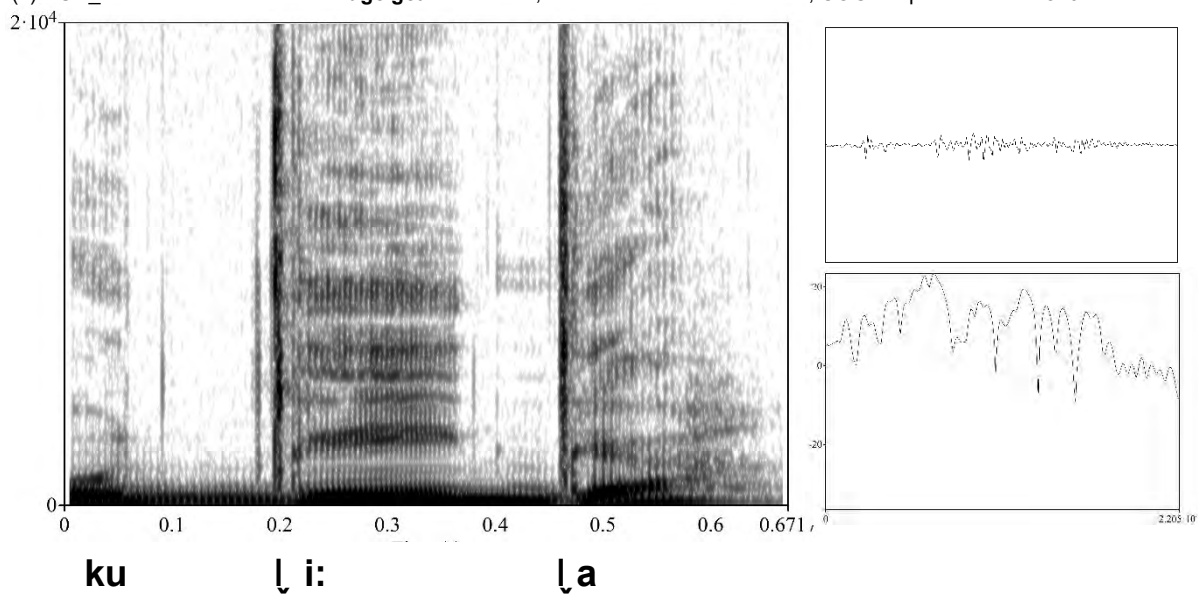
⁷⁷ An L1 speaker of ruManyo (which she grew up calling ruGciriku, and which she considers subtly distinct from the ruShambyu dialect) who was raised on the Caprivi Strip at Kapoko (a rural village some 130km outside of Rundu in the Kavango East region), RUN_EK was also familiar with the mutually intelligible ruKwangali. From her grandmother, she had had input from thiMbukushu, which she considered ‘quite different’ and ‘a struggle’ to understand as a child. Nonetheless, she considered the click inventory in all three languages ‘the same’; she very correctly volunteered **linche** (ruManyo), **dingce** (thiMbukushu), and **enche** (ruKwangali) as minor isoglosses on a common term for small sardine species, and explained that one could ‘easily recognise they all mean the same thing.’

Figure 11.1 L1 ruManyo click consonants

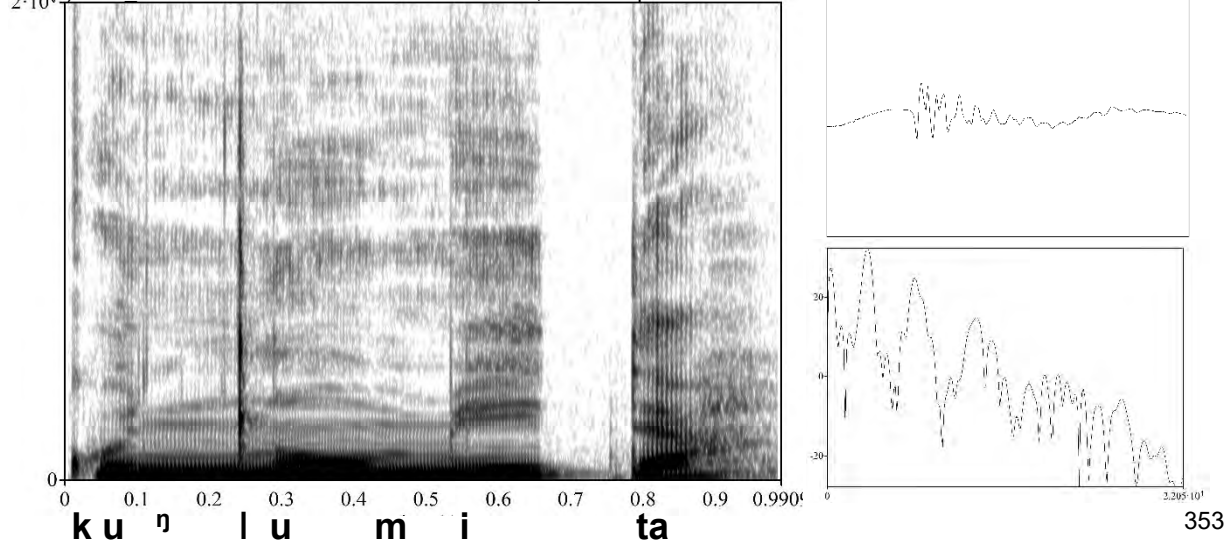
(a) RUN_EK tenuis dental click in **shicuma** 'small basket'; COG of spectral slice = 8523 Hz



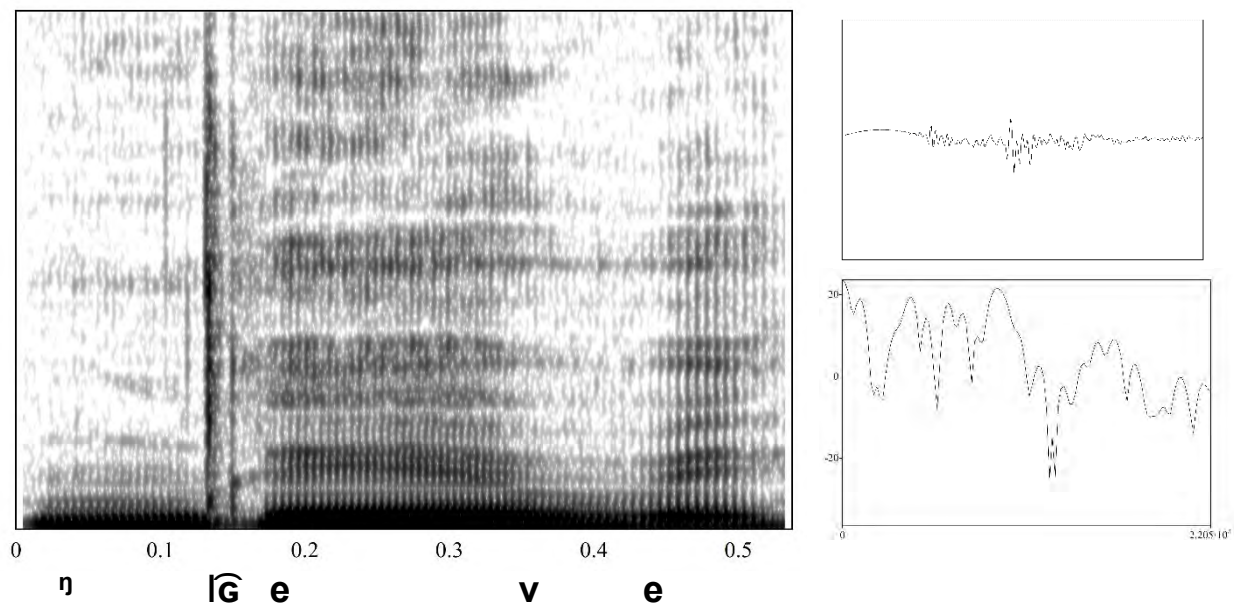
(b) RUN_EK voiced dental click in **kugcigca** 'to be cold'; waveform from second click; COG of spectral slice = 8191 Hz



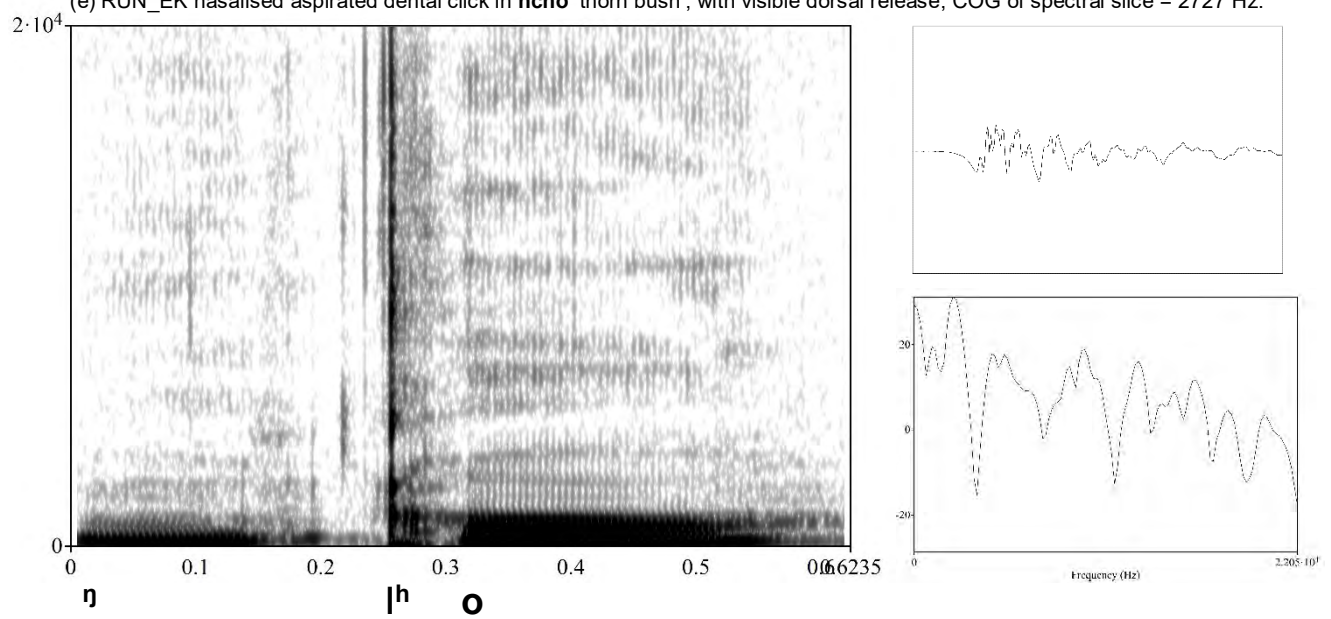
(c) RUN_EK voiced dental click in **kunucita** 'to kiss'; COG of spectral slice = 2834 Hz



(d) RUN_EK voiced nasalised dental click in **ngceve** 'tobacco pipe', with visible dorsal release; COG of spectral slice = 5406 Hz.



(e) RUN_EK nasalised aspirated dental click in **ncho** 'thorn bush', with visible dorsal release; COG of spectral slice = 2727 Hz.



Click items that she did consider to form part of daily discourse included **mucûko** = ‘a flower’, **kuncûmita** = ‘to kiss’, and **kucuka** = ‘to burst’. Some items, including **shicama** = ‘a basket’, and **ncho** = ‘thorn bush’, were entirely unknown to her; others, such as **ngcongokadi** = ‘a respectful form of address for an older woman’, were familiar, but only in a clickless form.

RUN_EK: this one, here, [ŋoʔ|okadi], it’s, nowadays I would hear people say [ŋoŋokadi], [ŋoŋokadi] instead of [ʔ|oʔ|okadi]. [...] at one time I heard a lady, I think she was a teacher, saying [ʔ|oʔ|okadi], and I was like, ‘what is she talking about? somehow she doesn’t know the language!’

Discussing contemporary language contact in Kavango East, she described increasing trends of urbanisation in the townships surrounding the regional capital Rundu, creating ‘a war in the child’s head’ concerning language preference. In addition to an anecdotal lack of interest in using rural dialectal ruGciriku (as ruKwangali has historically been considered the more prestigious language, and is associated with administration and employment), there is increasing contact with Angolan NTU languages which, I note, lack click consonants entirely. In such a diverse linguistic landscape, English is becoming the *lingua franca*.

RUN_EK: the kids that have been born in town, grew up in town, they speak Gciriku at home, and they play around with Kwangali kids, and, in the long run, they feel like, ‘no, why must I learn ruManyo in school?’ I heard my own nephew talking about that, ‘no, I don’t think there’s a need for me to learn Gciriku in school.’ ja, I heard, ‘that language, no, it doesn’t suit to be in school, I would rather just go for ruKwangali.’ ja, it’s township children that are so, living in the diversity. [...] I mean Angolans, they are also Bantus, but their languages are quite different from ours [...]. most of the houses also nowadays, you find the father is speaking Cokwe or Nyemba, and then the mother is speaking [ruKwangali]. so they would rather, the kids would prefer English. sometimes it’s just not the choice of the parents. out of nowhere, their child will just stick to English. or they will speak one of their parents’ language, but not fluently. here will be a lot of codeswitching.

Having contextualised contemporary usage, she then went on to discuss increasing click loss in her younger students, which she first encountered when administering literacy tests for her research.

RUN_EK: I noticed from my own studies, I have noticed kids, when I presented the reading text, the ruManyo reading text, every single word that had a click sound in that text, they applied the English phonology. they will replace it with [k^hə], [k^hə], [k^hə], all over. [mulu:ko], they will say [muku:ko].

CRC: and do you think that’s transfer from the English orthography? they’re used to the English orthography, and they’re bringing it over?

RUN_EK: it’s kind of like two things. there are two factors there. one is, from home, from the society where they’re living, those click sounds are not so usual, kind of, being spoken or being used. and that is also the nature of our language, because historically the click

sounds, they were kind of like not part of the Manyos. but then when they came and they found a second group of people, they were speaking the click sounds. because they have to adapt to this new area, where they were coming from, there was no river. so the vocabulary which has more of click sounds in Gciriku are certainly those ones referring to the river.

CRC: yes, I know there's names for fishes and so on.

RUN_EK: yes, but otherwise, the language itself, you'll meet us there, you'll meet a group of us there, you'll listen to us, you'll barely hear a click sound unless maybe those few words like [mulu:ko] that I said, or [ku^hlumita]. it wouldn't just pop up in any topic. they don't come up all the time, those vocabularies, unless you are talking about the side of the river, or fishing.

CRC: so do you think the children just aren't hearing those specific words as much any more?

RUN_EK: they're not hearing as much because the lifestyle are kind of, uh, not so much of, like at the rural area. the kids at the rural area, they might be exposed to click sounds, because they live through fishing, as well as, they could hear from the inland people, the Bush people, who are hunting. most of the time, when they are talking about hunting, those click sounds also come in. but those ones in town, they are not exposed to such lifestyles, so they barely hear such sounds. I almost said to myself, when I was conducting the test, 'did I make a mistake?' because none of them! none of them were pronouncing those words correctly. [...] the fact that they don't hear it, and then that they are much more exposed to English than the mothertongue, because they are watching these cartoons everyday, and they are going to pre-primary where the medium of instruction is English. they are not even taught mothertongue in the pre-primary, except at the government schools, yes. pre-primary zero, because they are owned by private, they just decide anyhow, it's just English here. now coming back to Grade 1, which is now a government school, they have to start being introduced to the first language mothertongue. their reading becomes much stronger in [English]. now instead of the mothertongue aiding or assisting in the development of the second language, it's now, the second language skills that are transferring to ruManyo. and when they transfer, it doesn't transfer positively, unfortunately.

Clearly a storm of factors conditioning click loss is in play. RUN_EK attributes this phenomenon to an urbanised lack of interest in learning rural Gciriku, and hence a lack of familiarity with the rural click lexis, but also to orthographic transfer from English. She concurs with the traditional assessment, discussed in Gunnink *et al.* 2015 and Gunnink & Sands 2019, that click loan in the K-zone languages was motivated primarily by novelty during adaptation to subsistence models associated with the Okavango Delta. However, as urbanisation increases, coupled with a shift towards Western-style subsistence, the rural lexis has begun to fall out of usage, limiting children's exposure to clicks. I would consider it possible that increasing contact with clickless Angolan languages, such as Nyemba and Chokwe, may also play a role, although formal research would be required to confirm this. Furthermore, the use of English as the LoLT at pre-primary level, coupled with everyday exposure to English via radio and television, renders children more comfortable with English in an educational context. When confronted with unfamiliar ruManyo click words in the

classroom, younger speakers naturally draw on their English orthographic resources, decoding <c> as [k] rather than [l].

While this commentary is necessarily anecdotal, it is nonetheless the professional insight of a mothertongue speaker with postgraduate linguistic training, and does derive in part from her quantitative assessment of phonetic and phonological tests administered as part of her MA research. Additionally, RUN_EK's observations accord precisely with broader reports of sporadic click loss in the SeB languages, and also parallels the presence of Khoekhoe-branch loanwords without click consonants in SA English and general Afrikaans. Here again, contact with a click language has had relatively marginal and ultimately short-lived effects on the clickless language. As with Namaqualand Afrikaans and Gariep Afrikaans, we should expect the retention of clicks in the SwB languages to be ephemeral.

11.2.3. Difficulties with siYeyi

Considered something of an isolate within the NTU family (Sommer 1995; Seidel 2005), siYeyi (R41) is spoken in two broadly similar dialects (Gowlett 1997) on either side of the Okavango Delta, with East Caprivi siYeyi R41A (also called Namibian Yeyi) recorded from the southerly region of the Zambesi area (Donnelly 1990: i; Sommer & Voßen 1992: 3), considered the historical diYeyi 'homeland' (Fulop, Ladefoged, *et al.* 2003: 232), and the more populous Ngamiland siYeyi R41B (also called Botswanan Yeyi) recorded from the more westerly regions of the Delta at Seronga, Sepopa, and Gumare (Sommer & Voßen 1992: 3). This distribution places both dialects in contact with several Khwe-group languages of the Kalahari branch, most notably Bugakhwe and !Anikhwe (Sommer & Voßen 1992: 4 – 5; Gunnink *et al.* 2015: 196), and at least two NTU language known to host their own loaned inventories of click consonants, thiMbukushu (K333) and chiFwe (K402) (Fulop, Ladefoged, *et al.* 2003: 232). Around 20 000 mothertongue speakers of siYeyi were reported from the early 1990s (Sommer & Voßen 1992: 3), but no more recent demographic data is available.

seTswana and shiYeyi shared a socioeconomically unequal relationship throughout the 20th century (Sommer 1995: 225 – 266), and there has been concern that this may have conditioned the endangerment of shiYeyi (Fulop *et al.* 2003). For a detailed overview of the sociohistory of shiYeyi, and the movements of the waYeyi through Botswana, see Sommer 1995: 135 – 155; included are Ngamiland waYeyi oral

histories discussing periods of contact with ‘khoisansprachige Gruppen’ during their exodus from the Caprivi Strip (Sommer 1995: 157 – 160; Sommer & Voßen 1992: 4 indicate that this contact predates the beginning of the 20th century). The geographical facts of these movements indicate that the donor click languages should be N2 !O !Xun in the KX'A family, and Bugakhwe and !Anikhwe in the KHOE family (Sommer 1995: 167; Gowlett 1997: 253; Fulop *et al* 2003: 232), as is corroborated by etyma provided at Gunnink *et al.* 2015: 224 – 232. Its relatively large click lexis formerly roused suspicions that it may have served as a donor language to ruManyo, ruKwangali, thiMbukushu, and chiFwe (as proposed by Maddieson 2003: 32), but in fact these languages hold relatively few lexical items in common with siYeyi (as pointed out by Boestoen & Sands 2009: 123).

Sommer & Voßen 1992 identified four click types and nine potential accompaniments in siYeyi, but the inventory exhibited gaps, yielding a total of 27 click consonants (Sommer & Voßen 1992: 6); these authors also provided a lexicon of 26 loaned siYeyi click items sourced to Bugakhwe and !Anikhwe targets (Sommer & Voßen 1992: 25 – 27). Fulop, Ladefoged, *et al.* 2003 depart from the Sommer & Voßen 1992 presentation of the click inventory, ultimately finding four types and six accompaniments, but noting a high degree of ‘classification errors’ from speakers, and acknowledging that certain type-accompaniment combinations are particularly rare. More recently, the siYeyi-English dictionary accepts six accompaniments, but also presents click consonants preceding a glide [w] as independent segments (Lukusa 2009: xi – xiv). Gunnink & Sands 2019 consider R41A to contain 12 click phonemes, while R41B contains 22. Velar stops may alternate with items containing click consonants, especially in R41A, which Gunnink & Sands 2019 take as an indication that the more northerly continuum has lost or is losing its click consonants.

A relatively large portion of the siYeyi lexicon hosts click consonants when compared with the other ‘SWB’ click languages. Working from sources including Sommer & Voßen 1992 and Lukusa 2009 (Gunnink *et al.* 2015, Pakendorff *et al.* 2017), Sands & Gunnink 2019 estimate that 10% of the R41A lexicon contains click consonants, while 15% of the R42A lexicon contains click consonants, resulting in the observation that ‘clicks in Nguni languages and Yeyi have a higher functional load than those of the other Bantu languages’ (Sands 2020: 41). siYeyi has also been considered to contain

‘the largest known click inventory of any NTU language’ (Fulop, Ladefoged, *et al.* 2003: 232), but that this is misleading. The click inventory for Namaqualand Afrikaans presented in Section 5.6.2 above is far larger still, but I do not make the claim that it constitutes a contrastive click inventory, or that it should be compared with ancestrally contrastive inventories. The characteristic ‘lopsidedness’ of the shiYeyi click inventories, indicating that not all accompaniments are in fact contrastive across all click types, should warn against treating it as an ordinary inventory, and the findings of intraspeaker variation so extreme that twelve separate inventories were attested across thirteen consultants confirm this (Fulop *et al.* 2003). Although this variation was attributed to phonological attrition arising from siYeyi’s moribund status (Fulop *et al.* 2003: 259), it is more straightforward to consider this an ordinary example of click variation and reduction during loan, of a kind with all other examples discussed in this chapter.

Despite the degree of variation reported by Fulop *et al.* 2003, the 139 etymologised shiYeyi click items all show exact type-matching; only a further 15 carry lexicographical evidence of aberration from the click type of the donor language. Lukusa 2009 makes no mention whatsoever of the apparently extreme variation encountered by Fulop *et al.* 2003, meaning that is unclear whether or not the click types recorded by his dictionary have been standardised, or whether they reflect regularity in interspeaker articulation. The data available for shiYeyi are therefore conflicting, and further conclusions cannot be drawn without improved documentation.

11.3. Understudied Instances of Click Loan in Southeastern NTU (SeB)

Outside of the S40 Nguni group, southeastern NTU languages (SeB) in South Africa in both S30 Sotho-Tswana and S50 Tswa-Rhonga have reportedly also gained clicks. The donor language uniformly seems to have been S42 isiZulu. In the case of S33 seSotho as spoken in Lesotho and surrounds, contact occurred during the political upheavals of the mid-19th century that saw speech communities in the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Lesotho undergo intense and tumultuous diaspora and restructuring during amaZulu expansion. Although a few early click words are recorded from Rongo in the late 19th century (Junod 1896: 45) during the earliest introduction of isiZulu to the region, contact probably intensified after the influx of migrant labour to Gauteng and Mpumalanga during the mid-20th century under Apartheid-era labour

laws, when isiZulu developed into a regional *lingua franca*. Although lexicographic sources record click lexes, detailed phonetic and phonological description are lacking, and there has been little critical consideration of the extent to which older material is in fact reflective of modern usage. Ironically, the marginal click consonants present in the small cluster of rural minority NTU languages spoken in the greater Okavango Delta region are far better studied than those in the large and increasingly metropolitan Sotho-Tswana language group. Renewed international attention is likely the only way to ensure serious study of click consonants in these languages.

11.3.1. Click Loan in Tswa-Rongo

The degree of click in the complex S50 Tswa-Rongo continuum is regionally variable. Drawing on Ribeiro 1965, Cuénod 1967, Baumbach 1987, and Siteo 1996, Janson 2001 describes only a single place of articulation, with *tenuis*, voiced, and nasal accompaniments, for click consonants in Standard xiTsonga, noting that Baumbach 1987 considers all xiTsonga clicks dental, and transcribes them using //, while Cuénod 1967 and Siteo 1996 both call them alveolar, and use <q> (Janson 2001: 27). Mabaso 2013 likewise notes only the alveolar from Zimbabwean Shangani, which may be only *tenuis* or voiced, but notes that the presence is rare.⁷⁸ A more recent survey of the phonological adaptation of loanwords in xiTsonga devotes only a brief paragraph to click loan, noting that the alveolar click may be realised either as voiced or nasalised, and that it is encountered only in isiZulu loanwords (Vratsanos 2017: 38). Only one example is provided, the xiTsonga **qivi** = ‘swamp’, which I observe originates in the isiZulu **ichibi** = ‘large stretch of water, pond, vlei, dam, lake’ (D&V111). This item is itself of Khoekhoe origin, having historically targeted an easterly reflex of Namibian Khoekhoe **!nùbĩs** = ‘eddy’, ‘pond’, ‘whirlpool’. This suggests that isiZulu maintained the dental click during loan from Khoekhoe, but that xiTsonga did not during loan from isiZulu, adapting it instead as an alveolar. A detailed etymological corpus of 89 items collated from various Tswa-Rongo sources is provided at Appendix B1.2, showing that

⁷⁸ Zimbabwean Shangani as spoken in the Mwezeni district has replaced click consonants expected from Xitsonga either with the velar stop <g> /g/ or, fascinatingly, with voiced lateral affricate <dl> /dʒ/ (Mabaso 2014: 146); compare here the replacement of clicks with velar fricatives in ST isiNdebele and with velar affricates in seSotho. Thus Xitsonga **xigqoko** ex isiZulu **isigqoko** = ‘hat’ is realised in Mwenezi Shangani as **xigoko** or **xidloko**; Xitsonga **muQgivela** ex isiZulu **uMgqibelo** in Mwenezi Shangani as **muGivela** or **muDlivela** (Mabaso 2014: 147). No further context is provided as to which form is preferred when or by whom, although this does usefully reinforce the proposition that diachronic and geographic separation from the donor language conditions click replacement.

both isiZulu and siSwati have served as donor languages. Unfortunately, new and accurate phonological capture of click consonants as used across a variety of dialects would be required in order to determine whether Tswa-Rongo click loan displays only reduction of the inventory, or whether inter- and intraspeaker variation by type also occurs.

11.3.2. Click Loan in seSotho

The present consensus is that, within the Sotho-Tswana branch overall, only some dialects of southern seSotho, as historically spoken in the Drakensberg region, contain a substantial loaned lexis containing click consonants. Working from the revised *Sesuto-English Dictionary* (Mabille & Dieterlen 1950), Bourquin notes ‘about 21 pages only out of 535’ contain seSotho lexical items hosting click consonants (Bourquin 1951: 59). Understatement may have contributed to the lack of interest in seSotho click consonants, as these 21 pages in fact contain nearly 300 items, etymologised against their isiZulu counterparts to the best of my ability in Appendix B1.1. Brief scrutiny of the remainder of the dictionary revealed at least twenty items which have undergone click loss, although more almost certainly exist. Some are shared with the declicked forms expected of seTswana (seSotho **lekgama**, seTswana **mokgama** = *Alcelaphus buselaphus* ex a reflex of Nama **llkhàmàb**, Kora **llxammab**; cf. also isiXhosa **ixhama**), but others appear to have been declicked directly from isiZunda and are not present in seTswana (seSotho **ho kubuta** = ‘to turn upside-down’ ex isiXhosa **ukuqubuda**, in turn ex a reflex of Nama **†úpi**).

However, in at least some examples, both a clickless and click form are present (**nq’a**, **mokga** = ‘side’, ‘part’, ‘portion set aside’ ex isiZunda **ilinxá**, in turn ex a reflex of Nama **llhām** = ‘to set aside’, ‘to separate’). Furthermore, some items seem to have entered seSotho directly from a Khoekhoe donor, as no clear etyma can be discerned in modern isiZunda at least (seSotho **lekgoba** = ‘slave’ directly ex a reflex of Nama **!gààb**). Declicking may therefore have been employed at a greater time depth, prevalent during periods of relatively casual contact with speakers of Khoekhoe-branch languages, before the massive influence of isiZulu integrated the alveolar click into the inventory. However, it must also be recalled that even the isiZunda languages do employ declicking, and that some forms may have entered seSotho in this state

already. Compare the isiZulu **incwabi**, isiXhosa **inyhwagi** = ‘wildcat’ ex a reflex of Nama **|hǝ̀ab**, Kora **|hǝ̀ab** with both seSotho **qoabi** and **nyoaki**.

Bourquin 1951 observes that seSotho speakers employ only the alveolar click, <q>, and that ‘having succeeded in pronouncing at least htis one click they seem to have used it indiscriminately for the others as well’ (Bourquin, 1951: 61), offering no further phonological commentary or description. The *tenuis*, aspirated, and nasalised accompaniments are apparently encountered (Doke & Mofokeng 1957: 23 – 24, as noted at Gunnink 2020: 3; discussed also at Tucker 1969: 59). The *tenuis* is indicated <q> (Doke IPA [!]), the aspirated <qh> (Doke IPA [!h]), and the nasalised <ng> (Doke IPA [!n]); the presence of the apostrophe appears variably as <'ng>, <ng'>, and <ng'> in Mabile & Dieterlen 1950. It is presumably used to distinguish between the nasalised click and what Doke describes as a ‘syllabic velar nasal followed by a radical click, very rare’, represented <nq> (Doke IPA [ŋ!]). Also described as ‘very rare’ are the syllabic velar nasal followed by an aspirated click (Doke IPA [ŋ!h]), and the syllabic velar nasal followed by a nasalised click [ŋ!n].

At least some variation between the use of an alveolar and a dental is known to occur.⁷⁹ Although considering the alveolar click the most common in seSotho, Tucker notes that it may be sometimes replaced by the dental, and that he has encountered ‘rare cases of [the dental click] used throughout for [the alveolar click]’; additionally, some speakers prefer to use the dental click, or else a voiced form of the alveolar click, preceding the high vowels /i/ and /u/, since a ‘clear click is very difficult to produce, and the implosion is very slight’ in such environments (Tucker, 1969: 59). In testing speakers for variable nasalisation, he observed that ‘each type of pronunciation was vigorously supported by its upholders as the one and only true type’ (Tucker, 1969:

⁷⁹ Although the use of the lateral is not reported for lexical click items, it does appear in a handful of paralinguistic expressions. <'nge> ‘from Zulu **nxe**, and pronounced like it’ (Mabile & Diterlen 1950: 236) is a seSotho iteration of a common interjection, **nxapha!** or **ngxephe!** in isiZulu, **nxanxa** in seTswana (as discussed further below), usually expressing either dissent or consolation depending on the context. Today it is usually spelled **mnxm!** or **mxm!** on social media, where it functions very much as the UK English *tut-tut!*, and appears sometimes in posts and memes written in Coloured Afrikaans.

Similarly, at least one lateral click is used as onomatopoeia in a 20th-century seSotho riddle: *Momma eo ereng ha a qeta ho ja a re xa?* ‘Who says **xa** after he finishes eating?’ *Thipa, ha e kopetswa*. ‘A knife, on being closed.’ (Guma 1967: 59). The use of the ordinary alveolar click is no difficulty, as the same sentence contains ho **qeta** (from isiZulu **ukuqeda** = ‘to finish’). Rather, the lateral has been selected specifically as a click that has no ordinary contrastive function during speech, and so may serve an onomatopoeic purpose.

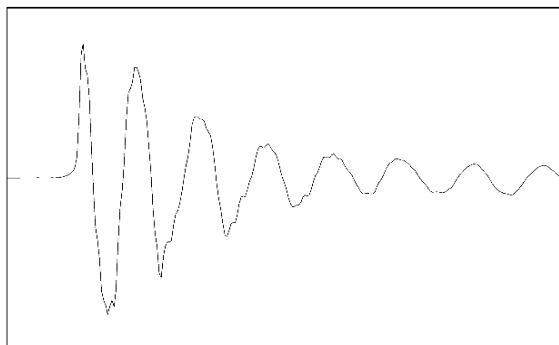
60). Most usefully, he does offer some speculation on the time depth at which clicks entered seSotho, noting that Mabilile considered their entry very recent, and that the earliest colonial records make no mention of click consonants (Tucker, 1969: 61). Oral literature has preserved certain older seSotho lexical items that would go on to be ousted by isiZulu counterparts; for example, Guma 1967 considers *ho qabanya* ‘to cause to quarrel’, loaned from isiZulu *inxabano* = ‘a quarrel’, to have replaced the obsolete seSotho item *ho lohlanya* (Guma 1967: 147). Very little information on how many of these archaic items are considered current in Lesotho and surrounds is forthcoming, and whether or not modern urban seSotho has gained a fresh click lexis via contact with Gauteng isiZulu is entirely unknown.

Thanks to the kind assistance of the Linguistics Department at the University of the Free State, I was able to conduct brief interviews with two L1 speakers of seSotho, both postgraduate students at the University of Lesotho, on 6 July 2022. A test battery of nine click items expected to be very common was developed, with three items for the *tenuis* click, three for the aspirated, and three for the alveolar. A secondary battery was prepared of slightly more obscure items with the intent of assessing the currency of the click lexis; as it happened, only one was unfamiliar to the younger consultant. This distribution allowed for the collection of six items per accompaniment. Little to no deviation from the expected accompaniment was recorded for the nasalised clicks; some aspirated clicks had a visible dorsal release, and should possibly be transcribed closer to */!χ/*, as shown in Figure 11.4 (a) below. Clicks written <q> tended to be glottalised rather than *tenuis*, with no posterior release audible or visible, and with the VOT some milliseconds removed from the anterior burst.

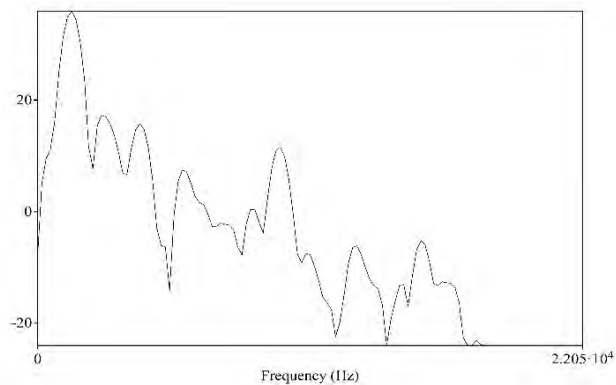
The majority of all tokens elicited from both consultants were pronounced using alveolar clicks, varying from the acute to the slightly noisy. MAS_ANON displayed little to no variation in her click consonants, always producing a fairly acute alveolar, and, in response to my queries, noted explicitly that clicks must *not* be pronounced ‘like the [koza] ‘c’ click’.

Fig. 11.2 L1 seSotho alveolar clicks

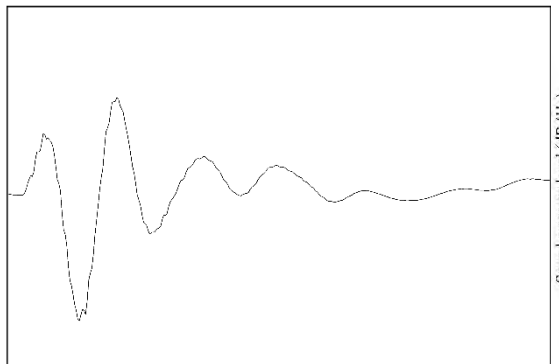
(a) MAS_ANON tenuis alveolar click waveform



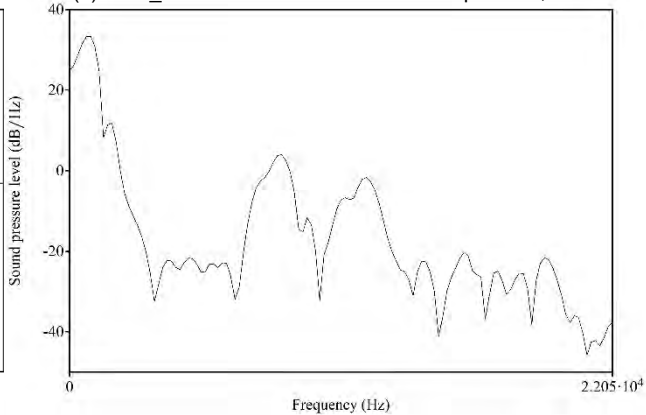
(b) MAS_ANON alveolar click spectrum; COG = 1428 Hz



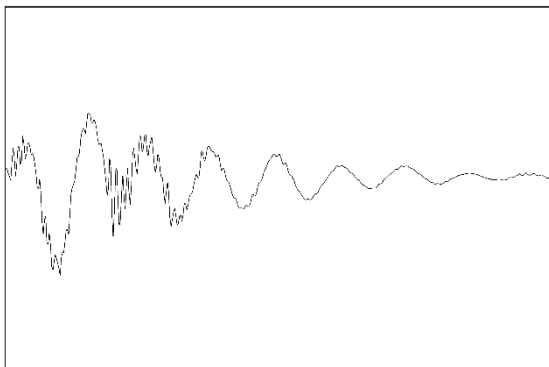
(c) MAS_ANON nasalised alveolar click waveform



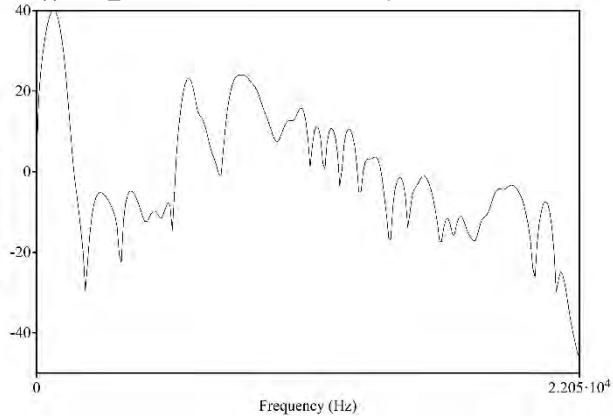
(d) MAS_ANON nasalised alveolar click spectrum; COG = 708 Hz



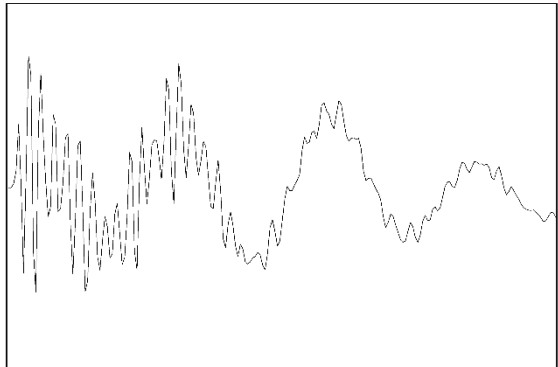
(e) BER_ANON tenuis alveolar click waveform



(f) BER_ANON tenuis alveolar click spectrum; COG = 1235 Hz



(g) BER_ANON aspirated alveolar click waveform



(h) BER_ANON tenuis alveolar click spectrum; COG = 1108 Hz

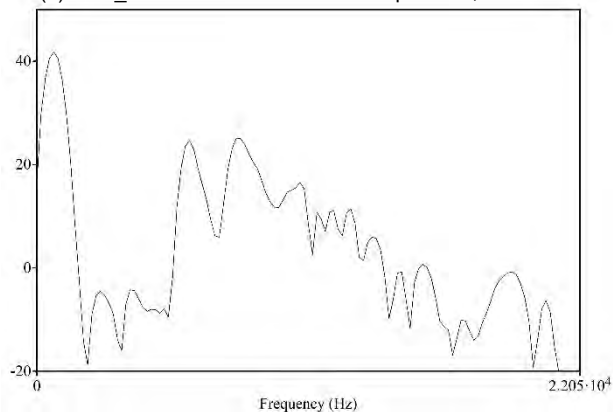
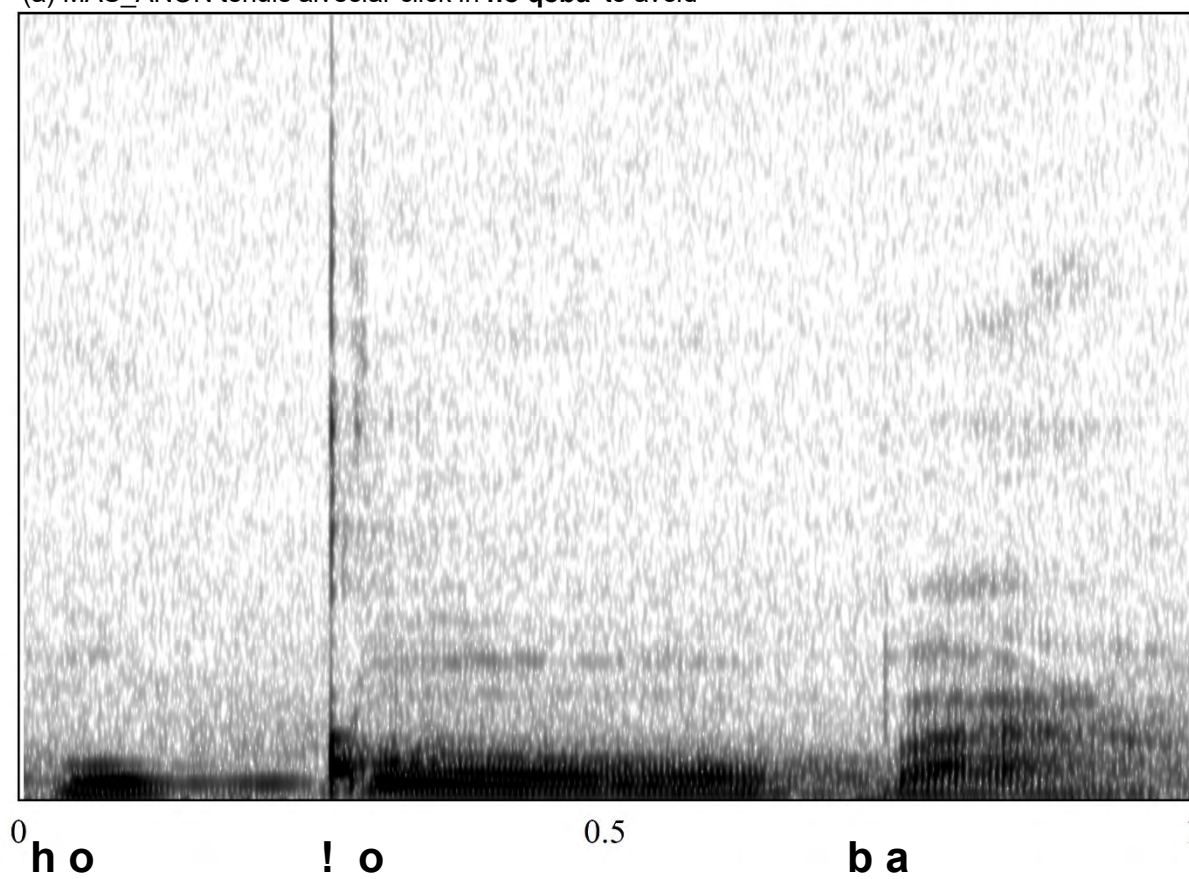


Fig. 11.3 L1 seSotho tenuis alveolar click spectrograms

(a) MAS_ANON tenuis alveolar click in **ho qoba** 'to avoid'



(b) BER ANON tenuis alveolar click in **ho qoba** 'to avoid'

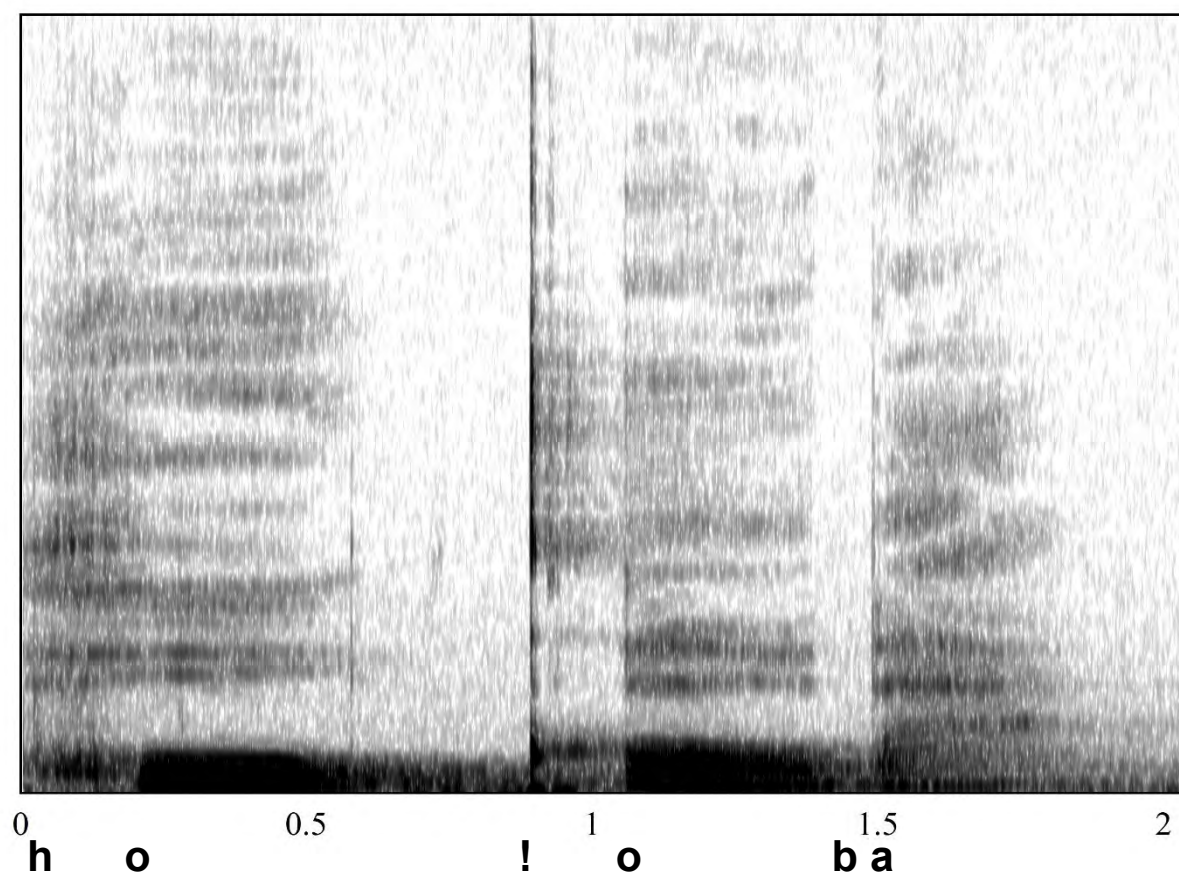
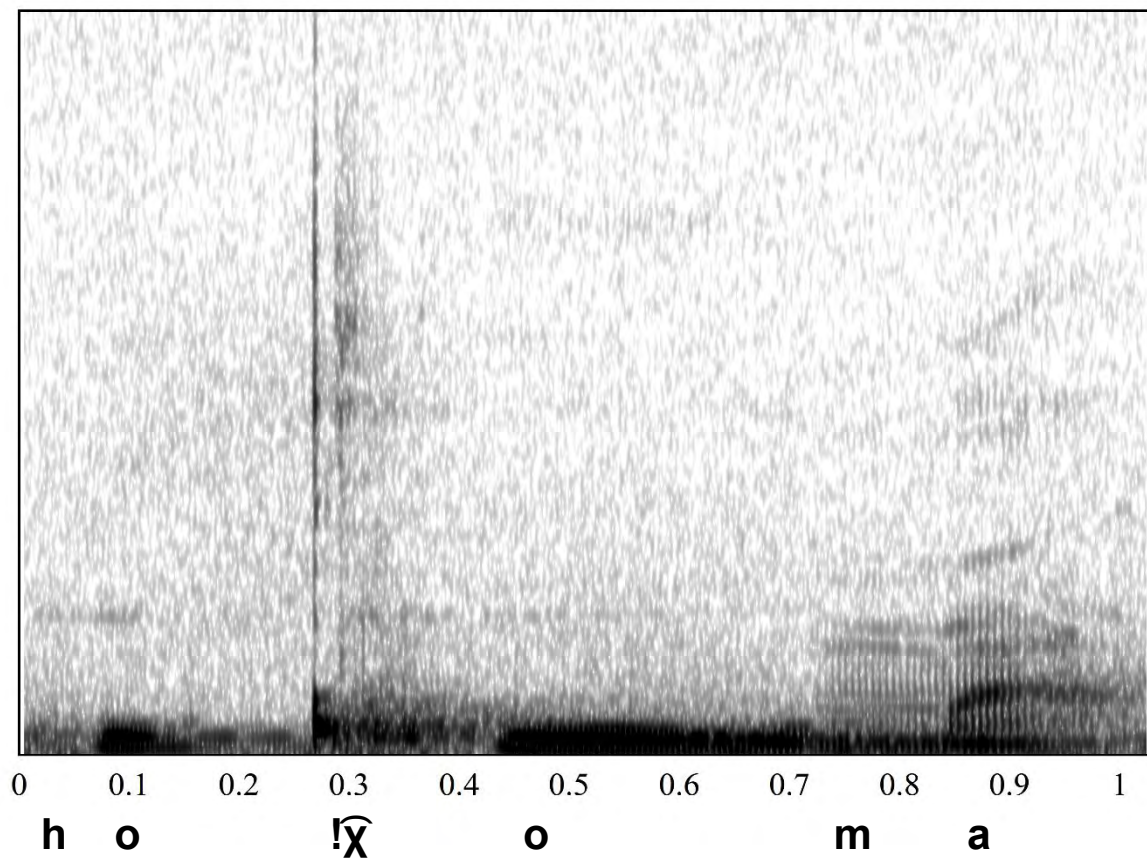


Fig. 11.4 L1 seSotho aspirated alveolar click spectrograms

(a) MAS_ANON aspirated alveolar click in **ho qhoma** 'to explode'; note visible dorsal



(b) BER_ANON aspirated alveolar click in **ho qhoma** 'to explode'.

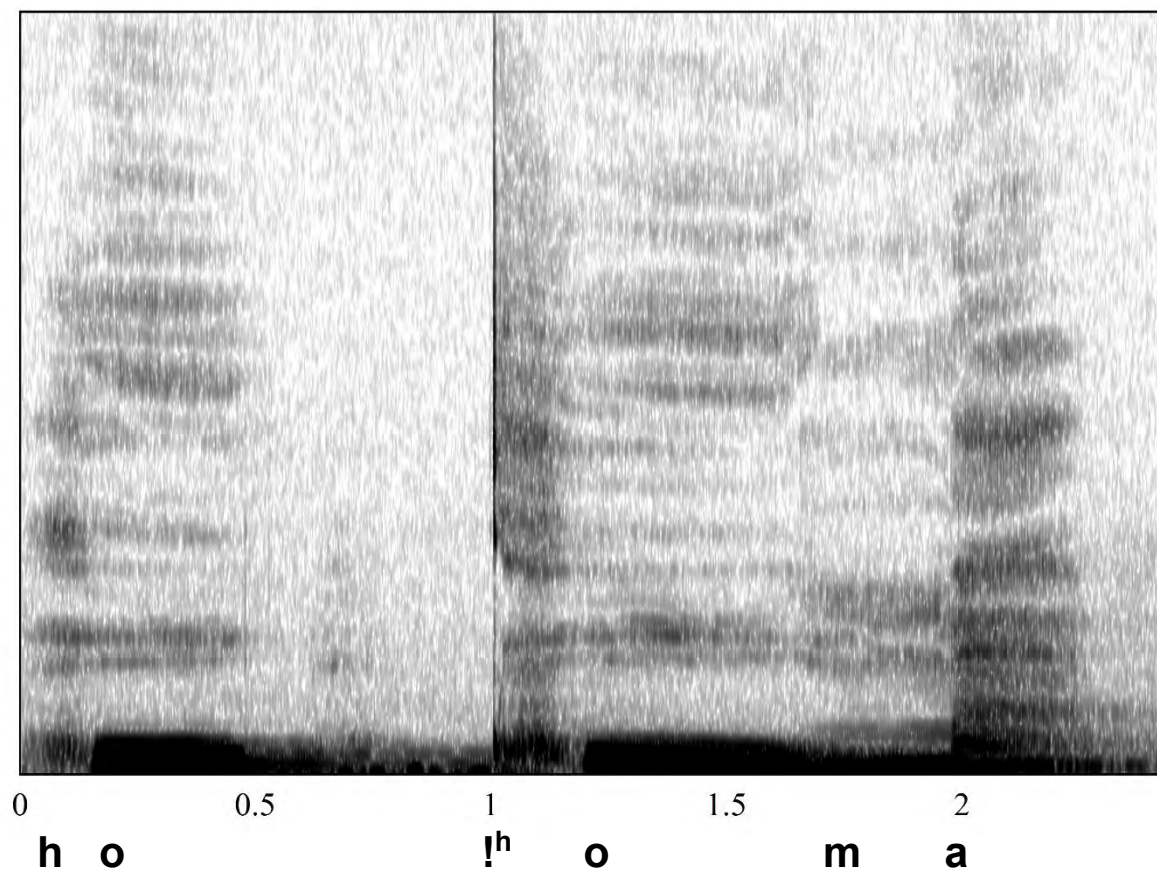
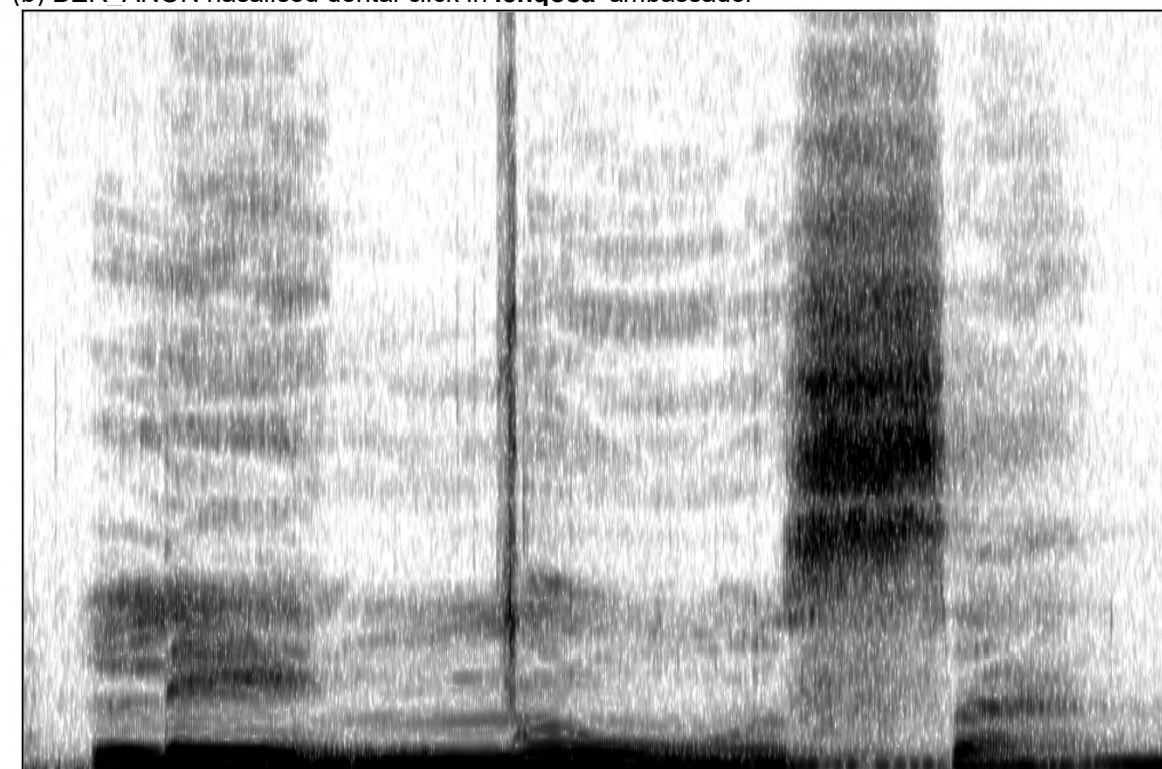


Figure 11.5 Spectrographs of seSotho Interspeaker Variation in Click Type

(a) MAS ANON nasalised alveolar click in **lenqosa** 'ambassador'



(b) BER ANON nasalised dental click in **lenqosa** 'ambassador'



The older consultant, BER_AM, was capable of producing beautifully acute alveolar clicks, but would occasionally use a noisier post-alveolar click, rather like the ‘noisy palatals’ of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans, in a second or third token of the same item, before reverting to the acute alveolar. For the pronunciation of four items, however, BER_AM considered a nasalised dental click mandatory. Here there was no doubt that such clicks might be a ‘retracted’ dental or ‘noisy’ post-palatal: they were visibly and consistently dental, and the consultant agreed that they should be described as ‘a softer, smaller’ click sound.

For the remaining two nasalised clicks, BER_AM required the orthography <nq'>, spelling them <senq'anq'ane> (‘frog sp.’) and <nq'enq'e> (‘dribble’, ‘saliva’); these she pronounced using alveolar or post-palatal clicks. The sixth battery item, <leqeba> = ‘wound’, and a volunteered item <leqheku> = ‘old man’, were both pronounced using an alveolar.

The patterning here is difficult to see without reference not only to the isiZulu etyma, but also to the older Khoekhoe items (as shown in Table 11.4 below). The battery was developed primarily to ensure that the test items would be both well-known and representative of all three attested seSotho accompaniments, but, in retrospect, greater care should have been taken to ensure that all items with etyma hosting all available isiZulu consonants were elicited. Only one item with a dental click in both the isiZulu and the Khoekhoe was tested; the two items spelled <nq'>, and pronounced using an oral alveolar, both derive from isiZulu words with a dental click onset, and, prior to that, from Khoekhoe-branch items carrying a palatal click. All were pronounced using an alveolar click. Nine items derived from an alveolar etymon in both the isiZulu and the Khoekhoe. All were pronounced using an alveolar click. Six items historically derive from isiZulu and Khoekhoe etyma with lateral click onsets. Of these, two do not display orthographic nasalisation, and were pronounced using tenuis alveolar clicks. The remaining four, all with orthographic nasalisation, were pronounced with nasalised dental clicks.

In other words, all four items that required a nasalised dental click in BER_AM's repertoire derive from isiZulu items with a nasalised lateral click. This seems a bizarre distinction. Of course no hard conclusion can be drawn from a sample of two, but it may possibly be the case that the noisy isiZulu lateral click was regularly adapted as

a correspondingly noisy seSotho dental click. If this were true, however, why the similarly noisy dental click present in **incwabi** (ex **|hǝǝb**) did *not* require the use of the dental cannot be determined. Why the two items that also derived from a lateral click but that were presented without orthographic nasalisation should be exempt from this pattern is equally mysterious. The impossibility of determining how faithfully these orthographies, developed in the early 20th century, represented the adaptive strategies historically preferred by speakers only contributes to the puzzle.

Table 11.3 Click Items Elicited in L1 seSotho			
gloss	seSotho	isiZulu	Khoekhoe
<i>historical dental, seSotho alveolar</i>			
'wildcat'	qwabi	incwabi	 hǝǝb; hǝab
<i>historical alveolar, seSotho alveolar</i>			
'to gaze at'	ho qamaka	uku gqaya	!àà
'to explode'	ho qhoma	uku qhuma	!huĩ
'frost', 'ice'	le qhwa	ili qhwa	!khǝǝb; !oab, !xoab
'a swelling'	le qhutsu	ili qhubu	!ubūs, !hubūb
<i>historical lateral, seSotho alveolar</i>			
'a wound'	le qeba	in xeba	llǎms
'old man'	le qheku	ix hegu	llkhee
<i>Khoekhoe palatal, isiZulu alveolar, seSotho alveolar</i>			
'to avoid'	ho qoba	uku quba	ǂgǝǝ
'lawyer'	le qwetha	lig qwetha	ǂnǝǝ
'hipbone'	qholo	in qulu	ǂhūus
<i>Khoekhoe palatal, isiZulu dental, seSotho alveolar</i>			
'frog'	sen q'anq'ane	ilic gcoma	ǂnǎm ǂǎib
'spittle'	nq'enq'e	ug ce	ǂǎǎb
<i>of uncertain Khoekhoe derivation, seSotho alveolar</i>			
'to begin'	ho qala	uku qala	<i>cf. Kalahari-branch</i> !alu
'trick', 'plan'	le qheka	ili qhinga	
'body odour'	se qhaka		
<i>historical lateral, seSotho dental</i>			
'side'	nqa	ilin xa	llhǎm
'temporary residence'	nqalo	inxadi	llgǎni
'lefthand side'	len qele	inx ele	llǎre
'ambassador'	len qosa	inx usa	llnuú

What is striking is that the younger speaker, who had grown up in the urban capital of Maseru, used a uniform click inventory containing only a single type. The older speaker, who had grown up in the rural Berea District in a community that she described as very traditional, not to mention committed to the preservation and transmission of archaic stylised oral narrative including folktales and proverbs,

occasionally varied between acute alveolars and noisy post-palatal clicks, and required the use of a dental click on certain items, indicating a more varied inventory.

It is clearly insufficient to rely on very old and very generalised Apartheid-era resources that transcribe all clicks indiscriminately using <q>, a practice little better than the lay Afrikaans <t'>. Rigorous scientific description of regional click usage in seSotho, with especial focus on distinctions between rural and urban dialects, is an urgent necessity, and test batteries must be drawn up with stringent reference to the isiZulu etyma to ensure that all possible processes of adaption are examined.

11.3.3. Click Replacement in seTswana

Finally, seTswana does carry evidence of historical click loan, but, while the lexis has been retained, the click consonants themselves have been uniformly replaced by pulmonic consonants in a process of click loss during contact (discussed in detail in Gunnink 2021). It may well be the case that this was not the ordinary and immediate condition of clicks in seTswana; rather, items were probably briefly borrowed with clicks, before changing contact conditions prompted rapid across-the-board loss. Although some declicked items overlap with click items in seSotho, here the donor languages would seem to have been KHOE, with potential influence both from the Kalahari-branch languages as spoken in central Botswana at the northerly extremes of the historical seTswana distribution, and from the Khoekhoe-branches, particularly Kora, historically spoken in northern South Africa.

Precisely when and how the Nguni languages exerted influence on seTswana is not understood, although lexical borrowing is present here as well. Cole observed in his mid-century grammar that ‘the clicks are rarely used in Tswana’, but notes the presence of the dental, lateral, and alveolar, with nasalisation occurring on the dental and the lateral (Cole, 1955: 37). Examples provided include **nncennce**, loaned from the Nguni **-ncinci** ‘small’, as a ‘rare variant’ on the form **-nnyennye**, and **nxanxabêtsa** = ‘to console, to sympathise, to use a click sound’. The alveolar is ‘noted in only one interjection in Tswana’ (Cole 1955: 38), and its usage is clearly paralinguistic. The Brown dictionary, released in several editions between 1875 and 1965, makes no mention of clicks at all, and the orthography adopted a decade after Cole ignores his recommendation to employ the Nguni orthography for click consonants; the term for ‘small’ is provided only as **nnye** (Brown 1965: 229).

An earlier edition of Cole's *Tswana Grammar*, first published in 1953, contained virtually no mention of click consonants at all; in the 1965 edition, Cole remarks in a footnote that, 'we have had numerous inquiries about the best method of representing these sounds in writing', indicating that at least some seTswana speakers were concerned not to find their own repertoire represented in the resources then available (Cole 1955: 37). Such revisions to the seTswana orthography hint at either the variable permeation of a loaned click lexis across dialects, or the variable retention of clicks while employing this loaned lexis, or both, during at least some stages of contact-induced change. It was likely extended and fairly intensive contact with multiple click languages, especially isiZulu, that allowed for the continued usage in seSotho of click consonants *as click consonants*. By contrast, relatively limited interaction between seTswana and potential KHOE-family donors saw widespread click loss during loan, such that click consonants appear only as paralinguistic segments.

11.4. Clicks in the 'isiTekela' languages

This section discusses click consonants in the 'isiTekela' languages, which belong to the broader S40 Nguni group within NTU. This group was historically considered on phonological ground to consist of two branches, isiZunda and isiTekela. The languages today classed as isiZunda are S41 isiXhosa, S42 isiZunda, and S44 Zimbabwean isiNdebele; the isiTekela are S404 siPhuthi, S408 Northern Transvaal Sindebele, and S43 siSwati. S407 Southern Transvaal isiNdebele, as has been shown by Skhosana 2009, is phonologically more isiZunda-like than isiTekela-like, but its genetic origins remain unclear. That the behaviour of click consonants in the isiTekela languages differs from that expected of the isiZunda languages has been loosely noted (Zungu 1999: 44), but its implications for our understanding of historical contact relations have never been fully pursued. Most notably, preservation of type is not a common feature: all of these languages display significant evidence of variation and reduction in the click inventory, resulting in the neutralisation of contrast embedded in type.

11.4.1. Internal Descent Relations in isiNguni

The descent relationships of the broader S40 isiNguni language cluster remain difficult to extrapolate. The term isiTekela, historically used as something of a wastebasket taxon by 20th-century linguists to accommodate the smaller Nguni languages outside of isiZulu and isiXhosa, in fact derives from lay isiZulu terminology used to distinguish between the dialect continua historically present in the greater KwaZulu-Natal region. The southerly isiLala continuum and the south-central isiQwabe⁸⁰ continuum may for the sake of convenience be discussed together as the isiMzantsi⁸¹ mode (Poulos & Msimang 1989: 18 – 20). A cluster of Nguni communities, usually termed the abaMbo, had settled in the subtropical coastal lowlands of the Delgoa Plain in present-day Mozambique and Eswatini at least as early as the 17th century and probably before. The isiMzantsi continua should be understood to represent speech communities that spread southward along the KwaZulu Natal coast from the abaMbo nucleus, stretching at least as far as Port St John's (for a detailed overview of amaLala history, see Msimang 1989: 50 – 56). These continua would have been genetically closer to the dialects that would in the late 18th century begin to be consolidated as siSwati, and so shares with siSwati number of phonological features.

Further inland to the north, however, a number of highland amaNguni clans (most notably the amaKhumalo, amaMbatha, and amaZulu) spoke a distinct dialect, referred to for the sake of discussion as isiNtungwa (Msimang 1989: 49; Poulos & Msimang 1999: 18). It was from these highlands that Shaka Zulu originated, and so it was the isiNtungwa dialect that rapidly and violently became established as the prestige language of the region during the amaZulu Expansions of the early-to-mid 19th century.⁸² Arndt distinguishes between the use of the term *ukukhuluma* (*lit.*, 'to speak

⁸⁰ Genealogical records indicate that Qwabe himself was of Ntungwa extraction, but departed the Natal Highlands for the South Coast, where he was installed as chief over a number of southern clans and, apparently, accommodated their accent (Poulos & Msimang 1999: 19).

⁸¹ *lit.*, 'southern speech'.

⁸² Historically referred to as the *mFecane* in isiZulu or the *diFaqane* in seSotho (usually pronounced [əmfəka:n] or [əmfəka:nɛ] as a loanword in SA English), the sociopolitical ramifications of these events are continuously undergoing renewed analysis (see especially Cobbing 1988, Eldridge 1992). In brief, a number of clans in the Natal Highlands rallied together around Dingiswayo kaJobe of the amaMthethwa during the early 19th century, initially in order to wrest control of lucrative Delgoa Bay trade routes from the influential amaNdwandwe and their vaTsonga allies. Following Dingiswayo's defeat at the hands of the umNdwandwe king Zwide in 1817, his young ward Shaka kaSezangakona of the amaZulu clan took it upon himself to avenge his mentor by killing Zwide at the Battle of Gqokli

clearly', 'to enunciate well') to describe the isiNtungwa dialect of the amaZulu royal house, and *ukutekeza* or *ukutekela* (*lit.*, 'to lisp') to describe the isiMzantsi dialects of client communities, although it must be recalled that 'the difference in status revolved around a number of factors, only one of which was language' (Arndt 2019: 212). The 'dialects of isiZulu' today treated under S40, including S403 isiHlubi, S405 isiNhlanguwini, and S406 isiLala (NUGL93), are ethnolinguistically of isiMzantsi derivation (Poulos & Msimang 1989: 20), and were artificially subsumed into the isiNtungwa standard (see Heugh 2015 for an overview of language standardisation practices in South Africa).

The term *ukutekela* subsequently became associated with a number of 'non-standard' phonological features present not only in isiMzantsi, but also in siPhuthi, the NT Sindebele, and siSwati. Coined against 'isiTekela' was the term 'isiZunda' to incorporate standardised isiXhosa and isiZulu, which do very clearly share a descent relationship. Historically, the isiNtungwa nucleus, or *proto-Zulu, of the Natal Highlands, must have shared its origins very closely with a cluster of Nguni dialects that was developing in the northern extremes of the Eastern Cape, close to the Drakensberg. The latter are today standardised as isiXhosa, but their pre-standardised condition may, for the sake of diachronic clarity, be termed the isiPhalo nucleus.

Which features exactly comprise 'Tekela' may vary significantly from region to region (Ownby 1985: 39), but a thorough treatment is offered in Chapter 2 of Msimang 1989, and the comparative wordlists at both Msimang 1989: 310 – 324 and Zungu 1999: 41 – 51 are very useful. Some simple isiZulu-siSwati correspondences drawn from these lists are exemplified in Table 11.4 below. Phonological correspondence sets such as these formed the grounds for attempts at detecting genetic linguistic divisions within the isiNguni group as early Grout 1849 and Bleek 1867, were codified by Bryant 1929, and were ultimately adopted by Doke in his presentation of 'Zulu, Xhosa and Tekeza' as the three primary divisions of isiNguni (Doke 1954: 23).

Hill and either routing or assimilating the amaNdwandwe. Following this first victory, Shaka's increasing power and influence saw the reactionary formation or consolidation of a number of smaller confederacies all vying for supremacy. A series of tumultuous power-struggles and expulsions continued after Shaka's death in 1828 and well into the 1840s, ultimately incorporating many hundreds of smaller clans into the Zulu Kingdom and fundamentally reorganising the political allegiances of both the amaNguni and the baSotho. This time period will be referred to as the 'amaZulu Expansions' in order to avoid the use of the now-contentious term *mFecane*, which has been associated with misleading Apartheid-era analyses.

Table 11.4
Some Phonological Correspondences between isiZulu and siSwati

<i>gloss</i>	isiZulu	siSwati
<i>/t^h/ → /t^{s^hh}/; /nt/ → /nts/ ____ V [-ROUNDED]</i>		
'spittle'	emathe	ematshe
'twig'	uthi	lutshi
'mountain'	intaba	intsaba
'neck'	intamo	intsamo
<i>/t^h, nt/ → /tf/ ____ V [+ROUNDED]</i>		
'sleep'	ubuthongo	butfongo
'to be quiet'	ukuthula	kutfula
'person'	umuntu	umuntfu
'shade'	umthunzi	umtfunti

<i>gloss</i>	isiZulu	siSwati
<i>/d/ → /dz/ ____ V [-ROUNDED]</i>		
'long'	-de	-dze
'sister'	udade	udzadze
'an egg'	iqanda	licandza
'student'	umfundi	umfundzi
<i>/d/ → /dv/ ____ V [+ROUNDED]</i>		
'knee'	idolo	lidvolo
'to roar'	ukuduma	kudvuma
'a horn'	luphondo	uphondvo
'love'	uthando	lutshandvo

<i>/z/ → /t/</i>		
'woman'	umfazi	umfati
'parent'	umzali	umtali
'water'	amanzi	emanti
'wide'	-nzima	-ntima

These distinctions, however, are both very regular and relatively subtle, and so would have been easily spread via contact-based influence across mutually-intelligible varieties. As such, 'the *tekeza* features are best thought of as products of linguistic drift and areal influence' (Ownby 1985: 154). Nonetheless, while the presence of absence of these phonological features cannot *today* be used infallibly to extrapolate descent relationships within Nguni, they do suggest that they were *historically* distributed along a continuum in *Old isiNguni, and that two distinct modes of speech had begun to emerge from this continuum around the 15th century. One ultimately gave rise to two closely-related languages in which click type was contrastive, and in which between fifteen and eighteen clicks were ultimately integrated into the host phonology. The other gave rise to a series of languages which would appear to have integrated click consonants at some point, but never with any significant degree of preservation of type contrasts during loan.

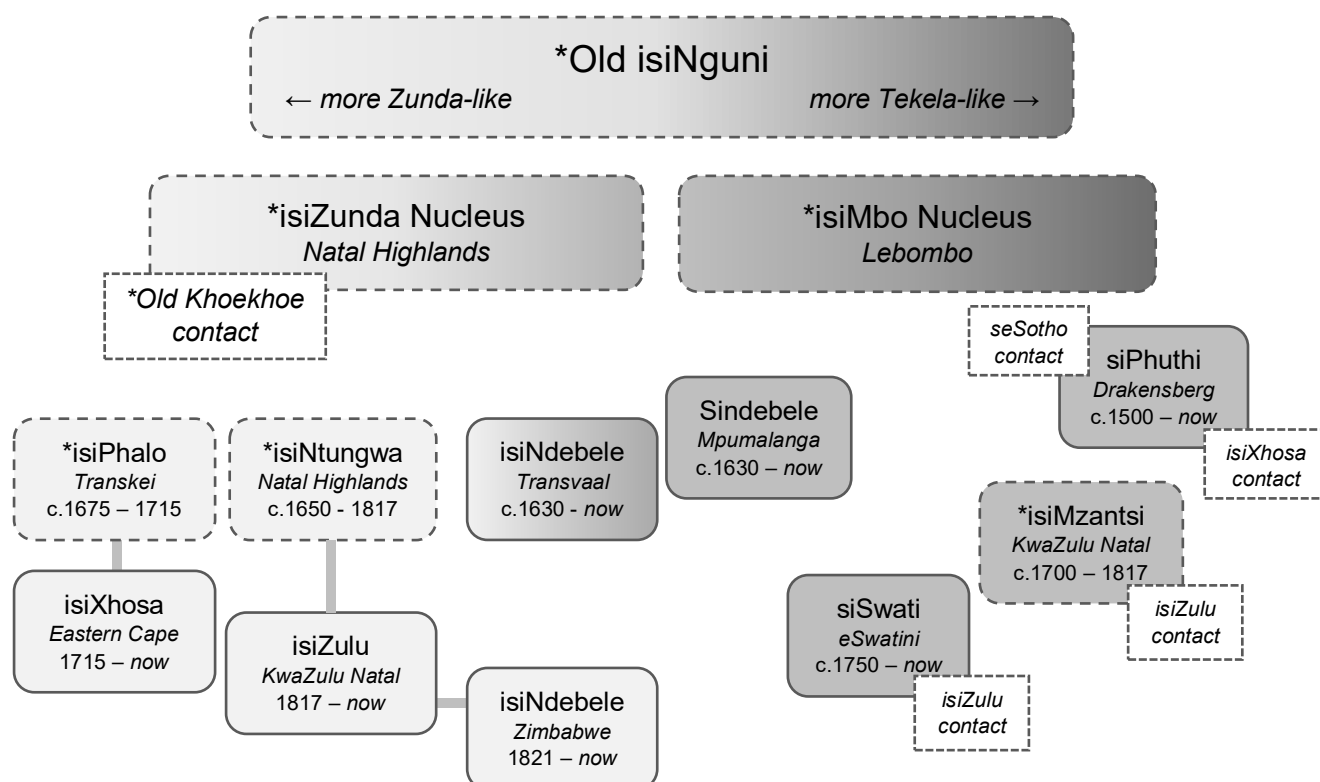


Diagram 11.2 – a speculative visualisation of proposed descent relationships in S40 Nguni

A central proposition of this section is that certain more westerly varieties of *Old isiNguni came into long-lasting and intensive contact with *Old Khoekhoe somewhere in the Natal Highlands region under unique contact conditions between c.1450 – 1650 CE. These conditions were never again replicated. *Old isiMbo, on the other hand, was geographically removed from this hub of contact, and so its descendants gained clicks much later, during the amaZulu Expansions of the mid-1800s. The particular history of development of each of these nuclei will be examined in further detail below, but a very rough visualisation is offered in Fig. 11.2 with reference to Ownby 1985, Msimang 1989, Zungu 1999, and Gunnink *et al.* 2022.⁸³

⁸³ Gunnink *et al.* 2022 is the most recent phylogenetic analysis of the common Nguni lexis. However, without access to a diachronic linguistic record, such analyses are inevitably at the mercy of recent contact-induced change. The proposed similarity index of isiBhaca to isiXhosa, for example, is contaminated by the shift away from an 'isiMzantsi'-style dialect to a more isiXhosa-like repertoire following the exodus of the amaBhaca into the Transkei during the amaZulu Expansions, and so is not an accurate reflection of linguistic history. Likewise, the similarity index of siSwati to isiZulu, suggesting that siSwati *diverged from* isiZulu, is indicative of modern influence of standardised isiZulu on modern siSwati (as discussed at Zungu 1999: 46), and does not capture the historical reality of the development of a *proto-siSwati nucleus at around the same time as the emergence of a distinct *isiNtungwa nucleus, and certainly long before the development of standardised isiZulu.

11.4.2 Click Consonants in siSwati

Although siSwati is a relatively well-documented language of at least 3 million speakers that enjoys official status within eSwatini as well as in South Africa, detailed phonetic studies concerning its click inventory are not available. Following a brief review of the available handbooks and grammars, Proctor *et al.* 2020: 220 conclude that a consensus on the nature of the siSwati click inventory has not yet been reached.

Forerunners of the present-day emaSwati, ‘clans of Nguni origin, mostly of the variety characterised by the *tekeza* way of speaking’ (Van Warmelo 1974: 65), had begun clustering south of the Mfzolozi Rivers in the well-watered foothills of the Lebombo Mountains c. 1650 CE, before migrating further south still during the mid-18th century. Bonner distinguishes between two ‘closely-related’ communities prominent in the region toward the end of the century, the emaNgwane and the emaNdwandwe (Bonner 1982: 9); the latter ‘abandoned it for northern Zululand at a much earlier stage’ (Bonner 1982: 11), while the former eventually consolidated their seat of power north of the Pongola River (Bonner 1982: 12). Sobhuza I began consolidating the nation proper from 1815, and the eponymous Mswati ruled from 1840 – 1865, with both apparently seeking to emulate the militaristic organisation of the amaZulu under Shaka (Kruiper 1964: 8). Detailed historical overviews of the consolidation of the emaSwati during the 19th century are available from Kuper 1964: 7 – 17; Bonner 1982: 9 – 64; Crush 1987: 13 – 32.

The ‘relative lateness of colonial subjugation’ of the emaSwati (Crush, 1987: 13) meant that systematic colonial documentation of the language was also delayed until the early 20th century.⁸⁴ When siSwati gained its clicks is therefore unclear; they are ‘either very old or are new importations from neighbouring Nguni dialects (Ziervogel 1952: 8). In other words, either they entered *Old isiNguni prior to the iziTekela breakaways before the 15th century, and so are a shared ancestral trait, or else they entered siSwati only during consistent amaZulu contact in the mid-19th century, and so represent a recent borrowing. Certainly isiZulu influence is noted at Ziervogel 1952: xx – xxi, and again at Kunene 1985, suggesting that, just as KwaZulu Natal was not historically a

⁸⁴ Ziervogel 1952 describes a very early translation of the catechism produced in 1846, but unfortunately does not discuss whether or not it offers evidence of click consonants.

linguistically uniform area, so recursive patterns of movement into and away from eSwatini have naturally complicated efforts to establish hard dialectal boundaries.

Nonetheless, siSwati historically had a relatively large click lexis. 311 items containing a click consonant are recorded in Rycroft 1981, of which 268 can be readily compared with an isiZulu counterpart. Which click consonants precisely are used is unclear; they are commonly represented only as <c> for orthographic convenience, but there are reports of variation, not only reduction:

'...the clicks in Swazi are found to be exceedingly mixed up. Of the three kinds of clicks so abundantly found in Zulu-Xhosa and there written as *c*, *q* and *x*, we have only found *c* and *q* with their [accompaniments] in Swazi. Not even very old people employ the *x*. ... Not only are *c* and *q*, and *ch* and *qh*, *nc* and *nq*, etc., interchangeable, but in some parts of the country even the [accompaniments] are mutually interchangeable Zulu *amaxolo* (bark) may be found as *emacolo*, *emaqolo*, *emagcolo*, *emagqolo* in Swazi.'

Ziervogel 1952: 8

A later edition reported that click sounds in siSwati may be either dental or 'palatal', i.e., alveolar or post-alveolar in modern terminology (Ziervogel & Mabuza, 1976: i), but the dental would seem to be the more frequent, as [!] is only 'sometimes heard in the speech of certain Swati people' (Msimang, 1989: 100). Kunene 1985 agrees that 'the click sound <c> is used extensively' and 'seems to be used interchangeably with the click sound <q>', but does provide one example in which <c> and <q> seem to have a phonemic distribution in siSwati (Kunene 1985: 75).⁸⁵ Contrary to Ziervogel's insistence above that the lateral click is not used at all, Zungu says that speakers of siSwati may 'unconsciously pronounce the Swati word '*chosha*' as '*xhosha*' or '*qhosha*' without wanting to change its meaning' (Zungu, 1999: 63). The dental, the alveolar, and the lateral are all included in the consonantal inventory at Wa Ilunga 1995:16, but only the example [lla] '*non*' is provided at Wa Ilunga 1995:19, which is, of course, the

⁸⁵ The isiZulu *iqoqo*, of unclear derivation, is apparently realised by the siSwati *iqoqo*, which must be pronounced using [!] in order to convey the correct sense 'collection' or 'anthology'; by contrast, the isiZulu *ixoxo* = 'frog' (ex a reflex of Nama *llgoáb*) must be realised *icoco*, using the dental click, in siSwati (Kunene 1985: 75). This single example is insufficient to explicate the seSotho tendency observed in Section 11.3.2. above to replace isiZulu lateral clicks with nasalised dental clicks, but the correspondence is certainly striking, and hints that the dental click may have been used as a regular substitution for the similarly noisy lateral click in at least some contexts.

Note here that isiZulu *ixoxo* = 'frog', 'toad' ex a reflex of Nama *llgoáb* = 'toad' (part of a widespread series of KBA reflexes, all employing the lateral click, which include !Xun *nilòn'an* = 'frog sp. (small)', Ju|'hoan *nilloq'an* = 'frog (various species)'; !Xóõ '*llnahm* (!XO) = 'bullfrog', N|uu *lloaqâ*) is historically separate from isiZulu *ilicogcoma* = 'frog' ex a reflex of Nama *ñàm ñàib*, /it., 'blanket foot', specifically for the clawed African frog *Xenopus laevis*, although conflation has almost certainly occurred.

same paralinguistic interjection discussed in Section 11.1.3 above, and which is widespread across South African languages.⁸⁶ Both the lateral and the alveolar are subsequently treated under ‘marginal’ consonants, as they are “*attestées dans un nombre limité des mots*” (Wa llunga 1995: 22). More recent phonetic assessment of click consonants in siSwati is lacking outside of Proctor *et al.* 2020: 221 – 225, which reports only dental clicks, although only one speaker was interviewed.

The immediate conclusion from these (admittedly scant) data is that click type contrasts have been neutralised or nearly neutralised in siSwati,⁸⁷ and hence that click consonants should represent a recent borrowing, probably beginning in the aftermath of the amaZulu Expansions of the early-to-mid 19th century, and continuing via migrant labour (see Crush 1987: 39 – 41 for descriptions of migrant amaZulu labourers eSwatini in the 1880s and 1890s). Here the socioeconomic dominance of isiZulu, and its increasing value throughout the 20th century as a *lingua franca*, must have served to condition the widespread adoption of click consonants, but apparently could not ensure the transmission of contrast embedded in click type. Continuous casual cycles of contact *without* majority bilingualism, effectively resulting in a trend of subtle areal diffusion, were probably the primary mode of entry of clicks into siSwati.

11.4.3. Click Consonants in ST isiNdebele and NT Sumayela Sindebele

Whether or not Southern Transvaal (ST) isiNdebele and Northern Transval (NT) Sindebele are related, and, if so, how, remains contentious (Skhosana 2009: 4 – 6; Schultz *et al.* 2019: 213 – 214). The earliest definite location for both groups is in KwaZulu Natal in the 16th century, and, using oral genealogical cycles as a reference, their date of departure for the Transvaal has been set between 1630 – 1670 (Van Warmelo 1930, accepted at Shabangu & Swanepoel 1989: ixx and Skhosana 2009:

⁸⁶ Mention is made also of a ‘*click dorso-alvéolaire murmuré sonore*’ [ʈ] and a ‘*click dorso-alvéolaire pré-nasalisé murmuré sonore*’ [ʈ̃] (Wa llunga 1995: 16). The choice to use [ʈ] is not justified, but it is clearly not meant to indicate a palatal, as these clicks are distinguished on the grounds that, ‘*au cours de son émission, la partie arrière de la langue touche le palais mou comme pour la réalisation de la vélaire [k]*’, while ‘*[l]a pointe de la langue touche les racines des dents et la partie centrale de la langue est aplatie*’ (Wa llunga 1995: 17). (“During the course of its enunciation, the hindpart of the tongue touches the soft palate as though realising the velar [k]. The apex of the tongue touches the roots of the teeth, and the central part of the tongue is flat.”)

⁸⁷ Anecdotal observations from L1 siSwati undergraduate students suggest that some varieties may not use clicks, with one speaker insisting that her siSwati had ‘no clicks at all’, but time constraints prohibited formal pursuit of these reports.

21). Click consonants have been reported for both languages, but their historical development and present-day status remain understudied.

ST isiNdebele, today a relatively large urban language spoken in Pretoria as well as in the broader Gauteng region, was traditionally considered to have retained the majority of the click consonants expected from the shared isiNguni click lexis (Ziervogel 1959), and to have preserved the tripartite click system, although the lateral was apparently prone to replacement (Skhosana 2009: 54 – 55). Skhosana 2009: 81 has shown that ST isiNdebele uses several phonological forms expected of isiZunda, but, since it has been in more intensive recent contact with isiZulu in Pretoria, it cannot be conclusively shown that this is the result of genetic affiliation with the isiZunda branch rather than of contact.

Table 11.5 Historical Click Consonants in NT Sindebele <i>collated from Ziervogel 1959, Skhosana 2009, Schulz et al. 2019</i>				
<i>gloss</i>	NT Sindebele	ST isiNdebele	isiZunda	Khoekhoe
<i>Lycium</i> sp.	<nqaxi> ⁸⁸		ingcaki (XH)	
[<i>Searsia</i>] <i>lancea</i>	<muqhanu>		umchane (XH)	lgana- (KO)
'to finish'	[ʔlɛtsa]		ukuqeda ⁸⁹ (ZU)	
<i>Scolopia</i> [zeyheri]	<muqgogolo>		umqokolo (XH)	
'crowbar'	[mulwa:la]	umgqala	umgxala (ZU)	llgàweb (NA)
'to apologise'	[ʔla:be]	ncancabe	ukuthi ngxephe (ZU)	

NT Sindebele, a rather smaller rural language spoken in Limpopo and badly neglected for much of the 20th century (Wilkes 2001) prefers isiTekela forms (Skhosana 2009: 82); its primary contact language within Limpopo is the entirely clickless sePedi. It historically contained at least some clicks, but had lost them almost entirely by the mid-20th century, replacing them instead with either ejective or pulmonic consonants (Ziervogel 1959: 33, Skhosana 2009: 71; Schulz *et al.* 2019). Certain clear examples, presented in Table 11.5 above, show that NT Sindebele must have borrowed click items either from isiZulu or from ST isiNdebele, but that, precisely as in seTswana, clicks were adapted uniformly as pulmonic consonants. Only three NT Sindebele click items are provided in Ziervogel 1959, all plant names, and a further three examples of

⁸⁸<x> in NT Sindebele indicates the voiceless velar fricative, not the lateral click; it is analogous in certain isiTekela environments, particularly preceding a high vowel, with the isiZunda [k].

⁸⁹Schul *et al.* 2019: 231 erroneously connect [ʔlɛtsa] with isiZulu ukupheza = 'to finish', and so consider this an instance of click innovation. [ʔlɛtsa] is, of course, the expected isiTekela form of ukuqeda = 'to complete', 'to bring to an end'.

click items are described at Schultz 2019: 231; these examples are tabulated and compared in Table 11.6 below. The clear paucity of click consonants in NT Sindebele, coupled with the tendency towards click replacement, should indicate that they are the result of recent loan, most probably from isiZulu via sporadic contact associated with migrant minework, and should not be considered an ancestral trait of the language.

Table 11.6 Click Replacement in NT Sindebele <i>adapted from Skhosana 2009, Schulz et al. 2019</i>				
gloss	NT Sindebele	ST isiNdebele	isiZunda	KHOE
small	/ɲani/	ncani	ncane	
ostrich	/ɲiliba/	inciliba	inciniba	lemib
brain	/ʃok'op ^h o/	ubuchopho	bucopho	#khũub
to jump	/ekx'a/	-eqa	-eqa	#hǎm
'to begin'	/kx'ala/	qala	ukuqala	qalu (NH)
'egg'	/likx'anda/	iqanda	iqanda	
'to finish'	/kx'eja/	qeda	ukuqeda	
'to make firm'	/k'enesa/	ukuqinisa	ukuqina	
lefthand side	/seɲele/	bunxele	inxele	llǎré
aside, to one side	/gayane/	ngacanye	ngenxanye	llhǎm

Recent data indicate that some varieties of ST isiNdebele have undergone partial click loss as well. Schultz *et al.* 2019 identify 40 items carrying a lateral click in the *English-isiNdebele* 1989 dictionary, but only two from the more modern *Iziko lesiHlathululi-mwezi sesiNdebele* 2006. Several examples of lateral clicks from the older resource had been replaced with dental or alveolar clicks in the newer (Schulz *et al.* 2019: 217 – 218). In addition to confirming the almost total obsolescence of the lateral click, Schultz *et al.* (2019: 236 – 237) found two pools of speakers, ‘those who distinguish clicks phonemically by place of articulation, and those who do not’. Valuably, they also reported difficulties in distinguishing between the dental and the post-alveolar click, finding instead that some clicks were ‘located between the two expected places of articulation’ (Schulz *et al.* 2019: 241), which not only parallels the difficulties in determining the palatal click from the dental in Namaqualand Afrikaans, but strongly suggests a merger of the ST isiNdebele tripartite click inventory via the neutralisation of type contrasts. As in the Namaqualand Afrikaans click loan event, and in the SeB click loan event, half of the speakers showed ‘a strong preference for the dental clicks’ (Schultz *et al.* 2019: 242).

In addition to being fairly large and vital, with an estimated million speakers, ST isiNdebele is spoken in a major urban hub and has been in close regular contact with isiZulu, the dominant indigenous *lingua franca* of Gauteng, for at least the past century. However, prior to the influx of massive numbers of amaZulu mineworkers into Gauteng and surrounds during the 1880s and 1890s, no other click languages would have been present in the region, which had historically been largely seSotho. It may be the case that, having gained some click consonants during the intensive contact event that affected the isiPhalo and isiNtungwa nuclei, speakers of ST isiNdebele carried these clicks north, but that certain varieties reduced the inventory following contact with the clickless languages of the Transvaal. Here it is worth noting the correspondence of certain ST isiNdebele forms with isiXhosa, rather than isiZulu. All three plant names in Table 11.7 are quite clearly isiXhosa, with no immediate counterpart in isiZulu, and the isiXhosa *inciniba* = ‘ostrich’ is also present, rather than the isiZulu isogloss *intshe*. Whether this indicates that *proto-ST isiNdebele, as it existed in the Natal Highlands during the 16th century, was more closely allied to the *proto-isiPhalo nucleus than to the *proto-isiNtungwa nucleus, or whether it is the result of more recent contact events that have not been properly documented, is unclear.

11.4.4. Click Consonants in isiPhuthi

siPhuthi, which exhibits classical isiTekela features, seems to have been independently established very early on (Donnelly 2007: 8). The community has been considered ‘another Dlamini offshoot’ (Msimang 1989: 60), indicating that they should be associated with the *isiMbo nucleus forming at or around Lebombo c.1550 – 1650. Following departure from this region, however, contact with seSotho was intensive: the names of the king lists, which date back eight generations before 1795 (that is, to around 1550 CE), are all seSotho (Donnelly 2007: 11, citing Ellenberger 1912: 344 – 346). Unsurprisingly given their shared distribution in the southern Drakensberg, !Ui-siPhuthi bilinguals are on the historical record (Du Plessis 2016: 2), although no trace of a !Ui lexis has been left on present-day siPhuthi.

Within Lesotho, siPhuthi speech communities are associated with the southerly regions of the Drakensberg, especially Quthing and Qachas Nek (Msimang 1989: 64; Donnelly 2007: 4 – 6). siPhuthi-isiXhosa contact must have been the historical norm considering that the passage of the amaPhalo southeast seems at some point to have

crossed the lower slopes of the Drakensberg during the mid-to-late 17th century (Peires 1985: 17 – 18). By the early 19th century, with isiXhosa long-established in the Transkei, Moorosi and his followers are documented to have passed through Dordrecht, Lady Grey, and Kraairivier before settling at Quthing. His direct descendants, the children of his great-grandson Digezweni, were reported to reside at Mt Frere in the Eastern Cape as late as 1940 (Mzamane 1949: 213 – 214). Given the clear presence of speech communities on the South African side at Matatiele, Mt Fletcher, and further south into the Transkei (Donnelly 2007: 5), contact with isiXhosa must be ongoing (Msimang 1989: 86).

That siPhuthi broke away first, and yet by all accounts (Mzamane 1949, Msimang 1989: 121 – 122; Donnelly 2007: 63) employs the tripartite system of click contrasts, coupled with four accompaniments, where the later departures clearly do not, confounds efforts to establish click consonants as an ancestral trait common to the Nguni group as a whole. Considering the extreme reduction of the click inventory in parallel isiTekela languages such as siSwati, we should predict any putative ancestral clicks present in siPhuthi should either have been either greatly reduced or lost altogether. Working from the Donnelly 2007 lexis, and adding certain missing click items from Mzamane 1948: 11 – 17, I draw some new observations on the status of clicks in siPhuthi.

Of the 101 click items available, four are of uncertain derivation, and three have a counterpart in Khoekhoe but not in isiZunda. Another 79, all tabulated in Appendix B.3.1, may be cleanly type-matched against isiXhosa, with even the lateral click consistently maintained. The precision of general morphological correspondence across the majority of click items suggests they are the result of recent but intensive contact, rather than shared descent across a centuries-old split. Of the 11 click items loaned directly from seSotho (Table 11.7), rather than from isiXhosa, three share an alveolar click in both the isiZunda and the Khoekhoe, and so undergo no change; but eight replace the dental or lateral click expected from isiZunda with the alveolar of seSotho, with three exhibiting doublet forms that carry *both* the isiZunda lateral, and the seSotho alveolar. At least 9 items exhibit click loss when set against isiXhosa; all but two have identical seSotho correspondences with click loss. It is not clear whether or not these variations may occur intraspeaker (Donnelly *pers. comm.*, 2022).

Table 11.7
seSotho influence on siPhuthi click consonants
adapted from Mzamane 1948, Donnelly 2007

(a) Reduction of Click Type to the Alveolar via seSotho					
#	gloss	siPhuthi	seSotho	isiZunda	Khoekhoe or !Ui
<i>alveolar for dental</i>					
1	'string', 'shoelace'	iqhwele	senqalokoa	umchilo	!hàwib
<i>alveolar for lateral (only)</i>					
2	'a lonely place'	inqalo	inqalo	inxala	
3	'uncircumcised boy'	inqayi	moqai	inxayi (XH)	
4	'wound'	inqeba	leqeba	inxeba	!làms (NA)
5	'shin', 'calf', 'ankle'	uqhogo		uxhongo	
<i>alveolar for lateral (two forms)</i>					
6	'to jump' 'to jump over'	kugxuma kuqhoma	ho qaqoma	ukuxoxoma	!lgoáb (NA)
7	'to expel', 'to banish'	kuqotsha kuxotsha	ho qocha	ukuxosha	
8	'old woman'	ixhegû , iqhekû	liqhego	ixhegu	!lkxee = 'old' (!Xegwi L&H 1956:116)
<i>alveolar for alveolar</i>					
9	'ankle'	liqaqayilana linqanqayilana	leqaqalane	iqalatha	!gòròb (NA)
10	'sound of smth falling'	liqithi-qithi	qete	ukuthi qumpu (XH)	!khubu (NA)
11	'thatching grass'	iqokwa	qokoa	isiqunga	!gukua (KO)

(b) Click Loss via seSotho					
<i>dental replaced</i>					
1	'White person'	likghuwa	likghuwa		!Húúb
<i>lateral replaced</i>					
2	'spoon'	ikghaba	ikghaba	ingxwembe , igxebeka	!lgòáb
3	'shoulder'	ikgharafû		igxalaba	!lgàrab
4	'snail'	ikghofû	likgofu		!lkhââxâes
<i>alveolar replaced</i>					
5	'rat'	ikgodo	lenkalu	inqalu	!arub
6	'valley'	ikgolo	mokgolo	uqqolo	!hòròb
7	'to dig up'	kukgubulla		ukugqoba	!khòbà
8	'servant (small child)'	ikghabûnyani	lekgoba		!gààb
9	'pasture'	likghûlo	lekgulo		!ûû

A more complex set of type discrepancies is exemplified in Table 11.9 below. Here a dental click in the siPhuthi corresponds with an alveolar click in isiXhosa, despite the fact that the equivalent loan from isiZulu into seSotho uses the expected alveolar. This can be explained only by comparison with the KHOE-family etyma, all of which use a palatal click. The KHOE palatal click may be adapted in isiZunda either as a dental click or as an alveolar click, and several items exist in doublet (see Section 12.2.2 below). For siPhuthi to have loaned the dental click, the donor dialect of isiXhosa must

in these instances have preferred to loan the Khoekhoe-branch palatal click as a dental click, rather than as the alveolar click attested in the standardised material, and hints also at underdocumented variation in click type within isiXhosa. The regularity of these examples was such that the first four found set up the prediction that the KHOE etymon of **kuchota** and **ukuqanda**, unattested in the surviving Khoekhoe-branch languages and so previously unsolved, must have carried a palatal click; this allowed for its retrieval from Naro **ǀare**, Khwedam **ǀqare** (see Section 12.3.2. below on sourcing isiZunda etyma from Kalahari-branch languages).

Table 11.8 Palatal Splits Across siPhuthi and isiXhosa <i>adapted from Mzamane 1948, Donnelly 2007</i>					
#	gloss	siPhuthi	seSotho	isiXhosa	KHOE
1	'to peel'	kuchatulla	ho qathotha	ukuqgalula, ukuqqazula	ǀàǀ (NA)
2	'hip'	ichöLö	qholo	inqulu	ǀhũũs (NA)
3	'to hatch'	kuchota	ho qhotsa	ukuqandusela (<i>trans.</i>), ukuqanduselwa (<i>intrans.</i>)	ǀare (NH) ǀqare (KW)
4	'to limp'	ukuchuta	ho re qhile-qhile	ukuqhuga	ǀgĩ (NA)

In the case of ST isiNdebele, the presence of the ternary click inventory at least in some speakers, coupled with the predominance of isiZunda features and a historical origin somewhere in the Natal Highlands, is reasonably suggestive, if not conclusively demonstrative, of a click inventory shared with isiXhosa and isiZulu; that is, gained at around the same time, in around the same place, and carried north perhaps too early during the process of loan for click consonants to have been quite so productively integrated. siPhuthi, however, clearly exhibits isiTekela features, implying that it diverged very early from the *isiMbo nucleus at Lebombo that would go on to become siSwati and 'isiMzantsi'. It cannot have been isiZunda originally, then slowly shifted to a more isiTekela-like form under areal influence, since, as Donnelly points out, its nearest isiTekela neighbour, with which it parted company many centuries ago, is spoken 450km east eSwatini, across an unbroken interlude of seSotho, isiXhosa, and isiZulu (Donnelly 2007: 9).

It is therefore most logical to suggest that click consonants are, as in seSotho and almost certainly in siSwati, a very recent entry into siPhuthi, with both seSotho and isiXhosa serving as donor languages. The acquisition of click consonants from isiZulu by seSotho during the early-to-mid-19th century would rapidly have filtered into siPhuthi. Here only the alveolar click was loaned, accounting for the existence of

doublet forms as tabulated in 11.8 above. At nearly the same time, however, and probably consistently into the late 20th century at least, close contact with isiXhosa saw the entry of items using the ternary click inventory, without the intervening reduction of type mediated by loan into seSotho.

Here it is perhaps worth noting that, of the siPhuthi speakers consulted by Mzamane 1948 and Donnelly 2007, all were bilingual, either with seSotho or with isiXhosa; monolingual speakers may perhaps remain, but likely only in isolated valleys deep in Lesotho (Donnelly *pers. comm.*, 2022). As will be detailed in Chapter 12, only fluent bilingualism can result in the consistent maintenance of type. It is most likely the case that the type-contrasting click lexis is used only by fluent siPhuthi-isiXhosa bilinguals, while the type-reducing click lexis is used only by fluent siPhuthi-seSotho bilinguals. If monolingual speakers could be found, it should be expected that they would use very few click items, if any, and likely only those of seSotho origin. Documentation of entirely monolingual siPhuthi, free from recent isiXhosa influence, could potentially be used to determine whether *Old isiTekela contained clicks (implying an ancestral *Old isiNguni click inventory) or not (implying that all siSwati clicks were recently loaned from 19th-century contact with isiZulu).

Unfortunately, however, the severe underdocumentation of siPhuthi, still the least understood of all the iziNguni languages, is an obstacle to further analysis. An international project led by Sheena Shah has ostensibly recorded some new material, but access to the draft lexicon could not be obtained at the time of writing. The Donnelly 2007 lexis of 1 500 items, of which only 101 actually evidence clicks, and for which only limited sociolinguistic metadata are available, is an unsatisfactory dataset on which to base any conclusions.

11.4.5. Summary of Click Consonants in isiTekela

The loaned click inventories present in the isiTekela languages display an overall pattern of variation and reduction identical to that exhibited in other cases of click loan known to have been recent and casual.

NT Sindebele exhibits only minimal evidence of click loan, with most items having undergone click replacement in a scenario nearly identical to click replacement in seTswana, and only three more recent items having been loaned from modern

Gauteng isiZulu. The siSwati click inventory, consisting of only a single type that may variably be realised as dental or alveolar without introducing phonemic contrast, but employing a series of contrastive accompaniments, is identical in structure to the loaned click inventories in the seB cluster, as well as in seSotho, suggesting that clicks were likely loaned under similar sociolinguistic conditions. The condition of clicks in siPhuthi is difficult to gauge without better documentation, but the apparently fairly stable inventory suggests intensive contact and probably fairly widespread bilingualism with isiXhosa over the past two centuries, for which historical evidence is available. The exception is ST isiNdebele, which is probably of isiZunda origin, and so probably carried a nascent ternary click inventory with it away from the *isiZunda nucleus. Even here, the lateral click is obsolescent, and extreme variation and reduction has been reported (see further section 12.2.3 below).

11.5. Conclusions to Chapter 11

Overall, the reduction of the ternary system of contrast historically present in the donor language either to a single type, or to a tripartite system from which the lateral is being lost, is directly comparable with the behaviour of the loaned click inventories not only in seSotho, Xitsonga, and Namaqualand Afrikaans, but also in the swB languages. We should therefore assume that isiTekela click consonants were *not* gained during the same contact event that saw the development of the large and type-contrasting inventories in the isiZunda branch, but rather that they were diffused from the isiZunda languages into the isiTekela languages via relatively recent contact. The rapid and violent rise to socioeconomic prominence of the isiNtungwa dialect between 1817 – 1840, following which period it was standardised as S42 isiZulu, is the most likely origin of click consonants in siSwati, just as it is for seSotho.

Chapter 12

Preservation of Type Contrast in Click Loan: The Click Diffusion Problem

This chapter discusses the historical origin of click consonants in the three Nguni languages typically grouped into the isiZunda cluster, namely S41 isiXhosa, S42 isiZulu, and S44 Zimbabwean isiNdebele. The lattermost represents a recent 19th-century breakaway, formed by the separation of isiNtungwa-speaking clans allied under Mzilikazi Khumalo from the growing amaZulu confederacy in 1821. As it would appear to have undergone limited change with regard to its click inventory, and is for all comparative linguistic intents and purposes a regional dialect of isiZulu, the focus will be primarily on S41 isiXhosa and S42 isiZulu. Similarly, although the genetic position of ST isiNdebele is debated, this thesis follows Skhosana 2009 in accepting it is as more Zunda-like than Tekela-like, and so assumes that it departed from the *Old isiZunda nucleus in the Natal Highlands c. 1630 – 1670. The comparative state of click consonants in these two breakaways, one early, one late, will be used to assist in the development of a timeline of Khoekhoe-isiZunda contact.

The donor language or languages are assumed throughout to be extinct easterly languages or dialects in the Khoekhoe-branch, probably most closely related to *Cape Khoekhoe, and will be referred to as *Old Khoekhoe for the sake of convenience. The unparalleled scale of lexical influence of click words, coupled with unusual phonological distribution of clicks, indicate that the socioeconomic conditions that must have prevailed during the Khoekhoe-Zunda contact event were markedly different from those in play during all other known contact events between click and clickless languages. Using comparative sociohistorical linguistic methods, with consistent reference to the phonological behaviours of click consonants during loan observed during Part 2, this chapter seeks to extrapolate finer details of these contact conditions, with the aim of building up a clearer picture of the pre-colonial sociohistorical landscape of South Africa.

12.1. Some Problems in Khoekhoe-isiZunda Contact

This section offers a critical review of existing theoretical positions on the historical language contact event between Khoekhoe-branch languages and isiZunda-group languages.

12.1.1. The Click Diffusion Problem

The Gordian knot of southern African sociohistorical linguistics is the apparently unequal relationship between the Khoekhoe-branch languages and the isiZunda languages. Relexification of the order observed in isiXhosa and isiZulu is not unheard of, but, in all comparable instances, the donor language has been the more socioeconomically prestigious. In order to adopt loanwords on so massive a scale, speakers of the host language must enjoy material socioeconomic benefits as a direct result either of being able to communicate with speakers of the donor language, or, if the opportunity to develop fluency is not available, of *sounding like* speakers of the donor language (see commentary at Herbert 1990b: 229). The prevailing colonial assumption has been that the Khoekhoe, consisting as they did of small decentralised communities and eking out a living through transhumant pastoralism across inhospitable drylands, cannot possibly have enjoyed socioeconomic superiority over the amaXhosa and amaZulu, whose advanced cultivation of well-watered grassland supported greater numbers in better-organised political units. It is the ostensible socioeconomic inferiority of the Khoekhoe, when set against the sheer enormity of lexical and phonological sway their language demonstrably held over isiXhosa and isiZulu, that has puzzled linguists so deeply as to necessitate increasingly complex explanations.

Particularly confounding is the phonological restructuring of the distribution of click consonants during loan, such that isiXhosa and isiZulu click consonants may be used in word-medial positions completely illicit in the Khoekhoe branch, and also, apparently, as the onset of word-medial dummy morphemes that cannot have been loaned. Furthermore, although massive lexical and significant phonological influence occurred, morphosyntactic influence of the Khoekhoe branch on isiZunda was apparently minimal, eliminating creolisation or other forms of syncretism proper as the change mechanism (Herbert 1990b: 299, although I must stress that a proper search for subtle *syntactic* similarities between Khoekhoe and isiZunda, rather than for immediately visible morphological influence, has not yet been conducted; see Güldemann 1999).⁹⁰ The sheer degree of lexical and phonological reorganisation

⁹⁰ Consider the origin of the isiXhosa verb *ukunxiba* = 'to put on a garment' (GD2:840), *ex* a reflex of Namibian Khoekhoe *Ilgaa* = 'to put on', 'to hang clothing around the neck', 'to fasten around the neck' H&E244. The presence of the high vowel /i/ in isiXhosa indicates that the donor language must have

implies syncretism, but the apparent lack of parallel morphosyntactic reorganisation implies only very shallow contact. This would seem, at first glance, to indicate a unique or at least underdocumented kind of language contact. The search for historical sociolinguistic explanations for the entry of click consonants into isiXhosa and isiZulu will be referred to as the Click Diffusion Problem (CDP).

The three primary criteria for treating this event separately are, firstly, the massive number of loanwords to have entered the host language; secondly, the massive number and unusual behaviour of loaned phonemes in the host language; and, finally, the ability of these loaned phonemes to diffuse into the ancestral lexicon of the host languages. In order to distinguish this process, which facilitated the transfer of large and intricate click inventories, from the rather more common events reviewed in Chapter 11, which saw the transfer only of limited and fairly simple click inventories via click loan (CL), it will be referred to throughout as click diffusion, or CD. As will be shown later, however, only the second criterion actually stands up to scrutiny. I will argue that the first remains unclear, and that the third has been erroneously overstated. In their place, I will develop a new set of criteria that better express the exceptional nature of Khoekhoe-isiZunda contact. Despite reformulating certain details, however, the core of the CDP remains unchanged. Only a clearer phonological understanding of the state of click consonants in both the donor language *and* the host

used a form approximating */lɛ:/ or */li:/ in schwa reduction, which of itself is not unusual; a comparable form is attested in I!Xam **llhing** ‘to bind’, ‘to fasten’, ‘to tie’, and is visible in N!uuki also in schwa reduction as **ll'ngke** = ‘to tie’ (Sands & Jones 2022: 70).

Note, however, that both the host and the donor languages draw a semantic distinction between the progressive and perfect aspects of this verb. In Namibian Khoekhoe, a sentence such as *khoes ge karana ra llgaa*, where the morpheme **ra** marks the progressive aspect, would translate as, ‘The woman puts on a necklace.’ The perfect aspect, *khoes ge karana llgaa hâ*, is required to signify, ‘The woman wears a necklace.’ Precisely the same is true of isiXhosa. The sentence *umfazi unxiba intsimbi yomqala* signifies ‘The woman puts on a necklace,’ while only the perfect aspect, marked by replacing the FV with **-e** to yield *umfazi unxibe intsimbi yomqala*, can supply the sense, ‘The woman wears a necklace’ (*lit.*, ‘The woman is in a state of having put on a necklace’). SA English and Afrikaans distinguish between these two senses lexically, but Nama and isiXhosa distinguish between them aspectually using the same shared lexical item.

This is a tentative suggestion that Khoekhoe-branch influence on isiXhosa may not have been limited to lexical and phonological restructuring, but may in fact have extended to syntactic constructions as well. Contact must have been sufficiently intense to ensure that the host language preserved nuanced semantic distinctions through the application of syntactic constructions that paralleled those employed by the donor language. Further exploration of syntactic similarities are warranted, especially with respect to the isiZunda verb extensions and the Khoekhoe-branch TMA morphemes.

language, that is, both before *and after* contact, will allow us to extrapolate the conditions that facilitated diffusion of this order.

12.1.2. Lexical & Phonological Influence of Khoekhoe on isiZunda

The purported percentage of items containing click consonants in isiXhosa and isiZulu has fluctuated wildly through studies across the years, depending on corpus surveyed and sampling method employed. Finlayson 1972 claimed figures of 38.2% for isiXhosa and 23% for isiZulu; citing Bourquin 1951 and Lanham 1964, Hebert 1990a claimed what amounted to 16.7% and 14.3% respectively (Herbert 1990a: 122, as discussed at both Gunnink *et al.* 2015: 198 and Pakendorf *et al.* 2017: 10). Noting that click consonants may appear in ‘up to 2 400 words’ in the SeB languages as a whole, Pakendorf *et al.* 2017 suggest 28% for isiXhosa and 22% for isiZulu, although it is unfortunate that the figure for isiXhosa was apparently based on McLaren 1968, rather than on the much expanded Tshabe *et al.* 1996 (Pakendorf *et al.* 2017: 6, 10). No hard figures are given, but they further consider Bourquin 1951’s tally of 376 isiXhosa click items shared with seSotho to constitute ‘16% of the total’, implying that their earlier claim of ‘up to 2 400 words’ refers to the isiXhosa click lexis.

Several shortcomings attend all of these figures. The number of items surveyed containing lexeme-medial click consonants, as opposed to the number of items containing lexeme-initial click consonants, is never clearly indicated in any of these tallies. Furthermore, even these tallies represent only the *total percentage of items containing click consonants*; they do not denote how many of these click items can in fact be sourced to a specific Khoekhoe-branch etymon.⁹¹ From these observations

⁹¹ Here the persistent influence of Louw’s generally shoddy work on the South African linguistic landscape has been unfortunate. His claim that 38% of isiXhosa lexical items were borrowed from Khoekhoe (Louw, 1977b: 141) is both pervasive (having been referenced as recently as Andrason 2017) and misleading. Working with a limited corpus of 4 269 isiXhosa items, Finlayson 1972 found 1633 items containing one or more click consonant, or 38.2%. By comparison, she found that in a much larger isiZulu corpus of 23 510, 5411 of items contained one or more click consonants, or 23%. From this, she concludes that isiXhosa ‘has undergone the most perturbation from the outside’ – in other words, that the 15% difference was made up by the loan of *additional* items from Khoekhoe. At no point does she state that *all* of the items containing clicks in either language can demonstrably be called loanwords, and at no point does she attribute these unequal percentages to the comparative sizes of the source corpora. Louw, however, cites Finlayson’s estimate that 38% of items in isiXhosa contain clicks, and claims that Finlayson inferred that this indicated ‘Khoi and San influence’; he goes on to note that the statistic may in fact be higher, since Khoekhoe-branch items *without* click consonants were also loaned into isiXhosa but were not tallied by Finlayson, and hence that the final tally should be closer to 40 or 45% (Louw, 1977b: 141). The claim that all isiXhosa items containing click consonants must have originated in Khoekhoe is *not* put forward in Finlayson 1972 at all. Louw 1977b misread his source.

arises the core problem that these tallies have not been lemmatised. This is especially troubling when one considers the productivity of click loanwords in the isiZunda languages, with a single ideophone or verb presumably loaned from one item in Khoekhoe being derived into many additional forms via the application of isiZunda morphosyntax.

For example, a reflex of the Nama **ǀkháwù** = ‘to comb’ was straightforwardly borrowed into isiXhosa as **ukuchaza** = ‘to comb’, ‘to tease out’. The nominal derivations **ichaza** = ‘someone with well-dressed hair’ and **umchazi** = ‘hairstylist’ *do not* constitute additional instances of loan, but rather the productive diffusion of the loaned lexical stem into the everyday discourse of *Old isiZunda speakers using host-language morphology. The same verb then developed an extended sense of ‘to elaborate upon *x*’, ‘to explain *x* in fine detail’, rather like the UK English ‘to comb’ = ‘to search exhaustively’. With this sense it has been used as a grammatical term, **isichazi**, for descriptive stems (today the narrower terms *isiphawuli* and *isibaluli* are preferred to distinguish between adjectival and relative stems respectively). It appears also in the neologism **isichaza-magama**, *lit.*, ‘word-detailer’, for ‘dictionary’. These five distinct derivations cannot be counted as five separate instances of loan; they must be lemmatised under a single loaned stem. To do this for all click stems in the GDX alone would require a full lexicographical research team of the sort that cannot be funded in South Africa.

In essence, the existence of around 2 400 click items in isiXhosa does not mean that 2 400 Khoekhoe-branch items were borrowed. The high number of click items derived via loan in isiXhosa and isiZulu certainly indicates the productive *integration* of loanwords, but these tallies cannot accurately reflect exactly how many click items were loaned in the first place. This complicates efforts to compile detailed corpora of Khoekhoe-isiZunda correspondences by obfuscating the total number of etyma required. Perhaps as a result of all this uncertainty, no detailed list of precisely *which* sixth to a third of isiXhosa words are of Khoekhoe origin is available, and no explanation is offered as to why, if these loans are so ubiquitous, the available lists top out at around 160 etymologised items.

Meinhof 1905 provides 53 examples of loanwords with clicks and 16 without, that he can identify ‘*ganz sicher*’ (‘quite certainly’) (Meinhof 1905: 54 – 60); a further 80 with

clicks and 14 without are ‘*nicht ganz erwandfrei*’ (‘not quite without doubt’) (Meinhof 1905: 61 – 69), for a total of 133 loanwords with clicks and 30 without. These 166 items total comprise the largest list of Khoekhoe-Nguni loans ever compiled. Since it was prepared without access to modern and comprehensive resources on the Khoekhoe-branch languages, it is naturally outdated; with the benefit of updated resources, some of the items *ganz sicher* are clearly impossible, while many of those *nicht ganz erwandfrei* become far better-substantiated. Furthermore, as this resource is still available only in German, and uses racial slurs that make even reading it in public an uncomfortable experience, it cannot be considered accessible to the modern South African student of Linguistics.

All drawing heavily on Meinhof 1905, Bourquin 1951 suggests 25 etyma for items present across two or more of isiXhosa, isiZulu, and seSotho, and Lanham 1964 presents only 11 for isiXhosa. Louw 1977 has 106 isiXhosa and isiZulu loanwords containing click consonants and 33 without, including a number of new suggestions, some of which are insightful, others ridiculous. Ownby 1985: 198 – 244 offers many varied examples of loanwords from all ‘Khoisan’ languages available to her at the time across all isiNguni languages, ultimately identifying 109 potential items that contain clicks and 16 that do not. Her provision of etyma is necessarily hampered by reliance on poor-quality resources such as Bleek 1954, but her lists are in the main good and should be better-utilised. The sporadic examples of Khoekhoe etyma for isiXhosa words offered on some headwords in the GDX were provided by Louw, who served as a consultant. Some further examples, mostly drawn from Meinhof 1905, are also included in the Kora look-up wordlist in Du Plessis 2019.

In short, no collated masterlist exists, and the precise number of lexical items that were clearly and demonstrably loaned from *Old Khoekhoe into *Old isiZunda, either with or without clicks, remains unknown. Although we may excuse this dearth of actual comparanda in older authors, who had access only to relatively restricted Nama data from Kroenlein 1889 and Kora data from Meinhof 1930 and Engelbrecht 1936, no revised dataset has been compiled since the publication of Haacke & Eiseb 2002. We do not have a reliable indication of the percentage of click items in isiXhosa and isiZulu, and we will not until robust and flexible digital lexicographic corpora are developed.

Nonetheless, the available estimates would *not*, in fact, seem to be so high when compared with the click lexes that resulted from all other contact events between a click language and a clickless language. At least 300 click items are on record from historical seSotho lexicographic sources, for example (see Appendix B1.1.1 below), and this tally does not contain items that underwent declicking. Here it may be more useful to compare the integration of click items by rate of diffusion across the speech community. In Afrikaans, click consonants are limited to specific dialects or ‘ethnolects’ that are regionally restricted, but, in isiZunda, click consonants are present across the entirety of the speech community. The *number* of items to have diffused from Khoekhoe into isiZunda may not, therefore, be so unusual. Rather, it is the fact that they have been diffused across the entirety of the speech community via productive and prolific derivation using host language morphosyntax, instead of being restricted to the regional varieties that underwent limited contact, that is unique.

The second criterion for treating the Khoekhoe-isiZunda contact event as special is that the size of the click inventory is likewise unparalleled; three types, with between five and six accompaniments, are attested across isiXhosa and isiZulu, for a total of between fifteen and eighteen clicks. In addition to the loss of the palatal click type, loan must have also have involved significant rephonologisation of the accompaniments, such that the affricated, affricate ejective, and ejective series that must have been present in *Old Khoekhoe were lost, while the voiced and voiced nasalised series of contemporary isiZunda have been innovated. Certain isiZunda morphemes, particularly the CL.9 nasal prefix, condition the assimilatory nasalisation of clicks that would otherwise be *tenuis*, voiced, or aspirated, but no other regular environmental changes have been observed.

Furthermore, the Nguni languages are phonotactically unusual in that they permit click consonants to occur *lexeme*-internally. The application of prefixes does allow loaned click consonants to stand word-internally, but still *lexeme*-initially, in both the SwB click languages (e.g., Rumanyo mug**gcára** = *Croton gratissimus*; lin**ché** = small fish spp.), and in Afrikaans (e.g., gex**horro** = ‘chatted’; gex**houam** = ‘shocked’), but this pattern is distinct from such isiZulu examples as ukuphi**xiza** = ‘to crawl about’, where the stem proper is -phi**xi**-; isikhwic**i** = ‘prevaricator’, where the stem proper is -khwic**i**-; and ukufing**gqa** = ‘to contract’, where the stem proper is -fing**gqa**. The only other languages

which permit such a distribution, Hadza and Sandawe are spoken at great geographical divide (Sands *et al.* 1996). As this lexeme-internal distribution is strictly disallowed in the donor languages, and is likewise absent from any other language that has gained clicks via contact, it represents a significant phonotactic innovation.

12.1.3. Innovation of Clicks on *proto-NTU Roots

The third major distinction in the behaviour of click consonants in isiZunda is supposedly that they have entered into *pB lexical stems at an unusually high rate, suggesting productive diffusion of a loaned class of phonemes across the ancestral lexicon. As examined in Chapter 11, in most cases of contact between a click language and a clickless languages, the innovation of a click consonant onto an ancestrally clickless stem is a marginal phenomenon. isiXhosa and isiZulu, however, are supposed to carry an unusually high number of examples.

The observation itself is as old as Appleyard 1850, as noted by Bostoen & Sands 2009, who quote the following passage in their review of the capacity for click consonants to enter into *pB roots:

It would be wrong to suppose, however, that every word which contains a click sound is of Khoekhoe^H origin. It may well be doubted, indeed, whether any click words have come from that source, except a few nouns, and perhaps a few particles. The fact appears to be that the amaXhosa^K have substituted the Khoekhoe^H clicks for other characters, and have thus simply changed the form and sound of their own words.

Appleyard, 1850: 49
as cited in Bostoen & Sands 2009: 125

Of Appleyard's twelve examples, nine are in fact Khoekhoe-branch loanwords in doublet, as shown in Table 12.1 above. In each of these, one form has retained the ancestral condition of a click onset, while another has lost it in an isiXhosa innovation. Another two cannot be immediately sourced to Khoekhoe, but, when set against isiZulu reflexes, show clearly that the ancestral isiZunda condition is a shared click, and that click loss is in fact the isiXhosa innovation. Only one example in this set is in fact evidence of click insertion onto *pB: the innovation of a dental click, corresponding with the dental stop in the *pB root *-tood-, such that both ukuc**ola** and ukuth**ola** are present, with no clear analogue in the available Khoekhoe-branch material. Appleyard, then, noted early examples of isiXhosa *click loss* from Khoekhoe loanwords, not early examples of click insertion by the amaXhosa onto 'their own words'.

Table 12.1 Proposed Instances of ‘Click Insertion’ in Appleyard 1850			
isiZulu	Appleyard’s isiXhosa	gloss	source
namathela	namatela ~ ncamatela	‘to adhere to’	‡nǎí (NA) = ‘to stick to’
ncamasha	nyamakela ~ ncamakela	‘to care for’	ǀnǎm (NA) = ‘to love’
cabu	tyaba-tyabaza ~ caba-cabaza	‘to walk in fear’	cf. ‡ǎǎǎǎǎǎǎǎ (NA) = ‘to tiptoe’?
isicwecwe	isitywetywe ~ isic wecwe	‘flat object’	‡hǎwa (NA) = ‘flat’, ‘level’
qaqamba	tyatyamba ~ qaqamba	‘to yield pain’	ǀkhǎǎ (NA) = ‘to stab’
ncothula	nyotula ~ ncotula	‘to pluck out’	ǀkhuu (NA) = ‘to pull out’
tshaka	tshitsha ~ tsh ica	‘to spit’	‡ǎǎǎǎ (NA) = ‘to spit’
xephula	twebula ~ xwebula	‘to bark trees’	
qika	qika ~ qika	‘to comprehend’	‡ǎǎǎǎǎǎǎǎ (KO) = ‘to think about’
hluma	hluma ~ cuma	‘to grow’	ǀòm (NA) = ‘to grow’, ‘to flourish’
canda	tyanda ~ canda	‘to cleave’	‡ǎǎ (NA) = ‘to split open’
thola	tola ~ cola	‘to pick up’	*pB -tood-

Most other claims of click insertion onto *pB roots are similarly disappointing. Finlayson 1972: 153 – 155 provides only four examples. *pB ***dím-** ‘to extinguish’ is manifested in isiZulu and isiXhosa as uk**ucima**; this innovation was observed at least as early as Meinhof 1904. Another suggestion, *pB **tóód-** ‘to pick up’ > isiXhosa uk**ucola**, is the same found by Appleyard 1850. Both of these involve a dental click alternating with a dental or alveolar pulmonic consonant. The suggestion ***búíd-** = ‘to tell’ for isiXhosa uk**uxela** = ‘to tell’ is erroneous, as this word is in fact loaned from an *Old Khoekhoe reflex of Nama **ǀlgǎe** = ‘to tell’. Her final suggestion ***bin-** = ‘to sing’, ‘to dance’ for an isiXhosa root **-xhin-** = ‘to sing’ is obscure; I can find no such item in either GDX or D&Z. Moreover, bilabial stops have not been observed to alternate with any of the four primary click types in ordinary patterns of click loss in Kalahari-branch languages, and so it is difficult to accept that they may have been replaced by lateral clicks.

Herbert 1990b repeats Finlayson 1972’s observation that *pB ***-dím-** corresponds with isiZulu **-cima** = ‘to extinguish’, but then provides no further *pB comparisons. Instead, he offers two instances of isiZulu lexical items which gain or lose a click during derivation (**-xhopha** ‘to hurt the eye’ vs uk**xhophe** ‘eyelash’; **-consa** ‘to fall’, ‘to drip’ vs **ilithonsi** ‘a drop of liquid’), and then three instances of isiZulu words which have two alternative forms, one with a click, one without (**cwazimula** ~ **nyazimula** ‘to shine brightly’; **chela** ~ **thela** ‘to sprinkle’; **qhuma** ~ **duma** ‘to burst’, ‘to thunder’, ‘to rumble’). Only his suggestion uku**consa** ~ **ilithonsi** can reasonably be connected with *pB **-tón-** = ‘to drip’; the innovation of a dental click onto this root appears also in chiFwe as

kù⁹ǃònsà = ‘to drip’ (but note also !Xun **ǃlxaúñ** (possibly a reborrowing of the chiFwe?) and Khwedam **l'ǎ**, both meaning ‘to drip’).

The proposition that **qhuma** represents click insertion onto **-duma**, however, is a clear error. **ukuduma** is a reflex of *pB ***tutum-**, and means ‘to thunder’. isiZulu **ukuqhuma**, isiXhosa **ukugquma** is a loan of a Khoekhoe reflex of Kora **!gum**, and means ‘to roar (of an animal)’, hence ‘to speak loudly’, ‘to speak in a thunderous voice’ (Du Plessis 2019: 311). Their chance similarity is almost certainly explicable by onomatopoeia. The example **cwazimula** ~ **nyazimula** is yet another example of click replacement following loan from a Khoekhoe reflex of Nama **ǃkhaĩ** = ‘to sparkle’, ‘to glitter’, ‘to glisten’; some comparable examples from isiZunda, in which a dental or palatal click consonant is replaced by a palatal nasal, are tabulated in Table 12.2 below. The example **chela** ~ **thela** = ‘to sprinkle’ is likewise a loan of a Khoekhoe reflex of Nama **lǎĩ** = ‘to spatter an object with droplets’ (H&E160). The verb **ukuxhophá** ‘to hurt the eye’ is somewhat obscure, but is probably connected with the Nama **llhòrǝ** = *lit.*, ‘to chisel’, ‘to gouge out’, with a particular connotation of ‘to blind someone by gouging out the eyes’ (H&E269). Its suggested cognate **ukhophe** = ‘eyelash’, on the other hand, is an unproblematic descendant of *pB ***-kópè** = ‘eyelash’, and so bears no relation whatsoever to **ukuxhophá**.

Table 12.2 Replacement of Clicks with Palatal Nasals		
gloss	isiZunda	Khoekhoe
‘to sprinkle’	ukuchela, ukuthela, ukunyela	lǎĩ
‘sour’	-muncu, munyu ⁹²	uú
‘to melt’	ukunyibilika	gĩĩ
‘to suckle’	ukumunca, ukumunya	gòǎ
‘wildcat’	incwabi, inyhwagi	hǎǎb
‘to glitter’	ukucwazimula, ukunyazimula	ǃkhaĩ
‘sticky’	-ucangathi, -unyangathi	ǃnǎĩ
‘shoe’	isicathulo, isinyathelo	khǎwuś

The observation that ‘Nguni gives clear indications that a considerable number of click words are not directly due to borrowing or substrate interference but have been innovated on the basis of the inherited Bantu lexicon’ (Güldemann & Stoneking 2008: 99) is sourced to Herbert 1990b. Reviewing this claim as presented in its original context, we read in fact that, ‘a surprising aspect of the Khoisan-Bantu contact is that

⁹² *i.e.*, *contra* Gunnink 2019: 13, the NTU innovation is the palatal nasal, not the click.

the borrowed consonants occasionally appear in inherited Bantu lexical items' (Herbert 1990b: 300). It would seem that that this conceit has been repeated for a good three decades without renewed scrutiny. Only three clear examples within the isiZunda languages have actually been supplied across the literature surveyed above: the insertion of a dental click onto *pB ***tóód-** to yield ukuc**ola**, ukuc**osha**; the insertion of a dental click onto *pB ***tón-** to yield ic**onsi**; and the insertion of a dental click onto *pB ***díim-** to yield ukuc**ima**. These three very regularly suggest a correspondence between a dental plosive and a dental click. All other examples are in fact doubled instances of click loss following loan, probably as a result of normal regional variation; in other words, the *pulmonic* consonant is the innovation, not the click.

As explored in Chapter 11, Gunnink & Sands 2019: 711 consider the unexpectedly nasalised item **ɲumuna** = 'to pull out' in Northern chiFwe, despite the existence of *pB ***-tumud-** = 'to pull out', to be explicable only by insertion in Southern chiFwe of a nasalised dental click, yielding **ɲlumuna**; the innovated click is then replaced by a velar nasal during click loss. However, I note the presence of Nama **|khuù** = 'to pull out', Khwedam **|huúví** = 'to pull out', which implies that *proto-KHOE *first* innovated the dental click onto the *proto-NTU stem ***-tumud-**; this also explains the parallel presence of ukum**oncula** = 'to pull out' in isiZulu. That the innovation of a click onto a loaned clickless stem is possible *within an ancestral click language* is corroborated by the existence of Namibian Khoekhoe **lnoóṭàxùuṅ** = 'useful goods', 'things still of use' H&E290 ex Afrikaans **nodig** = 'necessary', and **ǀgese** = 'cheese' H&E58 ex Namibian German **Käse** = 'cheese'.⁹³

In short, click insertion onto *proto-NTU roots *as a special property of isiZunda* has been overstated. Only three clear examples with no parallel click in *proto-KHOE can be provided, and one of these is also present in chiFwe. *proto-NTU roots have gained clicks in both the SEB and the SWB click languages, but in both clusters the process is marginal. True innovation may perhaps have occurred within NTU on a limited number of *proto-NTU stems, either via alternation and analogy, as suggested by Sands & Boestoen 2009, Gunnink *et al.* 2015, and Sands & Gunnink 2019 (as reviewed in Chapter 11), or via co-velarisation, as suggested by Du Plessis

⁹³ Consider also Mesthrie's admittedly rather dubious claims that he encountered four nonce examples of click transfer by L1 isiXhosa speakers onto English lexical items across 20 hours of codemixed but predominantly English discourse (Mesthrie 2017: 529 – 530).

(*forthcoming*), but this process is detectible in equal measures on both sides of the KBA. I cannot consider significant diffusion of click consonants across the ancestral lexicon a unique feature of the isiZunda languages.

12.2. Practical Approaches to Explicating Khoekhoe-isiZunda Contact

This section details the development of a new etymological corpus of Khoekhoe-isiZunda loanwords, presented in full at B2.1 in Appendix B.

12.2.1. A Revised List of Khoekhoe-Zunda Loanwords

The stumbling block in developing a clearer understanding of *Old Khoekhoe-*Old isiZunda contact has been our unfortunate reliance on outdated and badly-organised data that has not yet been subjected to rigorous phonological analysis. The actual *Old Khoekhoe etyma of the isiZunda click items remain underexplored, and no comprehensive datasets are available. The first step towards an accurate reassessment of Khoekhoe-isiZunda historical sociolinguistic contact, then, is the development of a consolidated and updated corpus of Khoekhoe-isiZunda loanwords. A list of 290 such items is provided in Appendix B.

All Khoekhoe-branch etyma are checked against the most recent standardised lexicographic resources, primarily Haacke & Eiseb 2002 for Nama and Damara items, and Du Plessis 2009 for Kora items. Older resources were also consulted in order to track down rarer or regionalised items. It is assumed throughout that the earliest donor language was an extinct and unattested variety of *Old Khoekhoe (best termed *Khoekhoe *donans*), and that Nama, the *Cape Khoekhoe continuum, the *Eastern Khoekhoe continuum, and Kora were its sister languages. This hypothetical language must have contained the six click accompaniments ancestral to the Khoekhoe branch, including the affricate ejective click, and so we should assume that the donor click inventory was more similar to that of Kora than to that of present-day Nama or Damara. Later contact probably also then occurred with *Cape Khoekhoe and *Eastern Khoekhoe.

All etyma suggested in Appendix B are therefore understood to have been *Old Khoekhoe antecedents or *Cape Khoekhoe, *Eastern Khoekhoe, or *Khoekhoe *donans* reflexes of an attested Nama or Kora item. Lack of the direct donor language means that gaps in comparanda are inevitable. For example, certain plant names,

referring as they do to species restricted to the afrotemperate forests of the Cape, cannot have been present in the bushveld and grasslands botanical jargon of *Old isiZunda, and so must have been Khoekhoe-branch loanwords, but this can never be demonstrated. Other items are attested from Khoekhoe only in Afrikaans retention, such as **t'kobovy** = *Carpobrotus edulis*; while a Khoekhoe-branch item must have served as the etymon for its isiXhosa counterpart **igcukuma**, it cannot be retrieved. Although it might be possible to sketch the historical shape of the Khoekhoe etymon in such cases, true reconstruction is not possible, and such items should be considered irretrievable.

Only a few items of potential !Ui origin were identified (see Appendix B2.2 below), with several having been updated from suggestions made by Ownby 1985. It is unlikely that the !Ui-branch languages themselves were ever in a socioeconomic position to have exerted significant lexical influence on isiZunda. However, these languages shared large amounts of lexical material with the Khoekhoe-branch languages. It is more probable that certain items today recorded only from the !Ui-branch languages were historically present in *Khoekhoe *donans*, and that they passed into isiZunda leaving no lexical trace in the Khoekhoe-branch record.

12.2.2. A Note on Long-Distance Correspondences

The inability to trace some lexical items in isiXhosa and isiZunda to the extant Khoekhoe-branch records is to be expected; only Nama and Damara are still spoken, and even Kora was significantly underdocumented prior to its extinction. The existence of click items without clear antecedent is by no means an indicator of click innovation in isiZunda, but rather is accepted to indicate the historical existence of an irretrievable etymon in *Khoekhoe *donans*. Even with this caveat, the available data from Nama and Kora are surprisingly well-suited to comparison, suggesting that divergence within the Khoekhoe branch can never have been particularly extreme.

Certain exceptional etyma, however, must be separately acknowledged. The isiZunda item **ukuqala** = ‘to begin’, ubiquitous also across the isiTekela languages and seSotho, has no analogue in the surviving Nama or Kora record. It is, however, perfectly visible in the Kalahari-branch Naro as **!alu**.⁹⁴ This relatively isolated language is spoken some

⁹⁴ *contra* Gunnink 2019: 13, it cannot derive from the *proto-NTU *-bád-.

2 000 km away from isiXhosa and isiZulu in the western Kalahari and has never come into historical contact with either to our knowledge. We must assume instead that a reflex, something like */!aro/, was present in a variety of *Old Khoekhoe which preserved ancestral KHOE items common to both the Khoekhoe and the Kalahari branches, but was lost from Nama and Kora. The same must be assumed of isiZunda ukucasha = ‘to hide’, absent from the available Khoekhoe-branch records, but present in Khwedam as #’a = ‘to hide’; and also of ukuqeda = ‘to finish’, which is traceable only to such Kalahari-branch items as Naro !xǎe = ‘to stop’. The most fascinating example was isiZunda ukuqanda = ‘to hatch (of an egg)’, long unsolved. As discussed in Section 11.4.4. above, the existence of a siPhuthi form using a dental click, kuchota, predicted the existence of a KHOE-family item meaning ‘to hatch’ that used a palatal click; this was immediately found in Naro #are, Khwedam #qare.

Table 12.3 Kalahari-branch Etyma for isiNguni Loanwords					
#	gloss	KHOE		NGUNI	
		Kalahari	Khoekhoe	isiZunda	isiTekela
1	‘to begin’	!aru (NH)	*must have carried an alveolar; available Khoekhoe does not suit: thōathōa (KO), tsoatsoa (NK)	ukuqala (XH, ZU)	ukucala (SW)
2	‘to stop’	!xae (NH)	*must have carried an alveolar; available Khoekhoe does not suit: māa, !ũũ (NK)	ukuqeda (XH, ZU)	ukucetsa (NT)
3	‘to hide’	!gam (NH), #’a (KW)	*must have carried a palatal; available Khoekhoe does not suit: gaugau (KO), saūsēn (NK)	ukucasha (ZU)	
4	‘to hatch’; ‘an egg’	#are (NH), #qare (KW)	*must have carried a palatal; available Khoekhoe does not suit: khōrēkhōrē (NK) = ‘to hatch’; !ũũ (NK), !’ubub (KO) = ‘egg’	ukuqandusela (XH) iqanda (XH, ZU)	kuchota (PH) licandza (SW)

Four examples are suggested in Table 12.3 above. More almost certainly await careful detection, although it should be recalled that long-distance comparison over such a poorly-documented linguistic landscape has the potential to veer rapidly out of control.

12.2.3 Comparative Phonological Findings

The absence of appropriately organised digital corpora for isiXhosa and isiZulu mean that it is still not possible to determine what percentage of the click lexicon these 200 etymologised items comprise, nor how much of the overall isiZunda lexicon they represent. As discussed in 12.1.2 above, it would first be necessary to lemmatise the entirety of the GDX and the D&V by *stem*, rather than entering every derivation as a

new headword, before an appropriate assessment could be made. Most importantly for the purposes of this excursus, the size of this corpus, larger than any previous list, allows for rigorous phonological comparison between isiZunda and Khoekhoe click consonants.

The most striking feature of this corpus is the regularity with which click *type* is preserved across loan. Click accompaniments are not at all stable, and a full investigation of their adaptation is beyond the scope of this project (in no small part because our understanding of the phonology of click accompaniments themselves is still so limited, with the result that our data on the cross-linguistic perception and adaptation of click accompaniments is virtually null). Setting these aside, the phonemic contrast embedded in click type is very clearly and very consistently maintained. All Khoekhoe-branch dental clicks are always loaned as isiZunda dental clicks. All Khoekhoe-branch alveolar clicks are always loaned as isiZunda alveolar clicks. All Khoekhoe-branch lateral clicks are always loaned as lateral clicks.

Table 12.4 Palatal Splitting in Khoekhoe-isiZunda Loanwords		
gloss	isiZunda	Khoekhoe
'saliva', 'mucus', 'dribble'	ugce	#àǎb
'to strip branches from a tree'	ukugqalula	#àǎ
'to set (of the sun)'	ukungcangca	#gǎà
'white blaze', <i>Damaliscus pygargus</i>	ilinqa	#gǎǎs
'flat'	-caba	#hǎba
'prominent muscle', 'cut of meat'	isiqa	#hǎǎb
'spider', 'scorpion', 'solifuge'	igcasha	#khǎis
'to abort', 'to miscarry'	ukuthi qhomfa	#khǎm
'sleeping mat'	icansi	#nǎms
'to knock', 'to beat'	ukuqongqotha	#nǎú

The sole points of contention are, firstly, the difficult adaptation of the palatal click, and, secondly, the potential for some degree of regional variation in type-matching. The palatal click does not appear in present-day isiZulu or isiXhosa, even though both languages contain loanwords derived from etyma which, *in the extant Khoekhoe-branch record*, carry palatal clicks. In some items, it is loaned only as a dental click, while in others, it is loaned only as an alveolar, with no conditioning factors visible in the etymon. The selection of items in Table 12.4. above is naturally limited, which complicates narrow comparison of identical clicks in identical phonological

environments, but every effort was made to select a monosyllabic Khoekhoe-branch etymon in which the vowel directly following the click was either **à** or **ǎ**, at least in the available Nama and Kora reflexes. The Nama etyma **‡hǎbá** = ‘flat’ LL.H and **‡hǎǎb** = ‘muscle’, ‘bicep’ L.HH, for example, are by no means minimal pairs, but are as similar a pair as can be extracted from the available etyma. In both isiXhosa and isiZulu, one is consistently loaned using a dental click, as the relative stem **-caba**; the other is consistently loaned using an alveolar click, as isi**qa**. What conditions the selection of one click over the other cannot yet be determined.

Table 12.5 Palatal Doublets in Khoekhoe-isiZunda Loanwords <i>etymologised to show type ‘splitting’</i>			
gloss	isiXhosa	isiZulu	Khoekhoe
‘peak’, ‘top’	incopho	ingcongo	‡áòb
		isiqongo	
‘headrest’, ‘pillow’	umcamelo	umcamelo	‡khápi
	umqamelo	umqamelo	
‘to shine’, ‘to glitter’	ukuthi cwazi	ukuthi cwazi	‡khǎi
	ukuthi qhashi	ukuthi qhaka	
‘to crush between the fingernails’	ukuchoba	ukuchofoza	‡khúú
	ukuthi qhumfu	ukuthi qhofo	
‘to sit’, ‘to squat’	ukuthi ngcu	ukuqoshama	‡núú
	ukuqoshela		

Sometimes, either interlinguistically or in intralinguistic doublet, the palatal click is loaned as *both* a dental click *and* an alveolar click, as demonstrated in Table 12.5 above. Msimang 1989 considers this distribution functionally allophonic, but this is misleading, firstly as no environmental factors exist to condition the realisation of one phone over the other, and secondly because it is entirely unclear which should be considered the underlying phoneme. In discussing this unusual distribution, Poulos & Msimang 1999: 513 offer a further four examples of isiZulu minimal pairs in which the type contrast between the dental and the alveolar click *is* phonemic. Unlike the doublets exemplified in Table 12.5, however, here it can be shown that all of these items descend from Khoekhoe etyma carrying dental clicks and alveolar clicks, and merely *evolved* into minimal pairs following loan (see Table 12.6 below).

Table 12.6 Examples of Minimal Pairs from Poulos & Msimang 1999 <i>etymologised to show type maintenance</i>		
gloss	isiZulu	Khoekhoe
'a song'	iculo	khòó
'a swarm'	iqulo	!òó
'to be languid'	ukucoba	òpé
'to slice'	ukuqoba	!gaò
'to sprinkle'	ukuchela	lǎi
'to step back'	ukuqhela	!gǎǎ!gǎǎbè
'to grow', 'to prosper'	ukuchuma	òm
'to explode'	ukuqhuma	!hǔi

A number of phonological adaptations have occurred, including the resolution of vowel sequences, some vowel raising, the development of unexpected click accompaniments, and the disruption of one tonemic system by another. Nonetheless, click type endures loan, and the contrast embedded in the placement of the anterior closure remains phonemic after centuries. The dental click and the alveolar click remain contrastive when loaned from items historically hosting a dental click and an alveolar click; within isiXhosa and standardised isiZulu, it is *only* items that historically derive from a palatal click that permit the variable use of either the dental click, or the alveolar click, or both.

Why the other three click types should have been so well integrated, while the palatal was not, cannot yet be accounted for (although Miller 2019: 22 may offer some preliminary context on the relationship between the palatal and the alveolar clicks at least). It may even have been the case that a palatal click *did* historically exist at the level of *Old isiZunda but that an in-progress merger was captured at different stages of its development across different varieties during the colonial development of written standards (see Gunnink 2020b: 40 on the possibility of reconstructing a palatal click for *Old isiNguni). Why and how these doublet forms are maintained today is also entirely unclear. I have not yet managed to determine whether a preference for the dental form of these palatal doublets is particularly associated with a certain region, and the alveolar with another; it is not even clear whether or not intraspeaker variation is present. The unquestioned lexicographic practice in South Africa throughout the 20th and 21st centuries has been to incorporate all variant forms into one exhaustive corpus with little in the way of metadata. Sociolinguistic variables such as age, ethnolinguistic

affiliation, and geographic location would almost certainly have been able to explain these doublets, but they have been lost. The complex Apartheid-era patterns of migrant labour that resulted in rapid urban koineisation, coupled with the increasingly prescriptivist approach of 21st-century literacy programs, have together largely overwritten historical regional variation, muddying the waters beyond the point of clarification.

Although palatal doublets account for the bulk of ‘mismatched’ click types that appear in loan, some explanation must also be offered for regional variation. In addition to the historical distinction between ‘isiNtungwa’ and ‘isiMzantsi’, migrant labour associated with minework has over the past half-century given rise to a third major dialect of isiZulu seated in the Transvaal, usually termed ‘Gauteng isiZulu’. A feature of this dialect is an apparent reluctance to use the lateral click, and to ‘switch around’ the dental and the alveolar (Poulos & Msimang 1998: 21); more recent evidence suggests a merger between the dental and the alveolar (Gunnink 2014: 163). The realisation of standardised KZN isiZulu *iqanda* = ‘egg’ as *icanda* = ‘egg’ in Gauteng isiZulu has become something of a shibboleth among young South Africans, but here the underlying KHOE-family etymon present in Naro *ṭare*, Khwedam *ṭqare* implies that regional variation may have conditioned the development of palatal splitting at least to some degree. A less-cited example is the substitution in Gauteng isiZulu of *uqamu* = *Varanus niloticus* for standardised isiZulu *uxamu* (Poulos & Msimang, 1999: 24); here the Khoekhoe-branch etymon *lɪnààréb* confirms the historical presence of the lateral, indicating that ‘Gauteng isiZulu’ has undergone innovation after a long tradition of type maintenance. This may possibly have developed during urban koineisation, perhaps via transfer during rapid L2A as speakers of clickless languages from further afield in southern Africa rapidly acquired Gauteng isiZulu as a *lingua franca*, but better study is urgently required.

Within standardised isiZulu as spoken in KwaZulu-Natal, there are also some limited reports that the isiMzantsi dialects isiLala and isiQwane may also host some degree of click variation. Remembering that these dialects were historically more closely related to siSwati, it may be the case that variation in click type present in isiMzantsi should be considered an isiTekela feature; see further discussion in 12.2.4. below. However, data supporting these claims are sporadic, especially with standardisation

and urbanisation together having crowded understudied regional dialects out to the brink of extinction. The only clear example in D&V is the apparent replacement of the expected lateral click in *ixilongo* ‘horn’, ‘trumpet’ with a dental in the ‘South Coast’ form *icilongo*.

This perhaps accords with the observations that lateral clicks ‘tend to be replaced’ in some dialects of isiZulu (Louw 1979: 11); that the lateral click ‘is the least common and is disappearing in Zulu’ (Herbert 1990a: 124); and that speakers of both isiMpondo and isiHlubi in the Transkei replace the expected lateral click in <xa> (‘if’, ‘when’) with <na> (Nomlondo 1993: 59; 70). The vagueness of these observations continues in Zungu, who notes only that,

Lala speakers follow the same general trend as other Tekela speakers, *i.e.*, they employ the dental click interchangeably with the [alveolar] and lateral clicks, *e.g.* Zulu **-qala** (‘begin’) may be pronounced as **-qala** or **-cala**. However, this trend cannot be over-generalised, as not all the groups follow it. For example, among the South Lala group, the amaCele appear to be the only group which uses <q> /!/ in place of Zulu <c> /l/. I have also noticed that North Lalas tend to use /nge/ in place of Zulu /ngx/, but South Lalas use /ngx/. The influence of Tekela is therefore uneven.

Zungu 1999: 44 – 45

The only type mismatches present in isiZunda, then, arise either from palatal doublets (which, if not yet explicable, are at the very least predictable), or else from poorly-documented regionalisms that may, in fact, be more characteristic of isiTekela. isiXhosa and isiZulu, the present-day standardised forms of the historical *isiPhalo and *isiNtungwa nuclei, regularly match and maintain contrastive click type in the vast majority of items loaned from Khoekhoe.

This clear fact tends to be dismissed as almost too obvious to detail in the available literature. It is dispensed with in a single sentence at Bourquin 1951: 61. Louw 1977b divides his examples by click type without needing to account for this choice. ‘Phonological mismatches’ in click type are used as the grounds for rejecting suggestions of !Ui loanwords in isiNguni at Pakendorf *et al.* 2017: 8 without the need for further discussion. The preservation of type is never listed among the three defining properties that set Khoekhoe-isiZunda click loan apart, and it is never offered as a special point of consideration. It feels facile even to mention it.

However, when set against the extremity of variation and reduction that has affected the click inventories in every single other known click loan event, it is astonishing.

Every single other click loan event surveyed saw either the destabilisation of the donor inventory such that it was loaned realised first in extreme variation, then in extreme reduction (ruManyo, ruKwangali, thiMbukushu, chiFwe; Gariep Afrikaans, Namaqualand Afrikaans; siPhuthi; ST isiNdebele); or the apparently near-immediate adaption of clicks in extreme reduction (Xitsonga; seSotho; siSwati; NT Sindebele); or the total replacement of click consonants with pulmonic alternatives (seTswana; general Afrikaans; SA English). Conversely, it is almost two centuries since isiZunda lost contact with its last possible click donor language, but it has not lost its type contrasts.

The single most significant aspect of the Khoekhoe-isiZunda click loan event, then, lies in the preservation of click type during loan, such that a large *and stably contrastive* click inventory was able to enter the host language. This, not the indemonstrable claim of widespread click insertion onto *pB roots, is the problem that must be accounted for.

12.2.4. A Restatement of the Click Diffusion Problem

To review, the exceptional results of the Khoekhoe-isiZunda contact event are commonly listed as:

Outcomes of Khoekhoe-isiZunda Contact

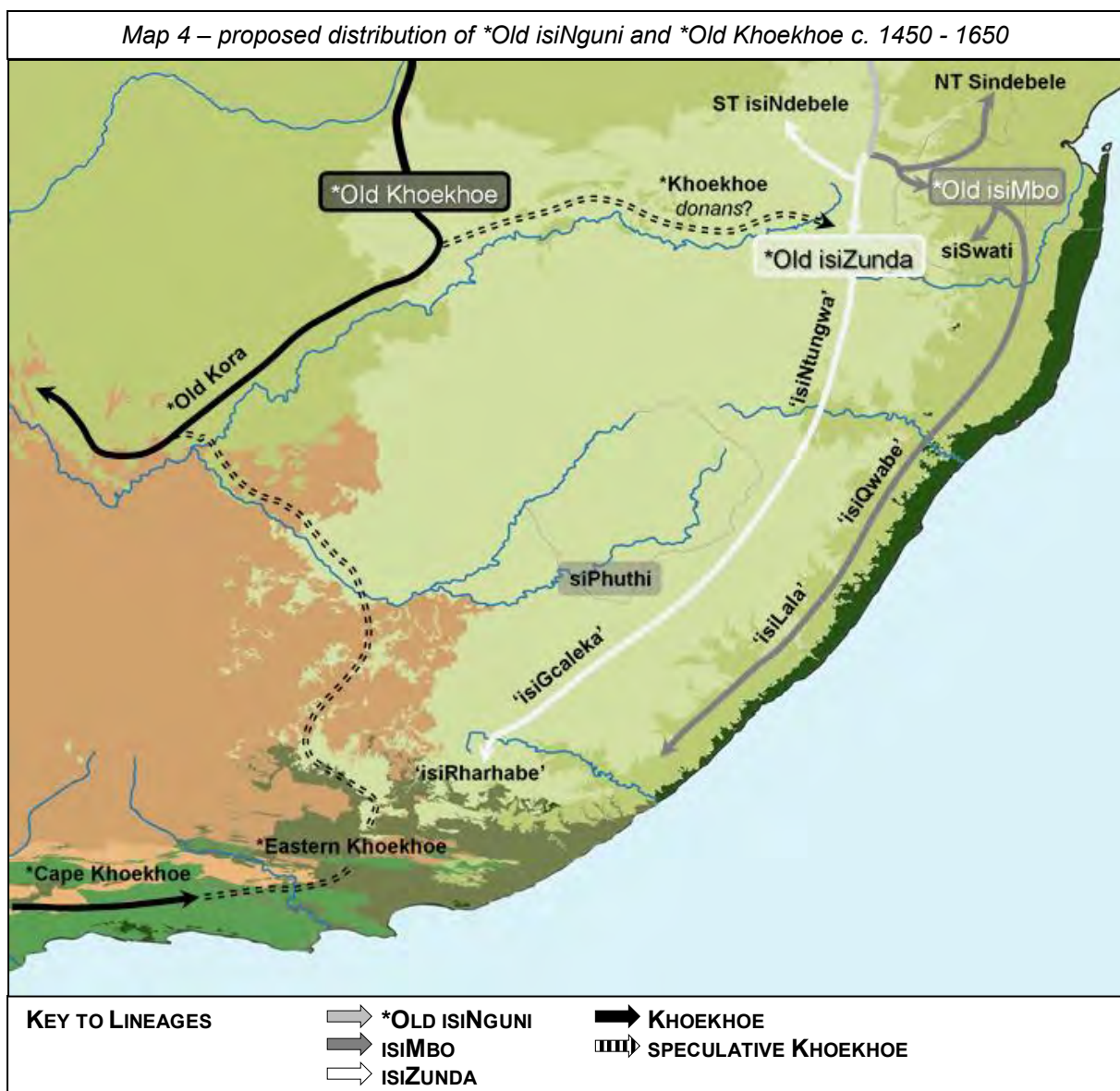
- (a) the large percentage of the total lexicon that contains click items;
- (b) the large size of the click inventory; and
- (c) the innovation of click consonants on clickless ancestral roots.

Data to demonstrate 1a) are not reliably available, and I have argued that it is the productive diffusion of click consonants across the entirety of the speech community that is in fact noteworthy when set against the tendency of click loan to have been regionalised in most other known instances. Data to demonstrate 1c) have never been adequately supplied by the available literature, and I have argued that this point has in fact been erroneously overstated; there is no special propensity for this to occur in the isiZunda languages at a higher rate than it does in the SWB languages. Furthermore, analysis of the revised list of Khoekhoe loanwords as discussed in 12.3.3. indicates unparalleled regularity in the preservation of click type following loan. I would therefore amend the unique properties of the click that emerged from this contact event as follows:

Revised Outcomes of Khoekhoe-isiZunda Contact

- (a) the diffusion of click items across the speech community;
- (b) the large size of the click inventory; and
- (c) the maintenance of phonemic contrast embedded in click type.

Crucially, these results are restricted to the isiZunda-Khoekhoe contact event; they do not appear as contemporary outcomes in the isiTekela languages. The contact conditions that gave rise to these outcomes may possibly have been present at the level of *Old Khoekhoe-*isiNguni contact between c. 1250 – 1450 CE, thus donating the core isiNguni click lexicon, but must have fallen away or changed significantly in the isiTekela languages that split off between c. 1450 – 1650.



As discussed in Chapter 11.3, the more likely scenario is that the isiTekela click consonants are the product of very *recent* click loan via the socioeconomically dominant isiXhosa and isiZulu languages. This implies in turn that the unique conditions required to facilitate click diffusion were restricted to the contact event between *Khoekhoe *donans* and *Old isiZunda – that is, between the easternmost extent of the Khoekhoe continuum, and the westernmost extent of the isiNguni continuum, which must historically have overlapped in the Natal Highlands.

The early divergence of ST isiNdebele from *Old isiZunda c.1630 and the historical evidence that it did once make use of lateral clicks together suggest that the productive integration of the ternary click inventory had already taken place by the 17th century.

It may well have been the case that the early removal of ST isiNdebele from the contact event, and its subsequent relocation into relatively clickless surrounds, contributed to the obsolescence of its contrastive click inventory. The ‘*isiPhalo’ nucleus diverged rather later, probably before 1675, and in so doing moved further towards the *Cape Khoekhoe continuum. By the time the Lovedale press began to transcribe and publish isiRharhabe in 1823, the tripartite click system was already established; and isiRharhabe had diverged from isiGcaleka c.1750 without any significant alterations to the click inventory. Similarly, Zimbabwean isiNdebele broke from the ‘isiNtungwa’ nucleus in 1839, but maintains contrastive clicks today, indicating the firm entrenchment and longevity of clicks within ‘isiNtungwa’ before the beginning of the 19th century. Any explanation for the Click Diffusion Problem *sensu strictu*, must therefore focus on the sustained period of contact between *Khoekhoe *donans* and *Old isiZunda between c. 1450 – 1700.

12.4. Historical Sociolinguistic Explanations for the Click Diffusion Problem

This section reviews existing sociolinguistic discussion of the development of the click inventory in isiXhosa and isiZulu before presenting new perspectives.

12.4.1. Against Identity: A Review of *isiHlonipha* Theory

The favoured explanation for the unusually large click lexis present in isiZunda has for the past century been isiHlonipha Theory (*inter alia* Meinhof 1905, Faye 1925, Bourquin 1951, Finlayson 1972, Louw 1974, Herbert 1990b). The social practice of *ukuhlonipha* (‘to behave respectfully’, ‘to show deference’), as historically encountered

in some isiXhosa and isiZulu speech communities, placed taboo restrictions on certain words by young women, and especially by new brides, requiring them to develop alternative pronunciations not only for the personal names of male authority figures and in-laws, but also for lexical items that may have sounded innappropriately similar to these names. This taboo was therefore a ritualised extension of a social convention that prohibited younger socially inferior women from drawing the attention of older socially dominant men within the hierarchy of the family. The use of *isihlonipha* ('respectful speech') fell out of regular practice following British colonial conquest and attendant social assimilation, and was already obsolescing by the beginning of the 20th century; contemporary usage is today attested only from older women in remote rural areas (Irvine & Gunner 2018: 177).

In the isiHlonipha Theory (HT) of click diffusion, click consonants available from loaned Khoekhoe-branch and !Ui-branch items were inserted into native Nguni lexical items as a convenient means of voiding these taboo restrictions. Following the premise that a good deal of Khoekhoe-isiZunda language contact was facilitated by intermarriage (today supported by genetic studies such as those presented at Pakendorf *et al.* 2017: 17 – 19; Sengupta *et al.* 2021), proponents have suggested that Khoekhoe women, or perhaps their children, might have found click consonants useful not only in observing *isihlonipha*, but also in performing 'sociolinguistic identity' (Herbert 1990b; Gunnink *et al.* 2015: 218; Gunnink & Sands 2019: 705). This line of reasoning effectively attempts to sidestep the perceived difficulty of the donor language having been socioeconomically inferior by instead arguing that click consonants may have been associated with a sort of covert prestige.

This theory is broadly dissatisfactory for a number of reasons, not least because it pins a massive relexification event on an obscure and poorly-understood pre-colonial social practice that is today almost obsolete. We have no way of knowing when, precisely, *isihlonipha* developed; how widespread it was among the amaZunda communities that historically employed it; whether any communities may have employed it in alternative sociolinguistic contexts; and how regularly it was observed in everyday discourse contexts over the centuries. It is not a general NTU-family practice, and has no parallels even in the Nguni group's closest linguistic relatives. It may not even have existed during the earlier stages of intensive Khoekhoe-isiZunda interaction.

This theory also depended for most of its history upon the racist presupposition that amaZunda men conquered and subjugated Khoekhoe and !Ui women as a matter of course (Faye 1928; Bryant 1929). Such arguments are sensitively reviewed and rebutted at Ownby 1985: 32 – 33, Herbert 1990a: 298 – 299, as accepted at Pakendorf *et al.* 2017: 22. The sheer number of extraneous communities of diverse ethnolinguistic origin absorbed into the amaXhosa as clans, as reliably attested by oral genealogies, should further indicate that contact did not inevitably entrench intergenerational socioeconomic inequality. ‘The limits of Xhosadom were not ethnic or geographic, but political,’ as Peires has it, and ‘all persons or groups who accepted the rule of [the royal lineage] thereby became Xhosa’ (Peires 1981: 18). This is not to say that amaXhosa expansion did not violently displace Inqua and Gonaqua communities as it progressed into the southerly regions of the Eastern Cape during the 18th century. Rather, this was not the only contact scenario, and, importantly, did not condition prolonged contact between two languages of markedly unequal socioeconomic standing. During this time period, Khoekhoe communities were either wholly displaced and so removed from language contact, or else were rapidly absorbed on relatively equal social footing.

Even besides these theoretical objections, the linguistic reality is that the older iterations of *isihlonipha* theory were prepared without access to modern lexicographical resources and without modern tools for corpus analysis. Even Faye 1928 was forced to conclude that the replacement of an item in the general isiZulu lexicon by an item from the *isihlonipha* lexicon was rare, and his conclusion that the dental click is ‘a common substitute’ is not supported by the provision of any hard lexicostatistical data (Faye 1928: 775 – 776). More recent lexicostatistical examinations of the isiXhosa corpus have shown that supposed *hlonipha* substitutions only very rarely involve the introduction of click consonants into native Nguni lexical items. Gunnink 2019 counts only thirteen examples in a corpus of 996 isiXhosa items, and finds limited evidence that such *isihlonipha* items, with or without clicks, diffuse productively into the general lexicon. Modern data show that *isihlonipha* substitutions factually did not exert any significant degree of lexical or phonological influence that we have yet been able to detect.

12.4.2. Against Substrate Interference: The Case for Predominant Bilingualism

More recent commentary has suggested substrate interference from *Old Khoekhoe via imposition (or ‘source language agentivity’) onto the adstrate following language shift as the origin of isiZunda click consonants:

‘Contact-induced changes have traditionally been classified into two broad categories: those due to ‘borrowing’ and those due to ‘interference’ by an L1 on an L2 in the course of second language acquisition, particularly language shift involving ‘substratum influence’ (Winford 2005: 374). The latter process is supposed to have largely contributed to the emergence of the relatively elaborate click phoneme systems of Bantu languages such as Xhosa, Zulu, and Yeyi.’

Bostoen & Sands, 2009: 123

This is unsatisfactory on two grounds. Firstly, in general shift events, substrate interference tends to be limited to the small and typically regionalised portions of the speech community that had direct contact with the substrate language, resulting in regional variation rather than general influence. For the click lexis to have been introduced into isiZunda, the relative size of the shifting community must have been enormous, and probably even *larger* than the size of the host community. Secondly, as was shown throughout Chapter 10 and Chapter 11, substrate interference with the lexicon following rapid shift cannot introduce contrastive click type into a host language, *even* in cases where social assimilation did *not* initially condition the evanescence of loans associated with subsistence method (as in the SwB languages). Given the proliferation of click loss from loans in the swB cluster, it is doubtful whether substrate interference with the phonology is capable of enduring more than a few generations beyond the removal of the donor click language from the event. No other contact event that occurred under shift conditions donated a contrastive click inventory. This further implies that contact under markedly unequal socioeconomic conditions cannot introduce contrastive click type into a host language; more specifically, the click language *cannot* be the socioeconomically inferior of the two languages.

As posited in Section 10.2.3., the locus of type neutralisation is the monolingualism of the post-shift generation. Monolingual speakers of a clickless language, when exposed sporadically to lexical insertion of click items, fail to acquire the capacity to store or articulate phonemic contrast embedded in click type, and admit {X} only as a marginal segment. The locus of click maintenance, then, must be sustained bilingualism; or, more accurately, must be conditions under which bilingualism is

unmarked or even preferred. Multiple generations of children must acquire both languages to fluency, either simultaneously or near-simultaneously, and so must have access to a fluent contrastive click inventory, which they utilise both during codemixing, and during single-word lexical insertion. Here the sheer degree of lexical exposure, and its dissemination across the entirety of the speech community is the second crucial factor. Under shift conditions that disprefer the click language, click stimulus is limited and sporadic, available only to small enclaves of speakers. Under conditions of sustained codemixing, even predominantly monolingual clickless children would nonetheless be exposed to large volumes of click stimulus, fostering the acquisition of contrastive click type. As bilingualism increases, then, the alien segments present in loanwords introduced via bilingual lexical insertion during codemixing require fewer and less dramatic adaptations.

Casual contact and language shift are both events under which bilingualism is the marked condition, and hence curtail the proliferation of access to the donor phonology geographically, in the case of casual contact, and diachronically, in the case of shift. Predominantly monolingual communities, in which only small subsets of the population are bilingual in both a click and a clickless language, clearly do not gain a contrastive click inventory, as contrasts by type are inaccessible to speakers who employ only a clickless grammar. If prolonged and consistent intergenerational bilingualism, in which the majority of the speech community not only has fluent command of a contrastive click inventory, is further capable of inserting lexical items carrying these fluent clicks into clickless matrices, then the majority of the speech community will acquire these insertions through normal and consistent exposure.

In short, the prevailing socioeconomic conditions must have been such that bi- or multilingualism was the unmarked state of the majority of the *Old isiZunda speech community, and *only* the *Old isiZunda speech community, for many generations in or around the Natal Highlands region. At the other end of the *Old isiNguni continuum, the *Old isiMbo communities clustering at Lebombo and beginning to proliferate down the southern coast never experienced the prolonged and intimate contact with Khoekhoe required to integrate the tripartite click inventory. Even accepting sustained and relatively unmarked bilingualism as the mechanism of diffusion, however, the core of the problem remains. Clearly bilingual speakers do still engage in lexical insertion

from a dispreferred donor language onto the preferred host language even under conditions of extreme socioeconomic disparity, as evidenced by Namaqualand Afrikaans, but this is done so sporadically that productive acquisition by the subsequent generation is severely limited, if not wholly impossible.

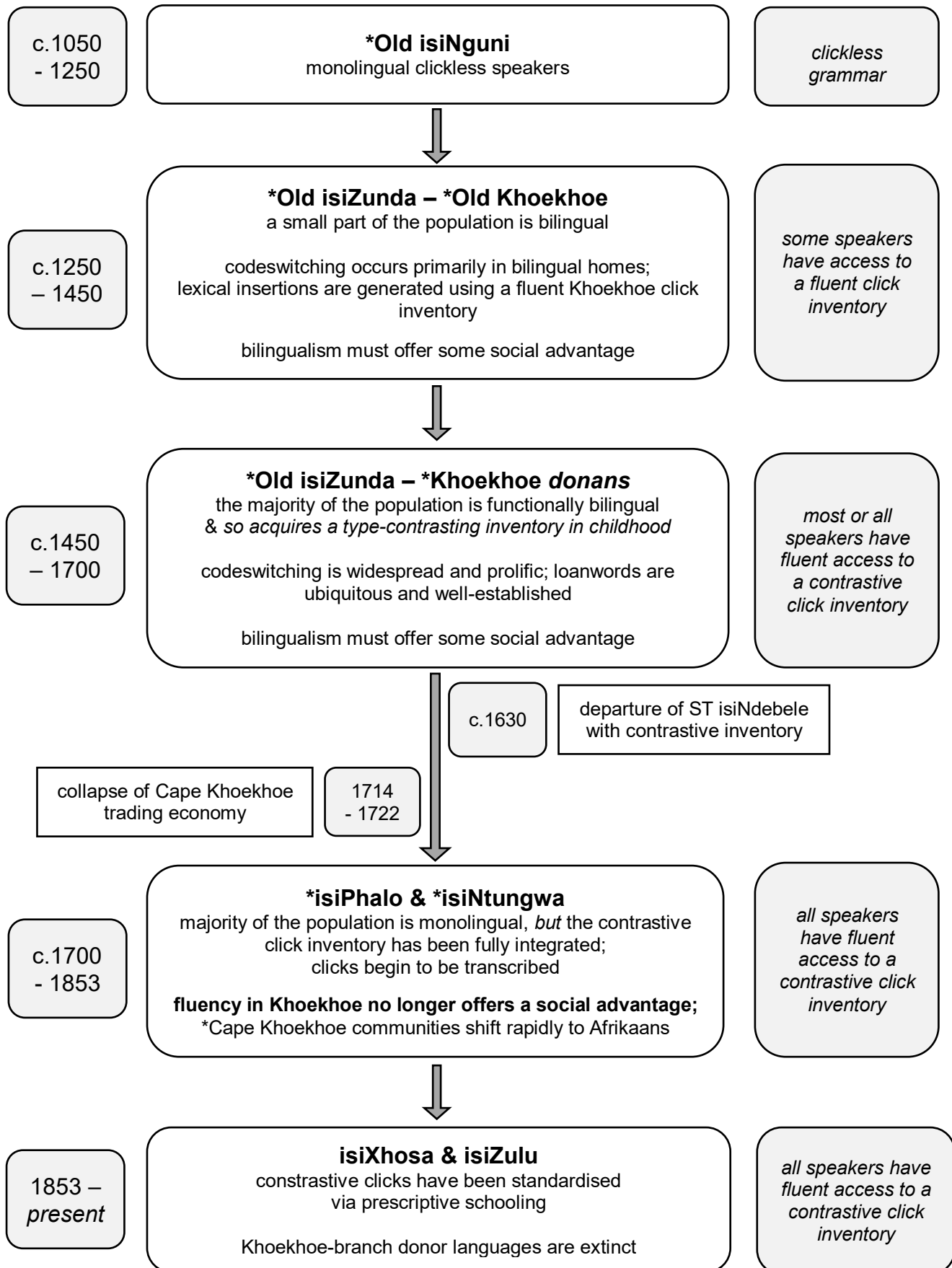
Massive relexification coupled with widespread phonological integration together indicate that lexical insertion from Khoekhoe onto an isiZunda matrix must have been both extensive and regular. Stable conditions of contact between languages of equal or near-equal socioeconomic status, in which codemixing is acceptable in all or most discourse contexts, and in which speaking only in one language is in fact the marked option, are the only possible conditions that have the potential to donate click consonants with type contrasts intact, so long as they are prolonged over multiple generations.

12.4.3. A Straight Sword for a Tangled Knot

This implies, finally, that we may need to interrogate our historical biases. In any other contact scenario evidencing mass relexification of this order, with no clear historical context available, we would assume as a matter of course that the donor language had been the more prestigious. As observed in Section 12.1.1. above, the convoluted nature of the existing explanations for the Click Diffusion Problem is necessitated solely by the apparent socioeconomic disparity between the Khoekhoe and the amaZunda. We must consider the possibility that this is an anachronistic colonial illusion.

With generation on generation having adapted to crossing great and arid distances, *Old Khoekhoe communities pushing down from the Kalahari would have found the northern periphery of the Groot Karoo relatively easy travelling, especially along the Gariep, allowing them to disperse rapidly westward. In the southeast, the abrupt ecological interruption of the grassy Highveld seems to have prevented the progression of amaNguni agriculturalists any real distance beyond Gqeberha, but fynbos is no barrier to goatherds.

Diagram 12.1
Click Diffusion via Sustained Bilingualism



Cyclical transhumance meant that pastoralist communities could maintain constant seasonal communication with a complex extended network of small but thriving clans, all speaking loosely mutually-intelligible languages. Trade from as far afield as Walvis Bay probably began to develop along these transhumance routes fairly early on, but would have intensified rapidly after Portuguese presence on the Angolan coast began to introduce rare and high-value material goods to the southern African market from the early 16th century onward.

The complex network of trading routes and allegiances ascribed by Peninsular consultants to the easterly Inqua and Attaqua communities in the Karoo Heartland during the mid-17th century⁹⁵ indicates that the ‘powerful, strongly hierarchised’ (Fehn *et al.* 2022: 256) Khoekhoe communities of the Peninsula and interior not only had comfortable transhumant access to hunting grounds, grazing, and water, but had for some time been established as successful merchants who controlled the flow of desirable goods into the interior, and so were able to secure the fealty of smaller clans. To the amaZunda, whose cumbersome herds of cattle prevented direct access to the dryland trade, Khoekhoe communities must have seemed like invaluable allies, willing to provide access to copper, iron, beads, fine jewellery, fresh weaponry, exotic feathers and hides, cannabis, and tobacco. Insipid visions of pre-colonial utopia are precisely as dehumanising as assumptions of unchecked barbarism, and conflict must have occurred, as conflict inevitably does. Nonetheless, the logical and most beneficial course of action occurring to the amaZunda must have been to forge alliances with their itinerant suppliers.

At this point it is useful to resurrect and slightly adjust an old observation:

Bilingualism, which opened the door to Khoisan linguistic influence, was nurtured in a different setting from that of Western culture. In the extended polygamous family of the Nguni, there was not one, but several “families”, each clustering around one of several wives. The father was an occasional visitor to these families and in the linguistically formative years of the child, the predominating influence was that of the mother. ... There was, therefore, an aspect of separation in time and place in acquiring the two languages which is not usually part of bilingualism in our culture.

Lanham 1964: 383

⁹⁵See Elphick 1981: 62 – 67 and Peires 1985: 95 – 98 for the easterly interior traderoutes supplied by communities from both the Gariep and the Peninsula; Gordon 1992: 18 – 22 for the northwesterly coastal traderoutes that supplied the Peninsula.

If we frame intermarriage between the Khoekhoe and the amaZunda as mutually beneficial, rather than as unilaterally exploitative, then it becomes possible to reconstruct a society in which bilingualism was not only an everyday necessity, but a valuable resource. The polygynous amaZunda kinship system could certainly have fostered the close integration of bilingual *Khoekhoe *donans*-*Old isiZunda family units into amaZunda culture, especially assuming many generations of close trading links. The bilingual children of such families would have been particularly well-positioned to negotiate with transhumant monolingual *Cape Khoekhoe and *Eastern Khoekhoe merchants, and hence to broker trade agreements and other alliances, either on behalf of their umZunda parent or for their own benefit. The sheer usefulness of the Khoekhoe languages to trade and diplomacy would have influenced perceptions of prestige, while the growing number of amaZunda who had kinship ties to mixed-ethnicity households would have rendered it easy to acquire. The ability to speak *Khoekhoe *donans* would have been both economically beneficial and readily accessible.

Under such conditions, the extensive lexical insertion of Khoekhoe items onto isiZunda matrices is no longer a puzzle, but a normal outcome of prestige dynamics. Conspicuous possession of luxury material goods accessible only through trade, such as fine copper jewellery and tobacco, would have been associated with speakers of *Khoekhoe *donans*, and fluent codemixing, including the lexical insertion of *Khoekhoe *donans* items onto *Old isiZunda matrices and *vice versa*, would have been a hallmark of wealthy mixed-ethnicity families. This would have conditioned the development of sustained and desirable bilingualism over multiple generations, as visualised in Figure 12.1 above. This, in turn, explains the integration of a contrastive click inventory that endured even after the conclusion of the contact event. It is also clear from the historical resources available to us that these particular conditions were never present in other click contact events, which accounts for the uniqueness of the contemporary isiZunda outcomes.

In 1714, nine out of every ten Cape Khoekhoe living in the environs of the Piketberg died of smallpox. Communities had become increasingly harried by trekboer depredations since the opening of the cattle trade beyond the Peninsula in 1701, and those that could were beginning to abandon their old transhumance routes, choosing either to flee the Cape as the Korana had some decades earlier, or to exchange labour

for shelter on trekboer holdings. The effects of the 1714 outbreak were devastating, and were followed less than a decade later by the Second Smallpox Epidemic of 1722, which particularly affected Klein Namaqua communities near the Cederberg, horrifying them so deeply that they never again came south of the Olifantsrivier. Within a generation, the crucial trading partners along the west coast who had sustained the interior economy of the east physically vanished. The resultant socioeconomic collapse must have been total.

Something of a power vacuum seems to have developed rapidly in the Eastern Cape, and the amaXhosa, probably having spent the 17th century skirting the southern foothills of the Drakensberg, began to expand into the Ciskei in earnest around the beginning of the 18th. Mdange ousted the once-wealthy Inqua from the Graaff-Reinet region around 1700, suggesting that the economic destabilisation radiating outward from the Peninsula was already beginning to disrupt established communities. Rharhabe took control of the Amatola from a Khoekhoe leader Hoho around 1750, and Maqoma evicted the Gonaqua from Katrivier in 1795. That British colonial observers reaching the Eastern Cape only in the early 19th century considered desperate indigence to characterise what Khoekhoe communities survived is unsurprising. Most had long since come to depend on wage labour under baster or trekboer landowners, or else would have been absorbed into the increasingly powerful amaXhosa, with both eventualities requiring cultural assimilation.

The socioeconomic disparity between the remnants of the Khoekhoe and the amaXhosa during the 19th century created the historical illusion that similar conditions had always prevailed, but this was the aftermath of dire economic collapse, not a primordial *status quo*. The language data are clear. Speakers of *Old isiZunda must have found some real socioeconomic advantage in speaking *Khoekhoe *donans*. Speakers of *Khoekhoe *donans* must have found some real socioeconomic advantage in interacting closely and regularly with speakers of *Old isiZunda. For a time at least, productive bilingualism sustained a mutually beneficial relationship between merchants and farmers.

12.5. Conclusion: Towards a Typology of Click Loan Events

If a clickless language and a click language enter into casual contact, into contact under shift conditions, into contact under conditions which render the click language socioeconomically stigmatised, or into contact under other conditions that prohibit the development of productive bilingualism, the ordinary result is the loan of a small to marginal lexis that carries with it a small to marginal click inventory. Phonemic contrast embedded in click is uniformly neutralised. Instead, click type is realised either in extreme variation, such that any and all types of input click /l ɭ ʄ !/ are output {ʄ}, or else in extreme reduction, such that any and all types of input click /l ɭ ʄ !/ are output predominantly as [l], but in some languages additionally or alternatively as [!].

In Scenario 0, once the contact event ends, and the host language no longer receives regular input from the donor click, all click consonants begin to be replaced by pulmonic consonants, except perhaps for some marginal retention in interjections or ideophones. In Scenario 1, it should be understood that the contact event is still ongoing or else has only recently concluded, meaning that click consonants are still employed in variation and reduction. Should the contact event conclude, with the result that the donor click language is no longer in contact with the clickless host language, the variable inventory of click types will stabilise and reduce to either the dental click or to the alveolar click, then, within the new few generations, evanesce entirely, with all clicks being replaced by pulmonic consonants. Effectively, Scenario 1 endures only so long as the host clickless language remains in contact with the donor click language, or remains surrounded by click languages; after contact ends, host languages in Scenario 1 will transition into Scenario 0.

Scenario 0 – clicks replaced by pulmonic consonants

- *Cape Khoekhoe → general Afrikaans, SA English
- Kora, Kalahari → seTswana
- KHOE, KX'A → northerly chiFwe

Scenario 1 – contrastive click type neutralised via variation & reduction

- Kora → Gariep Afrikaans
- Nama → Namaqualand Afrikaans
- KHOE, KX'A → ruManyo, ruKwangali, thiMbukushu, chiFwe
- isiZulu → seSotho
- isiZulu → southwesterly dialects in Tswa-Rhongo
- isiZulu → siSwati

- isiZulu → NT Sindebele (*minimal*)

Under conditions that remain historically unclear, but that I have argued probably entailed extensive and community-wide bilingualism persisting for several generations, contact between a click language and a clickless language will transfer loanwords with all or most type contrasts intact. The resulting click lexis in the host language should show regular and consistent type-matching with that of the donor language with few to no exceptions. To our knowledge, this scenario has so far happened only once, in *Old isiZunda, resulting in the development of large and contrastive click inventories in isiXhosa, isiZulu, and the daughter language of the latter, Zimbabwean isiNdebele.

Scenario 2 – contrastive click type preserved & maintained

- *Old Khoekhoe → *Old isiZunda

Lastly, there do exist some instances that are too poorly documented for definitive conclusions to be drawn. These include the complex cases of shiYeyi and ST isiNdebele for which conflicting evidence for *both* type-matching and type variation exist. Here it may be the case that Scenario 2 conditions did exist and had begun to embed a type-contrasting inventory into the host languages, but were abruptly resolved, with the result that the inventory destabilised and came to resemble the outcomes of a Scenario 1 event instead. Certainly if ST isiNdebele departed the *Old Khoekhoe-*Old isiZunda event relatively early, it may have carried with it a nascent ternary click inventory, but gradually lost it after prolonged contact with clickless languages. Perhaps a similarly early departure from a Scenario 2 event is to blame for the situation in shiYeyi. Finally, the isiTekela language siPhuthi may have begun to gain click consonants under similar conditions of intensive bilingualism via recent contact with isiXhosa, as the limited available data suggest regular type-matching, but further information is required before conclusions can be drawn.

Scenario 3 – mixed or unclear outcomes

- *Old Khoekhoe → *proto-ST isiNdebele
- KHOE, KX'A → shiYeyi
- isiXhosa → siPhuthi

With these comparative outcomes in place, it becomes clear that the apparently extreme variation encountered in click consonants in Namaqualand Afrikaans is, in

fact, the normal condition of click consonants donated via the vast majority of contact events to have occurred between a click language and a clickless language over the past few centuries.

Conclusions & Recommendations

This conclusion reviews and summarises the primary sociohistorical, phonetic and phonological, and comparative findings from this project. In addition to outlining the major findings from data collection and description in Namaqualand, it summarises all comparative conclusions as to the cross-linguistic behaviours of click consonants during contact events. Finally, it recommends the urgent documentation of regional variation in indigenous South African languages with an eye to enriching our understanding of the precolonial linguistic landscape. It particularly emphasises the importance of improving our documentation of regional variation in click inventories.

13.1 Historical Socioeconomic Drivers of the Nama-Afrikaans Shift Event

Crucial to this project from the outset was the preparation of a detailed sociohistorical discussion of contact between Nama and Afrikaans in the Namaqualand region between 1816 – 2016. This ensured that socioeconomic conditions could be taken into account when assessing the final phonological outcomes of click loan following language contact. Having conducted a full historical survey of the Namaqualand contact event, Chapter 2 identified the four primary drivers of shift: social dislocation, community fragmentation, internalised language prejudice, and a lack of formal academic support for language conservation.

Early acculturation to Western European colonial norms saw Nama-speaking communities abandon historical subsistence methods and cultural practices via processes of social dislocation in order to gain missionary protection (Boonzaier *et al.* 1996; Penn 2005; Kelso 2010; Rawson 2018). A mission education followed by religious conversation offered safety and acceptance in an increasingly hostile frontier zone, in which Afrikaans-speaking baster and trekboer communities both exerted socioeconomic dominance over Nama-speaking communities. While the development of Nama-medium teaching materials by Germanophone missionaries may have assisted in delaying shift in some regions (Carstens 1966: 208; Trüper 2006: 54), Anglophone missionaries taught only in Afrikaans. This led to an early prestige split, establishing Afrikaans as a language that offered physical safety, social favour, and access to material goods.

Colonial efforts to control and restrict land access throughout the first half of the 20th century prior to the formal establishment of the Apartheid regime only exacerbated the social dislocation of Nama-speakers from Nama culture, as the land required to practise historical subsistence methods as transhumant pastoralism shrank and opportunities for European-style wage-labour increased (Sharp & West 1984: 5; Emmett 1987: 36 – 39; Boonzaier *et al.* 1996: 126 – 127; Rohde & Hoffman 2008: 201 – 203). As copper- and diamond-mining increased in the Namaqualand region, Coloured Afrikaans-speaking labour pools began to outnumber and severely fragment Nama-speaking communities. Migrant labour exploded in the 1950s after the implementation of the Apartheid regime, further entrenching Afrikaans as a regional *lingua franca*, and disrupting the patterns of communal transhumance that had historically structured and sustained Nama speech communities.

Increased opportunity for wage-labour also exposed historically isolated Nama-speaking communities to increasingly urbanised environments that prioritised Western European markers of social achievement. Racialised ‘progressivist’ attitudes that favoured the advent of Western modernity (see Adhikari 2005: 19 – 20) deepened the deadly prestige split that had positioned Afrikaans as aspirational and Nama as backwards (Carstens 1966: 131 – 143; Emmett 1987: 158). An intense wave of internalised shame and self-hatred seems to have gripped Namaqualand during the Apartheid years, and anecdotes of deliberate language suppression in schools and the workplace are still encountered (Sharp & Boonzaier 1994: 408; Berzborn 2004: 345).

Finally, contemporary South African linguists have failed utterly to have offered their support and assistance to community-led language teaching efforts in the Northern Cape. No fresh documentation of Nama as spoken in the Richtersveld has emerged in fifteen years (Witzlack-Makareich 2006), suggesting that this regional variety may well be moribund. What grassroots language-teaching efforts are in place elsewhere in the Northern Cape (Jones 2019: 10) must of necessity rely on standardised Namibian Khoekhoe teaching materials, meaning that any regional linguistic variation still surviving in Namaqualand may be under threat.

The historical sociolinguistic finding most relevant to the development of the remainder of the thesis is that Nama-Afrikaans bilingualism was socially disadvantageous. Contact between the two languages occurred under shift conditions which prioritised the rapid transition from one style of monolingualism to another. Extended periods of language contact during which multiple successive generations of fluent bilinguals productively acquired both languages did not occur. Furthermore, the increasingly fragmented nature of surviving Nama speech communities, when set against the large and consolidated number of Afrikaans-speakers, meant that, while some substrate interference *did* occur, it was regionally restricted and varied considerably from household to household, and so could not exert a general influence on the Namaqualand Afrikaans-speaking community as a whole. This is in keeping with the classical position that substrate interference to the degree required for long-term restructuring tends to occur only when the size of the substrate community is equal to or larger than the size of the adstrate community (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 119 – 121).

13.2. Nama Substrate Interference with Namaqualand Afrikaans

The majority of existing research into Khoekhoe-Afrikaans contact has focused on the potential for the Khoekhoe-branch languages to have contributed to the development of Cape Dutch into present-day Afrikaans via morphosyntactic restructuring, with minimally conclusive results. Very little dedicated linguistic attention has been paid to lexical borrowing from Khoekhoe into Afrikaans, and hence to the potential for phonological interference. Nonetheless, evidence of post-shift lexical retention containing click consonants could be gleaned via a comprehensive review of Afrikaans lexicographical and ethnobotanical materials prepared during the last century. A fully etymologised corpus evidencing Khoekhoe-branch lexical borrowing in Afrikaans is provided in Appendix A.

In addition to lexical borrowing, these resources evidence the use of click consonants by speakers of rural varieties of Coloured Afrikaans during daily discourse (including but not limited to Le Roux 1981, Links 1989, Sarrisam 2006, Prinsloo 2008, Nortje & Van Wyk 2015, Christie 2020, Sands & Jones 2022), suggesting that some degree of click loan has occurred. What little formal linguistic commentary is available suggested

that some degree of phonemic collapse had occurred, judging by reports that monolingual speakers of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans tended to use different click types in different utterances of the same word, sometimes even within the same sentence (Links 1989: 61). Unfortunately, all resources reviewed represented these loaned clicks only using unscientific and *ad hoc* orthographies, spelling all clicks only as **t'**, **xh**, **!**, and the like. Such orthographies, although sufficient for everyday lay purposes, cannot capture the detailed phonetic data required for formal comparative analysis, and speak furthermore to the embarrassingly poor calibre of South African linguistic research into the Khoekhoe-branch languages.

13.2.1. Clicks in Namaqualand Afrikaans

Detailed documentation of Nama lexical items present in the repertoire of monolingual speakers of Namaqualand Afrikaans was conducted between November 2020 – November 2021. Data collected indicate that monolingual Afrikaans-speaking consultants regularly used Nama lexical items containing click consonants in daily discourse. 100 items of Nama origin were collected from 24 monolingual Afrikaans-speaking consultants, of which 95 contained a click consonant. By exactly the same standards applied to the southwestern NTU languages, which likewise contain fewer than a hundred click words, Namaqualand Afrikaans is a click language. This is not necessarily to say that we *should* consider Namaqualand Afrikaans a click language, but rather that our definitions of what constitutes a click language must be more precisely defined. This motivated the development of the cross-linguistic typology of click loan events provided in Section 12.5 above, as summarised in 13.3 below.

As had been reported by Links 1989, and as was expected based on preliminary findings in Christie 2020, the contrastive click inventory of L1 Nama had undergone phonemic neutralisation in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans. Speakers of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans who had no access to Nama beyond idiosyncratic lexical recall, the use of general loanwords, or both, consistently produced non-phonemic click consonants. Any type of click consonant sufficed as the acceptable rephonologisation of a Nama click by an Afrikaans grammar. No clear or consistent correspondences between, an L1 Nama click type and an L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans click type could be identified. Even click accompaniments were not regularly adapted, although some tentative

evidence that a few speakers had begun idiosyncratically to rebuild their own systems of contrast via the application of accompaniments such as voicing and nasalisation is discussed in Section 8.2.2.

As described by Links 1989, some speakers would employ different click types in different utterances of the same word. No predictable patterns of phonological adaptation can be detected; and predictability is a prerequisite of contrast. This implies that little or no phonemic contrast survives perception and generation by a clickless grammar. As is extensively discussed in Chapter 11, this is in keeping with findings on click loan events that have occurred both in the broader Okavango region, in the southwestern NTU click languages, and across South Africa in language such as seSotho and the Tswa-Rhongo dialect complex. Studies of these languages likewise report extreme variation on the donor click inventory by the clickless host language, such that ‘type’ contrasts are no longer phonemic in loan.

The apparent inability for ‘type’ contrasts to survive language contact under most conditions also has important implications for the available research into click perception. The bulk of available data, collected from North American speakers who *did not understand that click consonants were speech sounds* (Best *et al.* 1989), suggested that click-naïve speakers could accurately perceive acoustic distinctions in click type. That the vast majority of click loan events have resulted in the total neutralisation of contrastive click type, however, suggests that the findings from Best *et al.* 1989 are not relevant to click perception in a southern African context (see Tyler 2023 *forthcoming* for further discussion). Detailed data on the perception of click consonants by speakers who *have* been exposed to the daily use of click consonants in their ordinary language environment, but who did not acquire a click language to fluency during childhood, are urgently required. Not only could such data significantly improve L2 click language pedagogy, they could also contribute to our understanding of modular speech perception (as outlined in Section 1.3.2).

Effectively, a post-shift or loaned click consonant must be generated *ex nihilo* from a clickless grammar, rather than with regular and differentially-ranked reference to existing segments as would ordinarily be the case during rephonologisation. The least

marked option would appear to be the linguopulmonic dental click, probably for reasons involving the cross-linguistic availability of certain articulatory gestures (as is discussed in detail in Section 6.1), but articulatory incompetence means that realisation is not consistent. In acoustic terms, clicks expected to be ‘acute’ in an L1 Nama context, the alveolar click and the palatal click, were ‘noisier’ in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans. Strongly reminiscent of the tendency of click consonants to become ‘noisier’ prior to total click loss in the Kalahari-branch languages (Traill & Voßen 1997; Fehn 2020a), this phenomenon of ‘acoustic undershoot’ implies that the rapidly-controlled whole-tongue gesture required to articulate the ‘acute’ clicks is unavailable from the GERMANIC articulatory repertoire, making the ‘noisier’ dental click the least marked option.

Furthermore, a striking majority of the L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans clicks collected employed a ‘linguopulmonic’ accompaniment, predominantly voiceless, that is not present in the L1 Nama click inventory. The twin bursts resulting from the twin releases required to articulate a click consonant ought by default to be near-simultaneous, such that the much more salient anterior burst drowns out the posterior burst. In L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans, however, the posterior closure is delayed, creating a burst that is both audible and visible (see detailed discussion at Section 6.2.1). Whether this closure was uvular or velar could not be determined with the available technology, but it is treated as uvular throughout. Audible posterior releases have also been documented in post-shift Kora and Xam clicks in Gariep Afrikaans, as well as in loaned clicks in chiFwe, and may perhaps be a common property of loaned clicks.

13.2.2. Idiosyncratic Post-shift Lexical Retention

Relatively few lexical items were generally established across the monolingual Namaqualand Afrikaans repertoire (as discussed in Section 10.2.1). Only ten lexical items hosting click consonants were recorded from 75% or more of the consultant pool. Certainly these items are well-integrated into Namaqualand Afrikaans discourse and, by all accounts, are considered unremarkable in daily discourse, suggesting that they should be considered loanwords proper. Nonetheless, the number is small.

By contrast, 51 lexical items hosting click consonants were known to only one only consultant, and ten consultants knew at least one unique item. Although these items have undergone rephonologisation, in that they are generated not using an L1 Nama grammar using a type-contrasting click inventory, but rather using a clickless L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans grammar that does not contrast click consonants by type, they cannot be considered loanwords proper, in that they are not generally established across the speech community.

I suggest that idiosyncratic lexes of this sort, as recalled by functionally monolingual speakers in the aftermath of a shift event, be referred to as post-shift lexical retention, and be set apart from loan proper. Such items may perhaps have had the *potential* to become loanwords via substrate interference, but *have not yet* been more broadly integrated into the adstrate, and likely will never be. Drawing this distinction allows for a narrower appreciation of the temporal fulcrum that separates synchronic language obsolescence from diachronic substrate interference.

These findings are further in line with the understanding that Khoekhoe-branch communities were simply too small to exert general influence on Afrikaans, and, as the colonial project of cultural and linguistic assimilation progressed, also too fragmented. With bilingualism an actively disadvantageous trait, no socioeconomic opportunity existed for the development of sustained intergenerational codeswitching. Without consistent exposure, children acquired only a piecemeal lexis, rather than the productive grammar necessary to furnish access to a phonemic click inventory. Post-shift speakers then recalled the idiosyncratic and locally-motivated codeswitching of their socially isolated bilingual caretakers, probably in minutely domestic discourse contexts rather than in public spheres. A small substrate community dwindling steadily under conditions in which bilingualism was socially disadvantageous could not interfere with the adstrate to any massive degree, and so no common lexis can be established from such fragmented influence.

Importantly, while the post-shift click consonants themselves were variable, speakers' semantic recall was sound even despite the extreme homophony caused by the collapse of the contrastive click inventory. Some of the rarer and more idiosyncratic

items were prone to conflation or confusion, but the usage of well-established and well-known loanwords in everyday discourse contexts was logical and consistent. Effectively, while some degree of folk etymologisation very naturally attends the more obscure lexical archaisms, speakers of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans are not making things up. There is real historical linguistic value to be gained from further documentation of the post-shift Nama lexis.

Finally, it should also be noted that no evidence whatsoever was collected of L1 speakers of Namaqualand Afrikaans *inserting* click consonants into the ancestral GERMANIC lexis. There was also no evidence of speakers innovating click consonants on Nama lexical items that historically did *not* contain a click. L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans click consonants were restricted to the inherited Nama click lexis. Claims that parallel click loan events across the KBA have been capable of innovating click consonants on the ancestral host lexis (Boestoen & Sands 2012; Gunnink *et al.* 2015; Gunnink 2020) are rebutted in Chapter 11.

In this sense, no phonological restructuring of the adstrate has occurred at all. A single marginal segment, {ʘ}, has been added to a regional variety of the adstrate, and is present only in the substrate lexis. We should predict that it will eventually evanesce entirely from Namaqualand Afrikaans.

13.2.3. Constraints & Conditions

One clear sociolinguistic variable conditioning the phonological outcomes of click loan was L1 Nama input during childhood (Section 7.3). Speakers of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans who noted that they had learned their click lexis from an L1 Nama parent or caretaker in the home exhibited far larger and more variable click inventories. Such speakers tended to use all four click types expected of L1 Nama, although they did still favour the dental click overall, and also used a broader variety of click accompaniments. Speakers of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans who could not name a specific L1 Nama caretaker in the home, but who cited general community exposure to the use of loaned click items in an Afrikaans context, were far *less* variable in their click production. No such speakers employed the lateral click at all, and were more

consistent in employing one predominant click type across most utterances, usually the dental click.

When these trends are sorted by geographic location, a clear pattern emerges. Speakers at the southernmost extremity of Namaqualand, in the Kamiesberg, did not claim L1 Nama input during childhood, and almost uniformly used the dental click across all tokens of all Nama lexical items. Speakers in the more northerly regions of Namaqualand who did not claim direct L1 Nama input displayed moderately variable inventories, but did not use the lateral click consonant at all. Speakers who lived on former ‘Coloured Reserves’ of northern Namaqualand *and* claimed L1 Nama input during childhood exhibited the largest and most varied click inventories, and were also the only speakers to use all four click types.

Here it must be recalled that Afrikaans was introduced into the southerly Kamiesberg very early on in the 19th century, while the northerly ‘Coloured Reserves’ were for much of the 20th century the last bastions of Nama culture, and so preserved the use of the Nama language. Where shift was most advanced, click inventories were most reduced; where shift was still in progress or only recently concluded, click inventories were most complex. This accords exactly with diachronic findings on the progression of click loan events in the broader KBA region (Gunnink & Sands 2019: 710 – 711). Effectively, the further the host language is removed from contact with a click donor language, both geographically and diachronically, the more likely it is to have simplified the donor click inventory to a single click type.

Comparison reminds us that a small number of loanwords from Khoekhoe-branch languages are present in general Afrikaans and SA English, but these items have all undergone click replacement. The same is true of a number of KHOE-family loans in seTswana. Why Namaqualand Afrikaans (and parallel post-shift varieties such as Gariep Afrikaans) should retain the use of clicks in loanwords is best expressed by supposing that two constraints compete to determine the behaviour of a click segment within a clickless grammar. The constraint *ʘ » FAITH [ʘ] dictates that no click may be generated at all, regardless of click input, and so will replace any input click with a

stop. The constraint FAITH |X| » *X dictates that *any click consonant* may output an input click segment.

These constraints (discussed in detail in Section 10.3) may be competitively distributed across varieties, and probably also within individuals. Which constraint is more highly ranked appears to depend primarily on the recency of contact. Namaqualand Afrikaans is in the final stages of language shift, and contact with the donor language Nama has only just ended, or is still ending. Under these conditions, loaned click consonants are adapted as click consonants, implying that FAITH |X| » *X. After the donor language has been removed from the scenario, however, the temporary intrusion of marginal click segments into the host inventory begins to be resolved, and click segments are adapted instead as pulmonic consonants, implying that *X » FAITH |X| has emerged victorious.

13.3 A Comparative Assessment of Click Loan

The documentation of click loan during one contact event is fairly pointless if it cannot be used to provide insight into comparable click loan events. Accordingly, the socioeconomic conditions and phonological outcomes of the Nama-Afrikaans shift event were compared with other known instances of click loan across the Kalahari Basin Area (KBA), historically a region supporting intensive and complex language contact that is still poorly understood. Appendix B was developed to support the arguments summarised below.

13.3.1. Similar Phonological Outcomes

The normal phonological integration of an item containing a click consonant into an ancestrally clickless host language under conditions of casual contact entails the replacement of the click consonant with a pulmonic consonant, usually a voiced or voiced velar stop, or else, as in seTswana, by velar fricative or ejective consonants. Nasalised clicks may be replaced by alveolar, velar, or palatal nasals, depending on the available segments. Clearly examples of this having occurred across-the-board are available from general Afrikaans, SA English, and seTswana, and sporadic instances are also present in certain NTU languages. Effectively, click consonants, as complex and cross-linguistically rare stop consonants, are replaced by stop

consonants more readily available from the host inventory via ordinary processes of rephonologisation during loan. This outcome is treated as **Scenario 0**, or the ‘declicking’ of click items following loan.

However, many ancestrally clickless languages in the KBA do currently use click lexes gained via contact. For ease of reference, these are separated into the southwestern NTU or ‘swB click languages’ of the broader Okavango Delta region in Namibia and Botswana, and the southeastern NTU or ‘seB click languages’ of South Africa. Detailed sociohistorical context is not available for the majority of these cases, and the available written record barely extends beyond a century. While these difficulties could be significantly redressed by better documentation of regional variation, it is difficult even to find detailed phonetic description of clicks in South African languages such as seSotho, siSwati, and siPhuthi. Nonetheless, using insights gleaned from the Namaqualand Afrikaans case study, generalisations may be drawn in order to develop a comparative typology of all known click loan events.

During contact between click languages of the Okavango and the swB languages, conditions must have resembled those present in Namaqualand, such that widespread community bilingualism was never productively established. Certainly some of these contact events may have entailed shift, but others may have occurred under conditions of relatively casual contact, probably at regular but brief intervals as transhumant communities using click languages passed in and out of contact with clickless languages. This explains the extreme reduction and simplification of the donor click inventories to, as well as the apparent tendency for click consonants to be steadily replaced by pulmonic consonants, such that loanwords are retained, but without clicks. *Contra* Gunnink & Sands 2019, all of this contact must have occurred at a relatively shallow time depth. This further implies that ‘declicked’ lexes akin to those present in seTswana probably appear throughout many more NTU languages of the KBA region, but are difficult to detect. Mass lexicographic comparison is required.

In a South African context, other click loan events still likely involved contact between clickless NTU languages and the socially dominant isiZulu language in the aftermath of the amaZulu Expansions, such that *sounding like* a speaker of isiZulu through the adoption of loanwords was socially advantageous, even if one could not *fluently speak*

isiZulu. This accounts for the presence of neutralised click inventories in both seSotho and in certain dialects of the Tswa-Rhonga complex. The degree of type simplification present especially in siSwati suggests that a type-contrasting click inventory was *not* an ancestral condition of *Old isiNguni. Rather, siSwati gained click consonants via fairly late contact with isiZulu during the explosion of migrant labour associated with gold- and diamond-mining in Gauteng during the last two decades of the 19th century. Similarly, siPhuthi must have gained click consonants during relatively recent contact with isiXhosa in the southerly Drakensberg and northerly Transkei.

In short, the ordinary phonological behaviour of click consonants donated via shift or casual contact, under conditions in which bilingualism is neither widespread nor socially advantageous, will involve the **neutralisation of contrast** embedded in click type during loan into an ancestrally clickless grammar, or **Scenario 1**. This neutralisation may entail extreme variation on the donor inventory, such that multiple click ‘types’ are used non-contrastively, or extreme reduction of the donor inventory, such that only one click ‘type’ is used, ordinarily the dental or the alveolar click.

There would seem to be some diachronic tendency to move from the former more complex stage toward the latter simpler stage as the change event slows and concludes, although the two stages may certainly overlap given regional variation on contact conditions. I would also suggest that **Scenario 1** be treated as an intermediary stage that is dependent on the maintenance of contact. After contact has been lost, the click inventory will begin to evanesce via declicking, and **Scenario 0** will be the ultimate long-term result.

13.3.2. Different Phonological Outcomes

Barring siPhuthi and shiYeyi, both of which are complex cases that I argue have not yet been adequately documented, the only example of a click loan event that exhibits *different* phonological outcomes is that which gave rise to the click inventories of present-day isiXhosa and isiZulu via contact.

These languages do *not* display the characteristic pattern of neutralised ‘type’ contrasts. Rather, the phonemic contrasts historically embedded in three click types, the dental, the lateral, and the alveolar, are strictly and regularly maintained centuries

after the removal of the Khoekhoe-branch donor languages from the contact scenario. Only the palatal click undergoes adaptation, and here is predictably realised either as a dental click or as an alveolar click, never as a lateral click. The maintenance of phonemic click type during the transfer of a click lexis from a click language into an ancestrally clickless language, or **Scenario 2**, is nowhere else attested with such consistency and regularity. This implies that the socioeconomic conditions present in the Khoekhoe-‘isiZunda’ implicated neither shift nor casual contact.

A type-contrasting click inventory is *not* present in the ‘isiTekela’ languages siSwati or Sindebele, implying that the contact conditions that donated click consonants to isiXhosa and isiZulu must narrowly have affected the *proto-‘isiZunda’ nucleus, rather than *Old isiNguni. Accepting this, the most intensive point of Khoekhoe-‘isiZunda’ contact is located in the Natal Highlands region c. 1450 – 1650. The theory of isihlonipha-based influence, together with contemporary theory devolving on the anachronistic application of modern identity politics to historical events, are rejected as both insubstantial and needlessly intricate. Instead, an argument is advanced that speaking a Khoekhoe-branch language may have been socially advantageous to the amaZunda.

One immediate reason for this would be that fluency in Khoekhoe could have provided access to the lucrative dryland trade routes maintained by speakers of *Cape Khoekhoe across the western half of the country. *Khoekhoe *donans* and *Old ‘isiZunda’ must have been spoken by communities relatively equal in size and socioeconomic status, and bilingualism must have flourished productively for some generations. Fluent bilinguals would have been capable of integrating Khoekhoe lexical material, *generated using a fluent type-contrastive click inventory*, into the everyday ‘isiZunda’ repertoire via ordinary processes of codemixing. Contact may have been sufficiently intensive, common, and enduring to ensure that both the click lexis and the contrastive click inventory would survive the removal of the donor click language.

13.4 Final Recommendations

The written record of southern African languages is shallow, especially in the case of the KHOE, KX'A, and TUU languages, but also with regard to the smaller and more

socially marginalised NTU languages. The bulk of our language history is not directly attested. We *can* make reasonable inferences about the nature of precolonial language contact events, allowing us to retrieve and reconstruct the social histories that were interrupted by the European colonial project, but *only* if detailed comparative language data are available.

Close and careful documentation of minute linguistic variations by region can be used to reconstruct the movements and contact relations of historical speech communities. This thesis has shown how the collection even of post-shift lexical material can offer an improved understanding of the distribution and relatedness of Kora and Nama as historically spoken in the Northern Cape. Improved data on how the present-day usage of click consonants vary from region to region could similarly shed light on the internal descent relations of the Nguni group, while also potentially providing some insight into the sound changes naturally affecting click consonants. A sufficient geographic breadth of comparative data can compensate even for a significant lack of diachronic depth.

The narrowly pedagogic applications of much of South African linguistics today, however, make for a worryingly prescriptivist drive toward standardisation, the better to churn out textbooks and curricula. This is perhaps only to be expected given global trends in the aftermath of the Cold War toward modernisation, urbanisation, homogenisation. What academic interest in language variation does exist is restricted to the emergence of urban youth vernaculars in such major cities as Cape Town, Johannesburg, and Pretoria. While the recent explosion of digital corpora of indigenous languages is welcome, these too tend to document only the standard varieties used by younger educated speakers in urban hubs. We have no resources paralleling the enormous language atlases of Europe and North America that meticulously celebrate the smallest of regional quirks, and, as a result, little in the way of data to facilitate sociohistorical analysis such as localised reconstruction or the detection and prediction of sound change trends. All of this hampers our understanding of how click consonants arise and change and disperse and fade during contact.

The documentation of regional varieties, especially as spoken by elderly community members in rural areas, requires enormous amounts of time, money, and expertise. South African linguists do not have time, do not have money, and above all do not have expertise. Nonetheless this documentation must be carried out. That so cross-linguistically rare and valuable a phenomenon as click consonants has been so badly neglected by South African linguists is shameful. We must improve our understanding of click consonants via close phonetic description across as many varieties of as many click languages as possible, not only in large cities, but also in the smallest dorpies.

References & Sources

- Adhikari, M. 2009. 'Narratives of Miscegenation to Post-modernist Re-imagining: Towards a Historiography of Coloured Identity in South Africa' in Adhikari, M. (ed.) *Burdened by Race: Coloured Identities in Southern Africa*. University of Cape Town Press. UCT. pp. 1 – 22.
- Aitchison, J. 1981. *Language Change: Progress or Decay?* Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.
- Andersen, R. 1983. 'Transfer to somewhere' in Gass, S. M., Selinker, L. (eds), *Language transfer in language learning*. Newbury House. Massachusetts. pp. 177 – 201.
- Appel, R., Muysken, P. 1987. *Language Contact and Bilingualism*. Edward Arnold. London.
- Appleyard, John Whittle. 1850. *The Kafir Language*. Wesleyan Missionary Society. King William's Town.
- Archer, F., Meer, S. 1997. 'Women, Tenure and Land Reform: The Case of Namaqualand's Reserves' in Meer, S. (ed.) *Women, Land and Authority: Perspectives from South Africa*. David Philip, Oxfam. Cape Town, Oxford. pp. 84 – 96.
- Arndt, J. S. 2015. *Missionaries, Africans and the Emergence of Xhosa and Zulu as Distinct Languages in South Africa, 1800–54*. Doctoral thesis. University of Illinois at Chicago.
- Arndt, J. S. 2019. 'Engineered "Zuluness": Language, Education, and Ethnic Identity in South Africa, 1835–1990' in *Journal of the Middle East and Africa*, Volume 10, No. 3, pp. 211 – 235.
- Auer, P. 1984a. *Bilingual Conversation*. John Benjamins. Amsterdam.
- Auer, P. 1984b. 'On the Meaning of Conversational Code-Switching' in Auer, P., Di Luzio, A. (eds) *Interpretive Sociolinguistics: Migrants, Children, Migrant Children*. Niemeyer. Tübingen. pp. 87 – 108.
- Austin, P. 1986. 'Structural change in language obsolescence: some eastern Australian examples' in *Australian Journal of Linguistics*, Vol. 6. pp. 201-230.
- Aitchison, J. 1981. *Language Change: Progress or Decay?* Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.
- Barbieri, C., Güldemann, T., Naumann, C., Gerlach, L., Berthold, F., Nakagawa, H., Mpoloka, S.W., Stoneking, M., Pakendorf, B. 2014. 'Unraveling the complex maternal history of southern African Khoisan populations' in *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, Vol. 153, pp. 435 – 448.

Barnard, A. 1992. *Hunters and Herders of Southern Africa: A Comparative Ethnography of the Khoisan Peoples*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Bastin, Y., Coupez A., Mumba, E. Schadeberg, T. 2002. Bantu lexical reconstructions 3. Tervuren. Hosted online by the Royal Museum for Central Africa at <http://linguistics.africamuseum.be/BLR3.html>.

Batibo, H. M. 2005. *Language decline and death in Africa: Causes, consequences and challenges*. Multilingual Matters. Clevedon.

Batibo, H. M. 2013. 'Preserving and transmitting indigenous knowledge in diminishing biocultural environments: Case studies from Botswana and Tanzania' in *African Study Monographs*, Vol. 34. No. 3. pp. 161 – 173.

Baumbach, E. J. M. 1987. *Analytical Tsonga grammar*. UNISA. Pretoria.

Baumbach, E. J. M. 1997. 'Bantu Languages of the Eastern Caprivi' in Haacke, W. H. G., Elderkin, E. E. (eds) *Namibian Languages: Reports and Papers*. Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. Köln. pp. 307 – 451.

Bavin, E. L. 1989. 'Some lexical and morphological changes in Warlpiri' in Dorian, N. C. *Investigating obsolescence: Studies in language contraction and death*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge. pp. 267 – 286.

Beach, D.M. 1938. *The Phonetics of the Hottentot Language*. W. Heffer & Sons. Cambridge.

Bennett, W. G. 2020. 'Click Phonology' in Sands, B. (ed) *Click Consonants*. BRILL. Leiden. pp. 75 – 128.

Berzborn, S. 2003. "'Ek is 'n Nama, want ek praat die taal": The Richtersveld and the National Language Policy in South Africa' in *San and the State: Contesting Land, Development, Identity and Representation*. Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. Köln. pp.325 – 364.

Besten, M. 2009. "'We are the original inhabitants of this land": Khoe-San identity in post-apartheid South Africa' in Adhikari, M. (ed.) *Burdened by Race: Coloured Identities in Southern Africa*. University of Cape Town Press. UCT. pp. 134 – 155.

Best, C. T. 1995. 'A direct realist perspective on cross-language speech perception: Speech Perception and Linguistic Experience' in Strange, W. (ed.) *Issues in Cross-Language Speech Research*. York Press. Maryland. pp. 167 – 200.

Best, C. T. 2020. 'Perception of Non-native Click Consonant Contrasts: Implications for Theories of Speech Perception' in Sands, B. (ed.) *Click Consonants*. BRILL. Leiden. pp. 179 – 209.

Best, C. T., McRoberts, G. W., Sithole, N. M. 1988. 'Examination of perceptual reorganization for non-native speech contrasts: Zulu click discrimination by English-

speaking adults and infants' in *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Human Perception and Performance*, Vol. 14, No. 3. pp. 345 – 360.

Best, C. T., Traill, A., Carter, A., Harrison, K. D., Faber, A. 2003. '!Xóõ click perception by English, isiZulu, and Sesotho listeners' in *Proceedings of the 15th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences, Barcelona, Spain, August 3–9*. The Autonomous University at Barcelona. pp. 853–856.

Bilbe, M. C. 2009. *Wupperthal: The Formation of a Community in South Africa, 1830-1965*. Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. Köln.

Blackbeard, S. I. 2018. *Kat River Conversations*. Self-published. Cape Town.

Bleek, W. H. I. 1862. *A Comparative Grammar of South African Languages*. Trübner & Co. London.

Bleek, W. H. I., Lloyd, L. 1911. *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*. Stephen Austin & Sons, Ltd. Hertford.

Bleek, D. F. 1956. *A Bushman Dictionary*. American Oriental Society. New Haven, Connecticut.

Boersma, P., Hamann, S. 2009. 'Loanword adaptation as first-language phonological perception' in Calabrese, A., Wessels, W. L., (eds) *Loan Phonology*. John Benjamins Publishing Company. Amsterdam. pp. 11 – 58.

Boonzaier, E., Malherbe, C., Berens, P., Smith, A. 1996. *The Cape Herders: A History of the Khoikhoi of southern Africa*. David Philips / Ohio University Press. Cape Town / Athens, OH.

Boshoff, S. P. E., Nienaber, G. S. 1967. *Afrikaanse Etimologieë*. Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns. Pretoria.

Bostoen, K., Sands, B. 2012. 'Clicks in south-western Bantu languages: contact-induced vs. language internal lexical change' in Brenziger, M., Fehn, A.-M. (eds) *Proceedings of the 6th World Congress of African Linguistics, Cologne, 17–21 August 2009*. Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. Köln. pp. 121 – 132.

Bohn, O-S. 2002. 'On phonetic similarity' in Burmeister, P. Piske, T., Rohde, A. (eds), *An integrated view of language development*. Wissenschaftlicher Verlag. Trier. pp. 191 – 216.

Bonner, P. 1982. *Kings, Commoners and Commissioners: The Evolution and Dissolution of the nineteenth-century Swazi state*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Bouchard, J. M. S. 1959. *Bishop for the Hottentots: African Memories 1882 – 1909*. Benziger Brothers. New York.

Bourquin, W. 1951. 'Click-words which Xhosa, Zulu and Sotho have in common' in *African Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 59 – 81.

Bradfield, J. 2014. 'Clicks, Concurrency and Khoisan' in *Phonology* 31 (1), pp. 1 – 49.
Bregman, J. 2010. *Land and Society in the Komaggas region of Namaqualand*. MA thesis. University of Cape Town.

Brenziger, M., Heine, B., Sommer, G. 1991. 'Language Death in Africa' in *Diogenes*, Vol. 39, pp. 19 – 44. doi:[10.1177/039219219103915303](https://doi.org/10.1177/039219219103915303)

Britz, R. G., Lang, H., Limpricht, C. 1999. *Beknopte Geskiedenis van die Rehoboth Basters tot 1990*. Klaus Hess Publishers. Göttingen / Windhoek.

Broselow, E., Chen, S-I., & Wang, C. 1998. 'The emergence of the unmarked in second language phonology' in *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, Vol. 20, pp. 261 – 280.

Brown, J. T. 1965. *Setswana dictionary: Setswana-English and English-Setswana* (3rd ed.) Pula Press. Johannesburg.

Brugman, J. C. 2009. *Segments, Tones, and Distribution in Khoekhoe Phonology*. PhD thesis. Cornell University.

Bryant, A. T. 1929. *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal: Containing Earlier Political History of the Eastern-Nguni Clans*. Struik. Cape Town.

Bullock, B. E. 2009. 'Phonetic Reflexes of Code-switching' in Bullock, B. E., Torribio, A. J. (eds) *The Cambridge Handbook of Code-switching*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge. pp. 163 – 181.

Burchell, W. 1822. *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa*. Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green. London. 1822.

Burman, J. 1738. *Rariorum Africanarum Plantarum*. Henrie Boussiere. Amsterdam.

Butts, A. M. 2016. *Language Change in the Wake of Empire: Syriac in Its Greco-Roman Context*. Eisenbrauns. Indiana.

Calabrese, A., Wessels, W. L. 2009. 'Loan Phonology: Issues and Controversies' in Calabrese, A., Wessels, W. L. (eds) *Loan Phonology*. John Benjamins Publishing Company. Amsterdam. pp. 1 – 10.

Calana, Z. 2002. *Xhosa proverbs*. Kwela Books. Cape Town.

Campbell, J. 1816. *Travels in South Africa. Undertaken at the request of the Missionary Society*. Flagg & Gould. Andover.

Campbell, L. 1994. *Historical Linguistics: An Introduction* (2nd Edition). MIT Press. Massachusetts.

Campbell, L., Muntzel, M. C. 1989. 'The structural consequences of language death' in Dorian, N.C. (ed.) *Investigating Obsolescence: Studies in Language Contraction and Death*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge. pp. 181 – 196.

Cape of Good Hope Government Papers [G8-1877]. *Report of the colonial veterinary surgeon on sheep and cattle diseases in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope*. Government Printer. Cape Town.

Carstens, P. W. 1966. *The Social Structure of a Cape Coloured Reserve: A Study of Racial Integration and Segregation in South Africa*. Oxford University Press. Oxford.

Celata, C., Cacila, J. 2010. 'Phonological Attrition and the Perception of Geminate Consonants in the Lucchese Community of San Francisco (CA)' in *International Journal of Bilingualism*, Vol. 14, No. 2, pp. 185 – 209.

Chebanne, A. 2012. 'Where Are the 'Skeletons' of Dead Khoisan Languages?' in *Botswana Notes and Records*, Vol. 44, pp. 81 – 92.

Chirita, D. 2003. 'Did Latin influence German word order? Aspects of German-Latin bilingualism in the Late Middle Ages' in Braunmüller, K., Ferraresi, G. (eds) *Aspects of Multilingualism in European Language History*. John Benjamins. Amsterdam. pp. 173 – 200.

Chisholm, L. 2017. *Between Worlds: German missionaries and the transition from mission to Bantu Education in South Africa Paperback*. Wits University Press. Johannesburg.

Christie, C. R. 2020. *Khoekhoe Lexical Borrowing in Namaqualand Afrikaans*. MA thesis. Rhodes University.

Christie, C. R. 2021. 'Lexical Variation in Namaqualand: some evidence from ethnobotany' in *Language Documentation and Description*. Vol. 20, pp. 198 – 235.

Christie, C. R. 2022. 'Khoekhoe Lexical Borrowing in Regional Afrikaans' in *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics*, Vol. 64, pp. 133 – 143.

Choudhury, A., Sengupta, D., Ramsay, M., Schlebusch, C. 2021. 'Bantu-speaker migration and admixture in southern Africa' in *Human Molecular Genetics*, Vol. 30, No. 2, pp. 56 – 63.

Clackson, J. 2012. 'Language maintenance and language shift in the Mediterranean world during the Roman Empire' in Mullen, A., James, P. (eds) *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge. pp. 36 – 57.

Clarke, H., Charters, M. 2016. *The Illustrated Dictionary of South African Plant Names*. Jacana. Johannesburg.

Cluver, V. 2000. 'Changing Language Attitudes: The Stigmatisation of Khoekhoegowap in Namibia' in *Language Problems & Language Planning*, Vol. 24, No. 1, pp. 77 – 100.

Cobbing, J. 1988. 'The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo' in *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 29, No. 3, pp. 487 – 519.

Cocks, M., Dold, A. 1999. 'Preliminary list of Xhosa plant names from the Eastern Cape, South Africa' in *Bothalia* Vol. 29, No. 2. pp. 267 – 292.

Coetzee, R. 2010. *Kukumakranka: Khoi-Khoi Culture Customs and Creative Cooking*. LAPA Publishers. Pretoria.

Cole, D. T. 1955. *An Introduction to Tswana Grammar*. Longmans, Green & Co. Cape Town.

Cole, D. T. 1991. 'Old Tswana and New Latin' in *Botswana Notes and Records*, Vol. 23, pp. 175 – 191.

Cole, D. T. 1995. *Setswana – Animals and Plants*. The Botswana Society. Gaborone.

Collins, C., Namaseb, L. 2011. *A Grammatical Sketch of Nluuki with Stories*. Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. Köln.

Combrink, J. G. H. 1978. 'Afrikaans: Its origin and development' in Lanham, L. W., Prinsloo, K. P., (eds.) *Language and Communication Studies in South Africa*. Oxford University Press. Cape Town. pp. 69 – 95.

Connell, B. 2002. 'Small Languages and Small Language Communities 39: Phonetic / Phonological Variation and Language Contraction' in *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, Vol. 157, No. 1. pp. 167–185.

Connell, B. 2015. 'The Role of Colonial Languages in Language Endangerment in Africa' in Essegby, J., Hendersen, B., McLaughlin, F. (eds) *Language Documentation and Endangerment in Africa*.

Cornips, L., Poletto, C. 2004. 'Standardisation of syntactic elicitation techniques' in *Lingua*, Vol. 16, pp. 1 – 19.

Crush, J. S. 1987. *The Struggle for Swazi Labour, 1890-1920*. McGill-Queen's University Press. Montreal.

Cuénod, R. 1967. *Tsonga-English dictionary*. Swiss Mission in South Africa. Johannesburg.

Cullinan, P. (ed.) 1992. *Robert Jacob Gordon 1743 – 1795: The Man and his Travels at the Cape*. Struik Winchester. Cape Town.

Curtis-Scott, O., Goulding, M., Helme, N., McMaster, R., Privett, S., Stirton, C. 2020. *Field Guide to Renosterveld of the Overberg*. Struik Nature. Cape Town.

Dederling, T. 1989. *Southern Namibia c.1700 – c.1840: Khoikhoi, Missionaries and the Advancing Frontier*. PhD thesis. University of Cape Town.

Demolin, D. 2016. 'Clicks, stop bursts, vocoids and the timing of articulatory gestures in Kinyarwanda' in *Studies in African Linguistics*, Vol. 45, No. 1 – 2, pp. 141–160.

Den Besten. 1986. 'Double negation and the genesis of Afrikaans' in Muysken, P., Smith, N. (eds) *Substrate versus Universals in Creole Genesis*. John Benjamins. Amsterdam. pp. 185 – 230.

Den Besten, H. 2002. 'Khoekhoe syntax and its implications for L2 acquisition of Dutch and Afrikaans' in *Van der Wouden, T. (ed.) Roots of Afrikaans*. John Benjamins. Amsterdam. pp.133 – 152.

Den Besten, H. 2003. 'Deciphering three Pidgin Dutch statements concerning religion recorded by Muller, Ten Rhyne & Bovingh' in *Quarterly Bulletin of the National Library of South Africa*, Vol. 57, pp. 149 – 155.

Den Besten, H. 2013. 'South African Khoekhoe in Contact with Dutch/Afrikaans' in Vossen, R. (ed.) *The Khoesan Languages*: 449 – 456. Routledge. New York.

Denison, N. 1977. 'Language death or language suicide?' in *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, Vol. 12, pp. 13 – 22.

Deumert, A. 2004. *Language Standardization and Language Change: The Dynamics of Cape Dutch*. John Benjamins. Amsterdam.

De Vries. 2000. (ed.) *Uit die kontreie vandaan*. Human & Rosseau. Cape Town.

Dickens, P. 1994. *English-Jul'hoan Jul'hoan-English Dictionary*. Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. Köln.

Dinter, K. 1912. *Die vegetabilische Veldkost Deutsch-Südwest-Afrikas*. Kommisionverlag Rühls Buchhandlung. Bautzen.

Doke, C. M. 1931. *A Comparative Study of Shona Phonetics*. University of the Witwatersrand Press. Johannesburg.

Doke, C. M., Vilakazi, B. W. 1949. *Zulu-English Dictionary*. University of the Witwatersrand Press. Johannesburg.

Doke, C. M., Mofokeng, S. M. 1967. *Textbook of Southern Sotho Grammar*. Longmans Southern Africa. Cape Town.

Dold, A. P., Cocks, M. L. 1999. 'Preliminary list of Xhosa plant names from the Eastern Cape, South Africa' in *Bothalia* Vol. 29, No. 2, pp. 267 – 292.

Donnelly, S.S. 1990. *Phonology and morphology of the noun in Yeeyi*. Hons thesis. University of Cape Town.

Donnelly, S. S. 2007. *Aspects of Tone and Voice in siPhuthi*. Doctoral thesis. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Dorian, N. C. 1994. 'Purism vs. Compromise in Language Revitalization and Language Revival' in *Language in Society*, Vol. 23, No. 4, pp. 479 – 494.

Dorian, N. C. 2010. *Investigating variation: The effects of social organization and social setting*. Oxford University Press. Oxford.

Drechsler, H. 1966. *'Let us die fighting': the struggle of the Herero and Nama against German imperialism (1884 – 1915)*. Berlin Akademie. Berlin.

Dressler, W.U. 1991. 'The sociolinguistic and patholinguistic attrition of Breton phonology, morphology, and morphonology' in Seliger, H.W., Vago, R.M., *First language attrition*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge. pp. 99–112.

Du Plessis, M. 2014. 'The Damaging Effects of Romantic Mythopoeia on Khoesan Linguistics' in *Critical Arts*, Vol. 28, No. 3, pp. 569 – 592.

Du Plessis, M. 2016. 'Notes on Qing's own language' in De Prada-Samper, J., Du Plessis, M., Hollmann, J., Wintroub, J., Wintjies, J., Wright, J. *On The Trail of Qing and Orpen*. Standard Bank of South Africa. Johannesburg. pp. 103 – 122.

Du Plessis, M. 2019. *Kora: A Lost Khoisan Language of the Early Cape and Gariep*. UNISA University Press. Pretoria.

Du Pisani, E. 1983. *Past and present plant utilization in Namaland and the lower Kuiseb River Valley, South West Africa (Namibia): a preliminary report*. University of Stellenbosch. Stellenbosch.

Elbourne, E. 2002. *Blood Ground: Colonialism, Missions, and the Contest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799-1852*. McGill-Queen's University Press. Montreal.

Elderkin, E. D. 2014. 'Clicks, prosodies and Khoisan' in Güldemann, T., Fehn, A.-M. (eds) *Beyond 'Khoisan'. Historical relations in the Kalahari Basin*. John Benjamins. Amsterdam. pp. 103 - 122.

Elderkin, E. D. 2016. 'The vowel system of proto-Khoe' in Shah, S., Brenzinger, M. (eds) *Khoisan languages and linguistics: Proceedings of the 5th international symposium in Riezlern/Kleinwalsertal*. Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. Köln. pp. 53 - 95.

Elderkin, E. D. 2020. 'Nasalized accompaniments in Proto-Khoe and in Khwe' in Sands, B. (ed.) *Click Consonants*. BRILL. Leiden. pp. 275 – 290.

Eldredge, E. A. 1992. 'Sources of Conflict in Southern Africa, c.1800-30: The 'Mfecane' Reconsidered' in *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 33, No. 1, pp. 1–35.

Ellenberger, D.-F. 1912. *History of the Basuto, Ancient & Modern*. Caxton. London.

Elphick, R. 1981. *Khoikhoi and the Founding of White South Africa*. Ravan Press. Johannesburg.

Emmett, A. B. 1987. *Steinkopf: a study of a community in decline*. Human Sciences Research Council. Pretoria.

Engelbrecht, J. A. 1936. *The Korana: An Account of their Customs and their History*. Maskew Miller. Cape Town.

Faye, C. U. 1925. 'The Influence of "Hlonipa" on the Zulu Clicks' in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 4, pp. 757 – 782.

Fehn, A.-M. 2020a. 'Click Loss in Khoe-Kwadi' in Sands. B. (ed.) *Click Consonants*. BRILL. Leiden. pp. 291 – 335.

Fehn, A.-M. 2020a. 'Click Replacement and Loss in Ju' in Sands. B. (ed.) *Click Consonants*. BRILL. Leiden. pp. 336 – 355.

Fehn, A.-M., Amorim, B., Rocha, J. 2022. 'The linguistic and genetic landscape of southern Africa.' *Journal of Anthropological Sciences*, Vol. 100. pp. 243 – 265.

Flege, J. E. 1995. 'Second language speech learning: Theory, findings, and problems' in Strange, W. (ed.) *Speech perception and linguistic experience: Issues in cross-linguistic research*. York Press. Maryland. pp. 233 – 277.

Field, F. W. 2002. *Linguistic Borrowing in Bilingual Contexts*. John Benjamins Publishing Company. Amsterdam.

Finlayson, R. 1972. *Affinities between Venda and other southern Bantu languages*. Doctoral thesis. University of London.

Fisch, M. 1998. *Thimbukushu Grammar*. Out of Africa Publishers. Windhoek.

Forbes, V.S. (ed.) 1986. *Carl Peter Thunberg: Travels at the Cape of Good Hope*. Van Riebeeck Society. Cape Town.

Fredericks, N. J. 2013. *A Study of Dialectal and Interlinguistic Variations of Khoekhoegowab: Towards the Determination of the Standard Orthography*. University of the Western Cape. Doctoral thesis.

Fuchs, S., Koenig, L., Winkler, R. 2007. 'Weak clicks in German?' in *Proceedings of the International Congress of Phonetic Sciences XVI*. Saarbrücken. pp. 449–452.

Fulop, S., Wright, R. 2020. 'Recording and Measuring Acoustic Attributes of Clicks' in Sands, B. (ed.) *Click Consonants*. BRILL. Leiden. pp. 241 – 276.

Fulop, S. A., Ladefoged, P., Fang, L., Voßen, R. 2003. 'Yeyi clicks: Acoustic Description and Analysis' in *Phonetica*, Vol. 60, pp. 231–260.

Gilmour, R. 2006. *Grammars of Colonialism: Representing Languages in Colonial South Africa*. Palgrave Macmillan. New York.

Glen, H.F., Germishuizen, G. 2010. *Botanical Exploration of Southern Africa: Strelitzia* 26. South African National Botanical Institute. Pretoria.

Gordon, R. J. 1992. *The Bushman Myth: The Making of a Namibian Underclass*. Routledge. New York.

Gowlett, D. F. 1997. 'Aspects of Yeyi Diachronic Phonology' in Haacke, W. H. G., Elderkin, E. E. (eds) *Namibian Languages: Reports and Papers*. Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. Köln. pp. 235 – 264.

Gowlett, D. F. 2003. 'Zone S' in Nurse, D., Phillipson, G. (eds.) *The Bantu Languages*. Routledge. London & New York. pp. 609 – 638.

Greenberg, J. H. 1963. *The Languages of Africa*. Mouton & Co. The Hague.

Grenier, F. 2019. *Secrets of Namaqualand Succulents*. Média Graphique. Rennes.

Grenoble, L. A. 2011. 'Language Ecology and Endangerement' in Austin, P. K., Sallabank, J. (eds) *The Cambridge Handbook of Endangered Languages*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge. pp. 27 – 44.

Grenoble, L. A., Whaley, L. J., 1998. *Endangered Languages: Current Issues and Future Prospects*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Grinevald, C., Bert, M. 2011. 'Speakers and Communities' in Austin, P. K., Sallabank, J. (eds) *The Cambridge Handbook of Endangered Languages*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge. pp. 45 – 66.

Groenewald, G. 2010. 'Afrikaans as lingua franca in Namibië, ca. 1800–1920' in *LitNet Akademies*, Vol. 7, No. 3, pp 65 – 102.

Güldemann, T. 1998. 'The Kalahari Basin as an Object of Areal Typology – A First Approach' in Schladt, M. (ed.), *Language, Identity, and Conceptualisation among the Khoisan*. Rüdiger-Köppe. Cologne. pp. 137 – 169.

Güldemann, T. 1999. 'Head-initial meets head-final: nominal suffixes in eastern and southern Bantu from a historical perspective.' *Studies in African Linguistics*. Vol. 28, No. 1. pp. 49 – 91.

Güldemann, T. 2001. 'Phonological regularities of consonant systems across Khoisan lineages' in *University of Leipzig Papers on Africa: Languages and Literatures* 16. Institut für Afrikanistik, Universität Leipzig. Leipzig. pp. 1 – 50.

Güldemann, T. 2014. 'Khoisan' linguistic classification today' in Güldemann, T., Fehn, A.-M. (eds) *Beyond 'Khoisan': Historical relations in the Kalahari Basin*. John Benjamins. Amsterdam. pp. 1 – 41.

Güldemann, T. & Stoneking, M. 2008. 'A historical appraisal of clicks: A linguistic and genetic population perspective' in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 37. pp. 93–109.

Güldemann, T., Elderkin, E. D. 2010. 'On External Genealogical Relationships of the Khoe Family' in Brenzinger, M., König, C. (eds.), *Khoisan Languages and Linguistics: the Riezlern Symposium 2003*. Rüdiger Köppe. Köln. pp 15 – 52.

Güldemann, T., Fehn, A.-M. 2017. 'The Kalahari Basin area as a 'Sprachbund' before the Bantu expansion' in Hickey, R. (ed.) *The Cambridge Handbook of Areal Linguistics*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge. pp. 500 – 526.

Güldemann, T., Nakagawa, H. 2018. 'Anthony Traill and the holistic approach to Kalahari Basin sound design' in Güldemann, T. & Nakagawa, H. (eds) *Kalahari Basin sound structure - in memory of Anthony T. Traill (1939-2007): Africana Linguistica* No. 24. pp. 45 – 73.

Guma, S. M. 1967. *The form, content and technique of traditional literature in Southern Sotho*. J. L. Van Schaik. Pretoria.

Gumperz, J. J. 1982. *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Gunnink, H. 2014. The grammatical structure of Sowetan tsotsitaal' in *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 2, pp. 161 – 171.

Gunnink, H. 2018. *A Grammar of Fwe: a Bantu Language of Zambia and Namibia*. PhD thesis. University of Helsinki.

Gunnink, H. 2019. *Click adoption and insertion in Xhosa: revisiting the role of hlonipha*. Research seminar presented at the Department of English Language & Linguistics, Ghent University. Available online at <http://hdl.handle.net/1854/LU-8674129>.

Gunnink, H. 2020a. 'Click Loss and Click Insertion in Fwe' in Sands, B. (ed) *Click Consonants*. BRILL. Leiden. pp. 156 – 178.

Gunnink, H. 2020b. 'The History of Clicks in Nguni Languages.' Talk presented for the Digital Colloquium on African Languages and Linguistics, 19 May 2020. Available online from <https://biblio.ugent.be/publication/8674133/file/8674134.pdf>.

Gunnink, H. 2020c. 'Khoisan influence in the Tjhauba variety of Kgalagadi'. Talk presented for the Kalahari Basin Area Network, 29 October 2020. Available online from <https://vimeo.com/543356744>.

Gunnink, H., Sands, B., Pakendorf, B., Bostoen, K. 2015. 'Prehistoric language contact in the Kavango-Zambezi transfrontier area: Khoisan influence on southwestern Bantu languages' in *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics*, Vol. 36. No. 2, pp. 193 – 232.

Gunnink, H., Chousou-Polydouri, N., Bostoen, K. 2022. 'Divergence and contact in Southern Bantu language and population history: a new phylogeny in cross-disciplinary perspective' in *Language Dynamics & Change*.

Gürel, A. 2004b. 'Attrition in L1 competence: the case of Turkish' in Schmid, M.S., Köpke, B., Keijzer, M., Weilemar, L. (eds.), *First language attrition: interdisciplinary perspectives on methodological issues*. John Benjamins. Amsterdam. pp. 225 – 242.

Gxilishe, S. 2004. 'The acquisition of clicks by Xhosa-speaking children' in *Per Linguam*, Vol. 20, No. 2, pp. 1 – 12.

Haacke, W. H. G. 2013. 'Contact-Induced Change Between Khoekhoe and Afrikaans.' In Voßen, R. (ed.) *The Khoesan Languages*. Routledge. New York.

Haacke, W. H. G. 2015. 'Lexical borrowing by Khoekhoegowab from Cape Dutch and Afrikaans' in *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics*, Vol. 47, pp. 59 – 74.

Haacke, W. H. G., Eiseb, E. 1996. *Khoekhoegowab-English Glossary*. Gansberg Macmillan. Windhoek.

Haacke, W. H. G., Eiseb, E. 2002 *Khoekhoegowab-English Dictionary*. Gansberg Macmillan. Windhoek.

Haacke, W. H. G., Eiseb, E., Namaseb, L. 1997. 'Internal and external relations of Khoekhoe dialects' in Haacke, W. H. G., Elderkin, E. E. (eds). *Namibian Languages: Reports and Papers*. Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. Cologne.

Haacke, W. H. G., Snyman, J. W. 2019. 'Lexical Proximity of a Xri Corpus to Khoekhoegowab' in *Studies in African Linguistics*, Vol. 48, No. 2. pp. 267 – 328.

Haacke, W. H. G., Giess, W., Eiseb, E. 1991. 'A Preliminary list of Khoekhoe (Nama/Damara) Plant Names' in *Dinteria*. No. 21. Windhoek.

Hagmann, R. S. 1977. *Nama Hottentot Grammar*. Research Center for Language and Semiotic Studies, Indiana University. Indiana.

Hale, K., Nash, D. 1997. 'Damin and Lardil phonotactics' in Tryon, D., Walsh, M. (eds) *Boundary Rider: Essays in Honour of Geoffrey O'Grady*. Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies. Canberra. pp. 247–259.

Hahn, C. H. L., Vedder, H., Fourie, L. 1928. *The Native Tribes of South West Africa*. Frank Cass & Co. London.

Hahn, T. 1870. *Die Sprache der Nama*. Johann Ambrosius Barth. Leipzig.

Hahn, T. 1881. *Tsuni ||Goam: The Supreme Being of the Khoi-Khoi*. Trübner & Co. London.

Hancin-Bhatt, B. 2008. 'Second language phonology in optimality theory' in Hansen Edwards, J. G., Zampini, M. L. (eds) *Phonology and second language acquisition*, John Benjamins. Amsterdam. pp. 117 – 148.

Harbert, W. 2011. 'Endangered Languages and Economic Development' in Austin, P. K., Sallabank, J. (eds) *The Cambridge Handbook of Endangered Languages*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge. pp. 403 – 422.

Harlech-Jones, B. 1990. *'You Taught Me Language': The Implementation of English as a medium of instruction in Namibia*. Oxford University Press. Cape Town.

Harries, P. 1995. 'Discovering languages: the historical origins of standard Tsonga in southern Africa' in Mesthrie, R. (ed.), *Language and Social History: Studies in South African Sociolinguistics* pp. 154 – 175. David Phillip. Cape Town.

Harrinck, G. 1969. 'Interaction between Xhosa and Khoi: emphasis on the Period 1620 – 1750' in Thompson, L. (ed.) *African Societies in Southern Africa*. Heinemann. London. pp. 145 – 169.

Haspelmath, M. 2008. 'Loanword typology: Steps toward a systematic cross-linguistic study of lexical borrowability' in Stolz, T., Bakker, D., Palomo, R. S. (eds) *Aspects of Language Contact: New Theoretical, Methodological and Empirical Findings with Special Focus on Romancisation Processes*. Mouton de Gruyter. Berlin. pp. 43 – 62.

Haspelmath, M. 2009. 'Lexical Borrowing: Concepts and Issues' in Haspelmath, M., Tadmor, U. (eds) *Loanwords in the World's Languages: A Comparative Handbook*. De Gruyter Mouton. Berlin.

Herbert, R. K. 1990a. 'The relative markedness of click sounds: Evidence from language change, acquisition, and avoidance' in *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol. 32, No. 1 – 2, pp. 120 – 138.

Herbert, R. K. 1990b. 'The sociohistory of clicks in Southern Bantu' in *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol. 32, No. 3 – 4, pp. 295 – 315.

Heugh, K. 2015. 'Harmonisation and South African languages: twentieth century debates of homogeneity and heterogeneity' in *Language Policy*, Vol. 15, No. 3. pp. 235 – 255.

Hock, H. H., Joseph, B, D. 1996. *Language History, Language Change, and Language Relationships: An Introduction to Historical and Comparative Linguistics*. Mouton de Gruyter. Berlin.

Hoffman, M. T., Rhode, R. 2007. 'From pastoralism to tourism: The historical impact of changing land use practices in Namaqualand' in *Journal of Arid Environments*, Vol. 70, pp. 641 – 658.

Hofmeyr, I. 1994. *We spend our years as a tale that is told: Oral historical narrative in a South African chiefdom*. Heinemann; Witwatersrand University Press. Portsmouth; Johannesburg.

Holm, J. 2004. *Languages in Contact: The Partial Restructuring of Vernaculars*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Hulley, I.M., Tilney, P.M., Van Vuuren, S.F., Kamatou, G. P. P.; Nortje, J. M., Viljoen, A. M., Van Wyk, B.-E. 2016. 'San and Nama indigenous knowledge: The case of Inhora (*Pteronia camphorata*) and its medicinal use' in *The South African Journal of Science*, Vol. 112, pp. 1 – 9.

Hunziker, D. A., Hunziker, E., Eaton, H. 2008. 'A description of the phonology of the Sandawe language' in *SIL Electronic Working Papers* (SILEWP).

Hutchen, D. 1899. 'Nenta' in *The Agricultural Journal of the Cape of Good Hope*, Vol. 14. pp. 862 – 873.

Irvine, J. T., Gunner, L. 2018. 'With Respect to Zulu: Revisiting ukuHlonipha' in *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 91, No. 1, pp. 173 – 207.

Iziko lesiHlathululi-mezwi sesiNdebele. 2006. Phumelela. Cape Town.

Jackson, A. O. 1975. *The Ethnic Composition of the Ciskei and Transkei (Ethnological Publications No. 53)*. Government Printers. Pretoria.

Janse, M., Tol, S. 2003. *Language Death and Maintenance: Theoretical, Practical, and Descriptive Approaches*. John Benjamins Publishing Company. Amsterdam.

Janson, T. 2001. 'Consonants in Changana/Tsonga' in *South African Journal of African Languages* Vol. 21, No. 1, pp. 16 – 32.

Jones, K.-L. 2017. *Language attitudes as a change agent for language vitality: A case study of two Khoesan languages in Platfontein (RSA)*. PhD thesis. University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Jones, K.-L. 2019. 'Contemporary Khoesan Languages of South Africa' in *South-North Cultural and Media Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 4 – 5, pp. 55 – 73.

Jones, K.-L., |Kunta, F., Poulos, N. 2021. ‡'Om Baobab (*Bilingual Ju|'hoansi and English with embedded audio*). Available from <https://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.14816088.v5>.

Jørgensen, J.N.1998. 'Children's acquisition of code-switching for power wielding' in Auer, P. (ed.) *Code-switching in conversation: Language, interaction and identity*. Routledge. London. pp. 237 – 261.

Junod, H.-A. 1896. *La tribu et la langue thonga avec quelques échantillons du folklore thonga*. Imprimerie Georges Bridel. Lausanne.

Kadenge, M. Mudzingwa, C. 2012. 'Comparing chiShona Loanwords of Monolingual and Bilingual Speakers: An Optimality Theory Analysis' in *South African Journal of African Linguistics*, Vol. 32, No. 2, pp. 141 – 151.

Katjavivi, P. H. 1988. *A History of Resistance in Namibia*. James Currey / UNESCO. London / Paris.

Kandybowicz, J., Torrence, H. 2017. *Africa's Endangered Languages: Documentary and Theoretical Approaches*. Oxford University Press. New York.

Kaufman, D., Aronoff, M. 1991. 'Morphological disintegration and reconstruction in first language attrition' in H. Seliger, Vago, R. (eds.) *First Language Attrition*. John Benjamins. Amsterdam. pp. 175–188.

Kellerman, E. 1995. 'Crosslinguistic influence: Transfer to nowhere?' in *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, Vol. 15, pp. 125–150.

Kelso, C. J. 2010. *On the Edge of the Desert – A Namaqualand Story: 1800 – 1909 Climatic and Socio-Economic Drivers of Decline*. PhD thesis. University of Cape Town.

Khan, T. 2016. *IsiZulu Adoptives from English and Afrikaans: An Optimality Theory Analysis*. MA thesis. University of the Witwatersrand.

Kienetz, A. 1977. 'The key role of the Oorlam migrations in the early Europeanization of South West Africa (Namibia)' in *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 10. pp. 553 – 572.

Kilian, K. 2020. *Tum?i: A Phonetic & Phonological Analysis of a Khoisan Variety*. MA thesis. University of Calgary.

Kilian-Hatz, C. 2003. *Khwe Dictionary*. Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. Köln.

Killian, D. 2009. *Khoemana and the Griqua: Identity at the heart of phonological attrition*. MA thesis. University of Helsinki.

Kirk, T. 1973. 'Progress and decline in the Kat river settlement, 1829 – 1854' in *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 14 , No. 3, pp. 411 – 428.

Kloppers, J. K., Nakare, C., Isala, L. M., Bredell A. W. 1994. *Rukwangali-English English-Rukwangali Dictionary*. Gamsberg MacMillan. Namibia.

- Köhler, O. R.A. 1971. Noun classes and grammatical agreement in
- Koopman, A. 2015. *Zulu Plant Names*. University of KwaZulu-Natal Press. Pietermaritzburg.
- Kotze, P. W. 1943. *Namakwaland: 'n sosiologiese studie van 'n geïsoleerde gemeenskap*. PhD thesis. Stellenbosch University.
- Kroenlein, J. G. 1889. *Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoen*. Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft. Berlin.
- Kruper, H. 1964. *The Swazi: A South African Kingdom*. Holt, Rinehart & Winston. New York.
- Kunene, E. C. L. 1985. 'SiSwati and Zulu' in Corum, C. W. (ed.) *Siswati Special Skills Handbook* (Peace Corps Handbook Series). The Experiment in International Living. Battleboro, Vermont.
- Ladefoged, P., Maddieson, I. 1996. *The Sounds of the World's Languages*. Blackwell. Massachusetts.
- Ladefoged, P., Traill, A. 1980. 'Phonological features and phonetic details of Khoisan languages' in Snyman, J. W. (ed.) *Bushman and Hottentot Linguistic Studies*. UNISA. Pretoria. pp. 134–166.
- Ladefoged, P., Traill, A. 1984. 'Linguistic Phonetic Descriptions of Clicks' in *Language*, Vol. 60, No. 1. pp. 1-20.
- Laidler, P. W. 1928. 'The Magic Medicine of the Hottentots' in *South African Journal of Science*, Vol. 28, pp. 433 – 447.
- Lanham, L. W. 1964. 'The proliferation and extension of Bantu phonemic systems influenced by Bushman and Hottentot' in Lunt, H. (ed.) *Proceedings of the 9th International Congress of Linguists, Cambridge 1962*. Mouton. The Hague. pp. 382–391.
- Legassick, M. 1969. *The Griqua, the Sotho-Tswana, and the Missionaries, 1780-1840: The Politics of a Frontier Zone*. University of California. Los Angeles.
- Leistner, O. A. 1967. *The Plant Ecology of the Southern Kalahari*. Government Printer. Pretoria.
- Lepsius, K. R. 1855. *Das allgemeine linguistische Alphabet: Grundsätze der Übertragung fremder Schriftsysteme und bisher noch ungeschriebener Sprachen in europäische Buchstaben*. Wilhelm Hertz Verlag. Berlin.
- Le Riche, E., Van der Walt, P. 1999. *The Kalahari and its Plants*. Self-published. Pretoria.

- Le Roux, J. J. 1923. *Oor die Afrikaanse sintaksis*. Swets & Zweilinger. Amsterdam.
- Le Roux, A. 1981. *Wild Flowers of Namaqualand: A Botanical Society Guide (1st Edition)*. Struik Nature. Cape Town.
- Lev-Ari, S., Peperkamp, S. 2014. 'An experimental study of the role of social factors in language change: The case of loanword adaptations' in *Laboratory Phonology*, Vol. 5, No. 3, pp. 379 – 401.
- Lewis, P. 1996. 'The Acquisition of Clicks by Non-Mothertongue Speakers' in *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics*, Vol. 26, pp. 98 – 114.
- Lichtenstein, H. 1812. *Travels in Southern Africa in the years 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806*. Henry Colburn Ltd. London. 1812. (Translated by Anne Plumptre.)
- Links, T. 1989. *Só Praat Ons Namakwalanders*. Tafelberg. Cape Town.
- Louw, J. A. 1962. 'The segmental phonemes of Zulu' in *Afrika und Ubersee* 46: 43-93.
- Louw, J. A. 1974. 'The influence of Khoi on the Xhosa language' in *Limi* 2(2): 45-62.
- Louw, J. A. 1976. 'The Influence of Khoi on Xhosa Morphology' in W. J. de Klerk and F. A. Povelis (eds.) *Gedenkbundel H. J. J. M. van der Merwe*. J. L. van Schaik. Pretoria. pp. 87-95
- Louw, J. A. 1977. 'Clicks as loans in Xhosa' in J. Snyman (ed.) *Bushman and Hottentot Linguistic Studies*. UNISA. Pretoria. pp. 82-100.
- Louw, M. A. 2010. *Language maintenance and shift among the Rehoboth Basters of Namibia ca. 1868 – 2008*. PhD thesis. University of Cape Town.
- Luiks, C. 2001. 'The Khoekhoe and/or the San: Gathering the Afrikaans Substrate Languages' in *Cornell Working Papers in Linguistics*, Vol. 18, pp. 184 – 199.
- Lukusa, S.T.M. 2009. *Shiyeyi - English dictionary*. Lincom. Munich.
- Mabaso, P. 2014. *The segmental phonology of Shangani*. PhD thesis. UNISA. Pretoria. Available online from <http://hdl.handle.net/10500/13609>.
- Mabille, A., Dieterlen, H., Paroz, R. A. 1950. *Southern Sotho-English dictionary*. Morija Sesuto Book Depot. Morija.
- Maddieson, I. 2003. 'The sounds of the Bantu languages' Nurse, D., Philippson, G. *The Bantu languages*. Routledge. London. pp. 15–41.
- Maddieson, I., Spajić, S., Sands, B., Ladefoged, P. 1993. 'Phonetic structures of Dahalo' in *UCLA Working Papers in Phonetics*, Vol. 8, pp. 25 – 66.

Maingard, L. F. 1963. 'A Comparative Study of Naron, Hietshware and Korana' in *African Studies*, Vol. 22, pp. 97 – 108.

Major, R. C. 2008. 'Transfer in second language phonology' in Hansen Edwards, J. G., Zampini, M. L. (eds) *Phonology and second language acquisition*, John Benjamins. Amsterdam. pp. 63-94.

Mannheimer, C. 2012. *Wildflowers of the Central Highlands of Namibia*. Macmillan Education. Windhoek.

Mannheimer, C., Maggs-Kölling, G., Kolberg, H., Rügheimer, S. 2008. *Wildflowers of the Southern Namib*. National Botanical Research Institute. Windhoek.

Marais, J. S. 1962. *Cape Coloured People 1652 –1937*. Witwatersrand University Press. Johannesburg.

Marloth, R. 1917. *The Common Names of Plants*. The Specialty Press of South Africa. Cape Town.

Matras, Y. 2009. *Language Contact*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

McDermott, L., 2006. *Contrasting livelihoods in the upper and lower Gariep River basin: A study of livelihood change and household development*. MA thesis. Rhodes University.

McMahon, A. M. S. 1994. *Understanding Language Change*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Meinhof, C. 1905. *Hottentottische Laute und Lehnworte im Kafir*. Brockhaus. Leipzig.

Meinhof, C. 1909. *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*. Druck und Verlag von Georg Reimer. Berlin.

Meinhof, C. 1930. *Der Koranadialekt des Hottentottischen*. Reimer. Berlin.

Mesthrie, R. 2017. 'South Africa and Areal Linguistics' in Hickey, R., (ed.) *The Cambridge Handbook of Areal Linguistics*: 527 – 550. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Meyer, G. 2016. *Die Vroegste Sendingsgeskiedenis van die Gemeentes Komaggas, Steinkopf en Richtersveld*. Steinkopf Bronnesentrum. Steinkopf.

Miller, A. L. 2011. 'The Representation of Clicks' in Van Oostendorp, M., Ewen, C. Hume, E. and Rice, K. (eds) *The Blackwell Companion to Phonology*, Vol. 1.1. Blackwell Publishing. [PLACE] pp. 416 – 439.

Miller, A. L. 2019. 'Palatal click allophony in Mangetti Dune !Xung: Implications for sound change' in *Journal of the International Phonetic Association*, Vol. 49, No. 1, pp. 153 – 181.

Miller, A. L. 2007., Namaseb, L., Iskarous, K. 2009. 'Posterior Tongue Body Constriction Locations in Clicks' in Cole, J., Hualde, J. (eds) *Laboratory Phonology 9*. Mouton de Gruyter. Berlin. pp. 643 – 656.

Miller, A. L., Burgman, J., Sands, B., Namaseb, L., Exter, M., Collins, C. 2009. 'Differences in airstream and posterior place of articulation among Nluu clicks' in *Journal of the International Phonetic Association*, Vol. 39, No. 2, pp. 129 – 161.

Möhlig, W. J. G. 1967. *Die Sprache der Dciriku: Phonologie, Prosodologie und Morphologie*. Walter Kleikamp. Köln.

Möhlig, W. J. G. 1997. 'A dialectometrical analysis of the main Kavango languages: Kwangali, Gciriku and Mbukushu' in Haacke, W. H. G., Elderkin, E. E. (eds) *Namibian Languages: Reports and Papers*. Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. Köln. pp. 211 – 234.

Möhlig, W. J. G., Shiyaka-Mberemba, P. K. 2005. *A Dictionary of the Rumanyo Language*. Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. Köln.

Moisik, S., Dediu, D. 'The ArtiVarK Click Study: Documenting Click Production and Substitution Strategies by Learners in a Large Phonetic Training and Vocal Tract Imaging Study' in Sands, B. (ed) *Click Consonants*. BRILL. Leiden. pp. 384 – 417.

Mössmer, M. 2019. 'The Rise and Fall of Xri: The History of a Completed Language Shift in the Northern Cape, South Africa' in *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol. 61, No. 1, pp. 44 – 74.

Mössmer, M. 2021. *Xri: A study of contact and phonetic and phonological change*. MA thesis. University of Cape Town.

Mostert, N. 1992. *Frontiers: The Epic of South Africa's Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People*. Pimlico. London.

Mous, M. 2003. 'Loss of Linguistic Diversity in Africa' in Janse, S., Tol, S. (eds) *Language Death and Language Maintenance: Theoretical, Practical, and Descriptive Approaches*. John Benjamins Publishing Company. Amsterdam. p. 157 – 168.

Msimang, C. T. 1989. *Some Phonological Aspects of the Tekela Nguni Dialects*. Doctoral thesis. UNISA.

Mufwene, S. 2002. *The Ecology of Language Evolution*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Muysken, P. 1995. 'Codeswitching and Grammatical Theory' in Milroy, L., Muysken, P. (eds) *One Speaker, Two Languages: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Code-Switching*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge. pp. 177 – 198.

Muysken, P. 2000. 'Bilingual speech: a typology of code-mixing.' Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Muysken, P. 2010. 'Ethnolects as a multidimensional phenomenon' in Norde, M., De Jonge, B., Hasselblatt, C. (eds) *Language Contact: New Perspectives*. John Benjamins. Amsterdam. pp. 7 – 26.

Myers-Scotton, C. 1993a. *Duelling languages: Grammatical structure in codeswitching*. Clarendon Press. Oxford.

Myers-Scotton, C. 1993b. *Social Motivations for Codeswitching: Evidence from Africa*. Clarendon Press. Oxford.

Mzamane, G. I. M. 1949. *A Concise Treatment on Phuthi with Special Reference to its Relationship with Nguni and Sotho*. Fort Hare University Press. Fort Hare.

Nakagawa, H. 2006. *Aspects of the phonetic and phonological structure of the Glui language*. Doctoral thesis. University of the Witwatersrand.

Naumann, C. 2016. 'The phoneme inventory of Taa (West !Xoon dialect)' in Voßen, R., Haacke, W. H. G. (eds.) *Lone Tree: Scholarship in the Service of the Koon, Essays in Memory of Anthony Traill*. Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. Köln. pp. 311 – 351.

Nienaber, G. S. 1963. *Hottentots*. J. L. Van Schaik. Pretoria.

Nienaber, G.S. 1989. *Khoekoense stamname: 'n voorlopige verkenning*. Human Sciences Research Council. Pretoria.

Nienaber, G. S., Raper, P. E. 1977. *Toponymica Hottentotica: Vol. 1 A – G*. Raad vir Geesteswetenskaplike Navorsing. Pretoria.

Nomlamo, V. S. 1993. *Language Variation in the Transkeian Xhosa Speech Community and its Impact of Children's Education*. MA thesis. University of Cape Town.

Nortje, J. M., van Wyk, B. E. 2015. 'Medicinal plants of the Kamiesberg, Namaqualand, South Africa' in *Journal of Ethnopharmacology*. Vol. 17, No. 1. pp. 205–222.

Nurse, G. T. 1975. *The Origins of the Northern Cape Griqua*. Institute for the Study of Man in Africa. Johannesburg.

Nyamende, A. 1996. 'Regional Variation in isiXhosa' in *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics*, Vol. 26, 202 – 207.

Ohala, J. J. 1995. 'A Probable Case of Clicks Influencing the Sound Patterns of Some European Languages' in *Phonetica* 52, pp. 160 – 170.

Oosthuysen, J. C. 2016. *The Grammar of isiXhosa*. African Sun Media. Johannesburg.

O'Shannessy, C. 2011. 'Language Contact and Change in Endangered Languages' in Austin, P. K., Sallabank, J. (eds) *The Cambridge Handbook of Endangered Languages*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge. pp. 78 – 99.

Oltermann, P. 2021. 'Germany agrees to pay Namibia €1.1bn over historical Herero-Nama genocide' in *The Guardian*, 28 May 2021. Available online at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/may/28/germany-agrees-to-pay-namibia-11bn-over-historical-herero-nama-genocide>.

Ownby, C. P. 1985. *Early Nguni History: The Linguistic Evidence and its Correlation with Archaeology and Oral Tradition*. PhD thesis. University of Los Angeles.

Paalosari, N., Campbell, L. 2011. 'Structural aspects of language endangerment' in Austin, P. K., Sallabank, J. (eds) *The Cambridge Handbook of Endangered Languages*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge. pp. 100 – 119.

Pahl, H.W. 1983. *IsiXhosa*. Educum Publishers. Johannesburg.

Pallier, C., Dehaene, S., Poline, J.-B., LeBihan, D., Argenti, A.-M., Dupoux, E., Mehler, J. 2003. 'Brain imaging of language plasticity in adopted adults: can a second language replace the first?' in *Cerebral Cortex*, Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 155 – 161.

Pappe, K. W. L. 1857. *Florae Capensis Medicae Prodrum; or, An enumeration of South African indigenous plants used as remedies by the colonists of the Cape of Good Hope*. W Brittain. Cape Town.

Pakendorf, B., Gunnink, H., Sands, B., Bostoen, K. 2017. 'Prehistoric Bantu-Khoisan language contact: A cross-disciplinary approach' in *Language Dynamics and Change*, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp.1 – 46.

Peires, J. B. 1981. *The House of Phalo: A History of the Xhosa People in the Days of their Independence*. Ravan Press. Johannesburg.

Peires, J. B. 1989. *The Dead Will Arise: Nongqawuse and the Great Xhosa Cattle-Killing Movement of 1856 – 7*. Ravan Press. Johannesburg.

Penn, N. G. 1995. *The Northern Cape Frontier Zone, 1700 – c.1815*. PhD thesis. University of Cape Town.

Penn, N. G. 2005. *The Forgotten Frontier: Colonist and Khoisan on the Cape's Northern Frontier*. Juta. Pretoria.

Peperkamp, S, Dupoux, E. 2003. 'Reinterpreting loanword adaptations: the role of perception' in *Proceedings of the 15th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*. pp. 367–70.

Pettman, C. 1913. *Africanderisms: A Glossary of South African colloquialisms*. Longmans & Green. London.

- Pickel, B. 1997. *Coloured Ethnicity and Identity: A Case Study in the Former Coloured Areas of the Western Cape, South Africa*. LIT Verlag. Hamburg.
- Ponelis, F. A. 1993. *The Development of Afrikaans*. Peter Lang. Frankfurt-am-Main.
- Poplack, S. 1981. “‘Sometimes I’ll start a sentence in Spanish y termino en Español’: toward a typology of code-switching” in *Linguistics* 7/8, pp. 581–618.
- Poplack, S. 1993. ‘Variation Theory and Language Contact’ in Preston, D. (ed.) *American Dialect Research: An Anthology Celebrating the 100th Anniversary of the American Dialect Society*. John Benjamins. Amsterdam. pp. 251 – 286.
- Poplack, S., Meechan, M. 1998. ‘How languages fit together in code-mixing’ in *International Journal of Bilingualism*, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp.127–138
- Poplack, S., Sankoff, D., Miller, C. 1988, ‘The social correlates and linguistic processes of lexical borrowing and assimilation’ in *Linguistics*, Vol. 26: 47-104.
- Poulos, G. Msimang, C. T. 1999. *A Linguistic Analysis of Zulu*. Via Afrika. Cape Town.
- Proctor, M., Zhu, Y., Lammert, A., Toutious, A., Sands, B., Narayanan, S. ‘Studying Clicks Using Real-time MRI’ in Sands, B. (ed.) *Click Consonants*. BRILL. Leiden. pp. 210 – 240.
- Prinsloo, A. F. 2008. *Annerlike Afrikaans: Woordeboek van Afrikaanse Kontreitaal*. Protea Books. Pretoria.
- Pugach, S. 2004. ‘Carl Meinhof and the German influence on Nicholas van Warmelo’s ethnological and linguistic writing, 1927 – 1935’ in *Journal of South African Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 4, pp. 825 – 845.
- Rademeyer, J. H. 1938 *Kleurling-Afrikaans: die taal van die Griekwas en Rehoboth-Basters*. Swets & Zeitlinger. Amsterdam.
- Rawson, K. 2018. *Land rights & identity: the establishment of the Leliefontein Mission and its impact on the Little Namaqua of the Kamiesberg*. MA thesis. University of Cape Town.
- Read, J. 1852. *Kat River settlement in 1851: described in a series of letters published in the South African Commercial Advertiser*. Robertson. Cape Town.
- Reddy, T. 2001. ‘The Politics of Naming: The Constitution of Coloured Subjects in South Africa’ in Erasmus, Z. (ed.) *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New perspectives on Coloured identities in Cape Town*. International Academic Publishers. Colorado Springs.
- Ribeiro, A. 1965. *Gramatica Changana*. Mission of St Vincent de Paulo. Caniçado, Mozambique.

Ritchie, W. C., Bhatia, T. K. 2006. 'Social and Psychological Factors in Language in Mixing' in Bhatia, T. K., Ritchie, W. C. (eds) *The Handbook of*

Roberge, P. T. 1994. 'The Formation of Afrikaans' in *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics*, No. 23, pp. 1 – 113.

Rohde, R. F., Hoffman, M. T. 2008. 'One Hundred Years of Separation: The Historical Ecology of a South African 'Coloured Reserve'' in *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 78, No. 2, pp. 189 – 222.

Ross, M. 1991. 'Refining Guy's sociolinguistic types of language change' in *Diachronica*, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 119 - 29.

Ross, R. 2014. *The Borders of Race in Colonial South Africa: The Kat River Settlement, 1829 – 1856*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Rust, F. C. 1960. *Deutsch-Nama Worterbuch*. Rheinischen Mission in Sudwestafrika. Windhoek.

Rycroft, D. K. 1981. *Concise siSwati dictionary: siSwati-English English-siSwati*. J. L. van Schaik.

Samar, R. G., Meechan, M. 1998. 'The Null Theory of Code-Switching versus the Nonce Borrowing Hypothesis: Testing the Fit in Persian-English Bilingual Discourse' in *International Journal of Bilingualism*, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 203 - 219.

Sands, B. 2001. 'Borrowing and Diffusion as a Source of Lexical Similarities in Khoesan' in *Cornell Working Papers in Linguistics* 18, pp. 200 – 224.

Sands, B. 2014. 'Adoption, maintenance and loss of click contrasts'. Conference paper presented at the *3rd Biennial Workshop on Sound Change*, University of California, Berkeley. Available online at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/282611961_Adoption_maintenance_and_loss_of_click_contrasts

Sands, B. 2017. 'The Challenges of Documenting Africa's Least-Known Languages' in Kandybowicz, J., Torrence, H. (eds) *Africa's Endangered Languages: Documentary and Theoretical Approaches*. Oxford University Press. Oxford. pp. 11 – 39.

Sands, B. 2020. 'Click Consonants: An Introduction' in Sands, B. (ed.) *Click Consonants*. BRILL. Leiden. pp. 1 – 73.

Sands, B., Maddieson, I., Ladefoged, P. 1996. 'The phonetic structures of Hadza' in *Studies in African Linguistics*, Vol. 25, Vol. 2, pp. 171 – 204.

Sands, B., Miller, A., Brugman, J. 2007. 'The lexicon in language attrition: The case of N|uu' in Payne, D. L., Peña, J. (eds) *Selected proceedings of the 37th Annual*

Conference on African Linguistics. Cascadilla Proceedings Project. Massachussets. pp. 55 – 65.

Sands, B., Gunnink, H. 2019. 'Clicks on the fringes of the Kalahari Basin Area' in Clem, E. (ed.) *Theory and Description in African Linguistics : Selected Papers from the 47th Annual Conference on African Linguistics*. Language Science Press. Berlin. pp. 703 – 24.

Sands, B., Jones, K. L. 2022. *Njuuki Namagowab Afrikaans English: #Xoaki #xanisi / Mîdi di #Khanis / Woordeboek / Dictionary*. African Sun Media. Cape Town.

Sankoff, G. 2004. 'Linguistic Outcomes of Language Contact' in Chambers, J. K., Trudgill, P., Schilling-Estes, N. (eds) *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*. Blackwell.

Sarrisam, G. 2006. *Vonke uit die koeroeklip: 'n Eie verhaal uit Namakwaland*. Self-published. Cape Town.

Sasse, H.-J. 1992. 'Language decay and contact-induced change: Similarities and differences' in Brenzinger, M. (ed.) *Language Death: Factual and Theoretical Explorations with Special Reference to East Africa*. Mouton de Gruyter. Berlin. pp. 59 – 80.

Sebba, M., & Wootton, T. 1998. 'We, they and identity: Sequential versus identity-related explanation in code-switching' in Auer, P. (ed.) *Code-switching in conversation: Language, interaction and identity*. Routledge. London. pp. 262 - 89.

Seliger, H. W., 1996. 'Primary Language Attrition in the Context of Bilingualism' in Bhatia, T.J, Ritichie, W.C. (eds) *Handbook of Second Language Acquisition*. Academic Press. San Diego. pp. 605 – 626.

Seidel, F. 2005. 'The Bantu Languages of the Eastern Caprivi: A dialectometrical analysis and its historical and sociolinguistic implications' in *South African Journal of African Languages*, Vol. 25, No. 4, pp. 207 – 242.

Seidel, Frank. 2008. A grammar of Yeyi. Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. Köln.

Sengupta, D., Choudhury, A., Fortes-Lima, C., Aron, S., Whitelaw, G., Bostoen, K., Gunnink, H. 2021. 'Genetic substructure and complex demographic history of South African Bantu speakers' in *Nature Communications*, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 1 – 13.

Schapera, I. 1930. *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa: Bushmen and Hottentots*. George Routledge & Sons. London.

Schapera, I. 1933. *The Early Cape Hottentots, described in the Writings of Olfert Dapper (1668), Willem ten Rhyne (1686), and Johannes Gulielmus de Grevenbroek (1695)*. Van Riebeeck Society. Cape Town.

Schils, G. H. 1894. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue des Namas*. Polleunis & Ceuterick. Leuven.

Schladt, M. 2000. *A preliminary list of Kxoe wild plants*. Institut für Afrikanistik, Universität zu Köln. Köln.

Schulz, S. W., Laine, A. O., Aunio, L. Philippova, N. 2019. 'Click variation and reacquisition in two South African Ndebele varieties' in Aunio, L., Fleisch, A. (eds) *Linguistic Diversity Research among Speakers of isiNdebele and Sindebele in South Africa*. Finnish Oriental Society. Helsinki. pp. 213 – 282.

Schültze, L. 1907. *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*. Gustav Fischer. Jena.

Shabangu, T. M., Swanepoel, J. J. *Isihlathululimezwi: An English-South Ndebele Dictionary*. Maskew Miller Longman. Cape Town.

Sharp, J., Boonzaier, E. 1994. 'Ethnic identity as performance: lessons from Namaqualand' in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 3, pp. 405 – 415.

Shaw, B. 1840. *Memorials of South Africa*. J. Coultas Printers. York.

Sitoe, B. 1996. *Dicionario changana-portugues*. Instituto Nacional do Desenvolvimento da Educação. Maputo.

Sitoe, B., Mahumana N., Langa, P. 2008. *Dicionário Ronga-Português*. Prometra. Maputo.

Skilton, A. 2017. 'Three Speakers, Four Dialects: Documenting Variation in an Endangered Amazonian Language' in Hildebrandt, K. A., Jany, C., Silva, W. (eds) *Documenting Variation in Endangered Languages*. University of Hawai'i Press. Honolulu. pp. 94 – 115.

Skhosana, P. B. 2009. *The Linguistic Relationship Between Southern and Northern Ndebele*. Doctoral thesis. University of Pretoria.

Sharp, J. S. 1977. *Community and Boundaries: An enquiry into the Institution of Citizenship in two Cape Coloured Reserves, South Africa*. PhD thesis. University of Cambridge.

Sharp, J. S. 1994. 'Land claims in Namaqualand: the Komaggas reserve' in *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 21, pp. 403-414

Sharp, J. S., West, M. 1984. *Controls and Constraints: Land, labour, and mobility in Namaqualand*. Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in South Africa. Cape Town.

Sharp, J. S., Boonzaier, E. 1994. 'Ethnic Identity As Performance: Lessons from Namaqualand' in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 3, pp. 405 – 415.

Sharp, J.S., Douglas, S. 1996. 'Prisoners of their reputation? The veterans of the "Bushman Battalions" in South Africa'. In Skotnes, P. (ed.), *Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen*. University of Cape Town Press. Cape Town. 323-329.

Smalberger, J. M. 1969. *Aspects of the History of Copper Mining in Namaqualand 1846 – 1931*. MA thesis. University of Cape Town.

Smith, C. A. 1966. *Common Names of South African Plants*. The Government Printer of South Africa. Pretoria.

Smith, A., Malherbe, C., Guenther, M., Berens, P. 2000. *The Bushmen of southern Africa: A Foraging Society in Transition*. David Philip / Ohio University Press. Johannesburg / Athens, OH.

Sommer, G. 1995. *Ethnographie des Sprachwechsels: Sozialer Wandel und Sprachverhalten bei den Yeyi*. Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. Köln.

Sommer, G., Voßen, R. 1992. 'Schnalzwörter im Yei (R.41)' in *Afrika und Übersee*, Vol. 75, pp. 1 – 42.

Stals, E. L. P. 2001. *Só het Afrikaans na Namibië gekom*. Gamsberg Macmillan. Windhoek.

Stammers, J., Deuchar, M. 2011. 'Testing the nonce borrowing hypothesis: Counter-evidence from English-origin verbs in Welsh' in *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, Vol. 15, pp. 630 – 643.

Stell, G. 2020 'Urban Youth Style or Emergent Urban Vernacular? The Rise of Namibia's Kasietaal' in *Language Matters*, Vol. 51, No. 2. pp. 49 – 67.

Stell, G., Groenewald, G. 2016. "n Perseptuele verslag van Afrikaans in Namibië: Tussen lingua franca en sosiaal-ekslusiewe taal' in *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe*, Vol. 56, No. 4.

Steinmez, G. 2007. *The Devil's Handwriting: Precoloniality and the German Colonial State in Qingdao, Samoa, and Southwest Africa*.

Sullivan, S. 1998. *People, plants and practice in drylands: sociopolitical and ecological dynamics of resource use by Damara farmers in arid north-west Namibia*. PhD thesis. University College London.

Taylor, J.J. 2009. 'Differentiating "Bushman" from "Bantus": Identity building in West Caprivi, Namibia, 1930-1989' in *Journal of African History*, Vol. 50, No. 3. pp. 417 – 436.

Thomason, S. G., Kaufman, T. 1988. *Language Contact, Creolization, and Language Genetics*. University of California Press. London.

Thunberg, C. P. 1986. *Travels at the Cape of Good Hope, 1772 – 1775 (based on the English edition, London 1793 – 1795)*. Van Riebeeck Society. Cape Town.

Tindall, H. 1857. *A grammar and vocabulary of the Namaqua-Hottentot language*. G. J. Pike. Cape Town.

Tjitemisa, K. 2021. 'Chiefs reject genocide reparations deal' in *New Era*, 27 May 2021. Available online at <https://neweralive.na/posts/chiefs-reject-genocide-reparations-deal>.

Torras, M. C., Garafanga, J. 2002. 'Social Identities and Language Alternation in Non-Formal Institutional Bilingual Talk: Trilingual Service Encounters in Barcelona' in *Language in Society*, Vol. 31, No. 4, pp. 527 – 548.

Traill, A. 1991. 'Pulmonic control, nasal venting, and aspiration in Khoisan languages' in *Journal of the International Phonetic Association*, Vol. 21, No. 1, pp. 13–18.

Traill, A. 1993. 'The feature geometry of clicks' in von Standen, P. (ed.) *Festschrift E. B. van Wyk: 'n Huldeblyk*. Van Schaik. Pretoria. pp. 134 – 140.

Traill, A. 1995. 'The Khoisan Languages of South Africa' in Mesthrie, R. (ed.) *Language in South Africa*. Cape Town: Cambridge University Press. pp. 1 – 18.

Traill, A., Voßen, R. 1997. 'Sound change in the Khoisan languages: new data on click loss and click replacement' in *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics*, Vol. 18, pp. 21 – 56.

Trimen, R. 1873. 'Vegetation of Little Namaqualand, South Africa' in *London Journal of Botany*, Vol. 11.

Trudgill, P. 2008. 'Colonial dialect contact in the history of European languages: on the irrelevance of identity to new-dialect formation' in *Language in Society*, Vol. 37, pp. 241 – 280.

Trüper, U. 2006. *The Invisible Woman: Zara Schmelen, African Mission Assistant at the Cape and in Namaland*. Basler Afrika Bibliographien. Basel.

Tse, H. 2013. 'Methodological considerations in the study of sociophonetic variation in an under-documented minority language: Somali Bantu Kizigua as a case study' in *Journées d'Études Toulousaines*, May 2013, pp.129 – 139.

Tshabe, S. L. (ed.) 1996. *The Greater Dictionary of isiXhosa (Vols 1 – 3)*. University of Fort Hare. Alice.

Tucker, A. N. 1969. *The Comparative Phonetics of the Suto-Chuana group of Bantu languages*. Longmans, Green & Co. London.

Van Engelenhoven, A. 2003. 'Language Endangerment in Indonesia' in Janse, M., Tol, S. (eds) 2003. *Language Death and Maintenance: Theoretical, Practical, and*

Descriptive Approaches. John Benjamins Publishing Company. Amsterdam. pp. 49-80.

Van Rensburg, C. 2016. 'Die Vroegste Khoi-Afrikaans' in *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe*, Vol. 56., No.2, pp. 455 – 476.

Van Warmelo, N. J. 1930. *A Preliminary Survey of the Bantu Tribes of South Africa*. Government Printer. Pretoria.

Van Warmelo, N. J. 1974. 'The Classification of Cultural Groups' in Hammond-Tooke, D. (ed.) *The Bantu-Speaking Peoples of South Africa (2nd edition)*. Routledge & Keagan Paul. London. pp. 56 – 84.

Vlok, J., Schutte-Vlok, A. L. 2010. *Plants of the Klein Karoo*. Umdaus Press. Pretoria.

Villa-Vicencio, C., Grassow, P. 2009. *Christianity and the Colonisation of South Africa, 1847 – 1883: A Documentary History, Vol 1*. UNISA. Pretoria.

Von Koenen, E. 1977. *Heil- und Giftpflanzen in Südwestafrika*. Akademischer Verlag. Windhoek.

Von Wielligh, G. R. 1925. *Ons Geselstaal*. L. Van Schaik Beperk. Pretoria.

Voßen, R. 1997. *Die Khoe-Sprachen*. Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. Köln.

Vratsanos, A. 2017. *Some Repairs Strategies in Xitsonga*. MA thesis. University of the Witwatersand.

Wa Ilunga, M. 1992. *Description de la langue swati (Bantou S43)*. Doctoral thesis. Université Libre de Bruxelles.

Waldman, L. P. 2007. *The Griqua Conundrum: Political and Socio-Cultural Identity in the Northern Cape, South Africa*. Peter Lang. Oxford.

Wallace, M. 2011. *A History of Namibia: From the Beginning to 1990*. Hurst. London.

Wallman, J. C. 1854. *Vokabular der Namasprache nebst einem Abriss der Formelehre derselben*. Steinhaus. Barmen-Wuppertal.

Waterhouse, G., De Wet, G. C. 1979. *Simon van der Stel's journey to Namaqualand in 1685*. Human & Rousseau. Cape Town.

Watt, J. M., Breyer-Brandwijk, M. G. 1932. *The Medicinal and Poisonous Plants of Southern Africa*. E. & S. Livingstone. Edinburgh.

Weinreich, U. 1953. *Languages in Contact*. Mouton. The Hague.

Westphal, E. O. J. 1962. 'On classifying Bushman and Hottentot Languages' in *African language studies*, Vol. 3. pp. 30 – 48.

Westphal, E. O. J. 1980. 'The age of 'Bushman' languages in southern Africa' in Snyman, J. (ed) *Bushman and Hottentot Linguistic Studies*. UNISA. Pretoria. pp. 59 – 79.

Wheat, N. A. 2014. *An Ethnobotanical, Phytochemical and Metabolomics Investigation of Plants from the Paulshoek Communal Area, Namaqualand*. PhD thesis. University of Cape Town.

Widlok, T. 1994. *The social relationships of changing Hai llom hunter gatherers in northern Namibia, 1990-1994*. PhD thesis. London School of Economics and Political Science

Wilman, M. 1946. *Preliminary Check List of the Flowering Plants & Ferns of Griqualand West (Southern Africa)*. Deighton Bell & Co. Cambridge.

Wilson, M. L., Toussiant van Hove-Exalto, T., van Rijssen, W. J. J. 2002. *Codex Witsenii*. Iziko Museums. Cape Town.

Winter, W. 1973. 'Areal Linguistics: Some General Considerations' in Sebeok, T. A. (ed.) *Diachronic, Areal, and Typological Linguistics*. Mouton. The Hague.

Winter-Froemel, E. 2014. 'Formal Variance and Semantic Changes in Borrowing: Integrating Semasiology and Onomasiology' in Zenner, E., Kristiansen, G. (eds). *New Perspectives on Lexical Borrowing*. Mouton de Gruyter. Berlin. pp. 65 – 100.

Wissing, D. 2019. 'Afrikaans Segment Inventory'. Available from <http://www.taalportaal.org/taalportaal/topic/pid/topic-14610909940908011>.

Witzlack-Makaverich, A. 2006. *Aspects of Information Structure in Richtersveld Nama*. MA thesis. Institut für Linguistik der Universität Leipzig.

Wurm, S. 2003. 'The language situation and language endangerment in the greater Pacific area' in Mark Janse & Sijmen Tol (eds.), *Language death and language maintenance: theoretical, practical and descriptive approaches*. John Benjamins. Amsterdam. pp. 16–47.

Wynne, R. C. 1980. *English-Mbukushu dictionary*. Avebury Publishing. Amersham.

Yip, Y. M. 1996. 'Cantonese loan phonology and Optimality Theory' in *Journal of East Asian Linguistics*, Vol. 2. pp. 261 – 291.

Ziervogel, D. 1952. *A Grammar of Swazi*. University of the Witwatersrand Press. Johannesburg.

Ziervogel, D. 1959. *A Grammar of Northern Transvaal Ndebele*. J. L. van Schaik. Pretoria.

Zungu, E. M. 1999. *A comparative phonological and morphological analysis of the North and South Lala dialects of Tekela Nguni*. Doctoral thesis. UNISA.

APPENDIX A

An Etymological Corpus of Khoekhoe-branch Items in Afrikaans

Preamble to Appendix A

This appendix collates a representative corpus of items of Khoekhoe-branch origin recorded in monolingual Afrikaans print lexicographical resources between 1913 – 2015 (although some resources draw on older material). A total of 264 items are included, of which 189 contain orthographic evidence of having retained a click consonant in an Afrikaans-matrix utterance at some point in time. Unfortunately, a number of additional items sourced from Facebook groups could not be included, as the ethical clearance for this project did not cover online data collection, but these are a rich source of data that should be examined in future research.

Two caveats accompany this material. Firstly, although many of these items are ubiquitously attested across general Afrikaans and are still in use today, and so could reasonably be treated as loanwords, many others are *hapax*, highly regionalised, and potentially obsolete, meaning that they are better considered evidence of post-shift lexical retention. Secondly, although every care has been taken to avoid conflating L1 and L2 datastreams, the poor linguistic calibre of the available lexicographical resources means that it is not always clear whether these items were employed by a monolingual speaker of Afrikaans, or whether they were in fact used by bilingual speakers of Afrikaans and a Khoekhoe-branch language. Accordingly, Appendix A should *not* be construed as a corpus of loanwords proper. Rather, it is an attempt to show that at least some degree of lexical interference with Afrikaans by the Khoekhoe-branch languages did historically occur, and that this interference is centred on the Northern Cape region of South Africa. It further serves as a pool of potential test items to be used in designing stimulus materials for the elicitation of Khoekhoe-branch items from Afrikaans monolinguals.

The extreme orthographic variation encountered across resources renders alphabetising an unsuitable schema for the organisation of lemma. Rather, in keeping with the protocols for the Loanword Typology Project (Haspelmath & Tadmor 2009: 5 – 10), this project sorts all loanwords entered into its corpora according to semantic fields. This sorting strategy not only circumvents the difficulties associated with variant orthographies, but also allows for analysis of which semantic categories were more likely to donate loanwords and which were more reluctant, which will in turn be used to confirm predictions about the socioeconomic particulars of contact between Afrikaans and Khoekhoe-branch languages. It could also, hopefully, facilitate cross-linguistic comparison of Khoekhoe-Afrikaans interaction with other contact events worldwide.

Semantic Fields of the LWT Project

adapted from Haspelmath & Tadmor 2009: 7

	semantic field	meaning subcategories
1	the physical world	75
2	kinship	85
3	animals	116
4	the body	159
5	food & drink	81
6	clothing & grooming	59
7	the house	47
8	agriculture & vegetation	74
9	basic actions & technology	78
10	motion	82
11	possession	46
12	spatial relations	75
13	quantity	38
14	time	57
15	sense perception	49
16	emotions & values	48
17	cognition	51
18	speech & language	41
19	social & political relations	36
20	warfare & hunting	40
21	law	26
22	religion & belief	26
23	modern world	57
24	miscellaneous function words	14
	TOTAL	1460

The LWT Project acknowledges 24 semantic fields which are further categorised into a total of 1460 meanings (the expanded numbering of each of these meaning subcategories is available at Haspelmath & Tadmor 2009: 22 – 34). These divisions were patterned off the [####], developed primarily to structure projects aimed at language documentation and the development of lexicographical resources. Although the [####] were designed to be as generalised as possible, not all meaning subcategories are cross-linguistically applicable, and so adaptations have been made as necessary (see discussion and guidelines at Haspelmath & Tadmor 2009: 5 – 6; 9). Since no meaning **porcupine** was available in semantic field **3 animals**, for example, nor any meaning such as **rodent**, **hedgehog**, or **spined rodent**, the item **n!oab** = *Hystrix africaeaustralis* “porcupine” (Prinsloo, 2008: 431) was entered under the more general meaning subcategory **3.11 animal**. The same principles are applied wherever necessary.

Furthermore, the Khoekhoe-Afrikaans loanword corpus is heavily skewed towards certain semantic fields. For the simple purpose of organisation and coding, it is therefore necessary to account for the fact that certain meaning subcategories are only very sparsely populated, while others may contain twenty or more items. In the case of a meaning subcategory which contains only one item, this item will be coded simply with the subcategorical number. For example, the item **kabaais**, glossed as “southeast wind” (Prinsloo, 2008: 178), and sourced to a standardised Namibian Khoekhoe target **!kháwàgāb** “south wind” (Haacke & Eiseb, 2002: 346), is the only item in the corpus that refers to the wind. It is

sorted into semantic field **1 the physical world**, and assigned to the meaning class **1.72 wind**. No further sorting is required.

In the case of meaning subcategories which contain multiple items, however, further sorting and coding is required. In such instances, items are sorted in alphabetical order with reference to the earliest 20th-century record. Each item is then identified using a letter of the Roman alphabet, **a, b, c, d**, etc.; where necessary, this identification system will cycle round to using **aa, ab, ac, ad**, etc. For example, the items **kykee** for *Pelargonium rapaceum* (Smith, 1966: 318), **t'neitjie** for *Pelargonium incrassatum* (Le Roux, 1981: 180), **ntgaikee** for “a species of edible bulb” (Links, 1989: 65) **neitjie** and **ghneitjie** for *Pelargonium* sp. (Prinsloo, 2008: 428), and **tjytjie** for “edible *veldkos*” (Prinsloo, 2008: 485) are all sunk into a single lemma, loaned from the southerly Nama item **llnaib** for an edible root (Schultze 1907: 166; Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 263), and compared also with the Kora item **llnēib** for an edible plant “resembling the sweet potato, with tendrils with roundish leaves and red flowers” (Engelbrecht 1936: 117), which description matches that of *Pelargonium incrassatum* exactly. This item is sorted into semantic field **8 agriculture & vegetation** and assigned to the meaning **8.53 plant**. It is then alphabetised according to its earliest surveyed record, **kykee**; this places it tenth in subcategory 8.53, and so it is assigned the letter **j**. This system of organisation (illustrated in Figure A.1 below) leaves each item with a **reference number**. These numbers serve as unique identifiers within the context of this project, enabling ease and rapidity of reference, as well as circumventing the need to copy out multiple variant spellings of the same item during discussion.¹

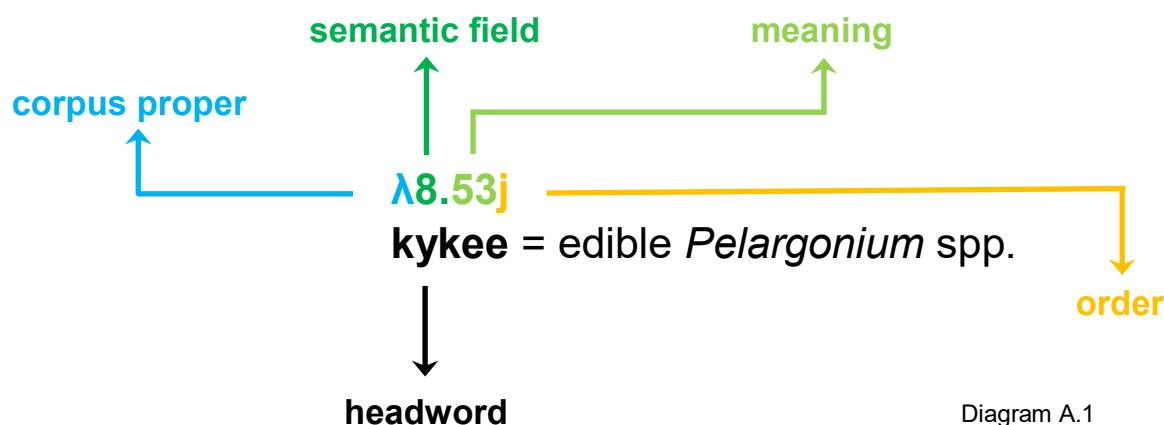
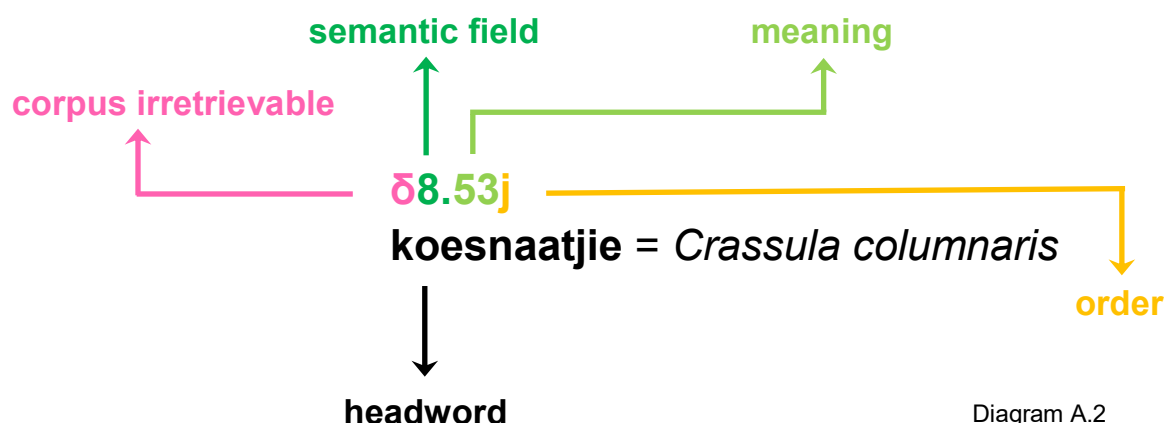


Diagram A.1
Lemma Reference

Crucial to the ethos of this project is the acknowledgement that certain of the items treated originate from languages that were violently extirpated prior to their documentation, and hence that the original target of these items can never be retrieved. Accordingly, the final corpus has been split into two. The corpus proper houses all items for which a target from a Khoekhoe-branch language can be definitively identified or reasonably proposed. During coding, these items are prefixed **λ**, to indicate that they should be treated as lemma, and that they potentially qualify for inclusion into the phonological test battery.

¹ Note that corpus items which were selected for inclusion in the test battery used during Part 2 were also accorded a **battery number** to allow for tracking and sorting during elicitation and analysis; the assignation of these is further discussed in Chapter 4.

The corpus irretrievable houses all items clearly of Khoekhoe-branch origin, but for which no target can be offered. While improved documentation of SA Nama dialects could potentially contribute a number of solves to the corpus irretrievable, especially in the domain of regionalised Namaqualand plant names, these items are in the main too fragile to bear further academic scrutiny and are best left undisturbed. They are prefixed **δ** to indicate that they should be treated as unresolved lemma, and to ensure that they were not used when developing phonological tests (see Figure A.2 below).



Considering the extremity of orthographic variation in play, the directive prevailing throughout compilation has been to lump rather than to split. However, there do exist instances in which homographs so clearly encompassed distinct sense as to suggest that orthographic conflation of two similar-sounding terms had occurred, and that two senses should be split from a single lemma. These conflations likely arose following the collapse of phonemic contrast during copying, particularly given the high functional load carried by both click consonants and lexical tone within the Khoekhoe-branch languages (see further discussion at 3.5.2).

For example, the item **gharra** encompasses three fairly distinct semantic scopes:

- gharra 1:** a species of *taaibos* with edible berries ... especially *Searsia undulata*
- gharra 2:** to tease or annoy
- gharra 3:** tell jokes, make wisecracks, to banter

adapted from Boshoff & Nienaber, 1967: 249

Here Boshoff & Nienaber have correctly identified that this is a series of homographs originating from three targets that were historically entirely distinct. They note that the WAT originally conflated the Nama **|gàrǎ** = ‘to hamper’, to hinder’, ‘to impede’ H&E184 with **gǎǎrǎ** = ‘to pull someone’s leg, to hoax/trick (harmlessly)’ H&E37, and that these two senses are ‘desnoods te skei’, “necessary to split”. These three items have therefore been entered into the corpus proper as **λ8.53d gharrabos ex |garas**, **λ16.26b gharra ex gǎǎrǎ**, and **λ19.69 gharra ex |gàrǎ**.

A further complication of a lemmatisation arises from the presence of compound nouns. When both elements of a compound noun can readily be retrieved, the noun is entered as a single lemma. For

example **λ8.6o t'arra-t'kooi** = *Stoeberia utilis* is a compound noun deriving from the Nama **ǀàpǎ** = 'red' H&E166 and **ǂkhoes** = tall shrubby mesemb used for firewood (Du Pisani 1983, Sullivan 1989). There is no evidence that **ǀàpǎ** is copied individually with a sense of 'red', and so it does not merit inclusion as a separate lemma. When neither element of an item that clearly targeted a Khoekhoe-branch compound noun can be retrieved, the item is likewise entered as a single lemma;² thus, even though the compound plant name **ǂ8.53i t'noemsganna** = *Tylecodon wallichii* technically comprises two unknown lexemes, it is entered as one item. For the sake of phonological thoroughness, however, when the target of only one of two or more elements in a compound lemma is known, each element is entered separately, with the known item or items in the corpus proper, and the unknown item or items in the corpus irretrievable, as necessary. This has been done in order to indicate clearly that, while part of the target may be retrieved or reasonably reconstructed, and hence may be submitted to the corpus proper, the target as a whole cannot, and so is unsuitable for use in further phonological comparison.

Appendix A.1 The Corpus Proper

² Protocols for the detection of historical compounding even after the disruption of morphological boundaries during loan were developed at Christie 2019: 47 – 53, and will be followed here with only minimal adaptation.

The Physical World (23 items)

λ1.22a

ntgoeroetjie = “a small hill with loose stones” LINKS63, ex Nama **llnòòrīb** = ‘a slope, a slant, a descent’ H&E289.

λ1.22b

ntgwa = “a stony rand where livestock graze” LINKS63; **kwa** = “rocky ridge” PRINS379; ex Nama **llhōáb** = ‘cliff’, ‘overhang’ H&E392.

λ1.22c

ntkan = “a stone hill of holes and tunnels where dassies live” LINKS63; cf. Damara **†gàáb** = ‘cliff’, ‘overhang’ H&E392, Kora **†āb** = ‘ledge’, ‘overhang’ DuP318. Note that **llhōáb** = ‘cliff’, ‘overhang’ is considered Central Nama, while **†gàáb** is Damara H&E392; however, compare Kora **†āb** = ‘ledge’, ‘overhang’ DuP318, which suggests that Kora and southerly Nama may have shared the Dama isogloss. The additional presence in Namaqualand Afrikaans of **λ1.22b ntgwa** = “a stony rand where livestock graze” LINKS63 ex Nama **llhōáb** = ‘cliff’ may additionally indicate that both variants were present in southerly Nama.

λ1.22d

tkau = “large, flat stone” PRINS486; LD Springbok indicates ex Nama **!haōb** = ridge of (hard) rock, esp. granite’ H&E331.

λ1.23a

ghroetes = “fields” BN257 ex **!garob** = “veld, steppe, moorland, wilderness” KROEN93, **!gàròb** = ‘veld, grazing land’ H&E312.

λ1.23b

kei, **keirūens** = “stony, almost bare patch of ground, usually consisting of Boesmanland slate; a bare, yellow pan of the sort encountered in Boesmanland” PRINS232; ex Nama **!àib** = ‘flat, unwooded country’ H&E293.

λ1.24

kirrie = “vlei, a small forested or shrubby dell” PRINS254; LD Calvinia, Namaqualand suggest ex Nama **!khùbis** = ‘vlei’ H&E355, cf. also Kora **!xubis** = ‘pan’, ‘vlei’.

λ1.31

t’kammie = “water” PRINS485, LD Griqualand West, Namaqualand indicates ex Nama **llgàǻmmi** = ‘water’ H&E246, Kora **llammi** = ‘water’ DuP300.

λ1.362

tkwarra “flat waterhole” PRINS48 ex Nama **†khàrīs** “whirlpool, large pothole in river” H&E408.

λ1.37a

goratjies = ‘holes made in the sand of riverbeds for water to percolate into’, **gorawater** = ‘water which has been obtained by the above process’; **gora** = “well in river” BN265; **gōrra** = “a spot where water wells up, especially in a riverbed” LINKS63; **gorra** = “a flat waterhole, usually one into which water wells up and that has been dug in a dry riverbed” PRINS 106; ex Nama **xòrá** = ‘dig for (water, usually in sandy riverbeds’, **xòrás** = ‘waterhole (dug in riversand)’ H&E155. As correctly observed at Pettman, 1913: 194, the earlier orthography **gra**’water, interpreted via folk etymology as a syncopation of *graafwater*, *lit.*, “dugwater”, is an Afrikaans reanalysis of Nama **xora**. This item should be considered historically separate from **λ1.37c tkōnna** ex Nama **!khànùb** = “channel” KROEN225, H&E292 despite possible conflation in present-day usage.

λ1.37b

gouroe = “a hole in flat stone where water collects” BN265 ex Nama **llgàruǀb** = ‘bowl-shaped pothole in rock’, ‘cavern in rock, esp. with vertical entrance’ H&E250.

λ1.37c

tkôṇna = “wellwater, the source of which is known only to certain persons or animals” LINKS63; ex **!khànùb** = channel KROEN225, H&E292. This item is split from **λ37a gôrra** = “wellwater” by Links 1989, but lumped with it by Prinsloo 2008; I follow Links 1989, as no known form of Nama **xòrás** = ‘waterhole (dug in riversand)’ H&E155 contains a click consonant. Working from the sense at LINKS63 of a watersource, rather than of an artificial well dug into sand, cf. instead Nama **!kanub** = “ditch”, “hole” KROEN225, **!khànùb** H&E344 glossed only in the compound noun **!áà!khànùb** = ‘ditch, *s/oot*; source of river’ H&E292 where the second element has an inferred sense of ‘channel’. Alternately, cf. Nama **llgǎnáb** = ‘watering hole (dug for animals) H&E248, “wellwater hole”, “watering place” KROEN81, reconstructed to *proto-KHOE ***llana** = “wellwater hole” (Voßen, 1997: 445).

λ1.44a

koeroeklip, **ghoeroeklip** = “rock formations that are brown, red, redbrown, or blackish, e.g., weathered granite, ferricrete, or dolorite” PRINS315 ex Nama **tòrób** = ‘terrain with red sandstone’ H&E132. Not to be conflated with **λ1.44b tkoeroe**, **tkoroe**, **tkoerieklip** ex Nama **llguǀruǀb** = ‘quartz’ H&E259.

λ1.44b

koeroeklip = “quartz” SARRISAM; **tkoeroe**, **tkoroe**, **tkoerieklip** = “quartz” PRINS486, ex Nama **llguǀruǀb** = ‘quartz’ H&E259. The presence of an item **llkurru** = ‘quartz’ in |Xam McG489 does suggest entry via Kora, although no reflex is attested. Not to be conflated with **λ1.44a koeroeklip**, **ghoeroeklip** = ex Nama **tòrób** = ‘terrain with red sandstone’ H&E132.

λ1.44c

tkomklip, **ghom** = “a kind of fragile stone, used when tanning skins to trim the remnants of flesh away from the underside” PRINS486; ex Nama **|khòṁs** = ‘a type of brittle stone (used to scrape inside of skin clean)’ H&E214, cf. also Kora **|kx’oms** = ‘whitestone (used in softening skins)’ DuP299, |Xam **|xwomma** = type of stone ‘powdered and used for dressing skins, found in Bushmanland’ McG488.

λ1.64

tkobbo = “cold” PRINS486 ex Nama **ʔàòb** = ‘dampness (as of dew)’, **ʔàòxǎ** = ‘cold and damp’, H&E372; Kora **ʔ’aub** = “cold” DuP328.

λ1.72

kabaais = “southeast wind” PRINS178; ex Nama **!kháwàgǎb** = ‘south wind’ H&E346.

λ1.73

ntwangweer = “a sort of dark, misty weather that, according to superstition, indicates that something is about to happen, e.g., someone is about to die” LINKS65; **tkjwa** = “a sort of weather that predicts death” PRINS484; ex Nama **|hòà** = “to form cirrus clouds; khoeb ge ra **|hòà** = the (death of the) man causes cirrus clouds [*said when sky becomes overcast on occasion of death*]; **|hòàllǎṁmi** (especially unseasonable) rain linked to a death’ H&E206.

λ1.75a

ghibbie = ‘motreën’, BN250, **kabie** ‘motreën’, reën = BN 318; ex Nama **|àpǀb** = ‘rain’, ‘rainfall’, ‘rains’ H&E168.

λ1.75b

sabba = “a sort of weather condition, usually mistiness, that makes the world cold” LINKS65 ex Nama **sǎwé** = ‘to drizzle, to rain softly’ H&E113.

λ1.83

kan, **tjkan** = “smoke”, said especially of a fire PRINS195; ex Nama **|ǎn** = ‘to smoke’, ‘to smoulder’ H&E162.

λ1.86

tkam = “to kindle” LINKS65; ex Nama **!ám** ‘to light candle or torch’ H&E294.

λ1.88

ghoenoe “tinder” BN254, **ghoenoe** = *Boophane disticha* (Amaryllidaceae), in reference to the application of the dry, resinous bulb scales as tinder (Leistner 1967); ex Nama **guñúb** = ‘touchwood’, ‘tinder’ H&E44, used specifically of *Boophane disticha* in N|uuki and Riemvasmaak Nama (Sands & Jones 2022: 166). The same item, probably a direct loan from Nama, appears in !Xóó as **guñnu** for species of bracket fungus used as tinder.

Kinship (4 items)

λ2.27

koukind = “youngest child”, “baby of the family” BN368; **thaukind** = “the youngest child”, “child born long after the others” LINKS65; **t’kaukind**, **tkjaukind** = “grandchild” PRINS486; ex Nama **!gàò** |gǎáb ‘last child’ H&E310, cf. also Kora **!ao** |oi ‘last child’ DuP308. This item, still in productive usage in Namaqualand Afrikaans, competes with two native Afrikaans items *laatlammetjie* and *droëpram*, which have the same sense.

The specifying element **!gàò** is most literally ‘to stop raining’ H&E310. There did seem to exist a belief, at least in Kora communities, that the youngest child in a family was able to effect a pause in the rain. The circumstances of a child’s birth were generally considered to convey corresponding abilities to influence the weather, luck, and the hunt later in life in Khoekhoe culture, and so it is possible that this term originates in a punning association between ‘stopping’ the family, and ‘stopping’ the rain.

is	ta	!nantuu-	si-	o	
CONJ	FUT	V ‘hail’	CAUS	CONDITIONAL	
i tje	na	!aoloi		lui	!nans llkx’aeb
CONJ	PROG	N ‘youngest child’		A ‘one’ N ‘hailstone’	N ‘time’
kx’am		!na			
N ‘mouth’		POSTP ‘in’			
uu-	haa-	ka-	si-	he	
V ‘take’	PERF	SUBJ	CAUS	PASS	[lit., ‘would be caused to have been held’]
i tje	na	!au.			
CONJ	PROG	V ‘stop raining’			

Is ta !nan tuusi o, i tje na **!aoloi** lui !nans llkx’aeb kx’am !na uuhaakasihe; i tje na **!au**.

‘If a hailstorm should arise, then it would be arranged for one hailstone to be held in the mouth of the *laatlammetjie* for a while, and then it would stop.’

Bitterbos, A.
as recorded in Engelbrecht, 1936: 218

λ2.31

tkasab = “a girl’s lover” PRINS486, ex Nama **llaäsab** = ‘loved one’, ‘darling’, ‘boyfriend’ H&E235.

λ2.5

ghokop = “boy”, “youngster” BN255; LND but cf. Bondelswarts Nama **|gǎób** = ‘son’ H&E193 + diminutive infix **-ro-** + 3.M.SG **-b** suffix yielding **|gǎóròb** = ‘baby son’, ‘young boy’.

λ2.261

ghaan = “girl”, “young lady” BN246; **ghaan** “young lady, often used as an affection form of address” PRINS8 ex Nama **!gǎás** = ‘sister’ H&E316.

Animals (28 items)

λ3.11a

ghamma = “hermaphrodite (of animals)” BN248; **ghamma** = “animal, especially a ewe, which does not breed because it is barren” PRINS90; ex Nama **!gǎimáb** = “hermaphrodite, sterile animal” H&E309.

λ3.11b

n!oab = “porcupine”, *Hystrix africaeaustralis* PRINS431; LD Griqualand West hence ex Kora **Inōab** = ‘porcupine’ DuP358.

λ3.19

ghoeroe = “watering place for livestock” BN255; ex Nama **!lgórób** = ‘manger’ H&E258.

λ3.25

ghoen = “sheep” BN254; ex Nama **guǔ-** ‘sheep’ H&E44 + 3.PL.COMM –n.

λ3.28

orrabok = “goat which is in milk, but whose kid is dead, or has been taken away, or perhaps has already been weaned” PRINS449, ex Nama **ǃróš** = ‘animal which has lost its offspring’ H&E104.

λ3.581a

karre ogie = *Zosterops capensis* PETT254, **kari**ogie, **krie**ogie = *Zosterops capensis* BN339; LND, but cf. Kora **xati** = ‘white’ DuP290. A widespread and well-known garden bird with a distinctive white border around the eye, *Z. capensis* is regularly **witog**ie in Afrikaans, and ‘white-eye’ or ‘glass-eye’ in SA English. Accordingly, both PETT and B&N suggest comparison with Nama **!úrĩ** = ‘white’ H&E303. For a closer phonological match, I would consider instead the Kora isogloss **xati** = ‘white’ DuP290, which appears as a specifier in several animal names.

λ3.581b

nonnatjiegoup, **nannetjiegoup** = “eusocial bird”, i.e. *Philetairus socialis*, the sociable weaver, PRINS433; LD Kalahari, Namaqualand would suggest that the first element is a reanalysis of Nama **!hǎ̀nǎ̀kèés** = *Philetairus socialis* H&E330 as Afrikaans *nonnetjie*, lit. ‘little nun’, used in several birdnames including *nonnetjie-eend* = *Dendrocygna viduata*; *nonnetjie-uil* = *Tyto alba*. The second element was likely incorporated into the Afrikaans loan via rebracketing either of Nama **!hǎ̀nǎ̀kèé-ǃms**, (lit., *Philetairus socialis* + ‘house’), which refers to the large and conspicuous communal nests, or of Nama **!hǎ̀nǎ̀kèéxǎub** (lit., *Philetairus socialis* + ‘dung’), which refers to the valuable guano.

λ3.581c

keboeb, **keboe**-uil = “nightjar”, i.e. *Caprimulgus* sp., PRINS230. LD Eastern Cape suggests ex *Cape Khoekhoe or *Eastern Khoekhoe, but cf. Nama **ǎ́púhĩǎ̀b** = nightjar, *Caprimulgus* sp. H&E17, and note that a Kora equivalent would be ***kx’apu-** in the TUU family, cf. also !Xóõn **q’ǎbi**, **q’ǎbu**-tê = *Caprimulgus* sp. TRAILL182, almost certainly a loaned form of an unattested Kalahari-branch reflex of the first element **ǎ́pú-** in Nama **ǎ́púhĩǎ̀b**.

λ3.584a

kouvoël, **tjoovoël**, **tjouvoël** = *Aquila rapax* (Accipitridae), *Gypaetus [barbatus]* (Accipitridae), *Terathopius ecaudatus* (Accipitridae) BN368; LND but cf. Damara **ǎ́úb** = ‘falcon’, ‘hawk’, ‘any (smallish) bird of prey’ H&E166.

λ3.63a

kargho, kergho = elephant shrew, one of several species in Macroscelididae PRINS210; LD Victoria West suggests ex Kora, but *cf.* Nama **!khau #guib** = H&E19 for several species in Macroscelididae.

λ3.63b

koutjie = “species of brown rockrat” *i.e.*, *Pteromys* sp. BN368; **koutjie** = “brown rockrat, a small, ratlike, strong-rumped, grey-brown to red-brown rodent found in rocky places” PRINS 361; B&N connect with the Dama item **!khàúś** = elephant shrew spp. in Macroscelididae H&E19, but *cf.* also Kora **!lxaus** = striped mouse [*Rhabdomys* sp.?] DuP305, 357, shared with |Xam **!lkhau** = *Rhabdomys* sp. McG460.

λ3.74a

gamma = “n Bakoorjakkals” LINKS63, **tkamma** = “die draaijakkals” LINKS64; **gamma** = “draaijakkals of silwerjakkals (*Vulpes chama*) SARR107, 114; LD Namaqualand indicates ex Nama **!khàmǎb** = *Vulpes chama* H&E344, possibly with influence from Kora **!xamab** = DuP357. These two items are lemmatised separately, one form without a click at LINKS63, one with a click at LINKS64. The Afrikaans *bakoorjakkals* (*lit.*, ‘bowl-eared jackal’) regularly refers to *Otocyon megalotis*, the bat-eared fox, while the *draaijakkals* is generally *Vulpes chama*, the Cape fox. Both animals are medium-sized predatory canids in the Afrikaans taxon *jakkals* ‘jackal’. The Nama **!khàmǎb** properly refers to *Vulpes chama*, at least in standardised Namibian Khoekhoe, as does the Kora cognate **!xama** = *draaijakkals* DuP357. *Otocyon megalotis* is **!lǎǎb** H&E226 in Nama; the Kora reflex **!l’ǎ** is on record as referring to an unspecified ‘jackal’ DuP357. Neither of these forms is a reasonable target of **gamma** LINKS63, and so it is more likely that **!khàmǎb** = *Vulpes chama* underwent lexical extension during loan and incorporated *Otocyon megalotis* into its scope. Accordingly, I sink both items **gamma** ~ **tkamma** into one lemma.

λ3.74b

gheip, neip = ‘erewolf, maanhaarjakkals’ BN250; **ntgie** = ‘die maanhaarjakkals’ LINKS63; **t’gie** = ‘maanhaarjakkals’ PRINS484; ex Nama **|gǐib** = *Proteles cristata* H&E 189, *cf.* also Kora **|gaib** ~ **|gib** = ‘maanhaarjakkals’ DuP356.

λ3.81a

goga = ‘an insect of any sort’ PETT190; **gogga** = ‘insekte’ BN363; early and ubiq., with multiple likely entry points, but *cf.* Nama **xoxon** ‘kleines Ungeziefer’ KROEN47, **xóòxóòi** = ‘(child language) creepy-crawlies, insects’ H&E156.

λ3.81b

gous = ‘sonbesie’, *i.e.* cicada PRINS108, ex Bondelswarts Nama **#âun** = ‘cicada’ HNE191.

λ3.811a

oerlep = “headlouse” PRINS436, ex Nama **úrīb** = ‘louse’ H&E146.

λ3.862a

ghob = *Lycaon pictus* BN252; ex Nama **!gaūb** = *Lycaon pictus* H&E 313, *cf.* also Kora **!gaub** = ‘hunting dog’ DuP357.

λ3.865a

kous = “hare”, “rabbit” PRINS360; LD Oudtshoorn and Uniondale suggest ex Eastern Khoekhoe or Kora **#hoas** = ‘scrub hare’ DuP358.

λ3.869a

gharretjie = “species of meerkat”, *i.e.* *Suricata suricatta* (Herpestidae) BN249, **graatjie** = “species of meerkat” BN266; ex Nama **xárǎb** = *Suricata suricatta*, the meerkat.

λ3.869b

kaai = “meerkat”, *i.e.* *Suricata suricatta* (Herpestidae) PRINS174; LD Griqualand West indicates ex the second element in Kora **|hau|’eb** = ‘grey mongoose’, *i.e.* *Galerella pulverulenta* (Herpestidae) DuP357, *cf.* Nama **|èèb** = ‘mongoose (generic)’ H&E169 – 170.

λ3.90a

karoep, naroep = “species of wildcat” PRINS213; ex Nama **!gǎrúp** = leopard (*Panthera pardus*) H&E185.

λ3.96a

abera = ‘akkedis’ BN121, **ghabera, ghaberietjie** = ‘akkedissoort, *Euprepis carinatus* (Scincidae)’ BN247; **tgabbera** = “n bruin en wit akkedissie” LINKS 63, PRINS 487; ex Kora **!gibirib** = *Euprepis carinatus*. Applied to small species of lizards and skinks. BN121 connects **abera** with a Khoekhoe-branch item **!nabera** of obscure origin, offers instead **!lnâreb** KROEN 276, but **!lnâàréb** H&E 287 refers to *Varanus* sp., the much larger and visibly distinct genus of monitor lizards. BN 247 splits **ghabera** as a separate lemma connected with **!gawerab** = “lizard” RUST. **tgabbera** is identified as “a small brown-and-white lizard” LINKS 63, λ *traditur* PRINS 487, no etymon offered. **!gawerab** is not retrievable from KROEN or from H&E, although comparisons should certainly be drawn with Kora **!gibirib** = *Euprepis carinatus* DuP 360, Xri **glabarip** = ‘lizard sp., 10 cm’ H&S 380. Alternately, it is possible that **!gawerab** ~ **!gebberip** ~ **!gibirib** ~ **glabarip** is either a southerly reflex or a varietal form in shift-induced attrition of Dama **!náròbēb**, Nama **!āròb** = *Agama* sp. H&E 296, in which case this lemma should be sunk with **λ3.96f kargop** ex Nama **!āròb**.

λ3.96b

geitje = [*Afrogecko*] *porphyreus* PETT185; **geitjie** = *Pachydactylus* sp. BN241; ex Nama **!gaib** = [*Trachylepis*] *acutilabris* SCHUL 356, ðàù**!gàib** = *Lygosoma sundevalli* H&E 377. The same element is present in |Xam as **!haiten** = gecko sp., as well as in the item **!hai** Oua = *Pachydactylus* sp. McG470, where the second lexeme Oua is a !Ui-branch diminutive suffix analogous to *-tjie* (Collins & Namaseb 2011: 18 – 19).

λ3.96c

ghoenghoentjie, ghoentjie “lizard”, “gecko” = BN254, BN255; **koeintjie, kon-kon** = “lizard” BN359, BN364; **tgong-tgon** = “small lizard” LINKS64; **tjon-on** “a species of gecko that comes out at night” SARR134; ex Nama **!lónillónis** = *Ptenopus garrulus* H&E240.

λ3.96d

keu = “species of speckled yellow ground gecko” PRINS244; ex Nama **!iēs** = ‘unidentified species of lizard living on rocks’ H&E57, assuming a more Kora-like reflex with a ejective velar stop or affricate as the onset.

λ3.96e

nabbo, nobbo = ‘springslang’, i.e., several species of legless skink PRINS425, ex Nama **!nòwòs** = ‘lizard, skink, spp. in *Scincidae*’ H&E421.

λ3.96f

kargop = ‘koggelmander’ BN338 LND; **ntgortota** = [*Agama atra*] LINKS63, **tkorteman** = “a species of lizard” LINKS63, PRINS487; **tkartota** = [*Cordylus giganteus*] PRINS486; LND Namaqualand indicates ex Nama, but cf. Damara **!náròbēb**, Nama **!āròb** = *Agama* sp. H&E295, Kora **!’arokhob** = ‘rock lizard’, *Agama* sp. DuP 312, but cf. also **λ3.96a ghabera**.

λ3.96g

tetoetoe = ‘an *Agama* with a brown abdomen’ LINKS63 λ *traditur* PRINS484, of uncertain origin but cf. the generic lexemes in both Kora **!’uixexoeb**, lit. “stone” + “lizard” DuP360, and the cognate Nama and Kora items **!nāníkēmuš** = “gecko” H&E358, **nanitamūb** = “gecko” DuP359, lit., “ridge” + “gecko”, as well as **heintjiegoebeep, neintjiegoebeep** = ‘species of gecko’ PRINS128 LD Namaqualand. Elicited at Matjieskloof in April 2021 as [!ʔutsimu:] for a species of *blinkoog*, lit., “blinkeye”, i.e., species in Gekkonidae. A series of lizard names, fairly variable as is expected for names of insects and small reptiles, in which the specifying element pertains to ‘stone’ or ‘rock’, and the final morpheme of the generic element pertains to ‘eye’.

In the Kora item **!uixexoeb**, glossed as ‘rock lizard’, ‘agama’, the first element **!ui-** is a specifying lexeme, glossing ‘stone’ or ‘rock’ H&E176. The second element **-xexoeb** is therefore the generic lexeme, referring to the lizard proper, although it is unrecorded in its unspecified form. Similarly, in both the Namibian Khoekhoe **!náníkémũs** = ‘gecko’, and in a comparable Kora with click loss **nanitamũb** = ‘gecko’, the specifying lexeme **!nani-** would gloss as ‘ridge’ KROEN279 or ‘mountain ridge’, ‘rand’ H&E358. The first element **!nani-** is thus a specifying lexeme; the second elements **-kemũs** and **-tamũb** is therefore the generic lexeme, referring to the gecko proper, although it is again unrecorded in its unspecified form.

Accordingly, we should consider that Namibian Khoekhoe **-kemũs** and Kora **-tamũb** may all represent regional variations on the same archaic item. Considering again the consistency with which Gekkonidae are referred to by the regionalised term *blinkoog*, *lit.*, “blink-eye”, in Namaqualand Afrikaans, and noting also that the element **mũb** would gloss as “eye”, we can posit a base form Kora **ts'u** = ‘to blink’ + **mũb** = ‘eye’ > ***ts'umũb**. The elicited item [**?utsimu:**] would then have targeted southerly Nama ***!uits'umũb**, *lit.*, **klipblinkoog*. The calque *blinkoog* is entirely unknown to me outside of Namaqualand Afrikaans, although it would be valuable to determine whether or not it is also present in Gariep Afrikaans.

Note that exocentric compounds are permissible but relatively rare in both Nama and Afrikaans. In Afrikaans, compare such animal terms as *swartwitpens* (*lit.*, ‘blackwhite-belly’) for *Damaliscus pygargus*; in Nama, compare **!lgawamũs** (*lit.*, ‘gaze-eye’), an obscure southerly Nama praise name for the ostrich SCHUL272, H&E252. It may be that only a limited set of nouns can productively serve as the generic morpheme in exocentric compounds in the Khoekhoe branch, and that **-mũb** happens to be one of them.³

The Body (10 items)

!4.19

t'kam, tjam, kam = “back (of the body)” PRINS189, 485; ex Nama **!lāāb** = ‘back of body’ H&E236.

!4.281a

ghabba = “occiput” BN246; **ghabba, nabba** = “occiput, section behind the head between the ears” PRINS89; ex Nama **!hārób** = ‘neck sinew’, **!hārós** = ‘nape of neck’, *cf.* also Kora **!harob** = ‘neck sinew’ DuP296.

!4.281b

norro, t'norra, ghnorra = “occiput, neck” BN451; **norratjie** = ‘nape (of the neck)’ BOSvdMH496; **tnorro** = “occiput” LINKS66; **tkjorro, tknorro, t'norro, norra** = “hollow between the two tendons of the neck at the back of a person’s neck where the skull comes into contact with the spine” PRINS486; *ubiq.*, ex Nama **!nòrós** = ‘occiput, back of the head’ H&E367, Kora **!norob** DuP317.

!4.281c

tkoeboe = “vertebra before the head” PRINS486, ex Nama **!lgörés** = ‘cranio-cervical joint’ H&E257.

!4.29

³ Worth comparing also is *witogie* and its equivalent loanblend **karre ogie** for *Zosterops capensis* discussed at !3.581a above, although here there is no evidence available from the surviving Khoekhoe-branch record that Cape Dutch could have calqued a putative *Cape Khoekhoe equivalent **xatimũb* (that *Cape Khoekhoe used the southeasterly isogloss **xati** rather than the westerly **!ũrĩ** is recorded at Burchell 1822: 1.343), and it is dangerous to suggest calques without direct attestations in both languages. That the distinctive white border around the eye is sufficiently striking to have served as independent cross-linguistic inspiration for the same name is shown both by the parallel isiZulu term *umehlwana* (CL.1a + CL.6 + ‘eye’ + DIM = *lit.*, ‘Little Mr Eyes’) and by a Japanese term, also an exocentric compound, for the near-identical bird *Zosterops japonicus*, 目白 (めじろ) *mejiro*, *lit.*, ‘eye’ + ‘white’. If anything, it is more likely that the Japanese item was calqued into Dutch as ‘witogie’ at Hirado or Dejima c. 1609 – 1854, then applied to *Z. capensis* in the Cape, then blended into Kora as **xatiogie* via Griekwa Afrikaans. Without detailed scrutiny of the Dutch lexicographical record far beyond the scope of this project, however, this is all speculation.

gottatjie = “Adam’s apple” PRINS107; LD Riversdale, Tulbagh suggest Cape Khoekhoe, but *cf.* Kora **!kx’ārāb** = ‘Adam’s apple’ DuP316.

λ4.310

Inthooivleise = “I knew the **!nthooiflesh** of their arms was already weak, and I was beginning to get the upper hand” SARR242, “(pronounced with a click sound) the thick flesh of the arm, the underarm muscle” SARR255. LD indicates *ex* Nama; *cf.* the first element in **!khóóllhāñni’s** = ‘upper arm’ H&E352 (lit., **!khóó** = ‘to hold’, ‘to grab’, ‘to capture’ + **llhāñni’s** = ‘humerus’, ‘upper arm’, since the upper arm is ‘where police grab someone in order to arrest them’ H&E352).

λ4.32

tkoenie = “elbow” PRINS486 *ex* Nama **!ùnīb** = ‘elbow’ H&E303.

λ4.36

ghei = “bend of the leg” BN249 λ *traditur* “hollow behind the knee, bend of the leg” PRINS92; *ex* Nama **!hāib** = ‘tibia, shin’ H&E329.

λ4.83

tkirie “old but strong” = LINKS66; **t’kierie** = “(pronounced with a click sound) up and about” SARR48, 50; **tjkierie** = “healthy as a horse, young, energetic” PRINS486; LD Namaqualand indicates *ex* Nama **ʔùrú** = ‘healthy’ H&E381.

λ4.84

tkom = “to become ill” LINKS66; *cf.* Nama **!goǹm** = ‘heavy’ H&E319 as used in the expression **!goǹm** |aesen hā, ‘to become seriously ill’.

Food & Drink (16 items)

λ 5.11a

koerie, goerie, oerie = “to eat, to feed, to nibble, to gnaw, especially slowly and leisurely (until nothing is left over), used especially of meat on a bone” PRINS102, 314, 346 *ex* Nama **kuǹrí** = ‘to pick (bone), nibble, clean (e.g. mielie-cob, branch of bark’ H&E37. The form **tkoeroe** = “to nibble off small pieces with the front teeth” SARR45 may possibly indicate click insertion, or may be an instance in which **tk** was used to capture a particularly strong ejective onset.

δ5.11b

tkaaú = “to eat something slowly because it isn’t tasty” LINKS65; LD Namaqualand indicates *ex* Nama **llāó** = “to refuse food”, “to reject something, esp. food, because it is paltry” H&E.

λ5.11c

tkna = “full”, “I’m **tkna** from eating” LINKS66, *ex* Nama **llāā** = ‘to satisfy one’s hunger’ H&E237.

λ5.12

ghwa, kwa = “to airdry”, “ostrichbiltong” BN258; *ex* Nama **|hāǎ** = ‘to airdry, to make biltong’, **|hāǎb** = ‘biltong’.

λ 5.14

ghabba = “[anything] lying around from hunger or thinness” BN246, **tkabba** “to die as a result of being too thin” LINKS65; **ghabba** = “very thin” PRINS89; *ex* Nama **ʔgaǰwá** = ‘to become lean, thin, skinny, scrawny’ H&E391.

λ5.141

goeroetyd = “time of scarcity” PRINS102 *ex* Nama **llkhóró** = ‘scarce (of: esp. food/commodities)’ H&E281; probably calques **llkhóró** hāās = *lit.*, “lean times”.

λ5.32

gabba BN233, **nabbadingetjie** BN437; **gabbagoed** LINKS64; **gaba, gabaka** (Sands & Jones 2022: 78) = crockery, plates ex Nama **xàpǎn** = ‘crockery’, ‘tableware’ H&E 152.

λ5.51

koutjie = “a piece of bread” PRINS361; LD Uppington suggests ex Kora, but cf. Nama **khǎūb** = breadcrust H&E71.

λ5.61a

ghoem “tender and soft-cooked venison” BN253; **ghoem, ghom** = “meat, especially venison or lamb, that has been cooked tender and prepared with other cuts of bacon, fat, and vinegar” PRINS94, **kom** = “to soften, to cook until tender, e. g. to **kon** venison” PRINS330, **komvleis** PRINS335 **t!om** PRINS487. Calqued ex Nama **#khòrǹllgàni** = “meat that has been fricasseed” H&E132. A description of this method of food preparation as historically practised among the Damara is available at Hahn *et al.* 1928: 100.

λ5.61b

ntgōmsgom = “the section of the neck where the head of an animal is cut off ... cut out so that the children can roast it over the coals” LINKS65, ex Nama **!gáòxǎdòǹ** = ‘to slit or cut the throat’ H&E311, cf. also Kora **laoxodom** = ‘slaughter by the manner of cutting throat’ DuP308.

λ5.71

aniham, anitkam, tkanitkam PRINS19 ex Nama **ànīs** = ‘bird’ H&E10 + **ǎms** = ‘mouth’ H&E7.

Hapax at PRINS19, who glosses it “birdmouth, the first ripe fruits which birds pluck, often considered a delicacy”. The locality is given as Springbok, which strongly suggests a Nama source, straightforwardly **ànīs** /ʔànīs/ = ‘bird’ H&E10 + **ǎms** /ʔǎms/ = ‘mouth’ H&E7. The sense of first seasonal fruits is not forthcoming in H&E, but would seem to be restricted to this loan. For the historical cultural significance of the first fruits of the season, see Hahn *et al.* 1928: 98 – 99.

The inclusion of **tk** in the two variant orthographies **anitkam** and **tkanitkam** presents some problems. This orthography would ordinarily indicate the presence of a loaned click consonant. However, no known varietal form of either **ànīs** or **ǎms** contains a click in Nama, while the *proto-KHOE reconstructions ***kxʔám** = “mouth” (Voßen, 1997: 468) and ***kxʔani** = “vulture”, “bird” (Voßen, 1997: 441 – 442) further suggests that no reflex **ànīs** or **ǎms** across either the Khoekhoe branch or the Kalahari branch ever contained a click consonant of any description. Worth comparing are the Kora reflexes **kxʔanis** /**k̘ʔanis**/ = ‘bird’ DuP285 and **kxʔams** /**k̘ʔams**/ = ‘mouth’ DuP 284, where both items contain word-initial ejective velar affricates. Ejective consonants are on record as having been perceived as click consonants (Miller, 2020: 438), and it is possible that a lay lexicographer, using an *ad hoc* orthography, committed a similar error, or else simply saw fit to use the same orthography to transcribe both click consonants and glottalised or ejective consonants.

It should further be remembered that all Nama items spelled with an initial vowel are consonant-initial, in that the onset is in fact a glottal stop (H&E 2002: v). Variation between a word-initial glottal stop in Nama [ʔ], a word-initial velar ejective [kʰ] in ‘Griqua’ (Maingard 1930), and the word-initial velar affricate ejective [k̘ʰ] in Kora may have been distributed along a continuum. It is feasible that some speakers of Kora routinely produced a fairly weak [k̘ʰʔ], while some speakers of southerly Nama produced a fairly strong [ʔ], with a number of intermediate forms also arising. It is therefore not entirely out of the question that a Springbok-based consultant may have used Kora-accented Nama, and so have produced very strongly glottalised or ejective onsets.

λ5.791a

ghaap = “fat”, “bellyfat” BN246; **naap, nap, njaap, ghaap** = “bellyfat of an animal, especially an ostrich” PRINS89, 424; LD Namaqualand indicates ex Nama **!naǎb** = ‘belly, stomach, innards, offal, insides’ H&E355, but note possible overlap or conflation during loan with **λ5.12 ghwa**.

λ5.791b

goup, **bokgoup** = “paunch fat”, “paunch of a goat” PRINS108, PRINS30; LD Griqualand West suggests ex Kora **kau** ~ **gau** = ‘to be fat’ DuP283, *cf.* also Nama **kǎú** = ‘to become fat’, hence **kǎúb** = ‘piece of fat’ H&E62.

λ5.87a

bokbies = a hybrid compound, lit., “goatsmilk” SARR79, LD Wallekraal. Note the presence of **bies**, *cf.* Kora **bīb** = ‘milk’ DuP278, rather than the standardised Namibian Khoekhoe **daīb** = ‘milk’, suggesting here either that Klein Nama may have shared the Kora isogloss, or that there may have been westerly Kora influence in the region.

λ5.87b

ghoenie = ‘to milk, especially to struggle to milk’ BN254 λ *traditur* **ghoenie**, **noenie**, **oenie** PRINS95; ex Nama **ǀnuñi** = ‘to secretly suckle from another cow or ewe; to scrounge leftover milk’ H&E421.

λ5.9

ghoes = “a drink of wine” BN255; LND but *cf.* Nama **ǀguũ** = ‘to drink in one draught’ H&E397.

Clothing & Grooming (5 items)

λ6.35

tkjom = “to sew up” PRINS486, ex Nama **ǀóm** = ‘to sew’ H&E 378.

λ6.37

tkwanaka = “an awl, especially for braiding mats” LINKS66; ex Nama **ǀkhóǀnàb** = “awl (for sewing rush mats)” H&E280.

λ6.41a

ghaai = “foreskirt”, “loincloth” BN245; **ghaai** = “foreskirt” PRINS88, **t’ghaaitjie** = “loincloth” PRINS484; ex Nama **ǀgǎēs** = ‘loincloth, apronlike, for children’ H&E306.

λ6.41b

tkjaeu = “loincloth” PRINS486, ex Nama **ǀgùúǀb** ‘loincloth’, ‘traditional skirt’ H&E324.

λ6.95

djarrotjie = “small piece of soap” PRINS44; ex Nama **ǀkhórò** = ‘to soap, to lather’ H&E412.

The House (2 items)

λ7.422

ghou = “blanket” BN257; *cf.* Nama **ǀgòǎǀb** = ‘sleeping rug made of skins’ H&E393.

λ7.52

tko = “[reed used for] matjies”, harvested for use in construction of the matjieshuis LINKS97; **lob** = *Scirpus inanis* (Cyperaceae) ARCHER. LD Namaqualand indicates ex Nama **ǀguǀb** = ‘reed mats’ KROEN, **ǀgu** = SCHUL.

Agriculture & Vegetation (53 items)

λ8.51a

haboegras = [*Stipagrostis*] *ciliata* var. *capensis* SMITH241 ex Nama **#hāwòb** = *Stipagrostis uniplumis* H&E401.

λ8.51b

heiriet = *Eragrostis pallens* LEIST67; ex Nama **|hāĩ** = ‘pale’, ‘fallow’ H&E199.

λ8.51c !kiebrie = [*Stipagrostis*] *namaquensis* SMITH289; **knietjiesgras** = *Eragrostis lehmanniana* POWRIE46. cf. Namibian Khoekhoe **|khàwib**, **|khàbìb** = *Stipagrostis uniplumis* HEG21.

λ8.51d

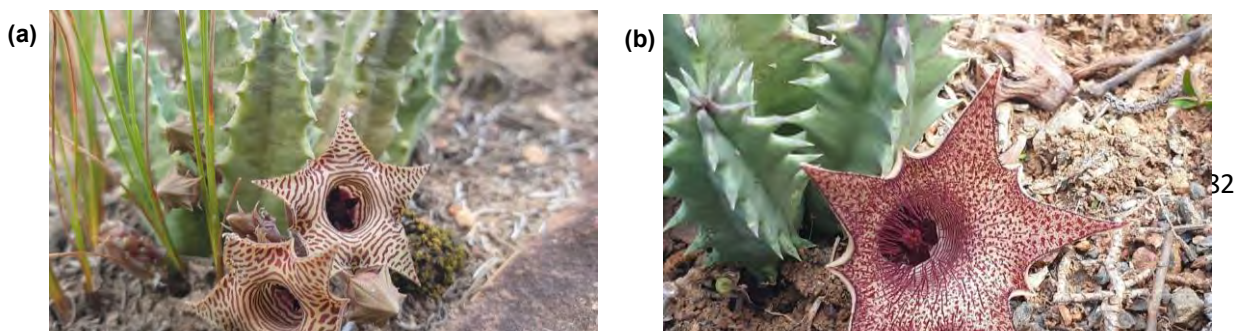
t’waagras = *Aristida* spp. Marloth 1917; **t’kaagras** = [*Stipagrostis*] *spinosa* SMITH462; **ghagras** = *Aristida* sp. B&N247; **n!Tka** = *Stipagrostis amabilis* (Le Riche & van der Walt 1999). Early, ubiq., but cf. Nama **|gàǎb** = ‘grass’ H&E188, Kora **|ǎb** DuP333; Xri **|ǎp** H&S302. In the Kalahari branch, cf. also Naro **dcǎa** (Visser, 2000: 16). In the Nguni cluster, cf. also **ingca** in isiXhosa = ‘grass’ (GD XII.515), *Cymbopogon plurinodis*, Poaceae spp. (Cocks & Dold 1999: 54); **ingca** in isiZulu (Doke & Vilakazi 1958: 203). In other NTU languages, cf. also **moqha** in seTswana = ‘swamp savanna grass’, explicitly identified as a loan in a list of ‘nonseTswana forms’ (Cole 1996: 287).

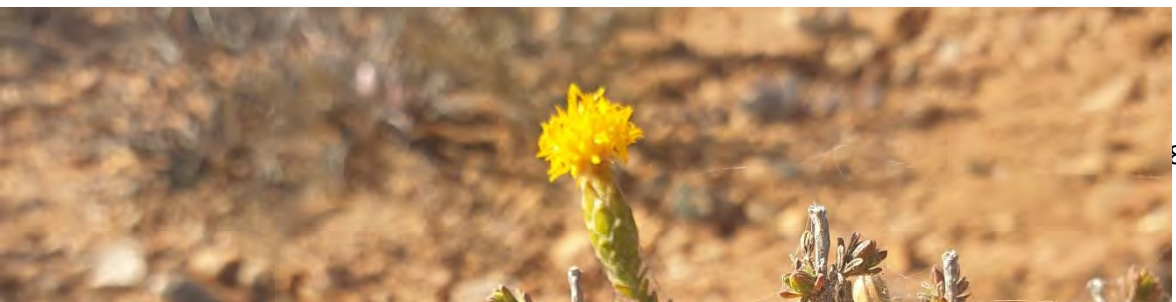
λ8.53a

gaap, ngaap MAR 30, 61 = [*Hoodia*] spp.; **N’Gaap** = ‘tribe *Stapeliae*’ (Wilman 1946: 370); **ghaap, ngaap, guaap** = [*Hoodia*] *pilifera* SMITH 227; **ghaap, ngaap** = *Hoodia* sp. BN246. **ghwaghwa** = [*Quaqua*] *hottentorum* SMITH 227; **ghwaghwa** = [*Quaqua*] *hottentorum* BN258, **tkobba-tkwa-tkwa** = “species of bitter, astringent succulent” PRINS486; **ghapie** = [*Orbea*] *tapscottii* SMITH 227, **bitterghwapie** = *Huernia longituba*, *Huernia [baylissii* var.] *primulina* SMITH 107, **bontghapie** = *Stapelia [acuminata]* SMITH 157; **kabietjie** = *Duvalia [caespitosa]* SMITH263, BN318; **t’ghibbie, ghibbetjie** = “a small, leafless succulent with a reddish-brown, starlike flower” PRINS484. All three series ex Nama **|goab** = “thorn-covered succulent” (Schültze 1907: 202), **|gòáb** = *Hoodia officinalis* (EGH 1991: 20). No L1 Kora is on record, but note that both Kilian 2020 and Mössmer (*pers. comm.*, 2020) recorded variations on /lǃa:b/ from post-shift speakers at Prieska and Douglas, implying a historical distribution along the Gariep. In the !Ui branch, cf. the loans |Xam **|gwa** = ‘thorny [plant], used as medicine, eaten’ (McGranahan 2012: 484); N|uuki **kaglaǎsi** = *Hoodia gordonii* (Sands & Jones 2022: 269).

An extremely widespread word, well-attested in loan, that has entered general Afrikaans and SA English thanks to the use of *Hoodia* spp. in commercial pharmaceutical products. All referents are small-to-medium stem succulents, always leafless, sometimes thorned or tuberculate, in the asclepiadoid subfamily of Apocynaceae. The succulent asclepiads of southern Africa together constitute the lay taxon *aasblomme* or “carion flowers”, so called because of the distinctive five-petalled flowers (usually black, red, yellow, brown, or some mottled combination thereof) which smell strongly of rotting flesh. All species have a bitter taste produced by cardiotoxic glycosides, but many are palatable if harvested at the right time of year. The fresh apical growth produced by *Hoodia gordonii* in the rainy season generally has a lower concentration of glycosides, for example, and eating these *soet tjoppies* (‘sweet tips’) is the subject of much childhood nostalgia in Boesmanland.

The **ghaap** series refers to *Hoodia* proper, the largest genus; this term exists in competition with **λ8.53e ghobba** = *Hoodia* sp. ex Nama **|khòwàb** = *Hoodia* sp. (EGH 1991). Whether **|gòáb** and **|khòwàb** are consistently used of separate species in Nama, and similarly whether **ghaap** and **ghobba** are used of separate species in Afrikaans, is unclear, and should be immediately investigated for the sake of the ethnobotanic record. Alternately, it is possible that **|khòwàb** represents the historical Khoekhoe-branch form (certainly it is present as **|gabab** in Hai !lOm (Widlok 1994: 379), which has had less contact with Afrikaans), that it was loaned into Afrikaans using the post-shift dental click, and that it was then reloaned back into Nama as **|gòáb**. If so, this item should be sunk with **λ8.53g ghobba**.





The reduplicated series **ghwaghwa** typically refers to plants in genus *Quaqua*. *Contra* the frankly imbecilic suggestion made at Clarke & Charters 2016: 285, the Linnaean identity is very simply a neo-Latin form of the Afrikaans loan **ghwaghwa**, and has nothing to do with the Classical Latin adverb

quāquā. The series diminutivised in Afrikaans as **ghapie** ~ **kabietjie** ~ **ghibbetjie** refers to several rather smaller, prostrate genera of carrion flower, particularly *Duvalia*, *Huernia*, and *Orbea*. Here the variant forms **t'ghibbie** and **ghibbetjie** are not to be confused with **58.53w t'gibbie** = *Pteronia incana*, *Pteronia* sp. (Asteraceae), which are non-succulent shrubs in the daisy family, usually between 500mm – 900mm tall, with fine fragrant leaves used in the preparation of medicinal tisanes. There is no genetic, phytomorphological, or ethnobotanical overlap with any plant in Asclepiadoideae whatsoever. This is illustrated in Figures A3 and A4 above.

λ8.53b

ghaboe = “species of wild root”, “species of kambro”, i.e., edible bining caudiciform BN247; cf. also **ngabo** for a noID Richtersveld plant at Kotze 1942: 443; ex Nama **ḥāwáb** = *Fockea edulis* (Apocynaceae), regularly **λ8.53j kambro**. This item is a widespread wanderword, appearing as far afield as !Xóõ as **ḡhaba** = *Fockea* sp. (Dickens 1994: 208) and isiXhosa **isicagwe**, **isachagwe**, **isachaka** = various apocynid water roots C&D58. Not to be confused with Afrikaans **bitterkeboe** = *Cucumis myriocarpus* SMITH109 ex seTswana **mogapu** = *Cucumis metuliferus* (see **λ8.53k haap**).

λ8.53c

galpie = “plant, the common *suurkno*” PRINS76. Precise referent unclear; *suurkanol* (lit., ‘sourtuber’ or ‘bittertuber’) usually refers to edible species of wild iris in *Aristea*, *Watsonia* (Smith 1966: 447) or *Chasmanthe* (Bosman, van der Merwe & Hiemstra 1982: 750); but ex Nama **!gaobeb** (SCHUL193 *hapax*), Kora **kx'aobes** DuP368 = edible bulbs in Iridaceae.



Figure A5 – illustration for **λ8.53c galpie** showing the contemporary use of the Witsen 1692 mistranscription **cabung** on seed of *Lapeirousia micrantha* (now *Corymbosa micrantha*) at Stellenbosch in December 2019.

LD Murraysberg in the Klein Karoo would suggest that **galpie** is directly ex *Cape Khoekhoe or Kora, but this loan should almost certainly be associated with the much older southerly Nama item **chabij** = *Lapeirousia* sp. (Iridaceae) VDSTEL185 (Waterhouse & de Wet 1979) λ *traditur false cabung* = *Lapeirousia* sp. WITS43 (Wilson *et al* 2002: 62), much later discussed as **chabi** = *Lepirousia anceps* (Iridaceae) at NIEN486, **chabi** = *Lapeirousia anceps* SMITH190, **cabong** = *Lapeirousia* sp. SMITH184. The misspelled record **cabung** for the original **chabij** remains in ubiquitous usage in botanical circles in the Western Cape for all *Lapeirousia* spp. (see Fig. A5 above).

All items in this series likely derive from or else record directly a southerly reflex of Nama **!gaobeb** = edible bulb in Iridaceae growing near Kubub *hapax* at SCHUL193, but *cf.* also Kora **kx'aobes** 'edible wild bulb, could be eaten raw (largest *kalkoentjie*)' *i.e.* *Gladiolus* sp. (Iridaceae) DuP368. In the TUU family, the same item is present in |Xam as **!khoui** ~ **!kauwi** ~ **!kauhi** = edible bulbs of *Cyanella hyacinthioides* (Tecophilaceae) and generic *uintjies* McG483, and again in !Xóõ as **!gali** = edible bulbs of *Ferraria glutinosa* (Iridaceae) TRAILL79.

λ8.53d

ganna, kanna = [*Caroxylon aphyllum*] MARLOTH30; **kannabosch** = [*Caroxylon aphyllum*] PETT248; **gannabossie** [*Caroxylon aphyllum*] NIEN269 – 271; SMITH **ganna** = [*Caroxylon aphyllum*] (Chaenopodiaceae), as well as the generic head for compound terms for several halophytic species in Mesembryanthemaceae including *Tetragonia* and *Psilocaulon* SMITH 218 – 219; **ganna, kanna** = [*Caroxylon aphyllum*] B&N334; **ganna, gannabos** = “a wild plant, a bushy shrub with thin branches covered with fleshy, salty-tasting leaflets that give the plant a fallow or fallow-green colour”; **gannabad** = “lyebath prepared from **ganna**-ash for the treatment of grapes in the manufacture of raisin” PRINS76. Early, ubiq., and still in widespread usage, suggesting multiple entry points from a number of languages in the Khoekhoe branch, but probably ex Nama **!khanis** = *Mesembryanthemum nodiflorum* SCHUL84, **!khanes** = nold plant, ‘rambling succulent used to soften hides during tanning’ H&E211. Never to be confused with **λ8.53i gonna** = Thymelaceae spp. (as correctly noted at MARLOTH 33; erroneously lumped at B&N334).

λ8.53e

garra = [*Searsia undulata*] (Anacardiaceae) MAR30 at Wupperthal in the Western Cape; **gharra** BN249, **nanabessie** BN338, **t'gharrabos** BN351, **t'gnarroebos** BN369, **gnarrabos** BN441 = [*Searsia*] spp.; **garra** = [*Searsia undulata*] SMITH220 at Piketberg to Caledon in the Western Cape; **namabessiebos** = [*Searsia dentata*] SMITH347 at Humansdorp to Albertinia in the Western Cape; **t'narra** = *Searsia undulata* LEROUX242; **nanabessie** = [*Searsia divaricata*] POW101; **gharrabos, gnarrabos, t'gnarroebos** at PRINS91 = nold ‘taaibos’ (= *Searsia* sp. following Smith, 1966: 454 – 455); **gharra** = “small edible fruits of the taaibos” SARR19.

A ubiquitous term in the Western and Northern Cape, often recalled by consultants from a beloved C. Louis Leipoldt poem describing the Hantam region of southerly Namaqualand, in which it is spelled **ghnarrabos** (see Figure A6 below). All ex a southerly Nama reflex of a *hapax* term **!garas** = [*Searsia lancea*] SCHUL200; *cf.* Kora **!gananakua, !garanakua** as a general term for berries but especially those of the taaibos or **λ8.53i kareeboom** (Engelbrecht, 1936: 118). We should accept this item as a southerly term for ‘red ascorbic berries’ that became particularly attached to shrubs in *Searsia*. The very early record of the Klein Nama term **cargoe** for the berries of *Muraltia spinosa* (Polygalaceae) vdSTEL865 is probably a primitive Dutch rendering of ***!garakua**. Never to be confused with **λ8.53i kareeboom**, or with **λ8.53m kriedoring**.

λ8.53f

ghasgharo = “*bloutulp*, a plant with an underground bulb and blue flowers in panicles” PRINS91 LD George; **ghoesghoeroe** = *Kniphofia* (Asphodelaceae) vdMER LD Klein Karoo; hence ex a *Cape Khoekhoe reflex of Kora **!gubguru** = ‘strong reed’ DuP310.

The term *bloutulp* at Prinsloo 2008: 91 is irresponsibly vague for so valuable a record, but horticultural assistants at the George NBG were able to confirm that **ghasharo** is still used of *Aristea cf. ecklonii* (Iridaceae). Both *Aristea ecklonii* and *Kniphofia* are robust evergreen monocots that produce stiff straplike leaves with strong parallel venation rendering them almost unbreakable by hand. The closest direct etymon is therefore **!gubguru** ‘reed sp., strong, favoured for basket-making’ (Du Plessis 2019: 310), as both genera would have provided excellent weaving material. The second lexeme of the Kora compound noun is likely a reflex either of Nama **!khúrúb** = several genera



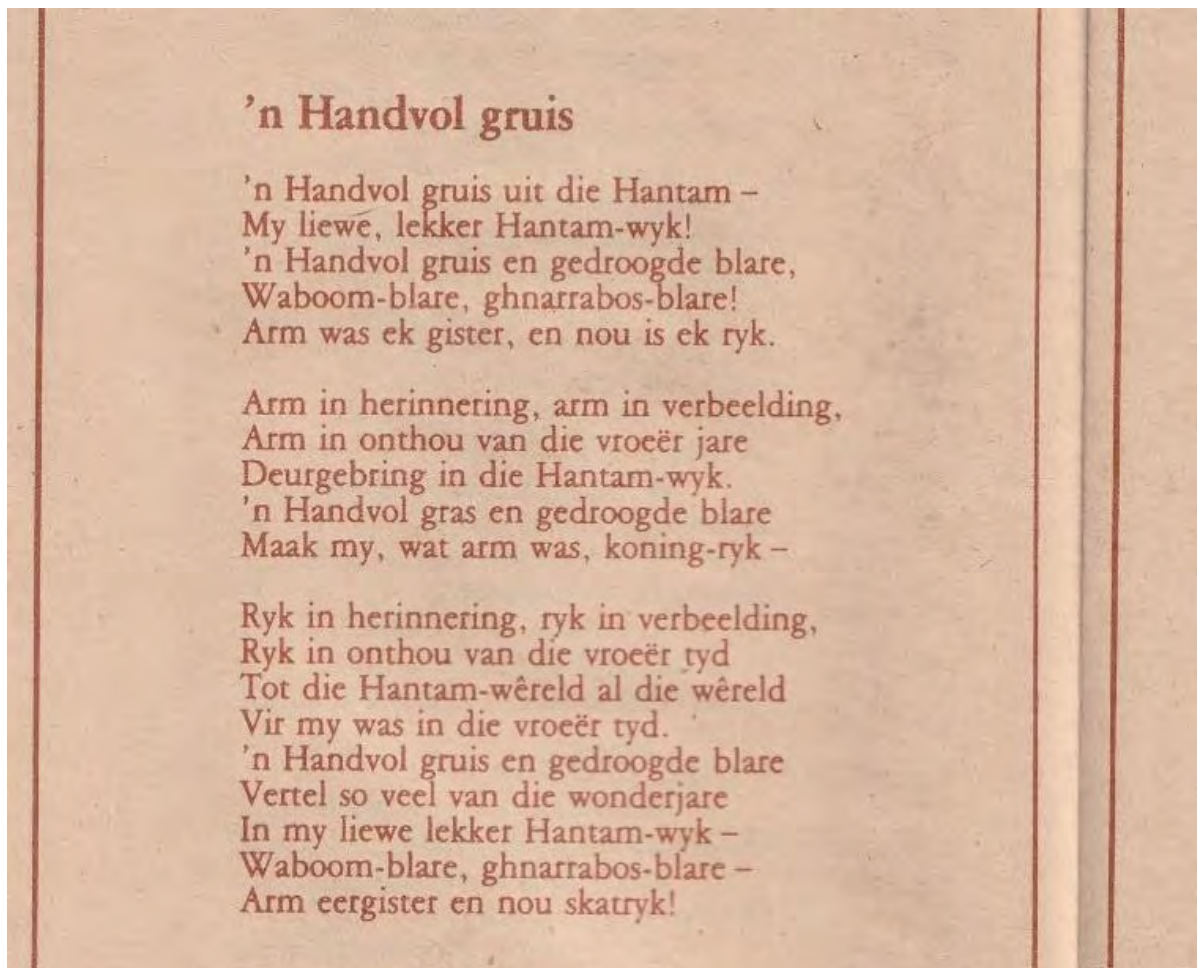


Figure A6 – illustration for **λ8.53e garrabos** ex Nama |**garas**, depicting a stamp featuring C. Louis Leipoldt and an accompanying commemorative booklet produced for the Cederberg region of Namaqualand in 1980. The recurrent use of the term **ghnarrabos** in *’n Handvol gruis*, included in the booklet as one of Leipoldt’s best-loved nature poems, suggests that the loanblend |**garabos** was widespread in the Hantam region where Leipoldt grew up in the late 19th century, and also that its use in literature may have assisted in establishing it as a widespread Namaqualand Afrikaans loan.

in Poaceae including *Aristida* and *Schmidtia* HEG19, or of |**hārúb** = generic term for ‘rushes’, especially those used in weaving H&E201. The specifying lexeme is harder to retrieve, but may possibly be a

reflex of Nama **!gúúǃ** ‘traditional skirt’, suggesting an approximate gloss **kleideriet*, although this is speculation.

λ8.53g

ghobba = *Hoodia gordonii* LR343; **nt’obba** = ‘ghaap’ PRINS 434, **tkobba**-tkwa-tkwa = ‘soort vrank, bitter vetplant’ PRINS486; ex **!khòwàb** = *Hoodia curorri* EGH27, but see discussion λ8.53a ghaap.

λ8.53h

ghwab = *Pentarrhinum insipidum* (Apocynaceae) BN258; LND but cf. Dama **!guǃwǃb**, Nama **guǃb** = *Pentarrhinum insipidum* H&E324. This item is not newly recorded in loan after Boshoff & Nienaber 1967, and I have never encountered it in contemporary botanical circles, suggesting that it may be obsolete.

λ8.53i

gnom = *Pelargonium crithmifolium* (Geraniaceae) POWRIE32; ex Nama **llhums** = *Pelargonium crithmifolium* SCHUL202.

λ8.53j

gonna = *Struthiola [dodecandra]* (Thymelaceae) MARLOTH33, **gannabast** = *Passerina filiformis* (Thymelaceae) MARLOTH30, **kannabast** = *Gnidia oppositiflora* (Thymelaceae), *Dais cotinifolia* (Thymelaceae) MARLOTH46 λ *traditur* SMITH 232, 276, λ *traditur et* B&N254, 334; **t’korbos** = *Gnidia deserticola* (Thymelaceae) SHEAR&vH106; isiXhosa **iganna** = *Gnidia* sp. (Thymelaceae) C&D78. All ex Nama **ǃkhànàb** or **llkhónáb** = *Gnidia polycephala* (Thymelaceae) EGH27, H&E 280.

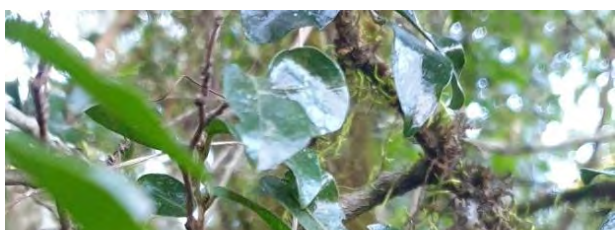
This series is applied to a number of shrubs in Thymelaceae (as noted at SMITH232, which provides a list of additional terms all compounded on the head **-gonna**), a diagnostic characteristic of which is the ease with which the bark peels away from the stem in long, supple strips, historically used in braiding thongs (hence the variation across some Afrikaans forms between *bos* = ‘bush’ and *bas* = ‘bark’, ‘rind’). Earlier records indicate regular rephonologisation of the click consonant to a velar fricative or a velar stop; the more recent record **t’korbos** (Shearing & Van Heerden 1994: 106) is particularly useful in that it apparently preserves a click consonant, although location data are not forthcoming beyond the general Karoo region. Never to be confused with λ8.53d **ganna** = *Caroxylon aphyllum* (as correctly noted at MARLOTH 33; erroneously lumped at B&N334).

λ8.53k

goreebos = *Aloe* sp. NIEN288; **goree** = “*Aloe*” sp. B&N265; **bontghree** = “a small species of *Aloe*” SMITH157, **goree** = *Aloe melanacantha* SMITH232, **goreebosch** = *Aloe ferox* SMITH232; ex Nama **aukoreb** = *Aloe* spp. EGH 25, cf. also Kora **kx’au korab** = *Aloe* sp. (Engelbrecht 1936: 162). Doublet of **bont-o’-t’korrie** = *Aloe arenicola* LEROUX99 ex Nama **llgores** = *Aloe asperifolia* EGH25, cf. also in the Kalahari branch Naro **nllooru** = *Aloe zebrina* (Barnard 1985: 50). In the TUU family, cf. also **!Xóõn llgólú** = *Aloe zebrina* TRAILL205. In the KX’A continuum, cf. also **nlhoq’òrù** (JU) = *Aloe* spp; in NTU, cf. seTswana as **segolobe** = *Aloe cryptopoda* (Cole 1995: 205).

The loanblend is attested from at least the 18th century in an observation that ‘the aloe plant is still to this day in Africa most commonly, if not solely, called the **goreebosch**’ (Sparrman 1776: Vol. 2, 328; cited at Nienaber 1967: 288). This record, together with the other early forms, might suggest rephonologisation of click consonants as stop consonants had emerged as a productive strategy during the initial wave of widespread Cape Khoekhoe-Cape Dutch contact that occurred between 1724 – 1804. The more recent record **bont-o’-t’korrie** = *Aloe asperifolia* (Le Roux 1981: 99) from Namaqualand is the only loaned form that preserves a click consonant. However, it is worth observing that variant forms with and without a click consonant do exist within the Khoekhoe-branch, as in the Dama item **kóréb** = *Aloe* sp. and the Central Nama **aukoreb** (lit., “bitter **koreb**”) = *Aloe* sp. EGH25 as well as in the Kora item **kx’au korab** for “a plant resembling the agave and very bitter to the taste” (Engelbrecht, 1936: 162), certainly *Aloe* sp. It is possible, therefore, that the earlier loans derived from a Cape Khoekhoe item ***koreb** which likewise did not carry a click. By contrast, the more recent item **bont-o’-t’korrie** =

(a)



(b)



Aloe arenicola (Le Roux, 1981: 99), where the morpheme **o'**- may well target the Nama **au** = 'bitter', directly targets Nama **lgores** = *Aloe asperifolia* EGH25, and preserves the click consonant.

These two variant forms of the loan should not necessarily be taken as evidence of the theory that older loans are more likely to have transformed click consonants into stops, while newer loans are more likely to retain click consonants; rather, they should be considered doublets, each targeting one of two variant forms already distributed in competition across the Khoekhoe-branch continuum.

λ8.53l

haarwortel = *Kedrostis* sp. NIEN294; **haap**, **haarwortel** = *Kedrostis africana* SMITH241; ex Nama **!hāb** = a species of edible wild tuber KROEN155), **!hāāb** = *Coccinia sessilifolia* EGH20. All referents are caudiciform cucurbits, typically with bitter unpalatable berries but edible starchy tubers (see Figure A7 above). This item is not newly recorded after Smith 1966, and I have never encountered it in contemporary botanical usage, suggesting that it may be obsolete. A seTswana loan of the same Khoekhoe-branch etymon, **mogapu** = *Cucumis metuliferus*, *Acanthosicyos naudinianus* (Cucurbitaceae) (Cole 1995: 202), is still present in Afrikaans **bitterkeboe** = *Cucumis myriocarpus* 'name unexplained' SMITH109, making this a doublet of **haapwortel** via a separate entry point.

λ8.53m

camarebi = *Fockea angustifolia*. (VDSTEL825); **kamberoe** = *Fockea angustifolia* MAR45; **P!gameroo** = 'a whitish tuber with flat green leaves' LAIDLER; **kambroo**, **kamerup**, etc. = *Fockea* spp., *Brachystelma* spp. SMITH272 **kambro**, **kambro**, **kammaroe**, etc. = *Fockea* spp. B&N327; **kambroo** = *Fockea sinuata* POW41.

A highly variable loan which remains in productive usage, both alone and in a number of compound names. *Pace* earlier attempts to connect the element **kam-** with **!lgāmmi** 'water' (Nienaber 1963: 494), this item is best derived ex a southerly Nama term **!gamarib**:

!gamarib (1 Terz st.) oder **#habab** hat einen glatten, möhren-artigen unterirdischen Teil und dünne, schmale, 3cm lange, am Rand eingekrunkelte Blätter.

!gamarib (rising by a third) or **#habab** has a smooth, carrotlike, underground section, and thin, narrow, 3cm-long, crinkled leaves.

Schültze 1907: 196

The alternative term **#habab** is the modern Namibian Khoekhoe **#hāwāb** = *Fockea angustifolia* (Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 401), and the description is exact, leaving no doubt that **!gamarib** = *Fockea* sp. Widlok 1994: 380 has a nOLD Damara term **!gamaris** for a plant that is 'very similar' to 'an onion-like root eaten raw or cooked in ashes.'

λ8.53n

kannip = 'other name for *Hydnora africana* (jakkalskost)' MARLOTH46; **kanni(p)** = *Hydnora africana* SMITH277; **kannip** = 'jakkalskos' i.e. *Hydnora africana* BN335; **kannies** = 'jakkalskos', "growth on roots of [*Euphorbia* sp.]" LINKS63; **kanie** = 'jakkalskos' PRINS197; ex Nama **kānīb** = *Hydnora [africana]* EGH19, an achlorophyllous root parasite in Hydnoraceae dependent on host plants in *Euphorbia*.

λ8.53o

kareeboom = [*Searsia*] *lancea* (Anacardiaceae) MAR47, B&N338; **kareehout**, **kareeboom** = [*Searsia*] *lancea* SMITH280; groot**kareeboom** = [*Searsia*] *lancea* POW35. A widespread and ubiquitous loan, still in productive usage in general Afrikaans, especially on the Highveld, where the referent is one of the dominant tree species. *Contra* popular misconception, it does not derive from Nama **!khārib**, Kora **!xarib** = 'beer', but rather from Nama **!ārēb** = *Searsia lancea*, *Searsia* spp., Kora = **!x'areb** = *Searsia* sp. Never to be confused with λ8.53d **t'garra**, or with λ8.53m **kriedoring**. For a detailed discussion of the history of this term, see Christie 2022.

λ8.53p

kriedoorn = *Lycium ferocissimum* MARLOTH52; **arrie** = *Phaeoptilum spinosum* (Nyctaginaceae) BN141; **kriedoring**, **kareedoing** = *Lycium* spp. SMITH312; **kriedoring** = *Lycium* spp.; **eirie** = “brittlethorn” = *Phaeoptilum spinosum*, **kriedoring** = “any of a number of shrubs with sharp, hard thorns, little groups of small leaves, whitish flowers, and a soft berry” PRINS39; ex Nama **llaris** = *Lycium tetrandum* SCHUL96, **llārīs** = *Lycium cinereum*, *Phaeoptilum spinosum* EGH21, H&E235; in the Kalahari branch cf. also the cognate Naro item **lliri** in the compound name **llai lliri** = *Lycium oxycarpum* (Barnard 1985: 56).

The records **arrie** = *Phaeoptilum spinosum* BN141 LND, **eirie** = *brosdoring* PRINS61, i.e., *Phaeoptilum spinosum* (Smith, 1996: 179) taken in the easterly Gordonia region of the Northern Cape near Uptington, are particularly interesting, in that they refer to *Phaeoptilum spinosum* (Nyctaginaceae), distributed across the Northern, Western, and Eastern Cape. It can be extrapolated that donor languages spoken in or around Uptington would have contributed the sense **llārīs** = *P. spinosum*, whereas donor languages spoken in more southerly areas would have contributed the sense **llārīs** = *Lycium* sp.; in other words, variation in loaned scope is here indicative of underlying regional variation in donor scope as conditioned by environmental endemism. Note that items that compound the specifier **krie** onto the head *-doring*, i.e., thorn, ‘are confined to almost all species of *Lycium*’ (Nyctaginaceae) SMITH312), and hence should be considered separate from southerly Nama **lgaras** = *Searsia lancea* spp SCHUL144, loaned **t’garra**bos, and Central Nama **!ārēb** H&E294, Kora **!xareb** DuP371 = *Searsia* spp. (Anacardiaceae), as these plants are never thorny and are in a different family besides.

λ8.53q

kootjie-nam-nam = *Moquiniella rubra*, *Septulina glauca* (Loranthaceae) LR256, LR257; nam-nambos = *Tapinanthus oleifolius* (Loranthaceae); **kootjie**-namnam, **koetjie**-nēmneēm = “fruit of the *voëlent*” PRINS345 [lit., “birdlime”, i.e. several hemiparasitic species in Loranthaceae (Smith 1966: 487)]; LD Namaqualand indicate ex Nama. All referents are aerial hemiparasites in the family Loranthaceae, all producing conspicuous tubular red flowers. First element **kootjie** ex the second element **!khūīs** of Nama **māi!khūīs** = *Tapinanthus oleifolius*. The second lexeme **nam nam** is uncertain, but probably bears some relation to isiXhosa **isnambú-nāmbú** = ‘thickly viscous substance, e.g. birdlime’ GDX2.429.

λ8.53r

!ky = *Brachystelma [galpinii]* (Apocynaceae) SMITH318 LD Griqualand West indicates ex Kora, **eian** = *Brachystelma* sp. LND B&N214, both certainly connected with the early record **tky** = edible caudiciform in Apocynaceae (Burchell 1822: 1.465); no immediately comparable items appear in Kora, but cf. Nama **!āiās** = *Brachystelma* sp., *Ceropegia* sp. Not to be conflated with **λ8.53s t’neitjies** = *Pelargonium* spp. (Geraniaceae) ex Nama **llnaib**. This item is not attested in loan after Smith 1966 or Boshoff & Nienaber 1967, and I have never encountered it in contemporary botanical circles, suggesting that it may be obsolete, unless it is perhaps still remember in rural dialects of Gariep Afrikaans.

λ8.53s

kykee = *Pelargonium rapaceum* (Geraniaceae) SMITH318; **t’neitjie** = *Pelargonium incrassatum* (Geraniaceae) LR180; **ntgaikée** = “a species of edible bulb” LINKS65; **neitjie**, **ghneitjie** = “malva [i.e. *Pelargonium* sp. (Smith 1966: 331)] which bears purplish-red flowers in panicles, and which has an edible underground bulb with thick, brown scutes, found in Namaqualand”, **tjytjie** PRINS485 = “edible veldkos”; LD Namaqualand indicates ex Nama **llnaib** = noID species of plant that grows near Keetmanshoop SCHUL166, ‘unidentified edible root’ H&E263, cf. also Kora **llnēib** = edible plant “resembling the sweet potato, with tendrils with roundish leaves and red flowers” (Engelbrecht 1936: 117) λ *non traditur* DuP. This item is still regularly used with a click in Namaqualand Afrikaans and appears in multiple variant orthographies on Facebook flower-spotting groups every winter.

λ8.53t

naras = *Acanthosicyos horrida* PETT334; **naras** = *Acanthosicyos horrida* MARLOTH60; **naras**, **naradoring** = *Acanthosicyos horrida* SMITH347; **narra** = *Acanthosicyos horrida* BN442; **tnarra** = “a thorny desert plant ... with edible fruit” PRINS487; ex Nama **!nārās** = *Acanthosicyos horrida* EGH23.

λ8.53u

Nautsi amma = *Mesembryanthemum edule*, *M. acinaciforme* LAIDLER; **t'noutsiamma** = *Cheiridopsis denticulata* LR310; **ontsiamma** = "a species of plant that grows close to the ground, often used as fodder for livestock" LINKS63; **t'noutsie-amma** = *Cheiridopsis denticulata* POWRIE65; **xhotsiamma** = *Cheiridopsis denticulata* WHEAT41; ex Nama **#haütsiamma** = *Mesembryanthemum* sp., SCHUL83. The etymon is *hapax*, and is explicitly noted to have been recorded in Klein Namaqualand, suggesting that it is an old southerly Nama regionalism.

Extrem ist diese Speicherung bei Verwandten, im Klein-Namaland häufigen Arten ausgebildet. Wo sie hier einheitliche Bestände bilden, erscheinen diese Sukkulenten in greller Mittagsbeleuchtung als hellblaue Rasen. Das Vieh frißt die saftigen Blätter gern; nach reichlicher Mahlzeit klebt die Tieren der Saft um die Schnauze wie Kindern, die sich beim Süßschlecken beschmiert haben (**#haü**)⁴ ein „Musbrat“ um den Mund (**ams**). Daher werden dieser saftigen *Mesembrianthemum*-Arten von den [Khoekhoe]^H des Klein-Namalandes **#haütsiamma** genannt.

This [method of water-] storage is extreme in related plants, and has caused speciation especially in Klein Namaland. Here, where they form uniform clumps, these succulents look like bright blue tussocks in the dazzling midday light. Cattle eagerly eat the soft leaves; after a hearty meal, the sap clings to the animals' muzzles, as though they were children who had gotten themselves all sticky (**#haü**) while eating sweets. This produces a sort of "sap beard" about the mouth (**ams**). As a result, these succulent *Mesembrianthemum* species are called **#haütsiamma** by the [Khoekhoe]^H of Klein Namaland.

Schültze, 1907: 83

λ8.53v

noordpool = *Euphorbia schoenlandii* MAR61 LD Vanrhynsdorp; **noorsdoorn** = *Euphorbia* spp. MAR61 LD Namaqualand, Uitenhage, Jansenville; **noorsdoring** = *Euphorbia* spp. SMITH352 LD Klein Karoo to Central Karoo, **goreb** = *Euphorbia reinhardtii* SMITH232. This common term for the larger succulent *Euphorbia* spp. shrubs (but *not* usually for the arborescent species) has undergone two separate instances of folk etymologisation in Afrikaans as *noord* = 'north' (MAR61) and *noors* = 'surly', 'sullen' (SMITH352). The etymon, however, is clearly visible in Nama *daixa||noras* = *Euphorbia monteiri* subsp. *monteiri* (SCHUL89; HEG18), the first lexeme of which is the specifying element 'milky', analogous to the general Afrikaans *melkbos* = '*Euphorbia* sp.' and referring to the caustic white latex, making the second lexeme the generic head. This suggests that reflexes of *||noras* must have been widespread also in Khoekhoe dialects spoken across the Karoo.

λ8.53w

norra, **norretjie** = *Pelargonium rapaceum* (Geraniaceae) MARLOTH62; **P/goona** = *Sarcocaulon* sp. LAIDLER λ *traditur* W&BB82; **norra**, **nourap** = 'a species of thorny *Geranium*', *Sarcoaulon* sp. (Geraniaceae) NIEN404; **noerap** = *Pelargonium spinosum*, *Sarcocaulon burmannii* (Geraniaceae); **nonna** = *Pelargonium spinosum* (Geraniaceae) SMITH351; **norab** = [*Monsonia patersonii*], 'kersbos', **lnorra**, **norra**, **norretjie**, **norretjiepatat** = *Pelargonium rapaceum* SMITH352; **ghoena** = 'kersbos' i.e. *Sarcocaulon* sp., *Monsonia* sp. (Geraniaceae) BN254; **norra** = *Pelargonium rapaceum*, *Sarcocaulon* sp. B&N451; **t'noena-doring** = *Monsonia salmoniflora* (Geraniaceae) LR176, **noerap** = *Pelargonium spinosum* (Geraniaceae) LR184; **tkoena** = "a species of small shrub that burns very easily, even when wet" LINKS63; **t'noenadoring** = *Sarcocaulon* sp. POWRIE65; **ghoenadoring**, **ghoena**, **noena**, **ghommabos**, **koena**, **koenadoring** = "species of thornbush" PRINS94; **nlorra** = 'kersbossie' i.e. *Sarcocaulon* sp., *Monsonia* sp., LD Griqualand West PRINS434. Early, ubiq., and still in fairly widespread usage, suggesting multiple entry points, but probably ex Nama **lnorab** = *Sarcocaulon* sp. SCHUL81, as suggested at NIEN404.



n!oubessie = *Grewia flava* IR&vdW; ex Nama **ǀaũs** = *Grewia flava*, *Grewia* EGH23; cf. also Kora **ǀaub** = 'raisinberry bush' DuP373, Xri **ǀ'āun** = *Grewia* sp. H&S313.

λ8.53y

numbos = [*Felicia*] *filifolia* (Asteraceae) MAR62; **d!goonu** = resin obtained from *Euryops* sp. (Asteraceae) Namaqualand LAIDLER 1928 Namaqualand; **ghoembos**, **numbossie** = *Felicia filifolia* (Asteraceae) Riversdale to the Karoo SMITH352; **nu-nu** = *Othonna arbuscula* (Asteraceae) Boesmanland SMITH352; **noembos** = 'Aster spp.' B&N448; **ghoembos** = *Felicia filifolia* (Asteraceae) POWRIE32; all ex Nama **ǀgụs** = "the yellow resin of a species of *Othonna*" SCHUL252. All referents are shrubby resiniferous asterids that prefer xeric habitats (see Figure A8 above). As discussed at Christie 2019: 70 – 73, descriptions of the resin's usefulness in *sāb* production date back to at least the 19th century. The original etymon was likely an inflected COMM.3.PL form ***ǀgụn**.

ǀgụē ǀnuwi: Buchuharz formen, kneten. **ǀgụi** xa ǀnuwiba te re ǀsase ra ǀnuwi xuige: knete mir bitte Buchuharz zu Perlen, weil du sie so schön zu bilden verstehst!

ǀgụē ǀnuwi: to shape or knead buchu resin. **ǀgụi** xa ǀnuwiba te re ǀsase ra ǀnuwi xuige: Please knead the buchu resin into pearls for me, since you know how to do it so well!

Kroenlein, 1889: 148

Das gelbe Harz einer *Othonna*-Art (**ǀgụs**) wird mit der kalten Kohle des Herdfeuers verrieben. Dieses Gemisch (ein Pulver) wird mit einem brennenden Holzspahn erwärmt und mit der anderen Hand gleichzeitig geknetet.

'The yellow resin of a species of Othonna (ǀgụs) is rubbed into the cooling coals of a cookfire. This mixture (a powder) is then warmed with a burning stick of wood, and kneaded with the other hand until it is even on all sides.'

Schultze 1907: 252

'D!Goonu, the resin of several species of *Euryops*, is gathered in the sands of Bushmanland where, having dropped from the stems of the bushes, it forms black concretions beneath. ... It is boiled and the bitter decoction used in fevers. The red resin obtained from the woody parts of the same bush is also used.'

Laidler 1928

λ8.53z

ouheip = *Adenium boehmannium* (Apocynaceae) SMITH359; ubiq., ex Nama **ǀũ** = 'bitter' H&E15 + **ǀaib** = 'plant' H&E45-46.

λ8.53aa

t'aibie = *Calobota sericea* LR197; **tkebiebos** = *fluitjiesbos*, i.e. *Calobota sericea* LINKS63; note also **P!abee** = *fluitjiesbosch*, i.e., *Calobota sericea* (Fabaceae) LAIDLER.

LD Namaqualand, coupled with the observation that the referent is endemic to South Africa, would indicate ex regionalised Nama. Note, however, an early indication that this term may historically have been more widespread, as recorded in an early treatise on toxic and medicinal plants at Graaff-Reinet:

***keip** – die wortel van 'n bos wat die [Khoekhoe]^H ***keip** noem. Dit groei veral in die klowe van groot gebergtes omtrent drie, vier, ook wel vyf voet hoog. Die blare lyk bietjie na lourierblare, maar is van 'n ligter groen [...]. Van begin Januarie to Maart gee dit 'n groot geel blom [...]. Die Boesmans grawe die wortels uit en sny hulle in klein stukkies en kook hulle [...] totdat al die harsagtige stowe van hierdie wortels opgelos of uitgekook is. [...] Hierdie gif werk baie vinnig en 'n mens word blind binne 'n uur of twee wanneer hy met 'n gifpyl getref word.

***keip** – the root of a bush that the [Khoekhoe]^H call ***keip**. It grows especially in the kloofs of large hills to around three, four, or even five feet high. The leaves look a little like laurel leaves, but are of a lighter green [...]. From the beginning of Januarie until March it produces a large yellow flower. [...] The Bushmen dig up the roots and cut them into small pieces and boil them [...] until all the resinous matter from these roots is dissolved or boiled out. [...] This poison works very quickly and one goes blind within an hour or two of being struck by a poisoned arrow.'

Häszner 1793, *Mediese Handboek vir die Afrikaanse Huisgesin*

Following Redlist data, *Calobota sericea* is restricted to the Northern and Western Cape, but closely-related and phytomorphologically similar species distributed in the Eastern Cape that suit the above description nearly exactly would include *Calobota angustifolia* and *Calobota cuspidosa*. This merits comparison of the Graaff-Reinet item ***keip** with the Hai !Om term **!gaèb** = *Mundulea sericea* (Fabaceae) for a closely-related and phytomorphologically similar shrub ‘used as fish poison’ H&E306, effectively suggesting the historical existence of item shared across Hai !Om and *Eastern Khoekhoe with a general sense of ‘shrub in Fabaceae with pale leaves, used to produce poison for hunting’. With this correspondence in place, I would not hesitate to source **t’aibie** = *Calobota sericea* to an unrecorded Klein Nama reflex of **!gaèb**.

***note also **!a’eb** = *Mundulea sericea*, **!a’emá** (JU) = *Indigofera daleoides* (Fabaceae)

λ8.53ab

t’koeibee = *Grielum humifusum* (Neuradaceae) LR252; **tkoubie** = ‘slymwortel’, i.e. *Grielum* sp. LINKS63; ex Nama **!khuib** = *Grielum sinuatum* EGH23.

λ8.53ac

tkorro = unidentified species of ‘[Khoekhoe]^H cabbage’ LINKS63; **t’nôrrro** = *Anginon difforme*, **t’nôrrro** = *Anginon difforme* N&vW208; LD Namaqualand indicates ex Nama **!hòrób** = ‘spinach, wild spinach (spinach made from various wild plants)’ H&E206, cf. also Kora **!’orob** = ‘edible leaves that have to be cooked before palatable’ DuP369.

λ8.53ad

t’nouroebos = *Ruschia* spp. LEROUX332; **tkouroebos** = “small bush used for pasture” LINKS65; **t’nouroebosse** = “(pronounced with a click sound): flat vygie bush with succulent leaves, packed upside-down for a screen” SARR81, 88; **xhouroe** = *Leipoldtia schultzei*, *Ruschia robusta* (Wheat 2013). All referents on record are small compact shrubs in the mesemb family Aizoaceae. Accordingly, compare **!harus** = *Mesembryanthemum* sp., SCHUL167; **!nēra!harus** = *Mesembryanthemum ebracteatum* SCHUL83.

Detailed tonemic data is unavailable, but the item **!harus** = ‘succulent in Aizoaceae’ should probably be considered distinct from the standardised Namibian Khoekhoe **!hàrúb** = ‘rush’, ‘mat made of rushes’ H&E 201, as lexical extension from a mesemb to a rush is unlikely. Certainly in a separate record of **!harus** = “a species of rush in the genus *Cyperus*”, Schültze notes that this item carries “a rising lexical tone of a third” (Schültze 1907: 145), which aligns with the modern orthography **!hàrúb** LL.H. The items **!harus** = *Cyperus* sp. and **!harus** = “succulent in Aizoaceae” are further used as an example of a minimal pair distinguished only by tone melody at (Schültze 1907: 352), suggesting again that they are lexically distinct. Note also the Richtersveld Nama **!gárus** = *Ruschia* sp. as recently recorded by Piet van Wyk (pers. comm., 2021).

λ8.53ae

t’waraa = *Euryops lateriflorus* (Asteraceae) N&vW209. cf. regionalised Klein Nama **#horas** = [*Crassothonna*] *floribunda* (Asteraceae) SCHUL108.

λ8.53af

xhou = *Elytropappus rhinocerotis* WHEAT; **t’nou**, **t’kau**, **vaal-t’knou**, **berg-t’knou** = *Elytropappus rhinocerotis*, *Stoebe plumosa* N&vW209; note also **P/nkaou** = *Agathosma betulina* LAIDLER. LD Namaqualand indicate ex Nama **!oweb** = *buchu* prepared from bark of unspecified plants KROEN33), **!òwéb** = *buchu* prepared from bark of *Vachellia erioloba* H&E302; also Kora **!ʔōub** = unidentified species of shrub used to prepare *buchu* ENGEL106 λ *non traditur* DuP.

λ8.6a

anaboom = [*Faidherbia*] *albida* BN137 ex Nama **ànáhà’is** = [*Faidherbia*] *albida* EGH 25.

⁵ The original Cape Dutch is unfortunately lost.

λ8.6b

daweeboom, **dubbee** = *Tamarix usneoides* (Tamaricaceae) NIEN244; **dabbie**, **dawee**, **dawib**, **daweep** = *Tamarix usneoides* SMITH196; **dawee** = *Tamarix usneoides* BN196; **dabbeboom** = *Tamarix usneoides* (Tamaricaceae) LR254; **davib**, **dawee** = *Tamarix usneoides* BvdMH133; **dabbi** = *Tamarix usneoides* POWRIE26; **dabbieboom**, **dawee** = “wild cypress”, i.e. *Tamarix usneoides* PRINS37. Perhaps the most misspelled of all trees, this loan is early and ubiquitous, and so likely entered Afrikaans via multiple Khoekhoe-branch languages, but cf. Nama **daṽéb** = *Tamarix usneoides*.

λ8.6c

gabba bush = *Catophractes alexandri* EGH22; **ghaba**, **ghawa** = “thorny shrub with large white- or cream-coloured flowers, covered in prickly tubercles, and with seeds that are surrounded by a translucent vane”, i. e. *Catophractes alexandri* PRINS89; ex Nama **!gāwās** = *Catophractes alexandri* EGH22.

λ8.6d

ghabessie = “species of rockfig, *Ficus [ilicina]*” BN247; **tkaa** = *Ficus natalensis* SMITH462. Early, likely with several entry points for a number of *Ficus* spp. from multiple Khoekhoe-branch languages. cf. Nama **!lgaus** = *Ficus ilicina* EGH21, but note also the isiXhosa loan **umngxam** = *Ficus* sp. C&D131.

λ8.6e

ghobos = [*Vachellia*] *hebeclada* (Mimosoideae) SMITH227; **ghôbos** = [*Vachellia hebeclada* subsp. *hebeclada*] (Mimosoideae) BN252; ex Nama **!gòòs** = [*Vachellia hebeclada* subsp. *hebeclada*] (Mimosoideae) EGH23. *Contra* B&N252 not to be conflated with **ǃ8.6b ghoeboontjie**, **ghobos** = *Brabeium stellatifolium* (Proteaceae).

λ8.6f

gnoibos, **noebos** = [*Senegalia*] *mellifera* subsp. *detinens* SMITH230, 351; **t'kooi** = “resiniferous species of tree” BN647; **tnooibos** = ‘haak-en-steekbos’ i.e., thorn tree PRINS487; all ex Nama **!nòés** = [*Senegalia*] *mellifera* subsp. *detinens* EGH24.

λ8.6g

kaboom = [*Vachellia*] *haematoxylon* SMITH263; **!xha** = *Parkinsonia africana* ARCHER **page**; **t'ghaboom** = *Parkinsonia africana* POWRIE64; **kleinka**, **tkauboom**, **tkaboom** = ‘vaalkameeldoring’, i.e., *Vachellia haematoxylon* PRINS264, PRINS486; ex Nama **!khàās** = both [*Vachellia haematoxylon* and *Parkinsonia africana* EGH23.

λ8.6h

kaniedoring = [*Vachellia*] *nebrowii* SMITH275; cf. Hai ||Om **|khǎnúś** = [*Vachellia nebrowii*].

λ8.6i

karra, **garra**, **tkarra** = game associated with branches of the *driedoring*, i.e., *Ziziphus mucronata* PRINS214, also a name for several thornthrees as at PRINS 221; ex Kora **ǂ'arob** ~ **ǂxarob** = *Ziziphus mucronata* DuP373, Nama **ǂárós** = *Ziziphus mucronata*.

λ8.6j

khoeboom = [*Vachellia*] *karroo* SMITH289, ex Nama **!lkhúúś** = [*Vachellia karroo* EGH22.

λ8.6k

kobas = “species of tree in Vitaceae” BN357; **kobas**, **kobos**, **kowas** = “arborescent succulent with a bole that peels off in paper-thin shreds over time, and with red, juicy, toxic berries” PRINS303; ex Nama **kówás** = *Cyphostemma juttae*, *Cyphostemma* sp. (Vitaceae) EGH19.

λ8.6l

kokoboom = *Maytenus undata* SMITH304; LD Eastern Cape (Smith, 1966: 304) would imply ex *Eastern Khoekhoe, but cf. Hai lOm **!göö!göðb** = *Maytenus senegalensis* EGH23, Khwedam **kx'ó** **kx'ò** = *Maytenus senegalensis* KH308.

λ8.6m

noenieboom = *Boscia albitrunca* SMITH351; **noenie** = *Boscia foetida* POWRIE51; **noeniebos**, **tnoeniebos** = “dense shrub or smallish tree ... with an unpleasant smell” PRINS432; ex Nama **|huñis** = *Boscia albitrunca* EGH20, Kora **|honeb** DuP370.

λ8.6n

t'iena = *Montinia caryophyllacea* LR364; **tkeina** = *peperbos*, i.e. *Montinia caryophyllacea* LINKS63; **kienabos** = ‘bergklapperbos’, i.e. *Montinia caryophyllacea* PRINS247; ex Nama **†nīñàb** = *Montinia caryophyllacea* EGH24.

λ8.6o

vaal-t'kooi = *Stoeberia beetzii* (Aizoaceae) LR334, **rooi-t'kooi** = *Stoeberia utilis* LR335, **t'arra-t'kooi** = *Stoeberia utilis* LR335; **tkooi**; **tkarratkoei** = nold shrubs in Aizoaceae LINKS63; **rooiiktooi** = *Stoeberia beetzii* var. *arborescens* ARCHER; **rooi-t'kooi** = *Ruschia caroli* (Aizoaceae) POWRIE57; **tarragooi**heuuls = “so named after the vygie bushes that grow on the hills” SARR 134; **tkooibos**, **kooibos** = “an upright shrub, widespread throughout Namaqualand, with stiff, smooth branches” PRINS487.

Stoeberia is a genus of tall arborescent shrubs in Aizoaceae that is preferred as a source of good-quality firestarting material (Consultant KGM_AP described it as yielding ‘mooi kole’, “good-quality charcoal”).

The Afrikaans specifying element *rooi* in **rooi-t'kooi** = *Stoeberia utilis* LR335, **rooiiktooi** = *Stoeberia beetzii* var. *arborescens* ARCHER; **rooi-t'kooi** = *Ruschia caroli* (Aizoaceae) POWRIE57 glosses ‘red’, indicating that **t'arra** derives from Nama **lāpā** = ‘red’ (contra LINKS63, who attempts to connect this element with **tārās** = ‘womon’, which is clearly precluded by the presence of a click).

Du Pisani 1983 records the item **†khoes** for *Tetragona schenckii*, also a tall arborescent shrub in Aizoaceae, and notes its use as firewood in southern Namibia (Du Pisani 1983: 12, Sullivan 1998: 6). This should motivate the extension of **†khoes** to refer also to *Stoeberia* spp. and *Ruschia* spp., phytomorphologically similar plants in the same family with the same usecase, as a process of normal regional variation. Similarly, in standardised Namibian Khoekhoe, **†khōēs** = *Caroxylon aphyllum* (Amaranthaceae) HEG24, a genetically unrelated plant with a distinct usecase as a tanning agent, which seems to align best with ‘der **†Koi**-busch, salzig, dessen Asche zu Lauge verwandt bist beim Seifenkochen’ KROEN219. It is possible that there is tonemic distinction between the two not captured in Du Pisani 1983.

This plant name was used also in the historical Khoekhoe calendar term **†Khōēsàðb**, associated either with January or February (KROEN219, SCHUL371) or with July (H&E412), and glossed loosely as ‘[the month that] follows [the blooming of] the **†khoes** plant’:

“Der Mond, der auf den **†kxoe**-Busch folgt.” Dieser wichtige Weidebusch, eine *Salsola*-Art, soll im Frühling seine Hauptblütezeit haben. Der erste Monat des südlichen Sommers folgt (**sao**) ihm also nach.’

‘The month which follows after the **†khoe**-bush.’ This important fodder plant, a species of [*Caroxylon*], has its chief flowering time in spring. The first month of the southerly summer then follows afterward.’

Schültze 1907: 372

Note also the presence in Kora of a plant name **!koirellgabib**, associated particularly with good grazing and well-fed game:

!koirellgabib na tsoatsoa l!kaib !na, i ke na !koirellgarullkā. i l!na l!kaib !na, kai hã kx'aikuĩ, i subusa l!garuĩ.

Piet Links
recorded by Lloyd 1879: 109 –110
as cited at Du Plessis 2019: 154

!koirellgabib M.SG.NOM 'quaggavygie'	na PROG	tsoatsoa V 'to begin'	l!kaib M.1.NOM 'time'	!na M.1.NOM POSTP 'in'			
i CONJ 'then'	ke DECL	na PROG	!koirellgarullkā VERB 'quagga-hunting'				
i CONJ 'then'	l!na DEIX 'that'	l!kaib M.1.NOM 'time'	!na M.1.NOM POSTP 'in'	kai ADJ 'large'	hã PERF	kx'aikuĩ M.3.NOM STAT 'livers'	
i CONJ 'then'	subusa ADV 'easily'	l!garu VERB 'to catch'	ĩ STAT				

'When the quaggavygie was starting [to flower], it was quagga-hunting time. During that season, [their] livers were fat, and there was easy hunting.'

The Kora lexeme **lgabib** seems to have been a generic term for 'large, purple-flowering' vygies DuP370, which description exactly suits genus *Ruschia*, and is probably cognate with the old Nama **llameb** for a noID mesemb (employed as a tanning agent, usefully indicating an overlap in usage between *Caroxylon* and large mesembs, both of which are halophytic and so capable of yielding soda ash) at KROEN21. Piet Links clearly felt that the specifying lexeme **!koire-** (more normally spelled **!iores**) required justification, and so supplied a connection between the blossoming of these 'large, purple-flowering' vygies and the good quagga-hunting season they provided.

I strongly suspect that this is an example of a folk etymology.⁶ Living as he did at Kimberly, he may well have been familiar with a southeasterly Nama term ***khoes** for frutescent mesembs, semantically opaque beyond its immediate referent, but strongly associated also with a calendar term ***Khòēsàòb** for a month in the growing season when vygiebossies provided particularly good grazing. He accorded this opaque lexeme the interpretation **!iores** = 'quagga' and associated it logically with the quagga-hunting season.

!8.691

nei, ghnei, knei = "pipe made from a long, hollow piece of bone" PRINS428, ex Nama **!haib** = 'bone pipe (made from tibia)' H&E329.

!8.76

heira = "tree sap" BN281; early and ubiq., suggesting a number of entry points, but cf. Nama **hãirab** 'gum', 'resin' H&E46, **harab** Kora = 'gum (edible, brown)' DuP281.

⁶ Speakers offer comparable folk etymologies for old Nama month names at Schültze 1907: 371 – 372. Especially interesting is the gloss for #Goro|nütseb for April. All other sources associate this name with the concept of 'scrawny legs', either as ***Góro|nū** l!Khab (/it., 'thinleg month') 'under ***góro** = 'dunnbeinig sein' KROEN128, or as **!Hdā#kháib** (the second lexeme is obscure) under **!hdā** = 'bandy-legged' H&E333. Many separate consultants, however, apparently glossed this term as 'blisterleg month', considering it 'den Monat zunehmender Kälte; da man sich so nahe an das Feuer setzt, daß die Beine (Inū) Brandblasen ziehen (#goro)' (Schültze 1907: 372). ***gòró** can only mean 'thin', 'slender (of legs)' H&E394 in Namibian Khoekhoe, the standardised daughter language of the Nama spoken by Schültze's consultants; but in Kora, ***horo** is 'to form blisters' DuP321. As obligate archaisms subject to environmental regional variation, month names were apparently prone to a very natural reanalysis. Folk etymologies of this sort may have developed particularly at the edges of dialect continua, as southeasterly Nama names blurred into northwesterly Kora names and received new interpretations.

Basic Actions & Technology (6 items)

λ9.15

kammie = “to make into a bundle, e.g., laundry” PRINS194; **tkimmie** = “bundle” PRINS486; LD Springbok indicates ex Nama **!gàmĩ** = ‘to tie (something) into a bundle, to bundle’ H&E309.

λ9.16a

tkai = “to make fast” LINKS65; LD Namaqualand indicates ex Nama **!gǎé** ‘to tie together’, ‘to cling’ H&E306.

δ9.16b

tkoeiam = “to make fast, especially a matjie for the matjieshuis” LINKS66; LD Namaqualand indicates ex Nama **!huũ-áñ** = ‘to knot the end of (string)’ H&E340.

λ9.23

kibbie = “a mark on a blade; hence, an old knife with a rusted blade covered in marks” PRINS245; LD Namaqualand suggests cf. **‡nàmĩb** = ‘handmade, simple, old knife; old, worn knife; loose blade of knife’ H&E415, but phonologically uncertain.

λ9.29

soeroe = “the practice of scraping all the leftover fat, membrane, and scraps of skin from a hide using a rough stone ... the hide has then been **soeroed**” LINKS65; **afgesoeroe** = “the skin on the upper side of my hand was completely **soeroed** off, and it burned like hell” SARR104, ‘afgeskaaf’, i.e., “scraped off” SARR106. LD Namaqualand indicate ex Nama **tsùrú** = ‘to pluck (e.g. feathers) from something’ H&E143, with an interesting lexical extension referring to abrasion of skin from the hand after a fall (Sarrisam, 2006: 104).

λ9.56

kaai “to cleave, to stick fast, e.g. the syrup **kaais** fast to my hands’ PRINS174; LD Springbok indicates ex Nama **‡àè** = ‘to cling to’, ‘to adhere to’ H&E370, or else **‡naĩ** = ‘to catch using birdlime’ H&E414, probably with both items having been conflated in Afrikaans.

Motion (5 items)

λ10.23

ghôm, kôm = ‘to implode’, ‘to collapse’ PRINS96; ex Nama **!khòñ** = ‘to collapse’ H&E359.

λ10.413

getkei = “to stand crouched over” LINKS64; **t!ei** = “to crouch, to walk while crouching” PRINS484; LD Namaqualand indicates ex Nama **‡ee** = ‘swaybacked’, ‘londotic’, ‘hunched’.

λ10.42

djarrabee = “slide off” PRINS44, **karabee** “to slide, to slip away, e.g. it’s fun to **karabee** on the flat rocks” PRINS208; ex Central Nama **‡khànù** H&E408, Bondelswarts Nama **‡khìrì** H&E411 = “to slip, skid, slide”.

λ10.44a

ghaaisa = traditional *rieldans* BN245; **ghaaisa** = “barefoot jump- and stamp-dance” PRINS88; LD Namqualand, Griqualand West indicates ex Nama **!gái** = ‘tread, stamp, shuffle (as in traditional dance); **!gáis** = traditional dance, *vastrap*’ H&E308.

λ10.44b

gheis, gheisa = “religious dance to promote fertility of the fields and success on the hunt” PRINS92; LD Namaqualand indicates ex **!gáis** = ‘traditional Damara and San mimicry dance [for healing]’ H&E181.

λ10.491

keie = “said when someone is missing, is being searched for, has run away, has disappeared, has moved away, or has gone visiting, e.g. ‘He’s gone into the **keie** in Transvaal’, ‘He fled into the **keie**’” PRINS232. LD Namaqualand suggests ex Nama **|khǎĩ** = with a rare literal sense of, ‘to pass away’, ‘to die’ used only in progressive constructions, but in stative constructions with a sense of ‘to be absent’, ‘to be away’, e.g. **|khǎĩ a** ‘he is away’ H&E210.

Possession (5 items)

λ11.14

tkam = “to grip tight”, “to make firm”, e.g., “I grab the nanny-goat by the hindleg and **tkam** her hoof between my knees” LINKS65; vas-**t’kam** = “(pronounced with a click sound) to grip tight, to hold fast” SARR186; LD Namaqualand indicates ex Nama **llkhǎm** ‘to hold (especially between the legs)’ H&E274.

λ11.21

ou, **ouderê** = “give, e.g. **ouderê** a bit of biltong” PRINS450; LD Griqualand West, Namaqualand indicates ex Kora **au** ~ **ao** = ‘to give’ DuP278 + **tire** = PRO 3.SG.M OBL (DuP127), i.e., ‘give me’. cf. also Nama **ǎú** = ‘to allow someone to share in something’, ‘to give alms to someone’ H&E15.

λ11.31

narra = “to search through or rummage” PRINS427, ex Nama **llnarà** = ‘to rummage or search through things’ H&E290.

λ11.52

ntgaira = “used adjectivally to describe a person’s living conditions that are simple or poor” LINKS65; LD Namaqualand indicates ex Nama **#hàrě** = ‘to live an inconsistent or destitute life’, **#hàrěb** = ‘uncertainty, destitution’ H&E400.

λ11.91

ghou = “to be left over”, “to have been kept aside” BN257; **tkou** = “to share something with someone” LINKS66; **ghou** = “to keep aside, to leave something remaining for someone else, e.g. **gou** me! = give me too!”. ex Nama **!gàù** = “to be left over” H&E313.

Spatial Relations (2 items)

λ12.85a

ghams = “deep hollow” BN248; LND but cf. Nama **|hǎǎb** = ‘ravine’, ‘gully’, ‘ditch’ H&E262.

λ12.85b

hossabees = “deep, wide hole” PRINS145; LD Springbok suggests ex Nama **!góǎsib** = ‘hollowness’, ‘concavity’ H&E319.

Quantity (9 items)

λ13.01

t!oei = “[the numeral] one” PRINS487 LD Griqualand West hence ex Kora **|ui** 292.

λ13.02

t!am = “[the numeral] two” PRINS483 LD Griqualand West hence ex Kora **|am** = ‘two’ DuP292.

λ13.03

n!ona = “three” PRINS432 LD Griqualand West hence ex Kora **!nona** = ‘three’ DuP317.

λ13.1

diesie 'tien' PRINS42; LD Griqualand West indicates ex Kora **disi** = '10' DuP 338.

λ13.104

diesie-diesie 'twintig' PRINS42; LD Griqualand West indicates REDUP ex Kora **disi** = '10' DuP 338. The use of reduplication rather than the recall of Kora **!amtjisi** = '20' (lit., 'two tens') DuP 346, would suggest lexical attrition of the counting system in a post-shift context.

λ13.22

kei, keia = "used up, gone" PRINS232; LD Namaqualand suggests ex Nama **|khǎĩ**, which, when used of a container in the phrase **|khǎĩ !nàà** (lit., **|khǎĩ** = 'to be away' + **!nàà** POSTP 'in', hence 'in absence') figuratively carries the adjectival sense 'empty' H&E210.

λ13.331

tkoe-ie = "solitary", "a loneliness that causes pain" LINKS66, ex Nama **!ùú-ǎĩ** = 'to feel lonely, desolate, lonesome' H&E304.

λ13.35

ghoem = "last, e.g., in races he is always **ghoem**" PRINS94. LD Riversdale would suggest ex Cape Khoekhoe or Kora, but cf. Nama **!hòǎm** = lit., 'crippled', 'paralysed', but also figuratively 'slow (of a runner)' H&E335.

λ13.5

iebie, êbe-êbe, iebe, iebe-iebe, iebie-iebie = "very", "very seriously", "to a high degree" PRINS149, ex Nama **ĩibè** = 'unusually', 'very', **ĩĩbè-ĩĩbè** 'excessively' H&E57.

Time (1 item)

λ14.11

hoeka BN287 **toeka** BN648 = long ago; **!koetoe** PRINS486 = long ago; still in widespread usage, typically in the expression '**toeka** se tyd', (lit., "toeka's time", sometimes with 'Toeka' interpreted as a proper noun), and ubiq., suggesting multiple entry points, but cf. Nama **hùúgà** = 'long ago', 'since time immemorial' H&E55.

Sense Perception (5 items)

λ15.31

kam = "taste, e.g. 'How does the water taste?' 'No, it's fine, **kam** for yourself.'" PRINS190. LD Nababeep suggests ex Nama **ǎà** = 'to drink' H&E1, cf. Kora **kx' ǎ** = 'drink' DuP284.

λ15.52a

tkoei = "to peer or stare at" PRINS486; ex Nama **!éè** = 'to stare at something with wide open eyes' H&E299.

λ15.52b

tkwa = to stare straight at something, as in the example sentences "the antelope came to stand **tkwa** (=with the head right towards me)" and "out in the wheatfields you mustn't spend the whole day standing **tkwa** (=looking at the sun underneath the hand)" LINKS66; ex Nama **!ǎà** = 'to look out for something while shading eyes with hand' H&E291.

λ15.88a

gabba = "rough, primitive" PRINS75; ex Nama **|gǎrà** = "slovenly, unkempt" H&E184.

λ15.88b

ghoe, ghoeies BN252, BN253; **ntgoe** LINKS65 = dirt, eczema, scabs, or dry skin on the knees and especially on the elbows; ex Nama **lguũ** = 'to become rough (of skin); **lguũb** = 'roughness of skin, a callous' H&E197.

Emotions & Values (10 items)

λ16.15

gonna "to shout out in fright or surprise" BN264; ex Nama **!khòóñǎm** = lit., 'to cover one's mouth with one's hand', *fig.* 'to be surprised, to be amazed' H&E351.

λ16.26a

gham = "to play" BN247 λ *traditur* "to play (of children)" PRINS90 ex **†gām** = 'to frolic', 'to gambol', 'to frisk' H&E387.

λ16.26b

gharra = "tell jokes, make wisecracks, to banter" BN249; ex **gǎǎrá** = 'to pull someone's leg, to hoax/trick (harmlessly)' H&E37.

λ16.26c

kou = "specially cut truncheon, usually from the *driedoring* [*i.e. Rhigozum trichotomum*], thickened at one end, used in the **kouslaan** game" PRINS358; **kouslaan** = children's game played using a **kou** branch PRINS361; ex Nama **!khaũs** = 'throwing-stick, a tapering stick of c. 50 cm length and thickness of finger, made heavier at thick end', **!khaũ** = 'to skim (stick) on a bush, children's game' H&E212.

λ16.42a

ghau = "to be angry" BN249; ex Nama **!gǎòb** = *Syncerus caffer*, the Cape buffalo, hence **!gǎòsǎ** = 'churlish, surly, ill-tempered, aggressive (by nature)', **!gǎò** **!gǎó** = 'to become angry, vexed, furious' H&E184.

λ16.42b

tkam = "to be annoyed" LINKS65 ex Nama **llámí** = 'to become cross, angry, annoyed' H&E231.

λ16.53

kapkar = "to cause the hackles to rise, e.g. when the dog approaches, the cat **kapkars**; to run away with the hackles upright, e.g. when the dog chases him, the cat **kapkars** around the corner" PRINS205; LD Springbok suggests ex Nama **llkhápís** 'an intense fright' as used in the compound adjective **llkhápíxa** **!kháà** (lit., **llkhápís** 'panic' + **xǎ** ADJ + **!kháà** 'to stiffen', 'to become rigid' H&E213) = 'panicstricken', 'panicky' H&E278.

λ16.72

ghaboe, ghoeboe = "tasteless" BN247, BN 252; **ntgaboe, ntgouboe** = "uninteresting", "flavourless", used both of food and of conversation LINKS64; **tkaboe** = "unsatisfying", "bad" PRINS485; ex Nama **!gǎbú** = 'tasteless, insipid, (of: e.g. food), *fig.* insipid, lifeless, dull (of: pers.)' H&E 315.

λ16.79

tkoei = "an adjectival form used to describe a young child that has already begun to be headstrong" LINKS66, ex Nama **llguĩ** = '(fig.) to spoil a child' H&E259.

Cognition (2 items)

λ17.22a

ghommie = 'dom', unclear if *sensu* 'foolish' or 'mute' BN256; **ghommie, nommie, t'gommie** 'foolish', 'inexperienced', 'obtuse' PRINS96. B&N suggest comparison with Nama **!gǒmǐmé** = 'mute', 'deaf-and-

mute', but this does not carry the sense of 'foolish' clearly reflected in the Afrikaans. Lexical extension is of course possible in loan, but *cf.* also Nama **!khòmpóó** = 'stupid', 'dull', 'dense'.

λ17.22b

tkoe = "not to know", e.g., "you never **tkoe** anything", LINKS66; ex Nama **|úù** = 'not to know something', 'to be ignorant of something' H&E178.

Speech & Language (6 items)

λ18.11

ghan = "hoarse, e.g., I am **ghan** from shouting at the sheep so much" PRINS90; LD Namaqualand indicates ex the first element of the Nama compound verb **†gàṇǎdòṃ** (lit., **†gàṇǎ** = 'faint' + **dòṃmi** = 'throat') 'to be hoarse' H&E203.

λ18.13

gô = "to make a noise or a racket" PRINS100. LD Namaqualand suggests ex Nama **|òó** = 'to emit sound', 'to make a noise' H&E172.

λ18.28a

ghannag**hoetjie** = "petname for a child" PRINS91; LD Namaqualand indicates ex Nama **kárelòṃs** 'pet/praise name (for infants)' H&E61.

λ18.28b

karrienaam = "a nickname", "a petname" LINKS52; **karrienaam** = "petname" SARR78; **karrie** = "spoil", "coddle", **karrienaam** = "petname" PRINS215; **narra**, **njarra** = "coddle", "praise", "adore" PRINS426; ex Nama **káre** = 'to praise/extol/glorify/eulogise (a baby)' H&E61, with the hybrid compound **karrienaam** premised on **kárelòṃs** 'pet/praise name (for infants)' H&E61.

λ18.45a

ghabbe = "boastful" BN247; **ghabbe**, **ghawwerig** = "boastful", "putting on airs" PRINS89; ex Nama **|gàpī** = lit., 'high', as used in the compound adjective **|gàpī †ǎíxǎ** (lit., **|gàpī** 'high' + **†ǎí** = 'thought', 'idea', 'way of thinking' + **xǎ** ADJ, *i.e.*, 'high-minded') to give sense of 'proud', 'haughty', 'arrogant', 'snobbish' H&E187.

λ18.45b

t'kammakind = "headstrong child" PRINS485 LD Northern Cape; ex Nama **†ámà** = "to boast", "to vaunt", "to show off", "to give oneself airs" H&E371.

Social & Political Relations (3 items)

λ19.21

aghoes, **akoes** = "group", "friends" BN126; LND but *cf.* Nama **!ǎǎkhòèn** = 'group of people' H&E 297.

λ19.25

kierie = "walkingstick" BN451; **t!iri** = PRINS485. Early & ubiq., hence originally ex Cape Khoekhoe but likely with multiple entry points, accordingly *cf.* Nama **|khǎrúb** = "knobkerrie", Kora **|xarus** ~ **|xaurus** = 'walking stick' DuP297.

λ19.69

gharra = "tease", "bother" BN249; **gharra** = "tease, annoy" PRINS91. ex Nama **|gàrá** = 'to hamper', 'to hinder', 'to impede' H&E184.

Warfare & Hunting (3 items)

λ20.471

ghaap = “observant”, “cautious” BN246; **ghaap** sit, le̱, staan = “to be on the watch, to look out, to observe something closely” PRINS89, **ghas** le̱ = “to take on a wakeful, expectant attitude towards a competitor, e.g., to lie **ghas** for another lover” PRINS 91; ex Nama **kàpī** = ‘to watch’, ‘to spy out on’, ‘to stand guard’ H&E62.

λ20.64a

ghaai = “birdlime” BN245; **ghaai**, **kaai** = “birdlime, chewed into a mass and smeared on a branch so as to catch birds”; ex Nama **ṡàèb** = ‘birdlime’ H&E370.

λ20.64b

keisiegat = “hole to catch wild animals in” BN347; LND but cf. Nama **!gáiseb** ‘manmade hole’ H&E308, Kora **!gaisekua** = ‘pitfall hunting-traps’ DuP310. An old record of codemixing from the Gariep in 1811 observes that, ‘the [Khoekhoe]^H when speaking in Dutch call these pitfalls by the mixed name **Tkysigať**, the first part of which is the original appellation (Burchell 1822: 387).

Law (1 item)

λ21.37

ghal = “to punish” BN247 λ *traditur* **ghal** “to punish” PRINS89 ex **llkhàǎ** = ‘to penalise’, ‘to chastise’ H&E277.

Religion & Belief (2 items)

λ22.43

d!yga ‘osgooier’, i.e. “doctor” PRINS58 ex Kora **!gaixab** = ‘doctor’ DuP310.

λ22.51

n!abasas = ‘initiation ceremony’ PRINS425, recorded from Griqualand West, hence ex Kora **!habab** = ‘young woman’s coming-of-age ceremony’ DuP295. For a detailed description, see Engelbrecht, 1936: 163 – 168.

Appendix B.1 The Corpus Irretrievable

The Physical World (2 items)

δ1.144

naklip = “weathered rock formations” BN440, LND; possibly *cf.* Nama **!na̱rúb** = ‘impassable or stony terrain’ H&E361, but very uncertain.

δ1.215

tkjomghaas = ‘swaar sand’, *lit.*, “heavy sand” *hapax* at PRINS486. This would appear to be a literal calque, as the first element derives *ex* Nama **!góm** = “heavy”, and the second *ex* Nama **!gòwás** = “sand”. However, the referent is unclear, and no further context is available from the source.

Kinship (1 item)

δ2.33

nam = “to take someone as a partner and live together without having been legally married” PRINS426, LD Northern Cape indicates *ex* Nama or Kora, but with no clear target forthcoming.

Animals (7 items)

δ3.46

gannapens, **gannatol**, **gomtor** = ‘donkey’ PRINS77; *cf.* also the first element in **ghaberta** = “carriage with motorcar tires”, BN347, **ghabertakar**, **ghaperta** = “donkey carriage with motorcar tires” PRINS89. Tentatively *cf.* Nama **!gáwiháàb** = “packhorse”, but ultimately uncertain.

δ3.63

ghamtap = ‘gensbokmuis’ PRINS90, **jantap** = ‘gensbokmuis’ PRINS162, ‘waaierstertmuis wat min of meer gryns van kleur is met die wange, die gedeelte bo die neus, ’n strook aan weerskante van die nek tot by die skouers, die onderkant en sye en die bokant van die voorarms, voor- en agterpote wit of ligter van kleur, ’n swart oorlangse streep, omsoom met wit, aan die onderkant van die stert en ’n swart streep van oog tot oor. Dié kleurpatroon, veral van die gesig, herinner aan dié van die gensbok.’ PRINS84; **namtap** Van Hensbergen & Channing 1989. *ex* Cape Khoekhoe, IRRETRIEVABLE.

The *gensbokmuis* is regularly *Graphiurus oculatus*, the spectacled dormouse. The entry for ‘gensbokmuis’, a regionalised spelling, at PRINS84 describes the referent as a “dormouse which is more or less grey in colour, with the cheeks, the part above the nose, a section on either side of the neck up to the shoulders, the underside, sides, upper side of the forelegs, and the fore- and hindlegs white or lighter in colour, and a black lengthwise stripe banded with white on the underside of the tail, as well as a black stripe from the eyes to the ears”. This lengthy description is justified by the explanation that “this colour pattern, especially that of the face, is reminiscent of that of the *gensbok* [*Oryx gazella*]”.

The locality data Clanwilliam PRINS90, Southern Cape PRINS85, Piketberg PRINS162 all indicate that *Cape Khoekhoe served as the donor language, and the restricted distribution of *G. oculatus* corroborates this. This would immediately suggest that the target should be irretrievable. No items for the dormouse proper (*i.e.*, any species in Gliridae) are on record in any Khoekhoe-branch language. Nama **du̱rúb** = ‘mouse’, ‘rat’ H&E34, **kebes** = ‘unidentified small mouse’ H&E63, **!urus** = ‘unidentified mouse’ SCHUL287, H&E303 are firstly too generic to be of much use, and secondly phonologically unlikely as targets; similarly unsuitable for comparison is Central Nama **!khau #guib** = ‘elephant shrew’ H&E19 for several species in Macroscelididae.

Perhaps the only even remotely comparable item is **#gomab** H&E394, sourced to SCHUL287:

durus ist ein Sammelname für verschiedene Mäusearten. In Einzelnen unterscheiden sie unter anderem eine Nachtmaus, **tsūxudurus** oder **lurus**, und eine Art mit längestreiftem Pelz, zu *Arvicanthis* gehörig, als **#gomab**.

durus is a collective name for different species of mouse. Individually, they distinguish from others a 'nightmouse', the **tsūxudurus** or **lurus**, and a species with a pelt with long stripes, a member of *Arvicanthis*, the **#gomab**.

However, the lack of a clear agreement in Linnaean identity even to the rank of family makes this an unlikely solution; additionally, this item is recorded in a discussion of zoological terminology recorded in 'Groß-Namaland', i.e., in a parent dialect of contemporary Central Nama, rather than in any more southerly lect.

As a last possible point of comparison, note the existence of the Nama adjective **lgāe-ái** (lit., 'gemsbokgesig', 'oryxface') as used of coat patterns in livestock H&E180. From this usage arises the zoological term **lgāe#nāāb**, **lgāes ta #nāāb** = *Xerus inauris* (Sciuridae) H&E180, lit., 'gemsbok squirrel'. The item **#nāāb** is unattested outside of the compound (except in Riemvasmaak Nama at Sands & Jones: 79), but cf. also Kora **le#nāb** – *Xerus inauris* DuP356, where the specifying element **le-** is likely a form of **lgāes** = 'gemsbok' in attrition (contrast Kora **lhau#eb** = 'mongoose' DuP357, where the generic element **#eb** is in fact a reflex of Nama **lèeb** = 'mongoose' H&E170).

Ultimately this item should be considered irretrievable.

Ǿ3.581a

gatgaai, **tatgaai** = [*Lamprotornis*] *bicolor* BN238, BN 636, LND. Possibly cf. Nama **#kháināb** = *Lamprotornis nitens* H&E406, but phonologically uncertain as this would require metathesis.

Ǿ3.581b

katakeroe = Campephagidae spp., i.e., any of the cuckooshrikes BN343, LND; old, probably *Cape Khoekhoe. Possibly connected with Kora **!xan !huereb** = 'shrike' DuP359, but ultimately uncertain. This item remains in regular use in birding circles in the Western Cape.

Ǿ3.81

gharghartjie = antlion, i.e., the larval stages of several genera of predatory insect in Myrmeleontidae BN248; **gharghartjie** = antlion PRINS91 LD Alexandria (Eastern Cape); **kierkierie**, **koeretjie**, **koerkoertjie** = antlion PRINS413 LND. No item for any species in Myrmeleontidae is on record in the Khoekhoe branch. In the !Ui branch of the TUU family, the !Xam item **!ka!kabbo** ta !kwa possibly bears comparison (LL.VIII.21.7821), but this is very uncertain.

4. The Body – 6

Ǿ4.14

ghom = 'curly-haired' BN256; LND, cf. Nama **#gòmǎ** = 'to wind up', 'to twist', 'to twine', as in the adjective **#gòmǎsǎ** = 'wound', 'twisted', hence the compound noun **#gòmǎsèn|hǎēs** = 'curl, lock of hair', but very uncertain.

Ǿ4.81a

ghoungat = "vigorous, able, diligent" BN257 LND; **-gat** is almost certainly Afrikaans reanalysis of the Khoekhoe-branch adjectival suffix **-xǎ**, but beyond that, the target is uncertain.

፩4.81b

tkoekeirie, **getkoekeirie** = “to make a child strong” LINKS64; **koewarie**, **koewaroe**, **koewadie** = “courageous, virile, strong, clearly in good condition” PRINS318; LD Namaqualand indicates ex Nama, but no clear target is forthcoming.

Dit was nog altyd die gewoonte by veral die oumense van Namakwaland om babas up hulle rûe te lê, die beentjies in en uit te stoot in 'n poging om die kind oefening te gee. Hulle het dan gesê dat hulle die kind sterk maak, **tkoekeirie**, soos dit in die Khoi-taal bekend staan. Die woord is so algemeen bekend en het gaandeweg so diep in die huishoudelike en omgewingstaal gevestig geraak, dat 'n Metodisteleraar van Durban, wie se huistaal Engels was, onlangs tydens sy afskeidswoorde aan die gemeente op Kharkams die volgende gesê het: ‘Namakwaland, met al sy teenslae en opdraande, het my gedurende my werk al hier so **getkoekeirie** dat ek redelik sterk voel vir die pad vorentoe.’

‘It was still regularly the custom, especially among the Namaqualand elders, to position babies on their backs and move their little legs in and out in an effort to give the child exercise. They would then say that they had made the child strong, **tkoekeirie**, as it was known in the [Nama] language. This word is so widely known, and has over time been so deeply engrained into both household and everyday speech, that a Methodist minister from Durban, whose home language was English, nevertheless said the following during a closing address to the convocation at Kharkams: ‘Namaqualand, with all its challenges and setbacks, has so **tkoekeiried** me during my work here that I feel truly prepared for the road ahead.’

Links, 1989: 64

A compound verb #gañ|nuũ = ‘to exercise (baby, by moving its legs)’ H&E387 corroborates the practice described at Links, 1989: 64 above, and suggests also that the first element **tkoe** may be ex |nuũb = ‘foot’, ‘leg’ H&E224, but the exact etymon cannot be determined.

፩4.855

kannagonna = “red patches that break out on one’s legs if one sits too close to the fire”, i.e., *erythema ab igne* PRINS198. LD Stellenbosch suggests ex *Cape Khoekhoe. First element possibly connected with Nama **khàwũ** = ‘to blister’, **khàwũxa** = ‘blistered (of skin)’ H&E71; note also Kora #**horo** (DuP321), in Nama as #**kowa** = ‘Blasen aufwerfen’ only at KROEN 220. Ultimately irretrievable, and possibly not of Khoekhoe origin at all.

፩4.856

ghirrie = “ulcers” BN251 LND, no clear target forthcoming.

፩4.88

t’kau = “dassie dung”, i.e., hyraceum, the petrified urine and faeces of *Procavia capensis*, usually harvested from cliffs or koppies and used medicinally PRINS486; LD Northern Cape indicates ex Nama. Hyraceum is properly **!áũ|àrũb** (lit., **!áũ** ‘*Procavia capensis*’ + **!àrũb** = dried manure) H&E298, or else **|uí-àòsènni** (lit., **|uí** ‘stone’ + **àòsèñ** ‘sweat’, calqued in Afrikaans as *klipsweet*) H&E175. For this item, cf. **|khámí** = ‘to urinate’, as used of animals H&E209, but uncertain.

Food & Drink (5 items)

፩5.12

koeroebie, **knoeroebie**, **koeroepie**, **koeroe** = “crust, fond, dregs, leftovers in the bottom of a pot or a pan in which meat has been well-cooked, from which sauce is often prepared; also, the crumbs formed when the crust is scraped away” PRINS315; LD Boesmanland, Namaqualand suggests ex Nama #**ũũ** **!gàùbèi** = ‘leftovers’, ‘leftover food’ H&E382, but phonologically uncertain.

፩5.22

kouboe = “reheat, e.g. **kouboe** the coffee again” PRINS358; LD Namaqualand indicates cf. Nama **!òwàbè** = ‘to heat until lukewarm’ H&E302, but phonologically uncertain.

ḡ5.26

kampot, tkampot = “tin can or small tin bucket, used as a container for liquids, or else to boil water or milk; also, any small cookingpot that can be used over an open fire” PRINS194; LD Namaqualand, Griqualand West indicates ex Nama or Kora, but no target forthcoming. Possibly compare Nama **llgàñ** = ‘to toast (especially bread on stone)’ H&E248, but uncertain.

ḡ5.122

ghei = “not completely done, e.g., ‘the food has been prepared a little bit **ghei** again’ PRINS92; LD Namaqualand indicates ex Nama, but no clear target is forthcoming.

ḡ5.87

knarra, tgarra, njarra = “to milk, e.g. **knarra** the cow so that we can get milk for the coffee” PRINS290, “go **njarra** the goat quickly, my child” PRINS431. LD Namaqualand indicates ex Nama, but no immediate etymon is forthcoming unless this came directly ex isiNguni **ukuchama**, itself a loan of Khoekhoe **ǀǎǎ**, **ǀkx’ao** = ‘to milk’.

The generalised term for ‘to milk’ across both branches of the KHOE family is Nama **ǀǎǎ** H&E162, Kora **ǀkx’ao** DuP298, Khwedam **tcxóò** (Kilian-Hatz, 2003: 131), Naro **ts’ao** (Visser, 2000: 103), reconstructed to *proto-KHOE **ǀx’ao** (Voßen 1997: 466). A number of more specialised terms pertaining to dairy production do exist in the Khoekhoe branch, but none is immediately phonologically comparable. In the TUU family, the Nǀuu **llhēike** ‘milk (n)’ (Sands & Jones 2022: 337), and the !Xóõn **g#qheẽ** ‘milk (n)’ TRAILL248, are also phonologically unsuitable for comparison.

Clothing & Grooming (1 item)

ḡ6.94

bokntong = “hard air-dried fat made from an antelope, often used as a skin lotion” LINKS64; ex Nama, but with no clear target forthcoming.

The House (2 items)

ḡ7.13

tkaia = “a pondok, a little house in the veld, near to the livestock” LINKS65, cf. Nama **ǀhǎĩ(ǎĩ)s** = ‘homestead’, ‘home’, ‘settlement’ H&E253, but unclear. Should possibly be sunk with **ḡ7.14 kawie** = “small house, pondok”.

ḡ7.14

kawie = “small house, pondok; temporary shelter or screen; tarpaulin stretched over poles to serve as a screen” PRINS230; LD Namaqualand indicates ex Nama, but no clear target is forthcoming. A windbreak or shelter is ordinarily **llgànīs**, but this is not immediately phonologically comparable. Possibly cf. **llkháẽ** = ‘to head off’, ‘to turn back’ H&E273 as used in the serial verb **mǎĩllkháẽ** (lit. **mǎĩ** ‘to erect’, ‘to set up’ + **llkháẽ** ‘to head off’) = ‘to block’, ‘to block out the wind’, and the derived gerund **mǎĩllkháẽb** = ‘screen’, ‘curtain’, ‘partition’, but this is uncertain. Should possibly be sunk with **ḡ7.13a tkaia** = “pondok, a little house in the veld”.

Agriculture & Vegetation (36)

ḡ8.22

aroesa = “to work ground loose” BN140, LND; cf. Nama **òrěsǎ** = ‘loosened’, ‘untied’ H&E103, but uncertain.

ḡ8.53a

aruña = *Stapelia* spp. (Apocynaceae) (Trimen, 1873: 382); **aroena** = [*Quaqua*] *incarnata* (Apocynaceae) λ *traditur* **aroela**, **aroena** = [*Quaqua*] *incarnata* BN140; **oukoei** = [*Quaqua*] *ramosa*

SMITH359, **ouram** = [*Quaqua*] *pillansii* SMITH360; **aroena** = [*Quaqua*] spp. SMITH64; **kalong** = *Stapelia* sp. (Apocynaceae), BN325; **aroena** = *Quaqua acutiloba*, *Q. framesii*, *Q. incarnata*, *Q. mammillaris* LR344; **aroena** = “stem succulent with hard, cone-shaped thorns and small, velvety, red-brown, unpleasant-smelling flowers” *i.e.* *Quaqua* spp. PRINS20; **calong** = *Stapelia olivacea* (Van Wyk 2009); **kaloenga** (De Beer 2012); **ouroena**, **aroena** = *Quaqua* spp. (Nagel 2017: *pers. comm.*); **auroena** vW&N210.

No terms applied narrowly to genus *Quaqua* (see Figure A3 (d) above and Figure A9 below) are on record in standardised Namibian Khoekhoe. The earliest record of this item is from Klein Namaland, suggesting that it was historically a regionalised item:

Stapelia were widely distributed, but usually rather difficult to find, as they have a way of growing right in the middle or under the shelter of other plants, commonly a shrubby *Mesembryanthemum*. Sir H. Barkly got a number of species alive (about 15 – 17 he thinks) for Kew; but only two were in flower, so that it is difficult to determine the number found. The [Khoekhoe]^H call them **aruña** and eat the greater number of them.

Trimen 1873: 382 – 383

Given the bitter taste induced by cardiotoxic glycosides present across many if not most species in the family Apocynaceae, it is most likely that the specifying lexeme <ou ~ a ~ ka> loans Nama **ǎũ** H&E15, Kora **kx'au** DuP285 = ‘bitter’, as used in a number of plant names; <ru ~ roe ~ lo ~ loe> probably approximates the diminutive infix -ro-, which may be employed to reduce the intensity of adjectives, hence **ǎũro**- ‘bitterish’. However, the generic lexeme, **na ~ ga** remains obscure.

ǃ8.53b

bietou BN164, **boetabossie** BN174 = *Osteospermum* spp. (Asteraceae); early and ubiquitous, hence likely ex *Cape Khoekhoe, IRRETRIEVABLE.

ǃ8.53c

coonie = *Searsia* sp. (Anacardiaceae) (Schreiner 1929: 276, written 1870s); **kuni** = *Searsia mucronata* MARLOTH53; **n'guni**, **kuni** = [*Searsia*] *dregeana* WILMAN370; **kunibos**, **t'koeniebos**, **!kuni** = [*Searsia*] *undulata* SMITH582; **koenie**, **kuni** = “fruit and plant name, [*Searsia*] *mucronata*” BN360; **koeniebos**, **kunibos** = [*Searsia*] *burchellii* POWRIE101; **koeniebos**, **ghoeniebos** = “shrub or tree with cream-coloured flowers, pleasant-smelling flowers and slightly flattened, green (or sometimes red when ripe) edible stonefruits” *i.e.*, *Searsia* sp. PRINS312, **noeniebos**, **tnoeniebos** = “thick shrub or smallish tree with small greenish-yellow flowers with a pleasant scent and lightbrown edible berries” *i.e.* *Searsia* sp. PRINS432, 487.

LD Klein Karoo, Groot Karoo suggests ex Kora or |Xam. The closest possible Khoekhoe-branch analogue is Nambian Khoekhoe **lkhúrùbèb** = [*Searsia*] *marlothii* H&E217 where -bèb is a naming suffix applied to **lkhùrù** = ‘to be sour’ for a sense of ‘bitterbush’, ‘sourbush’ (*cf.* also Nharo **curùghù** = [*Searsia*] *tenuinervis*; Khwedam **loóró** = ‘[*Searsia*] *tenuinervis*’). Note also seSotho **lekolitsane** = *Searsia* sp., which is likely a ‘declicked’ form ex a Khoekhoe-branch donor, possibly via Afrikaans.

There is the barest possibility that this should be sunk with the Namaqualand item **ǃ8.53ae t'orrieboom** = *Ozoroa dispar*, as the referents are morphologically similar shrubs in the same family, but this cannot be substantiated, especially as the berries are so distinct.

ǃ8.53g

kama ‘the Namaqua name of a Buchu bush used in the preparation of skins ... order *Ficoideae*’ PETT 246 λ *traditur kama* ‘soort looibos in die Karoo (Orde *Ficoideae*, d.w.s. *Aizoaceae*, vlg. WAT *Mesembryanthemum crystallinum*’ BN 326, **ammieboom** = nold plant species B&N136; **kama** = *Mesembryanthemum crystallinum* ‘a soft, salt, juicy bush ... fleshy leaves uses in the preparation of skins’ SMITH 271. Early and ubiquitous, hence likely ex *Cape Khoekhoe, *cf.* Nama **llameb** = “plant used in preparation of skins” KROEN21, Kora **llgabib** = ‘vygies’ but ultimately uncertain.

All sources refer to a succulent plant in the family *Aizoaceae*, likely to have belonged to *Mesembryanthemum* proper or to a closely-related genus. PETT 246 offers a target ‘**ameb** with a lateral click’, sourced from **llameb** “a species of shrub used in preparing a buchu with which hides are tanned” KROEN 21, of which Kora **llgabib** = *Mesembryanthemum* sp. DuP370 is almost certainly a reflex. This item **llameb** is explicitly connected by Kroenlein with **llana †gāb**, ‘Elandswurzel, zur Bereitung von Buchu u. zum Gerben von Fellen verwandt’; **llànà †gāāb** = *Elephantorrhiza suffruticosa* EGH 27. Both species in genus *Elephantorrhiza* (Fabaceae) are documented to serve as sources of soda ash and are used in tanning, but they do not share a close genetic relationship with *Mesembryanthemum*, are phytomorphologically distinct from *Mesembryanthemum*, and furthermore are not distributed in the Karoo. **llameb** may perhaps have been a generic Khoekhoe-branch term for ‘plant producing soda ash’, ‘tanning plant’ that could have encompassed both *Elephantorrhiza suffruticosa* and *Mesembryanthemum crystallinum* in its scope, possibly with regional variation motivated by regionalised botanical endemism. However, this is uncertain.

ǃ8.53i

P/nums ghana = nOLD plant LAIDLER; **!komi-ganna** = [*Tylecodon*] *wallichii* SMITH305, **t’nomsganna** = *Tylecodon wallichii* LR159; **ntgomsganna** = “a species of [*Tylecodon*], with rough, thick, round offshoots like a [*Tylecodon paniculatus*] with short sparse spikes on them” LINKS63; **!kome ganna** = *Tylecodon wallichii* ARCHER; **tnjoemsganna** = *Tylecodon wallichii* POWRIE65. LD Namaqualand, Karoo indicate ex regionalised Nama and Kora, IRRETRIEVABLE.

A previously unrecorded Namaqualand Afrikaans term for this species, *reënmaker* (‘rainbringer’), was associated particularly with the local Coloured community by a consultant interviewed at Vanrhynsdorp in April 2019. As *Tylecodon* spp. are among the earliest Namaqualand plants to put out new leaves in anticipation of the autumn mists (see Figure A10 below), there is the barest possibility that the specifying lexeme **t’noms-** therefore has its etymon in **lhòm** = ‘fine drizzle (as on coast); soft, widespread rain’ H&E204. However, this can only be speculation, as no L1 speakers of such archaic southerly Nama remain to confirm or deny.

ǃ8.53j

kos natje = *Crassula columnaris* (Crassulaceae) ‘why, I cannot say’ PETT279; **koesnaartje** = *Crassula columnaris* MARLOTH51; **koesnaaitjie** = *Crassula columnaris* SMITH303; **koesnaatjie** = *Crassula columnaris* BN360; **koesnaatjie** = *Crassula barklyi* LR163 LD Namaqualand; **boesnap** = *Crassula alpestris* LD Cederberg Meterlekamp & Sealy 1982; ex regionalised southerly Nama or Cape Khoekhoe, IRRETRIEVABLE.

ǃ8.53k

kouboom = *Pappaea [capensis]* (Sapindaceae) BN368, who suggest comparison with a Nama item **llkhoun**, *hapax* at KROEN 153, which seems to reference a species of plant bearing fruit with oily pits, but this is very uncertain. *Contra* this line of enquiry, cf. isiZulu um**qhokwane** (*lit.*, **qho**-tree + DIM.), isiXhosa um**gqalutye** (*lit.*, ‘[type of] **gqa**-tree [that grows on] stone’) = *Pappea capensis*, which would imply a palatal or alveolar click in a putative Khoekhoe-branch etymon, but again very uncertain. Should possibly be sunk into **ǃ8.53ac t’koubee** = *Dodonaea viscosa* (Sapindaceae) LR242, as both referents are tall shrubs in Sapindaceae, but their fruits are dissimilar.

ǃ8.53l

kouterie = *Cotyledon orbiculata* (Crassulaceae) MARLOTH52; **bontkouterie** = *Gasteria acinacifolia* (Asphodelaceae) SMITH157, **kotrie**, **kouterie** = *Cotyledon orbiculata* (Crassulaceae) SMITH309 LD southeastern Cape and eastern Klein Karoo; **boutkouterie** [*sic*] = *Gasteria* spp. (Asphodelaceae) BN 183; ex Cape Khoekhoe, Kora, or Eastern Khoekhoe, IRRETRIEVABLE.



Figure A9 – illustration for **58.53a** of *Quaqua mammillaris* (Apocynaceae), the prototypical **ouroena** plant.



Figure A10 – illustration for **58.53i** of *Tylecodon wallichii* (Crassulaceae) outside Springbok, showing fresh new autumn leaves emerging from dry stems in April 2021 while the rest of the veld was still bare.



Figure A11 – illustration for **58.53m** of *Dioscorea sylvatica*, showing the 'elephant's foot' of the caudex. Large specimens of the sister species *Dioscorea elephantipes* are now very rare in situ, although some ancient plants still survive in the Sondaaisrivier Thickets.



Figure A12 – illustration for **58.53r** of *Hydnora africana*, an achlorophyllous root parasite, here growing attached to the roots of *Euphorbia triangularis* in Kowie River Thicket. The unusual structure of the fruiting body means that it is often described as 'n soort swam' ("a species of fungus") in the lay literature.

ǃ8.53m

'**nakaa** = 'elephant's foot' *i.e.* *Dioscorea elephantipes* (Dioscoraceae) MARLOTH60, B&N439; **t'nakaa** = *Dioscorea elephantipes*; **ghaas** = [*Dioscorea*] *elephantipes* BN246, PRINS89; **ghaas** = "elephant's foot, a climbing plant with an edible tuber" *i.e.* *Dioscorea elephantipes*, *Dioscorea* sp. PRINS89 LD Clanwilliam; ex *Cape Khoekhoe, IRRETRIEVABLE, although note isiXhosa **ingcolo** = *Dioscorea sylvatica*.

B&N246 suggest a connection with Nama **ǃkhòàb** = 'elephant' H&E412 (see Figure A11 above), but there is no direct evidence that Afrikaans term *olifantsvoet* = *Dioscorea elephantipes* (Smith 1966: 355) did in fact calque a compound Khoekhoe-branch name, and it is unlikely that the specifier would have been loaned in isolation from a hypothetical *Cape Khoekhoe reflex of something approximating ***ǃkhòà ǃaìs**. Although the lemma **t'nakaa** is brought forward from Smith 1996 into the PZA archives, and still occurs on signage in the Kirstenbosch Botanical Gardens, I have never encountered this name spoken aloud in contemporary botanical circles. It is likely obsolete, unless it perhaps survives in undocumented rural dialects of Afrikaans. The form **ghaas**, shared by B&N246 and PRINS89 but attributed with locality data only in PRINS, is potentially more likely to be encountered at Clanwilliam, and investigation should immediately be carried out in the Cederberg region to determine whether or not other archaic *Cape Khoekhoe or Klein Nama words are still retained here.

ǃ8.53n

N'dau = [*Cadaba*] *termitaria* (Wilman 1946: 370); **n'dau**, **doubossie** = *Cadaba termitaria* (Capparaceae) SMITH349. LD Griqualand West indicates ex Kora, in which no terms for this genus are on record outside of **duhaib** (DuP366) = *swartstorm* (= *C. aphylla* SMITH451; loaned into isiXhosa as *ustorhom* = *C. aphylla* C&D149), a form of which in vowel-breaking could feasibly have served as the etymon of **doubossie**. The orthography <n'd>, however, implies a click, and so it is perhaps worth comparing the Nama **lǎǎhàib** (HEG20) for closely-related and phytomorphologically similar plants in *Maerua* (Capparaceae). Ultimately irretrievable.

ǃ8.53o

Inamee, **!kami**, **namiewortel** = *Pelargonium dysentericum* (Geraniaceae) SMITH 574; **annaatjie** = *Pelargonium rapaceum* (Geraniaceae) BN138, **namie** = *Pelargonium rapaceum* BN440; both connected with the early Namaqualand record **heyntame** = *Pelargonium* sp. VDSTEL869, as well as with the Kamiesberg name **t'namie** = [*Pelargonium*] *antidysentericum* E&Z70 (see discussion at NIEN494).

542. JENKINSONIA ANTIDYSENTERICA – caule fruticoso, foliis puberulis ciliatis palmatim 5-fidis, lobis aequilatis ad medium usque ex apice incisis, tubo nectarifero calyce 2plo longiore. Terra argillacea ad montem Kamiesberg (Namaqualand) Oct. Petala purpurea coloris dilutionis basi. Caules fundo tuberosi (radices sic dictae), adulti ad capitis humani magnitudinem, remedia sunt incolis dysenterica nominanturque **t'Namie** ab iis.

542. [*Pelargonium antidysentericum*] – with a shrubby stem, finely pubescent and ciliate leaves divided into five equal lobes from the centre to the margin, and a nectar-bearing floral tube twice as long as the calyx. In clay soils in October near the Kamiesberg Mountains (Namaqualand). Purple petals lighter in colour towards the bottom. The so-called roots are stems, tuberous at the base, and when full-grown approach the size of a human head; used as a remedy for dysentery by the inhabitants, and named by them **t'Namie**.

These early records have also been connected with the Kora botanical name **ari ǃaib** = *Pelargonium* sp. DuP366; this item is interpreted to gloss 'dogsfoot', but I would argue that it is in fact a reflex in attrition of Nama **ǃamì ǃaìs** = *Pelargonium incrassatum* SCHUL197, H&E162, *lit.* 'ostrichfoot'.⁷ This

⁷ Certainly **ǃamì ǃaìs** = *Pelargonium incrassatum* would be considered the modern orthography of the original VDSTEL record **heyntame** = *Pelargonium* sp., and likely also of **annaatjie** B&N138, were the putative components (**hey** ~ **a**) = **ǃaìs** + (**ntame** ~ **naatjie**) = **ǃamì** not apparently reversed, yielding the nonsensical *footstrich. Even supposing that the etymon were a periphrastic rendering, this would still not suit, as the application of the Khoekhoe-branch postposition Nama **ǃi**, Kora **di** would yield **ǃamìb ǃi ǃaìs**. These early records are too fragile to bear further analysis.

would suggest that **namiewortel** SMITH346 should gloss as **volstruiswortel* (= 'ostrichroot'). However, all of these connections are tenuous, and the original etymon cannot be retrieved in a workable form.

This item is not newly recorded after Smith 1966 and Boshoff & Nienaber 1967, and I have never encountered it in use in contemporary botanical circles; it is likely obsolete, unless it possibly remains in use in isolated rural dialects of Namaqualand Afrikaans or in the Eastern Cape.

58.53q

nenta = [*Adromischus*] sp. (Crassulaceae), *Zygophyllum sessilifolium* (Zygophyllaceae) Thunberg 1773 [1986]: 97; **nenta** = [*Tylecodon*] *ventricosus* (Crassulaceae) PETT339; **nentabossie** = [*Tylecodon*] *ventricosus* (Crassulaceae), *Lessertia annularis* (Fabaceae) MARLOTH61; **nentabossie** = *Tylecodon* spp. (Crassulaceae) W&BB58; **!nenta**, **ncentabossie** = *Zygophyllum* sp. NIEN400; **nentabossie** = [*Tylecodon*] spp., *Adromischus* sp. (Crassulaceae), *Lessertia annularis* (Fabaceae), *Indigofera brachystachya* (Fabaceae), *Cynanchum obtusifolium* (Apocynaceae) SMITH349, **t'nenta**, **t'nanta** = [*Tylecodon*] *ventricosa* SMITH463; **nanta**, **ninta**, **t'nanta**, **t'nenta**, **c'nenta** = all plants named above BN444; **nentabos** = *Tylecodon wallichii* POWRIE51; ex *Eastern Khoekhoe, IRRETRIEVABLE.

As a specifying element, this item refers to the phytochemical properties of number of plants, rather than serving as an independent botanical term, and is best glossed simply as = 'krimpsiekte' (Smith 1996: 349), *i.e.*, a particular illness in smallstock caused by overconsumption of these plants. This item remains in such ubiquitous usage throughout the Karoo that **nentabossie** is the ordinary Afrikaans common name for *Tylecodon wallichii* (Crassulaceae), and appears even as a loanword from Afrikaans into Ronga as **nenta** (Sitoe *et al.* 2008).

The earliest record was taken by Thunberg in the Klein Karoo near the Kamanassie Mountains, who ascribed it to *Zygophyllum herbaceum* and *Zygophyllum sessilifolium* (Zygophyllaceae) and noted the toxicity of both plants to livestock (Forbes 1986: 97). The precise plant indicated by the former ID is unclear, although Smith 1966: 349 associates this record with a herbarium specimen probably of *Adromischus* sp. (Crassulaceae). Nearly a century after Thunberg, the influential *Cattle Diseases Commission* 1877: 17 discussed 'a disease called Rita (or Nenta) which is very destructive to goats', cited also at Hutcheon 1899: 862. Both sources erroneously diagnosed krimpsiekte as a kind of meningitis, which misled Pettman 1913: 339 and Watt & Breyer-Brandwijk 1932: 58 into presenting '**rita**' as a Khoekhoe word for meningitis itself.

With regard to which plants precisely should be considered '**nentabossies**', the *Cattle Diseases Commission* of 1877 was the source of a strong association in colonial settlements between krimpsiekte and *Lessertia annularis* (Marloth 1917: 61) and other species also in Fabaceae (Pettman 1913: 339), although these plants were later exculpated as the cause of krimpsiekte in the Karoo Heartland region (Hutcheon 1889: 865). In the southeastern Cape, the term was also associated with *Indigofera brachystachya* (Fabaceae) in Bredasdorp, as well as with *Cynanchum obtusifolium* (Apocynaceae) in Riversdale (Smith 1966: 349).

All other records, however, implicate species of *Cotyledon* or *Tylecodon* in the family Crassulaceae, suggesting that while the item **nenta** was present in multiple dialects of *Cape Khoekhoe and *Eastern Khoekhoe, the precise referent probably varied by region. It is also not clear which of these plants would have been associated with krimpsiekte by Khoekhoe-speaking communities, and which were later (and sometimes erroneously) considered the source of krimpsiekte by colonial communities. In the absence of a clear Khoekhoe-branch translation for 'krimpsiekte' itself, this item should be considered irretrievable.

58.53r

ntorregaang = "n Soort swam op sommige plantsoorte", **tnoroga** = 'die blom van die **kannies**' LINKS63; a regionalised term for *Hydnora africana* of uncertain Nama origin, IRRETRIEVABLE.

The definition **tnoroga** = "the flower of the **kannies**" clearly refers to the fruiting body of the achlorophyllous root parasite *Hydnora africana* (Hydnoraceae), Nama **kānīp** EGH19, regularly loaned

into Afrikaans as **λ8.53k kannie**. The *H. africana* is a notoriously odd-looking plant, resembling a large, reddish-brown mushroom, laterally dehiscent, and selectively parasitic on the roots of *Euphorbia* spp. (see figure A12 above). Following from this, **ntorregaang** = “a species of fungus on certain plant species” should certainly be sunk with **tnoroga**. No phonologically comparable item for *Hydnora africana* is on record in any Khoekhoe-branch language, although the obscure item **t’nau** = [*Hydnora africana*] MAR82 should possibly be compared. Ultimately, this item is likely to be a Namaqualand regionalism, and so should be considered irretrievable.

δ8.53s

org = *Notobubon pearsonii* (Apiaceae) NvW210; very unclear and probably not actually of KHOE-family origin despite being reported as a ‘new Nama name’ by the original authors. LD Kamiesberg would suggest *ex Nama*, but no names for any species in *Notobubon* are on record in any Khoekhoe-branch language, and the genus is endemic to the Northern Cape. IRRETRIEVABLE.

δ8.53t

t’adou, **t’oudaa** = *Diosma acmaeophylla* NvW209 LD Kamiesberg; note also **D/ta dou** = noID plant *skaaprapuis*, *lit.*, “sheep resin” LAIDLER LD Namaqualand; *ex regionalised Nama*, IRRETRIEVABLE.

δ8.53u

t’arda = *Didelta spinosa* (Asteraceae) LR408 *ex regionalised Nama*, IRRETRIEVABLE.

δ8.53v

t’gaibos = *Galium capense*, **t’naaitand** = *Galium tomentosum* (Rubiaceae) NvW209. LD Kamiesberg indicates *ex Nama*, but no name for any species in *Galium* is on record, and *Galium capense* at least is endemic to South Africa.

During elicitation carried out in the Kamiesberg in April 2019, a monolingual Namaqualand Afrikaans used the phrase *dan [ʔai] hy jou aan* (‘then it will [ʔai] to you’) in order to describe how *Galium capense* clings to passersby. Here [ʔai] is a loan of Namibian Khoekhoe **ʔàè /ʔʔàè/** “to cling firmly to x”. This suggests that the item **t’gaibos** should gloss as **kleeibos* = ‘clingbush’ (see further Christie 2019: 89). Certainly this sense is present in a number of Damara terms recorded from Widlok 1994 and Sullivan 1998 for various shrubs across diverse families, such as **ʔaebe** = *Kissenia capensis* (Loasaceae) and **ʔhauta ʔaebe** = *Hemizygia floccosa* (Lamiaceae), *Osteospermum microcarpum* (Asteraceae). It is not improbable that a southerly reflex of this series of names was applied to southerly plants based on some shared criterion not immediately apparent outside of a Khoekhoe taxonomy.

δ8.53w

t’gibbie = *Selago namaquensis* (Scrophulariaceae) LR379, **t’kaibebos** = *Pteronia incana* (Asteraceae) LEROUX450 **δ traditur t’kaibebos** = *Pteronia incana* (Curtis-Scott, Goulding, *et al.* 2020: 236); **swartbekdgibbiebos** = “species of bush with pleasant scent” LINKS63; **t’gibbie** = *Pteronia* sp. POWRIE64; **xhibbie** = ‘7± species’ WHEAT; **t’gybie**, **t’gibbie**, **t’ghybie** = *Eriocephalus punctulatus* N&vW209; LD Namaqualand indicates *ex regionalised Nama*, IRRETRIEVABLE. No Khoekhoe-branch items for any species in *Selago*, *Pteronia*, or *Eriocephalus* on record, and all genera clearly identified are endemic to South Africa. The target was likely a regionalised generic term for sweet-smelling medicinal shrubs in Asteraceae and Scrophulaceae. Accordingly, *cf.* the Damara term **!abis** for *Helichrysum roseo-niveum* (Asteraceae), a scented shrub in a genus used across southern Africa for medical, cosmetic, and fumigatory applications. Sullivan 1998: 16 notes that *H. roseo-niveum* is a *sâb* plant valued for its use in perfumery, and that the adjective **!abisa** ‘is often used to describe a plant that is covered with woolly hairs’, as are both *Pteronia* and *Eriocephalus* (see Figure A6 above).

δ8.53x

t’gouboedanna = *Galenia africana* (Aizoaceae) LR283; note also **D/kooidabee** = *Galenia africana* (Aizoaceae) LAIDLER. LD Namaqualand suggests *ex regionalised Nama*, IRRETRIEVABLE. No Khoekhoe-branch names for any species of *Galenia* are on record.

ǃ8.53y

t'ienie, kynie = *Hydnora africana* (Hydnoraceae) NvW209; LD Kamiesberg suggests ex regionalised Nama, IRRETRIEVABLE.

ǃ8.53z

t'kabbada = *Tylecodon paniculata* LR156 λ *traditur* ARCHER; LD Namaqualand, Richtersveld indicates ex regionalised Nama, IRRETRIEVABLE.

ǃ8.53aa

t'Kaij = *Sansevieria thrysiflora* (Dracaenaceae) W&BB22; **d'gheywortel** = *Sansevieria thrysiflora* SMITH199, **ghaiwortel** = *Sansevieria thrysiflora* SMITH227, **!kaai** = *Sansevieria thrysiflora* SMITH 261; **ghaaiwortel, gheiwortel** = *Sansevieria thrysiflora* BN245.

d'gheywortel = *Sansevieria thrysiflora* SMITH 199 is annotated 'SE' or 'South-Eastern Cape Province'. The earlier resource Pappe 1854: 40 provides a narrower location.

'Not uncommon in forests and on Karroo-like hills between the Zwartkops and Boesjeman Rivers (Uitenhage). In Eastern districts, the fleshy root of this plant ... is called **t'Kay** by the natives.'

The isiXhosa name for *Sansevieria thrysiflora* is **isikholokhotho** (Cocks & Dold 1999: 60), while the isiZulu is **isitokotoko** (Pooley, 1998: 100), so the 'natives' mentioned by Pappe 1854 cannot have been amaXhosa, and are likely instead to have been shifting or post-shift speakers of an *Eastern Khoekhoe variety. No name for any species in *Sansevieria* is on record in Kora or in Namibian Khoekhoe; the easterly distribution of the genus means that it does not occur within range of the Central Nama dialect area, and so even the historical existence of any comparable Namibian Khoekhoe reflex is improbable. The only other KHOE-family item on record for any species in *Sansevieria* to my knowledge is Naro **g!ui** (Barnard 1985), **dqùi** (Visser 2000) = *Sansevieria aethiopica*, *S. scabrifolia*, and *S. zeylanica*; Khwedam **gùì** = *Sansevieria* spp. (Schaldt 2000), an unlikely target without clear evidence of alternation between /ui ~ ai/ across the Kalahari and Khoekhoe branches; note that this item seems to have been loaned into Hai !Om, probably via Khwedam (Widlok 1994: 386).

In the TUU family, the !Xòõn item **!xāi** = *Sansevieria aethiopica* is tempting to compare. Long-distance comparison of this sort would require this Taa-branch item to have existed also in !Ui-branch languages without leaving any trace, and hence to have passed into the southeastern Khoekhoe continuum without leaving any trace, then to have been retained only in 19th-century Karoo Afrikaans. While possible, this cannot be demonstrated.

ǃ8.53ab

t'kambos = *Sysindite sparteae* (Zygophyllaceae) LR192; LD Namaqualand indicates ex regionalised Nama, IRRETRIEVABLE. Potentially cf. Hai !Om **!lgām̃hàiròs** = *Zygophyllum simplex* H&E246, but uncertain; although genetically related, the two genera are phytomorphologically dissimilar.

ǃ8.53ac

t'koenoebe = *Diospyros ramulosa* (Ebenaceae) LR337; **tkounebie** = "a species of bush very abundant in this region" LINKS61; **!kanobe** = *Diospyros ramulosa* (Archer 1994); **kanobe** = *D. austro-africana* SMITH277, **kalouwep** = *Diospyros* sp. SMITH271; **!ganube** = *Diospyros* sp. SMITH394 (but spelled **ganube** at SMITH 219); **!khunube** = *Diospyros ramulosa*, **t'hoenibee** = "various wild berries" Coetzee 2010. Originally recorded in an L1 Nama context as **kanobe** = *Diospyros* sp. at VSTEL833. IRRETRIEVABLE.

The closest immediate point of comparison is Nama **!khúrùbèb** = [*Searsia*] *marlothii* H&E217, also suggested as a possible but uncertain etymon for **ǃ8.53c t'koeniebos** = *Searsia* sp. above. However, although *Diospyros* sp. and *Searsia* sp. do both bear reddish berries, berries of species in *Diospyros* tend to be larger, harder, pitted, and usually ripen to a darkish brown or black, while berries of species in *Searsia* are considerably smaller, softer, have no pits, ripen bright red, and are very ascorbic. The

two genera are overall quite morphologically dissimilar and genetically unrelated; and **lkhúrùbēb** and its cognates and reflexes are always narrowly associated with *Searsia* spp. across several indigenous languages. Unfortunately, no comparable terms for any *Diospyros* spp. are on record with the Khoekhoe-branch family. The closest possible analogue appears in Nharo as **qhùru** = ‘hard berries’ VISSER215 (distinct from **curùghù** = *Searsia tenuinervis*), but, while the description would certainly suit, confirmation is impossible with a Linnaean ID. This item was likely an older southerly Nama or *Cape Khoekhoe term.

ǃ8.53ad

t’koubee = *Dodonaea viscosa* LR242; **t’goubee** = *Dodonaea angustifolia* POWRIE; **xhoubie, toubee** = *Dodonaea viscosa* WHEAT. Note also **D/koubi** = ‘sandolienhout’, i.e., *Dodonaea viscosa* (Sapindaceae) LAIDLER. LD Namaqualand, Karoo indicate ex regionalised Nama and Kora, hence IRRETRIEVABLE. Should possibly be sunk into **ǃ8.53 kouboom** = *Pappaea [capensis]*, as both referents are tall shrubs in Sapindaceae, but their fruits are very dissimilar.

ǃ8.53ae

t’noem t’nôrrō = *Anginon difforme* N&vW208; LD Kamiesberg indicates ex regionalised Nama. Precise sense of the specifying lexeme is IRRETRIEVABLE.

ǃ8.53af

t’kobovy LR307 **g(h)oenavy, ghounavy, ghoukum** SMITH227, **t’gaukum, !gaukum** SMITH 460 = = *Carpobrotus edulis* (Aizoaceae), *Carpobrotus* spp. Still in use with a click consonant among both White and Coloured speakers of Afrikaans as far east as the Baviaanskloof. Connected with isiXhosa **igcukuma** = *C. edulis* C&D78, GDX1.577, **igcuthuma** = *C. deliciosus* C&D78. isiXhosa may certainly have been the direct donors in certain areas of the Eastern Cape. The occurrence of this item also in Namaqualand does suggest an underlying Khoekhoe-branch origin, but no suitable etymon for any mesemb is forthcoming.

ǃ8.53af

t’ǃrrieboom = *Ozoroa dispar* (Anacardiaceae) LR239 LD Namaqualand; **!orrie** = *Ozoroa dispar* ARCHER LD Richtersveld; ex regionalised Nama, IRRETRIEVABLE. There is the barest possibility that this should be sunk with the Groot Karoo term **ǃ8.53c t’koeniebos** = *Searsia lancea*, as the referents are morphologically similar shrubs in the same family, but this cannot be proven.

ǃ8.6a

ghnap = *Euphorbia polygonoides*, *Euphorbia pulvinata* PETT189; **naboom** = several arborescent species of *Euphorbia* including *E. cooperi*, *E. ingens*, *E. grandidens*, *E. tetragona* SMITH345; **ghnap, naboom** = *Euphorbia polygona* BN251; **naboom, gnaarboom, ’nghaboom** = *Euphorbia* sp. BN437. Possibly cf. Nama **!gāb** = *Euphorbia virosa* SCHUL 354, but this is ultimately uncertain.

These robust frutescent and arborescent *Euphorbia* spp. are characteristic of the Albany Thicket biome in the Eastern Cape, and available locality data for these loans would seem to corroborate this distribution. Accordingly, the donor language was likely Eastern Khoekhoe or Cape Khoekhoe. In the absence of clear documentation, a number of spurious etymologies have been offered, primarily by Boshoff & Nienaber 1967.

At the discussion of **ghnap** = *Euphorbia polygonoides* PETT189 λ *tradtur* BN251, an association is drawn between the Afrikaans name *bobbejaannoors* “baboon *Euphorbia*” and the early Cape Khoekhoe record **t’naitaab** = “baboon” (sourced from Lichenstein 1811), in Kora **!naidab** = “baboon” DuP358, in Namibian Khoekhoe **!nēërāb** = “baboon” H&E 223. This suggestion is weakened by the methodological misstep of extrapolating a target through the assumption of calque without clear morphological evidence that both loan and target are compound nouns. Certainly the Klein Nama item **daixallnoras** = *Euphorbia montei* subsp. *montei* SCHUL89, H&E515 demonstrates that **llnoras** may serve as the generic head of compound names for certain species of *Euphorbia*, and it is just barely feasible that a putative *Eastern Khoekhoe form ***!naidallnoras** = *bobbejaannoors* may have existed. However, there is no

evidence that **ghnap** served as a specifier to a compound noun, rather than as a noun proper, and furthermore any phonological connection between **!naidab** and **ghnap** is tentative at best.

A connection has additionally been proposed between **naboom** and **!nā** = ‘jemanden übertreffen; größer, stärker, mehr sein’ KROEN277, lit., “to surpass someone; to be larger, stronger, more” which B&N438 mistranslate as “large”, “strong”; contrast the modern translation **!nāá** = “to exceed/surpass (in)” H&E356. Certainly it is possible for a nominal derivation of a verbal or adjectival stem to serve as a plant name within Namibian Khoekhoe at least (cf. Nama **!ūrobis** = *Oxalis* sp. SCHUL194, derived from **!ūū** = ‘to be brackish’, ‘to be salty’ H&E178). However, no plant name is on record as having been nominalised from **!nāá**. Furthermore, there is no explicit discussion in any known source between the arborescent *Euphorbia* spp. and a cultural or anthropological association either with “exceeding”, or with the erroneous rendering “strong” presented at B&N438, and no Afrikaans calque **sterkboom* or **grootboom* exists to warrant this connection. This suggestion would therefore seem to have been guesswork.

An alternative line of enquiry is opened up by the hapax item **!gāʔb** = *Euphorbia virosa* SCHUL354. During a discussion of lexical tone, it is presented as minimally contrastive with, in the modern orthography, the nouns **!gāāb** = ‘poison’ and **!gāāb** = ‘slave’, and is also noted to carry a tone melody distinct from that of the verbs **!gāā** = ‘to revive’ and **!gāā** = ‘to crack’, ‘to burst’. Despite the ethnobotanical applications of caustic *Euphorbia* latex as a poison, then, it would appear that this name is unrelated to **!gāāb** = ‘poison’. Precisely which tone melody is intended by the orthography **!gāʔb** = *Euphorbia virosa* is unclear, other than that it rises; less the L.HH melody seen in **!gāā** = ‘to revive’ and the LL.L melody seen in **!gāāb** = ‘slave’, LL.H, LL.HH, and H.HH are all candidates. Of these, only LL.H is among the six most commonly encountered tone melodies, and can be used in nominal derivations. It is therefore possible to propose a citation form ***!gāāb**, but this is speculative. It is also not clear which dialect should be considered the source of this item, or why it is not included in the multiple other discussions of *Euphorbia virosa* (as at SCHUL260, SCHUL150); Schültze’s consultants may have considered it an obscure or archaic term even in 1907.

Worth noting is that the more widespread Namibian Khoekhoe item **llkháòb** = *Euphorbia virosa* H&E276 (recorded very early as a southerly Nama term **thaubij** for a large *Euphorbia* sp. at VDSTEL851), although not attested in Kora, would appear to have had a reflex in **Eastern Khoekhoe*. At the Swartkops River near modern-day Gqeberha, Gordon made the following observation on 16 January 1778:

na nog ander half uur z. op gegaan te zyn daalde na de laagte, en quam by de grote swartkops rivier, zynde zeer klein met vlakke oevers, zy heet in [khoekhoe]^H **gouw** synde **melkboom** rivier zy komt vyf a ses uren noordoost van hier uit een tamelyk hoog gebergte, hier winterberg genaamt en loopt z.o. en o. in zee. hier vond de kraal van de gounaqua kaptein nouka, die 10 strohutten met volk by hem had, waaronder enige regte [xhosa]^K.

When we had travelled another hour south, going uphill, we descended into a hollow and arrived at the Grote Swartkops River, which is very small with flat banks. It is called **Gouw** in [Khoekhoe]^H which means ‘**Melkboom** River’. It has its source five or six hours to the north east of here in a fairly high range called the Winterberg, and it flows S.E. and E. into the sea. Found here the kraal of the Gounaqua captain Nouka who had ten strawhuts belonging to the people with him among which some were true [Xhosa]^K.

translated by Cullinan 1992

Since this record was taken within the Albany Thicket biome, where the *melkboom* in question was the arborescent *Euphorbia tridentata* or similar, **gouw** almost certainly records a reflex of **llkháòb**. Accordingly it is not impossible that an **Eastern Khoekhoe* reflex of **!gāʔb** = *Euphorbia virosa* SCHUL354 may also have existed, and that it may have served as the etymon of **ghnap** = *Euphorbia polygonoides*, **naboom** = *Euphorbia tridentata*.

ð8.6b

ghoeboontjie = *Brabeium stellatifolium* (Proteaceae) SMITH227; **ghobos** = *Brabeium stellatifolium* (Proteaceae) BN252, ex Cape Khoekhoe, IRRETRIEVABLE. *Contra* B&N252 not to be conflated with **λ8.6e ghobos**, **ghôbos** = [*Vachellia*] *hebeclada* subsp. *hebeclada* (Mimosoideae).

Basic Actions & Technology (1 item)

ð9.341

tkjanna = “anything that you hang up, e.g., a blanket” PRINS486; LD Namaqualand suggests ex Nama, likely connected with Nama **!àámái** = ‘to hang up (especially laundry)’ H&E292, Bondelswarts Nama **!hàámái** ‘to hang over (e.g. blanket over horizontal beam or washing line) H&E333, although the exact form targeted is unclear; cf. also the variant form **†gàǎ**, which has adjectival and nominal derivations **†gàámáisa** = ‘hung up’, **†gàámáisab** = ‘curtain’ H&E384.

Motion (6 items)

ð10.15

baka oeri, **bakke oerie** slaan = “to turn a somersault” PRINS23; LD Griqualand West, Namaqualand would suggest ex Kora or Nama, but no clear target is forthcoming. For the second element, cf. Nama **!khūri** = ‘to turn’, which can be used in the reflexive serial verb **àò!khūrisén** ‘to somersault’ (lit., ‘to throwturn onself’) H&E12, but uncertain.

ð10.25

ghaai = “to throw something at someone” BN245. LND, cf. Nama **llhàĩ** = ‘to spear’, ‘to strike someone with a spear’ H&E266 assuming lexical generalisation during loan, but unclear.

ð10.45

ghallie = “to walk” BN247, **ghallie** “to walk, e. g., let’s **ghallie** to town” PRINS90; *locus datum* Mosselbaai would suggest *Cape Khoekhoe, but cf. Nama **gámá** = ‘to be on the move’, ‘to be drawing near to’.

ð10.49

ghwa = “finished, lost, gone away” BN258 LND; cf. Nama **†òǎ** = ‘to go out’, ‘to leave’, but very uncertain.

ð10.72

ghampie, **khampie**, **kamtie** = “small embankment, ridge in a path; *middelmannetjie* in a path; small bridge from the street to a small side path over, for example, an irrigation canal” PRINS90. Locality data Humansdorp and Uitenhage would suggest ex *Eastern Khoekhoe, but cf. Kora **lgaos** = ‘bridge’, ‘ford’ DuP293. Note isiXhosa um**cabeko** = ‘bridge’, itself probably derived from **lgaos**, as a possible alternative entrypoint into Afrikaans.

Sense Perception (2 items)

ð15.52a

ghonna = “to sit on top of something and keep watch, to be on the lookout for anything that can be eaten” PRINS97; LD Namaqualand indicates ex Nama, but no clear etymon is forthcoming.

ð15.52b

tkeisikwas = both a noun “sentry post to see where the enemy is”, and a verb “to stand up and go see” PRINS486. LD Namaqualand indicate ex Nama. For the first element cf. Nama **!khéé** = ‘to keep watch over’, ‘to observe’, with an adjectival derivation **!khéétsáaxa** ‘inclined to keep watch’, and a serialised verb **!khéé!gáa** = ‘to keep under surveillance’, ‘to spy upon’, H&E347, but the exact form of the target cannot be confirmed.

Emotions & Values (4 items)

ǃ16.32

karra = “disappointment, sorrow; (to feel) sad” PRINS214; LD Springbok, Vanrhynsdorp indicate ex Nama, but no clear target is forthcoming. Possibly *cf.* Nama **lháru** = ‘to weep bitterly (out of grief)’ H&E265, but very uncertain.

ǃ16.42

n!ala = “aggressive, confrontational” PRINS426 LD Griqualand West, hence ex Kora, but with no clear target forthcoming.

ǃ16.48

ghoen gnorro = “happy-go-lucky” BN254 LND; **ghoengnorro** “happy-go-lucky”, but also “affected, high-minded, proud” PRINS94, **tkomthorro** = “foolish” PRINS486; LD Namaqualand indicate ex Nama, but no clear target is forthcoming.

ǃ16.71

kna = ‘lekker’ PRINS287 LD Prieska; **tkô, tka** = “nice, pleasant” PRINS486; **n!a ~ n!a** = “nice” (Bennet, 2020: 94), **!naa** wees = ‘to be delicious’ in Riemvasmaak Afrikaans (Sands & Jones 2022: 256) LD Eastern Cape, Northern Cape. Classical assessments suggested ex Nama or Kora **!nam** = ‘to love’, but the direct donor into Afrikaans is more probably isiXhosa **ukuthi ncam** = ‘to be fitting’, ‘to be just right’, in turn probably ex a reflex of Namibian Khoekhoe **!gǃú** = ‘fitting’, ‘well-suited’ H&E185.

Although this widespread item is a fairly well-documented loan distributed across several varieties of SA Afrikaans and increasingly SA English with a sense of ‘just right’, ‘good’, ‘lekker’ (Mesthrie 2017: 529 – 530; Bennett 2020: 94), its origins are unclear.

It has most likely entered the broader South African vocabulary from its use in isiXhosa in the ideophonic expression **ukuthi ncam** (*lit.*, ‘to say “ncam”’ GDX2.442) with a sense of ‘to fit exactly’, ‘to be satisfactory or pleasing’. Adverbially, it can be used to indicate that an action has been completed well or effectively. Today, the spelling **nca** is popular⁸ on isiXhosa social media, both in monolingual contexts and in codemixed isiXhosa-English, and also appears in advertising (see Figure A13 below).

In Coloured Afrikaans, it is typically spelled **nxá**, but still pronounced /^ɱla:/ or sometimes /^ɱlǎ:/, and is used adjectivally in memes and posts on Facebook and WhatsApp. It is so widespread in Coloured Afrikaans in the Eastern Cape that it is almost impossible to visit a supermarket without overhearing teenagers discussing a ‘^ɱla:/ **rokkie**’ (‘a pretty dress’) or remarking that a meal was **baie** /^ɱla:/ (‘very tasty’). In a Namibian context, an especially interesting specimen of Windhoek Kasietaal documents the loan of an adverb **nca**, with a sense of ‘easily’, ‘properly’, ‘well’, pronounced using a click in an Afrikaans-matrix sentence:

*Aaye maar daardie ene hulle kan nie **nca** kwata nie, hulle sal-ie kan **nca** weg hit-and-run.*

“No but that one they can’t **easily** snatch it. They won’t be able to grab it **easily** and run.”

Stell 2020: 61

⁸ The phrase **ukuthi nca**, rather than **ukuthi ncam**, is prescribed as signifying ‘to stick to’, ‘to adhere to’ GDX2.441 *cf.* **!naĩ** = ‘to employ bird-lime’ H&E414.



Figure A13 – illustration for **ǃ 16.71**, showing **nca** used in SA English-language marketing in December 2022. The Savanna brand of hard cider has traditionally centred its advertising around laconic English-medium wit and wordplay ('it's dry, but you can drink it'). The use of **nca** in an otherwise entirely SAE marketing campaign should therefore be taken as a strong indication of the term's recent rise to popularity as SAE slang.

Also worth comparing is the intransitive Jul'hoan verb **n|a'ng**, with a sense of 'to be good', 'to be nice' (Dickens 1994: 239), as used, for example, in the sentence *n|aisi okaa n|a'ng*, 'fruit tastes yummy' (Jones, |Kunta & Paulos 2021); this was probably loaned directly from Namibian Afrikaans. Such a wide distribution across multiple disjunct languages suggests that this item should probably be considered a wanderword without any single origin, although the direct entry point for Afrikaans and SA English was almost certainly isiXhosa.

Writing for the GDX, Louw considers 'ukuthi **ncam**' to originate from a Khoekhoe-branch reflex of Namibian Khoekhoe **!nām** (GDX 2.442), properly a transitive verb meaning 'to love [x]' (H&E220). I would question this, as the scope does quite suit and the valency does not match. Rather, consider **!gǎú**, literally 'to sip', 'to taste in small quantities', but with a figurative sense of 'to be abstemious', 'to be fastidious in eating', and hence with an adjectival sense of 'appropriate', 'well-suited', 'fitting' H&E185.

ǃ 16.72

karkoeba "worthless, poor, bad, e.g. some horses are just **karkoeba** animals and are worth nothing" PRINS212; LD Montagu suggests ex Cape Khoekhoe, cf. Nama **hǎrébèò** = 'useless', 'worthless' H&E48, but uncertain.

Cognition (2 items)

ǃ 17.22

kanghoe = "stupid", "tired" BN333; **kanghoe**, **kangkoe** = "[someone] who is stupid, who cannot understand anything, or who cannot think clearly, usually as a result of extreme tiredness; hence, tired, exhausted" PRINS197. B&N333 connects with **gǎǎ** = 'foolish', 'silly', 'dumb' + **khòèb** = 'person', attested as the compound **gǎǎkhòèb**, but note that **gǎǎ** is Dama, with a Nama isogloss **!khúúké** H&E41. It may be worth comparing instead **gǎǎ** = 'worn out', 'fatigued', 'weary' H&E37, although given the minute

tonemic distinction between **gaǎ** LL.L = ‘stupid’ and **gaǎ** LL.H = ‘tired’, conflation may well have occurred during loan.

Ǿ17.36

gammiegoed = “said of anything that is secret, about which silence must be kept” PRINS76. LD Griqualand West would suggest ex Kora, but no clear target is forthcoming.

Law (1 item)

Ǿ21.51

ghaai, **kaai** = “to steal” PRINS88. LD Namaqualand, Northern Cape indicates ex Nama or Kora, but no clear target is forthcoming; potentially *cf.* Kora **†nai** = ‘to steal cattle’, ‘to reive’ DuP344, but uncertain.

APPENDIX B

A Comparative Etymological Corpus of Click Loan in NTU Languages

Preamble to Appendix B

This appendix collates a representative corpus of loaned click items variously of KHOE, TUU, and KX'A origin present in NTU languages. It functions predominantly as supporting evidence for Chapters 11 and 12 of Part 3. It is not intended to be an exhaustive list of loaned click items, but rather to demonstrate broad historical trends of click loan, with an emphasis on phonological alterations to click type during contact between an ancestral click language and ancestrally clickless language. Like Appendix A, it errs on the side of caution. It is always preferable to omit an etymology entirely, or else to offer careful possible comparanda, rather than to impose one. The subtlety of the KBA areal relations means that etyma are fuzzy. More than one answer may be correct, and alternative solutions are welcomed.

By way of a final caveat, it is emphasised that this corpus is lexicographical, not documentary. In other words, it has been compiled from standardised print resources produced over the last century, *not* from data collected from modern-day speakers, with the aim of providing a historical overview of 20th-century outcomes of click loan. Many of the lexical items treated in this corpus, both loanwords and etyma, may be archaic or even obsolete in current usage. As a result, L1 speakers of the languages discussed here will most likely encounter lexical items with which they are not familiar, which they might consider very old-fashioned, or which they might pronounce in different ways.

The dictionary is not and can never be the language. 21st-century description of the click lexes in the majority of these languages has not yet been undertaken. Only widescale systematic documentation can furnish us with a modern understanding of click loan.

B0 Scenario 0

Clicks Replaced by Pulmonic Consonants ('Declicking')

Section B0 presents examples of the systematic replacement of all click consonants with pulmonic consonants following loan probably from several click languages into the ancestrally clickless NTU language seTswana. Outside of seTswana, many examples of click replacement following loan into general Afrikaans and SA English are available from Appendix A above.

B0.1 Etymologies Showing Click Loss in seTswana (S31)

A recent detailed review of click loss in seTswana is available from Gunnink 2021. The data below collate most examples offered, and add several more, to support arguments presented in Section 11.3.3.

Table B0.1 'Declicked' seTswana Items of KHOE-Family Derivation					
#	gloss	seTswana	KHOE	seSotho	Nguni
<i>dental click lost</i>					
1	to milk; a milking	gama kgamo	ǀaó (NA) ǀx'awā (!XU) = 'to milk'		ukuchaga (ZU) = '[hlon] to milk', uchago (NDEB) = 'milk'; note also kujama (FW)
2	[<i>Senegalia</i>] <i>galpinii</i>	mokala	ǀnārāb (NA) = [<i>Vachellia tortilis</i>] ǀǀala (!XU) = ' <i>Acacia</i> sp.'		
3	<i>Acanthosicyos hispidum</i> , <i>Cucumis metuliferus</i>	mogapu, mokawa, mokapana	<i>Acanthosicyos naudiniana</i> = kāāb (DA, HIO) wild cucumbers (gen.) = ǀhāāb (NA) wild cucumbers (gen.) = ǀhāb (KO)		unonca (XH) = <i>Kedrostis</i> sp.; the seTswana moves into Afrikaans as bitterkeboe
4	water hole, cistern	kgobe	ǀauǀb (NA) = 'spring', 'fountain'	moqao, qanthana	
5	to rub with fat	kgoma	ǀòbé (NA), ǀhobo (KO) = 'to anoint', 'to smear'		ukugcoba (ZU) ukugcoba
6	<i>Proteles cristata</i> ; <i>Canis mesomelas</i> ;	thukgwi; sekgêê	ǀǀǀib (NA), ǀgaib (KO) = <i>Proteles cristata</i>		isingci
7	<i>Herpestes</i> sp.	lengê	ǀeēb (NA), ǀ'ēb (KO) = mongoose (gen.)		
8	fragment, splinter; part, portion	kabetla kabo	ǀkx'ābob (KO) = 'splinter'		kabetla is probably directly ex icebetyu (ZU) = 'fragment', 'splinter' ex ǀkx'ābob (KO) = 'splinter'; -tyu is probably in turn rebracketed from Afrikaans -tjie, i.e., we should propose a late 19 th -century etymon *ǀkx'ābotjie moving from Khoekhoe into isiZunda outward
9	<i>Cynictis penicillata</i>	mokala	ǀāārēb (DA) = <i>Herpestes sanguineus</i>		uchakide (ZU)
<i>lateral click lost</i>					
10	frog (gen.)	gôgwane	ǀlǀgāb (NA) = 'larger frog or toad' ǀlǀlōn'an (!XU) = 'frog sp. (small)' ǀlǀlōq'an (JU) = 'frog (various species)' 'ǀlǀnāhm (!XO) = 'bullfrog' ǀlǀoqā (N U) = 'frog', 'bullfrog'		the normal isiZunda form is ixoxo = 'frog', 'toad', but note click loss from some forms such as igogode (XH) = [<i>Sclerophrys regularis</i>]

11	<i>Aloe cryptopoda</i>	segolobe	!lgóréb (NA) = <i>Aloe</i> spp. korab (KO) = 'Agave-like plant' nllolu (NH) = <i>Aloe zebrina</i> nllhoq'órú (JU) = <i>Aloe</i> spp.		
12	to frolic, to gambol; to prance about	kalapa; kalema	!lgáí (DA)		
13	a flame of fire	dikgabo	!lhabùb (DA) !lkhápùb (NA)		
14	<i>Aloe</i> sp.	lekgala	!lgaras (NA) = <i>Aloidendron dichotomum</i>		umgxwala (ZU) = <i>Aloidendron bainesii</i>
15	<i>Alcelaphus buselaphus</i>	mokgama	!lkhàmàb (NA), !lxiammab (KO) = <i>Alcelaphus buselaphus</i>		ixhama (XH) = <i>Alcelaphus buselaphus</i>
16	<i>Senegalia</i> spp.	mokgwa	!lx'òà (KW) = [<i>Vachellia</i>] <i>erioloba</i>		
17	<i>Boscia foetida</i>	monkopo	!lówò, !lówò hùnìb (NA) = <i>Boscia foetida</i>		
18	<i>Euphorbia virosa</i>	monkgôpô	!lkhàòb (NA) = <i>Euphorbia virosa</i>		

alveolar click lost					
19	<i>Combretum hereoense</i>	mokabi	!hààb (NA) !x'abe (NH)		
20	<i>Egretta alba</i>	mogôlôri	!hálò (IXU) = <i>Egretta alba</i> ŋwàrú (KW) = <i>A. melanocephala</i>		
21	[<i>Vachellia</i>] <i>hebeclada</i>	mogoka	!gòòs (NA) = [<i>Vachellia</i>] <i>hebeclada</i> g!ùn (!X) = ' <i>Acacia</i> sp.'		
22	to gaze, to stare	kalala	!áà (NA) = 'to peer', 'to stare'		
23	a riem, a spancel; to spancel	kao kaoa	!hāùb (NA) = 'riem'		
24	honeypoke	karapi	!arab (NA) = 'hooked stick used to extract honey from comb'		
25	a pointed stick for digging	kepu	!hahaib (KO) = 'digging stick' !ē (IXU) = 'digging stick'	!iqhibi (SO) = 'digging stick'	? ukugqwaba (ZU) = 'to dig'
26	<i>Equus quagga burchellii</i>	kwêga	!góáréb (DA) !góréb (NA) !oaxais (KO)	qoaha (SO)	iqwarhashe (XH) iqwahhashi (ZU)
27	to pierce	kgaba	!khàà (NA)	ho qobetsa (SO)	ukuqhambuza (ZU)
28	distance	kgala	!árù (NA)		ubucalu (SW), ubucwala (ZU)
29	a piece of cloth	kgai	!khāib (NA) !xái (NH) !xái (JU); !xái (!XO); otjikaiva (HE)	qhai (SO)	iqhiya (XH)
30	Adam's apple	kgogoya	dòm!khòms (NA) !gòóéb (DA)	qhoqhoqho (SO)	uqhoqhoqho (ZU, XH) chochocho (SW)

31	'edible, onion-like' root	kgopo	!khópòbèš (NA) !'òb (KO)		inqoba (ZU, XH)
32	[<i>Senegalia burkei</i> ; <i>Vachellia leuderitzii</i> ; <i>Vachellia mellifera</i> ;	mokgwa mokha monga	!khâās (NA) = [<i>Vachellia haematoxylon</i> , <i>Parkinsonia africana</i>		
33	<i>Acionyx jubatus</i>	lengau	!āo (NH) = serval !hào (!X) = serval, cheetah !àrúǀb (NA) = cheetah !xaraxab (KO) = civet ùng'!ásiré (YE) = serval		igqalashu (ZU) = civet
34	<i>Aonyx capensis</i>	lengibi ; lenyibi	!hõmmi (NA) = 'otter'	qibi (SO) = <i>Aonyx capensis</i>	
35	'den or lair of predatory animal (cave or hole in the ground)'	ngôbô	!oob = 'hole' H&E301, sourced to RUST325, but question-marked		

<i>palatal click lost</i>					
36	karos, skin cloak	kobo	#gòáb (NA)		umgqwethana (XH)
37	<i>Ziziphus mucronata</i>	mokgalo	#árós (NA) = <i>Ziziphus mucronata</i> #'arob (KO)		
38	tick sp.	kgoa	#khówàb (NA)		
39	'small bush with edible fruit'	mokgopho	#áúb (NA) = <i>Grewia</i> spp. #áub (KO)		umnqabaza (XH)

B1 Scenario 1

Contrastive Click Type Neutralised via Variation & Reduction ('Click Loan')

This section presents examples of click loan from a click language into an ancestrally clickless language that display similar phonological outcomes to those encountered in Namaqualand Afrikaans. Click items are loaned into the host language such that the click is realised *as a click*, rather than as a pulmonic consonant, but the phonemic contrasts embedded in click 'type' are neutralised. In Section B1.1, the understudied 'southeastern NTU click languages' of South Africa in S30 and S50 are presented first, followed by a detailed list of click items in the Nguni language siSwati. Section B1.2. collates examples of the better-studied 'southwestern NTU click languages' of the Okavango Delta region.

B1.1 Southeastern NTU Click Languages

These data collate etymologised examples of click loan in three understudied ‘southeastern NTU’ click languages of South Africa, namely seSotho, the Tsha-Rhongo complex, and siSwati. The etymological data show clearly that phonemic contrast historically embedded in click ‘type’ in the context of the donor language has been neutralised following loan into the host language, supporting the arguments presented in Section 11.3 and 11.4 above.

B1.1.1. Click Etymologies in seSotho (S33)

Despite a long papertrail in colonial scholarship, 21st-century information on loaned click consonants in seSotho is scarce. In his pioneering assessment of the Sotho-Tswana group, Moffat observed that ‘the [Khoekhoe]^H click ... is unknown in the Sechuana dialects, except the Sitlokwe, which most nearly resembles the [Nguni]^K’ (Moffat 1826: xii). seTlokwa is today considered a dialect of Northern seSotho, spoken predominantly in Limpopo province. Whether or not it retains clicks today is unclear, especially since Doke & Mofokeng note unequivocally that Northern seSotho does *not* contain clicks (Doke & Mofokeng 1967), but it is worth observing that this region overlaps geographically with the distribution of the Tswa-Rhonga dialects containing clicks as explored below, and hence that more recent click loan may have occurred.

I supply a selected list of items presented in Mabile-Dieterlen 1924 using orthography indicating the presence of a click consonant. This source was chosen because it presumably represents a pre-Apartheid condition of the seSotho language spoken in and around the Lesotho region. A priority would be to determine how many of the older Mabile-Dieterlen 1924 items have since undergone click replacement, at least according to the orthography of newer resources. Items are compared with isiZulu and isiXhosa in order to demonstrate that the entirety of the Nguni click inventory is represented in the target material, but little in the way of more detailed phonological commentary is possible given the limitations of the orthography.

It is uncertain as to whether or not all items would have been donated via isiZulu and isiXhosa, in which case we should assume the interaction of a ternary click inventory with a clickless inventory, or via siSwati and potentially also siPhuthi, in which case we should assume the interaction of a reduced, variable, or monotypic inventory with a clickless inventory. Of sociohistorical interest is the small set of items that seem, at least so far as the available lexicographic material would indicate, to appear in seSotho and in Khoekhoe, but *not* in the Nguni languages.

Table B1.1.1.1
seSotho Click Items of isiZunda Origin

#	gloss	seSotho	isiZunda	Khoekhoe
<i>tenuis click ex dental click</i>				
1	to hide oneself in the veld	ho qacha , ho qatsha	ukucasha (isiZulu)	in the Kalahari-branch note #a (KW) = 'to hide oneself'
2	birdtrap	legachane	isingcapha	#hāñ (NA) = 'to set a snare for a bird'
3	fault, debt	qala	ilicala	lhāwī's (NA) = 'fault'
4	to stick to, to adhere to; to remove things sticking	qamachela ; qaqabolla	ukuncasha	#āe (NA) = 'to cling to'
5	distress, misfortune; difficulty, hardship, care	qama-qama lenqe-nqe ; nqea	isigcwagcwa; ubucayi, izingciji	lhūūb (NA) = 'distress'; lhūūlhūū (NA) = 'to distress [x]'
6	meat cooked on the spit	qama-qama	ukuchachamba	lānlāñ (NA) = 'to smoke meat'
7	to think, to understand	ho qamela	ukucabanga	#'āi (KO), #āī (NA) = 'to think', 'to consider'
8	to burst open (of a sore); to burst, to explode; to detach, to burst	qanqana qhoma ; qaqapa	ukuchachamba	#khāwe (NA) = 'to burst', 'to split'
9	<i>Canthium ciliatum</i> (Rubiaceae)	moqapane	ubuchopho (GDX1.299) = <i>Canthium ciliatum</i>	
10	to scoop out	ho qaphona , ho qhaphona	ukuchaphuna, ukuchaphula	
11	to be plain, to be clear	qaqa	ukuthi chacha , ukuthi caca	
12	anything that ticks (e.g., a clock)	leqaqa	ukuthi nce nce , ukuncenceza (ZU) = 'to tick'	lgaá (NA) = 'to be poor', 'to be impoverished'
13	to strike, to beat; to beat, to hit with a stick	qaqata ; qhenqha ; qaqaola	ukuqonqngotha	#naú (NA) = 'to beat'
14	small animal or person; thin person; tall and thin man; very thin animal or person thinness, narrowness	moqaqanyana; leqoabatsana; moqhoantsiri; moqhouqhou moqhahane	-ncane (XU) uchachambane	part of #gāwá (NA) = 'to be thin'
15	fine 'Matabele' mat	leqase	icansi	#nāms (NA) = 'mat', 'reed mat'
16	to administer an enema	ho qatha	ukuchatha	
17	heartburn	seqatso	ukuqhafa = to overindulge	
18	to devise, to slander, to plot; to deceive, to lure	ho qeba ; ho qatha , ho qachella	ukuceba	lǎpé (NA) = to plot
19	to become extinguished	qeche	ukucima	
20	almost, nearly	qeche	cishe	
21	to flatter, to entice	ho qeka	ukucebedisa	
22	small quantity	mamoqekele	ukuthi cethe ; isicethe	
23	to become clear (of the weather)	qekelela	ukucwethula	
24	<i>Moraea setacea</i> ; <i>Hesperantha baurii</i>	kekoe qelo	incembe = <i>Moraea</i> spp. incembu = <i>Moraea ellioti</i>	
25	to ask for, to beg	ho qela	ukucela	
26	tapeworm	qeke ; qhenqhane	ingcili	#nūib (NA) = 'tapeworm'
27	<i>Cisticola</i> sp.	qelo	uncede = <i>Cisticola</i> spp.	
28	to help, to assist	ho qema	ukunceda	

29	to ring like a bell	ho gene	uluncence	
30	caterpillar	mo qepe	ilicimbi	#aibèb (NA) = noID caterpillar sp., but ilicimbi are usually mopane worms (<i>Gonimbrasia belina</i>)
31	to diminish, to shorten	ho qepha	ukuncipha	
32	a drinking calabash	mo qephe	um cephe	
33	to leak, to drip, to ooze; to ooze, to drop, to trickle	ho qeqa ; qhitsa	ukuchicha	
34	sixth finger; little finger	qeqekane	ucikicane	
35	to throw away; to waste	ho qetha	ukuchitha	
36	obstinacy in doing evil	le qe	isici = blemish, fault; bad habit	
37	to thicken (of clouds, of milk)	ho qiti	ukuthi ngqu ukuthi ngci	!khúú (NA) = 'to come up (of fog or mist)' H&E !núú (NA) = 'to build up strongly (of clouds)' RUST302
38	a string of beads, a short thread	se qo	umcu, isiqunsu	
39	to be white	qoa	ukuthi cwa , uku qwa	
40	<i>Felis sylvestris</i>	qoabi ; qoako	incwabi; Xh inyhwagi	
41	to be full	qoalakacha	ukuthi gcwa , - gcwele	kx'oa (KO), óà (NA) = 'full'
42	to break dead branches	ho qoacha	ukucanda	
43	a letter, a document, a book	qoati	incwadi	
44	to blink	qoatsi	ukuthi cwati	áwiro' (NA) = 'to blink'
45	leaf tobacco	le qoba	icuba	#háòb (NA) = 'roll of tobacco'
46	worm that destroys corn	le qobokatsi ; qothofane	isingcokolo	
47	to dive in, to plunge into water	ho goele	ukucwila	
48	to seize	ho qohola	ukungcofa = to peck	
49	feathered stick	mo qomelo	isichopho	
50	to trim, to lop, to break with nails; to pinch with the nails	ho qotha qhothola , qothola	ukuchoboza ukuchoba, ukuchofozo	#khúú (NA) = 'to kill vermin by crushing them under the fingernails'
51	small grain basket	qoqoana	ingcungwana; iliqoma	shicúma (MA) = 'flat basket', thi umá (MBU) = 'basket'
aspirated click ex dental click				
52	moneybag tied around waist	mo qhaka	ingcawa (XH), ingqaba, iligabha (ZU)	Nama !gàwāb, Kora !'abab
53	to pull down, to cut open	ho qhaqha	ukucaba	
54	fermented millet pap	se qhaqhabola	incwancwa	
55	to elbow	ho qhela	ukuchiliza	
56	<i>Kyllinga alba</i> (Poaceae)	qheme	inceme, incema	#ááb (NA) = 'reed'
57	to melt, to dissolve	qhibiliha ; ngibiliha	ukuncibilikana; Xh ukunyibilika	
58	to crush, to destroy	qhinya	chimiza	
59	one-eyed person	qhitoe	ilichide	
60	small stones ground by children	le qhoaba	ilichoba	khòms (NA), kx'oms (KO) = 'witklip', brittle stone ground & used in softening hide
61	to be ill or sickly; to be mentally ill	ho qhoala	ukuchwala	!hōrá (NA) = 'to be disabled'
62	something picked up, a treasure; to single out, to choose	mo qoalepetso ; qola	ukuthi cho (XH) = 'to pick', 'to choose'; ukuchola (XH) = 'to pick up', amacholi (XH) = 'things picked up'	

63	short white millet	seqhobane	incombo = young, yellow ear of millet	
64	<i>Heteromma decurrens</i> (Asteraceae)	moqhoboqhobo	icholocholo (ZU) = <i>Helichrysum nudifolium</i> (Asteraceae)	
65	to cut a thin strip	qhoe	ukucweshia	
66	hairdress	seqhojo	isicholo	
67	to bear abundantly	ho qhoma	ukuchuma	lòrn (NA) = 'to be fertile'
68	<i>Xanthium spinosum</i>	moqhoshoha	ugcucgusa	
nasal click ex dental click				
69	saliva, dribble, slobber	nqe-nqe, qhenqhe	uluchwe (XH)	ᱦᱚᱛᱟᱨ (NA) = 'saliva', 'spittle' llgùú ᱦᱚᱛᱟᱨ (KW) = 'slime', 'mucus'

tenuis click ex alveolar click				
70	to stare at to look about in all directions to look out for danger to look out for, to examine	qa ho qalatsa; ho qamaka qaphela qatsa	ukugqaya; ukuqalaza ukuqaphela ukuqatsa	lāā (NA) = 'to shade the eyes with the hand so as to stare into the distance', 'to peer'
71	to strike, to knock, to pat; to knock	ho qaqa ho qoqota	ukuthi ngqo; ukungqongqotha	!gǒǒ!gǒǒ (NA) = 'to knock'
72	a small piece of meat; to cut meat	qa, leqa, leqochane, moqathane ho qatsa, hogoma	isiqa	
73	uneducated person	legaba	iliqaba	
74	fortress, stronghold	qaba; seqhobo	inqaba	
75	to drink a little, to taste; to take a little food, to eat; to draw a little liquid; to catch food in the mouth	ho qabo; ho qama; ho qaola; ho qachela	qoyi	
76	to see for the first time	qaboha	ukuthi qabu	!gáwà (NA) = 'to gaze at', 'to see'
77	to form cobs (of mielie plants); to flower (e.g., of tobacco plants)	ho qacheha, qahela ho qaqapa	ukuqhakaza	Hai l!Om !àrù; Nama !kháá = 'to flower'
78	to assist in feeding, to chew food for; to chew with difficulty	ho qaha; ho qatha	ukuqhaka	
79	<i>Maytenus albata</i> (Celastraceae)	moqai	umngqi (XH) = <i>Maytenus albata</i> (Celastraceae) inqayi (ZU) = [<i>Mystroxydon aethiopicum</i>] (Celastraceae)	
80	things spread thinly; scattered things	maqakacha maqalikana	ukuthi qhashi; ukuqalingana, ukugqayinga	
81	to die	qaqala	ukuqangqala	cf. !lāā (NA) = lit., 'to starve', 'to go hungry', but also 'to starve to death'?
82	to climb up onto, to ride on	ho qoabela	ukuqibela, ukuqabela	!gápi (NA) = 'to ride'
83	to commence, to begin; the first	ho qaka; legatse	ukuqala; iqangi	
84	throat	moqala	umqala	!àràb (NA), !'arab (KO) = 'throat', 'gullet'
85	<i>Protea</i> sp.	seqalaba; liqaphatsi	isiqalaba	
86	<i>Arundinaria tessellata</i>	leqala	uqalo = <i>Bergbambos</i> sp.	ᱦᱚᱛᱟᱨ (NA) = <i>Stipagrostis uniplumis</i>

87	<i>Aspidoglossom interruptum</i>	legala; lenkolotane	inqante, umqante, isaqante	
88	to fence, to play-fight using sticks	qalapisa	ukuqakuza	
89	noD plant; <i>Kniphofia thodei</i> ; noD plant	qaloe; qaloenyana; qaloka	incaluba (XH) = <i>Bobartia</i> sp.	!khúrúb ~ !harus (NA) = 'rushes', <i>matjies</i>
90	striped fieldmouse	qaloe; qaba-li-malitse; maqata-puchane	inqalo (XH)	!arob (KO)= striped mouse (only in Meinhof 1930)
91	to lie in wait for	ho qamoha	ukuqamekela	
92	to invent, to compose; to invent <i>against</i> , hence to slander	ho qapa ho qabeletsa	ukuqamba; ukuqambela	
93	to speak shortly	qaga	ukuthi qaphu	
94	ugly bull or stallion	qaqamasu koaneng	-maqhafukana = 'ugly or deformed person'	
95	to throb, to ache	qaqapa	ukuqaqamba	!khàá (NA), !hā ~ !xā (KO) = 'to pierce', 'to stab'
95	to deny, to refuse	qaqabala	ukunqabela	
96	joint of the ankle	leqaqalane	iqalatha	!gòròb (NA) = 'ankle'
97	to ascend to a steep place	ho qasa	ukuqansa	†gāáb [DA] = 'a steep slope'
98	to fall violently	qatabana	ukuthi qathata	
99	fried bread, mielie bread	leqebekoane	iqebelengwane	
100	to raise, to unstop, to pick out	qebokolla	ukuqubukula	
101	to complete, to finish	ho qeta, ho qela	ukuqeda	
102	to chatter, to prattle	ho qecha-qecha	ukuqheketha	
103	to beat, to conquer	ho qeka	ukuqika	
104	to sit in full view	qekola	ukuthi qhaka = of being clear	
105	to wink, to blink	ho qeko	ukuqhweba	
106	to give up a trip	qena	ukuthi qhwi (ZU)	
107	<i>Malva parviflora</i> (Malvaceae)	qena	igqitha = <i>Monsonia burkeana</i>	
108	to be disinclined; to avoid	ho qena	ukunqena	
109	flat sheet, flat object	leqephe	iqeqeba	†habá (NA) = 'flat'
110	a part, a portion	seqepho	isiqephu	
111	to waddle	qeshe	ukuthi qqisha	
112	cunning, craftiness, trick; device, trick, plot, plan; wise person; clever person	leqethe; boqoele leqheka; maqiti leqoatsipa; leqhetseke	ubuqili, ubucili; ubucwili iqhinga, inqiwu; ichwepheshi; ingcwepheshi; -qinile	
113	to fall over, to lose balance	ho qethola, ho qethōha	ukuqethu	
114	to scratch the ground (as a chicken)	ho qoaea, ho qhoaea	ukuqwayela	
115	servant, maid	seqila	isigqili	
116	to walk away, to sulk	qila	perf -hwaqile of ukuhwaqa	
117	round thing, ball, cluster of insects	qilikoe	ilikulo = cluster of bees	!òó' (NA) = 'to attack in a swarm, e.g., of bees, dogs, insects'
118	oneself, in person	ka sego	isiqu	†úúú (NA) = 'character', 'nature'
119	to walk lightly	qoabatsa	ukuqaphaza	
120	plug used to stop bags	leqoalana	isiqhaza	

121	isolated thing; only, alone	moqoalepa; -qhoaba	ukuquphula, -quzayo = to isolate, isolated uqoko; unqondo = isolated thing ukuthi qwi, qwibi = alone, solitary, single	!úú-ǎí (NA) but in sense of 'lonely', 'deserted', without clear derivation
122	warm boot of sheepskin	qoatho	isicathulo (ZU) = 'shoe'	
123	to be startled	qoatsama	ukungqazula	!áo (NA) = 'to fear'
124	to parry, to avoid	qoba	ukunquma	
125	penis of an animal	legobo	ugqubu	
126	to lance	ho qobetsa	ukuqhambuza, ukuchambuza	!khǎǎ (NA); !hǎ ~ !xǎ (KO) = 'to stab'
127	leather strip worn on head; steel helmet (mine slang); a skin crown	moqhoela, qoele; seqhoehla leghalle	umqhele; inqele	
128	a hard crust; a scab	loqoeqoe	uqweqwe	!gǎwé = to form a hard crust
129	<i>Equus quagga</i>	qoaha	iqwahhashi, iqwarha	Nama !gǎréb, Damara !gǎrǎb
130	a roll, a cylindrical bundle, a bale	moqolo; moqoloba	umqulu	!guǎúb (NA) = 'a quiver', 'a bundle'
131	a steep path	moqolopo	ingqola	!hǎrób (NA) = 'an ascent', 'a steep overhang'
132	intestines of animal	moqopo	uqumbu, also ingquzu	ǂnǔbǔb (NA) = 'vetderm', 'large intestine'
133	to cover self, e.g., with clay, medicine; to doctor a man for battle	ho qoka; ho qokisa	ukuqunga	
134	<i>Hyparrhenia tamba</i> (Poaceae)	qokoa	umqungu	
135	to solidify, to harden	ho qoma	ukunquma	
136	tin container, drum	moqomo	umgqono	
137	beer made at gold mines	moqophothi	umqombothi	
138	to sit on top of; to squat on one's haunches	qoqobala; qotama	ukuququbala = to sit crouched or huddled; ukuqotshama	ǂnǔ (KO), ǂnǔú (NA) = 'to sit', 'to crouch'
139	powerful man	qoqobota	ingqongqo, inqondovu	
140	<i>Scolopia mundii</i> (Salicaceae)	qoqolosi	umaqaqoba (XH) = <i>Scolopia zeyheri</i> (Salicaceae), <i>Maytenus heterophyllus</i> (Celastraceae); igqumuza (ZU) = <i>Scolopia mundii</i> (Salicaceae)	!gǎó!gǎǎb (DA) = <i>Maytenus senegalensis</i> H&E320; kokoboom (AF) = <i>Maytenus</i> spp.
141	<i>Cyperus</i> spp., <i>Mariscus</i> spp.;	qoqotho	inqoba	!khǎwǎbǎ (NA) = <i>Cyperus</i> sp.; !ǎb (KO) = <i>Cyperus esculentus</i>
142	milking to the last drop	moqotse	ukugqoba = to milk a cow dry umgqobiya = 'milking to the last drop'	
143	to dance	qoqopela	ukqhuqhumbela = 'to dance in a rhythmic way'	
144	white-necked ox	moqukubi	umqungokazi = roan, black & white	!noa (KO), ǂhǎa (NA) = roan
aspirated click ex alveolar click				
144	to disperse, to rout, to scatter	ho qhala	ukugqagqaza	
145	linen, cloth	qhái	iqhiya	!khǎib (NA) !xái (NH) Gunnink 2020a

				!xáí (JU); !xáí (IXO); otjikaiva (HE) kgai (TS)
146	barricade, walls	qhalisi	ukugqilaha	#núwi (NA) = 'to build'
147	to tear, to scratch	qhangha	ukuqagabula, ukugqamfula	
148	to pull down, to demolish	ho qhaqha	ukuqhaqha	
149	to shiver with cold	ho qhaqhasela; ho qhola	ukuqhaqhasela	
150	weaning stick	leqheku	uqhweba	
151	heaviness, something heavy	moqhesema	directly ex iligqezema, but this is all part of gqi- = heavy, weighty, e.g., -ligqizolo	
152	a chip, a splinter, a piece; to chip, to break off	seqhetso; leqetsu ho qhetsoha	ukuthi qhezu ktl.	kx'abob (KO) = a splinter
153	to be lame, to limp	qhile-qhile	ukuqhuga	#gii (NA) = 'to be lame', 'to limp'
154	frost, snow, ice	leqhoa; qhoqhoane	iliqhwa	!khòáb (NA), !xoab (KO) = 'sleet', 'snow'
155	<i>Mesembryanthemum</i> sp.	leqhoaba	igcukuma	t'kobovy (AFR) = <i>Mesembryanthemum edule</i> , Klein Nama irretrievable
156	a hero, a strong or valiant man	leqhoae	iqhawe	
157	to become stiff	qhoasalla	iliqokoma = thick, stiff object	
158	to steal grain, to spoil a harvest	ho qhoba; ho qhoqha	ukuqwabinga	
159	to drive onward	ho qhoba	ukuqhuba	
160	to prop up	ho qhoba	ukuqhwaka	
161	powerful person, giant	seqhobane	iliqhwaga	
162	a safety pin; to fasten loosely	qobosha; ho qaathisa	isiqhobotsho; ukuqhosha, ukuchosha	
163	to smash	qhamotsa	ukuqhoboza	
164	a mielie cob	leqhobo; leqoabi; seqo	iqobo	!núrub = 'ear of grass'
165	to call to slyly, to beckon	ho qhoeba	ukuqhweba	
166	to move, to push, to wrangle	qhoebesha	ukuqhela	
167	hip bone	qholo	inqulu	#huús (NA) = 'hipbone'
168	summit, high place	qhooa	isiqongo, ingcongco	#áób (NA) = 'peak'
169	favourite	qhooku; qobo	ukuqoma = to choose, to prefer	
170	to press in, to urge, to force	qhoqha	ukugqula = to prod, to jab	
171	the larynx, the throat	qhoqhoqho; qoqoqo	uqhoqhoqho	!khòms (NA) = 'throat'
172	to walk conceitedly	ho qhosha	ukuthi qhasha = of walking w/ springy gait; ukuthi qhawuza = to walk jauntily, to be self-confident	
173	grasshopper sp.	qhotho	iqhwagi	#hòmmi (NA) = 'locust', 'grasshopper';
174	a bump, a swelling;	leqhubu, leqhuthu	iqhubu, igqumu	!úbus (NA) = 'abscess', 'swelling'
175	to trot	ho qhuqha	ukuqhuhqa	
176	boiled mielies	qhuqhu	igqubu	
nasalised click ex alveolar click				
177	strong rope or riem	senqalokoa	!hāub (NA) = 'riem'	
178	muscle of the back	monqibing	isinge	this has fossilised [+LOC] so derives from *esinqebeni

179	white ant	senqiloane	umqumbu	#óm#om (KW) = termite g!kún (JU) = termite kòms (NA)

tenuis click ex lateral click				
180	to block the way, to quarrel	ho qaba	ukuxaba	llgòbàsè (NA) = crosswise, obliquely
181	to grab, to seize	ho qabaka	ukuxhaka	llkhām (NA) = 'to grab', 'to clutch'
182	to be high up; to be on the watch	qahama	ukuxhwaya, ukuxwaya	
183	to walk or sit with legs apart	ho qakalatsa; ho qangalatsa	ukuxangalasa	
184	<i>Pelea capreolus</i> [rhebuck]	leqala, leqoala	inxala	llga !'ās (KO) = 'rietbok' llkhāā (NA) = 'to bound or leap (esp. as of prancing springbok)' H&E 278; hence llkhāāsēs = <i>Oreotragus oreotragus</i> , the klipspringer
185	<i>Varanus niloticus</i>	qamo	unxamu; uxam	llnààréb (NA) = <i>Varanus niloticus</i>
186	deep muddy place; muddy water below a fountain	moqao; qanthana	ilixhobo, umthombo	
187	to wade; to eat in a dirty way; to plunge nose into water (of a cow)	qapu, qhafu qhaqhatsa; qhophotsa	ukuxhafu	
188	many troublesome affairs	maqaga	ukuthi xaka; hence inxakaxaka	
189	to do work roughly	ho qaqamisa	ukuxhokova	
190	to peel off	ho qathotha	ukuxathuka	
191	uninitiated man or boy	moqai	inxayi	
192	wound	leqeba, lengeba	inxeba	llāms (NA) = 'headwound'
193	to make a knot loosely	qehisa	ukuxheketa = to slacken	
194	left-handed person	leqe	inxele	llāré (NA), ll'are = 'left'
195	to be shaky, shakiness; hesitation	leqekiqeki; qeagea	ukuxega	
196	to be sorry for	qenehela	ukungxesezela	
197	to become angry	ho qoalama	ukungxama	llgoāsib = 'fury', 'wrath' (Bibli.) H&E259
198	horns bent down & forward	moqoboko	poss. ilixhonkxo = 'beast with horns curbed crossing one another over the face'	
199	to drive away; to supplant	ho qocha; ho qobosha	ukuxosha	
200	to fall into water with a splash	qopu	ukugxumbu	llūpū (NA) = 'plonk!', 'sound of heavy object falling into water'
201	<i>Ranunculus trichophyllis</i> (Ranunculaceae)	boqophu	uxhaphozi	Koopman 2015: 54 notes with rare insight that this is probably connected with ixhopo = marsh, swamp, etc.
202	to tell, to discuss, to converse	ho qoqa	ukuxoxa	
203	frog spp.; to jump, to hop	seqoqoana, senqaqana, leqaqa; ho qaqoma	ixoxo; ukuxoxoma	llgoáb (NA) = 'larger frog or toad'
204	messenger, emissary	leqosa, lengosa	inxusa	
205	to strip off, to peel off	ho qotsa	ukuxoza	llhāū (NA) = 'to skin (a hide)', 'to strip', 'to remove'

<i>aspirated click ex lateral click</i>				
206	things in disorder; entwined, complicated things	seqhabanqha; magharanqha	isixhakaxholo = entanglement	
207	to put out new shoots	qhahela	ukuxhaka	llhaĩ (NA) = 'to sprout' llhaĩm (KW) = 'to sprout'
208	to cause to resound; a musical instrument	ho qhakhatsa; moqhakatsa	umqangala	
209	to click with tongue	ho qhanqha	ukunxapha	
210	elderly person	qheku	ilixhegu	
211	male with one testicle	qhali	linxali	
212	a belt, a girdle	leqhama, seqha	ixhama	llnāib (NA) = 'belt'
213	to sputter, to seethe; splashes, drips	qapha maqhabhaqhabha	ukuxhapaha, ukuthi xhapa- xhapa; ukuthi chapha	lāb lāb (NA) = 'to boil'
214	rondawel	moqheme	ilixhiba	
215	to strangle, to choke	ho qhoela	ukuxela	llgée (NA) = 'to break a small bird's neck'; 'fig., to strangle'
216	hemp-smoker	leqhoele	ixhwele	
217	deserted house	leqhofa	ilinxwiwa; ilixhiba	
218	<i>Citrullus vulgaris</i>	qhoomo; gotho	Xh umxoxozi	
219	bag, pocket	seqhoma	Xh ingxowa	llhōób (NA), llhōb = 'sack', 'bag'
<i>nasalised click ex lateral click</i>				
220	side, part	nqa, nga	inxā, inxa	

**Table B.1.1.1.2 –
seSotho Click Items of Uncertain Derivation**

1	to speak much, carelessly	qamota		
2	to make a temporary arrangement	qahathisa		
3	thin chain, earring	leqakatsa		
4	to be in different places at once	qalotsa		
5	to change one's mind	qanoha		
6	<i>Wahlenbergia dieterlenii</i> (Campanulaceae)	qaoa-qaoane		
7	wide drawers worn by men	leqapa		
8	big thing	qhapa	<i>cf. isigqezeba</i> (ZU)?	
9	tendons in the afterbirth of animals	qana	<i>cf. isingcapha</i> (ZU), <i>umgcantsi</i> (XH)?	
10	leather apron	qaqana	<i>cf. isixhama</i> (XH)?	
11	single animal	qaqapa		
12	nolD plant, eaten by herdboys nolD plant	nqapo moqata -majoana		
13	house of newlyweds	leqatha		
14	nothing, vanity, fun	boqathana		
15	knot in a handkerchief	leqati		<i>cf. !gāē</i> (NA) = 'to tie up'?
16	fabulous serpent	moqebe		
17	change, variation	seqebo		
18	to extract with difficulty	qekeqa		
19	nolD bird	moqechana		
20	third drawing of milk	moqechane	<i>cf. ukucinta</i> (XH)?	
21	thing that progresses slowly	qeiqei		
22	to drop heavily	qete		
23	<i>Manulea crassifolia</i> (Scrophulariaceae)	meqilane	<i>cf. inceba</i> (XH) = <i>Limeum aethiopicum</i> (Molluginaceae)?	
24	to run noisily	qiqisela		
25	untrustworthy person	liqitelo		
26	endless affair	seqiti		
27	bad mielies, smelling from damp	segoabela		
28	to be afraid, to look out	qoea		
29	narrow piece of field	moqoaho		
30	shiny ornament; brass beads	segoala; qola	<i>cf. ingxotha</i> (XH) = 'brass arming'?	
31	to trail, to draggle	qoba		
32	short petticoat	qobola		
33	to be aquiline	qofa		referent unclear but <i>cf. !ǃúǃ</i> (NA) = bird of prey?
34	<i>Indigofera dimidiata</i> (Fabaceae)	qoi-qoi		
35	<i>Trifolium africanum</i> (Fabaceae)	moqophi		
36	sour beer, fermented pap	qolosi	parallel loan incolotsi (SW) also of unclear derivation; poss. <i>cf. inqodi</i> (XH) = 'sweet-sour porridge made of fermented sorghum'?	
37	to become dry	qoma	probably connected with uluqhotho (ZU) = 'hardness', 'withered, dried-up old thing'	
38	tuft of hair signifying mourning	seqoma		

39	to strive for	qoma		
40	penis cover	qooma		
41	nearness, near	qooti	<i>cf. kancane (ZU)?</i>	
42	to be near edge of precipice	qophela		
43	<i>Digitaria sanguinalis</i> (Poaceae)	moqoposhoe		
44	to fall (of rain)	qogela		
45	dwarf	qoqofota		
46	to weep loudly	qoqolotsa		
47	friendship, company; amiable person	moqoqoso; legoboko	<i>cf. izicolo (XH)?</i>	
48	to press against, to surround	qotetsa		
49	avariciousness, stinginess	qotho	<i>cf. ukunqoma (ZU)?</i>	
50	of lying on back	qotho		
51	buttermilk	moqotse		
52	trap for catching birds of prey	seqotse		
53	intestinal worm	qotsi		
54	skin bag for storing fat	legubu		
55	big ox	moqula		
56	secret	legulo		
57	tin	qun-qung		
58	stick in a child's game sekhophi	qhaeee		
60	to girdle head w/ beads	qhaka		
61	a song of the Matabele	moqhakotsa		
62	bad swimming	leghamu		
63	to do several things at once	qhanasa		
64	green soft mielies	liqhanqha		
65	<i>Solanaceae</i> sp.	moqhanyaku		
66	a troop, small group	seqhanyane; seqhoqho		
67	to go away, to flee	qhaqhola, qhema		
68	to become dispersed	qheme		
69	shameful disease	seqhenene	<i>cf. iliqhenyane = chicken pox?</i>	<i>cf. !gaïms (NA) = gonorrhea?</i>
70	strong & brave person	seqhenqha		
71	to stand in a row	qheqha		
72	to give a share of to eat	qheqheba		
73	used up old thing	moqheqheme		
74	to disdain, to scorn	qhesa		
75	a dance emaXhoseni	qhetsa		
76	ox	qhetsola		
77	majority, great quantity	qhobololo		
78	important person	raqhoe		
79	crown of ostrich feathers	seqhofa; qokofa	<i>cf. iliqholo (ZU) = ostrich feathers worn at feast of first fruits?</i>	
80	combativity	moqhoko	<i>cf. isiqholo (ZU) = arrogance, impudence, cheek?</i>	
81	one who lives with white people	leqhomosha	parallel item umncugulu (SW) also of unclear derivation	

B1.1.2 Click Etymologies in the Tshwa-Rongo complex (S50)

Drawing on Ribeiro 1965, Cuénod 1967, Baumbach 1987, and Siteo 1996, Janson 2001 describes only a single place of articulation, with *tenuis*, voiced, and nasal accompaniments, for click consonants in Standard xiTsonga, noting that Baumbach 1987 considers all xiTsonga clicks dental, and transcribes them using //, while Cuénod 1967 and Siteo 1996 both call them alveolar, and use <q> (Janson 2001: 27). A more recent survey of the phonological adaptation of loanwords in xiTsonga devotes only a brief paragraph to click loan, noting that the alveolar click may be realised either as voiced or nasalised, and that it is encountered only in isiZulu loanwords (Vratsanos 2017: 38). Only one example is provided, the xiTsonga **qivi** = ‘swamp’, which I observe targets the isiZulu **ichibi** = ‘large stretch of water, pond, vlei, dam, lake’ (D&Z111). This item is itself of Khoekhoe origin, having historically targeted an easterly reflex of Namibian Khoekhoe **!nùbĩs** = ‘eddy’, ‘pond’, ‘whirlpool’. This suggests that isiZulu maintained the dental click during loan from Khoekhoe, but that xiTsonga did not during loan from isiZulu, adapting it instead as an alveolar. New and accurate phonological capture of click consonants as used across a variety of dialects would be required in order to determine whether Tswa-Rongo click loan displays only reduction of the inventory, or whether inter- and intraspeaker variation by type is also present.

Revisiting earlier scholars’ comments on clicks in the Tswa-Rongo lect in detail only raises further questions. Describing the Rongo dialect in the present-day Maputo province at the turn of the 19th century, Junod noted that some early loanwords from isiZulu had already made their into the repertoires of some speakers of Tswa-Rongo.

... [L]’origine [...] des clicks dans le zoulou et le souto peut très probablement être rapportée à l’influence [Khoekhoe]^H. Or celle-ci n’a pas agi jusq’ à la plaine de Delagoa: les clicks sont totalement absents du thonga. Néanmoins on les connaît dans tout le pays, car le zoulou est fréquemment parlé par les hommes et certains mots zolou contiennent ces curieux sons, s’emploient couramment dans les contrées limitrophes (**qala**, commencer; **nxá**, non, etc).

*The origin of the clicks among the amaZulu and the baSotho should probably be attributed to Khoekhoe influence. Since they never travelled as far as the Delagoa Plain, clicks are entirely absent from [Tswa-Rongo]. Nonetheless, they are known through the country, for the amaZulu frequently converse with the populace, and certain isiZulu words, together with their curious sounds, are currently in use in the border counties (**qala**, ‘to begin’; **nxá**, ‘no’, etc).*

Junod 1896: 45

It is tempting to assume that instances of click loan were, at this point, still too sporadic to merit detailed documentation, but it is also possible that Junod, noting that items containing clicks were not ancestrally Tswa-Rongo, simply did not consider them to

fall within the scope of his work, and so ignored an already flourishing click vocabulary. This makes it difficult to establish a *terminus ante quam* Tswa-Rongo contained no clicks at all.

Describing Shangaan, which would go on to become the variety on which modern Standard xiTsonga was based, Ribeiro 1965 offers a more detailed list of over 70 loanwords. His phonological descriptions, however, are sadly lacking.

Os cliques pertencem, pois, à categoria das oclusivas implosivas. Em changana temos três espécies de cliques e são todos linguopalatais; isto é, produzidos entre a língua e o céu da boca. Pode dizer-se que não são mais que o **g**, o **k** e o **ñ**, pronunciados de modo a produzir o dito estalido. As crianças, incapazes ainda de o fazerem, e os adultos, quando não estão para isso, evitam o estalido e dizem simplesmente **g k ñ**. Os cliques estão, pois, relacionados com estras letras, pelo menos, por elas são substituídos 'na fala preguiçosa' do indígena.

Considerando este facto, e meio mais simples de os representar será anteceder o **g**, o **k**, e o **ñ** duma outra letra que ajude ou, pelo menos, indique a articulação característica da seguinte. A letra mais indicada para isso é o **c**. Temos, pois, na representação dos cliques duas letras: – uma, comum a todos, que os indica genericamente; outra, diferente em cada um, que os distingue entre si. Esta maneira de representar os cliques pode aplicar-se não só aos cliques do changana mas a todo e qualquer clique, bastando para isso escolher a letra característica de cada um.

Para produzir os cliques apoiam-se os bordos da língua contra o céu da boca, deixando entre eles uma pequena câmara de ar. Depois procura-se pronunciar respectivamente o **g**, o **k** e o **ñ**. Ao despeger-se a língua do céu da boca, o ar entra na câmara vazia ou antes com ar à pressão normal, produzindo o estalido clical diferenciado segundo a letra que se procurou pronunciar. O clique **ck** pode ainda ter uma variante indicado na escrita por um **h** (**ckh**) e que consiste no abaixamento da maxila inferior no momento do estalido, o que dá uma sonoridade especial. Qualquer clique pode ser precedido de **n** nasal.

*The clicks belong, then, to the category of implosive stops. In [xiTsonga] we encounter three kinds of clicks, all of which are linguopalatal; that is, produced using the tongue and the palate of the mouth. It is possible to say that there are no more than the **g**, the **k** and the **ñ**, pronounced according to the manner of the production of the so-called 'pop'. Children, incapable as yet of producing them, and adults, when they are not in the mood for them, avoid the 'pop' and say simply **g k ñ**. The clicks, then, are related to these letters, at least among those who substitute 'lazy speech' for indigenous speech.*

*Considering this, the simplest method of representation will be to preface the **g**, the **k** or the **ñ** with another letter, as this will, at the very least, help to indicate the proper articulation that follows. The letter best suited is **c**. Accordingly, the representation of clicks requires two letters: one, common to all, which is a general indication; the other, particular to each instance, which distinguishes between them. This method of representing the clicks can be applied not only to the [xiTsonga] clicks, but to each and every click, as long as one selects a particular letter for each case.*

*To produce the clicks, press the edges of the tongue against the palate of the mouth, leaving between them a small recess containing air. Then ready yourself to pronounce, as required, **g**, **k**, or **ñ**. On removing the tongue from the palate of the mouth, the air entering the vacuum of the recess – that is, air under ordinary atmospheric pressure – produces a click-like ‘pop’, distinguished according to the letter one sought to pronounce.*

*The click **ck** has a further possible variation, indicated in writing using an **h** (**ckh**), which consists of a lowering of the lower jaw at the moment of the ‘pop’, so that it produces a special sound. This click can be preceded by a nasal **n**.*

Ribeiro, 1965: 19 - 20

Of immediate interest is the discussion of click replacement. The L1 childhood acquisition of languages which contain both a large inventory of click consonants with a high functional load and a large click lexis is broadly understudied, but observations that have been made concerning the acquisition of isiXhosa (Lewis & Roux 1998; Gxilishe 2004) and Hadza (Miller 2020) suggest a similar progression, with the substitution of velar, nasal, and sometimes dental consonants preceding the acquisition of clicks proper. The reference to similar adult replacements, however, more closely resembles the patterns of click replacement expected from languages which have loaned a small click lexis, but which have been out of contact with the donor language for a significant period of time. Why precisely certain adults will replace clicks is not made clear⁹, only that these substitutions are seen as *preguiçosa*, ‘lazy’.

Ribeiro seems at first to describe only a single click type, a ‘linguopalatal’ click that, accepting the method of articulation to have involved ‘press[ing] the edges of the tongue against the palate of the mouth’, was likely alveolar or post-alveolar. Given that Ribeiro seems to think that his orthography would have sufficed to describe ‘each and every click’, not only those present in xiTsonga, with modification required only to represent different accompaniments, he does not seem to have been familiar with the concept of phonemic click type. However, under a separate section of ‘observations’, he goes on to note that the voiceless

⁹ The phrase *quando não estão para isso* is disappointingly generic, translating literally as, ‘when they are not for it’, with a sense of, ‘when they are not in the mood for it’, ‘when they are not prepared to do it’.

alveolar click, **ck**, has a variant, transcribed **ckh**, which involves the lowering of the jaw during production. This resembles most closely the modern understanding of the palatal click proper, produced through the abrupt lowering of the dorsum. The later authorities Siteo 1998 and Siteo, Mahumana & Langa 2006 appear to adapt this orthography simply as **qh**, implying an aspirated alveolar; in sorting below, the earlier orthography is maintained.

Of the three accompaniments described, **g** and **k** must represent the voiced and the *tenuis* or perhaps glottalised click respectively. The quality intended by **ñ** is less clear, especially since **n** is later described as a separate accompaniment encountered only with the ‘special’ click type; elsewhere, **ñ** is considered a ‘velar nasal’ (captured in later orthographies as **n’**), while **n** is the alveolar nasal (Ribeiro, 1965: 16). We must assume that **cñ** indicates nasalisation continuing throughout the alveolar click burst, while **nck**, which ‘precedes’ the click burst, indicates the prenasalisation or partially devoiced nasalisation of the palatal. However, only two of the examples listed for the prenasalised palatal type actually conform to this orthography, **nckuyo** and **nckathula**; an additional two, **ncgola** and **ngcongoyani**, are not explained, while another two, **ncñwadi** and **ncñolo**, must be assumed to represent the CL.9 nasal prefix + **cñ**. Additional unexplained nasal orthographies include **ntch**, as in **ntchondzo** = ‘ankle’, and **nch**, as in **ncholo** = ‘wagon’. These are sunk for the sake of lexicographic convenience, although the sheer orthographic confusion present should indicate how urgently proper documentation of Tswa-Rongo clicks is required. All in all we can extract the historical existence of at least two click types and four accompaniments, for a total inventory of five; a voiceless alveolar, a voiced alveolar, several kinds of nasalised alveolar, a voiceless palatal, some kind of nasalised palatal.

The general lack of modern interest in click loan in Standard xiTsonga may arise in part from the fact that the most broadly-available lexicographic resource, the *xiTsonga-English Dikixinari* developed within South Africa in 2006, lists only three items under **q**. Similarly, the *Online xiTsonga Dictionary*, an excellent digital resource that is privately maintained by a team of L1 xiTsonga speakers, lists only five: **qamba** = ‘to compose’ (ex isiZulu uku**qamba** = ‘to invent’, ‘to compose’ D&Z687); **qaxa**¹⁰ ‘to employ’ (ex isiZulu uku**qasha** ‘to hire’, ‘to rent’, ‘to employ labour’, ultimately ex Khoekhoe **!gǎé** = lit., ‘to bind’, hence ‘to employ’, ‘to engage’ H&E306); **qhavula** = ‘to shake hands’ (ex isiZulu ukux**hawula** = ‘to grip with the hand’, ‘to shake by the hand’ D&Z863); **qivi** = ‘swamp’ (ex isiZulu **ichibi** = ‘large stretch of water, pond, vlei, dam, lake’ (D&Z111); and **quva** = ‘manure’ (ex isiZulu **umquba** = ‘manure’ D&Z714, ultimately ex Khoekhoe **ǀhaüǀb** = ‘dung’ H&E401) (<https://www.xitsonga.org/dictionary/xitsonga?-=q>, accessed 17/01/2022).

¹⁰ Note that the xiTsonga orthography <x> signifies /ʃ/, not /ll/ as in Nguni. The equivalent orthography in older resources is <ch>, present in several CL.7 nouns in Table Table B1.1.3.1 below (e.g., **chickivo** = ‘arrow’, which in the modern orthography would be **xiqivo**), which likewise should not be confused with such Ribeiro 1965 click orthographies as <ckh>.

However, two overlooked resources prepared for smaller dialects within the Tswa-Ronga complex provide evidence that more extensive influence from isiZulu was historically present, at least in some varieties. The older resource, *Dicionário Changana-Português* (Sitoe 1996) captures the continuum termed ‘Changana’ in Mozambique, ‘Shangani’ in Zimbabwe, and ‘xiTsonga’ in South Africa, where it boasts a speech community of over 3 million. The newer resource, *Dicionário Ronga-Português* (Sitoe, Mahumana, Langa 2008), describes the smaller continuum Ronga, which has a substantial foothold in Mozambique, but fewer than 100 000 speakers in South Africa. Accordingly it may be assumed that xiTsonga speakers have had greater opportunity to interact with speakers of isiZulu than xiRonga speakers.¹¹ This is borne out by a disparity in the size of the click lexis. The *Dicionário Changana* lists 46 items under <q> (Sitoe 1996: 193 – 195), of which a few are matched with a target; I offer further suggestions, with the result that 35 can be compared with the isiZulu. The newer *Dicionário Ronga*, however, lists only 24 (Sitoe, Mahumana, Langa, 2008: 254 – 255). Of these, 22 items are brought forward verbatim from Sitoe 1996, with the remaining 24 xiTsonga items presumably having been omitted on grounds of obsolescence or unfamiliarity to xiRonga speakers; two new click items are added. Comparison with Ribeiro 1965 yields an additional 43 historical clicks items which have not been brought forward into either of the newer resources.

Perhaps the most valuable insight to be gleaned from the Ribeiro 1965 lexis is that certain forms were clearly loaned from siSwati, rather than directly from isiZulu. **ntchondzo** = ‘chicken’s foot’, for example, is ultimately connected with the isiZulu **umcondo** = ‘thin leg of a bird’, but directly targets the siSwati reflex **umncondvo** = ‘bird’s leg’. Similarly, the item **ficko** = ‘a knot’ is related to the clickless isiZulu **ilifindo** = ‘a knot’, but is a direct loan of the siSwati click form **kufica** = ‘to tie a knot’. This suggests that at least some of the target clicks may have themselves been reduced and possibly variable prior to their entry into Tswa-Rongo. Precise accounts of the socioeconomic conditions under which these languages interacted are not available, but we may primarily assume interaction in the workplace, perhaps with the development of some bilingualism in urban contexts of language contact. 20th-century patterns of migrant labour, especially those associated with minework at Gauteng, are likely to have been a primary catalyst for lexical influence, and further sociohistorical linguistic research into the relationship between mining and recent click diffusion is recommended. That only five click items have been brought forward into the *Online Tsonga Dictionary*, and only three into the *xiTsonga-English Dikixinari*, however, does suggest that the larger historical click lexes were likely geographically restricted, and may have characterised certain varieties only.

¹¹ It would be valuable to investigate whether or not Zimbabwean isiNdebele has served as a click donor for Zimbabwean Shangaan.

Table B1.1.3.1
Tswa-Rongo Complex Click Items of isiZulu Derivation

#	gloss	xiTsonga 1965	xiTsonga 1996	xiRonga 2008	isiZulu
tenuis click ex dental click					
1	<i>caso judicial</i> 'a legal case'		qala	qala	icala
2	<i>lado, flanco</i> 'side', 'flank')		qala	qala	icala
3	<i>apoiar-se; recostarse</i> 'to prop oneself up; to lean back against') <i>deitar-se de borro</i> 'to lie down on a pillow')	kuckamela kuckambalala	-qamela -qhambhalala	qamela	ukucamela ukucambalala
4	<i>esperar alguém</i> 'to lie in wait for')	kuckapela			ukuchatamela
5	<i>pensar, raciocinar, julgar</i> 'to think over', 'to consider', 'to judge'	kuckavanga	-qavanya		ukucabanga
6	<i>ornamento das orelhas</i> 'earring')	chickazu			ilicici
7	<i>causar intrigas</i> 'to plot')	kuckeka			ilicebo; ukubaceko
8	<i>criticar</i> 'to criticise')	kuckeva			ukuceka
9	<i>seta</i> 'arrow')	chickivo			umcibisholo
10	<i>mergulhar (num líquido)</i> 'to submerge (in liquid)')		quya		ukucwila
11	<i>enrugar a face</i> 'to furrow the brow'	kusicka			ukuficiza
voiced click ex dental click					
12	<i>casar</i> 'to marry')	kucgacga			ukugcagca
13	<i>atulhar</i> 'to cram full')	kucgiba			ukugcingca
14	<i>ser o último</i> 'to do for the last time')	kugcina			ukugcina
nasalised click ex dental click					
15	<i>cortesão</i> 'courtier')	cñekwa			inceku yenkosi
16	<i>pasta de milho cozido com amendoim</i> 'mieliepap cooked with peanuts')	ncñombo			incumbe
17	<i>sujar</i> 'to dirty')	kungcola			ukungcolile
18	<i>chupar, beijar</i> 'to suck', 'to kiss')	kucñuta			ukumuncu
19	<i>carta</i>	ncñwadi			incwadi

	('page')				
tenuis 'palatal' click ex dental click					
20	<i>ratoeira de pássaros</i> (‘snare for birds’)	chickhaka			isingcapha
21	<i>lagoa</i> (‘lake’)	ckhivi	qhivi		ichibi
naslised 'palatal' click ex dental click					
22	<i>sapato</i> (‘sandal’)	nckhathula			isicathulo
23	<i>certa espécie de manguço</i> (‘a certain species of mongoose’)	nckhakidi	-qhakidi		uchakide

tenuis click ex alveolar					
24	<i>engajar, contratar</i> (‘to hire’, ‘to contract’)	kuckacha	-qacha	qacha	ukuqasha
25	<i>escorar, apoiar, meter estacas am</i> (‘to prop up’, ‘to support’, ‘to set props against’)	kuckaka	-qaka		ukuqhwaka
26	<i>tornozelo</i> (‘ankle’)	ckakala			iliqakala
27	<i>começar, ser o primeiro</i> (‘to begin’, ‘to do for the first time’)	kuckala	-qala		ukuqala
28	<i>(obra de arte) criar, inventar</i> (‘(of art) to create, to invent’)		-qambha	-qambha	ukuqamba
29	<i>ovo</i> (‘egg’)	ckanda			iqanda
30	<i>naco, pedaço</i> (‘a piece’, ‘a bit’)	ckata	qatha	qatha	iliqatha
31	<i>barbaro</i> (‘barbarian’)		qava		iliqaba
32	<i>despertar, cair em si; não ser mais ingênuo</i> (‘to wake up’, ‘to come to one’s senses’; ‘to be disillusioned’)		-qavuka	qavuka	ukuqabuka, ukuthi qabu
33	<i>beber, ou comer qualquer coisa picante para tirar a ressaca</i> (‘to drink, or to eat something spicy, causing a hangover’)	kuckavula	-qavula	qavula	ukuqhafa
34	<i>caça em grupo; grupo de caçadores (da mesma região para uma caçada de poucos dias)</i> (‘to hunt in a group; a group of hunters (in the same region for a hunt for a few days)’)		-qina		inqina
35	<i>idade do discernimento, de maturidade</i> (‘age of discretion, of maturity’)			qina	ukuqina
36	<i>acocorar-se; estar, pôr-se de cocoras</i> (‘to crouch; to sit on one’s haunches’)	kuckochama	-qochama	qochama	ukuqoshama
37	<i>bebida</i> (‘beer’)	muckomboti			umqombothi
38	<i>ir em direção a; dirigir-se; ir a direito</i>		-qondha	-qondha	ukuqonda

	('to go in the direction of; to direct oneself; to go directly')				
39	<i>encurtar</i> (<i>cortando</i>) (‘to shorten (by cutting)’)	kuckuma	-quma		ukunquma
40	<i>bosta, excremento animal, estrume</i> (‘dung’, ‘animal excrement’, ‘manure’)	ckuva	quva		umquba
41	<i>coxa</i> (‘hip’)	nckuyo			inqulo
42	<i>certa espécie de gafanhoto</i> species of locust		qwadi	qwadi	iqhwagi
43	<i>cóccix</i> (‘coccyx’)	sockwana			isinqe
voiced click ex alveolar click					
44	<i>barril</i> (‘barrel’); <i>lata grande</i> (‘large can’)	cgamane; ncgomo			umgqomo
45	<i>sábado</i> (‘the Sabbath’)	mugcivela			uMqibelo
46	<i>vestir</i> (‘to wear’); <i>chapéu</i> (‘a hat’)	kucgoka; chigcoko			ukugqoka; isigqoko
aspirated click ex alveolar					
47	<i>gabar, ostentar</i> (‘to boast’, ‘to show off’)		-qhalambisa		ukugqaba
48	<i>besuntar-se de gordura</i> (‘to smear oneself with fat’)		-qhapa		ukugqaba
49	<i>acompanhar, encaminhar, conduzir</i> (‘to accompany’, ‘to escort’, ‘to conduzir’)		-qhuva	-qhuva	ukuqhuba
nasalised click ex alveolar click					
50	<i>punho</i> (‘fist’)	cñindi			inqindi
51	<i>tornozelo</i> (‘ankle’); <i>pata de galinha</i> (‘chicken’s foot’)	ncgongoyani; ntchondzo			iliqotho
52	<i>carroça</i> (‘wagon’)	ncholo			inqolo
tenuis ‘palatal’ click ex alveolar					
53	<i>maneira, meio; estratégia, artimanha, manha, astúcia</i> (‘way’, ‘means’; ‘stratagem, artifice, guile, cunning’)	ckhinga	qhinga	qhinga	iliqhinga
54	<i>maçã de Adão, pomo de Adão</i> (‘Adam’s apple’)	ckhockhockho	qhoqhoqho		uqhoqhoqho
55	<i>certa espécie de pega, corvo</i> (‘a certain species of magpie’, ‘a crow’; probably <i>Urolestes melanoleucus</i> , the magpie-shrike)	ckhugwana	qhugwana	qhugwana	iliggqumusha = ‘shrike’; umngquphane = ‘bush-shrike’
56	<i>apanhar, estar com uma indigestão, ficar empanturrado; viver à grande quando outros passem necessidades</i> (‘to suffer from indigestion’, ‘to gorge oneself’; ‘to live luxuriously while others lack for necessities’)	kuckhumba		qumbha	ukuqumba

tenuis click ex lateral click					
57	<i>dar um presente</i> (‘to give a gift’)	kuckokolela			ilixhoshō
58	<i>misturar</i> (‘to mix’)		-quva		ukuxubana
59	<i>encruzilhada</i> (‘crossroads’)	backa			umbaxo
voiced click ex lateral click					
60	<i>alavanca</i> (‘a crowbar’)	mucgwala			umgxala
aspirated click ex lateral click					
61	<i>apanhar, pegar, receber no ar</i> (‘to catch’, ‘to grab’, ‘to take hold of’)		-qhamukela	qhamukela	ukuxhaka
62	<i>esbanjar usando indevidamente porque não custou a ganhar, ou porque não é <u>norro</u></i> (‘to squander through inappropriate use because one has failed to save what one earns, or because one has not ????’)		-qhapaza	qhapaza	ukuxhapaza
63	<i>cumprimentar (com um aperto de mão)</i> (‘to greet (with a handshake)’)	kuckhevula	-qhevula	qhevula	ukuxhawula
64	<i>envergonhar, escandalizar, desiludir</i> (‘to disgrace’, ‘to offend’, ‘to disappoint’)		qhwayisa	-qhwayisa	ubuxhwala = ‘moral depravity’, isixhwayixhwayi = ‘a scoundrel’
nasalised click ex lateral					
65	<i>esquerda</i> (‘lefthand side’)	chicñele			ixhwele

Table B1.1.3.2
Tswa-Rongo Complex Click Items of Uncertain Derivation

#	gloss	xiTsonga 1965	xiTsonga 1996	xiRonga 2008	isiZulu
1	<i>Leptopilos crumenifer</i> the maribou stork		qandlopfu		cf. unoncofu (XH) = saddle-billed stork?
2	<i>estar mal, piorar, agravar</i> (‘to do harm’, ‘to worsen’, ‘to aggravate’)		-qava	qava	
3	<i>ousar; atrever-se a; provocar, incitar, desafiar</i> (‘to dare’, ‘to dare to do’, ‘to provoke’, ‘to incite’, ‘to challenge’)		-qala		cf. ukuqhala (ZU) = ‘to be boisterous’, ‘to be self-confident’?
4	<i>instigar à luta; impelir, pôr um contra outro</i> (‘to instigate a fight’, to incite, to pit one person against another’)		-qeka	qeka	
5	<i>carregar uma arma pela boca</i> (‘to reload via the muzzle’)	kuckobela			cf. ukungcasha (XH) = ‘to reload a gun by the muzzle’?
6	<i>premiar</i> (‘to reward’)		-qokolela		
7	<i>dar certos bens à família da noiva para que o casamento seja legítimo</i> (‘to give a selection of goods to the family of one’s fiancé in order to formalise a wedding’)	kuckoma	-qoma		
8	<i>miolos, juízo</i> (‘pulp’, ‘juice’)	kuckopo			
9	<i>corregar (a arma pela boca; o cachimbo)</i> (‘to shoot (a weapon for the mouth; a blowpipe)’)		-qovela	-qovela	cf. ukuqobela (ZU) = ‘to nip’, ‘to sting’?
10	<i>bala, projectile</i> (‘a bullet’, ‘a projectile’)		qulu		
11	<i>nó, laço</i> (‘a knot’)	ficko			if ex ilifindo = ‘a knot’ (ZU) then either innovation or archaic retention; note kufica (siSwati) = ‘to tie’, seSotho leqati = ‘a knot’
12	<i>prejudicar, lesar interesses alheios</i> (‘to harm’, ‘to damage someone else’s property’)		qhita	qhita	
13	<i>fustigar; faze girar (o pião, por meio de uma guita amarrada na ponta de uma vara)</i> (‘to whip; to cause to spin (of a top, using a string tied to the end of a stick)’)		-qhwaya		
14	<i>aparar na mão</i> (‘to trim by hand’)	kucñaka; kuckhamunkela			cf. ukuqwatha (ZU) = ‘to shave’?
15	<i>rachar a cabeça</i> (‘to crack the head’)	kucñanda			cf. ukuchwabaza (ZU) = ‘to make a loud cracking noise’?
16	<i>semente</i> (‘grain’)	ncñanzana			cf. iligcaki (ZU) = ‘white Natal maize’, but umgqakazo = ‘roughly crushed mielies’
17	<i>pestana</i> (‘eyelash’)	nchiye			

18	<i>vaca velha e magra</i> (‘an old and thin cow’)	ncguva			
19	<i>repetir</i> (to repeat)	kubacñela			<i>cfi. -baxo</i> (ZU) = ‘anything doubled over’?
20	<i>cantar de certa ave</i> (‘song of a certain bird’)	kuckhackhasa			
21	batelhão (‘battalion’)	chickakavo			
22	<i>ser, tornar-se grosso</i> (‘to be or to become thick’)	kuckhama	-qhama		
23	<i>levar uma coisa sem ordem</i> (‘to take something out of turn’)	luckhita			
24	<i>disputar, concorrer um com o outro</i> (‘to fight over something’, ‘to compete with someone for something’)	kuckhopisana	qhopizana		

B1.1.3 Click Etymologies in siSwati (S43)

See further discussion of click data in siSwati at Section 11.4.2 above.

Table B.1.1.2.1 siSwati Click Items of isiZulu Derivation				
#	gloss	siSwati	isiZulu	Khoekhoe
tenuis click ex dental click				
1	to fell trees, to clear ground, to cut down; smooth, level ground; to weed a garden, to clear a site; a garden, cleared ground; basking place, garden	kucaba; licansi; kucentsa; ligceke; licelu	ukucaba; ucansi; ingqale ø; iligceke; isigqengqele ø	#aá (KW) = 'a clearing' !àisa' (NA) = 'open, exposed (of veld)'; !àì!àì (NA) = 'to clear veld'
2	fortress, stronghold; riddle, mystery	incaba	inqaba	
3	boiled mielie grains	umcaba	umcaba	
4	to think, to consider	kucabanga	ukucabanga	#'ai (KO), #'ai (NA) = 'to think', 'to consider'
5	solar plexus; breastbone; pit of stomach	ucabanga	ulucabango	!gāā's (NA) = 'breastbone'
6	to split, to strip bark;	kucacadza, kucacamba;	ukucaca; ukugqalula	#am (NA) = 'to strip bark'
7	to puzzle, to confuse, to throw into disorder	kucaka	caka	
8	to whitewash, to apply limewash	kucaka	ukucaka	probably connected with ukuthi cwazi = 'to shine', 'to be bright white', etc., ex #khái = 'to shine'
9	anklebone, ankle	licakala	inqakala	
10	defect, error, fault, mistake	licala	icala	
11	distance, a short distance	bucalu, bucadiwana	ubucwala	!arú (NA) = 'to be distant'
12	to recline, to lie down on a pillow	umcamelo	umcamelo, umqamelo	
13	small footbridge	sicamco	umcabeko, iqhamuka	
14	to chip, to hammer, to split	kucandza	ukucandula, ukugandula	#àà (NA) = 'to cleave'
15	to feel nauseous or irritable	kucansuka	ukucanula, kuthi caphu	#ápi (NA) = 'to sicken'
16	to splash, to spill	kucaphaka	ukuchapa	!gāpi (NA) = 'to spatter', 'to sprinkle'
17	to hide oneself	kucasha	ukucasha	
18	dot, spot, freckle, mark	lichashata	icasha	#hāūb, #nāō's (NA) = 'spot', 'stain'
19	to toddle, to skip, to walk unevenly	kucatfula	ukucathu	poss. cf. #āō#āō (NA) = 'to tiptoe'
20	shoe, sandal, boot	sicatfula	isicathulo	!khāwūs (NA) = 'shoe', 'sandal'
21	to tiptoe, to walk softly	kucatsama	umcokamo	
22	to administer an enema	kucatseka	isichatho	
23	rich man	sicebi	isicebi	
24	to devise, to inform against, to slander	kuceba	ukuceba	!āpé (NA) = 'to plot'
25	shoulderblades	licebe	liceba	
26	to ask	kucela	ukucela	
27	edge, side	licele	ilicala, ilicele	!khāáb (NA) = 'side', 'flank'
28	bush-knife, cane-knife	celemba	ucelemba	

29	long swamp rush; type of wild grass	incema; incincane	incema = <i>Juncus kraussii</i> etc.; ulucebe = <i>Andropogon amplexans</i>	
30	<i>Aloe maculata</i>	icena	icena	
31	bell	incence	uluncence	
32	to train, to filter (? scope unclear)	kucenga	ukucenga	
33	milkpail	umcenge	ucengezi	
34	courtier, steward, attendant	inceke	inceku	
35	to upset, to tip over; to discard, to waste	kucetfula; kucitsa	ukuchitha	
36	chip, fragment, slice, piece, sliver, splinter	lucetu	ucephe	kx'abob (KO) = 'splinter', 'fragment'
37	fault, misdemeanour	sici, siti	isici	
38	earring	licici	ilicici	
39	to sharpen; to incite, to urge	kucija	ukucija	
40	little finger	bocikilicane	ucikichane	
41	expertise in singing or speaking, eloquence	buciko	buciko	
42	to extinguish, to douse, to quench	kucima	kucima	
43	to have a blocked nose	kucinana	ukucinana	
44	to press; to oppress; to imprint	kucindzeta, kugcisha	ukucindezela	
45	wire, cable, telephone	lucingo	ucingo	
46	to trap, to set a trap	kucipha	ingcipho	
47	almost, nearly	cishe	cishe	
48	to guard, to look after	kuciza	kugcina	
49	to break, to snap, to cut into small pieces	kucoba	ukuchoba	
50	wagon	incola	inqola	
51	thin legs (as of bird, insect)	umcondvo	umcondo	
52	small amount; few, little	incosana, ingcosana; ncane	-nci	
53	shred, strand; line, row, string of beads	umucu; lucu	umcu	
54	to sing	kucula	ukucula	
55	fine-ground meal	incumbe	incumbe	
56	sunbird	incuncu, lincwincwi	ingcungcu	
57	to scoop out	kucupha	ukuchapuna	
58	of fullness	cwa	gcwa	
59	of whiteness; of blinking, of winking, of glittering; of brightness, of clarity, of purity	cwa; cwabi; cwebe	cwa, qwa; cwati, qwayi; cwebe	
60	document, letter, book	incwadzi	incwadi	
61	of stillness, of quietness	cwaka	cwaka	
62	sour pap	incwancwa	incwancwa	
63	chest pain from witchcraft	sicwati	ukugcayisela = 'to do injury surreptitiously'	lââ (NA) = 'to sting unnoticed (of an insect)'; 'to do harm to in secret'
64	domestic fowl	incwayela	ichwane	
65	to criticise	kucwephesha; kuchwensa	ukuchwephesha; kuchwensa	
66	to sink into water	kucwila	ukucwila	
aspirated click ex dental click				

67	of cracking, of gnawing	cha	cha	
68	a poor person	sichaka	isichaka	
69	house lizard	chakazana	isichashakazana	probably <i>ex</i> a feminine reflex of Nama lgaib = [Trachylepis] <i>acutilabris</i> SCHUL356, #àù lgaib = <i>Lygosoma sundevalli</i> H&E 377
70	to lean on, to hang from	kuchakela	ukuncika	
71	mongoose	uchakidze	uchakide	
72	to urinate	kuchama	ukuchama	 khǎm' (NA) = 'to urinate'
73	to clarify, to explain	kuchaza	ukuchaza	 kháwù (NA) = 'to comb out the hair', hence 'to elaborate upon'
74	to serve in small quantities	kuchathaza	ukuchatheza	lgǎú = <i>lit.</i> , 'to suck'; <i>fig.</i> , 'to drink or eat abstemiously'
75	to cut into strips, to slice, to shread	kuchaya	ukuchaya	
76	bilharzia	sichenene	isichenene	
77	lake, pond, pool	lichibi	ichibi	 nùbís (NA) = 'pool', 'eddy'
78	cloth patch	sichibi	isichibi	
79	to overflow, to rain copiously	kuchichima	ukuchichima	
80	to push aside	kuchilita	ukuchiliza	
81	disgrace, base action	lichilo	ichilo	
82	riem, strap	umchilo	umchilo	
83	to plan; to enquire into, to research; to investigate	kuchinga kuchubungula	ukucinga umcubungulo	
84	to bully, to persecute	kuchochota luchuku	ukuchokoloza	
85	topknot, tuft, married women's hairstyle	sicholo	isicholokazi	
86	to hoist up, to hang up	kuchona	ukuchoma	
87	brain	buchopho , bucopho	buchopho	#khúùb (NA), #xūb (KO) = 'brain'
88	<i>Bidens pilosa</i> ; burrweed	bochuchuza ; lichume , ligcuma	ugcugcuza	
89	to enlarge; to prosper	kuchuma	ukuchuma	 òǎ (NA) = 'to flourish', 'to grow'
90	deaf person	sichumo	isicuthe	
91	to pierce, to perforate, to break	kuchusuka	ukuchumbuza	 ùpú's (NA) = stinging pain, prick
voiced click ex dental click				
92	provisions for a journey	ingcamu	umncamo	
93	to tidy up; to be tidy	kugceba kuchathaza	ukuchwethula ; uncwabakazi	
94	to keep, to preserve	kugcina	ukugcina	
95	leafy branch placed in pot to prevent spills	umgcingo	isiciko	
96	germs, particles in air or water	emagciwane	igciwane	
97	to make a pecking sound	kugcogcota	ukucosha	
98	animal carcass, sickly person	ingcuba	ingcuba	
99	venereal disease, syphilis	bogcunsula	ugcunsula	
100	<i>Felis sylvestris</i>	ingcwa	incwabi	 hǎab (NA), hǎab (KO) = <i>Felis sylvestris</i>
101	continual bad luck	sigcwagcwa	isigcwagcwa	
102	bandit, plunderer, marauder	sigcwelegcwele	isigcwelegcwele	

nasalised click ex dental click				
103	traditional penis cover	umncadvo	umncedo, umncwado	
104	to satisfy, to please	kuncama	ukuncama	
105	thin, slim	-ncana	-ncane	
106	slime	incanatse	ukuchwe, amanqagisa (XH); ugce (ZU) = 'spittle', 'mucus'	#ǀǀǀb (NA) = spittle, mucus
107	to help, to assist	kuncedza	ukunceda	
108	<i>Cisticola juncidis</i> [ornith.]	boncedze; umncweba	ungcede	
109	border, boundary	umncele	umncele	
110	to dissolve, to melt, to thaw	kuncibilika	ukuncibilikisa	
111	to strike on the face with the back of the hand	kuncikiya	ukuncaka	
112	to delay, to procrastinate; to hedge	kunciyanciya	ukugwinciza	
113	to cut strips (e.g., of hide)	kuncola	ukucosula	
114	to prefer, to recommend, to choose	kuncoma	kuncoma	
115	to take a very small amount (e.g., of food)	kuncunkhuluta	ukuncunza	khúwù (NA) = 'to sip using a soupbrush'
tenuis click ex alveolar click				
116	non-Christian person	licaba	iliqaba	
117	to make happy; to enliven, to excite	kucabula	ukuqabula	
118	to sip; to kiss	kucabuza	ukuqabula	
119	<i>Zorilla ictonyx</i>	licaca	iqaca	
120	edible wild caudiciform	sicadza	isaqante	
121	to begin	kucala	ukuqala	
122	to provoke, to attack	kucala	ukuqala	
123	to search all around	kucalata	ukuqalaza	
124	to faint, to swoon	kucaleka	ukuqaleka	
125	to curse, to revile	kucalekisa	ukuqalekisa	
126	to compose, to invent	kucamba	ukuqamba	
126	egg	licandza	iqanda	
127	a steep ascent; to be steep	umcansa	ukuqansa	#gǀǀǀb (DA) = 'a steep slope'
128	to pay attention, to be wary	kuchapela	ukuqaphela	!ǀǀǀ (NA) = 'to shade the eyes with the hand so as to stare into the distance', 'to peer'
129	to hire, to engage, to contract	kucasha	ukuqasha, ukuqesha	!gǀǀǀ (NA) = <i>lit.</i> , 'to bind', hence 'to contract', 'to hire'
130	thick, hard, strong, firm	-catsa	-qatha	
131	morsel, tidbit, piece of meat or food	licatsa	iqatha	
132	of detangling, of solving	catu	qagu	
133	flatbread made of mieliemeal	licebelegwane	iqebelengwane	probably connected with #habá (NA) = 'flat'; cf. Namaqualand Afrikaans #habábrood = 'flatbread'
134	to chatter	kuceketsa, kunceteksa	ukuqeketha	
135	to finish, to complete	kucedza	ukuqeda	
136	hillside, slope	licele	iliqele	probably connected with !garib (KO) which has an acquired sense of 'large river', but more literally means 'embankment', 'steep banks' in turn probably cognate with #gǀǀǀb (DA) = 'a steep slope'
137	something fragile	incekenceke	ukuthi qheke	
138	to divide, to detach, to separate	kucembula	ukuqembula	

139	shrewdness, cleverness, trickery; to be craft	bucili; kucina	buqili; ukuqhina	
140	to be firm, hard, solid, stiff, strong	kucina	ukuqina	
141	fist	incindzi	inqindi	
142	actuality, reality, fact, truth; honest, sincere; origin, essence, basis	lichobo; -cotfo; sicu	luqobo; qotho; isiqu	probably connected with !ùrùs (NA) = 'essence', 'core of a matter', !'uǀb (KO)
143	a pin; riempie, belt, strip of cloth	sicobosho; lucotfo	isiqhobosho, ichosho; uqotho	!hǎǎǎb (NA) = 'spancel', 'fastening', 'closure'
144	to collect, to gather; to summarise	kucoca	ukuqoqa	
145	advisory council	licoco	iliqoqo	
146	to knock	kucocodza	ukungqongqoza	!gǎǎǎ!gǎǎǎ (NA) = 'to knock'
147	to choose, to select	kucoka	ukuqoka	
148	small stony hill	sicoko	isiqhoqho	
149	small of the back, lumbar region	licolo	iqolo	
150	apex of hut, peak, point	umcolo, incgongwane	isiqongo, ingcongo	#ǎǎǎb (NA) = 'peak'
151	basket	licoma	iliqoma	
152	to guess	kucombelela	ukuqandela	
153	beer	ucombotshi	uqombotshi	
154	mind, intelligence, understanding, sense	umcondvo, ingcondvo	umqondo	
155	to direct, to lead; to go straight	kucondza	ukuqonda	!gǎǎǎ (NA) = 'to go straight across'
156	to squat, to sit on the haunches	ukucotshama	ukuqotshama	#nǎǎǎ (KO), #nǎǎǎ (NA) = 'to sit', 'to crouch'
160	manure, dried dung	umcuba	umquba	#hǎǎǎb (NA) = 'dung'
161	to swell, to break out in a rash; chickenpox; a hump, a lump; a hillock	kucubuka; incubulundwane lichubu; ligcumu	ukuqubuka; inqubulunjwana iqubu; liqgumu	!ùbùs (NA) = swelling, pustule, sore
162	to drive along, to cause to go	kucubula	ukuqubula	
163	to grumble	kucuma	ukuqumba	
164	to cling to; to keep in memory	kucakatsa	ukuqukatha	
165	to lift up	kucukula	ukuqubukula	
166	the big toe	bocukulu	uqukula	
167	to knock down, to fall	kucula	ukuqula	
168	cylindrical bundle, bale, scroll; rolled-up portion of skin skirt	umculu; umgcula	umqulu	!guǎǎǎb (NA) = 'a quiver'
169	to blunt	kucundza	ukuqunda	#ùbù (NA), #'ubu (KO) = 'to be blunt'
170	to take courage	kucunga	ukuqunga	
aspirated click ex alveolar click				
171	of dryness	cha	qha	
172	to shiver	kuchachatela	ukuqaqazela	note a long-distance point of correspondence in !!xǎǎǎ (!XU) = 'to shiver'
173	calabash, container	lichaga	iliqhaga	
174	to bloom, to flower	kuchakata	ukuqhakaza	Hai !lOm !ǎǎǎ; Nama !khǎǎ = 'to flower'
175	sitting mat made of skin; sleeping mat made of grass; leather blanket	sichama; licansi; licaba	isiqhamo icansi; ixaba [ʔZm Nd]	#nǎǎs, #nǎǎmmi (NA), (KO) = 'sleepin mat'

176	lower leg	inchatsa	umqhansa	#hááb (NA) = 'prominent muscle in arm or leg'
177	hero, warrior	lichawe	iqhawe	
178	young unmarried woman	lichikiza	iqhikiza	
179	a braid in the hair	umchino	umqhino	
180	island	sichingi	isihingi	
181	long swamp rush	inchoboza	inqoba	!khówòbēs (NA) = <i>Cyperus</i> sp., !ōb (KO) = <i>Cyperus esculentus</i>
182	trachea	chochocho	umqoqoqo	!khòǀs (NA) = 'throat'
183	to become arrogant	kuchosha	ukuqhoshayo	
184	ankle, knucklebone of animal	inchotolwane	iliqhotho	!gòròb (NA) = 'ankle'
185	crest of bird	sichova	isihova	
186	to drive along (e.g., animals)	kuchuba	ukuqubula	
187	cock, rooster	lichudze	iqhude	
188	to pop, to explode	kuchuma	ukuqhuma	!huĩ (NA) = 'to burst'
189	bad dancer, unmusical person	lichuma	ukuqumuza	
190	to limp, to be lame; hence an amputated limb; tailless animal, a stump, a stump of horn	kuchubuta; ingcunu	ukuqhuga; inqudulu	#gĩ (NA) = 'to be lame'
191	cold weather, frost, snow	ilchwa	iliqhwa	!khòàb (NA), !xoab (KO) = 'sleet', 'snow'
192	to beckon, to signal	kuchweba	ukuqhweba	
voiced click ex alveolar click				
193	line, row	umugca	umugqa, umunqa	
194	to be conceited	kugcabha	ukugqaba	
195	coarse-ground meal	umgcakazo	umggakazo	
196	a ram	ingcama	inqama	cf. g#aru (N U) = 'sheep', although more normally 'ewe' (Sands & Jones 2022: 43)
197	musical mouthbow	umgcangala	umgqangala	probably connected with !gabus (KO) = 'mouthbow with unattached resonator'
198	unploughed land	ingcatfo	inqhatho	
199	to burgle, to rob	kugceketa	ukugqekeza	
200	drumming, rhythm, footsteps	sigci	isigqi	
201	to cover with earth, to bury	kugcibezela	ukugqiba	
202	to finish; to end	kugciba kugcina	ukugqiba; ukugcina	
203	wooden stool	sigciki	isigqiki	
204	slave, servant	isigcili	isigqili	
205	calabash	sigcingci	isigingci	
206	armband or anklet	sigcizo	isigqizo	
207	sculptor	umgcobi	umgqophi	
208	to wear	kugcoka	ukugqoka	
209	to stare at	kugcolotela	ukugqoloza	
210	to dig using a pick-axe	kugcona	ukugqoba	
211	large tin can or drum	ligcona	umggomo	
212	snout or muzzle of animal	ingcova	inqovolo	
213	grudge	ligcubu	igqubu	
214	to poke, to prod, to jab	kugcubula	ukugqula	
215	to urge, to encourage	kugcugcuta	ukuqhubezela	

216	hipbone	incgulu	inqulu	#huūs (NA) = 'hipbone'
217	<i>Physalis peruviana</i>	gcumgcumu	uqhumqhumu	
218	to fall into water	kugcumusela	ukugqubuza	!khubu (NA) = 'to make a thud or splash'
219	locust species	lugcwicwi	iliqhwishi	#giri #giris (NA) = <i>Gryllus bimaculatus</i>
nasalised click ex alveolar click				
220	to grab, to catch (as a ball); to snap (as a dog)	kuncaka	ukuthi nqaka	
221	of snapping off, of breaking	ncamu	nqamu	
222	to restrain, to divert, to turn back	kuncandza	ukunqanda	
223	to be cautious, to handle carefully, to be dextrous	kuncenga	ukungqenga	
224	to lean against, to rely on	kuncida	ukunqika	
225	hunting party	lincina	inqina	
226	foot (of cattle or goats)	lincina	iqhina	!uūs (NA) = 'hoof'
227	to pinch, to nip	kuncita, kuncweba	ukuncweba	
228	a competition, a match, a contest	umncintisano	ukuncinta	
229	to dwindle, to shrink, to diminish	kuncipha	ukuncipha	
230	to conquer, to defeat, to overcome	kuncoba	ukunqoba	
231	boiled dried mielies; soft sour mieliepap	lincobo; incoloji; ligcotjelwa	iliqhobo (ZU); inqodi (XH)	
232	to go upward, to be erect or upright	kunconga	ukuthi nqo	
233	to congeal, to solidify; to be overcast	kuncuma	ukunqumisa	!khuū (NA) = 'to condense', 'to cloud over'
234	to cut off, to cut short; to decide, to judge	kuncuma	ukunquma	
235	to pluck; to ascertain an opponent's plans	kuncutsa	ukuqunta	
236	biltong	umncweba	umqwayiba	
tenuis click ex lateral click				
237	to quarrel	kucabana	ukuxabana	!lgōbā- (NA) = 'to provoke'
238	to sit or stand with legs apart	kucanalata	ukuxamalaza	
239	to climb, to twine around, to sprout	kucanca	ukuxhanta	!lhaī (NA) = 'to sprout'
240	to lap up, to lick medicine from fingers	kucapha	ukuxhapha	
241	to be plentiful	kucaphaka	ukuxhapaka	
242	to peel	kucata	ukuxhata	!lhaū (NA) = 'to skin (a hide)', 'to strip', 'to remove'
243	to be loose, to be unsteady	kuceka	ukuxega	
244	one part, one side, one portion	incenya	inxenye	!lhaīm (NA) = 'to separate'
245	musical horn or trumpet	licilongo	ixilongo	
246	spring, fountain; bog, marsh, swamp	sichobo; lichaphothi	ilixobho ixhaphothi	
247	to converse, to discuss, to talk	kucoca	ukuxoxa	
248	frog; to jump about; to leap	sicoco; kucocoma; kugcuma	ilixoxo ukuxoxoma ukuxhuma	!lgōáb (NA) = 'frog spp.'
249	peace	kucola	uxolo	!lūú (NA) = 'to be at peace', 'to be calm'
250	to chase, to expel, to pursue	kuchosa	ukuxhosha	
251	to mix, to mingle	kucuba	ukuxubana	
251	toothbrush	sicubho	umxhubo	
252	to avoid, to shun	kucwaya	ukuxwaya	

253	wooden spoon or ladle	lucwephe, ingcwembe	ingxwembe	llgòáb (NA) = 'ladle'
aspirated click ex lateral click				
254	to eat noisily; to wade through mud	kuchafuta	ukuxhafuza	
255	purse	umchaka	umxhaka	llhòób (NA), llhòb = 'sack', 'bag'
256	<i>Varanus niloticus</i>	chamu	uxamu	llnààréb (NA) = <i>Varanus niloticus</i>
257	to shake hands with	ukuchawula	ukuxhawula	
258	old man	lichegu	ixhegu	llkxee (llXE) = 'old'
259	to be sickly	kuchwala	ukuxhwala	
voiced click ex lateral click				
260	crowbar	umgcala	umgxwala	llgàwèb
261	to belittle, to slander	kugceka	ukugxeka	
262	to trample, to pelt	kugcoba	ukugxova	llhòwò (NA) = 'to pound'
263	treebark	ligcolo	ixholo	
264	to set into the ground	kugcumeke	kugxumeke	
nasalised click ex lateral click				
265	castrated bull	lincahi	linxahi	
266	wound	linxeba	ilinxeba	llàms (NA) = 'headwound'
267	lefthand side	lincele	ixhele	llàré (NA) = 'lefthand'
268	excuse me! sorry!	ncesi	nxese	
269	to be shy, to be bashful	kuncincitseka	ukuxina	
270	to entreat, to ask a favour; to call for help	ukuncusa	ukunxusa	llnúú' (NA) = 'to accompany as an escort', hence, 'to serve as an amassador'
271	a steeply ascending route	umncwa	umxawuka (XH)	llhòáb (NA) = 'steep slope'

Table B.1.1.2.2 siSwati Click Items of of Unclear Derivation				
1	to allow to pass, to give way to	kucekela		
2	leaf, husk, pod, nutshell; husk, nutshell	icembe; lichashi		
3	action detrimental to family, e.g., witchcraft, extravagance	incintsamuti		
4	anthill, termite heap	isiciwa	cf. isiqiwo (ZU) = 'beacon', 'boundary mark'?	
5	to search for	kuciza		
6	<i>Bagrada hilaris</i> [entom.]	umcobolonjwane		
7	to mutilate, to dissect, to cut off pieces	kucona, kucwiya		
8	to greet, to welcome	kucoza		
9	to take a nap	kucuba		
10	extreme saltiness (IDEO)	cu	cf. -ncu (XH, ZU) = 'sour'?	
11	bovine scrotum	umcubulo		
12	annual national ceremony of swaziland; sacred black ox at the incwala ceremony	incwala; incwambu		

13	ceremony in honour of coming of age of a Royal princess or daughter of a principal chief	umcwasho		cf. habas (KO) = 'coming-of-age ceremony for young girls'
14	expert singer or speaker	isichalachala	cf. ubuqaphuqaphu (ZU)?	
15	first, long ago; before, earlier than	nchanti	cf. kade (ZU)?	
16	to change position	kuchilika		
17	to dress smartly	kuchilika		
18	to cleanse ritually; to bleed	kuchimsa; kuchimsika		
19	to writhe, to twitch	kuchwisha		
20	sacred ox; favourite child	ligcabi		
21	to commence digging;	kugcala	? scope unclear; is this just ukuqala?	
22	to cheat; to palm smth off onto smne	kugcangcantsa	cf. ukuqhata (XH)?	
23	beaded necklet; beaded necklet charm	ligcebesha incema		
24	elbow	ingcosa		
25	very dark-skinned person	ingcozi		
26	young unmarried woman wearing sicholo hairstyle	ingcugce		
27	to interfere	kugcumukela	cf. ukuchuphuluza = 'to pester'?	
28	stick held while dancing	umgcusha	cf. umgxusho = 'instrument for ramming'?	
29	toothless person	ingcwa		
30	swampy ground, seepage area	umncitsi	cf. ichibi = 'vlei'?	
31	to argue	kunconga		
32	nevertheless, however, but, still, yet, although	ncono	cf. nxa = 'when', 'if'?	
33	to deliberately get someone into trouble or danger	kuncopha		
34	<i>Syzgium cordatum</i>	umncozi		
35	westernised, but not Christian	umncugulu		
36	'resinbush'	sifice	perhaps assoc. with kufica = 'to tie'?	

B1.2 Southwestern NTU Click Languages

These data collate etymologised examples of click loan in four well-studied ‘southwestern NTU’ click languages of the broader Okavango Delta region in Namibia and Botswana. Some etymologies are drawn from those offered in the appendix to GSPB15, but most are novel. For further discussion, see Section 11.2.1. above.

B1.2.1 Click Etymologies in ruManyo (K332)

Table B1.2.1.1 ruManyo Click Items of KX'A, KHOE, or TUU origin				
#	gloss	item	K'XA, KHOE, TUU	elsewhere & notes
ex dental click				
1	'dried gutted fish'	shicà	hǎǎb (NA) = air-dried meat, biltong	
2	'cold', 'frostiness'	kací	niǎi (!XU) = cold, coldness	
3	'basket for carrying fish' 'basket'	shicúkuma shicúma	óamá (KW) = coiled basket GSPB15, but note !auh (JU) = basket	thi umá (MBU) = 'basket'
4	'fish hook'	cúshu	úís (NA) = fishing net; ǎǎ (KW) = fishing equipment	
5	<i>Croton gratissimus</i> (Euphorbiaceae)	mugcára	khéérās (NA) = <i>Ricinus communis</i> (Euphorbiaceae)	note umchakuva (XH) = <i>Ricinus communis</i>
6	'smell of fish'	gcó	tc'ó (KW) = to rot, ǎǎ (NA) = to rot, to putrefy	
7	'cluster of trees'	egcu	g ui (!XU) = thicket; gúi (KW) = thicket, huib (NA) = thicket; kubi (!XA) = thicket	igcuma (XH) = 'cluster', 'thicket' icholo (ZU) = 'small copse or thicket'
8	<i>Terminalia sericea</i>	mugcúva	óává (KW) = <i>Terminalia sericea</i>	
9	'to taste food with vinegar' [<i>sic.</i>], correct to 'with finger'	ncâma	'óama (KW) = 'to lick out with the index finger'; ǎimá (NA) = 'to take in liquid by sucking it from the finger'	kun ǎmpà, kun ǎndòrà (FW) = 'to take by sucking one's finger'
10	'to pinch'	ncánta	kám (JU) = to pinch	
11	'button'	lincênu	n ánú (KW) = button	din anu (MBU) = 'button'
12	'thorn bush'	nchó	n hòó (JU) = 'thorny-stemmed shrub, bearing red berries' GSPB15; hoku (H O) = 'a red fruit' WID384; ou (NH) = <i>Solanum namaquense</i> ; #ouku (NH) = <i>Solanum</i> sp.,	
13	fruit of a nold 'olive tree'	ncíyiri	lu'í (!XU) = 'fruit of the <i>chivi</i> tree', <i>i.e.</i> , <i>Guibourtia coleosperma</i>	
14	'tobacco pipe'	ngcéve	g éévé (KW) = small tobacco pipe GSPB15	
15	nold 'water chestnut' <i>i.e.</i> , <i>Cyperus</i> spp.	ngcîci	gûm (!XO) = <i>Mariscus chersinus</i> , <i>Cyperus margaritaceus</i>	

ex alveolar click				
16	'firewood'	vicacá	!xàan (!XU) = 'bundle (e.g., of firewood)'	shiqha (YE) = 'bundle of firewood'
17	'to sleep on one's back' 'to turn [x] on its back' 'to lie on one's back'	cânama cânda cânuka	!lâāsēn	ukuqatsha
18	<i>Ochna pulchra</i>	mucè	!lâi (JU) = <i>Ochna pulchra</i>	
19	'original bushland', 'virgin forest'	có, ucó	!'ô (!XU) = 'forest', 'bush'	
20	'!Xun person'	muCu	!Xun (!XU) = !Xun	
21	'flower', 'blossom'	mucûko	ǀqhùm (!XO) = 'a flower' or ncubu (NH) = 'blossom of tree'?	thiMBU
22	<i>Buphagus africanus</i>	kamugcará	!hálò (!XU) = <i>Egretta alba</i> ṙwárú (KW) = <i>Ardea melanocephala</i>	probably <u>not</u> the same as uxhwaaya (YE) = 'cattle egret'
23	[<i>Senegalia</i>] <i>erubescens</i>	mugcaúnga	ǀlau (JU) = [<i>Senegalia</i>] <i>mellifera</i> GSBP15	
24	'to sink with a splash' 'to make continuous sound of water'	gcúbukira gcúbutika	kò ǀohbú (JU) = 'to splash' !khubu (NA) = ONO of a dull thud	kùṅlúmpwàmà, ṅlúmpwí (FW) = 'to splash' gcubukera (MBU) = to sink, to splash into a liquid ukuthi gqumbu (ZU) = IDEO of a heavy body falling into water
25	'stain as from an egg white'; 'vaginal discharge'	lincâru	!ǀabàb (NK) = 'eggwhite', 'amniotic or fetal fluid' 'white excretion'	
26	nolD 'tigerfish (female)', probably <i>Hydrocynus</i> spp.	ncarushí	!hānnú (!XU) = 'fish' note tcaā (KW) = <i>Hydrocynus vittatus</i> historically a palatal or alveolar	
27	<i>Micropterus salmoides</i> sardine (<i>Barbus</i> sp.)	linché; ngcwé	!éédēb = <i>Galeichthys feliceps</i>	igciliimintyi (XH), ukuchebula (XH)
28	'quiver'	nchunú	!ǀurúb (NA) = 'quiver' !úrú (KW) = 'quiver' reborrowed as !huúnú (KW) = 'quiver'	inquu (ZU, XH) = cylindrical bundle, bale
ex lateral click				
29	'sandal', 'shoe'	shicámakáku	llāvòo (KW) = 'shoe' ǀllohàn (!X) = 'sandal'	
30	<i>Psammobates</i> sp.	kacúru	ǀlgerú (KW) = 'tortoise' GSBP15	
31	'tinder'	cókwe	ǀlguú (KW) = to light a fire; to set on fire	kuǀllohòl'hó, -igxuu (YE) = 'to put wood on the fire'
32	'to be sleepless' 'to watch over'	gcúnya; gcúnyina	ǀlguú (!XU) = 'sleeplessness'	
33	<i>Ipomoea sinensis</i>	lincôro	n!urú (JU) = <i>Ipomoea verbascoidea</i>	
34	'joint'	ncúgu	!'útziá (JU) = 'joint between bones'	
ex palatal click				
35	<i>Fockea angustifolia</i>	licáva	ǀ'hába (JU) = <i>Fockea angustifolia</i>	
36	'to split'	cóaura	ǀhòwā (NA) = 'to come undone', 'to split' xòá (KW) = 'to split'	
37	tasteless, saltless, insipid, boring; to lose taste; to be permanently tasteless	cópa cópoka cópokwa	ǀhòá (KW) = 'tasteless' ǀòpó (NA) = 'tasteless'	kùǀò:hà (FW) = 'to be tasteless'
38	'south'	ucumá	ǀqhuā (!XO) = south	
39	'shallow water (in river)'	licwà	ǀqávè (KW)	-maqca (YE) = 'shallow'

40	'to be plane (of a piece of wood)'	gcâmpuka	#a'abà #a'abà (JU) = 'flat'	
41	'to cause heartburn'	gcápeka	#ápi #ápi (NA) = 'to nauseate'	
42	'equal, compeer, friend (among males)'	gcára	#gàrà (KW) = friend of the same age group	
43	'mucus'	vigcéve	llgùú #x'ενε (KW) = slime, mucus GSPB15	ucge (ZU); uluchwe (XH) = 'saliva', 'dribble'
44	'to shiver with cold or fear'	gcígca	!!xāh (!XU) = 'to shiver'	cf. ukuqaqazela (ZU) = 'to shiver'
45	'narrowness'	uncò	#'ó (KW) = 'narrow' !!'ò (!XU) = 'to be narrow'	
46	'walking stick'	ncwà	n#góá (KW) = 'walking stick' GSPB15	

Table B1.2.1.2 ruManyo Click Items of Uncertain Derivation				
1	'to let [x] boil away' 'to let a deadline expire'	cákatita cákashita		
2	'to chase after'	cāchanita		
3	'sunburn'	cāshe		
4	'crocodile'	licāva	cf. #oana (NH) = 'crocodile'?	
5	'wooden plate' (small)	kacána		
6	'traditional bed'	cégca	cf. glām (!XU) = 'bed'?	
7	'otter'	lici = otter	reborrowed as dilgi (KW) = <i>Aonyx capensis</i> ; original etymon unclear	
8	<i>Lanius</i> spp., <i>Prionops plumatus</i> , generic term for shrikes	mucù	cf. nqoro (NH) = <i>Tchagra australis</i>	cf. igqumusha (XH, ZU)
9	'to explode (with a crackling noise)' 'to crackle' 'to set crackling'	cûka cûkauka cûkaukita		cf. ukuchwabaza (ZU) = 'to make a crackling noise'
10	'tomato'	cumáte	supposedly click insertion onto Afrikaans <i>tamatie</i> but, recalling the small red berries of indigenous Solanaceae plants, cf. n!úmáda'a (JU) = 'berries'	note n!úmàrè (FW) = 'fruit sp'. ex n!úmáda'a (JU) = 'berries' is clearly the same word & is less transparently premised on <i>tamatie</i> ; a species ID would help.
11	'to fumigate (in order to purify)'	cûkaukita		
12	'to become hairless' 'to make hairless' to lose hair	cúncunuka cúncuna ncûnchunuka		
13	'dish of boiled melon'	cúshu		
14	'to neglect one's wife' 'to ignore', 'to mistrust', 'to doubt'	gcêncuna ncénuna	cf. n#góé (KW) = to ignore GSPB15?	
15	'hippo bull'	gcérembe		
16	'to break apart'	gcêtuka		
17	'to row downstream'	gcîlika		
18	'to wait patiently'	gcíta		
19	'sweet grass'	mugcîri		mucimbi (ZU) = 'species of meadow-grass, having long stalks surmounted by a tuft of white spikes', also inceme (XH, ZU) =

				'generic term for rushes, sedges, reeds' which is the same just with a CL.9 nasal
20	'helmet worn by mineworkers'	shigcoko		
21	'to take more than one's share (e.g., of food)'	gcóntora		
22	'insignificance', 'unimportance', 'invalidity'	ugcôro		
23	'to melt, to dissolve'; 'to melt, to dissolve'; 'to cause to melt'	gcúghuruka gcúvuruka gcúvurura		
24	'underbelly of hippo'	ugcúli		
25	'to go down, to lift off, to descend'; 'to climb down to'; 'to bring down'; 'to unload'; 'to gulp down'	gcúmpuka; gcúmpuka; gcúmpuka; gcúmpwita; gcúnkwira		
26	'to eat noisily'	ncâkaura		
27	'to click'; 'to click as sign of contempt'	ncâkura ncômona		paralinguistic & ubiquitous; no etymon required
28	'gill'	ncâli		
29	'reed', 'river grass'	mancé		
30	'old splinters of reed'	nchóvo		cf. isi gcobo (XH) = reed, river grass; um choboka (ZU) = reed sp.; note also kgopu (TSW) = 'root of a reed'
31	'grudge'	ncíri		mú jiri (YE) = 'guilt'
32	'to get addicted to', 'to get accustomed to'	ncôkoka		
33	'to kiss'	ncúmita		
34	'to slip out of the hands'	ncúmpuka		
35	'to be outspoken'	ncúngushuka		
36	'small pot with a lid'	mungcomó		cf. shiYeyi kà!'ú mà , kanq'uma = 'cooking vessel'; poss. cf. !Ui-branch !ung (KROEN 1861); !ôa (XA) = 'pot'
37	'elderly lady, madam'	ngcongco ká di		
38	'to ring (of a bell)'	ngcóroka		
39	'hippopotamus cow'	ngcúkwe	Note # nuĩ = 'hippopotamus' in the Xam of Adam Kleinhardt (Bleek 1866: 29), whose father had spoken Kora. Most other KX'A, KHOE, and TUU languages use some variation on 'water elephant' as a euphemism for 'hippopotamus', suggesting that # nuĩ may have been an older, more specific KHOE-family term that was lost before later documentation that survived only as a loan into !Ui.	cf. isiZulu incubu = 'hippopotamus' D&V535; <i>contra</i> Faye 1925:758, Herbert 1990a:129, who claim click insertion onto *pB *gubu, the presence of this item on either side of the Kalahari excludes isihlonipha and implies a shared KHOE-family etymon.

B1.2.2 Click Etymologies in thiMbukushu (K333)

Table B1.2.2.1 thiMbukushu Click Items of KX'A, KHOE, or TUU Derivation				
#	gloss	thiMbukushu	KX'A, KHOE, TUU	elsewhere
ex dental click				
1	'first two ribs of lower part of animal'	thu ɛɛ	!éré (KW), four lowest ribs GSPB15 !àráb (NA) = ribs	
2	'cold', 'coldness'	ka ɪ	ni ɪ (IXU) = cold, coldness	kací (MA) = 'cold'
3	<i>Vangueria esculenta</i> , <i>Grewia flavescens</i>	wu ore	!görös (NA) = <i>Grewia flavescens</i> var. <i>flavescens</i> tc'oéré (KW) = <i>Vangueriopsis lanciflora</i> GSPB15	note that !oéré (KW) is attested for <i>Grewia flavescens</i>
4	'reed basket'	thi umá	!óamá (KW) = coiled basket GSPB15, but note !auh (JU) = basket	
5	'very clean'	!ushu ushu	!òò (IXU) = 'to clean'	
6	'to splash water around with hands'	gcamwena	!qamá (KW) = 'to splash'	
7	'sardine'	dici, digci, dingce	!éédéb = <i>Galeichthys feliceps</i>	
8	'a fishy smell'	g o	!óó (NA) = to rot, to putrefy; tc'ó (KW) = to rot	gcó (MA) = 'smell of fish'
9	'a cluster of trees'	dig u	g ui (IXU) = thicket !gúi (KW) = thicket !huīb (NA) = thicket !kubi (XA) = thicket	egcu (MA) = 'cluster of trees' !gcuma (XH) = 'thicket', 'cluster'
10	'button'	din anu	n ánú (KW) = button (reborrowed?)	lincênu (MA) = 'button'
11	'slender mongoose', i.e. <i>Galerella sanguinea</i>	kamung ɔɔ	n òlòcē (IXU)	
ex lateral click				
12	'to be sleepless'	g unya	!lgúu (IXU) = 'sleeplessness'	
13	'to go to work for one day each week'	ngcomena	!lúú!lgóé (NA)	note isiXhosa ukungxungxa = 'to work on temporary basis'
ex alveolar click				
14	'bag for carrying Bushman fire-making materials'	kacaghuma	ka*xàbù (JU) = 'small bag made from cloth' !gàwáb (NA), !'abab (KO) = 'bag'	ingqaba, iligabha (ZU) = 'skin bag'
15	!Xūn	muCu	!Xūn	
16	'to put forth buds'; 'a flower'	!uka, mu uko	g!qhùṁ (IXO) = 'a flower'	mucûko (MA) = 'a flower'
17	'power', 'ability', 'strength'	ngcamu	!an (IXU) = 'power', 'strength' !'hàn (JU) = 'ability'	
18	to sink, to go down, to splash into a liquid	gcubukera	!khubu (NA) = ONO of a dull thud	ukuthi gqumbu (ZU) = IDEO of a heavy body falling into water
19	<i>Dipcadi</i> sp. (Hyacinthaceae), grows in water	mun ungu, muncgungu	!òhngù (IXU) = nòD 'waterlily' !gòhmi kúu (IXO) = <i>Dipcadi glaucum</i> (second element kuu looks like it should be 'sheep'; sheep's what?)	isiZulu umnqundu = <i>Eucomis</i> spp. (Hyacinthaceae) D&V596

20	'a quiver (for arrows)'	ng unu, ngcunu	!guṛúb (NA) = 'quiver' !úrú (KW) = 'quiver' reborrowed in click reduction as huúnú (KW) = 'quiver'	nchunú (MA) = 'a quiver' inqulu (ZU, XH) = cylindrical bundle, bale
21	'grass growing in pans, seeds gathered by pounding'	ngcuvungcuvu	n!hùṁi (JU) = 'grass sp.' but cannot be confirmed without narrower ID; cf. also !gōh'bi (!XO) = <i>Digitaria eriantha</i>	umqungu (ZU) = <i>Hyparrhenia tambia</i> ; note also !uru gâab (NA) = nold sp. of grass, marked '?' in HEG, which is in turn comparable with lhee ni !uria (N U) = <i>Stipagrostis uniplumis</i>
ex palatal click				
22	<i>Fockea</i> sp.	d java	ʃ'hábá (JU) = <i>Fockea angustifolia</i> GSBP15	licâva (MA) = <i>Fockea angustifolia</i>
23	'thick'	ɔ	ʃ'ú (KW) = 'to be thick' GSPB15	
24	'south'	ghu uma	ʃqhuã (!XO) = south	ucumá (MA) = 'south'
25	'to swarm around agrily (of bees)'	gcamukera	nʔàq (JU) = 'a swarm'	
26	'to make a clicking sound, e.g., while cocking a gun'	ncerikera	ʃ'âa (!XO) = 'to shoot (sg.)'	kuí!ékéré (YE) = 'to shoot at smth)
27	'to slap with the hand'	-ng ambura	ʃqá (KW) = 'to slap' GSPB15	kuíʃhòà, -ingca (YE) = 'to slap'
28	'scorpion', 'type of spider with claws & stinging tail'	ngce	ʃkhāib (NA) = scorpion, solifugid	isigcasha (ZU) = spider, solifugid

Table B1.2.2.1
thiMbukushu Click Items of Uncertain Derivation

#	gloss	thiMbukushu	KX'A, KHOE, TUU	elsewhere
1	'crocodile'	macava		
2	'otter'	dici		
3	'to set a bone in a splint,' 'to crush, to squeeze (stones)'	gcarura	scope unclear	
4	'a herd of zebra'	mugcengu	poss. cf. hāés (NA) = 'herd of animals'?	
5	'to melt, to liquefy, to dissolve in or into water'	magcamukera		
6	'a storehouse'	digcivi		cf. igcini (YE) = 'building'
7	'shallow (of a bowl)'	ngcanda		
8	'to chatter'	ng ang ara	cf. !am (JU) = 'to gossip'?	
10	'act of drawing a canoe down to the river'	ngce		is this comparable with gcīlika (MA) = 'to row downstream'? I worry that there is some translationese contaminating all of these records (cf. 'to taste with vinegar' for 'to taste with the finger')
11	'to clatter', 'to crash', 'to make a din'	ngcerenganya; ngcerengceru		
12	'green and red river grass', 'sweet grass'; 'grass growing on surface of ponds'	mung idi; mungcimbiri		cf. mucimbi (ZU) = 'species of meadow-grass, having long stalks surmounted by a tuft of white spikes'
13	'smaller sardine species'	kangcirigiri		

14	'to produce a click sound in speech', 'to dissent'	ngcomona		paralinguistic & ubiquitous; no etymon required
15	'a kiss', 'a kissing sound'	thin jakura ; n jumita , thingcumita		
16	'to find out what a person is doing'	ncenuna		
17	'to become excited (of children)'	kara ncinci		note ukugcwigcwiza (ZU) = 'to hop about with joy, skip with excitement'

B1.2.3. Click Etymologies in ruKwangali

Table B1.2.3.1 ruKwangali Click Items of KX'A, KHOE, or TUU Derivation				
#	SOURCE	ruKwangali	KX'A, KHOE, TUU	elsewhere
ex dental click				
1	'cold', 'winter'	kaci	nǀǀǀ (!XU) = cold, coldness	kací (MA) = 'cold' kalí (MBU) = 'cold'
2	'a fishy smell'	egco	tc'ó (KW) = to rot ǀóó (NA) = to rot, to putrefy	gcó (MA) 'smell of fish'
3	a grove of trees along a river	egcu	ǀǀǀǀ (!XU) = thicket ǀǀǀǀ (KW) = thicket ǀǀǀǀ (NA) = thicket ǀǀǀǀ (XA) = thicket	egcu (MA) = 'cluster of trees' icguma (XH) = 'cluster', 'thicket'
4	'to pinch'	ncwanta	ǀǀǀǀ (JU) = to pinch	ncánta (MA) = to pinch
5	small poisoned arrow	sincha	ǀǀǀǀǀǀ (!XU) = 'arrow tip' tchǀǀǀǀǀǀ (JU) = 'arrow tip'	tchǀǀ (JU) = 'arrow'; if this were rebracketing as CL.7 that would be so cool
6	sardine sp.	enche	ǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀ = <i>Galeichthys feliceps</i>	linché; ngcwé (MA) = 'sardine sp.'
ex alveolar click				
7	'oxpecker'	kamugcara	ǀǀǀǀǀǀ (!XU) = <i>Egretta alba</i> ǀǀǀǀǀǀ (KW) = <i>Ardea melanocephala</i>	kamugcará (MA) = 'oxpecker'
8	'yellow-bark Acacia', i.e., <i>Vachellia xanthophloea</i>	mugcaunga	ǀǀǀǀǀǀ (JU) = [<i>Senegalia</i>] <i>mellifera</i> GSBP15	mugcaúnga (MA) = [<i>Senegalia</i>] <i>erubescens</i>
9	'to sink, to go down into'	gcubukira	kò ǀǀǀǀǀǀ (JU) = 'to splash' ǀǀǀǀǀǀ (NA) = ONO of a dull thud	
10	'ankle'	ncugu	ǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀ (JU) = 'joint between bones'	ncûgu (MA) = 'joint'
11	<i>Dipcadi glaucum</i>	muncungu; muncuu	ǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀ (!XU) = nold 'waterlily' ǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀ (!XO) = <i>Dipcadi glaucum</i>	munǀungu, muncgungu (MBU) = <i>Dipcadi</i> sp. umnqundu (ZU) = <i>Eucomis</i> spp. (Hyacinthaceae) D&V596
12	'quiver (for arrows)'	nǀhunu	ǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀ (NA) = 'quiver' ǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀ (KW) = 'quiver'	nchunú (MA) = 'quiver' inqulu (ZU, XH) = cylindrical bundle, bale
ex palatal click				
13	<i>Fockea</i> sp.	ecava	ǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀ (JU) = <i>Fockea angustifolia</i>	licáva (MA) = <i>Fockea angustifolia</i> isacagwe (XH) = <i>Raphionacme</i> spp.
14	'a feeling got from eating too much fat'	gcapeka	ǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀ (NA) = 'to nauseate'	gcápeka (MA) = 'to cause heartburn'
15	'to lick excessively;	ncora	ǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀ (!XU) = 'to lick out'	

Table B1.2.3.2 ruKwangali Click Items of Uncertain Derivation				
1	to explode, to burst open; to explode continuously	cuka ; cukauka		
2	'manageable, controllable'	cusuka		
3	'to be fast asleep'	gcasuka		
4	nolD fish	egcuvance	second element –nce is ex éédèb = <i>Galeichthys feliceps</i> series; specifying element is irretrievable	
5	'to sit waiting for a long while'	gcukumana		
6	'to click with the tongue'; 'poor fellow!'; 'to click the tongue to show displeasure'	ncakura ; ncamuse ; ncompya		paralinguistic & ubiquitous; no etymon required
7	'to speak nonsense'	ncasauka	cf. 'am (JU) = 'to gossip'?	cf. ng ang ara (MBU) = 'to chatter'?
8	'to displease'	ncenuna		
9	'to grow accustomed to'	ncokoka		
10	seed of <i>Neptunia [olaracea]</i> (mimosoid hydrophyte)	ncuma	cf. !goos (DA) = ' <i>Mimosa pigra</i> ' (Sullivan 1998: 49)	compare terms <u>not</u> for generic seeds or for 'waterlilies' in Nymphaeaceae, but for seedpods from <i>Vachellia</i> , <i>Senegalia</i> , other mimosoids
11	'to kiss'	ncumita		
12	'peak of mountain'; 'to be sharp, to be peaked'	ncumungu ; ncumpuruka	poss. cf. #áòb (NA) = 'mountain'?	poss. cf. incopho (XH) = 'mountain'?
13	'to be frank', 'to be outspoken'	ncungusuka		

B1.2.4. Click Etymologies in chiFwe

Table B1.2.4.1 chiFwe Click Items of KX'A, KHOE, or TUU Derivation				
#	gloss	ruKwangali	KX'A, KHOE, TUU	elsewhere
ex dental click				
1	'to milk'	ku ama	!x'awā (!XU) = 'to milk' !aō (NA) = 'to milk' * x'āō (*pK) = 'to milk into a vessel' clearly <i>not</i> insertion onto *pB *-kam- 'to squeeze' as suggested at Gunnink 2020: 173	ukuchaga (ZU) = '[hlon] to milk' uchago (NDEB) = 'milk'
2	'to destroy', 'to tear', 'to dismantle'	kù àpàùrà, kù àpùrà, kù àpùrùrà, kù àpùrùrà	!xabe (NH) = 'to tear apart', !habi (!XU) = 'to tear'	kù#*ápàrà; kù#*ápùrà; - qcapura (YE) = 'to destroy'; note also ukuqamfula, ukuqaqambula (ZU) = 'to tear apart'
3	'to bite a piece of tough or undercooked meat'	kù ùtùrà	!ùm (!XU) = 'to chew' xòm (KW) = 'to chew'	
4	'thin'	ᵑ εεε; kuᵑ εεεhesa	iní (KW) = 'to be thin'	probably directly from βu *éne (YE); cf. also -ncinci (XH, ZU, etc.)
5	nolD 'small fish'	g imà	éédèb = <i>Galeichthys feliceps</i>	linché; ngcwé (MA) = 'sardine sp.' enche (KWA) = 'sardine sp.'
6	'to scrub someone's skin clean' 'to scrub'	kù g òtòmòrà, kù g ùkùmùrà	òò (!XU) = 'to clean'	
7	'reed', 'sedge'	run an a, ruᵑ aᵑ a	n àu n hàu (!XU) = <i>Aristida effusa</i> (Poaceae)	uqaqqa (XH) = <i>Cynodon dactylon</i> (Poaceae)
8	'to suck (even when there is no milk)'; 'to go from one breast to the other when the milk is finished'	kùn ámpà, kùn ámpàùrà	óm (KW) = 'to suck the breast'; góm (NA) = 'to suck'	-ncama, kù nàmìsá (YE) = 'to suckle'; HE okunyamisisa = 'to suckle' ZU ukumunca, ukumunya = 'to suckle'
9	'resin'	n àngi	qhaā (!XO) = 'sap'	
10	<i>Searsia tenuinervis</i> (Anacardiaceae)	mùᵑ aᵑwa	n àng (JU) = 'berries of wild currant' which is usually either <i>Searsia</i> sp. or <i>Grewia</i> sp.	
11	'to taste by sucking one's finger' 'to pick a spoonful of honey'	kùn òmpà, kùn òndòrà kù ᵑᵑᵑbora	!óáma (KW) = 'to lick out with the index finger' òbé (NA) = 'to dip, to dip smth into gravy'	ncâma (MA) = 'to taste food with the finger'; gcobo (ZU) = IDEO 'of dipping into liquid lightly'; ukugcoboza (ZU) = 'to

				dip into smth., especially the finger into liquid'
12	'to write'	kunglora	lòrè (JU) = 'to write'	
13	'a sore'	ʔi ^h lufu	lnúu (NA) = 'to swell (of an ulcer)' RUST302, marked ? by H&E	
ex lateral click				
14	'to disperse', 'to scatter'	kùg àndàùkà, kùg àndùkà, kùg àndàùra	nllàqùn (JU) = 'to scatter'	
15	'to search through someone else's belongings' 'to rummage noisily'	ku àrùmunà kùnlàrànlàsà	llnàrà (NA) = 'to rummage'	
16	'to hollow out'; 'to widen (of a hole)'; 'to remove flesh', 'to remove an eye'?	kùnlòngòmònà; kùg òpòkà, kùg òpòrà	llhó (JU) = 'to hollow out by chopping'; llx'oo (N U) = 'to chop'; llháà (NA) = 'to chop with an axe', but possibly also conflation with llhòró (NA) = 'to chop', 'to hollow out', 'to gouge out (esp. an eye)'	ukuxhaxha (XH) = 'to chop with an axe'
17	'to mend'	ku ^h lume ⁿ da	llom (NH) = 'to repair'	
ex alveolar click				
18	'to sit with arms & legs extended' 'to spread one's legs or arms' 'to warm oneself'	kùg ákàminà; kùg àpùrà; kùg àrùmusà	lāāsèn = 'to stretch oneself out in the sun'	ukugqatseka (XH) = 'to warm oneself at a fire'
19	'to dig'	ku àmpùtùrà	!gāhle (!XO) = 'to dig' !khāā+uí (NA) = 'to dig out with utensil', more lit., 'to gauge out'	
20	'to divide', 'to share'	ku anauna	!aa (NH) = 'to divide among each other'	
21	<i>Cyperus</i> sp.	ru ómà	!o'm n ái (JU) = <i>Cyperus fulgens</i> (but gl'à'u is also JU = <i>Cyperus</i> sp., <i>Mariscus</i> sp.) ‡gōo (!XO) = <i>Cyperus margaritaceus</i> !khówòbèš (NA) = <i>Cyperus</i> sp. !ōb (KO) = <i>Cyperus esculentus</i>	ru ómà; muqoma, muqwama (YE) = <i>Cyperus</i> sp; inqoba (XH, ZU) = <i>Cyperus</i> sp.
22	'palm nut'	ka oma	dade!khoms (NA) = 'stone of a date'	
23	'anus'	mu ɔ ^m bɛ = 'anus'	n!hom (JU) = anus, large intestine;	mù!òndò, mucombe (YE) = "intestine", 'anus'
25	'to run fast'	kù òpòrà	!aàh (JU) = 'to run', !àán (!XU) = 'to run'	note ukuqobola (ZU) = 'to run fast'
26	'cheekbone'	ka uma	!hòòs (NA) = 'hollow of the collarbone, hollow of the cheek', ‡oaba (NH) = 'cheekbone'	note iqhoma (ZU) = 'cheekbone'
27	'very far'	ʔlumarɛ	!núù (NA) = 'far, distant, remote'	
28	IDEO 'of falling into water' 'to throw into water' 'to fall beyond reach'	kùnlùmpwàmà, n ùmpwí kuʔlù ^m pwíka kuʔlù ^m bukira	kò gtohbú (JU) = 'to splash'; !khubu (NA) = ONO 'of a dull thud'	gcubukera (MBU) = to sink, to splash into a liquid ukuthi gqumbu (ZU) = IDEO of a heavy body falling into water
29	'to shell groundnuts' 'to take maize off a cob'	kùnlàhàkà; kùnlànkùmùnà;	g!xà (JU) = 'to remove seeds'	
30	'to uproot'	kùnlùmàunà, kùnlùmùnà	!omm (JU) = 'to uproot'	

31	'berries of <i>Grewia</i> sp.'	ʔúmàrè	n!úmáda'a (JU) = 'berries'	
ex palatal click				
32	'to put mud on a wall'	kù ǎpàikà, kù ǎpikà	!!xain (!XU) = 'to plaster'; #xanu (JU) = 'to plaster'; #àó' (NA) = 'to plaster', 'to daub'	
33	'to spark', 'to sparkle'	kù ásàukà	g#kàin (JU) = 'to give off sparks'	
34	'tastelessness' 'to be boring'	bu o: kù ô:hà, kù ô:sà	#hòá (KW) = 'tasteless'; #òpó' (NA) = 'tasteless'	cópa, cópoka, cópokwa (MA) = 'tasteless'
35	'to strip a tree'	kù ǎmbùra	#àrñ (NA) = 'to strip a tree' #qhali (!XO) = 'to strip'	ukugqalula, ukugqazula (XH) = 'to strip branches or bark off tree'
36	'to shiver', 'to be startled'	kù ǎžà	!!xāñ (!XU) = 'to shiver'	
37	<i>Kyllinga alba</i> (Cyperaceae)	ru'ǎá, ru'ǎà	#'aa (KW) = <i>Phragmites australis</i> (Poaceae); #àáb (NA) = generic term for reeds; !'hālè' (!XU) = 'grass sp.'	
38	'to be flat (of stomach)'	ku'ǎm'pa	#a'ábà (JU) = 'flat'; #aa (NH), #hábá (NA) = 'flat'	caba, -mcaba (XH, ZU)
39	'small frog sp.'	shimu'ǎpi	n#àqm (JU) = 'frog sp.'	
40	'resin'	n óréžà	#nu'úb (NA) = 'mixture of brown resin of [<i>Vachellia mellifera</i>] and powdered charcoal used to plug [tortoise-shell containers]'	
41	nolD 'grasshopper'	ǎ'ǎ ùnà	n#hòmm (JU) = 'grasshopper sp.' #om (KW) = 'grasshopper (generic)' #hòmmi (NA) = 'grasshopper (generic)'	
42	nolD 'lizard sp.'	mú'ǎ úryà, mú'ǎ úryà	#gòlo (!XO) = 'Bushveld lizard' gòqrú (JU) = lizard	ùng'ǎ úrù; hà!úrù (YE) = 'species of lizard'

Table B1.2.4.2 chiFwe Click Items of Uncertain Derivation				
#	gloss	ruKwangali	KX'A, KHOE, TUU	elsewhere
1	'to rustle'	ku ǎ asa		
2	'a pumpkin seed'	ru anga	cf. #árás (NK) = 'pumpkin seed', thaàbā (!XU) = pumpkin (NTU loan)	note ithanga (ZU) = 'pumpkin', but also isichaka (ZU) = 'pumpkin garden'
3	'to stretch a fishing net'	kù ǎrùmùná		
4	'to use a click as an insult' 'to offend someone by clicking'	kù wá pìzà, kù'ǎ lám pìzà ku'ǎ úra		paralinguistic; needs no etymology
5	nolD plant sp.	ka u'dubi		
6	'to tear off'	ku utura		
7	'to stick to clothes (of thorns)'	kù'ǎ ǎbùrùra		cf. ukuqhagula (XH) = 'of thorns: to hook into skin or clothing'

8	'to take a little bit'	ku ⁹ lamuna		
9	'a problem'	n ⁹ apura		
10	'to shout loudly'	ku ⁹ larumukà		
11	nolD 'tree sp.'	ŋ ⁹ l ⁹ idzò	cf. lu ⁹ i (IXU) = 'fruit of the <i>chivi</i> tree', i.e., <i>Guibourtia coleosperma</i> again?	
12	'to pound with short, sharp movements'	ku ⁹ ji ⁹ kità	cf. !!uñ (IXU) = 'to pound millet'?	
13	'to hop'	ku ⁹ ji ⁹ ta		
14	'to lie with bent knees'	ku ⁹ jintura		
15	nolD 'plant sp.'	9 ⁹ ɔ ⁹ do		
16	'to drip'	ku ⁹ gl ⁹ ontà, ku ⁹ gl ⁹ ontàurà, ku ⁹ gl ⁹ onsà	cf. gl ⁹ xáún (IXU) = 'to drip', lâ (KW) = 'to drip'	note iliconsì (ZU) = 'drop'; but also *pB *-tont-
17	'brown melon sp.'; 'pumpkin without mielie meal;	gl ⁹ ú ⁹ kù ⁹ mú; 9 ⁹ lu ⁹ fu	cf. Ju ⁹ hoan g ⁹ úú ⁹ nllá = <i>C. welwitschii</i> where the first lexeme is the generic	cúshu (MA) = 'dish of boiled melon'
18	'edible reed' 'white edible substance on lower part of reed'	gl ⁹ umu lumu		
19	'to touch something lightly', 'to work slowly'	ku ⁹ ama ⁹ ama		
20	'to struggle free', 'to prise open'	ku ⁹ a ⁹ asura		
21	'species of wild cucumber'	9 ⁹ atura	connected with aàn (JU) = ' <i>Coccinia rehmanii</i> ', haàb (NA) = <i>Coccinia rehmaniii</i> , etc.	
22	'to eat reluctantly'	ku ⁹ asaura		
23	nolD fruit of 'wild date palm'	n ⁹ l ⁹ à		
24	'to eat or drink slowly'	ku ⁹ ɔ ⁹ l ⁹ ɔweza		
25	'to be slimy (of okra)	ku ⁹ l ⁹ onzòròkà		
26	nolD 'fish sp.'	shimu ⁹ l ⁹ opwe		
27	'toe'	ru ⁹ l ⁹ óre	cf. cgono (NH) = 'fingertip', 'toe'?	
28	'to suck blood (as a treatment for pain)'	ku ⁹ l ⁹ umà		
29	'to kiss'	ku ⁹ l ⁹ umentà		
30	'to plant a pole' 'to cover a hole (in a pole is planted)'	ku ⁹ l ⁹ umpàmà, ku ⁹ l ⁹ umpìka		

B2 Scenario 2

Contrastive Click Type Preserved & Maintained ('Click Diffusion')

This section presents examples of click loan from a click language into an ancestrally clickless language that display very *different* phonological outcomes to those encountered in Namaqualand Afrikaans. Click items are loaned into the host languages, specifically isiXhosa and isiZulu, such that type contrasts embedded in click 'type' *are maintained*, and a stably contrastive inventory is productively integrated into an ancestrally clickless grammar. The provision of type-matched etymologies clearly shows this trend. This section supports the arguments put forward in Chapter 12.

B2.1. Khoekhoe Loanwords in 'isiZunda'

Drawing on and critically reexamining the existing lists (primarily Meinhof 1905, Bourquin 1951, Louw 1977, and Ownby 1985), this section suggests 250 isiXhosa and isiZulu click items, all sourced from the GDX and the D&V respectively, that may be reasonably compared with Khoekhoe-branch items in Nama, Damara, and Kora, sourced primarily from KROEN, SCHUL, SCHILS, WAND, MAIN, ENG, DUPI, WIDL, SULL, and DuP. It does not incorporate clickless items (e.g., isiXhosa –**krwada** 'raw', ex a reflex of Nama **ora**, Kora **kx'ora** = 'raw'). 295 items have provisionally been found, although, since this is a preliminary effort at type-matching and not intended as a consolidated masterlist, comments and corrections are welcome.

In all cases, it is assumed that the donor language was *Old Khoekhoe (a putative parent dialect of the modern Khoekhoe-branch languages, as spoken c.1250 – 1450), *Eastern Khoekhoe (a putative series of dialects potentially spoken east of the Drakensberg and throughout the Eastern Cape c. 1450 – 1750) or *Cape Khoekhoe (a continuum whose easternmost extremities are known to have been spoken in the Karoo Heartland and Ciskei regions c.1650 – 1800). Old easterly dialects of Kora may also have been involved in contact. This fuzzy hypothetical set of Khoekhoe-branch donors is referred to as *Khoekhoe *donans* where necessary. The modern Nama, Damara, Hai ǁOm, and Kora items suggested, therefore, must be understood either as descendants, reflexes, or both of the actual item donated, not as the direct etyma.

A small number of items with no correspondence in the Khoekhoe-branch record but with potential etyma in the Kalahari-branch languages were found, but have been omitted from this list, as they require rather more complex explication.

Table B2.1
Click Items in isiZunda Type-Matched Against Khoekhoe

#	gloss	ZUNDA		KHOEKHOE		elsewhere & notes
		S41	S42	Nama	Kora	
dental click ex dental click						
1	'ostrich'	inciniba	intshe	lāmib	lamib, lemib	
2	end, point; tip of a tobacco pipe	incam; ingcaphe		lām̃mis	l'amma	
3	'the sun' (<i>hlon?</i>)	icami	umugca	sóres	sores l'amiros = 'star' (lit., 'little sun')	lám (KX) = 'sun', *pOK lám' = 'sun'; lám (JU) = 'sun'
4	'to roast meat on a spit'	ukugcanaba ukugcanda	ukuchachamba	làn làn = 'to smoke meat'		labaken (IXA) = 'to bake (meat)'
5	'to devise', 'to plot', 'to slander'	ukuceba	ukuceba	lāpé = to plot		
6	'blood' (<i>hlon.</i>)	icobe		lāòb = 'blood'		
7	rush spp., <i>Cymbopogon</i> spp.	umngcele	umcele	lārés	l'areb	!kwang lgere (IXA) = 'sp. of grass'
8	'to scarify', 'to make an incision'	ukuchaza	ukuchaza	lāwí		
9	'to blink'		ukuthi cwati	lāwiro (NA) = 'to blink'		
10	'to do injury surreptitiously', 'to beguile'	ukugcayisela		lāā = 'to sting unnoticed (of an insect)'; 'to do harm to in secret'		
11	<i>Herpestes</i> sp.	uchakide	uchakide	lāāréb (DA)		
12	<i>Enteromius anoplus</i> , <i>Pseudobarbus</i> spp.; 'to angle for small fish'	ugcilimintyi ukuchekula		lédèb = <i>Galeichthys feliceps</i>		
13	to anoint, to smear		ukugcoba	lòbé	lhobo	
14	'to be lazy', 'to become weary'	ukucoba		lòpé		
15	to sprout, to grow, to flourish	ukuchumile		lòm		
16	stinging pain, prick		ukucumbeza	lupús		
17	'small stones', 'pebbles'	amachwi		lúb		
18	'to be dirty'	ukungcola		lurí		
19	brackish, salty, sour taste	-muncu, munyu	-muncu	lúb	l'ub	
20	'brisket', 'thorax of carcass' hence 'delicacy', 'best portion'	incum ucuthu		lús		
21	'to be poor', 'to be impoverished'		isichaka	lgaá		
22	sternum, esp. of bird ('wishbone')	icabanga	ulucabango	lgaàs		
23	grass (generic)	ingca	ingca, inca	lgaáb	lāb	
24	edible <i>Asteraceae</i> spp.		incamu	lgames	lgomes	
25 a	<i>Lacertidae</i> spp., skink spp., gecko spp.	icikilishē			lgibiris	
25 b	<i>Lacertidae</i> spp., skink spp., gecko spp.		isichashakazana	lgaīs		
26	'to sprinkle with water', 'to sprinkle with liquid', 'to pour onto'	ukugcapha ukucela	ukuchela	lgāpí = 'to sprinkle'; lāí = 'to spatter'		
27	<i>Searsia lucida</i>	umchane		lgaras	lgananakua	

28	'to take a small mouthful'; 'a small portion of food'; 'person who only nibbles at food'	ukungcamla, isingca, ingcathu	ukuchatheza	lgáú = lit., 'to suck'; fig., 'to drink or eat abstemiously'		
29	<i>Proteles cristata</i>	ingci	isingci	lgiĩb	lgaib	
30	a fly	incizela [hlon.] GOD241		lgiĩnaš lēnesib, lētsisib (WAND)	lganāb, lgāineb	
32	to suck	ukumunya	ukumunca	lgom̃		
33	hindmilk	umncumezela	umncunze	lgupidaĩb		
34	sackcloth, sack	ingcawa		lhàós		
35	'to go grey', 'to age'	ukucebula		lhāi		
36	tatters, rags, threads	umchele		lhāreb	lhara-	
37	<i>Mellivora capensis</i>	ichélesi		lhāresēb	lhirseb	
38	reed spp., thatch, <i>matjies</i>	incaluba		lhārub		
39	'string', 'strip'	umcwe	umchilo	lhāwib		kaci (YE) = 'string' ex l'ĕĕ (KW)
40	<i>Coccinia sessilifolia</i>	unonca		lhāab		caā (NH) = <i>Coccinia rehmanii</i>
41	old rag, a pile of old rags or clothes	ukuchwishà, umchwisha		lhēēs		
42	<i>Felis sylvestris</i>	inyhwagi	incwabi	lhōab	lhōab	
43	piebald, spotty	ichoko, umchokose, isinco	umcombo, ukucumba	lhōò	lhooku	
44	evening, dusk, twilight	ucólòthi		lhópób		
45	grave, burial mound	ingcwaba	ingcwaba	lhówás	lhōbāb	
46	hyena	ingcuka	incuke		lhugāb	
47	thicket, dense scrub	igcuma		lhūib		
48	'distress'		isigcwagcwa; ubucayi, izingciji	lhùuĩhùũ lhúúb		
49	languid, listless, weary	ukuthi cùbùcùbù		lhúwú hùwú̃		
50	fault, debt	icala	icala	lhàwís		
51	side, flank	icala	icala	khááb	!namma	
52	to urinate	ukuchama	ukuchama	khām	xam	
53	'to leak'	ukuchapha		khàpǎ (DA)		
54	'to comb the hair'	ukuchaza	ukuchaza	kháwù		
55	expert, shrewd, astute, wily	umchebi	umchwepeshi	khéé		
56	to sing	ukucula	ukucula	khòó = 'to play a musical instrument', esp. stringed		lxoo (N uu) = 'to play a musical instrument'; lxooten lxooten (lXam) = 'the sound of a piano'
57	berry bushes (<i>Searsia</i> spp., <i>Rubus</i> spp.)	umgcunube		khúrúbèb		
58	'to pull out'		ukungcotula ukumoncula	khúú (NA) = to pull out		
59	sunbird spp.	ingcungcu;	incuncu; incwincwi		lxue	
60	to be fine, to be slender, to be small	ukuthi cwi	ukuthi ncu	lùì	lxui	

61	to sip up, to use a soupbrush	umncuza, ukuncuza		khúwù		
62	coccyx, loose flesh of the bottom	incele	incele	nǎǎb		
63	to love; to be pleasant; to be suitable	ukuthi ncam		nǎǎm		
64	to smile	ukuncuma		nóm	#num	
65	<i>Ficus sycomorus</i>		umncongo	nòmás		
66	pool, whirlpool, eddy, pond	ichibi	ichibi	nùbǎs		
67	illness, fever	icesina		aesenni	kx'aes	
68	to plan, to counsel	icebo	ilicebo	ǎpé	kx'abe	
69	splinter, sliver, fragment	icebetyu, ukucephula	uluwezwana		kx'abob	
70	of fullness, to be full	ukuthi gcwa, -gcwele		óà = 'full'	kx'oa	
71	'witklip', brittle stone ground & used in softening hide		ilichoba	khòǎs	kx'oms	

lateral click ex lateral click						
1	'to be active', 'to rush', 'to hurry'	ukunxama		lláǎxǎ = 'active', 'busy'		
2	'a grudge', 'to begrudge'	isixhiba		llǎǎb = 'anger', 'rage'		
3	to buy, to pay, to purchase	ukuxhama		llǎǎmá	ll'ǎmǎ	
4	to be annoyed, to be angry	ukungxama	ukungxama	llǎmí		
5	'wound'	inxeba	inxeba	llǎǎs = 'headwound'		
6	'large town', 'city', 'township'	isixeko		llǎn = 'to reside in', 'to dwell'		
7	left, lefthanded person	inxele	inxele	llǎré	ll'are	
8	'to become lean', 'to become destitute'	ukuxhwangeka		llǎwǎllǎwǎ		
9	'to squelch (of shoes)'	ukuxwashula		llóà llóà		
10	to make peace; to apologise; to mollify	ukuxola	ukuxola	llùǎ (NA) = 'to be at peace', 'to be calm'		
11	'to work on a temporary basis' 'a layabout', 'one who takes odd jobs'	ukungxungxu ingxungxu		llùǎllgǎe (NA) = lit., 'to lie in peace', with a sense of 'to be out of work', 'to be unemployed', 'to be a layabout'		
12	to be thirsty, thirst	unxǎnǎ		llgǎǎ	llǎ	
13	'to wear', 'to put on' 'ornament of beads'	ukunxiba; umgxashe		llgǎǎ = 'to put on'		
14	<i>Redunca arundinarum</i>		inxala	llkhǎǎ (NA) = 'to bound or leap (esp. as of prancing springbok)' H&E 278; hence llkhǎǎsǎs = <i>Oreotragus oreotragus</i> , the klipspringer	llga !'ǎs = <i>Redunca arundinarum</i>	llko (X A) = <i>Oreotragus saltatrix</i>
15	to dilute	ukungxaza		llgǎǎllgǎǎ		

16	'to tell'	ukuxela		llgàe = 'to tell'		
17	'ugly'	-ngxathu		llgáisi		
18	'temporary rush shelter'	ukunxada	ukunxada; ilinxadi	llgāhī = 'to erect a windbreak or kookskerm'; 'to set up a temporary shelter'		
19	shoulder (of human being)	igxalaba	igxalaba	llgārāb	llgarab	
20	<i>Alويدندron</i> spp.		umgxwala	llgārās		
21	'cattlepost'		igxamesi	llgāumāis (cited from WANDRES by BOURQ but also at SCHUL261, not in H&E)		
22	'crowbar', 'hooked bar'		umgxala	llgāweb		
23	'to choke', 'to strangle'	ukuxela	ukuxela	llgée (NA) = 'to break a small bird's neck'; 'fig., to strangle'		
24	'to glance at something' 'to to glance at from the corner of the eye' 'of an eye: to be squint'	ukuthi gxezu ukugxelesha -gxwem		llgēnnēb (NA) = 'corner of the eye', as used in expr. llgenneb !nā ra kō 'to glance at sidelong'		
25	<i>Vanellus coronatus</i>	igxiya		llgillgib (HIO) = <i>Vanellus armatus</i>		lljirā (YE) ex ll'ái ll'ái (JU)
26	to provoke, to anger, to tease	ukunxwala		llgōā		
27	'spoon', 'ladle'	igxebeka	ingxwembe	llgōāb		llgebe, llgabe (IXA) = 'spoon'
28	'frog'; 'to jump about', 'to leapfrog'	ixoxo;	ixoxo; ukuxoxoma	llgoāb (NA) = 'larger frog or toad'		nlōn'an (IXU) = 'frog sp. (small)' nloq'an (JU) = 'frog (various species)' 'llnāhm (IXO) = 'bullfrog' lloaqā (N U) = 'frog', 'bullfrog'
29	'to be crosswise'	ukuxaba	ukuxaba	llgōbāsē (NA) = crosswise, obliquely		llxwa (X A) = 'to move diagonally'
30	'decomposed wood used as tinder'	inxubuwa		llguīri (NA) = 'to add more wood to a fire'		llguú (KW) = 'to light a fire'; 'to set on fire'; kũllhōllhó (YE) = 'to keep burning by adding wood'; -igxuu (YE) = 'to put more wood on a fire'; llk'ōken (IXA) = 'to gather firewood'
31	<i>A.marsupialis; R. melanotis</i>	ingxungxu	ixhumu	llguúb	llgūs	
32	to chop with an axe; axe, chisel	ukuthi xabe; ukuxhaxha		llhāá	llhaba !'omde	
33	'to put out shoots'	ukuxhaka	ukuxhaka	llhāi (NA) = 'to sprout'		llhām (KW) = 'to sprout'
34	'part', 'portion'; 'faction', 'clique', 'side' 'beestings', 'cream', 'colostrum'	ilinxā; ingxwebhu	inxenye	llhām = 'to separate'; llhāmdaib = 'colostrum', 'separated milk'		

35	'ankle joint'	ixhwele		llhānnēs (DA) = 'foreknuckle of animal'		
36	'to take refuge'	ukuxharha		llhāā (DA) = 'to seek refuge'		
37	'to avoid', 'to keep away from'	ukunxwema		llhāā = 'to avoid'		
38	'to strip', 'to peel off'	ukuxoza	ukuxoza; ukuxatha	llhāū (NA) = 'to skin (a hide)', 'to strip', 'to remove'		
39	steep slope, stony mountainside	umxāwūka		llhōáb		
40	sack, bag, leather pouch	ingxowa		llhōób	llhōb	
41	to chisel, a chisel	ingxobonga	isixhokolo	llhōró		
42	to thresh, to pound, to husk	ukuthi xhovo ukuxhoxha;	ukugxoba	llhōwō		
43	hole	umngxuma		llhūūs		
44	monitor lizard	uxam	uxamu	llnāàréb		
45	'girdle', 'belt'		ixhama	llnāīb (NA) = 'belt'		llxau (XA) = 'belt' 'band for binding the stomach to prevent hunger'
46	<i>Trimeria grandifolia</i> (Salicaceae)	ixabelo		llnāīs = fruit of <i>Grewia tenax</i> (Malvaceae)		
47	to circle (of vultures)	ixhalanga		nāró		
48	bushpig, warthog	inxagu			llnākx'ob	
49	slope, ascent	ingxondorha	ulungxola	nōòb	llnōl nōb	
50	buttermilk	ixhibiya	umqhiki	nūbúdāīb		
51	'to accompany' 'ambassador'	ukunxuka inxusa		llnūú		
52	to grab, to catch, to seize	ukuthi xhakamfu; ukuxhiphula	ukuthi xhaka	llkhām	gam	
53	<i>Alcelaphus buselaphus</i>	ixhama	inkonkoni *pB	llkhāmāb	llxammab	
54	'beach', 'seashore'; ex 'sand'	unxweme		llkhāēb		
55	'parrystick'; 'to parry', 'to ward off'	ixhadi		llkhāú		
56	'waterfall'	umngxangxansi		khāwà [N] = 'to fall (as of water)'		
57	vertebra, spine	ubugxathu, isigxabhe	isixhanti	llāáb	llkx'āb	
58	time, season	ilixesha		llāēb	llkx'aeb	
59	lamb	ixhwane	imvana	llkhāòb	llkx'aob	

alveolar click ex alveolar click						
1	to scan the horizon, to look at closely	ukuthi gqáá;	ukuqgaya ukuqalaza ukuqaphela ukuqatsa	!àà		

2	'broad, flat, horizontal space' 'wide open space, e.g., around a village'	isi gqengqe (XH) ing qale (XH)		!àisa (NA) = 'open, exposed (of veld)', !à!ai (NA) = 'to clear veld', !ài(!huú)b ('flat, open, unwooded terrain')		ka qe (YE) = 'a playground', ex #aá (KW) = 'a clearing'
3	'to feel baked by the sun'; 'to warm oneself at a fire'; 'to be roasted by the sun'	uku gqatseka uku gqatse ; ukukro qa		!àāsè		omg PLEASE look at the fossilised reflexive
4	'to perish'		uku qangqala	!àà = lit., 'to starve'		
5	to light, to kindle, to start a fire		ukuthi gqamu	!ám		
6	'bead', usually small & green 'bead', 'marble', 'anything small & round'	ig qabi inqakumba		!àms		
7	'spear', 'awl', 'needle'	ing qanda		!ánni		
8	'to be startled', 'to be afraid'		ukung qazula	!áo = 'to fear', 'to dread'		
9	aorta; hence gullet, throat	um qala	um qala	!àràb	!arab	
10	'mouse', 'rat'	inq alo			!arob (only in Meinhof 1930)	
11	'arid place with barren patches' 'a miser'	um qgoloqho ig qolo		!aró = 'barren', 'sparse'; !aróse = 'miserly'		
12	'to strike a light'; 'a flint'	uku qhwi ta iqhwi tha		!iĩ = 'to give off sparks'		
13	<i>Lepus capensis</i>		umn qwangi	!òàs	!òas	
14	<i>Cyperus</i> spp., reeds and sedges with edible corms	inq oba ; unqoboyi	inq oba	!khówòbès	!òb	
15	'swarm of insects'		ili qulo	!òó = 'to attack in a swarm, e.g., of bees, dogs, insects'		
16	the same, identical; essence, truth	ink qu	luqobo, isi qu	!úrús = 'essence', 'core'	!uĩb = 'selfsame', 'the very same'	
17	elbow	ingqini ba		!uñib	!unib	
18	hoof	inqi na	iqhi na	!úús		
19	'face', 'forehead', 'countenance'		ulwan qu	!úús		
20	'alert', 'wide awake'	ingabuko		!gáà		
21	'harvest termite'	igqwathu		!gáábés		
22	tasteless, bitter, insipid	iqwábá		!gabú	#kx'ō'o [*pK, SWB]	
23	to hire, to employ, to rent	ukuqéshà		!gǎé	!ai	
24	loincloth	igqesha		!gǎès	!gaib	
25	'doctor', 'diviner'	igqirha		!gǎìòb	!aixāb	
26	barren woman or animal; freemartin	ingqabakazi		!gǎimá = freemartin		
27	to ride (an animal, a bicycle)	ukuqabelá		!gǎpí	!abi	
28	veld		iqele	!gǎròb		
29	'hard', 'firm', 'strong'	-qele		!gǎrí		
30	'to abate', 'to cease' (esp. of rain)		ukuthi nqamu; inqamukile imvula	!gǎò		
31	'to slice', 'to carve'	ukuqopha	ukuqoba	!gǎò		

	'to carve meat', 'to dissect	ukuqoqa		!gàò !àá		
32	trunk of tree; timber	isiqosho		!gaöb	!amma	
33	to go across; to go straight ahead	ukuthi ngqo		!gâù	!âu	
34	'to mature'	ukuqola		!gâù		
35	'to see for the first time'	ukuqabukela	ukuthi qabu	!gâwà	!aba	
36	'bag', 'flask'	iqhaga	ingqaba, iligabha	!gâwâb; !gaüs	Kora !'abab	
37	'to form a hard crust'; 'crust', 'scab'	iingqweqe	uqweqwe	!gâwé		
38	'to be excellent', 'to be outstanding'		ukuthi nqaba	!gâi		
39	'leftovers', 'a small serving'		ingqobe	!gâù		
40	'to snap (e.g., of a rope)'	ukuthi nqaphu	ukuthi nqamu	!gâù		
41	'to drive', 'to move'	ukuqhuba		!gâù		
42	'well', 'cistern'	iqula		!gaüs		
43	zebra	iqwarha	idube	!góáréb	!oaxais	
44	to roar	ukugquma		!gôm	!gum	
45	<i>Olea europaea</i> subsp. <i>africana</i>	umnquma	umnqumo	!goms	!'ums	
46	'to knock'		ukuthi ngqo; ukungqongqo tha	!góó!góó		
47	<i>Maytenus</i> sp.	umaqaqoba = <i>Maytenus</i> <i>heterophyllus</i>		!gôó!gôöb = <i>Maytenus</i> <i>senegalensis</i> H&E320		dqaa-dqaba (NH) = <i>Maytenus</i> spp.
48	'ankle', 'foreleg'	iqalatha	iqalatha	!gôròb (DA) !gâùxás (NA)		
49	a group of people, a crowd, an assembly; to crowd together, to group together	inqu' ukuquka	isiqumbi; uchibi	!guwís		
50	to meet with (accidentally, suddenly)	ukuthi nqwa		!óá	!oa	
51	'to conceal', 'to cover up'	ukugquma	ukugquma	!guù		
52	'cylindrical bale', 'roll', 'scroll'	umqulu	umqulu	!guúrúb = 'quiver'		!ùrú (KW) = 'quiver'
53	'deserted kraal'	igquba		!guùxuí = 'to abandon'		
54	<i>Caracal caracal</i>	ingqawa		!haáb	!hāb	
55	'an elevated stony place bare of grass'	iqáwùkà		!haöb		
56	'sour milk', 'curds'	ingqaka		!haib		
57	'to spangle'; <i>riem</i> , 'tie'; 'closure', 'button', 'pin'	ukuqhobosha; iqhobosho		!hâù !hâùb		
58	'tobacco pipe'	inqawa		!hâwés		
59	domesticated <i>Apis</i> spp., 'jongbye'		amaqhamuza; ilichefeza	!hâwúb		!khau (IX) = 'honey'
60	'to pluck'	ukuquntsula		!hôm		
61	'crooked', 'bent', 'zigzag', 'curved'	maqhongga		!hòà		
62	'club', 'knobkierie'	igqudu, iquku (GOD 224)		!hòás		
63	'collarbone'	ingqosha	iqhoma	!hòós, !hòó#khôöb	!hōb	

	'cheekbone', 'hollow of the cheeks'			!hòó's		
64	'someone who is crippled'	isiqhwala		!hòrá	!hora	
65	'steep place', 'ascent', 'hillside'	uqqolo, iqolomba	umqholorha, uluggolo	!hòrób		
66	'mielies', 'corn', 'grain',	ingqolowa		!hòròb	!horob	
67	'to explode'		ukuqhuma	!huĩ		
68	'to stamp', 'to pound', 'to grind'	ukunqusha	ukuqquma, uluggqulo	!huũ ~ !khũũ	!hũ	
69	swelling, lump, bulge, bruise	iqhubu	iliqhubu	!ùbùs	!hubuǀb	
70	'to stab', 'to pierce'	ukuqhama; iqampu; ukuqhambuza		!khàǎ	!hǎ ~ !xǎ	
71	'discolouration', 'to discolour, e.g., with smoke, nicotine, rust, etc.', 'to be discoloured'	ukugqola ukugqwanca	ukugqwala	!khǎǎb		
72	'cold', 'frost'	ingqele		!khǎǐb	!xaib	
73	'cloth', 'headcloth'	iqhiya		!khǎǐb	!xaib	
74	'to be abundant', 'to bear fruit'	ukuqhamà, isiqhamò		!khána		
75	'channel', 'ditch', 'sloot',		umngqangu	!khànúb		
76	'civet', 'cheetah', 'serval', slender felinid or viverid	igqwalashu = <i>Ichneumia albicauda</i>	igqalashu = 'civet'	!àrúb = cheetah	!xaraxab (KO) = civet	!hàò (!X) = serval, cheetah !ǎo (NH) = serval
77	<i>Searsia lancea</i> (Anacardiaceae) <i>Allophylus melanocarpus</i> (Sapindaceae) <i>Allophylus natalensis</i> (Sapindaceae)	ĩqwélà inqala umgqala		!àréb	!xareb	
78	honeybeer	iqhilika note Mpse form ingcwele (GOD211)		!khàǐb	!xaris	
79	'snow', 'hoarfrost', 'sleet'	iliqhwa, íqábàkà	iliqhwa	!khòàb	!oab, !xoab	
80	'to dig out'	ukuqqoba	ukuqqoba	!khòbà		
81	the larynx, the throat	qhoqhoqho; qoqoqo	uqhoqhoqho	dóǀn!khòǀns (NA)		
82	(of clouds, fog) 'to rise up', 'to thicken'	ukuthi ngqu		!khúú		
83	'to somersault'	ukuqqoloda (GOD186)		!khúǀrisèn		
85	'to shine', 'to illuminate', 'to be bright'	ukuqqamba	ukuthi ngqa	!nǎǎ	!nǎ	
86	'belly'; 'abdominal folds of a fat person'	imingqebe GOD212		!nǎǎb		
87	'kidney', 'small of the back', 'waist'	isinqe		!nǎǎs	!naib	!khwe!khweten (!XA) = 'kidneys'

						nqae (NH) = 'middle of body', 'waist'
88	'red', 'reddish-yellow', 'ochre-coloured'	ngqombo		!nàúǀb		
89	'taboo', 'ritually unclean' (of food, a person, etc.)	inqambi		!nǎú		
90	<i>Strychnos mitis</i>	umngqumngquti		!nóòs [H!O] = <i>Strychnos pungens</i>		
91	'occiput'	inqolo; isinqolontsi; isinqoloma; umqolo		!nòróš	!norob	
92	'ear of grass', 'mielie cob'		iqobo	!núǀrúǀb		
93	'fence', 'screen', 'temporary shelter'	umnquba		!núús	!nub	
94	'dustcloud', 'haze' 'the pillar of cloud' (<i>Bibl.</i>)	umqulu	umaQuba	!núǀb		#k'obo (!XA) = 'a cloud of dust' (n#uru-lloe (KW) = 'whirlwind' khùlù (!XU) = 'whirlwind' glqho'le (!XO) = 'whirlwind' !oleke (!NU) = 'whirlwind')
95	<i>Procavia capensis</i>	umqha		!láùb	!kx'aus	

alveolar click ex palatal click						
1	'fat of a slaughtered animal'; 'meat of the lower jaw'	inqathe; umnqambulo		#àás = 'fat at gullet of oryx'		
2	'brass or copper arm rings'	uqhwemesha		#ǎǀb		
3	'to strip branches from a tree'	ukuqqa lula, ukuqqa zula		#ǎǀm		
4	to boast, to give oneself airs	ukuqhweméshà		#ámà		
5	<i>Grewia occidentalis</i>	umnqaza, umnqabaza		#ǎús = <i>Grewia flava</i> , <i>Grewia</i> sp.	#'ǎub = <i>Grewia</i> sp.	
6	to be spoilt or forward (esp. of a child)	úkùqávà		#àwě hǎ		
7	'storm', 'windstorm', 'hurricane'	iqhwithi		#óàs		
8	<i>Combretum bracteosum</i>	uqoto		#óób = <i>Combretum apiculatum</i> subsp. <i>apiculatum</i>		
				#òób = 'salt'		
9	'extremely sour or salty food'	isiquhohobela		#ùbù, #ùù	#'ubu	
10	'to blunt', 'to be blunt', 'to dull'	ukuthi ngqum	ukunqunda	#ùpì		
11	'to turn x upside-down'	ukugubuda		#úúǀb		
12	'character', 'nature'	isiqu	ulucu			
13	'to be dry', 'to be barren' (of flat, level ground)	inkqantosi, ingqagasi		#gǎàb		

14	'steep slope'	igqâkra. igqampu	ukuqansa 'to be steep'	#gââb [(DA)		
15	'bald head'; <i>Damiscus pygargus</i> 'ox with a white blaze'	inkqayi; ilinqa; ingqabe		#gââs; #âb		
16	'leaf'	igqabi	igqabi	#gâéb		
17	'boat', 'ship'	inqanawa		#gâúb		
18	<i>Agama atra</i> , <i>Agama</i> sp.	uqebeyi		#gâúéb		
19	'virile', 'robust', 'healthy'	ingqabavu ingqabalala		#gâúsa = 'healthy', 'in good condition'		
20	'a person or animal which is very lean'	umqawuse		#gâwâ	*#awa	
21	'to limp'		ukuqhuga	#gii		
22	'kaross', 'sleeping mat'	umgqwethana		#gòâb		
23	'to have faith in', 'to trust in' 'a pledge', 'a pact'	ukunqopha umngqophiso		#gòm = 'to trust'		
24	'to avoid', 'to duck', 'to dodge'	ukuquba	ukuquba	#góò		
25	<i>Pedestes capensis</i>	ingqumeya		#gòób	#gób	
26	'scarce', 'rare', 'needed'	-qabile	-qabile	#hââ		
27	'piece of meat'; 'prominent bicep or muscle' 'small piece of meat'	isiqa; isiqanga; isiquhapu		#hââb		
28	'to jump', 'to leap'	-eqa; ukugqabitha	eqa ukuthi ngqabashi	#hâm		
29	'a snare'	igqarhi	isingcapha	#hân #hânni	!nuis	
30	'to climb', 'to clamber'	ukunqola		#hâró		
31	'dung', 'manure'		umquba	#hâúb		
32	<i>Arundinaria tessellata</i>		uqalo	#hâwòb		
33	'a knot', 'a securing', 'a termination'	iqhîna	isigcina	#hiis pace MHF !huûs		
34	'a colour consisting of a dark background (black or dark grey) with white spots, or a white or light-coloured background with dark spots'	-ngqoqo	umqungokazi	#hòâb = 'roan'	!noâ = 'roan', any combination of dappled white and black, e.g., as of porcupines	
35	'hipbone'		inqulu	#huûs	llhomma	
36	'to miscarry', 'to abort'	ukuthi qhomfa		#khâm		
37	'to rest the head on', 'to pillow'		ukuqamela ukucamela	#khâpí		
38	'to burst, as of an ulcer or blister'	ukuthi qgababu		#khâwê		
39	'to crush between the fingernails'	ukuthi qhumfu	ukuchifiza, ukucubuza, ukuchofoza	#khúú		
40	'to beat', 'to strike'		ukuqongqotha; also ukuncaka	#náú		

41	'advocate', 'lawyer'	igqwitha	igqwitha	#nòǎ = 'to argue', 'to counsel'; an advocate is a #nòǎba-ǎob		
42	'vetderm', 'large intestine', 'rectum'	uqumbu, also ingquzu		#nùbùb		
43	'to build'		ukugqilaha	#nùwì		

dental click ex palatal click						
1	'to split', 'to crack open'	ukucanda	ukucanda	#àà; #àwǎ		
2	'saliva', 'spittle'	ukuchwe amanqagisa	ugce	#àǎb		
3	reed spp.	inceme	inceme, incema	#áǎb		
4	to think, to reflect, to consider; to guess	ukucamngca; ukuqasha	ukucabanya	#ǎi	#'ǎi, #'ǎi#'ǎisen	
6	'caterpillar' spp.		ilicimbi	#ǎibēb		amacimbi are usually mopane worms (<i>Gonimbrasia belina</i>)
7	'mountain', 'peak'	incopho		#áòb		
8	'to sicken', 'to bore', 'to offend'	ukuthi caphu		#ápì		
10	'to sew'	ukuchumsa; iqondo		#óm	#'um ~ #'om	
11	'to be narrow'	ukucutha		#òó	#'ò	
12	'to set (of the sun)' 'the colour of the setting sun'; 'fiery red'	ukungcangca igqenge-gqenge		#gǎǎ	sore#ǎb	leten leten (XA) = 'to set (of the sun)' ll'hùl l'ee (N U) = 'sunset'
13	to help, to assist	ukunceda	ukunceda	#gǎñ		
14	'grasshopper', 'cricket'		iqwhishi umqikela	#gírì #gírís = <i>Gryllus bimaculatus</i>		
15	'a skinny leg'; 'to be skinny (of a leg)'	umcondo		#gòró		
16	'flat', 'level', 'open', 'flat object'	-mcaba, -tyaba	-caba, isigcaba	#hǎbá	haba	
17	apocynid water roots <i>Asclepias gibba</i>	isicagwe, isachagwe, isachaka umqhaphu		#hǎgáb		
18	'tobacco', 'plait of tobacco'	icuba	icuba	#háòb		note 'uu (N U) = 'tobacco'
19	'spot', 'stain'		icasha, ichapaza	#hǎùb, #nàó's	#xau-	
20	baboon	ingcwana		#hawob (Gobabis Damara)		
21	'anything poured out'; 'to pour out'	umngcoziso		#hòó		
22	'placenta of animals'	umgcantsi	umgcapha	#hòób		
23	<i>Crocota crocuta</i>	icweya		#hìirǎs		
24	<i>Salix mucronata</i>	umgcwimbe		#hùib	#hùib	
25	'spider', 'scorpion', 'solifuge'	igcasha	igcasha	#khǎib = 'scorpion'		ngce = 'scorpion' (MBU)
26	'to sparkle', 'to shine', 'to glitter'; 'to be brilliantly lit'	ukuthi cwazi ukuthi qhashi ukuthi qhakra	ukuthi cwazi	#khái		note 'aa (N U) = 'to shine'

27	'the brain'	ubuchopho	ubuchopho	#khuûb	#xûb	
28	'to cling to', 'to stick to', 'to adhere'	ukuthi ncatsha; -ncagathi		#nāĩ		
29	frog sp.		ilicogcoma	#nāñ #aĩb, <i>lit.</i> , 'blanket foot', specifically for <i>Xenopus laevis</i>		should be considered separate from ixoxo which seems to be from Ilgoáb = usually larger toads
30	'sleeping mat', 'reed mat'		icansi, isiqhamo	#nāms, #nāmmi; hammi	#nammi	
31	'tapeworm'	igcili	ingcili	#nuĩb		
32	'to sit' 'to squat'	ukuthi ngcu ukucuthalala	ukuququbala; ukuqotshama	#nuu'	#nú	

B2.2 !Ui Loanwords in isiZunda

These items are submitted as potential evidence of !Ui donation to the isiZunda languages only because no comparable item is on the record in the extant Khoekhoe branch languages. The more likely scenario in all cases is that the !Ui item was also present in unrecorded Khoekhoe-branch varieties, which then served as the direct donor to the isiZunda languages. The very small number of items presented here, when set against the 295 items presented in B2.1. above, shows that it is erroneous to claim 'Khoisan' influence on the Nguni languages; the direct donor languages in the vast majority of instances were Khoekhoe, not !Ui.

Table B2.2 isiZunda Items Possibly of !Ui Derivation					
#	gloss	isiZunda		!Ui	elsewhere
		S41	S42		
1a	'tuft of grass' 'stalk of grass', 'grass'	isicithi umcinga	umuncu	lhisi = 'blade of grass' (Nluuki) lkhē = 'grass' (lXam)	no comparable TAA term no comparable KX'A term no comparable KHOE term unless this is considered a reflex of lgāb in schwa reduction; even so isicithi is doubled against ingca , suggesting separate Khoekhoe and !Ui entry points assuming an undocumented TAA or KHOE reflex, note SwB loans: munglidi (MBU) = 'river grass'; mugciri (MA) = 'sweet grass'
1b	'generic term for mantids'	umcikwane umcwathibane		lkagen = 'mantis' (lXam) lhisi (Nluuki W), lhesi (Nluuki E) = <i>lit.</i> , 'blade of grass'; <i>circum.</i> , 'praying mantis'	no comparable TAA term no comparable KHOE term no comparable KX'A term noting lgāālgaūāb (NA) = 'mantis' (<i>lit.</i> , 'grass' + lIgāūāb = 'mythical trickster figure'), suggesting a shared association with grass
3	nolD 'fieldmouse'	ucwethe		lk'waiten = mouse (lXam)	no comparable TAA term no comparable KX'A term no comparable KHOE term
4	<i>Hystrix africaeaustralis</i>	incanda		lqhooke = <i>H. africaeaustralis</i> (Nluuki) lkhōgen, lho = <i>H. africaeaustralis</i> (lXam)	cognate item in TAA Inūū = <i>H. africaeaustralis</i> (!XO) no comparable KHOE term no comparable KX'A term
5	'to marry', 'to elope' 'marriage'		ukugcagca umchanguzo	lhāng = 'to marry' (lXam) nlau = 'to marry' (Nluuki)	no comparable KHOE item
6	shrike (generic); <i>Apalis thoracica</i>	inxanxadi, igxwanana;		llkai tau, kurru llkaitau = <i>Lanius collaris</i> (lXam)	note cognate item in TAA !au lgae = <i>Laniarius atrococcineus</i> (!Xoon)

		ugxakhweni			
7	'old person'	ixhegu	ixhegu	!lxegn = 'old' (lXegwi Bleek 1954) !lkxee = 'old' (lXegwi L&H 1956:116) !lhûi = 'old' (Nluuki W), !lhôe = 'old' (Nluuki E)	note cognate item in TAA !laha = 'old' (!Xoon)
8	<i>Lycaon pictus</i>	ixhwili		!lxuri = <i>Lycaon pictus</i> (Nluu) !lhoa = <i>Lycaon pictus</i> (lXam)	no comparable TAA term no comparable KX'A term assuming an undocumented TAA reflex, note loan: !lxébà (KW) = <i>Lycaon pictus</i>
9	<i>Ictonyx zorilla</i> , <i>Ichneumia albicauda</i>	iqaqqa	iqaqqa	!x'aa = <i>Ictonyx zorilla</i> (Nluuki E) !kôa = <i>Ictonyx zorilla</i> (lXam)	the only !XO term naa qali is an S30 loan, cf. nakêdi (TS) assuming an undocumented TAA reflex, note loans: cámi (KW) = <i>Ictonyx zorilla</i> (click loss or ex S30)
10	<i>Terathopius ecaudatus</i>	ingqanga		!hau = <i>T. ecaudatus</i> (lXam)	note cognate item in TAA !ahaku = <i>T. ecaudatus</i> (!Xoon) no comparable KHOE item no comparable KX'A item
11	<i>Giraffa camelopardis</i>	umcowa		!x'âqa = <i>G. camelopardis</i> (Nluu)	No comparable KHOE term, but the shape -XVwV- strongly suggests that this was borrowed from an unrecorded Khoekhoe-branch reflex of the Nluu term !x'âqa , approximately *#x'owab . Ownsby 1985: 240 suggests a KX'A item *#goa (cf. !!ôah = 'giraffe' König & Heine 2008; *oah Dickens 1994) which is certainly a reflex of the !Ui, but which could not have been the direct donor.
12	'ear', 'earlobe'	umcubu		!nuisi = ear (Nluu) !nuuntu = ear (lXam)	No comparable KHOE term, but the presence of the 3.SG.M suffix -b strongly suggests that this was borrowed from an unrecorded Khoekhoe-branch reflex of the !Ui root !nui- , approximately *#nuiib .

B3 Scenario 3 – Mixed or Unclear Outcomes (Further Documentation Required)

This section collates the results of two complicated click events in a lesser-studied southeastern NTU click language siPhuthi and a lesser-studied southwestern NTU click language shiYeyi. While etymologies are provided, further documentation is required before certain conclusions about these click loan events can be provided.

B3.1 Click Etymologies in siPhuthi (S404)

For further details on the the compilation of siPhuthi click data, see Section 11.4.4. above.

Table B3.1.2. siPhuthi Click Items Type-Matched Against isiXhosa						
#	source	gloss	siPhuthi	seSotho	isiZunda	Khoekhoe
<i>dental click ex dental click</i>						
1	DON	'to lie on one's stomach'	kubhacama		ukubacalala ukucambalala	
2	DON	'church'	icawe		icawe	
3	DON	'ice'	mukhece		ukuthi ceke	
4	DON	'grandmother'	bocece		ukucebula = 'to go grey, to become old'	lhāi (NA) = 'to be grey'
5	DON	'to persuade'	kucega		ukucenga	
6	DON	'to ask for'	kucela	ho qela	ukunceda	
7	DON	'earring'	licici		icici	
8	DON	'to think' 'to forget'	kuciga kucinyellwa		ukucamngca	ᵑāi (NA) = 'to consider'
9	DON	'to extinguish'	kucimeta		ukucima	
10	MZA	'to move an invalid'	cocobisu		ichoboka	
11	MZA	'cream'	licwabi		ucambu	
12	MZA	'tobacco'	licuba		icuba	ᵑháòb (NA) = 'plait of tobacco'
13	DON	'to deliver an enema'	kuchata	ho qatha	ukuchata	
14	DON	'to pour in but not to fill'	kuchata		ukuchataza	
15	DON	'to explain'	kuchaza		ukuchaza	lkháwú (NA) = 'to comb out'
16	MZA	'to make an incision'	kuchaza		ukuchaza	lāwí (NA) = 'to make small cuts'
17	DON	'to roast meat'	kugcada		ukugcanda	lān lān (NA) = 'to roast'
18	DON	'to salivate'	kugcegca	nq'enq'e	ukuchwe	ᵑāā (NA) = 'to salivate'
19	MZA	'saliva'	tigcengce			
19	DON	'to preserve'	kugcina		ukugcina	
20	DON	'to be disappointed', 'to give up'	kuncama		ukuncama	
21	DON	'to stick to smth'	kuncamathela kumanamela		ukuthi ncatsha	ᵑnāi (NA) = 'to be sticky (as birdlime)'
22	DON	'small'	ncinci		ncinci	
23	MZA	'tapeworm'	nchili	qele	igcili	ᵑnūib (NA) = 'tapeworm'
24	DON	'sour pap'	inconco		inconco	
24	MZA	'to pinch' 'to break a piece off'	kuncweba kuncweta		ukuncweba	

25	DON	'to dish up food'	kuncwetela		ukuncetheza	
26	DON	'to pull';	kumoncuka	ho nyokola	ukumoncula	!khúú = 'to pull out'
27	DON	'to become dirty'	kungcola		ukungcola	!ùrf (NA) = 'to be dirty'
28	DON	'scorpion'	ikgwankcela		igcasha = spider, solifugid	#khāib (NA) = 'scorpion'
alveolar click ex alveolar click						
29	DON	'to hit on the head'	kuphaqa		ukuqanda	
30	DON	'portion of meat'	liqa		isiqa	#hāāb (NA) = 'bicep', 'piece of flesh'
31	DON	'to start'	kuqala	ho qala	ukuqala	!alu (NH) = ;to start'
32	DON	'polecat'	iqaqqa		iqaqqa	!x'aa (NIU) = <i>Ictony zorilla</i>
33	MZA	<i>Protea</i> sp.	tiqalaba	seqalaba	isiqalaba	
34	DON	'egg'	iqayī	lehe	iqanda	
35	DON	'to finish'	kuqedza	ho qeta	ukuqeda	
36	DON	'to look up at'	kuqethuka		ukuphenggeza	
37	DON	'to be strong', 'to be fast'	kuqina		ukuqina	
38	DON	'to save (up money)'	kuqobisa		ukuqongelela	
39	DON	'to realise'	kuqoda		ukuqonda	
40	DON	'short story'	muqoqo		isiqoqo	
41	DON	'larynx'	iqoqotho	qoqoqo	uqhoqhoqho	
42	DON	'mielie cob'	siqu	leqhobo	iqobo	!núrúb (NA) = 'ear of grass'
43	DON	'to become annoyed'	kuqubha		ukuqumba	
44	DON	'to pull apart'	kuqhaqha		ukuqhaqha	
45	DON	'to prop up'	kuqhathisa		ukuqhwatha	
46	DON	'to be used to'	kuqhela		ukuqhelisa	
47	DON	'strategies'	emaqhiga	leqeka	amaqhinga	
48	MZA	'to drive'	kuqhuba	ho qhoba	ukuqhuba	!gāū (NA) = 'to urge forward'
49	DON	'boiled mielies'	iqhûbû	qhuqhu	igqubu	
50	DON	'snow', 'frost'	liqhwa	leqhwa	iliqhwa	!khòàb (NA) = 'snow'
51	DON	'leaf'	liqqabi		igqabi	#gàéb (NA) = 'leaf'
52	DON MZA	'doctor'	liqqikga liqqira		igqirha	!aixāb (NA) = 'practitioner of magic', 'healer'
53	DON	'dung'	mugqobha		umquba	#hāūb (NA) = 'dung'
54	DON	'little piece left over'	iqgolanyana		ingqobe	!gāū
55	MZA	'to roar'	ukugquma		ukugquma	!gôm
56	MZA	'to be scarce'	-nqaba		qabile	#hāā
57	DON	'to be cold' 'cold'	kunqadza ingqe		ukuqanda ingqe	!khāi = 'to feel cold'
58	DON	'to be possessive of'	kunqēnēkēla		ukunqena	
59	DON	'to become dry'	kunquma	ho qoma	inqoshololo; ingqongqo	
60	MZA	'to go straight'	kunqhala		ukuthi ngqo	!gāū

61	MZA	'stump of amputated finger'	inqhiti		isinqindi	
<i>lateral click ex lateral click</i>						
62	MZA	'to carry an item crosswise'	kuxakatsha		ukuxaba	llgòbà (NA) = 'to be crosswise'
63	DON MZA	'frog'	sixankxani sixaxa		ixoxo	llgoáb (NA) = 'frog spp.'
64	MZA	'to bruise', 'to crush'	kuxathfula		ukuthi xafa ukuthi xhovo	llhōwò (NA) = 'to pound'
65	DON	'to forgive'	kuxolla		ukuxola	llùú' (NA) = 'to make peace'
66	MZA	'beast w downturned horns'	lixhaku		ixhaka	
67	DON	'to hang'	kuxhoma		ukuxoma	
68	MZA	'of swooping', 'of snatching'	xhiphu		ukuxiphula	
69	MZA	'to pull suddenly'	kuxhutula		ukuxhuzula	
70	MZA	'tall person'	ligxiba		umgxamxhele	
71	MZA	'to look at sideways'	kugxleana		ukugxlesha	llgènnèb (NA) = 'the corner of the eye'
72	MZA	<i>Cursorius rufus</i>	igxiya		igxiya	llgillgib (NA) = <i>Vanellus armatus</i>
73	MZA	'to jump up'	kugxuma		ukuxoxoma	
74	DON	'portion', 'part'; 'side'	nxa	nqa	ilinx	llhām' (NA) = 'to divide up'
75	DON MZA	'to hurry'	kunxama kunxhama		ukungxama	lláàxa' (NA) = 'rushed', 'hurried'
76	DON	'lefthand'	kunxele	lenqele	inxele	llāré (NA) = 'left hand'
77	MZA	'ambassador'	linxusa	lenqosa	inxusa	llnùú' (NA) = 'to accompany', 'to go along with'
78	DON	'a quarrel'	ingxabano	ho qaba	ingxabano	llgòbà- (NA) = 'to provoke'
79	MZA	'protuding'	nkhukubala		ingxukuma	

Table B3.1.2. siPhuthi Click Items in Regular Palatal Splitting Against isiXhosa						
#	source	gloss	siPhuthi	seSotho	isiXhosa	KHOE
1	MZA	'to peel', 'to strip'	kuchatulla	ho qathotha	ukuq ^g qalula, ukuq ^g qazula	*a ^h (NA)
2	DON	'hip'	ichōlō	qholo	inqulu	*hu ^h (NA)
3	MZA	'to hatch'	kuchota	ho qhotsa	ukuqanduselwa (<i>trans.</i>) or ukuqanduselwa (<i>intrans.</i>)	*are (NH) *qare (KW)
4	MZA	'to limp'	ukuchuta	ho re qhile-qhile	ukuqhuga	*gi (NA)

Table B3.1.3.
siPhuthi Click Items of Direct seSotho Derivation

#	source	gloss	siPhuthi	seSotho	isiZunda	Khoekhoe or !Ui
dental click replaced with an alveolar click						
1	DON	'string', 'shoelace'	iqhwele	senqalokoa	umchilo	!hāwib
lateral click replaced with alveolar click (only)						
2	DON	'a lonely place'	inqalo	inqalo	inxala	!lgāni
3	DON	'uncircumcised boy'	inqayi	moqai	inxayi	
4	DON	'wound'	inqeba	leqeba	inxeba	!lāms (NA)
5	DON	'shin', 'calf', 'ankle'	uqhogo		uxhongo	
lateral click replaced with alveolar click (two forms)						
6	DON	'to jump' 'to jump over'	kugxuma kuqhoma	ho qaqoma	ukuxoxoma	!lgoáb (NA)
7	DON	'to banish', 'to expel'	kuxotsha kuqotsha	ho qocha	ukuxosha	
8	DON	'old woman'	ixhegū, iqhekū	liqhego	ixhegu	!lkxee = 'old' (!Xegwi L&H 1956:116)
alveolar click for alveolar click						
9	DON	'ankle'	liqaqayilana linqanqayilana	leqaqalane	iqalatha	!gòròb (NA)
10	MZA	'sound of smth falling'	liqithi-qithi	qete	ukuthi qumpu (XH)	!khubu (NA)
11	DON	'thatching grass'	iqokwa	qokoa	isiquंगा	!gub (KO)

Table B3.1.4
‘Declicked’ siPhuthi Items of seSotho Derivation

#	source	gloss	siPhuthi	seSotho	isiZunda	Khoekhoe
<i>dental replaced</i>						
1	DON	‘White person’	likghuwa	likghuwa		!Húúb
<i>lateral replaced</i>						
2	DON	‘spoon’	ikghaba	ikghaba	ingxwembe, igxebeka	!lgòáb
3	DON	‘shoulder’	ikgharafû		igxalaba	!lgaráb
4	DON	‘snail’	ikghofû	likgofu		!lkhââxâes
<i>alveolar replaced</i>						
5	DON	‘servant (small child)’	ikghabûnyani	lekgoa		!gâáb
6	DON	‘pasture’	likghûlo	lekgo		!ûû
7	DON	‘rat’	ikgodo	lenkalu	inqalu	!arub
8	DON	‘valley’	ikgolo	mokgolo	uqqolo	!hòrób

Table B3.1.4
siPhuthi Click Items of Direct Khoekhoe-branch Derivation

#	source	gloss	siPhuthi	seSotho	isiZunda	Khoekhoe
1	DON	‘to laugh’	kuchadza	ho tsheha ex *pB *-cek-	ukuhleka ex *pB *-cek-	‡hāwá (NA) = ‘to laugh’
2	DONN	‘to light a fire’	kuncumeka	ho qomeha	ukuphemba	‡hubi (NA, KO) = to burn
3	MZA	‘six’	yeggele	tselela	-thupha	!nānī (NA) = ‘six’

Table B3.1.5
siPhuthi Click Items of Uncertain Derivation

#	source	gloss	siPhuthi	seSotho	isiZunda	Khoekhoe
1	MZA	‘penis sheath’	ncuma	qooma	umncedo	
2	DON	‘to rise (of the sun)’	kuchaba kuqhaba		ukungcangca, igqenge-gqenge (XH, ZU) = ‘to set (of the sun)’; note also shi‡ápà (YE) = ‘sunset’	certainly connected with the series ‡gāā (NA) = ‘to set (of the sun)’, sóres di ‡gāāb (NA) = ‘setting of the sun’; sore‡āb (KO); leten leten (XA) = ‘to set (of the sun)’; !l’hú !’ee (N U) = ‘sunset’; but the shift in sense is strange
3	DON	‘louse’	ichwala	nta, ntaane ex *pB *-da	itswala, intwala ex *pB *-da	poss. cf. ‡khówàb (NA) = ‘tick’, but phonologically uncertain
4	DON	‘to cheat’	kuqhatana		ukuqhata (XH)	

B3.2 Click Etymologies in shiYeyi (R41)

For further details on the compilation of shiYeyi click data, see Section 11.2.3 above.

Table B3.2.1 Click Items in shiYeyi Type-Matched against KXA, KHOE, or TUU					
#	source	gloss	shiYeyi	KX'A, KHOE, TUU	elsewhere
<i>dental click ex dental click</i>					
1	SV92; BAUM97 LU09	"lips"; pubis pubic area	in háko; shicaku; shicako	hǎms (NA) = labia; gǎna (!XO) = labia	
2	SV; LU09; SV92; SV92 LU09	"to destroy"; "to be destroyed" "to destroy"; "to break into pieces" to break	kui lána -gcandzaara; ku#'ápàrà; ku#'ápùrà; -qcapura	ám (NA) = 'to shatter', 'to smash to pieces', 'to destroy utterly'	ku ápàrà, ku ápùrà (FW) = 'to destroy'
3	SV92	"to cut open (an animal)"	ku árà	á (KW) = to cut up a dead animal	
4	LU09	a cap, a hat	shicawa, incawa	aává (KW) = hat gáwás (NA) = hat, headgear	
5	SV09; BAUM97; BAUM97; LU09	"small, modest"; to be thin smallness few, little	βu 'éne; -cenipha; wunc'ene -ceenine	íni (KW) = 'to be thin' GSPB15	-ncinci (NGU)
6	LU09	shoelace	kaci	'ÉÈ (KW) = 'string'	umcwe (XH) = 'string'
7	SV92 BAUM97 LU09	one [num.] one [num.] one [num.]	βu xíkí -chíkí ucíkí	guí (NA) = one uí (KW) = one	
8	SV92; SV92; LU09	"to stab", "to spear"; "pain" a goad, a spear; shooting pain	ku ímbà; shí ímbà; shicimba	ùpú's (NA) = stinging pain, prick	ukucumbeza (ZU)
9	SV92	"guilt"	mu íri	gíixá (NA) = 'grudging' but this may be a reborrowing; úbu (!XO) = error	isici (ZU) = 'fault', 'blemish'
10	LU09	to unstop, to uncork	-curumuna	khúú (NA) = to pull out #uúni (KW) = to pull out	ukumoncula (ZU) = to pull out
11	SV92 LU09	"red" red	βu óá, u óró shicwa	oá (KW) = to be reddish	
12	LU09	to bother	-cwanaara	àrà àrà (NA) = to pester	
13	BAUM97	to suck juice through a reed	-cwina	khúwù (NA) = to suck up	
14	LU09	blood clots	Idicha	'ang (JU) = blood GSPB15 áób (NA) = 'blood'	
15	SV09	"screen", "wall"	ri hákó	gaos (NA) = temporary grass shelter	
16	LU09	to urinate	-ichamu	xam (KW) = to urinate GSPB15 g xam (JU) GSPB15	ukuchama (XH, ZU, UBIQ.) = to urinate

17	SV92 LU09	"basket", "bag"; "small basket" small bottle for tobacco	shì háo; kà háo kachana, inchana	hao (JU) = bag, sack, purse GSPB15 hào's (NA) = bag	
18	LU09	tattered, ragged	chazawuka	heēs (NA) = a shred, a tatter	ukuchwisha (XH) = 'to be in tatters'
19	SV92	"to plaster (a daub house)"	kù híí	khií (NA) = "to plug up frame of hut with branches before plastering"	
20	LU09	autumn	ichoro	hōró (KW) = 'middle of the rainy season'	
21	LU09	shrewd, wise, clever	-chuldi	xūrī (KW) = clever GSPB15	ichule (XH) = 'shrewed person'
22	SV92 LU09	"sympathy" to feel sorry for	βu'túmíkù -chuma	xoma (JU) = to feel sorry for GSPB15 khóm (NA) = to sympathise	
23	LU09	to drip, to leak	-chwata	khápá (DA) = to leak	ukuchapha (XH) = 'to drip'
24	LU09	to take shelter from the sun	-igca	NK gáa = to shelter from sun or heat	
25	SV92	<i>Terminalia prunoides</i>	mù íwà	KW oává = <i>Terminalia sericea</i>	
26	SV92	"to seize"	kù ómònà	n hui (JU) = 'to grab (pl. obj.)'	
27	SV92	"twig"	í ámù	'a (KW) = 'small end of branch'	
28	SV92	"to thresh grass to make small animals visible"	kù áwà	ná'm (!XO) = 'to flatten grass'	umcwabo (XH) = 'cleared bushland'; ukucaba (ZU) = 'to clear ground', 'to fell trees to clear ground'
29	SV92	"tobacco pipe"	í ówè	gaávè (KW) = 'small tobacco pipe'	
30	S&V92; LU09; LU09	to suckle a baby; "to give suck" to suckle; "to suckle" an infant, a newborn	-ncama, kù námísá -ncamwa, kù námwà kancatawa	óm (KW) = to suck the breast; góm (NA) = to suck	okunyamisisa (HE); ukumunca, ukumunya (ZU) = 'to suck'
31	SV92	"leg"	mù nú	n gúu (KW) = leg	probably reborrowed as the Nama wants a palatal
32	SV92	"to rub in (e.g., ointment into a wound)"	kù ná	n oahn (JU) = 'to rub the skin'	
33	SV92	"to remove (e.g., a tooth)"	kù 'ípà	qí (KW) = to pull out (e.g., a thorn from a foot)	
34	SV92	"a hiccough"	ká 'úrí	'uúrí (KW) = to hiccough GSPB15	
35	SV92	"to kiss"	kù 'ipítá		
36	SV92	"to curse"	kù 'xí	xuí (KW) = to curse	
37	SV92	"to forget"	kù 'xírikiti	'úru (KW) = to forget	
38	SV92	"to drizzle"	kù x'ákásà	àwí (NA) = 'to drizzle'; gáú gàú (!XO) = 'to rain'	
39	SV92	<i>Oryx gazella</i>	ùn hó	n gu (KW) = <i>Oryx gazella</i> GSPB15 n o (JU) = <i>Hippotragus niger</i> GSPB15	
40	SV92	<i>Kigelia [africana]</i>	ùn 'óró	'óòró (KW) = <i>Kigelia africana</i> GSPB15	
alveolar click ex alveolar or palatal click					
41	LU09	six [num.]	-uqa	!nàní (NA) = 'six'	

42	SV92 LU09	"to help" to help, to assist, to aid	kui!á -iqaa	!hām (NA) = 'to help someone out with something'	
43	LU09	to touch, to pat, to feel	-iqaa	!!è (!XU) = 'to pat'	
44	SV92	"poor", "desolate"	βuláni	n!amm (JU) = to be poor	
45	LU09	to stick onto	-qang'atira	!!án !!án (!X) = to stick together	
46	SV92	"to follow"	kui!ámà	n!aba (!X) = 'to follow (tracks)	
47	SV92 LU09	"to taste", "to try" to try, to test	kuláwà -iqawa	!áin (!X) = 'to taste', 'to try'	
48	SV92 LU09	"shoulder" shoulders	ki!áwà maqawa	k!lava (!X) = 'shoulder' GSPB15 #x'ám (KW) = 'shoulder'	
49	LU09	a playground (?)	kaqe	#aá (KW) = 'a clearing' !àisa (NA) = 'open, exposed (of veld)', !ài!ai (NA) = 'to clear veld'; !ài(!hũ)b ('flat, open, unwooded terrain')	isigqengqe (XH) = 'broad, flat, horizontal space, e.g., 'floor', 'playing field'; ingqale (XH) = 'wide open space, e.g., around a village'
50	LU09	to throw away with great vigour	-iqekere	#hē (KW) = 'to throw away rubbish'	
51	SV92	"to shoot at something"	kui!ékeré	#'áa (!X) = 'to shoot (sg.)'	cf. ncerikera (MBU) = 'to cock a gun'
52	SV92 SV92 SV92 BAUM97 LU09 LU09	"to track down (of animals)" "behind" "to hold back" behind to follow behind, to go after; to follow, to search, to survey	kui!óndò kuri!ó kúshítirà kuri!ó kuliqo kara ldiqo -iqondo	DA !khóódaò = to track, to follow JU !'o n!ang = behind GSPB15 !X !'o = foot, base, back GSPB15	
53	LU09	wet grounds, water meadows	iqo	n!òhi (!XU) = 'waterhole', 'place where rainwater gathers'	
54	SV92 SV92	noID "owl" noID "species of owl"	ù!óhómù; ù!ú	!úrúkúbà (JU) = 'giant eagle owl', i.e., <i>Bubo lacteus</i> !úlibo (!X) = 'whitefaced owl', i.e., <i>Ptilopsis granti</i> !húúròs (NA) = <i>Glauculus perlatus</i> !nòlo-ká (!XO) = <i>Glauculus perlatus</i>	
55	SV92 LU09	"papyrus" <i>Cyperus</i> spp.	ru!ómà muqoma, muqwama	!o'm n!ái (JU) = <i>Cyperus fulgens</i> #gōo (!XO) = <i>Cyperus margaritaceus</i> !khówòbeš (NA) = <i>Cyperus</i> sp. !'òb (KO) = <i>Cyperus esculentus</i>	inqoba (XH) inqoba (ZU) = <i>Cyperus</i> sp.
56	LU09	elderly person	muqongorokhwe	!oq'oru (JU) = 'old, worn-out thing' GSBP15 + khoe (KW) = 'person' GSBP15	
57	SV92 LU09	"drought", "famine" drought	shi!ó!óro shiqogoro	!kau (JU) = 'drought' !khòró (NA) = 'to dry up (of ground water)'	
58	SV92	noID "species of frog"	ù!ò!úmà	#naim #aib (NA) = <i>Xenopus laevis</i>	igcogcoma (ZU) = <i>Xenopus laevis</i>
59	SV92 LU09; LU09	"whirlwind" whirlwind; June	ù!úri; uquidi; Quldiya;	n#uru-lloe (KW) = whirlwind; khùlù (!XU) = whirlwind; giqho'le (!XO) = 'whirlwind'; !oleke (!NU) = whirlwind; #k'obo (!XA) = 'a cloud of dust'	note umaQuba = 'June, the dustblower' (ZU) probably directly ex Nama !nuúb = 'dust haze', 'wind that kicks up dust'
60	SV92	"rainbow"	ù!utàmà	tuú!hànaḅ (DA) = rainbow	

61	SV92	nolD “mushroom (grows on termiteheaps)”	u!utàmà	#’úma -#’ùma (!XU) = mushroom	
62	SV92 LU09	“to be annoyed”; to bother, to pester, to annoy	kù!lìnù -qutama, -qutika	#gúńí (NA) = ‘to bother’	
63	BAUM97	bundle of firewood	shiqha	!xàan (!XU) = ‘bundle (e.g., of firewood)’	
64	LU09; LU09	bundle of biltong; a piece of meat	kaqha shiqhere	!há (JU) = ‘meat’; #hàǎb (NA) = ‘bicep’, ‘cut of meat’	isiqa, isiqhapu (XH) = ‘a piece of meat’
65	LU09	a chatterbox	muqhakadama	n#aihkhàò (JU) = ‘a gossipmonger’	ukuqheketha (ZU) = ‘to chatter’
66	LU09	thin, slim, lean, skinny	qharaqandi	#qāwá (NA) = ‘thin’, ‘skinny (of animal, person)’; #qabe (!XO) = ‘thin (of an edge)’; #qávè (KW) = ‘thin (of fabric)’	
67	LU09	to stuff, to cram	-iqhi	!húú (KW) = to stuff with grass	
68	SV92	<i>Hippotragus niger</i>	u!hóá	!oahn lòan (JU) = <i>Hippotragus niger</i> !noa (KO) = ‘roan’	
69	LU09	‘plant sp. with edible roots’	shiqhoma	#ko’m (JU) = tuber similar to <i>Fockea angustifolia</i> GSPB15	
70	SV92; SV92; SV92; LU09	“to light”, “to kindle”; “torch”; “to kindle a fire” to light up (as a fire)	kù!’ónjikà; shì!’ónjikò; kù!hósà; -qhooka	JU g#un = to set alight GSPB15	
71	LU09	to hold in the mouth	-qhu	!xuúm (!XU) = ‘to have a full mouth’	
72	SV92 LU09	“to stumble”, “to fall over something” to stumble, to trip over	kù!hù!hárá -iqhuqhara	g!áág!ábá (JU) = ‘to stumble’	
73	SV92	“blunt”	βù!húrù	#ùbù (NA) = ‘blunt’	ukunqunda (ZU) = ‘to be blunt’
74	SV92	“wish”, “request”	mu!à	#gàńs (NA) = ‘a request’	
75	SV92	“fork of a tree”	ing!à	#hǎs (NA) = ‘fork of a tree’ #huí n#gá (KW) = ‘fork of a tree’	
76	LU09	to hinder, to impede	-gqaamikwa	#hāńi (NA) = to hinder	
77	LU09	to snore	-gqaarazama	!khárù (NA) = ‘to snore’	
78	SV92	“to throw”	kù!lāmāńi	!ama (IIA) = ‘to throw’ gyam (KW) = ‘to throw’	
79	LU09	to clear the way through a crowd	-gqamuna	#hǎ (NA) = to push	
80	BAUM97; LU09; LU09	a well; a small well; a borehole	shigqhana; kagqana; shiggana	!’han (JU) = pit, well !gǎús (NA) = pit, gravel pit filled with water	
81	LU09	to block the entrance	-gqawa	NK !nǎú-ám = ‘to block the entrance of a burrow’	
82	SV92 LU09	“calabash” a calabash	kǎ!áwà kagqawa	JU !’hoan = calabash, gourd GSPB15 NK ’awás = calabash	
83	LU09	to be uncooked, to be half-cooked	-iqgo	NK !khúùb = ‘the taste of uncooked porridge’	
84	SV92 SV92; LU09	“deep” “hole”, “cavity”; a crater, a hollow	βù!ó; rì!ó; ldiggo	!oob (NA ex RUST; H&E mark ?) = ‘hole’	
85	SV92	“granary”	ká!òhò	#gòò-ams (HIO) = granary; note !X !ó = ‘grain’	

86	BAUM97	flat basket	shigqo	lauh (JU) = basket	note ili qoma (ZU) = 'basket'; the maintenance of the alveolar click across shiYeyi and isiZulu suggests that lóámà (KW) is a reborrowing in type reduction from swB
87	SV92 LU09	"intestine", "anus"	mu! lòndò ; mu combe	n! lhom (JU) = anus, large intestine; #nùbùb = large intestine	ing quza (ZU) = 'anus'
88	LU09	to munch, to devour	- gqooka	g!ò (!X) = 'to eat up'	
89	LU09; LU09	to create, to conceive, to give rise to; creator, maker; God	- igqo ; mu gqotiti	#Noatuutab (Sesfontein Damara) = 'rare' term for God	
90	SV92	"old mat"	shi! lólò	! lò a (!XU) = 'skin', 'hide'	
91	LU09	to sin, to transgress	- igqowubi	g!huĩ (!XU) = 'to err', 'to do wrong'	
92	LU09	to be short of, to be in need of	- igqu	! nùwùb (NA) = 'lack', 'need'	
93	LU09	waist	shig qu	! gòwés (NA) = 'waist (of human being)'	
94	LU09; LU09	a crater, a hollow; to hollow out, to excavate, to burrow	- igquhumu	! hùpùb (NA) = hollow, cavity	
95	SV92 LU09; LU09	"to shave" to shave off hair, to cut off the hair; to shave the hair, to cut off the hair	kù! l'úru ; - igqumu ; - inq'uru	g!om (!XU) = to shave #khòm (NA) = 'to shave'	
96	LU09	to scare a flock of birds away from a field	- gqundura	#gðó (NA) = to scare birds away using a scarecrow	
97	LU09	upper arm	mu qguma	g!oma (JU) = upper arm ! òmā (!XU) = upper arm	
98	LU09	'mist'	ung quku	! khúú (NA) = 'to condense', 'to cloud over'	*pB *-kungu, isiZulu inkungu
99	SV92; SV92	noID "species of lizard" noID "species of small lizard"	ung! l'úru ; hà! l'úru	#gòlo (!XO) = 'Bushveld lizard' gògrú (JU) = lizard	
100	LU09	to develop sores or a rash	gqupuruka	! ùbùs (NA) = swelling, pustule, sore	iq ubu (ZU) = 'swelling'
101	SV09; BAUM97	"big", "fat" big	βu! l'uri ; - gqoli	! gùpí (NA) = big, fat	
102	LU09	to be necessary, to be essential	- igqusini	#úú#úúsa (NA) = essential	
103	SV92 LU09	"to bloom" to sprout or grow (of a tree)	ku! útùrà - gqutura	n! ù'úbú (JU) = to sprout ! úí (!X) = to sprout	
104	BAUM97 LU09	to roar; to cry out loud	- gqhoohuma ; - gqohuma	! gòrn (NA) = to roar	
105	LU09	side	inqa	! gá (!X) = 'side'	
106	BAUM97	noID termite	shinqonqo	#óm#om (KW) = termite g!kún (JU) = termite kòrn s (NA)	uq umbu (ZU) = 'queen termite'
107	SV92 LU09	"fruit of <i>Phoenix reclinata</i> " coconut palm	mu! l'úni mun quni	! unu (!X) = 'palm fruit' ! únís (NA) = <i>Hyphaene reclinata</i>	
108	LU09	to shrivel, to wither, to dry up	inqwa	! káú (JU) = to become dry	
109	LU09	dirt, filth	ldinqwa	#gðàb (NA) = mud	

110	DON90 SV92	'serval?' [sic] "Wildkatzenart"	ùnlwésirè ùng'!ásiré	!hàò (!X) = serval, cheetah !ào (NH) = serval !àruḃ (NA) = cheetah !xaraxab (KO) = civet	igqalashu (ZU) = civet
111	SV92; LU09	tortoiseshell tortoise	ìng'!áwá inq'awa	!nǎás (NA) = tortoise !nāb (KO) = tortoise	
112	LU09	belly, stomach	ldiq'owo	g!ú (!XU) = stomach	
113	SV92	"bush camp", "temporary house"	shi!náù	g!lǎò (!XU) = 'camp built in the bush during hunting trips'	
114	SV92	[<i>Vachellia erioloba</i>]	mú!nóyì	!nǎés (NA) = <i>Vachellia mellifera</i>	
115	SV92	"barren (of a woman)"	mú!nú	!xáó (JU) = 'to be barren'	
116	SV92	"to get drunk"	kuí!nú	!aùhn (JU) = 'drunken' !gǎù (NA) = 'to become drunk'	
117	SV92; BAUM97	"to crack", "to split" to crack, to tear off	kuí'átará q'atuka, q'atura	!hàn (!X) qává (KW)	
118	SV92; SV92	"to knock" noID "species of woodpecker"	kuí'ú !'únà; βu!ú !'únàmúti	!o !o (!X) = 'to knock' !oolo (KW) = 'to knock on door'	
119	SV92	"to stop something"	kuí!í	n!ún (JU) = to stop	
120	SV92	"to spoil", "to rot"	kuí!ú !'ù	!óóbó !'ò (JU) = to be rotten	
121	SV92	"wrist", "ankle"	kà!ámì	#hǎǎb (NA) = 'foreknuckle' #han (JU) = 'foreleg'	
122	SV92	<i>Otocyon megalotis</i>	ù!ósirè	!u (JU) = bat-eared fox	
123	SV92	"to snuffle (as a dog)"	kuí!ù	#húní (NA) = 'to sniff (of a dog)'	
lateral click ex lateral click					
124	LU09	to prepare, to make	-ixauxau	'!lnāhó' (!XO) = 'to prepare', 'to arrange', 'to tidy'	
125	SV92	"natural well", "spring"	shìllánà;	llgaáná (KW)	
126	SV92	"period shortly before the falling of full dark"	rùllānì	nllaqēmà JU = 'evening'	
127	LU09; SV92; SV92	to defend oneself; "shield (of a warrior)"; "to defend"	-ldiigxaru; shìllárakàù; kùrìllàràminà	llgàráà can kà xò (KW)	
128	SV92; BAUM97	"arrow" arrow	mùlláwà mugqawa	llgává (KW)	
129	SV92	"to measure", "to equal"	kuílláwó	nllàle (KW)	
130	SV92 LU09	"woman, female person" a woman	mùllēkwá mugxekwa	llgèèkhòè (KW)	ixhego (widespread across Nguni) = 'old woman', 'old person' clearly ex llkxee = 'old' (IlXegwi L&H 1956:116) is probably chance, possibly conflation
131	SV92 LU09	"to keep a fire burning" to put more wood on the fire	kuíllhòllhó -igxuu	KW llguú = to light a fire; to set on fire	inxubuwa (XH) = 'firewood'

132	SV92; SV92	"to have no luck in hunting" "bad luck in hunting"	kùllhò; màkárállhò	llxoo (KW) = to be out of luck during the hunt; llxo (JU, !XU) = bad luck, to be unsuccessful	
133	SV92 LU09	"to command", "to decide"; to conspire, to discuss a plot	kùll'è -inxè	llèè (KW) ll'ae (JU)	
134	SV92 LU09	"rubbish" rubbish	ìllhóbò ixhuru	llxóvò (KW)	
135	LU09	power, strength, authority, command	ixhumu	llhom' (KW)	
136	LU09; LU09	a story; idioms, proverbs, short stories	ldinxè; manqheehu	nllgè (KW) GSBP15 llgàè (NA)	
137	LU09	nolD tree sp. w large canopy	lditjenxa	specifying element -tjen- irretrievable without narrower ID, but generic element llāā (KW) = [Vachellia] <i>hebeclada</i>	
138	SV92	"razorblade"	ìllnàù	llèu (KW) = razor GSPB15	
palatal click ex palatal or alveolar click					
139	LU09; LU09	shallow; shallow waters	-maqca; rucqhapaasa	#qávè (KW) GSBP15	
140	SV92; BAUM97	"weak", "soft"; softness	ù#ámú#àmù; wuchamuchamu	#qóm (KW) = to become soft !!àma (!XU) = to be soft	
141	LU09	to lie back, to stretch out in the sun	-iqcani kashe	!àāsè = 'to stretch oneself out in the sun'	ukugqatseka (XH) = 'to warm oneself at a fire'; a better translation for all these items would be 'to bask'
142	SV92 LU09; LU09	"falling darkness" late in the afternoon; sunset, dusk, sundown	shì#ápà shigqapuka; shigqapaka	#gǎà = 'to set (of the sun)', sórés di #gǎàb (NA) = 'setting of the sun'	ukungcangca, igqenge-gqenge (XH, ZU) = 'to set (of the sun)'; sore#ǎb (KO); leten leten (!XA) = 'to set (of the sun)' ll'hûi l'ee (N U) = 'sunset'
143	SV92 BAUM97	nolD "chameleon" nolD "chameleon"	ù#òàrà ugchwara	ngyàró (KW) n!aló (!XU) n!a'qarosa (JU)	
144	SV92	"wooden plate"	ùn#ú	#éú (KW) = dish n uu JU = dish	
145	SV92 LU09	"to box the ears" 'to slap'	kùll'hòà inqca	#qá (KW) = 'to slap' GSPB15	
146	SV92	"tight", "narrow"	βù#ó	#ó (KW) = 'narrow' !!'ò (!XU) = 'to be narrow'	
147	SV92 LU09	"door"; a door made of reeds	shì#xóái shigcandzi;	#nàms (NA) = skin, hide, sleeping blanket, hanging cover	isicaba (ZU) = door made of wickerwork

Table B3.2.2 Click Items in shiYeyi without Type Matching					
#	source	gloss	shiYeyi	KX'A, KHOE, TUU	Nguni & elsewhere
dental click ex lateral click					
1	SV92	"a parrot"	ri ínizírà	second element is dzera 'bird'; first element likely derives from a reflex of llgírírí'b (NA) = <i>A. roseicollis</i> (Psittacinae)	
2	LU09	while, during the time that	ncana	n lānxá (!XU) = 'now' glla'ámá (JU) = 'now'	nxá (ZU, XH) = 'when', 'if', 'while'
3	LU09 SV92; SV92; BAUM97;	evening, twilight, sunset "daybreak", "sunset" "evening", "sunset" "afternoon"	shikuncumu mākhwé*úmù shikú *úmù mac'uhumu	nllhùlu (!X) = afternoon	
dental click ex alveolar click					
4	LU09	to stare at, to gaze at	-cee , -icee , -icwee , -chiya	!éé (NA) = to gaze at	
dental click ex palatal click					
5	SV92; SV92	"black hyena"; "species of hyena"	ri nú!úrù ; n!nú!úrù	†núúpé†hiirás (NA) = [<i>Parahyena</i>] <i>brunnea</i>	note palatal splitting
6	LU09	to chop, to hack	-chaka	†àà (NA) = to cleave qará (KW) = to chop	ukucanda (ZU) = to cleave
7	LU09; SV92	a thick bush "area thickly overgrown with small plants"	mugca shì ǎ	n†àq (JU) = 'bush', 'shrub'	7/8 is the usual class for deriving a sense of 'veld type' from a dominant species, e.g., isiXhosa umnga = <i>Vachellia karoo</i> , but isinga = 'thornscrub'.
8	LU09	to jump from a height, to fall	-gcita	†ii (KW) = 'to fall (of objects)'	
alveolar click ex lateral click					
9	LU09	to germinate, to sprout	-inqa	llhām (!XU) = 'to sprout' llhāi (NA) = 'to sprout'	ukuxhanta (XH, ZU)
palatal click ex dental click					
10	SV92	"a suckling"	rù†x'ábì	 gáuèb (NA) = 'suckling'	
11	LU09	to wash something dirty	kuqcuurura	 òò (!XU) = 'to wash'	
12	SV92	"to wring"	kui†nà	 'à JU = to wring out GSPB15	

Table B3.2.2
Click Items in shiYeyi of Uncertain Derivation

#	source	gloss	shiYeyi	KX'A, KHOE, TUU,	Nguni & elsewhere
1	LU09	to lick	-caata		
2	SV92; SV92	"small plant"; "plant"	shijǎlámá; shijǎmà	poss. cf. <i>lǎé lgāa</i> (NH) = <i>Panicum kalaharensense</i> (lit., 'wildebeestgras'), but without a narrower ID this cannot be confirmed	
3	LU09	to plug a bottle	-ici		
4	SV92	"small bird (that lives near rivers)"	lǐjirá	second element is -dzera = 'bird' across Kalahari branch; first is irretrievable without a narrower ID, but cf. terms for plovers, e.g., Ilgillgib (HIO) = <i>Vanellus armatus</i> (itself a loan in schwa reduction of Il'ái Il'ái (JU) = <i>Vanellus</i> sp.), <i>nxaagari</i> (NH) = <i>Vanellus</i> spp.	igxiya (XH) = <i>Vanellus armatus</i>
5	LU09	a bit of meat	shicutuka		
6	LU09	rainmaker	shibocwa	referent unclear; in CL.7 could be a person, object, or even an invocation	
7	LU09	nonsense	machambura		
8	LU09	traditional women's attire	shichiguwa		
9	LU09	to clear land	-chochoro		
10	LU09	to be always on the move	-chokura		
11	LU09	edge	inchu		
12	BAUM97 LU09	to leave; to set off on a journey	-chwaka -chwaaka		
13	SV92 SV92 SV92 BAUM97 LU09	"to build (house, fence, kraal, etc.)" "foundations of a camp in the veld" "builder" to build 'build me a foundation!'	kuiǐni; iǐni; muǐniti; -gcini ngcinishira!		
14	LU09	to install, to inaugurate	-gcitika		
15	SV92 LU09	"hunting spider" to hop about (as a locust)	nǎmuǐpási gcupaaka	probably connected with <i>lqhuu</i> (!XO) = 'wolf spider', <i>lkhú</i> , <i>lhommaingti</i> (!XA) = 'spider'; <i>nǐui</i> (!NU) = 'spider'; <i>lhúub</i> (NA) = 'spider', <i>lnuis</i> (KO) = 'spider'	
16	SV92	"bat", "very small bird"	mpápǎǐpási		
17	SV92	"digging stick"	shǐǐni		
18	SV92	<i>Sclerocarya birrea</i>	ǃuǐniyà	poss. cf. <i>qae</i> (KW) = <i>Sclerocarya birrea</i> GSBP15; <i>kàqé</i> (JU) <i>Sclerocarya birrea</i> , but ancestral click form is not available	
19	SV92 LU09	"puppy" puppy	uǐnúǐnú muncuncu	cf. <i>gǐkúú</i> (JU) = wild dog, <i>ǁx'u</i> (!XU) = wild dog?	
20	LU09	to write	incwii		ukuqingqa (XH) = 'to cut', 'to engrave', 'to chisel'?
21	LU09	fresh milk	runcwini	cf. <i>g#qheé</i> (!XO)? = 'milk (n)'?	

22	SV92 SV92 SV92 BAUM97 LU09	"correct"; "well"; "to be beautiful"; "to be nice" good, nice, beautiful;	βu!á káná!ʼà; kù!ápa -qapa -qa		
23	LU09	to catch the scent of smth	-iqaniqani		
24	LU09	to wipe out, to blot out	-iqe		
25	SV92	"to indicate"	kui!é		
26	LU09	firetime (?)	shiqeeqe	scope unclear; poss <i>cf.</i> !ʼéèjàm (KW) = afternoon?	
27	LU09	now, the present	shiqikiti		
28	LU09	true, real; "truth", "reality"	chutura iriya!ó	probably connected with !úrús (NA) = 'essence', 'core of a matter', !'úb (KO)	several isiZunda analogues, including qotho (ZU) = 'truth', 'actuality'
30	LU09	culture, history	shiqoko		note <i>inkcubeko</i> (XH) = 'civilisation', 'culture'
31	SV92	"to sweep", "to clean up", "to weed"	kui!hámú		
32	LU09	to stutter, to stammer	-iqhaqhara		
33	LU09	to rain heavily	-qhowura	note N uuki <i>qau</i> = 'to rain', suggesting that a cognate item in the Taa branch may have been the direct etymon	note <i>iqhwabazi</i> (ZU) = 'raindrop'
34	SV92; SV92; BAUM97	"negating morpheme in verbal constructions"; "nothing"; "there is nothing"; "none"; negative associative copula	!hú kù!hú qhu		
35	LU09	to appear, to come into view	-qhutura		
36	LU09	to grow, to become, to turn out to be	-igqo		
37	LU09	to happen, to come to pass	-iqhwiisini		
38	LU09	to move away, to undo, to pull	-gqapuka	poss. <i>cf.</i> n#àbè (JU) = to drag	
39	SV92	"pain relieved by applying poultices"	kui!á		
41	SV92	"the side of a house"	ru!ézà		
42	LU09	to throb, to pound, to pulse	-q'ataara		
43	SV92	"to be on the edge of something"	kui!nà		
44	LU09	firstborn child	inqunqu	poss. <i>cf.</i> #guúro (NA) = 'first'?	
45	SV92 LU09	"cooking vessel", "tripod" a pot, a cooking vessel	kál'úmà kanq'uma		poss. <i>cf.</i> !Ui-branch !ung (KROEN 1861); !ōa (XA) = 'pot'
46	LU09	to disadvantage another	-isheegxe		
47	LU09	favourite food, favourite dish	inxhaaho		poss. <i>cf.</i> t'kamkoe (Gariap Afrikaans) = 'delicious food'; inqambothi (ZU) = 'fine flavour', inqwambothi (ZU) = 'delicious food', both probably connected with !gaǀ #úúsa (NA) = 'tasty', but the shiYeyi lateral is unexpected
48	LU09	cattle egret	uxhwaaya		note <i>umcwangele</i> (XH) = <i>Threskiornis athipicus</i>
49	SV92	"immediate environment"	zicellná		
50	SV92	"dry, bark- and leafless tree"	yilínará	<i>cf.</i> gllxá'm éé (IXO) = 'to be leafless'?	
51	LU09	to dismantle a fishing net	-kuinxwa		

52	SV92	woodcarving	shí#á		
53	SV92	nold "bat"	un#ái		
54	LU09; BAUM97	NEG COP; NEG COP	-iqca pha qha		
55	LU09	to sway the hips while walking	-qcanaaka		
56	LU09	to scorn, to despise, to look down on	-inqca		
57	LU09	to praise	-inqcahanu		
58	SV92	"type of millet"	mà#núkhòà		
59	LU09	steam	mukhuuinqce		
60	SV92	to assemble; to collect	kui#ámù		
61	LU09	to gush out, to stream out	-qchaphuldika		
62	LU09	a shield	shiqchewe		

scilicet et tempus ueniet cum finibus illis
agricola incuruo terram molitus aratro
exesa inueniet scabra robigine pila
aut grauibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanis
grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulcris

VERG.GEORG.1.242 - 247