

Khoekhoe Lexical Borrowing in Namaqualand Afrikaans

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Thesis Abstract

Although several languages in the Khoekhoe branch were historically spoken alongside Afrikaans in bilingual speech communities throughout the Western and Northern Cape, the last century has seen abrupt and catastrophic language loss, resulting in a shift from a bilingual to a monolingual paradigm. However, a number of ethnobotanical surveys conducted in the Namaqualand region of the Northern Cape over the last forty years have recorded the retention of Khoekhoe-branch plant names by monolingual Afrikaans speakers. Such surveys make no attempt to source these loanwords to their Khoekhoe-branch targets, do not make use of the standardised Namibian Khoekhoe orthography, and often resort to transcribing loaned click consonants using only ‘t’. This study undertakes a sociohistorical linguistic investigation into the etymological origins and contemporary usage of these loaned plant names in order to develop a clearer understanding of language contact and lexical borrowing in the Namaqualand region. Following the lexicographical compilation of a representative corpus of loanwords, this study conducts a series of semi-structured interviews with monolingual speakers of Namaqualand Afrikaans. Qualitative sociolinguistic analysis of these interviews reveals that, although loanwords are perceived to be of Nama origin, they are semantically opaque beyond pragmatic reference. Preliminary phonological observations identify a loss of phonemic contrastivity in loaned clicks coupled with a high incidence of variability, and suggest epenthetic stop insertion and epenthetic nasalisation as two possible strategies facilitating click loan. Synthesising these observations, this study speculates that the use of loanwords hosting clicks may enjoy a degree of covert prestige in Namaqualand Afrikaans, which may in turn shed light on historical sociolinguistic processes of click diffusion. It recommends that urgent and immediate attention be focused on the usage, sociolinguistic status, and regional variation of Nama within the Northern Cape, and advocates strongly for cooperation and improved communication between linguists and ethnobotanists.

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Introduction

This Master's thesis aims to investigate the historical origin and contemporary usage of common names of Namaqualand plants loaned from languages in the Khoekhoe branch of the KHOE family into Afrikaans. As such, it falls within the domain of historical sociolinguistics, while drawing also on the disciplines of phonology and ethnobotany as required.

Summary of Thesis

Chapter 1 constitutes a summary and review of the current literature, both lay and academic, available on five primary research areas – language contact and lexical borrowing; the sociolinguistic history of contact between the Khoekhoe branch and Afrikaans; loan phonology; the relationship between biodiversity, endemism, and language; and the relationship between taxonomy and language. I draw on theory and methods from all five of these research areas throughout the course of this thesis. Chapter 1 also outlines the aims and research questions that guide the overall construction and execution of this project.

Chapters 2 and 3 are primarily lexicographical in scope and method. Chapter 2 serves as an indepth survey of South African lexicographical and ethnobotanical records of the 20th and 21st century, focusing especially on Afrikaans- or English-language publications that collected or collated common names of Namaqualand plants. After discussing methods by which loanwords may be identified, I extract loaned items of Khoekhoe-branch origin, and discuss the history of their lexicographical record. From this survey, there arises a small but significant corpus of loaned plant names repeatedly collected in the Namaqualand region over the course of the last century (supplied in full at Appendix B). Chapter 3 applies etymologising principles and methods to select items from this corpus, ultimately demonstrating that, while, some items can be sourced to their targets via careful lexicographical comparison and ethnobotanical contextualisation, most of the loaned items recorded for Namaqualand endemic species are beyond retrieval, likely *because* their pragmatic referents are so narrowly distributed. This, in turn, may indicate regionalised variation in the lexis of Nama dialects historically spoken within South Africa, rather than within Namibia.

In order to supplement the available lexicographical material, I conducted field research in the Namaqualand region during April 2019, aiming to replicate and record as many loanwords as possible, in order to obtain workable phonological data. Chapter 4 discusses the project design,

briefly recounts the fieldwork process, and codes, tabulates, and transcribes all data collected. Focusing primarily on the high instance of loaned click consonants recorded, Chapter 5 engages qualitatively with these data from three primary perspectives, making synchronic sociolinguistic observations; describing and discussing loaned phonological features and potential adoptive strategies; and offering diachronic sociolinguistic comment.

The Conclusion summarises all findings and makes three primary recommendations for further research –

- (1) the urgent and immediate collection and analysis of further data on Nama as spoken in the Northern Cape, in order to establish the extent to which a South African variety exists;
- (2) the collection and analysis of further data on synchronic contact between Nama and Namaqualand Afrikaans, with a particular focus on bilingualism, codeswitching, borrowing, and speaker perceptions of sociolinguistic prestige, in order to gain insight into possible processes of click loan and click diffusion currently underway;
- (3) increased collaboration between linguists and ethnobotanists in order to improve linguistic data collection protocols and to combat the spread of linguistic misinformation.

Summary of Appendices

This project contains four appendices. Appendix A, ‘Loans in Links’, lists, lemmatises, and etymologises so far as possible all Khoekhoe-branch loanwords *not* pertaining to plant names provided in Links 1989. Appendix B, ‘Corpus of Loaned Plant Names’, is a representative corpus of plant names presented as loans from languages in the Khoekhoe branch since Marloth 1917 until November 2019, with critical emendations as to whether or not certain items can in fact be qualified as loans. Appendix C, ‘List of Stimulus Species’, lists all plant species displayed photographically in the stimulus workbooks used during the data collection phase in order to elicit loaned plant names. Appendix D, ‘Ethics Clearance, Information Sheets, and Consent Forms’ reproduces the proof of clearance provided by the Rhodes University Joint Research Ethics Committee to conduct fieldwork, together with English and Afrikaans versions of the information sheets and consent forms provided to all consultants.

Format, Translations, and General Notes

As this is a historical linguistic project, several of my primary linguistic sources are upwards of fifty years old, and make use of racial and ethnic designations now regarded as slurs. The reproduction of such slurs risks condoning, even tacitly, the use of violent and degrading language. However, their wholesale removal could read as an effort to sanitise or erase South Africa and Namibia's shared colonial histories of racial oppression and exploitation, the ramifications of which are still felt to this day. I have therefore chosen to follow the precedent set by Oosthuysen 2016, who replaces all historical incidences of degrading language with the accepted contemporary alternative, but indicates the original presence of a slur using a superscript initial. In this thesis, all historical references to speech communities or individual speakers of languages within the Khoekhoe branch are, appropriately, replaced with [Khoekhoe] in square brackets, and the original term indicated only by a superscript ^H. Slurs are retained in the final list of references and sources solely in order to facilitate bibliographic reference.

The bulk of my ethnobotanical sources are also by necessity outdated, and, as such, make use of Linnaean binomials that have since undergone systematic revision. Via reference to the International Plant Names Index (IPNI), I have endeavoured to provide up-to-date binomials wherever possible, and have referred to the relevant authorities individually as needed. Binomials are placed in [square brackets] wherever I have updated them from the original record. Following botanical convention, I refer to unconfirmed species within a confirmed genus as, for example, *Aloe* sp., and to multiple confirmed species within a confirmed genus as *Aloe* spp. After the provision of the genus, all subsequent iterations of the genus name are initialised within the same sentence – for example, I might refer to *Aloe ferox*, *A. melanacantha*, and *A. humilis*.

All language families are referred to in capital letters in order to indicate that they are abstract academic concepts rather than pragmatic entities, and hence to avoid conflation with ethnic or other sociological nomenclatures, or with the names of individual languages or dialects. Branches or clusters of language families are always referred to as such. As an example of these conventions, I would discuss isiXhosa as a language in the Nguni cluster of the NTU language family, or Nama as a dialect of the standardised Namibian Khoekhoe language in the Khoekhoe branch of the KHOE language family.

All translations from Afrikaans, Dutch, German, and Latin are my own unless otherwise indicated. All photographs and images are my own.

Chapter 1

Literature Review

This chapter reviews the available literature on language contact and lexical borrowing, provides a historical background and phonemic inventory for both Afrikaans and Namibian Khoekhoe, and summarises diachronic models of loan phonology. It also surveys cross-linguistic examples of the rural preservation of lexical archaisms before arguing for the potential existence of an archaic lexical set of items loaned into regional Afrikaans from a language or languages in the Khoekhoe branch of the KHOE family. It proposes that the extreme floral endemism of Namaqualand may have served as a sociopragmatic motivation for the mass lexical borrowing of Khoekhoe-branch plant names, and thus contributed to the development of a location-bound lexis of loanwords in Namaqualand Afrikaans. Finally, after reviewing existing research into the cross-linguistic semantic principles that govern lay taxonomisation, this chapter outlines the research questions that guide this MA project.

1.1. Language Contact and Lexical Borrowing

This section summarises recent literature describing language contact and related sociolinguistic phenomena, with a focus on lexical borrowing and its sociopragmatic motivations.

1.1.1. Language Contact

Language contact is a sociolinguistic phenomenon which occurs when two or more speech communities are brought into close socioeconomic proximity (Thomason, 2003: 688). Language change is a natural function of time, and will inevitably occur regardless of contact as a result of linguistic drift (Thomason & Kauffman, 1988: 9). However, language contact has long been identified as a key driver of language change, both influencing its rate and conditioning its nature (Milroy, 1992: 195 – 200; Thomason, 2003: 687; Hickey, 2010: 7).

Following initial academic interest in the historical sociolinguistic ramifications of language contact (see especially Haugen 1950; Weinreich 1953), the field diversified considerably during the latter half of the 20th century, with multiple scholarly enclaves interrogating the phenomenon from a variety of linguistic perspectives (see further Muysken, 2013: 709). Although contact is generally studied from a diachronic perspective at the macrosocial level, research has also focused on the synchronic role of bi- or multilingual individuals (Matras, 2009: 3). Multilingual

individuals who move between speech communities have the potential to introduce external languages into discourse with monolingual speakers, facilitating the diffusion of external features throughout a broadly monolingual speech community (see further Thomason 2003; Myers-Scotton 2006).

1.1.2. Codeswitching & Lexical Borrowing

Although a wide variety of linguistic elements may be incorporated from one language into another, ranging from syntactic constructions to ongoing phonological shifts, this thesis focuses primarily on instances of lexical borrowing, which pertains specifically to the sharing of vocabulary items. Lexical borrowing is generally modelled as occurring between two distinct languages (whether genetically related or otherwise), and does not consider the existence of genetically cognate roots in both languages for the loaned item to preclude or negate borrowing.

It is accepted that widescale borrowing must be introduced and propagated by speakers with at least some degree of multilingualism, and fluent multilinguals who codeswitch during discourse with less fluent multilinguals or in the presence of monolinguals have been shown to drive syntactic change in multiple contact situations worldwide (Thomason 2003; Myers-Scotton 2006; Hickey 2010). Multilinguals also have the propensity to insert nonce borrowings into discourse with monolinguals. These nonce borrowings, or targets, may then enter the lexicon of monolinguals, and, over time, stabilise as loans within the host language. Language contact and language change are thus frequently studied in close association with multilingualism.

The social class of speakers may also affect the rate, nature, and propagation of lexical borrowing, with speakers of different genders, ages, status, and linguistic capabilities all potentially affecting the adoption of borrowings within the broader community (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988: 105). In particular, both codeswitching and borrowing may be strongly perceived as subcultural markers within a speech community, and are often closely bound up in the construction and performance of sociolinguistic identity (Liebkind, 1999: 143; Slabbert & Finlayson 2000; Austin & Sallabank, 2011: 8 – 9). The power relation between the two (or more) languages also has the potential to mediate the nature and degree of language mixing, with unequal relationships, and especially unequal post-colonial relationships, tending to precipitate lexical borrowing especially (Muysken, 2013: 714). The association of certain loans with certain subcultural markers, including ethnicity, heritage, and age, thus has the potential either to drive or to inhibit the diffusion of lexical borrowings on a macrosocial level.

1.1.3. Sociopragmatic Drivers of Lexical Borrowing

The application of critical discourse analysis (CDA) to multilingual discourses has productively identified multiple synchronic motivations for both codeswitching and insertional or nonce borrowings. These may include a wide variety of situational discourse cues or ‘triggers’ (see discussion in Walters, 2004: 86, and Matras, 2009: 114 – 116); prestige (MacMahon, 2004: 202; Hock & Joseph, 1996: 258 – 271); and general construction or maintenance of sociolinguistic identity, as discussed above. From a diachronic position, however, it remains difficult to establish generalised predictions as to which borrowings will remain nonce, and which will stabilise within the host lexicon following widespread adoption. Often, the motivations underlying the incorporation of one loan over another, or of the total replacement of a host item with a target item, can only be established after the fact with the benefit of historical hindsight.

Macrolinguistic assessments of the diachronic drivers of lexical borrowing have focused largely on exposure to novelty (Hock & Joseph, 1996: 259). Historical linguistic scrutiny frequently detects the existence of lexical sets, in which a target set of vocabulary items all occupying a single semantic domain enter the host language simultaneously or in very quick succession. Such mass borrowing is generally held to indicate the historical presence of a sociolinguistic contact point centred on the introduction of a particular novelty into one speech community by another (Romaine, 1989: 55; MacMahon, 2004: 201). The novelty introduced may be tangible, such as a cuisine or class of material goods; it may be both tangible and intangible, such as a technology and its associated skillset; it may also be entirely intangible, such as an academic theory.

Lexical borrowing may also occur without a clear pragmatic motivator in the form of exposure to novelty; in such instances, the item borrowed is generally assumed to have sociolinguistic associations of prestige, typically because the donor language enjoys a superior socioeconomic position (Hock & Joseph, 1996: 259). However, perceived sociolinguistic prestige does not always equate to socioeconomic hegemony. Following early discussions of the relationship between gender, class, and prestige (see Trudgill 1972), numerous subsequent observers noted that, under certain social circumstances, non-standard varieties, countercultural vernaculars, youth argots, and even severely persecuted endangered languages may also be perceived as ‘covertly’ prestigious despite their lack of hegemonic influence (see further Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2014: 188), especially when they double as markers of ethnic, racial, gender, or class identity. For a discussion of the relationship between language and identity as it developed over the 20th century in sub-Saharan Africa, see Obeng & Adegbiya 1999; compare also the capacity for

syncretic vernaculars noted for their high ratio of loanwords, such as sePitori and is'Camtho, to serve as a covertly prestigious marker of identity among young urban speech communities within South Africa (Hurst 2009, Ditsele & Mann 2014). Such languages or language varieties may therefore donate loanwords via covert prestige despite a lack of such motivations as pragmatic novelty or socioeconomic hegemony.

This thesis will focus primarily on novelty, and especially the botanical diversity novel to colonial speech communities, as a historical sociopragmatic driver of borrowing. However, it will also consider the potential for covert prestige to motivate synchronic borrowing in a southern African context, especially at the nexus of Afrikaans and languages in the Khoekhoe branch.

1.2. Historical Sociolinguistic Overview

This section provides a historical sociolinguistic background to both the Khoekhoe branch of the KHOE family and Afrikaans, and also summarises the history of contact between these two speech communities.

1.2.1. The 'Khoesan' Areal Grouping

First coined by Leonhard Schülze in 1928, and brought into the English-language academic vernacular by Ian Schapera in 1930, the term 'Khoisan' or 'Khoesan'¹ has its roots in early 20th century ethnographic practices (Chebanne, 2012: 81). Greenberg, in compiling his 1963 volume *The Languages of Africa*, codified the use of what he saw as a 'convenient term' for one of the four linguistic superfamilies of Africa (Greenberg, 1963: 66). The term does not encompass the multitude of endogenous nomenclatures preferred by speakers and community stakeholders themselves, and ultimately is as 'an anthropological label for the convenience of designation' (Chebanne, 2012: 82). Not only is the term inadequate to express nuanced and dynamic cultural histories and identities, and a relic of efforts by colonial linguists and anthropologists to impose exogenous and often overly simplistic divisions upon the complex societies of the early Cape (see Gilmour, 2006: 10; Heugh 2015), it is also linguistically insufficient, as scholars throughout the 20th century assumed genetic relatedness of these language without adequate scrutiny or sufficient supporting data (Güldemann, 2005: 3). In short, its linguistic application is

¹ The historical spelling is 'Khoisan', but 'Khoesan' is more linguistically accurate. For the absence of the diphthong [ɔi] in any KHOE-family language, and the grounds for preferring 'oe' over 'oi', see Brugman 2009: 55.

transferative, and the outdated ethnographic criteria of its origin have resulted in both widespread lay confusion and unfortunate academic misappropriation.

This thesis uses the term ‘Khoesan languages’ only where absolutely necessary to refer to a group of distinct sub-Saharan language families, so clustered because of their areal proximity. Within this broad group, most contemporary authorities agree on three families; this thesis will not consider the isolates Hadza and Sandawe, or the suspected isolate Kwadi. The KX’A family (Heine & Honken 2010) corresponds roughly to the earlier ‘Northern Khoisan’ division, and is distributed primarily in northern Namibia and southern Angola. The TUU family (Güldemann 2005), comprising two branches !Ui and Taa and corresponding roughly to the ‘Southern Khoisan’ division, was historically spoken in western Botswana and eastern border of Namibia, particularly along the length of the Nossob River, and extended also into the interior of southern Africa beyond the Gariep River (Güldemann, 2006b: 369). The KHOE family (Köhler 1971) comprises two branches Kalahari and Khoekhoe, and was widely distributed throughout Namibia, in central Botswana, and along the southern coastline of South Africa as far east as the Great Fish River. (See further Dimmendaal 2011: 324; Güldemann 2014: 7 – 10.)

The use of the geographic appellations Northern Khoisan, Southern Khoisan, and Central Khoisan was consolidated by Dorothea Bleek’s influential 1956 *Bushman Dictionary*. Her model further subdivides each family into languages and dialects, each denoted by a letter and a number. For example, !Xun, today considered a KX’A-family language, is in the *Bushman Dictionary* identified Northern Khoisan 2, or NII. |Xam, in the Taa branch of the TUU family, was previously denoted Southern Khoisan 1, or SI. As this shorthand was heavily used throughout the first half of the 20th century, a familiarity with the older model remains crucial to the modern researcher. However, the placement of languages and dialects within these schemata were not always linguistically accurate or culturally sensitive. The geographic assignments themselves can be misleading, referring as they do to the projected historical origin of the families rather than to their more recent distribution. The ‘Southern’ grouping, for example, was until the mid-19th century widely spoken throughout the interior of South Africa, while the geographically southernmost speech communities used languages in the ‘Central’ family. This thesis therefore adopts the preferred contemporary approach, and, barring isolates entirely, uses the terms KX’A, TUU, and KHOE.

The Kalahari Basin Area (KBA) and surrounding geographical regions served as the site for extensive pre-colonial contact between languages within the ‘Khoesan’ group (Sands 2001).

Scholars have also noted the influence of languages in the ‘Khoesan’ group on several branches of the southern NTU languages, both in the easterly regions of South Africa, and in the northwesterly and central regions of Namibia (Gunnink, Sands, *et al.*, 2015: 194; Güldemann, 2018: 455; Sands & Gunnink, 2019: 705). The linguistic shifts precipitated by the existence of these nuanced contact relationships, and in particular the areal dispersal of lexical items through a permeable sociolinguistic nexus, complicate the application of the mass comparative method, and have stymied attempts to establish the nature and extent of any possible genetic relatedness between the three ‘Khoesan’ families.

1.2.2. The Khoekhoe Branch

Within the KHOE family, languages in the Khoekhoe branch were historically spoken in the interior of Namibia, and all along the coastline of southern Africa as far east as Makhanda. Languages including Damara, Nama, Xri, Kora, Cape Khoekhoe, and Gora were distributed along a subtle continuum of mutual intelligibility, often complicated by migration, contact, intermarriage, and multilingualism. Of these languages, the majority are now either extinct or moribund; the best documented, with the largest speech communities still extant, are Nama and Damara. Although a handful of small communities and isolated speakers are scattered throughout the Northern Cape, the use of any other languages in the KHOE family within South Africa is minimal if not outright moribund (Chebanne, 2012: 88; Du Plessis, 2019: 25).

The Nama language was historically distributed between central Namibia and present-day Namaqualand in South Africa. Substantial speech communities using this language are known to have lived in or regularly travelled through the Namaqualand region from the early 17th century, and as late as the first half of the 20th century. As early as the 18th century, however, mounting pressure from the expanding Cape Colony had already seen increasing numbers of Khoekhoe-speaking groups moving out of Namaqualand and further north into Namibia (Stals 2001), displacing a speakers of a language or languages likely in the TUU family (Güldeman, 2006b: 369).

Today, however, the majority of speakers of any Khoekhoe-branch language live in Namibia. During the late 1990s, governmental efforts at language standardisation incorporated ten dialects, broadly divisible into a southerly Nama continuum and a northerly Damara continuum, into the language currently referred to as Namibian Khoekhoe or Khoekhoegowab (Haacke, Eiseb, & Namaseb, 1997: 125). Speakers of this standard account for 11.5% of the population of Namibia,

which would equal a speech community of roughly 200 000 (Fredericks, 2013: 8). In addition to the *Preliminary List of Namibian Khoekhoe Plant Names* (Haacke, Eiseb, Giess 1991) and the *Glossary* (Haacke & Eiseb 1996), contemporary Namibian speech communities may also make use of a large and comprehensive *Khoekhoegowab-English Dictionary* (Haacke & Eiseb 2002), and a grammar, *|Asa Khomai î xoa |Gôan !Khanis* (!Goraseb 2011). The Namibian Khoekhoe standard can therefore be qualified as the most comprehensively documented language not only of the KHOE family, but of any of the ‘Khoesan’ languages (Fredericks, 2013: 10, Du Plessis, 2019: 6).

However, the extent to which the variety of Nama still spoken in South Africa differs from the Namibian Khoekhoe standard as spoken in Namibia is unknown. Although a number of ethnobotanists and anthropologists have conducted research with consultants from the Northern Cape who speak a variety of Nama, only one linguistic work on this variety has been undertaken, in the form of an MA thesis (Witzlack-Makaverich 2006). No other formal linguistic survey of this region exists.

1.2.3. Contact between the Khoekhoe Branch and Afrikaans

Cape Dutch developed into Afrikaans in close and consistent contact with several dialects of Khoekhoe. Stripped of livestock and of grazing rights following initial conflict with the VOC in the 17th century, many speakers of Cape Khoekhoe and of Nama had no recourse but to sell their labour in order to subsist, and so lived in close contact with Europeans almost from the earliest days of permanent VOC settlement (Deumert, 2004: 24; Gilmour 2006: 17). Ponelis notes also that, with literacy in Dutch serving as a prerequisite for the manumission of labourers and slaves, there was considerable incentive for acquisition (Ponelis, 1993: 26). Thus those in the regular employ of settlers learned Dutch swiftly, though informally and often incompletely; several scholars identify this “restructuring” of Dutch by Khoekhoe labourers as a “major factor” in the early development of a distinctive Cape Dutch dialect (Holm, 2004: 42 – 43; Deumert 2004: 27). From this group there developed several bilingual communities equipped with both Cape Dutch and Khoekhoe-branch languages, who, in a bid to escape the increasing harshness of European rule, began to depart the Cape Colony northwards in small nomadic groups or clans from the eighteenth century onwards. These groups were instrumental in the spread of the nascent vernacular today standardised as Afrikaans throughout the Northern Cape and into southern Namibia (Stals, 2001: 12).

The instalment in 1948 of the Nationalist Party and the subsequent implementation of Apartheid prompted an increased nationalist interest in elevating Afrikaans from the status of impoverished colonial Dutch to a language with a history, a literature, and a consolidated cultural identity. Several scholars devoted themselves to the provision, over the next few decades, of formal treatments of the etymological origins of the Afrikaans lexis, and, in so doing, acknowledged the existence within Afrikaans of words loaned from languages in the Khoekhoe branch (see especially Nienaber 1963; Boshoff & Nienaber 1967; Valkhoff, 1972: 20; Ponelis 1993; Du Plessis, 2019: 22). More recently, some academic attention has been directed towards the use of Afrikaans loanwords in ‘Khoesan’ languages, mostly in Ju|’hoan (Miller, 2013: 460 – 461) and Khoekhoe (den Besten 1997; Haacke 2013: 456 – 459).

However, recent scholars of the historical restructuring of Cape Dutch have paid comparatively little attention to the potential for ‘Khoesan’ languages to have influenced the development of the contemporary Afrikaans lexis.² Links 1989 documented a number of Khoekhoe loanwords productively in use in Namaqualand Afrikaans (Links, 1989: 61 – 67), but, while ‘clicks are retained, their use is unstable, so Links decided to use only ! for his phonetic transcriptions’ (den Besten, 2013: 454). Of Links’ sixty-two loaned items, fifty contain loaned clicks, clearly indicating the existence of lexical borrowing between Namibian Khoekhoe and Namaqualand Afrikaans. No publications have ever attempted to source these loans to their Namibian Khoekhoe targets, and no phonologists have re-examined these ‘unstable’ clicks.

A number of more recent lay publications also record Namaqualand lexical items that ostensibly contain clicks, using the informal orthographic convention ! or t’ to represent any and all clicks (see especially Van der Walt & Le Riche 1999; Coetzee 2010). However, little to no recent linguistic fieldwork has been conducted in regions historically noted to have served as contact sites, despite researchers from other disciplines regularly reporting the use of Khoekhoe loanwords in Afrikaans in remote rural regions in the Northern Cape (see further Section 1.4.2. below).

² On the potential for Khoekhoe-branch syntax to have exerted so-called ‘substrate’ influence on Cape Dutch, see the tenuous examples offered by Valkhoff, 1972: 24, Ponelis 1993: 470, and Deumert 2004: 199.

1.3. Phonological Overview

This section presents a phonemic inventory of both Namibian Khoekhoe and Afrikaans, followed by a discussion of extant theories of loan phonology and contact-induced feature diffusion.

1.3.1. Phonemic Inventory of Namibian Khoekhoe

Although the Khoekhoe branch historically comprised a variety of distinct languages and dialects, each with their own phonological distinctions and idiosyncrasies, the majority of these languages are either moribund or extinct, and so afford little opportunity for phonological study. As discussed in Section 1.2.2. above, the best-studied of these languages is the Namibian Khoekhoe standard. Accordingly, the phonemic inventory of Namibian Khoekhoe will serve as the model inventory deployed when sourcing suspected loans to their targets.

Namibian Khoekhoe contains five core vowels, /i e a o u/. The overall phonotactic structure of the Namibian Khoekhoe word was historically CVCV, although diachronic syncopation has disrupted this to permit such structures as CVV. Although the standard orthography still distinguishes between short and long vowels, differentiated by a macron, the diachronic CV constraints technically still govern vowel placement, with the result that so-called long vowels are in fact couplets of identical short vowels, each capable of bearing a distinct tone and therefore of serving as a separate phoneme (see further Haacke, 2013: 451 – 456.) When distributed as couplets, the three cardinal vowels /i a u/ may also be phonemically nasalised; two dissimilar short vowels may not individually carry phonemic nasalisation, nor may the mid-vowels in any distribution. The following table is adapted from Brugman, 2009: 54.

	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
HIGH	i ii i ⁿ i ⁿ		u uu u ⁿ u ⁿ
MID	e ee		o oo
LOW		a aa a ⁿ a ⁿ	

Table 1: Monophthongal Vowels in Namibian Khoekhoe

Namibian Khoekhoe also contains seven diphthongs, of which four have nasalised counterparts, for a total of eleven. The following table is adapted from Brugman, 2009: 55; for an alternative assessment of diphthongs, see Haacke 2013: 451. This makes for a total vocalic inventory of twenty-four phonemes.

	FRONT	BACK	FRONTING
HIGH	əi ə ⁿ i ⁿ	əu ə ⁿ u ⁿ	ui u ⁿ i ⁿ
MID	ae	ao	oe
LOW		oa o ⁿ a ⁿ	

Table 2: Diphthongs in Namibian Khoekhoe

Of the thirty-two consonants, only twelve are pulmonic and egressive; see the table below adapted from Brugman, 2009: 28.

	LABIAL	DENTAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
STOPS	p	t	k	ʔ
AFFRICATES		ts	k x	
FRICATIVES		s	x	h
NASALS	m	n		
APPROXIMANTS		r		

Table 3: Pulmonic Egressive Consonants in Namibian Khoekhoe

Of these, only three are phonotactically permitted to occur in intervocalic positions without undergoing environmental mutation, namely the voiceless bilabial stop /p/, the nasals /m/ and /n/, and the dental approximant /r/. /p/, however, undergoes allophonic voicing in certain tonal environments, and is also subject to considerable degrees of regional variation and interchangeability. Thus it is not uncommon to encounter such orthographic variations as |kháwéb and |khápéb, both referring to the plant *Oxalis semiloba* (Oxalidaceae). Furthermore, variants of the same word which either contain the intervocalic consonant or elide it remain current (that is, ‡gàèb and ‡gàrèb are effectively the same word, and both mean ‘leaf’).

Voicing is not phonemic when applied to stop consonants in both word-initial and word-final position, but is instead influenced by the tonality of the phonological environment. Thus /p/ is

realised [p] in phonological environments hosting ‘higher tone melodies’, but [b] in phonological environments hosting ‘lower tone melodies’; /p/ and /b/, in other words, would seem to exist in allophonic distribution, mediated by tone height. (Haacke & Eiseb, 1996: ii) Brugman, however, notes a third realisation in the labiodental approximant [ʋ], and submits evidence that /v/, /b/, and /p/ occur in free variation within the same word, produced by the same speaker, during the same session (Brugman, 2009: 33).

The remaining twenty consonants are clicks. Cross-linguistically, all click consonants are produced using two complete simultaneous or near-simultaneous oral closures. The anterior closure is produced using the apex or lamina of the tongue, while the posterior closure usually sees dorsal contact with the velum, uvula, or pharynx (Ladefoged & Maddieson, 1996: 247). Beach 1938 termed the anterior closure the *influx*, with its position being used to class the click as dental, alveolar, palatal, and so forth, and the posterior closure the *efflux*. These twin restrictions create a low-pressure cavity in the mouth into which the airstream rushes following release, resulting in an ingressive mechanism that is unique to the set of click consonants (Miller, 2011: 416). The posterior release may be either a stop, or a stop that has been fricated, with the result that all clicks are classed either as stops or as affricates (Miller, 2011: 419); they may subsequently be modified via additional nasalisation, aspiration, phonation, or ejection.

Earlier phonetic models of click production focused primarily on the question of complexity, placing emphasis on the apparently unique simultaneity of two complete oral restrictions. Traill & Ladefoged 1984 accept Beach 1938’s inventory of four click types in Namibian Khoekhoe, but develop Beach’s notion of the *efflux* through a more sophisticated assessment of the posterior closures as ‘click accompaniments’. However, alternative assessments have argued that the category of accompaniment is ‘phonetically empty’ (Brugman, 2009: 37). Miller, Sands, Brugman *et al.* 2009 sort the click inventory of N|uu according to the four articulatory criteria used cross-linguistically by the IPA to sort all other consonants (place, manner, phonation, and airstream). The place criterion is simply accorded a compound description (such as dentipharyngeal or alveouvular) in order to incorporate both closures, and hence to eliminate the ‘click accompaniment’ category.

The following table (adapted from Brugman, 2009: 36) illustrates the twenty click consonants of Namibian Khoekhoe. In addition to Brugman’s IPA symbols, I insert the standardised orthography associated with each click.

	dental		alveolar		lateral		palatal	
	IPA	NK	IPA	NK	IPA	NK	IPA	NK
stop		g	!	!g		g	‡	‡g
affricate	χ	kh	!χ	!kh	χ	kh	‡χ	‡kh
nasalised stop	ᵛ	n	ᵛ!	!n	ᵛ	n	ᵛ‡	‡n
prenasalised aspirated stop	ᵛ ^h	h	ᵛ ! ^h	!h	ᵛ ^h	h	ᵛ ‡ ^h	‡h
prenasalised ejective stop	ᵛ ^ʔ		ᵛ ! ^ʔ	!	ᵛ ^ʔ		ᵛ ‡ ^ʔ	‡

Table 4: Lingual Ingressive Consonants in Namibian Khoekhoe

There exists a great deal of scholarly confusion as to which click is meant by which description, in part as a result of cross-contamination from assessment of clicks in the Nguni group. Lay South African speech communities typically term /!/ “palatal” and /#/ “alveolar”, despite this effectively reversing the international convention; this is likely the result of terminological conflation with the Nguni-group palatal-alveolar click transcribed **q** in the standard orthography and /!/ in the IPA. This thesis acknowledges the South African convention, but ultimately chooses to adopt the international standard, referring to /#/ as palatal and /!/ as alveolar.

Finally, Namibian Khoekhoe is also a heavily tonal language, hosting four basic tones – double low (indicated by the double grave accent), low (indicated by the grave accent), high (indicated by the acute accent), and double high (indicated by the double acute accent). When paired across the historical C₁V₁C₂V₂ structure that underlies the majority of lexical items, these four basic tones yield six standard “tone melodies”. Each of these, however, may be realised in a citation form, and also in a sandhi form – that is, a slightly modified pattern when used as part of an utterance. Furthermore, certain tones do have a derivational function, especially when deriving verbs from nouns (Haacke, 2013: 51 – 52). It should be noted that older sources transcribe tone only sporadically. While the initial intent during early standardisation efforts was to indicate tone regularly, community stakeholders soon expressed frustration with the inefficient and often confusing orthography, and more recent materials do not indicate tone (see further Haacke & Eiseb, 1996: iii).

1.3.2. Phonemic Inventory of Afrikaans

While the consonantal inventory of Afrikaans is smaller than that of Namibian Khoekhoe, with only seventeen phonemes, the vocalic inventory is considerably broader. Of the monophthongs displayed in the table below (adapted from Wissing 2019), /y u ø o œ ɔ/ are considered rounded, while three may undergo phonemic lengthening and nasalisation as / ẽ: ã: ã: /. Of the diphthongs /iə yœ uə əi œy œu/, two, /œy œu/, are rounded. For further detail, see Combrink & Stadtler, 1987; Donaldson, 1993: Wissing, 2019.

	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
HIGH	i y		u
OPEN-MID	e ø		o
MIDLE		ə œ	
CLOSE-MID	ɛ æ		ɔ
LOW	a		ɑ

Table 5: Monophthongal Vowels in Afrikaans

In addition to eighteen standard consonants, a glottal stop /ʔ/ is present in some dialects, either intervocalic or word-initial preceding a low vowel, but is not phonemic. The following table is adapted from Wissing 2019, with reference to Donaldson 1993. It does not contain consonants encountered in English loanwords, such as [g], or consonants known to be features of highly regionalised dialects, such as [R]. The voiceless palatal stop [c] is occasionally heard in alternation with the voiceless palatal stop [k], usually in the context of the diminutive suffix – *tjie*.

	bilabial	labio-dental	alveolar	post-alveolar	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		ɦ

Table 6: Consonants in Afrikaans

1.3.3. Loan Phonology

When a foreign lexical item (or ‘target’) is loaned, it is typically modified such that its phonological structure conforms to the phonotactic requirements of the host language. As early as 1931, German scholars had begun to discuss this phenomenon under the name *Umphonologisierung*, a term which has since entered Anglophone scholarship as *rephonologisation* (Hamann, 2014: 252). The act of targeting a lexical item in the donor language is fundamentally an act of imitation or approximation performed by an individual speaker, but this act of imitation is inevitably influenced on a macrolinguistic level by the phonotactic rules of that individual speaker’s linguistic repertoire (see further Van Coetsem, 1988: 7).

However, like the process of establishing loanwords, rephonologisation is gradual, and the adoptive strategies which govern it may require several generations to develop any regularity. Extreme variation has been identified as an indicator of the currency both of internally- and externally-induced language change (for an overview of insights provided by synchronic variation, see Stanford, 2015: 470). Furthermore, within the lexicographical context that informs the bulk of Chapters 2 and 3 of this project, formal orthographic standards often lag behind informal processions of rephonologisation, resulting in the use of multiple *ad hoc* orthographic strategies that may in turn contribute to variation.

In discussing the early stages of diffusion of borrowings through a speech community, Winter-Froemel shows that strategies of orthographic integration of loanwords, and hence the processes associated with borrowing, are “much more heterogenous and complex than traditional dictionary-based studies suggest”, and identifies the existence of “a stage where different variants of a given loanword [may] coexist” (Winter-Froemel, 2014: 66). The presence of almost an almost intractably variable loaned feature, therefore, may be taken as an indicator that its entry into the host language is either recent or still underway, and that the feature has not yet been productively levelled. This thesis aims to apply this understanding of synchronic variation as a result of currency or recency to clicks that have entered Namaqualand Afrikaans via lexical borrowing.

Furthermore, the application of rephonologisation strategies to loanwords is not obligatory, nor is the productive integration of loanwords into either a phonological or a morphosyntactic system. Loanwords may, in other words, be ‘frozen’ on entry into the host language. Hock 1986:

396 provides the following data on the loan of the Latin *populus* (= ‘people’, ‘tribe’, ‘nation’) into Old Irish as *popul*.

tūath ‘people’	→	a thuāth ‘his people’
cland ‘offspring’	→	a chland ‘his offspring’
popul ‘people’	→	a popul ‘his people’

Firstly, although /p/ was not, at this stage, a phoneme native to Old Irish, it was not rephonologised to /k/, as contemporary loans from Old Welsh would have predicted. Secondly, unlike **tūath** → **a thuāth**, which displays /t/ → [θ], or **cland** → **a chland**, which displays /k/ → [x], the loanword **popul** did not undergo the initial mutation /p/ → [f] required in certain morphosyntactic contexts, in this case the introduction of the possessive adjective *a*. I observe that the only adoptive process that has been applied to the loan of **populus** is the deletion of its inflectional suffix *-us*, which had no analogue and hence no function in Old Irish. In other words, while some grammatical data was deleted, no phonological data was altered or added.

Importantly, **cland** itself was likewise a loanword (*ex* Latin **planta**, likewise with the deletion of the inflectional suffix) that had entered Old Irish at a greater time depth, had undergone the expected rephonologisation of /p/ → /k/, and had begun to participate productively within the initial mutations required by Old Irish morphosyntax. Hock suggests that the very status of **populus** as a markedly foreign Latin word prevented its full participation in Old Irish as **popul**. However, **planta** had existed within Old Irish for so long that it had lost its status as markedly foreign, and had been fully rephonologised and productively morphosyntactically integrated as **cland** (Hock, 1986: 397).

In other words, two interrelated factors may prevent a loanword from participating productively within the phonotactic and morphosyntactic rules of its host language, and hence from being fully ‘nativised’. The perception of a loanword as markedly alien prevents its rephonologisation; and the recency of a loanword’s entry contributes to its perception as markedly alien. (On the capacity of speakers to judge the origin and recency of linguistic features, see further Stanford, 2015: 470 – 472.) For the purposes of this project, then, it is crucial to bear in mind that the relatively shallow time depth at which contact between Afrikaans and Khoekhoe-branch languages is known to have occurred may result in a high degree of variation in terms of individuals’ rephonologisation strategies. Furthermore, the extent to which Afrikaans speakers are capable of identifying loanwords as markedly alien may significantly impact the extent to which regular rephonologisation practices occur at all.

1.3.4 The Question of Click Loan

Cross-linguistically rare, the global distribution of click consonants is limited to languages within and directly adjacent to the Kalahari Basin Area or KBA (on the definition of this linguistic region, see further Güldemann 1998). The historical genesis and diffusion of the clicks in the KHOE, !UI-TAA, KX'A, NTU, and CUSHITIC families, not to mention in a number of language isolates, has been the topic of considerable academic scrutiny, but little in the way of a consensus has been reached.³ Some theorists, observing the high concentration of clicks in languages at the heart of the KBA contrasted with the notably smaller inventory of clicks in languages at its borders and in disjunctive distributions, and hence presuming a trend of click loss, propose the historical existence of a linguistic area through which clicks were once widely dispersed (Sands & Gunnink 2019). Scholars have also noted the potential for clicks to have served as a marker of sociolinguistic identity in historical contact situations, especially following intermarriage, and have identified this a possible motivation for click loan (Gunnink *et al.* 2015). All current research concludes that renewed historical linguistic scrutiny of contact between language families in southern Africa would prompt a closer understanding of contact-based diachronic click diffusion.

³ Early literature vastly overstated the rate of borrowing between languages in the KHOE family and the Nguni group. Extreme iterations of this line of thought suggested that any Nguni-group word featuring a click consonant must have derived from a 'Khoesan'-group language (Greenberg, 1963: 66). However, contemporary scholars acknowledge that the rate of borrowing was likely lower than previously anticipated, and the linguistic phenomena resulting from contact situations between these groups rather more nuanced. Particularly worthy of scrutiny is the notion that the language of origin must, for all lexical items shared during such contact situations, be the Khoesangroup language, rather than the southern NTU language, as a result of the presumed antiquity of the former. The assumption that all lexical items (or functional morphemes) containing click consonants must obligatorily be of 'Khoesan' origin has also recently been reappraised (see Güldemann & Mark Stoneking 2008; Barbieri, Butthof, et al. 2013a, Du Plessis 2013).

Some lexical items can be fairly reliably shown to have been shared – for example, isiXhosa **ingca** and Namibian Khoekhoe **ǀgāb** (an important generic term for various Poaceae *spp.*), isiXhosa **igusha** and Namibian Khoekhoe **ǀgūs** ('sheep'), isiXhosa **umquma** and Namibian Khoekhoe **ǀoms**, Kora **ǀ'um** (*Olea europaea* subsp. *africana*). Whether such affinities are the loaned result of relatively recent contact between, say, westerly dialects of isiXhosa and easterly dialects of the Khoekhoe branch, or of contact occurring at a far greater time depth and precipitating the areal dispersion of lexical items between the 'Khoesan' group and the southern NTU family, is less transparent. The historical origin of a word in one language rather than another – the 'earliest' manifestation of a particular lexical item – cannot always reliably be ascertained, especially in linguistic contexts lacking extensive written documentation. Cognates of Namibian Khoekhoe **ǀgāb** ('grass'), for example, manifest throughout multiple languages in both branches of the KHOE family, including the Khoekhoe-branch Kora **ǀāb**, and the Kalahari-branch Naro **dcāa**. Since **ingca** ('grass') occurs only in languages of the Nguni group, and finds no cognate in the broader NTU family, this suggests that its family of origin was KHOE, and its point of entry into the Nguni group comparatively recent.

Despite speculation during the 1960s and 1970s, relatively few recent studies have examined the synchronic loan of lexical items containing click consonants into languages that do not currently contain clicks. Given the high prevalence of English and Afrikaans loanwords in Nguni and Sotho-Tswana languages, a good deal of the recent literature on has focused on the strategies by which NTU languages adopt and rephonologise GERMANIC loanwords (see Mahlangu 2007 on loanwords in siNdebele; Khan 2016 on loanwords in isiZulu; Vratsanos 2017 on loanwords in xiTsonga). Virtually no recent research has considered the strategies that facilitate loaning from NTU languages into GERMANIC languages, or from any KHOE-family language into GERMANIC, and no research has focused specifically on click loan between these groups.⁴ As discussed above, Den Besten acknowledges the presence of loaned Namibian Khoekhoe items in Afrikaans, but dismisses their clicks as ‘unstable’ (Den Besten 2013: 454), and offers no discussion as to *why* they might be unstable. No subsequent studies have conducted phonetic or phonological analysis of clicks loaned into either English or Afrikaans.

I suggest that a contemporary study of click loan in Afrikaans, following perhaps three hundred years of contact with languages in the Khoekhoe branch of the KHOE family, has the potential to serve as a synchronic snapshot of click diffusion. Such a snapshot might, in turn, provide insight into the processes of click loan, click diffusion, and click genesis that arose within the NTU family over a far longer period of contact with ‘Khoesan’-group languages.

1.4. Language, Biodiversity, and Endemism

This section defines and discusses a number of key botanical terms and concepts; explores the overlap between floral endemism and lexical variation; identifies botanical regions within South Africa that may plausibly host lexical items borrowed from Khoekhoe into Afrikaans; motivates for the linguistic scrutiny of ethnobotanical data; and briefly discusses ethnobotanical approaches to engaging with indigenous knowledge.

1.4.1. The Development of a Location-Specific Lexis

The natural sciences draw a distinction between biodiversity and endemism. Whereas biodiversity refers to the total number of species of organisms encountered within a designated region, endemism refers to the number of species of organisms encountered *only* within that

⁴ Vratsanos devotes a single sentence to the existence of an alveolar click // in xiTsonga, variously nasalised or voiced, only in loanwords borrowed from isiZulu (Vratsanos, 2017: 38).

region (Mucina & Rutherford, 2006: 27; Hobohm & Tucker, 2014: 3). Organisms tallied may be floral or faunal, fungal or eubacterial, depending on one's focus. The criteria used in demarcating a region are often natural but may also be artificial; endemism may thus be tallied within biomes or other ecological boundaries, or within national or other socio-political boundaries.

A biome is a complex biotic community, usually defined as a broad vegetative structure exposed to and influenced by macroenvironmental factors, such as shared climate patterns; biomes may then be further divided into smaller bioregions (Mucina & Rutherford 2006: 32). Within southern Africa, the 'veld type' or 'vegetation type' unit is also frequently used in order to further qualify vegetative ecosystems at a level narrower than the biome, and was originally defined as 'a unit of vegetation whose range of variation is small enough to permit the whole of it to have the same farming potentialities' (Adcock 1975: 1). The second edition of the *Vegetation Map of South Africa, Lesotho and Swaziland* lists 435 vegetation types (Dayaram, Powrie, Rebelo & Skowno 2017).

The Succulent Karoo biome extends in a long narrow strip just inland of the western coastland of South Africa, from Uitenhage in the southeast through to the Namibian border in the northwest, contains within it the Namaqualand region. A relatively narrow strip of land never extending further inland than Loeriesfontein, Namaqualand stretches from Vredendal and Vanrhynsdorp in the South, through to the Namibian border in the north, and covers about 55 000 km² (Le Roux, 1981: 14). It is best considered a sociopolitical region, united by common cultural and linguistic factors, that encompasses four primary bioregions – the Knersvlakte; the Sandveld or Coastal Plain; the Hardeveld or Klipkoppe; and the Richtersveld (Le Roux 1981: 14; Mucina & Rutherford 2006: 44). As a temperate semi-desert with an average annual rainfall of 150 – 200mm, Namaqualand is unique worldwide for both its high biodiversity index within a relatively small geographic area, and for its extreme degree of floral endemism (Le Roux, 1981: 11). Of its 3800 species of flora, over a quarter occur nowhere else on earth, and the only regions worldwide to exhibit higher rates of floral endemism occur in the tropics (Le Roux 1981: 10).

As discussed above, the sociolinguistic ramifications of imposing a Namibian standard on Khoekhoe-speaking communities in South Africa have never formally been studied. I note also that the sociolinguistic ramifications of relying on a list of plant names written in the Namibian Khoekhoe standard, produced by researchers and consultants based in Windhoek, have never been formally studied. The *Preliminary List of Khoekhoe (Nama/Damara) Plant Names* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991) remains the standard reference list. However, this brief article surveyed only

six sources; contains only 192 lemma, barring minor variations in orthography, for 192 plant species; and has not been updated in nearly three decades. By my count, cross-referenced with data from the South African Red List of plants, only 104 of its lemma refer to plants encountered in Namaqualand; none refer to Namaqualand endemics. While Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991 may be adequate for Namibian use, it is unfit for use in Namaqualand, because the plants are completely different.

Additionally, I observe that a number of other reference books, published both before and since 1991, contain botanical terminology identified as Namibian Khoekhoe in origin that did not occur in Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991.⁵ Two more recent Namibian wildflower guides (Mannheimer *et al.* 2008; Mannheimer 2012), have included plant names in a number of Namibian languages, including Rukwangali, Ju|'hoan, and Namibian Khoekhoe. While some are drawn from Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991, others would appear to have been newly recorded.⁶ Unfortunately, however, I note a number of Namibian Khoekhoe misspellings. For example, the name **!nàba†kxàrab** for *Hoodia pedicellatum*, recorded using the alveolar click in both Schultze 1907 and Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991, is misspelled in Mannheimer 2012 as **!nawa†kharab**. Some alternate spellings of plant names are to be expected as a natural function of linguistic variation; competing forms such as **|kháwéb** and **|khápéb** for *Oxalis semiloba*, for example, may be attributed to the welldocumented weakness of the intervocalic consonant, and its tendency to fluctuate even between speakers (Brugman 2009: 32 – 34). The term **!nàba†kxàrab** however, is glossed in Schultze as

Nashornhöden, “rhinoceros testicles”, and substituting the lateral click for the alveolar erodes this sense entirely. Wherever possible, I prefer the spellings offered by Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991; I use Mannheimer *et al.* 2008 and Mannheimer 2012 only when they supply items recorded nowhere else.

⁵ Previous publications include *Die vegetabilische Veldkost Deutsch-Südwest-Afrikas* (Dinter 1912), *Heil- und Giftpflanzen in Südwest Afrika* (von Koenen 1977), and *Vegetation der Namib* (Jürgens 1993) among others. For a full review of Namibian ethnobotany up until the beginning of the 21st century, see Craven & Sullivan 2002.

⁶ Together with Barbara Curtis, Colleen Mannheimer also oversaw the 2018 expansion and reprint of Le Roux & Müller’s 2010 handbook *Field Guide to the Trees & Shrubs of Namibia*. This work contains a number of valuable common names of both Namibian and South African plants, and might have been a useful comparative reference for this project. However, common names are supplied without any indication of their language of origin. Furthermore, many would appear to have been misspelled, with the palatal click † regularly mistyped as #. As such, I do not consider this work to be a reliable linguistic source and have not made use of it for fear of contaminating my data.

The extreme floral endemism of Namaqualand, then, coupled with the historical socioeconomic importance of botany to the speech communities who lived in and moved through Namaqualand, would at the very least predict the historical existence of an expansive and highly specialised Khoekhoe botanical jargon dedicated to the Namaqualand flora. A jargon of this sort would, theoretically, constitute a set of lexical entities pragmatically bound to the narrow geographic distribution of its semantic referents, meaning that it would be only minimally used outside of the relevant bioregion or vegetation type (save perhaps via semantic conflation with morphologically or otherwise similar plants distributed in different bioregions). Such putative sets are henceforth referred to as location-specific lexes.

1.4.2. Rural Retention of Lexical Archaisms

Rural or otherwise isolated speech communities often display a comparatively slow rate of language change, and subsequently retain the productive use of older linguistic features that have since fallen away or become fossilised in dialects or varieties used in urban centres (McColl Millar, 2007: 79). Among the best-studied instances globally are the persistence of northern GERMANIC and GOIDELIC archaisms into contemporary English dialects in the more northerly areas of the United Kingdom, particularly Ulster English and insular Scots dialects (Trudgill, 1999: 111; Upton, 2006: 321; Wales, 2006: 99). McColl Millar comments on the high rate of “locally-focused” archaisms in the dialect of the Shetland Isles, and observes that these tend to refer to endemic flora and fauna, or else to fishing or agricultural practices (McColl Millar, 2007: 84 – 86).

These observations align with early 20th century descriptions of how bilingual speech communities in the Northern Cape who still retained usage of both Afrikaans and Khoekhoebranch languages tended to use Khoekhoe-branch items for local flora and fauna.

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

This thesis proposes that the globally unparalleled rate of temperate botanical endemism encountered throughout Namaqualand prompted mass lexical borrowing from languages in the Khoekhoe branch by Dutch colonists who, faced by botanical novelty, adopted indigenous terminology via a process of mass lexical borrowing.⁷ As argued above, this terminology would have constituted a location-specific lexis, bound to the Namaqualand region by botanical endemism. Given the propensity for rural language varieties to retain lexical archaisms, it is plausible to assume retention of Khoekhoe-branch plant names in Namaqualand Afrikaans especially.

1.4.3. Preliminary Evidence for Khoekhoe Lexical Borrowing in Namaqualand Afrikaans

The dialect of Khoekhoe spoken in Namaqualand at the beginning of the 20th century appears in the records of Leonhard Schultze. A German anthropologist, Schultze undertook a series of expeditions into the Namaqualand and Kalahari regions. Published in 1907, his research is primarily ethnographic, but also records a sizeable number of vocabulary items in the language today treated as Namibian Khoekhoe. Among these are several plant names, most accompanied by ethnobotanical information. For the small succulent mesemb *Mesembrianthemum ebracteatum*, Schultze records a term **#haũtsiama**, used specifically by the inhabitants of “Klein Namaland” (today Namaqualand). This word does not appear in Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991; nor does it occur in the *Khoekhoegowab – English Glossary* (Haacke & Eiseb 1996); nor in *A Khoekhoegowab Dictionary with an English-Khoekhoegowab Index* (Haacke & Eiseb 2002).

It does, however, appear in the lay botanical handbook *Wild Flowers of Namaqualand*, spelled **t’noutsiam**, and used of the small succulent mesemb *Cheiridopsis denticulata* (Le Roux 1981). An Afrikaans name **t’noutsie-amma** for *Cheiridopsis denticulata* appears in *Common Names of Karoo Plants* (Powrie 2004). In December 2017, botanist Ernst van Jaarsveld wrote the name **outsiam** on a label and applied it to a pot of *Cheiridopsis denticulata* growing in the succulent collections at Babylonstoren, a farm in the Western Cape.

⁷ The borrowing into South African colonial languages of southern NTU terminology for novel plant species, and vice-versa, is well-documented. The loanword **omsambeet**, derived from isiZulu **umzimbithi**, is attested in Cape Dutch for *Milletia grandis* at least as early as 1830 (Koopman, 2015: 16). The Afrikaans name **noemnoem** for several species of *Carissa*, but particularly for the large edible berries of *Carissa edulis*, is of complex historical derivation, but would certainly seem to have been influenced by the isiZulu name **amathungulu**. Conversely, the isiXhosa name **irhalibhom** (Dold & Cocks, 1999: 10) is derived from the Afrikaans name **garingboom** for the exotic *Agave americana* (Smith, 1966: 220). The global English word **oak**, applied to various introduced European species of *Quercus*, has been loaned into isiXhosa as **um-okhi** (Oosthuysen, 2016: 29).



Figure 1: The loanword *outsiamama* used of *Cheiridopsis denticulata*.

This thesis predicts that, despite the extreme loss of Khoekhoe within Namaqualand, certain items in the location-specific lexis associated with Namaqualand flora have been loaned into Namaqualand Afrikaans, and hence have survived.

1.5. Language and Taxonomy

To ensure systematic and sensitive engagement with both Namibian Khoekhoe and Afrikaans plant names, this project draws on ethnobotanical theory and research. In this section, I note that ethnobotanical records are an underutilised linguistic resources. I also discuss taxonomic theory and outline the principles guiding my analysis of indigenous knowledge systems.

The discipline of ethnobotany studies the interaction of human societies with the floral kingdom (Ford 1978; Martin 1995; Schmidt & Klaser Cheng 2017). Among the primary aims of contemporary ethnobotany is the study of under-documented plant usage within socioeconomically vulnerable or oppressed communities; as such, ethnobotanical conservation efforts involve advocating for the environmental rights of indigenous communities in postcolonial contexts, and assisting in the preservation of indigenous botanical knowledge (Schmidt & Klaser Cheng, 2017: 19). During the course of documenting botanical knowledge in vulnerable or especially isolated rural communities, ethnobotanical projects frequently amass

considerable amounts of data on highly endangered languages. Ethnobotany also acknowledges and defends the existence of multiple overlapping and complementary botanical taxonomies.⁸

Within the natural sciences, the taxonomy underlying contemporary Western botany is the Linnaean system. Originally predicated on comparative phytomorphology, or visible physical resemblances between plants, the Linnaean system has in recent decades undergone a number of revisions, with the improvement of comparative molecular biological methods facilitating increasingly sophisticated phylogenetic scrutiny of floral descent relationships. The Linnaean system is rigorously maintained by centralised knowledge authorities which aim to prevent the duplication or conflation of taxa, and which oversee taxonomical revisions. The global spread of Western knowledge systems has seen Linnaean taxonomy enter into competition with a number of alternative taxonomies worldwide, especially in colonial contexts. Within southern Africa, European scientists have for several centuries dismissed or outright vilified the knowledge systems and taxonomies employed by indigenous communities. Even within the last five years, South African academics have perpetuated this prejudice, aligning the Linnaean system with scientific ‘order’, while implying that the supposed ‘chaos’ of indigenous knowledge is unscientific.

We now go on to investigate the major differences between the system of common names for plants (chaos) and the system of scientific Latin-based binomial botanical nomenclature (order). Effectively, we are comparing scientific botanical knowledge with what has come to be known in South Africa at least as indigenous knowledge.

Koopman, 2015: 27

Ethnobotanists and anthropologists alike have advocated for a more holistic approach to taxonomisation since the 1970s at the earliest. Among the most influential early ethnobotanical studies was an appraisal of Tzeltal botanical categorisation systems (Berlin, Breedlove, & Raven 1974). This approach to extrapolating the taxonomic criteria underlying Tzeltal plant names was eminently linguistic in method, sorting taxa into semantic categories exhibiting hierarchical relationships, and ultimately distinguishing between primary lexemes with “generic”, and

⁸ Even the lay South African English (SAE) division of a broader taxon ‘flower’ into the narrower taxa ‘protea’, ‘lily’, ‘daisy’, ‘orchid’ constitutes a taxonomy, in that it exhibits the hierarchical sorting of semantic categories according to a set of referential criteria. Likewise, I would argue that the traditional isiXhosa division of *amayezi*, or medicinal plants, into *iyeza kuhlamba* (‘washing medicine’), *iyeza kugaba* (‘emetic medicine’), *iyeza kufuta* (‘steam medicine’) constitutes a botanical taxonomy predicated primarily on method of use (see data from Cocks 1997: 165 – 184).

secondary lexemes with “varietal” and “specifying” functions. Building on these foundations, several researchers into indigenous knowledge systems have identified common criteria that inform the hierarchical and relational organisation of complex natural systems into taxonomies in traditional communities the world over (see especially Martin, 1995: 210 – 212; Cunningham, 2001: 150).

Although lay and indigenous taxonomies are not governed by a centralised set of standards as Linnaean taxonomy is, they do nevertheless adopt similar sorting strategies, grouping items together in broad taxa that are then specified into narrower taxa, allowing for identifications to be made with varying degrees of precision. Assuming that lay Namaqualand taxonomies (both Afrikaans and Khoekhoe) likewise adopt the approach of structuring plant names using generic and specific elements, I argue in Chapter 3 that the close comparative scrutiny of compound nouns such as **aukoreb** can assist in translation efforts and contribute to the reconstruction of an underlying Khoekhoe taxonomy.

Finally, this thesis accepts without contention that lay taxonomies are scientific in their construction. Although predicated on alternative criteria, for alternative purposes, they are nonetheless intricate and robust systems of reference and organisation. As such, I choose not to use the term ‘scientific’ in opposition to qualifiers such as ‘folk’, ‘ethno-’, or ‘indigenous’, but refer to designations used by Western phylogenetic taxonomies simply as ‘Linnaean’.

1.6. Research Questions & Aims

The following research questions inform the scope and construction of this project –

1. How effective are the standard reference works in providing an accurate historical linguistic overview of common names of South African plants loaned from languages in the KHOE family?
2. To what extent can loaned plant names of KHOE-family origin in Afrikaans be reasonably etymologised via the application of linguistic methods, and what constraints are involved?
3. To what extent do loaned KHOE-family plant names remain in use among contemporary monolingual speakers of Afrikaans?

4. What sociohistorical linguistic factors have contributed to the preservation of these loaned KHOE-family plant names in certain geographic regions and speech communities?
5. What phonological strategies have facilitated the loan of KHOE-family click consonants into Afrikaans?

Overall, this thesis aims to provide a thorough overview of 20th and 21st century records of loaned KHOE-family plant names into Afrikaans; to supply accurate orthographies, reasonable etymologies, and functional glosses for as many loaned items as possible; to investigate the extent to which these items remain in contemporary use as established loanwords accessible to Afrikaans monolinguals; and to obtain a preliminary understanding of the phonological and sociolinguistic factors which have contributed to their loan and retention.

Chapter 2

The Lexicographic Record

This chapter outlines the methods by which lexicographical items recorded in Afrikaans or English corpora were identified as Khoekhoe-branch loanwords. It further reviews botanical and ethnobotanical sources that have recorded new Khoekhoe-branch loanwords used by Afrikaansspeakers in Namaqualand within the last forty years, and tabulates the results.

2.1. Methods of Selecting Suspected Loans

This section discusses the method of developing a preliminary corpus of all Afrikaans plant names that can be reasonably shown to have originated in languages in the ‘Khoesan’ group, and primarily from the Khoekhoe branch. Additionally, it surveys and summarises findings from major sources, and assesses their methods and data presentation according to sociolinguistic usefulness.

Many older sourcebooks explicitly note the origin of loaned plant names, even if only through the use of slurs. All items identified as having been of Khoekhoe origin were selected for preliminary consideration. In selecting items that were not explicitly identified as having originated in the KHOE family, I relied on three primary markers of borrowing – namely, the presence of foreign phonemes; phonological structure incompatible with Afrikaans phonotactic rules; and semantic opacity. Suspected loans were thus manually identified via orthographic, phonotactic, and semantic comparison of lemma.

All items containing orthographic evidence of click loan were included. This included items recorded using standardised orthographies or IPA conventions, but also items recorded using *ad hoc* or unorthodox orthographies. Examples of such orthographies are tabulated below. Subsequent comparison with lists of plant names in the Nguni and Sotho-Tswana languages, together with assessment of the referent’s geographical distribution, were used to isolate items more likely to be of ‘Khoesan’ origin.

EXAMPLES OF NON-STANDARD CLICK ORTHOGRAPHIES		
author	click	example
van der Stel 1685	de	degoreé = <i>Aloe</i> sp.
Sparrman 1775	t'	da-t'kai = <i>Peucedanum</i> sp.
Ecklon & Zeyher 1830	t'	t'namie = <i>Pelargonium antidysentericum</i>
Latham 1862	t'	t'keib = 'foot'
Marloth 1917	t'	t'nau = <i>Hydnora Africana</i>
W&BB 1933; 1962	t', t/	t'Kaij = <i>Sansevieria aethiopica</i>
Smith 1966	!	!ky = <i>Brachystelma galpinii</i>
	t'	t'norra = <i>Pelargonium rapaceum</i>
	gn	gnoibos = <i>Acacia mellifera</i>
Le Roux 1981	t'	t'arra t'kooi = <i>Stoeberia utilis</i>
Links 1989	! in IPA	[!ara!ui] = <i>Stoeberia utilis</i>
	t in Afrikaans	tkarratkoei = <i>Stoeberia utilis</i>
Archer 1994	NKh standard via (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991)	lganab = <i>Acacia erioloba</i>
	t' for new records	t'namee = <i>Boscia albitrunca</i>
	! for new records	!hamibieb = <i>Bulbine praemorsa</i>
le Riche & vd Walt 1999	!	n!oubessie = <i>Grewia flava</i>
Powrie 2004	t'	t'noutsie-amma = <i>Cheiridopsis denticulata</i>
	tj	tjnoemsganna = <i>Tylecodon wallichii</i>
Wheat 2013	xh	xhotsiama = <i>Cheiridopsis denticulate</i>
Coetzee 2010	!	!garra = <i>Searsia undulata</i>
Nortje & Van Wyk 2015	t'	t'gaibos = <i>Galium capense</i>

Table 7: Examples of Non-Standard Click Orthographies

Loaned items that did not show orthographic evidence of click loan were harder to detect. These were identified entirely on phonotactic grounds, and, once again, cross-referenced with both Nguni and Sotho-Tswana plant lists. There were a number of items whose phonotactics made it clear that they originated outside the GERMANIC family, but which were not of sub-Saharan African origin, and which had to be carefully sourced. Following languages in the BANTU family and the 'Khoesan' group, the primary donor languages known to have contributed to the Afrikaans lexicon via contact are Malaysian and Portuguese, with a number of others, including neo-Latin, Malay, and Nahuatl, indirectly contributing superloans. Examples of loaned plant names that are phonotactically non-compliant with GERMANIC, but which originate outside of sub-Saharan Africa, include **kalmoes** for the genus *Alepidea* from neo-Latin *calamus* 'reed' (Smith, 1966: 271), and **kopieva** for several species of *Bulbine* and *Bulbinella* via Portuguese, from Nahuatl *copalli* 'a type of incense' (Karttunen, 1992: 41).

The final criterion for selecting suspected loans was semantic opacity. The common name **kiepersol** for *Cussonia spicata*, for example, is semantically opaque in Afrikaans, and as such immediately a candidate for having been loaned. It is best derived from the Portuguese *quitasol* 'parasol', a reference to *C. spicata*'s distinctive umbrella-like foliage (Boshoff & Nienaber, 1967: 351). In the absence of an established etymology, all items without clear semantic transparency

in GERMANIC, ROMANCE, Malay, or Nahuatl were selected as potential loans from the ‘Khoesan’ group.

However, each of these three primary markers of borrowing has the potential to fall away via phonological naturalisation. Foreign phonemes may be deleted or transformed; phonotactics may be adapted; and opaque items may undergo semantic reanalysis. In such cases, I relied on the identification of frequently borrowed morphemes I had previously encountered, or which earlier scholars had singled out as frequent loans. For example, any compound item terminating in **-son**, **-sang**, or **-sab** was likely to be a loaned compound noun containing the Khoekhoe-branch term **sān** (see Nienaber, 1963: 219).

Given that this selection process was entirely manual, it is certain that I have accidentally omitted certain loanwords. Furthermore, to minimise the risk of misidentifying ‘Khoesan’ loanwords, I chose throughout to err on the side of conservative selection, especially in the case of the semantic criterion. As a result, the corpus of loanwords examined in this thesis is by no means exhaustive. I do, however, consider it to function amply as a representative sample.

2.2. A Survey of 20th-century Sources

While reviewing a number of important reference books that compile common names of South African plants with a broad distribution, this section focuses particularly on lexical items collected in the Succulent Karoo biome, and, within the Succulent Karoo, Namaqualand proper. For a summary of records of Khoekhoe-branch languages between the 17th and 19th centuries, consult Nienaber 1963: 96 - 161. For a comprehensive survey of historical ethnobotanical records, see Skead 2009, Glen & Germishuizen 2010.

When searching especially for evidence of loaned plant names, both *Africanderisms* (Pettman 1913) and *Dictionary of the Common Names of Plants* (Marloth 1917) offer a substantial number of items ostensibly loaned from languages in the Khoekhoe-branch into South African English and Afrikaans. Perhaps the true forerunner of 21st-century ethnobotanical practices in South Africa was *The Medicinal and Poisonous Plants of Southern Africa* (Watt and Breyer-Brandwijk 1932), which records and occasionally glosses numerous loanwords that had entered Afrikaans and English from southern African languages in several families. All three of these references indicate the presence of loaned click consonants in English and Afrikaans through a variety of *ad hoc* orthographies, as shown above in Section 1.2.1.

A major hindrance to any effort to employ these three reference works as historical linguistic sources, however, is the lack of detailed data on the geographic distribution and historical origin of each loaned item, which in turn renders it difficult, if not impossible, to assess their currency and productivity.⁹ Given the importance of regional data to establishing the linguistic origin of loanwords, this section, and the majority of this thesis, chooses to focus on lexical items that can be reliably shown have to been recorded within Namaqualand. This narrow geographical focus in turns permits the reasonable assumption that the historical language of origin was a dialect or dialects of Nama.

An underutilised early resource on Namaqualand ethnobotany is *The Magic Medicine of the [Khoekhoe]*^H (Laidler 1928). This article contains 46 lexical items recorded in a Nama dialect spoken in the Northern Cape, of which 33 are plant names. Some are well-established loans or hybrid compounds that had been present in Cape Dutch for over a century (such as **kanna** for *Sceletium tortuosum*, **kareemoer** for *Trichodiadesma barbatum*, and **guaap** for *Hoodia* sp.). Others, however, are not necessarily indicated to be loanwords, but are entered as Nama items, as used by fluent Nama-speakers. Click consonants are transcribed using the unorthodox system tabulated below. Kroenlein had established a modern and scientific orthography for the transcription of Nama in 1889, some forty years prior to the publication of *The Magic Medicine of the [Khoekhoe]*^H, and Laidler’s idiosyncratic transcription methods suggests an unfortunate failure to familiarise himself with the linguistic protocols of the time.

CLICK ORTHOGRAPHIES IN LAIDLER 1928			
LAIDLER 1928	IPA	EXAMPLE	Namibian Khoekhoe
D/		D/kooue = stone	ui = stone
L/	!	aie L/kwoe = <i>Viscum capense</i>	hài!khùís = <i>Viscum capense</i>
c/		c/gkoup = tooth	lgûb = tooth
P/	‡	P/thon = sweet	#khon = sweet

Table 8: Click Orthographies in Laidler 1928

⁹ Calls to remedy the lack of data on the regional distribution of indigenous South African plant names arose as early as 1938, when J. Gerstner addressed the difficulties of adequately capturing the distribution of plant names across a variety of isiZulu dialects in his *Preliminary Checklist of Zulu Names of Plants*. Always noting the location at which a name was sourced, Gerstner only qualified a name as ‘general’ isiZulu if he encountered its use at more than five different locations, and even recommended that botanists get into the habit of denoting usage locations using ‘district abbreviations of the Motor Car number plates’ (Gerstner, 1938: 216). Unfortunately, Gerstner’s recommendations to improve data on distribution were not broadly adopted, either by subsequent lexicographers of isiZulu, or by compilers of South African English and Afrikaans common names of plants.

While some items can be retrieved when the referent is certain, Laidler’s click transcriptions are fallible on two counts. Firstly, there seems to be no regularity in his efforts to transcribe click effluxes. As discussed in Section 1.3.1., Namibian Khoekhoe, together with most other languages in the Khoekhoe branch, contains four phonemic clicks, each articulated in one of five ways – as a stop click, as an affricate click, as a nasalised click, as a prenasalised aspirated click, or as a prenasalised ejective click. Laidler, however, makes use of fifteen different consonant combinations following /, presumably to indicate the efflux. These are –**d**, –**g**, –**gh**, –**k**, –**kh**, –**kw**, –**n**, –**ng**, –**ngh**, –**nh**, –**nk**, –**t**, –**th**, –**tk**, and Ø following /. It would appear that no stable orthography was in use for these features, and that Laidler transcribed each individual item *ad hoc* following the assignation of the primary click type. It may be assumed that the presence of an **n** indicates either nasalisation or prenasalisation, and that an **h** signifies aspiration, but beyond that, attempting to excavate effluxes from these transcriptions rapidly becomes a guessing game.

Secondly, Laidler does seem to have misheard a number of items. For example, the phrase **P/nyra sooriep** is provided as a name for “a species of liana”, and is glossed “baboon rope”; Smith 1966 provides an extensive corroboration of the use of **bobbejaantou** as “a general name for a number of liane-forming species”. There is therefore no reason to believe that **P/nyra sooriep** may have been mistranslated. However, the Namibian Khoekhoe is evidently **|nērab** (=baboon) + **tsurib** (=rope), suggesting that Laidler misheard the nasalised dental click **|n** as a nasalised palatal click **†n**. Several other such mistakes occur, including **P/koem** (“species of wild olive”) for **!goms** (*Olea europaea* subsp. *africana* in Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991), and **P/ngoona** (*Sarcocaulon* sp.) for **lnòrab** (*Sarcocaulon* sp. at Schultze, 1907: 81).

Perhaps the most egregious error occurs in Laidler’s transcription of an incantation, which he glosses, “Dassie, take my bone tooth and send me a stone tooth.”

P/gko c/gkoup Ba-ooe D/kooee D/ghumba ma dae

The reconstruction below suggests **†khōlgûb** for “bone tooth”, and **|uillgûb** for “stone tooth”. Given the gloss provided, any logical translation would of course assume a repetition of “tooth”.¹⁰

¹⁰ I am indebted to Menan du Plessis for her assistance in reconstructing the grammar of this phrase. This transliteration assumes that **Ba-** is in fact the Namibian Khoekhoe accusative marker –**a**, which should be suffixed to the first iteration of **llgûb**, rather than prefixed to the verb **ū**.

‡khō	‡gûba	ū	e	 ui	‡gûba	ma	da	e
bone	tooth.ACC	take	VOC	stone	tooth.ACC	GIVE	1sg	VOC

Although **c/gkoup** and **D/ghumba** must both signify the same word, **‡gûb**, the first iteration indicates the lateral click ‡, while the second indicates the dental |. Neither iteration captures the nasalised vowel. In addition to the fact that Laidler apparently could not recognise the same word twice within a single sentence, no word feasibly signifying ‘dassie’ (*Procavia capensis*, Namibian Khoekhoe **!âub**) can be retrieved, suggesting that his command of any contemporary dialect of Nama was too poor to have allowed him to have translated this phrase himself.

The linguistic data contained in Laidler 1928 are therefore unreliable, and should be used only with caution in any efforts at comparative etymological reconstruction. Nevertheless, Laidler does set an important precedent in recording Namaqualand plant names that had not previously appeared in Kroenlein 1889. **L/kau D/han** for an unidentified “fleisch bosch”, **C/koos P/naboo** for the “veldschoon blaar or field shoes leaf” (either a large amaryllid such as *Haemanthus* sp., or *Massonia bifolia*), **D/nuance** for an unidentified “kattendoorn”, and several others would appear to be hapax. Some of Laidler’s items would go on to be cited, retaining his orthography, in W&BB 1932 and Smith 1966, but many would not be replicated until Annelise le Roux’s research into Namaqualand plant names began in the early 1980s (see below).

The definitive guide to South African plant names remains *Common Names of South African Plants*, compiled over several decades by the botanist C. A. Smith, edited after his death by the botanists E. P. Phillips and E. van Hoepen, and eventually published in 1966 by the Department of Agricultural Technical Services. Smith 1966 compiles an estimated 9000 terms, predominantly Afrikaans, including many loanwords derived from languages in the NTU family and in the ‘Khoesan’ group. These are organised both alphabetically and with reference to botanical systematics, but are ungrouped by historical source, language of origin, or geographical area of usage. Although recommended orthographies for the majority of the Khoekhoe-branch languages existed at this point, Smith and his editors made little or no effort to utilise them, instead replicating the stopgap orthographies of earlier authors. In their efforts to source etymologies and translations of certain words, Smith’s editors did consult Nienaber 1963; however, the ultimate publication of *Common Names* in 1966 narrowly predates several important works on the historical origins of Afrikaans, most notably *Afrikaans Etimologië* (Boshoff & Nienaber 1967).

Most detrimentally, however, the entries in Smith 1966 are inconsistent in indicating the source, age, and contemporary application of common names. Most provide no specific source at all, and those that do are poorly contextualised. The name **cargo**, for example, is accurately sourced to van der Stel's 1685 journal, but is described as a "vernacular Namaqua name" for *Euclea tomentosa* (Smith, 1966: 189). There follows no discussion of whether or not this term was regularly encountered in contemporary Namaqualand Afrikaans in the 1960s, no note of whether or not it had persisted into contemporary Namibian Khoekhoe, and no attempt at providing a revised spelling in standardised orthography. The lay reader and the qualified botanist alike are easily misled into construing **cargo** as a modern Namibian Khoekhoe word, when in fact it is a three-hundred-year-old historical item of unclear origin. As a result of its reliance on Smith 1966, PlantZAfrica, SANBI's flagship botanical reference website, incorrectly identifies **cargo** as a Nama name. Although a colossal effort and a valuable reference list, Smith 1966 was inexperienced and incomplete even before it became outdated.



Figure 2: PlantZAfrica incorrectly identifying 'cargo'.
Image captured 16 November 2019.

Pettman 1913, Marloth 1917, Watt & Breyer-Brandwijk 1932, Nienaber 1963, Smith 1966, and Boshoff & Nienaber 1967 all indicate that a set of well-established Khoekhoe-branch loanwords was broadly present in the lay Afrikaans botanical lexicon throughout the 20th century; see the table below for a summary of orthographic conventions deployed. These items' point of entry into the standard Afrikaans lexicon likely occurred at a depth of greater than two centuries, and their presence would appear to be broadly geographically diffused. Furthermore, the sources outlined above rarely indicate the currency and geographical region of use of the loan they record, and rely in the main on outdated 19th century references and grammars as sources for their suggested etymologies. As a result, it is difficult to track the point of entry of these loanwords and to supply Khoekhoe-branch targets. It is also impossible to judge the productivity of these loanwords, as no indication is given of the recency of their record; it is entirely likely that many were nigh-obsolete regionalisms even at the time of their record.

Little in the way of fresh evidence of borrowing between Khoekhoe-branch languages and Afrikaans entered the written record following Boshoff & Nienaber 1967 until the early 1980s. The botanist Annelise le Roux had begun conducting fieldwork in the northern Namaqualand region in order to develop a new wildflower guide for SANBI. During this time, she transcribed a number of Khoekhoe-branch plant names still regularly in use by Namaqualand residents, as described to me as follows –

I realised in the 1980s that the names were dying out because the elders were passing and little was passed on to their children. It was of no interest to the younger generation at that stage. I spelled the names phonetically as at that stage I could not find anybody that knew how to spell the Nama names. Most of the people I have spoken to and got names from were elderly and most have passed on. ... I would suggest you go to Spoegrivier, Steinkopf and Kommagas and ask around for people who know the plants.

Le Roux, April 2019: *pers. comm.*

This communication demonstrates firstly that these lexical items are highly localised, and, secondly, that their usage was been moribund even during the late 1970s and early 1980s. Although Le Roux did seem to have some sense that these items were of linguistic and cultural significance at the time, no effort was ever made to source them to their Namibian Khoekhoe targets, even after the publication of Haacke & Eiseb 2002. These loans have been printed in all four editions (1981, 1988, 2005, 2015), with no effort made to revise the spelling, or to conduct a more detailed analysis of their origin and sense; twenty-eight contributors of “common names and traditional uses” are thanked by name on p. 4 of the most recent edition of Le Roux 2015,

but no indication is given in the book itself of when or where these common names were recorded. *Wild Flowers of Namaqualand* is henceforth referred to as Le Roux 1981, the date of the first edition, as the linguistic data was in the main collected during the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Nine items, none containing orthographic evidence of clicks, are variants on established loans. Twenty-one, however, are recorded using **t'** to indicate the presence of a click. Of these, twelve had never previously been recorded, while four had occurred only in Laidler 1928. These data are a vital linguistic find, indicating a far more productive rate of borrowing between languages in the Khoekhoe branch and Afrikaans than had been observed for some decades prior to its initial publication, but they have gone wholly unappraised by linguists.

LOANED CLICKS IN LE ROUX 1981		
LOAN	SPECIES	PREVIOUSLY TREATED
bont-o-t'korrie	<i>Aloe arenicola</i>	degoreé van der Stel 1685, goree Nienaber 1963, goree Smith 1966 = <i>Aloe</i> sp.
t'aibie	<i>Calobota sericea</i>	P/abee = fluitjiesbosch Laidler 1928
t'arda	<i>Dideltia spinosa</i>	
t'kooi	<i>Stoeberia</i> sp.	
t'arra-t'kooi	<i>Stoeberia utilis</i>	
t'gibbiebos	<i>Selago</i> sp.	
t'gouboedanna	<i>Galenia africana</i>	D/kooi dabee = <i>Galenia Africana</i> Laidler 1928
t'iena	<i>Montinia caryophyllacea</i>	
t'kabadda	<i>Tylecodon paniculatus</i>	
t'kaibebos	<i>Pteronia incana</i>	
t'kambos	<i>Sisyndite sparteae</i>	
t'kobovy	<i>Carpobrotus edulis</i>	gounavy, goenavy, ghaukum Smith 1966; isiXhosa igcukuma Cocks & Dold 1999 = <i>Carpobrotus edulis</i>
t'koeibee	<i>Grielum humifusum</i>	
t'koenoebe	<i>Diospyros ramulosa</i>	kanobe, kalouwep, !ganube Smith 1966 = <i>Diospyros ramulosa</i>
t'naai-opslag	<i>Dimorphotheca polyptera</i>	
t'narra	<i>Searsia undulata</i>	namabessie Smith 1966 = <i>Searsia undulata</i>
t'neitjie	<i>Pelargonium incrassatum</i>	
t'noena-doring	<i>Monsonia salmoniflorum</i>	P/ngoona = <i>Sarcocaulon</i> sp., noerab, norab Smith 1966 = <i>Monsonia crassicaule</i>
t'nomsganna	<i>Tylecodon wallichii</i>	!komiganna Smith 1966 = <i>Tylecodon wallichii</i>
t'nouroebos	<i>Ruschia</i> spp	
t'noutsiamma	<i>Cheiridopsis denticulata</i>	Nautsi amma = <i>Mesembryanthemum edule</i> , <i>M. acinaciforme</i> Laidler 1928
t'ôrrieboom	<i>Ozoroa dispar</i>	
t'oubee	<i>Dodonaea viscosa</i>	D/koubi = "sand olien hout" Laidler 1928

Table 9: Loaned Clicks in Le Roux 1981

The only recent investigation into Namaqualand Afrikaans to have recorded a substantial number of Khoekhoe loans *not* concerning plant names is Links 1989. As discussed in Chapter One, Links found that the pronunciation of loans and loaned clicks varied considerably even between individual speakers (Links, 1989: 61). As a result, he chose to transcribe all loaned clicks using [!]. His observations exemplify the loss of meaningful contrastivity from loaned phonemes, and hence systemic phonemic collapse.

Aangesien Afrikaans en die Khoi-taal se klanksisteme verskil en die Afrikaanssprekende dikwels probleem ondervind om bepaalde Khoi-klanke te artikeleer, kan aanvaar word dat transfonemisering in 'n groot mate plaasgevind het. ...Dit is baie opvallend in die spraak van die respondente dat die fyn onderskeidings by die vorming van die suigklanke nie meer gehandhaaf word in Khoi-taal 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 woord weer [||]. Daar is dus baie onvastheid op hierdie gebied.

Since the phonemic inventories of Afrikaans and the Khoe language differ, and since Afrikaans-speakers often encounter difficulties in 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 in their Khoe language. 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 [||]. As a result, there is a great deal of uncertainty in this area.

Links, 1989: 62

Of his sixty-two lemma, twenty-one name plants, two name animals, four name reptiles, five name geographical features of the Succulent Karoo, and the remaining thirty are miscellaneous.¹¹ Of his plant names, only two are previously unrecorded; all others had formerly appeared either in Smith 1966 or *Wildflowers of Namaqualand* 1981 (1st ed). The two unrecorded items, **ntorregaang** [n!ɔrɛxɑ:ŋ] ‘’n Soort swam op sommige plantsoorte’ and **tnoroga** [n!ɔrɛxɑ:] ‘die blom van die **kannies**’, are almost certainly the same word, as both refer to the fungus-like fruiting body of the selectively parasitic **kannies** plant (= *Hydnora africana*). The two animal names and all five geographical features are easily sourced to the their Namibian Khoekhoe

¹¹ Links has sixty-three total items. I collapse two of Links’ animal lemma, **gamma** ‘die bakoorkakkals’ (= *Otocyon megalotis*), and **tkamma** ‘die draaijakkals’ (= *Otocyon megalotis*) into one item, and consider them both loans of a Namaqualand item comparable to Kora **!xamab** (= *Otocyon megalotis*). The items pertaining to reptiles are very uncertain in their referents, but I would recommend collapsing also **ntgortota** ‘die bloukopkoggelmander’ and **tkorteman** – ‘akkedissoort’. This would yield a final tally of sixty-one lemma. However, as Links recognises, the loan **t’kam** carries three distinct semantic senses, each of which targets a wholly distinct Namibian Khoekhoe word (discussed further above). Sorting each of these as a separate item, while collapsing also **ntorregaang** and **tnoroga**, the final tally is sixty-two.

target; the five names for reptiles are more uncertain, as their Linnaean identities are not provided as a control, and no herpetology field guides offer the opportunity for cross-referencing. Of the miscellaneous terms, I supply full or partial etymologies for twenty-one in Appendix A.

The most relevant of Links' miscellaneous items to this discussion is the entry **tkam** [!am], as it illustrates the results of phonemic collapse. Having encountered three distinct semantic uses for this loan, he concludes that there may exist three forms, each hosting a click that retains its contrastivity, thus allowing Afrikaans-speakers to clarify which semantic use-case they intend.

a) *Vasknyp, vassit. 'Ek vat die bokooi aan die agterbeen en **tkam** die poot tussen my knieë.'*

b) *Aanstoot. 'Ek het **tkam** gekry.'*

c) *Lig. 'Vat 'n vuurhoutjie en **tkam** hier.'*

a) To grip tight, to stick fast. 'I grab the nanny-goat by the hindleg and **tkam** her hoof between my knees.'

b) To annoy. 'I got **tkam**.'

c) To kindle. 'Get a match and **tkam** over here.'

Links 1989: 65

Unfortunately, Links does not clarify whether any of his consultants did in fact deploy phonemic distinctions in their clicks, nor does he transcribe any variable forms, supplying the IPA of all three simply as [!am]. I etymologise his three definitions as follows –

THREE SENSE OF 'TKAM' IN LINKS 1989			
loan	gloss	suggested target	sense (Haacke & Eiseb 2002)
tkam [!am]	to grip tight, to hold between the legs	lkham [!χam]	<i>v. t.</i> to hold (esp. betw. legs)
tkam [!am]	to be irritated	lami [!lʔami]	<i>v. i.</i> to become angry, to be annoyed
tkam [!am]	to kindle	!amam [!ʔ!ʔamam]	<i>v. t.</i> to light from an existing fire

Table 10: Three Senses of 'Tkam' in Links 1989

Even without additional notes on individual consultants' pronunciation, this set amply illustrates how, following lexical borrowing, the loss of contrastivity from a particular phonological feature, or even synchronic variation of a particular phonological feature, may give rise to extreme homonymy. I explore how this process has resulted in the conflation and semantic reanalysis of loaned plant names in Section 2.2.4

Finally, Fiona Archer's 1994 MSc thesis on the ethnobotany of the Richtersveld contains a number plant names ostensibly still in productive use, as tabulated below.

LOANED CLICKS IN ARCHER 1994		
ITEM	SPECIES	PREVIOUS ATTESTATIONS & NOTES
t'namee	<i>Boscia albitrunca</i>	!namee (Smith 1966)
!hamibieb	<i>Bulbine praemorsa</i>	kamiemie (Le Roux 1981)
!abeb	<i>Cyphia</i> sp.	cf. kameka (Smith 1966)
!nuhers [sic]	<i>Deverra denudata</i> subsp. <i>aphylla</i>	
!kanobe	<i>Diospyrios ramulosa</i>	t'koenoebie (Le Roux 1981)
n on	<i>Euphorbia dregeana</i>	
!oei	<i>Ficus cordata</i>	
!ari	<i>Lycium oxycarpum</i>	
!orrie	<i>Ozoroa dispar</i>	t'ôrrieboom (Le Roux 1981)
!xha	<i>Parkinsonia africana</i>	
!namie	<i>Pelargonium antidysentericum</i>	t'namie Ecklon & Zeyher (1832), d/kanie, t'namie (W&BB 1932); t'kami, t'nami (Smith 1966)
!abarals	<i>Pteronia lucilioides</i>	
t'narra, t'garra	<i>Searsia burchellii</i>	namabessie (Smith 1966), t'narra (Le Roux 1981)
!gubu!gubu	<i>Sarcostemma viminale</i>	
!ob	<i>Scirpus inanis</i>	
!khowobes	<i>Scirpus nodosus</i>	
!nuheis	<i>Solanum tomentosum</i>	
rooi ktooi	<i>Stoeberia beetzii</i> var. <i>arborescens</i>	rooi-t'kooi (Le Roux 1981)
!oba	<i>Hoodia alstonii</i>	ghobba (Le Roux 1981)
t'kabadda	<i>Tylecodon paniculatus</i>	t'kabbada (Le Roux 1981)
!kome ganna	<i>Tylecodon wallichii</i>	!komiganna (Smith 1966), t'nomsganna (Le Roux 1981)
!ghambos	<i>Zygophyllum cordifolium</i>	t'kambos for <i>Sysindite sparteae</i> (Le Roux 1981)

Table 11: Plant Terms with Clicks in Archer 1994

Archer does not clarify whether the common names provided were recorded during her research, or whether they were sourced from previous publications; there is no further data as to whether these items were provided by consultants fluent in Namibian Khoekhoe, or by Afrikaans monolinguals. Eleven items containing clicks are *hapax* in Archer 1994, with another seven having been previously attested only by Le Roux 1981. This narrow range of distribution, with only researchers working speaking within Namaqualand documenting these names, further suggests a regionalised lexis.

2.3. Survey of 21st-century sources

This section discusses the presence and treatment of Khoekhoe-branch loanwords in selected sources published between 2000 and November 2019.

Common Names of Karoo Plants, published in 2004 by botanist Les Powrie, offers valuable scope for comparison with certain of the items in Le Roux 1981, suggesting that they may possibly

enjoy contemporary productivity throughout the Succulent Karoo biome as a whole. However, it suffers from many of the same drawbacks that made the early 20th century sources unsuitable for historical linguistic purposes. Items containing clicks are transcribed using the **t'** convention, no indication is provided of where within the Klein Karoo they are used, and there is no discussion of whether these items were recently heard and as such remained in productive use up until 2004, or whether they were simply compiled from older sources and as such may have fallen into disuse.

LOANED CLICKS IN POWRIE 2004		
LOAN	SPECIES	PREVIOUSLY ATTESTED
t'kooi	<i>Ruschia</i> sp.	t'kooi Le Roux 1981; ktooi Links 1989
t'garra bos	<i>Searsia</i> sp.	namabessie Smith 1966, t'garra bos Le Roux 1981
t'gha boom	<i>Parkinsonia africana</i>	!xha Archer 1994
t'gibbie	<i>Pteronia</i> sp.	t'gibbie Le Roux 1981, dgibbie Links 1989
t'koubee	<i>Dodonaea angustifolia</i>	D/koubi Laidler 1928, t'koubee Le Roux 1981
tjnoemsganna	<i>Tylecodon wallichii</i>	!komiganna Smith 1966, t'nomsganna Le Roux 1981, ntomsganna Links 1989, !khomeganna Archer 1994
t'noenadoring	<i>Sarcocaulon</i> sp.	Smith 1966, Le Roux 1981
t'noutsie-amma	<i>Cheiridopsis denticulata</i>	t'noutsiama Le Roux 1981; ontsiamama Links 1989

Table 12: Loaned Clicks in Powrie 2004

An unpublished PhD thesis recorded five local Kamiesberg plantnames containing clicks (Wheat, 2014: 32 – 41). All had been previously attested. Unusually, Wheat recorded the clicks using the orthography **xh**, without discussing the motivation for doing so, and with no apparent orthographic precedent; it is just barely possible that familiarity with the spelling of isiXhosa may have prompted this otherwise inexplicable orthographic choice. Wheat's thesis does not contain either the word 'click' or 'click consonant', and the use of loaned clicks is never noted as a linguistically interesting feature.

CLICKS IN WHEAT 2013		
LOAN	SPECIES	PREVIOUSLY ATTESTED
xhou	<i>Elytropappus rhinocerotis</i>	P/nkaou Laidler 1928
xhotisama	<i>Cheiridopsis denticulate</i> , <i>Cheiridopsis namaquensis</i>	t'noutsiamama Le Roux 1981; ontsiamama Links 1989
xhibbie	"there are 7± species that are all called xhibbie"	t'gibbie Le Roux 1981, dgibbie Links 1989, t'gibbie Powrie 2004
xhoubie, toubee	<i>Dodonaea viscosa</i> var. <i>angustifolia</i>	D/koubi Laidler 1928, t'koubee Le Roux 1981, t'koubee Powrie 2004
xhouroe	<i>Leipoldtia schultzei</i> , <i>Ruschia robusta</i>	t'nouroe Le Roux 1981

Table 12: Loaned Clicks in Wheat 2013

Most recently, B. E. van Wyk and J. M. Nortje conducted ethnobotanical research in the Kamiesberg region in the Namaqualand Klipkoppe. This research involved interviewing twentyfour residents of towns in the Kamiesberg region in order to elicit ethnobotanical applications and common names of plants from local plants. Findings from these sessions, originally conducted in 2010, were not published until 2015, when the researchers claimed, somewhat ambitiously, to have identified 97 previously unattested vernacular names during the course of ethnobotanical research in the Kamiesberg region of Namaqualand. Although they identify the majority of these names as Afrikaans, 23 are presented as ‘new Nama names’ (van Wyk & Norte, 2015: 216), in that they do not appear either in Haacke & Eiseb 2002, or in Marloth 1917, Smith 1966, or Powrie 2004 (Nortje & Van Wyk, 2015: 207).

23 ‘NEW’ NAMA NAMES IN NORTJE & VAN WYK 2015		
LOAN	SPECIES	PREVIOUSLY TREATED
t’nôrro	<i>Anginon diforme</i>	
t’noem t’nôrro	<i>Anginon diforme</i>	
hosabie	<i>Dicoma capensis</i>	
kuniebos	<i>Dicoma capensis</i>	
t’adou	<i>Diosma acmaeophylla</i>	
t’oudaa	<i>Diosma acmaeophylla</i>	
t’gnoubee	<i>Dodonaea viscosa</i>	t’oubee = <i>Dodonaea viscosa</i> (Le Roux 1981); t’goubee = <i>Dodonaea viscosa</i> (Powrie 2004)
t’nou	<i>Elytropappus rhinocerotis</i>	
t’kau	<i>Elytropappus rhinocerotis</i>	
t’gybie	<i>Eriocephalus punctulatus</i>	
t’gibbie	<i>Eriocephalus punctulatus</i>	
t’ghybie	<i>Eriocephalus</i> sp.	
t’warraa	<i>Euryops lateriflorus</i>	t’arda = <i>Dideltia spinosa</i> (Le Roux 1981)
t’gaibos	<i>Galium capense</i>	
t’naaitand	<i>Galium capense</i>	
kynie	<i>Hydnora africana</i>	kannip Smith 1966 = <i>Hydnora africana</i> ; kannie Le Roux 2015 = <i>Hydnora africana</i>
t’ienie	<i>Hydnora africana</i>	
org	<i>Notobubon pearsonii</i>	
t’orro(a)	<i>Pteronia camphorata</i>	
t’gôrrôboegoe	<i>Pteronia camphorata</i>	
t’goenabos	<i>Sarcocaulon</i> sp.	noerab, norab Smith 1966 = <i>Monsonia crassicaule</i> ; t’noenadoring Le Roux 2015 = <i>Monsonia burchellii</i>
t’ârra	<i>Searsia burchelli</i>	namabessie Smith 1966 = <i>Searsia undulata</i> ; t’narra Le Roux 1981
vaal-t’knou, berg t’knou	<i>Stoebe plumosa</i>	

Table 14: 23 ‘New’ Nama Names in Nortje & Van Wyk 2015

It is immediately apparent that minute distinctions easily attributable to regional or even idiolectal variation have been entered as discrete lemma. This is especially apparent when such items are applied to the same plant. The use of both t’adou and t’oudaa for *Dicoma capensis* is a clear instance of metathesis, for example, while t’ghybie, t’gibbie, and t’gybie, all used of

Eriocephalus sp., are likely variations on a single lexeme. We may assume that the base form contained the diphthong [əi], which subsequently monophthongised to [ə], and that there has been variation between a velar stop [g] and a velar fricative [χ] following the click (see further speculation on loaned click accompaniments and epenthetic stop insertion in Chapter 3). **t'orro(a)** and **t'gôrrôboegoe** ought also be collapsed into a single lemma. (I advise against the collapse of **kynie** and **t'ienie**, both for *Hydnora africana*. Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991 offer both **kàníb** and **kínís** as terms for this plant, suggesting an extant Namibian Khoekhoe variation between [a] and [i] that might motivate a variation between [əi] and [i] when loaned in to Afrikaans; but no record of the Namibian Khoekhoe word **kannip** for *Hydnora africana* contains a click.)

Additionally, four of these names are subtle variations on items that have been previously recorded, and as such cannot be considered new items; several others have previously been recorded, but for different plants within the same family, meaning that it is unlikely that they are new items, although they may indicate regional variation in semantic referent or scope. As Le Roux 2015 treats **t'kooi** and **t'arra t'kooi** separately, I do accept that **t'nôrro** and **t'noem t'nôrro** should be treated separately, in that the latter supplies a new lexeme possibly not previously recorded. I would revise the list of 'new' names as follows.

REVISED LOANS IN NORTJE & VAN WYK 2015		
LOAN	SPECIES	COMPARANDA
t'nôrro	<i>Anginon difforme</i>	tkorro (Links 1989)
t'noem t'nôrro	<i>Anginon difforme</i>	!komi- (Smith 1966), t'noms (Le Roux 1981), ntoms- (Links 1989), !khome- (Archer 1994), tjnoems (Powrie 2004)
hosabie	<i>Dicoma capensis</i>	
kuniebos	<i>Dicoma capensis</i>	
t'adou, t'oudaa	<i>Diosma acmaeophylla</i>	D/ta dou (Laidler 1928)
t'nou, t'kau, vaal-t'knou, berg-t'knou	<i>Elytropappus rhinocerotis</i> , <i>Stoebe plumosa</i>	P/nkaou = <i>Agathosma betulina</i> (Laidler 1928), xhou = <i>Elytropappus rhinocerotis</i> (Wheat 2013)
t'gybie, t'gibbie, t'ghybie	<i>Eriocephalus punctulatus</i>	t'kaibebos = <i>Pteronia incana</i> (Le Roux 1981); t'gibbiebos = <i>Selago</i> spp.; t'gibbiebos = <i>Pteronia</i> sp. (Powrie 2004)
t'warraa	<i>Euryops lateriflorus</i>	t'arda = <i>Dideltia spinosa</i> (Le Roux 1981)
t'gaibos, t'naaitand	<i>Galium capense</i>	
t'ienie	<i>Hydnora africana</i>	
org	<i>Notobubon pearsonii</i>	
t'orro(a), t'gôrrôboegoe	<i>Pteronia camphorata</i>	d\nhora (Laidler 1928)

Table 15: Revised Loans in Nortje & Van Wyk 2015

I would recommend comparing the specifier **t'noem** with several previous records of a similar specifier **t'noems** recorded for several species of toxic *Tylecodon*. I also move that **t'gibbie** = *Selago glabrata*, *S. namaquensis* (Le Roux 1981) and **t'gibbie** = *Pteronia* sp. (Powrie 2004) be

aligned with the series of items **t'gybie** ~ **t'gibbie** ~ **t'ghybie** for *Eriocephalus punctulatus*. Furthermore, given that **t'knou** serves as generic element in the names *vaal-t'knou* and *bergt'knou*, I would suggest that *Elytropappus rhinocerotis* may be construed as the 'type' for the generic taxon **t'nou** ~ **t'kau** ~ **t'knou**, and that *Stoebe plumosa* then be accepted as a specific variant within this taxon (on specifying and generic elements in lay taxonomies, see Section 2.2.1). These initial suggestions will be further scrutinised in Section 2.2.2. At present, they serve to suggest that, Wyk & Nortje 2015's '23 new Nama names' in fact constitute only twelve lemma. At best, only five are newly recorded as loans.

Van Wyk later contributed the findings **t'orro(a)** and **t'gôrrô** to the identification of *Pteronia camphorata* in the ethnobotanical article *San and Nama indigenous knowledge: The case of |nhora (Pteronia camphorata) and its medicinal use* (Hulley, Tilney, van Vuuren, *et al.* 2016). This article goes into depth discussing a record of the name **d|nhora** recorded by Laidler 1928; it is a pity that similarly robust scrutiny was not applied to all of the items collected by Nortje & Van Wyk 2015. Accepting that Laidler used the orthography **d|** to transcribe the dental click, and that **nh** indicated that it ought to be prenasalised and aspirated, Hulley, Tilney, van Vuuren, *et al.* 2016 ultimately transcribe Laidler's item rather clumsily as **lnhora**.

However, I observe that the standardised Namibian Khoekhoe orthography for a prenasalised aspirated dental click would yield simply ***|hora-**, and that this reconstruction is missing both phonemic tones and the inflectional ending. Furthermore, as discussed in Section 2.1.2. above, Laidler's transcription is fallible to the point of transcribing the same word using two different clicks in a single sentence. *Contra* Hulley, Tilney, van Vuuren, *et al.* 2016, I argue that ***|hora-** cannot be accepted as a certain reconstruction, and should not be called a Namibian Khoekhoe word. No Namibian Khoekhoe name comparable to this exists in Kroenlein 1889, Schultze 1907, Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991, Mannheimer *et al.* 2008, or Mannheimer 2012. I note also that, given that *Pteronia camphorata* is a South African endemic and does not occur further north than the Kamiesberg mountains, it is almost certain that this item is a Namaqualand regionalism, and so would never have been present in the more northerly dialects of Nama today standardised as Namibian Khoekhoe. Hulley, Tilney, van Vuuren *et al.* 2016 represents perhaps the most responsible recent effort by ethnobotanists to trace contemporary loanwords to their origins, but it remains insufficient.

I further consider the unqualified portrayal of any of the items recorded by Nortje & Van Wyk 2015 specifically as 'Nama' names to be linguistically problematic. For one thing, all consultants

were monolingual L1 Afrikaans-speakers, meaning that these items are, at best, dialectal Nama loanwords, historically aggregated into a stable Namaqualand Afrikaans lexis, rather than nonce borrowings introduced by bilinguals. For another thing, none is transcribed using the standard Namibian Khoekhoe orthography. A competent L1 English speaker would battle to interpret the Japanese word ‘komāsharu’, transcribed from katakana using the standard Hepburn transliteration protocols, as a loan of ‘commercial’. Similarly, an L1 Namibian Khoekhoe speaker would likely experience extreme psycholinguistic difficulty in decoding a record like **t’waraa** into a recognisable word. Thirdly, not all of these names are in fact ‘new’, as the table above indicates. Finally, as discussed during Section 1.2.2, Namibian Khoekhoe contains ten varieties, organised into two dialects, within Namibia alone. Nortje & Van Wyk 2015 offer no consideration that the Kamiesberg items might, like the reconstructed name *|hora- for *Pteronia camphorata*, represent Namaqualand regionalisms not recorded or represented in any of the Namibian lexes.

Overall, the informal and *ad hoc* presentation of the Nortje & van Wyk 2015 data suggests an irresponsible lack of familiarity with linguistic protocol. That South African linguists have failed to recognise and criticise these inaccuracies in the four years since the data were published is concerning.

2.4. Conclusions of the Survey

Drawing on the results of this survey, I have compiled a corpus of 110 items which I consider to serve as a representative sample of plant names loaned from languages in the Khoekhoe branch into Afrikaans or South African English over the course of the last century. All items, together with their lexicographical sources, are listed in Appendix B. Importantly, I move that items which were ostensibly uttered by Khoekhoe-branch speakers and haphazardly included in lists of GERMANIC common names cannot be considered true loanwords broadly accessible to and productively used by monolingual speakers of Afrikaans and South African English; such items are indicated in Appendix B using an asterisk *. Furthermore, items which would not appear to have been newly recorded after Smith 1966 or Boshoff & Nienaber 1967 – that is, within the last fifty years – are considered obsolete, and are indicated using an obelus †.

Lexicographical and ethnobotanical records from Le Roux 1981 until Nortje & Van Wyk 2015 indicate the continued usage of a small corpus of loanwords ostensibly containing clicks, deployed by Afrikaans monolinguals residing in Namaqualand, over the course of the past forty years. The fifty non-botanical items collected by Links 1989 are especially valuable, in that they

suggest that sociolinguistic drivers other than pragmatic need may have influenced borrowing. However, all items are transcribed using a variety of *ad hoc* and unscientific orthographies, and no publications have ever attempted to source them *en masse* to their underlying targets. Despite indicating the survival of rare lexical archaisms referring to an endemic flora, and hinting also at the existence of processes of click loan currently underway, these loanwords have received no recent attention from linguists.

Chapter 3 Etymologising

Working from the representative corpus established in Chapter 2, this chapter aims to demonstrate that, while many loanwords are too fragile and decontextualised to withstand academic scrutiny, many can be reliably sourced to their historical targets. In addition to taking into account the taxonomic principles informing the historical semantic relationships between these loanwords, I compare loanwords with plant names recorded in standard Namibian Khoekhoe reference works (primarily Kroenlein 1889; Schultze 1907; Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991; Hacke & Eiseb 2002), but also plant names recorded in the closely-related Khoekhoebranch languages Kora (Engelbrecht 1936; Du Plessis 2019) and Xri (Haacke & Snyman 2019). I also provide pragmatic botanical and ethnobotanical context in order to further explore a number of more challenging etymological puzzles.

3.1. Language and Taxonomy

This section briefly discusses existing ethnobotanical research into cross-linguistic principles of taxonomisation, and its relevance to the etymological restoration of semantic relationships.

Lexical items may undergo diachronic change not only with regard to their morphological and phonological form, but also in terms of their semantic relationships with other items. For example, **sandwich**, **bailiwick**, and **York** all historically shared a semantic relationship, in that they were all place names, and, in particular, all hyponyms of the Old English **wīc**, ‘village, settlement’. In the case of **sandwich**, the semantic referent shifted from a placename to a food item, resulting in the disruption of the original relationship. In the case of **bailiwick**, both the semantic extension of **wīc** to signify ‘administrative area’, and the gradual loss of **wīc** as a productive lexical item from the English language, resulted in semantic bleaching. In the case of **York**, the extreme phonological alteration from **Eoferwīc** resulted in the almost complete deletion of the morpheme **–wīc**, such that **York** is now entirely semantically opaque.

Similarly, when assessing the diachronic development of loanwords from nonce borrowings inserted by bilinguals into established lexical items accessible to monolinguals, it is important to bear in mind that the semantic relationships that exist prior to their loan may be obscured or lost over time for a number of reasons. A lexical item may be loaned in isolation, rather than in a set of words sharing semantic relationships; the semantic scope of the item in its original context may be altered such that its historical semantic relationships are no longer relevant or logical; or

phonological alteration or deletion, together with morphological deletion or reanalysis, may result in semantic opacity. An understanding of cross-linguistic semantic organisation is therefore crucial in etymologising not only the phonological form of loanwords, but also their semantic relationships.

3.1.1. Ethnobotany and Cross-Linguistic Taxonomic Principles

When dealing particularly with plant names, the most relevant research into semantic organisation comes in the form of the ethnobotanical appraisal of taxonomisation. Among the earliest ethnobotanists to conduct formal semantic scrutiny of the organisational criteria of indigenous knowledge systems were Berlin, Breedlove, Raven *et al.* 1976. These authors observed a cross-linguistic tendency to sort knowledge systems into hierarchical groups, or *taxa*. In addition to identifying five universal categories present in the majority of indigenous taxonomies, (*unique beginner, lifeform, generic, specific, varietal*), their assessment also highlighted the cross-linguistic usage of increasingly detailed semantic descriptions to subdivide broad taxa into more specific identifications.

...generic taxa are the basic building blocks of all folk taxonomies. They represent the most commonly referred to groupings of organisms in the natural environment, are the most salient psychologically, and are likely to be among the first taxa learned by the child.

Berlin, Breedlove, Raven, *et al.*, 1976: 27

Generic taxa are labelled using primary lexemes, or lexical items with a broad semantic scope that refer to a large of referents. So, by way of an Afrikaans example of lay botanical taxonomy, generic taxa within the lifeform taxon *plante* (= ‘plants’) would include *boom* (= ‘tree’), *bossie* (= ‘shrub’), and *blom* (= ‘flower’). Each of these terms can be further specified into a narrower taxon through the application of a secondary lexeme. Thus *blom* may be specified as *botterblom* (*Sparaxis bulbifera*), *fluweelblom* (*Sparaxis tricolor*), *reëlblom* (*Dimorphotheca pluvialis*), or a *patrysblom* (*Androcymbium* sp.). All of these items exhibit a hyponymic sense relationship with *blom*. This arrangement parallels the Linnaean strategy of ranking taxa according to genetic lineage via a series of successively narrower epithets – for example, the narrowing of the generic taxon *Sparaxis* via the application of specific epithets such as *bulbifera* or *tricolor*. Lay and indigenous taxonomies have thus been shown to depend largely upon the same relational principles that govern the underlying sense of the Linnaean method, and as to such constitute robustly scientific systems of organisation.

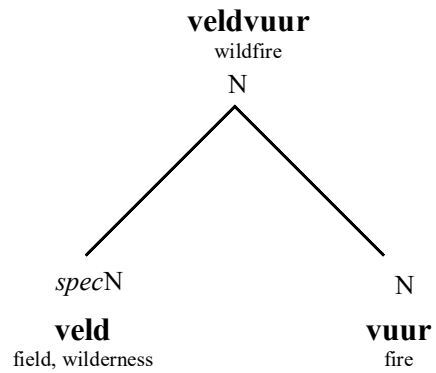
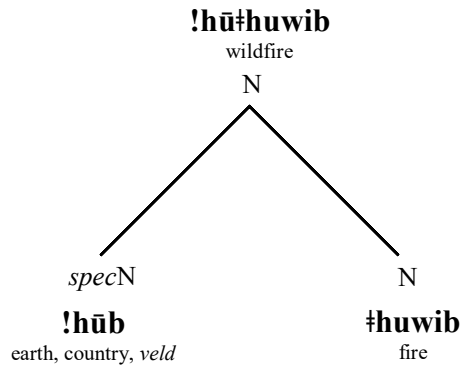
While the methods and ethical principles guiding the assessment and representation of lay taxonomies of all varieties in academic literature have of course developed considerably in the four decades since (see, for example, Kempton, 1981; Brown, 1986; Bailenson, Shum, Atran, *et al.* 2002; Berkes & Berkes, 2009) the understanding that generic taxa labelled using primary lexemes may be differentiated by secondary lexemes to yield specific taxa remains fundamental to the study of lay taxonomies. This ethnobotanical approach is informed by and precisely mirrors the linguistic approach to hierarchical semantic organisation. On sense relations and the conceptual development of taxa within lay taxonomies, see further Lyons 2002; Krifka, 2011; and Storjohann, 2016.

3.1.2. Compound Nouns as Plant Names

Ethnobotanical research into lay taxonomisation thus suggests a cross-linguistic propensity for generic taxa, indicated by primary lexemes, to have their semantic scope narrowed into specific taxa, indicated by secondary lexemes. It is therefore to be expected that a high proportion of lay plant names are compound nouns, which enable the primary lexeme, or head, to undergo semantic narrowing following the appending of a secondary lexeme, or specifier.

In Afrikaans, endocentric compound nouns are head-last. Through sheer typological serendipity, languages in the Khoekhoe branch also form head-last endocentric compounds, via the application of a constituent-initial specifying lexeme to a constituent-final generic head. Two compound nouns that are precise but serendipitous calques in Afrikaans and Namibian Khoekhoe are used to demonstrate the head-last structure of compound nouns in both languages.

wildfire



mothertongue

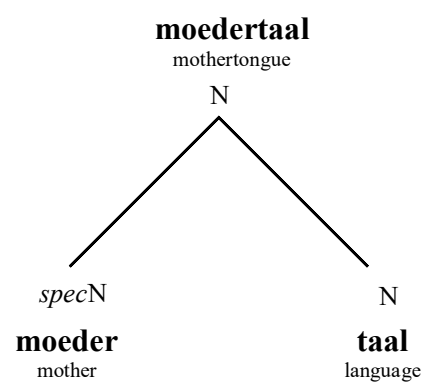
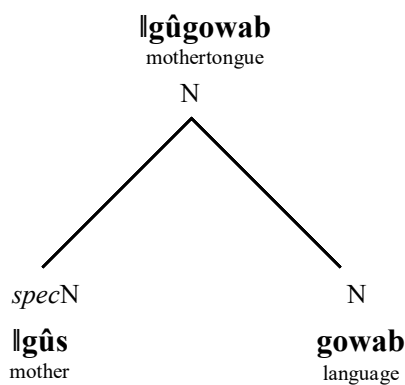


Figure 3: Comparison of compound nouns in Namibian Khoekhoe and Afrikaans

This coincidence has been morphologically productive, allowing for the development of numerous hybrid Namibian Khoekhoe-Afrikaans compound nouns. Haacke notes the existence of multiple compound nouns incorporating Afrikaans loanwords in Namibian Khoekhoe, with the loan able to serve either as the specifier, or as the head (Haacke, 2013: 458). I offer the following eight examples, all taken from Haacke & Eiseb 2002.

HYBRID COMPOUND NOUNS IN NAMIBIAN KHOEKHOE			
compound	Afrikaans specifier	N Khoekhoe head	gloss or referent
skollgarus	<i>skool</i> = school	!garus = satchel	schoolbag
elektrinanib	<i>elektrisiteit</i> = electricity	<i>nanib</i> = spark	electric spark
breixun	<i>brei</i> = to knit	<i>xūn</i> = things, goods, stuff	knitwear, knitting
farkhelganni	<i>vark</i> = pig	!ganni = large piece of meat	pork
compound	N Khoekhoe specifier	Afrikaans head	gloss or referent
!gamtenks	!gammi = water	<i>tenk</i> = tank	water tank
gaixulôahems	(<i>gaixu</i> = long) + (<i>lôab</i> = sleeve)	<i>hemp</i> = shirt	long-sleeved shirt
†gapunali	†gapu = to braid, to plait	<i>naal</i> = needle	knitting needle
!gûndokter	!gûn = teeth	<i>dokter</i> = doctor	dentist

Table 16: Hybrid Compound Nouns in Namibian Khoekhoe

I observe that Afrikaans has also incorporated a number of loaned Khoekhoe-branch items into the formation of compound nouns, primarily within the semantic domain of plant names and natural features (although exceptions do occur). As with hybrid compounds in Namibian Khoekhoe, the loan may serve either as the specifier, or as the head. Within my corpus, I would predict that there would have been a greater historical tendency for loaned items to serve as novel Khoekhoe-branch specifiers for existing Cape Dutch generics (such as *boom*, *bos*, *doring*, and so forth). Nevertheless, there do exist some Khoekhoe loans which serve as the primary lexeme for the generic taxon, and hence as the head of the compound.

HYBRID COMPOUND NOUNS IN AFRIKAANS			
compound	Khoekhoe-branch specifier	Afrikaans head	gloss or referent
noenieboom	hùnis = <i>Boscia foetida</i>	boom = tree	<i>Boscia foetida</i>
gabbabos	!gàwàs = <i>Catophractes alexandrii</i>	bos = bush	<i>Catophractes alexandrii</i>
kaniedoring	khánús = <i>Vachellia nebrownii</i>	doring = thornbush	<i>Vachellia nebrownii</i>
t'narrabessie	garab = fruit of <i>Searsia lancea</i>	bessie = berry, berrybush	<i>Searsia lancea</i>
compound	Afrikaans specifier	Khoekhoe-branch head	gloss or referent
soutganna	sout = salt	cf. khanis = tanning plant	<i>Caroxylon aphyllum</i>
vaal-t'kooi	vaal = fallow	cf. #khóés = frutescent <i>Mesemb</i>	<i>Stoeberia utilis</i>
slangghaap	slang = snake	cf. !khòwàb = <i>Hoodia</i> sp.	<i>Stapelia grandiflora</i>
dassie-t'kang	dassie = <i>Procavia capensis</i>	cf. kham = animal urine	hyraceum

Table 17: Hybrid Compound Nouns in Afrikaans

The majority of compound Afrikaans and Khoekhoe plant names, then, may be considered specifying taxa, consisting of a constituent-initial secondary lexeme, and a constituent-final primary lexeme. These two lexemes combine to form head-last compound nouns. This is demonstrated below, in two simple diagrams showing the hierarchical relationship between the generic taxon consisting of the primary lexeme **bos** or **hais**¹², and its hyponymic compound nouns produced through the application of a constituent-initial secondary lexeme. Note that the referents of the specifying taxa figured below do vary between languages. Items with similar glosses were chosen simply to demonstrate the close structural similarities between the two taxonomies, and hence the productivity of hybrid compounding, not to imply that **xamhaib** and **leeubos**, for example, obligatorily share a semantic referent, or are in any way the product of historical calquing.

¹² Note that, in Namibian Khoekhoe, **hais** is the feminine inflection of the stem **hai-**, a generic term for 'plant'. The application of the feminine to inanimate objects typically (although not inevitably) signifies that they are small, squat, or round, hence the translation 'bush'. The masculine inflection, **haib**, would be more broadly applicable to large, tall, or narrow plants, and as such is usually translated 'tree'.

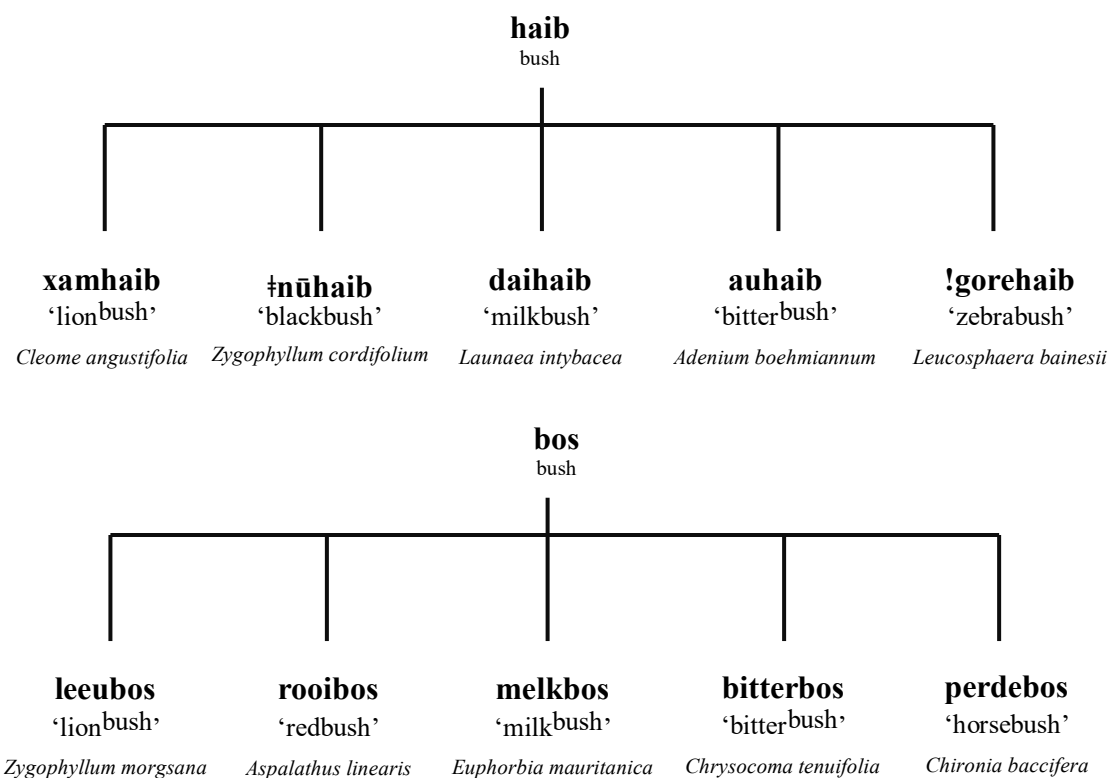


Figure 4: Comparison of compound plant names in Namibian Khoekhoe and Afrikaans

Importantly for the purposes of the etymologising process, the preponderance of compounding in taxonomisation can assist the detection and re-establishment of morphological boundaries in loanwords that have undergone extreme phonological adaptation or semantic reanalysis. This is especially effective when combined with an understanding of Khoekhoe prosody and phonotactics, as outlined in Section 1.3.1. Given the canonical propensity for all Namibian Khoekhoe nouns to consist of a bisyllabic $C_1V_1C_2V_2$ structure, or else of the syncopated $C_1V_1V_2$ structure, any suspected loans which consist in Afrikaans of three or more syllables should be assumed to have targeted compound nouns – that is, tetrasyllabic Namibian Khoekhoe nouns consisting of $C_1V_1C_2V_2 + C_1V_1C_2V_2$, or else trisyllabic nouns consisting of either $C_1V_1V_2 + C_1V_1C_2V_2$, or else $C_1V_1C_2V_2 + C_1V_1V_2$.

This shows that any tri- or tetrasyllabic loanwords in Afrikaans could only have originally targeted Namibian Khoekhoe compound nouns.¹³ Following the model proposed by Berlin,

¹³ It is also, of course, possible that certain bisyllabic Afrikaans loans targeted bisyllabic Namibian Khoekhoe compound nouns following $C_1V_1V_2 + C_1V_1V_2$; this structure would render their compound nature invisible. Conversely, false positives would include instances in which the loan has undergone insertional epenthesis. Van der

Breedlove, and Raven 1976, these compound nouns would have served as specific taxa, comprising a generic primary lexeme specified by a secondary lexeme. Given also the head-final structure of Namibian Khoekhoe compound nouns, the primary lexeme must stand word-finally, in N, and hence must comprise the word-final syllable (targeting C₁V₁V₂), or the penultimate syllable (targeting C₁V₁C₂V₂). The secondary lexeme must then stand word-initially, in *spec* N, and hence must comprise the initial syllable (targeting C₁V₁V₂) or the initial and secondary syllable (targeting C₁V₁C₂V₂).

This distribution of generic and specifying elements in loaned compound plant names may be observed even prior to etymologising. In the table below, a logical gloss is projected through comparing the generic elements in a series of compound loans, and asking the simple question, ‘What do all of these loans have in common?’ Sometimes this commonality aligns with a generic Linnaean rank; sometimes it must be extrapolated through ethnobotanical application or phytomorphology.

PRIMARY LEXEMES IN HYBRID COMPOUNDS			
<i>spec</i>	HEAD	ID	GLOSS
t'arra	-t'kooi	<i>Stoeberia utilis</i>	generic term for <i>Stoeberia</i> sp.
rooi	-t'kooi	<i>Stoeberia utilis</i>	
vaal	-t'kooi	<i>Stoeberia beetzii</i>	
Ø	-t'nou	<i>Elytropappus rhinocerotis</i>	shrub in <i>Asteraceae</i> with medicinal properties
berg-	-t'knou	<i>Stoebe plumose</i>	
vaal-	-t'knou	<i>Stoebe plumosa</i>	
au-	koreb	<i>Aloe</i> sp.	generic term for <i>Aloe</i> sp.
bont-	t'korrie	<i>Aloe melanacantha</i>	
bont-	ghree	<i>Aloe</i> sp.	

Table 18: Primary Lexemes in Hybrid Compounds

This comparative method is particularly useful when considering compound nouns in which both elements are loans, and in which morphological boundaries have been rendered opaque because of the loss of semantic transparency. As we assume that **t’arra** and **t’kooi** each indicate a discrete morphemes, both because of their phonotactics and because of their comparative distribution, so we may assume that, in the name **t’gouboedanna** for *Galium capense*, **t’gouboe** and **danna** likewise are both discrete morphemes. The more productively a morpheme was loaned, the greater the chances that the underlying gloss may be reconstructed. –**danna** is *hapax*, rendering it difficult to salvage, but **t’noems** is applied to a number of species across a number of families, providing rich scope for comparison. Valuably, hybrid compounds may also occasionally calque

Stel 1685’s record *degorée* for **lgôres**, for example, renders the target trisyllabic via the insertion of an epenthetic vowel and the substitution of a voiced stop in order to approximate the voiced click consonant.

their targets. Given that **t'arra t'kooi** and **rooi t'kooi** refer to the same species, and that the secondary lexeme specifying *Stoeberia beetzii* from *Stoeberia utilis* is the colour term *vaal*, it may be assumed that **t'arra** translates as 'red'. The Namibian Khoekhoe word for 'red' is **|apa**.

The reconstruction of morphological boundaries thus aids lexicographical comparison, allowing as it does for the assignation of a rough gloss to each element even prior to translation. This mitigates the element of guesswork involved, and renders the process of searching for and selecting potential targets more efficient and more accurate. Furthermore, as has been established, this corpus is highly regionalised, and so it is reasonable to anticipate that compound nouns with so narrow a semantic scope will not occur in standardised Namibian Khoekhoe lists of plant names. However, the individual elements of each compound nouns can feasibly be retrieved in isolation, allowing for the reconstruction of the original regional target.

3.2. Thirty-Five Etymological Solutions

With a preliminary corpus of Afrikaans plant names loaned from Khoekhoe-branch languages established, this section examines the extent to which these plant names can be etymologised. The process of retrieving an etymology attempts to establish the original target of the loaned item, including the original phonological form of the target, and, when possible, a semantic gloss.

3.2.1. Ten Old Solutions

Certain of the loanwords identified during Chapter 2 have gone over not only into Afrikaans and South African English, but also into languages in the NTU group, serving as superloans or wanderwords. Consider, for example, the ubiquity of the superloan **|gâb** –

t'waagras = *Aristida* spp. (Marloth 1917), **t'kaagras** = [*Stipagrostis*] *spinosa* (Smith 1966); **ghagras** = *Aristida* sp. (Boshoff & Nienaber, 1967: 247); **n!Tka** = *Stipagrostis amabilis* (le Riche & van der Walt 1999).

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **|gâb** (= grass, Haacke & Eiseb 2002). In the Khoekhoe branch, cf. also Kora **|âb** (Du Plessis, 2019: 333), **|âp** (Haacke & Snyman, 2019: 302); in the Kalahari branch, cf. also Naro **dcâa** (Visser, 2000: 16). In the Nguni cluster, cf. also **ingca** in isiXhosa (Tshabe, Shoba, *et al.* 1996); in other NTU languages, cf. also **moqha** in seTswana (= 'swamp savanna grass', explicitly identified as a loan in a list of 'nonseTswana forms' at Cole, 1996: 287).

Although the origins and broad diffusion of such items are patent, there has been no effort since Boshoff & Nienaber 1967 to compile these data into a single reference work that adheres to the contemporary orthographic standards accepted for the Khoekhoe branch. In order to exemplify the simplicity of sourcing such items, this section compiles ten well-established and fairly straightforward etymologies of Khoekhoe-branch plant names loaned into Afrikaans or South African English. All have previously been identified. Most are sourced from Smith 1996, meaning that the precise temporal point of their entry into Afrikaans is difficult to establish, and their currency impossible to assess.

gabbabos = *Catophractes alexandri* (Smith 1966)

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **!gàwàs** = *Catophractes alexandri* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

noenieboom = *Boscia albitrunca* (Marloth 1917; Smith 1966)

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **!hunib** = *Boscia albitrunca* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991); cf. also Kora **|honeb** (Du Plessis 2019: 370), Xri **!'hunip** (Haacke & Snyman 2019: 316).

dabbieboom = *Tamarix usneoides* (Marloth 1917; Smith 1966; Boshoff & Nienaber 1967)

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **dàwīb** = *Tamarix usneoides* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

anaboom = *Faidherbia albida* (Marloth 1917; Smith 1966; Boshoff & Nienaber 1967; Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991)

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **ànáhàis** = *Faidherbia albida* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

ghobos = *Vachellia hebeclada* (Smith 1966; Boshoff & Nienaber 1967)

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **!gòòs** = *Vachellia hebeclada* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

g(h)noibos = *Senegalia mellifera* subsp. *detinens* (Wiman 1954)

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **!nòès** = *Senegalia mellifera* subsp. *detinens* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991). cf. also Kora **!noeb** = ‘thorn tree closely resembling the blackthorn’ (Du Plessis, 2019: 372); Xri **!noes** = ‘black thorn’ (Haacke & Snyman, 2019: 293).

khoebboom = *Vachellia karroo* (Smith 1966)

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **!kùús** (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

t’kaambessie = *Pappaea capensis* (Marloth 1917; Smith 1966)

This species is regularly the *hartebeestbessie* (‘hartebeest berry’), a reference to *Alcelaphus buselaphus*; the loan **t’kaam** is therefore accepted as having originated ex Namibian Khoekhoe **!khamab** = *Alcelaphus buselaphus* (Smith 1966: 462; Boshoff & Nienaber 1967: 316 – 317).

haarwortel = *Kedrostis* spp. (Nienaber 1963; Smith 1966)

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **|hāb** = a species of edible wild tuber (Kroenlein, 1889: 155); **|hāb** = *Kedrostis punctulata* (Nienaber, 1963: 293 – 294); **|hààb** = *Coccinia sessilifolia* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

goreebos = *Aloe ferox* (Smith 1966); **bont-o'-t'korrie** = *Aloe melanacantha* (Le Roux 1981)

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **|lgóres** = *Aloe asperifolia*; **koreb** = *Aloe* spp. (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991); **goreb** (Nienaber & Boshoff, 1967: 265); **goreb** = *Aloe ferox* (Schultze 1907: 168). *cf.* also the second element in Kora **kx'au korab** for “a plant resembling the agave and very bitter to the taste” (Engelbrecht 1936: 162), and Xri-**korap** in compound names for *Aloe* spp. (see further Section 3.2.2. below). In the Kalahari branch, *cf.* also the cognate item **nloru** for *Aloe zebrina* (Barnard 1985).

No publication has ever compiled these derivations into a single glossary dedicated to loaned plant names. This means that, even though their targets are effectively obvious, and orthographic protocols for their transcription are easily accessible, ethnobotanical researchers continue to record these items using *ad hoc* orthographies that stymie further phonological research.

3.2.2. Twenty-Five New Solutions

This section presents a miniature glossary of loanwords together with their suggested targets, and briefly discusses the motivations for each solution. The use of *ex* signifies that I consider an etymology certain, usually because of a direct correspondence between Linnaean species or genera; the use of *cf.* signifies that the etymology is a suggestion only, usually because it would involve a semantic extension of the target's recorded Linnaean referent. Items are arranged in descending order of certainty, beginning with easy solves and progressing slowly toward more complex examples.

It should be noted that phonological assessments of potential sound changes or adoptive loan strategies are only as good as their sources. In the case of a confused lexicographical record, in which multiple different authors have deployed multiple idiosyncratic orthographies over the span of a century, it becomes impossible to establish a comprehensive list of adoptive strategies. Wherever possible, these solutions do attempt to comment on phonological strategies apparent in the lexicographical record; however, given the lack of workable data, these strategies should be considered preliminary observations only.

nautsi amma = *Mesembryanthemum edule*, *M. acinaciforme* (Laidler 1928); **t'noutsiamma** *Cheiridopsis denticulata* (Le Roux 1981); **ontsiamma** Links 1989; **t'noutsie-amma** (Powrie 2004); **outsiamma** (Babylonstoren 2017).

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **#haũtsiamma** = *Mesembryanthemum ebracteatum*. “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 (**#haũ**) while eating sweets. This produces a sort of “sap beard” about the mouth (**ams**). As a result, these succulent *Mesembrianthemum* species are called **#haũtsiamma**.” (Schultze, 1907: 83)¹⁴

t'iena = *Montinia caryophyllacea* Le Roux 1981; **tkeina** = “peperbos” Links 1989

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **#nũnàb** = *Montinia caryophyllacea* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

t'koeibee = *Grielum humifusum* Le Roux 1981; **!oeibie** = *Grielum humifusum* Coetzee 2010

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **!khuib** = *Grielum humifusum* (Schultze 1907: 195; Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

!oei = *Ficus cordata* Archer 1994

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **!uis** = *Ficus ilicina*, **!huis** = *Ficus thonningii* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

ghobba = *Hoodia* spp. (Archer 1994, *ubiq*).

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **!kxobab** = ‘thorn-covered succulent’ (Schultze, 1907: 202), **!khòbàb** = *Hoodia currori* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

kaboom = *Vachellia haematoxylon* Smith 1966; **!xha** = *Parkinsonia africana* Archer 1994; **t'ghaboom** = *Parkinsonia africana* Powrie 2004

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **!khâás** = *Parkinsonia africana* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

namabessie = *Searsia dentata* Smith 1966; **t'narra** = *Searsia undulata* Le Roux 1981; **t'garra** = *Searsia undulata* Powrie 2004; **!garra**, **gnarra**, **njarrabessie** = *Searsia undulata* Coetzee 2010; **t'ârra** = *Searsia burchellii* Nortje & Van Wyk 2015.

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **|garas** = *Searsia lancea* (Schultze 1907: 144), **|garab** = fruit of *Searsia lancea* (Schultze 1907: 345).

komaan = *Ficus capensis* Smith 1966

ex Namibian Khoekhoe = **|nòmas** = *wilde Feige* (Schultze 1907: 200), **!nòmás** = *Ficus sycomorus* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

¹⁴ “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 (**#haũ**) ein „Musbrat“ um den Mund (**ams**). Daher werden dieser saftigen *Mesembrianthemum*-Arten ... **#haũtsiamma** genannt.”

t'kaa = *Ficus natalensis* Smith 1966; **gha** = *Ficus ilicifolia* (B&N 1967)

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **lgaus** = *Ficus ilicina* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991). *cf.* also isiXhosa **umngxam** (Cocks & Dold 1999), itself likely a loan of a cognate item from a more easterly Khoekhoe-branch language.

kaniedoring = *Acacia nebrownii* (Smith 1966)

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **|khánús** *Acacia nebrownii* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

n'oubessie = *Grewia flava* (le Riche & van der Walt 1999)

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **#âús** = *Grewia flava*, *Grewia* sp. (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991). *cf.* also Kora **#aub** = 'raisinberry bush' (Du Plessis, 2019: 373); Xri **#'âun** = *Grewia* sp. (Haacke & Snyman 2019).

gnom = *Pelargonium crithmifolium* (Powrie 2004)

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **llhums** = *Pelargonium crithmifolium* (Schultze 1907: 202).

gonna = 'a collective name of several species of Thymelaceae, e.g. species of *Passerina* and *Struthiola*' (Smith 1966) **t'korbos** = *Gnidia deserticola* (Shearing & Van Heerden 1994).

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **#khónáb**, **#khànàb** = *Gnidia polycephala* (Thymelaceae) (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

heigras = *Aristidia junciformis*, **heiriet** = *Eragrostis pallens* (Leister 1967), **heigras**, **heisteekgras** = *Aristidia scabrivalvis* Boshoff & Nienaber 1967

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **|hei** = *vaal*, fallow, pale.

haboe gras = *Stipagrostis ciliata* (Smith 1966).

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **#hàwòb** = *Stipagrostis uniplumis* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

t'arra t'kooi = *Stoeberia utilis*, rooi **t'kooi** = *Stoeberia utilis*, vaal **t'kooi** = *Stoeberia beetzii* (Le Roux 1981); **tkarratkoei** = 'a species of vygie bush' (Links 1989); rooik**tooi** = *Stoeberia beetzii* var. *arborescens* (Archer 1994).

The first element **t'arra** derives ex Namibian Khoekhoe **|apa** = red. The second is likely a semantic extension *cf.* Namibian Khoekhoe **#khoes**, which is applied to the tall shrubby mesembs *Tetragona schenckii* (Mannheimer *et al.* 2008) and *T. calycina* (Mannheimer 2012).

gatagay, **da-t'kai**, **gatgaai**, **katgaai** = *Peucedanum* spp (Nienaber 1963; Boshoff & Nienaber 1967).

First recorded by Thunberg 1772 and Sparrman 1775, this item is treated by Nienaber, who explicitly notes that the latter two variants 'have come over into Afrikaans' (Nienaber 1963: 271). Discussed also at Boshoff & Nienaber 1967: 636 – 637, but not in Smith 1966, and nowhere more recently attested. I derive ex Namibian Khoekhoe **tsāya**

†gaieb = both *Peucedanum* sp. and *Grielim humifusum* in a discussion of succulent plants with hypogeal caudices (Schultze, 1907: 195), which would gloss roughly as ‘juicy leaf’.

ghwa-ghwa, quaqu = *Quaqua mammillaris*, *Quaqua* spp. (Smith 1966; Boshoff & Nienaber 1967: 258; *ubiq*); **bontghapie** = *Stultitia tapscotii* (Smith 1966); **kabietjie** = *Duvalia reclinata*; **bitterghwapie** = *Huernia longituba* (Smith 1966).

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **goab** = ‘thorn-covered succulent’ (Schultze 1907: 202), **gòái** = *Hoodia officinalis* (Haacke, Eiseb, Giess 1991). These items all constitute variations on a series of names for small carrion flowers in the family Apocynaceae; only **ghwaghwa** remains in ubiquitous use. The loan has passed into Linnaean usage as the genus name *Quaqua*, which Clarke & Charters erroneously derive either from a supposed Nama word **kam-qua-qua**, in an incorrect orthography and unsourced, or from the Latin adverb *quaqua*, ‘wherever’, which bears no relation to the genus name whatsoever (Clarke & Charters, 2016: 285). Boshoff & Nienaber had previously suggested that **ghwa-ghwa** and its variants may in fact be a reduplication of **gòái**, recorded for the larger carrion flower genus *Hoodia* sp., which likewise passed into Afrikaans as **ghaap** or **guaap** (Boshoff & Nienaber, 1967: 258); I would reinstate this as the correct derivation *contra* Clarke & Charters 2016.

!ganube, kalouwep = *Diospyros ramulosa* Smith 1966; **t’koeoebe** = *Diospyros ramulosa* Le Roux 1981; **tkounebie** = “a species of bush very abundant in this region” Links 1989; **!kanobe** = *Diospyros ramulosa* Archer 1994; **!khunube** = *Diospyros ramulosa*, **t’hoenibee** = “various wild berries” Coetzee 2010.

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **khúrúbèb** = *Searsia marlothii* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991). While *Diospyros ramulosa* (Ebenaceae) and *Searsia marlothii* (Anacardaceae) belong to different families, both are medium-sized shrubs which yield edible red berries, making a semantic extension highly probable.

kamiemie *Albuca canadensis* (Le Roux 1981); **!hamibieb** *Albuca canadensis* (Archer 1994); **!hamibib** *Bulbine praemorsa* (Coetzee 2010).

ex Kora **lxonabeb** ~ **!konabab** for a geophytic plant which grew under bushes and yielded a sticky resin used in the production of *sáb* (Engelbrecht, 1936: 107; Du Plessis 2019: 370).

kamberoe = *Fockea angustifolia* (Marloth 1917); **kambroo, kamerup, etc.** = *Fockea edulis* (Smith 1966); **kambro, kambero, kammarioe, etc.** = *Fockea* spp. (Boshoff & Nienaber 1967: 327); **kambroo** = *Fockea sinuata* (Powrie, 2004: 41).

A highly variable loan which remains in productive usage, both alone and in a number of compound names, and which has inspired contentious etymological debate. Referencing the well-attested application of the less-toxic species of *Fockea* as water-roots, Nienaber notes a possible connection with Namibian Khoekhoe **!gammi** ‘water’ (Nienaber 1963: 494). I suggest a more straightforward derivation *ex* **!gamarib** (Schultze 1907: 196), used of a plant termed also **!habab** in the same sentence; *Fockea edulis* is in modern Namibian Khoekhoe **!hawab** or **!hapab** (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991), and Schultze’s description of ‘a smooth, carrotlike, underground section, and thin, narrow, 3cm-long, crinkled leaves’ is exact. To **!gamarib** for *Fockea edulis* I would further compare the old Nama item **camarebi**, recorded very early for *Fockea* sp. (Van der Stel 1685), and **P/gameroo** for ‘a whitish tuber with flat green leaves’ (Laidler 1928).

P/nkaou = *Agathosma betulina* (Laidler 1928); **t’nou, t’kau** = *Elytropappus rhinocerotis* (Nortje & van Wyk 2015), vaal-**t’knou**, berg-**t’knou** = *Stoebe plumosa* (Nortje & van Wyk 2015).

Laidler 1928 says of **P/nkaou** that it is “considered by the [Khoekhoe]^H to possess great virtues in curing disorders.” Nortje & van Wyk 2015 describe the medical applications of *E. rhinocerotis* in treating a number of ailments, including influenza, muscle aches, and chilblains, and of *S. plumosa* in treating backache, pain, and children’s ailments. All three would therefore seem to belong to a generic taxon indicating shrubs with medical applications. Accordingly, I derive *ex* the Namibian Khoekhoe verb **!owe** “to work bark into a buchu”, and its nominal derivation **!oweb** “the buchu prepared from this bark” (Kroenlein 1889: 320; Nienaber 1963: 223); *cf.* also Kora #**õub** for an unidentified species of *taai* (Engelbrecht, 1936: 106).

t’naai-opslag = *Dimorphotheca polyptera* (Le Roux 1981)

Since the Afrikaans *opslag* typically refers, in a botanical context, to abundantly selfseeding annual or ruderal species, *cf.* Namibian Khoekhoe **llhai** = “to sprout”, “to germinate”; Xri **llhai** ‘to bud (of tree)’ (Haacke & Snyman 2019: 294).

ghoesghoeroe = *Kniphofia uvaria* (Van der Merwe 2010)

This item is hapax. *Kniphofia uvaria* is a tall rhizomatous member of the aloe family Asphodelaceae, notable for its abundance of long, broad, strong leaves. *cf.* Kora **!gūbguru** “reed sp., strong, favoured for basket-making” (Engelbrecht 1928; Du Plessis 2019: 310). Positing the historical Kora existence of cognates with the following Nama items, a putative compound target comprising **!gūb** [= skirt, cloth (Haacke & Eiseb 2002)] + **|khúrúb** [= several species in the grass family Poaceae, including *Aristida* sp. and *Schmidtia* p. (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991; Mannheimer 2012) would gloss as **kleideriet* or **clothesgrass*.

kamso = *Cotula multifida* (Watt & Breyer-Brandwijk 1932); **t’kamso** = *Cotula multifida* (Smith 1966); **gansogies** = *Cotula* sp. (Smith 1966)

cf. Namibian Khoekhoe **|games**. The compound term **|gige |games** is a ‘collective name for plants with edible flowers’ (Kroenlein, 1889: 108), which definition is further clarified by Schultze’s observation that ‘a number of [Asteraceae] are grouped together under the collective name **|gī-gye |games**’ (Schultze 1907: 202). With **|game-** also applied to *Geigeria ornativa* (Mannheimer 2012) less its inflectional suffix, **|games** emerges as a generic taxon applied to small prostrate herbs in the daisy family Asteraceae. I would subsequently suggest comparing Kora **|gommi** = *Cotula turbinata* (Du Plessis 2019: 369). It is possible that the Afrikaans name **gansogies** (= ‘goose eyes’) may constitute semantic reanalysis, but this cannot be demonstrated.

3.3. Three Etymological Puzzles

By way of further exemplifying the process of etymological retrieval, this section presents three more challenging puzzles. The first illustrates the potential for phonemic collapse to result in widespread conflation and misapplication of certain plant names, thus distorting the underlying taxonomy that governed the target items and contributing to the misconception that non-Linnaean taxonomies are obligatorily disorderly. The second exemplifies semantic reanalysis, while also discussing the usefulness of phytochemistry in arguing for an etymology. The third shows that a strong familiarity with ethnobotanical practice and indigenous knowledge is crucial in solving the etymology of a loanword, since many plant names in the Khoekhoe branch were historically centred on their everyday usage.

3.3.1. Phonemic Collapse & Semantic Conflation: The Case of Karee

As discussed in Section 2.1.3., the use of the Namaqualand Afrikaans loan **tkam** with three distinct semantic applications (Links 1989) provides a strong example of phonemic collapse. A similar example is provided by a series of plantnames that would, at first glance, appear to be variations on **karee**, a common Afrikaans plant name applied to two genera of shrubs that has long been identified as a loanword. Smith 1966 argues that the original target of **karee**, ostensibly a Khoekhoe-branch item, applies to both *Searsia* and *Lycium*, but that **karee** underwent contraction via syncope, yielding **krie**.

karee. A name originally derived from Karoo and also heard in such variants as **kir(r)ie**, **kree**, **krie**. In these forms, but principally as **karee**, found in the vernacular names of plants which were first observed in the Karoo, usually species of [*Searsia*] and [*Lycium*].

kareeboom. A name applied somewhat loosely to several species of [*Searsia*], first recorded as **careboom** in the journal of Plettenberg's tour in 1778. Today it is more commonly restricted to [*Searsia lancea*]. ... The vernacular name which is apparently derived from the [Khoekhoe]^H was first applied to [*S.*] *lancea* and so recorded by Zeyher (c. 1980) in Griqualand....

Smith, 1966: 279

krie-. A common contraction by phonetic abrasion of **karee-**.

kriedoring. Another rendering, or contraction of **kareedoring**, and confined to almost all species of *Lycium*.

Smith 1966: 312

I argue instead that **karee** = *Searsia* spp. and **krie** = *Lycium* spp. are loans of two wholly distinct targets. The genus *Searsia* occurs in the cashew family Anacardiaceae of the order Sapindales, while the genus *Lycium* occurs in the nightshade family Solanaceae of the order Solanales, meaning that these two genera are not closely related. Importantly, *Searsia* has been frequently noted as an important berry-bush and foodsource, and is never thorny, while the 23 South African species of *Lycium* all bear long woody thorns (see further Venter & Venter 2002: 161). Given the regularity with which **kriedoring** (= ‘**krie** thorn’) is applied to *Lycium*, and never to *Searsia*, I would consider scrutinising the existing record of Namibian Khoekhoe plant names for separate targets.

As it happens, both names for species of *Lycium* currently on record contain the lexeme **!laris** (Schultze 1907: 65; (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991). While neither record tones, both demonstrate that the target originally contained a prenasalised ejective lateral click, and took the nominative feminine singular ending –s. By contrast, the Namibian Khoekhoe term for *Searsia lancea* is **!àréb** (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991), which hosts a prenasalised ejective alveolar click, a rising tone melody, and the nominative masculine singular ending –b.¹⁵ Compare also the Kora item **!xareb** for ‘kareeboom’ (Du Plessis, 2019: 371), and the Xri items **!'are** and **!x'are** for [*Searsia lancea*] (Haacke & Snyman, 2019: 305). These two genera, then, historically carried completely distinct names.

However, on being borrowed into Afrikaans, both items lost a significant degree of phonological and grammatical information. Since Afrikaans does not mark either case or grammatical gender in the morphology, both items lost their inflectional endings in an instance of morphological simplification. Afrikaans does not support phonemic tone, and so both items lost their contrastive tone melodies. Finally, both items also underwent click deletion, and the lateral click and the alveolar click were replaced by the same phoneme, the voiceless velar stop /k/. Following this extreme loss of phonemic contrastivity, the two historically distinct targets **!laris** = *Lycium* sp. and **!àréb** = *Searsia* sp. items underwent semantic conflation, and were reanalysed as the same lexical item, **karee**.

A further complication arises from the ubiquity of the term **t'narra**. This form may stand alone, or it may serve as a prefix, but always refers to *Searsia* sp. Note that the click is deleted in Smith

¹⁵ The same name is encountered in Kora as **!gareb** ~ **!xareb**, likewise for a berry bush (Du Plessis, 2019: 371).

1966, but that, in later authors who carry out regionalised research within Namaqualand and the Succulent Karoo, a click is preserved.

LOANED NAMES FOR <i>SEARSIA</i> SP.		
LOAN	REFERENT	SOURCE
namabessie	<i>Searsia dentata</i>	Smith 1966
t'narra	<i>Searsia undulata</i>	Le Roux 1981
t'garra	<i>Searsia undulata</i>	Powrie 2004
t'arra	<i>Searsia burchelli</i>	Nortje & van Wyk 2015
!garra, gnarra, njarrabessie	<i>Searsia</i> spp.	Coetzee 2010

Table 19: Loaned Names for *Searsia* sp.

Having established **!àréb** as the target of **karee**, one might assume this to be the target also of **t'narra**. However, I observe that this form is never recorded prefixed to –bos (= ‘bush’), only –bessie (= ‘berry’). As such, I would suggest comparing **|gàra-**, which is recorded as a Namaqualand term both in the feminine, as **|gàras-Baum**, for [*Searsia*] *lancea* itself (Schultze, 1907: 144), and in the masculine, as **|gàrab**, for ‘the berrylike fruits of [*Searsia*] *lancea*’ (Schultze 1907: 345).¹⁶

In addition to having been conflated with each other, the historically distinct names **kareebos**, **kriedoring**, and **t'narrabessie** have undergone further confusion with a series of names applied to plants traditionally used as fermentation agents by a number of indigenous southern African speech communities.

kareemoer. A name applied to several species of which portions were used as a ferment or yeast (Afr.: moer) in the making of honeybeer. ...The “karee” part of the vernacular name is the original [Khoekhoe]^H and is said to mean “honey beer”.

Smith, 1966: 280

Smith goes on to identify a diverse array of plants that serve as ‘moerwortels’ or fermentation agents in the brewing of honey beer, including *Trichodiadema stellatum* (a small succulent mesemb in Aizoaceae), *Euphorbia decussata* (a glaucous, much-branched succulent shrub in

¹⁶ This element would also seem to occur in Kora. Consider **|gararakua**, for ‘general term for berries (edible)’; the suffix –**kua** is the common-gendered plural, usually glossing with a sense of ‘stuff, things, good’. In t'au**|gananab**, for ‘bushy sp., bears bunches of berries’ (Du Plessis, 2019: 373), the specifying element t'**aub** ‘raisinberry bush’, is cognate with Namibian Khoekhoe t'**âús** = *Grewia flava*, *Grewia* spp. (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991), Xri t'**âun** = *Grewia* sp. (Haacke & Snyman 2019).

Euphorbiaceae), and two species of *Anacampseros* (dwarf succulents, typically covered in distinctive leaf scales, in *Anacampserotaceae*). This suggests that the application of the specifier **karee**- is predicated on use, rather than on genetic relatedness. This item straightforwardly targets the Namibian Khoekhoe word **!kharib** = ‘honeybeer’ (Haacke & Eiseb 2002).¹⁷

Smith himself does not conflate **karee** in its sense of “honey beer” with **karee** in its sense of *Searsia* sp., or with **krie** in its sense of *Lycium* sp. However, several subsequent authors do. Coetzee, for example, derives the loan **!ari** for *Lycium ferocissimum* from **!kharib** because of ‘its ability to ferment honey beer known as **!kharri-i**’ (Coetzee, 2015: 104). PlantZAfrica follows Jackson 1990 in claiming that the loan **karee** for *Searsia lancea* “is said to be the original Khoi word for mead” (Stern, 2008). The sign pictured below remains on display in the Stellenbosch University Botanical Gardens as of November 2019, effectively perpetuating linguistic misinformation.



Figure 5: Stellenbosch University Botanical Gardens incorrectly etymologising ‘karee’. Four Khoekhoe-branch lexical items, **laris** (= *Lycium* sp.), **!aré** (= *Searsia* sp.), **!gàrab** (= berries of *Searsia* sp.), and **!kharib** (= beer), have thus undergone semantic conflation following their loan into Afrikaans. This is the result primarily of the deletion of phonological features that Afrikaans does not support, particularly phonemic tone and phonemic click consonants. In other words, the collapse of phonemic contrastivity has resulted in the loss of semantic contrastivity.

¹⁷ Within the Khoekhoe branch of the KHOE family, cf. also Kora **!xaris** = ‘honeybeer’, Xri **!xarip** = ‘honeybeer’ (Haacke & Snyman, 2019: 304), and, within the Kalahari branch, cf. also Naro **qgari**, where ‘qg’ indicates the affricate alveolar click [t͡ʃ] (Visser, 2000: 128).

3.3.2. Semantic Reanalysis – Old & Bitter

The loss of phonemic contrastivity during borrowing may give rise to both semantic conflation and semantic reanalysis. As demonstrated above in 3.3.1., semantic conflation does not disguise the status of the item as a loanword, but simply incorporates multiple historically distinct targets into one loan. Semantic reanalysis, however, does not only strip targets of their historical contrastivity, but also frequently erases any trace of borrowing whatsoever. In the absence of a detailed written record, semantic reanalysis can be difficult to detect. As discussed above in Section 3.2.2., the lay Afrikaans name **gansogies** (= goose eyes) for *Cotula turbinata* may well constitute semantic reanalysis of an ostensible loan **t’kamso** for *Cotula turbinata*, but this is impossible to demonstrate. This section offers an example of how semantic reanalysis can be demonstrated, both through linguistic comparison, but also through the assessment of pragmatics – in this case, phytochemistry.

Several lay Afrikaans plant names begin with **ou-**. Of these, many transparently carry the expected Afrikaans sense of ‘old’. For example, the name **ouman-en-sy-baard**, applied to several species of *Disa* within the family Orchidaceae, transparently references the similarity of the “lacerate or greatly dissected [labellum] resembling a bushy beard” common to genus *Disa* section *trichochila* (Liltved & Johnson, 2012: 493) to the long unkempt beard of an old man (see Figure 6 below). Smith tells us that the **ouhout**, *Halleria lucida*, is so called because of “the usually crooked branches which may suggest an aged appearance”, while the **oudoring**, *Acacia robusta*, has a “blackish and decayed appearance” (Smith, 1966: 359). Regardless of whether or not these speculative associations adequately capture the historical semantic reality, the generic referents are semantically transparent; *-hout* refers to a tree, while *-doring* refers to a thorn tree. The primary lexemes, in other words, are transparently Afrikaans in origin.



Figure 6: The beardlike labellum of *Disa hians*

However, a number of items prefixed **ou-** in Smith are less semantically transparent.

ouheip. *Adenium oleifolium*. A succulent shrub. ... An ointment made from the plant is used as an antidote for snake-bite and scorpion stings by the Kalahari natives, among whom the vernacular name is current.

oukoe. *Cotyledon racemosa* [= *Tylecodon hallii*]. ...The species appears to be the only one of the genus which has, so far, not been incriminated as a cause of krimpsiekte. The vernacular name is apparently of [Khoekhoe]^H origin.

oukoei. *Caralluma racemosa* [= *Quaqua racemosa*.]

ouram. *Caralluma pillansii* [= *Quaqua pillansii*]¹⁸

Smith, 1966: 357 – 358

While **oukoei** and **ouram** are semantically transparent within Afrikaans, glossing as ‘old cow’ and ‘old ram’ respectively, neither **–heip** nor **–koe** is transparently an Afrikaans lexeme. This may be the result simply of regional phonological variations on Afrikaans items (**koe**, for example, may be a monophthongisation of **koei**), or it may be the result of borrowing. Considering that two of these opaque items refer to species of *Quaqua*, assessing additional common names for this genus is a logical starting point for further comparison.

A recent botanical article reviewing the genus *Quaqua* listed both **aroena** and **ouroena** as lay Afrikaans names for several species (Nagel 2015). In personal communication, the author confirmed to me that he heard both in productive contemporary usage while conducting research in the Namaqualand region.

The names “aroena” and “ouroena” were given to me by local farmers and shepherds, and they seem to be generally well known in the districts that *Q. armata* occurs. I have also heard it used for other *Q.* species, such as *Q. mammillaris*, and *Q. maritima*.

Nagel, Feb 2017, *pers. comm.*

Smith 1966 records **aroena** for “succulent species of [*Quaqua*] with erect spiny branches”, and says that the name is “derived from the [Khoekhoe]^H”. Le Roux 1981 likewise uses **aroena** of four species of *Quaqua* (Le Roux 1981: 344 – 345) while van Wyk Nortje 2015 use **auroena** of *Quaqua mammillaris* (Nortje & Van Wyk, 2015: 210). All variants of this item are entirely semantically opaque in Afrikaans, and as such are likely loanwords. Given the understanding that

¹⁸ All South African species previously belonging to the genus *Caralluma* have been moved into the genus *Quaqua*; see further Bruyns 1999.

both Afrikaans and Namibian Khoekhoe employ head-last compounds, and that **ou-** seems productively prefixed to at least two other semantically opaque stems, it is reasonable to assume that **ou ~ au ~ a** is a specifying secondary lexeme, while **–roena** is the primary lexeme indicating a generic taxon.

The genus *Quaqua* has been extensively studied in recent ethnobotanical research. A member of the dogbane family Apocynaceae, it is closely related to the genus *Hoodia*, now well-known as the subject of pharmaceutical biopiracy (see Amusan 2017 for a review of the available literature), as well as to the genera *Stapelia*, *Orbea*, and *Huernia*. All of these genera are stem succulents and bear distinctive five-lobed gamosepalous flowers that emit a smell of rotting flesh; as the genera can be difficult to tell apart, they are typically lumped into the lay taxon ‘carrion flowers’. In terms of their phytochemistry, plants in Apocynaceae typically contain cardiac glycosides, a series of chemical compounds which taste extremely bitter; some genera, like *Acokanthera* and *Adenium*, contain lethally toxic glycosides termed cardenolides, which have historically been used as arrow poisons throughout Africa (Morsy, 2016: 32). This context provides a connection with the item **ouheip**, listed by Smith for *Adenium boehmiannum*, which plant is well-documented to have served as a source of poison throughout Namaqualand and the Kalahari (see especially Van Wyk, Van Heerden, Van Oudtshoorn, 2002: 38 – 39), and which, like *Quaqua*, is in the dogbane family Apocynaceae. The direct gloss of **ouheip**, properly **auhaip** in the formal Namibian Khoekhoe orthography, is “bitterplant”.

This suggests that **ou-**, at least in certain Afrikaans plant names, may in fact be a loan of the Namibian Khoekhoe **au**, “bitter”. Further comparison reveals that **au-** may be used productively as a specifier in at least two compound Namibian Khoekhoe plant names – **aulgōrēb** or **aukoreb**, for *Aloe* spp., and **ausitsamma**, for *Citrullus ecirrhosus*, the bitter melon. Also worth comparing is the Kora item **kx'au korab** for “a plant resembling the agave and very bitter to the taste” (Engelbrecht 1936: 162). The particular bitterness associated with species in *Aloe*, as well as in such closely-related and phytomorphologically similar genera as *Gasteria*, derives from the chemical compound barbaloin; this makes **oukossie** an easy loan of **aulgōrēb**. The **ausitsamma**, *Citrullus ecirrhosus*, belongs to the notoriously tangled genus of cucurbits from which the modern watermelon was domesticated, and which demonstrates high variability in terms of bitterness; when present, the taste is attributable to a complex group of compounds called cucurbitacins. In other words, all of these plants have been demonstrated to contain chemical compounds noted for their bitter taste.

OU = BITTER			
BITTER MELON			
ausitsamma	<i>Citrullus ecirrhosus</i>	Cucurbitaceae	Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991
BITTER ALOE			
au gǒrēb, aukoreb	<i>Aloe sp.</i>	Asphodelaceae	Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991
kx'au korab	<i>Aloe sp.</i>	Asphodelaceae	Engelbrecht 1936
bont-o-t'korrie	<i>Aloe melanacantha</i>	Asphodelaceae	Le Roux 1981
oukossie	<i>Gasteria disticha</i>	Asphodelaceae	
BITTER DOGBANE			
ouheip	<i>Adenium boehmianum</i>	Apocynaceae	Smith 1966
oukoei	<i>Quaqua racemosa</i>	Apocynaceae	Smith 1966
ouram	<i>Quaqua pillansii</i>	Apocynaceae	Smith 1966
aroena	<i>Quaqua mammillaris, Quaqua spp.</i>	Apocynaceae	Le Roux 1981
calong	<i>Stapelia olivacea</i>	Apocynaceae	van Wyk 2009
kaloenga	<i>Quaqua mammillaris, Quaqua spp.</i>	Apocynaceae	de Beer 2012
auroena	<i>Quaqua mammillaris</i>	Apocynaceae	Nortje & Van Wyk 2015
ouroena	<i>Quaqua armata, Quaqua spp.</i>	Apocynaceae	Nagel 2015
BITTER STONECROP			
hobeep	<i>Cotyledon orbiculata</i>	Crassulaceae	vd Stel 1685
kouterie	<i>Cotyledon orbiculata</i>	Crassulaceae	Smith 1966
oukoe	<i>Tylecodon hallii</i>	Crassulaceae	Smith 1966

Table 20: Ou = Bitter

The earliest apparent record of a Nama plant name including **au-** is Van der Stel's 1685 item **hobeep**; the accompanying watercolour made identification as *Cotyledon orbiculata* easy for a number of authorities, including Smith 1966: 248.

Dit is een soort van *Sedum* bij de Namaquaas **hobeep** genaamt word an der selver strand in lage steenagtige en sandige plaatsen gevonden.

It is a kind of *Sedum*, called **hobeep** by the Namaquaas, and found near the coast in low, stony, and sandy places.

Van der Stel, 1685: 858
 Burmann 1738, working from both Van der Stel 1685 (as edited by Waterhouse 1979) and Witsen (as edited by Wilson, & Rijssen 2002), seems to have misread **hobeep** as **kebeep**, which spelling Smith 1966 perpetuates.¹⁹

¹⁹ For the complex manuscript history of Van der Stel 1685, Witsen 1692, Commelijn 1701, and Burmann 1738, and for a fuller exploration of which authorities had access to which copies, see Waterhouse, 1979: 12 – 17, and Skead, 2009: 32 – 39.

Cotyledon Africana, teretifolia, flore pulcherrimo ... quae juxta Codicem Witsenianum in locis declivis, saxosis, arenosisque crescit maxime ad litus maris, vocaturque ab incolis **Kebeeb**.

Cotyledon Africana, with rounded leaves and a very beautiful flower. ...According to the *Witsen Codex*, it grows on lowlying rocky and sandy places, often close to the seashore, and is named **kebeeb** by the inhabitants.

Burmman, 1738: 43

Burmman's Latin description of a *Cotyledon* sp. is an almost direct translation of Van der Stel's Dutch, and his illustration leaves no doubt that he intended the same plant as Van der Stel. Striking his error, Van der Stel's **hoheep** is best read as an early effort to transcribe **ouheip**, suggesting that 'bitterplant' originally enjoyed a broader set of semantic referents that has since narrowed only to the *Adenium boehmiannum*.

This observation allows for further explication of Smith's item **oukoe** for *Tylecodon hallii*, which, like *Cotyledon orbiculata*, belongs to the stonecrop family Crassulaceae. In addition to cardiac glycosides similar to those found in Apocynaceae, the genera *Cotyledon* and *Tylecodon* also contain bufadienolides, and cumulative or chronic consumption of plants in both these genera may prove both cardiotoxic and neurotoxic (Kellerman, Coetzer, Naudé, et al., 2006). These genera have historically been implicated in the development of lethally paralytic *krimpsiekte* in small stock, especially in goats and sheep, throughout the Karoo region (Botha 2013), to the extent that species in *Tylecodon* are ubiquitously referred to as *krimpsiektebossies*. Given the application of **ou-** as specifier to both the *Adenium boehmiannum*, a notable source of poison, and to *Tylecodon* and *Cotyledon*, both deadly to small stock, it is possible also to propose a slight semantic extension that would associate bitterness with toxicity in certain plant species.

Comparative reconstruction of an underlying phytochemical commonality has allowed for the demonstration that the Afrikaans morpheme **ou-**, today glossed as 'old' in numerous plant names, was historically a loan of the Namibian Khoekhoe **au**, signifying 'bitter', and that it served as a secondary lexeme, or specifier, narrowing the sense of several generic taxa.²⁰ However, the generic elements of several of these names remain unsolved, including **-terie** as applied to *Cotyledon orbiculata*, **-koe** as applied to *Tylecodon hallii*, and **koei ~ roena ~loenga ~long** as applied to *Quaqua* sp and *Stapelia olivacea*. Given the lack of comparative data for **-terie** and **-koe**, any effort to reconstruct their historical semantic referent would be hazardous. However,

²⁰ The variant **kou-** observed in **kouterie ~ koolterie** may well have targeted the Kora cognate **kx'au** 'bitter'.

ouroena has been so widely recorded, and has undergone so many regional variations, that an attempt at reconstructing the underlying sense of **–roena** is possible.

The regular distribution of the **koei ~ roena ~ loenga ~ long** series as a generic item specified by **ou-** demonstrate that it must, historically, have signified a taxon roughly approximating ‘succulent carrion flower’. Archer records the item **gunu** for *Orbea namaquana*, a closely-related carrion flower (Archer 1994). Archer regularly uses ‘g’ to indicate the voiceless velar fricative [x], in accordance with standard Afrikaans orthography, and ‘gh’ to indicate the voiced velar stop, which suggests that **gunu** would stand for [xunu]. Given that the Afrikaans alveolar trill /r/ is typically realised as the velar approximant [u] in northern Namaqualand Afrikaans, it is possible to propose that a shift from the velar fricative [x] to the velar approximant [u] occurred during the loan process, and hence to [r] and finally [l]. Thus a final gloss on **ouroena** would read **au + gunu**, ‘particularly bitter carrion flower’.

However, it must be remembered that the transcriptions **koei ~ roena ~ loenga ~ long** are *ad hoc*, and do not bear location data, meaning that they do not constitute scientific phonological data. As a result, identifying possible sound changes, and hence attempting to reconstruct the original target, is risky and prone to error. Furthermore, Archer 1994’s orthography is so haphazard that I would prefer not to stake a solve solely on her word, and **gunu** for *Orbea namquana* is recorded nowhere else save in Coetzee 2010, who seems simply to have copied Archer’s record.

This section shows that the comparison of specific and generic taxa can be used to demonstrate the existence of semantic reanalysis, especially in combination with pragmatic reference to phytochemistry. However, while the Namibian Khoekhoe word **au-**, ‘bitter’, has been conclusively shown to have been reanalysed as Afrikaans **ou-**, ‘old’, as a specifying element in a number of Namaqualand plant names, these names cannot be glossed in their entirety given a lack of comparative material and inadequate phonological data.

3.3.3. A Use-Based Taxonomy: From ‡*gûb* into *gom*

As shown in Section 3.3.2., the existence of a specifying item referring to a plant’s bitterness or toxicity suggests the historical existence of an underlying organisational system that specified generic taxa through reference to their palatability. This section discusses an instance of a

loanword that historically served to specify plants in usefulness, but that have since lost its semantic transparency, and hence its taxonomic function.

LOANED NAMES FOR RESINIFEROUS ASTERIDS			
d/goonu	resin from <i>Euryops</i> spp.		Laidler 1928
ghoembos	<i>Felicia filifolius</i>	Asteraceae	Smith 1966
numbossie	<i>Felicia filifolius</i>	Asteraceae	Smith 1966
noembos	“ <i>Aster</i> spp.”	Asteraceae	Boshoff & Nienaber 1967
gombos	<i>Pteronia</i> spp.	Asteraceae	Moriarty 1982, van der Merwe 2010
ghombos	<i>Pteronia</i> spp.	Asteraceae	Powrie 2004
gommabos	<i>Pteronia inflexa</i>	Asteraceae	Powrie 2004
beesghombossie	<i>Osteospermum muricatum</i>	Asteraceae	Powrie 2004
†gûb	“eine <i>Othonna</i> -Art”	Asteraceae	Schultze 1907

Table 21: Loaned Names for Resiniferous Asterids

A process of comparison narrowed all of the applications of **ghoem** down to a series of common denominators, suggesting that it must originally have carried a sense of “tall shrubs in Asteraceae that yield resin”.²¹ While it is entirely possible that this item underwent semantic reanalysis, and was assessed as Afrikaans *gom* (= ‘gum’, ‘glue’) + *bos*, no commentators explicitly note this. Furthermore, only two instances actually make use of the form *gom*, all others regularly either use **gh-** to indicate the voiced velar stop, substitute a nasal, suggest the historical existence of a click, or append **–ma**, which is not an Afrikaans morpheme and renders the item semantically opaque. The earliest of these records describes the referent in more detail, and seems to suggest that the item refers not to the tall shrubby daisies of Namaqualand, but rather to the resin that they produce.

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

At this point in time, Laidler was likely recording the lexical item as used by fluent Namaspeakers, rather than a loanword. His unfortunate orthography provides us with little in the

²¹ In discussing the variant form **noembos**, Boshoff & Nienaber erroneously suggest a comparison with **noem-noem**, a term for *Carissa macrocarpa* (Apocynaceae) now accepted to have derived from the isiXhosa and isiZulu word **amatungulu**. *Carissa macrocarpa* is a berry bush, noted for its large red fruit, and bears flat pentamerous flowers that are wholly distinct from anything in Asteraceae. Its distribution does not overlap at all with any of the asterid species termed **ghoembos**; furthermore it yields no resin, but exudes only the milky sap frequently produced by species in Apocynaceae.

way of a phonologically robust target. However, barely a decade earlier, Schultze would seem to have heard the same word. During a discussion of jewellery and cosmetics, he describes the manufacture of beads from resin –

Das gelbe Harz einer *Othonna*-Art (†gūs) 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 (†gūs) 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

This description of a resin derived from an asterid ideally fits Laidler's **D/Goonu**. I provide also two images of the woody stem of a large *Euryops* sp., photographed by myself in the Kamiesberg Pass in April 2019, clearly displaying the lumps of yellow resin Schultze describes.



Figure 7: Yellow resin exuded by *Euryops* sp. in the Kamiesberg

Kroenlein 1889 further describes †gûb as *Buchuharz*, ‘buchu resin’. Valuably, it attests a masculine form ending in –b, which is more likely to have been received **ghoem**. This entry is glossed as *Kolophonium*, a technical German term for processed rosin, and the original example sentences describe a usage similar to the process observed by Schultze.

†gûĕ †nuwi: Buchuharz formen, kneten. †gûĩ xa †nuwiba te re êsase ra †nuwi xuige: knete mir bitte Buchuharz zu Perlen, weil du sie so schön zu bilden verstehst!

†gûĕ †nuwi: *to shape or knead buchu resin.* †gûĩ xa †nuwiba te re êsase ra †nuwi xuige: *Please knead the buchu resin into pearls for me, since you know how to do it so well!*

Kroenlein, 1889: 148

This item then went on to be loaned into Afrikaans as **numbossie** (Smith, 1996: 352), ultimately giving rise to a series of hybrid compounds. While it once served to indicate that the bossie in question belonged to a specific taxon of useful, resin-yielding daisybushes, this significance was lost as the item underwent semantic bleaching. In this instance, no amount of lexicographical comparison with extant Namibian Khoekhoe plant names would have yielded a solution for the historical target of clear loanwords, as this item was never a primary lexeme signifying a generic plant taxon. Rather, it is a secondary lexeme specifying the application of a lay genus of plants. In other words, establishing an ethnobotanical context is a crucial component of the etymologising process.

3.4. Conclusion – The Limits of Lexicography

Few of the resources surveyed in this chapter offer a formal assessment of the degree to which their consultants were bilingual in Afrikaans and any dialect of Nama. This complicates efforts to assess the degree of diffusion of these items. Certain of these items may well have been collected as Nama items, used within Nama utterances, rather than embedded into Afrikaans. Assuming a high rate of bilingualism, we might speculate that these items were encountered recorded as borrowings, regularly inserted by bilingual speakers into Afrikaans discourse as *mots justes* for botanical referents. Assuming a high rate of monolingualism among consultants, it would be more fitting to identify these items as loanwords established in the Afrikaans lexicon and hence accessible even to speakers with little or no Nama.

Diachronic context resolves the question. Schultze 1907 records a number of extended Namalanguages narratives from residents of “Klein Namaland”. Laidler 1928 records entire sentences uttered by Richtersveld consultants. Le Roux 1981 observed concern among residents of Komaggas that children were not productively acquiring an ethnobotanical lexis. Links 1989 describes how the majority of his consultants, all elderly, were no longer confident in their pronunciation or translation of loaned items. Bearing in mind the extreme degree of attrition that has affected the Nama dialect or dialects spoken in the Northern Cape, researchers in the earlier half of the 20th century likely consulted bilingual speakers of a Nama dialect and Afrikaans, and

as such recorded instances of codeswitching or insertional borrowing. By the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st, researchers consulted monolingual Afrikaans-speakers who had access to dialectal Nama loans that had stabilised within the lexicon.

This aligns, firstly, with the cross-linguistic observation of rural retention of lexical archaisms, and secondly, with the model of a location-specific lexis outlined in Section 1.4. Although some items can reliably be sourced to their historical targets, a substantial number of these lexical items do not occur in standardised Namibian Khoekhoe reference materials, because their referents are endemic to the Namaqualand region and do not grow in Namibia. Following extreme language attrition, these items were preserved primarily in Namaqualand Afrikaans.

Chapter 4

Fieldwork Design & Data Collection

This chapter details the data collection segment of this project. It states the motivations underlying the data collection and reviews the method of designing and conducting fieldwork, as well as the criteria for selecting research subjects and research sites. Finally, it outlines the data capturing protocols and supplies a consolidated table of all loaned click consonants elicited.

4.1. Motivation & Aims

Chapter 2 concluded that the existing lexicographical record shows clear evidence of Khoekhoebranch loanwords in Afrikaans. In particular, ethnobotanical surveys conducted in Namaqualand over the last forty years indicate that monolingual speakers of Namaqualand Afrikaans have access to a loaned lexical set of Khoekhoe-branch plant names, many of which would ostensibly seem to retain clicks. Chapter 3 showed that the lexicographical record does not adequately enable linguistic research into these lexical items. Although certain items may be traced to their historical targets, for the most part, the etymology of these loan words remains unsalvageable. The difficulty of tracing these items' target is in large part the result of poor transcription protocols over the decades, which have stymied further linguistic analysis.

Because of the poverty of the extant data, I chose to supplement my lexicographical scrutiny with a small fieldwork component. This task aimed to elicit and capture loaned click consonants as used by monolingual speakers of Namaqualand Afrikaans. While this would facilitate preliminary analysis of the adoptive phonological strategies employed in click loan, it would also allow me to better qualify the synchronic sociolinguistic relationship between Namaqualand Afrikaans and Khoekhoe-branch dialects as spoken in South Africa, and to gain insight into the historical contact phenomena that contributed to the development of a loaned lexis of plant names.

4.2. Data Collection Methods

In designing the elicitation process, I drew heavily on the lexicographical survey conducted in Chapters 2 and 3, which identified the existence of a lexical set of loaned Khoekhoe-branch items pertaining to Namaqualand plants. As a result, I structured the data collection process around plant names. Since I wanted to gather up-to-date evidence of click loan, I aimed in particular to

replicate every plant name transcribed using a **t'**, **!**, or any other orthographic indication of a click in Le Roux 1981, Archer 1994, Powrie 2004, and Nortje & Van Wyk 2015. I did not test for the loanwords recorded in Links 1989 because I did not have access to them prior to the data collection process.

4.2.1. Stimulus Design

Crucial to consider was the ecological context in which the data collection would take place. Namaqualand is a temperate semi-desert situated in a winter rainfall region, and receives the majority of its precipitation in the form of Atlantic fog and cold fronts during winter. During the summer, it experiences extreme heat and aridity. Many Namaqualand plants are summer deciduous, and enter complete dormancy during the dry season, leaving the landscape barren. Ideally, my fieldwork would have been conducted during late winter or very early spring, when most Namaqualand plants are at the height of their growth period and in full bloom, allowing for easy location and accurate identification. This would have allowed consultants to lead me on what are locally referred to as ‘veld walks’, guided rambles popular with tourists and researchers, and to name and freely discuss plants we encountered. However, my only opportunity to collect data fell at the beginning of autumn 2019. Not only had the rainy season not yet begun, but the Cape Drought was entering its fourth year, and Namaqualand had just experienced one of its driest summers on record. I knew beforehand that the veld would not only be seasonally dormant, but also in exceptionally poor condition because of the drought, and so it would not be possible to use veld walks as an elicitation method.

Instead, I prepared workbooks featuring colour photographs of plant species for which loaned names had been previously attested. High-resolution full-colour photographs were sourced from a variety of free online sources, including the websites of scientific organisations and projects such as SANBI, PlantZAfrica, the Red Data List of South African Plants, and Operation Wildflower. User-contributed images from platforms such as iSpot, iNaturalist, and Flickr were also selected when necessary. All photographs were meticulously cross-referenced to ensure that they depicted the target genus and species. In the case of shrubs and trees, close-up shots of leaves, flowers, and fruit were included wherever possible to assist in identification. The Linnaean identity of each plant was included in large clear type at the top of each page, but no other names were provided.

Because of the high rate of floral endemism in Namaqualand, it would not be possible to use one workbook for the entirety of the region. Although certain broadly-distributed species appear in

both workbooks, other, more narrowly-distributed species appear in only one, in order to ensure that consultants could work with material featuring local plants more likely to be familiar to them. Stimulus Book A was curated to include plants from the more southerly Knersvlakte region of Namaqualand, while Stimulus Book B was curated to include plants from more northerly regions. Book B was also intended specifically for use in the Kamiesberg, and such included stimuli designed to elicit all words spelled **t'**- as listed by Nortje & van Wyk 2015. Each booklet contained between 40 and 50 photographs, as this would reasonably allow interviews to be conducted within the space of an hour. The full list of stimulus species used in each booklet is supplied in Appendix C.

4.2.2. Interview Structure

Data was collected via a series of semi-structured interviews in the Namaqualand region between 1 – 13 April 2019. All consultants were supplied with an information sheet and consent forms prior to conducting the interview, either in Afrikaans or English per their choice. The information sheet included contact details for both myself and my supervisor, as well for Rhodes University. Consultants were also free to conduct the interview in Afrikaans, English, or both. As I am fluently bilingual, I did not require the assistance of an interpreter, and so all interviews were conducted and translated by myself.

It was my priority throughout to be as transparent and informative as possible in all my dealings with my consultants. However, because I did not want to influence my consultants' responses, I did not initially specify that I hoped to record loanwords containing click consonants. The information sheet explained simply that I was conducting research into 'older, lesser-known' plant names used in Namaqualand. When discussing my interview expectations in person, I explained that I was interested in both Afrikaans and Nama names, but stressed that I wanted to elicit as much data as possible, and as such would be interested in any local names my consultant could provide. I hoped that this practice would ensure that my consultants felt comfortable volunteering names that were part of their ordinary linguistic repertoire.

Interviews took place at each consultant's home or place of work. All consultants were informed both by the written information sheets and via verbal confirmation that they could pause or completely stop the interview at any time, and were also offered the option of remaining anonymous. During the interview itself, each consultant was supplied with the stimulus book appropriate to their region, then asked to supply local names for as many of the stimulus

photographs as they could. If the photographs prompted the use of other sources such as wildflower guides, discussion of other plant names, or even general comment concerning Namaqualand flora or Namaqualand language usage, the consultants were encouraged to talk freely. I hoped that this would encourage confident plant identification and the naturalistic use of plant names.

When using Stimulus Book B, I let each consultant know prior to or immediately after the beginning of the interview that the book had been designed for elicitation work in both the Kamiesberg and the Richtersveld, and that, as such, some of the more localised plants it depicted might reasonably be unfamiliar to them. While this is true, and adequately reflects the challenges of botanising within an area hosting as high a rate of floristic endemism as Namaqualand, I also hoped to offer my consultants an easy way of saving face if confronted with plants they did not know. I did not want them to feel overwhelmed by a plethora of photographs of unknown plants, and hence to begin to doubt their own knowledge, as I feared that this would lead to their secondguessing themselves and withholding potentially valuable names, or even stopping the interview altogether. Several consultants subsequently judged, when discussing an unknown plant, that it was probably from the Richtersveld, or otherwise not local to their particular region.

Three consultants commented that I had come at the wrong time of year, and noted that, if I had come in August or early September instead, they would have been able to take me on veld walks to show me the plants I was interested in. Overall, there was a consensus that plants look very different in the veld and in the photographs, and that this made identification difficult during the interviews. I do consider the use of stimulus books to have been a limitation, and recognise that this may have resulted in misidentifications, or have prevented consultants from recognising plants with which they were, in fact, familiar. However, the aim of these interviews was to elicit loanwords hosting clicks, rather than to quantify the consultants' accuracy in botanical identification. As such, I would not consider the occasional misidentification of a plant to compromise the data unreasonably.

Recordings were taken using a Roland E3000 device, and all sound files were saved in .wav format on a compatible SD card before being transferred to a secure computer for phonological analysis using the spectrographic interpretation software Praat. Following the interview, consultants were presented with a Rhodes University-branded mug as a small token of appreciation of their time and assistance.

4.2.3. Selection of Consultants

During the ethics application phase of this project, I outlined an initial target of five and ten qualitative interviews. This target was adequately met by a total of eight interviews with nine consultants.

Since the loanwords I hoped to replicate all appeared to be lexical archaisms, and since the ethnobotanical literature indicated that the majority of extant records had been elicited primarily from community elders, my ideal consultant would be over fifty years of age, of any gender and of any race. I specified also that my ideal consultant would have been a Namaqualand resident for upward of ten years, and would have worked all or part of that time in veld management, farming, nature conservation, traditional medicine, or a related field. This selection criterion would ensure a strong familiarity with local plants and plant names.

Most importantly, I wanted to work with consultants who spoke only Afrikaans or English, and who had little or no familiarity with any dialect of Khoekhoe. I did not want to record Namibian Khoekhoe plant names as uttered by individuals fluent in Namibian Khoekhoe. Rather, I hoped to capture evidence of Khoekhoe-branch loanwords accessible to monolingual Afrikaans speakers, and hence to demonstrate the existence of a stable lexical set of loaned plant names. I also wanted to capture loaned clicks as used by monolinguals who had not acquired phonemic sensitivity to the twenty Namibian Khoekhoe clicks, rather than clicks produced by fluent firstlanguage speakers.

Few *dorpe* in the Kamiesberg boast a population over 600, and each local post office worker is usually familiar with most residents in their area. This meant that I was able to ask by name for several consultants identified in Nortje & van Wyk 2015, and to track down their whereabouts with very little trouble. I had also been recommended the names of knowledgeable locals via personal communication with Annelise le Roux, some of whom were in turn able to refer me to knowledgeable friends. In order to compile an additional list of potential consultants, I contacted several nature reserves in the region during February and March of 2019, including the Namakwa Nature Reserve and the Goegap Nature Reserve. Their head offices supplied me with the names and contact details of several individuals locally known for their deep knowledge of Namaqualand flora.

4.2.4. Selection of Research Sites

Criteria influencing the selection of fieldwork regions fell into three broad sections – the sociohistorical, and the environmental, and the academic.

It was necessary first and foremost that any target regions had a relatively recent history of hosting speakers of languages in the KHOE family, and most especially of languages or dialects in the Khoekhoe branch. As outlined in Chapter 1, census data on the usage of any ‘Khoesan’ group language within South Africa are limited, but anecdotal evidence does suggest the existence of small numbers of speakers of a dialect of Nama within the Namaqualand region. I also aimed to visit specific towns with the hope of replicating linguistic data that had obtained in previous studies, but that had been inadequately recorded.

In addition to this, my targeted locations should display a high rate of floral species diversity, and especially a high rate of floral species endemism. Areas with a slightly lower rate of endemism, but which were nevertheless famed as tourist destinations because of their particular botanical beauty, would also be considered, since this would have provided incentive for local speech communities to have retained (or developed) a strong lexis related to plants and plant identification. Finally, areas that hosted large plant nurseries, nature reserves, or national botanical gardens would be ideal, as I hoped that these institutions would have in their employ Namaqualand locals with a professional, if not necessarily academic, understanding of the local flora.

Considering these three sets of criteria, I chose to focus my attentions on the Knersvlakte and Namaqualand Klipkoppe regions of Namaqualand when considering possible locations to target for elicitation. Within the Knersvlakte, I visited Vanrhynsdorp and Niewoudtville. Both of these sites are tourist destinations famed for their floral diversity and large nature reserves, and the local economies centre heavily on wildflower displays, meaning that residents would likely have a high familiarity with plants and plant names. Within the Namaqualand Klipkoppe, I focused primarily on remote rural regions, and particularly the small *dorpe* in the Kamiesberg Municipality. I aimed especially to replicate the ‘23 new Nama names’ noted by Nortje & van Wyk 2015, which had been elicited from consultants living in Leliefontein, Paulshoek, and Nourivier.

I had additionally hoped to be able to access the Richtersveld if at all possible, but was ultimately unable to travel further north than Steinkopf, a *dorp* 45km outside of Springbok, because of cost constraints.

4.3. Data Collected

Because of space and scope constraints, this project transcribes and scrutinises only items containing loaned clicks. In total, I recorded 65 clean tokens of 18 lemma containing clicks. This section discusses their coding, transcription, and compilation into a corpus.

4.3.1. Coding the Data

In order to ensure anonymity, each of the nine consultants were assigned a letter between A and I. They are referred to via this letter throughout the remainder of the project. Items elicited were coded into lemma according to which stimulus workbook had elicited them (either α for Stimulus Book A or β for Stimulus Book B), and the page number on which the photograph had been displayed. This would enable me to identify the region in which the click had been recorded without explicitly identifying the consultant who provided it.

The interviews yielded a number of serendipitous items containing loaned click that had not been targeted. These items are identified by a further two alphabetical codes, and are tabulated separately. γ indicates a serendipitous plant name that has been previously recorded but that had not been selected for elicitation, or else a serendipitous item used with specific reference to a plant name that has been previously recorded. δ indicates serendipitous items that either do not pertain to plants, or that referenced plants with no clear Linnaean identity.

Tokens were tagged with the code referencing their stimulus photograph; identified by the Greek numeral indicating the consultant that provided it; and numbered according to order of elicitation. So, for example, the stimulus photograph of *Cheiridopsis denticulata* on p. 9 of *Stimulus Workbook A* prompted Consultant A to supply a number of tokens of **t'noutsiamo**. The first of these tokens, [nʉt̪ suˈnɑːmɐfəiχiː], is therefore coded $\alpha 9A1$.

On some occasions, consultants supplied a plant name that did appear in the lexicographical record, but used it of a different plant. For example, variations on the name **t'koubee** are attested in Laidler 1928, Le Roux 1981, Powrie 2004, and Nortje & Van Wyk 2015, always for *Dodonaea*

viscosa var. *angustifolia* (Sapindaceae). However, three of my consultants used this term for *Diosma acmaeophylla* (Rutaceae) instead. In such cases, the item was still coded in terms of the booklet letter and page number of the photograph that elicited it, rather than with reference to the plant previously on record.

4.3.2. Transcription Protocols

After having been coded, all items were transcribed using standard IPA protocols according to my best judgement. Egressive consonants and vowels were transcribed using the IPA protocols for Afrikaans as reviewed in 1.3.2; ingressive click consonants were transcribed using the IPA protocols for Namibian Khoekhoe as reviewed in 1.3.1. Praat waveforms and spectrograms were also used to judge the identity of the clicks and assist in the transcription process (see further Chapter 5). I use superscript eng [ᵑ] to indicate heavy nasalisation of the click consonant, and superscript [ᵑ] to indicate heavy voicing of the click consonant. [g] following a click consonant indicates a voiced velar stop consonant clearly segmented from the click itself. These orthographic practices should be considered distinct from the use of [ᵑ] to indicate prenasalisation in the IPA, and g following a click consonant in the Namibian Khoekhoe orthography to indicate a stop consonant.

4.3.3. List of Elicitations Containing Clicks

The following two tables list all loaned items elicited containing clicks.

ITEMS ELICITED FROM STIMULI				
λ	LEMMA	CONS	IPA	TOKEN
α9	t'noutsiamā	A	[nut su'na:məfəixi:]; [nut su'na:ma]	α9A1; α9A4
			[ʔut su'na:məfəixi:]	α9A2; α9A3
			[ʔut s'ʔi:na:ma]	α9A5
			[nut s'ʔuna:ma]	α9A6
			[ʔut s'ʔuna:ma]	α9A7
		C	[ʔkœut si:ʔama]	α9C1; A9C1
β2	t'noenieboom	D	[gunibom]	β2C1; β2D2
β16	t'oubee	C	[ʔkœubibɔs]	β16C1
			[ʔkœubibɔs]	β16C2
		D	[ʔkœube:]	β16D1
			[ʔkœube:]	β16D2
		G	[k'œubi]	β16G1
			[!œubi]	β16G2
β17	t'koeoebe	C	[ʔkunibɔs]	β17C1
		E	[!kunini]	β17E1
		D	[ʔ!gunube]	β17D1
β27	t'koeibee	F	[kuibi]	β27F1
			[ʔuibi]	β27F2
β34	t'orrieboom	E	[ʔ!ɔi:]	β34E1
		D	[ʔkɔribom]	β34D1
			[ʔɔribom]	β34D2
			[gɔribom]	β34D3
			[kɔribom]	β34D4
			[ʔɔri]	β34D5
β38	t'gibbie	C	[ʔgəbibɔs]	β38C1; β38C3
			[gəbi]	β38C2
		F	[ʔəbibɔç]	β38F1
β41	t'nouroe	C	[ʔkœurubɔs]	β41C1
			[gœurubɔsə]; [gœurubɔs]; [gœuru]	β 41C2; β41C3; β41C4
β43	t'narra	B	[ʔɐ.iabɔs] [ʔɐ.iə]	β43B1; β43B2
		D	[ʔgəra]	β43D1
		F	[ʔətere]	β43F1
		H	[ʔxərabɔs]	β43H1
			[ʔɐrabi:r]; [ʔɐrabiɜə]; [ʔɐrabɔs]	β43H2; β43H3; β43H4
β47	t'kooi	B	[wo:i ko:i]	β47B1
			[fa' o:i]	β47B2
β49	t'kabbada	H	[kabəda]	β49H1; β49H2

Table 22: Items Elicited from Stimuli

SERENDIPITOUS ITEMS					
λ	LEMMA	CONS	IPA	TOKEN	
γ1	t'neitjie	C	[ʔgəɪk'i]; [ʔgəɪk'is]; [ʔgəɪk'i]	γ1C1; γ1C2; γ1C3	
			[lgəɪk'ibləmə]	γ1C4	
γ2	t'ghobba	G	[goba]	γ2G1	
		I	[ʰ!hoba]	γ2I1	
γ3	t'gai	C	[ʔgai]	γ3C1	
δ1	dassie kham	H	[dasi ⁹ an]	δ1H1	
			[dasi kan]	δ1H2	
δ2	!au	H	[ʔœu]	δ2H1; δ2H2; δ2H3; δ2H4; δ2H5	
		I	[ʰ!'əu]	δ2I1	
δ3	amaxu	H	[t'amaχu]	δ3H1	
δ4	komxub	H	[kɒlχup ^h]	δ4H1	

Table 23: Serendipitous Items

4.4. Conclusion

Striking the input from the L1 Namibian Khoekhoe consultant, and accounting only for clicks loaned by L1 Afrikaans speakers, I surveyed 61 tokens of 16 lemma pronounced using 41 variations. Four additional tokens of two lemma featured click deletion, and one item elsewhere attested containing a click pronounced using a strongly ejective unvoiced velar stop. A seventeenth lemma, further discussed in Chapter 5, used a strongly ejective unvoiced dental stop, but cannot be shown to have targeted a click.

Chapter 5

Fieldwork Description & Analysis

This chapter analyses the data collected in Chapter 4. In addition to providing qualitative commentary on such synchronic sociolinguistic phenomena, including the sociohistorical, semantic, and orthographic awareness of the consultants, I include an expanded phonological description of the items tabulated in Section 4.3.3., and offer some preliminary remarks on the adoptive strategies deployed by monolingual Afrikaans speakers when targeting click consonants. Finally, I synthesise these observations into a discussion of the diachronic sociolinguistic factors that may have mediated click loan in Namaqualand Afrikaans.

5.1. Synchronic Sociolinguistic Observations

This section engages qualitatively with the output of the eight interviews. Given the small sample size, salient features, unifying themes, and points of interest could be individually identified and assessed on a case-by-case basis. In all transcriptions, consultants are referred to by the letter code assigned in Section 4.3.1.; I am referred to as CRC.

5.1.1. Sociolinguistic & Semantic Awareness

As discussed in Section 3.1., many standard Namibian Khoekhoe plant names may be glossed beyond their reference to the physical plant species, and may contain references to phytomorphology, phytochemistry, palatability, or usage. This section discusses, firstly, the extent to which monolingual Afrikaans-speaking consultants were able to identify loanwords, and, secondly, the extent to which they were able to comment on the underlying semantics of these loanwords beyond their reference to plant species.

All consultants were aware that items hosting clicks were of Khoekhoe-branch origin, identifying them either as ‘Nama’, which is the local Northern Cape convention, or else simply as ‘Khoe’. The following exchange with Consultant F typifies enquiries into the origins of items containing clicks.

F: hierdie ene . groei weer so op die grond. hy het hier so n geel blommetjie . en het maar hy wortel in die grond, want he's amper so slymerig. hulle sê hom ahhhh **[[kuibi]** CRC: **[[kuibi]**?

F: **[ʔuibi]**

CC: is dit is dit mos n n Namawoord?

F: dis dis dis die Namataal

F: this one . also grows on the ground like this. and here it has a little yellow flower. and it has his root in the ground, and it's almost slimy. they call it ahhh **[[kuibi]** CRC: **[[kuibi]**?

F: **[ʔuibi]**

CRC: is it, is it a a Nama word?

F: it's it's it's the Nama language

Consultant D, who had a strong familiarity with a number of plant names, interviewed with the assistance of his wife, Consultant E, who by her own admission had less botanical knowledge. When he used items containing loaned clicks, she twice attempted to mimic his pronunciation, but struggled to target his clicks accurately. On the second such occasion, he suggested that using **[k̠ri]** would be simpler for her.

D: hierdie ene sê naam is die **[[k̠ribom]**. ah k weet nie wat sy Afrikaanse naam is maar hy groei so in die klippes.

E: **[ʔ!ɔi:]** dalk met n 't'? hoe sal jy hom spel met n 't'?

D: jy moet hom nou seker maar **[k̠ribom]** sê

E: o ja=

D: =maar **[ʔ̠ri]** is die is die Namawoord

D: this one's name is the **[[k̠ribom]**. ah I don't know what its Afrikaans name is, but it grows like this in the rocks.

E: **[ʔ!ɔi:]** maybe with a 't'? how would you spell it with a 't'?

D: you should probably just call it **[k̠ribom]**

E: oh yes=

D: =but **[ʔ̠ri]** is the is the Namawoord

This is one of several instances displaying extreme variation of click loan. From a sociolinguistic perspective, this is additionally interesting in that Consultant D clearly does not consider **t'orrieboom** to be an Afrikaans name. He offers click deletion as an adoptive strategy that might make its pronunciation easier for his wife, then confirms that, when it contains a click, it is a 'Nama word'.

Consultant H also associated the use of several plant names particularly with coloured Afrikaans. While discussing a particularly knowledgeable colleague (who was unfortunately unavailable for interview), Consultant H explained how he was not at first aware of the origin of certain items (which to me are clear loans despite not containing clicks), and only later realised that they were 'coloured names'.

H: dan is daar 'n klomp plante wat hy my gewys het soos [t'amaχu], [kɔlχup^h], but daai name ek ken nie. ... dis die name waarm' hy groot geraak het toe. ... hy is n blanke ook, maar maar hulle mense wat by hom gewerk het was die, was die kleurling. so hulle het toe maar van die kleurling gehoor van die name en meestalik van die tyd van die name ook gebruik. so daarems se hele plaas is, kan ons nou maar sê is, al die plantname daar is kleurlingname. want want want ek het gedink dis name wat hulle hulle blankes maak maar hy se 'nee, glad nie, dis jou mense se name'.

H: then there are a whole bunch of plants that he showed me, like [t'amaχu], [kɔlχup^h], but I don't know those names. ... those are the names he grew up with. ... he's also white, but but the people who worked for him were, were coloured. so then they just heard the names from the coloured people and most of the time they make use of the names too. so all around the whole farm, we could say that all the plant names there are coloured names. because, because, because I thought they were names that the, the white people invented, but he said, 'no, not at all, they're your people's names.'

Since referents are not provided for these items, identification is problematic. Neither contains a click, although the initial voiceless alveolar stop of [t'amaχu] is strongly ejective. I speculate that [t'amaχu] may be a variant on **amaxoeis** (= *Euphorbia hottentota*) Archer 1994. It is possible that, after using the name Archer records for *Euphorbia hottentotica*, **amaxub**, Consultant H went on to list a second species of *Euphorbia*, using a variant on Archer's name **n|on** for *Euphorbia dregeana*, but omitting the click and substituting an unvoiced velar stop, then appending **-xūb** (=Namibian Khoekhoe 'stuff, things') in analogy to **amaxub**; perhaps his colleague had used the two terms in close association when discussing different species of *Euphorbia*, prompting Consultant H to recall them together. However, Archer 1994's spelling of **n|on** is so unorthodox, and so far divorced from any standardised orthography applied to any variety of Khoekhoe, that it is impossible to use this record as the basis for comparison. Regardless of the lack of clarity of the referents, this anecdote does paint a clear image of the kind of linguistic contact that must historically have precipitated plant loan. However, it does not explicitly identify these items as Nama, but rather as 'Coloured'. It would be additionally interesting to gain metalinguistic insight into the extent to which 'Coloured words' or Coloured Afrikaans in Namaqualand as a whole is associated with Khoekhoe loanwords.

Despite general awareness of loaned items' origins in 'Nama', no consultants were able to offer explicit translations of these items into Afrikaans, although at two Afrikaans monolinguals displayed semantic conversancy with other Khoekhoe items. When prompted, consultants generally denied having any understanding of the underlying meaning of items pronouncing using clicks, as well as loaned items without clicks, such as **ouroena**. The following excerpt is characteristic of attempts to elicit a translation of terms hosting clicks. In this instance, I hoped that **'t'gibbie**, because the livestock eat it often' might indicate that Consultant C could offer a

translation in some way connected with the palatability of *Pteronia incana*, and asked after its meaning, but the consultant clarified that they could not translate it.

C: dis ook net 'n gewone . [tʃəbɪbɔs] ... [gəbi] want die vee eet hom baie

CRC: want die vee . eet hom baie C:

ja ja

CRC: wat beteken nou

C: ek weet nie wat [tʃəbɪ] beteken nie=

CRC: ok maar die vee . hou van hierdie=

C: maar die vee eat hom ja

C: it's also just a normal [tʃəbɪbɔs] ... [gəbi] because the livestock eat it often

CRC: because the livestock . eat it often

C: yes yes

CRC: now what does it mean

C: i don't know what [tʃəbɪ] means=

CRC: ok but the livestock . enjoy this =

C: but the livestock eat it yes

I detect one possible instance of semantic reanalysis. In discussing **t'narra** (Le Roux 1981) as a term for *Searsia burchellii*, Consultant H noted that this plant can be fermented to make beer.

H: soos die *Rhus* [=Searsia] *burchellii*, die ah [g|ɛ.ɾabɔs] sien jy dat die ouense maak ook, die . stout manne maak n bier van hom. hulle ah . tuisgemaakte bier. ah ah ah noem hom hulle [g|ɛrabi:r]

H: like the *Rhus* [=Searsia] *burchellii*, the ah, [g|ɛ.ɾabɔs] you see guys also make, the . bad guys make a beer from it. they ah. homemade beer. ah ah ah they call it [g|ɛrabi:r].

Given the lexicographical conflation of **|garas** = fruit of *Searsia lancea* (Schultze 1907: 345) and **!kharib** = beer brewed from honey, as demonstrated in Section 3.3.1, it is possible that this association of the berries of *Searsia burchellii* with fermentation may constitute semantic collapse, in that Consultant H had heard both items loaned without phonemic contrast and as such could not distinguish between the two; or it may indicate the existence of a broad Namaqualand trend of semantic reanalysis that parallels the lexicographical confusion. However, this excerpt does not conclusively confirm that Consultant H was familiar with the semantic scope of either **|garas** or **!kharib** outside of *Searsia burchellii*.

However, although consultants could not gloss plantnames, two serendipitous loans did entail some degree of familiarity with their targets' semantic scope. While attempting to recall the name of *Galium capense*, Consultant C used a loaned term hosting a click consonant as follows. I judge that the loan contained a palatal click and a voiced velar stop consonant, and is here transcribed accordingly.

C: lyk nou amper soos daai ene wat so . vas sit. jy hom so dan . [tʃgai] hy aan jou . no

C: looks now almost like that one that . grips tight . you it like this then . it [**ɬgai**] to you. no

The name recorded for *Galium capense* by Nortje & van Wyk 2015 is **t'gaibos**. After using [**ɬgai**] as a verb without clear context, Consultant C went on to decide that they could not provide a name for *G. capense* with any confidence. However, they were familiar with the plant, and described how it clings to passers-by.

C: k weet nou nie rêrig wat hulle hom sê nie maar hy . maar hy kleef so. ... sien jy volgens jy kan sien hys sticky. ... as jy nou deur hom loop of by hom verby loop dan vang hy jou! dan **kleef hy jou aan**. ... maar ek weet nie wat is sy doel hy het nie a naam.

C: now I really don't know what they call it but it . but it clings like this. ... do you see here you can see it's sticky ... now if you walk through it or if you walk past it then it grabs you! then it **clings to you** ... but I don't know what it usage is it doesn't have a name.

This description of how *G. capense* 'clings to' passersby because it is 'sticky' elucidated the context of the earlier loan. The sense is particularly well demonstrated by the parallel construction of 'dan [**ɬgai**] hy **aan** jou' and 'dan **kleef** hy jou **aan**'. The use of a loaned verb with the same Afrikaans particle expected of the 'skeibare' verb *aankleef* suggests the possible use not only of regularly hybrid Namibian Khoekhoe-Afrikaans compound nouns, but also of regularly hybrid verbs, although further data would be required to confirm this.

Given this context, I propose that the loaned term which γ pronounced [**ɬgai**] in fact derives from the Namibian Khoekhoe verb **ɬae** [^ɠɬae] which Haacke & Eiseb translate as 'to cling firmly to'. The same word is spelled in accordance with older orthographic standards as **ɬai** and glossed as 'to cling', 'to stick to' (Kroenlein 1889: 32). Derivational inflection with the masculine singular noun ending **-b** yields **ɬaeb**, that is, 'Vögelleim', 'birdlime'. Although Consultant C did not precisely replicate the target lemma **t'gaibos**, I would further take her use of this loan in reference to the *G. capense*'s stickiness as strongly indicative that the base etymology of this lemma is in fact **ɬaebos**. This name would gloss as **kleefbos* (= 'clingbush').

I had previously attempted to connect Norte & van Wyks' record of **t'gaibos** with Boshoff & Nienaber's 1967 entry on **gaibossie**, a term for the plant *Helichrysum serpyllifolium*. It should be noted that *G. capense* (Rubiaceae) and *H. serpyllifolium* (Asteraceae) belong to completely different genetic families, and are not in the least similar in appearance. Boshoff & Nienaber go on to note that the term **gaibossie** was "in 1886 deur Hett opgeteken as Hott. **gai**, wsk. dies. as **ghei** by WAT," and caution that, "as dit nog bestaan, [is dit] seker wel veroud. en dial." I had considered comparing both **t'gaibos** and **gaibos** with the Kora word **ɬaeb** for a bush used in the

production of *sâb* (Engelbrecht 1936: 106, Du Plessis 2019: 373). Boshoff & Nienaber's secondary name for *H. serpyllifolium*, *vaaltee*, also suggests a possible target of |**hei**, the term used across multiple Khoekhoe-branch languages as a colour term closely analogous to the Afrikaans *vaal* (see discussion of **heiriet** in Section 3.2.2.).

However, given Consultant C's loan of 't**ae** aan', I am now confident that the contemporary Kamiesberg word **t'gaibos** for *Galium capense*, and Boshoff & Nienaber's much older name and almost certainly obsolete name **gaibossie** for *Helichrysum serpyllifolium*, are completely distinct in both their historical etymological origin and their contemporary referents, comparable only because of phonemic collapse and hence a coincidence of Afrikaans orthography.

Interestingly, this does not constitute a replication of a previously-attested loan **tkai**, despite its orthographic similarity with **t'gai**.

tkai [!ai]: Vasmaak. "Ek **tkai** sy bek", verwysende na die bou van 'n matjieshuis.

tkai [!ai]: Fasten. "I **tkai** its doorway", referring to the construction of a mat house.

Links 1989: 65

Here the semantic scope cannot logically contained "cling to", and as such must be a loan of the Namibian Khoekhoe **!gae** [!ai] v. t. "to tie up, to fasten, to bind, to erect (fence)". The Namibian Khoekhoe items pronounced [!ai] and [ʔai] both apparently entered Namaqualand Afrikaans, in which they were both apparently pronounced using a so-called 'unstable' click stripped of its phonemic contrastivity, but would seem to have retained their original semantic distinctions.

The second serendipitous loan of a verb was also provided in the context of discussing a plant. While describing the *Grielum humifusum*, Consultant H described how stepping on thorns makes one perform an action that he pronounced [tʰœu] in all instances.

H: die pietsnot ken jy mos en dat hy lelke ahhh sulke dorinkies ook. daai met die vier punte. en hy. hy steek jou tot jy [tʰœu]. weet jy wat is [tʰœu]?

CRC: mm?

H: hier uitgril. [gesturing to his head] [tʰœu] x h o u . [tʰœu] CRC: wat wat is dit?

H: dis as jy as jy as jy op die op daai doring trap=

CRC: =OK=

H: =dan [tʰœu] jy.

H: so you probably know the pietsnot, and that it has horrible ahhh sort of little thorns as well. those ones with the four points. and it. it pricks you so that you [tʰœu]. do you know what [tʰœu] is?

CRC: mm?

H: shudder out of here. [*gesturing to his head*] [ʔǀœu] x h o u . [ʔǀœu] CRC:
 what what is that?
 H: it's when you when you when you step on the on that thorn
 CRC: =OK=
 H: =then you [ʔǀœu]

The Namibian Khoekhoe word **!au** [ʔǀ'əu] is translated by the Haacke & Eiseb 2002 as an intransitive verb meaning ‘to scream (at)’, and has here been borrowed with an apparent sense of ‘*uit te gril*’ or *to be shocked* in addition to ‘scream’. Consultant H’s gloss was accompanied by a hand gesture from the top of his head suggesting an image of one’s hair standing on end. As he did not precisely translate the strict Namibian Khoekhoe sense of **!au**, I would consider this an instance of semantic extension following loan. Nevertheless, he was able to explain its loaned sense and contextualise its usage, which stands in stark contrast with the semantic opacity of loaned plant names.

In summary, while consultants were all capable of identifying items containing clicks as Namibian Khoekhoe, no consultants could gloss plant names. This is typical of loanwords that have entered a lexicon at a recent time depth in the absence of widespread bilingualism, and suggests that their usage has not yet had time to stabilise and diffuse to the extent that they are no longer considered alien. However, of the two verbs, **ǀae** was loaned in a context that would suggest reasonable retention of its Namibian Khoekhoe semantic scope, while **!au** was loaned and glossed in such a way as to suggest a degree of semantic extension. This suggests that some speakers may possess semantic awareness of word outside the lexical domain of plant names.

5.1.2. Orthographic Awareness

Although some consultants volunteered orthographies or made reference to orthographic systems, most did not independently broach the question of spelling, or, when pressed, could not offer a transcription. All orthographies offered were non-standard, and would seem to have been references to ethnobotanical records. None of the monolingual Afrikaans consultants were able to make use of the standardised Namibian Khoekhoe orthography. This section presents four examples that typify the consultants’ orthographic awareness.

When discussing the loan of **!au**, Consultant H volunteered a spelling **x h o u**.

H: ...weet jy wat is [ʔǀœu]?
 CRC: mm?
 H: hier uitgril. [ʔǀœu] . x h o u . [ʔǀœu]

As discussed above in Section 5.3.1, Consultant H regularly targeted the palatal click when loaning **!au**. No language in existence uses **x** to transcribe this click.²² However, Wheat 2013

²² The Nguni-group languages use **x** only to transcribe the lateral click. A few languages in the Kalahari branch of the KHOE family, most notably Naro and Khwe, have recently altered their standard orthographical transcriptions of clicks to bring them in line with Nguni-group conventions. Visser 2000, for example, sets the contemporary Naro standard of using **q** to represent the alveolar click, **x** to represent the lateral click, **c** to represent the dental click, and **tc** to represent the palatal click.

transcribes five loaned plant names collected in the Kamiesberg municipality containing clicks using the orthography **xh** (see further Section 2.1.3). This suggests that ethnobotanical material has had the opportunity to influence lay awareness of transcription protocols in a way that standardised linguistic material has not.

Likewise, Consultant B displayed conversancy with something similar to the ethnobotanical **t'** convention, noting that all 'Nama stuff' is spelled using '*t slash something*' while making a hand motion indicating a backslash.

B: die [ʔ|ɬ.ɬabɔs] noem hulle hom
 CRC: . OK
 B: ja, dan eet jy daai bessies.
 CRC: kan jy dit maar weer sê?
 B: [ʔ|ɬ.ɬa]
 CRC: [ʔ|ɬ.ɬa]
 B: dis t – kyk alles, allie Namagoed begin met t=
 CRC: =ja=
 B: =slêsj iets
 CRC: ja, ek het so gesien, ja

B: [ʔ|ɬ.ɬabɔs] they call it
 CRC: . OK
 B: yes, then you eat those berries
 CRC: could you say that again?
 B: [ʔ|ɬ.ɬa]
 CRC: [ʔ|ɬ.ɬa]
 B: it's t – look, everything, all Nama stuff begins with t
 CRC: =yes=
 B: =slash something CRC:
 yes, I've seen that, yes

This indicates no familiarity at all with the standardised Namibian Khoekhoe transcription protocols in use across the border, and instead suggests exposure to ethnobotanical materials such as Le Roux 1981 and Nortje & van Wyk 2015, or perhaps to lay linguistic material such as Links 1989.

During an exchange previously discussed in Section 5.3.2., Consultant E expressed curiosity about the spelling of items containing clicks, and likewise suggested the ethnobotanical practice of using **t'**.

D: hierdie ene sê naam is die [kʁibom]. ah k weet nie wat sy afrikaanse naam is maar hy groei so in die klippe.
 E: [ɲ!ɔi:] dalk met n 't'? hoe sal jy hom spel met n 't'?
 D: jy moet hom nou seker maar [kʁibom] sê
 E: o ja=
 D: =maar [ɲ!ɔri] is die is die Namawoord

D: this one's name is the **[|kəribom]**. ah I don't know what its Afrikaans name is, but it grows like this in the rocks.
 E: **[ŋ!ɔi:]** maybe with a 't'? how would you spell it with a 't'?
 D: you should probably just call it **[kəribom]**
 E: oh yes=
 D: =but **[ʰɔri]** is the is the Namaword

Consultants D and E also joked about not knowing how to spell words pronounced with clicks, deciding that it was the task of the researcher to establish spellings.

D: dis. dis die **[|gunibom]**
 CRC: OK
 D: dis nou, nou die Nama naam
 E: nou hoe spel jy dit?
 D: *[gesturing at CRC]* sy moet maar weet hoe om dit te spel
 E: tjomme! *[laughter]*
 CRC: *[laughter]* that's my job

D: it's. it's the **[|gunibom]**
 CRC: OK
 D: that's now, now the Nama name
 E: now how do you spell it?
 D: *[gesturing at CRC]* she must know how to spell it
 E: tjomme! *[laughter]*
 CRC: *[laughter]* that's my job

These observations, coupled with the conclusions of the investigation into lexicographical and ethnobotanical practice in Chapter 2, show clearly that there no stable or standardised orthographic method of transcribing loaned click consonants is in place in Namaqualand. Consultants either referenced the ethnobotanical conventions **t'** and **xh**, or jokingly dismissed the question of orthography altogether. Since there is little or no lay linguistic material available on the history of the Khoekhoe branch even in English, let alone in Afrikaans accessible to the majority of Namaqualand residents, I speculate that ethnobotanical research has effectively filled the information gap, and has promulgated the usage of non-standard orthographies to transcribe loaned clicks by speakers of Namaqualand Afrikaans.

5.1.3. L1 Speaker Commentary

On April 13th 2019, with the kind assistance of a local tourism guide, I had the privilege of meeting with an L1 Namibian Khoekhoe speaker, anonymised as Consultant I. She additionally exercises fluent command of Afrikaans, English, and German, and very helpfully provided me with examples of all four non-accompanied Namibian Khoekhoe click consonants. These form this project's phonological control samples, against which loaned clicks are measured. She also provided me with two samples of L1 pronunciations of two items I had only previously

encountered loaned by Afrikaans speakers, namely **!au** and **!khòbàb**. This allowed for further comparative phonological analysis between Namibian Khoekhoe items and their loaned Afrikaans reflexes.

However, I am primarily indebted to Consultant I for her profound L1 speaker insight. As a well-respected professional translator, she has exceptional metalinguistic awareness and was capable of offering insightful analysis of the use of loanwords in Namaqualand Afrikaans. She did volunteer a few plant names, but spoke primarily on the state of Namibian Khoekhoe in South Africa, and on the realities of language loss. She provided anecdotal confirmation of the phenomenon of click borrowing in Namaqualand, and also offered much-needed critical comment on the use of non-standard orthographies by academics.

The following excerpt characterises her assessment on the presence of loaned clicks in Namaqualand Afrikaans, and the related trend of phonemic collapse.

I: ...hoekom hulle net een klapklank gebruik is, die mense het as gevolg van kolonialisme die taal verloor. Hulle het die taal verloor, en dit was verbied om hulle moedertong te praat. Daarom het [*unintelligible*] te bang was om hulle taal te gebruik teenoor die jonger generasie. En hulle moes dit net so in verbyloop gehoor het. Daarom het hulle, as gevolg daarvan, het hulle nie oefeninge gehad om al vier die klapklanke te gebruik nie.

I: ...why they only use one click consonant is that people have lost the language as a result of colonialism. They lost the language, and it was forbidden to speak their mother tongue. Because of this [*unintelligible*] too afraid to use their language in front of the younger generation. And so they must have just heard it in passing. Because of this, as a result of this, they didn't have practice in using all four click consonants.

Completely unprompted, Consultant I then provided an example of the sort of loanwords that she had heard in Afrikaans conversation. She used the Namibian word **!au**, 'to scream', which Consultant H had used in his interview with the loaned sense of 'to get a shock'.

I: So, ek persoonlik het dit ook opgemerk dat hulle baie skars die ander klapklanke kan gebruik. ...Hulle het dit verloor. Want jy sal – byvoorbeeld, 'n word soos *skreeu* in Namataal is [^h!'**əu**]. Nou hoor ek het, hulle praat van [**əu**].

CRC: Ek het dit vanoggend gehoor. [Consultant H], hy het dit vir my gesê. ...

I: [...] Dit is absoluut 'n teken, want die mense het verloor. En even hulle weet nie wat die korrekte betekenis is nie. [^h!'**əu**] beteken *skreeu*. So, nou sê hulle, byvoorbeeld, uh, [**əulax**]. So dis [^h!'**əu**]. So, so dit is, die mense het die taal verloor, en dit is die grootste probleem. En dit is eintlik 'n hartseer saak dat mense iets van eie is van hulle verloor het. ... Maar hulle kan die goed nie reg uitspreek nie. ...En nou is dit word gebruik, en dit het amper 'n soort straat taal of 'n=

CRC: =ja, dis soos *slang*=

I: =of 'n *slang* geword.

CRC: Want hulle praat net Afrikaans?

I: Ja, maar hulle sit die woorde tussen-in, maar dit - in die meeste gevalle word die woorde nie reg uitgespreek nie.

I: So, I have personally also noticed that they can very rarely use the other click consonants. ... They've lost it. Because you will – for example, a word like *scream* in the Nama language is [ʔ!'əu]. Now I've heard them talking about [ləu].

CRC: I heard that this morning. [Consultant H], he said it to me ...

I: ... It's absolutely a sign that people have lost it. And they don't even know what the correct meaning is. [ʔ!'əu] means *scream*. So, now they say, for example, [ləu]-laugh. But it's [ʔ!'əu]. So, so it is, people have lost the language, and that is the biggest problem. And it is actually a painful matter that people have lost something that was their own. ... But they cannot pronounce these things properly. ... And now it is used, and it's almost a sort of street language or =

CRC: =yes, it's like slang=

I: =or it's become a slang.

CRC: Because they only speak Afrikaans?

I: Yes, but they put the words in between, but it – in the majority of cases the words are not correctly pronounced.

From a sociolinguistic perspective, this anecdote aligns precisely with the use of the two loaned verbs I had encountered in conversation with Afrikaans monolinguals. Consultant I notes that users of loanwords 'don't even know the correct meaning', and exemplifies this observation with the hybrid verb properly spelled '**!aulag**'. I would gloss this as 'to shriek with laughter', as it would seem to calque the Afrikaans compound verb *skreeulag*. This anecdote of semantic extension is corroborated by my record of **!au** having undergone semantic shift via loan to signify 'to get a shock' in Namaqualand Afrikaans, rather than simply 'to scream (at)' as in Namibian Khoekhoe.

Consultant I qualified the use of Namibian Khoekhoe in Afrikaans as 'a sort of street language', which I likened to 'slang'. She also referenced the phenomenon of using Namibian Khoekhoe words 'in between' Afrikaans words. In the context of bilingual discourse, this would constitute a description of insertional borrowing, or perhaps even codeswitching. Since, however, she agrees that the speakers she describes only speak Afrikaans, and that they cannot accurately pronounce Namibian Khoekhoe, this would seem to be a description of the use of established loanwords.

From a phonological perspective, Consultant I provided first her L1 pronunciation of **!au** as [ʔ!'əu], hosting the prenasalised ejective alveolar click. She then attempted to mimic the incorrect pronunciation of Afrikaans-speakers using an unaccompanied dental click [ləu]. She replicated

this incorrect pronunciation precisely when demonstrating ‘!aulag’ as [!əulax]. While this does not capture Consultant H’s pronunciation [!œu], which used an unaccompanied palatal click, this does replicate my overall phonological findings that, in the majority of cases, speakers utilised either the palatal or the dental click when targeting Namibian Khoekhoe loanwords (see further 5.2 below).

Consultant I also commented with dismay on the failure of academics who visit Namaqualand to record place names accurately.

I: Een keer was daar studente wat – waar is die plek tog? Iewers ook in Namaqualand – wat ook besig was met research. En – ek weet nie – die plek se naam is, hulle praat van ||gammi, water, ||gam?

CRC: Right. Yes.

I: Maar dit is verkeerd gespel. Totaal ’n ander betekenis. En die dinge, toe sê ek mense, ‘Dit wat julle gêse, en dit wat daar geskryf is, kom glad nie by mekaar nie.’

I: One time there were students who – where is the place? Also somewhere in Namaqualand – who were also busy with research. And I don’t know – the place’s name is, they were talking about ||gammi, water, ||gam?

CRC: Right. Yes.

I: But it was spelled incorrectly. A completely different meaning. And these things, I tell people, ‘What you’ve said, and what is written down, are simply not the same.’

This is an apt description of the many *ad hoc* orthographies deployed by ethnobotanical researchers who have encountered loaned Namibian Khoekhoe items in Namaqualand Afrikaans, but made no effort to seek linguistic assistance in transcribing them accurately. When her colleague showed her a copy of *Wildflowers of Namaqualand* during the interview, I decried the use of Le Roux’s attempts to transcribe loanwords using t’, and connected such haphazard efforts with the ongoing endangerment of the language, noting that ‘people who come and spell things wrong’ contribute directly to the impoverishment of local literacy, and is ultimately tantamount to ‘throwing the language away’.

I: In Namataal is daar nie ’n click ‘t’ nie. Glad nie. Glad nie. Hulle skryfwyse is totaal anders.

CRC: Maar [Le Roux] was net ’n botanist, sy was nie ’n taalkunde nie, and sy het nie geweet hoe om dit te spel.

I: En even die mense wat dit praat, hulle kan dit nie skryf nie. Dis die grootste problem, en dis hoe ’n mense die taal weggooi, verstaan? As gevolg van mense wat kom en die goed verkeerd spel.

I: In the Nama language there is no ‘t’ click. Not at all. Not at all. Their orthography is completely different.

CRC: But [Le Roux] was just a botanist, she wasn’t a linguist, and she didn’t know how to spell it.

I: And even the people who can speak it can’t write it. This is the biggest problem, and it’s how people throw the language away, you understand? As a result of people who come and spell things wrong.

Consultant I’s insistence on standardised spelling protocols, and her dismay at the idea of Namibian Khoekhoe loanwords used ‘*tussen-in*’ Afrikaans as a ‘*soort straat taal*’, touch on perhaps the most complicated question of this project – namely, the ideological clash between community prescriptivism and academic descriptivism. An academic perspective acknowledges that contact-induced language change is among the most normal and natural of sociolinguistic processes, and that the linguistic analysis of synchronic contact can elucidate previously obscure diachronic developments and assist in prediction. In this context, the loan of Namibian Khoekhoe items into Namaqualand Afrikaans emerges as an academically important phenomenon with rich potential to contribute to the linguistic understanding of contact situations worldwide.

As a community stakeholder and professional language consultant, however, Consultant I is faced with the reality of language attrition. She commented expertly on how a lack of regular exposure to a target language in childhood results in an impaired adult ability to deploy that language, and, in this particular instance, the collapse of Namibian Khoekhoe’s twenty phonemic clicks into a single click, irregularly pronounced. Language contact in Namaqualand was directly facilitated by and remains inextricably bound up in a long history of the systematic socioeconomic oppression of Khoekhoe-speaking communities, and, as Consultant I noted, this oppression historically took the form of active and deliberate language suppression. She is wholly justified in expressing concern at the loan of Namibian Khoekhoe by Afrikaans monolinguals, and at the use of *ad hoc* orthographies, since multiple studies have explicitly linked language attrition with extreme loss of cultural heritage, and have also commented on the deeply negative sociopsychological effects of language loss both on individuals and on whole speech communities.

Overall, Consultant I’s contributions highlight the urgent need for increased and improved collaboration between linguists and stakeholders in Namaqualand speech communities. What to a researcher may be simply an intellectually fascinating linguistic phenomenon and convenient MA topic, is to community stakeholders a very real reminder of the prejudice and socioeconomic oppression that has shaped the current sociolinguistic landscape of Namaqualand. Descriptivist academics who speak so globally dominant and cheerfully multi-faceted a language as English

might decry the prescriptivist attitude as language purism; but the prescriptivist stakeholders safeguarding the survival of so endangered and exploited a language as Namibian Khoekhoe might in turn decry the descriptivist attitude as ‘throwing the language away’. Once again, stronger collaborative ties must be forged between linguists and local speech communities if both parties are to navigate successfully the twin but often opposing projects of linguistic research and language preservation.

5.1.4. Synchronic Conclusions

While consultants did display a metalinguistic awareness that loanwords hosting click consonants were in ‘Nama’ in origin, none could gloss these items, and none showed any familiarity with the standardised orthographic conventions of Namibian Khoekhoe. As discussed further in Section 5.2. below, no loaned click consonants would seem to have retained phonemic contrastivity. However, despite the fact that loaned click consonants no longer carry phonemic value, they are preserved. Consultant A and Consultant D considered click deletion to constitute a facilitative strategy, best deployed by speakers who wanted to loan the word but could not produce the click, while both also seemed to feel that the preservation of the click preserved the word’s status as ‘Nama’. Similarly, when commenting on orthography, Consultant B observed that ‘*allie Namagoed*’ began with a convention indicating a click. This may serve as a preliminary indication that the use of click consonants is strongly metalinguistically associated with Namibian Khoekhoe. While clicks no longer serve a phonemic function, they do signpost a word’s historical origins and mark it as alien to Afrikaans.

5.2. Phonological Description

This section offers a phonological overview of the loaned clicks recorded, and attempts to identify which clicks are most often produced when targeting Namibian Khoekhoe clicks. Given the small sample size, and accepting also that only a few targets can be conclusively identified, all adoptive strategies identified should be considered preliminary only, rather than generalised rules.

5.2.1. Quality and Incidence of ‘Unstable’ Clicks

Striking the input from the L1 Namibian Khoekhoe consultant, and accounting only for clicks loaned by L1 Afrikaans speakers, I surveyed 61 tokens of 16 lemma pronounced using 41 variations. Four additional tokens of two lemma featured click deletion, and one item elsewhere

attested containing a click pronounced using a strongly ejective unvoiced velar stop. A seventeenth lemma, further discussed below, used a strongly ejective unvoiced dental stop, but cannot be shown to have targeted a click. Of the 41 variations, I judge 19 to have contained [ʈ], 18 to have contained [ʈ̚], and 4 to have contained [ʈ̚̚]. None contained the lateral click [ɭ].

As has been made apparent by the examples above, some consultants were capable of regularly pronouncing one loanword multiple times; Consultant H, for example, targeted [ʈ̚!ʰæu] as [ʈ̚æu] five times, always substituting the targeted alveolar click for a palatal click, and deleting the phonemic prenasalisation and ejectivity. An additional example of regularity within an utter is provided below.

C: ek wonder of dit nie n [ʈ̚gəikʰi] is nie . maar dis seker nie ôse wêreld se [ʈ̚gəikʰis]; nie ... maar dit is n [ʈ̚gəikʰi]. ... dis nou weer n n n plant, n veldkos, wat jy kan eet, as dit seisoen is.

C: I wonder if it isn't a [ʈ̚gəikʰi] . but it's probably not the [ʈ̚gəikʰis] from our region. ... but it is a [ʈ̚gəikʰi] ... it's also a a a plant, wild food, that you can eat, if it's the right season.

In this instance, Consultant C was commenting on several stimulus photographs of *Pelargonium* spp., and used the item spelled **t'neitjie** for *Pelargonium incrassatum* (Geraniaceae) by Le Roux 1981. In all three examples, she used a palatal click accompanied by a voiced velar stop. However, some minutes later, returning to the topic, she used the hybrid compound **t'neitjieblomme** in reference to the flower of *Lapeirousia verecunda* (Iridaceae). Although the two species are wholly distinct and belong to unrelated lineages, their similarly-patterned white and red flowers prompted the following exchange.

C: dis mos ook [ʈ̚gəikʰiblɔmə]
 CRC: ok. ohh soos die *Pelargoniums*
 C: mm

C: it's probably also [ʈ̚gəikʰiblɔmə]
 CRC: ok. ohh like the *Pelargoniums* C:
 mm

In this utterance, Consultant C also accompanied the click using a voiced velar stop, but here deployed a dental click rather than a palatal. In other words, while she was capable of regularly producing the same click within the scope of an utterance, when she produced it again after a time interval, she used a different click. When targeting the item spelled **t'gibbie** by multiple ethnobotanical authors (Le Roux 1981, Powrie 2004, Nortje & Van Wyk 2015), the same consultant displayed a similar alternation between the palatal and the dental click, producing both [ʈ̚gəibɔs] and [ʈ̚gəibɔs], in both instances accompanied by a voiced velar stop.

A: so en dan die Khoe noem dit die [nu̯suna:mɛfəiχi:], [tu̯suna:mɛfəiχi:].
CRC: [ju̯suna:mɛfəiχi:]
A: [tu̯suna:mɛfəiχi:]
CRC: what does that mean?
A: it is an edible plant. it is a plant that they eat. so [nu̯suna:ma], we'll we'll look in Barkhuizen's book
but it is=
CRC: =OK=
A: =it is a direct trlation of . with the Nama=
CRC: =ja=
A: =this is not a Khoe version. It's [tu̯s?i:na:ma]
CRC: Ja.
A: so it is a Nama translation. So maybe if you go up north, find out from a Nama person what
[nu̯s?una:ma] means, because it's not like we spelling it now, it's [tu̯s?una:ma]

A similarly extreme degree of variation is detectible in the following excerpt from Consultant D's interview.

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D: you should probably just call it [k̤aribom]
 E: oh yes=
 D: =but [ʰk̤arɪ] is the is the Namawoord
 CRC: alright
 D: and the last plant that's green
 CRC: mm
 E: they grow here up against the mountain and was I just saying to you [*turning to Consultant E*] on Sunday that the olivewood [=*Dodonaea viscosa*] and the [g̤aribom] are going dead from thirst. it's a [k̤aribom] and that its seed [*pointing to photo*] that one. it grows like this.
 CRC: between the rocks?
 D: in the rocks, yes.

As discussed above, Consultant D deleted the click when advising Consultant E on how to pronounce the word more easily, but, in his own pronunciations, varied between the palatal and the dental click, thrice inserted a voiceless velar stop, once voiced this stop, and once nasalised the click.

I also collected one instance of a speaker who alternated between a strongly ejective unvoiced velar stop and an alveolar click. Consultant G initially used only the ejective consonant, then, after wondering about the origins of the word, deployed an alveolar click.

G: ek wonder of it nie . of hierdie plant . is hy nie familie van die . ysterhout?
 CRC: vir die ysterhout?
 G: wat sê hulle die . [k'æubi]
 CRC: [k̤æubi]?
 G: ai wat is die woordort die . [!æubi]

G: I wonder if it isn't . if this plant . is it not related to the . ironwood [=*Olea europaea* subsp. *africana*]?
 CRC: to the ironwood?
 G: what they say the. [k'æubi]
 CRC: [k̤æubi]?
 G: ai what the source of the word the . [!æubi]

The target of this item, spelled **t'oubee** in Le Roux 1981, is attested as early as Laidler 1928, as **D/koubi**. Laidler did seem to have attempted to differentiate between Namibian Khoekhoe clicks, and this orthography would suggest a dental click, but, as discussed in Chapter 2, his perception of clicks would seem to have been poor, and I would not consider this proof that the target historically contained a dental click. Nonetheless, two other consultants also used the item **t'oubee**. Consultant C twice used a palatal accompanied by an unvoiced velar stop, and once nasalised it, alternating between [ʰk̤æubibɔs] and [ʰk̤æubibɔs]. Consultant D similarly alternated between [ʰk̤æube:] and [ʰk̤æube:]. This would suggest the historical presence of a click that targeted once using a strongly ejective voiceless velar stop. One other consultant, Consultant H, used a loan that did not contain a click, but that did contain a strongly ejective unvoiced dental stop, namely [t'amaxu]. However, as both the referent and the target of this item is unknown, further scrutiny of clicks targeted using an ejective stop consonant is not possible.

5.2.2. Comparison of Loaned Clicks with Known Targets

Of the 16 lemma containing clicks elicited, 10 have sound or reasonable etymologies (see Section 3.1.2). This section compares all variants of loaned clicks with these targets in an effort to detect any regular adoptive strategies that may have emerged or be in the process of emerging.

†haûtsiama (Schultze, 1907: 83)

This item historically hosted a word-initial prenasalised aspirated palatal click [ʔ^hʔ^h], and the diphthong of the initial syllable was phonemically nasalised [əⁿuⁿ]. *α* targeted [ʔ^hʔ^h] as [ʔ^h], while *γ* used [ʔ^h] followed by the insertion of an epenthetic unvoiced velar stop [k]. *α* thrice deleted the click altogether, but inserted an epenthetic nasal stop. It is possible that he was motivated to do so by the historical presence of a nasalised vowel. In all targets, the correct type of click was used, but the accompaniments were not.

Consultant A simplified the nasalised diphthong [əⁿuⁿ] to the monophthong [u], but Consultant C used the Afrikaans diphthong [œu] in place of [əⁿuⁿ]. The latter two syllables were accurately targeted by both consultants.

lhunis (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991)

This item historically contained a word-initial prenasalised aspirated dental click [ʔ^hʔ^h]; Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991 provide no data on tones or nasalisation. Consultant D targeted this click using a dental click [ʔ], and inserted a voiced velar stop [g]. This is the correct type of click, followed by apparently epenthetic stop insertion. The remainder of the item was accurately targeted.

|khúrúbèb (E&H 1991, Mannheimer 2012)

This item historically began with the dental affricate click [ʔʃ] and carried a tonemic melody of LLH with no phonemic nasalisation attested. Consultant C used [†kunibíbɔs] with a palatal click followed by an unvoiced velar stop. Consultant D used a strongly nasalised palatal [ʔ^hgunube], which Consultant E mimicked [!kunini], without nasalisation and with the insertion of a voiceless velar stop. Here there would seem to be no environmental motivation Consultant D's nasalisation of the click in the target.

|garas (Schultze, 1907: 144, 345)

This item historically began with the dental stop click [ʔ]; Schultze 1907 provides no data on tones or nasalisation.

Consultant B used a dental click with heavy voicing [ʔ^hɣrabɔs]. Consultant D used a palatal click followed by a voiced velar stop [†gɛra]. Consultant F provided the only instance of schwa insertion [ʔ^hətɛrɛ] between the voiced dental click and the insertion of a voiceless dental stop.

Consultant H used this item in two hybrid compounds, **t'garrabos** and **t'garrabier**, with two distinct pronunciations. One, [ʔ^hɣrabɔs], featured heavy voicing of the dental click, followed by a voiced velar fricative. The other, as encountered in three tokens [ʔ^hɣrabi:r], [ʔ^hɣrabiɔ], and [ʔ^hɣrabɔs], voiced the dental click without fricative insertion.

The heavy voicing of all but one of these clicks, and the insertion specifically of a voiced stop after the unvoiced click, is potentially significant, but I can detect nothing in the target to have conditioned this. Schultze typically records vowel nasalisation with great accuracy, and it is unlikely that a typo omitted nasalisation of this item twice, over two hundred pages apart.

‡kholes (Mannheimer *et al.* 2008, Mannheimer 2012)

This item is attested twice, with neither record transcribed by a linguist to my knowledge. Both transcriptions indicate the palatal affricate click [‡ʎ], but provide no data on tones or nasalisation. Consultant B used the dental click in both variants, inserting a voiceless velar stop only in [wo:i|ko:i], not in [faʲ|o:i].

This is the first of only two instances of a loan in which Afrikaans material served as the specifier, and thus preceded the loaned item. Consultant B's pronunciation of *vaal* /fa:l/ → [faʲ] with a shortened and slightly raised vowel and desegmentalisation of the expected lateral approximant to heavy vocalic palatalisation is independently interesting as a feature of regionalised Afrikaans phonology, but it exerts no apparent influence over the click. It is possible that the palatalisation may have blocked the stop insertion observed in [wo:i|ko:i], but since there is no comparable instance of a click preceded by the expected lateral approximant, this cannot be demonstrated.

!khòbàb (Schultze, 1907: 202, Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991)

This item is attested without tones in Schultze 1907, and with the tonemic melody LL in Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991. Both records use the alveolar affricate click [!ʎ]. Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991 do record intervocalic variation between [b] and [w].

Consultant I used the pronunciation [ʰ!hoba], using the prenasalised aspirated alveolar click and a LL tone melody; this would be spelled **!hòbà**. Her omission of the expected nominative masculine singular ending **-b** may simply have been because she demonstrated the word during an Afrikaans sentence, meaning that the word did not require inflection, but this is speculative.

Consultant G used [||gɔba], targeting the alveolar click indicated by all Namibian Khoekhoe samples (whether affricate or prenasalised aspirated) using an unaccompanied dental click followed by a voiced velar stop [g].

‡ae (E&H 2002)

The Namibian Khoekhoe pronunciation would be [ʰ‡ae], featuring a prenasalised ejective palatal click; no tonemic data is provided. Consultant C targeted this item using the palatal click [‡] and inserting the voiced velar stop. She also substituted the Afrikaans diphthong [ai].

|kham (Kroen 1889, E&H 2002)

This item originally hosted the dental affricate click [ʎ]. Consultant H targeted it twice, both times as the head of hybrid compound once using a voiced palatal click as [**dasiʰan**], and once using a dental click [ʎ] followed by an unvoiced velar stop [k]. This is the second of only two instances of a loan in which Afrikaans material served as the specifier, and thus preceded the loaned item; however, in this case, the preceding material seems to

have had little to no influence on the targeting process. Both variants see the replacement of the final bilabial nasal [m] with the alveolar nasal [n].

!au (E&H 2002)

As produced by Consultant I, the Namibian Khoekhoe **!au** [ʔ!əu] features a prenasalised ejective alveolar click. Consultant H targeted this as [ʔœu], using a palal click, and substituting the Afrikaans diphthong [œu] for the Namibian Khoekhoe [əu].

5.2.3. Possible Adoptive Strategies

The small sample size and the uncertainty of the targets make the establishment of regular adoptive strategies assisting in click nativisation impossible. However, a number of possible epenthetic strategies may be identified on the basis of comparison with the targets identified Section 5.2.2.

The two clicks most commonly used in loanwords were [ʔ] and [ʔ̚]. This would seem to align with the fact that Consultant I's attempt to mimic an Afrikaans speaker incorrectly targeting a Namibian Khoekhoe click employed [ʔ̚]. It should be noted that, in many instances, I found it difficult to judge between the two, and relied on spectrographic and waveform comparisons to inform my transcriptions. Overall, I would qualify the 'Namaqualand Afrikaans click' as a loosely post-dental [ʔ̚] but pre-palatal [ʔ̚] stop, and wholly distinct from the characteristic Namibian Khoekhoe alveolar stop [ʔ̚]. No known target would seem to have contained a lateral click, which perhaps explains the lack of lateral clicks in loans; however, it is also possible that the lateral is dispreferred as an adoptive click. Although click deletion would have served as the simplest adoptive strategy, but was not the most widely used. It is also possible that the use of a strongly ejective stop consonant may also have targeted a click consonant, although further data would be required to confirm this.

Rather than producing the two simultaneous closures and two simultaneous releases characteristic of click consonants, the predominant strategy would seem to have been stop insertion at a considerable delay following the production of a click. Given that click consonants are cross-linguistically unique *because* of their twin simultaneous closures, it may well be that consultants experienced particular difficulty in modulating the posterior closure into a stop or an affricate, and resorted instead to stop insertion. Eleven pronunciations featured the insertion of a voiced velar stop [g], and eleven featured the insertion of an unvoiced velar stop [k]. Only one featured the insertion of a voiced fricative [x], and only one used schwa insertion prior to the stop, which was uniquely a voiceless dental. I would not consider these to be true click effluxes, in that they

typically follow the click at a considerable interval; furthermore, there would seem to be no regularity with which stop insertion is applied to accompaniments of the known targets. As such, I would term stop insertion epenthetic, in that it facilitates the pronunciation of a particular feature of a class of non-native phonemes (in this case, the posterior closure of non-native click consonants), rather than adoptive, as it does not regularly target and nativise a specific non-native phoneme.

Only five pronunciations included voicing of the click; of these, four targeted **|garas**, making it likely that an unrecorded feature of this target induced voicing, rather than that voicing is a particularly productive epenthetic strategy. Similarly, only six pronunciations featured nasalisation of the click. Of these, four were used by Consultant D, and one by Consultant E attempting to mimic Consultant D, and so it is possible that heavy nasalisation was an idiosyncratic feature of Consultant D's targeting strategies. A possible alternative explanation for is the production of loaned clicks with a slightly lowered velum, rather than with a full velar closure and velar release, resulting in epenthetic nasalisation during release. It is possible that the historical presence of a nasalised vowel or a prenasalised click may have been realised in Namaqualand Afrikaans via the insertion of a nasal stop, but evidence for this is retrievable from only one known target, **#haûtsiama**.

Monophthongs would seem to have been accurately targeted. In the two instances of loaned diphthongs with known targets, consultants adopted Namibian Khoekhoe diphthongs only slightly, such that /əu/ → [œu] and /ai/ → [ae] in accordance with the standard Afrikaans inventory.

5.2.4. Phonological Conclusions

These phonological observations align with the 'instability' described by Links 1989 and Besten 2013. 44 variant pronunciations of 61 tokens, including variability by individual speakers within the same utterance, confirms a high degree of phonological irregularity, and no evidence of phonemic contrastivity. In terms of click typology, [ʈ] and [ɿ] are deployed almost equally, but often almost indistinguishably. I would strongly recommend palatographic readings be taken during future research to determine the precise placement of the Namaqualand Afrikaans click. Epenthetic velar stop insertion and epenthetic velar lowering may constitute two epenthetic strategies that assist in targeting click consonants, but further data would be required to confirm this.

5.3. Diachronic Discussion

Neither Links 1989 nor Besten 2013 discuss *why* loaned clicks are unstable from a historical sociolinguistic perspective. This section summarises the known historical context of language contact in Namaqualand, explores possible motivations for click loan, and then situates click loan within a broader sociolinguistic context. I argue that this degree of phonological irregularity is precisely what should be expected of loans that have entered a lexicon at a relatively recent time depth, and have not yet had time to stabilise such that they may operate regularly and productively within the phonological structure of their host language.

5.3.1. Need or Prestige?

Several languages in the Khoekhoe branch co-existed with Cape Dutch for upwards of three centuries. In the case of the Nama language, bilingual communities who made fluent and productive use of both Nama and Afrikaans are known to have lived and moved between the Northern Cape and Namibia for the better part 18th and 19th centuries. However, by the first half of the 20th century, extreme attrition had already begun to affect all South African languages in the Khoekhoe branch. As explored in Chapter 1, there exists little to no census data concerning the number of Khoekhoe speakers resident in South Africa, and hence no way to quantify the loss of Nama dialects in the Northern Cape over the course of the past century. However, it is possible to extrapolate a likely scenario, and hence to build up a rough historical sense of when the shift from bilingualism to monolingualism took place.

The catastrophic attrition of Khoekhoe-branch languages such as Kora and Xri was already a matter of pressing concern by the late 19th century (see especially Du Plessis, 2019: 12; Haacke & Snyman 2019: 272). While these speech communities would seem to have been slightly less populous to begin with, and so have been lost more rapidly, it may be presumed that Nama dialects still in use in Namaqualand at this time faced similar pressures, and declined more or less at a similar rate. While Nama dialects remained in productive use across the border in Namibia, we can assume that their usage slowly died out in South Africa throughout the second half of the 20th century. This dovetails with Le Roux's observations in the early 1980s that community elders were aware of a lack of productive language acquisition by younger generations. Even following extreme language loss, however, certain lexical items were retained as loanwords within the Namaqualand Afrikaans lexicon. As has been discussed, it is likely that plant-related loanwords constitute a location-bound lexis, and that the extremely narrow

geographic distribution of their referents renders them a set of highly localised regionalisms not elsewhere attested.

During the literature review phase of this project, I attributed the presence of Khoekhoe-branch loanwords in Afrikaans primarily to need. In the particular case of Namaqualand Afrikaans, I assumed that the retention of a lexical set of plant-related loanwords even following extreme language attrition was directly tied to the high floral diversity of Namaqualand itself. Even following the rapid decline of bilingualism during the 20th century, regional archaisms loaned from the Khoekhoe branch were preserved in the lexicon of monolinguals because of pragmatic need, and because no GERMANIC alternatives existed in the Afrikaans lexis.

However, the presence of loanwords that do *not* refer to endemic plant species, and hence were *not* borrowed in response to exposure to novelty, suggests that additional sociopragmatic factors may also be in play. Many of the items in Links 1989 target Namibian Khoekhoe items that refer to everyday household goods, body parts, or verbs with a very general semantic scope that have readily-accessible counterparts in Namaqualand Afrikaans. These items are similar to the two serendipitous loans of the verbs **!au** for ‘scream’ and **!ae** for ‘stick to’ which I recorded, in their loans could not logically have been motivated by need. Coupled with Consultant I’s anecdotal observations that younger generations use Nama loanwords as ‘a sort of street language’, this raises the question of whether or not it is possible that a dialect or dialects of Northern Cape Nama enjoys a degree of covert prestige.

There exist no data concerning the link between dialects of Nama and sociolinguistic identity within South Africa; in fact, there exist no data on lay metalinguistic perceptions of languages in the ‘Khoesan’ group at all. Without such data, no hard conclusions can be drawn. Nevertheless, in the absence of a pragmatic motivator such as novelty, it is logical to speculate that prestige or covert prestige may serve as a factor influencing loan.

5.3.2. Synchronic Variation in a Diachronic Context

Simply to observe this extreme variation, without speculating as to its cause, is insufficient. I would especially hope to dispel the stereotyped notion that click consonants are particularly difficult to target, and hence are inevitably the subject of higher variation. Instead, I explore two possible sociolinguistic justifications for the irregularity affecting loaned clicks – firstly, the

relative recency of their entry into Namaqualand Afrikaans, and, secondly, the phonological markedness of click consonants.

Regardless of whether or not Namibian Khoekhoe, or any putative Northern Cape dialect of Nama, enjoys covert prestige among monolingual speakers of Namaqualand Afrikaans, a small set of loanwords does exist, and they do show extreme phonological variation, particular with regard to the production of click consonants. As explored in Section 5.3., consultants confidently associated clicks with what they termed ‘Nama’, or identified them as ‘Khoewoorde’; nevertheless, they had little to no capacity to gloss these loanwords beyond their immediate semantic referent. Finally, I observed nothing to indicate phonemic differentiation between clicks.

These three observations – acknowledgement that items are loans; lack of semantic transparency; and lack of adherence to phonological systems such as phonemic contrastivity – align precisely with the discussion at Hock, 1986: 396 – 397 of how markedness may slow or block rephonologisation processes (see Section 1.3.3. for a more in-depth discussion). While loans are still perceived as alien to the host language, they are broadly exempt from its phonological processes. However, after a significant period of time has passed since their adoption, their historical origins typically become so obscured that they are no longer marked as alien. At this point, they begin to operate productively within the morphosyntactic and phonological systems of the host language.

The high degree of variation in loaned clicks is thus consistent with the irregularity expected from a feature that has entered a language at a relatively recent time depth. Although the acquisition and regular use of Khoekhoe-branch languages would seem to have been in steady decline throughout the colonial period, the catastrophic attrition of dialects of Nama, and hence the mass shift within the Northern Cape from bilingualism to monolingualism, likely occurred primarily within the last century. This attrition resulted in mass desensitisation to the phonemic contrastivity of click consonants, leading to the extreme irregularity in click loan observed in Links 1989, as well as in the data collected during Chapter 4. In other words, the synchronic phonological properties of click consonants in Namaqualand Afrikaans are irregular because of the recency of their loan, and because they have not yet had time either to disappear from Namaqualand Afrikaans, or to stabilise within its phonemic inventory.

Furthermore, it is possible that the sociolinguistic markedness of click consonants may have contributed to the lack of regular rephonologisation strategies. Instead of resorting to the wholesale deletion or regular substitution of alien consonants with native Afrikaans phonemes, consultants do seem to have attempted in the main to preserve click consonants, albeit via a series of idiosyncratic strategies that have resulted in high variation. This variation is not because the relative phonetic complexity of click consonants renders them unlearnable. Rather, I suggest that the cross-linguistic rarity of click consonants, and hence their markedness, may currently be preventing their being accepted as naturalised Afrikaans lexical items. This in turn preserves their status as markedly alien and prevents their participation in Afrikaans phonotactic systems, and hence slows any levelling process that might see them more regularly adopted.

5.3.3. A Snapshot of the Click Diffusion Process

As discussed above, the extreme irregularity of loaned clicks in Namaqualand Afrikaans suggests a relatively recent entry into the lexicon. This offers researchers a unique opportunity to observe synchronic processes of click loan, and, in particular, the status of click consonants as markers of sociolinguistic identity. This discussion limits itself to the question of contact between the Nguni group of the NTU language family and the Khoekhoe branch of the KHOE family, as this has been the focus of most existing literature.

As discussed in Section 1.2.1 and Section 1.3.3., the current consensus on click loan and diffusion throughout the Kalahari Basin Area (KBA) assumes origin in one or more of the ‘Khoesan’ group languages, and subsequent dispersal into nearby speech communities following periods of lengthy contact and presumed multilingualism. It has also been amply demonstrated that the presence of click consonants is not restricted to loanwords originating within Khoekhoe, at least within the Nguni cluster. Rather, items demonstrated to have existed in proto-NTU would seem to have *gained* click consonants, presumably via a normal process of feature acquisition following contact-induced language change.

The sociolinguistic drivers of click diffusion have not yet been ascertained. It has been suggested that click consonants may historically have served as something of a marker of identity during prolonged contact situations, especially assuming intermarriage between speech communities and hence the development of multilingualism (Gunnink *et al.* 2015; Sands & Gunnink 2019); this in turn presupposes that the ability to use click consonants may have connoted some degree of prestige, whether overt or covert. However, there exist no historical data to shore up this claim,

and it remains speculative only. In the contemporary existence of large and productive inventories of click consonants in, for example, the Nguni languages, we have access only to the output of a lengthy tradition of contact, with little opportunity to view either the historical input, or the diachronic variables that operated on this input.

However, following my observations that certain Khoekhoe-branch loanwords may have entered Namaqualand Afrikaans driven by factors other than pragmatic need, and accepting also the demonstrable recency of their entry, I suggest that the presence of loaned clicks in Namaqualand Afrikaans offers researchers a rare glimpse into *currently ongoing* click loan. In particular, if the dialect of Nama still used in the Northern Cape does carry a degree of sociolinguistic prestige, and if younger generations do indeed use loanwords as ‘*n soort straat taal*’, then it is wholly possible that sociolinguistic identity may be expressed through the use of click consonants. This in turn may drive click insertion, and hence click diffusion. While the precise sociolinguistic conditions of the multiple and nuanced contact points that connected languages within the KBA for millennia cannot, of course, be replicated, Namaqualand is nevertheless a site of synchronic click loan, and as such has the potential to yield comparative data that could supply researchers with insight into the click diffusion process.

Conclusions & Recommendations

Summary of Conclusions

After reviewing the available lexicographical records and academic literature in Chapters 1 and 2, I conclude that existing research into diachronic contact between languages in the Khoekhoe branch and Afrikaans is outdated. Linguistic research into synchronic contact between South African varieties of Nama and Namaqualand Afrikaans is almost non-existent, with the bulk of the available data having been obtained by ethnobotanists, and hence unworkably recorded using *ad hoc* orthographies. This lack of accessible and up-to-date linguistic research has contributed to what I would not hesitate to qualify a misinformation crisis within the natural sciences. Contemporary lay-oriented wildflower guides, together with academic botanical and ethnobotanical, do not provide accurate linguistic information, and, in many cases, wholly misrepresent fragile linguistic data. This state of affairs is particularly unfortunate given that, as shown in Chapter 3, many Khoekhoe-branch loanwords *can* in fact be reliably etymologised, *can* be accurately transcribed in accordance with standardised Namibian Khoekhoe protocols, and *can* be glossed. This process, in turn, reveals underlying organisational principles that may once have informed taxonomies precipitated according to use, phytochemistry, phytomorphology, and a number of other criteria.

However, as concluded in Chapter 3, a significant number of loanwords recorded particularly within the Namaqualand region for Namaqualand endemics cannot be sourced to any target in the standardised Namibian Khoekhoe reference works. This would seem to confirm the theory that these items are effectively bound to a particular geographic region by pragmatic ecological constraints. If there is or historically was lexical variation in Nama as spoken within South Africa, it is logical to speculate that there may also have been variation in the phonology, morphology, or syntax. The extent to which Nama as spoken within South Africa diverges from the dialects of Nama subsumed into Namibian Khoekhoe is not known, but the existence of a number of items recorded *only* as loanwords in Namaqualand Afrikaans lends credence to the notion that variation may have existed in the lexis at least. As shown in Chapter 4, such loanwords are not obsolete, but are still used productively by residents of Namaqualand.

As shown in Chapter 5, consultants could identify loanwords as being of ‘Nama’ origin, and at least two consultants seemed to consider the preservation of a click consonant indicative of a loanword’s status as ‘Nama’. Coupled with the fact that clicks are preserved despite their loss of

phonemic contrastivity, it is possible that they have come to serve instead as metalinguistic signposts used to mark a word as ‘Nama’. As discussed in Section 5.3., it may well be that this markedness, coupled with recency of entry, underlies the extreme variability of loaned clicks in Namaqualand Afrikaans. Given also my observations that certain loans would seem to have been motivated by factors other than pragmatic need, it is additionally possible that the use of loanwords hosting clicks, or even the use of a Nama dialect, carries a degree of sociolinguistic prestige within Namaqualand.

However, while consultants could identify items of ‘Nama’ origin, they could not gloss or translate these items. They likewise had no awareness of the orthographic conventions standardised for Namibian Khoekhoe, but instead referenced the *ad hoc* conventions used by botanists and ethnobotanists such as Le Roux 1981, Wheat 2013, and Nortje & Van Wyk 2015. This suggests a failure by linguists to engage with remote rural communities of the Northern Cape. There has been no formal academic effort to provide these communities with accessible resources on either their linguistic heritage or their own contemporary language practices. In the absence of such resources, ethnobotanical material has filled the knowledge gap with linguistic misinformation.

Recommendations

Namaqualand Afrikaans offers researchers a rare and vital glimpse into synchronic click loan. In order to better utilise this opportunity, there is an urgent need for further research in three primary areas. Firstly, further evidence of Khoekhoe-branch loanwords in Namaqualand Afrikaans not contained within the lexical set of plant names would allow for closer scrutiny of the sociopragmatic motivations underlying borrowing between Namaqualand dialects of Nama and Namaqualand Afrikaans. Secondly, additional records of loans with clear and known Namibian Khoekhoe targets could allow for mass quantitative phonological analysis of adoptive strategies; these strategies could in turn be compared with established distinctions between the phonemic click inventories of languages in the ‘Khoesan’ group, the southwest NTU languages, and the Nguni-group languages. A clearer sense of the sociolinguistic status of dialects of Nama within the Northern Cape, and the extent to which these dialects may carry prestige, might contribute to existing theories associating click loans with the assertion of sociolinguistic identity.

My recommendations constitute an urgent and immediate call for further research into three primary topics. Firstly, there is insufficient data on the regional varieties of Nama as spoken in

the Northern Cape. It is not known how they compare to the Namibian Khoekhoe standard, or whether the existence of a botanical lexis unique to Namaqualand may indicate the historical existence of a South African dialect or dialects. Secondly, there is insufficient data on synchronic contact between this putative dialect of Nama and Namaqualand Afrikaans. Larger data sets of loanwords with clearer targets could shed additional light on the phonological strategies that underlie and facilitate click loan, while investigations into whether or not sociolinguistic prestige is attached to fluency in Nama could illuminate motivations for loan beyond pragmatic need. This, in turn, could provide linguists not only with insight into the sociolinguistic dynamics mediating language contact and language change in an understudied post-colonial context, but also into the processes of click loan, click diffusion, and click genesis that historically operated throughout the Kalahari Basin Area.

Thirdly and finally, there is almost no recent academic tradition within South Africa of interdisciplinary collaboration between linguists and botanists. As a result, the fragile and beautiful loanwords collected by Annelise le Roux in 1981 have been ignored by linguists for nearly forty years despite their constituting a vital glimpse into a vanishing linguistic heritage. We must take the initiative to reach out to researchers conducting ethnobotanical and anthropological surveys in remote regions in order to improve the elicitation, transcription, translation, and preservation of endangered languages and rare lexical items.

Appendix A

Loanwords in Links

This appendix offers etymological solutions for ‘Khoi-taal’ loanwords in Namaqualand Afrikaans that do *not* refer to plant names, as recorded by Links 1989: 63 – 66. The majority of solutions were sourced from Namibian Khoekhoe via manual comparison with lemma in Haacke & Eiseb 2002, supplemented by Boshoff & Nienaber 1967, Nienaber 1963, Schultze 1907, and Kroenlein 1889 as required. Some, however, are also compared with Kora items sourced from both Engelbrecht 1936 and Du Plessis 2019 in order to explore possible dialectal overlap.

I provide both Links’ IPA in square brackets, Links’ original Afrikaans definitions, and my English translations; I have also reordered and clustered certain lemma in order to better demonstrate their sense, or else to show that certain items should be collapsed into single entries. My Linnaean identities, where relevant, are provided in parentheses. Derivations provided using *ex* I consider certain; those provided using *cf.* are tentative.

A.1.

These lemma are adapted from Links, 1989: 63 – 64, originally listed under the heading Diername en ander woorde wat met die veldlewe in verband staan (‘Animal names and other words connected to life in the veld’).

Note that all etymologies suggested for names of reptiles are very uncertain, largely because of a lack of confirmed Linnaean identities for most Namibian Khoekhoe and Kora names of lizards. Since compound nouns are detectible as targets, I suspect the historical existence of a nuanced taxonomy for lizards and other reptiles, the loss of which has deprived surviving names of their sense relations and hence rendered them semantically opaque.

gamma [xamɑ]; **tkamma** [!amɑ] – ’n Bakoorkakkal; ’n Draaijakkals. (= *Otocyon megalotis*.)

Although listed separately, these lemma are certainly identical, since the names *bakoorkakkals* and *draaijakkals* both regularly refer to *Otocyon megalotis*, the bat-eared fox. *ex* Namibian Khoekhoe **!khamab**, which refers primarily to *Vulpes chama* (Kroenlein 1889: 225; Schultze 1907: 254), the closely-related Cape fox; *cf.* also Kora **!xamab** = *Otocyon megalotis* (Du Plessis 2019), which may suggest a degree of regional conflation of the two genera. The substitution of the velar fricative [x] for the affricate

click [!ʔ] following click deletion suggests an effort to target the affricate efflux using a fricative consonant.

ntgie [n!gi] – Die maanhaarjakkals. (= *Proteles cristata*).

cf. also **gheip** (= *Proteles cristata*) at Boshoff & Nienaber, 1967: 250, who derive it *ex* Namibian Khoekhoe |**gīb** = *Proteles cristata* (Kroenlein, 1889: 108; Haacke & Eiseb 2002).

gôrra [xɔrɑ] – 'n Plekkie waar water uitsyfer, veral in n rivierbedding. ('A place where water wells up, especially in a riverbed.')

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **xora** *v. i.*, 'to dig for water in a dry riverbed' (Haacke & Eiseb 2002).

ntgoeroetjie [n!guruci] – 'n Klein koppie met losserige klippe. ('A small hill with loose stones.')

ex Namibian Khoekhoe |**nōrib**, 'a slope', 'a slant', 'a descent' (Haacke & Eiseb 2002).

ntgwa [n!wɑ] – 'n Klipperige rant waarteen vee veral wei. ('A stony rand, especially where livestock graze.')

ex Namibian Khoekhoe |**hoab**, 'cave', 'cavern', 'overhang of rock' (Haacke & Eiseb 2002).

ntkan [n!ɑn] – 'n Klipkoppie vol gate en tunnels waarin dassies hou. ('A stony hill full of holes and tunnels where dassies live.')

ex Namibian Khoekhoe †**gâb**, 'a cliff', 'an overhang' (Haacke & Eiseb 2002).

tkônnā [!ɔnɑ] – Dis syferwater waarvan die bron net aan sekere persone of diere bekend is. ('This is springwater, the source of which is known only to certain people or animals.')

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **!khanub** 'watering place' (Schultze 1907: 248).

ntgortota [n!ɔrtotɑ]; **tkorteman** [!ɔrtəmɑn] – Die bloukopkoggelmander; 'n akkedissoort. ('the blue-headed agama' (= *Agama atra*); 'a species of lizard'.)

I recommend collapsing these lemma. ID uncertain. Etymology uncertain, but *cf.* Namibian Khoekhoe **!arob** 'the blue-headed agama' (Kroenlein, 1889: 29); **!arob** 'Agama sp.' (Schultze, 1907: 455); **!narobeb**, 'agama' (Haacke & Eiseb 2002); also Kora †**naboros** = 'lizard', 'skink' (Du Plessis, 2019: 360).

tgnabbera [!gnɔbərə] – 'n Bruin-en-wit akkedissie. ('A small brown-and-white lizard.')

cf. the loanword **ghabera** (= *Euprepis carinatus*) sourced *ex* Namibian Khoekhoe |**gawerab** 'lizard' (Boshoff & Nienaber, 1967: 247); accordingly, *cf.* also Kora |**gibirib** (= *Euprepis carinatus* Du Plessis, 2019: 360), Xri **glabarip** = 'lizard sp. (10cm)' (Haacke & Snyman 2019: 308).

tetoetoe [tətutu] – 'n Koggelmander met 'n bruin agterlyf. ('An agama with a brown abdomen.')

ID uncertain. Etymology uncertain, but *cf.* the Kora name |'uixexoeb, which refers to 'rock lizard', 'agama' (Du Plessis, 2019: 360). The first element |'ui- is a specifying lexeme, glossing simply as 'stone' or 'rock'; the second element -xexoeb is therefore the generic lexeme, referring to the lizard proper, although it is unrecorded in its unspecified form. Accepting the Kora item as a target, I would posit metathesis of the first diphthong /ui/ and the vowel /e/, in order to cluster /ui/ and /oe/, which subsequently assimilate and monophthongise to Afrikaans /u/; the word-initial dental click and both velar fricatives are both realised as the dental stop /t/.

Similarly, the Namibian Khoekhoe **!nanikemûs** refers to 'gecko' (Haacke & Eiseb 2002; a similar Kora item, with click deletion, appears at Du Plessis, 2019: 359 as **nanitamûb** for 'gecko'). The first element **!nani** glosses as 'ridge' (Kroenlein, 1889: 279) or 'mountain ridge', 'rand' (Haacke & Eiseb 2002). The first element **!nani-** is thus a specifying lexeme; the second element **-kemûs** is therefore the generic lexeme, referring to the gecko proper, although it is unrecorded in its unspecified form. Accordingly, there may be some value in comparing Namibian Khoekhoe ***kemûs** 'gecko' and Kora ***xexoeb** 'lizard', which may themselves have historically been cognate, and which have so far been recorded only in compound nouns.

tgon tgon – 'n Klein swart akkedissie. ('A small little black lizard.')

ID uncertain. *cf.* also **ghoenghoentjie**, **ghoentjie**, **koeintjie** for 'salamander' (Boshoff & Nienaber, 1967: 254). Ostensibly *ex* Namibian Khoekhoe **lon lons** for a species of gecko (Kroenlein, 1889: 322; Nienaber 1963: 274; Boshoff & Nienaber, 1967: 254), but *cf.* also Namibian Khoekhoe **!nobos** = 'lizard' (Haacke & Eiseb 2002).

A.2.

The following lemma are adapted from Links, 1989: 64 – 66, originally listed under the heading Huishoudelike woorde en uitdrukkinge ('Household words and expressions').

bokntong [bok!nɔŋ] – harde winddroog gemaakte vet van 'n bok wat dikwels as velroom gebruik word. ('Hard air-dried fat made from an antelope, often used as a skin lotion.')

cf. the Namibian Khoekhoe verbs **!khau**, *v. t.* 'to daub', 'to smear', **!khaun|khā**, *v. refl.* 'to grease one's body'; hence the compound noun **!khaulnuib** 'skin lotion', lit., 'to smear' + 'animal fat' (Haacke & Eiseb, 2002).

gabba(-goed) – dit verwys na koppies, bekere. ('This refers to cups and jugs.')

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **xapan** 'crookery' (Boshoff & Nienaber, 1967: 233).

getkei [xə!əi] – om gebukkend te staan; iemand staan **getkei**. ('To stand bowed over; someone stands **tkei**.')

No etymology.

ntgaboe, **ntgouboe** [n!ɑbu], [n!œubu] – die woord wissel dikwels in die uitspraak en beteken oninteressant, onsmaklik, *ens.* ('This word often varies in pronunciation, and means uninteresting, tasteless, and so forth.')

cf. also **ghaboe** = 'tasteless' (Boshoff & Nienaber, 1967: 247), who derive it *ex* Namibian Khoekhoe **!gabu** = tasteless, 'insipid', 'lifeless', 'dull' (Haacke & Eiseb 2002).

ntgaira [n!aira] – die woord word adjektiewies gebruik om 'n persoon se lewensomstandighede te beskryf as dit eenvoudig of ellendig is. ('This word is usually adjectivally to describe a person's living conditions that are simple or poor.')

No etymology.

ntgoe [n!gu] – dikwels word hierdie woord werkwoordelik gebruik: "Hoe **ntgoe** jou elmboë dan so?" Dit verwys dan na die vorming van 'n skurwe kors op bepaalde dele van die liggaam, byvoorbeeld die elmboë, hakskene *ens.* Die woord is ook opgeteken waar dit as adjektief gebruik is: "Jou voete is **ntgoe**." ('This word is often used as a verb: "Now why do your elbows **ntgoe** like that?" It refers to the reformation of a scabby crust on certain parts of the body, for example, the elbows, ankles, and so forth. This word has also been recorded with an adjectival usage: "Your feet are **ntgoe**."')

cf. **ghoe** = 'to be scabby or dirty', derived *ex* Namibian Khoekhoe **|gu** 'to be dirty' (Boshoff & Nienaber 1967: 252); this is a plausible solve but would involve a considerable degree of semantic extension, and should not be considered definite.

ntgômsgom [n!omsxom] – die gedeelte van die nek waar die dier kop af gesny word. Later word die **ntgômsgom** uitgesny vir die kinders om op die kole te braai. ('The section of the neck where the head of an animal is cut off. Later, the **ntgômsgom** is cut out so that the children can roast it over the coals.')

No etymology.

ntwangweer [n!vɑ:ŋver] – 'n soort donker, mistige weer wat, volgens bygeloof, aandui iets gaan gebeur, *bv.* iemand gaan sterwe. Dis ook as werkwoord opgeteken: "Vir wie **ntwang** die elemente dan so?" ('A sort of dark, misty weather which, according to superstition, indicates that something is going to happen, e.g., someone is going to die. It has also been recorded as a verb: "Now for whom do the elements **ntwang** like this?")

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **|hôa** *v. i.* = 'to form cirrus clouds' (Haacke & Eiseb 2002). Along the west coast of South Africa and southern Namibia, the appearance of cirrus clouds typically heralds the approach of an Atlantic cold front on a strong north-westerly wind, especially during late autumn and winter. As the front moves inland, these icy, highaltitude clouds give way to mid-altitude cirrostratus, and subsequently to the grey, lowlying nimbostratus clouds that yield frontal rain and fog. In other words, the formation of cirrus clouds would indicate the approach of dark, misty weather.

sabba [saba] – 'n soort weersomstandigheid, gewoonlik mistigheid, wat die wêreld koud maak. Die woord word werkwoordelik gebruik: “Hoe **sabba** die weer dan vanoggend so?” (‘A sort of weather condition, usually mistiness, that makes the world cold. This word is used as a verb: “Now why does the weather **sabba** like this this morning?”’)

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **sawe**, **sabe** = to drizzle, to rain softly; **saweb** = a drizzle (Haacke & Eiseb 2002).

soeroe [suru] – Die woord verwys na die gebruik om alle oortollige vette, vliese en velletjies van 'n vel af te skeur met 'n growwe klip. Die vel word dan **gesoeroe**. (‘This word refers to the practice of scraping all the leftover fat, membrane, and scraps of skin from a hide using a rough stone. The hide is then **soeroe**-ed.’)

cf. Namibian Khoekhoe **tsuru** v. t. = to pluck (e.g. feathers) from something (Haacke & Eiseb 2002).

tkaau [!au] – Om langtand te eet omdat iets nie smaaklik is nie. “Hoekom **tkau** jy dan die kossie?” (‘To eat something slowly because it isn’t tasty. “Now why do you **tkau** your bit of food?”’)

No etymology.

tkabba [!aba] – die vorm verwys na “doodgaan” as gevolg van te maer wees. So sal 'n bok dan **tkabba**. (‘This form refers to “die” as a result of being too thin. So an antelope could **tkabba**.’)

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **†gaba** v. i. ‘to become skinny’ (Haacke & Eiseb 2002).

tkai [!ai] – vasmaak. “Ek **tkai** sy bek”, verwysende na die bou van 'n matjieshuis. (‘To make fast. “I **tkai** its door”, referring to the construction of a *matjieshuis*.’)

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **!gae** v. t. ‘to tie together’ (Haacke & Eiseb 2002).

tkaia [!aiα] – 'n Pondok. Die betekenis is baie algemeen bekend in die geweste en verwys gewoon [sic] na die huisie wat in die veld is, by die vee. (‘A pondok. This sense is very commonly known in the region, and usually refers to a little house in the fields, near to the livestock.’)

No etymology.

tkam [!am] – by die uitspraak van hierdie woord is die verskillende suigklanke moontlik betekenisonderskeidend. (‘The different click consonants are possibly phonemic in the pronunciation of this word.’)

[1] Vasknyp, vassit. “Ek vat die bokooi aan die agterbeen en **tkam** die poot tussen my knieë.” (‘To grip tight, to stick fast. “I grab the nanny-goat by the hindleg and **tkam** her hoof between my knees.”’) ex Namibian Khoekhoe **lkham** v. t. ‘to hold, esp. betw. legs’ (Haacke & Eiseb 2002).

[2] Aanstoot. “Ek het **tkam** gekry.” (‘To annoy. “I got **tkam**.”’) ex Namibian Khoekhoe **lami** v. refl. ‘to become angry’, ‘to be annoyed’ (Haacke & Eiseb 2002).

[3] Lig “Vat ’n vuurhoutjie en tkam hier.” (‘To kindle. “Get a match and **tkam** over here.”) *ex* Nama **!amam** *v. t.* to light something from another fire (Haacke & Eiseb 2002).

tkamkoe [!ɑmku] – iets kan tkamkoe (=lekker) smaak.

Likely a serial verb. For the second element, *cf.* Namibian Khoekhoe **#û** *v. t.* ‘to eat’.

thaukind [!ɑukənt] – die jongste kind, die laatlammetjie. (‘The youngest child, a child born long after their siblings.’)

ex the first element in Namibian Khoekhoe **!gao**|goab ‘last child’ (Haacke & Eiseb 2002), Kora **!ao**|oi ‘last child’ (Engelbrecht, 1936: 218; Du Plessis, 2019: 308).

tkirie [!əri] – oud maar sterk. Dit kan ook na ’n persoon verwys en word adjektiewies gebruik. (‘Old but strong. It can also refer to a person, and is used adjectivally.’)

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **#uru**, ‘to be in good health’ (Haacke & Eiseb 2002).

tkna [!nɑ] – vol. “Ek is **tkna** geëet.” (Full. “I’m full from eating.”)

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **!â** *v. i.* ‘to satisfy one’s hunger’, ‘to be satiated’ (Haacke & Eiseb 2002).

tkoe [!u] – Om nie te weet nie. “Jy **tkoe** nooit iets nie.” (‘Not to know. “You never **tkoe** anything.”’)

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **|û** = ‘to know nothing’ (Haacke & Eiseb 2002).

tkoei [!ui] – Dis ’n adjektiewiese vorm om ’n jong kind wat al vryerig begin raak te beskryf. (‘This is an adjectival form used to describe a young child that has already begun to be headstrong.’)

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **!gui**, ‘to spoil a child’ (Haacke & Eiseb 2002).

tkoeiam [!uiɑm] – vasmaak, veral ’n matjie vir die matjieshuis. Die vorm ‘**tkoeiam**tou’ kom ook dikwels voor. (‘To make fast, especially a mat used for a *matjieshuis*. Additionally, the form ‘**tkoeiam**rope’ is often encountered.’)

Likely a serial verb. For the first component **tkoei**, *cf.* Namibian Khoekhoe **!hû**, ‘to knot’, ‘to tie up’ (Haacke & Eiseb 2002).

tkoe-ie [!uhi] – eensaam, maar nie gewone eensaamheid nie. Dis ’n intenser woord wat dikwels verwys na ’n alleenheid wat seermaak. (‘Solitary, but not an ordinary solitude. This is a more intense term, which often refers to a loneliness that causes pain.’)

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **!û ai**, *v. i.*, ‘to feel lonely or desolate’ (Haacke & Eiseb 2002).

tkom [!om] – om siek te word. (‘To become ill.’)

No etymology.

tkou [!œu] – om iets met iemand te deël. (‘To share something with someone.’)

No etymology.

tkwa [!wɑ] – Hierdie woord toon ’n hoë gebruiksfrekwensie, moontlike as gevolg van sy meerduidigheid. “Die bok het **tkwa** (=met sy kop reg na my) loop staan.” “Op die koringland moet jy nie heeldag staan tkwa (=onder die hand deur na die son kyk) nie.” (‘This word has a high usage frequency, possibly as a result of its multiple meanings. “The antelope came to stand **tkwa** (=with the head right towards me).” “Out in the wheatfields you mustn’t spend the whole day standing **tkwa** (=looking at the sun underneath the hand).”)

No etymology. The target of this item is ostensibly an adverb with a sense of ‘thus’, ‘so’, ‘like this’, highly context-dependent, and hence difficult to trace.

tkwanaka [!vɑnɑkɑ] – ’n Els, veral om matjies mee te vleg. (‘An awl, especially for braiding mats.’)

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **!khoanab**, ‘awl (for sewing rush mats)’ (Haacke & Eiseb 2002).

tnorro [n!ɔrɔ] – Agterkop. (‘Nape of the neck.’)

ex Namibian Khoekhoe **!noros**, ‘the back of the head’ (Kroenlein, 1889: 299), **#horob**, ‘neck of human being’ (Haacke & Eiseb 2002). Boshoff & Nienaber 1967 record this item (**norra**, **norro**, **t’norra**, and **ghnorra**) as a dialectal term for the nape of the neck, deriving it from Kroenlein 1889’s record **!noros** (Boshoff & Nienaber, 1967: 451). It appears also as **norra**(tjie), ‘nape of the neck’ at Bosman, van der Merwe, Hiemstra, 1982: 496 with no etymology. As of August 2019, it survives in Bloemfontein among coloured Afrikaans speakers of Kora descent (Du Plessis *pers. comm.*).

Appendix B

Representative Corpus of Loaned Plant Names

This corpus lists alphabetically all loanwords treated in this thesis, together with a number of additional items identified during the lexicographical survey of Chapter 2. For extended discussion of the etymology of selected items, see Chapter 3.

*The designation ubiq is used for items that have been recorded in upwards of five authorities in the latter half of the 20th century. Conversely, items or forms that have not been newly recorded since Smith 1966 or Boshoff & Nienaber 1967, and that cannot be shown to remain in contemporary usage, are marked with an obelus † and presumed obsolete. Items that were historically recorded as Khoekhoe-branch plant names, but that were erroneously in 20th-century sources as common Afrikaans or English names without historical evidence that they ever served productively as loanwords prior to their inclusion in Marloth 1917 or Smith 1966, are identified as such, and are further marked with an asterisk *. Items recorded as Namibian Khoekhoe words uttered by Namibian Khoekhoe speakers after Smith (for example, by Archer 1994) are not included, as they are likewise not loanwords.*

While many of the obsolete loans received etymological scrutiny by mid-century scholars of the history of Afrikaans, no comparable efforts have been applied to loanwords recorded in Namaqualand within the last forty years. I hope that, by drawing attention to this imbalance, this glossary will encourage fresh academic interest in this understudied point of language contact.

anaboom = *Faidherbia albida* (Marloth 1917; Smith 1966; Boshoff & Nienaber 1967; Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991). A hybrid compound calqued ex Namibian Khoekhoe **ànáhàis** = *Faidherbia albida* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

aroena, ouroena = *Quaqua mammillaris*, *Quaqua* spp. (Smith 1966; Le Roux 1981; Nagel 2015); †**oukoe** = *Quaqua racemosa* (Smith 1966); †**ouram** = *Quaqua pillansii* (Smith 1966); **calong** = *Stapelia olivacea* (Van Wyk 2009); **karoenga** = *Quaqua mammillaris* (De Beer 2012). The first element derives ex Namibian Khoekhoe *au* ‘bitter’ (Haacke & Eiseb 2002); for the second element, compare **gunu** = *Orbea namaquana* (Archer 1994).

arub = *Albizia anthelmintica* (Leistner 1967), ex Namibian Khoekhoe **àrúb** = *Albizia anthelmintica* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

baroe, bouroe, kampbaroe = *Cyphia* spp. (Marloth 1917; Smith 1966, ubiq.); **bouro** = *Cyphia phyteum*, **melkbouro** = *Cyphia digitata* (Archer 1994). Multiple authorities have suggested possible conflation with **kambroo** = *Fockea* spp. (see, for example, Smith, 1966: Boshoff & Nienaber, 1967: 154), but this uncertain. No etymology.

bietou = *Chrysanthemoides monilifera* (Marloth 1917, Smith 1966, ubiq.). A connection with Namibian Khoekhoe **bies** ‘milk’ has been suggested (Boshoff & Nienaber, 1967: 164), but no clear etymology is forthcoming.

† **bitterkeboe** = *Cucumis myriocarpus* (Smith 1966); **ghaboe** ‘species of wild root’ at Boshoff & Nienaber, 1967: 247, where it is derived ex Namibian Khoekhoe **!gawob** ‘wild potato from Klein Namaland’ (Kroenlein, 1889: 95).

* **caberoe** = *Steirodiscus speciosa*. Originally recorded by Van der Stel 1685 and perpetuated in Smith 1966, this is not demonstrably a loan; given that its pragmatic referent is today redlisted as Critically Endangered (CR) and is on the verge of extinction, it is unlikely that any feasible loan would have survived.

† **cabouti** = *Pelargonium echinatum* (Smith 1966). No etymology.

* **cargoe** = *Muraltia spinosa* (originally recorded by Van der Stel 1685, perpetuated in Smith 1966; not demonstrably a loan). No etymology, but see **ghwarrie**.

chabi = *Lapeirousia anceps* (Van der Stel 1685), **cabong** = *Lapeirousia* spp. (Smith 1966; *ubiq.*). This item remains in productive usage as **cabong** or **kabong** among seed and bulb purveyors in the Western Cape as of November 2019; see further discussion at Nienaber 1963: 486.

* **choë** = *Vachellia haematoxylon* (Van der Stel 1685, perpetuated by Smith 1966). Not demonstrably a loan. Further discussed at Nienaber 1963: 249, who suggests comparison with Namibian Khoekhoe **lkhùús** (= *Vachellia karroo* in Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

* **choje** = *Aloidendron dichotomum* (Van der Stel 1685, perpetuated by Smith 1966). Not demonstrably a loan. Further discussed at Nienaber 1963: 347, but no etymology.

† **cwanap** = *Vachellia erioloba* (Watt & Breyer-Brandwijk 1932), ex Namibian Khoekhoe **lgánáb** = *Vachellia erioloba* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991). In the Khoekhoe branch *cf.* also Kora **lgánáb** (= *Vachellia erioloba* Du Plessis 2019: 370), Xri **lanap** (= *Vachellia erioloba* Haacke & Snyman, 2019: 295). In the Kalahari branch, *cf.* also Khwe **lgàrà** (= *Vachellia erioloba* Schladt 2000).

dabbieboom = *Tamarix usneoides* (Marloth 1917; Smith 1966; Boshoff & Nienaber 1967, *ubiq.*), ex Namibian Khoekhoe **dàwib** = *Tamarix usneoides* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

† **djirrie** = *Rogeria longiflora* (Smith 1966, allegedly a Kora name). No etymology.

gabbabos = *Catophractes alexandri* (Smith 1966, *ubiq.*), ex Namibian Khoekhoe **!gàwàs** = *Catophractes alexandri* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

† **gaibossie** = [*Plecostachys*] *serpyllifolium* (Boshoff & Nienaber, 1967: 234), observed to be dialectal and likely obsolete. Given the pale silver leaves and the provision of the alternative name *vaaltee*, *cf.* Namibian Khoekhoe **!hei** = *vaal*, fallow, pale. Alternately, considering also that *-tee* generally indicates a plant used to prepare medicinal decoctions, *cf.* Kora **!aeb** for an aromatic plant product used in *sâb* production (Du Plessis, 2019: 368, 373), but this is conjecture.

* **gambry** = *Albuca* sp. (Van der Stel 1685, perpetuated by Nienaber 1963: 494 and Smith 1966). Not demonstrably a loanword. Should possibly be sunk into **tamarak(a)**, but uncertain. **gammabos** = *Morella cordifolia* (Smith 1966), *Justicia cuneata* (Powrie 2004). No etymology.

ganna = *Caroxylon aphyllum* (previously, and perhaps still more commonly, treated as *Salsola aphylla*), well-attested as a loogbos or 'lyebos' with desiccant and tanning properties (Marloth 1917, Smith 1966, *ubiq.*). *cf.* **!khanis** used of *Mesembryanthemum nodiflorum*, to which Schultze attributes tanning properties (Schultze, 1907: 84), but uncertain. Should not be conflated either

with **kanna** = *Sceletium tortuosum*, or with the generic element –**ganna** in **t’noemsganna**, as these plants are all phytomorphologically distinct, with distinct phytochemical properties, and separate uses.

!ganube, kalouwep = *Diospyros ramulosa* (Smith 1966); **t’koebe** = *Diospyros ramulosa* (Le Roux 1981); **tkounbie** = “a species of bush very abundant in this region” (Links 1989); **!kanobe** = *Diospyros ramulosa* (Archer 1994); **!khunube** = *Diospyros ramulosa*, **t’hoenibee** = ‘various wild berries’ (Coetzee 2010). *ex* Namibian Khoekhoe **|khúrúbèb** = *Searsia marlothii* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991). While *Diospyros ramulosa* (Ebenaceae) and *Searsia marlothii* (Anacardaceae) belong to different families, both are medium-sized shrubs which yield edible red berries, making a semantic extension highly probable. This would appear to be a superloan, with reflexes appearing in a number of unrelated languages in the ‘Khoesan’ group for the same genus. In the Kalahari branch, *cf.* Naro **curùghù** = [*Searsia*] *tenuinervis* (Visser 2000); in the KX’A family, *cf.* !Xun **g|xurube** = [*Searsia*] sp. (Snyman 1969), Ju|’hoan **g|úrúbé** = [*Searsia*] *tenuinervis* (Dickens 1994).

† **gatagay, da-t’kai, gatgaai, katgaai** = *Peucedanum* spp. First recorded by Thunberg 1772 and Sparman 1775; discussed at Nienaber 1963: 271, who explicitly notes that the latter two items ‘have come over into Afrikaans’. Treated at Boshoff & Nienaber 1967: 636 – 637, but not in Smith 1966, and nowhere more recently attested; likely obsolete. I derive *ex* Namibian Khoekhoe **tsāya †gaieb** (= *Peucedanum* sp., *Grielum humifusum*, Schultze, 1907: 195).

ghagras, t’waagras, t’kaagras, n!Tka, etc., = multiple genera in Poaceae (Marloth 1917, Smith 1966, Boshoff & Nienaber 1967, le Riche & van der Walt 1999, *ubiq.*), *ex* Namibian Khoekhoe **|gâb** (= grass, Haacke & Eiseb 2002).

guaap, ghaap = *Hoodia* sp. (Marloth 1917, Laidler 1928, Smith 1966, Boshoff & Nienaber 1967, Le Roux 1981, Links 1989, Powrie 2004, *ubiq.*), *ex* Namibian Khoekhoe **|goab** = ‘thorn-covered succulent’ (Schultze 1907: 202), **|gòái** = *Hoodia officinalis* (Haacke, Eiseb, Giess 1991).

†**ghaiwortel, d’gheywortel, !kaai** = *Sansevieria* spp. (Smith 1966), **t’Kaij** = *Sansevieria thyrsiflora* (Watt & Breyer-Brandwijk 1932). No etymology.

ghobba = *Hoodia* spp. (Archer 1994, *ubiq.*), *ex* Namibian Khoekhoe **!kxobab** = ‘thorn-covered succulent’ (Schultze, 1907: 202), **!khòbàb** = *Hoodia currori* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

†**ghobos** = *Vachellia hebeclada* (Smith 1966; Boshoff & Nienaber 1967), *ex* Namibian Khoekhoe **!gòòs** = *Vachellia hebeclada* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

†**ghoenoe** = *Boophane disticha* (Leister 1967). Given the application of the papery, resinous bulb scales of *B. disticha* as firestarting material, I derive *ex* Namibian Khoekhoe **gunub** ‘tinder’, ‘touchwood’ (Haacke & Eiseb 2002), bearing in mind also the loan of **ghoenoe** for ‘tinderbox’ (Boshoff & Nienaber, 1967: 254).

ghoembos = *Felicia filifolius* (Smith 1966), **noembos** = *Aster* sp. (Boshoff & Nienaber, 1967: 448), **ghombos** = *Pteronia* spp. (Powrie 2004); further variants discussed at Section 3.3.3. I derive *ex* Namibian Khoekhoe **†gûb** *Othonna* sp. (Schultze, 1907: 252).

ghoesghoeroe = *Kniphofia uvaria* (Van der Merwe 2010). cf. Kora **!gūbguru** “reed sp., strong, favoured for basket-making” (Engelbrecht 1928; Du Plessis 2019: 310).

ghwa-ghwa, quaqua = *Quaqua mammillaris*, *Quaqua* spp. (Smith 1966, Boshoff & Nienaber 1967: 258, *ubiq*); **bontghapie** = *Stultitia tapscotii* (Smith 1966); **kabietjie** = *Duvalia reclinata*; **bitterghwapie** = *Huernia longituba* (Smith 1966). These items all constitute variations on the same name for small carrion flowers; only **ghwa-ghwa** remains in ubiquitous use. The loan has passed into Linnaean usage as the genus name *Quaqua*, which Clarke & Charters erroneously derive either from a supposed Nama word **kam-qua-qua**, in the incorrect orthography and unsourced, or from the Latin adverb *quaqua*, ‘wherever’, which has no relation to the genus name whatsoever (Clarke & Charters, 2016: 285). Boshoff & Nienaber had previously suggested that **ghwa-ghwa** and its variants may in fact be a reduplication of **|goab**, recorded for the larger carrion flower genus *Hoodia* sp., and which likewise passed into Afrikaans as **ghaap** or **guaap** (Boshoff & Nienaber, 1967: 258).

ghwarrie, guarri, gwarri = *Euclea* spp. (Marloth 1917, Smith 1966, Nienaber 1963, Boshoff & Nienaber 1967, *ubiq*); compounded with Namibian Khoekhoe **-sāb** (‘buchu’, ‘plant used in preparing buchu’) to yield **ghwarriesang** = *Euclea* sp. (Nienaber 1963: 219, 278 – 279) and **cargosang** = *Euclea multiflora* (Van der Stel 1685, Nienaber 1963: 219). Possibly bears comparison with **cargoe** = *Muraltia spinosa* (Van der Stel 1685), but uncertain.

g(h)noibos = *Senegalia mellifera* subsp. *detinens* (Wiman 1954), ex Namibian Khoekhoe **!nòès** = *Senegalia mellifera* subsp. *detinens* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991). cf. also Kora **!noeb** = ‘thorn tree closely resembling the blackthorn’ (Du Plessis, 2019: 372); Xri **!noes** = ‘black thorn’ (Haacke & Snyman, 2019: 293).

gnom = *Pelargonium crithmifolium* (Powrie 2004). ex Namibian Khoekhoe **lhums** = *Pelargonium crithmifolium* (Schultze 1907: 202).

gonna, kanna, kannabas = ‘a collective name of several species of Thymelaceae, e.g. species of *Passerina* and *Struthiola*’ (Smith 1966); **t’korbos** = *Gnidia deserticola* (Shearing & Van Heerden 1994). ex Namibian Khoekhoe **!khónáb**, **!khànàb** = *Gnidia polycephala* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991). Still in ubiquitous usage.

goreebos = *Aloe ferox* (Smith 1966); **bont-o’-t’korrie** = *Aloe melanacantha* (Le Roux 1981). ex ex Namibian Khoekhoe **lgóres** = *Aloe asperifolia*; **koreb** = *Aloe* spp. (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

gouboom, kouboom = *Pappea schumanniana* (Smith 1966, *ubiq*). ex Namibian Khoekhoe **!âús** = *Grewia flava*, *Grewia* sp. (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991); cf. also Kora **!aub** = ‘raisinberry bush’ (Du Plessis, 2019: 373), Xri **!âun** = *Grewia* sp. (Haacke & Snyman 2019). Compare **n!oubessie** for *Grewia* spp.

† **haarwortel** = *Kedrostis* spp. (Nienaber 1963; Smith 1966). ex Namibian Khoekhoe **|hāb** = a species of edible wild tuber (Kroenlein, 1889: 155); **|hāb** = *Kedrostis punctulata* (Nienaber, 1963: 293 – 294); **|hààb** = *Coccinia sessilifolia* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

† **haboe gras** = *Stipagrostis ciliata* (Smith 1966). ex Namibian Khoekhoe **!hàwòb** = *Stipagrostis uniplumis* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

heigras = *Aristidia junciformis*, **heiriet** = *Eragrostis pallens* (Leister 1967), **heigras**, **heisteekgras** = *Aristidia scabrivalvis* (Boshoff & Nienaber 1967). I derive *ex* Namibian Khoekhoe |**hei** = *vaal*, fallow, pale.

***heyntame** = *Pelargonium rapaceum* (Van der Stel 1685), perpetuated by Smith 1966. Assuming **nt-** to have indicated a click, I connect also with **d/kanie** (Laidler, 1928) **t/namie** (Watt & Breyer-Brandwijk 1932) = *Pelargonium antidyentericum*, and hence with **t'kami** = *Pelargonium antidyentericum* (Smith 1966). Recorded again as **!namie** for *Pelargonium antidyentericum* by Archer 1994, although not demonstrably as a loanword. No etymology.

† **heiraboom** = *Senegalia mellifera* sub. *detinens* (Smith 1966). *ex* Namibian Khoekhoe **hairab** for the resin yielded by several species of acacia trees (Schultze, 1907: 208; Nienaber, 1963: 286, Haacke & Eiseb 2002).

hosabis, **hosabie** = *Dicoma capensis* (Nortje & Van Wyk 2015). No etymology; the second element may be Afrikaans *-salie*, ‘sage’, in its regional sense of ‘sweet-smelling medicinal shrub’.

kaboom = *Vachellia haematoxylon* (Smith 1966); **!xha** = *Parkinsonia africana* (Archer 1994); **t'ghaboom** = *Parkinsonia africana* (Powrie 2004). *ex* Namibian Khoekhoe **!khâás** = *Parkinsonia africana* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

* **kama** = *Mesembryanthemum guerichianum* (Smith 1966), **ameb** = *Psilocaulon stenopetalum* (Burchell 1811, perpetuated by Pettman 1913 and subsequently Smith 1966). Not demonstrably a loanword; no etymology.

† **kamam** = *Adenia digitata* (Smith 1966). No etymology.

kambroo, **kamerup**, *etc.* = *Fockea* spp. (Marloth 1917, Smith 1966, Boshoff & Nienaber 1967, *ubiq*). A highly variable loan that remains in productive usage, and which has inspired contentious etymological debate. I derive *ex* Namibian Khoekhoe **!gamarib** (Schultze 1907: 196).

kamiemie = *Albuca canadensis* (Le Roux 1981); **!hamibieb** = *Albuca canadensis* (Archer 1994); **!hamibib** = *Bulbine praemorsa* (Coetzee 2010); *cf.* also **gambry**, **tamarak**. *ex* Kora **!xonabeb** ~ **!konabab** (Engelbrecht, 1936: 107; Du Plessis 2019: 370).

† **kammiebos** = *Cliffortia strobilifera* (Smith 1966). Bearing in mind the Afrikaans common name *vleibos* ‘lakebush’, ‘pondbush’, several authorities have derived **kammie-** *ex* Namibian Khoekhoe **!gammi** ‘water’ (Smith, 1966: 273; Boshoff & Nienaber 1967: 329), but this is conjecture.

† **kamoa** = *Pachypodium bispinosum* (Smith 1966). *cf.* Namibian Khoekhoe **#hawab**, **#hapab** (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991) for the closely-related and morphologically similar *Fockea edulis*.

kana = *Pelargonium crithmifolium* (Powrie 2004). No etymology.

kanako = *Harpagophytum procumbens* (Watt & Breyer-Brandwijk 1932), **ghamaghoe** (Manning & Patterson-Jones 2005). *ex* Namibian Khoekhoe **!khùrillkhâms**, **gàmàkús** =

Harpagophytum procumbens (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991). A very variable loan which remains in ubiquitous and productive usage.

kaniedoring = *Acacia nebrownii* (Smith 1966). ex Namibian Khoekhoe **|khánús** *Acacia nebrownii* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

kanna = *Sceletium tortuosum* (Marloth 1917, Smith 1966, *ubiq*). Exhaustively discussed at Nienaber 1963: 327 – 328 and Boshoff & Nienaber 1967: 334, ultimately with no clear etymology forthcoming. Should not be conflated with **ganna** = *Caroxylon aphyllum* or the generic element **-ganna** in **t’noemsganna** for *Tylecodon wallichii*.

kannie = *Hydnora africana* (Marloth 1917, Smith 1966, Le Roux 1981, *ubiq*). ex Namibian Khoekhoe **kàníb** = *Hydnora johannis* (Haacke, Eiseb, Giess 1991).

karee = *Searsia lancea*, *Searsia* spp. (Marloth 1917, Smith 1966, *ubiq*). ex Namibian Khoekhoe **!áréb** = *Searsia lancea* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

kareemoer, **koeriemoor**, **kirimoer**, **quilika** = *Anacamperos* spp. (Smith 1966, *ubiq*). ex Namibian Khoekhoe **!kharib** ‘beer’, referencing the plants’ application as fermentation agents.

† **kerky**, **t’karkey** = *Crassula ovata* (Watt & Breyer-Brandwijk 1932); **karchay**, **t’karkai** = *Crassula ovata* (Smith 1966); **t’karkey** = *Cotyledon* sp. (Boshoff & Nienaber 1967). No etymology.

karnaatjie = *Crassula fascicularis* (hapax in Van Rooyen & Steyn 1999). No etymology, but compare **koesnaatjie** for *Crassula columnaris*.

koerasie (Le Roux 1981), **koerhassie** (Manning & Goldblatt 2003) = *Hermannia trifurcata*. No etymology.

katakiso (Smith 1966), **kata-kisu** (Shearing & Van Heerden 1994) = *Crassula deltoides*. No etymology, but compare the **t’karkey** series for *Crassula ovata*.

***hobeep** = *Cotyledon* sp. (Van der Stel 1685, perpetuated by Smith 1996). Not demonstrably a loanword). cf. **ouheip** = ‘bitterplant’ for *Adenium boehmiannum* (Smith 1966) which targets Namibian Khoekhoe **au** ‘bitter’ and **haib** ‘plant’.

khoeboom = *Vachellia karroo* (Smith 1966), ex Namibian Khoekhoe **!kùús** (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

!komiganna (Smith 1966), **t’nomsganna** (Le Roux 1981), **ntomsganna** (Links 1989), **!khomeganna** Archer 1994 = *Tylecodon wallichii*. This toxic species is regularly implicated as the cause of ‘krimpsiekte’ in smallstock. Accordingly, for the first element, cf. Namibian Khoekhoe **!homsib** ‘paralysis’, ‘lameness’ (Haacke & Eiseb 2002). The second element **-ganna** is uncertain, but possibly bears comparison with **t’kabbada** for the closely-related and visually similar *Tylecodon paniculatus*, which is likewise toxic. It should not, however, be conflated with **ganna** = *Caroxylon aphyllum* or **kanna** = *Sceletium tortuosum*, as these plants are all phytomorphologically distinct, with distinct phytochemical properties, and separate uses.

!kiebrie = *Stipagrostis namaquensis* (Smith 1966); **knietjiesgras** = *Eragrostis lehmanniana* (Powrie 2004). *cf.* Namibian Khoekhoe **|khàwìb**, **|khàbìb** = *Stipagrostis uniplumis* (Haacke, Eiseb, & Giess 1991), as well as the first element in Namibian Khoekhoe **|garibe sâun** = *Stipagrostis hirtigluma* (Mannheimer 2012).

koeniebos = *Searsia* spp. (Smith 1966, Mannheimer 2012, *ubiq*); **n'guni** = *Searsia dregeana* (Wilman 1954) **'nguni** = *Searsia dregeana* (Smith 1966). Should not be conflated with **kuniebos** = *Dicoma capensis* (van Wyk & Nortje 2015). No etymology.

koesnaatjie = *Crassula columnaris* (Marloth 1917, Smith 1966, *ubiq*). No etymology, but *cf.* **boesnap** for *Crassula alpestris* (Meterlekamp & Sealy 1983).

†**koghrabossie** = *Senecio pubigera* (Smith 1966). No etymology.

†**komaan** = *Ficus capensis* (Smith 1966), *ex* Namibian Khoekhoe **|nòmas** = *wilde Feige* (Schultze 1907: 200), **lnòmás** = *Ficus sycomorus* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

kootjie-nam-nam = *Moquiniella rubra*, *Septulina glauca* (Le Roux 1981), *cf.* also **nam-nambos** = *Tapinanthus oleifolius* (Le Roux 1981), all members of the false mistletoe family Loranaceae, all hemiparasitic. I derive the first element **kootjie** *ex* Namibian Khoekhoe **!khùis** = *Tapinanthus oleifolius* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991). For the second element, *cf.* the first element of **namtarri** = [*Colpoen compressum*], but uncertain.

†**korumbos** = *Rhigozum trichotomum* (Smith 1966). No etymology.

kouterie, **kooltrie** = *Cotyledon orbiculata*, *Gasteria* spp. (Smith 1966, *ubiq*). For the first element, *cf.* Namibian Khoekhoe **au** ‘bitter’, Kora **kx'au** ‘bitter’, but uncertain.

krie = *Lycium ferocissimum*, *Lycium* sp. *ex* Namibian Khoekhoe **laris** = *Lycium tetrandrum* (Schultze, 1907: 96); *cf.* also the second element in Namibian Khoekhoe **lkhàllàris** = *Lycium oxycarpum* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

kritikom, **grietjierom** = *Diospyros lycoides* (Smith 1966); **kritikom** = *Diospyros ramulosa* (Coetzee 2010). No etymology.

***kuijop** = *Euphorbia viminalis* (Thunberg 1773, perpetuated by Smith 1966). Not demonstrably a loan, but rather an early attestation of Namibian Khoekhoe **kùib** = *Euphorbia damarana* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

kuniebos = *Dicoma capensis* (Nortje & Van Wyk 2015). Should not be conflated with **koeniebos** = *Searsia* sp. No etymology.

n'Abba = the ‘Kalahari truffle’, *Terfezia pfeilii* (le Riche & van der Walt 1999; *ubiq*). *ex* Namibian Khoekhoe **lhàwàs**, **lhàbàs** = *Terfezia pfeilii* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1999).

†**nambossie** = *Phellorina strobilina* (Smith 1966). As *P. strobilina* is a small mushroom, the Afrikaans generic element **-bos** ‘bush’ is semantically odd, and perhaps constitutes reanalysis of Kora **|nubus** = ‘puffball’ mushroom (Du Plessis, 2019: 370), Xri **l'hobos** (Haacke & Snyman, 2019: 301). Alternately, the first element may simply target Namibian Khoekhoe **!nàúib** for a

‘yellow powdery fungus’ (Haacke & Snyman, 2019: 301).

namtarri = [*Colpoon compressum*] (Smith 1966), **nantegarra** = [*Colpoon compressum*] (Vlok & Schutte-Vlok 2010), a hemiparasitic shrub in Santalaceae of the order Santalales. For the first element, cf. the second element of kootjie-**nam-nam** for hemiparasites in Loranthaceae of the order Santalales.

nentabos = *Tylecodon wallichii*, *Tylecodon* spp., *Cotyledon* spp., *Zygophyllum* spp., (Watt & Breyer-Brandwijk 1932; Smith 1966, *ubiq*). A widespread term broadly applied to stout arborescent succulents in Crassulaceae and Zygophyllaceae that cause ‘krimpsiekte’ if overconsumed by stock. Discussed at Boshoff & Nienaber 1967: 444, but no etymology is forthcoming.

noenieboom = *Boscia albitrunca* (Marloth 1917; Smith 1966, *ubiq*). ex Namibian Khoekhoe **lhunib** = *Boscia albitrunca* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991), cf. also Kora **lhoneb** (Du Plessis 2019: 370), Xri **lhunip** (Haacke & Snyman 2019: 316).

noerap, **norra**, **!norra**, **nonna** = *Sarcocaulon* spp. (Smith 1966); **norretjie** = *Pelargonium rapaceum* (Mannign & Goldblatt 1997). Comparing this with the early record **thumma** = *Monsonia* sp. (Van der Stel 1685), Nienaber derives ex Namibian Khoekhoe **lnorab** = *Sarcocaulon* sp. (Schultze, 1907: 81), but, given the widespread application of *Sarcocaulon* spp. as kindling, notes a possible connection with Namibian Khoekhoe **tnorab** ‘flame’, ‘fire’ (Nienaber, 1963: 404). Interestingly, **tnorab** does seem to have entered Namaqualand Afrikaans in the hybrid loan **dorrogoed**, ‘wood which is exceptionally good kindling...species such as *Sarcocaulon* are examples of dorrogoed’ (Archer, 1994: 105). It is therefore entirely likely that loans of **lnorab** = *Sarcocaulon* sp. and **tnorab** = ‘fire’ have undergone semantic conflation following the collapse of phonemic contrastivity. Additionally, compare **t’noenadoring** = *Monsonia* spp., *Sarcocaulon* spp.

n!oubessie = *Grewia flava* (le Riche & van der Walt 1999), ex Namibian Khoekhoe **†âús** = *Grewia flava*, *Grewia* sp. (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991); cf. also Kora **†aub** = ‘raisinberry bush’ (Du Plessis, 2019: 373); Xri **†âun** = *Grewia* sp. (Haacke & Snyman 2019).

ouheip = *Adenium boehmianum* (Smith 1966, *ubiq*). The first element derives ex Namibian Khoekhoe **au** ‘bitter’, the second ex Namibian Khoekhoe **haib** = ‘plant’, ‘shrub’.

† **oukoe**, **oukoei** = *Tylecodon reticulatus* (Marloth 1917; Smith 1966). The first element derives ex Namibian Khoekhoe **au** ‘bitter’.

orgbos, **org** = hapax for *Notobubon galbanum* (Nortje & Van Wyk 2015). No etymology.

tamarak(a) = *Albuca canadensis*, *Albuca* spp. (Marloth 1917; Smith 1966; Manning & Goldblatt 1997, *ubiq*). Remains in productive usage. Possibly a surviving descendent of **gambry** (Van der Stel 1685) for *Albuca* sp., but uncertain.

† **traba** = *Eriospermum* sp. (Smith 1966). Should possibly be sunk into **tamarak** for *Albuca* sp. above alongside **gambry**, but uncertain.

t’adou, **t’oudaa** = hapax for *Diosma acmaeophylla* (Nortje & Van Wyk 2015). No etymology.

t'aibie = *Calobota sericea* (Le Roux 1981), cf. also **P/abee** = *fluitjiesbos* (Laidler 1928). No etymology.

t'arda = *Dideltia spinosa* (Le Roux 1981); **t'warraa** = *Euryops lateriflorus* (Nortje & Van Wyk 2015), both tall shrubs in Asteraceae with distinctive yellow flowers. cf. Namibian Khoekhoe **thoras** for [*Crassothonna*] *floribunda*, a prostrate succulent herb in Asteraceae (Schultze, 1907: 108).

t'arra t'kooi = *Stoeberia utilis*, rooi **t'kooi** = *Stoeberia utilis*, vaal **t'kooi** = *Stoeberia beetzii* (Le Roux 1981); **tkarratkoei** = 'a species of vygie bush' (Links 1989); rooi**ktooi** = *Stoeberia beetzii* var. *arborescens* (Archer 1994). ex Namibian Khoekhoe **|apa** 'red' + Namibian Khoekhoe **!kholes** = tall shrubby mesembs *Tetragona schenckii* (Mannheimer *et al.* 2009) and *T. calycina* (Mannheimer 2012).

t'gaibos, **t'naaitand** = hapax for *Galium capense* (Nortje & Van Wyk 2015). ex Namibian Khoekhoe **!ae** 'to cling', 'to stick to'.

t'gibbie = *Selago namaquensis*, *Selago glabrata* (Le Roux 1981); **t'kaibe** = *Pteronia incarnata* (Le Roux 1981); **dgibbie** 'a species of bush with a pleasant smell' (Links 1989: 62); **t'gibbie** = *Pteronia* spp. (Powrie 2004); **xhibbie** for '7± species' (Wheat 2013); **t'gybie**, **t'gibbie**, **t'gybie** = *Eriocephalus punctulatus* (Nortje & Van Wyk 2015). No etymology.

† **t'gom** = [*Calobota*] *spinescens* (Wilman 1954). No etymology.

t'gouboedanna = *Galenia sarcophylla* (Le Roux 1981). No etymology.

t'iena = *Montinia caryophyllacea* (Le Roux 1981), **tkaina** (Links 1989). ex Namibian Khoekhoe **!nîinàb** = *Montinia caryophyllacea* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

t'ienie = hapax for *Hydnora africana* (Nortje & Van Wyk 2015). No etymology.

† **t'kaa** = *Ficus natalensis* (Smith 1966); **gha** = *Ficus ilicifolia* (Boshoff & Nienaber 1967). ex Namibian Khoekhoe **!gaus** = *Ficus ilicina* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991). cf. also isiXhosa **umngxam** (Cocks & Dold 1999), itself likely a loan of a cognate item from a more easterly Khoekhoe-branch language.

t'kabadda = *Tylecodon paniculatus* (Le Roux 1981; Archer 1994). No etymology, but compare with the second element of **t'noemsganna** = *Tylecodon wallichii*.

t'kambos = *Sysindite sparteae* (Le Roux 1981); **!ghambos** = *Zygophyllum simplex* (Archer 1994), both shrubs in Zygophyllaceae. ex Namibian Khoekhoe **!gamhairos** = *Zygophyllum simplex* (Haacke, Eiseb, Giess 1991; Mannheimer *et al.* 2009).

† **t'kamso**, **kamso** = *Cotula multifida* (Marloth 1917, Smith 1966). cf. Namibian Khoekhoe **|games** for a series of prostrate herbs in Asteraceae (Kroenlein 1889, 108; Schultze 1907: 202; Mannheimer 2012); Kora **|gommi** = *Cotula turbinata* (Du Plessis, 2019: 369).

t'kau, t'nou = *Elytropappus rhinocerotis* (Nortje & van Wyk 2015), **vaal-t'knou**, **berg-t'knou** = *Stoebe plumosa* (Nortje & van Wyk 2015); *cf.* also **P/nkaou** = *Agathosma betulina* (Laidler 1928). *ex* Namibian Khoekhoe **!oweb** 'buchu prepared from bark' (Kroenlein 1889: 320); *cf.* also Kora **#õub** for an unidentified species of *taaibos* (Engelbrecht, 1936: 106).

t'kobovy = *Carpobrotus edulis* (Le Roux 1981); a highly variable word, appearing also as **t'gaukum**, **goukum**, and **g(h)oenavy** (Smith 1966, Boshoff & Nienaber 1967); connected with isiXhosa **igcukuma** (= *Carpobrotus edulis* Tshabe, Shoba, *et al.* 2006), itself likely an early Khoekhoe-branch loan (Du Plessis, 2019: 375 – 376), although ultimately no etymology is forthcoming.

t'koeibee = *Grielum humifusum* (Le Roux 1981); **!oeibie** = *Grielum humifusum* (Coetzee 2010). *ex* Namibian Khoekhoe **!khuib** = *Grielum humifusum* (Schultze 1907: 195; Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

t'naai-opslag = *Dimorphotheca polyptera* (Le Roux 1981). *cf.* Namibian Khoekhoe **lhai** 'to sprout', but uncertain.

† **t'nakaa** = *Dioscorea elephantipes* (Marloth 1917; Smith 1966). No etymology.

t'namee = *Boscia albitrunca* (Smith 1966; Archer 1994). No etymology.

t'narrabessie = *Searsia burchellii*, *Searsia lancea*, *Searsia* spp. *ex* Namibian Khoekhoe **lgarab** = 'fruit of [*Searsia*] *lancea*' (Schultze, 1907: 345).

† **t'nau** = *Hydnora africana* (Marloth 1917, Smith 1966). No etymology.

t'neitjie (Le Roux 1981), **ghneitjie** (Manning & Goldblatt, 1999), **t'Nytjie** (Coetzee 2010) = *Pelargonium incrassatum*, caudiciform *Pelargonium* spp. This possibly bears comparison with **heyntame** = *Pelargonium rapaceum*, but uncertain. *cf.* Namibian Khoekhoe **!aiás** 'potato; any similar wild tuber' (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991).

t'noem t'nôrro = *Anginon difforme* (Nortje & Van Wyk 2015). For the first element, *cf.* the first element of **t'noemsganna**, but uncertain. For the second, *cf.*

t'noenadoring = *Monsonia* spp., *Sarcocaulon* spp. (Smith 1966; Le Roux 1981, *ubiq*). I derive *ex* Namibian Khoekhoe **lkunib** = *Sarcocaulon* sp. (Kroenlein, 1889: 355), but should possibly be sunk into **noerap** = *Sarcocaulon* spp. *ex* Namibian Khoekhoe **lnorab** = *Sarcocaulon* sp. (Nienaber, 1963: 404; Schultze, 1907: 81).

t'nouroebos = *Ruschia* spp. (Le Roux 1981); **xhouroe** = *Leipoldtia schultzei*, *Ruschia robusta* (Wheat 2013). No etymology.

t'noutsiamma = *Cheiridopsis denticulata* (Le Roux 1981); **ontsiamma** Links 1989; **t'noutsieamma** (Powrie 2004). *ex* Namibian Khoekhoe **!aûtsiamma** = *Cephallophyllum ebracteatum* (Schultze 1907: 83).

t'oubee = *Dodonaea viscosa* (Le Roux 1981); **t'goubee** = *Dodonaea viscosa* (Powrie 2004);
t'gnoubee = *Dodonaea viscoa* (Nortje & Van Wyk 2015). No etymology.

t'ôrrieboom = *Ozoroa dispar* (Le Roux 1981). No etymology.

***quarobe** = *Veltheimia bracteata* (Van der Stel 1685, perpetuated by Smith 1966), a large toxic bulb in Amaryllidaceae. *contra* Nienaber 1963: 536 (who connects this item unnecessarily with the unrelated KX'A-family language !Xun item **!garube** = *Ipomoea* sp., a bining caudiciform in Convolvulaceae), this is straightforwardly an early attestation of Namibian Khoekhoe **!khároob** = *Nerine laticoma*, *Boophane disticha* (Haacke, Giess, Eiseb 1991), **!kxarub** = *Brunsvigia* sp. (Schultze, 1907: 87), all large toxic bulbs in Amaryllidaceae; *cf.* also Kora **!xarob** for a *gifbol* 'poison bulb' (Du Plessis, 2019: 372). Interestingly, *cf.* also Namibian Khoekhoe **!kxaros** = *Oxalis obtusa*, which is a far smaller tuberous plant in Oxalidaceae, but which is noted to be 'toxic to livestock' (Schultze, 1907: 194). The substitution of the feminine ending –s may here have served as a diminutive, distinguishing the smaller toxic tubers of *Oxalis obtusa* from the large toxic bulbs of *Boophane disticha*.

Appendix C

List of Stimulus Species

Stimulus Book A – Knersvlakte

Albuca canadensis; *Aloe melanacantha*; *Boophane disticha*; *Bulbine praemorsa*; *Calobota sericea*; *Calobota spinescens*; *Cheiridopsis denticulata*; *Cotula* sp.; *Cotyledon orbiculata*; *Crassula columnaris*; *Crassula fascicularis*; *Didelta spinosa*; *Dimorphotheca polyptera*; *Diosma acmaeophylla*; *Diospyros ramulosa*; *Dodonaea viscosa*; *Euryops lateriflorus*; *Felicia filifolia*; *Galenia sarcophylla*; *Galium capense*; *Grielum humifusum*; *Hermannia trifurcata*; *Lapeirousia* spp. ; *Monsonia crassicaulis*; *Montinia caryophyllacea*; *Orbea namaquensis*; *Ozoroa dispar*; *Pelargonium crithmifolium*; *Pelargonium echinatum*; *Pelargonium rapaceum*; *Pteronia incana*; *Quaqua* spp.; *Ruschia* spp. *Sisyndite sparteae*; *Stapelia olivacea*; *Steirodiscus* sp.; *Tylecodon reticulatus*; *Tylecodon paniculatus*; *Tylecodon wallichii*.

Stimulus Book B – Kamiesberg & Richtersveld

Albuca canadensis; *Aloe melanacantha*; *Anginon diffforme*; *Boscia albitrunca*; *Boophane disticha*; *Bulbine praemorsa*; *Calobota sericea*; *Calobota spinescens*; *Cheiridopsis denticulata*; *Cotula* sp.; *Cotyledon orbiculata*; *Crassula atropurpurea*; *Crassula columnaris*; *Cyphia* sp.; *Didelta spinosa*; *Diosma acmaeophylla*; *Diospyros ramulosa*; *Dodonaea viscosa*; *Euclea pseudebenus*; *Euphorbia dregeana*; *Euphorbia virosa*; *Euryops lateriflorus*; *Felicia filifolia*; *Ficus ilicina*; *Galenia sarcophylla*; *Galium capense*; *Grielum humifusum*; *Hermannia trifurcata*; *Lapeirousia* spp. ; *Monsonia crassicaulis*; *Montinia caryophyllacea*; *Notobubon* spp.; *Orbea namaquensis*; *Ozoroa dispar*; *Pelargonium crithmifolium*; *Pelargonium echinatum*; *Pelargonium rapaceum*; *Pteronia incana*; *Quaqua* spp.; *Rogeria longiflora*; *Ruschia* spp.; *Sarcocaulon patersonii*; *Searsia* spp.; *Sisyndite sparteae*; *Stapelia similis*; *Stoebe plumosa*; *Stoeberia utilis*; *Tylecodon hallii*; *Tylecodon paniculatus*; *Tylecodon wallichii*; *Whiteheadia* [=Massonia] *bifolia*; *Ziziphus mucronata*.

Appendix D

Ethics Clearance, Information Sheets, & Consent Forms



RHODES UNIVERSITY

Grahamstown • 6140 • South Africa

English Language and Linguistics • School of Languages
Joint Research Ethics Committee

27 August 2018

Prof Mark de Vos
English Language and Linguistics

Dear Prof De Vos

ETHICAL CLEARANCE OF PROJECT 95287

This letter confirms your application for ethical clearance with tracking number 95287 and title, 'Khoisan Etymologies of Afrikaans Plant Names', served at the SoL/Ling Joint Research Ethics Committee of Rhodes University on 20 August 2018. The project has been recommended for ethics clearance.

Please ensure that the SoL/Ling is notified should any substantive change(s) be made, for whatever reason, during the research process. This includes changes in investigators.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'S. L.' or similar.

CHAIRPERSON OF THE SoL/Ling Joint REC



RHODES UNIVERSITY

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DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE & LINGUISTICS

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Geagte heer of mevrou,

Ons nooi u graag uit om deel te neem aan 'n navorsingsprojek oor plantname in Namakwaland. Dit is baie belangrik dat u voel u weet presies waarom die navorsing gaan en wat dit gaan beteken as jy daaraan deelneem. Lees asseblief rustig deur die inligting hier onder, want dit verduidelik wat hierdie projek presies behels. As u wil, kan u hierdie inligting ook met ander mense bespreek. Vra gerus die navorser as daar enige deel van die projek is wat u nie heeltemal verstaan nie. Neem asseblief u tyd om te besluit of u wil deelneem of nie.

1. Waaroor gaan hierdie navorsingsprojek?

Hierdie projek vorm deel van 'n Meesters navorsingsprojek wat probeer om die oorsprong van Suid-Afrikaanse plantname beter te verstaan. Ek stel belang in die alledagse gebruik van plantname in Namakwaland, en watter ander name in u taal gebruik word.

2. Hoekom nooi jy juis vir my om deel te neem?

Hierdie projek probeer om vlot Afrikaanssprekers wat in Namaqualand, Kamieskroon, of die Richtersveld woon te ondervra. Omdat hierdie projek ook in outydse name belangstel, sou deelnemers ouer as vyftig ideaal wees, maar dit is nie nodig nie.

3. Móét ek deelneem?

Deelname aan hierdie studie is heeltemaal vrywillig. As u kies om nie deel te neem nie, sal dit jou nie benadeel nie. U kan ook op enige ty sê as u nie verder aan die projek wil deelneem nie, selfs al het u aan die begin ja gesê. As u nie verder wil deelneem nie, sal enige data wat u verskaf het geskrap word.

4. As ek deelneem, wat gaan jy van my verwag?

As u besluit om deel te neem, sal die navorser met u 'n onderhoud hou. Die navorser sal vir u 'n boekie met kleurfoto's van inheemse plante wys. Daarna sal die navorser u vra om algemene name vir elke plant te gee. U mag die onderhoud in Engels of Afrikaans gee.

Die navorser sal 'n opname maak van u antwoorde. Die onderhoud behoort nie langer as 'n uur en 'n half te duur nie, en u mag op enige tyd 'n breek vat.

Dit maak nie saak hoe 'reg' u antwoorde is nie, en ook nie hoeveel plante u herken nie. Ek is net op soek na soveel verskillende plantname as moontlik, en wil graag weet wat u weet van hierdie name se gebruik, betekenis, en herkoms.

5. Is deelname aan hierdie projek konfidensieel?

As u n e identifiseer wil word nie, ek sal nie u naam gebruik nie. U deelname aan hierdie projek sal heeltemaal konfidensieel bly, en u data sal anoniem wees.

As u nie omgee om identifiseer te word nie, mag die navorser die inligting wat u verskaf het, aan u naam toeskryf. U mag ook in die navorser se MA tesis bedank word.

6. Sal ek opgeteken word? Hoe sal die opgetekende data gebruik word?

Soos hierbo genoem, as u kies om deel te neem, sal u onderhoud met 'n oudio-opname opgeteken word. Die navorsers sal hierdie oudio ook neerskryf sodat hulle die inligting kan analiseer. Die resultate van hierdie projek sal die navorser help om 'n MA tesis te voltooi. Die navorser mag ook die resultate in joernale publiseer, of by konferensies en lesings aanbied.

7. Wat is die moontlike gevare en nadele van deelname?

Daar is geen verwagte gevare of nadele vir die deelnemers nie. As u enige onverwagte tydens die onderhoud ervaar, laat asseblief die navorser onmiddelik weet.

8. Wat as iets verkeerd loop?

Die kans is baie skraal dat dit sal gebeur, maar as u op die een of ander manier benadeel word omdat u aan hierdie projek deelgenem het, benader asseblief vir Prof. Mark de Vos (m.devos@ru.ac.za). As u wil 'n formele klag wil lê, benader asseblief die Etiese Komitee van Rhodes Universiteit (ethics@ru.ac.za).

As u enige verdere inligting benodig, vra asseblief vir Camilla Rose Christie (imbriferumver@gmail.com; 072 890 3453).

By voorbaat dank,
Camilla Rose Christie



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VERKLARING DEUR DEELNEMER

Ek (*naam en van*) het die aangehegte inligtingsblad gelees en verklaar die volgende:

- i) ek weet wat die navorsingprojek se doel is;
- ii) enige gevare is volledig verduidelik, en daar is geen verwagte gevare nie;
- iii) deelname aan hierdie studie is vrywillig, en ek is onder geen druk om deel te neem nie;
 - iv) ek kan kies om die studie op enige tydstip te verlaat, en ek sal nie op enige manier gestraf of benadeel word nie;
- v) Camilla Rose Christie en Prof. Mark de Vos het aangebied om enige vrae oor hierdie projek te antwoord.

Deur hieronder te onderteken, stem ek in om deel te neem aan die navorsingsprojek.

.....

.....

Handtekening van deelnemer

Datum



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Dear prospective participant,

We would like to invite you to take part in a research project exploring language usage in Namaqualand, with a focus on common names of plants. It is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what participation will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take your time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

1. What is the project's purpose?

This study forms part of a Master's research project which aims to document and better understand the historical linguistic origins of some common names of South African plants. I am particularly interested in how people use plant names in Namaqualand, and in gaining insight into how you understand your own language.

2. Why have I been chosen?

This study aims to work with fluent speakers of Afrikaans who live or have lived in the Namaqualand, Kamieskroon, or Richtersveld regions. Since the project seeks to investigate older, lesser-known words, participants should ideally be over fifty years of age, although this is not mandatory.

3. Do I have to take part?

Taking part in this study is entirely voluntary, and you may refuse to agree to participate without any penalty. To confirm your decision to take part in the study, you will also be asked to sign a consent form. You will also be given this information sheet to keep. You can withdraw at any time during the interview session without giving a reason. If you decide to withdraw, data you have provided up to that point will be deleted.

4. What will happen to me if I take part?

If you decide to take part, you will participate in an interview using a booklet containing colour photographs of between forty and fifty indigenous plants. You may conduct this interview in English, in Afrikaans, or in both, per your choice.

The researcher will take an audio recording of all of your responses, and may also make written notes as necessary. This interview should not take longer than an hour to an hour and a half, and you may pause any time during the session to take a break.

The focus of the interview is not on the "accuracy" of your answers, or on how many plants you are able to identify. Rather, I am interested in collecting as many different local names as possible, and in gaining insight into your understanding of their usage, meaning, and origin.

5. Will my taking part in this project be kept confidential?

If you do not consent to be identified, your name will not be used. Your participation will be kept completely confidential, and all data will be anonymised.

If you do consent to be identified, the researcher may attribute information you provide to your name. You may also be thanked in the acknowledgements section of the researcher's Master's thesis.

6. Will I be recorded and how will the recorded media be used?

As mentioned above, if you agree to participate, your session will be recorded by an audio recorder. For research purposes, the audio recording will be transcribed, and information collected will be used in data analysis.

The results of this study will assist in the completion of the researcher's Master's thesis. They may also be published in research journals, presented at conferences, and used in lectures.

7. What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

The methodology used in this study is non-invasive and brings no foreseeable discomforts, disadvantages or risks to the participants. Any unexpected discomforts, disadvantages or risks to participants which may arise during the research should be brought immediately to the attention of the researcher.

8. What if something goes wrong?

The chances are very small that this could happen, but if you experience any mishandling during your session, and if you need to file a complaint, please contact Prof. Mark de Vos (m.devos@ru.ac.za). If, however, you wish to file in a more formal complaint, as you feel that your complaint has not been handled to your satisfaction, please contact the Chair of Rhodes University Ethics Committee (ethics@ru.ac.za).

For further information, please address your queries to Camilla Rose Christie (imbriferumver@gmail.com; 072 890 3453).

Yours sincerely,
Camilla Rose Christie



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DECLARATION BY PARTICIPANT

I, (*your name and surname*)
have read the information sheet and agree that I know the following about this project:

- (i) its purpose;
- (ii) that the risks have been explained in full and that there are no reasonably foreseeable risks;
- (iii) that participation is voluntary, and that I can decide not to take part;
- (iv) I can withdraw my consent at any time during the data collection process without prejudice;
- (v) that Camilla Rose Christie and Prof. Mark de Vos have offered to answer any questions that I might have about this study.

By signing below, I agree to take part in the research study.

.....
Signature of participant

.....
Date



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TOESTAMMING OM IDENTIFISEER TE WORD

Ek(*naam en van*) het die aangehegte inligtingsblad gelees.
Ek stem toe om identifiseer te word. Die inligting wat ek verskaf het, mag aan my naam toegeskryf word.

.....

.....

Handtekening van deelnemer

Datum

PERMISSION TO BE IDENTIFIED

I(*name and surname*) have read the attached information
sheet and agree to be identified. The information that I provide may be attributed to my name.

.....

.....

Signature of participant

Date



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VERKLARING VAN GEHEIMSHOUD

Ek(*naam en van*) het die aangehegte inligtingsblad gelees.
Ek verklaar dat ek nie identifiseer wil word nie. My deelname in hierdie projek sal konfidensieel wees, en die inligting wat ek verskaf het, heeltemaal anoniem sal bly.

.....

.....

Handtekening van deelnemer

Datum

STATEMENT OF CONFIDENTIALITY

I(*name and surname*) have read the attached information sheet, and declare that I do not want to be identified by name. My participation in this project will be confidential, and any information that I provide will remain completely anonymous.

.....

.....

Handtekening van deelnemer

Datum

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