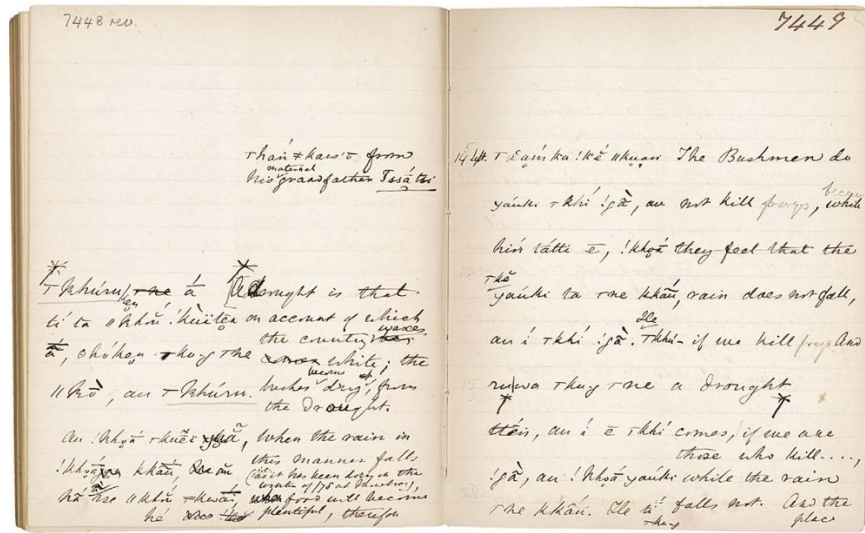


|Xam TEXT: 'Drought; behaviour of jackals; and toxicity of certain plant species.'
 (LL-|Hang [91] 7448rev-7456) (Recorded Sept 1878)

Transcription, glosses and annotations by Menán du Plessis, to accompany Riezlern talk on selected aspects of the |Xam verb system, 20 July 2022 (DRAFT – please treat with due care!)
 With a botanical-linguistic commentary by Camilla Christie



A note on the left-hand page above (reverse of p. 7448) explains that |Hang±kassō learned the things described here from his maternal grandfather, Tsātsi. Lloyd numbered this notebook VIII-16, to indicate that it was the 16th book filled in her work with speaker no. VIII. The unique number [91] was assigned by the digital archivist, and is used here for quick access to the scanned copy of the notebook, which is available on the [Bleek-Lloyd website](https://bleek-lloyd.org/).

For each line below, the Strontberg variety of |Xam dictated by |Hang±Kassō is followed by Lloyd’s translation between double inverted commas, with any strikings out or alternatives being those of Lloyd herself. References to ‘slips’ are to the collection of about 10,000 manuscript entries on small slips filed in shoeboxes by Bleek and Lloyd—and later, Dorothea Bleek (DB)—towards a dictionary.¹ LL is Lloyd, WB is Wilhelm Bleek.

- 1) |Xam ka !k’e ||kʷaŋg kx’auki |khi !gã, [7449]
 “The Bushmen do not kill frogs”
 |Xam ka !kx’e ||kʷa-ng kx’ao-ki |khi !gã
 |Xam ASSOC people MODAL(Certain)-ng NEG-ki kill\SBJV frog (sg/pl)
 ‘the |Xam people definitely do not kill frogs’

!k’e The word for people is more commonly found spelled as ‘!ke’. LL used the notation with the apostrophe as one way of indicating a click with affricated uvular ejective accompaniment.
 kx’ao ki The spelling of the diphthong as ‘au’ suggests that it was not susceptible to raising of the kind commonly seen, where /au/ > /əʊ/) – and where LL frequently spelled outcomes of the latter kind as ‘ou’. The original was therefore probably kx’ao – though perhaps with some raising of the final vowel in anticipation of the vowel in ki. A similar ki (~ti) occurs with ta ‘experience’, and in both cases is either a vestigial complementiser, or the remnant of morphology formerly associated with a deficient

¹ Thanks to Pippa Skotnes and Fazlin van der Schyff of the University of Cape Town for making interim copies of these slips available to me. Scans of them will shortly be available on the Bleek-Lloyd website.

verb and its complement. The last possibility is suggested by the occurrence of //*xam-ki* with a similar element, where //*xam* almost certainly arises from a verb meaning ‘do.also’.

2) *au hi ta ti ē*,
 “while/because ~~they feel that~~”

<i>au</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ti ē</i>
CONN	PRO.Ia.PL	EXP	COMP
	‘because (they are aware that)’		

au This frequently used morpheme was described by WB (1911: 145) as ‘a preposition of very general meaning’. It is borrowed from sources in Khoekhoe, where it occurred (at least in some varieties) as a postposition (Tindall 1858: 69), and—in combination with *xui*, as in *xui-ao*—as a clausal connective introducing clauses that express purpose, reason, cause or condition, among other things. In |Xam it is similarly used, both as a clausal connective and as a ‘phrasal connective’ – the latter in the sense that it can be used to introduce an adjunctive phrase (consisting, for example, of an adpositional phrase, or an adverb). Instances of the latter use will be glossed here as AdjunctCONN.

ta Lit. meaning ‘experience, perceive, feel’. Auxiliary verb used in contexts where subjects have semantic roles such as Experiencer, Patient or Theme (i.e. have no voluntary or actively instigating part in the process or action referred to). Can also occur as *tang*. Best left untranslated in English. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish from the ‘dummy verb’ *ta* ‘SAY/DO.thus’.

ti ē Complementiser, ‘that’. Lit. ‘it which’, consisting of *ti* ‘expletive IT’ (‘place/ thing/ matter’) plus the relative pronoun *ē* used in agreement with *ti*, which is a noun in Gender II. (It is possible that the relative pronoun is in fact preceded by a copula.) WB (1911: 154) noted the analogous use of *!xaib* ‘place’ as a complementiser in Khoekhoe languages.

3) *!khōā |ke kx’auki ta |ne kkāu*,
 “the rain does not fall”

<i>!khoa</i>	<i> ke</i>	<i>kx’au-ki</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i> ne</i>	<i>kāo</i>
rain	DET.Dist	NEG- <i>ki</i>	SAY/DO.SO	BE/DO	fall
	‘the rain stops falling’				

!khōā This noun could be transliterated as either *!khoa* or *!khwā*, where the ‘w’ indicates a labialisation. Although the second would be more in keeping with the orthographic conventions used for other languages of southern Africa, the first is more in line with choices typically made for Khoisan languages – and has therefore been used here.

|ke Sometimes interpreted by WB and LL as a component of the Auxiliary, with an implication of ‘continuing action’ – but more likely to be the non-agreeing distal demonstrative *|ke* usually translated by WB and LL as ‘yonder’. It is here analysed as a determiner, and translated as ‘there’, although it could equally be translated as ‘that’. The deictic element is very weak, and this determiner-like particle is used almost interchangeably with the proximal *a* ‘here’ (or ‘this’). See line 5 below for an example of the latter.

kkāu Sometimes recorded with a click, as *!kāu*. The doubling of various initial letters by WB and LL seems to have been redundant. It probably marked a voiceless unaspirated stop, or an ejected stop. LL’s spelling of the diphthong suggests that the original was *ao* (rather than *au*).

4) *au i |khi !gã*.
 “if we kill frogs.”

<i>au</i>	<i>i</i>	<i> khi</i>	<i>!gã</i>
CONN	PRO.1 st PL.Incl	_v [kill\SBJV]	frog (sg/pl)
	‘if we should kill frogs’		

5) *He |khuru^A (w)a |ku-g |ne tēng²*
 “And a drought comes”

<i>he</i>	<i> khuru</i>	<i>a</i>	<i> ku</i>	<i> ne</i>	<i>tē-ng</i>
CONN	drought	DET.Prox	BE(LIKE)	BE/DO	? <i>ta</i> LOC.COP\SUBJ- <i>ng</i>
	?’then the drought would be setting in’				

² Note A follows at lines 24–93.

- he* Probably a contraction of the commonly used sentential connective phrase, *he ti hing ē* (as suggested by WB 1911: 146) – although it resembles the Kora proximal demonstrative *hē*. Depending on context, it can be translated as either ‘and’, ‘so then’, or ‘this’. See also line 9.
- /khuru* Khoekhoe */khuru(si)b* ‘drought’. Khoekhoe *-si* has a nominalising function that typically involves the derivation of abstract nouns from verbs.³
- (w)a* Labiovelar glide predictably inserted between a stem-final *-a* and a following vowel.
- a* Probably the non-agreeing proximal demonstrative, here analysed as a determiner and translated as ‘here’ – although it could equally be translated as ‘this’. See also line 3.
- /ku-g |ne* WB and LL frequently indicated a perceived ‘g’ before the auxiliary particle *|ne* – typically when the latter was preceded by a vowel. It is possible, as suggested at various places in the slips, that it was a contraction of *-ken* (*~gen*). Alternatively, *|ne* may have been originally *n|ge*, with the voiced uvular stop audible only in particular phonetic environments.
- tē-ng* Analysed here as a participial form of the Subjunctive of the Existential Locative Copula arising from *ta* ‘lie’; but possibly an extended form of a different verb meaning ‘place, put’. See lines 29 and 54. For another instance of clause-final *V-ng*, see line 18.

6) au i ē |khi !gã,

“if we are those who kill frogs”

au	i	ē	khi	!gã
CONN	PRO.1 st PL.Incl	?(eCOP+)REL.PRO.IPL.	kill\ SBJV	frog (sg/pl)
	‘if we were to kill frogs’			

7) au !khoa kx’auki |ne kãu

“while the rain falls not”

au	!khoa	kx’ao-ki	ne	kãu
CONN	rain	NEG- <i>ki</i>	BE/DO	fall
	‘because of that, the rain (would) not fall’			

8) he ti |ku-g |ne ||kō.

[7450]

“and the place becomes dry”

he	ti	ku	ne	kō
CONN	EXPL.it	AUX[BE(LIKE)]	BE/DO	v[bec.dry]
	‘and it (would) turn dry’			

ti In this context, perhaps literally ‘place’.

||kō Note Khwe *||xó*, Naro *||xóó* ‘be dry, dessicated’.⁴

9) He ti hing ē,

“therefore”

he	ti	hi-ng	ē
CONN	EXPL.it	DEM.PRO.II.SG.-ng	?(eCOP+)REL.PRO.II.SG
	‘and because of this’		

he ti hing ē Literally ‘these things they are’ (DB *Gramm*: 98). This phrase is used very frequently as a sentential connective. It is conceivably a borrowing (with re-analysis) of the Kora expression, *hēti hĩ* ‘because, on account of’, where *hē-ti* means ‘this.here-thus’.

³ All Namibian Khoekhoe lexis sourced from Haacke and Eiseb (2002); Kora from Du Plessis (2018).

⁴ Khwe from Kilian-Hatz (2003); Naro from Visser (2001).

10) |Xam ka !k'e ta |ne !kauwih, ǀ

“the Bushmen become lean on account of it”

Xam ka !kx'e	ta	ne	!khao-(w)i	ǀ
Xam ASSOC people	EXP	AUX[BE/DO]	√[bec.lean-?PERF(Stat)]	Res.DEM.PRO.II.SG

‘the |Xam people (would) become thin’

-i Note N|uu V-?ii ‘Stative’ (Collins and Namaseb 2011: 15). See also lines 14, 15, 27 and 73.

!kauwih LL sometimes wrote a final ‘h’ in words where the click was probably accompanied either by delayed aspiration or an audible aspirated uvular stop. See also the word for ‘edible bulb sp.’ in line 18.

11) au !khwā ā kx'auki |ne kǎu

“if the rain does not fall”

au	!khwā	ā	kx'ao-ki	ne	kǎu
CONN	rain	DET.Prox	NEG-ki	BE/DO	fall (as rain)

‘because the rain does not fall’

12) he wai (y)a kx'auki |ne ||na, ǀ.

“and the springboks are not there, on account of it”

he	wai	a	kx'ao-ki	ne	na	ǀ
CONN	springbok (sg/pl)	DET.Prox	NEG-ki	BE/DO	be.there	Res.DEM.PRO.II.SG

‘and there are no springbok’

(y)a Palatal glide predictably inserted between a stem-final -i and a following vowel.

13) !Hou (w)a kx'auki |ne ||na.

“the locusts are not there”

!hau	a	kx'ao-ki	ne	na
locusts	DET.Prox	NEG-ki	BE/DO	be.there

‘there are no locusts’

!hou Neutral with respect to number. Note Ju|'hoan !'hao ‘locust (sg)’.⁵

14) He !hou (w)a |ku-g-|ne ||gwī,

“and the locusts disappear/vanish”

he	!hau	a	ku	ne	gwī-i
CONN	locusts	DET.Prox	AUX[BE(LIKE)]	BE/DO]	√[vanish-?PERF(Stat)]

‘because the locusts would be gone’

||gwī ‘Die, disappear, go away’. WB equated with ||gui ‘conceal, cover over’. Could be transliterated as ||gui, or ||gwī, unless -i is indeed an extension of the verb, in which case it should be transliterated as ||gwī.

15) wai (y)a ||xamki |ku-g |ne ||gwī.

“the springbok also vanish”

wai	a	xam-ki	ku	ne	gwī-i
springbok (sg/pl)	DET.Prox	also-ki	BE(LIKE)	BE/DO	vanish-?PERF(Stat)

‘and the springbok would also be gone’

||ku-g |ne WB and LL frequently indicated a perceived ‘g’ before the auxiliary particle |ne – typically when the latter was preceded by a vowel. It is possible, as suggested at various places in the slips, that it was a contraction of -ken (~gen). Alternatively, |ne may have been originally n|ge, with the voiced uvular stop remaining audible only in particular phonetic environments.

⁵ Ju|'hoan lexis sourced from Dickens (1994).

16) |Xam ka !k'e |ku-g |ne hĩ |kui,^{B6} [7451]
 “the Bushmen eat gambroo”

Xam ka	!kx'e	ku	ne	hĩ	kui
Xam ASSOC	people	AUX[BE(LIKE)]	BE/DO	v[eat\SBJV]	kui

‘the |Xam people would be eating kambroo’

|kui The word *|kui* is translated by Lloyd (or |Hang#kasso?) as ‘gambroo’ – commonly taken to refer to *Fockea* spp. See lines 116–123 for Note B, and a botanical-linguistic commentary.

17) he ē Tka ka ||na.
 “it is that whose plants are there.”

he	ē	kx'a	ka	na
DEM(Prox)	?(eCOP+)REL.PRO.II.PL	leaf (sg/pl)	AUX[IPFV(Cont)]	v[be.there]

‘(because) these are the (only) plants remaining there’

Tka Lit. ‘tip (sg/pl)’. Used as referring expression for hands or fingers of people, and the leaves of plants. LL used the symbol T̄ for a dental click accompanied either by the fricated uvular ejective, /q'χ/ (conventionally written as in |kx'), or the aspirated uvular stop /qh/ (|kh). It is not certain which, but it is probable that Lloyd’s use of a separate convention in either case reflected the slightly fronted articulation she would have heard in association with the dental click (i.e. either /q'χ₊/ or /qh₊/).

ka(∼ta) Derived from a verb meaning ‘stay’, and used in various roles: as a main verb with substantive meaning ‘stay, remain’; as a locative existential copula; and as a marker *before* the verb of an imperfective aspect (Continuative, Habitual).

18) !Ouwih T̄kaken |ku ||guĩ sing;
 “The ... plants vanish;”

!hau	kx'a=ken	ku	gu-ĩ-si-ng
!hau	leaf (sg/pl)=ken	AUX[BE(LIKE)]	v[vanish-?PERF(Stat)]-FUT\SUBJ-ng]

‘the leaves of the wild onions would have gone away’

!hau Species of plant(s) with edible bulbs, sometimes translated by LL as ‘wild onions’.

!ouwih (∼!kouwi, !kauwi, !khoui). See note on !kauwih ‘be lean’ in line 10.

sing Interpreted here as a form of *sa* (< COME); but see line 76 for alternative interpretation. The occasional occurrences of a clause final *V-ng* or *V-ken* are still being investigated. See also lines 5 and 24.

19) |kuiten ē Tka ka ||na.
 “the ... is that whose plants are there.”

kui-ten	ē	kx'a	ka	na
kui-ten	eCOP+REL.PRO.II.PL	leaf (sg/pl)	AUX[IPFV(Cont)]	v[be.there]

‘the kambroo leaves are (all) that remain there’

20) |Kui (y)a-g |ne ||xamki ||kō.
 “The gambroo also dries.”

kui	a	ne	xam-ki	kō
kui	DET.PROX	BE/DO	also-ki	bec.dry

‘and even the kambroo withers’

21) He ti hing ē,
 “therefore”
 ‘this is the reason’

⁶ Note B follows at lines 116–123.

22) |kui ta-g |ne |khi i, ī;

“the gambroo kills us”

kui	ta	ne	khi	i	ī
kui	SAY/DO.SO	BE/DO	kill\SBJV	PRO.1 st PL.Incl	Res.DEM.PRO.II.SG

‘the kambroo (almost) kills us’

23) I |ne !gwe.

“we are (as if) intoxicated”

i	ne	!gwe
PRO.1 st PL.Incl	BE/DO	be.intoxicated (by! <i>goe</i> -poison)

‘we become poisoned (by it)’

!goe Candelabra lily (*Boophane disticha*), also the poison derived from the bulb. As an adjective, ‘drunk, intoxicated (on *!goe*-poison)’ (LL-|Hang [85] 6924).

Note A. Drought;⁷ and behaviour of jackals.

24) |Khuruken ā ti ta ||khou !kuīten ā̄,

[7448rev]

“a drought is that on account of which the country waxes white”

khuru=ken	ā	ti	ta	khou	!kuī-ten	ā̄
drought.V= <i>ken</i>	?(aCOP+)REL.PRO.V	EXPL.it	SAY/DO.SO	become	be.white-ten	Res.DEM.PRO.V

‘(now) this *drought* is something where it becomes white’

|khuru Khoekhoe *|khuru(si)b* ‘drought’. Khoekhoe *-si* has a nominalising function that typically involves the derivation of abstract nouns from verbs.⁸

ti Here perhaps literally ‘place’.

||khou (~*||khu*, *||khau*, *||xau*) ‘become’. Probably best transliterated as *||khau*.

!kuī LL’s use of a trema on the second vowel suggests that this word arose from an original disyllabic root of the shape CVCV. (There are other cases where *ui* has arisen via a process of diphthongisation.) Probably < Nama *!uri* ‘white’.

ā̄ Resumptive Pronoun, here in agreement with *|khuru*, which is an abstract (and ‘non-count’) noun in Gender V (—/ha).

25) Oho-ken |ku-g |ne ||kō, au |khuru.

“the bushes become dry from the drought.”

Oho=ken	ku	ne	kō	au	khuru
vegetation= <i>ken</i>	AUX[BE(LIKE)	BE/DO]	v[bec.dry]	AdjunctCONN	drought

‘(and) the plants wither, because of drought’

Oho This word is translated variously as ‘tree, bush, plant’.

26) Au !khōā |kwē̄i-kx’ā, !khōā kāu,

“When the rain in this manner falls (i.e.as it has been doing thr. the winter of ’78 at Mowbray)”

au	!khoa	kwē̄i-kx’ā	!khoa	kāu
CONN	rain	DEF.VB[THUS-?SAY/DO]	rain	fall

‘(but) if the rain falls like this’

|kwē̄i Probably better transliterated as *|koā-i*.

kx’ā ?Variant of *ta* (~*ka*) ‘SAY/DO.SO’ (i.e. in this way, thus), possibly with suffix extension.

⁷ |Hang†kassō gave another description of drought at [LL-|Hang \[92\] 7522-7526](#)

⁸ All Namibian Khoekhoe lexis sourced from Haacke and Eiseb (2002); Kora from Du Plessis (2018).

27) hã ã se ||khu Ƨkwai.

“food will become plentiful”

hã	ã	se	khu	kx'oa-i
food.V	?DEM.PRO.V	AUX[FUT\SUBJ]	become	abundant-?PERF(Stat)
			?COP	Complement
			?AUX	V

‘the food would become abundant’

hã ‘Food’ (< *hã* ‘eat’). Apparently in Gender V because a ‘verbal noun’ or gerund.
||kx'wai (~|ʔkoāiya, |ʔoāiya, |ʔoāya, Ƨkwāiya, |ʔkw'āiya) ‘Plentiful’. Note Kora *||kx'oa*, Nam. Khoekhoe *||oa* ‘become full’, and *||oasib* ‘plenty, abundance’. See line 17 for note on Ƨ.

28) He tiken ē, !k'e ta |ne ta,

[7449rev]

“therefore the people say that”

!kx'e	ta	ne	ta
people	?SAY/DO.SO	BE/DO	SAY/DO.SO

‘this is why people always say this’

29) !khwā kãu tē !xū.

“the rain falls bringing plenty;”

!khoa	kão	tē	!xū
rain	v[fall]	v[ta-?Caus]	plenty/riches
	v[fall]	- v[?lay.down]	

‘rainfall lays in wealth’

!khoa-kão Possible instance of noun incorporation into a verb, here as a nominalisation?

tē May be a causative form of *ta* ‘lie’, with senses such as ‘lay, put down’; but conceivably a different verb with senses such as ‘put, place’. See also line 54.

!xū Note Nama *!khū* ‘become wealthy’ > *!khūsib* ‘riches’.

30) he !k'e kx'auki |ne di aken !hou,

“and the people do not nicely with the locusts”

he	!kx'e	kx'ao-ki	ne	di	aken	!hou
CONN	people	NEG-ki	BE/DO	do/make	nicely	locusts

‘(and/so/if) the people do not treat the locusts properly’

di Used ubiquitously, with senses such as ‘do, make, become’, as well as ‘behave, perform, work on, affect’. Can be enlisted to give a causative implication in certain contexts. Khoekhoe *dī* ‘do, make’.

aken This frequently used adverb invariably occurs with *-ken* (except in Katkop, where it is *āki*).

31) hing koä wai.

“and the springbok (i.e. do not put them nicely away).”

hing	koä	whai
PRO.I.PL-ng	tog.with	springbok

‘and the springbok’

32) He tiken ē, |Xam ka !k'e ta |ne ta:

“Therefore the people say:”

33) ng kang ka

“I wish that”

ng	ka-ng	ka
PRO.1 st SG	AUX[MOD(Epistemic)-ng]	v[wish]

‘I really do think (that)’

34) a kwong di aken tsa,
 “that thou shouldst therefore work nicely the thing”
 a kqa-ng di aken tsa
 PRO.2nd.SG AUX[MOD.Oblig-ng] v[do/make] nicely (prey).thing
 ‘you ought to treat the prey-thing(s) properly’

tsa Lit. ‘thing’, but commonly used as an avoidance term for any animal that is hunted.
 Relation to *tu* (~*tchu*, *tsu*) ‘thing’ unclear.

35) au a ka !xu(w)a
 “so that thy plenty”
 au a ka !xu-a
 CONN POSS.PRO.2ndSG AUX[POT] v[bec.wealthy-PERF(?Permanent State)]
 ?‘so that you might become wealthy’

36) kx’auki ||ke||ke(y)a koro,
 “may not be like the jackal,”
 kx’ao-ki ||ke~||ke-a koro
 neg-ki be.like.Fact-APPLIC jackal
 ‘unlike a jackal’

||ke||ke WB noted (1911: 151) that reduplication seemed, as in Khoekhoe, ‘to imply, among other meanings, also a transitive or causative meaning’.

37) ha ā ka |kwēi kx’uā
 “he is the one who does in this manner”
 ha ā ka |kwēi-kx’u ā
 PRO.I.SG aCOP+REL.PRO.I.SG IPFV(Hab) DEF.VB[THUS-?DO] Res.DEM.PRO.I.SG
 ‘(now) *he* always behaves like this’

kx’u Note N|uu *kx’uu* ‘do’, which can also be used to express causation, much like *dī*. See also line 88.

38) ha !kqā kuī ||kho eng,
 “he buries meat”⁹
 ha !kqo-ä-kui-||kho eng
 PRO.I.SG v[bury-APPLIC]-kui-v[put.aside] meat
 ‘he buries away meat’

!kqo-ä Kora *gau* (~*kgau*) ‘(vi) hide away’, *khau* ‘bury’.

ku (~*kui*) Linking elements of this kind commonly occur between two verbs, where they give the first verb some resemblance to a coverb (or converb).

||kho ‘put.away, place, lay something in position’. This ‘light verb’ is frequently used in combination with other verbs, either as the first or second element of a compound. Note Nama *||khō* ‘bury, inter’.

39) au ha !xugen!xūken,
 “when he is satisfied”
 au ha !xugen~!xūken
 CONN PRO.I.SG bec.sated.Fact
 ‘when he has had enough’

!xugen~!xūken The reduplication in this instance seems to imply the achievement of a current state.
 The verb is possibly the same as the verb meaning ‘become wealthy’ in line 29.

⁹ For more on the caching behaviour described here, see the entry for black-backed jackal on the website of the South African National Biodiversity Institute ([SANBI](http://www.sanbi.org)).

40) ha sese ha tsitsī |kam,
 “he comes, he bites off”

ha se~se ha tsi~tsī-|kam
 PRO.I.SG v[come.Att] PRO.I.SG v[bite.Att]-v[carry]
 ‘he keeps on coming and biting away (pieces)’

sese The reduplications in this line of *se* and *tsi* suggest intermittently repeated actions.
|kam This light verb is frequently used in combination with other verbs, as either the first or second element of a compound. Note Khoekhoe *|ham* ‘take (food) along on journey’.

41) ha ||e||e, ha !kauä !käuä ||kho eng,
 “he goes, he buries the meat”

ha ||e~||e ha !kao-ä~!kəo-ä-||kho eng
 PRO.I.SG go\SUBJ.Att PRO.I.SG v[bury-APPLIC.Att]-v[put.away] meat
 ‘he keeps on going to bury away (cache) meat’

42) ha sese, ha tsitsi |kam, [7450rev]
 “he comes, he bites off”

43) ha ||e||e !käuä !käuä ||kho eng.
 ‘he goes, he buries the meat’

44) He tiken ē, ha ka !käuä ku ||kho eng.
 ‘therefore, he buries the meat’

45) Ha |ne sese, ha tsitsī |kam,
 ‘he comes, he bites off’

46) ha ||a !käuä !ho sō.
 “he goes to bury a lung”

ha ||a !kəo-ä !ho sō
 PRO.I.SG AUX[ANDATIVE] v[bury-APPLIC] v[put.in] lung
 ‘he goes and buries a lung’

||a Lit. ‘go (and do)’. It can be difficult to distinguish the different uses of this verb: as a main verb with substantive meaning ‘go’; as an Andative Future, and as a Deictic Andative after a verb of motion.
!ho ‘Put in, place, set or stand something in position, plant (as a spear in the ground)’. This ‘light’ verb is widely used as either the first or second element of a compound. Can be difficult to distinguish semantically from *||kho*, with which it is frequently combined.
sō Namibian Khoekhoe *sōb* ‘lung’.

47) Ha ||xã
 “he again”

ha ||xã
 PRO.I.SG DEF.VB [DO.AGAIN]
 ‘(and) [...]’

48) ha se ha sa tsi |kam !heten
 “he comes, he comes to bite off the”

ha se ha sa tsi-|kam !heten
 PRO.I.SG VENITIVE\SUBJ PRO.I.SG AUX[FUT] v[bite]-v[carry] !heten
 ‘[then] he will come again and bite away the !heten’

se Used here, from a syntactic point of view, almost as a deficient verb
!heten Unidentified part of carcase. A note on p. 7451rev states: *!hetaken |ne kwerekwere* ‘The is round’. Also note |Xam *!khwe!khweten* ‘kidneys’. Note gender in line 49 (evidently because part of a whole).

49) ha ||a !ho ha.

“he goes to bury it”

ha	a	!ho	ha
PRO.I.SG	AUX[ANDATIVE]	v[put.in]	PRO.IV.SG

‘he goes and puts it in’

50) Ha sa tsī |kam |kq̄ä tu,

[7452]

“he comes to bite off the skin (?)”

ha	sa	tsī- kam	kq̄ä=tu
PRO.I.SG	AUX[FUT]	v[bite]-v[carry]	stomach

‘he will come (again) and bite away the stomach’

|kq̄ätu Nouns referring to parts of the body often take an enclitic *-tu* (~*xu*), which need not be suffixed directly to the noun, but can be placed after *-ken*. (The plural of *!kautu*, for example, is *!kau!kautentu* ‘bellies’.) See also line 104. Note Kora *!obab* ‘abdomen’.

51) ha ||a !kq̄ä ||kho hi.

“he goes to bury it”

ha	a	!kq̄ä-ä- kho	hi
PRO.I.SG	AUX[ANDATIVE]	v[bury-APPLIC]-v[put.away]	PRO.II.SG

‘(and) he will go and bury it away’

||kho ‘put.away, place, lay something in position’. This ‘light verb’ is frequently used in combination with other verbs, either as the first or second element of a compound. Note Nama *||khō* ‘bury, inter’.

52) He, ha |ne sā hō wai !kwā,

“and he comes to take the springbok’s leg”

he	ha	ne	sā	hō	whai	!koa
CONN	PRO.I.SG	AUX[BE/DO]	FUT	v[pick.up]	springbok	leg (bone?)

‘then he will pick up a springbok leg (?or bone)’

hō Khoekhoe *hō* ‘pick up, find’.

!koa (sg agr.pro *ha*) ‘bone’ (Afrikaans *been*) (Gender IV (*ha/—*) (‘part of whole’)

!koa (sg agr.pro *hi*) ‘leg’ (Afrikaans *been*) (Gender II (*hi/hi*))

53) ha |ne |ki ||ā hī,

“and he brings it”

ha	ne	ki- ā	hī
PRO.I.SG	BE/DO	[take-go]	PRO.II.SG

‘(and) take it away’

|ki-||a ‘take-go > ‘fetch’; as *|ki-sa* ‘take-come > ‘bring’

54) ha |ne ||ā, |kū te hi.

“he goes to lay it down”

ha	ne	ā	kū-te	hi
PRO.I.SG	AUX[BE/DO]	ANDATIVE]	v[store]-v[?set.down]	PRO.II.SG

store-?PERF\SUBJ

‘he goes and caches it’

55) He, ha |ne !xuī,

“and he goes to drink”

he	ha	ne	!xu-ī
conn	PRO.I.SG	AUX[BE/DO]	v[go.to.water-?APPLIC]

‘then, he goes to the water’

56) au hang ta ti, ha |ke ||ke||ke(y)a !kui,
 “because he resembles a man”

au	ha-ng	ta	ti	ha	ke	ke~ ke-a	!kui
CONN	PRO.I.SG- <i>ng</i>	EXP	EXPL.it	PRO.I.SG	?DET.Dist	resemble-APPLIC	person
	‘because [...]						

57) hang ka !xu,
 “he goes to drink”

hang	ka	!xu
PRO.I.SG- <i>ng</i>	?IPFV(Hab)	go.to.water
	‘he regularly goes to the water just as a person does’	

58) he ha |ne s̄a,
 “he comes”

he	ha	ne	s̄a
conn	PRO.I.SG	BE/DO	VENITIVE
	‘and then’		

s̄a Note that *s̄a* is used here —from a syntactic point of view—almost as a deficient verb. It can be difficult to distinguish the different uses of this verb: as a main verb with literal meaning ‘come’; as a deictic venitive after a verb of motion; or as a marker of future tense.

59) ha sa ||gauä, !gwe ting tsa. [7453]
 “to look round seeking something”

ha	sa	gao-ä-!goe-ting	tsa
PRO.I.SG	AUX[FUT]	v[seek-APPLIC]-v[be.near-?PERF\SUBJ- <i>ng</i>]	(prey).thing
	‘he will search around nearby (for) something (i.e. prey)’		

!goe Various translations by WB and LL as ‘near to, in front of, opposite’. Perhaps ‘be.nearby, be in the vicinity of’. Does not seem obviously related to *!goe* ‘glide along, drift, sail’.

ting Subjunctive form of *ta*, with *-ng*. Often most simply translated by English ‘around’.

60) He tiken ē,
 “then”

61) ha ka |ne !kx’aten u, au kuerekuere.
 “he gallops away in the evening”¹⁰

ha	ka	ne	!kx’aten-u	au	koere~koere
PRO.I.SG	AUX[?IPFV(Hab)	BE/DO]	v[trot- <i>ken</i>]-v[move.away]	AdjunctCONN	coolness
	‘he regularly trots off in the evening’				

!kx’aten This verb always occurs in the form with *-ten*, which seems almost to have become lexicalised.

62) Ha |ne !kx’aten ||khoä !khe,
 “he runs up to it”

ha	ne	!kx’aten- kho-ä-!khe
PRO.I.SG	AUX[BE/DO]	v[trot- <i>ken</i>]-v[move.towards-APPLIC]-v[PFV]
	‘he trots towards (it)’	

||kho (~*||khou*) ‘move towards, approach’, but see line 68 for a similar verb with different meaning. Tone of *||kho* here marked as High.

¹⁰ For more on the gait of jackals, see Goldenberg, Glanzl, Henschel and others (2008).

63) au ha ka,
 “for he thinks”
 au ha ka
 conn PRO.I.SG DEF.VB[?DO.SOON]
 ‘because[he would] before long’

64) ha se |ne !khou !khwe-tu.
 “he smells the wind’s mouth”
 ha se |ne !khou !khoe tu
 PRO.I.SG AUX[FUT\SUBJ BE/DO] v[sniff] wind ?
 ‘sniff the front of the wind’

tu (~*xu*) Note N|uu relational noun *xuu* ‘in front of’ (used as a quasi postposition). Probably from a noun meaning ‘face’.

!khou ‘Smell, sniff, catch scent of’. Note *!khou*, *!khao* ‘smell’, both Bondelswarts Nama

65) He, ha |ne kui †kā au tsa,
 “and he smells the thing”
 he ha |ne kui †kā au tsa
 and PRO.I.SG BE/DO QUOT †kā AdjunctCONN (prey).thing
 ‘then, †kā, he [would catch the scent of] the thing’

kui Frequently used (as Nguni *kuthi* or *ukuthi*) to introduce an ideophone.

†kā LL (p. 7447) translates as ‘smell strongly’. Possibly an ideophone ‘of smelling strongly’.

66) he, ha |ne !khou |kam ||a tsa. [7454]
 “and smelling (it) he goes up to it.”
 he ha |ne !khou-|kam-||a tsa
 and PRO.I.SG AUX[BE/DO] v[sniff]-v[carry]-v[ANDATIVE] (prey).thing
 v[sniff]-v[carry]-v[ANDATIVE]
 ‘then he will go and sniff out the thing’

67) Ha |ne ||a hō tsa,
 “He goes to pick up the thing”
 ha |ne ||a hō tsa
 PRO.I.SG AUX[BE/DO ANDATIVE] v[pick.up] thing
 ‘he will go and retrieve the thing’

68) ha |ne !k’aten ti ||khoä !khe tsa,
 “he runs to put down the thing”
 ha |ne !k’aten ti ||kho-ä-!khe tsa
 PRO.I.SG BE/DO trot-ken ? [move.towards-APPLIC-PFV] (prey).thing
 ?‘trotting to put down the thing’
 ?‘trotting (until) he reaches the thing’

||khoä Tone marked as High in text. LL has translated *||khoä* here as an extended form of the verb *||kho* ‘put.away’. Compare lines 62, 74 and 86.

69) au ha ||ā,
 “as he goes”

70) ha se ||a kang hã ||na||na !hwobaken,

“he will eat it there to leeward”

ha se ||a kang hã ||na~||na !hwoba=ken
 PRO.I.SG AUX[FUT\SUBJ ANDATIVE ?POT-*ng*] v[eat] v[be.there.Att] leeward
 ‘(so that) he might go off and eat it somewhere a little way out of the wind’

71) he ha |ne ||a kang kx’aung |ki|ki !kwa,

“and he goes to crunch up the leg”

he ha |ne ||a kang kx’ao-*ng*-|ki~|ki !kwa
 and PRO.I.SG AUX[BE/DO ANDATIVE ?POT-*ng*] v[crunch-*ng*]-v[take.Fact] bone
 ‘and he might go crunching to get the bone’

||ki|ki Reduplication of *|ki* ‘take’ translated by WB (1911: 150) as ‘get’.

72) au !hwobaken

“to leeward”

73) he ha |ne uī,

“he leaves off”

he ha |ne u-ī
 and PRO.I.SG AUX[BE/DO] v[move.away-PERF(Stat)]
 ?v[move.away-APPLIC]
 ‘and then he leaves off’ (?’having left off’)

-i An applicative reading seems incongruous here. If this verb suffix indeed marks a perfect, it would seem to indicate a state (completive outcome) that is neither temporarily current (*-ken*) nor permanent (*-a*), but which was or might be obtaining in past, future or hypothetical contexts. See also lines 10, 14, 15 and 27.

74) ha |ne !k’aten ||khoä !khe,

“he runs to put it down”

ha |ne !kx’aten ||kho-ä-!khe
 PRO.I.SG AUX[BE/DO] v[trot-*ken*] v[move.towards-APPLIC-PFV]
 ‘he trots to reach’

||khoä Tone marked as High in text.

75) au ha gau(w)a, ti ē,

[7455]

“for he seeks the place at which”

au ha gau-a ti ē
 CONN PRO.I.SG bury-PERF(Stat) COMP
 ‘(the place) where he had buried (it)’

gau-a ?‘Buried’. Tone marked as Low in text. Note [Xam *||gguë* ‘seek’, also *xau*.

ti ē DB (*Gramm*: 98) suggested lit. translation ‘things which’.

76) tsa sing tā hĩ,

“the thing is lying”

tsa si-*ng* tā hĩ
 (prey).thing AUX[?IPFV(Prog)\SUBJ-*ng*] v[*ta*LOC.COP] Res.DEM.PRO.II.SG
 ‘(there where) the thing should still be’

sing Provisionally interpreted here as a form of *sō* (< SIT) rather than *sa* (< COME). But see line 18.

77) he ha sing hē |ki tsa, ĩ.

“that he may get it.”

he	ha	si-ng	hē	ki	tsa	ĩ
that	PRO.I.SG	?IPFV(Prog)\SUBJ-ng	?DEM.PRO.II.SG	take	thing	Res.DEM.PRO.II.SG

?‘there where he might get it’

78) He tiken ē, i ta ku:

“That is why we say:”

he tiken ē	i	ta	ku
CONN	PRO.1 st PL.Incl	SAY/DO SO	DO

‘this is why we say’

79) “koro kang ||kuəŋ ||khōa !khou(w)a ti ē a;

“the jackal seems as if scent were there”

koro	ka-ng	kəŋ	khōa	!khou-a	ti ē	a
jackal	AUX[IPFV-ng	MODAL(Cert)	MODAL(Prob)]	v[sniff-APPLIC]	COMP	?Res.DEM.PRO.I.SG

?aCOP

‘the jackal(s) (definitely) always seem to sniff out where it is’

80) hi sing dōä kakaken* ||na hi,¹¹

“they bark at each other,”

hi	sing	dōä	ka-ka-ken- na	hi
PRO.I.PL	AUX[?IPFV(Prog)\SUBJ-ng	MODAL(Abil)]	v[bark.Att-ken]-v[?tell]	PRO.I.PL

‘they can tell each other things with their barking’

||nā Kora ‘tell, command, instruct’

81) au ||gā.

“at night”

82) Hing ss’ō dōä !kan tā wai,

“they must be hunting the springbok”

hing	so	dōä	!kan-tā	whai
PRO.I.PL-ng	AUX[?seem	MODAL(Abil)]	v[grasp]-v[?PERF(Stat)]	springbok

?IPFV (Prog)

‘they must have managed to bring down a springbok’

ss’ō ‘Seem’ (often followed by *ta* or *ka*). Note also *sō* (~*sho*), which is derived from a verb meaning ‘sit’, and which can be used as a locative existential copula, and also to mark an imperfect aspect. (Apparently distinguished from *so* ‘seem’ by contrastive vowel length.) See also line 105.

!kan ‘grasp, get hold of’; can also be used in sense of ‘hunt’.

83) au ti e.

“...”

au	ti e
AdjunctCONN	COMP

?‘at that place’ (i.e. telling each other *where* they have brought down prey)

?‘about it’ (i.e. telling each other *that* they have brought down prey)

¹¹ A sub-note on the jackal’s vocalisations follows at lines 94–115.

84) Tā, ha !kung |e(y)a !khwe.

“for he goes into the wind”

tā	ha	!ku-ng- e-a	!khoe
CONN	PRO.I.SG	v[travel-ng]-v[move.into-APPLIC]	wind

‘so, he travels into the wind’

!kung ‘move along, travel, go’; Kora *!gũ (~!ũ)*, Nam. Khoekhoe *!gũ*.

85) Ta, !kui ā,

[7456]

“for he is a person”

ta	!kui	ā
CONN	person	?(aCOP+)REL.PRO.I.SG

‘because he is a person (?creature) who’

86) ka |ku !k’aten||xaten ||khoä !khwe

“who runs against the wind”

ka	ku	!kx’aten- xaten- kho-ä	!khoe
IPFV(?Hab)	AUX[BE(LIKE)]	v[trot-ken]-v[move.against]-v[move.towards-APPLIC]	wind

‘always trots forward against the wind’

||xaten Translated by LL as ‘go against – but referencing only this line. Possibly erroneous for reduplication of *!kx’aten*. (Except that there is a recurrence of this compound in line 93.)

||kho-ä Tone marked as Low in text, but this could be because of its position in the overall compound.

87) ha |ku a.

[...]

ha	ku	a
PRO.I.SG	BE(LIKE)	?aCOP
		?Res.DEM.PRO.I.SG

‘he is’

88) Ta, ha ka |kwẽi-kx’uã,

“for he acts like this”

ta	ha	ka	kwẽi-kx’u	ã
CONN	PRO.I.SG	IPFV(Hab)	DEF.VB[THUS-?DO]	Res.DEM.PRO.I.SG

‘so, he always behaves like this’

kx’u-ã ‘Do, behave’ – but dictionary slip references only this instance.

89) au ha !khou ||ā,

“when he goes smelling along”

au	ha	!khou- ā
CONN	PRO.I.SG	v[sniff]-v[ANDATIVE]

‘when he goes sniffing’

90) ha !kung |e(y)a !khwe.

“he goes into the wind”

ha	!ku-ng- e-a	!khwe
PRO.I.SG	v[travel-ng]-v[move.into-APPLIC]	wind

‘he travels into the wind’

91) Tā, ha ka |ku ||nau

“when”

tā ha ka |ku ||nau
CONN PRO.I.SG AUX[IPFV(Hab)] BE(LIKE)] DEF.VB[DO.WHILE]
‘because, when [...]

92) ha †gouse !k’aten ||a

“he comes running silently”

ha †gouse !k’aten-||a
PRO.I.SG ADV[softly] v[trot-ken]-v[ANDATIVE]
‘he goes trotting softly’

†gouse Namibian Khoekhoe †ause ‘slowly, softly, gently’

93) ha |ku !kx’aten ||xaten ||khoä !khwe.

“he runs again the wind”

ha |ku !kx’a-ten-†xa-ten-||kho-ä !khwe
PRO.I.SG AUX[BE(LIKE)] v[trot-ken]-v[†xa-ten]v[move.towards-APPLIC] wind
‘he is always trotting forward against the wind’

*Sub-note on jackal vocalisations.¹²

94) Hi ||kʷang †kaken”

[7454rev]

“they speak”

hi ||kʷa-ng †ka-ken
PRO.I.PL MOD(Cert)-ng speak-ken
‘they are actually speaking’

95) au hi |ke|kei hi |kāgen;

“when they say this to their mates”

au hi |ke~|ke-i hi |kāgen
CONN POSS.PRO.I.PL v[call.Att-?APPLIC(Trans)] POSS.PRO.I.PL fellows
‘when they call their (pack)mates’

96) hing |ne ta kkak kkak kkak kkak

“they say kkak kkak kkak kkak”

97) au !kukō we ā, |ke-ā !kukō

“when one is talking to another”

au !ku=kō we ā |ke-ā !ku=kō
CONN person=other answer ?(aCOP+)REL.PRO.I.SG v[call-APPLIC(Ben)] person=other
‘because the one answers the other (one) who has called to him’

wēten Namibian Khoekhoe oe ‘answer, respond’

98) He tiken ē, i ta ku:

“then we say:”

he tiken ē i ta ku
CONN PRO.IstPL.Incl SAY/DO SO DO
‘this is why we say’

¹² For more on jackal vocalisations, see the entry for black-backed jackal on the website of the South African National Biodiversity Institute ([SANBI](http://www.sanbi.org)).

99) ||khe||khe wē,
 “Oh beast of prey”
 ||khe~||khe wē
 bite-Rep VOC
 ‘You, beast of prey’

||khe||khe The reduplication in this instance probably has also a nominalising function. Literally ‘biter’, but commonly used as a term of avoidance for a predator (particularly the lion). It is not clear whether an actual lion is being invoked—for him to drive off the jackals—or merely the jackal. There are anecdotal—possibly apocryphal—stories of people in earlier times stealing the remains of a kill away from a lion (Boden 2007: 27; Alexander 1838, v.1: 290).
we Possibly borrowed from Nguni (*wena*).

100) koroken tuko ē kakaken ||na,
 “the jackal is really barking there”
 koro=ken tu-ko ē ka~ka-ken ||na
 jackal=ken ? ?(eCOP+)REL.PRO.I.PL bark.Rep-ken be.there
 ?tell
 ?‘the other jackals are (those) barking *there*’
 ?‘the other jackals are (those) barking *to tell you*’

tu-ko Obscure. Sometimes treated by WB and LL as part of a V-ko-V collocation, where they translate *tu-ko* as ‘really’; but at other times treated as a kind of quantificative-derived pronoun (possibly plural of *!kui-ko* ‘another one’)
kaka Kora *kx’ā* ‘cry, howl’, Namibian Khoehoe *ā*.

101) ti e, a kōā
 “so thou must”
 ti e a kx’ōa
 COMP PRO.2ndSG AUX[MODAL(Oblig)
 ?‘*where* you should’
 ?‘*that* you should’

102) se aro-ko-kwakwā ||e
 “quickly go softly”
 se aro-ko-koa~koa ||e
 FUT\SUBJ v[do.quickly]-ko-v[move.forth.Att] v[ANDATIVE\SUBJ]
 ‘quickly go and creep forward’

koa [Xam *kwakwa kōa* ‘move forth’ recorded elsewhere. Note Naro *kx’ōa* ‘come out (by itself)’.

||e Ambiguous whether *||e* is the main verb preceded by a complex adverbial, or an andative V₂ following *koakoa*.

103) au ti e,
 “to the place”
 au ti e
 AdjunctCONN ?Res.COMP
 ‘(where) to’

- 104) a se |kamma hi, wai ||nwaintu, [7455rev]
 “thou shalt bring for us the springbok breast cheek”
 a se |kam-ma hi wai ||nwaintu
 PRO.2ndSG FUT\SUBJ carry-APPLIC(Ben) PRO.1stPL.Incl springbok breast
 ‘so that you might bring us a breast of springbok’

||nwaintu Recorded also as *||nqaingtu*, *||nqeingtu* ‘forepart’ (sometimes ‘chest, heart’).
 (!*kwai*) (‘Cheek’.)

- 105) au ha ss’o !naun †uru,
 “if it is still whole”
 au ha so !naun †uru
 CONN PRO.IV seem do.still be.whole
 ?IPFV (Prog)
 ‘if it is still whole’

so Ambiguous - conceivably *sō* IPFV (Prog). See line 82.
†uru Namibian Khoekhoe *†uru* ‘whole, entire, intact’

- 106) au koro xau ka bai hĩ.
 “if the jackal has not finished it”
 au koro xau ka bai hĩ
 CONN jackal ?NEG POT finish PRO.I.SG
 ‘because the jackal could not finish it’

xau ?Erroneous for *kx’ao*.
bĩ ‘Finish, reach an end’. Expresses completive aspect after some verbs. Khoekhoe *be*.

- 107) He tiken ē, i ta |ku kwakwā ||ā,
 “then we go softly”
 he tiken ē i ta |ku koa~koa-||ā
 therefore PRO.1stPL.Incl SAY/DO SO AUX[BE(LIKE)] v[move.forth.Att]-v[ANDATIVE]
 ‘this is why we go creeping up like this’

koa [Xam *kwakwa kqa* ‘move forth’ recorded elsewhere. Note Naro *kx’ōa* ‘come out (by itself)’.

- 108) au iten ta ti ē,
 “for we feel that”
 au i-ten ta ti ē
 CONN PRO.1stPL.Incl-*ten* EXP COMP
 ‘because we are aware that’

- 109) koro |ke ta |ku ku, kuĩ kuĩ,
 “the jackal is wont to speak/do so (?), speak/do so (?), speak/do so (?)”
 koro |ke ta |ku ku kuĩ~kuĩ
 jackal DET.DIST SAY/DO SO BE(LIKE) QUOT speak.Att
 ‘the jackal almost speaks’

- 110) he tiken ē,
 “therefore”

- 111) i ta |ku kām ||a,
 “we are ~~went to~~ go gently”
 i ta |ku kām ||a
 PRO.1stPL.Incl SAY/DO SO BE(LIKE) ?softly ANDATIVE
 ‘we go softly like this’
kām Recorded only once (this instance). Usual expression for ‘gently, softly, a little’ is *tamOpua*.
- 112) au ||ga tsomma a e,
 “in the middle of the night”
 au ||ga tsomma a e
 AdjunctCONN night middle ?DET.prox Res.DEM.PRO.II.SG
 ‘in the middle of the night’
tsomma Note *au ||gā tsummā* ‘in the middle of the night’ LL-||Kab [34] 2516; and *||ga kamangtu* ‘middle of the night’ (LL-|Hang [91] 7391rev, [102] 8362). Also note Namibian Khoekhoe *kamanab* ‘middle section’
- 113) au i ta,
 “for we feel”
 au i ta
 CONN PRO.1stPL.Incl EXP
 ‘because we are aware’
- 114) i se ||e |kō, au hĩ,
 “we will go up to them”
 i se ||e |kō au hĩ
 PRO.1stPL.Incl AUX[FUT\SUBJ ANDATIVE\SUBJ] v[move.near] AdjunctCONN PRO.I.PL
 ‘we should go and get near them’
|kō ‘Be/become near’. Note Kora *|ū* (~|gūse, |ūse) ‘be near, be close’, *|ūē* ‘approach, draw near to’; Namibian Khoekhoe *|gū*.
- 115) au hi !naun-ko-|kua|kūaten ||na.
 “while they are still ? there”
 au hi !naun-ko-|kua~|kua-ten ||na
 CONN PRO.I.PL v[do.still]-ko-v[relax.Att-ten] v[be.there]
 ‘while they are still there relaxing’
|kuā (~|kwā) ‘Unload’, ‘unloosen load’, ‘take off, put down’ (LL-|Hang [87] 7118).

Note B. Toxicity of *|kui*¹³

- 116) !kx’e kuitaken ||wāng |kuĩ |khĩ hĩ; [7450rev]
 “some people the gambroo kills”
 !kx’e=kui=ta-ken ||kōang |kuĩ |khĩ hĩ
 people=other=ta-ken MODAL(Certain) |kuĩ kill\SUBJ PRO.I.PL
 ‘some people are definitely (almost) killed by *|kuĩ*’
- 117) he tiken ē,
 “therefore”

¹³ |Hang†kassō also gave another account of the effects of eating winter *|kui* (‘gambro’), describing in detail the headache it can cause ([LL-|Hang \[82\] 6679–6681](#)).

- 118) i ta |ki !xo |uru ka ʔkunu,
 “we take the porcupine’s”
 i ta |ki !xo |huru ka |kx’unu
 PRO.1stPL.Incl SAY/DO SO take porcupine burrow ASSOC nose
 ?‘we take the porcupine’s [?] like this’

|huru ka |kx’unu Obscure. ?Some part of the porcupine, or its burrow. Note *|huru* ‘burrow, den, hole’; and *|nuřu* (~*Tnũnũ*, *|nũřu*, *|nořu*, *|nũnu*, *|nunu*), which literally means ‘nose’, but can be used as a relational noun, with a meaning similar to ‘brow’ as in English ‘brow of the hill’. Conceivably something (earth?) taken from the top of the burrow, often made in an old termite mound.

- 119) au i ta,
 “which we feel”
 au i ta
 CONN PRO.1stPL.Incl EXP
 ‘because (we are aware)’

- 120) i sing |ne |ki|ki |hing hi,
 “that we must take it out”
 i si-ng |ne |ki~|ki |hi-ng hi
 PRO.1stPL.Incl AUX[FUT\SUBJ-ng] BE/DO v[get] v[move.out-ng] PRO.II.SG
 ‘we need to get it out’

|ki|ki-|hing This is an apparent example of a serial verb construction (SVC) reflecting ‘switch function’, where the Subject of V₁ ‘get’ differs from the Subject of V₂ ‘move.out’. But if the reduplication of *|ki|ki* has a causative function, this would disallow the SVC analysis.

- 121) i sing !khou hi,
 “that we might smell it”
 i si-ng !khou hi
 PRO.1stPL.Incl AUX[FUT\SUBJ-ng] v[sniff] PRO.II.SG
 ‘so that we can smell it’

- 122) he ē, |kuĩ kx’auki ta di ĩ, ĩ̃.
 “then, the gambro does not injure (?) us”
 he ē |kuĩ kx’ao-ki ta di ĩ ĩ̃
 CONN *|kuĩ* NEG-ki SAY/DO SO do/make PRO.1stPL.Incl Res.DEM.PRO.II.SG
 ‘so that the *|kuĩ* will not affect us’

di |Hangʔkassō gave the following remark elsewhere (LL-|Hang [82] 6679), using the same word *di*, but with applicative suffix *-ã*:
hi sing |auwa hĩ |kuĩ, tã, |kuĩ ta dĩ ã i
 “they must give them wild gambro, for gambro ‘fights’ us”
 The sense seems to be that the kambroo affected them, or ‘worked on’ them (in a way implied to be negative).

- 123) !kx’e kuiten ||wạng !gwe au |kuĩ.
 “other people are (as if) intoxicated with gambro”
 !kx’e=kui=ten ||kqang !goe au |kuĩ
 people=other=*ken* MODAL(Certain) *!goe* AdjunctCONN *|kuĩ*
 ‘Some people are definitely poisoned by *|kuĩ*’

!goe See note to line 23.

Note: In a few early texts (e.g. LL-|Kab [9] 0458), Lloyd suggested that *|kui* (or ‘gambroo’) was a type of wild cucumber (presumably *Cucumis* spp.). However, kambroo is usually taken to refer to *Fockea* spp., and this

identification is also strongly suggested by a later note of Lloyd's concerning the /*kui*, made while working with †Kāsing, from whom she established that it was:

“a root which they compare in size to mangoldwurzel, but say that it is more watery; it is a climbing plant” (LL-†Kās [47] 3706 *rev*).

The botanical-linguistic commentary below—on whether the /*kui* was a *Fockea* or *Cucumis*—has been kindly provided by Camilla Christie, and casts much light on the issue.

My final answer comes down to the question of toxicity. Caudices in Apocynaceae can be very toxic because of the high glycoside content, a kind of carbohydrate that can do anything from causing a bad headache to stopping the heart. The reference to varying degrees of toxicity is easily explicable by seasonal fluctuation in carbohydrate content in the tubers. During the dry season, glycosides are concentrated belowground to keep the tuber alive. During the rainy season, when carbohydrates are expended to produce leaves, glycosides are more evenly distributed throughout the plant, diluting toxicity in the tuber. (This is exactly the same reason that we have to harvest garlic and onions *before they flower* – we want the carbohydrates concentrated underground. Bulbs harvested *during flowering* are watery and tasteless.)

Meanwhile, *berries* in Cucurbitaceae can be very bitter and very toxic because of a class of compounds called cucurbitacins, but the starchy tubers tend to be less so.

Overall I think that the description of a seasonally toxic **kambroo** better suits an apocynid water root than a cucurbit tuber.

kambroo

camarebi = *Fockea* sp. (Claudius 1685); **kamberoe** = *Fockea angustifolia* (Marloth 1917); **P/gameroo** = ‘a whitish tuber with flat green leaves’ (Laidler 1928); **kambroo**, **kamerup**, *etc.* = *Fockea edulis* (Smith 1966); **kambro**, **kambero**, **kammaroe**, *etc.* = *Fockea* spp. (Boshoff & Nienaber 1967: 327); **kambroo** = *Fockea sinuata* (Powrie, 2004: 41).¹⁴

A highly variable loan which remains in productive usage, both alone and in a number of compound names (*e.g.*, **bergkambroo**, **velokambroo**, *etc.*). Properly it applies to *Fockea* sp. (Apocynaceae), especially *F. edulis* and *F. angustifolia*, but it is used also of bining caudiciform apocynids in morphologically similar genera like *Raphionacme*, *Brachystelma*, and *Ceropegia*. The milky latex characteristic of Apocynaceae, coupled with the bitter taste, would have motivated the treatment of all these plants as distinctive lay taxon under the same name. I think that this justifies being quite strict about admitting only apocynids to this term.

Pace earlier attempts to connect the element **kam-** with **llgàr̃mi** ‘water’ (Nienaber 1963: 494), but I derive **kambroo** from a southerly Nama term **!gamarib** at Schültze 1907: 196.

!ga↓marib (1 Terz st.) oder **#habab** hat einen glatten, möhren-artigen unterirdischen Teil und dünne, schmale, 3cm lange, am Rand eingekrunkelte Blätter.

!ga↓marib (rising by a third) or **#habab** has a smooth, carrotlike, underground section, and thin, narrow, 3cm-long, crinkled leaves.

The alternative term **#habab** is the modern Namibian Khoekhoe **#hāwáb**¹⁵ (Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 401), and the description is exact, leaving no doubt for me that **!gamarib** = *Fockea* sp. Widlok 1994: 380 has a noID Damara term **!gamaris** for a plant that is ‘very similar’ to ‘an onion-like root eaten raw or cooked in ashes’.

¹⁴ Lloyd's spelling **gambroo** is idiosyncratic as far as I can see; I suspect her Anglophone ear heard the unaspirated Afrikaans [k] as slightly voiced.

¹⁵ **#hāwáb** is also in !Xóó as **#qhaba** = *Fockea* sp. (Dickens 1994: 208), and in isiXhosa **isicagwe**, **isachagwe**, **isachaka** = various apocynid water roots (GDX).

lkui

I think that this may be a !Ui reflex of a widespread KX'A word that always refers to *Ceropegia* or *Brachystelma* species (Apocynaceae), both of which are morphologically similar to *Fockea*. In !Xun, note |gwi ts'ou = *Ceropegia [abyssinica]* (Story 1958); |gwi tsau (Borshay-Lee 1976: 164) = *Brachystelma* sp.; in Ju|'hoan g|uih tzáú for *Ceropegia stenoloba* (Dickens 1994). Unfortunately the only potential correspondence in Taa is !Xóó g|qum = *Ceropegia multiflora* subsp. *tentacula*, which is not as conclusive.

Ceropegia spp. in Khoekhoe are usually !áfiàs (H&E) or !eian (KROEN), and are generally accepted to be edible (Du Pisani 1983: 14; Sullivan 1998: 10, both citing Schültze 1907: 195, who has a good illustration).

Cucurbitaceae

The cucurbits are significantly phytomorphologically distinct from the apocynids by way of their conspicuous large berries, their lack of milky latex, and their much larger, less succulent leaves. Their caudices tend to be rough and fibrous, rather than smooth and watery. I don't think that *historically* terms for these plants would have overlapped. That said, I do think that it would be possible for **kambroo** to have generalised out in Afrikaans to refer to any edible tuber, potentially allowing for Lloyd's association of **lkui** with cucurbits.

Other than that, the only point of comparison in TUU I can see might possibly be Inulo (!Xóó) = *Acanthosicyos naudinianus*, lqhú'lu-kú (!Xóó) = *Corallopcarpus bainesii*? Is it possible that we actually have two near-homophonous plant names in the !Xam, both recorded as **lkui**, but with one a reflex of KX'A g|uih = *Ceropegia* sp., and one a reflex of TUU lqhú- = *Cucurbitaceae* sp.?

Some other lesser-known cucurbit names, none really comparable to |kui, include:

|hááb (Nama), |hāb (Kora) = wild cucurbits (gen.); kááb (Damara, Hai !lOm) = *Acanthosicyos naudiniana*; loaned into isiXhosa as unonca = *Coccinia sessilifolia* (GOD214); into seTswana as mogapu = *Acanthosicyos hispidum*, whence Afrikaans bitterkeboe = *Cucumis* spp.; then doubled against the latter into Afrikaans as haarwortel = *Kedrostis* sp.

lInam (Hai !lOm) = *Cucumis* sp., 'cucumber-like plant with prickles, eaten raw' (Widlok 1994: 384); also in TUU as nllaasi (N|uu) = 'gemsbok cucumber' (*Cucumis africanus*), llâ (!Xóó) = *Acanthosicyos naudinianus*.

[References for the botanical notes to follow]

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Supplementary lines
(LL-|Hang [102] 8424–8426)

[Xe-de-kx'oëten h̩ ne ʔkē ha ||kaxai |ha, hang h̩ ne kuĩ,
“[Xe-de-kx'oë ordered her elder sister’s husband, she exclaimed that”

ha ||kaxai |ha se ||nung !khe ha tsĩ,
“her elder sister’s husband should stand behind her”

ha	kaxai	ha	se	nũ-ng-!khe	ha	tsĩ
POSS.PRO.I.SG	elder.sister	husband	AUX[FUT\SUBJ]	v[move.behind-ng-PFV]	POSS.PRO.I.SG	back

‘her brother-in-law should get behind her’

!k'e kuiten koa |ne !khe,
“the other people standing”

!kx'e	kuiten	koa	ne	!khe,
people	other-ken	AUX[MOD.Oblig	BE/DO]	v[stand]

‘(and) the others should stand’

||nung-ta ha ||kaxai |ha tsĩ,
“behind her elder sister’s husband’s back”

nu-ng-ta	ha	kaxai	ha	tsĩ
move.behind-ng-PERF	POSS.PRO.I.sg	elder.sister	husband	back

‘behind her brother-in-law’

au ha |ne ā, !k'a !khe buri. [...]

“while she was the one who stood next to the goats.” [...]

au	ha	ne	ā	!kx'a-!khe	huri
conn	PRO.I.SG.I	BE/DO	?(aCOP+)REL.PRO.I	v[move.towards-PFV]	goat (sg/pl)

‘while she (would) get to the goats’ (LL-|Hang [102] 8424–8426)

He tiken ē, ha ||kaxai h̩ |ku-g |ne suken-|hing !noa,

“Therefore her elder sister sprang out of the reeds”

hang |ku-g |ne |kweĩ |ki, hang !ku-xe sa.

“she thus running came.”