Bibliographie

Barreteau, D., E. Ngantchui et T. Scruggs, 1993, *Bibliographie des langues camerounaises*, Paris, ORSTOM - ACCT, 269 p. + 1 disquette.

Bouquiaux L. et J.M.C. Thomas (éds), 1976 (2ème éd.), *Enquête et description des langues à tradition orale*. 3 vols., Paris, SELAF, 950 p., planches, tableaux.

Boutrais J.-B. *et alii*, 1984, *Le Nord du Cameroun ; des hommes, une région*, Paris, ORSTOM, 551 p.

Cabot J. et C. Bouquet (dir.), 1972, *Atlas pratique du Tchad*, Institut national tchadien pour les sciences humaines, INTSH / Fort-Lamy, Paris / IGN, 77 p.

Crozier D. H. et R. M. Blench (eds), 1992, *An Index of Nigerian Languages* (2nd edition), Abuja-Ilorin-Dallas, Language Development Centre (Abuja), Department of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages (University of Ilorin), Summer Institute of Linguistics, IV + 137 p., carte.

Dieu M. et P. Renaud (dir.), 1983, *Situation linguistique en Afrique centrale. Inventaire préliminaire: le Cameroun*, Paris / Yaoundé, ACCT / CERDOTOLA / DGRST, 475 p., cartes.

Seignobos C. et H. Tourneux, (sous presse) 1999, *Le Nord-Cameroun à travers ses mots (Province de l'Extrême-Nord). Glossaire de termes anciens et modernes relatifs à la région*. Paris, Karthala, *circa* 300p.

Tourneux H., 1994, Langues en voie de disparition dans le bassin du Tchad, in *L'Identité tchadienne. L'héritage des peuples et les apports extérieurs*, J. Tubiana, C. Arditi et C. Pairault éds., Paris, L'Harmattan, pp. 293-310.

Tourneux H. et Yaya Daïrou, 1998, *Dictionnaire peul de l'agriculture et de la nature (Diamaré, Cameroun)*, Paris, Karthala / CTA / CIRAD, 548 p.

Khoisan Languages with a grammatical sketch of ||Ani (Khoe)

Rainer Vossen

Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main

1. Introduction: historical background

The Khoisan languages are considered the smallest of the four language phyla on the African continent. Their most prominent feature relates to the sound system: It contains a large number of ingressive sounds known as clicks which, as a rule, occur word-initially and are often believed to be remnants of the most ancient sound inventory of human language. In this respect, research in Khoisan studies has been given much significance even far beyond the limits of African linguistics.

The Europeans' momentous lack of judgement towards the languages and cultures of the indigenous inhabitants of southern Africa's Cape region, whom they referred to quite arbitrarily as "Hottentotzmans" and "Bosjesmans", persisted for nearly 400 years. Contemporary descriptions and pictures bear witness to the prejudices which served for the justification of unparalleled campaigns of persecution and annihilation of Khoisan-speaking societies. On the search for pastureland for their livestock herds, Dutch frontier farmers from the Cape Colony forged ahead deep into the interior of the subcontinent. In the savanna areas, where at that time game still occurred in abundance, they soon came into contact with groups of hunters and gatherers they called "Bushmen". Although to the Europeans the languages of these Bushmen appeared to be similar to "Hottentot" (Khoekhoe) — mainly because of the clicks —, the Bushmen did not, contrary to the Cape Hottentots, possess any cattle and were not tribally organised. They were therefore regarded as very "primitive", devoid of any culture and religion.

Bushmen were regarded by the frontier farmers (mostly Trek Boers) merely as rapacious scoundrels, ripe for extermination. They were denigrated as "Banditti", often driven and chased like animals, and by as early as the mid-19th century the majority of these small hunter-gatherer societies had become extinct. Those who survived the murderous rush were deported to farms and made forced labour convict. Alongside with the rapid loss of their cultural identity also the languages of these Cape Bushmen at once disappeared.

Curiously enough, it was just at the time of nearly complete extinction of the culture and language of the Cape Bushmen when a serious scientific interest in them set in. At first it was still believed that, because of the different cultures and economies of the Hottentots and Bushmen, their languages, too, were strictly to be delimited from one another — all the more so as Hottentot, in contrast to the Bushman languages of the Cape region known by then, had a nominal and pronominal gender system. In accordance with the spirit of the time, the linguistic feature of grammatical gender distinction was looked at as an expression of farther advanced cultural forms. As a consequence, "Africa-external origins" of the Hottentot language were speculated about and it was strongly believed that the supposedly "primitive" Bushman foragers had been expelled and driven to retreat areas by the culturally superior Hottentot cattle-herders.

However, since the knowledge of Bushman languages of the Kalahari region — deep in the subcontinent's interior — was increasing over time, many of them were found to have a gender system like Hottentot; thus the view of a strict linguistic distinction between Bushman and Hottentot became subject to revision. The genealogical relationship of the two divisions was recognised and, as a result, the term "Khoisan" was coined to strengthen relational coherence (cf. Keuthmann & Vossen 1997).

2. Classification

The concept of Khoisan as a language phylum was further developed and popularised by Greenberg in 1950 and 1963. His so-called macro-Khoisan hypothesis, which is largely a result of lexical comparisons based on the criterion of resemblance in shape and meaning, proceeds from the following internal classification: First, a distinction is made between South African Khoisan (SAK) and the two East African isolates, Hadza and Sandawe. SAK contains three major branches: Northern, Central, and Southern. Northern Khoisan presents itself as a dialect cluster consisting of three or four major units, with a considerable degree of mutual intelligibility. The Central branch is made up by approximately twenty different languages and dialects, whereas Southern Khoisan today has virtually one member only (!Xõõ dialect cluster). There is every reason, however, to assume that most of the extinct SAK languages belonged to that latter branch. Moreover, there is one language (ǂHõã) whose position within SAK is still unclear.

Greenberg's hypothesis has found both adherents (e.g., Argyle 1994; Ehret 1986; Honken 1977, 1988; Ruhlen 1994) and opponents (esp. Westphal 1962, 1971). Given the serious difficulties to prove genetic relationship between *all* Khoisan languages, yet a third group of scholars (e.g., Köhler 1975, 1981; Sands 1998; Traill 1980, 1986) has directly or indirectly suggested to use the term "Khoisan" as a cover for all non-Bantu and non-Cushitic click languages of Africa irrespective of eventual genealogical implications. This notion was recently taken up by Güldemann & Vossen (in press), who propose the following pragmatically oriented classification of Khoisan:

1	Non-Khoe		
	1.1	Ju (*Northern SAK*)	(!'O)!Xūū, ǁX'auǁ'e, Juǀ'hoan (DC)
	1.2	!Ui-Taa (*Southern SAK*)	
		1.2.1 !Ui	ᵗǀXam, ᵗǀ'Auni, ᵗǂKhomani, ᵗǁXegwi etc.
		1.2.2 Taa	!Xõõ (DC); ᵗKakia
	1.3 ǂHõã		ǂHõã (isolate)
2	Khoe (*Central SAK*)		
	2.1	Khoekhoe	
		2.1.1 North	Nama/Damara, Haiǁom, ǂAakhoe (DC)
		2.1.2 South	ᵗ!Ora, ᵗCape Khoekhoe varieties (DC)
	2.2	Kalahari Khoe	
		2.2.1 West	Kxoe, Buga, ǁAni (DC); Naro (DC); Gǁana, Gǀui, ǂHaba (DC)
		2.2.2 East	Shua, Ts'ixa, Danisi, ǀXaise, ᵗDeti; Kua-Tsua (DC)
3	*Sandawe*		Sandawe (isolate)
4	Kwadi		ᵗKwadi (undetermined)

5 *Hadza* Hadza (isolate)

Notes: DC = dialect cluster; † = (presumably) extinct; *italics* = Greenberg's major branches.

3. Demographic notes

Today, most of the Khoisan-speaking peoples live above all in the southern African republics of Botswana and Namibia; however, some reside in adjacent regions such as southern Angola and Zambia, western Zimbabwe, northern South Africa and even Tanzania (Hadza, Sandawe isolates). At present, the total population may be estimated to be around 200,000. While demographic prevision tells us that the Khoisan population is likely to increase considerably in number in the next few decades, the majority of Khoisan languages will in the long run have little chance to survive in view of the socioeconomic and political changes that have taken place in recent years. Several communities have already given up their languages in favour of neighbouring Bantu languages.

4. Some major linguistic characteristics

As mentioned before, Khoisan belongs to the category of click languages, which also includes some southwestern (Kavango, Yeyi) and southeastern Bantu languages (e.g. Zulu, Xhosa) as well as the South Cushitic language Dahalo in Kenya. Whereas clicks in Bantu languages are a result of borrowing from Khoisan by way of long-enduring and intensive contacts, they must be considered a genuine part of the sound inventories in Khoisan itself. Five basic types (so-called influxes) of clicks are to be distinguished: bilabial (symbolised by ʘ), dental (ǀ), alveolar (!), palatal (ǂ), and lateral (ǁ). Each of the five influxes can be released in various ways (e.g. voiceless, voiced, aspirated, glottalised, etc.). This secondary articulation is called efflux or click accompaniment. Influx and efflux combine to create click phonemes which make up for lexical differentiation in terms of minimal pairs.

Although the clicks are a prominent feature of Khoisan languages, they do not constitute the only, let alone the greatest, difficulty implied in their sound inventories. All Khoisan lan-guages make use, for instance, of various levels of tone — both lexically and grammatically. Tone-bearing units are syllabic segments such as vowels and nasal consonants. The former can occur as oral, nasal, pharyngealised, glottalised or breathy vowels; combinations of these are also possible.

The word structure is typically characterised by CVCV, CVV, and CVN sequences. Tri- and other polysyllabic sequences are very rare and can often be shown to be a result of influence from Bantu languages.

Whereas Khoe languages have a rich morphology, Non-Khoe languages (esp. Ju) are a lot more syntactically oriented. However, all better-known Khoisan languages have a noun class system which is overt in Khoe and Taa but covert in Ju. The Khoe system is sex-oriented and formally expressed by means of combined person-gender-number suffixes. Three genders (masculine, feminine, common) and numbers (singular, dual, plural) are distinguished. Word categories depending on the governing noun agree with the latter

grammatically. The Ju and Taa systems are semantically nature-oriented; while the Ju system is morphologically unmarked, Taa nouns are marked by suffixes. There are four noun classes in Ju and five in Taa. In Ju, class membership can only be detected through grammatical agreement on certain pronouns. Taa, on the other hand, uses concordial suffixes to express grammatical agreement.

The verbal systems of Khoe languages are complex throughout. Verbal extensions are very common. They generally serve to alter or modify the meaning of the basic verb and in some cases (e.g. passive, intransitive, dative) affect syntactic structures. Tenses and/or aspects are many, and there are also various ways to express negation in most Khoe languages. Non-Khoe languages, on the other hand, have a very restricted verbal morphology and attract notice especially because of their verb-serialising attitudes.

In Khoe languages, the dominant word order is S(ubject)-O(bject)-V(erb), although for reason of emphasis the object may likewise precede the subject. Nominal qualifiers precede the noun and adverbial phrases mostly occur sentence-initially. Non-Khoe languages have a SVO word order with a nominal head-modifier structure (except for associative constructions). For an up-dated, more detailed overview of Khoisan languages, the reader is referred to Güldemann & Vossen (in press).

5. A grammatical sketch of ǁAni

5.1 Introductory remarks

ǁAni is a member of the western division of Kalahari Khoe. The ǁAni people refer to them-selves as "ǁÀnǐkhòè" (lit.: 'riverbank people'); they call their language "ǁÀnídàm" or "Xùú-khòèdàm" (*dàmí* 'tongue'). The ǁAnikhoe live in small settlements alongside the upper course of the Okavango River in northwestern Ngamiland, Botswana: on the east bank between Mohembo in the north and Seronga in the south, and on the west bank between the Namibia-Botswana border in the north and the village of Ncamasere in the south. Some families reside on islands in the Okavango Delta. The number of ǁAni speakers is not known; my own estimate is around or less than 1,000.

The present sketch is based on data collected by myself during field trips in 1983-84. My five informants were elders from a tiny settlement called Qhubuya, some 25 kilometres south of Shakawe (west bank).

5.2 Phonology

5.2.1 Consonants

ǁAni has 70 distinctive consonants: 41 (ingressive) clicks and 29 (egressive) clickless consonants. In addition, five foreign consonant phonemes were noted.

The click phonemes result from the combination of four influxes with ten effluxes. The voiced uvular efflux has so far been found only in combination with the lateral influx. The click inventory of the language presents itself as in Table 1.

For the clickless consonants six points (bilabial, alveolar, post-alveolar, velar, uvular, glottal) and four manners of articulation (plosive, fricative, nasal, resonant) have been noted (see Table 2).

Notes on realisation: */s/*, */ts/*, and */dz/* tend to be slightly palatalised. */dx/* and */dzx/* are realised as [*dɣ*] and [*dzɣ*], respectively. The phoneme */d/* has two allophones: [*d*] in word-initial and [*r*] in intervocalic position; the latter is mostly realised as [*ɾ*].

Foreign phonemes are */ph/*, */ll/*, */mb/*, */nd/*, and */ŋg/*.

Table 1: Click phonemes.

EFFLUX	INFLUX | (dental)	ǂ (palatal)	! (alveolar)	‖ (lateral)
voiceless	|k	ǂk	!k	‖k
voiced	|g	ǂg	!g	‖g
prenasalised-voiced	n|g	n ǂg	n!g	n‖g
nasalised	n|n	n ǂn	n!n	n‖n
voiceless-uvular	|q	ǂq	!q	‖q
voiceless-uvular-fricative	|x	ǂx	!x	‖x
voiced-uvular-fricative				
ejective-uvular	|x'	ǂx'	!x'	‖x'
aspirated	|h	ǂh	!h	‖h
glottalised	|'	ǂ'	!'	‖'
prenasalised-voiced-uvular-fricative	n|x	n ǂx	n!x	n‖x

Table 2: Egressive consonant phonemes.

	BILABIAL	ALVEOLAR	POST-ALV.	VELAR	UVULAR	GLOTTAL
PLOSIVE						
voiceless	p	t	ts	k	q	'
aspirated		th	tsh	kh		
voiced	b	d	dz	g		
vcl.-uvul.-fricative		tx	tsx			
vcd.-uvul.-fricative		dx	dzx			
ejective		t'	ts'	kx'		
FRICATIVE						
voiceless			s	x		h
voiced				ɣ		
NASAL	m		n	ŋ		
RESONANT	w		y			

5.2.2 Vowels

There are six oral (*/i e ɛ a o u/*) and three nasal vowel phonemes (/ĩ ã ũ/). Vowel sequences are very common, the following have been found: *ai ae ao au – oe oɛ oa – ui ue uɛ ua* ; *ãĩ ãũ – õã – ũĩ ũã*. As for the realisation of vowels, see Vossen (1986: 340f).

5.2.3 Prosodic elements

Tonal behaviour complies with the principle of mora which, following Hagman (1977), I consider the basic unit of the phonological structure of ǁAni (as well as other Khoe languages). That is to say, lexical morphemes take at least two tones, *viz.* H(igh) and/or L(ow). Both mono- and disyllabic word-stems show the tonal sequences HH, HL, and LH. Only one word was hitherto found to have the sequence LL.

As Köhler (1981) was able to show for Kxoe, lexical forms with an identical tonal surface structure fairly often exhibit significant differences in morphotonology. The same has been observed in ǁAni, too, particularly with verbs, where the sequences HH and LH can each be subdivided into two tonal classes. Thus, altogether five tone classes can be distinguished at the present stage of research. These occur among both mono- and disyllabic verbs whose finite forms show identical tonemic patterns (see Vossen 1997: 178ff).

It should also be mentioned that the tonal behaviour of ǁAni verbs appears to be influenced by stress. For details see Vossen (1986: 343). However, whether or not stress is phonologically distinctive remains to be further investigated.

5.3 Word structure and phonotaxis

5.3.1 Words and roots

ǁAni has simple and complex words. Simple words are, as a rule, identical with roots; complex words can be a result of stem-extension, reduplication or composition. Stem-extension on nouns (N) is expressed by person-gender-number (PGN) suffixes, whereas verbal (V) extension is achieved through derivative suffixes which trigger semantic and sometimes also syntactic changes on the basic verb. Reduplication of nominal stems is relatively rare and normally leads to semantic alteration of the simple form; the latter is often not attested as such. Reduplication of the verb gives rise throughout to repetitive or causative function. Most nominal compounds have the structure N-N, while verbal compounds can occur as V-N, N-V and V-V sequences. Cf. the following examples (Table 3):

Table 3: Simple and complex words.

SIMPLE	COMPLEX		
	stem-extended	reduplicated	compounded
|óã 'child'	*|óã.mà* 'boy'	–	–
|xám (N) 'urine'	–	*|xám=|xàm* 'bladder of the urine'	–
kóm (V) 'hear'	–	*kóm=kòm* 'inform'	–
||gùú (N) 'chest'	–	–	*||gùú=|'óã* 'rib' (lit.: 'chest-bone')
n≠nôm (V) 'form'	–	–	*|'úũ= n≠nôm* 'comb' (lit.:'form hair')

The phonological structure of ||Ani is dominated by the sequences CVV (e.g. *|éé* 'wildebeest; 54.4 %), CVCV (e.g. *||xúrú* 'blunt'; 32.7 %), and CVN (e.g. *|ám* 'sun'; 32.7 %); other --- much less frequent — sequences are CVCVCV (e.g. *'érìkù* 'dog'; 2.7 %) and CVCVCVCV (e.g. *'óágágàrà* 'to lie on one's back'; 0.1 %) (cf. Vossen 1986: 324).

5.3.2 Syllable structure

Open syllables outweigh closed ones clearly. In general, they have the following structural sequences: CVV in monosyllabic and CV in di- or polysyllabic words. Close syllables always end with a nasal consonant, they never co-occur with other syllables; i.e., the CVN structure is confined to monosyllabic roots. The same applies to CVV syllables.

5.3.3 Phonotaxis

The following general statements can be made: Clicks occur root-initially only. By far the most frequent vowels in V_1-position are */a o u/* (in CVV, CVN, and CVCV sequences), but also */e ɛ i/* occur in this position (except in CVN roots). Nasal vowels are restricted to CVV roots. In V_2-position (of CVCV roots) */i a/* prevail, though other oral vowels are also found there.

In vowel sequences of disyllabic words, vowels of identical quality are attested for all oral vowels, whereby */a o u/* once again predominate (as *aCa, oCo, uCu*). Other common combi-nations are *aCi* and *uCi*, less frequent are *aCu* and *aCe*.

In C_2-position the most commonly found consonants are */b d m n/*. All other consonants are extremely rare.

5.4 Morphology

5.4.1 The noun

The morphology of the noun is characterised by three structural slots: 1 root – 2 PGN suffix – 3 object suffix. The only slot to be filled obligatorily is 1, 2 and 3 being optional or obligatory under certain conditions.

5.4.1.1 The PGN system

The PGN system discriminates three genders (masculine, feminine, common) and three numbers (singular, dual, plural). Gender and number express themselves in a single suffix. The common gender contains the features [masculine + feminine] and can, therefore, not appear in the singular. A given governing noun's gender determines the grammatical agreement on its dependent word categories. These are adjectives, numerals, demonstratives, possessives, and nominalised finite verbs as stand-ins of relative constructions. However, this grammatical congruence seems to be both, optional to some extent and obligatory under certain conditions. Thus a noun may be unmarked for gender while, for instance, a demonstrative belonging to it is marked, and *vice versa*.

The use of the PGN suffixes equally applies to animate and inanimate nouns. If a noun has the feature [animate], the PGN suffix expresses natural sex, e.g. *khóé.mà* 'man', *khóé.hè* 'woman' (*khóé* 'person'). If, in contrast to this, a noun has the feature [inanimate], then the choice by the speaker of a PGN suffix is more or less arbitrary. The PGN suffixes of ǂǁAni are the following (Table 4):

Table 4: The nominal PGN suffixes.

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
MASCULINE	.mà	.tsà	.ǁùà
FEMININE	.hè	.sà	.dzì
COMMON	–	.khùà	.nà

The vowel *a* of the masculine singular and common plural suffixes is sometimes elided.

5.4.1.2 Nominal object marking

No inflectional case marking exists in ǂǁAni, but the language has both syntactical and morphological means to represent subject–object relations. Morphological marking is possible, but not obligatory, on nominal objects only in which case the morpheme *.'à* is suffixed either directly to the noun or — if the noun is marked for gender and number — to the PGN suffix.

5.4.1.3 Associative particle *di*

The structural element *di* is used to form possessive constructions. Its place in the genitival phrase depends on the order of *nomen rectum* and *nomen regens*. If the governing noun follows the governed (*rectum regens*), the particle is placed between the two. It may, but need not, take a PGN agreement marker depending on the gender and number of the governing noun, e.g. *|óā dì.m |xéé.mà* 'child's body'. If the governing noun precedes the governed (*regens rectum*), the associative particle is placed after the latter and is, as a rule, marked for gender and number.

5.4.2 Pronouns

5.4.2.1 Subject and object

The nominal gender and number distinctions (cf. 5.4.1.1) are also expressed in the pronominal subject and object paradigms. Object pronouns are mostly suffixed by the object marker *.'à* (cf. 5.4.1.2), but there is also a tonal difference between subjects and objects. Whereas subject pronouns (except 3rd persons and 2nd person feminine dual) are characterised by high tone, object pronouns have a high–low pattern throughout which extends over the whole pronominal form including the object marker *.'à*. An additional phenomenon on object pronouns is the insertion of the vowel *e* or *a* between the pronoun and the object suffix, e.g. *||áò* '2mpl' (subject) as against *||áóà.'à* (object).

A peculiarity of ||Ani is to be seen in a set of object concord markers encoded in the finite verb (cf. Vossen 1985), which for the larger part are segmentally identical with the subject pronouns and bear low tone throughout. In the 2nd persons singular and the 3rd person feminine singular the final vowel *a* of the subject pronoun changes to *i* in its corresponding concord form. A morphological change between subject/object and concord form is observed in the 2nd and 3rd persons singular. The selfstanding pronouns are represented in Table 5.

5.4.2.2 Demonstratives

At least four categories of demonstrative pronouns with different deictic features have so far been found. If, during the speech act, speaker and addressee are present (and thus visible), *n|né* ('this') denotes the near (the deictic feature being [near speaker]) and *n|né=tè* the far referent (i.e., [far addressee]). Purely referentially used is *'á* ('that one mentioned before'); it implies that the referent is invisible during the utterance. A higher degree of distance finds expression in the form *'á=tè* ('that yonder'), which by means of the adverb *'áká* 'far' can be extended to shape *'á=àkà=tè* (with the same meaning). Both forms imply that the referent is far away from, and yet visible by, the speaker.

In my ||Ani data, noun and demonstrative agree with each other morphologically in more than 90 percent of cases. The nominal PGN suffixes also function as agreement markers, whereby the masculine singular and plural suffixes *.mà* and *.||ùà*, respectively, as well as the common plural suffix *.nà* appear as *.m* / *.||ù* / *.n*. For the feminine singular *.hè* and *.s(i)* can be used alternatively. Examples: *n|né.sì khóè.hè* 'this woman', *n|né=tè.m xām.mà* 'that lion', *'á(=àkà)=tè.dzì khóè.dzì* 'those (absent) women', *'á.||ù khóè.||ùà* 'those men (referred to earlier)'.

Table 5: Subject and object pronouns.

	SUBJECT	OBJECT	OBJECT CONCORD MARKERS
SINGULAR			
1	tí	tĩ, tíà.'à	.tì
2m	tsá	tsáè(.'à)	.tsì
2f	há	háè(.'à)	.sì
3m	'â=mà ('á.mà)	'â=mà(.'à)	.m
3f	'â=hè ('á.hè)	'â=hè(.'à)	.sì
DUAL			
1m	tsóm	tsôm, tsómà.'à	.tsòm
1f	sóm	sôm, sómà.'à	.sòm
1c	khám	khâm, khámà.'à	.khàm
2m	tsáó	tsáò, tsáóà.'à	.tsàò
2f	sáó, hàó	sáò, sáóà.'à	.sàò
2c	kháó	kháò, kháóà.'à	.khàò
3m	'â=tsà	'â=tsà(.'à)	.tsà
3f	'â=sà	'â=sà(.'à)	.sà
3c	'â=khùà, 'â=khà	'â=khà(.'à)	.khà
PLURAL			
1m	ǂǁé	ǂǁê, ǂǁéà.'à	.ǂǁè
1f	sé	sê, séà.'à	.sè
1c	té	tê, téà.'à	.tè
2m	ǂǁáó	ǂǁáò, ǂǁáóà.'à	.ǂǁàò
2f	sáó, só	sáò, sáóà.'à	.sàò
2c	tó	tô, tóà.'à	.tò
3m	'â=ǂǁùà ('á.ǂǁùà)	'â=ǂǁùà(.'à)	.ǂǁù
3f	'â=dzì ('á.djì)	'â=dzìà(.'à)	.dzì
3c	'â=nà ('á.nà)	'â=nà(.'à)	.n

5.4.2.3 Possessives

As a morphological category possessive pronouns do not exist in ǁAni. Two types of construction are possible to express possessive or associative relations: (1) juxtaposition of per-sonal pronoun (or a form derived therefrom) and noun referent, and (2) use of the associative particle *di* (cf. 5.4.1.3) which always follows the pronoun. The sequence pronoun+*di* can then be placed either before or after the noun referent. An essential feature of type (2) constructions is morphological agreement between the associative particle and the noun referent, which seems sometimes optional, sometimes obligatory; obligatory marking is syntactically conditioned. Again, the PGN suffixes are used as agreement markers. Example:

tí	*dì*	*ǂúú.hè*	or	*tí dí.hè ǂúú.hè* or	*ǂúú tí dí.hè*
PRO.1sg	POSS	head.PGN/3fsg			
'my head'					

The associative particle can, but need not, be omitted in constructions relating to kinship terminology as the following example shows: *'ā=sì (dì) dàmàsi.hè* 'her younger sister'. Here *.sì* occurs in the 3rd person feminine singular pronoun as allomorph of *.hè*.

5.4.2.4 Interrogatives

The following three have been noted: *ma* 'who?', *né* 'what?', and *ná* 'which, what?'. They can all be used in the formation of further interrogatives, but only *ma* is prepared to take an agreement marker. Examples:

n|nê.m	*kx'áô=khòè .mà*	*má*	*.mà ?*	'Who is this man?'
DEM.3msg	male=person.3msg	who	.3msg	

n|nê.mà	*né ?*	'What is this?'
DEM.3msg	this	

tsá	*ná*	*n||náà.tà ?*		'What did you say?'
PRO.2msg	what	say	.PAST	

In associative constructions *ma* 'who?' behaves like a subject pronoun:

n|nê .n	*khòó-n||nàbó .nà*	*má*	*dì ?*	'Whose shoes are these?'
DEM.3cpl	skin-shoe .3cpl	who	POSS	

When *ma* 'who?' is employed as an object, it takes the object suffix *.'à* (cf. 5.4.1.2), e.g. *má.'à* 'whom?'.

5.4.3 The verb

Non-finite verbs in ǁAni are identical with the verbal root. They represent both the infinitive and the imperative, depending on the context. The segmental order of morphological elements encoded in the finite verb comprises five structural slots: 1 root (base form) – 2 derivative extension – 3 {juncture / passive / object concord marker} – 4 tense – 5 negation. Obligatorily to be filled are slots 1, 3, and 4, slots 2 and 5 being optional.

Derivative verbal extensions (slot 2) often show up combined (see below). In my data basis a maximum of five different derivative suffixes in the same finite verb form are attested. The filling of slot 3 occurs facultatively in the sense that only one of the three morphemes can take that position. Statistically speaking, the juncture prevails. It links the tense marker to the verbal base and appears in various morphological forms which are subject to allomorphic rules. The juncture represents "active mood"; if a verb is used in a passive meaning, the passive morpheme *.e* replaces the juncture. When a nominal or pronominal object forms part of the sentence structure, this object as a rule reoccurs in the finite verb in the shape of an agreement marker (cf. 5.4.2.1) on the condition that the object is marked for gender and number (cf. Vossen 1985). In this case the concord marker fills the slot. Examples:

tí *ŋúú=kx'am* *||xóéré.sán* *.à* *.tà* *.bé*
PRO.1sg house=mouth open .REFL .JUNC .PAST .NEG
1 2 3 4 5
'My door didn't open by itself.'

'érikù *|x'ám.è* *.tè*
dog beat .PASS .PRES
1 3 4
'The dog is (being) beaten.'

tsá *tí* *dì* *ŋúú* *.mà* *.'à* *mûū.m* *.tè* *(rè)* ?
PRO.2msg PRO.1sg POSS house.3msg .OBJ see .3msg .PRES INT
1 3 4
'Do you see my house?'

5.4.3.1 Derivative verbal extensions (slot 2)

There are more than ten derivative suffixes with diverse functions whose productivity ranges from "slight" to "high". Little productive appear to be, e.g., inclinative and sociative-comitative; in contrast to this, reflexive, causative I, dative, and reciprocal tend to be highly productive. Some verbal extensions show considerable degrees of semantic variability. Table 6 gives an overview of the derivative extensions of ǂAni.

Table 6: Derivative verbal extensions.

FUNCTION	FORMATIVE	VERBAL BASE	EXTENDED FORM
causative I	*.kà*	*ǂŭū* 'buy'	*ǂŭū.kà* 'sell'
causative II	*.si*	*|x'ó è* 'be full'	*|x'ó è.si* 'fill'
causative III	reduplication	*|óm* 'suck'	*|óm=|òm* 'suckle'
repetitive	reduplication	*||âm* 'feel, taste'	*||ám=||am* 'feel/grope for'
dative	*.ma*	*khóò* 'gather'	*khóò.mà* 'gather for s.o.'
reflexive	*.sàn*	*||áé* 'teach'	*||áé.sàn* 'learn'
reciprocal	*.kù*	*ǂúū* 'eat'	*ǂúū.kù* 'copulate'
inclinative	*.kx'àò*	*ts'ãã* 'steal'	*ts'ãã.kx'àò* 'be kleptomaniac'
stem negation	*.ŋãã*	*káá* 'want'	*káá.ŋãã* 'not want'
directive-locative	*.'ò*	*dàbí* 'turn'	*dàbí.'ò* 'turn inside out'
alternative	*.xà=kú*	*tshãã* 'cultivate'	*tshãã.xà=kú* 'cultivate in turns'
sociative-comitative	*.|xòà*	*||qáró* 'paddle'	*||qáró.|xòà* 'paddle together'
terminative-itive	*.xú*	*tshèé* 'chase away'	*tshèé.ré=xú* 'expel'

Examples of combinations:

tàó *.ŋãã* *.sàn* *.à* *=mà* *.kx'àò* 'dislike to behave properly'
teach manners .SNEG.REFL .JUNC=DAT .INCL

|x'óɛ *.si* *.sàn* 'fill by itself'
be full .CAUSII .REFL

The morpheme *.kà* (causative I) can also imply an instrumental meaning, e.g. *káé.kà* 'tie with s.th.' (*káé* 'tie'). It is presently not known whether we are dealing here with a single formative or with two morphemes deriving historically from different sources. Furthermore, the sociative-comitative formative *.|xòà* also functions as a postposition ('together with'), and the directive-locative morpheme *.'ò* is often employed in nominal contexts, e.g. *||óé.'ò* 'sleeping-place, bed' (*||óé* 'lie down'; cf. Vossen 1998).

5.4.3.2 Juncture (slot 3)

The general conditions for the occurrence of the juncture have already been touched upon very briefly in 5.4.3. Its concrete shape depends on the tense marker employed on the one hand, and on its phonological structure and environment on the other:

(i) In the present, habitual, and ingressive tenses the juncture base */a/* is replaced by a zero morpheme.

(ii) In future tense the base is retained.

(iii) In all other tenses (past) the juncture base is either retained or replaced by an allomorph whose shape is determined by the word structure and phonological form of the verb. The following examples illustrate cases (i) and (ii):

		CVV		CVCV	
(i)	present	*|íí.tè*	'sing(s)'	*|xúrú.tè*	'vibrate(s)'
	habitual	*táó.||òè*	'use(s) to pound'	*xúnú.||òè*	'... snore'
	ingressive	*péè.n ǂnùà*	'about to jump'	*n||náni.n ǂnùà*	'... build'
(ii)	future	*|íí.á.gòè(nè)*	'will/shall sing'	*|xúrú.á.gòè(nè)*	'... vibrate'
		táó.à.gòè(nè)	'will/shall pound'	*xúnú.à.gòè(nè)*	'... snore'
		péé.a.gòè(nè)	'will/shall jump'	*n||náni.a.gòè(nè)*	'... build'

If (iii) applies, word structure represents the primary and phonological form the secondary cri-terion for the choice of the juncture form. Whereas di- and other polysyllabic verbs take on the allomorph *.na*, monosyllabic verbs receive an allomorph whose shape is phonologically conditioned. The juncture base is normally retained when the verb ends in a high or low vow-el. It also appears on verbs with a CVN structure. Examples:

(iii) a. di- and other polysyllabic verbs

past (recent I)	*|xúrú.ná.tà*	'vibrated (this morning)'
past (recent II)	*xúnú.ná.||'òm*	'snored (some days ago)'
past (remote)	*!hùrí.ná.hĩ̀*	'sprouted (long ago)'
past (indefinte)	*n||náni.na.hàã̀*	'built'

b. monosyllabic verbs ending in a high or low vowel

past (recent I)	*|íi.á.tà*	'sang (this morning)'
	súū.a.tà	'hasted ...'
past (recent II)	*kàá.á.||'òm*	'wanted (some days ago)'
past (remote)	*!áǐ.a.hǐǐ*	'was healthy (long ago)'
past (indefinite)	*dzú.à.hàã*	'skimmed off'
	ts'áã.a.hàã	'stole'

c. monosyllabic verbs ending in a nasal consonant (CVN)

past (recent II)	*tãn.á.||'òm*	'stood up'

Verbs ending in a mid-vowel totally assimilate the juncture base. Two types of construction must be distinguished here: assimilation with and without the insertion of *r*. Examples:

d. monosyllabic verbs ending in a mid-vowel

||óé.é.tà	'slept'	*péé.re.hàã*	'jumped'
tɛ́.ɛ́.hǐǐ	'stood'	*kx'è.rɛ́.||'òm*	'cried'
táó.ó.tà	'pounded'	*kx'ò.ró.tà*	'ate meat'

The insertion of *r* is neither phonologically nor morphologically motivated but, rather, historically founded (cf. Vossen 1997). Interestingly enough, also some of the verbs ending in a low vowel — be it oral or nasal — insert *r* (or *n*) in the juncture slot and, thus, do not fall under case (iii.b), e.g.: *≠qáá* 'slap' > *≠qáá.rá.hàã* 'slapped'; *sáã* 'rest' > *sá.ná.||'òm* 'rested'. In other words, certain verbs ending in *a* are in the past tense not followed by the juncture base *.a* but by its allomorph *.ra*; similarly, certain verbs ending in *ã* do not take on the juncture base *.a* but rather the allomorph *.na* in which case the nasality of the vowel gets lost.

5.4.3.3 Object concord marker (slot 3)

As pointed out before (cf. 5.4.2.1 and 5.4.3), the object concord formative is marked for PGN; it refers to nominal or pronominal objects. Examples:

(i) nominal object

|âm.tsà !'úí .tsà tí mûū.tsà .tà.
two.3mdu leopard.3mdu PRO.1sg see .3mdu.PAST
'This morning I saw a pair of leopards.'

(ii) pronominal object

tíì tsá mûū.tì.tè
PRO.1sg PRO.2msg see.1sg.PRES
'You (m/sg) see me.'

5.4.3.4 Tense (slot 4)

The following tenses have been noted (Table 7):

Table 7: The tense markers.

		RECENT I	RECENT II	REMOTE	INDEFINITE
PRESENT	.tè				
INGRESSIVE	.nǂnùà				
HABITUAL	.‖òè				
PAST		.tà	.‖'òm	.hĩ̀	.hàã̀
FUTURE	.gòè(nè)				

The present, ingressive, and habitual suffixes can clearly be shown to be derived from the verbs for 'stand', 'sit', and 'lie (down)' respectively. These verbs are still used as such frequently. The label "ingressive" is employed here with some reservation. The formative *nǂnùà* indicates that an action is or was about to be carried out. Like the habitual marker .‖*òè* it is not restricted to the present. While normally ingressive and habitual are considered as aspects, in ǁAni they morphologically behave precisely like tenses, fill the slot for tense markers and, to my knowledge, do not combine with any aspect markers.

The past tenses may be commented on as follows: The remote past formative .*hĩ̀* signals that an action took place in the distant past. It is used predominantly in tales and stories and, thus, fulfils a narrative function. The suffix .‖*'òm* (recent past II) is employed for events that happened a few days ago or just the day before, while .*tà* refers to 'morning of the same day'. The formative .*hàã̀* causes some problems as, to this day, it can neither be assigned to a particular stage in the past nor defined otherwise. The label "indefinite past" must therefore be regarded as preliminary.

5.4.3.5 Negation (slot 5)

Apart from the stem negation marker .*ŋãã̀*, which is a derivative suffix (see 5.4.3.1 above) negating the verb base as such, there is only one other negative formative, *viz.* .*bé(é)*; it turns the verbal construction as a whole into the negative.

5.5 Syntactic features

Generally speaking, coordination prevails over subordination. A good example appears to be the formation of "relative clauses" such as the following:

*n|né .m khoe .mà ||ùrí-biye |x'ūū.a .‖'òm.mà kx'áò=khòè tóòta**
DEM.3msg person.3msg bush-horse kill .JUNC.PAST.3msg male=person real
'This man who (a few days ago) killed a zebra (is) a real man.' * (< Setswana)

In this phrase the "relative clause" is placed between the subject ('this man') and the complement ('real man') of the non-verbal predicate ('is'), which itself is not formally expressed. The "relative clause" consists of an unmarked nominal object ('zebra') which is

followed by the verb that it relates to. This verb is nominalised in its finite form by means of a PGN marker that is in grammatical agreement (m/sg) with the subject of the phrase.

The dominant word order is SOV but for reason of, e.g., emphasis OSV is also possible (see examples in 5.4.3.3). Nominal qualifiers such as adjectives, numerals, and demonstratives precede the noun. Possessives may either precede or follow the noun referent. In nominal possessive constructions the order is *rectum regens*. A copula does virtually not exist. In adjectival predication, for instance, the adjective is placed after the subject and no copulative element to express 'is/are' is made use of. Postpositions, rather than prepositions, are employed as adpositions. Adverbial phrases are mostly placed at the beginning of a sentence, though sentence-final occurrence is also not uncommon.

Abbreviations

c	common	NEG	negation
C	consonant	OBJ	object
CAUS	causative	PASS	passive
CVN	consonant–vowel–nasal	PAST	past tense
CVV	consonant–vowel–vowel	PGN	person–gender–number
DAT	dative	pl	plural
DEM	demonstrative	POSS	possessive
du	dual	PRES	present tense
f	feminine	PRO	pronoun
H	high (tone)	REFL	reflexive
INCL	inclinative	SAK	South African Khoisan
INT	interrogative particle	sg	singular
JUNC	juncture	SNEG	stem negation
L	low (tone)	SVO	subject–verb–object
m	masculine	V	verb
N	noun		

References

Argyle, W. John. 1994. 'Thinking the unthinkable: a possible genetic relationship between Khoisan and Niger-Congo'. Paper read at the International Symposium on Khoisan Studies: Multidisciplinary Perspectives, Tutzing/Lake Starnberg, 11-14 July, 1994.

Ehret, Christopher. 1986. Proposals on Khoisan reconstruction. *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 7,2: 105-130.

Greenberg, Joseph H.1950. Studies in African linguistic classification. VI: The click languages. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 6,3: 223-237.

–. 1963. *The Languages of Africa*. The Hague: Mouton.

Güldemann, Tom & Rainer Vossen (in press). The Khoisan languages. *African Languages*, ed. by Bernd Heine & Derek Nurse. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hagman, Roy S. 1977. *Nama Hottentot Grammar*. (Indiana University Publications, Language Science Monographs, 15.) Bloomington: Indiana University.

Honken, Henry. 1977. Submerged features and Proto-Khoisan. *Khoisan Linguistic Studies 3*, ed. by Anthony Traill, 145-169. (African Studies Institute Communications, 6.) Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand.

–. 1988. Phonetic correspondences among Khoisan affricates. *New Perspectives on the Study of Khoisan*, ed. by Rainer Vossen, 47-65. (Quellen zur Khoisan-Forschung, 7.) Hamburg: Helmut Buske.

Keuthmann, Klaus & Rainer Vossen. 1997. Von Schnalzen und anderen Zungenschlägen. *Forschung Frankfurt* 2/97: 48-59.

Köhler, Oswin. 1975. Geschichte und Probleme der Gliederung der Sprachen Afrikas. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. *Die Völker Afrikas und ihre traditionellen Kulturen*. Part 1: Allgemeiner Teil und südliches Afrika, ed. by Hermann Baumann, 135-373. (Studien zur Kulturkunde, 34.) Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.

–. 1981. Les langues khoïsan. *Les langues dans le monde ancien et moderne*, ed. by Jean Perrot. Part 1: Les langues de l'Afrique subsaharienne, ed. by Gabriel Manessy, 455- 615. Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.

Ruhlen, Merritt. 1994. *On the Origin of Languages*. Studies in linguistic taxonomy. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Sands, Bonny. 1998. *Eastern and Southern African Khoisan*. Evaluating claims of distant linguistic relationships. (Quellen zur Khoisan-Forschung / Research in Khoisan Studies, 14.) Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.

Traill, Anthony. 1980. Phonetic diversity in the Khoisan languages. *Bushman and Hottentot Linguistic Studies*, 167-189. (Miscellanea Congregalia, 16.) Pretoria: University of South Africa.

–. 1986. Do the Khoi have a place in the San? New data on Khoisan linguistic relationships. *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 7,1: 407-430.

Vossen, Rainer. 1985. Encoding the object in the finite verb: the case of ǁAni (Central Khoisan). *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 4: 75-84.

–. 1986. Zur Phonologie der ǁAni-Sprache. *Contemporary Studies on Khoisan*, Vol. 2, ed. by Rainer Vossen & Klaus Keuthmann, 321-345. (Quellen zur Khoisan-Forschung, 5.) Hamburg: Helmut Buske.

–. 1997. *Die Khoe-Sprachen*. Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der Sprachgeschichte Afrikas. (Quellen zur Khoisan-Forschung / Research in Khoisan Studies, 12.) Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.

–. 1998. Forms and functions of *!'o in some Khoe languages. *Language, Identity, and Conceptualization among the Khoisan*, ed. by Mathias Schladt, 285-303. (Quellen zur Khoisan-Forschung / Research in Khoisan Studies, 15.) Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.

Westphal, Ernst O.J. 1962. On classifying Bushman and Hottentot languages. *African Language Studies* 3: 30-48.

–. 1971. The click languages of southern and eastern Africa. *Linguistics in Subsaharan Africa*, ed. by Thomas A. Sebeok, 367-420. (Current Trends in Linguistics, 7.) The Hague & Paris: Mouton.