Namibian landscape, with gemsbok (Nama ǀgaeb)

Namaqualand (far Northern Cape of South Africa) with annual bloom of spring flowers (Nama !khādi)
The Khoisan (or Khoesean) languages of southern Africa: a brief introduction.

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Our core topics for today

- The KHOE family and its two divisions. Some historical background.
- Six broad characteristics of the KHOE family overall, i.e. features that distinguish KHOE from JU and TUU.
- A preliminary mention of features that mark differences between languages of the Khoekhoe and Kalahari branches.
- Differences between Nama and Kora within Khoekhoe.

Fig. 1.1. The KHOE family of languages, with information concerning the five divisions of Kalahari KHOE based on Köhler (1971), Vossen (1997) and Fehn (2015). The divisions into geographical regions are primarily distributional, and do not necessarily reflect linguistically motivated branchings.
‘First contact’

The Khoi were first met by Portuguese navigators of the late 15th century, and later by English, French and Dutch traders bound for the East, who stopped off at the Cape for fresh water and supplies. The sailors bartered with the local Khoi herders for supplies of meat.

After the establishment of the Dutch refreshment station in 1652, the Khoi eventually stopped coming to the Cape.
Survival of the Khoi

Three smallpox epidemics had a particularly deadly impact on the Khoi clans, but the disease certainly did not wipe out everyone. Many of the original clans moved further away to the Gariep (see picture) and beyond, or settled around mission stations. There are still two or three thousand speakers of Nama in the Northern Cape today; and one or two speakers of Kora.
Broad characteristics of KHOE overall

The KHOE languages as a whole differ from languages of other Khoisan groups (JU and TUU families) in their:

i. Division of nouns into the genders ‘masculine’, ‘feminine’ or ‘common’

ii. Favouring of a general SOV basic sentence pattern

iii. Use of postpositions (i.e. adpositions that follow the Noun Phrase)

iv. Use of verb extensions (although these are also found in JU)

v. Use of fewer contrastive vowel features

vi. Use of a smaller range of click accompaniments
Let’s now look at each of the broad KHÖE characteristics in turn …
(i) Gender system based on masculine/feminine/common distinctions

The example here (from Kora) shows examples of the 3rd person masculine singular suffix –b and the 3rd person feminine singular suffix –s:

I na hai b !na huriǂa |ōs |xa

i na hai b !na huriǂa |ōs |xa

and Prog tree in jump-enter girl with

‘And he [Jackal] jumped into the tree with the girl’
Suffixes expressing grammatical gender in Khoekhoe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender I</td>
<td>-b</td>
<td>-khara</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>masc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender II</td>
<td>-s</td>
<td>-sara</td>
<td>-di</td>
<td>fem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender III</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-kha</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>common</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Where the noun stem ends in a nasal, the masculine singular suffix -b assimilates to it, as in |hommi| ‘heaven, sky, cloud’.
In some cases where animals are involved, nouns have an intrinsic default gender, where the unmarked term may for some animals be masculine, but feminine for others. As both Meinhof and Maingard noted, there is no obvious correlation between the size of the animal and the gender. The examples below are from the manuscript notes of Lucy Lloyd (and reflect her spellings).
Masculine

doup  ‘zebra’ (daub)
gaup  ‘wildebeest’ (gaob)
uij  ‘bee’
\keyap  ‘jackal’
\gip  ‘aardwolf’ (hyena species)
\h\d\ap  ‘wildcat’
\x\amm\map  ‘hartebeest’
\n\k\k\op  ‘bushpig’
\gau\\ip  ‘hunting dog’
\noap  ‘porcupine’
\g\o\p  ‘springhare’
\g\ox\um  ‘anteater’
\xoap  ‘elephant’
Feminine

/kais
/kaus
/gannas
/hukas
/koires
/xaus
/kx’ãus
/nabbas
/thoas
/nabbas

‘gemsbok’
‘buffalo’ (/aob)
‘hare of the flats’
‘hyena’
‘quagga’ (/ores ~ /oeres)
‘hippopotamus’ (/xaos)
‘dassie’
‘rhinoceros’
‘hare (with long ears)’
‘mountain hare’
Lastly, much as in the Bantu languages, it is possible to reassign nouns to a different gender, with a resulting change in meaning, or sometimes with an affective implication such as disparagement. For example, whereas *haib* (with the masculine singular suffix) refers to a tall tree or long stick, *hais* (with the feminine singular suffix) refers to a small and rounded bush. The following further examples were noted by Lloyd (first three pairs), and Meinhof.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tūp</td>
<td>‘black thunder cloud’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūs</td>
<td>‘rain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>!karep</td>
<td>‘mountain (such as Devil’s Peak)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>!kares</td>
<td>‘hill, low mountain’ (perhaps ‘ridge’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‡gōp</td>
<td>‘pointed mountain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‡gōs</td>
<td>‘a small hill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gōab</td>
<td>‘spear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gōas</td>
<td>‘knife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>′uib</td>
<td>‘boulder, rock’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>′uis</td>
<td>‘stone, pebble’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A quick note on basic stem shape across Khoisan

• Most **grammatical morphemes** are monosyllabic, and typically have the shape CV (where C = consonant, V = vowel). (But there are exceptions!)

• **Lexical stems** typically have the shape CVCV (ǃnaba-s ‘rhino’), with variations such as CVV (ǂxoa-b ‘elephant’; !nai-b ‘giraffe’) or CVN (xam-mi ‘lion’).
A quick note on basic stem shape across Khoisan

• The **medial consonant** is *never* a velar (g, k or x), and is most often a bilabial or alveolar continuant (oral or nasal).

• In **words beginning with clicks**, the first vowel typically only occurs as a front vowel after a dental (ǀ) or palato-alveolar (ǂ). In general, clicks in Khoisan languages are most often followed by a back vowel. (This is known as the **Back Vowel Constraint**.)
Gender suffixes in the pronominal system of Kora

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3rd person</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masculine</td>
<td>/'âi-b 'he'</td>
<td>/'âi-khara 'they two (masculine)'</td>
<td>/'âi-ku-a 'they (masculine)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>/'âi-s 'she'</td>
<td>/'âi-sara 'they two (feminine)'</td>
<td>/'âi-di (~-de) 'they (feminine)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>common</td>
<td>/'âi-i 'it'</td>
<td>/'âi-kha 'they two (common)'</td>
<td>/'âi-n-a 'they (common)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 4.4. The free-standing (or independent) pronouns of the 3rd person in Kora.
Gender morphemes as enclitic pronouns

Hō-ts ko ūse? ‘Did you [ms] find the springbuck?’
Hamiũ-kao ka na? ‘Might you [mp] go hunting?’
†’An tama-r ‘I [m] do not know’
(ii) SOV preference

The following example (from Nama) shows the verb-final pattern fairly typical of the family as a whole:

Khoeb ge \( \text{\textbackslash} \)hôaba ra mú

khoeb ge \( \text{\textbackslash} \)hôaba ra mú

person (masc.) ge wildcat IPFV see

S O V

‘The man sees the wildcat’
The Kora example seen earlier also features two postpositions:

I na haib !na huriǂa |ōs |xa

i na haib !na huriǂa |ōs |xa

and IPFV tree in jump-enter girl with

‘And he [Jackal] jumped into the tree with the girl’
(iii) Postpositions

Some postpositions appear to have a denominative (< noun) origin:

!nâ ‘in’          cf.  !nâb ‘belly’
ai ‘on, on top of’ cf.  aib ‘surface, face’

Others appear to be deverbative (< verb):

xu ‘from, since’  cf.  xū ‘depart, go from, leave’
(iv) Verb extensions

- Benefactive: -ba
- Reflexive: -sin
- Reciprocal: -gu
- Causative: -si
- Reduplication
- Passive: -(h)e
- Accompanitive: -ǀxoa [Kora and Kalahari KHOE]
- Impellative: -kasi [Kora]

(But note that the JU languages also make use of such extensions!)
The ‘valency-changing’ function of verb extensions

The following verb extensions are the ones most commonly found in Kora:

- **-he (-e)** passive  
  (subject argument with non-agentive role)

- **-ba** applicative  
  (additional dependent argument with the role of beneficiary)

- **-gu** reciprocal  
  (additional argument with same role as the original subject, and with transitivity of the verb implied)

- **-sen (-sn)** reflexive  
  (one argument with two roles, where the agent is identical with the experiencer)

- **-si** causative  
  (additional argument with instigating role, without implication of sentient original subject)

- **-kasi** impellative  
  (additional argument with instigating role, with implication of sentient original subject)

- **-xa** instrumental  
  (additional argument with the role of means)

- **-xoa** comitative  
  (multiple subject arguments with the same role, without transitivity of the verb implied)
Text illustration, verb extensions

Bhf6. Funeral of a chief (Teteb and Iis). (Mgd1932, 143)

1  Gaoxaob ta !nauhe o, i na |hobab !nauhe,
    i na !khaib dībahe,
    i na haikua !narahe.

5  i na |harub !asibahe,
    i na |kha ||ōb ||nammī xa xamihe,
    i na |nāba ||goisihe,
    i na |nai |haruba !kāukx’ amhe,
    i na !hūba thuruhe.

(Note how the names of the two people who contributed this text carry masculine and feminine suffixes respectively.)
Bhf6. Funeral of a chief (Teted and Iis). (Mgd1932, 143)

1 When a chief (Gaoxaob) is buried (!nau-he),
then a grave (|$hobab$) is dug,
and a space (!xaib) is prepared for him,
and raked smooth (!xara-he) [with] twigs (haikua),

5 and a reed-mat (|$harub$) is spread for (!’āsiba-he) [him],
and the dead body (!$xa$ $’$ōb) is wrapped (xami-he) with a kaross (±nammi xa),
and laid down (|$goe-si-he$) there,
and covered over [with] another reed-mat (!nai $|$haruba),
and [with] earth (!huba) is sprinkled (thoro-he).\textsuperscript{107}

The example is from a Kora text, and shows Passives (-he),
Causatives (-si) and Applicatives (-ba).
(v) Fewer contrastive vowel features

- The KHOE languages typically only make use of the contrastive vowel feature of **nasalisation**. (It is marked in the Namibian orthography by a circumflex, but for Kora we have used a tilde.)

- Vowel **length** used to be considered a second contrastive feature in KHOE languages, but recent studies suggest that tone may be the true factor in these cases. (It is marked in the Namibian orthography by a macron.)

(We will start to see the greater range of vowel features that can occur in JU and TUU languages at a later stage.)
(vi) Smaller range of click accompaniments

The KHOE languages in general have a slightly smaller range of click accompaniments than languages of the TUU family and JU families.

Languages of the Kalahari branch have a slightly more extensive range of accompaniments than Khoekhoe varieties, however.
Summary of features that set KHoe languages apart from Ju and Tuu languages

- Masculine, Feminine and Common genders
- SOV basic pattern
- Postposition
- Verb extensions (but shared with Ju)
- Fewer contrastive vowel features
- Smaller range of click accompaniments than Tuu and Ju

Giraffe, !naib in Kora, #àù in Juǀ’hoan, lqhuu in !Xoon
Two preliminary differences between Khoekhoe and Kalahari varieties

• Unlike Kalahari languages, Khoekhoe languages mark a distinction between Inclusive and Exclusive reference in pronouns of the 1\textsuperscript{st} and 2\textsuperscript{nd} person.

• Although all KHOE languages feature compound verbs, the Khoekhoe languages – unlike Kalahari languages – do not use linking morphemes between the two verbs that make up the compound.

Warthog, gairib in Nama, l xu u in Khwe
### Full pronominal system of Kora

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st person, inclusive of addressed party</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td><em>ti-re</em> (~ <em>ti-r, ti-te</em>) 'I (male)'</td>
<td><em>sa-kham</em> 'you and I both (male)'</td>
<td><em>sa-ke</em> (~ <em>tje, kje</em>) 'we all (male)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td><em>ti-ta</em> 'I (female)'</td>
<td><em>sa-sam</em> 'you and I both (female)'</td>
<td><em>sa-së</em> 'we all (female)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>sa-m</em> 'you and I both'</td>
<td><em>sa-da</em> 'we all'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st person, exclusive of addressed party</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>si-kham</em> 'us two (male)' [not you]</td>
<td><em>si-ke</em> (~ <em>tje, kje</em>) 'us all (male)' [not you]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>si-m</em> 'us two' [not you]</td>
<td><em>si-da</em> 'us all' [not you]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd person</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td><em>sa-ts</em> 'you (male)'</td>
<td><em>sa-kharo</em> 'you two (male)'</td>
<td><em>sa-kao</em> (~ <em>khao</em>) 'you (male)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td><em>sa-s</em> 'you (female)'</td>
<td><em>sa-saro</em> 'you two (female)'</td>
<td><em>sa-sao</em> 'you (female)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>sa-khao</em> 'you two'</td>
<td><em>sa-du</em> 'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3rd person</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>~<em>āi-b</em> 'he'</td>
<td>~<em>āi-khara</em> 'they two (male)'</td>
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<td>Feminine</td>
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<td>Common</td>
<td>~<em>āi-i</em> 'it'</td>
<td>~<em>āi-kha</em> 'they two'</td>
<td>~<em>āi-n-a</em> 'they'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some notes on compound verbs in Khoekhoe

An example of a compound verb occurred in the Kora sentence we saw earlier:

I na haib !na hurita |ōs |xa
i na haib !na hurita |ōs |xa
Conn IPFV tree in jump-enter girl with

‘And he jumped into the tree with the girl’

NB: note the absence of any morphology linking the two verbs.
Further examples, from Kora

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nāu! ’ā</td>
<td>‘understand’</td>
<td>(listen-hear)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mū! ’ā</td>
<td>‘recognise’</td>
<td>(see-hear)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dīthā</td>
<td>‘test; try’</td>
<td>(make-feel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dītoa</td>
<td>‘complete’</td>
<td>(make-finish)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Further examples, from Kora

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Pairs</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Causative Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>huri!xaru</td>
<td>‘jump through’</td>
<td>(jump-go through)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huriʃ’ā</td>
<td>‘jump into’</td>
<td>(jump-enter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hā!ū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūkhāsi</td>
<td>‘pick up’</td>
<td>(take-rise-Caus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ləkəkhāsi</td>
<td>‘snatch up’</td>
<td>(snatch-rise-Caus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū aeʃk’oasi</td>
<td>‘take off, undress’</td>
<td>(drag-emerge-Caus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xora+k’oasi</td>
<td>‘scrape out’</td>
<td>(scrape-emerge-Caus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū+k’oasi</td>
<td>‘take out’</td>
<td>(take-emerge-Caus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’oasi</td>
<td>‘choose’</td>
<td>(seek-emerge-Caus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thoroʃ’ā</td>
<td>‘shake into’</td>
<td>(shake-enter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nabibē</td>
<td>‘wipe away’</td>
<td>(wipe-depart)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūhā</td>
<td>‘bring, fetch’</td>
<td>(take-come)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Current debates in Khoisan linguistics

• Can the compound verbs found in most Khoisan languages be analysed as serial verb constructions? Perhaps only in some cases? What about the compound verbs of KHoe languages?

• Do some apparently unusual aspects of compound verbs in KHoe languages reflect a process of areal diffusion, and in particular the influence of a ‘non-KHoe’ substrate such as might have been provided by a JU or TUU language?

Kudu, xaib in Nama, n!hoan in Ju’hoan, dòō-ka in !Xoon
Current debates in Khoisan linguistics

Do some apparently unusual aspects of compound verbs in KHOE languages reflect a process of areal diffusion, and in particular the influence of a ‘non-KHOE’ substrate such as might have been provided by a JU or TUU language?
Current debates in Khoisan linguistics

Compounds of the kind shown in the second subset are sometimes held out as examples of a special type, where each component verb has its own separate subject, and where the subject of the second verb ‘switches’ its function so as to become the overall object of the compound form. The example below may help to make this clearer.

4.20 \( \text{Ükhäsi} \parallel \text{nä} \parallel \text{’uib!} \)  
\( \text{Ü-khä-si} \parallel \text{nä} \parallel \text{’uib} \)  
(you) take-rise-Caus that stone

‘Pick up that stone!’

It is possible here to analyse the 2\textsuperscript{nd} person addressee [‘you’] as the subject of the first verb \( \text{Ü} \) ‘take’, whereas the subject of the second verb \( \text{khä} \) ‘rise’ is strictly speaking \( \text{’uib} \) ‘stone’ (since it is the stone that does the rising). The understanding, nevertheless, is that the animate 2\textsuperscript{nd} person is the overall subject of the complex predicating expression, while ‘stone’ is the object.
And now to return to Kora ...
... and features that distinguish Kora from Nama

Morphology
Kora used hē (not nē) as the near demonstrative morpheme (‘this’), where hē may also occur in expressions such as hētsē ‘today’ (this day) and hēba ‘here’ (this place).

Vocabulary

gloss   Nama   Kora
‘white’  !uri   xati
‘meat’   ǁgan-i  kx’ob
‘head’   dasas  mu!ãb
More features that distinguish Kora from Nama

Phonetics

Kora had an ejective postvelar affricate $\text{kx'}$, also found in some dialects as a click accompaniment.

- $\text{kx'anis}$ ‘bird’ where Nama has $\text{anis}$
- $\text{kx'ommi}$ ‘house’ where Nama has $\text{oms}$
- $\text{|kx’aba}$ ‘red’ where Nama has $\text{|aba}$ (/’ɑbɑ/)
- $\text{!kx’amsa}$ ‘green’ where Nama has $\text{!am}$ (/!’ɑm/)
A quick note on the ejective affricate click

We were particularly fortunate to find examples of this click in the speech of our two consultants, and it has emerged during the course of subsequent studies that, as in the case of the ordinary ejective affricate $kx$', the release of the posterior closure for these clicks appears to be uvular, rather than velar as has previously been assumed. The spectrographic profile of this feature closely resembles that of the ordinary ejective affricate $kx'$, which is in strict terms an ejected uvular plosive $[q']$ followed by a brief uvular trill, where the trill seems to be precipitated by the ejection, and quickly loses its periodic character to end as noisy uvular frication $[\chi]$. 
kx’anis ‘bird’
kx’ob ‘meat’
More features that distinguish Kora from Nama

**Phonetics**

Kora may have had contrastive voicing - and some voiced clicks:

- *tanikua* ‘clothes’
- *danis* ‘honey’

The example words below are drawn mainly from Engelbrecht’s list of words where a click is written with a following letter ‘g’. It is certainly intriguing that in cases where these words also occur in Nguni languages (or N\|uu for that matter), they are typically found with voiced clicks.

| /gíb  | ‘aardwolf’ (*Proteles cristatus*) (note Xhosa ingci, Swati singci) |
| /gàb  | ‘grass’ (note Xhosa ingca) |
| /gæmmi | ‘water’ |
| /gaixab | ‘sorcerer, doctor’ (note Xhosa igqira ‘sorcerer’, uqgira ‘doctor’) |
| /gamb  | ‘kill’ |
| /garib | ‘river’ |
| /gæb   | ‘marrow (of bone)’ |
Voiced clicks in Kora?

A few words in the speech of our two consultants gave the initial auditory impression that they contained voiced clicks – or at least, clicks very much resembling the familiar ‘voiced clicks’ of the kind that occur in the Nguni languages.

In a few cases, these words were among those mentioned by older authors as having been voiced, which gave us an ideal opportunity to re-visit the topic.
Voiced clicks in Kora?

The quest proved difficult because of the scarcity of minimal pairs in our data.

\[ \text{\(\text{\textgamma}‘\text{water‘}\)} \]

\[ \text{\(\text{!\textgamma}‘\text{kill‘}\)} \]
!ũ ‘go’
!gū ‘cover’
(NB ... used in a phrase and preceded by a vowel!)
Voiced clicks in Kora?

The clicks perceived to be ‘voiced’ in Kora are found to be clicks characterised primarily by an audible release of the rear closure (as a uvular plosive).

Any voicing of this release is indeterminate, and if the sound is not merely a plain uvular plosive [q] released immediately on to a following vowel, it seems to feature only the type of short-lag onset of voicing that similarly characterises the voiced clicks of Nguni languages.

NB: Beach was initially sceptical about the claims made by other authors of a contrast based on voicing.
It was Beach’s study, published in 1938, that became the definitive one, however. Working mainly with just one consultant (Benjamin Kraalshoek, from the Kimberley Korana community), Beach determined that Kora had four fundamental ‘tonemes’ (citation melodies). (He briefly noted, but did not explore, the kinds of systematic variations noticed by Maingard and Meinhof.) In order to give some idea of the relative values of the four Kora tonemes, Beach plotted their melodies on to a musical stave, using four reference words as his examples, where /ui ‘one’ illustrated what he described as a ‘High level’ melody, /xai ‘cold’ a ‘High rising’ melody, /nae ‘sing’ a ‘Mid level’ one, and /xae ‘dark’ a ‘Low-mid falling’ one. Beach’s drawing is replicated in Figure 3.8, which also provides a translation of his High, Mid and Low tones into more abstract Oppositions between High and Low values, along the lines recently suggested by Johanna Brugman.
The Kora tonal system, as found by Beach

Fig. 3.8. Beach’s four tone melodies for Kora. (C³ is the C below Middle C, which is C⁴). Beach worked with a male speaker, whose voice would naturally have had an inherently lower pitch than a woman’s.
Tones in the speech of Ouma Jacoba

Contours of the two level melodies:

1) /uiib ‘stone’ High level [H-H] (in real terms s\textsuperscript{2}H)
2) gomas ‘cow’ Rising [L-H]
3) gus ‘sheep ewe’ Low level [L-L] (in real terms sL)

Contours of the two moving melodies:

1) habob ‘shoe’ Falling [H-L] (in real terms L-sL)

Fig. 3.10. Contours of the two level and two moving melodies in Ouma Jacoba’s speech.
The Kora tonal system

The table in Figure 3.9 sets out the four citation melodies as produced by Ouma Jacoba, with example words for each. As this chart shows, the High level toneme [H-H] in her speech is sometimes heard as a SuperHigh variant, while the Low level toneme [L-L] is only expressed as SuperLow. There are relatively few examples for either of these two extreme melodies in our data, and most of the words reflect citation melodies that are moving. The rising melody has the contour [L-H] for the most part, but while the falling one is occasionally the High falling melody [H-L] noted by Maingard, it more often occurs in real terms as a melody that falls from Low to SuperLow – much as implied by Beach’s musical notation.
### The Kora tonal system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kora tone melodies</th>
<th>Reference words from the speech of Ouma Jacoba Maclear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\sim \text{S}H$ (SuperHigh level)</td>
<td>/u\text{ui} ‘one’, /u\text{uib} ‘stone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H-H (High level)</td>
<td>h\text{ab} ‘horse’, k\text{unis} ‘wagon’, k\text{hoes} ‘woman’, k\text{xoa} ‘seek’, m\text{a} ‘stand’, ʃ\text{u} ‘eat’, ʃ\text{nū} ‘sit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L-H (Low rising)</td>
<td>g\text{omas} ‘cow’, kh\text{āi} ‘rise’, k\text{xōb} ‘meat’, /\text{huru} ‘play’, /\text{anab} ‘devil’, /\text{am} ‘kill’, /\text{xanis} ‘book’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H-L (High falling)</td>
<td>b\text{iris} ‘goat ewe’, h\text{uri} ‘jump’, ʃ\text{u} ‘go’, /\text{ao} ‘fear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L-s\text{L} (Low falling)</td>
<td>a\text{rib} ‘dog’, k\text{oba} ‘speak’, /\text{habob} ‘shoe’, /\text{xae} ‘dark’, ʃ\text{oab} ‘clay’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(L-L)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s\text{L} (SuperLow level)</td>
<td>g\text{ūs} ‘sheep’, h\text{aib} ‘tree’, /n\text{ā} ‘fall’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 3.9. The four Kora citation melodies in the speech of Ouma Jacoba Maclear.

The melodies we found in Ouma Jacoba’s speech did not always match those given for the same words by Beach.
The Khoekhoe tonal system in general

The tone melodies of the Khoekhoe languages typically have a basic (or ‘citation’) form, which is to say, the melody that is used when a word is spoken in isolation or at the beginning of a sentence. These melodies change systematically in certain syntactic contexts, where each citation melody has (i) its own alternative melody associated with the occurrence of the word in a compound form, and (ii) another alternative melody associated with the occurrence of the word at the end of a phrase. While these phenomena were noted in passing by both Meinhof and Maingard, the details were never fully documented for Kora, and it was only much later that the equivalent phenomenon in Namibian Khoekhoe was described at length by Haacke.
The theory of tonogenesis in Khoekhoe.

When Beach came to describe the Kora tonemes, it was after he had completed his study of Nama, where he had in fact found six contrastive tone melodies. It puzzled him that he could find only four tone melodies in Kora, where for each of the two lower melodies, Nama seemed to have two corresponding melodies, where the extra Nama melody in each case had a low or very low onset, followed by a rise.
The question this posed for Beach was how the additional melodies in Nama could have emerged, and why they should have the lower tone onsets. Eventually he decided that the various previous authors who had alluded to the presence of a voicing contrast in Kora were perhaps not wrong after all, since he began to detect an apparent correlation between the presence of a voiced (or once voiced) segment – and a lower tone on the following vowel. He concluded that a formerly voiced series\(^95\) of both ordinary and click consonants may have had a lowering (or ‘depressor’) effect on following tones. (This is a natural process not unusual among tone languages elsewhere in the world, and is thought to be caused by certain physiological aspects of the voicing mechanism.)\(^96\) Beach theorised that the process must have gone further in Nama and the Namibian dialects, which for the most part no longer make use of contrastive voicing – presumably because the additional tonal contrasts eventually became semantically significant in themselves.\(^97\)
The theory of tonogenesis in Khoekhoe

We had hoped to find some vestigial evidence that might confirm Beach’s theory. In the end, though, we have been left with more questions than answers, partly because of uncertainties surrounding the voiced segments, and partly because the melodies in our data do not consistently match those given by Beach for the same words. Our sample size is in addition so small that it does not permit us to make statistically meaningful generalisations. All of this has led us to concede that the material we were able to salvage is perhaps too fragile to deliver firm answers.
2.2.1  \( b = p, d = t, g = k \)

Khoekhoegowab makes no difference between voiced and voiceless plosive consonants: All plosives are devoiced, but with rather soft plosion. Hence there is no difference in the pronunciation of the letters \( b \) and \( p \); nor is there a difference in the pronunciation of \( d \) and \( t \), or of \( g \) and \( k \). By convention the letters \( b \), \( d \) and \( g \) are used for words with one of the lower tone melodies; \( p \), \( t \) and \( k \) are used for words with one of the higher melodies, e.g.

- low rising: \( gâô \) - (rule)
- high rising: \( kâô \) - (be dumbfounded).
Representation of melodies in Namibian Khoekhoe

{nabab}/s/ n. sambok; (rhinoceros-hide) whip; {nabas/b} n. zool. rhinoceros (white or black), Craterothenium; {nabalkhinibes} n. zool. (large) armoured ground cricket, koringkriek, Acanthoproctus sp., s.a. {khinibeb}; {nabalkhinis} n. bot. (large) duwweltjie, Tribulocarpus dimorphanthus, [perennial, flowers white]; {nabalgamabeb} n. zool. rhinoceros beetle, Copris spp.; {nabakharab} n. bot. Trichocaulon spp. (? , Schultzze);

{nawa}, {naba} v.t patch (clothes/tube); repair/mend (walls of house); {nabas} n. s. patch; material used f. repair/
Ready to try another click?
Our previous ‘click of the day’

Click of the day: Dental [ɺ, Nguni c] (the ‘annoyance or pity click’)
Features: None (plain click)
Aspiration (aspirated click)

Once you have mastered the basic dental click, try to make a contrast
between a plain and an aspirated form. The following examples are
from the Nama variety of Namibian Khoekhoe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gui</th>
<th>[ˌui, ɺ'H]</th>
<th>‘one’</th>
<th>plain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gam</td>
<td>[ˌam, HL]</td>
<td>‘two’</td>
<td>plain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hui</td>
<td>[n̚ui, L,L]</td>
<td>‘hiss (as snake)’</td>
<td>aspirated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hamı</td>
<td>[n̚hamı, ɺ'H]</td>
<td>‘gather, collect’</td>
<td>aspirated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A new click: the lateral click

|gami ‘roll up, coil’ ('annoyance click') | ||gammi ‘water’ ('gee-up click')

||ã ‘thirst, become thirsty’
and a new feature ... glottalised clicks (or, clicks ‘with glottal stop accompaniment’)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Click of the day:</th>
<th>Lateral [ǁ, Nguni x] (the ‘gee-up’ click)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New feature:</td>
<td>Glottalisation (ejective click)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The examples below are from Nama.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ḡa</th>
<th>ḡaap, LL</th>
<th>‘put round neck’</th>
<th>plain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḡab</td>
<td>ḡaap, HL</td>
<td>‘ravine’</td>
<td>aspirated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡab</td>
<td>ḡaap, HL</td>
<td>‘bat-eared fox’</td>
<td>ejective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gui</td>
<td>[ui, H’H]</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
<td>plain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hui</td>
<td>[u]ui, LL</td>
<td>‘hiss (as snake)’</td>
<td>aspirated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uib</td>
<td>[u]up, H’H</td>
<td>‘stone, rock’</td>
<td>ejective</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The prenasalisation associated with the glottalised (and also the delayed aspirated clicks) is particularly apparent when a click word is preceded by the vowel of another word or grammatical morpheme, as in the following phrases produced by Ouma Jacoba:

\[ hē\ xati\ (n)\|\ ’uib \] ‘this white stone’

\[ ǀnika\ ti\ ke\ (n)\|=\ ’ũ,\ tẽ \] ‘I will never eat, ever’
Text 1: Khoekhoe KHOE: Kora.
Let’s listen to the Bridge Walkers of Katutura (Namibia) performing a Nama praise song in honour of the camelthorn tree, ĖGana hais, in which you will hear the lateral click.

Giraffe, !naib in Nama