Lexical borrowing by Khoekhoegowab from Cape Dutch and Afrikaans

W.H.G. Haacke

Research Associate, Department of General Linguistics, Stellenbosch University
Email: whaacke@gmail.com

Abstract

The present article instantiates types of lexical borrowing from Afrikaans and Dutch in Namibian Khoekhoegowab (also known as "Nama"/"Damara"), but occasionally also refers to borrowings in the opposite direction. Where evidence allows, loans are traced back beyond Afrikaans to the era of Cape Dutch and contemporary interethnic contacts. Various categories ranging from adoptions to phonologically integrated loans, hybrids and calques are presented and, where possible, historical inferences are offered. The high degree of translational equivalence between Khoekhoe serial verbs and Afrikaans compound verbs leads to the consideration of some grammatical aspects including replication and relexification. Finally, reference is made to a parallel between Afrikaans and "Khoekhoe Afrikaans" syntax pointed out by den Besten (2013): Afrikaans circumlocutions like *ek / sy wat Anna is* (Khoekhoe: *Anna.ta / Anna.s*) are literal equivalents of the underlying phrasal structures of Khoekhoe surface nouns #STEM.PGN# in first, second or third person, as accounted for by the "desentential hypothesis" (Haacke 2006).

Keywords: kinship terms, phonological nativisation, epenthesis, hybrids, calques

1. Introduction

The influence of Cape Khoe on Cape Dutch and early Afrikaans has received recurrent attention as far as syntactic issues are concerned, particularly by Hans den Besten (cf. his list of publications in this volume). The *Etimologiewoordeboek van Afrikaans* (with supplement) suggests a (possible) "Khoi" etymology for some 66 Afrikaans entries.[1] As the influence of Khoe on Cape Dutch and early Afrikaans has been covered fairly comprehensively, the present article will concentrate predominantly but not exclusively on loans from Afrikaans and Dutch in Khoekhoegowab[2] as currently spoken in Namibia. It is not the intention of this

---

[1] I am indebted to Dr Willem F. Botha, Editor-in-Chief of the WAT project, for providing me with access to electronic extracts from the WAT database, and to Ms Tanja Harteveld for supplying the data files and handling personal communication. I am also grateful to Dr Herman Beyer for some valuable comments on a previous draft.

[2] *Khoekhoegowab*, literally "*Khoekhoe*-language", is the original glossonym for what had become known as "Nama/Damara" during the latter half of the 20th century. The name *Khoekhoegowab* was, after Namibia's attainment of independence, officially reintroduced as the name for the language spoken by not only Nama but also Damara and Haiǁom. Cf. Haacke (2011) on how the glossonym *Khoekhoegowab* was gradually displaced

article to contribute to the theoretical aspects of loan phenomena. Rather, the intention is to catalogue instantiation of mainly Dutch and Afrikaans interference with Khoe, and also some instances in the opposite direction. Any reference to Dutch here should be understood to be nonspecific concerning the degree of transition of original Dutch to Cape Dutch.

The data are selectively drawn from the dictionary of Haacke and Eiseb (2002), which marks some 330 Khoekhoe entries as loans from Afrikaans or Dutch. As this dictionary records 20th century Khoekhoegowab as spoken in Namibia, there inevitably exists a disparity between the contemporary situation in this country, on the one hand, and the interaction of substrate Cape Khoe (and other Khoe[3] lects) and Cape Dutch in previous centuries in South Africa, on the other. Hence it is difficult in most instances to detect which loans date back to early language contact in the Cape and which to later contact between modern Afrikaans and Khoekhoe in Namibia. Certain early loans from Dutch can be detected, however, through the survival of suffixes like the Dutch plural *-en* in Khoekhoe words, as will be elaborated on in the following section.

Before types of loans are discussed, some brief information on certain aspects of Khoekhoe nativisation may be helpful. While phonological adaptation will be discussed further on, a word on gender assignment to Khoekhoe nouns is opportune, especially since most loanwords tend to be nouns, being names for items that came to be known through cultural contact. Khoekhoe assigns gender to nouns. It is indicated by means of postclitic Person-Gender-Number (PGN) markers that are attached to noun stems; in the third person singular:

s for feminine	e.g. *khoe* + **s**	'person' + *s* = 'woman'
b for masculine (after final vowels, or a fully assimilated consonant + *i* after stem-final consonants)	e.g. *khoe* + **b**	'person' + *b* = 'man', *xam* + **mi** = 'male lion'
-i for neuter	e.g. *khoe* + **-i**	'person' + *-i* = 'person, someone'

For inanimates, masculine gender is assigned to larger and elongated objects, while feminine gender is assigned to smaller, softer, roundish objects, e.g. *!ā.b* ('river') but *!ā.s* ('settlement, village, town'). For explicatory purposes, the PGN-markers will be separated from the noun stem by means of a full stop or + in this article.[4]

---

by *Nama* through the work of missionaries in the 19th century. The spellings *Khoi* and *Khoikhoi* are obsolete and should be replaced by the linguistically correct spellings *Khoe* and *Khoekhoe*, respectively (pronounced as *o+e*, not as Afrikaans *oe*). The language will henceforth be referred to as *Khoekhoe*.

[3] "Khoe" refers to the family which is referred to as "Central Khoesaan" in Greenberg's (1963) "Khoisan" phylum.

[4] A few remarks may enhance the reading of the Khoekhoe words. Khoekhoe uses four primary click articulations, each with five click releases (not described here):

/	dental click (as in English *tut-tut-tut*)
//	lateral click (as when driving a horse)
!	alveolar click (a relatively hollow sound produced by arching the tongue backwards when releasing the click)
≠	palatal click (a relatively thin sound produced by pealing the tip of the tongue downwards when releasing the click).

Khoekhoe distinguishes between oral and nasalised vowels. The latter are written with a circumflex, e.g. *â*. The orthography erroneously distinguishes between "short" and "long" oral vowels. "Long" oral vowels (which actually are juxtaposed identical vowels) are indicated by a macron above the vowel, e.g. *ā*. Khoekhoe makes no distinction between voiced and voiceless plosives; all are (moderately) voiceless. A distinction in spelling,

2.   Loans of Dutch origin

While it is not always evident whether a word was borrowed by Khoekhoe during the early Cape Dutch period, or more recently from earlier or later versions of Afrikaans, certain loans are revealed as early loans by traces of Dutch suffixes, particularly the plural -*en*. Obvious instances are *purukhoe.b* ('trousers') and *rkhoe.s*/*horokhoe.s* ('skirt'). If these words were loans from (modern) Afrikaans, then they should have been **puruk.i* and **rōk.s*/*horok.s*, respectively. The additional, third syllable *khoe* can satisfactorily be accounted for by the Dutch plural -*en*, as in *broeken* ('trouser**s**') and *rokken* ('skirt**s**'). Borrowing was facilitated by the fact that the Khoekhoe third-person neuter-gender plural PGN-marker is -*n*. The similarity of the plural Khoekhoe loans to the Dutch sources is thus quite apparent: *broeken > purukhoe.n*; *rokken > horokhoe.n*/*rōkhoe.n*.[5] These two words thus bear testimony to early contacts and concomitant cultural adaptation with regard to clothing habits. Such clothing was, of course, also adopted by the Bantu peoples of Southern Africa, but − remarkably − in most languages the terms were adopted not directly from Dutch but from a Khoe language, as is evident from the labial approximant -*w*- in the Bantu loans: cf. Zulu/Xhosa *ibhulukhwe*; Sotho *borikhoe*; Tswana *borokgwe*; Yeyi *urukhwe*; Lozi/Kololo *bulukwe/bulikwe*; Herero *omburukweva*;[6] Ndonga (Wambo) *ombulukweya, ohulukweya*; Kwanyama (Wambo) *ombulukwewa*; Kwangali *mburuk(w)eva*; Manyo *mburukweva*; Mbukushu *maghurukwe*. The word for "skirt/dress" (*rok*) was not borrowed as widely as the term for "trousers", probably because indigenous words for skirt-like dresses were already available for semantic shift to accommodate the European-style dress. (But cf., *inter alia*, Xhosa *ilokhwe*, Herero *ohorokweva*, Ndonga *ohulukweya*, and Shona *rogwe*.)

As with the adoption of clicks, the circumstances that lead to the adoption of the word for "trousers" in certain Bantu languages (as far north as Yeyi in northern Botswana and the Eastern Caprivi, and also some Kavango languages) must not be due to direct contact with Cape Khoe, but to diffusion of the words from Kalahari Khoe languages; e.g. *brukhoe* in Naro (near Ghanzi) and *burukoe/hurukwe* in Khwe of the Western Caprivi. On the other hand, borrowings by languages within South Africa (like Sotho) may indeed be evidence of the wider distribution of (Cape) Khoe speakers in the 17th century.

The fact that Lozi is spoken in Zambia and the Eastern Caprivi does not imply that adoption of the words took place as far north as Barotseland. Rather, the Makololo, a Sotho tribe, would have adopted the word before they emigrated from South Africa in the early 1830s as a result of the Difaqane raids by Shaka Zulu. Their departure is thus a *terminus ante quem*, indicating that the Dutch words for "trousers" and "skirt" must have been adopted by the Cape Khoe during the 18th century at the latest.

---

    however, is maintained to indicate lexically distinctive tone on the subsequent sonorants: *p*, *t* and *k* signify a higher tone melody and *b*, *d* and *g* a lower tone melody.

[5] As will be elaborated on in section 5, Khoekhoe occasionally introduces epenthetic vowels into consonant clusters of borrowed words to maintain CV alternation.

[6] Note the close resemblance to the Khoekhoe words with the third-person masculine singular PGN-marker –*b* and the oblique case suffix –*a*, indicating long trousers (*purukhoeba*) and skirts (*horokhoeba*). The Herero and Khoe came into contact only in the 19th century. As there was no direct contact between the Khoe (Nama) and the Bantu in northern Namibia then, it must be assumed that the loanwords were transmitted to Oshiwambo and – probably indirectly – the Kavango languages via Herero. It is not unlikely that geographically remote languages like Shona and Lozi may also have acquired these loans indirectly via other Bantu neighbours.

Furthermore, Khoekhoe loans seem to reveal their likely Dutch origin by means of extra syllables that do not occur in Afrikaans, *inter alia*:

farkhe.b (pl. *farkhe.n*)	n.	pig, boar	< Du. sg. *Varken*
ferkhe.b	n.	(table)fork	< Du. pl. *vorken*, cf. Afr. *vurk*
kunube.s	n.	button	< Du. pl. *knopen*
wekhe.b	n.	week	< Du. pl. *weken*
tolkhoe	v.t.	interpret, translate orally	< Du. *tolken*

A true Khoekhoe word emerged next to the loan *farkhe.b* when domestic pigs were encountered: *hāgūb*, a compound noun consisting of *hāb* ('horse') + *gūb* ('sheep'), literally a "horse(like)-sheep", alluding to the size of a sheep and the short-haired hide of a horse. Furthermore, words that appear to be of Dutch rather than Afrikaans origin include, *inter alia*:

kleigi.s	n.	saddle-cloth	< Du. *kleedje*, Afr. *kleedjie*[7]
sūro.b[8]	n.	stock, broth, clear soup	< Du. *soep*, cf. Afr. *sop*
matare	v.t.	pay	< Du. *betalen*, cf. Afr. *betaal*
miki.s	n.	paternal (consanguineous) aunt, i.e. father's sister	< Du. *moeke*
ome.b	n.	maternal (consaneous) uncle	< Du. *ome*, *oom*

The last two loanwords in the list above are two of several loans from Dutch/Afrikaans that are used as kinship terms.

3.   Kinship terminology

Kinship terms that have been adopted are in most instances "non-controversial" in the sense that they refer to relatives whose relationship and function is roughly similar to that of the European system and hence are largely compatible in their semantic extension. An exception in this regard is *ome.b*, as it refers to one's mother's elder brother (elder maternal uncle), who – as is also the case in Bantu cultures – has a special role in Khoe kinship systems. *Ome.b* is phonotactically (and tonologically) irregular, as the sequence /o+Nasal+e/ does not otherwise appear in Khoekhoe roots. It is an early loan from the Dutch *ome*, a variant of *oom* ('uncle').[9] The original Khoekhoe term was *ǁnao(sa).b*, which is a term with a rather wide denotation extending also to all (male) consanguineous or affinal ancestors of the grandparental generation. Grandrelatives belong(ed) to the category of joking relatives, as opposed to avoidance relatives. All relatives of the parental generation are avoidance relatives (i.e. have to be treated with particular deferential behaviour) with the exception of one's mother's brother(s). One's mother's brother, *ome.b*, was more subject to joking behaviour from his sister's son (nephew) than the grandrelatives classified as *ǁnao(sa).n*. The relationship involved mutual ridiculing. He had a special role as provider for his sister's son in that the latter was allowed to practise cattle- or stock-snatching at his maternal uncle's expense. The mother's brother would, moreover,

---

[7] The diphthongised pronunciation of the doubled vowels *ee* as [ɪe] in Afrikaans is an indication that the Khoekhoe word *kleigi.s* is shaped on the Dutch pronunciation.

[8] *-ro* is a diminutive suffix.

[9] Cf. the original Dutch form *ohem* and the now archaic German form *Oheim* ('uncle').

replace any defective goods of his sister's children with better ones.[10] Today, the Dutch loan *ome* is more frequently used as a term of address than *‖nao*.

One's mother's younger brother, while being generically categorised as *‖nao(sa).b*, is also identified with loans of Dutch origin: either *omero.b* ('little *omeb*'; *-ro* is a diminutive suffix) or – especially among the Nama – *kli-om.mi* (Du. *klein oom* or 'little uncle').

The term *miki.s* derived from the Dutch *moeke* (term of endearment for 'mother'). The former generally refers to one's father's sister, and – especially among the Nama – to the wife of one's mother's brother (*ome.b*) and rarely also to one's father's brother's wife. Today, the generally used term for one's father's sister, *miki.s*, replaces an old term *ai.s kai.s* ('great/senior mother'), according to Hoernlé (1925, cited in Barnard 1992: 290).

Other kinship terms that are in frequent use today, among especially the Nama, include:

aputi.b	n.	eldest brother	< Afr. *ou boet*(*ie*)
ausī.s	n.	eldest sister	< Afr. *ousus*
sisiro.s, *sīro.s*	n.	elder but not eldest sister	< Afr. *sussie*?
buda.b	n.	brother	< Du. *broeder*
			> Afr. *boeta*?
klīmâ.s, *mikidā.s*	n.	father's younger brother's wife, mother's younger sister	< Afr. *kleinma*
auma.s	n.	grandmother, any grand-aunt	< Du./Afr. *ouma*
bā.b, *baba.b*	n.	my father	< Du./Afr. *pa*/*papa*

An uncommon case of bidirectional borrowing may be the Khoekhoe word *buda.b* ('brother'). It is likely that Khoekhoe *buda.b* was derived from Dutch *broeder* or German *Bruder*. Afrikaans subsequently seems to have adopted the Khoekhoe loan *buda.b* as *boeta*.

4. Adoptions

Adoptions are morphemic, non-integrated importations, i.e. loanwords that have been adopted with no or minimal phonological adaptations. For the purposes of this article, such importations are not required to retain their original spelling. Generally, the more bilingual the speakers are, the more readily they will accommodate the phonology of the source language in the loans. Hence the Nama and Orlam, who tended to shift to Afrikaans especially during the apartheid era, tend to rely less on phonological accommodation of the loans than the Damara and Hai‖om. Often it is a moot point whether such words should already be accepted as part of the Khoekhoe lexical inventory, or whether their use should be considered as code switching. Therefore, the following examples will be listed as mere illustrations without discussion:

bantam	a.	banded/belted (of animal)	< Afr. *bandom*, *bantom*, *bantam*
fadu.s	n.	dishcloth/-rag, tea-towel	< Afr. *vadoek*
filsi.b	n.	syphilis	< Afr. *vuilsiekte*
kâia.n	n.	greaves	< Afr. *kaiings*
klouhamer.s	n.	carpenter's hammer	< Afr. *klouhamer*

---

[10] Cf. Barnard (1992: 171) for the same customs among the !Gora.na (Korana).

komigi.s	n.	bowl (used for drinking by male head of house)	< Du. *kommetje*, Afr. *kommetjie*
kriba.s	n.	wheelbarrow	< Afr. *kruiwa*
kuip.s	n.	tub (esp. one used for softening hide)	< Du./Afr. *kuip*
Namastap.i	n.	traditional Nama dance	< Afr. *Namastap*
saisā.b	n.	side pocket (part of women's traditional dress)	< Afr. *sysak*
sampan.s	n.	tick of *Argasidae* family	< Afr. *tampan* (origin uncertain)
tapaga.-i	n.	tobacco, (commercial) tobacco plant	< Du./Afr. *tabak*
tawu.s	n.	quirt, short whip/*sjambok* (as used with donkey carts)	< Afr. *tabboes*

5.   Integrated loanwords

Fully integrated loanwords undergo phonological nativisation. While the Khoekhoe language does not adhere to consonant-vowel alternation as strictly as Bantu languages do, epenthesis – the intrusion of a vowel between consonants – nevertheless occurs occasionally. (In the following examples, epenthetic vowels are bolded.) A rule that is adhered to quite strictly is that roots must be disyllabic, as they must be bimoraic in order to accommodate a tonal melody consisting of two tones, e.g. *drō* [*tòrò*] or [*tròò*] ('dry up'). As previously stated, juxtaposed identical vowels are erroneously treated as long vowels in the standard Khoekhoe orthography (indicated by a macron, viz. *drō*).

*ail**i***	v.i.	suffer from delirium, rave	< Du. *ijlen*, Afr. *yl*
*bank**o**ro*	v.i.	go bankrupt	< Afr. *bankrot*
*b**i**li*	v.i.	flow	< Afr. *vloei*
*b**i**li.s*	n.	bedbug, house bug	< Afr. *weeluis/* Du. *weegluis*
*brōx**o**.s, b**o**rox**o**.s*	n.	bridge	< Afr. *brug*
*d**o**ro, drō̱*	v.i.	dry up, evaporate, boil away	< Afr. *droog*
*flī̱, f**i**li*	v.i.	fly	< Afr. *vlie*(*g*)
*h**u**rusi.b, rūsi.b*	n.	rust	< Afr. *roes*

The variant *rūsi.b* overrides the Khoekhoe rule that the alveolar tap/flap *r* normally only occurs intervocalically. The insertion of final *i* seems to be due to the interpretation of *si* as an abstract suffix. The expected nominal derivation would be disyllabic **hurus.si* or **rūs.si.*

*k**i**ni*	v.t.	knead	< Afr. *knie*
lā̱.b [Nama], *labi.b* [Damara]	n.	patch, (cleaning) cloth	< Afr. *lappie*
*legir**i**.n, negir**i**.n*	n.	sweets	< Afr. *lekkers*
*matar**e***	v.t.	pay	< Du. *betalen*
*mur**u**.b*	n.	coffee grounds, tea leaves	< Afr. *moer*
pā̱.-i	n.	porridge	< Du./Afr. *pap*
pēṯ.-i	n.	wick	< Du./Afr. *pit*

*si*nibe.s	n.	perky/pert girl/woman, loose/promiscuous woman[11]	< Du./Afr. *snippie*
*tu*ru.b	n.	troop, armed forces, army	< Du./Afr. *troep*(*e*)
x**a**rao.b/s	n.	spade/shovel	< Du./Afr. *graaf*

In certain loanwords, consonants are adapted to the Khoekhoe phonological system. (Recall that Khoekhoe only has (moderately) voiceless plosives; the respective letters *p*, *t*, *k* and *b*, *d*, *g* do not distinguish voicing but tonal height.) As a result, Khoekhoe speakers frequently insist, when prompted, that the Afrikaans words *dak* ('roof') and *tak* ('branch') should be pronounced with low and high tone, respectively, when speaking Afrikaans. Khoekhoe has no labial or alveolar continuants in root-initial position, only plosives [p, t]. [v/ß] and [r/ɾ] occur only intervocalically in roots, thus as C$_2$ in C$_1$VC$_2$V. Hence words like Afrikaans *weeg* ('weigh') may be adapted to *bee* if the speaker is not fully bilingual. While [f] is not a Khoekhoe sound, it is nevertheless adopted without change when in initial position (but see *halhal* below). Likewise, [l] is readily accommodated. The lateral alveolar [l] is not found in the Nama dialects, but may be a free or regional variant of the alveolar nasal [n] in some northern Damara dialects like Haiǁom and ǂĀkhoe. The following loans provide some instances of more obvious phonological nativisation or accommodation, as the case may be:

bapu.s	n.	pumpkin	< Afr. *pampoen*
bē.b	n.	pair of scales	< Afr. *weeg*(*skaal*)
danimen.-i	n.	dynamite	< Afr. *dinamiet*
flī.s	n.	mouth-organ	< Afr. (*mond*)*fluit*
flō.b, folo.b, (flor.ri)	n.	Namaqua dove	< Afr. *voël*?
halhal	v.t.	do s.th. half-heartedly/not properly	< Afr. *half-half* (*doen*)
karnaiki.b	n.	stye	< Afr. *karkatjie*
kurlabe.s	n.	butterfly	< Afr. *skoe*(*n*)*lapper*

6. Hybrids

Lexical hybrids are composite loanwords in which one part is borrowed from the source language, while another is substituted by a word from the target language. Hybrid loans abound in Khoekhoe, as is illustrated in the examples below.

borkhuru	v.t.	drill hole through (s.th.)	< Afr. *boor* (drill) + *khuru* (make hole right through)
Denstaxtsē.s	n.	Tuesday	< Afr. *Dinsdag* (Tuesday) + *tsē.s* (day)
forkhō.s	n.	apron	< Afr. *voor*(*skoot*) lit.: (front(-lap)) + *khō.s* (hide, leather)
gūsker.s	n.	sheep-shears	< *gū.s* (sheep) + Afr. *skêr* (shears)
hātom.s	n.	horse's bridle	< *hā.b* (horse) + Afr. *toom* (bridle)
î(ga)kinibe.b	n.	good-looker (of person /animal), beauty (of e.g. car)	< *î* (become pretty) + Afr. *snippie* (pert woman)?

---

[11] Note the semantic shift in the second meaning from Afrikaans "voorbarige/bemoeisieke/bitsige meisie of vrou".

Jode‖î.b	n.	Jew	< Afr. *Jode* (Jews) + *‖î* [lexeme used for categorising]
khaoduru	v.i.	move/drive/go backwards, reverse (of car)	< *khao.s* (posterior) + Afr. *tru* (reverse)
koetara.s	n.	woman in childbed	< Du./Afr. *kooi* (bed) + *tara.s* (woman)
lantern!am‖ae.s	n.	hurricane-lamp	< Afr. *lantern* (lantern) + *!am‖ae.s* (lamp)
leli!khā.s	n.	lily	< Afr. *lelie* (lily) + *!khā.s* (flower)
smokelxū.n	n.	contraband	< Afr. *smokkel* (smuggle) + *xū.n* (things)
spul‖gam.mi	n.	rinsing-water	< Afr. *spoel* (rinse) + *‖gam.mi* (water)
swawelani.b	n.	swallow, swift	< Afr. *swael* (swallow) + *ani.b* (bird)
tuisi [Damara]	v.i.	live, reside	< Afr. *tuis*? (home) + Khoekhoe postposition *ai/i* (on)?
ǀgûdoro	v.i.	boil away, boil dry	< *ǀgû* (boil) + Afr. *droog* (dry)
‖nōtaxū.n	n.	(still usable) jumble/ rummage	< Afr. *nodig*? (necessary) + *xū.n* (things)
!hūdan.s	n.	Namastap	< *!hū.b* (earth) + Afr. *dans* (dance)
ǂgawunal.i	n.	knitting needle	< *ǂgawu* (plait) + Afr. *naald* (needle)

7. Calques: Which directionality?

Calques are literal word-for-word/root-for-root translations of compound loanwords. It is an inherent problem of calques that, because of the translation, it is not always obvious in which direction the borrowing occurred, unless the social context or some other linguistic aspect provides a clue. Whenever the Afrikaans word can be traced to an etymon other than from Khoe (especially from Dutch), then it is beyond doubt that Afrikaans (or Dutch itself) is the source language. However, substrate calques also occur in Afrikaans (cf. section 8.1).

Khoekhoe		**Afrikaans**		**Meaning**
anidana (chicken + head)	v.i.	*hoenderkop* (chicken + head)	adj.	(bec.) drunk/tipsy
hōkhâixū.n (pick up/find + things)	n.	*optelgoed* (pick up/find + things)	n.	(worthless) things found/picked up
huibē (help + disappear)	v.t.	*weghelp* (away + help)	v.t.	help (s.o.) to get on their way
mîxū.-i (say + thing)	n.	*sêgoed*	n.	platitude, repartee
ǀae‖gau.b (fire + arrow)	n.	*vuurpyl* (fire + arrow)	n.	rocket
ǀawaǂai.b[12] (red + foot)	n.	*pienkvoet* (pink + foot)	n.	pink-foot, newborn, i.e. baby

---

[12] The Khoekhoe word for "pink" is the less used word *ǀawara*. The colour mismatch suggests that the source language was Afrikaans or Dutch.

ǁkhā ǂgā (body + insert)	v.t.	*lyf wegsteek* (body + hide)		shirk (work)
ǀui‑aosen.ni (rock + sweat)	n.	*klipsweet* (rock + sweat)	n.	solidified urine of rock hyrax, hyraceum
ǁnā‑e ǁnāpa ǁnāxū (that there leave)	n.	*dit daar gelaat* (this there left)		be that as it may
ǁnāǂgâa ǁae.b (fall + enter/ join + time)	n.	*invaltyd* (fall in + time)	n.	time to start work; time to fall in line
!aeǁhao (jump + meet, get together)	n.	*aanmekaarspring* (together + jump)		fight
!âu!gae.s (hyrax + adder)	n.	*dassie-adder* (hyrax + adder)	n.	mythical adder[13]
!nari!ō.b (drive + axe)	n.	*rybyl*		adze
ǂnaubē (hit + disappear)	v.t.	*wegslaan* (away + hit)	v.t.	down/quaff (drink)
ǁnâiǁnâi (pull taut; erect (causative))	v.t.	*draad trek* (vulgar: wire + pull)		masturbate (of male)

Rybyl refers to the axe that was part of the equipment of an ox-wagon. According to oral history (Daniel Dâusab, pers. comm.), the ǀKhowesen (Witbooi Oorlam) acquired the right to settle at Gibeon in the 1850s by paying seven *rybyle* to the Kaiǁkhaun (Rooinasie Nama). *Rybyl* does not appear in the *Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal* (WAT). This word may be an instance of a calque that is not truly a "borrowing" or adoption, in the sense that it was translated by the speakers of the target/recipient language (Afrikaans), as is normally the case. In this case it seems plausible that the speakers of the source language (the extensively bilingual Orlam-Nama) have provided the translation themselves as "imposition", to use Johanson's (2000)[14] terminology. The word was short-lived, however, as it became obsolete with the demise of ox-wagons. Lexical "impositions" (or "contributions", as I prefer to call them by a less uncompromising term) would probably warrant further investigation in Orange River Afrikaans and other varieties spoken by strongly hybridised Khoe (i.e. so-called "Coloureds" or Orlam), as it is to be expected that they supplied the superstrate language they were aspiring to with calqued concepts from their original Khoekhoe vernacular, even though such impositions may not have found their way into standard Afrikaans.

The Afrikaans taboo expression *draad trek* – which, according to Van Wyk, Cloete, Jordaan, Liebenberg and Lubbe (2003: 96), developed in Afrikaans on its own – represents a rare type of calque. The Khoekhoe source is the polysemous intransitive verb ǁnâi (1. vulgar: become erect (of organ); 2. informal: become mad with rage).[15] The duplication of the root (with appropriate derivational tone), ǁnâiǁnâi, forms a causative transitive verb meaning "stiffen", hence "1. pull taut/stiff (e.g. wire); 2. vulgar: stimulate to erection", apart from "enrage (s.o.)". Afrikaans has calqued the "innocent" meaning of ǁnâiǁnâi (i.e. "pull taut") to form a (frivolous) euphemism for "masturbate", viz. *draad trek*. This reflected taboo meaning of the Afrikaans expression has in turn led to the alternative "safe" expression *draad span* for "pulling a fence wire", analogous to German "einen Draht spannen".

---

[13] The origin of this word is in Khoe mythology.
[14] Johanson (2000: 116, in Heine and Kuteva 2005: 13) states that "[i]n the case of imposition, speakers of a primary code insert (or "carry over") copies of their own code into their variety of a dominant code."
[15] Cf. Haacke and Eiseb (2002: 287).

8.   Grammatical accessibility and intertranslateability

The working language in the *Khoekhoegowab Dictionary Project*[16] was Afrikaans, as the Khoekhoe co-author was more fluent in Afrikaans and German than English. Hence the meanings of Khoekhoe words were first discussed in Afrikaans before they were rendered in English.

8.1 Khoekhoe serial verbs and Afrikaans compound verbs

The impression was ever-present that, structurally, Khoekhoe compound and serial verbs[17] had more direct equivalents in Afrikaans than in English, and that intertranslateability is thus higher between Khoekhoe and Afrikaans than between Khoekhoe and English. English equivalents usually amount to phrasal verbs, while in Afrikaans (as in German) the preposition is unified with the infinitive form of the verb, e.g. Khoekhoe *ǂnaubē* (lit.: hit + disappear) would be rendered in English as "hit away; smack away (hand)". In Afrikaans, however, this meaning in the infinitive is rendered as one word: *wegslaan*. Such words are easy to access for Khoekhoe because of the high degree of translational equivalence between Khoekhoe serial verbs and Afrikaans compound verbs using adverbs: Afrikaans verbs using, *inter alia*, adverbs like *af* ('down') or *op* ('up') in the infinitive, or prefixes like *mis-* ('miss, do wrongly'), are also rendered as single serial verbs in Khoekhoe, as these prepositions or prefixes respectively are rendered with the verbs *ǁnā* ('go down'), *khâi* ('get up'), *sā* ('miss, do wrongly'). For example:

af + *sny* (cut off)	*!gao* + *ǁnā* (lit.: cut + go down)
af + *neem* (photograph, take photo of)	*!khō* + *ǁnā* (lit.: seize + go down)
af + *luister* (eavesdrop on s.o.)	*!gâ* + *ǁnā* (lit.: listen + go down)
op + *ja* (chase up (e.g. goats))	*!gowe* + *khâi* (lit.: snort through lips + get up)
mis + *skiet* (shoot at s.o./s.th. and miss)	*ǂnoa* + *sā* (lit.: shoot + miss)
verby + *ry* (drive past)	*!nari* + *!kharu* (lit.: drive + pass)
uit + *moor* (exterminate)	*!gam* + *ǂui* (lit.: murder/kill + out)

The fact that both Afrikaans and Khoekhoe render such infinitives as single words in a predictable way may invite the impression that such close equivalents are all easily accessible calques, probably from Cape Dutch or Afrikaans to the Khoekhoe substrate. Den Besten (2013: 455) argues that preposition-verb compounds arose (only) in "Khoekhoe Afrikaans" by interference from Cape Khoekhoe, but that general Afrikaans has adopted "double" verbs from Khoekhoe. He explains as follows (italics outside of the two examples are my own):

> Probably due to reanalysis of V–AUX and AUX–V sequences as single verbs in [Cape Dutch Pidgin] – prior to the acquisition of V2 – *Khoekhoe Afrikaans developed a "double" V2 pattern which was taken over in general Afrikaans*. Compare:

---

[16] The project in which, *inter alia*, Haacke and Eiseb (2002) and Haacke, Eiseb and Gericke (2010) were compiled.

[17] Serial verbs are verb juxtapositions that, in their most typical occurrence, have a composite meaning; occur in a single clause with no overt signs of co-ordination; (in Khoekhoe) form a single tonological unit when contiguous; cannot be differently marked for tense, aspect, modality or polarity; cannot be separately passivised; share one or more of the arguments, and are not independently marked for the respective verbs (cf. Haacke (2014)).

(10)   *Daar **bly staan** hy*
         There remain stand he

Similarly, reanalysis of Dutch particle verbs in [Cape Dutch Pidgin] created preposition + verb compounds in Khoekhoe Afrikaans, as in (11), which was [sic] not borrowed into other varieties of Afrikaans […]:

(11)   *Aan-ja vir my die skaap*
         on-drive for me the sheep

Both types of reanalysis may be due to interference from Khoekhoe, where V + V and verb + postposition compounds are quite normal.

Den Besten's argument can be confirmed, as the use of serial verbs and verbs incorporating object-nouns and postpositions are well established in the Khoe family beyond Khoekhoe. Serial verbs are also found in Kalahari Khoe languages like Naro and Gui in Botswana, if not others.[18] While it is difficult to prove, it is plausible that the process of borrowing "doubled" verbs initially went from Khoekhoe to Cape Dutch/Afrikaans during the time that the replication was established in the superstrate language through interference, but that actual calquing from Afrikaans to Khoekhoe became more frequent at a later stage once parallel structures between the languages existed. Thus, for instance, the literal meaning of Khoekhoe *ǂnaubē* ('hit away; smack away (hand)') may have been adopted in Afrikaans *wegslaan*. Conversely, the figurative meaning of, e.g., "down/quaff (a drink)" may have been adopted by Khoekhoe from Afrikaans. Further instances of figurative Khoekhoe calques may be:

!khō‖nā (lit.: seize + go down)	photograph	*afneem*
kurukhâi (lit.: build + get up)	rebuild (e.g. old car)	*opbou*

Opbou in the sense of "rebuild, renovate" is not found in the WAT. However, from personal communication with various Afrikaners − including some from South Africa − this word does seem to belong to standard Afrikaans, as these speakers have confirmed that they know the word.

8.2 Grammatical replication and relexification

A common instance of grammatical replication, i.e. where a derivational Afrikaans morpheme is suffixed to a Khoekhoe lexeme, is the use of the superlative adjectival suffix *-ste* (Eng.: *-est*). For example:

(1)   ***Kaiste***   *aob*   *ge*   *nî*   *aimâ*
         big+**SUPERL**   man   DECL   FUT   take lead[19]
         The big**gest** man shall take the lead

---

[18] Cf. Visser (2010) and Nakagawa (2006, in Haacke (2014)).

[19] ADV.SUF.: adverbialising suffix, C: common gender, DECL: declarative sentence type marker, F: feminine, FUT: future, IND: indicative (mood), M: masculine, OBL: oblique (case), PAST.AUX: past auxiliary, PGN: person-gender-number marker, POSS.PRON.: possessive pronoun, PL: plural, PRES.STAT.: present stative, REC.P.: recent past, SG: singular, SUPERL: superlative suffix, STAT: stative aspect, 1/2/3: 1st/2nd/3rd person.

Khoekhoe, like many African languages, has no comparative and superlative forms of adjectives or verbs. Instead, periphrastic devices are conventionally used. For example:

(2)   *Hoan xa   a   kai   aob ge   nî   aimâ*
       all   from PRES.STAT.   big   man …
       The man who is big from (the view of) all …

Speakers of Khoekhoe tend to avoid this relatively cumbersome circumvention by simply appending the Afrikaans superlative suffix *-ste* to the Khoekhoe adjective. However, this kind of replication is not readily used with the Afrikaans comparative *-er*.

While the construction above uses a Khoekhoe lexeme with an Afrikaans grammatical morpheme, the opposite hybridisation also exists in the form of relexification (of Khoekhoe grammar with Afrikaans lexicon): an Afrikaans adverb can be integrated into Khoekhoe syntax and morphology with a Khoekhoe grammatical morpheme, the adverbialising suffix *-se*, in order to avoid a circumvention; cf. *lāt+se* < Afr. *laat* ('late'), *frū+se* < Afr. *vroeg* ('early'):

(3)   *Trens ge   **lātse/frūse**   go   sī.*
       train   DECL late/early+**ADV.SUF.**   REC.P.   arrive
       The train arrived late/early

Two Germanic adverbs have been fully integrated into Khoekhoe, although the exact method is not clear as the suffix *-ba* cannot be accounted for with certainty: *tox(o)ba* (Du./Afr. imploring *tog*, Ger. *doch*) and *noxoba* (Du./Afr. *nog*, Ger. *noch* 'more, still'):

(4)   *Hui te re, toxoba!*   cf. Afr.   *Help my tog!*   ('Do help me, please!')
(5)   *Noxoba gu ge nî ǁkhī.* cf. Afr.   *Hulle sal nog kom.* ('They will still come.')

The origin of the final *-ba* is not clear. It appears to be formed by analogy with adverbials like *tsuxuba* ('at/by night, during the night') and *tsēb tsî tsuxuba* ('by night and day'), which are based on the noun *tsuxu.b* ('night') with the oblique case suffix *-a*.

The Afrikaans auxiliary verb *moet* ('must') has acquired adverbial function in Khoekhoe and is used to convey inevitability, obligation or compulsion. For example:

(6)   *Jako, satsa **mut** hoaǁae nî   ǂama?*
       Jacob you   must always must/FUT   show off
       Jacob, *must* you always show off?

Khoekhoe has no particular word expressing obligation. The tense marker *nî* is used to render both the future ('shall/will') and obligation ('must').

8.3 Honorific address

In the northern Damara dialects of Khoekhoe, an honorific address for a single person is formed by means of a plural pro-form, especially in the common gender. For example:

(7a)   *≠Khai~du*[20]   *go,*   *!Gôahesatse?*
  get up ~2.**C.PL.**   REC.P.   honourable-one
  Did you (PL.) get up (well), Sir? (honorific)

(7b)   *≠Khai~ts*   *go,*   *!Gôahesatse?*
  get up ~2.**M.SG.**   REC.P.   honourable-one
  Did you (SG.) get up (well), Sir?

In the southern dialects of Khoekhoegowab (i.e. Nama and Orlam), the pluralisation of a subjectival pro-form – as used among the Damara – conveys disrespect rather than respect, unless the person is an in-law. The honorific address would refer to the addressee with a proper noun (personal name) or common noun (especially a kinship term). For example:

(8)   *Kaidāba*   *≠khai~b*   *go?*
  uncle+**3**.M.SG+OBL   get up~**3**. M.SG   REC.P.
  Did Uncle get up (well)?

This usage is shared with Afrikaans, which likewise uses a nominal in place of a second-person pro-form, for example:

(9)   *Goeie môre,*   *Oom. Het*   ***Oom*** *goed geslaap?*
  good   morning   Uncle. PAST.AUX.   Uncle well   sleep+PAST
  Good morning, Uncle. Did you sleep well?

  or

(10)   *Pa,   het*   ***Pa   Pa***   *se*   *geld*   *ontvang?*
  Dad   PAST.AUX.   Dad   Dad   POSS.PRON.   money   receive
  Dad, did you receive your money?

It is not clear how the use of the (third-person) noun in place of a second-person pronoun originated, and in which language it appeared first. The editorial staff of the WAT could not provide an authoritative answer to this question (pers. comm.).

For the likely origin of the Afrikaans expression *pa-hulle* ('father and associates') in Khoekhoe, see Haacke in Nienaber (1994: 41-43).

8.4 Desentential nouns

In his article entitled *South African Khoekhoe in contact with Dutch/Afrikaans*, den Besten (2013: 455) draws attention to a parallel between Afrikaans and "Khoekhoe Afrikaans" syntax:

> Other potential Khoekhoeisms at the phrasal level in [Khoekhoe Afrikaans] are shared with (other varieties of) Afrikaans. Thus, circumlocutions like Afrikaans *hy* / *sy wat Piet* / *Anna is*, in 'he/she that Pete/Anne is', in [Khoekhoe Afrikaans], also

---

[20] For explicatory purposes, the PGN-marker is separated from the preceding morpheme by means of a tilde whenever it is not grammatically part of the preceding word, irrespective of existing orthographic rules.

hy wat lou is 'he that lion is', i.e. 'the lion' (Rademeyer 1938: 83f.), are reminiscent of the structure of noun phrases in Khoekhoe (e.g. Nama *xam-i* 'lion-3SG.M.').

This Afrikaans circumlocution amounts exactly to the underlying clause from which Khoekhoe surface nominals are derived, according to the "desentential hypothesis" advocated by Haacke (for a detailed explication, see Haacke (2006: 107 *et seq.*) and Haacke (2010: 205 *et seq.*)). Briefly, according to this hypothesis, Khoekhoe surface nouns are derived from underlying minimal sentences, i.e. sentences having only one lexeme that serves as verb and hence as predicate head. This verbal (with the stative aspect marker *a*) is advanced into the initial position so as to serve as host for the clitic PGN-marker that serves as subject. After deletion of the stative aspect marker, the surface noun emerges with the canonical form #STEM.PGN#. Thus:

(11) **s* (*ge*) *a* *Anna* >   *Anna* *a̶*   *s*   (*ge*) >   [*Anna.s*]ₙₒᵤₙ
       PGN   IND   STAT Anne   Anne STAT   PGN   IND   Anne+PGN
       (she is Anne)   (She who is Anne)   (Anne)

This hypothesis independently accounts for several morphosyntactic features of Khoekhoe that otherwise are awkward to account for, *inter alia*, the fact that Khoekhoe has (surface) nouns in the first and second person. For example:

(12) **ta* (*ge*) *a* *Anna* >   *Anna* *a̶*   *ta*   (*ge*) >   [*Anna.ta*]ₙₒᵤₙ
       PGN   IND   STAT Anne   Anne STAT   PGN   IND   Anne PGN
       (**I** am Anne)   (I who am Anne)   (I, Anne)

Thus, Khoekhoe may be the source of this Afrikaans circumlocution (emphatic *sy / ek wat Anna is*), a situation which in turn would serve as additional evidence for the validity of the desentential hypothesis.

9.   Conclusion

While, no doubt, a substrate language (Khoekhoe) is liable to borrow more loans from a superstrate language (Dutch, Afrikaans), one should not lose sight of the influence of Khoekhoe on Cape Dutch and early Afrikaans (cf., *inter alia*, Ponelis (1993) on the close interaction of the societies). A number of Khoe words that are no longer known in Khoekhoe today seem to have been perpetuated in Afrikaans, e.g. *boegoe* ('aromatic herb'), *kierie* ('club'), *koedoe* ('kudu'), *kwagga* ('quagga'), *oorbietjie*, *oribi* ('oribi') or *trassie* ('hermaphrodite') – cf. Nienaber (1963) for extensive attempts to reconstruct etymologies.

The following Khoe loans in Afrikaans are some common instances where the etymology is beyond doubt:

dagga (cannabis)   < (Cape) Khoe *dāxa.b* (lit.: *dā* (win, outdo) + *-xa*
                                (adj. suffix: inclined to …))
gabba (hold a vessel to be filled) < Khoekhoe *xawa* (receive (food) in cupped
                                hands/container; extend cupped hands (to beg))
gogga (insect, creepy-crawly)   < Khoekhoe *xoxo.-i* (insect, creepy-crawly)
graatjie, *ghartjie* (suricate)   < Khoekhoe *xara.b* (suricate)

| *narra* (*Acanthosicyos horrida*, nara melon) | < Khoekhoe *!nara.s* (*Acanthosicyos horrida*) |
| *tsamma* (tsama melon) | < Khoekhoe *tsama.s* (*Citrullus lanatus*) |

For centuries, Cape Dutch and Afrikaans have been the superstrate languages to which the speakers of Khoekhoegowab have aspired. It remains to be seen what influence the relegation of Afrikaans in Namibia to the status of "local language" will have on the future trend of lexical borrowing by Khoekhoe from Afrikaans.

References

Barnard, A. 1992. *Hunters and herders of Southern Africa.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Den Besten, H. 2013. South African Khoekhoe in contact with Dutch/Afrikaans. In R. Vossen (Ed.) *The Khoesan languages.* London/New York: Routledge. pp. 449-456.

Greenberg, J. 1963. *The languages of Africa.* Bloomington: Indiana University.

Haacke, W.H.G. 2006. Syntactic focus marking in Khoekhoe (Nama/Damara). *ZAS Papers in Linguistics* 46: 105-127.

Haacke, W.H.G. 2010. Naro syntax from the perspective of the desentential hypothesis: The minimal sentence. In M. Brenzinger and C. König (Eds.) *Khoisan languages and linguistics: Proceedings of the 1st International Symposium January 4-8, 2003, Riezlern/Kleinwalsertal.* Vol. 24. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. pp. 201-230.

Haacke, W.H.G. 2011. *Nama* als Sprachbenennung in der Koloniallinguistik Deutsch-Südwestafrikas: zwischen Endonym und Exonym. In T. Stolz, C. Vossmann and B. Dewein (Eds.) *Kolonialzeitliche Sprachforschung: Die Beschreibung afrikanischer und ozeanischer Sprachen zur Zeit der deutschen Kolonialherrschaft.* Berlin: Akademie. pp. 139-160.

Haacke, W.H.G. 2014. The occurrence of verb serialisation in Khoe languages: Convergence or divergence? In T. Güldemann and A.-M. Fehn (Eds.) *Beyond 'Khoisan': Historical relations in the Kalahari Basin.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. pp. 125-151.

Haacke, W.H.G. and E. Eiseb. 2002. *A Khoekhoegowab dictionary with an English-Khoekhoegowab index.* Windhoek: Gamsberg-Macmillan.

Haacke, W.H.G., E. Eiseb and C. Gericke. 2010. *Khoehoegowab-Afrikaans Afrikaans-Khoekhoegowab glossarium/Mîdi saogub.* Windhoek: Macmillan.

Heine, B. and T. Kuteva. 2005. *Language contact and grammatical change.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hoernlé, A.W. 1925. The social organization of the Nama Hottentots of Southwest Africa. *American Anthropologist* 27(1): 1-24.

Johanson, L. 2000. Linguistic convergence in the Volga area. In D. Gilberts, J. Nerbonne and J. Schaeken (Eds.) *Languages in contact.* Amsterdam: Rodopi. pp. 155-178.

Nakagawa, H. 2006. Aspects of the Phonetic and Phonological Structure of the Gǀui Language. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of the Witwatersrand.

Nienaber, G.S. 1963. *Hottentots.* Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Nienaber, G.S. 1994. 'Pa-hulle' is kreools. *Suid-Afrikaanse Tydskrif vir Taalkunde* 21: 14-67. Ponelis, F. 1993. *The development of Afrikaans.* Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

Van Wyk, G.J., A.E. Cloete, A. Jordaan, H.C. Liebenberg and H.J. Lubbe. 2003. *Etimologie-woordeboek van Afrikaans.* Stellenbosch: WAT.

Visser, H. 2010. Verbal compounds in Naro. In M. Brenzinger and C. König (Eds.) *Khoisan languages and linguistics: Proceedings of the 1st International Symposium January 4-8, 2003, Riezlern/Kleinwalsertal.* Vol. 24. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. pp. 176-200.

Buro van die Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal (WAT). Stellenbosch. Selection of electronic data consulted.