Khoekhoegowab & Other Khoisan Languages

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LIN6932 - Historical Linguistics
What is Khoisan?

❖ Khoisan languages are the click languages of Africa that do not genealogically belong to any African language family.

❖ All Khoisan languages except two are native to southern Africa.

❖ Before the Bantu expansion, Khoisan languages were widely spoken throughout southern and eastern Africa.
  ➢ They are now restricted to the Kalahari desert, and the Rift Valley of Tanzania.

❖ Khoisan languages are known for having the largest phonemic consonant inventories in the world.

❖ Most Khoisan languages are moribund/extinct and have no written records.
History of Khoisan People

❖ The name ‘Khoisan’ unites two groups people who share “physical and putative linguistic characteristics distinct from the Bantu majority” (Barnard, 1992) of Southern Africa.

❖ **San (Saan/Bushman/Basarwa) People**
  ➢ Hunters and Gatherers. Semi-nomadic tribe. First inhabitants of Botswana. Pushed out of the Cape by Bantus during the Bantu expansion, restricting them to the Kalahari desert.
  ➢ *Saan* has been considered a derogatory term, given to them by the Khoikhoi people, from the Hailom dialect of Khoekhoegowab.
  ➢ *Saa* = ‘picking up from the ground’

❖ **Khoikhoi (Khoi/Khoekhoe) People**
  ➢ Pastoralists. From 1904-1907, Germans took up arms against the Khoikhoi, killing over 10,000 (+half of population). This was the greatest massacre the Khoikhoi people ever witnessed.
Gruppe Kriegsgefangener Hottentotten

❖  Hottentot Prisoner of War Group of German Southwest Africa
Where are Khoisan languages spoken?

- Khoisan languages are spoken in Namibia, South Africa, Botswana and Lesotho.
- To a lesser extent, they are also spoken in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Angola.

- Sandawe and Hadza are the only Khoisan languages spoken outside of the geographical location of Khoisan languages, in Tanzania.
Khoisan VS Bantu

❖ Click consonants can be found in both Khoisan and Bantu languages.
  ➢ Bantu languages such as Xhosa and Zulu.

❖ Clicks consonants are native to Khoisan languages only.

❖ During the Bantu expansion, clicks were borrowed from Khoisan languages.

❖ Clicks in Bantu languages are represented by latin characters.
  ➢ q = [ǃ]  c = [ǁ]  x = [ǁ]

❖ Clicks in Khoisan languages use the same symbols that can be found in the IPA.
  ➢ ! = [ǃ]  | = [ǁ]  l = [ǁ]  † = [ǂ]  Θ = [θ]

❖ Once clicks are borrowed, they may spread over the lexicon.
  ➢ Gciriku (Bantu) borrowed the click c that spread to the borrowed European word *tomate* (tomato), which is now pronounced cunáte. The c remains a t in neighboring Bantu languages.
Clicks outside of Khoisan & Bantu Families

- Dahalo is an endangered Cushitic language spoken in Kenya, by about 400 people.

- Cushitic languages are spoken in Somalia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Sudan, Egypt, Tanzania and Kenya.

- Dahalo has about 40 lexical items with clicks (eg., breast, forest, saliva).

- Clicks are not native to the Cushitic language family, and only occur in Dahalo.

- Ten Raa (1969) observed evidence that Dahalo speakers, once spoke a language similar to Sandawe, where speakers may have shifted from a Khoisan language to a Cushitic language, taking few, but common words with them.
Khoisan Language Family

Fig. 1. Khoisan genealogy according to glottochronological calculations.
Proto Khoisan & Before

- There is no reconstruction for Proto Khoisan, and therefore no reconstruction of Proto Macro Khoisan I & II.
  - Lack of a proper reconstruction of Proto Peripheral Khoisan.

- Proto Peripheral Khoisan is composed of Proto North and Proto South Khoisan
  - Many Southern Khoisan languages are extinct.
Proto Macro Khoisan I & II

- Hadza & Sandawe are theorized to be direct descendants of Proto Macro Khoisan I & II, respectively.
  - Best guess.

- Hadza & Sandawe are clearly different from average Khoisan languages.
  - Number of roots beginning with clicks is much smaller in Hadza & Sandawe.
  - The uvular series in Khoisan languages is not present in Hadza & Sandawe.
  - Lateral consonants are rare in Khoisan languages, yet frequent in Hadza & Sandawe.

- Do not fit into any other language family.
Proto Central Khoisan

❖ Only sub-branch of Proto Khoisan where there exists an intermediate sketch of Proto Central Khoisan (PCK) with justifications.

❖ Central Khoisan Languages are well preserved.
  ➢ Major dictionaries in Khoekhoegowab, !Ora, Kxoe, Naro, |Gwi and ǁGana, exist.

a) Clicks:

| *|   | *↑ | *! | *|| |
|---|---|----|----|-----|
| *|g  | *↑g| *!g | *||g |
| *|n  | *↑n| *!n | *||n |
| *|N (?)| *!N (?)|
| *|x  | *↑x| *!x | *||x |
| *|kx | *↑kx| *!kx | *||kx |
| *|h  | *↑h| *!h | *||h |
| *|?  | *↑?| *!? | *||? |
Central Khoisan Phonology has not really changed since PCK.

Some Eastern Central Khoisan languages have undergone a strong ‘declickification’ process.

- The palatal click becomes an affricate.
- The alveolar click disappears, leaving only the original efflux as the new initial consonant.
Facts about Khoekhoegowab

❖ The most speakers of any Khoisan language.
  ➢ There are 200,000 ± 10,000 speakers as of 2011, who primarily live in Namibia.

❖ The language is composed of two main dialects:
  ➢ The Haiлом dialect (spoken by the !Nama tribe).
  ➢ The ǂAakhoe dialect (spoken by the Damara tribe).

❖ Khoekhoegowab is an SOV language.

❖ Three gender class system: masculine, feminine, neuter.
  ➢ Male and female nouns have singular, dual and plural forms.
  ➢ Neuter nouns only have singular and plural forms.

❖ Distinguishes between 1.pl inclusive and 1.pl exclusive.
  ➢ sida - we (not including listener)        sada - we (including listener)
Khoekhoegowab Phonological System

❖ Khoekhoegowab has 5 vowel qualities:
  ➢ The oral: /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/ and /u/
  ➢ The nasal: /ã/, /ẽ/, /ĩ/, /õ/ and /ũ/

❖ The only noted vowel-changing allophony in Khoekhoegowab is in the /a/.
  ➢ a-Laxing: /a/ → [ə] / V[+high]
  ➢ The /a/ laxes to the schwa [ə], when before the high vowels /i/ and /u/.

❖ Main Stress is applied to the first syllable of a word.
  ➢ In multisyllabic words, syllables receive less stress than the syllables that precede them.
  ➢ Within a phrase, lexical words are pronounced with greater stress than grammatical words.
Khoekhoegowab Phonological System

- Khoekhoegowab, like all Khoisan languages, is a tonal language.
  - Khoekhoegowab has 4 tones:
    - The extra-high tone /ā/, the high tone /á/, the low tone /à/, and the extra-low tone, /ã/.
  - These tones can occur on each vowel and final nasal consonant.
  - Tones can combine into a finite amount of tone melodies (word tones).
  - Word tones have secondary sandhi forms in particular syntactic environments.
Khoekhoegowab Phonological System

- **Khoekhoegowab has a total of 31 consonants.**
  - Of these, 11 are non-click consonants, and 20 are click consonants.

- **Non-clicks:**
  - Rather small set of consonants.
  - The phoneme, /p/ is pronounced [β] intervocalically.
  - The phoneme, /t/ is pronounced [ɾ] intervocalically.
  - Affricates are strongly aspirated.
  - Affricates in !Ora (related) are [tʰ, kʰ].

- Beach (1938) reported that the then-present Khoekhoegowab had a velar lateral ejective affricate, [kɿ’]; an allophone of /kx’/ in various click languages.
  - /kx’/ is no longer realized as [kɿ’] in present-day Khoekhoegowab.
  - [kx’] is still a sound in !Ora
Khoekhoegowab Phonological System

❖ Khoekhoegowab makes use of 4 clicks.
  ➢ ! = [!]  \= [\!]  \| = [\|]  \^ = [\^]

❖ Every* click can be viewed as doubly articulated.
  ➢ Each click is comprised of the click (influx), as well as one of five secondary articulations (effluxes).
  ➢ Tenuis/Plain, Aspirated, Nasal, Voiceless Aspirated Nasal, Glottalized Nasal
  ➢ Both articulations create the set of 20 click consonants.
!Xóõ Phonological System

- !Xóõ has over 30 non-click consonants.
- !Xóõ is unusual in that it allows for mixed voicing amongst consonant clusters.

### East !Xoon dialect (Traill 1985, 1994): Non-click consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plosive</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>g (?)</td>
<td>g ~ Ng (?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tenuis</td>
<td>p*</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless aspirated</td>
<td>p<em>h</em></td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>tsʰ</td>
<td>kʰ (?)</td>
<td>qʰ (?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced aspirated (breathy voiced?)</td>
<td>dtʰ (dʰ)</td>
<td>dtsʰ (dzʰ)</td>
<td>gkʰ* (?)</td>
<td>cqʰ ~ xeqʰ (?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless ejective</td>
<td>tʰ*</td>
<td>ts’</td>
<td>k’*, kx’ (?)</td>
<td>(q’) (?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced ejective</td>
<td></td>
<td>dts’ (?)</td>
<td></td>
<td>gkx’ (?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fricative</strong></td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>f*</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>h*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nasal</strong></td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>(ŋ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glottalized</td>
<td>?m</td>
<td>?n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other</strong></td>
<td>(β)</td>
<td>(l)</td>
<td>(d̃i ~ j)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
![Xóõ Phonological System](image)

- !Xóõ makes use of all 5 clicks, in 17 different series to produce a total of 85* clicks.

### East !Xoon dialect (Traill 1985, 1994): Click consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noisy clicks</th>
<th>'sharp' clicks</th>
<th>manner, along with speaker or dialect variation</th>
<th>DoBeS CC analysis</th>
<th>Miller (2011) analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bilabial clicks</td>
<td>'sharp' clicks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dental clicks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral clicks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alveolar clicks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palatal clicks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kO</strong></td>
<td><strong>k!</strong></td>
<td><strong>Tenuis (k)</strong></td>
<td><strong>k!</strong></td>
<td><strong>!</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kOh</strong></td>
<td><strong>k!h</strong></td>
<td><strong>Aspirated (kʰ)</strong></td>
<td><strong>k!h</strong></td>
<td>**!h ***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gO</strong></td>
<td><strong>g!</strong></td>
<td><strong>Voiced (g)</strong></td>
<td><strong>g!</strong></td>
<td><strong>g!</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gOh</strong></td>
<td><strong>g!h</strong></td>
<td><strong>Voiced velar plosive followed by aspiration (gh, gkʰ)</strong></td>
<td><strong>g!h</strong></td>
<td><strong>g!h</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ηO</strong></td>
<td><strong>η!</strong></td>
<td><strong>Voiced nasal (η)</strong></td>
<td><strong>η!</strong></td>
<td><strong>η!</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ηOh</strong></td>
<td><strong>η!h</strong></td>
<td><strong>Voiceless nasal (η)</strong></td>
<td><strong>η!h</strong></td>
<td><strong>η!h</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ηO²</strong></td>
<td><strong>η!²</strong></td>
<td><strong>Ingressive voiceless nasal with delayed aspiration (η²h)</strong></td>
<td><strong>η!²</strong></td>
<td>**η!² ***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kO’?)*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## !Xóõ Phonological System

- **!Xóõ clicks continued...**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ʔηO</th>
<th>ʔηl</th>
<th>ʔηl</th>
<th>ʔηl</th>
<th>ʔηl</th>
<th>Preglottalized nasal (ʔη)</th>
<th>kʰ + mʔ/nʔ</th>
<th>ʔηl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qO</td>
<td>ql</td>
<td>ql</td>
<td>ql</td>
<td>ql</td>
<td>Tenuis uvular (q)</td>
<td>kʰ + q</td>
<td>ʔq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(qOʰ?)*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Aspirated uvular (qʰ)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>ʔqʰ *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gO</td>
<td>gl</td>
<td>gl</td>
<td>gl</td>
<td>gl</td>
<td>(Prenasalized) voiced uvular (g, NG)</td>
<td>kʰ + g</td>
<td>ʔgG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>glh</td>
<td>glh</td>
<td>glh</td>
<td>glh</td>
<td>Voiced (prenasalized) uvular plosive followed by aspiration, velar frication, or uvular trill (NG, NGx, NGr)</td>
<td>gʰ + qgʰ</td>
<td>ʔg̃G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kOx</td>
<td>kx</td>
<td>kx</td>
<td>kx</td>
<td>kx</td>
<td>Voiceless affricate (kʰ)</td>
<td>kʰ + x</td>
<td>ʔqX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gOx</td>
<td>glx</td>
<td>glx</td>
<td>glx</td>
<td>glx</td>
<td>Voiced velar plosive followed by voiceless velar fricative (gx, gkx)</td>
<td>gʰ + x</td>
<td>ʔg̃x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qO’</td>
<td>ql’</td>
<td>ql’</td>
<td>ql’</td>
<td>ql’</td>
<td>Uvular ejective (q’)</td>
<td>kʰ + q’</td>
<td>ʔq’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kO’q’</td>
<td>kq’</td>
<td>k’q’</td>
<td>k’q’</td>
<td>k’q’</td>
<td>Velar ejective followed by uvular ejective (k’q’, dialectically kx’)</td>
<td>kʰ + kx’</td>
<td>ʔkx’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gOq’</td>
<td>glq’</td>
<td>glq’</td>
<td>glq’</td>
<td>glq’</td>
<td>Voiced velar plosive followed by uvular ejective (qg’, dialectically gkx’)</td>
<td>gʰ + kx’</td>
<td>ʔkx’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Khoekhoegowab Orthography

- Khoekhoegowab is written with latin characters.
  - Clicks are written with the same symbols as in the IPA.

- Khoekhoegowab has no voiced plosives, yet b’s, d’s and g’s are in the orthography.

- Tone is not marked on the vowel, instead consonants are used to show tone.
  - b/p [p], [β] - t/d [t], [ɾ] - k/g [k]
  - Voiceless plosives are used to mark higher tones, and voiced plosives are used to mark low tones.

- The <w> is used only when [β] is present, but <p> or <b> can also be used.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orthography</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Melody</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gao</td>
<td>/kǎo/</td>
<td>low rising</td>
<td>'rule'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kao</td>
<td>/kǎo/</td>
<td>high rising</td>
<td>'be dumbfounded'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>】,【mu (or 】,【wu)</td>
<td>/mɯwɯ/</td>
<td>low rising</td>
<td>'to stop hurting'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>】,【pu (or 】,【wu)</td>
<td>/mɯwɯ/</td>
<td>high rising</td>
<td>'to get out of breath'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Khoisan Naming Conventions

❖ Languages are often named after the word referring to man/humans/mankind.

❖ !Xóõ speakers refer to the language by its local name, Taaǂaan.
  ➢ Taa = ‘human being’ ǂAan = ‘language’

❖ !Nama & Damara tribes often refer to the Nama language as Khoekhoegowab.
  ➢ Khoe = ‘person’  Gowa = ‘language’
  ➢ The language literally means ‘person-person-language’ where each ‘Khoe’ refers to each tribe, the !Nama and the Damara.

❖ Dutch settlers used to refer to Khoisan language speakers as ‘Hottentots,’ a name mocking click sounds.
  ➢ This term is now considered derogatory.
Below are some facts, some sample text, audio, and a lesson on Khoekhoegowab.

- Click consonant clusters never contain more than one click.
- Clicks are never in codas, therefore a word can never end with a click.
- Something like “!-!na” or “nal” never happen in any click language (Bantu or Khoisan).

ǂKham !ûi-aob gye !êib di gûna !homi !na gye !ûi hâ i.
- One day a young shepherd was watching his sheep on a mountainside.

http://www.britannica.com/topic/Khoisan-languages

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nz44WiTVJww
References

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Gangans

Thank you