

Clause-second elements in languages of the Kalahari Basin with particular reference to Richtersveld Nama and Nǁng

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1 Clause-second elements in the Kalahari Basin

+ widespread gram type in clause-second position, largely after S/A (but see below)

(1) |Xam (!Ui, Tuu)

au too = gnn n/e fi-ya

CONN red.ochre=? IPFV be.red-STAT

But/and ochre is red. (Güldemann 2013: 428, after Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 346-7)

Language	Family, branch	Form	Label	Sources
Northcentral !Xuun	Kx'a, Ju	<i>má</i>	“topic”	Heikkinen (1987: 31-32), König (2006)
Ju 'hoan	Kx'a, Ju	<i>m</i> <i>kom</i>	“verb particle”	Dickens (2005: 44; 1994: 234) Güldem. and Pratchett (2014)
Taa	Tuu, Taa	<i>ń</i>	“indicative”	Traill (1994: 193)
Xam	Tuu, !Ui	<i>-knn</i>	“emphatic nominative”, ?“declarative”	Bleek (1928-30: 87-8), Güldemann (2013: 421)
Nǁng	Tuu, !Ui	<i>ke</i>	“declarative”	Collins and Namaseb (2011: 9)
Standard Khoekhoe	Khoe-Kwadi, Khoekhoe	<i>ke</i>	“(indicative) declarative”	Hagman (1977), Haacke (2013: 335)
!Ora	Khoe-Kwadi, Khoekhoe	<i>tje</i>	“Subjekt-determinativ”	Meinhof (1930: 49-50)

Table 1: Clause-second elements in Kalahari Basin languages

+ functionally indeterminate, certainly related to some extent to information structure (IS)

+ mostly particles, possibly also enclitic to preceding constituent (cf. (1) above)

+ partially in complementary morpho-syntactic distribution with other particles, e.g. for question: Ju|'hoan *re*, |Xam *ba/xa*, Nǁng *xa(e)*, Khoekhoe *kha*

+ present focus of analysis on two endangered languages, which are genealogically unrelated but are both part of the Cape linguistic area (see Güldemann 2006) and have been analyzed by the authors in connection with two documentation projects:

Richtersveld Nama (in comparison with Standard Namibian Khoekhoe)

Nǁng (aka N|uu after the dialect documented most extensively)

2 Khoekhoe

2.1 Point of departure: Standard Namibian Khoekhoe

+ Standard Khoekhoe: the result of a complex non-native codification process initiated by missionaries (Tindall 1857, Wallmann 1857)

> linguistic descriptions based on the variety emerging in the mission context: Planert (1905), Seidel (1911), Meinhof (1909), Dempwolff (1934/5)

+ *ke* as marker of unmarked declarative sentence

declarative: A term used in the grammatical classification of sentence types, and usually seen in contrast to imperative, interrogative, etc., moods. It refers to verb forms or sentence/clause types typically used in the expression of statements, e.g. *the man is walking*. The term ‘indicative’ is also sometimes used in this sense. (Crystal 1997: 104)

(2)a. *khoi-b gye tara-s-a go mū*
person-M.S DECL woman-F.S-OBJ PST see
der Mann sah die Frau [the man saw the woman] (Dempwolff 1927: 73)

b. *||ē-b gye tara-s-a go mū*
3-M.S DECL woman-F.S-OBJ PST see
constructed: er sah die Frau [he saw the woman]

In general, the particle *ke* is present after the NP in every declarative sentence. It is never present in an interrogative or imperative sentence and, except for one specific construction, it is never present in an embedded sentence. (Hagman 1973: 106, 1977)

The particle *ge* marks indicative main sentences, i.e. ordinary statements. (Haacke 2013: 335)

+ *ke* in term-focus construction

(3)a. *tara-s-a = b gye khoi-b-a go mū*
woman-F.S-OBJ = 3M.S.SBJ DECL person-M.S-DSBJ PST see
der Mann sah die FRAU [the man saw the WOMAN] (Dempwolff 1927: 74)

b. *||ari = b gye khoi-b-a tara-s-a go mū*
yesterday = 3M.S.SBJ DECL person-M.S-DSBJ woman-F.S-OBJ PST see
der Mann sah die Frau GESTERN [the man saw the woman YESTERDAY] (ibid.: 75)

+ *ke* in coordinate construction

(4) *o = b gye khoi-b-a tara-s-a go mū*
then = 3M.S.SBJ DECL person-M.S-DSBJ woman-F.S-OBJ PST see
Dann sah der Mann die Frau [then the man saw the woman] (Dempwolff 1927: 75)

I	[S/A	<i>ke</i>	Other V]	“Declarative”
II	[Focus	=s/a <i>ke</i> (S/A)	Other V]	Term focus
III	[Conjunction	=s/a <i>ke</i> (S/A)	Other V]	Discourse linkage

Figure 1: Structural and functional profile of *ke*-constructions in Khoekhoe

- + *ke/gye* in Wackernagel position bisects the clause in prefield and postfield
- > prefield with variable IS role: S/A topic in I, focus in II, discourse linker in III
- > in II and III, additional obligatory *s/a* enclitic in Wackernagel position before *ke/gye*

+ cognate of *ke* in other Khoekhoe varieties not a grammaticalized declarative marker, e.g., *tje*, *dje* in !Ora, which is regular only with term focus and obligation

(5) !Ora (Khoekhoe, Khoe-Kwadi)

||xara-e=b tje ni
punish-PASS=3M.S.SBJ ? OBL

er muß bestraft werden [he has to be PUNISHED] (Meinhof 1930: 53)

2.2 Corpus analysis

- + documentation of the last surviving South African Khoekhoe variety in the project “Focus in South African Languages” at the ZAS Berlin 2003-2006 (Güldemann, Voll, Witzlack-Makarevich), which is historically prior to Namibian Standard Khoekhoe
- + still incomplete annotation, including for IS, but a crude corpus analysis (counting clauses with and without *ke*) already reveals unexpected results:

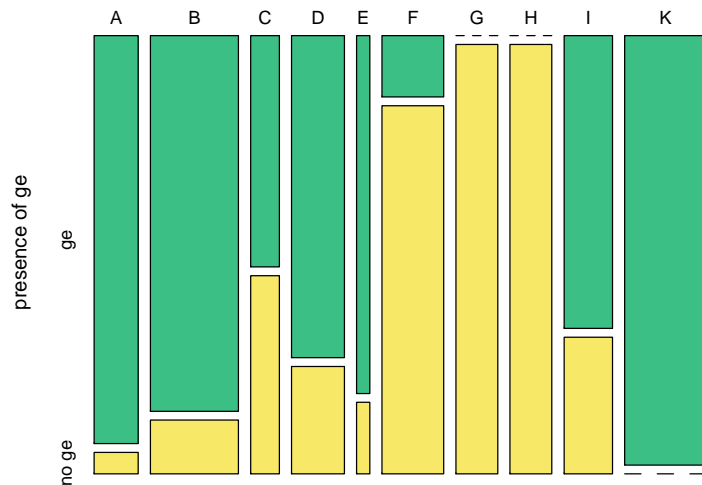


Figure 2: Variation of *ke*-clauses across speakers

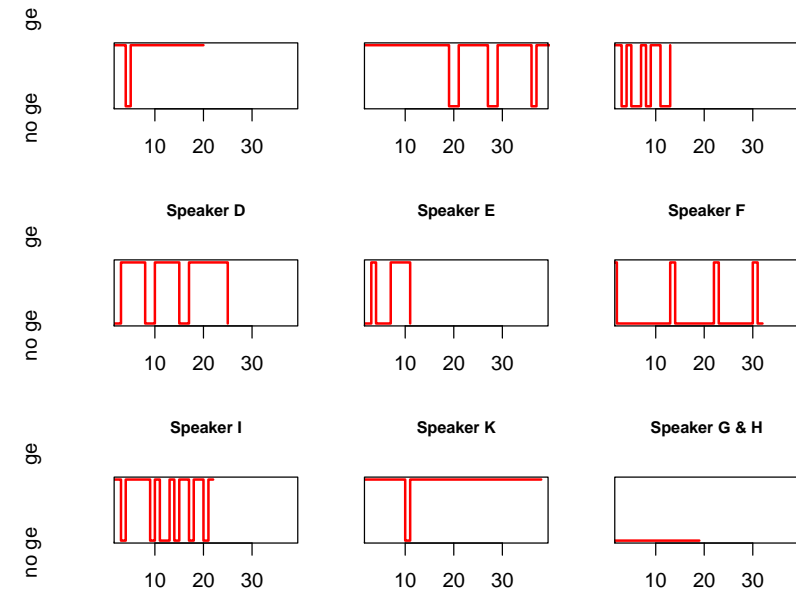


Figure 3: Variation of *ke*-clauses along text dynamics

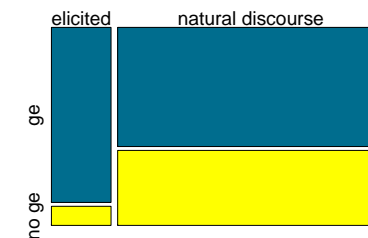


Figure 4: Variation of *ke*-clauses between elicitation and natural discourse

- > *ke* cannot be a declarative marker in the above sense
- > unclear what it is in Richtersveld Nama

3 N||ng

3.1 Point of departure: earliest material on N||huki by Westphal

- + Westphal (n.d.): elicitation field notes with a single speaker of the north-westernmost N||ng variety N||uu(ki) in the 1960s stored at the Bleek~Lloyd archive in Cape Town
- > analysis by Güldemann (2003)

+ clause-second element *ke* in a basic clauses type, similar to Khoekhoe *ke*

- (6) *ʃoo a ke ʃxoa n/a ng anci*
 man this DECL speak with 1S father
 this man speaks with my father (Westphal n.d.)

+ [Pronoun S/A *ke*] in complementary distribution with [Pronoun S/A-*a*] without a discernible distinction so far

+ *ke*-construction salient in the Westphal corpus, occurs in 77% of 184 relevant clauses

> analysis of *ke* as declarative marker parallel to Khoekhoe (Güldemann 2003, 2006; Collins and Namaseb 2011)

+ another *ke*-construction for identification

- (7) *ng ke*
 1S ID
 it is I (Westphal n.d.)

3.2 Corpus analysis

+ modern research on language remnants with the last dozen of speakers:

- a) NSF project (Collins, Exter, Miller, Namaseb, Sands): focus on selected linguistic topics
 b) ELDP project “A text documentation of N|uu” at the MPI-EVA Leipzig 2007-2010 (Ernszt, Güldemann, Siegmund, Witzlack-Makarevich): focus on natural discourse data recorded within the project as well as audio material collected in the late 1930s
 > revision of some analyses based on limited data of early researchers

3.2.1 Complete profile of *ke*-constructions

(I) *ke* as identificational marker

+ identificational construction ‘It is X’

- (8) Jackal and wolf 2 (NY360000-04_A.070)
ng ʃoo ke
 1S man ID
 It/that’s my husband.

(II) *ke* as “declarative” marker

+ “declarative” construction

- (9) Jackal and wolf 2 (NY360000-04_A.037)
gʌin ke xa ʃxoa n/a ng # ng ke !auka
 hyena ? PST speak COM 1S 1S ? afraid:STAT
 (Blesbok:) “Brown hyena has spoken with me. # I am afraid.”

(III) *ke* as (contrastive) term focus marker

+ not recognizable in Westphal’s data: term-focus, mostly in contrastive contexts

- > if non-S/A focus, clause overtly close to a relative clause but without relative linker
 - S/A after *ke*
 - lexical “gap” for fronted antecedent
 - resumptive index *ʎn/aa* for oblique antecedent
 > complex cleft-like construction: identificational clause followed by background clause with *ke* as pivot between initially exposed focus item and clause remainder

(10) Elicitation

- a. *tyui xae Katarina aa /oba i*
 what Q PN give child ?
 What does Katarina give the child?

- b. *ʃxanisi ke Katarina aa /oba i*
 book TF PN give child ?
 Katarina gives the child a BOOK.

(11) Hyena, jackal and blesbok doe (NY360000-01_A.041)

- ku ke ng ʎu si ku “tyee” ʎn/aa*
 3S TF 1S NEG IRR QUOT yes VE.GAP
 “To HIM I will not say ‘yes’.”

+ if S/A focus, same construction but lack of overt marking of bisection

> indistinguishable from construction II, cf. (9) and (12)c.

(12) Hyena and blesbok doe (NY360000-01_A.065–9)

{The hyena is bullying the blesbok girl wanting to marry her but she refuses.}

- a. *ng si n/aun a, # ng n/aun suin ng g/a*
 1S IRR marry 2S 1S marry sit OBL 2S.STR
 (Hyena:) “I will marry you. I will stay married with you.”

- b. *tyuu xae ʃuun ng ku-a*
 person TQ ? thus QUOT-?
 (Blesbok doe:) “Who says so?”

- c. *ng ke ng ka*
 1S TF thus say
 (Hyena:) “It’s me saying so.”

(IV) *ke* as part of a phrasal discourse linker

+ not recognizable in Westphal's data: reason/consequence coordination on discourse level

(13) Hyena and blesbok doe (NY360000-01_A.042-043)

na ng !qui n/aa

1S COP ashes head

(Blesbok): "I am ash head (= epithet for blesbok doe)!"

tya ke ng !ama na !aqla

that TF COP reason 1S refuse

THAT is the reason, I refuse."

> specialized bisected cleft-like construction with a generic nominal anaphor referring back to previous propositional content

> grammaticalized to a phrasal discourse linker: *ha gao ke, tya gao ke, tya ke, tya !'ama ke* 'that is why, for that reason, therefore, accordingly, consequently, so, then'

I	[Term	<i>ke</i> Ø]	Identification	} Cleft-like bisected
II	[S/A	<i>ke</i> Ø V Other]	"Declarative"	
III	[Focus	<i>ke</i> S/A V Other]	Term focus	
IV	[Abstract anaphor	<i>ke</i> S/A V Other]	Discourse linkage	

Figure 5: Structural and functional profile of *ke*-constructions in N||ng

No.	Construction type	Total	% of clause total (869)
I	Identification	20	2,3%
II	"Declarative"	53	6,1%
III	Term-focus	5	0,6%
IV	Discourse linkage	16	1,8%
	Total	94	10,8%

Table 2: Frequency of different *ke*-constructions (Güldemann and Siegmund 2009)

3.2.2 The notion of declarative and contexts of "declarative" *ke*

"Declarative"

+ similar to Khoekhoe: excluded from main clauses with non-assertive illocutions (questions, imperatives, etc.) and subordinate clauses with reduced/cancelled assertivity

BUT

+ overall: relatively low discourse frequency of *ke*-constructions

+ large majority of declarative clauses actually lack *ke*; as opposed to elicitation corpus by Westphal (n.d.)

Declarative clauses	Total	% of total	Tokens with <i>ke</i>	% of total
Construction (II)	678*	100,0%	53	7,8%
Verbal predicate	641	94,5%	46	7,2%
Non-verbal predicate	37	5,5%	7	18,9%

Note: * = Asserted clause total (719) minus *ke*-clauses with other functions (41)

Table 3: Frequency of *ke* in declarative clauses (Güldemann and Siegmund 2009)

Exclamation and surprise

(14) Gemsbok and tortoise (NY360000-02_A.007–NY360000-02_A.014)

a. *a koro ku ng #xaun*
CONN jackal QUOT OBL gemsbock

And the jackal says to the gemsbock:

b. *n/aa-a, n/aa-a !oqe ke n/aa //uru-ke |xaa*
see-IMP see-IMP tortoise ? stay road-? side

"Look, look! The tortoise stays on the side of the road!"

c. *!oqe ke n/aa //uru-ke |xaa*
tortoise ? stay road-? side

The tortoise stays on the side of the road!

he //u gareki !aria

REL NEG a.little move.fast

Which is very fast!"

Introduction of new participants within narrative discourse

(15) Fight with leopard (NA081121-01_A.032–44)

{A man fights a leopard with his bare hands}

a. *ha /ai, ha ts'ii # n!ai /kx'aa*
3S snap 3S bite adult.man hand

It (the leopard) snaps, it bites the adult man's hand.

b. *nou a Jan Tierboud ke //u na n#oa*
now CONN PN ? NEG ABL? shoot

Now, Jan Tierboud cannot shoot. (introduced as new participant)

c. *ha //u na n#oa, want # ha lau-ka, miskien*
3S NEG ABL? shoot because 3S afraid-? perhaps

He cannot shoot because he is afraid. Perhaps...

Heightened assertion

+ affinity to truth value focus; reading of obligation with irrealis (cf. (5) from !Ora)

(16) Hyena and blesbok doe (NY360000-01_A.034-6)

a. *gla tyuu?*

2S.STR hear

(Hyena:) “Do you hear (me)”

b. *ng ke tyuu, ng ke tyuu, ng //haa //u ka gao*

1S ? hear 1S ? hear 1S ? NEG say thing

(Blesbok doe:) “I do hear (you). I do hear (you), (but) I just don’t say anything.”

(17) Gemsbok and tortoise (NY360000-02_A.014-5)

a ke si kx’uu n/a a # !ae

2S ? IRR make PURP 2S run

(Jackal:) “You must run. (lit. You must make that you run)”

Setting, explanation and other background

(18) Moon and hare (NX360000-01_A.022-6)

a. *a # n!au //khai uu !’aun*

CONN hare throw take.upsand

Then the hare throws up sand.

b. *ha //khai !’ee ng # ng #oro xuu*

3S throw enter OBL OBL moon face

He throws (it) in the Moon’s face.

c. *ha kx’uu //kx’uri*

3S make dirty

He makes (it) dirty.

d. *//kx’uri ke #oro xuu ki*

dirt TF moon face have

It’s dirt which the Moon’s face has.’ (explains the appearance of the moon)

(19) Fight with leopard (NA081121-01_A.068)

{Two men fighting a leopard manage to stab its eyes. The animal continues to fight and causes heavy wounds to the men. In the following five clauses the discourse focuses on how the men treat their wounds}

//abe ke g!ae kiin ki a rond ka ha //u n!ai nou

leopard ? run around place this around because 3S NEG see now

The leopard runs around because it does not see now. (explains why the men are not disturbed by the leopard)

Weather/season expression

+ weather/season expressions almost exclusively with *ke*

(20) Making leather (NB081007-01_A.087-9)

!aqa ke saa

rain ? come

The rain comes.

(21) Stories from childhood (NM071213-01_A.0406-8)

//uin ke !’ee

sun ? enter

The sun goes down.

Beginning of narrative introducing participants and setting

(22) Moon and hare (NX360000-01_A.001-3)

a. *#oro ke ku-a*

moon ? QUOT-?

The Moon said:

b. *n//ng tui si !’aa*

person IRR die

“A person shall die,

c. *a hau !’aa !aa*

CONN 3S?: dead keep

and it stays dead.”

(23) Initiation story (NW360000-01_A.001-5)

a. *//ai/qaa ke suin-a*

girl ? sit.down-?

The girl sits.

b. *hng //ng n//ng ka !kx’ora*

3P move.out house P play

They (other children) have come out of the house to play/play outside the house.

c. *a /oe-ke, hng n!ai ha !n//aa xoe*

CONN children-P 3P see 3S OBL:that place

And the children, they see her in that place.

d. *ha saa*

3S come

She comes.

e. *ha #khau-ka*

3S menstruate-?

She menstruates.

- + contexts of bisected non-focus *ke*-clauses correlate with typical profile of thetic statements in terms of Sasse (1987: 566-7), including the discourse-linking context as a thetic meta-explanation
- + construction can be derived from a cleft-like structure oriented towards an entity
- > Güldemann and Siegmund (2009), Güldemann (2010: §4.3):

The purported “declarative” *ke*-construction encodes an entity-central thetic statement which mostly elevates the S/A from its default topic role (as opposed to the focus *ke*-construction elevating any possible nominal towards a marked focus role).

3.2.3 Variation in frequency

- + no significant variation across speakers
- + variation in terms of:
 - diachrony: slight but significant decrease in frequency of *ke*, no explanation as yet
 - data type (similar to Khoekhoe): elicitation vs. natural discourse

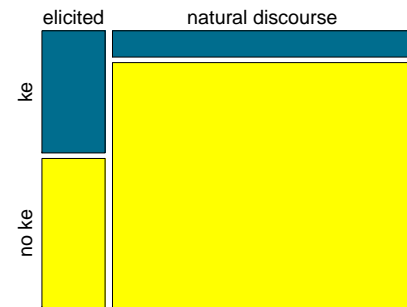


Figure 6: Variation of *ke*-clauses between elicitation and natural discourse (old texts)

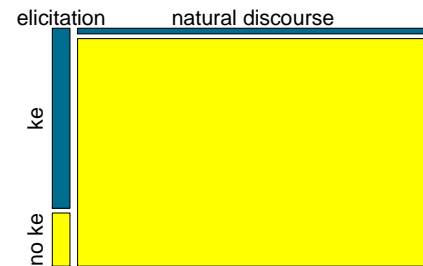


Figure 7: Variation of *ke*-clauses between elicitation and natural discourse (new texts)

- + more systematic distribution pattern within texts: occasional occurrence but functionally circumscribed contexts

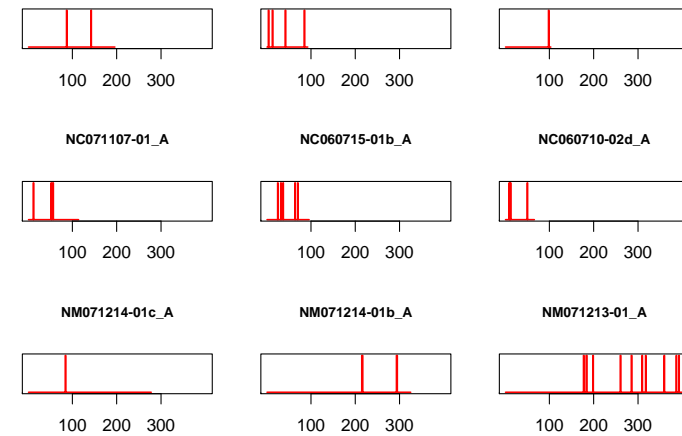


Figure 8: Variation of *ke*-clauses along text dynamics (new texts)

4 Discussion

4.1 Intermediate summary

	Language (variety)	Westphal's N uu(ki)	N ng across dialects	Richtersveld Nama	Standard Khoekhoe
No.	Function\Data type	Elicitation	Natural discourse corpora	Prescriptive	
I	Identification	YES	YES	YES	YES
IIa	Thetic statement	?	YES	?	?
IIb	“Declarative”	YES	NO		YES
III	Term focus	NO	YES	YES	YES
IV	Discourse linkage	NO	YES	YES	YES

Table 4: Functions of *ke*-constructions across the four corpora

- + bisected *ke*-clauses II-IV belong to a “family” of constructions varying in function:
 - III term focus
 - IV discourse linkage
 - IIa entity-central theticity OR IIb declarative (clear only for Standard Khoekhoe)
- > variation in use of II according to different parameters (speakers, texts, varieties etc.)
- > in particular, contrast between decontextualized elicitation or prescribed language use on the one hand and natural coherent discourse data on the other hand - functional profile in the latter in conflict with “declarative” characterization

4.2 The history of *ke*-constructions in the Cape

- + structural and functional profile of *ke*-constructions in N||ng:
 - *ke*-construction is either a non-verbal predication or a bisected cleft-like sentence
 - referent-oriented bisected *ke*-construction with S/A orientation is bi-functional
- > possible explanation in terms of a cross-linguistically well-attested historical scenario according to Figure 9 (cf. Sasse (1987) in general, Güldemann (2010) for the Tuu family of the Kalahari Basin in particular)

- + possible unitary analysis of *ke*-constructions in terms of grammaticalization

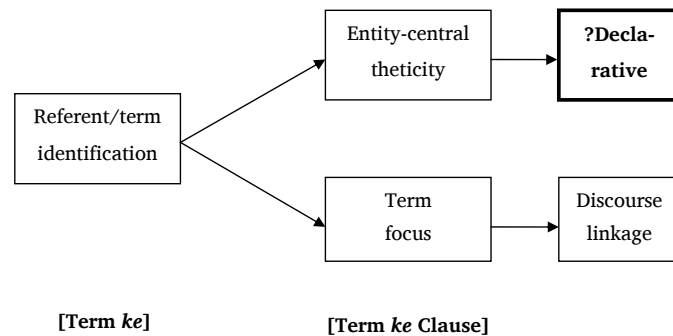


Figure 9: Semantic map of *ke*-constructions in N||ng

- + bisected *ke*-construction in Khoekhoe as induced by Tuu substrate (cf. Güldemann 2006)
- > functional profile largely identical to that of N||ng in Figure 9
- + possible further grammaticalization development whereby the bisected cleft-like sentence marking an entity-central thetic statement is reanalyzed as a functionally unmarked but structurally marked categorical “declarative” statement

When an event, part of which is an entity, is stated, the problem arises that the entity is a possible candidate for a predication base, and the event is a possible candidate for a predicate. This problem is due to the fact that if a linguistic expression denoting an event and a linguistic expression denoting an entity are combined in a sentence, the most normal reading is that the relation between the two is a [categorically] predicative one. (Sasse 1987: 560)

- > possible cross-linguistic precedents: Tamazight (Penchoen 1973), Amharic (Kapeljuk 1988, 2002), Somali (Heine and Reh 1984; Tosco 2002, 2007, 2012), Benchnon (Rapold 2007), Welsh (Sasse 1987), Breton (Dik 1980, Timm 1991)

- + functional change facilitated by a minimal surface difference between unmarked clause and bisected clause in N||ng and Khoekhoe, viz. absence vs. presence of *ke*, as opposed to underlying syntactic difference shown in Figure 10:

Categorical: [[S/A Topic Other]]
 Entity-central thetic: [S/A Non-topic *ke* [Ø Other]]

Figure 10: Structural difference between categorical and S/A-oriented thetic sentence

- > overuse of bisected thetic S/A oriented *ke*-construction with decrease of pragmatic markedness as a possible pathway towards the declarative function
- > additional factor: misinterpretation of thetic statements in non-native language acquisition and analysis: contextually “non-anchored” thetic sentences occurring in elicitation etc. easily viewed as unmarked “declarative”
- Have documentation and codification of Standard Khoekhoe by non-native missionaries even influenced native language use?

4.3 Conclusions

- + no one-to-one mapping between IS constructions and configurations/functions
 - a construction can be polyfunctional
 - a function can be encoded by more than one construction
- + incidence of IS configurations and their associated constructions differs considerably across variable discourse contexts

IS configuration	Typical information development	Likely in
Marked term focus	Contrastive discontinuity	Conversation
Entity-central theticity	“Out-of-the-blue” utterance	Elicitation
	Topic discontinuity in cohesive discourse	Narrative
Categorical declarative	Topic continuity in cohesive discourse	Narrative

Table 5: IS configurations across discourse contexts

The functional interpretation of a construction can be partly or completely inadequate without an analysis of a comprehensive spoken language corpus.

(1) Bisected cleft-type construction insufficiently characterized functionally

- + through orthogonal history of science extremely well researched with respect to its term focus function (Schachter 1973, transformational syntax and movement)
- + recurrent second function of entity-central theticity (Sasse 1987) is likely to be more frequent in at least some languages after a fuller corpus analysis

(2) Construction in isolated elicitation response functionally indeterminate

- + incidence of out-of-contextthetic statements can be much higher in elicitation as a skewed impoverished discourse context than in normal language use (despite difficult identification ofthetic statements in targeted elicitation on information structure)
- + can severely mislead the linguistic analysis of a recurrently elicited sentence type which is likely to be more marked and thus rarer after a fuller corpus analysis

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