

The particle té in Khwe

Anne-Maria Fehn

fehn@shh.mpg.de

Goethe-Universität Frankfurt
MPI für Menschheitsgeschichte, Jena

| x ú n i

| xúni' à cùkùni.yi.tè nò loă; ū.wá=xú nò tcá că.m' à
kyéo Rée; 'á tcé kyéo.wé.tè nò tcé dí.xé=tci | xúni.
m kà || ó;

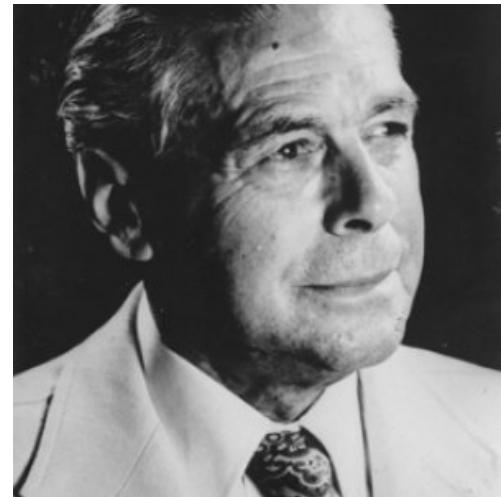
Gombo, Ndo 1978

1

||é-kxoé.hé aßa.na=xú nò |ui.ca.xá ||óe.yé..||oe; kx'á-kxóé.m tama.x
|ui.ca.xá ||óe.yé..||oe;

and.
j'ku
tà=xu=no |óá.m 'm gòßo.ma |am |'e tōá=xu no |x'oa=ka |'e.ci ka
+he.ré=xu.a..||oe; tà=xu=no +he.ré.ta |'e.ci ka.xa |óá.m 'm ||ú.he
|xa-doßé.m 'a ú no ci +'aró.m 'a +u.wá..||oe;

? y-#éu=|óá.m ki tama.xa ||x'u.m ki tama.xa ||háßa.m ki tama.xa pgwé.e
||oe; tà=xu=nò ||ui.m 'a ||'oa='o nò wuri.na ||x'ae.yé..||oe;



5. Samples

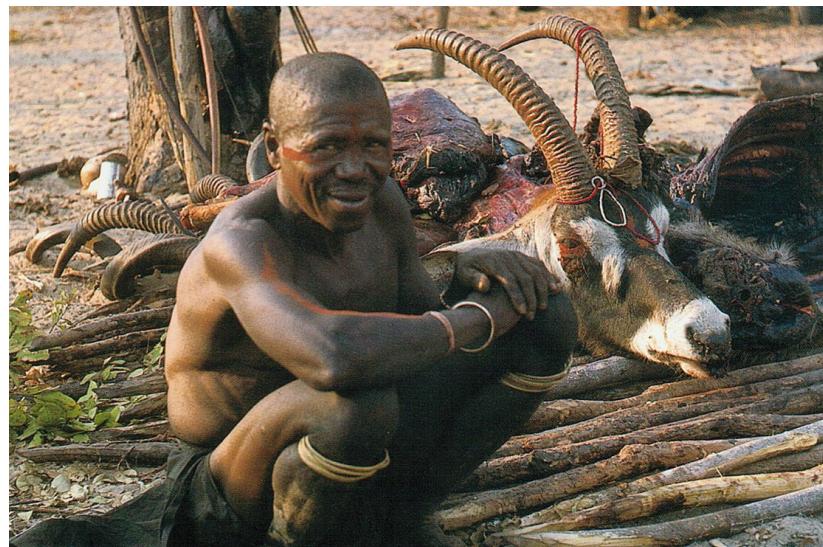
Cow.ku-(k'u
||ú-de 5
Boru

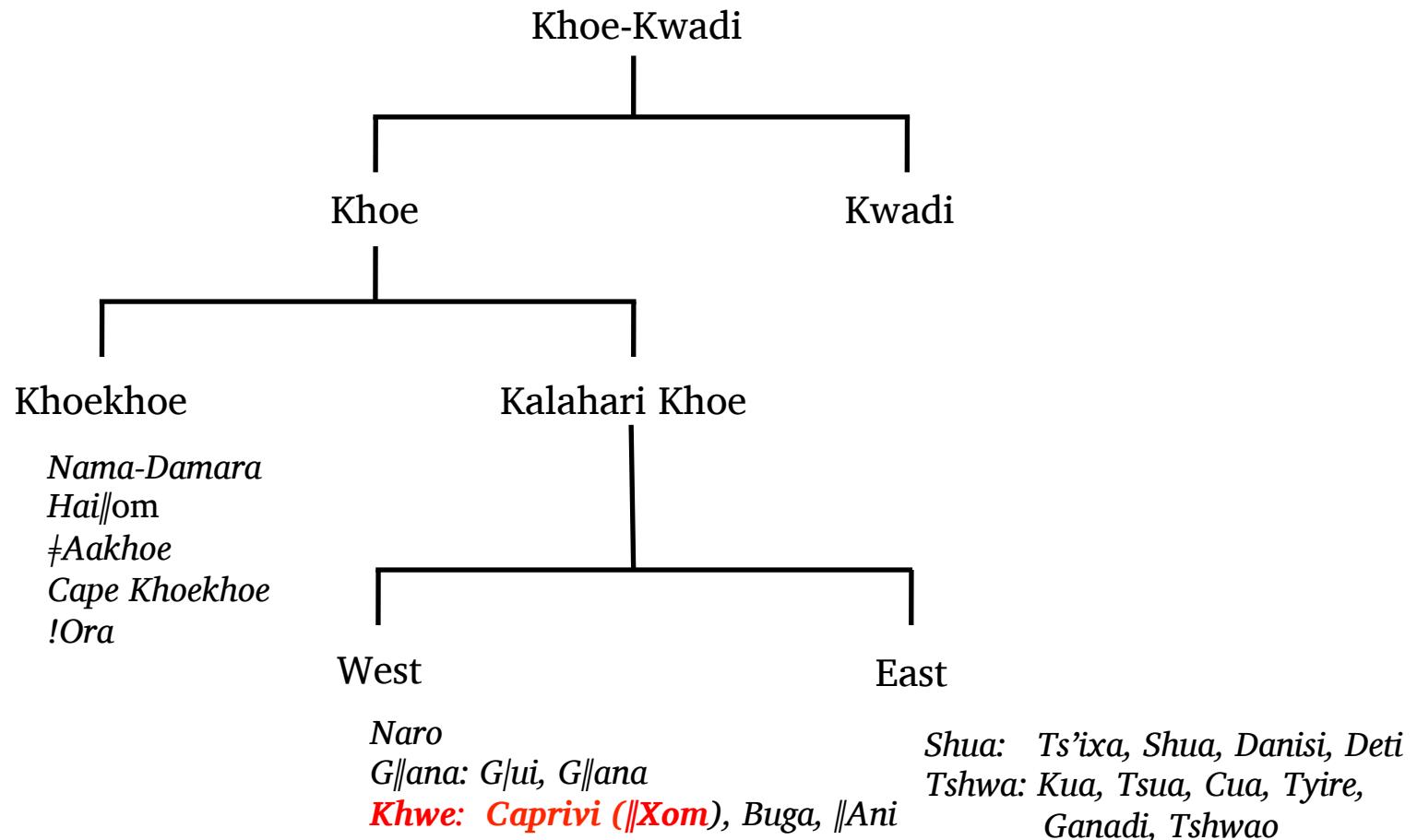
(Wb.)

(cor: ||áo-úx'ku
én o iuu
mimpf ü.flucht)

30/8

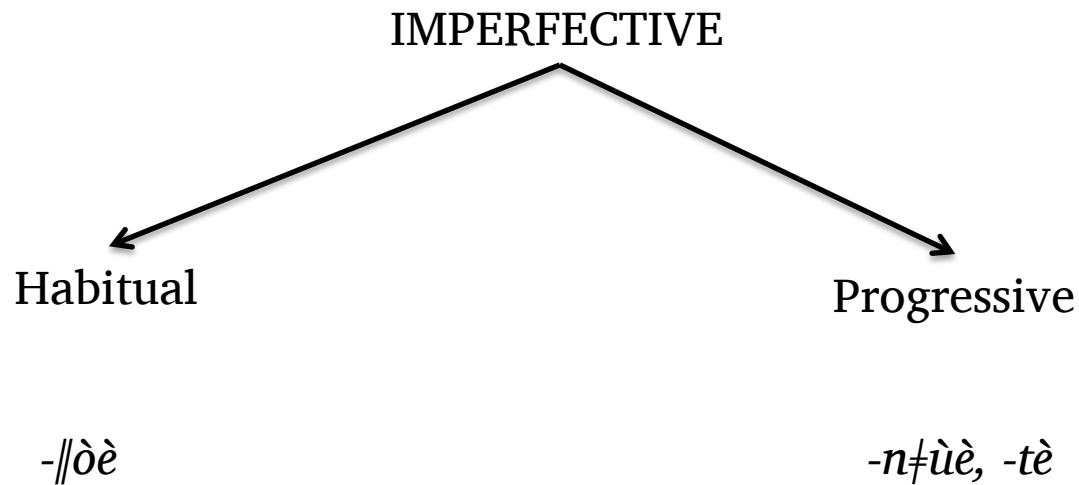
Uká.bá
Uká.uukéér.u
Uká.áun ki Ák.té
que.yá u begi
tac ||ú lué.bé
que.yá lué.nó
tac ||ú lué.uá mā nō
#t.ek.ord.bé
Acé ||ú-de.u té
#t.ek.ord.bé
tac ||áo-úx'áun
tac ||áo-úx'áun
#t.ek.ord.bé
que.yá ||ú-de.u
xé.u 'i →





(cf. Güldemann & Vossen (2000), Güldemann (2014))

Imperfective categories in Khwe:



The particle té

- <té ‘to stand’
- meaning: HABITUAL (‘used to, always, durative’, cf. Kilian-Hatz 2002: 322)

Other grammaticalisations of té

- present tense/progressive marker (cf. Kilian-Hatz 2002, 2008; König 2000): **-J-tè**
- derivational suffix -t- (FREQ, cf. Kilian-Hatz 2008)

The corpus:

No of texts	420
No of sentences	6380
No of occurrences of particle té	84
In % of texts	20

Chapter	No of texts	occurrences
The life cycle	214	46
Judicial cases	71	30
Dreams and omens	98	1
Religion	36	7

té (OBJ) V -TAM

Tàxúnò n||à -má ūú-dòm -a -xu nò té †ãā -a -||òè.
 then DEM-3sg.M possess -II -COMP when ASP put.into -I -HAB

When then he has taken them into his possession, he puts in (things). (OKA 6068)

> With intraposed object

Ú	x'óa	ngyéu	- ùà	té	bòròó	-m	à
other	three	young.man	-3pl.M	ASP	drum	-3sg.M	O
uú	-xàku	-á	- òè.				
beat	-alternately	-I	-HAB				

Three other young men alternately beat the drum. (OKA 8030)

> Scope over complex predicates

Khwe	-n	kókàxa	té	wòrè	-ná	kx'áà	-à	- òè.
Khwe	-3pl.C	all	ASP	scoop	-II	drink	-I	-HAB

All Khwe scoop water and drink (OKA 6008)

> Scope over selected verbs in complex predicates

Kx'ú	-à	-tè	nò	námú	-na	-kò	té	kx'áà	-à	- òè.
be.angry	-I	-PRES	if	be.merry	-II	-CONV	ASP	drink	-I	-HAB

If they are angry, they become merry and keep on drinking. (OKA 5024)

Preferred contexts

- with HAB -||òè, sometimes in combination with the derivational affix -t-
- with VERY DISTANT PAST -hī, mostly in combination with the derivational affix -t-

with HAB -||òè

N‡úrú -mì |xòà -xa ||óã -tcò ||hamí -à -||òè.
wind -3sg.M with -GER descend -disease appear -I -HAB

With the storm appears the disease from above.

Kx'óxò -nì ndéù té ||'ó -à -||òè.
animal -3pl.C also IPFV die -I -HAB

The animals also die of it. (OKA 8027)

|Qómì -à tĩ nó ||gèε-khòè -djí |'ée -e kókàxa |qómì à
manketti -FOC be if woman -3pl.F day -GEN all manketti O
té dàá -à -||òè.
ASP crack.nut -I -HAB

If there are manketti nuts, the women spend all day cracking nuts. (OKA 5203)

with -t-a-||òè

Tcù-nгú -mì ki tī nō ||'áxa -mà n||à -mí à té
prison -3sg.M in be while chief-3sg.M DEM-3sg.M O ASP
‡'óa -t -a -||òè.
ask -ASP -I -HAB

While he is in prison, the chief questions him regularly. (OKA 6019)

Tàxúnò |x'ú-ŋgyéu -mì à cée -ε -xu nò
then experienced.hunter -3sg.M O marry -II -COMP when
‡'ú -mì à té ‡'ú -t -a -||òè.
food -3sg.M O ASP eat -ASP-I -HAB

Then, after she has married an experienced hunter, she eats regularly. (OKA 6016)

with -hī

Tákò kx'óxò -mì à cǐ té |x'ū -á -hī.
then game -3sg.M O MOV ASP kill -II -PAST5

Then they kept on killing game (OKA 5027)

Tíú xà -ná éí -á -xu -a -kò gómbò -mì ki
then DEM-3pl.C remain -II -COMP -II -CONV settlement -3sg.M at
té kx'óā -ā -hī.
ASP wait.for -II -PAST5

While staying behind at the abandoned homestead, they kept on waiting. (OKA 5065)

with -t-a-hī

N||àtá té kőā -can -t -a -hī kx'éi-tá-khòè -||ùà.
 like.that ASP pay -REFL -ASP -II -PAST5 forefather -3pl.M

The forefathers would pay like that. (OKA 6028)

#Amí-kuri Khwe -nà ávuru -m̄ à tcī té
 in.the.old.days Khwe -3pl.C goods -3sg.M O often ASP
 tc'ää -t -a -hī vé.
 steal -ASP-II -PAST5 NEG

In the old days, the Khwe would not often turn to stealing. (OKA 6024)

N||à -m̄ tamaxa qáé -ré -xu nò wòcán -||ù m̄
 DEM-3sg.M also be.fond.of-II -COMP if friend -3pl.M POSS
 ||gèe-khòè -djī à té ||hù -t -á -hī.
 wife -3pl.F O ASP take.away -ASP -II -PAST5

If he was also fond of them, he would take away the friends' wives. (OKA 5157)

other contexts

with -tè PRES:

Tí	à	#'ée	-re	-xu	-a	- òè	tí	tcéka
1sg	O	like.very.much	-II	-COMP	-I	-HAB	1sg	be.good
Khwe	-rà	tà	té	tí	à	hã	-à	-tè.
Khwe	-1sg	COMPL	ASP	1sg	O	praise	-I	-PRES

*He comes to like me very much and keeps praising me for being a good Khwe.
(OKA 6007)*

with -gòè FUT:

Tí	djéxò	kx'á-khòè	-à	ki	tí	té	gèù	-á	-gòè	vé.
1sg	be.bad	man	-GEN	for	1sg	ASP	suffer	-I	-FUT	NEG

I will not stay with a bad man and keep suffering. (OKA 6016)

Imperative:

úú	-ku	té	khùn	-ku.
marry	-REC	ASP	have.sex	-REC
<i>get married and keep having sex (OKA 6061)</i>				

Summary:

- Core meaning lies with durative/continuous ‘keep on doing sth.’
- exact meaning is context dependent, i.e., depends on interaction with other TAM markers

té V-J-t-a-hī = PAST HABITUAL

vs.

té V-J-hī = PAST CONTINUOUS

Comparative:

- Cross-linguistically common grammaticalization of ‘to stand’ (> ‘to stay’)
- In Kalahari Khoe: Danisi *té* IPFV, in Northern Tshwa *té* HAB
- Khwe, like other Kalahari Khoe languages, may combine tense and aspect markers (cf., e.g., Nakagawa 2016 for G|ui, Collins, forth. for “Kua”, Dornan 1917 for Hiechware)

Thanks to:
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