

# Noun coordination in Namibian Khoekhoe

Christoph Wirsching, General Linguistics, Ludwig-Max.-Universität München

Kalahari Basin Area Riezlern Meeting 20.07.2022



Ti /hogu ge Festub, Reinharti, Axarob, Lazarub tsga

	Tí	hõo-gù	gè	Festub, Reinharti, Axarob, Lazarub	tsí^í-g-à.
(1)	ti	hõ-gu	ge	Festub, Reinharti, Axarob, Lazarub	tsí-g-a.
	my	friend-3PL.m	IND	Festus, Reinhart, Axarob, Lazarus	and-3PL.m-ACC
	My friends are Festus, Reinhart, Axarob and Lazarus.				<i>Adrianus 2009: A short video about me</i>

## 1. What is coordination

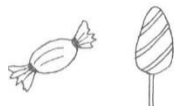
**Definition** (cf. Zhang 2010, p. 9). A **coordinate complex** is a syntactic constituent consisting of two or more functionally equivalent units (called conjuncts) without semantic hierarchization, and its category is identical to that of at least one of the conjuncts. Generally, there is an element (particle, clitic, affix) called **coordinator** to link the conjuncts. Coordinators can be further classified as



conjunctive,

**And**

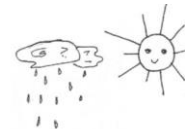
*tsí*



disjunctive,

**Or**

*tamas ka io*



and adversative.

**But**

*xawe/xabe*

*Roushdi 2013*

In many languages, the conjunctive coordinator is used very frequently: in Swahili, **na** 'and, with' is the most frequent word (Hurskainen 2021). **wa**, 'and, with' is the second most frequent word in Arabic (after **al**, the definite article). In English, **and** is the third most frequent word (after **the** and **of**); the conjunctive coordinator is fourth in German (1. **der/die/das**, 2. **in**, 3. **sein (AUX)**, 4. **und**) and Spanish (1. **e/la**, 2. **de**, 3. **que**, 4. **y**). But the conjunctive coordinator is not so frequent e.g. in Chinese or Māori.

## 2. Typology of coordination

The following terminology has been compiled by Haspelmath (e.g. 2004) and is now widely used.

### 2.1 Use of coordinator

- A coordinate complex is called **syndetic**, if one or more coordinators occur:

**your blankets are covered in buchu and mint**

- If there is no particle or morpheme (e.g. tone) joining the conjuncts, the coordination is **asyndetic**:

**remember the veld, the lush green grass**

There are a few languages with exclusively asyndetic noun coordination, e.g. Gumbaynggir (Australia).

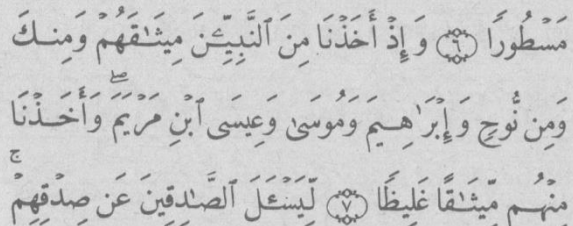
Syndetic coordination can be subdivided in

- **monosyndetic** coordination, which involves only a single coordinator for two conjuncts, and
- **bisyndetic** coordination, using one coordinator per conjunct

The Northern Cushitic language Beja is predominantly bisyndetic: “La conjonction =wa (var. =wwa), un emprunt à l’arabe, est enclitique de chacun des éléments conjoints.” (Vanhove 2017, p. 160)

(2) ani=wa baru:k=wa  
Beja 1SG.NOM=COORD 2SG.m.NOM=COORD (Vanhove 2017, S. 239)

It is interesting to analyze **multiple conjuncts**, i.e. conjunction complexes with more than two conjuncts. “In many languages, all but the last coordinator can be omitted in monosyndetic constructions.” (Haspelmath 2004, p. 5) However, coordinator omission is not possible in Arabic (Selmani 2012, p. 244):

<p>wa-iḏ akhaḏnā mina an-nab-bīyyinā miṭaqahum <b>wa</b> minka <b>wa</b> min Nuḥin <b>wa</b> Ibrahimā <b>wa</b> Musā <b>wa</b> Isā ibni Maryamā <b>wa</b> akhaḏnā minhum miṭaqan ḡalīzā (...).<sup>373</sup> (Qur’ān 33:7) Und dann gingen Wir mit den Propheten den Bund ein <b>und</b> mit dir <b>und</b> mit Noah <b>und</b> Abraham <b>und</b> Moses <b>und</b> Jesus, dem Sohn der Maria. Und Wir gingen mit ihnen einen gewaltigen Bund ein (...). (Übersetzung v. Ibn Rassoul)</p>	
---	--

“It seems that in bisyndetic constructions, coordinator omission is generally not possible with multiple coordinands.” (Haspelmath 2004, p. 5)

## 2.2 Coordinator position

The coordinator often forms a closer association with one of the conjuncts. A coordinator is called

- **prepositive**, if it precedes this conjunct, and
- **postpositive**, if it follows this conjunct.

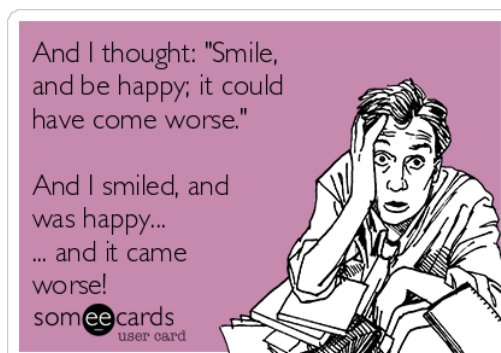
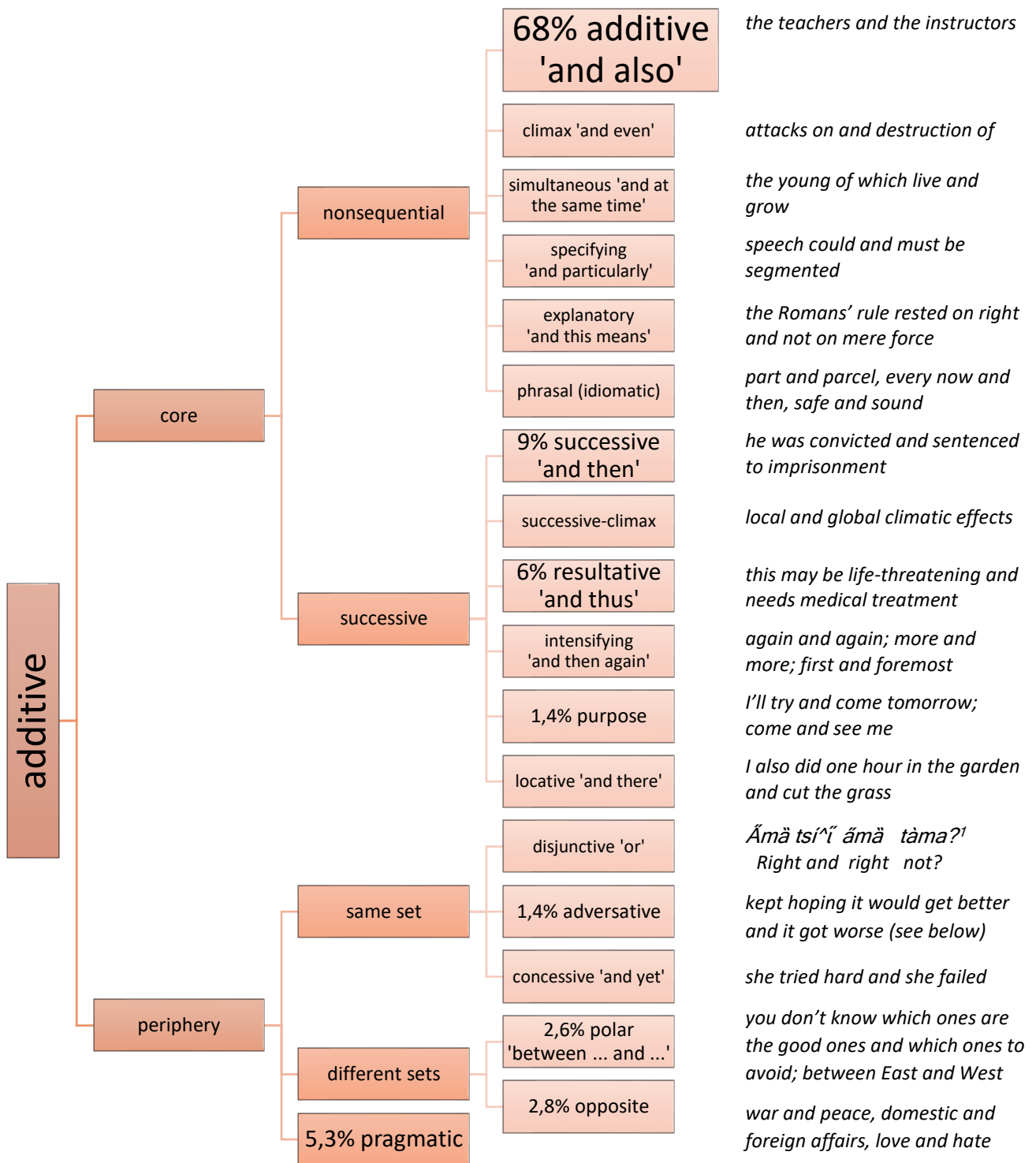
In monosyndetic coordination, this gives four logically possible types:

[CONJ1]	[co CONJ2]	e.g. English, German, Hausa
[CONJ1 co]	[CONJ2]	e.g. Japanese: <b>Nara-ka Kobe Nara or Kobe</b>
[CONJ1]	[CONJ2 co]	rare, e.g. Latin <b>-que</b> : <b>poena metusque</b> (Ovid) <i>punishment and fear</i>
[co CONJ1]	[CONJ2]	<i>not attested so far</i>

## 2.3 Meanings of conjunctive coordination from a cognitive point of view

The essence of conjunctive coordination has several elements being conceived together: The conjuncts are equivalent in status and in their role in the sentence structure. But even in the case of the neutral conjunctive coordinator *and*, there is often not full equivalence and symmetry between the conjuncts. More often than not there seems to be a preferred order between the conjuncts. (Cf. Langacker 2008.)

Upon closer reflection, it becomes apparent that sometimes the semantic prototype *addition/supplement* is only part of a more complex range of meaning. In her dissertation, Vaz (2014) has established an exhaustive list of shades of meaning of the conjunctive coordination as well as an indication of the relative frequency based on an English language corpus. In the following list I have combined written and spoken language results; most examples are taken from (Vaz 2014). The overwhelming majority of utterances uses (only) the prototypical meaning, and several meanings account for less than 1%.

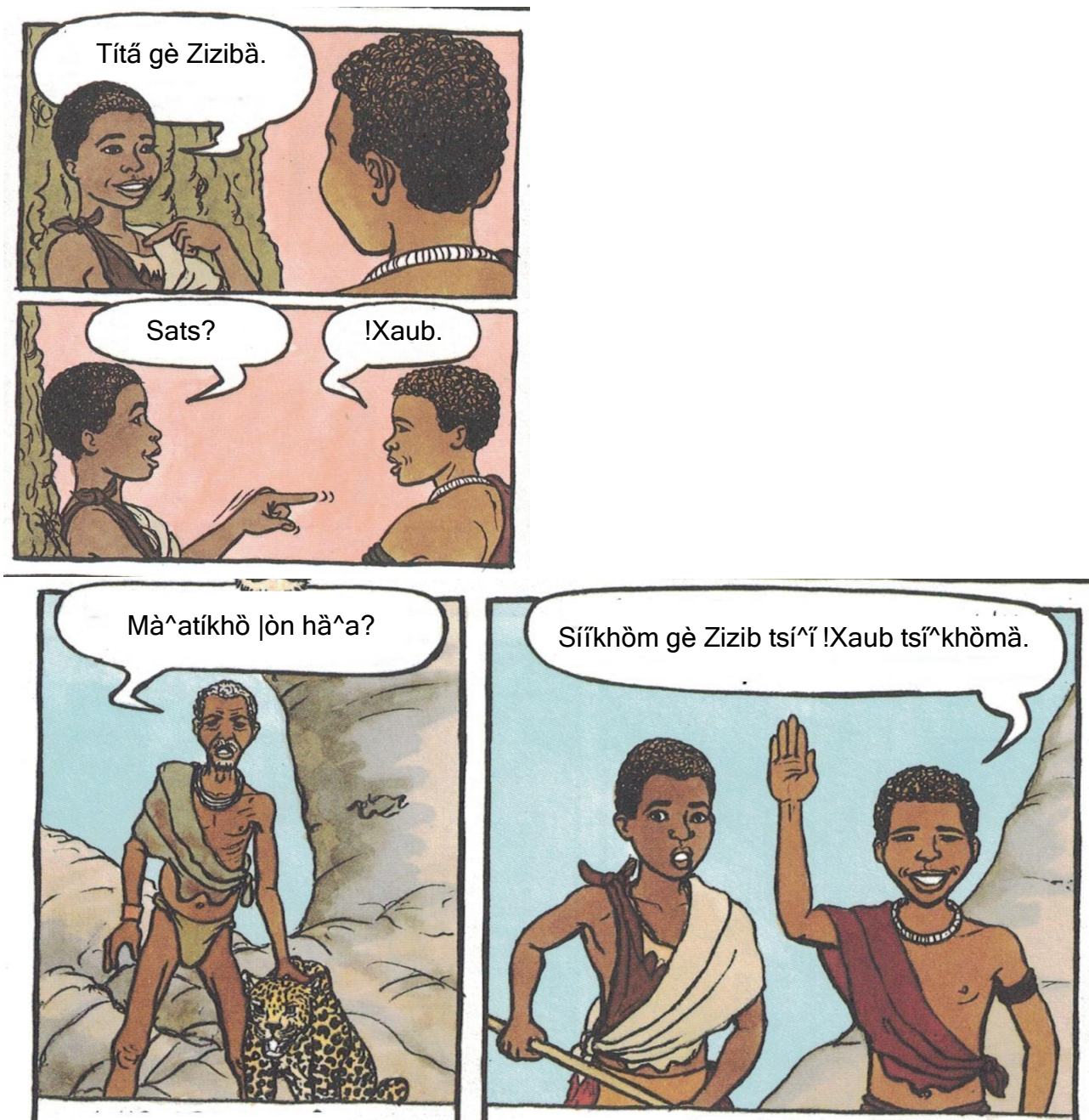


<sup>1</sup> Khôa!harus Khômai||hasib !na. [Breakthrough to Nama.] | Gôan ðkhanis. Xrat 1. Cape Town <sup>2</sup>2005, p. 90.



### 3. Noun coordination in Namibian Khoekhoe

#### 3.1 Structure of noun coordination



Images: Carvalho 1996, S. 16 + 26. Text has been replaced by Khoekhoe.

tsí follows after each conjunct

- (3) Síí-khòm      gè      Zizib      tsí^í      !Xau-b      tsí^khòm-à.  
 [si-khom      ge      Zizi-b      tsí      !Xau-b      tsí]-khom-a.  
 EXCL-1DU.m    IND      Zizi-SG.m    and      !Xau-SG.m    and-1DU.m-ACC  
 We are Zizi and !Xau.

the noun clitic of the overall construction completes the conjunctive noun phrase

### 3.2 Examples (written literature)

The following examples are extracted from a modern medical novel, written in Khoekhoe: Dâureb |Ae||gâub von I. F. H. ||Garob, Windhoek 1998 <sup>2</sup>.

6	Aedī-aob   Hamaseb <b>tsī</b> dana ae!khō-aos Kaibes <b>tsī</b> nau  ae!khō-aodi <b>tsīn</b> ge †oaxa !goaxa.	The nurse   Hamaseb, the senior nursing officer Kaibe und the other nurses came out and approached.	Daureb S. 1
7	Tsaras <b>tsī</b>  uigu <b>tsī</b> †goas <b>tsīn</b> ...	Dust, stones und clay soil ...	Daureb S. 8
8	... donkikha <b>tsī</b> kunis <b>tsīn</b>  kha ...	... with the two donkeys and the wagon ...	Daureb S. 8
9	Sim, tita <b>tsī</b> Todos <b>tsīm</b> ge a !norasa.	We two, me and Todos, have free time.	Daureb S. 11
10	Kaibes <b>tsī</b> Todos <b>tsīro</b> !noesase !hōa!nā-omsa †homi.	Kaibe and Todos, prepare the operation room hurriedly!	Daureb S. 14
11	Aubes <b>tsī</b> Linas <b>tsīra</b> ge ra kōgu.	Aube and Lina look upon each other.	Daureb S. 16
12	Sauli <b>tsī</b> †Kharib <b>tsīkha</b> ge ofonsa !am.	Saul and †Kharib turn on the oven.	Daureb S. 16
13	Tita,   Hamaseb <b>tsī</b> Kaibes <b>tsī</b> da ge ti beros   ga nī !gû.	I,   Hamaseb and Kaibe will go to my office.	Daureb S. 19
14	Heros <b>tsī</b> Todos <b>tsīra</b> ge sīsenni !uri sarakha go †gae†ui.	Hero and Todos took off their white work clothes.	Daureb S. 21
15	Tita <b>tsī</b> Kaibes <b>tsīm</b> ge   Hamaseba gere mǎxō khā.	I and Kaibe stand next to   Hamaseb.	Daureb S. 21
16	Hamaseb, Kaibes <b>tsī</b> tita <b>tsī</b> da ge hā.	Hamaseb, Kaibe and I are staying.	Daureb S. 21
17	Hamaseb <b>tsī</b> Kaibes <b>tsīra</b> ge !gûxō  khāgu garu.	Hamaseb and Kaibe are walking side by side.	Daureb S. 23
18	†Gabis, Linas <b>tsī</b> Aubes <b>tsīdi</b> ge  ae!khō-aodi beros   ga garu.	†Gabi, Lina und Aube are on their way to the office of the (traditional) healer.	Daureb S. 31
19	Hamaseb <b>tsī</b>  ae!khō-aodi <b>tsīn</b> ge   īn tē-oms !nā go  hao.	Hamaseb and the healers met in their tea room.	Daureb S. 36
20	Tā toxoba †Gabis <b>tsī</b> †Kharib <b>tsīra</b>  hao hao re.	But †Gabi und †Kharib should never meet.	Daureb S. 37/38
21	Oan garu soab !nās ge †Gabisa,  Heros <b>tsī</b> Todos <b>tsīra</b>  kha ra  hao.	On the way back, †Gabi meets  Heros and Todos in the corridor.	Daureb S. 41
22	†Gabis <b>tsī</b>  Heros <b>tsīra</b> ge  guiba hā.	†Gabi and  Heros agreed.	Daureb S. 41
23	Sats <b>tsī</b> tita <b>tsīm</b> ...	You and me ...	Daureb S. 43

<sup>2</sup> „Set in a hospital at the Brandberg, this novel sketches the experiences of an overworked doctor and his nursing staff as they endeavour to cope not only with the setbacks in the management of the hospital and treatment of patients, but also with the generally inquisitive and interfering nature of the locals. However, the resulting differences and clashes, played out against a background which is a mixture of the modern and the traditional, do not result in permanent rifts; rather, they serve to forge even stronger bonds in an already close-knit society.”

24	Linas <b>tsî</b> †Gabis <b>tsîra</b> ge  guiba ra oa. Au Sauli <b>tsî</b> †Kharib <b>tsîkha</b> ge  nai sî †oa tsî garu. Jafeb <b>tsî</b> Aubes <b>tsîra</b> ge   îkha khaos ai hâ. Linas <b>tsî</b> †Gabis <b>tsîra</b> ge garu.	Lina and †Gabi are coming back together. Saul and †Kharib, too, are on their way out. Jafeb and Aube are behind them. Lina and †Gabis are approaching.	Daureb S. 44/45
25	îb ge gurisab <b>tsî</b> nau khoen <b>tsîna</b> tawede.	He greets the friend and the other people.	Daureb S. 47

From a typological point of view, conjunctive noun coordination in Namibian Khoekhoe is

- postpositive
- bisyndetic
- in multiple coordination, coordinators can be omitted except for the last two (cp. 13, 16, 18)

From a syntactical point of view, in a first step, words (but not roots) are conjoined by **tsî**:

(26) Buruxa hais **tsî** |nî Sa |garuben ,The miracle tree and other San-folktales'. (Windhoek 2012)

	'Hám-è	î^i-s	gó^a-n-ä	nî^	ǎu?	î^i-s	tsî^í	títá.'
(27)	'Ham-e	îs	gôa-n-a	nî	au?	î-s	tsî	tita.'
	who-SG.c.ACC	3-SG.f	child-PL.c-ACC	FUT	rear	3-SG.f	and	I
	'Who will maintain her children?'					'She and I.'		
						(  Ātaras, S. 135)		

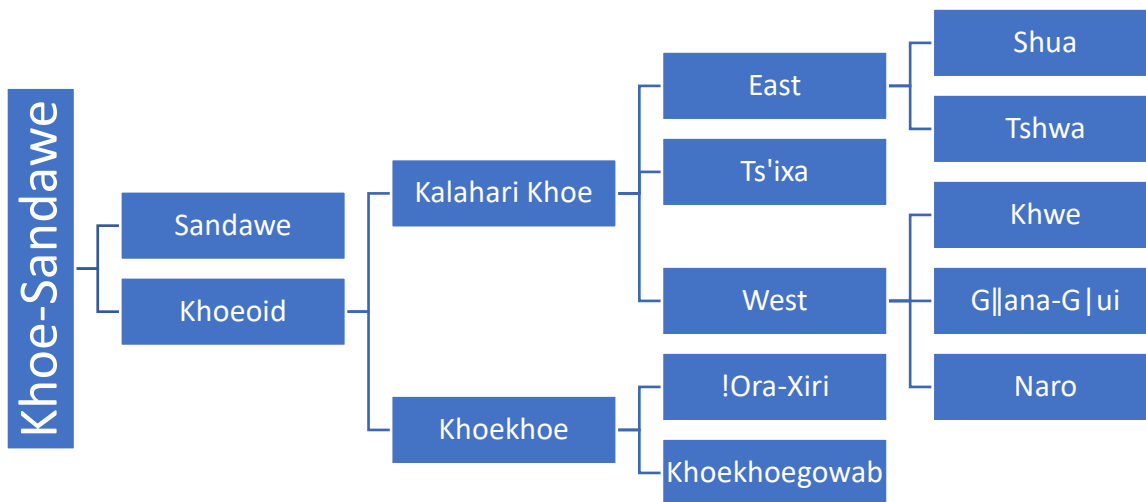
Answers and book titles are not necessary noun phrases. But if a coordinative complex is to be used as a noun phrase (or, depending on the syntax theory, as a determiner phrase), it must be terminated by another **tsî** and be suffixed by a PGN-suffix ('nominalizer' according to Haacke) referring to the overall expression. Case assignment, postpositions etc. do not refer to the individual components (in contrast to European languages):

	Xám-mì	tsî^í	!ó^a-s	tsî^r-à	xà	
(28)	[Xam-mi	tsî	!ôa-s	tsî]-ra	xa	
	lion-SG.c	and	hare-SG.f	and-3DU.c	from, of, by	
	'[Fable] Of the lion and the rabbit'					(IJR, p. 49)

Today, the lexeme **tsî** has a much wider range of uses than just nominal coordination, e.g. the coordination of verbs and verb phrases (albeit monosyndetic), also subordinate or in the meaning of "then":

29	Tē-ās <b>tsî</b>   goa-ams dí   aexa go.	It was time for [drinking] tea and breakfast.	Daureb S. 36
30	Tē  aeb ge ra  am tsîn ge go khâima.	Tea time is over and they got up.	Daureb S. 37
31	... !âu <b>tsî</b> †nôa	... waited and sat	Daureb S. 5
32	Sores ge hoaragase go  gawi tsîb ge llaube kai-am sîsenna garu ra  oro.	The sun was now fully high and about most of the work is getting less and less.	Daureb S. 5
33	„Hî-î hoan ge nepa hâ“ ti mî tsîs ge   amas hâ xûrona ra !nao  nâ.	„No, all is here“ she says and unloads the (little) things she bought.	Daureb S. 28

### 3.3 Other Khoe languages



**!Ora** has a cognate coordinator *tsĩ/thi*:

(34) *Tarakhoedi na !ōkua !khares thi haib thikha khau|kwa.*

*!Ora* ‘The women (*tarakhoedi*) for wild bulbs (*!’okua*) the bored stone (*!xares*) and the stick (*haib*) would dig with (*khao/xoa*).’ (du Plessis 2019, p. 206/Maingard 1932)

According to du Plessis (2019, p. 165), the ‘pattern with the final resumption [...] is possibly an archaic formulation’.

**Khwe** has a lot of coordination strategies (Kilian-Hatz 2008). Formerly, people seemed to prefer to use a postpositive bisyndetic element */xàà(xá)*:

(35) *Khwe-|ǒǎ-ñ |xàà Xũú-|ǒǎ-ñ |xàà*  
*Khwe Khwe-child-3PL.c and !Xun-child-3PL.c and*  
 ‘the Khwe children and the !Xun children’ (Köhler 2018, p. 217)

Recently, */xàà* has often been replaced by a monosyndetic conjunction *nà/nò*, which is placed between the (last) two conjoints – both form and construction are probably a loan from Bantu (Mbukushu). Interesting, but rarely used and partly ambiguous, is forming a pair of two nouns by marking each conjunct by the same dual PGN-suffix referring to both of them:

(36) *ndée-khà mbáa-khà*  
*Khwe mother-2DU.c father-2DU.c*  
 ‘Mom and Dad!’ (Kilian-Hatz 2008, p. 284)

**Ts’ixa** is the exception as it makes use of a circumfixal strategy in noun coordination according to the template

CONJ<sub>1</sub> kòrè CONJ<sub>2</sub> xàè kòrè CONJ<sub>3</sub> xàè ... (Fehn 2014, p. 128).

Steeman (2011, p. 207) reports that **Sandawe**, too, conjoins nouns using a complex coordinate construction consisting of two different elements:

(37) *Lèébà-’η K’ats’awà-’η ì Gélé*  
*Sandawe Leeba-and K’ats’awa-and and Gele*  
 ‘Leeba, K’ats’awa, and Nangile’ (Steeman 2011, p. 207)

‘The coordinating conjunction *ì* is used as a final conjunction in enumerations. The preceding elements in the list are conjoined by the linker *-’η*.’

No clear historical explanation emerges from these scattered observations, but it seems obvious that bisyndetic postpositive noun coordination is not unexpected in Khoe languages.



### 3.4 Recent developments

Postpositive bisyndetic noun coordination is not rare in verb-final languages, e.g. in the Dravidian language family, cf. Sanjay 2017<sup>3</sup>. While there are other coordination strategies in Tamil, too, the multiple -um construction continuous to be used today in written as well as in spoken Tamil (Ani! Hariharakrishnan, p.c.):

	குமாரும்	கமலாவும்	வ-ந்தார்கள்.	
(38)	Kumār-um	kamalā-vum	va-nt-ārka].	
Tamil	Kumar-and	Kamala-and	come-PST-3PL.H	(Krishnamurti/Sarveswaran 2021, p. 63)
	'Kumar and Kamala came.'			

	அவனும்	அவளும்	அவளுடைய	தங்கமும்
(39)	avaṅ-um	avaḷ-um	avaḷ-uṭaiya	taṅkam-um
Tamil	he-and	she-and	she-POSS	younger sister-and
	'he, she and her sister' [are going to ...]			(Vidya K. Ramasubramanian, p.c.)

Postpositive bisyndetic noun coordination is common in other African language families, too, as is the case in Dazaga, a Saharan language spoken in Chad and Niger:

(426)	làó	nírò	òrkójè	gʷóníjè	áskíjè	ɸjǎbò
	làó	nír=ò	òrkó=jè	gʷóní=jè	áskí=jè	Ø-j-jǎb
	friend	1S.POSS=DET	goat=and	camel=and	horse=and	3.OBJ-3-buy
	'My friend bought a goat, a camel, <b>and</b> a horse.'					

(427)	*	làó	nírò	òrkó	gʷóní	áskíjè	ɸjǎbò
		làó	nír=ò	òrkó	gʷóní	áskí=jè	Ø-j-jǎb
		friend	1S.POSS=DET	goat	camel	horse=and	3.OBJ-3-buy
		'My friend bought a goat, a camel, <b>and</b> a horse.'					

(Josiah Walters: A grammar of Dazaga. Leiden, Boston 2016. S. 176)

But the bisyndetic construction in Khoekhoe seems to come under pressure from contact languages. In the 2020s, in media language, I noticed that the last tsî tended to be replaced by hâ 'to be':

(40)	Omahekeb	tsî	Kharas hâ-kha	ge	...	
	'Omaheke	and	Kharas be-2DU.m <sup>4</sup>	IND	[did ...]'	(New Era 19.1.2021)
	<a href="https://neweralive.na/posts/3-500-xa-a-nasa-solqoadi-ge-ge-gamkha">https://neweralive.na/posts/3-500-xa-a-nasa-solqoadi-ge-ge-gamkha</a>					

(41)	Stellenbosch Universitaits	tsî	Stellenbosch	!â!khōmais	hâra	
	'The university of Stellenbosch and the municipality of Stellenbosch ...' (New Era 9.3.2021)					
	<a href="https://neweralive.na/in/posts/1-400-namibiain-ge-stellenbosch-tawa-ra-khakhassen">https://neweralive.na/in/posts/1-400-namibiain-ge-stellenbosch-tawa-ra-khakhassen</a>					

(42)	ai  gause	Chinab	tsî	Amerikab	hâkha	
	as for example	China	and	America		(New Era 22.6.2021)
	<a href="https://neweralive.na/in/posts/khakhaede-us-ge-nahanas-ai-garu">https://neweralive.na/in/posts/khakhaede-us-ge-nahanas-ai-garu</a>					

(43)	ai  gause	Chinab, Russiab,	Indiab	tsî	Amerikab	hâga
	as for example	China,	Russia, India	and	America	(New Era 23.2.2021)
	<a href="https://neweralive.na/in/posts/china-donates-100-000-vaccine-doses-1">https://neweralive.na/in/posts/china-donates-100-000-vaccine-doses-1</a>					

<sup>3</sup> ,In English when a group of nouns is conjoined together we add 'and' at the end [...] But whereas in Tamil you have to add the suffix um (ஓம்) to each and every noun.' (p. 275): Phonetically, the final consonant -m seems to become eroded, but not the bisyndetic principle of the suffix.

<sup>4</sup> The unexpected use of the masculine gender seems to be motivated by the fact that both conjuncts are districts, which is a masculine word in Khoekhoe.



(44) ꞤgaiꞤons ai Botswanab, Suid-Afrikab, Malawib, Ugandab, Nigeriab, Kameruni, Djiboutib, Gabonni, Ghanab, Ivory Coasti, Mauritaniab, Mauritiusi, Zambiab, Sao Tomeb tsî Príncipeb, Cape Verdeb, Guinea-Bissaub, Lesothob, Nigeri tsî Sierra Leone hâga.

such as Botswana, South Africa, Malawi, Uganda, Nigeria, Cameroon, Djibouti, Gabon, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Mauritania, Mauritius, Zambia, Sao Tome and Principe, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Lesotho, Niger and Sierra Leone. (New Era 23.11.2021)

<https://neweralive.na/posts/asa-gaugausenkhanidi-ge-narisarimas-aromas-tsina-ni-sisenxa>

(45) Oshanab, Erongob tsî |Khomas |kharihâgu ge ... |khari-g-a  
Oshana, Erongo and |Khomas district-be-3PL.m IND ... districts-3PL.m-ACC  
'Oshana, Erongo and |Khomas district are districts that ...' (New Era 18.1.2022)

<https://neweralive.na/posts/mariona-gaunas-ge-xoa-uxun-tsi-xoa-aixun-xa-a-kai-steenkamps>

While avoiding the last repetition of tsî, these constructions still preserve the fundamental syntactic structure of the coordination complex as a single **desentential noun** in the sense of Haacke (2006), distinguished by the combined PGN-suffix.

Nowadays, even this syntactic structure seems on the verge of extinction: The construction A [, B] tsî C spreads from verbal phrases to nouns, e.g. with postpositions:

(46) Khoe-n tsî !aub-|guru-n ||ægu ...  
people-PL.c and veld-animal-PL.c between ... (New Era 5.7.2022)

<https://neweralive.na/in/posts/duitshub-ge-namibiab-narisarimasa-omkhai-kais-na-gaigaibasensa-uha>

(47) Afrika-b |Gôa-n-a ||Khou-ba-s Xoa||gui-b tsî Namibia-b !HũꞤhanu-b !nâ ...  
Africa-SG.m child-PL.c-ACC defend-APPL-SG.f rule-SG.m and Namibia-SG.m constitution-SG.m in...

<https://neweralive.na/in/posts/geingob-namibiab-ge-goan-oagu-ha-tsutsu-aina-ni-ariui> (New Era 21.6.2022)

(48) Ministeris |Gapi ||Gau!nâs, Texnologib tsî |Asa ꞤâiꞤui|gaugu di ministers, Itah Kandjii-Murangis

The Minister of Higher Education, Technology and Innovation, Itah Kandjii-Murangi (New Era 27.5.2022)

(49) |Gurun hîa nêpa a !khõꞤgâsan ge Ꞥkhoan, !napan, ||nâsen, lechwen, xain, impalan, !airin, !nopodi tsî |khenadi, tsî noxopa |nîna.

The allocated animals comprise different species like elephants, hippos, crocodiles, lechwe, kudus, impala, steenboks, sable and guinea fowls, amongst others. (New Era 29.3.2022)

<https://neweralive.na/posts/namipeb-ministeris-ge-matiko-goab-aubgurun-ni-auhes-goaga-go-ma>

It is not easy to find recent examples of a last tsî with a PGN-suffix:

(50) ... ||nâse-n tsî hippo-n tsî-n-a ||î-n hoa-n xa ...  
crocodile-PL.c and hippo-PL.c and-PL.c-ACC they-PL.c all-PL.c by ...  
... crocodiles and hippos, from them all, ... (New Era 21.6.2022)

<https://neweralive.na/posts/gam-i-di-masib-ge-khoen-tsi-aubgurun-omgude-ra-arona>

(51) ||Nā koro ministeridi hîa !nan|gaiba ge ||ara-aihedidi ge: !hũde ||khawa kō!gâs, !norasasib tsî ||awosasib, maindi tsî |gaib, Ꞥkhamkhoen tsî ꞤgamꞤgamsens tsî ||khaubasens tsîna.

The five ministries that were affected by the power cuts include land reform, safety and security, mines and energy, youth and sport as well as defence. (New Era 2.3.2022)

<https://neweralive.na/posts/aegams-akhomais-ge-surudeb-kha-khao-ha-han-kha-a-axa>, aufgerufen

But the word tsí<sup>ʔ</sup>ĩ<sup>ʔ</sup>(ã) cannot be considered as convincing evidence for a desentential construction, because it has grammaticalized to an independent meaning ‘also, too’<sup>5</sup>. Its use is reminiscent of German ‘auch’, i.e. it is used more often and in more contexts than the English equivalents:

52	Tita tsí <sup>ʔ</sup> ĩ <sup>ʔ</sup> !gáísè ðkháí hà <sup>~</sup> ã.	I woke up fine, too.	Daureb S. 3
53	Aedī-aob tsí Kaibes tsíra tsín ge  ae:nā-omde xu !khō:oa  khāb llga !goaxa.	The (male) nurse and Kaibe also approached reception from the sickrooms.	Daureb S. 5
54	Nēsī go   ís tsína ðoaxa Kaibes ge khoena mâ ra   khae <sup>†</sup> gao.	Now that she is out, [too,] Kaibe stops comforting people.	Daureb S. 15
55	“Tsí tari-i tsína ge hà i?”	“And who else is there?”	Daureb S. 19
56	Nēsīs tsína ...	Right now ...	ĀtarasS.207

Adrianus, Hendry: A short video about me. Baumgartsbrunn (Namibia) 24.02.2009. <https://youtu.be/gWeEy3fAvlc>  
Amadi, Elechi: ||Ātaras. Translated by L. Namaseb. Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan 1997.

Carvalho, Carlos: Zizi & !Xau. The Eagle Calls. Cape Town: Human & Rousseau 1996.

Fehn, Anne-Maria: A grammar of Ts’ixa (Kalahari Khoe). Dissertation Köln 2014.

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

Haspelmath, Martin: Coordinating constructions. An overview. In: Haspelmath, Martin (ed.): *Coordinating Constructions*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins 2004.

Hurskainen, Arvi: Frequency list of Swahili. Helsinki: SALAMA – Swahili Language Manager 27.02.2021, <http://www.njas.helsinki.fi/salama/frequency-swa-1000.pdf>

IJR (Instituut vir Geregtigheid en Versoening): Stories op die wind. 'n Veeltalige bloemlesing van Noord-Kaapse volksverhale. Wynberg (Cape Town) without year.

Kilian-Hatz, Christa: A Grammar of Modern Khwe (Central Khoisan). Köln: Köppe 2008.

Köhler, Oswin: The world of the Khwe Bushmen in Southern Africa. Volume 4.1. Edited by Gertrud Boden and translated by Anne-Maria Fehn. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer 2018.

Langacker, Ronald W.: *Cognitive Grammar. A Basic Introduction*. Oxford University Press 2008.

Parameswari Krishnamurthy and Kengatharaiyer Sarveswaran: Towards Building a Modern Written Tamil Treebank. In *Proceedings of the 20th International Workshop on Treebanks and Linguistic Theories (TLT, SyntaxFest 2021)*, pages 61–68, Sofia, Bulgaria: Association for Computational Linguistics. <https://aclanthology.org/2021.tlt-1.6>

du Plessis, Menán: Kora. A Lost Khoesan Language of the Early Cape and the Gariiep. Pretoria: Unisa Press 2019.

Roushdi, Annie, Bonnin, Hiu and ðGomhetama|awa-Eiseb,: *Khoekhoegowab/English for Children*. Paris : Éditions du Cygne 2013.

Sanjay, D.: *Spoken Tamil for Absolute Beginners*. Karnataka (self-publishing) 2017.

Lirim Selmani: *Die Grammatik von und*. Mit einem Blick auf seine albanischen und arabischen Entsprechungen. Münster/New York/München/Berlin: Waxmann 2012.

Steeman, Sander: A grammar of Sandawe. A Khoisan language of Tanzania. Utrecht: LOT 2011.

Vaz, Sharmila: *Conjunctive coordination: meanings and function*. Dissertation Bonn 2014.

Zhang, Niina Ning: *Coordination in Syntax*. Cambridge University Press 2010.

Zubova, Julia: Conjunctive and comitative noun phrase coordination in Beserman Udmurt. *Linguistica Uralica* LV 2019.4. <https://dx.doi.org/10.3176/lu.2019.4.04>

<sup>5</sup> it is not fully grammaticalized to a particle, though, as can be seen by the case variation NOM tsín / ACC tsína which takes up the case of a noun or pronoun referred to, whereas the (pro)noun is in nominative case only, see ex. (54)-(55)