Lexical borrowing by Khoekhoegowab from Cape Dutch and Afrikaans

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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 Khoekhoegowab2 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 Hai!om. 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 Khoekhoeogowab 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 Khoe3 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 | e.g. khoe + b | ‘person’ + b = ‘man’, |
| fully assimilated consonant + i after stem- | xam + mi = ‘male lion’ |
| final consonants) | -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 explications 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
oe, 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. ā. 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,

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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 rhoe.shorokhoe.s (‘skirt’). If these words were loans from (modern) Afrikaans, then they should have been *puruk.i and *rök.s/horok.s, respectively. The additional, third syllable khoe can satisfactorily be accounted for by the Dutch plural -en, as in broeken (‘trousers’) and rokken (‘skirts’). 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/rôkhoe.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 ibhulukhw; Sotho borikhoe; Tswana borokgw; Yei urukhw; 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 burukoel/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.

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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*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>farkhe.b (pl. farkhe.n)</td>
<td>n. pig, boar</td>
<td>&lt; Du. sg. Varken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ferkhe.b</td>
<td>n. (table)fork</td>
<td>&lt; Du. pl. vorken, cf. Afr. vurk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunube.s</td>
<td>n. button</td>
<td>&lt; Du. pl. knopen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wekhe.b</td>
<td>n. week</td>
<td>&lt; Du. pl. weken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tolkhoe</td>
<td>v.t. interpret, translate orally</td>
<td>&lt; Du. tolken</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kleigi.s</td>
<td>n. saddle-cloth</td>
<td>&lt; Du. kleedje, Afr. kleedjie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sūro.b</td>
<td>n. stock, broth, clear soup</td>
<td>&lt; Du. soep, cf. Afr. sop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mateare</td>
<td>v.t. pay</td>
<td>&lt; Du. betalen, cf. Afr. betaal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miki.s</td>
<td>n. paternal (consanguineous) aunt, i.e. father’s sister</td>
<td>&lt; Du. moeke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omi.b</td>
<td>n. maternal (consaneous) uncle</td>
<td>&lt; Du. ome, oom</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’). The original Khoekhoe term was *ǀnao(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 *ǀnao(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,

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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 *ǀnao*.

One’s mother’s younger brother, while being generically categorised as *ǀnao(sa)*, is also identified with loans of Dutch origin: either *omore.b* (‘little *ome*b’; -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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aputi.b</td>
<td>eldest brother</td>
<td>&lt; Afr. <em>ou boet</em> (ie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ausi.s</td>
<td>eldest sister</td>
<td>&lt; Afr. <em>ousus</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sisiro.s, sîro.s</td>
<td>elder but not eldest sister</td>
<td>&lt; Afr. <em>sussie</em>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buda.b</td>
<td>brother</td>
<td>&lt; Du. <em>broeder</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klimâ.s, mikidâ.s</td>
<td>father’s younger brother’s</td>
<td>&lt; Afr. <em>kleinma</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>auma.s</td>
<td>grandmother, any grand-aunt</td>
<td>&lt; Du./Afr. <em>ouma</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bâ.b, baba.b</td>
<td>my father</td>
<td>&lt; Du./Afr. <em>pa/papa</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Hailom. 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bantam</td>
<td>banded/belted (of animal)</td>
<td>&lt; Afr. <em>bandom, bantom, bantam</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fadu.s</td>
<td>dishcloth/-rag, tea-towel</td>
<td>&lt; Afr. <em>vadoek</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>filsi.b</td>
<td>syphilis</td>
<td>&lt; Afr. <em>vuilsiekte</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kâia.n</td>
<td>greaves</td>
<td>&lt; Afr. <em>kaiings</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klouhamer.s</td>
<td>carpenter’s hammer</td>
<td>&lt; Afr. <em>klouhamer</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{10}\) 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. kruïwa

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 [t̥ōr̥ō] or [tr̥ōr̥ō] (‘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).

aili v.i. suffer from delirium, rave < Du. iJlen, Afr. yl

bankoro v.i. go bankrupt < Afr. bankrot

bili v.i. flow < Afr. vloei

bili.s n. bedbug, house bug < Afr. weeluis/Du. weegluis

brōxo.s, boroxo.s n. bridge < Afr. brug

doro, drō v.i. dry up, evaporate, boil away < Afr. droog

fīt, fili v.i. fly < Afr. vliei(g)

hurusi.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.

kini v.t. knead < Afr. knie

lā.b [Nama], labi.b [Damara] n. patch, (cleaning) cloth < Afr. lappie

legiri.n, negiri.n n. sweets < Afr. lekkers

mature v.t. pay < Du. betalen

muru.b n. coffee grounds, tea leaves < Afr. moer

pā.-i n. porridge < Du./Afr. pap

pēt.-i n. wick < Du./Afr. pit
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sinibe.s n. perky/per girl/woman, loose/promiscuous woman < Du./Afr. snippie

turu.b n. troop, armed forces, army < Du./Afr. troep(e)
xarao.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/θ] and [r/ɾ] occur only intervocically in roots, thus as C2 in C1VC2V. 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 Hailom and ǂÁkhoe. 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) < ī (become pretty) + Afr. snippie (pert woman)?

Note the semantic shift in the second meaning from Afrikaans “voorbarige/bemoeisieke/bitsige meisie of vrou”.

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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 Kho (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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Khoekhoe</th>
<th>Afrikaans</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anidana (chicken + head)</td>
<td>hoenderkop (chicken + head)</td>
<td>adj. (bec.) drunk/tipsy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōkāhāixū.n (pick up/find + things)</td>
<td>optelgoed (pick up/find + things)</td>
<td>n. (worthless) things found/picked up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huibē (help + disappear)</td>
<td>weghelp (away + help)</td>
<td>v.t. help (s.o.) to get on their way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mīxū. -i (say + thing)</td>
<td>sēgoed</td>
<td>n. platitude, repartee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāellgau.b (fire + arrow)</td>
<td>vuurpyl (fire + arrow)</td>
<td>n. rocket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwakāki.b² (red + foot)</td>
<td>pienkvoet (pink + foot)</td>
<td>n. pink-foot, newborn, i.e. baby</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹² The Khoekhoe word for “pink” is the less used word ġwara. The colour mismatch suggests that the source language was Afrikaans or Dutch.
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Rybyl refers to the axe that was part of the equipment of an ox-wagon. According to oral history (Daniel Dâusab, pers. comm.), the /Khôwesen (Witbooi Oorlam) acquired the right to settle at Gibeon in the 1850s by paying seven rybyle to the Kâi/khaun (Rooinasis 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) 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 compromising 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). The duplication of the root (with appropriate derivational tone), ǁnâiǀnâi, 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 ǁnâiǀnâi (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”.

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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.”
8. Grammatical accessibility and intertranslateability

The working language in the *Khoekhoegowab Dictionary Project* 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 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 *ǃnaubē* (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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Khoekhoe</th>
<th>Afrikaans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>af + sny</em> (cut off)</td>
<td><em>ǃgao + ǁnā</em> (lit.: cut + go down)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>af + neem</em> (photograph, take photo of)</td>
<td><em>ǃkhō + ǁnā</em> (lit.: seize + go down)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>af + luister</em> (eavesdrop on s.o.)</td>
<td><em>ǃgā + ǁnā</em> (lit.: listen + go down)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>op + ja</em> (chase up (e.g. goats))</td>
<td><em>ǃgowe + khâi</em> (lit.: snort through lips + get up)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mis + skiet</em> (shoot at s.o./s.th. and miss)</td>
<td><em>ǃnoa + sā</em> (lit.: murder/kill + out)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>verby + ry</em> (drive past)</td>
<td><em>ǃnari + !kharu</em> (lit.: drive + pass)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>uit + moor</em> (exterminate)</td>
<td><em>ǃgam + ūi</em> (lit.: murder/kill + out)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

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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)).

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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 [...] :

\[(11) \quad \text{Aan-ja vir my die skaap} \]
\[\quad \text{on-drive for me the sheep} \]

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:

!khōlhā (lit.: seize + go down) photograph afneem
kurukhāi (lit.: build + get up) rebuild (e.g. old car) opbou

\[\text{Opbou} \text{ in the sense of “rebuild, renovate” is not found in the WAT. However, from personal communication with various Afrikaners – including some from South Africa – this word does seem to belong to standard Afrikaans, as these speakers have confirmed that they know the word.}\]

### 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:

\[(1) \quad \text{Kaiste aob ge nī aimā} \]
\[\quad \text{big\textsc{+superl} man DECL FUT take lead}^{19}\]
\[\quad \text{The biggest man shall take the lead} \]

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\(^{18}\) Cf. Visser (2010) and Nakagawa (2006, in Haacke (2014)).

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 PREP.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. lâ+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 ǀ khī.  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 tsuxu̞ba (‘at/by night, during the night’) and tsēb tsi̞ tsuxuba (‘by night and day’), which are based on the noun tsuxu̞.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 hoa̞lae nî kama?
    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:
In the southern dialects of Khoekhoegowab (i.e. Nama and Orlam), the pluralisation of a subjectivai 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

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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 a 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 a 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”), oorbetjie (“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)
Lexical borrowing by Khoekhoegowab from Cape Dutch and Afrikaans

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.

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