

A NAMA GRAMMAR: THE NOUN-PHRASE

by

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To
IRMGARD

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1. INTRODUCTION

Nama is spoken in South West Africa by approximately 115 000 people of different ethnic groups. The numerically biggest groups speaking the Nama language are the Damara (75 000) and the Nama (38 000)¹). Certain smaller Bushman groups use Nama as well. Nama is the last survivor of the "classical Hottentott" (Khoekhoen) languages that is still spoken on a fairly extensive basis.

The differences between the dialect spoken by the Nama, and the dialect spoken by the Damara south of the Huab River are negligible. This dissertation is, however, explicitly confined to Nama as spoken by the Nama people. This pro forma limitation has to be made, as the material on syntax was recorded and checked with Nama informants only. The claim by certain Damara that they speak "Damara", a language not to be confused with Nama, can in our opinion not be upheld on linguistic grounds.

1.1. Object and objective

Several handbooks have been published on Nama. Yet no significant progress has been made in recent years

in the understanding of the nature of this language. Ever since Vedder's handwritten manuscript appeared in 1909, his "school-grammar" approach to Nama has been adopted by subsequent authors²⁾. Olpp revised Vedder's handbook in 1917. It was printed some forty-five years later, in 1963. In 1965 Rust's handbook appeared, which is based on the manuscripts by Vedder and Olpp. In 1964 Olpp's handbook was furthermore translated into Afrikaans by J.C. van Loggerenberg. His translation in turn was transcribed into the standard orthography and moderately revised by H.J. Krüger in 1972 (publication forthcoming). A scholarly re-assessment of Nama grammar by Otto Dempwolff in 1934 apparently went largely unnoticed by more recent authors.

It is thus for more than sixty years that Vedder's approach to Nama grammar has been adopted almost entirely for the purpose of writing handbooks. It cannot be overlooked that a grammatical model for European languages - in particular for Latin and German - has been imposed on Nama, as will be illustrated in the next section. The result is that the handbooks fail to reveal certain underlying regularities that are essential to an understanding of the grammatical principles of Nama. Hence some serious misconceptions are prevailing in the current literature, and several

accounts of grammatical processes in Nama are confusing and complicated.

In this light this dissertation hopes to serve a dual purpose: It aims to provide additional descriptive material on certain aspects of Nama that have not yet been covered in existing literature; but in doing so, a satisfactory theory must be found that can adequately serve as infrastructure (working basis) for the description of Nama. The theory that is proposed is sketched in outline. It will be cause for personal satisfaction if this theory will show the way for future research and for the construction of a detailed theory of Nama grammar.

Only one aspect has been selected for discussion: the NOUN-PHRASE. This topic has been chosen as nominalization is one of the most important features of Nama grammar. Nominalization is moreover that aspect of Nama syntax which is the most misrepresented.

This dissertation should not be seen as a theoretical work: It should rather be seen as a descriptive work on Nama. A re-assessment of some of the material available in existing handbooks should lead to a better understanding of the mechanisms at work. It is hoped that this restatement is the major contribution, as

it affects all the aspects of Nama syntax, not only the NOUN-PHRASE. That material which has been recorded for the first time is presented in order to substantiate the grammatical theory. But it should also have its merit simply as a contribution towards the factual knowledge about Nama.

1.1.1. The problem: Is the concept of CASE applicable to Nama?

"Case", in its most general understanding, means the syntactical relationship, or grammatical function of a noun, pronoun or modifier (e.g. adjective, numeral, etc.). This dissertation is not intended to contribute to the argument about case as a universal. The various cases are accepted in their "traditional" meaning, since this is how the authors of the Nama handbooks have understood them: In the words of Lyons (1968:290)

"the most common function of the 'nominative' is to mark the subject of the sentence; the 'accusative' is used to mark the object of a transitive verb; the 'genitive' is the case of 'possession'; the 'dative' marks the indirect object ...; and the 'ablative' has a variety of functions, including that of marking the 'instrument' with which something is done."

It is common practise with all authors, including Rust (1965) and to some extent also Dempwolff (1934),

to use this case nomenclature, as will be shown in the next section. Mostly they refer to overt inflexional forms of nouns, as is the practise in inflexional languages like Latin or German. That is, "case" is taken to be a morphological, not a syntactical (functional) feature³⁾.

It is the primary aim of this dissertation to investigate -

a) whether these terms can validly be adopted in their traditional interpretation for the respective inflexional forms of Nama nominals; and if it is valid, whether the principle has been applied systematically with regard to each form; and

b) if it is not valid, to investigate what other working hypothesis could be offered that will satisfactorily account for the problems by reducing them to "underlying regularity"⁴⁾.

The organization of the argument will be outlined briefly in section 1.3.1. below. Beforehand, a short introduction to previous work on this topic should help to elucidate the problem.

1.2. Previous work with regard to the Nama
NOUN-PHRASE

As far as practical handbooks are concerned it would be almost sufficient to look at only the latest handbook that appeared in print, in order to assess the general approach adopted in the description of Nama. As the subtitle states, F. Rust's "PRAKTISCHE NAMA-GRAMMATIK auf Grund der Namagrammatiken von H. Vedder und J. Olpp" (1965) relies heavily on pioneer works by other German missionaries⁵⁾.

A glance at the index reveals the typically synthetic⁶⁾ approach as it was often pursued by the taxonomic school: Rust divides his book into a first (major) part on "Formenlehre" (morphology) covering approximately one hundred pages, and a second part on "Satzbildungslehre" (syntax). This latter part consists of a mere six pages. The same is true for Olpp (1917). Krüger (forthcoming) does not offer a separate section on syntax at all.

The synthetic approach, as opposed to the analytic approach, leads to the formulation of complicated and misleading rules for Nama, rules that moreover are in conflict with the case terminology in use.

Some examples may illustrate the major weaknesses in the current approach to Nama grammar. The first problem arises from the use of case nomenclature. How is it possible that the grammatical subject of the sentence under certain conditions appears in the "accusative" form ending with a suffix -a?⁷⁾

S1 O~b ge gao-aoba ge mû.⁸⁾
 then~he (s) chief rm.p see
 (Then the chief saw.)

S2 !ûi-aob ge gao-aoba ge mû.
 herder (s) chief rm.p see
 (The herder saw the chief.)

In both sentences gao-aoba has the "accusative"-form ending with -a. But in S1 it functions as grammatical subject, and in S2 as grammatical object of the sentence. !ûi-aob in S2 has the form that is considered to be the 'regular' subject-form or "nominative". Another problem in the current presentations is caused by the synthetic approach. An instance may be quoted from Olpp (1917:26):

S3 Tita ge gomagu tsî gomadi tsî |goan tsîna
 I (s) bulls and cows and smallstock and~them
 ge ôa.
 rm.p look-for
 (I looked for bulls and cows and smallstock.)

The "accusative"-form of the respective nouns is gomaga, gomade and |goana. Yet these forms do not occur in S3.

Olpp explains:

"... doch tritt die Form des Akkusativs erst am Ende in dem Suffix in Erscheinung, während die Substantive selbst noch im Nominativ auf-

treten. Der Akkusativ wird somit "a u f -
g e s c h o b e n" (aufgeschobener Akkusativ)."

This phenomenon of "shifting" -a and other phrase designants (P^d)⁹⁾ occurs very frequently. The most common instance is when modifiers occur to the right of the antecedent. Compare Rust (1965:33):

"Beim nachgestellten, dem Hauptwort "angeklammerten" Adjectivum ist ausser den Bestimmungen betr. zugehöriges Suffix auch noch darauf zu achten, dass bei längeren Aufzählungen das Accusativ-a an den Schluss der Aufzählungsreihe hinausgeschoben ("aufgespart") wird; so ergeben sich bei nachgestellten Adjectivum für den Nominativ und den Accusativ die Formen: omi geib, omi geiba [ommi kaib[∅], ommi kaiba (the house, the big one)]; saran lasan[∅], saran lasana [saran lasan, saran lasana (the clothes, the new ones)]."¹⁰⁾

Rust might have added that in the nominative of a declarative sentence ge (instead if ∅, which was added here) is postposed to the end, as is shown in the following examples¹¹⁾:

- S4 Nē !uri ommi ge a kai.
this white house (s) pr.s big
(This white house is big.)
- S5 Nē ommi !urib ge a kai
this house white-it (s) pr.s big
(This house, the white one is big.)
- S6 Ommi nē !urib ge a kai.
house this white-it (s) pr.s big
(The house, this white one is big.)
- S7 Ommi nēb !urib ge a kai.
house this-it white-it (s) pr.s big
(The house, this one, the white one is big.)

Corresponding sentences could be quoted for "accusative-a", if the above NOUN-PHRASES had object function, e.g.

S4-1 Tita ge nē 'uri omma ra mû.
 I (s) this white house pr.i see
 (I am seeing this white house.)

S7-1 Tita ge ommi nēb 'uriba ra mû.
 I (s) house this-it white-it pr.i see
 (I am seeing the house, this one, the white one.)

etc.

If from Rust's exposition (and from those by most other authors) it is inferred that the subject form of a NOUN¹²⁾ has a zero-suffix (\emptyset), then it is indeed puzzling how the NOUN (head-constituent) appearing as object of a sentence can have either the accusative -a suffix (S4-1) (when no modifiers follow) or the nominative zero-suffix \emptyset (S7-1).

The above examples reveal the main problems in the traditional handbooks:

1. There seems to be no one-to-one correspondence between inflexional "case"-forms (morphemes) and case-functions of NOMINALS.

2. In the conventional understanding case-forms are associated with the word, and not the phrase. It is thus a violation of the convention to maintain that the inflexional elements can be "shifted" from the NOUN (the head-constituent) in order to be affixed to some other component of the sentence.

It is the primary objective of this dissertation to account for these two problems.

- The short-comings of the available handbooks are manifold, with regard to the description of the complex NOUN-PHRASE. No explicit information is offered on -

a) what structures¹³⁾ are permitted when more than one modifier occurs in an NP;

b) what the semantic significance of the various structures is, i.e., when the modifiers occur to the left or to the right respectively of the head-constituent.

Furthermore it is not clear why "accusative-a" (and hence also subject-ge, genitive di, ablative -i) has to be shifted to the end of the "Aufzählungsreihe" (i.e. NP).

It is a further objective of this dissertation to offer new information on, and new insight into these aspects of the Nama NOUN-PHRASE.

Only a few instances have been quoted to show that the synthetic approach (taking the word as prime) leads to arbitrary complexities. The "traditional" authors (i.e. Vedder, Olpp, Rust, etc.), who have not accepted the centrality of syntax fail to reveal the most fundamental generalizations of Nama grammar. For this reason it was not possible for them to reduce the seemingly complicated sentence structure of Nama to

a surprisingly simple underlying structure¹⁴).

Dempwolff's handbook (1934) is the only exception in that it adheres to the analytic method. In his Vorbemerkungen (1934:30) he justifies his publication in the following way:

"Ueber die Namasprache gibt es bereits eine ganze Reihe von Veröffentlichungen. Die vorliegende Arbeit kann sich nicht durch Beibringung von neuem Material rechtfertigen, ... sondern sie versucht nur, die Grammatik dem wissenschaftlichen Verständnis dadurch näher zu bringen, dass sie vom Satzbau und nicht von den Wortformen ausgeht."

It is unfortunate that later writers have not followed his example.

1.2.1. Case terminology in Nama handbooks

A clear distinction is made in this dissertation between the terms case and case-form. The term case-form is used for overtly expressed inflexional forms of a nominal, be it by means of suffixes, particles or postpositions. The expression case is used "to identify the underlying syntactic-semantic relationship"¹⁵), irrespective of inflexional forms.

- On the following pages a brief summary is given of the terminology that has been used for the inflexional morphemes, without any investigation of their occurrences

or function. This is done to show that, by labelling the respective forms with Latin case nomenclature, the traditional authors are implying that Nama has an inflexional system like Latin.

Four representatives of the traditional school will be quoted: Meinhof (1909), Olpp (1917), Dempwolff (1934) and Rust (1965). Dempwolff is not really "traditional" in his approach, since his work is analytic, instead of synthetic.

1.2.1.1. The "zero-morpheme" \emptyset

S8 Aob \emptyset ge ra mû.
 man (s) pr.i see
 (A man is seeing.)

This form is generally accepted to be the form of a NOUN serving as subject¹⁶). Meinhof (1909:51) calls it "subjektive Form". He does not use case nomenclature, therefore. He does not consider gye (today spelt ge) to be part of the subject: He calls it an auxiliary verb (Hilfsverb) which yields emphasis to the verb, in particular to the present tense (p.53)¹⁷).

Olpp (1917:12) calls the zero-form "Nominativform", thereby alluding to conventional case concepts. He

calls ge the "gye-Subjektivus" (p.10) and explains that it serves to emphasize the subject of the sentence.

Rust (1965:15) speaks of a "Nominativform" and "ge subjectivum" (p.15) respectively, thereby following Olpp.

Dempwolff (1934:41) rejects the term "Subject-Suffixe" in favour of "indifferente Formen der Pronominal-Suffixe"¹⁸). Ge he calls a "Subjekt-Partikel" (p.36) which serves to mark the subject as such.

1.2.1.2. The morpheme -a

It is with this form that irreconcilable inconsistencies will show up, for -a is attached to -

(i) the object of a sentence (irrespective of sentence type):

S9 Aob ge tarasa ra mû. (declarative sentence)
man (s) woman pr.i see
(A man is seeing a woman.)

S9-1 Aoba tarasa ra mû? (interrogative sentence)
(Is a man seeing a woman?)

S9-2 Tarasa mû! (imperative sentence)
(See the woman!)

(ii) the subject of an interrogative sentence¹⁹):

S10 Aoba tarasa ra mû?
(Is a man seeing a woman?)

(iii) the extrapositional subject²⁰) (irrespective of sentence type):

S11 O~b ge aoba tarasa ra mû. (declarative)
 then-he (s) man woman pr.i see
 (Then a man is seeing a woman.)

S11-1 Maba~b aoba tarasa ra mû? (interrogative)
 where-he man woman pr.i see
 (Where does a man see a woman?)

(Declarative sentences have no overt subject.)

(iv) the subject of 'stacked' (elliptic) declarative sentences²¹, subsequent to a first subject with a nominative form and ge:

S12 Arigu ge ra ||hū, tsî |noraga !hao, tsî
 dogs (s) pr.i bark and baboons bark and
 gomade !ôa.
 cows low
 (Dogs are barking, and baboons barking, and cows lowing.)

Compare the full, co-ordinate sentence:

S12-1 Arigu ge ra ||hū, tsî |noragu ge ra !hao, tsî
 gomadi ge ra !ôa.
 (Dogs are barking, and baboons are barking,
 and cows are lowing.)

Meinhof (1909:51) speaks of a "objektive Form", which is derived from the subject-form by adding -a. Instances where the "subjektive Form" does not express the subject, and the "objektive Form" not the object, are considered to be exceptions.

Olpp (1917:11) calls this form the "Akkusativ" or "Objektform". Rust (1965:9) states that the "Accusativ" is the "Objektfall". He mentions that a number of verbs governing either the accusative or dative in German require the "doppelten Accusativ", or better the

"doppelten Objectivus" in Nama.

Dempwolff (1934:44) speaks of "Prädikat-Formen", thereby again choosing a noncommittal term.

Obviously the -a after the extrapositional subject caused some awkwardness (cf. S11). Meinhof (1909:58) writes:

"das substantivische Subjekt, das nun gleichsam als Apposition des vorangegangenen pronominalen Subjektes steht, folgt im o b j e k t i v e n Kasus nach."

This means that to him "Kasus" means form and not function.

Olpp (1917:22) evades the issue by speaking of a "Wohllautform" which appears in the Akkusativform. He calls the preceding subject-marker, i.e. N^d(+ge), a "vorlaufendes Subjekt". The term "Wohllautform" has been adopted from Krönlein, it seems.

Rust (1965:19) does not follow Olpp in this instance: He refers to a "vorlautendes Subjekt" which is followed by the "Bestätigungsform".

"Der Form nach ist das nachgeholtte Subjekt ganz und gar ein Accusativ, es fungiert aber nicht als solcher, sondern als Bestätigungsform."

Dempwolff (1943:46) takes a slightly different approach, which is close to the one adopted in this dissertation (vide section 3.1.2.4.). Instead of speaking of a "vorlaufendes Subjekt" he speaks of a "nachlaufendes

Subjekt" which is marked in anticipation ("vorweg ... gekennzeichnet"). He mentions that the extrapositional subject appears in the "Prädikat-Form" and suggests that the extrapositional subject should be explained as an originally inserted sentence. In view of this he translates the sentence (p.46)

"Os ge ||ganasa ra gon" as "Da er - der Kamelbusch ist es - regt sich".

In transformational-generative terms this means that a copular sentence has been embedded into a matrix sentence with a verbal predicate. When the embedded sentence is raised, its subject is deleted by means of a process called "equi-NP-deletion". (See section 3.1.3.3. for a further discussion.)

S_{matrix}: O-s ... ge ra gon.
 then-she (s) pr.i move
 (Then she is moving.)

S_{embed.}: (||Î)s ge ||ganasa.
 she (s) camelthorntree
 (She is a camelthorntree.)

1.2.1.3. The possessive morpheme di

It is not clear why so little is said about the morphological status of di. One might expect that grammarians adhering to a case-form model would describe it as an inflexional suffix (and would thus also write it conjunctively). But this is not done,

although orthographically nothing stands in the way of writing di conjunctively.

Meinhof (1909:52 and 73) speaks of a "Genetiv". Hereby he seems to refer to the covert relation, rather than to a case-form:

"Der Genetiv wird dadurch ausgedrückt, dass das regierende Nomen hinter das im Genetiv stehende tritt und beide durch 'di' verbunden werden."(p.52)

Meinhof does not say what type of morpheme di is.

Olpp (1917:26) similarly sees di as a relational notion:

"Der Genetiv antwortet auf die Frage: Wessen? und wird mit Hilfe des Wörtchens 'di' gebildet, das h i n t e r das im Genetiv stehende Wort tritt."

Rust (1965:27) copies the pattern:

"Der Genetiv antwortet auf die Frage "wessen?" und wird mit Hilfe der Genetivpartikel "di" gebildet. Dieselbe tritt hinter das im Genetiv stehende Wort."

Dempwolff (1934:110) says that the "Genetiv-Postposition" serves to mark an attribute as genitive. That is "genitive" is to him a relation, rather than a form.

1.2.1.4. The ablative morpheme -i

All four authors use the term "Ablativ". Meinhof (1909:17) though prefers the word "Instrumentalis".

He gives it the same categorial status as "Subjektiv" and "Objektiv". Olpp (1917:29) sees the ablative as a case-form occurring only in the third person singular²²⁾ in the form of a suffix -i. Rust (1965:29) uses "Ablativ" both for the form (with -i) and the relation ("Ablativverhältnis"). Dempwolff (1934:98) uses "Ablativ" as a functional term. He mentions the nominal forms ending in -i in inverted commas as "Ablativ-Formen".

1.2.1.5. The vocative morphemes -e and -a

Various forms are treated under "Vokativ", mainly -e and -a. For Meinhof (1909:57 et seq) the word seems to mean both form and function. The same holds for Olpp and Rust. But Olpp (1917:24) does not treat "Vokativ" under the heading "Deklination", together with the other so-called "cases". Rust (1965:25), however, does treat it under "Deklination". Dempwolff (1934:58) uses "Vokativ" in inverted commas again, and specifically mentions "Vokativ-Formen".

1.2.1.6. Günther's "Casus rectus" and "Casus obliquus"

A remarkable, though not so well-known viewpoint is that of Wilfried Günther, as described in his article

"Die Pronomina im Hottentottischen" (1969). He does not use the traditional case-names, but speaks of a casus-rectus and a (dependent) casus-obliquus (p.59). He observes very correctly that ge and -a are not nominative and accusative markers, but are determined by syntactic sequence. With regard to the extra-positional subject he writes (pp.59-60):

"Endlich finden wir das Suffix auch an einem bereits genusbestimmten Substantiv, das im obliquus steht: tara-sa-b gye khoiba go mü "der Mann sah die Frau". Das logische Subjekt wird, nachgestellt, zum obliquus, während das logische Objekt, eben durch den Antritt des Suffixes formal rectus wird.

Das Gemeinsame aller eben zitierten Sätze ist, dass das Pronominalsuffix fest an eine bestimmte Stelle im Satz gebunden ist, an der das Subjekt obligatorisch angedeutet werden muss. Das Subjekt (rectus) steht "davor", alles, das ihm folgt, ist Objekt (obliquus). ...

Rectus und Obliquus sind also im Hottentottischen nicht unbedingt Indikatoren, ob etwas Verursacher oder Erleider ist, sondern werden durch die Wortstellung vorgeschrieben. ... jegliche Flexion ist nur im Rahmen dieses Schemas möglich."

Günther has been quoted at length because we consider this, at least in principle, to be the correct solution. We do not agree, however, that the logical object formally becomes rectus: tarasa-b \emptyset . For this means that Günther does not recognize a (surface) distinction between nominal designants in (fortuitous) close proximity to preceding parts of speech ("free" ~N^d), and nominal designants being part of a nominal ("bound" +N^d). For a discussion of these nominal clusters see below, sections 2.2.2. and 3.1.1.1.

The dual division of cases in rectus and obliquus is by no means new. It was the Stoics who introduced the case concept of a division between "true" and "deviating" form of a noun.

Akin to the division between "rectus" and "obliquus" is the distinction by Westphal (1971) of "independent" and "dependent" forms respectively (p.394). Unfortunately no reasons were given why these suitable terms were chosen.

- Günther's view on ge is expressed in a footnote (p.60):

"Noch ein Wort zur "Subjektpartikel" gye. Diese kann nur sehr bedingt so genannt werden, denn sie scheint mir weniger das Subjekt zu stützen, als vielmehr den Aussagecharakter eines Satzes zu unterstreichen, da sie nur in Aussagesätzen stehen kann. Man sollte sie eher "Aussagepartikel" nennen."

Günther sees ge thus as a sentence-type marker. As such it should be associated with the Verb-Phrase rather than with the Noun-Phrase. Günther's view co-incides very much with the view to be presented in this thesis (vide section 3.1.2.2.).

1.3. Statement of the linguistic framework

As it was said above, this dissertation is not concerned with the theory of case grammar. The research was motivated by the demand for a practical re-assessment of the traditional approach to the "inflexional" morphemes of Nama. The function of the various forms will be investigated, and it will thereafter be attempted to describe in broad outline the mechanism of how these forms are really used. It will become evident that a mere description on the surface level cannot satisfactorily account for these forms (section 3.1. et seqq.). The account of the underlying mechanism is based on the Chomskyan model of a "Subject-Object" grammar. It is assumed that the reader is acquainted with the basic principles and terminology of this theory.

1.3.1. Organization of this dissertation

This dissertation contains four major chapters.

Chapter 1. serves as general introduction to the topic. This chapter contains also some new information about tone in section 1.4.3. This information has to be provided somewhat prematurely, as the orthographic conventions adopted for the indication of tone have

to be explained.

Chapter 2. is a morphological statement. It provides the reader with background information as far as it is essential for the understanding and checking of the argument. While chapter 1. is an introduction to the dissertation, chapter 2. is an introduction to the NOUN-PHRASE of Nama.

Section 2.1. provides information as to how the various lexical categories can be distinguished. Section 2.2. deals with those grammatical categories that are essential to nominalization, and section 2.3. deals with the functional components of an NP, viz. the head-constituent and modifiers.

It is not always possible to provide the data without extensive comment, as some data are presented wrongly in the handbooks (e.g. "pronouns"), or are not yet available (e.g. syntactic criteria for the determination of word-categories). That is, a part of the re-statement of Nama grammar must inevitably be introduced in this preparatory chapter. All data are, however, entirely dealt with on the "surface level".

Chapter 3., The NOUN-PHRASE in Nama is the central chapter of this dissertation. It consists of two major sections. The first section deals with the NOUN-PHRASE

as an entity in the sentence; the second section deals with the syntax of the NP; the third, short section provides some sample sentences in order to further elucidate the argument. The first parts of the first section (sections 3.1.1. to 3.1.2.) deal with the case issue on an empirical level. In the next part of the first section (3.1.3.) a theory is constructed in order to account for the surface phenomena. This theory is then applied to the most important aspects of Nama grammar - as far as the NP is concerned. This is done, both to explain these phenomena in terms of the hypothesis, and to check whether empirical facts support the hypothesis.

The second section of the main chapter (3.2.), "Syntax of the NOUN-PHRASE" deals with the linear ordering of the constituents within the NP. Much of the information on permitted sequences of modifiers is of the handbook type. But the newly-gained information again leads to a restatement of some traditional views. Some particular phenomena are then discussed in terms of the hypothesis proposed in section 3.1.

The third section involves no theorizing. It simply quotes examples to illustrate the importance of sentential nominalization in Nama.

Chapter 4., the Conclusion is a brief summary of, and reflection on the argument.

Appendix I displays REAL-TIME-ANALIZER recordings of the fundamental frequencies ("profiles") of lexical tonemes.

1.3.2. Descriptive material in this dissertation

This dissertation should be consulted in conjunction with the existing handbooks. Material that is dealt with satisfactorily in these handbooks is not repeated here. But the previous theory is replaced in this dissertation, and the student should "translate" the expositions in the handbooks in terms of the theory put forward in this dissertation, i.e., the theoretical aspects of this thesis should aid the student of Nama to interpret the material that is available in the handbooks correctly, and it should aid him to enhance his understanding of Nama grammar as a whole. The inadequacies in the handbooks (with regard to the NP) have been pointed out in previous sections.

The student will furthermore find in this dissertation material on Nama that does not exist in the available

literature. The description of new material is by no means complete. In the main it has been confined to the NOUN-PHRASE, and within that sphere, to material substantial to the hypothesis about the nature of the NP.

A brief survey follows of some of the major topics in this dissertation that are not provided in the various handbooks and articles on Nama.

1. Permitted sequences of modifiers. As the teaching guides (Olpp 1917, Rust 1965) pay little attention to syntax, practically no information was available on permitted sequences of sentence constituents. It is shown in section 3.2.1. that modifiers to the left of the head-constituent are subject to specific constraints, as far as their order of appearance is concerned. The 'natural' order is then specified. It is furthermore pointed out that modifiers with attributive function appear only to the left of the head-constituent, while modifiers appearing to the right of the head-constituent are appositions.

2. The "pronoun". It is shown in section 2.1.1.1. that not 31 but 49 forms of the so-called "full pronoun" are used. It is furthermore shown that the nature of this "pronoun" was not yet understood. The "full pronoun" is in reality a type of modifier which

is used pronominally.

3. Word order in a simple sentence. A full inventory of possible orders within a simple subject-object-verb sentence is provided in section 3.1.1. It is shown that the impressive variety of sentences in Nama can be reduced to only two basic structures, each with its own significance. This topic is again dealt with only to the extent that it is relevant to the NP. The position of adverbials in a sentence is not dealt with, as this dissertation is not concerned with the syntax of the sentence (S). It will be a future task to correct the erratic treatment of adverbials, participials and certain conjunctions in the handbooks.

4. Tone. Although tone is not a subject of description of this dissertation, but only a means to prove certain facts concerning syntax, some new information is made available in section 1.4.3. a.o. Considerable misconceptions prevail in the handbooks. Not one of them correctly lists the actual number of surface profiles that ought to be distinguished.

Meinhof (1909:20-22) was fully aware of the significance of tone, but had to rely on second-hand information. He distinguishes three tones (deep, middle, high). He quotes Schulze-Jena (1907) who has observed nine profiles. We have not checked on his material, but according

to Beach (1928:128) Schulze-Jena distinguished three variants too much.

Olpp's analysis (1917:5) is very similar to that of Schulze-Jena. He distinguishes "Toneinsatz" (deep, higher, high) and "Tonausklang" (level, rising, falling). Unfortunately Olpp does not specify whether the level profile can occur with all three tone onsets. But otherwise his distinctions seem to be nearly correct.

Rust (1965:3) mentions four tones: middle, deep, higher, rising. But he does not consider tone systematically in his expositions.

As Beach's excellent work "The Phonetics of the Hottentott Language" (1938) was not available to us at the time when we commenced our studies on Nama tone, and as it thus did not influence our investigations, it is perhaps not insignificant that the conclusions coincide: Both investigations distinguish six basic profiles. - Beach has, however, not worked on tone perturbations, although he was aware of their existence. This dissertation provides new material in this field, as far as it is relevant to the main argument. Besides syntactically determined perturbations some minor details are mentioned, like the tonal distinction between determiners (tí and sá) and possessives (tí and sá); the distinction between deictic and referential meaning of demonstra-

tives, etc. The most important aspect is perhaps that the reader should realize from that little material that has been documented here that any treatise on Nama is futile if tone is not taken into consideration. It remains a major research task for the future to investigate the distribution of Nama tone patterns systematically. Random description of tone patterns in a collection of sentences cannot be fruitful. Meriggi (1931) attempted this, and, though it must be conceded that he had to rely on recorded texts not his own, he lost much important information by not being able to compare tone patterns systematically.

5. Identification of lexical formatives as nouns, verbs, adjectives or other categories (section 2.1.).

Although some information is scattered throughout the handbooks, it has not been explicitly stipulated yet how these categories can be distinguished syntactically, and what AUX (auxiliary) may occur with a particular type of lexical entry.

6. Descriptions of various empirical data have been corrected or extended, as for instance on the occurrence of the ablative suffix -i (section 2.2.2.6.), or the use of the oblique form ("object-form") in direct questions (section 3.1.3.1.) and in elliptic sentences (vide p. 14).

7. This dissertation should generally enhance the understanding of certain syntactic processes in Nama, like the extraposing of a subject, the conversion of predicative to copular sentences, the function of nominal designants and phrase designants, and the methods employed by Nama in "meaning-preserving"²⁴). The main contribution of this dissertation to the description of Nama grammar should be seen in the contribution to the understanding of Nama syntax. Any handbook on Nama that is written in future should take these findings into consideration.

1.3.3. Topics not covered in this dissertation

Wherever aspects or syntactic components outside the realm of the NP are discussed, it is done with the view to clarifying the discussion of the NP. The syntax of the sentence (S) is only discussed as far as it is relevant to the underlying structure of NOMINALS. Adverbs are therefore not discussed at all, nor is tense and modality examined.

Although relative modifiers are sentences embedded in the NP, their syntax is not discussed, as it is too vast a topic.

Grammatical formatives other than the N^d and the P^d

are not discussed. Verbal extensions, adjectival formatives etc. are not relevant to the argument. It is not the intention to repeat information in this dissertation that can be obtained from the handbooks.

The formation of compound nouns is not discussed, as this topic will have to be a major part of any investigation into tone. The tone-rules applying to duplications and combinations of lexical formatives are complex, as more perturbed tone series are involved than the one relevant to the present discussion.

"Anaphoric clitics", i.e. pronominal references to the sentence object, are not discussed either, as they are not directly relevant to the argument about the nature of the NOMINAL. The presentation of the anaphoric clitics is satisfactory in the practical handbooks, which makes it superfluous to deal with them once more.

The theory itself is presented only in outline, as far as it is essential for practical purposes. It will be a task for future research to pursue this theory by formulating detailed rules on the various facets of Nama syntax.

1.3.4. The data

The data used were collected during three years of employment in the Native Language Bureau in Windhoek. Many problems could be identified in the course of our professional work. All systematic investigation was conducted with the Nama language-assistant, Mr Johannes Boois, as informant. Mr Boois, who hails from the central, Rehoboth-Windhoek area is a representative of the younger urban generation. The most crucial data, especially those pertaining to chapter 3.1., were checked with Pastor Hendrik Witbooi (junior) from Gibeon and Pastor Petrus Andreas Schmidt from Maltahöhe. Both informants belong to the middle-aged generation; they work as school-principals and theologians in rural areas in the southern part of South West Africa. Much of the data was occasionally checked in the course of the professional work. Recordings of tonal profiles were made at various places in Namaland (and also Damaraland) during the first half of 1974.

This dissertation does not claim to describe the language spoken by the Damara, since the data pertaining to syntax were not explicitly checked with any person identifying himself as a Damara. It is a further topic for future research to study dialect groups of Nama-speakers.

1.4. Conventions1.4.1. The orthography

The official orthography is used throughout this dissertation. For a discussion and phonetic description of the speech-sounds the reader is referred to NAMA/DAMARA Orthography No. II (forthcoming), which is a revised and enlarged edition of NAMA/DAMARA Orthography No. I (1970).

The tilde (~) and plus-sign (+), as opposed to the hyphen (-), are not used in the official orthography²⁵). These two symbols are introduced in this thesis for explicatory purposes: The reader should not be confused by the fact that in the official orthography free N^ds (vide p.19) are spelt disjunctively if they form a syllable (by means of a vowel, but not a nasal consonant), and conjunctively if they do not form a syllable by means of a vowel, e.g.

Ob ge ra mû.
and-he (s) pr.i see
(And he is seeing.)

O gu ge ra mû.
and-they (s) pr.i see
(And they are seeing.)

In this dissertation free N^ds are preceded by a tilde i.o. to avoid confusion, e.g.

O~b ge ra mû.
O~gu ge ra mû.

1.4.2. Symbols and abbreviations

1. Numbering: The numbering in this dissertation is obvious and needs little comment. Sample sentences are marked consecutively throughout the dissertation with Arabic numbers preceded by S. Phrase-markers are numbered with Arabic numbers preceded by D. Paradigms are numbered as Table with Roman numbers. Content notes appear as endnotes after the respective chapter.

2. Abbreviations: Certain abbreviations are used repeatedly throughout this dissertation. In this section only the full form of the respective abbreviation is given. The significance of the term or symbol will be explained in detail at the appropriate place in the text.

N^d "nominal designant" (The grammatical formative marking gender, number and person; vide section 2.2.1.)

P^d "phrase designant" (A term of convenience for any morpheme that has its place immediately to the right of the rightmost N^d of a NOUN-PHRASE; vide endnote 9) of chapter 1.)

(s) "subject-ge" (This P^d is not translatable as it is a grammatical morpheme. It should not be confused with the remote past auxiliary ge.)

- pr.s "present stative" auxiliary (a)
- pr.i "present inchoative" auxiliary (ra)
- rc.p "recent past" auxiliary (go)
- rc.i "recent past inchoative" auxiliary (goro)
- rm.p "remote past" auxiliary (ge)
- rm.i "remote past inchoative" auxiliary (gere)
- fut "future" auxiliary (nî) (This Aux can also mean must, be obliged to.)
- ng. "negative" (tama)
- ng.f "negative future" (tide)
- prn "pronoun stem" (tí, sí, sá, ì) (This term reflects the traditional view. It is merely used as a term of convenience.)
- Mod "modifier"
- Prep "postposition" (The conventional abbreviation is retained as the difference between prepositions and postpositions is trivial from a functional point of view.)
- IND "main (independent) declarative sentence"
- DEP "dependent (embedded) sentence"
- INT "interrogative sentence"
- IMP "imperative sentence"

It is assumed that the reader is familiar with the abbreviations conventionally used in transformational generative grammar.

3. Symbols:

* The asterisk marks an ungrammatical form; i.e. a form which is not acceptable to a competent speaker. The asterisk can also mark a theoretical or historical form which develops (>) into something else.

Δ "delta" (A dummy symbol signifying that the slot may not be lexically empty; vide section 3.1.1.1.)

Z "zeta" (A node in a phrase-marker which is obligatorily unspecified, or has a "zero" entry; vide D.6 and section 3.1.3.3.)

- The following symbols all refer to the NP. The reader should confer to section 3.2.2. and in particular to D.8 for an explanation.

_____ A line (in conjunction with some kind of brackets or the plus-sign!) demarcates the stem of the head-constituent or NOUN, e.g. [khoe]b (man).

[] Square brackets enclose a NOMINAL, that is, any word or phrase that is nominalized by the N^d immediately to the right of it. The use of the plus-sign (indicating a bound N^d) simultaneously with square brackets would thus be redundant: thus either [khoe]b or khoe+b.

() Parentheses enclose a modifier (if they occur within square brackets), either in attributive, appositive or pronominal function; e.g. [(kai)]b (the big one). Parentheses not occurring within square brackets have their usual denotation, viz. "optional element", e.g. VP \longrightarrow (S) + V.

{ } Braces enclose the entire NOUN-PHRASE, i.e. any phrase which is immediately followed by a P^d . The {NOUN-PHRASE} can contain more than one [NOMINAL]. Braces are not used for lexically empty NPs, i.e. $\sim N^d$.

The abbreviation NP is used in the usual transformational-generative convention: It can thus stand for NOUN, NOMINAL, or NOUN-PHRASE. An example of an annotated NP would be:

$$NP \longrightarrow \{[(\text{attrib. Mod}) \text{head-const.}]N_1^d [(\text{appos. Mod})]N_1^d\}P^d.$$

The three types of brackets are not always indicated simultaneously. If the constituent grouping is obvious, then one or the other pair may be omitted.

Whenever NOUN, NOMINAL or NOUN-PHRASE is written in capital letters the term is understood as a syntactic and not a morphological category. I.e. NOUN stands for head-constituent in an NP, while "noun" is used for the

word category in general. A NOUN has, in syntactic context, the form

lexical stem + N^d #,

where the radical in the lexical stem is a noun-radical.

It will emerge later that, in the light of the presented theory "noun-radical" is a tautological term, as the Nama noun indeed consists of nothing but a radical.

4. Diacritical tone marks: Tone marks are explained in the following section.

1.4.3. Indication of lexical tone

Tone, in this section, is described only as far as it serves to verify certain claims to be made about syntax, in particular about the grouping of components within a NOUN-PHRASE (section 3.2. et seq). All statements made should be understood as being concerned with tonemics, rather than tonetics. I.e. the purpose of this section is not a detailed description of profiles, but the identification of distinctive tonal units.

Nama has two separate tone systems. They are here distinguished as the lexical tone system and the grammatical tone system respectively. Lexical formatives²⁶⁾ have lexical tone; grammatical formatives

have grammatical tone. The profiles as well as the behaviour of the two systems differ. Grammatical tone is influenced by the tonemic context (the pitch of subject-ge, for instance, varies according to the preceding tone). Grammatical tone is moreover a means to distinguish the subject and object in certain instances, e.g.

Titá go mû khoeb ge ra !gû.
(The man whom I saw is going.)

Tità go mû khoeb ge ra !gû.
(The man who saw me is going.)

This dissertation is concerned with lexical tone only. And within this field only simple lexical stems are considered, i.e. stems consisting of a radical only. The radicals considered are mono- or disyllabic. The tone profiles are valid for both, as the origin of monosyllabic radicals can be traced back to disyllabic radicals. This matter is of no further concern here: Beach (1938:254-282) has dealt with the matter at length.

Radicals have two inherent profiles: a basic profile and an inherent profile. The basic profile occurs when the radical stands phrase-initially. This means that the basic toneme occurs when the radical stands in isolation, sentence-initially, or phrase-initially within a sentence (compare the sentences S109 - S132-1).

The perturbed toneme is a.o. found on the head-constituent when it is preceded by one or more modifiers. Other instances of perturbation occur, but this dissertation is only concerned with the lexical tonemes occurring within an NP. It must be clearly understood that in this dissertation the "perturbed" series refers only to stems consisting of single radicals. This dissertation is not concerned with perturbations that occur through compounding or reduplication.

- In the basic tonal series six profiles have to be distinguished on the level of phonetic representation. Each of the six basic profiles is paired with a corresponding perturbed form. Two pairs of basic profiles share perturbed profiles, however, so that only four perturbed forms can be distinguished - as will be shown below. The perturbations of lexical tonemes are determined syntactically only: The pitch and the contours of lexical tonemes are not conditioned by adjacent profiles. I.e., the perturbed form of a NOUN will for instance not be affected by the tone of the attributive modifier.

A brief description of the basic and perturbed profiles follows here, in order to acquaint the reader with the diacritical symbols used in this dissertation. For typographical reasons the use of diacritical marks

has been confined to the use of the acute (´) and the grave (`). The diacritical representations are thus inevitably very simplified. The designations for the tonemes have been simplified accordingly, as will become evident from a comparison to the designations used by Beach (1938:132-142).

1.4.3.1. Basic profiles

Nama has six "tonemes". Each toneme has a basic and a perturbed "form". This "form" is called a "profile" in this dissertation. Each toneme is identified by the designation for the basic profile (allotone). Hence, it may be said for example, that the "double low" toneme has two (allotonic) profiles: a basic "double low" profile, and a perturbed "double low falling" profile.

The basic profiles distinguished are:

1. Double Low /˘/, /˘˘ ˘/27) :!gär̩b (river-bank)
 gãmàb (ox)
 *gãns (jerking a rope)

Beach (1938:136): "low-rising toneme"

This profile has the lowest pitch of all basic profiles. The tone contour rises very little, if it rises at all²⁸⁾.

2. Low /[^]/, /[^] \/: #gàrìs (kind of "veldkos")
 sàrìs (visiting)
 llàns (residing)

Beach (1938:141): "low-mid level toneme"

This profile has a level contour. The initial pitch is somewhat higher than that of the double low toneme.

3. High /^{''}/, /^{''} \/: !gáwís (riding)
 tánís (carrying)
 #gáns (gossiping in code)

Beach (1938:139): "mid-falling toneme"

This profile starts on a pitch higher than that of the low toneme. The contour falls slightly. This is the profile whose contour falls most.

4. Double High /^{'''}/, /^{'''} \/: !gá'í's (hardness)
 kámáb (season)
 #gá'ns (closing)

Beach (1938:138): "high-falling toneme"

This toneme is the highest one. The descent of pitch is very slight, if it occurs at all.

5. Low-rising /^{^^}/, /^{^^} \/: !gàrís (bitter-sweetness)
 dänfb (honey)
 #gám's (frolicking)

Beach (1938:135): "mid-rising toneme"

This profile rises considerably. Our findings differ from those of Beach in the tonemically insignificant detail that an initial descent of the pitch was noticed, before it rises sharply. This descent is also recorded

by the RT Analyzer (cf. Appendix I).

6. High-rising /'"/, /' "/: !gárf's (being quick)
 sámfb (whip)
 +gáñ's (request)

Beach (1938:132): "high-rising toneme"

This toneme rises unmistakably, starting off on a high pitch and progressing more or less to double high. Beach has recorded allotonic variants: If a radical contains either a close vowel i or u, or a nasal m or n, or one of both, then the profile rises higher than on radicals not containing one of these sounds.

The exact profiles of the six basic tonemes can be studied on the graphic representations in Appendix I. A narrow description would be beyond the scope of this dissertation.

1.4.3.2. Perturbed profiles

It is not necessary to allocate designations to the respective perturbed profiles. They can be identified in terms of their basic equivalents as "plus" (+) or "minus" (-) basic, e.g. "+low-rising" and "-low-rising". The plus and minus signs will be used in the dissertation wherever tone is considered for its syntactic relevance. The actual toneme involved is immaterial

for syntactic considerations. The specification of tonemes is relevant only for semantic purposes²⁹⁾.

<u>Toneme</u>	<u>+basic</u>	<u>-basic</u>
1. Double Low	/˘ ˘/	/˘ ˘/
2. Low	/˘ ˘/	/˘ ˘/
3. High	/˘ ˘/	/˘ ˘/
4. Double High	/˘ ˘/	/˘ ˘/
5. Low-rising	/˘ ˘/	/˘ ˘/
6. High-rising	/˘ ˘/	/˘ ˘/

1. -Double Low: The perturbed profile commences on a lower pitch than the basic profile. It falls considerably. (The precise fall of pitch can be derived from the vertical axis of the oscillographic recordings.)

2. -Low: The perturbed profile is also level, but at times slightly lower than the +low profile. The difference is hardly discernible by ear.

3. -High: The "-high" profile is the same as the "-double low" profile. This means that homonyms with a double low and a high profile respectively cannot be distinguished in a context where their toneme is perturbed, e.g.

+Gàns ge. (It is jerking-a-rope.)

+Gáns ge. (It is gossiping-in-code.)

!Gâi +gàns ge. (It is good jerking-a-rope./
It is good gossiping-in-code.)

4. -Double High: The perturbed profile is slightly lower than the +high profile. It falls also slightly, like the basic profile.

5. -Low-rising: The perturbed profile is very similar to the basic profile. However, the commencing pitch is slightly lower than that of the basic profile, and the contour does not rise as much.

6. -High-rising: This profile is identical to the -low profile.

The high toneme and the double low toneme have identical perturbed profiles; and the high-rising toneme and the low toneme have identical perturbed profiles. It may be mentioned in passing that the former two tonemes (high and double low) are identical in Korana (Beach (1983:241): "mid-level"). The radicals involved are distinguished by unvoiced and voiced consonants respectively.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER 1.

- 1) Figures for May, 1975.
- 2) Cf. to the BIBLIOGRAPHY for the titles of these handbooks.
- 3) It is not always apparent whether the authors merely checked in what way a "standard" case relation (as known for Latin or German) is morphologically manifested in Nama, or whether they identified inflexional forms in Nama, thereafter trying to accommodate them in the "standard" notions of case. Meinhof (1909), for one, followed the first method (vide p.17, above). This method is a more fruitful one for investigating case relations. For otherwise, if the form is taken as premise, homophonous relations may be missed. Cp. also Fillmore (1968:9) on this issue.
- 4) Chomsky (1964:36)
- 5) Since Vedder (1909) and Olpp (1917) have exercised such far-reaching influence, Planert (1905) and other authors writing still earlier will not be discussed. As Meinhof's book (1909) contains many factual errors it will not be considered, other than for its case terminology.
- 6) The "synthetic" approach takes the word or morpheme as prime. It works from the word towards the sentence; i.e., smaller units are "synthesized" (combined) into bigger units. The danger of this method is that components may be grouped wrongly. It is contended in this dissertation that this has indeed happened in the handbooks, with regard to the explications about the NP. The "analytic" approach, on the contrary, takes the sentence as prime, and analyzes its components in terms

of syntax as a whole.

- 7) The example is quoted from Rust (1965:19), but it is typical for the traditional school. "Traditional" refers mainly to Vedder (1909), Olpp (1917), Rust (1965) and perhaps Krüger (forthcoming). Dempwolf's "Einführung" (1934) is a scholarly work following its own way.
- 8) The standardized (official) orthography is used throughout this thesis, as stipulated in NAMA/DAMARA Orthography No. 2 (forthcoming, 1977). Quotations from older books are transcribed, where necessary. Cf. to section 1.4.2. for the use of the tilde (~) and other symbols.
- 9) All morphemes immediately following the nominal designant (cf. below) are termed phrase designants (P^d), as it will turn out that they always appear at the end of a NOUN-PHRASE, thereby indicating its boundary # to the right. The P^d s under investigation are "ge-subjectivum", "accusative" -a, "genitive di", "vocative -e, and a zero-morpheme \emptyset . It remains to be seen whether they all belong to the same category. Cf. to section 2.2.3. for an inventory.
- 10) Our additions in square brackets. The N^d for the third person masculine singular -b has an allomorphic variant -Ni after a nasal consonant. N stands for "homorganic nasal"; cf. also section 2.2.1.
- 11) Ge is indeed not treated as a case suffix in any of the handbooks. But in the light of the other statements made about "shifting" morphemes like -a, di, etc., it seems to be a natural consequence that ge should be treated in a similar manner.

It will eventually emerge in this dissertation that

the traditional authors are correct when they consider ge not to be an inflexional suffix. But as nowhere explicit reasons are given for this view, and as there seem to be indications that ge marks the subject of a sentence, the function of ge has to be investigated in some detail in this dissertation. As ge appears nowhere else in a sentence but immediately after the subject-N^d - albeit only in declarative sentences, if at all - it seems to be not unlikely that it should be treated as a deletable subject case-morpheme. See section 3.1.2.2. for a discussion.

12) vide p.36 for the meaning of NOUN spelt with capital letters.

13) "Structure" means "sequence of elements", not "form of elements".

14) Students consulting handbooks of the "traditional school" should be warned that in these books misconceptions appear under the treatment of adverbial phrases. These are usually treated as "Partizipium" (Rust 1965:66,98), "deelwoorde" (Krüger forthcoming: 83) or even as 'separable conjunctions' (Rust 1965:85, Krüger forthcoming:105). All these constructions are perfectly easy to comprehend if one takes the analytic approach, by stating that the suffixal adverbial formative -se (or -!â) is attached to the end of a phrase, no matter what word appears as final word in that phrase (even if the "phrase" consists of only one word, e.g. !gâi (good) -se > !gâise (well)). Hence it is erroneous to speak for instance of a 'separable conjunction' nîse. This topic is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but the underlying error is the same as with the NP.

15) Fillmore (1968:21); italics mine.

- 16) At this stage the occurrence of \emptyset after a NOUN which is followed by one or more appositions, as in S7-1 above, will be ignored.
- 17) ge is mentioned under this heading as it is linked to the subject- N^d and as such may perhaps be a "nominative marker". Cf. endnote 11).
- 18) With "Suffix" Dempwolff refers to our $-N^d-\emptyset$; cf. Table VII.
- 19) In section 3.1.2.4. it is proved that -a is attached to the subject of interrogative sentences only if the subject is the topic of interrogation.
- 20) The "extrapositional subject" is a subject-NP (containing a lexical entry) which appears in a sentence side by side with a "pronominal" reference to the subject by means of an N^d . Cf. also p. 168.
- 21) Several main sentences are linked by means of conjunctions, while at the same time the AUX (auxiliary, i.e. "tense particle + modality particle") is omitted from the second sentence onwards.
- 22) Other forms exist as well. Cf. section 2.2.2.6. for a complete inventory.
- 23) "Surface level", or "surface form" is a non-technical term used in the pre-theoretical part of this dissertation. It amounts to the "phonetic representation" in transformational-generative grammar. "Surface form" should not be confused with "surface structure", which is still an abstract form of the sentence.
- 24) "Meaning-preserving" is a process which ensures that the meaning of a sentence is not obscured through the violation of certain rules regarding, for instance, the sequence of sentence components.

25) For a scientific discussion of orthographic problems the reader is referred to Beach (1938:283-309). Westphal (1971) provides, next to the conventional spelling, phonemic renderings which mark rhythmically coherent units. He observes (p.405) that

"Word-division is largely based on the fact that a translation tag can be placed against a succession of vowels and consonants and that this succession constitutes a dictionary entry. The rhythmically determined segmentations in Nama discourse do not find a symbolization in the accepted orthography yet their observance would certainly remove many logical difficulties in teaching and in learning the language."

It is doubtful whether the rhythmical clustering as proposed would be of practical value, as it does not make allowance for the multitude of sentence permutations that exist in Nama. (Cf. section 3.1.1. for such permutations.) The orthography would be complicated by many 'ad hoc' rules as far as word-division is concerned.

26) Formatives are "minimal syntactically functioning units" (Chomsky 1965:3).

27) It would be sufficient just to mark the first vowel of a disyllabic radical (e.g. gàmab) as there is no difference between the profiles of mono- and disyllabic radicals. However, it is more convenient with the rising tonemes not to have three diacritical marks on the same vowel, thus e.g. dàn**í**b. For the sake of uniformity this pattern is applied to all tonemes, i.e. each vowel is marked for tone.

28) Cf. to Appendix I for the fundamental frequency curve.

29) Cf. Appendix II for a sample lexicon.

2. MORPHOLOGICAL STATEMENT

Chapter 2. serves as a brief descriptive introduction to the components of the NP. The components are stated in order to acquaint the reader with the data on which the hypothesis in chapter 3. is based. The fact that this chapter commences with the word instead of the phrase does not mean that the analytic principle is abandoned for the argument in chapter 3. This chapter is divided into three main sections: 2.1. lexical formatives; 2.2. grammatical formatives; 2.3 a brief survey of the components that are part of the NOUN-PHRASE.

2.1. Lexical formatives

In his article "Nouns and Noun Phrases" Bach (1968) argues convincingly that there exists no difference in the deep structure of phrases involving the traditional categories of nouns, verbs and adjectives: All three are derived in the base category from "contentives" (1968:105).

His arguments will not be discussed here, but it should be pointed out that in Nama the difference between noun-, verb- and adjective-radicals is sometimes not even clearly discernible on the surface level¹⁾. There

seem to be many features that are shared by the three categories. In some instances a distinction seems to be quite arbitrary, as in the following sentences:

S13 Taras ge a !anu.
 woman (s) pr.s pure/clean
 (The woman is clean.)

S14 Taras ge ra !anu.
 woman (s) pr.i pure/clean
 (The woman is becoming clean.)

This sentence may also mean "The woman is cleaning up (v.t.)".

S15 !Anu taras ge a Maria.
 pure woman (s) pr.s Mary
 (The pure/clean woman is Mary.)

S16 !Anus ge a !gâi.
 pure+she (s) pr.s good
 (Purity is good./Cleaning is good.)

S13 has a stative predicate, S14 an inchoative predicate. S14 can be interpreted either adjectivally or verbally. In S15 !anu functions as attributive modifier; in S16 !anu has the form of a NOUN. Note that S16 could also be interpreted pronominally as "The pure one is good."

It will not be part of this dissertation to discuss morphological criteria, e.g., that a word is an adjective by virtue of its adjectival formative. This is an extensive topic on its own, which is not directly pertinent to the present syntactic investigation. All handbooks provide some information on such formatives. Planert (1905:6-8) even provides a separate and concise

chapter on "Wortbildung".

Dempwolff (1934:66 a.o.) has paid considerable attention to the problem of classification from the syntactic point of view. He concludes his examination with the following words (p.66):

"Wenn also die Wortstämme des Nama auch den Eindruck machen, dass sie nur eine Vorstellung benennen, ohne sie in Kategorien zu ordnen, dass sie also "polyvalent" sind, so kann man doch der Sprache kaum abstreiten, dass sie jene drei Vorstellungs-Kategorien bewusst unterscheidet, so dass die Einteilung in die Wortarten berechtigt ist."

Günther (1969:60) questions this contention in his own concluding sentence:

"Trotz der von ihm durchgeführten Ausarbeitung von Wortkriterien muss gesagt werden, dass der grösste Teil der Namawurzeln eben doch "polyvalent" ist, was bei jeder weiteren Bearbeitung des Hottentottischen berücksichtigt werden sollte."

A test of radicals in distributional frames shows up that Dempwolff is the one who is correct, even though the distribution of the various categories overlaps considerably.

At this stage only adjective-, noun- and verb-radicals are examined. Numeral-, determiner- and possessive-radicals are accounted for in due course. An intransitive verb is tested next to a transitive verb, as intransitive verbs might possibly behave like adjectives. The following radicles will be tested (If they are

named with a categorial label here, the reader may take it as the traditional label. The validity of these labels has yet to be established by means of the following test):

káírá (old) "adjective"-radical;
tárá' (married woman, wife, spouse) "noun"-radical;
ká (get lost) "intransitive verb"-radical;
kú'ú' (make, build, manufacture) "transitive verb"-radical.

These lexical formatives will be tested in various sentence contexts with the following auxiliaries (AUX):

a present stative (contingent);
 - "omission of present stative a" ('neutral');
ra present inchoative;
hâ present stative, but with the connotation that the condition has not existed in the past.

Hâ usually denotes perfected action, with the effect lasting into the present, viz "has become ...". This AUX is derived from the verb hâ (to remain). It is thus not a true AUX. Compare also Rust (1965:53) on this issue. - The connotational difference between a and hâ will not necessarily be taken into consideration in the following translations, as the test is only concerned with distributional constraints.

- (i) /NOUN ge AUX _____. (Lexical formatives in PREDICATIVE use)

Adjective-radical

S17-1	!Gās ge _ kaira.	'The servant is old.' ²⁾
S17-2	!Gās ge <u>a</u> kaira.	'The servant is old.'
S17-3	!Gās ge <u>ra</u> kaira.	'The servant is ageing.'
S17-4	!Gās ge kaira <u>hâ</u> .	'The servant has aged.'

Noun-radical

S18-1	!Gās ge _ tara.	'The servant is (a) woman.'
S18-2	!Gās ge <u>a</u> tara.	'The servant is (a) woman.'
S18-3	*!Gās ge <u>ra</u> tara.	-
S18-4	*!Gās ge tara <u>hâ</u> .	-

The meaning "to become a (noun)" is expressed by means of "ra (noun) kai", e.g. !Gās ge tara kai (The servant is becoming a woman). As kai (to become) is of verbal origin, this phrase is a verb-phrase and not applicable here. Kai can also be used with hâ.

Intr. verb-radical

S19-1	*!Gās ge _ kâ.	-
S19-2	*!Gās ge <u>a</u> kâ.	-
S19-3	!Gās ge <u>ra</u> kâ.	'The servant is getting lost.'
S19-4	!Gās ge kâ <u>hâ</u> .	'The servant is lost (got lost).'

Trans. verb-radical

S20-1	*!Gās ge _ kuru.	-
S20-2	*!Gās ge <u>a</u> kuru.	-
S20-3	!Gās ge <u>ra</u> kuru.	'The servant is working.'
S20-4	!Gās ge kuru <u>hâ</u> .	'The servant has worked/ works (regularly).'

It is important to note that S20-1/-2 are grammatical renderings of the sentence "The servant is work."

(ii) / AUX NOUN ge ... (Lexical formatives as MODIFIERS)

Adjective-radical

- S21-1 Kaira !gās ge ra ||nae. 'An old servant is singing.'
 S21-2 Kaira (a) !gās ge ... 'A servant who is old ...'
 S21-3 Kaira ra !gās ge ... 'A servant who is ageing ...'
 S21-4 Kaira hâ !gās ge ... 'A servant who has aged ...'

Note that S21-2 is intelligible but rarely used. It is an important criterion that adjective-radicals modifying a NOUN usually do not take an AUX, while verb-radicals must take an AUX, i.e., verbs appear in relative sentences, while adjectives stand alone (more exactly: while adjectives appear in a reduced relative sentence). This feature applies to NOUN-PHRASES which contain a head-constituent.

Noun-radical

- S22-1 Tara !gās ge ra ||nae. 'A woman servant is singing.'
 S22-2 Tara (a) !gās ge ... 'A servant who is a woman ...'
 S22-3 *Tara ra !gās ge ... -
 S22-4 *Tara hâ !gās ge ... -

Intr. verb-radical

- S23-1 *Kā !gās ge ra ||nae. -
 S23-2 *Kā a !gās ge ... -

- S23-3 Kā ra !gās ge ... 'A servant who is getting lost ...'
 S23-4 Kā hâ !gās ge ... 'A servant who is lost (got lost) ...'

Trans. verb-radical

- S24-1 *Kuru _ !gās ge ra ||nae. -
 S24-2 *Kuru a !gās ge ... -
 S24-3 Kuru ra !gās ge ... 'A working servant/A servant who is working ...'
 S24-4 Kuru hâ !gās ge ... 'A servant who has worked/works (regularly ...)

Compare the mutually exclusive distribution patterns of verb-radicals to those of noun-radicals.

(iii) NOUN ge [___ AUX]N^da. (Lexical formatives in HEADLESS NOUN-PHRASES)

Adjective-radical

- S25-1 !Gās ge kaira _+sa. 'The servant is an old one.'
 S25-2 !Gās ge kaira a+sa. 'The servant is one who is old.'
 S25-3 !Gās ge kaira ra+sa. 'The servant is one who is ageing.'
 S25-4 !Gās ge kaira hâ+sa. 'The servant is one who has aged.'

Note that in NOUN-PHRASES without head-constituents the present stative AUX a is well used (S25-2). Compare S21-2 with its comment.

Noun-radical

S26-1	!Gās ge tara <u> </u> +sa.	'The servant is a woman.'
S26-2	!Gās ge tara <u>a</u> +sa.	'The servant is one who is a woman.'
S26-3	*!Gās ge tara <u>ra</u> +sa.	-
S26-4	*!Gās ge tara <u>hâ</u> +sa.	-

Intr. verb-radical

S27-1	*!Gās ge kâ <u> </u> +sa.	-
S27-2	*!Gās ge kâ <u>a</u> +sa.	-
S27-3	!Gās ge kâ <u>ra</u> +sa.	'The servant is one who is getting lost.'
S27-4	!Gās ge kâ <u>hâ</u> +sa.	'The servant is one who is lost (got lost).'

Trans. verb-radical

S28-1	*!Gās ge kuru <u> </u> +sa.	-
S28-2	*!Gās ge kuru <u>a</u> +sa.	-
S28-3	!Gās ge kuru <u>ra</u> +sa.	'The servant is one who is working.'
S28-4	!Gās ge kuru <u>hâ</u> +sa.	'The servant is one who has worked/works (regularly).'

S28-1 has the meaning *"The servant is work." S27-1 is ungrammatical for the same reasons.

The following frame sentences are of particular importance to the argument in chapter 3., since they can have either copular or predicative meaning, or both. In a copular sentence the lexical entry acts as modifier (attributively: S29-S32, pronominally: S33-S36).

In predicative sentences the lexical entry acts as predicate to a subject. There is no tonal distinction between these sentence types. Any sentence with a copular interpretation should have an equivalent in pattern (ii) "Lexical formatives as MODIFIERS".

(iv) /___ AUX NOUN ge. (Lexical entry and AUX to the left of NOUN)

Adjective-radical

- S29-1 Kaira _ !gās ge. Cop: 'She is an old servant.'
Pred:-
- S29-2 Kaira a !gās ge. Cop: 'She is a servant who
is old.'
Pred: 'The servant is old.'
- S29-3 Kaira ra !gās ge. Cop: 'She is a servant who
is ageing.'
Pred: 'The servant is ageing.'
- S29-4 Kaira hâ !gās ge. Cop: 'She is a servant who
has aged.'
Pred: 'The servant has aged.'

S29-2 is normally understood as a predicative sentence, but it can also have copular meaning in certain contexts.

Noun-radical

- S30-1 Tara _ !gās ge. Cop: ('She is a woman servant.')
- S30-2 Tara a !gās ge. Cop: 'She is a servant who is
a woman.'
Pred: 'The servant is a woman.'
- S30-3 *Tara ra !gās ge. Cop: -
Pred:-
- S30-4 *Tara hâ !gās ge. Cop: -
Pred:-

Intr. verb-radical

- S31-1 *Kā _ !gās ge. Cop: -
Pred:-
- S31-2 *Kā a !gās ge. Cop: -
Pred:-
- S31-3 Kā ra !gās ge. Cop: 'She is a servant who
is getting lost.'
Pred: 'The servant is getting
lost.'
- S31-4 Kā hâ !gās ge. Cop: 'She is a servant who
is lost (got lost).'
Pred: 'The servant is lost
(got lost).'

Trans. verb-radical

- S32-1 *Kuru _ !gās ge. Cop: -
Pred:-
- S32-2 *Kuru a !gās ge. Cop: -
Pred:-
- S32-3 Kuru ra !gās ge. Cop: 'She is a servant who
is working.'
Pred: 'The servant is working.'
- S32-4 Kuru hâ !gās ge. Cop: 'She is a servant who
has worked/works (regularly).'
Pred: 'The servant has worked/
works (regularly).'

(v) /___+AUX N^d ge. (Lexical entry and AUX to the
left of an empty NOUN slot)

Adjective-radical

- S33-1 Kaira _+s ge. Cop: 'She is an old one.'
Pred:-

- S33-2 Kaira (a)+s ge. Cop: 'She is the one who is old.'
Pred:-
- S33-3 Kaira ra+s ge. Cop: 'She is the ageing one.'
Pred:-
- S33-4 Kaira hâ+s ge. Cop: 'She is the one who has
aged.'
Pred:-

S33-1 can also have the copular meaning "It is age."
However, usually this abstract noun occurs as kairasib.

Noun-radical

- S34-1 Tara _+s ge. Cop: 'It is a woman/(she
is a woman).'
Pred:-
- S34-2 Tara (a)+s ge. Cop: 'She is the one who is
a woman.'
Pred:-
- S34-3 *Tara ra+s ge. Cop: -
Pred:-
- S34-4 *Tara hâ+s ge. Cop: -
Pred:-

Intr. verb-radical

- S35-1 *Kā _+s ge. Cop: -
Pred:-
- S35-2 *Kā a+s ge. Cop: -
Pred:-
- S35-3 Kā ra+s ge. Cop: 'She is the one who is
getting lost.'
Pred:-
- S35-4 Kā hâ+s ge. Cop: 'She is the one who is
lost (got lost).'
Pred:-

Trans. verb-radical

- S36-1 *Kuru _+s ge. Cop: - ('It is work.')
- Pred:-
- S36-2 *Kuru a+s ge. Cop: -
- Pred:-
- S36-3 Kuru ra+s ge. Cop: 'She is one who is working.'
- Pred:-
- S36-4 Kuru hâ+s ge. Cop: 'She is one who has
worked/works (regularly).'
- Pred:-

(vi) / ___ N^d ge AUX. (AUX to the right of the empty
NOUN slot)

Adjective-radical

- S37-1 *Kairas ge _. Cop: - (cp. S33-1)
- Pred:-
- S37-2 Kairas ge (a). Cop: -
- Pred: 'She is old.'
- S37-3 Kairas ge ra. Cop: -
- Pred: 'She is ageing.'
- S37-4 Kairas ge hâ. Cop: -
- Pred: 'She has aged.'

S37-4 could also be interpreted as "The old one is
present/ is remaining."

Noun-radical

- S38-1 *Taras ge _. Cop: - (cp. S34-1)
- Pred:-
- S38-2 Taras ge (a). Cop: -
- Pred: 'She is woman.'

S38-3 *Taras ge <u>ra</u> .	Cop: -
	Pred:-
S38-4 *Taras ge <u>hâ</u> .	Cop: -
	Pred:-

The meaning of S38-4 is "A woman is present/is remaining."

Intr. verb-radical

S39-1 *Kās ge <u>.</u>	Cop: -
	Pred:-
S39-2 *Kās ge <u>a</u> .	Cop: -
	Pred:-
S39-3 Kās ge <u>ra</u> .	Cop: -
	Pred: 'She is getting lost.'
S39-4 Kās ge <u>hâ</u> .	Cop: -
	Pred: 'She is lost (got lost).'

Trans. verb-radical

S40-1 *Kurus ge <u>.</u>	Cop: -
	Pred:-
S40-2 *Kurus ge <u>a</u> .	Cop: -
	Pred:-
S40-3 Kurus ge <u>ra</u> .	Cop: -
	Pred: 'She is working.'
S40-4 Kurus ge <u>hâ</u> .	Cop: -
	Pred: 'She has worked/works (regularly).'

It can be clearly inferred from these distributional patterns that noun-, adjective- and verb-radicals respectively are distinct in Nama, and that they can be identified by means of their respective distributional patterns:

Adjectives

1. Adjectives are, in predicative use, not confined to either stative or inchoative AUXs. They cover the same patterns as nouns and verbs cover together (S17). Probably it is this feature that conveys the impression that all stems are "polyvalent".
2. Adjectives appear without an AUX when they modify a head-constituent. The deleted AUX is understood to have been a (S21-1). If the tense is marked by means of an AUX, then the adjective-radical appears in an embedded predication, i.e. a relative modifier.

In general it may be observed that adjective-radicals are less constrained in distribution than either noun- or verb-radicals.

Nouns

1. Noun-radicals cannot appear with the AUXs ra or hâ³⁾ (S18, etc.). I.e., their distributional pattern is mutually exclusive with that of verbs, except where a verb-radical is nominalized (S35/36-1).
2. If noun-radicals are used as modifiers, they usually appear in a relative sentence with AUX a. This AUX may be elided, but is still "understood".

Verbs

1. There is no difference between the distribution of transitive and intransitive verbs.

2. Unless verbs are nominalised (as gerunds) they cannot appear without an AUX (S19/20-1, S23/24-1) or with the AUX a (S19/20-2, S23/24-2).

3. If verb-radicals appear to the left of N^d without AUX, they acquire gerundive or infinitive meaning (S35/36-1). Radicals other than verbs are before all understood to function pronominally (S33-1), when followed by an N^d.

The following paradigm reflects at a glance the distribution of adjectives (Ad), nouns (Nn) and verbs (Vb), as well as articles (Ar)⁴⁾, demonstratives (Dm) possessives (Ps) and cardinal numerals (Nm). For comment the reader should refer to the relevant subsections of section 2.3.2. et seq.

S.No.	Frame	C/P	Ad	Nn	Vb	Ar	Dm	Ps	Nm
S17-S20	NOUN ge [] N ^d a.		+	+	-	+	-	+	+
	NOUN ge <u>a</u> [] N ^d a.		+	+	-	+	+	+	+
	NOUN ge <u>ra</u> [] N ^d a.		+	-	+	-	-	-	+
	NOUN ge [] <u>hâ</u> N ^d a.		+	-	+	-	+	-	+
S21-S24	[] NOUN ge ...		+	(+)	-	+	+	+	+
	[] <u>a</u> NOUN ge ...		(+)	+	-	-	(-)	+	+
	[] <u>ra</u> NOUN ge ...		+	-	+	-	-	-	+
	[] <u>hâ</u> NOUN ge ...		+	-	+	-	+	-	+
S25-S28	NOUN ge [] N ^d a.		+	+	-	+	+	+	(+)
	NOUN ge [] <u>a</u> N ^d a.		+	+	-	-	(+)	+	+
	NOUN ge [] <u>ra</u> N ^d a.		+	-	+	-	-	-	+
	NOUN ge [] <u>hâ</u> N ^d a.		+	-	+	-	+	-	+

S.No.	Frame	C/P	Ad	Nn	Vb	Dt	Dm	Ps	Nm
S29-S32	___ _ NOUN ge.	C:	+	(+)	-	+	+	+	+
		P:	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	___ <u>a</u> NOUN ge.	C:	(+)	+	-	-	-	+	-
		P:	+	+	-	-	+	+	+
	___ <u>ra</u> NOUN ge.	C:	+	-	+	-	-	-	+
		P:	+	-	+	-	-	-	+
	___ <u>hâ</u> NOUN ge.	C:	+	-	+	-	-	-	+
		P:	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
S33-S36	___ _+N ^d ge.	C:	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
		P:	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	___ <u>a</u> +N ^d ge.	C:	(+)	(+)	-	-	-	-	(+)
		P:	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	___ <u>ra</u> N ^d ge.	C:	+	-	+	-	-	-	+
		P:	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	___ <u>hâ</u> N ^d ge.	C:	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
		P:	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
S37-S40	___ N ^d ge _.	C:	(+)	+	-	-	-	-	-
		P:	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	___ N ^d ge <u>a</u> .	C:	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
		P:	(+)	(+)	-	(+)	-	-	(+)
	___ N ^d ge <u>ra</u> .	C:	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
		P:	+	-	+	-	-	-	+
	___ N ^d ge <u>hâ</u> .	C:	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
		P:	+	-	+	-	+	-	+

Table I: DISTRIBUTIONAL PATTERNS OF LEXICAL FORMATIVES

2.1.1. NOUNS

The reader should once more be warned that this brief statement on lexical formatives does not offer an exhaustive structural account of the occurrence of lexical formatives. A general working formula is only provided for the reader, to recognize these parts of speech in a sentence.

2.1.1.1. NOUNS properkhòeb

+human being
+male ⁵⁾
-female
+singular
+3rd person

khòen

+human being
+male
+female
+plural
+3rd person

pirira

+goat
-male
+female
+dual
+3rd person

!khao-i

+hippopotamus
-male
-female
+singular
+3rd person

gā-aisib

+wise
+abstract
+male
-female
+singular
+3rd person

#gaobasens

+intend
+applied
+reflexive
-male
+female
+singular
+3rd person

These Nama NOUNS and NOMINALS are a few examples of the simpler types. The feature matrixes are only given so far as to illustrate the semantic interaction of lexical and grammatical formatives. The resultant English glosses are:

- khoeb: (man)
 khoen: (people)
 pirira: ((two) she-goats)
 !khao-i: (hippopotamus specimen)
 gā-aisib: (wisdom)
 *gaobasens: (intention).

Ignoring complex stems, the simplest form of a NOUN may be formulated as

NOUN: lexical formative + nominal designant⁶⁾.

This working formula is only tentative, and is only meant for the purpose of identifying NOUNS. The plus-sign (+) must be understood to mean that the N^d is an inherent (essential) constituent of the NOUN; it is a "bound" N^d.

- S41 [||Gau!nâ-ao]b ge go ||khā||khā.
 teacher (s) rc.p teach
 (The teacher has taught.)
- S42 [(||Gau!nâ-ao a)]b ge go ||khā||khā.
 teacher pr.s man (s) rc.p teach
 (The man who is (a) teacher has taught.)
- S43 [(||Gau!nâ-ao a)]b ge go ||khā||khā.
 teacher pr.s-he (s) rc.p teach
 (He who is (a) teacher has taught.)

It is traditionally accepted that a Nama NOUN does not contain an AUX, i.e., NOUNS are yielded by frame sentences like S34-1. If a stem occurs with an AUX, then this NP is considered to be a pronominal relative clause, as in S43 above. The AUX is taken to be an indicator that the NP consists of an - embedded - VP,

i.e., sentence. It is one of the outstanding characteristics of Nama, that it relies heavily on this kind of sentential nominalization (see section 3.3. for examples). The distinction between NOUNs and NOMINALs applies on the surface level only⁷⁾. But even on that level many "exceptions" are found.

Compare the following examples with present inchoative ra:

- |nerab, |norab (baboon - "he who is measuring")⁸⁾
- bairab, baib (ram - "he who is punching" (Rust 1969))
- hairab (tree-gum - cf. haib (tree))
- ||gaworan (winged animals - cf. ||gawob (wing))

The following examples contain present stative a:

- ||Gauab (Devil - cf. ||gau||gau (frantic)?)
- |Guiab cf. |guis (intestines), a farm-name
- paiab (idiot - origin unknown)
- !aian (potatoes - cf. bulge, of eye?)
- tseab (day of twelve hours) cf. tse (become day),
tseb (day of twenty-four hours).

If the traditional view is accepted that a word with the form [stem]N^d is a NOUN, and not a pronominal relative sentence, then a drastic break with convention has to occur: Then it has to be accepted that Nama NOUNs are not inherently confined to the third person. For the N^d of a NOUN can just as well be first or second person⁹⁾. Although such NOUNs usually occur together

with a so-called "pronoun-stem", the latter may also be "dropped".¹⁰⁾

S44 (Sa) aots ge ||ore-aotsa.
prn man (s) culprit
(You, man are the culprit.)

S45 Mariata ge.
(I am Mary.)

S46 Sikhom ge |gēkhoma.
we (s) twins
(We are twinbrothers.)

S47 Khoe!gāguda ge.
siblings (s)
(We are siblings.)

The reason for this - apparent - violation will become clear in chapter 3.

2.1.1.2. "Pronouns"

It has become a convention in Nama handbooks to distinguish a "full pronoun" consisting of a stem plus inflexional suffix, and a "reduced pronoun"¹¹⁾ consisting of the inflexional element (N^d) only. This section deals with the "full" form.

Apparently there has been little doubt in the minds of previous authors, as all of them provide a uniform paradigm of 25 entries, with another six exclusive variants. In the following table the stems are under-

lined, in order to show up the identical structure as it was formulated for a NOUN (vide p.67):

"Pronoun": lexical formative + nominal designant.

In annotated form this would be [stem]N^d.

	<u>1st Person</u>	<u>2nd Person</u>	<u>3rd Person</u>
<u>Masculine:</u>			
Singular	<u>tita</u>	<u>sats</u>	<u> îb</u>
Dual	<u>sâkhom/sikhom</u>	<u>sakho</u>	<u> îkha</u>
Plural	<u>sage/sige</u>	<u>sago</u>	<u> îgu</u>
<u>Feminine:</u>			
Singular	<u>tita</u>	<u>sas</u>	<u> îs</u>
Dual	<u>sam/sim</u>	<u>saro</u>	<u> îra</u>
Plural	<u>sase/sise</u>	<u>saso</u>	<u> îdi</u>
<u>Neuter or Common:</u>			
Singular	-	-	<u> î-i</u>
Dual	<u>sam/sim</u>	<u>saro</u>	<u> îra</u>
Plural	<u>sada/sida</u>	<u>sadu</u>	<u> în</u>

Table II: TYPICAL PARADIGM OF "FULL PRONOUNS"

Even within the extent of this paradigm there are several points that are not clear:

1. What is the semantic function of the stem, considering that "full" pronouns exist next to "reduced" pronouns? Is its purpose only emphasis?

2. Why are four different stems necessary, considering that their distribution seems to be determined by the N^d ? As they are not conditioned morpho-phonemically, one stem would be sufficient, if they all had the same function. The fact that certain N^d s (first person dual and plural) have alternative forms (sá, sí) is indicative of some semantic differentiation.

3. Seeing that four different stems occur, what are the criteria for their distribution?

Günther (1969) has devoted his article to some of these problems. If his answers are not entirely satisfactory, it must be conceded that he was confined to second-hand information, which was also erratic at times¹²). As his article is not very well known it is quoted here (p.58):

"Im Vergleich zum Suffix fällt auf, dass den Pronominalstämmen jede Genusunterscheidung fehlt, ja selbst numerus und persona sind in den meisten Fällen nicht festzulegen. Tabellarisch ergibt sich folgendes Bild:

Stamm	genus			numerus			persona		
	masc.	fem.	com.	sg.	du.	pl.	1.	2.	3.
ti-	+	+		+			+		
sa-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
si-	+	+	+		+	+	+		
'ai-	+	+	+	+	+	+			+

Bei diesen Ergebnissen wird klar, dass die Pronominalfunktion von diesen Elementen nur höchst unvollkommen erfüllt werden kann, da sie allein eben zu mehrdeutig sind."

- It is not clear why Günther finds his matrix uninformative about the notion of person.

4. Another observation is quite surprising. Dempwolff (1934:46) quotes a copulative sentence

tita a ||ëita "Ich bin es"¹³).

He sees in ||ëita a concordance between subject and complement. This explanation is correct, as far as the complement is concerned. But concordance does not explain the sentence

||ëita gye tita [||îta ge tital "Er ist ich = der bin ich",

which he quotes on p.55¹⁴). Informal inquiry shows that quite a number of such constructions are permissible, while others are not:

S48 Tita ge sata/Sata ge tita.
(I am you.)

S49 *Sats ge titsa/Tits ge satsa.
*(You are I.)

S50 Sats ge ||îtsa/||îts ge satsa.
(You are he; you are the one.)

S51 *||îb ge saba/Sab ge ||îba.
*(He is you.)

The translations are only approximate, as a literal translation is not possible. For a closer understanding the parameters in Table IV should be consulted.

The same distributional criteria apply to predicate sentences¹⁵):

S48-1 Tita ge a sa/Sata ge a ti.
(I am you.)

S49-1 *Sats ge a ti/Tits ge a sa.
*(You are I.)

S50-1 Sats ge a ||i/||its ge a sa.
(You are he.)

S51-1 *||Ib ge a sa/Sab ge a ||i.
*(He is you.)

Even in minimal copular sentences¹⁶⁾ such restrictions occur only in certain instances:

S52 ||its ge.
(It is you; he is you.)

S53 *Sits ge.
*(We are you.)

S54 *Sadi ge.
*(We/you are they.)

A systematic paradigm yields the following forms (new, "contradictory" forms are underlined; person is indicated by Roman numerals):

		ti	si	sa	i
<u>Masculine</u>					
Singular	I	tita	*sita	<u>sata</u>	<u> ita</u>
	II	*tits	*sits	s̄ats	<u> its</u>
	III	*tib	*sib	*sab	<u> ib</u>
Dual	I	* <u>tikhom</u>	sikhom	sakhom	<u> ikhom</u>
	II	*tikho	*sikho	sakho	<u> ikho</u>
	III	*tikha	*sikha	*sakha	<u> ikha</u>
Plural	I	*tige	sige	sage	<u> ige</u>
	II	*tigo	*sigo	sago	<u> igo</u>
	III	*tigu	*sigu	*sagu	<u> igu</u>

		ti	si	sa	î
<u>Feminine</u>					
<u>Singular</u>	I	tita	*sita	sata	îta
	II	*tis	*sis	sas	îs
	III	*tis	*sis	*sas	îs
<u>Dual</u>	I	*tim	sim	sam	îm
	II	*tiro	*siro	saro	îro
	III	*tira	*sira	*sara	îra
<u>Plural</u>	I	*tise	sise	sase	îse
	II	*tiso	*siso	saso	îso
	III	*tidi	*sidi	*sadi	îdi
<hr/>					
<u>Neuter/ Common</u>					
<u>Singular</u>	I	-	-	-	-
	II	-	-	-	-
	III	*ti-i	*si-i	*sa-i	î-i
<u>Dual</u>	I	*tim	sim	sam	îm
	II	*tiro	*siro	saro	îro
	III	*tira	*sira	*sara	îra
<u>Plural</u>	I	*tida	sida	sada	îda
	II	*tidu	*sidu	sadu	îdu
	III	*tin	*sin	*san	în

Table III: COMPLETE PARADIGM OF "FULL PRONOUNS"

Besides the known thirty-one forms there exist another eighteen forms, yielding a total of forty-nine possible constructions. Although the "pronominal stems" are definitely limited in distribution by some particular constraints still to be established, they are not as limited in distribution as has been maintained up to now.

But if these stems are seen in traditional terms of person-reference (i.e., ti/si first person, sa first or second person, ||i third person), and if these constructions are seen as word categories, i.e. as morphological entities, then the eighteen new forms evade translation, as they seem to be inherently contradictory.

In Table IV below the stems are interpreted in terms of a semantic notion "communicatory status". Two parameters depict the participant roles of the parties involved in discourse, viz. the speaker and the addressee. The features of sa are tentatively determined according to the person and number features of the respective N^d.

"PRONOUN" FEATURES

	Stem		Nominal Designant								
	Spea-	Adres-	Person			Number			Gender		
	ker	see	I	II	III	sg	dl	pl	m	f	n
tita	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	(+) ¹⁷	-	-
sata	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	(+)	-	-
ita	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	(+)	-	-
sats	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
its	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
ib	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-
sikhom	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
sakhom	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
ikhom	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
sakho	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
ikho	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
ikha	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
sige	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
sage	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
ige	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
sago	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
igo	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
igu	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
tita	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	(+)	-
sata	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	(+)	-
ita	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	(+)	-
sas	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
is	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
is	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-
sim	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	(+) ¹⁷	-
sam	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	(+)	-
im	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	(+)	-
saro	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	(+) ¹⁷	-
iro	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	(+)	-
ira	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	(+)	-

"PRONOUN" FEATURES

	<u>Stem</u>		<u>Nominal Designant</u>								
	<u>Spea-</u>	<u>Adres-</u>	<u>Person</u>			<u>Number</u>			<u>Gender</u>		
	<u>ker</u>	<u>see</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>sg</u>	<u>dl</u>	<u>pl</u>	<u>m</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>n</u>
sise	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
sase	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
ise	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
saso	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
iso	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
idi	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-
i-i	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
sim	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	(+)
sam	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	(+)
im	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	(+)
saro	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	(+)
fro	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	(+)
fra	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	(+)
sida	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
sada	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
ida	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
sadu	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
idu	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
in	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+

Table IV: FEATURE MATRIX FOR "FULL PRONOUNS"

The above table allows four correlations of the features depicting "communicatory status":

<u>speaker</u>	<u>addressee:</u>	<u>stem</u>
+	-	ti/si
+	+	sa
-	+	sa
-	-	i

As such this paradigm produces practically the same result as the grammatical person features: Two separate entries have to be made for sa. Such an interpretation is unsatisfactory, as there is no one-to-one correspondence.

<u>ti/si</u>	first person (exclusive)
<u>sa</u>	first person <u>or</u> second person
<u> i</u>	third person

In the latter interpretation two separate, homophonous entries would have to be made in the lexicon for sa.

As grammatical formatives denoting person these "stems" would be in direct conflict with the N^d in a word like ||ikhom (third person ~ second person).

If, however, the features depicting "communicatory status" are semantically interpreted in terms of a 'common denominator' involvement, then a one-to-one correspondence can be established:

<u>ti/si</u>	" <u>speaker</u> involved"
<u>sa</u>	" <u>addressee</u> involved"
<u> i</u>	" <u>neither speaker nor addressee</u> involved".

The difference between the lexical (semantic) concept that has here been labelled "communicatory status", and the grammatical feature "person" is, that person indicates rank in the order from first person (highest) to third person (lowest). I.e. the person feature is

determined by the highest person involved. Second person (addressee) is reflected only if first person is not involved; third person is reflected only if neither first nor second person are involved. Thus sa can be either first person (speaker involved) or second person (speaker not involved).

But the feature "communicatory status", which indicates "involvement in discourse" makes allowance for the possibility to interpret sa (+speaker, +addressee) and sa (-speaker, +addressee) according to their common feature: the addressee is always involved, regardless of the involvement of first or third person.

Further convincing proof that these four morphemes are lexical and not grammatical morphemes is adduced by the fact that they can occur with auxiliaries in the frame sentences of Table I, (pp. 64-65). Their distribution is very similar to that of noun-radicals: Both types of radicals occur only with the AUX a, or entirely without AUX. The only difference between noun- and "pronoun"-radicals is that "pronoun"-radicals do not occur as relative modifiers, i.e. with the AUX a (in particular frames (ii), (iii) and (v)). That is, "pronoun"-radicals occur with the AUX a only in predicative use.¹⁸ A decisive difference between the distribution of noun- and "pronoun"-radicals will be

dealt with in section 3.2.1. on the linear ordering of constituents within an NP. There it will become clear beyond doubt that "pronoun"-radicals and noun-radicals do not belong to the same category.

- Further evidence that "pronoun"-radicals are lexical formatives is that they have regular lexical tonemes: ti, si and sa have a high-rising toneme, ||i has a low toneme - all with regular basic and perturbed profiles¹⁹⁾.

Yet it is conspicuous that these four radicals have a considerably more restricted distribution with N^d s than noun-, adjective- or verb-radicals have. Table III reveals a regular pattern: The forms below the diagonal lines are all ungrammatical. This is due to the universal that a j th person cannot be dominated by a person of lower status; that is, first person not by second or third, and second person not by third person. Thus, for example:

<u>ti</u> +ta	<u> i</u> +m	* <u>ti</u> +ts	* <u>sa</u> +b
I<I	III<I	I<II	II<III. ²⁰⁾

Those forms above the diagonal lines which are ungrammatical involve either ti or si. These stems are the only ones which have a specified number feature [⁺singular], or for short, [⁺sg]. If this feature does not agree with the number feature of the N^d , then

the form is ungrammatical:

<u>ti</u> +ta	* <u>si</u> +ta	- <u>si</u> +m	* <u>ti</u> +khom
+sg/+sg	-sg/+sg	-sg/-sg	+sg/-sg .

It may perhaps appear strange that these "pronoun"-radicals are supposed to be lexical formatives, even though they are dependent on grammatical features like number and person. But, as Bach (1964:108) points out, in terms of transformational generative theory

"Lexical entries in the grammar include:

1. A phonological matrix
2. Inherent features of a syntactic and semantic sort, ...
3. Contextual features specifying the frames in which the item can occur."

It may by way of analogy be pointed out that cardinal numerals, which no doubt are lexical formatives, behave very similar to "pronoun"-radicals, with regard to their distribution. |Gui (one) is confined to contexts having the feature [+singular], |gam (two) to contexts (i.e. N^ds) with the feature [+dual], and all other cardinal numerals to contexts with the feature [+plural]. See also section 2.3.2.3. on numerals.

- It has been established that "pronoun"-radicals are lexical formatives. But it yet remains to be answered what their specific function is. It is now contended that they are a kind of modifier, as e.g. demonstratives

are, and that they are means to determine definiteness and indefiniteness.

Compare the following sentences:

- S55-1 Khoeb ge ra mû.
(A man is seeing.) [-definite]
- S55-2 Nē khoeb ge ra mû.
(This man is seeing.) [+definite]
- S55-3 ||î khoeb ge ra mû.
(The man is seeing.) [+definite]
- S56-1 Sats ge ||ore-aotsa.
(You are (a) culprit.) [-def.]
- S56-2 Sats ge ||nā ||ore-aotsa.
(You are that culprit.) [+def.]
- S56-3 Sats ge ||î/*sa ||ore-aotsa.
(You are the culprit.) [+def.]

S55-1 and S56-1 contain no modifiers²¹). Nama speakers do not explicitly translate these sentences as indefinite (viz "a man"). Frequently such sentences are translated as "the man", without being very specific, though. On the other hand, an indefinite English phrase is always translated into Nama without a modifier. If the English sentence is definite (e.g. "the culprit that is wanted"), then either ||î or a "demonstrative (nē or ||nâ) has to be used.

As will be shown in section 3.2.1., these "demonstratives" are not the deictic²²) demonstratives denoting distance

from the speaker, but "referential demonstratives" with the denotation "referring to something already known or previously mentioned". It is shown in section 3.2.1. that their tonal behaviour moreover differs from that of true demonstratives. True demonstratives have a perturbing influence on the succeeding word ($\overset{+}{\text{nē}} \overset{-}{\text{khoeb}}$), while "referential" demonstratives have not ($\overset{+}{\text{nē}} \overset{+}{\text{khoeb}}$). Yet there is no doubt that these homophonous forms are related, especially since they have identical tonal profiles ($\overset{''}{\text{nē}}$, $\overset{''}{\|\text{nā}}\|$).

These facts link up with Lyon's observation (1968:278-279) that

"In many languages no distinction can be drawn between the 'demonstratives' and the 'third person pronoun'. . . . They all 'include' the feature 'definitive'." (italics mine)

The link between demonstratives and the so-called "pronoun-stems" ($\overset{_}{\text{ti}}$, $\overset{_}{\text{si}}$, $\overset{_}{\text{sa}}$, $\overset{_}{\|\text{i}}\|$) is that both categories are deictic: The "proximity" notion of demonstratives is determined in relation to the speaker (near or far from him), i.e. the "communicatory status". This means that, as the role of "speaker" is transferred in a conversation from one participant to another, so may the relative proximity differ. And in this way Nama demonstratives and "pronoun-stems" have a very similar function: They "determine" a specific status.

"Referential" demonstratives denote importance or relevance; "pronoun-stems" denote "communicatory-status". As such ||î ([-speaker, -addressee], i.e. "subject of discourse") has a special function which ti, si and sa do not have (cf. S56-3). Compare also the occurrence of ||î in combination with other lexical formatives: The "status" denotation can again be detected in the following words, especially ordinal numerals (with the exception only of #guro (first)).

- !gam||î (second) e.g. !gam||î khoeb (second man)
- !nona||is (the third)
- !uni||în (>!unin) (the last)
- #hanu||î (official) e.g. #hanu||î kowab (official language)
- !khū||în (>!khūnin) (the rich)
- Xriste||î (Christian) adj.
- ||gau||în (>||gaunin) (candidates for -religious - instruction)
- !hū||în (indigenous people) cf. !hūb (country).

Frequently ||î stands in combination with lexical formatives (verbs) where it can be translated as "self-", especially in combination with the reflexive suffix -sen:

- ||î||hā (mature - of character), cf. ||hā (be equal to)
- ||îgaosens (self-government) (Rust 1969), cf. gao (rule)
- ||î|namsens (egotism), cf. !nam (love)
- ||îmâbasen (accept responsibility), cf. mâ (stand)

||î!nâtsâsen (enjoy), cf. !nâ (in), tsâsen
(feel + reflexive)

||î!nābe (mutual)

||î hân (they (all)), cf. hâ (to remain, be).

It is comprehensible that only ||î ([-speaker, -addressee] "subject of discourse"), and not ti, si or sa can appear in such structures, as these expressions have to have a generally applicable meaning (i.e. to anything spoken about).

The last examples should not be confused with the following occurrences of ||î, where ||î also precedes the lexical formative, but serves as modifier. As such it is also spelt disjunctively²³).

||î Moseb #hanib (he, the selfsame Moses) [+def]

Sado ||î sari-aodo? (Are you those very/the
visitors (we heard about)?) [+def]

*Sado sa sari-aodo? (not used)

Sa sari-aodu ge a !gâiba te. (You visitors are
pleasant to me.) [+def]

||î aitsamata (I myself) [+def]

ti aitsamata (not used)

In view of the evidence presented it is thus maintained that the so-called "pronoun-stems" of Nama are lexical formatives, that they are a type of modifier. For the lack of a more suitable term they will from this point

onwards be called "articles"²⁴⁾ in this dissertation, since they determine "communicatory status" and there- with definiteness. The so-called "full pronoun" of Nama is thus indeed nothing but a modifier that is used (i.e. functions) pronominally. Articles can be pronominalized just like any other modifier:

demonstrative:	[(nē)]b	(this one);
<u>article</u> :	[(sa)]ts	(addressed one, i.e. "you");
adjective:	[(kai)]n	(big ones)
etc.		

It may be mentioned in passing that articles should not be quoted with hyphens any longer (viz ti-, si-, sa-, ||î-); just as other independent lexical formatives are not quoted with a hyphen.

2.1.2. Verbs and adjectives

For the purpose of an introductory statement little more needs to be said here about verbs, adjectives and other lexical formatives. As with nouns, verbal and adjectival formatives will not be discussed here, since their morphological structure is not relevant to the argument. Formatives are discussed in some detail in the handbooks: Planert (1905:6-8), Olpp (1917:34), Dempwolff (1934:63), Rust (1965:35 et seq), a.o.

As far as distribution is concerned it may be said that adjectives form the link between nouns and verbs. But it will emerge in chapter 3. that the nature of adjectives is probably more akin to that of nouns, when it comes to the formation of NOMINALS. The general method for distinguishing verbs and adjectives is to insert the lexical formative in question into a modifier frame (S21-S24). If the radical can appear without an AUX, it is an adjective.

There are, however, a few verbs that behave very much like adjectives, as far as their distribution with auxiliaries is concerned. Rust (1965:52) calls them "Verben der a-Konjugation":

- +án (know)
- !ú (not know)
- ||khá (be capable of)
- ||óa (be incapable of)
- !khá' (be absent, non-existent)

The translation tags given here are English equivalents of the conventional translations, as for instance by Rust. It must suffice here to mention that these "stative" verbs behave differently to normal verbs. A detailed description of their distribution does not fall within the scope of this thesis.

2.2. Grammatical formatives

The second part of chapter 2. briefly introduces the grammatical formatives in a NOUN-PHRASE without further discussion of their function.

2.2.1. Nominal designants

		<u>Non-nasal~N^d</u>			<u>Nasal~N^d</u>		
		<u>Sg</u>	<u>Dl</u>	<u>Pl</u>	<u>Sg</u>	<u>Dl</u>	<u>Pl</u>
<u>Mascu-</u>							
<u>line:</u>	I	-ta	-khom	-ge	-ta	-khom	-ge
	II	-ts	-kho	-go	-ts	-kho	-go
	III	-b/(-xa)	-kha	-gu	-Ni ²⁵⁾	-kha	-gu
<u>Femi-</u>							
<u>nine:</u>	I	-ta	-m	-se	-ta	-(a)m ²⁶⁾	-se
	II	-s	-ro	-so	-s	-ro	-so
	III	-s	-ra	-di	-s	-ra	-di
<u>Neuter/</u>							
<u>Common:</u>	I	-	-m	-da	-	-(a)m	-da
	II	-	-ro	-du	-	-ro	-du
	III	-i ²⁷⁾	-ra	-n	-i	-ra	-(a)n

Table V: NOMINAL DESIGNANTS

"Non-nasal" and "nasal" respectively refer to the speechsound preceding the N^d; see for instance khoe and xam in section 2.2.3.

		<u>Non-nasal-Clitic</u>			<u>Nasal-Clitic</u>		
		<u>Sg</u>	<u>Dl</u>	<u>Pl</u>	<u>Sg</u>	<u>Dl</u>	<u>Pl</u>
<u>Mascu-</u> <u>line:</u>	I	<u>te</u> ²⁸⁾	<u>khom</u>	ge	<u>te</u>	<u>khom</u>	ge
	II	<u>tsi</u>	kho	go	<u>tsi</u>	kho	go
	III	<u>bi</u>	kha	<u>gu</u>	<u>bi</u> [Ni] ²⁹⁾	kha	gu
<u>Femi-</u> <u>nine:</u>	I	<u>te</u>	<u>im/mi</u> <u>/am</u> ³⁰⁾	se	<u>te</u>	<u>im/mi</u> <u>/am</u>	se
	II	<u>si</u>	ro	so	<u>si</u>	ro	so
	III	<u>si</u>	ra	<u>di</u>	<u>si</u>	ra	<u>di</u>
<u>Neuter/</u> <u>Common:</u>	I	-	<u>im/mi</u> <u>/am</u>	da	-	<u>im/mi</u> <u>/am</u>	da
	II	-	ro	<u>du</u>	-	ro	<u>du</u>
	III	i	ra	<u>in/ni</u> <u>/an</u>	i	ra	<u>in/ni</u> <u>/an</u>

Table VI: ANAPHORIC CLITICS

The second essential component in the surface form of a NOMINAL is the grammatical formative "making" the lexical entry a NOMINAL. The nominal designant usually appears in conjunction with a further grammatical formative (the P^d, cf. Tables VII-XII). But the N^d is tabulated here in isolation in order to make it easier for the reader to understand the pattern sentences in the structural inventory below (section 2.2.2.).

No further attention will be paid to the "anaphoric clitics"³⁰⁾ of Table VI, as we consider them to be part of the VP. Anaphoric clitics refer - anaphorically - to objects of a sentence. There is reason to believe that they are clitics attached to transitive verbs:

S57 Hamo~ts ||îga go mû? / Hamo~ts go mû gu?
 when-you them rc.p see when-you rc.p see them
 (When did you see them?)

S58 Tātsē~ta ge ||îna #gom tide. / Tātsē~ta ge
 Never I (s) them believe ng.f Never I (s)
 #gom in/ni/an tide.
 believe them ng.f
 (Never shall I believe them.)

S59 Tita taniba so re, ti horeso-e! /
 me carry+appl. you hort. my friends
 Taniba te so re, ti horeso-e!
 Carry+appl. me you hort., my friends
 (Carry for me, my friends!)

S60 #Gari-aob ge gomana ||îba ra ||gau!gû. /
 farmer (s) cattle him pr.i show-go
 #Gari-aob ge gomana ra ||gau bi !gû.
 farmer (s) cattle pr.i show him go
 (The farmer goes to show him the cattle.)

Both objects can be referred to by means of anaphoric clitics. Such constructions are not used very frequently, though:

#Gari-aob ge ra ||gau bi ni !gû.
 farmer (s) pr.i show him them go
 (The farmer goes to show them to him.)

- S61 O-b ge +khawis ai ge +nû. / O-b ge
 and he (s) cushion on rm.p sit-down and he (s)
 ge +nû ai si.
 rm.p sit-down on her
 (And he sat down on the cushion./And he sat down
 on it.)
- S62 Tita ge satsa nî !khō!oa. / !Khō!oa tsi ta ge
 I (s) you fut receive receive you I (s)
 nî.
 fut
 (I shall receive you.)

Anaphoric clitics occur in no position other than after a transitive verb. The clitic together with the verb stands before the negating morpheme (S58): in Nama the negating morphemes tide and tama always follow the complete "phrase" to be negated, i.e., the clitic is negated with the verb as a single concept.

Attention may be drawn to the element -i in the anaphoric clitics³¹). Vedder (1923:156) recorded many instances in the dialect of old #Aodama people, where the nominal designant (Table V) -b is -bi, and where -s is -si: thus, ||gûb/||gûbi (springbuck), danis/danisi (honey). Compare Table XI, where -i (today?) has ablative or instrumental function in Nama. -

The nominal designant (N^d) is one of the most essential elements in Nama grammar. It is a prerequisite of any

sentence (in imperative sentences involving the second person singular it is understood).

The usual way to introduce the N^d in handbooks is by first introducing the "full pronoun", and then ridding it of its stem. Compare Dempwolff (1934:40):

"||ëib gye go khâi." / "khâib go."
 S63 (||î+b ge go khâi. / khâi~b (ge) go.)
 he (s) rc.p get-up get-up he (s) rc.p
 (He got up.)

Dempwolff calls the "abridged" forms "indifferente Formen der Pronominal-Suffixe", whereas Olpp (1917:14) and Rust (1965:10) call them "Nominativsuffixe". Krüger (forthcoming) changes Olpp's text by introducing a differentiation between "voornaamwoordelike agtervoegsels", and "verkorte voornaamwoorde"³²). The latter, she states, are derived in the same way as the "voornaamwoordelike agtervoegsels", but their function is the same as that of the "full pronoun". Applied to S63 it means that +b in ||î+b is a "voornaamwoordelike agtervoegsel" (because it is an integral part of the "pronoun"), and ~b in khâi~b is a "verkorte voornaamwoord" (as it fortuitously stands in close proximity to the verb, but does not form one word with it). This differentiation has explicatory value (in the same way as the differentiation between "free" and "bound" N^d s), but it is not justifiable linguistically.

Günther (1969:60), in more general terms, speaks of a "flectivum". He objects to the term "verkürztes Pronomen" on the grounds that it seems unlikely to him that khoe-b has developed from *khoe-||f-b.

In this dissertation the term "nominal designant" is proposed, as these inflexional elements either give nominal status to an immediately preceding stem or phrase (+N^d), or "point" to the slot of the subject-NP of the sentence (-N^d) - as will be shown in chapter 3.

2.2.2. Structural inventory of NOUN-PHRASES

In this section a list is provided of NP structures encountered in Nama. A functional inventory of the "case" morphemes will be provided later, in section 3.1.2., as part of the argument. The question posed here is: how do the "phrase designants" (in conjunction with an N^d) occur in syntactic context? The reader should refer to this section for examples when comparing the paradigms in section 2.2.3. below. The abstractions inevitably anticipate some of the argument in chapter 3., as the brackets are interpretative. But the abstractions are given here for the convenience of the reader³³).

2.2.2.1. Occurrence of GE

- S64-1 Aob ge ra mû.
 man (s) pr.i see
 (A man is seeing.)
 {[NOUN]N^d} ge /... Subject_{IND}³⁴⁾
- S64-2 Kai aob ge ra mû.
 big man (s) pr.i see
 (A big man is seeing.)
 {[(Mod) NOUN]N^d} ge
- S64-3 Aob kaib ge ra mû.³⁵⁾
 man big-he (s) pr.i see
 (A man, a big one is seeing.)
 {[NOUN]N^d₁ ∅ [(Mod)]N^d₁} ge
- S65-1 O~b ge aoba ra mû.
 and he (s) man pr.i see
 (Then a man is seeing.)
 (Conjunction)-N^d₁ ge {[NOUN]N^d₁}a /... Subj.IND
- S65-2 O~b kai aoba ra mû.
 and he big man pr.i see
 (Then a big man is seeing.)
 (Conj.)-N^d₁ ge {[(Mod) NOUN]N^d₁}a
- S65-3 O~b ge aob kaiba ra mû.
 and he (s) man big-he pr.i see
 (Then a man, a big one is seeing.)
 (Conj.)-N^d₁ ge {[NOUN]N^d₁ ∅ [(Mod)]N^d₁}a

- S66-1 !Gâise-b ge aoba ra mû.
 well he (s) man pr.i see
 (A man is seeing well.)
 (Adv.)-N^d₁ ge {[NOUN]N^d₁}a³⁶) /... Subject_{IND}
- S66-2 !Gâise-b ge kai aoba ra mû
 (A big man is seeing well.)
 (Adv.)-N^d₁ ge {[(Mod) NOUN]N^d₁}a
- S66-3 !Gâise-b ge aob kaiba ra mû.
 (A man, a big one is seeing well.)
 (Adv.)-N^d₁ ge {[NOUN]N^d₁ ∅ [(Mod)]N^d₁}a
- S67-1 Tarasi-b ge aoba ra mûhe.
 woman-by he (s) man pr.i see-passive
 (A man is seen by a woman.)
 ({[NOM]N^d₂}i) Abl~N^d₁ ge {[NOUN]N^d₁}a³⁷)
 /... Subject_{IND}
- S67-2 Tarasi-b ge kai aoba ra mûhe.
 (A big man is seen by a woman.)
 ({[NOM]N^d₂}i) Abl~N^d₁ ge {[(Mod) NOUN]N^d₁}a
- S67-3 Tarasi-b ge aob kaiba ra mûhe.
 (A man, a big one is seen by a woman.)
 ({[NOM]N^d₂}i) Abl~N^d₁ ge {[NOUN]N^d₁ ∅ [(Mod)]N^d₁}a
- S68-1 Tarasa-b ge aoba ra mû. /... Subject_{IND}
 woman he (s) man pr.i see
 (A man is seeing a woman.)
 ({[NOM]N^d₂}a)-N^d₁ ge {[NOUN]N^d₁}a³⁸) /...Subj. _{IND}
- S68-2 Tarasa-b ge kai aoba ra mû.
 (A big man is seeing a woman.)
 ({[NOM]N^d₂}a)-N^d₁ ge {[(Mod) NOUN]N^d₁}a

S68-3 Tarasa~b ge aob kaiba ra mû.

(A man, a big one is seeing a woman.)

{[NOM]N^d₂}a)~N^d₁ ge {[NOUN]N^d₁ ∅ [(Mod)]N^d₁}a

S65-S68 can occur without extrapositional subject

(aoba). In this case ~N^d ge is to be translated as pronominal subject, thus:

S69 O~b ge ra mû.

(Then he is seeing.)

(Conj.)~N^d ge

S70 !Gâise~b ge ra mû.

(He is seeing well.)

(Adv.)~N^d ge

S71 Tarasi~b ge ra mûhe.

(He is seen by a woman.)

{[NOM]N^d₂}i) Abl~N^d₁ ge

S72 Tarasa~b ge ra mû.

(He is seeing a woman.)

{[NOM]N^d₂}a) Obj~N^d₁ ge

S73-1 Aob ge.

man (s)

(He/it is a man.)

{[NOUN]N^d} ge.

/...Declarative COP

S73-2 Kai aob ge.

big man (s)

(He/it is a big man.)

{[(Mod) NOUN]N^d} ge.

S73-3 Aob kaib ge.

man big-he (s)

(He/it is a man, a big one.)

{[NOUN]N^d₁ ∅ [(Mod)]N^d₁} ge.

S74-1 Aob ge gao-aoba.
 man (s) rule-man
 (A man is a chief.)
 {[NOUN]N^d₁} ge {[NOM]N^d₁} a. /...Declarative COP

S74-2 Kai aob ge gao-aoba
 (A big amn is a chief.)
 {[(Mod) NOUN]N^d₁} ge {[NOM]N^d₁} a.

S74-3 Aob kaib ge gao-aoba.
 (A man, a big one is a chief.)
 {[NOUN]N^d₁} ∅ [(Mod)]N^d₁} ge {[NOM]N^d₁} a.

This sentence is not possible in embedded form: In embedded form it can only appear as predication, e.g.
 ... [(aob a gao-ao) !khae]sa.

2.2.2.2. Occurrence of the zero-morpheme ∅

The reader should refer back to section 2.2.2.1. for corresponding forms with ge. The relevant S-numbers appear in brackets.

S75-1 (64) (Aob ∅ ta mû) !khaes ge a ama.³⁹⁾
 man pr.i see matter (s) pr.s true
 (That a man is seeing is true.)
 {[NOUN]N^d₁} ∅ /...Subject_{DEP}

S75-2 (Kai aob ∅ ta mû) !khaes ge a ama.
 (That a big man is seeing is true.)
 {[(Mod) NOUN]N^d₁} ∅

- S75-3 (Aob kaib \emptyset ta mû) !khaes ge a ama.
 (That a man, a big one is seeing is true.)
 {[NOUN]N^d₁ \emptyset [(Mod)]N^d₁} \emptyset
- S76-1 (64-68) (!Gâise-b \emptyset aoba ra mû) !khaesa ge a ama.
 (That a man is seeing well is true.)
 (...)~N^d₁ \emptyset {[NOUN]N^d₁} a⁴⁰) /...Subject_{DEP}
- S76-2 (!Gâise-b \emptyset kai aoba ra mû) !khaes. ge a ama.
 (That a big man is seeing well is true.)
 (...)~N^d₁ \emptyset {[(Mod) NOUN]N^d₁} a
- S76-3 (!Gâise-b \emptyset aob kaiba ra mû !khaes ge a ama.
 (That a man, a big one is seeing well is true.)
 (...)~N^d₁ \emptyset {[NOUN]N^d₁ \emptyset [(Mod)]N^d₁} a
- S77 (70-72) (!Gâise-b \emptyset ta mû) !khaes ge a ama.
 (That he is seeing well is true.)
 (...)~N^d₁ \emptyset /...Subject_{DEP}
- S78 A-b \emptyset aoba mû re!
 (Let a man see!)
 A~N^d₁ \emptyset {[NOUN]N^d₁} a /...Subject_{Hortative}

S78 can appear without extrapositional subject (cp. S77), or with the respective variants of the extrapositional subject (cp. S76-2/-3). In the Hortative the extrapositional subject is frequently preposed:

- S79 Sa lonsa a~s khâihe re!
 your name let she raised (hort)
 (Hallowed be thy name!)
 {[(Mod) NOUN]N^d₁} a A~N^d₁ \emptyset

- S80 !Gâise~b ta mû aoba?⁴¹⁾
 well he pr.i see man
 (Does the man see well?)
 (...)~N^d ∅ /...Subject_{INT}
- S81 Aob ge nî hā, î~b ∅ mû.
 man (s) fut come, so-that he see
 (A man must come, so that he see.)
 (Conj.)~N^d ∅ /...Subject_{DEP}
- S82 !Nō~du ∅ re!
 keep quiet you (hort.)
 (Keep (you) quiet!)
 (...)~N^d ∅ /...Subject_{IMP}

Any NOMINAL is followed by ∅, if that NOMINAL is followed by an apposition, irrespective of sentence type and irrespective of the function of the NP. The ∅ occurring within the braces { } is not to be confused with the "phrase designant" ∅ following the braces.

- S83 {Nē aob ∅ kaib ∅ mû rab} ge ra
 this man big-he see pr.i-he (s) pr.i
 #gai tsi. /...Subject_{IND}
 call you
 (This man, the big one, the seeing one is calling you.)
- S83-1 {Nē aob ∅ kaib ∅ mû rab}a #gai re!
 (Call this man, this big one, this seeing one!)
 /...Object
- S83-2 {Nē aob ∅ kaib ∅ mû rab} ∅ ta #gai
 tsi hîa~ts ge nî ||nâulnam.
 (While this man, the big one, the seeing one calls you, you must obey.)

2.2.2.3. Occurrence of -A

- S84-1 Aob ge tarasa ra mû.
 man (s) woman pr.i see
 (A man is seeing a woman.)
 {[NOUN]N^d}a /...Object
- S84-2 Aob ge kai tarasa ra mû.
 man (s) big woman pr.i see
 (A man is seeing a big woman.)
 {[(Mod) NOUN]N^d}a
- S84-3 Aob ge taras kaisa ra mû.
 man (s) woman big-she pr.i see
 (A man is seeing a woman, a big one.)
 {[NOUN]N^d₁ ∅ [(Mod)]N^d₁}a

Permutations (cf. section 3.1.1. for all possible structures of a S-O-V sentence) show that there is no junction between {[NOM]N^d}ge and {[NOM]N^d}a in the above sentences.

- S85-1 Tarasa~b ge ra mû.⁴²⁾
 woman he (s) pr.i see
 (He is seeing a woman.)
 ({[NOUN]N^d₁}a)-N^d₂ ge /...Object
- S85-2 Kai tarasa~b ge ra mû.
 (He is seeing a big woman.)
 ({[(Mod) NOUN]N^d₁}a)-N^d₂ ge

S85-3 Taras kaisa~b ge ra mû.

(He is seeing a woman, a big one.)

{[NOUN]N^d₁ ∅ [(Mod)]N^d₁}a)-N^d₂ ge

S86 O~b ge aoba ra mû.

(Then a man is seeing.)

(...)-N^d₁ ge {[NOUN]N^d₁}a /...extrapositional subj. IND

Refer to S65 for modifiers in the extrapositional subject, and to S69 to S72 for constituents that can appear sentence-initially in (...). Usually no other parts of speech are inserted between ~N^d ge and the extrapositional subject. Adverbs may occasionally be inserted:

O~b ge !gâise aoba tarasa ra mû.

(Then a man is seeing a woman well.)

Object-NPs are hardly ever inserted:

*O~b ge tarasa aoba ra mû.

*(Then a man is seeing a woman.)

The extrapositional subject can also appear in interrogative sentences:

S87 !Gâise~b aoba ra mû?

(Does the man see well?)

(...)-N^d₁ ∅ {[NOUN]N^d₁}a /...extrapositional subj. INT

- S88 !Gâise-b aoba ra mû !khaes ge a ama.
 (That a man is seeing well is true.)
 (...)-N^d₁ ∅ { [NOUN]N^d₁ } a /...extrapositional subject_{DEP}

Complements of co-referential copular sentences:

- S89-1 Aob ge gao-aoba.
 man (s) chief
 (A man is chief.)
 # { [NOM]N^d₁ } ge { [NOUN]N^d₁ } a# /...Complement
- S89-2 Aob ge kai gao-aoba.
 (A man is a big chief.)
 # { [NOM]N^d₁ } ge { [(Mod) NOUN]N^d₁ } a#
- S89-3 Aob ge gao-aob kaiba.
 (A man is a chief, a big one.)
 # { [NOM]N^d₁ } ge { [NOUN]N^d₁ ∅ [(Mod)]N^d₁ } a

Interrogative minimal copular sentences:

- S90-1 Aoba?
 (Is he a man?)
 # { [NOUN]N^d } a#
- S90-2 Kai aoba?
 (Is he a big man?)
 # { [(Mod) NOUN]N^d } a#
- S90-3 Aob kaiba?
 (Is he a man, a big one?)
 # { [NOUN]N^d₁ ∅ [(Mod)]N^d₁ } a#

Subjects of interrogative co-referential copular sentences:

- S91-1 Aoba gao-aoba?
 (Is a man chief?)
 #{{[NOUN]N^d}₁ a} {[NOM]N^d}₁ a# /...Subj.COP INT
- S91-2 Kai aoba gao-aoba?
 (Is a big man chief?)
 #{{(Mod) [NOUN]N^d}₁ a} {[NOM]N^d}₁ a#
- S91-3 Aob kaiba gao-aoba?
 #{{[NOUN]N^d}₁ ∅ [(Mod)]N^d}₁ a} {[NOM]N^d}₁ a#

Interrogative predicate sentences:

- S92-1 Aoba ra mû?
 (Does a mán see?)
 {[NOUN]N^d}_a /Subj.INT
- S92-2 Kai aoba ra mû?
 (Does a big mán see?)
 {[(Mod) [NOUN]N^d}_a
- S92-3 Aob kaiba ra mû?
 (Does a man, a big one see?)
 {[NOUN]N^d}₁ ∅ [(Mod)]N^d}₁ a

S92 includes all interrogative sentences with interrogatives referring to a substantive, e.g.

Tari-e ra mû?
 (Who is seeing?)
 {[(Int.)]N^d}_a

S93

A~b aoba mû re!

(Let a man see!)

A~N₁^d∅ { [NOUN]N₁^d } a /...extrapositional
subject_{Hortative}

Refer S78 with comment, for the extrapositional subject in hortative sentences.

S94

Taras ge aoba xu go hā.

woman (s) man from rc.p come

(A woman has come from a man.)

{ [NOUN]N^d } a-Prep. /...Prep.-NP, where Prep
is xu (from), ū (along-
side), or !oa (Towards).⁴³)

S95

Arigu ge ra ||hū tsî gomade !ôa.

dogs (s) pr.i bark and cows low

(Dogs are barking and cows lowing.)

{ [NOUN]N^d } a /...Subject, where AUX is
deleted

Compare S12 on p.14.

S96

Satsa, !gû!

(You, go!)

{ [(Mod)]N^d } a /...Vocative

2.2.2.4. Occurrence of POSTPOSITIONS 44)

Although postpositions are not inflexional suffixes and are therefore not directly concerned in this re-assessment of "case-morphemes", they should be briefly considered here. For postpositions serve the same purpose as inflexional elements: They indicate the status of the nominal with regard to the rest of the sentence. The difference between the use of inflexional suffixes and prepositions or postpositions is only a difference in surface representation. This becomes particularly clear in Nama, where the ablative relation can be expressed either by the inflexional suffix -i or by the postposition xa (from, by):

- S97-1 Aob ge tarasi ra mûhe. {[NOMIN^d]}i
 S97-2 Aob ge taras ∅ xa ra mûhe. {[NOMIN^d]}Prep
 (A man is seen by a woman.)

It is, at this stage, a matter of contention whether the latter should not rather be formulated as

{[NOMIN^d]} ∅ Prep.

All postpositional NPs have adverbial function⁴⁵⁾.

- S98-1 Aob ge oms ai ra sîsen.
 man (s) house on pr.i work
 (A man is working on the house.)
 {[NOUNIN^d]}Prep

- S98-2 Aob ge kai oms ai ra sisen.
 (A man is working on a big house.)
 {[(Mod) NOUN]N^d}Prep
- S98-3 Aob ge oms kais ai ra sisen.
 (A man is working on a house, (on) a big
 one.)
 {[NOUN]N^d ∅ [(Mod)]N^d}Prep

Prep-phrases occur in adverbial slots (...), as for instance in S66 (p.95). They occur frequently as headless phrases (i.e. as pronominal Prep-phrases), as is illustrated in section 3.4.4.

2.2.2.5. Occurrence of DI

The use of the morpheme di after possessive modifiers is optional, as the modifying function is expressed by the perturbed toneme of the head-constituent in any way. Unless the NP has a complicated structure, di is more often omitted than it is inserted in attributive position. In appositional or pronominal function (i.e. to the right of the head-constituent) a possessive must always be followed by di. Note that, in this section the line "___" is only used for the head-constituent of the matrix-NP, not of the embedded NP.

- S99-1 Aob di taras ge ra mû.
 (A man's wife is seeing.)
 { [({ [NOUN] N^d } di) NOUN] N^d } ge
- S99-2 Kai aob di taras ge ra mû.
 (A big man's wife is seeing.)
 { [({ (Mod) NOUN] N^d } di) NOUN] N^d } ge
- S99-3 Aob kaib di taras ge ra mû.
 (A man's, a big one's wife is seeing.)
 { [({ [NOUN] N^d } ∅ [(Mod)] N^d } di) NOUN] N^d } ge

S99 states the variants of the possessive modifier. Accordingly the head-constituent (taras) can be modified by additional modifiers. For the sake of brevity the variants of S99 are abridged as ([Poss] N^d di).

- S100-1 Aob di isa taras ge ra mû.
 (A man's beautiful wife is seeing.)
 { [({ [Poss] N^d } di) (Mod) NOUN] N^d } ge
- S100-2 Aob di taras isas ge ra mû.
 (A man's wife, a beautiful one is seeing.)
 { [({ [Poss] N^d } di) NOUN] N^d } ∅ [(Mod)] N^d } ge

A combination of S99-3 and S100-2 would be:

- S101 Aob kaib di taras isas ge ra mû.
 (A man's, a big one's wife, a beautiful one is seeing.)
 { [({ [Noun] N^d } ∅ [(Mod)] N^d } di) NOUN] N^d } ∅ [(Mod)] N^d } ge

All patterns from S99 to S101 can appear in conjunction with the P^ds -a, ∅, or a postposition, according to the patterns listed above in sections 2.2.2.2. to 2.2.2.4. respectively.

S102-1 Taras aob dis ge ra mû.

(A wife, a man's is seeing.)

{[NOUN]N^d₁ ∅ [({[NOUN]N^d₂ } di)N^d₁ } ge

S102-2 Îsa taras aob dis ge ra mû.

(A beautiful wife, a man's is seeing.)

{ [(Mod) NOUN]N^d₁ ∅ [({[NOUN]N^d₂ } di)N^d₁ } ge

S102-3 Taras îsas khoeb dis ge ra mû.

(A wife, a beautiful one, a man's is seeing.)

{ [NOUN]N^d₁ ∅ [(Mod)]N^d₁ ∅ [({[NOUN]N^d₂ } di)N^d₁ } ge

The head-noun of the possessor (aob) in S102 can be modified accordingly:

S103-1 Taras kai aob dis ge ra mû.

(A wife, that of a big man is seeing.)

{ [NOUN]N^d₁ ∅ [([(Mod) NOUN]N^d₂ } di)N^d₁ } ge

S103-2 Taras aob kaib dis ge ra mû.

(A wife, that of a man, a big one's is seeing.)

{ [NOUN]N^d₁ ∅ [(([NOUN]N^d₂ ∅ [(Mod)]N^d₂ di)N^d₁ } ge

A combination of S102 and S103 would yield -

- S104 Taras ísas aob kaib dis ge ra mû.
 (A woman, a beautiful one, that of a man,
 a big one is seeing.)
 $\{ \{ [\text{NOUN}] \text{N}^{\text{d}}_1 \} \emptyset [(\text{Mod})] \text{N}^{\text{d}}_1 \} \emptyset [(\{ [\text{NOUN}] \text{N}^{\text{d}}_2 \} \emptyset [(\text{Mod})] \text{N}^{\text{d}}_2 \} \underline{\text{di}})] \text{N}^{\text{d}}_1 \} \text{ge}$

Patterns S102 to S104 can appear with the P^ds -a, ∅, or postpositions as well, instead of ge. The structure of the NP is not affected thereby.

- S105-1 ||Íb di taras ge ra mû.
 (His wife is seeing.)
 $\{ (\{ [(\text{Mod})] \text{N}^{\text{d}}_1 \} \underline{\text{di}}) [\text{NOUN}] \text{N}^{\text{d}}_2 \} \text{ge}$

- S105-2 Taras ||íb dis ge ra mû.
 (A woman, his one is seeing.)
 $\{ [\text{NOUN}] \text{N}^{\text{d}}_1 \} \emptyset [(\{ [(\text{Mod})] \text{N}^{\text{d}}_2 \} \underline{\text{di}})] \text{N}^{\text{d}}_1 \} \text{ge}$

S105, according to the traditional approach, has a pronominal "possessor", viz "his". But according to the view presented in section 2.1.1.1. on "Pronouns", a true pronominalization of the possessive modifier (i.e., the "possessor") is not possible, except when it refers to first or second person singular (tf, sá). A "di-phrase" (i.e. NP-di) must contain a lexical entry, i.e., the stem designating "possessor" cannot be deleted, unless a modifier takes over its function. Hence the possessive modifier in S105 consists of an article that functions pronominally. One should not be misled by the fact that it is translated as a pronoun (e.g., "his").

S106 Aob dis ge ra mû.
 (A man's is seeing.)
 $\{ \{ [\text{NOUN}] \text{N}^{\text{d}}_1 \} \underline{\text{di}} \} \text{N}^{\text{d}}_2 \} \text{ge}$

A combination of S105-1 and S106 yields the following NP:

S107 ||îb dis ge ra mû.
 (His (one) is seeing.)
 $\{ \{ \{ [(\text{Mod})] \text{N}^{\text{d}}_1 \} \underline{\text{di}} \} \} \text{N}^{\text{d}}_2 \} \text{ge}$

2.2.2.6. Occurrence of -i

The suffix -i occurs as ablative suffix after N^{d} consisting of a consonant only⁴⁶). The postposition xa can occur after any N^{d} (cp. S97-2).

S108-1 Aob ge tarasi ra mûhe.
 (A man is seen by a woman.)
 $\{ [\text{NOUN}] \text{N}^{\text{d}} \} \underline{\text{i}}$ /...any sentence type

S108-2 Aob ge îsa tarasi ra mûhe.
 (A man is seen by a beautiful woman.)
 $\{ [(\text{Mod})] \underline{\text{NOUN}} \text{N}^{\text{d}} \} \underline{\text{i}}$

S108-3 Aob ge taras îsasi ra mûhe.
 $\{ [\text{NOUN}] \text{N}^{\text{d}}_1 \emptyset [(\text{Mod})] \text{N}^{\text{d}}_1 \} \underline{\text{i}}$

2.2.2.7. Occurrence of -E

The syntax of the honorific vocative is of no concern in this dissertation, as the vocative is not a verb-linked form. A paradigm of the existing inflexional forms is given in section 2.2.3. (Table XII).

2.2.3. Phrase designants

The term "phrase designant" has been chosen as a non-committal term. All the morphemes concerned stand at the end of a NOUN-PHRASE, be it embedded or not. Hence P^d s mark the right-hand phrase boundary of an NP. It would have been premature to choose a term that refers to the function of these elements (e.g., "case marker"), as their true function has yet to be established. So far it has become clear from the inventory above that P^d s never occur anywhere else but immediately after an N^d - even if the N^d occurs freely ($\sim N^d$). For the purpose of this investigation a zero P^d (\emptyset) had to be postulated. Chapter 3. will have to show whether this postulate can be upheld.

The following paradigms will give bound N^d s only, once after a vowel, once after a non-nasal consonant⁴⁷).

The N^d s for the second person - with the exception

perhaps of -ts - are rarely used with a noun-stem unless an article precedes. This fact is ignored for the purpose of tabulation.

		<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
<u>masc.</u>	I	kho+ta	kho+khom	kho+ge
	II	kho+ts	kho+kho	kho+go
	III	kho+b/+xa ⁴⁸⁾	kho+kha	kho+gu
<u>fem.</u>	I	kho+ta	kho+m	kho+se
	II	kho+s	kho+ro	kho+so
	III	kho+s/+xa	kho+ra	kho+di
<u>neut./</u>	I	-	kho+m	kho+da
<u>comm.</u>	II	-	kho+ro	kho+du
	III	kho+--i	kho+ra	kho+n
<u>masc.</u>	I	xam+ta	xam+khom	xam+ge
	II	xam+ts	xam+kho	xam+go
	III	xam+mi/+xa	xam+kha	xam+gu
<u>fem.</u>	I	xam+ta	xam+(a)m	xam+se
	II	xam+s	xam+ro	xam+so
	III	xam+s/+xa	xam+ra	xam+di
<u>neut./</u>	I	-	xam+(a)m	xam+da
<u>comm.</u>	II	-	xam+ro	xam+du
	III	xam+--i	xam+ra	xam+(a)n

Table VII: PHRASE DESIGNANTS: \emptyset

The P^d \emptyset is mutually exclusive with ge. \emptyset occurs after the subject of all subordinate (embedded) sentences (S75-S77, S81) and of questions where the subject is

not the topic (S80). It occurs also after the subject of hortative sentences (S78) and within an NP after any NOMINAL followed by an apposition (S83). The zero- P^d can follow free forms of the N^d (S76).

		<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
<u>masc.</u>	I	khoe+ta-ge	khoe+khom-ge	khoe+ge-ge
	II	khoe+ts-ge	khoe+kho-ge	khoe+go-ge
	III	khoe+b/+xa-ge	khoe+kha-ge	khoe+gu-ge
<u>fem.</u>	I	khoe+ta-ge	khoe+m-ge	khoe+se-ge
	II	khoe+s-ge	khoe+ro-ge	khoe+so-ge
	III	khoe+s/+xa-ge	khoe+ra-ge	khoe+di-ge
<u>neut./</u>	I	-	khoe+m-ge	khoe+da-ge
<u>comm.</u>	II	-	khoe+ro-ge	khoe+du-ge
	III	khoe+-i-ge	khoe+ra-ge	khoe+n-ge
<u>masc.</u>	I	xam+ta-ge	xam+khom-ge	xam+ge-ge
	II	xam+ts-ge	xam+kho-ge	xam+go-ge
	III	xam+mi/+xa-ge	xam+kha-ge	xam+gu-ge
<u>fem.</u>	I	xam+ta-ge	xam+(a)m-ge	xam+se-ge
	II	xam+s-ge	xam+ro-ge	xam+so-ge
	III	xam+s/+xa-ge	xam+ra-ge	xam+di-ge
<u>neut./</u>	I	-	xam+(a)m-ge	xam+da-ge
<u>comm.</u>	II	-	xam+ro-ge	xam+du-ge
	III	xam+-i-ge	xam+ra-ge	xam+(a)n-ge

Table VIII: PHRASE DESIGNANTS: GE

If ge occurs, it occurs after the last N^d of a subject-NP of declarative matrix (main) sentences (S64). Besides the $\emptyset P^d$, ge is the only P^d which can occur after the free form of the N^d (S65-S72), i.e., $\sim N^d$ ge. Ge may be omitted in certain cases.

		<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
<u>masc.</u>	I	kho+ta	kho+khoma	kho+ge
	II	kho+tsa	kho+kho	kho+go
	III	kho+ba	kho+kha	kho+ga
<u>fem.</u>	I	kho+ta	kho+ma	kho+se
	II	kho+sa	kho+ro	kho+so
	III	kho+sa	kho+ra	kho+de
<u>neut./</u>	I	-	kho+ma	kho+da
<u>comm.</u>	II	-	kho+ro	kho+do
	III	kho+-e	kho+ra	kho+na
<u>masc.</u>	I	xam+ta	xam+khoma	xam+ge
	II	xam+tsa	xam+kho	xam+go
	III	xam+ma	xam+kha	xam+ga
<u>fem.</u>	I	xam+ta	xam+(a)ma	xam+se
	II	xam+sa	xam+ro	xam+so
	III	xam+sa	xam+ra	xam+de
<u>neut./</u>	I	-	xam+(a)ma	xam+da
<u>comm.</u>	II	-	xam+ro	xam+do
	III	xam+-e	xam+ra	xam+(a)na

Table IX: PHRASE DESIGNANTS: A

The P^d -a must always appear after the last N^d of an object-NP, irrespective of sentence-type (S84-S85).

The P^d -a appears moreover after the extrapositional subject, irrespective of sentence type (S86/87/93).

It must always follow the last N^d of the complement of a co-referential COP sentence (S89); it appears after the last N^d of the subject of interrogative sentences, if the subject is topicalized (S90; cf. also section 3.1.3.1. below). -a follows the last N^d of a subject-NP in elliptic sentences where AUX has been omitted (S95).

		<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
<u>masc.</u>	I	khoe+ta-di	khoe+khom-di	khoe+ge-di
	II	khoe+ts-di	khoe+kho-di	khoe+go-di
	III	khoe+b/+xa-di	khoe+kha-di	khoe+gu-di
<u>fem.</u>	I	khoe+ta-di	khoe+m-di	khoe+se-di
	II	khoe+s-di	khoe+ro-di	khoe+so-di
	III	khoe+s/+xa-di	khoe+ra-di	khoe+di-di
<u>neut./</u>	I	-	khoe+m-di	khoe+da-di
<u>comm.</u>	II	-	khoe+ro-di	khoe+du-di
	III	khoe+-i-di	khoe+ra-di	khoe+n-di

		<u>Sg.</u>	<u>Di.</u>	<u>Pl.</u>
<u>masc.</u>	I	xam+ta-di	xam+khom-di	xam+ge-di
	II	xam+ts-di	xam+kho-di	xam+go-di
	III	xam+mi/+xa-di	xam+kha-di	xam+gu-di
<u>fem.</u>	I	xam+ta-di	xam+(a)m-di	xam+se-di
	II	xam+s-di	xam+ro-di	xam+so-di
	III	xam+s/+xa-di	xam+ra-di	xam+di-di
<u>neut./</u>	I	-	xam+(a)m-di	xam+da-di
<u>comm.</u>	II	-	xam+ro-di	xam+du-di
	III	xam+-i-di	xam+ra-di	xam+(a)n-di

Table X: PHRASE DESIGNANTS: DI

The P^d di follows the last N^d of a possessive modifier irrespective of sentence type. In most cases di is omitted. As di is part of an NP-modifier, which is embedded in a matrix NP, it (di) has to be followed directly (S102-S104, S105-2-S107) or indirectly (S99-S101, S105-1) by another N^d-P^d terminating the matrix NP, i.e. a di-phrase can never be directly dominated by S or VP in a phrase-marker. In this way it differs from ge, ∅, or -a, also from Prep-phrases.

		<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
<u>masc.</u>	I	-	*_	-
	II	khoe+tsi	-	-
	III	khoe+bi	-	-
<u>fem.</u>	I	-	khoe-mi	-
	II	khoe+si	-	-
	III	khoe+si	-	-
<u>neut./</u>	I	-	khoe+mi	-
<u>comm.</u>	II	-	-	-
	III	-	-	khoe+ni
<u>masc.</u>	I	-	*_	-
	II	xam+tsi	-	-
	III	*_	-	-
<u>fem.</u>	I	-	*_	-
	II	xam+si	-	-
	III	xam+si	-	-
<u>neut./</u>	I	-	*_	-
<u>comm.</u>	II	-	-	-
	III	-	-	*_

Table XI: PHRASE DESIGNANTS: I

Note that, although the N^d ends on a consonant, khoe+khomi and xam+khomi is not readily used. See also the other N^d s ending on a nasal, which are not used with nasal stems (xam).

		<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
<u>masc.</u>	I	khoe+ta-e	khoe+khom-e	khoe+ge-e
	II	khoe+tse	khoe+kho-e	khoe+go-e
	III	khoe+b/+xa-e	khoe+kha-e	khoe+gu-e
<u>fem.</u>	I	khoe+ta-e	khoe+me	khoe+se
	II	khoe+se	khoe+ro-e	khoe+so-e
	III	khoe+se	khoe+ra-e	khoe+di-e
<u>neut./</u>	I	-	khoe+me	khoe+da-e
<u>comm.</u>	II	-	khoe+ro-e	khoe+du-e
	III	(audo)+-i-e	khoe+ra-e	khoe+ne
<u>masc.</u>	I	xam+ta-e	xam+khom-e	xam+ge-e
	II	xam+tse	xam+kho-e	xam+go-e
	III	xam+mi-e	xam+kha-e	xam+gu-e
<u>fem.</u>	I	xam+ta-e	xam+(a)me	xam+se-e
	II	xam+se	xam+ro-e	xam+so-e
	III	xam+se	xam+me	xam+di-e
<u>neut./</u>	I	-	xam+(a)me	xam+da-e
<u>comm.</u>	II	-	xam+ro-e	xam+du-e
	III	xam+-i-e	xam+ra-e	xam+(a)ne

Table XII: PHRASE DESIGNANTS: E

The P^d -e is a honorific vocative suffix, used especially in praise-songs and folklore. Vedder (1923: 157/158) maintains that Nama has only the forms khoe+tse and khoe+se, whereas the Damara also use the -e suffix in the third person. However, the above paradigm, with -e suffixes for all N^ds was authenticated by

a Nama speaker⁴⁹).

		<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
<u>masc.</u>	I	khoe+ta xa	khoe+khom xa	khoe+ge xa
	II	khoe+ts xa	khoe+kho xa	khoe+go xa
	III	khoe+b/+xa xa	khoe+kha xa	khoe+gu xa
<u>fem.</u>	I	khoe+ta xa	khoe+m xa	khoe+se xa
	II	khoe+s xa	khoe+ro xa	khoe+so xa
	III	khoe+s/+xa xa	khoe+ra xa	khoe+di xa
<u>neut./</u> <u>comm.</u>	I	-	khoe+m xa	khoe+da xa
	II	-	khoe+ro xa	khoe+du xa
	III	khoe+-i xa	khoe+ra xa	khoe+n xa
<u>masc.</u>	I	xam+ta xa	xam+khom xa	xam+ge xa
	II	xam+ts xa	xam+kho xa	xam+go xa
	III	Xam+mi/+xa xa	xam+kha	xam+gu
<u>fem.</u>	I	xam+ta xa	xam+(a)m xa	xam+se xa
	II	xam+s xa	xam+ro xa	xam+so xa
	III	xam+s/+xa xa	xam+ra xa	xam+di xa
<u>neut./</u> <u>comm.</u>	I	-	xam+(a)m xa	xam+da xa
	II	-	xam+ro xa	xam+du xa
	III	xam+-i xa	xam+ra xa	xam+(a)n xa

Table XIII: PHRASE DESIGNANTS: POSTPOSITIONS (XA)

2.3. The constituents of a NOUN-PHRASE

To sum up: There are two functional categories in a NOUN-PHRASE that have to be examined, namely the head-constituent and various types of modifiers.

2.3.1. The head-constituent

In Bloomfieldian terms the "head" of an endocentric construction (NP) is that constituent whose distribution is the same as that of the entire constituent⁵⁰). That is, the NOUN has the same distribution as the entire NOUN-PHRASE, whereas adjectives, demonstratives and other modifiers have not.

The head-constituent in the Nama NP always carries an inflexional element by means of which it can function as e.g. subject or object of the sentence⁵¹). The head-constituent or NOUN consists of a noun-stem + N^d.

2.3.2. Modifiers

Modifiers are adjuncted to a head-constituent in an NP. Modifiers can be deleted without any syntactic consequences for the NP⁵²). Modifiers in Nama are never directly terminated by an N^d, unless they have been nominalized, appearing either pronominally or appositionally.

The investigation of the syntax of the NP will concentrate on the following modifiers:

Demonstratives,
Articles,
Adjectives,
Numerals (cardinal),
Possessives,
Relatives.

2.3.2.1. Demonstratives

Dem → nē, ||nā, nāú / ___ NOUN
(this, that, that yonder)

Nama makes three distinctions only: nē (this), ||nā (that), and nāú (that yonder). Proximity is determined in relation to the first person (speaker) only, never in relation to the second person (addressee)⁵³).

Nāú is frequently translated in current literature (Dempwolff 1934:107, a.o.) as "the other", as if it were an alternative meaning to "that yonder". Nāú (the other) is not the same radical as nāú (that yonder), and is therefore not a demonstrative. This point is discussed further in section 3.2.1.

2.3.2.2. Articles

Art → tí, sí, sá, ||î / ___ NOUN

As was said in section 2.1.1.2., articles cannot be directly translated into English. An approximate translation tag would be ti (speaker involved), si (speakers involved), sa (addressee involved), ||î (neither speaker nor addressee involved).

The distribution of articles with AUXs (Table I) differs from that of other lexical formatives, i.e. they are a distinct category. In attributive function articles never appear with an AUX (a), i.e., they do not appear as relative modifiers. Articles are furthermore confined to initial position in a sequence of modifiers, as is shown in section 3.2.1.

2.3.2.3. Adjectives

Adj. —>	<u>kai</u> ,	<u>kaira</u> ,	<u>îsa</u> ,	<u>!gâi</u> ,	
	(big,	old,	beautiful,	good,	
	<u> râuhesa</u> ,	<u> nâuxa</u> ,	...	/	___ NOUN
	audible,	obedient			

The distinction of adjectives is based entirely on syntactic criteria, in this dissertation. The derivation of adjectives from other parts of speech is of no concern here, as it is a morphological problem.

2.3.2.4. Numerals

Cardinal Num. ---> !gui, !gam, !nona,
 (1, 2, 3,
!gamdisi!nonala, ... / ___ NOUN
 23)

Ordinal Num. ---> +guro, !gam||i, !gamdisi-
 (1st, 2nd, 23rd)
!nonala||i, ... / ___ NOUN

Cardinal numerals have the same distributional pattern with AUXs as adjectives have (cf. Table I). Cardinal numerals are, however syntactically constrained by the number feature of the N^d , or rather, of the head-constituent: !gui khoe+b (one man), !gam khoe+kha (two men), !nona khoe+gu (three men), etc. This is a syntactic criterion by means of which numerals can be distinguished from adjective-radicals⁵⁴).

2.3.2.5. Possessives

Poss. ---> $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \{NP\} \underline{di} \\ \underline{ti'}, \underline{sa'} \end{array} \right\}$ / ___ NOUN

The associative $\hat{a}+N^d$ will not be discussed as it has a different structural behaviour from lexical formatives. Hence a discussion of it does not directly contribute to a re-assessment of the "Case"-morphemes.

The description concerning the use of â- is satisfactory in the handbooks.

A few words should be said about the possessive radicals (in contrast to possessive phrases, or "di-phrases" with the form {NP di}). Only two radicals are used: tí (my), and sá (your sg.). Sa refers only to second person singular, masculine or feminine. The morphological resemblance of tí and sá to the four radicals tí, sí, sá and ||í may give cause to conjecture that corresponding possessive forms may occur for si and ||í. But this is not so:

<u>tí</u> arib	<u>sá</u> arib	* <u>si</u> arib	* <u> í</u> arib
(my dog)	(your dog)	-	-

The corresponding pronominal uses are:

<u>tíb</u>	<u>sáb</u>	* <u>sib</u>	* <u> íb</u>
(mine)	(yours)	-	-

All other person-gender-number co-ordinates have to be expressed by means of pronominal articles. The first and second person singular is not expressed by means of pronominal articles:

* <u>títa</u> di arib	* <u>sáts</u> di arib	<u>sída</u> di arib	<u> íb</u> di arib
	* <u>sás</u> di arib	<u>síge</u> di arib	<u> ín</u> di arib
	<u>sádu</u> di arib	etc.	etc.
	etc.		

The distribution of possessives with AUX is practically

the same as that of nouns. Possessives, like nouns, must be followed by kai (become) if they are to be used with the AUXs a and hâ. But within the syntax of an NP possessives have a different distribution from that of noun-radicals (cf. section 3.2.1. on the linear ordering of constituents).

2.3.2.6. Relatives

Rel → S

/ ___ NOUN

The relative is an embedded sentence serving as a modifier of a head-constituent. Any modifier containing an AUX is considered to be a relative (sentence or clause). Compare again frame (ii) on p.55:

S21-1 [(Kaira) !gāls ge ra ||nae. (adjectival modifier)
(An old servant ...)

S21-3 [(Kaira ra) !gāls ge ra ||nae. (relative modifier)
(A servant who is ageing ...)

While demonstratives, articles, adjectives, numerals and possessives are categorized as types of modifiers by virtue of the categorial status of the radical itself, the relative is categorized as such by virtue of a syntactic criterion, viz. the presence of an AUX. The lexical entry in the embedded predicate (i.e., under the node V of the relative sentence) can belong to

anyone of the above-mentioned modifier categories,
besides which it can akso be a noun-stem or a verb.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER 2.

1) A distinction is made in this dissertation between "radicals" (roots) and "stems". "Stem" refers to that component of a word which carries the meaning. The stem can consist of a single lexical formative (radical), or it can be compounded of one radical plus other radicals and/or derivational formatives, excluding auxiliaries ("tense particles").

2) In the absence of an article ("pronoun stem", cf. section 2.1.1.2.) or demonstrative a "systematic" translation of this sentence should be "A servant is old.", according to observations made about the feature "definite" and "indefinite" in section 2.1.1.2. But if the topic of discourse is already known from the context (i.e. is definite), then it may also be used without an article or other modifier, viz !gās (the servant). In order to let the translations sound more natural the frame sentences will be translated as definite if no modifier is present.

3) Note, however the following enumeration:

Haira hâ, dani hân tsîn ge !aub +ûn !nâ ra !gôahe.
(Treegum and honey too are counted as 'veldkos'.)

This expression (noun-hâ) is usually used for the enumeration of examples.

4) Articles are traditionally considered to be "pronoun stems" (ti, si, sa, ||î), cf. section 2.1.1.2.

5) Although it is not common practice, the binary features [+male] and [+female] are used in conjunction to indicate gender: The combination [+male, +female] should be read as "common gender"; likewise [-male, -female] should be read as "non-specified gender" or "neuter".

6) Greenberg (1963:92) divides the morphemes of a noun into "root", "derivational" and "inflectional". As he does not define these terms any further, it is not clear whether his "derivational" would refer to the N^d of Nama, or to morphemes like the abstract formative si (cf. gā-aisib 'wisdom'). If "derivational" were to refer to N^d , then "inflectional" should refer to "case"-morphemes.

In this introduction a second grammatical formative (a "case"-morpheme or P^d) will not be provided for, as it remains to be investigated in the main argument, whether Nama NOUNS have case-suffixes or not.

7) It is here that Bach's argument (1968) becomes relevant: Firstly, that all nouns are derived through relative clauses; secondly, that there are traces of "narrative" or present tense auxiliaries in nouns. While it is laborious to reconstruct these hypothetical elements for English, it is not difficult to trace such elements in the surface form (phonetic representation) of Nama. The significance of this phenomenon for Nama should emerge as this dissertation progresses.

It may be mentioned in passing that in certain north-western Damara dialects (Sesfontein, especially) certain "full pronouns" are used in the form of a relative construction, still containing AUX:

tita - tiata	(literally: I who am I): [(ti a)]ta;
sida - siāda	(literally: we who are we):
	[(si a)]lda;
sada - saāda	(literally: we who are we):
	[(sa a)]lda.

See section 3.1.3. for the derivational history of such constructions.

8) The Nama/Damara Language Committee has ruled that such "words" should be linked into a single orthographic unit. If these expressions were represented as pronominal relative clauses, then they should be

spelt disjunctively: lnē rab, ||gawo ran, tsē ab, etc.

9) See Table VII, p.112 for the surface forms, and section 3.1.3. for the underlying structures.

10) This statement, which reflects the traditional version in the handbooks, is indeed a misrepresentation, as will become evident in the next section.

11) Olpp (1917:13): "abgekürztes Pronomen"; Dempwolff (1943:41): "indifferente Formen der Pronominal-Suffixe"; Rust (1965:10): "Personalsuffixe"; Krüger (forthcoming: 9) "verkorte voornaamwoorde" and "voornaamwoordelike agtervoegsels" respectively. Meinhof (1909:54) alone calls the N^d the "eigentliche Pronomen". He considers the full form to be a compound form - a view close to the one presented in this dissertation.

Köhler (1962:536) supports the traditional view: In the subject position he distinguishes a "Vollform" which appears before the verb, and a "Kurzform" or "Inversionsform" which appears enclitically behind the verb, e.g., Mû ta (ge) ra (I am seeing).

Westphal (1971:390 et seq) distinguishes a "pre-verbal" and a "post-verbal pronominal form". His approach differs from the traditional approach in as much that he considers the traditional "stem" (ti, si, sa, ||î) to be a "prefixal element", and the traditional "suffix" (N^d) to be a "stem". It is maintained that the "prefixal element" serves (in Nama and !Ora)

"to differentiate the Ist and IInd Persons (involved in the 'speaker' situation) from the IIIrd Person." (p.391)

On the basis of !Ora (Korana) his "stem" is further analyzed into a central element, the "(gender) modulator", followed by the "(number) suffix". These two elements are fused in Nama (*kha + ro > kho). It is probably for this reason that Westphal calls these

morphemes stems in connection with "pronouns", and nominal suffixes in connection with "nominals".

Whenever "stem" is used in this dissertation, it is used in its traditional meaning for ti, si, sa, and ||î. But in terms of the reclassification as article the word "radical" is used.

12) Günther's conclusion about these "pronominal stems" reads as follows (1969:58):

"ti, sa kommen vor dem Nomen als singularische Possessiva vor, ||eî ist in prädikativer Stellung demonstrativ, ebenso alle anderen Stämme, wenn sie vor dem Nomen stehen, das vom suffigierten Pronomen gefolgt wird." (italics mine)

It is a shortcoming of all handbooks that they fail to point out that there is a distinction between the "pronoun-stems" tî and sá on the one hand, and the possessives tí and sá on the other (e.g. Rust 1965: 17/18). Compare sá tàràs (you, wife) to sá tàràs (your wife).

13) Dempwolff (1934:46). This sentence is rejected by Johannes Boois. It should read Tita ge ||îta (I am the one), or in embedded form Tita ||îta !khai-e (that I am the one). Co-referential COP sentences using AUX next to N^da seem to be archaic forms.

14) The reader should keep in mind that this chapter deals with surface forms that have actually been observed. The following structural account is merely observational.

15) The correlation between these sentences (S48-1 to S51-1) is not consistent with all Nama-speakers. While all informants agree practically unanimously on the (un)grammaticality of "pronouns" (or minimal copular sentences) there is considerable disagreement on the predicative use of "pronoun-stems". It must be conceded

that a differentiation between grammatical and ungrammatical forms is difficult, as most of these sentences are understood idiomatically, e.g. "You are I". (The term "grammatical" is defined by Bach (1964:10) as

"marked as nondeviant or normal with respect to a theory of a language (a grammar), and not abnormal for reasons of meaning, appropriateness to situation, and so on.")

Dempwolff's statement (1934:46) that only ||i occurs as predicate is true only to the extent that the other stems are less frequently used, although the sentences are grammatical. Note that sa and ti cannot be understood as possessives in this context. This is also true for S54, which is not related to the sentence Sá'di ge (They are yours).

16) A "minimal copular sentence" is a copular sentence without complement.

17) The N^ds ta, m and ro appear in brackets, as they contain no or only limited indication of gender.

Note that the "person" co-ordinate of the N^d is deictic, depending on who the speaker is. Westphal (1971:395) points out that the determination of gender depends on "sex" with animates, and on a "sensory" basis with inanimates. Due to this feature he calls the gender co-ordinate "animation gender".

Incidentally, Nama does not comply with Greenberg's universal 37 (1963:95) that

"a language never has more gender categories in nonsingular numbers than in the singular."

18) Informants do not always agree whether a has to be omitted when a stem has modifying function, as in frame No. (ii). The reader is reminded of the north-western Damara dialect where a is regularly used in certain "full pronouns", e.g. tiata. This form causes

amusement in southern regions.

19) Our tonal description differs from that by Köhler (1962:537). He marks all four tones with an acute, which presumably indicates a high tone: "tí, sí, sá and ||éi".

20) This observation was made by David Cranmer.

A further manifestation of this universal in Nama occurs in compound NPs, where tsî (and) with a "summarizing" N^d terminates the phrase. The person feature of this N^d is as "high" as the "highest" person feature occurring within the compound NP; e.g.

ao+b tsî tara+s tsî+ra
 III III III
 man and woman and-they (dual)
 (a man and a woman)

sa+ts tsî sa horesa+n tsî+du
 II III II
 you and your friends and-you (plural)
 (you and your friends)

si+khom tsî sa+kho tsî+ge
 I II I
 we (two) and you (two) and-we (plural).
 (we and you)

21) No distinction is made in this dissertation between "determiners" and "modifiers", since - as is maintained - in Nama all lexical formatives that modify a head-noun appear in a (relative) sentence in the underlying structure. For this reason only the term "modifier" is used.

It is possible that "pronoun-stems" (articles) and demonstratives must eventually be distinguished as "determiners" from adjectives, numerals, and other "modifiers" on distributional grounds (linear ordering). But this topic needs further investigation.

22) For the meaning of "deictic" cf. Lyons (1968:275):

"The notion of deixis ... is introduced to handle the 'orientational' features of

language which are relative to the time and place of utterance."

This notion applies also to the "situation of utterance", as far as "communicatory status" is concerned, in that that individual who is speaker always refers to himself as "I", etc.

23) Dempwolff (1934:40) spells these forms conjunctively, as he maintains that the noun-stems have been infixes into the "full pronouns", e.g., "tikhoita (Ich meinerseits)". In view of the hypothesis presented here this explanation is not acceptable.

24) The term article is somewhat dissatisfactory, as it has a pre-empted meaning in transformational generative theory. Certain linguists (e.g. Postal and Rosenbaum, cf Stockwell et al 1973:68) treat articles not as separate nodes, but as features of the noun. In this dissertation (section 3.2.2.) it is suggested, however, that Nama "articles" are introduced into the NP via a predication.

The term "determiner" comes to mind, since "communicatory status" is "determined". But in terms of TG theory it is not acceptable to stipulate that a "determiner" is a kind of "modifier".

25) n stands for "homorganic syllabic nasal": thus om+b > ommi (house), ||gan+b > ||ganni (meat). In Nama only m and n can occur as final consonants in a radical. In loanwords l and r occur as well.

26) An unstressed, centralised a is often introduced between the nasals. Cf. also the archaic forms, where am occurred even after vowels:

Hā |khā te re, î am !au am ka ||ganna
come with me (hort) that we hunt we may meat
am.
roast

(Come with me, so that we roast the meat that we might hunt down.)

- 27) A glottal stop appears before the vowel i.
- 28) Forms differing from "object forms" (i.e., with Pd a, cf. Table IX) of full nominals are underlined.
- 29) The phoneme b can be pronounced as a homorganic nasal, if the speaker is not speaking very distinctly.
- 30) These clitics are notational variants without semantic correlates.
- 31) This is one of the rare occurrences of morpho-phonemic sound-changes in Nama, e.g., *a+i > e.
- 32) Krüger p.9; our "bound" and "free" forms of the N^d respectively.
- 33) There is a certain redundancy in the abstractions, as both "NOUN" and "___" indicate a head-constituent. Similarly parentheses "()" already indicate "Modifier". The use of bracketing and underlining becomes meaningful, however, when applied to an actual sentence.
- 34) The function refers to the head-constituent.
- 35) For each NP only three variants are quoted: SX-1 without modifier (this includes headless NOMINALS, i.e. pronominal phrases); SX-2 with modifier as attribute; SX-3 with modifier in apposition. It is superfluous to quote combinations of these variants, e.g. {[(Mod) NOUN]N^d [(Mod)]N^d}P^d.
- 36) "(Adv.)" stands for adverbial phrases (with adverbial suffixes, e.g. -se) and also Prep-phrases; e.g.,
tsuxub !nâ (in the night).
- 37) The more common way to form the "ablative" is by means of the postposition xa: Taras xa-b ge aoba ra mûhe.
- 38) Evidently the object NP can also occur with all the regular variants.

39) The present inchoative AUX is ra after vowels and ta after consonants. The brackets in the text indicate the embedded sentence. The line under the text marks the relevant NP.

40) Compare S66-S68 for constituents that can appear in (...). Conjunctions (S65) would hardly appear in this context. Note that the entry in (...) must be a constituent of the embedded S, not of the matrix S.

41) Cf. S92 for the patterns of the subject-NP, and section 3.1.3.1. on topicalization in questions. Various permutations of this sentence are possible. The topical word appears in initial position, e.g.

Mû-b ta, (aoba)? (Is he seeing well, (the man)?)
Aoba-b 'gâise ra mû? (Is the man seeing well?).

42) Cp. S72 and S68.

43) It is most likely that all three Prep-phrases are in reality verbs with an object-NP: khoeba xū ("leave" the man), daoba ū ("take" the road), omga !oa ("meet" the house).

44) As the difference between "prepositions" and "postpositions" is trivial for grammatical theory, the morphemes will be called "postpositions", as is customary in Nama. But for syntactic formulae the abbreviation "Prep" will be used, as is customary in general linguistics.

45) This statement refers to all "traditional" postpositions. That is, it does not refer to possessive di, which may perhaps be considered to be a postposition as well.

46) It is not true, as is generally maintained, that only nouns with -b and -s, and only "pronouns" with -b, -s, -ts and -s take the ablative suffix.

47) Stems ending in non-nasal consonants are not considered here, as they occur in loan-words only, e.g. skoli (school). The N^d for first person singular masculine should more precisely be symbolized as Gi ("homorganic consonant plus i"), instead of Ni.

48) An archaic N^d -xa appears frequently in folklore for the third person singular, masculine and feminine.

Donki+xa xa-i ge am|khāb khao#ais si #aoba !hūb
!nā ge |guwihe hā i.

(There was stuck by Donkey his righthand rear-hoof into the ground.)

Cp. also:

*||ib Donkixa xa-i ge ra āhe.

||I Donkixa xa-i ge ra āhe.
(There is drunk by Donkey.)

||ixa Donkixa xa-i ge ra āhe.
(There is drunk by him, Donkey.)

Donkixa khoeb dixa
(Donkey, that of the man).

49) Johannes Boois suggested that the suffix -e might possibly have its origin in the exclamation of praise hē! This is just conjecture, however.

50) cf. Lyons (1968:233)

51) Judging by the surface forms, it seems to be a characteristic of Nama that nominals are inflected, and not verbs.

52) cf. Lyons (1968:344) on "adjuncts". Deletions do cause tonal changes in Nama; cf section 3.2.2.

53) Lyons (1968:278) points out that the "proximity feature" is a deictic feature, as it is determined in relation to the category of person. I.e., Nama demonstratives and articles are similar with regard to the fact that the choice of the radical depends on the

situation of utterance in both cases, i.e., it depends on who has the role of speaker.

54) Here too a constraint is at work between the features of the N^d and numerals, similar to the constraints between the N^d and articles.

3. THE NOUN-PHRASE IN NAMA

The aim of this dissertation is to re-assess the traditional approach to the NOUN-PHRASE in Nama, and in particular to the case issue. Various obscurities have been mentioned in the introduction. It has been noticed furthermore that there is no uniformity in the spelling of the inflexional elements. Whereas -a, -i and -e are treated as suffixes, ge and di are treated as disjunctive particles. Before the (internal) syntax of the NP can be examined, the actual extent of the NP in a sentence has to be established, i.e., it has to be established first of all, whether the so-called phrase designants are part of NP or not¹⁾. For this reason it is necessary to deal with the syntax of S (sentence) before the NP can be analysed.

3.1. The NOUN-PHRASE in sentence context

In section 3.1.1. a short introduction to the structures of a simple sentence will be presented, as far as they are relevant to the argument²⁾. The sentence inventory is given in this chapter, as section 2.2.2. of the previous chapter is only an inventory of nominal clusters without consideration of their place in a

sentence, and without any discussion of the implications. Section 3.1.1.1. deals with the demarcation of the NP, and hence "free" and "bound" forms of the N^d.

3.1.1. The structure of a simple sentence

The remarkable flexibility of Nama sentence structure is a most striking feature of this language. A simple sentence with two objects, like -

+	+	+	-
Aob	ge	!gôaba	#khanisa ra xoaba.
man (s)	boy	letter	pr.i write+appl.

(A man is writing a letter to a boy / on behalf of a boy.)

- has no less than forty-six alternative grammatical permutations, not counting structures with pronominal or extrapositional NPs. A sentence with one object has eight grammatical surface versions, excluding pronominal or extrapositional NPs³⁾.

The investigation will commence with a Subject-Object-Verb sentence⁴⁾, from where it will be attempted to derive the "normal" order of the minimal sentence. At this stage no attention is paid to semantic differences. It may be accepted as a general rule of Nama that the topical part of a sentence stands in initial position.

The canonical translation of the sample sentence is

"A man is seeing a woman./ A husband is seeing (his) wife." This sentence will be used throughout the following discussion.

áob (married man, husband)
ge ("subject-ge")
tárás (married woman, wife)
ra (present inchoative AUX)
mú (see)

- S109 Aob ge tarasa ra mú.
+ + -
- S110 Aob ge tarasa mú ra.
+ + +
- S111 Aob ge ra tarasa mú.
+ - +
- S112 Aob ge ra mú (,) tarasa.
+ - +
- S113 *Aob ge mú tarasa ra.
+ + +
- S114 Aob ge mú ra tarasa.⁵⁾
+ + +
- S115 *Tarasa aob ge ra mú.
+ + -
- S115-1 Tarasa~b ge (aoba) ra mú.
+ + -
- S116 *Tarasa aob ge mú ra.
+ + +
- S116-1 Tarasa~b ge (aoba) mú ra.
+ + +
- S117 * Tarasa ra aob ge mú.
+ + -
- S118 Tarasa ra mú aob ge.⁶⁾
+ + -
- S119 *Tarasa mú aob ge ra.
- S120 *Tarasa mú ra aob ge.
- S121 *Ra aob ge tarasa mú.
- S122 *Ra aob ge mú tarasa.
- S123 *Ra tarasa aob ge mú.
- S124 *Ra tarasa mú aob ge.

- S125 *Ra mû aob ge tarasa.
 S126 *Ra mû tarasa aob ge.
 S127 *Mû aob ge tarasa ra.
 S128 *Mû aob ge ra tarasa.
 S129 *Mû tarasa aob ge ra.
 S129-1 *Mû tarasa~b ge (aoba) ra.
 S130 *Mû tarasa ra aob ge.
 S131 $\begin{matrix} + & - & + \\ \underline{Mû} & ra & aob & ge & tarasa. \end{matrix}$ 7)
 S132 $\begin{matrix} + & + & - \\ \underline{Mû} & ra & tarasa & aob & ge. \end{matrix}$ 8)
 S132-1 $\begin{matrix} + & + & + \\ \underline{Mû} & ra & tarasa~b & ge & (aoba). \end{matrix}$

Prior to any discussion of the sentences it must be said that an important investigation has been skipped here for the sake of brevity. Permutations of the sentence

$\begin{matrix} \underline{Aob} & \underline{ge} & \underline{ra} & \underline{mû}. \\ 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \end{matrix}$

(A man is seeing.)

reveal that only three of the twenty-four permutations are grammatical:

$\begin{matrix} & & + & & - \\ \underline{1} & \underline{2} & 3 & 4 & \underline{Aob} & \underline{ge} & ra & mû. \\ & & + & & + \\ \underline{1} & \underline{2} & 4 & 3 & \underline{Aob} & \underline{ge} & mû & ra. \\ & & + & & - \\ 4 & 3 & \underline{1} & \underline{2} & Mû & ra & \underline{aob} & \underline{ge}. \end{matrix}$

It is, moreover, impossible to insert any morpheme between the subject-N^d and ge. This means that ge can never stand anywhere else but immediately after the subject - more exactly, immediately after the subject-N^d,

as will emerge later. For this reason ge is not treated as a separate entity in S109-S132-1 and any further permutations below.

Several surface constraints can be observed in S109 to S132-1:

1. AUX may never stand sentence-initially (S121-S126). - Compare, however, S136-3 below which shows that a may do so if it is preceded by a conjunction:

Xawe a kaib ge. (But he is a big one.)⁹⁾

2. A "full" subject-NP (i.e. with lexical entry) may not be directly preceded by an object-NP (S115, S116) - unless the entire predicate precedes the subject-NP (S132). If the object has to appear in initial position, it will be followed by the free form of the N^d (S115-1, S116-1). This feature will be discussed below.

3. In an inverted predicate (i.e., V + AUX) the object-NP may not stand between V and AUX (S113, S130).

4. The predicate may not be split by the subject-NP, i.e., AUX and V may not appear on either side of the subject-NP (S117, S119, S127, S128, S129-1)¹⁰⁾.

5. If a predicate containing an object precedes the subject-NP, then AUX and V may not be inverted (viz. *V + AUX), cf. S120. This is true for the predicate of

of a matrix sentence, as well as for the predicate of an embedded sentence, i.e. relative modifier:

*{(Tarasa mû ra) khoeb} ge. Compare *S120 and S118.

6. . . Several of the constraints can apply simultaneously (S121-S123, S127, S129).

It is conspicuous that most of the constraints involve AUX. (More will be said about this fact lateron.) The position of the object-NP is fairly unrestricted. In the following paradigm all the grammatical sentences from S109 to S132-1 will be reduced in order to isolate the most basic form of the Nama sentence. Column II contains the equivalent sentence without an object; column III contains equivalents with an empty subject-NP, i.e., without a lexical entry for the subject. The latter sentence-type with only one lexical entry (under V) is called a minimal sentence in this dissertation.

Column I

S109 + Aob ge tarasa ra mû.
 S110 + Aob ge tarasa mû ra.
 S111 + Aob ge ra tarasa mû.
 S112 + Aob ge ra mû (,) tarasa.
 S114 + Aob ge mû ra tarasa.
 S115-1 + Tarasa~b ge (aoba) ra mû.
 S116-1 + Tarasa~b ge (aoba) mû ra.
 S118 + Tarasa ra mû aob ge.
 S131 + Mû ra aob ge tarasa.
 S132 + Mû ra tarasa aob ge.
 S132-1 + Mû ra tarasa~b ge (aoba).

Column II

S109a + Aob ge ra mû.
 S110a + Aob ge mû ra.
 S111a + Aob ge ra mû.
 S112a + Aob ge ra mû.
 S114a + Aob ge mû ra.
 S115-1a -
 S116-1 -
 S118a -
 S131a + Mû ra aob ge.
 S132a + Mû ra aob ge.
 S132-1a + Mû rab ge (aoba).

Column III

S109b -
 S110b -
 S111b -
 S112b -
 S114b -
 S115-1b -
 S116-1b -
 S118b -
 S131b + Mû rab ge.
 S132b + Mû rab ge.
 S132-1b + Mû rab ge.

The following observations can be made about simple sentences without object (column II):

Only three structures are grammatical.

Structure 1a: NP AUX V (Aob ge ra mû.)

Structure 1b: NP V AUX (Aob ge mû ra.)

Structure 2: V AUX NP (Mû ra aob ge.)

Structures 1a and 1b may be regarded as subtypes of the structure Subject + Predicate, while structure 2 has the form Predicate + Subject.

It is important to note that structure 2 - which is the only structure that has an equivalent in column III - can have copular meaning:

{[(V AUX)_{Rel} NOUNIN^d]ge.

(It is a man who is seeing./It is a seeing man.)

Both the predicative and the copular sentence have the same lexical tone-profile.

The equivalent minimal sentence of structure 2 (column III), Mû rab ge, is understood as copular sentence only:

{[(Mû ra)]b} ge.

(It/he is one who is seeing./ It/he is a seeing one.)

In the same way S132-1a is understood as copular sentence only, but as (co-referential) copular sentence with complement:

{[(Mû ra)]b} ge {[a_o]b} a.

(The seeing one is a man.)

This conversion from predicative to copular sentence will be discussed at length in section 3.1.3.

Column III gives the reduced equivalents only of column I and II. A complete inventory of permutations for minimal sentences yields the following structures:

S133 *# b ge ra mû #

S134 *# b ge mû ra #

S135 *# ra~b ge mû #

S136 *# ra mû~b ge #

S137 # Mû~b ge ra #

S138/
S131b # Mû ra~b ge #

S139 (# Mû+b ge #)

S137 is a structure which is ungrammatical if the subject-slot contains a lexical entry; cf. constraint No. 4 on p.142. S139 is an ungrammatical permutation of the sentence "He is seeing". The structure of S139 can only be interpreted as a minimal copular sentence consisting of a NOUN, viz.

Mû+s ge.

(It is seeing. - gerund)

(It is an eye.)

Although S133 and S134 are commonly used sequences if the initial slot before the N^d contains a lexical entry, they are ungrammatical here, as an N^d cannot stand sentence-initially. If, for instance, preceded by a

conjunction, this structure is grammatical (cf. NP-patterns (cf. S65-S68, pp.94-95):

Xawe-b ge ra mû.
(But he is seeing.)

Hitherto the test-examples have been confined to sentences with a predicate in the present inchoative tense. It is significant that sentences with the present stative tense (a) produce slightly different patterns (cp. again the distributional patterns in section 2.1. for the meaning):

Sentences with subject entry

I VERB

- S140-1 Aob ge ra mû.
S141-1 Aob ge mû ra.
S142-1 *ra aob ge mû
S143-1 *ra mû aob ge
S144-1 *mû aob ge ra
S145-1 Mû ra aob ge.
S146-1 *aob ge mû
S147-1 *mû aob ge

Minimal sentences

- S133-1 Xaweb ge ra mû.
S134-1 Xaweb ge mû ra.
S135-1 *xawe rab ge mû
S136-1 *xawe ra mûb ge
S137-1 Xawe mûb ge ra.
S138-1 Xawe mû rab ge.
S139-1 *xawe mûb ge
S148-1 *xaweb ge mû

II NOUN

- S140-2 Aob ge a gao-ao.
S141-2 Aob ge gao-ao a.
S142-2 *a aob ge gao-ao
S143-2 *a gao-ao aob ge
S144-2 Gao-ao aob ge (a)¹¹.
S145-2 Gao-ao a aob ge.
S146-2 Aob ge gao-ao.
S147-2 (Gao-ao aob ge.)

- S133-2 Xaweb ge a gao-ao.
S134-2 Xaweb ge gao-ao a.
S135-2 xawe ab ge gao-ao
S136-1 (Xawe a gao-aob ge.)
S137-2 Xawe gao-aob ge a.
S138-2 Xawe gao-ao ab ge.
S139-2 Xawe gao-aob ge.
S148-2 Xaweb ge gao-ao.

III ADJECTIVE

- S140-3 Aob ge a kai.
S141-3 Aob ge kai a.
S142-3 *a aob ge kai
S143-3 *a kai aob ge
S144-3 Kai aob ge (a).
S145-3 Kai a aob ge.
S146-3 Aob ge kai.
S147-3 Kai aob ge.

- S133-3 Xaweb ge a kai.
S134-3 Xaweb ge kai a.
S135-3 xawe ab ge kai
S136-3 (Xawe a kaib ge.)
S137-3 Xawe kaib ge a.
S138-3 Xawe kai ab ge.
S139-3 Xawe kaib ge.
S148-3 Xaweb ge kai.

The significance of the fact that the present stative AUX a may be omitted will be discussed below in section 3.1.3. on copular constructions.

Note that constraint No. 4 (p.142) does not apply to minimal sentences (S137), while sentences containing a subject-entry (S144) are blocked by this constraint. While sentences S137 have predicative meaning only (But he is seeing; etc.), sentences S138 have copular meaning only (But he is a seeing one; etc.). The same is true for the - less frequently used - sentences S136-2/-3. While S139-1 is not a grammatical rendering of the sentence "But he is a seeing one", S139-2 is interpreted as "But he is a chief", and S139-3 as "But he is a big one". These sentences are regarded to be equivalent to S138-2 and S138-3 respectively, i.e., they are copular sentences! S148-2/-3 are predicative equivalents of S133-2/-3 respectively.

- No deductions will be made about the nature of NOUN-PHRASES at this stage. The significance of the variability of Nama sentence structure will become evident in section 3.1.3. At this stage it will suffice to say that for sentences with full subject-NP the structure la NP AUX V may be taken to be the basic surface structure for the following reasons:

1. Whereas the inverted structure 2 (Predicate + Subject) has a dual function by serving as transition from predicative to copular sentences, structure 1 has only the one function. There can be no ambiguity.

2. Structure 1a is not subject to any constraints, whereas in structure 1b the object-NP may not appear between V and AUX.

3.1.1.1. Demarcation of the NOUN-PHRASE

Although frequent use has been made of the terms "free" and "bound" nominal designants, the function of the N^d has not yet been fully clarified.

A NOUN has been described as having the structure

lexical formative + nominal designant #.

A bound form ($+N^d$) was said to be an "inherent constituent of the NOUN", while the free form ($-N^d$) appears fortuitously "in close proximity" to other parts of speech.

The following examples show that the N^d can follow practically any part of speech. The question is, how can it be structurally determined whether this part of speech is nominalized by the N^d , or not?

- S149 Khoenge ra mû.
(People are seeing.)
- S150 Tsî khoenge ra mû.
(And people are seeing.)
- S151 Kai khoenge ra mû.
(Big people are seeing.)
- S152 Taras tsî aogu tsînge ra mû.
(A woman and men are seeing.)
- S153 Khoenkain ge ra mû.
(People, big ones are seeing.)
- S154 Hā gonge ra mû.
(The ones who came are seeing.)
- S155 Aob din ge ra mû.
(A man's are seeing.)
- S156 Aobinge ra mûhe.
(By a man they are seen.)
- S157 Oms ain ge ra mû.
(On a house they are seeing.)
- S158 Tarasange ra mû.
(A woman they are seeing.)
- S159 ||Ībange ra mû.
(Him they are seeing.)
- S160 !Gâisenge ra mû.
(They are seeing well.)
- S161 Tsînge ra mû.
(And they are seeing.)

One morpheme, for instance, that can never be followed by an N^d is ge.

A sure way to establish whether parts of speech preceding an N^d form the subject is by way of transformations: If the entry in question can appear in the slot of the extrapositional subject (i.e., with the P^d a, cf. p.101 S86), then it is a true subject, and as such an NP. (It is a requirement that a transformation may only be applied, if the input and output sentences are semantically equivalent.)

S149-1 On ge [khoelna ra mû.

S150-1 Tsîn ge [khoelna ra mû. (i.e., only khoen belongs to the NP)

S151-1 On ge [kai khoelna ra mû.

S152-1 On ge [taras tsî aogu tsîlna ra mû.

S153-1 On ge [khoen kailna ra mû.

S154-1 On ge [hā golna ra mû.

S155-1 On ge [aob dilna ra mû.

S156-1 *On ge aobi__ ra mûhe.

S157-1 *On ge oms ai__ ra mû.

S158-1 *On ge tarasa__ ra mû.

S159-1 *On ge ||îba__ ra mû.

S160-1 *On ge !gâise__ ra mû.

S161-1 *On ge tsî__ ra mû.

S156-1 to S160-1 are structurally correct. But as the displaced components do not end with +N^da, they are not extrapositional subjects. Hence they do not form part of the subject in the original sentences either. S149 to S155 contain bound N^d s, as they re-appear in the extraposed components. A free N^d appears nevertheless in initial position after the conjunction.

According to the above test two types of sentence occur:

S149-2	<u>Khoen</u>	}	<u>n</u> ge ra mû. (n ge ra mûhe.)
S150-2	(Tsi) <u>khoen</u>		
S151-2	Kai <u>khoen</u>		
S152-2	Taras tsî aogu tsî <u>n</u>		
S153-2	<u>Khoen</u> <u>kain</u>		
S154-2	Hā <u>gon</u>		
S155-2	Aob <u>din</u>		
S156-2	Aobi~		
S157-2	Oms tawa~		
S158-2	Tarasa~		
S159-2	ba~		
S160-2	!Gâise~		
S161-2	Tsî~		

S149-S155 commence with NOUN-PHRASES that have their own (i.e., bound) N^d and function as subject. S156-S161 commence with components that cannot function as subject. Hence the subject- N^d cannot be part of these components. Hence it is called a "free" N^d in this dissertation¹²⁾. The link between the free $\sim N^d$ and the preceding component is fortuitous. According to the exposition above the bound N^d is a doubled N^d . In section 3.1.3. it will be shown that equi-deletion is actually taking place.

The surface structure of a non-inverted declarative sentence can be abstracted in the following way:

[NOMINAL]N ^d ₁ (object) (adverbial) (conjunction)	}	N ^d ₁	AUX	VP
--	---	-----------------------------	-----	----

The inverted sentence, structure 2, would yield a derived abstraction (Predicate)~N^dge, where the predicate is inverted in itself in such a way that AUX does not stand in initial position.

The object-NP cannot settle into the subject-slot as it always contains the P^d -a. Permutations as illustrated in S109-S132-1 (pp.140/141) prove that the nominal cluster {[NOMINAL]N^d₁} a~N^d₂ does not form an inseparable unit.

An "adverbial" can be anything from a one-word adverb to an adverbial sentence. This includes Prep-phrases and also ablative NOUN-PHRASES (S156)¹³).

It was shown in S133 and S134 (p.146) that an N^d cannot stand sentence-initially. It can thus generally be formulated for a declarative matrix sentence

S: Δ ~N^dge AUX VP,

where Δ (delta) is a dummy symbol that may not be sentence-boundary #. This rule furthermore implies that ge follows the subject-N^d, not the subject-NOMINAL. Free forms of the N^d can occur nowhere else but in subject position. They serve as "pointer" to the

subject slot, even if no lexical entry appears in that slot¹⁴).

It has been established when a component preceding an N^d forms a NOMINAL unit with it and when not.

The right-hand boundary of an NP presents no problems, as it is marked by $+N^d-P^d$.¹⁵) But it is not always clear how far an NP extends to the left. Consider the following, rather uncomplicated cases:

- S162 Tsî aob ge ra mû.
 S163 Kai aob ge ra mû.
 S164 Aob ge mû ra gao-aoba.

From the structure and tone-pattern alone it need not be evident whether words preceding a NOUN belong to the same NP as modifiers or not. But as any modifier can appear to the right of its head-constituent (as appositions, as shall be proved) with the corresponding N^d , this transformation can be used as a test: Only those constituents to the left of the NOUN which can appear as appositions are part of that NP.

- S162-1 *Aob (tsî) ge ra mû.
 man and (s) pr.i see
 S163-1 Aob kaib ge ra mû.
 (A man, a big one is seeing.)
 S164-1 Aob ge gao-aoba ra mû.
 (A man is seeing a chief.)

As the apposition transformation is not possible in S164-1, ra mû must be the predicate of the main sentence.

S164-1a Aob ge gao-aob mû raba.
 (A man is a seeing chief.)

In the latter sentence mû ra is a relative modifier in the complement-NP, i.e., S164-1 is a predicative sentence, while S164-1a is a co-referential copular sentence with modifier.

3.1.2. The CASE issue

In chapter 2 an inventory was given of the structures of NOUN-PHRASES with their respective P^d s. The question remains: How do the phrase designants occur?

It became clear that especially ge, \emptyset and -a can appear in more than one context. The nature of these contexts remains to be clarified. In this section it will be considered whether there is any justification for the use of terminology denoting conventional case categories. There seems to be some reason to suppose that the P^d s are indeed inflexional suffixes: ge can never be separated from the subject- N^d by another morpheme; possessive di always follows the N^d of the possessive modifier (unless it is omitted for stylistic reasons); -a, -i and -e are in any case treated as

suffixes in the handbooks. The inflexional forms of a NOMINAL would thus be:

khoeb <u>ge</u> /(khoeb \emptyset)	nominative
khoeba <u>a</u>	accusative/dative
khoeb <u>di</u>	genitive
khoebi <u>i</u>	ablative
khoebe <u>e</u>	vocative.

The case-names above are those that are used in the handbooks. If the P^ds were truly inflexional suffixes, as suggested above, then a uniform conjunctive spelling should be adopted. - It will be examined now, whether these P^ds indeed are part of the NP.

3.1.2.1. Morphology of traditional CASE in Nama

In this section the surface realization of traditional case (relations) is examined. After a preliminary conclusion (section 3.1.2.2.) the P^ds ge and -a are dealt with individually (3.1.2.3./4.).

The following "cases" are those mentioned in the handbooks (S-numbers which are bracketed are those of the inventory in section 2.2.2.).

Nominative(i) ge

(S64) { [NOMINAL]N^d } ge /... lexically specified
Aob ge ra mû. subject in declarative
(A man is seeing.) matrix sentence

(S69) (...)-N^d ge /... lexically unspeci-
O~b ge ra mû. fied subject in decla-
(Then he is seeing.) rative matrix sentence

(ii) -a

(S86) (...)-N^d (ge) { [NOM.]N^d } a /... declarative
O~b ge aoba ra mû. matrix or embedded, inter-
(Then the man is rogative
seeing.)

(S91) { [NOM.]N^d } a ...? /... interrogative sub-
Aoba gao-aoba? ject
(Is a man a chief?)

(S95) { [NOM.]N^d } a /... elliptic sentence
Arigu ge ra ||hū, tsî gomade !oa.
(Dogs are barking and cows lowing.)

(iii) ∅

(S75) { [NOM.]N^d } ∅ /... embedded declara-
Aob ta mû !khaes tive
ge a ama.
(That a man is seeing is true.)

(S80) (...)-N^d ∅ /... interrogative
!Gâise~b ta mû?
(Does he see well?)

- (S78) A-N^d₁ ∅ { [NOUN]N^d } a /... hortative
 A~b (aoba) mû re!
 (Let a man see!)

(iii) kom ... o

A particle that has never been associated with case in current literature, but which - like ge - can also appear immediately after the subject-N^d is kom with sentence-final o. It is best translated by Afrikaans "mos" or German "doch". Dempwolff (1934:65) calls it an accreditive particle. Kom ... o can occur both in declarative matrix sentences and - unlike ge - in interrogative sentences, but not in embedded sentences:

- S164 ||Íb kom a ti 'gâo!
 (Certainly he is my brother!)
- S165 ||Íb kom a ti 'gâo?
 (Surely he is my brother?)

Compare also the traditional way to compare a riddle:

"Tare-e kom a, tare-e kom a ...?"
 (What is it then, what is it then, ...?)

- S166 { [NOM.]N^d } kom ... o. /... predicative or
 |Nerab komo! copular accreditive S
 (It is a baboon, for sure.)
- S167 (...)-N^d kom { [NOM.]N^d } a /... predicative accre-
 Xaweb kom (aoba) ra mûo! ditive S
 (But surely a man is seeing!)

Accusative/Dative(i) -a

Any lexically specified object-NP, direct or indirect, is always followed by -a and nothing but -a, irrespective of sentence-type.

- (S83) { [NOM.] N^d } a
 Aob ge tarasa ra mû.
 (A man is seeing a woman.)

Genitive(i) di

When the modifier is lexically specified only di (and not â-) can be used. In attributive position di may be omitted for stylistic reasons; its occurrence is not limited by syntactic constraints (e.g. sentence-type) ¹⁶⁾. It may not be omitted in headless or appositive NOMINALS, where it is followed directly by the N^d of the head-constituent. It may also not be omitted in predicative position.

- (S99) { [({ [NOM.] N₁^d } di) NOM.] N₂^d } P^d / ... any S-type
 Aob (di) taras ge ra mû.
 (A man's wife is seeing.)

Ablative(i) -i

The ablative functions as an adverbial. The use of -i depends on phonological circumstances (cf. Table XI), but not on sentence-type.

- (S108) {[NOM.]N^d}i /... where N^d is a con-
 Aob ge tarasi sonant, independent of
 ra mûhe. S-type
 (A man is seen by a woman.)

(ii) xa

All N^ds can occur with the postposition xa, independently of sentence-type.

- (S97-2) {[NOM.]N^d}Prep. /... after any N^d, inde-
 Aob ge taras xa ra mûhe. pendent of S-type
 (A man is seen by a woman.)

Vocative

Besides the honorific address (-e) the P^d -a is used as well.

(i) -e

- S168 {[NOM.]N^d}e /... alerting context
 Hē, aotse!
 ("What a man (you are)!")

- (S96) {[NOM.]N^d}a /... alerting context
 Satsa, !gû!
 (You, go!)

3.1.2.2. Preliminary Conclusion

From the point of view of case categories the accusative/dative, the genitive and the inflexional ablative present no problems: The accusative/dative is always indicated by -a, the genitive by di, and the ablative - a rudimentary form - by -i. The problem is caused by the subject of the sentence (nominative relation), and to a certain extent the vocative on -a.

There are at least three (ge, ∅, -a), if not four (kom ... o) ways to mark the subject. Ge and ∅ are mutually exclusive in matrix ("independent") and embedded ("dependent") declarative sentences respectively. ∅ may even appear in declarative matrix sentences, when ge is "omitted", according to the handbooks. Imperative sentences (plural) take ∅:

Mū~kho ∅ re!
(See (you two)!)

Interrogative sentences can take either -a, or ∅, or kom ... o, in accordance with certain rules (to be specified at a later stage). The extrapositional subject, as well as the subjects of elliptic sentences always take -a, i.e., the following morphemes can occur immediately to the right of the subject-N^d:

Declarativematrix: ge, -a, ∅, kom ... oembedded: ∅, -aInterrogative: ∅, -a, kom ... oImperative: ∅

There is no concomitant distinction of lexical tone related to these inflexional forms.

The following conclusions can be drawn from these data:

The fact that under certain conditions the subject must be followed by -a rules out the possibility that ge is a nominative marker which may be omitted at times¹⁷⁾.

And the fact that -a occurs also after NPs other than the object-NP prohibits that the -a-form may be called the "accusative-form" or "object-form", for there is no one-to-one correspondence between form and function.

The P^d ∅, for its part, occurs only after the subject of the sentence¹⁸⁾.

3.1.2.3. The function of GE

If then ge is not a case-marker, what is its function, and where does it belong into Nama syntax?

Several observations can be made:

1. Ge belongs to a surface category, as it is attached

to the grammatical, but not to the logical subject of the sentence. This is evident in passive and also in indirect ("narrative") sentences:

S169 Aob ge tarasa ra mû.

(A man is seeing a woman.)

S170 Taras ge aob xa ra mûhe.

(A woman is seen by a man.)

S171 O-i ge aob xa tarasa ra mûhe.

(And there is seen a woman by a man.)

In all three sentences the logical subject is aob. S170 and S171 are paraphrases of S169, i.e., they have the same underlying structure. But in S170 the logical object functions as grammatical subject; and in S171 an indirect "dummy" subject (||i-i "it") is used instead of the logical subject¹⁹).

2. Ge is not immediately attached to the head-constituent, but only to the N^d of the subject slot, as can be seen from the abstraction in section 3.1.1.1.:

Δ ~ N^d ge AUX VP.

Ge occurs both with free and bound forms of the N^d .

In this respect it differs from -a which can only occur after bound N^d s.

3. The fact that ge cannot be followed by a preposition indicates that it does not belong to the same category as Ø.

4. Ge cannot be regarded as a "Copula" (Rust 1965: 35), as it does not occur in interrogative copular sentences:

S172 Nē aob ge gao-aoba.
(This man is a chief.)

S173 Nē aoba gao-aoba?
(Is this man a chief?)

5. The fact that ge can occur only once in a main sentence and the fact that it occurs only in declarative matrix sentences, suggest that ge is a sentence-type marker. And as such ge is part of the predication, not of the NP. This assumption is not disproved by the fact that ge always follows the subject-N^d, even though no explanation can be offered for this phenomenon. Possibly it is a way to "topicalize" the subject, especially when it is only marked by a free N^d. This assumption is supported by the fact that ge is usually not omitted before an extrapositional subject or full object.

Its primary purpose, then, is to mark unembedded declarative sentences, as e.g. S64. But this is only partly true: Any sentence in which ge occurs must be a non-embedded declarative sentence. But the declarative as such is not obligatorily marked. Ge may be added to it as a sentence-modality marker²⁰⁾ indicating definiteness

of the

"speaker's commitment with respect to the factual status of what he is saying" (Lyons 1968: 307).

Compare the slight connotational difference between the following sentences:

S174 Hō tsi ta ge nî.

(I will find you. - with certainty, as if already accomplished)

S175 Hō tsi ta nî.

(I shall find you. - probably, some or other time).

In inverted minimal sentences ge is more often not used than used (cf. Rust 1965:85). The reason seems to be that this sentence-type usually is not very emphatic:

îî, #an ta _ a.

(Yes, I know.)

As a sentence-modality marker ge thus falls into the same category as kom ... o, which can also only occur in non-embedded sentences. Rust (1965:85) is correct in writing:

"Seinem Wesen nach ist 'gumo', wie das ge subjectivum, eine Bestätigungspartikel, die aber einen übersehenen oder nicht gebührend beachteten Umstand zur Geltung bringt ...; es wird übersetzt 'ja doch', 'doch wohl' und tritt da an, wo das ge subjectivum stehen müsste."

It should have been added that ge and kom ... o have a different distribution in so far as kom ... o can

occur in questions, while ge cannot.

Dempwolff (1934:90) classified three types of "fakultative Kennzeichen":

declarative: ge, kom ... o²¹⁾

interrogative: xare, kha

imperative: re, o.

Although ge is not part of the NP, it is nevertheless not wrong to adhere to the comprehensive term "phrase designant" for it, as ge happens to mark the end of an NP. But from this stage onwards this dissertation will no longer be concerned with ge, as it is not part of the NOUN-PHRASE.

3.1.2.4. The function of -a

The above conclusions mean that, in terms of a case-framework, the subject is unmarked for case (\emptyset), and the object is marked by -a. It is thus justified to speak of a "nominative" form $\{[NOM.]N^d\}\emptyset$.²²⁾

But it is not justified to speak of an "accusative" form, as -a can mark other relations than the object relation as well. Some instances will now be mentioned: first the extrapositional subject; then an instance of a sentence with more than one NP in a subject or object relation; and thereafter the subject of interrogative sentences.

The extrapositional subject: There are two ways to approach the entire problem of sentential nominalization in Nama. One approach takes the noun-stem as prime, the other the N^d . Olpp (1917) and Rust (1965) adhered to the former, Dempwolff (1934) to the latter. With regard to the extrapositional subject Olpp (1917:22) writes:

"Das Suffix nennen wir ... das vorlautende (oder vorlaufende) Subjekt, dem das eigentliche Subjekt dann in der sog. 'Wohllautsform' ... folgt." (italics mine)

Olpp maintains that the "real" subject is introduced by the free $\sim N^d$.

Dempwolff (1934:46) takes the opposite view. He maintains that the subject is deprived from its position:

"Wenn nun ein Substantiv das Subjekt ist, das ... um seine normale Stelle am Satzbeginn gebracht wird, so muss es nachlaufen." (italics mine)

His explanation that the extrapositional subject is an embedded sentence has already been mentioned (p.15). Dempwolff has clearly recognized the principle of meaning-preserving: If a sentence-component cannot appear in the particular slot assigned to it, then this slot must be marked by an expletive²³⁾ which marks the deletion of that component. The free $\sim N^d$ thus upholds the position of the subject in Nama sentence structure.

For instance, a sentence like

(S115) *Tarasa aob_b ge ra mû.

is ungrammatical, as in non-inverted sentences (i.e., with AUX to the right of the N^d) there is only one slot before the subject-N^d (-b), and not two. The structure underlying the above sentence must be transformed into

(S115-1) Tarasa-b ge aoba ra mû.

(A man is seeing a woman.)

It is an obligatory rule that in any sentence the slot to the left of the subject-N^d has to be filled by a sentence-constituent. But in a sentence of the order N^d AUX not more than one constituent can fill this slot. The entry can be either a subject-entry, or some other part of speech (cf. p.154)²⁵).

It is for this reason that the displaced subject is called an "extrapositional subject" in this dissertation. For it is a syntactic mechanism that has little to do with stylistic elevation, as the terms "Wohllautsform" or "welluidendheidsvorm" imply. - This issue is further discussed in section 3.1.3.2.

Sentences with more than one NP: The structural inventory (section 2.2.2.) reveals that in a declarative sentence only one phrase-final N^d can be followed by \emptyset (which in turn may be followed by ge or kom). All other subject/object relations are marked by -a. This

phenomenon suggests that some kind of hierarchical ordering exists in Nama.

The following example illustrates a fairly intricate structure:

S176 Nētsē-b∅ ge aoba |gôasa #û-e ariba ra sâibaba.
 today he (s) man girl food dog pr.i cook-for-for
 (Today a man is cooking food for a dog on behalf
 of a girl.)

(The transitive verb sâi (cook) is a doubled applicative, as there are three object-NPs related to it.) There are five N^ds in the sentence, all belonging to either subject- or object-NPs. All but one N^d is followed by the P^d -a. If one tries to specify the functions in terms of semantic case categories, then four different relations could be named:

- <u>b</u> ∅	agent
ao+ <u>ba</u>	agent
gôa+ <u>sa</u>	benefactive
#û- <u>e</u> (*i+a>e)	object (direct)
ari+ <u>ba</u>	dative

The example shows that it is futile to look for a unified meaning for the inflexional indice -a.

Thus, taking the declarative as the basic sentence-type, it can be said that -

1. Only the true surface subject (i.e., the N^d marking the subject-slot) appears in the nominative form with \emptyset . Any other NP in a subject or object relation (i.e., dominated directly by S or VP) takes -a, regardless of the semantic context.

2. The subject- N^d with the P^d \emptyset can be followed by ge or kom ... o, but only if the sentence is not embedded (dependent).

This means that the -a form is a "residual" case-form, subordinate to the primary \emptyset form ("nominative").

Günther (1969:59) has seen this relation correctly:

"Rectus und Obliquus sind also im Hottentottischen nicht unbedingt Indikatoren, ob etwas Verursacher oder Erleider ist, sondern werden durch die Wortstellung vorgeschrieben."

Westphal (1971:394) distinguishes "independent and dependent forms of ... nominals". He does not give reasons for his choice of terminology, but it seems to be based on the recognition of some hierarchy principle as well. He rejects "nominative" and "accusative" as misleading terms.

The recognition of a principle based on hierarchical ordering is satisfactory for declarative and also imperative sentences. But it does not explain why at times the subject of interrogative sentences takes the -a form.

Interrogative sentences: Consider the following interrogative sentences (the translations are free translations as the handbooks usually give them):

S177 [Mabalsa [nē aob go ||nā]sa?
 where she this man rc.p fall she
 (Where is it that this man fell?)

S178 (Maba)-b∅ nē aoba go ||nā?
 where he this man rc.p fall
 (Where did this man fall?)

S179 [(Matsē)-ts∅ nî hōbē) xū-e [||nā]-e?
 what-day you fut accomplish thing that it
 (When will you get that thing right? literally:
 Is the - that you will accomplish when - thing
 that one?)

S180 (Matsē)-ts∅ ||nā xū-e nî hōbē?
 when you that thing fut accomplish
 (When will you get that thing right?)

S181 [(Tare)]-e?
 (What is it?)

S182 Mû-ts∅ ta?
 see you pr.i
 (Do you see?)

S183 (Mati)-ts∅ ta +âi?
 how you pr.i think
 (How do you think?)

S184 [Aolba tarasa ra mû?
 man woman pr.i see
 (Does a man see a woman?)

Olpp (1917:42) and Rust (1965:45) and even more so Krüger (forthcoming:57) are misleading, if not wrong in their explanations that the subject-noun appears in the -a form in direct questions. Cp. Krüger:

"In die direkte vraagsin verskyn die selfstandige naamwoord wat saam met die vraag-²⁶⁾ woord optree, altyd in die voorwerpvorm."

In interrogative sentences the topic of interrogation is moved to the beginning of the sentence. If the topic is a noun, an interrogative adjective is used either attributively or pronominally: cp. S181

[(Tare) xū]-e? > [(Tare)]-e?
(What thing is it?) (What is it?)

Such an NP takes the -a suffix, especially so if the sentence is a copular interrogative (S177, S179, S181). If, however, either the verb²⁷⁾ (S182) or the adverbial (S178, the embedded sentence in S179, S180, S183) is topic, then the subject of the sentence takes the nominative (\emptyset), and not the 'oblique' (-a) form. The reason for this rule will be given in section 3.1.3.1.

The accommodation of this topicalizing feature - it seems to appear in the vocative as well - in the 'oblique' case is awkward, as it does not fit in easily with the structural (i.e. sequential) features assigned to the 'oblique' case above (p.171). On the level of surface description one must be content with the mere observation

of the features, without being able to suggest an explanation.

3.1.2.5. Suggested CASE terminology

To conclude: On the surface level Nama seems to have limited inflexional realizations of underlying case. Consequently there can be no serious objection to the use of case terminology, provided that it is modified as suggested here:

- <u>∅</u> (unmarked):	"nominative"
- <u>a</u> :	" <u>oblique</u> "
(-) <u>di</u> :	"genitive"
- <u>i</u> :	"ablative/agentive"
- <u>e</u> :	"vocative".

Orthographically there is nothing to prevent the genitive di from being written conjunctively as if it were a suffix. The origin of these morphemes in the underlying structure is an entirely different issue.

3.1.3. The underlying structure of a NOUN

Up to this point the behaviour of NOUN-PHRASES in sentence context has been described without a satisfactory explanation being offered for the apparently erratic distribution of nominative and oblique forms.

It is maintained here that an explanation on a consideration of the surface level of a sentence is not possible. In this section it will be attempted - albeit in an informal manner - to offer an explanation by examining the underlying structure of NOUNS. It will be argued that Nama NOUNS are derived from inverted minimal sentences containing the present stative AUX a.

Dempwolff (1934) hinted at the correct solution, but he did not pursue the matter, nor did he attempt to apply the implications of this assumption to his analysis. On p.45 he writes:

"Diese Prädikat-Formen sind lautlich am einfachsten zu erklären durch das Hinzutreten eines a zu den indifferenten Formen. ... In diesem zusätzlichen a darf man die Stativ-Partikel a vermuten, zumal sie für den Präsens bzw. den Aorist nicht selbständig hinzutritt (tita ge Elota); freilich bleibt die Prädikat-Form mit a auch beim Gebrauch anderer Tempora der Stativ-Partikeln (||îgu ge sîsabega go i)."²⁸ (*italics and bracketed insertions mine*)

In paragraph 9e he brings evidence for his conjecture, when he quotes two variants of the same question:

Tarits a? / Taritsa?
(Who are you?)

He then writes (p.57):

"Da ein Bedeutungsunterschied für diese beiden Konstruktionen nicht zu erkennen ist, so unterstützen diese Belege die Annahme ..., dass die Prädikatform auf die Stativ-Partikel a zurückgeht."

Dempwolff did not yet have the necessary linguistic theory at his disposal to pursue the matter. Several questions remain unsolved, e.g.

1. How can a follow the NOUN (viz. gao-aoba) if a sentence like

*Khoeb ge a gao-aob

is ungrammatical, as AUX may not appear before the nominal complement of a co-referential COP sentence?²⁹⁾

2. How is the nominative form (viz. {[stem]N^d} ∅) to be accounted for in this respect?

3. Why does AUX a appear in certain contexts, but not in others? An instance is the interrogative.

- To come back to the copular interrogative Taritsa?/Tarits a? (Who are you?). Although there is indeed no significant difference in meaning, a few comments may throw some light on the issue. The more commonly used form is the oblique version, i.e., Taritsa?. It is a general form, used for instance, if somebody (invisible) knocks at the door. The version Tarits a? would be used by way of emphasis when somebody is directly confronted. Incidentally, the coalescent form for the neuter third person singular Tari-e? (Who is it?) is not used in the predicative form *Tari-i a?. This seems to be generally valid for all N^ds involving vowel attraction in the oblique form (-e, -de, -do).

Note also which of the following sentences are in disuse:

- S185 Mâ khoeba? / *Mâ khoeb a?
(Which man is it?)
- S186 Khoeba? / Khoeb a?
(Is he a man?)
- S187 Khoeba gao-aoba? / Khoeba gao-aob a?
(Is it the man who is chief? - or
freely: Is the man a chief?)
- S188 Khoeb a gao-aoba? / *Khoeb a gao-aob a?
(Is he a man, the chief?)
- S189 Nē khoeba gao-ao aba? / *Nē khoeba gao-ao ab a?
(Is this man the one who is chief?)
- S190 Tarib dis a? / *Tarib disa?
(Whose is she?)

It is not the purpose here to deviate into historical linguistics. But these examples are given to show that the difference between sentences with AUX a and "copular" sentences with oblique NOMINALs cannot be sharply drawn. A close comparison of NOUN forms to present-day surface forms of sentences should show that we are dealing with embedded³⁰⁾ sentences in the underlying structure of NOUNs, and not with historical linguistics.

The NOUN forms concerned in this discussion are the two forms indicating the subject and object of a sentence:

nominative: #aobØ#
oblique: #aoba#.

In section 3.1.1. "The structure of a simple sentence" it was established that for a minimal sentence there are four grammatical structures:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|--------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|--------------|
| (1) | (S133) | # Δ ~b ge ra mû# | # Δ ~N ^d | <u>AUX</u> | V# |
| (2) | (S134) | # Δ ~b ge mû ra# | # Δ ~N ^d | V | <u>AUX</u> # |
| (3) | (S137) | #Mû~b ge ra# | #V~N ^d | <u>AUX</u> # | |
| (4) | (S138) | #Mû ra~b ge# | #V | <u>AUX</u> ~N ^d # | |

Ge is ignored in the abstractions as it is known by now that ge is an optional element indicating elocutionary force (cf. section 3.1.3.2.).

Although structure (1) is taken to be the basic surface pattern, it is of no concern here since an entry has to appear to the left of N^d. The only ways to state the minimal sentence are therefore structures (3) and (4).

S137 means "He is seeing"; it is thus a predicative sentence. But S138 has copular denotation only:

"He is a seeing one/He is one who is seeing". It is important not to confuse the issue with sentences containing two lexical entries (i.e., containing an entry for the subject as well) like S145 Mû ra aob ge.

Such sentences are primarily understood to have predicative meaning, although they may also have copular meaning in appropriate contexts.

The difference between the predicative S137 and the copular S138 is effected by the position of AUX in relation to the subject-N^d. Once this fact has been

established, the importance of AUX as a modality marker in Nama must be realized. It is not VP, or even V which is decisive. (For this reason AUX has been treated as a separate node in the phrase-markers, cf. D2 below.) The position of V is irrelevant for purposes other than emphasis. In a minimal sentence S, V must be moved into initial position i.o. to comply with the rule that the N^d may not stand sentence-initially³¹),

In a minimal sentence the single lexical entry is in any case the topic by default. The requirement that it must fill the initial slot of the sentence does indeed comply with the rule that the initial entry is the topic of the sentence. Should the subject-NP contain an entry as well, then only one of the two entries can precede the subject-N^d. This is the reason why the subject often has to be extraposed as was exemplified on p.169.³²) The aforesaid applies only to sentence type (3), with AUX to the right:

Mû-b ge ra.
 (He is seeing.)
 *Mû aob ge ra. →
Mû-b ge aoba ra.
 (The man is seeing.)

Compare also

Aob ge ra mû.
 (The man is seeing.)

The latter construction need not lend particular emphasis to the subject-NOUN as this is the most common sentence structure.

The wide variety of structures for a simple sentence with one object (S109 - S132-1) can now be reduced to one predicate structure:

X N^d Y AUX Z #.

The structure # X AUX Y N^d Z # can be regarded as a derived form which serves to convey "copular" meaning. X can contain one lexical entry only; it is also the topic slot.

- To come back to the function of AUX in nominalization. The basic structures (3) #V N^d AUX# and (4) #V AUX N^d# are valid for non-stative tenses mainly. In the distributional frames in section 2.1. it was established that the present stative AUX a is usually elided when it appears to the left of the N^d: kai (a)b ge (cf. also section 3.1.1.). This feature is crucial to the understanding of sentential nominalization: Only the present stative AUX a may be elided. It can even be elided in the predicative sentence, e.g.

Aob ge (a) kai.

(A man is big.)

This is the necessary step to the formation of a NOUN, as it has been abstracted (p.67):

NOUN: lexical formative + N^d

An abridged notation for the transformation leading to the surface structure NOUN would look like the following (V does not stand for verb, but for any lexical entry; cf. section 3.1.3.2.):

SD: $\frac{N^d \quad AUX \quad V}{1 \quad 2 \quad 3}$ permutation →
 SC: 3 2 1

SD: $\frac{V \quad AUX \quad N^d}{1 \quad 2 \quad 3}$ deletion →
 1 ∅ 3

/ ... where AUX is a

Bach (1968:98 et seq) has proposed that there are traces of an AUX element in every noun. This AUX, he argues, is either a present tense or a hypothetical "narrative". Be it as it may, it is not uncommon that predications are unmarked for tense, if the tense denotes a present state. It may be regarded as being "neutral" or less "special". This is a common feature, for instance, with the Bantu copula *di. Compare Herero, where all the copular tenses contain the copula ri, except the present stative tense:

Omurumendu omuhonge. (present stative)
 man preacher
 (The man is a preacher.)

Omurumendu wá rí omuhonge. (recent past)
 man he be preacher
 (The man was a preacher.)

Omurumendu wa rí omuhonge. (remote past)
 (The man was a preacher.)

etc.

Although the presence or absence of a in the Nama predicate does not cause an explicit difference in meaning, a subtle connotational difference is sometimes felt. The general meaning of S191 and S192 is "You are chief." But there is a slight connotational difference:

S191 Sats ge a gao.
 ("You are in office as chief" - at present; a contingent state)

S192 Sats ge gao.
 ("You are chief." - period unspecified)

NOUNs (nominative), it is maintained in this dissertation, are derived from present stative predications, whereby the "neutral" AUX a is elided since the predication is generally valid without a specification of time. Hence, it is maintained,

the sentence-type #V (AUX) N^d# is the source pattern for the "nominative" form #aobØ#,
and the sentence-type #V N^a AUX# is the source pattern for the "oblique" form #aoba#.

This claim is the central hypothesis.

The structural analogy of these lexical strings to the predicate sentence S137 (p.146) -

Mûb ge ra.
(He is seeing.),

and the copular sentence S138

Mû rab ge.
(He is a seeing one./He is one who is seeing.) -

further leads to the conclusion that the nominative (aob \emptyset) is a truly nominalized form, but the oblique case (aoba) remains in essence an inverted predication. This perhaps contentious claim can be illustrated in the interrogative.

3.1.3.1. The NP in the interrogative

The following sentences are interrogative sentences derived from the declarative sentence

Aob ge tarasa ra mû.
(A man is seeing a woman.)

S193 Aoba tarasa ra mû?
(Does a man see a woman?)

S194 Tarasa-b \emptyset aoba ra mû?
(Does a man see a woman?)

S195 Mû-b \emptyset ta aoba tarasa?
(Does a man see a woman? or Does a man see a woman?)

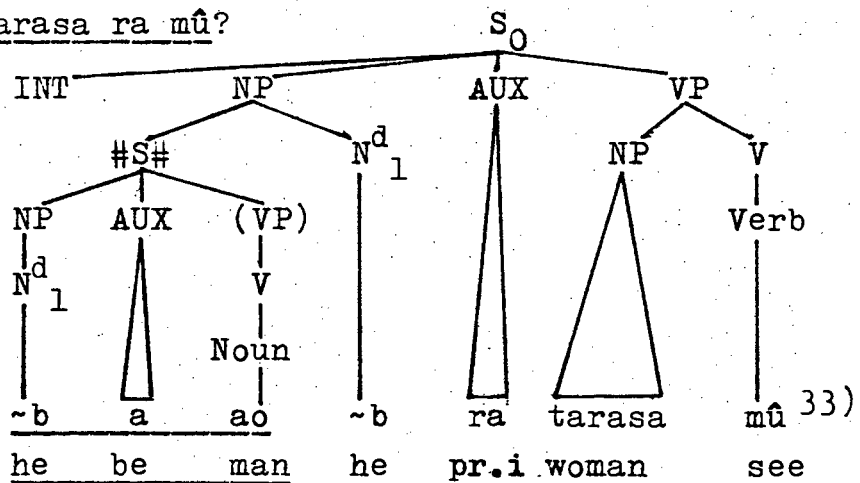
S196 Tarasa ra mû~b \emptyset aoba?
 (Does a man see a woman?)

S197 Mati~b \emptyset aoba tarasa ra mû?
 (How does a man see a woman?)

It has been pointed out before (p.173) that the topic of interrogation is moved to initial position. And if the subject of the sentence is the topic, then it takes the oblique form. (The object occurs in the oblique form in any way.) The reader should not confuse the topicalized subject with the extrapositional subject (S194 - S197).

According to the contention stated in the previous section (3.1.3.), this means that the way to topicalize a noun is to state it as a predication (embedded), i.e., in the oblique form. S193 must therefore literally be understood as "Is he a/the man who is seeing a woman?"

D.1 Aoba tarasa ra mû?



After the necessary permutation of the embedded #S# the question could be presented in the following simplified way:

~b tarasa ra mû

(He is seeing a woman)

? ao~b a

(? Is he man)

It will be shown in section 3.2.2. that the N^d of the subject-S is deleted by means of the "equi-NP-deletion" transformation.

The interrogative equivalents of the declarative sentences S133-3 to S139-3 and S148-3 (p.148) provide further evidence in support of the hypothesis (p.182). Their respective English rendering is "But is he big?" and "But is he (a) chief?" (Cf. next page!)

(S133-3) Xaweb ge a kai.	S198-1 Xaweb <u>a kai</u> ?	S198-2 Xaweb <u>a gao-ao</u> ?
(S134-3) Xaweb ge kai a.	S199-1 *Xaweb kai a?	S199-2 *Xaweb gao-ao a?
(S135-3) *Xawe ab ge kai.	S200-1 *Xawe ab kai?	S200-2 *Xawe ab gao-ao?
(S136-3) (Xawe a kaib ge.)	S201-1 *Xawe a kaib?	S201-2 *Xawe a gao-aob?
(S137-3) Xawe kaib ge a.	S202-1 Xawe <u>kaib a</u> ?	S202-2 Xawe <u>gao-aob a</u> ?
(S138-3) Xawe kai ab ge.	S203-1 *Xawe kai ab?	S203-2 *Xawe gao-ao ab?
(S139-3) Xawe kaib ge.	S204-1 *Xawe kaib?	S204-2 *Xawe gao-aob?
(S148-3) Xaweb ge kai.	S205-1 Xaweb <u>kai</u> ?	S205-2 Xaweb <u>gao-ao</u> ?

Of the three grammatical interrogative sentences on the previous page only one can stand without an initial sentence element, and that is S202: #V N^d AUX#. That means the only way to enquire about a nominal is by means of the oblique surface form, which in underlying structure is an inverted predication.

This restatement satisfactorily explains the apparently idiosyncratic rule in the traditional handbooks that the subject of direct questions appears in the "accusative" form.

The oblique form furthermore meets the requirement that the topic of investigation (i.e., the lexical entry) must stand sentence-initially, and that AUX stands to the right of the N^d - which is the predicative structure. The copular structure (which is the underlying structure for the nominative form of the NOUN, cf. S203 and S204) is not possible in a question.

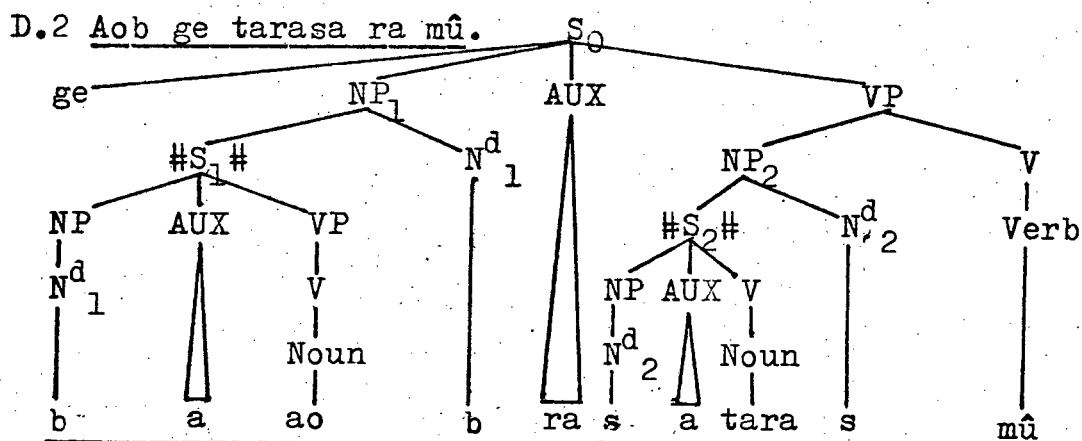
It has been shown before that in interrogative sentences the oblique form can still be understood as a predication (p.176: Tarits a?), just as it can be understood as a NOMINAL phrase in the oblique form (Taritsa?).

By now it should also be clear that a distinction between "bound" and "free" N^ds can only be made for explanatory purposes, and only on the surface level. This differentiation does not exist in the underlying structure.

3.1.3.2. Nominative and Oblique in a declarative sentence

After having established the underlying structure of the nominative and oblique case forms, it remains to be seen how they are accommodated in a sentence. In section 3.1.2. it has been stipulated that, according to a hierarchy principle, only that NP functioning as surface subject has the nominative form. Any subsequent NP dominated directly by S or VP appears on the oblique form.

One might contend that the selection of the nominative in the surface subject slot of a declarative sentence seems to depend on semantic, not on structural criteria. For the interrogative has basically the same underlying phrase-marker (cf. D.1, p.184) as the declarative:



Any NP consists in underlying structure of an obligatory N^d and an optional S:

$$\underline{NP} \longrightarrow (S) \underline{N^d}$$

The first embedded S would be raised by way of permutation and equi-NP-deletion to become the head-constituent or NOUN of the NP. Of course, it is a precondition that all N^d s dominated by embedded S_{NP} s must be identical (co-referential) to the topmost N^d in the phrase-marker, as deletion cannot take place otherwise. The syntax of NP will be dealt with below in section 3.2.2.

To restate the rule in terms of the phrase-marker, it can be said that only that NP which is directly dominated by S_0 may undergo the nominative permutation. Any other NP must undergo the oblique permutation.

The reason for this rule may be a notional criterion in the way envisaged by Hockett, that the subject is the "topic" and the statement made about it the "comment"³⁴). The German terms "(Satz)gegenstand" and "(Satz)aussage" aptly describe the notion. The "Gegenstand" is the given topic, and the "Aussage" communicates new information about it. In the "given" subject of discourse the time aspect has lost significance, as the general validity is not in question (unless it is an interrogative sentence). Hence, in Nama the

AUX a is omitted as "neutral" (cf. above p. 181) in the "nominative" #V N^d#. But any other NP is a comment in itself ("Aussage"), as it is part of the commentary VP. And in any comment it is the time aspect which yields actuality to the statement. Compare again

(S191) Sats ga a gao.

(You are in office, as chief. - contingently)

(S192) Sats ge gao.

(You are chief. - a generally valid statement)

This notional statement could be formally accommodated in the phrase-marker, if the rewrite-rule

$$\underline{VP \longrightarrow (NP) (NP) V}$$

is reformulated as

$$\underline{VP \longrightarrow (S) (S) V .}$$

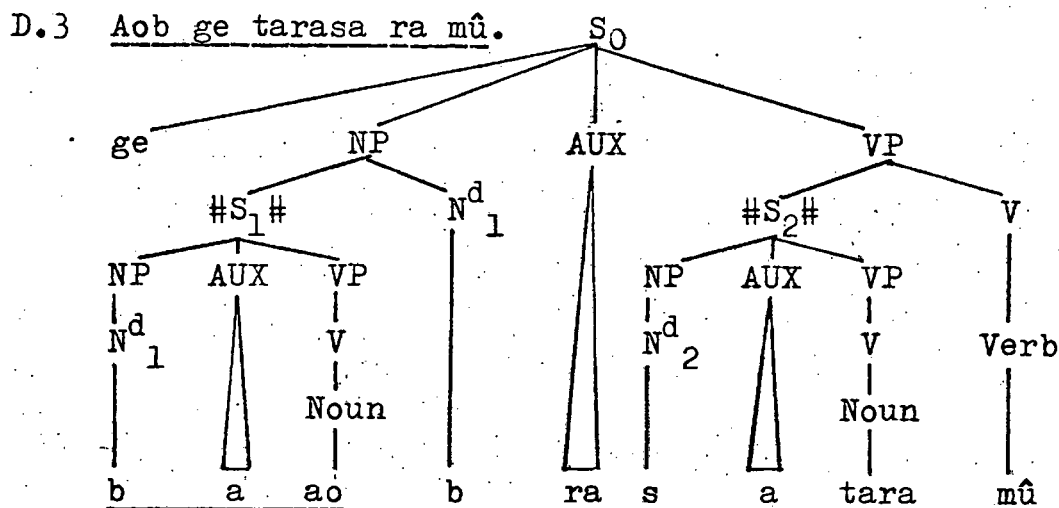
Such a reformulation would be in accord with the observation (p.178) that

S137 Mûb ge ra. #V N^d AUX#

has only a predicative rendering. That is, #V N^d AUX# is always a sentence, while #V (AUX) N^d# is the underlying structure that yields the surface category NOUN.

A "nominalization rule" which prescribes that any S which is dominated by NP must be transformed into the copular structure #V (AUX) N^d# will ensure that the subject entry is in the nominative form.

The phrase-marker for a declarative Nama sentence with subject and one object would thus be:



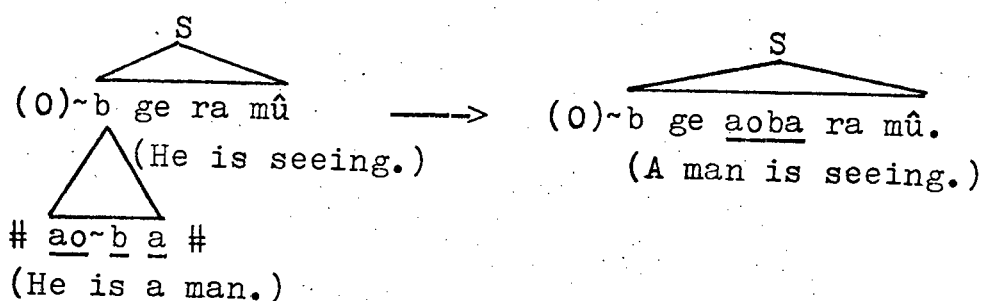
Since a headless NOUN-PHRASE (i.e., a pronominal relative sentence) is in principle derived by means of the same rules as the head-constituent or NOUN itself,

S_2 can also serve as the categorial node that accommodates subordinate sentences.

There is a cardinal difference between the embedded S_1 dominated by the subject-NP and the S_2 serving as object: The terminal N^d_1 dominated by S_1 is deleted by means of equi-deletion, as it is co-referential to the subject- N^d , which in turn is dominated by the subject-NP node. This proves that a NOUN in reality consists of nothing but the stem ("noun"), the $+N^d$ being part of the matrix sentence. - In the object- S_2 no deletion can take place as this S is not dominated

by another NP³⁵).

The notional distinction between "topic" and "comment" can also account for the extrapositional subject. It is an embedded "comment"-sentence, specifying what the pronominal subject of the sentence (N^d) actually stands for:



It may be mentioned here in passing that the translation "(And) a man is seeing" is quite acceptable. This sentence need not necessarily be translated appositionally as "(And) he, the man, is seeing", as extraposition is a syntactically obligatory transformation. Compare also Bantu languages, where the subject concord is only translated when the actual subject does not appear:

Ma~munu.
(He/she/it is seeing.)

Omurumendu ma~ . . . munu.
man he-pr.i see
(A man is seeing.)

The surface N^d in Nama must be seen as an "understood" NP,

as it is a prerequisite of any sentence that it must have a subject. A full deletion of the subject-NP, or "zero-pronominalization" as Givon (1970: 298) calls it, is not possible in Nama, as Nama has no obligatory subject agreement in the predicate.

By now it should have emerged that it is only a partial truth to claim that Nama NOUNs can inherently be first or second person (cf. section 2.1.1.1.). In the underlying structure the noun (as a lexical category) consists of a stem only, and this stem appears in the V slot of an embedded sentence.

3.1.3.3. Nominative and Oblique in copular sentences

- S198 |Khowe-aots ge.
beg-man you (s)
(You are (a) beggar.)
- S199 |Khowe-aotsa?
(Are you (a) beggar?)
- S200 Sa |khowe-aotsa, !gû!
(You beggar, go!)
- S201 Sats ge |khowe-aotsa.
you (s) beg-man you
(You are a beggar.)

S202 Satsa !khowe-aotsa?

(Are you a beggar?)

S203 Sats ge !khowe-ao go itsa.

you (s) beg-man rc.s you

(You were a beggar. - literally: You are one who was a beggar.)

S204 Satsa !khowe-ao go itsa?

(Were you a beggar? - literally: Is it you who are one who was a beggar?)

From what has been said it should be clear that S198 and S199 should not really be called "copular" sentences as they are (inverted) minimal predicate sentences.

S200 is usually understood to be a vocative in alerting context. Note that the article must be used with the noun-stem as the sentence is definite. It is no longer difficult to see in this construction a minimal predicate sentence equivalent to

Sats (ge) a !khowe-ao!

(You are (a) beggar!).

This kind of "address" has a sense of urgency. If it is taken into account what has been said about the "actuality" of a "comment" (viz. Hocket) with or without AUX, and that ge is often omitted in excitement, then it is not difficult to explain this "vocative" as a minimal sentence. It is thus not quite true to say:

"As die volledige persoonlike voornaamwoord in 'n bevelsin gebruik word, staan dit in die voorwerpvorm en nie in die onderwerpvorm nie, bv. Satsa, !gû - Jy, gaan!" (Krüger, forthcoming:74)

Dempwolff (1934:59), though, translated correctly:

"satsa, hâ! 'Du bist es, bleib da!'"

The second person neuter plural is frequently used in the oblique form, also with the demonstrative nē instead of sa, e.g. sado, nēdo. (This is an additional illustration that articles and demonstratives are used to express definiteness, cf. p.82.)

The minimal copular sentences S198 and S199 are thus not awkward to explain. The seeming absence of a predicate or copula (like, e.g. Bantu *di) has caused some confusion in the past. Rust (1965:34) contradicts himself when he writes about copular sentences with complement:

"Die Copula ("gé" oder "ge a") teilt den Satz in zwei Hälften." (italics mine)

But on p.50 he introduces minimal copular sentences under the heading:

"Kurze Aussagen mit blosser ge subjectivum, ohne Copula" (italics mine)

S198 is not to be seen as a sentence deprived of its predicate. The NOUN in a minimal copular sentence has a different derivational history from the subject-NOUN

in a predicate sentence. The subject aob in a predicate sentence Aob ge ra mû. is an embedded sentence. But aob in Aob ge. is not embedded at all.

S201 Sats ge !khowe-aotsa and the subsequent sentences up to S204 can be called copular sentences with more justification. For practical purposes they might be called "co-referential copulative" sentences. - The co-referential constructions are fairly restricted in distribution. The NPs must be co-referential, i.e.

$$N^d_{\text{subject}} = N^d_{\text{complement}} \quad (36)$$

$$S_{\text{COP}}: \{[NOM.]N^d_1\} \emptyset \text{ ge } \{[NOM.]N^d_1\} a$$

Should, for instance, the gender features of the two NOMINALS be incompatible, then the semantic component can only be rendered in the form of a predicate sentence. Suppose some male person (Petrub) acted a woman (Ana) in a play, the way to say "Peter is Anne"

Petrub ge a Ana,

but not

*Petrub ge Anasa,

or

*Petrub ge Anaba⁻³⁷).

Another constraint on this sentence-type is that it cannot appear as an embedded ("subordinate") sentence:

S205 Anas ge ra #âi Petrub a paia 'khaesa.
 Anne (s) pr.i think Peter pr.s idiot matter
 (Anne thinks that Peter is (an) idiot.)

S205-1 *Anas ge ra #âi Petrub.paiaba 'khaesa.

This fact seems to be an indication, moreover, that there is no explicit semantic difference between the co-referential copular sentence

Sats ge |khowe-aotsa.
 (You are (a) beggar.)

and the predicate sentence

Sats ge a |khowe-ao.
 (You are beggar.)

The copular construction must be used, however, if the lexical entry is to be modified:

Sats ge ||î |khowe-aotsa.
 (You are the beggar.)

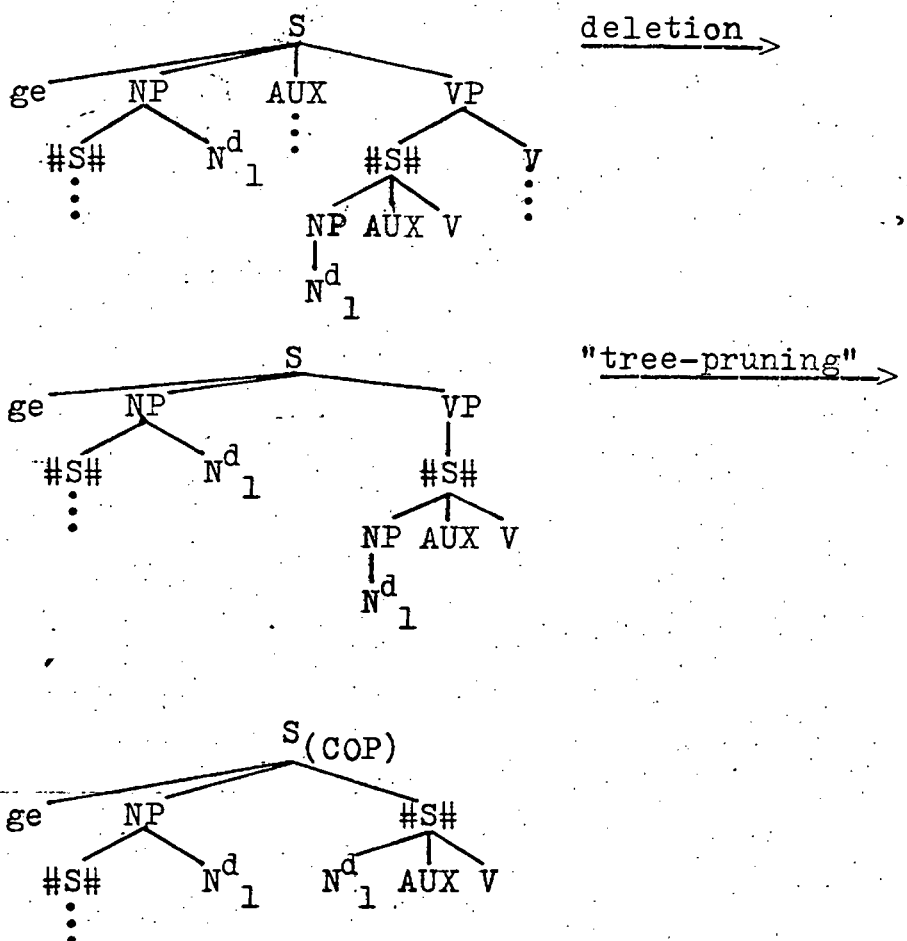
*Sats ge a ||î |khowe-ao.

The latter sentence is considered to be unusual, if not wrong. The co-referential copulative sentence is therefore also used to express definiteness (cf. p. 82).

The derivation of the co-referential COP presents some problems. It is not convincing that co-referential COP sentences should be derived from predicate sentences by eliding AUX and V. As a VP must per definition contain a V, this node VP would be pruned away as well:

Diagram 4 illustrates the transformations according to this theory:

D.4

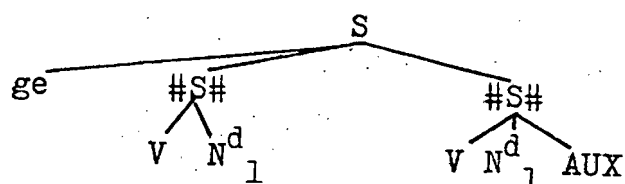


The last matrix sentence has been marked COP here, as, according to this theory, it is only a sentence by default.

~~It is likely that the co-referential COP-sentence should rather be treated as a complex sentence type. According to the present hypothesis both components are inverted sentences in underlying structure. A copying process must take place from the N^d of the subject-"sentence"~~

onto the N^d of the complement-"sentence"

D.5 Co-referential COP sentence



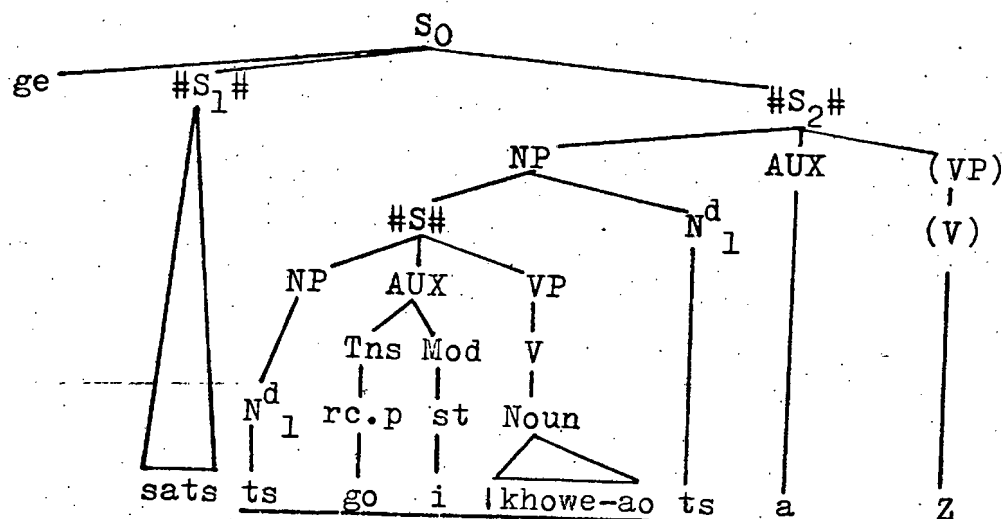
A close translation of a sentence like

Aob ge gao-aoba

would then be "He is a man - he is a chief."

If a co-referential COP sentence is marked for tense, as in S203 and S204, then the complement is a pronominal relative sentence in the surface representation:

D.6 Sats ge |khowe-ao go itsa.



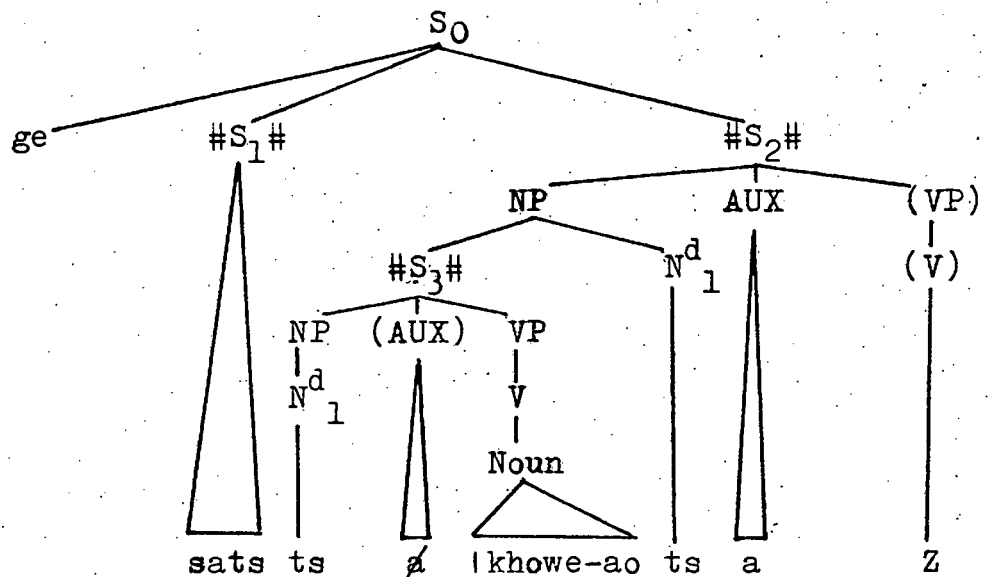
Z is a dummy symbol indicating that the V constituent is present, but obligatorily lexically empty. (It does not mean that AUX and V are elided.) The complement phrase would eventually have the following surface representation:

S_{NP} : {[(|khowe-ao go i) Z]ts}a

It is a headless NOUN-PHRASE.

The latter phrase-marker (D.6) provides compelling evidence that all complements should be treated as pronominal modifiers, not only those complements that are marked for tense. D.5, the phrase-marker with the (deleted) present stative AUX a must therefore be restated in the following way:

D.7 Sats ge |howe-aotsa.



The AUX a in S_3 is deleted due to the nominalization rule (p.191) as a "neutral" tense marker. S_3 serves as modifier of the lexically unspecified head-constituent Z. The present stative complement thus has the form:

$$S_{NP}; \{[(\text{Ikhowe-ao}) \underline{Z}]ts\}a$$

This adaption of the phrase-marker for the complement with present stative tense is more complicated. But the decisive advantage is gained that only one phrase-marker need to be postulated for all complements. The structure can be abstracted in the following way:

$$S_{\text{Complement}}: \{[(V \text{ AUX}) \underline{Z}]N^d\}a,$$

where AUX is deleted if it is a and if V is a noun.

3.1.3.4. Negation of a NOMINAL

- S206 Gao+b ge tarasa ra mû.
(A chief is seeing a woman.)
- S206-1 Gao tama+b ge tarasa ra mû.
rule neg. he (s) woman pr.i see
(A non-chief is seeing a woman.)
- S207 Gao~b ge ra.
(He is ruling.)
- S207-1 Gao tama~b ge hâ.
rule neg. he (s) remain
(He is not ruling.)
- S208 Gao+b ge.
(He is (a) chief.)
- S208-1 Gao tama+b ge.
rule neg. he (s)
(He is not (a) chief./ He is a non-chief.)
- S209 Kai gao+b ge ra mû.
(A big chief is seeing.)
- S209-1 Kai tama gaob ge ra mû.
big neg. chief (s) pr.i see
(A chief who is not big is seeing.)
- S210 Gao+b ge a kai.
(A chief is big.)
- S210-1 Gaob ge kai tama hâ.
chief (s) big neg. remain

S211 Gaob ge a !gâiba te.
 (A chief is good to me.)

S211-1 Gaob ge !gâiba te tama hâ.
 Chief (s) good-to/for me neg. remain
 (A chief is not good to me.)

It seems as if Nama NOUNS do not comply with the traditional concept of "noun" in more than one way. Firstly, nouns per definition are in the third person: Nama NOUNS can also be in the first or second person. Secondly, in general nouns are inherently positive. (It is possible to negate them. But then it is usually the entire noun that is negated, e.g. believer - non-believer.) In Nama the stem of a NOUN can be negative, just as it can be positive. That is, in the surface representation the negation is intrinsic in Nama, whereas in a language like English it is extrinsic.

The extreme flexibility of Nama NOUNS - let alone NOUN-PHRASES - must indeed be stunning, unless it is acknowledged that NOUNS have an underlying predicative structure. S206-1 and S207-1 both contain the string gao tamab. But in S206-1 it is interpreted as a negative NOUN (non-chief), whereas in S207-1 the string is part of a negative predicate. The contrast can be seen even better between S207-1 and S208-1, the latter sentence being identical in surface form to the subject-NP of S206-1.

The difference in meaning (copular vs. predicative) is again effected by AUX. In this case it is "stative" hâ which as a verb means "to remain". The basic structure of S207 is

(||1)b ge ra gao.
(He is ruling.),

and of S207-1

(||1)b ge gao tama hâ.
(He is not ruling.).

Tama is the negating morpheme used for any tense except the future (tide) or the imperative (tā). Tama always directly follows the constituent that is negated, whether it is a single formative (S206-1 to S210-1) or a phrase (S211-1). It is not part of this dissertation to investigate positive and negative tenses. Therefore it should suffice for the present purpose to state only the following equivalents:

	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>
Present inch.:	<u>ra</u>	tama <u>hâ</u>
Present stat.:	<u>a</u> , <u>hâ</u>	tama <u>hâ</u>
Rec. past stat.:	<u>go</u> <u>i</u>	tama <u>go</u> <u>hâ</u> <u>i</u>

The same principles apply for negation as apply for the derivation of positive NOUNS (section 3.1.3.): The "copular" sentence pattern #V (AUX) N^d#, i.e., where AUX appears to the left of the N^d, serves as underlying sentence. If the tense is "neutral" AUX is deleted.

Positive: $\Delta \sim b$ a gao > gao a $\sim b$ > gao+b

Negative: $\Delta \sim b$ gao tama hâ > gao tama hâ $\sim b$ > gao tama+b

In S207-1, however, AUX is to the right of the N^d . As such the sentence can only be interpreted as an inverted predication of the type #V N^d AUX#.

In negative constructions where the oblique form is involved, or where the tense of the lexical string is marked, the lexical entry must be handled as a pronominal relative sentence (cf. D.6 and D.7). The sentence

S212 Sats ge ikhowe-ao tama go hâ itsa.

(You are the one who has not been a beggar.)

has an underlying structure that, in a simplified way, looks more or less like the following:

[S]alts \emptyset ge [(modifier) Z]ts a.

~ts go ikhowe-ao tama hâ i

Z is the lexically unspecified head-constituent of the oblique complement *# ~ts a Z #³⁸).

Dempwolff (1934) did not recognize the underlying parallelism of negation to his supposition about (positive) a (cf. section 3.1.3.). On p.54 he writes:

"Nur ein Prädikat kann im Nama verneint werden. Ein negatives grammatisches Subjekt des Deutschen ("Niemand", "Nichts", "kein") muss umgedacht werden in ein

Substantiv mit appositionell ... dahinter gestelltem xare "irgend ein", und dann das Prädikat verneint werden."

He refers to a sentence like

"khoiĩ-xarei gum !gãi tamao"
 (Khoe-i xare-i kom !gãi tamao.)
 (Nobody is good.)

Note also Olpp's formulation for the synthetic approach (1917:57):

"Das verneinte Eigenschaftswort steht ... in der Regel v o r dem zugehörigen Substantiv. Soll es dem Substantiv folgen, so wird dessen Geschlechtsendung, die ... vom Eigenschaftswort angenommen werden muss, bis zur Verneinung "aufgespart".
 Taras !gãi tamas = die nicht gute Frau."
 (*italics mine*)

It may be mentioned here that for stylistic reasons —appositive negation is rarely used in an "extended" minimal COP sentence (S214), unless another modifier prohibits the attributive use of the negated modifier (cf. section 3.2.2.):

- S213 !Gãiba te tama taras ge. (COP)
 (It is a woman that is not good to me.)
- S214 *Taras !gãiba te tamas ge.
- S215 Nē taras !gãiba te tamas ge.
 (It is this woman, the one that is not good to me.)

3.2. Syntax of the NOUN-PHRASE

The following section concentrates on the surface syntax of the NOUN-PHRASE, that is, on the linear ordering of elements within the NP.

There are a number of questions concerning the NP that remain unanswered by current literature on Nama. It is also investigated whether certain statements in this literature are not based on misconceptions. Some specific problems have been quoted in the introductory chapter. The problem of "case" has been dealt with (section 3.1.2. to 3.1.2.5.). This section (3.2.) deals with problems related to the synthetic approach. Where the previous discussions centred on the NOUN-PHRASE in its entirety, the following sections will concentrate mainly on the adjuncts of the head-constituent.

Section 3.2.1. gives an account of surface constraints and permitted linear orders in subordinating NPs. In section 3.2.2. some comments are offered about the NOUN-PHRASE as unit of analysis and about its underlying structure as a whole.

3.2.1. The linear ordering of constituents

Practically no guide-lines are provided in existing Nama handbooks about the juxtaposition of modifiers. It is hoped that some practical advice can be provided below for the student of Nama. -

According to the handbooks modifiers can either precede or follow the head-constituent. When they follow a co-referential N^d must be attached to them (cf. the quotations p.8). It is not convincing that Nama should have two methods for modifying a head-constituent and that - although the methods of formation differ considerably - there is apparently no concomitant significance which determines the choice of construction.

Olpp's remark (1917:27) about the "Genetiv" may be quoted as a typical exposition:

"Welche der beiden Stellungen gewählt wird, hängt, da ein wesentlicher Unterschied zwischen ihnen nicht besteht, von dem Geschmack des Redenden ab. Im allgemeinen hat das mehr betonte Wort den Vortritt." (italics mine)

Dempwolff (1934:116), having had to rely on second-hand information, makes a similar claim:

"Solche Konstruktionen [appositive possessives] treten neben Attributen und neben anderen Appositionen als Erläuterungen auf; ihre Verwendung ist Sprachfreiheit, also Sache des guten Stils." (italics and bracketed insertion mine)

It is interesting, though, that Dempwolff calls preceding modifiers "Attribut" (1934:110) and succeeding ones "Apposition". Although he does not justify his choice of nomenclature, he mentions that appositions are in "Konkordanz" with the head-constituent.

Rust (1965: e.g.33) calls all modifiers "Apposition", irrespective of their position.

The matter of the appropriate terminology (i.e., categorial status of modifiers) will become clear below as the modifiers are examined. Although this investigation is not complete, the modifiers chosen should be reasonably representative for their respective categories. Words with individual behaviour are not included as they do not throw any light on the general theory. Students should consult the handbooks for such words. In this thesis it is stated what the "natural" order of modifiers is in an NP. This goes hand in hand with a statement of the surface constraints applicable to modifiers. Thereafter certain conclusions are made about the underlying structure of the NP. The tabulation below indicates the compatibility of modifiers with each other in initial position (i.e., to the left of the head-constituent). After an assessment an exhaustive list of the grammatical sequences with four modifiers is given. This list is given in order to

elucidate the syntactic status (function) of preceding and succeeding modifiers respectively.

Although a complete list of all the theoretically existing permutations has been checked in the field, it is not presented here, as the ungrammatical sequences would only add a huge bulk of uninformative material.

Except for the article ||î the lexical formatives chosen all have the high-rising toneme, as their perturbed profile (low-level) can be easily distinguished from the basic one, even by an untrained ear. The reader should therefore make allowance for a somewhat contrived phrase. For the sake of clarity basic profiles are indicated by means of + and perturbed profiles by means of -. The actual lexical toneme involved is irrelevant as perturbation rules are generally valid.

Demonstrative:	<u> nā</u> (that)
Article:	<u> î</u> (non-speaker/-addressee)
Adjective:	<u>+áú'</u> (tame)
Relative (sentence):	<u>!û ra</u> (grazing)
Possessive:	<u>tárás di</u> (a woman's)
Numeral:	<u>!nání'</u> (six)
Head-NOUN:	<u> gûgu</u> (springbuck rams)

Note that the relative modifier chosen is of the simplest type (V AUX). An object - !gâna (grass) - is only inserted where its presence or absence is significant.

(i) DEMONSTRATIVE/ Article

*||nā ||î ||gûgu

*(those those springbuck)

/ Adjective+ - -
||nā #au ||gûgu

(those [dem] springbuck)

+ + -
||nā #au ||gûgu

(those [ref] springbuck)

There are two translations for ||nā. The commonly known one is the "demonstrative" meaning "that/those". A second meaning is "referential": It can be circumscribed as "that said ..., that known ..., that previously mentioned ...". ("Referential" is here used with the meaning "referring to an object that has been mentioned previously".) Although both words have identical tonemes, they should be distinguished as separate words, as their influence on adjacent profiles differs. The possibility that the referential ||nā is an adjective is ruled out by the fact that adjectives also have a perturbing influence on the subsequent lexical toneme, e.g.

+ - -
îsa #au ||gûgu

(beautiful tame springbuck).

A similar dichotomy exists for the first demonstrative nē (this) and the third demonstrative nāú (that yonder):

+ - -
 nē #au ||gûgu
 (these [dem] tame springbuck)

+ + -
 nē #au ||gûgu
 (these [ref] tame springbuck)

This tonal differentiation can also affect the head-constituent itself, e.g.

+ -
 ||nā ||gûgu
 (those [dem] springbuck)
 + +
 ||nā ||gûgu
 (those [ref] springbuck).

But the latter, referential phrase may be understood to be a headless NP:

+ +
 [(||nā) (||gû a)]gu
 (those which are springbuck).

This fact seems to indicate that it is more natural for this tonal distinction to be applied to modifiers than to head-constituents.

It could not be established beyond doubt why the constituent following the "referential" demonstrative retains its basic profile. A possible explanation is that the "referential" demonstrative must be followed by comma-intonation. This means that the tone rules have to be recycled, starting off with the basic profile again. The tone rules are discussed below (p.232).

/ Relative

+ + -
 ||nā !û ra ||gûgu
 (those [ref] grazing springbuck)

+ - -
 * ||nā !û ra ||gûgu
 (those [dem] grazing springbuck)

+ + -
 ||nā ra !û ||gûgu
 (those [dem] grazing springbuck)

/ Possessive

+ - -
 * ||nā taras di ||gûgu
 *(that woman's springbuck)

+ - -
 ||nā ti ||gûgu
 (those [dem], my springbuck)

+ + -
 ||nā ti ||gûgu
 (those [ref], my springbuck)

The first sequence is possible with the meaning "those springbuck of the woman", but only with comma-intonation:

+ + -
 ||nā, taras di ||gûgu

/ Numeral

+ - -
 ||nā !nani ||gûgu
 (those [dem] six springbuck)

+ + -
 ||nā !nani ||gûgu
 (those [ref] six springbuck)

(ii) ARTICLES

As articles cannot be translated literally, they are here translated with "the" in order to indicate definiteness.

/ Demonstrative

*||î ||nā ||gûgu

/ Adjective

+ - -
||î #au ||gûgu

(the tame springbuck)

/ Relative

+ - -
||î !û ra ||gûgu

(the grazing springbuck)

+ - + -
*||î |gâna ra !û ||gûgu

*(springbuck eating the grass)

+ + + -
||î, |gâna ra !û ||gûgu

(the springbuck which are eating grass)

As is the case with most constructions involving comma-intonation, the latter construction is not used frequently.

/ Possessive

+ - -
*||î taras di ||gûgu

(the woman's springbuck)

+ - -
||î ti ||gûgu

(the springbuck of mine)

The former sequence is not even accepted with comma-intonation, i.e.,

*||⁺î, taras di ||⁻gûgu

(iii) ADJECTIVE

/ Demonstrative

*+au ||nā ||gûgu

/ Article

*+au ||î ||gûgu

/ Relative

+ - -
*+au !û ra ||gûgu

(tame, grazing springbuck)

This sequence is acceptable, but only if the relative sentence contains no NP (in that case the adjective would modify this NP instead of the head-constituent), and only if the modifiers occur to the left of the head-constituent. It is rarely used to the right:

*||gûgu +au !û ragu.

/ Possessive

*+au taras di ||gûgu

*(a tame woman's springbuck)

+ - -
*+au, ti ||gûgu

(tame springbuck of mine)

The latter sequence is not considered to be good.

/ Numeral

+ - -
 #au !nani ||gûgu
 (tame, six springbuck)

(vi) RELATIVE

/ Demonstrative

+ + -
 !û ra, ||nā ||gûgu
 (grazing, those springbuck)

+ - -
 *!û ra ||nā ||gûgu

The sequence Rel.-Dem.-NOUN is accepted as grammatical if it has comma-intonation, but it is nevertheless unusual.

/ Article

*!û ra ||î ||gûgu

/ Adjective

+ - -
 !û ra #au ||gûgu
 (grazing tame springbuck)

/ Possessive

*!û ra taras di ||gûgu
 *(a grazing woman's springbuck)

+ - -
 !û ra ti ||gûgu
 (grazing, my springbuck)

/ Numeral

+ - -
!û ra !nani ||gûgu
(grazing six springbuck)

(v) POSSESSIVE/ Demonstrative

*taras di ||nā ||gûgu
*ti ||nā ||gûgu

/ Article

*taras di ||î ||gûgu
*ti ||î ||gûgu

/ Adjective

+ - -
taras di #au ||gûgu
(a woman's tame springbuck)
+ - -
ti #au ||gûgu
(my tame springbuck)

/ Relative

+ - -
taras di !û ra ||gûgu
(a woman's grazing springbuck)
+ - -
ti !û ra ||gûgu
(my grazing springbuck)

The former sequence is acceptable to the left of the head-constituent, but not to the right:

*||gûgu taras di !û ragu

/ Numeral

+ - -
 taras di !nani ||gûgu
 (a woman's six springbuck)

+ - -
 ti !nani ||gûgu
 (my six springbuck)

(vi) NUMERAL/ Demonstrative

*!nani ||nā ||gûgu

/ Article

*!nani ||î ||gûgu

/ Adjective

+ - -
 !nani #au ||gûgu
 (six tame springbuck)

The adjective #nū (black) conveys the idiomatic meaning of "only", "few", if preceded by a numeral:

!nani #nū ||gûgu
 (only six springbuck).

/ Relative

+ - -
 !nani !û ra ||gûgu
 (six grazing springbuck)

This sequence is not considered to be good. It is considered to be ungrammatical if the relative contains an NP.

/ Possessive

*!nani taras di ||gûgu

+ - -
!nani ti ||gûgu

(six springbuck of mine)

This sequence is considered to be ungrammatical, even if the number feature of the possessive does not agree with that of the numeral (viz. singular, dual, plural), cp.

*!nani taradi di ||gûgu

*(six women's springbuck).

The latter sequence, !nani ti ||gûgu, is not considered to be good either.

The constraints can be tabulated as follows in Table XIV. The table should be read horizontally, not vertically, in order to get the sequence correctly. Only true demonstratives are considered, not "referential" demonstratives.

	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Art.</u>	<u>Adj.</u>	<u>Rel.</u>	<u>Poss.</u>		<u>Num</u>
					<u>NPdi</u>	<u>ti</u>	
Dem.	.	-	+	+	-	+	+
Art.	-	.	+	(+)	-	+	+
Adj.	-	-	.	+	-	+	+
Rel.	(+)	-	+	.	-	+	+
Poss.							
NPdi	-	-	+	+	.	.	+
ti	-	-	+	+	.	.	+
Num.	-	-	+	(+)	-	(+)	.

Table XIV: ATTRIBUTIVE MODIFIERS: SURFACE CONSTRAINTS

In text-form the constraints can be stated as follows:

1. A demonstrative may not be preceded by any other modifier except perhaps a relative sentence. If it is preceded by a relative sentence, then the demonstrative retains its basic tone as if it were standing sentence-initially. This case may be viewed as an instance of comma-intonation.

2. An article may never be preceded by any other modifier.

3. Possessive: A "di-phrase" (NP_{di}) may not be preceded by any modifier, as a preceding modifier would modify the head-constituent of the di-phrase. (The possibility that the di-phrase could comprise its own modifiers is not considered here; cf. section 2.2.2.5.) The constraints applying to possessive NPs do not apply to the possessive radicals tí' and sá'.

The constraint applying to possessive NPs (and also to relatives containing an NP) is due to a "proximity rule" that a modifier modifies the first head-constituent to the right of it.

Such a head-constituent is represented at least by an N^d. If a lexical entry appears besides the N^d (i.e., if the head-constituent is lexically specified), then the modifier has attributive function; if no lexical

entry is present, it has pronominal function:

attributive: [(+au) ||gûlgu
(tame springbuck)

* [(+au) tarals di ||gûgu
*(a tame woman's springbuck)

pronominal: [(+au)]gu
(tame ones)

* [(+au)]s di ||gûgu
*(springbuck of a tame one)

The starred phrases are ungrammatical, as the modifier #au is supposed to refer to ||gûgu. (It will emerge later on that modifiers to the right of the head-constituent also have pronominal function.)

4. A demonstrative, an article and a possessive NP or any two of them cannot simultaneously precede a head-constituent: They are mutually exclusive in attributive function, i.e., to the left of the head-constituent (N^d).

5. Relatives may be preceded by other modifiers, but only if the relative does not contain an NP, and only in attributive function, i.e. not to the right of the head-constituent. It is usually avoided to have another modifier before the relative.

If a relative is preceded by a demonstrative, the

internal order of the relative is reversed, as for a matrix predicate, and the toneme remains basic. AUX thus stands in initial position of the relative. This seems to indicate that the demonstrative is part of the relative phrase, and as such it must have adverbial function. But the phrase "springbuck which are grazing there" is translated as "||naba ra !û ||gûgu". ||Nā can thus not be treated as an adverb. This phenomenon still remains to be explained. The construction is unusual, but nevertheless accepted as correct.

The comparatively high degree of constrainedness of relative sentences - even without NP - is probably due to the fact that they very often do contain NPs. These NPs would detract the modifying function of a preceding modifier from the head-constituent owing to the proximity rule.

6. The proximity rule leads to a summary constraint that, within the same NOUN-PHRASE, no modifier may appear to the left of another modifier which contains an NP.

7. Any of the above constraints can apply simultaneously. This means, for instance, that a demonstrative and a possessive NP cannot attributively modify the same head-constituent, or more exactly: - cannot both stand to the left of the same N^d. If nevertheless both modifiers

are to modify the same head-constituent, then at least one of them will have to be postposed to the right of the head-constituent. Both modifiers that are incompatible can be postposed, but then each one must be followed by a co-referential N^d :

+ - -
 *||nā taras di ||gûgu
 + - +
 ||nā ||gûgu taras digu
 + - +
taras di ||gûgu ||nāgu
 + + +
 ||gûgu taras digu ||nāgu
 + + +
 ||gûgu ||nāgu taras digu
 + + -
 *||gûgu ||nā taras digu

The canonical meaning of this phrase is "those spring-buck of a woman". No literal translation is given here as this matter is discussed imminently. - The reader may be reminded in passing of the similar constraints in English which serve to preserve the meaning, e.g.

*this my house/my this house >
this house of mine.

Considering the above constraints and ignoring specialized occurrences (including possessive tí and sá), the following summary can be made of permitted sequences:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\text{Dem}) \\ (\text{Art}) \\ (\text{Poss}) \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\text{Adj}) (\text{Num}) (\text{Rel}) \\ (\text{Adj}) (\text{Rel}) (\text{Num}) \\ (\text{Num}) (\text{Adj}) (\text{Rel}) \\ (\text{Num}) (\text{Rel}) (\text{Adj}) \\ (\text{Rel}) (\text{Num}) (\text{Adj}) \\ (\text{Rel}) (\text{Adj}) (\text{Num}) \end{array} \right\} (\text{head-constituent})_+ \underline{N^d}$$

Parentheses () mean "optional" constituent; braces { } mean "alternative" entry. It should be remembered that these rules apply to "direct" relatives which contain no overt NP. -

It remains to be examined in what order modifiers occur to the right of a head-constituent, and subsequently, what the relation is between modifiers on the left and modifiers on the right of the head-constituent.

The following list is an inventory of strings with four modifiers, that are grammatical. (The inclusion of numerals would have extended the list considerably, as numerals are confined least in their distribution. Articles have been omitted, as they do not readily occur together with demonstratives: Both indicate definiteness.) Ungrammatical strings have not been listed. They serve no purpose here, and the reader can derive them himself by means of the stipulated constraints. The phrase is quoted in the oblique form, i.e., with final -a. For the meaning of the constituents the reader may again refer to p.211.

1. + - - - +
||nā #au !û ra ||gûgu taras diga
2. + + - - +
||nā !û ra #au ||gûgu taras diga
3. + + - + -
||nā !û ra ||gûgu taras di #auga
4. + - - + +
||nā #au ||gûgu !û ragu taras diga
5. + - - + +
||na #au ||gûgu taras digu !û raga
6. + + - + +
||nā !û ra ||gûgu #augu taras diga
7. + + - + +
||nā !û ra ||gûgu taras digu #auga
8. + + - - +
||nā, taras di #au ||gûgu !û raga
9. + + - - +
||nā, taras di !û ra ||gûgu #auga
10. + + - - +
||nā, taras di !û ra #au ||gûga
11. + + - + +
||nā, taras di ||gûgu #augu !û raga
12. + + - + +
||nā, taras di ||gûgu !û ragu #auga
13. + - + - +
||nā ||gûgu taras di #augu !û raga
14. + - + - +
||nā ||gûgu !û ra #augu taras diga
15. + - + + +
||nā ||gûgu taras digu #augu !û raga
16. + - + + +
||nā ||gûgu taras digu !û ragu #auga
17. + - + + +
||nā ||gûgu !û ragu #augu taras diga
18. + - + + +
||nā ||gûgu !û ragu taras digu #auga
19. + - + + -
||nā ||gûgu taras digu !û ra #auga
20. + - + + -
||nā ||gûgu !û ragu taras di #auga
21. + - + + +
#au, !û ra ||gûgu ||nāgu taras diga
22. + - + + +
#au, !û ra ||gûgu taras digu ||nāga
23. + - + + +
#au ||gûgu ||nā !û ragu taras diga
24. + - + + +
#au ||gûgu !û ra, ||nāgu taras diga
25. (+ #au ||gûgu taras di !û ragu ||naga)

26. (+au ||gûgu ||nāgu taras di !û raga)
27. +au ||gûgu taras digu ||nā !û raga
28. (+au ||gûgu taras digu !û ra ||nāga)
29. +au ||gûgu ||nāgu taras digu !û raga
30. +au ||gûgu ||nāgu !û ragu taras digu
31. +au ||gûgu !û ragu taras digu ||nāga
32. +au ||gûgu !û ragu ||nāgu taras digu
33. +au ||gûgu taras digu !û ragu ||nāga
34. (!û ra ||nā +au ||gûgu taras digu)
35. (!û ra ||nā ||gûgu taras di +auga)
36. (!û ra ||nā ||gûgu +augu taras digu)
37. (!û ra ||nā ||gûgu taras digu +auga)
38. !û ra +au ||gûgu ||nāgu taras digu
39. !û ra +au ||gûgu taras digu ||nāga
40. !û ra ||gûgu ||nā +augu taras digu
41. !û ra ||gûgu taras di +augu ||nāga
42. !û ra ||gûgu ||nāgu taras di +auga
43. !û ra ||gûgu taras digu ||nā +auga
44. !û ra ||gûgu ||nāgu +augu taras digu
45. !û ra ||gûgu ||nāgu taras digu +auga
46. !û ra ||gûgu taras digu ||nāgu +auga
47. !û ra ||gûgu taras digu +augu ||nāga
48. !û ra ||gûgu +augu ||nāgu taras digu
49. !û ra ||gûgu +augu taras digu ||nāga
50. taras di +au ||gûgu ||nā ra !ûga

51. (+ taras di +au !û ra ||gûgu ||nāga)
52. + taras di +au ||gûgu !û ragu ||nāga
53. + taras di +au ||gûgu ||nāgu !û raga
54. + taras di +au !û ra ||gûgu ||nāga
55. + taras di !û ra ||gûgu ||nā +auga
56. + taras di !û ra +au ||gûgu ||nāga
57. + taras di !û ra ||gûgu ||nāgu +auga
58. + taras di !û ra ||gûgu +augu ||nāga
59. + taras di ||gûgu ||nā !û ra +auga
60. (+ taras di ||gûgu !û ra ||nā +auga)
61. + taras di ||gûgu ||nā +augu !û raga
62. + taras di ||gûgu ||nā !û ragu +auga
63. (+ taras di ||gûgu !û ra ||nāgu +auga)
64. + taras di ||gûgu !û ra +augu ||nāga
65. + taras di ||gûgu ||nāgu !û ra +auga
66. + taras di ||gûgu !û ragu ||nā +auga
67. (+ taras di ||gûgu +augu !û ra ||nāga)
68. + taras di ||gûgu +augu ||nā !û raga
69. + taras di ||gûgu ||nāgu +augu !û raga
70. + taras di ||gûgu ||nāgu !û ragu +auga
71. + taras di ||gûgu !û ragu ||nāgu +auga
72. + taras di ||gûgu !û ragu +augu ||nāga
73. + taras di ||gûgu +augu ||nāgu !û raga
74. + taras di ||gûgu +augu !û ragu ||nāga
75. + ||gûgu ||nā + !û ra +augu taras diga

76. (||gûgu !û ra ||nā #augu taras diga)
77. (||gûgu taras di !û ra #augu ||nāga
78. ||gûgu ||nā !û ragu taras di #auga
79. (||gûgu !û ra ||nāgu taras di #auga)
80. ||gûgu taras di #augu ||nā !û raga
81. (||gûgu taras di #augu !û ra ||nāga
82. ||gûgu #augu !û ragu taras digu ||nāga
83. ||gûgu ||nāgu #augu !û ragu taras diga
84. (||gûgu ||nāgu taras di !û ra #auga)
85. ||gûgu taras digu ||nā !û ra #auga
86. (||gûgu taras digu !û ra ||nā #auga)
87. ||gûgu ||nā #augu taras digu !û raga
88. ||gûgu ||nā !û ragu #augu taras diga
89. ||gûgu ||nā !û ragu taras digu #auga
90. (||gûgu !û ra ||nāgu #augu taras diga)
91. (||gûgu !û ra ||nāgu taras digu #auga)
92. ||gûgu !û ra #augu ||nāgu taras diga
93. ||gûgu !û ra #augu taras digu ||nāga
94. ||gûgu taras di #augu ||nāgu !û raga
95. ||gûgu taras di #augu !û ragu ||nāga
96. ||gûgu ||nāgu #augu taras digu !û raga
97. ||gûgu ||nāgu taras digu #augu !û raga
98. ||gûgu ||nāgu taras digu !û ragu #auga
99. ||gûgu ||nāgu !û ragu #augu taras diga
100. ||gûgu ||nāgu !û ragu taras digu #auga

101.	+	+	+	+	+	
	gûgu	#augu	nāgu	!û ragu	taras	diga
102.	+	+	+	+	+	
	gûgu	#augu	nāgu	taras	digu	!û raga
103.	+	+	+	+	+	
	gûgu	#augu	taras	digu	nāgu	!û raga
104.	+	+	+	+	+	
	gûgu	#augu	taras	digu	!û ragu	nāga
105.	+	+	+	+	+	
	gûgu	#augu	!û ragu	nāgu	taras	diga
106.	+	+	+	+	+	
	gûgu	#augu	!û ragu	taras	digu	nāga
107.	+	+	+	+	+	
	gûgu	!û ragu	nāgu	#augu	taras	diga
108.	+	+	+	+	+	
	gûgu	!û ragu	nāgu	taras	digu	#auga
109.	+	+	+	+	+	
	gûgu	!û ragu	taras	digu	nāgu	#auga
110.	+	+	+	+	+	
	gûgu	!û ragu	taras	digu	#augu	nāga
111.	+	+	+	+	+	
	gûgu	!û ragu	#augu	nāgu	taras	diga
112.	+	+	+	+	+	
	gûgu	!û ragu	#augu	taras	digu	nāga
113.	+	+	+	+	+	
	gûgu	taras	digu	nāgu	#augu	!û raga
114.	+	+	+	+	+	
	gûgu	taras	digu	nāgu	!û ragu	#auga
115.	+	+	+	+	+	
	gûgu	taras	digu	!û ragu	nāgu	#auga
116.	+	+	+	+	+	
	gûgu	taras	digu	!û ragu	#augu	nāga
117.	+	+	+	+	+	
	gûgu	taras	digu	#augu	nāgu	!û raga
118.	+	+	+	+	+	
	gûgu	taras	digu	#augu	!û ragu	nāga

Table XIV: LINEAR ORDER OF NP CONSTITUENTS

Some important facts should emerge from this list:

1. Whereas constraints apply to modifiers to the left of the head-constituent, there is no constraint applicable to modifiers to the right of the head-constituent - provided that each modifier is followed by an N^d .

The latter prerequisite may need some illustration:

- (i) $\begin{matrix} + & - & + & - & - \\ *||n\bar{a} & ||g\hat{u}g\bar{u} & !\hat{u} & ra & \#au & taras & dig\bar{a} \end{matrix}$ (constraint No.4)
- (ii) $\begin{matrix} + & - & + & + & + \\ ||n\bar{a} & ||g\hat{u}g\bar{u} & !\hat{u} & ra & \#aug\bar{u} & taras & dig\bar{a} \end{matrix}$
- (iii) $\begin{matrix} + & - & + & + & + \\ ||n\bar{a} & ||g\hat{u}g\bar{u} & !\hat{u} & rag\bar{u} & \#aug\bar{u} & taras & dig\bar{a} \end{matrix}$
- (iv) $\begin{matrix} *||n\bar{a} & ||g\hat{u}g\bar{u} & !\hat{u} & rag\bar{u} & \#au & taras & dig\bar{a} \end{matrix}$ (constraint No.4)

The ungrammatical strings violate the proximity rule (cf. p.221) which states that "a modifier modifies the first head-constituent to the right of it. Such a head-constituent is marked at least by an N^d ." In the examples (i) and (iv) this N^d is s of taras, in examples (ii) and (iii) the N^d is gu of the head-constituent ||g \hat{u} g \bar{u} . Hence the modifiers to the right of the head-constituent are grouped into sub-strings of (pronominal) modifiers by means of the N^d referring to the head-constituent.

This shows that the proximity rule is the fundamental means of meaning-preserving as far as the NOUN-PHRASE of Nama is concerned.

2. Regular patterns of lexical tone can be noted in each string: each first entry of a sub-string (i.e., a string terminated by a N^d , cf. p.239 for NOMINAL) has a basic profile (+), while each subsequent entry within that sub-string has a perturbed profile (-).³⁹⁾ This rule applies to any lexical entry, no matter whether it is a modifier or a head-constituent. This tone rule is

a recursive surface rule, which is applied from left to right as long as there are any entries with [+basic] toneme to the left of an N^d :

$$\begin{array}{l} +\text{basic toneme} \longrightarrow -\text{basic toneme} \\ \phantom{+\text{basic toneme}} / \dots +\text{basic toneme} \quad \underline{} \quad N^d \end{array}$$

The observance of this tone-rule is crucial to meaning-preserving and also to the understanding of the structural composition of a NOUN-PHRASE. For it has become evident that a NOMINAL (as a component of a NOUN-PHRASE) has the following tone-pattern:

$$\begin{array}{cccc} +\text{basic} & -\text{basic} & \dots & -\text{basic} \\ \underline{[(1\text{st entry}) (2\text{nd entry}) \dots (\text{nth entry})]N^d} \end{array}$$

This tone-rule is a surface rule, for it applies to NOUN-PHRASES with or without head-constituent; i.e., it applies to pronominal phrases as well.

The lexical tone-rule provides sufficient evidence that modifiers to the right of a head-constituent are not attributive in function, as are the modifiers to the left: Modifiers to the right form headless noun-phrases (NOMINALS) on their own. And these headless NOMINALS stand in apposition to the central NOMINAL containing the head-constituent. "Apposition" is here used in the way it is defined by Pei and Gainor (1954:16):

"The use of paratactically joined linguistic forms which have the same grammatical form or function but not the same meaning or semantic content."40)

The fact that the last N^d is ga instead of gu in the examples (Table XIV) is of no consequence with regard to this definition, as ga is a morpho-phonemic junction of N^d+P^d (*gu+a > ga). The phenomenon that the P^d is "shifted" from the head-NOUN to the right-most apposition is discussed below in section 3.2.2.

- These facts throw some new light on the NOUN-PHRASE of Nama and also on Nama syntax as a whole. Attributive modifiers always appear to the left of the head-constituent, and their linear ordering is subject to certain powerful constraints. If the occurrence of a particular modifier is blocked by a constraint, then the only way to accommodate it, is to enter it into a separate, co-referential NOMINAL. In most cases this co-referential NOMINAL follows the head-constituent on the right side as an "apposition".⁴¹⁾ There is no constraint applicable to the sequence of appositive phrases. The head-NOMINAL together with the appositive NOMINALS form an endocentric NOUN-PHRASE terminated by a P^d .

It is thus not only a matter of style whether modifiers occur "before" or "after" the head-constituent. Only if all structural preconditions have been met, does it

become a matter of style or emphasis, whether certain modifiers are appended in the form of appositions or appear attributively. This problem will not be pursued here as it is a semantic problem. It may only be mentioned in passing that a more careful translation of noun-phrases should take the appositive nature of modifiers to the right of the head-constituent into consideration:

||nā #au ||gûgu: "those tame springbuck"

||nā ||gûgu #augu: "those springbuck, the tame ones"

||gûgu ||nā #augu: "the springbuck, those tame ones".

If, however, a modifier appears obligatorily as apposition because of a structural constraint, then this modifier need not be translated as "appositive afterthought"⁴²).

3.2.2.1. Meaning-preserving and other features

The structure of the Nama NP is indicative of certain typological features of Nama syntax in general. It is considered to be a universal feature that languages which are left-branching in the NP are also left-branching in the VP; that is, if modifiers appear to the left of the head-noun, then the object-NP will also appear to the left of the verb. The structure of the Nama NP is an indication - though not a proof - that

Nama is an S O V (Subject-Object-Verb) language.

- Nama makes use of three means of meaning-preserving: morphological formatives, sequence and tone. Some space has been devoted in this dissertation to pointing out the significance of the first two. Sequence is important not only in the surface structure of NPs or the entire sentence, but also in the underlying structure of NOUNS (as it is important whether AUX appears to the left or right of the N^d). The N^d functions both as a "nominalizing agent" and also as a means to establish syntactic relations (viz. the proximity rule). The N^d marks the end of a NOMINAL-phrase. Any component related to that NOMINAL but not "embraced" by the N^d must be followed by another (co-referential) N^d in order to relate it to the antecedent.

But phrases like ||nā taras di ||gūgu show that tone is more decisive in the phonetic representation of NPs than linear order is. If the tone-perturbation rule is interrupted by having a +basic toneme on a component other than the first component, then this must be understood as a recycling process that indicates the beginning of a new phrase in parenthesis:

([⁺(||nā) tarals di) ||gūgu
 (that woman's springbuck)
⁺(||nā), [⁺(tarals di) ||gūgu
 (those, a woman's springbuck / those springbuck
 of a woman).

The latter phrase has comma-intonation. - Tone-rules can therefore overrule certain ordering rules i.o. to preserve the intended meaning. But usually such a violation is avoided by apposing one of the modifiers.

3.2.2. The adjunction of modifiers

In the previous section (3.2.1.) certain surface constraints pertaining to the order of modifiers were described. It remains a task for future research to explain how this selectional mechanism works. -

A further practical problem to be dealt with in this dissertation is the "shifting" of phrase designants, be it \emptyset (ge), -a, di, -i or -e. The synthetic method has been criticised in the introduction (section 1.2.). It will now be argued that the P^d is not attached to a word, but to a phrase, viz. not to the head-NOUN, but to the NOUN-PHRASE as a whole. But before this is proved, it must be explicated how it comes about that modifiers to the right of the head-constituent (i.e., appositions) must carry a copy of the head- N^d .

A few examples may illustrate the problem:

- S216 + + - - - - -
 Aob ge nē kaira taras-di #au ||gūga ra mû.
 man (s) this old woman's tame springb. pr.i see
 (A man is seeing this old woman's tame springbuck.)
- S217 + + - + - -
 Aob ge kaira taras∅ nēs-di #au ||gūga
 man (s) old woman this-she(poss.) tame springb.
 ra mû.
 pr.i see
 (A man is seeing an old woman's, this one's tame
 springbuck.)
- S218 + + - + - +
 Aob ge #au ||gūgu kaira taras∅ nēs-disa
 man (s) tame springb. old woman this-she(poss.)
 ra mû.
 pr.i see
 (A man is seeing the tame springbuck of an old
 woman, of this one.)

In S216 taras is followed by the "genitive" P^d di; in S217 taras is - apparently - followed by "nominative" ∅; yet taras is still the possessor. The same is true for S218. But in addition the "oblique" -a has been detached from the object-NOUN (*||gūgu+a > ||gūga): The object-NOUN is followed by ∅, while -a has been "shifted" across two NOMINALS, each with a different P^d (∅, di).

Examples more complicated than these could easily be quoted. But the given sentences may suffice to show that the "shifting rules" stipulated in the traditional grammars are, to the least, confusing, as the constituents are not grouped properly. The following is a rough ICA breakdown, just for the purpose of illustration:

S216 NP_{oblique}: {[({ [nē kaira tarals]~di) (+au) ||gû]*gu}a

NP_{genitive}: {[(nē) (kaira) tarals]~di

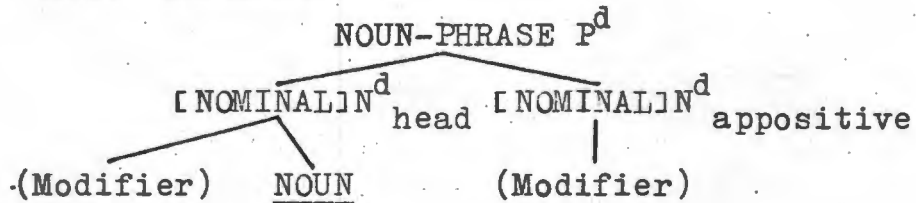
S217 NP_{oblique}: {[({ [(kaira) tarals [(nē)]s}di) (+au) ||gû]*gu}a

S218 NP_{oblique}: {[(+au) ||gû]gu [({ [(kaira) tarals [(nē)]s}di)]s}a

By means of the brackets it becomes clear how the P^ds -a and di always stand at the end of the NOUN-PHRASE, which is demarcated by the braces { }. This category dominates the NOMINAL containing the head-constituent, and - if present - also one or more appositive NOMINALS. NOMINALS in turn can dominate attributive or pronominal modifiers (indicated by parentheses), next to the head-NOUN. It is thus clear that a "unit" bigger than the NOMINAL is needed, which can dominate a head-NOMINAL as well as one or more appositive NOMINALS. For the purpose of distinction this all-comprising "unit" is called {NOUN-PHRASE}; the head-phrase and appositive phrases [NOMINALS], and the head-constituent of the head-NOMINAL a NOUN. The NOUN has, according to our definition, the form #lexical formative + N^d#. Any pronominal modifiers, i.e., headless phrases fall under NOMINAL. The distinction between NOMINAL and NOUN-PHRASE is arbitrary, as in current linguistic literature these

terms are usually used as synonyms.

D.8 The NOUN-PHRASE



If there are no attributive modifiers and no appositions, then the lexical entry under NOUN constitutes at the same time the entry for NOMINAL and NOUN-PHRASE.

In terms of the phrase-marker D.8 a P^d is never directly attached to the N^d of a NOMINAL. Hence it is a misrepresentation to state that P^d s are "shifted" from the NOUN, which thereafter appears in the nominative form, i.e., with zero-suffix.

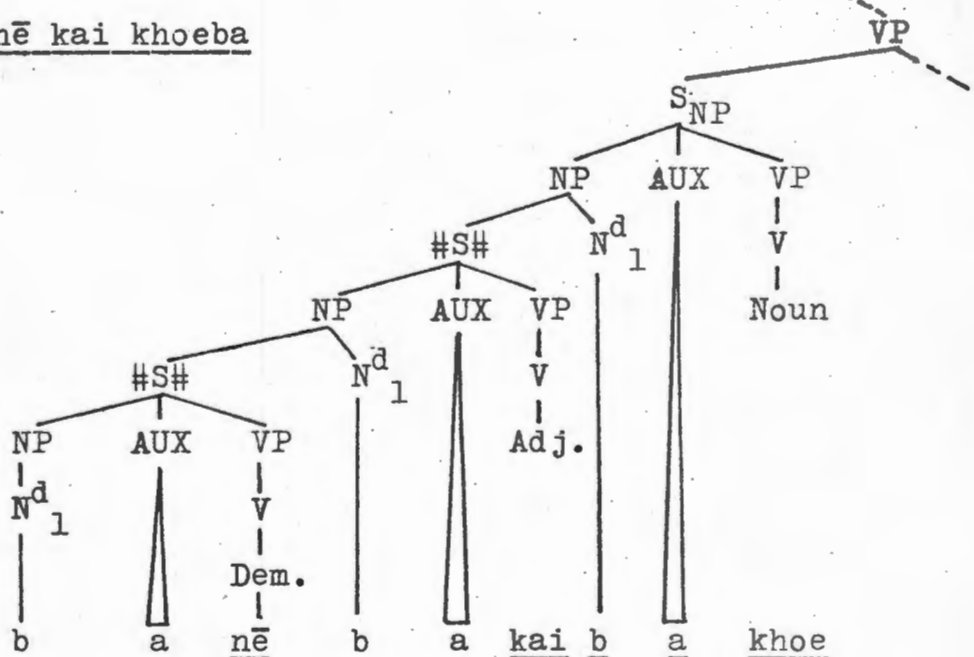
- The fact that modifiers to the right of a head-NOMINAL carry a copy of the N^d of the head-constituent needs some further explication.

In section 3.1.3. it was shown that NOUNS are derived from underlying "copular" sentences whose AUX (to the left of N^d) has been deleted. If the AUX is not deleted, then the surface structure is considered to be a relative sentence. - It is now contended that all adnominal modifiers are derived in a similar way, as they all can occur in the distributional frame $\#\Delta\sim N^d$ (a) _____#.

NOUN:	ĭb ge (a) <u>khoē</u> .	(He is (a) human.)
Demonstrative:	ĭb ge (a) <u>nē</u> .	(He is this.)
Article:	ĭb ge (a) <u> ĭ</u> .	(He is he.)
Adjective:	ĭb ge (a) <u>kai</u> .	(He is big.)
Possessive:	ĭb ge (a) <u>taras di / ti</u> .	(He is a woman's / mine.)
Numeral:	ĭb ge (a) <u>lgui</u> .	(He is one.)

The transformational process is the same as has been sketched for the NOUN. The underlying sentence gets "copular" status by inversion (#V AUX N^d#). As such it is a NOMINAL (a pronominal relative clause/sentence, e.g., kai a-b (he who is big)). The AUX a may be deleted, whereby the relative sentence becomes a "reduced" phrase, viz. a demonstrative/article/ adjectival/numeral or possessive modifier. An abridged phrase-marker has the following shape (for the purpose of illustration the object-NP is taken, cf. D.3, p.192)⁴³).

D.9 nē kai khoeba



The following phrase-structure rules can be formulated accordingly:

S \longrightarrow NP AUX VP
 NP \longrightarrow (S) N^d
 VP \longrightarrow (S) V
 etc.

Since #S# is a recursive element several adnominal sentences can be embedded. The order and degree of embedding is subject to constraints not yet known, as was said in the introductory words of this section. Since every NP of an embedded #S# in the phrase-marker D.9 is subordinate to a higher NP each N^d is the same as the highest N^d of the object- S_{NP} . The nominalization rule (cf. p.191) ensures that both V as well as AUX are moved to the left of the N^d in the embedded sentences #S#, but not in the object- S_{NP} . In the latter S only V is moved to the left.

When through raising the boundaries of the embedded sentences are removed, the N^d of that sentence is deleted (viz. equi-NP-deletion)⁴⁴). It then depends on the semantic context (in most cases) whether AUX is deleted or not. If it is not deleted, then the resultant modifier is a relative sentence.

This cycle is repeated until all sentences dominated by the NP of the object- S_{NP} have been raised. The

object-S undergoes the necessary permutations to yield the oblique form {NOUN-PHRASE}a, as was set out on p. 191. A subject-S would be transformed into the nominative form, as it is dominated by a node NP.

The phrase-marker D.9 illustrates how it comes about that modifiers to the left of a head-constituent can only refer to this head-constituent, and how it comes about that they appear without a "concording" element (N^d). The reason is that their derivation complies with the recoverability condition, which states that an information-losing transformation (in this case equi-NP-deletion) may be performed in only two situations:

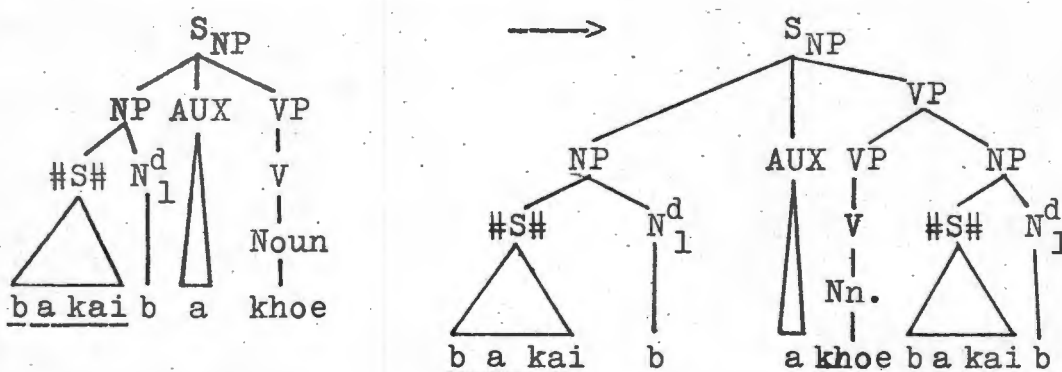
"(1) the element to be replaced or deleted is identical to some other element in the P-marker, or (2) the element to be replaced or deleted is a constant single element." 45)

The first situation applies in the present case. In effect this amounts to the proximity rule which states that a modifier modifies the first head-constituent to the right of it, i.e., there can be no doubt about the reference of a modifier - provided tone rules do not overrule syntactic rules by means of comma-intonation (cf. p.235/236).

- How does this principle of meaning-preserving apply to appositions? - The input P-marker is the same as for attributive modifiers (D.9), for in Nama the natural

position for modifiers is to the left of the head-constituent. If a modifier is to be displaced from the left side either obligatorily (because of constraints) or optionally (for reasons of style), then the NP dominating the embedded modifying S is moved to the right side of the string S_{NP} by means of "Chomsky-adjunction"⁴⁶):

D.10 Chomsky-adjunction



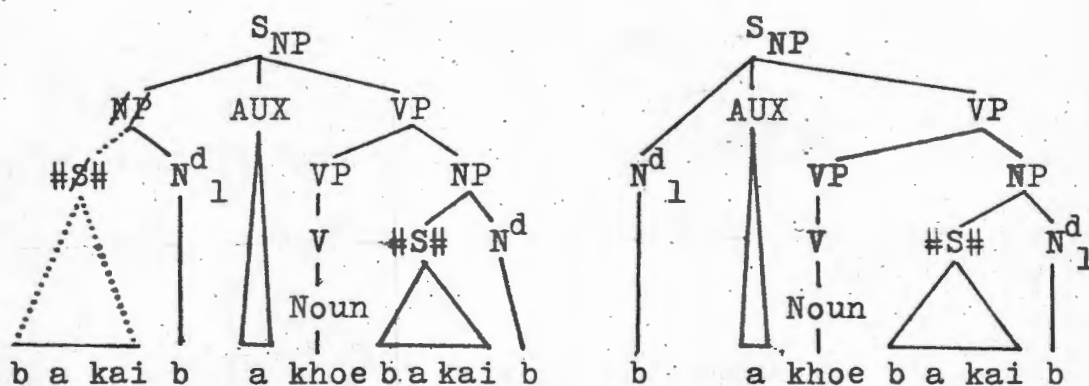
Note that Chomsky-adjunction can only be applied to the node NP (i.e. dominating $\#S\#$ and N^d_1), not to the embedded $\#S\#$. This automatically brings about that the N^d is adjuncted as well, i.e., the modifier will be followed by an N^d in the terminal string. This means that the modifier becomes a head-less NOMINAL functioning as apposition.

- But the question still remains unanswered how the P^d can occur to the right of the rightmost apposition.

The next step after Chomsky-adjunction is the deletion of the original modifying $\#S\#$. After this optional

constituent of NP has fallen away the node NP can be culled out (viz. "tree-pruning") so that N^d_1 is dominated directly by S_{NP} . The following P-markers illustrate two transformations simultaneously:

D.10-1 Deletion and pruning



The next step is a permutation to bring AUX into final position. This transformation is triggered by the fact that S_{NP} is not dominated by another node NP (viz. nominalization rule).

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{SD: } \quad \underline{N^d} \quad \underline{AUX} \quad \underline{VP} \\
 \quad \quad \quad 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad \longrightarrow \\
 \text{SC: } \quad 1 \quad 3 \quad 2
 \end{array}$$

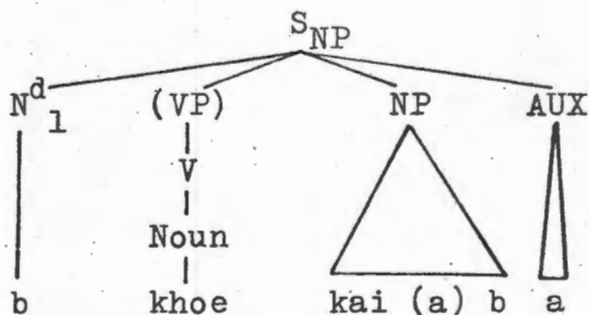
In the same way the nominalization rule effects that the embedded $\#S\#$ is re-arranged to the form

$$\# V (AUX) N^d \#.$$

Thereafter $\#S\#$ is raised, i.e. the boundaries of $\#S\#$ are deleted whereby the subject of the embedded S (i.e., N^d) is in turn deleted (equi-NP-deletion). The N^d

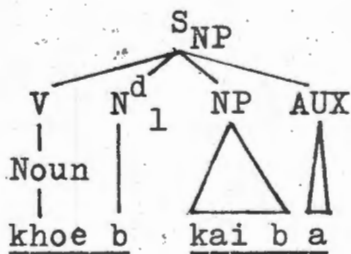
dominated by NP cannot be deleted. The entire NP (being an inverted sentence) is then raised so that it is dominated directly by S_{NP} .

D.10-2 Raised apposition



After a permutation moving VP (i.e., V) to the left of N^d (as N^d may not stand phrase-initially) the NOUN-PHRASE khoeb kaiba will emerge as terminal string:

D.10-3 Terminal P-marker



This P-marker is self-explanatory: The appositive NP (NOMINAL, in our terminology) must carry a copy of N^d_1 , as it (NP) is not dominated by N^d_1 and information would thus be lost. Both the appositive NP and $\#V N^d\#$ (which again is NOMINAL) are jointly dominated by S_{NP} (i.e. NOUN-PHRASE), which also dominates AUX.

This, incidentally, is another proof that the "phrase-designant" a is an inherent part of a NOUN-PHRASE_{oblique}. For this reason the object of a sentence - which has been categorically labelled as S - can never appear without a, irrespective of sentence-type.

The nominative form has no node AUX as rightmost node due to the nominalization rule. AUX has been moved to the left of N^d where it is deleted if the lexical entry (under V) demands it. This means that there actually is no case designant \emptyset in Nama. The zero-symbol is an explicatory device which indicates not that a node (AUX) is lexically unspecified (cp. Z in D.6), but that the N^d is immediately followed by the boundary #.

- The conclusion to be drawn from the presented theory is that Nama is not a natural case language. The constituent "NOUN" has one form only:

lexical entry + N^d #, e.g. # khoe+b #.

A NOUN can appear only once in a declarative sentence, and that is in the slot of NP. Any other verb-linked NPs have to be embedded in VP. They either appear under the node S_(NP) (as embedded predications), i.e.,

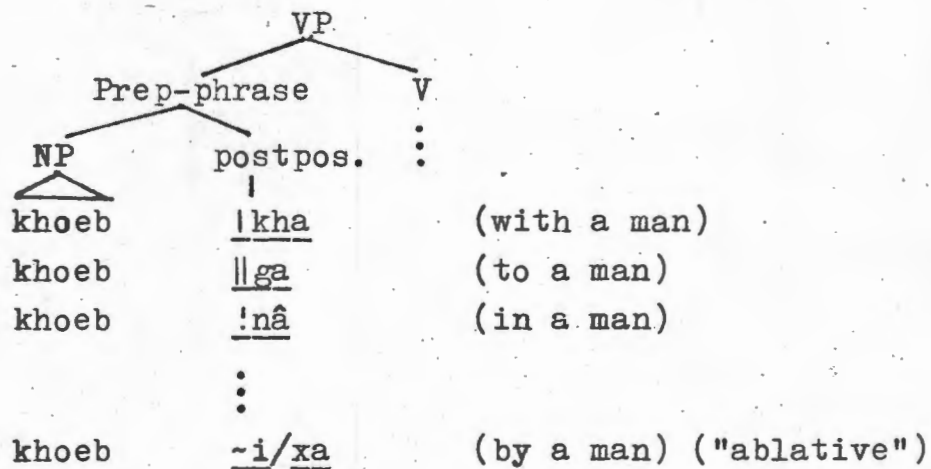
lexical entry + N^d AUX #,

or as Prep-phrases under the node Adv. Prep-phrases have the form NOMINAL~postposition. The "postposition"

can be one of those morphemes which are traditionally considered to be postpositions, e.g., ai (on), tawa (at), !nâ (in), etc.etc. (cf. a.o. Rust 1965:31).

These traditional postpositions can all be supplied with a translation tag. - But it is furthermore suggested here that for formal reasons the "ablative" morpheme -i is not an inflexional suffix: It should also be dealt with as a "postposition".

D.11 Prep-phrase



Similarly, there is no indication that the genitive morpheme di has a place in the underlying structure of a NOMINAL in the way -a is a component of the underlying sentence. Like other postpositions di is a morpheme that is adjuncted to a (nominative) NOMINAL.

3.3. Some examples of NOUN-PHRASES

This section by way of conclusion provides some sample sentences of the more typical occurrences of the NP in Nama⁴⁷⁾. The purpose of the examples is to show what a crucial role sentential nominalization plays in Nama syntax. They may furthermore give the reader insight into the problem and the opportunity to check by means of observation whether the consequences of the dissertation are valid. Some particular usages are high-lighted briefly, as the use of !khaes/!khais (affair, matter) for the formation of "that-sentences", the use of Prep-phrases, the use of copular sentences and the use of appositions. The usages illustrated are a selection only of the more typical usages.

3.3.1. Attributive modifiers

S219 |Nisi-n ge f[(₄sadu !ādi ge ||īdi
 perhaps they (s) your villages rm.p their
 |onde hō |gausa +an)₄ khoe|n[(tsī)|n]a
 names find manner know people and-they
 gorose ūi hâ.
 still live remain
 (Perhaps there are still people living that
know how your villages got their names.)

The NP in braces is an extrapositional subject (the subject-N^d being -n). The attributive modifier (₄...) ₄

can be further analyzed into:

$$({}_4\{[({}_3\{[({}_2\{[({}_1\text{sa})_1]\text{du}\}^*\text{di})_2 \text{!ā}]\text{di}\} \emptyset \text{ ge}\{[({}_2\{[({}_1\|\text{i})_1]\text{di}\}^*\text{di})_2 \text{!on}]\text{de}\} \text{hō})_3 \text{!gau}]\text{s}\}a \text{+an})_4^{48})$$

To commence with the most deeply embedded lexical entry: sa and ||i respectively are pronominalized articles (...) ₁ in possessive modifiers (...) ₂ where di is deleted optionally. The object (!gau) of the relative sentence (...) ₄ modifying the head-NOUN of the matrix-sentence is modified itself by a relative modifier (...) ₃. Note that the entire (extrapositional) NP is in the oblique form: [(attrib. Mod) ₄ NOUN]N^d [(appos. Mod)]N^d a.

3.3.2. The formation of "that-sentences" and other subordinate sentences

S220 ||b ge kaise gere *khio!nâ {[(ôasas nî
 he (s) very rm.p.i dissatisfied daughter fut
 !nari-aob |kha !game) !khaels}a-b gere *âio.
 thief with marry matter he rm.p.i think-when
 (He was very dissatisfied when he thought that
 (his) daughter must marry a thief.)

This sentence illustrates how subordinate "that-sentences" - this is the term for the English equivalent - are embedded in a matrix sentence. The embedded sentence is introduced as a relative sentence modifying

the NOUN !khaes/!khais ⁴⁹⁾ (affair, matter, business, case). Obviously !khaes can appear as subject or object of the matrix sentence. If the sentence is not very clear then the relative sentence appears in attributive function to !khaes. But if the sentence is uncomplicated then !khaes may be omitted, i.e., the relative sentence appears in pronominal function. This usage occurs frequently in normal speech. Relative sentences occur rarely if ever in apposition to !khaes. The pronominal equivalent of S220 would be:

S220-1 ||Īb ge kaise gere +khîo!nâ {[(ôasas nî !nari-aob
!kha !game)]s}a~b gere +âio.

The free translation is the same as for S220.

The following examples need no particular comment as the bracketing sufficiently reveals the constituent structure. (In order not to obscure the relative sentence NPs embedded within that relative sentence are usually not bracketed. The same holds for other NPs which are not relevant to a particular issue.)

S221 |Ams ai~b ge sĪ go hō+ui
point on-he (s) arrive rc.p find-out
{[(Petrub nî i) !khae]s}a.
Peter fut.s matter
(Eventually he found out that it must be Peter.)

S222 !Urisitse, !gû, its sī {[(tare #khuwi-i
 Urisib, go so that-you arrive which noise
 saob ||aos |khāb ai hâ) !khae|s}a
your-father's grave's site on remain matter
 kōba te re!
 look-for me (hort)
 (Urisib, go and look for me what noise there is
from the direction of your father's grave!)

3223 Sada ge nētsē |nisi ra buru{[(khoe-i ra
 we (s) today perhaps pr.i wonder person pr.i
 ||gam-e |onsa mā) !khae|s} xa.
 water name give matter by
 (Today we are perhaps puzzled by the fact that
a person gives a name to a water-place.)

Note that !khaes is the head-constituent of a Prep-
 phrase in the last sentence: xa (from, by) denotes the
 ablative (cf. section 2.2.2.4.).

S224 {[(₁Nē #hōatani-aob tsin a #an
 this messenger and-they pr.s know
 {[(₂tari-i ra #âisāhe)₂ !khae|s}a)₁
 who pr.i think-wrong-pass. matter
 !khae|s}a~b ge ra hō!â.
 matter he (s) pr.i sense
 (He senses that this messenger too knows who
is suspected.)

This sentence is an example of multiple embedding of
 {(Mod) !khaes}. The equivalent matrix sentences would

be:

Δ~b ge !khaesa ra hō!â.
(He is sensing (the) matter.)

Nē #hōatani-aob tsîn ge !khaesa a #an.
This messenger too knows (the) matter.)

Tari-e ra #âisāhe?
(Who is suspected?)

It follows from the rule of equi-NP-deletion that the subject-N^d of the relative modifier can only be deleted if it is co-referential with the N^d of the antecedent (i.e., the head-noun which is modified by the relative);

e.g.

{(Mû te _ go) khoeb} ("direct" relative)
(A man who saw me)

{(Mû ta go khoeb) ("indirect" relative)
(A man whom I saw)

Unless it is explicitly emphasized the object of the "indirect" relative sentence is deleted as well if it refers to the antecedent:

{(||îba ta go mû) khoeb}
(A man whom I saw)

If the object is to be mentioned it must be mentioned by means of a pronominal modifier (article), not by means of an anaphoric clitic:

*{(Mû bi ta go) khoeb}

Olpp (1917:72) lists "!keisa" and "!keie" as a conjunction "dass" (that) which appears at the end of a subordinate sentence. He does, however, introduce a separate chapter on "that-sentences", where he writes (1917: 88):

"Das Namawort für 'dass' ist entstanden aus dem Substantiv !keis = Sache. Behält man das im Auge, so erklären sich leicht die verschiedenen Formen."

It is rather unfortunate that in the revised version of Olpp's handbook by Krüger (forthcoming) !khaes as a conjunction is retained, but the latter chapter ("Dass-Sätze") dealing with !khaes as a subject- or object-NOUN is omitted.

3.3.3. Appositive and pronominal use of modifiers

S225 {[(Kai) |am]mi [(sada !hüb !nâ +nôa !ādi di)]b}
 big point our country in sit towns(poss)-he-
 ge nētsē ||gamdi londe tani hâ.
 (s) today waters' names carry remain
 (The majority of the towns in our country today
 bear the name of the water-place.)

Note that the apposition in itself is an example of multiple embedding. Sentences of this intricacy are not seldom in Nama:

S225-1 (4[(3{[(2{[(1sa)1]da} *di)2 !hūlb} !nâ +nôa)3 !āldi)4

Modifier (...) ₂ consists of a pronominal article (...) ₁ serving as possessive NP modifying !hūb (country). Di is deleted. Modifier (...) ₃ is a relative sentence modifying !ādi (towns). The relative sentence itself contains a Prep-phrase with !nā (in). Modifier (...) ₄ is a pronominal phrase apposited to the head-NOUN !ammi (point, ending).

S226. |Ae||gam hâ, |Ā+gome hâdi ge
 Fire-water remain Wet-thigh remain-they (s)
 {[(!gâi) ai||gauldi [(||gamdi londe ge ū
 good examples waters' names rm.p take
 !ādi di)]de}.
 towns poss.-they
 (Places like Windhoek and Okombahe are good examples of towns that took over the names of the water-place.)

The apposition itself consists of a head-noun (!ādi) with a relative modifier (...) ₂. The object of the relative is in turn modified by a possessive di-phrase (...) ₁, di being deleted:

$$({}_3\{[({}_2\{[({}_1\{[||gam]di\} *di)_1\} lon]de\} ge \bar{u})_2\} \underline{!ā}di\} di)_3$$

The actual head-noun, serving as complement of the COP sentence is ai||gaudi. Its oblique form would be ai||gaude (*di+a > de). According to the "traditional" explanation this P^d a is displaced and "shifted" to the

end of the string. It is conceivable that, apart from being methodologically unjustifiable, this "synthetic" explanation can be confusing to the novice, as the P^d may have to be "shifted" over several N^ds and other P^ds.

S227 {[(Arib #û tama)]-i} xa au te re! (Rust 1969:7)
 dog eat ng. it from give-me (hort.)
 (Please give me from what a dog does not eat.
 - i.e. tobacco)

In the above sentence the relative modifier has pronominal function as no head-constituent occurs. Note that this is a Prep-phrase.

3.3.4. Prep-phrases

S228 {[(#Naukhâi gu~ts nî)]s} ai!â~ts ge
 beat-rise them-you fut-it before-you (s)
 ||khawa nî āsī gu.
 again fut let-drink them
 (Before you (will) chase them up (to the pastures)
 you must let them drink once more.)

S229 Tsi~gu ge{[sâtoals]} khao!gâ ge ... xanu.
 and-they (s) rest-finish-it after rm.p walk
 through water
 (And after "finishing to rest" they walked through water.)

S230 {[(Hamo)]s}a xu-ts laesen hâ?
 when-it from-you ill remain
 (Since when are you ill?)

NPs with adverbial function are followed by a postposition. Adverbial denotations are expressed in that the phrase is nominalized (by "adding" -s). This pronominally functioning phrase is then followed by a postposition. Verbs can simply be nominalized (S269); AUX need not be present as with relative modifiers - unless the tense needs to be marked (S268). Adverbs can also appear pronominally and be followed by a postposition (S270), e.g.

[(nēsi)]sa xu (from now on); cf. nēsi (now)
 [(nēsara)]sa xu (from now on); cf. nēsara (now)
 [(||ari)]sa xu (since yesterday); cf. ||ari (yesterday)
 [(nētse)]sa xu (since today, from today on);
 cf. nētse (today)⁵⁰.

Krüger (forthcoming:115) writes in connection with
 Prep-phrases:

"As die naamwoord waarop die relatiefsin betrekking het, met 'n agtersetsel verbonde is, dan verskyn hierdie agtersetsel nie direk na die naamwoord nie, maar wel direk na die voornaamwoordelike agtervoegsel wat aan die einde van die relatiefsin staan, bv.

{[|Gôa]b [(tātse ||nâu tide)]b} toa ta ge mî ...

An die seun wat nie kan hoor nie het ek gesê ..."
 (brackets and underlining mine)

It is not essential that the relative sentence appear as apposition to the antecedent (!gôab). Like any normal modifier it can precede the antecedent as attribute. In that case the postposition (!oa) naturally follows the head-constituent directly:

{[(Tātse ||nâu tide) !gôab] !oa ta ge mî ...
 never hear ng.f boy towards I (s) say
 (To the boy that will never listen have I said ...).

3.3.5. Co-referential copular sentences

Nama very frequently prefers copular to predicative constructions. Compare the following paraphrases:

S231 {Nē mû+amaob}a tari hân gomana nî kō!gâ?
 this supervisor who be-they's cattle fut look-
 after
 (Whose cattle must this supervisor look after?)

S231-1 {[(Tari hân gomana nî kō!gâ) mû+amao]b}a
 {[(nē)]b}a?
 (Whose cattle must this supervisor look after?
 - literally: Is the supervisor that will look
 after whose cattle this one?)

S231 is a predicative sentence, while S231-1 is a copular sentence. Such co-referential COP sentences frequently make use of demonstratives. Compare also the following examples:

- S232 {[(Nē !āb #āun !aroma go amase hōhe)
 this place's berries reason rc.p really find-pass.
 ||ō]b} ge {[(nē)]b}a.
 death (s) this-he
 (This one is a death that was really found for
 the sake of the berries of this place. - lite-
 rally: A death that was found for the sake of
 the berries of this place is this one.)
- S233 {[(||Au a) mari]-i} ge {[(||nā)]-e}.
 in vain pr.s money (s) that-it
 (That money is nothing. - literally: Money
 which is nothing is that one.)
- S234 {[(Sa xoab khama ī) xoa]b}
 your handwriting like look-like handwriting
 ge {[(nē)]b}a.
 (s) this-he
 (This handwriting looks like your handwriting.
 - literally: A handwriting that looks like your
 handwriting is this one.)

Some of the most intricate Nama sentences are based on
 the relatively simple structure of the co-referential
 COP sentence:

#{[NOMINAL]N^d} ge {[NOMINAL]N^d}a#.

- S235 {[(Hoa da ra #an)]s} ge {[(mâ ani-i hoa-i
 all we pr.i know-she (s) what bird all-it
 ma]i-i nī ||khana !khaesa a #an)]s}a.
 where-it fut fly place pr.i know-she
 (All we know is that every bird knows where it
 must fly to.)

The complement of the above sentence is a pronominalized S-O-V sentence:

{[(Mâ) ani]-i [(hoa)]-i} ∅ {[(ma|i-i nî ||khana) !khaels]}a a #an.

S236 {[(|Uni khoeb hîa ge Vulindlelab !āros
last man while rm.p Vulindlela's homestead
!nâ tare-i !goaxa !khaesa #an)]ni}∅ ge {[(Vusi|b)}a.
in what-it approach matter know-he (s) Vusib
(The last person that realized what was going on
in Vulindlelas homestead was Vusib.)⁵¹)

3.3.6. Extended minimal copular sentences

Minimal copular sentences (viz. #{[lexical entry]N^d}ge#) can be "extended" by means of modifying phrases just as any other NP:

S237 {[(Tarexa) (||nātikōse a !hoa |uixa!nâ)
what-kind that-much pr.s crooked rocky-in
||gam]-e} kha?
water then
(What a water-place is it that is so full of
crooked rocks?)

The following etymology of the place-name Hoachanas illustrates how attributive modifiers are frequently pronominalized. As such the original phrase frequently becomes a unified NOMINAL concept:

- S238 {[!Hoaxa:nâ) ||gam]s} ge.
 (It is a water-place full of crooked rocks.)
- S239 {[(!Hoaxa:nâ)]s} ge.
 (It is "Hoachanas".)

The following quotation, by way of conclusion may once more illustrate the central hypothesis of this dissertation: That all NOMINALS in Nama are inverted sentences in the underlying structure:

- S240 ||Nāxū te, {[(!nai ge ||ō) khoelta] ge!
 leave me already rm.p die person-I (s)
 (Leave me in peace, I am a person that has
 already died!)

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER 3

- 1) The word "internal" is superfluous, as "syntax of X" means "syntax of anything dominated by the node X". The "occurrence of NPs" falls thus under the "syntax of the sentence".
- 2) By "structure" the "linear ordering of elements" is meant.
- 3) Rust (1965:57) mentions two forms. He calls them "Stellung A" and "Stellung B". They correspond to S109 and S115-1 in this dissertation.
- 4) At this stage it is simply accepted empirically that the object precedes the predicate in Nama.
- 5) Note that this sentence has basic lexical tone on the object. Otherwise the sentence would be interpreted as copular, provided that the N^ds are identical:
- ⁺ {Aob} ge ⁺ mû ra ⁺ {gao-aob}a.
 (A man is seeing a chief.)
⁺ {Aob} ge {(⁺mû ra) ⁻gao-aob}a.
 (A man is a seeing chief.)

In the latter sentence the profile of the complement head-constituent is perturbed by the presence of a relative modifier (cf. p.231). The structural similarity between the predicative and the copular sentence is probably the reason that this structure is not readily used if a predicative meaning is to be conveyed.

- 6) S118 can be understood as a COP sentence as well:
- {(Tarasa ra mû) aob} ge.
 (It is a man who is seeing a woman.)

There is no tonal distinction between the copular and the predicative sentence. This seems to be evidence that (lexical) tone rules are surface rules in Nama.

7) The structure of S131 can convey copular meaning besides predicative meaning if the N^ds correspond:

{(Mû ra) taras} ge {'gametaras}a.

(A seeing woman is a spouse.)

Again there is no tonal distinction.

8) S132 can have both copular and predicative meaning: "It is a man who is seeing a woman. / "A man is seeing a woman." S132-1 is understood as copular sentence only: "The one who is seeing a woman is a man."

9) Cf. D.3 on p.192 for the sentence categories:

S → NP AUX VP

VP → (S) V

It appears to be impractical to include AUX under VP as the position of AUX (but not of V) is crucial to the interpretation of a sentence, as will be shown soon. If AUX + V are referred to jointly the term "predicate" is used in this dissertation.

The position of the object (viz S_{NP}) is insignificant in the P-marker. In rewrite-rules V should be understood as "VP (without object)".

10) An important amendment will have to be added later: This constraint applies only if the subject-NP contains a lexical entry. Cf. S137 Mû-b ge ra. (He is seeing.) The significance of this amendment is discussed in section 3.1.3.

11) Although this sentence is accepted as grammatical the AUX a is usually omitted; cf. constraint No. 4, p.142.

12) It is thus not correct when Günther (1969:60) writes:

"Mit Hilfe des Inflektivums kann als erstes eine grobe Einteilung in flektierte Formen gemacht werden, z.B. xaweb, khoi-b, ||e'ib, ..."
(italics mine)

13) Note the difference between free and bound N^d s in the following sentences:

+
Hais !gao~b ge gaxuse go ||goe i.
 (He has lain under the tree for long.)

Hais (di) !gao+b ge gaxuse go ||goe i.
 (The trunk of the tree has lain for long.)

14) Cp. the expletive (place-holder) there in English which is limited to the subject-position in its meaning-preserving function:

"Some people believe in academic freedom." >
 "There are some people who believe in academic freedom."

15) Greenberg (1963:103) comments on the fact that it is a universal tendency

"to mark the end of units rather than the beginning."

16) An omission is not considered to be an alternation with the \emptyset -morpheme, as one could argue in the case of ge and \emptyset . The omission of di is not compulsory and any competent speaker intuitively knows that di should follow the possessive modifier.

17) Ge has indeed never been treated as a nominative marker in the handbooks. But it is never explicitly stated why ge is not considered to be a case-suffix - considering that it always stands in immediate proximity to the subject- N^d . Furthermore, there is no unanimity as to what the function of ge really is. It will be the next step in this dissertation to establish its function.

18) The occurrence of \emptyset to the left of appositions is of no concern here. It is discussed in section 3.2.2.

19) Meinhof (1909:72) maintains that the -i is the

ablative -i ("das i des Instrumentalis").

20) The term "sentence-modality" is used in order to avoid confusion with tense-"mood" (e.g., stative, inchoative, etc.).

21) The classification in NAMA/DAMARA Orthography No. I (1970:67) of kom ... o as a "conjunction" is not acceptable.

22) This means that from now on the sentence-abstract for an independent declarative sentence has to be modified to

{[NOM]N^d}∅ ge ...

23) Bach (1964:143): a "placeholder in a construction"; cf. also endnote ¹⁴⁾ for there.

24) It has been suggested to us that if two NPs occur before VP, the first NP must carry the pointer as to what is the subject. If the first NP is not the subject, then a copy of the N^d plus subject-marker (ge) migrate to the first constituent. The real subject-phrase then takes the suffix -a as ge can appear only once in a sentence. Section 3.1.3. will show why this theory does not fit into the grammatical model proposed in this dissertation.

The conjecture that the extrapositional subject is an embedded co-referential COP sentence seems to be supported by the fact that the tonal profile of the extrapositional subject is the same as that of an object or the complement of a COP sentence:

O-sé ge tǎrá'sè ra mû.

and-we (s) women pr.i see

(And we women are seeing.)

O~s ge tárá'sè ra mû.
 and-she (s) women pr.i see
 (And she is seeing us women.)

Cp. the complement - followed by an apposition to eliminate possible tonal downdrift - in the following COP sentence:

Sasé ge tárá'sè ||nae rasè.
 we (s) women sing pr.i-we
 (We are women, singing ones.)

The lexical tone is unperturbed; the grammatical tone of N^d+P^d (-se) is lowered (on those N^d s where tone can be lowered.)

If the extrapositional subject is taken to be the complement ("object") of an embedded COP sentence, then the contradiction is eliminated that the subject appears in the "accusative" form. But this explanation is a notional ad hoc explanation.

25) The slot Δ to the left of the subject- N^d is a surface slot in the terminal sentence. It is not a component of the underlying P-marker; cf. D.2.

26) The rule given in NAMA/DAMARA Orthography No. I (1970:71) is definitely incorrect:

"In direct interrogative sentences the pronominal suffix appears in the accusative."

27) This means, when it is asked whether a particular action does take place or not, viz. "Do you (verb)?" This kind of question is a yes/no-question

28) Copular sentences with AUX and the oblique form (N^d_a) are frequently used in the New Testament. These forms seem to be in disuse today.

29) Some informants do accept sentences like "Sakhom ge a sikhom \emptyset ", while others reject them emphatically.

30) cf. Lyons (1968:266):

"an embedded structure ... is the transform of a string which could also serve as the underlying structure for a whole sentence, but which 'functions' as a constituent of another sentence ('matrix'-sentence). In a certain sense it is a sentence within a sentence." (italics and bracketed insertion mine)

31) This fact may be a strong reason to formulate the base string of a Nama sentence as $V N^d AUX$. The present discussion will operate with the structure $\Delta \sim N^d AUX V$, as it is concerned with surface structures in the first place.

32) Bach's argument (1964:89) that the extraposing transformation is an optional transformation is not convincing as far as Nama is concerned. It is an obligatory transformation once some or other lexical item has been moved into the initial slot.

33) AUX can consist of a separate tense-marker and a mood-marker; cf. D.6, p.200.

Ge is accommodated directly under S_0 as it indicates sentence-modality (cf. section 3.1.2.3.). This convention is in accordance with the convention to mark, for instance, P-markers of interrogative sentences with INT. Cf. D.1 for that.

34) In: Lyons (1968:335). Hockett's grammatical "topic" is not to be confused with the emphasized topic of a sentence, which in Nama usually stands in initial position.

35) Cf. Bach (1964:116) about equi-NP-deletion:

"This rule deletes the subject of an embedded sentence under identity with an NP in the next higher sentence."

Since (S) is an optional category of NP, equi-NP-deletion ("equi-N^d-deletion") applies in the given context.

36) The term "complement" is in this dissertation confined to copular sentences. It is not used in its wide traditional sense as

"any word or phrase (other than the verb itself) which is an obligatory constituent of the predicate" (Lyons 1968:345).

37) Some informants do accept COP sentences with non-concording complement, e.g., Petrub ge Anasa, ||ikha ge sikhoma. We have some reservations about these sentences, as their figurative interpretation makes it difficult to distinguish between grammatical and ungrammatical forms.

38) It will be part of the task of developing a formal grammar for Nama to argue for the deep-structure position of NEG. Cp. Stockwell et al (1973:231 et seq.) on negation in English, where it is pointed out that the matter is still "very much an open question". All that can be said at this stage is that all negation in Nama ultimately comes from the negation of a sentence. This confirms Bach's doubt (1968:97) that there are two kinds of negation: sentence negation and "sentence element" negation.

39) The tone rules that apply between Demonstrative and Relative are ignored here as special occurrence.

40) Dempwolff (1934: chapters 23,24,37) has correctly labelled and translated modifiers to the right of a noun as "appositions".

41) Articles and demonstratives (i.e., those modifiers that "determine" definiteness) unlike other modifiers can appear in apposition to the left of the head-NOMINAL:

$\{[(\|\hat{i}) (kai) \underline{khoeb}\}]$ (that big man)
 $\{[(\|\hat{i})]b, [(kai) \underline{khoeb}\}]$ (he, the big man)
 $\{[(\|\hat{i})]b [\underline{khoeb}\}]$ (he, the man)
 * $[\underline{khoeb}]b [(\|\hat{i})]b$
 * $[(kai)]b [(\|\hat{i}) \underline{khoeb}]b$
 * $[(kai)]b [(\|\hat{i})]b [\underline{khoeb}]b$

and also

$\{[(n\bar{e})]b [\underline{khoeb}\}]$ (this one, the man)

etc. For this reason the head-NOMINAL in the P-marker D.8 (p.239) has been marked explicitly as head. The above occurrences prohibit the stipulation of a convention that the left-most NOMINAL always dominates the head-constituent.

42) Proof of a morpho-syntactic nature that modifiers to the right of a head-constituent are not an integral part of that head-NOMINAL, but are separate appositive NOMINALS is provided by the following kinship terminology (quoted here with masculine denotation):

(ti) $\underline{\hat{i}b}$ ((my) father)
 (ti) $\underline{\hat{o}ab}$ ((my) son)
 (ti) $\underline{\hat{g}ab}$ ((my) brother).

These nouns can only occur if preceded by an (attributive) possessive. $\hat{o}ab$ and $\hat{g}ab$ can appear without possessive, but only in the form $\underline{\hat{g}oab}$ and $\underline{\hat{g}asab}$ respectively. The fact that the former forms and $\hat{i}b$ cannot be used with "appositions" seems to be strong evidence that these "appositions" are indeed not constituents of the head-NOMINAL:

- [(gao-aob di) ôa]b (a chief's son)
 * [(ôa]b [(gao-aob di)]b
 [(!gôa]b [(gao-aob di)]b (a son, one of a chief)
 [(gao-aob di) î]b (a chief's father)
 * [(î]b [(gao-aob di)]b
 [(gao-aob di) !gâ]b (a chief's brother)
 * [(!gâ]b [(gao-aob di)]b
 [(!gâsa]b [(gao-aob di)]b (a brother, one of
 a chief)

43) The annotation "NP" on the node S (i.e., S_{NP}) is put in for explicatory purposes only.

44) In section 3.3.1. it is pointed out that in so-called "indirect" relative sentences the subject- N^d cannot be deleted. Naturally this applies to possessive di-phrases as well, as the possessor cannot be the possessee (i.e., the antecedent):

[(aob di) tarals] (a husband's wife).

45) Bach (1964:100)

46) Cf. Bach (1964:86): in Chomsky-adjointing an element (NP) to a node branch (VP), at first a new, higher copy of this node (VP) is created. The element to be adjoined (NP) and the branch labelled VP are then entered as sisters under the new node (VP).

47) The examples are quoted from schoolbooks written by J.Boois and the author of this dissertation unless stated otherwise. No bibliographical references need therefore be given. It is on purpose that quotations from other sources are used, as they are examples of actual performance (even though in writing), i.e., they are not contrived to suit the purpose of this dissertation.

48) For obvious reasons the closing brace } cannot appear

between the N^d (di) and the P^d (a) in londe. In such cases it is placed behind the morpho-phonemic junction.

49) !Khaes and !khais are both accepted in Nama orthography as dialect variants. In the construction of "that-sentences" they can also be used with the neuter N^d.

50) Historically the postposition xu is to be understood as a verb xū (leave, abandon). For this reason the preceding NP occurs in the oblique form, for it is indeed the object of xū. The "adverb" nētsesa xu (since today) should literally be interpreted as
 [(nē) tsēlsa xū (leave this day).

51) In: STRYDOM, C.L.C.1976. !Khana hâ abaros xa. Transl. by !Harobeb. Windhoek:Native Language Bureau. p.31.

4. CONCLUSION

It was shown in this dissertation that Nama is not a case-language in the way assumed hitherto. The underlying system that determines the phonetic realization of subject and object of a sentence is not based on semantic criteria (i.e., deep-relations like agent, benefactive, etc.) but on a hierarchical principle distinguishing only "rectus" (nominative) and "obliquus" (oblique).

It was reasoned that - for practical purposes - case-nomenclature may be used for Nama, provided that it is made explicit that this "case"-system is distinct from that of Latin. It was shown furthermore that in Nama any inflexional morpheme follows the NOUN-PHRASE as a whole, but that it is not an integral part of the head-constituent. This is not so in Latin case: In its traditional understanding "case" is the property of a word. Therefore it is not permissible to maintain that Nama has a "case"-system. It is suggested here that the principle underlying Nama syntax is called "phrasal-case" in order to distinguish it from the pre-empted term "case".

A re-assessment of the traditional approach to the NP of Nama could have sufficed with the proof that the

choice of the \emptyset or -a morpheme depends not on deep-case relation but on a syntactic hierarchy, viz. that only that subject marked in the subject-slot takes \emptyset , and that any subsequent NP takes -a. This statement may possibly satisfy the needs of a practical handbook - as far as the declarative is concerned. But such a statement is adequate at most on the observational level. It does not even account for the occurrence of the oblique form in certain interrogative sentences and in the "vocative case". The latter instances need ad hoc rules which explicitly mention these occurrences as "exceptions". Such rules are tantamount to a mere listing of primary data (as, e.g., the various occurrences of -a), as was done in section 2.2.2. These rules fail to uncover the underlying regularity that is fundamental to all Nama sentences and NPs, including the interrogative and "vocative".

In the present dissertation it was maintained that a satisfactory theory for Nama cannot be constructed, unless

- a) the investigation is conducted from the syntactic point of view, as against the morphological; and
- b) unless the existence of a deep-structure is recognized in principle.

Both principles are not new to general linguistic theory.

But hitherto they have been largely ignored in the description of Nama. Dempwolff indeed worked from the syntactic point of view. But as he had no first-hand source of information he could not systematically explore Nama syntax.

The conclusions reached in this dissertation about the NOUN-PHRASE were reached by commencing with an investigation of the syntax of the sentence. Only then could it be hoped to formulate rules that have systematic import for the entire language. Obviously an investigation of the NP alone cannot hope to achieve a degree of adequacy where rules can be formulated that are valid for all aspects of grammar. This is particularly true for languages like Nama that have "copular" one-word sentences, viz. Khoeb ge. From a morphological point of view khoeb is a NOUN; from a syntactic point of view it is a sentence "by default"; i.e., syntax and morphology cannot arbitrarily be separated in an investigation.

In this dissertation it was shown that the above minimal copular sentence is not a sentence by default, but that it is indeed a complete inverted sentence containing "subject" and "predicate". This argument, which interprets NOMINALS as sentences in underlying structure, is not a mere exercise in historical linguistics. It was not the purpose to trace the etymon of the "case-suffixes"

in order to prove that they are derived from non-case notions. But it is maintained that with the aid of this theory the notional (semantic) distinction between "topic" (Gegenstand) and "comment" (Aussage) allows the formal construction of a grammar on the following premises:

1. S → NP AUX VP
 NP → (S) N^d
 VP → (S) (S) V

2. A minimal sentence #S# (i.e., with a lexical entry only for V) has only two surface structures:

- (a) # V N^d AUX #
- (b) # V (AUX) N^d #

Structure (a) is always predicative in meaning, i.e., it is the structure where V constitutes the "comment"; structure (b) is copular in meaning, i.e., V constitutes the "topic". Structure (b) is the underlying structure for a NOMINAL.

3. A "nominalization rule" (p.191) stipulates that any S (i.e., # V N^d AUX #) which is dominated by a node NP must be transformed into the copular structure # V (AUX) N^d #.

As there appears only one node NP in any simple sentence only one NOUN can have the "nominative" form. Any other surface-NP is indeed an (embedded) sentence with the

"suffix" -a. (The transition from disjunctive a to a "suffix" -a is just a morpho-phonemic detail.) These rules account not only for surface-NOUN-PHRASES in declarative sentences, but also for the interrogative subject and the "vocative". They account for other "idiosyncracies" of Nama as well, to name only two:

- they account for the fact that NOUNS can be first, second or third person in Nama;

- and they account for the eighteen "untranslatable" "full pronouns" (p.75) that were newly recorded in this dissertaion.

The recognition of a category of "full pronouns" is one of the many instances of ad hoc descriptions in traditional analyses of Nama. It was not realized that "full pronouns" must be accounted for by the general rule # V (AUX) N^d #. If there is any morphological category in Nama that deserves to be labelled "pronoun", then it is only the nominal designant.

The theory developed supports the universal postulate that nouns are derived from underlying sentences (cf. Bach 1968).

But the research in this dissertation was conducted entirely language-specific. The intention was to clear

the way for a detailed and practical description of Nama according to a consistent theory. The principle of this theory has only been adumbrated in its most important aspects: A precise and detailed formulation is still needed. But if this outline will only show the way for future research into Nama, then a contribution has been made to the proper description of this language.

APPENDIX I: BASIC AND PERTURBED LEXICAL PROFILES

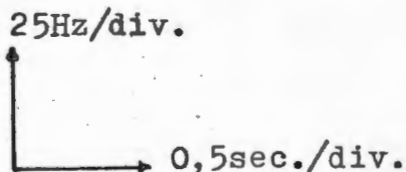
The following photographs display the fundamental frequency of the six tonemes listed in section 1.4.3.1., as obtained with the aid of a Real-Time-Analyser.

Each display consists of five profiles: the first gives the basic lexical profile; the fourth the perturbed lexical profile.

+		+	-	
[lexical entry]s ge.		!Gâi	[lexical entry]s ge.	
1	2	3	4	5

All lexical entries are quoted as NOUNS so that they can be accomodated in the same test-frame ("It is .../ It is a good ..."). For the aid of the reader the approximate average profiles are indicated in red. The exact tonetic details can be derived from the display:

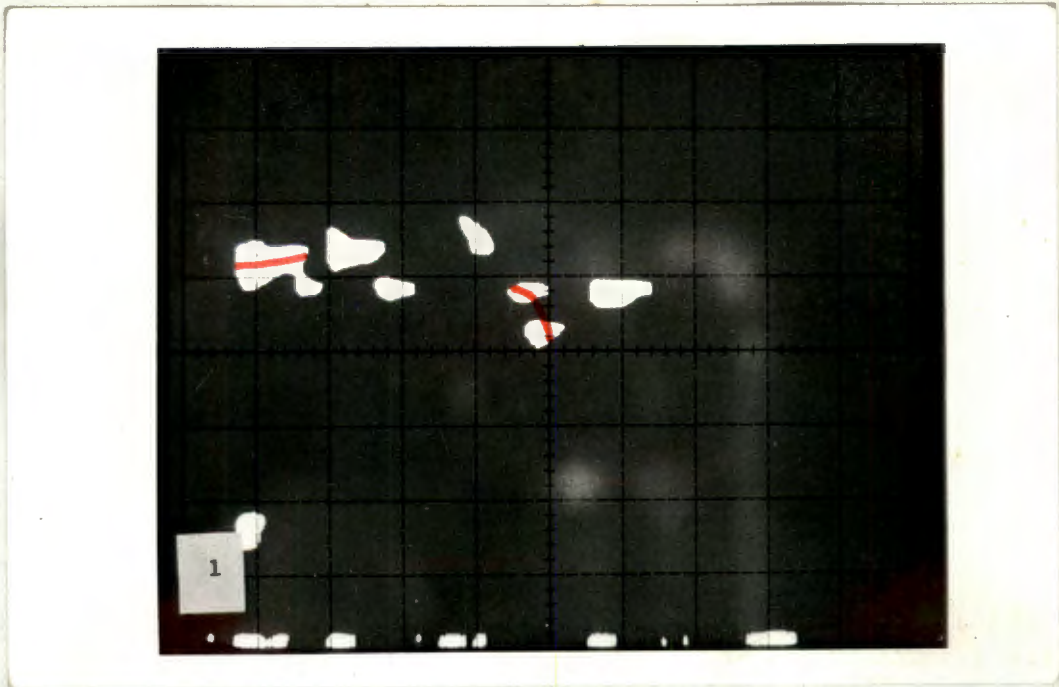
The vertical axis displays the frequency from 0-200Hz, i.e., 25Hz per division;
the horizontal axis displays the time at 0,5 seconds per division.



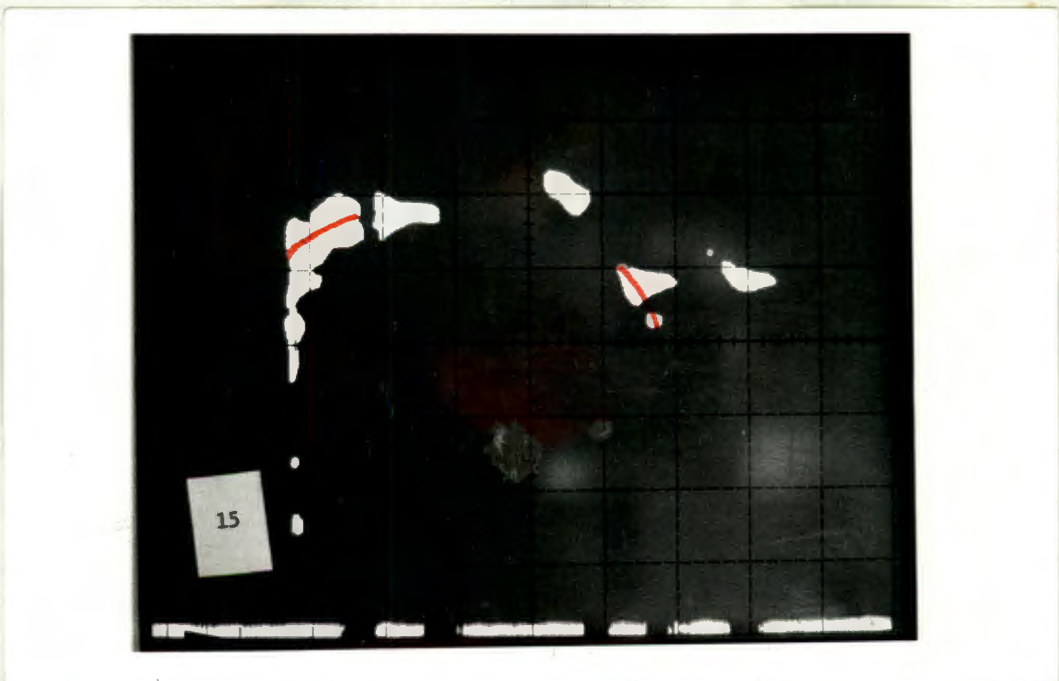
For each toneme a disyllabic and a monosyllabic stem is displayed.

DOUBLE LOW

The perturbed profile is the same as that for the HIGH toneme.



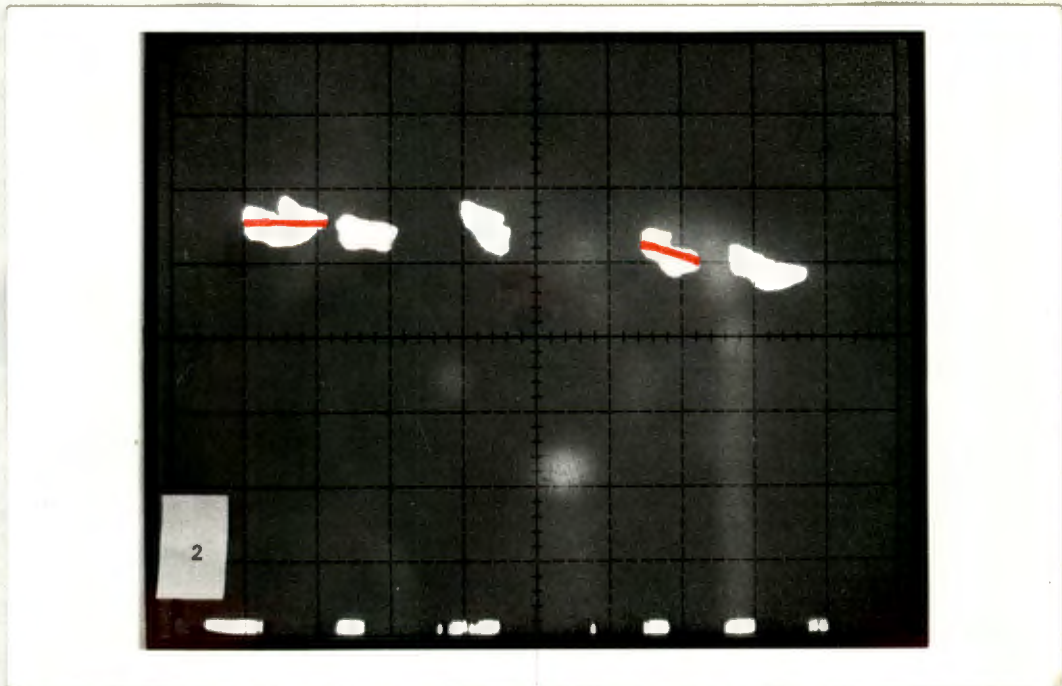
!gàrīb (river-bank)



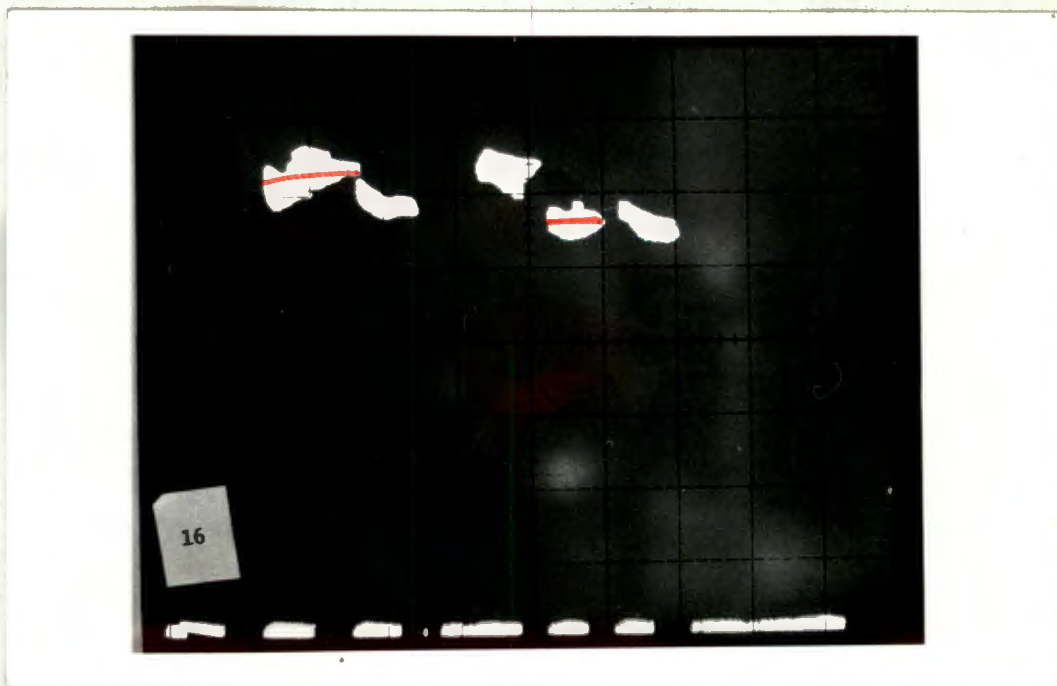
+gàns (jerking a rope)

LOW

The perturbed profile is the same as that for the HIGH-RISING toneme.



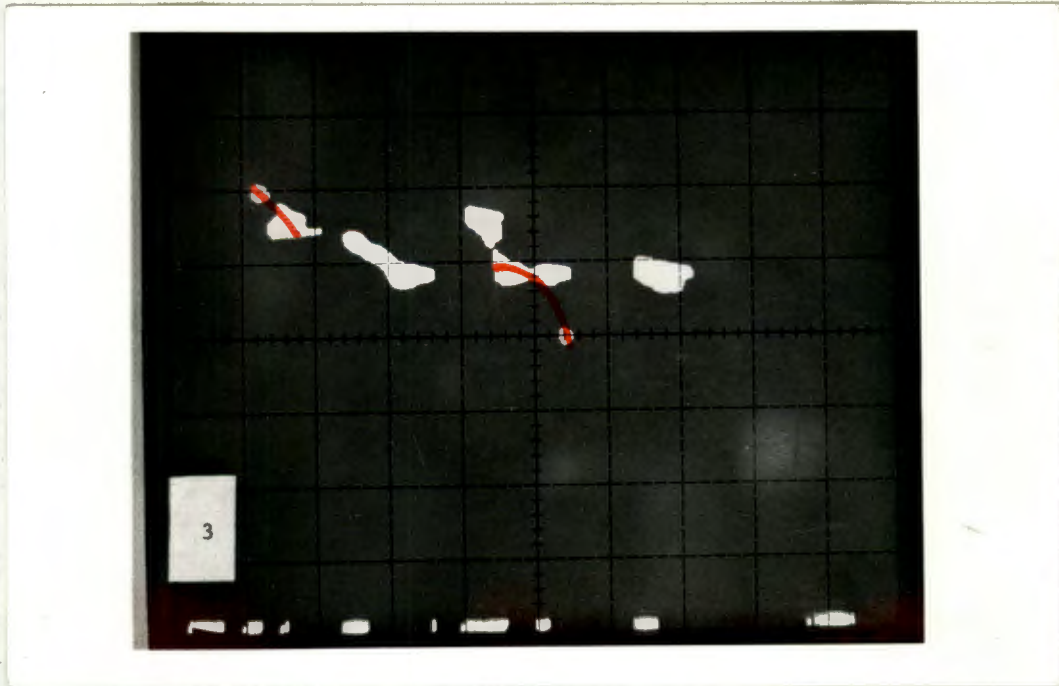
+gàrls (kind of "veldkos")



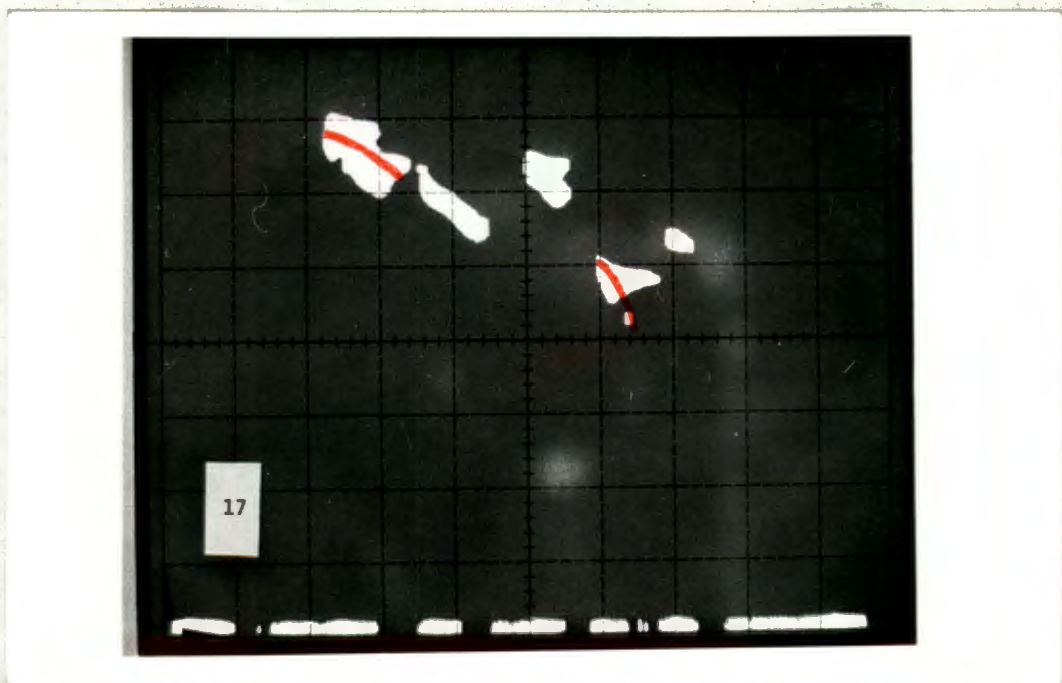
||àns (residing)

HIGH

The perturbed profile is the same as that for the
DOUBLE-LOW toneme.

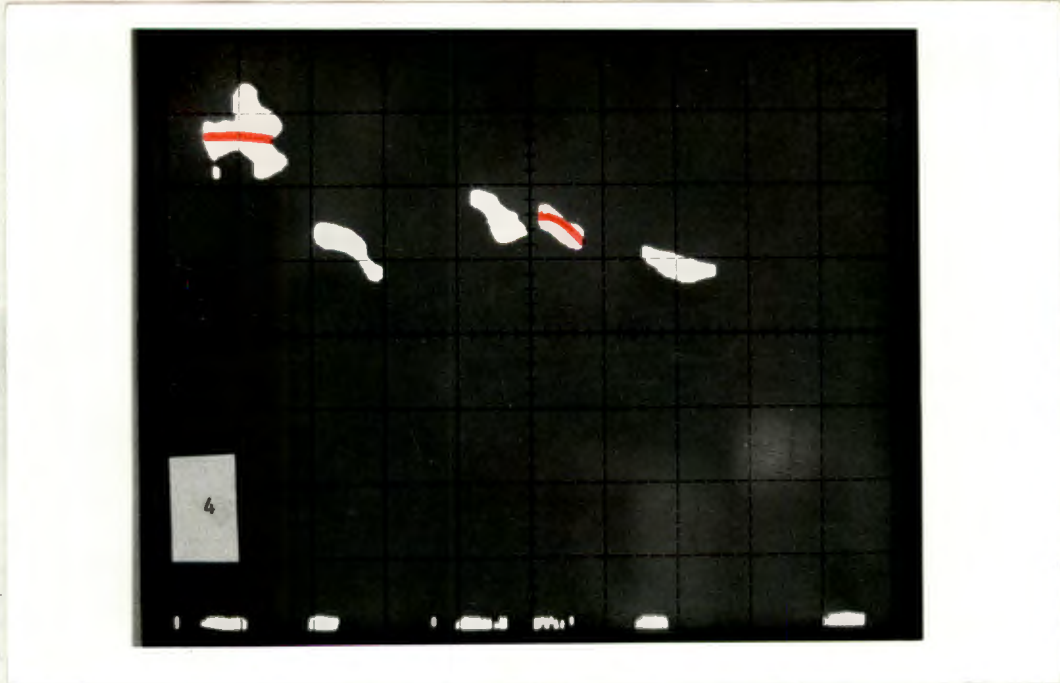


!gáwís (riding)

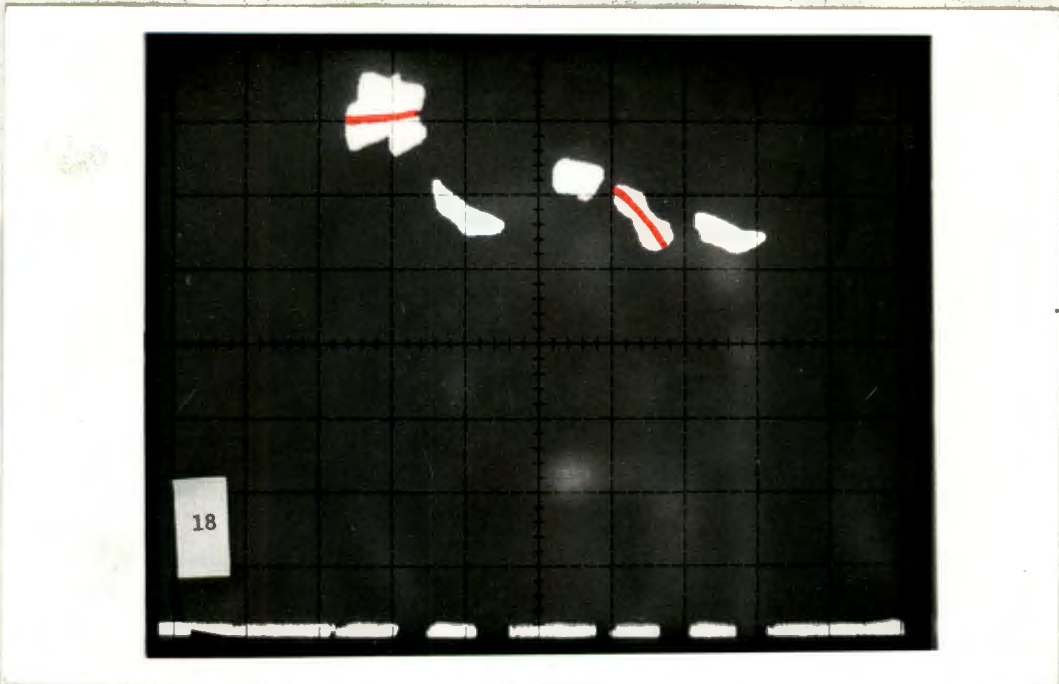


+gáns (gossiping in code)

DOUBLE-HIGH



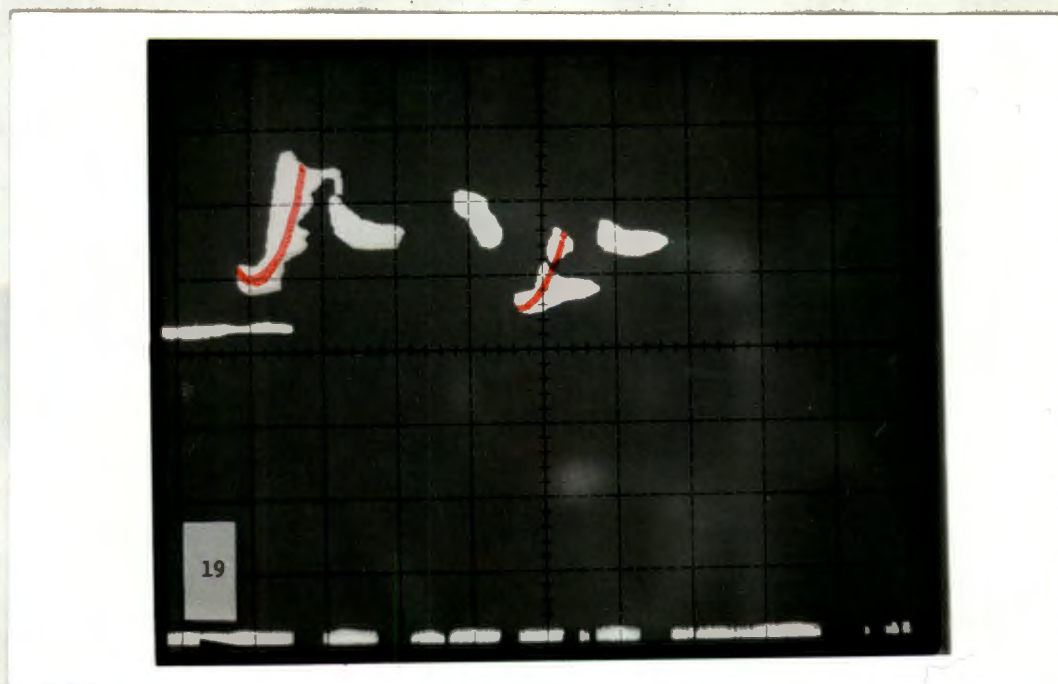
!gá'ís (hardness)



+gá'ns (closing)

LOW-RISING

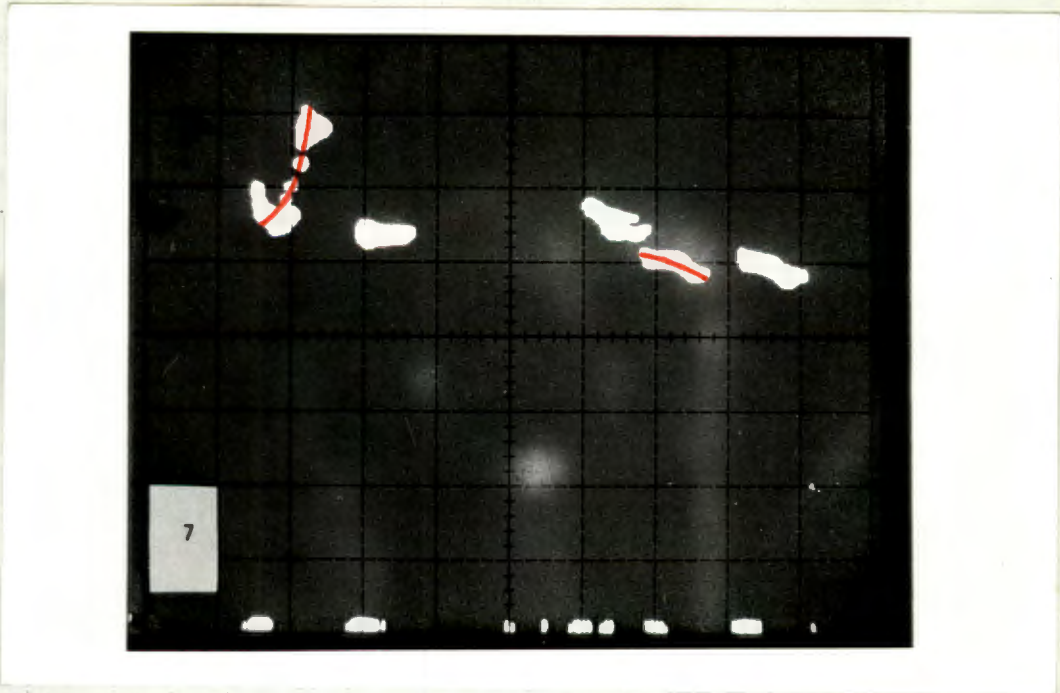
!gàrís (bitter-sweetness)



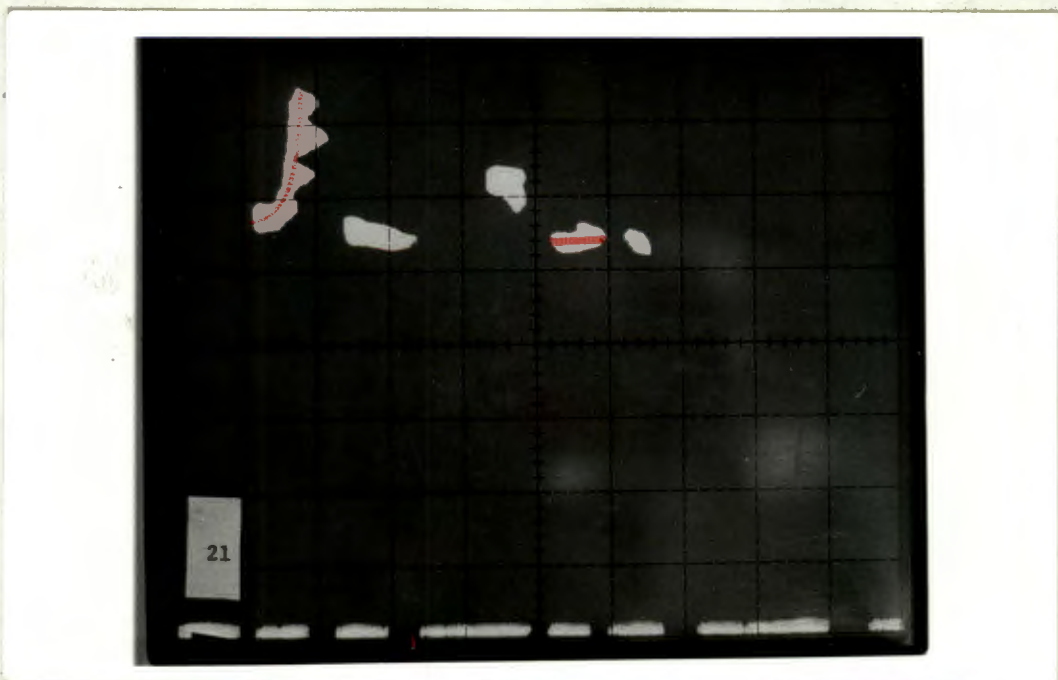
*gàms (frolicking)

HIGH-RISING (less)

The perturbed profile is the same as that for the LOW toneme.



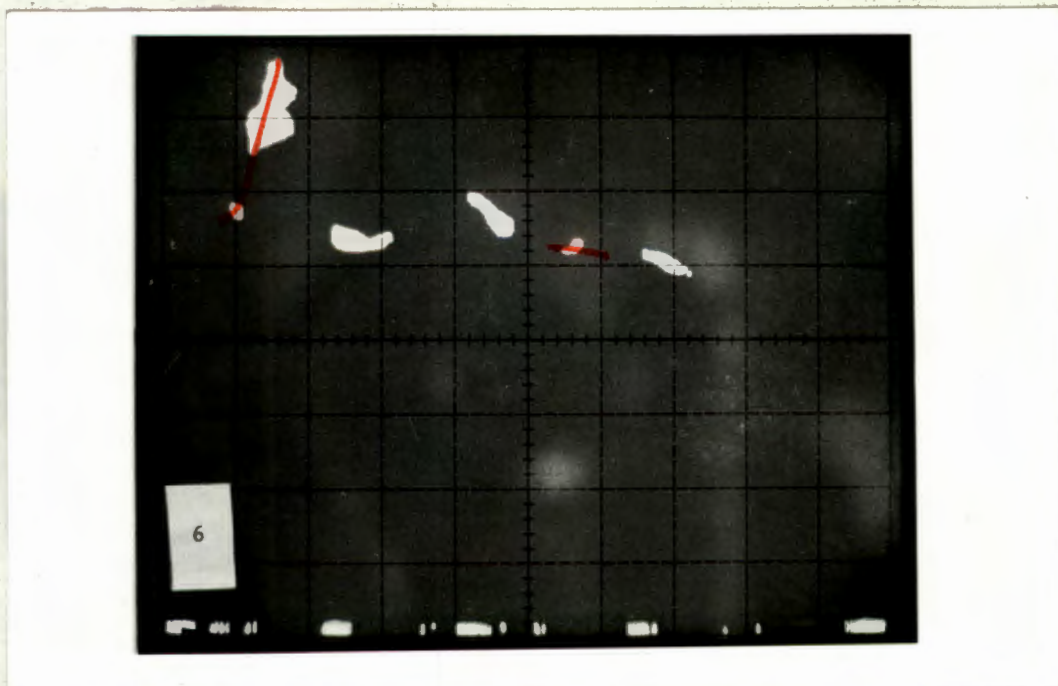
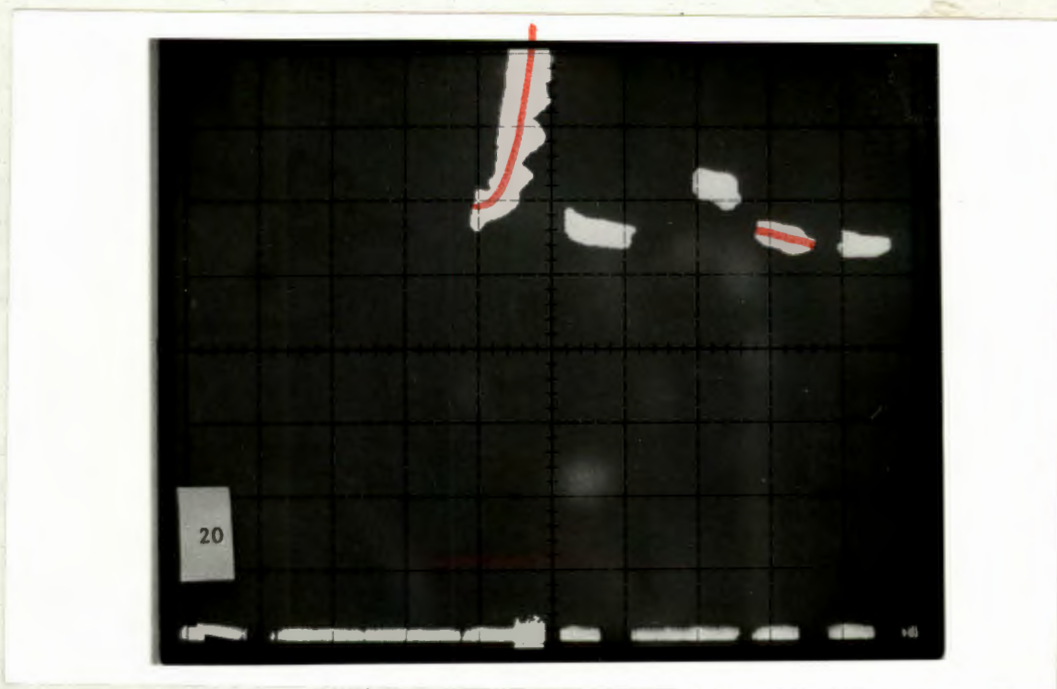
tárá's (woman)



||gās (thinness)

HIGH-RISING (higher)

The perturbed profile is the same as that for the
LOW toneme.

!gárf's (being quick)+gáñ's (requesting)

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