

Linguistic influence from Khoisan in Bantu

“*Speaking (of) Khoisan*”: a symposium reviewing southern African prehistory.

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0. Contact-induced changes

1. Borrowing

also called copying, recipient language agentivity

involves (some) multilingualism, no language shift

affects the lexicon, in case of superficial contact, and the grammar, in case of more extensive contact

transfer of forms, not patterns

2. Interference through shift

also called substrate, imposition, source language agentivity

involves multilingualism and language shift

affects mainly phonology and syntax

transfer of patterns, not forms

(Thomason and Kaufman 1988; Van Coetsem 1988; 2000; Winford 2003; 2007; 2013, among others)

1. Evidence of borrowing from Khoisan in Bantu

lexical borrowing

- loanwords in Nguni and Sotho:

- Zulu (Bantu, Nguni) *ú-m-qala* ‘neck’
- Xhosa (Bantu, Nguni) *ú-m-qala* ‘throat’
- cf. Nama (Khoekhoe) *!ara-b* ‘throat, gullet’ (Louw 1979: 14)
- Xhosa/Zulu (Bantu, Nguni) *i-dúbe* ‘zebra’
- cf. Nama (Khoekhoe) *doe-b* ‘mountain zebra’ (Louw 1979: 16)

- loanwords in Yeyi (Bantu):

- Yeyi *βù-/óá* ‘red’
- cf. Buga (Kalahari Khoe) */óá* ‘red, brown’
- Shua (Kalahari Khoe) */oa* (Sommer and Voßen 1992: 25)

- loanwords in Manyo, Mbukushu, Kwangali (Bantu, Kavango), Fwe (Bantu, Bantu Botatwe), Yeyi (Bantu):

Kwangali	<i>n/amúse</i> ‘poor person’
cf. Ju ’hoan (Kx’a, Ju)	<i>n!àmm</i> ‘poor person’
Manyo	<i>li-/wà</i> ‘shallow water’
cf. Central !Xuun (Kx’a, Ju)	<i>!wa</i> ‘vlei’
	<i>sáú</i> ‘shallow place in water’
North-western !Xuun (Kx’a, Ju)	<i>cāú</i> ‘shallow place in water’

(Gunnink *et al.* submitted)

- loanwords in Herero (Bantu, South-West-Bantu):

Herero	<i>o-tji-kaiya</i> ‘das Tuch’
cf. Nama	<i>/kèi-b</i> ‘das Tuch’
Herero	<i>-kayira</i> ‘reiten’
cf. Nama	<i>!gawi</i> ‘reiten’ (Meinhof 1910: 131)

grammatical borrowing

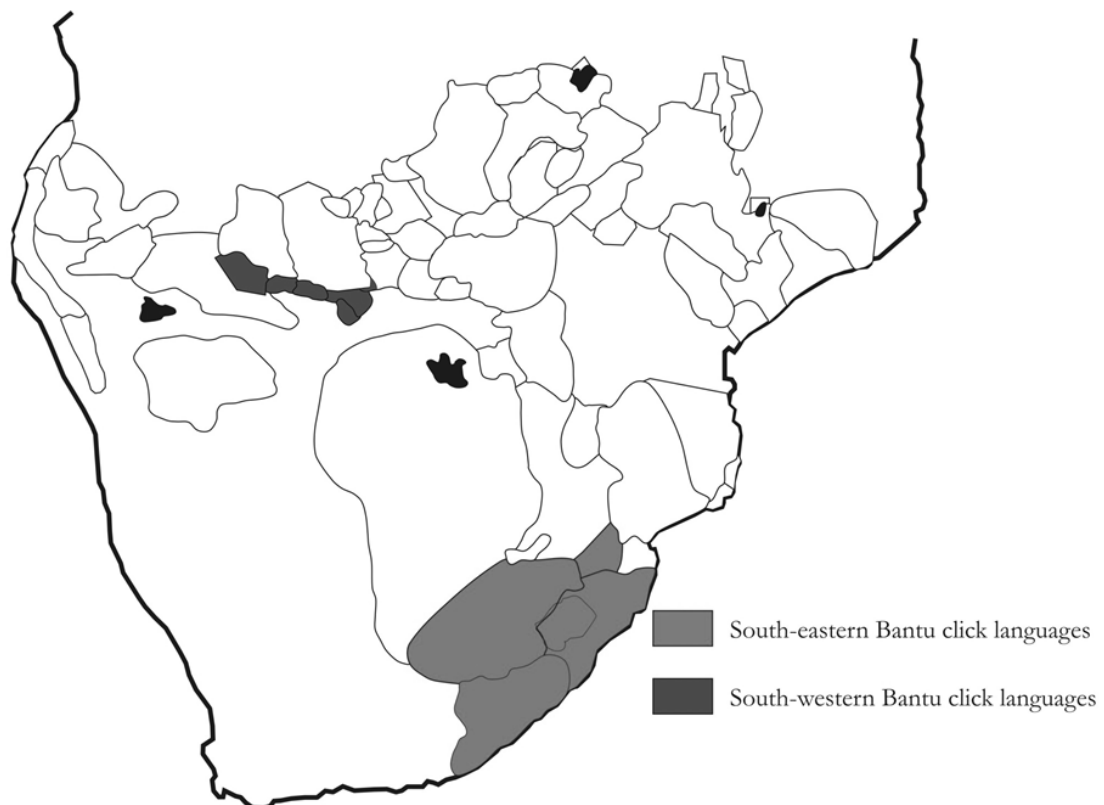
- causative suffix *-kawo* in Yeyi (Bantu) (Seidel 2008), cf. causative *-kaxu* in Naro (Kalahari Khoe) (Visser 2001), causative *-ka.xu/ka.hu* in Shua varieties (Kalahari Khoe) (Vossen 2013), Proto-Kalahari-Khoe causative **.ka(=xu)* (Vossen 1997: 350)
 - i-/ra-gjini* ‘to build’
 - i-/ra-gjini-kawo* ‘to cause to build’
 - i-/ra-gjini-sa* ‘to cause to build’ (Seidel 2008: 266-267)
- female suffix *-se* in Xhosa (Bantu, Nguni) used for personal names, cf. Nama (Khoekhoe) *-s* feminine suffix
 - í-ntombí* ‘girl’
 - ú-Ntombíse* ‘Ntombise (proper name)’ (Louw 1976: 90)
- suffix *-rha* in Xhosa (Bantu, Nguni) to derive adjectives, cf. Nama (Khoekhoe) *-xa* adjectival suffix
 - *mhlóphe* ‘white’
 - mhlóphe-rha* ‘whitish’
 - *í-ngwevu* ‘grey head’
 - ngwevu-rha* ‘greyish’ (Louw 1976: 92)

2. Evidence for interference from shift from Khoisan in Bantu

clicks

- in borrowed words (see previous)
- in native words
 - Zulu (Bantu, Nguni) *-/im-a* ‘to extinguish’
cf. Proto-Bantu **-dím-* ‘be extinguished; extinguish; get lost’ (Bastin *et al.* 2002)
 - Fwe (Bantu, Bantu Botatwe) *-/áp-ùr-à* ‘to tear’
cf. Proto-Bantu **-jápud-* ‘to tear’ (Bastin *et al.* 2002)
- in neologisms and ideophones
 - Fwe (Bantu, Bantu Botatwe) *^g/âz-à* ‘to shiver, fear’
^g/a ‘expression of fear’

Map 1: distribution of Bantu click languages (source: Sands and Bostoen (2009))



head-final compounds

- diminutive and feminine/augmentative suffix in Southern Bantu as structural influence from Khoisan (Engelbrecht 1925; Güldemann 1999)

-ana ‘diminutive suffix’ cf. -ana ‘child’

n-ja-ana Zulu (Bantu, Nguni)

NP₉-dog-DIM

‘small dog’

hi /kwa Hiecho (Khoe, Kalahari Khoe)

tree child

‘a bush or shrub’ (Güldemann 1999)

- head-final nominal compounds in Mbukushu (Bantu, Kavango), Herero (Bantu, South-West)

Mbukushu

mu-tjima-tji

NP₃-heart-tree

‘hairy corkwood (*Commiphora africana*) (Gunnink et al. submitted)

Herero

- omu-hama-ti

NP₃-?-tree

‘tree sp.’

- omu-hepu-ndu

NP₁-discontent-person

‘widow’ (Meinhof 1910: 135)

3. Contact-induced change in Fwe

Clicks

/ /	voiceless dental (/palatal/lateral) click	e.g. - ʒ ‘tasteless’
/ʘ/	voiced dental (/palatal/lateral) click	e.g. ʘima ‘fish sp.’
/ⁿ/	voiced nasal dental (/palatal/lateral) click	e.g. ku-ⁿ umeⁿt-a ‘to kiss’
/ⁿ̥/	voiceless nasal dental (/palatal/lateral) click	e.g. mu-ⁿ̥ api ‘frog sp.’

Lexical borrowings

Fwe (Bantu, Bantu Botatwe)	Ju (Kx'a, Ju)	Khwe (Khoe, Kalahari Khoe)	other Bantu Botatwe languages
mù-sâ ‘thief’	tc'â ‘to steal’ (König and	tc'ââ ‘to steal’	-

	Heine 2008: 67) ntf'a: 'to steal' (Doke 1925) đs'ää 'steel [to steal]' (Snyman 1975: 7)	(Kilian-Hatz 2003: 355)	
kú-sà 'to dig'	nɬáí 'grawe [to dig]' (Snyman 1975: 46)	cáo 'to dig' (Kilian-Hatz 2003: 263)	Totela -sya 'to dig' (Crane 2011: 72) Tonga -sya 'to dig' Ila -sha 'to dig' (Smith 1964: 285)
cì-rábi 'wound'	 hábí 'wound' (König and Heine 2008: 74) 'hábí 'wound' (Dickens 1994: 182) 'hábí 'seerplek, besering, wond, skaafplek [wound, scrape]' (Snyman 1975: 95)	-	-
kù-shúw-à 'to sweat'	tcò, tcù 'sweat' (König and Heine 2008: 66) tcòh 'sweat, perspire' (Dickens 1994: 161) ʃò: 'to perspire' (Doke 1925) tšö 'sweet [to sweat]' (Snyman 1975: 83)	-	Tonga, Lenje: -yuwa 'perspire' (Torrend 1931: 417)
shenga 'liver'	cj 'liver' (König and Heine 2008: 18) tchín 'liver' (Dickens 1994: 108) ʃŋ 'liver' (Doke 1925) tšhì 'liver [liver]' (Snyman 1975: 82)	-	-
rù-kànì 'jaw'	g ǎŋ 'chin' (König and Heine 2008: 34) g!aihn 'chin' (Dickens 1994: 54) ᵑ a:m 'jaw'; nɬaɪ 'jaw-bone, side of chin' (Doke 1925); g!ǎi 'kakebeen [jaw-bone]' (Snyman 1975: 21)	gyànií 'chin' (Kilian-Hatz 2003: 51)	-
ku-taba 'to answer'	tì tcà'ā 'answer, respond' (König and Heine 2008: 69) tabah 'answer' (Dickens	-	Ila -taba 'answer' (Smith 1964: 263)

	1994: 32) tàbà ‘antwoord, omdraai, terugkeer, omblaai, omkeer [to answer, turn, return, flip]’ (Snyman 1975: 72)		
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Map 2: approximate geographic position of languages mentioned here. (*Italics* indicate languages of the Khoe-Kwadi family. Underlined font indicates languages of the Kx’a family. The remaining languages are Bantu languages.)



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