

6 NAMIBIAN JUL'HOANSI IN CONTACT WITH SPEAKERS OF AFRIKAANS

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6.1 Jul'hoan-Afrikaans contact

Namibian Jul'hoansi have had prolonged contact with Afrikaans speakers most notably through their participation in the South West African Army. The geographic conditions of Bushmanland (the Bushman homeland under apartheid consisting of a portion of traditional Jul'hoansi lands), as well as the enforced segregation of Namibia through apartheid, lessened contact between Khoesan and Bantu groups. Thus, Namibian Jul'hoan loanwords illustrate direct contact between Afrikaans and Khoesan languages. Afrikaans loanwords are usually obvious, as there are so many structural dissimilarities between the languages. Yet, interesting assimilation patterns are also found.

6.2 Syllable structure repairs

Epenthesis repairs illicit consonant clusters, often resulting in trisyllabic roots that disobey the disyllabic root maximum. An epenthetic vowel, identical to the initial underlying vowel, is inserted between initial obstruent + liquid, and fricative + stop clusters:

(1) Epenthesis into obstruent + liquid clusters

<i>dōrōmā</i>	'drum, garbage container'	<i>fārūrū</i>	'floor'
<i>pālakisi</i>	'flip flops'	<i>būrūkhē</i>	'trousers'

Epenthesis into fricative + stop clusters

<i>sikore</i>	'school'	<i>sitora</i>	'store'
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The epenthetic vowel is prosodically weaker than the underlying vowels, resulting in more centralized vowels, when it creates a third syllable. Many loanwords are found in Dickens (1994) without epenthesis, due to the fact that bilingual Jul'hoan speakers often pronounce the words in correct Afrikaans pronunciation. Monolingual speakers always epenthesize.

Illicit final consonants (all consonants except [m]), are also repaired through epenthesis:

(2) Epenthesis following final consonants

<i>āpārā</i>	'apple'	<i>būrū</i>	'ball'	<i>k'ānī</i>	'milk can'*
<i>kētāngā</i>	'chain'	<i>rādā</i>	'councillor'	<i>pīnī</i>	'pen'

*Note that there is no height harmony in this root, presumably because the [i] is not underlying.

It is interesting to note that even final [ŋ] gains a final epenthetic vowel, which is evidence that final [ŋ] in roots like *n!āŋ* [n!ŋ] 'eland' is an allophone of [n] due to assimilation to the preceding click.

6.3 Illicit vowel sequences

Some Afrikaans words are borrowed into Jul'hoan with epiglottalization on the vowels:

(3) Modal Afrikaans vowels are epiglottalized

<i>rok</i>	'dress'	<i>hō'órók'hòè</i>
<i>baaidjie</i>	'jacket'	<i>bā'ā'iki</i>
<i>pyp</i>	'hose'	<i>pā'ā'i, pā'ā'ipā</i>

In the word 'dress', the presence of epiglottalization probably derives from the uvular Afrikaans [r]. The epenthesis of the initial syllable is due to the fact that [r] only occurs medially in Jul'hoan. In the word meaning 'jacket' [ai] is illicit. As shown by Miller-Ockhuizen (1999a: 316–19), co-articulation results in the diphthong [əi]. Additionally, the diphthong [əi] never occurs after a labial consonant. In the word 'hose', the [a'i] sequence arises through the assimilation of the Afrikaans front rounded vowel y [ø].

6.4 Direct contact

Visser (1998: 119f.) has claimed that many of the epenthized words in Naro are first assimilated into Tswana, and then later borrowed into the Khoesan languages in their epenthized forms. If this were always the case, then epenthized forms in Khoesan languages would not tell us anything about the structure of the Khoesan languages themselves. In (4) below, I give a few illustrative forms of Afrikaans loanwords in Jul'hoan that have native vocabulary forms in the neighbouring Bantu languages, or as with the case of the word 'chain', occur in very different assimilated forms in most other languages.

(4) Epenthized forms in Jul'hoan which correspond to native words in neighbouring Bantu languages¹

Afrikaans	English	Jul'hoan	Tswana	Herero	Kwangali	Mbukushu
<i>vloer</i>	'floor'	<i>fārūrū</i>	<i>bodilō</i>		<i>rugorongwa</i>	<i>thiramba</i>
<i>ketang</i>	'chain'	<i>kētāngā</i>	<i>kéētāne</i>	<i>ouketanga</i>	<i>elyenge</i>	<i>dyenge</i>
<i>pampoen</i>	'pumpkin'	<i>pāβū</i>	<i>lephutshé</i>	<i>otjimbakuna</i>	<i>etanga</i>	<i>dingadi</i>

Epenthesis in words such as 'pumpkin' is due to direct contact between Afrikaans and Jul'hoan, and indicates the disallowance of consonant clusters in the language. Of course, this does not rule out the possibility that some words, such as 'chain', may have entered through neighbouring Bantu languages, such as Herero.

7 HAILOM LANGUAGE CONTACT

Thomas Widlok

The Hailom language has not been subject to the same efforts of standardization and canonization as Nama/Damara has been. This may partly be due to the low public status of Hailom as a "Bushman" language but also due to a low academic status of Hailom as a "dialect" of Nama or even a "bowdlerized" version of Nama. Present-day Hailom speech includes borrowings from very different neighbouring languages. Borrowing from !Xūū seems to occur less than one may expect, given the frequent interaction in some northern areas of Namibia. Important exceptions are the "words" used in the Elephant Medicine Dance of the !Akhoe which is practised frequently today and which is said to originate from the !Xūū. The term for 'being in trance' itself is a compound verb, *!gaillo*, which is clearly related to the !Xūū lexeme *!aia* 'to fall into trance' (Dickens 1994: 309).

Even though the following analysis is restricted to processes of borrowing from non-Khoesan languages this should not suggest that Afrikaans or Oshiwambo are, or have always been, more important sources of innovation to the Hailom language than Khoesan languages. The Hailom/Akhoe lexicon shares many items with other Khoesan languages, in particular with Nama/Damara, so the line between shared origins and genuine borrowing