

## A G|ui 'Family Problems' Narrative Text

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This paper presents an interlinearized narrative text in G|ui, a Khoe language spoken in Botswana, collected by means of a stimulus-elicitation methodology for compiling corpora for the Social Cognition Parallax Interview Corpus (SCOPIC) project. A brief grammatical overview of the language is also provided.

Keywords: SCOPIC, G|ui, Khoe, narrative text, stimulus-elicitation

1. The G|ui language
2. Data collecting method
3. Text

### 1. The G|ui language\*

G|ui [ISO code: gwj] is a Khoe language spoken in Botswana, mainly in New Xade, Kacgae (Ghanzi district) and Khekhenye (Kweneng district) by about 800 people. Linguo-genetically, it belongs to the West Kalahari Khoe subbranch together with its neighboring languages such as Naro [nhr] and G||ana [gnk], in the Kalahari Khoe branch in the Khoe-Kwadi language family (Güldemann 2014).

This section gives a phonological and grammatical overview of G|ui which is relevant to help decipher the text in section 3.

#### 1.1. Phonological transcription

The G|ui text this paper provides is transcribed in accordance with the orthography employed by Nakagawa et al. (in preparation) for the segmental and tonal representations of the language, which is as follows:

The majority of the G|ui roots, i.e. lexical morphemes, are bimoraic, and they have six tonal contrastive melodies /áá/ HH, /áā/ HM, /áà/ HL, /āā/ MM, /àà/ LL, /àā/ LM, consisting of three level tones, High /á/, Mid /ā/, and Low /à/ (see Nakagawa 2006 for a detailed discussion). Some loan words and interjections are left unmarked with tone in the text.

There are five plain vowels /i e a o u/, three nasal vowels /ĩ ã ũ/, and two pharyngealized

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vowels /a u/.

Consonants exhibit a skewed word phonotactics that is shared with the other KBA (Kalahari Basin Area) languages (Witzlack-Makarevich and Nakagawa 2019). In G|ui, all consonants can occur in the root onset whereas only /b r m n/ and less frequently /j w/ occur in root-medial and /m n/ in the root coda. All the contrasts of the root onset are shown in Table 1, for click consonants, and Table 2, for non-click consonants, following the cluster analysis proposed by Nakagawa (2006).

Table 1 G|ui click consonants (Nakagawa 2006, Nakagawa et al. in preparation)

Plain		!	‡	
Voiced	g	g!	g‡	g
Aspirated	<sup>h</sup>	! <sup>h</sup>	‡ <sup>h</sup>	<sup>h</sup>
Ejective	'	!'	‡'	'
Nasal	ŋ	ŋ!	ŋ‡	ŋ
Plain+q	q	!q	‡q	q
Plain+G	G	!G	‡G	G
Plain+q <sup>h</sup>	q <sup>h</sup>	!q <sup>h</sup>	‡q <sup>h</sup>	q <sup>h</sup>
Plain+q'	q'	!q'	‡q'	q'
Plain+qχ'	qχ'	!qχ'	‡qχ'	qχ'
Plain+χ	χ	!χ	‡χ	χ
Plain+ʔ	ʔ	!ʔ	‡ʔ	ʔ
Plain+h	h	!h	‡h	h

Table 2 G|ui non-click consonants (Nakagawa 2006, Nakagawa et al. in preparation)

Plain	p	t	ts	c	k	q	ʔ
Voiced	b	d	dz	ɟ	g	G	
Aspirated	p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	ts <sup>h</sup>	c <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>	q <sup>h</sup>	
Ejective		t'	ts'	c'	k'	q'	qχ'
Plain+qχ'	tqχ'	tsqχ'	(cqχ')				
Plain+χ		tχ	tsχ	(cχ)			
Fricative		s				χ	h
Nasal	m	n			(ŋ)		
Liquid		r					
Glide	w			j			

## 1.2. Grammatical overview: intra- and inter-clausal

G|ui is a head-final, dependent marking language, with accusative alignment in transitive clauses. The basic constituent order is SV/AOV, but it is free with the only restriction that tense and aspect particles cannot precede the subject in a clause (Nakagawa 2013).

The grammatical relations are mostly flagged with person-gender-number (abbreviated as PGN) enclitics.

PGNs are nominal markers found in most Khoe languages. In G|ui, they are portmanteau morphemes involving grammatical categories person (first (with a clusivity distinction), second, and third), gender (masculine, feminine, and common), and number (single, dual, and plural). PGNs also serve as independent pronouns or as part of them: for example, some of the third person pronouns are made up with the third common singular pronoun *ʔe*<sup>1</sup> as a pronominal base attached with PGN clitics.<sup>2</sup>

Some PGNs and pronouns in G|ui take different forms in accordance with their grammatical status, which we call nominative, accusative, and genitives. Tables 3 and 4 below give the systems under this three-way case distinction, although there are a number of case-insensitive forms.

G|ui has two series of nominatives, with one for declarative sentences and the other for imperative. In imperative sentences (with the second person subjects), the imperative mood is encoded with the subject, not with any verbal categories. The same is true with the first and the third person subjects, with which hortative and jussive are made. This form is also used in prohibition, obligation, and purpose clauses, so this paper terms this form as nominative-irrealis (glossed as NOM-IRR). Tables 3 and 4 list the series together with the other one (termed as nominative-realis, glossed as NOM). You can find examples of the nominative-irrealis subjects in (11) for a purposive construction, and in (19) and (20) for reported speeches.

The genitive forms are used in nominal concords, possessive constructions, postpositional phrases, and as a subject in a subordinate clause. For polar questions, the interrogative suffix *-m* (toneless) is attached to the subject in its genitive form, irrespective of the location of the subject and of whether it is the argument in question or not. The subject in G|ui has a peculiar role as a center in signaling the type of clause/sentence in this way.

<sup>1</sup> The third common singular *ʔe* is used for the entity unspecified in gender and number, as an impersonal pronoun, as the dummy subject, object, or oblique, and for the pronoun retention in a relative clause.

<sup>2</sup> A period is used in the transcription to show the boundary between them, but semantically they are not transparent to be glossed separately.

Table 3 Person-Gender-Number clitics of G|ui

	Nominative realis	Accusative	Genitive	Nominative irrealis
<b>Singular</b>				
1	=dà	=dà	=dà	=dà
2M	=tsì	=tsì	=tsì	=tsì
2F	=sì	=sì	=sì	=sì
3M	=bì	=mà	=m̃	=mà
3F	=sì	=sà	=sì	=sà
<b>Dual</b>				
1M	=tsìbì	=tsèmà	=tsàm	=tsèmà
1F	=sìbì	=sèmà	=sàm	=sèmà
1C	=k <sup>h</sup> ìbì	=k <sup>h</sup> èmà	=k <sup>h</sup> àm	=k <sup>h</sup> èmà
2M	=tsàò	=tsàò	=tsàò	=tsàò
2F	=sàò	=sàò	=sàò	=sàò
2C	=k <sup>h</sup> àò	=k <sup>h</sup> àò	=k <sup>h</sup> àò	=k <sup>h</sup> àò
3M	=tsèrà	=tsèrà	=tsèrà	=tsèrà
3F	=sèrà	=sèrà	=sèrà	=sèrà
3C	=k <sup>h</sup> ùrà	=k <sup>h</sup> ùrà	=k <sup>h</sup> ùrà	=k <sup>h</sup> ùrà
<b>Plural</b>				
1M(excl)	=  àè	=  àè	=  àè	=  àè
1F(excl)	=sèè	=sèè	=sèè	=sèè
1C(excl)	=tsèè	=tsèè	=tsèè	=tsèè
1M(incl)	=  àà	=  àà	=  àà	=  àà
1F(incl)	=sèè	=sèè	=sèè	=sèè
1C(incl)	=cìà	=cìà	=cìà	=cìà
2M	=  àò	=  àò	=  àò	=  àò
2F	=dzàò	=dzàò	=dzàò	=dzàò
2C	=còò	=còò	=còò	=còò
3M	=  ù	=  ùà	=  ù	=  ùà
3F	=dzì	=dzì	=dzì	=dzì
3C	=rì	=nà	=ñ	=nà

(Rearranged from Tables 3, 4, and 7 in Nakagawa (1993))

Table 4 Personal pronouns of G|ui

	Nominative realis	Accusative	Genitive	Nominative irrealis
Singular				
1	cìrè	cā (cīā)	cī (cīf)/cā (cīā)	dà
2M	tsī (tsīf)	tsā (tsāā)	tsā (tsāā)	tsì
2F	sī (sīf)	sā (sāā)	sā (sāā)	sì
3M	?à.bì	?à.mà	?à.m̃	?à.mà
3F	?ē.sì	?ē.sà	?ē.sì	?ē.sà
3C	?ē (?éē)	?ē (?éē)	?ē (?éē)	?ē (?éē)
Dual				
1M(excl)	?ī.tsibì	?ī.tsèmà	?ī.tsàm	?ī.tsèmà
1F(excl)	?ī.sibì	?ī.sèmà	?ī.sàm	?ī.sèmà
1C(excl)	?ī.k <sup>h</sup> bì	?ī.k <sup>h</sup> èmà	?ī.k <sup>h</sup> àm	?ī.k <sup>h</sup> èmà
1M(incl)	?ā.tsibì	?ā.tsèmà	?ā.tsàm	tsàm
1F(incl)	?ā.sibì	?ā.sèmà	?ā.sàm	sàm
1C(incl)	?ā.k <sup>h</sup> bì	?ā.k <sup>h</sup> èmà	?ā.k <sup>h</sup> àm	k <sup>h</sup> àm
2M	?ī.tsàò	?ī.tsàò	?ī.tsàò	tsàò
2F	?ī.sàò	?ī.sàò	?ī.sàò	sàò
2C	?ī.k <sup>h</sup> àò	?ī.k <sup>h</sup> àò	?ī.k <sup>h</sup> àò	k <sup>h</sup> àò
3M	?ē.tsèrà	?ē.tsèrà	?ē.tsèrà	?ē.tsèrà
3F	?ē.sèrà	?ē.sèrà	?ē.sèrà	?ē.sèrà
3C	?ē.k <sup>h</sup> ùrà	?ē.k <sup>h</sup> ùrà	?ē.k <sup>h</sup> ùrà	?ē.k <sup>h</sup> ùrà
Plural				
1M(excl)	?ī.    àè	?ī.    àè	?ī.    àè	?ī.    àè
1F(excl)	?ī.sèè	?ī.sèè	?ī.sèè	?ī.sèè
1C(excl)	?ī.tsèè	?ī.tsèè	?ī.tsèè	?ī.tsèè
1M(incl)	?ā.    àà	?ā.    àà	?ā.    àà	àà
1F(incl)	?ā.sèè	?ā.sèè	?ā.sèè	sèè
1C(incl)	?ā.cìa	?ā.cìa	?ā.cìa	cìa
2M	?ī.    àò	?ī.    àò	?ī.    àò	àò
2F	?ī.dzàò	?ī.dzàò	?ī.dzàò	dzàò
2C	?ī.còò	?ī.còò	?ī.còò	còò
3M	?ē.    ù	?ē.    ù	?ē.    ù	?ē.    ù
3F	?ē.dzì	?ē.dzì	?ē.dzì	?ē.dzì
3C	?à.rì	?à.nà	?à. ñ	?à.nà

(Revised version of Table 3 in Nakagawa (1993))

Verbal predicates can be simple or complex, utilizing suffixation, reduplication, and “verb + verb” construction. A set of rules involving tonal and segmental modifications in “verb + verb” constructions are as follows: when a verbal base ( $V_1$ ) is followed by another verb or deverbalized suffix ( $V_2$ ), the last element of the base undergoes a tonal alternation, and/or a linking element (*-a/-na/-r-*) is added or inserted to the base, as illustrated below: (i) is the case with a tonal alternation only, and (ii) is the case with *-a* addition only.<sup>3</sup>

$V_1$	+	$V_2$	>	$V_1' V_2$
(i) /!χóó/ ‘to hold’	+	/hā/ perfect	>	!χóō hā (9)
				glossed as ‘hold;JNCT-PRF’
(ii) /ts’áū/ ‘to do’	+	/ ðō/ ‘to finish’	>	ts’áū-a  ðō [ts’áwā  ðō] (13)
				glossed as ‘do;JNCT-finish’

In this construction, the  $V_1$  always changes its form into  $V_1'$ . This paper calls this  $V_1'$  form *junction form*, and glosses it as “ $V_1$ ;JNCT”, giving the phonetic presentation in transcription, irrespective of what strategy they have taken. In G|ui, juncture forms can even be dislocated leftwards from  $V_2$ , as found in (3).<sup>4</sup>

Tense, aspect, and modality are independent categories respectively, and they are all marked with particles except for the perfect that is a verbal suffix as we have seen in (i) above. They are mobile as well, and when they co-occur they are put in strict order of modality/tense/aspect. In such a case, they tend to be adjacent to each other, but not necessarily.

In the tense marking, G|ui has a multiple remoteness distinction. There are four past particles and three future particles, and the present tense is null-marked. The three futures are “today (within the same day)” future, “tomorrow (not within the same day, recent)” future, and remote future. They are glossed FUT1, FUT2, and FUT3 respectively, in order of proximity to the deictic center. For the past tense particles, three of them are the counterparts to the future tense particles and glossed in a similar way. The fourth past particle is anomalous that encodes either “last night past” which is more remote than PST1, or “near past” which is closer to the deictic center than PST1 (they are shaded in Table 5 below). Examples (46) and (48) contain the “near past” usage of this particle at the scene the wife who has been beaten by her husband alleges what he has just done to her at court.

The G|ui aspect system displays the “unmarked perfective vs. marked imperfective” distinction pattern.<sup>5</sup> Table 6 below gives the list of G|ui aspect particles. Although these particles are all imperfectives, *cì* is glossed as IPFV for its having a generic meaning covering inchoative, continuous, and habitual. The five progressives are distinguished by whether they involve specific postures or movements that change location.

<sup>3</sup> The tonal alternation occurs when  $V_1$  lacks M tone (that is, HH>HM, HL>MM, LL>LM). The addition and insertion of linking elements are determined with the phonological shape of the  $V_1$  (for more details, see Nakagawa 2006).

<sup>4</sup> This fact is one of the reasons why we do not call this construction “serial verb construction” nor “compound verb”.

<sup>5</sup> This pattern is shared inter-genetically between the Tuu language family and the Khoekhoe branch of the Khoe language family (Güldemann 2006).

Table 5 G|ui tense particles

qχ'āwā	FUT3	Remote Future
?ūsì	FUT2	Crastinal (tomorrow) Future
hīī	FUT1	Hodiernal (today) Future
φ (null marking)		Present
ŋ ī	PST.N	Near Past
kì	PST1	Hodiernal (today) Past
ŋ ī	PST.N	Last Night Past
c <sup>h</sup> ū	PST2	Hesternal (yesterday) Past
qχ'ō	PST3	Remote Past

Table 6 G|ui imperfective aspect particles

cì	IPFV	generic (inchoative, continuous, habitual)
ò	HAB.ABIL	habitual with ability to do <sup>6</sup>
òcì	HAB	habitual
hācì	PROG	progressive neutral
kùà	PROG.M	progressive with motion
cìcì	PROG.ST	progressive with standing posture
ù  ò	PRG.L	progressive with lying posture
wà	PROG.SIT	progressive with sitting posture

G|ui has a strong tendency to use coordinations in expressing a sequence of events in an iconic manner. The unmarked perfective aspect functions to move the storyline forward, while imperfectives marked with any aspect particles indicate that the event overlaps temporally with other events. In example (iii), both of the preceding and the succeeding clauses contain an aspect marker *hācì*. This particle, a progressive with which motion and posture are irrelevant, is often used for repeated and elongated actions. Thus (iii) means the two events are happening overlappingly and repeatedly. When (iii) does not contain any aspect markers, both clauses are encoded as perfective, and mean that *a single event of giving* happens and that then *another single event of drinking* happens successively.

- (iii) ?àbì jā hācì ?ànà c<sup>h</sup>îē ?àrì jā hācì qχ'áà  
 ?à.bì jā hā.cì ?à.nà c<sup>h</sup>îē ?à.rì jā hā.cì qχ'áà  
 3M.SG.NOM CONJ PROG 3C.PL.ACC give 3C.PL.NOM CONJ PROG drink  
 and he is giving them (alcohol) and they are drinking (repeatedly), (=23)

In contrast to this coordination strategy encoding sequential events, the above-mentioned

<sup>6</sup> The difference between these two habituals is not completely clear (see Nakagawa 2016 and Ono 2020 for more details).

formation “V<sub>1</sub>;JNCT V<sub>2</sub>” is used to express what is conceptualized as a single event although its inner structure is complex.

When clauses with different subjects are coordinated, the coordinate conjunction *jā* is put not in between the two combined clauses as it would be expected, but after the subject of a succeeding clause. In this way, the considerably free constituent order observed in a clause level is fixed in succeeding coordinated clauses to the extent that the subject is most likely to be located at the beginning. The events happening in a story are put in chronological order as far as possible using these coordinating clauses, and there is potentially no limit to the number of them. The clauses in the main storyline in the text in section 3 might be all coordinated.

Although the speaker delivered the narrative in this manner, the transcribed text data in section 3 were cut into seizable parts by the occurrence of the conjunction *jā* and perceivable pauses to present them under specific reference numbers. These examples, therefore, are not totally independent as a full sentence even they might look so. They often appear to lack their subjects, despite G|ui being no pro-drop language, and this is not because the subjects are pragmatically inferable, but because they are part of a larger syntactic unit sharing the same subject.

In story-telling as a whole, G|ui speakers seem to pay much attention so that the main storyline can look coherent in the sense it tracks its main character’s whereabouts without any missing parts. That is, in particular, in changing scenes, the story requires descriptions of how the main character has reached from the previous venue to the new one, such as the farm, the court, and the cell, using the expressions for the motions toward and away from the deictic center, with the verbs *àà* ‘to come toward the deictic center and arrive there’ and *síí* ‘to go outward from the deictic center and reach someplace out of sight’ to fill the void typically as follows:

Motion toward the deictic center followed by action happening at the venue:

*àà jā àà.kù* ‘to come to this place and here~’

Motion away from the deictic center followed by action happening at the venue:

*síí jā sáá.kù* ‘to go to the place and there~’

This characteristic has already been apparent when G|ui speakers tell folktales and their own experiences that they have memorized, and this SCOPIC task made it confirmed that the tracking coherence seems obligatory even in such an improvisation.

## 2. Data collecting method

The data were collected by the author making use of the Family Problems Picture Task, following the procedures outlined in San Roque et al. (2012), with some modifications when necessary. The task consists of four phases as follows:

- Phase 1. Description: In each session, a pair of participants were asked to describe the 16 stimulus picture cards presented to them, one by one, in a preset order.
- Phase 2. Problem-solving: The same two participants were asked successively to sort the cards out to construct a story. When possible, this procedure was followed by checking the storyline they had just made up thoroughly so that they

might notice any existent discrepancy. For some participants, this task was confusing due to the difference in styles from the traditional storytelling. In such a case, we could not complete this task fully nor proceed any further.

Phase 3. Third-person narration: one of the two participants was asked to tell the story they had just constructed.

Phase 4. First-person narration: the other participant, who did not conduct phase 3, was asked to tell the same story from the perspective of the main character.

For phases 3 and 4, monologues were recorded. That is because when more than one G|ui person is asked to tell a story, they tend to talk with a full of overlaps in sync to each other. "A third participant" who was expected to be told the made-up story by the pairs was not introduced.

Nine G|ui and one G||ana native speakers participated in the recordings through 5 sessions in Ghanzi and New Xade, Botswana, in 2019 and 2020. The pairs in each session, except for session 1, were in a joking relationship to facilitate spontaneous and unreserved interaction between the partners.

Table 7 below gives the information for the recorded sessions: initials of each participant with their mother tongue (G|ui or G||ana), sex, and age, the relationship between the two participants, and the task phases they contributed. The interlinearized text in section 3 is a third-person narrative told by a Xade dialect speaker from session 2 (task phase 3).<sup>7</sup>

Table 7 Session information

Session/Participants (language/sex/age)	Relationship	Task phase
1. N (G ui/m/60s) KG (G ui/m/40s)	avoidance	1/2
2. D (G ui/f/20s) Q (G ui/f/20s)	joking	1/2/3/4
3. B (G  ana/f/30s) M (G ui/m/30s)	joking	1/2/3/4
4. KB (G ui/m/60s) KT (G ui/m/60s)	joking	1/2
5. K (G ui/m/20s) T (G ui/m/20s)	joking	1/2/3

### 3. Text

The G|ui narrative text below is interlinearised and translated. Each example consists of four lines presenting the following:

1. Transcription in G|ui, representing the utterance as spoken as much as possible, without editing out speech errors, repetitions, and truncations.
2. Transcription in G|ui, morpheme-by-morpheme version.
3. The gloss for each morpheme.
4. Free translation into English. What is put in brackets is given to make the English translation grammatical enough or to give related implicit information that is helpful to understand what is said.

<sup>7</sup> The name of the file is SocCog-gwj01-D\_and\_Q\_task\_3.

Since most clauses are coordinated, unless it is totally clear where a sentence ends and a new one starts, neither line 1 (G|ui transcription) nor line 4 (English translation) ends with periods. Quotation marks are used only for direct quotations and direct thoughts. Gloss abbreviations follow the text.



Standing in the light (1)–(3)

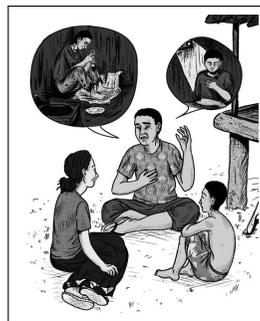
- (1) η|ĩ k<sup>h</sup>óèbì ?à̀m̄ ||?áé ?ò wà háá̄  
 η|ĩ k<sup>h</sup>óè=bì ?à̀.̀m̄ ||?áé ?ò wà háá̄  
 this person=3M.SG.NOM 3M.SG.GEN home inside at be  
 This man is at home,
- (2) jā |émā η!úũm̄ ?ò wà χúũ jā †qχ'úā jā cìì  
 jā |émā η!úũ=m̄ ?ò wà χúũ jā †qχ'úā jā  
 CONJ probably hut=3M.SG.GEN place in leave CONJ come.out CONJ  
 cìì  
 be.standing  
 and probably comes out of the hut and is standing,
- (3) jā cììnā jā cììcì ?áā χòsì, |ám̄sì m̄, χòsì ìχòsì ?ĩ, ?ēsà !úúqχ'ájā cììcì |émā múũ  
 jā cìì-nā jā cìì.cì ?áā χò=sì |ám̄=sì m̄  
 CONJ stand-STAT CONJ PROG.ST that thing=3F.SG.NOM sun=3F.SG.GEN INTER  
 χò=sì ì.χò=sì ?ĩ ?ē.sà !úú.qχ'ájā cìì.cì  
 thing=3F.SG.NOM what=3F.SG.GEN IDTF 3F.SG.ACC raise.face;JUNCT PROG.ST  
 |émā múũ  
 probably see  
 and he is standing still and, that thing, the sun? what is it, probably (he is) looking  
 up at it,



Homecoming (4)–(5)

- (4) η|ìsì η|ām̀kà ?àn kùà, ?àm̀ kùà χúū kà ?à̀bì jà η|íñ k<sup>h</sup>òè kī̀n kà kùà síí  
 η|ì=sì η|ām̀.̀kà ?à.̀n kùà ?à.̀m̀ kùà χúū kà  
 this=3F.SG.NOM then 3C.PL.GEN PROG.M 3M.SG.GEN PROG.M leave CONJ  
 ?à.̀bì jà η|íñ=k<sup>h</sup>òè kī̀n kà kùà síí  
 3M.SG.NOM CONJ this=3C.PL.GEN person FOC=3C.PL.GEN MPO PROG.M arrive  
 and here, then, as they (truncated), as he moves he is approaching these people's  
 (household),

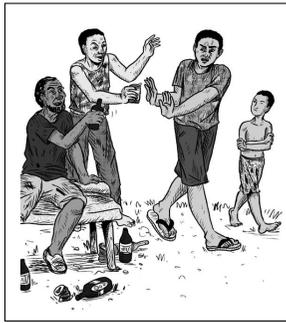
- (5) jà síí jà sáākù ?à̀nà |émā̀ cì̀cì ?àm̀ qχ'ò̀ cì kánà, ?à̀nà ?ḕ bóōrī̀  
 jà síí jà sáā.kù ?à.̀nà |émā̀ cì̀.cì ?à.̀m̀ qχ'ò̀ cì  
 CONJ go CONJ thither 3C.PL.ACC probably PROG.ST 3M.SG.GEN PST3 IPFV  
 kánà ?à.̀nà ?ḕ bóōrī̀  
 CONJ 3C.PL.ACC 3C.SG.ACC tell  
 and there he is probably telling (what) he was... (truncated), or, it to them,



Family talking together (6)–(8)

- (6) jà η|íχò̀ k<sup>h</sup>ā̀ ?àn kà àà ?à̀rì jà η|ūnāsī̀ η|÷̀ùì  
 jà η|í-χò̀ k<sup>h</sup>ā̀ ?à.̀ǹ kà àà ?à.̀rì jà η|ūnā-sī̀  
 CONJ this-place EMPH 3C.PL.GEN MPO come 3C.PL.NOM CONJ three-ADV LZ  
 η|÷̀ùì  
 stay.sitting  
 and here (on this picture he) comes to where they are and they three sit,

- (7) k<sup>h</sup>èè |émā ʔóō wà ʔàà ʔē ʔáá~ʔàà “tsām qχ’ō wà”  
 k<sup>h</sup>èè |émā ʔóō wà ʔà.nà ʔē ʔáá~ʔàà tsā-m  
 INTERJ probably inside in 3C.PL.ACC 3C.SG.ACC think~CAUS 2M.SG.GEN-INTER  
 qχ’ō wà  
 PST3 PROG.SIT  
 probably (he) is making them wonder (about the speech balloons), “Were you...  
 (truncated)”
- (8) jā ʔàà wà ʔē |<sup>h</sup>ūāmáà  
 jā ʔà.nà wà ʔē |<sup>h</sup>ūā-máà  
 CONJ 3C.PL.ACC PROG.SIT 3C.SG.ACC talk;JUNCT-BEN  
 and (he) is telling it (the speech balloons) to them,



Refusing drink (9)–(12)

- (9) jā ŋ|ĩχò k<sup>h</sup>ā |úábì jā, k<sup>h</sup>óèbì jā ŋ|ĩm |úábì jā |úámà ŋ|ĩmà |χóōhā jā wà ʔàm |χùà |úú  
 jā ŋ|ĩ-χò k<sup>h</sup>ā |úá=bì jā k<sup>h</sup>óè=bì jā  
 CONJ this-place EMPH child=3M.SG.NOM CONJ person=3M.SG.NOM CONJ  
 ŋ|ĩ=m |úá=bì jā |úá=mà ŋ|ĩ=mà  
 this=3M.SG.GEN child=3M.SG.NOM CONJ child=3M.SG.ACC this=3M.SG.ACC  
 |χóō-hā jā wà ʔà.m |χùà |úú  
 hold;JUNCT-PRF CONJ PROG.SIT 3M.SG.GEN with go  
 and here, the child, and the man is walking holding this child,
- (10) jā k<sup>h</sup>óètsèrà ŋ|ĩnā jā ʔàbì, ʔàbì jā ààkù !āmāhā  
 jā k<sup>h</sup>óè=tsèrà ŋ|ĩ-nā jā ʔà.bì ʔà.bì jā  
 CONJ person=3M.DU.NOM stay.sitting-STAT CONJ 3M.SG.NOM 3M.SG.NOM CONJ  
 àà.kù !āmā-hā  
 hither pass;JUNCT-PRF  
 and two men are sitting, and he, he is passing through,

- (11) ʔētsèrà jā cì ʔàmà !χārīsà máá χòrè<sup>8</sup> ʔàmà ʔēsà qχ'áà ʔàbì jā cì ʔēsà ||χūī  
 ʔē.tsèrà jā cì ʔà.mà !χārī=sà máá χòrè ʔà.mà  
 3M.DU.NOM CONJ IPFV 3M.SG.ACC liquor=3F.SG.ACC give COMP 3M.SG.NOM.IRR  
 ʔē.sà qχ'áà ʔà.bì jā cì ʔē.sà ||χūī  
 3F.SG.ACC drink 3M.SG.NOM CONJ IPFV 3F.SG.ACC reject  
 and they two are offering him alcohol so that he would drink it, and he refuses it  
 (the alcohol),
- (12) jā cì mǐí ʔàbì ʔēsà †ʔáñ c<sup>h</sup>īmā  
 jā cì mǐí ʔà.bì ʔē.sà †ʔáñ c<sup>h</sup>īmā  
 CONJ IPFV say 3M.SG.NOM 3F.SG.ACC think NEG  
 and (he) is saying he does not like it,



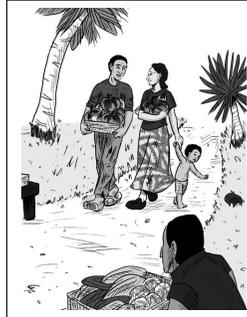
Garden (13)–(15)

- (13) k<sup>h</sup>èè<sup>9</sup> ɲǐχò k<sup>h</sup>ā ʔàbì ʔē ts'áwā̄|òò jā k<sup>h</sup>óèsì jā ààkù síí ʔēk<sup>h</sup>ùrà jā síí cǐcǐ ||χóò  
 k<sup>h</sup>èè ɲǐ-χò k<sup>h</sup>ā ʔà.bì ʔē ts'áwā̄-|òò jā  
 INTERJ this-place EMPH 3M.SG.NOM 3C.SG.ACC do;JNCT-finish CONJ  
 k<sup>h</sup>òè=sì jā àà.kù síí ʔē.k<sup>h</sup>ùrà jā síí cǐ.cǐ ||χóò  
 person=3F.SG.NOM CONJ hither go 3C.DU.NOM CONJ go PROG.ST gather  
 on this picture he finishes (what he has been) doing and a woman comes (to join)  
 and the couple are standing collecting,
- (14) |émā χòdzì òrōhādzi χòdzì ʔī ʔà  
 |émā χò=dzì òrō-hā=dzì χò=dzì ʔī  
 probably thing=3F.PL.NOM bear.fruit;JNCT-PRF=3F.PL.GEN thing=3F.PL.NOM IDTF  
 ʔà  
 COP  
 probably it is because (they) are something ripe,

<sup>8</sup> This complementizer is a loan from Tswana.

<sup>9</sup> This is an interjection expressing surprise and is often related to a small mistake. The narrator often uttered this interjection slightly puzzled when she flipped the stimulus picture cards put in a pile in the order of the story she had just constructed with faces down.

- (15) ʔēk<sup>h</sup>ùrà jā cǐ̀cǐ ʔēdzì ||χóò  
 ʔē.k<sup>h</sup>ùrà jā cǐ̀.cǐ ʔē.dzì ||χóò  
 3C.DU.NOM CONJ PROG.ST 3F.PL.ACC gather  
 and the couple are collecting them bending down,



Walking together (16)

- (16) jā ŋ|ǐ̀χò k<sup>h</sup>ā ʔēdzì !ʔúnā jā ààkù |úá|ùàmà cùèsī jā kùà ʔàm |χùà ||ʔáékū, ʔēdzì  
 !ʔúnā jā wà  
 jā ŋ|ǐ̀-χò k<sup>h</sup>ā ʔē.dzì !ʔúnā jā àà.kù |úá-|ùà=mà  
 CONJ this-place EMPH 3F.PL.ACC bring CONJ hither child-DIM=3M.SG.ACC  
 cùè.sī jā kùà ʔà.m |χùà ||ʔáé.kū ʔē.dzì !ʔúnā jā  
 lead.by.hand CONJ PROG.M 3M.SG.GEN with go.back 3F.PL.ACC bring CONJ  
 wà  
 PROG.SIT

and here (they) hold them and take the child's hand and are going back home, holding them,



Receiving clothes (17)–(20)

- (17) k<sup>h</sup>èē ŋ|ǐ̀χò k<sup>h</sup>ā ʔàbì ààkù |émā cì ʔē ||<sup>h</sup>áà||<sup>h</sup>àà<sup>10</sup>  
 k<sup>h</sup>èē ŋ|ǐ̀-χò k<sup>h</sup>ā ʔà.bì àà.kù |émā cì ʔē ||<sup>h</sup>áà~||<sup>h</sup>àà  
 INTERJ this-place EMPH 3M.SG.NOM hither probably IPFV 3C.SG.ACC sell~ITER  
 here probably he is selling something,

- (18) χòdzì ?àm |émā kì ÷ùùdzì χòdzì ?ī kì k<sup>h</sup>ùà ?àbì jā ŋ!áé cì ?ēdzì ||<sup>h</sup>áà||<sup>h</sup>àà  
 χò=dzì ?à.m |émā kì ÷ùù=dzì χò=dzì ?ī  
 thing=3F.PL.NOM 3M.SG.GEN probably PST1 buy=3F.PL.GEN thing=3F.PL.NOM IDTF  
 kì k<sup>h</sup>ùà ?à.bì jā ŋ!áé cì ?ē.dzì ||<sup>h</sup>áà.||<sup>h</sup>àà  
 PST1 because 3M.SG.NOM CONJ pass.by IPFV 3F.PL.ACC sell  
 because these things may be what he has bought, he stops (here) on his way and is  
 selling them,
- (19) jā |émā |?ūm̄ kà cì míí ?àmà ?ēdzì ?àm |χàè séè nì<sup>11</sup> |?ūχò|ùàmà máá  
 jā |émā |?ū=m̄ kà cì míí ?à.mà ?ē.dzì  
 CONJ probably another=3M.SG.GEN MPO IPFV say 3M.SG.IRR 3F.PL.ACC  
 ?à.m̄ |χàè séè nì |?ū-χò-|ùà=mà máá  
 3M.SG.GEN on take CONJ.IRR other-thing-DIM=3M.SG.ACC give  
 and probably he is saying to the other (man), take these from him and give him  
 money (lit. another little thing),
- (20) ?àmà síí k<sup>h</sup>óè||ùà tsáo  
 ?à.mà síí k<sup>h</sup>óè=||ùà tsáo  
 3M.SG.IRR go person=3M.PL.ACC ask.for  
 let him go to ask people (for alcohol),



Sitting drinking (21)–(26)

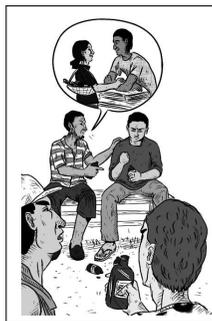
- (21) ?àbì jā ŋ|ìχò k<sup>h</sup>ā ?ēdzì ||<sup>h</sup>áà||<sup>h</sup>àrà|òò cà míí<sup>12</sup> jā  
 ?à.bì jā ŋ|ì-χò k<sup>h</sup>ā ?ē.dzì ||<sup>h</sup>áà.||<sup>h</sup>àrà-|òò cà míí<sup>12</sup> jā  
 3M.SG.NOM CONJ this-place EMPH 3F.PL.ACC sell;INCT-finish QUOT say CONJ  
 and here after he finishes selling them,

<sup>10</sup> This is a reduplicated form of ||<sup>h</sup>āā 'to show', and is lexicalized into a verb 'to sell'.

<sup>11</sup> This is a conjunction used in clauses with irrealis subjects.

<sup>12</sup> cà míí is an expression that indicates a change of scene.

- (22) àà jā ààkù ?ē||ù |χùà η†ùì tsálàsiχàh |χùà, ?àrì jā !àōη†ùì  
 àà jā àà.kù ?ē.||ù |χùà η†ùì tsálà.si-χà=h  
 come CONJ hither 3M.PL.GEN with stay.sitting cross.cousin-ASSOC=3C.PL.GEN  
 |χùà ?à.rì jā !àō-η†ùì  
 with 3C.PL.NOM CONJ gather;INCT-stay.sitting  
 he comes here and sits with them (men), with friends (lit. cross cousins), and they  
 are sitting together assembled,
- (23) ?àbì jā hācì ?àná c<sup>h</sup>fè ?àrì jā hācì qχ'áà  
 ?à.bi jā hā.ci ?à.nà c<sup>h</sup>fè ?à.rì jā hā.ci qχ'áà  
 3M.SG.NOM CONJ PROG 3C.PL.ACC give 3C.PL.NOM CONJ PROG drink  
 and he is giving them (alcohol) and they are drinking (repeatedly),
- (24) ?àrì jā η†ùìη†ùì ?ē qχ'áà, tsórō||ù jā ||ùìnā  
 ?à.rì jā η†ùì~η†ùì ?ē qχ'áà tsórō=||ù jā  
 3C.PL.NOM CONJ stay.sitting~ITER 3C.SG.ACC drink shell=3M.PL.NOM CONJ  
 ||ùì-nā  
 be.lying.down-STAT  
 they are sitting and drinking, and empty bottles are scattered (lit. lying),
- (25) ?àrì jā η†ùìnā  
 ?à.rì jā η†ùì-nā  
 3C.PL.NOM CONJ stay.sitting-STAT  
 and they stay sitting,
- (26) restoraη†ùì  
 restora-η†ùì  
 rest;INCT-stay.sitting  
 sitting at ease,



Drunken gossip (27)–(32)

- (27) ?àm, ?àm kùà η||áāχò χúū kī̀sì kà  
 ?à.m ?à.m kùà η||áā-χò χúū kī̀=̀sì kà  
 3M.SG.GEN 3M.SG.GEN PROG.M that-place leave FOC=3F.SG.GEN CONJ  
 when he, he is about to leave the place,

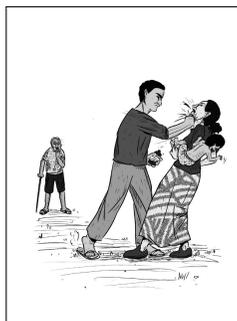
- (28) ʔàrì jā, ʔàbì jā k<sup>h</sup>óè=||ù |χùà |émā ààkù ɲɛ̀ùìɲɛ̀ùì ʔà ʔī  
 ʔà.rì jā ʔà.bì jā k<sup>h</sup>óè=||ù |χùà |émā àà.kù  
 3C.PL.NOM CONJ 3M.SG.NOM CONJ person=3M.PL.GEN with probably hither  
 ɲɛ̀ùì~ɲɛ̀ùì ʔà ʔī  
 stay.sitting~ITER COP IDTF  
 and they (truncated), and it is that probably he has been sitting with these men,
- (29) ɲ|ì k<sup>h</sup>óè ʔàm, k<sup>h</sup>óèsì kà ʔàmjìsì ɲ|ì cà híí c<sup>h</sup>ádzi |émā |ʔūmà |<sup>h</sup>ūmáá  
 ɲ|ì k<sup>h</sup>óè ʔà.m k<sup>h</sup>óè=sì kà ʔà.m-jì=sì ɲ|ì  
 this person 3M.SG.GEN person=3F.SG.GEN REL 3M.SG.GEN-be.for=3F.SG.GEN this  
 cà híí c<sup>h</sup>ā=dzi |émā |ʔū=mà |<sup>h</sup>ūā-máá  
 IMIT do way.how=3F.PL.ACC probably other=3M.SG.ACC talk;JNCT-BEN  
 this (speech balloon), how his wife does (the things) like this probably (this man)  
 tells (these) to the other,
- (30) ɲ||áábì jā cì ʔàm kà míí, “tsā kà, tsā g||àēsì húú |émā cúá !áí” cà |émā cì míí,  
 ɲ||áá=bì jā cì ʔà.m kà míí tsā kà tsā  
 that=3M.SG.NOM CONJ IPFV 3M.SG.GEN MPO say 2M.SG.GEN POSS 2M.SG.GEN  
 g||àē=sì húú |émā cúá !áí cà |émā cì míí  
 wife=3F.SG.NOM EMPH probably NEG be.good QUOT probably IPFV say  
 and that man is saying to him, “(You might not know that) probably your wife is  
 not good” (he) probably is saying,
- (31) ʔàbì jā cì tsχáá jā cì míí “ʔēsì híí síí cíá ʔē thalositse<sup>13</sup>” cà |émā hācì míí,  
 ʔà.bì jā cì tsχáá jā cì míí ʔē.sì híí síí cíá  
 3M.SG.NOM CONJ IPFV hate CONJ IPFV say 3F.SG.NOM FUT1 go 1SG.ACC  
 ʔē thalosi-tse cà |émā hā.cì míí  
 3C.SG.ACC explain-PRF QUOT probably PROG say  
 and he feels uncomfortable and is saying, “She will explain it to me”, (he) is saying,
- (32) ʔàrì jā ɲɛ̀ùìɲɛ̀ùì ʔàmà ʔē |<sup>h</sup>ūmáá ʔà  
 ʔà.rì jā ɲɛ̀ùì~ɲɛ̀ùì ʔà.mà ʔē |<sup>h</sup>ūā-máá ʔà  
 3C.PL.NOM CONJ stay.sitting~ITER 3M.SG.ACC 3C.SG.ACC talk;JNCT-BEN COP  
 and (it is that) they are sitting telling it to him,

<sup>13</sup> This is a loan word from Tswana.



About to hit (33)–(36)

- (33)  $\eta\|\dot{\chi}\dot{\delta}$ ,  $k^h\dot{e}\dot{e}$   $\text{?}\dot{a}b\dot{i}$   $j\dot{a}$   $\chi\dot{u}\dot{u}$ ,  $j\dot{a}$   $\dot{a}\dot{a}k\dot{u}$   $\text{?}\dot{e}s\dot{i}$   $k\dot{a}$   $\dot{a}\dot{a}$   
 $\eta\|\dot{\chi}\dot{\delta}$   $k^h\dot{e}\dot{e}$   $\text{?}\dot{a}.b\dot{i}$   $j\dot{a}$   $\chi\dot{u}\dot{u}$   $j\dot{a}$   $\dot{a}\dot{a}.k\dot{u}$   $\text{?}\dot{e}.s\dot{i}$   $k\dot{a}$   $\dot{a}\dot{a}$   
 this-place INTERJ 3M.SG.NOM CONJ leave CONJ hither 3F.SG.GEN MPO come  
 and on this picture, he leaves (where he has been) and comes here where she is,
- (34)  $j\dot{a}$   $\dot{a}\dot{a}k\dot{u}$   $k\dot{u}\dot{a}$   $\text{?}\dot{e}s\dot{i}$   $|\chi\dot{u}\dot{a}$   $\text{?}\dot{e}$   $\eta\|\dot{a}\dot{e}$   
 $j\dot{a}$   $\dot{a}\dot{a}.k\dot{u}$   $k\dot{u}\dot{a}$   $\text{?}\dot{e}.s\dot{i}$   $|\chi\dot{u}\dot{a}$   $\text{?}\dot{e}$   $\eta\|\dot{a}\dot{e}$   
 CONJ hither PROG.M 3F.SG.NOM with 3C.SG.ACC say  
 and approaches her, complaining,
- (35)  $\text{?}\dot{e}s\dot{i}$   $j\dot{a}$   $\eta\|\dot{a}\dot{a}d\dot{z}\dot{i}$   $\chi\dot{\delta}$   $k\dot{i}d\dot{z}\dot{i}$   $\text{?}\dot{e}k^h\dot{u}r\dot{a}$   $q\chi'\dot{o}$   $c\dot{i}$   $k\dot{o}\dot{o}k\dot{a}$   $k\dot{a}$   $\text{?}\dot{a}b\dot{i}$   $j\dot{a}$   $c\dot{i}\dot{i}.c\dot{i}$   $\text{?}\dot{e}s\dot{a}$   $\text{?}\dot{e}$   $b\dot{o}\dot{o}r\dot{i}$   
 $\text{?}\dot{e}.s\dot{i}$   $j\dot{a}$   $\eta\|\dot{a}\dot{a}=d\dot{z}\dot{i}$   $\chi\dot{\delta}$   $k\dot{i}=d\dot{z}\dot{i}$   $\text{?}\dot{e}.k^h\dot{u}r\dot{a}$   $q\chi'\dot{o}$   $c\dot{i}$   
 3F.SG.NOM CONJ that=3F.PL.GEN thing FOC=3F.PL.ACC 3C.DU.NOM PST3 IPFV  
 $k\dot{o}\dot{o}k\dot{a}$   $k\dot{a}$   $\text{?}\dot{a}.b\dot{i}$   $j\dot{a}$   $c\dot{i}\dot{i}.c\dot{i}$   $\text{?}\dot{e}.s\dot{a}$   $\text{?}\dot{e}$   $b\dot{o}\dot{o}r\dot{i}$   
 still MPO 3M.SG.NOM CONJ PROG.ST 3F.SG.ACC 3C.SG.ACC tell  
 and those what they were still... (truncated), and he is standing telling it (what the speech balloons say) to her,
- (36)  $\text{?}\dot{e}k^h\dot{u}r\dot{a}$   $j\dot{a}$   $c\dot{i}\dot{i}.c\dot{i}$   $\text{?}\dot{e}$   $\eta\|\dot{a}\dot{e}$   
 $\text{?}\dot{e}.k^h\dot{u}r\dot{a}$   $j\dot{a}$   $c\dot{i}\dot{i}.c\dot{i}$   $\text{?}\dot{e}$   $\eta\|\dot{a}\dot{e}$   
 3C.DU.NOM CONJ PROG.ST 3C.SG.ACC say  
 and they are standing arguing,



Hitting (37)–(39)

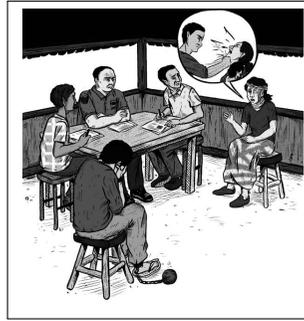
- (37) k<sup>h</sup>èē ŋ|ĩχò k<sup>h</sup>ā ?àbì ts'ínìχà  
 k<sup>h</sup>èē ŋ|ĩ-χò k<sup>h</sup>ā ?à.bì ts'ínì-χà  
 INTERJ this-place EMPH 3M.SG.NOM smoke-PRPTV  
 here he is angry,
- (38) jā cì ?ēsà, cì ||qχ'ámā-†χū  
 jā cì ?ē.sà cì ||qχ'ámā-†χū  
 CONJ IPFV 3F.SG.ACC IPFV hit;JNCT-repeatedly  
 and is beating her up,
- (39) jā cì ?ēsà |úám |χùà cì ?ēsà ||qχ'ámā-†χū  
 jā cì ?ē.sà |úá=m |χùà cì ?ē.sà ||qχ'ámā-†χū  
 CONJ IPFV 3F.SG.ACC child=3M.SG.GEN with IPFV 3F.SG.ACC hit;JNCT-repeatedly  
 and is beating her (who is) holding the child (lit. with the child),



Taken by police (40)–(43)

- (40) k<sup>h</sup>èē ŋ|ĩχò k<sup>h</sup>ā ?ē||ù jā ààkù ?àmà séè, polisi||ù  
 k<sup>h</sup>èē ŋ|ĩ-χò k<sup>h</sup>ā ?ē.||ù jā àà.kù ?à.mà séè  
 INTERJ this-place EMPH 3M.PL.NOM CONJ hither 3M.SG.ACC take  
 polisi=||ù  
 police=3M.PL.NOM  
 and here they, policemen, come and get him,
- (41) ?ēsì jā !āū jā |úám |χùà ŋ†ùì-nā  
 ?ē.sì jā !āū jā |úá=m |χùà ŋ†ùì-nā  
 3F.SG.NOM CONJ stay CONJ child=3M.SG.GEN with stay.sitting-STAT  
 and she stays and is sitting with the child,
- (42) ?ē||ù jā ?àmà !?úná! ?ùnà jā wà ?àm |χùà !úù  
 ?ē.||ù jā ?à.mà !?úná~! ?ùnà jā wà ?à.m |χùà !úù  
 3M.PL.NOM CONJ 3M.SG.ACC hold~ITER CONJ PROG.SIT 3M.SG.GEN with go  
 and they grab him and are taking him away,

- (43) jā sí cì ʔàmà ʔē †ʔūā†ʔùà ɣòrè “īɣòsì kà kʰòèsì kì tsā |ɣùà qɣ'úí cʰīmā tsī jā cì ʔēsà ||ʔáá-†ɣū”sà sí cì ʔàmà †ʔūā†ʔùà<sup>14</sup>
- jā sí cì ʔà.mà ʔē †ʔūā.†ʔùà ɣòrè ī.ɣò=sì kà  
 CONJ go IPFV 3M.SG.ACC 3C.SG.ACC question COMP what=3F.SG.GEN MPO
- kʰòè=sì kì tsā |ɣùà qɣ'úí cʰīmā tsī jā cì  
 person=3F.SG.NOM PST1 2M.SG.GEN with speak NEG 2M.SG.NOM CONJ IPFV
- ʔē.sà ||ʔáá-†ɣū=sà sí cì ʔà.mà †ʔūā.†ʔùà  
 3F.SG.ACC beat-repeatedly=3F.SG.ACC go IPFV 3M.SG.ACC question
- and leave in order to question him, “Why did you beat her before she (could) explain (it) to you?”

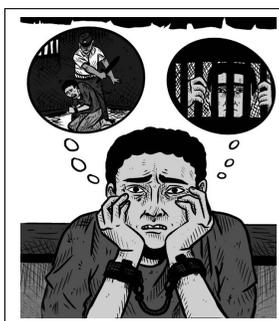


In court (44)–(50)

- (44) kʰèē ŋ|ĩɣò kʰā ʔēkʰùrà jā àà jā ààkù cì ʔē ŋ||āē ʔēkʰùrà ŋ|ĩ cì hí cʰādzi ʔi  
 kʰèē ŋ|ĩ-ɣò kʰā ʔē.kʰùrà jā àà jā àà.kù cì ʔē  
 INTERJ this-place EMPH 3C.DU.NOM CONJ come CONJ hither IPFV 3C.SG.ACC
- ŋ||āē ʔē.kʰùrà ŋ|ĩ cì hí cʰā=dzi ʔi  
 state 3C.DU.GEN PST.N IPFV do like=3F.PL COP
- and here they (the couple) come here and are describing what they have done,
- (45) jā cì ʔē||ùà ʔēdzì |ʰūāmáà ɣòrè “ʔāē cī, cī qɣ'òbì cī |ɣàè cúá !áì jā ŋ|ĩ cā kʰā cì cīā híí,”
- jā cì ʔē.||ùà ʔē.dzi |ʰūā-máà ɣòrè ʔāē cī cī  
 CONJ IPFV 3M.PL.ACC 3F.PL.ACC talk;JUNCT-BEN COMP yes 1SG.GEN 1SG.GEN
- qɣ'òbì=cī cī |ɣàè cúá !áì jā ŋ|ĩ cā kʰā  
 husband=3M.SG.NOM 1SG.GEN toward NEG be.good CONJ this IMIT EMPH
- cì cīā híí  
 IPFV 1SG.ACC do
- and telling them, “My husband is not nice to me, and (he) is doing like this to me,”

<sup>14</sup> This is a reduplicated form of †ʔūā ‘to ask (for something)’, and is lexicalized into a verb ‘to question’.

- (46) jā cì ?à.nà ?ē ||<sup>h</sup>āā χòrè “η|ì cà k<sup>h</sup>ā ?à.bì η|ì cì cīā híf,”  
 jā cì ?à.nà ?ē ||<sup>h</sup>āā χòrè η|ì cà k<sup>h</sup>ā ?à.bì η|ì  
 CONJ IPFV 3C.PL.ACC 3C.SG.ACC show COMP this IMIT EMPH 3M.SG.NOM PST.N  
 cì cīā híf  
 IPFV 1SG.ACC do  
 and showing it (=wound) to them, “He was doing like this to me,”
- (47) “jā cì cīā ||qχ'ámā-χū kà,”  
 jā cì cīā ||qχ'ámā-χū kà  
 CONJ IPFV 1SG.ACC hit;JNCT-repeatedly MPO  
 “and by beating me,”
- (48) “η|ì, ?ē ?π c<sup>h</sup>ā ?à. η|ì cà k<sup>h</sup>ā ?à.bì η|ì cī kà híf”,  
 η|ì ?ē ?π c<sup>h</sup>ā ?à η|ì cà k<sup>h</sup>ā ?à.bì η|ì cī  
 this 3C.SG.NOM look way.how IDTF this IMIT EMPH 3M.SG.NOM PST.N 1SG.GEN  
 kà híf  
 MPO do  
 “this is how it looks. He did like this to me”,
- (49) cà míf kè ?ē||ù ?àmà séè  
 cà míf kè ?ē.||ù ?à.mà séè  
 QUOT say because 3M.PL.NOM 3M.SG.ACC take  
 (she) says, so they take him away,
- (50) jā η|ìχò k<sup>h</sup>ā ?àm |χùà àà jā ààkù ?àmà †ēnāη†úāχò  
 jā η|ì-χò k<sup>h</sup>ā ?à.m |χùà àà jā àà.kù ?à.mà  
 CONJ this-place EMPH 3M.SG.GEN with come CONJ hither 3M.SG.ACC  
 †ēnā-η†úā-χò  
 enter;JNCT-put  
 and come here with him and imprison him here,

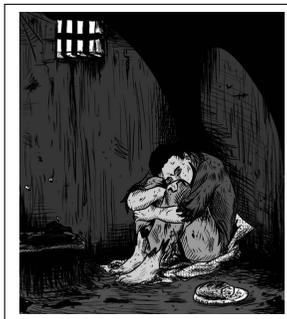


Thinking about gaol (51)–(55)

- (51) ʔàbì jā ɲɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ ʔē ɲ||áá kīdzì ɛ̀ʔáñ ɣòrè “ʔo,”  
 ʔà.bì jā ɲɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ ʔē ɲ||áá kī=dzì ɛ̀ʔáñ ɣòrè  
 3M.SG.NOM CONJ stay.sitting~ITER 3C.SG.ACC that FOC=3F.PL.ACC think COMP  
 ʔo  
 INTERJ  
 he is sitting and think these (thought balloons), “Oh,”
- (52) “ɲ||í tsī ɣà kī<sup>15</sup> k<sup>h</sup>òèsà |qɣ'úú c<sup>h</sup>īmāhā,”  
 ɲ||í tsī ɣà kī k<sup>h</sup>òè=sà |qɣ'úú c<sup>h</sup>īmā-hā<sup>16</sup>  
 this 2M.SG.NOM may PST1 person=3F.SG.ACC hit NEG-PRF  
 “You shouldn’t have beaten (your) wife,”
- (53) “ɲ||í tsā kītsī ɣà kī qɣ'ām̄,”  
 ɲ||í tsā kī=tsī ɣà kī qɣ'ām̄  
 this 2M.SG.GEN FOC=2M.SG.NOM may PST1 just (EMPH)  
 “You yourself should have just,”
- (54) “ɲ||í ʔīk<sup>h</sup>àò ɣà kī !áísī cì kúrnkū,” c<sup>h</sup>ā ɲ||íɣò k<sup>h</sup>ā ɲɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ wà ʔēdzì ɛ̀ʔáñ  
 ɲ||í ʔī.k<sup>h</sup>àò ɣà kī !áí-sī cì kúrn=kū c<sup>h</sup>ā ɲ||í-ɣò  
 this 2C.DU.NOM may PST1 be.good-ADVLZ IPFV listen.to=RECP like this-place  
 k<sup>h</sup>ā ɲɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ wà ʔē.dzì ɛ̀ʔáñ  
 EMPH stay.sitting PROG.SIT 3F.PL.ACC think  
 “you two should have been listening to each other better,” (he) is sitting thinking  
 these things here,
- (55) ɣòrè “ɲ||í tsī ɣà kī ||qɣ'ámāɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ c<sup>h</sup>īmā jā hācì |ʔū||ù k<sup>h</sup>òè||ù k<sup>h</sup>ūnā hācì k<sup>h</sup>òènà tsáo”  
 kīdzì ʔàbì jā ɲɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ ɲ||íɣò ɛ̀ʔáñ  
 ɣòrè ɲ||í tsī ɣà kī ||qɣ'ámā-ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ c<sup>h</sup>īmā jā hā.cì  
 COMP this 2M.SG.NOM may PST1 hit;JNCT-repeatedly NEG CONJ PROG  
 |ʔū=||ù k<sup>h</sup>òè=||ù k<sup>h</sup>ūnā hā.cì k<sup>h</sup>òè=nà tsáo  
 other=3M.PL.GEN person=3M.PL.GEN CONJ PROG person=3C.PL.ACC ask.for  
 kī=dzì ʔà.bì jā ɲɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ ɲ||í-ɣò ɛ̀ʔáñ  
 FOC=3F.PL.ACC 3M.SG.NOM CONJ stay.sitting~ITER this-place think  
 “You shouldn’t have beaten (her) and should have been asking people (for help) as  
 others do,” he stays sitting there thinking these things,

<sup>15</sup> The combination of a modal particle *ɣà* (possibility) with any past tense particle encodes counterfactual. Note that using nominative-irrealis here is grammatically ill-formed. Their combination, together with an evidential (hearsay) particle *kūmā*, namely “*kūmā* + nominative-irrealis + *ɣà* + past tense” encodes a counterfactual wish.

<sup>16</sup> The co-occurrence of perfect and negation is one of the indicators of socio-linguistic and dialectal variation in the G|ui language. In the Xade dialect (spoken mainly in Ghanzi district) they do not co-occur but in the Khute dialect (spoken mainly in Kweneng district) they do. Their co-occurrence here is unexpected because the storyteller is a Xade dialect speaker.



Alone (56)–(59)

- (56) *jā ɲ|ĩχò k<sup>h</sup>ā ɲɸùì wà ʔēdzì ɸʔáñ cà míí,*  
*jā ɲ|ĩ-χò k<sup>h</sup>ā ɲɸùì wà ʔē.dzì ɸʔáñ cà míí*  
 CONJ this-place EMPH stay.sitting PROG.SIT 3F.PL.ACC think QUOT say  
 and after here (he) sits and thinking for a while,
- (57) *||ʔūā ɲɸùì-nā jā wà ɸʔáñ c<sup>h</sup>ā k<sup>h</sup>ā ɸʔáñ cà míí,*  
*||ʔūā ɲɸùì-nā jā wà ɸʔáñ c<sup>h</sup>ā k<sup>h</sup>ā ɸʔáñ cà míí*  
 return stay.sitting-STAT CONJ PROG.SIT think like EMPH think QUOT say  
 and (he) is sitting thinking again and eventually realizes,
- (58) *k<sup>h</sup>èē ɲ|ĩχò k<sup>h</sup>ā*  
*k<sup>h</sup>èē ɲ|ĩ-χò k<sup>h</sup>ā*  
 INTERJ this-place EMPH  
 here...
- (59) *kánà χòsì ìχòsì ʔī ʔàm kà, ʔàn qχ'ò ʔàmà c<sup>h</sup>īrēhādzi χò kīdzìm ʔàm ||ái kà cìì*  
*kánà χò=sì ì.χò=sì ʔī ʔà.m kà ʔà.ñ qχ'ò*  
 or thing=3F.SG.NOM what=3F.SG.GEN IDTF 3M.SG.GEN MPO 3C.PL.GEN PST3  
*ʔà.mà c<sup>h</sup>īrē-hā<sup>17</sup>=dzì χò kī=dzì-m ʔà.m ||ái*  
 3M.SG.ACC give;JUNCT-PRF=3F.PL.GEN thing FOC=3F.PL.GEN-INTER 3M.SG.GEN side  
*kà cìì*  
 LOC be.standing  
 or what is this, are the things that they have given him standing at his side?

<sup>17</sup> This is a speech error and should be *c<sup>h</sup>īrē-hā*.



Thinking of home (60)–(68)

- (60) k<sup>h</sup>èē ?ē kùà !<sup>h</sup>úāsì cà míí  
 k<sup>h</sup>èē ?ē kùà !<sup>h</sup>úā.sì cà míí  
 INTERJ 3C.SG.ACC PROG.M break.dawn QUOT say  
 and then dawn is breaking,
- (61) ?àbì jā ŋ|ĩχò k<sup>h</sup>ā |úásiχàh kà àà jā ààkù ŋ||ām̀kà míí, “?o,”  
 ?à.bì jā ŋ|ĩ-χò k<sup>h</sup>ā |úá.sì-χà=h kà àà jā  
 3M.SG.NOM CONJ this-place EMPH child-ASSOC=3C.PL.GEN MPO come CONJ  
 àà.kù ŋ||ām̀.ka míí ?o  
 hither then say INTERJ  
 and he comes where there the child is with others and then says, “Oh,”
- (62) “ŋ|ĩ tsī χà kī”, k<sup>h</sup>èē, !<sup>h</sup>úāsìc<sup>h</sup>ēṁ  
 ŋ|ĩ tsī χà kī k<sup>h</sup>èē !<sup>h</sup>úā.sì-c<sup>h</sup>ēṁ  
 this 2M.SG.NOM may PST1 INTERJ break.dawn-before  
 “If you had”, oops, it is still dark,
- (63) ?ē kùà †χáí cà míí, ?ē kùà †χáí cà míí,  
 ?ē kùà †χáí cà míí ?ē kùà †χáí cà míí  
 3C.SG.NOM PROG.M get.up QUOT say 3C.SG.NOM PROG.M get.up QUOT say  
 then people are waking up,
- (64) jā ààkù ŋ||ām̀kà  
 jā àà.kù ŋ||ām̀.ka  
 CONJ hither then  
 and here then,
- (65) †χájāhā jā ààkù cèñ cà míí ?àm †ēnāŋ†ùìñā χò k<sup>h</sup>ā  
 †χájā-hā jā àà.kù cèñ cà míí ?à.m  
 wake.up;JNCT-PRF CONJ hither stand.up QUOT say 3M.SG.GEN  
 †ēnā-ŋ†ùì-nā χò k<sup>h</sup>ā  
 enter;JNCT-stay.sitting-STAT place EMPH  
 and are awake and get up at the place he is sitting,

- (66) jā ɲ||ā̀m̀kà hā̀cì ʔēdzì ɸʔā̀n̄ ɣòrè “ai, tsī ɣà qɣ'ò ɲ||ī, kʰóèsà tsī ɣà qɣ'ò tsā̀ kà,”  
 jā ɲ||ā̀m̀.kà hā̀.cì ʔē.dzì ɸʔā̀n̄ ɣòrè ai tsī ɣà qɣ'ò ɲ||ī  
 CONJ then PROG 3F.PL.ACC think COMP INTERJ 2M.SG.NOM may PST3 this  
 kʰóè=sà tsī ɣà qɣ'ò tsā̀ kà  
 person=3F.SG.ACC 2M.SG.NOM may PST3 2M.SG.GEN POSS  
 and then (he) keeps thinking “You should have, you should have your wife  
 (truncated),”
- (67) “ʔīkʰà̀ò ɣà qɣ'ò |úá kà ʔīkʰà̀òjì̀m̄ |ɣùà c'úìsī háá jā ɣà qɣ'ò ʔà̀nà újā̀hā̀” cā ɲ||í-ɣò  
 kʰā̀ hā̀cì ɸʔā̀n̄  
 ʔī.kʰà̀ò ɣà qɣ'ò |úá kà ʔī.kʰà̀ò-jì̀=m̄ |ɣùà  
 2C.DU.NOM may PST3 child REL 2C.DU.GEN-be.for=3M.SG.GEN with  
 c'úì-sī háá jā ɣà qɣ'ò ʔà̀.nà újā̀-hā̀ cā ɲ||í-ɣò  
 be.good-ADV LZ be CONJ may PST3 3C.PL.ACC like;JNCT-PRF QUOT this-place  
 kʰā̀ hā̀.cì ɸʔā̀n̄  
 EMPH PROG think  
 “If you two had been nicely together with your own son, you would have taken  
 delight in seeing them”, (he) is thinking here,
- (68) jā hā̀cì ɲ||áádzì ɣò kīdzì ɸʔā̀n̄  
 jā hā̀.cì ɲ||áá=dzì ɣò kī=dzì ɸʔā̀n̄  
 CONJ PROG that=3F.PL.GEN thing FOC=3F.PL.ACC think  
 and keeps thinking these things.

## Abbreviations

ACC	accusative	JNCT	juncture form
ADVLZ	adverbializer	LOC	locative
ASSOC	associative	M	masculine
BEN	benefactive	MPO	multi-purpose oblique
C	common (masculine + feminine)	NEG	negative
CAUS	causative	NOM	nominative
COMP	complementizer	PL	plural
CONJ	conjunction	POSS	possessive
COP	copula	PRF	perfect
DIM	diminutive	PROG	progressive
DU	dual	PROG.M	progressive-mobile
EMPH	emphatic	PROG.SIT	progressive-sitting
F	feminine	PROG.ST	progressive-standing
FOC	focus	PRPTV	proprietary
FUT1	hodiernal (today) future	PST.N	near past/last night past
GEN	genitive	PST1	hodiernal (today) past
IDTF	identifier	PST3	remote past
IMIT	imitative	QUOT	quotative
INTER	interrogative	RECP	reciprocal
INTERJ	interjection	REL	relative
IPFV	imperfective	SG	singular
IRR	irrealis	STAT	stative
ITER	iterative		

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