

A Living Grammar Sketch of Tjwao

Version 1.1

Admire Phiri & Alexander Andrason

Living Tongues Institute for Endangered Languages

Salem, Oregon

2022

A Living Grammar Sketch of Tjwao

© Admire Phiri

© Alexander Andrason

Living Tongues Institute for Endangered Languages

Salem, Oregon

2022

This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License

1. Introduction

Tjwao (Glottolog: tshw 1239 / ISO: hio) is a language spoken in the Tsholotsho district of western Zimbabwe (see Figure 1 and 2 below). Tjwao belongs to the Khoe-Kwadi branch of the Kalahari Khoe linguistic group. The comparative analysis suggests that Tjwao is closely related to languages spoken in eastern Botswana commonly referred to as Tshwa (tsoa1238 / hio), particularly the doculects Hiechware, Ganadi, and Glabak'e, as well as Tcire-Tcire (Fehn and Phiri 2017). Like other Khoe-Kwadi varieties, Tjwao forms part of a broad typological unit, the so-called Southern African Khoisan Sprachbund. This Sprachbund unites the unrelated Kx'a, Tuu and Khoe-Kwadi families (Güldemann & Fehn 2017).

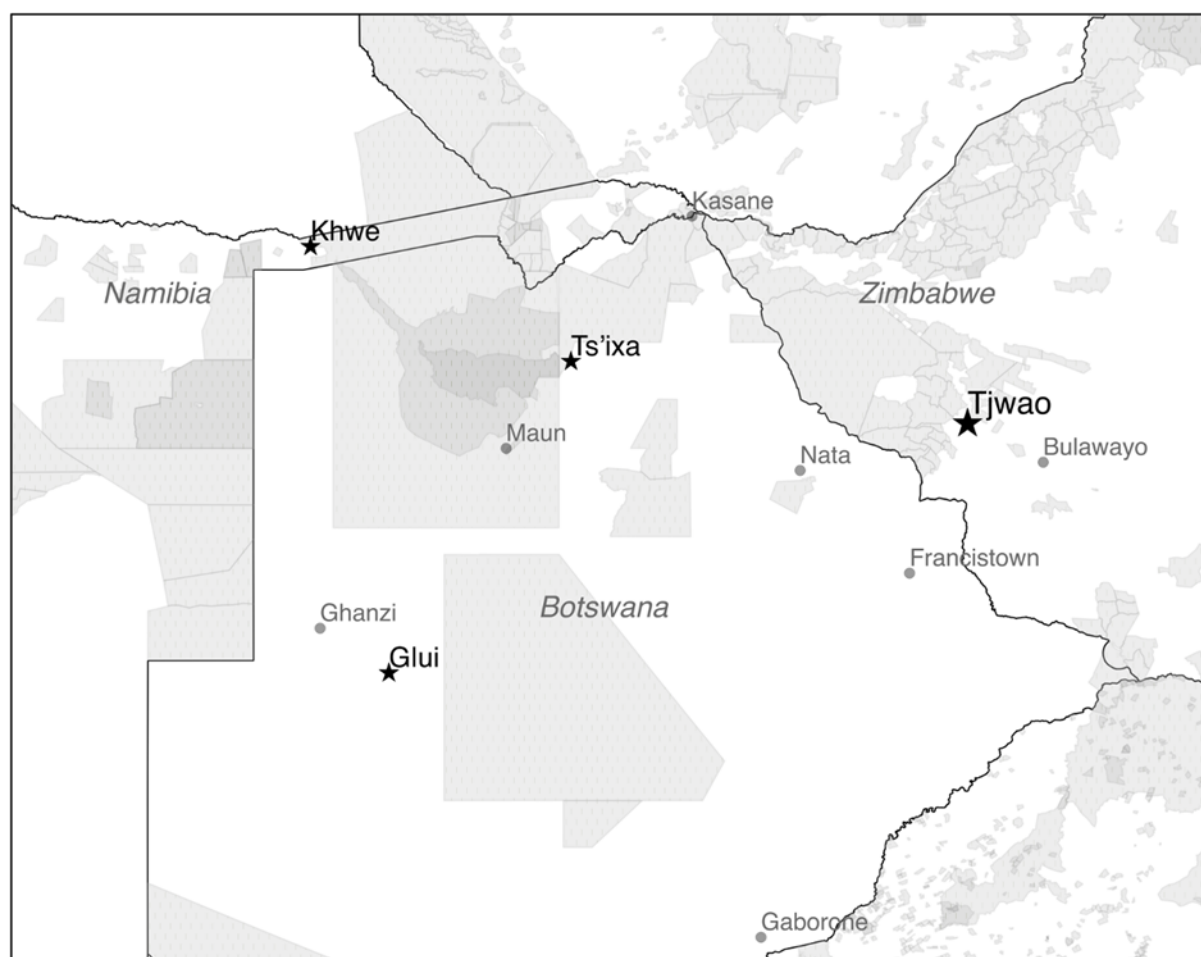


Figure 1: The geographic location of Tjwa people and the linguistically related communities (Grey zones indicate conservation areas that in many instances correspond to the former habitats of the Southern African San before resettlement; Andrason, Phiri & Fehn forthcoming).

Similar to many other Khoe-Kwadi and Khoisan varieties, Tjwao is a moribund language. The presence of Tjwao in the Tjwa community of Zimbabwe is minimal. The language is currently known and, occasionally, used by seven elderly speakers whose age ranges from 70 to 95 years. Crucially, Tjwao is neither employed in everyday personal communications, where Kalanga and Ndebele have replaced it, nor does it entertain any official or emblematic function in the community. It is also absent from local primary schools and education, where English, as well as, the above-mentioned Kalanga and Ndebele, are preferred. Since, for decades, children have not been acquiring Tjwao naturally by means of parental transmission and have very seldom been exposed to Tjwao in their daily interactions, the members of the younger generation(s) have, at best, passive knowledge of this language. The Tjwao community has generally shifted to other languages, mostly the above-mentioned Kalanga and Ndebele (Andrason, Fehn & Phiri 2020).

In further similarity to Kalahari Khoe languages from the eastern Kalahari Basin fringe, Tjwao is heavily under-researched. References to Tjwao in the scholarly literature are scarce. However, because of the persistent research activities conducted by the authors of this grammar sketch together with Anne-Maria Fehn, this situation has been changing. Accordingly, the scholarly understanding of Tjwao grammar and lexicon has significantly improved in the last five years. This particularly pertains to the nominal system (Fehn & Phiri 2017), the verbal system (Andrason & Phiri 2018), interjections (Andrason, Fehn & Phiri 2020), juncture-verb constructions (Fehn and Phiri 2022), onomatopoeias (Andrason, Phiri & Fehn forthcoming), and conative animal calls (Andrason & Phiri forthcoming). The most comprehensive description of the entire Tjwao language – in particular its sound, nominal, and verbal system – may be found in a PhD dissertation authored by Phiri (2021).

The present work is the first grammatical sketch of Tjwao. Its content is organized in the following manner: first, we discuss the phonetics of Tjwao (Section 2). Subsequently, we describe the morpho-syntax of the language, in particular nominals, pronominals, quantifiers, adjectives, adpositions, onomatopoeias, and verbs (Section 3). Lastly, we describe the fundamental rules that govern the word order of Tjwao (Section 4).

The data used in this grammatical sketch draw on long-term research activities conducted in Tsholotsho in 2016-2019 and 2022. The primary locations where we met the Tjwao speakers were the villages of Sanqinyana (90 km west from the Tsholotsho District center) and Sifulasengwe (9 kilometers north-east from Sanqinyana).

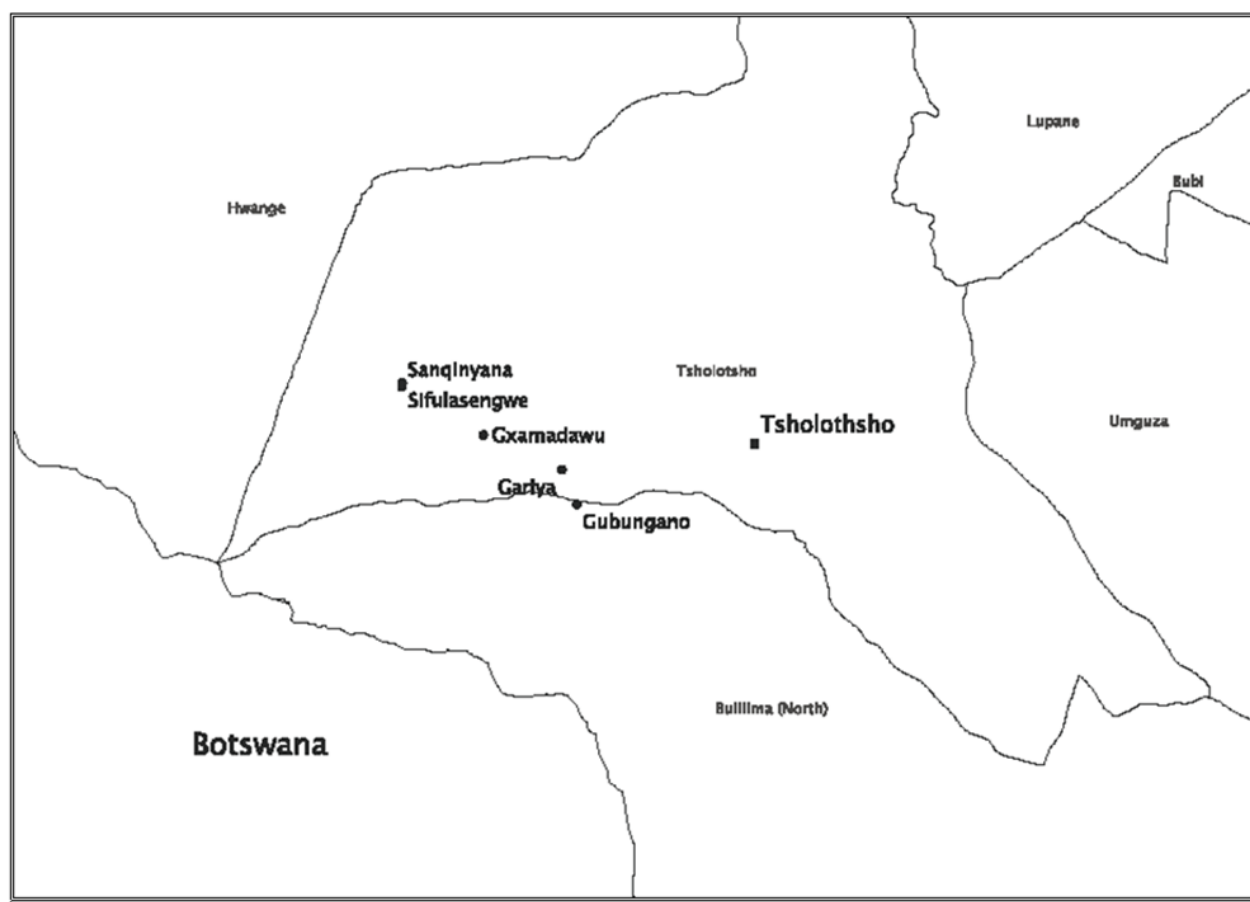


Figure 2: The geographic location of the Tjwao community in the Tsholotsho District

2. Sound system of Tjwao

2.1 Vowels

In Tjwao, vowels can be divided into two main categories: primary and secondary. The former can be oral or nasal. The latter constitute oral and nasal vowel sequences similar to diphthongs.

2.1.1 Primary vowels

There are five primary oral vowels: *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*, and *a*:

<i>i</i>	<i>ʔibi</i> ‘egg’, <i>kx’uni</i> ‘louse’, <i>kx’ari</i> ‘root’
<i>u</i>	<i>ɭxuru</i> ‘cold’, <i>ɭxuri</i> ‘seed’, <i>xum</i> ‘soil’
<i>e</i>	<i>ʔe.be</i> ‘he’, <i>ɭxore</i> ‘nail/claw’, <i>kare</i> ‘foot’
<i>o</i>	<i>ɭxore</i> ‘nail/claw’, <i>karo</i> ‘stone’, <i>kobo</i> ‘slow’
<i>a</i>	<i>ʔaba</i> ‘dog’, <i>tan</i> ‘stand’, <i>sam</i> ‘breast’

All oral vowels can also be long or bimoraic, i.e., *ii*, *uu*, *ee*, *oo*, and *aa*. As is true of other Khoe languages, such long or bimoraic vowels are analyzed in Tjwao as two short vowels. This is because each vowel acts as a distinct tone-bearing unit.

<i>ii</i>	<i>lii</i> ‘song’, <i>hii</i> ‘rhino’, <i>tcii</i> ‘sick’
<i>uu</i>	<i>luu</i> ‘near’, <i>nguu</i> ‘far away’, <i>tuu</i> ‘rain’
<i>ee</i>	<i>ʔee</i> ‘fire’, <i>lee</i> ‘blue wildebeest’, <i>see</i> ‘take’
<i>oo</i>	<i>loo</i> ‘end’, <i>gloo</i> ‘big’, <i>kx’oo.xo</i> ‘meat’
<i>aa</i>	<i>laa</i> ‘belly’, <i>baa</i> ‘father’, <i>maa</i> ‘head’

Tjwao additionally contains 3 nasal vowels: *ĩ*, *ũ*, and *ã*:

<i>ĩ</i>	<i>t’ũĩ</i> ‘good’ <i>hĩĩ</i> ‘do’, <i>tĩĩ</i> ‘stand’
<i>ũ</i>	<i>mũũ</i> ‘see’, <i>kũũ</i> ‘go’, <i>ʔnyũũ</i> ‘eat’
<i>ã</i>	<i>ʔãã</i> ‘know’, <i>tcãã</i> ‘enter’, <i>tsãã</i> ‘cook’

The nasal vowels *ã* and *ũ* always occur as bimoraic, i.e., [*ãã*] [*ũũ*], or in sequences, e.g., [*ũã*] (see section 2.1.3). In contrast, *ĩ* can also occur as a monomoraic phone, e.g., in the morphemes marking the reflexive *-hĩ* and the past *-hĩ*.

2.1.2 Vowel Sequences

Additional to the types of vowels described above, there are oral and nasal vowel sequences. The nine oral vowel sequences found in Tjwao are *ai*, *ae*, *ao*, *au*, *oe*, *oa*, *ui*, *ue* and *ua*:

<i>ai</i>	hai ‘pull’, tcxai ‘eye’, xai ‘wind’
<i>ae</i>	ʔae ‘home’, kae.tca ‘to hunt’, lx’ae ‘to fall’
<i>ao</i>	n gao ‘old’, kx’ao ‘neck’, kao ‘long’,
<i>oe</i>	n goe ‘moon’, loe ‘knee’, djoe ‘also’
<i>oa</i>	n goa ‘stone’, dzoa ‘ash’, doa ‘kudu’
<i>ui</i>	lui ‘one’, n gui ‘fat’, tsui ‘nose’
<i>ue</i>	ʔue ‘break’, xue ‘white’, kue ‘river’
<i>ua</i>	lua ‘red’, kua ‘imperfective marker’, ua.na ‘to have’
<i>au</i>	ʔau ‘fish’, tshau ‘hand’, kau ‘to remain/stay’

Three vowel sequences can be nasal, i.e., *ãĩ*, *ũã* and *ũĩ*:

<i>ũã</i>	ũã ‘child’, tũã ‘friend’, kũã ‘duiker’
<i>ãĩ</i>	k’ãĩ ‘smell’, ãĩ ‘buy’, kãĩ ‘good’
<i>ũĩ</i>	t’ũĩ ‘good’, tsũĩ ‘small’, kũĩ.kx’e ‘sister’

2.2 Consonants

Tjwao is characterized by a fairly rich repertoire of consonants. In this study, we divide all consonants into two main types: non-click and click consonants.

2.2.1 Non-click consonants

There are 39 non-click consonantal phones. Three of them (*mb*, *l*, and *z*) are found only in loan words. The main types of non-click consonants include stops (also as clusters), nasals (and prenasalised), fricatives, taps and liquids, and glides.

	labial	alveolar	alveolo-palatal	palatal	velar	glottal
stops and affricates	[p] [b]	[t] [d] [tʰ] [tʼ]	[ts] [dz] [tʰ] [tsʼ]	[tʃ] [dʒ] [tʃʰ] [tʃʼ]	[k] [g] [kʰ]	[ʔ]
nasals	[m]	[n]		[ɲ]	[ŋ]	
fricatives		[s] ([z])		[ʃ]	[x]	[h]
glides	[w]			[j]		

Table 1: Non-click consonants

Stops and affricates

[b]	<i>b</i>	<i>ɓaba</i> ‘dog’, <i>baa</i> ‘father’
[p]	<i>p</i>	<i>pata</i> ‘road’, <i>kip kip kip</i> ‘sound made when calling chickens’
[t]	<i>t</i>	<i>tuu</i> ‘rain’, <i>taa.ka</i> ‘blood’,
[tʼ]	<i>tʼ</i>	<i>tʼuu</i> ‘pus’, <i>tʼũĩ</i> ‘good’
[tʰ]	<i>th</i>	<i>thũũ</i> ‘pain’, <i>thama</i> ‘grass’
[ts]	<i>ts</i>	<i>tsui</i> ‘nose’, <i>tsãã</i> ‘hot’
[tsʼ]	<i>tsʼ</i>	<i>tsʼabe</i> ‘green’, <i>tsʼoa</i> ‘exit’
[tʰ]	<i>tsh</i>	<i>tshau</i> ‘hand’, <i>tshaa</i> ‘water’
[tʃ]	<i>tc</i>	<i>tcee</i> ‘ear’, <i>tcoo</i> ‘skin’
[k]	<i>k</i>	<i>kua</i> ‘imperfective’, <i>kũũ</i> ‘go’
[kʰ]	<i>kh</i>	<i>khuri</i> ‘pig’, <i>khæ</i> ‘to fight’
[d]	<i>d</i>	<i>dao</i> ‘road’, <i>dini</i> ‘honey’
[g]	<i>g</i>	<i>gam</i> ‘throw’, <i>gee</i> ‘cow’
[dz]	<i>dz</i>	<i>dzini</i> ‘sun’, <i>dzoa</i> ‘ash’

[d͡ʒ]	<i>dj</i>	<i>djii</i> ‘tree’, <i>djoe</i> ‘also’
[ʔ]	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>ʔaba</i> ‘dog’, <i>ʔe.be</i> ‘he’

Nasals

[n]	<i>n</i>	<i>tan</i> ‘stand’, <i>ɭun</i> ‘name’
[m]	<i>m</i>	<i>kx'am</i> ‘mouth’, <i>ɭum</i> ‘cloud’
[ɲ]	<i>ny</i>	<i>nyũũ</i> ‘sit’, <i>ʔnyũũ</i> ‘food/eat’
[ŋ]	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>ŋaa</i> ‘to burn’, <i>ŋũũ</i> ‘land’

Fricatives

[s]	<i>s</i>	<i>sam</i> ‘breast’, <i>see</i> ‘take’
[ʃ]	<i>c</i>	<i>coo</i> ‘lung’, <i>ca</i> ‘you (feminine)’
[x]	<i>x</i>	<i>xae</i> ‘night’, <i>xum</i> ‘sand’
[h]	<i>h</i>	<i>haa</i> ‘come’, <i>hĩ</i> ‘to do’
[z]	<i>z</i>	<i>mbizi</i> ‘zebra’

Taps and liquids

[r]	<i>r</i>	<i>-ra, -re, -ro, -rera</i> ‘plural markers’, <i>khuri</i> ‘pig’
[l]	<i>l</i>	<i>laba</i> ‘read’, <i>kwala</i> ‘write’

Glides

In Tjwao, preceding other vowels, the vowels *o* and *u* tend to be realized as glides. They appear as *w* before back vowels and *a*, for instance, *uu* > *wuu* ‘far’ and *ua.na* > *wana* ‘have’. The palatal glide is sometimes pronounced before the high front vowel *i*, for instance, *ii* > *yii* ‘this (demonstrative)’.

Consonant clusters

Apart from consonantal singletons, Tjwao tolerates three types of clusters:

	labial	dental	alveolo- palatal	lateral	palatal	velar
prenasalized	([mb])		[nd̥z]		[nd̥ʒ]	[ŋg]
C + [x]			[t̥sx]		[t̥ʃx]	
C + [x']						[kx']

Table 2: Non-click clusters

[nd̥z]	<i>ndz</i>	<i>ndzuu</i> ‘black’, <i>ndzoro</i> ‘back’
[nd̥ʒ]	<i>ndj</i>	<i>ndjuu</i> ‘house’, <i>ndjaa</i> ‘dance’
[ŋg]	<i>ng</i>	<i>ngabe</i> ‘giraffe’, <i>ngaro</i> ‘chameleon’
[mb]	<i>mb</i>	<i>gomba</i> ‘hole’, <i>yembe</i> ‘shirt’
[t̥sx]	<i>tsx</i>	<i>tsxaa</i> ‘elephant’, <i>tsxia</i> ‘hide’
[t̥ʃx]	<i>tcx</i>	<i>tcxai</i> ‘eye’, <i>tcxuri</i> ‘snail’
[kx']	<i>kx'</i>	<i>kx'ui</i> ‘speak’, <i>kx'ũ</i> ‘liver’

2.2.2 Click consonants

There are only two click influxes found in Tjwao: the dental | and the lateral ɓ:

	<i>laa</i> ‘belly’, <i>lii</i> ‘song’, <i>luu</i> ‘near’
ɓ	<i>lum</i> ‘cloud’, <i>loe</i> ‘knee’, <i>labo</i> ‘sandals, shoe’

Both dental and the lateral clicks may appear with seven distinct accompaniments or effluxes.

The aspirated, voiced, prenasalized unvoiced and voiced clicks are considered complex clicks.

The table below present the inventory of all click phones:

	dental	alveolar	lateral
unvoiced	[l̥]	([!l̥])	[ll̥]
aspirated	[lh]	([!lh])	[llh]
voiced	[g]		[gl]
prenasalized unvoiced	[n̥]		[nll̥]
prenasalised voiced	[ng]		[nlg]

Table 3: Click consonants

Dental clicks		Lateral clicks	
<i>g</i> l	<i>g</i> lana ‘leaf’	<i>g</i> ll	<i>g</i> lloo ‘big’
<i>n</i> l	<i>n</i> luma ‘to kiss’	<i>n</i> ll	<i>n</i> llãã ‘horn’
<i>n</i> lg	<i>n</i> lgee ‘now’	<i>n</i> llg	<i>n</i> llgui ‘fat’
<i>h</i> l	<i>h</i> lil ‘rhinoceros’	<i>h</i> ll	<i>h</i> llai ‘to pull’

The other three click types – i.e., clicks followed by [x], [ʔ], and [xʰ] – are considered clusters:

	labial	dental	alveolo-palatal	lateral	palatal	velar
click + [x]		[lx]		[llx]		
click + [ʔ]		[lʔ]		[llʔ]		
click + [xʰ]		[lxʰ]		[llxʰ]		

Table 4: Click clusters

Dental clicks		Lateral clicks	
<i>lx</i>	<i>lx</i> am ‘to urinate’	<i>llx</i>	<i>llx</i> ara ‘many’
<i>lʔ</i>	<i>lʔ</i> ũã ‘bone’	<i>llʔ</i>	<i>llʔ</i> oo ‘to die’
<i>lxʰ</i>	<i>lxʰ</i> ũã ‘tonsils’	<i>llxʰ</i>	<i>llxʰ</i> ae ‘meet’

3. Morpho-syntax

3.1 Nouns

There is a limited gender-marking system in Tjwao. The consistent marking of gender in Tjwao is only found with [+human] proper nouns in singular. The gender markers used in such instances are often directly attached to the root and coincide with the suffixes used for the formation of the third person pronouns (see section 3.2), e.g., the masculine *-be* in *Msindobe* ‘Msindo’ and the feminine *-ce* in *Mariace* ‘Maria’. Alternatively, the corresponding pronoun may directly follow the head noun. The combination of both strategies, i.e., suffixal marking and a following pronoun, is also possible. Like third person pronouns, these types of nouns display a three-way case distinction: *-be* (NOM), *-ba* (ACC), *-m* (GEN) in the masculine and *-ce* (NOM), *-ca* (ACC), and *-ci* (GEN) in the feminine. Occasionally, common [+human] nouns such as *tsee.xu-ba* ‘judge’ are marked for gender as well (see example 1). Similar to [+human] proper nouns, names given to animals may also exhibit gender marking. The only [-human] noun inflected for gender that is not a proper noun, is the word for ostrich, i.e., ‘*glaro*’. In the story of the *Origin of Fire*, the ostrich exhibits human characteristics and the word *glaro* is accompanied the masculine suffixes: *glarobe* in the nominative and *glarom* in the genitive (2). In contrast, [-human] nouns are never marked for gender and may only be followed by the 3sg.C pronoun *e*. Similarly, gender is not encoded in plural.

- (1) *ʔUi.ka ʔe.be tsee.xu-ba mũũ-a-hĩ.*

<i>ʔui.ka</i>	<i>ʔe.be</i>	<i>tsee.xu-ba</i>	<i>mũũ-a-hĩ</i>
yesterday	3sg.M.NOM	judge-sg.M.ACC	see-J-PST
He saw the judge yesterday.			

- (2) *Glaro-be ʔe.be kua xu-ra tsãã.xu*

<i>glaro-be</i>	<i>ʔe.be</i>	<i>kua</i>	<i>xu-ra</i>	<i>tsãã.xu</i>
ostrich-sg.M	3sg.M	IPFV	thing-pl	cook
The ostrich was cooking things (was the only one who ate cooked meals).				

Nouns can be pluralized by means of suffixes which are attached to the nominal root. The most common plural marker is a suffix *-rV*. Plural nouns also exhibit a case distinction, with *-re* marking the nominative (3) and *-ra* the accusative (4). The plural marker found with the

dependent (genitive) case is *-n* (5). The form *baa.re/baa.ra* ‘father’ seems to indicate the plural for respect.

(3) Nominative

a. |'ee kua ηaa kika tcoa-re |uu-ta.

'ee	kua	ηaa	kika	tcoa-re	uu-ta
fire	IPFV	burn	when	person- pl.NOM	get.near-NEG.IPFV

When the fire burns, the people do not get nearby.

(4) Accusative

a. ʔE.be ʔui.ka tcoa-ra mũũ-a-hĩ.

ʔe.be	ʔui.ka	tcoa-ra	mũũ-a-hĩ
3sg.M.NOM	yesterday	person- pl.ACC	see-J-PST

He saw (some) people yesterday.

(5) Genitive

a. Tsxaru-n ʔii.ra ʔe.na see-ha.

tsxaru-n	ʔii.ra	ʔe.na	see-ha
firewood- pl.GEN	all	3sg.C	take:J-PRF

They have taken all the firewood.

The plural marker *-ra* and *-re* can be suffixed to [+human] (6) and [-human] (7) nouns:

(6) Kx'ao.tco-re kua Tjwao kx'ui.

kx'ao.tco-re	kua	Tjwao	kx'ui
man- pl	IPFV	Tjwao	speak

The men are speaking Tjwao.

(7) Glaro-be ʔe.be kua xa tcu-ra dzaro-kaa.

glaro-be	ʔe.be	kua	xa	tcu-ra	dzaro-kaa
ostrich-sg.M	3sg.M	IPFV	DEM	coal- pl	pick.up-VOL

The ostrich wanted to pick up the coal.

Information structure and/or syntactic properties besides case can also affect the choice of the appropriate suffix to mark plurality. The example below shows an exception where the accusative plural suffix *-ra* is attached to a subject noun-phrase.

- (8) *lAm dana.tco-ra kua Tjwao kx'ui.*
lam dana.tco-ra kua Tjwao kx'ui
 two girl-pl IPFV Tjwao speak
 The two girls are speaking Tjwao.

Apart from the suffixes *-ra* and *-re*, Tjwao has an additional plural suffix *-ro* which is mostly found with [+human] nouns, for instance, *kx'ao.tco-ro* ‘men’:

- (9) *Kx'ao.tco-ro lxoo-ha ttxaru kaa.*
kx'ao.tco-ro lxoo-ha ttxaru kaa
 man-pl dry:J-PRF firewood collect.firewood
 The men collect dried firewood.

With a closed set of words denoting persons, the plural suffixes *-rera* and *-are* occur. The suffix *-rera* is found predominantly with the noun *ũã* ‘child’ (10). The suffix *-are* is mostly found with the noun *kx'aro* ‘boy’ (11).

- (10) *lũã-rera kua karo pee.*
ũã-rera kua karo pee
 child-pl IPFV stone jump
 The children jump over the stone.

- (11) *lJoana k'aro-are tire mũũ-a-ha.*
joana k'aro-are tire mũũ-a-ha
 three boy-pl 1sg see-J-PRF
 I saw three boys.

In cases where the head noun is not the last element of the noun-phrase, the plural marker may attach to the last element, which may be a numeral or the possessive marker *de*. If the numeral follows a noun in a modifying noun-phrase, it receives the plural marker *-ra* or *-re* (12). Conversely, if the numeral quantifier comes before the noun it modifies, the plural marker is optional (13). In some cases, if the noun-phrase includes a possessive modifier *de* and the numeral precedes the noun, the plural marker *-re* is attached to the possessive (13). However, this marking is optional.

- (12)
- Ii lûã ŋuna-re kua kwele o kûũ.*

<i>ii</i>	<i>lûã</i>	<i>ŋoana-re</i>	<i>kua</i>	<i>kwele</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>kûũ</i>
DEM	child	three-pl	IPFV	school	LOC	go

These three children are going to school.

- (13)
- lam mini kua dao k'are ti tcaa.xu de.*

<i>lam</i>	<i>mini</i>	<i>kua</i>	<i>dao</i>	<i>k'are</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>tcaa.xu</i>	<i>de</i>
two	goat	IPFV	road	cross	1sg.GEN	brother	POSS

The two goats crossing the road are my brother's.

- (14)
- Glee.xu ka sam ʔe.ce de-ra lx'aa.*

<i>glee.xu</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>sam</i>	<i>ʔe.ce</i>	<i>de-ra</i>	<i>lx'aa</i>
woman	ANT	breast	3sg.F.NOM	POSS-pl	wash

The woman washed her breasts.

- (15)
- lam mota k'aotco de lʔoo-ha.*

<i>lam</i>	<i>mota</i>	<i>k'aotco</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>lʔoo-ha</i>
two	car	man	poss	die:J-PRF

The man's two cars are broken.

3.2 Pronouns

The pronominal system of Tjwao distinguishes three persons (first, second, and third), three genders (common, feminine, and masculine), and three numbers (singular, dual, and plural). In addition, the pronouns of the first person singular and dual, as well as the pronouns of the third person singular and plural, encode a case distinction between nominative and accusative. A genitive or dependent form is distinguished in the first person, as well as in the third person singular and plural. The three tables below capture the pronominal series for nominative, accusative and genitive, respectively.¹

¹ The question mark (?) indicates subject and object pronouns that the researcher has not been able to elicit from the participants.

	Common	Feminine	Masculine	Nominative
1 st	<i>ti, tire</i>			Singular
2 nd		<i>ca</i>	<i>tca</i>	
3 rd	<i>ʔe</i>	<i>ʔe.ce</i>	<i>ʔe.be</i>	
1 st	<i>khabe</i>	<i>sabe</i>	<i>tsabe</i>	Dual
2 nd	<i>kharo</i>	<i>saro</i>	<i>tsaro</i>	
3 rd	<i>ʔe.khora/ ʔe.khoara</i>	<i>ʔe.sara</i>	<i>ʔe.tsara</i>	
1 st	<i>tsi/ tcoa.n(a)</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>ka</i>	Plural
2 nd	<i>to/ toa</i>	<i>dzao</i>	<i>kao</i>	
3 rd	<i>ʔe.na</i>	<i>e.dzia</i>	<i>ʔe.kua</i>	

	Common	Feminine	Masculine	Accusative
1 st	<i>tia</i>			Singular
2 nd		<i>ca</i>	<i>tca</i>	
3 rd	<i>ʔe</i>	<i>ʔe.ca</i>	<i>ʔe.ba</i>	
1 st	<i>khaba</i>	<i>saba</i>	<i>tsaba</i>	Dual
2 nd	<i>kharo</i>	<i>saro</i>	<i>tsaro</i>	
3 rd	<i>ʔe.khora/ ʔe.khoara</i>	<i>ʔe.sara</i>	<i>ʔe.tsara</i>	
1 st	<i>tsi/ tcoa.n(a)</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>ka</i>	Plural
2 nd	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>dzao</i>	<i>kao</i>	
3 rd	<i>ʔe.na</i>	<i>ʔe.dzia</i>	<i>ʔe.kua</i>	

	Common	Feminine	Masculine	Genitive
1 st	<i>ti</i>			Singular
2 nd		<i>ca</i>	<i>tca</i>	
3 rd	<i>ʔe</i>	<i>ʔe.ci</i>	<i>ʔe.m</i>	
1 st	<i>kham</i>	<i>sam</i>	<i>tsam</i>	Dual
2 nd	<i>kharo</i>	<i>saro</i>	<i>tsaro</i>	
3 rd	<i>ʔe.khora/ ʔe.khoara</i>	<i>ʔe.sara</i>	<i>ʔe.tsara</i>	
1 st	<i>tsi/ tcoa.n</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>ka</i>	Plural
2 nd	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>dzao</i>	<i>kao</i>	
3 rd	<i>ʔe.n</i>	<i>ʔe.dzi</i>	<i>ʔe.ku</i>	

Table 2: Pronouns in the nominative, accusative, and genitive

In the nominative paradigm, Tjwao exhibits two first-person singular forms *tire* and *ti*. The use of the nominative *tire* is unrestricted. It can occur with the imperfective *kua* as well as any other TAM category (16). In contrast, *ti* is restricted to the position before the imperfective particle *kua* (see 17).

- (16) *Tire ii ʔnyũũ loo-kaxu-na-ha.*
tire *ii* ʔnyũũ loo-kaxu-na-ha
1sg DEM food end-CAU-J-PRF
 I finished the food.

- (17) *Ti kua lxuru.*
ti **kua** lxuru
1sg **IPFV** shiver
 I am shivering.

In examples (18.a-f) below, nominative and accusative forms are contrasted. The pronouns found in examples (81.a-c) function as the subject of the clause, and hence bear an affinity to nominative case marking. The pronouns that appear in examples (18.d-f) are used for the direct object of the verb phrase, corresponding to accusative case.

(18)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>a. <i>Ti kua xam mũũ.</i>
 Ti <i>kua</i> <i>xam</i> <i>mũũ</i>
 1sg.NOM IPFV Lion See
 I see the lion.</p> | <p>d. <i>Xam kua ti.a paa.</i>
 <i>xam</i> <i>kua</i> ti.a <i>paa</i>
 lion IPFV 1sg.ACC bite
 The lion is biting me.</p> |
| <p>b. <i>Tca kua xam mũũ.</i>
 tca <i>kua</i> <i>xam</i> <i>mũũ</i>
 2sg.M.NOM IPFV Lion See
 You (m.) see the lion.</p> | <p>e. <i>Xam kua tca paa.</i>
 <i>xam</i> <i>kua</i> tca <i>paa</i>
 lion IPFV 2sg.M.ACC bite
 The lion is biting you (m.).</p> |
| <p>c. <i>ʔe.be kua xam mũũ.</i>
 ʔE.be <i>kua</i> <i>xam</i> <i>mũũ.</i>
 3sg.M.NOM IPFV Lion see
 He sees the lion.</p> | <p>f. <i>Xam kua ʔe.ba paa.</i>
 <i>xam</i> <i>kua</i> ʔe.ba <i>paa.</i>
 lion IPFV 3sg.M.ACC bite
 The lion is biting him.</p> |

Genitive pronouns are mainly used in used attributive possessive constructions where they express part-whole relations, including body-parts, material, and local relations:

- (19) *ʔE.na kua ti mari ka ʔini.*
ʔe.na kua ti mari ka ʔini
 3pl.C IPFV 1sg.GEN money about think
 They are thinking about my money.

- (20) *Tca ʔun nare?*
tca ʔun nare
 2sg.M.GEN name what
 What is your name?

In addition to the three paradigms outlined in Table 2 above, there is a different pronoun for the second person singular masculine, *tci*, which is used exclusively in imperative or hortative contexts:

- (21) *Ndlovu ma tci tsee.xu kx'ui ta mii-a-hĩ.*
Ndlovu ma tci tsee.xu kx'ui ta mii-a-hĩ
 personal.name quot 2sg.M.HORT truth speak COMPL say-J-PST
 Ndlovu said you must speak the truth.

Optionally, pronouns may be used co-referentially following a noun for topicalization purposes. In this type of construction, [+human] nouns are followed by the 3sg.M or 3sg.F pronoun (22) while [-human] nouns are followed by 3sg.C pronoun *ʔe* (23).

- (22) *Kx'aro-ũũ ʔe.be kua ʔee paa-pa.*
[kx'aro-ũũ]_{NP-SBJ} [ʔe.be]_{PRO-SBJ} kua ʔee paa-pa
 boy-DIM 3sg.M IPFV fire Kindle
 The young boy, he is lighting a fire.

- (23) *Ii ʔe kari.se kãĩ ʔe.*
ii ʔe kari.se kãĩ ʔe
 DEM song 3sg.C INTENSbe.nice COP
 This song, it is very nice.

Occasionally, the third person common gender singular *ʔe* is found with [+human] nouns:

- (24) |Ũã ʔe gai-|uu o ʔabo.
 |ũã ʔe gai-|uu o ʔabo
 child **3sg.C** mountain-top LOC climb
 The child, he climbed the mountain.

3.3 Nominal modifiers

In Tjwao, nouns can be modified by demonstratives, possessives, numerals and quantifiers, adjectives, and relative clauses. Modifiers usually precede their head noun:

- (25) |Am dana.tco-ra kua Tjwao kx'ui.
 |am **dana.tco-ra** kua Tjwao kx'ui
 two **girl-pl** IPFV Tjwao speak
 The two girls are speaking Tjwao.

- (26) |i tshaa kua tsãã.
 |i tshaa kua tsãã
 DEM.prox **water** IPFV hot
 This water is hot.

- (27) |i kua gl̥oo xore o kũũ.
 |i kua gl̥oo **xore** o kũũ
 1sg IPFV **big** **lake** DIR go
 I go to a big lake.

Tjwao does not allow for more than one modifier to precede the head. According to this constraint, additional modifiers must be encoded as what may be either interpreted as appositional construction or relative clause (e.g., ‘my children, the three ones’ or ‘my children, who are three’ in 28). If the modifier that follows the head noun is a possessor noun, it is marked with *de* (29).

- (28) *Tire ʔe.ba boori-na-hĩ ti lua-re ʔoana ka.*
tire ʔe.ba boori-na-hĩ ti lua-re ʔoana ka
 1sg 3sg.M tell-J-PST 1sg child-pl three MPO
 I told you about my three children.

- (29) *lam mota ti de-re lʔoo-ha.*
lam mota ti de-re lʔoo-ha
 two car 1sg POSS-pl die:J-PRF
 My two cars are broken.

Demonstratives

The proximal demonstrative *ii* ‘this’ refers to a position close to the speaker. While *ii* mostly appears in adnominal deictic contexts (30), it may also be used pronominally, often in an anaphoric function (31).

- (30) a. *li lĩã ʔuna-re kua kwele o kũũ.*
ii lĩã ʔuna-re kua kwele o kũũ
 DEM.prox child three-pl IPFV school LOC go
 These three children are going to school.

- (31) a. *Ã-ã, xa.ta ii bee.*
ã-ã, xa.ta ii bee
 INTJ like.that DEM NEG
 Ã-ã, it is not like that.

The demonstrative *uu* ‘that’ refers to objects that are located further away from the speaker (32). It can also be used to refer to temporal deixis (33).

- (32) *Uu tsxua tsu.nye.*
uu tsxoa tsu.nye
 DEM elephant small:COP
 That elephant is small.

- (33) *Uu ngee-ta nloe tire kwelo o kũũ-tam-hĩ, ti kua ka tcii.*
uu ngee-ta nllgoe tire kwelo o kũũ-tam-hĩ,
DEM **pass-ref** **month** 1sg school LOC go-NEG- PST
ti kua ka tcii
 1.sg IPFV ANT be.sick
 Last month (lit. past month), I did not go to school because I was sick.

The demonstrative *ne* appears in pronominal contexts and is restricted to presentative clauses such as ‘this is X’.

- (34) *Ne ti dzãã ʔe.*
ne ti dzãã ʔe
DEM 1sg friend COP
 This is my friend.

Xa is used to refer to an entity that has previously been described in the discourse. It is used to emphasize and mark the definitiveness of a referent whose identity is specified or known by either speaker or hearer (35). *Xa* can also be used as a pronoun base with the discourse-referential suffix *-ta*, conveying the notion of ‘like that’ (36).

- (35) *Xa xo tire ʔana-ha.*
xa xuu tire ʔana-ha
DEM thing 1sg know-J-PRF
 I knew it.

- (36) *Ã-ã, xa-ta ii be.*
ã-ã, xa-ta ii be
 INTJ **DEM-REF** DEM NEG
 Ã-ã, it is not like that.

Another demonstrative, i.e., *ĩĩ*, appears only residually (37). Similar to *xa*, *ĩĩ* may also be used as a pronoun base with the discourse-reference marker *-ta* (38).

- (37) *ʔE.ce iĩ maa tcoro-ha*
ʔe.ce iĩ maa tcoro-ha.
 3sg.F.NOM DEM mother cure:J-PRF
 She cured the mother.

- (38) *lii kua ka iĩ-ta nlgae.*
lii kua ka iĩ-ta nlgae
 song IPFV ANT DEM-REF sing
 The song was sung like this.

The demonstratives of Tjwao are summarized below:

			Adnominal	Pronominal
Deictic	Proximal	<i>ii</i>	✓	✓
	Distal	<i>uu</i>	✓	✓
	Proximal	<i>ne</i>	—	✓
Anaphoric		<i>xa</i>	✓	✓
		<i>iĩ</i>	✓	✓

Table 3: Demonstratives in Tjwao

Adjectives

Adjectives in Tjwao express a wide range of meanings which can be grouped into the following semantic domains: dimension, age, value, color, physical property, human propensity, and position:

Dimension	<i>kao</i> ‘long’, <i>gloo</i> ‘big’, <i>tsũĩ</i> ‘small’
Age	<i>nlgao</i> ‘old’, <i>lʔaa</i> ‘new’
Value	<i>t’ũĩ</i> ‘good’, <i>djaa</i> ‘correct’, <i>lx’an</i> ‘bad’
Color	<i>loa</i> ‘red’, <i>xue</i> ‘white’, <i>mangungu</i> ‘yellow’, <i>ntsuu</i> ‘black’, <i>ts’abe</i> ‘green, blue’
Physical property	<i>kum</i> ‘hard’, <i>tcxari</i> ‘smooth’, <i>cubu</i> ‘soft’, <i>lxuru</i> ‘cold’, <i>kx’au</i> ‘bitter’
Human propensity	<i>ʔabu</i> ‘happy’, <i>xãĩ</i> ‘angry’
Position	<i>luu</i> ‘near’, <i>nguu</i> ‘far’

Adjectives may be used attributively, thus qualifying the noun. Attributive adjectives appear before the head noun:

- (39) *Tire gloo gee tcum lx'are-ha.*
tire gloo gee tcum lx'are-ha
 1sg big cow COM meet:J-PRF
 I met a big cow.

- (40) *Maare tsũĩ tcuba ua.na.*
maare tsũĩ tcuba ua.na.
 my.mother small field have
 My mother has a small field.

Adjectives may also be used predicatively, thus acting as complements of a copula construction. This form of construction is limited to the representation of states.

- (41) *Karo kari ʔe.*
karo kari ʔe
 stone hard COP
 The stone is hard.

- (42) *Xa yembe lʔaa ʔe.*
xa yembe lʔaa ʔe
 DEM shirt new COP
 This shirt is new.

Apart from the genuine word class of adjectives discussed above, Tjwao may use verbs with the perfect suffix *-ha* to describe properties and qualities. These constructions often translated into adjectives in Indo-European languages. Examples include accomplishment verbs like *lxoo* ‘become dry’ and *laba* ‘become hungry’. Similar to adjectives, states derived with *-ha* can be used in attributive (43) as well as in predicative function (44). State verbs used as nominal modifiers preceding the head noun may alternatively be analyzed as relative clauses (43).

- (43) *Kx'ao.tco-ro lxoo-ha tcxaru kaa.*
kx'ao.tco-ro lxoo-ha tcxaru kaa
 man-pl dry:J-PRF firewood collect.firewood
 The men collect dry wood.

- (44) *Vundla-be xu.djoe l̥aba-ha.*
Vundla-be xu.djoe l̥aba-ha
 Vundla-sg.M still hungry:J-PRF
 Vundla is still hungry.

The intensifier adverb *kari.se* ‘very, very much’ can optionally be used to put emphasis on the adjective. *Kari.se* always precedes the adjective it modifies.

- (45) *Ii mbutaa karise tsu.nye.*
ii mbutaa kari.se tsu.nye
 DEM hare very small:COP
 ‘This hare is very small.’

Possessives

Tjwao has both attributive and predicative possessive constructions. The expression of attributive and predicative possession in Tjwao does not differentiate between alienable (e.g., material objects) and inalienable possesseees (e.g., body parts).

The most frequent type of attributive possessive construction in Tjwao consists of a pronominal possessor and a nominal possessee. Tjwao does not have a dedicated series of possessive pronouns but uses its dependent genitive pronouns as introduced in Table 2. The possessive pronouns used attributively precede the head nouns they modify.

- (46) *Ti koloi ʔe l̥ʔoo-ha.*
ti koloi ʔe l̥ʔoo-ha
 1sg.GEN car 3sg.C die:J-PRF
 My car is dead.

- (47) *Ne tca maa ʔe.*
Ne tca maa ʔe
 DEM 2sg.M.GEN head COP
 This is your head.

In some cases, the third person common gender plural *ʔe.na* and *ʔe.n* is also grammatical:

- (48) *ʔE.na ndjuu-re gai-luu a hãã.*
ʔe.na ndjuu-re gai-luu a hãã
3sg.C.GEN house-pl.NOM hill-top LOC be.there
 Their houses are on top of the hill.

Both possessor and possessee may be nouns (49) or noun-phrases (50). If the possessor is a personal name, it is commonly marked for the third person in the genitive case (49).

- (49) *Vundla-m koloi ʔe t'u.nye.*
Vundla-m koloi ʔe t'u.nye
PN-sg.M.GEN car 3sg.C be.good:COP
 Vundla's car is good.

- (50) *Uu dzira lʔũũ ʔe t'unye.*
uu dzira lʔũũ ʔe t'unye
DEM.dist bird feather 3sg.C beautiful:COP
 That bird's feathers are beautiful.

In Tjwao, it is possible to front the possessee. In these cases, the possessor pronoun, noun, or noun-phrase is always followed by the possessive marker *de*. This construction type is primarily used when the focus is on the possessee. It semantically approaches the English possessive construction “X of mine/yours etc.”

- (51) *Maa ti de kua kara.*
maa ti de kua kara
head 1sg POSS IPFV hurt
 The head of mine hurts.

When the possessee is marked for plural, the plural suffix attaches to the particle *de*. The case form of the plural marker corresponds to the syntactic role of the possessive noun-phrase (52). This construction type is compulsory in instances where possessee is modified by numerals or other quantifiers (53).

- (52) *lAm mota ti de-re lʔoo-ha.*
lAm **mota** **ti** **de-re** **lʔoo-ha**
two **car** **1sg** **POSS-pl.NOM** **die:J-PRF**
The two cars of mine are broken.

- (53) *lAm mota kx'ao.tco de lʔoo-xa.*
lAm **mota** **kx'ao.tco** **de** **lʔoo-xa**
two **car** **man** **POSS** **die:J-PRF**
The man's two cars are broken.

Independent possessors, that is, possessors with an unstated possessee, are also formed with the possessive particle *de* (54). As in the other possessive constructions, a noun, pronoun, or noun-phrase may be the possessor, and the possessive construction may be marked for plural (55).

- (54) *Dube lxao lʔaa ʔe, ʔa.ka Vundla-m de nɿlao-ha.*
Dube **lxao** **lʔaa** **ʔe,** **ʔa.ka** **Vundla-m** **de** **nɿlao-ha**
PN **spear** **new** **COP** **but** **PN-sg.M** **POSS** **old:J-PRF**
Dube's spear is new, Vundla's is old.

- (55) *Ii ndjuu ŋoana ʔe baa(n) de-ra.*
ii **ndjuu** **ŋoana** **ʔe** **baa(n)** **de-ra**
DEM.prox **house** **three** **COP** **father** **POSS-pl.ACC**
These three houses are my father's.

Predicative possessives ('have X') is expressed with a transitive verb form *ua.na* 'to have' (56). The possessor is the subject of a transitive clause and receives nominative case marking (57). The possessee is the object and receives accusative case marking whenever applicable (e.g., with plural markers, personal names) (58).

- (56) *Ti baa tsũ mini ua.na.*
ti **baa** **tsũ** **mini** **ua.na**
1sg.GEN **father** **small** **goat** **have**
My father has a small goat.

- (57) *ʔE.be mari ua.na.*
ʔe.be *mari* *ua.na*
 3sg.M.NOM money have
 He has money.

- (58) *Baa.re ʔuana ndjuu-ra ua.na.*
baa.re *ʔuana* *ndjuu-ra* *ua.na*
 father three house.pl.ACC have
 My father has three houses.

There are two different negation strategies used in predicative possessive constructions: one involving the negation suffix *-m*, i.e., *ua.na-m* (59) and the other involving the negation suffix *-be*, i.e., *ua.na-be* (60):

- (59) *Mari ʔe.be ua.na-m.*
mari *ʔe.be* *ua.na-m*
 money 3sg.M.NOM have-NEG
 He does not have money.

- (60) *Tire mari ua.na-be.*
tire *mari* *ua.na-be*
 1sg money have-NEG
 I have no money.

Numerals

Tjwao has a restricted numeral system, consisting of only three monomorphemic cardinal numbers: *lui* ‘one’, *lam* ‘two’ and *ʔuana* ‘three’. In fact, *lui* ‘one’ is rarely used as a numeral (61). It mostly means ‘only’.

- (61) *Ti kua lui tsxoa lui ti kua mũũ.*
ti *kua* *lui* *tsxoa* *mũũ*
 1sg IPFV one elephant see
 I see one elephant.

The numerals *lam* ‘two’ and *ʔuana* ‘three’ are most commonly used as modifiers:

- (62) *Ti kua lam tsxoa.ra mũũ.*
ti kua lam tsxoa-ra mũũ
 1sg IPFV two elephant-pl.ACC see
 I see two elephants.

- (63) *Doana kx'aro-are tire mũũ-a-ha.*
yoana kx'aro-are tire mũũ-a-ha
three boy-pl 1sg see-J-PRF
 I saw three boys.

Tjwao numerals can be used as numerical adverbs by adding the suffix *-ndje* ‘times’ of Bantu origin:

- (64) *lam-ndje ʔe.tsara khæ.tcu-na-hĩ.*
lam-ndje ʔe.tsara khæ-tcu-na-hĩ
two-times 3du.M fight-RCPR-J-PST
 They fought twice.

Rarely, the adverbialiser *-se* is used to derive a numerical adverb:

- (65) *Kx'ao.huku yoana-se kx'ee-a ku-kuru-ku ta mii-se Mwari.are tan-a-hĩ.*
kx'ao.huku yoana-se kx'ee-a ku-kuru-ku ta mii-se
 cock **three-ADV** cry-? ONO COMPL say-ADV
Mwari.are tan-a-hĩ
 Lord get.up-J-PST
 The cock cried three times “ku kuru ku”, the Lord rose up.

The numeral ‘one’ may also be combined with the adverbialising clitic *-se* to derive the meaning ‘alone’:

- (66) *Ndlovu.be lui-se kũũ-a-ha ka dolobo.*
Ndlovu-be lui-se kũũ-a-ha ka dolobo
 Ndlovu-sg.M.NOM **one-ADV** go-J-PRF ANT town
 Ndlovu went to town alone.

Quantifiers

Tjwao has four non-numeric quantifiers: *ʔii.ye*, *ʔii.re*, and *ʔii.ra* ‘entire, all, every, some, other’, *lxara* ‘many’, *tsũĩ* ‘few, small’, and *lx’oa* ‘(be) few’.

The quantifier *ʔii.ye* covers the notions of ‘all’ and ‘some’ and ‘other’ which are differentiated by two construction schemes:

NOUN		<i>ʔii.ye/ʔii.re/ʔii.ra</i>	‘entire, all, every’
NOUN	ka	<i>ʔii.ye/ʔii.re/ʔii.ra</i>	‘some, other’

Tjwao shows variation between case-neutral *ʔii.ye*, on the one hand, and nominative *ʔii.re* and accusative *ʔii.ra* which combines an element *ʔii* with the case-sensitive plural markers discussed in section 3.1. While *ʔii.ye* mostly appears with singular nouns, *ʔii.re/ʔii.ra* is typically used with plural nouns. However, some unexplained variation exists, which suggests that part of the *ʔii.ye* vs. *ʔii.re/ʔii.ra* distribution results from idiolectal preferences.

A further variant, *ʔii.n*, may appear when the quantifier noun-phrase is itself headed by a postposition:

- (67) *Ii.tshee tcoa.re kx’oo.xo mũũ-a-hĩ dzira ka ʔii.n tcum lxara kx’oo.xo tcum.*
- | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------|--------------|-------------|
| <i>ii.tshee</i> | <i>tcoa.re</i> | <i>kx’oo.xo</i> | <i>mũũ-a-hĩ</i> | <i>dzira</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>ʔii.n</i> | <i>tcum</i> |
| DEM.day | 1pl.C.NOM | animal | see-J-PST | bird | ATTR | Some.GEN | with |
| <i>lxara</i> | <i>kx’oo.xo</i> | <i>tcum</i> | | | | | |
| many | animal | with | | | | | |
- Today we have seen animals, some birds, and many other animals.

The quantifiers *ʔii.ye*, *ʔii.re* and *ʔii.ra* ‘entire, all, every, entire’ always follow a head noun which receives genitive marking, whenever case-sensitive categories are involved.

- (68) *Tire ma mũũ-a-ha dzini ʔii.ye.*
- | | | | | |
|-------------|------------|-----------------|--------------|---------------|
| <i>tire</i> | <i>maa</i> | <i>mũũ-a-ha</i> | <i>dzini</i> | <i>ʔii.ye</i> |
| 1sg | woman | see-J-PRF | day | all |
- I saw a woman every day.

In a limited number of examples, *ʔii.ye* also appears with nouns and pronouns marked for plural:

- (69) *Xa ʔee simulula tcoa-n ʔii.ye ʔee ua.na-se tsui.na.*

<i>xa</i>	<i>ʔee</i>	<i>simulula</i>	<i>tcoa-n</i>	<i>ʔii.ye</i>	<i>ʔee</i>	<i>ua.na-se</i>	<i>tsui.na</i>
DEM	fire	begin	person-pl.GEN	all	fire	have-ADVZ	be.

This is how all the people began to have fire.

The meaning ‘all’ may be conveyed in another manner. A noun marked for plural using the genitive or dependent form can be followed by *ʔii.re* (in the nominative; 70) or *ʔii.ra* (in the accusative; 71):

- (70) *Tcoa.n ʔii.re kua ʔae o kūũ.*

<i>tcoa.n</i>	<i>ʔii.re</i>	<i>kua</i>	<i>ʔae</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>kūũ</i>
1pl.C.GEN	all:NOM	IPFV	village	LOC	go

All of us will go to the village.

- (71) *Tcxaru-n ʔiira ʔe.na see-ha.*

<i>tcxaru-n</i>	<i>ʔii.ra</i>	<i>ʔe.na</i>	<i>see-ha</i>
firewood-pl.GEN	all:ACC	3pl.C	take-J-PRF

They have taken all of the firewood.

As was explained above, when the meaning ‘some, (an)other’ is to be profiled, the particle *ka* is placed between the head and the quantifier:

- (72) *Kae.tca-tco-re ka ʔii.ye lx'ao ka paa-e-ha.*

<i>kae.tca-tco-re</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ʔii.ye</i>	<i>lx'ao</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>paa-e-ha</i>
hunt-AG-pl.NOM	ATTR	some	snake	OBL	bite-PASS-PRF

Some hunters were bitten by a snake.

- (73) *Djii ka ʔii.ye.*

<i>djii</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ʔii.ye</i>
wood	ATTR	other

Another log of wood.

- (74) *ʔE.be buku ka ʔii.ra lʔanya-ha.*
ʔe.be buku ka ʔii.ra lʔanya-ha
 3sg.M.NOM book ATTR some buy:J-PRF
 He bought some books.

The notion of ‘many’ in Tjwao is conveyed by the adjectival quantifier *lxara*. The quantifier precedes its head, which is commonly marked for plural (75). However, with mass nouns, the head is unmarked.

- (75) *lXara kx'oo.xo-re kua djii.dum a nyũũ.*
lXara kx'oo.xo-re kua djii.dum a nyũũ
many animal-pl.NOM IPFV bush LOC stay
 Many animals stay in the bush.

The idea of ‘few’ is usually expressed by the adjective *tsũĩ* ‘small’:

- (76) *Ti kua tsũĩ tsxoa lũã.rera mũũ.*
ti kua tsũĩ tsxoa lũã.rera mũũ
 1sg IPFV **few elephant** child-pl see
 I see few young elephants.

In addition, Tjwao also has a verb *lx'oa* ‘to be few’ which also expresses quantity:

- (77) *Tcoa-re ka lx'oa-ra-hĩ.*
tcoa-re ka lx'oa-ra-hĩ
 person-pl.NOM ANT **be.few-J-PST**
 The people were few.

3.5 Nominal derivation

Nominal compounding

Compounding – or the morphological process of agglutination, by which two or more words are combined or glued together to build novel words – is common in Tjwao. Nouns can be combined with other nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Tjwao exhibits right-headed nominal

compounds: the second element of the compound is the head and determines the category of the compound, while the first element acts as modifier. Examples below illustrates compound nouns derived from other nouns.

kx'oo.xo 'animal' + *dao* 'road' → *kx'oo.xo-dao* 'trail'
|ʔee 'fire' + *dzoa* 'ash' → *|ʔee-dzoa* 'fireplace'

Although most noun + noun compounds are semantically transparent, some examples are opaque:

baa 'father' + *tshaa* 'water' → *baa-tshaa* 'beer'

Although attested, the combination of adjectives or verbs with nouns is much less common:

gloo 'big' + *dzira* 'bird' → *gloo-dzira* 'vulture'
maa 'give' + *tshau* 'hand' → *maa-tshau* 'left hand'

Derivative formatives

There are two nominal derivational morphemes in Tjwao: *-tco* and *-xu/o*

The morpheme *-tco* (literally, 'person') is a productive suffix that can be used to derive nouns from verbs. The resulting compounds are agent nouns:

ts'āā-tco 'thief' from 'steal(ing)-person'
kx'ae.tca-tco 'hunter' from 'hunt(ing)-person'
dara-tco 'visitor' from 'visit(ing)-person'

The morpheme *-xu/o* is also a productive suffix that derives nouns from verbs and adjectives. The resulting compounds are object (object) and concepts (abstract) or agent nouns.

kx'oo-xo 'meat' from the verb 'eat'
tsee.xu 'truth' from the verb 'become real'
glee-xo 'woman' from the adjective 'feminine, female'
tca-xo 'uncle' from the adjective 'old'

Gender distinction

In Tjwao, there are two adjective-like prefixes, i.e., *glee* ‘female’ and *kx’ao* ‘male’, which cannot be nominalised by taking P(erson)G(ender)N(unmber) enclitics. These adjectives are themselves used as prefix-like elements modifying nouns in nominal compounds. In such cases, they indicate the natural gender of people and animals:

<i>glee</i> ‘female’ + <i>gee</i> ‘cattle’	→	<i>glee-gee</i> ‘cow’
<i>kx’ao</i> ‘male’ + <i>huku</i> ‘chicken’	→	<i>kx’ao-huku</i> ‘rooster’

Diminutive

Tjwao diminutives are derived through compounding involving the noun *lũã* ‘child’. That is, when *lũã* is suffixed to a nominal root, it conveys the meaning of smallness of size, for example, *kx’aro-lũã* ‘small boy’. This use is grammatical with both animate and inanimate referents:

<i>kx’aro-lũã</i>	‘small boy’
<i>glee-lũã</i>	‘small girl’
<i>ndjuu-lũã</i>	‘small house’
<i>dao-lũã</i>	‘small road/path’

Some nouns built around the diminutive suffix *-lũã* have become lexicalized and no longer convey diminutive meaning:

<i>dzira-lũã</i>	‘bird’	from <i>dzira</i> ‘vulture’
<i>djii-lũã</i>	‘walking stick’	from <i>djii</i> ‘tree’

4. Verbs

Verbs do not show inflectional bound morphemes. If the nominal referent is not expressed, a subject pronoun is used to indicate the person, gender, and number of the subject. This conversely means that the use of pronouns is not necessary if the subject is expressed lexically with a noun. If a pronoun is used in such cases, the construction is marked for focus or topicalization.

4.1 Valency

There are four categories of verb stems in Tjwao: transitive verbs, intransitive verbs, ditransitive verbs, and ambitransitive verbs.

Intransitive verbs (V) only take a single argument, the subject (S) of the sentence. This argument can be an agent in unergative intransitive verbs such as *kũũ* ‘go’, *haa* ‘come’, *kx’ãĩ* ‘laugh’, etc., or a patient in unaccusative verbs such as *lx’ae* ‘fall’ and *lx’oe* ‘be full’.

(78)	<i>ʔE.be kua kũũ.</i>		
	(S)		(V)
	<i>ʔe.be</i>	<i>kua</i>	<i>kũũ</i>
	3sg.M	IPFV	go
	He is going.		

Transitive verbs (V) take two arguments: the subject (S) and the object (O):

(79)	<i>Ti kua tca mũũ.</i>			
	(S)		(O)	(V)
	<i>ti</i>	<i>kua</i>	<i>tca</i>	<i>mũũ</i>
	1sg	IPFV	2sg.M	see
	I see you.			

There are few ditransitive verbs in Tjwao i.e., verbal roots that take two objects, often referred to as ‘direct’ (D) and ‘indirect’ (I) object, as ‘primary’ and ‘secondary’ object, or as ‘theme’ and ‘recipient’. A canonical example of a ditransitive verb is *maa* ‘give’ (80). The

indirect/secondary object occurs before the direct/primary object. However, in the case of fronting of the object, the indirect/secondary object occurs after the direct/primary object (81).

- (80) *Baa.re ʔe.m lûã-rera dini maa-ha.*
- | | | | | | |
|---------------|-------------|-----------------|--|-------------|----------------------|
| (S) | | (IO) | | (DO) | (V) |
| <i>baa.re</i> | <i>ʔe.m</i> | <i>lûã-rera</i> | | <i>dini</i> | <i>maa-ha</i> |
| father | 3sg.M | child-pl | | honey | give:J-PRF |
- Father gave his children honey.

- (81) *Xa ʔibi tca ti.a maa-ha e |oro-ha.*
- | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-------------|------------|-------------|----------------------|----------|----------------|
| (O)(S) | (IO) | (V) | | | | |
| <i>xa</i> | <i>ʔibi</i> | <i>tca</i> | <i>ti.a</i> | <i>maa-ha</i> | <i>e</i> | <i> oro-ha</i> |
| DEM | egg | 2sg.M | 1sg | give:J-PRF | REL | end:J-PRF |
- The egg you gave me is finished.

There is apparently only one ambitransitive verb, *tcãã* ‘enter’, which can be used transitively (82) and intransitively (83):

- (82) *Doana dana-tco-re e.dze tcãã-na-ha.*
- | | | | |
|--------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------------------|
| | (S) | | (V) |
| <i>doana</i> | <i>dana-tco-re</i> | <i>e.dze</i> | <i>tcãã-na-ha</i> |
| three | girl-person-pl | 3pl.F | enter:J-PRF |
- The three girls came in.

- (83) *Mare kua ʔama a kx'oxo tcãã.*
- | | | | |
|-------------|------------|-------------|------------------------------------|
| (S) | | (O) | (V) |
| <i>mare</i> | <i>kua</i> | <i>ʔama</i> | <i>a kx'oxo</i> <i>tcãã</i> |
| Woman | IPFV | pot | LOC meat enter |
- The woman is putting the meat into the pot.

Valency-related morphemes

There are five valency-altering suffixes in Tjwao: benefactive, causative, reflexive, reciprocal, directive-locative, and passive. In addition to these, Tjwao mirrors other Kalahari Khoe languages in using reduplication as a peripheral strategy to express causative. Sometimes, valency-changing morphemes can be combined and attached to a single verb root:

- (84) *Ti kua ii karo-are khae-tcu-kaxu.*
ti kua ii karo-are khae-tcu-kaxu
 1sg IPFV DEM boy-pl fight-REC-CAUS
 I am making the boys fight.

Valency-increasing extensions

(a) Causative

In Tjwao, two causative suffixes are found: *-kaxu* and *-xu*, although only *-kaxu* is productive. That is, the addition of *-kaxu* regularly increases the verb's argument structure by one participant. For instance, the intransitive verbs *xue* 'to run' (85) and *kx'ãĩ* 'laugh' (86) are rendered transitive and take the object argument *baa.ra* 'father' and *ʔe.ba* respectively. In turn, the transitive verb *tsãã.xu* 'cook something' becomes ditransitive and takes two object arguments: a recipient argument *Phiri-ba* and a theme argument *baa.tshaa* 'beer' (87).

- (85) *lũã-rera baara xue-kaxu-na-ha.*
lũã-rera baara xue-kaxu-na-ha
 child-pl father run-CAUS-J-PRF
 The children made the father run.

- (86) *ʔe.ba kx'ãĩ-kaxu.*
ʔe.ba kx'ãĩ-kaxu
 3sg.M laugh-CAUS
 Make him laugh!

- (87) *Vundla-be Phiri-ba baa.tshaa tsãã.xu-kaxu-na-ha.*
Vundla-be Phiri-ba baa.tshaa tsãã.xu-kaxu-na-ha
 Vundla-sg.M Phiri-sg.M beer cook-CAUS-J-PRF
 Vundla made Phiri brew (lit. cook) beer.

The semantic effect of the causative suffixes on non-derived verb stems is exemplified below:

Non-causative stem	Causative suffix	Extended stem	Meaning
<i>tsii</i>	<i>-kaxu</i>	<i>tsii-kaxu</i>	cause to grow up → grow s-th
<i>loo</i>	<i>-kaxu</i>	<i>loo-kaxu</i>	cause to end → end s-th, finish

Table 4: Causative suffixes

In contrast, *-xu* only appears in the forms *tsãã.xu* ‘make boil, cook’ and *ʔue.xu* ‘break something’ (88).

- (88) *ʔUi tci haa ti kua tca tsãã-xu-na-ma.*
ʔui tci haa ti kua tca tsãã.xu-na-ma
 evening 2sg.M come 1sg IPFV 2sg.M cook-J-BEN
 When you come in the evening, I will cook for you.

In addition to the suffixes *-kaxu* and *-xu*, reduplication can also be used to derive causatives, e.g., *lx'ue.lx'ue* ‘fill’ from *lx'ue* ‘full’. This mechanism is however not productive.

- (89) *Tshaa ka ʔama ʔe.be lx'ue.lx'ue-na-ha.*
tshaa ka ʔama ʔe.be lx'ue.lx'ue-na-ha
 water with pot 3sg.M full:CAUS-J-PRF
 He filled the pot with water.

(b) Benefactive

The benefactive suffix is *-ma*. With intransitive stems, *-ma* renders the verb transitive, i.e., with a ‘benefactive’ object (90). However, in the case of motion verbs, the object does not always fall within the semantic range of a beneficiary (91). With transitive verbs, the suffixation of *-ma* results in a double object construction in which the beneficiary usually fills the role of the recipient (92). The morpheme *-ma* requires the juncture morpheme when attaching it to the verbal stem (90; see further below). In (91) and (92) the juncture morpheme is absorbed into the verbal root.

- (90) *Ti kua tca cinga-na-ma.*
ti kua tca cinga-na-ma
 1sg IPFV 2sg.M work-J-BEN
 I work for you.

- (91) *Kx'ao.tco-re kua |hii xue-ma.*
kx'ao.tco-re kua |hii xue-ma
 man-pl IPFV rhino run:J-BEN
 The men run away from the rhino (lit. run for the rhino).

- (92) *Balisi ?e.ce kua maa.tco-re tcxaru kaa-ma.*
Balisi ?e.ce kua maa.tco-re tcxaru kaa-ma
 Balisi 3sg.F IPFV woman-pl firewood collect.firewood:J-BEN
 Balisi is fetching firewood for the women.

Valency-decreasing extensions

(a) Passive

In Tjwao, the passive is expressed with the suffix *-e* directly attached to verb stem. The passive is agentive, that is, it allows for addition of the agent – which corresponds to the subject of an active voice – as peripheral participant marked by the oblique suffix *ka* (93). Addition of the agent is, however, optional (94).

- (93) *Vundla-be |ũã |k'am-a-ha.* (Active)
Vundla-be |ũã |k'am-a-ha
 PN-sg.M child beat-J-PRF
 Vundla hit the child.
- Vundla-m ka |ũã |k'am-e-ha.* (Passive)
Vundla-m ka |ũã |k'am-e-ha
 PN-sg.M OBL child beat-PASS-PRF
 The child was beaten by Vundla.

- (94) *Dini ti tcaa.xo paa-ha.* (Active)
dini ti tcaa.xo paa-ha
 bee 1sg brother bite:J-PRF
 The bee stung my brother.

Ti tcaa.xu ka paa-e-ha. (Passive)
ti tcaa.xo ka paa-e-ha
 1sg brother ANT bite-PASS-PRF
 My brother was stung.

(b) Reciprocal

The reciprocal suffix *-tcu* is also linked directly to the verb stem (95). However, when the reciprocal suffix precedes the past suffix *-hĩ*, there is an intervening juncture morpheme (96). All transitive verbs receiving a reciprocal suffix are rendered intransitive.

- (95) *Kx'ao.tco-ro kua khai-tcu.*
kx'ao.tco-ro kua khai-tcu
 man-pl IPFV fight-REC
 The men are fighting with each other.

- (96) a. *ʔE.na maa-tcu-na-hĩ.*
ʔe.na maa-tcu-na-hĩ
 3pl.C give-REC-J-PST
 They gave each other (a gift).

(c) Reflexive

The concept of reflexivity is expressed by the suffix *-hĩ* added directly to the verb stem. The suffix *-hĩ* is productive and may occur with a wide range of verbs.

- (97) *Ti kua mĩũ-hĩ.*
ti kua mĩũ-hĩ
 1sg IPFV see-REFL
 I see myself.

- (98) *Tcoa-re kua kue o lx'aa-hĩ.*
tcoa-re kua kue o lx'aa-hĩ
 person-pl IPFV river LOC wash-REFL
 People are bathing in the river.

Valency-neutral extensions

(a) Locative

Tjwao has the so-called locative suffix *-o*. This suffix is attached directly to the verb stem and implies location (99) or direction (100). The suffix *-o* does not affect the valency of the verb.

- (99) *Glee.xu kua ʔe.ci laa lx'aa-o.*
glee.xu kua ʔe.ci laa lx'aa-o
 woman IPFV 3sg.F belly wash-LOC
 The woman is washing (on) her belly.

- (100) a. *ʔE.be mubeda ngabi-o-na-ha.*
ʔe.be mubeda ngabi-o-na-ha
 3sg.M bed turn-LOC-J-PRF
 He turned the bed over.

All valency-altering suffixes found in Tjwao are captured below:

Causative	<i>-xu</i>
	<i>-kaxu</i>
	reduplication
Benefactive	<i>-J-ma</i>
Passive	<i>-e</i>
Reciprocal	<i>-tcu</i>
Reflexive	<i>-hĩ</i>
Locative	<i>-o</i>

Table 5: Verbal extensions in Tjwao

4.2 Tense, aspect, and mood

Tjwao grammatically marks its predicates for tense, aspect and, to a lesser degree, mood (TAM). These categories are expressed by means of both verbal affixes and particles, i.e., free morphemes. Tjwao has two clausal slots for TAM markers: one preverbal slot and one postverbal slot. The preverbal slot (Slot 1) may be subdivided into an Aspect Slot and a Tense Slot. The postverbal slot (Slot 2) may hold suffixes with both aspectual and temporal meanings, albeit not simultaneously.

SUBJECT	SLOT 1		(OBJECT)	VERB	SLOT 2
	ASPECT	TENSE			ASPECT/TENSE
	<i>kua</i> ‘IPFV’	<i>nya</i> ‘FUT’			-J- <i>ha</i> ‘PRF’
		<i>ka</i> ‘ANT’			-J- <i>hĩ</i> ‘PST’

Imperfective *kua*

Imperfective or continuous aspect is expressed by the particle *kua* placed in Slot 1, that is, before the verb. *Kua* precedes the particles *nya* and *ka* with which it regularly combines.

- (101) *Glae.tco kua ndjaa kaa.*
glae.tco kua ndjaa kaa
 woman IPFV dance want
 The woman wants to dance.

In combination with *kua*, some verbs indicate experiential states and temporary body condition:

- (102) *Ti maa kua thũũ.*
ti maa kua thũũ
 1sg head IPFV hurt
 My head hurts.

- (103) *ʔE.be kua tcii.*
ʔe.be kua tcii
 3sg.M IPFV sick
 He is sick.

The imperfective marker *kua* cannot be used in negative constructions. Instead, Tjwao has a suffix *-ta* that marks negative imperfective.

- (104) *lʔee kua ŋaa kika kx'oo.xo-re lʔuu-ta.*
 lʔee kua ŋaa kika kx'oo.xo-re lʔuu-ta
 fire IPFV burn when animal-pl get.near-NEG.IPFV
 When the fire burns, the animals do not get near.

Future *nya*

The future tense particle *nya* is placed in Slot 1, that is, before the verb. Most commonly, *nya* combines with the particle *kua*, which it follows. The combined particle *kua.nya* can be used to refer to both the immediate and remote future.

- (105) *Tcoa.n ʔii.re kua.nya ʔae kũũ.*
 tcoa.n ʔii.re kua.nya ʔae kũũ
 1pl.GEN all FUT home go
 We (all of us, men) will go to the village.

Sometimes, *nya* appears without the imperfective particle *kua*:

- (106) *ʔE.kua ʔui nya kae.tca.*
 ʔE.kua ʔui nya kae.tca
 3pl.M evening FUT hunt
 The men will be hunting this evening.

Anterior *ka*

The particle *ka* is used in generic past tense statements and functions as an anterior that may combine with any other TAM, except for the future *nya*. It precedes the verb and appears in Slot 1.

- (107) *Kx'ao.tco-re ka kx'ai kae.tca.*
 kx'ao.tco-re ka kx'ai kae.tca
 man-pl ANT before hunt
 They hunted before.

The particle *ka* typically combines with the imperfective *kua*, which it follows (108), with the perfect *-ha* (109), and with the past tense suffix *-hĩ* (110).

- (108) *Xa tshaa kua ka tsãã.*
xa tshaa kua ka tsãã
 DEM water IPFV ANT hot
 That water was hot.

- (109) *Tire ʔuu.xae ʔo ka xam mũũ-a-ha.*
tire ʔuu.xae ʔo ka xam mũũ-a-ha
 1sg early.morning OBL ANT lion see-J-PRF
 I saw a lion early in the morning.

- (110) *ʔE.be ka kx'ai.o ʔnyũũ-a-hĩ.*
ʔe.be ka kx'ai.o ʔnyũũ-a-hĩ
 3sg.M ANT before eat-J-PST
 He started eating before.

Unlike other TAM markers, *ka* also occurs with the existential copula *hãã* (111) and the possessive verb *ua.na* (112). It then triggers a past tense reading.

- (111) *Tuu.ʔa.ka ka ʔee habee.*
tuu.ʔa.ka ka ʔee habee
 long.ago ANT fire NEG.EXIST
 Long ago there was no fire.

- (112) *ʔE.be ka mari ua.na*
ʔe.be ka mari ua.na
 3sg.M ANT money have
 He had money.

Perfect *ha*

The suffix *-ha*, linked to the verb by means of a juncture morpheme, is polysemous. Most of these functions can however be encompassed under the category of a perfect. The suffix *-ha* typically denotes the resultative present perfect. It expresses a dynamic anterior action whose effects persist from the moment of its occurrence:

- (113) *ʔE.be ʔʔuru-a-ha.*
 *ʔe.be ʔʔuru-a-**ha***
 3sg forget-J-**PRF**
 He has forgotten.

The suffix *-ha* can also function to express an experiential perfect. In such cases, it is not the results of an action that remain unchanged and hence relevant. It is rather the overall experience of having, or not having performed the action, that is important for the subject and his/her current state and/or cognitive reality:

- (114) *Tire kx'oo.xo ʔnyũũ-a-ha.*
 *tire kx'oo.xo ʔnyũũ-a-**ha***
 1sg meat eat-J-**PRF**
 I have eaten meat (in general in my life).

The suffix *-ha* can also express the inclusive present perfect: an activity has been occurring since a certain moment in the past until the present:

- (115) *Tuu ʔe ʔoana ʔe |am-re tuu-a-ha.*
 *tuu ʔe ʔoana ʔe |am-re tuu-a-**ha***
 rain 3sg.C three ? day-pl rain-J-**PRF**
 It has been raining for three days (lit. 'Rain has been raining for three days.)

The suffix *-ha* can also denote an event that happened immediately prior to the time of reference:

- (116) *Nlee nao hĩĩ-a-ha?*
 *nlee nao hĩĩ-a-**ha***
 now what do-J-**PRF**
 What just happened?

When the morpheme *-ha* combines with stative verbs, it typically expresses a present state, temporary or permanent:

- (117) *Tire tsxãã-ha.*
tire tsxãã-ha
 1sg **tired:J-PRF**
 I am tired.

Like the imperfective particle *kua*, the suffix *-ha* cannot be directly negated. Instead, the negative perfect suffix *-tam* is used. While *-tam* occupies the postverbal slot of the perfect suffix, it does not take the juncture morpheme.

- (118) *ʔUi.ka ʔe.tsara kũũ-tam.*
ʔui.ka ʔe.tsara kũũ-tam
 yesterday 3du.C go-NEG.PRF
 Yesterday they did not go.

Past *hĩ*

The morpheme *-hĩ*, which is suffixed to the verb by means of a juncture morpheme, is used in a number of functions. One of the prominent uses of *-hĩ* corresponds to a past tense.

- (119) *Tcoa.na |am tsxoa-re |k'ũũ-a-hĩ ʔuu.pakela.*
tcoa.na |am tsxoa-re |x'ũũ-a-hĩ ʔuu.pakela
 1sg.C two elephants-pl kill-J-PST this.morning
 We shot two elephants [...] this morning.

The suffix *-hĩ* is commonly used with actions or states that happened on the day before the time of reference, that is, in what is often referred to as recent past:

- (120) *Kx'ao mini ti de ʔui.ka |ʔoo-hĩ.*
kx'ao mini ti de ʔui.ka |ʔoo-hĩ
 male goat 1sg POSS yesterday die:J-PST
 Our male goat died yesterday.

However, *-hĩ* may also indicate event located in the remote past:

- (121) *ʔE.kua ndjuu ʔan-a-hĩ.*
 ʔe.kua ndjuu ʔan-a-hĩ
 3pl.M house build-J-PST
 They built a house (long ago).

In its function as remote past, *-hĩ* typically appears in personal life narratives and folk tales:

- (122) *Baa.re kua ka dorobo ʔe kua cinga. Baba.re ti.a tsii-kaxu-na-hĩ.*
 Baa.re kua ka dorobo ʔe.be kua cinga. Baba.re
 father IPFV ANT town 3sg.M IPFV work grandfather
 ti.a tsii-kaxu-na-hĩ
 1sg.ACC grow.up-CAUS-J-PST
 My father worked in town. It was my grandfather who raised me.

The suffix *-hĩ* also expresses the meaning of a pluperfect, i.e., it introduces a past event that chronologically came before another past event:

- (123) *ʔUi.ka ʔe.tsara tolo kũũ-a-hĩ ʔe.be ʔxao ʔuru-a-hĩ.*
 ʔui.ka ʔe.tsara tolo kũũ-a-hĩ ʔe.be ʔxao ʔuru-a-hĩ
 yesterday 3du.M store go- J-PST 3.SG.M spear forget-J-PST
 Yesterday they went to the shop because he had forgotten the spear.

Similar to *-ha*, *-hĩ* is negated with the suffix *-tam* which takes the place of the juncture morpheme:

- (124) *ʔE.tsara kx'ui-a ʔx'ae-tcu-tam-hĩ.*
 ʔe.tsara kx'ui-a ʔx'ae-tcu-tam-hĩ
 3du.M speak-J/CONJ meet-REC-NEG-PST
 They could not agree.

However, with stative verbs, *-tam-hĩ* expresses the ideas of a negative current state:

- (125) *Tire tsxãã-tam-hĩ.*
 tire tsxãã-tam-hĩ
 1sg be.tired-NEG-PST
 I am not tired.

- (126) *Ii gee tsao-tam-hĩ.*
 ii gee tsao-tam-hĩ
 DEM cow be.fat-NEG-PST
 This cow is not fat.

Completive *xu*

Tjwao has a completive/terminative suffix *-xu* that requires a juncture morpheme when attached to the verbal stem. The suffix *-xu* has a telic force: it renders atelic verbs, telic:

- (127) *Mbutaa kua xue-a doa ngee-xu.*
 mbutaa kua xue-a doa ngee-xu
 hare IPFV run-CONJ kudu exceed:J-COMPL
 The hare outruns the kudu.

- (128) *Tire mari ti de gam-a-xu-na-ha.*
 tire mari ti de gam-a-xu-na-ha
 1sg money 1sg POSS throw-J-COMPL-J-PRF
 I threw my money away.

4.3 The juncture morpheme

Tjwao has a grammatical formative called the ‘juncture’ morpheme which is attested throughout the Kalahari sub-branch of the Khoe-Kwadi family. There are seven juncture allomorphs attested in Tjwao: zero, *a*, *r*, *n*, *ra*, *na*, and *nya*. The allomorphs do not occur randomly but are governed by the phonological properties of the preceding verb. The most commonly occurring juncture allomorphs are zero and *a*.

The juncture morpheme is found in three contexts: it links the verb root to a defined set of TAM suffixes (129); it links the verb root to a subset of derivational suffixes, i.e., completive and the benefactive (130); and it links two or more verbs in multiverb constructions (131).

(129) ʔE.m dum tire ʔam-a-ha.

ʔe.m dum tire ʔam-a-ha
3sg.M voice 1sg hear-J-PRF
I have heard his voice.

(130) Ti kua tca shinga-na-ma.

ti kua tca shinga-na-ma
1sg IPFV 2sg.M work-J-BEN
I work for you.

(131) Ndjua ʔa ti kua bokisi lhĩ-a-tcãã.

ndjuu ʔa ti kua bokisi lhĩ-a tcãã
house OBL 1sg IPFV box push-J enter
I push the box into the house.

5 Word order

As is typical of other Khoe languages, the default, predicate-focus constituent order in transitive verb phrases in Tjwao is verb final. The subject object verb (SOV) pattern is the most preferred.

However, certain information-structural properties of the utterance allow for fronting of the object, resulting in OSV:

- (132) *lX'ao ti kua mûũ-a ʔãã.*
 (O) (S) (V)
lX'ao ti kua mûũ.a.ʔãã
 snake 1sg IPFV recognize
 I recognize the snake.

- (133) *Djii ti kua ʔabo.*
 (O) (S) (V)
Djii ti kua ʔabo
 Tree 1sg IPFV climb
 I climb the tree.

Rarely, Tjwao also allows for SVO word order:

- (134) *Tire kaa-ta xa lii.*
 (S) (V) (O)
tire kaa-ta xa lii
 1sg like-IPFV.NEG DEM song
 I do not like this song.

This type of word order is found in Wh- questions:

- (135) *Nare hĩĩ xuu?*
 (S) (V) (O)
nare hĩĩ xuu
 who do thing
 Who did what?

References

- Andrason, A., AM. Fehn & A. Phiri. 2020. Interjections in Tjwao. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 83(2): 293-319. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0041977X20002608>
- Andrason, A. & A. Phiri. 2018. The *hĩ* and *ha* grams in Tjwao (Khoe) – The model of situated maps. *Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis* 135: 269-290. <https://doi.org/10.4467/20834624SL.18.025.9319>
- Andrason, A. & A. Phiri. Forthcoming. Talking to animals in a moribund language: Pragmatics, phonetics, and morphology of conative animal calls in Tjwao. *Linguistics Variation*. <https://doi.org/10.1075/lv.22008.and>
- Andrason, A., A. Phiri & AM. Fehn. Forthcoming. The meaning and form of onomatopoeias in Tjwao. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics*.
- Fehn, AM. & A. Phiri. 2017. Nominal marking in Northern Tshwa (Kalahari Khoe). *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics Plus* 48. 105-122. <https://doi.org/10.5774/48-0-284>
- Fehn, AM. & Phiri, A. Forthcoming. Juncture-verb constructions in Northeastern Kalahari Khoe: A comparative perspective. *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics Plus*.
- Güldemann, T. & AM. Fehn. 2017. The Kalahari basin area as a ‘Sprachbund’ before the Bantu expansion. In Hickey, A. (ed.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Areal Linguistics*, 500-526. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Phiri, A. 2021. *The Verbal and Nominal Morpho-syntax of Tjwao: A grammaticalisation approach*. PhD dissertation, Stellenbosch University.