

Perception verbs in N||ng (!Ui, Tuu) and beyond

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1 Introduction

(1) Taa-Lower Nossob

Taa (DC)

West: N|u||en†, West !Xoon

East: N|amani†, Kakia†, East !Xoon, 'N|oha, etc.

Lower Nossob (?DC): |'Auni†, |Haasi†

(2) !Ui

|Xam† (DC)

N||ng: N|uu, †Khomani, N|huki (DC)

†Ungkue†

||Xegwi†

Note: DC = dialect cluster, † = extinct

Figure 1: Classification of Tuu (= Southern Khoisan)

English

	Experiencer	Experiencer	Phenomenon	Positive	Negative
	Activity	Experience	Copulative		
Sight	look at	see	look	beautiful	ugly
Hearing	listen to	hear	sound	good, nice	bad
Touch	feel				
Taste	taste				
Smell	smell				

G|ui-G//ana (Khoe)

	Experiencer	Experiencer	Phenomenon
	Activity	Experience	
Sight	múù		'ī
Hearing	kúm		ām
Touch			
Taste			
Smell			

2 A questionnaire: N||ng Speaker C

Sight

1 (Sight-A) Peter was looking/looked at the birds

Petrus het die voël gekyk.

Petrus ke xa †aqe †quisi
PN THET PST look bird

Peter looked at a/the bird

2 (Sight-E) Peter saw the birds

Petrus het 'n voël gesien.

Petrus ke xa n|aa †quisi
PN THET PST see bird

Peter saw a/the bird

3 (Sight-P) Peter looked happy

Petrus lyk gelukkig

lxoe ku n|ng Petrus |ee tyhaa'i
EXPL be.like 1S PN heart sweet

intended: Peter seems happy; lit.: it seems to me Peter's heart is sweet

Petrus lyk soos sy pa

Petrus ke ku ha aanki
PN THET be.like 3S father

Peter looks like his father

Hearing

4 (Hear-A) Peter was listening/listened to the radio

Peter luister die voël (wat) in die boom (is)

Petrus ke ka tyum'in †quisi he |'ee soo †hii
PN THET listen bird REL enter sit tree

Peter listens to a/the bird in the tree

5 (Hear-E) Peter heard the radio

Peter het die voël gehoor

Petrus ke xa tyuu-a †quisi
PN THET PST hear-RELV bird

Peter heard a/the bird

6 (Hear-P) Peter sounded sad

Petrus klink treurig

Petrus ke |kx'obe-a

PN THET sad-RELV

intended: Peter sounds sad; lit.: Peter is sad

Petrus snork soos 'n puff udder

Petrus ke !xaru ||aa !oeke

PN THET snore SIML puff udder

intended: Peter('s snoring) sounds like a puff udder, lit.: Peter snores like a puff udder

Touch

7 (Touch-A) Peter felt the cloth to see how soft it was

Petrus voel hoe lyk die doek

Petrus ke ka khinn'in !xaisi a 'n||a dyee tyhaa

PN THET feel cloth DEI MPO:PROX be.how appear

Peter feels the cloth how it is

8 (Touch-E) Peter felt a stone under his foot

Petrus het 'n klip onder sy voet gevoel

Petrus ke xng khinn-a ||uru 'n||a !kx'uuke

PN THET PST feel-RELV stone MPO:PROX feet

Peter felt a stone under his foot.

9 (Touch-P) The cloth felt soft

Die doek is/voel saf

!xaisi a ke ka mana tyhaa

cloth DEI THET ? soft appear

the cloth feels soft

Die doek voel soos my vel

!xaisi a ke khinn ||aa ng dyoon

cloth DEI THET feel SIML 1S skin

the cloth feels like my skin

Taste**10 (Taste-A) Peter tasted the food to see if he could eat it**

Petrus het hierdie kos geproe

Petrus ke xng ka **ts'inn'a** aanki hngke

PN THET PST taste:RELV food DEI

Peter tasted the food (in preparation with ka)

Petrus het geproe hoe smaak hierdie kos

Petrus ke xng **ts'inn'a** ng aanki hngke dyee **ts'aa**

PN THET PST taste:RELV ?MPO food DEI be.how taste.like

Peter tasted/tried the food how it tastes (in preparation with ka)

11 (Taste-E) Peter tasted garlic in the soup

Petrus het die sout in die kos geproe

Petrus ke xng **ts'inn'a** dyebe ng aanki

PN THET PST taste:RELV salt MPO food

Peter tasted (the) salt in the food

12 (Taste-P) The soup tasted good/bad/of garlic

Die kos smaak naar sout

aanki hngke ke **ts'inn** dyebe

food DEL.P THET taste salt

the food tastes salty

Die kos smaak lekker

aanki hngke ke **ts'inn** tyhaa'i

food DEL.P THET taste sweet

the food tastes good

Smell**13 (Smell-A) Peter smelled the food to see if he could eat it**

Petrus snuffel/ruik die kos

Petrus ke **!qhao** aanki hngke

PN THET smell food DEL.P

Peter smells/sniffs the food

Petrus snuffel/ruik baie die kos

Petrus ke **ka !qhao kx'ain** aanki

PN THET smell food

Peter smells/sniffs the food

14 (Smell-E) Peter smelled garlic in the soup

Petrus ruik iets in die kos

Petrus ke **!qhao-(a)** gao ng aanki

PN THET smell- thing MPO food

Peter smells something in the food

15 (Smell-P) The soup smelled good/bad/of garlic

Die kos ruik lekker

Aanki hngke ke **||'ann** tyhaa'i

food DEL.P THET smell sweet

the food smells good

3 Considerable cross-Khoisan variation

N//ng C (!Ui, Tuu)

	Experiencer	Experiencer	Phenomenon
	Activity	Experience	Copulative
Sight	‡aqe	n aa	(ku)
Hearing	ka tyum'in	tyuu	-
Touch	ka khinn'in	khinn	khinn, (tyhaa)
Taste	(ka) ts'inn'in	ts'inn	ts'inn
Smell	ka !qhao kx'ain	!qhao	'ann

G/ui-G//ana (Khoe)

	Experiencer	Experiencer	Phenomenon
	Activity	Experience	
Sight	múù		'īī
Hearing	kúm		ām
Touch			
Taste			
Smell			

4 Genealogical comparison

N||ng-internal

N||ng C

	Experiencer	Experiencer	Phenomenon	Positive	Negative
	Activity	Experience	Copulative		
Sight	‡aqe	n aa	(ku)	haquka	‡xuín
Hearing	ka tyum'in	tyuu	-	tyhaa'i	kx'uu ‡xuín
Touch	ka khinn'in	khinn	khinn, (tyhaa)	tyhaa'i	kx'uu ‡xuín
Taste	ka ts'inn'in	ts'inn	ts'inn	tyhaa'i	kx'uu ‡xuín
Smell	ka !qhao kx'ain	!qhao	'ann	tyhaa'i	kx'uu ‡xuín

N||ng F

	Experiencer	Experiencer	Phenomenon	Positive	Negative
	Activity	Experience	Copulative		
Sight	‡aqe	n aa	(ku)	haquka	‡xuín
Hearing	ka tyum'in	tyuu	-	tyhaa'i	qoqan'i
Touch	khinn	khinn	tyhaa, (naa)	?‡huu	?‡xunn
Taste	ts'inn	ts'inn	(ts'inn), ts'aa	tyhaa'i	qoqan'i
Smell	!qhao	!qhao	'ann	tyhaa'i, (‡huu)	qoqan'i

N||ng B (most deviant dialect, data from Martina Ernszt)

	Experiencer	Experiencer	Phenomenon	Positive	Negative
	Activity	Experience	Copulative		
Sight	‡aqe	n aa	ku, nyaa	haqoka	‡xuín
Hearing	tyum('in)	tyuu	?	tyhaa'i	qoqa'i
Touch	‡'inn('in), khinn	khinn	khinn	?	?
Taste	ts'inn	ts'inn	ts'inn, (ts'aa)	tyhaa'i	qoqa'i
Smell	?	'ang	'ang	tyhaa'i	?

?Proto-N||ng

	Experiencer	Experiencer	Phenomenon	Positive	Negative
	Activity	Experience	Copulative		
Sight	*‡aqe	*n aa	(*ku)	* haquka	*‡xuín
Hearing	*t(y)um	*t(y)uu	-	*t(y)haa'i	?* qoqa(n)'i
Touch	*t(y)hann >	*t(y)haa, (?*naa)			
Taste	*ts'ann >	*ts'aa			
Smell	*!qhao	* 'aN			

!Ui-internal comparison**?Proto-N||ng (!Ui, Tuu)**

	Experiencer	Experiencer	Phenomenon
	Activity	Experience	Copulative
Sight	*ɬaqe	*n aa	(*ku)
Hearing	*t(y)um	*t(y)uu	-
Touch	*t(y)hann >		*t(y)haa, (?*naa)
Taste	*ts'ann >		*ts'aa
Smell	*!qhao		* 'aN

|Xam (!Ui, Tuu)

	Experiencer	Experiencer	Phenomenon
	Activity	Experience	Copulative
Sight	kx'o(q)e(nn/ng)	n aa, (ttaan)	?
Hearing	tum, tuui, (n e) tuu	tuu	?
Touch	(ts'am)	ttaan	ttaan
Taste	ts'am	?	?
Smell	!k(h)ao(n), kui ɬaqa au		ttang , 'ang
Generic	ttaan'in	ttaan, (ttang)	(ttang)

Proto-!Ui

	Experiencer	Experiencer	Phenomenon
	Activity	Experience	
Sight	-	*n aa	?
Hearing	*tum	*tuu	?
Touch	?	? *tha-	? *tha-
Taste	*ts'a-	?	?
Smell	*!qhao		* 'aN

5 Semantic relations between verbs

“Horizontal” relations among perception verbs

Experience verb as basis of activity verb by morphological elaboration

	Experience	Activity		
Germ.	hören + ACC	zuhören + DAT		
		sich anhören + ACC		
Xam	thaa	thaa'in		
	tuu 'hear'	n e tuu		
		tui	< tuu + i	
		tum	see N ng below	
N ng	ts'inn 'taste'	ka ts'inn'in		
	khinn'in 'touch'	ka khinn'in		
	ts'aa 'taste'	ts'inn	? < ts'ənn < ts'ann	< *ts'aa + N
	thaa 'touch'	khinn	? < thinn < thənn < thann	< *thaa + N
	t(y)uu 'hear'	t(y)um	? < tunn	< *tuu + N
or	t(y)uu ? < tubu	t(y)um	? < tumu(n)	< *tubu + N

?Experience verb expands to copulative verb

F copulative

!xaisi ke **tyhaa** ng dyoon
 cloth THET appear 1S skin
 the cloth feels like my skin

C copulative

!xaisi a ke ka mana **tyhaa**
 cloth DEI THET ? soft appear
 the cloth feels soft

C experience

!xaisi a ke **khinn** ||aa ng dyoon
 cloth DEI THET feel SIML 1S skin
 the cloth feels like my skin

F copulative + experience

aanki ke **ts'aa** dyebe
 food THET taste.like salt
 aanki ke **ts'inn** dyebe
 food THET taste salt
 the food tastes salt

C experience

aanki hngke ke **ts'inn** dyebe

food DEL.P THET taste salt

the food tastes salty

?Experience verb to 'ask' by morphological elaboration

	Experience	'ask'
N ng	tyuu 'hear'	ka tyuu'in
Xam	ttang 'feel'	ttang'in

?Copulative verb > positive quality verb

	Copulative	Positive quality
Germ.	schmecken	schmecken, schmackhaft
N ng	tyhaa	tyhaa'i 'good' (non-sight perception) ? < *tyhaa + 'i

!xaisi ke **tyhaa** |uaxu se dyoon

cloth THET feel sheep GEN skin

the cloth feels like sheep skin

!'ui ke **tyhaa'i**

song THET be.good

the song is good

?Copulative verb > negative quality verb

	Phenomenon	Negative quality
Germ.	riechen	riechen
Engl.	smell	smell
Xam	ttang 'feel'	ttang 'feel pain'

!'aun ee **ttang** toi |wai

soil.2 2REL feel ostrich scent

dust which smelt of the ostrich's scent (Bleek 1956: 191)

ng **ttang**

1S feel.pain

I was in pain (Bleek 1956: 191)

“Vertical neutralization”: generic perception verbs in Tuu?

[Xam (!Ui, Tuu)

	Experiencer	Experiencer	Phenomenon
	Activity	Experience	Copulative
Sight	kx'o(q)e(nn/ng)	n aa, (?ttaan)	?
Hearing	tum, tuui, (n e) tuu	tuu	?
Touch	(ts'am)	ttaan	ttaan
Taste	ts'am	?	?
Smell	!k(h)ao(n), kui †aqa au, ?		ttang , 'ang
Generic	ttaan'in	ttaan, (ttang)	(ttang)

hi se !haqm **ttaan** ||ang
 2PRO SUBJ first feel hunger
 that they would first feel hunger (Bleek 1956: 186)

he ||'uu hi-ng |u ee si **ttaan'in** hin
 2DEI fatigue.2 2PRO-THET ? TF 1P.E feel 2PRO
 this fatigue, this is what we feel (Bleek 1956: 188)

i g n|e **ttaan** ha n|oa
 1P.I ? IPFV feel 1PRO spoor
 we see his spoor [possibly: smell] (Bleek 1956: 184)

au ha doqa **ttaan** toeta !khoa
 CONN 1PRO ? feel nice:RELV water
 as he felt the water to be pleasant (Bleek 1956: 184)

!aun ee **ttaan** seritnn au !aun taa thi |ari e
 soil.2 THET feel cold because soil.2 wet COP
 the ground feels cold because it is wet (Bleek 1956: 184)

!aun ee **ttang** toi |wai
 soil.2 2REL feel ostrich scent
 dust which smelt of the ostrich's scent (Bleek 1956: 191)

East !Xoon (Taa, Tuu)

	Experiencer	Experiencer	Phenomenon
	Activity	Experience	Copulative
Sight	uqM, n!aqM	n aa	?
Hearing	(q)'ole		?
Touch	?		?
Taste	ts'ann kM	n um kM	?
Smell	‡oho kM	n um kM	?

Tswana

	Experiencer	Experiencer	Phenomenon	
	Activity	Experience		
Sight	beba	bona	lebega	
Hearing	reetsa	utlwa	utlwala	
Touch	tswara			utlwa
Taste	leka "try"			
Smell	nkga or dupa			

G|ui-G||ana (Khoe)

	Experiencer	Experiencer	Phenomenon
	Activity	Experience	
Sight	múù		'ii
Hearing	kúrn		ām
Touch			
Taste			
Smell			