



MAX-PLANCK-GESELLSCHAFT

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Spatial terms in ꞤHoan



EuroBABEL

Better Analyses Based on Endangered Languages (EuroBABEL)

- EUROCORES program of the European Science Foundation (ESF)
- main purpose: promote empirical research on underdescribed endangered languages
- aims at refining ideas about linguistic structure and about language in relation to cognition, social and cultural organization and related issues
- trans- and multi-disciplinary perspective

Content

- lexical sources and grammatical constructions of spatial concepts
- some examples of spatial constructions in the related language Ju & the neighboring languages Taa and G|ui
- talk is mainly based on Heine, Claudi & Hünemeyer (1991)

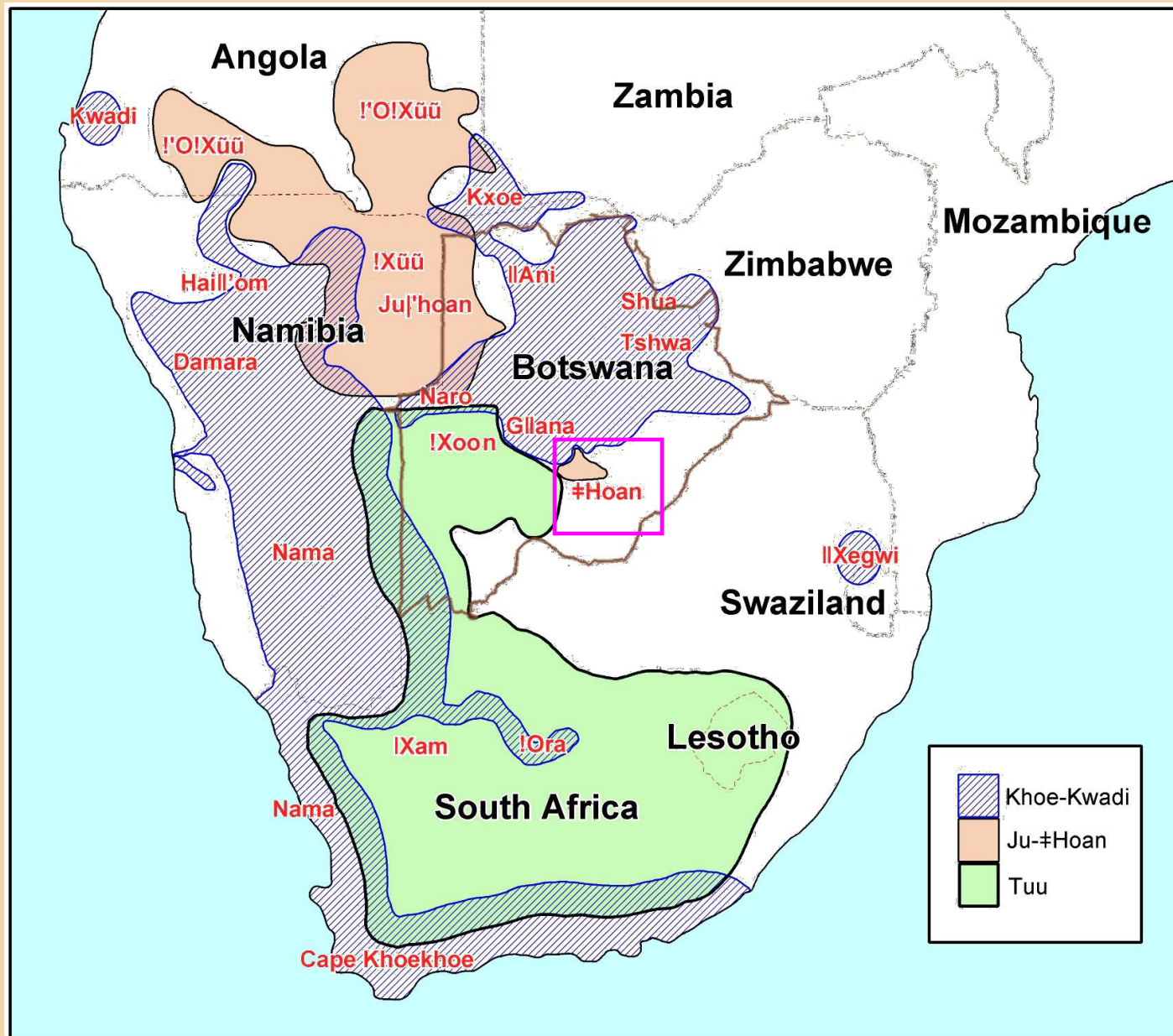
ǀHoan language & language area

- moribund language: approx. 50 speakers most of them between 60 and 70 years old
- spoken in southern Botswana at the fringe of the Kalahari desert
- in the area better known as *n!aqriaxe* or *aqriaxe* meaning ‘what is it?’, not sure if endonym or exonym

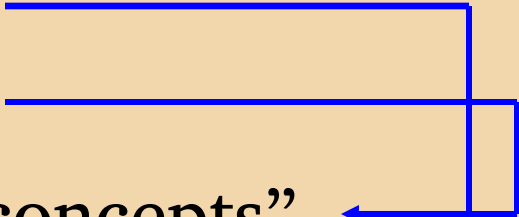


Classification

- first reported by Traill (1973), was associated to either Southern or Northern Khoisan (Traill 1973, 1974 and Westphal 1974)
- ꞤHoan was assumed to be an isolate or at least genealogically not yet assigned language (Güldemann & Vossen 2000)
- Heine and Honken (2010) affiliated it to Ju; established the 'Kx'a language family' covering Ju (called !Xun L-complex by Heine & König, e.g. 2004) and ꞤHoan; *kx'a(a)* is a shared lexeme meaning 'earth, ground, soil'



Sources of spatial terms

- according to Heine, Claudi & Hünemeyer (1991), there are three different lexical sources for spatial terms:
 - body parts
 - landmarks
 - “relational concepts”
- 
- The diagram consists of blue lines. A horizontal line from 'body parts' and a horizontal line from 'landmarks' both lead to a vertical line. This vertical line then has a horizontal branch that points to 'relational concepts' with an arrowhead, indicating that relational concepts can be derived from either body parts or landmarks.

if sufficient historical information is available, “relational concepts” can be shown to derive from body parts or landmarks (Heine, Claudi & Hünemeyer 1991: 125)

Sources of spatial terms in ꠄHoan

- in ꠄHoan, we have spatial terms derived from all three sources:
 - body parts 8
 - landmarks 2
 - relational concepts 6

Examples

(1) *kì n̄ū̀n nā*

OBL middle inside

> *n̄ū̀n* ‘breast, milk’

‘in the middle’

(narrative)

(2) *ārīzààn n/áá ā kì !òà sì !"áé nā*

man sit PRF OBL house POSS ground inside

‘The man is sitting on the ground of the house (meaning “outside”).’

(elicited)

(3) *dyāq'āqmsì ts'āān ā kì àm sì // "àm*

child sleep PRF OBL 1SG.POSS POSS top

‘The child is lying on top of me.’

(elicited)

Lexical sources

spatial term	lexical meaning
<i>n!àqlè</i> ‘bottom, look back’	‘buttocks’
<i>n#hháá</i> ‘in front of’	‘to face’
<i>m⊙òā</i> ‘in front of’	‘face’
<i>g#èì</i> ‘behind, at the back’	‘back’
<i>!”ūī</i> ‘behind, at the back’	‘back’
<i>!qhānē</i> ‘next to’	‘cheek’
<i>n#ūùn</i> ‘middle, between’	‘breast, milk’
<i>ts'ūnē</i> ‘on’	‘body’
<i>!”áé</i> ‘down, on the ground’	‘ground, outside’
<i> òòn</i> ‘under’	‘stem’
<i> "àm</i> ‘top’	*
<i>/"ānā</i> ‘top’	*
<i>#ááh</i> ‘behind, at the back’	*
<i>!āqòn</i> ‘beside’	*
<i>#āā</i> ‘under’	*
<i>nā(ā)</i> ‘inside, in, on’	*

body parts

landmarks

relational concepts

Competing sources 1

- not infrequently, competing sources for one and the same spatial concept (H, C & H 1991:129), e.g. ‘on’ derived from body part and relational concept

(4) *ʃhíbí* //hàà n/áá ā kì /"óón *ts'ūnē*
 dove ? sit PRF OBL tree body
 ‘The dove is sitting on the tree.’

(5) *ʃhíbí* //hàà n/áá ā kì /"óón sì //àm
 dove ? sit PRF OBL tree POSS top
 ‘The dove is sitting on the tree.’
 (elicited)

Competing sources 2

- ‘in front of’ derived from *mᵹᵹᵹᵹ* ‘face (n)’ and *nᵹᵹᵹᵹᵹᵹ* ‘face (v)’

(6) *dyāq'āqm* /*ā* *n/áá* *ā* *kì* *!òà* *mᵹᵹᵹᵹ* *nā*
 child DIM.PL sit PRF OBL house front inside

‘The children are sitting in front of the house.’

(elicited)

(7) *gōmè* *yà* *tyāqò* *kì* *ārīzààn* *sì* *nᵹᵹᵹᵹᵹᵹ*
 cow PROG walk OBL man POSS front

‘The cow is walking in front of the man.’

(elicited)

Example body parts in ꠤHoan

- some typical grammaticalizations (Heine & Kuteva 2002):
 - buttocks > bottom, down
 - back > behind, at the back
 - face > in front of
- some more ‘unusual’ ones:
 - breast > middle (usually ‘body’)
 - cheek > next to
 - face (v) > in front of (usually ‘face (n)’)
 - body > on

(Heine & Kuteva 2002)

Scale

- Heine, Claudi & Hünemeyer (1991) suggest that derivation of spatial terms from body parts follows an implicational scale

UNDER > ON, IN > FRONT > BACK



in ꞤHoan:

Ꞥāā > nā(ā) > nꞤhháá > gꞤèì
mᵀòā

Spatial constructions 1

- spatial concepts are expressed using a possessive construction; the spatial term is the head of the construction (possessive constructions in ꠕHoan are head-final!)
- they are introduced by the oblique marker *kì*

(8) 𐌓𐌋𐌰𐌶 !ūī ā kì kààtàbòksì !qhānē
tortoise stand PRF OBL box next_to
‘The tortoise was standing next to the box.’
(frog story)

Spatial constructions 2

- some spatial concepts are expressed using a possessive construction in which the head is *nā* ‘inside’

(9) *kà* *gɛ̀ɛ̀* *nā*
OBL:3SG *back* *inside*
‘behind him’
(frog story)

(10) *tyàmà* /"ānā *nā*
dog *top* *inside*
‘on the top of the dog’
(frog story)

Source and construction - overview

spatial term	lexical meaning	used with <i>nā</i> 'inside'
<i>n!àqlè</i> 'bottom, look back'	'buttocks'	-
<i>nḥhháá</i> 'in front of'	'to face'	-
<i>m᠐dàā</i> 'in front of'	'face'	✓
<i>gḥèì</i> 'behind, at the back'	'back'	✓
<i>!''ūī</i> 'behind, at the back'	'back'	-
<i>!qhānē</i> 'next to'	'cheek'	-
<i>nḥūùn</i> 'middle, between'	'breast, milk'	✓
<i>ts'ūnē</i> 'on'	'body'	-
<i>!''áé</i> 'down, on the ground'	'ground, outside'	-
<i>ḥdòn</i> 'under'	'stem'	-
<i>ḥ'àm</i> 'top'	*	-
<i>ḥ'ānā</i> 'top'	*	✓
<i>ḥááh</i> 'behind, back'	*	-
<i>!āqòn</i> 'beside'	*	-
<i>ḥāā</i> 'under'	*	-
<i>nā(ā)</i> 'inside, in, on'	*	-

Verb-based spatial terms 1

- further source for spatial terms: verb
- according to Heine, Claudi & Hünemeyer (1991: 140ff.):
 - verb-based spatial terms (“V-adpositions”) can co-occur with noun-based spatial terms (“N-adpositions”); occur in mutually exclusive environments
 - noun-based spatial terms tend to express “static” locations (under, on, etc.) while the verb-based ones express direction (source, goal, path)
 - class of verb-based spatial terms is highly limited (often only one)
 - verb-based spatial terms appear to have different lexical sources than noun-base ones

Verb-based spatial terms 2

- in ꠕHoan, one example of a verb-based spatial term: *nꠕhháá* ‘in front of’ < ‘to face’
- used in a benefactive SVC

(11) *yà nꠕhháá súú ā tsì*
3SG face(v) BEN PRF 3PL

‘He is (i.e. walking) in front of them.’

(frog story)

súú = ‘give’

- implies motion although no motion verb is used

Verb-based spatial terms 3

- benefactives are introduced by the verb *súú* ‘give’ as V₂ in SVC

(12) *tsì dyéé qà tsà //āà súú ʔèbè qà*
3PL mother PL PST **grind** BEN kgal.person PL
‘[...] their mothers were grinding for the Kgalagadi people’
(narrative)

(13) *yà nʔhháá súú ā tsì*
3SG **face(v)** BEN PRF 3PL
‘He is (i.e. walking) in front of them.’
(frog story)

Competing constructions: ‘in front of’

- verb-based spatial term in benefactive SVC

(14) *gōmè n̄hháá súú ā ārīzààn*

cow face(v) BEN PRF man

‘The cow is walking in front of the man.’

(elicited)

- as a ‘noun’ in possessive construction

(15) *gōmè yà tyāqò kì ārīzààn sī n̄hháá*

cow PROG walk OBL man POSS front

‘The cow is walking in front of the man.’

(lit.: ‘The cow is walking in the facing of the man.’)

(elicited)

Further example SVC

- SVC ‘climb sit’ lexicalized as spatial term ‘sit on’

(16) *hànsīnāsì kím_kì !"ābō n/áá ā sètūlò*
boy DEM climb sit PRF chair
‘[...] this boy is sitting on a chair.’
(frog story)

(17) *!ònù !"ābō àm mŌúūn*
fly climb 1SG.POSS head
‘The fly is sitting on my head.’
(elicited)

Construction types & sources Ju 1

- Ju ‘postpositions’ seem to be possessive constructions (like in ꠕHoan)
- generally two construction types:
 - spatial term is the head of a putative possessive construction
 - spatial term in a putative possessive construction headed by *n̄!ñ/n̄!ñ* ‘inside’
- in Ju, like in ꠕHoan, some spatial terms are derived from body parts

spatial term	lexical meaning
!ʼúlí ‘behind’	‘back (n)’
!x’ā ‘in (the midst of)’	‘heart’

(Heine & König ms: 223)

Construction types & sources Ju 2

- possessive construction headed by body part term

(18) /'ú -ā //xōē g//ú !x'ā
 put_somewhere -relation.2SG tail water heart

‘Put your tail in the water.’

(König & Heine 2001: 172)

- possessive construction consisting of body part term, headed by *n̄!ñ/n̄!ñ* ‘inside’

(19) <i>g/à'à</i> <i>n̄!ñ/n̄!ñ</i>	(20) <i>//hà</i> <i>n̄!ñ/n̄!ñ</i>	(21) <i>!'ó</i> <i>n!ñ</i>
eye inside	scalp inside	back inside
‘in front’	‘on top of, on, above’	‘in the back’
(N1, W2, E1)	(N1, W2, (C1, E1))	(E1)

Construction types & sources Ju 3

- Ju also employs relational concepts

spatial term	lexical meaning
<i>daŋ</i> ‘behind, under’	*
<i>!aan</i> ‘in front’	*

(Heine & König ms: 223)

- some relational concepts occur in constructions headed by *n̄!ŋ̄/n̄!ŋ̄* ‘inside’

(22) *n!òàqlà-cā* *n̄!ŋ̄*
 ? inside
 ‘under’
 (W2)

(23) *ɛ̀àbà(tá)* *n̄!ŋ̄*
 ? inside
 ‘under’
 (E1)

(Heine & König ms: 223)

Construction types & sources ꠕHoan

- ꠕHoan has spatial terms derived from all three sources (body parts, landmarks and “relational concepts”) with body parts constituting the biggest group
- spatial concepts are most frequently expressed by possessive constructions of which they are the head; some spatial terms always occur in a construction headed by the spatial *nā* ‘inside’
- there are frequently two terms for the same concept originating from different sources or differing in the construction it is used in (e.g. with or without *nā*)

Verb-based spatial terms in ꠕHoan

- ꠕHoan has one spatial term which is verb-based (*nꠕhháá* ‘in front of’ < ‘to face’)
- it conforms to a great extent with the characteristics described by Heine, Claudi & Hünнемeyer (1991), e.g. implying motion, limited class
- it was observed that the verb-based spatial term can also be used like a noun in a possessive construction

Construction types & sources Ju

- Ju constructions expressing spatial concepts are generally similar to ꠕHoan
 - lexical sources: body parts, landmarks and relational concepts
 - construction types: possessive constructions either headed by the spatial term or headed by *ṇ!ṇ/ṇ!ṇ* ‘inside’
- no example for a verb-based spatial term could be found

𐄂Hoan and Ju

- although structurally similar, the ‘unusual’ grammaticalization paths for the spatial terms differ in 𐄂Hoan and Ju,
 - e.g. 𐄂Hoan: middle < breast
 Ju: in (the midst of) < heart
- while both languages follow cross-linguistically typical grammaticalization paths for other spatial terms, e.g.
- 𐄂Hoan/Ju: behind < back
 front < face

Lexical Sources Taa and G|ui

- both languages seem to follow the cross-linguistically typical grammaticalization paths for spatial terms like ‘behind’ and ‘front’; no data available for the unusual grammaticalization paths
- it has to be investigated whether the construction types as well as some cross-linguistically unusual grammaticalization paths are widely spread in the area

Constructions Taa and G|ui

- no sufficient data available on the construction types in the neighboring languages Taa and G|ui

(24) Example Taa (Lone tree !Xõo variety)

ké ‘*᠋**Onà.je* /*nà.n*
MPO:3 tree.32 *head.22*
‘on top of the tree’
(Güldemann ms: 6)

(25) Example †|Xam,
related to Taa

!uiri //ai'e
riverbed inside
‘in the riverbed’
(Güldemann ms: 18)

→ construction types of Tuu and Ju-≡Hoan seem to be similar

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