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Altyd 'n snaakse woordjie tussen-in: Nama click consonants in post-shift Namaqualand Afrikaans

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Abstract: Several regional varieties of Coloured Afrikaans in the Northern Cape retain lexical items in the aftermath of shift from Khoekhoe-branch languages, predominantly Nama and †Kora. These loaned lexical items are pronounced using click consonants even by entirely monolingual speakers of Afrikaans, implying substrate interference with the Afrikaans phonetic inventory. Unfortunately, very little formal linguistic attention has been paid to these click consonants, and only limited data on their phonetic and phonological properties are available. Documentation of Nama click consonants in monolingual speakers of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans reveals that the post-shift click inventory is extremely variable, with speakers often employing different click types in different tokens of the same word. A brief phonetic sketch of these loaned click consonants, followed by preliminary phonological and sociohistorical discussion, are compared with similar outcomes from click loan events in the southwestern NTU languages of and Namibia and Botswana. Improved linguistic documentation of click consonants in post-shift speech communities in South Africa is urgently advised.

Introduction

A number of lay, literary and ethnobotanical resources suggest an extensive history of lexical borrowing from the Khoekhoe-branch languages, predominantly Nama and Kora, into regional varieties of Afrikaans in the Northern Cape province of South Africa. With the exception of Links (1989), however, this phenomenon has been largely ignored by linguists. With lexical borrowing comes the potential for phonological interference with the host language, and, in the case of lexical borrowing from the Khoekhoe-branch languages, the opportunity to examine the phonology of click consonants during language contact events. This article offers a preliminary description of the click consonants as used in Namaqualand Afrikaans, a regional variety in which speakers note that there is '*alytd 'n snaakse woordjie tussen-in*' ('always a funny little word in the middle').

By way of a literature review, this article provides a general introduction to click consonants, as well as a brief context for the use of the Nama language in South Africa, and a critical review of the extant literature on Khoekhoe-branch lexical borrowing into Afrikaans. An outline of the data collection process is followed by phonetic sketch of click consonants in Namaqualand Afrikaans, including spectral analyses of selected tokens. Particular emphasis is placed on comparing L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans clicks with L1 Nama clicks, and on providing evidence for inter- and intraspeaker variation. Reference is made throughout to the outcomes of other known click loan events across southern Africa. Finally, some preliminary sociohistorical and phonological discussion on the behaviour of these click consonants during lexical borrowing is offered. Improved documentation of both South African Nama and Namaqualand Afrikaans is strongly recommended.

An overview of clicks consonants in Namaqualand Afrikaans

Click consonants and click languages

The outdated notion of a unified 'Khoisan' language family (Greenberg 1963) can no longer be supported by language data (Güldemann 2014). The modern international consensus acknowledges three distinct non-Bantu families in the greater Kalahari Basin Area (KBA): the Kx'a family (Heine

and Honken 2010), the Tuu family (Güldemann 2005) and the Khoe-Kwadi family (Güldemann and Elderkin 2010). This article treats primarily with the Khoekhoe-branch languages (Haacke et al. 1997; Haacke 2016) within Khoe (Voßen 1997) as historically spoken in South Africa. These three families share a number of typological features (Güldemann and Fehn 2017; Güldemann and Nakagawa 2018; Witzlack-Makarevich and Nakagawa 2019; Sands and Gunnink 2019), of which the most relevant to this article are large phonemic inventories of click consonants.

Click consonants are articulated using a double closure, in which two sections of the tongue make simultaneous contact with two sections of the roof of the mouth to form a pocket of trapped air, or cavity (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996; Miller et al. 2009; Sands 2020). A momentary expansion of the cavity rarifies the air, creating a low-pressure environment; following the release of both closures, high-pressure air from the surrounding environment moves to fill the cavity, creating a lingual ingressive consonant or click. The positioning of the tongue during the anterior closure corresponds best with the place feature of non-click consonants, in that it is this closure which determines the shape of the cavity, and hence the quality of the acoustic burst (Miller et al. 2009).

Accordingly, the place of the anterior closure is used to determine the click type (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996; Miller et al. 2009; Fulop and Wright 2020). A variety of further contrastive modifications may be applied, including nasalisation, phonation, and glottalisation, with the number and scope of modifications applied varying from language to language. The concept of the 'accompaniment' (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996: 260) as a category for these further modifications has been interrogated as 'phonetically empty' (Miller et al. 2009: 132), in that it does not form 'a natural class of speech gestures' (Sands 2020: 22–23), as both click type and further modifications are taken into account when determining the scope of click inventory. Thus isiXhosa should be considered to use fifteen clicks, for example, and standardised Namibian Khoekhoe twenty. Considered not to display classical allophony (Miller 2019), but nonetheless capable of varying during connected speech in ancestral click languages (Sands 2020), patterns of variation in clicks are not yet well understood.

The historical use of Nama in Namaqualand

Within the Khoekhoe branch, at least three historical languages are known to have existed: an extinct but fairly well-documented †Kora continuum (Engelbrecht 1936; Haacke 2016; Du Plessis 2019), and the two extant Namibian languages Nama and Damara (Haacke et al. 1997; Haacke 2016). Nama and Damara are still spoken in Namibia today, and have been harmonised into a standard language Namibian Khoekhoe.

The Nama spoken by communities in the Riemvasmaak region of the Northern Cape in South Africa is assumed to align with Nama as spoken in Namibia, although formal documentation is sparse (some specimens are available from Sands and Jones 2022). An isolated South African variety of Nama historically spoken in the Richtersveld region of Namaqualand is almost entirely undocumented (Witzlack-Makarevich 2006) and probably moribund.

In the coastal Namaqualand region of the Northern Cape, Afrikaans was first introduced by agents of the London Missionary Society (LMS) in 1816, and had gained a strong foothold in the Kamiesberg by 1847, when the region was formally annexed by the British Empire. A shift from Nama to Afrikaans advanced rapidly over the course of the 19th century and into the early 20th as evangelism and copper mining intensified. The relatively isolated 'Coloured Reserves' declared in 1913, including Concordia, Komaggas, and especially Steinkopf, were historically considered strongholds of Nama language and culture, but even here the shift progressed steadily. This resulted in an increasingly sedentary way of life, as well as a reliance on European models of wage-labour for subsistence (Emmett 1987; Rohde and Hoffman 2008). Nama was best-preserved in the arid and mountainous Richtersveld in the isolated north, but the expansion of the diamond mining industry, the forcible resettlement of Coloured Afrikaans-speaking communities into the region and increasingly stringent land-use policies all dealt the language a serious blow during the consolidation of the apartheid regime (Carstens 1966; Berzborn 2003).

Rapidly changing socio-economic labour practices seem to have sharply intensified the shift from then onward. An abrupt increase of migrant labour in the Namaqualand region during the apartheid years (Carstens 1966; Rohde and Hoffman 2008) would seem to have codified the importance of

Afrikaans as a lingua franca. Furthermore, dwindling access to land curtailed the opportunity to practise historical Nama subsistence methods, including transhumant pastoralism, with the result that communities were obliged to depend instead on capitalist systems of wage labour (Sharp and West 1984; Emmett 1987; Rohde and Hoffman 2008). Afrikaans subsequently became entrenched as the language of education, employment and access to Western material goods.

Nama, on the other hand, was considered the language of poverty and ignorance. Although reports of language suppression have never been formally confirmed, there are anecdotes of children being punished in school for speaking Nama (Berzborn 2003), and of employers refusing work to anyone who seemed 'too Nama' (Sharp and Boonzaier 1994). Consultants interviewed for this project, mostly middle-aged L1 Afrikaans children of L1 Nama parents and grandparents, spoke consistently of a deep shame associated with the use of Nama (Christie 2023).

Twenty-first-century speakers of Nama do still reside at Komaggas, Concordia, Steinkopf and Kuboes. The exact number of speakers is not known, but is likely to be very small; the only available estimates suggested that 250 barely fluent speakers of Nama remain at Kuboes (Witzlack-Makarevich 2006). The use of the Nama language in the Namaqualand region should be considered critically endangered, if not already moribund.

Lexical and phonological Khoekhoe-branch interference with Afrikaans

With language shift comes the potential for substrate interference with the adstratum. The twentieth-century discussion of historical language contact between Cape Dutch and the Khoekhoe-branch languages focused primarily on the potential for the latter to have interfered with the historical development of contemporary Afrikaans morphosyntax (see, inter alia, Combrink 1978; Den Besten 1986; Roberge 1994; Deumert 2004). Less examined is the potential for the Khoekhoe-branch languages to have interfered with the lexicon of rural varieties, or ethnolects, of post-shift Coloured Afrikaans. Although a significant degree of Namibian Afrikaans loans into Namibian Khoekhoe has been noted (Haacke 2015), almost no formal linguistic attention has been paid to Khoekhoe-branch loans into Afrikaans beyond Nienaber (1963) and Boshoff and Nienaber (1967). Cursory mentions without detailed exemplification may be found at Roberge (1994), Boonzaier et al. (1996) and Mesthrie (2017).[1]

Nonetheless, sporadic evidence of lexical interference with Afrikaans from multiple Khoekhoe-branch languages does exist. The majority of the available evidence appears in ethnobotanical and anthropological records and lay accounts of regional variation in Afrikaans. A weakness of these otherwise valuable resources is that ad hoc orthographies such as <t'>, <t!>, and <xh> are used to represent any and all clicks, even in formal peer-reviewed scientific publications (e.g. Nortje and van Wyk 2015). This leaves linguists with limited opportunity to compare historical L1 Nama click consonants with L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans clicks.

Links (1989), for example, lists over 60 Nama items retained in Kharkams Afrikaans with click consonants, but does not record these items using IPA, instead preferring to transcribe all items using <t'> to represent a click, meaning that the phonetic qualities of the clicks are impossible to infer. Importantly, he noted that *'by die uitspraak van 'n woord...sal 'n bepaalde respondent byvoorbeeld die suigklank* [!] *laat hoor en by 'n ander gebruiksgeval van dieselfde word weer* [ǁ]' ('during the pronunciation of a word, a given consultant will, for example, produce the [!] click, but then, in another usage of the same word, [ǁ]') (Links 1989: 62).

Stell (2020) further reports the use of Damara lexical items within an Afrikaans matrix in Windhoek Kasietaal, again hosting click consonants, but uses only the standardised Namibian Khoekhoe orthography for all items, and does not comment on the phonetics of click consonants in loans. Killian (2009) and Kilian (2020) both report post-shift retention of a †Kora-like lexis in monolingual Gariep Afrikaans, and here some IPA transcriptions of click consonants are provided. Christie (2021) discusses the historical Nama etymologies of post-shift Namaqualand Afrikaans plant names, and similarly provides some examples of monolingual Afrikaans click consonants in IPA. Assessment of partial and post-shift speakers of a Khoekhoe-branch variety termed 'Xri' at a number of rural *dorpies* (villages) near Kimberly in the Northern Cape found a similar degree of phonemic collapse in the click inventory. Consultants were liable 'to substitute clicks...without being aware of the contrast',

and 'would sometimes use different clicks for the same lexical item in the same utterance' (Mössmer 2021: 107).

In short, 'a considerable amount of contact-induced change has as yet gone unnoticed especially in the lexicon of both Khoekhoe and Afrikaans, as the topic has not been seriously investigated yet by linguists conversant in both languages' (Haacke 2013: 928). Lexical interference from Khoekhoe-branch languages with regional Afrikaans offers a vital opportunity for the phonetic and phonological study of click consonants during language contact events, but the vast majority of the available data is unfortunately vague.

Data collection

Prior investigation had noted that Namaqualand Afrikaans contains a large lexis of Nama plant names (Christie 2020). Importantly, monolingual speakers of Namaqualand Afrikaans retained click consonants when pronouncing these loanwords instead of replacing them with pulmonic consonants. The Kamiesberg local municipality and the Nama Khoi local municipality in Namaqualand were selected as sites for further data collection, with a primary focus on small rural towns that had historically hosted Nama-speaking communities.

Crucial to the aim of this project was to obtain recordings of L1 Nama pronunciations of lexical items, *and* L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans pronunciations of the same lexical items. A test battery of loanwords, obtained primarily from Links (1989) and Prinsloo (2008), was developed, and each item was carefully traced to its Nama etymon with reference to such lexicographical resources as Haacke and Eiseb (2002) (see Table 1). Since the only available descriptions of these loanwords were sporadic and informal, it could not be predicted ahead of time which would still be in widespread usage among the community, and which would prove uncommon or obsolete.

The battery was specifically designed to ensure that each of the twenty L1 Nama click consonants was represented by at least one test item (see Table 2, with both the IPA and the standardised Namibian Khoekhoe orthography supplied for each click). After it became clear from pilot investigations that participants were familiar with informal Afrikaans click orthographies that used <t'> or <xh> to represent loaned click consonants, test items were presented using these orthographies in printed stimulus booklets, accompanied by clarifying illustrations. Each item was tested in an Afrikaans sentence to provide context and illustrate the expected sense.

The ideal participant was envisioned as a monolingual speaker of Namaqualand Afrikaans who had been born in or around the Namaqualand region, and who had lived in Namaqualand for at least ten years. Since the use of Nama has declined significantly in recent years, speakers older than forty were preferred. The presence of L1 Nama input in the home during childhood was not used to exclude or to select participants, although this criterion was noted as an important sociolinguistic variable. Since it had been found that both white and Coloured speakers of Namaqualand Afrikaans had access to loaned Nama botanical terminology (Christie 2020), prospective participants were not excluded on grounds of race. However, since most Namaqualand residents are Coloured, so too were all participants except one.

Random sampling practices involved going door-to-door in predominantly Coloured neighbourhoods in dorpies in the Nama Khoi and Kamiesberg local municipalities and asking residents preliminary questions about their language usage. Two very common loanwords were used as pre-test items to establish basic conversancy. An introductory question would typically take the form of, '*As die koppie tee baie flou is, wat sê die Namakwalandse mense van daai koppie tee*?' ('If the cup of tea is very weak, what would people in Namaqualand call that cup of tea?') expecting a loan of Nama <!gabu> 'tasteless', 'insipid', 'boring', or '*Wat is die Namakwalandse woord vir die elmboog*?' ('What is the Namaqualand word for the elbow?') expecting a loan of Nama <!unib> 'elbow'. More specific sampling involved enquiries about likely participants at community hubs such as pubs, spaza shops and post offices. Targeted sampling involved identifying specific individuals who had publicly displayed a repertoire of loanwords on social media and arranging interviews with them.

To allow for the close comparison of the Nama etyma with the Afrikaans loans, control recordings were also taken of L1 Nama speakers pronouncing the test battery items. A total of seven L1 Nama speakers were consulted, all of whom had been born either at Pella in the Northern Cape, or in the

Table 1: Test battery of click loanwords

#	Test item	Nama etymon	Gloss	Click represented
0a	***xhouboe***	***!gǎbú***	'tasteless', 'boring'	alveolar *tenuis*
0b	***t'koenie***	***!ùníb***	'elbow'	alveolar glottalised
1a	***t'karie**bier***	***!khàrìb***	'homemade beer'	alveolar affricate
1b	***t'norra**kop***	***!nòrõs***	'back of the head'	nasalised alveolar
1c	***xhorro***	***ǂkhòròb***	'to discuss intensely', 'to have a deep or enjoyable conversation'	palatal affricate
1d	***xhou**lag***	***!àú***	'to shriek with laughter', 'to laugh out loud' (calques general Afrikaans *skreeulag*)	alveolar glottalised
1e	***tgabba***	***ǂgǎbá***	'extremely thin'	palatal *tenuis*
2a	***t'noenie**boom***	***ǀhùnís***	*Boscia albitrunca*	prenasalised dental aspirated
2b	***t'gharra**bos***	***ǀgaras²***	berries of *Searsia burchellii*	dental *tenuis*
2c	***t'outsiama***	***ǂhâutsiama³***	*Cheiridopsis denticulata*	prenasalised palatal aspirated
2d	***t'oon t'oon**tjie***	***ǁóǹǁóǹs***	*Ptenopus garrulus*	lateral glottalised
2e	***t'kwa***	***ǁhǒáb***	'steep slope', 'overhanging ridge'	prenasalised lateral aspirated
3a	***xhoe***	***ǀúù***	'to be ignorant', 'not to know'	dental glottalised
3b	***t'kou**kind***	***!gàò***	'youngest child in the family'	alveolar *tenuis*
3c	***t'kam***	***ǁkhāḿ***	'to grab', 'to seize tightly'	lateral affricate
3d	***t'narra***	***ǂáé***	'to stick to', 'to be sticky'	palatal glottalised
3e	***t'kaai***	***ǁnàrà***	'to rummage through'	nasalised lateral
4a	***xhoeroe***	ǀkhùrűb	'a craving', e.g. for tobacco	dental affricate
4b	***t'kammie***	***ǁgàḿ́mi***	'water'	lateral *tenuis*
4c	***t'na***	***ǀnàḿ⁴***	'nice', 'tasty', '*lekker*'	nasalised dental
4d	***t'noenie***	***ǂnùnì***	'to milk a goat', 'to struggle to milk out the last drops'	nasalised palatal
4e	***tkoeiam***	***!hùú-ám̀***	'to tie off (e.g. a rope, a piece of weaving)'	prenasalised alveolar aspirated

Table 2: Clicks in standard Namibian Khoekhoe

	Clicks in standard Namibian Khoekhoe							
	Dental		Alveolar		Lateral		Palatal	
	IPA	NK	IPA	NK	IPA	NK	IPA	NK
prenasalised glottalised	ᵑǀʔ	ǀ	ᵑǃʔ	ǃ	ᵑǁʔ	ǁ	ᵑǂʔ	ǂ
tenuis ('plain')	ǀ	ǀg	ǃ	ǃg	ǁ	ǁg	ǂ	ǂg
prenasalised aspirated	ᵑǀʰ	ǀh	ᵑǃʰ	ǃh	ᵑǁʰ	ǁh	ᵑǂʰ	ǂh
affricated	ǀχ͡	ǀkh	ǃχ͡	ǃkh	ǁχ͡	ǁkh	ǂχ͡	ǂkh
nasalised	ᵑǀ	ǀn	ᵑǃ	ǃn	ᵑǁ	ǁn	ᵑǂ	ǂn

southerly ǁKaras region of Namibia, and all of whom regularly spent significant periods of time in the Northern Cape. Although not all speakers provided tokens of all test items, specimens of all twenty click consonants expected from standardised Namibian Khoekhoe were retrieved, with at least two speakers providing multiple L1 Nama tokens of each click.

All tokens were recorded in .wav format using either an H4n or H1n recorder. They were clipped and cleaned in Audacity before being analysed in Praat following the recommendations detailed by Fulop and Wright (2020).

Table 3: Regional coding of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans consultants

In the Nama Khoi Local Municipality		
CDA	Concordia	3
KMG	Komaggas	3
MTK	Matjieskloof	1
OKP	Okiep	4
SBK	Springbok	4
SKF	Steinkopf	2
In the Kamiesberg Local Municipality		
KFN	Klipfontein	1
KKS	Kharkams	1
LFN	Leliefontein	1
PHK	Paulshoek	1
HKB	Hondeklipbaai	2
WKL	Wallekraal	1

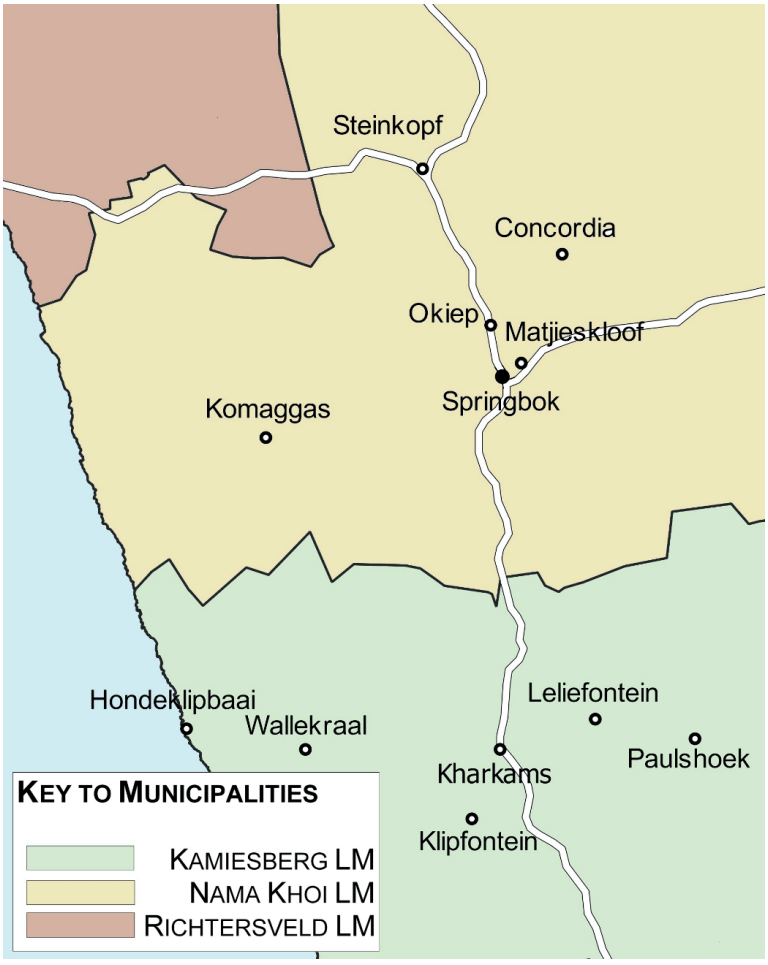

Figure 1: Map showing Nama Khoi local municipalities

Nama loanwords containing clicks were recorded from 24 speakers of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans living in the Kamiesberg and Nama Khoi local municipalities (see Table 3 for regional coding of consultants and Figure 1). While some speakers were conversant in South African English, most were monolingual in Namaqualand Afrikaans, and none were fluently conversant in Nama. Many self-consciously stressed this lack of fluency and took great pains to make it clear that their pronunciations would not align with those of an L1 Nama speaker (see Table 4). Nonetheless, all consultants considered the use of Nama lexical items to be a daily feature of the Namaqualand Afrikaans repertoire, and such observations as '*almal ken daai woord*' ('everyone knows that word') and *'almal praat so hier rond*' ('everyone talks like that around here') were typical (see Table 5).

A brief phonetic sketch of Namaqualand Afrikaans clicks

This section outlines and briefly comments on some phonetic properties of the click consonants elicited from L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans.

Distribution of Namaqualand Afrikaans click types

All four click types expected from L1 Nama were recorded from L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans, but in varying proportions. Even though the test stimulus had specifically been designed to elicit five of each click type, the dental click by far predominated, appearing in 57% of the total tokens elicited. On the other hand, only 41 lateral clicks were elicited overall, accounting for barely 4%. Consultants employed the dental click and the alveolar click most frequently overall.

Although alveolar and palatal click consonants were recorded, their acoustic profiles differed from those expected from L1 Nama. Traill and Voßen (1997) observed language-internal sound change trends of click replacement in the Kalahari-branch languages (see also Fehn 2020). The two 'abrupt'

Table 4: Consultant commentary on click pronunciation

Speaker	Afrikaans comment	English translation
HKB_2	*Kyk, ons praat mos in elk geval nie die taal reg nie. Nou aanvaar ons mos, maar 'n kenner sal vir jou kan sê, 'Nee, jy spreek hom nie reg uit nie.'*	Look, we don't speak the language correctly anyway. We accept that, but an expert would be able to say to you, 'No, you're not pronouncing it right.'
MTK_1	*Onthou jy, as jy by 'n regte Nama kom, sal hy vir jou die regte uitspraak gee.*	Remember, if you go to a proper Nama[-speaker], they will give you the proper pronunciation.
SBK_2	Ons het ons eie manier. Op onse manier het ons probeer leer, op onse taal, op onse eie taal...onse Namakwataal.	We have our own way. We tried to learn in our own way, in our language, in our own language...our Namaqua language.

Table 5: Consultant commentary on ubiquity of Nama loanwords

Speaker	Afrikaans comment	English translation
SBK_2	*Daar's altyd 'n snaakse woordjie tussen-in.*	There's always a funny little word in the middle.
SBK_4	*Ek dink nie jy kan in Namakwaland wees en jy* pick *nie 'n woord of twee op nie. Dit het nou deël geraak, dit het 'n vermenging geraak.*	I don't think you can be in Namaqualand without picking up a word or two, you know? It's become part of it, it's become a mixture.
CDA_1	*My moedertaal is Afrikaans ge*mixup *met Namataal en 'n bietjie Engels en so aan. Ons is Afrikaans maar meestendeel word die Namawoorde so tussen-in gebruik.*	My mother tongue is Afrikaans mixed up with the Nama language and a bit of English and so on. We're Afrikaans, but most of the time the Nama words are used in between.

click types, the alveolar /!/ and palatal /ǂ/, are expected to produce a sharp impulse-like burst that dies away rapidly. By contrast, the two 'noisy' types are expected to produce much 'noisier' bursts comparable almost to pulmonic fricatives bursts (Fulop and Wright 2020).

In the Kalahari-branch languages, the systematic replacement of the 'abrupt' click consonants by pulmonic consonants was diachronically preceded by a process of click 'weakening', through which the abrupt click releases became noisier (Traill and Voßen 1997). The term 'articulatory undershoot' has been used to describe the production of these 'weakened' clicks, mostly to avoid confusion with unrelated phonological processes of lenition and fortition (Traill and Voßen 1997; Bennett 2020; Fehn 2020).

When set against L1 Nama alveolar clicks (see Figures 1–4), waveforms and spectra of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans alveolar clicks showed a generally 'undershot' profile, (see Figures 5–8). The L1 Nama alveolar click waveforms are more regular and compact, reflecting the higher intensity of the abrupt burst, while the L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans click bursts are more diffuse. Furthermore, the L1 Nama alveolar click bursts are, as expected, fairly grave, typically registering a central spectral gravity between 912 and 989 Hz, but their L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans counterparts tend to be more acute, with a rather higher centre of gravity, sometimes upwards of 1 200 Hz. This implies that the cavity produced in the moment prior to the release of the anterior closure may be larger (Traill and Voßen 1997; Fehn 2020).

Innovations on the donor click inventory

While all four click 'types' expected were elicited in some form, not all twenty Namibian Khoekhoe clicks were recorded overall. While *tenuis*, glottalised and nasalised click consonants were frequent, no aspirated or affricated click consonants were recorded to our judgement. Furthermore, some clicks were encountered that are *not* present in standardised Namibian Khoekhoe, most notably linguopulmonic and ejective clicks.

Although all click consonants incorporate both an anterior and a posterior release, these typically occur nigh simultaneously, with the result that the burst of the posterior release is usually subsumed into the burst of the anterior release (Fulop and Wright 2020). The precise positioning of the posterior closure may vary across languages and even within inventories. In the !Ui-branch language N|uuki,

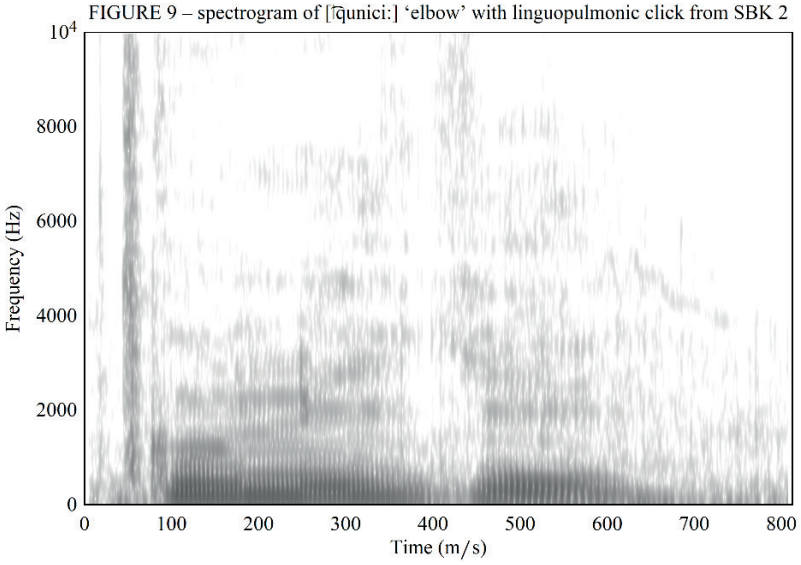

Figure 2: Spectrogram of ___ 'tasteless' {But above it says 'elbow'...} with linguopulmonic click from SBK 2

for example, closures are achieved through contact between the dorsum of the tongue and the uvula (Miller et al. 2009).

In L1 Nama, however, the posterior closure used for the dental click seems to be velar, while the lateral, alveolar and palatal clicks implicate a uvular closure (Proctor et al. 2020). The precise location of the posterior closure can usually only be determined through high-speed ultrasound imaging, which was not available for this project. Accordingly, all audible posterior releases will be referred to as 'dorsal'. Click consonants that exhibit an audible dorsal release, but that are not

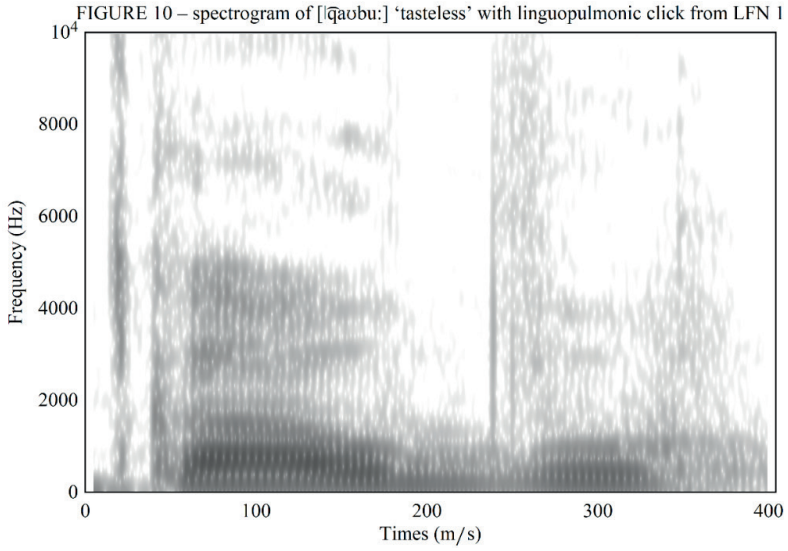

Figure 3: Spectrogram of ___ 'tasteless' with linguopulmonic click from LFN 1

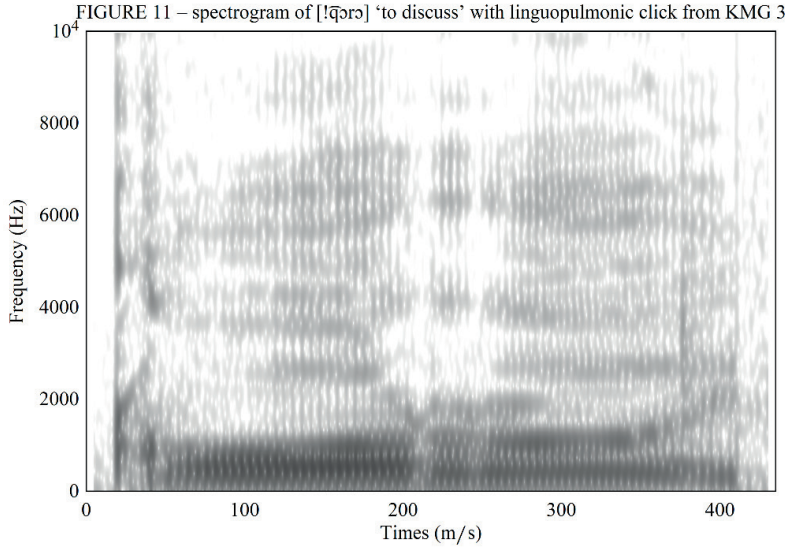

Figure 3: Spectrogram of __ 'to discuss' with linguopulmonic click from KMG 3

ejective, are termed 'linguopulmonic' and transcribed /ǀq͡ ǁq͡ !q͡ ǂq͡/, in keeping with precedent set by Miller et al. (2009).

Such linguopulmonic clicks predominate in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans, occurring in some form on 60% of all click tokens. Unlike the *tenuis* clicks of L1 Nama, L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans dorsal releases are typically audible, and are also clearly visible in the spectrogram. Spectrographic examples, each taken from a different consultant recorded in a different town, are presented in Figures 9–13. The linguopulmonic release is visible as a secondary burst following the anterior burst of the click. Audible dorsal releases have also been reported from the loaned click lexis of chiFwe (Gunnink 2020).

Also present was an unexpected number of ejective click consonants, which typically involve a dorsal closure that is audibly ejectively released. Ejective clicks are fairly common across the broader Kx'a, Tuu, and Khoe languages, but is not present in any contemporary dialects of Namibian Khoekhoe. Notably, the easternmost varieties of ǂKora did historically retain the affricate ejective click series /ǀχ͡' !χ͡' ǁχ͡' ǂχ͡'/ (Du Plessis 2019), which has been lost from modern Nama and Damara. Two spectrographic examples are presented in Figures 13 and 14. Here the ejective release is visible as a secondary burst, then a VOT delayed, in both examples, by upward of 40ms.

The linguopulmonic clicks and the ejective clicks both represent innovation in the Nama click inventory. This delayed release of the posterior closure, resulting in a clearly audible dorsal release, and hence the prevalence of linguopulmonic and ejective click consonants, may possibly be an artefact of articulatory inability, and should perhaps be considered a common feature of loaned click consonants. Here, the reports that North American learners of click consonants tended to articulate clicks using an unexpectedly lowered velum (Moisik and Dediu 2020) make for an interesting comparison.

Examples of interspeaker variation

As was anticipated, not all speakers recognised all of the test items. Many speakers also independently volunteered unique lexical items which they considered commonplace in their family or immediate social group, but which were not known to other speakers from other towns surveyed. The idiosyncrasy of each consultant's lexis is likely a result of the slow and staggered nature of the

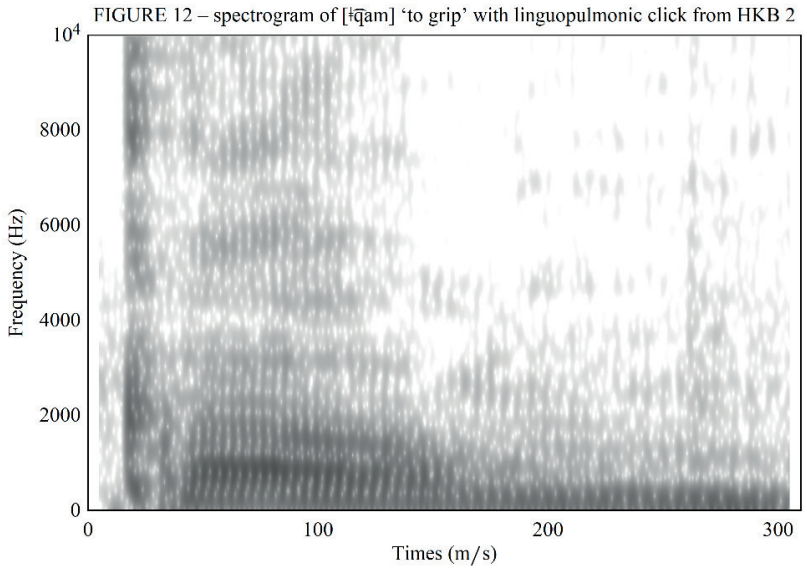

Figure 4: Spectrogram of __ 'to grip' with linguopulmonic click from HKB 2

shift from Nama to Afrikaans exerting fragmentary and highly individualised substrate interference across the Namaqualand region.

Because of this, consistent comparisons of interspeaker variation on every single item in the test battery could not be carried out. It is emphasised that this should be considered a preliminary effort at capturing the variation of clicks in post-shift Afrikaans, and that further wide-scale documentation is required. This section provides IPA transcriptions of tokens of the five most widely-used Nama loanwords recorded to demonstrate that interspeaker variation in click type does not affect meaning.

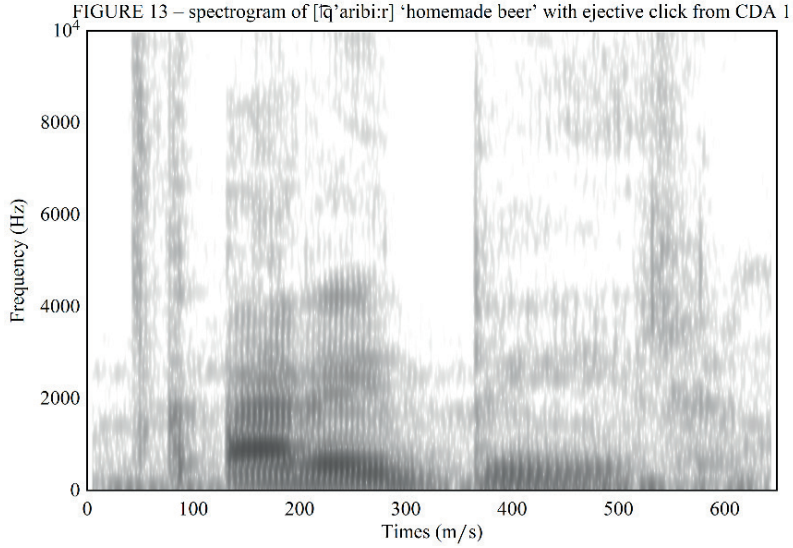

Figure 5: Spectrogram of __ 'homemade beer' with ejective click from CDA 1

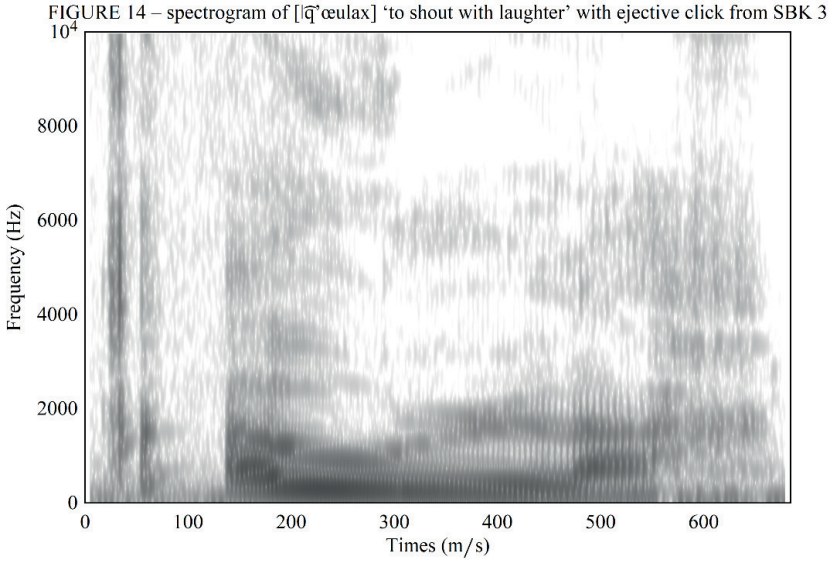

Figure 6: Spectrogram of __ 'to shout with laugher' with ejective click from SBK 3

In loaning the Nama <!unib> /ᵑǃʔ**ùníb**/ = ‘elbow’, all consultants deleted the person-gender-number (PGN) suffix *-b*. Several then appended the Afrikaans diminutive suffix *-tjie*, in standard Afrikaans /ki/, but in the Namaqualand variety typically /ci/. Three tokens, one from PHK_1 and two from OKP_2, lost the expected prenasalised glottalised alveolar click consonant in favour of the voiceless velar stop /k/. One token from KFN_1, [ʔuni], lost the click in favour of a glottal stop (compare the replacement of standard Namibian Khoekhoe glottalised clicks with glottal stops in the Sesfontein Damara dialect, as discussed by Fehn 2020). All others included a click consonant of some kind, shown in Tables 6a and 6b. However, only five tokens of the expected alveolar glottalised click were elicited from two consultants, SKF_1 and SKF_2. Overall, 11 different clicks were employed.

In loaning the Nama <ǂkhorob> /ǂχ̂òròb/ (deriving from a noun ‘bottle’, but always in Afrikaans as a verb meaning ‘to converse intensely’, ‘to have a deep conversation’),[5] speakers again deleted the PGN suffix. In past-tense constructions, the Afrikaans prefix *ge-* /xə/ was applied as normal for inseparable verbs (as, for example, in the sentence ‘*ons het so lekker gexhorro*’, ‘we chatted really enjoyably’). One speaker used /k/ in place of a click in one token. As shown in Tables 7a and 7b, all four click types were used, but no speakers used the expected affricated palatal click. Again, 11 different clicks were employed, but not the same 11 used for loan /ᵑǃʔ**ùníb**/.

The verb <ǁkham> /ǁχ̂ám̀/ was loaned without morphological alterations. Several consultants noted that, to them, it carried a narrow semantic connotation of ‘to grip between the legs’ as when securing a sheep for shearing, which sense is apparent in the Nama (Haacke and Eiseb 2002). Others accepted a more generalised use case of ‘to grip’, ‘to hold tightly’. Only three tokens used the lateral click at all, two from SKF_1, and one from MTK_1, who then subsequently used a dental click. As shown in Tables 8a and 8b, 12 separate clicks were used to loan /ǁχ̂ám̀/, of which none was the expected lateral affricate click.

The Nama verb <ǂae> /ᵑǂʔáé/, ‘to cling to’, ‘to stick fast to’, was loaned primarily as a verb, with the past participle formed by prefixing *ge-* /xə/ (as, for example, in the sentence *die stroop het vas an my hande geǂae*, ‘the syrup stuck tight to my hands’). However, two consultants independently used an adjectival form derived through suffixing the Afrikaans *-rig* /rəx/, creating a blended item that WKL_1 suggested should be spelled <t’gaaierig>, ‘sticky’. Only two tokens, both used by MTK_1, employed the expected glottalised palatal click. Fourteen different clicks were used to loan this item overall, as shown in Tables 9a and 9b.

Describing food or drink, Nama <!gabu> /!àbú/ means ‘tasteless’, ‘bland’, ‘insipid’; describing a person, it can mean ‘boring’ or ‘annoying’. One consultant, WKL_1, also used it of bad news or an unpleasant conversation. Only four L1 Afrikaans tokens used the *tenuis* alveolar click expected from L1 Nama /!àbú/, and 11 different clicks were used overall, as shown in Tables 10a and 10b. The majority of consultants employed a ‘diphthongised’ form, with most using the Afrikaans /œu/, but with a few also using /aʊ/. Only one L1 Afrikaans-speaker used the /a/ expected from standardised Namibian Khoekhoe.

Comparable patterns of ‘diphthongisation’ were observed in a number of other loaned items. For example, the archaic southerly Nama item <!harus> (Schültze 1907), recorded for a species of *vygie* plant (Aizoaceae), is consistently used in the loan blend <t’nouroebos> (see, for example, Le Roux 1981; Links 1989; Sarrisam 2006). This was recorded from L1 Afrikaans consultants as [ʈ͡ɕœurubɔs] (WKL_1) and [ᵑǃʔœurubɔs] (MTK_1), always ‘diphthongised’ (see further discussion at Christie 2021). Likewise, the Nama item <ǁnaru> /ᵑǁàrű/ ‘to roast’ (Haacke and Eiseb 2002) was used in a loan blend <t’nouroekoring>, ‘roasted corn’, pronounced [ᵑǁʔoeurukuərəŋ] (MTK_1, KFN_1).

At least three L1 Nama speakers also used unexpected diphthongs. The *swart ebenhout* tree, *Euclea pseudebenus* (Ebenaceae), is in standardised Namibian Khoekhoe called <tsabis> /ʦawis/ (Haacke and Eiseb 2002). However, a L1 Nama consultant from Pella used a variant form [ʦɛibi], not previously recorded. Two L1 Nama speakers from Port Nolloth used an adjective [ᵑǂɛisa] to mean ‘proud’, in standardised Namibian Khoekhoe attested only as <ǂnīsa> /ᵑǂlíśà/ (Haacke and Eiseb 2002). This suggests that trends of diphthongisation may be present in southerly Nama dialects. The Namaqualand Afrikaans form <t’gouboe> may therefore have been loaned from a southerly Nama etymon that ‘diphthongised’ the standard Namibian Khoekhoe <!gabu>.

Table 6a: Clicks used for /ᵑǃʔ**ùníb**/

	Dental	Lateral	Alveolar	Palatal
tenuis	1		5	
voiceless linguopulmonic	26		4	2
prenasalised glottalised	8		5	3
ejective	1	2		1

Table 6b: Individual consultant pronunciations of /ᵑǃʔ**ùníb**/

NBP_1		CDA_3	[ǀq̃unici]; [ǂq̃unici];
SKF_1	[ǃuni]; [ᵑǃʔuni]; [ᵑǃʔuni]	MTK_1	[ᵑǂʔuni]; [ᵑǂʔuni]
SKF_2	[ᵑǃʔuni]; [ᵑǃʔuni]; [ᵑǃʔuni]	KMG_1	[ǃuni]
WKL_1	[ᵑǀʔunici]; [ᵑǀʔunici]; [ᵑǀʔunici]	KMG_2	[ǁq̃ᵡuni]; [ǁq̃ᵡuni]
HKB_1	[ǀq̃uni]; [ǀq̃uni]	KMG_3	[ǃuni]; [ǃuni]; [ǃuni]
HKB_2	[ǀq̃uni]; [ǀq̃uni]; [ǀq̃uni], [ǀq̃uni]	LFN_1	[ǀq̃uni]; [ǀq̃uni]
SBK_1	[ʗq̃uni]; [ʗq̃ᵡuni]; [ᵑǂʔuni]; [ʗq̃uni]	PHK_1	[ǀq̃uni]; [ǀʔuni]; [kuni]
SBK_2	[ʗq̃unici]; [ʗq̃unci]	KKS_1	[ǀq̃uni]; [ǀq̃uni]
SBK_3	[ʗq̃uni]; [ǃuni]; [ʗq̃uni]	KFN_1	[ᵑǀʔuni]; [ᵑǀʔuni] [ᵑǀʔuni] [ʔuni]
SBK_4	[ʗq̃uni]; [ʗq̃uni]; [ʗq̃unici]; [ʗq̃uni]	OKP_1	[kunici]; [kunici]
CDA_1	[ǂq̃ᵡuni]; [ǀq̃uni]; [ǀq̃uni]; [ǀq̃uni]	OKP_2	[ǂq̃unici]; [ǃq̃unici]
CDA_2	[ǃq̃unici]; [ǃq̃unici]; [ǃq̃unici]	OKP_3	[ǀq̃unici]

Table 7a: Clicks used for /ǂχ̃òròb/

	Dental	Lateral	Alveolar	Palatal
tenuis		1	1	
voiceless linguopulmonic	17		7	14
prenasalised glottalised	4			3
ejective	3			2
nasalised	2			1

Table 7b: Individual consultant pronunciations of /ǂχ̃òròb/

NBP_1	[ǀq̃ᵡɔrɔ]; [ǀq̃ᵡɔrɔ]; [ǀq̃ɔrɔ]	CDA_3	[ǂq̃ɔrɔ]; [ǂq̃ɔrɔ]
SKF_1		MTK_1	[ᵑǂʔɔrɔ]; [ᵑǂʔɔrɔ]; [ᵑǀʔɔrɔ]
SKF_2		KMG_1	[ǃɔrɔ]
WKL_1		KMG_2	[ǂq̃ᵡɔrɔ]; [ǁɔrɔ]
HKB_1	[ᵑǂʔɔrɔ]; [ǂq̃ɔrɔ]; [ǂq̃ɔrɔ]	KMG_3	[ǃq̃ɔrɔ]; [ǃq̃ɔrɔ]
HKB_2	[ǂq̃ɔrɔ]; [ǂq̃ɔrɔ]; [ᵑǂɔrɔ]; [ǂq̃ɔrɔ]; [ǂq̃ɔrɔ]	LFN_1	[ǀq̃ɔra] [ǀq̃ɔra] [ǀq̃ɔra] [ǀq̃ɔra]
SBK_1	[ǃq̃ɔra]; [ǂq̃ɔra]	PHK_1	[ᵑǀʔɔrɔ] [ᵑǀʔɔrɔ] [ᵑǀʔɔrɔ]
SBK_2	[ʗq̃ɔrɔ]; [ᵑǀɔrɔ]; [ᵑǀɔrɔ]	KKS_1	[ǀq̃ɔrɔ], [ǀq̃ᵡɔrɔ] [ǀq̃ɔrɔ]
SBK_3	[ǀq̃ɔrɔ]; [ǀq̃ɔrɔ]; [ǀq̃ɔrɔ]	KFN_1	[ǀq̃ɔrɔ] [ǀq̃ɔrɔ] [kɔrɔ]
SBK_4	[ʗq̃ɔrɔ]; [ʗq̃ɔrɔ]	OKP_1	[ǀq̃ɔra] [ǀq̃ɔra] [ǀq̃ɔra] [ǀq̃ɔra]
CDA_1	[ʗq̃ᵡɔrɔ]	OKP_2	[ǂq̃ɔrɔ] [xəǂq̃ɔrɔ] [xəǂq̃ɔrɔ]
CDA_2	[ǃq̃ɔɯɔ]; [ǃq̃ɔɯɔ]	OKP_3	[ǃq̃ɔrɔ] [ǃq̃ɔrɔ]

Table 8a: Clicks used for /ǁχáḿ/

	Dental	Lateral	Alveolar	Palatal
tenuis	1		3	1
voiceless linguopulmonic	12		4	6
prenasalised glottalised	3	2		1
ejective	8	1	2	2

Table 8b: Individual consultant pronunciation of /ǁχáḿ/

NBP_1		CDA_3	[ǂq̊am]
SKF_1	[ǁq̊ːam], [ᵑǁʔam]	MTK_1	[ᵑǁʔam]; [ᵑǀʔam]
SKF_2		KMG_1	[ᵑǂʔam]; [ǂam]
WKL_1	[ǀq̊ːam]; [ǀq̊ːam]; ǀq̊ːam]; [ǀq̊am]	KMG_2	[!q̊ːam]; [!q̊ːam]
HKB_1	[ǀq̊ːam]; [ǀq̊ːam]; ǀq̊ːam]; [ǀq̊ːam]	KMG_3	[!am]; [!am]; [!am]
HKB_2	[ǂq̊am]; [ǂq̊am]; [ǂq̊am]	LFN_1	
SBK_1	[ǂq̊ʼam]; [ǂq̊ʼam]	PHK_1	[ǀq̊am]; [ǀq̊am]
SBK_2	[ǀq̊am]; [ǀq̊am]; [ǀq̊am]	KKS_1	[ǀq̊am]; [ǀq̊am]; [ǀq̊am]
SBK_3	[ǀq̊ʼam]; [ǀq̊am]; [ǀq̊am]	KFN_1	[ᵑǁʔəm]; [ᵑǁʔəm]
SBK_4		OKP_1	[ǂq̊am] [ǀq̊am]
CDA_1	[ǀq̊ːam]; [ǀq̊ːam]	OKP_2	[!q̊am] [!q̊am]
CDA_2	[!q̊am]; [!q̊am]	OKP_3	[ǂq̊am]

Table 9a: Clicks used for /ᵑǂʔáé/

	Dental	Lateral	Alveolar	Palatal
voiceless linguopulmonic	2			3
prenasalised glottalised	2	1		2
ejective	2	1		
voiced linguopulmonic	9	2	1	8
nasalised	8	2	1	

Table 9b: Individual consultant pronunciations of /ᵑǂʔáé/

NBP_1		CDA_3	[xəlʘa:i]; [!ʘa:i]
SKF_1		MTK_1	[ᵑǂʔa:i]; [ᵑǂʔa:i]; [ᵑǀʔa:i]; [ᵑǀʔa:iərəx]
SKF_2		KMG_1	[ǀʘa:i]; [ǂʘa:i]; [ᵑ!a:i]
WKL_1	[ǀʘa:iərəx]; [ᵑǀa:iərəx]	KMG_2	[ǂq̊a:i]; [ǂʘa:i]; [ǁq̊ːa:i]
HKB_1	[ᵑǀai], [ᵑǀai], [ᵑǁai], [ǁʘai]	KMG_3	[xəᵑǁa:i]; [ᵑǁʔa:i]; [ǁʘa:i]
HKB_2	[ǂʘa:i]; [ǂʘa:i]	LFN_1	[ᵑǀai] [ᵑǀai] [ᵑǀai]
SBK_1	[ǂʘa:i], [ǂʘa:i], [ǂʘa:i]	PHK_1	
SBK_2	[ǀʘa:i]; [ǀʘa:i]; [ǀʘa:i]	KKS_1	[ᵑǀa:i] [ᵑǀa:i]
SBK_3	[xəlʘa:i]	KFN_1	[ǀʘai] [ǀʘai]
SBK_4		OKP_1	[ǀq̊ai] [ǀq̊ai]
CDA_1	[ǀq̊ːa:i]; [ǀq̊ːa:i]	OKP_2	[xəǂq̊a:i]
CDA_2	[ǂʘa:i]	OKP_3	[ǂq̊ai]

These five items exemplify interspeaker variations on click realisation typical of Namaqualand Afrikaans. For full transcriptions of all items collected and a detailed discussion of variation in Namaqualand Afrikaans click consonants, see Christie (2023).

Table 10a: Clicks used for /!ǎbú/

	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal
tenuis	1	4	
voiceless linguopulmonic	11	4	5
glottalised	1		
ejective	2		
voiced linguopulmonic	12	2	1
nasalised	5		

Table 10b: Individual consultant pronunciations of /!**ǎbú**/

NBP_1	[ǀ͡ʘœubu]; [ǀ͡ʘœubu]	CDA_3	[ǂ͡ʘœubu]
SKF_1		MTK_1	[ǂ͡qœubu]; [ǂ͡qœubu]
SKF_2		KMG_1	[!œubu]; [!œubu]
WKL_1	[ǀ͡qˀœuʊu]; [ǀ͡qˀœuʊu]; [ǀ͡qœuʊu]; [ǀ͡qœuʊu]	KMG_2	[!œubu]; [!͡ʘœubu]; [!œubu]
HKB_1		KMG_3	[!͡ʘœubu]; [!͡qœubu]
HKB_2	[ǀ͡qaʊbu]; [ǀ͡qœubu]; [ǀ͡qabu:]; [ǀœubu:]; [ǀ͡qaʊbu]	LFN_1	[ǀ͡qaʊbu:] [ǀ͡ʘaʊbu:]
SBK_1		PHK_1	[ᵑǀœubu:] [ᵑǀœubu:] [ᵑǀœubu:]
SBK_2	[ǀ͡ʘœubu]; [ǀ͡ʘœubu]	KKS_1	[ᵑǀœubu:] [ᵑǀœubu:]
SBK_3	[ǀ͡ʘabu]; [ǀ͡ʘabu]	KFN_1	[ǀ͡ʘabu] [ǀˀabu] [ǀ͡ʘabu]
SBK_4	[ǀ͡ʘœubu]	OKP_1	[ǀ͡qaʊʊu:] [ǀ͡qaʊbu:]
CDA_1	[ǀ͡ʘaʊbu]; [ǀ͡qaʊbu]	OKP_2	[!͡qaʊbu:]
CDA_2	[!͡qœubu]; [!͡qœubu]	OKP_3	[ǂ͡qœubu:] [ǀ͡qœubu:]

Phonological and sociohistorical discussion

Idiolectal variation is a hallmark of language obsolescence in the final stages of shift (see Connell 2002; Skilton 2017), and the post-shift remnants of Nama in Namaqualand are no exception. No two speakers shared a click inventory, and, while some tended towards simplification of the L1 Nama click inventory (using only the dental click, for example, or predominantly the dental click with only a few examples of alveolar clicks), others tended toward extreme variation, using all four click types and a wide variety of additional modifications. Many speakers used different click types in different tokens of the same lexical item, often within the same sentence.

Despite every effort to detect regular correspondence patterns between the click consonant present in a given L1 Nama etymon and the click consonant realised in its L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans loan, none could be determined. Far clearer findings result from the comparison of interspeaker inventories by region, and, by extension, of direct exposure to L1 Nama speakers during childhood. Here it is possible to draw a distinction between the click inventory of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans as spoken in the Kamiesberg in the south, and the click inventory of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans as spoken in the more northerly regions. Two important sociolinguistic variables were the geopolitical location of the speaker's childhood, and whether or not the speaker had been exposed directly to L1 Nama in the home.

The vast majority of click consonants collected in the Kamiesberg were dental, as shown in Table 10. Only two click consonants that could possibly have been palatal were encountered, but both were very noisy. Historically, however, extremely variable inventories were encountered in this region. Links (1989) explicitly notes that he encountered both lateral clicks and alveolar clicks in the intraspeaker repertoires of elderly Kharkams residents born in the early 1900s. Forty years later, these inventories have been considerably reduced, such that click variation was not encountered during data collection in the Kamiesberg. Reduction of the L1 Nama inventory to a single click type is instead the predominant strategy.

Some consultants in the more northerly regions of Namaqualand did also exhibit limited inventories, particularly the younger middle-aged consultants interviewed at Okiep and Nababeep. Older middle-aged and elderly consultants at Steinkopf, Komaggas and Concordia, however, exhibited the largest and most varied click inventories, and also tended to have far larger lexical inventories. Steinkopf, Komaggas and Concordia were historically 'Coloured Reserves', where Nama cultural practices, including the use of the Nama language, were retained far longer than at Okiep and Nababeep, which were primarily mining towns. A similar distinction was encountered in speakers in the environs of Springbok, a hub of transfrontier contact with Namibian speakers of Nama, where younger speakers used simplified click inventories, while older middle-aged speakers used variable click inventories. These distinctions are shown in Table 11.

The introduction of Afrikaans into Nama communities was staggered in the first half of the 19th century by a number of factors, including geographic isolation and the different evangelistic approaches at anglophone and Germanophone mission stations. As discussed above, Afrikaans was established in the southerly Kamiesberg in 1816 as the language of learning and teaching at the Leliefontein mission under the auspices of the London Mission Society, and bilingualism was apparent by the 1840s. By the early 1900s, shift was already far advanced. Vanishingly few Nama speakers remain in the area today, and most are Namibian speakers who have married Kamiesbergers or who work in South Africa. In essence, the shift event in the southerly Kamiesberg region of Namaqualand is complete.

By contrast, Rhenish Mission Society agents in the more northerly regions of Namaqualand sought to use Nama as a potential medium of evangelism during the first half of the 19th century (Christie 2023). Nama was used as a language for worship in Richtersveld churches until at least 1944 (Meyer 2016), and is still spoken at Steinkopf and Springbok. Regular transfrontier interaction means that, although shift is sufficiently advanced to constitute a language emergency, the contact event between Nama and Afrikaans in the more northerly regions of Namaqualand is not yet concluded. Afrikaans-speakers in these regions use larger, more elaborate click inventories, often incorporating all four click types, and are more prone to intraspeaker variation in their realisation of click consonants.

One possible explanation for this pattern has to do with degree of exposure to the full inventory of L1 Nama click consonants. In consultants with direct L1 Nama input in the home, or the generation immediately post-shift, exposure was far too sporadic to facilitate the fluent phonological acquisition of a contrastive inventory. Nonetheless, it was sufficient to furnish these consultants with at least some degree of access, at least to three click types of the expected four (the dental and the 'noisy' palatal, the 'noisy' alveolar and, very occasionally, the lateral). Despite employing a wide variety of click types, such consultants still ultimately favoured one type, usually the dental or 'noisy' palatal, and sometimes the 'noisy' alveolar.

In consultants of the subsequent generation, or one generation removed from direct L1 Nama input, the only available exposure would have been via communal interaction with Namaqualand Afrikaans monolinguals, who used the dental more frequently than other types of click. This yields the reduced and less variable inventories of northerly speakers with no direct L1 Nama input, and most prominently of southerly speakers who are now at least two generations post-shift with very little opportunity for direct L1 Nama exposure during childhood. The crucial sociolinguistic variable conditioning the nature of the post-shift inventory is probably neither region nor age alone. Rather, the interaction of region and age will condition the likelihood that a speaker will have had exposure to L1 Nama during childhood. There is therefore a diachronic trend towards the further reduction and simplification of the donor inventory in each generation following the conclusion of the contact event.

The phonological behaviour of click consonants under contact conditions is better-documented in a small cluster of Bantu-family languages spoken in north-eastern Namibia and north-western Botswana along the Okavango (Sommer and Voßen 1992; Möhlig 1997; Fulop et al. 2003; Bostoen and Sands 2012; Gunnink et al. 2015; Sands and Gunnink 2019). Four K-zone languages, K33 ruKwangali, K332 ruManyo, K333 thiMbukushu and K402 chiFwe, all ancestrally clickless, are known to have had contact with click languages in the Kx'a and Khoe families, with the primary donors having been varieties of Jul'hoan and !Xun in the former, and Khwedam in the latter. All these Bantu languages have gained small lexes of loanwords that are still pronounced using a click consonant.

Table 10: Clicks in southerly Namaqualand Afrikaans

	Dental	Lateral	Alveolar	Palatal
Outside of a former Coloured Reserve				
LFN_ANON	20			
PHK_GE	44			2
KFN_ANON	44			
On a former Coloured Reserve without L1 Nama input				
KKS_COL	38			

Table 11: Clicks in northerly Namaqualand Afrikaans

	Dental	Lateral	Alveolar	Palatal
Outside of the former Coloured Reserves without childhood L1 Nama input				
NBP_1	5			
OKP_1	12			
OKP_1	24			3
OKP_2	1		20	7
OKP_3	2		7	9
SBK_4	24		9	
SBK_2	45			
Outside of the former Coloured Reserves with childhood L1 Nama input				
WKL_1	70	6	5	
HKB_1	25	3		12
HKB_2	11			23
SBK_1	19	1	11	21
SBK_3	39		1	1
MTK_1	65	6	29	39
On the former Coloured Reserves with childhood L1 Nama input				
SKF_1	6		15	3
SKF_2	1	2	12	
CDA_1	39			3
CDA_2	3		30	15
CDA_3	12		10	18
KMG_1	24	3	10	12
KMG_2	13	8	22	10
KMG_3	3	3	46	4

In ruManyo, thiMbukushu, and ruKwangali, ‘click type variations are idiolectal in that the choice of click type varies across speakers, but is not contrastive for any one speaker’ (Bostoen and Sands 2012: 122), although later sources suggest that ‘the dental click is the only click type used’ (Gunnink et al. 2015: 199). In chiFwe, ‘clicks may be realised as dental, palatal or lateral, but click type is not contrastive’ (Gunnink 2020: 159). Effectively, any click type may stand in the host language for any of the donor types /ǀ ǁ ǃ ǂ/, with no detectible points of regular correspondence, although the dental click apparently predominates in some languages. This parallels the behaviour of loaned clicks that have entered Namaqualand Afrikaans via substrate interference following the event away from Nama.

In a recent summary of these click diffusion events across the KBA (Sands and Gunnink 2019), a further distinction was drawn between loaned click inventories in ancestrally clickless languages which remain in contact with their ancestral click donors, and loaned click inventories that have been removed from contact. Namibian shiYeyi, which is no longer in contact with its donor languages, uses fewer than half the click segments documented from Botswanan shiYeyi, which remains in fairly regular contact with click languages. Similarly, the Southern chiFwe variety is contact with Kx’a and

Khoe donor languages, and still uses click consonants. The northern chiFwe variety retains the use of loanwords from these languages, but has replaced all click consonants with pulmonic consonants, and so no longer uses click consonants at all (Sands and Gunnink 2019).

This, again, is similar to the distribution of click consonants in Namaqualand Afrikaans. Communities that have had direct contact with the donor click language employ larger and more variable inventories of click consonants, while communities that have been out of direct contact for longer have reduced inventories. Khoekhoe-branch loanwords that have passed into general Afrikaans, now long out of contact with its extinct donors, include *kierie* 'walking stick', from a Cape Khoekhoe reflex of Namibian Khoekhoe <|kharub> /|χaĭrúb/ 'walking stick' (Haacke and Eiseb 2002) and †Kora <|xarus> = 'walking stick' (Du Plessis 2019); *ghaap* '*Hoodia* spp.', from a Cape Khoekhoe reflex of Namibian Khoekhoe <|goab> /|òáb/ '*Hoodia* sp.' (Haacke et al. 1991); and *kareeboom* '*Searsia* sp.', from Kora <!xareb> '*Searsia* sp.' (Du Plessis 2019). As in northern chiFwe, all of these items have replaced a historical click consonant with a pulmonic consonant.

Effectively, click consonants donated to an inventory via substrate lexical interference under shift conditions are ephemeral. Click consonants are introduced into the inventory as marginal segments, and are retained as click consonants only so long as click consonants are present in the surrounding sociolinguistic context. Once the contact event concludes and the donor language is removed, the loaned click inventory begins to be simplified to a single click type, before ultimately being replaced by pulmonic consonants.

Conclusion

Several regional varieties of Coloured Afrikaans retain a post-shift lexis of Nama and Kora items that employ click consonants. A lack of formal linguistic attention means that the phonetics and phonology of these loaned click consonants remain under-documented and poorly understood. Documentation of Nama loanwords in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans monolinguals found that, while click consonants are retained, phonemic contrast embedded both in click type and in additional phonemic modifications such as nasalisation and aspiration has effectively been neutralised. Each of the phonemic L1 Nama clicks may be realised in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans using any click in any given utterance, effectively creating a single but highly variable click segment.

While all four click types were documented in the repertoire of L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans speakers, they differed acoustically from the click types expected of L1 Nama. The 'abrupt' click types /!/ and /ǂ/ displayed an unexpected 'noisiness' in the burst comparable to that observed by Traill and Voßen (1997) to herald processes of click replacement in the Kalahari-branch languages. This 'noisiness' rendered most tokens of /ǂ/ almost indistinguishable from the dental click /ǀ/, and it may in fact be more accurate to state that no truly 'acute' palatal clicks were recorded. Not all twenty clicks in the L1 Nama inventory were encountered, with the aspirated click series being conspicuously absent, but several innovations were. Linguopulmonic click consonants, which involve an audible dorsal release not ordinarily expected of *tenuis* L1 Nama click consonants, were by far the most frequently recorded in L1 Namaqualand Afrikaans.

Speakers in the southern regions of Namaqualand, where language shift is effectively complete, tended to use only the dental click consonant. Speakers in the northern regions of Namaqualand, where language shift is dangerously advanced but still ongoing, were more likely to have had direct L1 Nama input during childhood, and also used far larger and more varied click inventories, with all speakers employing two or more click types and varying click types across different tokens of the same word. This implies that extreme variation in the donor click inventory characterises the immediate aftermath of language shift, but that the diachronic trend is toward the simplification of the donor click inventory. It should be predicted that click consonants will ultimately be replaced with pulmonic click consonants, and that no permanent change will be exerted on the Afrikaans inventory.

These descriptions of click consonants gained via substrate interference with the lexicon under shift conditions align closely with the click inventories known to have been gained under similar conditions by the Bantu click languages ruManyo, ruKwangali, thiMbukushu, and chiFwe. However, it is advised that this report on clicks in Namaqualand Afrikaans should be considered a preliminary survey only. Replication of the variation encountered, ideally from a much larger pool of consultants,

would be most beneficial. Improved documentation of post-shift lexical retention of Khoekhoe-branch lexes in regional Afrikaans could offer important insight into the cross-linguistic understanding of the phonetic qualities and phonological behaviour of click consonants during language contact events.

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Endnotes

[1] Most disappointing in these sources is the failure to provide both the Khoekhoe-branch etymon and the Afrikaans loan. Rather than stating that, for example, *abba* 'piggyback', is one of 'many [Khoekhoe] words common in everyday Afrikaans and English speech in South Africa' (Boonzaier et al. 1996: 11), and requiring the reader to take this assertion on faith, it should be standard practice to cite a dictionary entry, such as 'áwà: to carry on one's back (esp. a child)' (Haacke and Eiseb 2002: 16).

[2] This well-known and widespread plant name, properly applied to the berries of Searsia lance*a and sim*ilar Searsia spp. but used also of the shrub itself, could be sourced only from Schültze (1907) in a Nama context, although it does also appear in †Kora as <|gana> 'berries of [Searsia sp.] (Engelbrecht 1936). It was familiar to at least one speaker of L1 Nama, who provided a LH tone melody /|àrás/.

[3] This well-known local Afrikaans plant name does not appear in the standardised Namibian Khoekhoe resources, and had to be sourced from Schültze (1907). L1 Nama-speakers did not recognise it, even though it is widely used in Namaqualand Afrikaans, meaning that tonemic data are not available. It is most likely an archaic regional term, now obsolescent in contemporary Nama usage.

[4] This item is widespread in general Coloured Afrikaans (Bennett 2020). Although probably ultimately of historical Khoekhoe-branch origin, it is likely that it entered Coloured Afrikaans directly from the isiXhosa ukuthi ncam (Mini 2003: 443), and used with a sense of 'just right', 'nice', 'lekker'. As this item is an increasingly widespread wanderword, its precise historical origin is probably unknowable.

[5] This item, typically spelled <xhorro> in Afrikaans sentences on Facebook and WhatsApp, was among the more difficult to etymologise. It is probably associated with <ǂkhorob> /ǂχ͡òròb/, *lit*., 'a bottle', as used in the idiomatic phrase ǂkhoroba *xu ra ams*, lit., 'to put the bottle to the mouth', fig., 'to debate', 'to discuss', 'to converse' (Haacke and Eiseb 2002). However, alternative etymological suggestions are welcome.

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