LUCY LLOYD'S !XUN AND THE JU DIALECTS





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The Bleek and Lloyd Notebook Collection:

- 1870-1885, W.Bleek (†1875) and his sister-in-law L.Lloyd extensively documented **|Xam** (Tuu, *aka* Southern Khoisan).

  |Xam ceased to be spoken in the early 20th century.

- 1879-1884: L.Lloyd also attempted to document another click language, spoken in Northern Namibia: **!Xun** (Ju branch of the Ju-ǂHoan family).

  Ju dialects are still spoken nowadays in Northern Namibia, Southern Angola and Eastern Botswana.

Aim: **assessing the position of Lloyd's !Xun dialect (henceforth L !Xun) within the Ju family.**

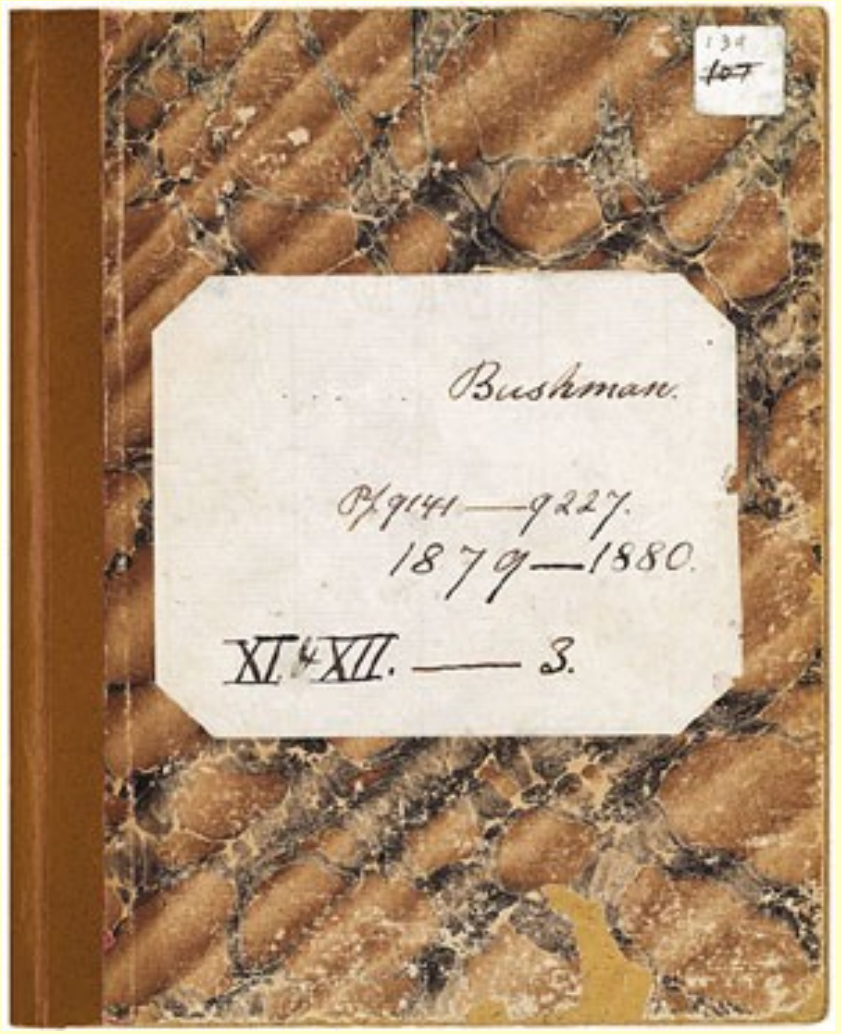
1) Presentation of the !Xun notebooks

2) Khoisan languages and the Ju family

3) The position of L !Xun within Ju

1

THE NOTEBOOKS



1. THE NOTEBOOKS

1879-1884

4 informants:

N!ani

Tame

|'Uma

Daq

17 notebooks: 1,300 pages

1. THE NOTEBOOKS

Word lists

Texts

- Traditional narratives
- Explanations about artefacts, food, plants, animals etc.
- Personal experiences (in particular abductions)
- Genealogies
- Remarks on surrounding ethnic groups, languages and interethnic relations

Drawings and watercolours

2

KHOISAN AND THE JU FAMILY

2. KHOISAN AND THE JU FAMILY
2.1 Khoisan

'Khoisan' is not a language family (no genealogical unity)

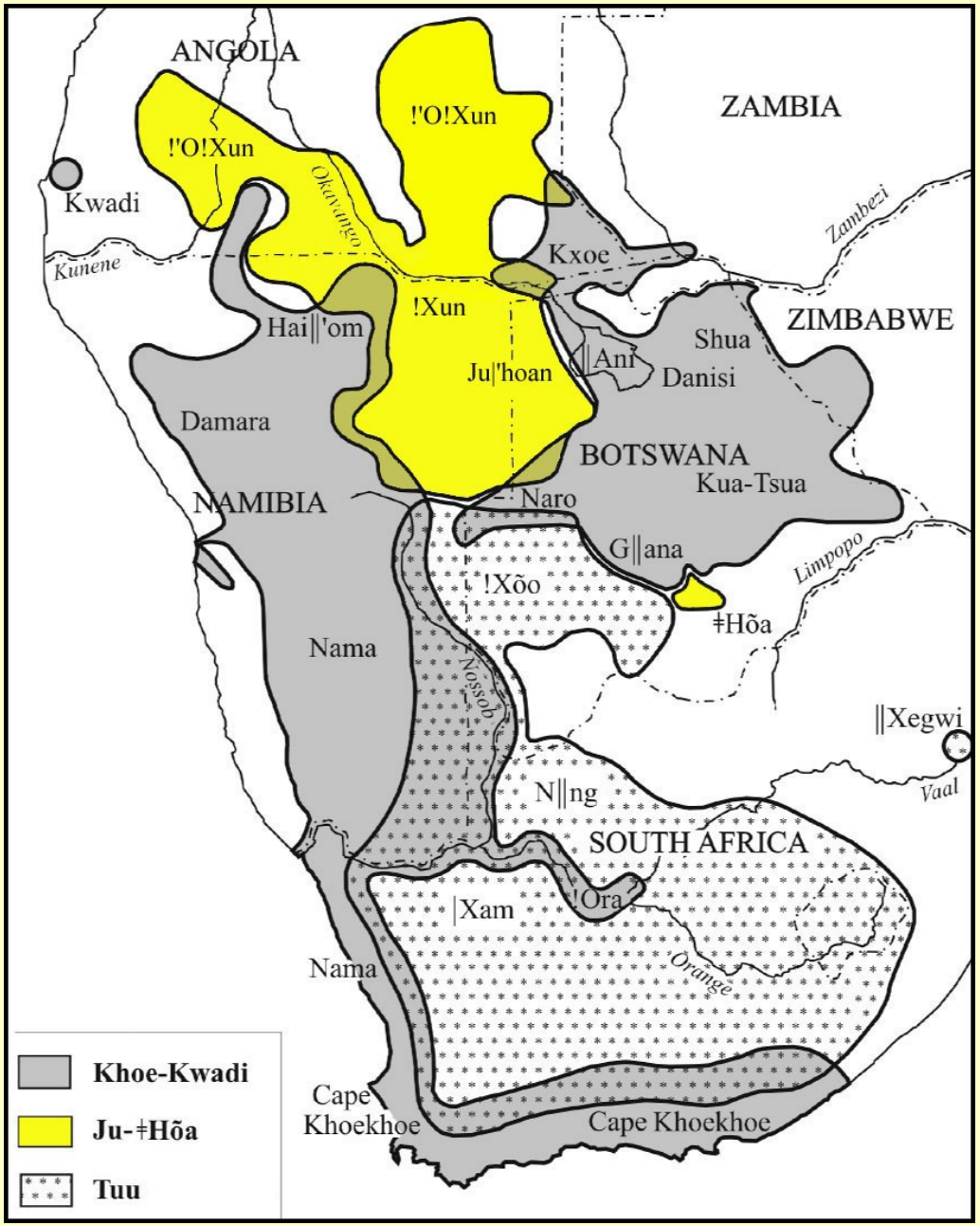
'Khoisan' subsumes three distinct unrelated families + two (possibly only one) isolates:

- Khoe-Kwadi
- Tuu (two branches: !Ui and Taa)
- Ju-ǂHoan
- Sandawe (isolate, possibly related to Khoe)
- Hadza (isolate)

L !Xun belongs to the Ju branch of the Ju-ǂHoan family, formerly known as Northern Khoisan

2. KHOISAN AND THE JU FAMILY

2.1 Khoisan



Lucy Lloyd's !Xun and the Ju dialects

2. KHOISAN AND THE JU FAMILY
2.2 The JU family

Dialectal classification:

- D.Bleek: three subgroups:
  - NI (*ǂKauǁen*, southernmost group)
  - NII (*!Kung*, mainly in northern Namibia and western Botswana)
  - NIII (*!O!Kung*, the northernmost group, in southern Angola)

- König & Heine (2001, 2008), based on syntactic criteria : 3 groups
  - *Southeastern* (including Ju|'hoan and ǂX'áó-ǁ'àèn)
  - *Central* (two poorly documented dialects)
  - *Northwestern* (stretching through the Angolan-Namibian border)

2. KHOISAN AND THE JU FAMILY
2.2 The JU family

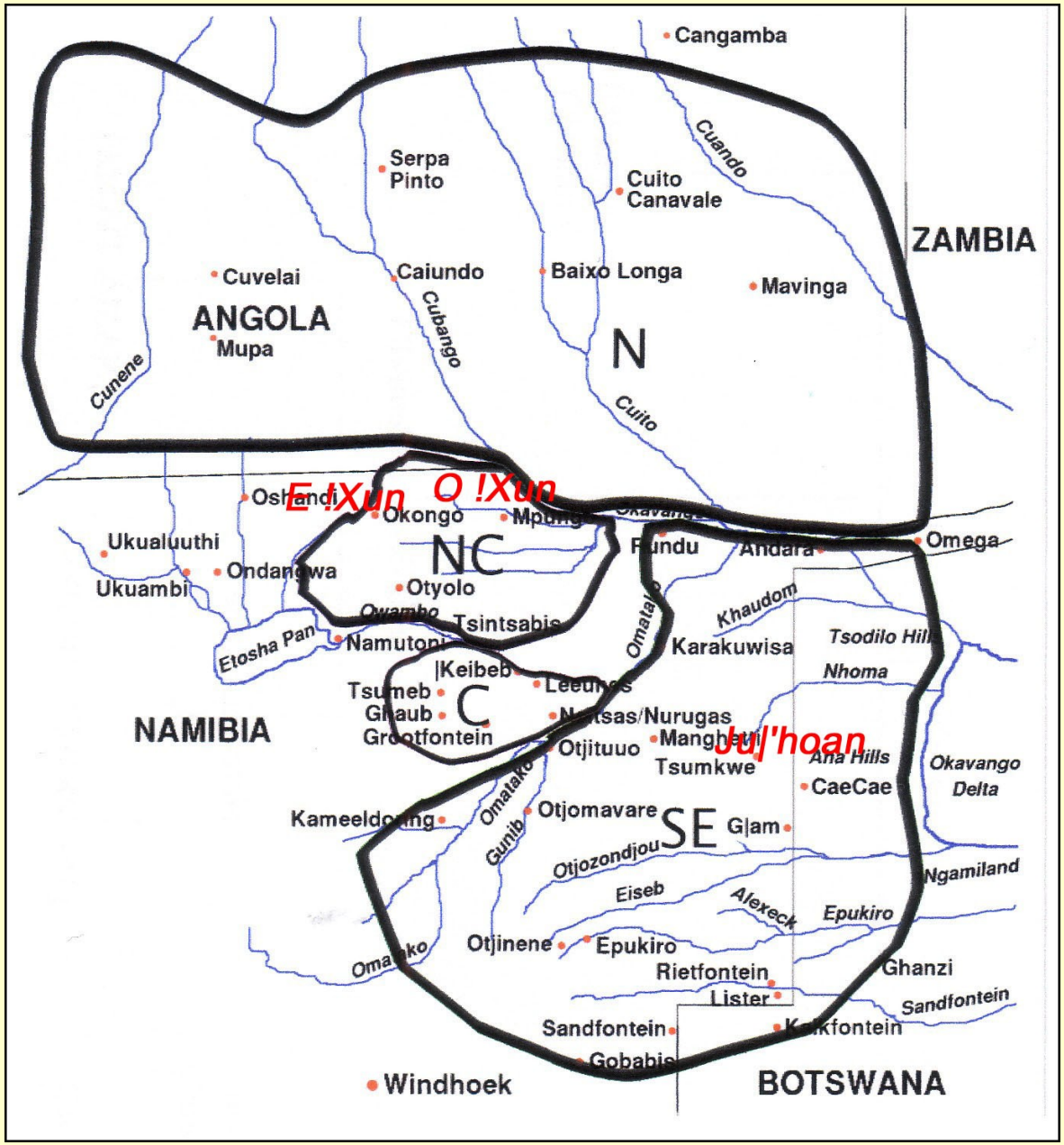
Dialectal classification:

Sands (forth.)
phonological criteria

- (SE) Southeastern
- (C) Central
- (NC) North-Central
  (very close to N)
- (N) Northern

3 dialects are described
(gramm + dict)

- Ju|'hoan (SE)
- Ovamboland !Xun (NC)
  (O !Xun)
- Ekoka !Xun (NC)
  (E !Xun)



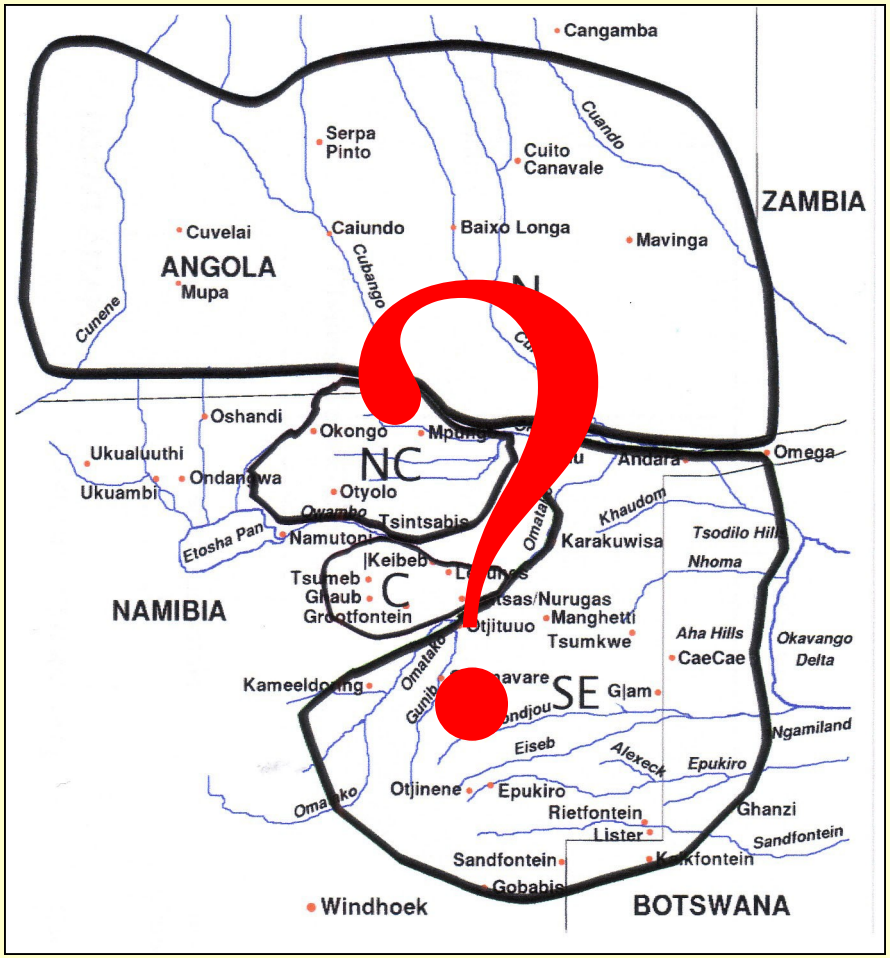
2. KHOISAN AND THE JU FAMILY
2.2 The JU family

Word lists have been collected for 15 dialects (Snyman (1997), Sands (forth.))

- *(SE) Southeastern*
  - **1 Tsumkwe Ju|'hoan**
  - 2 Omatako S Ju|'hoan
  - 3 Omatako N Ju|'hoan
  - 4 Kameeldoring Ju|'hoan
  - 5 Lister farm/Epukiro Ju|'hoan
- *(NC) North-Central*
  - 6 Tsintsabis !Xun
  - 7 Okongo !Xun
  - 8 Mpunguvlei !Xun
  - **9 O !Xun**
  - **10 E !Xun**
- *(C) Central*
  - 11 Leeunes Farm !Xun
  - 12 Grootfontein !Xun
- *(N) Northern*
  - 13 Cuito/Cubango !Xun
  - 14 Cuando/Cuito !Xun
  - 15 Cubango/Cunene !Xun

3

CLASSIFYING L !XUN



3. CLASSIFYING L !XUN

3.1 Extra-linguistic data

3.2 Phonology

3.3 Lexicon

3.4 Syntax

3.5 Features peculiar to L !Xun

3.1 Extra-linguistic data

3. CLASSIFYING L !XUN
3.1 Extra-linguistic data

Informants are said to be from the "northeast of Damaraland"

Ethnic groups mentionned:

- Ovambo
- Herero
- Damara
- Hai‖om

\+ The "Makoba" (L !Xun *Goba*)

Cf. Ju|'hoan: *Goba* = any Black people other than Tswana or Herero, *i.e.* other than the most frequently encountered Black people in the region.

3. CLASSIFYING L !XUN
3.1 Extra-linguistic data

!Xun group names, and toponyms given by the informants:

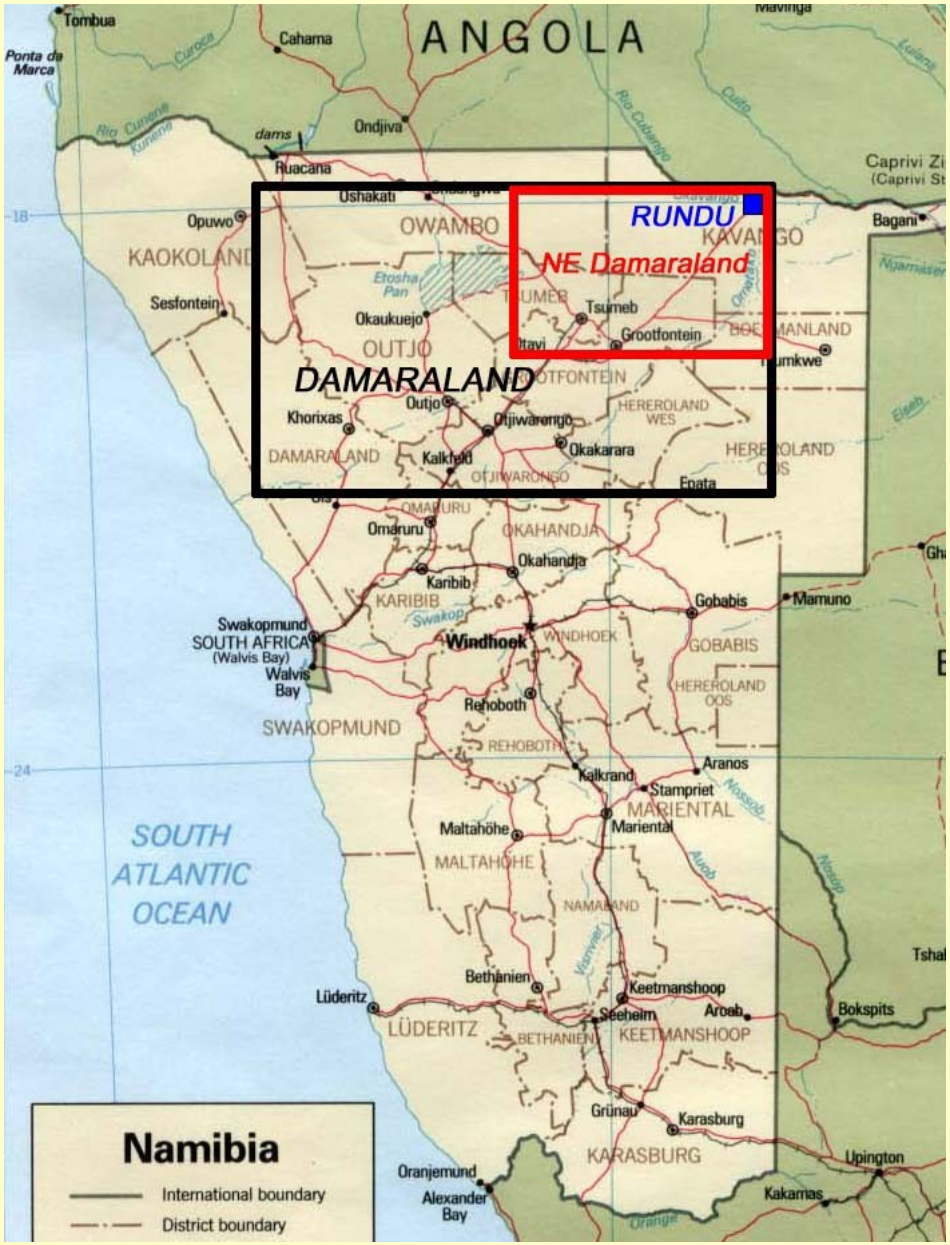
- *n‖oq-kx'au* : N!ani's group
- *n‖oq* : N!ani's native area:
- *‖oq-kx'au* : Tame's group
- *n‖oq-ma* (lit. little *n‖oq*): |'Uma and Daq's native area

Highly reminiscent of the name given nowadays by the speakers of E !Xun and O !Xun (NC) to the !Xun people of the Rundu area, along the Kavango River:

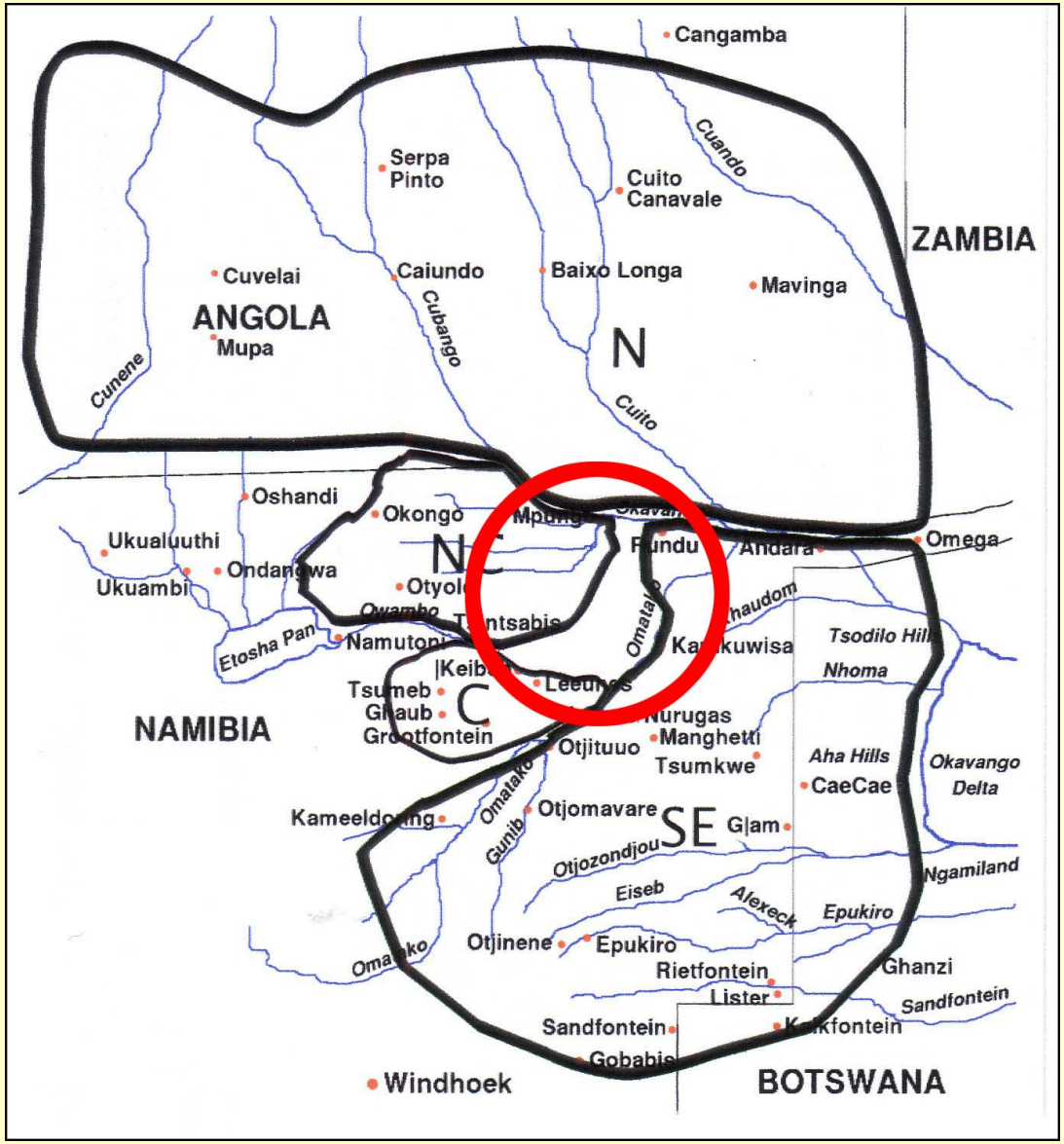
- *n‖ǒq-kx'áó* (O !Xun),

- *n‖ǒq-kx'àō ~ g‖ǒq-kx'àō* (E !Xun)

3. CLASSIFYING L !XUN
3.1 Extra-linguistic data



3. CLASSIFYING L !XUN
3.1 Extra-linguistic data



3.2 Phonological data

3. CLASSIFYING L !XUN
3.2 Phonological data

All comparisons point to a high degree of proximity with NC dialects, in particular:

- the Eastern variant of **O !Xun** (**N°9**, spoken along the Kavango river, in the Mpungu and Rundu areas)
- **Mpunguvlei !Xun (N°8)**, spoken around Mpungu, close to the Rundu area

Dickens (1992): common phonological features between L !Xun and O !Xun.

Snyman (1997) + Sands (forth.): 15 dialects compared on the basis of many other phonological criteria.

3.2.1 Patterning of click types

For a large number of correspondence sets:

- N and NC: lateral click ǁ
- C: retroflex click !!
- SE: alveolar !

A.Miller-Ockhuizen and B.Sands (1999, 2000) :

Proto-Ju retroflex click *!!

- C: unchanged !!
- N and NC: merged with the lateral click: *!! > ǁ ,
- SE: merged with the alveolar click: *!! > !

3.2.1 Patterning of click types

(1) **g!!a* 'rain':

SE: 1 [g!à], 2 [g!à], 3 [g!à], 4 [g!à], 5 [g!à]

NC: 6 [g‖à], 7 [g‖à], 8 [g‖à], 9 [g‖à], 10 [g‖à]

C: 11 [g!!à], 12 --

N: 13 [g‖à], 14 [g‖à], 15 [g‖à]

L !Xun : *g‖a*

3.2.1 Patterning of click types

- Two confirmed exceptions:

(2)**L !Xun:** ***!!oan*** *(!!'oan ?)* 'kill (pl.)'

SE: 1 [!'óán], 2 --, 3 --, 4 --, 5 --

NC: 6 --, 7 --, 8 --, 9 [‖'áŋ], 10 [‖'ŋ́]

C: 11 --, 12 --

N: 13 --, 14 --, 15 --

(3)**L !Xun:** ***!!hi*** **'hare'** *(!!'hi ?)*

SE: 1 [!'háí], 2 [!'háí], 3 [!'háí], 4 [!'háí], 5 [!'háí]

NC: 6 [‖'háí], 7 --, 8 --, 9 [‖'hàí], 10 [‖'hàí]

C: 11 [**!!'háí**], 12 --

N: 13 [‖'háí], 14 [‖ha], 15 [‖ha]

3.2.1 Patterning of click types

- Three other occurrences of retroflex click !! :

(4)L !Xun: **‖ha** (all informants) ~ !!ha (T, N!) 'animal, meat'

SE: 1 [!há / !'há], 2 [!'há], 3 [!'há], 4 [!'há], 5 [!'hàa]

NC: 6 [**‖'há**], 7 [**‖'há**], 8 [**‖'hà**, ‖'hài], 9 [**‖há**], 10 [**‖hā**]

C: 11 [!!'há], 12 [!!ha]

N: 13 [**‖'hà**, ‖'hài], 14 [**‖'hà**], 15 [**‖'hà**]

(5)'dislike'

a.*n‖a* (T, all occurrences but one)

b. *n!!a* (119:9936; T. One occurrence only)

(6) Interjection (sound of crying):

a.*n‖an* (121:10206/7; N!)

b. *n!!an* (121:10206; N!)

3.2.1 Patterning of click types

Conclusion:

- L !Xun patterns most of the time with NC and N dialects (lateral ǁ)
- For a few items, it patterns with C dialects (retroflex !!)

Hypotheses:

- language contact (borrowings from a C dialect): not convincing
- Internal diachronic hypothesis: late stage in the evolution from proto-Ju to modern NC dialects:
  - Retroflex !! is well advanced in the process of merging into lateral ǁ
  - But the process is not complete yet (remnants of retroflex !!)

3.2.2 Place and manner of articulation of alveolar and palatal affricates

Difficult to assess (no distinction between different types of affricates: ts, ts', tsh, dsh; tc, tc', tch, dch)

In cases were alveolar or palatal affricates (ts, tc etc...) in some dialects correspond to fricatives (s, c etc.) in other dialects, L !Xun seems to be part of the latter group:

(8)L !Xun: **si** 'laugh, smile'

SE: 1 [tshì], 2 [**sì̀**], 3 [**sì̀**], 4 [**sì̀**], 5 [tshi]

NC: 6 [**sì̀**], 7 [cì̀], 8 [**sì̀**], 9 [**sì**], 10 [cì]

C: 11 [**sì̀**], 12 [**sɪː**]

N: 13 --, 14 [tchì̀], 15 [tchì̀]

3.2.2 Place and manner of articulation of alveolar and palatal affricates

(9)L !Xun: **zau** **(zshau?)** 'woman'

SE: 1 [dshàú], 2 [dshào], 3 [dshàu], 4 [dshào], 5 [dshàu]

NC: 6 [tshào], 7 --, 8 [tcháo], 9 [dsháo, **sháo** (East)], 10 [dchāō]

C: 11 [dshào], 12 [**zshaʊː**]

N: 13 [tcháo], 14 [tcháo, **sáo**], 15 [tsháo, tcháo]

Conclusion: L !Xun patterns:

- sometimes with SE, N and/or C
- always with NC, in particular O !Xun (dialect N°9)

3.2.3 Vowel correspondence sets

- ***ai~ae~e:***

(10) L !Xun: n|e 'head'

SE: 1 [n|áí], 2 [n|è], 3 [n|áí], 4 [n|è], 5 [n|áí]

NC: 6 [n|àe], 7 [n|è], 8 [n|e], 9 ['n|é (W), n|é (E)], 10 [n|ē]

C: 11 [n|è], 12 [ŋ|eː]

N: 13 [n|e], 14 [n|e], 15 [n|e]

(11) L !Xun: ǁ'e 'grass'

SE: 1 [ǁ'àì], 2 [ǁ'àé], 3 [ǁ'àì], 4 [ǁ'àé], 5 [ǁ'àì]

NC: 6 [ǁ'àé], 7 [ǁ'àé], 8 [ǁ'èé], 9 [ǁ'àé (W), ǁ'èé (E)], 10 [ǁ'àè]

C: 11 [ǁ'àé], 12 [kǁʔaɪ]

N: 13 --, 14 [ǁ'èe], 15 [ǁ'àé]

3.2.3 Vowel correspondence sets

- ***ui~oi~oe:***

(12) L !Xun: **!x'ui** 'hair'

SE: 1 [**!x'úí**], 2 [!x'ói], 3 [!x'ói], 4 [!x'ói], 5 [**!x'úi**]

NC: 6 [**!x'úí**], 7 [**!x'úí**], 8 [**!x'úí**], 9 [**!x'ű́i**], 10 [**!x'úí**]

C: 11 [**!x'úí**], 12 [**!kxʔwɪ**]

N: 13 [**!x'úí**], 14 [**!x'úí**], 15 [**!x'úí**]

3.2.3 Vowel correspondence sets

- ***ai~i:***

(13) L !Xun: **ǂhi** 'sneeze'

SE: 1 [nǂhài], 2 [nǂhài], 3 [nǂhàí], 4 [nǂhài], 5 [nǂhài]

NC: 6 [nǂhai], 7 [**ǂhìì**], 8 [**ǂhìì**], 9 [**ǂhì**], 10 [**!!hì**]

C: 11 [**nǂhi**], 12 --

N: 13 [**ǂ'hìì**], 14 [**ǂ'hìì**], 15 [**ǂ'hìì**]

3.2.3 Vowel correspondence sets

- ***o/oe(we):***

(14) L !Xun: **kue** 'say'

SE: 1 [kò], 2 --, 3 --, 4 --, 5 --

NC: 6 --, 7 --, 8 --, 9 [**kòè**], 10 [**kòè/kwèé**]

C: 11 --, 12 --

N: 13 --, 14 --, 15 --

(15) L !Xun: **okue** 'and'

SE: 1 [ókó], 2 [hòkò], 3 [òkò], 4 [òkò], 5 (kèsi)

NC: 6 [ókó], 7 [**òkwè**], 8 [**òkwè**], 9 [**ókóè**], 10 [--]

C: 11 [òkò/**òkwè**], 12 [oko]

N: 13 [hèkè], 14 [hèkè], 15 [hèkè]

3.2.4 b/m correspondence sets

(16) L !Xun: **daba** 'child'

SE: 1 [dà'ámá], 2 [dà'àbà], 3 [dà'àbà], 4 [dà'àbà], 5 [dà'ámá]

NC: 6 [dà'ábá], 7 [dà'ábá], 8 [**dàbà**], 9 [**dàbà**/dà'àbà], 10 [**dàbà**]

C: 11 [dà'ábá], 12 [**davɑ**]

N: 13 [**dàbà**], 14 [**dàbà**], 15 [**dàbà**]

(17) L !Xun: **g‖aba** 'enter'

SE: 1 [g!à'ámá], 2 [g!à'abá], 3 [g!à'ábá], 4 [g!à'ámá], 5 [g!à'ámá]

NC: 6 [g‖à'ábá], 7 [**g‖àbà**], 8 [**g‖àbá**], 9 [**g‖àbá**], 10 [**g‖àbà**]

C: 11 [g‖à'àbà], 12 --

N: 13 [**g‖àbà**], 14 [**g‖àbà**], 15 [**g‖àbà**]

3.2.4 Other NC characteristics

Final velar (Vŋ) nasal tends to alternate with a final nasalized vowel (Vn) in NC dialects:

(18) a. *!Xun~!Xung* '!Xun'

b. *!hun~!hung* 'kill (sg)'

c. *n|in~n|ing* 'sit'

d. *n!un~n!ung* 'stand (sg)'

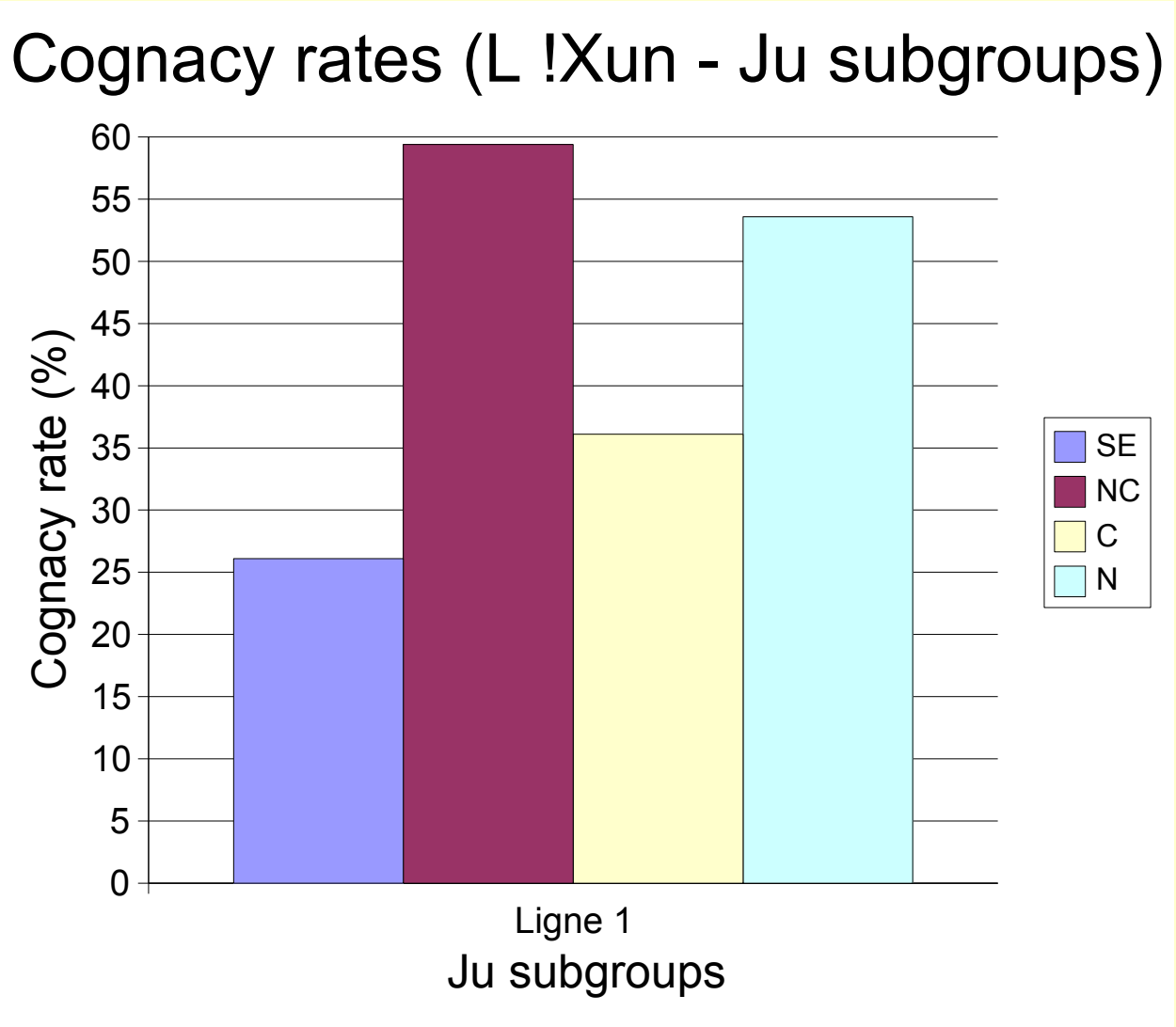
Like in E/O !Xun, glottalized vowels can be reduced to simple vowels:

(19) a. *n‖a'a~n‖a* '(be) big'

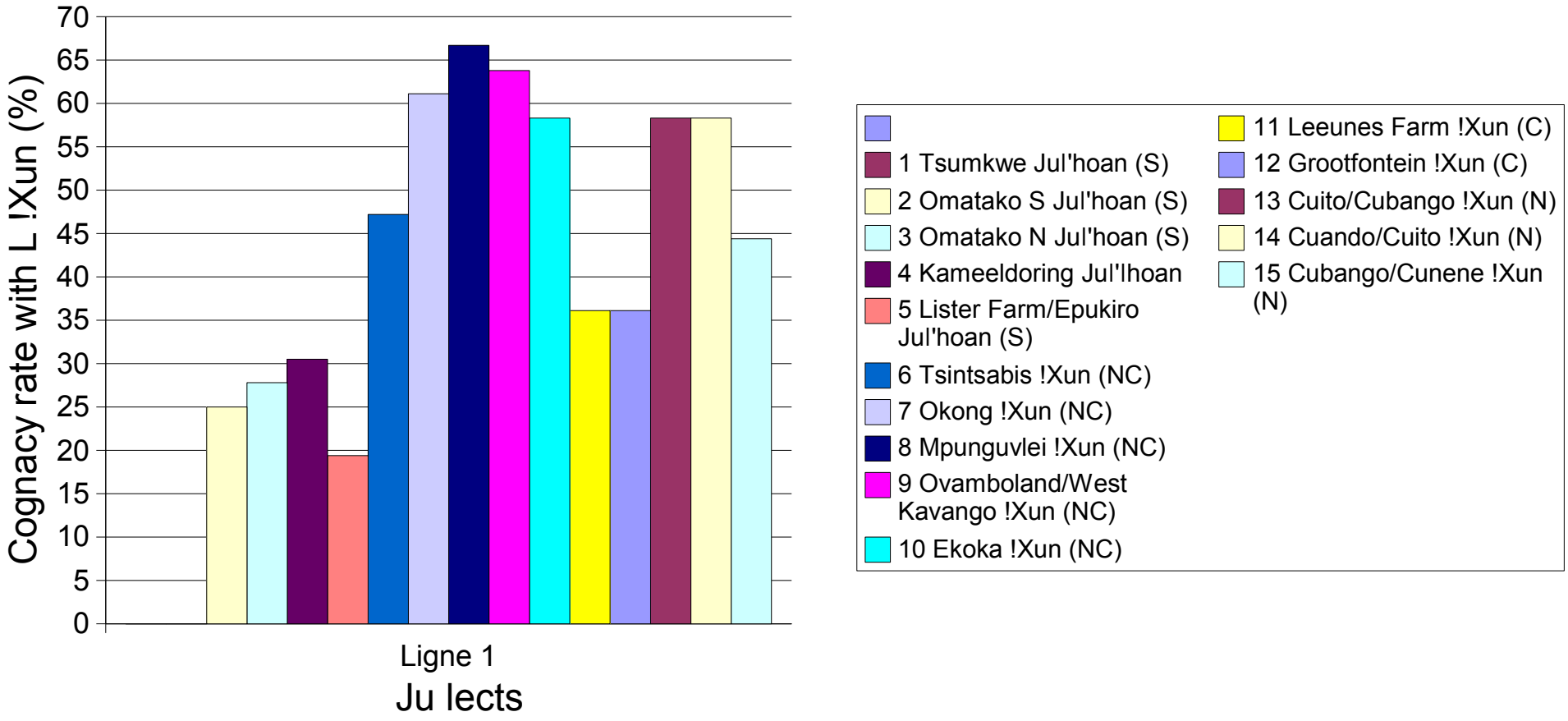
b. *|a'a~|a* 'give'

c. *n|e'e~n|e* 'one'

3.2.4 Phonology: conclusion



3.2.4 Phonology: conclusion



3.3 Lexical data

3. CLASSIFYING L !XUN
3.3 Lexical data

L !Xun shares with E/O !Xun (NC) lexical items not found in Ju|'hoan (SE):

cf. Dickens (1992)

English	**L !Xun**	**O !Xun**	**E !Xun**	**Ju|'hoan**
completely	*ara*	*árá*	--	--
turn around	*debi, dibi*	*dábí*	*dábí, díbí*	--
body	*tang*	*tháŋ,*	*tháŋ*	--
blood	*ǂhoru*	*nǂoqru*	*nǂōqlú*	--
arrow head	*cuara*	*sòaná*	*còàlā*	--
foam	*dju'i*	*zúˀǐ*	*djūˀí~djūí*	--
to hunt	*ǂaure*	*ǂáűré*	*ǂāúlè*	--

3. CLASSIFYING L !XUN
3.3 Lexical data

However, a few other L !Xun words seem to have a cognate form only in Ju|'hoan (SE) (and sometimes Grootfontein !Xun (C))

English	L !Xun	O !Xun (NC)	E !Xun (NC)	Gr.!Xun (C)	Ju|'hoan (SE)
return home	*ce*	--	--	*ce*	*cé*
lion (praise, <Nama)	*xamm*	--	--	*xam*	*xàmm*
buy, barter	*‖'ama*	--	--	*‖'ama*	*‖'ámá*
pit	*!oro*	--	--	*?*	*!òròh*
Ovambo	*n|abe*	--	--	*?*	*n|ábé*
Herero	*dama*	--	--	*dama*	*Tàmàh*
my mother	*ai*	--	--	*?*	*áíá*
Black person	*goba*	--	--	*?*	*gòbá*
to hunt	*tum*	--	--	*?*	*tòhm*

This observation should be considered with caution : the published wordlists and dictionaries are not exhaustive.

Tentative conclusion: L !Xun seems to be an in-between, being lexically close to both NC and SE (possibly C) dialects.

The hypothesis of a lexical SE (and/or C?) influence on L !Xun (NC) is one among many...

3.4 Morpho-syntactic data

3. CLASSIFYING L !XUN
3.4 Morphosyntactic data

Comparison only possible with three dialects:

- Tsumkwe Ju|'hoan (SE) : Dickens (2005)
- O !Xun (NC) : Heikkinen (1987)
- E !Xun (NC): König & Heine (2001)

In particular, Central and Northern subgroups are totally absent.

--> not as powerful as the phonological comparisons above.

Still, powerful enough to rule out any affiliation of L !Xun with SE dialects.

3.4.1 Pronominal system

Speech act participants 1st and 2nd persons

SINGULAR

Pers.	L !Xun	O !Xun (NC)	E !Xun (NC)	Ju|'hoan (SE)
1.SG	--	má (SBJ)	mā (SBJ)	--
.	*na (SBJ)*	*ná (SBJ, rare)*	*--*	*--*
.	*mi/me (N-SBJ)*	*mǐ*	*mí*	*mǐ*
.	*m (POSS)*	*m (POSS)*	*m (POSS)*	*m (POSS)*
2.SG	*a*	*á*	*á*	*á*
.	*ma*	*bá*	*bá*	*--*

3.4.1 Pronominal system

Speech act participants 1st and 2nd persons

PLURAL

Pers.	L !Xun	O !Xun (NC)	E !Xun (NC)	Ju|'hoan (SE)
1.PL.EX	*e*	*è*	*è*	*è*
.	*(dju)*	*zù*	*djù*	--
1.PL.IN	*mm*	*m̀hm̀*	*m̀hm̀*	*m̀*
2.PL	*i*	ì	ì	ì
.	*ya*	yà	yà	--

3.4.1 Pronominal system

Differences with E/O !Xun:

- 1.SG Subject ***ma*** is absent in L !Xun

- 1.SG Subject form is ***na*** (+1 occurrence of ***mi***)
  - no trace in E !Xun (SBJ = *ma* or *mi*)
  - very few examples in O !Xun (always in "when" subordinate clauses)

- The existence of 1.PL.EX *dju* (grammaticalization of *dju* 'person') is uncertain (only one potential occurrence)

<u>Conclusion</u>: A NC system, with a few idiosyncratic features.

3.4.2 Demonstratives

DEM	L !Xun	O !Xun (NC)	E !Xun (NC)	Ju|'hoan (SE)
PROX	*e*	*è*	*ē*	*hè/kè*
PROX2	?	*àŋ*	*ŋ̄ŋ̀*	--
DIST	*to'a~do'a*	*tò'à~ndò'à*	*tò'à~ndò'à*	*tɔ̀'à*

L !Xun : very close to E/O !Xun (except PROX2)

In particular, unlike Ju|'hoan, no incorporation of class pronoun into PROX *e* :

Ju|'hoan: Cl.1 *hà̀* + **e* = *hè*

. Cl.3 *hì* + **e* = *hè*

. Cl.4 *ká* + **e* = *kè*

3.4.2 Demonstratives

Ju|'hoan: Demonstratives = predicative elements (behave like verbs)

(20)	*jù*	***hè***	(20b)	*jù-à*	***hè***
.	person.1	**PROX.1**		person.1-REL	g
.	'This is a person'			'This person'	
(21)	*tjù*	***kè***	(21b)	*tjù-à*	***kè***
.	house.4	**PROX.4**		house.4-REL	**PROX.4**
.	'This is a house.'			'This house.'	
(22)	*n!òh*	***tò'à***	(22b)	*n!òh-sà*	***tò'à***
.	orange	**DIST**		orange-REL.PL	**DIST**
.	'That is an orange.'			'Those oranges.'	

3.4.2 Demonstratives

L !Xun and NC: Demonstr. = both predicative and N qualifying elements

(23)	*me*	*g|a'a*	*ti*	***e***	(L !Xun)
.	1.SG	eye	IPFV	**PROX**	
.	'These are my eyes'				
(24)	*n‖àhbà*	*zùhú|xòà*	*má*	*yíí*	***ndò'à*** (O !Xun)
.	God	people	TOP	Cl.3	**DIST**
.	'Those are God's people.'				
(25)	*mí*	*khō*	*m-í*	***ŋ̄ŋ̀***	(E !Xun)
.	1.SG	place	TOP-HAB	**PROX**	
.	'My (habitual) place is this/there.'				

3.4.2 Demonstratives

L !Xun and NC: Demonstr. = both predicative and N qualifying elements

(26)	*ts'o*	*(ka)*	***e***	(L !Xun)
.	thread.4	Cl.4	**PROX**	
.	'This thread'			
(27)	*dàbà*	*hà*	***tò'à***	(O !Xun)
.	child	Cl.1	**DIST**	
.	'That child'			
(28)	*!àhŋ̄*	*kā*	***ē***	(E !Xun)
.	tree.4	Cl.4	**PROX**	
.	'This tree'			

3.4.2 Demonstratives

Demonstrative = ambiguous category in L !Xun, as in NC dialects:

L !Xun:	*ts'o*	***e***
.	thread	**PROX**
. 1)	'This thread'	
. 2)	'This is thread'	

<u>Conclusion:</u> L !Xun demonstratives pattern with NC dialects.

+ idiosyncratic feature: Agreement class pronoun not needed when Noun qualified by DEM.

3.4.3 Adjectives and intranstive stative verbs

Ju|'hoan: two separate classes of 'quality words':

- Adjectives (N qualifying function only): very few
- Intransitive stative verbs (Dickens 1992 : 'descriptive verbs')

L !Xun and NC: the distinction is less clear:

- A very small set of Adjectives (N qualifying function only)
- A large class of hybrid items: used both as verbs and as adjectives.

3.4.3 Adjectives and intranstive stative verbs

Ju|'hoan: Adjectives (always N qualifiers, strictly adnominal)

(29) *jù* ***dóré*** *!óá è*

. person **different** tell 1.PL.EX

. 'A different person told us.'

(30) *ká* ***dóré***

. Cl.4 **different**

. 'Something different' (never *'it is different')

(31) *ká* *ó* **(ká)* ***dóré***

. Cl.4 COP Cl.4 **different**

. 'It is (something) different / it is a different one'

3.4.3 Adjectives and intranstive stative verbs

Ju|'hoan: Adjectives (always N qualifiers, strictly adnominal)

(32) **tcí-à* ***dóré***

. thing-REL **different**

. Intended meaning: 'a thing which is different / something different'

3.4.3 Adjectives and intranstive stative verbs

Ju|'hoan: 'descriptive' verbs

(33) *hà* *tzún* ***g≠à'ín***

. Cl.1 nose **be.long**

. 'His nose is long'

(34) *hà* *kxàè* *tzún-à* ***g≠à'ín***

. Cl.1 have nose-REL **be.long**

. 'He has a long nose.' (lit. nose which is long)

(35) *n!úí* *kű* ***n!à'àn***

. moon IPFV **be.big**

. 'The moon is getting big.'

3.4.3 Adjectives and intranstive stative verbs

L !Xun and NC: hybrid category: both Adjectives and Intransitive verbs

(36)	*ǁau*	***ǂhi***	*e*	*gǂa'ang*	*!uru*	(L !Xun)
.	arrow	many	REL	fill	quiver	
.	'Many arrows which filled the quiver'					

(37)	*me*	*dju-sing*	***ǂhi-a***	*me*	*n!uere*	(L !Xun)
.	1.SG	person-PL	be.many-VAL	1.SG	region	
.	'My people are numerous in my country'					

Conclusion: L !Xun patterns with NC dialects

3.4.4 Tense-Aspect-Mood markers

TAM inventory: poor in Ju|'hoan, richer in NC dialects

.	L !Xun	O !Xun (NC)	E !Xun (NC)	Ju|'hoan (SE)
Imperfective	***ti~ki***	*kǐ*	*kí*	*kǔ*
Habitual	?	--	*kwá*	--
Habitual	***ǂu***	*ǂǘ*	*ǂúā*	--
Past	?	*ké*	*kē*	*kòh*
progr./future	?	*á*	*ā*	--
irrealis ('obligation')	***o***	*ó*	*ō*	--
'unrealization'	***ce~se***	*sé*	*cē*	--

3.4.4 Tense-Aspect-Mood markers

NB: the imperfective marker has 2 forms:

- *ti* (all informants), like in Grootfontein !Xun (Central)
- *ki* (only Daq), like in NC dialects

<u>Conclusion:</u> L !Xun is closer to NC,

with a possible affinity with central dialects

3.4.5 Relative clause

Ju|'hoan: relative suffix *-à* (PL *-sà*)

(38)	*mí*	*!'hàn*	*jù-**à***	*kú*	*dcàá*	*mí*	*tcí-sì.*
.	1.SG	know	person-**REL**	IPFV	steal	1.SG	thing-PL
.	'Iknow the person who is stealing my things'						

(39)	*n!àng-**sà***	*mí*	*txá*
.	eland-**REL.PL**	1.SG	shoot
.	'The eland (that) I shot'		

3.4.5 Relative clause

L !Xun (and NC): relative particle *e*

- Cl. pronoun + REL *e*

(40) *!xō* ***hà*** ***è*** *tō'mí* (E !Xun)
. elephant.1 Cl.4 REL be.near
. 'an elephant which is nearby'

(41) *‖'e* ***hi*** ***e*** *e* *ti* *taba* *ts'o* *a* (L !Xun)
. grass.3 Cl.3 REL 1.PL.E IPFV make thread ?
. 'grass out of which we make thread'

3.4.5 Relative clause

L !Xun (and NC): relative particle *e*

- REL *e*

(42) *!xō* ***è*** *tō'ḿ* (E !Xun)
. elephant REL be.near
. 'an elephant which is nearby'

(43) *a* *gu-a* *ha* *kue* *!hui* ***e*** *ts'o* (L !Xun)
. and take-VAL Cl.1 MPO grass REL thread
. 'And he took them with grass which was thread'

3.4.5 Relative clause

L !Xun (and NC): relative particle *e*

- Cl. pronoun

(44)	*tsí*	***ká***	*ká*	*kàín*	*mā́*		(O !Xun)
.	thing.4	Cl.4	Cl.4	good	TOP		
.	'a thing which is (a) good (one)'						
(45)	*tci*	***ka***	*g!u*	*ti*	*e*	*san*	(L !Xun)
.	thing.4	Cl.4	name	IPFV	COP	*san*	
.	'a thing, the name of which is *san'*						

Conclusion: L !Xun patterns with NC.

3.5 Features peculiar to L !Xun

3.5.1 Phonological peculiarities

- **Distribution of alveolar [s] and palatal [ʃ] fricatives and affricates:**
  - L !Xun : [s] and [ʃ] are contrastive
  - Unlike O !Xun, which merges [s] and [ʃ] into [s]
  - Unlike E !Xun, in which [s] and [ʃ] are free variants

.	**L !Xun**	O !Xun (NC)	E !Xun (NC)	Ju|'hoan (SE)
see	*sing*	*sáŋ*	*cŋ́*	*sé*
lie down	*cu*	*sű*	*cú*	*cú*
stand up	*tsau*	*tsáó*	*tcāō*	*tsáú*
thing	*tci*	*tsí*	*tcí*	*tcí*

3.5.1 Phonological peculiarities

- **Distribution of alveolar [s] and palatal [ʃ] fricatives and affricates:**

Conclusion:

L !Xun is a NC dialect that makes the distinction between [s] and [ʃ],

- unlike other NC dialects
- but like SE dialects

Diachronic hypothesis (one among many):

L !Xun could be the proof that the loss of the [s]/[ʃ] distinction characterizing NC dialects is a recent phenomenon (cf. hypothesis about retroflex click !!)

3.5.1 Phonological peculiarities

- ***b/m correspondence sets***

Some b/m words seem to set L !Xun apart:

English	**L !Xun**	**O !Xun** (NC)	**E !Xun** (NC)	**Gr.!Xun** (C)	**Ju|'hoan** (SE)
[m] vs. [b]					
children	*dami*	*dàbé/dà'àbé*	*dèbè*	*?*	*dà'ábí*
2.SG	*ma (a)*	*bà (à)*	*bà (à)*	*(a)*	*(à)*
[b] vs. [m]					
bird	*ǂts'aba*	*ts'ámà*	*tc'ámà*	*tsʔaʋa*	*tzàmà*

3.5.1 Phonological peculiarities

- ***Diphthongization : o/u --> ue***

.	**L !Xun**	O !Xun (NC)	E !Xun (NC)	Ju|'hoan (SE)
MPO	*kue*	*kè*	*kè*	*kò*
be finished	*kue*	*kò*	*kò*	--
locative root	*kue*	*kú~ngú*	*kū*	*kò*
country, area	*n!uere*	*n!óré*	*n!ōlē*	*n!óré*

3.5.2 Syntactic peculiarities

Already mentionned:

- Pronominal system (1.SG *na* etc.)
- Demonstratives (Cl. pronoun is not obligatory when DEM qualifies a N)

3.5.2 Syntactic peculiarities

- **No topic marker**

König (2008): Topic in !Xun

- Ju|'hoan: no topic marker
- O !Xun: topic marker *má*
- E !Xun : topic marker *má* grammaticalized into an obligatory SBJ marker

(46) *m̀hm̀ *(má) djòqè̀*

. 1.PL.IN TOP happy

. 'We are happy'

(47) *mí *(má) hŋ́ hà̀*

. 1.SG TOP see Cl.1

. 'I see him'

3.5.2 Syntactic peculiarities

- **No topic marker**

L !Xun : no topic marker.

Topic is marked through a cleft construction (front-shifting):

(48)	*mm-sa*	*okx'ui*	*na*	*sa'a*
.	1.PL.IN-DU	speech	1.SG	hear
.	'Our language, I understand (it)'			

Conclusion:

One more non-NC feature (only some SE dialects are known not to possess any topic marker)

3.5.2 Syntactic peculiarities

- **Negative imperative marker *ten***

L !Xun has a negative imperative marker *ten* that is not attested in any other known dialect.

In all other dialects: grammaticlazation of verb 'to leave' into a IMP.NEG:

(49) ***n‖àh*** *ǂ'àrì* (Ju|'hoan)

. **IMP.NEG** forget

. 'Don't forget!'

(50) ***n‖à*** *tc'à* (E !Xun)

. **IMP.NEG** steal

. 'Don't steal!'

3.5.2 Syntactic peculiarities

- **Negative imperative marker *ten***

In L !Xun: *n‖a* 'to leave' is not fully grammaticalized into a IMP.NEG, but semi-grammaticalized: *n‖a* + V = 'stop doing' (and not 'don't do')

(51)	***n‖a***	*koaq*	*me*	*ka*	*tcing*
.	**leave**	fear	1.SG	and	cry
.	'Stop fearing me and crying!'				

Negative imperative is conveyed through the marker *ten* :

(52)	***ten***	*/a'a-a*	*!Xun*	*kue*	*n‖au*
.	**IMP.NEG**	give-VAL	!Xun	MPO	bow
.	'Don't give thebow to the !Xun!'				

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

Summary

L !Xun is very close to NC dialects

- phonology: closest dialects are NC
- syntax: whenever NC and SE dialects differ, L !Xun patterns with NC

But L !Xun has peculiar features:

- phonology: (remains of !!, b/m, o/ue etc.)
- lexicon: pan-Ju items + items found only in NC or in SE.
- syntax: pronouns, demonstratives, no topic marker, IMP.NEG *ten*

Possible similarities with C dialects (too few data to be positive):

- b/m
- imperfective *ti*
- a few lexical items

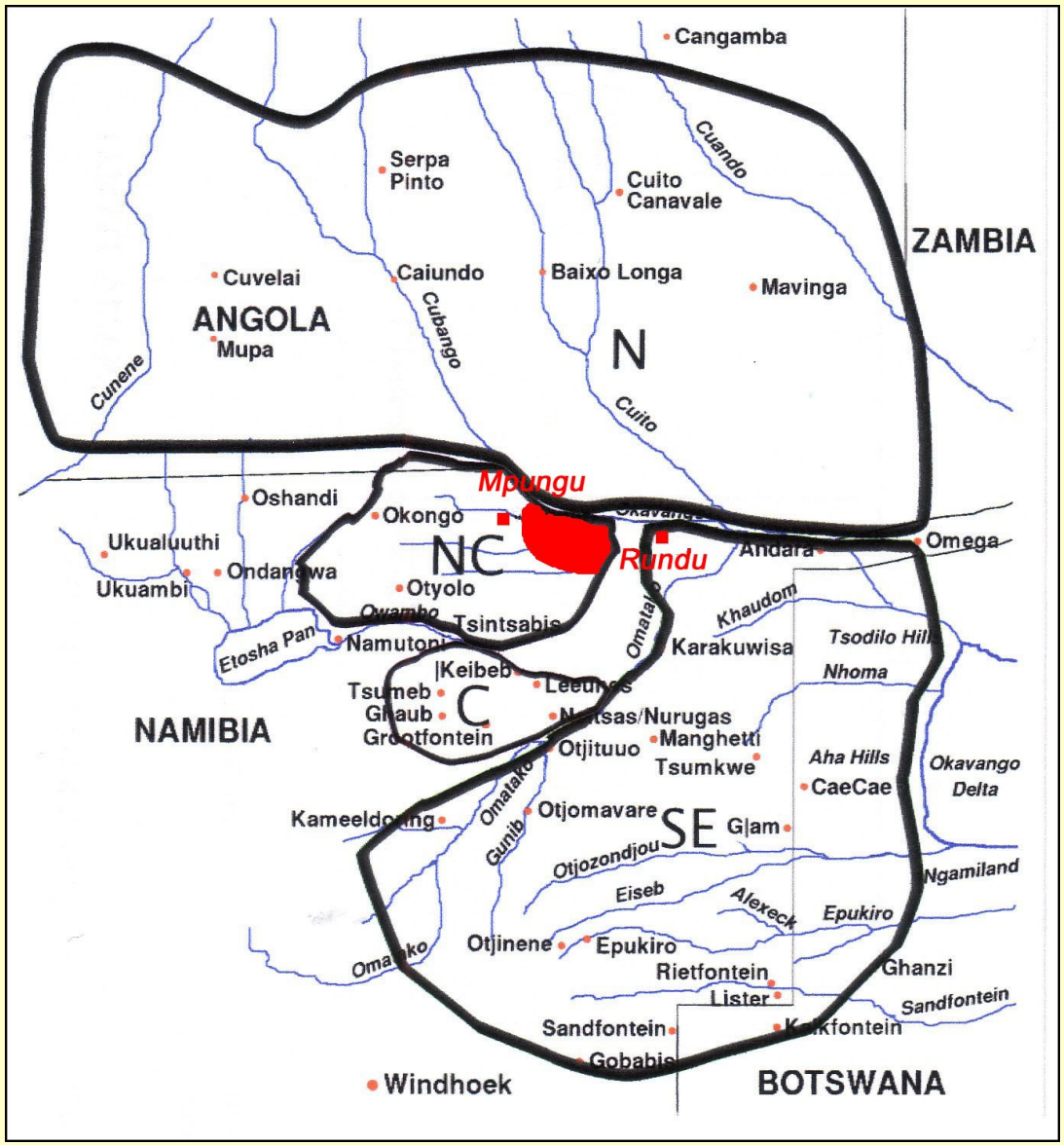
CONCLUSION

L !Xun is/was a NC dialect

Spoken roughly between Mpungu and Rundu, along (and across) the Okavango river.

Differences with other NC dialects are due to either:

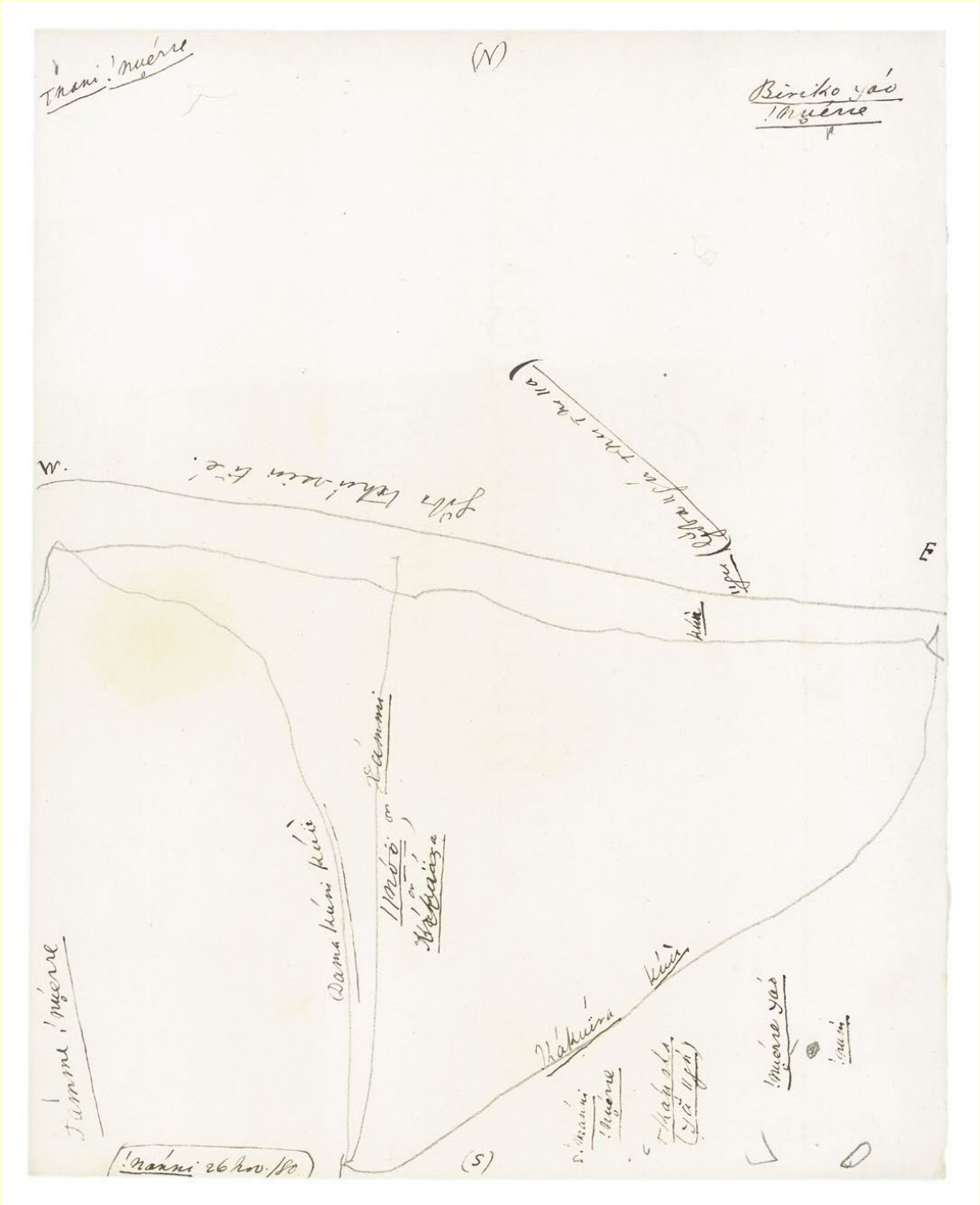
- simple dialectal difference (possibly due to contact with N, C or SE dialects)
- diachronic change: L !Xun was documented 130 years ago



CONCLUSION

Map reading

a map by N!ani



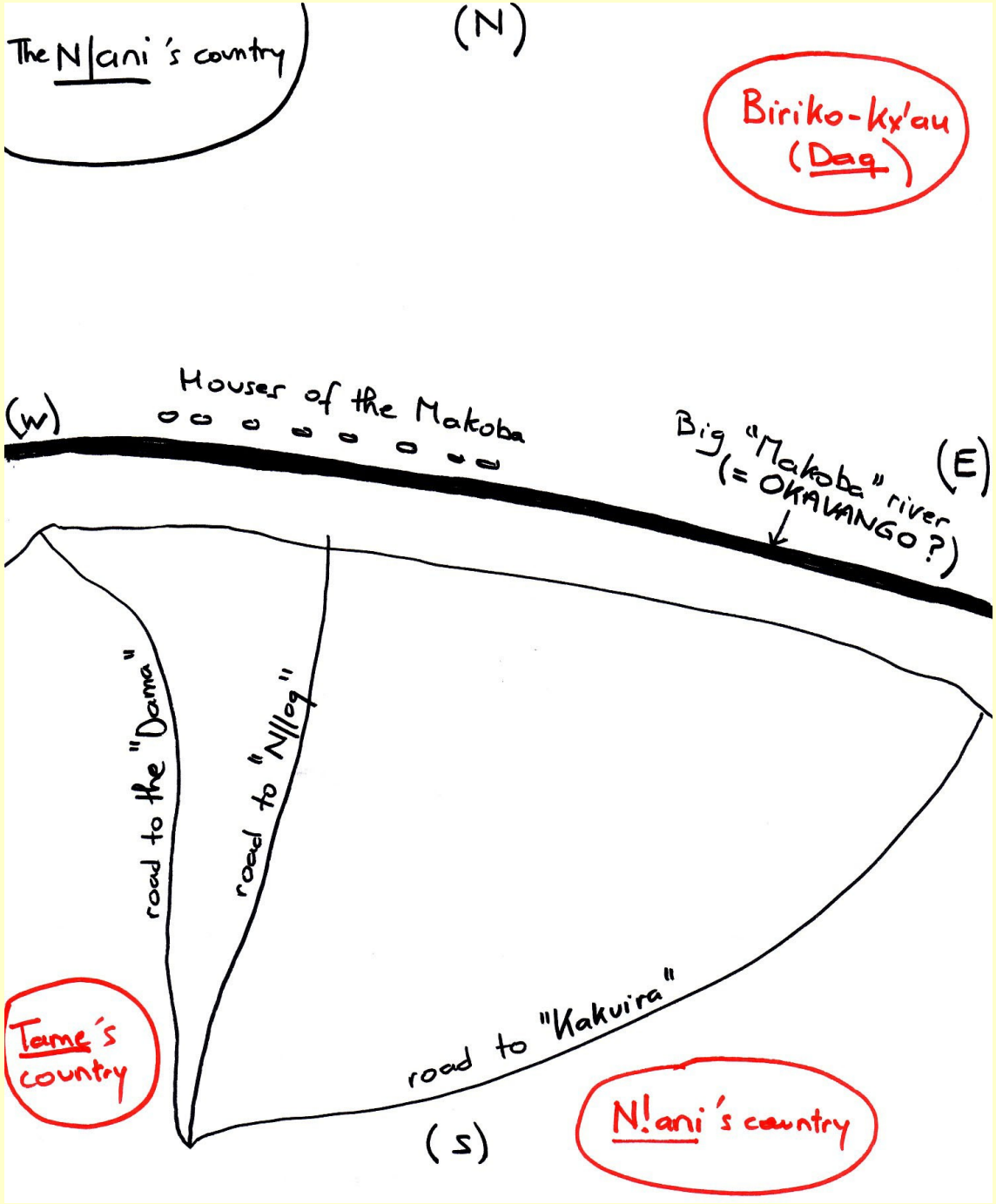
CONCLUSION

N!ani's map
(adapted, translated)

Big River = Okavango?

"N|ani" cf. *n/ànní* (E !Xun)

= Black people whose language one does not understand (Chokwe etc., mainly **Angolan** people)







THANK YOU!

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