Noun Categorisation in Southern Ju|'hoan

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1 Introduction

1.1 Motivation

Noun classification systems vary greatly in their complexity in Ju varieties (Miller-Ockhuizen & Sands 1999: 407f.).

> "!Xũ has four genders (Köhler 1971). The basis of the first is quite clear; it contains only **nouns denoting humans, spirits, God and animals** (with very few exceptions). From the data available, the basis for assignment to the other three genders is not clear, though it appears that liquids and abstracts belong to the same gender; they are found in gender IV, which also contain most body parts, most trees and plants, together with a variety of other nouns." (Corbett 1991: 30, emphasis mine)

Dickens (2005) postulates five genders in Tsumkwe Ju|'hoan. My own impression from fieldwork is that noun classification varies enormously across speakers, particularly old vs. young, but with a general tendency to opt for certain 'default' agreement patterns. This presentation is the first attempt to systematically look comparatively at noun classification in SE Ju varieties.

1.2 Theory

> "Genders are classes of nouns reflected in the behaviour of associated words". (Hockett 1958: 231 cited in Corbett 1999)

> "[T]he existence of gender can be demonstrated only be agreement evidence […] A noun has typically one value for the gender feature, which it brings with it from the lexicon […] but a noun can normally take more than one value of the number feature (it can, say, be singular or plural)". (Corbett 1991: 146)

> "[E]vidence comes from agreement markers attached to other sentence elements, whose form is determined by the gender of the head noun of the controller". (ibid.: 147)

+ **agreement class**: "two nouns [are] in the same agreement class provided that, given the same conditions, they will take the same agreement form". (Corbett 1991: 147f.)

+ **gender:** a pairing of two agreement classes

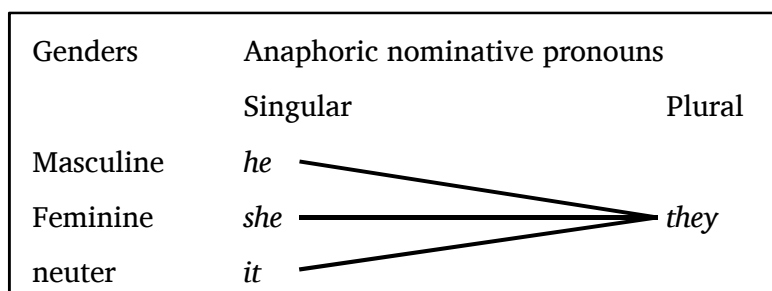**Convergent** gender system vs. **Parallel** gender system

Genders	Anaphoric nominative pronouns	
	Singular	Plural
Masculine	*he*	
Feminine	*she*	*they*
neuter	*it*	

Figure 1. Agreement classes and genders in English (after Güldemann 2000: 16)

Genders	Nominal gender/number suffixes		
Singular	Dual	Plural	
Masculine	*-ba*	*-tsada*	*-‖ua*
Feminine	*-sa*	*-sada*	*-d(z)i*
Common	-	*-khada*	*-nn*

Figure 2. Agreement classes and genders in Proto-Khoe (after Voβen 1997: 341ff.)

Inquorate gender: genders postulated on the basis of insufficient number of nouns which should instead be treated as lexical exceptions (Corbett 1991: 170).

1.3 Methodology

Study of 207 nominal stems, selected based on their gender in T. Ju|'hoan: 25 from gender I, 50 from gender II, 51 from gender III, 30 from gender IV and 51 from gender V.

- Less tokens from gender I: in T. Ju|'hoan (unlike other Ju varieties), this gender is solely for human own-group nouns. The smaller selection is judged representative

- Tried to be as representative of the different semantic cores as possible i.e. plants, animals, mass count, verbal nouns, body parts, and as representative as possible within the semantic cores i.e. both wild and domesticated animals

- The singular and plural pronouns were elicited for each token (subject, object, possessive) using the sentence *I see X,* or something more appropriate i.e. *I feel it* for pain, wound, etc.

- To avoid over-systemising the responses, the word list was randomised before elicitation. Obvious anomalies were double-checked

- The study is compared with 2407 tokens in the Dickens (1994) dictionary

Some caveats

- Non-cognate alternatives for the same concept were accepted in lieu

- The socio-economic situation of the S. Ju|'hoan dialect area is extremely different compared to T. Ju|'hoan. The practice of hunting is illegal and gathering is almost impossible due to large population density. This lexicon is lost quickly, particularly flora names or the names for different arrow heads, associated poisons, etc. This would affect the result for a gender that had a strong bias for traditional cultural items (gender IV?)

- Ju|'hoan dictionary is probably not the result of a uniquely T. Ju|'hoan variety

- The S. Ju|'hoan variety in this study is representative of the Gobabis, Namibia. Like most places outside of Tsumkwe, there is heavy contact with Nama (Khoe-Kwadi), as well as Herero (Bantu) and Afrikaans (Indo-European). A further comparison with the Groot Laagte ǂKx'ao‖'ae variety from Botswana is planned.

2 Noun categorisation in Tsumkwe Ju|'hoan

This section gives an overview of the current analysis of gender in T. Ju|'hoan
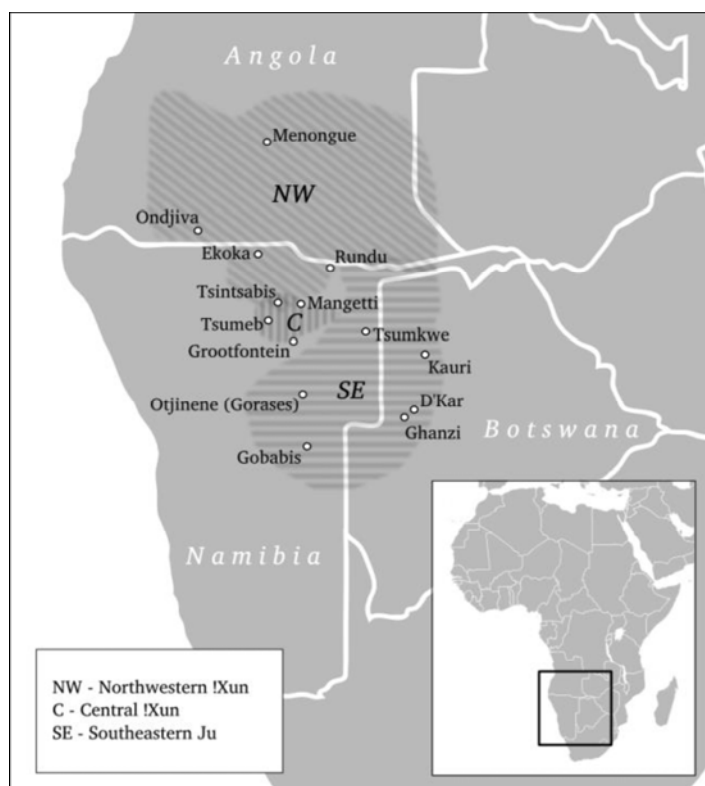
Map 1. The Ju language (adapted from Sands 2010)

2.1 Agreement classes

Ju|'hoan is a pronominal gender language (Güldemann 2000) and as such an agreement class is based on the behaviour with pronominals (personal and possessive pronouns) as well as the choice of verbal demonstrative.

(1) a. *jù*   *n|úí*   *|xòà*   *dà'á*   b. *jù*   *n|úí*   *|xòà*   *hì*

        person.1   certain   live   fire   person.1   certain   live   PRO.4

        Someone lit a fire.   Someone lit it. (Dickens 2005: 33)

(2) *hì*   *g!oh-sì*   *g!à'ámá*   *mí*   *g|à'á-sì*

     PRO.4   smoke.5-P   enter   1S   eye.5-P

     Its smoke (= the fire's smoke) enters my eyes. (ibid.)

(3) *dà'á*   *hè*   *ó*   *hà*   *hì*

     fire.4   DEM.4   COP   3S   PRO.4

     This fire is his (one). (Dickens 2005: 68)

	Free pronoun	Pronoun as possessum	Proximal demonstrative	Semantic core with inanimates	Semantic core with animates
1	*hà*	*mà*	*hè*	plants, plant food	singular
2	*sì*	*hì*	*hè*	-	plural own group
3	*ká*	*gá*	*kè*	body parts, verbal nouns	-
4	*hì*	*hì*	*hè*	long objects	plural alien

Table 1. Agreement classes in Tsumkwe Ju|'hoan (Güldemann 2000: 18)

2.2 Genders

Examples (1-3) illustrated the behaviour of *dà'á* 'fire' as a singular noun. (4a-c) and illustrate the agreement behaviour of *dà'á-sì* 'fires'.

(4)   a.   *dà'á-sì   kíí   !àò*
            fire.4-P IPFV die.P
            The fires are dying.

      b.   *hì   kíí   !àò*
            PRO.4   IPFV die.P
            They are dying. (Dickens 2005: 68)

      c.   *dà'á-s-à   hè   ó   hà   hì-sì*
            fire.4-P-REL DEM.4 COP 3S   PRO.4-P
            These fires are his (ones). (ibid.)

Based on the evidence in (1-4), the noun *dà'á* 'fire' takes the agreement class 4 in both singular and plural: we can call the 4/4-pair gender IV (Dickens' noun class 4).

(5)   a.   *Tamah   ho   g‡húín*   b.   *hì   ho   hì*
            Herero.2 find dog.2   PRO.2 find PRO.2.P
            The Herero found the dog.   They (Hereros) found them (dogs).

(6)   a.   *g‡húín ó   hà mà*   b.   *hì   ó   hì   hì-sì*
            dog.2 COP 3S POSS.2   PRO.2.P COP PRO.4 POSS.2-P
            The dog is his/her (Herero) one.   They are their ones (dogs). (Pratchett, fn.)

Nouns like *Tamah* 'Herero' and *g‡húín* 'dog' take agreement class 4 in the plural (5b & 6b), but are not gender IV (*hì~hì*) nouns because they take agreement class 1 in the singular (6a).

The Ju|'hoan lexicon yields the following gender system with 2 number sensitive and 3 number insensitive genders. As with Taa (<Tuu), there are more genders than agreement classes.
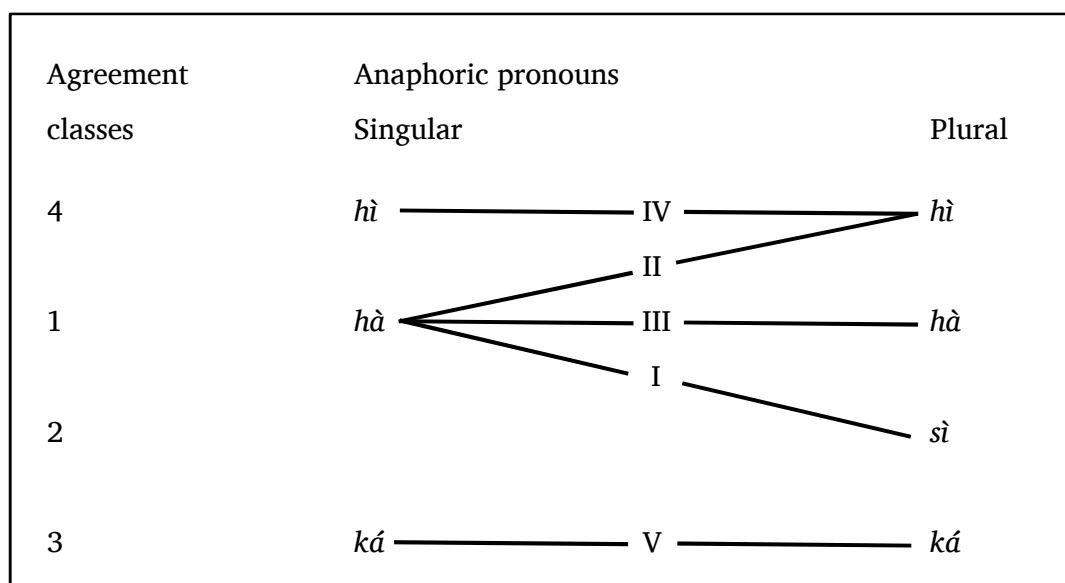

Figure 3. Agreement classes and genders in Tsumkwe Ju|'hoan (Güldemann 2000: 23)

An exhaustive study of the Ju|'hoan lexis results in the follow distribution:

Gender Tokens	I (1/2) 175	II (1/4) 432	III (1/1) 536	IV (4/4) 117	V (3/3) 1147
Semantic core (Dickens 1994, 2005)	humans, family, own group	animals, other ethnicities	plants, plant food	long things	body, verbal nouns, events
own notes	menstrua-tion, Christian	some tools (14), God/devil, body parts (2), bastard	cosmology, weather/land, coordinates, tools/machines (253)		animals (10), animal body parts, some plants (55), groups of animals, mass count

Table 2. Exhaustive overview of genders in Tsumkwe Ju|'hoan, including size and semantic cores

3 Comparative analysis of gender in Southeastern Ju

207 nominal stems distributed across the five genders in T. Ju|'hoan (=subset) were analysed for their classificatory properties in S. Ju|'hoan. The subsequent agreement classes are given below.

Free pronoun	Pronoun as possessum	Proximal demonstrative	Agr. class
hà	*mà*	*hè*	=1
cì	*hì*	*hè*	5
ká	*gá*	*kè*	=3
hì	*hì*	*hè*	=4
sì	*hì*	*hè*	=2

Table 3. Agreement classes based on a sample of 200 nouns

In the following, each subset based on gender assignment in T. Ju|'hoan is considered in turn to establish 1) gender of the tokens in the subset, 2) if all the tokens in the subset have the same gender, 3) shifts within the subsets, and 4) assignment criteria of the prevailing genders

3.1 *hà/sì* gender I 'the human gender'

3.1.1 Tsumkwe Ju|'hoan

175/2407 tokens: pure semantic gender compiled solely of nouns denoting humans (kin etc.)

(7) *dà'ámà*   *hè*   *ó*   *hà*   *mà*
     child.1   DEM.1   COP   3S   POSS.1
     This child is her/his one. (Dickens 1994)

(8) *jú*   *∥'áàn-khòè*   *tè*   *mí*   *n|àqè*   *sì*
     people.1   fight-RECIP   CONJ   1S   stop_fighting   1P
     They were fighting but I stopped them. (Dickens 1994)

'Own-group' vs. 'alien': nouns denoting humans from other groups are excluded from this gender. Herero, Tswana, white people, black people, are all in gender II (see §3.2.2)

One exception is *g!oq* 'period of menstruation': this might be an error. Dickens (1994) also gives *n!úí* 'moon', 'month', 'period of menstruation', which is a gender III noun in the dialect.

3.1.2 Southern Ju|’hoan

Much more complex picture of the “human gender” in S. Ju|’hoan, having evolved a transparent biological gender distinction for kinship terms and some ‘professions’.

		I see him/her	I see them	my one	my ones
!’hàn	‘son’	*mí se **hà***	*mí se **ká***	*… ó mí **mà***	*…ó mí **gá**-sì*
ǂxàè	‘daughter’	*mí se **hà***	*mí se **cì***	*… ó mí **mà***	*…ó mí **hì**-sì*
tsú	‘uncle’	*mí se **hà***	*mí se **ká***	*… ó mí **mà***	*…ó mí **gá**-sì*
g‖àq	‘aunt’	*mí se **hà***	*mí se **cì***	*… ó mí **mà***	*…ó mí **hì**-sì*
!aqèkxàò	‘hunter’	*mí se **hà***	*mí se **ká***	*… ó mí **mà***	*…ó mí **gá**-sì*
‖’áíxà	‘leader’	*mí se **hà***	*mí se **hì***	*… ó mí **mà***	*…ó mí **hì**-sì*

Table 4. Agreement classes in S. Ju|’hoan for nouns taking gender I in T. Ju|’hoan
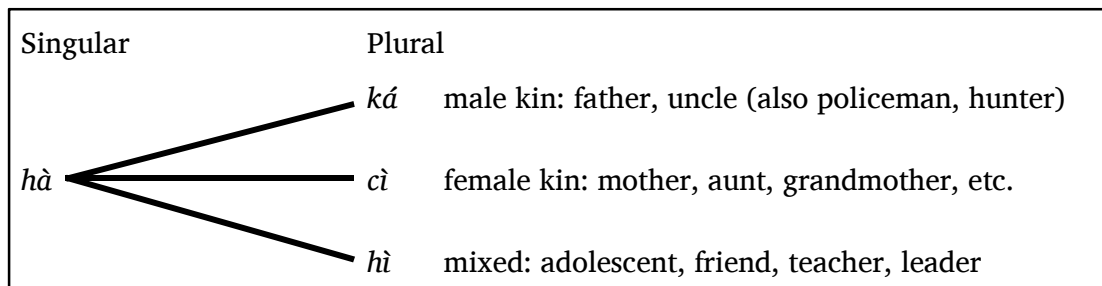

Figure 4. Class agreement pairs for kinship terms in S. Ju|’hoan

Alternatively, underspecified referents in this subset can trigger *hà~sì(-!á)*. This is more frequent with male referents, i.e. *n!àù* ‘elder man’ or *!áríkxàò* ‘adolescent’ (if a group of males is intended)

NB. S. Ju|’hoan varieties differ also in their kinship system to T. Ju|’hoan, in particular where terms for younger siblings have diversified along biological gender lines.

	T. Ju|’hoan	S. Ju|’hoan
younger brother	*tshìn*	*tshì(n)*
younger sister	*tshìn*	*tsìzì(n)*
grandmother	*txún*	*mámà dí’*
grandfather	*!ú n!a’àn*	*mámà g!òq*

Table 5. Some kinship terms in SE Ju varieties

3.2 *hà~hì* gender II 'animals'

3.2.1 Tsumkwe Ju|'hoan

Represents 432/2407 nominal stems (18% of the T. Ju|'hoan lexicon); 397/432 are animals (wild and domesticated)

The remaining 35 nouns incl. ethnicities (Herero, Tswana, white person), spirits (God, devil, ghost) and a tiny minority of inanimate abstract nouns, e.g. *bèkè* 'week' with no obvious semantic core

3.2.2 Southern Ju|'hoan

Subset of 50 gender II nouns analysed: 45 animals, 5 non-animals (4 ethnicities and God). The subset forms two distinct groups of nouns:

		I see 'it'	I see 'them'	I see 'them'	my one	my ones
ǂábé	'Tswana'	*mí se hà*	*mí se sì-!á*	*mí se hì*	*…ó mí mà*	*…ó mí hì-sì*
naro	'Naro'	*mí se hà*	*mí se sì-!á*	*mí se hì*	*…ó mí mà*	*…ó mí hì-sì*
búrú	'Afrikaaner'	*mí se hà*	*mí se sì-!á*	*mí se hì*	*…ó mí mà*	*…ó mí hì-sì*
g‖àòàn	'God'	*mí se hà*	*mí se sì-!á*	**mí se hì*	*…ó mí mà*	*…ó mí hì-sì*
n!háí	'lion'	*mí se hà*	**mí se sì-!á*	*mí se hì*	*…ó mí mà*	*…ó mí hì-sì*
n!háí dí	'lionness'	*mí se hà*	**mí se sì-!á*	*mí se hì*	*…ó mí mà*	*…ó mí hì-sì*

Table 6. Agreement classes in S. Ju|'hoan for nouns taking gender II in T. Ju|'hoan

+ Human animate nouns denoting other 'language groups' can trigger *hà~sì* AND *hà~hì* agreement. The former is for underspecified and male referents, the latter for specifically mixed or female referents. This matches the use of *hà~sì* agreement discussed above

+ Non-human animates (animals) only trigger *hà~hì* agreement independent of biological gender

+ *g‖àòàn* 'God' is inherently male and therefore triggers only *hà~sì* agreement

3.3 *hà~hà* gender III

3.3.1 Tsumkwe Ju|'hoan

Represents 536 nouns in T. Ju|'hoan lexicon (22%) compiled only of inanimates: plants and their food products on one hand and of nouns with no discernible semantic core on the other (Dickens 2005)

Of the 536 nouns with *hà~hà* gender in T. Ju|'hoan, 47% are NOT plants but include: environment and weather terms (land, river, pan, star, moon, rain, hail); the cardinal points (N, E, S, W); and machinery/tools (plough, drill, funnel, wagon, diesel, pen, whip, needle, etc.)

3.3.2 Southern Ju|'hoan

51 tokens in the subset analysed incl. 15 plants, 6 environment terms, and a mixture 15 of traditional and contemporary tools (including lexical borrowings like *kran* 'tap' < Afrikaans)

3 nouns (*díbí* 'salt', *àpèl* 'apple', and *kòcè* 'coffee') were found to trigger *hà~hà* agreement. But the speaker noted that *díbí* could trigger *ká~ká* agreement, *àpèl* and *kòcè hà~hì* agreement

The remaining tokens fall into two semantically overlapping groups

hà~hì							
food/plants				**environment**		**utensils**	
tì	'tea'	*xàè*	'porridge'	*n!úí*	'moon/month'	*útò*	'car'
g‖oeh	'sourplum'	*!'áí*	'camelthorn tree'	*ǂúín*	'star'	*dóngò*	'handpiano'
tamah	'tsamma melon'	*hù'úrú*	'edible bulb'	*n!óré*	'country'	*!xò*	'pipe'
máré	'bread'	*!'hòàn*	'calabash'	*rivier*	'river'	*n‖oq'òbè*	'bottle'
n!oh	'bushman orange'			*tcoq'à*	'hailstone'	*tchoanà*	'loincloth'

Table 7. Tokens of the *hà~hà* subset that in S. Ju|'hoan trigger *hà~hì* agreement

ká~ká							
food/plants		**environment**		**utensils/other**			
g!òq'óró	'onion'	*|ám*	'day'	*g|aàxú*	'chair'	*hofa*	'court'
n|òán	'eland's bean'	*gǂkàá*	'mud'	*náín*	'needle'	*n‖hàè*	'vulture's nest'
n|áng	'raisin'	*g!ámàtzé*	'first rain'	*hàrákà*	'rake'	*kantor*	'office'
gǂúí	'rotten egg'			*kran*	'tap'	*jaqnì*	'helicopter toy'
dcaà	'gembok komkommer'			*kópí*	'cup'	*nǂoàhn*	'story, news'
				|háín	'bag'	*kàrà*	'cart'

Table 8. Tokens of the *hà~hà* subset that in S. Ju|'hoan trigger *ká~ká* agreement

3.4 *hì/hì* gender (IV)

3.4.1 Tsumkwe Ju|'hoan

This represents the smallest 'open' gender (117/2407 or 5%). Dickens (2005: 33) observes no semantic coherence, but suggests 'long things'. However, an exhaustive study demonstrates that 50% of gender IV nouns in fit into four more pervasive groups.

stomach/innards		cultivated food		"trails"		"ceremonial tools"	
n‡àq	's. intestine'	*g‡ù'ú*	'millet'	*‡hà*	'road'	*g|onih*	'leg rattles'
g‡àó	'omasum'	*càmàgà*	'maize'	*|oqnì*	'game path'	*tsaq'ò*	'leg bracelet'
g‡àq'á	'spleen'	*khòbò*	'porridge'	*n!àmà*	'road'	*!húí*	'dec. beads'
zaìhn	'kidney'	*márí*	'maize'	*‡áró*	'ant path'	*g!òq'ín*	'ochre stone
gùbú	'stomach of	*|ù'ísàùn*	'sorghum'	*g!óbé*	'hare path'		used as powder'
	a ruminant'	*g!àq'í*	'rice'	*‖háú*	'game path'	*‖'àbí*	'trad. game'

Table 9. Semantic characteristics of some gender IV nouns in T. Ju|'hoan

It also includes poisons and poisonous creatures like the tsetse fly (*g|ànì* 'fly' is gender II 'animals')

3.4.2 Southern Ju|'hoan

Only 10/25 tokens of the *hì~hì* subset maintain *hì~hì* agreement:

			hì/hì		
dà'á	'fire' and 'firewood'	*g!ò'm*	'vagina'	*djòq'óró*	'leg rattles'
toahn	'wild cucumber'	*g!o*	'ostrich eggshell beads'	*n!àmn!àm*	'stretchmarks'
‡xanì	'book'	*g!oeh*	'shoe'	(*zò*	'bee, honey')

Table 10. Tokens of the *hì~hì* subset that in S. Ju|'hoan trigger *hì~hì* agreement

The remaining tokens (with two exceptions) trigger *ká~ká* agreement.

			ká~ká				
zaìhn	'kidney'	*g‡àq'á*	'spleen'	*g!òq'ín*	'ochre stone'	*n!àmà*	'road'
n‡àq	's. intestine'	*gùbú*	'omasum'	*kérésì*	'candle'	*‡hà*	'road'
!òq'ín	'vein	*‖'àbí*	'trad. game'	*g‡úí*	'springhare hook'		

Table 11. Tokens of the *hì~hì* subset that in S. Ju|'hoan trigger *ká~ká* agreement

The shift involving *hì~hì* nouns to *ká~ká* gender in S. Ju|'hoan is at least partially semantically motivated: *ká~ká* is the principle gender for body parts.

The two exceptions are *càmàgà* 'maize' and *ráísì* 'rice' which both adopt *hà~hì* agreement. The speaker was unsure about the classification of *zò* 'honey' but settled for *hì~hì.*

3.5 *ká~ká* gender V

3.5.1 Tsumkwe Ju|'hoan

This is the largest gender accounting for 48% of the lexicon (1147/2407), encompassing several discernible semantic cores: body parts, mass count (incl. herds), abstract nouns, verbal nouns, and small group of plant nouns (53 nouns, including generic words for 'grass' and 'tree')

(9) *hà   ḿ   kòkxúí kòkxúí   ó   mí   hìn   gá*
     3S   ECT speak   language.5 COP 1S   EMPH   POSS.5
     He speaks my language. (Pratchett, fn.)

3.5.2 Southern Ju|'hoan

Subset of 51 nouns analysed: 50 nouns trigger *ká~ká* agreement (like in T. Ju|'hoan)

Verbal nouns		Body Parts		Mass count/Plant (generic)/Other					
ǂ'áng	'thought'	*àmà*	'body'	*ǀ'áng*	'blood'	*dòàqrà*	'leaf'	*tjù*	'house'
khúí	'pain'	*ǀhó*	'face'	*kxá*	'sand'	*!aìhn*	'tree'	*!'óm*	'side'
ǂà'ú	'coldness'	*ǂhàn*	'arm'	*!xàrí*	'beer'	*ǁ'àì*	'grass'	*dìn*	'bottom'
zì	'shit'	*!ká*	'heart'	*ǁ'áé*	'time'	*gò'm*	'gum'	*tcí*	'thing'
ǀkàè	'sickness'	*tcoq'ò*	'lung'	*!há*	'meat/animal'	*!áí*	'digging stick'	*!ú*	'name'

Table 12. Tokens of the *ká~ká* subset that in S. Ju|'hoan trigger *ká~ká* agreement

The only exception is *ǀ'úrí* 'bicycle' which triggers *hà~hì* agreement

3.6 Results: Gender system of Southern Ju|'hoan

This section summarises the data in §3.1 – §3.5 and answers the questions set out in §2.2. The sample of 207 nouns yields the following agreement class pairs:

	hà~kà	*hà~cì*	*hà~sì*	*hà~hì*	*hà~hà*	*hì~hì*	*kà~kà*
Tokens in T. Ju|'hoan	nil	nil	25	50	51	30	51
Tokens in S. Ju|'hoan	10	9	30	77	3	10	93

Table 13. Distribution of 207 nouns across 7 agreement class pairs in two SE Ju varieties

1) *What genders does the sample yield in Southern Ju|'hoan?*

On the basis of the data analysed in §3.1 - §3.5, S. Ju|'hoan has 6 genders (Ia, Ib, Ic, II, IV, and V) and 1 inquorate gender (III). Gender IV is not yet considered inquorate in this dialect (discussed further in §4.1.2 below)
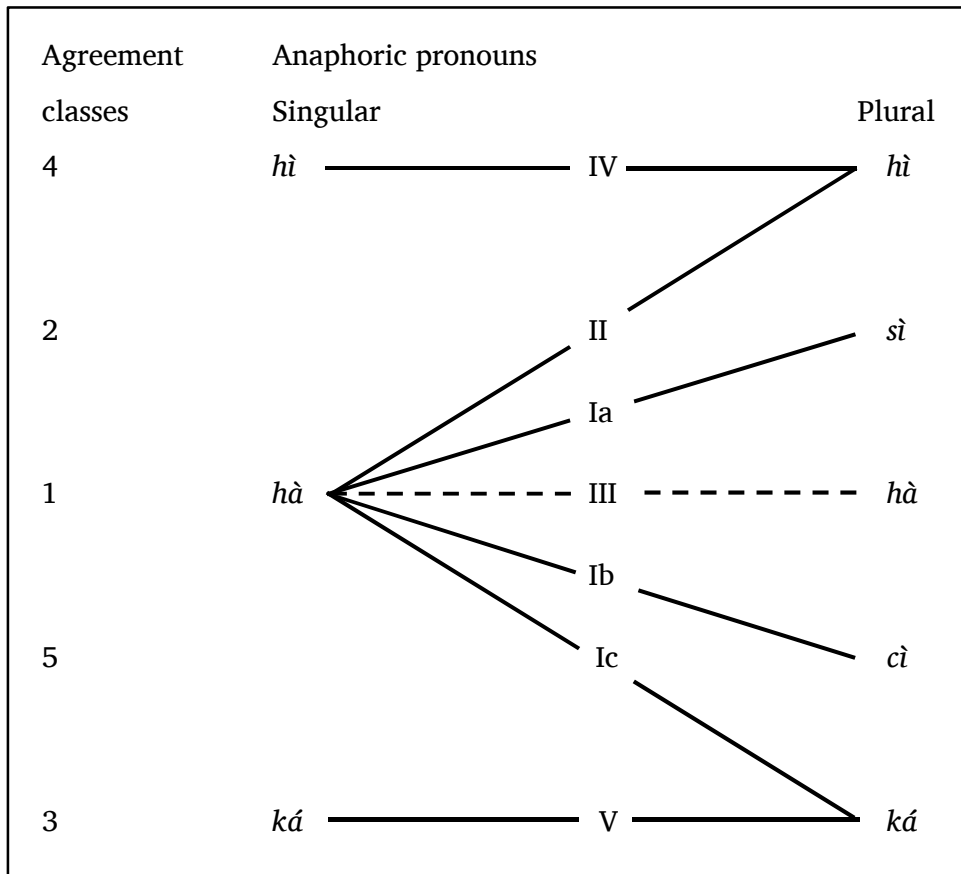
Figure 5. Gender system of S. Ju|'hoan. Inquorate gender marked with a dashed line.

To enable a direct comparison, I will adopt labels from T. Ju|'hoan for formally identical genders in S. Ju|'hoan i.e. for *kà~kà* is gender V in both dialects

2) *Do all the tokens within the subset have the same gender?*

Table 13 above clearly shows that irrespective of the form of agreement markers, the subsets are reclassified to different extents from one dialect to another, i.e. 50 nouns in T. Ju|'hoan which are grouped together on account of their agreement class pair cannot be regrouped in S. Ju|'hoan

As new agreement classes are confined to kinship terms, it must be assumed that the reclassification involves conflation of genders and not the creation of new ones

3) *Are there shifts across the subsets?*

There are two notable shifts causing a significant reclassification of the lexicon: half of gender III is conflated into gender II in S. Ju|'hoan, and the other half of gender III together with half of gender IV is conflated into gender V
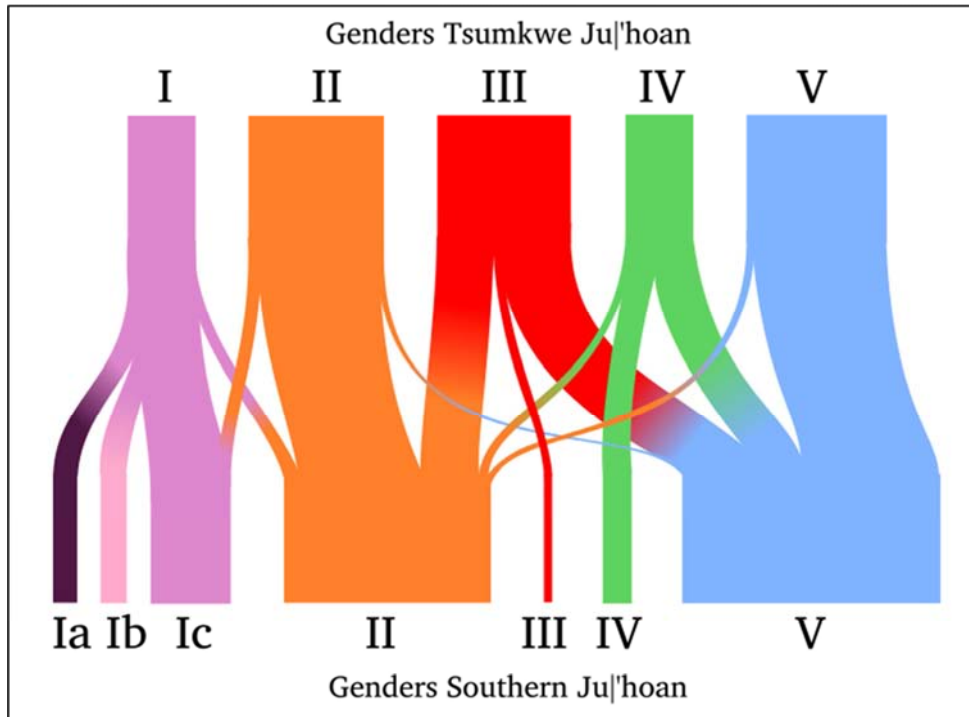
Figure 6. A comparison of noun classification based on 207 nouns

Despite gender IV representing the gender with the fewest adherents, a larger number from a smaller sample showed more 'stay-power' than the sample of gender III nouns. Even the three nouns with *hà~hà* gender were borderline cases

Gender I 'the human gender' gives rise to three genders in S. Ju|'hoan, labelled Ia, Ib, and Ic. (*hà~cì*, *hà~ká* and *hà~sì* respectively)

NB. ALL gender I nouns in the same could potentially trigger *hà~sì* agreement and for that reason there is a 100% match between gender I in T. Ju|'hoan and gender Ic in S. Ju|'hoan. Ia and Ib are compiled of only those nouns which trigger the respective agreement patterns. Only one noun triggers exclusively *hà~sì* agreement: *g‖àòàn* 'God'.

The smaller shifts could be anomalies in the T. Ju|'hoan data, i.e. the one token from II → V is *bèkè* 'week'

4) *What are the assignment criteria for the prevailing genders?*

	Free pronoun	Pronoun as possessum	Proximal demonstrative	Semantic core with inanimates	Semantic core with animates
1	*hà*	*mà*	*hè*	singular (most plants)	singular
2	*sì*	*hì*	*hè*	-	plural human: underspecified, male, god
3	*ká*	*gá*	*kè*	body parts, verbal nouns, liquids, mass count.	plural male kin
4	*hì*	*hì*	*hè*	plural (singular for a small group of nouns)	plural human: female or mix
5	*cì*	*hì*	*hè*	-	plural female kin

Table 14. Agreement classes and dominant semantic cores in S. Ju|'hoan

Semantic criteria:

1. S. Ju|'hoan has a clear cut gender for kinship terms with biological gender distinction; males kin terms triggers 1/3 and female kin terms 1/5. This echoes previous authors (Bleek 1928, Köhler 1981) who allude to *sì* being more commonly used for females and *sì!á* for males

2. Animates are distinguished between human and non-human, as human nouns commonly take 1/2 agreement and animals do not (discussed further in §3.7)

3. The majority of animals trigger 1/4 agreement like in T. Ju|'hoan. Mutual exceptions include *!há* 'meat/animal' and nouns denoting herds, groups, etc. which are gender V

4. Inanimates are split across 1/4, 3/3, and 4/4 agreement. Plants are split across two genders 1/4 and 3/3 (versus are 1/1 in T. Ju|'hoan)

5. Body parts, verbal nouns, liquids, and mass count nouns trigger 3/3 agreement in both varieties

Difficult to form a hierarchy within the criteria:

(10) *!'ábí-s-à   tsè   kè |xoà è   kò   kíí   !'ábí   ká*
     horse.5-P-REL   be_these   DEM.5   also   2P.EXCL   PST   IPFV   ride   5.P
     These horses too, we were riding them. (Pratchett, epu01 2011)

Morphological criteria: *none*? It is possible that the almost universal marking of number on nouns by way of affix –*sì* has influenced the marking of number on the targets

3.7 Final observations

Despite the classification, three points need to be taken into consideration

I) It is common for referents not to be taken up anaphorically

(11) {"And when it rains, and we see that we are becoming hungry…}

‖'àká è-!á   kò   kíí g‖àè n‖òm   g!xà |'hún   ká !xòè
then   1P.EXCL-P PST IPFV arrive flush out   steenbok.2 and chase

ká   !xòè cíí n‖hoò   ká !xòè ká ‖'aka è-!á   g‖àè !hún
and chase walk wander and chase and then 1P.EXCL-P arrive kill

ká   gù   ká   tcxò   ká   è   kòà cíí ká kíí 'ḿ
and take and slaughter and 1P.EXCL-P LOC.5 lay and FUT eat

(…) Then we used to flush out a steenbok and chase (it) and chase (it) around and chase
(it) and then we kill (it) and take (it) and slaughter (it) and we sleep there and eat (it?).

(Pratchett, fn. Epukiro 2011)

II) The use of certain rhetoric devices pervade even the strictest gender assignment rules

(12) a. {'Lion and Hare go hunting together…'}

tè   ká   sá   g‖àè kíí !àqè ‖káé-à-khòè   kòm
and when 3DU arrive IPFV hunt together-TR-RCPR TOP

And when they were hunting together, {Lion said to Hare "I'm really hungry"}.

b. {Lion is lured into the kraal and Hare says he'll die of hunger.}

tè   sì   hìn   gè   tè   ű
CONJ 1P   EMPH stay CONJ go

Then they [hares] leave. (Pratchett, sko01 2011)

III) Evidence from texts sometimes contradicts what a speaker says in elicitation

(13) {From Finite Story. "The firemen hold their tools…}

tè   kà   gè   tè   kíí tcàq !hún-à dà'á kò   g!ú
and now exist COMP IPFV pour kill-TR fire.4 MPO water.5

dà'á sì-!á kíí   tcàq !hún hà
fire.4 3-P IPFV pour kill PRO.1

And keep extinguishing the fire with water. As for the fire, they are extinguishing it.

(Pratchett tsu 2014)

4 A system more OR less Ju?

This section briefly considers how the S. Ju|'hoan system compares to other Ju varieties

4.1 Northwestern !Xun

NW !Xun has 4 genders, lacks the *sì* agreement class (class 2). 1 number sensitive, 3 number-insensitive genders (König & Heine 2001: 60)
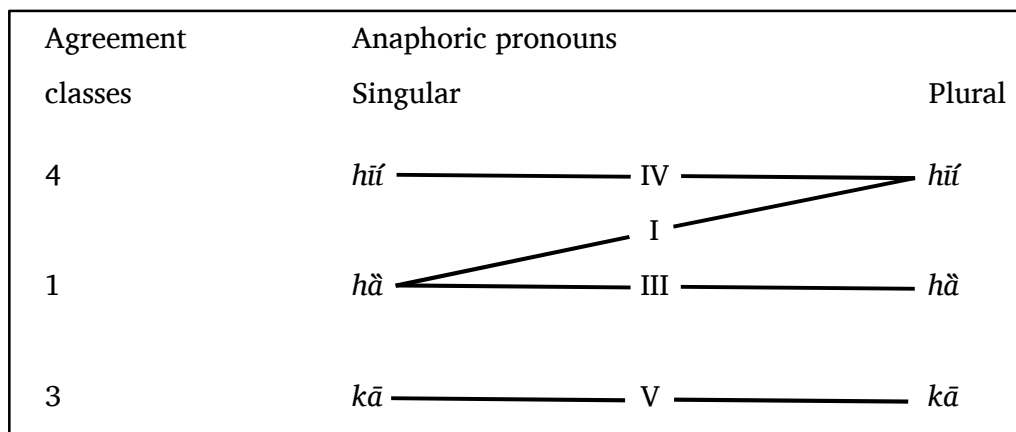

Figure 7. Agreement classes and genders in NW !Xun

		Semantic core NW !Xun	Corresponds to in SE Ju...
1/4	singular/plural	human beings, a few inanimate nouns	Some humans, animals (T & S) and plants (S)
1	transnumeral	plants and plant products, animals	plants and plant products (T)
3	transnumeral	inanimate nouns, body parts, abstract nouns	body parts, verbal nouns, abstract nouns, etc. (T & S)
4	transnumeral	mostly inanimate nouns	small group of inanimate nouns

Table 15. Comparison of genders and semantic assignment in NW !Xun and SE Ju

Table 15 above illustrates the obvious parallels between NW !Xun and the SE Ju dialects, but two genders in particular are more revealing and will be treated briefly here.

4.1.1 A kinship gender?

"[T]here is a separate agreement pattern, where [...] *cŋ̀* is a pronominal marker. This pattern is largely confined to the plural of kinship terms".

"The main reason for not treating kinship as constituting a separate noun class is, first, that its agreement marker can optionally be replaced by the class [4] marker *yĭí*, and, second, because there is no separate agreement marker on the possessee pronouns." (König 2008: 60f)

This would yield a fifth agreement class *hằ/cǐ̧* and König's data shows it can be used with both male and female referents (see below)

(14)   *dằhmà*   **yíí**   *ņ̃ǐ*

woman   PRO.4   PR

these women (König 2003: 58)

(15)   *djù*   *bā-hǐ̧*   **cǐ̧**   *ǐ̧ǐ̧*

1P.EXCL   father.1-P   3P   PR

These are our fathers. (König 2003: 60)

(16)   **cǐ̧**   *má*   *djù*   **yíí**

3P   TOP   1P.EXCL   POSS.4

They are ours (i.e. wives). (König 2003: 61)

Despite not recognising a separate kinship gender, this element of the NW !Xun system highly resembles the S. Ju|'hoan gender system described above. I will continue to analyse the kinship as a separate gender because:

+ strong biological gender distinction, and

+ gender pair *hà/ká* in S. Ju|'hoan for male kin terms is the exceptional: *ká* agreement can otherwise never be used with a human noun and this must be acknowledged in the gender system.

I would argue for acknowledging hằ/cǐ̧ as a gender in NW !Xun.

4.1.2 Gender IV: a measure of cultural change?

Approx. 25% of the nouns with *hi/hi* gender in NW !Xun have *hì/hì* gender in T. Ju|'hoan (27/110)

Northwestern !Xun		Tsumkwe Ju|'hoan		Southern Ju|'hoan	
dà'á	'fire'	*dà'á*	'fire', 'firewood'	*dà'á*	'fire'
‖hanni	'paper'	*ǂxani, ǂxanu*	'paper', 'book'	*ǂxani*	'paper', 'book'
zo	'honey/bee'	*zo*	'honey', 'bee'	*zo*	'honey', 'bee'
g‖ohan	'shoe'	*g!oah*	'shoe'	*g!oeh*	'shoe'
?		*g|onih*	'leg rattles'	*djoqro*	'leg rattles'
?		*!hui*	'decorative beads'	*g!o*	'ostrich eggshell beads'

Table 16. Some gender IV nouns in NW !Xun and SE Ju varieties

Cultivated food and plants (rice, maize, bread, porridge) all trigger *híí/híí* agreement in NW !Xun. Other plants trigger *hà/hà* agreement. Beer, unlike other liquids also triggers *híí/híí* agreement

This is also true in T. Ju|'hoan. In S. Ju|'hoan, crops and their produce join the plants in the *hà/hì* gender. Beer joins other liquids in gender V in both T. Ju|'hoan and S. Ju|'hoan.

+ *Mirror of economy?* The S. Ju|'hoan communities are much more exposed to the 'cattle economy' and heavily dependent on cultivated foods. *Normalisation of such terms?*

+ Also contains many semantically very specific terms for poisons and practices that are no longer possible – *attrition of lexicon parallel to cultural attrition.*

Hypothesis: gender IV will probably continue to diminish in size. Semantic coherence only recoverable by observing neighbouring dialects.

5 Summary and conclusions

The dialect studied for this study has 6 genders (Ia, Ib, Ic, II, IV, and V) and 1 inquorate gender (III) based on the study sample. S. Ju|'hoan is more number-sensitive than T. Ju|'hoan

The 'human gender' in S. Ju|'hoan exhibits many contrasts compared to T. Ju|'hoan: kinship gender, biological sex distinction, no apparent 'own group' vs. alien distinction. In doing so, the variety is in this respect quite similar to NW !Xun

Despite reclassification, agreement classes are consistent and predictable: *ká* is the only pronoun with *gá* as a possessive pronoun. New genders are formed out of established agreement classes.

Nouns with *hà~hà* gender (III) shift to *hà~hì* gender (II) in the study: similar situation in NW !Xun.

Many nouns with *hì~hì* gender (IV) shift to *ká~ká* gender (V). A small group of gender (IV) nouns continue to trigger *hì~hì* agreement, the most salient of which are *dà'á* 'fire', *ǂxani* 'paper' and *g!oeh* 'shoe' which are in gender IV in Northwestern !Xun. The semantic coherence of gender IV is more revealing than posited by Dickens (1994, 2005).

A very preliminary comparison with other SE Ju varieties (Groot Laagte) reveals an even greater attrition of genders III and IV, and an underspecified human gender *hà~sì* (no biological sex distinction, no kinship gender, no own-group vs. other).

Outlooks: to what extent is the gender system of Khoekhoegowab influence S. Ju|'hoan? How frequently are the kinship genders used? For this a very specific corpus would be needed.

Abbreviations

CONJ	Conjunction		P	Plural
COP	Copula		POSS	Possessive pronoun
DEM	Demonstrative (verbal)		PRO	Pronoun (free)
DU	Dual		PST	Past
ECT	Entity-central theticity marker		RCPR	Reciprocal
EMPH	Emphatic pronoun		REL	Relative
EXCL	Exclusive		S	Singular
FUT	Future		S. Ju|'hoan	Southern Ju|'hoan dialect
IPFV	Imperfective		SE	Southeastern Ju (dialect cluster)
LOC	Locative		T. Ju|'hoan	Tsumkwe Ju|'hoan dialect
MPO	Multi-purpose oblique		TOP	Topic
			TR	Transitivising particle

Arabic numerals (1, 2, 3, 4, 5) refer to agreement classes

Roman numerals (I, II, III, IV, V) refer to genders

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