Afrikalinguistisches Kolloquium
Seminar für Afrikawissenschaft
Humboldt Universität zu Berlin

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Dissertation:

Dialect diversity in south-eastern Ju varieties: Documentation of ǂX'ao-ǁ'aen

THE HANS RAUSING
Endangered Languages Project
*Because every last word means
another lost world...*
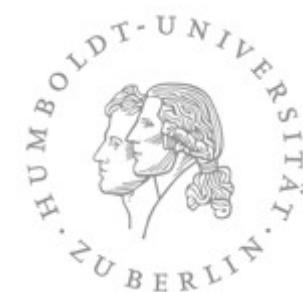
Presentation Overview

- Review of ǂX'ao-ǁ'aen & Language Situation

- Multi-Site Documentation: the 'Community'

- Cross-Khoesan Contact

  Lexical Evidence

  Morphosyntactic Evidence

  Phonological Evidence

  Extra-linguistic Evidence

- Next Step

Review of ‡X'ao-ǁ'aen & Language Situation
Multiple-Site Documentation: define the 'Community'
Divergence-Convergence-Contact
Next Step

"Khoesan"

3 language families

- Khoe-Kwadi

- Kx'a (Ju-‡Hoan)

- Tuu
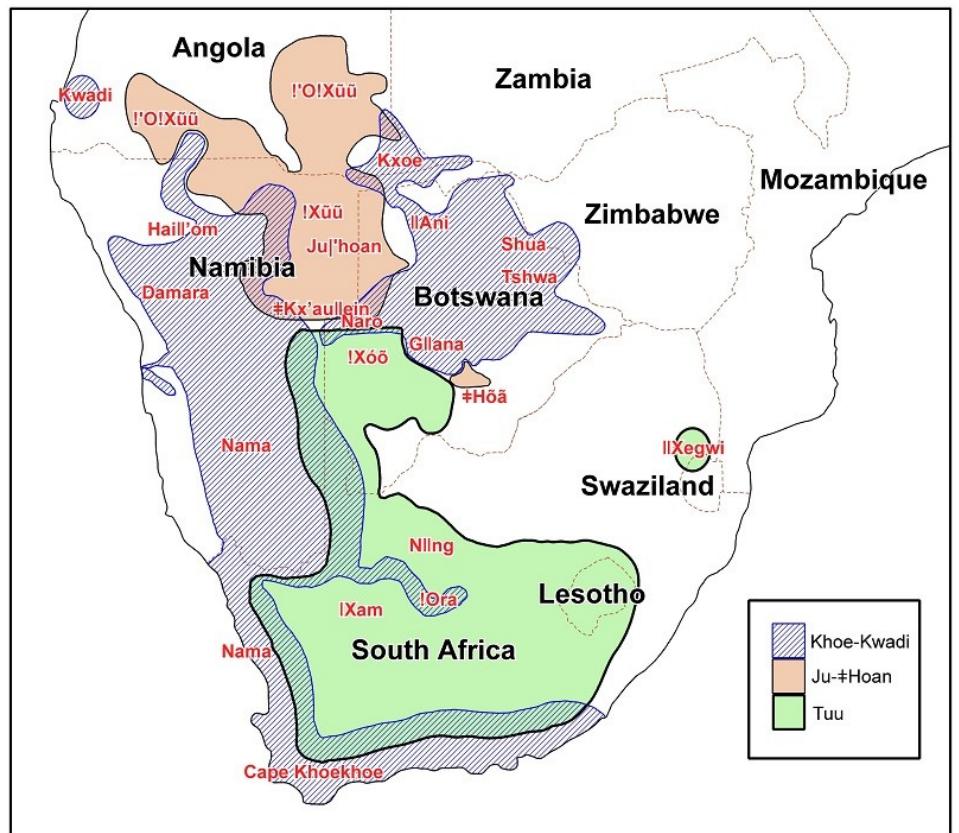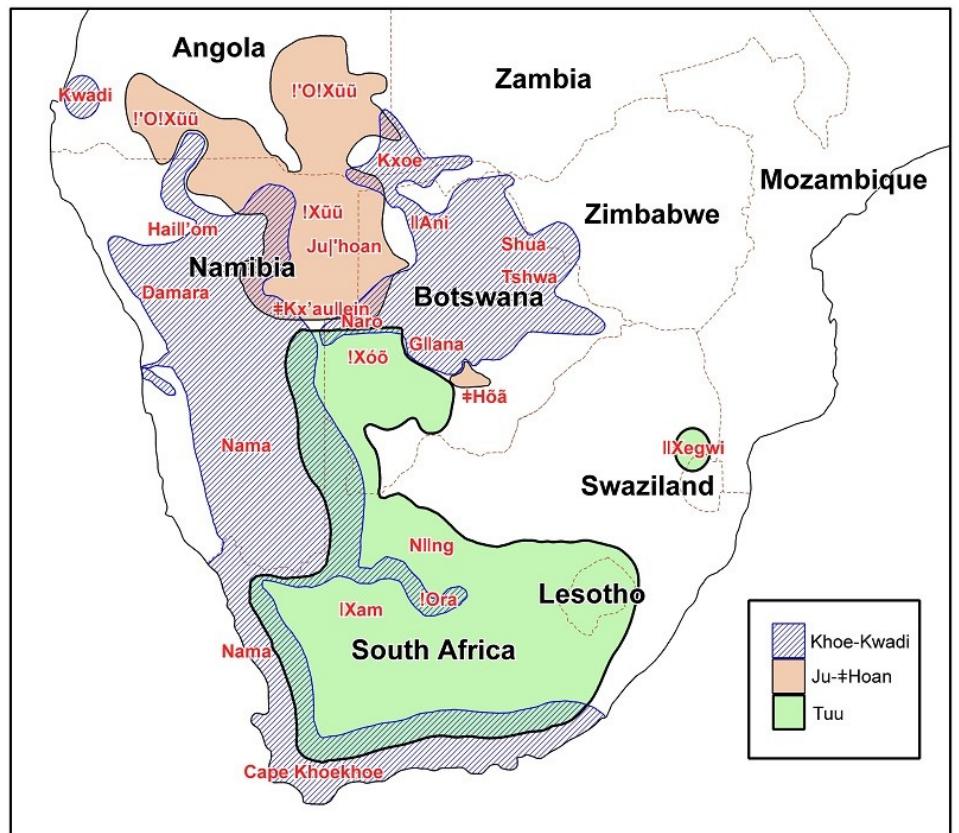
Review of ǂX'ao-ǁ'aen & Language Situation
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Next Step

"Khoesan"

3 language groupings

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- Kx'a (Ju-ǂHoan)

- Tuu

Review of ‡X'ao-‖'aen & Language Situation
Multiple-Site Documentation: define the 'Community'
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Next Step

Kx'a

Formerly known as Northern Khoisan & Ju-‡Hoan

Ju - single language-complex of
  varying mutual intelligibility

‡Hoan – distant relative

Kx'a

Formerly known as Northern Khoisan & Ju-ǂHoan

Ju - single language-complex of
  varying mutual intelligibility

ǂHoan – distant relative

Review of ǂX'ao-ǁ'aen & Language Situation
Multiple-Site Documentation: define the 'Community'
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Next Step

Ju

Three largely agreed upon sub-branches

- Western

- Central

- South-Eastern

E1 Juǀ'hoan

E2 Dikundu

E3 ǂX'ao-ǁ'aen

Review of ǂX'ao-ǁ'aen & Language Situation
Multiple-Site Documentation: define the 'Community'
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Ju

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E1 Juǀ'hoan

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Review of ǂX'ao-ǁ'aen & Language Situation
Multiple-Site Documentation: define the 'Community'
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Next Step

ǂX'ao-ǁ'aen (also ǂKx'au-ǁ'ein, ǁau-ǁ'en)

- iso: [aue]

- Other names: Auen, |Auen, Kaukau, Sekaukau, Juǀ'hoan

- SAK Hunter-gatherers

- *ǂX'ao-ǁ'aen*: Naro (Khoe-Kwadi) exonym meaning "people of the north"

- Self-identify as *Juǀ'hoan* "true people" in most parts of Namibia and as *ǂX'ao-ǁ'aen* in Botswana

Multiple-Site Documentation: define the 'Community'

- 11 different sites so far

- Trips to Tsumkwe, Eiseb, Hanahai & farms in the Ghanzi farming block planned

- Varying sociolinguistic factors at each site
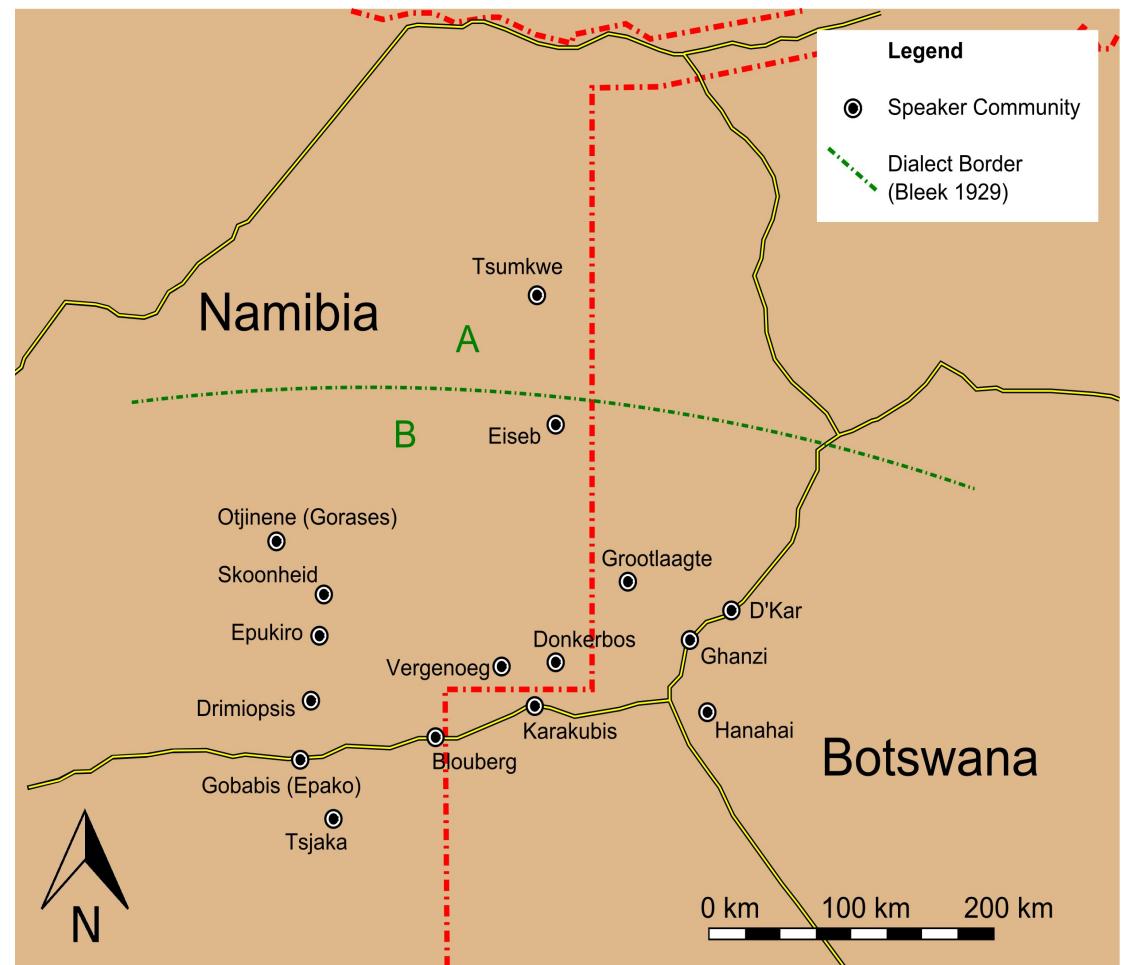
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Multiple-Site Documentation: define the 'Community'
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Next Step

- Challenges of defining "the community"?

Review of ‡X'ao-ǁ'aen & Language Situation
Multiple-Site Documentation: define the 'Community'
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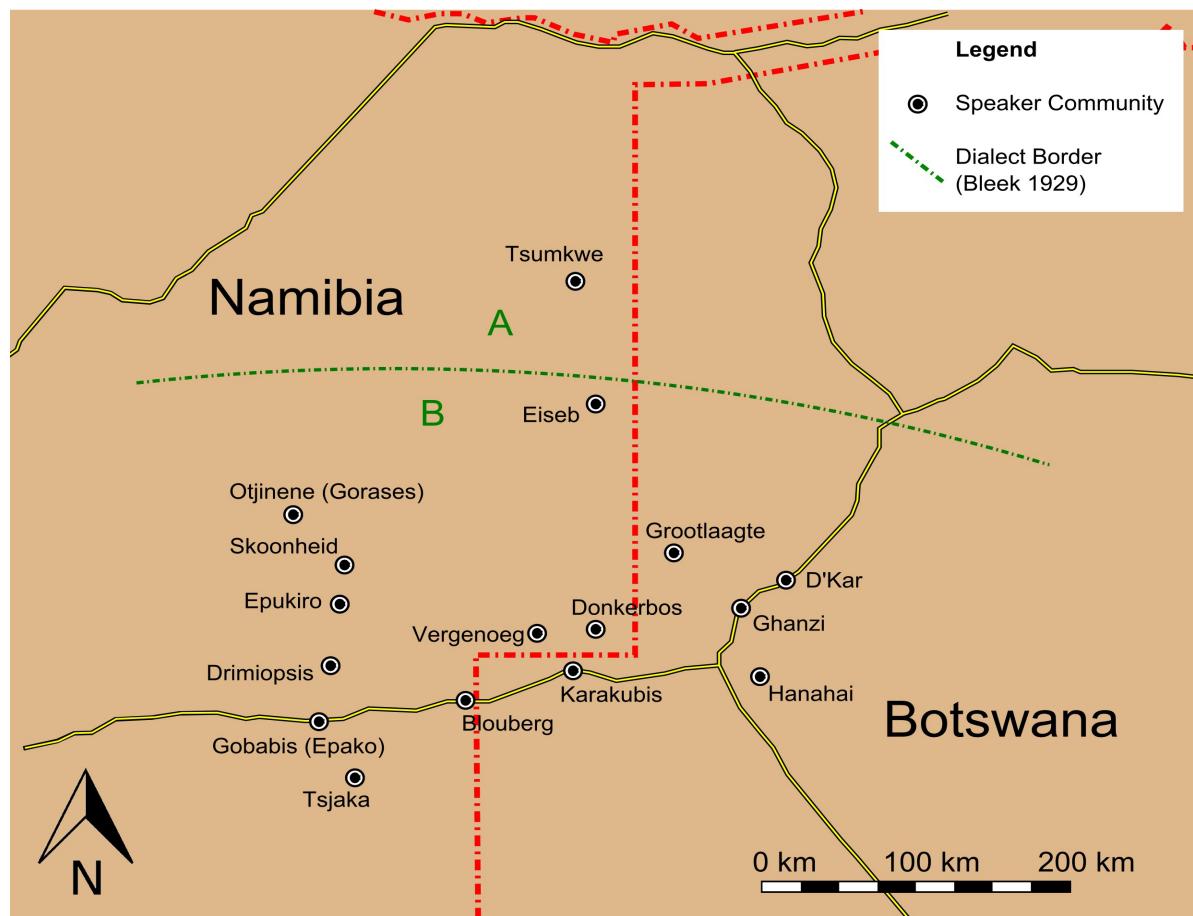
# Summary of Results: Juǀ'hoan (E1) vs. ‡X'ao-ǁ'aen (E3)

- considerable lexical divergence*

- syntactic divergence *

- phonological divergence*

*Based on Juǀ'hoan dictionary & Juǀ'hoan grammar (Dickens 1994, 1995)

 Data: KBA 700 wordlist, Groot Laagte, Botswana (2012); Biesele et al. 2009; Dickens 1994, 1995

Review of ǂX'ao-ǁ'aen & Language Situation
Multiple-Site Documentation: define the 'Community'
Divergence-Convergence-Contact: Lexicon
Next Step

Lexical Divergence

Review of ǂX'ao-ǁ'aen & Language Situation
Multiple-Site Documentation: define the 'Community'
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Next Step

Lexical Divergence between E1 and E3:

    - majority of lexemes surveyed are cognates in E1 and E3

    - for some semantic domains close to 100% cognates (body parts)

	E1	E3	!Xun
Cheek	!omm/gǀam	!'obikxai	gǀằhŋ̄

    - some semantic domains (food/animal husbandry) can be explained

      by considering contact with hunter-gatherer and pastoralist groups

Divgergence-Convergence-Contact: Lexicon

	E1	E3		E1	E3
to curse	za	**ǀxui**	*wind*	maq	**ǂ'aa**
to teach	n!aroh	**ǁxanǁxan**	*to chat*	nǂoahn	**ǀhoa**
to be tired	ǂkam	**ǁ'hui**	*to g. birth*	gǀa'i	**maq**
calabash	!'hoan	**xaba**	*pig*	ǀ'hoan	**ǁxuu**
bull	gumi	**ǁoo**	*stick*	!aihn	**gǁom**
potato	nǀhuin	**ǁ'ore**	*PP*	!u n!a'an	**mama**
to shut	!'o	**ǂ'ankxam**	*to open*	!'oahn	**ǁxabe**

Divgergence-Convergence-Contact: Lexicon

	E3	Naro		E3	Naro
to curse	ǀxui	**ǀxui**	*wind*	‡'ang	**‡'aan**
to teach	ǁxanǁxan	**ǁxanǁxan**	*to chat*	ǀhoa	**ǀhoa**
to be tired	ǁ'hui	**ǁ'hoe**	*to g. birth*	maq	
calabash	xaba	**kx'aba**	*pig*	ǁxuu	**ǁxuu**
bull	ǁoo	**ǁoo**	*stick*	gǁom	**gǁom**
potato	ǁ'ore	**ǁ'ore**	*PP*	mama	**mama**
to shut	‡'ainkxam	**‡'enkxam**	*to open*	ǁxabe	**ǁxobe**

Review of ǂX'ao-ǁ'aen & Language Situation
Multiple-Site Documentation: define the 'Community'
Divergence-Convergence-Contact: Lexicon
Next Step

Preliminary Conclusions:

- Naro possibly the source of lexical divergence between E1 and E3?

- Groot Laagte extreme example of contact situation with Naro.

    Less lexical diffusion in other communities?

Divergence-Convergence-Contact: Lexicon

	N/W (!Xun)	E1 (Juǀ'hoan)	E3 (‡X'aoǁ'aen)	Naro	Taa
to drink (cold)	cŋ	tcam	tcam/tsam	tsam	sam (hot)
to boil	kx'uli	xoana	kxo-kxoara	kxoh-kxoara	ǁaom dzihi
calabash	!'hoan	!'hoan	xaba	kx'aba	
kraal		!hu, gǁamm	ǁxari	ǁxari	ǁama
to look after		kuri	kore	kore	
warthog	ǀxu, ǀhalu	ǀ'hoan	ǁxuu	ǁxuu	ǁxou
monkey	ǁae	ǀoara	ǀoara	ǀoara	tshoni
monkey *(Bleek 1929)*		ǁkx'ei	ǁkx'e	gǀoraba	ǁkx'a

Review of ǂX'ao-ǁ'aen & Language Situation
Multiple-Site Documentation: define the 'Community'
Divergence-Convergence-Contact: Lexicon
Next Step

	N/W (!Xun)	E1 (Juǀ'hoan)	E3 (ǂX'aoǁ'aen)	Naro	Nama	Taa
to agree	ǁǃm (to appreciate)	ǂom	gǂom	gǂom	ma.nǃagu	gǂum
to open	ǁxomu (s.t. blocked)	ǁxabe (untie, set free)	ǁxabe	ǁxobe	ǁkhopa, khoba	ǁo'a, gǁqhube
to wipe clean	ǃǃhu	gǂhu	gǂhu	ǂhu	ǀom nǁa	nǀam
to think	ǃǃ'ŋ	ǂ'ang	ǂ'ang	ǂ'eng	ǂai	ǂ'an-si
to meet	ǁkx'aea	ǁkx'aea khoe	ǁkx'aea khoe	ǁkx'ae		
small intestine		nǂaq	nǂaq	nǂaq		
elbow	ǃhulu	ǂhuni	ǂhuni	ǂhuni	ǃuni	Gǂxubi, gǂqhuli
to start, begin	coacoa	tchoatchoa	tchoatchoa	tshoatshoa	tsoatsoa	Tshoatshoa
to be finished	ko, ǁanni, toan	ǀoara, toan	ǁxan	ǁxaan	toa	ǁkx'aan, ǁkx'ala
be first, first	kx'a	kx'aice, kx'aina		kx'aika	gǂuro	kx'a

Review of ‡X'ao-‖'aen & Language Situation
Multiple-Site Documentation: define the 'Community'
Divergence-Convergence-Contact: Lexicon
Next Step

Historical Khoesan Split: Khoe vs. Non-Khoe

	Non-Khoe				**Khoe**	
	TUU	**KX'A**			**KHOE**	
	Taa	**Ju**			**Naro**	**Nama**
		N/W	*E1*	*E3*		
to agree	gǂum	‖!m	ǂom	gǂom	gǂom	ma.n!agu
to drink (cold)	sam (hot)	cŋ	tcam	tsam	tsam	a, kx'aa
to set a trap	‖xau	‖xau	‖xau	‖xau	‖xau	n‖oa
first, be first	kx'a	kx'a	kx'aice	-	kx'a	gǂuro
to wash	!quu	g‖kx'a	‖kx'a	‖kx'a	‖kx'a	‖'a
be finished	‖kx'aan	‖anni	toan	‖xan	‖xaan	toan
kraal	‖ama	-	g‖amm	‖xari	‖xari	!hara

Review of ‡X'ao-‖'aen & Language Situation
Multiple-Site Documentation: define the 'Community'
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Next Step

Historical Khoesan Split: Khoe vs. Non-Khoe

	Non-Khoe				**Khoe**	
	TUU	**KX'A**			**KHOE**	
	Taa	**Ju**			**Naro**	**Nama**
		N/W	*E1*	*E3*		
to agree	g‡um	‼m	‡om	g‡om	g‡om	ma.n!agu
to drink (cold)	sam (hot)	cŋ	tcam	tsam	tsam	a, kx'aa
to set a trap	‖xau	‖xau	‖xau	‖xau	‖xau	n‖oa
first, be first	kx'a	kx'a	kx'aice	-	kx'a	g‡uro
to wash	!quu	g‖kx'a	‖kx'a	‖kx'a	‖kx'a	‖'a
be finished	‖kx'aan	‖anni	toan	‖xan	‖xaan	toan
kraal	‖ama	-	g‖amm	‖xari	‖xari	!hara

Review of ǂX'ao-ǁ'aen & Language Situation
Multiple-Site Documentation: define the 'Community'
Divergence-Convergence-Contact: Syntax
Next Step

Syntactic Divergence

Review of ‡X'ao-ǁ'aen & Language Situation
Multiple-Site Documentation: define the 'Community'
Divergence-Convergence-Contact: Syntax
Next Step

Question markers:

E1   ha   gǀa'a-si   **re**   o   kore?
        3S   eye-PL   Q   COP   where
        where are his eyes?   (Biesele 1971)

E1   a   **re**   o   ‡xai?
        2S   Q   COP   be awake
        How are you? [lit. are you awake?]   (Dickens 1994)

E3   a   **ba**   ‡xai?
        2S   Q   be awake
        How are you? (lit. are you awake?)   (LP 2012)

?   ju   nǀui   **xae**?
        person   other   Q
        Who is this person?   (Biesele 1971)

Review of ‡X'ao-ǁ'aen & Language Situation
Multiple-Site Documentation: define the 'Community'
Divergence-Convergence-Contact: Syntax
Next Step

Question markers:

(1a)   a   **ba**   ǁkae   ǀho   ha   dshau ?
                2S   Q   meet   face DEM wife
                Have you met his wife   (KK.kba700.GL.2011_12_12.003-002)

(1b)   ha   **ba**   du   tsi   ǁa'ike ?
                3S   Q   EMPH   come   today
                Will she come today?   (KK.kba700.GL.2011_12_12.010-037)

(1c)   a   gǀa'a -si   **xa**   !aun? e'e mi   ǀhui -si   kom ku   !aun
                DEM eye PL   Q   hurt   no DEM ear PL ?   IPFV hurt
                Do your eyes hurt? No, my ears hurt.   (KK.kba700.GL.2011_12_12.006-086)

(1d)   a   **ba** **xa** 'm   a   !kx'a ?
                2S   Q   Q   eat   ?   heart
                Will/Would you eat the heart?   (KK.kba700.GL.2011_12_12.006-126)

Review of ǂX'ao-ǁ'aen & Language Situation
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Next Step

Morphosyntactic Convergence? ǂX'ao-ǁ'aen & Naro

Naro   xae: question marker (the speaker is unsatisfied in a sense) (Visser 2001)

Variations: bae <ba xae

(2a)   dii   **ba xae** ?
             who   Q
             who? Who are you talking about?

(2b)   khoe   ne   **xae**   nde ?
             people   they Q   where
             where are the people?

(2c)   ǁkx'uu   me   tsi   **xae**   haa?
             cook a liitle bit him   you   Q   PST
             Did you cook a little bit?

(2d)   oe   -a   **ba xaa** ?
             b.broken   -?   Q
             Is it broken?

                                                  (adapted from Visser 2001)

Review of ‡X'ao-‖'aen & Language Situation
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Next Step

Negation morpheme: tama, Negation marker (Visser 2001)

(3a) *ka   zi   hin   tsi   !'au ka   ha tsi   gⱱae   se   tama*
?   faeces   DEM   REL   call but 2S come   arrive   see NEG
The shit there called out and she came there but didn't see (the people)   (Biesele 1971:63)

NB. word order, compared to normal position of negation marker *loa*

(3b)   ha   m   **loa** tsi   or   (3c)   ha   m   **loa** kx'ae   gⱱa'a-si
2S   ?   NEG come   2S   ?   NEG have   eye-PL
She is not coming

maq **tama** 'miscarry' (Dickens 1994)

(3d)   *kaam uu* **tama**
he does not lie (Visser 2001:33)

Review of ‡X'ao-‖'aen & Language Situation
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Next Step

Discourse markers: khama

(4a) *mtsa   m ‖a'i   /a   ‖kae khoe   m ‡'aun ka   m kore   khama*
     3DU.EXCL   ?   today   NEG   meet together   1S to have to   ? look after because
     We cannot meet today, because I have care for the herd.

(4b) *mi   m   !ka   m /a   n/a'n m!a   m   koara   n/ai khama*
     1S.POSS   ?   heart   ? NEG good 3PL.INCL ?   be absent oil   because
     I am sorry, we have no oil.

(4c) *mi n/e'e   ha   khama   ha   te   cu   /xoa   mi   dshau*
     1S   b.angry   2S   because   2S   ?   lay   COM   1S.POSS   wife
     I am angry, because he slept with my wife.   (Dickens 1994)

(4d) *mi   g!utzi   txatxabe khama   mi   te   ‖abeh*
     1S.POSS   stomach   be small   because   1S   ?   be hungry
     My stomach is small because I am hungry   (Dickens 1994)

(4e) Naro *tsane tsir ko cg'uriga tsi i khama*   (Visser 2001)
     I don't like you, because you are dirty

     Khoem ncee ba c'oo kg'ama, cama ba khama   (Visser 2001)
     This man has a dry mouth because he is thirsty

Phonological Divergence

Review of ǂX'ao-ǁ'aen & Language Situation
Multiple-Site Documentation: define the 'Community'
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Next Step

Explaining Divergence: Click lenition

CL + [x] → CL + [h]

Example 'garden/field'

E1	ǁxara	E3	ǁhara	Naro	ǁhara

Affricate accompaniment → Aspirate accompanient

ǁxara probably older form: diffusion from Kx'a into Naro (Khoe)

Review of ‡X'ao-‖'aen & Language Situation
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Next Step

Complex click-cluster: gCL + [x]

to snore: gǂxonu (E3) [+ voice] vs. ǂxono (Naro)

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Time (s)

Review of ǂX'ao-ǁ'aen & Language Situation
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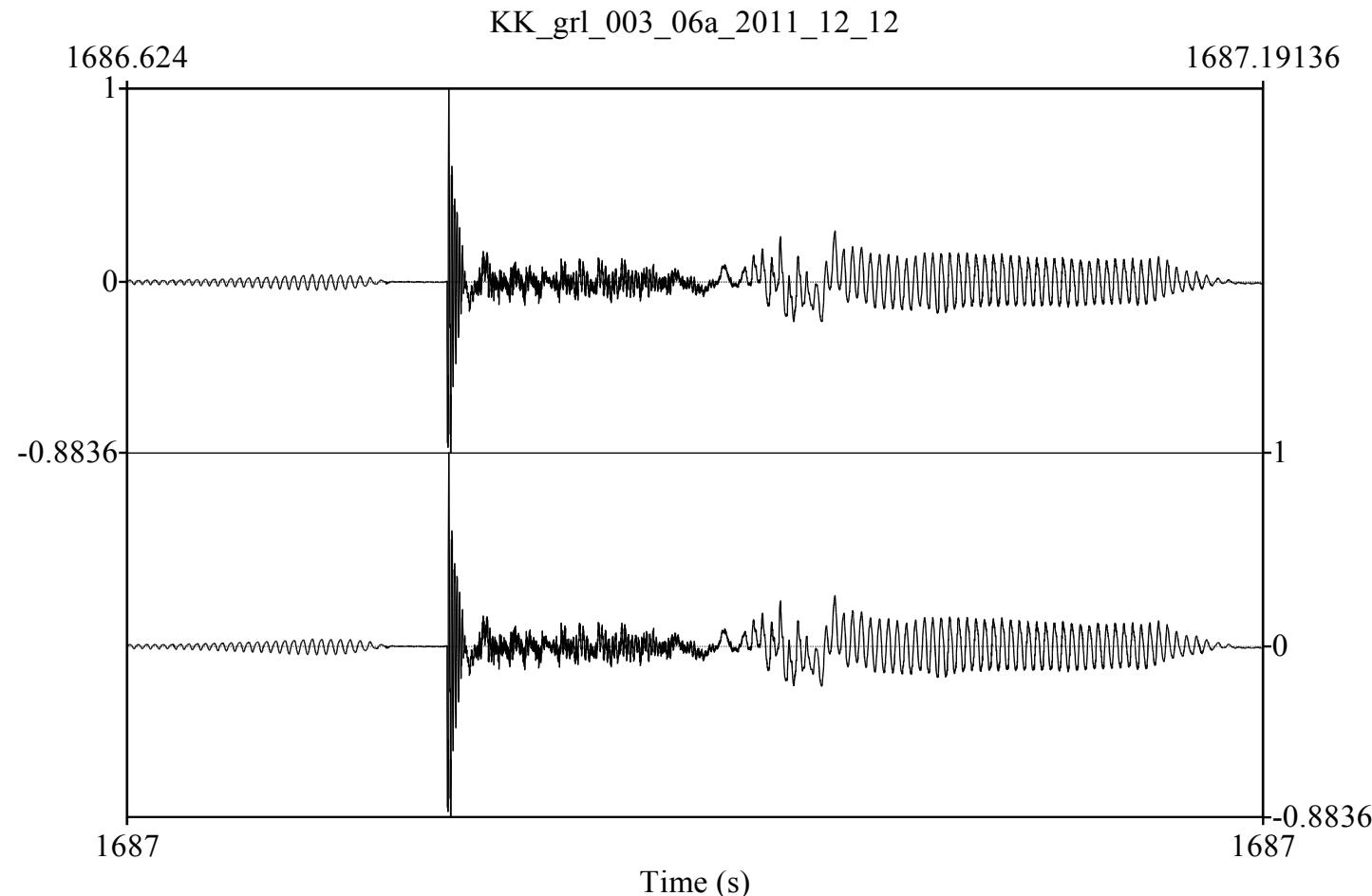
Complex click-cluster: gCL + [kx'] [x] [h] → voiceless CL + [kx'] [x] [h]

to wipe: gǂhu (E1 & E3) vs. ǂhu (Naro)

to urinate: gǀxam (E1 & E3) vs. ǀxam (Naro)

t*o wash*: gǁkx'a (NW !Xun) vs. ǁkx'a (Naro)

to trip: g!!xaba (NW !Xun) gǂxaba (E1) vs ǂxaba (E3 & Naro)

Review of ‡X'ao-‖'aen & Language Situation
Multiple-Site Documentation: define the 'Community'
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Next Step

Preliminary Conclusions:

Convergence between E1 & E3: unlike with simplex clicks, complex click clusters in ‡X'ao-‖'aen do not undergo lenition.

Divergence between Kx'a and Naro: Naro has a much smaller click inventory compared to Kx'a lects with a plain voiced series or a CL + accompaniment series, but not both.

Despite extreme contact situation (lexical diffusion) there is no reason to believe that the E3 click inventory has undergone reduction.

= lexical diffusion from Kx'a → Naro

Review of ‡X'ao-ǁ'aen & Language Situation
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Next Step

Diffusion across region: example of [gǁkx'a]

'to wash': gǁkx'a (Northwestern !Xun) → ǁkx'a (Juǀ'hoan, ‡X'ao-ǁ'aen, Naro) → ǁ'a (Nama)

'wash' [ǁkxˀa]

Review of ǂX'ao-ǁ'aen & Language Situation
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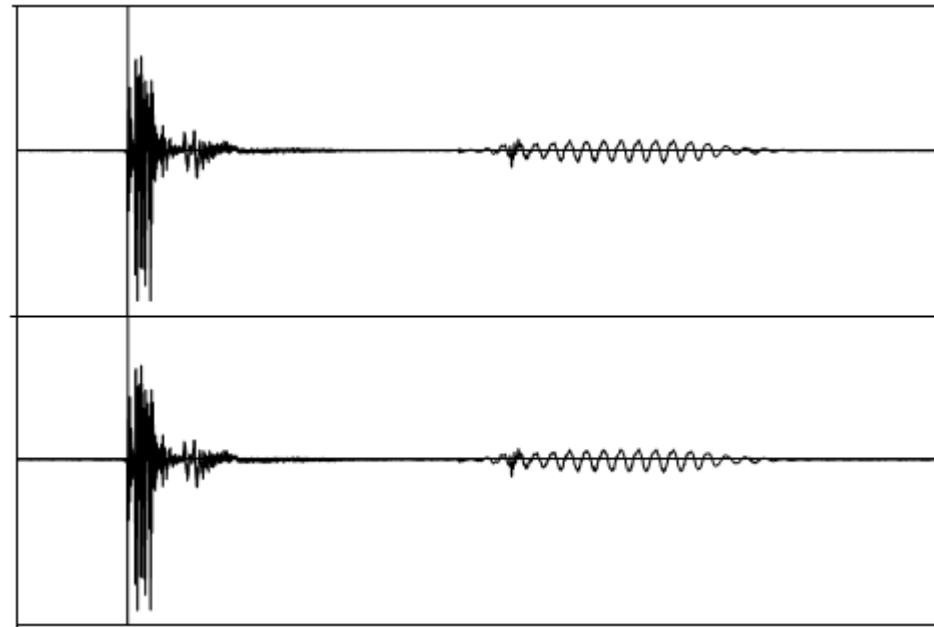
**Divergence in abrupt vs. noisy clicks with [kx'] accompaniment
- intermediary step in assimilation of uvular fricative by lateral click?**

'hair' [!kxˀuisi]   'to stink'   [ǁkxˀu]
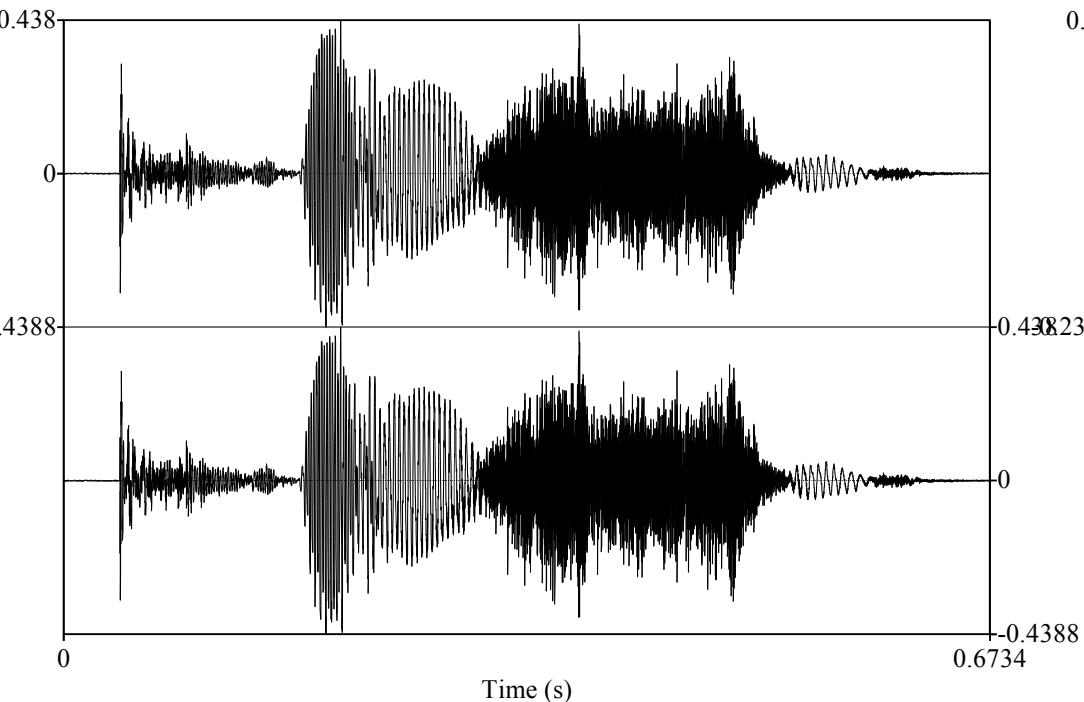
hair_GRL   the_meant_stinks_GRL
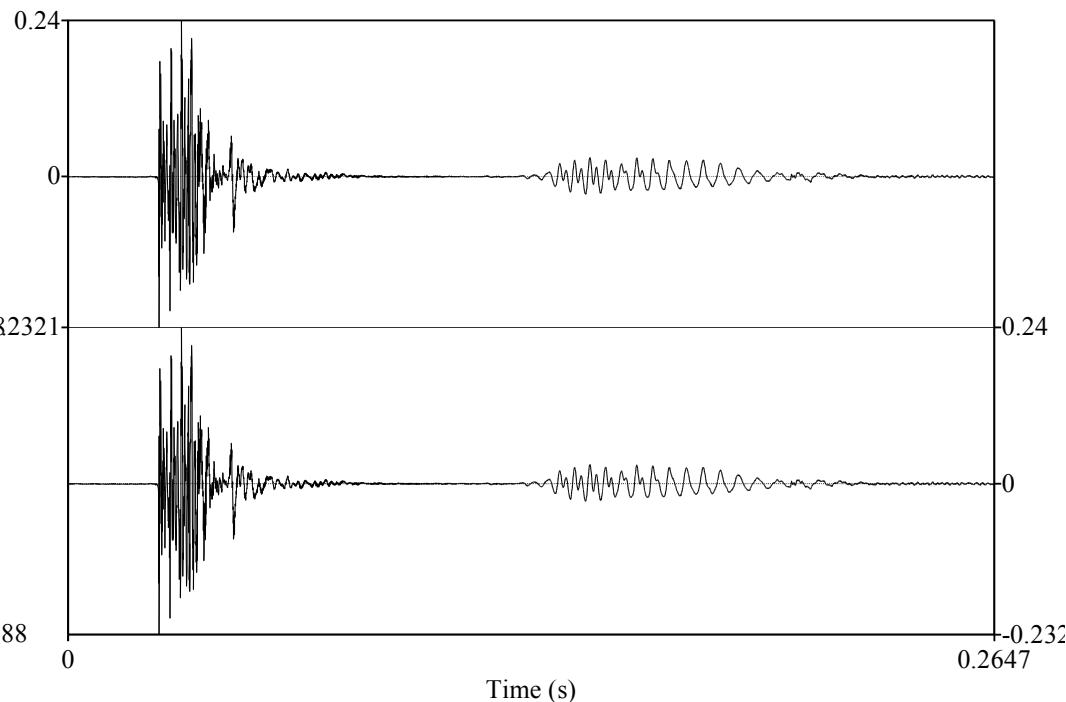
Summary:

- Considerable lexical diffusion between _SE Ju dialects_ _and Naro_

- Handful of shared morphosyntactic morphemes:

> interrogative marker: ba xae (<Naro?)

> conjunctions: khama (because), kana (or)

- BUT, stable inventory of click stops

> no reduction in click inventory for even shared lexical items

- Data from "bias community" but results representative of larger picture

Q: Is above phenomena contact induced or inherited?

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