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LUCY LLOYD'S !XUUN NOTEBOOKS: TOWARDS AN EDITION AND LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS¹

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1. INTRODUCTION

From 1879 to 1882, Lucy Lloyd worked with Tame, N!ani, |'Uma and Daqa², four young boys from Northern Namibia who spoke !Xuun³, a click language of the Ju branch (formerly known as Northern Khoisan) of the Kx'a family. She spent approximately four years studying and documenting !Xuun, and left fourteen notebooks – now digitised – which constitute the first written record of any Kx'a language. The notebooks were mainly written between 1879 and 1881, the last entry being dated 28 October 1882. Those fourteen notebooks contain about 1,000 pages of precious cultural, historical, ethnographic and linguistic data that have yet to be edited and analysed⁴.



This paper is intended to present the first results of a project undertaken two years ago whose long-term goal is to produce an annotated edition of Lloyd's !Xuun notebooks. About 100 pages of texts and wordlists have been edited so far. The focus has been mainly linguistic: the work accomplished has yielded enough data to have an overview of the phonology and basic grammar of Lloyd's !Xuun as well as its relations to the other Ju lects.

After a brief presentation of the context in which the notebooks were written, I will mention the main challenges one faces when working on Lloyd's !Xuun transcriptions, and propose a

¹ I would like to thank Tom Güldemann and Bonny Sands, as well as two anonymous reviewers, for their very helpful comments on previous versions of the present paper.

² Original transcription: *Tar̄me, !nańni, /úma* and *Dq̄* (cf. §3.2. below for standard orthography).

³ The spelling of the term *!Xuun* (*!kuń* or *!kū* in Lloyd's transcriptions, *!Kung* or *!Xun* elsewhere) adopted here complies with the standard orthography proposed by Güldemann (1998) for South-African Khoisan languages (cf. §3.2 below)

⁴ Some of the !Xuun texts were published in Bleek and Lloyd (1968[1911]). Dickens (1992) edited one of the longest texts. The Bleek & Lloyd (|Xam and !Xuun) notebook collection has now been entirely digitized and is freely accessible online at <http://lloydbleekcollection.cs.uct.ac.za/>.

method to read and interpret her data in a reliable fashion. I will then show what rich information the data thus processed reveal: the linguistic data are good enough to make it possible to classify Lloyd's !Xuun, and the various wordlists, texts and drawings that constitute the notebooks contain rich cultural and historical information, waiting to be uncovered.

2. THE CONTEXT

Unlike most of the |Xam informants, who were transferred from the Breakwater prison in Cape Town to W. Bleek's home in Mowbray at his request, Tame, N!ani, '|Uma and Daqa were brought to Lloyd directly by people who happened to be temporarily in charge of them.⁵ Their history, however, is not any less violent. All four were taken away from their families (N!ani, the oldest, was in his late teens, according to Lloyd's own estimation, and Daqa, the youngest, probably no more than seven) in Northern Namibia by 'Makoba', i.e. Kavango people. They were then given to many successive people, ending up in Lucy Lloyd's care. Such abductions were not exceptional at that time, and the !Xuun notebooks testify to the violence that the San people were subjected to by the neighbouring Bantu-speaking groups for a very long time (cf. text in Appendix 1 below).

From 1879 to 1884⁶, the informants lived in Cape Town in Lucy Lloyd's home, where the interviews took place. The four boys were thus never in their natural social and linguistic environment: far from their homeland, they were also far from their families and more generally from the different groups to which they belonged, and lived in a place unknown to them.

Therefore the data contained in the notebooks, however rich and well recorded, must always be considered with caution, and one must keep in mind that, due to this particular context, the information recorded in the notebooks might be distorted, or simply not sufficient to completely understand the linguistic and ethnographic world of the !Xuun of Northern Namibia in the late nineteenth century.

3. READING AND INTERPRETING LLOYD'S !XUUN

One of the reasons why the |Xam and !Xuun notebooks are an extraordinary archive is that the information they contain is systematically recorded in the language of the informants. If one is to understand and use this information, referring to the original text rather than the English translation is always to be preferred. This, however, necessitates a scrupulous work of linguistic interpretation and standardisation.

3.1. Lloyd's transcription: 'typological cleansing'⁷

Lucy Lloyd's transcription is purely phonetic: it is not based on any phonological analysis. It is sometimes inaccurate (some phonological contrasts are not identified), and often

⁵ See Deacon (1996) for a more detailed presentation of what we know of the four boys.

⁶ '|Uma left in December 1881, N!ani and Tame in March 1882 and Daqa in March 1884.

⁷ Traill (1995).

inconsistent (many different transcriptions are used for each lexical item, and tones are not consistently transcribed)⁸:

(1) Examples of transcription inconsistencies:

- a. 'to sit': /n̄, /n̄, /n̄, /n̄, /n̄, /n̄, /n̄
- b. 'knee' n!χ̄ōā, !χ̄ōā, !khoā̄
- c. 'sinew': tssō̄, ssō̄, sō̄

The phonological analysis of Lloyd's !Xuun has yet to be done. This cannot be an easy task, since there is no audio recording of the language: the only data at hand are Lucy Lloyd's transcribed words and sentences.

Fortunately, Lucy Lloyd had an excellent ear, and her phonetic transcriptions are thus of an impressive good quality considering the time (1880's): Lloyd makes many very subtle distinctions, and identifies many phonemes that no other linguist had ever heard at that time. The data contained in the notebooks are thus linguistically very reliable. However, one should not expect any miracle: there will never be a full, accurate phonological analysis of Lloyd's !Xuun.

It is not impossible however to improve Lloyd's transcriptions, and make them available to linguistic analysis. This is achievable through the combination of two methods:

- A systematic internal statistical comparison between all the occurrences of each lexical item, in order to identify the most frequently used transcription, or at least the invariable elements.
- A scrupulous and well-advised comparison of every item with its cognate forms in the modern dialects, in order to remedy as much as possible the transcription inconsistencies.

There are limits to those two methods of course. The first one does not apply to the majority of words that appear only once or twice in wordlists. The second method, on the other hand, carries the risk of imposing on Lloyd's data an analysis that is valid only for modern dialects, thus erasing possible dialectal or historical differences.

It is thus important to comply with the following precautionary principle: the transcription changes should be minimal and consistent. Interpretation and transcription modifications should be allowed only when evidenced or suggested by Lloyd's transcription itself. Otherwise, the original transcription must be kept (and adapted to the modern standard orthography presented in §3.2), despite possible correspondences with modern dialects.

3.2. Phonology and standard orthography

The orthographical standardization follows from the application of the two methods *modulo* the precautionary principle mentioned above. The chosen practical orthography is based on

⁸ See Traill (1995) for other examples of inaccuracies and inconsistencies in Lloyd's transcriptions.

that proposed by Güldemann (1998) for Southern African Khoisan as a whole, which is itself greatly inspired by the standard orthography designed by Dickens (1991, 1994) for Ju|'hoan.

The following charts list all the consonants and vowels attested in all Ju lects. The structure of the consonant chart is based on that proposed by Naumann (forthc.) for West !Xoon, which is itself based on the phonological analyses proposed by Güldemann (2001:7-24) and Nakagawa ('Moderate Cluster Analysis', 2006:251-283) for South-African Khoisan languages. Phonemes in brackets are attested in at least one modern Ju lect, but not (yet) in Lloyd's notebooks.

	EGRESSIVE				INGRESSIVE (CLICKS)					EGRESSIVE		
	labial	alveolar	alveolar affricate	palatal affricate	dental	alveolar	retroflex	palatal ⁹	lateral	Velar/uvular	velar/uv. affricate	glottal
Obstruents												
Plain (vl.)	p	t	ts	tc [tʃ]		!	!!	†		k		'[?]
Voiced	b	d	dz	dj [dʒ]	g	g!	g!!	g†	g	g		
Vl. aspirated	(ph)	th	tsh	tch	h	!h	!!h	†h	h	kh		
Vd. aspirated	(bh)	(dh)	(dsh)	(dch)	g h	g h	g!!h	g†h	g h	(gh)		
Vl. ejective			ts'	tc'	'	!'	!!'	†'	'			kx'
Vd. ejective			(ds')	(dc')								
Nasals												
Plain (vd.)	m	n		(ny)[ɲ]	n	n!	n!!	n†	n	ng[ŋ]		
Aspirated	(mh)											
Glottalized	('m)	('n)			(‘n)	(‘n!)	(‘n!!)	(‘n†)	(‘n)			
Fricatives												
Plain (vl.)		s		c [ʃ]						x		h
Voiced		z		j [ʒ]								
Sonorants												
Approximant	w			y [j]								
Tap		r										
Clusters												
Plain + /x/		tx	(dx)	(tsx)	tcx	x	!x	!!x	†x	x		
Voiced + /x/			(dx')	(tsx')	(tcx')	g x	g!x	g!!x	g†x	g x		
Plain + /kx'/		(tx')	(tsx')	(tcx')	x'	!x'	!!x'	†x'	x'			
Voiced + / kx'/					g x'	g!x'	g!!x'	g†x'	g x'			
Plain + /h/					hh	!hh	!!hh	†hh	hh			
Voiced + /h/					n hh	n!hh	n!!hh	n†hh	n hh			

Table 1. Ju cumulative consonant inventory

Modal Vowels				Vowel Colourings				
	Front	Back					+ Nas.	+ Glott.
High	i			Nasalisation		Vn		
Mid	e			Glottalisation		V'		
Low	a			Breathy voice		Vh	Vhn	
				Pharyngealisation		Vq	Vqn	Vq'

Table 2. Ju vowel inventory

⁹ The palatal click “†” is realized as a fricated alveolar click in Ekoka !Xuun (Miller et al., 2011), which König and Heine (2001, 2008, in press) transcribe as “!!”.

Lloyd used two tone marks: acute (high tone) and grave (low tone) accent. Unfortunately, her transcription of tones is inconsistent. It is to be hoped that a statistical analysis of the whole corpus will help remedy the transcription inconsistencies, but this analysis is not possible yet. Lloyd's tone marks are thus tentatively kept unchanged in the standard transliteration.

Two types of signs are also used, which are not included in the preceding tables: brackets and superscript letters. Brackets indicate phonemes or features of which there is no sign in Lloyd's transcription, but which must have been there, as a thorough comparison with modern dialects shows. For example, Lloyd's *tshú* 'house' is transliterated *tc(')úú* and not *tcúú*, since the onset consonant of this word is an ejective palatal affricate in all the modern dialects. Lloyd rarely transcribed ejective egressive consonants, probably because she did not distinguish them from their non-ejective counterparts.

Superscript letters indicate phonetic details (co-articulation phenomena etc.) which are most of the time attested in some modern dialects but usually not kept in the (phonological) standard orthography¹⁰. I have chosen to keep these details (particularly important for dialect identification) in this early stage of the edition in order to avoid any loss of precious information. For example Lloyd's *n!yérré* 'area, country' is transliterated as *n!ú^{er}re* in order to comply with the South-African Khoisan CV(C)V template¹¹ (the phonological transliteration would be *n!úré*¹²), without losing the phonetic details transcribed by Lloyd (vowel anticipation and slight gemination of intervocalic consonant).

4. IDENTIFICATION AND CLASSIFICATION OF LLOYD'S !XUUN

4.1. How many dialects?

Whether all four boys spoke the same Ju dialect has not been determined yet with certainty: more data need to be processed before a definite answer can be given. In the edition process, each idiolect has so far been treated independently.

However, the data processed so far seem to point to a unique dialect, with only minor idiolectal differences. Lloyd's !Xuun is presented as one dialect in the present paper for the sake of simplicity, but it should be kept in mind that differences between speakers might emerge in the future.

4.2. The position of Lloyd's !Xuun within Ju

Sands (2010), drawing mainly on Snyman (1997), subdivides Ju into four dialectal groups on the basis of regular sound correspondences:

¹⁰ This convention is borrowed from Heikkinen (1986).

¹¹ Cf. Traill (1985:164-180), Vossen (1997:144-152), Güldemann and Vossen (2000:106-107).

¹² Compare with Ju|'hoan *n!óré*, Ovamboland !Xuun *n!óré*, Ekoka !Xuun *n!ólé*.

- Northern (N) : (no documented lect)
- North-Central (NC) : - Ekoka !Xuun¹³
- Ovamboland/West-Kavango !Xuun¹⁴
- Central (C) : (no documented lect)
- South-Eastern (SE) : Ju|'hoan¹⁵

Phonological and lexical comparisons with the fifteen Ju dialects mentioned by Snijman (1997) and Sands (2010), as well as grammatical comparisons with the three well-documented NC (Ovamboland !Xuun and Ekoka !Xuun) and SE (Ju|'hoan) dialects show that Lloyd's !Xuun is very close to NC dialects. It is indeed phonologically very close to Mpunguvlei !Xuun and to the eastern variety of Ovamboland !Xuun¹⁶, which are spoken nowadays in Northern Namibia, along the border with Angola, approximately around Mpungu. Grammatically, whenever N/NC and SE dialectal groups differ, Lloyd's !Xuun systematically patterns with N and NC dialects (See Lionnet 2009 for detailed comparisons)¹⁷.

The region identified as the probable origin of the four boys (cf. Map 1 below and maps 2 and 3 in Appendix 2 below) is an area that is otherwise undocumented. The information in the notebooks seems to indicate that an important social upheaval took place in that area at that time (cf. Tame and Daqa's texts in Appendix 1 below). This highlights the importance of Lloyd's notebooks, both because they contain precious information about the history of the !Xuun people of this region, and because they represent lects that might have disappeared.

5. THE DATA

The data found in the notebooks fall within three main categories: word lists, texts, and drawings.

Texts, mainly by N!ani and Tame, cover a wide variety of topics. Traditional myths and legends are the most frequent. They feature various mythological characters that have been shown to play an important role in San mythology and worldview in general, in particular the Moon, the Hare and a mythological character named /Xue or Huwe, which is clearly reminiscent of the |Xam mythological character named /Kaggen (cf. Hewitt 1986, Dickens 1992).

Texts dealing with social aspects of daily life are also well represented (short genealogies, marriage ceremonies, burials etc.). These usually very short texts have yet to be edited, and can be expected to make it possible to reconstruct, to a certain extent, the social structure of the !Xuun groups living in this region at the end of the nineteenth century. Many other texts

¹³ König and Heine (2001, 2008)

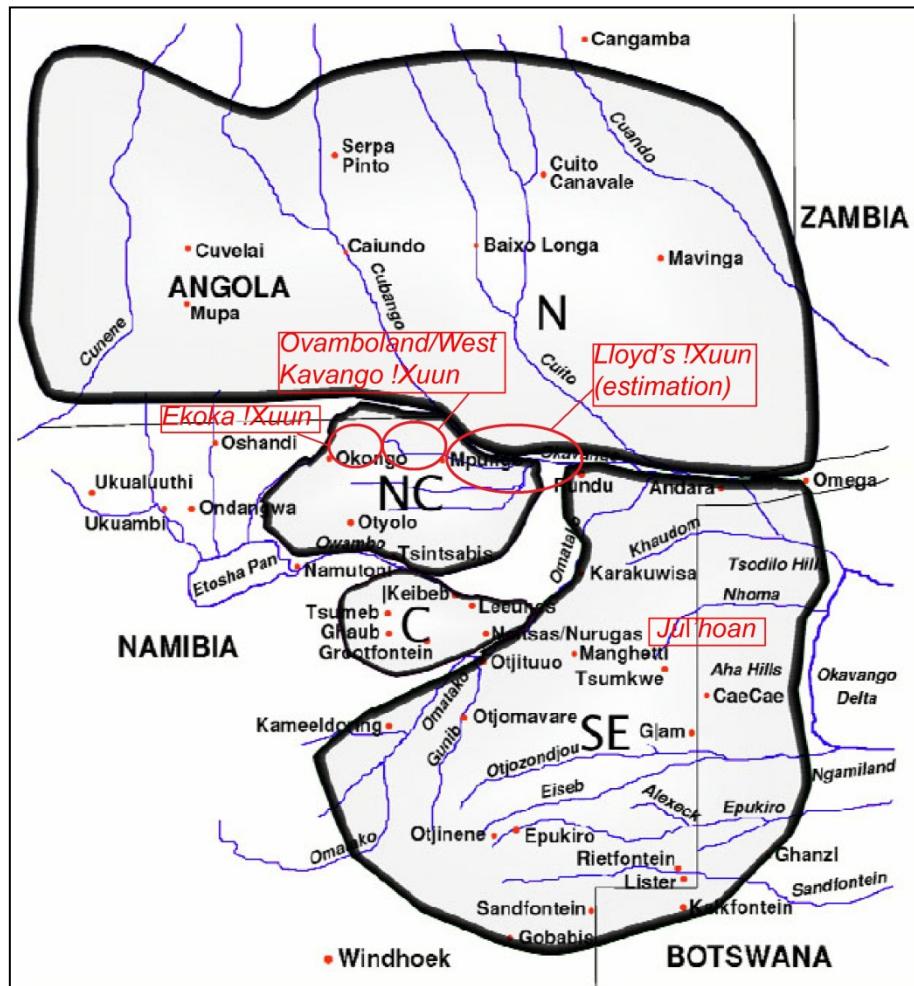
¹⁴ Heikkinen (1986, 1987)

¹⁵ Snijman (1970, 1975), Köhler (1981) and Dickens (1991, 1994, 2005).

¹⁶ Dickens (1992) already highlighted common phonological features between Lloyd's !Xuun and Ovamboland !Xuun.

¹⁷ Large scale comparisons with the under-documented Central and Northern dialects have not been possible yet (in particular in the grammatical domain), and should be undertaken soon.

contain explanations about artefacts, plants, animals, food etc. and give a living picture of the material environment and daily life of the !Xuun at that time.



Map 1. Juu dialectal groups (adapted from Sands 2010)

Many texts contain short remarks about neighbouring ethnic groups, languages - in particular various !Xuun groups, among which the groups the four boys belonged to (cf. Table 3 below). The Hai|om (*hai|'um*), Damara (*dama*¹⁸) and Berg Damara (*xau dama*) are also mentioned, as well as various Bantu speaking groups: the Kavango people (*goba/ngoba*, 'Makoba' in Lloyd's translation, most probably the westernmost group: the Kwangali), the Gciriku (*g/eriku*, another Kavango group), the Ovambo (*n/a^bbe*) and the Herero (*dama*).

	NAME(S) OF SPEAKER'S GROUP	NAME(S) OF SPEAKER'S AREA
TAME	<i>kx'abi-kx'au</i> , <i> oqo-kx'au</i>	<i>tsaba</i>
N!ANI	<i>/am !xuun</i> , <i>n oqo-kx'au</i>	<i>kakuira</i> , <i>n oqo</i>
'UMA	<i>#ao-kx'au</i>	<i>n oqma</i> , <i>/aa-(t)saba</i>
DAQA	<i>biriko-kx'ao</i>	<i>n oqma</i>

Table 3. Names of the four boys' groups and their traditional area

¹⁸ The term *dama* is used to refer both to the Herero (cf. Ju|'hoan *Tàmäh* 'Herero') and to the Damara.

The four boys also told L. Lloyd about their abduction by the Makoba, in what are probably the most touching texts of the !Xuun collection. See Daqa and Tame's stories in appendix 1 to have an idea of the violence to which the four boys were subjected before and during their journey to Cape Town.

The !Xuun notebooks also contain drawings by the four boys, representing mainly plants, animals and various artefacts. Among those drawings one can find maps, some of which are precise enough to make it possible to give an approximate location of the homeland of the four boys. The map in appendix 2 was drawn by N!ani on the 26th of November 1880, and represents the location of the !Xuun groups to which three of the four boys (all but |'Uma) belonged, on both sides of the Okavango River.

6. CONCLUSION

The Bleek and Lloyd collection is an extremely rich archive, and its !Xuun part, for a long time ignored and considered to represent very little compared to the |Xam notebooks, is far more interesting and important than previously thought.

Lloyd's transcriptions are indeed of good quality and relatively easy to standardize, which makes her documentation usable for linguistic description: the lexical, phonological and grammatical data extracted from the notebooks have already made it possible to identify dialectal particularities and classify Lloyd's !Xuun among the Ju lects and even locate it on a map. The grammatical description underway has also produced key information for Ju comparative and historical linguistics (cf. Lionnet 2011).

The fact that Lloyd's !Xuun data lend themselves to linguistic analysis also enables other researchers such as anthropologists or historians to make a better use of those data, by making it possible to refer directly to the !Xuun version of every word and text.

Lloyd's !Xuun data also represent a key element for the |Xam part of the archive. |Xam cannot be directly compared to other closely related dialects: no dialect of |Xam is still spoken, and the only other well documented !Ui language it can be compared to is N|uu, which is not close enough to make the comparison always fruitful. Interpreting W. Bleek and L. Lloyd's transcriptions of |Xam is thus not an easy task. However, the comparison of Lloyd's !Xuun with modern Ju dialects makes it possible to understand the notational principles Lloyd used for !Xuun, which are probably those she used for |Xam as well: the !Xuun notebooks may thus contain an important key to a better understanding of |Xam.

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APPENDIX 1: TEXTS¹⁹

Text 1: “Daqa’s capture”, told on 8 May 1880 ²⁰						
<i>Xuun text in standard orthography</i>					<i>English translation²¹</i>	
góba	ti	gúú	me,	me	n!ú ^{er} e	The Makoba took me in my country.
Makoba	IPFV	take	me	my	area	
m	táqi	ti	gúú	mì		My mother took me,
my	mother	IPFV	take	me		
ta	ngóba	ti	n+a'm	m	táqi	And the Makoba beat my mother.
and	Makoba	IPFV	beat	my	mother	
ta	ti	gúú	mì			and took me.
and	IPFV	take	me			
m	báá	ti	txáá	góba		My father shot at the Makoba,
my	father	IPFV	shoot	Makoba		
ti	n+a'm	góba				beat the Makoba.
IPFV	beat	Makoba				
ta	góba	ti	!óhó	m	báá	and the Makoba hit my father.
and	Makoba	IPFV	strike	my	father	
góba	ti	!(h)uáng		m	báá	The Makoba killed my father.
Makoba	IPFV	kill		my	father	
*Note 11 Oct. 1881:					*Note 11 Oct. 1881:	
góba	úa	!(h)uáng	m	báá	The Makoba did not kill my father,	
Makoba	not	kill	my	father		

¹⁹ Abbreviations: excl. = exclusive, EXCL=exclamative, IPF = imperfective, MPO=Multi-purpose object marker, VE=suffix indicating the presence of a valence external post-verbal element,)

²⁰ Notebook Nb. 122, pages 10280-10281 + 10292 (last sentences) and 10253.

²¹ Lloyd’s translation, slightly modified when needed.

ta !óhó m báá and strike my father	<i>but they hit my father.</i>
m táqi góba ti !(h)ung ó(h)aka m báá my mother Makoba IPFV kill and my father	my mother, the Makoba killed together with my father.
*Note 11 Oct. 1881: úa !(h)uñg not kill	*Note 11 Oct. 1881: <i>not killed (i.e. he did not kill her, but hit her)</i>
dańmi ti aú children IPFV die	The children died
*Note 11 Oct. 1881: dáńmi tańki children other	*Note 11 Oct. 1881: <i>other children</i>
ngóba ki n u(h)i dáńme Makoba IPFV take(pl) children	The Makoba took the children
ti ' úú-a g úú IPFV put.in-VE water	and put them into the water (i.e. the river)
xuń ti 'mí dańmi crocodile IPFV eat children	The alligators ate the children
góba ti gúú mi, góba †hìi Makoba IPFV take me Makoba (be)many	The Makoba took me, many Makoba.
góba dé-sing ki n áá Makoba woman-PL IPFV object	The Makoba women objected to that,
ti ú-i ' úú mi ga g úú IPF not-IPFV put.in me MPO water	they (i.e. the men) did not put me into the water.
góba ti n ú(h)i é Makoba IPFV take us(excl.)	The Makoba took us.

Text 2 : “Tame’s capture”, told on 15 Nov.1879 and 5 Jan. 1880²²

!Xuun text in standard orthography

English translation

n á'bbe ti guu Tá'me (mé) a Ovambo IPFV take(sg) Tame me EXCL?	<i>The Ovambo took Tame (i.e. me).</i>
Tá'me ti n in ngóba tc(')úú Tame IPFV sit Makoba house	<i>Tame was sitting in the Makoba's house.</i>
m táqi tc(')úú ti †xààn my mother house IPFV (be)far	<i>My mother's house was far away.</i>
n á'bbe gúú-a Tá'me (me) ka góba Ovambo take(sg)-VE Tame me MPO Makoba	<i>The Ovambo took Tame (i.e me) from the Makoba.</i>
ta !(x)ùùn ti kó'aqa góba and !Xuun IPFV fear Makoba	<i>The !Xuun people fear the Makoba.</i>
ngóba ti !(h)ùù(n) dáma. Makoba IPFV kill Damara	<i>The Makoba kill Damara people.</i>
n á'bbe ti a'à Tá'me ka (h)hùùn Ovambo IPFV give:VE Tame MPO Whiteman	<i>The Ovambo gave Tame to a White person.</i>
ngóba ti gúú mé Makoba IPFV take me	<i>The Makoba took me,</i>
tá ti á'a n á'bbe ka mé	<i>and gave me to the Ovambo.</i>

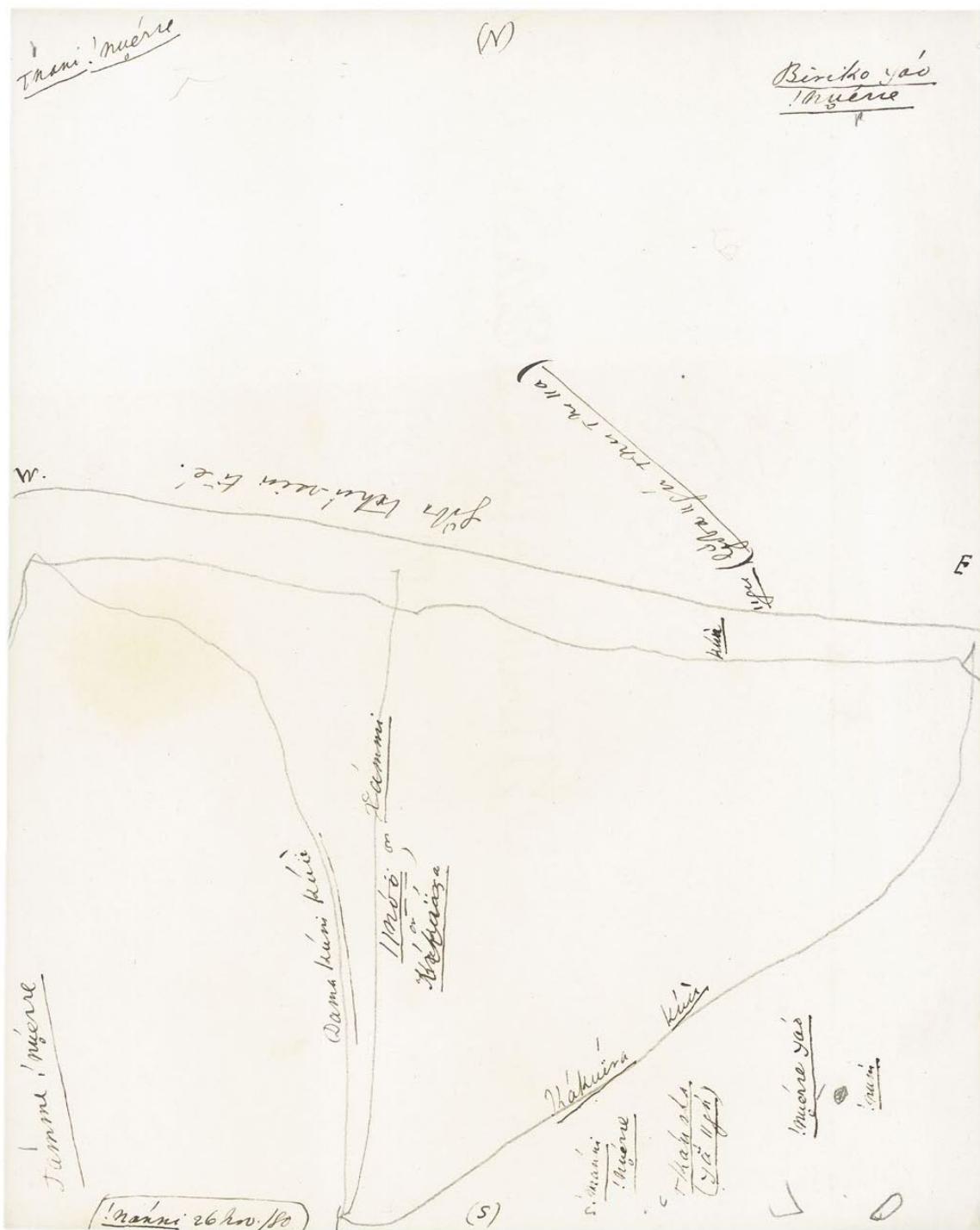
²² Notebook Nb. 111, pp. 9166-9167 + 9216-9221.

and IPFV give:VE Ovambo MPO me	
ngóba tc(')úú ti é Makoba house IPFV here	<i>Here were the Makoba's houses. [on the right of the speaker]</i>
g úú n uu n ee 'áá ti é water only? only? (be)big IPFV here	<i>Here was the big water (the Okavango River). [on the left of the houses]</i>
tc(')úú ti ee ee-a !a(h)ñg, house IPFV be.thus-VE tree	<i>The houses were like the trees, [i.e. at the distance of about 70 yards] they were here (?)</i>
ti é IPFV here	
m táqi tc(')úú my mother house	<i>(my mother's house...)</i>
ná ti tc(h)iíng g úú I IPFV drink water	<i>I was drinking water.</i>
ta m táqi ti é and my mother IPFV here	<i>My mother was here,</i>
ti tc(h)iíng g úú IPFV drink water	<i>drinking water.</i>
djuú tańki ti tc(h)iíng g úú person other IPFV drink water	<i>Other [!Xuun] people were drinking water.</i>
ngóba ti 'ùù-a n úú Makoba IPFV enter-VE boat	<i>The Makoba got into their boat</i>
ná ti é 1S IPFV here	<i>I was here,</i>
ti tc(h)iíng g úú IPFV drink water	<i>drinking water</i>
ta ngóba ti é and Makoba IPFV here	<i>The Makoba were here.</i>
ta ngóba ti oo-kx'uì and Makoba IPFV speak	<i>And a Makoba said:</i>
tí é “Ta^mme 'ùù-a me tc(')úú” IPFV COP Tame enter-VE my house	<i>“Tame, go into my house!”</i>
ná ti oo-kx'uì I IPFV speak	<i>I said</i>
ti é ná tí 'úá 'ùù-a ngóba tc(')úú IPFV COP I IPFV not enter-VE Makoba house	<i>that I would not go into the Makoba's house.</i>
ngóba tí oo-kx'uì Makoba IPFV speak	<i>The Makoba said:</i>
tí é “ 'ùù-a me tc(')úú IPFV COP enter-VE my house	<i>“go into my house,</i>
'm ti n uu þhìì me tc(')úú” food IPFV should be.many my house	<i>there should be plenty of food in my house”</i>
ná ti 'ùù-a ngóba tc(')úú I IPFV enter-VE Makoba house	<i>I went into the Makoba's house.</i>
tá m táqi ti kx'áá tuu and my mother IPFV seek search	<i>My mother was seeking</i>
m táqi n!úere ka 'm my mother area its food	<i>my mother's country's food [to gather].</i>

m táqi ti ' ùù-a ngóba tc(')úú	<i>My mother went into the Makoba's house,</i>
my mother IPFV enter-VE Makoba house	
ti á'a ngóba ka 'm	<i>gave [that] food to the Makoba,</i>
IPFV give:VE Makoba MPO food	
ta ngóba ti á'a m táqi tcí é	<i>and the Makoba gave this thing to my mother.</i>
and Makoba IPFV give:VE my mother thing this	<i>[pointing to some night beads]</i>
tá m táqi ti ùù	<i>Then my mother went away.</i>
and my mother IPFV go	
m táqi ti kx'áá tuu 'm	<i>My mother sought food.</i>
my mother IPFV seek search food	
m táqi n!úer'e ka 'm ti †hìi	<i>Food is abundant in my mother's country.</i>
my mother area its food IPFV be.many	
m táqi ti kx'áá tuu	<i>My mother sought [food].</i>
my mother IPFV seek search	
am̄ ti é,	<i>This day²³ [showing finger of left hand],</i>
day IPFV here	
m táqi ti ' úú-a ngóba tc(')úú	<i>my mother went into the Makoba's house.</i>
my mother IPFV enter-VE Makoba house	
am̄ ti é,	<i>This day [showing the next finger],</i>
day IPFV here	
m táqi ' úú-a ngóba tc(')úú	<i>my mother went into the Makoba's house.</i>
my mother enter-VE Makoba house	
am̄ ti é,	<i>This day [showing the next finger],</i>
day IPFV here	
m táqi ' úú-a ngóba tc(')úú	<i>my mother went into the Makoba's house.</i>
my mother enter-VE Makoba house	
am̄ ti é,	<i>This day,</i>
day IPFV here	
m táqi ti ùù.	<i>my mother went away.</i>
my mother IPFV go	
am̄ ti é,	<i>This day:</i>
day IPFV here	
m tàqi ti tábá 'm.	<i>my mother sought food.</i>
my mother IPFV make food	
ta am̄ ti é,	<i>This day,</i>
and day IPFV here	
Tá^mme ti ùù.	<i>Tame went away.</i>
Tame IPFV go	
ta am̄ ti é,	<i>This day,</i>
and day IPFV here	
ngóba á'a me ka n á ^b be	<i>the Makoba gave me to the Ovambo.</i>
Makoba give:VE me MPO Ovambo	

²³ lit. 'this is a day' (?)

APPENDIX 2: MAP



Map 2. Map drawn by N!ani on 26 Nov. 1880

