20’ Kx’a, Tuu, and Khoe foragers in the Kalahari Basin core

1 General overview

\+ modern linguistic picture changed dramatically in the last few centuries

\> focus here on the foraging populations and their languages

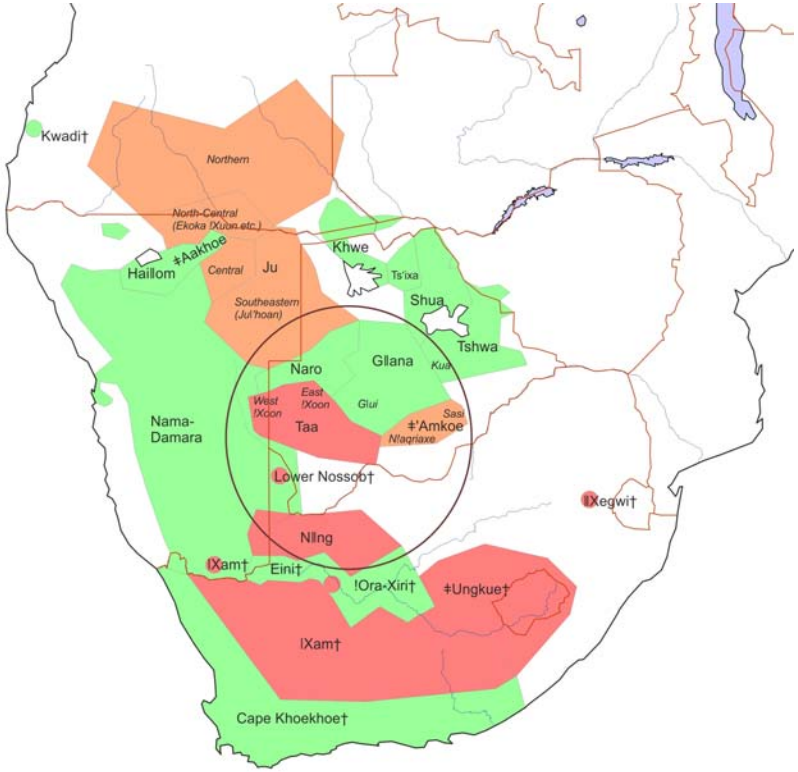
\> not talk about later colonizing languages like:

a) Afrikaans and English connected to late European colonization

b) African languages pushed into the area during colonial conflicts, notably Khoekhoe and Herero from Namibia (former German Southwest Africa) in the west

\> events responsible for major ethno-linguistic disruption in the western sphere of the area

c) Bantu languages entering the area in precolonial periods, notably Kgalagadi and Tswana from the southeast



Map 1: Linguistic lineages of forager groups in the KB core (by C. Naumann)

Lineages and *(Sub)branches*	Languages (L) or language complexes (LC) and Selected dialects and dialect groups	
(1) KHOE-KWADI		
A Kwadi	single L†	
B Khoe		
Kalahari Khoe		
East	Shua:	Cara, Deti, |Xaise, Danisi, etc.
	Tshwa:	Kua, Cua, Tsua, etc.
West	Ts’ixa	
	Kxoe:	Khwe, ǁAni, etc.
	G||ana:	**G||ana, G|ui, etc.**
	Naro:	**Naro, Ts’ao, etc.**
Khoekhoe	(Cape K.)† LC	
	(!Ora-Xiri) LC	
	(Eini)† LC	
	Nama-Damara LC	
	Hai||om	
	ǂAakhoe	
(2) KX’A		
A Ju	single LC:	North: Angolan !Xuun varieties
		North-central: Ekoka !Xuun, Okongo !Xuun, etc.
		Central: Grootfontein !Xuun, etc.
		Southeast: various Ju|’hoan varieties
B ǂ’Amkoe	**single LC:**	**ǂHoan, N!aqriaxe, Sasi**
(3) TUU		
A Taa-Lower Nossob		
Taa	**single LC:**	**West: West !Xoon, (N|u|’en)**
		East: East !Xoon, ’N|oha, (N|amani), (Kakia), etc.
Lower Nossob	**(|’Auni)†**	
	(|Haasi)†	
B !Ui	**N||ng:**	**Langeberg, N|uu (= ǂKhomani or N|huki), etc.**
	(Danster)†	
	(Vaal-Orange)†*	
	(ǁXegwi)†	
???	(!Gã!ne)†	
	(|Xam)†:	Strandberg, Katkop, Achterveld, etc.

† = extinct, (...) = older data sources, * unanalyzed geographical cluster, **Bold Relevant languages**

Figure 1: The three linguistic lineages traditionally subsumed under “Southern African Khoisan” and their preliminary internal composition

\+ highly diverse: languages of all three families, all major branches of two families

\+ western flank and a belt along Botswana-RSA border without virtually any linguistic data

2 Major ethnolinguistic forager groups and state of description

2.1 G|ui-G‖ana cluster (Khoe-Kwadi)

+ dialect cluster centered on the Central Kalahari Game Reserve
+ independent subsistence until relatively recently
+ for 50 years intensively studied linguistically and anthropologically by Japanese research team (e.g., Nakagawa 2006)

2.2 Naro cluster (Khoe-Kwadi)

+ dialect cluster forming a wedge between two Non-Khoe language complexes, Ju and Taa
+ better-watered Okwa drainage settled early by white commercial farmers, nevertheless one of the demographically largest San language groups, also used as second language
+ early research by D. Bleek (1928)
+ extensive anthropological research by Barnard
+ more intensive linguistic documentation in missionary context (e.g., Visser 2001)

2.3 Southeastern Ju (Kx'a)

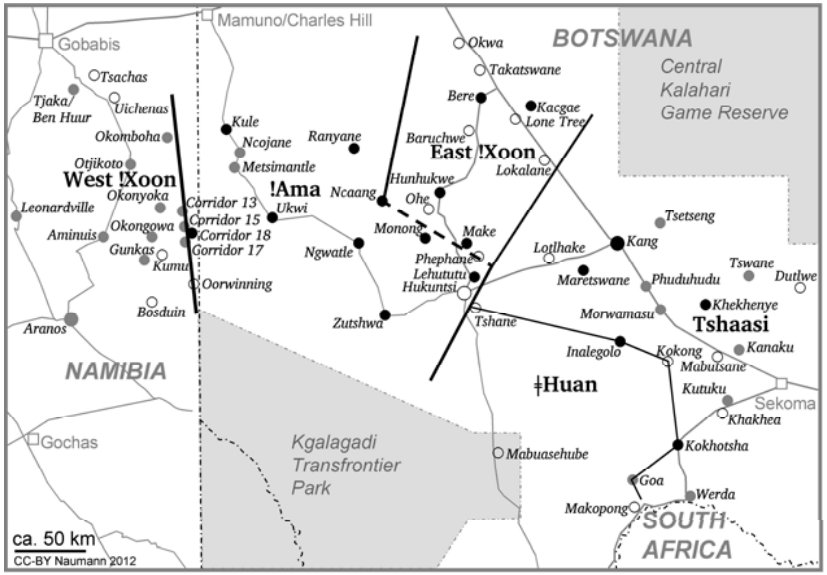
+ part of the Ju|'hoan cluster whose northern variety has been one of the first well documented San languages (cf. Snyman 1970, 1975; Dickens 1994, 2005)
+ most relevant southeasternmost variety researched early by D. Bleek (1928), known for a long time under ǂKx'ao‖'ae 'northerners' (aka Auen, (Ma)Kaukau, etc.) - an exonym by their southeastern Naro neighbors > ongoing Ph.D. research by L. Pratchett

2.4 ǂ'Amkoe cluster (Kx'a)

+ only discovered in the early 1970s and then known under the name of its western ǂHoan dialect
+ then already moribund, later recognition of larger geographical extension and notable internal dialect diversity
+ originally inconclusive language classification (cf. Traill 1973, 1974b; Westphal 1974), today an established relative of the Ju cluster forming one branch of the Kx'a family (Honken 2003, Heine and Honken 2010)
+ more intensive linguistic research (cf. Collins and Gruber 2014), most recently finalized/ongoing Ph.D. research by L. Gerlach and F. Berthold

2.5 Taa complex (Tuu)

+ large language complex of partly unintelligible dialects (Traill 1974a, Naumann 2014)
+ one of the groups contacted and studied late
+ northeasternmost variety intensely researched by Traill (cf. 1985, 1994)
+ pan-dialectal documentation starting from westernmost variety in Namibia under way



Map 2: Taa language complex with west-east cline of diversification (Naumann 2014)

2.6 Lower Nossob complex (Tuu)

+ very purely known and extinct today, apparently more than one language
+ essential research by D. Bleek and Story, notably in connection with the Wits University Kalahari expedition in 1936 (cf. Jones and Doke 1937)
> overall highly deficient documentation
+ more likely to be closer to its northern Taa neighbor (Güldemann 2014b)

Corpus	Location of contact	Time of contact	Researcher	Publication	Archival notebook*
N|usa (|Karri|karri)	southern Kalahari	<1870	Weber	Hahn 1870	-
|'Auni (N|una)	Kyky	29-30/10/11	Bleek	-	A3.4-5
ǂẼi-kusi	Kyky	29-31/10/11	Bleek	-	A3.4-5
!'Abbe	south of Kyky	02/11/11	Bleek	-	A3.4-5
|'Auni	Tweerivieren	1936	Bleek	Bleek 1937	A3.29-30
|Haasi (K'u|ha:si)	Tweerivieren	1936	Story	Story 1999	F1.18

Note: * according to Eberhard & Twentyman Jones (1992)

Table 1: The major data sources on Lower Nossob varieties of Tuu

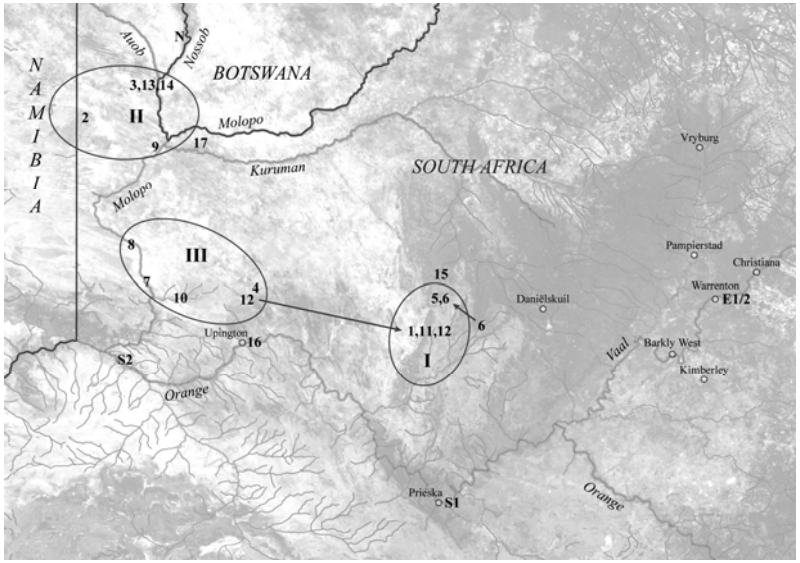
2.7 N‖ng cluster (Tuu)

+ northernmost !Ui language with considerable extension and diversity (Güldemann forth.)
+ most early research by D. Bleek (cf. 2000, written in 1st hald of 20th c.)
+ modern documentation of language remnants (Exter 2008, Collins and Namaseb 2011)

No.	Research location	Researcher(s)	Year
1	Langeberg 1*	Lloyd	1885
2	Rietfontein	Pabst	1885+
3	Twee Rivieren 1	Pöch	1909
4	|Kuris Pan*	Pöch	1909
5	Mount Temple 1	D. Bleek	1910/1
6	Mount Temple 2 (Postmasburg)*	D. Bleek	1910/1
7	Swaartputs*	D. Bleek	1911
8	Abeam*	D. Bleek	1911
9	Leutlandspan	D. Bleek	1911
10	Grondneus*	D. Bleek	1911
11	Langeberg 2	D. Bleek	1918
12	Langeberg 3 (Roidam)*	D. Bleek	1918
13	Twee Rivieren 2	D. Bleek, Maingard, Doke	1936
14	Twee Rivieren 3*	Westphal	1962/6
15	Olifantshoek*	MODERN	
16	Upington	MODERN	
17	Witdraai~Andriesvale*	MODERN	

Note: * virtual idiolect, secondary location, (original location of consultant(s relatives))

Table 2: Archival and modern doculects of N‖ng



Note: Arrows indicate consultants' presumed original and secondary settlements.

Map 3: Archival and modern doculects of N‖ng and neighboring San languages

3 Discussion

3.1 Language contact

+ arguably contact-induced areal features recognized early by Traill (1980, 2001)

+ bilingualism and intensive language contact attested at virtually all language boundaries:

1. Ju|'hoan-Naro (Pratchett p.c.)
2. Naro-G‖ana (cf. ambivalent classification of ǂHaba!)
3. G|ui-ǂ'Amkoe (Berthold and Gerlach p.c.)
4. Taa-ǂ'Amkoe (cf. Traill 1974a)
5. Taa-G|ui (Traill and Nakagawa 2000)
6. Taa-Naro (Traill 1985, field notes)
7. |'Auni-N‖ng (cf. original misclassification of |'Auni as a !Ui language)

+ KB core languages are also the core of the KB linguistic area (Güldemann 1998, Güldemann and Fehn forthcoming)

Feature	**Tuu**		**Kx'a**		**West Kalahari Khoe**
	!Ui	**Taa**	**ǂ'Amkoe**	**Ju**	
I.1 Lingual ingressives = clicks	X	X	X	X	X
I.2 Glottalic egressives = ejectives	X	X	X	X	X
I.3 Uvular stops	N‖ng	X	X	--	X
I.4 Aspirated obstruents	X	X	X	X	X
I.5 Obstruent-obstruent clusters	X	X	X	X	X
I.6 Nasalization	X	X	X	X	X
I.7 Pharyngealization	X	X	X	X	Naro, G|ui
I.8 Register tone system	X	X	X	X	X
I.9 Specific lexical root phonotactics	X	X	X	X	X
II.10 Restricted numeral system	X	X	X	X	X
II.11 Specific perception verb conflation	?	X	X	Ju|'hoan	X
III.12 Head-final genitive	X	X	X	X	X
III.13 Host-final locative flagging	X	X	X	X	X
III.14 Host-final derivation	X	X	X	X	X
III.15 Clusivity	X	X	X	X	G|ui, G‖ana
III.16 MVC: V1 cause + V2 sequential effect	X	X	X	X	X
III.17 MVC: V1 manner + V2	X	X	X	X	X
III.18 MVC: V1 posture + V2	X	X	X	X	X
III.19 MVC: V1 + V2 motion > path	X	X	X	X	X
III.20 TAM morphotactics	X	X	X	--	G|ui, Ts'ixa
III.21 Clause-second pivot	X	X	X	X	?Naro
III.22 Non-semantic participant flagging	X	X	X	X	(‖Ani, Ts'ixa)
III.23 Non-canonical clausal noun modifiers	(X)	X	(X)	X	G|ui

Note: I Phonetics-phonology, II Lexical structure, III Morphosyntax, X present including the core languages

Table 3: Linguistic features shared across the languages of the Kalahari Basin core

+ widespread lexical isoglosses across languages whereby borrowing directions can at this stage oten not be securely identified (cf. Güldemann and Loughnane 2012)
> shared lexicon also between non-neighboring languages (cf., e.g., Honken 2013 for Tsumkwe Ju|'hoan and East !Xoon), which tends to be interpreted as evidence for an old genealogical link between the languages

Meaning	**G|ui (Khoe-Kwadi)**	**West ǂ'Amkoe (Kx'a)**	**East Taa (Tuu)**
hand	*ts^{h}éū* <PKaK	*sīū*	-
forearm	*g!úmà* <PK	*g!ūmā*	-
arm	*ǁ'ǘǎ* <PK	*ǁ''òà n|ē* 'upper _'	-
elbow 1	*ǂhune* <PKaK	*ǂhóné* <PKx	*gǂqhúli*
elbow 2	*ǂxobi*	*ǂxúbí*	*ǂxúbu-xù |nàn* <PT
chest	-	*g!àmà*	*!Gāma*
root of tree	*!qx'áí*	*!q'ai-!q'ai qa* 'roots'	*!kx'ái*
person	*k^{h}óè* <PK	*ǂ''ām kōē*	-
cheek	*n|ú̱bī*	*n|ó¥ßí*	*|nú̱bi* <PT
front	-	*nǂhhāà*	*ǂhàā* 'to be in _' <PT
lip, beak	*ts'úm̄* <PK	*(d)zú'ám̀*	*dzúm*
suck	*|úm̄* <PK	*|ám̄* 'suck breast'	
breath	*ǁhúī̃* 'to breathe'	*ǁhōèn*	*ǁqhô'ã*
bark (of tree)	*gúrē* <PKaK (cf. (15))	*gūrē*	*gúle* 'dry _'
to skin	*|áá* <PKaK	*|àà* '_ turning inside out'	-
to cover 1	*!''am*	*!''am*	*n!a'm* '_ with branch'
to cover 2	*ɟíbú*	*ɟiɕu*	-
to point	*ǁhāā*	*kí ǁhàā* ? <PKx	*ǁqhāa kM*
tears	*ǂxáí-ts^{h}áā*	*tsxānē*	*dtshàle*
lick	*ɟínī*	*dʒɪni*	-
throat	-	*n|oq'o ~ nǂoqli*	*'|nú̱m* <PT
to defecate	-	*qa'e*	*qá'i* <PT
wound	*c^{h}úī* <PK	*tyùī*	*thúa*

Note: PKaK = Proto-Kalahari Khoe, PK = Proto-Khoe, PKx = Proto-Kx'a, PT = Proto-Taa
Table 4: Body-part borrowing between G|ui, ǂHoan, and Taa (Güldemann)

3.2 Historical dynamics

+ in the past, general assumption of relatively static ethno-linguistic history - "… have been there for (tens of) thousands of years"
> in contrast to certain historical and anthropological observations as well as current findings of comparative linguistics
> dynamics not along the lines of the "Kalahari debate"!

+ deep-seated ambivalence in ethnic terminological identification
- similar endonymic cross language boundaries
    - *Juu |'hoan* 'real people' in Ju vs. *Tuu 'n⊙ahn* 'real people' in Taa
    - *!Xoon~!Xuun* in both Ju and Taa language complexes
    - Taa variety *ǂHuan* 'southerners' vs. neighboring ǂ'Amkoe variety *ǂHoan*
- "cascade" terminology according to cardinal directions, also irrespective of language
    - relative ethnic denomination by cardinal directions widespread in Taa (cf. Map 2)
    - Naro call Ju|'hoan neighbors *ǂKx'aoǁ'ae* 'northerners' who in turn call their northern neighbors *ǂKx'aoǁ'ae* 'northerners'

+in some cases robust indications of unidirectional rather than equilibrated language relationship, including language shift
1. Ju|'hoan > Naro
3. ǂ'Amkoe > G|ui
5. G|ui > Taa
6. Naro > Taa
7. |'Auni > N‖ng

> impression of an overall replacement of Kx'a languages by Kalahari Khoe languages from the east and by the Taa complex from the southwest
> ultimate historical causes and driving forces unclear - hard to investigate under the current conditions of large-scale marginalization of all languages at issue:
    - more recent chain pressure by food-producers?
    - historically deeper forager-internal dynamics?
> possible relevance of large-scale replacement of forager languages by other forager languages, partly according to "downstream model" which is attested under similar circumstances at least in Australia (cf. McConvell 2011)