

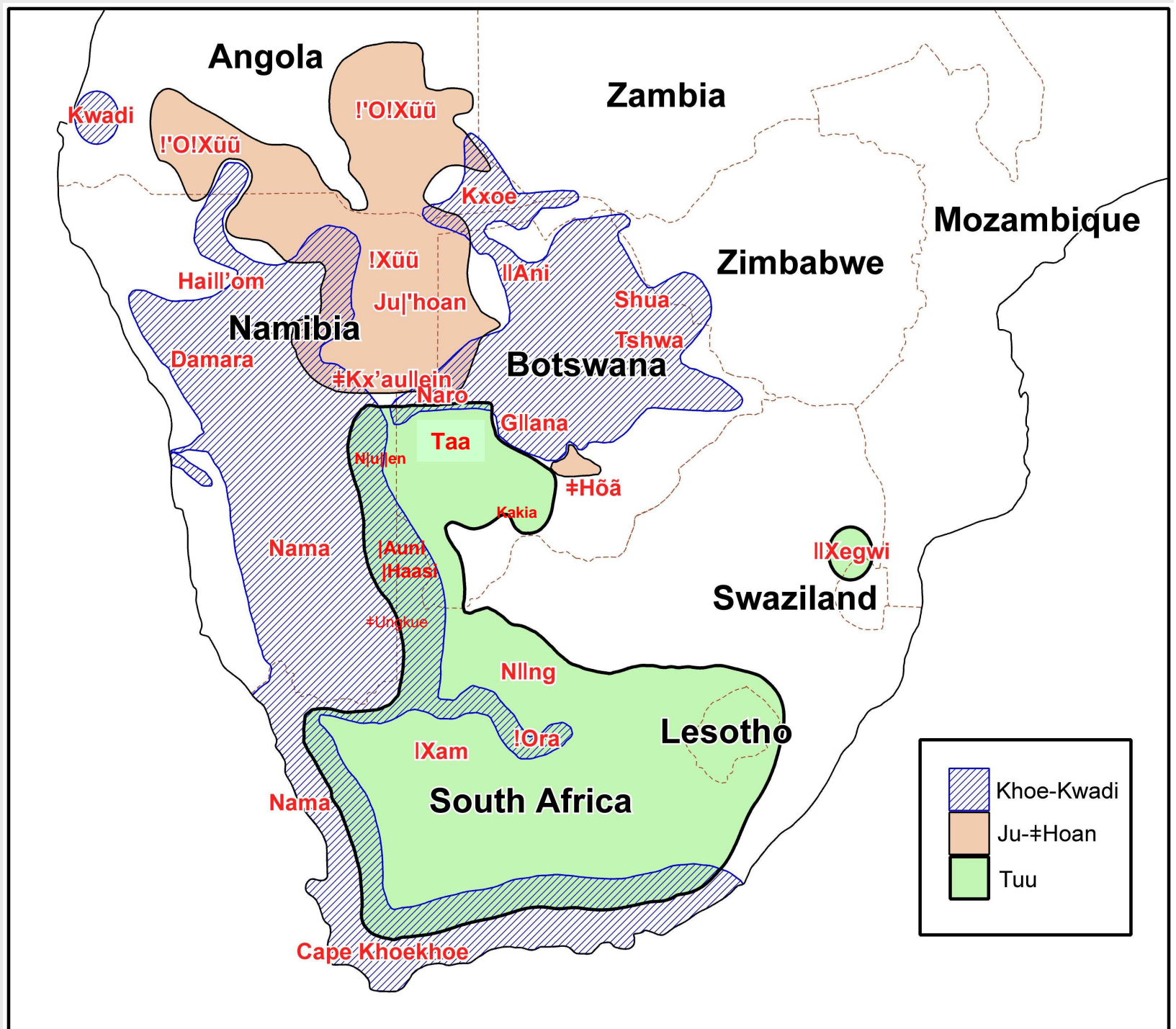
Tuu kinship terminologies in diachronic perspective

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Introduction

- Research on kinship terminologies as part of EuroBABEL project „The Kalahari Basin Area – A *Sprachbund* at the verge of extinction“.
- The group of languages subsumed under the label „Khoisan“ are relatively undisputedly divided into three lineages: Khoe, Kx'aa (Ju-≠Hoan) and Tuu.
- For understanding historical relations between the kinship terminologies of languages belonging to different lineages it would be helpful to identify the common core elements of the kinship terminologies within each lineage (for Khoe branch see Barnard 1988, 1992).
- Aim: Identification of common core elements of Tuu kinship terminologies.



Classification of Tuu (after Güldemann 2008)

TUU

- !Ui
- ||Xegwi †
- |Xam (Dialect cluster) †
- #Ungkue †
- N||ng (Dialect cluster incl. N|uu, #Khomani, etc.): nine speakers

- Taa-Lower Nossob
- Taa (Dialect cluster)
- West
 - N|u||'en †
 - West !Xoon
- East
 - N|amani †
 - 'N|oha
 - East !Xoon
- Tsasi*
- Seroa (#Hoa)*
- Kakia †
- Lower Nossob (Dialect cluster ?)
 - |Auni †
 - |Haasi †

* (added by GB)

Problems

- Uneven distribution of living languages and kinship systems in the three families.
- Taa is the sole living language in the whole Tuu family. Information on the kinship terminologies of all other Tuu languages rely on salvage documentation or historical data instead of descriptions of kinship systems „in action“.
- Historical data on |Auni and |Haasi are particularly scarce and unreliable.
- Structure and lexicon of Taa kinship terminologies differ considerably from !Ui data.
- Lexicon: Only terms for father, mother and child seem to be cognate throughout the Tuu family (plus possibly some terms for in-laws).

Sibling terminologies

Language/ Variety	Sources	elder sister (eZ)	younger sister (yZ)	elder brother (eB)	younger brother (yB)
!Ui branch					
Xegwi	Bleek 1929 Potgieter 1955	!kxi ga (75) ake 'e la kxee	!kxi ga (75) ake 'e la tleni	ga: (24) a 'e la kxee	ga: (24) a 'e la tleni
Xam	Bleek 1924 Bleek 1929	kaxai kaxai (75)	kaxai opwa, xã opwa kaxai opwa, xã opwa (75)	kã kã: (24)	kã opwa ka opwa (24)
N ng	Bleek 1929	ka:xe (75)	ka:xe (75)	kãũ (24)	kãũ (24)
N uu	GB 2010	aaxe, ax	aaxe ax	aun	aun
#Khomani	Maingard 1937	kaxai (239, 257)	kaxai (239, 257)	kãũ (239) kã (239) kãũ (257)	kãũ (239) kã (239) kãũ (257)
#Ungkue	Meinhof 1929	no data	no data	au (184) aun (184)	au (184) aun (184)

Sibling terminologies (continued)

Language/ Variety	Sources	elder sister (eZ)	younger sister (yZ)	elder brother (eB)	younger brother (yB)
Taa-Lower Nossob branch					
Haasi (S 4)	Story 1937 [Traill 1999]	n xai (23)	n xai (23)	, ŋa: si (21)	, ŋa: si (21)
'Auni (S 4)	Bleek 1929 Bleek 1937	no data ka:xe (215) xai (218)	no data ka:xe (215) xai (218)	kǎi (24) kas (215) ka:si (215) ʼ ka (215)	kǎi (24) kas (215) ka:si (215) ʼ ka (215)
Taa	Heinz 1994 [1966] Traill 1994 GB 2004-10	⊙xaa no data ⊙xaa	‡x'an ‡kx'ân (137) ‡x'an	⊙xaa no data ⊙xaa	‡x'an ‡kx'ân (137) ‡x'an
N u en (S 6)	Bleek 1929 Bleek 1956	xǎ (75) xǎ (362)	⊙pa:xa (75)	kě (24)	kě (24)
Kakia (S 5)	Bleek 1929	ka:s (75)	ka:s (75)	xaŋ (24)	xaŋ (24)

Comparing Tuu sibling terminologies

- !Ui: terms for sister/brother; common stem plus gender ending (-x, -xe, -ke, -xai = female; n, nasalization = male); no or only secondary indication of relative age by diminutive or adjective; terms seem to be cognate throughout the !Ui branch (root ~ ||a/||ga/||ka).
- Lower Nossob terms partly similar to !Ui terms.
- Taa: terms for elder sibling/younger sibling; two different terms with no common root; not cognate with !Ui terms.
- Data for N|u||en and Kafia sibling terminologies are not recognizable as Taa.

How did a hypothetical proto-Tuu sibling terminology look like?

- Relative age distinction correlates with bilateral descent and social hierarchy based on relative age as can be expected in egalitarian hunter/gatherer societies (see also difference between Khoekhoe herders and Western Kalahari Khwe hunter/gatherers).
- Observed change in present-day Taa:

term1 = eG term1 = eB, term1-female = eZ term 1 = B
term2 = yG term2-male = yB, term2 = yZ term 2 = Z
(G = sibling, e = elder, y= younger, B = brother, Z = sister)

- Corresponding path for !Ui sibling terminologies would involve a different trajectory; no plausible candidates for second sibling term.
- Opposite scenario also implausible because Taa kinship terminologies are otherwise the least sex-specific.

Are relative age and sex of referent distinctions both result of contact?

- Very rarely cross-culturally.
- !Ui sibling terminologies structurally resemble !Ora and Nama in indicating only the sex of the referent.
- Taa sibling terminologies are structurally the same like #Hoan sibling terminology (Gerlach & Berthold 2011) with gender unspecific terms for elder sibling/younger sibling. The neighboring G|ui and Naro do also have different terms for elder sibling/younger sibling plus grammatical gender.
- Where did Taa recruit second sibling term? Why are both terms different from !Ui?

Treatment of other collateral relatives

- Less data for other collateral relatives (PG, PGC, GC) than for sibling terms.

- Change of cross/parallel system

($P = P_{ssG} \neq P_{osG}$, $G = P_{ssGC} \neq P_{osGC}$, etc.)

into a lineal/collateral system

($P \neq P_{ssG} = P_{osG}$, $G \neq PGC$, etc.)

has often been observed together with socio-economic change from life in extended families to life in core families (see also Taa speakers on farms).

(P = Parent, ssG = same-sex sibling, osG = opposite-sex sibling, C = child)

Treatment of other collateral relatives in !Ui languages

- Often descriptive terms (e.g. ||Xegwi: xwa = mother, ||ake = sister > xwa ||ake = mother's sister) > no identifiable kin class.
- !Ui data mainly show lineal/collateral principle.
- Some indications for former (?) or temporal (?) relevance of cross/parallel principle:

||Xegwi: FBC = G \neq MBC

N||ng: PZ = na||ax, PB = xa||aun

N||ng: more people use cousin term for PosGC than PssGC

(F = Father, B = Brother, C = Child, M = Mother, P = Parent, Z = sister, os = opposite-sex, ss = same sex, G = sibling)

N||ng terms for parent's siblings

Sources	M	F	MZ	MB	FZ	FB
Bleek 1929 GB 2010	xɛ:nki (59) xainki	ɛ:ŋki (37) ainki	en kaxai (17) tannie [5] xainki (se) aaxe [4] na ax [2] aaxe [1]	xa: kãũ (88) ompie [5] xainki (se) aun [2] xa aun [2] !on [1]	a: kaxai (17) tannie [5] ainki (se) axe [2] na ax [2] aaxe [1] xainki oaka [1]	a: kãũ (88) ompie [5] ainki (se) aun [2] xa aun [2] !on [1]

N||ng terms for cousins

Sources	PssGD	PosGD	PssGS	PosGS
Bleek 1929 GB 2010	kɛ:ki aaxe [6] (x)eki [2] aaxe [2] niggie [1] auxue [1]	kɛ:ki aaxe [7] (x)eki [2] aaxe [1] niggie [1] auxue [1]	kãũ aun [3] ein [2] aun [2] neef [2] #huin [1]	kãũ aun [4] ein [2] aun [1] neef [2] #huin [1]

(M = Mother, F = Father, Z = sister, B = brother, P = Parent, ss = same-sex, os = opposite sex, G = sibling,
D = Daughter, S = Son)
(111) = page number
[111] = number of speakers

Treatment of other collateral relatives in Taa

- Mainly cross/parallel distinction.
- Some indications that cross/parallel distinction was not always observed:
 - a) Variety of terms for cross cousins
 - b) „Split nuncle“ type (Ono 2011) in parental and children generation.
- Data for |Haasi and |Auni are of no help.
- Separate development from „Hawaian“ system?

Treatment of sex of referent in !Ui languages: gender suffix

Xegwi	Kin type	Female	Male	Source
	G	ake	a	Potgieter 1955
	MBC	ale	ii	Potgieter 1955
	C	owake	owung	Potgieter 1955

Xam	Kin type	Female	Male	Source
	PP	!koïte	!koïŋ	Bleek 1924
	G	kaxai	kǎ	Bleek 1924
	C	opwaxai	opwɔŋ	Bleek 1924
	EP	opwaitente	opwai hĩ	Bleek 1924
	CEP/GEP	k'aiti	k'en	Bleek 1924

N ng	Kin type	Female	Male	Source
	PP	!kuïke !uiki, !uke, !unki	!kɔŋ !un, !on	Bleek 1929:43 GB 2010
	G	aaxe	aun	GB 2010
	PGC	kɛ:ki aaxe (x)eki	kǎũ aun ein	Bleek 1929:30 GB 2010 GB 2010
	C	Opwaxe Oaxe	Opwɔŋ Oun	Bleek 1929:32,78 GB 2010

G = Sibling, M = Mother, B = Brother, C = Child, P = Parent, E = Spouse

Treatment of sex of referent in Taa: different terms or not at all

- Different terms for male and female representative of one kin type in generations above ego.
- No indication of sex of referent in generations of ego and below.
- Sex of speaker decides on terms used for sibling's children and grandchildren.

Main aspects in which Taa kinship terminologies are different:

- Relative age distinction in the sibling terminology.
- Cross/parallel structure.
- Lack of gendered forms for female and male representatives of the same kin type.
- Sex of referent unspecific forms for consanguineous kin in ego's generation and generations below ego.

Possible reasons:

- Historically distant split between the !Ui and Taa-Lower Nossob branches of Tuu (or no genealogical relation).
- Relative vitality of the Taa kinship system.
- Adaptation of !Ui terminology to Afrikaans as a result of near language death?
- Contacts of Taa speakers with neighboring languages from the Khoe, Kx'aa (and Bantu) language families.

Conclusions

- Every option can account for only part of the findings.
- No conclusive hypothesis for common core structural elements of Tuu kinship terminologies.
- No conclusive hypothesis for historic scenario of change which could account for current pattern of kinship terminologies in the Tuu language family.

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