The Lower Nossob varieties of Tuu: !Ui, Taa or neither?

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1 Introduction

1.1 The Tuu family

+ Tuu (formerly 'Southern Khoisan') one of the least known language families on the globe
> most languages already extinct without adequate description
> introduced as a genealogically defined group by Bleek (1927), then 'Southern Bushman', with an internal REFERENCE classification: S1-6

+ almost unanimously accepted as a family; but difficult internal genealogical classification
> usually Taa language complex opposed to the !Ui subbranch comprising all other attested varieties including those of the Lower Nossop (cf. Köhler 1981, Hastings 2001)

Figure 1: Preliminary classification of Tuu (based on Güldemann 2005: 12)

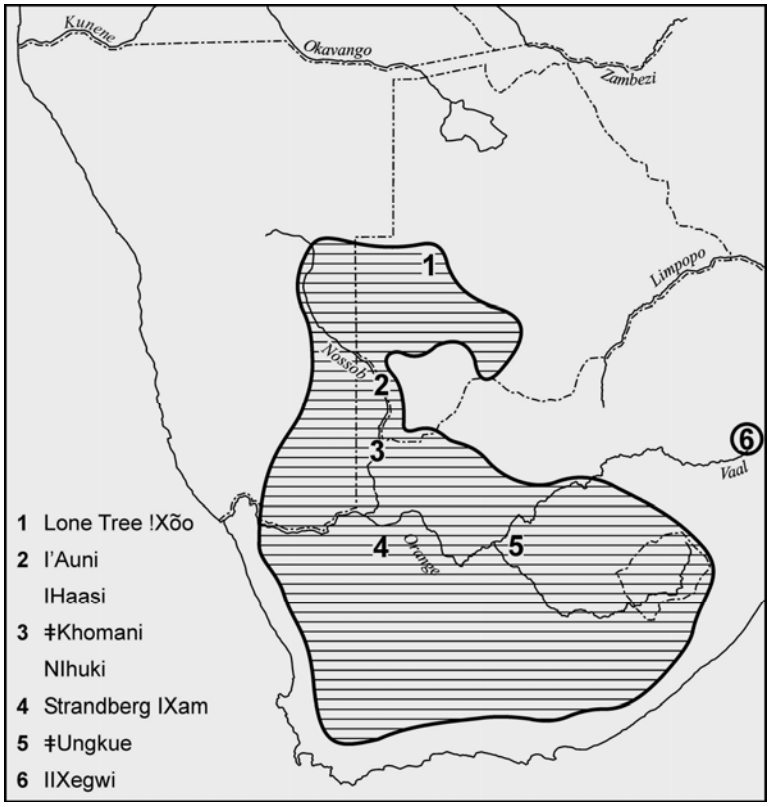
Branch
- Subbranch
  - Selected varieties

Taa (DoBeS + EuroBabel projects)
- Lone Tree !Xoon (Traill), N|amani (Westphal), N|u‖en [S5] (D. Bleek), etc.

???Lower Nossop [S4]
- **|'Auni (D. Bleek), |Haasi (Story)**

!Ui
- N‖ng [S2] (ELDP project)
  - ǂKhomani (Doke, Maingard), N|huki (Westphal), Langeberg (D. Bleek), etc.
- |Xam [S1]
  - Strandberg + Katkop (W. Bleek, Lloyd), Achterveld (W. Bleek)
- Vaal-Orange
  - ǂUngkue (Meinhof), ‖Ũ‖'e (D. Bleek)
- Outliers
  - ‖Xegwi [S3] (Lanham, Hallowes, Ziervogel), !Gã!ne (Anders)

Note: (main researchers or projects), varieties under discussion



Map: Historical distribution of the Tuu languages (after Güldemann 2005: 13)

1.2 The data sources on Lower Nossop varieties

No.	Corpus	Location of contact	Time	Researcher	Publication	Notebook in UCT archive[1]
1	? N|usa (|Karri|karri)	southern Kalahari	<1870	Weber	Hahn 1870c	
2	|'Auni (N|una)	Kyky	29-30/10/11	Bleek	<	A3.4-5
3	ǂẼi-kusi	Kyky	29-31/10/11	Bleek	<	A3.4-5
4	!Abbe	south of Kyky	02/11/11	Bleek	<	A3.4-5
5	|'Auni	Tweerivieren	1936	Bleek	Bleek 1937	A3.29-30
6	|Haasi (K'u|ha:si)	Tweerivieren	1936	Story	Story 1999	F1.18

Note: 1 according to Eberhard and Twentyman Jones (1992)

Table 1: The major data sources on Tuu varieties of the wider Lower Nossop area

+ linguistic research of very short duration, from a current perspective very unsystematic elicitations, unreliable transcriptions and defective structural analyses (particularly by Bleek)

1.3 The sociolinguistic background

+ various indications for considerable linguistic contact with other groups before first linguistic research
> non-San, particularly strong Khoekhoe adstratum:

> … all the |nunas are descended from a Bushman ancestor who married as the result of a war a half nama [= Khoekhoe herders] & bushman [= local San foragers] woman (father bushman - mother nama)
>
> from these are descended the |nunas or |auni (…) namely by intermarriage of pure |auni with the half breed
>
> The Katias are descended from Bushmen who as the result of war got possession of Kafir women [= Bantu] & married them
>
> The marriages took place about 3-4 generations back (Bleek A3.5: 334)

> other San, particularly with southern neighboring language N‖ng belonging to !Ui branch of Tuu (cf. Dart 1937) - bilingualism also in elicitations:

> There were three or four Bushman tribes represented in the camp : the *ǂkhomani*, whose speech Professor Doke and Dr. Pienaar were studying, the *|auni*, to whom I devoted my time, the *|namani*, who had been living among the Nama and only spoke the Nama language, and a few women of the Khatia or Vaalpens tribe who married *|auni* and *|namani* men. One of these spoke the real dialect of her people [= |Haasi], and I hope Mr. R. Story will give us some information on that subject.
>
> *|auo*, as the *|auni* call their language, is one of the Southern Group of languages. It is somewhat like the *ǂkhomani* language, yet is a step nearer to the Central Bushman Group, which means that it is nearer to the Hottentot tongues. Of course the fact, that the families at the Exhibition come from the mutual border of their respective countries, and have intermarried a good deal, tends to bring their speech nearer together. (Bleek 1937: 253)

2 Shared morphosyntactic features

2.1 Agreement and nominal classification

2.1.1 Taa

+ certain grams and lexical stems obligatorily cross-reference/ index a nominal with respect to person, gender, and number = possible "alliteration" in case of appropriate nominal ending and more than one clitic host

(1) *n|a**an*** *gǂu**an*** *!xa**an*** *ǂ'u**an***
see:2b egg.2b big:2b one:2b
to see one big egg

+ host precedes or follows the nominal trigger > "cataphoric" or "anaphoric"
a) adjective-like modifiers and clause-final relative marker as hosts which refer anaphorically to a PRECEDING noun trigger > canonical agreement
b) in all other cases the co-reference trigger FOLLOWS the clitic host > cataphoric cross-reference/ indexing > enclitic functions as pronoun (cf. *n|ann* in (3)) or concord

(2) *e* *si* *tana* ***ka*** ***ǂaan*** *nǂum*
3 IPFV speak MPO:2a language.2a two
he speaks two languages

(3) *a* *haan* *si* *n|ann* ***ka*** ***ǂxanya***
2S where IPFV see:1S GEN:2b book.2b
where do you see my book?

(4) *nna* *n|ai* *Tom-**tu*** ***ku*** *|ai* *ki* *dertien* ***ku***
1S:PERF see:1 PN.1-ASS.P.4 REL:4 stay MPO:1 GN.1 REL:4
I have seen Tom and friends who stay at post 13

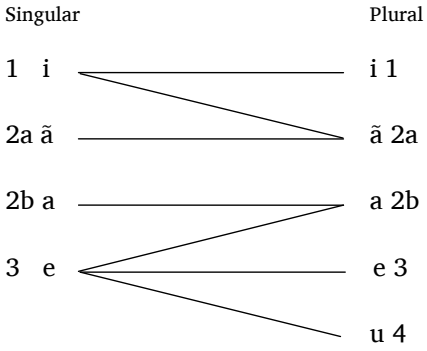
(5) ***tuu*** ***ku*** *si* *quye*
people.4 ETC:4 IPFV dance.initiation:3
The people (women) dance for her the initiation dance

(6) *n* ***ti*** ***Tom*** or *n* ***ke*** ***Tom***
1S COP:1 PN.1 1S COP:3 PN.3
I am Tom

+ nominal agreement classes index gender as well as a singular~plural distinction
> 5 classes segmentally different by means of thematic vowel or nasal: 1 i, 2 ã, 3 e, 4 u, 5 n
> sometimes 2 additional classes by tonal differentiation in class 2 and 3
> class 5 without a lexical item refers to abstract non-lexical triggers

+ singular-plural pair of agreement classes form a gender with count nouns
> often not recoverable from meaning and/or form of the noun - largely "covert" gender
> typologically remarkable features of the system (Güldemann 2000, cf. Figure 2):
(1) majority of classes not dedicated to either one gender or one number
(2) number convergence in both directions > "crossed" system (Heine 1982)
(3) genders outnumber classes, opposite is cross-linguistic norm
(4) potentially contradicts Greenberg’s universal 37: "A language never has more gender categories in non-singular numbers than in the singular."

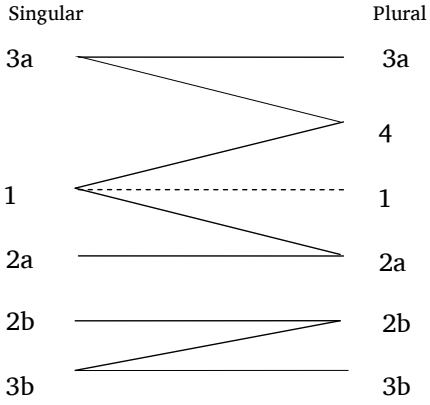
Figure 2: Gender system of West !Xoon with agreement classes and thematic segments



Gender	Core semantics
1 tantum	mass nouns and substances, personal names
1/2a	miscellaneous (109)
2a/2a	parts which belong to a larger unit cognitively (92): body parts (41), lexicalised compounds, diminutives, deverbal nominalisations
2b/2b	miscellaneous (27)
3/2b	miscellaneous: plants, big birds, etc.
3/3	alienated body parts (???meat)
3 tantum	mass/non-count nouns
3/4	humans, kinship terms

Table 2: Gender assignment in West !Xoon (325 simplex nouns, after Kießling 2008)

Figure 3: Gender system of 'N|oha with agreement classes



2.1.2 |Haasi

- one and the same gram changes its vowel depending on the noun it is in construction with
- one and the same noun triggers the same vowel on a gram irrespective of the construction
> indicates an agreement system with several morphosyntactic contexts:

2.1.2.1 Oblique marker kM before valency-external participant - cf. (2) of Taa

(7) *i ˌ|a:ba |ni n tsá káŋ ˉxɔ*
ii *|aaba* *n|i* *n* *tsa* ***kang*** ***xuu***
give hat PURP 1S ?put MPO:1S head
give the hat so that I can put (it) on my head [give me the hat so that I may out [sic] it on] (Story F1.18: 14-169 ~1999: 27-164)

(8) *kxɛ́ɛ tsí kí ká !gaa*
kxee *tsii ki* ***ka*** ***g!aa***
?1P sit.P MPO:A ground
we sit on the ground (Story F1.18: 15-175 ~1999: 28-170)

(9) *si k''ɔ ‖ ɔ kí ´ǂnhuː gu*
si *kx'uu* *‖uı* ***ki*** ***ǂhuu gu***
?1P take skin MPO:I lion
let us take the skin off the lion [skin the lion] (Story F1.18: 12-103 ~1999: 26-101)

2.1.2.2 Genitive marker kM before possessor - cf. (3) of Taa

(10) *‖nhaˉsa káŋ ‖xai*
‖hasa ***kang*** *‖xai*
child GEN:1S sister
my sister's child [it is my sister's child] (Story F1.18: 12-86 ~1999: 25-85)

(11) *´‖nãː kí !haidaba*
n‖aan ***ki*** ***!Haidaba***
house GEN:I PN
Abraham's hut [it is Abraham's hut] (Story F1.18: 15-179 ~1999: 28-174)

2.1.2.3 Postnominal attributive linker kM - cf. (4) of Taa

(12) *kaŋ kú |ɛ ǁnha˜sa ká_!ai*
kang ku |ee ***ǁhasa ka*** *!ai*
?:1S TAM2 get child ?:A beautiful
I have a beautiful child (Story F1.18: 14-154 ~1999: 27-149)

(13) *ǁna˜sa gjɛ kú |ɛ ´ǂhaŋ gjɛ ɔ: si*
n ǁaasa ?ki ku |ee ***ǂhang ?ki*** *uu si*
1S brother ?:I TAM2 get dog ?:I big
my brother has a big dog (Story F1.18: 14-156 ~1999: 27-151)

2.1.2.4 Sentence-initial anaphoric subject pronoun in kM

(14) *kán |a ǁau*
kang *|a ǁau*
?:1S TAM1 smoke
I smoke (Story F1.18: 11-46 ~1999: 25-46)

(15) *ǁha˜sa káŋ a tjū |a !wa:, ká |a ʘwa ai*
ǁhasa *kang* ***a*** *tyu |a !waa,* ***ka*** *|a ʘaa ai*
child GEN:1S A NEG TAM1 dead ?:A TAM1 sleep
my child is not dead, he sleeps (Story F1.18: 10-11 ~1999: 24-11)

2.1.2.5 Marker (of sentence type?) kM after subject noun or pronoun - cf. (5)

(16) *!gaä ká |a ǁɔ hŋ*
g!aa ***ka*** *|a ǁuu ng*
ground ?:A TAM1 burn 1S
the ground burns me [the ground is hot] (Story F1.18: 14-140 ~1999: 27-137)

(17) *ǁnha˜sa káŋ ká !xwa:*
ǁhasa *kang* ***ka*** *!xwaa*
child GEN:1S ?:A be.grown
my child is big [my child is bigger] (Story F1.18: 12-88 ~1999: 26-87)

(18) *!haidaba kís ˉǁu:a si*
!haidaba ki *si ǁuua si*
PN ?:I be old
Abraham is old (Story F1.18: 11-45 ~1999: 25-45)

(19) *ǂhu:gu kí |a !ym*
ǂhuu gu ki *|a !um*
lion ?:I TAM1 roar
the lion roars (Story F1.18: 13-137 ~1999: 27-134)

(20) *´ǂhaŋ ki |a !u: a*
ǂhang ki *|a !uu a*
dog ?:I TAM1 bark
the dog barks [the dogs bark] (Story F1.18: 13-139 ~1999: 27-136)

(21) *ʘwi: kís |ham si*
ʘwii ki *si |ham si*
meat ?:I be raw
the meat is raw (Story F1.18: 14-165 ~1999: 27-160)

(22) *kjíkí ha ´ǁnã:*
ki ki *ha n|aan*
?:I ?:I stay water
he is in the house (Story F1.18: 10-6 ~1999: 24-6)

(23) *kú kú |a _a kí ʘwi:*
ku ku *|a aa* ***ki ʘwii***
?:U ?:U TAM1 eat MPO:I meat
they eat meat (Story F1.18: 10-23 ~1999: 24-23)

2.1.2.6 Bare vowel after subject noun (cf. also (15))

(24) *i gǂe: |ni ´ǂhaŋ i k"a*
ii gǂee n|i ***ǂhang i*** *kx'aa*
give milk PURP dog I drink
give the dog milk that it may drink [give the dog milk to drink] (Story F1.18: 11-41 ~1999: 24-41)

2.1.2.7 Summary: The emergent gender system of |Haasi

Nominal	Oblique marker *kM*	Genitive marker *kM*	Post-nominal attributive linker *kM*	Sentence-initial pronoun in *kM*	Post-subject marker *kM*	Plain post-subject marker	Thematic agreement element
1S.PRO	X	X		X			ŋ/N
'ground'	X				X		A
'lion'	X				X		I
PN		X			X		I
'child'			X	X	X	X	A
'meat'	X				X		I
3H.S.PRO				(X)	X		I
3H.P.PRO				(X)	X		U
'dog'			?X		X	X	I

Table 3: The behavior of example nouns across different grammatical contexts

Agreement class	Attested nouns
I/?E	meat, tsamma, milk, water (1 with A); fire, sun, wind, wood, stone, tree, shade, thirst; house, ?camp, Kalahari; dog (S), lion (S), wildebeest (S), snake (S); woman (S), man (S), brother (S); personal names (S, 2 with A - person as a small child!!!), who (S); goat (P)
A	foot, mouth, arm, body, head, name, hand; ground, day; dog (P, x), lion (P), ostrich (?P), woman (P); child, girl (S and P); ?rain
U	humans (P)

Note: (n) number of possible counter-examples in another agreement class

Table 4: Distribution of nouns attested in the corpus across agreement classes

+ several crucial parallels to Taa

(a) vowel alternation on grammatical elements changing according to noun: a, u, i~e

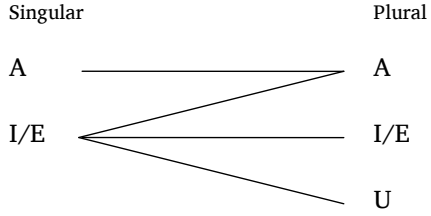
(b) 3 identifiable form classes: A vs. U vs. I/E (unclear whether I and E are different)

(c) at least 3 form classes partly change with number

> classes establish singular-plural pairings aka genders!!!

Pairing A-A	part-whole, ?descendent or diminutive (child, girl)
Pairing I/E-A	non-human animates, woman
Pairing I/E-I/E	mass nouns, other
Pairing I-U	human animates

Figure 4: Approximate gender system of |Haasi



2.1.3 |'Auni and !Abbe

+ material far less reliable, but clear examples for similar constructions with agreement hosts that vary with noun, sometimes the same agreement class as in Taa

(25) *he q̣̃ ti ʘpǫ́ë*
e aan ***ti*** ***ʘoe***
E eat MPO:I meat
he eats meat (Bleek A3.5: 313)

(26) *e sha ke !'k'a*
e saan ***ke*** ***!a'a***
E sit MPO:E ground
she sits on the ground (Bleek A3.5: 314)

(27) *i sãndiki somm |kẽ*
i saan di ***ki*** ***sum*** *|een*
1P.I sit ? MPO:I shade ?inside
we sit in the shade (Bleek A3.5: 348)

(28) *lɔriki i !nau si to*
lori-ke ***i*** *n!au si tuu*
lorry-P I load 1P.E people
the lorries were loaded up [the lorries loaded us up] (Bleek A3.30: 469)

2.2 Quantifier constructions and the lexical paradigm

+ Lower Nossop varieties with complex quantifier constructions
  - display complex linking elements
  - structurally diverse depending on the quantifier: 'one' vs. rest
  - partly involve numerals borrowed from Khoekhoe: */am* 'two', *n!ona* 'three'

2.1.3.1 'one'

(29) |'Auni
n‖ng te ǂ'ũ-u
house ?AGR:E be.(al)one-?
one hut (Güldemann 2002: 190)

(30) |Haasi
‖hasa ka ǂ'ng.ka
child ?AGR:A be.(al)one
one child (Güldemann 2002: 193)

(31) West !Xoon (Taa)
⊙qaqe ǂ"u-e
child.3(E) one-3(E)
one child

2.1.3.2 'two'

(32) |'Auni
n‖ng n‖a *ti si /am*
house ?D ?AGR:I COP two
two huts (Güldemann 2002: 191)

(33) |Haasi
‖hasa ka si ‖aam.a
child ?AGR:A COP two
two children (Güldemann 2002: 193)

(34) West !Xoon (Taa)
⊙qaqni nǂum
children.4(U) two
two children

2.1.3.3 'three'

(35) |'Auni
n‖ng ***‖'ai*** *si n!wona-a*
hut ?P COP three-?
three huts [?the huts are three] (Güldemann 2002: 192)

(36) |Haasi
‖hasa ki si ‖uaa.ka
child ?AGR:I COP three
three children (Güldemann 2002: 194)

(37) West !Xoon (Taa)
⊙qaqni ***g‖ain***
children.4(U) three
three children

2.1.3.4 'many'

(38) |'Auni
tuu tu si ‖ani
men AGR:U COP many
many men (Güldemann 2002: 189)

(39) |Haasi
‖hasa ki si !oo.oo.ka
child ?AGR:I COP many
many children (Güldemann 2002: 194)

(40) West !Xoon (Taa)
⊙qaqni ku ‖ari ku
children.4(U) REL:4 be.many REL:4
many children

+ constructions in |'Auni and |Haasi differ according to quantifier - special role of 'one':
  - copula *si* 'be' before most quantifier lexemes
  - *n/a~n‖a* with 'two', *‖'ai* with 'three' ?as grammaticalized numerals (32), (35)
  - agreement host (possibly a relative marker) cf. (38), but partly conflicting data: cf. (30)/(33) vs. (36)/(39) or (29) vs. (32)
  > postnominal linker possibly without vowel change: ???/ki/ < /ka/ #_/si/

+ variation in Lower Nossop also encountered within Taa:
- difference of 'one' vs. 'two'/'three' vs. 'many'
- no linker with class-inflecting quantifier: (31)
- no linker with invariable quantifier: (34), (37), (41)
- circumpositional agreement - initial + final relative marker: (40)
- postnominal linker with agreement - facultative use of final relative: (41)
- postnominal linker without agreement - gerund-like: (42)
- copula *kM* 'be' before quantifier: (42)

(41) East !Xoon of Bere (Taa)

ii	***ǁain***	*ba*	*a-e*	*ǀhoye*	***te***	***ǁali***
1P	P?	IPFV	eat-3ii	honey.3ii?(E)	REL:3ii	be.much

we eat much honey

(42) Ngwatle (Taa)

⊙qaqa	*ka*	*ke*	*ǂ"u-e*
child.3i(E)	GER?	COP:3i	one-3i

one child

+ lexical paradigm of Lower Nossop varieties, if anything, partly related etymologically to Taa rather than !Ui:

	Taa (Traill 1994)	**ǀ'Auni** (Bleek 1937)	**ǀHaasi** (Story 1999)	**ǂKhomani** (Maingard 1937)	**ǀXam** (Bleek 1956)	**ǂUngkue** (Meinhof 1929)	**ǁXegwi** (Lanh./Hall. 1956)
'one'	*ǂ'û-ã, ǂ'uV* (255) ***ǂ'u-***	*ǂū(-u)* (278) ***ǂ'ũ-***	*ǂ¯ŋk'a* (22) ***ǂ'(V)ng-***	*ǁkoe* (244)	*!kw(')ai* (459)	*'oe* (185)	*!waa* (105)
'two'	*ǂnṼ-, ǂnã-* (146-7) ***[nǂã-]***	*ǀna~ǁna... ǀkam* (254-5) ***[nǂa]***	*sǁa:ma:* (23)	*!'u* (244)	*!'u, !u* (448, 492)	*!'u* (183)	*k'ɯu, c'ɯu* (116)
'three'	*ǁâe* (283) ***[ǁae]***	*ǁ'ai ... !nwɔna* (254, 272) ***[ǁ'ai, ǁai]***	*ǁua k'a* (23)	*!nona* (244)	*!nóař̃a* (479)	*!nona* (185)	*gwana* (102)
'many'	*ǁáli* (247) ***ǁáli***	*¯ǁkani* (273) ***ǁáni***	*!ɔ: ɔ: k'a* (22)	*cebe¯ce* (244)	*ǀk"wai* (339, 340)	*!nai ŋ̟* (188)	*q'iŋ* (117)

Notes: (...) – sources and page numbers; **bold** – compared standardized transliterations;
[...] – uncertain correspondence set

Table 5: Quantifier lexemes across the Tuu family (Güldemann 2002: 194)

3 Conclusions

Lower Nossop varieties are:

- clearly related to each other and opposed to both Taa and !Ui

- internally diverse - unclear status as languages or dialects

- related more closely to Taa on account of several important isoglosses:

- noun class agreement
- agreement classes constitute a gender system of the Taa type
- quantifier constructions partly with complex and diverse attributive morphosyntax
- significant lexical affinities, including the paradigm of quantifier lexemes

> revised Tuu classification

Figure 5: Revised classification of Tuu

Taa-Lower Nossop
- Taa
- Lower Nossop

!Ui
- N‖ng
- ǀXam
- Vaal-Orange
- Outliers

Abbreviations

A specified by the vowel a, ASS associative, AGR agreement host, COP copula, D dual, E specified by the vowel e or exclusive, ETC entity-central theticity, GEN genitive, GER gerund?, GN geographical name, I specified by the vowel i or inclusive, IPFV imperfective, MPO multi-purpose oblique, NEG negation, P plural, PN personal name, POSS possession, PURP purpose, REL relative particle (initial or final), S singular, TAM tense-aspect-modality, U specified by the vowel u

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Abstract

North of the confluence of the Nossob, Auob, and Molopo Rivers in the Kalahari, several speech varieties of San groups have been attested, if only poorly, by linguistic data, notably |’Auni and (Ku)|Haasi. Their relationship to the Tuu family (aka “Southern Khoisan”) and their closer affiliation with each other, allowing one to subsume them under the term “Lower Nossob”, are so far undisputed. However, their exact position within Tuu is equivocal. While most early scholars have assigned them to the !Ui branch of Tuu (e.g., Köhler 1981), there are robust linguistic and sociolinguistic indications that (a) a closer genealogical relation to the Taa group of Tuu is more probable (Güldemann 2002) and that (b) this genealogical affiliation has been obscured by subsequent language contact with the northernmost !Ui language complex N‖ng. The paper will elaborate on the data presented in the latter article in providing more grammatical evidence for the Taa affiliation of the Lower Nossob varieties.