Casting a wider net over N‖ng: the older archival resources

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1 What we know and don't know

In the wake of the end of Apartheid and the emergence of a democratic South Africa the late 1990s witnessed an important (re)discovery for linguists dealing with languages in South Africa and in particular of the 'Khoisan'[2] domain. The efforts of the South African San Institute (SASI) lead to the identification of descendants of the former southern Kalahari San population (cf. Crawhall 2004, 2005), including more than 20 speakers and rememberers of their heritage language. While listed by Lewis, Simons and Fennig (2014) under N|u [ngh], this is called here **N‖ng** (see §2.4 for a detailed discussion of the variable terminology).

	Project	Researcher(s)	Main focus
1	NSF project	J. Brugman, C. Collins, A. Miller, L. Namaseb, B. Sands	selected linguistic topics
2	Ph.D. project at the University of Cologne	M. Exter	phonetics-phonology
3	ELDP project at the MPI-EVA Leipzig	T. Güldemann, M. (Shaw)-Ernszt, S. Siegmund, A. Witzlack-Makarevich	natural discourse data and text annotation

Table 1: Recent linguistic research projects on N‖ng

Since then the linguistic remnants of N‖ng have been documented according to current standards of the discipline, especially in the framework of three dedicated projects listed in Table 1. Hence, a modern description of N‖ng is taking shape, which entails revised and extended analyses compared to the limited documentation achieved by earlier studies. Some notable results are grammar sketches (Güldemann 2003, Collins and Namaseb 2011), specific morpho-syntactic studies (Collins 2004; Ernszt, Güldemann and Witzlack-

[2] This is a term of convenience without implying any linguistic entity (see, e.g., Güldemann 2014a).

Makarevich 2015), and detailed phonetic-phonological descriptions (Miller, Brugman and Sands 2007; Sands et al. 2007; Exter 2008; Miller et al. 2009).

The earlier mode of life of the San foragers in the Kalahari xeric savanna and semi-desert was determined by the harsh environment of this region with important consequences for settlement pattern and size of social units. Following Heinz' (1994) detailed modern anthropological description of Taa, another Tuu group further north, one can assume that the N‖ng lived in relatively small bands comprised of interrelated family units with access to a territory that ensured subsistence over the different seasons of the year. Mobility for an entire group was thus confined to a certain area. There were possibly seasonal aggregations of different bands which in the periphery of the language area will also have involved close contact with foragers of different linguistic background.

Long-distance mobility increased in the later colonial period due to the breaking-up of entire communities and their integration in the society and economy of the Cape, as evident by the presence of a |Xam speaker from south of the Orange River among the N‖ng north of the river (D. Bleek A3.9: 302 reverse-303, see also §2.1), or of a N‖ng speaker from the Orange River among the San of the Lower Nossob deep in the Kalahari (Dart 1937: 108). However, such migration concerned individuals; there was no substantial "retreat" of San groups from the Cape colony northwards into the Kalahari (cf. Pöch 1910, Szalay 1995).

The increasing interaction with cohabitating food producers mostly lead to the marginalization of the San in their original territories and the development of a client relationship to the dominating groups. Especially since the establishment of the colonial regime in South Africa, the accompanying acculturation culminated in the wholesale cultural and linguistic extinction of San traditions (Traill 1995, 1996, 1997).
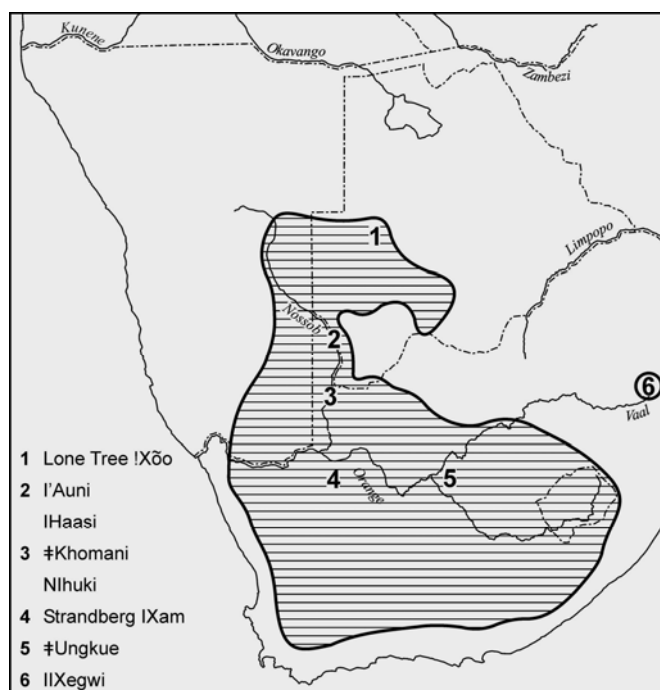
Map 1: Approximate historical distribution of Tuu (after Güldemann 2005: 13)

Genealogically, the N‖ng language belongs to the Tuu family which was introduced under the label 'Southern Bushman' by D. Bleek (1927 and later publications) and called later 'Southern (African) Khoisan' by Greenberg (1963). According to current knowledge, it is an isolate family that has not been shown to be related to any other lineage, including those subsumed under the spurious 'Khoisan' group (cf. Güldemann 2014a). Map 1 shows the approximate geographical distribution of Tuu.

The coherence of Tuu has been confirmed by more systematic comparative research (Hastings 2001, Güldemann 2005) and is thus uncontroversial. The internal classification remains, however, problematic: in particular, while the Taa language complex was more often opposed to a !Ui group comprising all other Tuu varieties, including N‖ng and its northern neighbors in the Lower Nossob region (cf. Köhler 1981, Güldemann and Vossen 2000, Hastings 2001, Traill 2002: 37), a closer unity of Lower Nossob and Taa as opposed to narrow !Ui is favored by the most recent research (Güldemann 2002a, 2014b; cf. already Westphal 1971: 381).

REF.*	Selected varieties	Main research up to 2000 by	Subgroup	Branch
SI	Strandberg + Katkop	W. Bleek, Lloyd	ǀXam	!Ui
SIa	Oudtshoorn	Anderson		
SVIa**	*ǀnusan*	Krönlein		
-	Achterveld	W. Bleek		
SII	**‖ŋ ~ Langeberg**	**D. Bleek**	**N‖ng**	
SIIa	**ǂkhomani ~ Nǀuu**	**Doke, Maingard**		
-	**Nǀhuki**	**Westphal**		
SIIb	*‖kxau ~ ǂUngkue*	Meinhof	Vaal-Orange	
SIIc	*‖kuǁe*	D. Bleek		
SIId	*seroa*	Wuras		
SIIe	*!gã !ne*	Anders	Outliers	
SIII	*batwa ~ ‖Xegwi*	Lanham, Hallowes, Ziervogel		
SIV	*ǀauni ~ ǀ'Auni*	D. Bleek	Lower Nossob	Taa-Lower Nossob
SIVa	*Khatia ~ ?ǂ'Einkusi*	D. Bleek		
SIVb	*Kiǀhazi ~ ǀHaasi*	Story		
SV	*Masarwa Kakia ~ ǂHuan*	D. Bleek	Taa	
SVI	*ǀnu ‖en ~ West !Xoon*	D. Bleek		
-	Nǀamani	Westphal		
-	East !Xoon (Lone Tree)	Traill		

Note: * after Bleek (1927 etc.), ** misclassified ǀXam variety (see Güldemann 2006),
italic = Bleek's original term if different from current one, **bold** = **under discussion**

Table 2: Selected Tuu varieties and their preliminary classification

Table 2 gives a list of the varieties acknowledged by the earlier research and their current internal classification (cf. Güldemann 2014b). It includes in the left-most column Bleek's original, pragmatically intended reference classification. The language varieties relevant here and located roughly north of the Orange and south of the Molopo Rivers along the South Africa-Botswana border are marked in bold. In D. Bleek's (1927 etc.) numbering they appear as SII and SIIa which are meant to reflect dialect differences, indeed corroborated partly by modern data (cf. Witzlack-Makarevich this volume). SII proper was recorded by D. Bleek herself; although she did field research in several locations spanning the entire distribution area of N‖ng, she focused on the southeastern zone around the Langeberg range (see §2.3.4). SIIa from a restricted area in the extreme northwest is also represented in D. Bleek's early material but was recorded predominantly in 1936 in connection with the Kalahari expedition of the University of the Witwatersrand (henceforth Wits Kalahari expedition, see §2.3.5), and later by E. Westphal (see §2.3.6). It is important to recognize that the varieties numbered by D. Bleek SIIb-e, while sharing the Roman number II and being closely related to N‖ng, have so far not been subsumed under it (see, e.g., §2.2.3).

The careful consideration of archival linguistic and anthropological data may crucially inform the notoriously problematic language-dialect distinction and many other open questions revolving around the moribund language complex under discussion. For one thing, these sources can give a perspective on linguistic structure in terms of **space** as soon as the larger and more diverse data sample is used for determining the geographical extension of N‖ng, its internal linguistic diversity and substructure, and the kind of its relation to neighboring groups and their languages.

How problematic this issue is can be illustrated by the quite contradictory statements about the homogeneity vs. heterogeneity of genealogically related San language varieties. When accepting statements like the below by W. Bleek (1873: 2, cf. also Traill 1996: 177-8), one can get the facile impression of a general large-scale unity across the !Ui-speaking area:

> … the different Bushman dialects spoken within this Colony [roughly the Cape south of the Orange River] vary very little from each other, and [that] one language, quite different from Hottentot, is spoken by all these Bushmen.

Other observers, however, noted considerable internal differences. This is, for example, observed by Wuras (1919/20: 81) for the area along and beyond the upper Orange River. Appleyard (1850: 16) writes more generally for the South African Cape context:

> Bushmen themselves are sometimes ignorant of each others' speech, though only separated by a range of hills, or a river. It is very probable, therefore, that many of these dialects are used by not more than fifty or a hundred families […]

Archival data can also provide a better linguistic perspective in terms of **time**. A wide range of features are expected to have been part of the original cultural and linguistic repertoire of N‖ng, because they are found in its genealogical relatives of Tuu and other areally related languages of the Kalahari Basin. However, some of them are difficult to trace in the modern N‖ng data due to language attrition. Just to mention a few examples, these are a specialized lexicon associated with the foraging subsistence (cf. Sands, Miller and Brugman 2007), a register tone system (cf. a first analysis by Exter 2008: 54-6, 71-3), and number-sensitive verb root suppletion. Since the first linguistic records of a N‖ng variety are from the late 19th century and thus go back more than 100 years, it is possible that one or the other older source still reflects partly an original linguistic situation which has been lost today. For instance, recent data alone regarding prosody are quite meager in order to conclusively establish a coherent tone system, but data by D. Bleek (2000: 18) and others as well as older audio recordings available from the 1930s may help to inform a fuller analysis. With respect to verb root suppletion, too, modern N‖ng gives only slim evidence for a suppletive pair of singular *suin* vs. plural *!hhaun* for 'sit'; D. Bleek (2000: 25), however, indicates that an inventory of this kind used to be more extensive when writing:

> Certain verbs have different forms for the singular and plural. For instance *kiä* 'to lie, sleep' has *kiwa* for the plural also in other tenses.

The present contribution aims at providing a survey and characterization of the N‖ng-related archival data, many of which are part of the Bleek-Lloyd collection and are housed by the Manuscripts and Archives Department, University of Cape Town (henceforth just UCT archive, see Eberhard and Twentyman Jones (1992) for most holdings of this collection). Such a study can help to provide easier access to these data and make better use of their potential for answering some of the above and other questions. In particular I will discuss here the implications which these sources have for a fuller historical appreciation of the N‖ng language complex and clarify certain terminological problems revolving around it.

2 Archival resources of the N‖ng dialect cluster

2.1 The challenges of archival resources

While the archival data are essential for a more profound scientific evaluation of the many extinct or moribund Tuu varieties, the use of such material has proved in the past to be associated with immense problems of analysis. Languages have been filed under inadequate names: as already observed by Winter (1981: 342), this is the case with Meinhof's (1928/9) ǂUngkue (SIIb, cf. §2.2.3) which D. Bleek (1956) and other surveys list under ‖Kxau, the name of another dialect that is only mentioned in passing in Meinhof's introduction. Some documented varieties have been misclassified guided by a misleading name rather than by an inspection of the data themselves, as shown by Güldemann (2006) regarding Krönlein's

N|uusaa: this is a |Xam and not a Taa variety, rendering D. Bleek's reference label SVIa inappropriate. Finally, some previous inventories of the Tuu family like Winter (1981: 337, 340) even include ghost languages without any genuine data like !Khuai ~ !Xuai (see Güldemann 2002b). All these errors have contributed to the large amount of confusing and spurious information on the Tuu family in published form, e.g., in Lewis, Simons and Fennig (2014). It is clear that progress can only be made if research efforts go back to the primary data which are richer in all types of information.

The challenges of such work are, of course, obvious. Vis-à-vis modern standards of language documentation and the ideal of a faithful and comprehensive linguistic (and other) description of a language and the culture of its speakers, old archival sources on so-called 'Khoisan' languages entail numerous problems, notably the following.

First, a large amount of the recording work must be characterized as "flying visit" research: there was hardly any familiarity with the languages, speakers, and their environment; interaction was mostly carried out by means of indirect mediation by interpreters; the amount of data is extremely restricted - at times just a few words or no linguistic data at all; and only very few speakers were consulted, even resulting sometimes in a corpus that represents merely an idiolect of an individual with a potentially idiosyncratic personal history.

Second, the metadata accompanying the material are insufficient and recurrently confusing; in the worst case, there aren't any. Hence, the data themselves can often be hardly or not at all characterized in terms of time, location, and circumstances of recording and regarding the background of the speaker(s), the variety/language etc.

Moreover, many of those who recorded relevant data were not specialist scholars and thus lacked the sufficient disciplinary training. Even when the data were collected by people with an appropriate background, there was a final but major problem, viz. the early stage of linguistic theory and methodology, not yet fit to confront languages which in certain areas display features that are still today hard to analyze. Accordingly, data recording and elicitation were erratic rather than systematic; there were no or insufficiently established standards in transcription, analysis, and terminology; the linguistic diversity and complexity of non-European languages were unknown.

In the following I will give some examples that illustrate how difficult it may be to analyze archival sources and thus how cautious one should be with drawing conclusions from brief inspections. As will be seen, the problems are beyond the mere difficulty of reading and deciphering handwriting of the early 20th century on/in an unknown language.
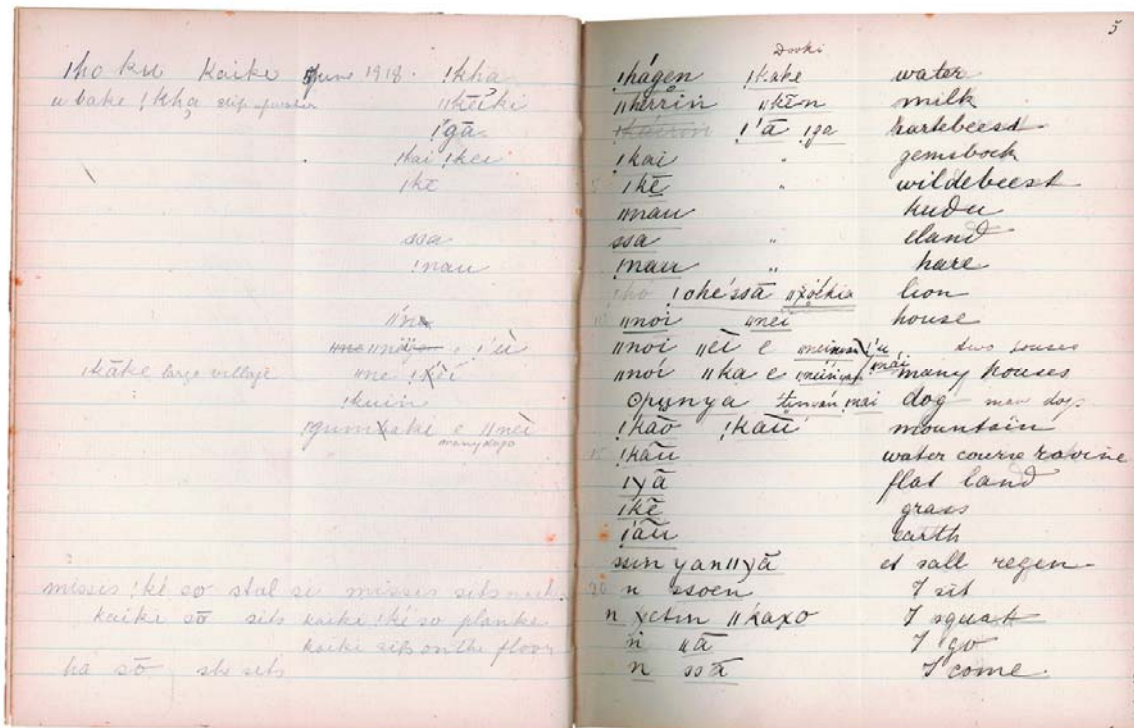
Figure 1: Pages 4 reverse and 5 of D. Bleek's notebook A3.1

Illustrative cases of problems caused by the absence of customized notation and sufficient and clear metadata can be found in D. Bleek's notebook A3.1. While it contains by and large N‖ng data collected by her in the period of 1-14/9/1910 at Mount Temple, and thus could be assumed to provide a relatively homogeneous sub-corpus, some pages call this plausible supposition into question. These pages tend to contain information that somehow corresponds with that on their opposite right pages; they are fortunately suspicious by being reverse, because reverse pages are generally left blank. When deciphering the notes carefully, it becomes clear that information was added later under entirely different circumstances and reflects distinct speakers, varieties, etc. (see §2.3.4 for more detailed information). Thus, page 4 reverse of notebook A3.1 (see Figure 1) was recorded years later on 5/6/1918 from a woman called Kaiki; while this work was also carried out in the Langeberg area, the speaker hailed from Roidam north of Upington, a long distance away to the west (the bulk of the data from this Kaiki is actually found in notebook A3.9). Similarly, page 16 reverse was recorded from a woman called Trinki on 14/11/1911 at Abeam still further west on the Molopo (the rest of her data are in notebook A3.4). In the first example, shown in Figure 1, the suspicion is provoked by an unexpected name and date, and the handwriting with a different pen. About the reason for D. Bleek's procedure one can only speculate; she probably started to add her later data to the first notebook for the purpose of comparison and later decided to record the rest in a different notebook. While the irregularities can be resolved in these cases with some reliability, their existence implies that one must interpret and analyze every page or even every data point anew in order to avoid misapprehensions.

How essential full metadata really are concerning consultants and their linguistic material they provided becomes obvious from the recurrent indications that San individuals were often multilingual or at least multidialectal and, at least in the colonial period, also geographically quite mobile. For example, about Kaiki interviewed in the Langeberg area and referred to above (see also §2.3.4), D. Bleek (notebook A3.9: 301 reverse-303) writes:

> Kaiki's first husband/ father of her children/ was a colonial [|Xam] bushman/ she could not understand/ his language, but he knew/ hers. His name was Hans/ but she did not know his/ bushman name. He/ came up with a master/ & married her & stopped in/ this part./ /Her father was Jacob ?Lucas/ = |xãnʬan ǂ3kwã./ mother ?Oue Kaiki/ = |kwātu . |kwūtu/ her people lived at/ Roidam - above Upington/ may be alive still./ She married there &/ lost her husband there./ she came up here [= Langeberg area] as a/ widow looking for/ work. Her daughters/ have gone back to/ Roidam & two of/ them are married. (/ marks line break)

An even more serious example revolves around the attempt to disentangle the linguistic situation of the San involved in the Wits Kalahari expedition of 1936. Their multilingualism, notably in N‖ng and |'Auni, was certainly recognized by the scholars involved and was held responsible for certain contact-induced similarities:

> 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. (D. Bleek 1937a: 195)

However, the situation was much more complicated: it becomes clear from D. Bleek's notebooks A3.29-30 that during the elicitation on |'Auni some bilinguals switched on certain occasions between languages. Since D. Bleek did not make any notes at the relevant places, it must be assumed that she missed this phenomenon, at least partly, so that it is unclear whether the lexical data in D. Bleek's (1937b) published |'Auni vocabulary represents only this language or not also material that actually comes from N‖ng.

The enormous problems arising from the complexity of the languages, especially when compounded with insufficient training in and/or short exposure to a language in short-term research is also amply testified by the archival resources. That this even affected scholars like W. Bleek, D. Bleek's father, who at his time was THE specialist in linguistic 'Khoisan' research, can be illustrated from his notebook A1.4 of 1866 containing data on a |Xam variety of the Achterveld, admittedly belonging to his early San language material.

(1)
a. |ké̃ |ké̃   (W. Bleek A1.4: 7, 7)
    ǂke ǂke   (W. Bleek A1.4: 30)
    !ei (!ei)   (W. Bleek A1.4: 65, 65, 65)
    ⌈ke ⌈ke   (W. Bleek A1.4: 76, 77)   (Vosseler 2014: 15)
b. |kei, |keĩ   (D. Bleek 1956: 308)

Example (1)a. contains four different representations found with eight tokens of the lexical root for 'tooth' (the reduplication is a likely sign of pluralization and hence unimportant here; (1)b. gives the orthographic form for this corpus generalized in later work). Such a highly variable transcription of the root makes it impossible to deduce a reliable phonological representation. For the record, the word has in fact a lateral click /∥/ (D. Bleek 1956: 568), which might have been intended by W. Bleek's symbol ⌐ in his last version.

(2)

a.	*tuke, tuku*	men, boys, people	
b.	*tutuse, tutusi*	men, boys, people	(D. Bleek 1937b: 207)

Such a high degree of deficient analysis also arose more than half a century later. D. Bleek's published analysis of her |'Auni data contains, for example, the entries given in (2) whose linguistic interpretation is obviously difficult. Especially the material under (2)b. is suspicious from both a comparative and language-internal perspective. An original entry from the notebook is reproduced in (3)a. together with another, partly parallel construction in (3)b.[3]

(3)

a.	**tutusi** ∥k ́ani	many men	(D. Bleek A3.30: 533)
b.	∥χóë he si ∥karⁿrⁿi	here is much tsama, tsama is plentiful	(D. Bleek A3.5: 343)

Both expressions in (3)a. and (3)b. involve the lexical element 'many' and contain an element *si/se*. This suggests that *si* in *tutusi* is not part of a lexical entry, as assumed in (2)b., but rather part of the grammatical structure triggered by 'many'. The quantifier construction with *si* in (4) from |'Auni's closest relative |Haasi confirms this hypothesis.

(4) ∥hasa ki   **si**   !oo.oo ka
     child   ?AGR:I PRED many   ?
     many children (Güldemann 2002a: 194, 2014b: 270)

The idea is fully corroborated by modern comparative data outlined in Güldemann (2014b: 262-71), which the reader is referred to for more details. Suffice it here to consider two examples of quantifier constructions of the Taa language complex involving the cognate item 'many', as in (5) and (6). In attributive contexts, this quantifier has to be attributed to

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[3] The abbreviations in the following examples are: AGR agreement, PRED predicator, REL relative. The vowels E, I and U stand for class agreement specified by the respective vowel. Arabic numerals indicate agreement classes.

the head noun in a relative clause, and the attributive linker is an element *ku* agreeing in noun class with the preceding noun.

(5)   *⊙qaqni*   ***ku***   *∥ari*   *ku*   West !Xoon (Taa)
      children.4(U)   REL:4   be.many   REL:4
      many children (field notes)

(6)   ***tú̀ù***   ***kú***   *∥árí*   *kùù*   ǂHuan of Inalegolo (Taa)
      people.4(U)   REL:4   be.many   REL:4
      ... many people (Bonitz 2012: 72)

All the above information together throws a very different light at the ∣'Auni items in (2)b.: the purported plural form *tutusi~tutuse* represents in fact an inappropriately segmented chunk of an attributive construction that was misapprehended by D. Bleek in the short time she worked on that language. The reanalysis in (7), based on language-internal and comparative grounds, is a far more likely reconstruction of the notebook data in (3).

(7)
a.   ***tuu***   ***tu***   ***si***   *∥ani*
      people   AGR:U   PRED   many
      many men, people
b.   *∥xoe*   *he*   *si*   *∥ani*
      tsama   E   PRED   much
      here is much tsama, tsama [it] is plentiful   (Güldemann 2002a: 189, 2014b: 268)

The above examples should suffice to recognize two things: on the one hand, the work with older archival sources is indeed a difficult undertaking; on the other hand, subjecting these data to more sophisticated modern approaches of linguistics as well as recent insights in genealogically and areally related languages promises to yield a far richer picture of the relevant languages than taking the restricted published outcomes of the early research at face value.

One important methodological principle should be followed in such research. The archival material consists of very diverse corpora that are mostly very restricted in quantity; these cannot fully represent the variety of an entire speech community. Under such circumstances it is impossible to determine the exact identity of the relevant variety and its relation to those of other corpora arising from early or modern research. This is why the concept of "doculect", as a single language corpus by virtue of **documentation**, should be used in a first step of organizing the data (cf. Nordhoff and Hammarström 2011, Cysouw and Good 2013). A doculect is defined and characterized as follows:

a linguistic variety as it is documented in a given resource. This term is deliberately agnostic as to whether or not that variety can straightforwardly be associated with a particular 'language' or 'dialect' and, instead, merely focuses on the fact that there is a document either about the relevant variety or directly recording that variety in some way (e.g. as a book written in that variety). (Cysouw and Good 2013: 342)

Following this approach, every corpus, however small, should be treated as an independent doculect and hence analyzed on its own terms. In cases where an individual research event obviously involved identifiable speakers who use different varieties, it may be necessary to split the data even down to the consultants' idiolects.

The consolidation of doculects to larger entities like dialects, languages etc., which are to be reckoned with in comparative studies, is only a second step on the basis of the linguistic analysis as well as the information about speaker (group), language territory, location and time of recording etc. The usefulness, if not, necessity of such a procedure will be demonstrated in the discussion of §2.2 and 2.3.

2.2 Geographically closest non-N‖ng doculects

In §1 I have briefly outlined the rough geographical distribution of N‖ng that can be deduced from published sources, namely a region in South Africa confined roughly by the Orange River in the south and the Molopo River in the north but whose eastern and western boundaries are unclear. In this section, I will try to confirm or narrow down this information by considering unpublished archival sources about the geographically closest non-N‖ng San neighbors. Discussing these doculects informs the more exact definition of the territorial extension of N‖ng and its relation to its neighboring San languages, on which the information is normally similarly or even more scanty.

2.2.1 Lower Nossob varieties in the northwest

As already indicated in §2.1, there is robust evidence that the little known San language varieties subsumed here under the label Lower Nossob (cf. Table 2) were the immediate neighbors of N‖ng in the northwest. The southern Kalahari in the area of the confluence of the Nossob, Auob, and Molopo Rivers was the last refuge of partly intact San populations in South Africa. The first more concrete and reliable information about these groups comes from the end of the 19th century. This makes clear that the cultural and linguistic situation was diverse and dynamic, whereby it remains unclear whether this particular complexity stemmed from earlier periods, was the result of the later colonial history, or both factors were responsible.

Pöch (1908/9, 21: 363-4), for example, as one of the earliest observers, and a scientifically acute one, reported on the following encounter:

Ich mußte fast bis 25°40' südlicher Breite reisen, bis ich wieder Buschleute fand. Einige Familien der Velander'schen Bastards (Bastard-Hottentotten) waren zu vorübergehenden

Aufenthalts hierher gezogen und um sie hatten sich die Buschleute gesammelt. Ich sah mehrere Horden, im ganzen mehr als 150 Köpfe. Es waren Vertreter mehrerer Stämme mit verschiedenen Sprachen zugegen: der |Kang (durchbohrte Nasenscheidewand und Nasenpflock), der "Kattea" (starke Negerbeimischung) und auch der ǂAu‖ain. [I had to travel up to 25°40' southern latitude [along the Nossob River] until I encountered again Bushmen. Some families of the Vilander Bastards (Bastard-Hottentots) had trekked here for temporary settlement and Bushmen had gathered around them. I met several [San] bands, all in all 150 people. They represented various tribes with distinct languages: the |Kang (pierced nasal septum and nose peg), the "Kattea" (strong negro admixture), and also the ǂAu‖ain.]

This concentration and diversity of San people were the reason why the "salvage research" carried out in South Africa in the first half of the 20th century, in particular in connection with the Wits Kalahari expedition, focused on this area. At the same time, there was no long-term engagement in this research so that the results remained superficial and confusing. Such early authors as Herbst (1908: 5), Pöch (1908/9, 1910), and D. Bleek (notebook A3.5) did recognize a distinction between the San of the area between the Orange and Molopo Rivers, viz. the N‖ng at issue here, and San further north encountered mostly along the Lower Nossob like the |'Auni etc.

However, recent work, for example, Crawhall (2004, 2005: 76-8) and Lewis, Simons and Fennig (2014), has obviously been struggling with the overall unclear and contradictory information. By not evaluating the original sources in more detail, such recent publications have perpetuated or even created new inadequate descriptions of the overall linguistic situation. And indeed, after the large-scale demise of the indigenous cultures and languages of the local San, their identities themselves were, if not shattered altogether, blurred, as is evident in the following quotation where |'Auni and N‖ng~N|uu are equated:

In January, 1973, I found what was effectively the last of the speakers of a Bushman language in that area at Nossop Camp in the Park. She is a woman of about 55 years of age and **calls herself a |'auni and her language |ŋuʰci (n[oun]) or |ŋuʰ: (v[er]b)**. Her name is |o:kos. ... I made my own transcriptions of the material collected by Bleek, Doke and Westphal on ǂkhomani, |'auni and |ŋuʰci and I find that |o:kos speaks the language recorded by them with a few differences in pronunciation. (Traill 1974: 42-3) [bold face mine]

Whatever |Okos' ethnic identity, it can be stated with confidence that the only language material available from her (provided during field work with Westphal, see §2.3.6) is just N‖ng, which must be distinguished from the linguistic data D. Bleek recorded as |'Auni. A more detailed linguistic analysis of most of the original field notes on the relevant area separating individual doculects carefully (cf. Güldemann 2002a, 2014b), confirms D. Bleek's establishment of a distinct Lower-Nossob group (= her SIV), including |'Auni, and leads to the conclusion that this group is in fact closer to the Taa language complex in the north rather than to the !Ui branch, including N‖ng, in the south.

2.2.2 |Xam in the south

|Xam (= SI in Table 2) represents a second group of San language varieties geographically close to N‖ng. Although it is part of the !Ui branch and thus linguistically closer to N‖ng than its northern Lower Nossob neighbours, |Xam and N‖ng are sufficiently distinct from each other. |Xam is widely known from the founding research by W. Bleek and Lloyd in the second half of the 19th century (cf., e.g., Bleek and Lloyd 1911). It was spoken in a large area south(west) of the Orange River; scholars like Pöch and D. Bleek identified speakers around Prieska still around 1910 (cf. Pöch 1910, 1912; D. Bleek 1936). Moreover, several earlier sources suggest that San language varieties spoken just north of the Orange River along its lower and middle section were also more like |Xam rather than N‖ng. This seems to hold for a small corpus called N|usa around Augrabies recorded in 1880 by Lloyd (1889: 26-7, notebook A2.1.124) as well as a couple of other corpora from areas further west collected by Krönlein (= SVIa of Table 2) and W. Bleek and analyzed in detail by Güldemann (2006). If the Trans-Orange distribution of |Xam is not falsified in the future, the area along the northern bank of the River would have been outside the territory of the N‖ng cluster.

2.2.3 Danster !Ui in the east

A set of two San doculects was recorded in the east of N‖ng near the Vaal River around Warrenton and Windsorton; they also belong to !Ui and have been subsumed by D. Bleek under SIIb (see Table 2). In both corpora the San turn out to have been associated with a frontier community that had formed in the early 19th century in the wider area around the confluence of the Orange and Vaal Rivers under the leadership of a Xhosa known in colonial sources as Danster (cf. Kallaway 1982). Accordingly, the doculects are subsumed here in a preliminary fashion under the term "Danster !Ui".

The more substantial corpus, in fact the most extensive source on any eastern !Ui variety, is Meinhof's (1928/9) short but for the time remarkably detailed description of ǂUngkue.[4] The second corpus, also from the Warrenton area but without a clear recording date, is found on less than ten pages of D. Bleek's notebook A3.6: it is indeed close to Meinhof's ǂUngkue but features a different group/language name, viz. ‖Kā. There are indications that speakers of Danster !Ui came from an area somewhat further west.

This geographical detail and the admittedly superficial impression of intriguing linguistic affinities between N‖ng and Danster !Ui raise the question whether the two could have been part of a yet larger continuum of speech varieties so that the eastern boundary of the N‖ng complex would not be reasonably well defined. Only a detailed linguistic analysis of all relevant sources can clarify this issue.

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[4] As mentioned in §2.1, this corpus figures in some Tuu surveys erroneously under the label **‖Kxau.**
     ǂUng.kue is quite likely the same as the group referred to by Engelbrecht (1936: 68) as the
     ǂOn.‖xo.n.a, who in turn are said there to be related to the |**Xau.**sa.kw.a.

2.2.4 Summary

The information given in the previous sections of §2.2 is summarized in Table 3: there are three clusters of San language varieties attested as neighbors of N‖ng (see Map 3 in §2.3.7 for their geographical location). While the northwestern boundary is linguistically quite strong, the transition of N‖ng towards its closer !Ui relatives in the south and east must be assumed to have been more subtle so that the language-dialect distinction needs to be ascertained conclusively by detailed historical-comparative research.

	Research location/ origin of speaker	Researcher(s)	Date	Classification within Tuu
N	Kyky	Pöch, D. Bleek	1909/11/36	Lower Nossob, Taa-Lower Nossob
S1	Prieska	Pöch, D. Bleek	1909/10/11	ǀXam, !Ui
S2	Augrabies	Lloyd	1880	ǀXam, !Ui
E1	Warrenton 1	Meinhof	1928	Danster, !Ui
E2	Warrenton 2	D. Bleek	?	Danster, !Ui

Table 3: Geographically closest Non-N‖ng San doculects

From a purely geographical perspective the approximate limits of N‖ng are relatively well defined by the Lower Nossob group in the northwest and ǀXam in the south. However, its exact boundaries are entirely unclear in the west and east-northeast. Since at least the 18th century, these areas were settlement centers for Khoekhoe (cf. Maingard 1964, Steenken 1997) and Tswana (cf. Maingard 1933), respectively. It can be assumed that the acculturation of whatever San groups lived there in the past preceded the time when the scientific interest in their cultures and languages had developed.

2.3 N‖ng doculects

This section is concerned with the central topic of this contribution, namely the range of archival sources on the N‖ng cluster and the doculects to be considered in future linguistic analyses. This contributes in particular to a better empirically based understanding of the diversity of N‖ng. Up to now, the geographically large N‖ng area has predominantly thought to have been characterized by a rough division between a western and an eastern variety (cf. Witzlack-Makarevich this volume). A more conclusive assessment of this question is, however, only possible on the basis of all modern and archival sources.

Table 4 is a first overview of the older N‖ng doculects currently known to (have) exist(ed) in archives, in the chronological order of their recording (see §2.3.7 for a summary and a map). Apart from spanning almost a century of research, they are highly diverse in many respects, viz. in terms of geographical location, the background of the researcher(s), the duration and scope of the research, and the amount of resulting data. In the following, I present this previous engagement with N‖ng according to the individual scholars involved.

Year	Research location/ origin of speaker	Researcher	No. of days	No. of speakers	No. of pages
1885	Langeberg 1	Lloyd	?	?1	15
1885+	Rietfontein	Pabst	?	?	?
1909	Twee Rivieren 1**	Pöch	?	?	?
1909	|Kuris Pan**	Pöch	?	?	?
1910/1	Mount Temple	D. Bleek	>30	>5	>150
1911	Swaartputs	D. Bleek	1	1	13
1911	Abeam	D. Bleek	?2	1	8
1911	Leutlandspan	D. Bleek	1	1-2	12
1911	Grondneus	D. Bleek	1	2	3
1918	Langeberg 2	D. Bleek	15	1-2	>30
1936	Twee Rivieren 2*	D. Bleek, Maingard, Doke	?	>5	?
1962/6	Twee Rivieren 3*	Westphal	?	?1	>50

Note: * audio data, ** possibly audio data

Table 4: Archival doculects of N‖ng

2.3.1 L. Lloyd's Langeberg material

Lloyd (1889) refers to the presumably first language material ever recorded on N‖ng:

> 257. … Information regarding χúm̄-\|nǎ and his relatives. - In English, after χúm̄-\|nǎ, 1885. (L XVII. XVIII. and XIX.-1. 10350, 10362, 10349 reverse) (Lloyd 1889: 26)

> 275. Words and Sentences. - Given by χúm̄-\|nǎ, who came originally from the neighbourhood of the Langeberg, near the Orange River. (L XVII. XVIII. and XIX.-1. 10351-10362, 10363, translated.) (Lloyd 1889: 28)

This quote reports about her own short research in 1885 with a San language speaker from the Langeberg area. Unfortunately, her three notebooks XVII-XIX in which the material should be found are unfortunately missing in the UCT archive. Since no data can be inspected and compared with other corpora, it is thus not fully clear whether the variety indeed belonged to the N‖ng cluster. This can, however, be assumed with great likelihood on account of the speaker's reported origin - an area which later turned out to be an important distributional focus of N‖ng speakers.

2.3.2 H. Pabst's ǂKaurure‖nai~N\|usa of Mier-Rietfontein

Other records of N‖ng from the same period come from the extreme northwest at the other end of the N‖ng zone. In the second half of the 19th century a frontier group under the leadership of Dirk Vilander had founded a "Baster" polity in the area around Mier and Rietfontein right on the north-south border between Namibia and South Africa (see Steenken 1997: 54-68), and the local San had entered a client relationship with them. In

1885, the Rhenish missionary Pabst started to work at Rietfontein among the Vilander community and also came into contact with the San group, from which he collected an unknown amount of linguistic data. The whereabouts of his complete notes could not be ascertained so far but two short word lists are available, namely 7 items listed under the opaque name ǂKaururе‖nai in Schinz (1891: 540) and 12 items labeled with the familiar term N|usa (see §2.4) in Pabst (1895b, hosted by the "Archiv- und Museumsstiftung der Vereinten Evangelischen Mission Wuppertal"; its published version of 1895a lacks the word list). While these are very restricted data indeed, they are undoubtedly from the local N‖ng variety, which is well attested by various later doculects, and thus represent the so far first accessible linguistic material on this language complex in general.

2.3.3 R. Pöch's N|u of southern Kalahari

The Austrian anthropologist Pöch provided the second still available doculect on N‖ng. In 1909 he undertook a journey through the southern Kalahari of South Africa (cf. Pöch 1908/9, 1910, 1912), whose routes starting in Upington are shown in Map 2.
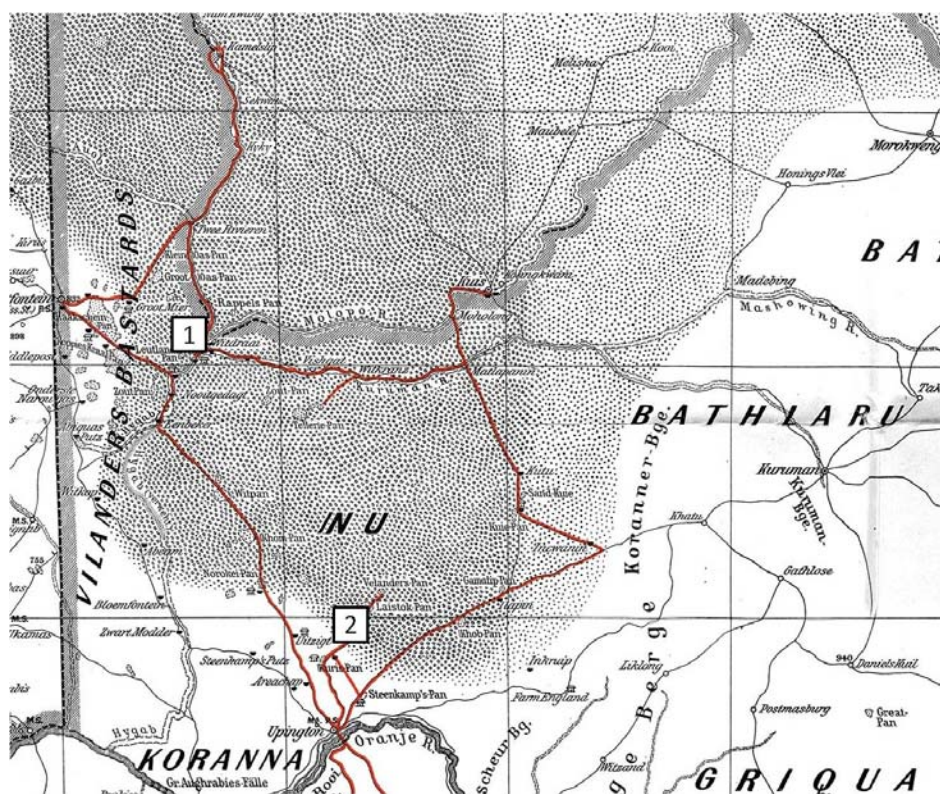
Map 2: Pöch's travels through the southern Kalahari (Pöch 1912)

He had at least two encounters with San also calling themselves N|u, namely around the Molopo-Nossob confluence a little east of Pabst's mission station (cf. 1 in Map 2) and again during a short travel to |Kuris Pan a little north of Upington (cf. 2 in Map 2). Since he traveled further north beyond the Nossob-Auob confluence and encountered there San who can be securely associated with the Taa-Lower Nossob group of Tuu (cf. §2.2.1), his research

is one of the reliable sources for determining the northwestern boundary of the N‖ng cluster; Pöch (1910: 360) explicitly identifies the territory of his N|u more generally as between the Orange and Molopo Rivers.

From Pöch's published travel reports it transpires that he may even have made audio recordings with some N|u speakers met by him; however, up to now even his written notes and other material, which are dispersed over several institutions in Vienna, have not yet become readily accessible, if only by means of metadata annotation, so that the exact nature, extent, and quality of his linguistic data cannot be ascertained at present.[5]

2.3.4 D. Bleek's N‖ng~N|u across the southern Kalahari

As mentioned in §1, D. Bleek established the N‖ng group within the Tuu family, then known as "Southern Bushman". This falls out naturally from the fact that during her various field trips throughout southern Africa in the early 20th century she gathered the most extensive first-hand expertise on diverse San groups and their languages at the time (for more details and background of this research, see, e.g., Bank 2006 and Weintroub 2011, 2013).

In the area under discussion here she undertook at least four travels between 1910 and 1918, thereby accumulating more than a dozen linguistic corpora hosted in the UCT archive. This more intensive engagement with N‖ng is also reflected by the fact that she produced a publication-ready overview of the dialect cluster and its speakers (cf. D. Bleek 2000). Unfortunately, she did not distinguish the different doculects in this study, so that a consultation of linguistic data there is of limited value; linguists should consult her empirically richer original notebooks.

Her first research on N‖ng resulted from a visit to Mount Temple in the Langeberg area for a little less than three weeks (1-21/9/1910), working with half a dozen consultants who no longer formed a socially independent San group but were farm laborers. At least one individual is said to come from Postmasburg, which I assume to be the modern place east of the Langeberg range (see Map 3 below); a detailed linguistic analysis needs to establish the nature of these data and their relation to N‖ng further west and Danster !Ui in the east.

A second longer trip (10/10-21/11/1911) led her from Upington to the Lower Nossob area and back to Upington, during which she reported about several encounters with San. Besides recording Lower Nossob varieties, language data conclusively associated with the N‖ng cluster come from four locations, viz. Swaartputs, Abeam, Leutlandspan, and Grondneus (see Map 3 and Table 5 below). The information noted down in Leutlandspan is of particular interest for an overall assessment of N‖ng. First, she must have met the same group known to Pabst (§2.3.2), because she writes (notebook A3.5: 367):

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[5]   The material published in Lechleitner (2003) does not contain the data collected during Pöch's second trip in South Africa but rather the results of his first travel through the central Kalahari.

> before the Whitemen came they lived at/ Rietfontein,[6] and lived on tsama/ in the veld, when there was none, they drank/ at Rietfontein water [/ marks line break TG]

Moreover, the individuals contacted by her on this occasion, especially an elder with the Afrikaans name Ou Abraham, played a central role in the research of the Wits Kalahari expedition more than 20 years later (see §2.3.5). The ethnic and language labels turning up then are *Hartegrond Bushman* (p.360), *ǀnu* (= /nǀuu/, p.360), and *ǁṅ ǃkwi* (= /nǁng ǃui/ 'Nǁng person', p.362). The last two terms attest to the overall coherence of the dialect cluster from this extreme corner in the northwest up to the Langeberg area in the southeast. The first term provides another type of significant information, namely that the typical environment of this San group seems to have been the so-called "hardeveld" predominating in the south rather than the sand dune area further north (cf., e.g., Herbst (1908: 2) for this landscape distinction; for more discussion, see §2.4 below).

D. Bleek's third Nǁng field work period (5-17/12/1911) brought her back to Mount Temple in the Langeberg, working with roughly the same consultants as in 1910. Years later, she visited this area again for a little more than two weeks (5-21/6/1918); her main consultant Kaiki during this trip, mentioned already in §2.1, is reported to come originally from Roidam much further west, so that the data may well represent a different Nǁng variety.

2.3.5 C. Doke, L. Maingard and D. Bleek's ǂKhomani of Tweerivieren

Almost twenty years passed until linguistic (and other) research on Nǁng was resumed, now with the awareness that these and other San people in South Africa were at the brink of cultural extinction. As documented in Jones and Doke (1937), at the invitation of D. Bain (cf. Bain 1936; Gordon 1995, 1999) a multidisciplinary research team was assembled in 1936 for the study of the last semi-"independent" San of South Africa. This Wits Kalahari expedition worked with an assembly of close to 80 individuals, first in Tweerivieren in the Kalahari and later at the University farm at Frankenwald in Johannesburg. The scholars encountered a multiethnic and multilingual group that was tied together by a shared client relationship to the local Baster community that had already been observed by Pabst (see §2.3.2) and Pöch (see §2.2.1) as well as by multiple marriage relationships (see Dart 1937).

It was mentioned in §2.3.4 that Ou Abraham, a senior elder of the Nǁng aka Nǀuu of this northwestern area, encountered already in 1911 by D. Bleek, played a central social role in this San community.[7] With respect to the modern Nǀuu speakers, it has been a facile

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[6] The Rietfontein at issue here should not be confused with the place of the same name visited by D. Bleek further north in modern Namibia (cf. D. Bleek 1928).

[7] Ellis (2012: 217) states that "it becomes impossible to assign a definitive ethno-linguistic identity to Abraham," because he is reported to also have spoken Khoekhoe and/or Tswana. To speculate that Ou Abraham was not a born Nǁng speaker has, however, little foundation in view of his general social background, his exceptionally good proficiency in such a low-prestige language, and the fact that knowledge of prestige languages was and is the norm for marginalized San people.

assumption that most of them are closely related to this group. However, clear confirmation to this effect only exists for a couple of people (cf., e.g., Ellis 2012: 138-44), which suggests that recently recorded N‖ng data come largely from locations further south(east).

The Wits Kalahari expedition produced the most extensive published materials on N‖ng and hence came to determine the perception of the dialect cluster in both linguistic and non-linguistic circles, including the propagation of the problematic language label ǂKhomani (see §2.4). Here again, it will be more fruitful to go back to the full range of the original data. They are archived at the University of the Witwatersrand and include useful audio recordings (see, e.g., Traill 1997), a good part of which has been linguistically transcribed and annotated by the ELDP project at the MPI-EVA Leipzig (see Table 1 in §1).

2.3.6 E. Westphal's N|huki of Tweerivieren

In the context of his field survey of 'Khoisan' languages in the 1950/60s, Westphal also recorded a N‖ng corpus at Tweerivieren; this has come to be known under the label N|huki. The research seems to have been carried out with a single speaker, |Okos Koper, who was also interviewed later during a visit by Traill (cf. 1974: 42-3) and thought then to be the last speaker of the language as a whole (see §2.2.1). Westphal only used and published minor parts of his data for comparative purposes but his rich material can be consulted at the UCT archive, including audio recordings. Güldemann (2003) is a full digitization and linguistic annotation of his written notes and contains a language sketch draft that served as first reference material for the grammatical assessment of the language carried out within the three modern documentation projects referred to in Table 1.

2.3.7 Doculect summary

The N‖ng doculects to be recognized on the basis of the above information are summarized in Table 5 below. An individual doculect has been determined according to researcher(s), time and place of recording, and when necessary and possible, also speaker(s). Ironically, while the geographical location of a variety is essential for the ultimate goal of better understanding the internal structure of the dialect cluster, it is the least reliable parameter with some doculects. This is because the known place of data recording need not be the same as the origin of the consulted speaker and hence the location of that particular variety; this holds for at least two of D. Bleek's corpora but could be relevant in more cases. In general, a great proportion of the data (marked in the table in italics as *secondary location*) have been recorded in a context where the N‖ng speakers no longer pursued an independent life in their original territory, nor is the information recorded in this respect sufficient.

Owing to a high amount of unsystematic notation, especially in D. Bleek's data, considerable uncertainties with respect to a doculect's exact geographical affiliation remain. As soon as a detailed linguistic analysis is carried out, it may well be necessary to further separate such data as far as possible according to idiolects and consolidate them into dialect

varieties only at a later stage. In fact, a number of doculects represent idiolects in any case, because they come (predominantly) from single consultants (marked in the table by *).

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 5: Archival and modern doculects of N‖ng

At present, 14 older archival doculects are recognized in Table 5. These doculects can be added to the modern data from about a dozen speakers whose dialect background has yet to be determined conclusively (see Witzlack-Makarevich (this volume) for a first systematic approach) but who in any case represent a more reduced geographical range of origin (they are subsumed in Table 5 under the numbers 15-17). This wider data spectrum certainly gives an improved picture of the N‖ng dialect cluster.
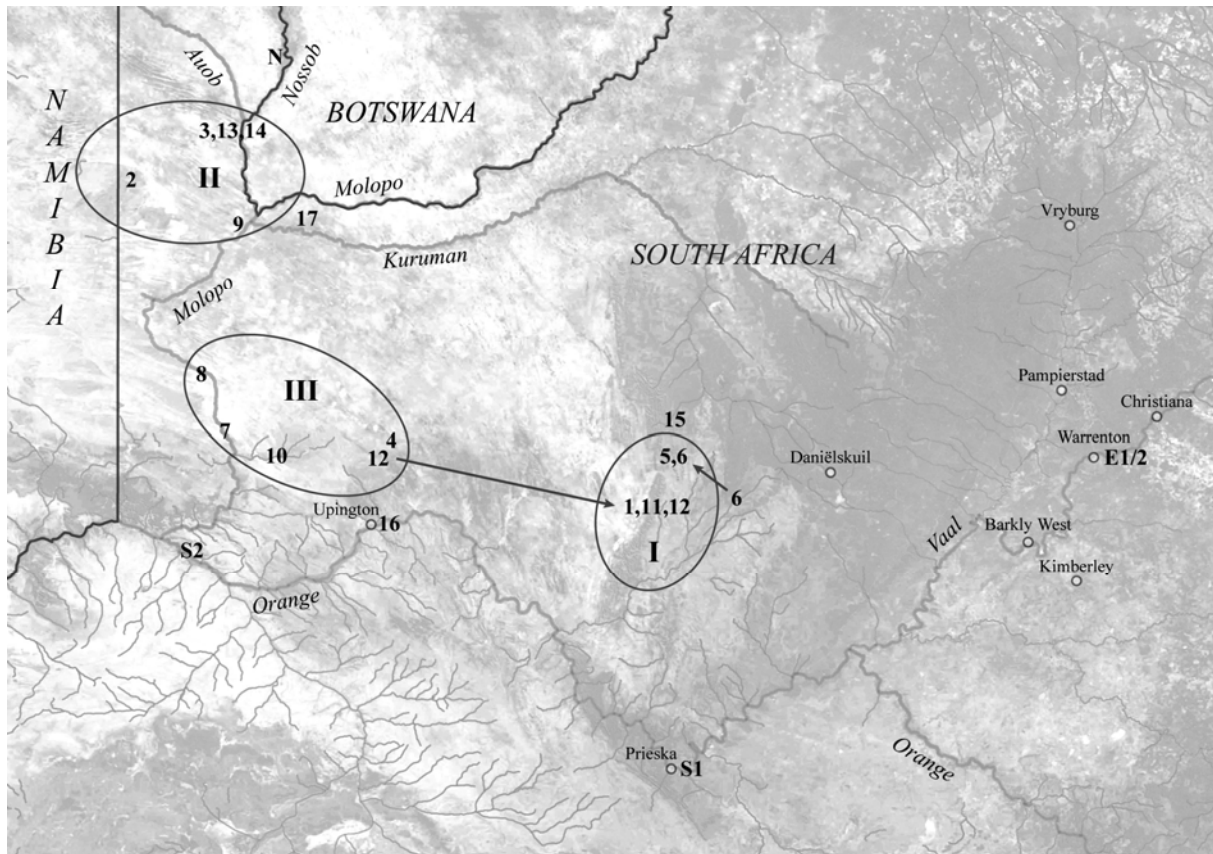
Note: Arrows indicate consultants' presumed original and secondary settlements.

Map 3: Geography of archival and modern doculects of N‖ng and neighboring San language varieties

The (approximate) locations of all 17 entities of Table 5 are shown in Map 3. On the basis of this map I group the older doculects in a preliminary fashion into three geographical clusters which are as follows:

(I)	Southeast:	1, 5, 6, 11, ?12
(II)	Northwest:	2, 3, 9, 13, 14
(III)	Southwest:	4, 7, 8, 10, ?12

In view of the current dialectal assessment of the modern data into an eastern and a western variety (corresponding in the table to 15 vs. 16 + 17), the doculects of the Southeast cluster (I) might be expected to contrast with the Northwest (II) and Southwest (III) clusters. However, only systematic research in the future can show how the above geographical pattern is related to a fuller linguistically based dialect classification.

2.4 What language terminology for N‖ng?

It has been mentioned above that the N‖ng cluster displays a considerable variation of, if not confusion about, the names for language varieties and/or speech groups, as is common in the 'Khoisan' domain in general and the Tuu family in particular (cf. Treis 1998, Güldemann 2014a). The following discussion tries to assess the terms available in the literature

regarding their occurrence, meaning and suitability, particularly on the basis of the richer information in older unpublished doculects.

A first term, *ǂKaurure‖nai*, was only used once by Schinz (1891: 540) when referring to the data by Pabst (cf. §2.3.2). Strangely enough, it is not found to be used by Pabst himself so that the label is questionable without any further information available.

A second term, *Saasi*, is equally restricted in use. It has only been found with some speakers in the northwest and appears to have a general meaning 'San person'. With this background the most likely interpretation is that it comprises two components, a root *saa* and a suffix *-si*: the root would derive from the Khoekhoe exonym for foragers while the suffix is recurrently found on singular nouns of N‖ng, associated particularly but not exclusively with loan words, which seems to support the exonymic interpretation. The generic Khoekhoe exonym for San may well have taken on the function of an autonym for a few N‖ng individuals (see also below on the term *n|uu*); its attested use matches quite closely that of the Afrikaans term *Boesman*. Another possibility entertained by Güldemann (2000: 11-2) is less likely but cannot be fully excluded, viz. that *Saasi* is associated with similar terms that serve as more specific San ethnonyms further north(east).

A third term, *ǂKhomani*, is another label that does not seems to be an original autonym, although it has been used extensively in the previous literature and has become an accepted label, often as just *Khomani*, for the newly forged identity associated with the successful San land claim in the south of the Kalahari Gemsbok Park (cf. Carruthers 2003; Crawhall 2004, 2005; Schenck 2008; Ellis 2012 for some background). It is significant that the first (and last authentic) occurrence of the term is tied to the research context of the Wits Kalahari expedition of 1936, in which the N‖ng were in intimate contact with their northern |'Auni neighbours. Since the scientific results were propagated through Dart, Doke, and Maingard's prominent studies in Jones and Doke (1937), they have since then been dominating the relevant scholarship.

In order to understand the origin of the term *ǂKhomani* it is crucial to scrutinize the terminological triplet in (8) which was recorded during the Wits Kalahari expedition for the different San peoples contacted (cf., e.g., D. Bleek's notebook A3.29: 433):

(8)

a.	*N|ama.ni*	Khoekhoe-speaking San group from the north
b.	*|'Au.ni*	autonym of the principal Lower Nossob group
c.	*ǂK(h)oma.ni*	N‖ng around the Molopo-Kuruman-Nossob confluence in the south

It can be observed in (8) that all terms share a suffix *-ni*; this is not a typical linguistic element in !Ui but rather in Lower Nossob and Taa varieties, recurring there as a human plural suffix. This is also the function of *-ni* in the above three terms as confirmed at

least for two of them by the data in (9) from a bilingual |'Auni-N‖ng speaker, because the lexical roots without the suffix no longer refer to people.

(9)

a.   *n   ‖kai   a |usi |au*
        my mother ? |'Auni.language
        my mother brought me up on |auni

b.   *n   haya   i   ǂkoma-ka   n   haya   i |au*
        I   speak ?   N‖ng.language-?   I   speak ? |'Auni.language
        I speak ǂk[omani] I speak |auni (D. Bleek notebook A3.30: 511)

While more data pointing in the same direction could be added, the above information already allows a coherent assessment of all three terms to the effect that they in fact reflect the classification of different San groups in the wider area from the perspective of the |'Auni, who themselves were located around the lower courses of Nossob and Auob.

(10)

a.   *N|ama.ni*   exonym for northern (?Taa) neighbors (cf. West !Xoon *n|ama* 'north')
b.   *|'Au.ni*   autonym
c.   *ǂK(h)oma.ni*   exonym for southern N‖ng neighbors

The terminological triplet of (8), as reinterpreted in (10), and in particular the idea that *ǂK(h)oma.ni* is a |'Auni exonym for their southern neighbors, is in full concordance with the known, if restricted, facts from ethnography, linguistics, and geography.

Recall from §2.3.4 that the N‖ng aka N|uu, styled *ǂKhoma.ni* by the |'Auni, also called themselves (?or were called) *Hartegrond* people which correlates with the general impression that they inhabited predominantly the territory south of the extensive red dune fields. Given that in the Taa language complex, the closest relative of the Lower Nossob varieties, the generic word for 'soil, earth, sand' is *ǂkx'om* (cf., e.g., Traill 1994: 137), it is intriguing indeed to ask whether a similar word existed in the |'Auni language; this could have designated the southern landscape of solid surface without large dunes, and by extension, the San group living there. For the record, it is furthermore possible that the ethnonym *ǂK(h)oma.ni* is somehow related to labels like *|Khoma.ni.n* recorded by Hahn (1879: 307) for a San group in southern Namibia and/or *gǂoma.ni* known vaguely by a few Taa speakers of the West !Xoon dialect as having been used in the past for a San group in their south(east), i.e. southeastern Namibia (TG field notes).

The root *N|uu*, which appears with or without additional linguistic material, is a fourth term referring to N‖ng doculects but has a far wider occurrence compared to the previous three. It occurs with two major connotations whose exact relation the available

information does not fully disentangle. The first one is tied (but possibly not restricted) to its co-occurrence with a second element *-sa(n)*, which quite clearly marks the entire term *n|u.sa(n)* (= /n|uu-saa-n/) to be an exonym from Khoekhoe varieties best translated as 'N|uu San people' in which *sa(a)* means '(to) forage(r)' (cf. *saa.si* discussed above) and *-n* is a gender-neutral plural suffix. As to be shown shortly, the root *n|uu* is occasionally found to co-occur with the masculine suffix *-ku(a)* and/or with such a gender-number suffix alone.

Importantly, such terms are not only attested for N‖ng doculects, as that by Pabst (cf. §2.3.2), but also for varieties of various other Tuu languages, notably from the |Xam cluster of the !Ui branch in the south and from the Lower Nossob group and the Taa language complex in the north. It emerges from this particular geographical profile that the pastoralist exonym has a wider yet specific meaning, namely referring to forager groups which the Khoekhoe encountered after crossing the Orange River and expanding northwards, particularly into the southern and western fringes of the Kalahari. This connotation is confirmed by early historical information from the area around the middle and lower Orange River itself to the effect that the designation *n|uu* was relevant there for ethnic categorizations regarding both Khoekhoe and San. Engelbrecht (1936: 48) reports that !Ora Khoekhoe were subclassified into *n|uu* 'north of the river' vs. *|hãu* 'south of the river'. This categorization was equally applied by the Khoekhoe to their San neighbors, as becomes clear from Burchell (1953,2: 237):

> … the Klaarwater Hottentots [= Xiri], and the Koras [= !Ora] … designate the Bushmen living southward of the Gariep [= Orange River] by the names of *'Kŏsa 'kýkwa* or *'Kŏsa 'kwa* (Kowsaqua) [?= *|hãu.saa.ku.a**], which imply 'men beyond the river.' Those who inhabit the northern side of that river, are called *Núsakwa* (Nóosaqua) [= *n|uu.saa.ku.a**, a name of correspondent import. [* The click absence reflects recurrent inappropriate transcriptions.]

However, ethnic labels like *n|uu(saa-)* are not only known for |Xam doculects (cf. §2.2.2) but are also attested much further north, viz. a) for the N‖ng at issue located around the lower north-south course of the Molopo River up to its confluence with the Kuruman and Lower Nossob, b) in the form *n|unas* (= *n|uu.n.a.s* with an English plural suffix) for the |'Auni of the Lower Nossob group (D. Bleek notebook A3.5: 334), and c) as *Nusan* (= *n|uu.saa.n*) for a Taa-speaking group yet further up in mid-eastern Namibia (D. Bleek 1928: 65, = her SVI of Table 1). That a label which presumably meant originally just 'North-of-Orange (San people)' has come to be used far away from this original area can be explained plausibly by the assumption that the Khoekhoe carried the term with them and thereby extended it to any local but similar San groups, so that its meaning lost its earlier concrete ethnic and linguistic denotation. This also explains why in Nama Khoekhoe *n|uu.saa.n* means 'Kalaharibuschleute [Kalahari San]' in general and *n|uu.!huu.b* refers, on the basis of the former usage, to 'Durstfeld (Kalahari) [dry Kalahari]' (Rust 1969: 302).

The second semantic connotation of the root *n|uu* is that of an autonym, occurring in different word forms like plain *n|u(u)* as (part of) the bare ethnic term itself, *n|uu* 'to speak

(own) San language' (also attested as such in the Lower Nossob variety |Haasi), and *n|uu-ki* 'San language' (the deverbal nominalization of the former, cf. §2.3.6 for Westphal's linguistic label). According to the available data, this more restricted usage is only found in western N‖ng, notably in the doculects by Pöch (§2.3.2), D. Bleek (Leutlandspan, §2.3.4), and Westphal (§2.3.6), as well as with the modern speakers from Upington and Witdraai~Andriesvale. It is not used or has sometimes even been rejected by the modern speakers of eastern N‖ng. The geographical correlation and the observation that exonyms are recurrently taken over as autonyms favour the hypothesis that the second meaning of *n|uu* as an autonym derives from the localized Khoekhoe exonym.

The last term to be discussed is *N‖ng,* which often co-occurs with *!u(i)/ǂee* 'person/ people'.[8] It has a virtually universal occurrence in all sufficiently large corpora either as a specific autonym, particularly in the east, or as a more general term for 'San person' or 'person, human being', particularly in the west. The root *n‖ng* seems to be the same as 'bird nest, (grass) shelter, hut, dwelling, home', a reflex of Proto-Tuu *n‖aM (M stands for the second mora whose form differs between languages). One of the meanings of *n‖ng* has motivated D. Bleek (2000: 14) to translate the compound form *n‖ng !u(i)/ǂee* as 'home people', which in turn has prompted a politically minded but spurious interpretation as 'first/indigenous people'; a more plausible hypothesis has been suggested by A. Traill (p.c., e-mail 25/11/99):

> [it] could mean 'grass hut people' to distinguish them from surrounding Nama (mat hut) and Bantu (mud hut).

Whatever the ultimate origin and meaning of the term, the universal distribution of *N‖ng* '(San) people' confirms that D. Bleek's original terminology for the entire dialect cluster is appropriate. *N|uu* is suitable as a cover term for (north)western doculects in line with its local usage as an autonym. The above information has shown, however, that a N‖ng identity must not be inferred from a name containing this root. This fact implies that the current practice in Lewis, Simons and Fennig (2014) to use *N|uu* as a general label for the entire language complex is a quite misleading, hence unfortunate choice. The question remains whether there is/was a useful indigenous term for the eastern doculects/dialect; a careful study of the archival sources may well turn up such a label. All the other terms, viz. *ǂKaurure‖nai, Saasi,* and *ǂKhomani,* are better dispensed with as language-related labels, because they do not reliably and/or appropriately identify a specific ethno-linguistic entity related to the N‖ng domain.

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[8] *!U(i)/ǂee* is a reflex of a semantically identical Proto-!Ui root pair with number-sensitive suppletion (cf. the last cognate component in *|Xam ka !u(i)/!ee,* the full ethno-linguistic label for the |Xam).

3 Summary

The above treatment has shown that the archival data on N‖ng recorded by early researchers are far more extensive and diverse than commonly recognized and can inform the difficult assessment of this moribund dialect cluster. Future research should include this largely unanalyzed and unpublished material in addition to the modern language data, because it provides essential but heretofore lacking information.

A fuller engagement with these sources in this restricted context already clarifies terminological problems associated with the dialect cluster. D. Bleek's original label N‖ng turns out to still be the most appropriate term for the language complex as a whole, because it does justice to the history of the research discipline, to the empirical facts across the whole range of relevant data, and to the current sensitivities of all its remaining speakers.

The results of the above discussion, based on more extensive data, also confirm the previously assumed distribution of N‖ng as centered on the Kalahari area in South Africa. The language territory appears to have extended as far north as the Kuruman and Molopo Rivers and stretched south through a large area without any watercourses towards the Orange River, but apparently without reaching it. The boundaries of the N‖ng territory in the west and east remain quite unclear. They could have been around the modern border between South Africa and Namibia in the east and the Langeberg-Korannaberg ranges in the west; but this is rendered conjectural by the lack of any San language material from the adjacent zones. As remarked already in §2.2.4, this seems to be a function of the early extinction of San languages there. Regarding the east, there is in fact the possibility that N‖ng shaded into a yet larger dialect continuum that included what I have called in a preliminary fashion Danster Ui (cf. §2.2.3).

Most encounters with partly independent N‖ng bands were made along or close to the major (dry) river beds and nearby pans. While these can be assumed to have been gravitation points for settlement, it should not be concluded that the vast interior was uninhabited or even unused; the few older sources on San subsistence ecology in the wider area such as Pabst (1895a, b), Herbst (1908), MacCrone (1937), Story (1958), and Steyn (1984) argue convincingly that the lack of surface water was made up for by the access to moisture found in animals and plants, in particular the tsama melon.

In general, the archival sources on N‖ng hold a great potential for future research. Language-internal differentiation can be investigated in the future by consolidating the individual doculects towards linguistically homogeneous entities as well as by comparing the rough east-west dialect distinction arrived at on the basis of modern linguistic data with the three doculect concentrations in the southeast, northwest, and southwest identified in §2.3.7. It is also possible that the older materials, despite their various drawbacks, can to some extent inform the problematic analysis of the modern linguistic data. Last but not least, they can also give interesting insights into non-linguistic aspects of the N‖ng people. This concerns in particular their original cultural profile, their history of contact with

neighboring San groups and various newcomers like the Khoekhoe in the (south)west and the Tswana in the (north)east, and their more recent past of incorporation and acculturation into colonial and modern South African society, including the circumstances and accompanying linguistic practices of their ultimate shift towards other languages. Since the history of the modern ǂKhomani community is to a considerable extent the history of the N‖ng, this work will not be a venture of purely academic import.

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