

Towards casting a wider net over N||ng: chances and challenges of archival Khoisan resources

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1 What we know and don't know

1.1 Background

+ in late 1990s discovery by the “South African San Institute (SASI)” of descendents of the San population of the South African part of the Kalahari (cf. Crawhall 2005), including more than 20 speakers or rememberers of the N||ng language (= N|u [ng] of Ethnologue)

+ modern N||ng since then documented according to current standards of the discipline by:

- a) NSF project (Brugman, Collins, Miller, Namaseb, Sands): selected linguistic topics
- b) Ph.D. project University of Cologne (Exter): phonetics-phonology
- c) ELDP project at the MPI-EVA Leipzig (Güldemann, Shaw-Ernst, Siegmund, Witzlack-Makarevich): natural discourse data and text annotation

> modern description with revised and extended analyses compared to those based on limited data of earlier studies, cf.:

- grammar sketches: Güldemann (2003), Collins and Namaseb (2011)
- phonetic-phonological description: Miller, Brugman and Sands (2007), Sands et al. (2007), Exter (2008), Miller et al. (2009)
- specific morpho-syntactic studies: Collins (2004); Shaw-Ernst, Witzlack-Makarevich and Güldemann (forthcoming)

1.2 General anthropological and historical setting

+ foraging San characterized by a particular mode of life with consequences for settlement pattern and size of speech communities (cf. Heinz 1994)

- relatively small bands comprised of interrelated family groups with access to a territory that ensures subsistence over the different seasons of the year
- possibly seasonal aggregation of different bands
- close contact also to bands with a different linguistic background
- mobility of a group within a territory; long-distance mobility at best for individuals
- + frequent marginalization in interaction with cohabitating food producers > client relationship, incorporation
- > wholesale cultural and linguistic extinction under colonial regime in South Africa and beyond (Traill 1995, 1996, 1997)

+ individual mobility presumably increased in later colonial period through the breaking-up of whole speech communities and their forced integration into Cape society

- N||ng speaker from Orange River among San of Lower Nossob (Dart 1937)
- !Xam speaker among N||ng across Orange River (D. Bleek A3.9: 302rev.-303)

> but no substantial retreat of San from the Northern Cape further north across the Orange and into the Kalahari (cf. Pöch 1910, Szalay 1995)

1.3 Linguistic classification etc.

+ Tuu (formerly ‘Southern (African) Khoisan’ as per Greenberg 1963) one of the least known language families on the globe

> isolate family not shown to be related to any other lineage, including other ‘Khoisan’

> introduced as a genealogically defined group by D. Bleek (1927), then ‘Southern Bushman’, with an internal, possibly pragmatic REFERENCE classification > Table 1

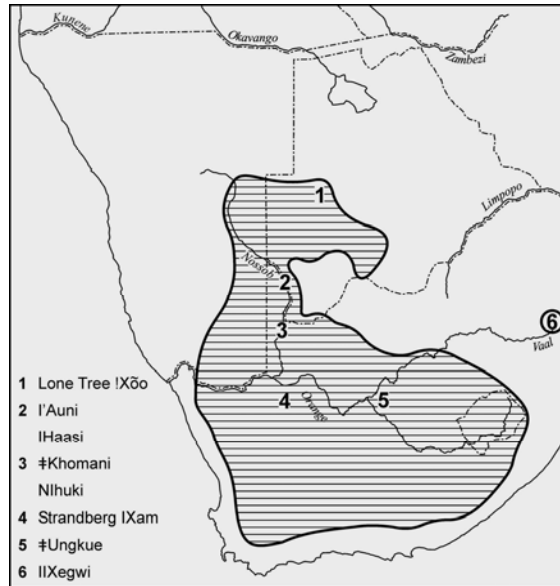
REF.	Selected varieties	Main research up to 2000 by	Subgroup	Branch
SI	Strandberg + Katkop	W. Bleek, Lloyd	!Xam	!Ui
SIa	Oudtshoorn	?Lloyd		
SVIa*	/nusan	Krönlein		
-	Achterveld	W. Bleek		
SII	/!ŋ ~ Langeberg	D. Bleek	N ng	
SIIf	!khomani ~ N uu	Doke, Maingard		
-	N huki	Westphal		
SIIf	/kxau ~ !Ungkue	Meinhof	Vaal-Orange	
SIIf	/ku e	D. Bleek		
SIIf	seroa	Wuras		
SIIf	Igā Ine	Anders	Outliers	
SIIf	batwa ~ !Xegwi	Lanham, Hallows, Ziervogel		
SIV	/auni ~ !'Auni	D. Bleek	Lower Nossob	Taa-Lower Nossob
SIVa	Khatia ~ ?!Einkusi	D. Bleek		
SIVb	Ki hazi ~ !Haasi	Story		
SV	Masarwa Kaka ~ !Huan	D. Bleek	Taa	
SVI	/nu en ~ West !Xoon	D. Bleek		
-	N amani	Westphal		
-	East !Xoon	Traill		

Note: * classified erroneously, in fact a !Xam variety (Güldemann 2006)

italic = Bleek's original term if different from current one

bold = varieties under discussion

Table 1: Selected Tuu varieties according to Bleek's reference classification



Map 1: Approximate historical distribution of Tuu (after Güldemann 2005: 13)

+ coherence of family confirmed by more systematic comparative research (Hastings 2001, Güldemann 2005) and largely uncontroversial, but problematic internal classification:

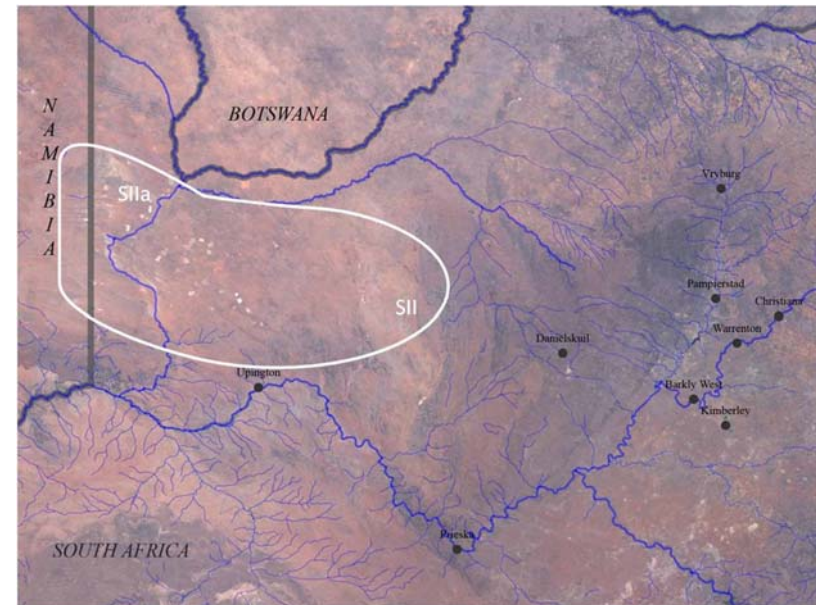
- (a) traditionally Taa language complex opposed to !Ui comprising all other attested varieties including those of the Lower Nossob (cf. Köhler 1981, Traill 2002: 37, Hastings 2001)
- (b) Lower Nossob and Taa as a closer unit more likely on account of morphosyntactic and lexical data (Güldemann 2002a, forthcoming; cf. Westphal 1971: 381)

Branch	Selected varieties
<i>Subgroup</i>	
Taa-Lower Nossob	
Taa	Lone Tree !Xoon, N amani, N u en, etc.
Lower Nossob	!'Auni
	Haasi
!Ui	
Nǀng	#Khomani, N huki, Langeberg, etc.
!Xam	Strandberg, Katkop, Achterveld, etc.
Vaal-Orange	#Ungkue, Ü e
Outliers	Xegwi
	!Gǀlne

Figure 1: Preliminary classification of Tuu (Güldemann forthcoming)

+ varieties under discussion located north of Orange and south of Molopo (> Map 2) and numbered by D. Bleek (1927 etc.) as:

- (a) SII (proper) recorded by herself in several locations spanning the entire area but predominantly in the southeast (see §2.2.4)
- (b) SIIa recorded later from a far more restricted area in the extreme northwest (see §2.2.5)
- > reason for distinction unclear as her SII material also includes northwestern region (see §2.2.4), but dialectal differences confirmed by modern data
- > varieties numbered SIIb-e not subsumed under Nǀng! (see, e.g., §2.1.2)



Map 2: Approximate distribution of Nǀng according to older sources

1.4 Open questions

- + exact geographical extension and internal linguistic diversity and substructure
- + relation to neighboring groups and languages
- + in view of language attrition: numerous linguistic features that were likely part of the original cultural and linguistic inventory as expected from genealogically related Tuu languages and other areally related Non-Khoe languages, e.g.:
 - (a) number-sensitive stem suppletion of verbs
 - (b) tone system
 - (c) specialized vocabulary associated with foraging culture (cf. Sands, Miller and Brugman 2007)

1.5 Archival resources

- + modern and published sources provide insufficient picture about some languages/families
- > archival data necessary but immense problems in their previous evaluation:
 - ghost languages without any genuine data, e.g., !Khuai (see Güldemann 2002b)
 - misclassified languages, e.g., Krönlein's N|uusaa as SVIa (see Güldemann 2006)
 - inappropriate names, e.g., D. Bleek's (1956) ||Kxau vs. Meinhof's (1929) †Ungkue
- > large amount of confusing and erroneous information in published form (cf. Ethnologue)
- > need to go back to the primary data sources, which are richer in all types of information

1.5.1 Chances

- + **perspective on time:** first source of late 19th century goes back more than 100 years!
- > older data may still reflect partly an original linguistic situation
- (a) verbal stem suppletion: today slim evidence for a suppletive pair 'sit' *suin* (S) vs. *!hhaun* (P), but additional indication from D. Bleek's data

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. (Bleek 2000: 25)

- (b) tone: so far no conclusive detection of a coherent tone system in modern N||ng, but possible evidence in D. Bleek's data (audio data available from 1936!):

Three tones occur. The high and low tones are marked by placing ^ˉ and _ˉ before a syllable. (Bleek 2000: 18)

- + **perspective on space and spatial linguistic variation:** larger and different sample better for determining geographical locations of the language, its limits, and the kind of its transition to neighboring languages

1.5.2 Challenges

- + archival sources with numerous problems vis-à-vis modern language documentation standards and the ideal of a faithful and comprehensive linguistic (and other) description
- > major problems of archival corpora
- (a) **no or insufficient linguistic training of researcher**
- (b) **early stage of linguistic theory and methodology**
 - no or insufficiently established standards in transcription, analysis, and terminology
 - unknown linguistic complexity of non-European languages
 - unsystematic erratic recording and elicitation
- (c) **"flying visit" research**
 - little familiarity with language, speakers, and their environment
 - indirect mediation by interpreters etc.
 - restricted amount of data, at times just a few words or no linguistic data at all
 - few speakers consulted - often idiolects with a potentially idiosyncratic personal history

(d) insufficient/confusing metadata

- data often hardly or not characterized in terms of time, location, and circumstances of recording and of background of speaker, variety~language etc.

EX1: W. Bleek's (A1.4) phonological transcription of Achterveld |Xam of 1866

- (1) 8 tokens of 'tooth/teeth'
- a. */k^é /k^é* (W. Bleek A1.4: 7, 7)
!ei (W. Bleek A1.4: 65)
!ei !ei (W. Bleek A1.4: 65, 65)
!ke !ke (W. Bleek A1.4: 76, 77)
†ke †ke (W. Bleek A1.4: 30)
- b. *!kei!kei* (D. Bleek 1956: 308) (Vosseler 2014)

EX2: D. Bleek's (A3.5, A3.29-30, 1937) linguistic analysis of |'Auni (Lower Nossob)

- (2) |'Auni (Lower Nossob)
- a. *tuke, tuku* men, boys, people (D. Bleek 1937: 265)
tutuse tutusi men, boys, people (D. Bleek A3.30: 533)
- b. *tutusi* ||k^ˈani many men (D. Bleek A3.30: 533)
- c. *||χóë he si* ||kar^ˈr^ˈi here is much tsama, tsama is plentiful (D. Bleek A3.5: 343)
- (3) West !Xoon (Taa)
oqaqni ku ||ari ku
 children.4(U) REL:4 be.many REL:4
 many children (field notes)
- (4) †Huan of Inalegolo (Taa)
túù kú ||árí kùù
 people.4(U) REL:4 be.many REL:4
 ... many people (Bonitz 2012: 72)
- (5) |Haasi (Lower Nossob)
||hasa ki si !oo.oo.ka
 child ?AGR:I COP many
 many children (Güldemann 2002a: 194, forthcoming)
- (6) |'Auni (Lower Nossob)
- 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, forthcoming)

EX3: D. Bleek's (A3.1) N|ng data of Mount Temple collected 1-14/9/1910

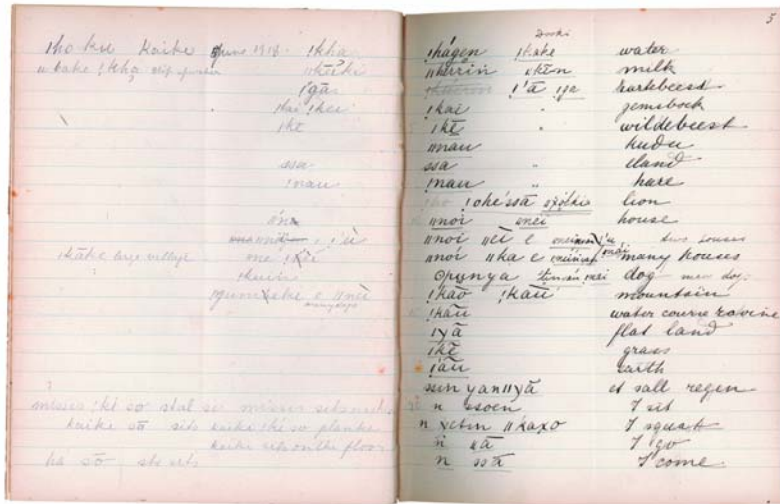


Figure 2: Pages 5rev. and 5 of Notebook A3.1

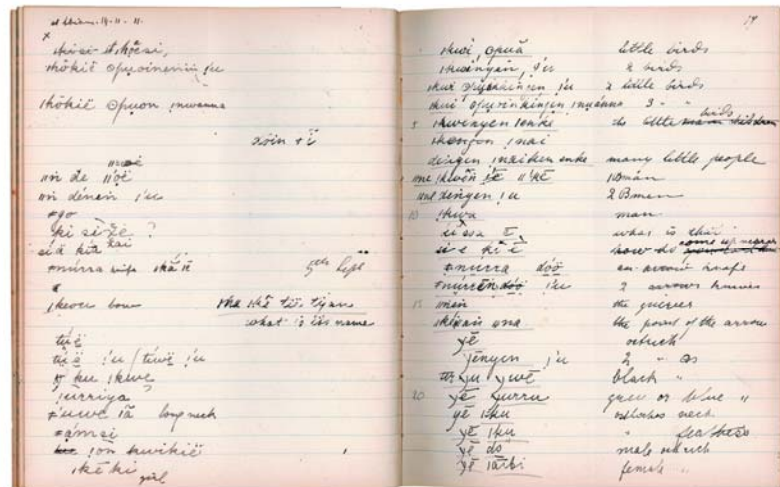


Figure 3: Pages 17rev. and 17 of Notebook A3.1

Figure	Page	Date	Speaker	Location of research/origin of speaker
2	5rev.	5/6/1918	Kaiki	Langeberg < Roidam (see A3.9)
3	17rev.	14/11/1911	Trinki	Abeam (see A3.4)

Table 2: Different origin of data for pages 5rev./17rev. in A3.1

EX4: Multilingual/-dialectal and, in colonial period, also geographically mobile speakers

> Kaiki interviewed in Langeberg area

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/ = /xānān +3kwā./ 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. (D. Bleek A3.9: 302rev.-303)

> multilingualism, notably in N|ng and !'Auni, among San involved in Wits Kalahari expedition (D. Bleek A3.29-30) vis-à-vis published !'Auni vocabulary (Bleek 1937)

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 1937: 253)

1.5.3 Methodology

- + archival material consists of diverse data corpora which are restricted and only poorly reflect a variety of a speech community
- > their identity and relation to other such corpora or modern languages is hard to assess
- + important concept of “doculect” (a single **documented** language variety):

The term doculect is sometimes used for a variety of a language that has been described or otherwise documented in a coherent way. The term was originally designed to refer to the lowest level languoid that linguistics can meaningfully refer to. In a more extreme view, even the pure mentioning of a speech variety in any source (possibly without any information about the language itself) can be seen as a doculect. In this view, a reference to a language in a classical source, in a traveler's diary, or in a census are also doculects. The use of the term doculect is meant to remind linguists of the fact that

- the most basic entity of linguistic investigations (i.e. speech varieties) should not be assumed without explicitly mentioning any source;
- languages show high internal variability, which implies that different documentations should not a priori be assumed to describe the same entity. (Glottopedia, accessed 16/3/2014)

> every corpus, possibly down to a consultant's idiolect, however small, should be treated as an independent doculect and hence analyzed on its own terms

> consolidation to larger entities like dialects, languages etc. which are to be reckoned with in comparative studies only in 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.

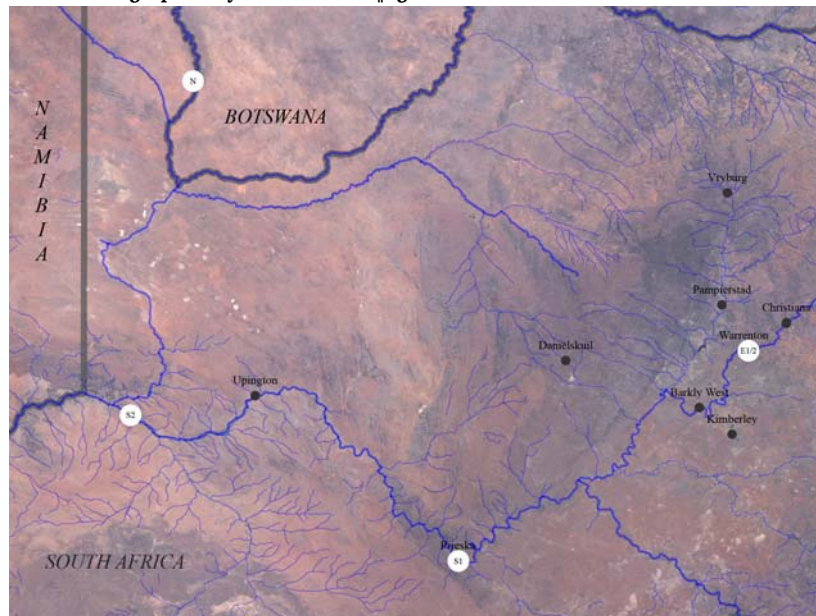
2 Archival resources of the N||ng dialect cluster

2.1 Geographically closest non-N||ng doculects

- + previous geographical characterization of N||ng: South Africa north of Orange, south of Molopo (see §1.3)
- > question of a more exact definition of its territorial distribution and boundaries with neighboring languages
- > knowledge on neighboring areas similarly or even more scanty > Table 3 + Map 3

No.	Research location/ origin of speaker	Researcher(s)	Year	Classification within Tuu
N	Kyky	Pöch, D. Bleek	1909/11/36	Lower Nossob, Taa-Lower Nossob
E1	Warrenton 1	D. Bleek	?	“Danster”, !Ui
E2	Warrenton 2	Meinhof	1928	“Danster”, !Ui
S1	Prieska	Pöch, D. Bleek	1909/10/11	Xam, !Ui
S2	Augrabies	Lloyd	1880	Xam, !Ui

Table 3: Geographically closest Non-N||ng doculects



Map 3: Geographically closest Non-N||ng doculects

2.1.1 Lower Nossob in the north(west)

- + overall problematic case of the linguistic situation in the southern Kalahari in the drainage area of Nossob, Auob, and Molopo: last refuge of San people in South Africa
- > highly dynamic and diverse at least in recent history, if not much earlier

Ich mußte fast bis 25°40' südlicher Breite [on the Nossob] reisen, bis ich wieder Buschleute fand. Einige Familien der Velder'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 †Au||ain. (Pöch 1908/9, 21: 363-4)

- > concentration of “salvage research” carried out in first half of 20th century
- > confusing and partly inadequate description in Ethnologue, Crawhall (2005: 76-8), etc.

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 |ju^hci (n) or |ju^h: (vb). Her name is |o:kos. ... I made my own transcriptions of the material collected by Bleek, Doke and Westphal on †kxhmani, !'auni and |ju^hci and I find that |o:kos speaks the language recorded by them with a few differences in pronunciation. (Traill 1974: 42-3)

- + at the same time early recognition of a distinction between the San of the area between Orange and Molopo, associated with N||ng, and San groups further north encountered predominantly along the Lower Nossob (Herbst 1908: 5; Pöch 1908/9, 1910; D. Bleek A3.5)
- > more detailed linguistic analysis according to individual doculects (Güldemann 2002a, forthcoming) confirms distinction and the establishment of a distinct “Lower Nossob” group (= D. Bleek's SIV) that turns out to be closer to Taa in the north than to !Ui in the south
- > strong Nama influence, insufficiently understood historically

2.1.2 “Danster” !Ui in the east

- + two doculects associated with “Danster” group (cf. Engelbrecht 1936: 68)
- (a) †Ungkue of Warrenton (Meinhof 1929), most extensive source of any eastern !Ui variety
- (b) ||Kā of Warrenton (D. Bleek A3.6), unclear date of recording
- > said to come from the west, this possibly more easterly distribution would imply the eastern boundary of N||ng to be more western

2.1.3 |Xam in the south(west)

- + several sources suggest |Xam-like varieties just north of the lower and middle Orange
- (a) Trans-Orange N|usa around Augrabies recorded in 1880 by Lloyd (1889: 26-7, A2.1.124)
- (b) other Trans-Orange corpora further west also with a |Xam rather than N||ng affiliation (see Güldemann 2006)

2.1.4 Summary

- + at least three San languages attested as neighbors of Nǁng
- > more subtle linguistic transition towards the two !Ui languages in the south and east which needs to be ascertained in more detail from a historical-comparative perspective
- > limits relatively well defined by Lower Nossob in north(west) and |Xam in south
- > limits quite unclear in west and (north)east - these areas were old centers of settlement for Bondelswarts Khoekhoe and Tswana, respectively - ?earlier acculturation of San groups

2.2 Nǁng doculects

- + impression of large-scale unity across !Ui-speaking areas (cf. also Traill 1996: 177-8):

... 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 (W. Bleek 1873: 2)

- + at the same time also evident internal differences between San varieties:

There is even a difference among families of the same tribe; each having a dialect of its own. This difference is in some cases so great, that one family, living in a great distance from another cannot understand each other. The reason for this may be, having so little intercourse. Every family has its separate hunting ground, within which no other bushman dare enter without their permission. (Wuras 1919/20: 81)

- + Nǁng area geographically large, modern differences between western and eastern variety
- > more conclusive characterization on the basis of all modern and archival sources

No.	Research location/ origin of speaker	Researcher	Year	No. of speakers	No. of pages
1	Langeberg 1	Lloyd	1885	?1	15
2	Rietfontein	Pabst	1885 +	?	?
3**	Twee Rivieren 1	Pöch	1909	?	?
4**	Kuris Pan	Pöch	1909	?	?
5	Mount Temple	D. Bleek	1910/1	>5	100
6	Swaartputs	D. Bleek	1911	1	13
7	Abeam	D. Bleek	1911	1	8
8	Leutlandspan	D. Bleek	1911	1-2	12
9	Grondneus	D. Bleek	1911	2	3
10	Langeberg 2	D. Bleek	1918	1-2	>30
11*	Twee Rivieren 2	D. Bleek, Maingard, Döke	1936	>5	?
12*	Twee Rivieren 3	Westphal	1962/6	1-2	>50

Note: * audio data, ** possibly audio data

Table 4: Archival doculects of Nǁng in chronological order of recording

2.2.1 Lloyd: Langeberg

- + first known language material from Langeberg recorded already in 1885 by Lloyd:

257. ... Information regarding χuǀm-ǀná and his relatives. - In English, after χuǀm-ǀná, 1885. (L XVII. XVIII. and XIX.-1. 10350, 10362, 10349 rev.) (Lloyd 1889: 26)

275. Words and Sentences. - Given by χuǀm-ǀná, 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)

- > relevant notebooks so far not found in UCT archive!?

2.2.2 Pabst: †Kaurureǀnai~Nǀusa of Mier-Rietfontein

- + Basters of Dirk Vilander founded a polity at the station Mier-Rietfontein on the modern border between Namibia and Botswana (Steenken 1997: 54-68), local San in client relation

- + Rhenish missionary Heinrich Pabst started to work at Mier-Rietfontein in 1885

- > in contact with San, including some basic linguistic research

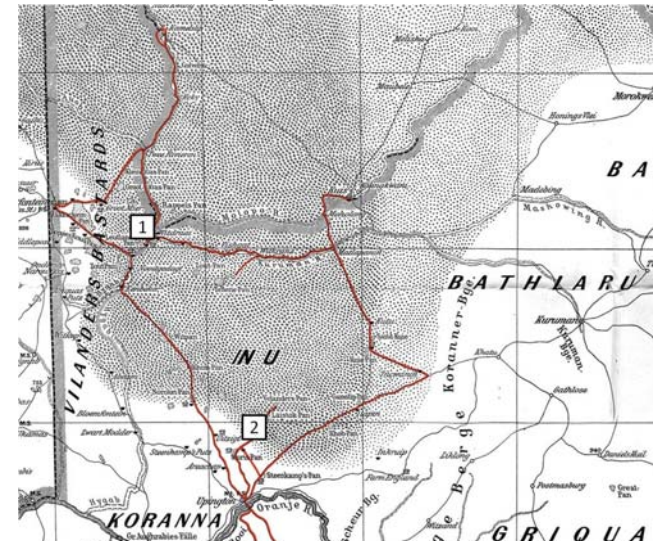
- + his complete notes unknown; only two short word lists: 7 items in Schinz (1891: 540)

listed under the name †Kaurureǀnai + 12 items in Pabst (1895b, published as 1895a without word list), where the more familiar term Nǀusa is used

- > so far first accessible if scanty linguistic data on any Nǁng variety

2.2.3 Pöch: Nǀu of southern Kalahari

- + travel by anthropologist Rudolf Pöch's through southern Kalahari in 1909 (cf. Pöch 1908/9, 1910, 1912) > Map 4



Map 4: Pöch's travel through the southern Kalahari (Pöch 1912)

- + at least two encounters with San called N|u: around Molopo-Nossob confluence (1) and on a travel from Upington to |Kuris Pan (2)
- > beyond Nossob-Auob confluence predominantly Lower Nossob and Taa (cf. §2.1.1)
- > N|u living between Orange and Molopo (Pöch 1910: 360)
- > written notes and other material not yet fully accessible, !possibility of audio recordings

2.2.4 D. Bleek: N||ng~N|u across southern Kalahari

- + at least four travels/visits in the area between 1910 and 1918
- > more than 5 independent corpora, notes at UCT
- > D. Bleek (2000) is a general overview, but does not distinguish different doculects:

(a) Mount Temple, 1-21/9/1910

(b) Upington-Nossob-Upington, 10/10-21/11/1911

Swaartputs

Abeam

Leutlandspan - N|u as autonym

before the Whitemen came they lived at/ Rietfontein, and lived on tsama/ in the veld, when there was none, they drank/ at Rietfontein water (D. Bleek A3.5: 367)

Grondneus

(c) Mount Temple, 5-17/12/1911, same consultants as in 1910

(d) Langeberg, 5-21/6/1918, main consultant originally from Roidam

2.2.5 Doke, Maingard, D. Bleek: †Khomani of Tweerivieren

- + Kalahari expedition by multidisciplinary team of Witwatersrand University in 1936 for the study of the last San in South Africa at Tweerivieren (cf. Rheinallt Jones and Doke 1937)
- > original data with audio-recordings! archived at Wits, several publications
- > multiethnic and multilingual group of San tied to each other by marriage relationships and their relation to the local Baster community (already observed by Pöch - see §2.1.1)
- > Ou Abraham, the senior “†Khomani”, also encountered 1911 by D. Bleek at Leutlandspan
- > modern N|uu speakers only partly related to this community

2.2.6 Westphal: N|huki of Tweerivieren

- + Khoisan area survey by Westphal in the 1950/60s, including data collected at Tweerivieren on Taa aka N|amani and N||ng aka N|huki
- > consultant thought to be the last speaker (see Traill’s 1973 visit referred to in §2.1.1)
- > notes at UCT including audio-recordings!, only some data used and published in comparative Khoisan studies
- > Güldemann (2003): digitization, full annotation and grammar sketch

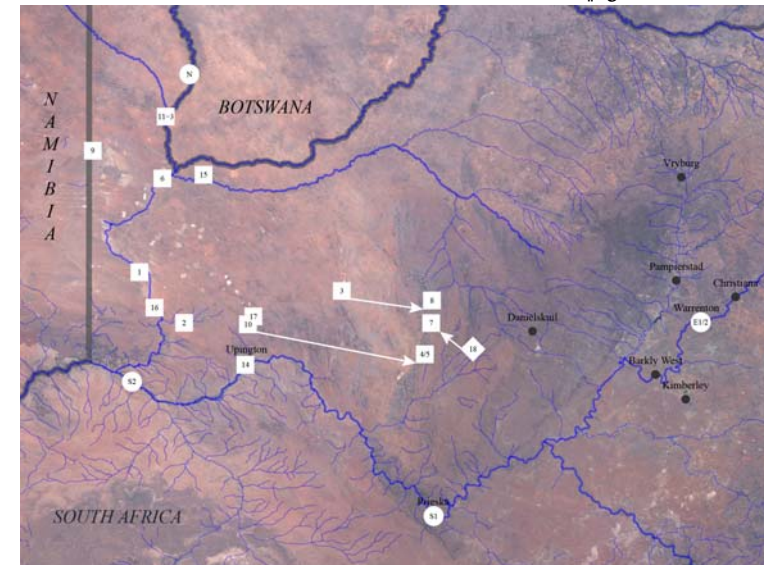
2.2.7 Summary

All doculects together give a better picture of the N||ng cluster > Table 5 + Map 5

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

Note: *approximate location*, (original location of (relative of) speaker), ? uncertain

Table 5: Archival and modern doculects and locations of N||ng



Map 5: Archival and modern doculects and locations of N||ng

2.3 Terminology: group and language name(s)

- + particularly great confusion about language and group names for the Tuu family, particularly across all doculects of the !Ui varieties under discussion
- > necessary assessment of available terms regarding occurrence, meaning and suitability

2.3.1 †Kaurure||nai

- + only used by Schinz (1891: 540) referring to data by Pabst, not used by Pabst himself!

2.3.2 Saasi

- + only relevant for some speakers in the west meaning ‘San person’ - two components:
 - stem *saa* - Khoekhoe exonym for non-pastoral, hunter-gatherer groups or
 - less likely associated with similar terms denoting San people further northeast (cf. Güldemann 2000: 11-2)
 - suffix *-si* - on nominal stems of N||ng, recurrently associated with loan words
- > most likely the generic Khoekhoe exonym for the San that took on the function of an autonym for some N||ng individuals (possibly parallel to Afrikaans *Boesman*)

2.3.3 †Khomani

- + only used for N||ng data recorded during the 1936-research of the Wits Kalahari expedition, propagated through publications by Maingard, Doke, and Dart
- > terminological triplet for San referring specifically to ‘people’ (cf. D. Bleek A3.29: 433):
 - (a) †*K(h)oma.ni* - N||ng of the Lower Nossob-Molopo-Kuruman area
 - (b) †*Au.ni* - predominating Lower Nossob group located north of N||ng
 - (c) †*N|ama.ni* - Khoekhoe speaking San group further north of †Auni
- + shared suffix *-ni* is not a !Ui element but found in Lower Nossob and Taa varieties as an animate plural suffix > does not surface with these stems when used in other contexts

- (7)a. *n ||kai a |usi |au*
 1S mother ? †Auni.language
 my mother brought me up on |auni
- b. *n haya i †koma.ka n haya i |au*
 1S speak ? N||ng.language 1S speak ? †Auni.language
 I speak †k. I speak |auni (D. Bleek A3.30: 511)

- > this and other information allows a more coherent assessment of all three terms:
 - (a) †*Au.ni* - autonym of relevant Lower Nossob group
 - (b) †*N|ama.ni* - †Auni exonym for northern Taa neighbors (cf. West !Xoon *n|ama* ‘north’)
 - (c) †*K(h)oma.ni* - †Auni exonym for southern N||ng neighbors (cf. Hahn 1879, West !Xoon *g+omani* ‘San group in south(east)’, East !Xoon *g+uma-te* ‘orphan’)

2.3.4 N|uu(-)

- + stem occurs with two different major connotations whose relation remains unclear:

(a) autonym in different word forms:

- n|uu* ‘speak (own) San language’ (also attested in one Lower Nossob variety)
- n|uu.ki* ‘San language’ deverbal nominalization of above verb
- n|u(u)* (part of) autonym term

> restricted to corpora from West N||ng: Pöch, Bleek Leutlandspan, Westphal, modern, unknown to/rejected by speakers of East N||ng - why?

(b) exonym with two components:

- n|u.sa(n)* ‘San people’ (with a specific local meaning)
- > for N||ng doculect by Pabst as well as many other non-N||ng Tuu varieties further north
- > second component - same as in *saa.si* above
- > first component - a more specific exonym for San encountered by all Khoekhoe speaking pastoralist groups expanding north of the Orange River particularly into the southern and western fringes of the Kalahari

- original connotation possibly just ‘Trans-Orange (people)’

> !Ora categorization: †*hāu* ‘south of river’ vs. *n|uu* ‘north of river’ (Engelbrecht 1936: 48)

> San categorization:

The Tottentots [= Khoekhoe] of that part of the [Cape] Colony northward of Graaffreynet, call the bordering tribes of Bushmen, *Sāqua* or *Saakwa*; but the Klaarwater Tottentots [= Xiri], and the Koras [= !Ora], as Muchunku told me, designate the Bushmen living southward of the Gariep [= Orange River] by the names of *'Ko(sa 'ky@kwa* or *'Ko(sa 'kwa* (Kowsaqua), which imply ‘men beyond the river.’ Those who inhabit the northern side of that river, are called *Nísakwa* (Nóosaqua) [= *N|uu.saa.kua*], a name of correspondent import. (Burchell 1953,2: 237)

- carried further north by Nama and semantically extended to ‘(local) San’

> *n|uu.saa.n* ‘Kalaharibuschleute’, *n|uu.!huu.b* ‘Durstfeld (Kalahari)’ (Rust 1969: 302)

2.3.5 N||ng !u(i)/†ee

- + virtually universal occurrence in all sufficiently large corpora either as an autonym (east) or a more general term for ‘San person’ or ‘person, human being’ (west), composed of:
 - stem *n||ng* ‘bird nest, grass shelter, hut, dwelling, home’, reflex of Proto-Tuu *n||aM
 - stem *!ui/†ee* ‘person/people’, reflex of an identical Proto-!Ui form
- > motivates D. Bleek's (2000 etc.) terminology and its translation as ‘home people’, which tends to lead to politically minded but spurious interpretation as ‘first/indigenous people’
- > plausible hypothesis 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).

2.3.6 Summary

- + several terms are better dispensed with because they do not reliably and appropriately identify a specific ethno-linguistic entity, viz. *†Kaurure||nai*, *†Khomani*, and *Saasi*
- + *N||ng* as appropriate term for entire dialect cluster in line with D. Bleek's original usage
- + *N|uu(ki)* as appropriate term for (north)western doculects in line with autonomous usage (but beware of inferring a N||ng identity from a similar doculect name - see above)
- > question of term for eastern doculects/dialect - *||'au* 'Olifantshoek'?

3 Summary

- + archival data by early researchers are far more extensive and diverse than commonly recognized and can inform the difficult linguistic assessment of Tuu in general and N||ng in particular
 - > future research must include this largely unanalyzed and unpublished material in addition to the modern language data - provides some essential but heretofore lacking information
- + previously assumed distribution of N||ng overall confirmed: centered on the Kalahari sand dune area north of Orange, south of Molopo, east of modern South African border and west of Langeberg-Korannaberg range (cf. Map 4)
 - > possibly early extinction of San languages in the east and west
 - > more available data for investigating dialect distinctions and possible consolidation of several doculects towards dialects - three doculect concentrations: southeast ~ Langeberg, northwest ~ N|uu, southwest ~ ? (cf. Map 5)
- + archival data also give interesting insights into non-linguistic aspects of N||ng:
 - original cultural anthropology, including contact with neighboring San
 - history of contact since at least the 18th century with various Khoekhoe groups in the west and Tswana groups in the east (cf. Maingard 1933, 1964; Steenken 1997)
 - recent history of economic incorporation and acculturation into colonial society, including accompanying linguistic practices and circumstances of language shift

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