

Toward a subclassification of the !Ui branch of Tuu¹

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1 Introduction

+ Tuu family as isolated unit in the Kalahari Basin, clear genealogical separation from the two other families Khoe and Kx'a subsumed earlier under "Khoisan" (Güldemann 2014a)

+ Tuu first established as a unit under the label "Southern Bushman" and subjected to survey work by D. Bleek (e.g., 1927, 1929, 1939/40, 1956) > **Table 1**

> !Ui varieties distributed over four of six units in her reference classification

| Acronym | Label | Location | Researcher(s) | Doculect(s)* |
|---------|----------------|---|---------------------------------|------------------|
| [SI] | xam | Northern part of Cape south of Orange River east and west | Lichtenstein W. Bleek, Lloyd | 4 <i> Xam</i> |
| SIa | a dialect | Oudtshoorn | Lloyd | 5 |
| [SII] | ŋ | Langebergen in Griqualand | D. Bleek | 21 |
| SIIa | ‡khomani | Northern Gordonia | Doke, Maingard | <i>N ng</i> |
| SIIb | kxau | Near Kimberley | Meinhof | 20 |
| SIIc | ku e | Near Theunissen | D. Bleek | 17 |
| SIId | seroa | Southern part of Orange Free State, near Bethany | Arbousset Wuras | 15 16 |
| SIIE | !gā !ne | Transkei | Anders | 12 |
| SIII | batwa | Lake Chrissie, eastern Transvaal | D. Bleek | 14 |
| SIV | auni | Country between Nossop and Auhoup, S. Kalahari | D. Bleek | - |
| SIVa | khatia (xatia) | East of Nossop, S. Kalahari | D. Bleek | - |
| SIVb | ki hazi | West of Auhoup, S. Kalahari | Story | - |
| SV | masarwa | Kakia in the south of Bechuanaland Protectorate | Schultze D. Bleek | - - |
| SVI | nu en | Upper Nossop and Auhoup, S.W.A. | D. Bleek | - |
| SVIa | nusan | South of Auhoup, S.W.A. | Krönlein | 1 |

Note: [...] = corrected typo, * see !Ui survey in Table 2 below, - Tuu other than !Ui

Table 1: Tuu reference classification of older sources according to Bleek (1956)

¹ I gratefully acknowledge the support of this presentation by JSPS KAKENHI 16H01925 and the help of Hans-Jörg Bibiko (MPI-SHH Jena) in producing Map 1.

+ highly precarious data situation due to: (I) early extinction of most Tuu languages and (II) quantitatively and qualitatively limited records on extinct languages > available data:

a) two surviving language complexes with extensive modern documentation:

Taa in Kalahari of Botswana and Namibia (endangered) (cf. SV + SVI)

N||ng in southern Kalahari, South Africa (moribund) (cf. SII + SIIa)

b) one extinct language complex with extensive but old documentation:

|Xam in Karoo, South Africa (cf. SI + SVIa)

c) two extinct languages with less extensive, more recent documentation:

‡**Ungkue** on Lower Vaal River, South Africa (cf. SIIb)

||**Xegwi** in eastern Transvaal, South Africa (cf. SIII)

d) many archival data sets with highly fragmentary information distributed across the entire range of Tuu

> up to now focus on the five units under a)-c) and neglect of archival !Ui data under d)

+ current state of Tuu classification:

- demonstration of genealogical unity of Tuu and external separation vis-à-vis other

"Khoisan": Köhler (1975: 316-7), Traill (1975), Hastings (2001), Güldemann (2005)

- bipartite Tuu classification with !Ui as one of two primary branches, as opposed to D.

Bleek's original break-up into six units: Westphal (1971), Köhler (1981)

- demonstration of closer relation of Lower Nossob doculects [SIV] to Taa complex [SV, SVI], excluding them from !Ui: Güldemann (2002, 2014b)

> resulting Tuu classification > **Figure 1**

| Branch and subbranch | Language (complex) | Further subclassification |
|----------------------|--|---|
| Taa-Lower Nossob | | |
| Taa | single unit: | West: West !Xoon, (N u 'en [SVI]) East: East !Xoon, 'N oha, (N amani), (Kakia [SV]), etc. |
| Lower Nossob | (!Auni [SIV])† (!Haasi [SIVb])† | |
| !Ui | | |
| | N ng: | West: N uu = (‡Khomani [SIIa] = N huki), etc. East: (Langeberg [SII]), etc. † |
| | (‡Ungkue [SIIb])† (Xegwi [SIII])† | |
| | (Xam [SI])†: | Strandberg, Katkop, Achterveld, etc. |
| | (Other)†: | Ū e [SIIc], Seroa [SIId], !Gā!ne [SIIe] |

Notes: † = extinct, (...) = older data source, [...] = D. Bleek's doculect acronym

Figure 1: Preliminary internal classification of Tuu (after Güldemann 2014a, b)

2 Cross-!Ui comparison

2.1 Linguistic data and methodology

+ large amount of data are small unpublished archival corpora that are deficient but still contain some historically diagnostic information that needs to be organized and analyzed
> important concept of “doculect” as a distinct corpus defined by the time and place of documentation, the person recording the data, and the speaker(s) contributing the data:

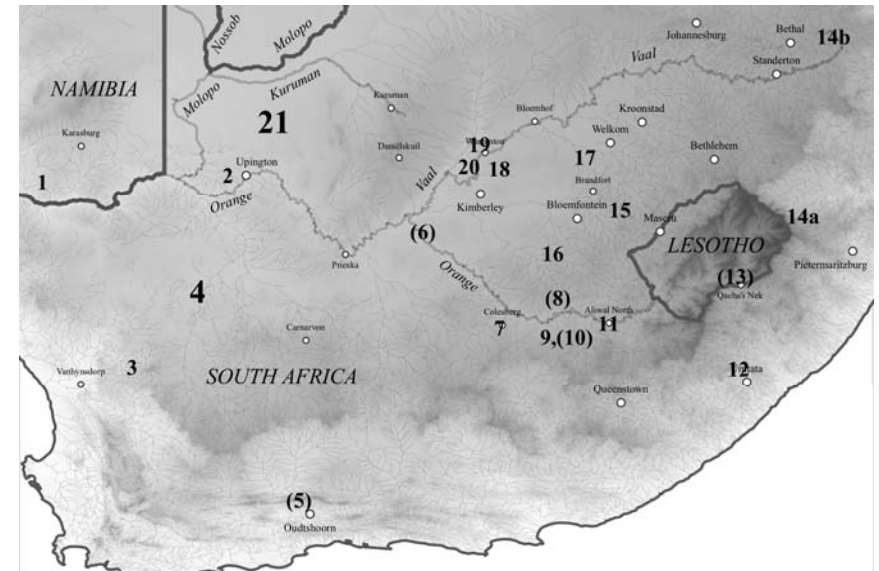
a linguistic variety as it is documented in a given resource. This term is deliberately agnostic as to whether or not that variety can straightforwardly be associated with a particular ‘language’ or ‘dialect’ and, instead, merely focuses on the fact that there is a document either about the relevant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

+ first more comprehensive list of relevant !Ui doculects > **Table 2**

| No. | Doculect name | Date | Origin [recording location] * |
|------|-------------------------------|----------|--|
| 1 | N uusaa by Krönlein | 1850s | Lower Orange River [Bethany, Namibia] |
| 2 | N usa by Lloyd | (1880) | Middle Orange River [Cape Town] |
| 3 | Xam by W. Bleek | 1866 | Achterveld [Cape Town] |
| 4 | Xam by W. Bleek/Lloyd | 1870s | Karoo [Cape Town] |
| (5) | !Ui by Anderson | (?) | ? [Oudtshoorn] |
| (6) | !Ui by Smith | 1835 | S of Douglas and N of Hopetown |
| 7 | !Ui by W. Bleek | (1857) | Colesberg [Cape Town] |
| (8) | !Ui by C. S. Orpen | 1877 | Bethulie |
| 9 | !Ui by W. Bleek | (1857) | Burghersdorp [Cape Town] |
| (10) | !Ui by Kannemeyer | 1890 | Burghersdorp |
| 11 | !Ui by Lloyd | (1880) | Aliwal North [Cape Town] |
| 12 | !Gǎ!ne by Anders | 1920 + | Tsolo district |
| (13) | !Ui by J. M. Orpen | 1873 | N of Qacha’s Nek, Lesotho |
| 14 | Xegwi | 1950 + | ?E of Maluti mountains [Lake Chrissie] |
| 15 | !Ui by Arbousset | 1836 | San places Mokhasi/Puchane |
| 16 | !Ui by Wuras | 1836 + | Bethany |
| 17 | Ū e by D. Bleek | (1928) | Theunissen |
| 18 | !Ui by Maingard | (1930 +) | Boshof |
| 19 | Kā by D. Bleek | (1920 +) | Warrenton |
| 20 | ‡Ungkue by Meinhof | 1929 | Warrenton-Windsorton |
| 21 | N/ng | 2000s | Southern Kalahari |

Notes: (n) = excluded doculect with insufficient data, **BOLD** = more than one doculect, *ITALIC* = dialect cluster, (...) = unpublished, * all in South Africa if not noted otherwise

Table 2: An overview of !Ui doculects



Map 1: Geographical distribution of !Ui doculects

+ some individual !Ui doculects can already be joined into larger more coherent clusters:

- 1) **||Xegwi** with several doculects based on the same group of speakers in the same location (14b in Map 1) but recorded at different times (1930s-1980s) by different researchers
> represented here under 14 by Honken's (2007) first data collation
- 2) **|Xam** with more than ten archival doculects (cf. Güldemann 2004)
> represented here under 4 by the central Bleek-Lloyd corpus and under 1-3 by three geographically peripheral doculects (cf. Güldemann 2006, Vosseler 2014)
- 3) **N/ng** with more than ten archival doculects (cf. Güldemann 2017)
> represented here under 21 by the modern data collected since the 2000s (notably field notes, Sands et al. 2006)
> classificatory situation in the eastern half of the !Ui area remains entirely unclear

+ grammatical data are commonly assumed to be more diagnostic for historical-comparative analysis but are virtually absent in most doculects of Table 2

> problem hoped to be partly compensated by looking at lexical data that are paradigmatically organized and involve some frozen morphology:

- a) personal pronouns > §2.2
- b) quantifiers > §2.3
- c) basic human and kinship terms > §2.4

2.2 Personal pronouns

- + basic system homogeneous in Tuu as a whole, i.e. including Taa-Lower Nossob branch
- > seven non-diagnostic Proto-!Ui items (five also Proto-Tuu, cf. Güldemann 2005)

| Person | Singular | Plural |
|-----------------|-------------|--------|
| First inclusive | *i | |
| First exclusive | *N | *si |
| Second | *a | *u |
| Third | *ha, *hi(N) | |

Table 3: The pronoun system of Proto-!Ui

- + one localized innovation attested in the doculects 1, 3-7: oblique series for speech-act participants, notably 1SG *-ke* (cf. Güldemann (2013: 242) for narrow |Xam)
- > unclear significance for !Ui branch as a whole due to lack of grammatical data on most other doculects but good support for the distinction of |Xam from the doculects of the N||ng cluster (21) and †Ungkue (20), where this feature is evidently absent

2.3 Quantifiers

- + maximum for primary native elements conveying exact cardinal concepts is three:

| (1) | Exact cardinal | Non-exact cardinal | Other meaning |
|-----|----------------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| a. | 'one' | - | 'alone' |
| b. | 'two' | - | - |
| c. | 'three' | ? 'more than two' | - |
| d. | - | 'many' (count noun) | 'much' (mass noun), 'big' |

- > all attested expressions with higher values are transparently secondary and young in being borrowed or derived from lower simplex forms, for example, rarely present form for 'four' either derived (conceptually from 2 + 2) or borrowed (Khoekhoe *haka*)
- > restricted numeral systems as a wider areal feature of the Kalahari Basin (cf. Güldemann and Fehn 2017)

- + comparative situation almost inverse of that in §2.2 for pronouns: despite the small inventory, not a single Proto-Tuu item and very few reconstructions even on branch levels
- > proto-stages without genuine part-of-speech class of numerals (cf. Güldemann in press)

- + two non-diagnostic !Ui items: Proto-!Ui form *!uu 'two'; recurrent *nlonā* 'three' that was probably borrowed from Khoekhoe multiple times independently

- + two meanings involve diagnostic innovations:

| (2) | Meaning | Predominant in !Ui Doculects | Local innovation Doculects |
|-----|---------|------------------------------|--|
| a. | 'one' | *!oa(i) | 1, 3, 4, 11, 14 * 'oe 19-21 |
| b. | 'many' | * kx'oai | 3, 4, 11, 14, 16 *n!ai < 'big, much' 19-21 |

2.4 Basic human and kinship terms

- + survey of more than 20 basic human and kinship terms (parentheses: meanings that turned out to lack sufficiently recurrent and specific items):

('aunt'), ('boy'), 'brother', ('brother-in-law'), ('girl'), 'child/children as infant', 'child/children as offspring', 'daughter', 'father', 'female' ~ FEMININE, 'grandfather', 'grandmother', ('husband'), 'male' ~ MASCULINE, 'man/men', 'mother', 'name', 'person/people', 'sister', ('sister-in-law'), 'small' ~ DIMINUTIVE, 'son', ('uncle'), ('wife/wives'), 'woman/women'

- > includes many items known in Tuu to be associated with morphology (cf. Boden 2014a, 2014b; Boden, Güldemann and Jordan 2014)

- + various types of differential traits that are potentially diagnostic for classification:

- different lexemes for a meaning
- different morphemes for identical derivation and number inflection
- different collocation of lexical and morphological items
- morphological change in shared lexemes
- sound change in shared lexemes
- semantic change in shared lexemes

- + 14 non-diagnostic !Ui items that can be reconstructed to Proto-!Ui:

| (3) | Meaning | Proto-!Ui |
|-----|----------------------------------|--------------------|
| a. | 'child (offspring)' ~ DIMINUTIVE | *Oaa |
| b. | 'child (offspring) F ~ daughter' | *Oaa-FEMININE |
| c. | 'child (offspring) M ~ son' | *Oaa-MASCULINE |
| d. | FEMININE | *-xae |
| e. | 'grandparent F ~ grandmother' | *!o(b)i.te |
| f. | 'grandparent M ~ grandfather' | *!oi-MASCULINE |
| g. | MASCULINE | *-Ṽ ~ *-ō |
| h. | 'name' | * āe |
| i. | 'person' | *!ui |
| j. | 'people' | *†(')ee |
| k. | 'people' ~ 'men' ~ 'who' | *tuu |
| l. | 'sibling F ~ sister' | * aa-FEMININE |
| m. | 'sibling M ~ brother' | * aa-MASCULINE |
| n. | 'woman/women' | * (')aa.ti/* aa-PL |

+ four meanings involve diagnostic innovations:

| (4) | Meaning | Predominant in !Ui Doculects | Local innovation | Doculects | |
|-----|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| a. | 'child (infant or offspring)' | * oba/ * oe-PL | 12, 16-21 | *!(kh)wāa/ *!(')ao-PL | 1, 4, 11 3, 4, 9, 11 |
| b. | 'father' (?Tuu: *ā ^ˈ a) | *āa ~ aa *ōa ~ oa | 7, 11-16 1-9, 17, 18 | *āa.ti | 19, 21 |
| c. | 'male, man' | * oo | 14-21 | *goai | 1, 3, 4, 9 |
| d. | 'mother' (?Tuu: *kā ^ˈ a) | *xāV ~ xaV *(k)xōa ~ xoa | 11, (16) 1, 2, 4-9, 14, 17 | *xāa.ti | 19, 21 |

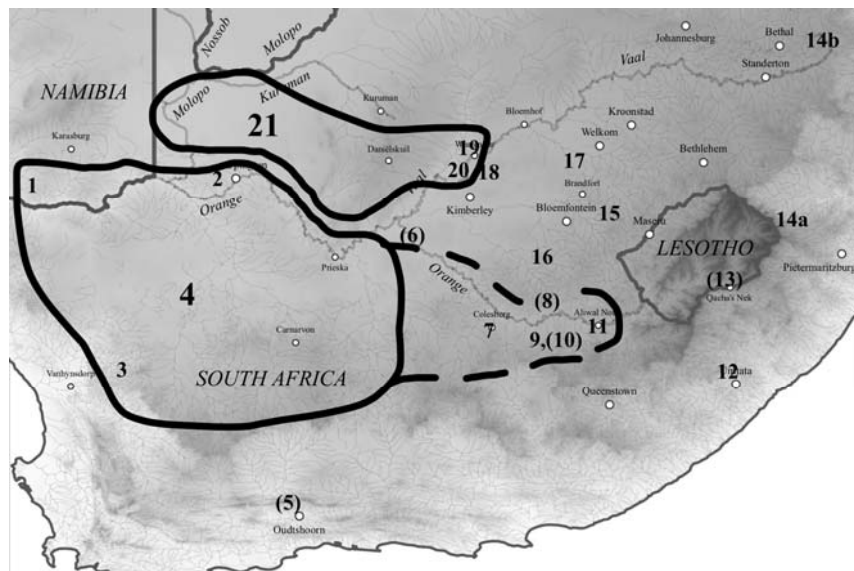
3 Discussion

3.1 Two larger doculect clusters

a) wider |Xam cluster suggested by three innovations: oblique pronouns (§2.2); *goai 'male, man, husband', *!(kh)wāa/*!(')ao-PL 'child' (§2.4) (cf. already Güldemann 2006)

> appears to include Upper Orange doculects: pronouns 7, lexemes 9 and 11

b) Ghaap-Kalahari cluster comprising N||ng (21) and adjacent Danster !Ui (19, 20) suggested by four innovations: *|'oe 'one', *n!ai 'many' (§2,3); *āa.ti 'father', *xāa.ti 'mother' (§2.4) (cf. Güldemann 2017)



Map 2: Geographical distribution of !Ui with two western doculect clusters

+ circumstantial information on geographical boundary between the two clusters, for example, regarding doculect 6 (which unfortunately contains hardly any data itself):

The Bushmen here say that should they come together with the Bushmen about Daniel's Kuyl they would meet as friends, but they would not comprehend each other. (Kirby 1940: 282)

> escarpment of Ghaap Plateau as possible boundary between Ghaap-Kalahari cluster in the west and !Ui on the lower plains and along the river courses further south(east), whereby the entire Orange River may have been settled on both sides by the wider |Xam cluster

+ doculects in the area east of the Vaal and Orange Rivers with unclear relationship to the two clusters as well as to each other - largely due to lack of data

3.2 A first internal classification

+ abandonment of D. Bleek's tripartite reference structure of !Ui in terms of SI, SII, and SIII

+ relocation of individual doculects, notably of 1 = SVIa to |Xam (cf. Güldemann 2006)

+ two relatively robust western clusters: |Xam (1-4, ?7, ?9, ?11); Ghaap-Kalahari (19-21)

> larger homogeneity of western clusters vs. eastern diversity suggests family spread from east out of a homeland in the wider area from Lesotho up to the Vaal and Orange Rivers

Ghaap-Kalahari

N||ng [21] West: N|uu = (+Khomani [SIIa] = N|huki), etc.

East: (Langeberg [SIII]), etc.

(Danster)† †Ungkue [20 = SIIb], ||Kā [19]

(Eastern core)†: Boshof [18], ||Ū|'e [17 = SIIc], Seroa [15+16 = SIIId], ||Xegwi [14 = SIII], !Gālne [12 = SIIe]

(Wider |Xam)†: Aliwal North [11], Burghersdorp [9], Colesberg [7], Strandberg-Katkop [4 = SI], Achterveld [3 = SI], Orange N|usa [2], N|uusaa [1 = SVIa]

Notes: † = extinct, (...) = older data source, [...] = doculect no. and/or D. Bleek's acronym

Figure 2: Preliminary internal classification of !Ui

3.3 Brief outlook

+ necessary further research for testing first results by extension to other lexical fields:

- items promising to involve morphology, notably body part and related terminology (cf. Güldemann 2005, Güldemann and Loughnane 2012)

- generally stable vocabulary (cf. Tadmor 2009)

+ diagnostic isoglosses across classificatory boundaries > research on language contact!

(5) Mainstream |Xam (4) Trans-Orange |Xam by Lloyd (2) (Western N||ng (21)

a. ||khā^ˈa 'lion' !khōé.tye 'lion' !qhoe 'lion'

b. - kebe 'four~more than three' kebe.ke 'many'

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