

'Khoisan' kin categories: Geographical distribution and historical interpretation

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Workshop
„Speaking (of) Khoisan“
May 14-16 2015 – MPI EVA Leipzig

Acknowledgements:

Alan Barnard, Falko Berthold, Martina Ernszt, Mats Exter, Linda Gerlach,
Tom Güldemann, Bill McGregor, Blesswell Kure,
James Lee Pratchett, Christfried Naumann, Bonny Sands

Kin categories:

- 'Kin categorisation' refers to the way how people group relatives in different genealogical positions terminologically into the same category, e.g., English kin category 'aunt' comprises mother's sister, father's sister, mother's brother's wife, father's brother's wife, etc.
- The way how relatives are grouped into kin categories differs across cultures and languages, e.g., mother's sister can be called by the same term like ego's mother, i.e., by a different term than father's sister. This makes kin terms difficult to translate.
- Kin categorisation usually thought of as being similar within language families.

Aims:

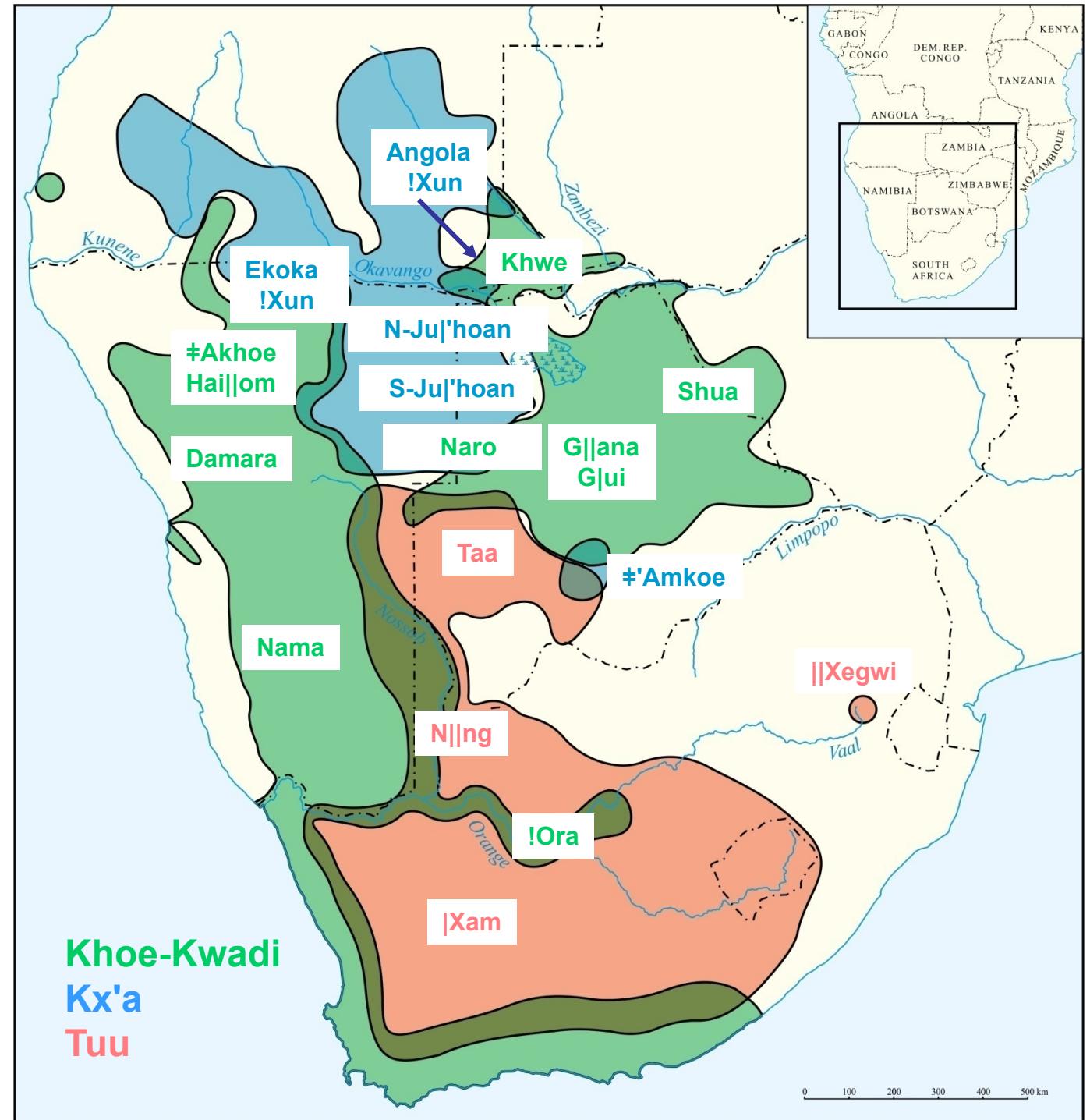
1. Identify typical features of individual South African Khoisan (SAK) language families: Khoe,¹ Kx'a, Tuu.
2. Explain variations of kin categorisation within individual SAK language families as result of contact.

Analyzed features:

1. Presence/Absence of parallel/cross distinctions.
2. Presence/Absence of grandparent-grandchild equivalence.

¹I refer to 'Khoe' only instead of 'Khoe-Kwadi' because data on kin categories for Kwadi are insufficient

Group sample



Gaps/Limits/Desiderata:

Khoe-Kwadi

- Insufficient data for Kwadi
- Only one representatives of Eastern Kalahari Khoë branch (Shua)
- Only Namibia Khwe > study other varieties
- Transformations in SA Khwe?
- Pan-dialectal study of Khoekhoe kin categorisations

Kx'a

- Data on North Ju|'hoan only from 1960s; transformations since then?
- Only survey-like data on South Ju|'hoan and Angola !Xun. Research still possible.
- Transformations in SA !Xun ?

Tuu

- Reliable data only for Taa
- No chance for further fieldwork

Analyzed feature 1: Presence/absence of parallel/cross distinctions

Parallel relatives: connecting link = same-sex siblings (ssG)

Cross relatives: connecting link = opposite-sex sibling (osG)

Parental generation:

Parallel: same-sex-siblings of parents (PssG)

mother's sister (MZ), father's brother (FB)

Cross: opposite-sex-siblings of parents (PosG)

mother's brother (MB), father's sister (FZ)

Ego's generation:

Parallel: children of same-sex-siblings of parents (PssGC)

children of mother's sister (MZC) and father's brother (FBC)

Cross: children of opposite-sex-siblings of parents (PosGC)

children of mother's brother (MBC) and father's sister (FZC)

Children's generation:

Parallel: children of same-sex siblings (ssGC)

women: sister's children (ZCws), men: brother's children (BCms)

Cross: children of opposite-sex siblings (osGC)

women: brother's children (BCws); men: sister's children (ZCms)

Feature 1: Presence/absence of parallel/cross distinctions

1. Ego's generation

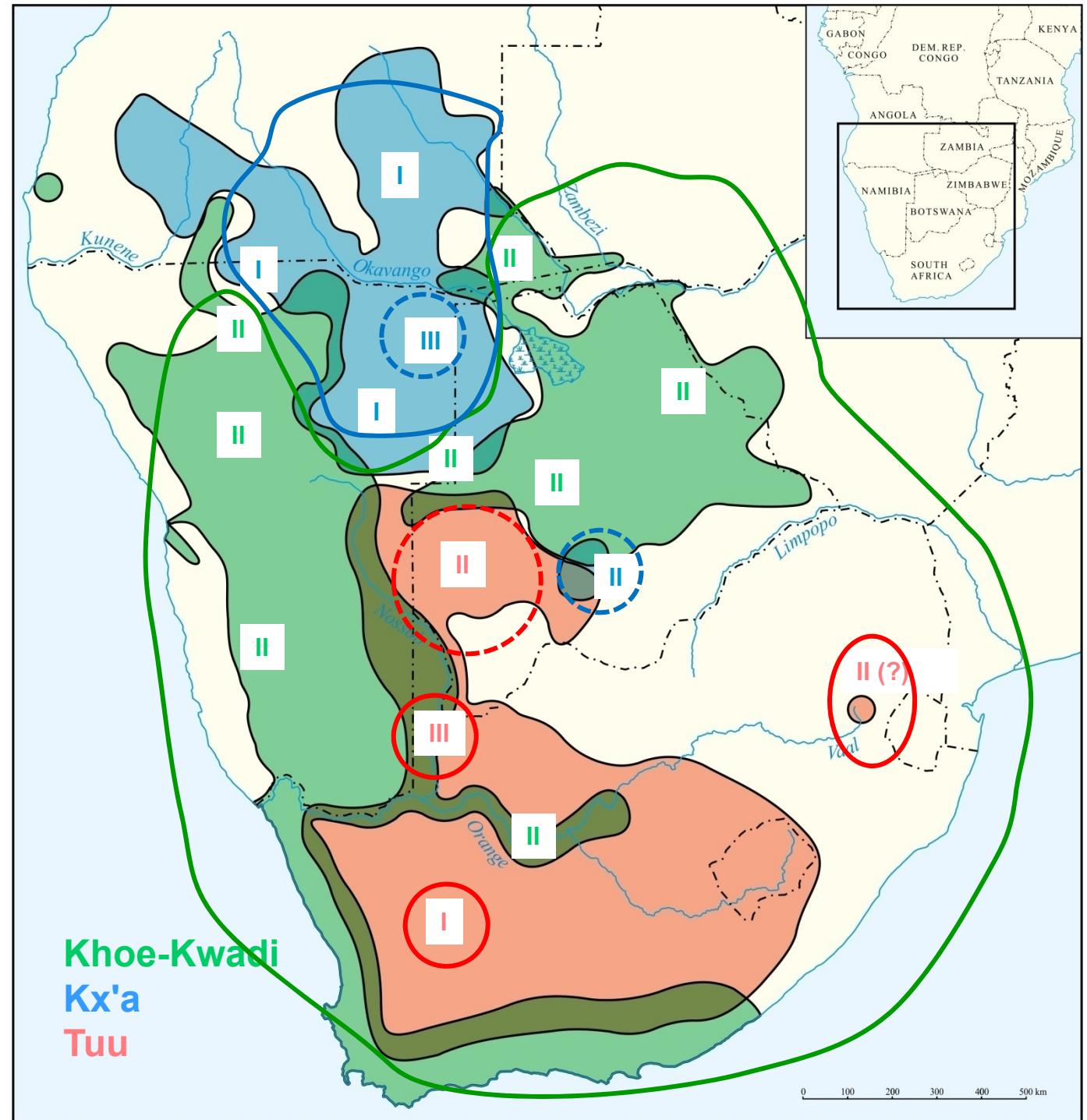
- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| (I) Generational: | $G = PssGC = PosGC$ |
| (II) Parallel/cross: | $G = PssGC \neq PosGC$ |
| (III) Lineal/collateral: | $G \neq PssGC = PosGC$ |

Types of cousin categorisation

I: $G = PssGC = PosGC$

II: $G = PssGC \neq PosGC$

III: $G \neq PssGC = PosGC$



Cousin categories I:

Type I: most Ju dialects (Kx'a) and |Xam (Tuu).

Type II: all Khoe languages

ǂ'Amkoe (Kx'a)

Taa and ||Xegwi¹ (Tuu)

Type III: only in North Ju|'hoan (Kx'a) and N||ng (Tuu)

¹ for ||Xegwi data only available for MBC and FBC

Cousin categories II:

Khoe

- Parallel/cross type common to all Khoe KT

Kx'a

- Lineal/collateral type only in North Ju|'hoan
- Generational type most widely distributed
- ‡'Amkoe shares parallel/cross type with neighbours.

Tuu

- Most diverse and neighbour-like:

N||ng: lineal/collateral = Afrikaans-like

||Xegwi: parallel/cross = Swazi-like

Taa: parallel/cross = Khoe/Kgalagdi-like

|Xam: generational = ancestral?

Feature 1: Presence/absence of parallel/cross distinctions (Types and subtypes in SAK !!!)

2. Parental generation¹

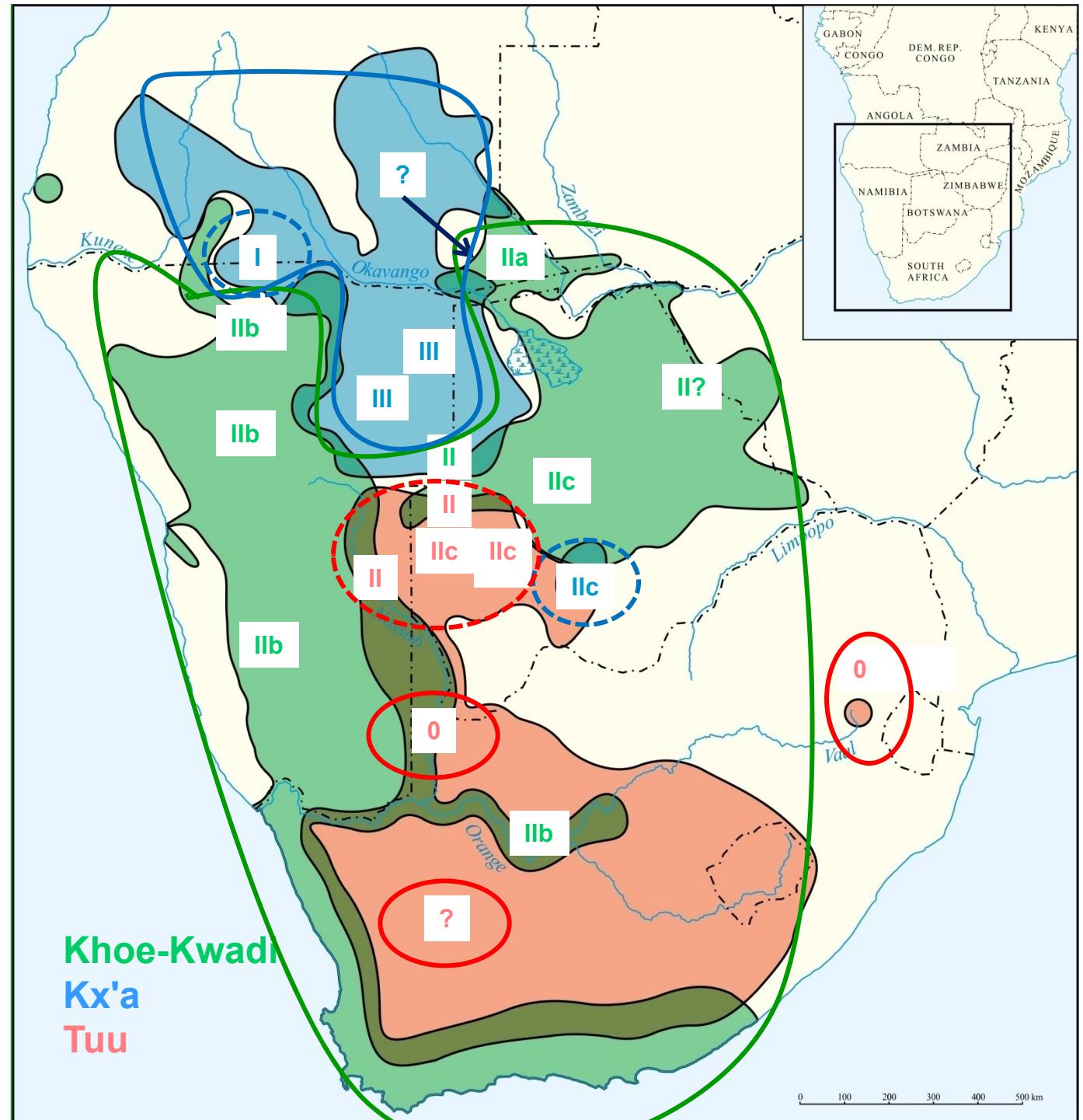
- (0) Descriptive: e.g., „mother's sister“
- (I) Bifurcate collateral: $P \neq PssG \neq PosG$
- (II) Parallel/cross plain: $P = PssG^2 \neq PosG = PP$
 - subtype a) $M = MZ = FZ$
 $F = FB \neq MB = PF$
 - subtype b) $M = MZ \neq FZ \neq PM$
 $F = FB \neq MB = PF$
 - subtype c) $P = PyssG \neq PessG = PossG = PP$
- (III) Lineal/collateral: $P \neq PssG = PosG$

¹ Terms in the first descending generation structurally reciprocal

² Parents and parents' siblings differentiated by marker

Parental generation

- 0: Descriptive
- I: $P \neq PssG \neq PosG$
- II: $P = PssG$
 $PosG = PP$
- IIa: $F = FB \neq MB = PF$
 $M = MZ = FZ$
- IIb: $F = FB \neq MB = PF$
 $M = MZ \neq FZ \neq PM$
- IIc: $P = PyssG \neq PessG = PosG = PP$
- III: $P \neq PssG = PosG$



Parental generation I:

Type 0: Shared by highly endangered languages
= sign of language loss?!

Type I: Ekoka !Xun

Type II: All Khoe terminologies (different subtypes)
Taa (Tuu)
ǂAmkoe (Kx'a)

Type III: North and South Ju|'hoan.

Parental generation II:

Khoe:

- Some sort of parallel/cross distinction present in all Khoe KT
- G|ui shares sub-type with Taa (Tuu) and ‡'Amkoe (Kx'a) neighbours (probably modelled on Kgalagadi)
- Naro shares type with some Taa varieties (Tuu).
- Khwe shares asymmetrical sub-type with Mbukushu (Bantu) neighbours
- Khoekhoe subtype exceptional

Kx'a

- Data for Angola !Xun ambiguous
- North and South Ju|'hoan share lineal/collateral type
- Ekoka !Xun exceptional in having bifurcate/collateral type
- ‡'Amkoe shares parallel/cross subtype with G|ui-G||ana (Khoe) and Taa (Tuu) neighbours (similarity to Kgalagadi).

Tuu:

- ||Xegwi and N||ng descriptive; data for |Xam unclear.
- Taa dialects share subtype with respective neighbours

Parallel/cross distinction typical for Khoe, exceptional in Kx'a and Tuu.

If present in Kx'a and Tuu, symmetrical.

Feature 2: Presence/Absence of grandparent-grandchild equations

- Same/different term for grandparent (PP) and grandchild (CC).
- Presence/absence of naming rules according to which children should preferably be named after a grandparent.
- > Terms and names recycled/not recycled every second generation

Type	Explanation	Formula
0	No equivalence	a) different terms for CC b) descriptive terms for CC
1	Equivalence	a) according to sex of referent $CC=PP$ ($CD=PM$, $CS=PF$) b) grandmother term used for all grandchildren $CC=PM$ ($CD=PM$, $CS=PM$) c) according to sex of speaker $CC=PM$ (female speaker) $CC=PF$ (male speaker)

Grandparent- Grandchild Equivalence

0: No equivalence

0a: different terms
for CC

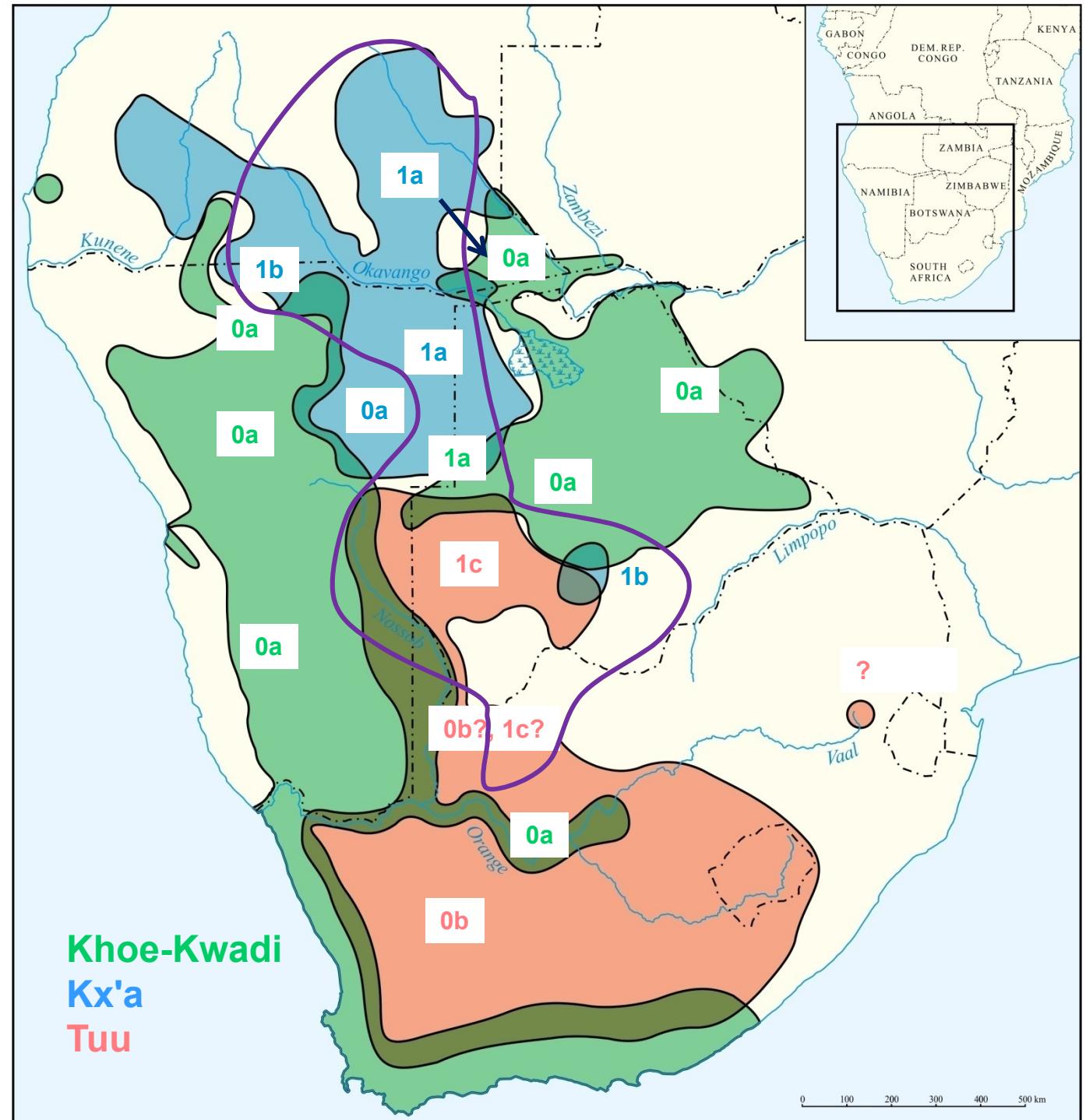
0b: descriptive terms
for CC

1: Equivalence

1a: CD=PM, CS=PF

1b: CC=PM

1c: CC=PM (ws),
CC=PF (ms)



PP/CC equivalence:

Type 0:

subtype a: all Khoe KTs except for Naro

South-Ju|'hoan (Khoe loanterm for PP: mama)

subtype b: N||ng and |Xam (Tuu).

Descriptive terms sign of language loss. Data from Bleek's notebooks and one of my informants suggest former presence of PP-CC-equivalence of the Taa type in N||ng.

Type 1:

subtype a: Angola !Xun, North Ju|'hoan (Kx'a)

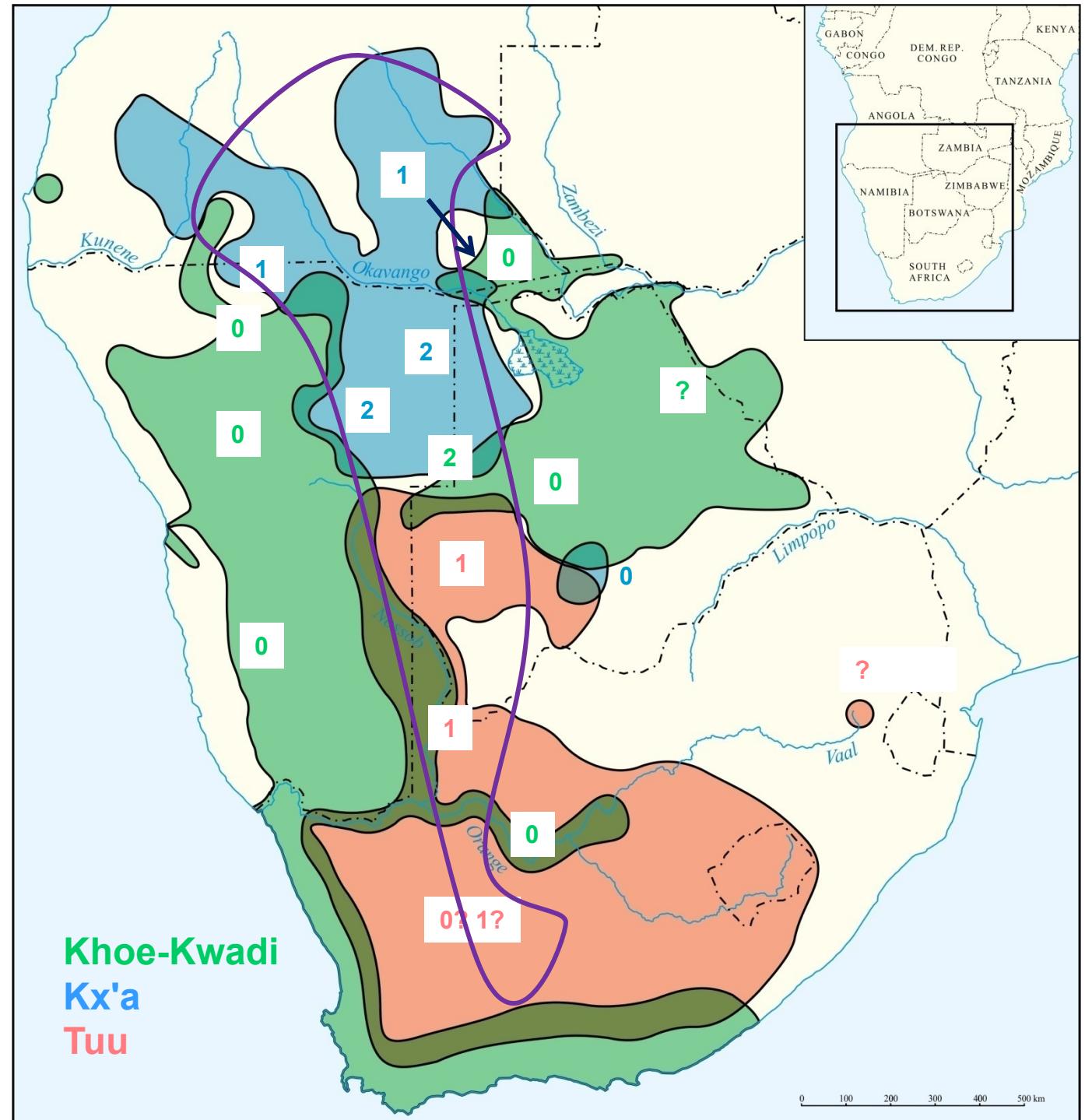
subtype b: Ekoka !Xun, #Amkoe (Kx'a)

subtype c: Taa and possibly N||ng (Tuu)

Feature corresponds with boundaries of language families.

Naming rules (PP>CC)

- 0: Absent
- 1: Common
- 2: Obligatory



PP/CC equivalence and naming rules:

Khoe

- No PP/CC equivalence, no naming rules
- Exception: Naro

Kx'a

- Sub-type shared by Angola !Xun and North Ju|'hoan probably related to strict PP>CC naming rules (Ju|'hoan & Angola !Xun terms for PF & CS literally mean „big/small name“)
- Sub-type shared by Ekoka !Xun and ‡'Amkoe with less strict or without PP>CC naming rules
- South Ju|'hoan: no PP-CC equivalence due to loan term for PP, but naming rules.

Tuu

- Taa different sub-type than Kx'a KTs, slightly different naming rules

Taa (Tuu) and ‡'Amkoe (Kx'a) neighbours do not share same subtype.

Conclusions:

- Presence of parallel/cross distinctions typical for Khoe but not for Kx'a (and Tuu).
- Presence of grandparent-grandchild equivalence and recycling of names typical for Kx'a (and Tuu) but not for Khoe. Subtypes different in Kx'a and Tuu.
- ‡'Amkoe (Kx'a) and Taa (Tuu) have first adopted the Khoe type of parallel/cross distinction. More recently: ‡'Amkoe (Kx'a), Taa (Tuu), G|ui-G||ana (Khoe) have adopted PessG=PP from Kgalagadi.
- Naro retained or borrowed PP=CC, term, naming rules from Ju.

Abbreviations:

Siblings:

B = Brother

Z = Sister

G = Sibling

Parents:

F = Father

M = Mother

P = Parent

Children:

D = Daughter

S = Son

C = Child

Age distinctions:

e = elder

y = younger

Sex of referent distinctions:

ss = same-sex

os = opposite-sex

Sex of speaker distinctions:

ms = man speaking

ws = woman speaking

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Ekoka !Xun	Kx'a	Hunter/Gatherers	Takada 2008
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South Ju'hoan	Kx'a	Hunter/Gatherers	Bleek 1929, Sylvain 1999 Fieldwork Boden/Pratchett 2011
ǂAmkoe	Kx'a	Hunter/Gatherers	Gruber 1973, Fieldwork Barnard/Berthold/Boden/Gerlach/ Kure 2011
ǂAkhoe-Hai om	Khoe	Hunter/Gatherers	Widlok 1999, Haacke & Eiseb 2002
Damara	Khoe	Hunter/Gatherers/Pastoralists	Lebzelter 1934, Barnard 1992, Haacke & Eiseb 2002
Khwe	Khoe	Hunter/Gatherers	Köhler 1966, Kilian-Hatz 2003, Boden 2005, 2014
Shua	Khoe	Hunter/Gatherers	McGregor 2014
G ana-G ui	Khoe	Hunter/Gatherers	Silberbauer 1961, 1981; Ono 1996, 1997
Naro	Khoe	Hunter/Gatherers	Barnard 1976
Nama	Khoe	Pastoralists	Hoernlé 1985 [1925], Haacke & Eiseb 2002
!Ora	Khoe	Pastoralists	Engelbrecht 1936
Taa	Tuu	Hunter/Gatherers	Heinz 1994 [1966], Traill 1994, Fieldwork Boden 2010
N ng	Tuu	Hunter/Gatherers	Bleek Notebooks, Bleek 1929, Boden 2014
Xegwi	Tuu	Hunter/Gatherers	Potgieter 1955
Xam	Tuu	Hunter/Gatherers	Bleek 1924