'Khoisan' kin categories:
Geographical distribution and historical interpretation

Gertrud Boden
Goethe University Frankfurt

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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, 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.

1 I refer to ‘Khoe’ only instead of ‘Khoe-Kwadi’ because data on kin categories for Kwadi are insufficient
Group sample

Khoe-Kwadi
Kx'a
Tuu
Gaps/Limits/Desiderata:

Khoe-Kwadi
- Insufficient data for Kwadi
- Only one representatives of Eastern Kalahari Khoe 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: \( G = \text{PssGC} = \text{PosGC} \)
   (II) Parallel/cross: \( G = \text{PssGC} \neq \text{PosGC} \)
   (III) Lineal/collateral: \( G \neq \text{PssGC} = \text{PosGC} \)
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 ||Xegwi\(^1\) (Tuu)

Type III: only in North Ju|'hoan (Kx'a) and Nǁng (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
- ǂ'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 generation
   (0) Descriptive: e.g., „mother's sister“
   (I) Bifurcate collateral: $P \neq P_{ssG} \neq P_{osG}$
   (II) Parallel/cross plain: $P = P_{ssG}$ $^2 \neq P_{osG} = P_P$
     subtype a) $M = M_Z = F_Z$
     $F = F_B \neq M_B = P_F$
     subtype b) $M = M_Z \neq F_Z \neq P_M$
     $F = F_B \neq M_B = P_F$
     subtype c) $P = P_{yssG} \neq P_{essG} = P_{ossG} = P_P$
   (III) Lineal/collateral: $P \neq P_{ssG} = P_{osG}$

1 Terms in the first descending generation structurally reciprocal
2 Parents and parents' siblings differentiated by marker
Parental generation

0: Descriptive
I: $P \neq P_{ssG} \neq P_{osG}$
   $P_{ssG} \neq P_{osG}$
II: $P = P_{ssG}$
   $P_{osG} = P_P$
   IIa: $F = F_B \neq M_B = P_F$
   $M = M_Z = F_Z$
   IIb: $F = F_B \neq M_B = P_F$
   $M = M_Z = F_Z \neq P_M$
   IIc: $P = P_{yssG} \neq P_{essG} = P_{osG} = P_P$
III: $P \neq P_{ssG} = P_{osG}$
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)
         ±'Amkoe (Kx'a)

Type III: North and South Juǀ'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 ṭ'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
- ṭ'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

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<th>Explanation</th>
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| 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 KT's 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

Khoe-Kwadi
Kx'a
Tuu
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 KT's, 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.
- ṭ'Amkoe (Kx'a) and Taa (Tuu) have first adopted the Khoe type of parallel/cross distinction. More recently: ṭ'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:

Sibling:
B = Brother
Z = Sister
G = Sibling

Age distinctions:
e = elder
y = younger

Parents:
F = Father
M = Mother
P = Parent

Sex of referent distinctions:
ss = same-sex
os = opposite-sex

Children:
D = Daughter
S = Son
C = Child

Sex of speaker distinctions:
ms = man speaking
ws = woman speaking
References:


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<td>Hunter/Gatherers</td>
<td>Bleek 1929, Fieldwork Boden (West Caprivi) 2012</td>
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<td>Ekoka !Xun</td>
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