

# 5

## Anhänge

## 5.1 Browns Universalvolk<sup>A1</sup>

Was haben alle Menschen, alle Gesellschaften, alle Kulturen und alle Sprachen gemeinsam? Auf den folgenden Seiten versuche ich [= Donald Brown], Antworten zu geben, und zwar in Form einer Beschreibung dessen, was ich das *Universalvolk* (UV) nennen werde. Es handelt sich dabei um eine Beschreibung eines jeden Volkes oder von Menschen im Allgemeinen. Bedenken Sie den vorläufigen Charakter dieses Kapitels: So sicher, wie es einige Universalien auslöst, schließt es einige ein, die sich auf lange Sicht als nicht universal erweisen werden, und noch sicherer teilt es Merkmale und Merkmalskomplexe in einer Weise auf, die mit der Zeit genaueren oder sinnvolleren Einteilungen weichen werden. [..]

Der Mensch ist zwar nicht einzigartig in seinem Besitz von Kultur – Handlungs- und Denkmuster, die innerhalb und zwischen den Generationen durch Lernen weitergegeben werden – aber er ist sicherlich einzigartig hinsichtlich des Ausmaßes, in dem sein Denken und Handeln von solchen Mustern geprägt ist. Die Menschen des UV sind sich dieser Einzigartigkeit bewusst und postulieren einen Unterschied zwischen ihrem Wesen – der Kultur – und dem Wesen der Natur.

Ein sehr bedeutender Teil der UV-Kultur ist in ihrer Sprache verkörpert, einem System der Kommunikation, ohne der ihre Kultur notwendigerweise sehr viel einfacher wäre. Mit der Sprache denken und diskutieren die Menschen des UV sowohl über ihre internen Zustände als auch über die Welt außerhalb jedes Individuums (dies soll nicht heißen, dass sie auch ohne Sprache denken – mit Sicherheit tun sie das). Mit der Sprache organisieren, reagieren und manipulieren die Mitglieder des UV das Verhalten ihrer Mitmenschen. Die UV-Sprache ist von strategischer Bedeutung für diejenigen, die das UV studieren wollen. Denn ihre Sprache ist, wenn nicht unbedingt ein exakter Spiegel, so doch zumindest ein Fenster in ihre Kultur, in ihre Gedanken und Handlungen. Ihre Sprache ist kein perfekter Spiegel oder perfektes Sichtfenster, denn es gibt oft Diskrepanzen zwischen dem, was die Menschen des UV sagen und dem was sie denken und tun. Wir würden uns jedoch sehr schwertun, viele Aspekte des UV zu verstehen, wenn wir keinen Zugang zu ihrem Denken über ihre Sprache hätten. Da ihre Sprache keine simple Reflexion der realen Welt ist, müssen wir ihre (emische) Konzeptualisierung von einer objektiven (etischen) Konzeptualisierungen der Welt unterscheiden.

Die Sprache des UV erlaubt es ihnen, in Abstraktionen und über Dinge oder Prozesse zu denken und zu sprechen, die nicht physisch vorhanden sind. Wenn einer von ihnen die Sprache besonders gut beherrscht – vor allem, wenn es ein Mann ist – gewinnt er dadurch an Prestige, zum Teil, weil eine gute Redefähigkeit es ihm erlaubt, das Verhalten seiner Mitmenschen effektiver zu manipulieren, zum Guten oder zum Schlechten. Ein wichtiges Mittel der verbalen Manipulation innerhalb des UV ist Klatsch und Tratsch.

In ihren Gesprächen schaffen es die Menschen des UV in vielerlei Hinsicht, mehr auszudrücken, als ihre bloßen Worte nahelegen. Zum Beispiel zeigen Verschiebungen im Tonfall, im Timing und andere Merkmale der Sprache an, dass eine Person bereit ist oder nicht bereit ist, dass jemand anderes das Wort ergreift. Die UV-Sprache wird sowohl zur Desinformation als auch zur Information verwendet. Selbst wenn ein Individuum des UV keine Lügen erzählt, versteht man das Konzept und achtet bei anderen darauf. Denn einige Mitglieder des UV lügen, und sie verstellen sich und täuschen auch auf andere Weise. Der Sprachgebrauch des UV umfasst Möglichkeiten, lustig zu sein, und Möglichkeiten, zu beleidigen.

A1 Entnommen aus Brown 1991, 130–140; Übersetzung und Hervorhebungen R.D.

*Die UV-Sprache ist hochgradig symbolisch.* Lassen Sie mich erklären, wie sich dies von der Tierkommunikation unterscheidet. Viele Vogelarten vokalisieren eine Warnung bei Gefahr. Die Vokalisierung ist im Wesentlichen für die Spezies von Ort zu Ort gleich. In der Tat ist sie von einer Spezies zur anderen ziemlich ähnlich. Menschen haben Angst- und Warnrufe, die in gewisser Weise analog zu diesen Vogelrufen sind, aber zwischen vielen, vielen Mitgliedern unserer Spezies sind unsere routinemäßigen Vokalisationen bedeutungslos. Dies liegt daran, dass Sprachlaute und ihre Bedeutung kaum eine intrinsische Verbindung haben. Klang und Sinn sind in der Regel nur arbiträr miteinander verbunden. Ebenso willkürlich ist die Art und Weise, wie Spracheinheiten, die unseren Worten entsprechen, zu Sätzen aneinandergereiht werden. Aber trotz dieser Beliebigkeit gibt es auf allen grundlegenden Ebenen – phonemisch, grammatikalisch und semantisch – Merkmale, die in allen Sprachen zu finden sind.

Daher beinhalten UV-Phoneme – ihre grundlegenden Sprachlaute – einen Kontrast zwischen Vokallauten (in der Mundhöhle erzeugte oder durch die Mundhöhle kanalisierte Laute) und Nichtvokalen (z. B. Nasallaute). Die UV-Sprache hat Kontraste zwischen Vokalen sowie zwischen Stopps und Nichtstopps (ein Stopp, z. B. das englische p oder b, stoppt den Luftstrom während des Sprechens). Die Phoneme der UV-Sprache bilden ein System von Kontrasten, und die Anzahl ihrer Phoneme beträgt weder mehr als 70 noch weniger als 10.

Mit der Zeit verändert sich ihre Sprache. Daraus folgt, dass das UV nicht die Sprache seiner entfernten Vorfahren spricht, auch wenn sie recht ähnlich sein mag.

Wie sehr die Grammatik auch von Sprache zu Sprache variiert, einige Dinge sind immer vorhanden. Zum Beispiel enthält die Sprache des UV eine Reihe von gegensätzlichen Begriffen, die theoretisch auf drei verschiedene Arten formuliert werden könnten, die aber nur auf zwei Arten formuliert werden. Zur Veranschaulichung: Sie könnten über das »Gute« und das »Schlechte« sprechen (zwei kontrastierende Begriffe, keiner von beiden mit einer Markierung, um eine Verneinung auszudrücken); oder sie könnten über das »Gute« und das »Nicht-Gute« sprechen (d. h., das Wort »schlecht« gibt es gar nicht, aber seine Bedeutung wird mit einer markierten Version seines Gegenteils ausgedrückt, die Markierung in diesem Fall zur Verneinung), oder sie könnten über das »Schlechte« und das »Nicht-Schlechte« sprechen (d. h., das Wort »gut« gibt es nicht usw.). Logisch gesehen sind diese Alternativen identisch: Jede Anordnung vermittelt die gleiche Information. Ähnliche Möglichkeiten existieren für »tief« und »seicht«, »breit« und »schmal«, etc. Aber in jedem Fall kommt die dritte Möglichkeit nie als die obligatorische oder übliche Sprechweise vor. Das UV ist also nie gezwungen, mangels einer Alternative die Vorstellungen von »gut«, »breit«, »tief« usw. als negierte Versionen ihrer Gegensätze auszudrücken.

Aufgrund ihrer Grammatik vermittelt die UV-Sprache einige Informationen redundant. Im Englischen zum Beispiel geben sowohl Subjekt als auch Verb die Zahl an, während im Spanischen sowohl Substantiv als auch Adjektiv das Geschlecht angeben.

Zwei abschließende Punkte zur UV-Grammatik: Sie beinhaltet Substantive und Verben, und das Possessiv. Letzteres wird sowohl für das verwendet, was als »intimer« oder »unveräußerlicher« Besitz bezeichnet wird, also um über deren Finger, deine Hände und ihr Denken zu sprechen, als auch für »losen« oder »veräußerlichen« Besitz, z. B. meine Axt.

Das UV besitzt *spezielle Sprachformen für besondere Anlässe*. So haben sie poetische oder rhetorische Standards, welche für die Rede in bestimmten Situationen als angemessen gilt. Sie verwenden *Narrative*, um zu erklären, wie die Dinge entstanden sind, und um Geschichten zu erzählen. Ihre Sprache beinhaltet bildhafte Redewendungen: Metaphern sind besonders häufig, und Metonymien (die Verwendung eines Wortes für das, womit es assoziiert wird, z. B. Krone für König) sind ebenfalls stets enthalten. Die Menschen des UV können lautmalerisch

sprechen (mit Wörtern, die Geräusche imitieren, z. B. »piep, piep!«), und von Zeit zu Zeit tun sie das auch. Sie haben eine Poesie, in der die Verse, abgegrenzt durch Pausen, etwa 3 Sekunden lang sind. Die poetischen Verse sind gekennzeichnet durch die Wiederholung einiger struktureller, semantischer oder auditiver Elemente, aber auch durch freie Variation.

Die meisten der spezifischen elementaren Bedeutungseinheiten in der UV-Sprache – Einheiten, die manchmal, aber nicht immer, mit Wörtern gleichzusetzen sind – kommen nicht in allen Sprachen der Welt vor. Das hindert uns nicht daran, viel von der UV-Sprache in unsere eigene oder eine andere bestimmte Sprache zu übersetzen: Zentimeter und Zoll sind nicht die gleichen Entitäten, aber wir können das eine ziemlich genau in das andere übersetzen; Personen, denen ein Wort für »Kinn« fehlt und die es deshalb als »Ende des Kiefers« bezeichnen, kommunizieren trotzdem sinnvoll.

Einige wenige Wörter oder Bedeutungen überschreiten alle kulturellen Grenzen und sind daher Teil der UV-Sprache. Ich will damit natürlich nicht sagen, dass das UV für diese Wörter die gleichen Sprachlaute benutzt wie wir Englischsprechenden, sondern dass die Bedeutungen für diese Begriffe vom UV mit ihren eigenen Begriffen ausgedrückt werden. Zum Beispiel hat das UV Begriffe für schwarz und weiß (gleichbedeutend mit dunkel und hell, wenn keine anderen Grundfarben kodiert sind) und für Gesicht, Hand, und so weiter.

Bestimmte semantische Komponenten sind in der UV-Sprache zu finden, selbst wenn die Begriffe, in denen sie angewendet werden, es nicht sind. Zum Beispiel enthält die UV-Verwandtschaftsterminologie Begriffe, die männlich von weiblich (und somit die semantische Komponente des Geschlechts angeben) sowie bestimmte Generationen von anderen unterscheiden. Selbst wenn nicht explizit, so ist die Zeitdauer in ihrer Sprache semantisch enthalten, und sie haben Zeiteinheiten wie Tage, Monate, Jahreszeiten und Jahre. Auf verschiedene Weise gibt es eine zeitliche Zyklizität oder Rhythmik im Leben des UV. Die Menschen des UV können zwischen Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft unterscheiden.

Die UV-Sprache klassifiziert auch Körperteile, innere Zustände (z. B. Emotionen, Empfindungen oder Gedanken), Verhaltensneigungen, Flora, Fauna, Wetterbedingungen, Werkzeuge, Raum (durch den sie Richtungen angeben) und viele andere bestimmte Themen, obwohl jedes von ihnen nicht unbedingt einen eigenen lexikalischen Bereich darstellt. Die UV-Sprache bezieht sich auf solche semantischen Kategorien wie Bewegung, Geschwindigkeit, Ort, Größe und andere physikalische Eigenschaften; auf das Geben (einschließlich analoger Handlungen, wie z. B. Leihen); und auf das Beeinflussen von Dingen oder Personen.

Wie in der Verwendung von Metaphern und Metonymien angedeutet, sind UV-Wörter (oder Wortäquivalente) manchmal polysemisch, haben also mehr als eine Bedeutung. Ihre Antonyme und Synonyme sind zahlreich. Die Wörter oder Wortäquivalente, die das UV häufiger verwendet, sind im Allgemeinen kürzer, während diejenigen, die sie weniger häufig verwenden, länger sind.

Die UV-Sprache enthält sowohl Eigennamen als auch Pronomen. Letztere umfassen mindestens drei Personen und zwei Zahlenkategorien. Ihre Sprache enthält Ziffern, auch wenn es nur »eins, zwei und viele« sein mag.

Das UV besitzt separate Begriffe für Verwandtschaftskategorien, die Mutter und Vater einschließen. Das heißt, während einige Völker den Vater und die Brüder des Vaters in einer Verwandtschaftskategorie zusammenfassen und die Mutter mit ihren Schwestern konzeptuell verbinden – so dass es verbindlich oder normal ist, sich auf die eigenen Eltern mit Begriffen zu beziehen, die sie mit anderen in einen Zusammenhang bringen – so ist es beim UV nicht obligatorisch, sich auf die tatsächlichen Eltern in einer Weise zu beziehen, welche die Mutter mit dem Vater in einen Zusammenhang bringt.

Die Verwandtschaftsbegriffe des UV lassen sich teilweise oder ganz durch Verweis auf die mit der Fortpflanzung verbundenen Beziehungen übersetzen: Mutter, Vater, Sohn, Tochter. Das UV hat eine Altersterminologie, die Altersstufen in einer linearen Abfolge umfasst, ähnlich der Abfolge Kind, Jugendlicher, Erwachsener, usw. Unser erster Reflex ist zu denken, dass es nicht anders sein könnte, aber es könnte: eine ältere Person kann »wie ein Kind« sein; eine Altersklassifizierung, die einen Begriff für »unselbständiges Alter« hätte, könnte aus dem normalen Muster der Linearität ausbrechen.

Das UV hat eine Geschlechterterminologie, die grundsätzlich dualistisch ist, selbst wenn sie drei oder vier Kategorien umfasst. Wenn es drei gibt, ist eines eine Kombination der beiden Grundgeschlechter (z.B. ein Hermaphrodit), oder eines ist ein Crossover-Geschlecht (z.B. ein Mann, der als Frau auftritt). Bei vier gibt es dann zwei normale Geschlechter und zwei Crossover-Geschlechter.

Namensgebung und Taxonomie sind grundlegend für die UV-Kognition. Prominente Elemente in der UV-Taxonomie und anderen Aspekten ihres Sprechens und Denkens sind binäre Unterscheidungen, die kontrastierende Begriffe oder semantische Bausteine bilden (einige wurden bereits erwähnt – schwarz und weiß, Natur und Kultur, männlich und weiblich, gut und schlecht, etc.). Die Menschen des UV können aber auch Kontinua ordnen, also nicht nur Gegensätze, sondern polare Extreme mit Abstufungen dazwischen benennen. So gibt es Mittelwerte zwischen ihren Gegensätzen oder Rangordnungen in ihren Klassifikationen. Die Mitglieder des UV sind in der Lage, das Maß von Dingen und Entfernungen auszudrücken, jedoch nicht unbedingt mit einheitlichen Einheiten.

Das UV verwendet so elementare logische Begriffe wie »nicht«, »und«, »gleich«, »gleichwertig« und »entgegengesetzt«. Sie unterscheiden das Allgemeine vom Besonderen und Teile vom Ganzen. Leider überschätzen die Menschen des UV die Objektivität ihrer Denkweise (*sie sind besonders unsachlich, wenn sie ihre Ingroup mit Outgroups vergleichen*).

Die Menschen des UV verwenden das, was als »mutmaßliches« Denken bezeichnet wird, um z.B. aus winzigen Hinweisen die Art, das Vorhandensein und das Verhalten von Tieren oder aus verschiedenen Symptomen das Vorhandensein einer bestimmten Krankheit abzuleiten, die an sich nicht beobachtet werden kann und eine völlig abstrakte Vorstellung ist.

*Die Sprache ist nicht das einzige Mittel der symbolischen Kommunikation*, das von den Mitgliedern des UV verwendet wird. Sie verwenden auch Gesten, insbesondere mit ihren Händen und Armen. Ein Teil ihrer nonverbalen Kommunikation ist leicht einseitig, da die Botschaft zwar bewusst empfangen, aber mehr oder weniger spontan gesendet werden kann. So senden z.B. das Geschrei von Kindern, Angstschreie und Ähnliches Botschaften aus, auf die die Menschen des UV genau achten, auch wenn der Absender nicht die bewusste Absicht hatte, sie zu übermitteln. UV-Menschen hören und beobachten nicht nur, was an der Oberfläche ist, *sie interpretieren das äußere Verhalten, um die innere Absicht zu erfassen*.

Die Kommunikation mit ihren Gesichtern ist beim UV besonders komplex, und einige ihrer Gesichtsausdrücke werden überall erkannt. *So zeigen UV-Gesichter Freude, Traurigkeit, Wut, Angst, Überraschung, Ekel und Verachtung auf eine Art und Weise, die von einer Gesellschaft zur anderen völlig identisch ist*. Wenn sie bei der Begrüßung von Personen lächeln, bedeutet dies freundliche Absichten. UV-Mitglieder weinen, wenn sie unglücklich sind oder Schmerz empfinden. Eine junge Frau, die sich schüchtern verhält oder mit ihren Augen flirtet, tut dies auf eine Art und Weise, die man ganz klar erkennen würde. Obwohl einige Gesichtsausdrücke spontan sind, können UV-Menschen, wie bereits erwähnt, *eigentlich spontane Ausdrücke verbergen, modifizieren und nachahmen*. Ob durch Gesicht, Worte, Gesten oder auf andere Weise, das UV kann Zuneigung sowohl zeigen als auch fühlen.

Das UV hat einen Begriff von der Person im psychologischen Sinne. Sie unterscheiden das Selbst von anderen und können das Selbst sowohl als Subjekt als auch als Objekt sehen. Sie sehen die Person nicht als einen völlig passiven Empfänger externer Handlungen, noch sehen sie das Selbst als völlig autonom. Bis zu einem gewissen Grad sehen sie die Person als verantwortlich für ihre Handlungen. Sie unterscheiden Handlungen, die unter Kontrolle sind, von solchen, die nicht unter Kontrolle sind. *Sie verstehen das Konzept der Intention.* Sie wissen, dass Menschen ein privates Innenleben haben, Erinnerungen haben, Pläne machen, zwischen Alternativen wählen und auch sonst Entscheidungen treffen (manchmal nicht ohne ambivalente Gefühle). Sie wissen, dass Menschen Schmerz und andere Emotionen empfinden können. *Sie unterscheiden normale von abnormalen psychischen Zuständen.* Die UV-Persönlichkeitstheorie erlaubt es ihnen, an Individuen zu denken, die vom Verhaltensmuster abweichen, das mit dem Status, den sie einnehmen, verbunden ist, und sie können diese Abweichungen in Bezug auf die Charaktereigenschaften des Individuums erklären. Menschen des UV sind *spontan und intuitiv* in der Lage, sich sozusagen *in die Gedanken anderer hineinzusetzen und sich vorzustellen, wie sie denken und fühlen.*

Zusätzlich zu den bereits erwähnten Emotionen werden UV-Menschen von sexueller Anziehung erregt; manchmal werden sie durch sexuelle Eifersucht tief verstört. Sie haben auch Kindheitsängste, einschließlich Angst vor lauten Geräuschen und – besonders gegen Ende des ersten Lebensjahres – vor Fremden (dies ist das augenscheinliche Gegenstück zu einer starken Bindung an ihre Bezugsperson zu dieser Zeit). UV-Menschen reagieren emotional – in der Regel mit Angst – auf Schlangen. Mit Mühe können sie einige ihrer Ängste überwinden. Da normalerweise ein Mann anwesend ist, der einen Anspruch auf die Mutter des Jungen erhebt, ist der Ödipuskomplex – im Sinne der Besitzergreifung eines kleinen Jungen gegenüber seiner Mutter und der Kühle gegenüber ihrem Gefährten – ein Teil der männlichen UV-Psychologie.

UV-Menschen erkennen Individuen an ihren Gesichtern, und in diesem Sinne haben sie mit Sicherheit ein implizites Konzept des Individuums (wie wenig sie das Individuum auch explizit konzeptualisieren mögen, abgesehen vom sozialen Status). Sie erkennen Individuen auch auf andere Weise.

Die Menschen des UV sind der Inbegriff des Werkzeugmachers: nicht einfach, weil sie Werkzeuge herstellen – einige andere Tiere tun das auch – sondern weil sie so viele und so viele verschiedene Arten von ihnen herstellen und so abhängig von ihnen sind. Anders als die anderen Tiere benutzen UV-Mitglieder Werkzeuge, um Werkzeuge herzustellen. Sie stellen Schneidegeräte her, die das verbessern, was sie mit ihren Zähnen oder durch Zerreißen mit ihren Händen tun können. Sie stellen Hämmer her, die das verbessern, was sie mit ihren Zähnen, Fäusten, Füßen, Knien, Schultern, Ellbogen und mit dem Kopf tun können. Sie stellen Gefäße her, die es ihnen erlauben, mehr Dinge auf einmal zu halten, sie bequemer oder kontinuierlich zu tragen, und sie zu fixieren, wo sie es sonst nicht könnten, wie zum Beispiel über einem Feuer. Ob es Schnur, Kordel, Sehne, Rebe, Draht oder was auch immer ist, die UV-Mitglieder haben etwas, das sie benutzen können, um Dinge zusammenzubinden und verflochtene Materialien herzustellen. Sie kennen und benutzen den Hebel. Einige ihrer Werkzeuge sind Waffen, darunter der Speer. Die Menschen des UV stellen viele ihrer Werkzeuge mit einer solchen Beständigkeit her, dass sie sie immer wieder verwenden können. Sie stellen auch einige ihrer Werkzeuge in einheitlichen Mustern her, die mehr oder weniger arbiträr sind – so können wir oft die Werkzeuge eines Volkes von denen eines anderen unterscheiden. Solche Muster bleiben über die Lebenszeit eines einzelnen Menschen hinaus bestehen. Da Werkzeuge so eng mit den menschlichen Händen verbunden sind, sei am Rande erwähnt, dass die meisten Menschen des UV Rechtshänder sind.

UV-Mitglieder wissen vielleicht nicht, wie man Feuer macht, aber sie wissen, wie man es benutzt. *Sie verwenden Feuer*, um Essen zu kochen, aber auch für andere Zwecke. Werkzeuge und Feuer tragen viel dazu bei, dass sie sich wohler und sicherer fühlen. Die Menschen des UV haben weitere Möglichkeiten, um sich besser (oder anders) zu fühlen. Dazu gehören *Substanzen, die sie einnehmen können, um ihre Stimmungen oder Gefühle zu verändern: Stimulanzien, Narkotika oder Rauschmittel*. Diese werden zusätzlich zu dem eingenommen, was sie zum bloßen Überleben konsumieren.

UV-Menschen haben immer irgendeine Form von Schutz vor den Elementen. Auf weitere Möglichkeiten, wie sie sich um ihre materiellen Bedürfnisse kümmern, wird später eingegangen.

Die UV-Leute verfolgen bestimmte Muster bei der Vorbereitung auf die Geburt, bei der Geburt und bei der Nachsorge. Sie haben auch ein mehr oder weniger standardisiertes Muster und eine Zeit für das Abstillen von Säuglingen.

Die Menschen des UV sind keine Einsiedler. *Sie leben einen Teil ihres Lebens, wenn nicht sogar ihr ganzes Leben, in Gruppen. Eine ihrer wichtigsten Gruppen ist die Familie, aber sie ist nicht die einzige Gruppe bei ihnen. Eine oder mehrere der UV-Gruppen halten stets eine Gemeinschaft aufrecht, auch wenn die Mitglieder verstreut sind.*

Das UV hat Gruppen, die sich *über einen Ort oder die Beanspruchung eines bestimmten Territoriums* definieren, selbst wenn sie fast ihr ganzes Leben als Reisende auf dem Meer leben. Sie sind materiell, kognitiv und emotional an die Umgebung angepasst, in der sie normalerweise leben (insbesondere in Bezug auf einen Teil der Flora und Fauna). *Das Gefühl, ein eigenständiges Volk zu sein*, kennzeichnet das UV, und sie beurteilen andere Menschen nach ihren eigenen Kriterien.

Der Kern einer normalen UV-Familie besteht aus einer Mutter und Kindern. Von der biologischen Mutter wird in der Regel erwartet, dass sie die soziale Mutter ist und sie ist es in der Regel auch. Auf einer mehr oder weniger dauerhaften Basis ist normalerweise auch ein Mann (oder mehrere Männer) beteiligt, und er (oder sie) dienen zumindest dazu, den Kindern einen Status in der Gemeinschaft zu geben und/oder ein Gefährte der Mutter zu sein. *Die Ehe* im Sinne einer »Person« mit einem öffentlich anerkannten Recht auf sexuellen Zugang zu einer Frau, die als gebärfähig gilt, ist im UV *institutionalisiert*. Während die Person fast immer männlich ist, ist dies aber nicht zwingend und es muss auch nicht ein einzelnes Individuum sein.<sup>A2</sup>

Das UV hat ein Sozialisationsmuster: Kinder werden nicht einfach sich selbst überlassen. Von den älteren Verwandten wird erwartet, dass sie wesentlich zur Sozialisierung beitragen. Eine der Arten, wie Kinder des UV lernen, ist, *die Älteren zu beobachten und sie zu kopieren*. Zur Sozialisierung von UV-Kindern gehört auch das Toiletentraining. Durch Übung perfektionieren Kinder und Erwachsene, was sie lernen. UV-Mitglieder lernen einige Dinge durch Versuch und Irrtum.

Die eigenen Kinder und andere nahe Verwandte werden im UV von entfernteren Verwandten oder Nicht-Verwandten unterschieden, und die Menschen des UV *bevorzugen ihre nahen Verwandten in verschiedenen Kontexten*.

UV-Familien und die Beziehungen ihrer Familienmitglieder zueinander und zu Außenstehenden sind geprägt von ihren Sexualvorschriften, die eine Paarung zwischen genetisch nahen Verwandten stark einschränken, wenn nicht gar ausschließen. Insbesondere die Paa-

A2 Bei manchen Völkern kann zum Beispiel eine Frau A den Status eines Mannes annehmen, eine Frau B zur Frau nehmen und dann dafür sorgen, dass die Frau B Kinder bekommt, deren sozialer Vater A sein wird.

rung zwischen Mutter und Sohn ist unvorstellbar oder tabuisiert. Sex ist ein Thema von großem Interesse für das UV, auch wenn es Kontexte geben kann, in denen sie nicht darüber sprechen.

Einige Gruppen beim UV erzeugen einen Teil ihrer gesellschaftlichen Ordnung durch die Einteilung in *sozial bedeutsame Kategorien oder Untergruppen auf der Grundlage von Verwandtschaft, Geschlecht und Alter*. Da das UV Verwandtschafts-, Geschlechts- und Altersstatus kennt, folgt daraus natürlich, dass sie *Statushierarchien und soziale Rollen sowie eine damit verbundene soziale Struktur* besitzen. Sie haben aber auch *Statushierarchien außerhalb der Kategorien Geschlecht, Alter und Verwandtschaft*. Während es sich dabei größtenteils um zugeschriebene Statuspositionen handelt, besitzen sie auch selbst erarbeitete Statuspositionen. In einigen ihrer Statushierarchien existieren Nachfolgeregelungen.

Obwohl es vielleicht nur eine andere Art ist, zu sagen, dass sie Statushierarchien und soziale Rollen besitzen, kennen UV-Mitglieder die soziale Persönlichkeit: *soziale Identitäten, inklusive kollektive Identitäten, welche von den sie tragenden Individuen unterscheidbar sind*. Die Unterscheidung zwischen sozialen Personen und Individuen beinhaltet die Entitätifizierung [entification] der ersteren; d.h. UV-Mitglieder sprechen von Statustypen, als ob sie Entitäten wären, die handeln und auf die eingewirkt werden kann, so wie wir es tun, wenn wir z. B. sagen, dass »die Legislative« (eine soziale Entität) »die Universität bestraft« (eine andere soziale Entität).

Prestige ist im UV unterschiedlich verteilt, und die Mitglieder der UV-Gesellschaft sind nicht alle ökonomisch gleich. Sie kennen verschiedene Formen der Ungleichheit, aber wir können nicht festlegen, ob sie diese gutheißen oder missbilligen.

Das UV hat eine Arbeitsteilung, die minimal auf den bereits erwähnten Geschlechts- und Altersstufen basiert. Zum Beispiel haben Frauen mehr direkte Kinderbetreuungspflichten als Männer. Von Kindern wird nicht erwartet, dass sie sich in der gleichen Weise engagieren wie Erwachsene, und sie tun dies in der Regel auch nicht. Im Zusammenhang mit dieser Arbeitsteilung werden Männer und Frauen sowie Erwachsene und Kinder von den Mitgliedern des UV als unterschiedliche Wesen gesehen. Männer sind in der Tat im Durchschnitt körperlich aggressiver als Frauen und begehen mit größerer Wahrscheinlichkeit tödliche Gewalt als Frauen.

In der öffentlichen politischen Sphäre bilden Männer das dominante Element im UV. Frauen und Kinder sind entsprechend unterwürfig oder duldsam, insbesondere im öffentlichen politischen Raum.

Zusätzlich zu ihrer Arbeitsteilung, bei der verschiedene Menschen verschiedene Dinge tun, beteiligen sich UV-Mitglieder auch an Formen der kooperativen Zusammenarbeit, bei der sie im Wesentlichen die gleichen Aufgaben übernehmen. Sie nutzen den gegenseitigen Austausch, sei es von Arbeit, Waren oder Dienstleistungen, in einer Vielzahl von Situationen. *Reziprozität* – einschließlich ihrer negativen oder vergeltenden Formen – ist ein wichtiges Element in ihrem Leben. Das UV treibt auch Handel, d.h. die Menschen tauschen nicht-gleichartige Waren und Dienstleistungen (d.h. eine Art von Ware oder Dienstleistung für eine andere). Ob auf der Grundlage von Reziprozität oder nicht, sie geben sich auch untereinander Geschenke. In bestimmten Kontexten teilen sie Nahrung.

Ob bei der Regelung des Familienlebens, bei Subsistenzaktivitäten oder anderen Angelegenheiten, UV-Menschen versuchen, die Zukunft vorherzusagen und zu planen. Einige ihrer Pläne beinhalten die *Aufrechterhaltung oder Manipulation von sozialen Beziehungen*. In diesem Zusammenhang ist es wichtig zu betonen, dass die Menschen des UV ein »Dreiecksbewusstsein« besitzen, die Fähigkeit, nicht nur an ihre eigenen Beziehungen zu anderen zu denken,

sondern auch an die Beziehungen zwischen anderen in Bezug auf sich selbst. Ohne eine solche Fähigkeit wären sie nicht in der Lage, ihre *allgegenwärtigen Koalitionen* zu bilden.

Die UV haben eine Regierung, in dem Sinne, dass sie öffentliche Angelegenheiten haben und diese Angelegenheiten geregelt werden, und in dem Sinne, dass Entscheidungen getroffen werden, die für ein Kollektiv verbindlich sind. Ein Teil der Regulierung findet im Rahmen von *korporativen Statushierarchien* statt (mit *geordneten Verfahren zur Aufrechterhaltung der Mitgliedschaft* in ihnen).

Das UV hat Führungspersönlichkeiten, auch wenn sie vielleicht nur vorübergehend oder situativ existieren. Die Mitglieder des UV bewundern Großzügigkeit oder bekennen sich dazu, und dies ist bei einem Anführer besonders erwünscht. Kein Anführer des UV hat jemals die komplette Macht auf sich vereint. UV-Führer überschreiten die Grenzen der UV-Vernunft und UV-Moral. Da das UV nie eine vollständige Demokratie und nie eine vollständige Autokratie besitzt, haben sie de facto immer eine Oligarchie.

Das UV hat Gesetze, zumindest im Sinne von *Regeln der Zugehörigkeit zu dauerhaften sozialen Einheiten* und im Sinne von Rechten und Pflichten, die mit sozialen Personen oder anderen statusbezogenen Merkmalen verbunden sind. Zu den Gesetzen des UV gehören solche, die in bestimmten Situationen Gewalt und Vergewaltigung verbieten. Ihre Gesetze verbieten auch Mord – die ungerechtfertigte Tötung von Menschenleben (obwohl sie die Tötung von Menschenleben in einigen Kontexten rechtfertigen können). Sie haben *Sanktionen für Regelverstöße*, und diese Sanktionen beinhalten die Entfernung von Tätern aus der sozialen Einheit – sei es durch Ausweisung, Einkerkung, Ächtung oder Hinrichtung. Sie bestrafen (oder zensieren oder verurteilen) bestimmte Handlungen, die die Gruppe bedrohen oder von denen behauptet wird, dass sie dies tun.

Konflikte sind den Mitgliedern des UV vertrauter, als sie es sich wünschen, und sie haben gängige, wenn auch bei weitem nicht perfekte Wege, damit umzugehen (das Verbot von Vergewaltigung und anderen Gewaltformen zum Beispiel beseitigt diese nicht). Sie verstehen, dass geschädigte Parteien Wiedergutmachung verlangen können. In einigen Konfliktfällen setzen sie Beratung und Vermittlung ein.

Wichtige Konflikte sind um *Ingroup-Outgroup-Antagonismen* strukturiert, welche das UV charakterisiert. Diese Antagonismen untergliedern einerseits das UV als ethnische Gruppe und grenzen sie andererseits auch von anderen ethnischen Gruppen ab. Ein *ethischer Dualismus unterscheidet die Ingroup von der Outgroup, sodass z. B. innerhalb ersterer eine Kooperation eher zu erwarten ist als mit letzterer*.

UV-Menschen unterscheiden zwischen Recht und Unrecht und erkennen, wie bereits erwähnt, zumindest implizit Verantwortung und Intentionalität an. Sie erkennen und verwenden Versprechen. Reziprozität, die ebenfalls bereits erwähnt wurde, ist ein Schlüsselement ihrer Moral. Das Gleiche gilt für ihre *Fähigkeit zur Empathie*. Neid ist unter den UV-Mitgliedern allgegenwärtig und sie haben symbolische Mittel, um mit seinen negativen Folgen fertig zu werden.

Etikette und Gastfreundschaft gehören zu den UV-Idealen. Sie haben *traditionelle Begrüßungen und Bräuche für den Besuch von Verwandten oder anderen*, die anderswo wohnen. Sie haben standardisierte, bevorzugte oder typische Tageszeiten zum Essen, und sie kennen *Anlässe, bei denen sie festlich speisen*. Auch in anderer Hinsicht haben sie normale tägliche Routinen und sind grundsätzlich tagaktiv.

Sie besitzen *Normen der sexuellen Sittsamkeit* – selbst wenn sie üblicherweise nackt herumlaufen mögen. Menschen, vor allem Erwachsene, kopulieren normalerweise nicht in der Öffentlichkeit, noch erleichtern sie sich selbst, ohne zu versuchen, dies auf diskrete Weise zu

tun. Zu ihren anderen Tabus gehören auch Tabus für bestimmte Äußerungen und bestimmte Arten von Nahrung. Andererseits gibt es einige Sorten von Lebensmitteln – insbesondere Süßigkeiten – die sie gerne essen.

*Das UV hat religiöse oder übernatürliche Glaubensvorstellungen, in dem Sinne, dass sie an etwas jenseits des Sichtbaren und Greifbaren glauben. Sie anthropomorphisieren und (einige, wenn nicht alle von ihnen) glauben Dinge, die nachweislich falsch sind. Sie praktizieren auch Magie, und ihre Magie ist auf solche Dinge ausgerichtet, wie zum Beispiel das Leben zu erhalten und zu vermehren und die Aufmerksamkeit des anderen Geschlechts zu gewinnen. Sie haben Theorien über Glück und Unglück. Sie haben Ideen, wie man Krankheit und Tod erklären kann. Sie sehen einen Zusammenhang zwischen Krankheit und Tod. Sie versuchen, Kranke zu heilen und besitzen zu diesem Zweck Medikamente. Das UV praktiziert Wahrsagerei. Und sie versuchen, das Wetter zu kontrollieren.*

*Das UV hat Rituale, und dazu gehören Übergangsriten, die den Übergang eines Individuums von einem Status in einen anderen demarkieren. Sie trauern um ihre Toten.*

Ihre Ideen beinhalten eine *Weltanschauung* – ein Verständnis oder eine Vorstellung von der Welt um sie herum und ihren Platz darin. In gewisser Weise wird ihre *Weltanschauung durch Eigenschaften ihres Geistes strukturiert*. Zum Beispiel haben sie von frühester Kindheit an die Fähigkeit, Objekte, die sie durch einen Sinn kennen, mit denselben Objekten zu identifizieren, die sie durch einen anderen Sinn wahrnehmen, und so sehen sie die Welt als eine Einheit und nicht als verschiedene Welten, die durch unsere verschiedenen Sinnesmodalitäten vorgegeben sind. *Ihre Weltanschauung ist ein Teil ihres übernatürlichen und mythologischen Glaubens*. Sie haben auch eine *Folklore*. Die Menschen des UV träumen und versuchen, ihre Träume zu deuten.

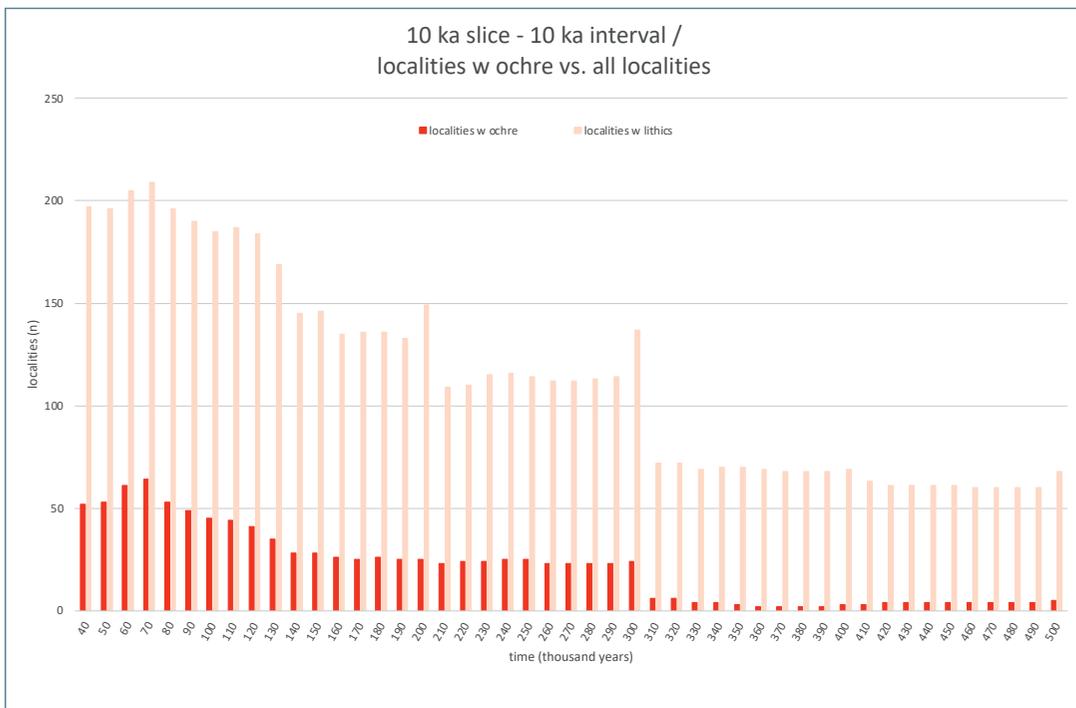
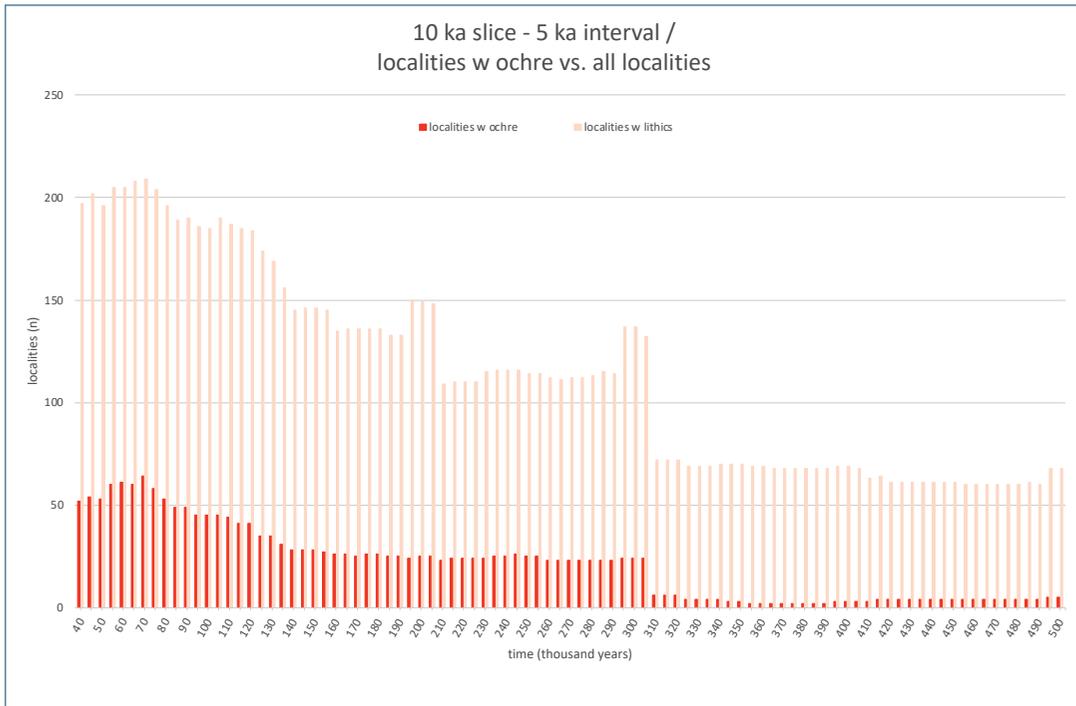
Wie spirituell sie auch sein mögen, die Menschen des UV sind auch Materialisten. Wie durch das Vorhandensein des Possessivs für »loses Eigentum« in ihrer Sprache deutlich wird, besitzt das UV Konzepte über Eigentum und es unterscheidet das, was dem Einzelnen oder der Gruppe gehört – so minimal es auch sein mag – von dem, was anderen gehört. Das UV hat auch Regeln für die Vererbung von Eigentum.

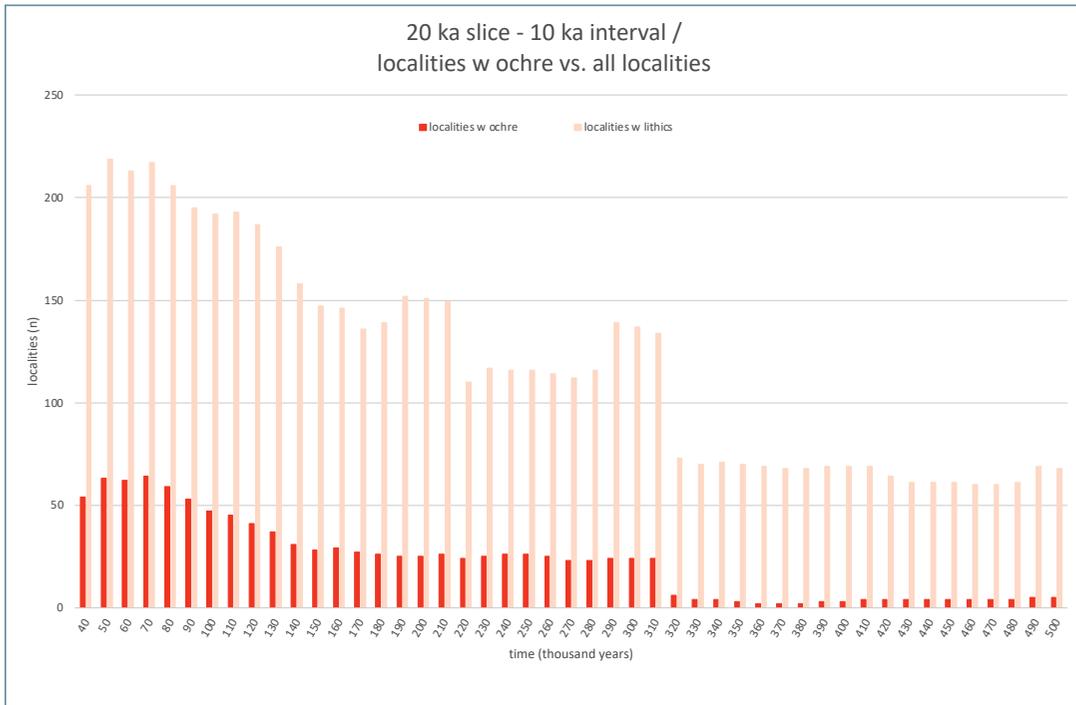
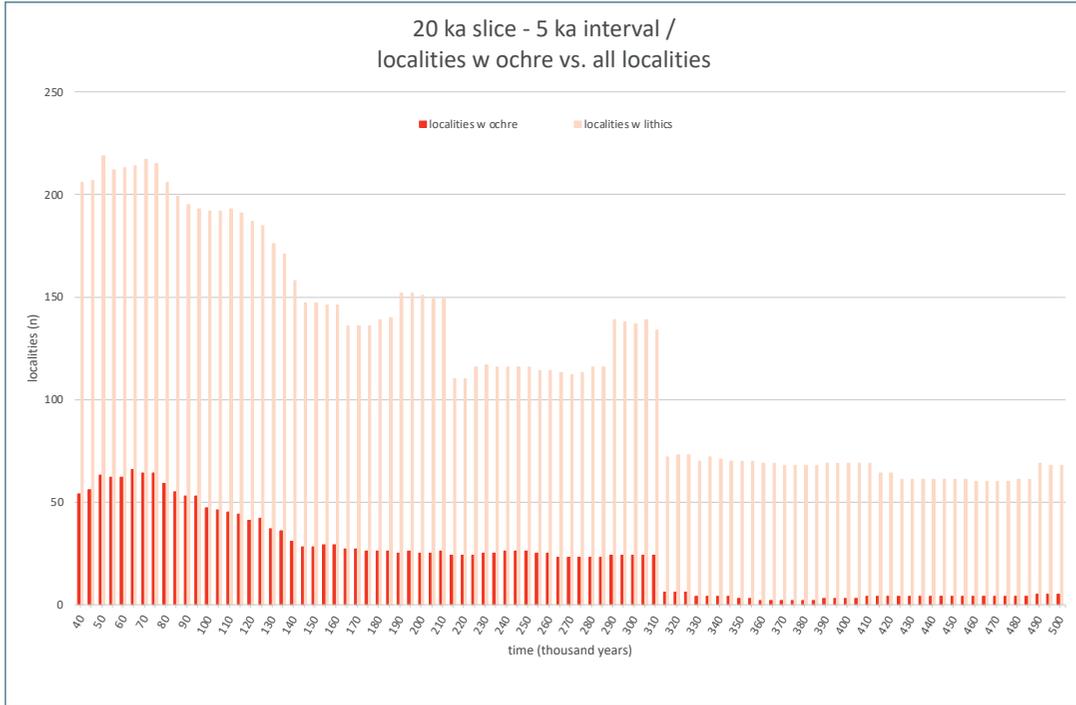
Zusätzlich zu ihrem poetischen oder geschliffenen Sprachgebrauch besitzt das UV weitere *ästhetische Standards*. Wie wenig Kleidung sie auch immer tragen, sie *schmücken ihren Körper* dennoch auf die eine oder andere Weise, einschließlich einer charakteristischen Art, ihr Haar zu pflegen oder zu formen. Sie haben Standards für sexuelle Attraktivität (zum Beispiel Anzeichen für gute Gesundheit und eine klare männliche Vorliebe für die Anzeichen früher Gebärfähigkeit gegenüber Anzeichen der Postmenopause). Ihre *dekorative Kunst* beschränkt sich nicht nur auf den Körper, denn das UV wendet sie auch auf Artefakte an. Zusätzlich zu ihrer ästhetischen Schönheitspflege kennen sie auch Formen der hygienischen Körperpflege.

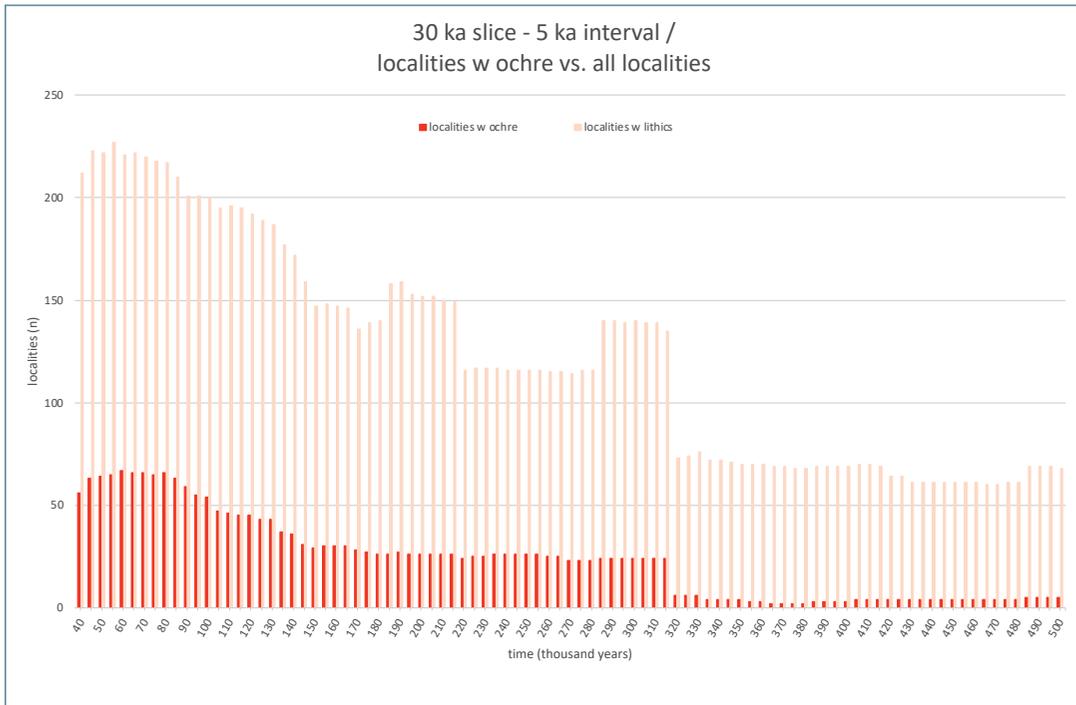
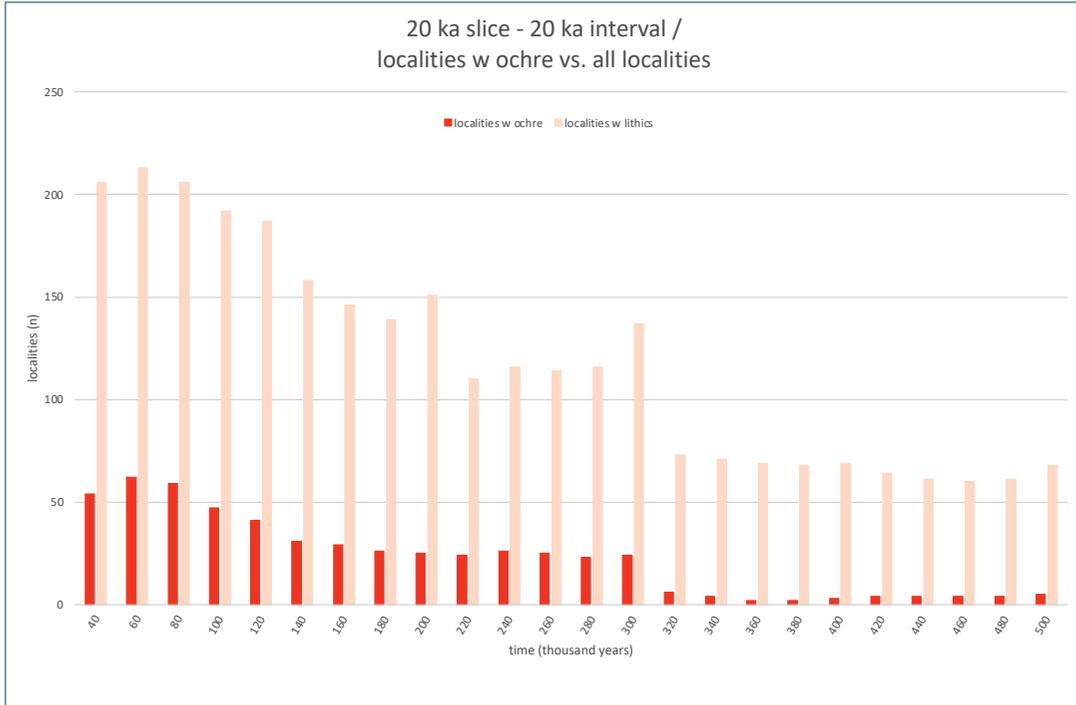
*UV-Menschen wissen, wie man tanzt und sie haben Musik. Zumindest ein Teil ihres Tanzes (und zumindest ein Teil ihrer religiösen Aktivität) wird von Musik begleitet.* Sie beziehen *Melodie, Rhythmus, Wiederholung, Redundanz und Variation* in ihre Musik ein, die immer als eine Kunst, eine Schöpfung gesehen wird. Ihre Musik enthält *Gesang*, und der Gesang enthält Worte – also eine *Verbindung von Musik und Poesie*. Das UV hat Musik für Kinder.

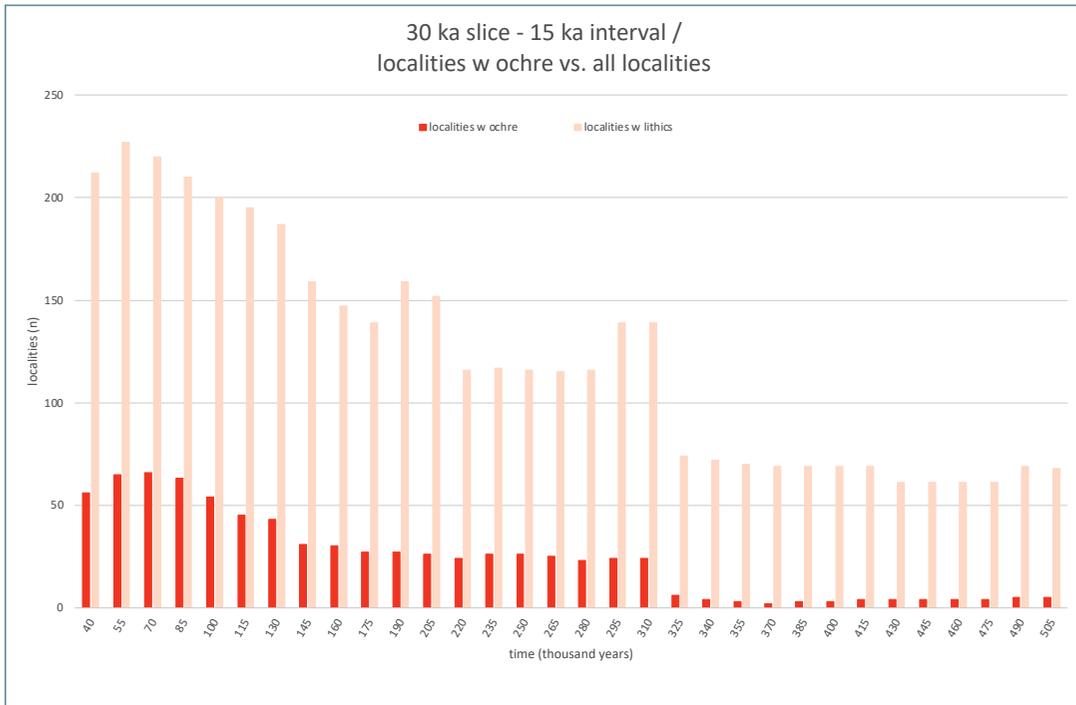
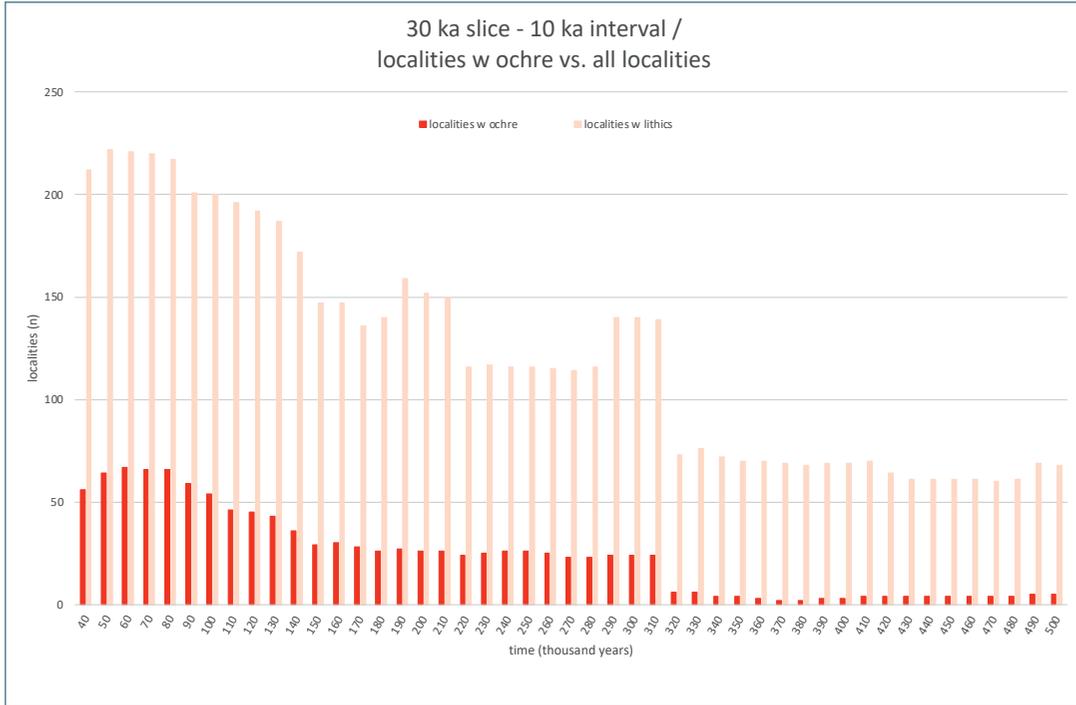
Die Menschen des UV, insbesondere die Kinder, spielen und sie kämpfen spielerisch. Ihr Spiel macht nicht nur Spaß, sondern trainiert auch Fähigkeiten, die im Erwachsenenalter nützlich sein werden.

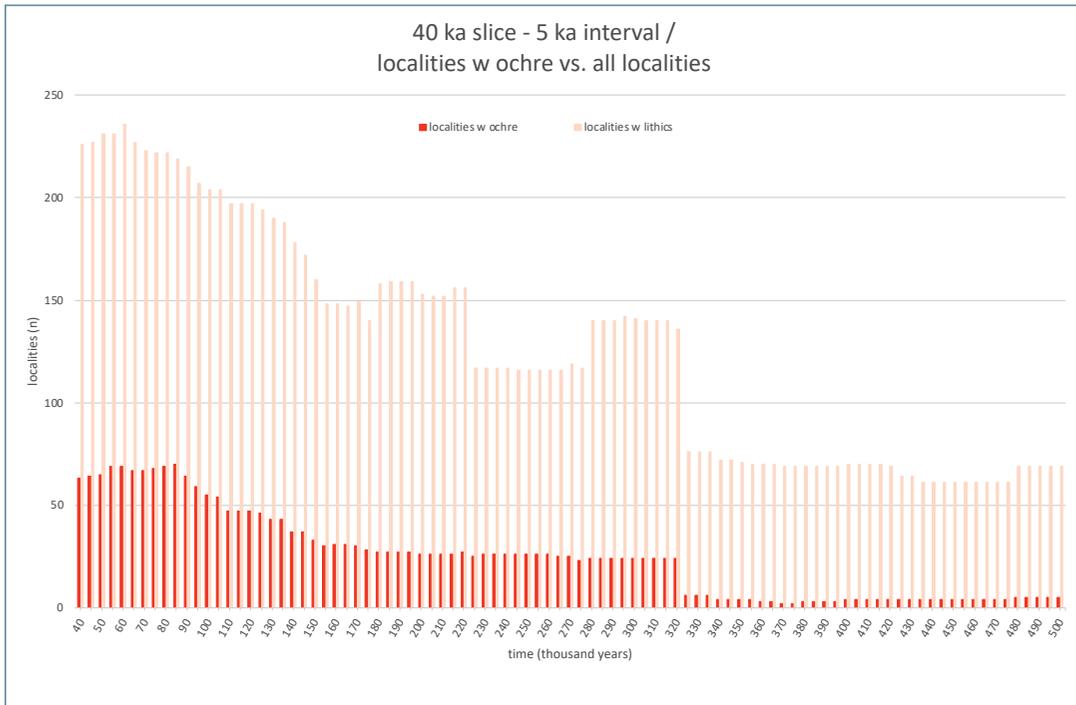
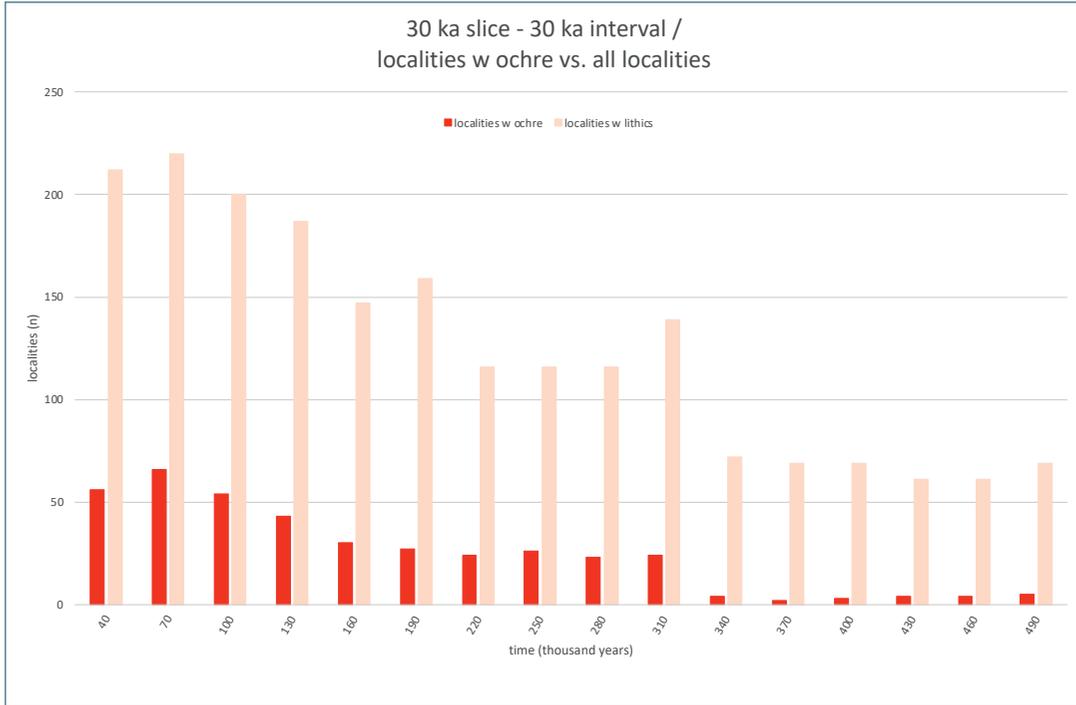
## 5.2 Time averaging-Ergebnisse der Ockeranalyse

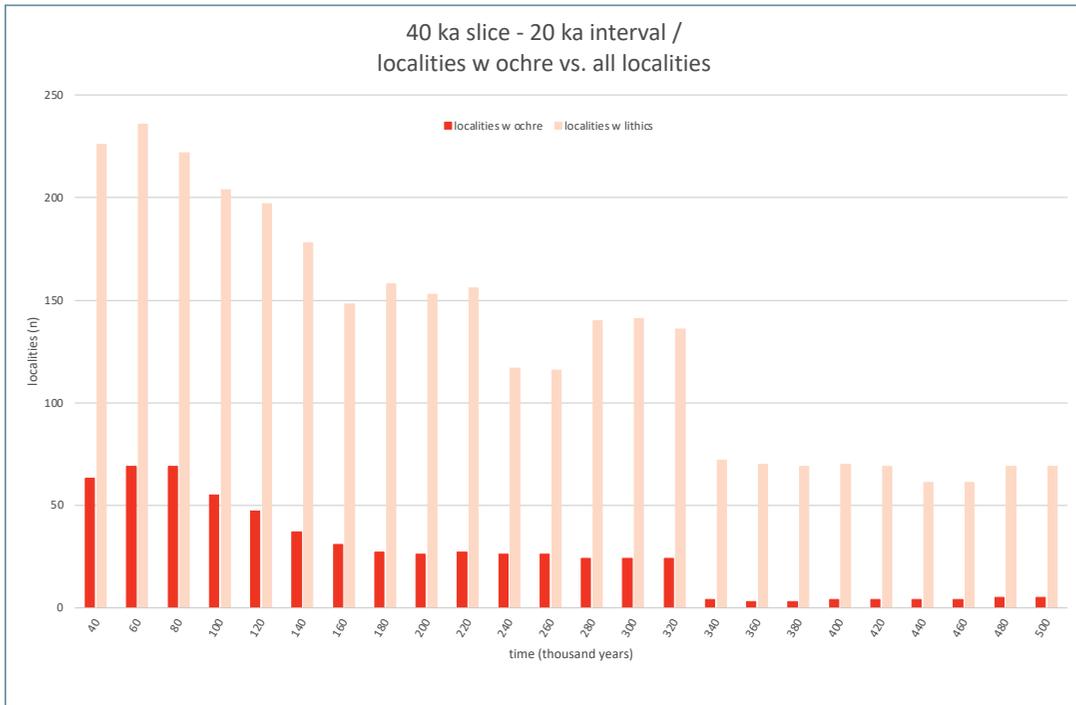
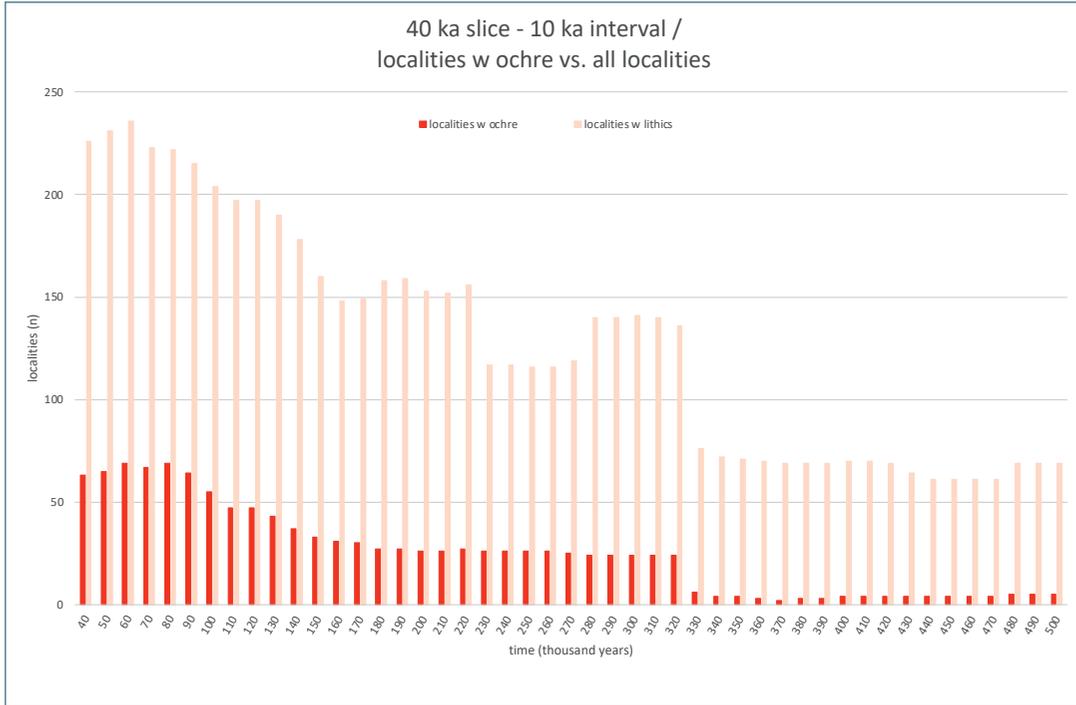


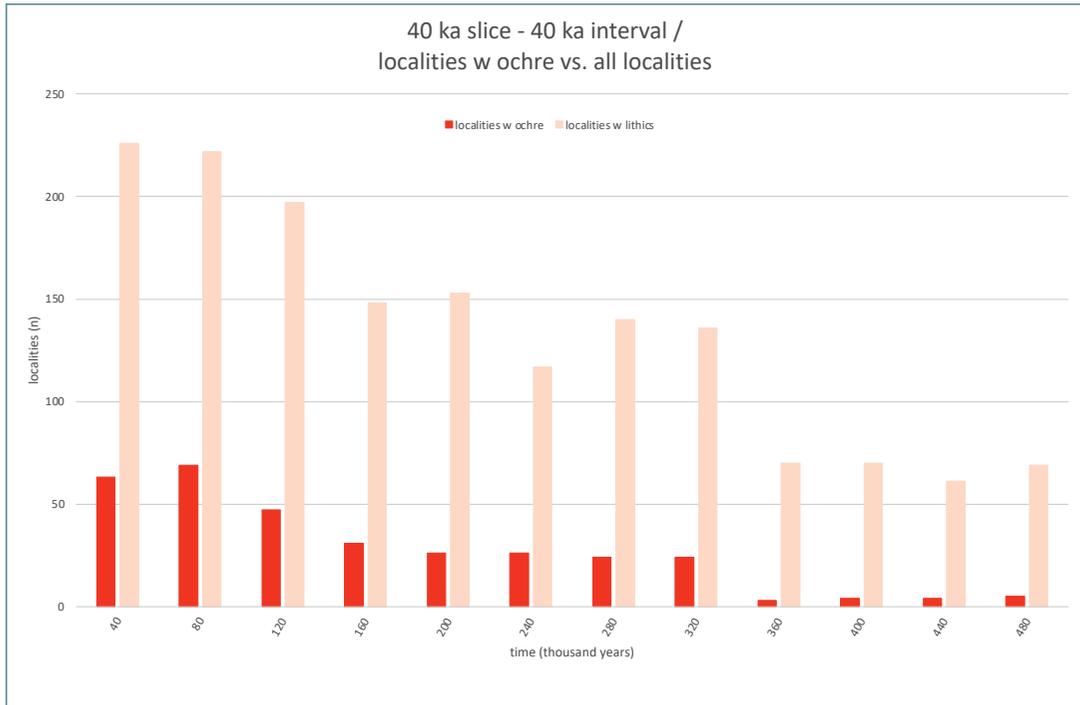












### 5.3 In der Ockeranalyse erfasste Fundstellen

**Tab. A.1** Alle in die Metaanalyse eingegangenen Fundstellen mit Ocker, aufgelistet nach Ockernutzungsphase

Initial	Emergent	Habitual
500–330 ka	330–160 ka	160–40 ka
n = 5	n = 16	n = 74
Canteen Kopje	Apollo 11	Aar 1
Kaphurin GnJh-15	Bambata Cave	Aar 2
Kathu Pan 1	Bir Sahara East	Apollo 11
Melka Kunture Garba I	Border Cave	Bambata Cave
Wonderwerk	Bremen 2B	Bir Sahara East
	Bushman Rock Shelter	Bir Tarfawi
	Duinefontein 2	Blombos Cave
	Kalambo Falls Site C North	Boomplaas Cave
	Kathu Pan 1	Border Cave
	Kathu Pan 6	Bremen 1C
	Mumbwa	Bushman Rock Shelter
	Ologesailie Basin	Cape Hangklip
	Pinnacle Point 13b	Cave of Hearths
	Pomongwe Cave	Die Kelders
	Sai Island 8-B-11	Diepkloof Rock Shelter
	Twin Rivers	El Mnasra
		Enkapune Ya Muto
		Gorgora Rock Shelter
		Grotte des Contrebandiers
		Grotte des Pigeons
		Hoedjiespunt 1
		Hollow Rock Shelter
		Howiesons Poort
		Ifri n Ammar
		Issanzu
		Kalkbank
		Kangkara Cave
		Kathu Pan 6
		Kisese II Rock Shelter

Tab. A.1 Fortsetzung

Initial	Emergent	Habitual
		Klasies River Mouth Cave 1
		Klasies River Mouth Shelter 1A
		Klasies River Mouth Shelter 1B
		Klein Kliphuis
		Klipdrift Shelter
		Klipfonteinrand
		Mochena Borago
		Montagu Cave
		Moshebis Shelter
		Mumba
		Mumbwa
		Mwulus Cave
		Nelson Bay Cave
		Ngalue Cave
		Nswatugi
		Ntloana Tsoana
		Olieboompoort
		Oued Djebbana
		Paardeberg Cave
		Pinnacle Point 13b
		Pinnacle Point 5–6
		Pockenbank 1
		Pomongwe Cave
		Porc Epic Cave
		Putslaagte 1
		Rhafas Cave
		Rhino Cave
		Rose Cottage Cave
		Sea Harvest
		Sibebe Rockshelter
		Sibhudu Cave
		Sodmein Cave
		Tunnel Cave

**Tab. A.1** Fortsetzung

<b>Initial</b>	<b>Emergent</b>	<b>Habitual</b>
		Umhlatuzana
		Varsche Rivier 003
		Wadi Halfa Site 1017
		Wadi Halfa Site 2004
		Wadi Halfa Site 34-A
		Wadi Halfa Site 34-D
		Wadi Halfa Site ANW 3
		Waterval
		Witkrans
		Wonderkrater
		Ysterfontein
		Zombepata Cave

**Tab. A.2** Alle in die Metaanalyse eingegangen Fundstellen mit Steinartefakten, aufgelistet nach Ockernutzungsphase

<b>Initial</b>	<b>Emergent</b>	<b>Habitual</b>
500–330 ka	330–160 ka	160–40 ka
n = 69	n = 175	n = 239
Adrar Bous	Aasvoelkop	Aar 1
Ain Fritissa	Adrar Bous	Aar 2
Anyskop_Blowout	Ain Fritissa	Aasvoelkop
Arkin 5	Ain Mara	Abdur Archaeological Site
Arkin 8	Ain Oum Henda 2	Adrar Bous
Bestwood 1	Airport site	Ain Aghbal
Bundu Farm	Aladi Springs	Ain El Guettar
Canteen Kopje	Alexandersfontein	Ain Fritissa
Cape Hangklip	Anyskop_Blowout	Ain Mara
Cave of Hearths	Apollo 11	Ain Oum Henda 2
Chilga Kernet	Arkin 5	Airport site
Daasbiyyo	Arkin 8	Aladi Springs
Doornlaagte	Asfet	Alexandersfontein
Duinefontein 2	Bambata Cave	Anyskop_Blowout
El Akarit	Beit Khallaf 2	Apollo 11
Errayah	Beit Khallaf 3	Asfet
Gondar	Bestwood 1	Bambata Cave
Groot Kloof	Bir Sahara East	Beit Khallaf 2
Hadar	Bir Tarfawi	Beit Khallaf 3
Harts River Valley DB3	Border Cave	Bir Sahara East
Isenya	Bremen 2B	Bir Tarfawi
Isimila Prehistoric Site	Bundu Farm	Birimi
Kalambo Falls Site A	Bushman Rock Shelter	Blombos Cave
Kalambo Falls Site B	Cafema	Boomplaas Cave
Kalambo Falls Site C North	Cape Hangklip	Border Cave
Kapthurin GnJh-03	Cape St. Blaize Cave	Boskop
Kapthurin GnJh-15	Cartwrights Site (GsJ 75)	Bremen 1C
Kapthurin GnJh-17	Cave of Hearths	Bundu Farm
Kapthurin GnJh-42	Chilga Kernet	Bushman Rock Shelter
Kapthurin GnJh-50	Daasbiyyo	Cafema
Kapthurin GnJh-71	Derna East	Canteen Kopje

Tab. A.2 Fortsetzung

Initial	Emergent	Habitual
Kaphurin GoJh-12	Derna West	Cape Hangklip
Kathu Pan 1	Doornlaagte	Cape St. Blaize Cave
Kathu Townlands 1	Duinefontein 2	Cartwrights Site (GsJj 75)
Keratic Koppie	El Akarit	Cave James
Kombewa	El Gawanim 1	Cave of Hearths
Kudu Koppie	El Ghineimiya 1	Chaperon Rouge
Lainyamok	El Ghineimiya 2	Dale Rose Parlour
Lincoln Cave	El Ghineimiya 3	Dar es Soltane 1
Mansourah	El Khenzira Grotte 1	Dar es Soltane 2
Melka Kunture Garba I	Elands Bay Cave	Derna East
Melka Kunture Garba III	Errayah	Derna West
Melka Kunture Gombore I	Etemba 14	Die Kelders
Melka Kunture Karre	Eyasi	Diepkloof Rock Shelter
Middle Awash Bodo	Ezbet Rabab	El Akarit
Montagu Cave	Florisbad	El Gawanim 1
Muirton	Gademotta Area	El Ghineimiya 1
Nag Ahmed al Kalifa	Gi	El Ghineimiya 2
Ndutu	Gondar	El Ghineimiya 3
Neuhof-Kowas	Groot Kloof	El Harhoura 1
Newmans Pont	Haalenberg 1	El Harhoura 2
Oued Doure	Hackthorne	El Khenzira Grotte 1
Peers Cave	Hadar	El Khenzira Grotte 2
Pniel 6	Hagfet et Tera	El Mnasra
Powers Site	Harts River Valley DB3	Elands Bay Cave
Riverview VI	Hassi Bellal	Enkapune Ya Muto
Roodam	Herolds Bay Cave	Equus Cave
Sandspruit No. 1	Iramba	Erb Tanks Rockshelter
Sidi Abderrahman Cap Chatelier	Isenya	Erfkroon 1
Sidi Abderrahman Extension	Isimila Prehistoric Site	Etemba 14
Ternifine	Issanzu	Eyasi
Thomas Quarry 1	Jebel Irhoud	Ezbet Rabab
Wadi Halfa Site 400 north	Kabwe	Fincha Habera
Wadi Halfa Site 430	Kalambo Falls Site A	Florisbad

Tab. A.2 Fortsetzung

Initial	Emergent	Habitual
Wadi Halfa Site 438	Kalambo Falls Site B	Ga-Mohana Hill North
Wadi Halfa Site 451	Kalambo Falls Site C North	Gademotta Area
Wadi Halfa Site 501	Kalambo Falls Site D	Geelbek_Alice
Wonderwerk	Kangkara Cave	Geelbek_Bay35
Yeslem II	Kapthurin GnJh-17	Geelbek_Equus
	Kapthurin GnJh-63	Geelbek_Homo
	Kapthurin GnJh-74	Geelbek_Loop
	Kapthurin GnJi-28	Geelbek_Mrose
	Kapthurin GoJh-6	Geelbek_Rhino
	Kathu Pan 6	Geelbek_Snoek
	Kathu Townlands 1	Geelbek_Stella
	Keratic Koppie	Geelbek_Toaster
	Koedoesrand	Gi
	Kombewa	Goda Buticha
	Kone	Gorgora Rock Shelter
	Kudu Koppie	Grassridge Rockshelter
	Kulkuletti Area	Grotte des Contrebandiers
	Lincoln Cave	Grotte des Pigeons
	Linksfeld	Ha Soloja
	Lion Cavern	Haalenberg 1
Magubike	Hagfet ed Dabba	
Makhadama 6	Hagfet et Tera	
Mansourah	Halibee	
Manzi River	Hassi Bellal	
Melka Kunture Garba III	Haua Fteah	
Melka Kunture Gombore I	Herolds Bay Cave	
Melka Kunture Karre	Highlands	
Middle Awash Aduma	Hoedjiespunt 1	
Middle Awash Bodo	Holley Rock Shelter	
Middle Awash Bouri	Hollow Rock Shelter	
Mikuyu	Howiesons Poort	
Mokeko	Ifri n Ammar	
Montagu Cave	Iramba	

Tab. A.2 Fortsetzung

Initial	Emergent	Habitual
	Muguruk	Issanzu
	Muirton	Jebel Gharbi_Shakshuk
	Mumbwa	Kabwe
	Mwanganda	Kalambo Falls Site C North
	Nag Ahmed al Kalifa	Kalkbank
	Nakechichok 1	Kangkara Cave
	Nasera Rock	Kathu Pan 6
	Nata River Site	Kharga Oasis E-76-4
	Nazlet Khater 1	Kisese II Rock Shelter
	Nazlet Khater 2	Klasies River Mouth Cave 1
	Nazlet Safaha 1	Klasies River Mouth Cave 2
	Nazlet Safaha 3	Klasies River Mouth Shelter 1A
	Nazlet Safaha 4	Klasies River Mouth Shelter 1B
	Neuhof-Kowas	Klein Kliphuis
	Newmans Pont	Klipdrift Shelter
	Njuinye	Klipfonteinrand
	Nyara River Occurrences	Koedoesrand
	Olduvai Gorge Naisiusiu Beds	Kone
	Olorgesailie Basin	Kudu Koppie
	Omo Kibish Awokes Hominid Site	Kulkuletti Area
	Omo Kibish Kamoyas Hominid Site	Lincoln Cave
	Orangia 1	Lion Cavern
	Oued Doure	Loiyangalani Site HcJd1
	Peers Cave	Luangwa Valley
	Peperkorrel	Magubike
	Pietkloof Cave	Makhadama 6
	Pinnacle Point 13b	Mansourah
	Pniel 6	Manzi River
	Pomongwe Cave	Melikane
	Powers Site	Melka Kunture Garba III
	Primrose Ridge	Middle Awash Aduma
	Ras el Wadi	Mikuyu
	Rifa	Mochena Borago

Tab. A.2 Fortsetzung

<b>Initial</b>	<b>Emergent</b>	<b>Habitual</b>
	Riverview VI	Montagu Cave
	Roodam	Moshebis Shelter
	Sai Island 8-B-11	Mugharet El Aliya
	Saldanha	Muguruk
	Sandspruit No. 1	Mumba
	Sandspruit No. 2	Mumbwa
	Sibebe Rockshelter	Mwulus Cave
	Sidi Abderrahman Extension	Nakechichok 1
	Skildergat Kop	Nasera Rock
	Songwe River Valley Lake Rukwa Icu4	Nata River Site
	Songwe River Valley Lake Rukwa IdIu19	Nazlet Khater 1
	Sterkfontein	Nazlet Khater 2
	Taramsa 1	Nazlet Safaha 1
	Ternifine	Nazlet Safaha 2
	Thomas Quarry 1	Nazlet Safaha 3
	Tiras 5	Nazlet Safaha 4
	Tshangula Cave	Nazlet Safaha 5
	Twin Rivers	Nelson Bay Cave
	Vlakkraal	Neuhof-Kowas
	Wadi Ghan Valley	Ngalue Cave
	Wadi Halfa Jebel Brinikol	Nswatugi
	Wadi Halfa Site 1000	Ntloana Tsoana
	Wadi Halfa Site 1010-8	Nyara River Occurrences
	Wadi Halfa Site 1033	Olduvai Gorge Naisiusiu Beds
	Wadi Halfa Site 1035	Olieboompoort
	Wadi Halfa Site 1036	Omo Kibish Birds Nest Site
	Wadi Halfa Site 1037	Orangia 1
	Wadi Halfa Site 1038	Oued Djebbana
	Wadi Halfa Site 121	Oued Djouf El Djemel
	Wadi Halfa Site 36-B	Oulad Hamida 2 La Grotte des Felins
	Wadi Halfa Site 400 north	Paardeberg Cave
	Wadi Halfa Site 430	Peers Cave
	Wadi Halfa Site 438	Pietkloof Cave

Tab. A.2 Fortsetzung

Initial	Emergent	Habitual
	Wadi Halfa Site 451	Pinnacle Point 13a
	Wadi Halfa Site 501	Pinnacle Point 13b
	Wadi Halfa Site 503	Pinnacle Point 13c
	Wadi Halfa Site 507	Pinnacle Point 5–6
	Wadi Halfa Site 6	Pinnacle Point 9
	Wadi Halfa Site 622	Pockenbank 1
	Wadi Qasab	Pomongwe Cave
	Wadi en Naga	Porc Epic Cave
	Wonderwerk	Powers Site
	Yambi	Putslaagte 1
	Yeslem II	Putslaagte 8
	Zebrarivier	Ras el Wadi
		Redcliff Cave
		Rhafas Cave
		Rhino Cave
		Rifa
		Rooidam
		Rose Cottage Cave
		Saldanha
		Sandspruit No. 1
		Sandspruit No. 2
		Sea Harvest
		Seggedim
		Schonghong
		Shum Laka
		Sibebe Rockshelter
		Sibhudu Cave
		Skildergat Kop
		Sodmein Cave
		Songwe River Valley Lake Rukwa IcIu4
		Songwe River Valley Lake Rukwa IdIu19
		Sterkfontein

Tab. A.2 Fortsetzung

Initial	Emergent	Habitual
		Swartkrans
		Taramsa 1
		Tiras 5
		Tshangula Cave
		Tunnel Cave
		Uan Afuda
		Uan Tabu
		Umhlatuzana
		Varsche Rivier 003
		Vlakkraal
		Wadi Ghan Valley
		Wadi Halfa Jebel Brinikol
		Wadi Halfa Site 1000
		Wadi Halfa Site 1010-8
		Wadi Halfa Site 1017
		Wadi Halfa Site 1033
		Wadi Halfa Site 1035
		Wadi Halfa Site 1036
		Wadi Halfa Site 1037
		Wadi Halfa Site 1038
		Wadi Halfa Site 121
		Wadi Halfa Site 2004
		Wadi Halfa Site 34-A
		Wadi Halfa Site 34-D
		Wadi Halfa Site 36-B
		Wadi Halfa Site 503
		Wadi Halfa Site 507
		Wadi Halfa Site 6
		Wadi Halfa Site 622
		Wadi Halfa Site ANW 3
		Wadi Qasab
		Wadi en Naga

**Tab. A.2** Fortsetzung

<b>Initial</b>	<b>Emergent</b>	<b>Habitual</b>
		Wasiriya Beds Nyamita Main
		Wasiriya Beds Wakondo
		Wasiriya Beds Western Nyamsingula
		Waterval
		White Paintings Rock Shelter
		Witkrans
		Wonderkrater
		Wonderwerk
		Yambi
		Ysterfontein
		Zebrarivier
		Zombepata Cave

## 5.4 Verwendete Abkürzungen

AP	Altpaläolithikum
CSR	Cognitive Science of Religion
EECC	Eight-grade model for the evolution and expansion of cultural capacities
EQ	Enzephalisationsquotient
ESA	Early Stone Age
ESR	Elektronenspinresonanz (Datierungsverfahren)
FCC	Female Cosmetic Coalitions
HADD	Hyperactive Agent Detection Device (mentales Modul)
HP	Howiesons Poort (Technokomplex)
JP	Jungpaläolithikum
ka	tausend Jahre vor heute
LGV	letzter gemeinsamer Vorfahre
LSA	Later Stone Age
Ma	Millionen Jahre vor heute
MP	Mittelpaläolithikum
MSA	Middle Stone Age
OSL	optisch stimulierte Lumineszenz (Datierungsverfahren)
PP13B	Pinnacle Point 13 B (Fundstelle)
PP5-6	Pinnacle Point 5-6 (Fundstelle)
SB	Still Bay (Technokomplex)
TL	Thermolumineszenz (Datierungsverfahren)
U/Pb	Uran-Blei (Datierungsverfahren)
U/Th	Uran-Thorium (Datierungsverfahren)

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