

# “Khoisan” in and outside Southern Africa

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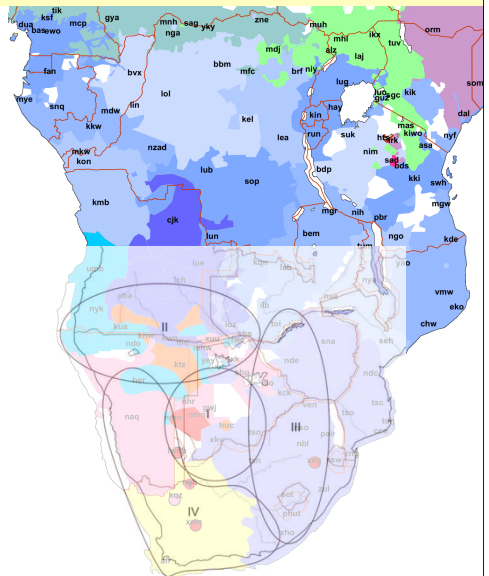
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## Southern African Linguistic Areas (Güldemann, this meeting)

- Hadza
- Sandawe
- Khoe-Kwadi family
- Kx'a family (Ju + ʘ'Amkoe)
- Tuu family (!Ui + Taa)

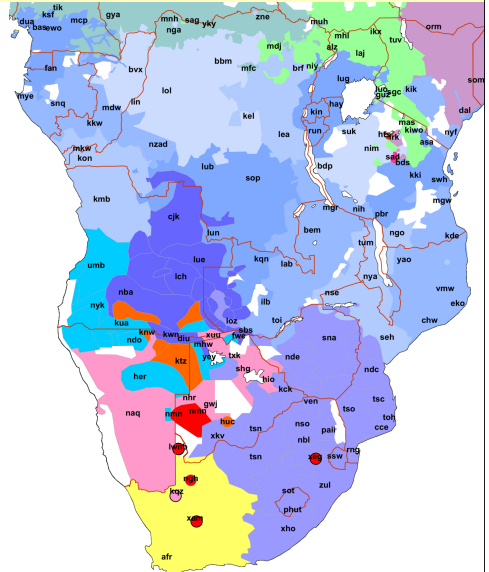
(map courtesy of Christfried Naumann)



# Linguistic Survey (Güldemann 2014)

- Hadza
- Sandawe
- Khoe-Kwadi family
- Kx'a family (Ju + †Amkoe)
- Tuu family (!Ui + Taa)

(map courtesy of Christfried Naumann)



## Reconstruction Precedes Classification

“A protolanguage is a theory of a prehistoric language community. Like any language, a protolanguage must have been spoken by an interbreeding population with a particular cultural type that can be localized in time and space.”

Blust (2014: 318)

# Proposed Additional Groupings

- **Khoe-Kwadi + Sandawe**
  - Güldemann & Elderkin (2010)
  - Honken (2013)
  - Starostin (2013)
- **Kx'a + Tuu family**
  - (non-Khoe, Peripheral Khoesan)
    - Collins & Honken (2012/2015, ms.)
    - Starostin (2008a, 2013)
    - not inconsistent with typological patterns (e.g. Güldemann & Vossen 2000)

## Statistical Support Lacking for Proto-Khoesan

“On the other hand, **any «relationship signal»** between «Peripheral Khoisan» and «Sandawe-Khoe-Kwadi» that could be spotted in the results turns out to be **virtually indistinguishable from noise** (which could be easily interpreted as a few chance resemblances mixed in with some arealisms that still slipped through the filters).”

Starostin (2013: 509)

## Intense Contact over Millenia

“The hypothesis that there are four **unrelated stocks** in the southern African Khoesan area and that the lexis and grammatical elements shared among the stocks are due to heavy borrowing **has more explanatory power** than the hypothesis that all of the Khoesan languages are geneologically related”

Honken (2011: 128, ms)

## Proto-Khoesan including Hadza

- Honken (1977), Starostin (2003)
  - changed their minds in later work
- Chebanne (2011: 236)
  - focus on classification not reconstruction
- Ehret (2008: 220)
  - Eastern African Microlithic, 17,000 B.C.E. = Proto-Khoesan (Ehret 2000ab, 2002, 2013)
  - Wilton, 7,000 B.C.E. = Proto Southern African Khoesan (Ehret 2013: 104)
  - PSAK reconstructions (2003, Mother Tongue)

## Proto-Khoesan Kinship (Ehret 2008: 264)

- \*mama ‘grandmother’
- \*ma ‘mother, mother’s sister’
- \*ai ‘mother, mother’s sister’
- \*tata ‘father, father’s brother’

cf. Miller (forth.) on Hadza kinship

forms may be borrowed / nursery items  
reconstructions indistinguishable from Proto-World

## Summary

- **Hadza** (isolate)
- **Sandawe** (possibly related to Khoe-Kwadi)
- **Khoe-Kwadi** (possibly related to Sandawe)
- **Kx’a** (possibly related to Tuu)
- **Tuu** (possibly related to Kx’a)

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