“Khoisan” in and outside Southern Africa

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Southern African Linguistic Areas
(Güldemann, this meeting)

• Hadza
• Sandawe

• Khoe-Kwadi family
• Kx’a family (Ju+ǂ’Amkoe)
• Tuu family (!Ui+Taa)

(map courtesy of Christfried Naumann)
Linguistic Survey (Güldemann 2014)

- Hadza
- Sandawe

- Khoe-Kwadi family
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(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’á + 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)
“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)
  – Wilton, 7,000 B.C.E. = Proto Southern African Khoesan (Ehret 2013: 104)
  – PSAK reconstructions (2003, Mother Tongue)
Proto-Khoeisan 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)