

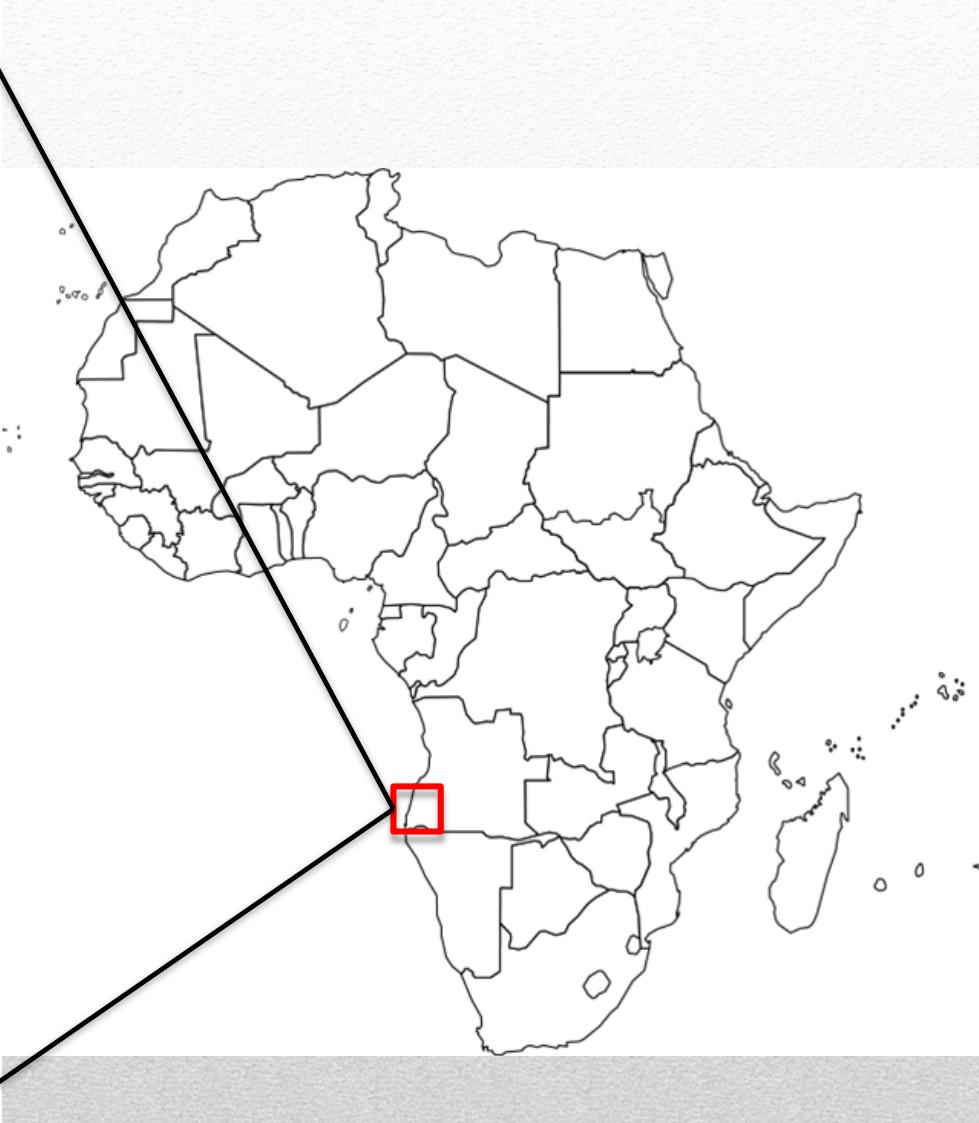
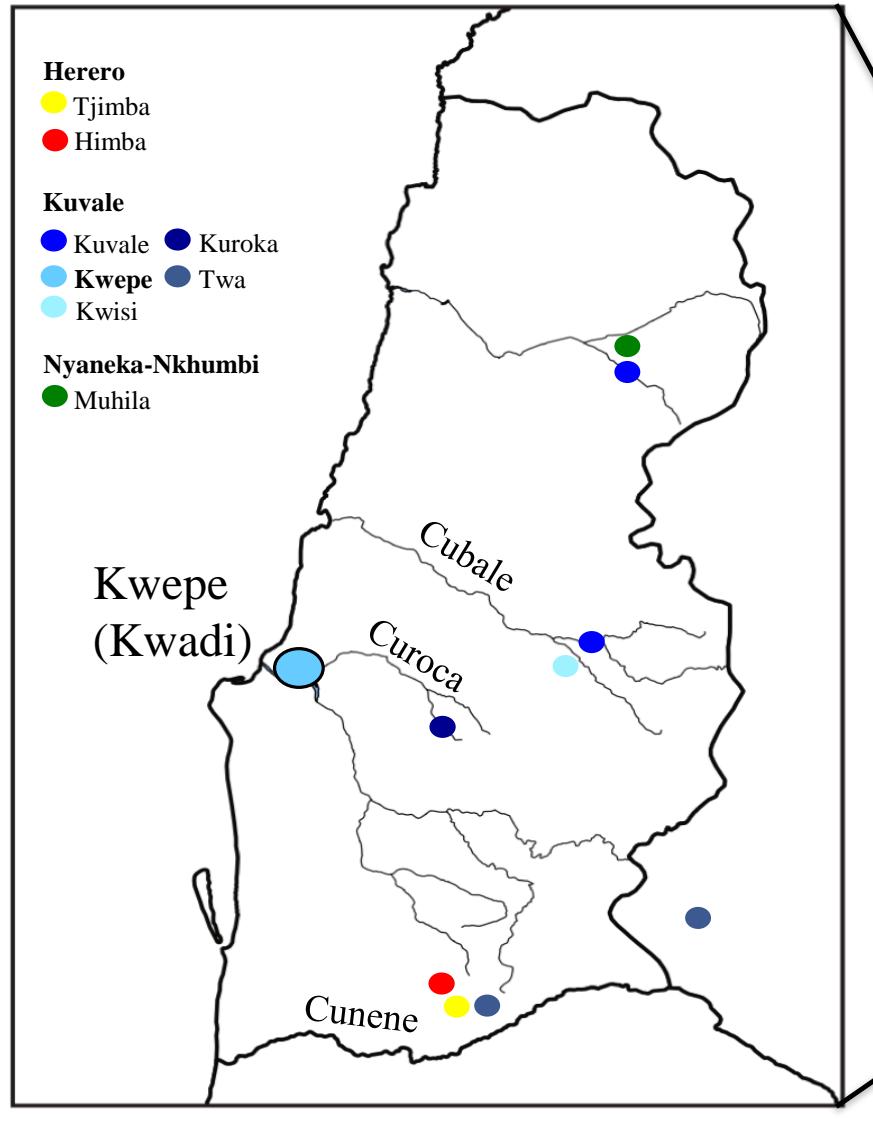


# Preliminary notes on Kwadi grammar and implications for the morphological reconstruction of proto Khoe-Kwadi

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# The Kwadi Speech Community: Geography

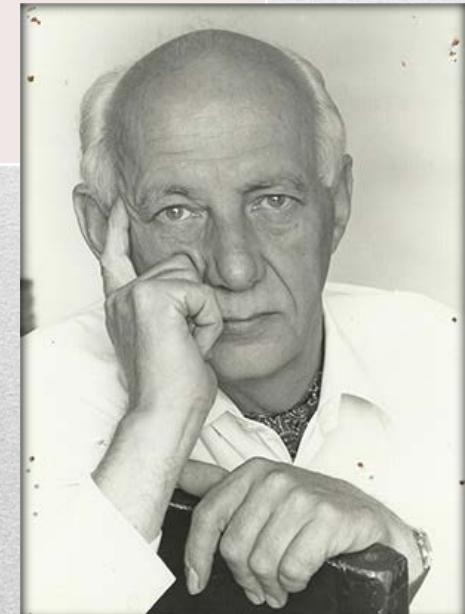


# The Kwadi Speech Community: The People



# The Kwadi Language: Sources

Researcher	Date	# of speakers	Data type/ Tag	Content	Archive
António de Almeida	1955	1	recording (A)	lexicon, phrases	Centro de Antropobiologia, Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical
Ernst O.J. Westphal	1956/7 or 1958/9	2	recordings (W rec), field notes (W fn)	lexicon, grammatical elicitation	University of Cape Town Manuscripts & Archives
Gordon D. Gibson	1970s	1 (?remember)	recording (G)	lexicon, phrases	National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution
Anne-M. Fehn & Jorge Rocha	2014	2 (rememberers)	recordings, field notes (F)	lexicon, grammatical elicitation	own data



- *Westphal* first considers Kwadi an isolate (1962, 1963), but then cautiously suggests the language might be related to the Khoë family (“Hottentot”, 1965, 1971)
- *Köhler* (1981) suggests treating Kwadi as a distant relative of Khoë (“langue Khoë marginale”), based on lexical similarities
- *Ehret* (1982), based on the patterns of apparent click loss found in Kwadi, considers a direct genealogical relationship with Eastern Kalahari Khoë languages like Shua and Tshwa; in a later publication (2008), he ascribes these similarities to contact
- *Güldemann* (2004) establishes Khoë-Kwadi as a genealogical unit, based on the nominal marking systems of Kwadi and Khoë; he further proposes a Late Stone Age migration of Khoë-Kwadi speaking foragers into southern Africa, with Kwadi constituting its westernmost extension (Güldemann 2008)
- *Güldemann & Elderkin* (2010) discuss lexical similarities and propose some regular sound correspondences between Khoë and Kwadi, based on Westphal’s field notes
- *Güldemann & Fehn* (in prep.) relate the so-called “juncture morpheme” (or “linker”) found in the Khoë languages to a grammatical formative in Kwadi that attaches to verb roots and turns them into dependent forms

I made two preliminary assumptions about forms that exist in Westphal's transcriptions, but are not featured on the recordings:

- Kwadi lost all of its alveolar, palatal and lateral clicks: whenever one of these clicks appears in Westphal's transcription, it can be assumed that he made a mistake (e.g.,  $\text{†ań}$  'steal',  $\text{†ū`}$  'bladder'); clicks transcribed by Westphal as palatal {‡} can generally be assumed to be dental <|>
  - Westphal's transcription of click accompaniments and ejectives vs. stops is notoriously unreliable and should not be used as evidence for questionable correspondences
-

- Stems with a nasal rhyme followed by the sg.M suffix *-de* trigger the appearance of an intercepting nasal *-n-*:

dame (A)	dame-N-de	'tongue'
?àmé (W rec)	?àmé-N-de	'knife'
k'ámé (A)	k'ámé-N-de	'mouth'
xámì (A)	xámì-N-de	'penis'

- If the stem includes nasal vowels, rather than a nasal consonant, they are denasalized; e.g.:

tī (A)	ti-N-di	'thigh'
?jū	?jú-N-dè	'finger'
tsū (W fn)	tsu-N-di	'ashes'
?i (A)	?i-N-de	'clitoris'

- An exception appears to be the noun 'illness, disease'; however, the recovered recordings do not contain this word, and we have to rely on Westphal's transcription here:

thō (W fn)	thō-dè	'illness, disease'
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- The sg.F suffix *-e* is not preceded by a glottal stop; the final vowel of the noun stem may be assimilated, e.g.:

?áú (W rec)	?àè-è	'female dog, bitch'
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- A suffix *-o* with (so far) unknown meaning may trigger assimilation as well, e.g.:

?éé (W rec)	?óó	'fire (?-place)'
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- If the final vowel is nasalized, nasalization appears to be lost:

tshū́ (A)	ts <sup>h</sup> é-è	'head'
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- The vowel assimilation may, in turn, affect the preceding consonant as well, e.g.:

guu (W fn)	jù-ì	'sheep'
xumu (W fn)	ʃimi(-i)	'soil'

- However, this does not apply to all nouns:

cé-sékókò (W rec)	cé-sékókò-è	'lioness'
khóbò (W rec)	khóbò-è	'goat'

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- Incorporation of questions/comments in Portuguese

méù.<sup>t</sup>sì |ámíndì

**méù**      sì                    |ámí-ndì  
my            1sg.POSS            knife-sg.M

prompted: ‘his knife’  
given: ‘Mine? (Port.) My knife.’

- Replies instead of translations

<sup>t</sup>sí.xweè

tsí                    xwē-è  
1sg.POSS            bag-sg.F

prompted: ‘your bag’  
given: ‘my bag’

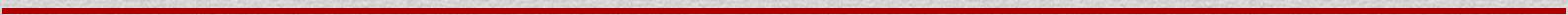
dótóló.<sup>k</sup>xwèdì

dótóló                xwè-dì  
doctor                bag-sg.M

prompted: ‘my bag’  
given: ‘the bag of the doctor’

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# The Noun



Nouns in Kwadi possess inherent grammatical gender; they are marked by portmanteau morphemes encoding gender and number

Table 1. Nominal gender and number in Kwadi (Westphal 1971:395)

	Singular	Plural	Dual
Masculine	-dɛ	-u	-wa
Feminine	-e	-'ɛ	-wa
Common	-(n)dɛ	-'V	-wa

cf. Güldemann (2004: 255)

some nouns have suppletive plural stems, e.g.:

‘person’	k <sup>h</sup> ó	>	‘people’	tʃee
‘(male) child’	k'o	>	‘(male) children’	k'ò-k'ólò
‘(head of) cattle’	go(e)~wo	>	‘cattle’	goele

## Default order: Modifier – Head

### Demonstratives

<i>ga lapide</i>	
<b>ga</b>	<b>lapi-de</b>
DEM.prox	pen-sg.M
‘this pen’	

### Numerals

á- <sup>w</sup> ò <sup>w</sup> à	
<b>lá</b>	<b>wò-wà</b>
two	cattle-du
	‘two cows’

### Relative

<i>tçè'è-kő̤-ñk<sup>x</sup>ò.dè</i>		
<b>tcè-?è</b>	<b>kő̤</b>	<b>khò-dè</b>
people-pl	kill	person-sg.M
		‘murderer’ (lit. people-kill-person)

### Adjectives

<i>thù khòdε</i>	
<b>thù</b>	<b>khò-de</b>
bad	person-sg.M
‘a bad man’	

### Quantifiers

<i>kx'áà bómbó-'</i> è	
<b>kx'áà</b>	<b>bómbó-?è</b>
many	money-pl
	‘a lot of money’

### Possessive/Genitive

<i> é-ú.dú.dì</i>	
<b> é</b>	<b>?údú-dì</b>
fire	heat-sg.M
	‘heat of fire’

## PROXIMAL

*ya gaiyade*

**ya ga ya-de**

it.is this thing-sg.M

‘(it is) this thing’

## DISTAL

*ya waiyade*

**ya wa ya-de**

it.is that thing-sg.M

‘(it is) that thing’

*ga lapide*

**ga lapi-de**

this pen-sg.M

‘this pen’

## ?REFERENTIAL

*hado khode kwadiitfwe' lálabala*

**ha.de      kho-de      kwadi-tc'oē      lá      labola.**  
3sg.M      person-sg.M      Kwadi-language      ?OBJ      speak  
‘this man speaks Cuepe’ (mss\_bc1143\_c4\_2: 25)



## The Noun Phrase: Nominal Modification – ‘male’ and ‘female’

‘male’	k(x)’ao~ k(x)’o	< *kx’ao (pKhoe-Kwadi)
‘female’	tſe	< *gǁae (pKhoe-Kwadi)

KWADI

*kx’ju-|wí.dì*

**kx’ó**      |úí-dì  
male      bird-sg.M  
‘a male bird’

TS’IXA (Kalahari Khoe)

**k’áò**      dzírá=mà  
male      bird=sg.M  
‘a male bird’

*k’í.e-|wíì*

**tſéè**      |ùì-ì  
female      bird-sg.F  
‘a female bird’

**gǁáē**      dzírá=sà  
female      bird=sg.F  
‘a female bird’

'small'	<b>ŋ u(i)-ʃí</b>	singular
	<b>ŋ u(i)-na</b>	plural

SINGULAR

**ŋ|ú-ʃí**    k'ó-tʃ'é-dè  
small-?    male-child-sg.M  
'a small boy'

**ŋ|ú-ʃí**    tʃ'é-è  
small-?    child-sg.F  
'a small girl'

*ŋ|wésí kòòdù*  
**ŋ|óé-sí**    kòò-dù  
small-?    stone-sg.M  
'a very small stone'

DUAL

**ŋ|ú-nà**    k'ó-tʃ'é-wà  
small-?    male-child-du  
'two small boys'

**ŋ|ú-nà**    tʃ'é-wà  
small-?    child-du  
'two small girls'

PLURAL

**ŋ|ú-nà**    k'ò-k'òlò  
small-?    male-?boys  
'small boys'

**ŋ|ú-nà**    khóá-?è  
small-?    ?children-pl  
'small girls'

Güldemann (2004: 297): the PGNs of proto-Khoe

3sg.F	*si
3pl.C	*nV

Example Ts'ixa (Kalahari Khoe):

=si      PGN 3sg.F      Nominative+Oblique/Dependent

g|óé=**sí**                  júù                  kùè                  ||?orá=**sí**                  |xè.  
 tortoise=**sg.F:NOM**      get.angry      PROG      be.big=**sg.F:OBL**      with  
 ‘The tortoise is getting angry with the big one.’

=n      PGN 3pl.C      Nominative+Oblique/Dependent

=na      PGN 3pl.C      Accusative

xúú.khòè=**n**                  ||k'ám-tà                  ná=**n**                  kà                  |úá=**nà**                  ?à.  
 San=**pl.C:NOM**      beat-NEG.IPFV      DEM=**pl.F:OBL**      POSS      child=**pl.C:ACC**      ACC  
 ‘The San do not beat their children.’

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## The Noun Phrase: Nominal Modification – Gender Agreement?

'big'      **tʃe-na**      masculine, plural      <      ?\*káí (pKhoe-Kwadi) 'grow up'+-na 'TAM'  
 tʃi-ni      feminine      compare Ts'ixa      ||xóó-hà hīì 'dry tree'  
 dry-PRF tree

SINGULAR (M)	SINGULAR (F)	PLURAL (F)
<i>kyé.nàŋ kx'ó.lì</i> <b>tʃé-nà</b> be.big-? 'a big man'	<i>kyí.nì kçǖ</i> <b>tʃí-nì</b> <b>tʃí-ì</b> be.big-? female-sg.F 'a big woman'	<i>datu tyena tala kwa'ε</i> <b>datu</b> <b>tʃe-na</b> <b>tala-koə-ʔε</b> three    big-?    female-children-pl.F 'three (14yr) girls'
<i>kyè.nà</i> 'í.dì <b>tʃè-nà</b> ɿ-dì big-?      egg-sg.F 'big egg'	<i> wi tyini kie tce</i> <b> ui</b> <b>tʃi-ni</b> <b>tʃe-tʃ'e</b> one    big-?    female-child 'one (14yr) girl'	?

tʃe-ni < tʃe-na+V<sup>[high, front]</sup>  
whereas V<sup>[high, front]</sup> 'sg.F'

## The Noun Phrase: Nominal Modification – Gender Agreement?

‘young’	pula- <b>de</b>	sg.M
	pule(- <b>e</b> )	sg.F

### SINGULAR (M)

<i>púládì</i> <i>ŋ wéé</i> <i>k<sup>x</sup>óò</i>		
<b>púlá-dì</b>	<b>ŋ úé</b>	<b>khóò</b>
young-sg.M	small	person
‘a young man’		

### SINGULAR (F)

<i>púlèè</i> <i>kyíè-kyíê</i>		
<b>púlè-è</b>	<b>tʃéè-tʃé-è</b>	
young-sg.F	female-woman-sg.F	
‘a young woman’		

<i>pólé</i> <i>kū.yē</i>		
<b>pólé(-è)</b>	<b>kū</b>	<b>jè-è</b>
young-sg.F	?small	cow-sg.F
‘a young cow’		

	SINGULAR	PLURAL	DUAL
1st	<b>ta</b> <b>tſí (POSS)</b>	ala (?incl.) (h)ina (?excl.)	(h)a.mu
2nd	sa	(h)u	(h)u.wa
3rd (masc.)	<b>ha.de</b> <b>ha (POSS)</b>	ha.u	ha.wa
3rd (fem.)	hɛɛ (< ha-e)	ha.?e	ha.wa

cf. Guldemann (2004: 256)

*ta tſí phélá lá: phele*

**ta    tſí**              **p<sup>h</sup>élá**        **lá:**              **p<sup>h</sup>e-le.**  
 1sg    1sg.POSS          house            OBJ              build-sg.M  
 ‘I build my house.’

*hádo kóla ’nu*

**há.de**    **k’ó**            **la**              **?nu.**  
 3sg.M      meat            OBJ              eat  
 ‘he eats meat’

*ha<sup>t</sup>kie<sup>t</sup>nyúnga*

**ha**                      **tſe.?núnga**  
 3sg.POSS              sister  
 ‘his sister’

# The Noun Phrase: Nominal Modification – Possessive pronouns (Shua)

	Shua	
	NOM+ACC	POSS/DEP
1sg	ta	tí
1du.F	sam	
1du.M	tsam	
1du.C	kʰam	
1pl.F	se	
1pl.M	ke	
1pl.C	tse	
2sg.F	ʃa	
2sg.M	tʃa	
2du.F	saro	
2du.M	tsaro	
2du.C	kʰaro	
2pl.F	sao	
2pl.M	kao	
2pl.C	to	
3sg.F	?e.ʃa	?é.ʃí
3sg.M	?e.ma	?é.m̩
3sg.C	?w	
3du.F	?e.sara	
3du.M	?e.tsara	
3du.C	?e.kʰoa/?e.kʰoara	
3pl.F	?e.dzi	
3pl.M	?e.kua	
3pl.C	?e.na/?e.n ?ae	?é.n̩

tá kē fúá-dàm ñg|áè.ñg|àè.  
 1sg IPFV Shua-language teach  
 'I teach Shua.' (Fehn f.n.)

tí kòlòì tʃá dì kē g|āì-à-xù.  
 1sg car 2sg.M POSS IPFV run-J-PFV  
 'My car outruns yours.' (Fehn f.n.)

?é.mà kē tá ?à mūñ.  
 3sg.M IPFV 1sg ACC see  
 'He sees me.' (Westphal Rec. nn.3)

?é.m̩ g|éè.kʰòè  
 3sg.M woman  
 'his wife' (Westphal, Rec. nn.32)

## NUM - POSS - HEAD

‡á.kíé.kié.téwà  
|á tṣé.tṣéé tí-wà  
two woman leg-du  
'two legs of the woman'

## NUM - ADJ - HEAD

|á kyè.nà 'íwà  
|á tṣé-nà ?í-wà  
two big-? egg-du  
'two big eggs'

‡á mìkòŋgò.tṣhàwà  
|á mìkùŋgò tʃʰà-wà  
two hunter weapon-du  
'two weapons of the hunter'



NUM - ADJ - HEAD

ŋona      g̩lee-ni      k̩hoe-na      |úí-|úí      ?a      emere-na      ?ai-a-ha  
three      female-pl.C      person-pl.C      one-one      OBL      bucket-pl.C      carry-J-PST  
'Three women were carrying one bucket each.' (Shua, McGregor 2014: 70)

*tse na jubesani ॥ khoo kohare /goaha !goa nyimwa.*

tse      na      djubesa-ni      g̩loo      ko(a)xa=re      |'ūū-a-ha      g̩lo-a-?nim      wa  
1pl.C      ?      four-pl      big      zebra=pl      kill-J-PRF      mountain-top      LOC  
'We killed four big zebras on the mountain.' (Hiechware, Dornan 1917: 65)

but:

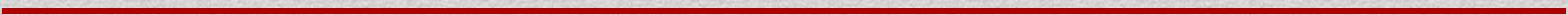
NUM – HEAD – ADJ+COP

baa.ra      ŋuana      ndjuu-ra      oa.na      g̩loo      ?e.  
my.father      three      house-pl      have      big      COP  
'My father has three houses (which) are big.' (Tjwao, Phiri f.n.)

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- default order Modifier – Head
  - productive adjectives denoting ‘male’ and ‘female’
  - occasional gender/number agreement (in fossilized forms?)
  - ?remnants of dependent PGNs related to Khoë \*si and \*nV
  - verbal adjectives requiring perfect/resultative TAM
  - possessive pronouns deviating from default forms in 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person
  - no possessive marker (cf. Khoë \*di and Kalahari Khoë \*di and \*ka)
  - at least two types of modifier can co-occur; numerals precede adjectives and possessor nouns
-

# The Verb



Complex verbs with embedded nominal or adverbial element:

‘to speak’	là- <b>là</b> -bòlà
‘to defecate’	jéé- <b>lá</b> -?ŋòò
‘to sneeze’	fé- <b>là</b> -xé
‘to choose’	gae- <b>la</b> -xa-dε
‘to take snuff’	k’é- <b>láá</b> -fédà
‘to buy’	pá- <b>lá</b> -kùà
‘to go away’	tłi- <b>la</b> -tsóá
‘to spit’	ts’é.ké- <b>la</b> -kxòè
‘to put together’	tòò- <b>dè</b> -pé
‘to wake up’	?áká- <b>dè</b> -kű
‘to die’	ká- <b>dé</b> -?o
‘to burn, flare’	ts’í- <b>lè</b> ts’íló-à-nà
‘to take away’	gájé-xú-dì

Verbs with unknown affix or multiverbal predicates:

‘to love’	fálá- <b>dù</b>
‘to come back’	hàà- <b>lò</b>
‘to put down’	hù-èñgà (?< xù-èñgà ‘back’)
‘to wash’	kà-?è-nì
‘to paddle’	kx’ <b>a</b> -dʒa
‘to get up’	sálà- <b>nṣi</b>
‘to open’	tṣue- <b>pa</b>
‘to help’	íí- <b>má</b> -nè

## The affix -ka: A causative morpheme?

‘to carry’	?ɲù- <b>kà</b>
‘to close’	tʃéè- <b>kà</b>
‘to open’	xúè- <b>kà</b>
‘to wring’	lè- <b>kà</b>
?‘to ask for’	hàtá- <b>kà</b> -nè

Compare Kalahari Khoe \*ka(-xu) ‘CAUS’ (Vossen 1997: 350), e.g. Ts’ixa:

**tí      kò      Ts’íxà-dàm      ?ãá-**kà**.**  
1sg   IPFV      T.-language      get.to.know-CAUS  
‘I teach Ts’ixa.’

But note:

‘to sell’      ?úá-**θe**      (< ‘buy’+Bantu ‘CAUS’)

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## Agentive Passive

tà Mìgélè kà lè çé.'ádè  
tà Mìgélè kà lè tsé-?**á**-dè  
1sg Miguel MPO ? ?love-?PASS-sg.M  
'I am loved by Miguel.'

Ìnássú tçidélékàdè kx'é'àdè  
Ìnássú tçidélé kà dè kx'é-**?á**-dè  
Inassu White MPO ? ?love-?PASS-sg.M  
'Inassu is loved by a White.'

tçàhéé kx'ókè<sup>k</sup>çé'ádè  
t**jà** héé kx'ó kè tsé-**?á**-dè  
? 3sg.F male MPO:? ?love-?PASS-sg.M  
'The woman is loved by a man.'

# The affix -o: A durative morpheme?

*ala do 'm*

?ala      **do**    ?m  
1pl.incl. ? sleep  
'We are sleeping.'

*sa 'édo'élana*

sa    ?é-**do**-?éla-na  
2sg sing-?-sing-?TAM  
'You are singing.'

*háídé kúndókù*

há-í-dé                kún-**dó**-kū  
DEM-?-sg.M go-?-go  
'He was going'

*ikábà kúlòkù*

ì      kábà            kū-**í-lò**-kū  
?      all              go-?-?:?-go  
'We were going'

*ala kulakumu*

?ala      **ku-la**-kumu  
1pl.incl hear-la-hear  
'We are hearing.'

*sá múa'm*

sá    múa-**da**-?m  
2sg sleep-?-sleep  
'You are sleeping.'

pKhoe      \*!**to**              'directive/locative'  
Vossen (1997: 354)

Sandawe      **(j)o:**              'durative'

Elderkin (2013: 126ff)

Stem **la** Stem:Stem.part **la** Stem:

Complex forms:

Reduplication:

**tá kú-lá-kú**  
1sg go-?-go  
'I am going.'

**tá kú-lá-kùmù**  
1sg hear-?-hear  
'I am hearing.'

**tá là là bòlà**  
1sg ? ? speak  
'I am speaking.'

**tà wólá.wòlà**  
1sg cultivate:REDUPL  
'I am cultivating.'

**tá táŋgá.tàŋgà**  
1sg read:REDUPL  
'I am reading.'

**ta tʃi.la ɻūã-le**  
1sg NEG buy-NEG  
'I am not buying (food)' (Fehn fn)

**ta tʃi.la thūū-le**  
1sg NEG be.sick-NEG  
Prompted: 'I am not sick' (Fehn fn)

*ta tçala θēne*  
**ta tʃa.la θé-ne**  
1sg NEG cook-NEG  
AMF: 'I am not cooking.'

*ta tçálá kala*  
**ta tʃá.lá k'a-la**  
1sg NEG drink-NEG  
'I am not drinking.'

---

OBJ **a** VERB-**PGN**

káwè.k'ám    à    húè.ká-dè  
door              ?    open-sg.M  
'open the door'

tá        mákínà        à        tláñ.tlèn-è  
1sg        machine        ?        stand.up:CAU-sg.F  
'I lift the machine.'

OBJ **la** VERB-**PGN**

tá    |?ámá    là    ?úàn-dè  
1sg    knife        ?    buy-sg.M  
'I buy a knife'

tá    mèsá    là    tláñ-tlèn-è  
1sg    table        ?    stand.up:CAU-sg.F  
'I lift the table'

---

ta      **tʃi.la**      ?ūā-le  
1sg    NEG      buy-NEG  
'I don't buy (food)' (Fehn)

tá      **tʃá**      |?āmō      ?úán-dè-**rè**  
1sg    NEG      knife:?      buy-sg.M-NEG  
'I don't buy a knife'

**ta      tʃi.la      ?ūā-le**  
1sg    NEG        buy-NEG  
'I don't buy (food).' (Fehn f.n.)

**tá              tʃá              |?āmō              ?úán-dè-rè**  
1sg            NEG            knife:?            buy-sg.M-NEG  
'I don't buy a knife.'

*tèè-kyélà ē.ná.ý-kà.ná.nì*  
**tèè    tʃé.là      é.ná.ý      kà.ná.nì**  
?       NEG        ?food        not.have  
'We do not have food.'

Khoekhoe      Nama      tí.**tē**      'future negation'

Kalahari      Ts'ixa      ?í.**té**      'generic negation morpheme'

Sandawe                      **ts<sup>h</sup>è/ts<sup>h</sup>ì**      'generic negation morpheme'  
(Elderkin 2013: 131f)

---

cf. also Güldemann & Elderkin (2010: 25) for a relationship between the Khoe and Sandawe forms

*kíè sélè fálábéédù*

**kíè      sé    lè    fálá-béé-dù**

NEG      2sg    ?    like-?-?

prompted: ‘I don’t like you’

*kì.dá sá.là.fálábéédì*

**kì      dá    sá    là    fálá-béé-dì**

?NEG      ?    2sg    ?    like-?-?

prompted: ‘they don’t like you’

Northern Kalahari Khoe: \*béé

Khwe:      **béé** ‘generic negation morpheme’

Danisi:      **béé** ‘generic negation morpheme’

Tshwa North: **bee** ‘negation morpheme in selected environments’

*tì.gélè sálá.fálábéédù*

**tì      gé    lè    sá    á                fálá-béé-dù**

?NEG      ?1sg    ?    2sg    ?IPFV    like-?-?

prompted: ‘you don’t like me’

*kì.déí Néssé si.fálágánááni*

**kì      dé-í      Néssé si    fálá-gá-ná-á-ní**

?NEG      ?-?sg.F PN    ?    like-?DEM-?-?-?TAM

prompted: ‘she does not like Nessu’

*ta θēlaθē*  
**ta θē-la-θē**  
1sg cook-?-cook  
'I am cooking.'

*ta tçala θēne*  
**ta tʃa.la θē-ne**  
1sg NEG cook-NEG  
'I am not cooking.'

*takaθēlaθē*  
**ta ka θē-la-θē**  
1sg FUT cook-?-cook  
'I will cook'

*ta tçela ka θééne*  
**ta tʃe. la ka θéé-né**  
1sg NEG FUT cook-NEG  
'I will not cook'

*ta káláka*  
**ta k'á-lá-k'a.**  
1sg drink-?-drink  
'I am drinking.'

*ta tçálá kala*  
**ta tʃá.lá k'a-la**  
1sg NEG drink-NEG  
'I am not drinking.'

*taka káláka*  
**ta ka k'á-lá-k'a**  
1sg FUT drink-?-drink  
'I will drink.'

*ta tçálá k"ak"ala*  
**ta tʃá.lá ka k'a-la**  
1sg NEG FUT drink-NEG  
'I will not drink.'

*takaθ̄elaθ̄e*

**ta    ka    θ̄-la-θ̄e**

1sg FUT cook-?-cook  
‘I will cook’

Vossen (1997: 363): \***ka**(~\*ga)

Khoekhoe      ‘indefinite’                                  ka (Hagman 1977: 62ff)

Naro              ‘future’    ga (Visser 2013: 423)

Ḡlana              ‘future’    ga (Vossen 1997: 213, quoting Maingard 1957:68)

prob. also:

Ts’ixa              ‘future’    ḡerε (< ga+re)



## Past: Intransitive (1sg only)

*ta kálé kele k”a*

**ta**    **k(’)****á**    **lé**    **ke.le**    **k’**a**.**  
1sg    ?drink    ?    ?TAM    drink  
‘I drank.’

*ta lale kelabola*

**ta**    **la**    **le**    **ke.la**    **bola**  
1sg    ?    ?    ?TAM    speak  
‘I spoke’ (?)

*ta kálé θēna*

**ta**    **kálé**    **θē-na.**  
1sg    ?TAM    cook-?TAM  
‘I cooked.’

*ta wóléwolána*

**ta**    **wólé-wolá-na**  
1sg    cultivate-cultivate-?TAM  
‘I cultivated’ (?)

*ta kçele ’m (áṁ) k”akále*

**ta**    **tṣe.le**    **áṁ**    **k’**a**-k(’)**a-le.****  
1sg    NEG    ?    drink-?drink-NEG  
‘I did not drink’

*ta tçela lalabɔlale*

**ta**    **tṣe.la**    **la**    **la**    **bola-le.**  
1sg    NEG    ?    ?    speak-NEG  
‘I did not speak.’

*ta tçele θééne*

**ta**    **tṣe.le**    **θéé-ne.**  
1sg    NEG    cook-NEG  
‘I cooked.’

*ta tçele gwá wolále*

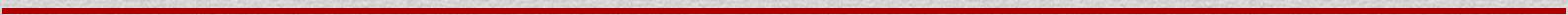
**ta**    **tṣe.le**    **góá**    **wolá-le**  
1sg    NEG    today    cultivate-NEG  
‘I did not cultivate today’ (?)

## Past Progressive (?): Intransitive Affirmative

	<i>gè.   ñè. kǔlakù</i> gè      ñè                kǔ-la-kǔ ?      away              go:IPFV 'I was going (?away).'	<i>ìkábà kúñlòkù</i> ì        kábà            kǔ-í-lò-kǔ ?        all              go-?-?:?-go 'We were going'
2nd	<i>sa kwíla kû?</i> sa    kú-í-la-kû? 2sg    wake.up-?-?-wake.up 'Did you wake up?'	<i>ìkáádà kákabà í.  'wí.guílákò</i> ì    ká ádà    kábà     í     'wí            kǔ-í-là-kǔ ?    ?    ?    ?all        ?    ?away        go-?-?-go Prompted: 'You were going (?away)'
3rd	<i>háídé      kúndókù</i> <b>há-í-dé      kún-dó-kǔ</b> DEM-?-sg.M    go-sg.F:?:go 'He was going'	

- derivative affixes changing valency and aspect
  - > a suffix *-ka* may correspond to the Kalahari Khoe causative \*-ka
  - > a suffix *-o* may correspond to the Sandawe durative clitic *=(j)oo*
- passive suffix *-?a* (prob. not cognate with Khoe \*(h)e)
- complex TAM morphology, possibly portmanteau morphemes combining information on person, gender, number and Tense/Aspect (compare Sandawe)
- default negation particle *tʃe(-la)* which usually combines with a suffix *-le~-ne* following the verb
  - > compare Khoe forms involving a formative *-te*
  - > compare Sandawe *tsʰe~tsʰi*
- negation suffix *-bee* (possibly form restricted to a specific TAM or PGN category)
  - > compare Northern Kalahari Khoe \*bee
- possible relation between future particle *ka* and pKhoe \*ga
- possible relation between formative *-la* in Verb-*la*-Verb constructions and the juncture morpheme -(r)V in Khoe (cf. Güldemann & Fehn 2014)

# Participant Marking



## Intransitive clauses: Subject indexing (?)

1st

*Ta múlamú*  
**ta**    **mú-la-mú**  
 1sg sleep-?-sleep  
 'I am sleeping.'

2nd

*sá múa'm*  
**sá**    **mú-da-?m**  
 2sg sleep-?-sleep  
 'You are sleeping.'

3rd

*hado he 'm*  
**ha.do**    **he**    **?m**  
 3sg.M:?: ? sleep  
 'He is sleeping.'

*amu ndo 'mula'm*  
**?amu**    **ndo**    **?mu-la-?m**  
 1du ? sleep-?-sleep  
 'We 2 are sleeping.'

*uwa do 'm(da'm)*  
**u.wa**    **do**    **?m(-da-?m)**  
 2du ? sleep(-?-sleep)  
 'You (du) are sleeping.'

*hedu 'mwila'm*  
**he**    **du**    **?mu-i-la-?m**  
 3sg.F ? sleep-?-?-sleep  
 'She is sleeping.'

*uhina 'm*  
**?u.hina**    **?m**  
 ?1pl.excl.sleep  
 'We are sleeping.'

*hawa do hawa 'm*  
**ha.wa**    **do**    **ha.wa**    **?m**  
 3du ? 3du sleep  
 'They (2) are sleeping.' (f)

*ala do 'm*  
**?ala**    **do**    **?m**  
 1pl.incl. ? sleep  
 'We are sleeping.'

*u do 'm*  
**?u**    **do**    **?m**  
 2pl ? sleep  
 'You (pl) are sleeping.'

*hau do hau 'm*  
**ha.u**    **do**    **ha.u**    **?m**  
 3pl.M ? 3pl.M sleep  
 'They are sleeping.'

Subject: 1st person singular

Object: 2nd person

*ta sale mundana*

**ta**   **sa**   **le**   **mu-nda-na**

SG.O   1sg   2sg   ?   see-?-?TAM  
‘I saw you.’

*ta uwale monanana*

**ta**   **u.wa**   **le**   **mu-nana-na**

DU.O   1sg   2du   ?   see-?-?TAM  
‘I saw you (2)’

*ta uli mó̄na*

**ta**   **u**   **li**   **mó-ó-na**

PL.O   1sg   2pl   O   see-?-?TAM  
‘I saw you (many)’

Object: Nominal

*ta |wí khole mundana*

**ta**   **|úí**   **kho**   **le**   **mu-nda-na**

O   1sg   one person   O   see-?-?TAM  
‘I saw one man’

*ta<sup>y</sup>|'ã khole mundana*

**ta**   **|'ã**   **kho**   **le**   **mu-nda-na**

1sg   two person   ?   see-?-?TAM  
‘I saw two men’

*ta<sup>y</sup>kx”ãtſele mona*

**ta**   **kx'ãā**   **tſε**   **lε**   **mo-na**

1sg   many   people   ?   see-?TAM  
‘I saw many people’

Subject: 2nd person singular

Object: 1st person

*sa tade munana*

**sa ta de mu-na-na**

SG.O 2sg 1sg ? see-?-?TAM  
‘You saw me.’

*sa mo<sup>n</sup>de monana*

**sa mo nde mo-na-na**

DU.O 2sg 1du ? see-?-?TAM  
‘You saw us (2).’

*sa alade munana*

**sa ala de mu-na-na.**

PL.O 2sg 1pl ? see-?-?TAM  
‘You saw us.’

With PGN marking (only singular examples available):

OBJ **la** VERB-**PGN**

*ta |'ólá hudi*

**ta** |'ó            **lá**    **hu-di**  
1sg fire:?        ?      blow-sg.M  
'I blow fire'

**tá** |?ámá    **là**    ?úan-dè

1sg knife        ?      buy-sg.M  
'I buy a knife'

**jéé**            **là**    **xè**

cow            ?      tie:sg.F  
'tie the cow' (recording)

**tá** mèsá    **là**    tláñ-tlèn-è

1sg table        ?      stand.up:CAU-sg.F  
'I lift the table'

---

No PGN-marking (?generics and mass nouns):

OBJ **la** VERB

*ala kóla 'ju*

**?ala**      **k'ó**      **la**      **?ju.**

1pl      meat      ?      eat

‘we eat meat’

*hena kwáde'tse la bola*

**hena**      **kwáde-tc'e**      **la**      **bola**

1pl      Kwadi-language      ?      speak

‘we speak Cuepe’

**k'ó**      **là**      **xà**

animal      ?      want

‘follow an animal’ (recording)

---

With PGN marking (only singular examples available):

OBJ **a** VERB-**PGN**

**tá      màkínà      à      tlánì-tlèn-è**  
1sg      machine      ?      stand.up:CAU-sg.F  
'I lift the machine.'

**káwè.k'ám      à      húè.ká-dè**  
door                ?      open-sg.M  
'open the door'

**k'ù      á      t'à-dè**  
pot      ?      mould-sg.M  
'mould a pot'

---

*ta sale Kwaditsi'ε laŋa*

**ta      sa      le      Kwadi-tʃ'i-?ε      laŋa**  
1sg    2sg   ?      Kwadi-language-pl.F    teach

Prompted: ‘Teach me Kwadi!’ (given: ‘I teach you Kwadi.’)

*ta<sup>n|</sup>’óká’a*

**ta      |?ó      ká-?à**  
1sg    fire:?      give-?IMP  
‘give me fire’

tale matçéà ka'a

**ta      le      matçé-à      ka-?a**  
1sg    ?      tobacco-?      give-?IMP  
‘Give me tobacco’

*álá hele matçéákana*

**álá    he    le    matçé-á      ka-na**  
1pl   ?    ?    tobacco-?      give-?IMP.PL  
‘Give us tobacco’

---

mūñ kè tsá tá ?à.

see IPFV 2sg.M 1sg ACC

‘I see you.’ (Danisi, Vossen 2013: 401)

mūñ kè tsá ?à tá.

see IPFV 2sg.M ACC 1sg

‘I see you.’ (Danisi, Vossen 2013: 401)

máé tsá kà mà-má ?à gádzé-káxù-à-hà?

who 2sg.M POS head-sg.M ACC hurt-CAUS-J-PRF

‘Who has hurt your head?’ (Danisi, Vossen 2013: 222)

tsá ?àná-hà rè tí bà?

2sg.M know:J-PRF Q 1sg father

‘Do you know my father?’ (Danisi, Vossen 2013: 404)

---

	॥Ani (Khwe; Vossen 1997: 237)	Deti (Shua)
1sg	-tì	-tī
2sg.M	-tsì	-tsī
3sg.M	-m	-mī
3sg.F	-sì	-sī
3pl.M	-  ù	-kū
3du.M	-tsà	-tsī

?è.mâ    kè            tá    mūñ-**tī**-nā.

3sg.M    IPFV        1sg see-1sg-TAM

‘He sees me.’ (Deti, Westphal, Rec. 7.3)

?é.sà    kè            tsá    mūñ-**tsī**-nā    ò

3sg.F    IPFV        2sg see-2sg-TAM IND

‘She sees you.’ (Deti, Westphal, Rec. 7.7)

tá    ?é.kúà    mūñ-**kū**-nā.

1sg 3pl.M    see-3pl.M-TAM

‘I see them.’ (Deti, Westphal Rec. 17.8)

Agent **ka** le~de~e (=PGN?)

<i>tà</i>	<i>Mìgélē</i>	<i>kà</i>	<i>lè</i>	<i>cé.</i>	<i>'ádè</i>
<b>tà</b>	<b>Mìgélè</b>	<b>kà</b>	<b>lè</b>	<b>tsé-?</b>	<b>á-dè</b>
1sg	Miguel	MPO	?	?love-?PASS-sg.M	
'I am loved by Miguel.'					

<i>Ìnássú</i>	<i>tçídélékàdè</i>	<i>kx'é'ádè</i>			
<b>Ìnássú</b>	<b>tçídélékàdè</b>	<b>kx'é-?á-dè</b>			
Inassu	White	MPO	?	?love-?PASS-sg.M	
'Inassu is loved by a White.'					

<i>tçàhéé</i>	<i>kx'ókè</i>	<i><sup>k</sup>cé'ádè</i>			
<b>tjà</b>	<b>héé</b>	<b>kx'ó</b>	<b>kè</b>	<b>tsé-?</b>	<b>á-dè</b>
?	3sg.F	male	MPO:?	?love-?PASS-sg.M	
'The woman is loved by a man.'					

ADV **ka la**

<b>tsúmù</b>	<b>ká</b>	<b>là</b>	<b>k'ò-dè</b>
axe	MPO	?	cut-sg.M
'cut with axe'			

ADV **la**

No marking

<i>ta thúla:</i>	<i>kɔ̝</i>		
<b>ta</b>	<b>thú</b>	<b>la</b>	<b>kū.</b>
1sg	night	?	go
'I go at night.'			

<i>ta tçele gwa wolále.</i>			
<b>ta</b>	<b>tçe.le</b>	<b>goa</b>	<b>wolá-le.</b>
1sg	NEG	today	cultivate-NEG
'I am not cultivating today.'			

ADV **a**

<i>ta üiya wolewólána</i>			
<b>ta</b>	<b>?ui</b>	<b>a</b>	<b>wole-wólá-na.</b>
1sg	tomorrow	ADV	cultivate:REDUPL-?TAM
'Tomorrow, I will cultivate.'			

pKalahari Khoe    \*ka        ‘INST’, ‘LOC’, ‘TEMP’, generic ‘OBL’ > ‘MPO’  
                          \*(?)a      ‘LOC’, ‘TEMP’, generic ‘OBL’

**ń.ts<sup>h</sup>éè**    **tobóló**    ||é        **káá-tááñ.**  
today      gun        1pl.M      want-IPFV.NEG  
‘Today we do not want [to use] a gun.’ (Ts’ixa)

**séxáí**    **kà**        **kò**        **|k'úú-é**        ?è.  
spear      MPO        IPFV        kill-PASS        ?PASS  
‘[The steenbok] is killed with a spear.’ (Ts’ixa)

**t<sup>h</sup>úú**    **kà**        **tsé**        **kò**        **ŋóó=m**        **?à**        **àà**        **nò** [...]  
past      MPO        1pl.C        IPFV        land=sg.M        LOC        come        when  
‘In the past, when we came to this land [...].’ (Ts’ixa)

**|ao**        **?e**        **xam**        **ka**        **|qx'úú-e-ha.**  
buffalo    3sg.C      lion        MPO        kill-PASS-PRF  
‘The buffalo was killed by the lion.’ (Tjwao, Phiri fn)

---

No postposition

p<sup>h</sup>èlè tʃéé

p<sup>h</sup>èlè      tʃé-é

house      belly -sg.F  
‘inside the house’

tʃe ka (+?e)

?ala      p<sup>h</sup>ele      tʃe      ka      tula-na.  
1pl.incl    house      belly      MPO      sit-TAM  
‘We are sitting in the house’ (Fehn fn.)

p<sup>h</sup>èlè tʃéká'e

p<sup>h</sup>èlè      tʃé      ká      ?e  
house      belly      MPO      ?  
‘inside the house’

tʃe a (+?e)

kx'ú.wà.tyâ  
kx'ú-à      tʃáà  
?bed-?      belly:OBL  
‘in the bed’

tʃ'wi kçéa'è  
tc'ui      tcé      á      ?è  
pot:sg.F    belly      OBL      ?  
‘in the pot’

(mu-)?*eŋga* ‘back’ > ‘on’

## ?e~?ε

*ts<sup>h</sup>ɛ́ éŋga'é*  
**ts<sup>h</sup>ɛ́**                    **éŋga**            **?é**  
head:sg.F            back            ?  
‘on the head’

**?eŋga ?náá**   ‘on top’

meza éŋga<sup>t</sup>nà:  
*meza        éŋga        ?nàà*  
table        back        top  
‘on the table’

**?eŋga ?e ?náá**

*kafote éŋga-é ?náá:*  
*kafote        éŋgá        é        ?náá*  
box        back        ?        top  
‘on the box’

---

ts<sup>h</sup>ūū ‘head’ > ‘in front’

### ts<sup>h</sup>ūū+ba

*phèlè ts<sup>h</sup>ó:m.bà*  
**phèlè**    **ts<sup>h</sup>óó**    **mbà**  
house      head      ?  
‘in front of the house’

### ts<sup>h</sup>ūū ka+ba

*ts<sup>h</sup>ōk<sup>h</sup>a.βa pε*  
**ts<sup>h</sup>ō**    **ka**    **ba**    **pε**  
head      MPO      ?      put  
‘Put in front!’

---

compare also Güldemann (2013: 432)

## Secondary locatives in Ts'ixa (Fehn 2016: 211)

**Table 64:** Secondary locatives and their lexical sources

LEXICAL SOURCE	GLOSS	LOCATIVE USE (WITH POSTPOSITION)	MEANING
<i>ngyóró</i>	'back (of body)'	<i>ngyóró ?à / ngùà</i>	'behind'
<i>k'áí.ò</i>	'face'	<i>k'áí.?ò ?à</i>	'in front of'
<i>  xoró</i>	'side'	<i>  xoró ?à /  xè / sìnà</i>	'next to'
<i>n//āā</i>	'other side'	<i>(mū) n//āā sìnà</i>	'beyond'
<i>?ánì</i>	'interior'	<i>?ánì ?à</i>	'inside, in the middle, below'
<i>?ámì</i>	'surface'	<i>?ámì ?à</i>	'on top'
<i>/óò</i>	'top'	<i>/óò ?à</i>	'on top, above'

---

- a particle *le* appears to mark various dependents of the verb, including direct objects, adverbials and predicate operators, such as the negation marker *tʃe*
- in the present/imperfective, a form *la* appears instead of *le*, possibly from <*le+a*, whereas *a* (which occasionally occurs without *le*) may be the imperfective morpheme  
    > *a* and *la* may correspond to the Khoe juncture allomorphs *-a* and *-rV*
- if the direct object of a clause is a noun, it is frequently indexed on the verb by means of the PGN markers *-de* ‘sg.M’ and *-e* ‘sg.F’  
    > differential object indexing also occurs in Kalahari Khoe (ǁAni, Deti)
- Some elements both preceding and following the main verb suggest the existence of suffix indexing or subject PGNs attaching to the verb or one of its dependents  
    > different sets of dependent and independent PGN markers, including for the subject of the clause, exist in Naro, Khoekhoe and Sandawe
- at least two oblique postpositions, *ka* and (?)*a*  
    > both have cognates in Khoe
- secondary locatives derived from body parts  
    > also Khoe

# Interrogative



## Word questions: WHO

*sé.à.dá.dè*

**sé**            **à**        **dá-dè?**

2sg:?        ?        Q-sg.M

‘Who are you?’

*gyá.dá.dè*

**Já**            **dá-dè?**

DEM.prox      Q-sg.M

‘Who is this one?’

*wá.á.dà.dè*

**wá**            **á**        **dà-dè?**

DEM.dist        ?        Q-sg.M

‘Who is that one?’



## Word questions: WHAT

*sò nyõndá xàdè?*

**sò            nyõn.dá    xà-dè?**

2sg:?        what        want-sg.M

‘What do you want?’

*se nyõnde monda*

**se            nyõn.de    mon-da?**

2sg:?        what        see-?

‘What do you see?’



## Word questions: WHERE

*gádè.nàmà?*

**gá-dè**                    **nàmà?**

DEM-sg.M                where

prompted: ‘where are you?’  
(prob. ‘Where is this?’)

*úwa satála phela ngenama?*

**ú.wa**    **satála**    **phela**    **nge** **nama?**

2du           ?           house      ?       where

‘Where is your house?’



*idílì ví de'elakɔ*

**ìdí**      lìvídēē    lā    ko?

?when    ?P.A.    ?    go

prompted: ‘When are you going to Porto Alexandre?’

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## Interrogative modifiers: WHICH

SG

*dʒ.n̩sì.khódì*  
**d̩.nsì**    khó-dì  
which      man-sg.M  
‘Which man?’

PL

*yà.dá.dì kù.k'óù*  
**jà**            **dá.dì.kù**    k'ó-ù  
?COP        which:pl male-pl.M  
‘Which men?’

*dʒ.n̩sì.ky̩tè*  
**d̩.nsì**    tʃì-è  
which      woman-sg.F  
‘Which woman?’

*tá.kù.tá.làtçé'è*  
**dá.kù**        **tálà-tʃé-?è**  
which       female-woman-pl.F  
‘Which women?’

---

*séàdád. 'uúdì*

**sé      à      dá-d**      ?uú-dì?

?      ?      whose      slave-sg.M

Prompted: ‘Whom does this slave belong to?’

*wáàdàd. 'uúdì*

**wá      à      dà-d**      ?uú-dì

DEM      ?      Q-sg.M      slave-sg.M

Prompted: ‘Whom do those slaves belong to?’

---

*yà.dá.kù tçé'è*

**jà            dá.kù            tçé-?è?**  
?COP        how many        people-pl.F  
'How many people?'

*sìdákú wódjìtçì kènà?*

**sì    dá.kú            wó    djì            tçì            kènà?**  
?        how many        bull        ?kraal        ?inside        have  
'How many bulls do you have (in the kraal)?'

*sìdáà kùdì Béléé kõŋ?*

**sì    dáà.kù            dì            Béléé            kõŋ?**  
?        how many        ?times        Mossamedes        go  
'How many times have you been to Mossamedes (Namibe)?'



	Kwadi
Who	da(-PGN)
What	jñõn.da~e (?)
Where	(?ŋge-)na.ma
When	i.di (?)
Which	dé.nsì, da.ku, da.di.ku
Whose	da(-PGN)
How many	da.ku

---

Vossen (1997: 379ff):

pKhoe            \*mā            ‘who, which’

pKhoekhoe      \*ham            ‘who, which’            (?Sandawe \*hV(-SFX) ‘who’+etc.)  
cf. Eaton (2002: 76ff), see also

pKhoekhoe      \*da            ‘who’                    Güldemann & Elderkin (2010: 22)

pKalahari       \*(n)du        ‘what’

pKalahari       \*na            ‘which’

pKhoe    \*kùó~kúò    ‘number, be the number of...’

*yà.dá.kù tçé'è*  
**jà            dá.kù            tçé-?è?**  
?COP      how many      people-pl.F  
‘How many people?’ (Kwadi)

e.g. Shua (Kalahari Khoe):

**maa.koo      pírí      |hoa      ſa      hāā.**  
how many      goat      with      2sg.M      EXIST  
‘How many goats do you have?’ (McGregor 2014: 83)

# Summary



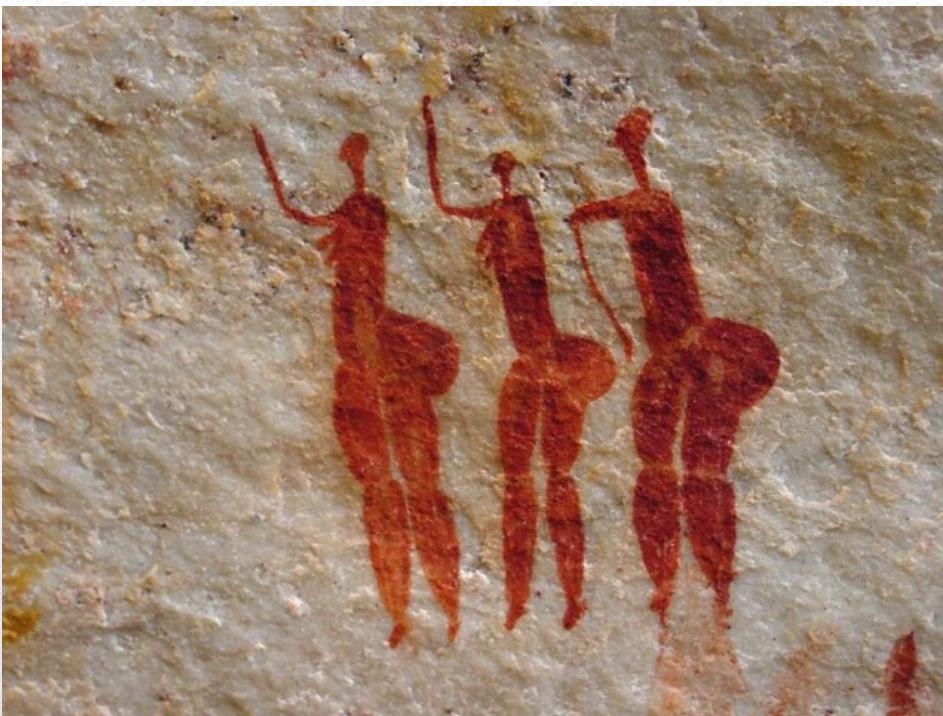
- major problems with Westphal's fieldnotes:
    - > does the Kwadi correspond to the prompt?
    - > prompts in Portuguese and Herero, but informants were prob. mostly speaking Kuvale
    - > unreliable transcriptions and only limited recording time
  - consistent structural similarities between Khoe and Kwadi
    - > MODIFIER – HEAD order in the NP
    - > verb-final (AOV) in the transitive clause
    - > predominant accusative alignment
    - > differential object marking/indexing
  - minimal-augmented pronoun system of Kwadi can be linked to Khoe (Güldemann 2004)
  - pospositions marking obliques: \*ka and \*(?)a
  - secondary locatives derived from body parts
-

- complex verbal morphology bearing little similarities with Khoe
  - > ?portmanteau morphemes encoding gender/number/tense/aspect
  - > ?subject/object indexing on the verb, possibly in accord with informationstructural considerations (cf. Eaton 2002 for Sandawe)
- verbal derivation through affixes: ?\*-ka ‘CAUS’
- Negation morphemes *tse* and *bee* may have cognates in Khoe (< \*te, \*bee)
- possible relation between the morpheme *le~la* marking dependents of the verb and the Khoe juncture (Güldemann & Fehn, in prep.)
- Interrogative base \*da shared with Khoe





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