

North Khoisan 100-wordlists

Compiled by George Starostin

The Swadesh wordlists for five North Khoisan languages/dialects. Data sources are Bleek 1929 and 1956 for ||Au||en and !O!Kung, Doke 1925 for !Kung, Dickens 1994 for Zhu|'hoan, and Koenig & Heine 2001 for Ekoka. See the North Khoisan etymological database for details on bibliography, transcription, and cognation issues.

Lexicostatistics more or less confirms the (very recent) division of Proto-North Khoisan into the Northern and Southern dialect clusters (possibly also Central, if the slightly differing results for ||Au||en are to be taken into account). It should be kept in mind, though, that the only fully reliable wordlist out of the five is for Zhu|'hoan; others are either drastically incomplete (as the one for Ekoka), or too old to be fully trusted (||Au||en, !O!Kung), or both (Doke's !Kung). Considering the extreme closeness of all the dialects (at the smallest, Zhu|'hoan and !O!Kung share around 84%), classificatory results based on incomplete lists may come out somewhat distorted.

| | |
|--------------|---------|
| Word | all |
| Zhu 'hoan | wèšè |
| Au en | oási |
| !Kung (Doke) | we:šesñ |
| !O!Kung | wεšεšε |
| Ekoka !Xung | wõhēšē |

| | |
|-------------|-------|
| Word | ashes |
| Zhu 'hoan | tq |
| Au en | too |
| !O!Kung | ‡oa |
| Ekoka !Xung | òhà |

| | |
|-----------|-------|
| Word | bark |
| Zhu 'hoan | g?òrò |
| Au en | no |
| !O!Kung | nali |

Word belly

Zhu | 'hoan !ú

||Au||en !gu

!Kung (Doke) !ú

!O!Kung !gu

Word big

Zhu | 'hoan !ã?ã

||Au||en !na

!Kung (Doke) !?a:

!O!Kung ||na

Ekoka !Xung !à

Word bird

Zhu | 'hoan c?àmà

||Au||en tsama

!Kung (Doke) ts?avà

!O!Kung tsama

Ekoka !Xung č?ám-mà

Word bite

Zhu | 'hoan !ái

||Au||en !na, !ne

!O!Kung | na

Word black

Zhu | 'hoan žó

||Au||en ʒo

!O!Kung dʒo

Ekoka !Xung žō

Word blood

Zhu | 'hoan | ?áŋ

||Au||en | ī

| | |
|-------------|------|
| !O!Kung | yalo |
| Ekoka !Xung | ølú |

| | |
|--------------|------|
| Word | bone |
| Zhu 'hoan | !?ú |
| Au en | !?u |
| !Kung (Doke) | !?ú: |
| !O!Kung | !?u |

| | |
|-------------|-----------|
| Word | breast |
| Zhu 'hoan | !j?á |
| Au en | !gwa |
| !O!Kung | t?oa ?õ |

| | |
|-------------|----------|
| Word | burn tr. |
| Zhu 'hoan | kù?ú |
| Au en | duu |

| | |
|--------------|------------|
| Word | claw(nail) |
| Zhu 'hoan | !ù?úrú |
| Au en | kuru |
| !Kung (Doke) | !urù |
| !O!Kung | kulu |

| | |
|-------------|-----------|
| Word | cloud |
| Zhu 'hoan | !já!kxúí |
| Au en | !ga kwisi |
| !O!Kung | !kõm |

| | |
|--------------|------|
| Word | cold |
| Zhu 'hoan | †à?ú |
| Au en | kau |
| !Kung (Doke) | !hã: |
| !O!Kung | kxau |

Ekoka !Xung !!àò

| | |
|--------------|----------|
| Word | come |
| Zhu 'hoan | cí |
| Au en | tsi |
| !Kung (Doke) | wě: |
| !O!Kung | tsi, tši |
| Ekoka !Xung | čí |

| | |
|--------------|--------|
| Word | die |
| Zhu 'hoan | !áí |
| Au en | ‡ke(i) |
| !Kung (Doke) | !!áí |
| !O!Kung | ke |
| Ekoka !Xung | áé |

| | |
|--------------|--------|
| Word | dog |
| Zhu 'hoan | ‡húí |
| Au en | !kɔ |
| !Kung (Doke) | ‡?hwi: |
| !O!Kung | ‡kwe |
| Ekoka !Xung | !!hōē |

| | |
|--------------|-------|
| Word | drink |
| Zhu 'hoan | čhì |
| Au en | tsi |
| !Kung (Doke) | šn: |
| !O!Kung | tši |
| Ekoka !Xung | šŋ |

| | |
|--------------|-------|
| Word | dry |
| Zhu 'hoan | !kxáú |
| !Kung (Doke) | !!?au |
| Ekoka !Xung | x?áó |

| | |
|--------------|------|
| Word | ear |
| Zhu 'hoan | ?húí |
| Au en | kwi |
| !Kung (Doke) | hwí |
| !O!Kung | kwi |
| Ekoka !Xung | ?húí |

| | |
|--------------|-------|
| Word | earth |
| Zhu 'hoan | kxà |
| Au en | k"a |
| !Kung (Doke) | kx?á: |
| !O!Kung | k"a |
| Ekoka !Xung | kx?à |

| | |
|--------------|-----|
| Word | eat |
| Zhu 'hoan | ?m |
| Au en | m |
| !Kung (Doke) | ?m: |
| !O!Kung | m |
| Ekoka !Xung | m |

| | |
|-------------|-----|
| Word | egg |
| Zhu 'hoan | ĩù |
| Au en | !nu |
| !O!Kung | !nu |
| Ekoka !Xung | ĩùū |

| | |
|--------------|-----------|
| Word | eye |
| Zhu 'hoan | à?á |
| Au en | ga |
| !Kung (Doke) | ð?á, ?á |
| !O!Kung | ga |
| Ekoka !Xung | à?à |

Word fat n.

Zhu | 'hoan ʃái

||Au||en | ni

!Kung (Doke) ʃái

!O!Kung | ni

Word feather

Zhu | 'hoan c?àmà !kxui

||Au||en !k"wi

!Kung (Doke) !!wi

!O!Kung !kwi

Word fire

Zhu | 'hoan dà?á

||Au||en da

!Kung (Doke) da?a, də?a

!O!Kung da

Ekoka !Xung dà?à

Word fish

Zhu | 'hoan ||?àù

!O!Kung ||au

Ekoka !Xung k!Ìnù

Word fly v.

Zhu | 'hoan ʃom

||Au||en !noa

!O!Kung !noa

Ekoka !Xung ||àmm

Word foot

Zhu | 'hoan | kxái

||Au||en | ke

| | |
|--------------|-----------|
| !Kung (Doke) | ?áí, xáí |
| !O!Kung | k"ε |
| Ekoka !Xung | x?áí |

| | |
|-------------|------|
| Word | full |
| Zhu 'hoan | ?á?í |
| Au en | !gēē |

| | |
|--------------|------|
| Word | give |
| Zhu 'hoan | ?á |
| Au en | á |
| !Kung (Doke) | au |
| !O!Kung | ka |
| Ekoka !Xung | à?à |

| | |
|--------------|------|
| Word | good |
| Zhu 'hoan | žá |
| Au en | !káí |
| !Kung (Doke) | dʒa: |
| Ekoka !Xung | káhí |

| | |
|-------------|-------|
| Word | green |
| Zhu 'hoan | áñh |
| Au en | káñ |
| !O!Kung | káñ |
| Ekoka !Xung | háñ |

| | |
|--------------|--------|
| Word | hair |
| Zhu 'hoan | !kxúí |
| Au en | !k"wi |
| !Kung (Doke) | !kx?wi |
| !O!Kung | !kwi |
| Ekoka !Xung | x?úí |

| | |
|--------------|------|
| Word | hand |
| Zhu 'hoan | !áú |
| Au en | !gau |
| !Kung (Doke) | !zàü |
| !O!Kung | !gau |
| Ekoka !Xung | àò |

| | |
|--------------|------|
| Word | head |
| Zhu 'hoan | ̪ái |
| Au en | ne |
| !Kung (Doke) | ̪é: |
| !O!Kung | ne |
| Ekoka !Xung | ̪é |

| | |
|--------------|----------|
| Word | hear |
| Zhu 'hoan | cá?á |
| Au en | tsa |
| !Kung (Doke) | sé?á |
| !O!Kung | saa |
| Ekoka !Xung | čá, čá?á |

| | |
|--------------|-------|
| Word | heart |
| Zhu 'hoan | !kxá |
| Au en | !ka |
| !Kung (Doke) | !?a |
| !O!Kung | k'a |
| Ekoka !Xung | !x?á |

| | |
|--------------|------|
| Word | horn |
| Zhu 'hoan | !hú |
| Au en | !ku |
| !Kung (Doke) | !ú |
| !O!Kung | !khu |
| Ekoka !Xung | !hú |

| | |
|--------------|----|
| Word | I |
| Zhu 'hoan | mí |
| Au en | m |
| !Kung (Doke) | mí |
| !O!Kung | m |
| Ekoka !Xung | mí |

| | |
|--------------|-------------|
| Word | kill |
| Zhu 'hoan | !hú̊ |
| Au en | !kū̊ |
| !Kung (Doke) | !hú̊: |
| !O!Kung | !kū̊ |
| Ekoka !Xung | !húnj, !hú̊ |

| | |
|--------------|----------|
| Word | knee |
| Zhu 'hoan | !xòà |
| Au en | !kwa-!ni |
| !Kung (Doke) | !xwa |
| !O!Kung | !gɔm |
| Ekoka !Xung | !xòà |

| | |
|--------------|-------|
| Word | know |
| Zhu 'hoan | !ʔhã |
| Au en | †ã |
| !Kung (Doke) | !!ʔhã |
| !O!Kung | †ni |
| Ekoka !Xung | !̄ehī |

| | |
|--------------|-------|
| Word | leaf |
| Zhu 'hoan | dòarà |
| Au en | dora |
| !Kung (Doke) | !̄ubú |
| !O!Kung | gɔba |

| | |
|--------------|-----|
| Word | lie |
| Zhu 'hoan | šú |
| Au en | šu |
| !Kung (Doke) | šu: |
| !O!Kung | šu |
| Ekoka !Xung | šú |

| | |
|--------------|-------|
| Word | liver |
| Zhu 'hoan | čhí |
| Au en | tši |
| !Kung (Doke) | šj: |
| !O!Kung | tši |

| | |
|--------------|-------------|
| Word | long |
| Zhu 'hoan | ‡ã?í |
| Au en | gẽ |
| !Kung (Doke) | ‡a?ŋ, ‡ə?ʌŋ |
| !O!Kung | ‡xana |
| Ekoka !Xung | !!ãŋ |

| | |
|-------------|-------|
| Word | louse |
| Zhu 'hoan | c?í |
| Ekoka !Xung | ž?í |

| | |
|--------------|-------|
| Word | man |
| Zhu 'hoan | !ʔhóá |
| Au en | !kwã |
| !Kung (Doke) | !khū: |
| !O!Kung | !kū |
| Ekoka !Xung | !!ø |

| | |
|-------------|------|
| Word | many |
| Zhu 'hoan | ‡hái |

| | |
|--------------|------|
| Au en | ǂkhi |
| !Kung (Doke) | ǂ?hí |
| !O!Kung | ǂkhi |
| Ekoka !Xung | !!hí |

| | |
|--------------|------------|
| Word | meat |
| Zhu 'hoan | !há |
| Au en | !khā |
| !Kung (Doke) | !!há, a: |
| !O!Kung | kha |
| Ekoka !Xung | hā |

| | |
|--------------|------|
| Word | moon |
| Zhu 'hoan | !úí |
| Au en | !nwi |
| !Kung (Doke) | !ɔi |
| !O!Kung | nwi |
| Ekoka !Xung | !úí |

| | |
|--------------|----------|
| Word | mountain |
| Zhu 'hoan | !òm |
| Au en | !num |
| !Kung (Doke) | !ù:m |
| !O!Kung | !num |

| | |
|--------------|-------|
| Word | mouth |
| Zhu 'hoan | c?í |
| Au en | tsí |
| !Kung (Doke) | ts?í: |
| !O!Kung | tsí |
| Ekoka !Xung | č?í |

| | |
|-------------|------|
| Word | name |
| Zhu 'hoan | !ú |

| | |
|--------------|-----|
| Au en | !ku |
| !Kung (Doke) | ¡ú |
| !O!Kung | !ku |
| Ekoka !Xung | !ú |

| | |
|--------------|-------|
| Word | neck |
| Zhu 'hoan | !â̄i |
| Au en | !kē̄i |
| !Kung (Doke) | !!ãŋ |
| !O!Kung | kãŋ |

| | |
|--------------|------|
| Word | new |
| Zhu 'hoan | zé |
| Au en | ze |
| !Kung (Doke) | ze: |
| !O!Kung | dze |
| Ekoka !Xung | žèhè |

| | |
|--------------|-------|
| Word | night |
| Zhu 'hoan | ¡ú |
| Au en | gu |
| !Kung (Doke) | ¡ú: |
| !O!Kung | gu |

| | |
|--------------|-------|
| Word | nose |
| Zhu 'hoan | c?ú̄ |
| Au en | tšú̄ |
| !Kung (Doke) | ts?ú̄ |
| !O!Kung | tsuŋ |

| | |
|-------------|-----|
| Word | not |
| Zhu 'hoan | óá |
| Au en | kwa |
| !O!Kung | kwa |

| | |
|--------------|------|
| Word | one |
| Zhu 'hoan | ʃéʔé |
| Au en | ne |
| !Kung (Doke) | ʃé |
| !O!Kung | ne |
| Ekoka !Xung | ʃéʔè |

| | |
|--------------|---------|
| Word | person |
| Zhu 'hoan | žù |
| Au en | ʒu |
| !Kung (Doke) | aṭà |
| !O!Kung | (d)ʒu |
| Ekoka !Xung | ʒū- xòä |

| | |
|--------------|------|
| Word | rain |
| Zhu 'hoan | ʃà |
| Au en | !ga |
| !Kung (Doke) | ŋ!!a |
| !O!Kung | ga |
| Ekoka !Xung | ʃà |

| | |
|--------------|------|
| Word | red |
| Zhu 'hoan | ʃãã |
| Au en | !gã |
| !Kung (Doke) | ʃã?ã |
| !O!Kung | !gai |
| Ekoka !Xung | ʃahè |

| | |
|-------------|------|
| Word | road |
| Zhu 'hoan | ʃàmà |
| Au en | kā |
| !O!Kung | kā |
| Ekoka !Xung | kùhù |

| | |
|-------------|------|
| Word | root |
| Zhu 'hoan | àràì |
| Au en | kari |
| !O!Kung | kare |

| | |
|------|-------|
| Word | round |
|------|-------|

| | |
|-------------|------|
| Word | sand |
| Zhu 'hoan | kxà |
| Au en | k"a |
| !O!Kung | k"a |

| | |
|-------------|------|
| Word | say |
| Zhu 'hoan | kò |
| !O!Kung | ke |
| Ekoka !Xung | kūyā |

| | |
|--------------|-----|
| Word | see |
| Zhu 'hoan | sé |
| Au en | sē |
| !Kung (Doke) | sñ |
| !O!Kung | siñ |
| Ekoka !Xung | híj |

| | |
|-------------|-------|
| Word | seed |
| Zhu 'hoan | à?á |
| Au en | nɔ-si |
| !O!Kung | !kɔ |

| | |
|--------------|-----|
| Word | sit |
| Zhu 'hoan | ʃáŋ |
| Au en | ni |
| !Kung (Doke) | ʃŋ: |

| | |
|-------------|----|
| !O!Kung | ŋ |
| Ekoka !Xung | ʃŋ |

| | |
|--------------|------|
| Word | skin |
| Zhu 'hoan | ʃó |
| Au en | no |
| !Kung (Doke) | ʃo: |
| !O!Kung | no |
| Ekoka !Xung | ʃó |

| | |
|--------------|-------|
| Word | sleep |
| Zhu 'hoan | c?á |
| Au en | tsa |
| !Kung (Doke) | ts?a: |
| !O!Kung | ts?a |
| Ekoka !Xung | č?á |

| | |
|--------------|---------------|
| Word | small |
| Zhu 'hoan | c?èmà |
| Au en | tsēma |
| !Kung (Doke) | ma:, ts?e:-ma |
| !O!Kung | tsēma |
| Ekoka !Xung | č?ēmà |

| | |
|--------------|-------|
| Word | smoke |
| Zhu 'hoan | šórà |
| Au en | šore |
| !Kung (Doke) | šo:lì |
| !O!Kung | konu |
| Ekoka !Xung | šúlè |

| | |
|------------|-------|
| Word | stand |
| Zhu 'hoan | ʃú |
| Au en | nu |

| | |
|-------------|--------|
| !O!Kung | !nwa |
| Ekoka !Xung | !ú, ~ú |

| | |
|--------------|-----------------|
| Word | star |
| Zhu 'hoan | †ú ^h |
| Au en | †gõẽ |
| !Kung (Doke) | †ùŋ |
| !O!Kung | †kũ |
| Ekoka !Xung | !!ú |

| | |
|--------------|-------|
| Word | stone |
| Zhu 'hoan | !lom |
| Au en | !num |
| !Kung (Doke) | !u:m |
| !O!Kung | !num |
| Ekoka !Xung | !um |

| | |
|--------------|-----|
| Word | sun |
| Zhu 'hoan | ám |
| Au en | kám |
| !Kung (Doke) | á:m |
| !O!Kung | kám |

| | |
|-------------|-------|
| Word | swim |
| Zhu 'hoan | ʒxà |
| !O!Kung | !nɔva |
| Ekoka !Xung | dhòm |

| | |
|-------------|-------|
| Word | tail |
| Zhu 'hoan | !xuí |
| Au en | !khwi |
| !O!Kung | kwe |
| Ekoka !Xung | xōẽ |

| | |
|-------------|-------------|
| Word | that |
| Zhu 'hoan | tò?á |
| Au en | tši |
| !O!Kung | doa |
| Ekoka !Xung | tcá-à-ndò?à |

| | |
|-------------|------|
| Word | this |
| Zhu 'hoan | hè |
| Au en | tši |
| !O!Kung | tši |
| Ekoka !Xung | ē |

| | |
|--------------|------|
| Word | thou |
| Zhu 'hoan | à |
| Au en | ahi |
| !Kung (Doke) | à: |
| !O!Kung | ahi |
| Ekoka !Xung | à |

| | |
|--------------|--------|
| Word | tongue |
| Zhu 'hoan | dharì |
| Au en | tari |
| !Kung (Doke) | ŋtháli |
| !O!Kung | tali |

| | |
|--------------|---------|
| Word | tooth |
| Zhu 'hoan | c?àù |
| Au en | tsau-si |
| !Kung (Doke) | ts?áú: |
| !O!Kung | tsau |

| | |
|-------------|-------------------|
| Word | tree |
| Zhu 'hoan | !ã̄i ^h |
| Au en | !gã̄i |

| | |
|--------------|--------|
| !Kung (Doke) | !ãŋ |
| !O!Kung | !gãũ |
| Ekoka !Xung | k!àhñ̄ |

| | |
|--------------|-----|
| Word | two |
| Zhu 'hoan | cá |
| Au en | tsa |
| !Kung (Doke) | sã: |
| !O!Kung | tsa |
| Ekoka !Xung | čá |

| | |
|--------------|-----------|
| Word | walk (go) |
| Zhu 'hoan | ú |
| Au en | u |
| !Kung (Doke) | ?ú: |
| !O!Kung | u |
| Ekoka !Xung | ú |

| | |
|-------------|------|
| Word | warm |
| Zhu 'hoan | ?ú |
| Au en | kwi |
| !O!Kung | khwi |

| | |
|--------------|-------|
| Word | water |
| Zhu 'hoan | !ú |
| Au en | !gu |
| !Kung (Doke) | !!ú |
| !O!Kung | gu |
| Ekoka !Xung | ú |

| | |
|-------------|----|
| Word | we |
| Zhu 'hoan | è |
| Au en | e |
| !O!Kung | e |

Ekoka !Xung è

| | |
|-------------|-------|
| Word | we |
| Zhu 'hoan | m |
| Ekoka !Xung | m̩hm̩ |

| | |
|-------------|-------|
| Word | what |
| Zhu 'hoan | ha-čé |
| Au en | če-ba |
| !O!Kung | m pai |
| Ekoka !Xung | mčá |

| | |
|--------------|-------|
| Word | white |
| Zhu 'hoan | !à?ú |
| Au en | !kau |
| !Kung (Doke) | !ə?àü |
| !O!Kung | !kau |
| Ekoka !Xung | !à?ò |

| | |
|-------------|--------|
| Word | who |
| Zhu 'hoan | ha-žòè |
| Au en | ʒu-ba |
| !O!Kung | m dʒu |
| Ekoka !Xung | m-žē |

| | |
|--------------|--------|
| Word | woman |
| Zhu 'hoan | ʒh?àú |
| Au en | dzau |
| !Kung (Doke) | zsháú: |
| !O!Kung | tsau |
| Ekoka !Xung | ʒh?āō |

| | |
|------------|------------|
| Word | yellow |
| Zhu 'hoan | g qonì́lú |

| | |
|--------------|----------|
| Au en | kãũ |
| !Kung (Doke) | a:n, ãŋ |
| !O!Kung | kãŋ |

| | |
|-------------|------|
| Word | far |
| Zhu 'hoan | †xá |
| Au en | †xã |
| !O!Kung | †xa |
| Ekoka !Xung | !!xã |

| | |
|-------------|-----------------|
| Word | heavy |
| Zhu 'hoan | ti ^h |
| Au en | ti |
| Ekoka !Xung | tihi |

| | |
|-------------|-------|
| Word | near |
| Zhu 'hoan | tò?má |
| Au en | tɔm |
| !O!Kung | tum |
| Ekoka !Xung | tō?m |

| | |
|-------------|------|
| Word | salt |
| Zhu 'hoan | gúí |
| Au en | dibi |
| !O!Kung | gwi |

| | |
|-------------|--------|
| Word | short |
| Zhu 'hoan | !òmà |
| Au en | !gō |
| !O!Kung | !ko!ko |
| Ekoka !Xung | !ò |

| | |
|-------------|--------|
| Word | snake |
| Zhu 'hoan | †?ààma |

| | |
|--------------|--------|
| !Kung (Doke) | ‡?ãwã |
| !O!Kung | kãũ |
| Ekoka !Xung | !!?ãwà |

| | |
|--------------|------|
| Word | thin |
| Zhu 'hoan | žãm |
| Au en | ʒãm |
| !Kung (Doke) | ʒam |

| | |
|-------------|------|
| Word | wind |
| Zhu 'hoan | mã |
| Au en | †ã |
| Ekoka !Xung | õhlí |

| | |
|-------------|------|
| Word | worm |
| Zhu 'hoan | ‡ú?ú |

| | |
|--------------|------|
| Word | year |
| Zhu 'hoan | kúrí |
| Au en | kuri |
| !Kung (Doke) | !!àù |
| !O!Kung | kuri |
| Ekoka !Xung | à |