

## «Macro-Khoisan» etymology

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This is the main database for bringing together various comparanda from languages and proto-languages that, together, are likely - with various degrees of probability - to constitute the "Khoisan" (or "Macro-Khoisan") family. As such, it is NOT an etymological database for "(Macro-)Khoisan" because no system of regular phonetic correspondences for the languages involved has been presented, and it is not even certain that a single, rigid system of correspondences would necessarily work on the basic lexicon of all the languages that are concerned.

The current state of affairs is more or less as follows:

[a] There is significant evidence that **Proto-Peripheral Khoisan**, consisting of North Khoisan (Zhu), South Khoisan (!Wi-Taa), and Eastern =Hoan, and **Proto-Central Khoisan (Proto-Khoe)**, consisting of Khoekhoe, West Khoe, and East Khoe, are related on a much higher level. This evidence is often hard to distinguish from traces of more recent contacts between Khoe idioms and various parts of Peripheral Khoisan, but various small patterns of correspondences are extremely hard to explain as contact elements. A more proper approach to the relations between the two will, however, only become possible with the successful reconstruction of Proto-Peripheral Khoisan.

[b] There is also some promising evidence, although not as much, that **Sandawe** is relatable to both PPK and PCK on an even higher level. Scenarios that relate Sandawe to these proto-languages, among other things, necessarily involve the process of contraction of former bisyllabic roots (preserved in Sandawe) into monosyllabic roots with secondary formation of clicks from former non-clicks in PPK and PCK, although it is not clear if this process took place on the "PPK-PCK" level or happened independently in both subgroups. The latter suggestion is indirectly confirmed by the fact that Sandawe seems to have more obvious isoglosses with Khoe than it has with Peripheral Khoisan; however, this is still a preliminary impression.

[c] A related question is the status of **Kwadi**, an extinct Khoisan language from which very little data is available. It has recently been shown by T. Güldemann and D. Elderkin in a series of publications that Kwadi is distantly related to Khoe, and that Sandawe may be an even more distant relative of both. However, the question of whether we have to suggest a tripartite division for the entire family (Sandawe; Khoe-Kwadi; Peripheral Khoisan), or one of the two bipartite options (Sandawe-Kwadi-Khoe vs. Peripheral

Khoisan; or Kwadi-Khoe-Peripheral Khoisan vs. Sandawe) remains open.

[d] Concerning **Hadza**, the general consensus is that it is not closely related to any of the postulated or demonstrated branches of Khoisan. At best, Hadza is the earliest branch to have split off the Khoisan stem; at worst, Hadza has no special affinity to Khoisan whatsoever. My current view is that it is at least equally as promising to seek this language's affiliation with Afro-Asiatic as it is to seek it with Khoisan. Nevertheless, even in the "worst" possible case, Hadza is still characterized by a strong Khoisan substrate element, which justifies inclusion of Hadza data into the current database.

The database consists of the following fields:

1. Proto-Khoisan: a sketchy "generalized" invariant for all the comparanda presented below, not a true proto-form in the classic comparative sense. Where data from Hadza and Sandawe seem to indicate that this must have formerly been a bisyllabic root, with contraction (and possibly secondary click formation) in Khoe and Peripheral Khoisan, I mark it as a click-less CVCV type root. Where such data are lacking, I mark it with the same type of click it has in Khoe and/or Peripheral Khoisan (even though it could also go back to a click-less root - we just don't have any external parallels to confirm it).

Items marked with [~] represent Swadesh wordlist entries that have been found in various branches of Khoisan, but do not seem to have any obvious parallels outside one and only one branch. These are not true "proto-Khoisan" comparanda; they have been included for completeness purposes, in order to provide a general lexicostatistical perspective.

2. Meaning: the general meaning(s) of the hypothetical stem.

3. Proto-Bushman (= Peripheral Khoisan): the compared item in the PPK family, linked to the Peripheral Khoisan database.

4. Proto-Khoe (= Central Khoisan): the compared item in the Khoe family, linked to the Khoe database.

5. Sandawe: the compared item in Sandawe, linked to the Sandawe database.

6. Hadza: the compared item in Hadza, linked to the Hadza database.

7. Notes: additional comments and considerations.

8. References: bibliographical links (mostly just references to previous suggestions of the same etymologies; references to language data sources should be found in the subordinate databases).

Transcription conventions for "proto-forms" are rather loose, considering the non-etymological character of the database, but in most cases, are not different at all from similar conventions in the Peripheral Khoisan or Khoe databases; see their respective descriptions for details.

Number	1
Proto-Khoisan	*Ha
Meaning	deictic stem
Proto-Bushman	*(h)a/*(h)e
Proto-Khoe	*a
Sandawe	*hā-
Hadza	*ha
Notes	A near-universal stem; cf. Borean <a href="#">HV</a> 'that, this'.

Number	2
Proto-Khoisan	*[tʔ]abV
Meaning	to carry, lift; (> to bear child)
Proto-Bushman	*tʔaʔabi
Proto-Khoe	*ábà
Sandawe	*haba
Notes	Sandawe semantics is acceptable; cf. the presence of both the meanings 'carry' and 'bear (child)' in Khoe.

Number	3
Proto-Khoisan	*BU
Meaning	father
Proto-Bushman	*bǎ
Proto-Khoe	*àbó
Sandawe	*wa-
Hadza	*ba
Notes	A universal stem, not indicative per se of Macro-Khoisan.

Number	4
Proto-Khoisan	*[H]aj-
Meaning	mother
Proto-Bushman	*[H]ai
Proto-Khoe	*ɣáí
Sandawe	*ij-
Hadza	*aja-
Notes	A universal stem, not indicative per se of Macro-Khoisan.

Number	5
Proto-Khoisan	*are
Meaning	to experience something pleasant or unexpected
Proto-Bushman	*are
Proto-Khoe	*are
Sandawe	*ārV (?)
Notes	The Bushman forms may be borrowed from Khoe (found only in Ju ʔhoan and one other NK dialect).

Number	6
Proto-Khoisan	*au
Meaning	to give, let
Proto-Bushman	*a[-u]
Proto-Khoe	*au

Number	7
Proto-Khoisan	*Puda
Meaning	to swim
Proto-Khoe	*bàrá
Sandawe	*phudu
Notes	The resemblance between Khoe and Sandawe is hardly coincidental, but consonant correspondences are strange; possibly an independent old borrowing from the same non-Khoisan source.

Number	8
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Proto-Khoisan	*  <sup>w</sup> ã
Meaning	wild cucumber
Proto-Bushman	*  <sup>w</sup> ã (?)
Proto-Khoe	* hã
Notes	The Ju ʔhoan form may be an old borrowing from Khoe, but the !Xóõ form, with its labial click, is hardly conceivable as a borrowing.

Number	9
Proto-Khoisan	*cimV
Meaning	sun, day
Proto-Bushman	* am
Proto-Khoe	* ám
Sandawe	*çimanɿ
Notes	NK forms are sometimes thought to represent an old borrowing from Khoe, but the possibility of common inheritance is equally strong (the word is firmly reconstructible for North Khoisan, and, on the other hand, not found in Nama - the most obvious source of borrowing - in the meaning 'sun'). If the Sandawe form belongs here, what we have is quite possibly a bisyllabic structure reduction with secondary click formation: *cVmV- > *cVm- > * Vm-.

Number	10
Proto-Khoisan	*cqɑ-
Meaning	two
Proto-Bushman	*cq(h)ɑ- (?)
Proto-Khoe	* ám
Sandawe	*kiso-xV
Notes	Possible development in Sandawe: <i>kiso-</i> < * <i>kso-</i> < * <i>cko-</i> ? The parallel is somewhat forced, but the ultimate solution depends on perfection of the intermediate reconstructions. On a weird sidenote, cf. S. Starostin's reconstruction for Proto-Sino-Caucasian: *(t)xq̣w̄ 'two'. Old "global root"?

Number	11
Proto-Khoisan	* au
Meaning	buffalo

Proto-Bushman \*|ao  
 Proto-Khoe \*|áò  
 Sandawe \*|eu  
 Notes One of the strongest "pan-Khoisan" (w/out Hadza) click-containing isoglosses. Borrowings are not excluded, but are not necessary, either.

Number 12  
 Proto-Khoisan \*|aU  
 Meaning big; to increase  
 Proto-Bushman \*|ao<sup>h</sup>  
 Proto-Khoe \*|au  
 Notes Dubious, since the Bushman forms may be later cultural borrowings from Khoe.

Number 13  
 Proto-Khoisan \*|e  
 Meaning wildebeest  
 Proto-Bushman \*|<sub>1</sub>e ~ \*|<sub>2</sub>e  
 Proto-Khoe \*|é  
 Sandawe \*|ia  
 Notes A common term for an ungulate in Proto-Khoisan. Contact is almost excluded, since the forms are too different in Peripheral Bushman and Khoe.

Number 14  
 Proto-Khoisan \*θ<sup>h</sup>a  
 Meaning meat  
 Proto-Bushman \*!!<sup>w</sup>kha  
 Proto-Khoe \*|xá  
 Sandawe \*mancha (?)  
 Hadza \*mana (?)  
 Notes The Sandawe form is included only because it might, in the long run, provide a clue for the labial click in South Khoisan; but at the present time, this is sheer conjecture. The Kxoe and Peripheral Bushman forms are quite likely to go back to the same source, though.

Number	15
Proto-Khoisan	* ɣai
Meaning	to spit, spray
Proto-Bushman	* ɣai
Proto-Khoe	* xáì
Notes	A cultural term (not so much as "spit" as "make a libation"), but the borrowing scenario is difficult to imagine, since the direction would have to be from Bushman ("spit") into Khoe ("make a libation") rather than vice versa.

Number	16
Proto-Khoisan	* ɣam
Meaning	to urinate
Proto-Bushman	* ɣam
Proto-Khoe	* xám
Notes	Possibly an old loan from Khoe into North Khoisan, but the segmental structure of the roots does not match ideally, so it is equally appropriate to suggest genetic relationship.

Number	17
Proto-Khoisan	*cʔa[-NkV]
Meaning	guinea-fowl
Proto-Khoe	* xání
Sandawe	*çanʔe
Hadza	*çha[-ko]
Notes	A possible candidate for secondary click formation in Khoe (*c- > * x-), although details of the process are unclear.

Number	18
Proto-Khoisan	* xoa
Meaning	with, by means of
Proto-Bushman	* xoa
Proto-Khoe	*- xa(o)
Notes	Most probably just a Khoe root (too weakly represented in

North Khoisan, suggesting borrowing from a Khoe source).

Number	19
Proto-Khoisan	*  (?)ã
Meaning	to vomit
Sandawe	*wã  ʔã
Hadza	*kh <sup>w</sup> a  a
Notes	Expressive. Cf. also PNK <a href="#">*  hã</a> id.

Number	20
Proto-Khoisan	* um
Meaning	beard
Proto-Bushman	* um
Proto-Khoe	* Um
Notes	Either a borrowing into South Khoisan from Khoe or an inherited Proto-Khoisan root; unclear so far.

Number	21
Proto-Khoisan	*[h]wə
Meaning	all
Proto-Bushman	*wV
Proto-Khoe	*hoε
Hadza	*waʔina
Notes	Bushman and Khoe etyma obviously belong together; whether the Hadza form also falls in with them or is just a coincidental resemblance is, at the moment, unclear.

Number	22
Proto-Khoisan	* kxaU
Meaning	snake
Proto-Bushman	* kxa[U]
Proto-Khoe	* kxáó
Sandawe	*çiga (?)
Notes	For phonetic and semantic reasons, it is more reasonable to



think of genetic relationship here than borrowing between Peripheral Khoisan and Khoe. Inclusion of the Sandawe form is very hypothetical, but it does contain a glottalized affricate that could have easily yielded \*|kx- under the secondary click formation scenario.

Number	23
Proto-Khoisan	*cʔV-
Meaning	small
Proto-Bushman	*cʔε
Proto-Khoe	* kxáré
Sandawe	*çō (?)
Notes	Possibly several roots in here, because even if Sandawe and Khoe belong together, then it is unclear why the original affricate shifted to a click in Khoe but not in Peripheral Khoisan. Altogether very dubious.

Number	24
Proto-Khoisan	*ckxaN-
Meaning	wet
Proto-Bushman	*ckxani
Proto-Khoe	* kxã
Sandawe	*haça (?)
Notes	Initial <i>ha-</i> in Sandawe may reflect an older prefix, but could as well have simply become contracted in Khoe and Peripheral Bushman.

Number	25
Proto-Khoisan	*t <sup>(h)</sup> U
Meaning	ashes
Proto-Bushman	*tǫ
Proto-Khoe	*tháú
Notes	Borrowing is almost out of the question, since it does not explain pharyngealization in North Khoisan and some other phonetic peculiarities. On the other hand, cf. also Proto-Bantu *-tó "ashes".

Number	26
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Proto-Khoisan	*ʒo[a]
Meaning	ashes
Proto-Bushman	*ǀoa
Proto-Khoe	*ǀóà
Sandawe	*çucu
Hadza	*ço
Notes	Possibly two different roots after all (the few existing examples where the Khoe/Bushman palatal click can be correlated with Sandawe data involve dental stops rather than affricates in Sandawe).

Number	27
Proto-Khoisan	*gu[rV]
Meaning	bark
Proto-Bushman	*gu
Proto-Khoe	*gure

Number	28
Proto-Khoisan	*ǁkxə
Meaning	bark
Proto-Bushman	*ǁkx̃
Proto-Khoe	*ǁkxú
Sandawe	*khaǁʔa (?)
Notes	If the Sandawe form belongs here, the comparison may represent yet another example of a "primary" click in Khoisan. On the other hand, the Peripheral Khoisan part of it is rather weak, with most of the attested forms quite probably just recent borrowings from Khoe.

Number	29
Proto-Khoisan	*tə (*cə) (?)
Meaning	belly
Proto-Bushman	*  <sub>10</sub> <sup>h</sup> ~ *  <sub>10</sub> <sup>h</sup>
Sandawe	*  wedese (?)
Hadza	*çoho (?)
Notes	All the comparisons are extremely dubious.

Number	30
Proto-Khoisan	*θom
Meaning	to rub in fat
Proto-Bushman	*θom (?)
Proto-Khoe	* om
Sandawe	* ome
Notes	Possible borrowing from !Xóõ into CK (the so called "!Xóõ- Gwi contact zone"). Cf., however, the interesting Sandawe parallel (which could also suggest a way for secondary labialization of the click in South Khoisan).

Number	31
Proto-Khoisan	* U (?)
Meaning	name
Proto-Bushman	<sub>1</sub> eu
Proto-Khoe	* kxón
Notes	The connection is not impossible (a little evidence exists that velar affricate effluxes in Khoe may correspond to zero effluxes in Bushman), but still highly tentative at this moment.

Number	32
Proto-Khoisan	*CWV
Meaning	child, son
Proto-Bushman	*  <sub>1</sub> <sup>w</sup> ǻ
Proto-Khoe	* óá
Notes	It is interesting to note the labial vowel in Khoe vs. labialization in Bushman (reflected in the Taa labial click).

Number	33
Proto-Khoisan	*  <sub>1</sub> U
Meaning	to kill
Proto-Bushman	*!khõ
Proto-Khoe	* kxú
Notes	The comparison is dubious, but if evidence is found that

Peripheral Khoisan \*! is really \*|<sub>1</sub>, will become much stronger.

Number	34
Proto-Khoisan	* kxUri
Meaning	dirt
Proto-Bushman	* kxori
Proto-Khoe	* kxuri
Notes	More likely a cultural term borrowed from Khoe into Bushman than a common Khoisan root.

Number	35
Proto-Khoisan	* a-i
Meaning	aardwolf
Proto-Bushman	* a <sup>h</sup> -i
Proto-Khoe	* ǎ
Notes	See <a href="#">Honken 1998</a> : 187. The root is too widely spread in Peripheral Khoisan to be safely filed under "borrowing"; and its phonetic shape is too simple from the outset to put common inheritance from Proto-Khoisan under serious suspicion.

Number	36
Proto-Khoisan	* oma
Meaning	python
Proto-Bushman	* oma
Proto-Khoe	* oba
Notes	Very likely an independent borrowing into !Xóõ and =Hoan from a Khoe source (most probably,  Gui, where the word for "python" features an inlaut <i>-m-</i> in the place of Common Khoe * <i>-b-</i> ).

Number	37
Proto-Khoisan	* u
Meaning	dew
Proto-Bushman	*ǀg <sup>x</sup> aU
Proto-Khoe	* kxau

Sandawe	*çexa
Hadza	*çi (?)
Notes	Borrowing is almost excluded due to the complex correspondences between branches. Sandawe <i>çexa</i> is easily compatible with a form like Khoe * kxau; the same cannot be so easily said about Hadza <i>çi</i> , though.

Number	38
Proto-Khoisan	* a
Meaning	to shelter (from the weather)
Proto-Bushman	* ha
Proto-Khoe	* [g]a
Notes	Possibly a borrowing into Peripheral Khoisan from Khoe, but then the non-trivial efflux correspondences also have to be accounted for.

Number	39
Proto-Khoisan	* a
Meaning	leaf
Proto-Bushman	* ana
Proto-Khoe	* gàná
Sandawe	* ā
Hadza	*ça (?)
Notes	A good example of a "primordial click" root, and also one which convincingly matches across both Peripheral Khoisan and Khoe as well as Sandawe without looking like a borrowing due to non-trivial correspondences. The Hadza word, as usual, is less easy to be aligned along with the rest of the forms for both phonetic and semantic reasons.

Number	40
Proto-Khoisan	* qa
Meaning	lower leg, shin
Proto-Bushman	* qhɔ
Proto-Khoe	* ʔóá
Hadza	*çaçe (?)

Number	41
Proto-Khoisan	* ɛV
Meaning	hair
Proto-Bushman	*  <sub>1</sub> ɛu- ~ *  <sub>1</sub> χu-
Proto-Khoe	* ʔû
Sandawe	*çe (?)
Hadza	*χe (?)
Notes	Bushman and Khoe data are fairly compatible; Sandawe and Hadza parallels, on the other hand, are very weak.

Number	42
Proto-Khoisan	*DNa-
Meaning	tongue
Proto-Bushman	*dl̥a- (?)
Proto-Khoe	*dlàm (?)
Hadza	*[̣]atha (?)
Notes	The word for 'tongue' is well-known to be subject to various expressive irregularities in the world's languages, with Khoisan being no exception. Whether the Hadza word fits in with Peripheral Khoisan and Khoe remains to be seen.

Number	43
Proto-Khoisan	*DLU-
Meaning	throat
Proto-Bushman	*dn̥u- (?)
Proto-Khoe	*dóm
Hadza	*lungida (?)
Notes	This word is subject to similar consonantal irregularities with the word for 'tongue'. Some forms in Peripheral Khoisan may be later reborrows from Khoe, but certainly not all of them.

Number	44
Proto-Khoisan	*dU
Meaning	lip
Proto-Bushman	*doa

Sandawe                    \*do/\*du

Number                    45  
 Proto-Khoisan            \*hVm  
 Meaning                    to smell  
 Proto-Khoe                \*h[V]m  
 Sandawe                    \*himV

Number                    46  
 Proto-Khoisan            \*ha  
 Meaning                    interrogative stem  
 Proto-Bushman            \*a<sup>h</sup>  
 Proto-Khoe                \*hV  
 Sandawe                    \*ha

Number                    47  
 Proto-Khoisan            \*haka  
 Meaning                    four  
 Proto-Khoe                \*haka  
 Sandawe                    \*haka

Notes                      A very interesting isogloss between Khoe and Sandawe, made a little suspicious by the fact that all other numeric parallels between these languages are either highly questionable ('one', 'two') or non-existent. On the other hand, there is no reason to attribute this to contacts between Khoe and Sandawe speakers, which are not documented; at best one could think of a common substrate - but such a substrate has not been found either (the numeral is unknown to any Niger-Congo or Nilo-Saharan speakers).

Number                    48  
 Proto-Khoisan            \*cha-  
 Meaning                    cold  
 Proto-Bushman            \*|aBV  
 Proto-Khoe                \*|hà (\*-à)  
 Sandawe                    \*chawa

Hadza                                    \*çoče (?)  
 Notes                                    The Bushman forms fit in if \*-bV/\*-m is an old suffix or class marker. The correlation between Khoe and Sandawe is quite tempting.

Number                                    49  
 Proto-Khoisan                        \*|ʔe  
 Meaning                                    fire  
 Proto-Bushman                        \*|ʔε  
 Proto-Khoe                                \*|ʔé  
 Notes                                    An impressive match between South Khoisan and Khoe, although the word is not attested in North Khoisan. The contact scenario is not very realistic (the word is easily reconstructible on the deepest levels of both families and belongs to the basic lexicon).

Number                                    50  
 Proto-Khoisan                        \*|nu-  
 Meaning                                    brown hyaena  
 Proto-Bushman                        \*|nu-  
 Proto-Khoe                                \*|u-  
 Sandawe                                    \*|ʔundu (?)  
 Notes                                    The word possibly reflects a "primordial" click, featured in all the major branches of Khoisan.

Number                                    51  
 Proto-Khoisan                        \*|am  
 Meaning                                    to love  
 Proto-Bushman                        \*|a<sup>(h)</sup>m  
 Proto-Khoe                                \*|am  
 Sandawe                                    \*mēna (???)  
 Notes                                    A very weak etymology; Bushman forms are most probably borrowed from Khoe, and the Sandawe parallel is almost irreconcilable with Khoe as well.

Number                                    52



Proto-Khoisan	* Ga
Meaning	to spread
Proto-Bushman	* Ga
Proto-Khoe	* á (?)
Notes	Semantically weak, but worth consideration.
Number	53
Proto-Khoisan	* q̥o
Meaning	dry
Proto-Bushman	* q̥o(o)
Proto-Khoe	* ʔô
Notes	See <a href="#">Honken 1998</a> : 172. Some secondary contact forms may be present, but overall, the root is too widely spread to be completely attributable to diffusion.
Number	54
Proto-Khoisan	*!a-
Meaning	to cut meat
Proto-Bushman	*!a <sup>h</sup> re
Proto-Khoe	*!are
Hadza	*!a (?)
Notes	<a href="#">Honken 1998</a> : 187. Bushman forms are scarce and may therefore all have been borrowed from Khoe.
Number	55
Proto-Khoisan	*!aU
Meaning	to remain
Proto-Bushman	*!ao
Proto-Khoe	*!áù
Notes	Probably a borrowing into !Xóõ from a Khoe source.
Number	56
Proto-Khoisan	*!ao
Meaning	to cut

Proto-Bushman	*!ao
Proto-Khoe	*!ao
Notes	Bushman forms may actually represent borrowings from Khoe.

Number	57
Proto-Khoisan	*!ʔui
Meaning	evening
Proto-Bushman	*!ʔui
Proto-Khoe	*!ʔúì
Notes	The root is rather widely spread in Peripheral Khoisan, but borrowing from Khoe cannot be fully excluded (since time-denoting lexicon is fairly often borrowed in those languages from neighbouring sources).

Number	58
Proto-Khoisan	*!kxabe
Meaning	a k. of tree
Proto-Bushman	*!kxabe
Proto-Khoe	*!kxabe

Number	59
Proto-Khoisan	*!qa-u-
Meaning	cheetah
Proto-Bushman	*!qa <sup>h</sup> [-u-]
Proto-Khoe	*!qàú
Sandawe	*theka (??)
Notes	The root is very widespread in Peripheral Khoisan, and certain phonetic considerations make the borrowing scenario not too likely. However, the Sandawe form can only be placed here on a supremely hypothetical basis.

Number	60
Proto-Khoisan	*!XV-
Meaning	to snore
Proto-Bushman	*!ǁa <sup>h</sup> na

Proto-Khoe	*!xá[-ru/-nú]
Sandawe	*!hwena
Notes	Correspondences have to be worked out, but the comparison is generally very promising.

Number	61
Proto-Khoisan	*ĩu
Meaning	land, country
Proto-Bushman	*ĩu
Proto-Khoe	*ĩú
Sandawe	*!ʔuma (?)
Notes	See <a href="#">Honken 1998</a> : 181. A cultural term, easily borrowed, although the internal structure of the word in !Xóõ is too complex to be explained as a recent borrowing. The status of the Sandawe form is unclear - but it is not incompatible with Khoe data.

Number	62
Proto-Khoisan	*!ʔu
Meaning	white
Proto-Bushman	*!(a)ʔu
Proto-Khoe	*!ʔú
Notes	Color words are frequently borrowed in Khoisan (and other African) languages, but the internal structure of the word in North and South Khoisan differs too radically from its structure in Khoe to be easily dismissed as a borrowing.

Number	63
Proto-Khoisan	*ǁqara
Meaning	camelthorn tree
Proto-Bushman	*ǁha-[ra]
Proto-Khoe	*ǁqará

Number	64
Proto-Khoisan	*ǁʔã
Meaning	to fight

Proto-Bushman	*  ʔa <sup>[ʋ]</sup>
Proto-Khoe	*  ʔâ
Sandawe	*  ʔã
Notes	One of the most interesting Sandawe-Khoe isoglosses with a "primal click". The word is also quite widespread in Peripheral Khoisan, quite likely to be inherited rather than borrowed.

Number	65
Proto-Khoisan	*  am
Meaning	to push, to bear child
Proto-Bushman	*  a <sup>h</sup> m̥
Proto-Khoe	*  àm
Notes	<a href="#">Honken 1998</a> : 172.

Number	66
Proto-Khoisan	*ʔVKV
Meaning	to chop
Proto-Bushman	*  kxǁ[-o]
Proto-Khoe	*  kxáó
Sandawe	*ʔaxe
Hadza	*ʔa[-ko] (?)
Notes	A good example of a clickless word becoming a click-containing word in Khoe and Peripheral Khoisan: *ʔVxV > *ʔxV > *  kxV-.

Number	67
Proto-Khoisan	*  qV-
Meaning	to open
Proto-Bushman	*!₁qʔoa-
Proto-Khoe	*  qhó (?)
Hadza	*  aʔa (?)
Notes	Click correspondences are quite unclear in this comparison.

Number	68
Proto-Khoisan	*  om

Meaning	thin, short, lightweight
Proto-Bushman	*!io <sup>h</sup> [-m]
Proto-Khoe	*  óm
Notes	North Khoisan data indicate that the final <i>*-m</i> may be of suffixal origin.

Number	69
Proto-Khoisan	*  a-
Meaning	female
Proto-Bushman	*  ǁa-
Proto-Khoe	*  ae
Hadza	*ǁak <sup>w</sup> e (?)

Number	70
Proto-Khoisan	*  u
Meaning	chest
Proto-Bushman	*  u (*!i-)
Proto-Khoe	*  ǃ

Number	71
Proto-Khoisan	*  xabi
Meaning	to unwind
Proto-Bushman	*  xabi
Proto-Khoe	*  xábì
Notes	Scant distribution of the forms in Peripheral Khoisan suggests possible borrowing from Khoe.

Number	72
Proto-Khoisan	*  xu
Meaning	warthog
Proto-Bushman	*  xou
Proto-Khoe	*  xú
Sandawe	*  ʔa (?)
Notes	Scant distribution of the forms in Peripheral Khoisan

suggests possible borrowing from Khoe.

Number	73
Proto-Khoisan	*  ɣãũ
Meaning	hookthorn; hookthorn fence
Proto-Bushman	*  ɣãũ
Proto-Khoe	*  áũ̀
Notes	The meaning of the word in !Xóõ is not just "fence", but also "hookthorn bush" (material from which the fence is constructed). This makes the idea of the forms being borrowed from Khoe less easy than could be thought at first.

Number	74
Proto-Khoisan	*  ɣU
Meaning	knee
Proto-Bushman	*!₁ɣu-[a]
Proto-Khoe	*  óé

Number	75
Proto-Khoisan	*  kxae
Meaning	to assemble, join
Proto-Bushman	*  kxae
Proto-Khoe	*  kxáé
Sandawe	*  ʔā
Notes	See <a href="#">Honken 1998</a> : 181. Quite likely that the word has been borrowed into various Peripheral Khoisan idioms independently from Khoe sources. The Sandawe parallel, if correct, may indicate at a "primal click" origin for the Khoe etymon.

Number	76
Proto-Khoisan	*  kxa-
Meaning	to be satiated
Proto-Bushman	*  kxa-
Proto-Khoe	*  kxâ (*-â̂)
Sandawe	*  ʔāta

Number	77
Proto-Khoisan	*  kx[a]u
Meaning	to smell, smell
Proto-Bushman	*  kx[a]u (?)
Proto-Khoe	*  kxáǔ

Number	78
Proto-Khoisan	*  kxo-
Meaning	upper arm
Proto-Bushman	*  kxo-
Proto-Khoe	*  ʔóǎ (?)

Number	79
Proto-Khoisan	*  G(ã)ũ
Meaning	spirit
Proto-Bushman	*  kxũ
Proto-Khoe	*  ãũa
Notes	A frequent cultural term, with borrowings a likely probability. Judging by the phonetic shape of the North Khoisan form, it is probably borrowed from Khoe, but the !Xóǎ form is more likely to be original.

Number	80
Proto-Khoisan	*  kxoRi
Meaning	louse
Proto-Bushman	*  gxoRi
Proto-Khoe	*kxú-[ri/-ni]
Notes	The actual comparison is between !Xóǎ and Khoe (the Ju ʔhoan form is in all likelihood a borrowing from Kxoe).

Number	81
Proto-Khoisan	*!!quʔurV
Meaning	nail
Proto-Bushman	*!!ıquʔurV

Proto-Khoe	*  óró
Number	82
Proto-Khoisan	*  Go-
Meaning	tortoise
Proto-Bushman	*  Gó <sup>h</sup> ʔ-
Proto-Khoe	*  òé
Sandawe	*kuru (?)
Hadza	*koloʔa (?)
Notes	Peripheral Khoisan and Khoe roots very probably belong together, but the link with Sandawe and Hadza is very weak ( <i>kuru</i> -like words for "tortoise" are widespread in Africa and could have penetrated both languages from a newer source).
Number	83
Proto-Khoisan	*  qhV-
Meaning	to show
Proto-Bushman	*  qha-
Proto-Khoe	*  áú (*  háú)
Sandawe	*lade(?) (?)
Notes	The link with Sandawe is very weak (possible only if the initial <i>l</i> - in Sandawe can be somehow connected with the lateral click in Khoe, but no other examples are available).
Number	84
Proto-Khoisan	*  qhṼ
Meaning	tooth
Proto-Bushman	*  qhẽ
Proto-Khoe	*  ú
Hadza	*  ʔuḵo (?)
Number	85
Proto-Khoisan	*  χaba
Meaning	shoulderblade



Proto-Bushman	*  χaba
Proto-Khoe	*  xábà
Hadza	*λεka (?)
Notes	Khoe and Peripheral Khoisan roots are hard to explain as contact items. The Hadza word, however, is most probably not related.

Number	86
Proto-Khoisan	*  χo-
Meaning	to breathe
Proto-Bushman	*  χo(?)a-
Proto-Khoe	*  hùí <sup>(n)</sup>
Notes	Dubious connection (click effluxes are almost irreconcilable).

Number	87
Proto-Khoisan	*  ã
Meaning	to say, tell
Proto-Bushman	*  ã <sup>h</sup>
Proto-Khoe	*  â

Number	88
Proto-Khoisan	*  Vbu
Meaning	to shake
Proto-Bushman	*  Vbu (?)
Proto-Khoe	*  ubu
Notes	See <a href="#">Honken 1998</a> : 189. Phonetic peculiarities of this root in !Xóõ make the contact scenario almost impossible, although some forms in North Khoisan may represent later re-borrowings from Khoe.

Number	89
Proto-Khoisan	*  ʔa
Meaning	silver jackal, bat-eared fox
Proto-Bushman	*  ʔa
Proto-Khoe	*  ʔá
Hadza	*k <sup>w</sup> eχe (?)

Number	90
Proto-Khoisan	*  ʔU-
Meaning	to kiss
Proto-Bushman	*  ʔube
Proto-Khoe	*  ʔó[-a/-bè]
Notes	The connection is dubious (the word is always attested with <i>-be</i> in Peripheral Khoisan, suggesting a borrowing from a Khoe source).

Number	91
Proto-Khoisan	* a-
Meaning	fat on neck
Proto-Bushman	* a-
Proto-Khoe	* háò
Notes	A weak connection (the Khoe word is only attested in Naro).

Number	92
Proto-Khoisan	*ɕe
Meaning	to wake up, open the eyes
Proto-Bushman	*ɕe (*ɕx-?)
Proto-Khoe	*ɕxéí
Hadza	* eke (?)

Number	93
Proto-Khoisan	*ɕŨ
Meaning	to buy
Proto-Bushman	*ɕõ <sup>h</sup>
Proto-Khoe	*ɕũ
Notes	Dubious in the light of the root's semantics, but the exact mechanisms of its appearance in !Xóõ and =Hoan are unclear.

Number	94
Proto-Khoisan	* habi
Meaning	wound

Proto-Bushman	* habí
Proto-Khoe	* hàbí
Sandawe	* ʔwā (?)

Number	95
Proto-Khoisan	*ǀxo-
Meaning	elephant
Proto-Bushman	*ǀxo- (?)
Proto-Khoe	*ǀxóà

Notes See notes on the Peripheral Khoisan reflexes. It is not excluded that, for instance, Southern Khoisan forms of this root are borrowed from Khoe, whereas North Khoisan ones are original.

Number	96
Proto-Khoisan	*ǁqV
Meaning	warm
Proto-Bushman	*ǁqʔõ
Proto-Khoe	*ǁʔô
Sandawe	*hoḵa (?)

Notes The Sandawe parallel does not tie in very well with the lateral click, but the Peripheral Khoisan and Khoe forms obviously belong together.

Number	97
Proto-Khoisan	* qhu
Meaning	tired
Proto-Bushman	* hu
Proto-Khoe	* quí

Notes Borrowing is not likely due to different phonetic peculiarities.

Number	98
Proto-Khoisan	*ǁʔau
Meaning	fish
Proto-Bushman	*ǁʔau

Proto-Khoe	*  ʔáù
Notes	This is most probably a Khoe borrowing in Northern Khoisan (most Peripheral Khoisan languages do not even have the word for "fish" at all).
Number	99
Proto-Khoisan	*ʔqʔU-
Meaning	wind
Proto-Bushman	*ʔqʔhu-
Proto-Khoe	*ʔʔǎ́ (?)
Notes	Click efflux correspondences are obscure, but at least this rules out recent borrowing.
Number	100
Proto-Khoisan	*ʔGhuni
Meaning	elbow, ulna
Proto-Bushman	*ʔGhuni
Proto-Khoe	*ʔhùní
Notes	See <a href="#">Honken 1998</a> : 176.
Number	101
Proto-Khoisan	*[KU]KURV
Meaning	joint
Proto-Khoe	*!úrà
Sandawe	*kho(ŋ)kora
Hadza	*gurunuri (?)
Notes	The Hadza word is most close in form to Cushitic and probably represents a borrowing from Iraqw, but Sandawe and Khoe forms can quite naturally belong together; secondary click formation in Khoe.
Number	102
Proto-Khoisan	*ʔ <sup>h</sup> hU
Meaning	mouse
Proto-Bushman	*ʔ <sup>h</sup> hqi
Proto-Khoe	*ʔúní

Notes                                      If Khoe and Bushman forms belong together, it's almost certainly not through borrowing.

Number	103
Proto-Khoisan	*cum[b]-
Meaning	navel
Proto-Bushman	*ḱiṽ- (?)
Proto-Khoe	* um (?)
Sandawe	*çumbu (?)

Number	104
Proto-Khoisan	*ʔṽ
Meaning	to think
Proto-Bushman	*ʔṽ
Proto-Khoe	*ʔáṽ

Number	105
Proto-Khoisan	*T(L)a-
Meaning	lightning
Proto-Bushman	*tharV
Proto-Khoe	*dlábà (?)

Number	106
Proto-Khoisan	*tham
Meaning	tsamma melon
Proto-Bushman	*ta <sup>h</sup> [-m]
Proto-Khoe	*thama

Notes                                      Possibly just a cultural Wanderwort; interesting to note that final *-m* is detachable in !Xóõ.

Number	107
Proto-Khoisan	*dao
Meaning	road
Proto-Bushman	*dao

Proto-Khoe \*dáo  
 Notes Not necessarily a common Khoisan word, since both !Xóõ and =Hoan forms can be easily borrowed from Khoe.

Number 108  
 Proto-Khoisan \*thu-  
 Meaning wound, sore  
 Proto-Bushman \*thu-  
 Proto-Khoe \*thùí

Number 109  
 Proto-Khoisan \*T<sub>V</sub>T<sub>V</sub>b<sub>V</sub>  
 Meaning butterfly  
 Proto-Bushman \*DV[DV][BV]  
 Proto-Khoe \*tetebe (?)  
 Sandawe \*ʒiʒi (?)  
 Notes Expressive root, but quite likely of common origin.

Number 110  
 Proto-Khoisan \*!ani  
 Meaning chin  
 Proto-Bushman \*!ani  
 Proto-Khoe \*!àn[í]  
 Notes Since the word has a retroflex click in North Khoisan, borrowing is not very likely.

Number 111  
 Proto-Khoisan \*Co-  
 Meaning upper lip  
 Proto-Bushman \*ʒo-  
 Proto-Khoe \*cʔóm

Number 112  
 Proto-Khoisan \*[i]Ca-

Meaning	to steal
Proto-Bushman	*ǀʒa
Proto-Khoe	*cʔâ
Sandawe	*isa (?)
Hadza	*çake
Number	113
Proto-Khoisan	*ka-
Meaning	big, to grow
Proto-Bushman	*ka-
Proto-Khoe	*káí
Sandawe	*ḵarē (?)
Number	114
Proto-Khoisan	*Pa
Meaning	big
Sandawe	*bāʔe
Hadza	*pa
Notes	A Hadza-Sandawe isogloss, possibly areal.
Number	115
Proto-Khoisan	*ʔui
Meaning	to lift
Proto-Bushman	*ʔui (?)
Proto-Khoe	*khùí (*ʔ-?)
Number	116
Proto-Khoisan	*khɔra
Meaning	to untie, release
Proto-Bushman	*khɔra
Proto-Khoe	*khora
Number	117
Proto-Khoisan	*kxe

Meaning	to cry, sound
Proto-Bushman	*kxV
Proto-Khoe	*kxě
Sandawe	*kē
Hadza	*ke-[wa]
Notes	The Hadza word is not quite compatible with Sandawe, Khoe, and Bushman items (no signs of glottalized articulation and more distant semantics).

Number	118
Proto-Khoisan	*kxV
Meaning	to drink
Proto-Bushman	*kxã <sup>h</sup>
Proto-Khoe	*kxâ
Notes	<a href="#">Honken 1998</a> : 189.

Number	119
Proto-Khoisan	*kxei
Meaning	to laugh
Proto-Bushman	*kxei
Proto-Khoe	*kxâi
Number	120
Proto-Khoisan	*Qan
Meaning	sand, ashes
Proto-Bushman	*Gan
Proto-Khoe	*qan
Notes	Within Peripheral Khoisan the word is only attested in !Xóõ, but it cannot be easily explained away as a borrowing from Khoe.

Number	121
Proto-Khoisan	*Ca(N)
Meaning	fat
Proto-Bushman	*čŋ
Proto-Khoe	*cau



Sandawe	*chã
Hadza	*(h)iça
Notes	One of the most common "pan-Khoisan" roots, but also met in various other African and extra-African families.

Number	122
Proto-Khoisan	*[H]a
Meaning	2nd person pronoun
Proto-Bushman	*a <sup>(h)</sup>
Proto-Khoe	*c-á
Sandawe	*ha-pV (?)
Notes	Initial *c- in Khoe is most probably a former class prefix, as seen from the opposing form *s-á (fem., where *s- = *-s in the general feminine marker for nouns.) Much more problematic is the Sandawe stem, where the main emphasis is on the *-pV part (which also functions separately in verbal forms as the regular marker for the 2nd p. sg.), while initial <i>ha-</i> has been tentatively associated (e. g. by O. Dempwolff) with the deictic stem * <i>ha-</i> 'that'. However, given the similarity of Sandawe 1st p. pronouns with Khoe, it cannot be excluded that <i>ha-</i> is, in fact, the primary marker here.

Number	123
Proto-Khoisan	*Taʔm
Meaning	tortoise
Proto-Bushman	*dáʔm
Proto-Khoe	*dam (*dl-?)
Sandawe	*thengē (?)
Notes	In Peripheral Khoisan, the =Hoan form can be a borrowing from Khoe, but the North Khoisan stem with an initial affricate is rather original.

Number	124
Proto-Khoisan	*λV
Meaning	water
Proto-Bushman	*Ła
Proto-Khoe	*chǎ
Sandawe	*λwa

Notes One of the few examples on possible lateral affricates in Proto-Khoisan.

Number 125  
 Proto-Khoisan \*ʎ[a]u  
 Meaning hand  
 Proto-Bushman \*ʎau  
 Proto-Khoe \*chàú  
 Sandawe \*ʎu  
 Hadza \*ukh<sup>w</sup>a (???)

Notes One of the few examples on possible lateral affricates in Proto-Khoisan. =Hoan *šiu* has been suggested as a borrowing from !Gwi *cáú* by H. Honken, but this is rather unlikely, since it corresponds with perfect regularity to North Khoisan \*ʎau, whereas no other examples of !Gwi *c-* being represented in borrowings by =Hoan *š-* are available. We are rather dealing with similar, but independent phonetic developments from the same Proto-Khoisan root here.

Number 126  
 Proto-Khoisan \*kxVi  
 Meaning liver  
 Proto-Bushman \*kxVi  
 Proto-Khoe \*kxěí

Number 127  
 Proto-Khoisan \*Kuru  
 Meaning ankle  
 Proto-Bushman \*gu[ru]  
 Proto-Khoe \*!gorV (?)  
 Sandawe \*khuru

Notes The comparison is acceptable if we suggest an (irregular?) click loss in Peripheral Khoisan.

Number 128  
 Proto-Khoisan \*gu

Meaning	sheep
Proto-Bushman	*gu
Proto-Khoe	*gǔ
Notes	A cultural term, also found in Bantu and other African languages. Its Proto-Khoe status is undeniable, but the Bushman forms are most probably borrowed.

Number	129
Proto-Khoisan	*č̣o
Meaning	medicine
Proto-Bushman	*č̣o
Proto-Khoe	*cô
Notes	See <a href="#">Honken 1998</a> : 183. The root is sometimes quoted as an obvious cultural Wanderwort in various publications, but there are no definitive arguments to exclude its presence on the Proto-Khoisan status, either (a simple root like *č̣o or *co could not have been subject to too many phonetic changes, anyway).

Number	130
Proto-Khoisan	*Sa
Meaning	to cook
Proto-Bushman	*sa-
Proto-Khoe	*câ

Number	131
Proto-Khoisan	*Ca-
Meaning	bird
Proto-Bushman	*chʔama
Proto-Khoe	*ʒàrá (?)
Hadza	*çelalo
Notes	The *-m(a) element in Peripheral Khoisan is probably a diminutive suffix; whether the same can be said of *-ra (*-da) in Khoe is uncertain.

Number	132
Proto-Khoisan	*th[u]i

Meaning	bird
Sandawe	*thui
Hadza	*thithi
Notes	A Sandawe-Hadza isogloss.
Number	133
Proto-Khoisan	*So
Meaning	lung
Proto-Bushman	*S <sub>Q</sub> <sup>h</sup> -
Proto-Khoe	*so
Hadza	*ç <sup>o</sup>
Number	134
Proto-Khoisan	*λU-
Meaning	lung
Proto-Bushman	* [x]U (?)
Sandawe	*lūba
Notes	Note that the root is in complementary distribution with <a href="#">*So</a> id. (South Khoisan, †Hoan and Sandawe vs. North Khoisan, Kxoe, and Hadza); however, it is currently impossible to reconcile the two forms on a phonetic level.
Number	135
Proto-Khoisan	*  kxa
Meaning	to wash
Proto-Bushman	*  kxa
Proto-Khoe	*  kxâ
Sandawe	*  oko (?)
Hadza	*  ?o?o (?)
Notes	Hadza and Sandawe forms obviously belong together, but whether they have anything to do with Proto-Khoisan I <i>*  kxa</i> is yet to be determined.
Number	136
Proto-Khoisan	*  hai
Meaning	to pull

Proto-Bushman	*  khai
Proto-Khoe	*  hàí
Number	137
Proto-Khoisan	*!Kui
Meaning	rope
Proto-Bushman	*!khui
Proto-Khoe	*!ùí
Notes	The Peripheral Khoisan forms may reflect old borrowings from Khoe, but differences in click effluxes would have to be accounted for.
Number	138
Proto-Khoisan	* q̣[a]n
Meaning	blood
Proto-Bushman	* qʔn
Proto-Khoe	* ʔáò
Notes	The roots are compatible if *-n and *-o represent old suffixal extensions.
Number	139
Proto-Khoisan	*!ai
Meaning	puff-adder
Proto-Bushman	*!ai
Proto-Khoe	*!gai
Notes	Borrowing from Khoe is not very likely since the click in North Khoisan is retroflex.
Number	140
Proto-Khoisan	*thʔurV
Meaning	to slough the skin
Proto-Bushman	*thʔurV
Proto-Khoe	*thuru
Notes	North Khoisan <i>*thuru</i> may be a borrowing from Khoe, but !Xóõ <i>húli kV</i> is original.

Number	141
Proto-Khoisan	*CUm
Meaning	shadow
Proto-Bushman	*sum
Proto-Khoe	*sóm
Sandawe	* ʔõ (?)
Notes	The antiquity of the South Khoisan root depends on whether !Xam <i>dum</i> 'shadow' belongs together with the rest of the forms. The Sandawe parallel is weak (we would not expect a glottalized click to develop into plain *s-).

Number	142
Proto-Khoisan	*xU-
Meaning	to grind
Proto-Bushman	*xɔi-
Proto-Khoe	*xúń

Number	143
Proto-Khoisan	*šã
Meaning	to rest
Proto-Bushman	*šã
Proto-Khoe	*sá
Notes	Borrowing is possible, but would have rather to be from North Khoisan into Khoe than vice versa because of PNK *š-.

Number	144
Proto-Khoisan	*qae
Meaning	marula tree
Proto-Bushman	*Kqae
Proto-Khoe	*qae

Number	145
Proto-Khoisan	*gobV
Meaning	navel

Proto-Bushman	*gobV
Proto-Khoe	*gòbó
Number	146
Proto-Khoisan	*i
Meaning	class marker; 3rd person pr.
Proto-Bushman	*i <sup>h</sup>
Proto-Khoe	*-i
Number	147
Proto-Khoisan	*i/*e
Meaning	1st person pl.
Proto-Bushman	*i/*e
Proto-Khoe	*-e
Notes	The exclusive marker in North Khoisan, correlating with the plural form markers in Khoe.
Number	148
Proto-Khoisan	*ʔna-
Meaning	fire, to burn
Proto-Bushman	*daʔ-
Proto-Khoe	*dao
Sandawe	*naʔ
Number	149
Proto-Khoisan	* ari
Meaning	jackal
Proto-Bushman	* ari
Proto-Khoe	* írì (* -)
Notes	If there is borrowing here, it cannot be recent since the root is always found in its assimilated form (with first syllable <i>-i-</i> ) in Khoe.
Number	150
Proto-Khoisan	* ui

Meaning	wood; bushland
Proto-Bushman	* ui
Proto-Khoe	* gùí
Notes	Dubious (borrowing from Khoe is quite likely in this case).
Number	151
Proto-Khoisan	* kxae
Meaning	to fall; to fall ill
Proto-Bushman	* kxae
Proto-Khoe	* kxáé
Notes	Although the root is well reconstructible for Proto-North Khoisan, an earlier borrowing from Khoe is not excluded.
Number	152
Proto-Khoisan	* qV
Meaning	rhinoceros
Proto-Bushman	* qhε[-i]
Proto-Khoe	* hĩ
Sandawe	*ço (?)
Number	153
Proto-Khoisan	* GaʔabV
Meaning	flat
Proto-Bushman	* GaʔabV
Proto-Khoe	* ha[-ba]
Number	154
Proto-Khoisan	* ai
Meaning	springbok
Proto-Bushman	* aʔ[-i]
Proto-Khoe	* hai
Notes	Unclear vocalism, but otherwise, the etyma are quite comparable.



Number	155
Proto-Khoisan	*ʔom
Meaning	baobab
Proto-Bushman	*ʔom (?)
Proto-Khoe	*ʔóm
Notes	Most likely a Khoe borrowing in Ju ʔhoan.

Number	156
Proto-Khoisan	*!ã
Meaning	good
Proto-Bushman	*!ã
Proto-Khoe	*!â
Sandawe	*λā (?)
Notes	The Sandawe comparison is only acceptable if PPB *! is in fact *!/, and even then Khoe yields unexpected correspondences.

Number	157
Proto-Khoisan	*Cxo-
Meaning	to milk, squeeze out
Proto-Bushman	*ʒxoʔ-
Proto-Khoe	*cxô(m)
Notes	North Khoisan * <i>cxom</i> is suspicious as a possible borrowing from Khoe, but the !Xóõ parallel to Khoe is most likely of genetic origin.

Number	158
Proto-Khoisan	*ʔUi
Meaning	moon
Proto-Bushman	*!oi
Proto-Khoe	*ʔóé

Number	159
Proto-Khoisan	*!a-
Meaning	chameleon
Proto-Bushman	*!ǁaro

Proto-Khoe                    \*ĩárò  
 Hadza                         \*ĩanda  
 Notes                         The Bushman forms are hardly borrowed from Khoe; North Khoisan, in particular, has a glottalic / pharyngealized vowel that cannot be explained through this scenario.

Number                        160  
 Proto-Khoisan               \*!!xao  
 Meaning                      hippopotamus  
 Proto-Bushman              \*!!xao  
 Proto-Khoe                   \*!xáò  
 Notes                         See [Honken 1998](#): 187. The click seems to have been retroflex in North Khoisan, which makes the borrowing scenario from Khoe not likely.

Number                        161  
 Proto-Khoisan               \*!!xom  
 Meaning                      river  
 Proto-Bushman              \*!!xom  
 Proto-Khoe                   \*||xóm  
 Notes                         The click seems to have been retroflex in North Khoisan, which makes the borrowing scenario from Khoe not likely.

Number                        162  
 Proto-Khoisan               \*ha(?)re  
 Meaning                      to fetch water  
 Proto-Bushman              \*hǎʔare (?)  
 Proto-Khoe                   \*hàré  
 Sandawe                      \*hawe  
 Notes                         [Honken 1998](#): 187. Sandawe *hawe* could reflect "lenition" from \**hare*, or perhaps simply reflect a different suffix (\**ha-we* vs. \**ha-re*).

Number                        163  
 Proto-Khoisan               \*!ʔau  
 Meaning                      to call, cry

Proto-Bushman	*!ʔau
Proto-Khoe	*!ʔau
Sandawe	*!ʔaxa

Number	164
Proto-Khoisan	*!xoe
Meaning	to run; to chase
Proto-Bushman	*!xoe
Proto-Khoe	*!xóé

Number	165
Proto-Khoisan	*![[ <sup>n</sup> ]abu
Meaning	wing
Proto-Bushman	*!̃abu
Proto-Khoe	*  abU
Sandawe	*koba
Notes	A rare case of possible click loss in Sandawe.

Number	166
Proto-Khoisan	*  [g]a
Meaning	fingernail
Proto-Bushman	*!̣iaʔ- (?)
Proto-Khoe	*  à

Number	167
Proto-Khoisan	*(h)ui
Meaning	to help
Proto-Bushman	*hui
Proto-Khoe	*ui
Notes	See <a href="#">Honken 1998</a> : 187. There is some variability between variants with <i>h</i> - and zero both in Khoe and Peripheral Khoisan, probably indicative of contact.

Number	168
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Proto-Khoisan	*xoBV
Meaning	sand
Proto-Bushman	*xoʔBV
Proto-Khoe	*xóm
Number	169
Proto-Khoisan	*CV[WV]
Meaning	small
Proto-Bushman	*  <sup>w</sup> a
Proto-Khoe	* a
Notes	Cf. also Sandawe <i>çō</i> (if not to <a href="#">*cʔV-</a> id.)?
Number	170
Proto-Khoisan	*ʔ(h)abi (?)
Meaning	dove
Proto-Bushman	*ʔhabi / *ʔabi
Proto-Khoe	*ʔnábí (?)
Number	171
Proto-Khoisan	*xo
Meaning	face, cheek
Proto-Bushman	*xo
Proto-Khoe	*xo
Notes	A weak connection (within Khoe, the word is only attested in Nama).
Number	172
Proto-Khoisan	*KaPa
Meaning	cheek
Proto-Bushman	*!om̩ ~ *!om̩ (?)
Sandawe	*kama
Hadza	*kapa
Notes	A Sandawe-Hadza isogloss; the Bushman parallel is very tentative.

Number	173
Proto-Khoisan	*ĩu
Meaning	far
Proto-Bushman	*ĩu
Proto-Khoe	*ĩû
Notes	Within Peripheral Khoisan, attested only in =Hoan; however, recent borrowing from !Gui at least should be excluded (the word has lost its click there).

Number	174
Proto-Khoisan	*ʎ[a]u
Meaning	to dig
Proto-Bushman	*ʎau
Proto-Khoe	*chàó
Hadza	*uʎu
Notes	A lateral affricate comparison like <a href="#">*ʎV</a> 'water' or <a href="#">*ʎ[a]u</a> 'dig' q.v. =Hoan <i>šiu</i> 'dig' cannot be a borrowing from Central Khoisan, as has been suggested, since final <i>*-ao</i> would have been represented by <i>-eo</i> (cf. =Hoan <i>žeo</i> 'road', probably < Khoe <i>*dao</i> ).

Number	175
Proto-Khoisan	*![K]o
Meaning	full; heavy
Proto-Bushman	*!u <sup>h</sup> m
Proto-Khoe	*!óǀ
Sandawe	*!ō

Number	176
Proto-Khoisan	*kVʔV[ʔ]
Meaning	to know
Proto-Bushman	*!hã
Proto-Khoe	*!ʔá
Sandawe	*kheʔe

Hadza                                    \*kaʔa  
 Notes                                    A good example of how Khoe clicks can develop out of bisyllabic sequences preserved in Sandawe: \*kheʔe > \*kʔe- > \*!ʔa-.

Number                                   177  
 Proto-Khoisan                        \*çVḵV  
 Meaning                                smoke  
 Proto-Bushman                        \*ckxa-  
 Proto-Khoe                            \*cʔán[i]  
 Sandawe                                \*çuḵa  
 Hadza                                    \*çiḵo  
 Notes                                    See [Ehret 1986](#): 123. One of the best isoglosses between Hadza and the rest of Khoisan, as well as an interesting example of monosyllabification in Khoe and Bushman that does not involve secondary click formation.

Number                                   178  
 Proto-Khoisan                        \*!u[-RV]  
 Meaning                                quiver  
 Proto-Bushman                        \*!u[-RV]  
 Proto-Khoe                            \*!guru  
 Notes                                    Broad semantics and morphological segmentation of this word in !Xóõ speak in favour of a genetic parallel here rather than contact.

Number                                   179  
 Proto-Khoisan                        \*ʕVmV  
 Meaning                                to buy  
 Proto-Bushman                        \*||ʔama  
 Proto-Khoe                            \*||ʔámà  
 Sandawe                                \*Łomo  
 Notes                                    The Bushman parallel is most probably ephemeral (the few forms attested in North Khoisan are easily interpreted as borrowings from Khoe), but the Sandawe-Khoe connection is undeniable.

Number                                   180

Proto-Khoisan	*ʎV
Meaning	to die
Proto-Bushman	*ʎe / *ʎa
Proto-Khoe	*cà
Sandawe	*ʎā-si
Notes	Originally the Khoe part of the etymology included *//ʔo 'to die', but if this is really another example of an initial lateral non-click consonant in Proto-Khoisan, a hissing affricate reflex in Khoe would be expected.

Number	181
Proto-Khoisan	*ciʔi
Meaning	to bite
Proto-Bushman	*ciʔi
Sandawe	* ʔi-khe
Notes	Cf. also the derivative for "snake" in both Proto-Taa (*siʔi) and Sandawe ( ʔ).

Number	182
Proto-Khoisan	*ŋ~*n
Meaning	1st person pronoun sg.
Proto-Bushman	*ŋ
Hadza	*ono / *na-

Number	183
Proto-Khoisan	*Ti
Meaning	1st person pronoun sg. (emphatic form?)
Proto-Bushman	*de (?)
Proto-Khoe	*tí
Sandawe	*ci
Notes	Khoe and Sandawe forms are easily reconcilable assuming palatalization in Sandawe; in Bushman, however, the only detectable parallel for now seems to be the special emphatic form <i>de</i> in !Xóõ.

Number	184
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Proto-Khoisan	*m
Meaning	1st person pronoun pl.
Proto-Bushman	*m
Proto-Khoe	*-m
Notes	This pronominal stem is realized as an inclusive form in North Khoisan, but as the dual form in Khoe.

Number	185
Proto-Khoisan	*ma ʔa
Meaning	louse
Proto-Bushman	*ǀ <sup>w</sup> ǁ
Sandawe	*māŋ ʔa
Hadza	* ʔamaçi
Notes	See <a href="#">Ehret 1986</a> : 123. The Sandawe and Hadza forms may give a clue as to why the reflexes of this root in Bushman sometimes feature a labial click. The entire root is a perfect illustration of secondary click-forming mechanisms in Khoisan languages.

Number	186
Proto-Khoisan	*hVKV
Meaning	to go
Sandawe	*hiçi
Hadza	*haka
Notes	A Sandawe-Hadza isogloss.

Number	187
Proto-Khoisan	*çV
Meaning	hunger
Sandawe	*çō
Hadza	*çe
Notes	A Sandawe-Hadza isogloss.

Number	188
Proto-Khoisan	*t(h)U



Meaning	night
Proto-Khoe	*thǔ
Sandawe	*twē
Number	189
Proto-Khoisan	*çunV
Meaning	bee
Proto-Bushman	* qhu-
Sandawe	*çwini
Hadza	*çuna
Number	190
Proto-Khoisan	*CU
Meaning	excrement
Proto-Bushman	*ʒV-
Proto-Khoe	*cu
Sandawe	*cho
Hadza	*č̣i
Notes	Cf. also Hadza <i>çeʔa</i> "to shit".
Number	191
Proto-Khoisan	*C[o]a
Meaning	tail
Proto-Khoe	*cáó
Sandawe	*çwā
Hadza	*çaho
Number	192
Proto-Khoisan	*ncxa- (?)
Meaning	star
Proto-Khoe	* xání
Sandawe	*[owa[ŋ]
Hadza	*ncha
Notes	Sandawe and Khoe forms are easier to reconcile than Hadza;

the binary Sandawe-Khoe comparison would indicate a "primary" click here, but the Hadza form, in this case, does not fit in with its prenasalized affricate.

Number	193
Proto-Khoisan	*  ʔo
Meaning	to sleep
Proto-Khoe	*  ʔóm
Sandawe	*  ʔo
Hadza	*  u-pi (?)

Number	194
Proto-Khoisan	*t(h)V
Meaning	water, rain
Proto-Khoe	*tú
Sandawe	*to
Hadza	*athi (?)
Notes	As in most other cases, Khoe and Sandawe items match better (here, phonetically) than with Hadza.

Number	195
Proto-Khoisan	*CV
Meaning	one
Sandawe	*çe-xe
Hadza	*ča-me
Notes	A Sandawe-Hadza isogloss (provided both forms are really segmentable).

Number	196
Proto-Khoisan	*ntha- (?)
Meaning	nose
Proto-Bushman	*cʔũ
Sandawe	*[̃]athi
Hadza	*nthawe (?)
Notes	All the links here are dubious.

Number	197
Proto-Khoisan	*zV
Meaning	new
Proto-Bushman	*ze
Hadza	*ʒana

Number	198
Proto-Khoisan	*λana
Meaning	horn
Proto-Bushman	*  ãẽ
Proto-Khoe	*  â
Sandawe	*λana

Notes One of the best common Khoisan items: not only is the Khoe form beautifully deductible from Sandawe as a result of syllable reduction and secondary click formation, but the same root is also found in South Khoisan.

Number	199
Proto-Khoisan	*ci
Meaning	to come
Proto-Bushman	*ci
Proto-Khoe	*si
Sandawe	* i

Number	200
Proto-Khoisan	*Ci
Meaning	buttock
Proto-Khoe	*cʔí
Sandawe	*china

Number	201
Proto-Khoisan	*c(h)Ṽ
Meaning	to sneeze
Proto-Khoe	*cǐ

Sandawe	*chanca
Hadza	*cija
Notes	An expressive root.
Number	202
Proto-Khoisan	*Ca-
Meaning	scent
Proto-Khoe	*chá
Hadza	*çaʔi
Number	203
Proto-Khoisan	*  ʔu-
Meaning	to cough
Proto-Khoe	*  ʔúì
Sandawe	*u  ʔu
Notes	The root belongs to the expressive lexicon; nevertheless, the similarity between Khoe and Sandawe can be anything but coincidental.
Number	204
Proto-Khoisan	*IV-
Meaning	hare
Sandawe	*lāʔe
Hadza	*lola
Notes	A Sandawe-Hadza isogloss (areal?).
Number	205
Proto-Khoisan	*!au
Meaning	hyaena
Proto-Bushman	*!i <sub>1</sub> au <sup>h</sup>
Proto-Khoe	*!gau
Sandawe	*tekele (?)
Notes	The Sandawe parallel is very tentative (initial <i>t</i> - would rather yield the palatal click).

Number	206
Proto-Khoisan	* o <sup>h</sup>
Meaning	to end
Proto-Bushman	* o <sup>h</sup>
Proto-Khoe	* hoN
Notes	The root is quite weakly represented in all the subbranches, thus not reliable.

Number	207
Proto-Khoisan	* qhoʔrV
Meaning	Corallocarpus sp.
Proto-Bushman	* qhoʔru
Proto-Khoe	* hòro
Notes	Some secondary contact influence is possible here, but overall the semantics and phonetics of the root in Peripheral Khoisan and Khoe are too different to be easily explained through recent borrowing.

Number	208
Proto-Khoisan	* [h]i-
Meaning	to sing
Proto-Khoe	* í
Sandawe	* hime
Notes	Acceptable if Sandawe <i>-me</i> is of suffixal origin.

Number	209
Proto-Khoisan	*a
Meaning	to be
Proto-Bushman	*a
Proto-Khoe	*a
Hadza	*a (?)

Number	210
Proto-Khoisan	*anV
Meaning	to paint

Proto-Khoe	*ani
Sandawe	*anakV
Number	211
Proto-Khoisan	*çV
Meaning	penis
Proto-Khoe	*cʔâ
Sandawe	*cucu
Hadza	*ʕušu (?)
Notes	A <i>Lallwort</i> , with understandable reduplication in Sandawe. Whether Hadza reflects the same stem is unclear (more examples on lateral affricates corresponding to non-lateral affricates in other languages would be needed).
Number	212
Proto-Khoisan	*ʔu-
Meaning	kidney
Proto-Bushman	*ʔo <sup>h</sup> -
Proto-Khoe	*ʔai (?)
Sandawe	*!uŋ!e
Hadza	*!ʔu-kundzu
Number	213
Proto-Khoisan	*çe- (?)
Meaning	limp
Proto-Khoe	*cʔî
Hadza	*ʕeʕe
Notes	A very weak connection.
Number	214
Proto-Khoisan	*Cã
Meaning	broth, gravy
Proto-Bushman	*čã
Proto-Khoe	*câ
Notes	Since the word is found with *ç- in North Khoisan, there is no

need to suggest borrowing (unless it is from a more rare direction, North Khoisan > Non-Khoekhoe).

Number	215
Proto-Khoisan	*cxaN-
Meaning	tired
Proto-Bushman	*ʒg <sup>x</sup> am
Proto-Khoe	*cxâ

Number	216
Proto-Khoisan	*CxUn-
Meaning	to slip, slide
Proto-Bushman	*ʒxoʔn-
Proto-Khoe	*cxúni

Number	217
Proto-Khoisan	*TV
Meaning	interrogative stem
Proto-Bushman	*TV
Proto-Khoe	*(n)dV
Hadza	*da

Number	218
Proto-Khoisan	*do-
Meaning	kudu
Proto-Bushman	*dU-
Proto-Khoe	*dóà

Notes The link is not very strong because =Hoan *ʒua* is quite likely borrowed from Khoe (cf. ||Gana *dùu*, etc.), leaving only South Khoisan forms to be compared.

Number	219
Proto-Khoisan	*dɔ-
Meaning	leaf; grass

Proto-Bushman	*d <sub>ɔ</sub> <sup>h</sup> -
Proto-Khoe	*dòá
Number	220
Proto-Khoisan	*dUrU
Meaning	mouse, shrew
Proto-Khoe	*dúrù
Hadza	*doloka
Notes	An areal word (cf., e. g., Fur <i>dudu</i> "mouse").
Number	221
Proto-Khoisan	*Hi
Meaning	deictic stem
Proto-Bushman	*(h)a/*(h)e
Proto-Khoe	*i
Sandawe	*hē-
Notes	A universal deictic stem.
Number	222
Proto-Khoisan	*KwaRi
Meaning	vulture
Proto-Khoe	*kxání (?)
Sandawe	*gweresi
Hadza	*k <sup>w</sup> adi
Notes	Forms should be checked for possible borrowing issues (particularly Hadza and Sandawe).
Number	223
Proto-Khoisan	*kxV
Meaning	arrow
Proto-Bushman	*čhi (*k <sup>ʰ</sup> xV-)
Proto-Khoe	*kxáó
Notes	The comparison is quite serious, considering the frequent palatalization of the velar affricate in North Khoisan (cf. the words for "drink", "laugh",



"liver", etc.).

Number	224
Proto-Khoisan	*[LV]ma (?)
Meaning	head
Proto-Bushman	*[w]a-
Proto-Khoe	*mâ
Hadza	*χoma
Notes	This is a rather forced parallel; the Hadza word is more easily comparable to certain Omotic forms, Khoe <i>*mâ</i> may be indicative of Niger-Congo substrate (several Khoe roots in <i>*m-</i> have good correlates in Niger-Congo, but not in other Khoisan languages), and labialization in the Peripheral Khoisan word may be due to some old vocalic peculiarities. Nevertheless, for lack of certainty, we leave the comparison as it is for now.

Number	225
Proto-Khoisan	*ma (?)
Meaning	to give
Proto-Bushman	*[V]-
Proto-Khoe	*mâ
Notes	Dubious, as all the comparisons containing Khoe items in <i>*m-</i> .

Number	226
Proto-Khoisan	*ma
Meaning	interrogative stem
Proto-Bushman	*ba (?)
Proto-Khoe	*ma <sup>(v)</sup>
Hadza	*ta-mV

Number	227
Proto-Khoisan	*kxU-
Meaning	to speak
Proto-Bushman	*kxU-

Proto-Khoe	*kxúí
Number	228
Proto-Khoisan	*sV
Meaning	to refuse
Proto-Khoe	*sa
Sandawe	*is[i]
Notes	A possible Khoe-Sandawe isogloss (suggesting vowel reduction in Khoe).
Number	229
Proto-Khoisan	*Ce
Meaning	to take
Proto-Khoe	*sɛ
Sandawe	*sie
Hadza	*čhi
Number	230
Proto-Khoisan	*te
Meaning	to stand
Proto-Khoe	*té
Sandawe	*ʒi, *ʒikhina
Notes	The parallel reflects regular palatalization of dentals in Sandawe before front vowels (cf. the situation with the first person pronoun).
Number	231
Proto-Khoisan	*ti-
Meaning	thigh
Proto-Bushman	*tẽ
Proto-Khoe	*tî
Sandawe	*ʒipha
Notes	The Sandawe parallel is acceptable if <i>-pha</i> is an old suffix (or if the loss of inlaut labials in Khoe turns out to be a regular process).

Number	232
Proto-Khoisan	*tV
Meaning	negative morpheme
Proto-Khoe	*-ta
Sandawe	*çe
Notes	A Sandawe-Khoe isogloss.
Number	233
Proto-Khoisan	*tVm
Meaning	to swallow
Proto-Khoe	*tó̀m̀
Sandawe	*timV
Notes	A Sandawe-Khoe isogloss.
Number	234
Proto-Khoisan	*li-
Meaning	to blow the nose; snot
Proto-Bushman	*ʒxoni (?)
Proto-Khoe	*xú̀nì (?)
Sandawe	*lin
Hadza	*liheta
Notes	It is unclear for now how all these forms tie in together (only Sandawe and Hadza look similar enough).
Number	235
Proto-Khoisan	* U[m]
Meaning	to suck
Proto-Bushman	*ĩ̀lɔ̀ʔm
Proto-Khoe	* Ú̀m̀
Sandawe	* ʔu
Number	236
Proto-Khoisan	*hi-
Meaning	other

Sandawe	*hĩ
Hadza	*hiname
Notes	A Sandawe-Hadza isogloss.
Number	237
Proto-Khoisan	* Kan-
Meaning	fly (n.)
Proto-Khoe	* gínì
Sandawe	* anthima
Hadza	*ncali (?)
Number	238
Proto-Khoisan	* ǰabu
Meaning	to sweep
Proto-Bushman	* ǰabu
Proto-Khoe	* ǰabu
Notes	Neither the contact solution nor the relationship one should be excluded here. Contact, however, would not explain the pharyngealized vowel in South Khoisan and =Hoan.
Number	239
Proto-Khoisan	* (ʷ)nU-
Meaning	duiker
Proto-Bushman	* ʷ?au
Proto-Khoe	* ǰǎ̀
Hadza	*ndofeda (?)
Notes	Contact solution is excluded here (the root is well reconstructible, e. g., for Proto-North Khoisan, and does not contain a nasalized efflux in that language, unlike the Proto-Khoe reconstruction).
Number	240
Proto-Khoisan	* ǰ-
Meaning	to boil, cook
Proto-Bushman	* ǰ

Proto-Khoe                    \*ǀóá  
 Notes                         The word is well reconstructible for both branches and probably inherited from Proto-Khoisan.

Number                        241  
 Proto-Khoisan               \*ǁyaʔrV  
 Meaning                       wild dog  
 Proto-Bushman              \*ǁyaʔra  
 Proto-Khoe                    \*ǁyaru

Number                        242  
 Proto-Khoisan               \*ǁXU  
 Meaning                       dry  
 Proto-Bushman              \*ǀ!ikxǀau  
 Proto-Khoe                    \*ǁxó  
 Sandawe                      \*ǁoka  
 Hadza                         \*ǁʔape (?)  
 Notes                         All the supposed links are genetic, but the Hadza form in particular is quite dubious.

Number                        243  
 Proto-Khoisan               \*ǀakV  
 Meaning                       similar  
 Proto-Khoe                    \*ǁxa  
 Sandawe                      \*ǀakV  
 Notes                         A good example on possible secondary click formation in Khoe.

Number                        244  
 Proto-Khoisan               \*ǀakVNV  
 Meaning                       shoe  
 Proto-Bushman              \*ǁaba  
 Proto-Khoe                    \*ǁhábò  
 Sandawe                      \*ǀakume

Hadza                                    \*k<sup>w</sup>aɣa (?)  
 Notes                                    The Sandawe form is quite compatible with Khoe and Peripheral Khoisan reflexes, through secondary click formation: \*ɣVɣVmV > \*ɣkVmV > \*//VmV, etc. The status of the Hadza form is less clear. Peripheral Khoisan forms are clearly not borrowed from Khoe (different semantics and phonetics).

Number                                    245  
 Proto-Khoisan                        \*//Gɔʔm  
 Meaning                                 to hold in the mouth  
 Proto-Bushman                        \*//Gɔʔm  
 Proto-Khoe                              \*//ó̀m̀

Number                                    246  
 Proto-Khoisan                        \*//No- (?)  
 Meaning                                 stone  
 Proto-Bushman                        \*//hɔ (?)  
 Proto-Khoe                              \*//ó́á  
 Notes                                    Within Peripheral Khoisan, the only reliable form here is =Hoan //hɔa, but the latter cannot easily be explained as a borrowing from Khoe for phonetic reasons.

Number                                    247  
 Proto-Khoisan                        \*//abe  
 Meaning                                 diaphragm  
 Proto-Bushman                        \*//abe  
 Proto-Khoe                              \*//á̀bè  
 Notes                                    A weak etymology (the Ju|ʔhoan form is explainable as a borrowing from Khoe).

Number                                    248  
 Proto-Khoisan                        \*Hala  
 Meaning                                 scorpion  
 Sandawe                                 \*alǎla  
 Hadza                                     \*hala

Notes	A Hadza-Sandawe isogloss, possibly areal.
Number	249
Proto-Khoisan	*  ho-
Meaning	cave
Proto-Khoe	*  hòá
Sandawe	*  ho
Notes	A Sandawe-Khoe isogloss.
Number	250
Proto-Khoisan	*  qaU
Meaning	to glow; light
Proto-Bushman	*  qaU
Proto-Khoe	*  qau
Number	251
Proto-Khoisan	*  ʔam
Meaning	to clap hands
Proto-Bushman	*  ʔam
Proto-Khoe	*  ʔám
Notes	Theoretically, the North Khoisan forms can all be borrowings from Khoe, but genetic relation is not excluded either.
Number	252
Proto-Khoisan	*[V]KV
Meaning	elder male relative
Sandawe	*koko
Hadza	*akai-, *koku
Notes	A common Sandawe-Hadza <i>Lallwort</i> .
Number	253
Proto-Khoisan	*  [ʔ]õã (?)
Meaning	to go down
Proto-Khoe	*  óá

Sandawe                                    \*||ʔã  
 Notes                                      Click efflux correspondences are unclear, but otherwise the forms match very well across Sandawe and Khoe.

Number                                    254  
 Proto-Khoisan                          \*!!K<sub>Q</sub>  
 Meaning                                    male  
 Proto-Bushman                         \*!!<sub>Q</sub>  
 Proto-Khoe                                \*||ô  
 Notes                                      The connection here is likely genetic, since the North Khoisan root (perfectly reconstructible on the proto-level) contains a retroflex rather than a simple lateral click (same correspondence as in the words for "moon", "river", etc.).

Number                                    255  
 Proto-Khoisan                          \*||ã-  
 Meaning                                    to hear  
 Proto-Khoe                                \*||ãũ  
 Hadza                                       \*||ãʔe  
 Notes                                      A rare case of a potential Khoe-Hadza isogloss.

Number                                    256  
 Proto-Khoisan                          \*sVmV  
 Meaning                                    three  
 Sandawe                                    \*somV  
 Hadza                                       \*samaka  
 Notes                                      A Sandawe-Hadza isogloss (areal).

Number                                    257  
 Proto-Khoisan                          \*!!NʔU- (?)  
 Meaning                                    porcupine  
 Proto-Bushman                         \*!!ʔom  
 Proto-Khoe                                \*||úé  
 Notes                                      The connection is not obvious (different suffixes in Khoe and Peripheral Khoisan?).





Proto-Bushman	*dù-
Sandawe	*adu
Number	263
Proto-Khoisan	*ɬarV
Meaning	a k. of thorn tree
Proto-Bushman	*ɬiG̃a <sup>h</sup> ri
Proto-Khoe	*ɬkxaro
Sandawe	*degera (?)
Notes	The Sandawe form is compatible if the initial sequence *TVK- > *ɬ- in Khoisan proper.
Number	264
Proto-Khoisan	*!a[-ba]
Meaning	a k. of thorn
Proto-Bushman	*!a
Proto-Khoe	*!aba
Notes	The root is found only in !Xóõ and Nama, but the connection is nevertheless reasonable.
Number	265
Proto-Khoisan	*ʎa- (?)
Meaning	arrow
Proto-Bushman	*  [Gh]a
Sandawe	*ɬani
Number	266
Proto-Khoisan	*  ɣa-
Meaning	scorpion
Proto-Bushman	*  ɣai (*ɬ-)
Proto-Khoe	*ɬxãĩ
Notes	Very weakly represented in Khoe (Nama only), but the connection is evident.

Number	267
Proto-Khoisan	*ǀkhãʔ
Meaning	arm
Proto-Bushman	*ǀkhãʔ
Proto-Khoe	*ǀhã
Number	268
Proto-Khoisan	*gam
Meaning	to carry in the arms
Proto-Bushman	*ga <sup>h</sup> ?[m]
Proto-Khoe	*gam
Notes	A !Xóõ-Nama isogloss.
Number	269
Proto-Khoisan	*ǀiobV (?)
Meaning	lizard
Proto-Bushman	*ǀibe
Proto-Khoe	*ǀnobo
Notes	The Khoe form is only Nama, but differences in click articulation still suggest a genetic rather than contact solution.
Number	270
Proto-Khoisan	*ǀaNv
Meaning	lizard
Proto-Bushman	*ǀiṛaRV
Proto-Khoe	*ǀa[nV]
Sandawe	*ǀaŋgā
Hadza	*ǀaŋuʔe
Notes	The Sandawe-Khoe connection is a good example on secondary click formation; the exact status of Bushman and Hadza forms is yet to be determined.
Number	271
Proto-Khoisan	*Ko[a]

Meaning	to break
Proto-Bushman	*Koa
Proto-Khoe	*khóá
Sandawe	*khokho?
Number	272
Proto-Khoisan	*ʔGabV
Meaning	to cover, pile up
Proto-Bushman	*ʔiGabo
Proto-Khoe	*ʔabV
Notes	The Ju ʔhoan form may be of Khoe origin, but the !Xóõ-Khoe connection is more likely to be genetic.
Number	273
Proto-Khoisan	*CVKV (?)
Meaning	to leak
Proto-Bushman	*ʔiǰ <sup>h</sup> [-N]
Proto-Khoe	* xaba
Sandawe	*çá(ŋ)ḵe
Number	274
Proto-Khoisan	*ʔǰaN-
Meaning	blue, green
Proto-Bushman	*ʔǰa-[nV/Vn] (?)
Proto-Khoe	*cǎ
Sandawe	*ʔǰǎŋ-
Notes	The Bushman forms are hard to separate from Khoe and Sandawe, but the click formation mechanism is obscure (why only Bushman and not Khoe?).
Number	275
Proto-Khoisan	*KUbo
Meaning	sweat
Proto-Bushman	*khuʔbo

Proto-Khoe	*khóbò
Sandawe	*kipa-lala
Notes	The Sandawe form has to be checked for borrowing, but Bushman and Khoe forms obviously belong together.

Number	276
Proto-Khoisan	*  ʔa-
Meaning	to shine; sun
Proto-Bushman	*  ʔVn
Proto-Khoe	*  ʔa
Sandawe	*  ʔaka

Number	277
Proto-Khoisan	*  au
Meaning	to whistle
Proto-Bushman	*  ãʔũ <sup>h</sup>
Sandawe	*  wě
Notes	Cf. also Nharo //ãõ id., although the form may be a borrowing from North Khoisan.

Number	278
Proto-Khoisan	*kV
Meaning	to climb
Sandawe	*ke
Hadza	*khaha
Notes	A Sandawe-Hadza isogloss.

Number	279
Proto-Khoisan	*ʔV (?)
Meaning	to give
Proto-Bushman	*ʔV
Sandawe	*ʔã (?)
Hadza	*k <sup>w</sup> V (?)
Notes	A possible "lateral" etymology, but the connection is notably

weak than in the case of "water", "hand", etc. (poorer semantics and the uncertainty of the reconstruction even within Peripheral Khoisan).

Number	280
Proto-Khoisan	*ho
Meaning	to find, get
Proto-Bushman	*ho
Proto-Khoe	*ho

Number	281
Proto-Khoisan	*khwe
Meaning	person
Proto-Khoe	*khóé
Hadza	*akh <sup>w</sup> e-, *akh <sup>w</sup> a
Notes	Initial <i>a-</i> in Hadza may be a fossilized prefix.

Number	282
Proto-Khoisan	*  ʔVKV
Meaning	blood
Proto-Bushman	*  xau
Sandawe	*  ʔeḵa
Notes	Dubious because of the lack of Khoe counterparts, but the forms are not incompatible.

Number	283
Proto-Khoisan	*TERE
Meaning	clot of blood
Proto-Bushman	*terV
Proto-Khoe	*téné
Notes	The Naro form cannot be explained as a borrowing from Peripheral Khoisan for phonetic reasons. Additional parallels within Khoe would be needed to make the etymology more reliable, though.

Number	284
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Proto-Khoisan	*cU
Meaning	sinew
Proto-Bushman	*Co
Hadza	*č <u>u</u>
Notes	A rare North Khoisan-Hadza isogloss.
Number	285
Proto-Khoisan	*ĩV
Meaning	day, dawn
Proto-Bushman	*ĩã?[ũ]
Proto-Khoe	*ĩã
Sandawe	*ĩe
Number	286
Proto-Khoisan	*ʎa[KV]
Meaning	to carry
Proto-Bushman	*  a-
Sandawe	*ʎã
Hadza	*ʎak <sup>w</sup> a
Notes	Secondary click formation in Peripheral Khoisan (the Hadza form actually fits better than Sandawe, since it is bisyllabic).
Number	287
Proto-Khoisan	*  om-
Meaning	to chop
Proto-Bushman	*  o <sup>h</sup> m
Proto-Khoe	*  (h)om
Sandawe	*  wame
Number	288
Proto-Khoisan	*  ũ(?)
Meaning	to play
Proto-Bushman	*  ũ?ũ
Sandawe	*  wã

Notes	A NK-Sandawe isogloss (although the Sandawe form is unreliable).
Number	289
Proto-Khoisan	*ǁu-
Meaning	to stand
Proto-Bushman	*ǁa <sup>(n)</sup>
Sandawe	*ǁume
Notes	In Bushman cf. particularly the !Xóõ form.
Number	290
Proto-Khoisan	*ǁo
Meaning	to pull
Proto-Bushman	*ǁo
Sandawe	*ǁō
Number	291
Proto-Khoisan	*šu(a)-
Meaning	bump, swelling
Proto-Bushman	*šu-
Sandawe	*swāku
Number	292
Proto-Khoisan	*ǁʔin[V]
Meaning	to ripen, ferment
Proto-Bushman	*ǁqʔan-
Proto-Khoe	*ǁʔàń
Sandawe	*ǁʔine
Number	293
Proto-Khoisan	*na[n]
Meaning	a k. of small predator
Proto-Bushman	*dǰ
Sandawe	*naŋwe



Notes                                      The comparison presupposes a shift *\*n* > *\*d* in Peripheral Khoisan, but the idea still has to be tested on additional data.

Number                                      294  
 Proto-Khoisan                              \*Taʔ[BV]  
 Meaning                                      young, kid  
 Proto-Bushman                              \*t̪aʔ-  
 Sandawe                                      \*d̪aʔmē  
 Notes    Cf. also Nama *tom* 'young'.

Number                                      295  
 Proto-Khoisan                              \*TVBV  
 Meaning                                      salt  
 Proto-Bushman                              \*dabi  
 Proto-Khoe                                      \*dobe  
 Notes    The North Khoisan forms can represent early borrowings from Khoe (or even independent borrowings into different dialect clusters, considering inconsistent vocalic correspondences within the branch).

Number                                      296  
 Proto-Khoisan                              \*cVkV  
 Meaning                                      sap  
 Proto-Bushman                              \*ckxo[-ʔm]  
 Sandawe                                      \*çikV  
 Notes    A possible example of reduction of syllabic structure, but without secondary click formation. Dubious.

Number                                      297  
 Proto-Khoisan                              \*çVmV  
 Meaning                                      mosquito  
 Proto-Bushman                              \*|qomV  
 Proto-Khoe                                      \*|[q]oma  
 Sandawe                                      \*çima  
 Notes    The root is very weakly represented in Khoisan, but the

Sandawe connection - with secondary click formation in other branches - is quite probable.

Number	298
Proto-Khoisan	*u
Meaning	to go; to take to
Proto-Bushman	*u
Proto-Khoe	*u
Notes	A semantic shift has to be supposed in Khoe: "to go (with)" > "to bring along, take".

Number	299
Proto-Khoisan	*t(h)a-
Meaning	woman
Proto-Bushman	*de (?)
Proto-Khoe	*ta[ra]
Sandawe	*thame-
Notes	Not too impressive, considering that the similarity is mainly just between the initial consonants.

Number	300
Proto-Khoisan	*kxã
Meaning	younger brother/sister
Proto-Bushman	*kx̃ (?)
Proto-Khoe	*[kx]ã
Notes	The connection is possible given what we know about Khoe initial velar affricates corresponding to North Khoisan palatalized affricates.

Number	301
Proto-Khoisan	*CV(ŋ)
Meaning	to fart
Proto-Bushman	*ʒhŋ
Proto-Khoe	*chi
Hadza	*çuʔa

Number	302
Proto-Khoisan	*  xau
Meaning	a k. of mouse
Proto-Bushman	*  xau (?)
Proto-Khoe	*  au
Notes	A dubious connection, since within Peripheral Khoisan the word is only represented in  Xam (could be a borrowing from Khoe).

Number	303
Proto-Khoisan	*ǀa
Meaning	to twitch the limbs > to dance
Proto-Bushman	*ǀa <sup>h</sup>
Proto-Khoe	*ǀâ
Notes	Semantic differences speak in favour of genetic rather than contact solution here.

Number	304
Proto-Khoisan	* ǁ
Meaning	to see
Proto-Bushman	*ǁV
Sandawe	* a <sup>(n)</sup>
Hadza	* i

Number	305
Proto-Khoisan	*!ʔũĩ
Meaning	to take care of
Proto-Bushman	*!ʔũĩ
Proto-Khoe	*!ʔui
Notes	Unclear whether the parallel truly represents Proto-Khoisan or the Bushman items are borrowings from Khoe.

Number	306
Proto-Khoisan	*kV [~]

Meaning	quantitative particle (?)
Proto-Bushman	*kV
Notes	So far found only in Peripheral Khoisan.
Number	307
Proto-Khoisan	*ʎVhV (?)
Meaning	many
Proto-Bushman	*  ihɛ[i]
Proto-Khoe	*ʎui (?)
Notes	Dubious (click influxes do not match at all), but not to be discarded for the moment.
Number	308
Proto-Khoisan	*ʎVkV (?)
Meaning	star
Proto-Bushman	*  iU[n]-
Proto-Khoe	*ʎqono
Notes	The Bushman and Khoe forms are most probably connected, and genetic relationship here looks more convincing than contact (click influxes do not match between !Xóõ and Khoe, and where they do match /e.g. in North Khoisan/, the rest of the form does not).
Number	309
Proto-Khoisan	*ʎVhṼ (?)
Meaning	to suck
Proto-Bushman	*  ihũ <sup>h</sup>
Proto-Khoe	*ʎũ
Notes	Within Khoe, so far found only in Naro.
Number	310
Proto-Khoisan	*chi- [~]
Meaning	all
Sandawe	*chia
Notes	So far, found only in Sandawe (where it could be a

Bantuism).

Number	311
Proto-Khoisan	*!ʔupV [~]
Meaning	ashes
Sandawe	*!ʔupha
Notes	If we assume the hypothesis that the word is historically a compound (*!ʔu + *pha; *!ʔu = "hair"?), *pha would be comparable with forms like !Xóõ <i>θʔa</i> "to burn" or †Hoan <i>θui</i> "fire" . No other connections can be supposed at this point.

Number	312
Proto-Khoisan	*k̥wa
Meaning	to hit
Sandawe	*k̥waʔ
Hadza	*k̥ <sup>w</sup> ase
Notes	A Hadza-Sandawe isogloss.

Number	313
Proto-Khoisan	*ʃa [~]
Meaning	bark
Sandawe	*ʃa
Notes	So far, only attested in Sandawe.

Number	314
Proto-Khoisan	*k̥wa [~]
Meaning	bark
Hadza	*[he]k̥ <sup>w</sup> a
Notes	So far, only attested in Hadza. Any connection with Sandawe <i>ʃa</i> id. would be highly hypothetical (Hadza velars do not seem to frequently correspond to Sandawe laterals).

Number	315
Proto-Khoisan	* ha [~]
Meaning	belly

Proto-Khoe \*ǀha  
 Sandawe \*çaku (?)  
 Notes The connection with Sandawe is quite weak; really just an isolated Khoe root.

Number 316  
 Proto-Khoisan \*ǀa- [~]  
 Meaning belly, stomach  
 Sandawe \*ǀabiso  
 Notes An isolated Sandawe form.

Number 317  
 Proto-Khoisan \*ǀca [~]  
 Meaning belly  
 Hadza \*ǀca  
 Notes An isolated Hadza form.

Number 318  
 Proto-Khoisan \*ǀa-  
 Meaning big  
 Proto-Bushman \*ǀa<sup>h</sup>?-  
 Proto-Khoe \*ǀa  
 Notes Within Khoe, the root is only found in Nama; however, it is compatible with the Peripheral Khoisan entry.

Number 319  
 Proto-Khoisan \*pa [~]  
 Meaning to bite  
 Proto-Khoe \*pá  
 Notes Isolated in Khoe.

Number 320  
 Proto-Khoisan \*ǀe [~]  
 Meaning to bite

Hadza	*ʎe
Notes	Isolated in Hadza.
Number	321
Proto-Khoisan	*TU
Meaning	dark
Proto-Bushman	*ʒo <sup>h</sup> (?)
Proto-Khoe	*ǀú
Sandawe	*thun
Notes	Sandawe and Khoe forms can be matched according to the (still rather weak) suggestion that dental consonants can serve as a source for secondary palatal clicks. Much less clear would be the situation with the Bushman roots.
Number	322
Proto-Khoisan	*ǀa[ʔ] [~]
Meaning	black
Proto-Bushman	*ǀaʔ
Notes	Only attested in Peripheral Khoisan so far.
Number	323
Proto-Khoisan	*ǀaŋkara [~]
Meaning	black
Sandawe	*ǀaŋkara
Notes	Not found outside Sandawe so far.
Number	324
Proto-Khoisan	*tiči [~]
Meaning	black
Hadza	*tiči
Notes	Not found outside Hadza.
Number	325
Proto-Khoisan	*atha [~]
Meaning	blood

Hadza	*tha(?)ma
Notes	An isolated Hadza form. Cf. Afro-Asiatic <i>*dam</i> 'blood' (one of the most interesting isoglosses between that family and Hadza).
Number	326
Proto-Khoisan	*!ʔU- [~]
Meaning	bone
Proto-Bushman	*!ʔu
Notes	Not found outside North Khoisan.
Number	327
Proto-Khoisan	*ʔa- [~]
Meaning	bone
Proto-Bushman	*ʔa
Notes	Not found outside South Khoisan.
Number	328
Proto-Khoisan	*!i [~]
Meaning	bone
Sandawe	*!i
Notes	So far, only attested in Sandawe.
Number	329
Proto-Khoisan	*miʎa [~]
Meaning	bone
Hadza	*miʎa
Notes	An isolated Hadza form, likely of Cushitic origin.
Number	330
Proto-Khoisan	*saka (?)
Meaning	breast
Sandawe	*saka
Hadza	*kaca
Notes	Possibly a metathesis in one of the two languages (or just two



different roots).

Number	331
Proto-Khoisan	*[ʔi]riba [~]
Meaning	breast
Hadza	*riba
Notes	Not found outside Hadza.
Number	332
Proto-Khoisan	*kuʔ- [~]
Meaning	to burn
Proto-Bushman	*kuʔu-
Proto-Khoe	*kuru
Number	333
Proto-Khoisan	*kama [~]
Meaning	to burn
Sandawe	*kama
Notes	So far attested only in Sandawe.
Number	334
Proto-Khoisan	*muli [~]
Meaning	to burn
Hadza	*muli
Notes	Not found outside of Hadza.
Number	335
Proto-Khoisan	*çwaʔ [~]
Meaning	fangernail
Sandawe	*çwaʔa
Notes	So far attested only in Sandawe.
Number	336
Proto-Khoisan	*baʎu [~]

Meaning	fingernail
Hadza	*baɫu
Notes	So far attested only in Hadza.
Number	337
Proto-Khoisan	*ʔuŋ- [~]
Meaning	cloud
Proto-Khoe	*  qom (?)
Sandawe	*ʔuŋgu
Notes	A very tentative parallel (the function of the uvular efflux in Khoe is not understood), but possibly illustrating the process of secondary click formation in Khoe.
Number	338
Proto-Khoisan	*  aʔa (?)
Meaning	cold
Proto-Bushman	*  iaʔu
Hadza	*  aʔa (?)
Number	339
Proto-Khoisan	*!qai [~]
Meaning	cold
Proto-Khoe	*!qhàì
Sandawe	*tiŋka (?)
Notes	The connection is very dubious (Sandawe <i>t-</i> would rather yield a palatal click in Khoe), but given the general uncertainty about secondary click formation, should not be discarded right away.
Number	340
Proto-Khoisan	*ha [~]
Meaning	to come
Proto-Khoe	*hǎ
Notes	So far found only in Khoe.

Number 341  
 Proto-Khoisan \*ʒa [~]  
 Meaning to come  
 Hadza \*ʒa  
 Notes Exclusively found in Hadza (Khoisan [\\*ci](#) is too distant, although not excluded altogether).

Number 342  
 Proto-Khoisan \*||ʔi [~]  
 Meaning to die  
 Hadza \*ta-||ʔi-  
 Notes Found only in Hadza.

Number 343  
 Proto-Khoisan \*tVqV [~]  
 Meaning dog  
 Proto-Bushman \*ʔqho-  
 Sandawe \*gwece (?)  
 Notes The Sandawe connection is very tentative; really just a Peripheral Khoisan root (although a good common one).

Number 344  
 Proto-Khoisan \*kaka [~]  
 Meaning dog  
 Sandawe \*kāka  
 Notes A Sandawe-only form.

Number 345  
 Proto-Khoisan \*||aʔano [~]  
 Meaning dog  
 Hadza \*||aʔano  
 Notes Encountered only in Hadza. If the lateral click is disregarded, then the root *\*kan-* 'dog' is quite widely spread in that part of Africa (and outside Africa, as well): similar forms are found in Omotic, Shabo, Koman, etc.

Number 346  
 Proto-Khoisan \*çe [~]  
 Meaning to drink  
 Sandawe \*çē  
 Notes Isolated in Sandawe, unless it is somehow related to [\\*kxV](#) "drink" (cf. especially the palatalized reflexes in North Khoisan).

Number 347  
 Proto-Khoisan \*fa [~]  
 Meaning to drink  
 Hadza \*fa  
 Notes Isolated in Hadza.

Number 348  
 Proto-Khoisan \*|[n]ĩ [~]  
 Meaning dry  
 Sandawe \*ĩ  
 Notes No parallels found outside Sandawe.

Number 349  
 Proto-Khoisan \*CVqV [~]  
 Meaning ear  
 Proto-Bushman \*|qhoi  
 Notes Only found in North Khoisan and =Hoan.

Number 350  
 Proto-Khoisan \*ʔe [~]  
 Meaning ear  
 Proto-Khoe \*ʔé  
 Notes The root has sometimes been compared with Sandawe *keke* q. v., but solid evidence does not exist that would show Sandawe velars can contract into palatal clicks in Khoe (an alveolar click would rather be expected).

Number	351
Proto-Khoisan	*keke [~]
Meaning	ear
Sandawe	*keke
Notes	See notes on Khoe <a href="#">*fe</a> .
Number	352
Proto-Khoisan	*čapV (?) [~]
Meaning	ear
Hadza	*šʔapiçi
Notes	Possibly the same root as "leaf" (see comments in the Hadza database).
Number	353
Proto-Khoisan	*[ʔ]kxV [~]
Meaning	earth
Proto-Bushman	*kxa (*ʔkxV-?)
Notes	So far, found only in North Khoisan.
Number	354
Proto-Khoisan	*jamV [~]
Meaning	earth
Hadza	*jamU
Notes	Attested only in Hadza, where it may be a Cushitic borrowing.
Number	355
Proto-Khoisan	*ʔŋ [~]
Meaning	to eat
Proto-Bushman	*ʔŋ
Notes	Only attested in Peripheral Bushman.
Number	356
Proto-Khoisan	*CVʔu [~]

Meaning	to eat
Proto-Khoe	*ʔú
Notes	So far met only in Khoe.
Number	357
Proto-Khoisan	*seme [~]
Meaning	to eat
Hadza	*seme
Notes	A Hadza-only root.
Number	358
Proto-Khoisan	*ʔU (?)
Meaning	egg
Proto-Bushman	*ʔhu-
Proto-Khoe	*ʔúbí (?)
Number	359
Proto-Khoisan	*diʔa [~]
Meaning	egg
Sandawe	*diʔa
Notes	Attested only in Sandawe.
Number	360
Proto-Khoisan	*uʎe [~]
Meaning	egg
Hadza	*uʎe
Notes	Attested only in Hadza.
Number	361
Proto-Khoisan	*  <sup>w</sup> V
Meaning	eye
Proto-Bushman	*  <sup>w</sup> aʔa
Sandawe	* we (?)
Notes	It is tempting to connect the labial element in the Sandawe

root with labialization of the click in !Xóõ, however, any categoric statements would be premature here.

Number	362
Proto-Khoisan	*akhwa [~]
Meaning	eye
Hadza	*akh <sup>w</sup> a
Notes	A "world root", but within the Khoisan areal, only attested in Hadza so far.

Number	363
Proto-Khoisan	*ǁui [~]
Meaning	fat (n.)
Proto-Khoe	*ǁúì
Notes	Not found outside Khoe.

Number	364
Proto-Khoisan	*thawa [~]
Meaning	feather
Sandawe	*thawā
Notes	Attested only in Sandawe so far.

Number	365
Proto-Khoisan	*hukwa [~]
Meaning	to fly
Hadza	*hukwa
Notes	Attested only in Hadza.

Number	366
Proto-Khoisan	*ǁʔi [~]
Meaning	fire
Sandawe	*ǁʔi
Notes	Attested only in Sandawe.

Number	367
Proto-Khoisan	* ʔama [~]
Meaning	fish
Hadza	* ʔama
Notes	Attested only in Hadza.
Number	368
Proto-Khoisan	*ʒ̥- [~]
Meaning	to fly
Proto-Bushman	*ʒ̥-
Proto-Khoe	*cā[ē]
Notes	A good common Peripheral Khoisan root, found also in Naro (but could be a borrowing in the latter).
Number	369
Proto-Khoisan	*ĩare [~]
Meaning	foot
Proto-Khoe	*ĩhare
Notes	Not found outside Khoe.
Number	370
Proto-Khoisan	*  hata [~]
Meaning	foot
Sandawe	*  hata
Notes	Not found outside Sandawe.
Number	371
Proto-Khoisan	*pukwa [~]
Meaning	foot
Hadza	*puk <sup>w</sup> a
Notes	Found only in Hadza.
Number	372
Proto-Khoisan	*ɰnu [~]



Meaning	foot
Proto-Bushman	*ǀu
Notes	Attested only in South Khoisan.
Number	373
Proto-Khoisan	*ǀkxo [~]
Meaning	full
Proto-Khoe	*ǀkxóε
Hadza	*ǀʔo (?)
Number	374
Proto-Khoisan	*ǁoso [~]
Meaning	full
Hadza	*ǁʔoso
Notes	Attested only in Hadza.
Number	375
Proto-Khoisan	*i[e]
Meaning	to give
Sandawe	*ie
Notes	Attested only in Sandawe.
Number	376
Proto-Khoisan	*çiʔe [~]
Meaning	good
Hadza	*çiʔeʔe
Notes	Not found outside of Hadza.
Number	377
Proto-Khoisan	*najo- [~]
Meaning	green
Hadza	*najo-
Notes	Not found outside of Hadza.

Number	378
Proto-Khoisan	*ce [~]
Meaning	head
Sandawe	*cē
Notes	Found only in Sandawe (and Kwadi).

Number	379
Proto-Khoisan	*TV [~]
Meaning	to hear
Proto-Bushman	*t̥V
Proto-Khoe	*tĩ
Notes	The semantic correlation "ask" - "hear" is sometimes encountered in the world's languages, so the comparison is provisionally acceptable.

Number	380
Proto-Khoisan	* QV [~]
Meaning	heart
Proto-Bushman	*  <sub>1</sub> k?V-
Notes	A Peripheral Khoisan-only root.

Number	381
Proto-Khoisan	*ʒigida [~]
Meaning	hear
Sandawe	*ʒigida

Number	382
Proto-Khoisan	*ɬao [~]
Meaning	heart
Proto-Khoe	*ɬáó

Number	383
Proto-Khoisan	*asači- [~]
Meaning	heart
Hadza	*asači-

Number	384
Proto-Khoisan	*loʔo [~]
Meaning	horn
Hadza	*loʔo
Number	385
Proto-Khoisan	*kwe [~]
Meaning	to kill
Proto-Khoe	*  ʔó
Sandawe	*kwe
Hadza	*  o-
Number	386
Proto-Khoisan	*ke [~]
Meaning	knee
Sandawe	*ke(ŋ)
Number	387
Proto-Khoisan	*mana [~]
Meaning	to know
Sandawe	*manā
Number	388
Proto-Khoisan	*çaha- [~]
Meaning	to know
Hadza	*ça(ha)
Number	389
Proto-Khoisan	*  U (?) [~]
Meaning	to lie
Proto-Khoe	*  óé
Hadza	*  upi (?)
Notes	The Hadza form can also belong to <a href="#">*  ʔo</a> "to sleep".

Number	390
Proto-Khoisan	*ǀi [~]
Meaning	to lie
Sandawe	*ǀine
Number	391
Proto-Khoisan	*tV [~]
Meaning	to lie
Proto-Bushman	*tV
Number	392
Proto-Khoisan	*thasV [~]
Meaning	liver
Sandawe	*thasno
Number	393
Proto-Khoisan	*ǀV
Meaning	liver
Proto-Bushman	*ǀǃ-
Hadza	*ǀ?eja
Number	394
Proto-Khoisan	*!ao [~]
Meaning	long
Proto-Khoe	*!áò
Number	395
Proto-Khoisan	*taka [~]
Meaning	long
Hadza	*taka[-sV]
Number	396
Proto-Khoisan	*!xU [~]

Meaning	man
Proto-Bushman	*!Xũã
Number	397
Proto-Khoisan	*kxao [~]
Meaning	man
Proto-Khoe	*kxáò
Notes	Not found outside Khoe.
Number	398
Proto-Khoisan	*maxV [~]
Meaning	man
Sandawe	*maxV
Notes	Not found outside Sandawe.
Number	399
Proto-Khoisan	*λV[mV]
Meaning	man
Proto-Bushman	*λa
Hadza	*λeme
Number	400
Proto-Khoisan	*de [~]
Meaning	many
Sandawe	*dē
Notes	Not found outside Sandawe.
Number	401
Proto-Khoisan	*aso [~]
Meaning	many
Hadza	*aso
Notes	Not found outside Hadza.
Number	402

Proto-Khoisan	*kxo [~]
Meaning	to eat meat
Proto-Khoe	*kxó
Notes	Not found outside Khoe.
Number	403
Proto-Khoisan	*ĩi [~]
Meaning	meat
Sandawe	*ĩi
Notes	Not found outside Sandawe.
Number	404
Proto-Khoisan	*!a [~]
Meaning	moon
Sandawe	*!a
Notes	Not found outside Sandawe.
Number	405
Proto-Khoisan	*setha [~]
Meaning	moon
Hadza	*setha
Notes	Not found outside Hadza, where it is quite likely a Nilotic borrowing.
Number	406
Proto-Khoisan	* [n]u-
Meaning	stone
Proto-Bushman	*ĩiu-
Proto-Khoe	* ʔuí
Number	407
Proto-Khoisan	*din [~]
Meaning	stone
Sandawe	*dīn

Notes	Not found outside Sandawe.
Number	408
Proto-Khoisan	*[  ]gabV
Meaning	mountain
Proto-Khoe	*  abi (?)
Sandawe	*gawa
Notes	Possible click loss in Sandawe (alternatively, the Sandawe form can be seen as a Cushitic borrowing).
Number	409
Proto-Khoisan	*kxam [~]
Meaning	mouth
Proto-Khoe	*kxám
Notes	Not found outside Khoe (although the word is present as a borrowing in Ju   ?hoan).
Number	410
Proto-Khoisan	*![n]u-
Meaning	mouth
Proto-Bushman	*ǀu (?)
Sandawe	*ǀum
Notes	A very weak parallel (click influxes hardly match).
Number	411
Proto-Khoisan	*wanika [~]
Meaning	mouth
Hadza	*wanika
Notes	Not found outside Hadza.
Number	412
Proto-Khoisan	*  oa [~]
Meaning	name
Sandawe	*  wa

Notes	Not found outside Sandawe.
Number	413
Proto-Khoisan	*akana [~]
Meaning	to call, name
Hadza	*akana
Notes	Not found outside Hadza.
Number	414
Proto-Khoisan	*kwe [~]
Meaning	neck
Sandawe	*kwe
Notes	Not found outside Sandawe.
Number	415
Proto-Khoisan	* uti [~]
Meaning	neck
Hadza	* ut <sup>h</sup> i
Notes	Attested only in Hadza.
Number	416
Proto-Khoisan	*qaba [~]
Meaning	new
Proto-Khoe	*qábà
Notes	Attested only in Khoe.
Number	417
Proto-Khoisan	*  ae [~]
Meaning	new
Sandawe	*  ae
Notes	Not found outside Sandawe.
Number	418
Proto-Khoisan	* y [~]



Meaning	night
Proto-Bushman	*]y (?)
Notes	Not found outside Peripheral Khoisan.
Number	419
Proto-Khoisan	*çifi [~]
Meaning	night
Hadza	*çifi
Notes	Found only in Hadza (but cf. <a href="#">*(h)U</a> id.).
Number	420
Proto-Khoisan	*CV[?V] [~]
Meaning	woman
Proto-Bushman	*]ʔε
Notes	Not found outside Peripheral Khoisan.
Number	421
Proto-Khoisan	*U [~]
Meaning	interr. base
Sandawe	*ho
Notes	Not found outside Sandawe.
Number	422
Proto-Khoisan	*pho [~]
Meaning	white
Sandawe	*phō
Notes	Not found outside Sandawe.
Number	423
Proto-Khoisan	*peʔa [~]
Meaning	white
Hadza	*peʔa
Notes	Not found outside Hadza.

Number	424
Proto-Khoisan	*u
Meaning	1st p. pl.
Sandawe	*su-
Hadza	*u
Notes	The comparison is only acceptable if <i>s-</i> in Sandawe is a prefix (there is some evidence in favor of that).

Number	425
Proto-Khoisan	*tV [~]
Meaning	thou
Hadza	*tV
Notes	Not found outside Hadza. 2nd p. pr. in <i>t-</i> is unknown to the other Khoisan languages, but quite indicative of Afro-Asiatic (another argument in favor of the non-Khoisan status of Hadza).

Number	426
Proto-Khoisan	*!he [~]
Meaning	tongue
Sandawe	*!he
Notes	Not found outside Sandawe.

Number	427
Proto-Khoisan	*!a [~]
Meaning	stone
Hadza	*ha!ʔa
Notes	Not found outside Hadza.

Number	428
Proto-Khoisan	*  <sup>w</sup> [n]V
Meaning	one
Proto-Bushman	*! <sup>w</sup> V-
Proto-Khoe	* úí (?)

Number	429
Proto-Khoisan	*!ʷxui [~]
Meaning	tail
Proto-Bushman	*!ʷxui (?)
Notes	Not found outside Peripheral Khoisan.
Number	430
Proto-Khoisan	*!ʔa[kV] [~]
Meaning	tooth
Sandawe	*!ʔakha
Notes	Not found outside Sandawe.
Number	431
Proto-Khoisan	*ha [~]
Meaning	tooth
Hadza	*aha
Notes	Not found outside Hadza.
Number	432
Proto-Khoisan	*ʔu [~]
Meaning	nose
Proto-Khoe	*ʔúì
Notes	Not found outside Khoe.
Number	433
Proto-Khoisan	*ʎVkV (?)
Meaning	not
Proto-Bushman	*  qhV
Sandawe	*ʎāki
Hadza	*k <sup>w</sup> V (?)
Notes	The Hadza connection is less probable than the Sandawe-Khoe one.
Number	434

Proto-Khoisan	*  [h]o [~]
Meaning	not
Proto-Bushman	*  [h]o-
Notes	Not found outside Peripheral Khoisan.
Number	435
Proto-Khoisan	*ǃV [~]
Meaning	person
Proto-Bushman	*ǃu
Notes	Not found outside Peripheral Khoisan.
Number	436
Proto-Khoisan	* omV [~]
Meaning	person
Sandawe	* omV
Notes	Not found outside Sandawe.
Number	437
Proto-Khoisan	*unu [~]
Meaning	person
Hadza	*unu
Notes	Not found outside Hadza.
Number	438
Proto-Khoisan	*ça [~]
Meaning	water
Sandawe	*ça
Notes	Not found outside Sandawe. Supposed connections with Khoe <i>*chǎ</i> 'water' are probably misleading, since the latter is more likely to reflect an old lateral affricate.
Number	439
Proto-Khoisan	*  [n]V-
Meaning	red

Proto-Bushman	*  <sub>1</sub> a <sup>h</sup> - ~ *  <sub>1</sub> a <sup>h</sup> -
Proto-Khoe	*[òá (?)
Number	440
Proto-Khoisan	*buʎi [~]
Meaning	red
Sandawe	*buʎi
Notes	Not found outside Sandawe.
Number	441
Proto-Khoisan	*teki [~]
Meaning	red
Hadza	*te(ki)se
Notes	Not found outside Hadza.
Number	442
Proto-Khoisan	*!k̥a- [~]
Meaning	root
Proto-Bushman	*!kʔa-i
Notes	Not found outside Peripheral Khoisan.
Number	443
Proto-Khoisan	*[̃]oma [~]
Meaning	root
Proto-Khoe	*[̃]oma
Notes	Not found outside Khoe.
Number	444
Proto-Khoisan	*[̃]i [~]
Meaning	root
Sandawe	*[̃]i
Notes	Only attested in Sandawe.
Number	445

Proto-Khoisan	* ʔi [~]
Meaning	soil
Sandawe	* ʔina
Notes	Only attested in Sandawe.
Number	446
Proto-Khoisan	*  <sup>w</sup> ʔo [~]
Meaning	tree
Proto-Bushman	*  <sup>w</sup> ʔ̃
Notes	Only Peripheral Khoisan. Labial click articulation in South Khoisan may be secondary, as in other cases.
Number	447
Proto-Khoisan	*ji [~]
Meaning	tree
Proto-Khoe	*ji
Notes	Not found outside Khoe. Similar forms occur in some of the Niger-Congo branches, so this could be a substrate residue.
Number	448
Proto-Khoisan	*t̥E [?]
Meaning	tree
Sandawe	*thē
Hadza	*çiti
Notes	The similarity between Sandawe and Hadza forms is notable, but does not reflect any apparent regularity.
Number	449
Proto-Khoisan	*ika [~]
Meaning	to stand
Hadza	*ika
Notes	Found only in Hadza.
Number	450

Proto-Khoisan	*[i]šo [~]
Meaning	sun
Hadza	*išo
Notes	Found only in Hadza.
Number	451
Proto-Khoisan	*ḵumi [~]
Meaning	small
Hadza	*ḵumi
Notes	Found only in Hadza.
Number	452
Proto-Khoisan	*ĩaro
Meaning	to freeze
Proto-Bushman	*ĩaro (?)
Proto-Khoe	*ĩaro
Notes	Within Peripheral Khoisan, only attested in !Xóõ.
Number	453
Proto-Khoisan	*ĩḥ (?)
Meaning	to sit
Proto-Bushman	*ĩḥ
Proto-Khoe	*ĩú (?)
Notes	The connection is tempting, but click influxes do not really seem to match at all.
Number	454
Proto-Khoisan	*ḥqhU
Meaning	Combretum sp. (tree)
Proto-Bushman	*ḥqhU
Proto-Khoe	*ḥ?ô
Notes	The North Khoisan forms may be Khoe borrowings, but the parallel between Khoe and !Xóõ would rather indicate common descent.

Number	455
Proto-Khoisan	* NVra
Meaning	separate, divide
Proto-Bushman	* na <sup>h</sup> ?ra
Proto-Khoe	* ora (* -)
Notes	Click efflux correspondences are quite extraordinary here, making the comparison rather flimsy.

Number	456
Proto-Khoisan	*QoV-
Meaning	to resemble
Proto-Bushman	*qhoε
Proto-Khoe	*[kx]õã

Number	457
Proto-Khoisan	* xu- (?)
Meaning	bad, evil
Proto-Bushman	* xo
Proto-Khoe	* kxu (?)

Number	458
Proto-Khoisan	* qabV
Meaning	to sprinkle
Proto-Bushman	* qaba <sup>h</sup>
Proto-Khoe	* abi (* -)
Notes	Within Khoekhoe, attested only in Nama, so the comparison is rather weak.

Number	459
Proto-Khoisan	* a-
Meaning	to stay; deictic element (this, here, there)
Proto-Bushman	* a
Proto-Khoe	* à
Sandawe	*nē (?)



Notes                                      The Sandawe form is comparable only under the condition of irregular click loss in that language.

Number                                      460  
 Proto-Khoisan                            \*!ʔa[m]-  
 Meaning                                      long  
 Proto-Bushman                            \*!ʔam  
 Proto-Khoe                                \*!ʔã (!kx-)

Number                                      461  
 Proto-Khoisan                            \*ʔho-  
 Meaning                                      placenta; womb  
 Proto-Bushman                            \*ʔ<sup>h</sup>  
 Proto-Khoe                                \*ʔho

Number                                      462  
 Proto-Khoisan                            \*ʔVnV-  
 Meaning                                      mongoose  
 Proto-Bushman                            \*ʔ<sup>h</sup>  
 Sandawe                                      \*ʔaŋ  
 Notes                                        If the etymology is correct, the lateral click in !Xóõ must be closer to the original articulation than the alveolar click in North Khoisan.

Number                                      463  
 Proto-Khoisan                            \*TVkV  
 Meaning                                      to spit  
 Proto-Khoe                                \*ʔkxě  
 Sandawe                                      \*thuḵa  
 Notes                                        One of the best examples of the possible origin of the palatal click in Khoe (development from an original dental click).

Number                                      464  
 Proto-Khoisan                            \*![!]  
 Meaning                                      to want, wish

Proto-Bushman \*ka-[ne]  
 Proto-Khoe \*!á  
 Notes Irregular click loss in this root happens not only in Peripheral Khoisan, but also in Khoekhoe.

Number 465  
 Proto-Khoisan \*ʔ[h]V-  
 Meaning to speak, converse, gossip  
 Proto-Bushman \*ʔṣã  
 Proto-Khoe \*|hó-  
 Notes Whether click correspondences allow for such an etymology is still to be determined.

Number 466  
 Proto-Khoisan \*ha  
 Meaning past tense marker  
 Proto-Bushman \*ha  
 Proto-Khoe \*-ha<sup>(ʔ)</sup>  
 Notes A solid grammatical isogloss between Peripheral Khoisan and Khoe.

Number 467  
 Proto-Khoisan \*CVKV  
 Meaning milk  
 Proto-Bushman \*ʔGhe (?)  
 Sandawe \*ʒiḱe  
 Notes Cf. also Hadza *ḱaca* "breast" (or with Sandawe *saka* "chest"?). Monosyllabification in Peripheral Khoisan would rather yield a dental click, so the comparison is quite weak.

Number 468  
 Proto-Khoisan \*kxoá  
 Meaning to return  
 Proto-Khoe \*kxóà

Sandawe	*khwā
Number	469
Proto-Khoisan	*tV
Meaning	conjunctive particle
Proto-Bushman	*ta
Hadza	*atV
Number	470
Proto-Khoisan	*ase [~]
Meaning	to lie down
Hadza	*ase
Notes	Found only in Hadza.
Number	471
Proto-Khoisan	*luχu [~]
Meaning	many
Hadza	*luχu
Notes	Found only in Hadza.
Number	472
Proto-Khoisan	*  ʔuχe [~]
Meaning	hill
Hadza	*  ʔuχe
Notes	Found only in Hadza.
Number	473
Proto-Khoisan	*jeke [~]
Meaning	way, path
Hadza	*jeke
Notes	Found only in Hadza.
Number	474
Proto-Khoisan	*çawa [~]

Meaning sand  
 Hadza \*çawa  
 Notes Found only in Hadza.

Number 475  
 Proto-Khoisan \*he- [~]  
 Meaning to say  
 Hadza \*he  
 Notes Found only in Hadza.

Number 476  
 Proto-Khoisan \*|ʔutu [~]  
 Meaning seed  
 Hadza \*|ʔutu  
 Notes Found only in Hadza.

Number 477  
 Proto-Khoisan \*hama [~]  
 Meaning to sit  
 Hadza \*hama  
 Notes Found only in Hadza.

Number 478  
 Proto-Khoisan \*ahu [~]  
 Meaning skin  
 Hadza \*ahu  
 Notes Found only in Hadza.

Number 479  
 Proto-Khoisan \*na  
 Meaning deictic stem  
 Proto-Khoe \*ǀé (?)  
 Hadza \*na  
 Notes In Khoe cf. particularly Khoekhoe *\*ne* (with a suggested

irregular click loss, but could be a separate root).

Number	480
Proto-Khoisan	*tha [~]
Meaning	to run, fly
Sandawe	*tha
Notes	Attested only in Sandawe.

Number	481
Proto-Khoisan	*  ō [~]
Meaning	path
Sandawe	*  ō
Notes	Attested only in Sandawe.