

[Text version of database, created 11/05/2013].

Annotated Swadesh wordlists for the Bantu-S group (Niger-Congo family).

Languages included: Xhosa [bns-xho].

DATA SOURCES

Xhosa

Main source

Fischer 1985 = Fischer, Arnold. English-Xhosa Dictionary. Oxford University Press. // *A large and authoritative English-Xhosa dictionary. Xhosa words are transcribed in the official orthography, without tonal marks.*

Additional source

Donnelly 2007 = Donnelly, Simon Scurr. Aspects of tone and voice in Phuthi. PhD diss., University of Illinois. // *Although this work mainly deals with the Phuthi language, it also contains a comparative Swadesh wordlist for Phuthi, Xhosa, and Sotho, transcribed phonetically and regularly marking out tonal characteristics.*

NOTES

1. *General.*

Xhosa

The main source for Xhosa entries is Fischer 1985; this English-Xhosa dictionary is, for the most part, sufficient to accurately and reliably fill in most of the positions on the Swadesh wordlist. A few ambiguous cases were verified for peculiarities and frequency of usage on the basis of various Xhosa-language texts and text corpora on the Web. The only flaw of Fischer's dictionary is that, following official orthography, it does not mark

tones; for that reason, phonetically transcribed variants in [Donnelly 2007] have been added in the Notes section.

2. Transliteration.

Xhosa

The official Latin-based Xhosa alphabet has multiple differences from the IPA / UTS systems; the principal distinctions are listed in the table below.

Xhosa alphabet	UTS system
kh	k ^h
ph	p ^h
bh	b ^h
th	t ^h
tsh	ç ^h
j	ǃ
ty	ǡ
dy	ǣ
tl	ǻ
dl	Ǽ
hl	ǻ
ny	ɲ
c, gc, nc	ǀ, ǁ, ǃ
q, gq, nq	ǂ, ǃ, Ǆ
x, gx, nx	ǁ, ǂ, ǃ
e	ɛ (e)
o	ɔ (o)

Notes.

1. The vowels *e* and *o* are pronounced as ε and ɔ in most contexts, except for certain consonantal environments; there is no phonemic opposition between ε and *e*, or ɔ and *o*,

in Xhosa.

2. Voiced and voiceless lateral affricates λ and ℓ are positional allophones.

3. Phonetically, unaspirated p , t , k , etc., in Xhosa are usually described as ejectives; to avoid superfluous symbols, we do not mark ejective articulation in the UTS transcription.

4. The two phonemic tones (low and high), as well as their combined contours, are not marked in Fischer's dictionary; we do, however, include tonal transcriptions for most of the items, taken from [Donnelly 2007], in the Notes section.

Database compiled and annotated by: G. Starostin (last update: May 2013).

(The Xhosa wordlist was originally constructed by Ye. Chekmeneva, but seriously revised and re-annotated by G. Starostin).

1. ALL

Xhosa =ɔnke [-onke] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 15. A quantitative word, to which the subjectival concord is prefixed (cf. *um=ntu w=ɔnke* 'all men', *aba=ntu b=ɔnke* 'all people'). Distinct from the adverbial *kwap^hela* 'all' = 'quite, entirely'. Quoted as =ɟkɛ in [Donnelly 2007: 1044].

2. ASHES

Xhosa u=t^hut^hu [uthuthu] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 31. No plural form. Class 11 (6). Secondary synonym: i=šɔ//a [ibid.] (a rare word with unclear semantics). Distinguished also from *u=vundu* 'hot ashes'.

3. BARK

Xhosa i=//ɔlɔ [ixolo] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 45. General meaning of the word is 'cover, shell, skin', etc.; the more specialized meaning 'tree bark' may be expressed by the concatenation *i=//ɔlɔ lɔ=m=t^hi* 'cover of tree' (see under 'tree').

4. BELLY

Xhosa isi=su (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 52. Class 7 (4). Quoted as *isi=sù* in [Donnelly 2007: 1044].

5. BIG

Xhosa =k^hulu [-khulu] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 55. Quoted as =k^hùlù in [Donnelly 2007: 1044].

6. BIRD

Xhosa in=taka (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 56. Plural form: *i:n=taka*. Class 9/10 (5). Quoted as *in=tàkà* in [Donnelly 2007: 1044].

7. BITE

Xhosa =*lum-a* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 56. Quoted as =*lúm-à* ~ =*lúm-à* in [Donnelly 2007: 1044].

8. BLACK

Xhosa =*mjam-a* [-*mnyama*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 57. Quoted as =*mjam-à* in [Donnelly 2007: 1045].

9. BLOOD

Xhosa *i=gazi* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 59. Plural form: *ama=gazi*. Class 5/6 (3). Quoted as *i=gàzi* in [Donnelly 2007: 1045].

10. BONE

Xhosa *i=t^hambɔ* [*ithambo*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 63. Plural form: *ama=t^hambɔ*. Class 5/6 (3). Quoted as *î=t^hâmbɔ* in [Donnelly 2007: 1045].

11. BREAST

Xhosa *isi=fuba* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 69. Class 7 (4). Distinct from *i=bele* 'female breast' [ibid.].

12. BURN TR.

Xhosa =č^h=is-a [-tshisa] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 75. The transitive stem is formed from the intransitive =č-a 'to burn' with the productive suffix -is-. The intransitive verb is quoted as =č^h-á in [Donnelly 2007: 1045].

13. CLAW(NAIL)

Xhosa u=zip^hɔ [uzipho] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 397. Plural form: í:n=zip^hɔ. Class 11/10 (6). Quoted as (l)ú=zìp^hɔ ~ (l)í=zìp^hɔ, pl. í:n=zìp^hɔ in [Donnelly 2007: 1048].

14. CLOUD

Xhosa ilí=fu (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 102. Class 5 (3). Quoted as ilí=fú in [Donnelly 2007: 1045].

15. COLD

Xhosa =band-a (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 105. Secondary synonym: =t^hε|εkε [ibid.]. Quoted as =bánd-à in [Donnelly 2007: 1045].

16. COME

Xhosa =z-a (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 107. Quoted as =(i)zà in [Donnelly 2007: 1045].

17. DIE

Xhosa =bub-a (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 158. Secondary synonym: =*f-a* [ibid.] (this verb is more archaic and used much more rarely than =*bub-a*; the root is more properly preserved in the derived nominal *uku=fá* 'death'). Only the more archaic verb is quoted as =*fú* in [Donnelly 2007: 1045].

18. DOG

Xhosa *in=ǰa* [*inja*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 170. Plural form: *izin=ǰa*. Class 9/10 (5). Quoted as *in=ǰâ* in [Donnelly 2007: 1045].

19. DRINK

Xhosa =*sɛl-a* [*-sela*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 175. Quoted as =*sɛl-à* in [Donnelly 2007: 1045].

20. DRY

Xhosa =*ɔm-ilɛ* [*-omile*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 177. Derived from the verb =*om-a* 'to be dry'. Quoted as =*ɔm-â* ~ =*ɔm-á* in [Donnelly 2007: 1045].

21. EAR

Xhosa *in=Ǽbɛ* [*indlebe*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 180. Plural form: *in=Ǽbɛ*. Class 9/10 (5). Quoted as *in=Ǽbɛ́* in [Donnelly 2007: 1046].

22. EARTH

Xhosa *um=ɬaba* [*umhlaba*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 181. Class 3 (2). Meaning glossed as 'earth (soil)'; distinct from *i=ɬaba-tʰi* 'earth (world)', although both words share the same root. Quoted as *úm=ɬábà* in [Donnelly 2007: 1046].

23. EAT

Xhosa =*ɕ*-*a* [-*tya*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 181. Quoted as =*ɕ*-*á* in [Donnelly 2007: 1046].

24. EGG

Xhosa *i*=!*anda* [*iqanda*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 183. Plural form: *ama*=!*anda*. Class 5/6 (3). Quoted as *i*=!*ándá* ~ *lí*=!*ándá* in [Donnelly 2007: 1046].

25. EYE

Xhosa *il*=*iso* [*iliso*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 202. Suppletive plural: *am*=*ɛt̪*. Class 5/6 (3). Quoted as *il*=*it̪* ; pl. *ám*=*ɛt̪* ; in [Donnelly 2007: 1046].

26. FAT N.

Xhosa *ama*=*fut^h**a* [*amafutha*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 209. Class 6 (3). Quoted as *ámá*=*fút^h**à* 'grease' in [Donnelly 2007: 1047].

27. FEATHER

Xhosa *u*=*siba* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 210. Plural form: *i:n*=*ciba*. Class 11/10 (6). Quoted as (*l*)*í*=*síbà* ~ (*l*)*ú*=*síbà* in [Donnelly 2007: 1046].

28. FIRE

Xhosa *um*=*lilo* [*umlilo*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 216. Class 3 (2). Quoted as *úm=lilò* in [Donnelly 2007: 1046].

29. FISH

Xhosa *in=λanzi [intlanzi]* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 217. Plural form: *i:n=λanzi*. Class 9/10 (5). Quoted as *in=λanzi* in [Donnelly 2007: 1046].

30. FLY V.

Xhosa *=b^hab^h-a [-bhabha]* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 223. Quoted as *=b^hàb^h-à* in [Donnelly 2007: 1046].

31. FOOT

Xhosa *u=ɲawɔ [unɲawo]* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 225. Plural form: *i:ɲawɔ*. Class 11/10 (6). Different from *um=lɛnzɛ* 'leg' [Fischer 1985: 339]. Quoted as *(l)ú=ɲàwɔ ~ (l)í=ɲàwɔ* in [Donnelly 2007: 1046].

32. FULL

Xhosa *=zɛlɛ* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 235. Cf. *zal-is-a* 'to fill' [Fischer 1985: 214]. Quoted as *=zɛlɛ* in [Donnelly 2007: 1046].

33. GIVE

Xhosa *=nik-a* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 246. Quoted as *=nik-à* in [Donnelly 2007: 1046]. Secondary synonym: *=p^h-a* (the meaning is closer to 'donate, present, give as a gift').

34. GOOD

Xhosa =*lung-il-ε* [*-lungile*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 251. Derived from *lung-a* 'to be / get well'. Quoted as =*lung-ilè* in [Donnelly 2007: 1046].

35. GREEN

Xhosa =*lu=ɬaz-a* [*-luhlaza*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 60, 255, 508. Polysemy: 'blue / green / raw'. Quoted as =*lù=ɬáz-à* in [Donnelly 2007: 1047].

36. HAIR

Xhosa *u=nwεlε* [*unwele*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 261. Plural form: *i=nwεlε*. Class 11/10 (6). Distinct from *u=bɔya* 'hair of the body; hair of animals' [ibid.]. Quoted as *i=nwélè* (pl.) in [Donnelly 2007: 1047].

37. HAND

Xhosa *is=anŁa* [*isandla*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 263. Plural form: *iz=anŁa*. Distinct from *in=galo* 'arm' [Fischer 1985: 28]. Quoted as *ís=áηŁà* in [Donnelly 2007: 1047].

38. HEAD

Xhosa *in=λɔkɔ* [*intloko*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 269. Plural form: *in=λɔkɔ*. Class 9/10 (5). Quoted as *ín=λ kò* in [Donnelly 2007: 1047].

39. HEAR

Xhosa =*va* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 270. Quoted as =(i)*vá* in [Donnelly 2007: 1047].

40. HEART

Xhosa *in=λiziyɔ* [*intliziyɔ*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 270. Plural form: *i=λiziyɔ*. Class 9/10 (5). Quoted as *ín=λízíyò* in [Donnelly 2007: 1047]. Secondary synonym: *i=p^hap^hu* [ibid.] (this word is encountered very rarely and may be considered archaic).

41. HORN

Xhosa *u=p^hɔndɔ* [*uphondo*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 281. Plural form: *im=pɔndɔ*. Class 11/10 (6). Distinct from *i=||ilongo* 'musical horn' [ibid.]. Quoted as *ú=p^hɔndò* in [Donnelly 2007: 1047].

42. I

Xhosa *m-na* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 287. This is the stressed emphatic form; the meaning of the 1st p. sg. is normally expressed with the subject prefix *ná-*. Quoted as *ná* in [Donnelly 2007: 1047].

43. KILL

Xhosa =*bulal-a* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 326. Quoted as =*bùlál-à* in [Donnelly 2007: 1047].

44. KNEE

Xhosa *i=dɔɔ* [*idolo*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 328. Plural form: *ama=dɔɔ*. Class 5/6 (3). Quoted as *i=dɔɔ* in [Donnelly 2007: 1047].

45. KNOW

Xhosa =*azi* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 328. Quoted as =*âzi* in [Donnelly 2007: 1047].

46. LEAF

Xhosa *i=labi* [*igqabi*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 336. Plural form: *ama=labi*. Class 5/6 (3).

47. LIE

Xhosa =*lal-a* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 344. Static action verb, same as 'to sleep' q.v.; different from *but^hum-a* 'to lie down' [ibid.].

48. LIVER

Xhosa *isi=bindi* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 351. Class 7 (4). Quoted as *isi=bindi* in [Donnelly 2007: 1048].

49. LONG

Xhosa =*dε* [*-de*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 354. Quoted as =*dè* in [Donnelly 2007: 1048].

50. LOUSE

Xhosa *i=ntwala* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 358. Plural form: *i=ntwala*. Class 9/10 (5). Quoted as *i=ntwála* in [Donnelly 2007: 1048].

51. MAN

Xhosa *in=dɔda* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 365. Plural form: *ama=dɔda*. Class 9/6. Quoted as *in=dɔdà* in [Donnelly 2007: 1048].

52. MANY

Xhosa *=ninzi* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 367. Quoted as *=ninzi* in [Donnelly 2007: 1048].

53. MEAT

Xhosa *i=ɲama* [*inyama*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 374. Class 5 (3). Quoted as *i=ɲàmà* 'flesh' in [Donnelly 2007: 1046].

54. MOON

Xhosa *i=ɲanga* [*inyanga*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 389. Plural form: *i=ɲanga*. Class 9/10 (5). Quoted as *i=ɲàngá* in [Donnelly 2007: 1048].

55. MOUNTAIN

Xhosa *in=taba* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 392. Plural form: *i=n=taba*. Class 9/10 (5). Quoted as *in=tàbà* in [Donnelly 2007: 1048].

56. MOUTH

Xhosa *um=lɔmɔ* [*umlomo*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 392. Class 3 (2). Quoted as *úm=lòmɔ* in [Donnelly 2007: 1048].

57. NAME

Xhosa *i=gama* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 397. Plural form: *ama=gama*. Class 5/6 (3). Quoted as *î=gâmà* in [Donnelly 2007: 1048]. The alternate translation of 'name' as *u=dumɔ* [ibid.] refers to 'name = fame, notoriety' rather than personal name.

58. NECK

Xhosa *in=tamɔ* [*intamo*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 401. Plural form: *in=tamɔ*. Class 9/10 (5). Quoted as *in=tàmɔ* in [Donnelly 2007: 1048].

59. NEW

Xhosa *=ç^ha* [*-tsha*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 403. Quoted as *=ç^há* in [Donnelly 2007: 1048].

60. NIGHT

Xhosa *ubu=suku* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 404. Class 14 (7). Quoted as *úbù=súkù* in [Donnelly 2007: 1048].

61. NOSE

Xhosa *im=pumɔ* [*impumlo*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 408. Plural form: *i:m=pumlɔ*. Class 9/10 (5). Quoted as *ím=pú ñ* in [Donnelly 2007: 1048].

62. NOT

Xhosa *a-* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 408. This is the most common prefixal morpheme of negation; it usually functions as part of a circumfix (*a- ... -i* for the present tense; *a- ... -anya* for the recent past tense, etc.).

63. ONE

Xhosa *=ɲɛ [-nyɛ]* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 419. Quoted as *=ɲè* in [Donnelly 2007: 1048].

64. PERSON

Xhosa *um=ntu* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 450. Plural form: *aba=ntu* 'people' [Fischer 1985: 447]. Class 1/2 (1). Quoted as *ù ñntù* in [Donnelly 2007: 1048].

65. RAIN

Xhosa *im=vula* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 504. Class 9 (5). Quoted as *im=vùlâ* in [Donnelly 2007: 1049].

66. RED

Xhosa *=bomvu* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 514. Quoted as *=bòmú* in [Donnelly 2007: 1049].

67. ROAD

Xhosa *in=ℓℓla* [*indlela*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 538. Plural form: *in=ℓℓla*. Class 9/10 (5). Quoted as *in=ℓℓlâ* in [Donnelly 2007: 1048].

68. ROOT

Xhosa *in=|ambu* [*ingcambu*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 541. Plural form: *in=|ambu*. Class 9/10 (5). Quoted as *in|âmbú* in [Donnelly 2007: 1049].

69. ROUND₁

Xhosa *=sisazinge* [*-sisazinge*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 543. Meaning glossed as 'round (as a circle)' (i. e. '2D').

69. ROUND₂

Xhosa *=^hukuva* [*-ngqukuva*] (2).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 543. Meaning glossed as 'round (as a ball)' (i. e. '3D').

70. SAND

Xhosa *in=λaba-t^hi* [*intlabathi*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 553. Class 9 (5). Cf. 'earth' with the same root. Quoted as *in=λâbâ-t^hi* in [Donnelly 2007: 1049].

71. SAY

Xhosa *=t^hi* [*-thi*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 556. This is the main Xhosa verb that introduces direct speech; distinct from =t^hεt^h-a 'to speak'. Quoted as =t^h in [Donnelly 2007: 1049].

72. SEE

Xhosa =bɔn-a [-bona] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 567. Quoted as =bɔn-à in [Donnelly 2007: 1049].

73. SEED

Xhosa im=bewu (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 567. Plural form: i:m=bewu. Class 9/10 (5). Quoted as im=bêwù in [Donnelly 2007: 1049].

74. SIT

Xhosa =tala-a (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 590. This is the static verb ('to be sitting'); the dynamic meaning 'to sit down' is usually rendered as a complex expression (=tala p^hanci). Quoted as =tâl-à in [Donnelly 2007: 1049].

75. SKIN

Xhosa ulu=su (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 592. Class 11/6. This word generally refers to human skin; for 'animal skin', the more common equivalent is isi=k^humba [ibid.]. Only the latter is quoted as isi=k^humbà in [Donnelly 2007: 1049].

76. SLEEP

Xhosa =lal-a (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 594. Same word as 'to lie' q.v. Quoted as =lâl-à in [Donnelly 2007: 1049].

77. SMALL

Xhosa =*ĩna-ne* [-*ncinane*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 597. Quoted as =*ĩná-nè* in [Donnelly 2007: 1049].

78. SMOKE

Xhosa *um=si* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 598. Class 3 (2). Quoted as *úm=sí* in [Donnelly 2007: 1049].

79. STAND

Xhosa =*m-a* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 618. Distinct from =*p^hakam-a* 'to stand up' [ibid.]. Quoted as =(i)*mà* in [Donnelly 2007: 1050].

80. STAR

Xhosa *in=kwenkwezi* [*inkwenkwezi*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 619. Plural form: *in=kwenkwezi*. Class 9/10 (5).

81. STONE

Xhosa *ili=çε* [*ilitye*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 626. Class 5 (3). Quoted as *ilí=çè* in [Donnelly 2007: 1050].

82. SUN

Xhosa *i=langa* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 638. Quoted as *(l)i-lângâ* in [Donnelly 2007: 1050].

83. SWIM

Xhosa =!ub^h-a [-qubha] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 644. Of people; for objects, the verb =dad-a 'to float' [ibid.] is used instead.

84. TAIL

Xhosa um=sila (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 647. Class 3 (2). Quoted as *úm=silà* in [Donnelly 2007: 1050].

85. THAT

Xhosa =ɔ (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 657. The actual forms are essentially the different variants of the demonstrative pronoun 'this' (q.v.), modified with the distal deixis suffix -ɔ: l=ɔ, el=ɔ, es=ɔ, ol=ɔ, etc.

86. THIS

Xhosa lɔ # (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 661. The forms for 'this' differ in Xhosa depending on the noun class, and, in contrast with the situation for 'that', there is no universal invariant: cf. *lɔ* (class 1, 3), *aba* (class 2), *le* (class 4, 9), *eli* (class 5), *la* (class 6), *esi* (class 7), *ezi* (class 8, 10), *olu* (class 11), *obu* (class 14), *oku* (class 15). We tentatively include *lɔ* on the list, since -l- is the most frequent consonant to appear in all the variants.

87. THOU

Xhosa wε-na [*wena*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 737. This is the stressed emphatic form; the meaning of the 2nd p. sg. is normally expressed with the subject prefix *u-* (or the object suffix *-ku-*). Quoted as *wè-ná* in [Donnelly 2007: 1051].

88. TONGUE

Xhosa *ulw=imi* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 670. Plural form: *ilw=imi*. Class 11/10 (6). Quoted as *úlw=îmi* in [Donnelly 2007: 1050].

89. TOOTH

Xhosa *i=zijɔ* [*izinyo*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 671. Plural form: *ama=zijɔ*. Class 5/6 (3). Quoted as *(l)î=zîɲɔ* in [Donnelly 2007: 1050].

90. TREE

Xhosa *um=t^hi* [*umthi*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 679. Class 3 (2). Quoted as *ú ñ^ht^hi* in [Donnelly 2007: 1050].

91. TWO

Xhosa *=bini* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 687. Quoted as *=bini* in [Donnelly 2007: 1050].

92. WALK (GO)

Xhosa *=y-a* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 249.

93. WARM

Xhosa =šúšu [-shushu] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 283. Meaning glossed as 'hot'; distinct from =fudum-*ele* 'warm' [Fischer 1985: 713]. Quoted as =šúšú in [Donnelly 2007: 1047].

94. WATER

Xhosa *ama=nzi* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 714. Class 6 (3). Quoted as *ámâ=nzi* in [Donnelly 2007: 1050].

95. WE

Xhosa *t^hi-na* [*thina*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 717. This is the stressed emphatic form; the meaning of the 1st p. pl. is normally expressed with the subject prefix *si-*. Quoted as *t^hi-ná* in [Donnelly 2007: 1050].

96. WHAT

Xhosa *nto=ni* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 721. The main interrogative morpheme is =*ni* (*nto-* = 'thing'). Quoted as *ntó=ní* in [Donnelly 2007: 1050].

97. WHITE

Xhosa =*m^top^hε* [-*mhlophe*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 724. Quoted as =*m^tóp^hε* in [Donnelly 2007: 1050].

98. WHO

Xhosa *uba=ni* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 723. The main interrogative morpheme is =*ni* (cf. 'what'). Quoted as *úbâ=ni* (subj.) ~ *bâ=ni* in [Donnelly 2007: 1051].

99. WOMAN

Xhosa *um=fazi* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 731. Plural form: *aba=fazi*. Class 1/2 (1). Quoted as *úm=fâzi* in [Donnelly 2007: 1051]. In Fischer's dictionary, the word is marked as 'not very polite': the alternate designation is *in=kosi=kazi* 'married woman', but textual usage shows that the latter is rather a markedly polite term for 'wife', 'lady'.

100. YELLOW

Xhosa =*lu=b^helu* [-*lubhelu*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 737. Secondary synonym: =*mt^hubi* id. (also translated as 'yellow' in some sources).

101. FAR

Xhosa =*kude* [-*kude*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 207. Alternate synonym: *mgama* (usually as an adverb: 'far off').

102. HEAVY

Xhosa =*nzima* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 271.

103. NEAR

Xhosa =*kufup^hi* [-*kufuphi*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 399.

104. SALT

Xhosa *i=ɕuwa* [*ityuwa*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 552. Plural form: *i=ɕuwa*. Class 9/10 (5).

105. SHORT

Xhosa *=fu^{xh}a-nε* [*-futshane*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 581.

106. SNAKE

Xhosa *i=ɲka* [*inyoka*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 599. Plural form: *i=ɲka*. Class 9/10 (5).

107. THIN

Xhosa *=li|wε|wε* [*-licwecwe*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 660.

108. WIND

Xhosa *u=mɔya* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 727. Plural form: *imi=mɔya*. Class 3/4 (2).

109. WORM

Xhosa *um=sundulu* (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 733. Class 3 (2). Meaning glossed as 'earthworm' (distinct from *um=bungu* 'grub', 'larva', etc.).

110. YEAR

Xhosa *um=nyaka* [*umnyaka*] (1).

References and notes:

Xhosa: Fischer 1985: 737. Class 3 (2).