

[Text version of database, created 22/01/2017].

Annotated Swadesh wordlists for the Khoekhoe group (Central Khoisan family).

Languages included: Nama [kkh-nam]; !Ora [kkh-kor].

Reconstruction: Preliminary version available.

DATA SOURCES

I. Nama.

Haacke & Eiseb 2002 = Haacke, Wilfrid H. G.; Eiseb, Eliphas. A Khoekhoegowab Dictionary (With an English-Khoekhoegowab Index). Gamsberg Macmillan. // *Huge dictionary that covers most of the dialects of Khoekhoegowab, including Nama, Damara, Hai||om and others. All words are given with their full tonal characteristics, for the first time in Nama history.*

Krönlein & Rust 1969 = Krönlein, J. G.; Rust, F. Nama Wörterbuch. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press. // *The oldest dictionary of Nama, originally published in 1889 by J. G. Krönlein; edited and expanded more than half a century later by F. Rust. This was the largest Nama dictionary in existence before Haacke and Eiseb's collective effort made it into a document of historical importance. Still, the dictionary remains useful in that it captures a hundred year old picture of Nama, including some archaisms that would no longer be in use by the end of the XXth century.*

Additional source: Vossen 1997 = Vossen, Rainer. Die Khoe-Sprachen. Rüdiger Köppe Verlag (*used as a convenient source to extract the complete complex paradigm of the 1st p. pl./du. pronoun*).

II. !Ora.

Meinhof 1930 = Meinhof, Carl. Der Koranadialekt des Hottentotischen. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag. // *Mid-size grammatical sketch of !Ora, together with some text samples and a representative vocabulary. Based on the author's personal fieldwork as well as a selection of*

earlier sources.

Wuras 1920 = Wuras, C. F. Vokabular der Korana-Sprache. Herausgegeben und mit kritischen Anmerkungen versehen von Walther Bourquin. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag. // *A small vocabulary of !Ora; transcription quality is notably less reliable than in Meinhof's monograph, but the source is important for including some material not attested by Meinhof, as well as independently confirming some of Meinhof's data.*

NOTES

I. Nama.

I.1. *General.*

The 100-wordlist is targeted at "Nama proper", i.e. a set of subdialects of Khoekhoegowab ("language of the Khoekhoe") that underlies Nama as one of the major languages of Namibia. Although there are important dialectal differences between Nama, Damara, Hai||om, Topnaar, †Ākhoe, and other dialects of Khoekhoegowab, including a few basic lexicon items, there are no separate dictionaries for these dialects, and constructing separate lexicostatistical lists for all of them would be superfluous (in most cases, the forms would coincide both lexically and phonetically).

I.2. *Transliteration.*

Each form is given in the UTS transliteration as well as official Nama orthography. In Haacke & Eiseb's dictionary, the official orthographic variant mostly differs from the authors' "own" transcription by the presence of tonal markings on the latter and their omission in official orthography. However, the older Krönlein/Rust dictionary has some orthographic peculiarities of its own, some of which may have been due to careless transcription, but others may have reflected some phonetic features of the original dialect. Cf. the table that illustrates the main distinctions:

UTS	Official Nama orthography	Krönlein/Rust
, †, †, †	g, †g, †g, †g	g, †g, †g, †g
, †, †, †	, †, †, †	, †, †, †
, †, †, †	n, †n, †n, †n	n, †n, †n, †n
x, †x, †x, †x	kh, †kh, †kh, †kh	k, †k, †k, †k
^h , † ^h , † ^h , † ^h	h, †h, †h, †h	h, †h, †h, †h
k	k	g
k	g	g
t	d	d ~ t
c	ts	ts
ai	ai	ei
ae	ae	ai
ao	ao	au ~ ao
au	au	ou

Note: Most, if not all, Nama dialects do not preserve the distinction between original voiced and voiceless word-initial consonants, but it is still indirectly reflected in tonal characteristics (high tone next to former voiceless, low tone next to former voiced segments). The official Nama orthography preserves the "historic" voiced / voiceless distinction, but in reality the difference between *k*- and *g*-, *d*- and *t*- etc., is purely suprasegmental.

The rest of the consonants and vowels are the same in all transcription systems and need not be listed.

II. !Ora.

II.1. *General.*

The main source for data on the extinct !Ora remains C. Meinhof's monograph treatment from 1930, generally reliable in terms of accuracy of transcription and semantic glossing, although some of the details are controversial (e. g. Meinhof's tonal notation). Where possible, we adduce equivalents from C. F. Wuras' small dictionary,

although it is notably less accurate and seems to introduce a large amount of pseudo-phonological differentiation, such as dividing each type of click articulation into two "sub-types".

There may have been minor dialectal differences between the !Ora varieties of Meinhof and Wuras, but, concerning the basic lexicon, it is rarely clear whether such differences truly reflect differences between actual dialects or simply inaccuracies in semantic glossing. Where Meinhof and Wuras disagree with each other, for the sake of consistency we always go along with the "Meinhof variety".

II.2. Transliteration.

Forms in the main field are always given only in the UTS transliteration, since there never has been any "official" orthography for !Ora. While the principles of transliteration between C. Meinhof's system and the UTS are fairly simple, C. Wuras' transcription presents more difficulties, because it observes several fine "distinctions" that have not been confirmed outside of his vocabulary. Upon consideration, we have decided to omit these distinctions in the transliteration, since they only complicate the presentation without serving any constructive purposes.

The main peculiarities of the transliteration may be seen from the following table:

UTS	[Meinhof 1930]	[Wuras 1920]
, †, !,	, †, !,	k, †k, !k, k
', †', !', '	', †', !', '	, †, !,
, † , ! ,	n, †n, !n, n	n, †n, !n, n
x, †x, !x, x	χ, †χ, !χ, χ	ch, †ch, !ch, ch
^h , † ^h , ! ^h , ^h	h, †h, !h, h	h, †h, !h, h
kx, †kx, !kx, kx	kχ', †kχ', !kχ', kχ'	·, †·, !·, · or °, †°, !°, °
x	χ	ch
kx	kχ'	· or °

UTS	[Meinhof 1930]	[Wuras 1920]
Tones		
Ṳ	V'	V ³
ṅ	V ⁺	V ²
ṁ	V _i	V ¹

Notes: 1. Click influxes in [Wuras 1920] are actually represented by his own specially invented symbols, not all of which have proper equivalents in Unicode fonts. Each click influx is represented by two symbols (simple and inverted) whose phonetic differentiation is very poorly explained; they never correspond to any distinctions in Meinhof's data.

2. C. Wuras notes the existence of two distinct "windpipe gutturals": "deep", "sounding long" (marked as ◦) and "higher", "sounding short" (marked as ·). What is meant by these descriptions is unclear, and both symbols correspond to Meinhof's single *kχ'*, so we omit this distinction in our transliteration as well.

3. C. Meinhof distinguishes between *ɛ / ɔ* and *e / o* in his transcriptions without writing much about this alleged contrast; this distinction finds no confirmation in external parallels (Nama), and may be safely omitted.

4. Tones are not always explicitly marked in either Meinhof's or Wuras' lexical data; lack of diacritical notation of tonal characteristics indicates uncertainty about a particular word's tonal characteristics, not a specific distinct tone.

III. Proto-Khoekhoe.

All Proto-Khoekhoe forms have been reconstructed or at least "approved" by G. Starostin, although in many cases they do not differ at all or only differ transcriptionally from the forms previously generated by R. Vossen in his Proto-Khoekhoe reconstruction in [Vossen 1997]. All of Vossen's reconstructions are explicitly listed, with reference to the source, in the notes section.

Since the chronological distance between Nama and !Ora is not very large, phonetic correspondences between these two languages are largely trivial or quite straightforward. For a detailed list of correspondences and regular sound changes, see [Vossen 1997]. Specific sound changes (such as, e.g., the deletion of the velar affricate x' and velar affricate click efflux $-x'$ in Nama) are usually commented upon in the "Reconstruction shape" section of the notes.

Database compiled and annotated by: G. Starostin (last update: May 2012; Proto-Khoekhoe list added, January 2017).

1. ALL

Nama *hòá* {*hoa*} (1), !Ora *hoá* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **hoa* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 51. Polysemy: 'all / both / entire' (depending on the sg., pl., or dual number of the accompanying noun). Quoted as *hoa* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 182].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 85. Quoted as *hoá* in [Wuras 1920: 9].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

2. ASHES

Nama *cǎó-b* {*tsaob*} (1), !Ora *t^hao-b* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **t^hao-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 136. Masc. gender; the fem. counterpart *cǎó-s* is glossed as 'ash-heap'. Quoted as *cao-b* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 379].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 92. Masc. gender. Quoted as *tau-b* in [Wuras 1920: 11].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 416 (**thao*). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular (**t^h* > Nama *c*).

3. BARK

Nama *ǃàǎ-mi* {*ǃammi*} # (1), !Ora *sòró-b* (2), Proto-Khoekhoe **soro-* (2).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 371. Somewhat dubious; the word is a nominal derivative of the verbal root *ǃàǎ* 'to (de)bark (tree, by pulling), strip (tree of bark)', and its meaning is more fully glossed as 'bark/rind (stripped off tree)'. Another potential candidate for this meaning is *sòró-b* [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 123], but its meaning is glossed as 'peel, skin (of fruit), rind; rare bark', meaning that the word is no longer in active use to denote the bark cover of trees. The only other equivalent for 'bark' is *ǃúú-b* [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 244] 'periderm (of bark); (dry, dead) bark', clearly not eligible for inclusion. In [Krönlein & Rust 1969], the word *soro-b* is glossed as 'die Schale, die Rinde', with at least one important example (*sac go ǃawi sorob āsa ǃxus gumo* "there is the thorn-tree whose bark you are peeling") that shows it could still be easily applied to 'tree-bark' in the XIXth century. It is not quite clear if a complete lexical replacement has taken place here over the last hundred years, but, following the indications in Haacke & Eiseb's dictionary, we prefer to postulate such a replacement for the moment.

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 90. Masc. gender. It is noted that a "better" equivalent is the compound expression *hai-b soro-b* ~ *hai-b di soro-b*, the first component of which is *hai-b* 'tree' q.v. Quoted as *sorro-b* in [Wuras 1920: 12].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 483 (**soro* 'Schale/Schote' / 'shell'). Distribution: Seemingly preserved in !Ora, but only peripheral in Nama. Replacements: See notes on Nama for details; it is possible to suggest the diachronic semantic derivation/shift {'to strip, peel' > 'bark'}. Semantics and structure: Based on the semantics in Nama as well as external data, we reconstruct **soro-* with a wider meaning than simply 'bark': rather any type of 'shell', 'cover', etc. In Proto-Khoekhoe, this word was lexically opposed to **ǃxú* 'periderm; dead bark' (this is the meaning still preserved in Nama). An alternate scenario is that **ǃxú* was the original 'bark', lost in !Ora and narrowed to 'dead bark' in Nama; this solution is indirectly corroborated by the basic meaning 'bark' for this root in Kalahari Khoe. However, the common meaning 'bark' for **soro-* in old Nama and !Ora sources speaks against this. The complete optimal scenario would look thus: (a) Proto-Khoe **ǃxú* 'bark' > Proto-Khoekhoe 'periderm, dead bark'; (b) Proto-Khoe **soro-* 'shell,

cover' > Proto-Khoekhoe 'shell, cover, bark'; (c) Proto-Khoekhoe **soro-* in the meaning 'bark' is once again replaced in Nama by **fam-*

4. BELLY

Nama *ĩãá-b* {!*nāb*} (1), !Ora *ĩâ:-b* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **ĩã-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 355. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach / innards / interior'. Quoted as *ĩã-b* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 278].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 110. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach / innards'. Masc. gender. Quoted as *ĩâ-b* in [Wuras 1920: 49].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 419 (**ĩã*). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

5. BIG

Nama *káí* {*kai*} (1), !Ora *káí* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **kai* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 59. Quoted as *gei* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 103].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 85. A variant form *gái* is also listed in [Meinhof 1930: 88]. Quoted as *kei* 'great' in [Wuras 1920: 26]; the meaning 'big' is translated in [Wuras 1920: 12] as *ǁx'au* = *ǁx'āũ* 'thick, fat' [Meinhof 1930: 117], most likely reflecting inaccuracy of semantic glossing on Wuras' part.

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 445 (Proto-Khoe **kái*; for some reason, the Nama equivalent is missing in the source, which does not allow the author to postulate a Proto-Khoekhoe form). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

6. BIRD

Nama *ànĩ-* {*ani-*} (1), !Ora *x'àní-s* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **x'ani-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 10. Masc. (*ànĩ-b*) and fem. (*ànĩ-s*) forms attested. Listed in the dictionary under the same entry as the verb *ànĩ* 'to decorate, adorn; colour in; dress up', but this is quite transparently a case of homonymy rather than polysemy (as is seen not only from semantic typology, but from external cognates as well: *ani-* 'bird' goes back to **x'ani-*, whereas *ani* 'to dress up' reflects original **ani*). Quoted as *ani-b* / *ani-s* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 5].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 88. Fem. gender. Quoted as *x'ami-s* in [Wuras 1920: 13].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 441 (**kx'ani*). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular (deletion of **x'* in Nama is predictable). Semantics and structure: This item goes back to Proto-Khoe **x'ani-* 'vulture'; however, in both Khoekhoe languages already only the general meaning 'bird' is attested. The meaning 'vulture' in Nama is now expressed by the compound *kai-ani-s* (literally = 'large bird').

7. BITE

Nama *nǎǎ ~ nǎá ~ ndǎá* {*nâ ~ nā ~ ndā*} (1), !Ora *bá* (2), Proto-Khoekhoe **ba* # (2).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 97. The variant *ndáá* is listed as reflecting the Hai||om dialect. Quoted as *nā* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 267].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 81. Quoted as *bá* in [Wuras 1920: 13].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 422 (Proto-Khoe **pa*). Distribution: Preserved only in !Ora. Replacements: Technically, it is impossible to reconstruct the Proto-Khoekhoe equivalent without external data; however, the majority of Kalahari Khoe languages reflect cognates of the !Ora word as primary equivalents for the meaning 'bite', and this unambiguously indicates that Nama *n(d)a* is an innovation, although its origins are unknown: it has no cognates either in !Ora or in Kalahari Khoe languages.

8. BLACK

Nama *ǃũ̀̀* {*ǃnũ̀̀*} (1), !Ora *ǃũ̀̀* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **ǃũ̀̀* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 421. Quoted as *ǃũ̀̀* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 306].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 104. Quoted as *ǃũ̀̀* in [Wuras 1920: 13].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 488 (**ǃũ̀̀*). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

9. BLOOD

Nama *ǃáò-b* {*ǃaob*} (1), !Ora *ǃau-b* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **ǃáò-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 163. Masc.; the neuter counterpart *ǃáò-i* is glossed as 'spilled / dry blood (of uncertain origin)'. Quoted as *ǃau-b* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 16].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 94. Masc. gender. Quoted by Meinhof from the notes of Lukas Brandt. Quoted as *ǃau-b* in [Wuras 1920: 13].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 425 (**ǃau*). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are mostly regular. The diphthong *-au* in !Ora is somewhat unexpected, but the word is quoted by Meinhof after somebody else's records rather than his own, and the transcription may reflect a slight phonetic inaccuracy or represent an individual subdialect where **ǃáò > -au*. In any case, Vossen's reconstruction should be amended based on external data (it would be strange to have Proto-Khoe **ǃáò > Proto-Khoekhoe *ǃau* and then revert to *ǃáò* in Nama).

10. BONE

Nama *ǃxòò-* {*ǃkhò-*} (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **ǃxò-* # (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 412. Masc. (*ǃxòò-b*) and fem. (*ǃxòò-s*) forms attested, as well as the derivative *ǃxòò-n* 'bones, skeleton', formally a plural form in the neuter gender. Quoted as *ǃò-b ~ ǃò-s* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 249].

!Ora: Not attested in either C. Meinhof's or C. Wuras' notes. The word *ǃxò-b*, cognate with the Nama word for 'bone', is only attested in the meaning 'kernel of fruit' [Meinhof 1930: 106] (= *ǃũ̀̀-b* id. [Wuras 1920: 30]).

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in Nama; probably not in !Ora. Replacements: The situation in !Ora is unclear, since none of the sources actually indicate a precise equivalent for 'bone'. It is possible that the original term underwent the typologically plausible semantic shift {'bone' > 'kernel'} (cf. Russian *к о м о к а* 'kernel of fruit', a diminutive of *к о м б* 'bone'); it is also possible that the word *ʃxō-b* simply happened to be unattested in the meaning 'bone' by both researchers. That the original meaning of **ʃxō-* in Proto-Khoekhoe was 'kernel' rather than 'bone' is less likely from a general typological perspective. It is, however, also quite possible that the original Proto-Khoekhoe 'bone' was simply replaced in both languages, so the reconstruction in general is rather shaky.

11. BREAST

Nama *ʃxâi-b* {*ʃkhaib*} (1), !Ora *t^ham-x'ari-b* (2).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 274. Quoted as *ʃeib* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 234]. Distinct from *sá ʃs* '(female) breast' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 110].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 91. Quoted as *t^ham-x'arri-b* in [Wuras 1920: 15]. Obviously a compound, but its internal etymology remains obscure: *t^ham* may possibly be the same word as *t^ham* 'soft' [Meinhof 1930: 91] (?; the whole word actually refers to a male chest rather than female breast), but the morpheme *-x'arri-* has no meaning of its own.

Proto-Khoekhoe: Not properly reconstructible. The compound expression in !Ora remains without an internal etymology. The Nama word may certainly reflect Proto-Khoekhoe **ʃxâi* 'male breast, chest', but its only external confirmation is Naro *ʃxâi* 'breastbone', which is in itself not properly reconstructible for Proto-Kalahari Khoe (and is not even the most basic equivalent for 'male breast').

12. BURN TR.

Nama *tâò* {*dao*} (1), !Ora *dao* # (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **dao* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 25. Polysemy: 'to burn / singe / boil (liquid) / brand (cattle)'. Quoted as *dao* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 53]. Secondary synonym: *!xââ-ri* 'to incinerate, burn (completely), destroy by fire' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 341]. This verb, a secondary derivative from *!xââ* 'to stab; to pierce; (fig. denotation of various swift forceful processes)', seems more semantically marked than the basic *tâò*. Distinct from *ʃ^huwi* ~ *ʃ^hubi* 'to burn (intr.)' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 406].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 81. Slightly dubious; the meaning is glossed as 'anzünden', i. e. 'to light, set on fire'. (There is also a participial form, *daū-sa* 'burning', with unclear nasalisation, attested in [Meinhof 1930: 123]). However, the only other equivalent with the meaning 'burn' is *ʃ^hubi* 'brennen' [Meinhof 1930: 103], corresponding to the intransitive 'burn' in Nama. It is obvious that *dao* is at least a transitive verb, whereas the transitivity of *ʃ^hubi* is dubious. C. Wuras also translates 'burn' as *ʃ^huwi* [Wuras 1920: 14], but, likewise, does not indicate whether the semantics is transitive or not. Therefore, at present we refrain from postulating a lexicostatistical discrepancy between Nama and !Ora based on this ambiguous evidence.

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 500 (Proto-Khoe **dao*). Distribution: Probably preserved in all dialects, although attestation in !Ora is ambiguous. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. Semantics and structure: It seems reasonable to set up an opposition of the transitive verb **dao* and the intransitive verb **ʃ^hubi* for Proto-Khoekhoe, although only the former has reliable external parallels.

13. CLAW(NAIL)

Nama *ʃórò-s* {*goros*} (1), !Ora *ʃōrō-b* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **oro-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 258. Polysemy: 'fingernail / toenail / claw / talon' (in the last two meanings, the word may also switch to the masc. gender: //óró-b).

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 118. Masc. gender. Polysemy: 'paw / fingernail'. Quoted as //orro-b in [Wuras 1920: 36].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 436 (*//oro). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

14. CLOUD

Nama ǀǎnú-s {/nanus} (1), !Ora ǁ^hum-ma (2).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 221. Meaning glossed as 'cloud, raincloud, nimbus'. Fem.; the masc. counterpart ǀǎnú-b means 'rain; thunderstorm'. This Swadesh item displays significant dialectal variety. Haacke & Eiseb's dictionary lists ǀǎnú-s as the main equivalent for 'cloud' in Nama proper; additionally, (1) the word ǀǎú-s ~ ǀǎú-b is glossed as 'cloud' for the Damara dialect and as 'white cloud' for the Topnaar dialect [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 298] and (2) the word ǁ^hǎǎ-s is glossed as 'cloud' for the Haiǀom and ǀǎkhoe dialects [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 264]. In the older dictionary of Krönlein, ǀǎnu-s is glossed as 'cloud' [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 272]; the word ǁ^hao is only attested in its verbal meaning 'to be covered with clouds (of sky)' [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 162]; and the equivalent of ǀǎú-s is not attested at all.

It may be speculated that the original word for 'cloud' in Common Nama must have been ǀǎú-s ~ ǀǎú-b, since this is the only term that does not show any semantics other than 'cloud' in the dialects where it is attested, whereas the other two could represent secondary shifts from either 'thunderstorm' or 'to be covered (of the sky)'.

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 97. Masc. gender. Polysemy: 'cloud / sky'. Quoted as ǁ^hum-kua 'cloud' in [Wuras 1920: 15] (the ending -kua marks the plural, so the meaning should really be 'clouds').

Proto-Khoekhoe: Not reconstructible. The majority of stems that are attested with the meaning 'cloud' in Nama and !Ora show explicit signs of their recent origin in this meaning: (a) Nama ǀǎnú- 'cloud' has no parallels either in !Ora or in Kalahari Khoe, yet it is clearly the same word as Proto-Ju *ǀǎǎ 'sky, heaven' (Juǀhoan ǀǎǎ, etc.); this suggests the possibility of an old loan from a North Khoisan source into some Nama/Damara dialects; (b) Nama ǁ^hǎǎ- is distributionally weak and may go back to a verb with the meaning 'to be covered, wrapped' (applied to the skies); (c) !Ora ǁ^hum-ma is cognate with Nama ǁ^hǎǎ-m-i 'heaven, (sky)' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 204] and, considering that Meinhof himself notes the polysemy 'cloud / sky', the meaning 'sky' is probably primary. Only Nama ǀǎú- has no meaning other than 'sky' and cannot be suspected of being of areal descent; but this word, too, has a narrow distribution. On the whole, this situation agrees with the general Khoisan picture: the meaning 'cloud' is highly unstable in the area and usually converges with other meanings ('sky', 'rain', 'cover', 'sky-hair', etc.).

15. COLD

Nama ǀxǎǎǎ {/khǎǎǎ} (1), !Ora ǀxǎǎǎ (1), Proto-Khoekhoe *ǀxǎǎǎ (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 343. Quoted as ǀei in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 235].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 113. In [Wuras 1920: 15], the word 'cold' is rendered as ǁ^hau-b, which is actually a noun and, furthermore, may be semantically inexact, since it corresponds to Nama ǁ^hao-b 'dampness, dew'.

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in all (or most) dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

16. COME

Nama *hàà* {*hā*} (1) / *xiĩ* {*khĩ*} (2), !Ora *há:* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **ha* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 45. Quoted as *ha:* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 151]. Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 45. Quoted as *li:* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 238]. In both dictionaries, the two verbs are listed as complete or near-complete synonyms; a special study is required to better understand the difference. For the moment, we include both choices on the main list.

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 84. Quoted as *há* in [Wuras 1920: 15].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 458 (**ha*). **Distribution:** Preserved in all (or most) dialects. Nama *xiĩ*, although it behaves as a complete synonym according to dictionary sources, has no parallels in !Ora or in Kalahari Khoe, whereas **ha* clearly goes back to Proto-Khoe. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are regular and trivial.

17. DIE

Nama *ǃóó* {*ǃō*} (1), !Ora *ǃo:* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **ǃo* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 241. The dictionary lists a large number of euphemistic quasi-synonyms as well, none of which are eligible for inclusion. Quoted as *ǃo:* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 320].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 114. Quoted as *ǃx'o* in [Wuras 1920: 19] (with a "guttural" efflux transcribed with the small dot, probably by mistake).

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 495 (**ǃo*). **Distribution:** Preserved in all dialects. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are regular and trivial.

18. DOG

Nama *ǃrí-* {*ari-*} (1), !Ora *ǃari-s* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **ǃari-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 14. Attested in masc. (*ǃrí-b*), fem. (*ǃrí-s*), and neuter (*ǃrí-i*) variants. Quoted as *ari-b ~ ari-s* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 7].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 79. Fem. gender. Quoted as *ari-na* in [Wuras 1920: 20] (the word looks like a neuter gender plural form in this case).

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 453 (**ǃari*). **Distribution:** Preserved in all dialects. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are regular and trivial.

19. DRINK

Nama *áà* {*ā*} (1), !Ora *x'ā:* ~ *x'à* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **x'a* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 1. Quoted as *a:* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 1].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 87. Quoted as *x'á* in [Wuras 1920: 20].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 497 (**kx'a*). **Distribution:** Preserved in all dialects. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are regular (deletion of **x'*- in Nama is predictable).

20. DRY

Nama $\tilde{f}\tilde{a}\tilde{a}\tilde{s}\tilde{a}$ ~ $\tilde{f}\tilde{a}\tilde{a}\tilde{s}\tilde{a}$ {*nâsa*} (1), !Ora *ʃō* (2), Proto-Khoekhoe **ʃo* (2).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 172. Regular adjectival derivative from the verb $\tilde{f}\tilde{a}\tilde{a}$ 'to become dry; dry up; wither'. The other word that is also listed in the dictionary in the meaning 'dry', *ʃô-sâ* [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 173], actually means 'barren' (of cow) and is not applicable to common situations of 'dryness'. Quoted as $\tilde{f}\tilde{a}\tilde{s}\tilde{a}$ in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 285].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 94. Meaning glossed as 'dried up (of leaves); to be dry'. In [Wuras 1920: 20], two equivalents are listed: an odd word *buʔona* (accompanied with the note: "unverständlich, was gemeint ist"), and *ʃoko*, also not confirmed either in [Meinhof 1930] or through external comparison.

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 497 (**ʃo*). **Distribution:** Preserved everywhere, but with a semantic shift in modern Nama.

Replacements: In Nama, the basic semantics of this word became narrowed down to 'be dry, barren, cease lactation', thus ('dry' > 'barren'). Assumption of a reverse direction of semantic change is hardly acceptable based on typological evidence ('barren' as a figurative sub-meaning of 'dry' is common, but not vice versa) and external correlates, since the root **ʃo* is also the common equivalent for 'dry' in Kalahari Khoe. The etymology of Nama $\tilde{f}\tilde{a}\tilde{a}$ remains somewhat unclear, but it is quite possible that it is somehow connected (by means of an old contracted suffix?) with the tonally opposed $\tilde{f}\tilde{a}\tilde{a}$ 'to pour (out) water' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 172].

21. EAR

Nama $\tilde{f}\tilde{a}\tilde{e}\tilde{s}$ {*gaes*} (1), !Ora $\tilde{f}\tilde{a}\tilde{u}\tilde{b}$ (2), Proto-Khoekhoe **ʃae-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 385. Polysemy: 'external ear (roundish) / leaf (roundish)'. Fem.; the same nominal stem in the masc. gender ($\tilde{f}\tilde{a}\tilde{e}\tilde{b}$) is glossed in the dictionary as 'external ear (elongated) / leaf (elongated)' (does 'elongated ear' refer to animal ears?). Quoted as *ʃai-s* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 98].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 117. Masc. gender. Same root as 'hear' q.v. Quoted as $\tilde{f}\tilde{a}\tilde{u}\tilde{m}$ in [Wuras 1920: 20].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 474 (**ʃai*). **Distribution:** Preserved in Nama. **Replacements:** !Ora $\tilde{f}\tilde{a}\tilde{u}\tilde{b}$ is a nominal derivate from the corresponding verbal stem, thus ('hear' > 'ear'); this is further confirmed by external data, proving that the Nama noun is a direct descendant of the Proto-Khoe equivalent for 'ear'.

22. EARTH

Nama $!^h\tilde{u}\tilde{u}$ - {*hū*} (1), !Ora $!^h\tilde{u}$:-*b* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **!^hu-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 339. Polysemy: 'earth / land / soil / country'. Attested in the same meanings in the masc. ($!^h\tilde{u}\tilde{u}\tilde{b}$) and

neuter (^hũú-i) genders. The fem. form (^hũú-s) is glossed as 'plot; piece of land, fenced off land/property'. Quoted as ^hu-b ~ ^hu-s in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 202].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 110. Masc. gender. Quoted as ^hu-b \parallel x'ei-b 'earth' in [Wuras 1920: 20], clearly with the semantics of 'world, universe' rather than 'soil' (\parallel x'āē-b = \parallel x'āē-b 'time' [Meinhof 1930: 116]).

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 425 (^hu). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

23. EAT

Nama $\#ũũ$ { $\#ũ$ } (1), !Ora $\#ũ$ (1), Proto-Khoekhoe $\#ũ$ (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 382. Applied to human beings; in this respect, distinct from ðǝ 'eat, devour (of carnivores); eat greedily, guzzle (of humans)' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 102]. Quoted as $\#ũ$ in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 374].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 101; Wuras 1920: 20.

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 433 (^hũ). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

24. EGG

Nama ^hũwũ-s ~ ^hũpũ-s {!upus} (1), !Ora ^hú:bú-b (1), Proto-Khoekhoe $\#ũbu$ - (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 304. Quoted as ^huwu-s in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 374].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 107. Meaning glossed as 'ostrich egg', but it can be safely assumed that this is the default word for 'egg' in general ('ostrich eggs' are the most common types of eggs in the area).

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

25. EYE

Nama $mũũ$ -s { $mũs$ } (1), !Ora $mũ$ -b (1), Proto-Khoekhoe $\#mũ$ - (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 91. Fem. gender. Same root as $mũũ$ 'to see' q.v. Quoted as $mũ$ -s in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 265].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 89. Masc. gender. Same root as $mũ$ 'to see' q.v. Quoted as $mu:m$ -b in [Wuras 1920: 22].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. Semantics and structure: This is a transparent derivate from the verbal root 'to see' q.v. (which is why there is no reference to [Vossen 1997], since Vossen only surveys the verbal forms), but the derivation must have taken place already on the Proto-Khoekhoe level.

26. FAT N.

Nama $kǎũ$ - { kau } (1), !Ora kou -b (1), Proto-Khoekhoe $\#kau$ - (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 62. Attested as either a masc. (*káú-b*) or a fem. (*káú-s*) noun. Meaning glossed as '(piece of) fat; fat (tissue)'. Also functions as a verbal stem: *káú* 'to become/grow fat/obese, put on weight/flesh'. Quoted as *gou* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 113]. Distinct from *ǀú-i-b* '(rendered down) fat; (natural) grease; ointment; (plant) oil' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 290].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 87. Masc. gender. Meaning glossed as 'solid fat'. Distinct from *ǀui-b* 'liquid fat' [Meinhof 1930: 117]; only the latter word is attested in [Wuras 1920: 22], listed as *ǀuy-b*.

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally regular, but the diphthong *-ou-* in !Ora remains problematic (it is encountered very rarely, and it seems more prudent to regard all such instances as accidental mistranscriptions of *-au-* based on individual phonetic variations). Semantics and structure: Considering the Nama evidence, it seems likely that this nominal stem is derived from the original verbal stem 'to be fat', although external evidence in Kalahari Khoe languages is lacking to confirm the original direction of derivation. In any case, there must have been a distinct opposition in Proto-Khoekhoe between **kau-* 'solid fat' and **ǀui-* 'liquid fat, oil' [Vossen 1997: 435].

27. FEATHER

Nama *ǀám-mi* {*ǀammi*} (1), !Ora *ǀam-ma* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **ǀam-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 293. Neuter gender; quoted, however, as *ǀam-i* ~ *ǀam-s* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 27], i.e. with an extra variant in the fem. gender.

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 106; Wuras 1920: 23. Masc. gender.

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

28. FIRE

Nama *ǀáé-s* {*ǀaes*} (1), !Ora *ǀae-b* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **ǀae-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 159. Fem. gender; the masc. counterpart *ǀáé-b* is glossed as 'large fire, conflagration; (piece of) firewood'. Quoted as *ǀai-b* ~ *ǀai-s* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 10]. Secondary synonym: *ǀʰúbí-b* 'fire, blaze', derived from the verbal stem *ǀʰúwí* ~ *ǀʰúbí* 'to be on fire, burn, be alight' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 406]. This is a potential lexical replacement for *ǀáé-s* in the future, but currently its usage seems to be somewhat marginal.

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 94. Masc. gender. Quoted as *ǀei-b* in [Wuras 1920: 23].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 435 (**ǀai*). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

29. FISH

Nama *ǀàù-b* {*ǀaub*} (1), !Ora *ǀau-b* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **ǀau-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 234. Alternate synonyms *ǀànù-b* and *sui* are noted in the dictionary for the Haiǀom and ǀÁkhoe dialects, but neither their origins nor their reliability is quite clear. Quoted as *ǀou-b* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 324], where there is also a folk

etymology attempt to derive the word from //àù 'thick, heavy' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 235] (that this is a folk etymology is clearly proven not only by the arbitrariness of the semantic link, but also by external comparison: 'fish' reflects Proto-Khoekhoe */au and 'thick' reflects Proto-Khoekhoe */x'au).

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 115. Meinhof's own transcription is //àù-b with a zero efflux, but he also adduces the alternate variant with the glottalized efflux, transcribed by A. Engelbrecht, which he considers more correct in the light of external data. Masc. gender. Quoted as //au-b in [Wuras 1920: 23].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in most dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. R. Vossen does not list this reconstruction for the Proto-Khoekhoe level in [Vossen 1997: 436]; for some reason, he does not quote the Nama form at all, and only lists Meinhof's probably erroneous transcription //àù-b for !Ora. However, updated materials clearly show that */au- is to be reconstructed for Proto-Khoekhoe the same way it should be reconstructed for Proto-Kalahari Khoe.

30. FLY V.

Nama //xàná {||khana} (1), !Ora *doe*: (2).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 276. Meaning glossed as 'fly (of: bird/airplane)'. Quoted as //ana in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 221]. Some dialectal variety here: in Hai||om, ǀĀkhoe, and Sesfontein dialects, the meaning 'fly' is preferably expressed by the verbal root *k^hai*, whose semantics in regular Nama is confined to the original meaning 'rise, stand/get up' as well as 'take off, become airborne (of: aeroplane)' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 71]. Another synonym is Nama *flii* ~ *fili*, clearly a recent borrowing from Afrikaans that should be excluded from calculations in any case.

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 82. Quoted as *doi* in [Wuras 1920: 25]; cf. also *doi* 'to emigrate' in the same source [Wuras 1920: 21] - most likely, the exact same word with pseudo-phonetic differentiation.

Proto-Khoekhoe: Not properly reconstructible. !Ora *doe*, provided its semantics is glossed accurately in the sources and does include the sub-meaning 'to fly (of birds, etc.)', is clearly a semantic innovation, being related to Nama *dòè* 'to move (house); trek; migrate; fly (of missile), swarm (of bees)' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 32], and still further related to Proto-Khoe **toe* 'to go away, pull away' [Vossen 1997: 505]; thus, there may have been a semantic shift ['to move out, migrate' > 'to fly']. As for Nama //xàná, this form seems to be completely isolated in the language and finds no outside confirmation, although formally it is a better candidate for Proto-Khoekhoe status than its !Ora counterpart.

31. FOOT

Nama ǀàì- {ǀai-} (1), !Ora ǀai-b (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **ǀai-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 370. Attested as either a masc. (ǀai-b) or a fem. (ǀai-s) noun. Polysemy: 'foot / footprint'. Quoted as ǀei-s ~ ǀei-b in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 65].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 100. Masc. gender. Quoted as ǀei-b in [Wuras 1920: 24].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

32. FULL

Nama /òà-sǎ {|oasa} (1), !Ora /x'óá (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **/x'oa-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 170. A regular adjectival derivative from the verbal stem /'òà 'to become full; to fill'. Quoted as /'òà-sa in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 315].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 143. Quoted as /x'òà in [Wuras 1920: 25].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 503 (*x'òà). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular (deletion of *-x'- in Nama is predictable). Semantics and structure: This is a verbal root ('to be full, to fill'), sometimes adjectivized with an additional suffix.

33. GIVE

Nama *màà* {*mā*} (1), !Ora *mà* ~ *mǎ* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **ma* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 78. Quoted as *ma* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 261]. Also of note is the attestation of *k^hàà* 'to give', marked as 'obsolete' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 69]; in [Krönlein & Rust: 212], this word, quoted as *k^ha*; is glossed as 'to give (as a bridal gift)'.
!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 89. Quoted as *mà* in [Wuras 1920: 25].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 440 (**ma*). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. Sporadic nasalization in !Ora is unclear, possibly an idiolectal peculiarity brought on by the initial nasal consonant (similar fluctuations are also attested in related Kalahari Khoe forms).

34. GOOD

Nama *ǎǎ* {!*ǎǎ*} (1), !Ora *ǎǎ* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe *!*ǎǎ* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 316. Quoted as *ǎǎ* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 88]. Should be distinguished from the verbal root *ǎǎ* 'grow or become pretty, attractive, beautiful, handsome, good-looking', adjectival stem *ǎǎ-sǎ* [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 56], referring rather to physical beauty than abstract 'goodness'.
!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 108. Quoted as *ǎǎ* in [Wuras 1920: 25]. As in Nama, this seems to be the main equivalent for the 'abstract goodness' concept, as opposed to *ǎǎ-sǎ* 'pretty, beautiful', with some of its derivatives also listed in the meaning 'good' [Meinhof 1930: 80].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 445 (*!*ǎǎ*). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular (with the usual reflexation of the zero efflux click as voiced in Nama). Semantics and structure: Proto-Khoekhoe *!*ǎǎ* 'good (= positive, kind, etc.)' should be distinguished from Proto-Khoekhoe **ǎǎ* 'good-looking, pretty, beautiful'.

35. GREEN

Nama *ǎǎm* {!*am*} (1), !Ora *x'am* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe *!*x'am* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 293. Polysemy: 'green (of colour) / unripe, green (of fruit)'. Quoted as *ǎam* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 26].
!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 110; Wuras 1920: 27.

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular (deletion of *-x'- in

Nama is predictable).

36. HAIR

Nama /ʔũ̀ũ̀-b {/ûb} (1), !Ora /ʔũ̀-b (1), Proto-Khoekhoe */ũ̀- (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 179. Quoted as /ũ̀-b in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 368]. No difference between 'hair on head' and 'hair on body'.

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 95. Masc. gender. Polysemy: 'hair / wool'. Quoted as /un-kua in [Wuras 1920: 26] (-kua is the plural ending).

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 446 (*fũ̀). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

37. HAND

Nama /ʔóm-mi {/ommi} (1), !Ora /ʔùm-má (2).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 301. Neuter gender; the feminine counterpart /ʔó ń is glossed as 'fist'. Quoted as /om-i ~ /om-s 'hand, fist' in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 327].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 112. Masc. gender. Quoted as /um-ma in [Wuras 1920: 26] (transcribed without a -k- after the click symbol, indicating glottalized efflux; probably erroneous).

Proto-Khoekhoe: Not reconstructible. Despite the deceptive phonetic similarity, these Nama and !Ora items do not properly correspond to each other. Nama /ʔó ń 'hand / fist' corresponds not to !Ora 'hand', but to !Ora /ʔum- 'fist' [Meinhof 1930: 107] < Proto-Khoekhoe */um-, further perhaps to Naro */um 'wrist', with imprecise and barely reconstructible semantics. As for !Ora /ʔùm-má 'hand', it has no regular parallels in Nama, but is perfectly compatible with Kalahari Khoe */oma 'lower arm, underarm' [Vossen 1997: 498]. While some semantic contaminations between these phonetically and semantically close terms were, of course, possible, it really seems that we are here dealing with two different ways of replacing an original root for 'hand' (which was possibly cognate with Kalahari Khoe *c^hau 'hand'), lost independently in both primary branches of Khoekhoe.

38. HEAD

Nama /tàná- {dana-} (1), !Ora /ʔã-b (2).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 23. Attested in both the masc. (tàná-b) and fem. (tàná-s) genders, although the former variant is more typical of the meaning 'chief, leader', and the latter - of the original meaning 'head'. Quoted as tana-b ~ tana-s in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 355].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 106. Also attested as a compound form: bi=ʔã-b ~ bi=ʔã-b [Meinhof 1930: 81], whose first component bi= is of an unclear origin. It is this compound form that is apparently quoted as bi=a:m in [Wuras 1920: 27], with elision of the actual click.

Proto-Khoekhoe: Not properly reconstructible. !Ora /ʔã-b 'head' may be tentatively explained as a nominalization of the verb /ʔã 'to harken, listen' (a typologically odd, but theoretically possible metonymic shift: 'listening' > 'head'); no better etymology has been found so far. As for Nama /tàná-, it has no parallels either in !Ora or in Kalahari Khoe. If it is possible to somehow derive the word from the verb /tãñ {dan} 'to win, conquer, defeat, beat, vanquish' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 23], then the meaning 'principal, chief, leader'

for the noun *tâná-* should be considered primary, and the anatomical meaning secondary.

39. HEAR

Nama $\tilde{\tilde{a}}\tilde{u}$ $\{\|n\hat{a}u\}$ (1), !Ora $\tilde{\tilde{a}}\tilde{u} \sim \tilde{\tilde{a}}\tilde{u} \sim \tilde{\tilde{a}}\tilde{u}$ (1), Proto-Khoekhoe $*\tilde{\tilde{a}}\tilde{u}$ (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 287. Polysemy: 'hear / understand (acoustically)'. Quoted as $\tilde{\tilde{d}}\tilde{u}$ in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 295].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 117. Quoted as $\tilde{\tilde{a}}\tilde{u}$ in [Wuras 1920: 27].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction: Correspondences are regular and trivial. Semantics and structure: This is quite strictly a verbal root ('to hear'), although in !Ora it would also become, through conversion, the default equivalent for the noun 'ear' q.v.; in Nama the converted noun $\tilde{\tilde{a}}\tilde{u}-b$ is, however, glossed by Haacke & Eiseb as 'hearsay', reflecting a not so far evolved semantic shift.

40. HEART

Nama $\tilde{\tilde{a}}\tilde{o}$ - $\{\#gao-\}$ (1), !Ora $\tilde{\tilde{a}}\tilde{o}-b$ (1), Proto-Khoekhoe $*\tilde{\tilde{a}}\tilde{o}$ - (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 390. Attested in both the masc. ($\tilde{\tilde{a}}\tilde{o}-b$) and fem. ($\tilde{\tilde{a}}\tilde{o}-s$) genders. Cf. also the verbal root $\tilde{\tilde{a}}\tilde{o}$ 'to want; to desire (to do smth.)' [ibid.]; it is not entirely clear if we should postulate the polysemy 'heart / want, desire', but if so, etymological evidence shows that the verbal meaning is secondary. Quoted as $\tilde{\tilde{a}}\tilde{o}-b$ 'heart; will (n.)' in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 100].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 102. Masc. gender. Quoted as $\tilde{\tilde{a}}\tilde{u}-b$ in [Meinhof 1920: 27].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 449 ($*\tilde{\tilde{a}}\tilde{o}$). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

41. HORN

Nama $\tilde{\tilde{a}}\tilde{a}-b$ $\{\|n\hat{a}b\}$ (1), Proto-Khoekhoe $*\tilde{\tilde{a}}\tilde{a}$ - (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 287. Masc.; the fem. counterpart $\tilde{\tilde{a}}\tilde{a}-s$ is glossed as 'trumpet; bugle; brass wind instrument'. Quoted as $\tilde{\tilde{a}}\tilde{a}-b \sim \tilde{\tilde{a}}\tilde{a}-s$ in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 273].

!Ora: Not attested.

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved where attested. Replacements: The word is not attested in any known !Ora sources, so we have no idea whether it was preserved or replaced in that language. However, reconstructibility of the etymon for Proto-Khoekhoe is made certain by the presence of reliable external parallels in Kalahari Khoe ($*\tilde{\tilde{a}}\tilde{a}$ 'horn' in [Vossen 1997: 452]; there are some problems with the nasal vowel in Nama, but it hardly disqualifies the comparison).

42. I

Nama $\tilde{\tilde{a}}\tilde{a}-t\tilde{a} \sim \tilde{\tilde{a}}\tilde{a}-r$ (1), !Ora $\tilde{\tilde{a}}\tilde{a}-r\tilde{e} / \tilde{\tilde{a}}\tilde{a}-t\tilde{a}$ (1), Proto-Khoekhoe $*\tilde{\tilde{a}}\tilde{a}$ - (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 131. This is the emphatic, non-clitical, form, consisting of the main pronominal morpheme *tii* 'I' (cf. also the possessive form: *tii* 'my' and the object form: *-tè* 'me'), and an appended emphatic particle *-tâ*, contracted to *-r* in certain speech contexts. The postverbal short variant of this pronoun is contracted to simply *tâ* 'I' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 127], with the enclitic taking on the functions of the pronoun. However, since the full form is still in regular use, no lexical replacement from Proto-Khoekhoe or Proto-Central Khoisan is postulated. Quoted as *ti-ta* ~ *-ta* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 354, 359].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 43; Wuras 1920: 28. The first form is masculine; the second is feminine. The main pronominal stem *ti-* is lost in the clitical object forms: *re* 'me' (masc.), *te* 'me' (fem.).

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects, although with slightly different paradigms. Semantics and structure: It is very difficult to unambiguously extract the original basic shape of the pronominal root. According to Vossen's reconstruction [Vossen 1997: 369], the Proto-Khoe root and its Proto-Khoekhoe descendant are to be reconstructed as **ta*, whereas Proto-Khoekhoe **ti=* is to be interpreted as an additional pronominal prefix: thus, PKK **ti=ta* 'I' (full emphatic stem) is opposed to **ta* 'I' (brief clitical stem). The variation in Nama may be accounted for by saying that *tii-r* is the regular development (< **ti-da* < **ti-ta*) and *tii-tâ* is a secondary formation by analogy with the clitical stem **ta*. It also seems reasonable to regard the masculine / feminine opposition in !Ora as secondary: no other Khoe language has such a contrast in the 1st p. pronoun, and it is theoretically possible to think of a scenario where an "archaic" form might have been retained as the "masculine" variant and an analogically levelled form might be perceived as the "feminine" variant. However, such a solution still has two drawbacks: (a) it does not explain the form *tí-ré* in !Ora and its odd final vocalism; (b) most importantly, setting up a unique "pronominal prefix of the 1st p." is pretty much the same as setting up an additional pronominal stem. We believe that this was not, in fact, a separate pronominal morpheme, but rather a component of *pronominal reduplication*, same as in the case of the 2nd p. pr. (q.v.). If so, a possible scenario is: Pre-Proto-Khoekhoe **ti-ti* 'I' > Proto-Khoekhoe **ti-de* (phonetically = **ti-re*) with vocalic dissimilation and/or **ti-da* (through levelling with **sa-ca*, **sa-sa* 'thou' q.v.).

43. KILL

Nama *ǀǀám* {*ǀǀgam*} (1), !Ora *!ām* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **!am* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 308. Polysemy: 'murder / kill / slaughter'. The semantics indicates strongly negative connotations, but there does not seem to be any euphemistic expressions for this meaning that would currently threaten to replace the old word, other than a marginal *tii-xùú* 'to finish off, kill' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 30], literally 'to do-release'. Quoted as *ǀam* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 89].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 108. Quoted as *ǀamm* 'to kill' vs. *!amm* 'to murder' in [Wuras 1920: 30, 36]; this distinction is probably fictitious, since voiced and voiceless click effluxes are not phonologically opposed in !Ora, according to Meinhof's description.

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

44. KNEE

Nama *ǀǀá-s* {*ǀǀgoas*} (1), !Ora *ǀǀá-b* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **ǀǀoa-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 255. Quoted as *ǀǀoa-b* (masc. instead of fem. gender) in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 120].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 117. Masc. gender. Quoted as *ǀǀoa-b* in [Wuras 1920: 30].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

45. KNOW

Nama $\#áń$ { $\#an$ } (1), !Ora $\#áń$ (1), Proto-Khoekhoe $\#áń$ (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 371. Represented by the variant $\#áń$ in the Sesfontein dialect (probably a secondary development from a suffixal variant $\#áni$). Quoted as $\#an$ in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 33].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 101. Quoted as $\#ann$ in [Wuras 1920: 31].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 428 ($\#áń$). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

46. LEAF

Nama $\#àé$ - { $\#gae$ -} (1), !Ora $\#áũ-b$ # (2).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 385. Same word as 'ear' q.v. Attested in the masc. gender ($\#àé-b$), with the semantics of 'elongated leaf', or in the fem. gender ($\#àé-s$), with the semantics of 'roundish leaf'. Quoted as $\#ái-s$ in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 98]. Secondary synonym: $\#àé-b$ (with a phonetically strange dialectal variant $\#ápó-b$ in the Damara and Hai||om dialects) 'leaf (esp. fine compound, as of acacias)' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 416]; this word is not found in [Krönlein & Rust 1969].

!Ora: Wuras 1920: 31. Same word as 'ear' q.v. The same word is listed with the meaning 'branch', not 'leaf' in [Meinhof 1930: 117] ($\#áũ-b$ or $\#ái-b$ $\#áũ-b$ = 'tree-ear'). In [Wuras 1920: 13], the meaning 'branch' is translated as $\#áũ-kúa$, i. e. the plural form of $\#áũ-b$. This may indicate actual polysemy: 'branch / leaf' in !Ora.

Proto-Khoekhoe: Not properly reconstructible. In both cases, the word for 'leaf' is the same as the word for 'ear', so it would seem logical to project the more archaic equivalent of the two ($\#áé$ 'ear' q.v.) onto the proto-level with the meaning 'leaf' as well. However, it is worth noting that external comparison does not support this: the Proto-Kalahari Khoe equivalent for 'leaf' is $\#ána$ [Vossen 1997: 424], corresponding to Proto-Khoekhoe $\#á$ 'grass', and it is quite probable that the replacement of the original 'leaf' with 'ear' may have taken place independently in Nama and !Ora already after the disintegration of Proto-Khoekhoe.

47. LIE

Nama $\#óé$ { $\#goe$ } (1), !Ora $\#óé$ (1), Proto-Khoekhoe $\#oe$ (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 255. No lexical distinction between the static 'be lying' and dynamic 'lie down'. Quoted as $\#oe$ in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 121].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 117. Meaning glossed as 'to lie / lie down'. Quoted as $\#oie$ in [Wuras 1920: 32].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 450 ($\#oe$). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

48. LIVER

Nama $\#áĩ$ ~ $\#áĩ$ - { $\#ái$ -} (1), !Ora $\#áĩ-b$ (1), Proto-Khoekhoe $\#áĩ$ - (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 18. Attested in both the masc. (*ǎi-b*) and fem. (*ǎi-s*) genders. Quoted as *ǎi-b ~ ǎi-s* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 2].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 87. Masc. gender. Transcribed as *x'ai-m* in [Wuras 1920: 33].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 462 (**kx'ǎi*). **Distribution:** Preserved in all dialects. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are regular (deletion of **x'* in Nama is predictable).

49. LONG

Nama *kàì-xùú ~ kàà-xùú {ga(i)xu}* (1), !Ora *gá-xù* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **kai-xu* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 37. Quoted as *ga-xu ~ gei-xu* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 67]. Some hard-to-resolve dialectal confusion may be involved here. Haacke & Eiseb list the meanings for this word as 'long (of time/distance), tall (of pers.)', which would indicate its complete eligibility, but also mark it as [D], i. e. representing the Damara dialect rather than Nama proper. Krönlein's dictionary, however, in which this word is also attested in the required meaning 'long', represents Nama, not Damara. Additionally, if *kàì-xùú* is Damara, not Nama, it is unclear what the Nama equivalent is: the only other possible choice is *hòà* 'distant, long (of: distance/road/time), wide' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 53], but no examples for this word confirm that it can refer to long material objects. A brief check of the 95-word diagnostic list for Nama dialects in [Haacke et al. 1997: 175] shows, however, that *kai-xu ~ ka-xu* is really in use in most of the dialects, including both Central Nama and Damara.

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 83. Transcribed as *kuo-ha* in [Wuras 1920: 33]; cf. also *kui-hu-b* 'length' [Wuras 1920: 32].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 461 (**gaxu*). **Distribution:** Preserved in most dialects. **Reconstruction shape:** This is a complex bisyllabic / bi-morphemic adjective, evidently prone to assimilative processes. The diphthong in the first syllable, attested in some Nama dialects (and, perhaps, preserved with some mutations also in !Ora *kui-hu-b* 'length') cannot be explained as a secondary development and has to be projected onto the proto-level; its simplification in daughter dialects is quite expectable in an old compound formation. **Semantics and structure:** Historically, this seems to be a near-fossilized junction of the verbal-adjectival root 'to grow (up); (to become) big' with the old Khoe terminative verbal suffix **-xu* (< Proto-Khoe **xu* 'to leave, abandon'), i. e. 'to be long' = 'to have completed the process of growing'.

50. LOUSE

Nama *úri- {uri-}* (1), !Ora *x'ūrī-b* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **x'uri-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 146. Attested in both the masc. (*úri-b*) and fem. (*úri-s*) genders. Quoted as *uri-b* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 366].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 132. Masc. gender. Quoted as *x'urri-b* in [Wuras 1920: 34].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 462 (**kx'uri*). **Distribution:** Preserved in all dialects. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are regular (deletion of **x'* in Nama is predictable).

51. MAN

Nama *áò-b {aob}* (1), !Ora *x'ao-k^hoe-b #* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **x'ao-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 12. Polysemy: 'man / husband'. The Sesfontein dialect uses instead the morphologically more complex variant *ao-re-b* = Nama *àò-re* 'male; manly'. Quoted as *ao-b* ~ *ao-sa-b* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 6] (the form *ao-sa-b* includes an additional pronominal suffix, i. e. = 'your/her husband').

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 88. Literally = 'male' + 'person' q.v. Apparently, the simple masculine stem *k^hoe-b* can also mean 'man (male human being)' [Meinhof 1930: 86], complicating the choice of the correct synonym. In [Wuras 1920: 34], the meaning 'man' is glossed as *k^hoe-b*, but it is not explicated whether the 'man' in question refers to 'male human being' or 'human being (in general)'.

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 465 (**kx'ao* "männlich"). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular (deletion of **x'*- in Nama is predictable). Semantics and structure: Judging by the situation in !Ora, the original meaning of this root is adjectival ('male'), and the nominal meaning 'man' (= 'male human being') may have already on the Proto-Khoekhoe level been expressed both as **x'ao-* and as the masculine form of the nominal root 'person' q.v. (**k^hoe-b*). Nevertheless, since the "distilled" meaning of the lexical root **k^hoe-* is sexless, whereas the "distilled" meaning of **x'ao-* is clearly "masculine", we prefer to choose **x'ao* as the base equivalent for 'man' and **k^hoe* as the base equivalent for 'person'.

52. MANY

Nama *ʃùí* {*ʃgui*} (1), !Ora *ʃxóá-sá* # (2), Proto-Khoekhoe **ʃui* # (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 395. Quoted as *ʃui* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 148].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 100. Meinhof lists this form as dubious (concerning his transcription) and points at the phonetic similarity with *ʃxóá* 'full'. In [Wuras 1920: 34], the meaning 'many' is rendered as *ʃx'oa*, for some reason, with a palatal instead of the expected dental click. Overall, quite a problematic entry, but in any case, distinct from the Nama equivalent.

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved only in Nama. Replacements: Possibly replaced with forms related to the root 'to fill, to be full' in !Ora, but the data are not very reliable. Technically, the proto-slot should have been left empty, but we still tentatively fill it with a potential ancestral form of the Nama equivalent, because (a) the Nama form is reliably attested and is not interpretable as a recent derivative or borrowing; (b) the Nama form has at least some tentative parallels in Kalahari Khoe (e. g. forms that are transcribed as *ʃtui* 'many' in Tanaka's dictionary of G|wi and G|ana), whereas the dubious forms in !Ora cannot be compared with anything relevant.

53. MEAT

Nama *ʃàń-i* {*ʃgani*} (1), !Ora *x'ò-b* (2), Proto-Khoekhoe **x'ò-* (2).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 248. Transcribed as *ʃàń-i* for the Sesfontein dialect. The form *ʃàń-i* is slightly odd, since the addition of the neuter gender marker *-i* is usually supposed to trigger prolongation of the final resonant; this "regular" variant, *ʃàń-ni*, is also attested in the dictionary and glossed as '(large piece of) meat; muscle; muscle fiber'. Apparently, it must be older than the relatively new formation *ʃàń-i*, where no morphophonological processes have taken place. Attested also in the fem. gender, as *ʃàń-s* 'piece of meat (of roundish shape)'. Quoted as *ʃan-i* ~ *ʃan-s* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 81].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 88. Quoted as *x'ò-b* 'flesh' in [Wuras 1920: 23].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 433 (**kx'ò* 'to eat meat'). Distribution: Preserved only in !Ora. Replacements: The original root **x'ò-* in !Ora behaves more or less the same way as it does in Kalahari Khoe languages, i. e. it is an ambiguous verbal-nominal root, meaning 'to eat hard food / meat' in the verbal function and simply 'meat, flesh' in the nominal function. In Nama, only the verbal meaning is preserved, cf. *òǎ* 'to eat, devour (of carnivores); to eat greedily, devour, gorge' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 102]. The old noun 'meat' from

the same root was lost and replaced with *ǀǎí-*, possibly some rare dialectism with an initially narrower meaning such as '(large piece of) meat; muscle fiber'; it has no parallels in !Ora or in Kalahari Khoekhoe languages and cannot be projected onto the proto-level.

54. MOON

Nama *ǀxǎǎ-b* {*ǀkhâb*} (1), !Ora *ǀxǎ-b* ~ *ǀxǎ-b-i* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **ǀxǎ-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 278. Polysemy: 'moon / month'. Quoted as *ǀxǎ-b* ~ *ǀxǎ-s* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 223] (the fem. gender variant is not mentioned in Haacke & Eiseb's dictionary).

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 118. Also attested in the fem. variant as *ǀxǎ-s* [ibid.]. The meaning is, for some reason, glossed only as 'month', but cf. *ǀxa-m* 'moon / month' in [Wuras 1920: 35]. The meaning 'moon' is attested by C. Meinhof in compounds: *ǀxani-ǀxǎ-b* 'new moon' [Meinhof 1930: 105], *ǀʰae ǀxǎ-s* 'full moon' [Meinhof 1930: 109] (the velar affricate efflux *-x-* is probably erroneous).

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

55. MOUNTAIN

Nama *ǀúí-* {*ǀui-*} (1), !Ora *ǀàrè-b* (2), Proto-Khoekhoe **ǀuí-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 176. Same word as 'stone' q.v. With the semantics of 'mountain', the word is more specifically glossed as '(high) mountain' in the masc. gender (*ǀúí-b*) and as '(low, dome-shaped) mountain' in the fem. gender (*ǀúí-s*). Quoted as *ǀui-b* ~ *ǀui-s* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 369].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 108. In [Wuras 1920: 36], the meaning 'mountain' is rendered as *ǀuy-b* = 'stone' q.v., which agrees better with the lexical usage in Nama. However, since [Meinhof 1930] is our principal source, we have to respect his semantic glossing; it is possible that in the dialect that he was describing the old polysemy was already eliminated.

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 495 (**ǀuí* 'stone'). Distribution: Preserved in most dialects, but possibly (not certainly) replaced in some of the !Ora ones. Replacements: !Ora *ǀàrè-b* 'mountain', as recorded by Meinhof, is clearly cognate with Nama *ǀàrè-s* '(granite) boulder' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 311] and *ǀare-b* 'einzeln stehender Fels' [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 92]. External data and typological considerations show that for Proto-Khoekhoe, it makes more sense to set up the root **ǀuí-* with polysemy: 'stone / mountain', and !Ora *ǀàrè-b* would either reflect a generalization of a narrower meaning {'boulder, large rock' > 'mountain'} or could reflect a semantic inaccuracy in Meinhof's notation (cf. the disagreement between Meinhof and Wuras). Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

56. MOUTH

Nama *ǀǎm-s* {*ǀams*} (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **ǀǎm-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 7. Polysemy: 'mouth / beak, bill / muzzle / snout / opening'. Fem. gender; the neuter counterpart *ǀǎmi* is glossed as '(big) beak/bill; (deep) furrow'. Quoted as *ǀam-s* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 4].

!Ora: Not attested properly. In [Meinhof 1930: 87], the word *xǎm-ma*, corresponding to Nama *ǀǎm* 'mouth', is semantically glossed as 'gate'; since the related Nama item is listed there as well by Meinhof as an etymological parallel, it is highly unlikely that the author did not notice its usage in the meaning 'mouth' in !Ora. However, no alternate equivalent for 'mouth' is listed. In [Wuras

1920: 36], the meaning 'mouth' is glossed as *am-ma*, which poses another problem: Nama *ǎ h̥s* definitely goes back to **x'am-s*, in the light of external evidence, but **x'* is regularly preserved in !Ora, which means that Wuras' *am-ma*, if it is not an erroneous transcription, can only be regarded as a borrowing (re-borrowing!) from Nama into !Ora, which is very unusual. All considered, we prefer to leave the slot empty.

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 468 (**x'am*). **Distribution:** Preserved in Nama; situation in !Ora remains unclear. **Replacements:** See notes on !Ora; it is unclear if the old word was preserved in this language (remaining unattested) or was replaced by a bizarre re-borrowing from Nama. In any case, the Nama word can safely be projected onto the Proto-Khoekhoe level because of reliable external cognates in Kalahari Khoe.

57. NAME

Nama *ʔòñ-s* *{!ons}* (1), !Ora *ʔx'õn-ná ~ ʔon-ni ~ ʔon-na* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **ʔx'on-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 172. Fem. gender. Dialectal variety: phonetic (cf. Hai||om and Topnaar *ʔè h̥s*) and morphological (cf. Sesfontein *ʔũt-da ~ ʔen-da*). Cf. also verbal usage of the same root: *ʔò ñ- ʔè ñ* 'to be named/called'. Quoted as *ʔon-s ~ ʔen-s* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 318].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 98. The variants with *ʔ-* may be idiolectal or reflect local Nama influence (*ʔx'* is the expected reflexion of the click in question in !Ora). Quoted as *ʔx'on-na* in [Wuras 1920: 36].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 470 (**ʔx'on*). **Distribution:** Preserved in all dialects. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are regular (**ʔx' > ʔ-* in Nama is predictable).

58. NECK

Nama *ʔǎó-s* *{!aos}* (1), !Ora *ʔǎó-b* # (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **ʔx'ao-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 295. Fem. gender, marked as "general"; the masc. counterpart *ʔǎó-b* is glossed as 'neck (esp. long, as of giraffe/slaughtered chicken)'. Quoted as *ʔau-b ~ ʔau-s* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 30].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 106. Meaning glossed as 'nape of the neck'; this and the fact that the click efflux is represented as glottalized instead of the expected velar affricate *-x'* makes the entry slightly dubious. Cf., however, *ʔx'au-b* 'neck' in [Wuras 1920: 36]; the existence of this form shows that the Meinhof entry may have been incorrectly transcribed.

Proto-Khoekhoe: **Distribution:** Preserved in Nama and possibly in !Ora. **Replacements:** The situation in !Ora is somewhat unclear. Nama *ʔǎó-*, as is clearly seen from external (Kalahari Khoe) data, goes back to **ʔx'ao-*, and the same root is clearly seen in Wuras' transcription for !Ora. Meinhof's *ʔǎó-b* 'nape of the neck' for !Ora can, therefore, only be regarded as irregular - perhaps a Nama form borrowed in some !Ora dialects, if not simply a mistranscription for **ʔx'ǎó-b* (this last possibility, coupled with Wuras' attestation, is what makes us tentatively set up a lexicostatistical match between Nama and !Ora in this instance rather than exclude the !Ora item from calculations altogether).

59. NEW

Nama *ʔǎà-sà* *{!asa}* (1), !Ora *ʔǎ:-sà* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **ʔa-sa* # (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 165. Final *-sã* is a productive suffix that normally derives adjectives from verbs; the original verbal stem may have been the same as *ʃãã* 'sharp, pointed; acute' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 158]. Some dialectal variety here: Sesfontein and Hai||om dialects use an entirely different word instead (*kãvã*). Quoted as *ʃa-sa* 'new, fresh' in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 15]; the other dialectal equivalent is also included as *gawa* [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 73].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 94. See notes on Nama for the suffix *-sã*. In [Wuras 1920: 36], 'new' is translated as *x'ora = x'òrà* 'raw, uncooked' in [Meinhof 1930: 88].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. Semantics and structure: The morphologically complex adjectival stem is well reconstructible on the Proto-Khoekhoe level. However, if this is really a historical derivative from the adjective 'sharp, pointed', the situation becomes more complicated. This adjectival stem is to be reconstructed as **ʃa-* rather than **ʃa-* (> Nama *ʃa*; !Ora *ʃa*), and then we could only assume the non-inherited status of the word 'new' in !Ora, i.e.: (a) Proto-Khoekhoe **ʃa* 'sharp' > Nama *ʃa* (regularly); (b) derivation of *ʃa-sa* from *ʃa* in Nama; (c) borrowing of Nama *ʃa-sa* into !Ora. This is a possible scenario, but since it is hard to conclusively prove that 'new' was really derived from 'sharp', the alternate scenario (a separate root **ʃa-*) should still be considered.

60. NIGHT

Nama *cùũ-xúù-b* {*tsuxub*} (1), !Ora *t^hũ-xu-b* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **t^hu-xu-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 144. A compound form, combining the old monosyllabic root 'night' (not preserved in Khoekhoe on its own) with *xúù-b* 'thing, object'. Quoted as *cu-xu-b* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 388].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 92. A compound form, combining the old monosyllabic root 'night' (not preserved in Khoekhoe on its own) with *xu-b* 'thing, object'. Meinhof also notes that a more rarely used equivalent of the meaning 'night' is *!xàì-b* [Meinhof 1930: 113] (originally 'darkness' = Nama *!xae-b* id.). It is this second word, quoted as *!xei-b*, that is also found in the meaning 'night' in [Wuras 1920: 36].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are mostly regular (affricativization **t^h-* > *c-* in Nama is predictable), although nasalization of the first root vowel in !Ora has not yet been explained. Semantics and structure: The bisyllabic compound stem is reconstructible for Proto-Khoekhoe, although, interestingly, all of its external correlates in Kalahari Khoe are monosyllabic (**t^hũ* 'night' in [Vossen 1997: 470]). The second root **-xu-* 'thing' was perhaps added for reasons of reducing homonymy, or as an additional nominalizer if the root originally had verbal semantics ('to be dark?').

61. NOSE

Nama *ʃùí-s* {*ʃguis*} (1), !Ora *ʃùì-b* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **ʃui-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 395. Fem. gender. Quoted as *ʃui-s* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 149].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 105. Masc. gender. Quoted as *ʃuy-b* in [Wuras 1920: 37].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 471 (**ʃui*). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

62. NOT

Nama *tàmà* {*tama*} (1) / *tídè* {*tide*} (2), !Ora *tama* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **tama* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 128. This is the basic postverbal negative particle for present and past tense forms. Quoted as *tama* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 354]. Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 132. This is the basic postverbal negative particle for future tense forms. Quoted as *tite* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 359]. Since neither *tàmà* nor *tídè* are properly segmentable on the synchronic level (despite the possibility that word-initial *t-* in both reflects the same original negative morpheme), we prefer to include them here as suppletive synonyms.

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 54-55; Wuras 1920: 37. This is the basic postverbal negative particle for indicative forms. It is distinct from the prohibitive *ta* and the conditional negative *te* 'if not...' [Meinhof 1930: 55]. There does not seem to be any distinction between past / present / future negation, as in Nama.

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 366 (**tama*). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Concerning the opposition between *tàmà* and *tídè* in Nama, it should be noted that !Ora does not show it, but the same negation marker for the future tense is also encountered outside of Khoekhoe in Naro (*títè*). This implies that the form should probably be reconstructed both on the Proto-Khoekhoe (preserved in Nama, lost in !Ora) and the Proto-Khoe (preserved in Nama and Naro, lost everywhere else) levels; on the other hand, independent preservation of the form in two of the largest Khoe languages and its disappearance everywhere else also raise suspicion (some areal isogloss?), so, provisionally, we do not reconstruct the ancestor of this form on the Proto-Khoekhoe level.

63. ONE

Nama /úí {/gui} (1), !Ora /ui (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **/uí* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 194. Polysemy: 'one / similar / identical'. Quoted as /ui in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 140].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 99. Quoted as /uy in [Wuras 1920: 37].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. For some reason, Vossen only lists the !Ora form for Khoekhoe [Vossen 1997: 429], not mentioning the existence of its perfectly regular and basic Nama correlate; he still has to reconstruct it for the Proto-Khoe level, but lack of mention for the Nama word is very odd.

64. PERSON

Nama *k^hòè-* {/khoe-} (1), !Ora *k^hoe-* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **k^hoe-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 72. The meaning 'human being' is carried by the root itself, as well as the neuter gender lexeme *k^hòè-i* that it forms. However, it can also denote both 'man' (*k^hòè-b*) and 'woman' (*k^hòè-s*) in conjunction with the appropriate masc. and fem. gender suffixes, even though there are other, lexically specific, terms for these meanings as well (see under 'man' and 'woman'). Quoted as *k^hoi-* (*k^hoi-i*, *k^hoi-b*, *k^hoi-s*) in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 238].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 86. The actual attested forms are: *k^hoe-b* ~ *k^hoe-b-i* 'man (male)'; *k^hoe-s* 'woman'. No neuter gender form, corresponding to Nama *k^hòè-i*, is attested, but this may simply be a defect of Meinhof's small vocabulary. In any case, there are no other morphemes known in !Ora to which the meaning 'human being' could be ascribed.

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 467 (**k^hoe*). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

65. RAIN

Nama /àpí-b {/apib} (1), !Ora *tú:-s* (2), Proto-Khoekhoe **tu-* (2).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 168. Quoted as /*awi-b* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 17]. According to Haacke & Eiseb's dictionary, this word is currently the main equivalent for the noun 'rain' in Nama proper, being a recent nominalization of the verbal stem /*awí ~ /ápí* 'to rain'. The older nominal equivalent (its antiquity is proven by external correspondences) is *túú-s*, still preserved in its basic meaning in the Damara, Topnaar, and Bondelzwarts dialects [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 134]; accordingly, in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 361], reflecting Central Nama, we find *tu*: 'to rain' and *tu-b* 'rainclouds', but not **tu-s* 'rain'. A third dialectal equivalent is /*amú-b* 'rain, thunderstorm' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 221], also serving as the basic term for 'rain' in some dialects. The complete dialectal picture is presented in [Haacke et al. 1997: 184].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 93. Fem. gender. Cf. *du*: 'to rain (vb.)', *du-s* 'rain (n.)' [Wuras 1920: 42].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 477 (**tu*). Distribution: Replaced in some Nama dialects, including Nama proper, with the root /*awi-*, of unclear origin; however, both the internal distribution of cognate forms and the external Kalahari Khoe parallels transparently indicate that **tu-* is the original root in the basic meaning 'rain'. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

66. RED

Nama /*àwǎ ~ /ápǎ* {/awa ~ /apa} (1), !Ora /*x'ābā* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **/x'aba* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 166. Quoted as /*awa* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 16].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 97. Quoted as /*x'awa* in [Wuras 1920: 42].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular (**x' > /-* in Nama is predictable).

67. ROAD

Nama /*tāō-b* {/daob} (1), !Ora /*dāō-b ~ dau-b* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **dao-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 25. Quoted as *dao-b* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 53]. Secondary synonym: /*á àni* 'road, street' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 310] = /*ani* id. [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 90]. The latter term seems, however, to be more readily applied to 'streets' (of a town or city), 'paved roads', etc., whereas /*tāō-b* is more 'basic' in denoting all sorts of transportation arteries.

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 81, 82. Masc. gender. Secondary synonym: /*ārō-b* 'road, path' [Meinhof 1930: 102]. In [Wuras 1920: 44], an entirely different word is listed: /*am*, with no parallels either in Meinhof's vocabulary or outside !Ora.

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 493 (**dao* 'path, road'). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

68. ROOT

Nama /*lōmǎ-b* {/nomab} (1), !Ora /*lōmā-b* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **lōma-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 365. Quoted as /*lōma-b* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 298].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 144. Masc. gender. Quoted as *ũma-m* in [Wuras 1920: 44].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

69. ROUND (2D)₁

Nama *ʔùwù ~ ʔùbù* {ʔgubu} (1), !Ora *!ũm* (2).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 397. Meaning glossed as 'round, cylindrical'. Polysemy: 'round / difficult to hold'.

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 107. Quoted as *!ũm dorro* in [Wuras 1920: 44] (the form *dorro* is unclear).

Proto-Khoekhoe: Not properly reconstructible. Several attested roots (2 in Nama, 1 in !Ora) all share structural similarities (palatal or alveolar click + zero or glottal stop efflux + labial vowel + labial coda), but do not correspond to each other regularly. Considering possibilities of irregular sound-symbolic developments, as well as lack of substantial hints from external comparison, it is best to avoid setting up any tentative reconstructions.

69. ROUND (3D)₂

Nama *!úwú ~ !úpú* {!gupu} (2).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 325. Meaning glossed as 'round, spherical'. Quoted as *!uwu* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 147]. Despite the remarkable phonetic similarity between the two words for 'round', they are not etymologically relatable in a standard manner (there may, however, be grounds for some speculation on "phonosemantics" involved in this case).

70. SAND

Nama *ǀòwǎ- ~ ǀòpǎ-* {ǀgowa- ~ ǀgopa-} (1), !Ora *ǁxǎ:ē:-b* (2), Proto-Khoekhoe **ǁxae- #* (2).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 193. Attested in both the masc. (*ǀòwǎ-b ~ ǀòpǎ-b*) and fem. (*ǀòwǎ-s ~ ǀòpǎ-s*) genders. Meaning glossed as 'dune; fine sand' (distinct from *ǁxǎē~b* '(river-)sand' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 273]). Quoted as *ǀowa-b* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 119].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 118. Masc. gender. Quoted as *ǁxǎi-b* in [Wuras 1920: 45].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in !Ora, with a possible semantic narrowing in Nama. Replacements: In most languages of the Khoisan area, basic 'sand' is usually indistinguishable from 'earth', including Kalahari Khoe languages. In Khoekhoe (possibly because of their strong agricultural / pastoralist connections), the situation is different; however, 'sand' still remains an unstable concept. Judging by the semantic definitions in Haacke & Eiseb's dictionary, it seems that the basic term for 'sand' as a substance in Nama is *ǀòwǎ-*; the quasi-synonym *ǁxǎē~b*, dealing exclusively with sand found on riverbanks (or at the bottom of the river), is narrower than required. On the other hand, this latter term is the only word for 'sand' known in !Ora, and thus, in terms of cognate distribution, the optimal candidate for generic 'sand' in Proto-Khoekhoe. However, this is a provisional solution that rests on possible incompleteness or inaccuracy of our knowledge of !Ora lexicon, and since external comparison is unable to help, the reconstruction remains questionable.

71. SAY

Nama $m\ddot{u}\ddot{i}$ { $m\hat{u}$ } (1), !Ora $m\acute{i}$ (1), Proto-Khoekhoe $*m\tilde{i}$ (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 89. Quoted as $m\tilde{i}$ in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 264].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 89. In [Wuras 1920: 45], 'say' is translated as \ddot{u} , which corresponds to \ddot{u} 'tell, narrate' in [Meinhof 1930: 125].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 480 ($*m\tilde{i}$). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

72. SEE

Nama $m\ddot{u}\ddot{u}$ { $m\hat{u}$ } (1), !Ora $m\ddot{u}$ (1), Proto-Khoekhoe $*m\ddot{u}$ (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 91. Same root as in 'eye' q.v. Quoted as $m\ddot{u}$ in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 265].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 89. Quoted as $m\ddot{u}$ in [Wuras 1920: 45].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 490 (lists forms for Nama and !Ora but, for some reason, does not put up a Proto-Khoekhoe reconstruction). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. Semantics and structure: This verbal root (also preserved as such in Kalahari Khoe) additionally forms the base for the derived noun 'eye' q.v.

73. SEED

Nama $!x\acute{o}m\text{-}s$ { $!khoms$ } (1), !Ora $!x\grave{u}m\text{-}ma$ (1), Proto-Khoekhoe $*!xum\text{-}$ (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 349. Polysemy: 'seed / descendants'. Fem. gender; the neuter counterpart $!x\acute{o} \acute{h}mi$ is glossed as 'seed (esp. for sowing)'. Quoted as $!om\text{-}i$ in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 247] (only the neuter gender form is attested). Secondary synonym: $\acute{f}\acute{u}\acute{a}\text{-}s$ 'pip, seed (of e.g. date/pumpkin/peach)' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 373]; the semantics of this word seems to be more specifically oriented at 'fruit seed', 'pip', making it less eligible for inclusion.

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 113. Masc. gender. Quoted as $!xum\text{-}ma$ in [Wuras 1920: 45].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally trivial (in Nama $*\text{-}um\text{-}$ > $\text{-}om\text{-}$, which seems to be a regular process; cf. notes on 'hand' for another etymology with the same development).

74. SIT

Nama $\acute{f}\ddot{o}\text{-}\grave{a}$ { $\acute{f}n\acute{o}a$ } (1), !Ora $\acute{f}\acute{u}$ (1), Proto-Khoekhoe $*\acute{f}u \sim *\acute{f}\ddot{u}$ (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 421. This static verb, as correctly explained in Haacke & Eiseb's dictionary, most likely represents a contraction < $\acute{f}\ddot{u}\ddot{u} \acute{h}\acute{a}\acute{a}$, where $\acute{f}\ddot{u}\ddot{u}$ = 'to sit down' (dynamic) and $\acute{h}\acute{a}\acute{a}$ = 'to be, be present, stay'. Quoted as $\acute{f}\ddot{o}\acute{a}$ in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 301].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 104. Meaning glossed as 'to sit, to sit down'. Also attested is the derived verb $\acute{f}\acute{o}\text{-}na$ 'to sit' [ibid.]. Quoted as $\acute{f}u$: in [Wuras 1920: 47].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 491 (**f*u ~ **f*ū). **Distribution:** Preserved in all dialects. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are regular and trivial, except for the yet-to-be-explained fluctuation between the nasal and non-nasal quality of the root vowel (a rather frequent phenomenon in Khoe).

75. SKIN

Nama *k^hòǒ-b* {*khōb*} (1), !Ora *k^hō:-b* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **k^ho-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 74. Polysemy: 'skin / hide / leather'. Quoted as *k^ho:-b* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 238].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 86. Masc. gender; the corresponding fem. form *k^hō:-s* is also attested, in the meaning 'shell'. Quoted as *k^ho:-b* in [Wuras 1920: 47].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 448 (**k^ho*). **Distribution:** Preserved in all dialects. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are regular and trivial.

76. SLEEP

Nama *ǁóǀm* {*ǁom*} (1), !Ora *ǁūm* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **ǁum* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 239. To be more precise, *ǁó nias* such is glossed as 'fall asleep, drop off'; the static 'be sleeping' is *ǁó nǀhǀǀǀ* (for the meaning of the latter auxiliary verb, see under 'sit'). Quoted as *ǁom* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 322].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 114. Quoted as *ǁum* in [Wuras 1920: 47].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 484 (**ǁom*). **Distribution:** Preserved in all dialects. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are largely regular and trivial, except for Nama *-om* = !Ora *-um* < Proto-Khoekhoe **-um* rather than **-om*.

77. SMALL

Nama *ǂxàrí* {*ǂkhari*} (1), !Ora *ǀā:* (2), Proto-Khoekhoe **ǀa* (2).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 408. Quoted as *ǂari* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 232]. The latter source also mentions the existence of the word *ǀa*: 'small; to be small' [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 74], even illustrated by a few text examples. Haacke & Eiseb do not find any evidence for it in the 20th century language, but etymological parallels (in !Ora) confirm that this was indeed an older word for 'small', apparently still in some usage (perhaps already restricted) in the 20th century, but no longer today.

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 95. Quoted as *ǀa* in [Wuras 1920: 47]; cf. also *ǀa-ǀa* 'to diminish' [Wuras 1920: 19].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 457 (**ǀa*). **Distribution:** Preserved everywhere until recently, but seems to have been completely replaced in 20th century Nama. **Replacements:** Replaced in modern Nama by *ǂxàrí*, a word of unknown origin (no parallels in !Ora or in Kalahari Khoe). **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are regular and trivial.

78. SMOKE

Nama *ǀán-ni* {*ǀanni*} (1), !Ora *ǂx'an-ni* ~ *ǂx'ān-na* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **ǂx'an-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 162. Neuter gender; cf. also the correlated verbal lexeme /á n̄'to smoke, smoulder'. Quoted as /an-i in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 13].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 97. The word alternates between masc. and neuter genders. Cf. also the correlated verbal lexeme /x'ān 'to smoke'. Quoted as /x'an-na in [Wuras 1920: 47].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 476 (*/x'an). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular (*/x'- > /- in Nama is predictable). Semantics and structure: The stem already functioned as both nominal and verbal ('to smoke') on the Proto-Khoekhoe level.

79. STAND

Nama *māá* {*mâ*} (1), !Ora *mā* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **mā* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 82. The word has both a dynamic meaning ('come to a standstill, stop, pause') and a static one ('to stand'); the latter may historically represent a phonetic merger of *māá* + *hāá* (see under 'sit' for further notes on this auxiliary verb). Quoted as *mā* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 261].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 89. Quoted as *mā* in [Wuras 1920: 47].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. Not mentioned in [Vossen 1997], since the etymon is an exclusive Khoekhoe isogloss, without any parallels in Kalahari Khoe.

80. STAR

Nama /*āmí-ró-s* {/gamiros} (1), !Ora /*ámó-ró-b* ~ /*ámó-ró-s* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **/ami-ro-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 184. Unexplained phonetic variation in the Hai||om dialect: /*āmí-ró-s* (with a nasal instead of voiced efflux). The word itself is a regular nominal derivative from the verb /*āmí* 'to wink, blink; to twinkle (of star)'. Quoted as /*ami-ro-s* (also /*ami* 'to wink, blink') in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 75].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 95. The word alternates between masc. and fem. genders. Quoted as /*am-ro-b* in [Wuras 1920: 49].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and generally trivial (the second vowel of the verbal stem is either assimilated or deleted in various subdialects of !Ora). Semantics and structure: Already in Proto-Khoekhoe this word was a transparent derivative of the verb 'to blink; to twinkle'. However, it is important to note that the older word for 'star' was retained in Nama with a specific narrowing of the semantics: /*xiní-ní-s* ~ /*xiní-s* ~ /*xíní-s* 'morning star' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 214] (cf. Kalahari Khoe **/xani* 'star').

81. STONE

Nama /*úí-* {/ui-} (1), !Ora /*ui-b* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **/ui-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 176. Same word as 'mountain' q.v. With the semantics of 'stone', the word is more specifically glossed

as '(longish) stone/rock' in the masc. gender (*ʃúí-b*) and as '(roundish) stone/rock' in the fem. gender (*ʃúí-s*). Quoted as *ʃui-b ~ ʃui-s* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 369].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 95. Masc. gender. Quoted as *ʃui-b* in [Wuras 1920: 49]. (The graphic distinction between *ʃui-b* 'stone' and *ʃuy-b* 'mountain' q.v. in that source cannot reflect any genuine phonological opposition and reflects mere transcriptional inaccuracy).

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 495 (**ʃui* 'stone'). Same word as 'mountain' q.v.

82. SUN

Nama *sórè-s* {*sores*} (1), !Ora *sōrē-b ~ sore-b-i* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **sore-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 123. Fem. gender. Quoted as *sore-s ~ sori-s* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 349]; the latter source also mentions the masc. counterpart *sore-b* 'heat of the sun; hot sun(shine)'.

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 90. Masc. gender, but quoted in the fem. gender, as *sorre-s*, in [Wuras 1920: 50].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 492 (**sore*). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

83. SWIM

Nama *cāã* {*tsâ*} (1), !Ora *t^hã ~ t^ha*: (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **t^hã* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 138. Quoted as *cā* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 378].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 91. Quoted as *t^hã* in [Wuras 1920: 51].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 490 (**t^hã*). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular (**t^h* > Nama *c*).

84. TAIL

Nama *ʃǎré-b* {*ʃareb*} (1), !Ora *sáó-b* (2), Proto-Khoekhoe **sao-* (2).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 373. Masc. gender; the fem. counterpart *ʃǎré-s* is glossed as 'buttock (esp. of human beings), fat-tail (of sheep)'. Quoted as *ʃare-b* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 34].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 90. Masc. gender. Quoted as *sáú-b* in [Wuras 1920: 51]. Cf. the related verbal stem: *sáó ~ sáú* 'to follow' [Meinhof 1930: 90].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 488 (**cáo*). Distribution: Preserved in !Ora. Replacements: !Ora *sáó-b* 'tail' has a verbal correlate, *sáó* 'to follow', which is still well preserved in Nama: *sǎó* 'to follow, go/come behind' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 110]. Internal data might suggest that the verbal meaning was original (with an innovation in !Ora and preservation of the old 'tail' in Nama), but external data (Proto-Kalahari Khoe **cáo* 'tail') shows that the opposite process was more likely, i. e. that Proto-Khoekhoe already had the polysemy: 'tail / to follow', and Nama only retained the verbal meaning, replacing the original 'tail' with a special, newly-formed masculine form ('tail' = 'smth. long') of the feminine *ʃǎré-s* 'buttock' (= 'smth. round'). Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

85. THAT

Nama $\tilde{\text{!a}}\tilde{\text{!a}} \{ \tilde{\text{!n}}\tilde{\text{!a}} \}$ (1), !Ora $\tilde{\text{!a}}-$ (1), Proto-Khoekhoe $\tilde{\text{!a}}-$ (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 284. Used in adjectival ('that', 'those') as well as adverbial ('there') functions; may also be nominalized as $\tilde{\text{!a}}\tilde{\text{!a}}-b$ (masc.), $\tilde{\text{!a}}\tilde{\text{!a}}-s$ (fem.). Quoted as $\tilde{\text{!a}}$ in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 272]. In some sources (e. g., Hagman's grammar of Nama) the language is described as having a three-way distinction in the demonstrative system, including an "intermediate" stage between 'this' (near) and 'that' (far). However, the word that is ascribed that meaning, *náú*, is glossed in [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 96] as '(the) other (specific), the alternative', and seems actually to belong to a somewhat different paradigm; we do not include it in the final list.

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 46. The stem functions both as a noun and an adjective. Quoted in the masc. gender as $\tilde{\text{!a}}-b$ in [Wuras 1920: 51].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 378 ($\tilde{\text{!a}}$). **Distribution:** Preserved in all dialects. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are regular and trivial.

86. THIS

Nama $n\tilde{\text{!e}} \{ n\tilde{\text{!e}} \}$ (1), !Ora *he-* (2), Proto-Khoekhoe $\tilde{\text{!ne}}$ # (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 98. Used in adjectival ('this', 'these') functions; may also be nominalized as $n\tilde{\text{!e}}-b$ (masc.), $n\tilde{\text{!e}}-s$ (fem.). Quoted as *ne* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 287].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 46. The stem functions both as a noun and an adjective.

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 378 ($\tilde{\text{!ne}}$). **Distribution:** Preserved only in Nama. **Replacements:** The situation with the proximal deictic stem in Khoekhoe is more complicated than the situation with the distal stem ($\tilde{\text{!a}}$). Nama $n\tilde{\text{!e}}$ and !Ora *he-* do not correspond to each other, and neither of the two words finds good etymological parallels in the other language, so, technically, both are eligible for proto-status. External comparison with Kalahari Khoe $\tilde{\text{!e}}$ 'this' does not yield a fully reliable etymological cognate either, but it is admissible to assume an irregular instance of click loss in Nama: $\tilde{\text{!e}} > \tilde{\text{!ne}}$, due to the frequency of usage and specific samdhi-like processes that are typical of pronominal stems. In this case, the Nama pronoun should be regarded as going back to Proto-Khoekhoe, and the !Ora form should be regarded as an innovation (of unknown origin). However, this is a provisional decision, still liable to future amendments.

87. THOU

Nama $s\tilde{\text{!a}}\tilde{\text{!c}} \{ s\tilde{\text{!a}}\tilde{\text{!s}} \}$ (1), !Ora *sa-c* / *sa-s* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe $\tilde{\text{!sa=c}} / \tilde{\text{!sa=s}}$ (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 108. The pure stem of this pronoun is *sa*, attested as the possessive adjective 'your'. The listed two forms represent, respectively, the masc. and fem. variants, although it should be noted that the masculine suffix *-c* (unlike the feminine *-s*) is certainly not productive and represents an important archaism. Quoted as *sa-c* / *sa-s* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 338].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 43. The pure stem of this pronoun is *sa*, attested as the possessive adjective 'your'. The listed two forms represent, respectively, the masc. and fem. variants (see notes on Nama).

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 370 (masc.: $\tilde{\text{!c}}$, fem.: $\tilde{\text{!s}}$). **Distribution:** Preserved in all dialects. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are regular and trivial. **Semantics and structure:** On a purely synchronic level, the full stems of the 2nd p. sg. pronoun could be analyzed as consisting of the root $\tilde{\text{!sa}}$, combining with either the masculine suffix $\tilde{\text{!c}}$ or the feminine suffix $\tilde{\text{!s}}$. However, (a) in most other contexts, such as the clitical forms of the same pronouns, or their object variants, the "root" is completely

eliminated; (b) there is no masculine suffix *-c in Nama or !Ora (the regular masculine suffix is *-b). Therefore, what we really are dealing with is most likely the result of original *reduplication*: masc. *ca-ca > *sa-c (with reduction of the last syllable and dissimilation of two affricates), fem. *sa-sa > *sa-s (with reduction). This is a peculiarity of the Khoekhoe system that does not have any parallels in Kalahari Khoe languages, and it may also be observed for the 1st p. pronoun (q.v.) as well. Consequently, we separate the first CV-sequence as the result of reduplication and emphasize the =c / =s opposition as more closely reflecting the original situation in Proto-Khoe (and more closely matching external data).

88. TONGUE

Nama *nàǎ-mi* {*nammi*} (1), !Ora *tām-mà* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **lam-* # (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 94. Phonetic variety across dialects: attested also as *làǎ-mi* (Hai||om, Sesfontein) and as *tàǎ-mi* (Hai||om, †Ākhoe). Quoted as *nam-i* ~ *nam-s* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 267] (with an additional fem. gender variant).

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 91. Masc. gender. Quoted as *tam-ma* in [Wuras 1920: 52].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: The obvious issue here is with the initial consonant, reflected rather chaotically as *t-*, *n-*, or *l-* across various Nama dialects. The presence of *t-* in !Ora would suggest that the dental stop reflex is more archaic, and this is also phonetically closer to the related Kalahari Khoe equivalent **dam-* [Vossen 1997: 510], without any such fluctuations. However, even so, voiceless *t-* in !Ora is not a regular correspondence for Kalahari Khoe **d-*. Existing evidence, therefore, strongly suggests either an "exotic" reconstruction for Proto-Khoekhoe and Proto-Khoe, or an irregular "expressive" set of developments in Khoekhoe (typologically not unusual for the word 'tongue'). However, it should also be noted that this kind of fluctuation is not exclusively limited to the word 'tongue' in Nama: cf., for instance, Nama *náwà* ~ *táwà* 'to strike of lightning', *lápà-b* ~ *nápà-b* ~ *tápà-b* '(flash of) lightning' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 97]. Cases like these definitely exclude a reconstruction with **t-* (because numerous items that begin with **t-* show no traces of such a fluctuation) and increase the probability of a rare word-initial resonant like **l-* having been present at the proto-level, with various accommodations depending on the dialect.

89. TOOTH

Nama *ǎǎ-b* {*ǎǎb*} (1), !Ora *ǎǎ-b* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **ǎǎ-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 262. Quoted as *ǎǎ-b* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 142]. Secondary synonym: *áwǎ-b* ~ *ápǎ-b* 'tooth (of human being)' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 17]. This word is restricted to the Hai||om and Topnaar dialects and is said to represent a "term of avoidance" (i.e. tabooistic euphemism) for *ǎǎ-b*.

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 118. Masc. gender. Quoted as *ǎǎ* in [Wuras 1920: 52].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 509 (**ǎǎ*). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

90. TREE

Nama *hǎi-i* {*haii*} (1), !Ora *hai-s-a* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **hai-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 45. Neuter gender; the masc. counterpart *hǎi-b* is glossed as 'stick; (tall, slender) tree'; the fem.

counterpart *hãi-s* is glossed as 'tree (esp. with wide crown); bush, shrub'. Quoted as *hei-b ~ hei-s* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 176].
!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 84. Fem. gender. In Meinhof's dictionary, the word is only found in the meaning 'bush' (no alternate equivalent for 'tree' is offered). However, in [Wuras 1920: 53], the same root is glossed as 'tree', with the word attested in the masc. gender: *hei-b*. Most likely, the situation in !Ora was more or less the same as in Nama (fem. gender = 'wide and large tree / bush', masc. gender = '(elongated) tree').

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

91. TWO

Nama *!áǀn̄* {*!gam*} (1), !Ora *!am* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **!am* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 181. The Hai||om dialect also has the expanded variant *!ama* id. Quoted as *!am* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 75].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 95. Quoted as *!am* in [Wuras 1920: 53].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 510 (**!á n̄*). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

92. WALK (GO)

Nama *!úú̃* {*!gû*} (1), !Ora *!ũ* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **!ũ* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 325. Quoted as *!ũ* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 145].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 112. Quoted as *!u:* in [Wuras 1920: 25].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 441 (**!ũ*). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

93. WARM (HOT)

Nama *!áǀn̄-sǎ* {*!gamsa*} (1), !Ora *!x'um-mi* (2).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 183. Meaning glossed as 'hot'; the word is a regular adjectival derivative from the verb *!á n̄* 'to heat (up); grow/get/become hot'. Quoted as *!am-sa* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 75]. Quite distinct from *!ãẽ* 'to become warm, warm up' and its own adjectival derivative *!ãẽ-sǎ* 'warm' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 356].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 103.

Proto-Khoekhoe: Not properly reconstructible, although the Nama word is probably more archaic than the one in !Ora: its cognates in Kalahari Khoe mean 'sun, day' and could very easily have been derived from the original meaning 'to be hot'.

94. WATER

Nama *!àǀn̄-mi* {*!gammi*} (1), !Ora *!am-mi ~ !am-ma* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **!am-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 246. Quoted as $\parallel am-i$ in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 80]. The Sesfontein dialect also has a strange variant $t\ddot{a}m\ddot{m}-mi$, unexplainable as a regular phonetic development. The Hai||om dialect is particularly important here because it preserves the archaic word for 'water', $c\ddot{a}\ddot{a}-b$, which in all the other dialects has only been retained in the meaning 'saliva; dribble, drivel, slobber; synovial fluid' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 135].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 115. Fluctuation between masc. and neuter genders.

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects except for Hai||om. Technically, since Hai||om $c\ddot{a}\ddot{a}$ - finds obvious parallels in Kalahari Khoe languages, one could hypothesize that the proper Proto-Khoekhoe word for 'water' was $*ca$, and that $\parallel am-$ was a subsequent areal innovation that replaced the old word in most dialects. An alternate scenario, however, would see Hai||om $c\ddot{a}\ddot{a}$ - as a substrate leftover from an earlier form of speech: considering the background of the Hai||om as hunter-gatherers rather than pastoralists, it is possible that they used to speak a Kalahari Khoe form of a speech before shifting to a Khoekhoe variety, but preserving a small layer of Kalahari Khoe lexical elements. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

95. WE₁

Nama = \ddot{m} {= m } (1), !Ora = m (1), Proto-Khoekhoe $*=m$ (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Vossen 1997: 234. The Nama paradigm for the 1st p. plural/dual is extremely complex, altogether containing no less than twelve different forms (a few of them syncretized). The typical form consists of three "slots": (1) clusivity (prefixation of $s\acute{a}$ = for inclusive forms and of $s\acute{i}$ = for exclusive forms; in the short clitical variants these prefixes are deleted); (2) gender (masc., fem., neuter); (3) main pronominal morpheme: = \ddot{m} for the dual, = \ddot{e} for the plural. Hence, the dual paradigm is as follows: $s\acute{a}=x'\ddot{m}$ 'incl. masc.', $s\acute{a}=\ddot{m}$ 'incl. fem.' + 'incl. neuter', $s\acute{i}=x'\ddot{m}$ 'excl. masc.', $s\acute{i}=\ddot{m}$ 'excl. fem.' + 'excl. neuter'.

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 43. As in Nama, the complete paradigm of the 1st p. pl./du. pronoun in !Ora consists of twelve different forms (unlike Nama, none of them are syncretized) with the same three slots: clusivity, gender, main pronominal morpheme: = m for the dual, = e : for the plural. The complete paradigm for the dual number is as follows: $sa=k^h a=m$ 'incl. masc.', $sa=sa=m$ 'incl. fem.', $sa=m$ 'incl. neuter', $si=k^h a=m$ 'excl. masc.', $si=sa=m$ 'excl. fem.', $si=m$ 'excl. neuter'.

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Semantics and structure: The pronominal morpheme $*=m$ is clearly reconstructible as the base marker for 1st p. dual on the evidence of both Nama and !Ora.

95. WE₂

Nama = \ddot{e} {= e } (2), !Ora = e : (2), Proto-Khoekhoe $*=e$ (2).

References and notes:

Nama: Vossen 1997: 234. The plural paradigm of the pronoun 'we' is as follows: $s\acute{a}=k=\ddot{e}$ 'incl. masc.', $s\acute{a}=s=\ddot{e}$ 'incl. fem.', $s\acute{a}=t=\ddot{a}$ 'incl. neuter', $s\acute{i}=k=\ddot{e}$ 'excl. masc.', $s\acute{i}=s=\ddot{e}$ 'excl. fem.', $s\acute{i}=t=\ddot{a}$ 'excl. neuter'. Note that in the neuter gender, the original $*=\ddot{e}$ transforms into = a , for unknown reasons.

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 43. The plural paradigm of the pronoun 'we' is as follows: $sa=t^y=e$: 'incl. masc.', $sa=s=e$: 'incl. fem.', $sa=d=a$ 'incl. neuter', $si=t^y=e$: 'excl. masc.', $si=s=e$: 'excl. fem.', $si=d=a$ 'excl. neuter'. As in Nama, in the neuter gender the original $*=e$ transforms into = a , for unknown reasons.

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Semantics and structure: The pronominal morpheme $*=e$ is clearly reconstructible as the base marker for 1st p. plural on the evidence of both Nama and !Ora.

96. WHAT

Nama *tǎré* ~ *tǎé* {*ta(r)e*} (1), !Ora *táē-b* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **da-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 130. Main inanimate interrogative pronoun; should be distinguished from *mǎǎ*, which generally assumes adjectival functions ('which?', 'what kind of?') [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 82] and is not eligible for inclusion. Typically used in conjunction either with the indefinite morpheme -i (*tǎré-i*) or gender suffixes. Quoted as *tare-* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 356]; apparently, the variant *tǎé* is "lenited" and less archaic than *tare-*.

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 91. Quoted as *tai-b* in [Wuras 1920: 56]. Formally, a masc. sg. nominal (which is strange, since the masc. gender ending would not be generally expected in an interrogative referring to inanimate objects).

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: The root here is apparently the same as in 'who', with regular devoicing in Nama, but irregular in !Ora (where the original opposition between voiced and voiceless consonants is still preserved, unlike in Nama where its only vestiges are tonal). It cannot even be excluded that !Ora *táē-* is the result of areal diffusion of a Nama-like variant: in Nama **da-re* > **tǎ-re* > (dial.) *tǎ-e* with lenition, and it is this latter and seemingly innovative variant that is also observed in !Ora.

97. WHITE

Nama *!úrǐ* {*!uri*} (1), !Ora *xāti:* (2), Proto-Khoekhoe **!uri* # (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 303. Quoted as *!uri* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 373].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 93. Quoted as *xati:* in [Wuras 1920: 57]. A strange word, without external parallels and with a violation of the general phonotactic laws of !Ora (intervocalic -t- rather than the expected -r-); however, no obvious sources of borrowing are attested.

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved only in Nama. The more archaic nature of the Nama entry is confirmed by external parallels in Kalahari Khoe, although Proto-Kalahari Khoe **!u* 'white' necessitates the historical interpretation of -ri in Nama as a suffixal extension. The entry in !Ora, by comparison, not only lacks any reliable external cognates, but does not even look like a native Khoekhoe word in terms of phonotactics.

98. WHO

Nama *tǎrǐ* ~ *tǎí* {*ta(r)i*} (1), !Ora *da-b-i* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **da-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 130. Quoted as *tari-* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 356]. Secondary synonym: *há* *ǀ* also glossed as 'who?' by Haacke & Eiseb without indicating the difference (nor is it clear from R. Hagman's grammar of Nama). Typically used in conjunction either with the indefinite morpheme -i (*tǎrǐ-i*) or gender suffixes.

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 46. Formally, a masc. sg. nominal (the corresponding fem. form **da-s* or **da-s-i* is not attested).

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 380 (**da*). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular. Semantics and structure: The root **da-* is the same as in 'what?' q.v. It is unclear what was the specific shape of the animate pronoun in Proto-Khoekhoe: !Ora suggests simple **da-*, while Nama points to **da-ri* (with the simplified variant **da-i* probably resulting from

irregular loss of the intervocalic resonant in a high-frequency auxiliary word). !Ora **da-bi* is also technically analyzable as the result of a similar irregular loss of the intervocalic resonant (**da-ri* > **da-i*, cf. 'what?') with subsequent addition of the masculine suffix (**da-i-b*) and metathesis (> *da-b-i*).

99. WOMAN

Nama *tàrà-s* {*taras*} (1), !Ora *tara-s* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **tara-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 129. Polysemy: 'woman / wife / lady'. Secondary synonym: *k^hðè-s* [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 72], i.e. the feminine form of *k^hðè-* 'person' q.v. The difference is not quite clear, but only *tara-* participates in various composite formations (for understandable reasons, since the word has to lose the gender suffix), and, overall, seems to be more frequently used. Quoted as *tara-s* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 356].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 91. Secondary synonym: *k^hoe-s* 'woman' ([Meinhof 1930: 88]; [Wuras 1920: 57]), i. e. the feminine form of *k^hoe-* 'person' q.v. Scant textual evidence shows that in contexts where 'woman' and 'man' are found together, the speakers prefer not to rely exclusively on gender markers (*k^hoe-b* vs. *k^hoe-s*), but to at least use compound forms such as *x'ao-k^hoe-b* 'male person' and *tara-k^hoe-s* 'female person', which justifies the inclusion of *tara-s* in the basic meaning 'woman'.

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. Semantics and structure: Already on the Proto-Khoekhoe level, **tara-* must have been a partial synonym with **k^hoe-s*, the feminine gender form of **k^hoe-* 'person'. Whereas this second form also serves as the default equivalent for 'woman' in Kalahari Khoe, **tara-* has no equivalent outside of Khoekhoe, and it currently remains unclear if the original situation was closer to the one in Khoekhoe or in the Kalahari branch.

100. YELLOW

Nama *!^hùni* {*!huni*} (1), !Ora *!^hāi* (2).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 338. Quoted as *!^huni* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 204].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 96. Quoted as *!^hei* in [Wuras 1920: 58].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Not reconstructible. Nama *!^hùni* 'yellow' has no parallels either in !Ora or in Kalahari Khoe, so the degree of its archaicity remains completely unclear. As for !Ora *!^hāi*, it corresponds regularly to Nama *!^hāi* 'grey, ash-coloured' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 199], making the semantics of this word in Proto-Khoekhoe quite fuzzy. We prefer to leave the slot empty.

101. FAR

Nama *!ùù ~ !ùú* {*!nū*} (1), !Ora *!ū:* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **!ū* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 368. Quoted as *!ū:* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 304]. Secondary synonym: *!āā-xā* 'long (of road/distance ahead); adv. far, (for) a long distance' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 298].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 111. Cf. *!ū kasse* 'far' in [Wuras 1920: 22].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 507 (**!ū*). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

102. HEAVY

Nama *ǃórn* {!*gom*} (1), !Ora *!úm* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **!um* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 320. Polysemy: 'heavy / pregnant'. Quoted as *ǃom* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 126].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 112. Cf. the derived noun *!um-b* 'heaviness' in [Wuras 1920: 27].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 490 (**!ó n̄- *!ú ñ̄*). **Distribution:** Preserved in all dialects. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are regular and trivial, except for Nama *-om* = !Ora *-um* < Proto-Khoekhoe **-um* rather than **-om*.

103. NEAR

Nama *ǃúù* {!*gū*} (1), !Ora */u-* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **/u* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 197. Quoted as */u-* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 139].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 99. The actual adjective 'near' is not attested; the stem is known from such derivatives as */u-/u* 'to bring near' and */u-e*: 'to approach, get near'. However, in [Wuras 1920: 36], 'near' is glossed as */u-se*, which confirms that this root should be included on the list.

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 470 (**/u*). **Distribution:** Preserved in all dialects. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are regular and trivial.

104. SALT

Nama *ǃòò-* {!*ō-*} (1), !Ora *ǃx'o:-b* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **ǃx'o-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 379. Attested in all three genders: *ǃòò-b* ~ *ǃòò-s* ~ *ǃòò-i*. Quoted as *ǃo:-b* ~ *ǃo:-s* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 331].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 103. Masc. gender. Quoted as *ǃu:-b* in [Wuras 1920: 45] (the connection with a slightly differently transcribed word for 'urine' in that source is erroneous).

Proto-Khoekhoe: **Distribution:** Preserved in all dialects. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are regular (**ǃx'- > ǃ'-* in Nama is predictable).

105. SHORT

Nama *ǃūwú* ~ *ǃūbú* {!*nubu*} (1), !Ora *ǃūbù* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **ǃūbu* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 368. Quoted as *ǃuwu* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 306].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 111. Quoted as *ǃūwu* in [Wuras 1920: 46].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

106. SNAKE

Nama /àǎ-b {/aob} (1), !Ora /x'āō-b (1), Proto-Khoekhoe */x'ao-(1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 163. Usually in the masc. gender, but a rarer fem. form /àǎ-s is also attested. Quoted as /ao-b in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 14].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 98. Masc. gender. Quoted as /x'au-b in [Wuras 1920: 47].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 485 (*/x'ao). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular (*/x'- > /'- in Nama is predictable).

107. THIN (1D)₁

Nama //àá {/gā} (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 244. Meaning glossed as 'thin, flimsy (of smth. flat), sheer (of textiles), thin (of fluid), weak, thin (of hair)'. Quoted as //a: 'thin' in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 78].

107. THIN (2D)₂

Nama /'ùì {/ui} (2), !Ora /'u:ì (2), Proto-Khoekhoe */'uí (2).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 175. Meaning glossed as 'slim, slender; narrow (of road); thin (of stick, rope)', i.e. = 'thin (2D)'. Quoted as /'ui 'fine, thin' in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 368].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 95.

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. Semantics and structure: This word has the explicit meaning 'thin (2D)' in Nama; however, since //àá 'thin (1D)' has no parallels either in !Ora or in Kalahari Khoe, it is unclear if this semantic opposition was lexicalized on the Proto-Khoekhoe level or if it is a Nama innovation.

108. WIND

Nama /'óà-b {/oab} (1), !Ora /'ōā:-b ~ /'oa-b-i (1), Proto-Khoekhoe */'oa-(1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 378. Polysemy: 'wind / air'. Quoted as /'oa-b in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 331].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 101. Masc. gender. Quoted as /'oa-b in [Wuras 1920: 58].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 507 (*/'oa). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

109. WORM

Nama *ʃ̀ùnị-b* {*ʃ̀unib*} (1), !Ora *ʃ̀x̀ònị-b* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **ʃ̀x̀onị-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 380. Polysemy: 'worm / larva'. Quoted as *ʃ̀uni-b* ~ *ʃ̀uni-s* in [Krönlein & Rust 1969: 375].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 103. Masc. gender.

Proto-Khoekhoe: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular (**ʃ̀x̀-* > *ʃ̀-* in Nama is predictable; **o* > *u* in Nama due to the influence of the front vowel in the second syllable).

110. YEAR

Nama *k̀ùrị̃-b* {*kurib*} (1), !Ora *kuri-b* ~ *gũrị̃-b* (1), Proto-Khoekhoe **kuri-* (1).

References and notes:

Nama: Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 67. Not attested in [Krönlein & Rust 1969].

!Ora: Meinhof 1930: 87. Masc. gender. Quoted as *guri-b* in [Wuras 1920: 58].

Proto-Khoekhoe: Vossen 1997: 454 (**kúdí*). Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.