

[Text version of database, created 3/04/2016].

Annotated Swadesh wordlists for the Taa group (Peripheral Khoisan family).

Languages included: !Xóõ [taa-xoo]; Kafia (Masarwa) [taa-kak]; N|u||en [taa-nue].

Reconstruction: Preliminary version available.

DATA SOURCES

I. !Xóõ

Traill 1994 = Traill, Anthony. A !Xóõ dictionary. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. // *A large dictionary of the !Xóõ language, including detailed paradigmatic information; based on one of the most detailed and professional investigations of a Peripheral Khoisan language, and an "anchor-type" source for the study of the South Khoisan family in general.*

Maingard 1958 = Maingard, L. F. Three Bushman Languages. Part II: The Third Bushman Language. In: African Studies, 17, pp. 100-115. // *A brief sketch of !Xóõ phonology and grammar with some illustrative material; suffers from rather poor quality of transcription, but still preserves some historical interest.*

II. Kafia, N|u||en

Bleek 1929 = Bleek, Dorothea F. Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages. Cambridge University Press. // *(A collection of mid-size vocabularies from 12 "Bushman" dialects (several North, South, and Central Khoisan idioms are represented), with most of the data collected by D. Bleek herself. Not as thorough as Bleek 1956, and even less reliable in regards to data transcription, but the English-Bushman data organization principle makes it a useful source to consult in the preparation of Swadesh wordlists.)*

Bleek 1956 = Bleek, Dorothea F. A Bushman Dictionary. American Oriental Society: New Haven, Connecticut. // *(A huge (almost 700 pages) collection of comparative data on Khoisan that includes both Dorothea F. Bleek's own collection and data from numerous other*

researchers published up until the 1930s (W. Bleek, L. Lloyd, etc.). Transcription quality varies in between all the different sources, but is generally unreliable, quite typical of all Khoisan data published before the second half of the XXth century. Nevertheless, the edition still contains a wealth of priceless data, particularly on extinct North and South Khoisan languages.)

NOTES

I. !Xóõ

Transcription

The following modifications have been made during the transliteration of A. Traill's system for the transcription of !Xóõ into the UTS:

A. Click effluxes (illustrated with a dental click):

g		Voiced accompaniment.
g x	x	Prevoicing + velar (phonetically uvular) fricative.
kx'	x'	Velar affricate (phonetically realised as ejective).
g kx'	x'	Prevoicing + velar affricate.
ǁ	ǁ	Voiced uvular efflux; phonetically, also includes prenasalization = ǁ̃.
g qʰ	qʰ	Prevoicing + uvular aspirated stop.
ǁ qʰ	qʰ	Prevoicing + prenasalization + uvular aspirated stop.
ṅ	ṅ	Voiceless nasalization accompaniment.
ṅ	ṅ̃	Nasalized accompaniment.
ʔ	ʔ	Glottal stop accompaniment.

B. Simple consonants and clusters:

dtx	dx	"Prevoiced" cluster.
dth	dʰ	"Prevoiced" aspirated dental stop.
t'kx'	tx'	Since the affricate <i>kx</i> is always ejected, ejective articulation is not marked.
dt'kx'	dgx'	"Prevoiced" cluster.

ts	c	
dz	ʒ	
tsh	c ^h	
dtsh	ʒ ^h	"Prevoiced" aspirated affricate.
tshx	cx	
dtshx	ʒx	
ts'	c'	
ts'kx'	cx'	
dts'kx'	ʒgx'	
gkh	g ^h	"Prevoiced" aspirated velar stop.
kx'	x'	This velar affricate is always ejective in nature.
gkx'	gx'	"Prevoiced" velar affricate.

C. Vowels:

Ṽ	Ṽ	Nasalized vowels.
Vh	V ^h	Breathy vowels.
ṽ	ṽ	Pharyngealized vowels.
VV	V:	Phonetically (but not phonologically) long vowels.
Vṽ	V̄:	Double vowels marked with different diacritics are generally combined into one vowel symbol, marked with the length diacritic (although length has no phonological value in !Xóõ).

The wordlist incorporates most of the paradigmatic information given in [Traill 1994]. This means: For nouns - (a) the plural form, more often than not unpredictable based on the singular; (b) information on concordial classes (1/4, 2, or 3) and tonal classes (I or II); for verbs this includes giving the "variable form", i. e. the stem variant that is used in conjunction with class markers. For detailed explanations of these traits of !Xóõ morphology, the introduction to [Traill 1994] may be consulted.

II. Kakia, N|u||en

1. General.

Kakia is a presumably extinct variety of Taa, very close to !Xóõ, but reflecting at least a small handful of lexicostatistical discrepancies that indicate a significant period of individual development (it is hard to trust the results of lexicostatistics, however, since the unreliable character of D. Bleek's semantic glossing may result in several "false" discrepancies). In [Bleek 1929] and [Bleek 1956], this idiom is defined with the Bantu term *Masarwa*, no longer in general use among Khoisanologists.

N|u||en is another Taa variety, described by D. Bleek in 1920 at Tsachas, Uichenas and Aminuis (Namibia). Another name for this dialect is N|usan. Approximately the same minor number of lexical discrepancies between N|u||en and !Xóõ as between Kakia and !Xóõ are detectable, but it is not clear how many of these reflect genuine lexical divergence and how many reflect poor data quality.

2. Transcription.

All of the UTS transliteration details for Kakia and N|u||en follow the standard conventions that we have chosen for D. Bleek's Khoisan data. The main ones are as follows:

, †, †, †, †, †	', †', †', †', †'	"Lone" click signs normally denote a click with a glottal stop accompaniment.
k, †k, †k, †k, †p	, †, †, †, †	Clicks with a following <i>k</i> (or the variant <i>p</i> after the labial click) are analyzed as clicks with "zero" accompaniment (<i>k</i> and <i>p</i> are deleted during transliteration).
g, †g, †g, †g, †b	, †, †, †, †	Voiced accompaniment.
n, †n, †n, †n, †m	̃, †̃, †̃, †̃, †̃	Nasalized accompaniment.
h, †h, †h, †h, †h	^h , † ^h , † ^h , † ^h , † ^h	Denoted in the transliteration as glottal stop + aspiration accompaniment (although in reality

		these clicks may have been phonetically realized without the glottal stop).
kh, †kh, !kh, kh, 0ph	^h , † ^h , ! ^h , ^h , 0 ^h	Denoted in the transliteration as aspirated accompaniment (in reality, at least some of these clicks may have been phonetically realized with an additional uvular efflux, e. g. = /q ^h , etc.).
x, †x, !x, x, 0x	x, †x, !x, x, 0x	Velar fricative accompaniment.
k", †k", !k", k", 0k"	x', †x', !x', x', 0x'	Ejective velar affricate accompaniment. In [Bleek 1929], this type of clicks is frequently transcribed as /k', etc.; we preserve this detail in the transliteration, although it is almost certainly not significant.
ts, dz	c, ʒ	Alveolar affricates.
tš, dʒ, š, ʒ	č, ǰ, š, ʒ	Postalveolar affricates and fricatives.
tʔ	tʔ	Ejective dental stop.
ε, ɔ	ε, ɔ	These vowels are most probably just positional variants of the regular <i>e</i> , <i>o</i> ; however, we preserve this phonetic distinction in our transliteration.
y	ü	Usually a positional variant of <i>u</i> , preserved in our transliteration.
ˉV	ˉV	High tonal register.
ˊV	ˊV	Low tonal register.

It must be noted that all of D. F. Bleek's data have to be approached with extreme caution, both in regard to the preciseness of the phonetic notation and correctness of the semantic glossing. The earlier source, [Bleek 1929], is particularly unreliable, and its data can only be trusted to a certain extent if they are confirmed in the later, revised and much expanded comparative dictionary [Bleek 1956]. However, since both of them are the only source of data on certain varieties of Taa, there is no justification to completely exclude them from comparison.

NB: In [Bleek 1956], Kakia (Masarwa) entries are regularly marked as SV, and N|u|en entries as SVI. However, there are a few cases when, by way of typographic error, SIV (normally marking the !Kwi language [Auni]) is substituted for SVI. Fortunately, most of these mistakes are detectable through comparison with [Bleek 1929] (where these typos are absent), analysis of textual examples accompanying the entries, or external comparison.

III. Proto-Taa

A proper Proto-Taa reconstruction is virtually impossible, given the huge discrepancy in data quantity and quality between Lone Tree !Xóõ, represented by Traill's massive dictionary, and all other varieties of Taa, represented mostly by phonetically and semantically inaccurate data from D. Bleek's collections, as well as a handful of papers by L. F. Maingard and E. Westphal. As of now, "Proto-Taa" reconstructions are essentially !Xóõ forms, projected onto the proto-level with a little extra morphophonological analysis. In a very small handful of cases ('ashes', 'breast', 'full', 'snake'), there is some evidence (internal or external) that the !Xóõ equivalent of the Swadesh meaning may be a recent lexical replacement, but for the most part, expert judgement is inevitably biased towards !Xóõ simply because it is so much better described than everything else.

The issue of regular phonetic correspondences between !Xóõ and earlier described dialects is quite complex, mainly because it is inextricably linked to the issue of transcriptional accuracy; most of the differences between these varieties of Taa are presumably due to errors in notation than actual phonetic change. For this reason, we do not provide here a list of phonetic correspondences, but comment on each situation individually in the "Reconstruction shape" section of the comments.

Database compiled and annotated by: G. Starostin (March 2011; preliminary reconstruction added, April 2015).

Reconstruction sources: G. Starostin, personal notes (partially published in: Starostin, George. From Modern Khoisan Languages to Proto-Khoisan: the Value of Intermediate Reconstructions. In: Aspects of Comparative Linguistics III [Aspekty komparativistiki III]. Orientalia et Classica, vol.. XIX. Moscow, RSUH Publishers, pp. 337-470).

1. ALL

!Xoong *kō*: *kàʔā̃* (1), Kafia *ku-ka:*^f ~ *ku-ka* (1), N|u|en *||árrí* # (2), Proto-Taa **ko-ka*^f(1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 170. Transcribed as a sequence of two separate words because the normal word structure in !Xóō does not allow such sequences; however, the two morphemes are not actually met separately.

Kafia: Bleek 1956: 105. Only the second morpheme of this composite formation is listed in [Bleek 1929: 15], as *kā:*^f, which is probably incorrect, judging by the external data.

N|u|en: Bleek 1956: 559. Quoted as *||árǀ* in [Bleek 1929: 15]. This is the same word as 'many' q.v., which raises certain doubts as to whether it could also function at the same time as the basic equivalent for 'all'. The adduced textual example in [Bleek 1956] is: *si ||árrí, si sa sīsī* "we all, we shall work" (which could theoretically be interpreted as "the many of us will work").

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in !Xóō and Kafia. Replacements: It is possible that 'all' merged with 'many' in N|u|en, but we have no way of confirming the accuracy of the semantics in Bleek's data. Semantics and structure: The reconstructed expression is clearly a compound, but it is currently impossible to delineate the individual meaning and function of each component.

2. ASHES

!Xoong *ʔàa* (1), Kafia *||wa:* (1), N|u|en *!ʔwi* (2), Proto-Taa **!ʔui* # (2).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 134. Class 3; tonal class II. Meaning glossed as 'ash; any abrasive, e. g. soap'.

Kafia: Bleek 1956: 536; Bleek 1929: 17. The latter source further adds *θwani* as a synonym; this word is seemingly derived from *θwā* ~ *θwā̃* 'to make a fire; flame (n.)' [Bleek 1956: 684].

N|u|en: Bleek 1956: 495. Quoted as *!ʔwi:* in [Bleek 1929: 17]. The latter source adds a synonymous idiomatic expression: *||ā te-kàn*, whose first component = 'fire' q.v.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved only in N|u|en. Replacements: There are two substantial arguments for choosing the N|u|en word as the optimal archaic candidate for 'ashes': (a) external parallels in !Wi languages (!Xam *!ʔwi* 'ashes', etc.) and (b) the possibility of areal descent for the !Xóō and Kafia equivalents that are very similar to Proto-Khoe **!ʔoa* 'ashes' and may be the result of recent language contact (especially since the same word tends to also penetrate in some North Khoisan dialects).

3. BARK

!Xoong *gú-le* (1), Kafia *gu-le* (1), N|u|en *!um* (2), Proto-Taa **gu-le* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 173. Plural form: *gún*. Class 3/2; tonal class I. Meaning glossed as 'thick, dry bark'. Cf. also *cā^hbi*, pl. *cā^hbu-tē* 'fresh, wet bark, fibres in bark' [Traill 1994: 163].

Kafia: Bleek 1956: 50. Probably erroneously transcribed with an extra lateral click in [Bleek 1929: 19]: *||ulǀ*.

N|u|en: Bleek 1956: 389; Bleek 1929: 19. The latter source also lists *||āba ku* as a synonymous form. This form is reproduced in [Bleek 1956: 342] as *||ābuku* (with a different vowel and without the empty space; it is also erroneously listed as representing SIV, i. e. [!Auni rather than N|u|en, but this is clearly a typo - especially since the plural form is listed as *||ābuku-te*, with a typically Taa plural suffix), and it is clearly related to *||ābu* 'leaf' q.v. Since derivation of 'bark' from 'leaf' in Khoisan is very unusual, there are reasons to doubt the correctness of the semantic definition.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in !Xóō and Kafia. Replacements: N|u|en *!um* (provided the form is correctly transcribed and

glossed) has no parallels either in other Taa dialects or outside Taa, and is more likely to represent an innovation of unknown origin. Semantics and structure: !Xóǒ data shows that *-le* is a detachable nominal suffix (plural *gú-n*).

4. BELLY

!Xoong *!ʰūma* # (1), N|u||en *||a:ban* (2).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1991: 91. Plural form: *!ʰūma-tê*. Class 2; tonal class II (poss.) or class 3; tonal class I (alien.). Meaning glossed as 'external lower part of the belly, above the pubic area'. Cf. also *||ám sàǎ* 'the upper external part of the abdomen' [Traill 1994: 123], literally 'liver-face'. It is also possible that the term *||ǎǎ* 'innards, bowels, stomach' [Traill 1994: 54] is more "basic" than *!ʰūma*; however, its semantic glossing prevents it from being eligible.

Kakia: Not attested.

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 523; Bleek 1929: 21.

Proto-Taa: Not properly reconstructible.

5. BIG

!Xoong *!xa-* (1), Kakia *!xai* (1), N|u||en *!xai* (1), Proto-Taa **!xa-* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 83. Variable form: *!xa-BV*. Quoted as *ǎai* in [Maingard 1958: 107] (unless this is a different word, but it could also simply reflect a misheard click influx).

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 496. Quoted as *!xài* in [Bleek 1929: 23].

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 497; Bleek 1929: 23. The word *||árrí* 'much, many; (?) all' may apparently also be used in the meaning 'big', as in: *||ei ||árrí* "the house is big", but this seems to be marginal usage (or a mistranslation).

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

6. BIRD

!Xoong *||ǎʰǎu* (1), Kakia *šǐ=||u* # (1), N|u||en *si=|óu* (1), Proto-Taa **|u(?)*- (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 59. Plural form: *||ǎʰǎ-tê*. Class 3/2; tonal class I.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 80; Bleek 1929: 22. It may be assumed that the form *šǐ=||u* is a mistyped (or, less probably, misheard) variant of the correct *šǐ=|u*, based on external cognates (not only in Taa, but in the !Kwi group as well, where similar forms are encountered with the same prefix *šǐ= ~ si=*). Cf., however, also *šǐ=|u*: 'partridge' [Bleek 1956: 180]: is this the same word or two different ones?

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 170. In [Bleek 1929: 22], obviously the same word is transcribed as *šǐ=|ú*. Cf. also *ǎarri-ron* [Bleek 1956: 657] = *ǎarri-ron* [Bleek 1929: 22], glossed as 'little bird' in both sources.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Assuming that the lateral click transcription in Kakia is a typo, we may reliably reconstruct a dental click for the protoform, probably voiced (voiced articulation is noted both in !Xóǒ and Kakia). Semantics and structure: In some dialects, the root is consistently encountered in conjunction with the nominal prefix **si=* (whose original function is obscure).

7. BITE

!Xoong *síʔi* (1), N|u||en *ceya* (1), Proto-Taa **ciʔ-* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 186. Variable form: *siʔ-JV*. Polysemy: 'bite / sharp'.

Kakia: Not attested.

N|u||en: Bleek 1929: 22. In [Bleek 1956: 214], the meaning 'to bite' is glossed as a complex idiom: *ceya //ai*. This might mean something like 'to bite to death', 'to kill by biting', if *//ai* is one of the morphological variants of the N|u||en word for 'to kill' q.v. Another word with the same meaning in [Bleek 1929: 22] is *ša:da*, but it is not confirmed in [Bleek 1956].

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects where the word is attested. Reconstruction shape: In this case, the N|u||en form with an initial affricate may be preserving the original articulation: external parallels in !Wi also show an affricate reflex. Reasons for fricativization in !Xóǿ, however, remain poorly understood. The glottal stop is projected onto the proto-level based on !Xóǿ data (its lack in N|u||en may easily be accidental).

8. BLACK

!Xoong *ʔáʔɲa* (1), Kakia *|x'a* (2), N|u||en *ʔana* (1), Proto-Taa **ʔaʔ-* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 131. Quoted as *ʔani-ka* in [Maingard 1958: 108].

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 337. Transcribed as *|k'a:* in [Bleek 1929: 22]. Possible synonym: *dani*, glossed simply as 'black' in [Bleek 1929: 22] and as 'black, dark (possibly from charcoal)' in [Bleek 1956: 23].

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 656; Bleek 1929: 22.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in !Xóǿ and N|u||en. Replacements: Kakia equivalents for the meaning 'black' are unclear, without any solid parallels in other Taa languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are trivial. Semantics and structure: The word is encountered with the suffixal component *-ɲa* that is also typical of many other color terms (see 'white', 'red', etc.).

9. BLOOD

!Xoong *ĩá:ˀ ~ ĩáˀm* (1), Kakia *ĩá:ˀa* (1), N|u||en *ĩá:ˀa* (1), Proto-Taa **ĩáˀ* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 92, 93. Class 3; tonal class II (*ĩá:ˀ*). Class 2; tonal class II (poss.); class 3; tonal class I (alien.) (*ĩáˀm*). The plural form of *ĩáˀm* is *ĩáˀma-tê*. Polysemy: 'blood / money'. The two forms are almost certainly traceable to the same root, and *-m* has to be recognized as a nominal suffix, although its function is unclear.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 471. Meaning glossed as 'blood, wound'. Quoted as *ĩáˀ:a* in [Bleek 1929: 23].

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 471. Meaning glossed as 'blood, wound'. Quoted as *ĩá:ˀa* in [Bleek 1929: 22].

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

10. BONE

!Xoong *ʔâ: / ʔâ:* (1), Kakia *//a:* (1), N|u||en *ʔã* (1), Proto-Taa **ʔã* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 130. The first variant is the possessed form; the second variant is the alienated form. Plural form: *ʃàm-tê*. Class 2; tonal class II.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 547; Bleek 1929: 23.

N|u|en: Bleek 1956: 653. Quoted as *ʃā:* in [Bleek 1929: 23].

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: The lateral click in Kakia is probably mistranscribed for the palatal click; in any case, the correlation is quite recurrent (cf. 'ashes', 'egg', 'wind' for additional examples). Nasalization probably belongs to the root.

11. BREAST

!Xoong *ʃú:* (1), Kakia *ʃám* (2), N|u|en *ʃu* # (1), Proto-Taa **ʃám* # (2).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 109. Plural form: *ʃú:-tê*. Class 2; tonal class II (poss.) or class 3; tonal class I (alien.). Cf. such semantically close forms as *!ā^hma* 'sternum' [Traill 1994: 86]; *ó^lo* 'breast of a bird' [Traill 1994: 181]. Distinct from *ʃq^hè:* 'breast (female); milk' [Traill 1994: 143].

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 614; Bleek 1929: 28. Distinct from *ʃxam-sa* 'breasts' (female) ([Bleek 1956: 632]; [Bleek 1929: 24]).

N|u|en: Bleek 1956: 282; Bleek 1929: 28. Additional synonym: *ʃum-sa* [Bleek 1956: 359]; it is impossible to establish which of the two is the main word for 'chest', but only *ʃu* has reliable external parallels. The word for 'female breast' is not attested.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: The original word for 'chest' is formally not reconstructible without context; however, external parallels in !Wi language indicate that Kakia *ʃám* is the optimal candidate. Replacements: !Xóó *ʃú:* is almost phonetically identical with Proto-Khoe **ʃu* 'chest' and could easily be borrowed from a Khoe source. As for N|u|en *ʃu*, this word seems to be cognate with !Xóó *ʃú:* 'breastbone' [Traill 1994: 58], so that a semantic shift {'breastbone' > 'chest'} may be tentatively suggested (provided the etymology is correct and Bleek's semantic glossing is accurate).

12. BURN TR.

!Xoong *θ'á:* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 52. Variable form: *θ'a-V*. Plural stem: *θ'á-le* [ibid.].

Kakia: Not attested. Possible candidates include *ʃa* 'to burn', which (mistranscribed as *ʃo*) is listed in [Bleek 1929: 545] as 'to burn (intr.)', and is encountered as an intransitive verb in the example *ʃa: wa ʃa a* 'the fire is burning' [Bleek 1956: 545]; and possibly *θwa ~ θwā* 'to make a fire' [Bleek 1956: 684], as in *ši a θwa ʃa* 'we will light a fire'. The latter variant is more probable: 'to light a fire' frequently = 'to burn a fire' in Khoisan, and external comparison with !Xóó also confirms the same word. Still, for lack of more precise evidence, it is perhaps better to leave the slot unfilled.

N|u|en: Not attested.

Proto-Taa: Not reconstructible due to lack of attestation in dialects.

13. CLAW(NAIL)

!Xoong *ʃqû-le* (1) / *ʃàʔm* (2), Kakia *ʃam-te* # (2), N|u|en *ʃnu* # (3), Proto-Taa **ʃqu-re* # (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 115. Plural form: $\|q\hat{u}-n-s\hat{a}$. Class 3/2; tonal class I. Traill 1994: 107. Plural form: $\|\hat{a}?\hat{m}a-t\hat{e}$. Class 2/4; tonal class II. The plural form is quoted as $\|^hama-te$ 'claws' in [Maingard 1958: 105]. The semantic difference between $\|q\hat{u}-le$ and $\|\hat{a}?\hat{m}$ is not explained in the dictionary; we have to treat the forms as synonymous.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 360; Bleek 1929: 60. Both sources quote the compound form $\|x'a \|^ham-te$, where the first word = 'hand' q.v., and the second word is in the plural form. It is possible to speculate that the dental click / is here mistranscribed for the lateral click $\|^$, in which case the word is easily comparable to $!X\acute{o}\acute{o} \|\hat{a}?\hat{m}$ id. (see a probable example on the opposite confusion under 'bird' q.v.).

N|u||en: Bleek 1929: 60. Dubious, since the same word is listed in [Bleek 1956: 319] with the meaning 'finger', not 'finger-nail'.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved only in $!X\acute{o}\acute{o}$. Technically, this would make the item non-reconstructible, but external parallels in $!Wi$ (such as N|huki $\|qoro$, etc.) strongly support the archaic nature of the etymon in $!X\acute{o}\acute{o}$. Replacements: All forms listed in Bleek's sources are dubious, as they may be confusing 'finger' with 'fingernail', and mistakes in click transcription are also not excluded.

14. CLOUD

!Xoong $!q^h\hat{a}:=|q^h\hat{u}\hat{a}$ (1), **Kakia** $!w\acute{e}$ (2), **N|u||en** $!xwe: \tilde{l}arri$ (2).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 87, 216. Plural form: $!q^h\hat{a}:=|q^h\hat{u}\hat{a}-t\hat{e}$. A compound form, literally = 'water-hair'. The word $|q^h\hat{u}\hat{a}$ 'hair' q.v. by itself can also be used in the meaning 'cloud' [Traill 1994: 64]. The only monoradical term with close semantics that can be elicited is $q\hat{d}$: 'fairweather cumulus' [Traill 1994: 179], but it is not the generic term for 'cloud' and is therefore ineligible for inclusion.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 392; Bleek 1929: 29.

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 504. Quoted as $!xwe: \tilde{l}ani$ in [Bleek 1929: 29]. Literally 'rain-sky'. As a synonym, both sources also list the word $!x\acute{o}ni$ [Bleek 1956: 501]; this may actually be a contracted variant of $!xwe: \tilde{l}ani$ rather than a different root altogether.

Proto-Taa: Not properly reconstructible. Clearly, there was no separate lexical root for 'cloud' in Proto-Taa; whether the more widespread metaphorical equivalent was 'water-hair' (as in $!X\acute{o}\acute{o}$) or 'rain-sky' (as in N|u||en) is impossible to establish and irrelevant for further comparison on higher levels.

15. COLD

!Xoong $\|\hat{a}?\hat{u}$ (1), **Kakia** $\|x'we:$ (1), **N|u||en** $\|k'\hat{a}\hat{u}$ (1), **Proto-Taa** $*\|\hat{a}?\hat{u}$ (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 105. Glossed as a noun, but cf. also $k\hat{a} \|\hat{a}?\hat{u}$ 'be cold' [ibid.]. Quoted as $\|we \sim \|w\acute{e} \sim \|au$ in [Maingard 1958: 101, 109] (there are unexpected phonetic discrepancies in the first two variants, but still, this is probably the same word).

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 610; Bleek 1929: 29. The former source lists the meaning as 'wind, cold', with two examples: $\|x'we: !xai$ "a big wind" and $\acute{s}i \acute{i}a \acute{t}i \|\hat{a}?\hat{u}$: "we are cold". Although such polysemy is theoretically possible, it is more likely that two different words were mixed in D. Bleek's transcription. Another synonym is $\|x'au$ [Bleek 1956: 338] (transcribed as $!a$ in [Bleek 1929: 29], unless this is actually a third word, since the discrepancies are too significant).

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 561. Quoted as $\|\hat{a}\hat{u}$ in [Bleek 1929: 29]. Cf. also $\|^ham$ 'to be cold' (e. g. of wind) [Bleek 1956: 594]; it is unclear if the two words are related or represent different stems.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: The attested $!X\acute{o}\acute{o}$ form is generally sufficient to explain everything else: spellings like $\|x'$ - and $\|k'$ - in Bleek's data look like attempts to transcribe the combination of a lateral click with an intervocalic glottal stop ($\|^V?V$ -type structure), while Maingard simply does not notice the glottal stop. Nasalisation of the root diphthong is confirmed by Bleek's N|u||en data, but it remains to be understood just how archaic it is.

16. COME

!Xoong *sî*: (1), Kafia *si* ~ *ša* (1), N|u||en *sa* ~ *se* ~ *si* ~ *ša* (1), Proto-Taa **sî* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 186. Also attested with a different tonal characteristics as *sî*: 'come to, come up to', variable form *sa-V* [ibid.]. Quoted as *si* ~ *ši* in [Maingard 1958: 103].

Kafia: Bleek 1956: 168, 176. Quoted as *ši* ~ *ša* in [Bleek 1929: 30].

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 161, 165, 168, 177. Only the form *si* is listed in [Bleek 1929: 30]; the others must be either morphological (where vowel gradation is involved) or dialectal (fluctuation between *s-* and *š-*) variants.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: This is a rare case of a verb with root vowel *i*; furthermore, it seems to be opposed to the phonetically similar **sa* 'to go', and the two are probably quite often confused, especially in older data sources. Furthermore, Traill's paradigmatic data indicates that in conjugated forms with concordial class markers, !Xóõ *sî*: changes its shape to *sa-* as well, which explains some of the variation in Bleek's data.

17. DIE

!Xoong *ʔâ*: (1), Kafia *ʔa* ~ *ʔa:* (1), N|u||en *ʔa:* (1), Proto-Taa **ʔa* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 71. Quoted as *ʔâ* in [Maingard 1958: 104].

Kafia: Bleek 1956: 267; Bleek 1929: 33. The form *ʔa:*, quoted in the latter source as a synonym, does not actually have the meaning 'to die', but only 'to kill' q.v., as seen from examples in [Bleek 1956: 513].

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 267. The form *ʔa:*, listed as the only equivalent for 'die' in [Bleek 1929: 33], is either a misprint for *ʔa:* or reflects the same confusion between 'die' and 'kill' as in the same source's data on Kafia.

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

18. DOG

!Xoong *ʔq^hài* (1), Kafia *ʔxai* ~ *!xài* ~ *!ài* (1), N|u||en *ʔ^hi* ~ *ʔi* ~ *ʔxi:* (1), Proto-Taa **ʔq^ha-* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 141. Phonetically realized as [ʔq^hi:]. Plural form: *ʔq^hà-ba-tê*. Class 1/4; tonal class II.

Kafia: Bleek 1956: 405, 496, 678. The form *!xi-ti* 'dog' [Bleek 1956: 500] probably represents a contraction with some sort of particle. Fluctuation of click influxes is typical for the phonetically unstable (or, perhaps, just hard to distinguish) palatal click. Only the variant *!xài* is quoted in [Bleek 1929: 34].

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 646, 661, 680. Quoted as *ʔ^hi:* in [Bleek 1929: 34].

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Cf. also ʔHūa *ʔ^hoe* vs. N|amani *ʔ^hi* (sic!) in [Westphal 1966: 141], although the form *ʔ^hoe* may actually reflect a different root, cf. !Xóõ *ʔxū-i* 'hunting dog' [Traill 1994: 137]. Reconstruction shape: The palatal click influx is reliably reconstructed based on the majority of reflexes in daughter dialects; uvular aspirated click efflux is reconstructed based on !Xóõ data (uvular segments are not recognized at all in older sources).

19. DRINK

!Xoong $x'\tilde{a}^h$ (1), Kakia $x'\tilde{a} \sim x'\tilde{a} : \sim x'e : \sim \|x'\tilde{a} :$ (1), N|u||en $x'a-a \sim x'a-u$ (1), Proto-Taa $*x'\tilde{a}^h-$ (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 175. Variable form: $x'a^h-V$. This is the generic term to denote 'drinking'; cf. also such specific terms as $q\hat{o}m$ 'to sip (smth. cool)' [Traill 1994: 179] and $s\hat{a}m kV$ 'to sip something hot' [Traill 1994: 185]. Quoted as $x'\tilde{a}$ in [Maingard 1958: 104].

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 117, 121, 601. Only $x'\tilde{a}$ is quoted in [Bleek 1929: 34]. The variant with the lateral click influx is definitely secondary and probably misheard (such "extra" clicks occasionally appear in Bleek's transcriptions of words with velar affricates).

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 117, 120. Quoted as $x'\tilde{a}$ in [Bleek 1929: 34].

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are largely trivial. Nasalisation seems to belong to the original root and regularly disappears in complex forms with concordial class markers (the situation is quite transparent in Traill's !Xóǒ, but not as clear in older lexicographical descriptions of the other dialects).

20. DRY

!Xoong $l'\hat{o} :$ (1) / $\|úá^f$ (2), Proto-Taa $*\|u^f-$ # (2).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 72. Glossed as a verbal stem: 'be dry'. Cf. also $l'\hat{o}:-\hat{o} : tV$ 'to dry (trans.)' [ibid.]. Traill 1994: 106. Polysemy: 'to dry / to stiffen'. Used both as a transitive and intransitive verb. The semantic difference between $\|úá^f$ and $l'\hat{o} :$ is unclear and cannot be understood from the examples in the dictionary; for the moment, both forms have to be treated as synonymous.

Kakia: Not attested.

N|u||en: Not attested.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Attested only in !Xóǒ. Not reconstructible without external data; however, the word has reliable etymological parallels in !Wi languages, confirming its proto-status for Taa.

21. EAR

!Xoong $\tilde{f}\hat{u}\tilde{a}^h / \tilde{f}\hat{u}\tilde{a}^h$ (1), Kakia $\tilde{l}w\hat{a} :$ (1), N|u||en $\tilde{f}u-\check{s}a$ (1), Proto-Taa $*\tilde{f}u-$ (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 147. The first variant is the possessed form; the second variant is the alienated form. Plural form: $\tilde{f}\hat{u}\tilde{a}^h-t\hat{e} / \tilde{f}\hat{u}\tilde{a}^h-te$. Class 2; tonal class II (possess.) or class 3; tonal class I (alien.). Polysemy: 'ear / lobe of the liver / auricle of the heart / notch in a fire stick'.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 487. Quoted as $\tilde{l}w\hat{a} :^f$ in [Bleek 1929: 35].

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 674. Plural form: $\tilde{f}u-i-te$. Quoted as $\tilde{f}u-\check{s}a$ in [Bleek 1929: 35].

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Cf. also $\check{H}\hat{u}\hat{a}$ $\tilde{f}wa$ vs. N|amani $\tilde{f}h\hat{u}i\hat{y}a$ in [Westphal 1966: 140]. Reconstruction shape: The palatal click is (probably erroneously) recognized as alveolar $l-$ in Bleek's Kakia transcriptions; however, the nasalized efflux is universally marked in all sources. Basic root shape is $*\tilde{f}u-$; everything that follows represents various nominal suffixes ($*\tilde{f}u-\tilde{a}$, $*\tilde{f}u-sa$, etc.).

22. EARTH

!Xoong $\check{f}x'\hat{u}m$ (1), Kakia $!um \sim \|um \sim \|k'om$ (1), N|u||en $!om-sa$ (1), Proto-Taa $*\check{f}x'um$ (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 137. Class 2; tonal class I. Polysemy: 'earth / sand'.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 452, 586, 592. Meaning glossed as 'ground, sand'; cf. another transcription variant as *||xum* 'sand' [Bleek 1956: 637]. The diversity of transcriptions is quite expectable if the original articulation was *fx̣*-, as in !Xóõ (palatal click combined with ejective velar affricate release). In [Bleek 1929: 35], the meaning 'earth, dust' is rendered as *!be*; this word is confirmed in [Bleek 1956: 480] only in the meaning 'dust'.

N|u|en: Bleek 1956: 441. Meaning glossed as 'ground', but cf. also *!um* 'sand, ground' in [Bleek 1956: 649]; despite the difference in click influxes, the two forms most likely attempt to transcribe the same word.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Additionally, cf. *!Hūa !xom* 'soil' in [Westphal 1966: 144]. Reconstruction shape: We tentatively project the form in !Xóõ onto the proto-level; see notes on Kakia for further considerations on the original click efflux.

Semantics and structure: The root has to be reconstructed with original polysemy: 'earth / sand' (see 'sand').

23. EAT

!Xoong *!ã̃* (1), Kakia *ã̃ ~ a: ~ e: ~ é:* (1), N|u|en *ã̃ ~ ẽ* (1), Proto-Taa **!ã̃* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 197. Variable form: *!a-V* (resulting in multiple contracted phonetic variants: [?!], [?e:], [?!a:], [?!əu]). This is the generic term to denote 'eating', quite distinct from more specific terms such as *gùm kV* 'eat dry food' [Traill 1994: 174], *xàbu kV* 'eat wet food' [Traill 1994: 188], etc. Quoted as *!ã̃ ~ ?ã̃* in [Maingard 1958: 100].

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 3, 36. Quoted as *!ã̃ ~ ẽ* in [Bleek 1929: 35].

N|u|en: Bleek 1956: 3, 36; Bleek 1929: 35.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Root vocalism is often obscured by the verbal root's contraction with concordial class agreements; the original vowel is clearly seen, e.g., in the !Xóõ nominalisation *!ã̃-sà* 'eating, food'.

24. EGG

!Xoong *!ú̃* (1), Kakia *||wa:* (1), N|u|en *!wõĩ* (1), Proto-Taa **!ú-* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 135. Class 2; tonal class I. Cf. the diminutive formation: *kâ=!ú:-bê*.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 596; Bleek 1929: 35. Plural form: *||wa:-ni*.

N|u|en: Bleek 1956: 393. Quoted as *!wõĩ* in [Bleek 1929: 35].

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: The click influx is probably palatal; its transcription as lateral in Kakia and alveolar in N|u|en is likely to be erroneous, as in many other similar cases concerning the palatal click. Bare root shape is **!ú-*, with various suffixal extensions, usually **!ú-ã̃* or **!ú-ĩ*.

25. EYE

!Xoong *!ú̃ / !ũĩ* (1), Kakia *||x'wĩ* (1), N|u|en *!ũ* (1), Proto-Taa **!ũ- ~ *!ũ̃-* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 100. The first variant is the possessed form; the second variant is the alienated form. Plural form: *!ʔũã-tê ~ !ʔũã-ní*. Class 2; tonal class II (poss.) or class 3; tonal class I (alien.). In [Maingard 1958: 101, 105], a significantly different form is listed: *kwε ~ kwε*, pl. *kwε-te* (the second variant may be a print error for *kwε*), of unclear origin.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 608, 610. Plural form: *ʔxʷon-ni ~ ʔxʷun-ni*. Quoted as *ʔxʷwẽ*, pl. *ʔxʷwɔni* in [Bleek 1929: 36].

N|u|en: Bleek 1956: 676. Plural form: *ʔũ-ni*. Quoted as *ʔũ*, pl. *ʔũ-ni* in [Bleek 1929: 36].

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects (but see further notes). Additionally, cf. *ʔHūa ʔún* vs. *N|amani !ũĩ* in [Westphal 1966: 140]. Reconstruction shape: The item shows a unique correspondence: alveolar click *!*- in *!Xóõ* is opposed to the palatal click *ʔ*- in the Bleek-transcribed variants of Taa (lateral *ʔ*- in *Kakia* is a recurrent reflexion of the palatal click; see 'bone', 'sand', 'wind' for additional examples). The probability of incorrect transcription in *both* *Kakia* and *N|u|en* is quite low, and there was hardly a good reason for Bleek to systematically mistranscribe one of the most common clicks in this particular item. Alternately, it might be supposed that *!Xóõ !ʔũĩ* is simply unrelated to *Kakia-N|u|en *ʔũ ~ *ʔũĩ*; but this is very hard to believe, considering that we are dealing with one of the most stable Swadesh items over a cluster of closely related dialects, and that every other segment in these forms is perfectly compatible (including even the nasalized labial diphthong, attested in *Kakia* exactly as it is in *!Xóõ*). We regard only two alternatives as worth exploring: (a) the possibility of a special *sixth* type of click influx (retroflex, as in North Khoisan? the variety of reflexions would be typologically similar), although it is currently not supported by additional examples; (b) irregular phonetic development either in *Kakia-N|u|en* or in *!Xóõ*, possibly due to semantic contamination with some other root.

26. FAT N.

!Xoong *sãːˀ* (1), **Kakia** *šãː* (1), **Proto-Taa** **sãˀ* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 184. Polysemy: 'fat (n.) / marrow / fat (adj.)'. Plural form: *sãːˀ-tê*. Class 2; tonal class II. This is the generic term, distinct from *qãˀna* 'roll of stomach fat round the navel' [Traill 1994: 178], etc.

Kakia: Bleek 1929: 37. For some reason, not found in [Bleek 1956].

N|u|en: Not attested.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects where attested. Reconstruction shape: Nasalization of vowel seems to be an integral part of the root; pharyngealization is projected onto the proto-level based on *!Xóõ* data.

27. FEATHER

!Xoong *ʔqʰũã ~ ʔqʰũã* (1), **Kakia** *dʒhé* # (2).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 64. Plural form: *ʔqʰũã-tê*. Same word as 'hair' q.v.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 27. Quoted as *dʒhé* in [Bleek 1929: 38]. The word is dubious: it is clearly the same as *!Xóõ dũʔe* 'white ostrich plume' [Traill 1994: 158], and it is quite possible that D. Bleek might have glossed it with a more general meaning than the one it actually possessed. Both sources also yield the form *ʔʰa*: 'long feather' as a partial synonym ([Bleek 1956: 311]; [Bleek 1929: 38]); this word may represent the same Proto-Taa root as 'hair' q.v. and, therefore, be cognate with *!Xóõ ʔqʰũã*. Unfortunately, there is no way to know for sure.

N|u|en: Not attested.

Proto-Taa: Not properly reconstructible. The item **dũʔe* may certainly be projected onto the proto-level, but its semantics in *!Xóõ* is restricted to 'white ostrich plume', and there are no arguments to suggest that this may have been a narrowing of the general semantics 'feather'. General areal-typological considerations suggest that generic 'feather' was lexically indistinguishable from generic 'hair' q.v.

28. FIRE

!Xoong /á: (1), Kákia /á: ~ /a (1), N|u|en /á (1), Proto-Taa */a- (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 71. Plural form: /án-tê. Class 2; tonal class II. Polysemy: 'fire / firewood'. Quoted as /á in [Maingard 1958: 104].

Kákia: Bleek 1956: 267; Bleek 1929: 39.

N|u|en: Bleek 1956: 267. Quoted as /á: in [Bleek 1929: 39].

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Additionally, cf. †Hūa, N|amani /á in [Westphal 1966: 144]. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are trivial. Nasalization in Traill's !Xóō and in N|u|en is of suffixal origin (the word belongs to Class 2, where -n and -ā are frequent suffixes).

29. FISH

References and notes:

!Xoong: Not attested. Most probably, does not exist in the language due to lack of corresponding reality.

Kákia: Not attested. Most probably, did not exist in the language due to lack of corresponding reality.

N|u|en: Not attested. Most probably, did not exist in the language due to lack of corresponding reality.

Proto-Taa: Not reconstructible.

30. FLY V.

!Xoong ʒāĩ^h (1), Kákia žōĩ^f ~ žwe^f (1), N|u|en !ari # (2), Proto-Taa *ʒōē^f (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 163.

Kákia: Bleek 1956: 265, 266. Meaning glossed as 'to fly away'. Quoted as žōĩ 'to fly', žũ: ~ žwe: 'to fly away' in [Bleek 1929: 40]. There is little reason to think that the meanings 'to fly' and 'to fly away' were morphologically distinct; rather, the phonetic fluctuations reflect different manners of pronunciation for different speakers, or morphological variants based on agreement with words of different classes.

N|u|en: Bleek 1929: 40. Highly dubious, since the form is not confirmed in [Bleek 1956], nor does it have any reliable external parallels.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in !Xóō and Kákia. Replacements: N|u|en !ari is dubious by itself, and its possible external parallels are unclear; cf., perhaps, !Xóō !álu 'to jump up suddenly and rush off', although the discrepancy in vocalism is suspicious. In any case, the !Xóō-Kákia isogloss has reliable external parallels in !Wi and beyond, making it the optimal candidate for Proto-Taa 'to fly'. Reconstruction shape: The problem here is with the vocalism: labial vowels in Kákia vs. non-labial vowels in !Xóō. In several other cases like these, labialization is clearly secondary in Kákia, due to the influence of the preceding labial click (see 'tree', 'sleep'), but here there are no reasons for secondary labialization, so we have to suppose the development *-ōē > *-āĩ in the !Xóō form. (The issue of regularity has not been properly resolved; it is not even excluded that for Proto-Taa, as well as for Proto-!Wi-Taa, we will have to reconstruct a former opposition of +ATR/-ATR vowels, and accordingly change the reconstruction to *ʒāĩ^f). Correspondences for the initial voiced affricate are regular; pharyngealization of the diphthong is also well established based on comparison of old and new sources.

31. FOOT

!Xoong $\tilde{f}\tilde{u}$: / $\tilde{f}\tilde{u}$: (1), Kakia $\tilde{f}\tilde{o} \sim \tilde{f}\tilde{o} \sim \tilde{f}\tilde{d}$ (1), N|u|en $\tilde{f}\tilde{u}$ (1), Proto-Taa $*\tilde{f}\tilde{u}[-ma]$ (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 147. The first variant is the possessed form; the second variant is the alienated form. Plural form: $\tilde{f}\tilde{u}ma-t\tilde{e}$ (poss.) / $\tilde{f}\tilde{u}ma-t\tilde{e}$ (alien.). Class 2; tonal class II (poss.) or class 3; tonal class I (alien.). Polysemy: 'foot / spoor / track / hoof of an ungulate'. Distinct from $\tilde{f}\tilde{q}^h\tilde{u}la$ 'leg' [Traill 1994: 141]. Quoted as $\tilde{f}\tilde{d} \sim \tilde{f}\tilde{o}$ in [Maingard 1958: 101, 104], with erroneous transcription of the click influx.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 619, 672. Quoted as $\tilde{f}\tilde{d} \sim \tilde{f}\tilde{d}$: in [Bleek 1929: 40]. Also attested with a (diminutive?) suffix: $\tilde{f}\tilde{u}ma \sim \tilde{f}\tilde{u}mma$ [Bleek 1956: 485, 622].

N|u|en: Bleek 1929: 40; Bleek 1956: 674. Cf. also, with a diminutive suffix: $\tilde{f}\tilde{u}ma$ 'claws, little feet' [Bleek 1956: 674].

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Nasalised palatal click is unequivocally suggested by most of the data (the variation in Kakia may be idiolectal or represent inadequate transcription). The second syllable *-ma*, attested in some of the forms, looks like an old diminutive suffix.

32. FULL

!Xoong $!f\tilde{o}la$ (1) / $!u^hm$ (2), Kakia $!um$ (2), N|u|en $!um$ (2), Proto-Taa $*!um$ (2).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 72. Verbal stem: 'to be full (intr.) / to fill (trans.)'. Variable form: $!oLV$. Traill 1994: 82. Polysemy: 'be full / euph. for pregnant (dialectal)'. The semantic difference between $!f\tilde{o}la$ and $!u^hm$ is not specified; we list both words as technical synonyms.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 388. Quoted as $!um$ in [Bleek 1929: 41].

N|u|en: Bleek 1956: 388. Quoted as $!om$ in [Bleek 1929: 41]. Polysemy: 'full / to fill'.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. In !Xóó, there is an additional synonym, and it may be speculated that the original word is shifting to a more figurative meaning, incl. the semantics of 'pregnant'; however, without precise textual evidence it is impossible to certify that a lexical replacement has occurred. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

33. GIVE

!Xoong $!q^h\tilde{a}$: (1), Kakia $!xa \sim !xe$: (1), N|u|en $\tilde{f}\tilde{i}$ (2), Proto-Taa $*!q^ha-$ (1) / $*\tilde{f}\tilde{V}-$ (2).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 87. Variable form: $!q^ha-V$. The idea of 'giving' is also frequently conveyed by complex formations that employ the "verb-postposition" $\tilde{f}\tilde{a}$: variable form $\tilde{f}\tilde{a}-V$ [Traill 1994: 67], e. g. $!ua \tilde{f}\tilde{a}$: 'to pass to, give to' [Traill 1994: 55], where $!ua$ by itself = 'hold, grab, grasp, catch hold of'.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 495, 498. Quoted as $!xa$ in [Bleek 1929: 42]. The quasi-synonymous form $!a$ in [Bleek 1929: 42] is not confirmed in [Bleek 1956], but it may have been the same word as !Xóó $\tilde{f}\tilde{a}-V$, with an erroneous omission of nasalization.

N|u|en: Bleek 1956: 347; Bleek 1929: 42. Cf.: $e !wa maka \tilde{f}\tilde{i}$ "he did not give tobacco". In [Bleek 1929], a second synonym, $!wa$; is also quoted, but it is not confirmed in [Bleek 1956] and lacks external cognates.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in !Xóó and Kakia. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular (-x- in Kakia frequently stands for $-q^h-$ in !Xóó, regardless of whether this is an actual phonetic change or, more likely, the result of Bleek's mistranscription).

Semantics and structure: In !Xóó, this "proper" verb of 'giving' is opposed to the auxiliary verb \tilde{a} -. However, N|u|len data, as well as external parallels, show that the auxiliary verb itself may have been the original "full" equivalent for 'to give'. For that reason, we tentatively include both forms on the proto-list as technical synonyms. **Distribution:** Preserved as the main equivalent for 'to give' only in N|u|len, but still functions as an auxiliary verb in !Xóó. We include it on the reconstructed proto-list as a "technical" synonym, along with $*!q^h a$ -.

34. GOOD

!Xoong $q\tilde{a}\tilde{i}$ # (1), N|u|len \tilde{i} (1), Proto-Taa $*q\tilde{a}\tilde{i}$ # (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 178. Plural form: $q\acute{a}na$. Meaning is glossed as 'beautiful, pretty, nice' rather than 'good', but there are no other candidates; cf. also such adverbial usage as in \tilde{a} : $t\acute{e} q\tilde{a}\tilde{i}$ "work well!" [ibid.]. It is not quite clear if this is the same word as \tilde{i} (Northern dial.) ~ $k\tilde{a}\tilde{i}$ 'good' in [Maingard 1958: 100], unless Maingard's transcription of the alveolar click in the Northern dialect somehow reflects uvular articulation or even presages click loss in the dialect described by Traill; it is also possible that Maingard's dialectal forms represent two different roots.

Kakia: Not attested.

N|u|len: Bleek 1956: 580; Bleek 1929: 43. The latter source also lists \tilde{i} in the meaning 'good'; in [Bleek 1956: 407] it is quoted as $!k\tilde{a}\tilde{n}$ and glossed as 'pretty'.

Proto-Taa: **Distribution:** Attested in several dialects. **Reconstruction shape:** It seems that available old data sources may be confusing reflexations of an inherited equivalent for 'good', containing a word-initial uvular non-click $*q$ -, and more recent borrowings from Khoe $*!a\tilde{i}$ 'good'; this is particularly suspicious in the case of Maingard's "variation" between \tilde{i} and $k\tilde{a}\tilde{i}$, as well as in the case of D. Bleek listing N|u|len \tilde{i} 'good' (= $q(\tilde{a})\tilde{i}$, where a uvular non-click has been mistaken for a lateral click) vs. N|u|len \tilde{i} id. (probably a Khoe borrowing). In any case, we prioritize Traill's !Xóó form here as representing the most generally reliable source.

35. GREEN

!Xoong $\tilde{a}\tilde{i}^{\tilde{h}}$ (1), Kakia $\tilde{a}\tilde{i}^{\tilde{f}}$ (1), N|u|len $\tilde{a}bbu$ (2), Proto-Taa $*!a\tilde{i}^{\tilde{f}}$ (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 57. Polysemy: 'green / blue / turquoise'. Cf. $\tilde{a}\tilde{i}^{\tilde{m}}\text{-}\tilde{s}\tilde{i}$, pl. $\tilde{a}\tilde{i}^{\tilde{m}}\text{-}\tilde{s}\tilde{a}$ ~ $\tilde{a}\tilde{i}^{\tilde{m}}\text{-}\tilde{s}\tilde{a}\text{-}\tilde{t}\tilde{e}$ 'beetle; dung beetle'. The two words are almost certainly connected; on the synchronic level, the word for 'beetle' is formally derived from the word for 'green', but the process could have also been the opposite from a historical perspective. Quoted as $\tilde{a}\tilde{i}^{\tilde{f}}$ ~ $\tilde{a}\tilde{i}$ in [Maingard 1958: 102] (with incorrect identification of the click influx).

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 274; Bleek 1929: 44.

N|u|len: Bleek 1956: 654. Quoted as $\tilde{a}ba$ in [Bleek 1929: 44]. The latter source also quotes $bana$ as a synonym; the word is not confirmed in [Bleek 1956] and, furthermore, looks quite "un-Taa" due to the initial b - (probably a borrowing).

Proto-Taa: **Distribution:** Preserved everywhere except for N|u|len. **Replacements:** N|u|len $\tilde{a}ba$ ~ $\tilde{a}bbu$ is almost identical phonetically with !Xóó $\tilde{a}\tilde{b}\tilde{a}$ 'shiny' [Traill 1994: 130]. However, due to general semantic unreliability of early sources, it is impossible to say whether a semantic shift 'bright, shiny' > 'green' did indeed take place in this dialect or if this is simply a case of inaccurate semantic glossing. **Reconstruction shape:** The reconstruction is pretty straightforward, although there is no accounting for the odd transcription of the dental click as palatal in [Maingard 1958]. **Semantics and structure:** The second vowel is possibly detachable as an old suffix; cf. the possibly related $*!ana$ 'leaf' q.v.

36. HAIR

!Xoong $|q^h\hat{u}\tilde{a} \sim |q^h\hat{u}\tilde{a} \sim |q^h\hat{u}\tilde{a}$ (1), Kakia $|wa:-ni$ (1), N|u|en $|un-te$ (1), Proto-Taa $*/q^h\mathbf{u}-$ (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 64. Polysemy: 'hair / feather / cloud'. Plural form: $|q^h\hat{u}\tilde{a}-t\hat{e}$. Class 2; tonal class II. Quoted as $|^h\hat{o}a \sim |^h\hat{o}\tilde{a} \sim |^h\hat{w}\tilde{a}$, pl. $|^h\hat{o}\tilde{a}-te$ in [Maingard 1958: 102, 105].

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 330; Bleek 1929: 45. Apparently a plural form (-ni is a frequent plural formative in Kakia).

N|u|en: Bleek 1929: 45. Plural form. Not attested in [Bleek 1956], unless the form $|unte$ 'hair' in [Bleek 1956: 326] is actually not SII (||Ng!ke), but SVI (N|u|en). Cf. also $||xwa?a$ 'hair, (?) white hair' in [Bleek 1956: 368].

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: We tentatively assume that the complex click in !Xóó (voiced aspirated uvular stop) is primary, although there is variation between voiced and voiceless articulation even within !Xóó itself. The nasalised coda vowel in !Xóó is detachable as a class 2 suffix.

37. HAND

!Xoong $|x'\hat{a}:/ |x'\hat{a}:$ (1), Kakia $|x'a$ (1), N|u|en $|x'a$ (1), Proto-Taa $*/x'\mathbf{a}$ (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 60. The first variant is the possessed form; the second variant is the alienated form. Plural form: $|x'\hat{a}-t\hat{e} \sim |x'\hat{a}-t\hat{e}$. Class 2; tonal class II (poss.) or class 3; tonal class I (alien.). Quoted as $|\hat{a}$ in [Maingard 1958: 105]; cf. also $m=|\hat{a}$ 'my hand' in [Maingard 1958: 103]; pl. $|\hat{a}-te$ 'fingers' (rather than the expected 'hands') in [Maingard 1958: 105].

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 336; Bleek 1929: 45.

N|u|en: Bleek 1956: 336; Bleek 1929: 45.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are largely trivial, although it is strange that Maingard does not recognize the presence of the velar affricate efflux in this root.

38. HEAD

!Xoong $|\tilde{a}n / |\tilde{a}n$ (1), Kakia $|\tilde{a} \sim |\tilde{a}\eta$ (1), N|u|en $|\tilde{a}\eta$ (1), Proto-Taa $*/\tilde{\mathbf{a}}-$ (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 67. The first variant is the possessed form; the second variant is the alienated form. Plural form: $|\tilde{a}:/ |\tilde{a}:$. Class 2; tonal class II (poss.) or class 3; tonal class I (alien.). Quoted as $|\tilde{a} \sim |\tilde{e} \sim |\tilde{a}$ in [Maingard 1958: 101, 104].

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 342. Quoted as $|\tilde{a}$: in [Bleek 1929: 46].

N|u|en: Bleek 1956: 342. Quoted as $|\tilde{a} \sim |\tilde{i}$ in [Bleek 1929: 46].

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Additionally, cf. †Hūa $\eta|an$ vs. N|amani $|\tilde{a}n$ in [Westphal 1966: 140]. Reconstruction shape: The only problem here is the root coda, which fluctuates between zero and nasal n (sometimes secondarily velarized); it remains unclear if this nasal consonant is suffixal or an old part of the root.

39. HEAR

!Xoong $t\acute{a}:\acute{\eta}$ (1), Kakia $t\tilde{a}\tilde{a} \sim t\tilde{a}:\acute{\eta}$ (1), N|u|en $t\tilde{a}\eta$ (1), Proto-Taa $*/t\tilde{\mathbf{a}}:\acute{\eta}$ (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 154. Variable form: ta^f -V. Polysemy: 'hear / understand / taste / feel / smell'. Quoted as $tā:ʔa \sim tēi$ in [Maingard 1958: 102, 108].

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 186. The transcription $tāa$ probably reflects an internal glottal stop ($tāʔa$). Polysemy: 'hear / understand'. The phonetically similar, but still significantly different form $čau$: in [Bleek 1929: 46] is not confirmed in [Bleek 1956]; it may be erroneous.

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 191. Quoted as $tāi^f \sim taŋ$ in [Bleek 1929: 46].

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Pharyngealized articulation of the vowel is expressly indicated for !Xóǒ and Kakia, but seems to be sometimes confused with glottalized articulation (e. g. in Maingard's records). Nasalisation is also archaic, but it is not quite clear if Proto-Taa had a nasalised root vowel or a nasal segment, as in N|u||en (i. e. whether the reconstruction should be changed to $*ta^n$).

40. HEART

!Xoong $|q'àn / |q'ān$ (1), Kakia $|'i:$ (1), N|u||en $|aŋ$ (1), Proto-Taa $*|q'an$ (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 65. The first variant is the possessed form; the second variant is the alienated form. Plural form: $|q'ā: / |q'ā:$. Class 2; tonal class II (poss.) or class 3; tonal class I (alien.).

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 292; Bleek 1929: 46. The latter source also lists the synonymous form $če$, which is not confirmed in [Bleek 1956] and finds no external confirmation in !Xóǒ either.

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 275; Bleek 1929: 46.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Cf. also $ʔHūa$ $|an$ vs. N|amani $|an$ in [Westphal 1966: 140]. Reconstruction shape: The glottalized uvular efflux is predictably not recognized in any source earlier than [Traill 1994] and is projected onto the proto-level based solely on Traill's evidence. Appearance of the root vowel i in Kakia is not clear, but may be important in view of external evidence (!Wi correlates for this entry frequently show front row vocalism). It is not excluded that the reconstruction should rather be amended to $*|q'en$, but then the development to a in most dialects would remain unexplained.

41. HORN

!Xoong $||āē$ (1), Kakia $||an-ša$ (1), N|u||en $||ā$ (1), Proto-Taa $*||ā-$ (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 103. Plural form: $||ān-sā$. Class 3; tonal class II.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 595; Bleek 1929: 47. Although the form looks like the equivalent of the plural form in !Xóǒ, [Bleek 1956: 598] contains a separate plural form 'horns', listed as $||wā-ša$. It is possible that both are actually plural, and the variations reflect idiolectal varieties; but it is also true that Kakia $-ša$ occasionally corresponds to !Xóǒ suffixal $-sa$ in the singular number as well (cf. !Xóǒ $|q'ī:-sā$ 'back, backwards' = Kakia $|'i:-ša$ id.).

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 547; Bleek 1929: 47. Plural form: $||ān-te$.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Additionally, cf. $ʔHūa$ $||ae$ vs. N|amani $||aē$ in [Westphal 1966: 144]. Reconstruction shape: The only problematic aspect of this root is the coda, which definitely contains an element of nasality, yet it is not quite clear whether it should be reconstructed as a nasalized vowel ($*-ā$) or a vowel-consonant combination ($*-an$), with subsequent weakening and deletion of the consonant in intervocalic position, e. g. singular: $*||an-e > *||ā-ē$. Provisionally, we still regard $-n$ in forms like $||ān-sā$ as a separate plural morpheme (as in sg. $||^a-be$, pl. $||^a-n$ 'bow', etc.), so the reconstruction is written with a nasalized vowel.

42. I

!Xoong \tilde{n} (1), Kakia $n \sim na \sim \eta \sim \eta a \sim nya$ (1), N|u|len $\eta \sim n \sim na$ (1), Proto-Taa $*\eta$ (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 194. Emphatic form: $\tilde{n}\text{-}\tilde{n}$. Cf. also the extended emphatic form: $\tilde{n}\text{-}\tilde{n}\ \tilde{d}\tilde{e}$ [Traill 1994: 158] (with an additional 1st p. emphatic particle). Variants listed in [Maingard 1958: 106] include $na \sim \eta \sim ma \sim m$ (the latter two do not seem to be exclusively confined to assimilatory positions before labial consonants; there may be some idiolectal variation at work here).

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 141, 142, 147; Bleek 1929: 49. With possessive suffixes: $\eta\text{-}ga \sim \eta\text{-}ke$ 'my'. Assimilates to m if the next word begins with a labial consonant: $m\ \theta wa:ke$ 'my child' [Bleek 1956: 132].

N|u|len: Bleek 1956: 141, 142; Bleek 1929: 49. Emphatic form: $\eta\text{-}\eta$. Assimilates to m if the next word begins with a labial consonant: $m\ \theta wa\ kei\ e$ 'my child it is' [Bleek 1956: 132].

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: The 1st p. pronoun is reconstructed as a monophonemic velar nasal root based on data from the majority of older sources. Traill's data show no traces of velar articulation, but for general typological reasons it is more logical to assume the development $*\eta > n$ in modern varieties of !Xóó than the reverse process in earlier attested dialects.

43. KILL

!Xoong $q\hat{a}i$ (1), Kakia $\|a:$ (1), N|u|len $\|wan$ (1), Proto-Taa $*qa\text{-}\#$ (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 177. Variable form: $qa\text{-}JV$. Cf. also: $q\hat{a}i$ 'forceful downward movement' [ibid.], e. g.: $q\hat{a}i\ \|um$ 'stamp', $q\hat{a}i\ u^LV\ \hat{a}n$ 'sharply lower the head', etc. Possibly a case of homonymy, but may also reflect a typical semantic source for the meaning 'to kill' (i. e. 'to hit', here understood as reflecting a sharp downward movement). Entirely different form listed in [Maingard 1958: 103, 107]: $\|ó \sim / \tilde{a}$.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 513; Bleek 1929: 50. Cf. also: $\|x'ai$ 'to kill by a blow on the head' [Bleek 1956: 602]. This word is transcribed as $\|k'ai$ and glossed simply as 'kill' in [Bleek 1929: 50], and both it and $\|a:$ may actually contain the same root (the lateral click with varying effluxes reflects an effort to transcribe a uvular consonant, and the variation in vowels reflects different concordial variants).

N|u|len: Bleek 1929: 50. In [Bleek 1956: 597], a much longer form is quoted, possibly a contraction with one or more particles: $\|wan\text{-}nako$.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Seems to be preserved in most dialects. Replacements: The word $\|ó \sim / \tilde{a}$ 'to kill' in Maingard's data clearly does not belong here. It may be related to !Xóó $\|óho$ 'to end, finish' [Traill 1994: 55], or it may be of Khoe origin (cf. Proto-Khoe $*\|x'ũ$ 'to kill'); we do not even have a proper guarantee that this is the main equivalent for 'kill' in Maingard's dialect (although it is confirmed in his textual data). Reconstruction shape: Words with initial uvulars ($q\text{-}$, etc.) form a relatively small group in !Xóó, and the correlates for these sounds in Bleek-transcribed data for Kakia and N|u|len are scarce; therefore, it is perfectly possible that the lateral click $\|$ - in the forms for 'to kill' simply mistranscribes a non-click uvular consonant.

44. KNEE

!Xoong $\|x'ú\text{-}\tilde{a}n$ (1), Kakia $\|\tilde{o}\text{-}\tilde{a}\eta$ (1), N|u|len $\|\tilde{u}\ \tilde{i}$ (1), Proto-Taa $*\|x'ũ$ (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 112. Plural form: $\|x'ú\text{-}la\text{-}t\tilde{e}\ \tilde{a}$. Class 2; tonal class II. A compound form, literally 'head of $\|x'ú\text{-}$ ', which would rather suggest the meaning 'knee-cap'; however, according to Traill, the form as a whole specifically means 'knee', while the meaning

'knee-cap' is expressed by other lexical items.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 589; Bleek 1929: 50. The word has the same composite structure as in !Xóõ.

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 536; Bleek 1929: 50. The word has the same composite structure as in !Xóõ.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Lateral click influx and labial (nasalized) vowel are manifested in most dialects. The rare voiced velar fricative click efflux is projected onto the protolanguage level based on !Xóõ data (older sources usually do not acknowledge its existence). Semantics and structure: The root is typically encountered in conjunction with */ã- 'head', apparently indicating the outward part of the knee ('knee-cap').

45. KNOW

!Xoong /ûmã (1), Kakia //a # (2), Proto-Taa */uma- # (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 58. Variable form: /u-BV.

Kakia: Bleek 1929: 51. Dubious, since the form is not reproduced in [Bleek 1956] or found in other varieties of Taa.

N|u||en: Not attested.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved (or even attested) only in !Xóõ. We tentatively include it on the proto-list due to the presence of an external parallel in |Haasi (*jüma* 'to know').

46. LEAF

!Xoong /ãna (1), Kakia /a:na (1), N|u||en /ãbu (2), Proto-Taa */ana # (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 57. Plural form: /ãna-tê. Class 2; tonal class I. Polysemy: 'leaf / labia'.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 275; Bleek 1929: 52. Plural form: /a:na-te.

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 342; Bleek 1929: 52. Plural form: /ãbu-te. In [Bleek 1956], erroneously listed as SIV (!'Auni), although the plural form in -te is more typical of N|u||en.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Seemingly preserved in !Xóõ and Kakia. However, the complete phonetic identity of this root with Proto-Khoe */ana 'leaf, grass' strongly suggests that the word has been borrowed into these languages - except we have no way of knowing if the borrowing took place independently already after the split of Proto-Taa, or if it was directly into Proto-Taa, in which case the reconstruction would be fully justified. Replacements: The origins of N|u||en /ãbu are unknown. It is even a weak pretender for proto-status, were it to be demonstrated that the !Xóõ and Kakia items were borrowed separately; however, information on this item in Bleek's sources is confusing (cf. the erroneous listing of the form as !'Auni, etc.), and it has no external cognates to confirm its archaic nature.

47. LIE

!Xoong tû: (1), Kakia tu: ~ tu ~ tá: ~ tã: (1), N|u||en tu: (1), Proto-Taa *tu (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 157. Meaning glossed as 'lie down (sg.)', but the word apparently functions as both static 'be lying' and dynamic 'lie down'. The suppletive plural form equivalent is /tqãu [Traill 1994: 144].

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 186, 239. Quoted as tu: ~ ta: in [Bleek 1929: 53].

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 239; Bleek 1929: 53.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. The variant *ta* in Kakia either reflects merger with concordial class agreement markers or represents a different root.

48. LIVER

!Xoong $\tilde{\text{à}}m / \tilde{\text{ā}}m$ (1), N|u||en $\tilde{\text{ā}}m$ (1), Proto-Taa $^*\tilde{\text{ā}}m$ (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 123. The first variant is the possessed form; the second variant is the alienated form. Plural form: $\tilde{\text{à}} / \tilde{\text{ā}}$. Class 2; tonal class II (poss.) or class 3; tonal class I (alien.).

Kakia: Not attested.

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 623; Bleek 1929: 54.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects where it is attested. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

49. LONG

!Xoong $!'\acute{a}m$ (1), Kakia $!'\acute{u}m$ (2).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 100. Plural form: $!'\tilde{a}$. Polysemy: 'tall / long / deep'.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 452; Bleek 1929: 55.

N|u||en: Not attested.

Proto-Taa: Not reconstructible. !Xóó and Kakia items represent different roots, neither of which has supporting external parallels in !Wi languages.

50. LOUSE

!Xoong $\tilde{\theta}\acute{u}^{\text{f}}$ (1), Proto-Taa $^*\tilde{\theta}\acute{u}^{\text{f}}\#$ (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 51. Plural form: $\tilde{\theta}\acute{a}^{\text{f}}-t\acute{e}$. Class 1/4; tonal class II. Meaning glossed as 'a species of louse'. There is also a second word: $\text{!}x'\acute{o}ni$, pl. $\text{!}x'\acute{o}ni-t\acute{e}$ (class 3; tonal class II) [Traill 1994: 113]. Only the first, however, has reliable external parallels in the rest of !Kwi-Taa, and, furthermore, looks more archaic as a stem due to its monosyllabicity and complex morphophonology. Until a better semantic differentiation has been made between the two words, we prefer to include only $\tilde{\theta}\acute{u}^{\text{f}}$ in the calculations.

Kakia: Not attested.

N|u||en: Not attested.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Attested only in !Xóó. Not reconstructible without external data; however, the word has reliable etymological parallels in !Wi languages, confirming its proto-status for Taa.

51. MAN

!Xoong $t\acute{a}^{\text{f}}=\acute{a}^{\text{f}}$ (1), Kakia $l\acute{a}^{\text{f}} \sim l\acute{a}^{\text{f}} \sim l\acute{a}$ (2), N|u||en $! \tilde{a}$ (3), Proto-Taa $^*\mathcal{A}\acute{a}^{\text{f}}(1)$.

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 154. Class 2; tonal class II. Polysemy: 'man / husband'. Suppletive plural: $\parallel x\tilde{a}$: [Traill 1994: 110]. The singular form is a compound, literally 'person' q.v. + \tilde{a}^s 'father / male'. The same structure is observed in the word for 'woman'; lexicostatistical calculations, therefore, have to be based on \tilde{a}^s as the principal morpheme in this word. Quoted as Northern dial. $ta:=?a$, Southern dial. $la:=?a$ in [Maingard 1958: 100].

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 129. Quoted as $l\tilde{a}^s$, pl. $l\tilde{a}^s-a$ in [Bleek 1929: 56]. This form, historically, is to be analyzed as the equivalent of the !Xóó compound $t\tilde{a}:=\tilde{a}^s$ (dialectal $l\tilde{a}:=\tilde{a}^s$) 'person' + 'father'. However, it does not look as if the simple form la survived in Kakia on its own (the only known example, $la \tilde{a}u$ 'young man' in [Bleek 1956: 129], may be a relict idiomatic expression): the two morphemes were fused together very tightly, and we may count this as a lexical replacement (with the transferral of the original meaning 'male human being' from the monovocalic stem a^f onto the new biphonemic stem la^s).

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 401; Bleek 1929: 56. Plural form: $!a-te$. Erroneously marked as SIV (!Auni) in [Bleek 1956], when the form is in fact N|u||en (SVI).

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in the majority of dialects, sometimes in morphologically transparent, sometimes in "fused" form. Additionally, cf. †Húa $la?a$, pl. $\#?aá$ (sic!) vs. N|amani $tá?a^s$, pl. $tá?a^s-tu$ in [Westphal 1966: 139]. Replacements: The provenance of the form $!a$ in N|u||en remains unclear. It is not likely that it has anything to do with the !Xóó suppletive plural $\parallel x\tilde{a}$, since the alveolar click $!$ is never encountered in the place of the lateral click \parallel in this dialect (even as a transcriptional error). On the other hand, the old suppletive plural *does* seem to supercede the original singular in the equivalent for 'woman' q.v., which somewhat increases the chances of this connection between $!a$ and $\parallel x\tilde{a}$. Reconstruction shape: See the entry for 'person' on details of the reconstruction of the initial consonant in the first stem. Semantics and structure: The meaning 'man = male person' was expressed in Proto-Taa with the compound formation $*\lambda\hat{a}$ 'person' + $*\tilde{a}^s$ 'father', paralleling the analogous formation for 'woman' q.v. The plural form, however, may have been suppletive and monomorphemic: Traill's and Westphal's data indicate the form $*\parallel xa$ ($*\parallel x\tilde{a}$) as potentially archaic.

52. MANY

!Xoong $\parallel\acute{a}li$ (1), Kakia $\parallel ari \sim \parallel\acute{a}ri$ (1), N|u||en $\parallel an-te$ (1), Proto-Taa $*\parallel ari$ (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 104. The emphatic variant is phonetically realized as $\parallel\acute{a}t:i$. Cf. also $\parallel\acute{a}li kV$ (vb.) 'to enlarge'; $\parallel\acute{a}li$ (adv.) 'often, to a large degree' [ibid.]. Glossed as 'many, numerous / big (sg. noun)'. Quoted as $\parallel ari$ in [Maingard 1958: 105].

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 559; Bleek 1929: 57. Apparently, the word $!xai$ 'big' q.v. may also be used in the meaning 'many' (cf.: $!xorru e$, $!xorru !xai$ "horses they are, many horses" in [Bleek 1956: 497]), but the semantic difference is unknown.

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 557. The form $\parallel\acute{a}ri$ 'many' is quoted in [Bleek 1929: 57] for both Kakia (SV) and N|u||en (SVI), but only a different morphological variant, $\parallel an-te$, is confirmed specifically for N|u||en in [Bleek 1956].

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Most dialects agree on the basic bisyllabic root shape $*\parallel ari$. The only exception is N|u||en; comparison with the form $\parallel an(-te)$ suggests that the original root may have been monosyllabic ($*\parallel a-$) and that $*\parallel a-ri$ and $*\parallel a-n$ are both suffixal extensions. However, the assumption remains somewhat speculative due to lack of additional evidence of such kind and the general unreliability of Bleek-transcribed data.

53. MEAT

!Xoong $\theta\grave{a}ye$ (1), Kakia θwe (1), N|u||en $\theta we: \sim \theta wi$ (1), Proto-Taa $*\theta a-$ (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 47. Class 3; tonal class I. Cf. also with the same root: *θā:* 'herd of eland, flesh, meat' [ibid.]. The diminutive form *θāye-θā:* ('small meat') means 'animals, creatures of the wild, game'. Quoted as *θ'wēiye* in [Maingard 1958: 104].

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 685. Quoted as *θwe:* in [Bleek 1929: 57].

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 685; Bleek 1929: 57.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Cf. also †Hūa *θwaye* vs. N|amani *θwaiye* in [Westphal 1966: 141]. Reconstruction shape: Click efflux is consistently reflected as zero; the glottal stop in Maingard's *θ'wēiye* is probably a mistake. Discrepancies in vocalism are explainable by means of assimilation and contraction: **θa-ye > *θo-ye > *θwe* in Bleek-transcribed dialects.

54. MOON

!Xoong *!q^hān* (1), Kakia *!xan* (1), N|u||en *!xan* (1), Proto-Taa **!q^han* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 88. Plural form: *!q^hāna-tē*. Class 1/4; tonal class II. Polysemy: 'moon / snail' (or is this homonymy?).

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 503. Quoted as *!x ā* in [Bleek 1929: 59].

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 497; Bleek 1929: 59.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Additionally, cf. †Hūa, N|amani *!^han* in [Westphal 1966: 143]. Reconstruction shape: The click efflux is reconstructed as uvular aspirated based on !Xóǒ evidence; its transcription as velar fricative *-x-* in all other (older) sources is consistent.

55. MOUNTAIN

!Xoong *!ū^hm* (1), Kakia *!ū:-n* (2), N|u||en *!um* (1), Proto-Taa **!um* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 78. Plural form: *!ū^hma-tē*. Class 1/4; tonal class II. Meaning glossed as 'hill', also 'niche for several sp. of plants, characterised by heavy sand'. No word for 'mountain' as such is present in the dictionary. Cf. also *!ū^hm sã?ã* 'hill, dune' (literally 'face of hill').

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 352. Quoted as *!um*, with an unexplainable *m* instead of *n*, in [Bleek 1929: 59]: this may simply be a misprint, since the form *!ū:-n* is exactly the same as the plural of the !Xóǒ equivalent for 'stone' q.v. (i. e. 'mountain' = 'stones').

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 389; Bleek 1929: 59. Secondary synonym: *!au* ([Bleek 1929: 59]; [Bleek 1956: 476]).

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in !Xóǒ and N|u||en. Replacements: There is no evidence for **!um* in Kakia; instead, that dialect, if Bleek's information is accurate, seems to have merged 'mountain' with 'stone' q.v. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are largely trivial, although the voiced efflux in N|u||en is unexpected (possibly an error).

56. MOUTH

!Xoong *!ūe* (1), Kakia *!we:* (1), N|u||en *!ūē* (1), Proto-Taa **!u-* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1996: 132. Plural form: *!ū-m-sã*. Class 2; tonal class II. Polysemy: 'mouth / doorway / opening / burrow'.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 463; Bleek 1929: 59. The latter source also quotes a synonymous form *žam*, but it is neither confirmed in [Bleek 1956] nor supported with external parallels.

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 664; Bleek 1929: 59.

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 115. Polysemy: 'new / young / fresh'.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 639; Bleek 1929: 61.

N|u|en: Not attested.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects where attested. Reconstruction shape: The uvular efflux is projected onto the proto level based on !Xóǒ data; transcription of it as -x- in Bleek's Kakia is consistent. Pharyngealization of root vowel is also seen only in !Xóǒ.

60. NIGHT

!Xoong $\tilde{u}e^s$ (1), Kakia $\tilde{d}e^s$ (1), N|u|en $\tilde{d}e \sim \tilde{w}e$ (1), Proto-Taa $*\tilde{u}^L$ (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 68. Plural form: $\tilde{u}^s-m-tê$. Class 3/2; tonal class II. Quoted as $\tilde{d}e$ in [Maingard 1958: 108].

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 349. Quoted as $\tilde{d}e$ in [Bleek 1929: 61].

N|u|en: Bleek 1956: 349, 354; Bleek 1929: 61. Meaning glossed as 'dark, night'.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Cf. also $\#H\ddot{u}a \tilde{d}o\tilde{v}$ vs. N|amani $\tilde{d}o\tilde{v}^s$ in [Westphal 1966: 143]. Reconstruction shape: Nasalized dental click, labial root vowel, and pharyngealization are all attested in either all dialects or most of them, and may be reliably projected onto the proto-level.

61. NOSE

!Xoong \tilde{u}^h-na / \tilde{u}^h-na (1), Kakia $\tilde{u} \sim \tilde{u}-\check{c}a \sim \tilde{u}-\check{c}wa \sim \tilde{u}-\check{c}a$ (1), N|u|en $\tilde{u}-\check{s}a$ (1), Proto-Taa $*\tilde{u}^h$ (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 69. The first variant is the possessed form; the second variant is the alienated form. Plural form: $\tilde{u}^h-na-tê$ / $\tilde{u}^h-na-tê$. Class 2; tonal class II (poss.) or class 3; tonal class I (alien.).

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 351, 353, 486, 622. Quoted as $\tilde{u}-\check{c}a$ in [Bleek 1929: 62]. The attestation of this word both with the accompanying suffix $-\check{c}a$ and without it is not surprising, but the unexpected variants with both the alveolar click and the lateral click, listed by D. Bleek, are hard to explain through mistranscription alone.

N|u|en: Bleek 1956: 353; Bleek 1929: 62.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Cf. also $\#H\ddot{u}a \tilde{d}o-*n*f\ddot{u}a$ vs. N|amani $\tilde{d}o-\check{s}a$ in [Westphal 1966: 140]. Reconstruction shape: Root syllable is reconstructed based on trivial correspondences. Semantics and structure: The root is usually encountered in conjunction with one of two suffixes, either as $*\tilde{u}^h-na$ or $*\tilde{u}^h-sa$. The original difference between them is unclear (singular vs. plural?).

62. NOT

!Xoong $\|q^h\acute{u}a$ (1), Kakia $\|wa \sim \|k^a \sim \|a:\acute{a}:\acute{a} \sim \|ai$ (1), N|u|en $\|u$ (1), Proto-Taa $*\|q^hu$ (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 117. Cf. also the negative verb $\|a:$ 'not to be; malfunction' [Traill 1994: 128], with somewhat more limited usage.

Quoted as $\|a \sim \|wa \sim \|a \sim \|wa$ in [Maingard 1958: 103].

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 547, 551, 596. Quoted as $\|wa: \sim \|a:^\text{f}$ in [Bleek 1929: 62]. The variety of variants suggests complex articulation of the original variant, possibly $\|qua^\text{f}$ or $\|q'ua^\text{f}$ (which would account for the notation of glottalic, pharyngealized, and labialized articulation by D. Bleek).

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 590. Another form, listed both in [Bleek 1929: 60] and [Bleek 1956: 328], is $\|wa$; in the latter source it is even illustrated with examples of usage, e. g. *si \|wa ā* "we have not eaten". However, the existence of a dental click-based negative particle in N|u||en is highly doubtful: there are no other such negative particles in any of the !Kwi-Taa languages, whereas the usual lateral click-based particle does find an equivalent in N|u||en. It is quite possible that $\|wa$ is merely a typo for $\|wa$, carried over from [Bleek 1929] to [Bleek 1956] (possibly under the influence of the same particle in North Khoisan languages, where dental click-based negatives are the norm).

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: The efflux is inconsistently reflected as zero, voiced, or glottalized in Maingard's and Bleek's data, which can be interpreted as a variety of efforts to represent the uvular (aspirated?) efflux more accurately attested in Traill's data. The vocalic coda in *-a* is probably suffixal, since it is not present in N|u||en and its segmentable nature is also confirmed by external data from !Wi languages.

63. ONE

!Xoong $\#u\hat{u}\tilde{a}$ (1), Kakia $!k'we$ (1), N|u||en $!oe$ (1), Proto-Taa $\#u- \sim \#u-$ (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 151. Variable form: $\#u-V$. Quoted as $\#o\tilde{a}$ in [Maingard 1958: 102, 104].

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 463; Bleek 1929: 63.

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 490; Bleek 1929: 63.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences for the initial click are precisely the same here as in the case for 'two'. The easiest thing is to assume that in both these cases, D. Bleek consistently mistranscribed $!-$ for the correct $\#$ in her notes both for Kakia and N|u||en. However, usually items with an initial palatal click $\#$ are transcribed by her in a variety of manners (with $\#$, $\|$ -, and $!-$ alternating almost at random), and it is surprising to find $!-$ and $!-$ only here with such consistency. Furthermore, a similarly strange situation with click correspondences is seen in the case of external cognates for this numeral in the related !Wi languages. This situation has not yet been resolved, and for the moment, we highlight this problem by listing this case as a "fluctuation" between $\#$ and $!-$ for both 'one' and 'two'. The click efflux is more reliably reconstructible as glottalization, and the root vowel is clearly labialized; the second vowel is different between dialects, possibly reflecting stem variants ($\#\#u-\tilde{a} \sim \#\#u-a \sim \#\#u-e$).

64. PERSON

!Xoong $t\hat{a}$: (1), Kakia tu (2), N|u||en tu (2), Proto-Taa $\#a\hat{a}$ (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 154. Suppletive plural form: $t\hat{u}$:. Class 3/4; tonal class I/II. Meaning glossed as 'person (spec. a Bushman), a proper person; kin (pl.)'. Cf. also the $\#qh\tilde{u}\tilde{a}$ dialect variant $l\hat{a}$: [Traill 1994: 191]. Quoted as ta in [Maingard 1958: 105].

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 240; Bleek 1929: 65. Plural form: $tu-ku \sim tu-tu$. Alternate synonym: da , attested by D. Bleek in such examples as $!on da$ 'old man' and $!on da-ke$ 'old woman', which may be idiomatic; tu is supported as the main word for 'person' by far more convincing examples. The word $\|a:^\text{f}$ [Bleek 1956: 539] is glossed as 'man, person, Bakalahari', and, judging by such an example as $!one a$, $\|a'u'a$, $lokwoi$ "a Tswana that, a Bakalahari, a white man", has particular ethnic connotations.

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 240. Plural form: $tu-tu$. Meaning glossed as 'man, person'. Cf.: $n kai tu sa tanate$ "I hear the person speaking"; $tu \|a\tilde{a}$ "woman" (literally "person-female": a very important example, proving that the word tu has no specific 'male' connotations).

In [Bleek 1929: 56], an entirely different word is found in the meaning 'person': *ša*, pl. *ša-re*, quoted as *ša*, pl. *ša:re* in [Bleek 1956: 177]. Furthermore, *da*, pl. *du* is also attested in *da !'oe*, *du !um* "one person, two people" [Bleek 1956: 19]. Since they are illustrated with fewer (*da*) or no (*ša*) textual examples, we do not include them into the calculations, although this does not eliminate the necessity of clarifying their origins. It is not even excluded that they could represent two subdialectal variants of the same root as Kafia *da*, !Xóǒ *tâ*: ~ *lâ*.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Several dialects (at least, the ones transcribed by D. Bleek) seem to have generalized the old plural form from the suppletive paradigm (sg. **lâ*, pl. **tû*), upon which a new plural was formed through reduplication (> **tu-tu*). Since the original suppletive paradigm was probably etymologically suppletive, this should count as a lexical replacement. Reconstruction shape: The Taa equivalent for 'person' is one of a very small set of morphemes that exhibits the strange consonantal variation *t ~ l* across dialects (another well-known example is the plural marker *-te*, which is dialectally encountered as *-le*). Since the variation is restricted to only a few morphemes, and since no phonetic conditioning for a hypothetical shift **t > l* (or vice versa) has been established, it is logical to regard it as the reflexation of a special protolanguage phoneme, the most reasonable phonetic interpretation of which would be a lateral affricate (**l̥*). It is interesting, however, that the suppletive plural **tû* shows no sign of this variation. This means that either the paradigm was completely suppletive inasmuch as two different roots had two different initial consonants (sg. **lâ*, pl. **tû*), or that Proto-Taa **l̥*-behaved differently depending on the following vowel (i. e. in such dialects as †Qhūã, **l̥a-* > *la-*, but **l̥u-* > *lu-*).

65. RAIN

!Xoong *!x'ôe* (1), Kafia *!we=ga=||a* (2), N|u||en *!xwe:* (1), Proto-Taa **!x'oe* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 84. Class 3; tonal class II. Distinct from the verbal stem *!á*: 'to rain' [Traill 1994: 74]. Quoted as *!we* in [Maingard 1958: 108].

Kafia: Bleek 1956: 463; Bleek 1929: 68. This composite formation is best explained as 'water of cloud' or 'water of wind', where *||a* = 'water' q.v. and, therefore, the main carrier of the meaning 'rain' in this case.

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 504; Bleek 1929: 68.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in !Xóǒ and N|u||en; possibly also in Kafia. Replacements: The construction of the attested form in Kafia suggests that 'rain' and 'water' have largely merged in that dialect in favor of 'water', but the evidence is not conclusive. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences between !Xóǒ and N|u||en are mostly trivial, but it is curious that there are no signs of the glottalized affricate in N|u||en.

66. RED

!Xoong *!ā^hna* (1), Kafia *!anya* (1), N|u||en *!àne #* (1), Proto-Taa **!a^h* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 54. Meaning glossed as 'red, crimson, orange'. Synonym: *!ǒ^hba* 'red' [Traill 1994: 124]; the difference between the two is unclear, but only *!ā^hna* finds external confirmation in the same meaning. Quoted as *!a^hna* in [Maingard 1958: 102] (with pharyngealization of the root vowel, not confirmed in [Traill 1994]).

Kafia: Bleek 1956: 301; Bleek 1929: 69.

N|u||en: Bleek 1929: 69. For some reason, not confirmed in [Bleek 1956], but the word finds reliable external parallels and may be included in the list with a small degree of confidence.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Root vowel is specified by Traill as breathy, by Maingard as pharyngealized, and by Bleek as neutral. As usual, we provisionally follow Traill as the (potentially) most accurate source. The

second syllable *-ɲa* is a suffixal component that is also observed in other color terms; cf. !Xóõ *ʃáʔ-ɲa* 'black', *ʃú-ɲa* 'white'.

67. ROAD

!Xoong *ʃólo* (1), Kákia *dau* # (-1), N|u||en *dau* # (-1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 132. Plural form: *ʃólo-tê*. Class 2; tonal class I. Meaning glossed as 'path'. There is also a different word whose meaning is glossed as 'road, way': *dào*, pl. *dào-tê* [Traill 1994: 158], but it is somewhat suspicious: the meaning 'path' is preferable in the Bushman context as the more basic one, and, furthermore, *dào* is an almost certain borrowing from Central Khoisan. In [Maingard 1958: 102], however, the word *dau* is listed with the meaning 'path'.

Kákia: Bleek 1956: 22; Bleek 1929: 64. Meaning glossed both as 'path' and 'road'. As in !Xóõ, the word most likely represents a (recent?) borrowing from a Central Khoisan source.

N|u||en: Bleek 1929: 64. Another possible equivalent is the compound expression *!arri !ā* [Bleek 1956: 410], quoted as *!are !ā* in [Bleek 1929: 64]. Since neither the expression, nor its individual components find any external cognates that could help clarify the meaning, we prefer not to include it into the calculations due to unreliability of the sources.

Proto-Taa: Not properly reconstructible. Although most dialects show reflexes of the root **dao*, this is best interpretable as borrowing (into Proto-Taa or into separate dialects) from Proto-Khoe **dāò* 'road, path'. Cf. the situation in !Xóõ, where the more basic meaning (at least for a hunter-gatherer culture) 'path' is represented by *ʃólo* and the more cultural meaning 'road' is represented by *dào*. However, *ʃólo* is not easily projected onto the proto-level either, since it is not attested in any other source.

68. ROOT

!Xoong *!x'ái* (1), N|u||en *!au-te* (2).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 84. Plural form: *!x'á-ba-tê*. Class 2; tonal class II. Meaning glossed as 'woody root; a person's roots, i.e. kin, relatives; certain small blood vessels of the body'. Other words with close semantics include *!ā'bi-sì ~ !ā'bi-sà* 'adventitious root, rootlet' [Traill 1994: 86]; *!ā'na* 'metatarsal, metacarpal, finger, knuckle, toe, toe joint; adventitious root, rootlet' [Traill 1994: 86] (the two words may be related, with different suffixation).

Kákia: Not attested.

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 379; Bleek 1929: 70. Although the word is glossed as 'root', the presence of the plural suffix *-te* identifies it as an obvious plural form. Cf. also the form *||ani*, glossed in [Bleek 1929: 70] as 'root fibre', but in [Bleek 1956: 557] as 'roots' (pl.).

Proto-Taa: Not properly reconstructible.

69. ROUND

!Xoong *ʔʃnúʔm ʃê*: (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 148. Meaning glossed as 'round shaped, tubular (e.g. a branch, rod), as opposed to flat-shaped; also applied to a tall lanky person'. According to Traill, a very close synonym with practically the exact same meaning is *ʔnāʔō ʃê*: [Traill 1994: 98].

Kákia: Not attested. In [Bleek 1929: 71], the complex form *ʃá ki* is glossed as 'round (adj.)', but the only example on the word 'round' in [Bleek 1956: 311] is *šī a ču ga ʃá ʃā* "we are sitting round the fire" - obviously, with completely different semantics.

N|u||en: Not attested.

Proto-Taa: Not reconstructible due to insufficient attestation.

70. SAND

!Xoong $\#x'um$ (1), Kakia $\|xu:m$ (1), N|u||en $\#um$ (1), Proto-Taa $*\#x'um$ (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 137. Class 2; tonal class I. Polysemy: 'earth / sand'. There are also some partial synonyms with more specific meanings, e.g. $\# \hat{a}'li$ 'caked sand' [Traill 1994: 141]; $x\hat{o}\hat{i}bo$ 'dry sand' [Traill 1994: 188], etc., but none of them are eligible for inclusion due to their semantic peculiarities.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 637; Bleek 1929: 71. This is clearly the same word as 'earth' q.v.; differences in transcription reflect idiolectal peculiarities or mistakes rather than different stems.

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 649; Bleek 1929: 71. Meaning glossed as 'sand, ground'; this is probably the same word as *!om-sa* 'earth, ground' q.v.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Additionally, cf. N|amani $\#^h\hat{o}m$ in [Westphal 1966: 144]. Semantics and structure: There seems to have been no lexical differentiation between 'earth' and 'sand' in Proto-Taa; see 'earth' for further details. The only source where the two words seem to be in opposition is Westphal's entry for 'soil' and 'sand' in $\#H\hat{u}a$ [Westphal 1966: 144], where *!xom* 'soil' contrasts with the phonetically odd form $\|\hat{o}h\hat{o}la$ for 'sand'. The latter word is not confirmed in any additional sources and looks definitely "non-Taa-like".

71. SAY

!Xoong $t\hat{e}\hat{z}\hat{e}$ (1), Kakia $|e$ (2).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 156. Cf. also *tám* 'say it, mean' [Traill 1994: 155] (it is not excluded that the two words are historically related). Cf. *tana* 'say' in [Maingard 1958: 104].

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 306. Meaning glossed as 'say to' in [Bleek 1929: 71]; cf. such examples as *ŋa |e |um* "I say thank you", *aša |e |um ke polisi* "he has gone to say a greeting to the policeman" in [Bleek 1956]. The meaning 'say' is rendered in [Bleek 1929] by the equivalent *tana*, but examples in [Bleek 1956: 191] show that the actual meaning should rather be defined as the iterative 'to speak, talk': *Ōwa:a kia tana* "the child talks", *si ka kumma tana-ne* "we have talked enough", etc. Although represented by fewer examples, *|e* is clearly more eligible as the default equivalent here.

N|u||en: Not attested. In [Bleek 1929: 71], the meaning 'say' is translated as *tana*, but the situation is the same as in Kakia: examples, reproduced in [Bleek 1956: 191], clearly show that the meaning is actually 'to speak, sound' rather than 'to say', cf.: *n kai tu oz tana te* "I hear the person speaking", *!xwe: že tana* "the rain resounds (thunders)".

Proto-Taa: Not properly reconstructible.

72. SEE

!Xoong \tilde{a} (1), Kakia $\tilde{a} \sim \tilde{e} \sim \tilde{i}n$ (1), N|u||en $\tilde{e}: \sim \tilde{a}:$ (1), Proto-Taa $*\tilde{a}-$ (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 67. Variable form: $\tilde{a}-V$. Quoted as $\tilde{i} \sim \tilde{e} \sim \tilde{e}i \sim \tilde{a}$ in [Maingard 1958: 101, 103, 104].

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 341, 345, 354; Bleek 1929: 72. The latter source also quotes the secondary synonym: //ōĩ, confirmed with one textual example in [Bleek 1956: 585] (*šĩ chí //ōĩ θün e //wi* "if we see a duiker here..."); however, this may be an inexact translation (the verb could mean 'to find', 'to track', etc.), and the example looks fairly weak next to numerous examples with the etymologically well confirmed *ŃV-*.

N|u|en: Bleek 1956: 345; Bleek 1929: 72.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Original root vocalism *a* is seen in such derived forms as !Xóō *Ńâ-sâ* 'seeing'; elsewhere it is predictably obscured by mergers with concordial class markers. Nasalisation of the vowel is probably secondary (under the influence of the nasal click).

73. SEED

!Xoong *sâŃâ* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 184. Class 2; tonal class I. Singular and plural usage.

Kakia: Not attested.

N|u|en: Not attested.

Proto-Taa: Not reconstructible due to insufficient attestation.

74. SIT

!Xoong *c^hû*: (1), Kakia *ču* (1), N|u|en *šu ~ ču* (1), Proto-Taa **c^hu* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 165. Suppletive plural form: *!á:* [Traill 1994: 99]. Quoted as *c'o ~ č'o ~ č'o ~ č'ou ~ su ~ šu ~ č^hö* in [Maingard 1958: 101, 102, 103, 104].

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 235. Listed examples permit to analyze the meaning of this verb both as static ('to be sitting') and dynamic ('to sit down'). Quoted as *cú:* 'to sit', but *ču:* *!i* 'to sit down' in [Bleek 1929: 76] (although the examples in [Bleek 1956] suggest exactly the opposite: cf. *misis ya ču* "Missis sits down", but *š!wi a ču !i* "the cook sits there").

N|u|en: Bleek 1956: 182, 236; Bleek 1929: 76. Text examples in [Bleek 1956: 368] would indicate that the static verb *šu* 'to be sitting' is opposed to the dynamic verb *!a:* 'to sit down' (*si !a:* "we sit down"), but comparison with !Xóō shows that this is rather a case of singular/plural action stem suppletivism.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: We prioritize !Xóō data in this case as in most others, but the archaic status of the aspiration still needs to be confirmed. Root vocalism is not contaminated here by mergers with concordial class markers and is unequivocally reconstructible as **u*.

75. SKIN

!Xoong *tù^fm* (1), Kakia *t'ùm* (1), N|u|en *t'ùm* (1), Proto-Taa **tù^fm* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 157. Plural form: *tù^fma-tê*. Class 2/4; tonal class II. Meaning glossed as 'skin, thin bark' (although the generic term for 'bark' seems to be different, see under *gúle*). Polysemy: 'skin / wrinkled / covering / cocoon / shell'. Quoted as *təm* in [Maingard 1958: 100]; Maingard also notes an additional dialectal (Southern) form *!oe*, not confirmed in [Traill 1994].

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 245; Bleek 1929: 76. The latter source, in the same meaning, also quotes the word /e, but in [Bleek 1956: 307], it is glossed as 'skin, skin cap', and all the examples only refer to 'skin shoes' or 'skin caps', i. e. leather goods.

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 241; Bleek 1929: 76.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Cf. also †Hūa *to:m* vs. N|amani *dom* in [Westphal 1966: 143]. Reconstruction shape: We tentatively assume that glottalized *t'*-, attested in D. Bleek's transcriptions for Kakia and N|u||en, is a perception error for *t*- + pharyngealized vowel, as in Traill's transcription of !Xóō. Alternately, it is possible that glottalization was in fact primary, and that !Xóō underwent a sporadic (or even regular) change from **t'um* to **tu^hm*. Unfortunately, no additional data are available to clarify this at the moment.

76. SLEEP

!Xoong *Ōân* (1), Kakia *Ōwōĩ ~ Ōwoin* (1), N|u||en *Ōwoin* (1), Proto-Taa **ŌVn* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 47. Cf. also *Ōúm* 'sleep (n.)', possibly, but not necessarily, derived from the same root.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 686. Quoted as *Ōwūn ~ Ōoin /i* in [Bleek 1929: 76].

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 686. Quoted as *Ōuân* in [Bleek 1929: 76].

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: All dialects show a labial click with zero influx as the root-forming consonant, but the vocalism of the coda remains unclear. Most of Bleek's data indicate the presence of a front vowel element which is, however, completely absent in !Xóō (but then resurfaces again in external parallels in !Wi languages); to make matters even more complicated, !Xóō opposes *Ōân* 'to sleep' with the unique nominal derivative *Ōúm* 'sleep', with the underlying morphophonological rule being quite opaque. Nevertheless, at least the majority of dialects agree on final *-n* as part of the root; we leave the position of root vowel without any straightforward interpretation.

77. SMALL

!Xoong *ʔûi* (1), Kakia *ʔona #* (2), N|u||en *ʔari* (3).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 72. Meaning glossed as 'small quantity, extent, duration, i.e. little, narrow, small, thin (be not thick or be not fat), few'. Suppletive plural form: *ʔûn-tá* [Traill 1994: 65]. Should be distinguished from the diminutive formant *Ōâ:*, as in *Ōâye-Ōâ:* 'animal' (literally 'small meat') [Traill 1994: 47]. Quoted as *ʔui ~ ʔwi* in [Maingard 1958: 102]; the same source also lists *Ō'wi* 'small' as a synonym.

Kakia: Bleek 1929: 76. Highly dubious, since the word is not confirmed in [Bleek 1956].

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 302; Bleek 1929: 76. A second candidate is the word *ʔi:* [Bleek 1929: 76], also glossed with the meaning 'small'; in [Bleek 1956: 316], it is quoted with a suffixal extension as *ʔi-sa*.

Proto-Taa: Not properly reconstructible.

78. SMOKE

!Xoong *cx'âye* (1), Kakia *ʔa:lu* (2).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 168. Class 3; tonal class I.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 614.

N|u|en: Not attested.

Proto-Taa: Not properly reconstructible.

79. STAND

!Xoong $\|^{h}\hat{u}$: (1), Kakia $\|\tilde{u} \sim \|\tilde{o} \sim \|\^{h}\tilde{u} \sim \|um$ (1), N|u|en $\|\tilde{u} \sim \|\^{h}u \sim \#^{h}u$ (1), Proto-Taa $*\|\^{h}\tilde{u}$ (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 121. Polysemy: 'stand / urinate (euph.)'. Suppletive plural form: $?\|_{n\hat{u}\hat{a}}^{n}$ [Traill 1994: 127].

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 543, 581, 590, 592. Most of these variants feature in examples where their meanings are glossed as either 'stand' or 'stand up'. In [Bleek 1929: 79], 'stand' as such is glossed as $\|\tilde{u} \sim \|\^{h}\tilde{u}$, whereas the dynamic meaning 'stand up' is rendered as the compound forms $\|\tilde{u} \|i$ and $\|aba \|\tilde{u}$. Regardless of whether this is correct, the main root is the same in all cases.

N|u|en: Bleek 1956: 543, 590, 652; Bleek 1929: 79.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are relatively simple. Old sources often agree with Traill's !Xoō on an aspirated click efflux; other variants may be regarded as erroneous. Nasalization should be regarded as part of the root.

80. STAR

!Xoong $\|\tilde{o}na$ (1), Kakia $\|wana-te \sim \|wana-te$ (1), N|u|en $\|\^{h}ana-te$ (1), Proto-Taa $*\|\^{h}ona$ (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 105. Plural form: $\|\tilde{o}na-t\hat{e}$. Class 2; tonal class II. Polysemy: 'star / the star form of a hedgehog'. The plural form is quoted as $\|ana-te$ in [Maingard 1958: 105].

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 537, 597; Bleek 1929: 79. The form is plural (the singular is not attested).

N|u|en: Bleek 1956: 517; Bleek 1929: 79. The form is plural (the singular is not attested).

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Additionally, cf. $\#H\hat{u}a \|\^{h}ona-te$ vs. N|amani $\#^{h}ana-te$ 'stars' in [Westphal 1966: 143].

Reconstruction shape: Most data sources agree upon the zero efflux; N|u|en is the only (and possibly mistaken) exception. Root vowel is reconstructed as labial based on Traill's data; a few dialects may have undergone vocalic assimilation ($*\|\^{h}ona > *\|\^{h}ana$). It is not clear why the N|amani form is glossed by Westphal with a palatal click; this is either an error or, perhaps, the result of phonetic contamination with Naro (Khoe) $\#o^{h}n\hat{o}$ 'star'.

81. STONE

!Xoong $\|\tilde{u}-le$ (1), Kakia $\|\tilde{i}i-le \sim \|\tilde{i}i-le$ (1), N|u|en $\|^{h}um$ (2), Proto-Taa $*\|\tilde{u}-$ (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 69. Plural form: $\|\tilde{u}-n$. Class 3/2; tonal class I.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 354, 624; Bleek 1929: 80. The second variant (with the lateral click) is very strange and may simply represent an erroneous transcription or a typo.

N|u|en: Bleek 1956: 493; Bleek 1929: 80. It is unclear whether this is the same word as $\|um$ 'mountain' q.v.: click accompaniments are different, but this may simply reflect a transcriptional error. A second possible candidate is the word $\#oi-ye$ [Bleek 1956: 675], quoted as $\#cye$ in [Bleek 1929: 80], but the origins of this item are much less clear.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in most dialects. Additionally, cf. †Hūa *ŷule* vs. N|amani *ŷole* in [Westphal 1966: 144]. Replacements: It is possible that in N|u|en, the original word was replaced by *ʹum*, which in itself may be a mistranscribed variant of *ʹum* 'mountain' = !Xóō *ʹu^hm* 'hill' [Traill 1994: 78]; or by *ʹoi-ye*, a word of unclear origin. However, given the general unreliability of Bleek's older sources, it is unreasonable to present this as firm historical fact. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

82. SUN

!Xoong *ʹân* (1), Kakia *ʹan* (1), N|u|en *ʹan ~ ʹē*: (1), Proto-Taa **ʹan* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 129. Plural form: *ʹâna-tê*. Class 3/2; tonal class I. Cf. also the diminutive form: *ʹalu-bâ*. Polysemy: 'sun / day / thirst'.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 629; Bleek 1929: 81.

N|u|en: Bleek 1956: 519, 629. Quoted as *ʹan ~ ʹē* in [Bleek 1929: 81].

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Cf. also †Hūa, N|amani *ʹan* in [Westphal 1966: 143]. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally regular and trivial. Final **-n* seems to belong to the root, but this is not certain in light of the diminutive *ʹalu-bâ* in !Xóō; however, archaic nature of the nasal element is also suggested by external parallels in !Wi languages.

83. SWIM

References and notes:

!Xoong: Not attested (probably due to the lack of the corresponding reality).

Kakia: Not attested (probably due to the lack of the corresponding reality).

N|u|en: Not attested (probably due to the lack of the corresponding reality).

Proto-Taa: Not reconstructible (probably due to the lack of the corresponding reality).

84. TAIL

!Xoong *ʹāũ / ʹāũ̃* (1), Kakia *ʹāũ ~ ʹāũ̃* (1), N|u|en *ʹāũ* (1), Proto-Taa **ʹāũ ~ *ʹāũ̃* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 54. The first variant is the possessed form; the second variant is the alienated form. Plural form: *ʹā̃ / ʹā̃̃* (Traill lists both the poss. and the alien. form as *ʹā̃̃*, but the second variant must be a misprint). Class 2; tonal class II (poss.) or class 3; tonal class I (alien.). The phonetic identity between this word and 'name' q.v. must be a case of homonymy rather than polysemy.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 276, 303; Bleek 1929: 82.

N|u|en: Bleek 1956: 276; Bleek 1929: 82.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: The only discrepancy between Traill's !Xóō attestation and Bleek's earlier data is the voiced articulation of the efflux, which is surprisingly frequently marked in Bleek's data; it is impossible to say which variant is more archaic. It is also worth noting that in !Xóō, this word is completely homonymous with 'name' q.v., but in Kakia and N|u|en it is not; see 'name' for further notes.

85. THAT

!Xoong *tV?V* (1), Kakia *ta-le* (1), N|u||en *ti #* (1), Proto-Taa **tV-* # (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 154. The remote deictic pronoun in !Xóǒ is apparently formed out of the distant deictic pronoun *tV?V* 'this' q.v. to which an additional pronominal morpheme, modifying the overall meaning, is then appended. On the whole, there are three complex stems: (a) the nominal stem *tV?V=BV?V*, employed in such constructions as *ñí ||à: tá? ñbán?ñ* 'there is no that (thing), i.e. there is no such thing'; (b) the adjectival/verbal stem *tV(?V:-)yà kV* 'there, that (proximate)'; (c) the adjectival/verbal stem *tV?V:-sà kV* 'there, that (remote)'. Given this situation, from a lexicostatistical point of view, it is more realistic to use the general deictic stem *tV?V* as the primary expression for both meanings ('this' and 'that'), since they are apparently not very well distinguished in !Xóǒ.

In [Maingard 1958: 106], the variants *ila* and *e te ila* are listed in the meaning 'that, those'.

The compound form *te-ila* may represent yet another formation analogous with Traill's *tV-yà*, *tV?V:-sà*, etc.; for *ila* as such, however, there are no textual examples in the article.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 189. In [Bleek 1929: 83], the meaning 'that' is glossed as *ta, a, ti*. The system of demonstrative pronouns in Kakia is not really reconstructible in details due to lack of description, but presumably it must have resembled !Xóǒ, i. e. the morpheme *tV* was involved in the structure of both.

N|u||en: Bleek 1929: 83. Highly dubious, as are all data on Taa demonstratives in D. Bleek's sources. Examples on *ti* include *ti η tá* "what is that?"; *ti ka ta* "what is it?"; *ti sa ||i* "it is good". None of them confirm the faraway deictic degree of *ti*, at best indicating its general anaphoric status and nothing else. However, on a very tentative basis it could be accepted for the calculations, based on external comparison.

Proto-Taa: See notes on 'this'.

86. THIS

!Xoong *tV?V:* ~ *tV:?V* ~ *tán?ñ* (1), Kakia *ti* (1), Proto-Taa **tV-* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 154. This simple stem is also used as the basis for other demonstrative pronouns; see notes on 'that' for details. In [Maingard 1958: 106], a huge group of different words is listed in this meaning: *si, ta, te, na, e te ina*. Of these, *ta* and *te* clearly correlate with Traill's *tV?V:*. As for *si*, although various auxiliary words with the same phonetic shape are listed in [Traill 1994], none of them are explained as 'this': the closest equivalent is *sī*: 'generic locative, side, place, impersonal "it", until' [Traill 1994: 185], which definitely cannot function as an adjectival demonstrative pronoun on its own.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 202. Quoted as *te a ~ ti e* in [Bleek 1929: 85]. Preserved examples are hard to interpret in an unambiguous manner, but presumably, the meaning was still expressed by a "*tV*-type" morpheme, just as in !Xóǒ.

N|u||en: Not attested properly. There is a morpheme *||i*, assigned the meaning 'this' in [Bleek 1929: 84] and 'here, there, this' in [Bleek 1956: 580], but without any supporting examples; nor is it confirmed with evidence from related dialects. We exclude it from calculations.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Found in !Xóǒ proper and in Kakia. Since only the situation in !Xóǒ is relatively well described, we have little choice but to project it onto the Taa level as a whole at present. At the very least, Kakia *ti ~ te* supports the reconstructibility of a *t*-type deictic morpheme on that level, even if we cannot be completely sure that it served as the basic deictic stem for both 'this' and 'that'.

87. THOU

!Xoong *ā^h* (1), Kakia *a* (1), N|u||en *a ~ a-a* (1), Proto-Taa **a^h* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 195. Class 2; tonal class I. Emphatic form: $\bar{a}^h\text{-}\bar{a}$. Quoted as $a \sim a\bar{a}$ in [Maingard 1958: 106].

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 3; Bleek 1929: 85. Possessive form: $a\text{-}ka \sim a\text{-}a$.

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 3; Bleek 1929: 85. The form $a\text{-}a$ must be emphatic, although this is not stated explicitly.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: It is not clear precisely how archaic the breathy articulation of the vowel is. The emphatic (reduplicated?) form $*a^{(h)}\text{-}a$ is also traceable back to the proto-level.

88. TONGUE

!Xoong $\text{?}n\grave{a}^f\grave{n}$ (1), Kakia $\tilde{a}:n$ (1), N|u||en $\text{?}a:ni$ (1), Proto-Taa $*\text{?}na^f\grave{n}$ (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 70. Plural form: $\text{?}n\grave{a}^f\grave{n}\text{-}a \sim \text{?}n\grave{a}^f$. Class 2; tonal class I. Distinct from $|\grave{a}^f\text{?}i$ 'tongue of snake or lizard' [Traill 1994: 53].

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 343. Quoted as $\text{?}a:ni \sim \tilde{a}:ni$ in [Bleek 1929: 86].

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 269.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Cf. also $\text{?}H\grave{u}a \tilde{a}^f\text{?}an$ vs. N|amani $||a^f\text{?}an$ in [Westphal 1966: 141] (the lateral click in the latter form is most likely a typo). Reconstruction shape: Preglottalized nasalized click projected onto the protoform based on !Xóó data. Pharyngealization of root vowel finds confirmation in Westphal's data from 1966.

89. TOOTH

!Xoong $||q^h\grave{a}^{\tilde{}}: / ||q^h\bar{\tilde{a}}^{\tilde{}}:$ (1), Kakia $||x\tilde{u}$ (1), N|u||en $||^*an\text{-}te$ (1), Proto-Taa $*||q^h\bar{\tilde{a}}^{\tilde{}} \sim *||q^h\bar{\tilde{a}}n$ (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 117. The first variant is the possessed form; the second variant is the alienated form. Plural form: $||q^h\bar{\tilde{a}}^{\tilde{}}\text{-}t\tilde{e} / ||q^h\bar{\tilde{a}}^{\tilde{}}\text{-}t\tilde{e}$. Class 2; tonal class II (poss.) or class 3; tonal class I (alien.). Polysemy: 'tooth / edge of the blade of a spear'.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 637; Bleek 1929: 86. Plural form: $||xani$ [Bleek 1956: 637], quoted as $||xani$ in [Bleek 1929: 86].

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 629; Bleek 1929: 86. The form is plural; the meaning is glossed as 'teeth, reeds'.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: The aspirated uvular efflux is projected onto the protolevel based on !Xóó data; its reflection in Kakia as $-x-$ is consistent, in N|u||en as $-'$ is somewhat less so. The coda is probably represented by a nasalized vowel, but the form in N|u||en and the plural $||xan\text{-}i$ in Kakia show that nasalization here may be the result of lenition of an actual nasal consonant. We list both variants as possible reconstructions.

90. TREE

!Xoong $\text{?}\theta n\grave{a}ye$ (1), Kakia $\tilde{\theta}oe: \sim \tilde{\theta}oi$ (1), N|u||en $\theta'a:$ (1), Proto-Taa $*\tilde{\theta}a\text{-}$ (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 51. Plural form: $\text{?}\theta n\grave{a}$. Class 3/2; tonal class II. Polysemy: 'tree / piece of wood'. Quoted as $\tilde{\theta}wai$ in [Maingard 1958: 103].

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 683. Quoted as $\tilde{\theta}xe:$ in [Bleek 1929: 87].

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 682. Quoted as *θwoi ~ θwe*: in [Bleek 1929: 87]. Cf. also *θwa-rre* 'firewood' [Bleek 1956: 685].

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Additionally, cf. ꞥHūa *θwá-ye* in [Westphal 1966: 144]. Reconstruction shape: The seemingly chaotic fluctuation of nasalized and glottalized effluxes in old data is conveniently explained by the form with a preglottalized nasalized efflux in !Xóǝ, which we presume to represent the original Proto-Taa situation. Root vocalism is "labially colored" by the preceding labial click in Kafia and a few other dialects. Different stem shapes found in dialects: **θ̃a-ye* ~ **θ̃a-i* ~ **θ̃a-re*.

91. TWO

!Xoong *ǃúm* (1), Kafia *ǃum ~ ǃum* (1), N|u||en *ǃum* (1), Proto-Taa **ǃum* ~ **ǃum* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 147. Quoted as *ǃum* in [Maingard 1958: 105].

Kafia: Bleek 1956: 485, 622. An "unusual" form *ǃammi* is also listed in [Bleek 1956: 473] (in the example: *i ša ǃa ša ǃammi* "we are two left"). Quoted as *ǃum* in [Bleek 1929: 88].

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 485. Quoted as *ǃum* in [Bleek 1929: 88].

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: The correspondences for the click influx are almost precisely the same here as in the case for 'one' (see notes on 'one' for a detailed explanation). All other correspondences are trivial.

92. WALK (GO)

!Xoong *sâ*: (1), Kafia *ša* (1), N|u||en *sa ~ ša* (1), Proto-Taa **sa* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 184. Quoted as *sâ ~ ša* in [Maingard 1958: 103, 105].

Kafia: Bleek 1956: 177. In [Bleek 1929: 42], both *ša* and *ši* are listed in the meaning 'to go', but cf. the following example: *misis ya ša ǃa, e ǃx'aba ši* "Missis goes away and comes back", from which it becomes clear that *ša* is 'to go' and *ši* is 'to come' (just as is expected upon comparison with !Xóǝ).

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 161, 176. In [Bleek 1929: 42], four variants are listed in the meaning 'go': *sa ~ ša ~ si ~ še*. Textual examples are obscure and contradictory, but overall, it is most probable that the situation in N|u||en was the same as in !Xóǝ, where *sâ*: expresses the meaning 'to go' and *šâ*: is 'to come'.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. Vocalic variation in N|u||en is probably due to contraction with concordial class markers.

93. WARM (HOT)

!Xoong *kûbi* (1), Kafia *θwi* # (2), N|u||en *ǃk'u*: (3).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 171. Meaning glossed as 'be hot, warm (e.g. sand, food, water)'. A possible synonym is *θâi* (*kâ*) 'be hot, burn, burned' [Traill 1994: 52], cf. *ǃân ú kâ θâi* "the sun is hot"; however, the semantics here is closer to the strongly marked 'scorching'.

Kafia: Bleek 1956: 686. Meaning glossed as 'red, hot', with two examples: *x'a θwi* "red cat" (however, *x'a* 'cat' is not found by itself in the dictionary, making the example extremely dubious) and *ǃam na ši θwi* "the sun is hot", which is more credible. The word combination *ši θwi* is listed in the meaning 'hot' in [Bleek 1929: 48] as well. No known Kafia words are glossed with the meaning

'warm'. In the light of what we know of the etymologically related word *θ'ái* in !Xóǒ, the entry is dubious.

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 590. Quoted as //u: in [Bleek 1929: 48]. Meaning is glossed as 'hot' in both sources. Cf., however, also //o in //ei-ya //o "the sun is warm" [Bleek 1956: 581]; this is quite possibly the same word.

Proto-Taa: Not properly reconstructible.

94. WATER

!Xoong *!q^hà:* (1), Kakia *!^há ~ !^ha: ~ !xa:* (1), N|u||en *!^ha* (1), Proto-Taa **!^hq^ha* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 87. Class 3; tonal class II. Meaning glossed as 'water, rain, amniotic fluid'; however, in the meaning 'rain' !Xóǒ also uses the special term *!x'òe* q.v. Quoted as *!^há* in [Maingard 1958: 104].

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 423, 496; Bleek 1929: 90.

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 423. Quoted as *!^ha:* in [Bleek 1929: 90].

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Additionally, cf. †Hūa, N|amani *!xá* in [Westphal 1966: 144]. Reconstruction shape: The word is reconstructed with the uvular aspirated click efflux *-q^h-* based on Traill's data; older sources do not acknowledge the presence of uvular consonants or click effluxes in Taa at all, which is most likely a general flaw of the descriptions.

95. WE₁

!Xoong *!^h* (1), Kakia *i* (1), N|u||en *i* (1), Proto-Taa **!^h* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 196. Emphatic form: *!^h-ʔi*. Quoted as *i ~ i-//ai* (incl.) in [Maingard 1958: 106] (the latter form = *!^h //âe* 'we three' [Traill 1994: 196], possibly also = 'many of us').

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 67; Bleek 1929: 90. Inclusive form.

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 67; Bleek 1929: 90. Inclusive form.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Apart from the breathy articulation of the vowel (which may be an automatic characteristics of all monovocalic pronominal forms in !Xóǒ), correspondences are regular and trivial. Semantics and structure: This is a clear case of an innovative situation in Lone Tree (= Traill's) !Xóǒ, which has seemingly lost the original opposition between inclusive and exclusive pronouns. For Proto-Taa, **!^h* is to be reconstructed as 'we (incl.)'.

95. WE₂

!Xoong *ī=sî* (2), Kakia *šī ~ šia ~ ša ~ si* (2), N|u||en *si ~ si-sa* (2), Proto-Taa **sî* (2).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 196. Emphatic form: *ī=sî-ʔi*. According to Traill, there is no semantic difference between the simple form *!^h* and the more complex stem *ī=sî*. However, in [Maingard 1958: 103, 106] the form *si ~ šī* is explicitly mentioned as the exclusive equivalent of *i* 'we' (incl.), and, furthermore, this ties in quite well with the general situation in !Kwi-Taa languages that systematically oppose different stems for inclusive and exclusive pronouns (including the Kakia and N|u||en dialects, closely related to Traill's !Xóǒ). In the light of this, Traill's *ī=sî* looks suspiciously similar to a collocation of both variants, especially since the formant =sî has no other explanation. It is possible that in the particular dialect of !Xóǒ described by Traill, *!^h* and *ī=sî* are genuine synonyms, but even in this case, =sî is still a detachable morpheme and may be used in lexicostatistical calculations.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 168, 176, 179; Bleek 1929: 90. Exclusive form.

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 168; Bleek 1929: 90. Exclusive form.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects, but only in bound form in !Xóǎ. Semantics and structure: For Proto-Taa, *si is to be reconstructed as 'we (excl.)'. For the situation in !Xóǎ, see the corresponding notes.

96. WHAT

!Xoong /V ... è^h (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 195. The construction consists of the general interrogative particle /V and the third person singular / Class 3 harmonic pronoun è^h. In this construction, the particle /V is considered to be the main carrier of the interrogative meaning.

Kakia: Not attested. In [Bleek 1929: 91], the interrogative 'what?' for Kakia is given as *-ta* (with a hyphen, i. e. as an enclitical form), but this is extremely dubious: there is no confirmation for this analysis in [Bleek 1956], and the closely related !Xóǎ does not yield any supporting evidence either. This may have been the result of an erroneous grammatical analysis; we prefer not to include the word on the list.

N|u||en: Not attested. In [Bleek 1929: 91], the interrogative 'what?' for N|u||en is given as *-ta* (with a hyphen, i. e. as an enclitical form), but this is extremely dubious: there is no confirmation for this analysis in [Bleek 1956], and the closely related !Xóǎ does not yield any supporting evidence either. This may have been the result of an erroneous grammatical analysis; we prefer not to include the word on the list.

Proto-Taa: Not reconstructible. It is possible that Proto-Taa did not have a special root for this meaning, since the proper equivalent in !Xóǎ (the only reliable dialect in this case) consists of a general interrogative particle in conjunction with a general deictic stem.

97. WHITE

!Xoong *ǎ́li-na* (1), Kakia *ǎ́xwá* (2), N|u||en *!ari* (3).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 96. Cf. the nominalization: *kâ=ǎ́li-sà* 'whiteness'. Quoted as *ǎ́li* 'white' in [Maingard 1958: 102]. The latter source adds an extra synonym: *!a'ǎ́li* 'white' [Maingard 1958: 102] = *!á'ǎ́li* 'whitish and shiny (silver, light grey, gold)' [Traill 1994: 75], clearly not eligible for inclusion if the specification given by Traill is correct.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 638; Bleek 1929: 91.

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 409; Bleek 1929: 91. (In [Bleek 1956], the meaning is erroneously written as 'while'; this is a typo).

Proto-Taa: Not properly reconstructible; this color term is unusually unstable, with most dialects having separate equivalents for the term. N|u||en *!ari* may probably be discarded, since it corresponds to !Xóǎ *!á'ǎ́li* 'whitish and shiny' (see notes on !Xóǎ); however, Kakia *ǎ́xwá* has no obvious etymology and is as likely to represent Proto-Taa 'white' as !Xóǎ *ǎ́li-na*.

98. WHO

!Xoong /V ... è^h (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 195. See notes on 'what'; according to Traill's description, there is no difference in !Xóǎ between the animate 'who' and the inanimate 'what'.

Kakia: Not attested.

N|u|en: Not attested.

Proto-Taa: Not reconstructible. It is possible that Proto-Taa did not have a special root for this meaning, since the proper equivalent in !Xóǝ (the only reliable dialect in this case) consists of a general interrogative particle in conjunction with a general deictic stem.

99. WOMAN

!Xoong *tâ:=qáe* (1), Kakia *la=kai ~ la=kái* (1), N|u|en *lan* (2), Proto-Taa **λâ=qáe* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 154. Class 2; tonal class II. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'. Suppletive plural: *lâ:^f* [Traill 1994: 53]. The singular form is a compound, literally 'person' q.v. + *qáe* 'mother / female'. The same structure is observed in the word for 'man'; lexicostatistical calculations, therefore, have to be based on *qáe* as the principal morpheme in this word. Quoted as Northern dial. *ta=kae*, Southern dial. *la=kae* in [Maingard 1958: 100].

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 129. Plural form: *la=ke ~ la=ké*. As in !Xóǝ, this is a composite form, consisting of *la* 'person' (possibly not preserved on its own in Kakia) + *kai* 'mother / female'. Unlike in !Xóǝ, however, the plural form is not suppletive.

N|u|en: Bleek 1956: 300. Erroneously listed as SIV (!Auni), but comparison with [Bleek 1929] and analysis of textual contexts makes it certain that the word is really SVI (N|u|en). Quoted as *lan* in [Bleek 1929: 92]. Plural form: *lāi* [Bleek 1956: 274] or *lān-te* (typo for **lān-te?*) [Bleek 1929: 92]. Another expression for 'woman' is the compound form *tu-lai*, pl. *ta-lai-te* ([Bleek 1929: 92]; [Bleek 1956: 240]), literally 'person-female'.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in most dialects, although occasionally the old suppletive plural stem seems to be generalized for the entire paradigm. Additionally, cf. †Hūa *la-q'áé*, pl. *η|āḡa* vs. N|amani *ta-q'áé*, pl. *ta-q'áé-tu* in [Westphal 1966: 139]. Replacements: N|u|en *lan* is clearly the same form as !Xóǝ pl. *lâ:^f* 'women'; subsequently, new plural formations with productive suffixes (such as *lān-te*) may be generated. Reconstruction shape: See notes on 'person' q.v. for the first part of the compound. Root morpheme **qáe* 'mother = female' is reconstructed with a uvular consonant based on Traill's data. Semantics and structure: The meaning 'woman = female person' was expressed in Proto-Taa with the compound formation **λâ* 'person' + **qáe* 'mother', paralleling the analogous formation for 'man' q.v. The plural form, however, may have been suppletive and monomorphemic: Traill's and Westphal's data indicate the form **lâ:^f* (**lâ:^ǀ*) as potentially archaic.

100. YELLOW

!Xoong *†q^húí #* (1), N|u|en *!omi* (2).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 143. Meaning glossed as 'yellow, Naples yellow, yellow ochre, very light blue-grey, light green-grey'. There are at least two possible synonyms: (a) *†ái^h* 'yellow, chrome yellow, cadmium yellow, gold coloured' [Traill 1994: 146] and (b) *lā?u* 'yellow, chrome orange, terra cotta'. A detailed study of the terms and the typical objects they can be applied to is necessary to reach a decision in this particular case.

Kakia: Not attested.

N|u|en: Bleek 1956: 441. Quoted as *!omi* in [Bleek 1929: 94]. Erroneously listed as SIV (!Auni) in [Bleek 1956], when the word is in fact SVI (N|u|en).

Proto-Taa: Not reconstructible.

101. FAR

!Xoong *tái^f* (1), Kakia *tai #* (1), Proto-Taa **tai^f* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 155.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 188. Meaning glossed as 'away', but cf. the example: *lihutitu !a: ka ša tai* "Lihutitu is far away (? to walk)". In [Bleek 1929: 37], an entirely different root is listed in the meaning 'far': *llai*, but it is not confirmed in [Bleek 1956], where we only find the form *llui* in the meaning 'to be very far' (*!a: ka ya llui* "it stands very far"). Since the context in the example for *tai* fits the Swadesh meaning well, and the word is further supported by external parallels in !Xóǒ, we tentatively use it to fill the main slot.

N|u|en: Not attested.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects where it is attested, although cf. notes on semantics in Kakia. Reconstruction shape: Pharyngealization of root vowel marked only for !Xóǒ, but can be projected onto the proto level.

102. HEAVY

!Xoong *lláu* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 124. Polysemy: 'heavy / pregnant (euph.)'.

Kakia: Not attested.

N|u|en: Not attested.

Proto-Taa: Not reconstructible due to insufficient attestation.

103. NEAR

!Xoong *llâ?le* # (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 107. There are at least three other words, all glossed as 'near' or 'close to' in Traill's dictionary: (a) *llâ:*⁵ [Traill 1994: 122]; (b) *?fnû^hma tí* [Traill 1994: 148]; (c) *!ōa* [Traill 1994: 100]. However, all of the examples illustrate the semantics of 'close to (each other)', 'adjacent to', rather than the required 'not far from', so a final decision is impossible based on this evidence.

Kakia: Not attested. The form *li*, quoted as 'near' in [Bleek 1929: 61], is not confirmed in [Bleek 1956]; it is probably the same as the auxiliary verb *li*, frequently encountered together with various static verbs and originally confused with the meaning 'to be near'.

N|u|en: Not attested.

Proto-Taa: Not reconstructible due to insufficient attestation.

104. SALT

!Xoong *qâ?na* (1), Kakia *!xane* (1), Proto-Taa **qa?na* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 178. Class 2/3; tonal class II.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 497. Quoted as *!xane* in [Bleek 1929: 71].

N|u|en: Not attested. In [Bleek 1929: 71], the meaning 'salt' is translated as *l̃b*. However, the form is not confirmed in [Bleek 1956] and finds no parallels in other !Kwi-Taa languages. Furthermore, it looks like a Central Khoisan word (with final gender marker -b)

and, provided it is transcribed more or less correctly, cannot be a native N|u|len form. On the other hand, no phonetically similar words with the meaning 'salt' are known in Central Khoisan.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects where the word is attested. Additionally, cf. †Hūa *kaːna* vs. N|amani *kana* in [Westphal 1966: 144]. Reconstruction shape: Initial uvular *q*- is directly attested only in !Xóǒ, but the pharyngealization in Westphal's †Hūa transcription indirectly confirms this, and Bleek's spelling of !x- in Kafia is an understandable substitute.

105. SHORT

!Xoong *ʃ̣āba* (1), Kafia *ʃ̣aba* (1), N|u|len *ʃ̣aba* ~ *aba* # (1), Proto-Taa **ʃ̣aba* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 149. Plural form: *kā=ʃ̣āǎǎ*.

Kafia: Bleek 1956: 641; Bleek 1929: 74. Applied to people: *la ʃ̣aba* 'short man'.

N|u|len: Bleek 1929: 74. Dubious, since the word is not confirmed in [Bleek 1956]; the clickless variant is also suspicious, since sporadic click loss is not known in N|u|len.

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are mostly regular and trivial; transcription of the palatal click as lateral in N|u|len is probably erroneous (the word is only attested in a very early source).

106. SNAKE

!Xoong *ṣiʔi-sà* (1), Kafia *ʃ̣i=ʃ̣woi* (2), N|u|len *si=ʃ̣wi* ~ *si=ʃ̣wi* (2), Proto-Taa **ʃ̣ui* # (2).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 186. Plural form: *ṣiʔi-sà-tê*. Class 2; tonal class II. A nominal derivative from *ṣiʔi* 'to bite' q.v.

Kafia: Bleek 1956: 180. Quoted as *ʃ̣iʃ̣wi* in [Bleek 1929: 77]. Despite the phonetic similarity between *ʃ̣i=* and the common !Kwi-Taa verb 'to bite', this word has to be analyzed as *ʃ̣woi* (root morpheme) plus the prefixal component *ʃ̣i=*, presumably the same as in the word for 'bird' q.v.

N|u|len: Bleek 1956: 170. In [Bleek 1929: 77], quoted simply as *ʃ̣wi*, without the *si=* prefix. (This may, however, reflect an incorrect morphological segmentation in the early source).

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in Kafia and N|u|len. Replacements: In !Xóǒ, the equivalent for snake is formally derived from the verb 'to bite'; thus, {'bite' > 'snake'}. The verbal root *ṣiʔi* may be the same as the component *si=* ~ *ʃ̣i=* in other varieties of Taa; however, the situation is made more complex by the presence of the same "prefix" in the word for 'bird' q.v. (Kafia *ʃ̣i=ʃ̣u*, etc.), where the semantic component 'to bite' is hardly appropriate. Most likely, this phonetic similarity is accidental, i. e. !Xóǒ *ṣiʔi-* and Kafia *ʃ̣i=*, etc. have nothing to do with each other. Reconstruction shape: The reconstruction here is very approximate: click influx could easily be palatal (*ʃ̣* instead of *ʃ̣*), and click efflux could be virtually anything. A potential parallel in !Xóǒ might be *ʃ̣q̣ʰui* 'horned adder' [Traill 1994: 118], in which case the reconstruction should be amended to **ʃ̣q̣ʰu-*; but it could just as well be *ʃ̣x̣ʰui* 'puff-adder' [Traill 1994: 137], in which case it should be amended to **ʃ̣x̣ʰu-*. Very unclear.

107. THIN

!Xoong *ʒáʔba-tá* # (1), Kafia *ʃ̣ɔ:* (2), N|u|len *θwai-sa* # (3).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 163. Slightly dubious, since the meaning is glossed as 'emaciated, thin (through malnourishment)'. The English-

!Xóõ index actually lists the equivalent for 'thin' as *zái'* [Traill 1994: 282]; however, in the main section of the dictionary *zái'* is only found as a noun with the meaning 'hunger'.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 582; Bleek 1929: 84.

N|u||en: Bleek 1929: 84. Dubious, since the word is not confirmed in [Bleek 1956].

Proto-Taa: Not properly reconstructible.

108. WIND

!Xoong *ʔq^hùe* (1), Kakia *ʃ^hwe: ~ ʃx^hwe: (1)*, N|u||en *ʔwe: ~ ʔxe: (1)*, Proto-Taa **ʔq^hu-* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 142. Plural form: *ʔq^hù-m-tê*, cf. also the diminutive: *ʔq^hù:-bâ*. Class 3; tonal class II.

Kakia: Bleek 1956: 579, 610. Quoted as *ʃ^hwa:* in [Bleek 1929: 92].

N|u||en: Bleek 1956: 666, 679. Quoted as *ʔwe:* in [Bleek 1929: 92].

Proto-Taa: Distribution: Preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: The palatal click influx is transcribed as lateral in Kakia, which is not unusual (see 'bone', 'earth', etc.). The aspirated uvular efflux is projected onto the proto-level based on the !Xóõ form; its reflexes (or mistranscriptions) in Kakia and N|u||en are not surprising.

109. WORM

!Xoong *!gũã^ʃ* (1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 87. Plural form: *!ãã^ʃ-te ~ !ãã^ʃ-ni*. Class 2; tonal class I (sg.), II (pl.).

Kakia: Not attested.

N|u||en: Not attested.

Proto-Taa: Not reconstructible due to insufficient attestation.

110. YEAR

!Xoong *kúli* (-1).

References and notes:

!Xoong: Traill 1994: 171. Plural form: *kúlu-tê*. Class 1/4; tonal class II. A rather transparent borrowing from a Central Khoisan source (cf. Proto-Central Khoisan **kuri* 'year').

Kakia: Not attested.

N|u||en: Not attested.

Proto-Taa: Not reconstructible. The only known equivalents for 'year' in Taa languages are all borrowed from Khoe (cf. also ʔHüa *kúli* vs. N|amani *gúli* in [Westphal 1966: 143]).