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

Languages included: Juǀ'hoan [nkh-juh], ǁKxauǁen [nkh-aue], !Kung [nkh-kng], Grootfontein !Kung [nkh-dkk], !O!Kung [nkh-okn], Ekoka !Xung (=!Xun) [nkh-ekk].

Reconstruction: Preliminary version available.

Data sources.

General:
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.)


description of the phonetical system of a North Khoisan dialect in the Grootfontein district. Also contains a small vocabulary, sufficient for about 75% of the Swadesh wordlist. Very high quality of data transcription for its time, although not entirely free of mistakes.)


Database compiled and annotated by: G. Starostin.

1. ALL


References and notes:

!Kung: Not attested. [Bleek 1929: 15] gives the form yà in this meaning; it is then later quoted as ñà in [Bleek 1956: 30]. However, not only does this morpheme have no external parallels whatsoever in the meaning 'all', but it also looks very much like a variant of the numeral 'two' q.v., and the sole text example quoting it (i jà ǀxoa 'we are all alive') most likely means just 'both of us are alive', cf. Juǀ'hoan è-cá 'us two' etc.
Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 71. Quoted as wàsè in [Heikkinen 1986: 26].
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. No alternate stems. Reconstruction shape: The reconstruction follows the Ekoka variant as phonetically more archaic in its vocalism; the variant *wè-šè is also possible. Extra low tone in Ekoka is not, however, confirmed by the rest of the data. Structure and semantics: The form is morphologically complex: the derivation is transparently seen in Ekoka, cf. wàhà 'forever', wèhè 'some time ago, already, just' [König & Heine 2008: 71]. The meaning of the suffix *-šè, however, remains unknown.

2. ASHES

Juǀ'hoan tò (1), ||Kxauǁen tɔ (1), !Kung tɔ: ~ tɔ (1), !O!Kung fwa (-1), Ekoka !Xung jôhà (2), Proto North Khoisan *tɔ' (1).

References and notes:

|Kxauǁen: Bleek 1956: 208. Quoted in a reduplicated variant as tɔtɔ in [Bleek 1929: 17].
Grootfontein !Kung: Not attested.
!O!Kung: Bleek 1956: 649. Quoted as jwà in [Bleek 1929: 17]; jà in [Snyman 1980: 33]. The latter source adds a secondary synonym: tɔ-tɔ [ibid.]. This may be a more archaic (and "genuine" root) than jɔa, a highly probable borrowing from Central Khoisan, but it is completely absent in Bleek's primary sources for the wordlist.
Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 34. Translated as 'ash'. The dictionary also lists two more compound forms glossed as 'ashes' (sic): dàla sinya and dàla tôhà, where dàla = 'fire'. The first form literally means 'fire-excrement'; the main morpheme in the second, tôhà, is suspiciously similar to jôhà, which indicates either a case of mistranscription or areal transmission (the latter is quite possible, since tôhà is a direct parallel to Juǀ'hoan jàäh 'soap', a cultural word most likely transmitted from Central Khoisan *jàäh 'ashes').
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: The original root is well preserved in the Southern and Central clusters. The Northern cluster seems to have displaced it with a borrowing of Central Khoisan origin (*ʔóà 'ashes'; the initial lateral click in Ekoka indicates a different root, but is possibly mistranscribed). Reconstruction shape: The reconstruction follows the Juǀhoan variant, although it is not in perfect agreement with Angolan !O!Kung tjo-tjo in terms of vocalism. (A secondary development *o > u is not out of the question).

3. BARK
Juǀhoan ǁbô̱rò (1), ǁKxauǁen ǁo-si (2), !Kung ǁb ~ ǁb ~ ǁbwa (2), !O!Kung ǁli (1), Ekoka !Xung ǁlì (1), Proto North Khoisan *ǁbò̱N (1).

References and notes:
ǁKung: Bleek 1956: 348. Quoted as ǁs in [Bleek 1929: 19]. Same word as 'skin' q. v. More specifically, may be expressed by the compound !au-ǁs, lit. 'tree-skin' [Bleek 1956: 348].
Grootfontein !Kung: Not attested.
!O!Kung: Bleek 1956: 622. Quoted as ǁi in [Bleek 1929: 19]. The same source also lists a secondary synonym: ǀini, confirmed in [Bleek 1956: 344]. Semantic difference is unclear, but the second word has no external parallels.
Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 61. Quoted as ǀini 'peel or bark' in [Heikkinen 1986: 26].
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: The original root is fully preserved in the Northern cluster and partially in the Southern one. Known alternates are limited to a metaphoric semantic transfer { 'skin' > 'bark' } in the Central cluster. Reconstruction shape: The reconstruction is problematic in the vocalism department; however, the development *o > u is attested for Ekoka several times, particularly before the front vocalism of the second syllable. We tentatively follow the more complex shape of the Juǀhoan variant.

4. BELLY
Juǀhoan ǁhù (1), ǁKxauǁen ǁhù (1), !Kung ǁhù ~ ǁhù (1), Grootfontein !Kung ǁhù (1), !O!Kung ǁhù (1), Ekoka !Xung ǁhù (1), Proto North Khoisan *ǁhù (1).

References and notes:
Grootfontein !Kung: Doke 1925: 159. Polysemy: 'stomach / belly'. The word ǁhù [ibid.] is also translated as 'inside, belly', but the latter meaning may be fictitious.
Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 30; Heikkinen 1986: 24. The former source lists the meaning 'stomach', the latter source gives 'belly'; most likely, a case of polysemy as in all the other dialects in this family.
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are
generally regular and trivial. Structure and semantics: Polysemy {'belly' & 'stomach'} was present on the proto-level.

5. BIG
Juǀ'hoan ǃaʔà (1), |Xau||en ǃa(ː) (1), !Kung ǃa (1), Grootfontein !Kung ǃːʔa (1), !O!Kung ǂa ~ ǂa (1), Ekoka !Xung ǂa ~ ǂʔa (1), Proto North Khoisan *ǂaʔà ~ *ǂːʔa (1).

References and notes:
|Xau||en: Bleek 1956: 471; Bleek 1929: 22. Secondary synonym: ǀwi [Bleek 1956: 488; Bleek 1929: 22]. It is unclear if this form, with no parallels in other NK dialects, is related to ǀwi or represents an entirely different root.
!Kung: Bleek 1956: 612. The transcription ǀeː in [Bleek 1929: 22] is most likely a misprint for ǀeː; the latter form, along with several variants, is quoted in [Bleek 1956: 618] with the meaning 'to be' large, increase' (a compound of 'big' with another stem).
!O!Kung: Bleek 1956: 612, 613. Quoted as ǀa in [Bleek 1929: 22]. Singular subject action verb/adjective; the plural subject form is ǀa [Bleek 1956: 565]; [Snyman 1980: 33]. The latter is clearly a different root (with reduplication and without the nasal click efflux), but the semantic difference is unclear, and external parallels for ǀa are lacking.
Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 57. Quoted as ǀa in [Hékkinen 1986: 22]. Singular subject action verb/adjective; the plural subject form is ǀhē ibid.
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally regular, indicating an original retroflex nasalized click and a glottal stop between the vowels. Tonal reconstruction is highly approximate. Various forms show fluctuations between nasalized and plain vowels; this may be due to the influence of the nasalized click.

6. BIRD
Juǀ'hoan cáːmà (1), |Xau||en cama (1), !Kung caba (1), Grootfontein !Kung cáːuà (1), !O!Kung cama (1), Ekoka !Xung cáːmà (1), Proto North Khoisan *cʔa(m)-mà (1).

References and notes:
|Xau||en: Bleek 1956: 211. Quoted as cána (misprint?), canama 'little bird' in [Bleek 1929: 22].
!Kung: Bleek 1956: 210; Bleek 1929: 22. The latter source also quotes kxani in the meaning 'little bird' (the word is of Khoekhoe origin).
Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 67. Quoted as cáːmà in [Hékkinen 1986: 22]. Plural form is cáː-ːhē, indicating that -mà, pl. -ːhē is detachable as the standard diminutive suffix. The original form is still found as cáːmē 'poultry, bird (life form), aeroplane', i. e. cáːmà ēːʔá:mà.
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are more or less straightforward. The alveolar affricate regularly develops into postalveolar in Ekoka. Tonal reconstruction is approximate. Structure and semantics: the word is morphologically complex, the second component clearly identifiable as Proto-North Khoisan *-ma 'small; diminutive suffix'. The root morpheme is therefore *cʔā or, perhaps, *cʔam (cf. the notes to Ekoka !Xung).

7. BITE
Juǀhoan ūi (1), ||Kxau||en ūʔ ~ ūe(ʔ) (1), !Kung ūe ~ ūe: (1), !O!Kung ūa (2), Ekoka !Xung ūʔe- mó (1), Proto North Khoisan *ʔā (1).

References and notes:
!Kung: Bleek 1956: 477. Quoted as ūe in [Bleek 1929: 22]. The latter source also quotes ū in the same meaning, but the word is Central Khoisan in origin (in [Bleek 1956] it is only attested for Naro, a close contact of !Kung).
Grootfontein !Kung: Not attested.
!O!Kung: Bleek 1956: 341; Bleek 1929: 22. [Snyman 1980: 34] quotes the forms ĵai-ĵai (sg.), ĵai-ĵaim (pl.) in the meaning 'to bite off'. The first root in these compounds is clearly of Proto-North Khoisan descent, unlike the isolated form ū in D. Bleek's transcription. Bleek, however, does not mention the existence of a separate ū 'bite' in !O!Kung, and it is not highly likely that ū could be a mistranscription of the former.
Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 50. Compound form (second component is mó 'to eat' q.v.). A synonymous form [König & Heine 2008: 50] is ūʔē; this may be simply a phonetic variant of the original form with the complex preglottalized nasalized click. Quoted as ūē (Western dialect) ~ ū (Eastern dialect) in [Heikkinen 1986: 25].
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in most daughter dialects, with the possible exception of Bleek's !O!Kung, with a recent replacement of unknown status. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally regular. The special preglottalized nasalized click is preserved in Ekoka, but merges with the simple nasal click in the other dialects. The vocalic correspondence *Juǀhoan ai: Ekoka ae* indicates an older *ae.

8. BLACK
Juǀhoan ņó (1), ||Kxau||en ŋː (1), !Kung ŋː ~ ŋː ~ ŋː (1), !O!Kung ŋː ~ ŋː (1), Ekoka !Xung ŋː (1), Proto North Khoisan *ŋː (1).

References and notes:
Grootfontein !Kung: Not attested.
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

9. BLOOD
Juǀ'hoan ǁǁíŋ (1), !Kxauǁen ǁǁíŋ (1), !Kung ǁǁíŋ ~ ǁǁíru (1) / ǁǁíru ~ ǁǁíru (2), !O!Kung yalo ~ yalu (-1), Ekoka !Xung ǁǁíú ~ ǁǁíú (2), Proto North Khoisan *ǁǁį (245).

References and notes:
ǁǁKung: Bleek 1956: 292, 621; Bleek 1929: 22. L. Lloyd’s texts contain examples of both words used in the meaning 'blood', with no obvious differentiation between the two. External data indicate that this may be a gradual replacement of the old root ǁǁí with the innovation ǁǁíru.
Grootfontein !Kung: Not attested.
ǁǁO!Kung: Bleek 1956: 72. Quoted as yalu ~ yula in [Bleek 1929: 22]; yalo ~ yala in [Snyman 1980: 34]. The word contains a near-unique case of initial y- (not only in ǁǁO!Kung, but in North Khoisan as a whole), shows no external parallels and is consequently, in all likelihood, a borrowing from an unknown source. J. Snyman adds a secondary synonym, ǁǁýá, whose external connections are much stronger, but D. Bleek does not mention this word in her recordings of "N3".
Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 60. Quoted as ǁǁiŋ in [Heikkinen 1986: 26].
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: The original root is well preserved everywhere except for the Northern dialect cluster, but is encountered even there, seemingly as an archaism. Replacements: (a) ǁǁO!Kung yalo of unknown origin, probably non-native because of initial y-; (b) Northern ǁǁíru, probably an authentic root but without a good etymology; (c) Northern ǁǁí, quoted here for Angolan !Xung and also reflected in several other dialects of this cluster; the similarity with *ǁǁí is notable, but the origin is probably different (click influxes as well as finals are incompatible). Reconstruction shape: Reconstruction of the vocalic part of the syllable is highly questionable and problematic (the correspondence series is unique). Only the presence of a velar nasal is certain; neither the quality of the first vocalic element nor the original tonal scheme can be fully ascertained.

10. BONE
Juǀ'hoan ǁǁí (1), !Kxauǁen ǁǁí (1), !Kung ǁǁí ~ ǁǁí (1), Grootfontein !Kung ǁǁí (1), !O!Kung ǁǁí ~ ǁǁí (1), Ekoka !Xung ǁǁí (1), Proto North Khoisan *ǁǁí (1).

References and notes:
ǁǁKxauǁen: Bleek 1956: 447, 492; Bleek 1929: 23. D. Bleek seems to occasionally confuse ǁǁí 'bone' with ǁǁí 'horn' (her recorded polysemy 'bone / horn' is most likely fictitious), which explains the unexpected appearance of variants with simple velar efflux (instead of the expected glottal stop).
11. BREAST

\( \text{Ju} \hat{\text{l}} \text{'hoan} \) \( \ddot{\text{g}} \ddot{\text{o}} \ddot{\text{t}} \ddot{\text{á}} (1), \) \( \text{ǁKxau} \ddot{\text{a}} \ddot{\text{e}} \ddot{\text{n}} \ddot{\text{w}} \ddot{\text{a}} (1), \) \( \text{ǃKung} \ddot{\text{f}} \ddot{\text{e}} (2), \) \( \text{ǃO!Kung} \ddot{\text{t}} \ddot{\text{a}} \ddot{\text{o}} \ddot{\text{a}} \ddot{\text{l}} \ddot{\text{q}} (3), \) \( \text{Ekoka} \ddot{\text{k}} \ddot{\text{à}} \ddot{\text{d}} (4), \) \( \text{Proto North Khoisan} * \dot{\text{j}} \ddot{\text{a}} \ddot{\text{t}} \ddot{\text{ê}} \ddot{\text{a}} \ddot{\text{#}} (1). \)

References and notes:

\( \text{Ju} \hat{\text{l}} \text{'hoan}: \) Dickens 1994: 213. Different from \( \ddot{\text{k}} \ddot{\text{u}} \ddot{\text{i}} \) ‘female breast’ [Dickens 1994: 230].

\( \text{ǁKxau} \ddot{\text{a}} \ddot{\text{e}} \ddot{\text{n}} \ddot{\text{w}} \ddot{\text{a}}: \) Bleek 1956: 390; Bleek 1929: 28. Different from \( \ddot{\text{c}} \ddot{\text{a}} \ddot{\text{i}} \) ‘female breast’ [Bleek 1929: 24] (curiously, the form is absent in [Bleek 1956]).


\( \text{Grootfontein ǃKung}: \) Not attested.

\( \text{ǃO!Kung}: \) Bleek 1956: 355. Quoted as \( \ddot{\text{t}} \ddot{\text{o}} \ddot{\text{a}} \ddot{\text{a}} \ddot{\text{l}} \ddot{\text{q}} \) in [Bleek 1929: 28]. Obviously a compound; neither of the two parts are, however, attested individually, or have transparent equivalents in closely related dialects. Obscure.

\( \text{Ekoka} \ddot{\text{k}} \ddot{\text{à}} \ddot{\text{d}}: \) König & Heine 2008: 66. Quoted as \( \ddot{\text{c}} \ddot{\text{a}} \ddot{\text{i}} \) in [Heikkinen 1986: 22]. Different from \( \ddot{\text{k}} \ddot{\text{u}} \ddot{\text{i}} \) ‘female breast’ [König & Heine 2008: 42] and \( \ddot{\text{c}} \ddot{\text{ä}} \ddot{\text{m}} \) ‘female breast, nipple’ [König & Heine 2008: 17].

\( \text{Proto North Khoisan}: \) Found in the Southern and Central clusters, but conspicuously absent in the Northern dialects. Replacements: (a) \( \text{ǃO!Kung} \ddot{\text{t}} \ddot{\text{o}} \ddot{\text{a}} \ddot{\text{a}} \ddot{\text{l}} \ddot{\text{q}}, \) of unknown origin; (b) Ekoka \( \ddot{\text{c}} \ddot{\text{ä}} \ddot{\text{i}}, \) possibly = various dialectal forms, recorded by J. Snyman, with the meaning ‘lung’, e. g. Tsintsabis \( \ddot{\text{s}} \ddot{\text{a}} \ddot{\text{h}} \ddot{\text{i}}, \) Cuando \( \ddot{\text{c}} \ddot{\text{õ}} \ddot{\text{ã}}, \) etc., eventually = Ju’hoan \( \ddot{\text{c}} \ddot{\text{à}} \ddot{\text{n}} \ddot{\text{a}}, \) if so, clearly an innovative development (‘lungs’ ‘chest’). On the other hand, the word \( \ddot{\text{c}} \ddot{\text{ä}} \ddot{\text{m}} \ddot{\text{a}} \) ‘lung’ is attested in Ekoka all by itself [König & Heine 2008: 65], so this may be some sort of semantic contamination. Reconstruction shape: the only reliably transcribed form is in Ju’hoan; reconstruction variants may include \( * \ddot{\text{u}} \ddot{\text{o}} \ddot{\text{d}} \ddot{\text{i}}, \) with a retroflex click.

12. BURN TR.

\( \text{Ju} \hat{\text{l}} \text{'hoan} \ddot{\text{k}} \ddot{\text{u}} \ddot{\text{i}} \ddot{\text{u}} (1), \) \( \text{ǁKxau} \ddot{\text{a}} \ddot{\text{e}} \ddot{\text{n}} \ddot{\text{k}} \ddot{\text{o}} \ddot{\text{u}} \ddot{\text{i}} \ddot{\text{u}} \ddot{\text{u}} \ddot{\text{u}} \ddot{\text{l}} (1), \) \( \text{ǃKung} \ddot{\text{k}} \ddot{\text{u}} \ddot{\text{i}} \ddot{\text{u}} \ddot{\text{i}} \ddot{\text{u}} \ddot{\text{i}} \ddot{\text{u}} \ddot{\text{u}} \ddot{\text{l}} (1), \) \( \text{Ekoka} \ddot{\text{k}} \ddot{\text{à}} \ddot{\text{d}} \ddot{\text{ là}} \ddot{\text{i}} (1), \) \( \text{Proto North Khoisan} * \ddot{\text{k}} \ddot{\text{u}} \ddot{\text{i}} \ddot{\text{u}} (1). \)

References and notes:

\( \text{Ju} \hat{\text{l}} \text{'hoan}: \) Dickens 1994: 231. Polysemy: ‘to burn / to light, set alight’.

\( \text{ǁKxau} \ddot{\text{a}} \ddot{\text{e}} \ddot{\text{n}} \ddot{\text{w}} \ddot{\text{a}}: \) Bleek 1956: 83, 102. Both forms are phonetic variants, to which it is perhaps possible to add a third one, gu
[Bleek 1956: 49], although in this form the quoted example for the word reflects intransitive use. [Bleek 1929: 25] quotes two more roots, duː and če, in the meaning 'burn (tr.)', but neither is verified through [Bleek 1956], where the form duː is translated as 'to heat slowly', and the form če is not found at all.

**Kung:** Bleek 1956: 102, 108. Quoted as kuː in [Bleek 1929: 25].

**Grootfontein Kung:** Not attested.

**IO Kung:** Not attested. In [Bleek 1929: 25] the possible equivalent is listed as ʃalaː, but the more accurate entry in [Bleek 1956: 525] explains this as ʃalaː-se 'to burn in (smth.)' = ʃala 'to mark, tattoo, write'. [Snyman 1980: 35] has ʃale 'to burn down'.


**Proto North Khoisan:** Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial, except for the tonal reconstruction, which is approximate (the pattern is probably mid-rising, as in Ekoka).

### 13. CLAW(NAIL)

**Juǀ’hoan** kuː (1), ||Xauǁen kuː (1), !Kung kuː (1), Grootfontein !Kung kuː (1), !O!Kung kuː (1)

**Ekoka Xung:** König & Heine 2008: 42. Quoted as kuː in [Heikkinen 1986: 24]. Also encountered as a compound: ʃāō kuː (1), lit. 'hand-nail' [König & Heine 2008: 34].

**Proto North Khoisan:** Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: The rare retroflex click * Nullable is clearly indicated by the variation between alveolar and lateral articulation in particular dialect clusters, and is explicitly attested in the Grootfontein dialect. Ekoka Xung, however, irregularly yields alveolar reflexion instead of lateral, possibly due to semantic contamination with *uru 'quiver' (nail' as 'hand sheath')?. The correspondence "Juǀ’hoan -V- : Ekoka -V-" is currently interpreted as reflecting an original sequence *-V-V-[C]-.

### 14. CLOUD

**Juǀ’hoan** kuː (1), ||Xauǁen kuː (1), !Kung kuː (2), !O!Kung kuː (2)

**Ekoka Xung:** König & Heine 2008: 42. Quoted as kuː (1), ||bōː-xa (4), Proto North Khoisan *!laː=lxūi # (1).

References and notes:

**Juǀ’hoan:** Dickens 1994: 318. Polysemy: 'fingernail / toenail'; more precise denotation of the former is juː-!hũũ, lit. 'hand-nail'.

**||Xauǁen:** Bleek 1956: 593; Bleek 1929: 60. Textually attested in the compound form ja-uru, lit. 'hand-nail'.

**!Kung:** Bleek 1956: 593; Bleek 1929: 60.

**Grootfontein !Kung:** Doke 1925: 160.

**!O!Kung:** Bleek 1956: 586, 592; Bleek 1929: 61.

**Ekoka Xung:** König & Heine 2008: 42. Quoted as kuː in [Heikkinen 1986: 24]. Also encountered as a compound: jaː loː, lit. 'hand-nail' [König & Heine 2008: 34].

**Proto North Khoisan:** Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: The rare retroflex click * Nullable is clearly indicated by the variation between alveolar and lateral articulation in particular dialect clusters, and is explicitly attested in the Grootfontein dialect. Ekoka Xung, however, irregularly yields alveolar reflexion instead of lateral, possibly due to semantic contamination with *uru 'quiver' (nail' as 'hand sheath')?. The correspondence "Juǀ’hoan -V- : Ekoka -V-" is currently interpreted as reflecting an original sequence *-V-V-[C]-.

References and notes:


ǁKung: Bleek 1956: 505, 522; Bleek 1929: 29. Same word as ‘rain’. Judging by available data, the !Kung dialect described by L. Lloyd is the only one where the meaning ‘cloud’ itself can be expressed by the same word as ‘rain’, without an additional second component (‘hair’, etc.): cf. examples such as ǀaːti ǀauwa ǀai ‘clouds travel in the sky’. It cannot be verified whether they may be interpreted as a metonymical ‘rain travels in the sky’; the dialect may have had a special word for ‘white cloud’, but it is not attested in L. Lloyd’s data.

Grootfontein !Kung: Not attested.

ǀǁKxauǁen: Bleek 1929: 29. Dubious entry, since it is not confirmed in [Bleek 1956], nor anywhere else. Also, D. Bleek indicates that the plural form is ǀaːi, possibly implying that the form is morphologically segmentable, but no such mechanism of segmentation exists in living North Khoisan dialects.


Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: The compound form, lit. ‘sky-hair’, is encountered in the Southern and Central clusters, but not in the Northern one, where several different roots are present, none of them with a solid common North Khoisan etymology (none, however, can be seen as obvious borrowings). Since even different dialects of the Northern cluster disagree in between themselves, we present no alternate etyma. Reconstruction shape: See under ‘rain’ and ‘hair’, resp.

15. COLD

Juǀʼhoan ǂaːʔú (1), ǀǀKxauǁen ǂxi (2), !Kung ǂaːʔo ~ ǂaːd (1), Grootfontein !Kung ǂxnː (2), !O!Kung ǂxː (3), Ekoka !Xung ǂaːʔo ~ ǂaːd (1), Proto North Khoisan *ǂaːʔu (1).

References and notes:


ǃKung: Bleek 1956: 656. [Bleek 1929: 29] gives the form ǃaːau instead, but it is unconfirmed in [Bleek 1956] and unsupported by external data; possibly erroneous.


Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved (mostly) in the Northern and Central clusters. Replacements: (a) Southern cluster: ǂxː, possibly reflecting a rare semantic development ‘to tremble’ > ‘to be cold’; (b) !O!Kung ǀkː (1) of unknown origin (not likely to be a mistranscription of ǂaːu). Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

16. COME

Juǀʼhoan ǂi (1), ǀǀKxauǁen ǂi ~ ǂi (1), !Kung ǂi ~ ǂe (2), Grootfontein !Kung wː # (3), !O!Kung ǂi ~ ǂi (1), Ekoka !Xung ǂe (2), Proto North Khoisan *ǀi (1).
References and notes:

Juǀhoan: Dickens 1994: 275. Secondary synonym: ǀa| [Dickens 1994: 202], glossed as ‘come, arrive (by day)’. The two words are also encountered as a compound: ci|ǀa| ‘come’. Contexts, idiomatic use, and statistical frequency all suggest that ǀa| means a more temporally marked ‘arrive’ rather than simply ‘come’.

ǁKxauǁen: Bleek 1956: 216, 228; Bleek 1929: 30. The variant ci, with different vocalism, is only attested in [Bleek 1929] and may be mistaken.

ǀKung: Bleek 1956: 277. Quoted as je in [Bleek 1929: 30]. The latter source also adds a secondary synonym ǀe ~ ǀa; analysis of contexts in [Bleek 1956: 178] as well as external data, however, suggests that the basic meaning of this word is ‘to return, come back’, whereas je is simply ‘come’ (cf. the following example: sa ti u, sa ti je ‘they two go out, they two come in’, where it forms an antonymous pair with u ‘to go’).

Grootfontein ǀKung: Doke 1925: 153. Somewhat dubious; corresponding forms in related dialects (e. g. Juǀhoan ǀa|) usually have an imperative meaning (‘come!’). Since Doke gives no syntactic contexts, it is possible that in the Grootfontein dialect it is also used primarily as an imperative. Alternately, the word ǀe [Doke 1925: 157] is also translated as ‘to travel, to come’, which is, however, unlikely to represent the Swadesh meaning either.

ǀOǀKung: Bleek 1956: 216, 228. Quoted as si ~ ci ~ ci in [Bleek 1929: 30]. The latter source adds je as a potential synonym, only scantily confirmed through examples in [Bleek 1956] (statistically, ci is much more frequent).


Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: The original root is strongly preserved in the Central and Southern clusters, but in the Northern cluster it seems to have been relegated to the imperative function (‘come!’), replaced in the original meaning by *ǀa|. The latter root is also of Proto-Northern Khoisan origin, and co-exists in most dialects with *ci with subtle differences in semantics (judging by certain examples and translations, *ci = ‘to come (proceed in the listener’s direction)’, *ǀa| = ‘to arrive (reach the final destination)’). Replacements: Northern cluster: ǀa| ‘to come’ > ´to arrive’.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial, including reconstruction of a high tonal pattern.

17. DIE

Juǀhoan !āi (1), ǁKxauǁen ǀe ~ ǀe ~ ǀi (1), ǀKung ǀe ~ ǀe (1), Grootfontein ǀKung !āi (1), ǀOǀKung ǀe ~ ´e (1), Ekoka ǀKung ´a| ´e (1), Proto North Khoisan *!e (1).

References and notes:


Grootfontein ǀKung: Doke 1925: 159.

ǀOǀKung: Bleek 1956: 566. Quoted as !ai in [Snyman 1980: 36]; le: in [Bleek 1929: 33]. The latter source additionally lists le: as a synonym; this is a transparent borrowing from Central Khoisan. It is not confirmed in [Bleek 1956]. Singular subject action verb; the plural subject form is /au [Bleek 1956: 561].

Ekoka ǀKung: König & Heine 2008: 96. Singular subject action verb; the plural subject form is !a (ibid.). Quoted as !e
(Eastern dialect), ǁē (Western dialect) in [Heikkinen 1986: 25] (plural subject form is ǁāō).

**Proto North Khoisan:** Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: The click is to be reconstructed as retroflex, based on perfect correspondences all around (except for the strange transcription with palatal ǂ in //Kxau//en). The vowel was most likely *e, with regular diphthongization in Juǀ’hoan and certain Ekoka lects. Tonal information is contradictory and so far inconclusive. The word had a lexical variant *ãö for the plural action verb; the two may have been morphologically related on a Pre-Proto-North Khoisan level, but the model is not seen in any other examples.

### 18. DOG

**References and notes:**

Juǀ’hoan: Dickens 1994: 207. Secondary synonyms: (a) ǂũà (with the exact same rare click as the initial consonant, this must be a dialectal variant of the same root) [Dickens 1994: 207]; (b) ǂkũũ (= ‘hair, fur’; probably a tabooistic equivalent) [Dickens 1994: 315].

ǁKxauǁen: Bleek 1956: 436; Bleek 1929: 34. Spelling with the alveolar click ! in these sources may in reality reflect palatal click ŋ.

!Kung: Bleek 1956: 662, 666; Bleek 1929: 34. Entirely different stem quoted in [Snyman 1980: 37]: ǂũ-e (slightly similar phonetically, but ultimately probably unrelated).

Ekoka ǂXung: König & Heine 2008: 32. Quoted as ǂũ in [Heikkinen 1986: 23].

**Proto North Khoisan:** Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects, although in different morphological shapes. Reconstruction shape: All reliably transcribed sources agree upon ǂụ̃ as the original click articulation, and labial articulation of the following vowels. Juǀ’hoan, however, shows at least two different morphological variants: ǂũ-a and ǂũ-ĩ > ǂũ-ĩ, and Ekoka adds a possible third (ǂũ-e). This can be interpreted as reflecting three original nominal suffixes (archaic class markers?) and is analogous to similar variations in many other cases. The bare root would then be reconstructible as ǂụ̃-.

### 19. DRINK
Juǀ’hoan ǂį (1), ǁKxauǁen ǂĮ (1), !Kung ǂiŋ ~ ǂiŋ (1), Grootfontein !Kung ǂiŋ: (1), !O!Kung ǂį (1), Ekoka ǂXung ǂį (1), Proto North Khoisan *ǂįŋ (1).

**References and notes:**


ǁKxauǁen: Bleek 1956: 228. Quoted as ǂį in [Bleek 1929: 34].

!Kung: Bleek 1956: 180, 230; Bleek 1929: 34. Secondary synonym: ǂkáa [Bleek 1956: 117; Bleek 1929: 34]. The latter, however, is unquestionably a Central Khoisan word, not met in actual texts.

Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 18. Quoted as čhȁŋ (Eastern dialect), šȁŋ ~ śhȁŋ (Western dialect) in [Heikkinen 1986: 22].

Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Initial *č- clearly indicated by Juǀʼhoan data. Reconstruction of the vocalic part is problematic, mainly because of the lack of any traces of a nasal consonant or nasalization in Juǀʼhoan. Nevertheless, loss of the nasal in this particular context may still have been conditioned phonologically. Aspiration in Juǀʼhoan is confirmed in several other dialects; it may be connected with the ultra-low tone attested for Ekoka.

20. DRY

Juǀʼhoan !kxāū (1), !Kung ḥáo ~ ḥāo ~ ḥā (1), Grootfontein !Kung !?au (1), Ekoka !Xung ḡxāō (1), Proto North Khoisan *!kxau (1).

References and notes:

Juǀʼhoan: Dickens 1994: 314. The synonym ḥâo is, most likely, of Khoekhoe origin (Nama ḥâo) and not the basic equivalent for this notion [Dickens 1994: 296].

!Kxau|en: Not attested.

!Kung: Bleek 1956: 470, 558. [Bleek 1929: 35] does not contain these items (only ḥâo in the verbal meaning ‘to dry (intr.)’), but gives a strange, unparalleled entry ča in the adjectival meaning. It is, perhaps =ča ‘to pour, spill’ (i.e. ‘spilt’ mistaken for ‘dry’).


!Kxau|en: Not attested.


Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 103. Adjectival form; the verbal stem is formed through tonal change (ǁkxāō ‘be dry, hard’). Quoted as ǁkxāō ‘become dry or hard’ in [Heikkinen 1986: 26].

Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects (at least, where the form is attested). Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are mostly regular and trivial. The correspondence between Ekoka ǁ- and Juǀʼhoan ḥ- indicates an original retroflex click. The tonal pattern, however, is unclear (level tone in Ekoka vs. rare “ultra-high” tone in Juǀʼhoan); the original pattern was probably composite.

21. EAR


References and notes:

Juǀʼhoan: Dickens 1994: 296. The synonym ḥúí̱ is, like many other synonyms for bodyparts, most likely an “educated” word of Khoekhoe provenance (Nama jae ‘ear’), although the first component remains unclear.


!O!Kung: Quoted as wi in [Bleek 1929: 35]; ǁWi in [Snyman 1980: 37].
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Juǀ’hoan and Ekoka forms (the most reliable ones) completely coincide and justify the current reconstruction.

22. EARTH
Juǀ’hoan kxà (1), ǁKxaun|en kxa (1), !Kung kxà (1), Grootfontein !Kung kxà (1), !O!Kung kxa (1), Ekoka !Xung kxà (1), Proto North Khoisan *kxà (1).

References and notes:
ǁKxaun|en: Bleek 1956: 118; Bleek 1929: 35. The latter source also quotes ěà as a synonym, but the form has not reappeared in [Bleek 1956] and has not been confirmed by any other data, so it must have been erroneous.
!Kung: Bleek 1956: 118. Quoted as kxa in [Bleek 1929: 35]. The latter source also quotes ǁwi as a synonym; the word is seemingly confirmed in the meaning 'earth' in [Bleek 1956: 538], but lacks any sort of external parallels. It is, however, nearly homophonous with Kavango (Ekoka) ǁKung ǁti," termite hill"; comparing this fact with the lone textual example supporting it (jii tanki ti lum ǁwi ‘other people fill in the earth’/over a dead man’s body/) would suggest that the real meaning is a more specific (earth) mound.
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Juǀ’hoan and Ekoka forms (the most reliable ones) completely coincide and justify the current reconstruction. Structure and semantics: The polysemy 'earth / sand' must have been inherited from the proto-level (no perceived semantic difference between the two substances due to areal conditions).

23. EAT

References and notes:
ǁKxaun|en: Bleek 1956: 131; Bleek 1929: 35. Both sources quote kxà ~ kxà as a synonym in the meaning ‘to eat meat (hard food)’; this is undoubtedly a recent borrowing from a Khoekhoe source (not to mention ineligible for exclusion due to semantic reasons).
!Kung: Bleek 1956: 131. Quoted as m in [Bleek 1929: 35].
Grootfontein !Kung: Doke 1955: 156.
Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 44. Quoted as ʔm in [Heikkinen 1986: 27].
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: The root, just as it is attested in most dialects, should be reconstructed with a high-toned syllabic *m preceded by a glottal stop.

24. EGG
Juǀʼhoan ʔu (1), ǁKxauǁen ʔu: (1), !Kung ʔu (1), !O!Kung ʔu ~ ʔu (1), Ekoka !Xung ʔu ~ ʔu (1), Proto North Khoisan *ʔu (1).

References and notes:
Juǀʼhoan: Dickens 1994: 254. Used independently only in the meaning 'glans of the penis'; otherwise, in compounds like ćàma-ʔu 'bird's egg', khùkhù-ʔu 'chicken egg' etc.
ǁKxauǁen: Bleek 1956: 483; Bleek 1929: 35.
Grootfontein ǁKung: Not attested.

Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: The root, just as it is attested in most dialects, should be reconstructed with a high-toned syllabic *m preceded by a glottal stop.

25. EYE

References and notes:
ǁKxauǁen: Bleek 1956: 274. Quoted as ʔa in [Bleek 1929: 36].

Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: The root, just as it is attested in most dialects, should be reconstructed with a high-toned syllabic *m preceded by a glottal stop. The only possible minor problem is with the tonal pattern (probably low-mid, but low-high is not excluded either).

26. FAT N.
Juǀʼhoan ʔáí (1), ǁKxauǁen ʔáí (1), !Kung ʔá ~ ʔá ~ ʔá (1), Grootfontein ǁKung ʔá ~ ʔá (1), !O!Kung ʔá (1), Ekoka !Xung ʔáí (1), Proto North Khoisan *ʔáí (1).
References and notes:

ǀKung: Bleek 1956: 347. [Bleek 1929: 37] quotes /wi: instead, but the latter is obviously a Central Khoisan root by descent, and its existence in |Kung (even as a borrowing) is not further confirmed in [Bleek 1956].  
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular; original vowel *i undergoes diphthongization in Juǀ’hoan and a few other dialects.

27. FEATHER  
Juǀ’hoan càmì=lxũi (1), ǁKxauǁen !kxwe ~ !kxwi ~ !kwi (1), |Kung !kxwê ~ !kxwi (1), ǁOǁKung !wi ~ kxwi (1), Proto North Khoisan *!kxũi (1).

References and notes:

ǁKxauǁen: Bleek 1956: 466, 510; Bleek 1929: 38. Same as ‘hair’.  
ǀKung: Bleek 1956: 510; Bleek 1929: 38. Same as ‘hair’. The latter source also quotes tana ‘young feather’, but the word is absent in [Bleek 1956].  
Grootfontein |Kung: Not attested.  
ǁOǁKung: Bleek 1956: 128, 466. Same as ‘hair’ (the meaning ‘feather’ is illustrated by the example ḫ:i ‘feather on arrow’). Quoted as !kwi in [Bleek 1929: 38].  
Ekoka |Kung: Not attested.  
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Although precise data on many dialects are missing, it is fair to assume that the basic words for ‘hair’ and ‘feather’ were not distinguished in Proto-North Khoisan (at best, as in Juǀ’hoan, the meaning ‘feather’ could be specified as ‘bird-hair’). For more details, see under ‘hair’.

28. FIRE  
Juǀ’hoan dàʔá (1), ǁKxauǁen dà (1), |Kung d:à ~ da: (1), Grootfontein !Kung daʔa ~ daʔa (1), ǁOǁKung dà ~ da: (1), Ekoka !Xung dàʔá (1), Proto North Khoisan *dàʔá (1).

References and notes:

Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial, except for the questionable tonal pattern (probably low-high, but Ekoka indicates low-low or low-mid).

29. FISH
Juǀʼhoan ǁmâː (-1), !Kung ǁpau: (-1), !O!Kung ǁpau: (-1), Ekoka !Xung ǁlô # (1).

References and notes:
ǁKxau|en: Not attested (the word may not exist at all in the language).
Grootefontein !Kung: Not attested (the word may not exist at all in the language).
Ekoka !Kung: König & Heine 2008: 30. Quoted as ǁlô in [Heikkinen 1986: 24]. Very dubious. König & Heine actually list three synonyms, with no attempts at differentiation; the other two are ǁlô in (p. 104) and ǁmän in (p. 82). The primary choice on this list is motivated only by the fact that ǁlô is the only word out of the three that finds confirmation in [Heikkinen 1986]. External connections would rather speak in favor of ǁlô, but since this word is suspicious as a recent loan from Khoekhoe, such connections should not qualify as a serious argument in this particular case.

Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Technically, the form *ǁlô is reconstructible for Proto-North Khoisan, being found in at least two out of three main dialect clusters. Nevertheless, the following reasons prevent us from adopting such a reconstruction: (1) the overall distribution of the root is quite poor; it is very marginally attested or not attested at all in old sources; (2) the form closely matches Proto-Central Khoisan *ǁlô, from descendants of which the several attested variants could be borrowed individually; (3) the existence of an authentic word for 'fish' in North Khoisan is questionable considering their desert homeland; for comparison, there is not a single South Khoisan language for which the word 'fish' has even been attested, let alone considered "authentic". Ekoka ǁlô, without any clear etymology or transparent source of borrowing, is in this respect a better candidate for Proto-North Khoisan than *ǁlô; still, in the light of its even more limited distribution as well as factor (3), we prefer to leave the slot empty.

30. FLY V.
Juǀʼhoan ǁqûːn (1), !Kxau|en tê # (2), !Kung ǁamma # (3), !O!Kung tê: # (2), Proto North Khoisan *ǁom # (1).

References and notes:
ǁKxau|en: Bleek 1956: 196. Dubious (translated as "to fly up" in the one available context). [Bleek 1929: 40] gives ǁwiː in the meaning 'fly', but [Bleek 1956: 362] gives the meanings 'to fly up' and 'to come out' (e.g. of ants). Still another form, ǁsa [Bleek 1956: 479], may be etymologically related to Juǀʼhoan ǁmô, etc., but is translated as 'to fly about' (of birds).
!Kung: Bleek 1956: 525 (only in the meaning 'to fly up'). Quoted as !ama in [Bleek 1929: 40] (in the meaning 'to fly' as such). Dubious entry, but no better one can be suggested.

Grootfontein !Kung: Not attested. Cf., however, kâ-íː to fly up [Doke 1925: 155], where the second part =!iː 'to come out, to rise'.

!O!Kung: Bleek 1956: 196. The confirming textual example is given as soŋ gu tẽː "the arrow flies". Quoted as tẽ in [Bleek 1929: 40]. The same source also adds !aú as a secondary synonym, but this is not confirmed in [Bleek 1956] (according to that source, such forms in the meaning 'to fly' only exist in South Khoisan languages). Of additional note is !oa [Bleek 1956: 479], translated as 'to mount up' (in the sky) and compared with //Kxau//en !oa 'to fly about'. Everything is highly dubious due to ambiguity of the contexts.

Ekoka !Xung: Not attested. Cf., perhaps, čāō 'to fly up' [Konig & Heine 2008: 64], but the meaning is fully glossed as 'wake up, rise, stand up, fly up, jump up', indicating the idea of ascension rather than flight.

Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: The etymon is highly unstable and, furthermore, few of the sources are trustworthy (see notes on particular items). Juǀ'hoan !oː is the only form from a reliable source glossed directly as 'fly', and can be very tentatively projected onto a higher level, especially if it is in some way related to //Kxau//en !oa 'to fly about' (maybe <!om-a?, cf. the Juǀ'hoan derived form !oː!a 'to fly over (a village)').

31. FOOT

References and notes:

Grootfontein !Kung: Doke 1925: 156.
Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 76; Heikkinen 1986: 23. The same sources also list !oː in the meaning 'foot', but this is dubious: the complete meaning is given as 'foot, base, back' [König & Heine 2008: 88; Heikkinen 1986: 24], and all external parallels point to 'back' as the default semantics.

Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial, including the tonal pattern (high-high).

32. FULL
Juǀ'hoan /jáːʔi (1), !Kxau//en /j ~ /jì (1), Ekoka !Xung /jáʔj (1), Proto North Khoisan */jáʔj (1).

References and notes:

Juǀ'hoan: Dickens 1994: 211.
!Kxau//en: Bleek 1956: 381; Bleek 1929: 41. Erro...
19

synonym: !au [Bleek 1956: 411; Bleek 1929: 41].

**Kung:** Not attested. Cf., however, the word for 'to fill': ṭāŋ — ṭān [Bleek 1956: 376], etymologically the same as the adjectival form 'full' in other languages.

**Grootfontein Kung:** Not attested.

**!O!Kung:** Not attested. Cf., however, ǂʔàè - àʔà in [Snyman 1980: 38].

**Ekoka !Xung:** König & Heine 2008: 30. Quoted as àʔáŋ in [Heikkinen 1986: 24]. Secondary synonym: bili [König & Heine 2008: 15] — báři [Heikkinen 1986: 20] 'to be full'. The latter form is probably not of Khoisan origin, judging by the initial b-, and has no parallels outside Ekoka. It is unclear from the existing data what is the exact difference in semantics between the two items.

**Proto North Khoisan:** Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects in which it is attested. Reconstruction shape: correspondences are mostly trivial, with the exception of the last mora after the glottal stop: *ǀʔaŋ*, following the Ekoka structure, seems to be the least controversial variant for the protoform.

33. GIVE

Juǀ'hoan  (1), ||Kxau||en  ~ : (1) / au (2), !Kung  ~ : ~  ~  (1), Grootfontein !Kung au (2), !O!Kung /a ~ ja: (1), Ekoka !Xung ʔa ~  (1), Proto North Khoisan *ǀʔaʔ (1).

**References and notes:**

**Juǀ'hoan:** Dickens 1994: 294. Secondary synonyms: (a) ḷànà; (b) xářó ("present"). Different from imperative na "give (me)!

**||Kxau||en:** Bleek 1929: 42; Bleek 1956: 2, 267. The forms are given as synonymous in [Bleek 1929] (a third synonym included there is na, disqualified because its use is restricted to the imperative 'give'), and analysis of the contexts in [Bleek 1956] does not allow to establish any serious semantic difference. Considering external data, it is likely that au is a recent replacement for ṭa, still competing with the old form.

**Kung:** Bleek 1956: 267, 293. Quoted as  ~  in [Bleek 1929: 42]. The latter source also quotes a as a synonym; however, the form is not confirmed in [Bleek 1956] (it is typical rather of Southern Khoisan languages and could have penetrated the North Khoisan material accidentally).

**Grootfontein Kung:** Doke 1925: 152. Secondary synonyms: ṭa "to give, gift" [Doke 1925: 156] (the way the meaning is quoted and the lack of contexts, in comparison to the far better represented au, implies that, in this dialect, this verb may have a more specialized function); na "to give, to bring" [Doke 1925: 154] (judging by external data, most likely an imperative form).

**!O!Kung:** Bleek 1956: 293; Bleek 1929: 42. Quoted as ja in [Snyman 1980: 39]. [Bleek 1929] also quotes na as a synonym, confirmed in [Bleek 1956: 141], which includes both imperative ('give!') and indicative textual examples. It is possible that in some subdialects the older imperative verb has indeed replaced the old indicative form.

**Ekoka !Xung:** König & Heine 2008: 74; Heikkinen 1986: 22. Secondary synonym: nèë [König & Heine 2008: 46]. This is probably the imperative form, as in other languages of the subgroup (textual confirmation needed).

**Proto North Khoisan:** Distribution: The original root *ǀʔa* is present in all three major dialect clusters and clearly reconstructible. It should be distinguished from *ǀna* — *me* thereof, whose functions in at least several distinct dialects and, most likely, in Proto-North Khoisan as well are restricted to the imperative function. Replacements: *au*, of unknown origin, in the Grootfontein and ||Kxau||en dialects. Reconstruction shape: Attested forms fluctuate between nasalized and non-nasalized variants, without much evidence for the primacy of either one. Also, the Northern cluster shows glottalized articulation of the vowels (ǀaː), whose archaism is possible, but uncertain (the development *ǀʔa* >  in
Juǀhoan is quite irregular. The proposed reconstruction is somewhat speculative (it includes both glottalization and nasalization, presupposing that different dialects simplified the original structure in different ways).

34. GOOD
Juǀhoan Žâ (1), ǁKxau|en !ãí (1), !Kung Žâ ~ Ža (1), Grootfontein !Kung Ža: ~ Ža: (1), Ekoka !Xung kâh (1), Proto North Khoisan *Ža (1).

References and notes:
Juǀhoan: Dickens 1994: 221.
|Kxau|en: Bleek 1956: 405; Bleek 1929: 43. Secondary synonym: jii [Bleek 1929: 43], translated, however, as 'nice; pretty' in [Bleek 1956]. The form !ãí must be the principal word, since it functions in texts as the antonym of Žu 'bad'.
ǁO!Kung: Not attested.
Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 38. Quoted as kâ in [Hekkinen 1986: 21]. In the English-Ekoka section of their dictionary, König & Heine list several other synonyms, but all of them are probably secondary according to the main section: (a) Žãim is glossed as 'to be beautiful' (p. 48); (b) Žu 'good' is a word said to be 'known but not used' (p. 70); (c) Žãní is glossed as 'be good, harmless' (p. 90).
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: The widest distribution (South and Central clusters) by a clearly non-borrowed (at least, not recently) root is shown by *Ža. Its replacements in various dialects, for the most part, seem to represent recent borrowings of various variants of the Proto-Central Khoisan root *Ža 'good' (some of them still preserve the original click articulation and some, as seen in the Ekoka variant, have already dropped the click influx). Reconstruction shape: The form of the original root is established based on the Juǀhoan form.

35. GREEN
Juǀhoan Žã (1), ǁKxau|en Žã (1), !Kung Žã: ~ Ža (1), jii (1), Grootfontein !Kung Žã: ~ Ža: (1), Ekoka !Xung Žã (1), Proto North Khoisan *Ża (1).

References and notes:
|Kxau|en: Bleek 1956: 303; Bleek 1929: 44. Quoted as 'blue, light green' in [Bleek 1956]. [Bleek 1929: 44] also gives the form jousi in the meaning 'dark green'; in [Bleek 1956: 345] it is then quoted as jousi 'green'. Considering the lack of any special parallels in other languages, it is highly likely that this is really the same word as Žii (si is typically the plural suffix), misheard or dialectal. See also notes to 'yellow'.
Ekoka Xung: König & Heine 2008: 74. Polysemy: 'green / blue / yellow' (basic meaning glossed as 'coloured' in the source).
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: The original root is preserved almost everywhere, except for a possible replacement of unclear origin in the Grootfontein dialect (provided Doke's glossing is correct). Reconstruction shape: Correspondences indicate the presence of a final sequence *-aŋu, with the subsequent development >-ãũ in Juǀhoan (see 'neck' for more details on intervocal *-ŋ in Proto-North Khoisan). Tonal characteristics are not entirely clear, but at least one of the two morae must have been characterized by an ultra-low tone, connected with the aspiration/breathiness elements in Juǀhoan and Ekoka. Semantics and structure: The root must have been the main denotation for the entire 'blue / green / yellow' spectrum in Proto-North Khoisan.

36. HAIR

References and notes:
||Kxau|en: Bleek 1956: 466, 510. Quoted as !kxwi:s in [Bleek 1929: 38] (-s is the plural suffix). See also 'feather'.
Grootfontein !Kung: Doke 1925: 158.
Ekoka Xung: König & Heine 2008: 86; Heikkinen 1986: 25. The meaning 'head hair' may be more specifically expressed by the compound form ʔê !kxuí, where ʔê ='head' q.v.
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

37. HAND

References and notes:
Grootfontein !Kung: Doke 1925: 160. Meaning given as 'hand, finger' (the latter, however, only in compounds, such as ʔê-de 'thumb', etc.).
|O Kung: Bleek 1956: 528. Quoted as !ãu in [Bleek 1929: 45]; !ã in [Snyman 1980: 40].
**Proto North Khoisan:** Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular, indicating an original voiced retroflex click (still preserved in Grootfontein). The only problem is with the tonal pattern (ultrahigh-high in Juǀ'hoan vs. low-low or mid-mid in Ekoka, probably indicating a rare and unstable combination in the protolanguage).

38. HEAD
Juǀ'hoan ǁi (1), ||Xau|en ǁe ~ ǁe ~ ǁi (1), !Kung ǁê (1), Grootfontein !Kung ǁe: (1), !O!Kung ǁê (1), Ekoka !Xung ǁê (1), Proto North Khoisan *ǁê (1).

References and notes:

Juǀ'hoan: Dickens 1994: 238. Secondary synonym: ǁi=kâ (ǁi = 'to lead, be first'; the second component is unclear).
||Xau|en: Bleek 1956: 346, 347; Bleek 1929: 46. All variants quoted in [Bleek 1956] with the second meaning 'berry', but this is likely to be the result of confusion with a different root =Juǀ'hoan ǁàŋ 'wild currant', !Kung (Doke) ǁŋ 'berry' rather than true polysemy.
Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 47. Polysemy: 'head / top / peak'; also, same word as ǁê 'reflexive marker' [König & Heine 2008: 48].

**Proto North Khoisan:** Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally regular. The preglottalized nasal click is reconstructed based on Ekoka data. Juǀ'hoan regularly undergoes diphthongization of *-e >-ai. Tonal pattern is mid-level.

39. HEAR
Juǀ'hoan ǁàʔá (1), ||Xau|en ǁà ~ čʔa (1), !Kung sá ~ ssá ~ ssa~ ~ sa~ (1), Grootfontein !Kung sá (1), !O!Kung sá ~ saa (1), Ekoka !Xung čà ~ čàʔá (1), Proto North Khoisan *sáʔá (1).

References and notes:

||Xau|en: Bleek 1956: 210, 223. Quoted as čʔa ~ čʔa in [Bleek 1929: 46].
Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 64. Polysemy: 'hear / feel understand'. Quoted as čã in [Heikkinen 1986: 22].

**Proto North Khoisan:** Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: The fluctuation between affricate (c-) and fricative (s-) articulation is resolved in favour of the fricative articulation as original; affricativization probably occurs under the influence of the glottal stop, especially considering that the first half of the complex vowel sequence is frequently reduced or even completely deleted in the actual articulation. Everything else is fairly regular, including the tonal correspondences between Juǀ'hoan and Ekoka.
40. HEART
Juǀ’hoan !kxa (1), ||Kxau||en !a (1), !Kung !kxa ~ !xã (1), Grootfontein !Kung !?a (1), !O!Kung kxa (1), Ekoka !Xung !kxa (1), Proto North Khoisan *!kxa (1).

References and notes:
Grootfontein !Kung: Doke 1925: 159. Tone is not ascertained.
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are mostly regular. The development of the velar affricate efflux into a glottal stop in Grootfontein !Kung is not 100% regular, but very frequent (see ‘dry’, ‘foot’, etc.). In !O!Kung, Bleek records dialectal articulation that drops the click influx, possibly under local Khoe influence. Semantics and structure: The polysemy {'heart' & 'inside'} is reflected in at least several dialects and may easily go back to Proto-North Khoisan stage.

41. HORN

References and notes:
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are mostly regular and trivial. The retroflex click articulation in Grootfontein must represent erroneous transcription on the part of C. Doke (correspondences do not confirm original retroflex articulation).

42. I
Juǀ’hoan mi (1), ||Kxau||en m ~ me ~ mi (1), !Kung m ~ mẽ ~ mi ~ mi (1), Grootfontein !Kung mi (1), !O!Kung m ~ me ~ mi (1), Ekoka !Xung mi ~ mã (1), Proto North Khoisan *mi (1).

References and notes:
ǁKxauǁen: Bleek 1956: 132, 136; Bleek 1929: 49. The variant mi-hi, quoted in both sources, is most likely emphatic.
ǁKung: Bleek 1956: 132, 136, 137; Bleek 1929: 49. The latter source adds ny and na as additional variants; the forms are confirmed in [Bleek 1956: 141, 142], but do not seem to be primary choices (they function more frequently as possessive forms rather than independent pronouns, and may be positional phonetic variants in at least some contexts).
Grootfontein ǁKung: Doke 1925: 153. Form said to be used "in conjunction". The same source also quotes the "isolated" (most likely, emphatic) form mi-hi. Of note is also the morpheme na [Doke 1925: 154] that Doke interprets as "1st pers. singular tense formative" (e.g. na=tim 'I don't know').
ǁOǁKung: Bleek 1956: 132, 136, 137; Bleek 1929: 49. The variant mi-hi, quoted in both sources, is most likely emphatic. Quoted as ma, mi in [Snyman 1980: 41]; the latter source also adds another stem, na, as synonymous, without explaining the difference.
Ekoka ǁXung: König & Heine 2008: 44, 45.
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: One of the very few solid cases of initial *m- in Proto-North Khoisan. The stem is often found in multiple variants, of which *mi is the most frequent; the others may perhaps be explained as lenited, assimilated, or, in a few cases, suffixal variants. The emphatic stem *mi-hi is also of Proto-North Khoisan origin (cf. the corresponding form *n-hi for the 2nd p. pronoun).

43. KILL
Juǀ'hoan \h(1), ǁKxauǁen !\(1), ǁKung \h ~ \(1) ~ \(1) ~ \(1), Grootfontein ǁKung \(\(1), ǁOǁKung \(1) ~ \(1) ~ \(1), Ekoka ǁXung \h ~ \(1), Proto North Khoisan *\h(1).

References and notes:
Juǀ'hoan: Dickens 1994: 314. Singular object action verb; the plural object form is \h.
ǁKung: Bleek 1956: 429, 453, 502. Quoted as \( in [Bleek 1929: 50]. The same source also lists \( as a synonym; this must be the plural object action equivalent =Juǀ'hoan \h.
Grootfontein ǁKung: Doke 1925: 159.
Ekoka ǁXung: König & Heine 2008: 82; Heikkinen 1986: 24. Singular object action verb; the plural object form is \( [ibid.

Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. The plural object form is more difficult to reconstruct, since several different stems are attested in that function (Juǀ'hoan \h is not equal to Ekoka \h). Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally trivial, except for the final position where a velar nasal consonant may or may not have been present in Proto-Northem Khoisan (variation in Ekoka seems to favour this reconstruction, but it is unclear if the variant \h is truly archaic; at the very least, correspondences indicate a coda that is different from the one in 'nose' q.v.).

44. KNEE
Juǀ'hoan \( (1), ǁKxauǁen !\(1), ǁKung \( ~ \(1), Grootfontein ǁKung \(1),
\( !\text{O!Kung } \ddot{g}m \sim \breve{g}m \text{ (2), Ekoka } !\text{Xung } \ddot{x} \ddot{a} \text{ (1), Proto North Khoisan } *\ddot{x} \ddot{a} \text{ (1).} \)

**References and notes:**

**Juǀ’hoan:** Dickens 1994: 215.

**ǁKxauǁen:** Bleek 1956: 458; Bleek 1929: 50. Translated as ‘knee’ in [Bleek 1929], but as ‘knee-joint’ in [Bleek 1956] and transparently equivalent to Ekoka \( \ddot{x} \ddot{a} \text{ ‘knee-cap’}, \) where the first component is ‘knee’ proper and the second = ‘head’ q.v.

**ǃKung:** Bleek 1956: 427, 437; Bleek 1929: 50.

**Grootfontein ǃKung:** Doke 1925: 159. Tone is not ascertained.

**ǃO!Kung:** Bleek 1956: 672; Bleek 1929: 51. Quoted as \( \breve{g}m \sim \ddot{g}m \) in [Snyman 1980: 42]. Transcription with the lateral click in [Bleek 1929] is probably in error (a misprint), although it is also reproduced in the cross-reference in [Bleek 1956: 48]; Snyman’s data clearly corroborate the variant with the dental click.

**Ekoka ǃXung:** König & Heine 2008: 31; Heikkinen 1986: 24.

**Proto North Khoisan:** Distribution: Preserved in most dialects, with the possible exception of some Northern lects (provided the meanings have been attested correctly). Replacements: \( !\text{O!Kung } \ddot{g}m \text{, probably representing a metonymic meaning shift ‘knee-cap’ > ‘knee’}, \) cf. the distinction in Ekoka \( \ddot{x} \ddot{a} \text{ ‘head’ = ‘knee-cap’} \text{ [König & Heine 2008: 28]. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial, except for the tonal pattern (the correspondence between low-low in Juǀ’hoan and ultralow-ultralow in Ekoka is not well understood).} \)

Semantics and structure: The stem is frequently found as a compound with \( \ddot{x} \ddot{e} \text{ ‘head’}, either explicitly or, perhaps, implicitly in the meaning ‘knee-cap’, lit. ‘knee-head’.

45. KNOW

Juǀ’hoan \( !\ddot{h} \ddot{a} \text{ (1), } \parallel \text{Kxauǁen } \ddot{h} \ddot{a} \text{ (2), } !\text{Kung } !\ddot{h} \ddot{a} \sim \breve{h} \breve{a} \text{ (1), Grootfontein } !\text{Kung } \dddot{h} \dddot{a} \text{ (1), !}\text{O!Kung } \dddot{h} \text{ (3), Ekoka } !\text{Xung } \ddot{h} \ddot{e} \ddot{h} \sim \ddot{h} \ddot{e} \ddot{h} \sim \ddot{h} \ddot{e} \ddot{h} \sim \ddot{h} \ddot{e} \ddot{h} \text{ (3), Proto North Khoisan } *!\ddot{h} \ddot{a} \text{ (1).} \)

**References and notes:**

**Juǀ’hoan:** Dickens 1994: 323.

**ǁKxauǁen:** Bleek 1956: 640. Quoted as \( \ddot{h} \ddot{a} \sim \breve{h} \breve{a} \) in [Bleek 1929: 51]. It should be noted that in [Bleek 1956: 393] we also find \( \ddot{h} \ddot{e} \text{ ‘to know’}; \) the semantic difference between the two words in the language is hard to establish.

**ǃKung:** Bleek 1956: 393, 423. Of note also should be \( \ddot{h} \breve{i} \text{, glossed in [Bleek 1956: 672] as ‘to know, understand’}. \)

**Grootfontein ǃKung:** Doke 1925: 160.

**ǃO!Kung:** Bleek 1956: 672; Bleek 1929: 51. Quoted as \( \ddot{h} \ddot{a} \text{ in [Snyman 1980: 42]} \text{ (provided that this is really the same root; the click correspondences are irregular, although this may simply represent a transcription mistake on Snyman’s part). Snyman also adds a secondary synonym: } \ddot{h} \breve{y} \text{ (similar to Grootfontein } !\text{Kung } \dddot{h} \dddot{a} \text{, but phonologically incompatible).} \)

**Ekoka ǃXung:** König & Heine 2008: 55. Quoted as \( \ddot{h} \ddot{e} \text{ (Western dialect) } \sim \ddot{h} \breve{i} \text{ (Eastern dialect) in [Heikkinen 1986: 24].} \)

**Proto North Khoisan:** Distribution: The original root \( *!\ddot{h} \ddot{a} \) is well preserved in the Southern dialect cluster, but tends to be displaced elsewhere. Replacements: (a) \( \parallel \text{Kxauǁen } \breve{h} \breve{a} \text{ < Proto-Northern Khoisan } *!\breve{h} \breve{a} \text{, reconstructible with the semantics ‘to be able to; to understand’ ‘to be able’ .} \text{ An alternate} \)


scenario is that *ʔai could be the original root and all of the forms listed under *ʔai merely borrowings from a Central Khoisan source (cf. Proto-Central Khoisan *ʔai ‘to know’). However, the distribution of reflexes of *ʔai is so wide that, even if such a borrowing did occur, it should be postulated at the proto-stage, which renders the scenario irrelevant to the current issue. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are mostly regular (in Grootfontein !Kung, Doke incorrectly records a retroflex click, just like he does with ‘horn’, q.v.); the tonal pattern is, however, hard to establish without Ekoka data.

46. LEAF

Juǀʼhoan ḏ̣arə (1), ||Χau||en ḏ̣ra (1), !Kung ḥ̣wa (2), Grootfontein !Kung ẹ̄̀bu (3), !O!Kung ḟ̣ba ~ ḟ̣va ~ ḟ̣a: (3), Ekoka !Xung ḟ̣a (2), Proto North Khoisan *ʃo (2).

References and notes:


||Χau||en: Bleek 1956: 27. Quoted as ḏ̣ra in [Bleek 1929: 52], with a second synonym ẹ̄̀bu. The latter is, however, not found in [Bleek 1956] and may be an erroneous entry in the earlier vocabulary.

!Kung: Bleek 1956: 390. Quoted as ḥ̣wa in [Bleek 1929: 52]; likely to be the most neutral word in this dialect, as illustrated by textual examples (e.g. ʰi ti ma ḥwa-siŋ ‘the wind blows the tree’s leaves’). The latter source also adds ẹ̄̀bu as a synonym; existence of the word is confirmed in [Bleek 1956: 480], where it is quoted as ẹ̄̀bu, but no text examples are given.

Grootfontein !Kung: Doke 1925: 159.


Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 30. Quoted as ḟ̣u in [Heikkinen 1986: 24]. Secondary synonym: Ʌ-ǁkaː [König & Heine 2008: 25] (internal structure is not quite clear; Ʌ- probably =‘be, stay, have’, second component has not been identified).

Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: A complex case; the etymon is highly unstable, usually with several quasi-synonyms for each dialect, frequently with dubious semantics. The best isogloss so far is *ʃo, with the meaning ‘leaf’ (as such) attested for L. Lloyd’s !Kung and Ekoka, but in Juǀʼhoan yielding ḟ̣u ‘wet leaf’ [Dickens 1994: 212]. Better data from future descriptions may, however, change the situation. Replacements: (a) Juǀʼhoan ḏ̣arə, etc., of unclear origin (an areal isogloss with Naro ḏ̣arə, although the latter also lacks a reliable Central Khoisan etymology; both forms may be possibly inherited from an unknown substrate); (b) Grootfontein ẹ̄̀bu, etc. = Juǀʼhoan ẹ̄̀bu ‘to come into leaf (vb.); leaf, cabbage (n.)’ [Dickens 1994: 254] ‘to come into leaf > ‘leaf’’. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences among the few surviving reflexations are mostly regular, except for some difficulties with the tonal pattern.

47. LIE

Juǀʼhoan šú (1), ||Χau||en šu ~ šú (1), !Kung šú ~ šu (1), Grootfontein !Kung šu: (1), !O!Kung šú ~ Ʌu (1), Ekoka !Xung šú (1), Proto North Khoisan *ʃu (1).
References and notes:

Juǀ'hoan: Dickens 1994: 192. Singular subject action verb; the plural subject form is jà.
ǁKung: Bleek 1956: 182; Bleek 1929: 53. The latter source also quotes tam in the same meaning, but this is erroneous; in [Bleek 1956: 190] the correct meaning is stated as 'to fall down, to throw', confirmed by external data.
Grootfontein Kung: Doke 1925: 155. Meaning given as 'to sleep, to lie down'.
ǂKung: Bleek 1956: 182, 236; Bleek 1929: 53. The latter source adds wa as a synonym, but textual examples in [Bleek 1956], compared with external data, show that the more correct meaning is 'to stand'.
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. Semantics and structure: The meanings 'lie' (state) and 'lie down' (action) seem to be generally expressed by the same stem or lexeme, as opposed to 'sleep' q.v.

48. LIVER
Juǀ'hoan čh (1), ||Kxau]en ċh (1), !Kung č́h (1), Grootfontein !Kung š́h: (1), ǂO!Kung č́ (1), Ekoka !Xung š́h (1), Proto North Khoisan *č́h (1).

References and notes:

ǂO!Kung: Bleek 1956: 54. For some reason, absent in [Bleek 1956].
Ekoka Xung: König & Heine 2008: 18. Quoted as s̀ in [Heikkinen 1986: 26].
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: The correspondence between Juǀ'hoan č́(h) and Ekoka š́ is irregular, possibly reflecting a specific development č́ > š́ before a syllabic nasal. The coda is provisionally reconstructed as *-iŋ, although alternate variants are possible.

49. LONG
Juǀ'hoan jàã (1), ||Kxau]en jã (1), !Kung jaã (1), Grootfontein !Kung šàã (1), Ekoka !Xung šàã (1), Proto North Khoisan *jã (1).

References and notes:

Juǀ'hoan: Dickens 1994: 206. Singular subject action verb; the plural subject form is jàã (a morphological variant of the same stem).
[Kxau]en: Bleek 1956: 277 (translated as 'long; tall; big'). Quoted as jã in [Bleek 1929: 55], i.e. with a different click influx; considering that old Khoisan sources consistently misidentify the palatal click j, the variation between the
earlier and the later source is an indirect argument in favor of a palatal click in this word, i.e. the same as in related languages.

Kung: Bleek 1956: 275, 644. Translated as 'to be long, tall, deep, powerful' (most text examples are in the meaning 'tall', but the two meanings normally merge in North Khoisan).

Grootfontein Kung: Doke 1925: 158. Translated as 'long, tall'.


Ekoka Xung: König & Héne 2008: 31. Adjectival variant; the verbal stem ('to be long, tall, big') is attested with tonal variation as ꞃáʔā. Plural form for both stems is ꞃàáŋ.

Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in most daughter dialects, with the possible exception of O!Kung. Replacements: O!Kung ḅana is probably related to Juǀhoan ḅa ‘far’ [Dickens 1994: 303], O!Kung ḅa id. with additional suffixation {far’ > ‘long’}. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally regular, although the presence of a segmental nasal *-ŋ* is almost certain.

50. LOUSE

Juǀhoan cʔí (1), Ekoka !Xung ʒʔí (1), Proto North Khoisan *cʔííj* (1).

References and notes:

Juǀhoan: Dickens 1994: 279. Secondary synonyms: (a) ụ; (b) kxũr (probably < Khoekhoe, cf. Nama uri-, !Ora kxũr-b id.).

Kxau|en: Not attested.

Kung: Not attested.

Grootfontein Kung: Not attested.

O Kung: Not attested.


Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in most of the daughter dialects in which it is attested. Reconstruction shape: Juǀhoan and Ekoka forms clearly belong together; the correspondence "-i : -η" is recurrent (cf. ‘liver’, etc.). The voicing in Ekoka is, however, irregular (all of the dialectal forms collected by J. Snyman show that voiceless *cʔ* is primary).

51. MAN


References and notes:


Kxau|en: Bleek 1956: 458. Quoted as ꞃã in [Bleek 1929: 56]. Alternately quoted as ꞃã in [Bleek 1956: 458]; attested contexts suggest this may be actually a plural form, although in [Bleek 1929] the singular and plural forms of this word are put down as homonymous. On the other hand, formation of the plural number through pharyngealization of the vowel is never attested in any reliable source on North Khoisan languages, so there may be some mistake involved.
**Kung**: Bleek 1956: 430, 447. Quoted as ṃ in [Bleek 1929: 56].

**Grootfontein Kung**: Doke 1925: 160. Polysemy: ‘man / husband’ (from which it can be ascertained that this is indeed the basic form for ‘man (male)’ rather than ‘human being’). Cf. also ṃ-mù ‘small (of males); son’ [ibid.]. Suppletive plural: ṃ [Doke 1925: 161].

**10 Kung**: Bleek 1956: 447; Bleek 1929: 56. Of note is also ṃ ‘man, male’ [Bleek 1956: 531]. The word is only listed in the meaning ‘male’ in [Bleek 1929], but such textual examples as ṃ yi !ei da ṃ ‘a man does not bring firewood’ may indicate that the word is at least partially synonymous with ṃ in its usage in the meaning ‘human being of male sex’.

[Snyman 1980: 44] lists the form ṃ-ũ-â, pl. ṃ-ũ-â, lit. ‘Xung-male’, as well as an entirely different root, ñ-û, =Ju-õan ñ-û ‘old man’ (most probably, this is the exact meaning in Angolan Xung as well).

**Ekoka Xung**: König & Heine 2008: 35; Heikkinen 1986: 25. Suppletive plural: ñ-

**Proto North Khoisan**: Distribution: The main stem denoting a ‘male human being’, as opposed to both ‘female human being’ and ‘human being, person (in general)’, seems to have been generally preserved in all three dialectal clusters, despite occasional instability as well as strange phonetic changes. Replacements: Grootfontein ñ-, etc., reflecting Proto-North Khoisan *-õ ‘male’ (of any species; cf. the use of -õ as a suffix denoting male sex in Ju/hoan [Dickens 1994: 213]) (‘male’ > ‘man’). Reconstruction shape: The root is highly problematic; attested variants presuppose at least four irreconcilable variants (Ju/hoan õă, ||Kxau||en õă, Kung *ñ, !Kung /Snyman/ ñ=Ekoka bxáõ ‘person’ [König & Heine 2008: 86]). Mechanistically suggesting four different entries is out of the question. It is more likely that the Ju/hoan variant is the most archaic, whereas the old sources fail to properly transcribe aspiration; as for the velar fricative efflux -x- in the Northern cluster, it may have appeared secondarily through contamination with *xun ‘to live, reside’ (cf. Ekoka xáõ [König & Heine 2008: 86], etc.). Semantics and structure: In Proto-North Khoisan, the root must have denoted a ‘male person’ without specific ethnic connotations (as it is attested in Ju/hoan and ||Kxau||en); in many dialects, however, there is a clear tendency to restrict its usage to the denotation of native speakers (hence the appearance of the ethnonym Kung, Xung).

52. MANY


References and notes:


||Kxau||en: Bleek 1956: 661; Bleek 1929: 57. [Bleek 1956: 313] also quotes õí as a rare alternative variant (dialectal or misheard).


Grootfontein !Kung: Doke 1925: 158. The word lgu ~ !gu is also translated as ‘three, many’ in [Doke 1925: 158, 159], but the numeric meaning is likely to be the principal one.


Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 94.

Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular. The click efflux is reconstructed as “regular aspirated”; despite the (probably erroneous) transcription with a glottal stop in C. Doke’s Grootfontein materials. The original vowel is *-õ, undergoing regular diphthongization in Ju/hoan.
53. MEAT


References and notes:

Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and indicate an original retroflex click, still preserved in the Grootfontein dialect. Tonal pattern is most probably level even, based on Ekoka data.

54. MOON

Juǀ'hoan ŋuí (1),ǁKxauǁen ŋwi (1), !Kung ŋwi ~ ŋwáí ~ ŋwáí ~ ŋwi (1), Grootfontein !Kung ŋuí (1), !O!Kung ŋwi ~ ŋwe (1), Ekoka !Xung ŋuí (1), Proto North Khoisan *ŋuí (1).

References and notes:

Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial, indicating retroflex click articulation in Proto-North Khoisan.

55. MOUNTAIN


References and notes:

ǁKxauǁen: Bleek 1956: 485; Bleek 1929: 59. Polysemy: 'stone / mountain'. The latter source also lists ǁk as a synonym, but the form is unconfirmed in [Bleek 1956].


Grootfontein ǁKung: Doke 1925: 159. Polysemy: 'stone / mountain', although Doke postulates tonal differences between the two: ǁkum 'mountain' vs. ǁkim 'stone'. No other dialect confirms any such differentiation.

ǁO ǁKung: Bleek 1956: 485. Not quite certain, since the word is not found under 'mountain' in [Bleek 1929]; no better candidates, however, are recorded in [Bleek 1956].

Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 53. Quoted as ǁkon (Western dialect), ǁom (Eastern dialect) in [Heikkinen 1986: 25]. Both sources gloss the word as 'hill' and explicitly distinguish this root from the very similar-sounding 'stone' q.v.

Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Both major sources on Ekoka agree that the word is pronounced with a glottalized nasal click rather than simple nasal in the case of 'stone' q.v. Considering the usual polysemy 'stone / mountain' in African languages, this phenomenon looks very strange. On the other hand, if the two roots were indeed different in the protolanguage, it would have been natural for them to contaminate. Provisionally, following the data, we reconstruct 'mountain' with a preglottalized nasal click and 'stone' q.v. with a simple nasal one. C. Doke does not mark any differences in click articulation, but mentions that the two words have different tonal characteristics; this is not confirmed by Ekoka or Juǀhoan data at all. The basic tonal pattern is low-low or low-high (as in Ekoka).

56. MOUTH


References and notes:


ǁKung: Bleek 1956: 216. Quoted as ci in [Bleek 1929: 59]. The latter source adds ǁkwe as an alternative synonym, but the word is not confirmed either in [Bleek 1956] or by external data.


Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

57. NAME


References and notes:

58. NECK


References and notes:

!Kung: Bleek 1956: 556. Quoted as ǁã in [Bleek 1929: 60]; in [Bleek 1956], the given meaning is 'back of the neck', but no separate root for 'front of the neck' is indicated.
!O!Kung: Bleek 1956: 556; Bleek 1929: 60. Quoted as ǁã in [Snyman 1980: 45].

Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally regular, indicating an old retroflex click in the initial position. Coda correspondences fall under the recurrent pattern "Juǀʼhoan -ã ̃ -ã ̃ : Ekoka -ã ̃ " that we provisionally mark as reflecting Proto-North Khoisan *-ã ̃ and *-ã ̃ respectively (alternately, one could reconstruct *-ã ̃ and *-ã ̃ , but, with three vocalic morae in a row, that would contradict the general laws of Bushman phonotactics); see 'green' and 'tree' for more examples.

59. NEW

Juǀʼhoan zë ~ zã (1), ||Kxau|jen zê (1), !Kung ze-ma (1), Grootfontein !Kung ze (1), !O!Kung ñe (1), Ekoka !Xung ŋehê (1), Proto North Khoisan *ñe (1).

References and notes:

||Kxau|jen: Bleek 1956: 264. Quoted as ze in [Bleek 1929: 61]. The same source adduces one more synonym: ǁã, later quoted as ǁã in [Bleek 1956: 45]. This word is cognate to Juǀʼhoan ǁã to be clean', and it is not clear whether a semantic shift has actually taken place or if the whole thing is merely a matter of inadequate translation.
Ekoka \textit{Xung}: König & Heine 2008: 22.

\textbf{Proto North Khoisan: Distribution:} Preserved in all daughter dialects. \textit{Reconstruction shape:} Correspondences are mostly regular and trivial, with the exception of the tonal pattern that ranges from simple rising in Juǀhoan to ultra-low in Ekoka (with additional aspiration, frequently accompanying low tones). It is also unclear whether the Juǀhoan form zù, with a diphthong and pharyngealization, is merely a dialectal variant or a different root. The reconstruction of the coda as simple *\textit{e} is therefore provisional.

60. \textbf{NIGHT}

Juǀhoan \textit{jù} (1), ||Xam\textit{en} \textit{jù} \sim \textit{jù} (1), !Kung \textit{jù} \sim \textit{jù} (1), Grootfontein !Kung \textit{jù} (1), !O!Kung \textit{jù} (1), Ekoka \textit{Xung} \textit{jù} (1), Proto North Khoisan \textit{*jù} (1).

\textbf{References and notes:}


||Xam\textit{en}: Bleek 1956: 282; Bleek 1929: 61.


\textbf{Proto North Khoisan: Distribution:} Preserved in all daughter dialects. \textit{Reconstruction shape:} Correspondences are regular and trivial.

61. \textbf{NOSE}

Juǀhoan \textit{c\textipa{ʔ}̂}\textipa{u} (1), ||Xam\textit{en} \textit{c\textipa{ʔ}̂}\textipa{u} (1), !Kung \textit{c\textipa{ʔ}̂}\textipa{u} \sim \textit{c\textipa{ʔ}̂}\textipa{u} \sim \textit{c\textipa{ʔ}̂}\textipa{u} \sim \textit{c\textipa{ʔ}̂}\textipa{u} (1), Grootfontein !Kung \textit{c\textipa{ʔ}̂}\textipa{u} (1), !O!Kung \textit{c\textipa{ʔ}̂}\textipa{u} \sim \textit{c\textipa{ʔ}̂}\textipa{u} \sim \textit{c\textipa{ʔ}̂}\textipa{u} (1), Ekoka \textit{Xung} \textit{c\textipa{ʔ}̂}\textipa{u} (1), Proto North Khoisan \textit{*c\textipa{ʔ}̂}\textipa{u} (1).

\textbf{References and notes:}


||Xam\textit{en}: Bleek 1956: 236. Quoted as \textit{châ} in [Bleek 1929: 62] (in the light of external evidence, this may actually be the more correct form).


Grootfontein !Kung: Doke 1925: 153. The author is uncertain about the tone.

!O!Kung: Bleek 1956: 211, 221, 232. Quoted as \textit{c} \sim \textit{c} in [Bleek 1929: 62].

Ekoka \textit{Xung}: König & Heine 2008: 67, 68. Quoted as \textit{ch\textipa{ʔ}̂}\textipa{u} 'nostrils' in [Heikkinen 1986: 22].

\textbf{Proto North Khoisan: Distribution:} Preserved in all daughter dialects. \textit{Reconstruction shape:} Correspondences are complex and relatively rare. In the initial position, Ekoka as well as some other dialectal data indicate an old affricate cluster \textit{*c\textipa{ʔ}̂}\textipa{x} (phonologically opposed to the simple post-alveolar glottalized affricate \textit{*c\textipa{ʔ}̂}-). The coda contains a velar nasal, presumably with a preceding labial vowel (reflecting the correspondence "Juǀhoan -\textit{u}: Ekoka -\textit{a\textipa{ʔ}̂} "). Although this particular part of the reconstruction is provisional.
62. NOT

References and notes:

Grootfontein !Kung: Not attested.
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally regular, although there are occasional fluctuations of vocalism in this negative marker, possibly due to sandhi-type change. !O!Kung dialects as recorded by D. Bleek also tend to drop click articulation.

63. ONE
Juǀ'hoan /eːʔe (1), ǁKxauǁen /e ~ /eː (1), !Kung /eː (1), Grootfontein !Kung /eːʔe (1), !O!Kung /e (1), Ekoka !Xung /eʔe ~ /e (1), Proto North Khoisan */eʔe (1).

References and notes:

Grootfontein !Kung: Doke 1925: 158.

Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally regular, although occasional fluctuations of vocalism in this negative marker, possibly due to sandhi-type change. !O!Kung dialects as recorded by D. Bleek also tend to drop click articulation.

64. PERSON
Juǀ'hoan /žu/ (1), ǁKxauǁen /žu/ (1), !Kung /žu ~ /žu (1), Grootfontein !Kung atã (-1), !O!Kung /žu ~ /žu (1), Ekoka !Xung /xuː (2), Proto North Khoisan */žu (1).

References and notes:

**Kxau**/en: Bleek 1956: 266. Quoted as ŋu: in [Bleek 1929: 56], with the plural form ŋuː-si.

**Kung:** Bleek 1956: 34, 266. Quoted as ŋuː in [Bleek 1929: 56], with the plural form ŋuː-siŋ.

**Grootfontein Kung:** Doke 1925: 152. Although the immediate source of borrowing is unknown, the word cannot possibly be of native origin. The plural form, however, is the same as in other North Khoisan dialects: ŋuː − ŋuː: 'people' [Doke 1925: 155].

**!O!Kung:** Bleek 1956: 34, 266. Quoted as ŋuː ~ ŋuː in [Bleek 1929: 56]; ŋuː in [Snyman 1980: 46].

**Ekoka !Xung:** König & Heine 2008: 33; Heikkinen 1986: 25. Polysemy: 'rain / year'

**Proto North Khoisan:** Distribution: The original root *ŋuː* is found in all the major dialect clusters. Replacements: (a) ŋuː in C. Doke's Grootfontein records, of unclear origin (if the word is transcribed correctly, it cannot be a native item); (b) Ekoka ŋuː ~ ŋuː: 'true person', denoting North Khoisan-speaking people; given its presence in both Juǀ'hoan and Ekoka, it has to be projected onto the proto-level as a very archaic ethnic self-designation.

65. **RAIN**

Juǀ'hoan ŋa (1), ||Kxau||en ŋa (1), !Kung ŋa ~ ŋa (1), Grootfontein !Kung ŋaː (1), !O!Kung ŋa ~ ŋa (1), Ekoka !Xung ŋa (1), Proto North Khoisan *ŋa (1).

**References and notes:**


||Kxau||en: Bleek 1956: 374; Bleek 1929: 68.

!Kung: Bleek 1956: 505, 522. Quoted as ŋa in [Bleek 1929: 68]; the latter source also lists ŋa: 'water' as a synonym.

Grootfontein !Kung: Doke 1925: 156.

!O!Kung: Bleek 1956: 41, 522. Quoted as ŋa in [Bleek 1929: 68]; the latter source also lists ŋa: 'water' as a synonym.


Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial, indicating an original voiced retroflex click and a low tonal pattern.

66. **RED**

Juǀ'hoan ŋaː (1), ||Kxau||en ŋaː (1), !Kung ŋa ~ ŋa (1), Grootfontein !Kung ŋaː (1), !O!Kung ŋaː (1), Ekoka !Xung ŋəː (1), Proto North Khoisan *ŋaː (1).

**References and notes:**


**IKung:** Bleek 1956: 374. Quoted as *ja* — *ja* in [Bleek 1929: 69].

**Grootfontein IKung:** Doke 1925: 159. Secondary synonym: *fjak* [Doke 1925: 158].

**IO Kung:** Bleek 1956: 375. Quoted as *iae* in [Bleek 1929: 69]; *jae* in [Snyman 1980: 47].

**Ekoka Xung:** König & Heine 2008: 29. Adjectival form; the corresponding verbal stem ‘to be red’ is glossed as *jae* (with tonal variation). Quoted as *jae* (Western dialect), *jae* (Eastern dialect) in [Heikkinen 1986: 24].

**Proto North Khoisan:** Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: The Northern dialect cluster generally agrees on the reconstruction *ja-e* whereas the rest of the dialects agree on *ja-ã*. This may either reflect some rare, non-trivial combination of features (a nasalized diphthong?), or, more likely, two different morphological variants, making it likely that the original root was simply *ja-*. 

67. **ROAD**

Juǀ’hoan ṭamã (1), ||Kxau||en /a:/ (2), !Kung *a* (2), !O!Kung *a:* (2), Ekoka !Xung kūhũ (3), Proto North Khoisan *phã* (2).

**References and notes:**

**Juǀ’hoan:** Dickens 1994: 248. Synonym: *pa* ‘path, road’; external comparison shows this to be the older root, but it is unclear which of the two words is currently used as the default word for ‘road’. 

**||Kxau||en:** Bleek 1956: 295; Bleek 1929: 64. The latter source quotes *dã*-sa, a transparent borrowing from Central Khoisan, as a synonym, confirmed also in [Bleek 1956: 22]. It is not quite clear which root is the default one in the transcribed dialect.

**IKung:** Bleek 1956: 660; Bleek 1929: 64. The latter source quotes *ka* as a synonym. In [Bleek 1956: 103] this word is translated as ‘footprints, road’, with text examples illustrating both meanings. Since external data are clearly in favor of *pa* as the more archaic designation of ‘path, road’, it may be assumed that the older root *ku* ‘footprints’ has not yet firmly replaced the old ‘road’ in the dialect(s) described by L. Lloyd, as it has, for instance, in Ekoka IKung.

**Grootfontein IKung:** Not attested.

**IO Kung:** Bleek 1956: 295; Bleek 1929: 64.

**Ekoka Xung:** König & Heine 2008: 42. Quoted as *kũ* in [Heikkinen 1986: 21]. Meaning given as ‘path, road, way’. Derived form: *kũ/-ũ* ‘path’ (with the regular diminutive suffix). Secondary synonym: *ũ* ‘path’ [König & Heine 2008: 90] (arguably not eligible, since the meaning ‘road’ is not glossed; the word is likely to be restricted for designating explicitly small paths, rather than the “default” type of walkway). 

**Proto North Khoisan:** Distribution: The original root *pa* ‘path, road’ is relatively stable according to old data sources, but its usage seems to have diminished in recently transcribed dialects, possibly due to its being replaced by lexemes denoting different kinds of ‘roads’. However, this may be a dictionary-based illusion. Replacements: (a) Juǀ’hoan ṭamã, with no known parallels or sources; (b) Ekoka kūhũ (‘footprint’ > ‘footpath’ > ‘road’) (see notes on IKung). Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. D. Bleek seems to have mistranscribed a dental click for both ||Kxau||en and IOKung instead of palatal articulation (a rather common error in her records).

68. **ROOT**

Juǀ’hoan ṭani (1), ||Kxau||en ṭãi (1), !Kung lubbe (2), !O!Kung ||ale ~ ||are # (3), Ekoka !Xung ||ãi (3), Proto North Khoisan *tani # (1).
References and notes:

Juǀ'hoan: Dickens 1994: 209. Secondary synonym: ǁãri [Dickens 1994: 329]. The form is slightly less reliable, since (a) it is only quoted by P. Dickens after J. Snyman's earlier dictionary (not attested by himself); (b) related forms in other dialects of the Central and Southern clusters usually have it in the meaning 'root fibre'.

ǁKxauǁen: Bleek 1956: 375. Erroneously quoted as ǁãri in [Bleek 1929: 71]; later, confused by D. Bleek with the phonetically similar, but ultimately different forms for ‘tree’ (the difference is clearly seen in Juǀ'hoan: ǁãri ‘root’ vs. ǀãô ‘tree’). There are also several forms with the meaning ‘root fibre’ ([Bleek 1929: 71]: ǁãri, ǁabe) that are ineligible.

ǁKung: Bleek 1956: 448. Translated as ‘main root of plant’; quoted as ǀube ‘root’ in [Bleek 1929: 71]. The latter source also lists, in the meaning ‘root fibre’, the forms ǁãri and ǀãe; external data show that ǁãri may indeed mean ‘fibre’, whereas ǀãe is more likely to be a metaphor for ‘root’ proper, since its usual meaning is ‘bottom’.

Grootfontein ǁKung: Not attested.

ǁOǁKung: Bleek 1956: 554. Dubious; the meaning is given as ‘branch; root fibre’. In the exact meaning ‘root’ the word is quoted as ǁãri in [Bleek, 1929: 71]. Only a complete lack of synonyms and the fact that the same word functions as ‘root’ in the closely related Ekoka ǁXung keeps us from leaving the slot unfilled.


Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Proto-North Khoisan ǁani is well attested in Juǀ’hoan and ǁKxauǁen, restricting its total absence only to the Northern dialect cluster, and has no known semantics other than simply ‘root’. Still, it is frequently competing with ǁãri, also quoted with the meaning ‘root’ for Juǀ’hoan as well as Ekoka ǁXung (Northern cluster). On the other hand, the latter in some old sources is glossed as ‘root fibre’ rather than ‘root’ (D. Bleek very explicitly states the difference and lists minimal pairs in [Bleek 1929]); the semantic transition ‘root fibre’ > ‘root’ is easily understandable and could have occurred in the common ancestor of all Northern cluster dialects. Replacements: (a) ǁKung ǀûbe, of unclear origin, perhaps =Juǀ’hoan ǀûbe ‘species of shrub’ [Dickens 1994: 317]; (b) ǁOǁKung ǁãe, etc., see above. Reconstruction shape: The protoform ǁani is tentatively modeled after the Juǀ’hoan form, but, since there are no correlates in the Northern dialect cluster, could have easily been ǁãani as well.

69. ROUND

References and notes:

Juǀ’hoan: Not attested.

ǁKxauǁen: Not attested.

ǁKung: Not attested.

Grootfontein ǁKung: Not attested.

ǁOǁKung: Not attested.

Ekoka ǁXung: Not attested.

Proto North Khoisan: Not reconstructible due to lack of attestation.
Juǀ'hoan kɔ̀ (1), ||Kxau|en kxa (1), !Kung kxa (1), !O!Kung kxa (1), Ekoka !Xung kɔ̀ (1), Proto North Khoisan *kɔ̀ (1).

References and notes:

Juǀ'hoan: Dickens 1994: 231. Same word as 'earth' q.v.

||Kxau|en: Bleek 1929: 71. Same word as 'earth' q.v.; in [Bleek 1956: 118] quoted only in this latter meaning, but no alternative lexeme for 'sand' is attested.

!Kung: Bleek 1929: 71. Same word as 'earth' q.v.; in [Bleek 1956: 118] quoted only in this latter meaning, but no alternative lexeme for 'sand' is attested.

Grootfontein !Kung: Not attested.

!O!Kung: Bleek 1929: 71. Same word as 'earth' q.v.; in [Bleek 1956: 118] quoted only in this latter meaning, but no alternative lexeme for 'sand' is attested.

Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 43. Same word as 'earth' q.v.

Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: see 'earth'. Semantics and structure: The meanings 'earth' and 'sand' were not differentiated in Proto-North Khoisan any more than they are differentiated in modern day descendants.

71. SAY
Juǀ'hoan kɔ̀ (1), ||Kxau|en o=kxwi (2), !Kung o=kxwi ~ o=kxwi (2), Grootfontein !Kung o=kxwi (2), !O!Kung ka ~ ke (1), Ekoka !Xung kɔ̀ ~ kwɛ́ ~ kɔ̀yã (1), Proto North Khoisan *kɔ̀ (1).

References and notes:


||Kxau|en: Bleek 1956: 154. The form is a composite one, consisting of o 'to make, do' ([Bleek 1956: 152]) + kxwi 'to speak' ([Bleek 1956: 128]) =Juǀ'hoan o-kxwi 'speak, talk'. Although existing textual examples do not show the meaning 'say' for kxwi as such, this may be accidental; [Bleek 1929: 72] quotes both kxwi and o=kxwi in the meaning 'to say', but only o=kxwi in the meaning 'to speak'. Another synonym is ꠧi (Bleek 1956: 653) — ꠧi (Bleek 1929: 72) 'to say, talk', with no external parallels.

!Kung: Bleek 1956: 154. Quoted as kxwi ~ o=kxwi in [Bleek 1929: 72]. See notes on the ||Kxau|en entry (most of them apply to the !Kung item as well). The latter source also quotes kue as a synonym; the form is not confirmed in [Bleek 1956].

Grootfontein !Kung: Doke 1925: 152. The meaning quoted as 'to say, to speak, word'.


Ekoka !Kung: König & Hâne 2008: 41, 42. Quoted as kw (Western dialect), ke (Eastern dialect) in [Heikkinen 1986: 21]. All the variants look like idiolectal variants of the same word, although the fluctuations between -oe and -uya cannot be easily explained.

Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: The original root ꠧ still functions as the main term for 'say' in Juǀ'hoan and
Ekoka, the two best recorded North Khoisan dialects that represent two distant clusters; this is clearly the best candidate for proto-status. Replacements: (a) ||Kxaujen o|=kwì, etc.; a compound from Proto-North Khoisan *o·to do, make* + Proto-North Khoisan *kwìi. Both in Juǀ'hoan and Ekoka this compound is translated as 'speak, talk (about smith.)' rather than 'say (smith. specific). Furthermore, P. Dickens even assigns the morpheme kwìi a pronominal rather than verbal meaning: 'be thus, be so (e. g. of the sound, sight or way of doing something)' [Dickens 1994: 232], although a more detailed analysis of contexts is needed to clarify the situation. Still, some of the examples given by D. Bleek in [Bleek 1956] suggest that this compound form may have actually replaced the original *kò in at least some of the described dialects, i. e. the original *'speak' and *'say' have merged in one word. Reconstruction shape: The basic form of the root is *kò, as seen in Juǀ'hoan; Ekoka kòè (and the contracted variant kò) is likely to represent a suffixal extension (possibly old).

72. SEE

Juǀ'hoan hòn (1), ||Kxaujen se ~ se: (2), !Kung síŋ (2), Grootfontein !Kung šà (2), !O!Kung šà ~ šàŋ ~ šàŋ ~ hòŋ (2), Ekoka !Xung hòŋ ~ hòŋ ~ šàŋ (2), Proto North Khoisan *šûŋ ~ *hûŋ (2).

References and notes:

Juǀ'hoan: Dickens 1994: 219. The form šû is listed as a synonym in the English-Juǀ'hoan section of the dictionary (p. 144), but is only translated as 'look (at), look after, investigate' in the main section.

||Kxaujen: Bleek 1956: 165; Bleek 1929: 72. The latter source also quotes šû as a synonym, but the word really means 'to know' q.v.


!O!Kung: Bleek 1956: 62, 169, 176; Bleek 1929: 72. Quoted as šà in [Snyman 1980: 48]. The latter source also quotes šà as a synonym, but the root is not explicitly confirmed in this meaning in [Bleek 1956: 345], with 'perceive, understand, know' more likely to be its general semantics.

Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 36. Quoted as shûŋ (Western dialect), šûŋ (Eastern dialect) [Heikkinen 1986: 22].

Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects except Juǀ'hoan. Replacements: Juǀ'hoan hòn < Proto-North Khoisan *hûŋ to find (cf. Ekoka hòŋ id. [König & Heine 2008: 37], etc.; a basic semantic shift *to find* > *to see*. Reconstruction shape: Juǀ'hoan and ||Kxaujen drop the nasal part of the coda in this root just as they do for *drink* q.v., for not quite clear reasons; nevertheless, most of the dialects, including those from J. Snyman's survey, confirm *-ŋ. The vowel is tentatively reconstructed as -e- based on Juǀ'hoan data (in most dialects the two codas, -ŋ and -eŋ, seem to have merged). Initial *- is occasionally lenited to h-; this is either a unique positional development before a syllabic nasal, or reflects an original aspirated *h- (not enough data to reach a definite conclusion).

73. SEE


References and notes:
Juǀ'hoan: Dickens 1994: 329. Polysemy: 'seed / kernel / marrow'; more precise denotation of the former is *ǀxaŋ-ǀxaɔ, lit. 'plant-seed'.

ǁKxau|en: Bleek 1956: 642 (quoted in the plural form: ǁ(ns)si 'seeds'). [Bleek 1929: 72] has an entirely different entry: ǁ(ns)si (also a plural form), but this is almost certainly a mistake, since ǁns actually means 'skin, bark, shell' q.v.; in the generally more reliable source [Bleek 1956] the meaning 'seed' for this root is unattested.

ǁKung: Not attested (seemingly). [Bleek 1929: 72] quotes the plural form ǁe-siŋ in the meaning 'seeds'; the basic meaning of the root is 'head' (q.v.) and, although it is commonly used in the metaphorical meaning 'bulb' or 'berry' (see text examples in [Bleek 1956: 346]), the meaning 'seed' (of fruit or berry) is not really confirmed by any other source, be it this particular dialect or any other North Khoisan language.

Grootfontein ǁKung: Not attested.

ǂOǃKung: Bleek 1929: 72. Not confirmed in [Bleek 1956], but the presence of the same root in Ekoka !Xung makes the entry reliable.

Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 82. Polysemy: 'grain / seed'. Glossed as ǂǀ|a ‘pip, grain' in [Heikkinen 1986: 24]. Secondary synonym: ǂǀ|u [König & Heine 2008: 41] (also, as a verb, = 'to plant'; not confirmed in [Heikkinen 1986]).

Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Proto-North Khoisan *ǂǀ|is well preserved in the Northern dialect cluster; in Juǀ'hoan, ǂǀ|is is still attested with the meaning 'pip' [Dickens 1994: 315]. Replacements: (a) Juǀ'hoan ǂǀ|is = Ekoka ǂǀ|is ‘bone marrow', implying a shift like {'pith' > 'seed'}; (b) ǁKxau|en ǁ(ns) of unclear origin (the form itself is somewhat dubious). Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

74. SIT

Juǀ'hoan ǁǀ|is (1), ǁKxau|en ǁǁ (1), ǂKung ǁǁ ~ ǁǁ-a (1), Grootfontein ǂKung ǁǁ: (1), ǂOǃKung ǁǁ ~ ǁǁ (1), Ekoka !Xung ǂǀŋ|is ~ ǂǀŋ|is (1), Proto North Khoisan *ǂǀŋ|is (1).

References and notes:

Juǀ'hoan: Dickens 1994: 238. Singular subject action verb; the plural subject form is ǂǁǀis [Dickens 1994: 211].

ǁKxau|en: Bleek 1956: 347; Bleek 1929: 76. Singular subject action verb; the plural subject form is ǁǁ [Bleek 1929: 76; Bleek 1956: 382].


Grootfontein ǂKung: Doke 1925: 157. Meaning given as 'to sit, to sit down'.

ǂOǃKung: Bleek 1956: 341; Bleek 1929: 76. Singular subject action verb; the plural subject form is ǁǁ ~ ǁǀis [Bleek 1929: 76; Bleek 1956: 435]. Quoted as ǁǀis (sg.), ǁǀis (pl.) in [Snyman 1980: 49].

Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 48. Quoted as ǂǀŋ|is (Western dialect), ǂǀŋ|is (Eastern dialect) in [Heikkinen 1986: 23]. Singular subject action verb; the plural subject form is ǂǀŋ|is (ibid.).

Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. Preglottalized nasal click is reconstructed based on T. Heikkinen's transcription of the Ekoka entry. The coda is probably the same as in 'blood' q.v. and, alternately, may be reconstructed as syllabic *ǀŋ. Semantics and structure: Like many basic verbal stems, this one is also suppletive: the plural subject form is also preserved everywhere and is safely reconstructible as *ǂǀŋ.
75. SKIN
Juǀ’hoan njō (1), ǁKxauǁen njō (1), !Kung njō ~ njō ~ nōwa ~ njōː (1), Grootfontein !Kung njōː ~ njōːwa (1), !O!Kung njō ~ njō (1), Ekoka !Xung njō (1), Proto North Khoisan *ŋō (1).

References and notes:

ǁKxauǁen: Bleek 1956: 348. Quoted as þ in [Bleek 1929: 76].
!O!Kung: Bleek 1956: 348; Snyman 1980: 49. Quoted as þ in [Bleek 1929: 76]. The latter source adds da as a synonym, but the word rather means 'cloth, kaross', as can be seen from both the examples in [Bleek 1956: 19] and external parallels.
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and generally trivial. Some old sources seem to reflect an additional suffixal variant *ŋə-a (or ŋə-ba?) that is not, however, encountered in recently transcribed material.

76. SLEEP
Juǀ’hoan cʔá (1), ǁKxauǁen cá ~ cʔa: (1), !Kung cá ~ cá (1), Grootfontein !Kung cʔa: (1), !O!Kung cʔa ~ cǎ (1), Ekoka !Xung cʔá (1), Proto North Khoisan *cʔá (1).

References and notes:

Juǀ’hoan: Dickens 1994: 278.
ǀKxauǀen: Bleek 1956: 210; Bleek 1929: 76.
!Kung: Bleek 1956: 210. Quoted as cá: in [Bleek 1929: 76]. The stem ja, quoted in the latter source as a synonym, is actually the plural subject form of the verb 'to lie (down)'.
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial (including the development *cː > cʔː in Ekoka).

77. SMALL
Juǀ’hoan cʔe(-mà) (1), ǁKxauǁen ce-ma ~ ce-ma (1), !Kung cʔe-ma ~ cʔe-ma (1), Grootfontein !Kung cʔe-ma (1), !O!Kung ce-ma (1), Ekoka !Xung cʔe-mà (1), Proto North Khoisan *cʔe ~ *cʔe-mà (1).

References and notes:
Juhoan: Dickens 1994: 279. The simple form če is used after nouns with diminutive suffixes (ču-ma če 'small house'); the compound form če-ma (where -ma itself is a diminutive suffix) is used more frequently.

|Kxau|en: Bleek 1956: 15; Bleek 1929: 76. The latter source also quotes such ineligible forms as -ma (actually a diminutive suffix) and š (actually 'short', as clarified by examples in [Bleek 1956]).

|Kung: Bleek 1956: 215. Quoted as ce-ma in [Bleek 1929: 76]. The latter source also quotes -ma separately in the same meaning (the morpheme is actually a diminutive suffix).

Grootfontein |Kung: Doke 1925: 153. The same source also quotes ma per se [ibid.] in the meaning 'small', interchangeable with če-ma (e. g. dā: ma and dā: če-ma both mean 'small blanket'). It is perhaps reasonable, as in several other North Khoisan dialects, to think of -ma as a diminutive suffix and če-ma as the proper adjective 'small'.

|O|Kung: Bleek 1956: 215. Quoted as ce-ma in [Bleek 1929: 76]; čema - ĉema in [Snyman 1980: 50]. [Bleek 1929] also quotes the compound form -ma ‘a small star’, but the semantic difference between these cases and -ma remains unclear. We mark the latter form as primary, since its general distribution in the meaning 'small' indicates its archaic nature.


Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects, although, for the most part, only in the form of the derived stem *čemă. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial, with the exception of the tonal pattern (the Ekoka mid-level pattern may be more archaic, with assimilation to the low tonal level of the suffix *-ma in Juhoan). Semantics and structure: The root *če, already on Proto-North Khoisan level, must have been most frequently used with the diminutive suffix *-ma, usually (but not always) adjacent to nominal roots. There is, however, no solid evidence for *-ma having ever functioned as an independent adjective 'small' on the same chronological level.

78. SMOKE

Juhoan šórà (1), |Kxau|en šøre ~ šůr (1), |Kung šőrre ~ šure (1), Grootfontein |Kung šórì (1), |O|Kung šunu (2), Ekoka |Xung šülè (1), Proto North Khoisan *šőrè ~ *šórà (1).

References and notes:

Juhoan: Dickens 1994: 192. Secondary synonyms: (a) šó ‘dust, smoke'; (b) šmē ‘smoke, steam; to get into one's eyes (of smoke)'


|Kung: Bleek 1956: 182. Quoted as šore in [Bleek 1929: 77].


Ekoka |Xung: König & Heine 2008: 19. Polysy. 'smoke / tobacco'. Quoted as šůrè in [Heikkinen 1986: 26]. Secondary synonyms: (a) šâ [König & Heine 2008: 91]; (b) šã [König & Heine 2008: 60]. Semantic differences between all these stems are unclear; the only transparent external connections with the meaning 'smoke' are displayed by šülè.

Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in most daughter dialects. Replacements: |O|Kung šunu, of unknown origin (although the original root is still preserved as ūle ~ ūli ‘tobacco, snuff' [Bleek 1956: 237]; the semantic shift (smoke > 'tobacco') is trivial). There is some phonetic similarity between šunu and Nama ūanni 'smoke', but not
enough to postulate borrowing with any degree of certainty. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial except for the unclear vocalic variation in the second syllable. Semantics and structure: Polysemy {smoke & 'tobacco'} is widespread for this root both between and within dialects, but there is no clear evidence for 'tobacco' having been the original semantics.

79. STAND

Juǀhoan Ḳu (1), !Kxauǁen Ḳu (1), !Kung Ḳu ~ Ḳu ~ Ḳuŋ-a (1), !O!Kung Ḳwâ ~ Ḳa (1), Ekoka !Xung Ḳu ~ Ḳu (1), Proto North Khoisan *ʔṹ (1).

References and notes:


!Kxauǁen: Bleek 1956: 482; Bleek 1929: 79. Singular subject action verb; the plural subject form is Ḳa ~ Ḳu ~ Ḳu [Bleek 1956: 522].


Grootfontein !Kung: Not attested.


Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 84. Quoted as Ḳu (Western dialect), Ḳu (Eastern dialect) in [Heikkinen 1986: 25]. Singular subject action verb; the plural subject form is Ḳu [ibid.].

Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally trivial, although T. Heikkinen's data on Ekoka conflict with König & Heine as to the exact articulation of the click efflux. Perhaps the rare case of variation between Ḳ and Ḳ in König & Heine's data actually reflects an unrecognized case of preglottalized nasalisation. Semantics and structure: The etymon was almost certainly suppletive in Proto-North Khoisan: sg. action *ʔṹ vs. pl. action *ʔṹ. There was also a derived verbal stem *ʔṹ-a, whose protolanguage meaning is hard to establish (P. Dickens gives a causative meaning for Juǀhoan, but for Ekoka, König & Heine adduce a continuative meaning instead).

80. STAR

Juǀhoan Ḳu (1), !Kxauǁen Ḳu (1), !Kung Ḳu ~ Ḳu ~ Ḳuŋ-a (1), !O!Kung Ḳwâ ~ Ḳa (1), Ekoka !Xung Ḳu ~ Ḳu (1), Proto North Khoisan *ʔṹ (1).

References and notes:


!Kung: Bleek 1956: 663; Bleek 1929: 79.

Grootfontein !Kung: Doke 1925: 158.


Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 92. Quoted as Ḳu in [Heikkinen 1986: 23].
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally regular and trivial. The tonal pattern is ultra-low, frequently accompanied with breathy articulation in Juǀ'hoan.

81. STONE
Juǀ'hoan ɦom (1), ||Kxau||en ɦum (1), !Kung ɦum ~ ʔom (1), Grootfontein !Kung ɦǔm (1), !O!Kung ɦum (1), Ekoka !Xung ɦm ~ ɦùm ~ ʔùm (1), Proto North Khoisan *ɦom ~ *ɦùm (1).

References and notes:

Grootfontein !Kung: Doke 1925: 159. On the polysemy 'stone / mountain' in this dialect see under 'mountain'.
Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 52. Quoted as ɣum in [Heikkinen 1986: 25]. Probably the same word as 'mountain' q.v., but both sources on the Ekoka dialect mark different types of nasalized clicks for the two words. Secondary synonyms: (a) ɣunu 'stone; money' [König & Heine 2008: 75]; (b) kĩin 'stone; flint' [König & Heine 2008: 76].

82. SUN
Juǀ'hoan ǀám (1), ||Kxau||en ǀám (1), !Kung ǀám (1), Grootfontein !Kung ǀám (1), !O!Kung ǀám (1), Ekoka !Xung ġad refuse ġō (2), Proto North Khoisan *ǀám (1).

References and notes:

Grootfontein !Kung: Doke 1925: 156. Also encountered in the same source as ġam 'sun, day' [Doke 1925: 157]; this may be an idiolectal variant or a most recent re-borrowing from a Central Khoisan source.

Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects with the sole exception of Ekoka. Replacements: Ekoka ġad is attested in this dialect alongside ġám, which is, however, only assigned the secondary meanings 'day, hour' [König & Heine 2008: 73]. In theory this raises the question of whether this could not have been the original North Khoisan word for 'sun', whereas all the instances of ġám could then count as more recent
borrowings from Central Khoisan (cf. Proto-Central Khoisan *ǀá mâ id.). However, given our current information, the answer must be negative, since: (a) in Khoekhoe, the subgroup that includes Nama and serves as the most common source for recent Central Khoisanisms, the word for ‘sun’ is *sore; (b) the general distribution very clearly speaks for the Proto-North Khoisan status of *ǀá mâ, regardless of whether its further connections with Central Khoisan are horizontal or vertical; (c) Ekoka gāò is clearly related to Juǀhoan gālīnô, glossed by Dickens as ‘to drink too little to quench one’s thirst’ [Dickens 1994: 200], i. e. basically ‘(still) be thirsty’. This implies that ‘thirst’ may, after all, be the original meaning for this root. The semantic shift {thirst > ‘sun’} is certainly unusual, but, considering that the polysemy {‘sun’ & ‘thirst’} is quite typical of all Bushman languages, not at all impossible. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial throughout.

83. SWIM
Juǀhoan ǀxà (1), !Kung duñîm (2), !O!Kung ḃva ~ ṭôba (3), Ekoka †Xung dhôm (2), Proto North Khoisan *dôm ~ *dûm (2).

References and notes:
ǁKxau|en: Not attested.
ǁKung: Bleek 1956: 29. Quoted as dum in [Bleek 1929: 82]. The latter source also adds ūau as a synonym; this word is, however, translated as ‘to walk, travel, crawl, stalk game, swim’ in [Bleek 1956: 651] and is the regular equivalent of the item ‘to walk, move’ in other North Khoisan dialects.
Grootfontein ǁKung: Not attested.
ǁO!Kung: Bleek 1956: 480, 482; Bleek 1929: 82. Somewhat dubious; the translation equivalent in [Bleek 1956] is given as ‘to row across, swim across’ for ḃva and simply ‘row’ for ṭôba. No better suitable equivalents have been found. [Snyman 1980: 52] lists this stem, transcribed as ḃa, as synonymous with dûm; the latter is clearly cognate with Ekoka dhôm, but cannot be listed here as the main item since [Snyman 1980] is not the main source.
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: The root *dôm in the meaning ‘to swim’ has the widest distribution, being attested in the Northern cluster (Ekoka) as well as L. Lloyd’s !Kung data. Replacements: (a) Juǀhoan ǀxà, of unknown origin; (b) !O!Kung ḃva, with a dubious meaning (see notes on !O!Kung). Reconstruction shape: The protoform is essentially based on the Ekoka form (the only more or less reliably transcribed item). Semantics and structure: Apart from the meaning ‘swim’, the root is also found in some sources in the meanings ‘wash’, ‘bathe’, and even ‘shelter from rain’ (Heikkinen). This is consistent with the general (and understandable) scarceness of water basin-related terminology in native North Khoisan lexicon.

84. TAIL
Juǀhoan !xô (1), ǁKxau|en !wi ~ !wî (1), !Kung ḏwê ~ ḏwê ~ ḏxwê ~ ḏxwê (1), !O!Kung ḏwê (1), Ekoka †Xung †xôê (1), Proto North Khoisan *!/xôê (1).

References and notes:
ǀKxauǁen: Bleek 1956: 433, 667; Bleek 1929: 82. Variation in click articulation (!~i) may have something to do with the original retroflex articulation of the click (!), but not necessarily.
Grootfontein ǁKung: Not attested.
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular; click correspondences clearly indicate original retroflex articulation, and the diphthong is to be reconstructed as *-oe based on Ekoka (and ǁKung) data.

85. THAT
Juǀ’hoan tôʔà (1), ǀǀKxauǁen či ~ če (2), ǁKung do:i (1), ǃOǃKung doa (1), Ekoka !Xung ndùʔà ~ ndóʔà ~ tùʔà ~ tôʔà (1), Proto North Khoisan *toʔà ~ *ndoʔà (1).

References and notes:
ǀǀKxauǁen: Bleek 1956: 227, 229; Bleek 1929: 83. An uncertain entry; the word is ascribed both the meanings 'this' and 'that', indicating a general rather than proximity-specific deictic stem. [Bleek 1929: 83] also lists ihe as a potential synonym, but the word is not confirmed in [Bleek 1956].
ǁKung: Bleek 1956: 27. Uncertain (there is a semantic difference indicated for two near-homonymous forms do:i 'this' and da:i 'that', with not enough textual evidence to fully justify this). In [Bleek 1929: 83] the item 'that' is rendered by two different morphemes, iš and ka, neither of which finds confirmation in [Bleek 1956]; the former most likely refers to some specific auxiliary use of the noun iš 'thing', and the latter may be a particle mistaken for a deictic pronominal stem (or, perhaps, the third person pronoun ka 'it').
Grootfontein ǁKung: Not attested.
ǃOǃKung: Bleek 1956: 27. Attested textual examples do not provide the required contexts, but external comparison with Ekoka material indirectly confirms this as the basic stem for far deixis. Quoted as ndo in [Bleek 1929: 83].
Ekoka ǁKung: König & Heine 2008: 46, 70. The derived nominal stem ('that thing') is či-à-ndóù [König & Heine 2008: 64]. All forms seem to be in free variation.
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in most daughter dialects, with the possible exception of ǀǀKxauǁen. Replacements: (?) ǀǀKxauǁen či, of unclear provenance (perhaps = Proto-North Khoisan *či 'thing'). Reconstruction shape: No single certain variant; the dialectal fluctuation as reflected in four distinct Ekoka variants, including structurally rare forms with initial nasal clusters, may go as far back as Proto-North Khoisan. Semantics and structure: The form is analyzable as a composite stem, from *to ~ *ndo, indicating far deixis, and *a 'general relative morpheme' (=Juǀ’hoan -ú [Dickens 1994: 188]). Initial *nd-, a cluster normally prohibited in North Khoisan, may only reflect traces of further compounding, perhaps from some earlier unclear structure like *Vn-to.

86. THIS
Juǀ’hoan = (1), ǀǀKxauǁen či ~ če (2), ǁKung e ~ ēya (1), ǃOǃKung η (3), Ekoka !Xung ɲɲ (3), Proto North Khoisan *η (3).
References and notes:


ǁKxauǁen: Bleek 1956: 227, 229; Bleek 1929: 84. An uncertain entry: the word is ascribed both the meanings 'this' and 'that', indicating a general rather than proximity-specific deictic stem. [Bleek 1929: 84] also lists å and e as potential synonyms, but the latter is assigned only the meaning 'here' in [Bleek 1956], and textual examples for the former are rather confusing.

ǁKung: Bleek 1956: 36, 38. Quoted as e –ea –eya in [Bleek 1929: 84]. In [Bleek 1956: 27] the stem dêi is also given in the meaning 'this', with no clear differentiation between the two. Considering, however, that the latter is translated both as 'this' and 'that', and comparing this situation to the distinction in Juǀ'hoan, it is likely that e is still the most neutral morpheme in this dialect to designate near deixis.

Grootfontein !Kung: Not attested.

!O!Kung: Bleek 1956: 141; Bleek 1929: 84. The latter source adds åi as a synonymous form. Its existence is corroborated in [Bleek 1956: 229], however, examples for å are more numerous. [Snyman 1980: 52] under 'this' lists the form åit, which is clearly the same item.

Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 61. According to König & Heine's grammar sketch, this stem is the "neutral" version of the close-deixis pronoun. The word å [König & Heine 2008: 24], on the other hand, has a contrasting function: 'this (particular), rather than any other one'. It is also said to be used less frequently than åt, and is therefore ineligible for the wordlist.

Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Two main morphemes glossed in English as 'this' are attested in North Khoisan: *e and *å. The presence of both at the same time is noted only for Ekoka. However, since there is no evidence, nor any general reason, to imply an external provenance for *å in the Northern dialect cluster, the simplest solution is to project the opposition onto the proto-level, stating that Ekoka (and, possibly, other dialects of the Northern cluster) preserves the original distinction between *å 'this (one)' and *e 'this (one) in particular', whereas the other clusters have generalized *e as the only morpheme for both cases. This hypothesis will remain the likelier one until an external etymology has been found for *å that would explain its apparition in the Northern cluster.

87. THOU


References and notes:

Juǀ'hoan: Dickens 1994: 188.

ǁKxauǁen: Bleek 1956: 6; Bleek 1929: 85. The suffixless form å is also quoted in the meaning 'thou' in [Bleek 1929], but mentioned only as the possessive form 'thine' corresponding to the independent form å–hi 'thou' in [Bleek 1956].

ǁKung: Bleek 1956: 3. Cf. also the "isolated" form å–hn [Bleek 1956: 6]. [Bleek 1929: 85] does not mention the existence of these forms, but quotes instead a different form: ma. [Bleek 1956: 132] shows that the more correct transcription is må, and that the form is regularly used in subject position, whereas å is more common as the object and the possessive form. This is similar to the difference between å and å in Ekoka q. v. The form må–å can thus be analyzed as å (root morpheme) with a "subject" particle prefixed.
Grootfontein !Kung: Doke 1925: 152. The "isolated" (emphatic) form ːː-ŋ is quoted ibid.
!O!Kung: Bleek 1956: 4, 6; Bleek 1929: 85; Snyman 1980: 56. Both the simple and complex form are attested in textual examples in subject position as well as in the possessive function.
Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 15. According to König & Heine's grammar sketch, ː is the pronominal stem used in all syntactic contexts. In the subject position, however, especially sentence-externally, it tends to be replaced with bː [ibid.]. The latter is probably best viewed as the result of merger between ː and some other morpheme (emphatic particle, etc.).
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences for this monovocalic morpheme are perfectly regular and obvious. The special emphatic variant fluctuates between ːː-ː and ːː-hːː; it is possible that ːː-hːː is the primary variant, restructured in some dialects by analogy with the 1st p. emphatic form ːː-ː-ː q.v. Odd forms with initial labial consonants should probably be treated as compounds, although the meaning and function of these initial labial elements are not yet understood.

88. TONGUE
Juǀʼhoan dhːrī (1), ||Kxau||en tarī (1), !Kung tɛ̅rri (1), Grootfontein !Kung n̅thːlī (1), !O!Kung tali (1), Ekoka !Xung dhːlī (1), Proto North Khoisan *ntharī (1).

References and notes:
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally trivial, with the exception of the initial consonant, with irregular fluctuation of laryngeal features and even completely unexpected prenasalization in Grootfontein !Kung. This is consistent with the typologically aberrant (both for Africa and other world areas) phonetic behavior of the word 'tongue' and indicates some sort of hard-to-reconstruct phonosemantic phenomenon. The situation is provisionally denoted in the guise of a unique initial cluster *nth- (=the variant attested in [Doke 1925]), although, obviously, this is far from the only way to interpret the data. Tonal correspondences are also complex, although P. Dickens and J. Snyman in [Snyman 1980] agree on the tonal pattern "extra low-low" for two dialects from different clusters.

89. TOOTH
Juǀʼhoan cʔâː (1), ||Kxau||en cʔou ~ cou ~ cau (1), !Kung cau ~ caː (1), Grootfontein !Kung cʔâː (1), !O!Kung cau (1), Ekoka !Xung cʔâː (1), Proto North Khoisan *cʔau (1).

References and notes:
|Kxau|en: Bleek 1956: 213; Bleek 1929: 220. More frequently found in the plural form (c’ou-si, cau-si).


Ekoka |Kung: König & Heine 2008: 68. Quoted as cǎ in [Heikkinen 1986: 22].

Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial except for the tonal pattern (low in Juǀhoan vs. mid-level in Ekoka, not allowing for an adequate reconstruction).

90. TREE

Juǀhoan ǀâ b (1), |Kxau|en ǀâ (1), !Kung ǀâ ~ ǀâ-a ~ ǀââ ~ ǀâ (1), Grootfontein !Kung ǀâ (1), !O!Kung ǀâ â ~ ǀgâ (1), Ekoka !Xung ǀâh â ~ ǀhâ (1), Proto North Khoisan *ǀh âi (1).

References and notes:


|Kxau|en: Bleek 1956: 375; Quoted as ǀâ in [Bleek 1929: 87].


Grootfontein |Kung: Doke 1925: 159. Polysemy: 'tree/stick'.


Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are complex and, in some aspects, unique. The basic structure of the word is more or less the same as in 'neck' q.v., which is reflected in the reconstruction of the coda *-âi for both items. Seemingly random fluctuations are, however, observed in secondary click articulation (ranging from simple velar release to prevoicing to aspiration), additional vowel properties (breathy articulation in Juǀhoan) and the tonal scheme (usually low tones, but cf. also the ultra-high notation in Snyman's !O!Kung data). The provisional reconstruction with *ǀh- and ultra-low tone on the first mora merely reflects the fact that some particularly complex bag of features must have been present on the proto-level in order to yield such a large variety of reflexions.

91. TWO

Juǀhoan ǀá (1), |Kxau|en ca ~ ǀa (1), !Kung sā ~ sā ~ sa ~ ca ~ ǀa ~ qa: ~ zā (1), Grootfontein !Kung sā: (1), !O!Kung ǀá ~ ca ~ ǀa (1), Ekoka !Xung ǀa (1), Proto North Khoisan *ǀã ~ *ǀã ~ *ǀã (1).

References and notes:


Ekoka !Kung: König & Heine 2008: 64. Quoted as čǎ in [Heikkinen 1986: 22].
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: The initial consonant is unambiguously reconstructed as *c-*, but the coda demonstrates so far unexplainable variations of secondary features (nasalization and pharyngealization that seem to "come and go"). This is perhaps a reflection of former morphological variability, but there is no evidence to prove it.

92. WALK (GO)
Juǀ’hoan ī (1), ||Kxau||en ī (1), !Kung ī ~ īː (1), Grootfontein !Kung īː ~ īː (1), !O!Kung ī (1), Ekoka !Xung ī (1), Proto North Khoisan *ī (1).

References and notes:
||Kxau||en: Bleek 1956: 246; Bleek 1929: 42. The latter source also quotes such dubious synonyms as īː and ī, but their existence is not confirmed in [Bleek 1956].
!Kung: Bleek 1956: 246. Quoted as ī in [Bleek 1929: 42]. The latter source adds īː as a synonym, but it is only confirmed in the meaning 'to run' in [Bleek 1956: 446].
!O!Kung: Bleek 1956: 246; Bleek 1929: 42. The latter source adds two other stems: ọ, which may be an error or just a phonetic variant of ī, and ọa, not confirmed in [Bleek 1956].
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: This monovocalic stem is relatively trivial (Doke's transcription of it as a diphthong is not confirmed by any other source) and should be reconstructed with a high or, possibly, ultra-high tone. Semantics and structure: All sources agree on this item as representing the basic meaning of moving from one place to another, rather than anything more specific.

93. WARM (HOT)
Juǀ’hoan khūī (1), ||Kxau||en kwī ~ khwī (1), !Kung kwī ~ kwī ~ kwīya (1), !O!Kung khwī (1), Ekoka !Xung khūī (1), Proto North Khoisan *khūī (1).

References and notes:
Grootfontein !Kung: Not attested.
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. Semantics and structure: The word is antonymous to *ǂàʔū 'cold' q.v., and is strictly distinguished from *ǁʔṹ 'warm' (Juǀhoan, Ekoka ǁṹ, etc.).

94. WATER

Juǀhoan û (1), ǁKxauǁen û ~ û ~ û (1), !Kung û ~ û (1), Grootfontein !Kung û (1), !O!Kung û ~ û (1), Ekoka !Xung û (1), Proto North Khoisan *û (1).

References and notes:


Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular, reflecting an original retroflex click and a high tonal pattern.

95. WE₁

Juǀhoan े (1), ǁKxauǁen e (1), !Kung e (1), !O!Kung e ~ e-hý (1), Ekoka !Xung े (2), Proto North Khoisan *े (1).

References and notes:

ǁKxauǁen: Bleek 1956: 36. D. Bleek notes a special variant for the masculine form (e-îka) and one for the feminine (e-he) (ibid.; also [Bleek 1929: 90]). According to her notes, there is no difference between inclusive and exclusive.
!Kung: Bleek 1956: 36, 90. Exclusive form. Both sources also list the synonymous form े-ही; this must probably be an occasional Khoekhoeism, cf. Nama ս-կե 'we (excl. m.)', ս-նɛ 'we (excl. f.)'; its statistical frequency is unclear.
Grootfontein !Kung: Not attested.
!O!Kung: Bleek 1956: 36, 37; Bleek 1929: 90. [Bleek 1929] also quotes i, not confirmed in [Bleek 1956] (probably a phonetic variant of e). D. Bleek does not record an inclusive/exclusive opposition for this dialect; J. Snyman, however, does, and quotes e as only the exclusive meaning [Snyman 1980: 54].
Ekoka !Kung: König & Heine 2008: 23. Exclusive form. Quoted as े (Western dialect) in [Heikkinen 1986: 26]. The more archaic synonymous form े [König & Heine 2008: 24] is said by the authors to be much less used, meaning that it is in the final stages of being displaced by े.

Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages except for Ekoka. Replacements: Ekoka े, reflecting an interesting semantic shift {people'} > 'we'}; see 'person' for more details. Reconstruction shape:
Correspondences for this monovocalic stem are regular and trivial. Semantics and structure: Proto-North Khoisan *è is unambiguously reconstructed as the exclusive version of the 1st pronoun pl.

95. WE
Juǀhoan mì (3), !Kung hm (3), Ekoka !Xung m-hin (3), Proto North Khoisan *mì (3).

References and notes:
Juǀhoan: Dickens 1994: 234. Inclusive form. Also met in expanded form: m-là. Dual variant: m-ćá 'we two'.
!Kung: Bleek 1956: 62; Bleek 1929: 90. Inclusive form. Said to be rarely used. Also attested in the dual variant: m-sà – m-sà 'we two' [Bleek 1956: 138]. An alternate synonym is i [Bleek 1956: 67], "rarely used before numbers"; unclear form, lacking external parallels in other North Khoisan dialects.
!O!Kung: D. Bleek does not record any special inclusive forms for this dialect. J. Snyman [Snyman 1980: 54], along with e, records the synonymous forms m and m-la. Judging by the external parallels, the distinction must be between the exclusive and the inclusive m, although Snyman does not mention any differences in meaning.
Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 45. Inclusive form. The morpheme -hin is probably assimilated from -hij, the standard emphasis marker [König & Heine 2008: 36].
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: The original form is not attested in some of the dialects, which could indicate occasional loss of the clusivity opposition. On the other hand, most of these non-attestations are evident in old sources, whereas most modern descriptions clearly state the presence of this opposition. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally regular and trivial. The ultra-low tone in Ekoka may be connected with the aspiration of the emphatic particle. Semantics and structure: Proto-North Khoisan *mì is unambiguously reconstructed as the inclusive pronoun. The compound form *mì-la id. must also be of Proto-North Khoisan origin, although the meaning and function of the second morpheme are obscure. Of note is the phonetic similarity with the 1st p. sg. *mí, possibly, although not necessarily, indicating a common origin for the two.

96. WHAT
Juǀhoan hà-ćé (1), !Kxau!en če-bà (2), !O!Kung m-pai (3), Ekoka !Xung m-ćà ~ m-ćé ~ m-çí (3), Proto North Khoisan *hà-ćí (1).

References and notes:
!Kxau!en: [Bleek 1929: 91]. Simple -ba is also quoted in the same meaning, but [Bleek 1956: 13] gives ba as a general interrogative particle = Juǀhoan bàh id. The first component è probably = čì ~ či 'thing' [Bleek 1956: 229]. The bimorphemic stem, however, is not attested in [Bleek 1956]; instead, one finds či (p. 232), perhaps, a dialectal contraction from *čì-bà.
!Kung: Unclear. [Bleek 1929: 91] lists the compound form ca-de, but its existence is not confirmed in [Bleek 1956] except for the second part de, indicated as a general interrogative word on p. 23. Rather than trust the dubious evidence of [Bleek 1929], we prefer to leave the slot unfilled.
Groôfôntëin !Kung: Not attested.
analyzable as the general interrogative morpheme plus ĉi 'thing'. Bleek's -pai component is less easy to understand, but it is clear that the main interrogative meaning is placed on the m- element as well.

**Ekoka !Xung:** König & Heine 2008: 45. The form m-ĉi literally means 'what thing?'; ĉi is a pronominal stem. The main interrogative meaning is expressed by the morpheme m-.

**Proto North Khoisan:** Distribution: Each dialect cluster has its own preferable interrogative marker, which makes reconstruction problematic. Nevertheless, analysis of comparative data in J. Snyman’s dialect survey shows that occasional forms of interrogative pronouns with initial a- (<*ha-*) can be found even in the most distinct Northern cluster. We choose *h- as the most representative equivalent, and reconstruct the compound form 'what?' as *h-a-ĉi.

Replacements: (a) ||Kxau||en ĉe-ba; the transformation mechanism is not quite clear, but it looks like the noun 'thing' has dropped the preceding interrogative marker in this language and then linked itself to a more general interrogative particle, transposing the interrogative meaning on itself; (b) Ekoka m-ĉi, etc. The provenance of the interrogative morpheme *h- is unclear. It is not excluded that it appeared under the influence of similar morphemes in Central Khoisan languages, but direct borrowing is out of the question; there must have been some internally driven reason for replacement as well. Reconstruction shape: The reconstruction is essentially based on the Ju’hoan form. The second component must have been the equivalent of Proto-Northern Khoisan *h-‘thing’ = Ju’hoan ĉi, etc., although some dialects show an irregular development to ĉe; this is the result of further contraction with the deictic stem *-e, i.e. *ha-ĉi-e >*ha-ĉe (cf. the same situation with ‘who’ q.v.).

97. WHITE


References and notes:


||Kxau||en: Bleek 1956: 413; Bleek 1929: 91.


Grootfontein !Kung: Doke 1925: 159.


Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 81. Adjectival stem; the corresponding verbal stem is !laʔ [ibid.], with tonal gradation.

**Proto North Khoisan:** Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial, except for the tonal pattern (Ekoka data shows traces of tonally marked morphological gradation, which could account for the irregularities).

98. WHO

Ju’hoan hâ-żêê (1), ||Kxau||en žu-ba (2), !Kung a-žu (1), !O!Kung m-žu (2), Ekoka !Xung m-žê ~ m-žô̂ (2), Proto North Khoisan *hâ-žû (1).

References and notes:


ǀKung: Bleek 1956: 4. Lit. 'what person?' = Juǀ'hoan hà-żùì. [Bleek 1929: 91] lists an entirely different form: hú-de, where hú = 'man' q.v., and -de is a general interrogative morpheme. However, that form is not confirmed in any way in [Bleek 1956], whereas textual confirmation for a-ţù 'who?' is quite plentiful.

Grootfontein ǀKung: Not attested.


Ekoka ǀXung: Köníg & Heine 2008: 45. Lit. 'what person?', with the same interrogative morpheme as in zá-čá 'what?' q.v.

Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: The situation here is exactly the same as with 'what' q.v. Replacements: See under 'what'. Reconstruction shape: Based on the Juǀ'hoan form. The exact lexeme is a compound with ŝù 'person', and in some dialects is further expanded with the deictic stem *e ŝà-ţù-e > Juǀ'hoan ha-żoe, etc.

99. WOMAN
Juǀ'hoan ʒhàù (1), ǁKxauǁen ʒau ~ ʒou ~ ʒóù (1), ǀKung ʒau ~ ʒáù ~ ʒáù (1), Grootfontein ǀKung zsháù: (1), ǀOǀKung cau ~ caú (1), Ekoka ǀXung ʒhàú (1), Proto North Khoisan *ʒhau (1).

References and notes:


ǀKung: Bleek 1956: 31, 164, 263. Quoted as zau ~ ʒau in [Bleek 1929: 93]. The latter source also adds de as a synonym, but most of the textual examples as well as external comparison rather suggest the meaning 'female' for this word.

Grootfontein ǀKung: Doke 1925: 154. The transcriptional notation zs- indicates, according to Doke, that the fricative z "becomes unvoiced before completion".

ǀOǀKung: Bleek 1956: 213; Bleek 1929: 93. Secondary synonym: dama [Bleek 1956: 21; Bleek 1929: 93]. Textual examples in [Bleek 1956] show that dama and cau are either completely synonymous (indicating that dama is in the process of replacing the older word cau), or that cau may already be restricted to indicating the more specialized 'wife'. Additional research on existing texts is needed to resolve the issue. However, J. Snyman, for the meaning 'woman', only quotes ŝàó ~ ʂàó ~ ʂàó ~ ʂàó [Snyman 1980: 55], not mentioning the existence of dama at all. A third synonym is !u-de [Bleek 1929: 93] = !x-đè [Snyman 1980: 55], but this form is easily understood as lit. 'Xung female', i.e. specifically 'a Xung woman'.

Ekoka ǀXung: Köníg & Heine 2008: 20. Quoted as ʒhàu (Western dialect) ~ ʒhàu (Eastern dialect) in [Heikkinen 1986: 22]. Attested also as ʒhà-a-mà id., with a standard diminutive suffix. Secondary synonym: dih-mà 'woman, wife' [ibid.]. The semantic distinction between the two words is not quite clear, but text examples suggest that the latter is more closely associated with the specified meaning of 'wife' or 'married woman', whereas the former is still the more broad term.

Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally regular and trivial; Proto-North Khoisan ʒh- automatically becomes preglottalized in Juǀ'hoan, so there is no need to carry it over as a phonological feature onto the proto-level. Tonal correspondences are not clear enough to allow the reconstruction of a distinct pattern. Semantics and structure: This is unambiguously the main North
Khoisan word denoting a female human being, and should be distinguished as such from *de ~ *di 'female (in general)'. The occasionally encountered synonym da(h)ma is much more localized (could this be simply a "naturalized" reanalysis of German/Afrikaans Dame?).

100. YELLOW

Juǀhoan ǁönì-ji (1), ǁKxauǁen ǀaũũ (2), !Kung ǀâŋ ~ ǀâŋ (2), Grootfontein !Kung ǀãŋ ~ ǀâŋ (2), !O!Kung ǀâŋ (2), Ekoka !Xung ǀũũ (3), Proto North Khoisan *ǀâŋu (2).

References and notes:

Juǀhoan: Dickens 1994: 217. Lit. '(the color of) the jewel beetle's (ǁönì) belly (ǀiũũ)'.
ǁKxauǁen: Bleek 1956: 276; Bleek 1929: 94. Translated as 'yellow, pale blue, green' in [Bleek 1956] and most likely the same word as 'green' q.v., unless there is some confusion of similar-sounding roots involved (not highly likely given lack of confirming external evidence).
ǀKung: Bleek 1956: 300. Quoted as ǀâŋ in [Bleek 1929: 94]. Same word as 'green' q.v.
ǀOǀKung: Bleek 1956: 300. Quoted as ǀâŋ in [Bleek 1929: 94]. Same word as 'green' q.v.
Ekoka ǀXung: König & Heine 2008: 54. Same word as 'egg' q.v.
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Two different terms denoting the color of 'yellow' in Juǀhoan and Ekoka are transparent recent innovations, which, in the light of the rest of the data, means that in Proto-North Khoisan 'yellow' was not likely to have been different from 'green' q.v. Replacements: (a) Juǀhoan ǁönì-ji 'jewel beetle belly' > 'yellow'; (b) Ekoka ǀũũ 'egg' > 'yellow'.

101. FAR


References and notes:

ǁKxauǁen: Bleek 1956: 295, 362, 401, 423, 653, 678. Quoted as fxÁ ~ ḡa in [Bleek 1929: 37]. The multiple variants are, in all likelihood, dialectal or misheard forms of the same root (the palatal click ḡ is very unstable in D. Bleek's transcription).
ǀKung: Bleek 1956: 653, 678. Quoted as fxÁ in [Bleek 1929: 37].
Grootfontein ǀKung: Not attested.
Ekoka ǀXung: König & Heine 2008: 92. Quoted as fxÁ in [Heikkinen 1986: 23]. Used in verbal ('to be far') and adverbial ('far away') functions. Cf. also ḡa 'far' [König & Heine 2008: 86], only as a directive adverb.
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. Fluctuation between various click types in old records is fairly typical of the palatal click, usually the hardest one to properly identify (at least for researchers in the first half of the XXth century).
102. HEAVY

Juǀ'hoan tš (1),ǁ Kxauǁen ti (1), !Kung ti ~ tš (1), Ekoka !Xung tši (1), Proto North Khoisan *tš (1).

References and notes:

ǁKxauǁen: Bleek 1956: 201. Quoted as ti in [Bleek 1929: 46].
Grootfontein !Kung: Not attested.
ǃO!Kung: Not attested.
Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 69. Quoted as tš in [Heikkinen 1986: 21].
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular. Both in Juǀ'hoan and Ekoka the word displays an ultra-low tonal pattern that frequently accompanies breathy vowel articulation; in this case, it seems that breathy articulation has to be reconstructed on protolanguage level as a distinctive phonological feature.

103. NEAR

Juǀ'hoan tšôm(-á) (1),ǁ Kxauǁen tôma ~ toma ~ tum ~ dom (1), !Kung tšômm ~ tumma ~ tamma (1), ǃO!Kung tum (1), Ekoka !Xung tšố́ (1), Proto North Khoisan *tố́ (1).

References and notes:

ǁKxauǁen: Bleek 1956: 27, 207, 241. Quoted as tšômm in [Bleek 1929: 60]. The latter source also quotes Ju: in the meaning 'to be near', confirmed in [Bleek 1956: 322], but this is a recent borrowing from Central Khoisan that evidently has not succeeded in replacing the original word.
!Kung: Bleek 1956: 191, 241. Quoted as tšômm 'near', tšố́ a 'to be near' in [Bleek 1929: 60].
Grootfontein !Kung: Not attested.
Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 70; Heikkinen 1986: 21. Verbal form ('be near'), also quoted as gité̈́m-a id.
Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial, except for the tonal pattern which requires further exploration. Frequently attested in the "junctive" form *tố́ (a with following object).

104. SALT

Juǀ'hoan guí (1),ǁ Kxauǁen dabe (-1), !Kung gwí (1), ǃO!Kung gwí (1), Ekoka !Xung guí (1), Proto North Khoisan *guí (1).
References and notes:


**ǀKxau|en:** Bleek 1929: 71. For some reason, not attested in [Bleek 1956]. In any case, clearly a borrowing from the same Central Khoisan source as the Juǀʼhoan item.

**ǁKung:** Bleek 1956: 53. Quoted as gwí in [Bleek 1929: 71].

**Grootfontein ǁKung:** Not attested.

**ǀOǁKung:** Bleek 1956: 53; Bleek 1929: 71. J. Snyman [Snyman 1980: 48] incorrectly translates ‘salt’ as jhùi, even though the latter is a verb/adjective meaning ‘(to be) salty’; this is made clear in a textual example on the same page: gui jhùi ‘the salt is salty’.

**Ekoka ǀXung:** König & Heine 2008: 27; Heikkinen 1986: 22.

**Proto North Khoisan:** Distribution: Preserved in most daughter dialects. Replacements: (possibly) ǀKxau|en dabe, borrowed from Central Khoisan. J. Snyman records the variants dabi and dibi for a few more North Khoisan dialects, but the distribution is still scarce enough to be explainable as the result of recent areal diffusion. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

105. SHORT

**Juǀʼhoan** lò- gà (1), ǀKxau|en fò: (1), ǁKung ǀọ-má ~ ǀọ-má (1), ǀOǀKung ǀọ-ǀọ (1), Ekoka ǀXung ǀọ (1), Proto North Khoisan *ǀọ ~ *ǀọ- gà (1).

References and notes:

**Juǀʼhoan:** Dickens 1994: 316. Singular subject action verb; the plural subject form is ǀọ- gàhí (second part of the compound stem in both cases is =má / =mhi ‘small’).

**ǀKxau|en:** Bleek 1956: 383. Quoted as lex in [Bleek 1929: 74].

**ǁKung:** Bleek 1956: 441; Bleek 1929: 74.

**Grootfontein ǀKung:** Not attested.

**ǀOǀKung:** Bleek 1956: 446. In the meaning ‘short’ only the reduplicated stem is attested in [Bleek 1956], but in [Bleek 1929: 74] both ǀọ and ǀọ are quoted with the meaning ‘short’.

**Ekoka ǀXung:** König & Heine 2008: 83. Functions both as adjectival and verbal stem; another derived verbal stem is lò-ma ‘be short’ [ibid.] (quoted as ǀọ-hí in [Heikkinen 1986: 24]).

**Proto North Khoisan:** Distribution: Preserved in all daughter dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. The proper monosyllabic root is *ǀọ, but the word must have existed in the expanded form *ǀọ- gà, with a further diminutive suffix, already on the protolevel.

106. SNAKE

**Juǀʼhoan** ᵐbairro-má ~ ᵐبارك-má (1), ǀKxau|en jë ~ jë (2), Grootfontein ǀKung ᵐبارك (1), ǀOǀKung ᵐبارك ~ ᵐبارك (3), Ekoka ǀXung ᵐبارك (1), Proto North Khoisan * araştırma ~ *حركات (1).

References and notes:
Juǀ'hoan: Dickens 1994: 304, 305. The second morpheme is the diminutive suffix =mà (cf. the plural form ǂpàñã-mhi). Of the two variants of the root morpheme, ǂàā is likely secondary (a dialectal contraction from ǂpàñã-).

ǁKxauǁen: Bleek 1956: 380; Bleek 1929: 77. The latter source also quotes ǂk as a synonym; in [Bleek 1956: 672] the word is, however, attested with the more specialized meaning 'great watersnake'.

ǃKung: Undear. [Bleek 1929: 77] lists two items: (a) ǂk, confirmed in [Bleek 1956: 334] as the plural form ǂkàā ‘puff-adder’; (b) ǂkàìjì-e, confirmed in [Bleek 1956: 527] as the plural form ‘snakes’, but no corresponding singular form is listed.

Grootfontein ǃKung: Doke 1925: 158. Subtitled "collective term".


Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 93.

Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Ekoka and Juǀ'hoan agree on the same item, which is therefore the best candidate for 'snake' in Proto-North Khoisan. Replacements: (a) ǁKxauǁen ǂk, etc. = Juǀ'hoan ǂk ‘puff-adder’ [Dickens 1994: 209], etc., implying a generalization {puff-adder} > 'snake'; (b) ǃOǃKung ǂk probably is the same word as Juǀ'hoan ǂkàā ‘blind snake (Typhlops sp.)’ [Dickens 1994: 291], although the lack of velar affricate efflux is suspicious. It should also be noted that the exact semantics for these forms could have been indicated erroneously (i.e., 'snake' instead of 'a certain kind of snake'). Reconstruction shape: Correspondences for the first two segments are regular and trivial, but the stem on the whole is somewhat unique; its violation of the general phonotactic laws of North Khoisan (-g- or -w- in word-medial position) can be explained either as a result of compounding (i.e. ǂkàā- + *-ã, although neither of the two morphemes is encountered separately) or borrowing (although the source is unknown). The Juǀ'hoan variant with *-g-, even worse from a general phonotactic view than Ekoka's variant with *-w-, must have been primary. Also, in Juǀ'hoan, the word is further expanded with the standard derivative suffix *-mà.

107. THIN

Juǀ'hoan ǂãm (1), ǁKxauǁen ǂãm (1), ǃKung ǂãím (1), Grootfontein ǃKung ǂãm (1), Ekoka !Xung ǂkàì (2), Proto North Khoisan *ǂãm (1).

References and notes:

Juǀ'hoan: Dickens 1994: 221.


ǃOǃKung: Not attested in D. Bleek's primary sources. Cf., however, ǂãgm ‘lean’ in [Snyman 1980: 43].

Ekoka !Xung: König & Heine 2008: 103; Heikkinen 1986: 26. Meaning given as 'to be thin, lean'.

Proto North Khoisan: The original form is attested in all major dialect clusters, replaced completely only in Ekoka. Replacements: Ekoka ǂkàì = Juǀ'hoan ǂkàì ‘wrinkled’ [Dickens 1994: 331], implying a metonymic shift {wrinkled; contracted} > 'thin'). Reconstruction shape: The reconstruction essentially just follows the form of the word in Juǀ'hoan.

108. WIND

Juǀ'hoan ǂàã (1), ǁKxauǁen ǂã ~ ǂã: (2), ǃKung ǂã ~ ǂã (2), ǃOǃKung ǂùli (3), Ekoka !Xung ǂã (3).
Proto North Khoisan ʷʔa (2).

References and notes:

Grootfontein ǁKung: Not attested.
Ekoka ǁXung: König & Heine 2008: 100.

Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Proto-North Khoisan ʷʔa has the widest dialectal distribution in this case, the other two roots being somewhat more localized. Replacements: (a) Juǀʼhoan mû, etc. probably reflects verb-to-noun conversion: {to blow (of wind)} > 'wind'), since in most other dialects this root, clearly reflecting Proto-North Khoisan *mû, is only attested in this verbal meaning (cf. in ǁKxauǁen: ṇa mû 'the wind blows' [Bleek 1956: 132]); (b) ǁOǁKung ǂjuli, etc., is comparable with Juǀʼhoan ṇûrô 'whirlwind' [Dickens 1994: 333], hence probably a semantic specialization: {whirlwind > 'wind'}. Reconstruction shape: Apart from old sources, the word is also attested in many dialects in J. Snyman's survey, always in the form ǂa; Bleek's transcription with a nasalized vowel in ǁKxauǁen must, therefore, be either an error or an occasional irregularity. Semantics and structure: The phonetic similarity with Proto-Central Khoisan ʷ邗 'wind' is hardly coincidental, implying either cognation or borrowing. If this was a borrowing, however, it must have occurred already on the Proto-North Khoisan level.

109. WORM
Juǀʼhoan ṇûzû (1).

References and notes:

ǁKxauǁen: Not attested.
ǁKung: Not attested.
Grootfontein ǁKung: Not attested.
ǁOǁKung: Not attested.
Ekoka ǁXung: Not attested.
Proto North Khoisan: Not reconstructible due to almost complete lack of attestation.

110. YEAR
Juǀʼhoan kûri (1), ǁKxauǁen kûri (1), Grootfontein ǁKung fûû (2), ǁOǁKung kûri (1), Ekoka ǁXung jû (3), Proto North Khoisan *kûri # (1).

References and notes:


Kung: Not attested.


O Kung: Bleek 1956: 107; Bleek 1929: 94. The latter source also lists maka, confirmed in [Bleek 1956: 133], as a synonym; this must be a very recent Bantu borrowing. J. Snyman lists an entirely different form: fuii [Snyman 1980: 56].


Proto North Khoisan: Distribution: Although the form kuri is far more widespread in the meaning ‘year’ than any other one, it is also most likely of Central Khoisan origin (Proto-Central Khoisan *kuri id.); the only question is whether it had already penetrated into Proto-North Khoisan, or was borrowed independently into different dialects. There are, however, no serious alternate candidates for ‘year’ on the protolanguage level anyway. Replacements: (a) Grootfontein fui, of unknown origin; (b) Ekoka jì = ‘rain’ q.v. Reconstruction shape: The reconstruction is based directly on Ju|hoan.