Vocabulary matchings in !Xóõ and Ju|’hoan*

The word-sets given in the paper consist of 281 matchings of vocabulary items between !Xóõ (T) and Ju|’hoan (J). The Taa (Southern Khoisan) language !Xóõ and the Ju (Northern Khoisan) language Ju|’hoan are the best-documented lects in their respective families. The paper also includes a discussion of some interesting structural parallels between the two languages, and implications for language classification.

*Keywords*: Khoisan languages, Ju family, Taa family, lexical resemblances, areal contacts.

The analysis of lexical similarity in previous comparisons

Although past researchers, most notably Greenberg (1963), Ruhlen (1994) and Ehret (1986), have taken lexical evidence such as the comparisons listed in this paper as proof positive of a common descent from a putative Proto-Khoisan, more recent researchers, e.g. Güldemann (2008), Sands (2009), Honken (2006) and König (2008) have taken the view that such similarities are better explained as the result of extensive borrowing.

A mass of lexical similarities cannot be taken as proof-positive of a relationship between languages; the validity and significance of the similarities must first be ascertained. Ruhlen (1994) rounded out Greenberg’s 116 etymologies to a full 645 on the premise that this should convince the rudest skeptic. But Ruhlen uses the same shaky data as Greenberg — Bleek’s (1929) Comparative Vocabularies — and his proposed etymologies have numerous flaws of their own, even aside from the fact that he offers no repeated correspondences. To name only a few: he repeats the same data under different headings (#147 BARTER is the same etymon as #191 BUY); he ignores more recent data (e.g. Traill 1986 which would affect such etymologies as #145 BAKE: Ju saw is from an initial affricate, but in Tati čoo the initial is from a palatal click); he sometimes repeats Greenberg’s data under a different name (#401 ‘to moo’ is the same data as Greenberg’s ‘to cry’); in comparing clicks, he uses a scatter-gun approach (for example #204 CATCH S1 |ki, N1 |kai, C2 fai) and he has no control over the data (in #260 FATHER S3 baba and N1 ba are compared to Naro auba, even though the -ba is a gender ending and not part of the stem, and he has not one but two etymologies for to write!).

Most contemporary researchers in the Khoisan area follow Westphal (1962) in believing that Khoisan consists of a number of unrelated families, though the possibility of some ancient

*Editors’ note. Henry Honken (1938–2012) specialized in Khoisan linguistics for several decades. His earliest studies presumed the existence of a Khoisan family as a single genetic unit; however, in his later works, while searching for stricter sound correspondences between languages, he also became concerned with issues of genetic vs. areal similarities between the many branches of “Khoisan”, arguing in favor of a more meticulous, “bottom up” approach to reconstructing the prehistory of these languages. Subsequently, along with Bernd Heine, he helped establish the existence of the Kx’a language family (consisting of Ju and |Hoan language families).

When Henry passed away in June 2012, he left behind a number of unfinished manuscripts. Bonny Sands, who regularly provided feedback on his papers, prepared the manuscript that this paper was based on for publication by updating the introduction, adding citations, and writing a conclusion paragraph.*
connection is kept open. Traill (1986) already showed that certain words are wide-spread in the Khoisan area (macro-Khoisan in his terminology, pan-Khoisan in mine). However, given the overall similarity of the phonological systems and the lack of sound historical information, it is often difficult to decide which similarities are loans and what was the direction of borrowing.

!Xóõ and Juǀ'hoan lexical similarities

This paper focuses on lexical similarities found between !Xóõ and Juǀ’hoan, which are provided in examples #1–190. These examples are grouped according to consonant type, beginning with non-click consonants (#1–64), followed by the clicks (#65–190). An additional 91 lexical sets given in the Appendix. These have semantic or phonological irregularities when compared with the examples given in the text.

A general gloss has been given in the leftmost column indicating the shared semantics of the !Xóõ and Juǀ’hoan words. Where the actual glosses in the language differs, it will be indicated after the entry, with T = Taa (!Xóõ) and J1 indicating Juǀ’hoan. Occasionally, forms from Okongo !Xuun (J2) based on Heikkinen (1986) will also be indicated. Additional lexical items with related meanings may also be indicated, with ǁHoan forms cited from Gruber (1975), Naro from Visser (2001), Nama from Haacke & Eiseb (2002), and Kxoe from Oswin Köhler’s work. In some cases, sample sentences are given to help the reader see the parallelism between the forms in the two languages.

The original orthography of Traill’s dictionary has generally been maintained with some simplifications which should all be fairly obvious. In Juǀ’hoan, the tones have been marked according to Westphal’s notation and the orthography approximates standard IPA rather than the current orthography used by the Juǀ’hoan themselves. However, nasalization has been indicated by a superscript n.

Although there are patterns of sound correspondences in the word sets given here, it is not always possible to declare that there are regular sound correspondences. For instance, in examples #1–2, there are two cases of !Xóõ /b/ corresponding to Juǀ’hoan /m/, but in #3–5 we see the correspondence /m/ ~ /m/.

| Gloss | !Xóõ | Juǀ'hoan |
|-------|------|----------|
| 1. diminutive sg. | -bà/-bâ | -mà |
| 2. insect name | -bôlobolo | āmbôrō |

Additional information: !Xóõ lämtäbôbolo ‘carder bee, leaf eater bee’; J1 = ‘mosquito’.

| 3. speak non-click lang. | mā’ni | ma’ni, nā’i < *mā’i |
| 4. turn, answer | māli | màni |
| 5. Citrullus lanatus | tähm | tāmā |

Both T and J1, identical singular and plural. In T, an irregular diminutive tē’lu-bà. In Khoe, this form is recorded only for Nama (in Naro in the pejorative meaning ‘Herero’, in J1 it also has this meaning) and may have been borrowed into Proto-Khoekhoe from San. We have Nama tshāma-p ‘C. lanatus’.

| 6. overcome | tà’a kV | tà’a n |

Cf. T èh jau’ ni bà tà’a kā-n 3SG name TRS ASP overcome TP-1SG

‘I can’t remember his name’ = ‘His name overcomes me.’
Vocabulary matchings in ǃXóõ and Ju/hoan

7. demonstrative
   J1  ká  tȁv
   T  ká
   ‘I can’t do it’ = ‘It overcomes me.’

8. striped polecat
   dȁ
   ‘This’, ká
   ‘here, this’; J1 = ‘that’.

9. path
   dão
   ‘|’

10. slack
    dâähbu
    tâhû
    Cf. Angolan ǂNǃ: tábò, #Hoan kà|êkà|êbu.

11. flutter
    dthâba
    dhâd|à-mâ
    J1 = ‘butterfly’, presumably < dhâmà.

12. gums
    dâzén
   ’à
    Note: Angolan ǃXũ: dàń-sì.

13. expose genitals
    nà
    nòn
    Note: Angolan ǃXũ: dàń-sì.

14. tadpole
    tàmkútúlukú
    tãmtakûri
    T = ‘diving beetle’. Cf. also J1 tãmtãsà
    ‘black crake’.

15. want
    káni
    kàrè

16. year
    kúli
    kúrí
    This is pan-Khoisan.

17. hasten
    kúe
tv kòè
    ‘do in a hurry’; J1 = ‘race each other’. cf. also Khoe.

18. walk pigeon-toed
    gàba
    gábá

19. drink too little to be satisfied
    gölo
    gá’årô

20. navel
    göbo
    góbá
    J1 perhaps < góbô + nominal formant -a. Cf. also Khoe.

21. to roll
    gàni
    gâni

22. goose
    gâan
    gâbaan

23. compress
    gàko
    gáro

24. to come
    sîi
    tsî

25. conjunction (then)
    tî
    T. à|n tû jà|gû |sì  à |gû
    fire 3SG/2 heat-3SG/3 3SG/3 CONJ PST shrivel
    ‘The fire heated it and (then) it shriveled.’

26. to flow
    sû|nî
    tsû|nî

27. gravy
    sàà
    tfàn

28. medicine
    sòo
    tfô

29. sip sthg hot
    sâm kV
    tfâm

30. to wag
    sâmsâm kV
    tfámtfâm
    T ‘flick tail (as lion); J1 ‘wag (of dog wagging tail)’.

31. to ritually feed
    sòo
    tfôan (-a)
    ‘Because long ago my uncle ritually fed me.’
The people ritually fed the child.

32. be disrespectful
dzáá
zá
T. ‘be disrespectful, illtreat’; J1 ‘swear at, insult’.

33. hunger
dzá’ı
(tʃìŋ)-zàᵇú
people IMP rit.feed child

34. upper lip
dzúm
zùⁿ
T. ‘be disrespectful, illtreat’; J1 ‘swear at, insult’.

35. male PN
dzáo
zúu

36. thin
dzá’ba-tá
ʃà’m
J1 zür, J2 zóy < Proto Ju "dzon.

37. turn
dzá’bidzá’bi
ʃábiʃábi
J1 = ‘soon’; Cf. T dzö’ar ‘ant’; J2 ndzo’arndzo’er ‘fly’.

38. day after tomorrow
kʊ́mà
(ŋɨhò)-kʊ́mà
J1 ‘soon’; Cf. T kúbe ‘tomorrow’, J2 kʊ́mè ‘tomorrow’.

39. break
kúaⁿ
kòaⁿ
J1 = ‘stretch’, cf. J2 kòa ‘break’. But this may be a loan from Khoe. Cf. Nama kʊ́də, Kxoe kʊ́də, Naro kʊ́də.

40. erect hairs
kò³la
gòaⁿrà

41. be wide
tshàò
ʃàò

42. begin
tʃhɔatshòa
ʃɔʃɔa
Borrowed from Nama?

43. hole
dzũbè
Adverbial
For the voicing contamination see Traill’s paper on Taa dialects.

44. to suck
qâm
kài’m
T qâm (q₄BV, H) ‘suckle, kiss’; J1 kài’m ‘suck’, b ’im ‘suckle’; T qûm (q₄BV, H) ‘suck out and swallow’; J1 kɔi’m ‘hold back pips in mouth’. But this form is widespread, occurring also in E. ḤHoà and Khoe.

45. long ago
qá’a
ká’a
J1 = ‘a little while ago, now’; cf. also J1 kála-há ‘already’, kála-ŋhòán ‘just now’, J2 kà‘er ‘then’.

J1 mì kála-há lì‘ari ‘I trapped a guineafowl’ (1SG + ADV + catch + guineafowl). J2 sè ká’án lì‘añ-à lì‘há këñjûbi-hán ‘They then tied the meat in bundles’ (3PL + ADV + tie + TRANS PART + meat + TRANS PART + bundle-PL). Cf. Köhler kà‘-hin-kè ‘now’.

Cf. also interjection: T qhá ‘eh no; J2 khà’.

46. nominalizing suffix
-sé
-sí

47. noun suffix
-sè
-sê

48. hang the head
xɔ’lo
xɔrɔxɔrò
J1 = ‘hang heavy (fruit)’.

49. crush
xà’m
xários

50. marijuana
qhàna
xànà
Cf. T qhàla- ‘spit out’; J2 ghàrá.

51. larynx
changer
changer

52. to help
úhi
hüü

53. to stir
hùní sV
hùní

54. move
ú’han
hɔà’hoàn

T ʃɔ́nì kà ʌ’er ka’ l’ʌar-të ‘move eyes back and forth’; J1 ‘move, alternate’.
| 55. to eat | 'âa^n | ʔm |
| 56. pack up | 'āba síi | 'ābāsi |
| 57. dawn | kx’āo | kx’àu^n |
| 58. stretch marks | dtxo^[a] | txòa^n |
| 59. thread together | txóm | txómá |
| 60. bridge of nose | ts’kx’únu | ts’ú^n |
| 61. fart | dts[^h]àm | (ʃàrè)-ʒȁ/|
| 62. gland | dts[^h]àn | zâ[^i]n |
| 63. bump | dts[^h]ô^[i]u^n | dʃ[^h]ùú'n |
| 64. blow a fire | dts[^h]ûm | dʃ[^h]ùú'n |

**Clicks**

**The Glottal Accompaniment**

| 65. be dry | ʔò | ʔò |
| 66. medicine | ʔòo | ʔú^w|-ąí |
| 67. to think | t’án sV | t’án |
| 68. enough | ʔ’âu^n | ʔ’âu^n |
| 69. to kick | t’ií | t’áí |
| 70. bicep | t’ölo | t’ôré |
| 71. to kiss | t’ûma^n | t’óm-á |
| 72. care for | ʔ’úí^n | ʔ’úí^w-á |
| 73. dish | t’û-le | t’ôré |
| 74. stick for stick game | [ ]’ábi | [ ]’ábi |
| 75. possessions | [ ]’ái | [ ]’ái |
| 76. fertile egg | [úa[^h]úa^n | [’ɔa[^h]’ða^n |
The egg is fertilized.

The chicken’s egg is fertilized.

The egg is fertilized.

Cf. idiom: T 'èe s'búa, J2 ḳú ì'à (eat a) yawn'.

Plain voiceless clicks

79. aardwolf jìbì jàbhì
80. increase jàbhò jàbhò
81. to follow jàbhò jàbhò
82. finish jàbhà jàbhà
Note also: ‘prevent’ T ḳa kV; J2 jàrá.

83. buy, sell jàbhòn jàbhòn
84. Black man jàbè jàbè
85. path jàró jàró
86. sleeping mat jàoa jàoa

T pl ḳám-sà-tè. Poss. pan-Khoisan, found also in J2 ḳá and in ḳHoá, ṃjuu and Khoe.

87. to pound soft jàh'm jàṇ̃m
T = ‘to pulp’; J1 = ‘stamp grain, break up hard nuts with a stone’.

88. carry on shoulder jàn jàé
J1 ?< 'láe' < 'lúì-

89. carry on head jàú jàú jàú jàú
J1 jàú < jàú '<jàú-
Also J1 jà jàmì.

90. male PN jàé-sà jàé
91. hunting bag jòmà jòmà
92. Toktokkie beetle jòóò jòóò
93. spear jòò à'ò jòò
94. artery jòbhò jòbhò
95. wear on head jàa jàb jàb
96. to push jàbm jàfm
97. set fire jàon jàon jàon-wá
98. well jàm jàú jàú jàú

T jàm suas ‘go well’; J1 jàm tw ‘go well’.

Voiced clicks

99. shelter from jgà jgà
Note: Dickens has jghà.

100. Karoo robin jgàni-sè jgàni-làè!làè-ʃè
Also T jghà 'a mat to lay meat on'; J2 jghà.
101. rotten egg
珣 Spending
珣 101. Rotten egg /pantsblbargūhī /pantsblbargūhi /pantsblbargūhi
珣 T = ‘mound of sand for ṛabi game’; J1 = ‘ash heap’.
珣 Cf. also T rod ḏgāli ‘rod’; J2 ḏgārī ‘springhare hook’. T ḏgānu ‘dry skin’; J2 ḏgārū.

102. mound
珣 Spending
珣 102. Mound /pantsblbargūu /pantsblbargūu /pantsblbargūu
珣 J1 is a praise name for the mound.
珣 Cf. also T ḏgāu ‘rod’; J2 ḏgārī ‘springhare hook’. T ḏgānū ‘dry skin’; J2 ḏgārū.

103. late afternoon
珣 Spending
珣 103. Late afternoon /pantsblbargōa /pantsblbargōa /pantsblbargōa
珣 J1 is a praise name for the vulture.
珣 Cf. also T ḏgā’o ‘rod’; J2 ḏgā’rī ‘springhare hook’. T ḏgānū ‘dry skin’; J2 ḏgārū.

104. vulture
珣 Spending
珣 104. Vulture /pantsblbargōa /pantsblbargōa /pantsblbargōa
珣 Cf. also T ḏgā’o ‘rod’; J2 ḏgā’rī ‘springhare hook’. T ḏgānū ‘dry skin’; J2 ḏgārū.

105. enter
珣 Spending
珣 105. Enter /pantsblbargōa /pantsblbargōa /pantsblbargōa
珣 T ḏgā’oV (H). J2 ḏgā’o ‘enter’ appears to be a different etymon, comparable to J1 ḏgā’o ‘put on footwear’. Note that the ḏXóõ word is ‘enter’ (pl.) and also means ‘put on shoes’. Cf also ḏHoā ḏm ‘enter’ (pl.).

106. music bow
珣 Spending
珣 106. Music bow /pantsblbargōma /pantsblbargōma /pantsblbargōma
珣 Snyman has ḏgōmāhā.
珣 Cf. J2 ḏgōmā ‘shoes’; ḏgōmā ‘put on shoes’.

107. edible termite
珣 Spending
珣 107. Edible termite /pantsblbargōma /pantsblbargōma /pantsblbargōma
珣 Cf. J2 ḏgōmā ‘shoes’; ḏgōmā ‘put on shoes’.

108. spend the day
珣 Spending
珣 108. Spend the day /pantsblbargōma /pantsblbargōma /pantsblbargōma
珣 Cf. J2 ḏgōmā ‘shoes’; ḏgōmā ‘put on shoes’.

109. red oxide
珣 Spending
珣 109. Red oxide /pantsblbargōma /pantsblbargōma /pantsblbargōma
珣 Cf. J2 ḏgōmā ‘shoes’; ḏgōmā ‘put on shoes’.

110. hip bone
珣 Spending
珣 110. Hip bone /pantsblbargōma /pantsblbargōma /pantsblbargōma
珣 Cf. J2 ḏgōmā ‘shoes’; ḏgōmā ‘put on shoes’.

111. belch
珣 Spending
珣 111. Belch /pantsblbargōma /pantsblbargōma /pantsblbargōma
珣 Cf. J2 ḏgōmā ‘shoes’; ḏgōmā ‘put on shoes’.

112. deep mud
珣 Spending
珣 112. Deep mud /pantsblbargōma /pantsblbargōma /pantsblbargōma
珣 J1 = ‘mushiness’.
珣 Cf. J2 ḏgōmā ‘shoes’; ḏgōmā ‘put on shoes’.

113. pull through legs
珣 Spending
珣 113. Pull through legs /pantsblbargōma /pantsblbargōma /pantsblbargōma
珣 Cf. J2 ḏgōmā ‘shoes’; ḏgōmā ‘put on shoes’.

114. (put on) shoes
珣 Spending
珣 114. (Put on) Shoes /pantsblbargōma /pantsblbargōma /pantsblbargōma
珣 Cf. J2 ḏgōmā ‘shoes’; ḏgōmā ‘put on shoes’.

115. to slap
珣 Spending
珣 115. To slap /pantsblbargōma /pantsblbargōma /pantsblbargōma
珣 Cf. J2 ḏgōmā ‘shoes’; ḏgōmā ‘put on shoes’.

116. Ehretia rigida
珣 Spending
珣 116. Ehretia rigida /pantsblbargōma /pantsblbargōma /pantsblbargōma
珣 Cf. also T ḏgānu, J2 ḏgārū ‘dry skin’; T. ḏgānu, J2 ḏgārūkū ‘trachea’.

Velar friction accompaniment
珣 Spending
珣 117. Be fertilized (of egg) /pantsblbargōma /pantsblbargōma /pantsblbargōma
珣 J1 = ‘be partly hatched’.
珣 Cf. J2 ḏgānu ‘put on footwear’.

118. have miscarriage
珣 Spending
珣 118. Have miscarriage /pantsblbargōmā /pantsblbargōmā /pantsblbargōmā
珣 Cf. J2 ḏgānū ‘put on footwear’.

119. cloth
珣 Spending
珣 119. Cloth /pantsblbargōmā /pantsblbargōmā /pantsblbargōmā
珣 Cf. J2 ḏgānū ‘put on footwear’.

120. booze
珣 Spending
珣 120. Booze /pantsblbargōmā /pantsblbargōmā /pantsblbargōmā
珣 Cf. J2 ḏgānū ‘put on footwear’.

121. pipe
珣 Spending
珣 121. Pipe /pantsblbargōmā /pantsblbargōmā /pantsblbargōmā
珣 Cf. J2 ḏgānū ‘put on footwear’.

122. stir a soft substance
珣 Spending
珣 122. Stir a soft substance /pantsblbargōmā /pantsblbargōmā /pantsblbargōmā
珣 J1 = ‘make porridge’.
珣 Cf. J2 ḏgānū ‘put on footwear’.

123. San person
珣 Spending
珣 123. San person /pantsblbargōmā /pantsblbargōmā /pantsblbargōmā
珣 Cf. J2 ḏgānū ‘put on footwear’.

124. to (set) trap
珣 Spending
珣 124. To (set) trap /pantsblbargōmā /pantsblbargōmā /pantsblbargōmā
珣 Cf. J2 ḏgānū ‘put on footwear’.

125. unwind
珣 Spending
珣 125. Unwind /pantsblbargōmā /pantsblbargōmā /pantsblbargōmā
珣 Cf. J2 ḏgānū ‘put on footwear’.

126. bad luck
珣 Spending
珣 126. Bad luck /pantsblbargōmā /pantsblbargōmā /pantsblbargōmā
珣 Cf. J2 ḏgānū ‘put on footwear’.
T ń à ń ǁxáo
1SG PST ASP bad.luck
‘I’ve had bad luck.’

J1 mí ǀxò tè ɓe-tàmà
1SG bad.luck CJN hunt-AUX (AUX = unsuccessful)
‘I had bad luck and hunted in vain.’

127. sweep ǁǁxáí ǁǁxáí
Cf. also Tǁǁxáu ‘point between shoulder blades’ and J2 ǁǁxáu ‘back’.

128. leave young at home ǁǁxàò ǁǁxàù
For vocalism, cf. #57 ‘red color of dawn’.

129. awl ǁgǁxàâni ǁgǁxàín
T = ‘drill for eggshell beads’. Cf. J2 ǁgǁxàt < Ju ǁgǁxan.

130. spit ritually ǁgǁxòo ǁgǁxòo ǁgǁxò ǁgǁxò
T = ‘crackling sound of walking on dry vegetation’; J1 = ‘buzz of insect’.

Ejective accompaniment

132. to visit ǁx’äe ǁx’äe
133. notch in arrow ǁx’àn-sì (tfhí)-ǁx’àí
Cf. J2 ǁx’àři ‘to notch’.

134. male PN ǁq’àe-sè ǁx’àè-fè
135. wash by rubbing ǁq’àm ǁx’àm
136. to mix ǁx’àúm ǁx’àúm
137. clay ǁq’àá-ká ǁgǁx’àá
138. twist body ǀx’à ámb ǀx’à ámb
139. to wring ǀx’àlì ǀx’àrì
140. join, together ǁǁx’àe kV ǁǁx’àé
T ǁ ‘isì ń ǁǁx’àè !dá !i
1PL ASP join sit-PL AUXSTAT
‘We are sitting compacted.’

J1 mì-lá ǁgǁhòô ǁǁx’àé
1PLINC-PL sit-PL join.
‘We are sitting together.’

Note: this etymon is pan-Khoisan.

141. be sated ǁǁx’ààn ǁǁx’à
142. stink ǁǁx’àu ǁǁx’àú
143. to punch ǁǁx’àm ǁǁx’àm

Uvular accompaniments

144. dent ǀqào ǀgùô
145. sink in sthg soft ǀq̓òhm-ǁ’uma ǀg̓ò’m
146. to hunt ǀq̓áhe ǀl̓è
Cf. also T ljëé sg, ljùm pl ‘Nama person’; J2 ljê ‘a Black’.
### Vocabulary matchings in ǃXóõ and Ju/hoan

147. snot  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{j} \text{ɔ} \text{n}\]  
T = ‘phlegm’; J1 = ‘blow nose’.

148. Barn owl  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{h} \text{o}\]  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{j} \text{ɔ} \text{n}\]

149. look out of corner of eye  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{h} \text{i}\]  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{j} \text{ɔ} \text{n}\]

150. Acacia fleckii  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{h} \text{i}\]  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{j} \text{ɔ} \text{n}\]

151. corn cricket  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{h} \text{i}\]  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{j} \text{ɔ} \text{n}\]

Cf. T ǂkã’má ‘wing’; J2 ǃbhá.  

152. Aloe zebrina  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{h} \text{o}\]  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{j} \text{ɔ} \text{n}\]

153. rinse  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{h} \text{o}\]  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{j} \text{ɔ} \text{n}\]

### Aspirated accompaniments

154. to drive  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{h} \text{i}\]  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{j} \text{í}\]

155. Corallocarpus bainesii  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{h} \text{i}\]  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{j} \text{í}\]

156. rhino  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{h} \text{i}\]  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{j} \text{í}\]

T = ‘buffalo’.

157. to stretch out  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{h} \text{ñ} \text{a} \text{n}\]  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{j} \text{h} \text{án}\]

Cf. also J2 ‘bhó C. bainesii, fët ‘rhino’. Cf. T ‘bhóc’, J2 ‘bhé ‘raw’; T. ‘bhókí kà ‘take between fingers and pinch’, J2 ‘bhái ‘pinch’; T ‘bhá’ ‘pound, stamp’, J2 ‘bhâ ‘hammer in, crack’; T ‘bháa, J2 ‘bhé ‘show’.

### Nasal Accompaniment

158. real, true  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{h} \text{a} \text{ñ}\]  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{j} \text{h} \text{án}\]

Cf. ethnonyms: T tüu ‘ŋa hän’, J1 ‘jù ŋañ. The underlying meaning of the ǃXóõ word seems to be ‘body’ and the same semantic connection is found in Naro where jñæ means both ‘body’ and ‘true’.

159. sack  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{h} \text{o}\]  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{j} \text{á}\]

160. Fockea sp.  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{h} \text{á} \text{bà}\]  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{j} \text{á} \text{bá}\]

161. womb  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{h} \text{o} \text{ñ}\]  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{j} \text{ó} \text{ño}\]

162. Oxygonum sp.  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{h} \text{á} \text{bà}\]  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{j} \text{á} \text{bà}\]

163. walk quickly  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{h} \text{á} \text{bà}\]  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{j} \text{á} \text{bà}\]

164. foam  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{h} \text{ú} \text{bú}\]  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{j} \text{ú} \text{bú}\]

Cf. also T ‘ñá m ‘duck, evade’; J1 ‘ñá’, J2 ‘ñjà ‘stick sp.’; T ‘ñá ‘stirring ring stick, dzari game stick’; Hoá ‘ñá ‘zini game stick’; J1 ‘ñá ‘branch’; Nama ‘ñá ‘branch, twig’. For semantics, cf. J1 ‘ñá ‘bow’, J2 ‘ñá “stirring stick’, Hoá ‘ñá ‘tree’; J1 ‘ñá ‘stick for helicopter toy’, T ‘ñá ‘pestle’.

### Nasal Accompaniment

165. to love  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{j} \text{ám} \text{k} \text{V}\]  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{j} \text{á} \text{m}\]

166. to restrain  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{j} \text{é} \text{ñ}\]  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{j} \text{à} \text{é}\]

J1 = ‘intervene in quarrel’.

167. A. naudinianus  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{j} \text{ú} \text{ñ}\]  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{j} \text{ú} \text{á}\]

T ‘tuber of Acanthosicyos naudinianus’, sg ‘ñá-ñ; pl ‘ñá-sà; J1 (?) < ‘ñá ‘+ -ñ nom. suff.

168. long for  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{j} \text{ó} \text{o}\]  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{j} \text{ó}\]

169. to rub  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{j} \text{ú} \text{a} \text{ñ}\]  
\[\text{ŋ} \text{j} \text{ó} \text{bá}\]
170. to whet  &ητάν &ητάνι  
T = ‘flint’.

171. thicket/herd  &ητά‘βνι &ητά‘  
T = ‘herd of gemsbok’, cf. also T &ητά‘β’i  ‘stand, clump of small trees or bushes’; J1 = ‘swarm, flock, herd, clump, thicket’, cf. also – &ητά’ė  ‘herd of –’, &ητά’ė’–&ητά’ė’  ‘big village’.

172. glue, tar  &ητά’υ &ητά’υ  

173. travel at night  &ητά’υβ &ητά’υβ  

174. get lost  &ητά’β &ητά’β  

175. to criticize  &ητά’β &ητά’β  

176. country  &ητά’λ &ητά’λ  
T pl &ητά’λ-κ &ητά’λ-κ  ‘country’.

177. open space  &ητά’λ &ητά’λ  
T &θ’ά’μ  ‘Light a fire in the clearing.’  
J1 &ητά’λ &ητά’λ-α  ‘There’s an open space by the door.’

178. get lost  &ητά’β &ητά’β  
Also J1 &ητά’β  ‘lose one’s way’.

179. stork  &κά’γ &κά’γ  
This word may be borrowed from Khoe, where we have Nama &ητά’β‘p &ητά’β‘p  and Naro &ητά‘h‘b &ητά‘h‘b  implying Proto Khoe *ητά‘h‘p(R). Since the *e correspondence in Khoe is normally borrowed into Ju as e or i, the Ju‘hoan form would seem to be borrowed from Nama. At the same time, the prefix and laryngealized vowel in ǂXóõ suggest that the form has some antiquity in that language. More data is needed on the distribution of this form, especially in Khoe.

180. talk  &ητά’έ &ητά’έ  

181. dish up  &ητά’ά  &ητά’ά  

182. to scatter  &ητά’ά  &ητά’ά  

183. shake head  &ητά’ά &ητά’ά &ητά’ά &ητά’ά &ητά’ά &ητά’ά  

184. (un)wind  &ητά’μ &ητά’μ  
T = ‘twist, coil’; J1 = ‘unwind’.

**Glottalized nasal accompaniment.**

185. springhare  ‘&ητά’ί &ητά’ί  
Cf. J2 ‘ητά’ί.

186. lame  ‘&ητά’μ &ητά’μ  
T = ‘limp’; cf. J2 ‘ητά’μ.

187. hill  &ητά’μ &ητά’μ  
J1 = ‘dune’; cf. J2 ‘ητά’μ.  
Cf. also T ‘ητά’μ, J2 ‘ητά’μ  ‘to bark’.

188. whirlwind  ‘&ητά’ό &ητά’ό &ητά’ό &ητά’ό &ητά’ό  
Also cf. T ‘ητά’ό, J2 ‘ητά’ό  ‘rainy season’.

189. T. esculentum  ʔ&ητά’ό &ητά’ό &ητά’ό &ητά’ό &ητά’ό  
J1 refers to ‘Tylosema esculentum tuber’.
Voicing lead

190. elbow  

| ǃXóõ | Ju/pipe'hoan |
|------|--------------|
| g|húli | ǂhúni |

Cf. J2 ǂhúní.  

Also cf T ǂká'na, J2 ǂká'ábâ ‘wing’. This is pan-Khoisan: ǂHoá ǂhá’ma, Kxoe ǂgá’ámá, |Gui ǂgá’má, Naro ǂxámá. But note that |Gui words with pharyngealized vowels and low tone are for the most part loan words and the correspondence with Naro seems unusual.

Discussion of !Xóõ and Ju/pipe’hoan lexical similarities

If we believe that the Taa and Ju families that these languages belong to are unrelated, then the vocabulary correspondences set out below must perforce be the result of borrowing. But, is there any reason why we cannot take these correspondences as evidence of a genetic relationship, particularly in view of the structural similarities also noted below, as Greenberg and Ruhlen would surely do?

I believe there are several reasons why we should proceed with caution. First of all, although the correspondences cover a wide semantic range, if we look at the vocabulary in terms of basic semantic areas, we see much less similarity. None of the kin terms in !Xóõ have any analogue in Ju/pipe’hoan. Although there are many animal and bird names in the list, none of the words for major carnivores or herbivores correspond (lion, leopard, eland, kudu etc.). We find a number of corresponding words for body parts but none of the major words — head, eye, ear, hand, foot, heart — correspond. The same is true in general for natural phenomena, color terms, verbs of motion and so on.

More importantly, however, there are no characteristic sound correspondences: either the words are identical or nearly so, or they show random uncontextualized variation (as is generally true of words with pharyngealized vowels). For examples of nearly identical forms, consider #11–23 and #65–75. For examples of the random uncontextualized variation, see #26 and #94 where !Xóõ and Ju/pipe’hoan exactly reverse the correspondence breathy vowel ~ pharyngealized vowel; #26. ‘to flow’ !Xóõ: sù’ní; Ju/pipe’hoan: tsù’hû vs. ‘artery’ !Xóõ: ìx’ò, Ju/pipe’hoan: ìx’û.

We must also be careful of apparent correspondences resulting from group-internal sound changes that have nothing to do with one another. As an example, in #152–153 we seem to have T ñ – J1 ñ. But there is evidence that Khoe voiceless and voiced uvular clicks have in Naro shifted to plain voiceless and nasal clicks respectively, followed by pharyngealized vowels (cf. puff adder |Gui cã, Naro ñãè, Kxoe æ, |Ani æ; apparently borrowed into Ju as Okongo ñè, Mpunguvlei ñè etc.) So, this apparent sound correspondence may simply be the result of differential borrowing with !Xóõ borrowing from |Gui and Ju/pipe’hoan from Naro, particularly since these words are also cited for Naro. Other paths of borrowing are also possible but the point is that the apparent !Xóõ ñ – Ju/pipe’hoan ñ correspondence here is not necessarily hard evidence for a genetic relationship between Ju and !Xóõ.

Nevertheless, the impressive number of points of resemblance between these languages gathered here at the very least seems to indicate some period of intensive contact between the two. Indeed, the much stronger evidence in favor of a relationship between Ju and |Hoá, taken with the resemblances set out here, might suggest that, rather than |Hoá having wandered south as Westphal proposed, the speakers of Proto-Ju formerly lived much closer to the !Xóõ area and eventually wandered north.
### Structural Parallels

1. **Conditional:** T \( kâ \), J1 \( ká \).

\[
\begin{array}{c}
1SG \quad ASP \quad COND \quad TNS \quad precede \quad go \quad TRPRT \quad hunt \\
\end{array}
\]

‘If I go first on the hunt’

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{person} \quad \text{COND} \quad 3SG \quad \text{IMP} \quad \text{sick} \quad 3SG \quad \text{chest} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘When a person has an illness of the chest’

2. **Diminutive:** T \(-bâ/-bâ\), J1 \( -mà \).

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{diminutive sg.} \quad \text{Ju|pipe’hoan} \\
\text{diminutive pl.} \quad \text{ma} \quad \text{-màni} \quad \text{-m} \\
\end{array}
\]

It is not clear from the available data whether the Ju diminutive is productive. The dictionaries list the forms individually. In both Ju|pipe’hoan and Ovamboland !Xô, the singular \(-ma\) (also found as an independent noun meaning ‘child’) has an irregular plural from the subclass of nouns characterized by tonal change in the plural: Ju|pipe’hoan sg. \(-mà\), pl. \(-mâ\); Ju -mâni -m. This suffix appears to have been fused to certain stems; e.g., child sg. dâ‘àbà, pl. dâ‘àbi (< *dâ‘à-mâ\(\))

In !Xôô, the dim pl is marked by ǃ’âni, the plural of ǃàa ‘child’ in the Lonetree dialect but in the Kutuku dialect the forms are sg. -bà, pl. -mâni. The correspondence here of irregularities between !Xôô and Northern Khoisan is quite striking (presumably Ju -mêvé, -mê\(i\)\(< \ast*man\(\))

3. **Nominalizing suffix/noun suffix.**

Traill’s dictionary cites \(-sè\) as simply a noun suffix, but there appear to be two nominal suffixes of this form. High-toned \(-sè\) attaches only to verb stems and forms a nominalization of that verb. Examples are T xâu ‘to respect’, xâu-\(sè\) ‘kin avoidance’, kâ’av ‘to insult’, kâ’av-\(sè\) ‘insults’; J1 njâj ‘sit’, njâj-sè ‘seat’, kx’ôa\(v\) ‘look for’, kx’ôa-sè ‘eyes’, ëgà\(v\) ‘high’, ëgà\(v\)-sè ‘height’. It appears to be rare in !Xôô; there are only five listings in Traill’s dictionary. The only likely overlap involves a change of meaning: T. \(gô\) ‘be generous’, \(gô-sè\) ‘gifts’; J1 \(gô\) ‘be stingy’, \(gô-sè\) ‘stinginess’.

Low-toned \(-sè\) attaches to a wide variety of stems, the result being a noun. This suffix is non-productive in both !Xôô and Ju|pipe’hoan and its increment of meaning is difficult to define, but the majority of the nouns involved are bird and animal names. With this suffix, the overlaps between the two languages are somewhat more numerous.

T (tûlu)-\(hê-sè\), J1 nhû-fê ‘fork-tailed drongo’; T \(gânî-sè\), J1 \(gânî-ûëûë-fê\) ‘karoo robin’; T qû-i-sè, J1 kô-fê ‘male PN’; T qû-ûsè, J1 \(kûê-fê\) ‘male PN’; T \(kûûû-sè\), J1 nhû-gûx’ûri-fê ‘pale chanting goshawk’.

4. **Verb prefix and transitive particle.**

In both !Xôô and Ju there is a subclass of verbal stems which take a \(k\)-prefix. Some examples from !Xôô are kâðxôô ‘shuffle’, kân’â’n ‘stagger’, kâ‘ñüma ‘blink’; in some cases, the \(k\)-element brackets the stem as in kâðôôkâ ‘be smeared with dirt’.
In her grammar of Ovamboland ǃXũ, Heikkinen treats the analogous element as a “dummy verb” and says it usually takes the transitive particle but does not give any examples. However, from the examples in the vocabulary, we can see that just as in ǃXóõ there are prefixed forms as in këdù'ùbì ‘cut’ and bracketed forms like këmȁnȉkȉ ‘hide’.

In Ju'hoan this class appears to be very much reduced; the only examples in Snyman and Dickens are kòkx’úí ‘speak’, kònàm ‘slumber’ and kòts’àũ ‘jump away’. However, Dickens notes in his grammar that ideophones take the transitive particle kò (kò /gòhbú ‘splash’), though like Heikkinen he does not discuss this point in detail.

This leads us directly into another point of contact between the two languages, namely the transitive particle, an element in k- that marks adjuncts of the verb: objects, locative and instrumental phrases and adverbs of various sorts. In ǃXóõ, this element changes its form to agree with the gender of its head, but Traill gives the base form as kâ. Indeed this is the most striking resemblance among the languages involved: that the verbal transitive particle and the verbal prefix have the same vocalization: T. kâhò/glottalrevbe ‘shake hard’, kē kōpì tshôe ‘in the cup’; J1 kòkx’úí ‘speak’, kò tàfèr /pipehó ‘on the table’; J2 kètsà/glottalrevì ‘make haste’, kè ts’ù njàŋ ‘in the house.’

Examples of the verbal prefix:

**ǃXóõ**

èh ŋ tshōa thān kâ/ŋhò'bukâ 3SG TNS begin sleep ADV(NOD OFF) 'He is nodding off to sleep.'

kâŋ/exclam1á'm kâ /pipe/pipeūm surround TP2 springbok 'surround the springbok.'

lā’i ŋ kā bà kâtúpká ih ŋ ʃáma ʃjüa’í lion TNS COND ASP R&L 3SG1 TNS carry aggression (kâtúpká = ‘raise and lower the head [as a lion]’)

**Ju'hoan**

kā /ŋhöàn kōgðhâo ||’a-kâ dshāu ʃ’āufè tsåú COND man fall.asleep DEIC woman ADV rise 'When the man fell asleep, the woman quietly got up.'

hâ kōgðhâo kō zì bx’ã tê dshāu-si kôlũih lũäh särã-ã-khðe 3SG1 splatter TP shit heart CONJ woman-PL ADV run scatter-JUNC-REcip 'He landed with a splatter in the shit and the women ran off scattering.'

**ǃXũ**

mâ ké këlã-gũ kë hâ 1SG PST seize-SG TP 3SG1 'I caught him (by the arm).'

Note: Heikkinen, pp. 29–30: “The marker ké also marks a first extension immediately following… one of the small class of double verbs formed from the dummy verbs ké (or kòè)."
Examples of the transitive particle:

ǃXóõ

\[\text{ní á n̥lam tshúu jí kė kálgá’e}\]
1SG TNS dwell sit.SG STAT TP3SG k.
‘I am living at kálgá’e.’

Ju’hoan

\[\text{mí hō-à lhá kò n̥lamà n̥lání}\]
1SG see-TP meat TP path inside
‘I see the meat in the path.’

Conclusion

The number and sort of lexical and grammatical parallels between ǃXóõ and Ju’hoan are striking, yet are consistent with the hypothesis that the (proto)languages have had intensive contact. If the Taa and Ju language families are related to one another, the signal of any shared, inherited linguistic forms is obscured by an overlay of forms shared due to contact. Not only has there been contact between Taa and Ju, but there also has been contact between both families and the Khoe languages.

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### Appendix: Additional matchings showing irregularities

| Gloss                  | !Xóó       | Jul'hoan   |
|------------------------|------------|------------|
| 1. nosebleed           | dzâ’ûⁿ     | dû’ûⁿ     |
|                        | But cf. also dzâ’ûⁿ and J1 zàûⁿ-ûa ‘virgin’ (underlying meaning ‘to bleed’). |
| 2. tie closed          | dtsxà’m    | txôm       |
| 3. not share           | à’hi       | kâ’í       |
| 4. stand on tiptoe     | hó’lo      | tòⁿ-oró tôⁿ-ôrô |
| 5. lift to peek under  | âhbi       | tâ’âbi     |
| 6. marijuana           | qhâña      | xâña       |
| 7. gape                | qàa        | gô’á       |
|                        | But also found in #Hoô gû’û, Kxoê qâa ‘open mouth’, Nama kââ’ûn ‘yawn’. |
| 8. sly                 | kâha       | kâ’âⁿ      |
|                        | J1 = ‘do in secret’. Cf. Nama kâa ‘be clever’. |
| 9. joint               | gûlu       | gôgôrô     |
|                        | T = ankle, J1 = ‘heel’. Cf. also J1 x’á–fûû–gûû ‘heel’. |
| 10. eat dry food       | gûm        | gôm        |
|                        | J1 = ‘swallow’. |
| 11. recline, sg        | tštûu      | jû         |
|                        | T = ‘sit’ sg.; J1 = ‘lie down’ sg. |
| 12. cast skin          | húli       | hûrhûrû-jà |
|                        | T = ‘cast skin, change to another creature’; J1 = ‘smooth’. Cf. also T thûlu ‘smooth’, J1 thûrû ‘change to another creature’; T dûhû–tûhû–dthûû ‘shaved, shorn, bald, smooth’, cf J1 dûrû ‘peel’, dû’ûrû ‘slough skin’, J2 dû’ûrû ‘be naked’. |
| 13. steal              | dzâ’a      | d’â’à      |
|                        | T = ‘hide, conceal’; J1 = ‘steal, kidnap’. |
| 14. lightning          | tâli       | târî       |
|                        | J1 = ‘thunder, echo’. Cf T tâlî ts’êe ‘sound of a lightning strike, lit. ‘lightning cries’. For the quotative verb, cf J1 ʃf’r ‘cries’. |
| 15. form clouds        | ô’ô        | hôô        |
|                        | J1 = ‘clear up’. For other comparisons with a semantic reversal of polarity, consider T k’xû’ûba ‘get up’, J1 khûbû ‘go down’; T gôô ‘generous’, J1 gô ‘stingy’. |
| 16. turn               | qâ’bi, q’âbi tâ | kà’âbê |
|                        | T = ‘turn inside out’, J1 = ‘fold over, roll up (i. e. sleeves)’. Also apparently found in Khoe Naro kâ’bi, ||Ani γâ’bi (re)turn. |
| 17. pull/fall out       | cû’hûm     | kôm        |
|                        | T = ‘pull out grass or hair, pluck’; J1 = ‘fall out (feather)’. |
| 18. choke              | l’úuⁿ      | ʃl’ù’ûⁿ    |
|                        | T l’ûû’mu l’ùuⁿ ‘choke on food’, l’ûû’mu ʃ’ùuⁿ ‘excess saliva in pharynx’; J1 = ‘swallow with difficulty’. |
| 19. cut in pieces       | !âhle      | !âhrè      |
|                        | T = ‘cut meat in pieces’; J1 = ‘cut meat in strips’. |
| 20. bird sp             | !ôbo       | !ôbó       |
|                        | T = ‘quail’; J1 = ‘red-billed francolin’. |
21. shake out ǃàhin ǃàhin
   T = ‘beat a blanket’; J1 = ‘shake out (e.g. liquid)’. Cf. also ‘beat out’ T ǂqfè
   kV; J1 ǂqfè, J2 ǂqfè. Note vowel lowering in J2 related to nasalization.

22. travel ǃáò ǃáû
   T = ‘go “up” back home’; J1 = ‘move, trek’.

23. tell ǃòbé ǃòbé
   T = ‘tell’; J1 = ‘discuss’.

24. take a handful ||'ām ||'x'amí
   Cf. T ||'x'amú ‘bridge of nose’; J2 ||'x'ômú ‘nose’.

25. wrinkled g||'x'âi ||'x'âi

26. snake sp ǂqhúu ǂhú
   T = ‘small python’; J1 = ‘banded spitting cobra’.

27. snatch ||qhúu ||hú
   T = ‘snatch’; J1 = ‘take back a gift’, cf J2 ||qhú ‘snatch’. Cf also T ||qhâla ‘chop
   off pieces’; J2 ||hârá ‘rip up’.

28. to shake ǃŋābu ǃŋ'ùny ǃábû
   T = ‘shake, shiver’; J1 = ‘shake, twitch violently’.

29. cut off ǃŋ|âho ǃŋ|âhù
   T = ‘flay, skin’; J1 = ‘shave’.

30. spill ǃŋ|â'â ǃŋ|â'â
   T = ‘pour, spill’; J1 = ‘sow’.

31. churn ǃŋ|ũ'ãbu ǃŋ|ũ'bû
   T = ‘shake (of liquids)’.

32. catch ǃŋ|ãho ǃŋ|ãhù
   T = ‘catch smth. moving’; J1 = ‘take with both hands’.

33. stomach contents ǃŋ|ãhâna ǃŋ|ãnà
   T = ‘contents of rumen’; J1 = ‘shit, dung’.

34. refuse ǃŋ|â'ni ǃŋ|â'niŋ|ânì
   T = ‘refuse to do what is asked’; J1 = ‘dissuade, i. e. causative of not do’.

35. arm ǃŋ|ã'â'n ǃŋ|ã'n
   T = ‘ulna and radius’.

36. think ǃŋ|ã'ô ǃŋ|ãó
   T = ‘speculate, imagine, think’; J1 = ‘yearn for, mourn, wish’.

37. to tie 'ǃ|M|ãhînî- 'ǃ'M|'ânî
   T ‘tie’ pl.; J1 = ‘tie closed’.

38. wink '/ŋâ/glottalrev'ma -ŋǃò/glottalrev'ómá
   J1 ‘eye-cover-wink’.

39. carry on stick over shoulder ||gâlo ||lâró

40. caracal qhâa ǂ'ûi ǂ'ûi

41. mortar ǃgái ǃåì

42. Oxygonum sp gûe-ǃŋ|ã/hu ŋ|ã/û/ŋ

43. knife ŋ|ã/hû ŋ|ã/hù
   J1 = ‘Ovambo knife’; T = ‘spear’, pl. Cf. Aminuis dialect ‘knife’: sg ŋ|ã/hà, pl
   ŋ|ã/hû.

44. warthog gâhli-sè khârì
   T cited in Traill, Phonology p. 170. J1 = ‘wild pig’.
|   | English | !Xóõ   | Ju/hoan |
|---|---------|--------|---------|
| 45. to fly | dzá'hin | ző'ìn | |
| 46. hair | !x'ôe | !x'úí | |
| T = 'rain'. Cf. J1 "gâbê'uí, njô'îx'úi 'cloud', lit. 'rain's hair'. |
| 47. tease | ||'ã̤í| ||x'ài | |
| 48. rag | g| x'âli | ||x'ài||x'àri | |
| 49. tortoise | n| jûe | ||gôé | |
| 50. nail | ||gá'm | -!â' âm | |
| J1. ljâ'-ô'âm 'finger'. |
| 51. tortoise shell | ||Gôh'a | ||ô'à | |
| T = 'plastron of tortoise'; J1 = 'tortoise', cf J2 ||gô'å id. |
| 52. Pentarrhinum insipidum | â'ñu'a | ||gô'å | |
| T = 'saliva' (?< tongue + water); J1 = 'lick'. |
| 53. tongue | 'nâ'm !qhân | nà'm | |
| 54. growth | su'î'n | | |
| T = 'growth on plant'. Cf. J2 tsûr 'growth on tree'. |
| 55. starling | dzá'ba ìi | ʒò'ài | |
| J1 cited in Dickens, tone not given. Cf. Hlôô dʒô'barî. |
| 56. dance | n| lâm | n| lâm | |
| T = 'play with, joke with'; J1 = 'dance (of women)'. |
| 57. stick sp. | n| u'm | n| lô'm | |
| T = 'pestle'; J1 = 'stick for helicopter game'. |
| 58. trick | n| l'â'a bìi | ʂhâbê | |
| T = 'trickster, deceiver'; J1 = 'trick, deceive'. |
| 59. smoulder | n| lô'hlo | n| lâhrũ | |
| 60. crowned plover | n| lâ'ën | n| lâ'i | |
| 61. worm | t| gu'ţu'n | n| t| gu'ţu'n |
| Cf. K. dialect of !Xôô i-ţhu'w. |
| 62. to trip | t| gâhm-t| gu'lı | n| t| gu'ũnî | |
| 63. to sharpen | n| l'ân | n| hâñ | |
| 64. cool down | n| lâa | n| hôarâ | |
| 65. shoulder | n| lû'bi tshôe | n| lû'ûrû | |
| T = 'armpit' < 'shoulder' (?) + 'inside'. |
| 66. syphon water | n| hûhñ | n| hûrũ | |
| 66. stick sp. | cã'mi | n| jâ'mi | |
| T = 'scraper'; J1 = 'splinter'. |
| 67. chest | !câhma | n| l|hãhmã | |
| T = 'sternum'; J1 = 'hold to chest'. |
| 68. dent | t| cã'm- | ʂx'à'm | |
| 69. ask for | l| gãan | l| ân | |
| 70. warm by the fire | t| âla | t'ârã | |
| 71. mound | t| guûn-t| guûn | tô-| t| guûn-ã | |
| T = 'mound of sand'; J1 = 'ash heap' ('ash' + 'mound' + compound marker), cf. also t| guûn-ţhû-fé 'ant sp.' |
| 72. seize | ||quûu | lhú | |
| T = 'snatch'; J1 = 'take back a gift'; cf also J2 g| l|hû 'rob'. Found also in Khoe. |
73. burn  ♯qhó’obu  ♯x’òbò
T = ‘scorch’; J1 = ‘boil dry, burn’.

74. breathe  ||qhó’a’n  ||xjà’n
J1 = ‘pant’.

75. joint  gıtUXúɓí  ♯xúɓí
T = ‘elbow’; J1 = ‘shoulder joint’.

76. shiver  ♯ga’ni  ♯tà i’rà’ànì

77. wild dog  gıtUXùi  g|x’áuíhi
For initial cf #52 Pentarrhinum insipidum.

78. to siphon  dtsk’òla dts’úì
T = ‘to squirt’. Cf. also T dtsxò’nì ‘stick into (hair, branches)’; J2 djsxò ‘put in under belt’.

79. chin  ||gà’e  !gà’ì
T = ‘dewlap’. Cf. J2 ||gà’ì ‘chin’; cf also Kxoe ||gà’ì, ||gà’ì ‘cheek’.

80. raise up  ǃháɓí  ǃ ámbí

81. pan  ¡gá’o-bà  !lò’
Cf. ‘trachea’ T lgà’lù; J1 b’ò’rù; J2 lgà’rkù. Also T lgà’m ‘jaw muscle’; J1 b’òm ‘cheek’.

82. insect sp.  ||gà’hi-sí  ||gà’è
T = ‘dung beetle’; J1 = ‘termite’, cf J2 lgè’èd ‘termite’ (some forms collected by Amanda Miller-Ockhuizen).

83. erythema  tò’hlo  dò’òrò
84. septum  ||x’únu  ||xàúnú-sí
Cf. J2 |xòónù.

85. wolf spider  ||quhhù  nj’hùù
86. ritual face scars  nj’hú’uma  nj’óm
87. dish up  ||áhi kV  ||áhì
J1 = ‘lure with food’.

88. beg  ||gà’a’n  ||á’n
89. carry on pole over shoulder  ||gálo  !lårà
90. to chop, cut  khà’a’n  khà’n
T = ‘carve’; J1 (cited by Köhler) = ‘to hoe’. Cf. J2 khàr ‘to hoe’ and also Kxoe sàv < *tshàr ‘to hoe’.

91. thong  qhùle  xòrà
Snyman derives the Ju’hoan word from Tsw. kxore id., but this word also occurs as Naro kòrè and Kxoe quvèrè (note also that the Xóô word is in gender 3, the default gender, but has an irregular diminutive qhùlu-hà). It is tempting to bring Nama kàrè-p ‘slingshot’ into this group, but the vocalism presents a serious problem. Vossen suggests that the Nama word is related to Naro lùrè, Kxoe kyàrè ‘cut in strips’ (though these might be borrowed from Ju’hoan lhàrè), as an unusual example of click loss in Nama.

As usual, we have a dauntingly complex web of relationships. The first question to ask is whether the Tswana form has a Bantu etymology. If not, it seems more likely that Tswana borrowed kxore from Naro. Naro kx- corresponds to Gui qh- in a number of words, so the Naro form might be reconstructed as *qhàrè. The form is so far recorded only for Kxoe and Naro, but if any other Khoe languages have a cognate, the word may be recon-
structible for Khoe. The !Xôô word might then be a borrowing from Proto-Naro or Proto-Naro//pipe//Gana *qhôrē and the Ju/hoan form might be borrowed from modern Naro kxôrē, as is the Tswana word (with x- replacing kx- in J1).

There is an alternative explanation for the Nama word — as a borrowing from some other Khoe language which has undergone click loss. This may be the case for another unusual form, jáà 'tread' (Naro náà) found in Kxoe and /pipeGui; it may represent a borrowing of *ŋčpipedblbaráà 'dance' from some Shua or Tshoa language which has shifted *ŋč to n or j.

Г. ХОЕНКЕН. Лексические схождения между !хонг и и жу/хоан.

Статья представляет собой обзор 281 лексического схождения между языками !хонг (Т) и жу/хоан (J1), относящимися к языковым группам таа (южнокойсанская) и жу (севернокойсанская) соответственно. По состоянию на сегодняшний день именно эти языки оказываются наиболее тщательно описанными представителями соответствующих семей. Помимо этого, в статье обсуждается ряд любопытных структурных параллелей между данными языками. На основании проанализированных данных автор приходит к выводу, что наблюдаемые сходства удобнее объяснять через сложную систему ареальных контактов, чем через постулирование генетического родства.

Ключевые слова: койсанские языки, языки жу, языки таа, лексические сходства, ареальные контакты.
