

[Text version of database, created 29/07/2020].

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

Languages included: ||Ani [kho-tan], |Ganda [kho-gnd], Kxoe [kho-huk], Naro [kho-nar], †Haba [kho-hab], |Gwi [kho-gwi], ||Gana [kho-gan], Cara [kho-car], |Xaise [kho-xai], Danisi [kho-dan], Ts'ixa [kho-tsx], Deti [kho-det], Kua [kho-kua], Tsua [kho-tsu], Hiechware [kho-hie].

Reconstruction: Preliminary version available.

DATA SOURCES

General.

Vossen 1988 = Vossen, Rainer (in collaboration with Sabine Neumann, Christina Patriarchi, Margit Rottland, Rainer Spörl, Beate Vagt). *Khoe Linguistic Relationships Reconsidered: The Data*. In: *New Perspectives on the Study of Khoisan*. Ed. by Rainer Vossen. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, pp. 67-108. // *Comparative lexicostatistical data on 14 Khoe lects, personally collected by R. Vossen and his team through extensive fieldwork. The entries that represent reconstructible etymologies have been reprinted in [Vossen 1997], but many of the non-etymologized data are unique for this source.*

Vossen 1997 = Vossen, Rainer. *Die Khoe-Sprachen: Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der Sprachgeschichte Afrikas*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. // *A large monograph that describes phonological and grammatical systems for most known Central Khoisan (Khoe) languages. The Proto-Khoe phonological and morphological systems are also reconstructed. In terms of lexical data, the most useful section is the lexical index, containing several hundred cognate sets with the author's reconstructions and all the actual data provided as well (much of it collected by the author himself). Inarguably the best publication on the Khoe family available so far.*

Vossen 1992 = Vossen, Rainer. *Q in Khoe: borrowing, substrate or innovation?* In: *African linguistic contributions (Festschrift Ernst Westphal)*. Ed. by Derek F. Gowlett. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, pp. 363-388. // *The article deals with most known cases of*

uvular stops and click effluxes in Khoe (Central Khoisan) languages. For poorly described languages, contains some lexical data with these segments that are unavailable in other sources.

I. ||Ani.

Vossen 1986 = Vossen, Rainer. Zur Phonologie der ||Ani-Sprache. **In:** Contemporary studies on Khoisan (Festschrift Oswin R. A. Köhler), v. 2. Ed. by R. Vossen & Klaus Keuthmann. Helmut Buske Verlag, Hamburg, pp. 321-345. // *Brief description of the phonological system of ||Ani, with numerous examples that make it a useful source of lexical data in the absence of a dictionary.*

Vossen 2000 = Vossen, Rainer. Khoisan languages, with a grammatical sketch of ||Ani (Khoe). **In:** Areal and genetic factors in language classification and description: Africa south of the Sahara. Ed. by Petr Zima. Lincom Europa, München, pp. 129-145. // *The article gives a very brief overview of Khoisan languages as a whole, plus, as an illustration, some grammatical data on ||Ani. Of moderate use as a lexical data source.*

II. Kxoe.

Main sources

Kilian-Hatz 2003 = Kilian-Hatz, Christa. Khwe-English Dictionary. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. // *Large dictionary based on the author's own field research as well as previously available data from Oswin Köhler's materials. Includes an English-Khwe index as well.*

Köhler 1981 = Köhler, Oswin. Les langues khoisan. **In:** *Les langues dans le monde ancien et moderne. I: Les langues de l'Afrique subsaharienne.* Ed. by G. Manessy. Paris: Editions du CNRS, pp. 455-615. // *Detailed grammar sketch of Kxoe with special emphasis on verbal morphology. Includes a large amount of illustrative lexical material and an annotated text.*

Additional sources

Köhler 1966 = Köhler, Oswin. Die Wortbeziehungen zwischen der Sprache der Kxoe-Buschmänner und dem Hottentottischen als geschichtliches Problem. *Neue Afrikanische Studien*. Ed. by J. Lukas. Hamburg: Deutsches Institut für Afrika-Forschung, pp. 144-165. // *The paper contains numerous Kxoe lexical items from the author's own field research.*

Köhler 1973 = Köhler, Oswin. Neuere Ergebnisse und Hypothesen der Sprachforschung in ihrer Bedeutung für die Geschichte Afrikas. *Paideuma*, 19-20, pp. 162-199. // *The paper contains numerous Kxoe lexical items from the author's own field research.*

III. Naro.

Visser 2001 = Visser, Hessel. Naro Dictionary: Naro-English, English-Naro. Ghanzi (Botswana): SIL International. // *Large, generally high quality, dictionary of Naro, based on the author's own research and transcribed in the Naro alphabet, specially developed by the author himself.*

Barnard 1985 = Barnard, Alan. A Nharo wordlist, with notes on grammar. Durban: University of Natal. // *A classified vocabulary of Naro, highly detailed and including the results of the author's own field research as well as data compiled from earlier sources. Unfortunately, the source is not very reliable due to poor quality of transcription.*

IV. |Gui; ||Gana.

Nakagawa 1996 = Nakagawa, Hiroshi. An Outline Of |Gui Phonology. *African Study Monographs, Suppl.* 22, pp. 101-124. // *Detailed sketch of the phonology of |Gui, illustrated with numerous lexical examples. Contains some comparative data on ||Gana as well.*

Nakagawa 2006 = Nakagawa, Hiroshi. Aspects of the phonetic and phonological structure of the G|ui language. Ph.D. thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. // *A detailed description of |Gui phonetics and phonology, illustrated with numerous lexical examples. Contains some comparative data on ||Gana as well.*

Tanaka 1978 = Tanaka, Jiro. A San Vocabulary of the Central Kalahari: G||ana and G|wi Dialects. Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 1978. //

As of now, the only representative dictionary of both ||Gana and |Gwi, unfortunately, marred by extremely poor quality phonetic transcription, reducing it to the status of an auxiliary source.

V. Hiechware.

Dornan 1917 = S. S. Dornan. The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas) and their language. **In:** *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 47, pp. 37-112. // *Includes a large, but highly inaccurate, sketch of the phonology and grammar of the Hiechware dialect of the Tsua subgroup, accompanied with an extensive vocabulary: for the moment, this is the largest vocabulary of an East Kalahari Khoe language in existence, but, unfortunately, with tremendously poor quality of notation.*

NOTES

I. ||Ani; |Ganda; †Haba; Cara; |Xaise; Danisi; Ts'ixa; Deti; Kua; Tsua.

I.1. General.

Significant information on these languages is available only through published results of fieldwork by R. Vossen. Most of these results have been summarized in [Vossen 1988] and [Vossen 1997]; however, this monograph does not contain lexicostatistical data and is insufficient for the construction of complete Swadesh wordlists. For some of the languages (such as ||Ani), additional short publications by the same author are available that permit to make the picture more comprehensive. For others (such as |Ganda), lexicostatistical results will be inevitably skewed due to significant gaps in the wordlists.

I.2. Transliteration.

R. Vossen uses a consistent system of transliteration for all the Khoe languages treated in [Vossen 1997] and various short papers. Minor differences between this system and the UTS are summarized in the following table:

Sound or sound type	Vossen's transcription	UTS representation
Clicks:		
Glottalized click	ʔ, †ʔ...	, †'...
Velar/uvular affricate release	xʔ, †xʔ...	kx, †kx...
Non-clicks:		
Velar ejective stop	kʔ	k'
Velar ejective affricate	kxʔ	kx
Voiceless alveolar affricate	ts	c
Voiced alveolar affricate	dz	ʒ
Voiceless palatal affricate	c	ç
Voiced palatal affricate	j	ʒ

In the majority of Khoe idiolects, the intervocalic resonant *-r-* (or *-r̥-*) is found in complementary distribution with the word-initial voiced stop *d-*, which permits Vossen to transcribe the words phonologically, using *d* as the primary allophone (e. g. write *kadi* instead of *kari*). We consistently replace Vossen's intervocalic *-d-* with *-r-*, not only for phonetic reasons, but also because the functional status of *d-* and *-r-* is significantly different, and it works better to differentiate between these two entities on a graphic level.

II. Kxoe.

II.1. General.

The orthographic spelling "Kxoe" for this language is retained from the works by O. Köhler and R. Vossen (in Kilian-Hatz's definitive vocabulary, it is more appropriately spelled as "Khwe"), in order to better distinguish the actual language from the entire "Khoe (Khwe)" group of languages to which it belongs. (O. Köhler introduced the now abandoned practice of transcribing the velar aspirated stop *k^h* as a velar affricate *kx*).

The basic source for Khoe (Khwe) is [Kilian-Hatz 2003], but it was thought useful to include references to earlier quotations of Kxoe lexical items in works by O. Köhler, who pioneered the serious study of this language in the 1960s / 1970s. In most cases,

Köhler's data only differ from the new dictionary in terms of transcription, but there may be occasional phonological discrepancies as well, most notably in the assessment of a particular word's tonal characteristics.

In addition, notes on Kxoe also contain information on the "Buga" or "Buga-Khoe" dialect, taken from [Vossen 1997]. The dialect is very close to Kxoe "proper" lexically, but there is not enough data on it to construct a separate wordlist.

II.2. Transliteration.

The main transcriptional discrepancies between the major sources on Kxoe are as follows:

Sound or sound type	Köhler's transcription	[Kilian-Hatz 2003]	UTS representation
Clicks:			
Voiced click	, †...	g, †g...	, †...
Prenasalized click	ǀ̃, †̃...	n g, n†g...	ǀ̃, †̃...
"Fully nasalized" click	ǀ̃n, †̃n...	n , n†...	ǀ̃n, †̃n...
Velar/uvular affricate release	x', †x'...	x', †x'...	kx, †kx...
Aspirated release	h, †h...	h, †h...	^h , † ^h ...
Non-clicks:			
Velar ejective affricate	kx'	kx'	kx
Voiceless palato-alveolar affricate	tc	tc	č
Voiceless palatal fricative	c	c	ʃ
Glottal stop	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ

III. Naro.

III.1. General.

The basic source for Naro is [Visser 2001], a dictionary that combines representativeness with a generally high quality of phonetic transcription (including tonal notation). Visser's data are complemented by entries from [Vossen 1997] (also highly precise

phonetically, but, unfortunately, limited in scope) and [Barnard 1985] (here the problem is the opposite: a very large amount of data, but frequently erroneous phonetic transcription, along with observable semantic inaccuracies from time to time).

There is no reliable information on Naro dialects, but it is clear that there is both phonetic and (very minor) lexical differentiation between the dialects described by Vossen, Visser, and Barnard. In particular, Visser frequently tends to transcribe mid vowels (*e, o*) where Vossen and Barnard give close vowels (*i, u*), and often omits nasalization present in Vossen's notes (probably because the forms *are* denasalized, not because Visser failed to hear the nasalization).

In Visser's dictionary, all the words are given in phonetic transcription and in the "semi-official" Naro alphabet, developed by H. Visser himself. Since the alphabet deviates significantly from the "average" transcriptions of Khoisan phonology, it may be useful to present a complete transliteration table:

Sound or sound type	Visser's orthography	[Vossen 1997]	[Barnard 1985]	UTS representation
Clicks:				
Dental clicks	c		~ k	
	cg	x	x	x
	cg'	xʔ	k'	kx
	ch	h	h	^h
	c'	ʔ	' ~	'
	dc		g	
	nc	ĩ	n	ĩ
Alveolar clicks	q	!	! ~ !k	!
	qg	!x	!x	!x
	qg'	!xʔ	!k'	!kx
	qh	!h	!h	! ^h
	q'	!ʔ	!ʔ ~ !	!'
	dq	!	g!	!
	nq	ĩ!	n!	ĩ!
Palatal clicks	tc	‡	‡ ~ ‡k	‡

	tcg	ɬx	ɬx	ɬx
	tcg'	ɬxʔ	ɬk'	ɬkx
	tch	ɬh	ɬh	ɬ ^h
	tc'	ɬʔ	ɬʔ ~ ɬ	ɬ'
	dtc	ɬ	gɬ	ɬ
	ntc	ɱ	nɬ	ɱ
Lateral clicks	x	ǁ	ǁ ~ ǁk	ǁ
	xg	ǁx	ǁx	ǁx
	xg'	ǁxʔ	ǁk'	ǁkx
	xh	ǁh	ǁh	ǁ ^h
	x'	ǁʔ	ǁʔ ~ ǁ	ǁ'
	dx	ǁ	gǁ	ǁ
	nx	ǁ̃	nǁ	ǁ̃
Non-clicks:				
	b	b	b	b
	d	d	d	d
	g	x	x	x
	gh	g	g	g
	h	h	h	h
	k	k	k	k
	kg'	kxʔ	k'	kx
	kh	kh	kh	k ^h
	m	m	m	m
	n	n	n	n
	s	s	s	s
	t	t	t	t
	th	th	th	t ^h
	ts	ts	ts	c
	tsh	tsh	ts(h)	c ^h
	ts'	tsʔ	ts'	c'
	z	z	z	z

Vowels:				
	a	a	a	a
	e	e	e	e
	i ~ e	i	i	i
	o	o	o	o
	u ~ o	u	u	u
Additional phonation:				
Nasalization	Ṽ	Ṽ	Ṽ	Ṽ
Pharyngealization	Ṳ	Ṳ	Ṳ	Ṳ
High tone	Ṳ [transcr. only]	Ṳ	Ṳ	Ṳ
Mid tone	V [unmarked]	[not distinguished]	V [unmarked]	Ṳ
Low tone	Ṳ [transcr. only]	Ṳ	Ṳ	Ṳ

IV. |Gwi; ||Gana.

IV.1. *General.*

The most accurate data on |Gwi have been collected up to date by Hiroshi Nakagawa; however, only a part of them have been officially published in papers, such as [Nakagawa 1996], and the author's PhD thesis [Nakagawa 2006]. These are used as default sources for the wordlist, but in many cases we had to use R. Vossen's slightly less reliable (but still quite accurate) data from [Vossen 1988] and [Vossen 1997]. For the closely related ||Gana language, Vossen's data always serve as the default source (although some forms can also be taken from H. Nakagawa's comparative sections on |Gana-||Gwi).

The earlier dictionary [Tanaka 1978] is a reasonably representative compendium of lexical data on both of these lects. However, it suffers from notoriously poor quality of transcription (the author himself admits to a lack of phonetic training), with inaccurate representations of click influxes and effluxes, inconsistent notation of the same phonemes by different symbols, no understandable tonal notation, and plenty of transcriptional symbols that are not given an adequate explanation in the introduction

to the work. In the notes section, we always quote Tanaka's entries for Swadesh items that are represented in his dictionary, but almost completely refrain from using it as the primary source of data.

IV.2. Transliteration.

Hiroshi Nakagawa's phonetic research on !Gwi has resulted in a serious reinterpretation of some of the phonetic properties of Khoisan clicks, which is appropriately represented in his transcriptional notation, some elements of which, mainly concerning the click "efflux" or "accompaniment" system, are quite innovative. However, in the database, we had to unify his system with R. Vossen's and reduce both to the "common denominator" of the UTS conventions for clicks, so as not to confuse non-specialists in the intricacies of Khoisan phonetics. The major transliteration conventions only concern the "click accompaniment" system and are as follows:

Type of click accompaniment	Nakagawa	Vossen	UTS representation
Voiceless velar plosive	k , k‡...	, ‡...	, ‡...
Voiced velar plosive	g , g‡...	, ‡...	, ‡...
Voiceless velar ejective	k' , k‡'...	[no equivalent]	k', ‡k'...
Voiced velar nasal	ŋ , ŋ‡...	ĩ, ‡... ~ n, ‡n...	ĩ, ‡... ~ n, ‡n...
Aspirated velar nasal	ŋ h, ŋ‡h...	[no equivalent]	ĩ ^h , ‡h...
Aspirated velar plosive	k h, k‡h...	h, ‡h...	^h , ‡ ^h ...
Voiceless uvular plosive	q , q‡...	q, ‡q...	q, ‡q...
Voiced uvular plosive	g , g‡...	[no equivalent]	g, ‡g...
Voiceless uvular ejective	q' , q‡'...	[no equivalent]	q', ‡q'...
Aspirated uvular plosive	q h, q‡h...	[no equivalent]	q ^h , ‡q ^h ...
Voiceless uvular affricate (fricative?)	q χ, q‡χ...	x, ‡x...	x, ‡x...
Affricated uvular ejective	q χ', q‡χ'...	xʔ, ‡xʔ...	kx, ‡kx...
Glottal stop	ŋ ʔ, ŋ‡ʔ...	ʔ, ‡ʔ...	', ‡'...

Notes:

1. Nakagawa's "voiceless velar ejective" clicks is a unique series that has not been previously identified by any researcher (and so has no equivalents in R. Vossen's

system). UTS differentiation of it from the usual "glottal stop" series of clicks is highly provisional.

2. On the other hand, Nakagawa fails to see the difference between Vossen's "nasal" and "voiced nasal" (i. e. "pre-nasalized" and "fully nasalized") varieties of clicks, marking both as clicks with "voiced velar nasal accompaniment". We preserve Vossen's allegedly phonological distinction in the UTS notation, but one should keep in mind that it has not been independently confirmed.

Quite troublesome is the transcription system in [Tanaka 1978]. No direct transliteration to UTS standards is possible, since the notation is quite chaotic and riddled with errors. For the most part, we therefore leave Tanaka's transcriptions just as they are, with some cosmetic changes to avoid utter confusion, namely: Tanaka's *ch* = UTS *č*; Tanaka's *sh* = UTS *š*; Tanaka's *j* = UTS *ʒ*. In any case, one should always pay primary attention to the way the words are transcribed in Nakagawa's and Vossen's publications, and only use Tanaka's data as supplementary.

V. Hiechware.

V.1. General.

The so-called "Hie-chwa-re" (or, graphically, "Hie-tshwa-re") dialect is one of several East Kalahari Khoe dialects, closely related to the Cua, Kua, and Tsua dialects described in [Vossen 1997], but not necessarily completely identical with any of these. The only description, albeit a fairly extensive one, has been published as [Dornan 1917], and, among other things, includes a large glossary that is currently the single largest source of lexical data on any given East Kalahari Khoe idiom. This makes it into a source of high importance, and one that is also usable for lexicostatistic purposes. Unfortunately, the quality of data notation is very low; in numerous cases not only the phonetic representation, but also the English semantic equivalents adduced by Dornan may be placed under heavy doubt. The resulting wordlist, therefore, despite having very few explicit "gaps", does not pretend to a high degree of accuracy due to flaws that are inherent in the primary data source.

V.2. Transcription.

Much of Dornan's transcription is highly inaccurate. For the GLD, we utilize a more or less direct transliteration method from his own system into the UTS, but it should be kept in mind (especially if the data are to be used for any automatic comparison) that the symbols frequently may not accurately reflect the real phonetics and phonology of the word. For instance, Dornan uses the standard four-symbol click scheme (|, †, †, †) throughout, but external comparison of his data shows that he frequently uses one click for another (e. g. alveolar † instead of palatal †, dental | instead of lateral † and vice versa, etc.) or even places click signs where, by all means, there should have not been any clicks in the first place (e. g., † as an interpretation of ejective *kx*). Even worse is the situation with click effluxes, where the opposition between voice, voicelessness, and glottalization is marked extremely chaotically.

The rules for the transliteration itself are fairly close to the ones employed for [Barnard 1985] for Naro. In a few cases, Dornan makes a strange distinction between a "velar" and a "dental" efflux (e. g. writes */t* or */d* instead of */k* or */g*). Such an opposition is impossible in Khoisan and may only reflect certain idiosyncratic pronunciation peculiarities; we do not respect it in our transliteration.

VI. Proto-Kalahari Khoe.

The most comprehensive list of reconstructions for Proto-Kalahari Khoe to date (in his version, called "Proto-Non-Khoekhoe") has been published by Rainer Vossen in his state-of-the-art monograph on Khoe languages (Vossen 1997). Outside of a small handful of phonetic details that might require a different solution, the only reason why this list is not fully compatible with the purposes of our database is that it is strictly etymological rather than lexicostatistical - meaning, for one thing, that there is no proper semantic reconstruction involved; for another, that Vossen only includes those etyma for which ample lexical support is found throughout the entire Khoe (or at least Kalahari Khoe) family, and so, for instance, such lexical items as 'all', 'cold', 'root', etc., are not represented by proto-etyma in his work just because their reflexes are unstable in daughter languages.

Because of these reasons, even though our Proto-Kalahari Khoe wordlist is largely

based on Vossen 1997, it differs from it in two respects: (a) occasional small amendments to Vossen's phonological reconstruction; (b) inclusion of several items that are at least tentatively reconstructible on the Proto-Kalahari Khoe level if their reflexes are found in at least 2-3 languages from different branches of the family.

The amendments in question are sometimes purely technical (for instance, we have refrained from marking prosody in reconstructions - although in quite a few cases, tonal reflexes are highly consistent across all languages and most likely retain the original situation, in almost just as many cases tonal reflexes are fairly chaotic and require a very thorough analysis, as well as additional checking of potentially mistranscribed data). The main substantial amendments to Vossen's reconstructions are as follows:

(a) reconstruction of a valid phonological opposition between Proto-Kalahari Khoe **e* and **ε*, both as simple vowels and as parts of diphthong codas (**oe* / **oε*). Based on internal data (the presence of such an opposition in several languages) as well as external cognates (in related Khoekhoe languages, usually **e* > *e*, but **ε* > *a*);

(b) recognition of *pharyngealization* (PKK **a^ʕ*, **o^ʕ*, **u^ʕ*), as well as *uvular consonants* (**q*, **q^h*, **G*) and *uvular click effluxes* (**!q*, **!q^h*) as features and phonemes possibly reconstructible on the PKK level. Although they are all confined to a select number of languages, and there is frequent unconditioned variation between their presence and absence, neither Vossen nor anybody else has been able to properly explain them as innovations; for this reason, we believe it makes sense to mark their presence within the reconstruction, even if the possibility of areal innovation cannot be ruled out either.

For a detailed list of regular phonetic correspondences between the various Kalahari Khoe languages, [Vossen 1997] should still be considered as the default source. We typically mark any irregular developments in the comment section.

Database compiled and annotated by: G. Starostin (last update: August 2020).

1. ALL

Kxoe *yó-kà-xā* (1), Naro *wě* (2), |Gwi *wèē* (2), ||Gana *we-* # (2), Hiechware *i-he* (3), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **we-* # (2).

References and notes:

||Ani: Not attested.

|Ganda: Not attested.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 152. An adverbial derivative from the noun *yó* 'size, quantity'. Cf. the textual example: *k^hóé-à yó-kà-xā* "all Bushmen together". Possible synonym: *kó(-á)-kà-(x)ā* 'all', also derived from a noun: *kó* 'quantity, multitude' [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 58-59]. However, this word also serves as the derivational basis for 'many' q.v., and it is not clear whether it really emphasizes the semantics of "entirety" rather than "multitude".

Naro: Visser 2001: 105. Quoted as *úé ~ wé(à)* in [Barnard 1985: 110, 114]. The word is used as either noun or adjective depending on the context.

#Haba: Not attested.

|Gwi: Nakagawa 2006: 110. Quoted as *wé-kae ~ wé-iču* in [Tanaka 1978: 4].

||Gana: Tanaka 1978: 4. Transcribed as *wé-ha* 'all'; phonetic detail is questionable due to the inaccuracy of the source, but the lexeme itself is most likely accurate.

Cara: Not attested.

|Xaise: Not attested.

Danisi: Not attested.

Ts'ixa: Not attested.

Deti: Not attested.

Kua: Not attested.

Tsua: Not attested.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 98. Meaning glossed as 'together, all'.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Distribution: Seems to be well preserved in Naro and |Gwi-||Gana, but otherwise unclear due to lack of attestation. Replacements: Apparently, Kxoe *yó-kà-xā* cannot be easily reconciled with **we-*, since there are no other examples of such a correspondence and since Kxoe *yó* is identified by Ch. Killian-Hatz as an independent noun meaning 'size, quantity'; we should probably count this as a case of lexical replacement. As to the projection of **we-* onto the Proto-Kalahari Khoe level, the only serious supporting argument for this is external comparison: **we-* is most probably related to Khoekhoe **hoa* 'all'. Additional data from the Eastern branch are sorely necessary to complete the picture.

2. ASHES

||Ani *ǃòà* (1), |Ganda *ǃòà* (1), Kxoe *ǃòá* (1), Naro *t^háú* (2), #Haba *t^háú* (2), |Gwi *ǃúà* (1), ||Gana *ǃòà* (1), Cara *zòà* (1), |Xaise *zóá* (1), Danisi *d^yúà* (1), Ts'ixa *d^yúà* (1), Deti *dù* (3), Kua *zóá* (1), Tsua *zùá* (1), Hiechware *ǃoa:* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **ǃoa* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 417. Also attested as a compound form: *ǃǃ-ǃòà* (*ǃǃ* = 'fire' q.v.).

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 417.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 187. Polysemy: 'ashes / dust'. Cf. also Buga-Khoe *ǃòá* 'ashes' [Vossen 1997: 417].

Naro: Visser 2001: 95; Vossen 1997: 417. Quoted as *tóú ~ táú* (fem.) in [Barnard 1985: 106, 108] (the form *ǃúm*, listed in the same source as a synonym, actually means 'coals, embers').

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 416. Quoted as *t^héú* in the earlier source [Vossen 1988: 71].

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 417. Quoted as *fdóa* in [Tanaka 1978: 6].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 417. Quoted as *fdóa* in [Tanaka 1978: 6].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 417. Also used in the compound [*ě-zòà* 'ashes', where the first component is 'fire' q.v.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 417.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 417. Also used in the compound [*ě-d^yúà* 'ashes', where the first component is 'fire' q.v.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 417.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 417. Also used in the compound [*ú-dù* 'ashes', where the first component is 'fire' q.v.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 417.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 417.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 98. Polysemy: 'ashes / soap'.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Distribution: Preserved everywhere except for Naro-†Haba. Replacements: (a) In Naro-†Haba, replaced by **t^hau*, a root that is also attested in ||Ani as *t^hàú* 'flame' [Vossen 1997: 416], in ||Gana as *t^hàú* 'fireplace' [ibid.] and in Kxoe as *t^héú* 'spark; tinder' [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 132]. Curiously, the same root is also the main equivalent for 'ashes' in Khoekhoe; however, internal distribution and semantics clearly speak in favor of the semantic shift 'spark, tinder, burning material' > 'embers' > 'ashes' in one small subgroup of Kalahari Khoe, so perhaps it was an areal isogloss that Naro-†Haba shared with Khoekhoe; (b) Deti *dù* 'ashes' = Kxoe *dú* 'place with charcoal; medicinal charcoal' [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 38], implying a trivial semantic shift {'charcoal' > 'ashes'}. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are largely trivial, with the predictable development of the palatal click into a palatal affricate in East Khoe (**foa* > **zoa*).

3. BARK

||Ani *||x'ú* (1), |Ganda *||x'ú* (1), Kxoe *||x'ú* (1), Naro *||x'ó*: (1), #Haba *||ú^s* (1), |Gwi *gure* # (2), ||Gana *gure* # (2), Cara *||ú* (1), |Xaise *||ú* (1), Ts'ixa *||ú* (1), Kua *||ú* (1), Hiechware *žore*: (2), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **||x'ú* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 421.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 421.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 225; Köhler 1981: 508. The meaning in Kilian-Hatz's dictionary is glossed as '(smooth) bark of tree'; cf. also *čóró* 'shell, bark' [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 127], although the meaning of this secondary synonym is clearly more general, and in [Vossen 1997: 483] the semantics of 'bark' is not even mentioned at all (only 'shell, pod'). Cf. also Buga-Khoe *||x'ú* id. [Vossen 1997: 421].

Naro: Visser 2001: 113. Quoted as *||x'ú* in [Vossen 1997: 421] (with unexpected pharyngealization of the vowel); as *||ó* in [Barnard 1985: 46]. Variants from earlier sources, quoted by Barnard [ibid.] as *sora* ~ *cora* ~ *cera*, actually reflect *còrò* 'peel, shell' [Visser 2001: 103].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 421.

|Gwi: Tanaka 1978: 10. Questionable entry, due to the inaccurate nature of the source.

||Gana: Tanaka 1978: 10. Questionable entry, due to the inaccurate nature of the source.

Cara: Vossen 1997: 421.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 421.

Danisi: Not attested.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 421.

Deti: Not attested.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 421.

Tsua: Not attested.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 98. Meaning glossed as 'the bark of a tree'.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 421 (**||x'ú*). Distribution: Preserved everywhere where attested, with the possible exception of

[Gwi-||Gana and Hiechware. **Replacements:** Although this cannot yet be regarded as definitively proven, it is nevertheless most likely, based on the geographical and topological distribution of involved languages, that at least [Gwi-||Gana **gure* is an areal form, borrowed by these languages from the nearby !Xóõ (cf. !Xóõ *gúle* 'bark'). Hiechware *ǝore* < **gure* with regular palatalization and is most likely also borrowed from a Taa (South Khoisan) source. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are generally regular, except for the odd pharyngealized vowel in †Haba (irregularly replacing the velar affricate) and the same vocalic reflex in at least some dialects of Naro (as witnessed in Vossen's data). The feature of Naro-†Haba pharyngealization has not received a completely satisfactory historical explanation so far, and it is not excluded that, based on it, the reconstruction will have to be amended to *||x:ũʔ.

4. BELLY

||Ani *ĩnǎ* (1), |Ganda *ǎ* (1), Kxoe *ǎá* (1), Naro *ĩǎ:* (1), #Haba *ĩnǎ* (1), |Gwi *ĩnǎ:* (1), ||Gana *ĩnǎ* (1), Cara *ǎ* (1), |Xaise *ǎ* (1), Danisi *ǎ* (1), Ts'ixa *ǎ* (1), Deti *ǎ* (1), Kua *ǎ* (1), Tsua *ǎ* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **/a* ~ **ǎ* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1986: 329.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 419.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 152. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach'. Cf. also Buga-Khoe *ǎ* id. [Vossen 1997: 419].

Naro: Visser 2001: 47. Polysemy: 'stomach / womb'. The meanings 'abdomen' and 'belly', according to Visser, are expressed by compound forms: *ĩǎ: ǎó* 'abdomen' (literally 'stomach-around') and *ĩǎ: ǎú:* 'belly' (literally 'stomach-head'). Quoted as *ĩnǎ* in [Vossen 1997: 419]; as *ǎ* in [Barnard 1985: 64] (along with a variety of synonyms that are not confirmed elsewhere or have different meanings).

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 419; Vossen 1986: 72.

|Gwi: Nakagawa 1996: 107. Meaning glossed as 'stomach', but this is most likely the default equivalent for 'belly' as well. Quoted as *ĩnǎ* in [Vossen 1997: 419]; as *ǎ* (with an erroneous transcription of the click influx) in [Tanaka 1978: 12].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 419. Transcribed, however, with a different nasal efflux (as *ǎ*) in the earlier source, [Vossen 1986: 72]. Transcribed as *ǎ* (with an erroneous transcription of the click influx) in [Tanaka 1978: 12].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 419.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 419.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 419. Polysemy: 'belly / intestines'.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 419. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach / intestines'.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 419.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 419.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 419.

Hiechware: Not attested properly. Cf. *ǎore* 'the paunch, the stomach' [Dornan 1917: 103]; *ǎ*: 'a gemsbok's stomach' [Dornan 1917: 99]; *ǎa*: 'the paunch of an animal' [Dornan 1917: 102].

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 419 (**ǎna*). **Distribution:** Preserved in all dialects, although the connection between the two basic variants of the root remains unclear. **Reconstruction shape:** A major irregularity is the conflict between the variant **ǎ*, with a nasal click, attested in Naro-†Haba, |Gwi-||Gana, and ||Ani, and the variant **a*, with a zero efflux click, attested in all East Kalahari Khoe languages as well as Kxoe and |Ganda. The correspondence seems to be unique, but since the rest of the features (dental click, coda in **a*) coincide, and since not a single language that is represented by a dictionary on this list shows any traces of lexical opposition between the two variants, we tentatively consider them as (for the moment) unexplained variants of a single root, without setting up a special proto-phoneme. Perhaps the variation existed already on the proto-level and was conditioned by unknown factors (e. g. the use of the root as an auxiliary word with the meaning 'inside of (smth.)').

5. BIG

||Ani /áú (1), |Ganda /éú (1), Kxoe /éú (1), Naro *kāī-ā* (2), #Haba //ú (3), |Gwi /úrí (4), ||Gana /ó # (5), Cara gùrí (4), |Xaise //ô (5), Danisi /áú (1), Ts'ixa /áú (1), Deti kái (2), Kua //ú (6), Tsua //ú (6), Hiechware //o: ~ //xo: # (6), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **kai* # (2).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1986: 340.

|Ganda: Vossen 1988: 72.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 154; Köhler 1981: 513. Polysemy: 'be tall / be big / be much / be powerful, important, great'.

Naro: Visser 2001: 34. Polysemy: 'big / old'. Adjectival stem, derived from the verb *kāī* 'become big, grow old'; cf. also, with tonal gradation, *kái* 'much, many, more' [ibid.]. Quoted as *kái* 'big' in [Vossen 1997: 445] and in [Barnard 1985: 115].

#Haba: Vossen 1988: 72.

|Gwi: Vossen 1988: 72. Quoted as /uri in [Tanaka 1978: 13]; as synonyms, the same source adds !*káo* (actually = 'long' q.v.) and †*dó* (probably = ||Gana /ó q.v.).

||Gana: Vossen 1988: 72. Somewhat dubious. In [Tanaka 1978: 13], the same word is listed as †*dó* (with incorrect transcription of the click influx), along with the synonym *guri* = |Gwi /úrí. According to [Vossen 1988: 72], the basic meaning 'big' in |Gwi and ||Gana is thus expressed by two different roots, but Tanaka lists both roots with the same meaning for both languages. Most likely, both words are indeed present in both languages, but their meanings are close; more research is necessary to find out the real state of things.

Cara: Vossen 1988: 72.

|Xaise: Vossen 1988: 72.

Danisi: Vossen 1988: 72.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1988: 72.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 445.

Kua: Vossen 1988: 72.

Tsua: Vossen 1988: 72.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 103, 104. Meaning glossed as 'big, large'. Alternately, cf. also /owe 'big, large' [Dornan 1917: 96]. Any selection is dubious; we tentatively choose the variant that matches the data of Hiechware's closest relatives (Kua, Tsua).

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 445 (**kái* 'big'). Distribution: Highly unstable item, preserved only in Naro and a few East Kalahari Khoe languages. Replacements: The only way to reconstruct PKK 'big' is by means of external evidence: Naro and Deti *kái* are cognate with Proto-Khoekhoe **kai* id., although even here one cannot possibly exclude an areal borrowing of the Khoekhoe word into Naro (and from there, into Deti) - this is not highly likely, though, considering that the borrowing would have to have occurred on a paradigmatic level (both in Khoekhoe *and* in Naro we see tonal derivation of the adjective 'big' from the verbal stem 'to grow, to be(come) big'). We do, however, have arguments for the other equivalents being replacements: (a) ||Ani-Kxoe and Danisi-Ts'ixa */*au* correspond to Nama /áú- 'manner, way, style, mode; amount', cf. *kai* /*au-b mari-b* 'large amount of money' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 185]; the semantic shift {'amount' > 'large'} is quite realistic; (b) |Gwi-||Gana */*uri* 'big', also found with click loss in Cara, is perhaps related to Nama /úrí-s 'inland, interior (of country); elevated country', adj. /úrí 'stubborn, obdurate; insubordinate, contumacious' [Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 323] = !Ora /úrí 'proud, stately' [Meinhof 1930: 112], with an original semantics of 'elevated, high-rising'; (c) †Haba //ú, |Xaise //ô, and Kua-Tsua //ú are all phonetically similar, but each comes with its own click efflux, meaning that they are formally irreconcilable with each other, let alone projectible onto the proto-level. At least the Kua-Tsua item is formally comparable to Proto-Khoe */*ú* 'parent, elder' [Vossen 1997: 431]; the other two remain without a good etymology.

6. BIRD

||Ani zàrá (1), |Ganda zàrá (1), Kxoe žāárá (1), Naro cà^hrá (1), #Haba zàrá (1), |Gwi zérá (1), ||Gana zàrá (1), Cara zàrà (1), |Xaise zérà (1), Danisi zàrá (1), Ts'ixa zìrà (1), Deti zàrà (1), Kua zérá (1), Tsua zérà (1), Hiechware zera (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **zara* (1).

References and notes:

- ||Ani: Vossen 1997: 503.
|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 503.
Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 40; Köhler 1981: 517. Cf. Buga-Khoe *zàdá* id. [Vossen 1997: 503].
Naro: Visser 2001: 99. Polysemy: 'bird / aeroplane'. Quoted as *zàdá* in [Vossen 1997: 503]; as *càrá ~ zàrá* in [Barnard 1985].
#Haba: Vossen 1997: 503.
|Gwi: Nakagawa 1996: 116. Quoted as *zàrá* in [Vossen 1997: 503]; as *zera* in [Tanaka 1978: 13].
||Gana: Vossen 1997: 503. Quoted as *zera* in [Tanaka 1978: 13].
Cara: Vossen 1997: 503.
|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 503.
Danisi: Vossen 1997: 503.
Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 503.
Deti: Vossen 1997: 503.
Kua: Vossen 1997: 503.
Tsua: Vossen 1997: 503.
Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 112.
Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 503 (**zada*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Consonantal correspondences are completely regular. Vocalism shows irregular alternations between *a* and *e* in the first syllable; of these, *a* is the more frequent and widely distributed variant, and *e* may be judged as a potentially regular result of fronting after a palatal affricate (although it should be noted that such cases are only attested after the voiced consonant *ʒ, and never after its voiceless correlates *c and *cʰ).

7. BITE

||Ani *pá* (1), |Ganda *pá* (1), Kxoe *pá* (1), Naro *kǎʃ* (2), #Haba *k'ǎʃ* (2), |Gwi *pá*: (1), ||Gana *pá* (1), Cara *pá* (1), |Xaise *pá* (1), Danisi *pá* (1), Ts'ixa *pá* (1), Deti *pá* (1), Kua *pá* (1), Tsua *pá* (1), Hiechware *p^ha* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **pa* (1).

References and notes:

- ||Ani: Vossen 1986: 333.
|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 422.
Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 103. Polysemy: 'bite (of animal) / sting (of insects) / taste (meat from quarry)'. Cf. also Buga-Khoe *pá* id. [Vossen 1997: 422].
Naro: Visser 2001: 33; Vossen 1997: 422. Quoted as *ká* in [Barnard 1985: 130].
#Haba: Vossen 1986: 73.
|Gwi: Nakagawa 1996: 108. Quoted as *pa\i* in [Vossen 1997: 422]; as *pâ* in [Tanaka 1978: 13].
||Gana: Vossen 1997: 422. Quoted as *pâ* in [Tanaka 1978: 13].
Cara: Vossen 1997: 422.
|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 422.
Danisi: Vossen 1997: 422.
Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 422.
Deti: Vossen 1997: 422.
Kua: Vossen 1997: 422.
Tsua: Vossen 1997: 422.
Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 108. Cf. also *!xom* 'to bite, divide, break off' in [Dornan 1917: 103].

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 422 (*pa). **Distribution:** Preserved everywhere except for Naro-#Haba. **Replacements:** In Proto-Naro-#Haba, replaced by *ka^f or *ka^h, an areal innovation without any known etymology, although it is, perhaps, the same word as Hiechware *ka* 'to eat' q.v. (also without a proper Khoe etymology). **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are regular and trivial.

8. BLACK

||Ani *ǀnú* (1), |Ganda *ǀú* (1), Kxoe *ǀú* (1), Naro *ǀú* (1), #Haba *ǀnú* (1), |Gwi *ǀú*: (1), ||Gana *ǀnú* (1), Cara *yú* (1), |Xaise *nǀú* (1), Danisi *ndú* (1), Ts'ixa *ǀú* (1), Deti *yǀ* (1), Kua *ǀú* (1), Tsua *dú* (1), Hiechware *ǀu-ne* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **ǀú* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1986: 329.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 489.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 191; Köhler 1966: 153. Polysemy: 'black / dark'. Cf. Buga-Khoe *ǀú* id. [Vossen 1997: 489]. Secondary synonym: *dǀ-ǀi* 'be black' [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 38], a verbal derivative from the noun *dǀ* 'charcoal' [ibid.]. It is unclear whether this innovation is in the process of replacing the old word *ǀú* or is just a "stylistic" synonym.

Naro: Visser 2001: 57; Barnard 1985: 121. Quoted as *ǀnú* in [Vossen 1997: 489]. The "rare" synonym *ǀá* in [Barnard 1985: 121] is not confirmed in more reliable sources.

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 489.

|Gwi: Nakagawa 2006: 162. Quoted as *ǀnú* in [Vossen 1997: 489]; as *ǀú* in [Tanaka 1978: 13] (with incorrect transcription of the click influx).

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 489. Quoted as *ǀuo* in [Tanaka 1978: 13] (with incorrect transcription of the click influx).

Cara: Vossen 1997: 489.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 489.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 489. Quoted as *ndǀú* in [Vossen 1988: 73].

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 489.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 489.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 489.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 489. Quoted as *dǀú* in [Vossen 1988: 73].

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 99. Phonetically could be = *nǀu-e* (cf. the external data), but the suffix *-ne* is very frequently encountered as an adjectival formant on its own.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 488 (*ǀu ~ *ǀnu). **Distribution:** Preserved in all daughter languages. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are regular. In Proto-East Kalahari, *ǀ > *nǀ- (regularly) with subsequent additional developments in individual daughter languages. In Ts'ixa, the shift is reversed due to its areal connection with Kxoe (West Kalahari).

9. BLOOD

||Ani *ǀáò* (1), |Ganda *ǀáò* (1), Kxoe *ǀáò* (1), Naro *ǀáò* (1), #Haba *ǀáò* (1), |Gwi *ǀáò* (1), ||Gana *ǀáò* (1), Cara *ǀáò* (1), |Xaise *ǀáò* (1), Danisi *ǀáò* (1), Ts'ixa *ǀáò* (1), Deti *ǀáò* (1), Kua *tâkà* (2), Tsua *tâkà* (2), Hiechware *t^haka* (2), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **ǀáò* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 425.

|**Ganda**: Vossen 1997: 425.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 159. Cf. Buga-Khoe /áò id. [Vossen 1997: 425].

Naro: Visser 2001: 14; Vossen 1997: 425. Polysemy: 'blood / offspring / money (fig.)'. Quoted as /áú ~ /áò (fem.) in [Barnard 1985: 68]; the quasi-synonym *cede*, quoted ibid., probably = *cèrè* 'after-milk' [Visser 2001: 99].

#**Haba**: Vossen 1997: 425.

|**Gwi**: Nakagawa 2006: 140. Quoted as /áò in [Vossen 1997: 425]; as /áo in [Tanaka 1978: 14].

||**Gana**: Vossen 1997: 425. Quoted as /áo in [Tanaka 1978: 14].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 425.

|**Xaise**: Vossen 1997: 425.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 425.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 425.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 425.

Kua: Vossen 1988: 73.

Tsua: Vossen 1988: 73.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 109.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 425 (*/áò). Distribution: Preserved everywhere except for Tshwa (Kua-Tsua). Replacements: In Proto-Tshwa, replaced with **taka*, clearly a non-inherited term that violates the basic phonotactics of the native Khoe root and is most likely borrowed from a Bantu source; however, the exact source of the borrowing remains unclear (no such word for 'blood' is attested in the neighbouring Shona and Tswana languages). Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

10. BONE

||**Ani** /'óá (1), |**Ganda** /'òá (1), **Kxoe** /'óá (1), **Naro** /'óá (1), #**Haba** /'óá (1), |**Gwi** /'óá (1), ||**Gana** /'óá (1), **Cara** /'óá (1), |**Xaise** /'óá (1), **Danisi** /'óá (1), **Ts'ixa** /'óá (1), **Deti** /'óá (1), **Kua** /'òá (1), **Tsua** /'òá (1), **Hiechware** /'gwa (1), **Proto-Kalahari Khoe** */'óá (1).

References and notes:

||**Ani**: Vossen 1997: 458.

|**Ganda**: Vossen 1997: 458.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 161. Quoted as /'óá in [Köhler 1981: 545]. Cf. Buga-Khoe /'óá id. [Vossen 1997: 458].

Naro: Visser 2001: 14; Vossen 1997: 458. Polysemy: 'bone / leg / wheel'. Quoted as /'óá ~ /'óá (masc., fem., com.) in [Barnard 1985: 68].

#**Haba**: Vossen 1997: 458.

|**Gwi**: Vossen 1997: 458. Quoted as /'owa in [Tanaka 1978: 15] (with no indication of nasalization and incorrect transcription of the click influx).

||**Gana**: Vossen 1997: 458. Quoted as /'owa in [Tanaka 1978: 15] (with no indication of nasalization and incorrect transcription of the click influx).

Cara: Vossen 1997: 458.

|**Xaise**: Vossen 1997: 458.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 458.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 458.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 458.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 458.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 458.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 107.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 458 (*/'óá). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

11. BREAST

||Ani //ǔ (1), Kxoe //ǔ (1), Naro //ùũ (1), ||Gana //û (1), Cara //ǔ (1), |Xaise //ǔ (1), Danisi //ǔ (1), Ts'ixa //ǔ (1), Deti //ǔ (1), Kua //ǔ (1), Tsua //ǔ (1), Hiechware /^hu: (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe */u (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1986: 323.

|Ganda: Not attested.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 213. Distinct from *pî* 'female breast, udder, milk' [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 104].

Naro: Visser 2001: 25. Quoted as //ǔ in [Vossen 1997: 426] and [Barnard 1985: 65]; the latter source also lists the allegedly synonymous form //xĩ, not confirmed elsewhere. Distinct from *bî* 'female breast, milk' [Visser 2001: 3].

#Haba: Not attested, but cf. *pî* 'female breast' [Vossen 1988: 74].

|Gwi: Not attested reliably, although cf. *g!u-ša* in [Tanaka 1978: 21] (the transcriptional sign *g* is not explained; *-ša* is the feminine marker). This word is distinct from *pî* 'female breast' [Nakagawa 1996: 115].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 426. Quoted as *gu-ša* in [Tanaka 1978: 21] (the transcriptional sign *g* is not explained; *-ša* is the feminine marker). Distinct from *pî* 'female breast' [Vossen 1988: 74].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 426. Distinct from *sá m̄* 'female breast' [Vossen 1997: 438].

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 426. Distinct from *sá m̄* 'female breast' [Vossen 1997: 438].

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 426. Distinct from *hà=bî* 'female breast' [Vossen 1988: 74].

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 426. Distinct from *hà=bî* 'female breast' [Vossen 1988: 74].

Deti: Vossen 1997: 426. Distinct from *sà m̄* 'female breast' [Vossen 1997: 438].

Kua: Vossen 1997: 426. Distinct from *sà m̄* 'female breast' [Vossen 1997: 438].

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 426. Distinct from *sá n̄* 'female breast' [Vossen 1997: 438].

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 98. The dental click is probably erroneously transcribed instead of a lateral click, cf. the same situation with 'moon' q.v. Distinct from *sam^h* 'female breast' [Dornan 1917: 108].

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 426 (**/u*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages where it is attested. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally regular and trivial (with minor unexplained deviations, e.g. click devoicing in Tsua). Semantics and structure: Reconstructible with the semantics of 'male chest' and consequently opposed to **sam* 'female breast' [Vossen 1997: 438] and **pi* 'milk' [Vossen 1997: 469] (in daughter languages, each of these two roots is sometimes generalized in both meanings, but they must have been more or less semantically distinct on the proto-level).

12. BURN TR.

||Ani *dáò* (1), |Ganda *dàò* (1), Kxoe *dàò* (1), Naro *dàò* (1), #Haba *díò* (1), |Gwi *díò* (1), ||Gana *dáó* (1), Cara *dàò* (1), |Xaise *dáó* (1), Danisi *dàò* (1), Ts'ixa *dáó* (1), Deti *dàò* (1), Kua *dáó* (1), Tsua *dáò* (1), Hiechware *d^hau* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **dao* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 500.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 500.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 33. May be used both in the transitive and intransitive meanings. Quoted as *dǎo* in [Köhler 1981: 490]. Cf. Buga-Khoe *dǎo* 'to burn' [Vossen 1997: 500].

Naro: Visser 2001: 16. Transitive stem; according to Visser, the corresponding intransitive stem is *dàò*, with tonal gradation. Quoted as *dǎo* in [Vossen 1997: 500]; as *tàú ~ dàú* in [Barnard 1985: 131].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 500.

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 500. Quoted as *gyó* in [Tanaka 1978: 17]; Vossen's *di-* and Tanaka's *gy-* are most likely attempts to render the voiced palatal stop ʒ.

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 500. Quoted as *daó* in [Tanaka 1978: 17].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 500.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 500.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 500.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 500.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 500.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 500.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 500.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 92. Cf. also *d^hau-o* 'to set on fire' [ibid.] (*-o* is either the directive suffix or the juncture *-a*; this form proves that the verb may be used in the required transitive sense). Alternately, cf. also *||gai* 'to burn' [Dornan 1917: 107].

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 500 (**dao*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. Almost completely homonymous with **dao* 'road' q.v. (although the original tonal structure may have been different).

13. CLAW(NAIL)

||Ani *||à* (1), Kxoe *||à̄* (1), Naro *||ó^hrò* (2), Cara *||ó^hrò* (2) / *||á* (1), |Xaise *||^hâ* (1), Danisi *||á^hró* (2) / *||à* (1), Ts'ixa *||à* (1), Deti *||ó^hró* (2), Kua *||ó^hrò* (2), Hiechware *|ara* (2), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **||oro* (2) / **||a* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1986: 328.

|Ganda: Not attested.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 198. Cf. Buga-Khoe *||á* [Vossen 1997: 436].

Naro: Visser 2001: 117. Quoted as *||oro* ~ *||airo* 'fingernail' or as *||oro* 'finger' in [Barnard 1985: 66] (transcription of the first two variants is most likely erroneous).

#Haba: Not attested.

|Gwi: Not attested in reliable sources, but cf. *!ore* 'nail' in [Tanaka 1978: 64] (we do not include the word on the list since Tanaka's *!-* may transcribe different clicks, and its correct etymologization is therefore difficult; it is, however, quite likely, that *!ore* really = *||ore*).

||Gana: Not attested in reliable sources, but cf. *!ore* 'nail' in [Tanaka 1978: 64] (we do not include the word on the list since Tanaka's *!-* may transcribe different clicks, and its correct etymologization is therefore difficult; it is, however, quite likely, that *!ore* really = *||ore*).

Cara: Vossen 1997: 436. Vossen 1997: 436. The semantic difference between *||á* and *||ó^hrò* is unclear.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 436.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 436. Vossen 1997: 436. The semantic difference between *||à* and *||ó^hrò* is unclear.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 436.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 436.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 436.

Tsua: Not attested.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 94. The dental click is possibly a mistranscription for the lateral click (cf. external data, as well as the possibility of the same mistake in the word for 'moon' q.v., or the reverse mistake in the word for 'snake' q.v.). Also transcribed as *|dara* in [Dornan 1917: 92].

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 436 (**||ado* ~ **||odo*). Distribution: Attested in Naro and throughout the Eastern Kalahari subgroup; possibly also in |Gwi-||Gana, if the somewhat unreliable source on these languages is correct. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally regular, except for some vocalic peculiarities. In Naro, the vowel is pharyngealized, which may

point to a former uvular efflux (**||qoro*); however, no traces of uvular effluxes are seen in East Kalahari languages. In Danisi, the first vowel is non-labial (*||áró*), which leads R. Vossen to reconstruct **||ado* as the primary variant. This, however, would mean independent (and irregular) assimilation in every other language (as well as external cognates in Khoekhoe); it is more reasonable to postulate an irregular dissimilation in one single language. Vossen 1997: 436 (**||a*). **Distribution:** This is the main equivalent for 'fingernail' in the *||Ani-Kxoe* group, and its reflexes are occasionally seen in East Kalahari Khoekhoe languages as well. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are regular and trivial. **Semantics and structure:** The forms **||oro* and **||a* are in the state of "criss-crossed" complementary distribution in Kalahari Khoekhoe; both are formally reconstructible to top level, but no easy scenarios of semantic shifts can be offered. External parallels (Khoekhoe **||oro* 'fingernail') suggest that **||oro* is more archaic than **||a*; on the other hand, **||oro* is also more widespread in the other Khoisan languages (cf. Proto-Taa **||qure*, etc.), which could hint at its areal provenance. Until more data become available, it is prudent to include both forms on the proto-wordlist as "technical synonyms".

14. CLOUD

|Ganda *qóòm* (1), Kxoe *||òṁ* (1), Naro *||ōm-ā* (1), Hiechware *ɸom* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Not attested.

|Ganda: Vossen 1992: 385.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 204. Cf. Buga-Khoe *qó n̄* 'cloud' [Vossen 1992: 385] (etymologically different from Kxoe *||òṁ*).

Naro: Visser 2001: 59. Formally derived from the adjective *||òm* 'cloudy' [ibid.]. Idiomatic synonym: *tú:-f̂ò:* 'cloud', literally 'rain-hair' [Visser 2001: 105]. In [Barnard 1985: 32], the meaning 'cloud' is rendered either by *tú:* 'rain' q.v. or by *l̂ó:* 'white' q.v.

#Haba: Not attested.

|Gwi: Not attested in reliable sources, but cf. *kyu-ko* 'cloud' in [Tanaka 1978: 22] (probably the same root as in **tu* 'rain' q.v.).

|Gana: Not attested in reliable sources, but cf. *kyu-ko* 'cloud' in [Tanaka 1978: 22] (probably the same root as in **tu* 'rain' q.v.).

Cara: Not attested.

|Xaise: Not attested.

Danisi: Not attested.

Ts'ixa: Not attested.

Deti: Not attested.

Kua: Not attested.

Tsua: Not attested.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 104. Possible mistranscription of the palatal click instead of the required lateral (cf. external data).

Proto-Kalahari Khoekhoe: Not properly reconstructible due to lack of attestation. The only possible candidate is **||òm ~ *||qom*, but the words are only encountered in one branch of Kalahari Khoekhoe (*||Ani-Kxoe-Naro*), and even there, phonetic correspondences remain unclear (uvular efflux in *||Ani-Kxoe* irregularly corresponds to nasal efflux in Naro). The word is hardly separable from *!Xóō* (Taa) *qùm* 'to be overcast', but the nature of the connection (genetic? borrowed? which direction?) also remains unclear.

15. COLD

||Ani *|xónó* (1), *|Ganda* *|xònú* (1), *Kxoe* *|x'áwá* (2), *Naro* *!xàī* (3), *#Haba* *k^hâi* (3), *|Gwi* *!q^hāi* (3), *||Gana* *qâi* (3), *Cara* *xáí* (3), *|Xaise* *kárá* (4), *Danisi* *|xónó* (1), *Ts'ixa* *|xúnù* (1), *Deti* *kárá* (4), *Kua* *|xónù* (1), *Tsua* *hùrú* (5), *Hiechware* *hai:* (3), *Proto-Kalahari Khoekhoe* **!q^hai* (3).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1988: 76.

|**Ganda**: Vossen 1988: 76.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 173. Meaning glossed as 'be cool, be cold (vb.); coldness; winter, cold season (n.)'. Secondary synonym: *!xùnú* 'be cold; be okay, feel good' (dubious in terms of eligibility for inclusion, since the semantics of the word seems to be "positive" rather than "negative").

Naro: Visser 2001: 65. Meaning glossed as 'cold, cool', also as verbal 'be cold' and as nominal 'coldness' (without tonal gradation). Quoted as *!ai* in [Barnard 1985: 115] (R. Vossen's more correct transcription *!xài* is also quoted *ibid.*). The same source also lists *!xí ~ !x'é ~ !xí* 'cold' as synonyms, but these forms are not confirmed in more reliable sources; they may simply be phonetic corruptions of the correct *!xai*.

#**Haba**: Vossen 1988: 76.

|**Gwi**: Nakagawa 2006: 203. Quoted as *!hài* in [Vossen 1988: 76]; as *x'ai* in [Tanaka 1978: 22].

||**Gana**: Vossen 1988: 76. Quoted as *q'hái* in [Nakagawa 2006: 203]; as *x'ai* in [Tanaka 1978: 22].

Cara: Vossen 1988: 76.

|**Xaise**: Vossen 1988: 76. The word *kára* is also listed with the meaning 'cold'; semantic difference is unclear.

Danisi: Vossen 1988: 76.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1988: 76.

Deti: Vossen 1988: 76.

Kua: Vossen 1988: 76.

Tsua: Vossen 1988: 76.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 97. Cf. *kai ca*: 'cold water' [Dornan 1917: 100], where *kai* may or may not be the same word as *hai*, heard and transcribed differently (also in *kaie ja*: 'wintry weather'; also in the derivative *xai-ye* 'frost, coldness' [Dornan 1917: 102]). Cf. also a possible synonym: *!uru* 'cold', *!uru-wa* 'to be cold' [Dornan 1917: 96].

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Distribution: Preserved in Naro-#Haba, |Gwi-||Gana, and some of the Eastern languages. Replacements: [1] The most frequent alternative is **!xonu*, a form that is also found in Naro (as *!xònó* [Visser 2001: 7]) in the meaning 'kind of wind that is cold', and in Kxoe as *!xùnú* 'be cold; be okay, feel good' (see notes on Kxoe). Although the distribution of reflexes is technically sufficient to project it onto the Proto-Kalahari Khoe level in the meaning 'cold', it is suspicious that not a single large dictionary of a Kalahari Khoe language gives it as the primary equivalent for 'cold'; this, coupled with the fact that external Khoekhoe data supports the selection of **!q'hai* as the main equivalent, makes us currently judge the term as an innovation (perhaps the original meaning was 'cold wind', as in Naro). [2] Kxoe *!x'ává* has no known parallels in Kalahari Khoe, but is phonetically corresponding to and semantically compatible with Nama *!awa-s* 'North'; it is unclear if we should judge this as an areal connection or as a common reflex of a common Proto-Khoe item with the meaning 'North', but in any case, the word is clearly ineligible for the status of Proto-Kalahari Khoe 'cold'. [3] |Xaise-Deti *kára* has no clear etymology; cf., perhaps, Naro *!àrà-!àrà* 'to be clear (of weather, etc.)' [Visser 2001: 64]? [4] Tsua *húru* is an isolated and unclear form as well. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences for the click efflux in this particular case are rare, and the degree of their regularity is hard to establish without additional data on poorly described languages. On the whole, fluctuation between such reflexes as *-q'h-*, *-q-*, and *-x-* speaks in favor of selecting the rare uvular aspirated efflux **-q'h-* as the original phonation type (since we accept the general idea of uvular phonemes and click effluxes reconstructible for Proto-Kalahari Khoe); however, this decision may be amended in the future if additional data become available.

16. COME

||**Ani** *hǎ* (1), |**Ganda** *!àm* (2), **Kxoe** *yāá* (1), **Naro** *hà*: (1), #**Haba** *hǎ* (1), |**Gwi** *hâ* (1), ||**Gana** *hâ* (1), **Cara** *hǎ* (1), |**Xaise** *hǎ* (1), **Danisi** *hǎ* (1), **Ts'ixa** *hâ* (1), **Deti** *hâ* (1), **Kua** *hâ* (1), **Tsua** *hâ* (1), **Hiechware** *ya* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **ha* (1).

References and notes:

||**Ani**: Vossen 1986: 334.

|**Ganda**: Vossen 1988: 76.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 148; Köhler 1981: 553. Cf. Buga-Khoe *hâ* *id.* [Vossen 1997: 458].

Naro: Visser 2001: 30. Quoted as *hâ* in [Vossen 1997: 458]; as *hâ ~ hà* in [Barnard 1985: 133].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 458.

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 458. Quoted as *à* in [Tanaka 1978: 23].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 458. Quoted as *à* in [Tanaka 1978: 23].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 458.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 458.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 458.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 458.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 458.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 458.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 458.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 112.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 458 (**ha*). Distribution: Preserved almost everywhere (with the possible exception of |Ganda).

Replacements: |Ganda *||à nî=* Kxoe *||ā nî* 'to run, run into smth.' [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 199]; beyond this, no obvious parallels are found, but it is clear that, provided the semantics of the |Ganda verb are indicated correctly, we deal with semantic innovation ['to run into smth.' > 'to come']. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial (with the exception of **h- > y-* in Kxoe, which still seems to be a regular development).

17. DIE

||Ani *||'ó* (1), |Ganda *||'ó* (1), Kxoe *||'ó* (1), Naro *||'ó:* (1), #Haba *||'ó* (1), |Gwi *||'ó* (1), ||Gana *||'ó* (1), Cara *||'ó* (1), |Xaise *||'ó* (1), Danisi *||'ó* (1), Ts'ixa *||'ó* (1), Deti *||'ó* (1), Kua *ʔǝ* (1), Tsua *ʔǝ* (1), Hiechware *o:* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **||'o* (413).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 496.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 496.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 208; Köhler 1981: 547. Cf. Buga-Khoe *||'ó* id. [Vossen 1997: 496].

Naro: Visser 2001: 119. Quoted as *||'ó* in [Vossen 1997: 496]; as *||'ó ~ ||'ó* in [Barnard 1985: 135]. The quasi-synonym *kâ*, listed by Barnard, is equal to *kâ* 'absent, finished; not be anymore, be absent, be dead' in [Visser 2001: 33], i.e. most likely represents an occasional euphemism.

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 496.

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 496. Quoted as *||'ó* in [Tanaka 1978: 27].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 496. Quoted as *||'ó* in [Tanaka 1978: 27].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 496.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 496.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 496.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 496.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 496.

Kua: Vossen 1988: 78. Curiously, in [Vossen 1997: 496] this form is not listed; instead, we find the form *||'ǝ* (with preservation of the click) in the nominal meaning 'death'.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 496.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 108. Meaning glossed as 'death, to die'; cf. also *ohe* 'dead', *oha-xo:* 'a dead body'.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 495 (**||'o*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and largely trivial, with the exception of semi-regular (seemingly unconditioned) loss of the click influx in the Tshwa subgroup.

18. DOG

||Ani ʔérìkù (1), |Ganda ʔápà (2), Kxoe ápā (2), Naro háʔgù (1), #Haba háʔrúgù (1), |Gwi háʔrúgù (1), ||Gana ʔàbà (2), Cara ʔábà (2), |Xaise ʔábà (2), Danisi ʔábá (2), Ts'ixa ʔábá (2), Deti ʔábá (2), Kua ʔábà (2), Tsua ʔábà (2), Hiechware *aba* (2), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **háʔri-gu* # (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1986: 324.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 453.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 17; Köhler 1981: 501. Secondary synonym: *éʔi-kū* 'dog' [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 43] (no known semantic difference; no known text examples). Cf. Buga-Khoe ʔápà id. [Vossen 1997: 453].

Naro: Visser 2001: 31. Quoted as *aoókù ~ auúgù* in [Barnard 1985: 42]; as *háʔrúgù* by R. Vossen [ibid.].

#Haba: Vossen 1988: 78. Quoted with a different tonal scheme, as *háʔrúgù*, in [Vossen 1997: 453].

|Gwi: Vossen 1988: 78; Vossen 1997: 453. R. Vossen lists no other equivalent for 'dog'; however, in [Tanaka 1978: 29] two synonyms are given - *aruga* and *aba*.

||Gana: Vossen 1988: 78. Quoted with a different tonal scheme, as *ʔábà*, in [Vossen 1997: 453]. Quoted as *aba* in [Tanaka 1978: 29].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 453.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 453.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 453.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 453.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 453.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 453.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 453.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 88.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 453 (**/h/adi/kul/*). **Distribution:** Preserved in Naro-#Haba and many other languages of the West Kalahari Khoe area. **Replacements:** The situation here is somewhat complex. For Proto-Eastern Kalahari Khoe, the form **ʔaba* 'dog' (Vossen 1997: 453) is reconstructible quite unambiguously. Since it is also found in some Western languages (||Gana, most notably), it could be considered the optimal candidate for Proto-Kalahari Khoe in general. However, phonetically similar forms in |Ganda (*ʔápà*) and Khoe (*ápā*) feature a blatant irregularity in the form of an intervocalic voiceless *-p-*; moreover, intervocalic *-p-* is highly atypical of inherited Khoe roots in general, violating the normal phonotactics of bisyllabic stems. Considering that all these forms are phonetically similar to Common Bantu **búú* 'dog' (cf. Shona *i=mbwa*, etc.), it is not unlikely that they were diffused across the languages already after the disintegration of Kalahari Khoe. This leaves the Western forms as more reliable candidates, particularly since they have external parallels in Khoekhoe languages. **Reconstruction shape:** There are several irregularities connected with **háʔri-gu*, namely, the disappearance of *h-* in ||Ani and Kxoe and the presence of pharyngealized vowel articulation in Naro-#Haba (these phenomena may be historically connected). These are not crucial enough to deny the word a proper Proto-Kalahari Khoe status, but should be noted all the same.

19. DRINK

||Ani *x'â* (1), |Ganda *x'â* (1), Kxoe *x'â* (1), Naro *x'â* (1), #Haba *x'â* (1), |Gwi *x'â:* (1), ||Gana *x'â* (1), Cara *k'â* (1), |Xaise *k'â* (1), Danisi *x'â* (1), Ts'ixa *k'â* (1), Deti *k'â* (1), Kua *k'â* (1), Tsua *k'â* (1), Hiechware *ʔxa:* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **x'â* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1986: 334.
|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 497.
Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 70; Köhler 1981: 489. Cf. Buga-Khoe *x'á* id. [Vossen 1997: 497].
Naro: Visser 2001: 36; Vossen 1997: 497. Polysemy: 'drink (something cold) / eat (orange, apple, fat)'. Quoted as *x'á ~ k'á* in [Barnard 1985: 136].
#Haba: Vossen 1997: 497.
|Gwi: Nakagawa 1996: 108. Quoted as *x'á* in [Vossen 1997: 497]; as *x'á* in [Tanaka 1978: 30].
||Gana: Vossen 1997: 497. Quoted as *x'á* in [Tanaka 1978: 30].
Cara: Vossen 1997: 497.
|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 497.
Danisi: Vossen 1997: 497.
Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 497.
Deti: Vossen 1997: 497.
Kua: Vossen 1997: 497.
Tsua: Vossen 1997: 497.
Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 102. The palatal click symbol here most likely mistranscribes non-click articulation (ejective; cf. the same situation in the word for 'mouth' q.v.). Alternately, cf. *t^ha* 'to drink' [Dorman 1917: 109] (this could hardly be the same word, although Dorman's transcriptional standards are so low that anything could happen).
Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 497 (**kx'a*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are mostly regular and trivial (although preservation of *x'* in Danisi is unexpected).

20. DRY

||Ani //xó (1), Kxoe //xó (1), Naro /'ô (2), #Haba //xó (1), |Gwi //xó (1), ||Gana //xó (1), Danisi //xó (1), Ts'ixa //xó (1), Deti //xǒ (1), Kua /'ô (2), Tsua /'ô (2), Hiechware /o (2), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **//xo* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 498.
|Ganda: Not attested.
Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 222. Cf. Buga-Khoe //xǒ id. [Vossen 1997: 498].
Naro: Visser 2001: 15; Vossen 1997: 498; Barnard 1985: 116. Distinct from //xó: 'dry, stiff, hard (wood, porridge, ice)' [Visser 2001: 111]; this item is ineligible for inclusion.
#Haba: Vossen 1997: 498.
|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 498. Cf. a different term in [Nakagawa 1996: 106]: //qá: 'to be dry'.
||Gana: Vossen 1997: 498.
Cara: Not attested.
|Xaise: Not attested.
Danisi: Vossen 1997: 498.
Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 498.
Deti: Vossen 1997: 498.
Kua: Vossen 1997: 498.
Tsua: Vossen 1997: 498.
Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 104. Meaning glossed as 'to dry, wither, melt'; cf. the external data in Kua and Tsua that confirm the meaning 'dry', as well as the noun /o: 'dryness' [ibid.] (actually the same word).
Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 497. Distribution: Preserved everywhere except for Naro and Tshwa. Replacements: Formally,

there are two roots competing for the basic slot 'dry' on the PKK level: **//xɔ*, found in the majority of branches, and **/o*, found in Naro and Tshwa. External comparison even shows that **/o* is better supported, since it is also the default equivalent for 'dry' in !Ora (Khoekhoe). However, more careful analysis of the semantics of **/o* shows that it must have referred to 'excessive dryness': cf. the opposition in Kxoe, where *//xó* = 'to be dry', */óò* = 'to dry out, boil over'; externally, note also the meaning 'to be barren (of cow)' for this word in Nama. More data are necessary to confirm this hypothesis; in the meantime, in between this observation and the "majority rule", we postulate **//xɔ* as the default equivalent for PKK. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

21. EAR

|Ani *fé* (1), **|Ganda** *fé* (1), **Kxoe** *fé* (1), **Naro** *fē*: (1), **#Haba** *fé* (1), **|Gwi** *féē* (1), **||Gana** *fê* (1), **Cara** *ǂé* (1), **|Xaise** *ǂé* (1), **Danisi** *ǂé* (1), **Ts'ixa** *fé* (1), **Deti** *ǂé* (1), **Kua** *kʷê* (1), **Tsua** *kʷê* (1), **Hiechware** *če*: (1), **Proto-Kalahari Khoe** **f̥e* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 474.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 474.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 179; Köhler 1966: 149. Cf. Buga-Khoe *fê* id. [Vossen 1997: 474].

Naro: Visser 2001: 83. Quoted as *fē* in [Vossen 1997: 474]; as *f̥k̥é*: ~ *f̥xé*: in [Barnard 1985: 63].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 474.

|Gwi: Nakagawa 2006: 230. Quoted as *fê* in [Vossen 1997: 474]; as *f̥kei* in [Tanaka 1978: 31].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 474. Quoted as *f̥kei* in [Tanaka 1978: 31].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 474.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 474.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 474.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 474.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 474.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 474.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 474. Quoted as *kiê* in the earlier source [Vossen 1988: 79].

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 90.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 474 (**f̥e*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular, with expected loss of click articulation in East Khoe (where **f̥* > *ǂ*- everywhere except for Ts'ixa).

22. EARTH

|Ani *xóm* (1), **|Ganda** *xóm* (1), **Kxoe** *xóm* (1), **Naro** *xóm* (1), **#Haba** *xóm* (1), **|Gwi** *xóm* (1), **||Gana** *xóám* (1), **Cara** *xóm* (1), **|Xaise** *xóm* (1), **Danisi** *xóm* (1), **Ts'ixa** *xóm* (1), **Deti** *xòm* (1), **Kua** *xóm* (1), **Tsua** *xóm* (1), **Proto-Kalahari Khoe** **xom* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 426.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 426.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 146; Köhler 1966: 152. Polysemy: 'earth / ground / sand / desert'. Cf. Buga-Khoe *xó m̩* id. [Vossen 1997: 426].

Naro: Visser 2001: 29; Vossen 1997: 426. Polysemy: 'soil / sand'. Quoted as *xó m̩* *xú m̩* (fem.) in [Barnard 1985: 34].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 426.

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 426. Quoted as *hxom* 'soil' in [Tanaka 1978: 89].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 426. Quoted as *hxom* 'soil' in [Tanaka 1978: 89].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 426.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 426.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 426.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 426.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 426.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 426.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 426.

Hiechware: Not attested. Possibly the same word as 'sand' q.v.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 425 (**xom*). **Distribution:** Preserved in all daughter languages. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are regular and trivial. **Semantics and structure:** Reconstructible with polysemy: 'earth / sand' (see further notes on 'sand').

23. EAT

||Ani *ʃú* (1), |Ganda *ʃú* (1), Kxoe *ʃú* (1), Naro *ʃó* (1), #Haba *ʃú* (1), |Gwi *kíàm* (2), ||Gana *ʃú* (1), Cara *ʔyú* (1), |Xaise *ʔyú* (1), Danisi *ʔyú* (1), Ts'ixa *ʃú* (1), Deti *ʔyú* (1), Kua *ʔyú* (1), Tsua *ʔyú* (1), Hiechware *ka* (3), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **ʃú* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1986: 339. The semi-synonym *x'ó* 'to eat meat' [Vossen 2000: 142] is ineligible for inclusion.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 433.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 185; Köhler 1981: 497. Meaning glossed as: 'eat (fruit, mash, hippo's meat); eat ants (of: scaly anteater)'. The semi-synonym *x'ó* 'eat (meat; not of hippo), eat (fish)' [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 74; Köhler 1981: 496] is ineligible for inclusion. Cf. Buga-Khoe *ʃú* 'to eat (not meat)', *x'ó* 'to eat (meat)' [Vossen 1997: 433].

Naro: Visser 2001: 92. Quoted as *ʃú* in [Vossen 1997: 433]; as *ʃú* ~ *ʃó* in [Barnard 1985: 137]. This is the basic word for 'eat' as applied to various soft substances; it is distinct from *x'ó*: 'to eat meat' (of humans and animals) [Visser 2001: 39] (see further details under 'meat').

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 433. The semi-synonym *x'ó* 'to eat meat' [Vossen 2000: 142] is ineligible for inclusion.

|Gwi: Vossen 1988: 80. Cf., however, *lón* 'eat' in [Tanaka 1978: 31] (phonologically probably = *ʃú*).

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 433. Quoted as *lón* in [Tanaka 1978: 31] (phonologically probably = *ʃú*).

Cara: Vossen 1997: 433. Distinct from *k'ò* 'to eat meat' [ibid.].

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 433. Distinct from *k'ò* 'to eat meat' [ibid.].

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 433. Distinct from *x'ó* 'to eat meat' [ibid.].

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 433. Distinct from *k'ó* 'to eat meat' [ibid.].

Deti: Vossen 1997: 433. Distinct from *k'ò* 'to eat meat' [ibid.].

Kua: Vossen 1997: 433. Distinct from *k'ó* 'to eat meat' [ibid.]. In the earlier source [Vossen 1988: 80], both of these meanings are rendered with the verb *k'án*; the semantic difference remains unclear.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 433. Distinct from *k'ò* 'to eat meat' [ibid.].

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 99. Cf. *ju*: 'to eat grass, to graze; food, meat; to sit down to food, to eat' [Dornan 1917: 108].

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 433 (**ʃú*). **Distribution:** Preserved almost everywhere, with the possible exception of |Gwi and Hiechware. **Replacements:** (a) |Gwi *kíàm* = Naro *káʃ n'ʃip*, 'keep something in mouth, drink' [Visser 2001: 34]. It is not clear, however, if there was a real replacement in |Gwi or if we are dealing with just a semantic inaccuracy; (b) Hiechware *ka* = Naro *káʃ* 'bite' [Visser 2001: 33]. This actually looks like a real replacement, judging by several of the available contexts; however, it should be noted that this is not the original Proto-Khoe equivalent for 'to bite', either, but rather a local isogloss between Naro-#Haba and Hiechware. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are generally regular, with predictable click loss in East Kalahari Khoe.

24. EGG

||Ani *ǀúbí* (1), Kxoe *ǀúví* (1), Naro *ǀūbī* (1), #Haba *ǀúbí* (1), |Gwi *ǀúbī* (1), ||Gana *ǀúbí* (1), Cara *ǀyìbí* (1), Danisi *ǀùbí* (1), Deti *ǀyùbì* (1), Kua *ǀíbí* (1), Tsua *ǀíbí* (1), Hiechware *ibi* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **ǀubi* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 451. Polysemy: 'egg / testicle'. The first meaning sometimes expressed with the compound form *ǀúbí-ǀxúdí*, lit. 'egg-seed'.

|Ganda: Not attested.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 185. Polysemy: 'egg / testicle'. Secondary synonym: *dúúvirà* 'egg' [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 185]. Cf. Buga-Khoe *ǀúbí* id. [Vossen 1997: 451].

Naro: Visser 2001: 92. Polysemy: 'egg / seed'. Quoted as *ǀúbí* in [Vossen 1997: 451]; as *ǀobi ~ ǀubi* (fem., masc.) in [Barnard 1985: 97].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 451.

|Gwi: Nakagawa 2006: 172. Quoted as *ǀúbí* in [Vossen 1997: 451]; as *ǀubi* in [Tanaka 1978: 32] (with incorrect identification of the click influx).

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 451. Quoted as *ǀubi* in [Tanaka 1978: 32] (with incorrect identification of the click influx).

Cara: Vossen 1997: 451.

|Xaise: Not attested.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 451.

Ts'ixa: Not attested.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 451.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 451. Polysemy: 'egg / testicle / penis'. In order to differentiate between these meanings, the semantics of 'egg / testicle' may be expressed with the compound form *ǀíbí-ǀxúrí-ǀxú*, where *ǀxúrí* = 'seed' q.v. and the third component is not clear.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 451. Polysemy: 'egg / testicle / penis'. In order to differentiate between these meanings, the semantics of 'testicle' may be expressed with the compound form *ǀíbí-ǀxá*, literally 'egg-flesh'.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 98.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 451 (**ǀubi*). Distribution: Preserved in all languages where attested. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally regular, with predictable click loss in the Eastern branch (and occasional vocalic assimilation **ǀubi* > **ǀibi*).

25. EYE

||Ani *ǀxáí* (1), |Ganda *ǀxáí* (1), Kxoe *ǀxéí* (1), Naro *ǀxáí* (1), #Haba *ǀxáí* (1), |Gwi *ǀxéí* (1), ||Gana *ǀxáí* (1), Cara *ǀxáí* (1), |Xaise *ǀáí* (1), Danisi *ǀxáí* (1), Ts'ixa *ǀxáí* (1), Deti *ǀxàí* (1), Kua *ǀxàí* (1), Tsua *ǀxàí* (1), Hiechware *ǀái*: (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **ǀxai* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 418.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 418.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 195. Cf. Buga-Khoe *ǀxáí* id. [Vossen 1997: 418].

Naro: Visser 2001: 84. Quoted as *ǀxéí* in [Vossen 1997: 418]; as *ǀxí ~ ǀxí* in [Barnard 1985: 63].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 418. Quoted as *ǀxéí* in the earlier source [Vossen 1988: 80].

[**Gwi**: Vossen 1997: 418. Quoted as *!kai* in [Tanaka 1978: 33] (with incorrect identification of both the click influx and efflux).

[**Gana**: Vossen 1997: 418. Quoted as *ǀxéi* in the earlier source [Vossen 1988: 80]; as *!kai* in [Tanaka 1978: 33] (with incorrect identification of both the click influx and efflux).

Cara: Vossen 1997: 418. Quoted as *ǀái* in the earlier source [Vossen 1988: 80].

[**Xaise**: Vossen 1997: 418.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 418.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 418. Quoted as *ǀxéi* in the earlier source [Vossen 1988: 80].

Deti: Vossen 1997: 418.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 418.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 418.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 90. Transcribed as *ǀai*, without the extra length, in idiomatic compounds such as *ǀai ǀ'ayo* 'eyebrow', etc.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 418 (**ǀxai*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction: Correspondences are fully regular, including predictable click palatalization in the Eastern branch.

26. FAT N.

[**Ani** ǀnúi (1), **Ganda** ǀúì (1), **Kxoe** ǀúì (1), **Naro** ǀúì (1), **#Haba** ǀnúi (1), **Gwi** ǀúì (1), **Gana** ǀúì (1), **Cara** ǀúì (1), **Xaise** ǀnúi (1), **Danisi** ǀúì (1), **Ts'ixa** ǀúì (1), **Deti** ǀúì (1), **Kua** ǀúì (1), **Tsua** ǀúì (1), **Hiechware** ǀwi (1), **Proto-Kalahari Khoe** *ǀui (1).

References and notes:

[**Ani**: Vossen 1997: 435.

[**Ganda**: Vossen 1997: 435.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 218; Köhler 1981: 501. Polysemy: 'grease / oil / fat'. There does not seem to be any lexical distinction between 'hard fat' and 'liquid fat', but the former meaning may be specified with the idiomatic expression ǀúú ǀúì, literally 'frozen fat/oil' [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 209]. Cf. Buga-Khoe ǀúú id. [Vossen 1997: 435].

Naro: Visser 2001: 60; Vossen 1997: 435. Polysemy: 'fat / oil / butter / cheese, cream'. Quoted as ǀúè in [Barnard 1985: 68]. The secondary synonym ǀuia ~ ǀuia in the same source is obscure and not confirmed elsewhere.

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 435. Polysemy: 'fat / oil'.

[**Gwi**: Vossen 1997: 435. Polysemy: 'fat / oil'. Quoted as ǀúì in [Tanaka 1978: 34] (with incorrect identification of the click influx).

[**Gana**: Vossen 1997: 435. Polysemy: 'fat / oil'. Quoted as ǀúì in [Tanaka 1978: 34] (with incorrect identification of the click influx).

Cara: Vossen 1997: 435. Polysemy: 'fat / oil'.

[**Xaise**: Vossen 1997: 435. Polysemy: 'fat / oil'.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 435. Polysemy: 'fat / oil'.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 435. Polysemy: 'fat / oil'.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 435. Polysemy: 'fat / oil'.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 435. Polysemy: 'fat / oil'.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 435. Polysemy: 'fat / oil'.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 97. Meaning glossed as 'fat of an animal'. Click transcription is probably erroneous (the articulation is more likely to have been lateral, judging by external data).

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 435 (**ǀnui ~ *ǀui*). Distribution: Preserved in all languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally regular and trivial. Semantics and structure: It seems that there was no lexical differentiation between 'solid fat' and 'liquid fat, oil' on the proto-level.

27. FEATHER

Kxoe ǀúú̃ (1), **Naro** ǀóò̃ (1), **Hiechware** /o (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Not attested.

|Ganda: Not attested.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 161. Same word as 'hair' q.v.

Naro: Visser 2001: 15. Same word as 'hair' q.v. Quoted as /ʔú in [Vossen 1997: 446]; as /ǂ (masc., fem.) in [Barnard 1985: 69].

#Haba: Not attested.

|Gwi: Not attested.

||Gana: Not attested.

Cara: Not attested.

|Xaise: Not attested.

Danisi: Not attested.

Ts'ixa: Not attested.

Deti: Not attested.

Kua: Not attested.

Tsua: Not attested.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 95. Same word as 'hair' q.v., despite the difference in transcription.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Not reconstructible due to lack of attestation in most languages. Based on very scarce data (as well as external analogies), it is reasonably safe to assume that '(head) hair' and 'feather' were not differentiated in the proto-language.

28. FIRE

||Ani /ǂ (1), |Ganda /ǂ (1), Kxoe /ǂ: (1), Naro /ǂ: (1), #Haba /ǂ (1), |Gwi /ǂ: (1), ||Gana /ǂ (1), Cara /ǂ (1), |Xaise /ǂ (1), Danisi /ǂ (1), Ts'ixa /ǂ (1), Deti //ú (2), Kua /ǂ (1), Tsua /ǂ (1), Hiechware /e: (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe */ǂ (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 435.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 435.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 159. Quoted as /ǂ in [Köhler 1981: 489]. Cf. Buga-Khoe /ǂ id. [Vossen 1997: 435].

Naro: Visser 2001: 14. Polysemy: 'fire / firewood'. Quoted as /ǂ in [Vossen 1997: 435]; as /ǂ: ~ /ǂ: (fem.) in [Barnard 1985: 108].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 435.

|Gwi: Nakagawa 1996: 115. Quoted as /ǂ in [Vossen 1997: 435]; as /e: in [Tanaka 1978: 36].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 435. Quoted as /e: in [Tanaka 1978: 36].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 435.

|Xaise: Vossen 1988: 82.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 435.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 435.

Deti: Vossen 1988: 82.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 435.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 435.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 109.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 435 (*/ǂ). Distribution: Preserved in the majority of languages. Replacements: Replaced in Deti by the form //ú = Naro //úú 'make fire' (Visser 2001: 25). Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

29. FISH

||Ani //áù (1), |Ganda //áù (1), Kxoe //éú (1), Naro //āù (1), #Haba //áù (1), |Gwi //áù (1), ||Gana //áù (1), Cara ʔáú (1), |Xaise ʔáú (1), Danisi ʔáù (1), Ts'ixa //áù (1), Deti ʔáú (1), Hiechware *t^hapi* (-1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe */au (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 436.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 436.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 208. Quoted as //éú in [Köhler 1973: 188]. Cf. Buga-Khoe //áù id. [Vossen 1997: 436].

Naro: Visser 2001: 119. Quoted as //áù in [Vossen 1997: 436]; as //áù ~ //ou ~ //ou (masc.) in [Barnard 1985: 40].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 436.

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 436. Quoted as /áo in [Tanaka 1978: 36] (with incorrect identification of the click influx, or a misprint).

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 436. Quoted as /áo in [Tanaka 1978: 36] (with incorrect identification of the click influx, or a misprint).

Cara: Vossen 1997: 436.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 436.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 436.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 436.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 436.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 436.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 436.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 110. Borrowed from Setswana *ʔ^hapi* id.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 436 (*/au). Distribution: Preserved in most languages (except where replaced by Bantuisms).

Replacements: The only explicitly attested replacement is Hiechware *t^hapi*, borrowed from Setswana. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally regular, except for the sporadic (but recurrent) click loss in the Shua branch.

30. FLY V.

Kxoe //èvùù (1), Naro cáǎǎ̃ (2), Hiechware *fofa* (-1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Not attested.

|Ganda: Not attested.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 212. Meaning glossed as 'fly (of: birds)'. Alternately, cf. also *k^hǎǎ̃*, glossed as 'run fast; run away, escape, fly; go by car' [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 79]. Dictionary definitions presume that //èvùù is better eligible for inclusion, but additional research on the issue may be required.

Naro: Visser 2001: 98. Distinct from *ǎéré* 'to fly around' [Visser 2001: 83]. Quoted as *cǎǎ̃* by R. Vossen in [Barnard 1985: 139]; Barnard himself gives a completely different word, *!xué = !xóé* 'to run' [Visser 2001: 66].

#Haba: Not attested.

|Gwi: Not attested in reliable sources. Cf., however, *!^hoe* 'to fly' in [Tanaka 1978: 37], most likely the same as *hoe* 'to run' in [Tanaka 1978: 81]; the lack of click articulation in the latter entry may be erroneous, cf. the complete equivalence of the two meanings in G||ana.

||Gana: Not attested in reliable sources. Cf., however, *hoe* 'to fly' in [Tanaka 1978: 37], clearly the same as *hoe* 'to run' in [Tanaka 1978: 81].

Cara: Not attested.

|Xaise: Not attested.

Danisi: Not attested.
Ts'ixa: Not attested.
Deti: Not attested.
Kua: Not attested.
Tsua: Not attested.
Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 93. Borrowed from Setswana.
Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Not reconstructible due to lack of attestation.

31. FOOT

||Ani *ĩ̀nàré* (1), |Ganda *káři* (1), Kxoe *kʷááré* (1), Naro *ĩ̀àrè* (1), |Gwi *ĩ̀are* # (1), ||Gana *ɲare* # (1), Cara *ʒĩ* (2), |Xaise *ʒĩ* (2), Danisi *ʒĩ* (2), Ts'ixa *ʒĩ* (2), Deti *ʒĩ* (2), Kua *káři* (1), Tsua *káré* (1), Hiechware *kare*: # (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **ĩ̀are ~ *!are* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 439.
|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 439.
Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 78. Polysemy: 'foot / wheel'. Quoted as *kʷááré* in [Köhler 1981: 489]. Cf. Buga-Khoe *kádè* id. [Vossen 1997: 439]. For Buga-Khoe, R. Vossen also lists the form *ʒĩ* 'foot' as a synonym [Vossen 1997: 440]. However, in Kxoe proper the word *ʒĩ* means 'bird's foot, talon' [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 42].
Naro: Visser 2001: 52. Quoted as *ĩ̀adè* in [Vossen 1997: 439]; as *ĩ̀árè ~ ĩ̀àrè ~ ǃ̀árè ~ ǃ̀àrà* in [Barnard 1985: 66].
#Haba: Not attested.
|Gwi: Tanaka 1978: 37. Transcribed as *ngare*; although this is not a reliable source, we tentatively include the word, since it is a natural match with other West Khoe equivalents for 'foot'.
||Gana: Tanaka 1978: 37. Transcribed as *ng!àre*; although this is not a reliable source, we tentatively include the word, since it is a natural match with other West Khoe equivalents for 'foot'.
Cara: Vossen 1997: 440.
|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 440.
Danisi: Vossen 1997: 440.
Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 440.
Deti: Vossen 1997: 440. Polysemy: 'foot / leg'.
Kua: Vossen 1997: 440.
Tsua: Vossen 1997: 440.
Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 101. Dubious, since the meaning is glossed as 'toes, claws, heels, hoofs; the spoor made by the feet'. However, there is no separate equivalent for 'foot, feet' in Dornan's vocabulary, and the external data clearly shows that 'foot' is the original meaning here; perhaps it was actually surmised under 'toes'.
Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 440 (**!adi*). **Distribution:** Preserved in all of West Kalahari Khoe and in the Kua subgroup of East Kalahari Khoe. **Replacements:** Replaced in the Shua subgroup by **ʒĩ*, formerly probably 'toe', cf. *ʒê* 'toe' in ||Ani, as well as the external parallel *cĩ-s* 'big toe' in Nama; thus, {'toe' > 'foot'}. **Reconstruction shape:** A big problem with this root is the irregular alternation between the nasalized click *ĩ̀-* and the simple click *!-*. The former variant is more widespread and better supported by external evidence (Khoekhoe **ĩ̀ari* 'to drive; wheel'), but the reasons for irregular denasalization in |Ganda, Kxoe, and Kua would remain unclear. Possible options include an unusually rare click efflux development and contamination between two different roots.

32. FULL

||Ani *|x'òè* (1), |Ganda *|x'òè* (1), Kxoe *|x'òè* (1), Naro *|x'òè* (1), #Haba *|x'òè* (1), |Gwi *|x'óé* (1),

||Gana $\text{ʃx}^{\text{h}}\text{òè}$ (1), Cara ʃóé (1), |Xaise ʃóè (1), Danisi $\text{ʃx}^{\text{h}}\text{óé}$ (1), Ts'ixa ʃóè (1), Deti ʃóé (1), Kua ʃóè (1), Tsua ʃóé (1), Hiechware ʃwea (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe $^*\text{ʃx}^{\text{h}}\text{óé}$ (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 2000: 140.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 503.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 174. Verbal stem (meaning glossed as 'be full'). Cf. Buga-Khoe $\text{ʃx}^{\text{h}}\text{óè}$ id. [Vossen 1997: 503].

Naro: Visser 2001: 9. Quoted as $\text{ʃx}^{\text{h}}\text{óé}$ in [Vossen 1997: 503]; as $\text{ʃkué-ká} \sim \text{ʃxúé}$ in [Barnard 1985: 116].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 503.

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 503. Quoted as $\text{ʃóé} \sim \text{ʃóe-ha}$ in [Tanaka 1978: 39].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 503. Quoted as $\text{ʃóé} \sim \text{ʃóe-ha}$ in [Tanaka 1978: 39].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 503.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 503.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 503.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 503.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 503.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 503.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 503.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 96. The alveolar click is quite likely to have been transcribed in error (instead of the etymologically expected dental click; cf. the same situation with 'near' q.v.). The correct dental click is attested in the verbal form ʃweha 'to be full' [Dorman 1917: 105].

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 503 ($^*\text{ʃx}^{\text{h}}\text{óé}$). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages (unless Hiechware ʃwea is a different root rather than a typo, which is not very likely). Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular. The original diphthong was probably phonologically $-\text{óe}$ rather than Vossen's $-\text{oe}$, as seen in the ||Ani-Kxoe branch and confirmed by external data (Proto-Khoekhoe $^*\text{ʃx}^{\text{h}}\text{óá}$ rather than $^*\text{ʃx}^{\text{h}}\text{óe}$). Semantics and structure: Original verbal root ('to fill / be filled').

33. GIVE

||Ani ʃxá (1), |Ganda ʃxǎ (1), Kxoe ʃxǎ (1), Naro mâ (2), #Haba mâ (2), |Gwi mâ : (2), ||Gana mâ (2), Hiechware $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$: (3), Proto-Kalahari Khoe $^*\text{ma} \sim ^*\text{mã}$ (2).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1986: 329.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 194.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 194; Köhler 1981: 489. Cf. Buga-Khoe ʃxǎ id. [Vossen 1997: 194].

Naro: Visser 2001: 45. Quoted as mâ in [Vossen 1997: 441]; as mâ in [Barnard 1985: 140]. Secondary synonym: ãũ 'to give (polite request)' [Visser 2001: 2], quoted as $\text{ou} \sim \text{au}$ 'give (polite form)' in [Barnard 1985: 140].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 441.

|Gwi: Nakagawa 1996: 108. Quoted as mâ in [Vossen 1997: 441]; as má in [Tanaka 1978: 41].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 441. Quoted as má in [Tanaka 1978: 41].

Cara: Not attested.

|Xaise: Not attested.

Danisi: Not attested.

Ts'ixa: Not attested.

Deti: Not attested.

Kua: Not attested.

Tsua: Not attested.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 110. This is the only word in Dornan's vocabulary glossed simply as 'to give'. Cf. also *ma*: 'to lend, to give to, to forgive' in [Dornan 1917: 106] (not likely to be the main word for 'give' in this dialect, since it is not attested in the closely related Kua and Tsua in this basic meaning).

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 440 (Proto-West Khoe **mā*, Proto-Khoe **ma*). Distribution: Preserved in Naro-#Haba and |Gwi-||Gana, possibly also in some East Kalahari Khoe languages in semantically shifted meanings. Replacements: Replaced (a) in Proto-||Ani-Kxoe by **fxa*, a root of unclear origin (perhaps related to Proto-Khoekhoe **fxa* 'to refuse?'); (b) in Hiechware by *t^he*, also of unknown origin. Reconstruction shape: Fluctuation between nasalized and non-nasalized variants of the vowel are unclear, but otherwise correspondences are regular.

34. GOOD

||Ani *t'úú* (1), |Ganda *t'ón* (1), Kxoe *t'ón* ~ *t'ún* ~ *t'úún* (1), Naro *!áè* (2), #Haba *k^yí* (2), |Gwi *c'è* (3), ||Gana *kâi* (2), Cara *t'úú* (1), |Xaise *t'úú* (1), Danisi *t'úú* (1), Ts'ixa *t'úú* (1), Deti *t'úú* (1), Kua *t'úú* (1), Tsua *t'úú* (1), Hiechware *č*o (4), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **t'oni* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 445. Secondary synonym: *qádi* [ibid.]. According to R. Vossen, its exact meaning is rather 'joy; to enjoy oneself'.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 445. Secondary synonym: *qádi* [ibid.]. According to R. Vossen, its exact meaning is rather 'good (to the taste), tasty'.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 121. Quoted as *t'ón* in [Köhler 1981: 493]. Cf. Buga-Khoe *t'úú* id. [Vossen 1997: 445]. The latter source also lists Buga-Khoe *qádi* as a synonym; in Kxoe proper, the corresponding item *qáre* is glossed as 'be sweet' in [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 108].

Naro: Visser 2001: 62. Quoted as *!áí* in [Vossen 1997: 445]; as *!áí* ~ *!káí* in [Barnard 1985: 116]. The quasi-synonym *t'óè* [Visser 2001: 105] = *t'úé* [Barnard 1985: 116] actually means 'beautiful' (Barnard: "...is usually used in the sense of 'visually beautiful', but like the English word 'beautiful', has a more general sense as well").

#Haba: Vossen 1988: 83.

|Gwi: Vossen 1988: 83. Cf. also *qádè*, with polysemy: 'good / pleasant / comfortable / sweet' in [Vossen 1997: 445]. Cf. *ç'òè* 'beautiful' [Nakagawa 1996: 110]; the same word is probably quoted as *ekyuen* (phonetically = /e/t'òè ?) 'beautiful; good' in [Tanaka 1978: 11, 41].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 445. Quoted as *kèí* in the earlier source [Vossen 1988: 83]. Cf. also *qádè*, with polysemy: 'good / pleasant / comfortable / sweet' in [Vossen 1997: 445]. Cf. *ç'òè* 'beautiful' [Nakagawa 1996: 110], quoted as *t'úú* 'good, beautiful' in [Vossen 1997: 445]; the same word is probably quoted as *ekyuen* (phonetically = /e/t'òè ?) 'beautiful; good' in [Tanaka 1978: 11, 41].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 445.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 445.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 445. Secondary synonym: *kâi* 'good, pretty' [ibid.].

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 445. Secondary synonym: *kâi* 'good, pretty' [ibid.].

Deti: Vossen 1997: 445.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 445. Secondary synonym: *kâi* 'good, pretty' [ibid.].

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 445. Secondary synonym: *kâi* 'good, pretty' [ibid.].

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 91. Meaning glossed as 'good, goodness'. Alternately, cf. *hwi* 'good, well' [Dornan 1917: 98]; *xa*: 'to be right, good' [Dornan 1917: 102]; *!x*: 'good' [Dornan 1917: 103]; *twe-ne* 'fine, pretty' [Dornan 1917: 111].

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 445 (**t'oni*). Distribution: Preserved everywhere, but possibly underwent a slight semantic shift in the Naro-||Gana subbranch. Replacements: Three roots are reconstructible with the overall semantics of 'good' for Proto-Kalahari Khoe. Of these, **t'oni* is the most widespread. Its main competition is **!áí*, not found in ||Ani-Kxoe, but well attested in all the other subbranches. R. Vossen defines **!áí* as 'gut / richtig' and **t'oni* as 'gut / schön'; if this were correct, then **!áí* would be a better candidate for the Swadesh slot. However, precise semantic descriptions are not available for these two roots in any of the languages, and reflexes of **!áí* in daughter languages are also described by Vossen as 'schön' occasionally. Additionally, there is a strong

possibility that the meaning of **!āi*, or even its presence in some of the daughter languages (such as Naro), may have been influenced by Khoekhoe languages, where **!āi* 'good' is indeed the main (and only) equivalent for the term. The third root, **qari* (Vossen: **qadi*), in most languages has the specific semantics of 'sweet' (and, figuratively, 'joyful') rather than general 'good'. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are somewhat vague here, but it makes sense to interpret the fluctuation between coda variants *-ūi* and *-on* as reflecting an original triphonic combination **-oni*.

35. GREEN

Kxoe *|x'áo* (1), Naro *cā^ʃ* ~ *zā^ʃ* (2), |Gwi *cx'āē* (2), Hiechware *barat^hi* (-1).

References and notes:

||**Ani**: Not attested.

|**Ganda**: Not attested.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 173. Verbal stem (meaning glossed as 'be green'). Examples show this word to be the default equivalent for the required meaning, cf. *|x'áo |ā^ʃ* "green leaf". The word should be distinguished from *x'óā* 'be green, be unripe, uncooked, raw' [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 74] (see under 'new'), as well as *qéú-ǃi* 'be bright green, be blue (of: sky)' [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 109].

Naro: Visser 2001: 98. Meaning glossed as 'blue/green, light brown'. Quoted as *cā* ~ *cā^ʃ* in [Barnard 1985: 121]. The same source also lists additional equivalents for 'pale green': *còm* ~ *cóm* = *cóm* 'grow, germinate' [Visser 2001: 102] (cf.: *co'ma ia*: "it is greenish (said when all the trees are green)"), and for 'dark green': *!am* (not confirmed in other sources; if correct, most likely a borrowing from Nama, cf. Nama *!am* 'green').

#**Haba**: Not attested.

|**Gwi**: Nakagawa 1996: 109. Meaning glossed as 'blue, green'. Quoted as *ǃsae* 'green' in [Tanaka 1978: 42] (it is not quite clear what kind of sound is meant by the transcription *ǃs*).

||**Gana**: Not attested in reliable sources, but cf. *ǃsae* 'green' in [Tanaka 1978: 42] (it is not quite clear what kind of sound is meant by the transcription *ǃs*).

Cara: Not attested.

|**Xaise**: Not attested.

Danisi: Not attested.

Ts'ixa: Not attested.

Deti: Not attested.

Kua: Not attested.

Tsua: Not attested.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 89. The phonetic structure of the word almost certainly excludes a native origin, but the source of borrowing is not clear. Another synonym is *ǃabe* 'green' [Dorman 1917: 90], without any known etymology, but more "Khoe" in form.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Not reconstructible due to lack of attestation. Naro *cā^ʃ* and |Gwi *cx'āē* are phonetically similar, but do not regularly correspond to each other (and even if they did, the distribution of this cognate would not have Proto-Kalahari Khoe status).

36. HAIR

||**Ani** *ǃ^hú* (1), |**Ganda** *ǃ^hú* (1), **Kxoe** *ǃ^hú* (1), **Naro** *ǃ^hōō* (1), #**Haba** *ǃ^hú* (1), |**Gwi** *ǃ^hú* (1), ||**Gana** *ǃ^hú* (1), **Cara** *ǃ^hú* (1), |**Xaise** *ǃ^hú* (1), **Danisi** *ǃ^hú* (1), Ts'ixa *ǃ^hú* (1), **Deti** *ǃ^hú* (1), **Kua** *ǃ^hú* (1), **Tsua** *ǃ^hú* (1), **Hiechware** *ǃ^ho*: (1), **Proto-Kalahari Khoe** **ǃ^hú* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 446.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 446.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 161. Polysemy: 'head hair / body hair / feather'. Cf. Buga-Khoe *fû* id. [Vossen 1997: 446].

Naro: Visser 2001: 15. Polysemy: 'hair / feather'. Quoted as *fû* in [Vossen 1997: 446]; as *lô ~ lû* (fem.) in [Barnard 1985: 68].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 446.

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 446. The equivalent *#tôzi* 'hair' in [Tanaka 1978: 44] is not clear; it is unlikely to represent the same word as *fû*.

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 446. The equivalent *#tôzi* 'hair' in [Tanaka 1978: 44] is not clear; it is unlikely to represent the same word as *fû*.

Cara: Vossen 1997: 446.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 446.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 446.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 446.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 446.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 446.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 446.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 97. Cf. also 'feather' q.v.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 446 (**fû*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

37. HAND

||Ani *c^hàú* (1), |Ganda *càú* (1), Kxoe *fèú* (1), Naro *c^hàū* (1), #Haba *càú* (1), |Gwi *cáú* (1), ||Gana *cáú* (1), Cara *c^hàú* (1), |Xaise *càú* (1), Danisi *c^hàú* (1), Ts'ixa *càú* (1), Deti *càú* (1), Kua *càú* (1), Tsua *càú* (1), Hiechware *cau* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **c^hau* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1986: 333.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 447.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 286; Köhler 1981: 512. Cf. with gender suffixes: *fèú-mà* 'right hand' (masc.), *fèú-hè* 'left hand' (fem.) [Köhler 1981: 512]. Cf. Buga-Khoe *c^hàú* id. [Vossen 1997: 470].

Naro: Visser 2001: 101. Quoted as *càú* in [Vossen 1997: 447]; as *càú ~ còú* in [Barnard 1985: 66].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 447. Quoted as *cèú-sà* in the earlier source [Vossen 1988: 84].

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 447. Quoted as *cèú* in the earlier source [Vossen 1988: 84]; as *ceu* in [Tanaka 1978: 44].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 447. Quoted as *cèú* in the earlier source [Vossen 1988: 84]; as *ceu* in [Tanaka 1978: 44].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 447.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 447.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 447.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 447.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 447.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 447.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 447.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 111. Polysemy: 'hand / arm / finger'. Dornan also records the meaning 'tail', but external data clearly show that this is a confusion of two near-homonyms.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 447 (**c^hau*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are mostly regular (examples of Proto-Kalahari Khoe **c^h*- are rare and reflexes are somewhat chaotic, but enough of the languages show an aspirated reflex to make a safe assumption that it goes back to the proto-state).

38. HEAD

||Ani *ǀú* (1), |Ganda *ǀú* (1), Kxoe *ǀú* (1), Naro *ǀú*: (1), #Haba *ǀm-k'á* (2), |Gwi *ǀm?ǀm* (2), ||Gana *má* (2), Cara *má* (2), |Xaise *mâ* (2), Danisi *mà* (2), Ts'ixa *ǀú* (1), Deti *má* (2), Kua *mâ* (2), Tsua *ǀm-ǀà* (2), Hiechware *hma* (2), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **ǀu* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1986: 329.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 458.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 181; Köhler 1981: 508. Cf. also Buga-Khoe *ǀú* id. [Vossen 1997: 458].

Naro: Visser 2001: 90. Quoted as *ǀú* in [Vossen 1997: 458]; as *!ku: ~ !u:* in [Barnard 1985: 63], with erroneous transcription of the click influx articulation.

#Haba: Vossen 1988: 85. The word is clearly a compound, but its second component is not easily identifiable. Cf. the same situation in Tsua.

|Gwi: Vossen 1988: 85. The attested structure of this word is very peculiar and hints at compound origins, but they are not determinable on the synchronic level. In [Tanaka 1978: 45], however, the word for 'head' is quoted simply as *mâ*.

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 458. Quoted as *mâ* in [Tanaka 1978: 45].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 458.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 458.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 458.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 458.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 458.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 458.

Tsua: Vossen 1988: 85. The word is clearly a compound, but its second component is not easily identifiable. Cf. the same situation in ǀHaba.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 97.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 458 (West Khoe: **ǀu*, East Khoe: **ma*). Distribution: The two main Kalahari Khoe terms for 'head' have an intersecting distribution: **ǀu* is primarily West Kalahari Khoe (but is also found in Ts'ixa, where, however, it could have easily been loaned from West Khoe), **ma* is primarily East Kalahari Khoe, but is also found in |Gwi-||Gana and ǀHaba. Upon first sight, Vossen's **ma* has a much wider distribution and has to be regarded as the primary candidate for 'head' in Proto-Kalahari Khoe. However, there are two arguments against that: (a) Since the existence of a separate West Kalahari Khoe branch is dubious, the isogloss between Naro and ||Ani-Kxoe is formally just as strong as the isogloss between East Kalahari Khoe and |Gwi-||Gana. There is also a potential external match for **ǀu* 'head' in Nama **ǀu-ro* 'first, initial' (possibly a suffixal derivative from an older 'head'); (b) The situation with **ma* 'head' is also far from clear, since collective evidence shows that its primary shape must have been more complex: Tsua *ǀǀà*, ǀHaba *ǀk'á* and |Gwi *ǀm* point to **m(a)-k'a* or, perhaps, with click loss to **m(a)-!a*, where **!a* = 'to know, to understand' (cf. in that respect an important external parallel in !Ora: *!ǀǀ* 'to hear' > *!ǀǀ-b* 'head'). If this is indeed a compound formation, and the widespread variant **mâ* is the result of contraction, then the simple root **ǀu* is a better candidate for the original Swadesh slot - even despite the fact that the origin of the morpheme **ma* remains obscure under this scenario. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

39. HEAR

||Ani *kóǀm* (1), |Ganda *kóǀm* (1), Kxoe *kóǀm* (1), Naro *kóǀm* (1), #Haba *kúǀm* (1), |Gwi *kóám* (1), ||Gana *kúǀm* (1), Cara *kóǀm* (1), |Xaise *ǀáǀm* (2), Danisi *kúǀm* (1), Ts'ixa *kúǀm* (1), Deti *kóǀm* (1), Kua *kúǀm* (1), Tsua *cóǀm* (1), Hiechware *čom* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **kúǀm* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1986: 323.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 452.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 60. Polysemy: 'hear / listen'. Quoted as *kóm* in [Köhler 1981: 489]. Cf. Buga-Khoe *kó m̄d*. [Vossen 1997: 452].

Naro: Visser 2001: 42. Polysemy: 'hear / listen'. Quoted as *kú n̄n* [Vossen 1997: 452] and in [Barnard 1985: 142].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 452.

|Gwi: Nakagawa 1996: 117. Quoted as *kúá n̄n* [Vossen 1997: 452]; as *kuom* in [Tanaka 1978: 45].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 452. Quoted as *kuom* in [Tanaka 1978: 45].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 452.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 439. Polysemy: 'hear / feel'.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 452.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 452.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 452.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 452.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 452.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 91. Polysemy: 'hear / feel'. Alternately, cf. *nehe* 'to hear' [Dornan 1917: 107].

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 452 (**kú n̄r* **kó n̄*). Distribution: Preserved in the majority of languages. Replacements: Allegedly replaced in |Xaise with *||á n̄* 'to feel', with common semantic shift {'to feel' > 'to hear'}. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally regular. Root vocalism should rather be reconstructed as **u*, based both on external correspondences (!Ora *kum*) and distribution of reflexes between daughter languages.

40. HEART

||Ani *ǃáó* (1), |Ganda *ǃáó* (1), Kxoe *ǃáó* (1), Naro *ǃáó* (1), #Haba *ǃáó* (1), |Gwi *ǃáó* (1), ||Gana *ǃáó* (1), Cara *ǃáó* (1), |Xaise *ǃó*: (1), Danisi *ǃáó* (1), Ts'ixa *ǃáó* (1), Deti *ǃàó* (1), Kua *kʷó* (1), Tsua *kʷò* (1), Hiechware *ǃó*: (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **ǃáó* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1986: 342.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 449.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 177. Polysemy: 'heart (n.) / be happy, be glad (vb.)'. Cf. Buga-Khoe *ǃáò* id. [Vossen 1997: 449] (although in the earlier source [Vossen 1988: 85], an entirely different equivalent for Buga is given: *cábá*).

Naro: Visser 2001: 81; Vossen 1997: 449. Polysemy: 'heart / character / mood / want, be about to' (the verbal meaning, according to H. Visser, is restricted to the Xanagas dialect). Quoted as *ǃáó ~ ǃáú ~ |au* in [Barnard 1985: 67] (the variant with the dental click is quite dubious).

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 449.

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 449. Quoted as *!tao* in [Tanaka 1978: 45] (with incorrect identification of the click efflux).

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 449. Quoted as *!tao* in [Tanaka 1978: 45] (with incorrect identification of the click efflux).

Cara: Vossen 1997: 449.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 449. Quoted as *ǃó* in the earlier source [Vossen 1988: 85].

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 449. Quoted as *kʷáó* in the earlier source [Vossen 1988: 85].

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 449.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 449.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 449.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 449. Quoted as *kʷò* in the earlier source [Vossen 1988: 85].

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 91.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 449 (**fao*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular, with predictable click loss (palatalization) in the Eastern subbranch.

41. HORN

||Ani $\tilde{n}\hat{a}$ (1), |Ganda $\tilde{n}\hat{a}$ (1), Kxoe $\tilde{\hat{a}}$ (1), Naro $\tilde{\hat{a}}$ (1), #Haba $\tilde{n}\hat{a}$ (1), |Gwi $\tilde{n}\hat{a}$ (1), ||Gana $\tilde{n}\hat{a}$ (1), Cara $\tilde{n}\hat{a}$ (1), |Xaise $\tilde{n}\hat{a}$ (1), Danisi $\tilde{n}\hat{a}$ (1), Ts'ixa $\tilde{n}\hat{a}$ (1), Deti $\tilde{n}\hat{a}$ (1), Kua $\tilde{n}\hat{a}$ (1), Tsua $\tilde{n}\hat{a}$ (1), Hiechware $\tilde{g}\hat{a}$: (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe * $\tilde{\hat{a}}$ (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 452.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 452.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 215. Polysemy: 'horn / tusk'. Quoted as $\tilde{\hat{a}}$ in [Köhler 1973: 189]. Cf. Buga-Khoe $\tilde{n}\hat{a}$ id. [Vossen 1997: 452].

Naro: Visser 2001: 57; Barnard 1985: 69. Quoted as $\tilde{n}\hat{a}$ in [Vossen 1997: 452].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 452.

|Gwi: Nakagawa 1996: 107; Vossen 1997: 452. Transcribed as $\tilde{f}\hat{a}$ (with an erroneous transcription of the click influx) in [Tanaka 1978: 47].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 452. Transcribed as $\tilde{f}\hat{a}$ (with an erroneous transcription of the click influx) in [Tanaka 1978: 47].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 452.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 452.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 452.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 452.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 452.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 452.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 452.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 107.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 452 (* $\tilde{n}\hat{a}$). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally regular. Rainer Vossen's suggested phonological opposition between * \tilde{f} - and * \tilde{n} - in modern languages as well as in Proto-Khoe has so far not been properly confirmed.

42. I

||Ani *tí* (1), |Ganda *tí* (1), Kxoe *tí* (1), Naro *tí*: ~ *tí*:-*rà* (1), #Haba *tí* (1), |Gwi *tí*:-*rè* (1), ||Gana *tê* (1), Cara *tá* (1), |Xaise *tá* (1), Danisi *tá* (1), Ts'ixa *tí* (1), Deti *tá* (1), Kua *k^yé* (1), Tsua *k^yé* (1), Hiechware *čí* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **tí* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 2000: 138. Object form: *tí*, *tià*-'à. Object concord marker: *-ti* [ibid.].

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 238. Object concord marker: *-ti* [ibid.].

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 117; Köhler 1981: 519. Object form: *tí*-'à ~ *tí*-'è. Object concord marker: *-rà* [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 112].

Naro: Visser 2001: 96. Quoted as *tí*-'yá ~ *tí*-'rá in [Vossen 1997: 239]. This is the full accented (emphatic) form. There is also a shortened, non-emphatic, variant in which the first syllable of the form *tí*-'rá is deleted: *ra* ~ *da* ~ *r* [Visser 2001: 75], *dà* ~ *rà* [Vossen 1997: 239]. However, the main pronominal root morpheme is unquestionably *tí*, cf. the 1st sg. object concord marker *-ti* [Vossen 1997: 239].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 245. Object form: *tì*.
|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 244. Object form: *tì-à*. Quoted as *ke-re* in [Tanaka 1978: 50] (with the palatal stop incorrectly transcribed as velar).
||Gana: Vossen 1997: 241. Object form: *tì-á*. Quoted as *ke* in [Tanaka 1978: 50] (with the palatal stop incorrectly transcribed as velar).
Cara: Vossen 1997: 246.
|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 246.
Danisi: Vossen 1997: 246.
Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 246.
Deti: Vossen 1997: 248.
Kua: Vossen 1997: 249. Also attested in an extended variant: *kʷé-rì*. Object form: *kʷá*.
Tsua: Vossen 1997: 249. Also attested in an extended variant: *kʷé-rè*.
Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 90. Emphatic form: *čì-ra*.
Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 369 (**ta*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages, albeit with morphological variation. Reconstruction shape: The original Proto-Kalahari Khoe paradigm should probably be reconstructed as **ti* (subject form), **ti-a* (object form), the way it has been preserved in many Western languages and a few Eastern ones (most notably Kua). This makes it possible to suggest that the variant *ta*, typical of the Shua subgroup, actually represents a generalization of the old contracted object form (**ti-a > ta*). Rainer Vossen's suggestion that **ta* is the original root, while *tì* is actually an old pronominal prefix replacing the true root, is not supported by the distribution of the forms.

43. KILL

||Ani *|x'ũ* (1), |Ganda *|x'ũ* (1), Kxoe *|x'ũ* (1), Naro *|x'õ*: (1), #Haba *|x'ũ* (1), |Gwi *|x'ũ* (1), ||Gana *|x'ũ* (1), Cara *|ũ* (1), |Xaise *|ũ* (1), Danisi *|x'ũ* (1), Ts'ixa *|ũ* (1), Deti *kʰàé* (2), Kua *|ũ* (1), Tsua *|ũ* (1), Hiechware *|o*: (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **/x'ũ* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1986: 329.
|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 497.
Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 174; Köhler 1981: 498. Also attested in a reduplicated variant: *|x'ũũ-|x'ũũ* id. Cf. also Buga-Khoe *|x'ũ* id. [Vossen 1997: 497].
Naro: Visser 2001: 9. Polysemy: 'kill / hurt / emaciate, exhaust'. Quoted as *|x'ũ* in [Vossen 1997: 497]; as *|kũ* in [Barnard 1985: 143].
#Haba: Vossen 1997: 497.
|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 497. Quoted as *|oñ* in [Tanaka 1978: 54].
||Gana: Vossen 1997: 497. Quoted as *|oñ* in [Tanaka 1978: 54].
Cara: Vossen 1997: 497.
|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 497.
Danisi: Vossen 1997: 497.
Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 497.
Deti: Vossen 1988: 87.
Kua: Vossen 1997: 497.
Tsua: Vossen 1997: 497.
Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 96. Meaning glossed as 'to murder, kill, defeat, conquer'; also as nominal 'war, slaughter, conquest, murder'. Cf. also *|ohe* 'to kill oneself' [Dorman 1917: 95].
Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 497 (**x'ũ*). Distribution: Preserved in the majority of languages. Replacements: In Deti the word seems to have been replaced with a reflex of Proto-Kalahari Khoe **!ʰàé* 'to stick (into)' [Vossen 1997: 495]. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally regular, except for some unpredictable tonal discrepancies.

44. KNEE

||Ani //óé (1), |Ganda kúrù (2), Kxoe kúrù (2) / //óé (1), Naro !úrù (2), #Haba !úrù (2), |Gwi //ú-x'èrì (3), ||Gana qúrù (2), Cara kúkúrù (2) / //óé (1), |Xaise kúkúrù (2), Danisi //óé (1), Ts'ixa //úé (1), Deti //òé (1), Kua //ùì (1), Tsua //óé (1), Hiechware kukuru (2), Proto-Kalahari Khoe */oe (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 457.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 457.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 63. Cf. Buga-Khoe kúdù id. [Vossen 1997: 457]. Kilian-Hatz 2003: 203. Polysemy: 'joint / knee / node of reed shaft'. It is not clear whether //óé or kúrù is the main equivalent for 'knee' in Kxoe, or if the two words represent dialectal varieties. Since both forms have external correlates with the meaning 'knee', it is recommendable to include them as synonyms.

Naro: Visser 2001: 71. Quoted as !údù in [Vossen 1997: 457]; as !óru ~ !kóru ~ !kúru in [Barnard 1985: 66]. Cf. also //óá^f x'ái 'knee, patella' [Visser 2001: 59], literally 'face (x'ái) of stone (//óá^f) (?) - an unclear formation, unless //óá^f is not really 'stone', but a homophone with an anatomic meaning, not encountered on its own.

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 457.

|Gwi: Vossen 1988: 88. A composite form of unclear origin. Cf., however, also !kori 'knee' in [Tanaka 1978: 54].

||Gana: Vossen 1988: 88. Quoted as !kori in [Tanaka 1978: 54].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 457. According to this source, the variant kúkúrù co-exists with the disyllabic variant kúrù, but in the earlier source [Vossen 1988: 88], only the trisyllabic variant is listed. Vossen 1997: 457. Used either by itself or within the compound form //óé-!óá^f, where the second root = 'bone' q.v. The semantic difference between this root and kúkúrù is unclear.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 457. According to this source, the variant kúkúrù co-exists with the disyllabic variant kúrù, but in the earlier source [Vossen 1988: 88], only the trisyllabic variant is listed.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 457. Used either by itself or within the compound form //óé-!óá^f, where the second root = 'bone' q.v.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 457.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 457.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 457.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 457.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 105.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 457 (*//oe). Distribution: Attested in all major branches except for Nara-#Haba, but somewhat unstable. Replacements: There are two main candidates for the status of 'knee' in Proto-Kalahari Khoe, both with comparable distribution: PKK */oe and PKK */uru. Of these two, */oe is better supported by the following two arguments: (a) it is confirmed externally by the presence of Khoekhoe */oa as the main equivalent for 'knee', whereas */uru has no parallels in Khoekhoe; (b) the form */uru cannot be separated from the trisyllabic variant kukuru, which is attested in some Shua and Tsua dialects and seems to be a probable ancestral stage for the contracted variant */uru; however, trisyllabic stems like those, with contractions in daughter dialects, are otherwise unknown in Khoe languages, so they are much better explained as the remains of some unclear substrate, perhaps independently borrowed into several languages already after the split of Kalahari Khoe. Since kuru ~ kuTu 'knee' is one of the more widespread "pan-African" roots, its presence in some Kalahari Khoe lineages as an areal feature is understandable, even if not all the details are clear. Reconstruction shape: Reflexes of */oe are largely trivial. The original open diphthong *-oe is preserved in ||Ani and regularly corresponds to Khoekhoe *-oa rather than *-oe.

45. KNOW

||Ani ?ǎ (1), |Ganda ?ǎ (1), Kxoe ǎ (1), Naro !ǎ: (1), #Haba k'ǎ (1), |Gwi !ǎ: (1), ||Gana ?ǎ (1), Cara ?ǎ (1), |Xaise ?ǎ (1), Danisi ?ǎ (1), Ts'ixa ?ǎ (1), Deti ?ǎ (1), Kua ?ǎ (1), Tsua ?ǎ (1),

Hiechware *an* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **!ã* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1986: 333.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 508.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 18; Köhler 1981: 552. Cf. Buga-Khoe *ǀã* id. [Vossen 1997: 508].

Naro: Visser 2001: 72. Polysemy: 'know / be clever / look out, take care'. Quoted as *!ã* in [Vossen 1997: 508]. Different equivalent listed in [Barnard 1985: 144]: *ǀãna* = *ǀǀǀǀ*: 'think' [Visser 2001: 91].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 508.

|Gwi: Nakagawa 1996: 107. Quoted as *!ã* in [Vossen 1997: 508]; as *!an-a-ha* in [Tanaka 1978: 54] (= *!ã-a-ha* with juncture and imperfective verbal suffixes attached).

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 508. Quoted as *ǀãã* in [Nakagawa 2006: 203]; as *an-a-ha* in [Tanaka 1978: 54] (= *ã-a-ha* with juncture and imperfective verbal suffixes attached).

Cara: Vossen 1997: 508.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 508.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 508.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 508.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 508.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 508.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 508.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 88. Phonetically probably = *ǀã*.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 507 (**!ã*). **Distribution:** Preserved in all languages. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are regular; loss of click articulation, however, is unusually widely distributed (it is lost even in languages like |Gwi and ||Gana that typically preserve it), so areal interference is not excluded. **Semantics and structure:** Should be distinguished from the semantically close root **ǀan* 'to think' (Vossen 1997: 428), sometimes glossed as 'to know' in sources.

46. LEAF

||Ani *ǀã* (1), |Ganda *ǀã* (1), Kxoe *ǀã* (1), Naro *toà^hrà* (2), #Haba *dá^hnà^h-sà* (3), |Gwi *dà^hnã* (3), ||Gana *ánà* (1), Cara *àná* (1), |Xaise *ànà* (1), Danisi *àná* (1), Ts'ixa *àná* (1), Deti *ǀã* (1), Kua *t^háná* (4), Tsua *t^hàná* (4), Hiechware *ana* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **ana* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 424. Also attested as a compound form: *yí-ǀã*, lit. 'tree-leaf' [Vossen 1988: 107].

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 425. In [Vossen 1988: 106], 'leaf' is instead given as *ǀxéú*; considering that in the same source, Buga-Khoe 'leaf' is also rendered as *ǀxéú* = Kxoe *ǀxáó* 'green colour', as in Kxoe *ǀxáó ǀã* 'green leaf' [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 173], it may be suspected that Vossen's earlier data incorrectly list the word 'green' instead of the required 'leaf'.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 162; Köhler 1981: 553. Polysemy: 'leaf / cabbage, salad'.

Naro: Visser 2001: 96. Quoted as *tò:àrà ~ dò:àrà* in [Barnard 1985: 47]. The same source lists *ana* (fem.) as a synonym in the meanings 'leaf (general)' and 'small leaf' alike. Etymological connections show that this must be the real archaic equivalent for 'leaf (gen.)'; however, R. Vossen does not list it in his comparative series for 'leaf', and in [Visser 2001: 16], *ànã* is glossed with the meaning 'little branch which has leaves, part of any tree', which makes it ineligible for inclusion. Most likely, there has been a semantic shift in recent times. Cf. also the phonetically similar *ǀãã* 'grass' [Visser 2001: 96] = *ǀã ~ ǀã*: id. [Barnard 1985: 62]. Finally, in [Vossen 1988: 106] the word for 'leaf' is listed as *dá^hnà^h-sá* (e. g. the same item as in #Haba). More accurate research is needed to disentangle this situation.

#Haba: Vossen 1988: 106. The word is listed in its full form (with the feminine marker).

|Gwi: Nakagawa 1996: 118. Quoted as *dana* in [Tanaka 1978: 56]. Different item listed in [Vossen 1988: 106]: //á ɪ

||Gana: Vossen 1988: 106; Vossen 1997: 425. In [Tanaka 1978: 56], however, the equivalent for 'leaf' is listed as *dana*, i.e. the exact same word as in |Gwi. In [Nakagawa 2006: 240], two dialectal ||Gana forms for 'leaf' are also listed as *dá'na* and *zá'na*, respectively.

Cara: Vossen 1997: 425.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 425.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 425.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 425.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 425.

Kua: Vossen 1988: 106.

Tsua: Vossen 1988: 106.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 94. Cf. also /ana: 'husk, peel of a fruit' [ibid.] - most likely, the same word, with a fictitious distinction "observed" by Dornan (a typical problem with the source).

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 425 (**ana*). Distribution: Preserved to a certain extent in all subbranches; reliably reconstructible on the Proto-Kalahari Khoe level. Replacements: Three forms that replace the original 'leaf' in Kalahari Khoe languages (Naro *toà'rà*, †Haba-|Gwi **da'na*, Kua-Tsua **t'ana*) are all suspiciously similar but do not correspond regularly to each other. Additionally, the Naro form is practically identical with Ju'hoan (North Khoisan) *dòà'rà* 'leaf', implying some sort of areal isogloss, possibly acquired from a third source that remains unknown (definitely not Bantu). Reconstruction details: The uncontracted form of the root is well preserved in the Eastern languages; in the Western area **ana* > **ā*, undergoing the same process as in Khoekhoe (where the original meaning shifted to 'grass'). This contraction is a special semi-regular development whose conditions are not yet fully understood, but it is recurrent throughout the etymological corpus.

47. LIE

||Ani //óé (1), Kxoe //òē (1), Naro //óé (1), #Haba //óé (1), ||Gana //óé (1), Cara //óé (1), |Xaise //óé (1), Danisi //óé (1), Ts'ixa //óé (1), Deti //òé (1), Kua //óé (1), Tsua //úé (1), Hiechware !^hoe # (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **/oe* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 2000: 141, 142. (Meaning given as 'to lie down; to sleep').

|Ganda: Not attested.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 203. Quoted as //òē in [Köhler 1981: 490]. Cf. the dynamic action verb //óé 'to lie down' [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 203], from which //òē is derived through a tonal shift (presumably, the result of contraction with the passive suffixal marker -i). Cf. Buga-Khoe //óé 'to lie down' [Vossen 1997: 450].

Naro: Visser 2001: 115; Vossen 1997: 450. Polysemy: 'lie / go to bed / be in process of / travel, go for a long time'. Two tonal variants are listed: //óé and //òē 'to lie; to be'; quite possibly, it is the latter that conveys the static meaning 'to be lying', whereas the former is the dynamic 'to lie down' (cf. a similar situation in Kxoe), but this cannot be deduced with certainty from the available data. A. Barnard quotes the form *f̣u:* in the meaning 'lie' [Barnard 1985: 145], although this is really the verb 'to sit' q.v.

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 450.

|Gwi: Not attested.

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 450.

Cara: Vossen 1997: 450.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 450.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 450.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 450.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 450.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 450.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 450.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 97. Meaning glossed as 'to be asleep', not as 'to lie'. However, since the meaning 'to sleep' already corresponds in Dornan's vocabulary to a different lexical root (*//om*), it may be cautiously assumed, with the aid of external data, that 'to be asleep' here is actually = 'to lie, (to be asleep while) lying down'.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 450 (**//oe*). Distribution: Seemingly preserved in all dialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are largely regular and trivial. Semantics and structure: Quite a few languages display the generic polysemy 'to lie / to sleep'; however, since there is an alternate strong candidate for the meaning 'to sleep' (**//om*), it is likely that these polysemies represent a more recent development.

48. LIVER

Ani *x'ǎǎ́* (1), **Ganda** *x'ǎǎ́* (1), **Kxoe** *x'ǎǎ́* (1), **Naro** *x'ǎǎ́* (1), **Haba** *k'ǎǎ́* (1), **Gwi** *k'ǎǎ́* (1), **Gana** *k'ǎǎ́* (1), **Cara** *k'ǎǎ́* (1), **Xaise** *k'ǎǎ́* (1), **Danisi** *x'ǎǎ́* (1), **Ts'ixa** *k'ǎǎ́* (1), **Deti** *k'ǎǎ́* (1), **Kua** *ǎǎ́* (1), **Tsua** *ǎǎ́* (1), **Hiechware** *ǎǎ́* (1), **Proto-Kalahari Khoe** **x'ǎǎ́* (1).

References and notes:

Ani: Vossen 1997: 462.

Ganda: Vossen 1997: 462.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 72. Cf. Buga-Khoe *x'ǎǎ́* id. [Vossen 1997: 462].

Naro: Visser 2001: 37. Quoted as *x'ǎǎ́* in [Vossen 1997: 462]; as *x'i* in [Barnard 1985: 67].

Haba: Vossen 1997: 462.

Gwi: Nakagawa 1996: 116. Quoted as *k'ǎǎ́* in [Vossen 1997: 462]; as *!kaèn* in [Tanaka 1978: 58] (= *!ǎǎ́*, with the velar ejective *k'* mistaken for a click).

Gana: Vossen 1997: 462. Quoted as *!kaèn* in [Tanaka 1978: 58] (= *!ǎǎ́*, with the velar ejective *k'* mistaken for a click).

Cara: Vossen 1997: 462.

Xaise: Vossen 1997: 463.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 462.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 462.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 462.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 462.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 462.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 90.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 462 (**kx'ǎǎ́*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are somewhat unique, particularly for the Kua-Tsua subgroup where we witness a very rare case of palatalization; it should be noted that this very clearly distinguishes the root from **x'ǎǎ́* 'to laugh' (> Kua, Tsua *k'ǎǎ́*), so Vossen's reconstruction **kx'ǎǎ́* for both of these items is not justified (no explanation why *-a-* is lost in 'liver' and not in 'laugh'). We provisionally amend the reconstruction to **x'ǎǎ́*, assuming contraction **-ǎǎ́ > *-ǎǎ́* and subsequent palatalization in Kua-Tsua and dissimilation elsewhere, but this is not certified by additional parallels.

49. LONG

Ani *!áò* (1), **Kxoe** *kʰáò* (1), **Naro** *!áò* (1), **Haba** *!áò* (1), **Gwi** *!àù* (1), **Gana** *!áù* (1), **Cara** *káó* (1), **Danisi** *káò* (1), **Ts'ixa** *káò* (1), **Deti** *káò* (1), **Kua** *!áò* (1), **Tsua** *!áò* (1), **Hiechware** *ǎxau* (1), **Proto-Kalahari Khoe** **!ao* (1).

References and notes:

||**Ani**: Vossen 1986: 338.

|**Ganda**: Not attested.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 78. Polysemy: 'be high / be long / be tall'. Cf. Buga-Khoe !áò id. [Vossen 1997: 461-462].

Naro: Visser 2001: 63; Vossen 1997: 462. Polysemy: 'long / tall'. According to A. Barnard, the Naro word for 'long' is the same as 'big' (*káí* q.v.), but this is dubious in the light of the rest of the sources [Barnard 1985: 118].

#**Haba**: Vossen 1997: 462.

|**Gwi**: Vossen 1997: 462. Quoted as !*káo* in [Tanaka 1978: 58].

||**Gana**: Vossen 1997: 462. Quoted as !*káo* in [Tanaka 1978: 58].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 462.

|**Xaise**: Not attested.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 462.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 462.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 462.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 462.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 462.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 103. Meaning glossed as 'large, long'. The palatal click may be mistranscribing the alveolar click (cf. Kua and Tsua).

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 461 (*!ao). Distribution: Preserved everywhere where attested. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally regular, although the alveolar click, as usual, displays a rather chaotic pattern of behavior. In this case, particular suspicion is drawn to the Kua-Tsua forms, since these languages, like all languages of the Shua group, regularly drop the alveolar click (*!kao should be expected); this is one of very few examples (see also 'white') where it is preserved, implying that the actual forms might have been reborrowed from a West Khoe source (but which one?).

50. LOUSE

||**Ani** *x'úní* (1), **Kxoe** *x'úní* (1), **Naro** *ḥá̃ˀˀ* (2), |**Gwi** *x'úní* (1), ||**Gana** *x'úní* (1), **Cara** *k'úní* (1), |**Xaise** *k'úní* (1), **Danisi** *x'úní* (1), **Ts'ixa** *k'úní* (1), **Deti** *k'úní* (1), **Kua** *k'úní* (1), **Tsua** *k'úní* (1), **Hiechware** *||am* (3), **Proto-Kalahari Khoe** **x'úní* (1).

References and notes:

||**Ani**: Vossen 1997: 462.

|**Ganda**: Not attested.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 75. Polysemy: 'louse / flea'. Cf. Buga-Khoe *x'úní* id. [Vossen 1997: 462].

Naro: Visser 2001: 55. Polysemy: 'louse / flea'. Quoted as *ḥá̃ˀˀ* in [Barnard 1985: 45]; the latter source also lists *ḥáni* as a synonym, but this word is not confirmed in Visser's dictionary. Cf. also *||x'óné* 'very small louse; something very small' [Visser 2001: 113].

#**Haba**: Not attested.

|**Gwi**: Vossen 1997: 462.

||**Gana**: Vossen 1997: 462.

Cara: Vossen 1997: 462.

|**Xaise**: Vossen 1997: 462.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 462.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 462.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 462.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 462.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 462.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 94.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 462 (**kx'uni*). Distribution: Preserved in most languages. Replacements: (a) Naro $\tilde{f}\tilde{a}^s$, of unknown origin; it is clearly the same word as Ju|hoan $\tilde{f}\tilde{a}^s$ 'louse', but the latter, likewise, is only restricted within North Khoisan to the Ju|hoan dialect, so it seems to belong to the small group of areal Naro-Ju isoglosses (see 'leaf') that may have a substrate origin; (b) Hiechware *lam* is not supported by any source outside of Dornan's old wordlist; it might be a lexical or semantic mistake, or a genuine replacement of unknown origin. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally regular and trivial.

51. MAN

||Ani *k^hóé-mà* (1), Kxoe *x'á-k^hòè* (2), Naro *k^hòè-ba* (1), #Haba *x'áò* # (2), |Gwi *x'áò* # (2), ||Gana *x'áo* # (2), Cara *k'áò* # (2), |Xaise *k'áò* # (2), Danisi *x'áò* # (2), Ts'ixa *k'áò* # (2), Deti *k'áo* # (2), Kua *k'áò* # (2), Tsua *k'áò* # (2), Hiechware *kau-čò* (2), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **x'ao* (2).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 2000: 136. Same stem as 'person', specified with the regular masculine gender morpheme *-mà*. Should be distinguished from *x'áò* 'male, manly' [Vossen 1997: 465].

|Ganda: Not attested.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 70. Polysemy: 'man / husband'. Contracted from *x'áò* 'male (animal or person)' + *k^hòè* 'person' q.v. Variant: *x'á-k^hò-mà*, quoted as *x'á:-k^hòe-mà* in [Köhler 1981: 493]. Cf. Buga-Khoe *x'áò* 'male' [Vossen 1997: 465].

Naro: Visser 2001: 41. Same word as 'person' q.v. with the masculine gender marker. A more specific way to denote 'man' as 'male human being' is *x'áò-k^hòè* [Visser 2001: 38], literally: 'male person'. The first component here is *x'áò* 'male' [Vossen 1997: 465], the second is *k^hòe* 'person' q.v.; quoted as *k'áù-k^hùè* in [Barnard 1985: 70]. However, text examples show that this compound is rarely, if ever, used in basic contexts; its usage must be restricted to specially marked situations.

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 465. Meaning glossed as 'male'; somewhat dubious (cf. the situation in Naro).

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 465. Meaning glossed as 'male'. In [Tanaka 1978: 60], the meaning 'man (male person)' is rendered as *x'ao-kue*, literally 'male' + 'person' q.v. It is not clear how basic this compound is, therefore, the whole entry is dubious.

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 465. Meaning glossed as 'male'. In [Tanaka 1978: 60], the meaning 'man (male person)' is rendered as *x'ao-kue*, literally 'male' + 'person' q.v. It is not clear how basic this compound is, therefore, the whole entry is dubious.

Cara: Vossen 1997: 465. Meaning glossed as 'male'; somewhat dubious (cf. the situation in Naro).

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 465. Meaning glossed as 'male'; somewhat dubious (cf. the situation in Naro).

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 465. Meaning glossed as 'male'; somewhat dubious (cf. the situation in Naro).

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 465. Meaning glossed as 'male'; somewhat dubious (cf. the situation in Naro).

Deti: Vossen 1997: 465. Meaning glossed as 'male'; somewhat dubious (cf. the situation in Naro).

Kua: Vossen 1997: 465. Meaning glossed as 'male'; somewhat dubious (cf. the situation in Naro).

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 465. Meaning glossed as 'male'; somewhat dubious (cf. the situation in Naro).

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 101. Most likely, a compound of *kau* 'male' (cf. external data) + *čò* 'person' q.v.; cf. the similar structure of 'woman' q.v.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 465 (**kx'ao*). Distribution: Preserved in all languages, although see the discussion on semantics below. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally regular and trivial. Semantics and structure: It seems that the original meaning of the morpheme **x'ao* is 'male' (applicable to animals and people); the meaning 'man' is perceived as more complex than 'male' and is often expressed by either the masculine gender form of the lexeme **k^hòe* 'person' (as in ||Ani and Naro) or the compounding of two lexical roots (**x'ao-k^hòe*, as in Kxoe and Hiechware). Nevertheless, since 'man'-meaning forms with **x'ao* are far more frequent than 'man'-meaning forms without this morpheme, it seems justified to put this morpheme into the main Proto-Kalahari Khoe slot for 'man', leaving **k^hòe* in the slot for 'person'. See an absolutely symmetric picture for the item 'woman' q.v.

52. MANY

Kxoe *kó* ~ *á=kó* (1), Naro *káí* (2), Hiechware *cao* (3).

References and notes:

||Ani: Not attested.

|Ganda: Not attested.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 16, 58. The forms represent adjectival or adverbial usage of the noun *kó* 'quantity, (large) number, multitude'; multiple textual examples confirm that this is indeed the main equivalent of this Swadesh meaning in Khoe. Secondary synonym: *í^hiyà*, with polysemy: 'be much, be many / be four' [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 133; Köhler 1981: 493] (no textual examples).

Naro: Visser 2001: 34. Meaning glossed as 'much, many, more'. Same stem as *kāī-ā* 'big' q.v., but with different tonal characteristics. A. Barnard does not notice any tonal differences between 'big' and 'many', glossing both meanings as *káí* [Barnard 1985: 115].

#Haba: Not attested.

|Gwi: Not attested in reliable sources. Cf., however, *!tui* 'many' in [Tanaka 1978: 60] (which could transcriptionally reflect **tui*, in which case it would be comparable with Nama *‡ui* 'many').

||Gana: Not attested in reliable sources. Cf., however, *!tui* 'many' in [Tanaka 1978: 60] (which could transcriptionally reflect **tui*, in which case it would be comparable with Nama *‡ui* 'many').

Cara: Not attested.

|Xaise: Not attested.

Danisi: Not attested.

Ts'ixa: Not attested.

Deti: Not attested.

Kua: Not attested.

Tsua: Not attested.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 111.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Not reconstructible due to lack of attestation in known sources; the few attested forms are not reconcilable with each other and suggest that the concept is generally quite unstable in Kalahari Khoe.

53. MEAT

||Ani *x'ò-xú* (1), |Ganda *x'ó-xò* (1), Kxoe *x'ó-xò* (1), Naro *x'ò* (1), #Haba *x'ó-xò* (1), |Gwi *|xá:* (2), ||Gana *|xâ* (2), Cara *k'ò-hú* (1), |Xaise *k'ò-hú* (1), Danisi *x'ò-xú* (1), Ts'ixa *k'ò-xú* (1), Deti *k'ò-xú* (1), Kua *k'ó-xù* (1), Tsua *k'ó-xù* (1), Hiechware *ko-ho* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **x'ò-xu* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1988: 89. The root here is verbal (*x'ò* 'to eat meat'); the noun 'meat' is formed with the productive nominalizer *-xú* (grammaticalized noun 'thing'). More specialized nouns like *|xá* 'muscle; flesh (without bones)' [Vossen 1986: 329] and *káni* 'cooked meat' [Vossen 1986: 338] are ineligible.

|Ganda: Vossen 1988: 89. See notes on the ||Ani entry.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 74; Köhler 1981: 501. Formally derived from *x'ó* 'to eat (meat)' (see notes on 'to eat') with the productive nominalizer *-xò*. Cf. Buga-Khoe *x'ó* 'meat / to eat (meat)' [Vossen 1997: 433], *x'ó-xò* 'meat' [Vossen 1988: 89].

Naro: Visser 2001: 39. Meaning glossed as 'meat (with bone) - only used when speaking of animals'. Quoted as *x'ò* in [Vossen 1997: 433]; as *x'ò* ~ *k'ò*: (com.), also *k'ò-xó* (com.; cf. the same derivation in Kxoe) in [Barnard 1985: 98] and *x'ò-xó* in [Vossen 1988: 89]. With tonal gradation, the same root is also used as verbal: *x'ò*: 'to eat meat'. The meaning 'flesh', 'meat (without bone)', 'body' is said to

correspond to the word /xàā [Visser 2001: 6].

#Haba: Vossen 1988: 89. Cf. *x'ó* 'to eat (meat)' in [Vossen 1997: 433].

|Gwi: Nakagawa 1996: 107; Vossen 1988: 89. Quoted as /ká in [Tanaka 1978: 61].

||Gana: Vossen 1988: 89. Quoted as /ká in [Tanaka 1978: 61].

Cara: Vossen 1988: 89. For the morphological structure, see notes on the ||Ani entry.

|Xaise: Vossen 1988: 89. For the morphological structure, see notes on the ||Ani entry.

Danisi: Vossen 1988: 89. For the morphological structure, see notes on the ||Ani entry.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1988: 89. For the morphological structure, see notes on the ||Ani entry.

Deti: Vossen 1988: 89. For the morphological structure, see notes on the ||Ani entry.

Kua: Vossen 1988: 89. For the morphological structure, see notes on the ||Ani entry.

Tsua: Vossen 1988: 89. For the morphological structure, see notes on the ||Ani entry.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 104. For the morphological structure, see notes on the ||Ani entry.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 433 (**kx'ó* 'to eat meat'). **Distribution:** Preserved in most languages, apparently except for the |Gwi-||Gana subgroup. **Replacements:** Merged in |Gwi-||Gana with **xa* 'body; muscle' [Vossen 1997: 468]; note also the distinction in Naro between 'meat (with bone)' and /xàā 'meat (boneless)'. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are regular. **Semantics and structure:** It seems that the original meaning of the root **kx'ó* was verbal ('to eat hard food, eat meat'), since in most cases the nominal meaning 'meat' is expressed by the compound formation **x'ó-xu*, lit. 'eat-meat-thing'.

54. MOON

||Ani $\tilde{m}óé$ (1), |Ganda $\tilde{l}óé$ (1), Kxoe $\tilde{l}óé$ (1), Naro $\tilde{l}óē$ (1), #Haba $\tilde{m}óè$ (1), |Gwi $\tilde{l}óè$ (1), ||Gana $\tilde{l}óè$ (1), Cara $\tilde{l}óé$ (1), |Xaise $\tilde{m}óé$ (1), Danisi $\tilde{l}óé$ (1), Ts'ixa $\tilde{l}óé$ (1), Deti $\tilde{l}óé$ (1), Kua $\tilde{l}óé$ (1), Tsua $\tilde{l}úé$ (1), Hiechware /we: (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe ** $\tilde{l}óε$* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 467.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 467.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 217; Köhler 1981: 502. Polysemy: 'moon / month'. Cf. Buga-Khoe $\tilde{l}óé$ id. [Vossen 1997: 467].

Naro: Visser 2001: 59. Polysemy: 'moon / month'. Quoted as $\tilde{l}óé \sim \tilde{m}óé$ in [Vossen 1997: 467]; as $\tilde{l}úé \sim \tilde{l}óé$ in [Barnard 1985: 33], with additional polysemy: 'moon / menstrual period'.

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 467.

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 467. Quoted as $\tilde{l}óε$ in [Tanaka 1978: 62].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 467. Quoted as $\tilde{l}óε$ in [Tanaka 1978: 62].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 468.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 468.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 468.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 468.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 468.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 468.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 468.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 96. The dental click is most likely a transcriptional mistake for the lateral click, as in 'nail' q.v. Cf. also *!owe* 'a month, the moon' [Dornan 1917: 104] - possibly the same word, mistranscribed in a different way.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 468 (** $\tilde{l}noe \sim * $\tilde{l}óε$$*). **Distribution:** Preserved in all languages. **Reconstruction shape:** The diphthong **-oε* (rather than **-oe*) is preserved as such in numerous languages.

55. MOUNTAIN

Kxoe *ndúndù* (-1), Naro *||àbì* (1), Hiechware *!oa* (2).

References and notes:

||Ani: Not attested.

|Ganda: Not attested.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 93. The word violates normal Kxoe phonotactics and looks like a Bantu borrowing. Cf. also *!ú-!á nì ~ !ú-tá-!á nì* 'slope, hill, mountain' [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 163], where *!ú* = 'small hill in a plain' and *!á nì* = 'top (side)'; judging by this structure, the meaning 'mountain' is far-fetched, and the expression should rather mean 'mountain top' or 'slope (space from mountain top to bottom)'.

Naro: Visser 2001: 106. Polysemy: 'hill / slope / mountain'. Quoted as *||ábi* (fem.) in [Barnard 1985: 34]; the other synonym listed in the latter source, *!au ~ cau*, is not confirmed in more reliable sources.

#Haba: Not attested.

|Gwi: Not attested in reliable sources. Cf., however, *!kabi* 'mountain' in [Tanaka 1978: 63].

||Gana: Not attested in reliable sources. Cf., however, *!kabi* 'mountain' in [Tanaka 1978: 63].

Cara: Not attested.

|Xaise: Not attested.

Danisi: Not attested.

Ts'ixa: Not attested.

Deti: Not attested.

Kua: Not attested.

Tsua: Not attested.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 95.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Not reconstructible due to lack of sufficient attestation. The only possible candidate would be Naro *||àbì* and its probable cognates in |Gwi and ||Gana (poorly transcribed in Tanaka's dictionary), but more data would be needed to confirm the archaicity of these items.

56. MOUTH

||Ani *x'ám* (1), **|Ganda** *x'ám* (1), **Kxoe** *x'ám* (1), **Naro** *x'ám* (1), **#Haba** *x'ám* (1), **|Gwi** *x'ám* (1), **||Gana** *x'ám* (1), **Cara** *k'ám* (1), **|Xaise** *k'ám* (1), **Danisi** *x'ám* (1), **Ts'ixa** *k'ám* (1), **Deti** *k'àm* (1), **Kua** *k'àm* (1), **Tsua** *k'àm* (1), **Hiechware** *!am* (1), **Proto-Kalahari Khoe** **x'am* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 468.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 468. The older source [Vossen 1988: 90] lists an additional synonym as *c'úm* 'mouth'. In [Vossen 1997: 464], however, this word is listed as *c'úm* and more correctly glossed as 'upper lip'.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 70; Köhler 1981: 523. Polysemy: 'mouth / snout / muzzle / opening / surface / borderline'. The same root also functions as a verbal stem: 'burn a hole into, bore with red-hot iron, pierce; forge'. Cf. also Buga-Khoe *x'á m* 'mouth' [Vossen 1997: 468].

Naro: Visser 2001: 38; Vossen 1997: 468. Polysemy: 'mouth / opening / entrance / in front of'. Quoted as *x'á m k'à m* [Barnard 1985: 64].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 468.

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 468. Quoted as *x'am* in [Tanaka 1978: 63].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 468. Quoted as *x'am* in [Tanaka 1978: 63].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 468.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 468.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 468.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 468.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 468. The word *c'óm*, listed in the earlier source [Vossen 1988: 90] as a synonym with the same meaning 'mouth', really means 'upper lip' [Vossen 1997: 464].

Kua: Vossen 1997: 468.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 468.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 100. Polysemy: 'beak / mouth'. The palatal click transcription may actually represent a non-click (ejective) consonant in this case. The same word is probably transcribed with a dental click (also mistakenly) as *lxam* in [Dorman 1917: 102].

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 468 (**kx'am*). **Distribution:** Preserved in all languages. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are regular and trivial.

57. NAME

||Ani *lx'ón* (1), |Ganda *lx'úũ* (1), Kxoe *lx'ón* (1), Naro *lx'õẽ* (1), #Haba *lx'úũ* (1), |Gwi *lx'õān* (1), ||Gana *lx'ón* (1), Cara *l'ón* (1), |Xaise *l'ón* (1), Danisi *lx'úũ* (1), Ts'ixa *l'ón* (1), Deti *l'úũ* (1), Kua *l'úũ* (1), Tsua *l'úũ* (1), Hiechware *lun* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **lx'on* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 470.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 470.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 314; Köhler 1981: 515. Cf. Buga-Khoe *lx'úũ* id. [Vossen 1997: 470].

Naro: Visser 2001: 9. Quoted as *lx'úũ* in [Vossen 1997: 470]; as *lkũĩ ~ lkũēa* in [Barnard 1985: 76].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 470.

|Gwi: Nakagawa 1996: 117. Quoted as *lx'òà ñin* [Vossen 1997: 470]; as *luoñ* in [Tanaka 1978: 64].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 470. Quoted as *luoñ* in [Tanaka 1978: 64].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 470.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 470.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 471.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 471.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 471.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 471.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 471.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 105.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 471 (**lx'on*). **Distribution:** Preserved in all languages. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are mostly regular, but some of the languages clearly reflect a bisyllabic variant (**lx'on-i ~ *lx'un-i*), usually with vocalic assimilation and contraction (> **lx'ũĩ*). Since CVCi-type structures do not normally behave this way in Kalahari Khoe, it is possible that this variant goes back to an archaic common gender form (**lx'on-ʔi*) with a specific development on the morphemic border.

58. NECK

||Ani *!x'áó* (1), |Ganda *xèrí* (2), Kxoe *xèrèé* (2), Naro *!x'áó* (1), #Haba *!x'áó* (1), |Gwi *!x'áó* (1), ||Gana *x'áó* (1), Cara *k'áó* (1), |Xaise *k'àò* (1), Danisi *gʷànú* (3), Ts'ixa *dʷànú* (3), Deti *k'àò* (1), Kua *k'àó* (1), Tsua *kínù* (4), Hiechware *ʃano* (3), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **!x'ao* (1).

References and notes:

||**Ani**: Vossen 1997: 446. Entirely different word quoted in the earlier source [Vossen 1988: 91]: *ǀúí*.

|**Ganda**: Vossen 1988: 91.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 143.

Naro: Visser 2001: 67; Vossen 1997: 446. Quoted as *!kau ~ !kou* in [Barnard 1985: 65].

#**Haba**: Vossen 1997: 446.

|**Gwi**: Nakagawa 2006: Fig. 3.24. Quoted as *ǀx'ǎ̀ǎ̀-ǀǎ̀ǎ̀* in [Vossen 1988: 91] (the second component is probably a misspelling for *ǀǎ̀ǎ̀* 'bone'); as *!x'ao* in [Tanaka 1978: 64].

||**Gana**: Vossen 1997: 446. Quoted as *x'ao* in [Tanaka 1978: 64].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 446.

|**Xaise**: Vossen 1997: 446.

Danisi: Vossen 1988: 91.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1988: 91.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 446.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 446.

Tsua: Vossen 1988: 91.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 101. Initial *ǀ*, as in numerous similar cases, may actually reflect non-click articulation. Cf. also *d^hom* 'neck' [Dornan 1917: 92] as a potential secondary synonym; however, all the external relatives of this form have the semantically close meaning 'throat' rather than 'neck', so Dornan's translation may be put under doubt. Moreover, the meaning 'throat' is rendered as *dom* [ibid.] - obviously the same word, with a fictitious consonantal opposition.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 446 (**!x'ao*). **Distribution**: Represented in every single subbranch and clearly the optimal candidate for Proto-Kalahari Khoe 'neck'. **Replacements**: (a) |Ganda-Kxoe **xeri*, possibly related to Nama *xari-s* 'gizzard'; (b) Danisi-Ts'ixa **ǀanu* < **ǀanu*, of unknown origin; (c) Tsua *kínù*, of unknown origin. **Reconstruction shape**: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

59. NEW

||**Ani** *x'òà* (1), **Kxoe** *x'óā* (1), **Naro** *kǎ'ǎ̀bǎ̀* (2), |**Gwi** *qǎ̀bǎ̀* (2), ||**Gana** *qǎ̀bǎ̀* (2), **Cara** *k'óá* (1), **Danisi** *x'óá* (1), **Ts'ixa** *k'óá* (1), **Deti** *k'óá* (1), **Tsua** *ǀǎ̀ǎ̀* (3), **Hiechware** *!ao* (3), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **x'oa* (113).

References and notes:

||**Ani**: Vossen 1997: 471.

|**Ganda**: Not attested.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 74. Polysemy: 'green / unripe / uncooked / raw / new / tainted, spoiled (of meat)'.
Naro: Visser 2001: 33. Polysemy: 'new / young'. Quoted as *kǎ'ǎ̀bǎ̀* in [Barnard 1985: 118].

#**Haba**: Not attested.

|**Gwi**: Vossen 1992: 386. Quoted as *kaba* in [Tanaka 1978: 64].

||**Gana**: Vossen 1992: 386. Quoted as *kaba* in [Tanaka 1978: 64].

Cara: Vossen 1992: 471.

|**Xaise**: Not attested.

Danisi: Vossen 1992: 471.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1992: 471.

Deti: Vossen 1992: 471.

Kua: Not attested.

Tsua: Vossen 1992: 415.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 101. The word is easily comparable with its equivalent in Tsua, if the alveolar click symbol here mistranscribes a lateral click (cf. 'fat', 'to lie' with identical situations). Alternatively, cf. also *lxaiē* 'new' [Dorman 1917: 102].

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1992: 471 (**kx'oa*). Distribution: Attested in ||Ani-Kxoe and the Shua subgroup. Replacements: (a) Naro + |Gwi-||Gana have **ka'ba* (> |Gwi-||Gana **qaba*) as the main equivalent for 'new'; the word is clearly related to Nama *kawa* 'new' and could, therefore, by way of external cognate argument be eligible for the main slot; however, **kx'oa* has far stronger internal distribution, implying that the Nama-Naro-||Gana isogloss might really be areal; (b) Tsua *llāò*, glossed by Vossen with the meaning 'new', is clearly the same word as Proto-Kalahari Khoe **llao* 'old' (!) - no hypotheses as to the reasons of such an odd meaning reversal. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

60. NIGHT

||Ani *t^hũ* (1), |Ganda *t^hũ* (1), Kxoe *t^hũ* (1), Naro *ḥũ* (2), Cara *t^hũ* (1), Danisi *t^hũ* (1), Ts'ixa *t^hũ* (1), Hiechware *haie* (3), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **t^hu* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1986: 335.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 470.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 133; Köhler 1981: 512. Polysemy: 'get dark (vb.) / night'. Cf. Buga-Khoe *t^hũ* id. [Vossen 1997: 470].

Naro: Visser 2001: 57; Barnard 1985: 24. Polysemy: 'night / evening / black'. Same word as 'black' q.v. Quoted as *ḥmũ* in [Vossen 1997: 470].

#Haba: Not attested.

|Gwi: Not attested in reliable sources. In [Tanaka 1978: 65], the meaning 'night' is rendered as *hxae-šika*, where the first part = *hxæ* 'dark' [Tanaka 1978: 26] and the second may constitute a string of derivational suffixes, but whether this is indeed the basic word for 'night' remains to be confirmed.

||Gana: Not attested in reliable sources. In [Tanaka 1978: 65], the meaning 'night' is rendered as *hxae-šika*, where the first part = *hxæ* 'dark' [Tanaka 1978: 26] (= *qâè* 'dark' [Vossen 1992: 386]) and the second may constitute a string of derivational suffixes, but whether this is indeed the basic word for 'night' remains to be confirmed.

Cara: Vossen 1997: 470.

|Xaise: Not attested.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 470.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 470.

Deti: Not attested.

Kua: Not attested.

Tsua: Not attested.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 97. The same stem is probably present in *xaie ka* 'night' [Dorman 1917: 102].

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 470 (**t^hũ*). Distribution: Well represented across all subbranches. Replacements: (a) Naro *ḥũ* is the same word as 'black', with a secondary polysemous development {'black' > 'night'}; (b) Hiechware *haie* is etymologically related to ||Gana *qâè*, Nama *!xae* 'darkness'; the same root is probably involved in compound formations with the meaning 'night' in |Gwi-||Gana, but its original meaning was most likely 'darkness' in general rather than 'nighttime' in particular, so the developments in Hiechware and |Gwi-||Gana are easily interpretable as independent trivial semantic shifts {'dark' > 'night'}.

61. NOSE

||Ani *ḥũi* (1), |Ganda *ḥũi* (1), Kxoe *ḥũi* (1), Naro *ḥũi* (1), #Haba *ḥũi* (1), |Gwi *ḥũi* (1), ||Gana *ḥũi* (1), Cara *ḥũi* (1), |Xaise *ḥũi* (1), Danisi *ḥũi* (1), Ts'ixa *ḥũi* (1), Deti *ḥũi* (1), Kua *ḥũi* (1), Tsua *ḥũi* (1), Hiechware *čui* ~ *čwi* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **ḥui* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 471.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 471.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 182. Cf. Buga-Khoe *ʃúú* id. [Vossen 1997: 471].

Naro: Visser 2001: 90. Quoted as *ʃúú* in [Vossen 1997: 471]; as *ʃkúúú ~ ʃkúúé ~ ʃúú* in [Barnard 1985: 64].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 471.

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 471. Quoted as *!tui* in [Tanaka 1978: 65] (with incorrect identification of the click influx).

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 471. Quoted as *!tui* in [Tanaka 1978: 65] (with incorrect identification of the click influx).

Cara: Vossen 1997: 471.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 471.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 471. Quoted as *tʰúú* in the earlier source [Vossen 1988: 92].

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 471.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 471.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 471.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 471.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 91.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 471 (**ʃui*). Distribution: Preserved in all languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular (with expected click-to-affricate development in the Eastern branch).

62. NOT

||Ani =*bé* (1), |Ganda =*bé* (1), Kxoe *béé ~ vé* (1), Naro =*tá ~ tāmā* (2), #Haba =*tímá* (2), |Gwi *tàmà* (2), ||Gana *tàmà* (2), Cara =*tà* (2), |Xaise =*tà* (2), Danisi =*tà* (2), Ts'ixa =*tā* (2), Deti =*tà* (2), Kua =*tà* (2), Tsua =*tà* (2), Hiechware =*be*: (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **=tama* (2).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 203.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 203.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 19, 138. Quoted as *βé*: in [Köhler 1981: 535]. Enclitic particle that expresses the basic meaning of negation next to indicative forms of the verb. Cf. Buga-Khoe =*bé* id. in [Vossen 1997: 203].

Naro: Visser 2001: 78, 79; Vossen 1997: 214. The morpheme behaves as a verbal enclitic; distribution between the two variants remains unclear. This negation is employed in present and past tenses; for the future tense, the default negation is *títè* [Visser 2001: 96; Vossen 1997: 214]. Morphological connections between *tá*, *tāmā*, and *títè* on the synchronic level are essentially of a suppletive nature, but it is almost certain that all three are historically related.

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 206.

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 214. Quoted as *-čama* in [Tanaka 1978: 65].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 214. Quoted as *-tama* in [Tanaka 1978: 65].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 226. Basic verbal enclitic, employed in present tense forms. The corresponding morpheme for the past tense is =*mana*.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 226. Basic verbal enclitic, employed in present tense forms. The corresponding morpheme for the past tense is =*m*.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 226. Basic verbal enclitic, employed in present tense forms. The corresponding morpheme for the past tense is =*bé*.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 226. Basic verbal enclitic, employed in present tense forms. The corresponding variant for the past tense is =*ité*.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 226. Basic verbal enclitic, employed in present tense forms. The corresponding morpheme for the past tense is

=mà̀nà̀.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 232.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 232.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 67. Basic verbal enclitic, employed in present tense forms. The corresponding variant for the past tense is =^ha.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 366 (**tama*). Distribution: Found in all the subgroups except for ||Ani-Kxoe. Replacements: See 'Semantics and Structure'. Reconstruction shape: We follow Vossen in his conjecture that the variant *-ta* is historically contracted from **-tama* (cf. Ts'ixa *-tã* where traces of the original nasal consonant are still seen in vowel nasalization), since the bisyllabic variant is confirmed externally (= Nama *tama*) and there is no explanation of **-ma* as an additional suffix with its own meaning and function. Semantics and structure: The morpheme **=ta(ma)* is the only one that can be reliably reconstructed for the Proto-Kalahari Khoe level as a basic negation suffix. Most of the languages feature a binary opposition between present-time and past-time negation, but the realization of this opposition differs between languages. One possible scenario is that the original system was similar to the one seen in Danisi, with **=ta(ma)* as the present tense negation marker and **=be* as the past tense marker; later on, **=be* was generalized in the ||Ani-Kxoe subgroup, **=ta(ma)* was generalized (almost) everywhere else and innovative past tense markers independently sprang up in a few other languages, e.g. Naro and Ts'ixa. This scenario seems somewhat likely since there are no obvious sources for the innovation of **=be* in ||Ani-Kxoe; conversely, the situation in Naro, for instance, could at least theoretically be explained as an areal innovation under the influence of Khoekhoe. Nevertheless, for the moment we prefer to restrict protolanguage synonymy to **=tama* alone, for reasons of distribution.

63. ONE

||Ani /úí (1), |Ganda /úí (1), Kxoe /úí (1), Naro /úí (1), #Haba /úí (1), |Gwi /úí (1), ||Gana /úí (1), Cara /úí (1), |Xaise /úí (1), Danisi /úí (1), Ts'ixa /úí (1), Deti /úí (1), Kua /úí (1), Tsua /úí (1), Hiechware *kwie ~ kwiye* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **/uí* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 429.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 429.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 157; Köhler 1981: 490. Cf. Buga-Khoe /úí id. [Vossen 1997: 429].

Naro: Visser 2001: 13; Vossen 1997: 429. Polysemy: 'one / same / alone'. Quoted as /kúí ~ /úí in [Barnard 1985: 122].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 429.

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 429. Quoted as /wi in [Tanaka 1978: 67].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 429. Quoted as /wi in [Tanaka 1978: 67].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 429.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 429.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 429.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 429.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 429.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 429.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 429.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 64.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 429 (**/uí*). Distribution: Preserved in all languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial (with the exception of sporadic click loss in Hiechware, provided the old transcription is accurate).

64. PERSON

||Ani *k^hóé* (1), |Ganda *k^hóé* (1), Kxoe *k^hóé* (1), Naro *k^hòè* (1), #Haba *k^hòè* (1), |Gwi *k^hóé* (1),

||Gana *k^hóè* (1), Cara *k^hóé* (1), |Xaise *k^hóé* (1), Danisi *k^hóè* (1), Ts'ixa *k^hóè* (1), Deti *k^hóé* (1), Kua *k^hòé* (1), Tsua *c^hòé* (1), Hiechware *čo ~ čwa* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **k^hoe* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1986: 323.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 409.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 66. Quoted as *k^hòe* in [Köhler 1981: 508]. Cf. also Buga-Khoe *k^hóé* id. [Vossen 1997: 458].

Naro: Visser 2001: 41; Vossen 1997: 409. Quoted as *k^húè ~ k^hòè* in [Barnard 1985: 70]. Barnard: "This term is sometimes used specifically for Nharo or Bushman people, in opposition to other ethnic groups".

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 409.

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 409. Quoted as *kue* in [Tanaka 1978: 71].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 409. Quoted as *kue* in [Tanaka 1978: 71].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 467.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 467.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 467.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 467.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 467.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 467.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 467.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 90, 91. Cf. also *čowe* 'man' [Dornan 1917: 91] - most likely, the same word.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 467 (**k^hoe*). Distribution: Preserved in all languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular (with expected palatalization in Kua-Tsua, though the distribution of palatalized variants across dialects is somewhat sporadic, as in other similar cases).

65. RAIN

||Ani *tú* (1), |Ganda *tú* (1), Kxoe *tú* (1), Naro *tú*: (1), #Haba *tú* (1), |Gwi *çú*: (1), ||Gana *çú*: (1), Cara *tú* (1), |Xaise *tú* (1), Danisi *tú* (1), Ts'ixa *tú* (1), Deti *tǔ* (1), Kua *tú* (1), Tsua *tú* (1), Hiechware *tu* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **tu* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 477. Used also in the verbal meaning ('to rain').

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 477.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 120; Köhler 1981: 517. Used also in the verbal meaning ('to rain'). Cf. Buga-Khoe *tǔ* id. [Vossen 1997: 477].

Naro: Visser 2001: 105. Quoted as *tú* in [Vossen 1997: 477]; as *tú*: ~ *dú*: (fem.) in [Barnard 1985: 33]. Used also in the verbal meaning ('to rain').

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 477. Quoted as *tyú* in the earlier source [Vossen 1986: 93].

|Gwi: Nakagawa 1996: 110. Quoted as *tú* in [Vossen 1997: 477]; as *tyú* in [Vossen 1986: 93]; as *kyu*: in [Tanaka 1978: 77].

||Gana: Nakagawa 1996: 110. The word is not listed in the comparative monograph [Vossen 1997]; in [Vossen 1986: 93], it is quoted as *gyú*, and it is assumed by Vossen that this word is not related to *tu ~ tyu ~ çu* in other languages. However, the sequence *gy* really reflects old dental stops as well, and it is quite unlikely that ||Gana has a different root (**du* ?) here. Quoted as *kyu*: in [Tanaka 1978: 77] (note also the use of velar *k* to transcribe the palatal stop).

Cara: Vossen 1997: 477.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 477.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 477.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 477.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 477.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 477.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 477.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 111.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 477 (**tu*). Distribution: Preserved in all languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular (palatalized reflexes in |Gwi-|Gana are not always attested for original **t-*, but frequently enough to suggest that the transcription simply reflects idiosyncratic articulations of a single consonant that fluctuates between coronal and palatal variants).

66. RED

||Ani *ĩnòá* (1), |Ganda *||xéú* (2), Kxoe *||qéú-fí* (2), Naro *ĩòàʼ* (1), #Haba *ĩnòáʼ* (1), |Gwi *ĩùà* (1), ||Gana *ĩnòà* (1), Cara *ìòá* (1), |Xaise *ìòá* (1), Danisi *ìòá* (1) / *qâ-sè* (3), Ts'ixa *qâ-sì* (3), Deti *ìóá* (1), Kua *ʔúúú* (4), Tsua *wúúú* (4), Hiechware *|eye* (5), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **ĩoaʼ* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 479.

|Ganda: Vossen 1988: 94.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 219; Köhler 1981: 512. A verbal / adjectival derivative from *||qéú* 'red colour, reddish colour / sunset'. Cf. also the secondary synonym: *ìòá* 'be clean / be red / be holy'. Since this word does not participate in any derivatives with the semantics of 'red', it is dubious that it continues to serve as the main equivalent for 'red' in Kxoe proper. Cf., however, Buga-Khoe *ìòá*, glossed as 'red' in [Vossen 1997: 419].

Naro: Visser 2001: 48. Quoted as *ĩnòáʼ* in [Vossen 1997: 479]; as *ĩùà ~ ìòáʼ* in [Barnard 1985: 121].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 479.

|Gwi: Nakagawa 2006: 162. Quoted as *ìòà* in [Vossen 1997: 479]; as *ĩua* in [Tanaka 1978: 78].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 479. Quoted as *ĩua* in [Tanaka 1978: 78].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 479.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 479.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 479. Vossen 1988: 94. This word is listed in the same meaning 'red' as *ìóá*, without any notes on possible semantic differentiation. We include both forms as technical synonyms.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1988: 94.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 479.

Kua: Vossen 1988: 94.

Tsua: Vossen 1988: 94.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 95. Alternately, cf. also *ʒurupe* 'red' [Dornan 1917: 99]; *ta: kue* 'redness, red' [Dornan 1917: 109].

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 479 (**ĩoa*). Distribution: Reflexes are found in all subgroups. Replacements: (a) In |Ganda and Kxoe, the original item has been replaced by the stem **||qau*, originally meaning 'sunset' or 'sunset glow' (Vossen 1992: 385), with the semantic shift {'sunset' > 'red'}; (b) in Ts'ixa-Danisi, replaced by **qa-si* of unknown origin; (c) in Kua-Tsua, replaced by **ʔudu* (possibly from **!uru* or **||uru*), also of unclear origin. Reconstruction shape: There are two unusual things with the reflexes of this stem - Naro and †Haba show a pharyngealized vowel, and the Eastern subgroup shows no traces of the nasal efflux. There is not enough data to see if these two phenomena are related (e.g. denasalization of the click in East Kalahari Khoe due to the influence of pharyngealized vocalic articulation?), but in any case, both the nasal click and the pharyngealization probably have to be projected onto the proto-level.

67. ROAD

||Ani *dáò* (1), |Ganda *dáù* (1), Kxoe *dáó ~ dàó* (1), Naro *dàò* (1), #Haba *díó* (1), |Gwi *zìò* (1),

||Gana *dáò* (1), Cara *dáó* (1), |Xaise *dáó* (1), Danisi *dáò* (1), Ts'ixa *dáò* (1), Deti *dáó* (1), Kua *dáó* (1), Tsua *dáó* (1), Hiechware *d^hau* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **dao* (1).

References and notes:

||**Ani**: Vossen 1997: 494.

|**Ganda**: Vossen 1997: 494.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 33. Polysemy: 'path / road / way / track / footprint'. Quoted as *dáó* in [Köhler 1981: 492]. Cf. Buga-Khoe *dáò* id. [Vossen 1997: 494].

Naro: Visser 2001: 16. Polysemy: 'path / road/ manner, way, custom'. Quoted as *dáò* in [Vossen 1997: 494]; as *dáò* ~ *dáù* in [Barnard 1985: 35].

#**Haba**: Vossen 1997: 494. Quoted as *dyíó-bà* in [Vossen 1986: 92].

|**Gwi**: Nakagawa 1996: 110. Quoted as *díó* in [Vossen 1997: 494]; as *gyô* in [Tanaka 1978: 80] (both transcriptions are imperfect attempts to represent a voiced palatal stop).

||**Gana**: Nakagawa 1996: 110; Vossen 1997: 494. Quoted as *dáó* in [Tanaka 1978: 80].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 494.

|**Xaise**: Vossen 1997: 494.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 494.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 494. In the meaning 'path', quoted as a compound form: *dáò-ǎǎ* in the earlier source [Vossen 1988: 92] (*ǎǎ* = lit. 'child', i. e. 'little').

Deti: Vossen 1997: 494.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 494.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 494.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 92.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 493 (**dao*). Distribution: Preserved in all languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and generally trivial (except for some scattered palatalized reflexes */*d > ʒ/* in some languages).

68. ROOT

Kxoe *tòĕ* (1), Naro *tò^hbē* (1), |Gwi *tabe* # (1), ||Gana *tabe* # (1), Hiechware *papasi* # (-1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **to^hbe* # (1).

References and notes:

||**Ani**: Not attested.

|**Ganda**: Not attested.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 119. Polysemy: 'tuber / root'. Cf. Buga-Khoe *tóĕ* id. [Vossen 1997: 166].

Naro: Visser 2001: 96. Polysemy: 'root / quiver (which is made from a root)'. Quoted as *t'òbbé* ~ *t'ò^hbé^h* ~ *t'ò* in [Barnard 1985: 47]; distinct from #*kabi* 'terminal root' [ibid.].

#**Haba**: Not attested.

|**Gwi**: Tanaka 1978: 80. Although this is not a reliable source, we cautiously include the word, since it is clearly the same as in Naro and other West Khoe languages, although the exact phonetic transcription may be seriously off. Cf. also *!x'ái* 'tree root' in [Nakagawa 1996: 140].

||**Gana**: Tanaka 1978: 80. Although this is not a reliable source, we cautiously include the word, since it is clearly the same as in Naro and other West Khoe languages, although the exact phonetic transcription may be seriously off.

Cara: Not attested.

|**Xaise**: Not attested.

Danisi: Not attested.

Ts'ixa: Not attested.

Deti: Not attested.

Kua: Not attested.

Tsua: Not attested.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 108. Meaning glossed as 'a root, a branch'. Semantics is dubious; in any case, the phonetic structure of the word clearly betrays a non-Khoe origin.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Distribution: Only attested in Western languages; information on most Eastern languages is lacking (Hiechware *papasi* is a highly dubious entry). Nevertheless, since there are no other candidates and no clear indication of the secondary origin of this root, it may be tentatively projected onto the top level. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are not fully regular; standard **tobe* can hardly develop into **toε* in Kxoe, but one could suggest a "leniting influence" if the original vowel was pharyngealized, as in Naro (**to^hbe*). Even that does not explain root vowel *-a-* in attested |Gwi-||Gana forms, but these come from a phonetically unreliable source (Tanaka's dictionary) and need to be double-checked.

69. ROUND

Kxoe *mbìrì* (-1), Naro *gàrù-gàrù* (1).

References and notes:

||**Ani:** Not attested.

|**Ganda:** Not attested.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 87. Probably of Bantu origin (initial *mb-* is not allowed in "native" Kxoe words). Cf. also *t^himì* 'to roll (smth.), turn inside off', *t^himì-fān* 'to turn; to be round' [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 132].

Naro: Visser 2001: 28. Clearly an expressive lexeme; other free variants mentioned by Visser include *gau-garu* and *ga-garu*.

#**Haba:** Not attested.

|**Gwi:** Not attested.

||**Gana:** Not attested.

Cara: Not attested.

|**Xaise:** Not attested.

Danisi: Not attested.

Ts'ixa: Not attested.

Deti: Not attested.

Kua: Not attested.

Tsua: Not attested.

Hiechware: Not attested, but cf. *dwere*: 'round about' [Dornan 1917: 92].

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Not reconstructible due to lack of attestation.

70. SAND

Kxoe *qàñ* (1), Naro *xóm* (2), #Haba *xóm* (2), |Gwi *xóm* (2), ||Gana *xóm* (2), Hiechware *hom* (2), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **xom* (2).

References and notes:

||**Ani:** Not attested. Considering the usual situation in Central Khoisan languages, may be the same word as *xó mēarth*' q. v.

|**Ganda:** Not attested. Considering the usual situation in Central Khoisan languages, may be the same word as *xó mēarth*' q. v.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 108. Polysemy: 'sand / be sandy (vb.);' cf. also *qáñ* ~ *qáñ* 'to bury' [ibid.], possibly derived from the same stem.

Quoted as *qǎn* 'sand' in [Köhler 1981: 501]. The word *xó n̄* 'earth' q.v. may also be used in the meaning 'sand', but this is not the primary meaning.

Naro: Visser 2001: 29; Vossen 1997: 426. Polysemy: 'soil / sand'. Quoted as *xó n̄- xú n̄* (fem.) in [Barnard 1985: 36].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 426. Polysemy: 'soil / sand'. Same word as 'earth' q.v.

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 426. Polysemy: 'soil / sand'. Quoted as *hxom* in [Tanaka 1978: 82]. Same word as 'earth' q.v.

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 426. Polysemy: 'soil / sand'. Quoted as *hxom* in [Tanaka 1978: 82]. Same word as 'earth' q.v.

Cara: Not attested.

|Xaise: Not attested.

Danisi: Not attested.

Ts'ixa: Not attested.

Deti: Not attested.

Kua: Not attested.

Tsua: Not attested.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 97.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 425 (**xom*). Distribution: Attested in all daughter languages, usually with the meaning 'earth', more rarely with polysemy 'earth / sand'. Replacements: Kxoe *qǎn* goes back to the verbal root **qan* 'to cover with (ashes / sand)' and seems to be a recent innovation, introducing a lexical differentiation between 'earth' and 'sand'. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. Semantics and structure: Reconstructible with polysemy: 'earth / sand'.

71. SAY

||Ani *mí* (1), **Kxoe** *mí* (1), **Naro** *mé:* (1), **#Haba** *mí* (1), **|Gwi** *me #* (1), **||Gana** *me* (1), **Cara** *mí* (1), **Hiechware** *me #* (1), **Proto-Kalahari Khoe** **mĩ* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 481. A textual example in [Vossen 2000: 139] suggests *||nâ* as a synonym: *cá ná||nâ-tâ* 'what did you say?' However, [Vossen 1997] only quotes the meaning 'to tell, narrate' for this latter verb, which is also its unquestionable etymological meaning.

|Ganda: Not attested.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 84; Köhler 1981: 498. Polysemy: 'make a sound, make noise / say'. In the English-Khwe index, Kilian-Hatz also attaches the meaning 'say' to such verbs as *ʰi* [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 164] and *||â* [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 215], but these are really transitive predicates meaning 'to say, tell (smth.), inform of (smth.)', less eligible for inclusion.

Naro: Visser 2001: 46. Quoted as *mí* in [Vossen 1997: 481]; as *mi:* ~ *mí:* in [Barnard 1985: 152]. Two other synonyms listed by Barnard, *kira* and *tame*, are not confirmed in other sources.

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 481.

|Gwi: Tanaka 1978: 82. Although this is not a reliable source, the entry is very likely to be correct, due to external matches; phonetic transcription, however, may be off (e. g. the actual pronunciation may be *mi*, as in the other languages).

||Gana: Tanaka 1978: 82. Although this is not a reliable source, the entry is very likely to be correct, due to external matches; phonetic transcription, however, may be off (e. g. the actual pronunciation may be *mi*, as in the other languages).

Cara: Vossen 1997: 481.

|Xaise: Not attested.

Danisi: Not attested.

Ts'ixa: Not attested.

Deti: Not attested.

Kua: Not attested.

Tsua: Not attested.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 106. Meaning glossed as 'to say to'; cf. also *me-he* 'to say to oneself'. Alternately, cf. *kwa* 'to say' [Dornan 1917: 105] or a *t^he: t^hama* 'to say to' [Dornan 1917: 89]. We concentrate on *me* (tentatively) because of external data.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 480 (**mî*). Distribution: Preserved everywhere where attested (for many languages, the exact equivalent for 'to say' is lacking or unclear). Reconstruction shape: Articulation of the vowel fluctuates between simple **i* and nasal **î*, sometimes even within the same language (cf. Naro); the nasal variant seems to be confirmed by external data (Khoekhoe), but influence of the initial nasal consonant cannot be excluded as a factor either.

72. SEE

||Ani *mû* (1), |Ganda *mû* (1), Kxoe *mû* (1), Naro *mô* ~ *bô* (1), #Haba *mô* (1), |Gwi *mî* (1), ||Gana *mî* (1), Cara *mû* (1), |Xaise *mû* (1), Danisi *mû* (1), Ts'ixa *mû* (1), Deti *mû* (1), Kua *mû* (1), Tsua *mû* (1), Hiechware *mo:* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **mũ* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 2000: 140.

|Ganda: Vossen 1988: 94.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 86; Köhler 1981: 503. Polysemy: 'see / find, discover'. Cf. Buga-Khoe *mû* id. [Vossen 1997: 490].

Naro: Visser 2001: 3. Quoted as *mô* in [Vossen 1997: 490]; as *m* ~ *mû* in [Barnard 1985: 152]. Of all the sources, only Visser's dictionary lists the irregularly denasalized variant with *b-*; it also gives a special variant *mâ* [Visser 2001: 45], said to be used exclusively by older people - unclear if it is etymologically related to *mô*.

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 490.

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 490. Quoted as *mó* ~ *mo-aha* in [Tanaka 1978: 84].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 490. Quoted as *mó* ~ *mo-aha* in [Tanaka 1978: 84].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 490.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 490.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 490.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 490.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 490.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 490.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 490.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 106. Meaning glossed as 'to see, appear, sight'.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 490 (**mũ*). Distribution: Preserved in all languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally regular, except for the lack of nasalization and contraction (**mũ* > *mu* > *m*) in several Western languages (possibly triggered by the rare phonotactic structure of the item).

73. SEED

||Ani *|xúrí* (1), Kxoe *|xùí* (1), Naro *|xùrī* (1), #Haba *|xúrí* (1), |Gwi *|xúrí* (1), ||Gana *|xúrí* (1), Cara *|xúrí* (1), |Xaise *φóró* (2), Danisi *|xúrí* (1), Deti *|xúrí* (1), Kua *|xúrí* (1), Tsua *|xúrí* (1), Hiechware *čai=xai=!xuri* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **|xurí* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 480.

|Ganda: Not attested.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 171. Meaning glossed as 'seed (corn); pip (e. g. of lemon)'. Secondary synonym: *bóthò* ~ *bòthó* 'seed' (a recent Bantu borrowing). Cf. Buga-Khoe *|xùí* id. [Vossen 1997: 480].

Naro: Visser 2001: 7. Quoted as *lxùdí* in [Vossen 1997: 480]; as *lxòre ~ lxò:re* in [Barnard 1985: 47].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 480.

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 480. Quoted as *lori* in [Tanaka 1978: 84].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 480. Quoted as *lori* in [Tanaka 1978: 84].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 480.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 483.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 480.

Ts'ixa: Not attested.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 480.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 480.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 480.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 90. An obvious compound, where the last morpheme quite likely transcribes a misheard **lxuri*, i.e. reflects the proper Khoe root for 'seed'. The first morpheme, *čai* = 'eye' q.v.; the second remains unidentified, but may be the same as in *ča-kai* 'eyes (pl.)' (where *kai* is, however, not a productive plural morpheme). The whole expression is thus, literally, 'eye-smth.-seed' or 'eyes-seed'. In fact, the "proper" word *lxuri* is also attested, under the meaning 'a grain of seed', in [Dornan 1917: 103].

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 480 (**lxudi*). **Distribution:** Preserved in most languages. **Replacements:** In |Xaise, allegedly replaced by a reflex of Proto-Khoe **coro* 'shell, pod' [Vossen 1997: 483]; provided Vossen's semantic glossing is accurate, we should postulate the semantic shift {'shell' > 'seed'}. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are mostly regular and trivial, except for the irregular elision of **-r-* in Kxoe (unexplained).

74. SIT

||Ani *ḥnú* (1), |Ganda *ḥnú* (1), Kxoe *ḥù-ĩ ~ ḥù-ĩ ~ ḥòē* (1), Naro *ḥò:-à* (1), #Haba *ḥnú* (1), |Gwi *ḥnú* (1), ||Gana *ḥnú-è* (1), Cara *nú* (1), |Xaise *nú* (1), Danisi *nú* (1), Ts'ixa *nú* (1), Deti *nũ* (1), Kua *nũ* (1), Tsua *nũ* (1), Hiechware *no* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **ḥũ* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 491. The meaning is given as 'to sit down' (there is hardly any doubt that the static verb 'to sit' is formed from the same root).

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 491. The meaning is given as 'to sit down' (there is hardly any doubt that the static verb 'to sit' is formed from the same root).

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 190. Derived from the dynamic action verb *ḥú* 'to sit down' by means of the passive/intransitive suffix *-i*. Quoted as *ḥnúĩ* in [Köhler 1981: 496]. Cf. Buga-Khoe *ḥnú* 'to sit down' [Vossen 1997: 491].

Naro: Visser 2001: 56. This is the static verb ('to be sitting'), regularly derived from the dynamic action verb *ḥò:* 'to sit down' [ibid.]. The dynamic verb is quoted as *ḥnú ~ ḥnú* in [Vossen 1997: 491] and as *ḥũ ~ ḥú* in [Barnard 1985: 154].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 491. The meaning is given as 'to sit down' (there is hardly any doubt that the static verb 'to sit' is formed from the same root).

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 491. The meaning is given as 'to sit down' (there is hardly any doubt that the static verb 'to sit' is formed from the same root). Quoted as *ḥ(u)ò* in [Tanaka 1978: 87] (with incorrect identification of the click influx).

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 491. The meaning is given as 'to sit down' (there is hardly any doubt that the static verb 'to sit' is formed from the same root). Quoted as *ḥ(u)ò* in [Tanaka 1978: 87] (with incorrect identification of the click influx).

Cara: Vossen 1997: 491. The meaning is given as 'to sit down' (there is hardly any doubt that the static verb 'to sit' is formed from the same root).

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 491. The meaning is given as 'to sit down' (there is hardly any doubt that the static verb 'to sit' is formed from the same root).

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 491. The meaning is given as 'to sit down' (there is hardly any doubt that the static verb 'to sit' is formed from the same root).

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 491. The meaning is given as 'to sit down' (there is hardly any doubt that the static verb 'to sit' is formed from the same root).

Deti: Vossen 1997: 491. The meaning is given as 'to sit down' (there is hardly any doubt that the static verb 'to sit' is formed from the same root).

Kua: Vossen 1997: 491. The meaning is given as 'to sit down' (there is hardly any doubt that the static verb 'to sit' is formed from the same root).

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 491. The meaning is given as 'to sit down' (there is hardly any doubt that the static verb 'to sit' is formed from the same root).

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 107.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 491 ($*\tilde{f}/n/u \sim *\tilde{f}/n/\tilde{u}$). Distribution: Preserved in all languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally regular (including click loss in Eastern languages), although fluctuations between nasal and non-nasal articulation are unpredictable. External parallels in Khoekhoe suggest that the nasal vowel is primary. Semantics and structure: The simple morpheme $*\tilde{f}\tilde{u}$ clearly had a dynamic meaning ('to sit down'); the static meaning was most likely denoted by combining the root morpheme with a vocalic suffixal extension, such as in Kxoe or Naro. However, since the suffixes in Kxoe and Naro are actually different, and since the static form itself is very rarely attested in wordlists for the other languages, it is not easy to determine the exact shape of the stem in Proto-Kalahari Kxoe.

75. SKIN

||Ani $k^h\check{o}$ (1), |Ganda $k^h\grave{o}$ (1), Kxoe $k^h\check{o}$ (1), Naro $k^h\grave{o}\bar{o}$ (1), #Haba $k^h\hat{o}$ (1), |Gwi $k^h\hat{o}$ (1), ||Gana $k^h\hat{o}$ (1), Cara $k^h\grave{o}$ (1), |Xaise $k^h\grave{o}$ (1), Danisi $k^h\check{o}$ (1), Ts'ixa $k^h\check{o}$ (1), Deti $k^h\grave{o}$ (1), Kua $k^h\check{o}$ (1), Tsua $k^h\check{o}$ (1), Hiechware $\check{c}o$ (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe $*k^ho$ (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 448.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 448.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 65. Polysemy: 'skin / hide / leather / blanket made from hide'. Quoted as $k^h\grave{o}$ in [Köhler 1981: 554]. Secondary synonym: $\|\grave{e}i$ 'skin; blanket' [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 201] (semantic difference unclear, the word seems to be in less frequent usage, judging by the contexts). Cf. Buga-Khoe $k^h\check{o}$ id. [Vossen 1997: 448].

Naro: Visser 2001: 41. Polysemy: 'skin / leather'. Quoted as $k^h\grave{o}$ in [Vossen 1997: 448]; as $k^h\grave{o} \sim x\grave{o}$ (com.) in [Barnard 1985: 69].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 448. In the earlier source [Vossen 1988: 95], quoted as $k^h\acute{o}-b\grave{a}$ (with the masc. gender suffix).

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 448. Quoted as $k\hat{o}$ in [Tanaka 1978: 88].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 448. Quoted as $k\hat{o}$ in [Tanaka 1978: 88].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 448.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 448.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 448.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 448.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 448.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 448.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 448. The same word is listed as $c^h\check{o}$ in the earlier source [Vossen 1988: 95]; this palatalized variant seems to be the regular expected development, so the non-palatalized variant in [Vossen 1997: 448] may be a mistake.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 91. Cf. also $\check{z}oru$: 'the skin' [Dorman 1917: 98], a form that could possibly be connected to $\check{z}ore$: 'bark' q.v., although the vocalic alternation remains unexplained.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 448 ($*k^ho$). Distribution: Preserved in all languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and mostly trivial (Hiechware $\check{c}o$ reflects sporadic palatalization that is frequently observed in various Kua-Tsua dialects).

76. SLEEP

||Ani //óé (1), |Ganda //úí (1), Kxoe ʃóm (2), Naro //óm̃ (3), #Haba //óm̃ (3), |Gwi //óam̃ (3), ||Gana //óm̃ (3), Cara //óé (1), |Xaise //óé (1), Danisi //ùm̃ (3), Ts'ixa //óé (1), Deti //óé (1), Kua //óé (1), Tsua //úé (1), Hiechware //om (3), Proto-Kalahari Khoe */óm̃ (3).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 2000: 141, 142. The basic (etymological) meaning of the word is 'to lie down', but R. Vossen also gives the translation 'sleep' on p. 142; also the same meaning in [Vossen 1988: 96].

|Ganda: Vossen 1988: 96.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 184.

Naro: Visser 2001: 120; Vossen 1997: 484. Quoted as //óm̃ ~ //óm̃ ~ //kóm̃ in [Barnard 1985: 154].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 484.

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 484. Quoted as ʃóm̃ in [Tanaka 1978: 88] (with incorrect identification of the click influx).

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 484. Quoted as ʃkóm̃ in [Tanaka 1978: 88] (with incorrect identification of the click influx).

Cara: Vossen 1997: 450. Same word as 'to lie' q.v.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 450. Same word as 'to lie' q.v.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 484.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 450. Same word as 'to lie' q.v.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 450. Same word as 'to lie' q.v.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 450. Same word as 'to lie' q.v.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 450. Same word as 'to lie' q.v.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 96. Alternatively, cf. /oe 'to sleep' [Dornan 1917: 104], which is probably the same word as 'to lie' q.v.; /we 'to sleep' [Dornan 1917: 105] may be yet another mistranscribed variant of the same word.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 484 (*/óm̃). **Distribution:** An unstable item, but reflexes are found in all subgroups (Western and Eastern), ensuring that it is reconstructible in the required meaning for Proto-Kalahari Khoe. **Replacements:** (a) Many languages seem to merge the meanings 'to lie' and 'to sleep' within a single root */oe (see under 'to lie'); given its wide spread, this synonymy may have already been partially active in Proto-Kalahari Khoe, but the separate root for 'to sleep' was clearly still present at that stage; (b) An exclusive situation is found in Kxoe, where it seems that the original equivalent for 'sleep' (> Kxoe //ó ñ) has become specialized in the meaning 'to perch at dusk, roost (of bird)' [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 208]. The replacement ʃóm̃, despite phonetic similarity, represents an entirely different root, cognate with Naro ʃóm̃ 'to be sleepy, drowsy' [Visser 2001: 92] and, further on, Nama ʃóm̃-s 'sleep (n.)'; based on the semantic distinction in Naro, we may suggest a semantic shift {'to be sleepy, drowsy' > 'to sleep'} in Kxoe. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are generally regular and trivial between all languages in which the original root has been preserved.

77. SMALL

||Ani kú (1), |Ganda kú (1), Kxoe kú (1), Naro |x'aré (2), #Haba |x'aré (2), |Gwi |x'aré (2), ||Gana //òm̃ # (3), Cara ʃúú (4), |Xaise ʃúú (4), Danisi ʔòré (5), Ts'ixa ʔòré (5), Deti ʃúú (4), Kua /àré (2), Tsua /àré (2), Hiechware hai-ni (6), Proto-Kalahari Khoe */x'are (2).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1986: 339.

|Ganda: Vossen 1988: 97.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 63; Köhler 1981: 502. Verbal stem ('be small').

Naro: Visser 2001: 9. Quoted as *ɬáré* in [Vossen 1997: 457]; as *ɬáré ~ ɬá:ré* in [Barnard 1985: 118]. The probable suffixal origins of *-ré* are betrayed by such semantically close entries as *ɬá-*nà** 'useless, old, without value; small thing (something despicable)' and *ɬá-*ái** 'very small' [Visser 2001: 8].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 457.

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 457. Quoted as *ɬare* in [Tanaka 1978: 88].

||Gana: Vossen 1988: 97. Somewhat dubious, since this is the same word as 'short' q.v.; furthermore, in [Tanaka 1978: 88], 'small' is rendered as *ɬare*, e. g. the same word as in |Gwi. This entry may require amendment.

Cara: Vossen 1988: 97.

|Xaise: Vossen 1988: 97.

Danisi: Vossen 1988: 97. The later source [Vossen 1997: 457] lists Danisi *ɬáré* in the meaning 'small', but the same source also indicates that in all of its close relatives, the word means 'thin' or 'narrow'; it is highly probable that the Danisi semantics of this word also deviates from the basic meaning 'small'.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1988: 97.

Deti: Vossen 1988: 97.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 457.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 457.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 97. Cf. also *kare* 'a little' (adverbial form?) in [Dornan 1917: 101].

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 457 (**ɬáde*). Distribution: This root is the basic equivalent for 'small' in Naro, #Haba, and |Gwi, as well as in Kua-Tsua, which makes it the only word for 'small' to be found in both Western and Eastern languages and, consequently, the optimal candidate for 'small' on the Proto-Kalahari Khoe level. In several Eastern languages the word is only attested in related meanings such as 'thin' or 'short' [Vossen 1997: 457], but these are likely secondary (or, in the case of 'thin', may reflect a proto-language level polysemy). Replacements: At present, none of the equivalents for 'small' within separate dialectal clusters have any reliable external etymologies: ||Ani-Kxoe **kū* (possibly < **!ū*), Shua **ǂū* (possibly < **ǂū* or **ǂuni*), and Ts'ixa-Danisi **ǂore* (possibly < **!ore*) remain unexplained. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular.

78. SMOKE

||Ani *c'áni* # (1), |Ganda *c'áni* (1), Kxoe *č'áni* (1), Naro *c'énè* (1), #Haba *c'ini* (1), |Gwi *c'énè* (1), ||Gana *c'ini* (1), Cara *c'áni* (1), |Xaise *c'áni* (1), Danisi *c'ini* (1), Ts'ixa *c'ini* (1), Deti *c'áni* (1), Kua *c'ini* (1), Tsua *c'ini* (1), Hiechware *cene* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **c'ani* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 476. Polysemy: 'smoke / tobacco'. (Actually, only quoted by R. Vossen in the meaning 'tobacco', but no other word for 'smoke' has surfaced so far).

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 476.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 128; Köhler 1981: 493. Polysemy: 'smoke (vb., of fire) / smoke (n.)'.

Naro: Visser 2001: 104. Used both as a noun and a verb ('to smoke /of fire/'). Quoted as *c'ini* in [Vossen 1997: 476]; as *c'énè* 'to smoke (of fire)' in [Barnard 1985: 109]. In the substantive meaning 'smoke', however, the latter source only lists the noun *ɬxorú* [Barnard 1985: 33, 109] - a highly dubious inclusion, probably the same as *ǂúru* 'be in need of tobacco, long to smoke' [Visser 2001: 11], clearly ineligible for inclusion.

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 476.

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 476. Quoted as *cene* in [Tanaka 1978: 88].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 476. Quoted as *cene* in [Tanaka 1978: 88].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 476.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 476.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 476.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 476.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 476.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 476.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 476.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 111. Meaning glossed as 'flame, smoke'.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 476 (**c'ani*). Distribution: Preserved in all languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally regular, except for some unpredictable fluctuations between vocalic reflexes in the first syllable (because of the assimilative influence of **-i* in the second one).

79. STAND

||Ani *té* (1), |Ganda *té* (1), Kxoe *té* (1), Naro *té:* (1), |Gwi *çíé* (1), ||Gana *tê* (1), Cara *tè* (1), Danisi *té* (1), Ts'ixa *tê* (1), Deti *tě* (1), Kua *té* (1), Tsua *tè* (1), Hiechware *t^he* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **tɛ* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 2000: 142.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 495.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 116; Köhler 1981: 530. Distinct from the dynamic action verb *tàn* 'to stand up' [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 115]. Cf. Buga-Khoe *té* id. [Vossen 1997: 495].

Naro: Visser 2001: 93. Static verb ('to be standing'), distinct from the dynamic action verb *têê* 'to stand up' [ibid.]. Only the latter is listed in [Barnard 1985: 155] as *tê* ~ *tî* 'stand, stand up'.

#Haba: Not attested; cf. the dynamic equivalent *tîn* 'to stand up' in [Vossen 1997: 418].

|Gwi: Nakagawa 1996: 115. Quoted as *té* in [Vossen 1997: 495]. Cf. *çěn* 'to stand' [Nakagawa 1996: 108] (the actual meaning is most likely dynamic: 'stand up') = *tàn* 'stand up' [Vossen 1997: 418] = *kíyan* 'stand' [Tanaka 1978: 91] (*kiy-* here is an attempt to transcribe a palatal stop).

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 495. Cf. *tán* 'stand' in [Tanaka 1978: 91] (the actual meaning is most likely dynamic: 'stand up').

Cara: Vossen 1997: 495. Distinct from the dynamic action verb *tà n'* 'to stand' [Vossen 1997: 418].

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 495. Distinct from the dynamic action verb *tà n'* 'to stand' [Vossen 1997: 418].

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 495. Distinct from the dynamic action verb *tà n'* 'to stand' [Vossen 1997: 418].

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 495.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 495.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 495. Distinct from the dynamic action verb *táni* 'to stand' [Vossen 1997: 418].

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 495. Distinct from the dynamic action verb *tà n'* 'to stand' [Vossen 1997: 418].

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 110.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 495 (**tai*). Distribution: Preserved everywhere where attested. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally regular and indicate **ɛ* rather than **e* as the original vowel (see notes on structure). Semantics and structure: Vossen's reconstruction **tai* presumes a morphemic border between the two vowels (**ta-i*), confirmed by the corresponding dynamic action stem **ta-n* as well as the symmetric paradigm for the verb 'to sit' (**fū* 'to sit down' vs. **fū-i* 'to be sitting'). Combination of root morpheme **ta-* + intransitive suffix **-i* results in morphemic contraction **ta-i* > **tɛ* already on the Proto-Kalahari Khoe level (so Vossen's reconstruction is actually "internal").

80. STAR

||Ani *|xáni* (1), |Ganda *|xáni* (1), Kxoe *|xáni* (1), Naro *ǃó'nò* (2), #Haba *ǃó'nù^ǃ* (2), |Gwi *ǃxónù* (2), ||Gana *ǃónù* (2), Cara *|xíni* (1), |Xaise *|xáni* (1), Danisi *|xáni* (1), Ts'ixa *|xáni* (1), Deti *|xáni* (1), Kua *|xáni* (1), Tsua *|xáini* (1), Hiechware *ǃxaine* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **/xani*

(1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 496. Polysemy: 'star / guinea-fowl'.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 496. Polysemy: 'star / guinea-fowl'.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 170; Köhler 1966: 150. Polysemy: 'star / guinea-fowl'. Cf. Buga-Khoe /xáni id. [Vossen 1997: 496].

Naro: Visser 2001: 89. Quoted as /ó'nù ~ /ò'nù in [Barnard 1985: 33] (the click efflux is identified incorrectly, and the second variant with the dental click is also probably erroneous).

#Haba: Vossen 1988: 98.

|Gwi: Vossen 1988: 98. Quoted as /konò in [Tanaka 1978: 91] (with incorrect identification of the click influx).

||Gana: Vossen 1988: 98. Quoted as /konò in [Tanaka 1978: 91] (with incorrect identification of the click influx).

Cara: Vossen 1997: 496.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 496.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 496.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 496.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 496.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 496.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 496.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 102. The entry /ala, glossed as 'the heavens, the stars' in [Dorman 1917: 100], is too semantically ambiguous (and completely unconfirmed by external data) to be included on the main list.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 496 (*/xani). Distribution: Preserved everywhere except for Naro-#Haba and |Gwi-||Gana.

Replacements: In a large part of the Western Kalahari Khoe area, the original root has been replaced by an innovation of unclear origin that has at least three phonetically close, but irregular variants (/ó'nu ~ /xonu ~ /onu); this circumstance implies that it may have a substrate origin. It is also very similar to the Ju root */ú^h 'star', yet another of several interesting isoglosses between North Khoisan and the Naro area of Kalahari Khoe. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular; the only frequent development is a partial or full assimilation of the first vowel under the influence of the second one.

81. STONE

||Ani /nóá (1), |Ganda /lóa (1), Kxoe /lóa (1), Naro /lóa̱ (1), #Haba /nòá̱ (1), |Gwi /lóa (1), ||Gana /lóa (1), Cara /'úì (2), |Xaise káró (3), Danisi /lóa (1), Ts'ixa /lóa (1), Deti /'úì (2), Kua /lóa (1), Tsua qárò (3), Hiechware /wa (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe */oa̱ (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 495.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 495.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 217; Köhler 1981: 511. Polysemy: 'stone / flint / hill'. Cf. Buga-Khoe /lóa id. [Vossen 1997: 419].

Naro: Visser 2001: 59. Polysemy: 'stone / money'. Distinct from /áú 'big stone, rock' [Visser 2001: 14]. Quoted as /nòá̱ in [Vossen 1997: 495]; as /lóa̱ ~ /lúa̱ in [Barnard 1985: 35].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 495.

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 495. Quoted as /oa in [Tanaka 1978: 92] (with incorrect identification of the click influx).

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 495. Quoted as /oa in [Tanaka 1978: 92] (with incorrect identification of the click influx).

Cara: Vossen 1997: 495.

|Xaise: Vossen 1988: 98.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 495.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 495.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 495.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 495.

Tsua: Vossen 1988: 98.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 96. Cf. *||wa:* 'a grave' - most likely, the same word, with a fictitious distinction in vowel length. Alternately, cf. also *karo*, glossed as 'a large hail stone; a stone' [Dornan 1917: 101].

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 495 (**||oa* ~ **||noa*). **Distribution:** Well represented in most of the subgroups. **Replacements:** (a) Deti-Cara *||ui* 'stone' is clearly related to Khoekhoe **||ui* 'stone, mountain' and is subsequently reconstructed in those meanings as **||ui* on both the Proto-Kalahari and Proto-Khoe levels in [Vossen 1997: 495]. However, the complete absence of this root from any other Kalahari branch or language other than Deti and Cara raises doubts about its Proto-Kalahari status. One might consider the possibility of a relatively recent borrowing from Khoekhoe (though this is also dubious because of the lack of direct contact and because no other similar cases have been detected so far), or some sort of specialized original semantics that prompted the root to become extinct in all other languages, but widen its meaning to 'stone' in Deti-Cara (also an odd scenario), but in any case, the widespread distribution of **||oa* efficiently blocks **||ui* from aspiring to Proto-Kalahari Khoe status in the basic function of 'stone'; (b) |Xaise *káró*, Tsua *qárò* is a recent innovation that still shows a specialized meaning in Dornan's Hiechware records (*karo* 'large hail stone'). **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are mostly regular. Pharyngealization has to be set up based on Naro-#Haba data (Naro also has nasalization on the diphthong, which is hard to explain). Vossen's opposition between **||-* and **||n-* remains unverified. **Semantics and structure:** It is worth noticing that Proto-Kalahari Khoe **||oa* does not seem to display the frequent polysemy 'stone / mountain' (equivalents for 'mountain' either remain unattested in Kalahari Khoe languages or represent completely different roots).

82. SUN

||Ani *||ám* (1), |Ganda *||ám* (1), Kxoe *||ám* (1), Naro *||ám* (1), #Haba *||ám* (1), |Gwi *||ám* (1), ||Gana *||ám* (1), Cara *||ám* (1) / *k^hóbó* (2), |Xaise *||ám* (1), Danisi *||ám* (1), Ts'ixa *||ám* (1), Deti *k^hóbó* (2), Kua *||ám* (1), Tsua *||ám* (1), Hiechware *||am* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **||am* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1986: 342.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 492.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 153. Polysemy: 'sun / time / turn (n.)'. Quoted as *||á nín* [Köhler 1973: 186]. Cf. also *čá*, glossed as 'sun, sunlight, heat of the sun; be light, be hot' in [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 123]. Cf. Buga-Khoe *||á níd*. [Vossen 1997: 492].

Naro: Visser 2001: 5; Vossen 1997: 492. Polysemy: 'sun / day / be thirsty'. Quoted as *||ká nín* [Barnard 1985: 33].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 492.

|Gwi: Nakagawa 1996: 109; Vossen 1997: 492. Quoted as *||ám* in [Tanaka 1978: 93].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 492. Quoted as *||ám* in [Tanaka 1978: 93].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 492. Vossen 1988: 99. Semantic difference from *||ám* remains unclear; based on general typological considerations and the etymology of both forms, it may be that *||á nís* 'sun' (physical body), whereas *k^hóbó* is 'sunlight; heat of the sun' - but cf. the situation in Deti, where R. Vossen records only *k^hóbó* in the meaning 'sun'. We may be dealing with a case of "transit synonymy".

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 492.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 492.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 492.

Deti: Vossen 1988: 99.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 492.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 492.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 100. Also transcribed as *||xam* in [Dornan 1917: 95], with polysemy: 'sun / light / day' (the two forms are most likely the same word, with an incorrectly transcribed lateral, rather than dental, click in the latter).

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 492 (**á* ʃ). **Distribution:** Preserved in most languages. **Replacements:** The only known replacement is in Deti (and possibly Cara, with two alleged synonyms), where the original word has been ushered out by a reflex of Proto-Kalahari Khoe **kʰobo* '(to be) warm; to sweat' [Vossen 1997: 505], thus, with the semantic shift {'warm' > 'sun'}. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are regular and trivial.

83. SWIM

||Ani *bàrá* (1), Kxoe *bàrà-á* (1), Naro *bàʳrā* # (1), Cara *bàrá* (1), |Xaise *bàrà* (1), Danisi *bàrá* (1), Ts'ixa *bàrá* (1), Deti *bàrá* (1), Hiechware *!xa* (2), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **bara* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 490.

|Ganda: Not attested.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 19. Quoted as *bàrá* in [Köhler 1981: 489]. Cf. Buga-Khoe *bàrá* id. [Vossen 1997: 490].

Naro: Visser 2001: 2. Somewhat dubious. In Visser's dictionary, this verb is glossed as 'go through'; the idea of 'swimming' only springs up for the derivative *baʳra-x'ao* 'one who goes through a difficult situation, one who suffers' (literally 'go-through-male-person'), with one further example: *cʰa: baʳra-x'ao-ba* 'swimmer' (literally 'water-go-through-male-person') [Visser 2001: 3]. However, in [Vossen 1997: 490] the verb *bàdá* is expressly glossed as 'swim', and cf. also the external data from other Non-Khoekhoe languages. Meanwhile, in Visser's dictionary the meaning 'swim' is rendered as *gãã-tòè* [Visser 2001: 28], literally 'duck-move'; and in [Barnard 1985: 156], the same meaning is rendered as *||ábú*, literally 'to push'. Clearly, the concept of 'swimming' is quite unstable in Naro (for understandable reasons); we prefer to make an exception here and go along with Vossen's choice, considering the external parallels and the lack of consistency in between the "competing" sources.

#Haba: Not attested.

|Gwi: Not attested.

||Gana: Not attested.

Cara: Vossen 1997: 490.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 490.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 490.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 490.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 490.

Kua: Not attested.

Tsua: Not attested.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 102.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 490 (**bada*). **Distribution:** Preserved almost everywhere where attested, though there are many gaps in the wordlists. **Replacements:** Possibly replaced in Hiechware, but the source is old and unreliable, and the alleged replacement has no etymology. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are regular and trivial, except for pharyngealization in Naro (which may possibly be archaic). **Semantics and structure:** This is one of several Khoe roots beginning in **b-*, and as such, its origins are suspicious, as well as its original semantics in light of the general meaning 'go through', recorded by Visser for Naro. Nevertheless, there is no conclusive evidence that speakers of Proto-Kalahari Khoe were unfamiliar with the concept of 'swimming', and **bara* is clearly the optimal (and only) candidate for this meaning in the protolanguage.

84. TAIL

||Ani *cáo* (1), |Ganda *cáo* (1), Kxoe *čáo* (1), Naro *cáo* (1), #Haba *cào* (1), |Gwi *cáo* (1), ||Gana *cáo* (1), Cara *cáo* (1), |Xaise *cáo* (1), Danisi *cáo* (1), Ts'ixa *cáo* (1), Deti *cáo* (1), Kua *cáo* (1), Tsua *cáo* (1), Hiechware *cau* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **cao* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 488.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 488.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 122. Cf. Buga-Khoe *cáo* id. [Vossen 1997: 488].

Naro: Visser 2001: 98; Vossen 1997: 488; Barnard 1985: 70.

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 488.

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 488. Quoted as *ceu* in [Tanaka 1978: 95].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 488. Quoted as *ceu* in [Tanaka 1978: 95].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 488.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 488.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 488.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 488.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 488.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 488.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 488.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 111. Confused by Dornan with a near-homonymous (but not completely homonymous, as seen in external data) *cau* 'hand' q.v.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 488 (**cáo*). Distribution: Preserved in all languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

85. THAT

||Ani $\tilde{n}é=tè$ (1), Kxoe $\tilde{n}í\tilde{í}$ (2) / $\tilde{n}à\tilde{a} \sim \tilde{n}è\tilde{e}$ (3), Naro $\tilde{á}$: (4) / \tilde{e} : (5), #Haba $\tilde{à}-sá-hà$ (4), |Gwi $\tilde{n}è=si-ha$ # (6) / $\tilde{á}\tilde{a}$ (4), ||Gana $\tilde{á}-séá$ (4), Cara $\tilde{ú}$ (7), Danisi $\tilde{ú}$ (7), Ts'ixa $mé$ (8), Deti $h\tilde{ú}$ (7), Kua $\tilde{ú}$ (7), Tsua $\tilde{ú}$ (7), Hiechware a (4) / ho (7), Proto-Kalahari Khoe $*\tilde{n}a-$ # (3).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 2000: 137. A compound form, consisting of $\tilde{n}é$ 'this' q. v. followed by the far deixis particle $tè$. Cf. the same use of this particle in $\tilde{á}$ 'that one mentioned before': $\tilde{á}-tè$ 'that yonder, very far away' (also $\tilde{á}-\tilde{á}\tilde{k}\tilde{a}-tè$ id., where the middle element = $\tilde{á}\tilde{k}\tilde{a}$ 'far'). The principal meaning of 'far deixis' is transparently expressed by the morpheme $tè$.

|Ganda: Not attested.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 166. Used both in the adjectival and substantive functions. In [Köhler 1981: 528], quoted as $\tilde{n}í$; the same source also gives an additional variant $\tilde{n}í-\tilde{e}$, with the same additional emphatic (or directive) particle as in $\tilde{n}é-\tilde{e}$ 'this one there, that one' (see under 'this'). According to Kilian-Hatz, may also be encountered in abbreviated variants: $\tilde{n} \sim \tilde{e}$ [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 89, 99], but these look more like neutralizations of the opposition between 'this' and 'that' q.v., i. e. general deictic stems without specific reference to the location of the speaker. Kilian-Hatz 2003: 215. Quoted as $\tilde{n}\tilde{á}$ in [Köhler 1981: 528]. There are two degrees of "distal deixis" in Kxoe, but the descriptions are contradictory: Kilian-Hatz defines $\tilde{n}\tilde{á}$ as "far dist.", whereas Köhler defines it as 'celui là', opposed to $\tilde{n}\tilde{í}$ 'celui qui est là-bas, de l'autre côté'. Technically, we treat both stems as synonyms.

Naro: Visser 2001: 1. Quoted as $\tilde{á}$: in [Barnard 1985: 127]. It is not quite clear from existing descriptions to which degree of "far deixis" this particular morpheme is referring (unlike \tilde{e} , which gets a more precise definition in Visser's dictionary). Visser 2001: 25. Meaning glossed as 'that (thing) there (near addressee)'. Cf. also the complex derivative $\tilde{e}-s\tilde{í}-h\tilde{á}$: 'that there (far away)' [Visser 2001: 26]; the same form is quoted as $\tilde{á}-s\tilde{í}-h\tilde{á}$ in [Vossen 1997: 254].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 254.

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 254. This is clearly a secondary derivative formation from $\tilde{n}é$ 'this' q.v., expanded with the aid of the particle chain $=si-ha$ that seems to take upon itself the expression of the actual meaning of "far deixis". However, cf. also $\tilde{á}\tilde{a}$ 'that', clearly

related to the main morphemes with the meaning of "far deixis" in Naro, #Haba, and ||Gana, in [Nakagawa 2006: 214]; in [Vossen 1997], the existence of this pronoun in |Gwi is not mentioned. In order to avoid a lexicostatistical error, we include both forms as synonyms.

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 254.

Cara: Vossen 1997: 255.

|Xaise: Not attested.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 255.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 255.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 255.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 255.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 255.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 66. The meaning for this deictic stem is glossed as 'that yonder' (contra *a* 'that').

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: The systems of demonstrative pronouns in Kalahari Khoe languages differ rather widely from each other, so reconstruction here is complicated and needs to be taken on a step-by-step basis. (1) For ||Ani-Kxoe, it makes sense to assume the originality of the Kxoe system: **ǃe* 'this', **ǃi* 'that (interm.)', **ǃa* 'that (distant)'. In ||Ani, the latter two pronouns fell out of use; instead, **ǃe* became the general deictic stem and a new distal deixis pronoun was formed from it (with the addition of *=te*, a morpheme of unclear origin). (2) In Naro-||Gana, we generally observe a binary system: **ǃe* 'this' vs. **ǃa-* 'that' (occasionally, both stems are extended by means of additional suffixes). (3) In East Kalahari Khoe, the most common system is also binary: **u* 'that' vs. **i* 'this' (Ts'ixa restores **ǃe*, probably under the influence of the Western group). If we also bring into consideration the external data of Khoekhoe (where we reconstruct **ǃa-* 'that' vs. **ne* 'this'; the latter form may be thought of as a sporadic simplification from an earlier **ǃe* due to the auxiliary / grammatical status of the word), this makes it likely that the click-containing pronominal forms are more archaic, while the monovocalic forms are secondary. These may have two possible sources of origin: (a) external (cf. Bantu **o* 'that', which may have been the source of at least **u* in East Kalahari) and (b) extended from original referential pronouns, cf. the existence of *i* as a referential 'that' and *a* as a referential 'this' in Kxoe. Consequently, we propose to provisionally reconstruct something like **ǃe-* for the proximal 'this' and **ǃa-* for the distal 'that' on the Proto-Kalahari Kxoe level (even if the latter is retained, of all living languages, only in Kxoe).

86. THIS

||Ani *ǃné* (1), Kxoe *ǃné* (1), Naro *ǃē*: (1), #Haba *ǃné* (1), |Gwi *ǃnē* (1), ||Gana *ǃné* (1), Cara *ǃ* (2), Danisi *ǃ* (2), Ts'ixa *ǃné* (1), Deti *ǃí* (2), Kua *ǃ* (2), Tsua *ǃ* (2), Hiechware *e* (2), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **ǃe* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 2000: 137.

|Ganda: Not attested.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 165; Köhler 1981: 528. Adjectival stem, cf. *ǃné ǃǃú-hè* "this house", etc. It is also used within more complex forms, such as: *ǃné-ǃē* 'this one there, that one', *ǃné-ǃé* 'this one here' (specifying different "subtle" degrees of deixis). According to Kilian-Hatz, may also be encountered in abbreviated variants: *ǃí ~ ǃ* [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 89, 99], but these look more like neutralizations of the opposition between 'this' and 'that' q.v., i. e. general deictic stems without specific reference to the location of the speaker.

Naro: Visser 2001: 48. Quoted as *ǃné* in [Vossen 1997: 254]; as *ǃí ~ ǃe* in [Barnard 1985: 128]. As a possible synonym, R. Vossen also lists *ǃá* in the meaning 'this' [Vossen 1997: 254], but in [Visser 2001: 57], this pronoun is explained as 'something or someone already referred to', i. e. a special anaphoric word that is not directly involved in the basic deictic opposition 'this / that'.

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 254.

|Gwi: Nakagawa 1996: 114. Meaning glossed as 'this (deictic)'. Quoted as *ǃné* in [Vossen 1997: 254]. Cf. *ǃná* 'this (anaphoric)' [Nakagawa 1996: 114]. In [Tanaka 1978: 97], 'this' is listed as *ǃui(-ša) ~ ǃu-ša*; it is not clear if this is the same word, since the vocalism

is very different.

||**Gana**: Vossen 1997: 254. In [Tanaka 1978: 97], 'this' is listed as $\tilde{f}ui(-\tilde{s}i) \sim \tilde{f}u-\tilde{s}a$; it is not clear if this is the same word, since the vocalism is very different.

Cara: Vossen 1997: 255.

|**Xaise**: Not attested.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 255.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 255.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 255.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 255. Possible secondary synonym: $\tilde{f}ni$ (not included here since the semantics is not quite clear; this could in reality be an "intermediate 'that'" rather than a true synonym to \tilde{f} 'this').

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 255. Possible secondary synonym: $\tilde{f}ni$ (not included here since the semantics is not quite clear; this could in reality be an "intermediate 'that'" rather than a true synonym to \tilde{f} 'this').

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 66. Cf. *e-ba* 'this person' [Dornan 1917: 92].

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: See notes on 'that' q.v.

87. THOU

||**Ani** *cá / há* (1), |**Ganda** *cá / há ~ há* (1), **Kxoe** *čá / há* (1), **Naro** *cá: / sá:* (1), #**Haba** *câ / sâ* (1), |**Gwi** *cí / sí* (1), ||**Gana** *câ / sâ* (1), **Cara** *cá / sá* (1), |**Xaise** *čá / sá* (1), **Danisi** *cá / sá* (1), **Ts'ixa** *cá / sá* (1), **Deti** *cá / sá* (1), **Kua** *cá / sá* (1), **Tsua** *cá / sá* (1), **Hiechware** *ča* (1), **Proto-Kalahari Khoe** **ca / *sa* (1).

References and notes:

||**Ani**: Vossen 2000: 138. Masculine *cá* vs. feminine *há*. Object forms: *câè(-'à)*, *háè(-'à)*. Object concord markers: *-ci*, *-sì* [ibid.].

|**Ganda**: Vossen 1997: 238. Masculine *cá* vs. feminine *há ~ há*. Object concord markers: *-cì*, *-sì* [ibid.].

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 52, 121; Köhler 1981: 519. Masculine *čá* vs. feminine *há*. Object concord markers: *-čì*, *-fì* [Köhler 1981: 519].

Naro: Visser 2001: 75, 97. Masculine *cá:* vs. feminine *sá:*. Quoted as *cá ~ cá-cí* (masc.), *sá ~ sá-sí* (fem.) in [Vossen 1997: 239]. These are the full accented (emphatic) forms. The shortened, non-emphatic, variants are *ci* (masc.), *sí* (fem.) [Visser 2001: 76, 102], *cì* (masc.), *sì* (fem.) [Vossen 1997: 239]. The same variants with high instead of low tone function as 2nd sg. object concord markers: *-cì*, *-sì* [Vossen 1997: 239].

#**Haba**: Vossen 1997: 245. Masculine *câ* vs. feminine *sâ*. Object forms: *cà*, *sà* [ibid.].

|**Gwi**: Vossen 1997: 244. Masculine *cí* vs. feminine *sí*. Object forms: *cà*, *sà* [ibid.]. Quoted as *ce ~ ca* (masc.), *še ~ ša* (fem.) in [Tanaka 1978: 110].

||**Gana**: Vossen 1997: 241. Masculine *câ* vs. feminine *sâ*. Object forms: *cá*, *sá* [ibid.]. Quoted as *ce ~ ca* (masc.), *se ~ sa* (fem.) in [Tanaka 1978: 110].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 246. Masculine *cá* vs. feminine *sá*.

|**Xaise**: Vossen 1997: 246. Masculine *čá* vs. feminine *sá*.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 246. Masculine *cá* vs. feminine *sá*.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 246. Masculine *cá* vs. feminine *sá*.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 248. Masculine *cá* vs. feminine *sá*.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 249. Masculine *cá* vs. feminine *sá*.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 249. Masculine *cá* vs. feminine *sá*.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 90.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 370. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Replacements: No true replacements, but the change to *cí / sí* in |Gwi may have taken place under the influence of the 1st person pronoun forms. Reconstruction shape: The opposition of masculine **ca* vs. feminine **sa* is well supported by data from all subgroups. Semantics and structure: Comparison with the Proto-Khoe feminine marker **-sa* suggests that the opposition **ca* (m.) / **sa* (f.) may go back to the combination of the

pronominal root **=a* with an archaic masculine marker **c=* (only preserved in this pronoun) and the usual feminine marker **s=*. However, such segmentation is formally impossible, only hinted at, on the Khoe level of analysis.

88. TONGUE

||Ani *dà'm* (1), |Ganda *dà'm* (1), Kxoe *dà'm* (1), Naro *tà'm̃* (1), #Haba *dám* (1), |Gwi *zém* (1), ||Gana *dám* (1), Cara *dám* (1), |Xaise *dám* (1), Danisi *dám* (1), Ts'ixa *dám* (1), Deti *dám* (1), Kua *dám* (1), Tsua *dám* (1), Hiechware *d^ham* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **dam* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1986: 333.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 510.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 33. Cf. also Buga-Khoe *dà ñid*. [Vossen 1997: 510].

Naro: Visser 2001: 79. Polysemy: 'tongue / language / reason'. Quoted as *dà ñin* [Vossen 1997: 510]; as *dám ~ dāmá* in [Barnard 1985: 64].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 510.

|Gwi: Nakagawa 1996: 116. Quoted as *gyà ñin* [Vossen 1997: 510]; as *gyam* in [Tanaka 1978: 99].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 510. Quoted as *dam* in [Tanaka 1978: 99].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 510.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 510.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 510.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 510.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 510.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 510.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 510.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 92.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 510 (**dam*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: The variant *tà'm̃*, attested in Visser's dictionary of Naro, speaks in favor of amending the reconstruction to **dám*; however, pharyngealized articulation is not attested in any other languages or even in the two alternate sources on Naro (Vossen's and Barnard's records), so perhaps we are dealing with some idiosyncratic peculiarity here.

89. TOOTH

||Ani *ságári* (-1), |Ganda *||ú* (1), Kxoe *||ú ~ ||úŋ* (1), Naro *||ǎ* (1), #Haba *||ú^ǎ* (1), |Gwi *||ú* (1), ||Gana *||ú* (1), Cara *||ú* (1), |Xaise *||ú* (1), Danisi *||ú* (1), Ts'ixa *||ú* (1), Deti *||ú* (1), Kua *||ú* (1), Tsua *||ú* (1), Hiechware *||o:* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **||ú^ǎ*(1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1988: 100. The word has a distinctly non-Khoe shape, but the source of borrowing is unknown.

|Ganda: Vossen 1988: 100.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 205; Köhler 1981: 508. Cf. also Buga-Khoe *||ú* id. [Vossen 1997: 509].

Naro: Visser 2001: 116. Quoted as *||ú* in [Vossen 1997: 509]; as *||kúǎ* (com.) in [Barnard 1985: 64].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 509.

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 509. In [Tanaka 1978: 99], 'tooth' is glossed as *!tozi* - obviously a different word, but not identifiable with

anything in more reliable sources so far.

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 509. In [Tanaka 1978: 99], 'tooth' is glossed as *!tozi* - obviously a different word, but not identifiable with anything in more reliable sources so far.

Cara: Vossen 1997: 509.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 509.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 509.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 509.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 509.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 509.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 509.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 96. Probably the same word is also (mis)transcribed as *!xo* in [Dorman 1917: 103].

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 509 (**!ū*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages except for ||Ani, where it has been replaced with a strange trisyllabic word of unclear provenance. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally regular and trivial. Pharyngealized articulation of the vowel is pointed at by the reflexes in Naro and #Haba, as in several other cases. (Note that Vossen and Barnard do not attest pharyngealization in Naro, but Visser's dictionary clearly marks it).

90. TREE

||Ani *yǐ* (1), |Ganda *yì* (1), Kxoe *yīi* (1), Naro *hīi* (1), #Haba *yǐ* (1), |Gwi *ī*: (1), ||Gana *yì* (1), Cara *yì* (1), |Xaise *zì* (1), Danisi *yì* (1), Ts'ixa *yì* (1), Deti *yì* (1), Kua *yî* (1), Tsua *yǐ* (1), Hiechware *yi*: ~ *hi*: (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **yǐ* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1986: 335. Polysemy: 'tree / wood'.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 419.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 150. Polysemy: 'tree / wood'. Quoted as *yǐ* in [Köhler 1981: 486]. Cf. Buga-Khoe *yǐ* id. [Vossen 1997: 419].

Naro: Visser 2001: 31. Polysemy: 'tree / wood / stick'. Quoted as *yǐ* in [Vossen 1997: 419]; as *hī* 'tree, vine' (masc.), 'bush' (fem.), 'wood' (com.) in [Barnard 1985: 61].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 419.

|Gwi: Nakagawa 2006: 214. Quoted as *yì* in [Vossen 1997: 419]; as *ī* in [Tanaka 1978: 100].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 419. Quoted as *î* in [Tanaka 1978: 100].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 419.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 419.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 419.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 419.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 419.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 419.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 419.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 97, 112. Polysemy: 'tree / medicine'. Cf. the variant without marked vowel length in *hi-lwa* 'a bush or shrub' [ibid.].

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 419 (**yi*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: This is a rare case of initial **y-*, and a unique one of initial **yi-*; however, correspondences are quite straightforward in all cases.

91. TWO

||Ani *ám* (1), |Ganda *ám* (1), Kxoe *ám* (1), Naro *ám* (1), #Haba *ám* (1), |Gwi *ám* (1), ||Gana

lá̀m̃ (1), Cara *lá̀m̃* (1), |Xaise *lá̀m̃* (1), Danisi *lá̀m̃* (1), Ts'ixa *lá̀m̃* (1), Deti *lá̀m̃* (1), Kua *lá̀m̃* (1), Tsua *lá̀m̃* (1), Hiechware *lam-e ~ lam-ɲe* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **/am* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1986: 342.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 510.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 153; Köhler 1981: 513. Secondary synonym: *tʰú* 'two' (< Engl. *two*). Cf. Buga-Khoe *lá* *n̄*id. [Vossen 1997: 510].

Naro: Visser 2001: 5; Vossen 1997: 510. Quoted as *lkám ~ lám* in [Barnard 1985: 122].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 510.

|Gwi: Nakagawa 2006: 114; Vossen 1997: 510. Quoted as *lam* in [Tanaka 1978: 101].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 510. Quoted as *lam* in [Tanaka 1978: 101].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 510.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 510.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 510.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 510.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 510.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 510.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 510.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 64, 100. Polysemy: 'two / both / twice'. Final *-ɲe* is probably an adjectival or verbal suffix, but it is not clear to what degree of accuracy it has been transcribed.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 510 (**/am*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

92. WALK (GO)

||Ani *kú* (1), |Ganda *kú* (1), Kxoe *kú* (1), Naro *!ô* (1), #Haba *kú* (1), |Gwi *!ú* (1), ||Gana *kú* (1), Cara *kú* (1), |Xaise *kú* (1), Danisi *kú* (1), Ts'ixa *kú* (1), Deti *kú* (1), Kua *kú* (1), Tsua *kú* (1), Hiechware *xo* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **/ú* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 441.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 441.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 64; Köhler 1981: 503. Cf. Buga-Khoe *kú* id. [Vossen 1997: 441].

Naro: Visser 2001: 71. Quoted as *!ú* in [Vossen 1997: 441]; as *!kú ~ !ú ~ !kô ~ !ô* in [Barnard 1985: 140].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 441.

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 441. Quoted as *!kon* (phonetically = *!ô*) in [Tanaka 1978: 41].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 441. Quoted as *(!)kon* (phonetically = *!ô ~ kô*) in [Tanaka 1978: 41].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 441.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 441.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 441.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 441.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 441.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 441.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 441.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 103. Meaning glossed as 'to go, to come from'.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 441 (*!ū). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally regular; loss of *!- is fully regular for all East Kalahari Khoe and many West Kalahari Khoe languages, but the click is expectedly preserved in Naro and |Gwi and is reliably reconstructible on the basis of both internal and external data.

93. WARM (HOT)

Kxoe čǎ̃ (1), Naro kùrū-sá (2), |Gwi *kuru* # (2), ||Gana *kuru* # (2), Hiechware ʃe: (3).

References and notes:

||**Ani:** Not attested. In the meaning 'warm' (not 'hot') the form *kʰóbò* is quoted [Vossen 1997: 505].

|**Ganda:** Not attested. In the meaning 'warm' (not 'hot') the form *kʰóbò* is quoted [Vossen 1997: 505].

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 123. Meaning glossed as 'be light, be hot'; also as the noun 'sun, sunlight, heat of the sun'. Distinct from *kʰóvò* [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 67] = *kʰóβò* [Köhler 1981: 493] 'warm' and from //óò 'be warm, be gentle (of air)' [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 208].

Naro: Visser 2001: 45. Polysemy: 'hot / feverish'. The form is regularly derived from the verb *kùrū*, glossed in [Visser 2001: 44] as 'get warm, be warm'. Distinct from //òò 'warm, not hot, lukewarm' [Visser 2001: 119] (R. Vossen quotes this as //ô and also indicates the semantics of 'warm' rather than 'hot' [Vossen 1997: 504]. The semantics 'hot' for the main entry is also confirmed in [Barnard 1985: 117]: *kùrú* 'hot', distinct from *câ* ~ *cǎ̃* 'boiling' [Barnard 1985: 115].

#**Haba:** Not attested.

|**Gwi:** Tanaka 1978: 48. Although the source is phonetically unreliable, the word is quite likely to be correct, judging by external data.

||**Gana:** Tanaka 1978: 48. Although the source is phonetically unreliable, the word is quite likely to be correct, judging by external data.

Cara: Not attested.

|**Xaise:** Not attested.

Danisi: Not attested.

Ts'ixa: Not attested.

Deti: Not attested.

Kua: Not attested.

Tsua: Not attested.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 101. Alternatively, cf. *ca*: 'hot' [Dornan 1917: 110]. Cf. also *ʃʰwe-hwe* 'to become hot' [Dornan 1917: 98]. Cf. also *čobe*- 'warm' in *čobe-he ca*: 'warm water' [Dornan 1917: 91].

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Not properly reconstructible due to lack of attestation.

94. WATER

||**Ani** *cʰǎ̃* (1), |**Ganda** *cʰà* (1), **Kxoe** *ʃǎ̃* (1), **Naro** *cʰàā* (1), #**Haba** *cʰá* (1), |**Gwi** *cʰá:* (1), ||**Gana** *cʰâ* (1), **Cara** *cʰǎ̃* (1), |**Xaise** *cʰǎ̃* (1), **Danisi** *cʰǎ̃* (1), **Ts'ixa** *cʰǎ̃* (1), **Deti** *cʰǎ̃* (1), **Kua** *cʰǎ̃* (1), **Tsua** *cʰǎ̃* (1), **Hiechware** *ca:* (1), **Proto-Kalahari Khoe** **cʰa* (1).

References and notes:

||**Ani:** Vossen 1986: 335.

|**Ganda:** Vossen 1997: 505.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 23; Köhler 1981: 489. Cf. Buga-Khoe *cʰǎ̃* id. [Vossen 1997: 452].

Naro: Visser 2001: 100. Quoted as *cʰà* in [Vossen 1997: 505]; as *cà* ~ *cʰà* in [Barnard 1985: 36].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 505.

|Gwi: Nakagawa 1996: 109. Quoted as $c^h\hat{a}$ in [Vossen 1997: 505]; as $c\hat{a}$ in [Tanaka 1978: 105].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 505. Quoted as $c\hat{a}$ in [Tanaka 1978: 105].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 505.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 505.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 505.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 505.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 505.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 505.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 505.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 110.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 505 ($*c^h\hat{a}$). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

95. WE₁

||Ani = \acute{m} (1), |Ganda = \grave{m} (1), Kxoe = \grave{m} (1), Naro = \acute{m} (1), #Haba = m (1), |Gwi = be (1), ||Gana = be (1), Cara = \acute{m} (1), |Xaise = \acute{m} (1), Danisi = \acute{m} (1), Ts'ixa = \acute{m} (1), Deti = \acute{m} (1), Kua = $b\grave{e}$ (1), Tsua = $b\grave{e}$ (1), Hiechware = e (2), Proto-Kalahari Khoe $*=m$ (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 2000: 138. Morpheme corresponds to the dual stem. Specific forms are: $c\acute{o}=m$ (masculine), $s\acute{o}=m$ (feminine), $kh\acute{a}=m$ (common). Corresponding object forms: $c\hat{o}=m \sim c\acute{o}=m\hat{a}-\grave{a}$, $s\hat{o}=m \sim s\acute{o}=m\hat{a}-\grave{a}$, $kh\hat{a}=m \sim kh\acute{a}=m\hat{a}-\grave{a}$ [ibid.]. Corresponding object concord markers: $-c\hat{o}m$, $-s\hat{o}m$, $-kh\hat{a}m$ [ibid.].

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 238. Morpheme corresponds to the dual stem. Specific forms are: $c\acute{a}=n$ (masculine), $y\acute{a}=n$ (feminine), $kh\acute{a}=n$ (common). Corresponding object concord markers: $-c\hat{a} \grave{m}-y\hat{a} \grave{m}-kh\hat{a} \grave{m}$ [ibid.].

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 24, 65, 122; Köhler 1981: 519. Morpheme corresponds to the dual stem. Specific forms are: $\check{c}\acute{a}=n$ (masculine), $\check{j}\acute{a}=n$ (feminine), $k^h\acute{a}=n$ (common).

Naro: Visser 2001: 77; Vossen 1997: 240. Morpheme corresponds to the dual stem. Specific forms are: $s\grave{i}=c\acute{a}=m$ (masculine), $s\grave{i}=s\acute{a}=m$ (feminine), $s\grave{i}=k^h\acute{a}=m$ (common). These are full (emphatic) forms; short variants without the prefixal element $s\grave{i}$ are also in use: $c\hat{a}=n$ $s\hat{a}=n$, $k^h\hat{a}=n$ Corresponding object forms all reduplicate the main pronominal morpheme: $c\acute{a}=m \acute{m} \grave{m}$ $s\acute{a}=m \acute{m} \grave{m}$ $k^h\acute{a}=m \acute{m} \grave{m}$ [Vossen 1997: 240].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 245. Morpheme corresponds to the dual stem. Specific forms are: $c\acute{a}=n$ (masculine), $s\acute{a}=n$ (feminine), $k^h\acute{a}=n$ (common). Corresponding object forms are: $c\hat{a}=n$, $s\hat{a}=n$, $k^h\hat{a}=n$

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 244. Morpheme corresponds to the dual stem. Specific forms are: $h\acute{i}=c\grave{e}=b\grave{e}$ (masculine), $h\acute{i}=s\grave{e}=b\grave{e}$ (feminine), $h\acute{i}=k^h\grave{e}=b\grave{e}$ (common). Corresponding object forms are: $c\grave{e}=m\hat{a}$, $s\grave{e}=m\hat{a}$, $k^h\grave{e}=m\hat{a}$.

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 241. Morpheme corresponds to the dual stem. Specific forms are: $\acute{i}=c\grave{e}=b\grave{e}$ (masculine), $\acute{i}=s\grave{e}=b\grave{e}$ (feminine), $\acute{i}=k^h\grave{e}=b\grave{e}$ (common). Corresponding object forms are: $\acute{i}=c\grave{e}=m\hat{a}$, $\acute{i}=s\grave{e}=m\hat{a}$, $\acute{i}=k^h\grave{e}=m\hat{a}$.

Cara: Vossen 1997: 247. Morpheme corresponds to the dual stem. Specific forms are: $\check{z}\acute{a}=m$ (masculine), $s\acute{a}=m$ (feminine), $k^h\acute{a}=m$ (common).

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 247. Morpheme corresponds to the dual stem. Specific forms are: $c\acute{a}=m$ (masculine), $s\acute{a}=m$ (feminine), $k^h\acute{a}=m$ (common).

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 247. Morpheme corresponds to the dual stem. Specific forms are: $c\acute{u}=m$ (masculine), $s\acute{u}=m$ (feminine), $k^h\acute{u}=m$ (common).

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 247. Morpheme corresponds to the dual stem. Specific forms are: $c\acute{u}=m$ (masculine), $s\acute{u}=m$ (feminine), $k^h\acute{u}=m$ (common).

Deti: Vossen 1997: 248. Morpheme corresponds to the dual stem. Specific forms are: $\check{z}\hat{a}=c\acute{a}=m$ (masculine), $\check{z}\hat{a}=s\acute{a}=m$ (feminine),

ʔá=k^há= *m* (common).

Kua: Vossen 1997: 249. Morpheme corresponds to the dual stem. Specific forms are: *cá=bè* (masculine), *sá=bè* (feminine), *k^há=bè* (common).

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 249. Morpheme corresponds to the dual stem. Specific forms are: *cá=bè* (masculine), *sá=bè* (feminine), *k^há=bè* (common).

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 65. Dornan only lists the form *c=e* 'we', corresponding to the 1st p. plural, common gender form in the closely related Kua and Tsua languages. There is little doubt that Hiechware possessed a paradigmatic system that was quite close to Kua and Tsua, but Dornan did not record it.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 370 (m. **cabe*, f. **sabe*, c. **k^habe*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages, though the actual form is amended in some of them. Reconstruction shape: Vossen reconstructs the main root morpheme for this dual pronoun as **=be*, based on the isogloss between two subgroups: |Gwi-||Gana and Kua-Tsua. The more common variant **=m* is tentatively explained by him as the result of secondary nasalization, similar to the development of the nominal masculine gender **-ba > -ma* in many Kalahari Khoe languages. However, unlike the nominal masculine gender, in this particular case not only is the variant with *-b-* much less widespread in Kalahari Khoe, it also goes against the external evidence of Khoekhoe (Nama and !Ora also have *-m* as the main root morpheme). It seems more likely that the change **-m > -be* is an areal process, triggered not by phonetic but by analogical development (a possible scenario: **-m > -me* by analogy with the plural forms in *-e*, followed by denasalization *> -be* because of the phonotactic peculiarity of the syllable *me*). The opposite scenario would have required us to assume an independent and phonetically unmotivated development **-be > -m* in several branches. Semantics and structure: The complete paradigm is reconstructible as m. **ca=m*, f. **sa=m*, c. **k^ha=m*.

95. WE₂

||Ani =*é* (2), |Ganda =*é* (2), Kxoe =*é* (2), Naro =*é* ~ =*á* (2), #Haba =*e* ~ =*a* (2), |Gwi =*e* ~ =*a* (2), ||Gana =*e* ~ =*ae* (2), Cara =*é* (2), |Xaise =*é* (2), Danisi =*é* (2), Ts'ixa =*é* (2), Deti =*é* (2), Kua =*á* ~ =*í* (2), Tsua =*á* ~ =*ìè* (2).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 2000: 138. Morpheme corresponds to the plural stem. Specific forms are: ||=*é* (masculine), *s=é* (feminine), *t=é* (common). Corresponding object forms: ||=*é* ~ ||=*é*-à-à, *s=é* ~ *s=é*-à-à, *t=é* ~ *t=é*-à-à [ibid.]. Corresponding object concord markers: -||*è*, -*sè*, -*tè* [ibid.].

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 238. Morpheme corresponds to the plural stem. Specific forms are: ||=*é* (masculine), *y=é* (feminine), *t=é* (common). Corresponding object concord marker is attested only for the masculine form: -||*è* [ibid.].

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 25, 117, 201; Köhler 1981: 519. Morpheme corresponds to the plural stem. Specific forms are: ||=*é* (masculine), *f=é* (feminine), *t=é* (common).

Naro: Visser 2001: 77; Vossen 1997: 240. Morpheme corresponds to the plural stem. Specific forms are: *sì=||=áé* (masculine), *sì=s=é* (feminine), *sì=t=á* (common). Variation between the allomorphs =*é* and =*á* is not explainable synchronically. These are full (emphatic) forms; short variants without the prefixal element *sì=* are also in use: ||=*àè*, *s=è*, *t=à*. Corresponding object forms all reduplicate the main pronominal morpheme: ||=*áé-ʔá*, *s=é-ʔá*, *t=á-ʔá* [Vossen 1997: 240].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 245. Morpheme corresponds to the plural stem. Specific forms are: ||=*á* (masculine), *s=è* (feminine), *t=á* (common). Corresponding object forms are: ||=*á*, *s=è*, *t=á*.

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 244. Morpheme corresponds to the plural stem. Specific forms are: *há=||=à* (masculine), *há=s=è* (feminine), *há=t=à* (common). Corresponding object forms are: ||=*á*, *s=è*, *t=á*.

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 241. Morpheme corresponds to the plural stem. Specific forms are: *í=||=áè* (masculine), *í=s=è* (feminine), *í=t=è* (common). Corresponding object forms are: *í=||=á*, *í=s=á*, *í=t=á*.

Cara: Vossen 1997: 247. Morpheme corresponds to the plural stem. Specific forms are: *ʒ=é* (masculine), *s=é* (feminine), *ʒ=é* (common).

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 247. Morpheme corresponds to the plural stem. Specific forms are: *k=é* (masculine), *s=é* (feminine), *c=é* (common).

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 247. Morpheme corresponds to the plural stem. Specific forms are: ||=*é* (masculine), *s=é* (feminine), *c=é*

(common).

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 247. Morpheme corresponds to the plural stem. Specific forms are: *k=é* (masculine), *s=é* (feminine), *c=é* (common).

Deti: Vossen 1997: 248. Morpheme corresponds to the plural stem. Specific forms are: *à=k^y=é* (masculine), *ʔà=s=é* (feminine), *ʔà=c=é* (common).

Kua: Vossen 1997: 250. Morpheme corresponds to the plural stem. Specific forms are: *k=â* (masculine), *s=i* (feminine), *c=i* (common).

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 250. Morpheme corresponds to the plural stem. Specific forms are: *k=á* (masculine), *s=iê* (feminine), *c=iê* (common).

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 373 (m. **||ae*, f. **se*, c. **tae*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages, though the actual form is amended in some of them. Reconstruction shape: The original form of the 1st p. pl. root morpheme is unquestionably **-e*. Variation between *-e* and *-a* in some of the actual forms in some languages may be due to contraction with the gender prefixes, the details of which vary between specific idioms. Semantics and structure: The complete paradigm should probably be reconstructed as m. **||a=e*, f. **sa=e*, c. **ta=e* (although the Eastern branch rather points to **ca=e*, which cannot be a normal phonetic development from **ta=e*).

96. WHAT

||Ani *né* (1), Kxoe *mà-xú* (2), Naro *dǔ* (3), |Gwi *yǐ #* (4), ||Gana *nǔ* (3), Cara *ndú* (3), Danisi *ndú* (3), Ts'ixa *né* (1), Deti *dú* (3), Kua *ná-ù* (5), Hiechware *na-o* (5), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **n-du* (3).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 2000: 139. The same source also mentions *ná* 'what, which?' as a synonymous form, with one example where the word functions as syntactic object. It is, therefore, probably a contraction: *né* + *à* (object marker), cf. *má-à* 'whom?' from *ma* 'who?'.

|Ganda: Not attested.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 82. Literally 'which thing?' (see 'who' for further notes on the interrogative morpheme). Substantive form, distinct from the adjectival formation *ndéú* < **ndé-xú* 'what kind of, which' [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 91].

Naro: Visser 2001: 23; Vossen 1997: 263. Quoted as *du ~ du:* in [Barnard 1985: 164]. The morpheme *m*, whose meaning R. Vossen gives as 'what?' in [Vossen 1997: 263], is in fact a general interrogative morpheme, usually encountered in adverbials (*#|ámá* 'when?', *m̄-dà* 'where?', etc.).

#Haba: Not attested.

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 264. Cf.: *ǎé yǐ xô-zè ʔè* "what is this thing?" [ibid.]. This complex form ('what-thing') is listed in [Tanaka 1978: 106] as *i-ho-ši*. On the other hand, the same source, in the same meaning 'what?', also lists forms that are clearly the same as in ||Gana - *nu:* ~ *nu:-še* ~ *nu:-e*; they are, however, not mentioned in R. Vossen's grammatical notes. The entire situation really requires additional investigation.

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 264. Cf.: *ǎé nǔ-zè ʔè* "what is this?" [ibid.]. The exact form is not clear, since the grammatical notes on the same page list the actual form as *dǔ* rather than *nǔ*; but cf. also the forms for 'what?' in [Tanaka 1978: 106]: *nu:* ~ *nu:-se* ~ *nu:-e* ~ *nu:-ma* (with various gender and number suffixes). It is possible that *dǔ* in [Vossen 1997: 264] is a local misprint, although external comparison clearly shows that *nǔ* does indeed correlate with *dǔ* in other languages (e. g. Naro).

Cara: Vossen 1997: 246. Morpheme corresponds to the dual stem. Specific forms are: *ʒá=ín* (masculine), *sá=ín* (feminine), *k^há=ín* (common).

|Xaise: Not attested.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 265.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 265.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 265.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 265.

Tsua: Not attested.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 72, 106. This form is elicited through the example: *nao e are heaha* "what have they done?" (other contexts listed by Dornan are not diagnostic).

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 381 (**(n)du*). Distribution: Well attested in the Eastern branch and in several Western languages as well. Reconstruction shape: Khoe languages do not normally allow for word-initial consonant clusters, but initial *nd-* for this stem is well attested in several languages, signifying a certain degree of uniqueness. In this situation, it is quite likely that Naro *dú*, Deti *dú* etc. are phonotactic simplifications of the original **ndu*. Semantics and structure: The existence of a simple root **ndu* is highly unlikely for phonotactic reasons; the form may be analyzed as an old contraction of a bisyllabic compound (e.g. **na-du*) where the first morpheme is the same general interrogative stem that functions by itself in several Khoe languages with the adjectival meaning 'which?' (e.g. Kxoe, Cara *ná*, Kua *ná*). In this case, the second morpheme should probably go back to some old noun meaning smth. like 'thing', though no isolated word like **du* or **tu* is attested with anything close to that meaning. Nevertheless, already on the Proto-Khoe level **ndu* must have been understood as an inseparable entity, given its firmly monosyllabic behavior in all daughter languages. Replacements: It looks as if the original compound **n-du* is prone to being replaced by other forms containing the general adjectival interrogative morpheme **na-*: (a) ||Ani *né*, Ts'ixa *né* is an areal isogloss, probably a contraction from **na-e* or **na-i*; (b) Kua *ná-ù*, Hiechware *na-o* is another obvious compound, restricted to the Kua-Tsua subgroup. In both cases, the second morpheme may historically go back to one of the deictic stems (**i* 'this', **u* 'that'). Another case is (c) Kxoe *mà-xú*, composed of **ma* 'who?' + **xu* 'thing'.

97. WHITE

||Ani *xóé* (1), |Ganda *!é* (2), Kxoe *!é:-fi* (2), Naro *!ú:* (3), #Haba *!ú* (3), |Gwi *!ú* (3), ||Gana *!ú* (3), Cara *xóé* (1), |Xaise *xóé* (1), Danisi *!ô-sé* (4), Ts'ixa *!ô-sí* (4), Deti *xóé* (1), Kua *!ǔ* (3), Tsua *!ú* (3), Hiechware *hwe-he* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **xœ* # (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1986: 338.

|Ganda: Vossen 1988: 102.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 175. Verbal stem; meaning glossed as 'be white, be beige, be whitish'. The suffix *-fi* is used to derive verbs from nouns, and the corresponding nominal stem *!é* 'something white' is attested in [Köhler 1981: 500], but not in Kilian-Hatz's dictionary. Antiquity of this stem is dubious, since it contains the alveolar click *!-*, which is generally lost in Kxoe in verbs of Proto-West Khoe origin. However, no identifiable source of borrowing has been detected so far. Cf. also the secondary synonym *xùé:-fi* 'be bright white, be very white' [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 147].

Naro: Visser 2001: 75. Quoted as *!ú* in [Vossen 1997: 506]; as *!ú ~ !ó ~ !ú ~ !ó* in [Barnard 1985: 121]. Distinct from *!ú:* 'white person' [Visser 2001: 11] and the supposedly "emphatic" adjective *xôé-xôé-se* 'very white' [Visser 2001: 29].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 506.

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 506. Quoted as *!u* in [Tanaka 1978: 107].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 506. Quoted as *!u* in [Tanaka 1978: 107].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 506.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 506.

Danisi: Vossen 1988: 102.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1988: 102.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 506.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 506.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 506.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 98.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 506 (**xóé*). Distribution: Preserved in several East Kalahari Khoe languages (Cara, |Xaise, Deti; also in Hiechware as a representative of "old Tshwa" speech patterns), as well as in ||Ani, at the other end of the Kalahari Khoe continuum. Replacements: Upon first sight, the most obvious candidate for Proto-Kalahari Khoe 'white' would be **!u*, whose

internal distribution is at least as strong as that of *xœ and which is also supported by external data (Nama *!u-ri 'white'). However, a serious problem with this solution is that the reflexes of this root in Kua-Tsua (Kua !ú, Tsua !ú) show preservation of the alveolar click, a near-unique situation, since the East Kalahari Khoe branch regularly drops this click. This implies that the Kua-Tsua forms were probably borrowed - perhaps from Naro or some other source. In the end, the only language whose reflex cannot at all be placed under doubt for phonetic reasons is Naro itself; and it cannot be excluded, either, that the Naro form, too, is ultimately a borrowing from a Khoekhoe source (cf. particularly the preservation of the root *xœ in Naro in the emphatic form xōē-xōē-se 'very white'). On the other hand, it must be noted that the form *xœ (a) is not particularly stable in itself, as we see it being easily replaced by other items, such as *!e for |Ganda-||Ani and *!o- for Danisi and Ts'ixa, both of unclear origin; (b) may be nominal in origin, cf. its meaning in Kxoe - xóé 'foam, froth', as well as external cognates (most likely related to Nama *goa*, !Ora gòà-b 'froth, foam'. All this means that the reconstruction is highly tentative. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences for those languages in which the item is attested are generally regular; ||Ani data speak in favor of reconstructing the word as *xœ rather than *xoe (this also agrees with the reflexes in Khoekhoe, where *oε > oa).

98. WHO

||Ani *ma* (1), Kxoe *māã* ~ *màã* (1), Naro *dǐ* (2), |Gwi *dí* (2), ||Gana *dí* (2), Cara *má* (1), Danisi *má* ~ *máé* (1), Ts'ixa *má* ~ *máé* (1), Deti *má* (1), Kua *má* (1), Hiechware *na-re* (3), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **ma* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 2000: 139.

|Ganda: Not attested.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 84. Quoted as *má* in [Köhler 1981: 526]. Substantive form, obviously related to the adjectival form *màã* [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 81] = *mǎ* [Köhler 1981: 526] 'what (kind of), which'.

Naro: Visser 2001: 18. Quoted as *di* in [Vossen 1997: 263] and in [Barnard 1985: 165]; also used with gender markers (*dí-bá* masc., *dí-sá* fem., *dí-ná* general).

#Haba: Not attested.

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 264. The quasi-synonymous *má*, judging by the examples, is used rather as an adjectival question word referring to already identified people, e. g.: *ǀé-ǀù x'áó-k'òè-ǀù má-ǀù ʔè* "who (i. e. what) are these men?" [ibid.].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 264. The quasi-synonymous *má*, judging by the examples, is used rather as an adjectival question word referring to already identified people, e. g.: *ǀé-s k'òè-sà má-s ʔè* "who (i. e. what) is this woman?" [ibid.].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 265. According to R. Vossen, this interrogative pronoun is in free variation with a different stem, *ná*.

|Xaise: Not attested.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 265.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 265.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 265.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 265. According to R. Vossen, this interrogative pronoun is in free variation with a different stem, *nǎ*.

Tsua: Not attested.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 66. Cf.: *kau nare* "who are you?", *nare ča kwa mo*: "whom do you see?".

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 379 (**mā*). Distribution: Very well attested throughout both West and East Kalahari Khoe languages. Replacements: (a) Naro *dǐ*, |Gwi-||Gana *dí*. Origin is unclear, but in the light of Naro + ||Gana *du* 'what?' < Kalahari Khoe **n-du* (see 'what' for details), it may be suggested that *dǐ* also < **n-dǐ*, where **n-* is the general adjectival interrogative morpheme and **dǐ* is some sort of nominalizer (perhaps the same as the relative particle *dǐ*?). If this analysis is correct, then these forms may actually go back to the exact same source as (b) Hiechware *na-re* 'who?' < **na-dǐ*. However, we still mark these replacements with different numbers because even if the analysis is correct, these two replacements must have been independent of each other in two different branches. Reconstruction shape: The original animate interrogative morpheme is unequivocally reconstructible as **ma* (Vossen has **mā* with nasalization, but the nasalized variant is more rare and might actually be secondary).

99. WOMAN

||Ani *k^hóé-hè* (1), Kxoe *||è̃-k^hòè* (2), Naro *k^hóè-sa* (1), |Gwi *||ae-* (2), ||Gana *||ε-* (2), Cara *||a-* (2), |Xaise *||ae-* (2), Danisi *||ae-* (2), Ts'ixa *||a-* (2), Deti *||ae-* (2), Kua *||ae-* (2), Tsua *||ae-* (2), Hiechware *||ai-čò ~ ||aie-čwe* (2), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **||ae* (2).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 2000: 136. Same stem as 'person', specified with the regular feminine gender morpheme *-hè*. Should be distinguished from *||ε-* 'female, feminine' [Vossen 1997: 506].

|Ganda: Not attested.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 211. Also with the fem. gender marker: *||è̃-k^hòè-hè*. A compound formation, consisting of *||è̃* 'woman, female' (a frequent compound participant) and *k^hòè* 'person' q.v. The first morpheme is quoted as *||é̃* in [Köhler 1981: 491]; judging by the examples on the same page, simply referring to 'woman / wife' as *||é̃* is "vulgar", and the neutral expression is the compound *||é̃-x'òè*. Cf. Buga-Khoe *||ε-* 'female' [Vossen 1997: 506].

Naro: Visser 2001: 41. Same word as 'person' q.v. with the feminine gender marker. A more specific equivalent for 'woman' as 'female human being' is *||àè-k^hòè* [Visser 2001: 24], with polysemy: '(young) woman / wife'. Literally: 'female person', from *||àè* 'female' and *k^hòè* 'person' q.v.; quoted as *||áí-s-k^hùè* in [Barnard 1985: 71] (with an additional female gender suffix after the first morpheme). However, most text examples show that the simple form *k^hóè-sa* is used in basic situations.

#Haba: Not attested properly, but cf. *||ae-* 'female' in [Vossen 1997: 506].

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 506. This source only lists the morpheme *||ae-* in the meaning 'female', but cf. *||áí-kue ~ ||áí-ko-ši* 'woman' (= *||ae-* 'female' + *k^hòè* 'person' q.v.) in the phonetically unreliable, but lexically informative dictionary [Tanaka 1978: 108].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 506. This source only lists the morpheme *||ε-* in the meaning 'female', but cf. *||áí-kue ~ ||áí-ko-ši* 'woman' (= *||ε-* 'female' + *k^hòè* 'person' q.v.) in the phonetically unreliable, but lexically informative dictionary [Tanaka 1978: 108].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 506. Meaning glossed as 'female'; the word 'woman' is probably formed from this root and 'person' q.v., although this has not been explicitly stated in the source.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 506. Meaning glossed as 'female'; the word 'woman' is probably formed from this root and 'person' q.v., although this has not been explicitly stated in the source.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 506. Meaning glossed as 'female'; the word 'woman' is probably formed from this root and 'person' q.v., although this has not been explicitly stated in the source.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 506. Meaning glossed as 'female'; the word 'woman' is probably formed from this root and 'person' q.v., although this has not been explicitly stated in the source.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 506. Meaning glossed as 'female'; the word 'woman' is probably formed from this root and 'person' q.v., although this has not been explicitly stated in the source.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 506. Meaning glossed as 'female'; the word 'woman' is probably formed from this root and 'person' q.v., although this has not been explicitly stated in the source.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 506. Meaning glossed as 'female'; the word 'woman' is probably formed from this root and 'person' q.v., although this has not been explicitly stated in the source.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 93. Literally 'female person': cf. *||ae* 'female' [ibid.] + *čò* 'person' q.v.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 506 (**||ae*). **Distribution:** Preserved in all languages, although see the discussion on semantics below. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are generally regular and trivial. **Semantics and structure:** It seems that the original meaning of the morpheme **||ae* is 'female' (applicable to animals and people); the meaning 'woman' is perceived as more complex than 'female' and is often expressed by either the feminine gender form of the lexeme **k^hòè* 'person' (as in ||Ani and Naro) or the compounding of two lexical roots (**||ae-k^hòè*, as in Kxoe and Hiechware). Nevertheless, since 'woman'-meaning forms with **||ae* are far more frequent than 'man'-meaning forms without this morpheme, it seems justified to put this morpheme into the main Proto-Kalahari Khoe slot for 'woman', leaving **k^hòè* in the slot for 'person'. See an absolutely symmetric picture for the item 'man' q.v.

100. YELLOW

Kxoe *čèrè-tòè-ǰú* (1), Naro *dàm ǰúbī* (2), Hiechware *set^ha*: (-1).

References and notes:

||**Ani**: Not attested.

|**Ganda**: Not attested.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 124. Literally: 'silver terminalia (*Terminalia sericea*)' (*čèrèé*) + 'root' (*tòè*, q.v.) + 'color' (*ǰú*), with slight morphophonological changes of the individual stems.

Naro: Visser 2001: 15. Literally: 'tortoise-egg' (see further on 'egg'). The idiomatic expression is confirmed in [Barnard 1985: 121], where it is quoted as *dam ǰobi*. The latter source also lists the synonym *ǰkore*, not confirmed elsewhere.

#**Haba**: Not attested.

|**Gwi**: Not attested.

||**Gana**: Not attested in reliable sources, but cf. *dam-lubi* 'yellow' in [Tanaka 1978: 110] (= Naro *dà ǰúbī* q.v.).

Cara: Not attested.

|**Xaise**: Not attested.

Danisi: Not attested.

Ts'ixa: Not attested.

Deti: Not attested.

Kua: Not attested.

Tsua: Not attested.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 109. Transparent Bantu borrowing (cf. Tswana *se:ǰ^ha* id.).

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Not reconstructible for lack of data. Obviously an unstable concept on the Proto-Kalahari Khoe level, if it even existed.

101. FAR

||**Ani** *ǰnû* (1), |**Ganda** *ǰgû* (1), **Kxoe** *ǰgû* (1), **Naro** *ǰû* (1), #**Haba** *ǰnû* (1), |**Gwi** *x'ái* (2), |**Xaise** *ǰgû* (1), **Danisi** *ǰgû* (1), **Ts'ixa** *ǰgû* (1), **Deti** *ǰú* (1), **Kua** *ǰgû* (1), **Tsua** *gú* (1), **Hiechware** *guno* (1), **Proto-Kalahari Khoe** **ǰû* (1).

References and notes:

||**Ani**: Vossen 1997: 507.

|**Ganda**: Vossen 1997: 507.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 95. Cf. Buga-Khoe *ǰgû* id. [Vossen 1997: 507].

Naro: Visser 2001: 54; Barnard 1985: 116. Quoted as *ǰnû* in [Vossen 1997: 507].

#**Haba**: Vossen 1997: 507.

|**Gwi**: Nakagawa 1996: 116. Quoted as *x'ai* ~ *x'ai-ka* in [Tanaka 1978: 34]. Cf., however, *ǰú* 'far' in [Vossen 1997: 507].

||**Gana**: Not attested in any reliable sources, but cf. *x'ai* ~ *x'ai-ka* 'far' in [Tanaka 1978: 34].

Cara: Not attested.

|**Xaise**: Vossen 1997: 507.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 507.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 507.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 507.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 507.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 507.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 96. Phonetically probably = *ɲgu-/ol/*, cf. the entry in the closely related Kua.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 507 (**ú*). Distribution: Preserved in most languages. Replacements: Replaced in the |Gwi-||Gana subgroup with the word *x'ai* of unclear origin. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial, with predictable click loss in most languages.

102. HEAVY

||Ani *!óm* (1), |Ganda *kúm* (1), Kxoe *kóm* (1), Naro *!óm* (1), #Haba *!úm* (1), |Gwi *!óám* (1), ||Gana *!óm* (1), Cara *kóm* (1), |Xaise *kóm* (1), Danisi *kúm* (1), Ts'ixa *kúm* (1), Deti *kóm* (1), Kua *kóm* (1), Tsua *kúm* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **!om* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1986: 329.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 490.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 60. Quoted as *kó m̄n* [Köhler 1966: 157]. Cf. Buga-Khoe *kó m̄d*. [Vossen 1997: 490].

Naro: Visser 2001: 70. Polysemy: 'heavy / difficult / pregnant'. Quoted as *!ú m̄n* [Vossen 1997: 490]. Completely different word quoted in [Barnard 1985: 117]: *t^hu* (not confirmed in the rest of the sources).

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 490.

|Gwi: Nakagawa 1996: 117; Vossen 1997: 490. Quoted as *!kom* in [Tanaka 1978: 45].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 490. Quoted as *!kom* in [Tanaka 1978: 45].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 490.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 490.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 490.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 490.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 490.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 490.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 490.

Hiechware: Not attested.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 490 (**!ó m̄~ *!ú ŋ̄*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally regular, with expected click loss in most of the languages. Vocalic reflexes (as well as external data) indicate that **-om* is preferable as the original coda to **-um*.

103. NEAR

||Ani */û* (1), |Ganda */û* (1), Kxoe */û* (1), Naro */û* (1), #Haba */û* (1), |Gwi */û* (1), ||Gana */û* (1), Cara */û* (1), |Xaise */û* (1), Danisi */û* (1), Ts'ixa */û* (1), Deti */û* (1), Kua */û* (1), Tsua */û* (1), Hiechware */u* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **/u* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 470.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 470.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 157; Köhler 1981: 502. Verbal stem; cf. also *k'^hák^hàrè* 'nearness, vicinity, proximity', *k'^hák^hàrè(-à)* *kà* 'near, along'

(prepositional construction) [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 77]. Cf. Buga-Khoe /ú id. [Vossen 1997: 470].

Naro: Visser 2001: 13; Vossen 1997: 470. Meaning glossed as 'close, along'. Quoted as /ku: ~ /u: in [Barnard 1985: 118].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 470.

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 470. Quoted as /u ~ /u-ka in [Tanaka 1978: 64].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 470. Quoted as /u ~ /u-ka in [Tanaka 1978: 64].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 470.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 470.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 470.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 470.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 470.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 470.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 470.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 104. Possibly the same word is mistranscribed as /u: 'near' in [Dornan 1917: 96]; the alveolar click is quite likely to have been transcribed in error (instead of the etymologically expected dental click; cf. the same situation with 'full' q.v.).

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 470 (*/ú). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

104. SALT

||Ani *dóbè* (1), Kxoe *dòvèè* (1), Naro *tà^hbē* (1), #Haba *dàbé* (1), |Gwi *dà^hbē* (1), ||Gana *dà^hbè* (1), Cara *dóbè* (1), |Xaise *dèbè* (1), Danisi *dóbé* (1), Deti *dóbè* (1), Kua *dèbé* (1), Tsua *dèbè* (1), Hiechware *debe* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **do^hbe* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 481.

|Ganda: Not attested.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 38. Quoted as *dòβé* in [Köhler 1981: 492]. Cf. Buga-Khoe *dòbè* id. [Vossen 1997: 481].

Naro: Visser 2001: 78. Quoted as *dà^hbé^f* in [Vossen 1997: 481]; as *dà^hbé* (com.) in [Barnard 1985: 98] (the female gender form of the same word is said to mean 'salt pan').

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 481.

|Gwi: Nakagawa 2006: 214. Quoted as *dà^hbé* in [Vossen 1997: 481]; as *dabè* in [Tanaka 1978: 83].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 481. Quoted as *dabè* in [Tanaka 1978: 83].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 481.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 481.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 481.

Ts'ixa: Not attested.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 481.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 481.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 481.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 92. Cf. also *debe*: 'a salt pan' (either the same word or a contraction with an older suffix).

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 481 (**dobe*). Distribution: Preserved in all languages where attested. Reconstruction shape: The only problem is with the first root vowel. Pharyngealization, attested in Naro and |Gwi-||Gana, may be archaic. Quality should be reconstructed as labial, since the coda **-abe* is typically preserved without labialization in all Kalahari Khoe languages and occasional dissimilation **-obe* > *-abe* is more probable.

105. SHORT

||Ani //òr̄m̄ (1), |Ganda //òr̄m̄ (1), Kxoe //òr̄m̄ (1), Naro //òr̄m̄ (1), #Haba //ó̄m̄ (1), |Gwi //òar̄m̄ (1), ||Gana //òr̄n̄ (1), Cara //òr̄m̄ (1), |Xaise //òr̄m̄ (1), Danisi //òr̄m̄ (1), Ts'ixa //ó̄m̄ (1), Deti //ó̄m̄ (1), Kua //ó̄m̄ (1), Tsua //ú̄r̄n̄ (1), Hiechware //om-ɲe (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe */om̄ (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 460.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 460.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 204; Köhler 1981: 544. Cf. Buga-Khoe //ò r̄id. [Vossen 1997: 460].

Naro: Visser 2001: 116. Quoted as //ú n̄in [Vossen 1997: 460]; as //kum ~ !um in [Barnard 1985: 119] (the variant with the alveolar click is probably erroneously transcribed).

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 460.

|Gwi: Nakagawa 1996: 117; Vossen 1997: 460. Quoted as #kom in [Tanaka 1978: 86] (with erroneous transcription of the click influx).

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 460. Quoted as #kom in [Tanaka 1978: 86] (with erroneous transcription of the click influx).

Cara: Vossen 1997: 460.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 460.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 460.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 460.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 460.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 460.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 460.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 104. Cf. also !xo kadi 'short' [Dornan 1917: 103] - a compound formation whose individual parts are not identifiable. Dubious, especially in the light of external data.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 460 (*/om̄). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

106. SNAKE

Kxoe ɸíyō (1), Naro |x'āō (2), #Haba |x'áò (2), |Gwi |x'áo (2), ||Gana |x'áo (2), Cara |'áo (2), |Xaise |'áo (2), Danisi |'áo (2) / |ǎ-kà-kû (3), Ts'ixa |ǎ-kà-kû (3), Deti |'áo (2), Kua |'áo (2), Tsua |'áo (2), Hiechware |auo ~ ||ao (2), Proto-Kalahari Khoe */x'ao (2).

References and notes:

||Ani: Not attested.

|Ganda: Not attested.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 184; Köhler 1981: 489. Secondary synonym: ɸqòyō 'snake' [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 194]. Semantic difference is not explained; the latter form is not found in Köhler's materials. It should be noted that the phonotactic structure of both forms is somewhat atypical for Kxoe; the second syllable -yō suggests either some obscure suffixal formation or a borrowing (from an unknown source).

Naro: Visser 2001: 8. Quoted as |x'áo in [Vossen 1997: 485]; as |kóú ~ |óú (fem.) in [Barnard 1935: 43] (with polysemy: 'snake (gen.) / cobra').

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 485.

|Gwi: Nakagawa 1996: 116. Quoted as |x'áú in [Vossen 1997: 485]; as |áo in [Tanaka 1978: 89].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 485. Quoted as |áo in [Tanaka 1978: 89].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 485.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 485.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 485. Vossen 1988: 97. This word (see notes on Ts'ixa) is listed as the primary equivalent for 'snake' in this source; the difference between it and the older equivalent /'àó remains unclear.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1988: 97. Clearly a compound stem that consists of three separate morphemes, but its internal structure remains unclear.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 485.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 485.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 485.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 94, 95. The variant with the dental click is in better agreement with external data; the variant with the lateral click is either corrupt or represents a different word.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 485 (*/x'ao). Distribution: Well attested in all major branches of the family. Replacements: (a) Kxoe /'iyō, of unclear origin (and with a rather weird phonetic shape for a Khoe root); (b) Ts'ixa-Danisi /ǎ-kà-kũ, also of unclear origin and looking like a euphemistic replacement for the original word. (One possible way of analysis is smth. like 'belly-walker', cf. Ts'ixa /â 'belly' and kũ 'to go'). Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally regular, with the expected phonetic shift */x' > */- in East Kalahari Khoe.

107. THIN

Kxoe /ini (1), Naro /ĩĩ (2), Hiechware /ai-ču (3).

References and notes:

||Ani: Not attested.

|Ganda: Not attested.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 155. Cf. also /'ũũ 'be meagre, be thin; be weak, be feeble' [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 214] (only /ini is clearly applicable to inanimate objects).

Naro: Visser 2001: 49. Quoted as /ũũ by R. Vossen in [Barnard 1985: 120]. A. Barnard himself lists the equivalent /aba, not confirmed in other sources [Barnard 1985: 120]. Cf. also /cũũ 'thin (persons, animals)' in [Visser 2001: 98].

#Haba: Not attested.

|Gwi: Not attested.

||Gana: Not attested.

Cara: Not attested.

|Xaise: Not attested.

Danisi: Not attested.

Ts'ixa: Not attested.

Deti: Not attested.

Kua: Not attested.

Tsua: Not attested.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 93. Meaning glossed as 'lean, thin'.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Not reconstructible for lack of attestation.

108. WIND

||Ani /'ǎ (1), |Ganda /'ǎ (1), Kxoe /'ǎ (1), Naro /'ǎ (1), #Haba /'ǎ (1), |Gwi /'ǎ (1), ||Gana /'ǎ (1), Cara /'yǎ (1), |Xaise /'yǎ (1), Danisi /'yǎ (1), Ts'ixa /'ǎ (1), Deti /'yǎ (1), Kua /'yǎ (1), Tsua /'yǎ (1), Hiechware /'yǎ (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe */'ǎ (1).

References and notes:

||**Ani**: Vossen 1997: 507.

|**Ganda**: Vossen 1997: 507.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 183. Polysemy: 'wind / air (n.) / blow (vb.) / smell (vb.)'. Cf. Buga-Khoe $\#á$ 'wind' [Vossen 1997: 507]. Secondary synonym (of unclear origin): *gēérú* 'wind' [Kilian-Hatz 2003: 46].

Naro: Visser 2001: 90. Polysemy: 'wind / air'. Quoted as $\#á$ in [Vossen 1997: 507]; as $\#ā$: ~ $tā$: (fem.) in [Barnard 1985: 33] (the second variant is a curious case of idiosyncratic secondary "de-clickification", at least as heard by A. Barnard).

#**Haba**: Vossen 1997: 507.

|**Gwi**: Vossen 1997: 507. Quoted as *!a*: in [Tanaka 1978: 107] (with incorrect identification of the click influx).

||**Gana**: Vossen 1997: 507. Quoted as *!a*: in [Tanaka 1978: 107] (with incorrect identification of the click influx).

Cara: Vossen 1997: 507.

|**Xaise**: Vossen 1997: 507. Cf. also *ǀóá* 'wind' in the earlier source [Vossen 1988: 102].

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 507.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 507.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 507.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 507.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 507.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 107.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 507 ($*\#á$). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular (predictable click palatalization and loss in the Eastern branch).

109. WORM

Kxoe $\#xèi$ (1), Naro $\#ô:f$ (2), Hiechware $\#xaie$ (1).

References and notes:

||**Ani**: Not attested.

|**Ganda**: Not attested.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 221. Polysemy: 'worm / maggot / caterpillar'.

Naro: Visser 2001: 54. Meaning glossed as 'worm in manure, beetle larva, caterpillar'; this is the closest word in the dictionary to the required 'earthworm', distinct from $\#x\bar{a}\bar{o}$ 'ringworm (in the body)' [Visser 2001: 8] and several even less eligible synonyms.

#**Haba**: Not attested.

|**Gwi**: Not attested.

||**Gana**: Not attested.

Cara: Not attested.

|**Xaise**: Not attested.

Danisi: Not attested.

Ts'ixa: Not attested.

Deti: Not attested.

Kua: Not attested.

Tsua: Not attested.

Hiechware: Dornan 1917: 95. Other possible synonyms include $\#lau$ [Dornan 1917: 101] and *boko*: [Dornan 1917: 89], borrowed from Setswana (cf. *se=boko* 'worm').

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Not reconstructible due to lack of attestation.

110. YEAR

||Ani *kúrí* (1), |Ganda *kúrí* (1), Kxoe *kúrí* (1), Naro *kūrī* (1), #Haba *kúrí* (1), |Gwi *kúrí* (1), ||Gana *kúrí* (1), Cara *kúrí* (1), |Xaise *kúrí* (1), Danisi *kúrí* (1), Ts'ixa *kúrí* (1), Deti *kúrí* (1), Kua *kúrí* (1), Tsua *cúrí* (1), Hiechware *čuri* (1), Proto-Kalahari Khoe **kuri* (1).

References and notes:

||Ani: Vossen 1997: 454.

|Ganda: Vossen 1997: 454.

Kxoe: Kilian-Hatz 2003: 63; Köhler 1981: 502. Polysemy: 'season / year / time / age'. Cf. Buga-Khoe *kúdi* id. [Vossen 1997: 454].

Naro: Visser 2001: 44. Polysemy: 'year / age / time / birthday / all the time, always'. Quoted as *kúdi* in [Vossen 1997: 454]; as *kúri* (fem., com.) in [Barnard 1985: 113, 125].

#Haba: Vossen 1997: 454.

|Gwi: Vossen 1997: 454. Quoted as *kuri* in [Tanaka 1978: 110].

||Gana: Vossen 1997: 454. Quoted as *kuri* in [Tanaka 1978: 110].

Cara: Vossen 1997: 454.

|Xaise: Vossen 1997: 454.

Danisi: Vossen 1997: 454.

Ts'ixa: Vossen 1997: 454.

Deti: Vossen 1997: 454.

Kua: Vossen 1997: 454.

Tsua: Vossen 1997: 454.

Hiechware: Dorman 1917: 91.

Proto-Kalahari Khoe: Vossen 1997: 454 (**kúdi*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and mostly trivial (with expected palatalization in the Kua-Tsua subgroup).