

[Text version of database, created 16/08/2015].

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

Languages included: |Xam [kwi-xam]; ||Ng!ke [kwi-Ing]; †Khomani [kwi-kho]; N|uu [kwi-nuu]; ||Xegwi [kwi-xeg]; !'Auni [kwi-aun]; |Haasi [kwi-haa].

Reconstruction: Preliminary version available.

DATA SOURCES

I. General

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

Bleek 1956 = Bleek, Dorothea F. *A Bushman Dictionary*. American Oriental Society: New Haven, Connecticut. // *A huge (almost 700 pages) collection of comparative data on Khoisan that includes both Dorothea F. Bleek's own collection and data from numerous other researchers published up until the 1930s (W. Bleek, L. Lloyd, etc.). Transcription quality varies in between all the different sources, but is generally unreliable, quite typical of all Khoisan data published before the second half of the XXth century. Nevertheless, the edition still contains a wealth of priceless data, particularly on extinct North and South Khoisan languages.*

Westphal 1965 = Westphal, E. O. J. *Linguistic research in S.W.A. and Angola*. In: *Die ethnischen Gruppen Südwestafrikas. Wissenschaftliche Forschung in Südwestafrika*, Bd 3. Windhoek: Südwestafrikanische Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft, pp. 125-144. // *Brief sketch of some of the author's investigations and considerations on the internal relationship of the so-called "Khoisan" languages. Contains a small comparative wordlist for 14 "Khoisan" idioms, drawn from the author's personal field data collections, including 25 Swadesh items.*

II. //Ng!ke

Bleek 2000 = Bleek, Dorothea F. Notes on the language of the //ŋ!ke or Bushmen of Griqualand West. Ed. by Tom Güldemann. Khoisan Forum Working Paper No. 15. // *An archival edition of a relatively brief manuscript that provides some grammatical notes on //Ng!ke.*

III. †Khomani

Maingard 1937 = Louis F. Maingard. The †Khomani dialect of Bushman: its morphology and other characteristics. **In:** Bushmen of the southern Kalahari. Ed. by J. D. Rheinallt Jones & C. M. Doke. Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, pp. 237-275. // *Brief grammar sketch of the †Khomani dialect; no separate vocabulary, but including a set of three translated texts in the language.*

Doke 1936 = Clement M. Doke. An outline of †Khomani Bushman phonetics. **In:** Bantu studies (Johannesburg), 10, pp. 433-461. // *Description of the phonetic and phonological system of the †Khomani dialect, accompanied by a significant amount of illustrative lexical material, but without a separate vocabulary.*

IV. N|uu

Sands et al. 2006 = Sands, Bonny; Miller, Amanda; Brugman, Johanna; Namaseb, Levi; Collins, Chris; Exter, Mats. 1400 item N|uu Dictionary. // *Unpublished manuscript. All data have been provided courtesy of Bonny Sands.*

Sands et al. 2007 = Sands, Bonny; Miller, Amanda; Brugman, Johanna. The Lexicon in Language Attrition: The Case of N|uu. // *Brief paper discussing possible relations between peculiarities of the lexical inventory of N|uu and its current sociolinguistic status. Includes a little bit of illustrative data.*

Miller et al. 2009 = Miller, Amanda; Brugman, Johanna; Sands, Bonny; Namaseb, Levi;

Exter, Mats; Collins, Chris. Differences in airstream and posterior place of articulation among N|uu clicks. **In:** Journal of the International Phonetic Association, 39 (2), pp. 129-161. // *Discussion of certain articulatory and acoustic peculiarities of the phonetic system of N|uu. Includes around a hundred illustrative lexical items.*

Miller et al. 2007 = Draft version of Miller et al. 2009, available at: <http://faculty.arts.ubc.ca/amiller/amillerjipa.pdf>. // *Includes slightly different illustrative lexical data.*

V. ||Xegwi

Ziervogel 1955 = Dirk Ziervogel. Notes on the language of the eastern Transvaal Bushmen. **In:** The disappearing Bushmen of Lake Chrissie, ed. by E.y E. F. Potgieter. (Hidding-Currie publications of the University of South Africa, no. 1.). J L van Schaik. Pretoria, pp. 34-64. // *A sketch of ||Xegwi phonology and grammar, accompanied by two illustrative texts, but no separate lexical glossary.*

Lanham & Hallows 1956 = Leonard Lanham, D. P. Hallows. An outline of the structure of eastern Bushman. **In:** African studies (Johannesburg), 15 (3), pp. 97-118. // *A sketch of ||Xegwi phonology and grammar without any texts or glossaries, but containing an important selection of illustrative lexical data.*

Lanham & Hallows 1956a = Leonard Lanham, D. P. Hallows. Linguistic relationships and contacts expressed in the vocabulary of Eastern Bushman. **In:** African studies (Johannesburg), 15 (1), pp. 45-48. // *Very short article on certified and potential areal connections between ||Xegwi and neighbouring languages, mostly Bantu. Contains a small handful of unique lexical data.*

VI. |'Auni

Bleek 1937 = Dorothea F. Bleek. Grammatical notes and texts in the |Auni language + |Auni vocabulary. **In:** Bushmen of the Southern Kalahari, ed. by J. D. Rheinalt Jones and C. M. Doke. Johannesburg: The University of the Witwatersrand Press, pp. 195-220. //

Very brief notes on !Auni grammar and a mini-selection of texts, accompanied by a vocabulary of several hundred lexical items. Based on D. Bleek's own research with !Auni speakers in 1936, significantly superior to the results of her earlier work in 1911, published in [Bleek 1929].

VII. |Haasi

Story 1999 = Robert Story. K'u|ha:si Manuscript. Ed. by Anthony Traill. Khoisan Forum Working Paper No. 13. // *Full reproduction of the brief wordlist, grammar notes, and phrases in the |Haasi language as recovered from Robert Story's original manuscript of 1937; accompanied with extensive notes by A. Traill, including noteworthy considerations on how to interpret Story's phonetic notation.*

NOTES

1. General.

I. |Xam

The main entry, in the absolute majority of cases, represents Lucy Lloyd's transcription variant(s) of the |Xam word, extracted from [Bleek 1956]; transcriptional variants from Wilhelm Bleek's earlier records as well as their equivalents in [Bleek 1929] (this source usually follows W. Bleek rather than L. Lloyd) are added in the notes section. Everything has been properly transliterated into UTS, although a few diacritics (such as the diaeresis and the non-phonological vowel shortness markers) have been dropped. Morphemic boundaries have been added only where they are clearly required by Khoisan phonotactics (e. g. before all syllables that begin with a stop consonant).

II. ||Ng!ke

All data are from D. Bleek's fieldwork, recorded in [Bleek 1929, 1956, 2000]. There are clearly several subdialects involved (as evidenced by significant variation in transcribed variants, including the occasionally emerging phenomenon of "click dropping"), but no significant lexicostatistical variation is observed.

III-IV. †Khomani and N|uu

This is ostensibly the exact same dialect, the recordings of which, however, are set 60-70 years apart. "†Khomani" is the old name as recorded in the descriptions of L. Maingard and C. Doke, and N|uu is the name applied to the language as spoken by the few re-discovered speakers in the late 1990s / early 2000s, and described by N. Crawhall, B. Sands, A. Miller and others.

V. ‖Xegwi

Notes on the extinct ‖Xegwi were first taken by D. F. Bleek (who calls the language "Batwa") in the 1910s; and later still, by D. Ziervogel, and L. Lanham & D. P. Hallows in the 1950s. The most detailed, although perhaps not the most phonetically reliable, description belongs to Ziervogel, whose lexical data are taken as the default source. Lanham & Hallows' description contains fewer lexical entries, but seems to be more accurate transcriptionally. A few empty slots have been filled out by data from D. Bleek's records, which have to be taken cautiously due to occasional mis glossings and poor transcriptional quality (in particular, a failure to perceive both the presence of uvular *q* and lateral affricates as autonomous phonological units).

VI. †Auni

All the data on the extinct †Auni come from D. F. Bleek's research, undertaken first in 1911 (results published in [Bleek 1929]), and then during an ethnographic expedition in 1936 (published as [Bleek 1937] and later included in [Bleek 1956]). Data from 1936, accompanied by textual evidence, are much more abundant and precise than data from 1911, although still not free of phonetic and semantic mistakes typical of most of the early research on Khoisan languages.

VII. |Haasi

The only data on the extinct |Haasi come from Robert Story [Story 1999]; they are sufficient to fill in approximately 70% of the Swadesh wordlist, but raise numerous questions as to the exactness of both phonetic notation and semantic precision.

Nevertheless, as a language that is closely related to, but still distinct from !'Auni, this is a very important link whose inclusion in the overall lexicostatistics is quite useful.

NB: It should be kept in mind that, although most of the extinct !Kwi languages are still represented in the Ethnologue system, the current nomenclature is quite misleading in the case of !'Auni and |Haasi: both are listed in the system as "dialects" of !Xóõ [nmn], but !Xóõ actually belongs to a different branch of South Khoisan (Taa), and neither !'Auni nor |Haasi could ever be seriously considered as its "dialects". Hopefully, this error will be corrected in future editions.

2. Transcription.

Most of the transliterations concern old sources, collected in [Bleek 1956]; the major exception is data on N|uu, which has been transliterated from the orthographic conventions employed in [Miller et al. 2009] and other similar sources, with minor orthographic changes. These new sources also sometimes employ a more detailed phonetic transcription; in those cases when words in phonetic transcription are significantly different from words written in phonology-based orthography, their phonetic transcription is quoted in square brackets in the notes section. The following transliteration table may be useful for those who are unfamiliar with the tricky aspects of Khoisan phonology and phonetics:

Sound or sound type	Bleek/Lloyd transcription	Phonetic transcription for N uu	UTS representation
Clicks:			
Unaccompanied "simple" click	k, †k...	, †...	, †...
Voiced click	g, †g...	ḡ, †ḡ...	, †...
Nasalized click	n, †n...	ṽ, †ṽ...	ĩ, †ĩ...
Aspirated click	kh, †kh...	ʰ, †ʰ...	ʰ, †ʰ...
Glottalized click ¹	, †...	ᵛ , †ᵛ...	', †'...
"Delayed aspiration" click ²	h, †h...	ᵛ ʰ, †ᵛ ʰ...	ʰ, †ʰ...
Simple uvular release ³	<i>not distinguished from k, †k...</i>	q, †q...	q, †q...

Sound or sound type	Bleek/Lloyd transcription	Phonetic transcription for N uu	UTS representation
Aspirated uvular release	<i>not distinguished from</i> /kh, †kh...	q ^h , †q ^h ...	q ^h , †q ^h ...
Velar/uvular fricative release ⁴	x, †x...	χ, †χ...	x, †x...
Velar/uvular affricate release ⁵	k", †k"...	χ', †χ'...	x', †x'...
Non-clicks:			
Voiceless palatal stop or affricate ⁶	ky ~ ty	c	ϕ
Voiced palatal stop or affricate	gy ~ dy	ɟ	ʒ
Voiceless alveolar affricate	ts	ts	c
Velar or uvular fricative	x	χ	x
Vowels⁷:			
	e ~ ε	e ~ ε	e (~ ε)
	o ~ ɔ	o ~ ɔ	o (~ ɔ)
	a	ɑ ~ ə	a (~ ə)
Nasalized vowels	ã, ê, õ...	a ⁿ , e ⁿ , o ⁿ ...	ã, ê, õ...
Pharyngealized vowels	a ^ʔ , e ^ʔ , o ^ʔ ...	a ^ʕ , e ^ʕ , o ^ʕ ...	Ḃ, ɛ, ɔ...

Additional notes:

(1) Glottalized release is in some Khoisan dialects accompanied with voiceless nasalization. Since glottalization is always recognized as the primary feature of these phonemes, and there do not seem to be any contrasts between pre-nasalized glottalized / non-nasalized glottalized clicks, nasalization is omitted from UTS transliteration.

Special note: In [Bleek 1937], glottalized release in [ʼAuni words is sometimes marked in the usual way (i. e. the click symbol with no accompanying symbols), and sometimes with an explicit glottal stop (e.g. //a 'to go', but //ʼa 'to dig'). It is not entirely clear what is meant by this, since such a contrast is unprecedented as far as phonetically well-described Khoisan languages are concerned. It may be that the explicit transcription of the glottal stop signifies additional glottalic articulation on the vowel (i.e. //a is really //aʔa, etc.).

(2) This click is alternately described as combining ejective (glottalized) articulation

with ensuing aspiration (e. g. by C. Doke for †Khomani) or as a "voiceless nasal aspirated" click (e. g. by A. Miller et al. for N|uu). Despite variation in actual pronunciation, from a phonological standpoint this is always the same phoneme.

(3) "Uvular" clicks are now being reinterpreted as a special type of "linguo-pulmonic" consonants, whose main distinction from "simple" "lingual" clicks is a difference in airstream mechanism (see [Miller et al. 2009] for a detailed explanation), since in reality all clicks have posterior uvular, rather than velar, constrictures. Despite this, the uvular *q* is still retained as a special transcription marker for "linguo-pulmonic" sounds, and a correlation between this and similar click releases and simple uvular consonants is not out of the question.

(4) This release, in all of the old sources, is consistently marked and described as "velar fricative", but newer recordings and descriptions indicate that its phonetic quality is usually (perhaps even always) uvular. Despite this, we retain the old notation with *x* rather than *χ*, since uvular and velar fricatives are never known to contrast phonologically in Khoisan languages (at least, attested ones).

(5) This release correlates with the non-click phoneme that is usually described as a velar or uvular glottalic affricate. We retain one of the traditional notations for this affricate (*x'* is preferred over the widespread notation *kx* for technical reasons of automated analysis purposes), although for N|uu at least, and probably for most other Khoisan languages, this is not phonetically exact.

(6) In transliterating the old sources, we are sometimes forced to re-transcribe *ky* ~ *ki*, *ty* ~ *ti* as *kʸ*, *tʸ*, in order to preserve the "contrast" between these two types of palatal articulation, even though in reality they must have been in free variation with each other (reflecting slightly different variants of the same palatal stop).

(7) In transliterating vowels, we follow these conventions: such pairs as *e/ε*, *o/ɔ* are retained for old sources which do not specifically indicate that these pairs are allophonic (although they might be and probably are), but unified (as *e*, *o*) for new sources which explicitly treat the pairs as allophones and only make the distinction in phonetic transcription.

3. Reconstruction.

The task of reconstructing Proto-!Wi is exceedingly hard and "ungrateful". The only !Wi language to have persisted into the 21st century and to have been recorded according to more or less "modern" standards of accuracy is N|uu, and even then it is not yet clear to which extent the speakers were influenced by Khoe languages. All the other languages suffer from all possible sorts of problems: primarily, phonetic inaccuracy (e. g. only Lanham & Hallows' data on ||Xegwi recognizes the presence of uvular clicks and consonants in this language), but also semantic errors and data incompleteness (the latter particularly important in the case of |Haasi). Consequently, *all* historical-comparative research on !Wi has to be taken *cum grano salis*, at least until a complete and well-organized digital data collection has been made presentable.

Nevertheless, in many cases it is still possible to make relatively adequate choices, based on the following criteria: (a) visibly recurrent phonetic correspondences between the various languages (including those that may in fact represent notational errors, but are still recurrent enough to confirm the non-accidental nature of the comparisons); (b) distribution of phonetically corresponding or at least phonetically similar (identical) potential cognates between languages (including also scattered bits of information on other !Wi languages, data on which are too scarce to include them in our lexicostatistics, but quite useful for reconstruction purposes; these languages are ||Ku||e, ||Kxau, !Gã!ne, and Seroa). Additionally, it is permissible to rely on external information (most importantly, data from the only well-described language in the Taa group - !Xóõ) to confirm or disprove certain hypotheses concerning optimal candidates for the Swadesh proto-wordlist: since !Wi-Taa relationship is well confirmed by regular lexicostatistics between living languages, their data may be "exchanged" to corroborate judgements about proto-wordlists as well.

A detailed table of phonetic correspondences is not given here, since in many cases the regularity of these correspondences remains questionable, reflexation splits remain unclear, and in even more cases it is not even perfectly understood whether the "correspondences" reflect actual phonetic discrepancies or transcriptional inaccuracies. Instead, whenever the correspondences are "non-trivial" (especially if this involves

correspondences between different types of clicks or between clicks and non-clicks), detailed comments are given in the "Reconstruction shape" section of the notes (sometimes with references to other examples that support the correspondence).

It should be noted that, *contra* T. Güldemann's recent re-classification, we do not find the evidence in support of a "Taa + Lower Nǀossob" genetic grouping more overwhelming than evidence in support of a "|Xam-Nǀuu-ǁXegwi + Lower Nǀossob" grouping. In the lexicostatistical sphere, the isoglosses which tie together Taa and Lower Nǀossob languages may all be regarded as shared archaisms rather than innovations (this is also somewhat confirmed by external comparison with the distantly related Ju languages). In the currently employed classification, "!Wi" is divided into "Narrow !Wi" (all varieties of |Xam, Nǀuu, and the slightly more distant ǁXegwi, as well as several other extinct and poorly described languages in D. Bleek's dictionary, see above) and "Lower Nǀossob" (!'Auni + |Haasi).

Unfortunately, this binary split is very uneven in terms of available data, since the entire Lower Nǀossob branch is only represented by inaccurate, incomplete, and unverifiable (due to the languages' extinction) old sources. This almost inevitably skews the "Proto-!Wi" reconstruction in favor of "Narrow !Wi" (with a particularly strong bias in favor of the best preserved and described !Wi language - Modern Nǀuu), and makes the reconstructed protowordlist largely unfit to help us in establishing the lexical replacement rates for various !Wi languages. It should, therefore, be regarded of more importance for the purposes of external comparison (with Proto-Taa) than for comparison with its alleged modern descendants.

Database compiled and annotated by: G. Starostin (latest version: August 2015). The compiler also expresses sincere gratitude to B. Sands for providing unpublished data on Nǀuu.

1. ALL

|Xam *ku*: (1), ||Ng!ke *kwa*: (1), †Khomani *huni-ǂe* (2), N|uu *huni-ki* (2), ||Xegwi *ǂi ~ ǂĩ* # (3),
|Auni *bà* # (4), Proto-!Wi **ku* # (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 103; Bleek 1929: 15. Emphatic form: *ku-gən*. Also transcribed as *ku*: by W. Bleek.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1929: 15. Not found in [Bleek 1956] (possibly through accidental omission, since an unattributed form *kwa* 'all' is found in the English index).

†Khomani: Maingard 1937: 240. The suffix *-ǂe* is a frequent component of nominal and adjectival stems, although its function is not entirely clear.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006.

||Xegwi: Lanham & Hallows 1956: 102, 110. Although the existence of a separate lexeme *ǂi* is mentioned, the quoted examples only include such pronominal forms as *i-ǂi* "we all", *u-ǂi ~ u-ǂĩ* "you all" (*i* = "we", *u* = "you (pl.)"). The entry is, therefore, somewhat dubious. Not attested in [Ziervogel 1955] or any of D. Bleek's publications.

|Auni: Bleek 1937: 201. Suspiciously glossed as 'they, all' in [Bleek 1956: 13], but with at least one fitting textual example: *tuku bà su !^hǂati* "men shall all return". The only possible competition is represented by *||ani*, one of the meanings of which is also glossed as 'all': cf. *ku totos ||ani* "all the people" [Bleek 1956: 557]. However, both the external evidence and one of the other contexts (*||ani e ǂe: i ki ||ǂ* "much it is raining in the night") show that the main semantics of this quasi-synonym is a designation of simply large quantities ('much, many') rather than exhaustive quantities. We tentatively fill the spot in with the most uncontroversial variant, even if it has no obvious cognates in the rest of South Khoisan and, with its initial labial, suspiciously looks like a word of non-native origin.

|Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in |Xam and the N|uu cluster. The same morpheme was also in obvious use in the same meaning in Seroa, as the enclitic *-ku* 'all' [Wuras 1920: 84]. Replacements: There are no reliable etymologies for N|uu *huni-ki*, ||Xegwi *ǂi* or |Auni *bà*. Precedence of **ku* is hypothetically suggested only on the basis of the morpheme's relatively wide distribution; external considerations (a similar morpheme means 'all' in the Taa branch of South Khoisan); and the overall dubious nature of *bà* in |Auni. Phonetic shape: The root is known as *ku* (in |Xam and Seroa) and *ku-a* (in a somewhat dubious attestation in ||Ng!ke); the latter could simply represent a suffixal extension.

2. ASHES

|Xam *!ù: i ~ !ú: i* (1), †Khomani *!wí* (1), N|uu *!qui* (1), |Auni *!^hana* (2), Proto-!Wi **!qui* # (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 449. Quoted as *!w: i* in [Bleek 1929: 17]. Emphatic form: *!ù: i-tən ~ !u=!ú: i-tən* (with partial reduplication). Transcribed as *!ù: i* by W. Bleek, but semantically glossed as 'meal, flour' [Bleek 1956: 449]. On the synchronic level the word is undistinguishable from the verb *!w: i* 'to burn (intr.); to smart, pain' [ibid.] and may be deemed a result of conversion; however, in the light of (a) typological unusualness of the situation (the meaning 'ashes' is more likely to develop from the *transitive* verb), (b) the additional meaning 'meal, flour' in W. Bleek's notation, (c) external parallels, all of which only confirm the nominal meaning ashes, it is quite probable that we are dealing here with graphic confusion of two phonetically similar, but etymologically different roots.

||Ng!ke: Not attested.

†Khomani: Doke 1936: 69. Not attested in Maingard's data.

N|uu: Miller et al. 2009: 145.

||Xegwi: Not attested.

|Auni: Bleek 1937: 213; Bleek 1956: 395.

|Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Found only in the |Xam-N|uu cluster. The rest of the data are either non-existent or not very reliable. Replacements: The only other attested !Wi form for 'ashes' is |'Auni ^hana, whose closest relative, if it is a relative, may be the form //q'âna 'dirt, rubbish' in !Xóǝ; this would imply a semantic development {'dirt' > 'ashes'}. However, nothing about this form or its external connections is really reliable. Phonetic shape: The modern N|uu form with the uvular click efflux is automatically projected onto the proto-level, since none of the old sources recognize the presence of uvular clicks in !Wi languages.

3. BARK

||Ng!ke !o: (1), †Khomani //x'ũŋ (-1), N|uu //x'ũ:-si (-1), |'Auni //ō: (2).

References and notes:

|Xam: Not attested.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 383; Bleek 1929: 19. Somewhat dubious, since the word is not backed by any textual examples.

†Khomani: Doke 1936: 77. Not attested in Maingard's data. The word has no parallels in the rest of !Kwi and is most likely a relatively recent borrowing from Central Khoisan (the root *//x'ũ 'bark' is safely reconstructible there).

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. See notes on †Khomani.

||Xegwi: Not attested.

!'Auni: Bleek 1937: 216; Bleek 1956: 582. Quoted as //ō in [Bleek 1929: 19].

|Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Not reconstructible due to lack of proper attestation. The only dialect cluster where the word 'bark' was consistently recorded is N|uu-†Khomani, and it seems to be just a recent borrowing from Central Khoisan. Regardless of whether |'Auni //ō: is also a (poorly transcribed?) borrowing or a native word, it is not sufficient to come up with a proper reconstruction.

4. BELLY

|Xam !áú-tu (1), ||Ng!ke //x'ã: # (2), N|uu //x'ã # (2), |'Auni //ai (3).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 416. Quoted as !autu: in [Bleek 1929: 21]. Attested only in W. Bleek's notes (absent from L. Lloyd's materials); meaning glossed as 'belly, stomach'. The word is morphologically complex; the suffix -tu frequently appears in body part terms as well as other nouns.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 602. Highly dubious, since the meaning is glossed as 'stomach, inside'. However, the only confirming textual example is ŋ //x'ã: cí "my stomach aches", with a non-diagnostic context, and modern data from the closely related N|uu dialects does show the polysemy 'belly / stomach' for this word. No other candidates are attested for ||Ng!ke.

†Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. Dubious (acc. to B. Sands, the meaning should rather be 'stomach', whereas 'belly' is rather *kunĩ*, but this information probably needs additional confirmation; cf. a similarly questionable situation for Bleek's ||Ng!ke).

||Xegwi: Not attested; cf., however, !^huga, pl. !^huga-le 'stomach' [Ziervogel 1955: 43]. This is quite possibly the same word as *lubwa* 'stomach', quoted in [Bleek 1956: 323]; the discrepancy in the intervocalic consonant is disturbing, but in either case, the structure of the word is not typical for ||Xegwi or the South Khoisan family as a whole, indicating that this may be a loan from some unidentified source.

!'Auni: Bleek 1937: 214; Bleek 1956: 515.

|Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Not reconstructible: each dialect cluster, in which the word 'belly' is attested, displays a different root. It is interesting that at least several languages seem to lexically distinguish between 'belly' and 'stomach', e. g. |Xam has !áú-tu 'for belly' and !o'a [Bleek 1956: 317] for 'stomach' (at least, such a distinction is a valid hypothesis based on inspection of textual examples). The word

for 'stomach' is actually better reconstructible for Proto-!Wi than 'belly' (since |Xam /o^ha is the etymological equivalent of ||Xegwi /^huga:).

5. BIG

|Xam /*lui-ya* (1), ||Ng!ke /*o:* # (2), N|uu /*xo:* (3), ||Xegwi /*xeya* ~ /*x'eya* (4), |'Auni /*ús* ~ /*ú:si* ~ /*ú:ši* (5), |Haasi /*ô-si* (5) / /*xwa:* (3), Proto-!Wi */*xo* # (3) / */*u-si* ~ */*o-si* # (5).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 450. Quoted as /*lui-ya*, pl. /*lui:lui-ta* in [Bleek 1929: 22]. Transcribed by W. Bleek as /*úú:ya* and glossed as 'big, stout' in [Bleek 1956: 450]. The forms are morphologically complex and easily derivable from the verbal stem /*lui* 'to grow' [Bleek 1956: 449]. Secondary synonym: /*lérrí* ~ /*lérrí-tán*, pl. /*lett=!étten* [Bleek 1956: 422] 'old / big / grown-up / great'. Attested contexts are insufficient to determine the exact semantic difference between the two words, but only the first one is given as the translation equivalent of English 'big' in [Bleek 1929], and most contexts for /*lérrí* seem to confirm the semantics of 'grown-up / old' better than simply 'big' (in size).

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1929: 22. For some reason, the word is not attested at all in [Bleek 1956], making the corresponding entry in the early source [Bleek 1929] somewhat dubious.

‡Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006.

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 41, 55. Meaning glossed as 'large' or 'big'. Quoted as /*x'e:* ~ /*x'e-xo* 'be big' in [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 105]. In [Bleek 1929: 22] the meaning 'big' is rendered as /*a:* and "confirmed" by the textual example in [Bleek 1956: 267]: /*ha kwe la /a:* "that man is big". However, this is most likely an incorrect glossing; data from other sources clearly show that /*a:* really means 'long / tall' q.v.

|'Auni: Bleek 1937: 208; Bleek 1956: 249. This is the most statistically frequent word for which the meaning 'big' may be suggested unambiguously, cf.: /*oša te úši* "the jackal is big", /*e ki e, se /!an ús* "that person's hut is big" [Bleek 1956: 249]. Two other words are also glossed as meaning 'big': (a) /*áši* 'big, long, tall' [Bleek 1937: 208], which, as in the case with ||Xegwi, refers only to 'big' as 'tall, elongated' (cf. /*le tari /áši* "that person is big" = "that person is tall"), see 'long'; (b) /*kéi* 'big' [Bleek 1937: 203], which is phonetically similar to /*kái* 'to grow, to swell' [ibid.] and could mean 'grown (up)', cf. the example: /*a kéi, a ki úki /!an /é* "the girl is big, sits on the hut floor" [Bleek 1956: 86]. It also looks suspiciously similar to Proto-Central Khoisan */*kái* 'big' and could be a borrowing from that family.

|Haasi: Story 1999: 21. Story 1999: 21. Semantic difference between the two words is unclear. Judging by textual examples, both may be used in free variation, cf.: /*ásá k'a ô-si* "the child is big", /*matabab k'a /xwa:* "Matabab is big" [Story 1999: 24, 25]. It is not excluded that /*xwa:* is a N|uu word used alongside the authentic |Haasi equivalent, but there is no way of certifying that.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Only attested in the basic meaning 'big' in N|uu, but preserved in |Xam as /*xo:* 'upright, tall' [Bleek 1956: 500]. Possibly preserved in |Haasi as well, but could also be interpreted as a re-borrowing from ‡Khomani into that language.

Replacements: (a) |Xam /*lui-ya*, morphologically derived from /*lui* 'to grow' ('grow' > 'big'); (b) ||Xegwi /*xeya*, of unknown origin; (c) Lower N‡ossob */*u-si* ~ */*o-si*, also of unknown origin. It is theoretically possible that *this* is the main !Wi root for 'big', but lack of parallels in the much better described |Xam and N|uu make this dubious. Phonetic shape: Correspondences between N|uu and |Xam are fairly straightforward. The Lower N‡ossob equivalent, also potentially of Proto-!Wi origin; see notes on */*xo*.

6. BIRD

|Xam /*x'ánni* (1), ||Ng!ke /*wí* ~ /*wi:* (2), ‡Khomani /*wi-si* (2), N|uu /*q^hui-si* (2), ||Xegwi /*^hwi* (2), |'Auni /*si=|u* (2), |Haasi /*si=|ǝ:* (2), Proto-!Wi */*q^hu-* (2).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 119. Plural form: *x'ex'enn* ~ *x'ax'ann*. Transcribed as *x'arri* ~ *x'ā r̄ i*, pl. *x'ε:x'enn* ~ *x'ennx'enn* by W. Bleek; quoted as *x'ā i*, pl. *x'ex'en* in [Bleek 1929: 22]. All of these forms are always glossed in the meaning 'little bird'. For 'large bird', the correct word seems to be *||εrritān-ti*, pl. *||εrritān-de* ([Bleek 1956: 530]; [Bleek 1929: 22]), transparently derived from the word *||εrri(ya)* 'feather' [ibid.]. It is not quite clear which one is more frequent statistically, but *x'ānni* is quoted in several contexts where the semantics 'bird' is clearly more important than 'small', indicating that this is probably the more "generic" word of the two in |Xam.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 334. Quoted as *!wī:* in [Bleek 1929: 22]. Plural form: *!wī-ŋ* ~ *!wī-nyən*. Judging by textual examples, the word can also be used in the meaning 'vulture': *!wīŋ e: mūri* "vultures eat goats" [Bleek 1956: 334].

‡Khomani: Maingard 1937: 240. Plural form: *!wī-ke* ~ *!wī-qe*. Cf. *!ʒ̥ō-sī* 'small bird' [Doke 1936: 73] (probably the same lexeme, although the click efflux does not match with Maingard's variant).

N|uu: Sands et al 2006. Phonetically transcribed as *[qʰəi-si]* in Miller et al. 2009: 152. Polysemy: 'bird / vulture', although in the latter meaning the word seems to be attested without the singulative suffix *-si*, i. e. as *[qʰui]* [Miller et al. 2009: 155].

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 62. In [Lanham & Hallowes 1956: 105], a compound form is listed instead: *!wī-θari* 'bird', actually = 'bird' + 'small' q.v. ('chick?').

!Auni: Bleek 1937: 205; Bleek 1929: 22; Bleek 1956: 170. The prefixal element *si=* is attested in several other !Auni words as well (e. g. *si=!ā* 'kaross'), but its meaning remains unclear. It must, however, be a separate morpheme due to the general laws of the word structure in !Auni. Cf. also *!o:* 'bird' ([Bleek 1937: 209]; [Bleek 1956: 280]), which could be, despite the difference in click efflux articulation, a prefix-less variant of the same root.

|Haasi: Story 1999: 21. The prefixal element *si=* here is the same as in !Auni.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved everywhere except in |Xam. Replacements: In |Xam, replaced by *x'ānni*, clearly related to Central Khoisan **x'ani* 'vulture; (> bird)'; the quiriness of the situation is in that the original !Wi word for 'bird' was retained in |Xam, but in the meaning 'vulture': *!wī:* ~ *!w̄:* (W. Bleek) [Bleek 1956: 334]. Perhaps the original meaning was narrowed down {'bird' > 'vulture'}, while the new word was borrowed from Khoekhoe, although neither the source nor the very fact of borrowing can be ascertained.

Phonetic shape: The click efflux is reconstructed based on the attested reflexation in N|uu (none of the earlier sources consistently mark uvular effluxes), but is not very certain. "Narrow !Wi" consistently reflects the bivocalic stem **[qʰui]*, but comparison with the Lower Nǀossob languages shows that *-i* is most likely a fossilized class marker.

7. BITE

|Xam *c̣'i:* ~ *c'i:* (1), ||Ng!ke *ci* ~ *c'i* (1), ‡Khomani *c̣'i:* (1), N|uu *c̣'i:* (1), ||Xegwi *ci* (1), |Haasi *c̣'i:* (1), Proto-!Wi **c̣'i* (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 215-216; Bleek 1929: 22. Transcribed as *ci:* ~ *c'i* ~ *c̣'i:* by W. Bleek.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 215-216. Quoted as *c̣'i:* in [Bleek 1929: 22]; *ci:* in [Bleek 2000: 22].

‡Khomani: Maingard 1937: 257. Transcribed as *c̣'i:* in [Doke 1936: 63].

N|uu: Miller et al. 2009: 157.

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 53. Present tense stem: *ci-ye*. Quoted as *c̣'i:* in [Lanham & Hallowes 1956: 101].

!Auni: Not attested.

|Haasi: Story 1999: 21.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all languages. Reconstruction shape: Glottalized articulation of the affricate is well supported by data from all primary branches.

8. BLACK

|Xam *!we:n* ~ *!wèŋ* (1), ||Ng!ke *!we* ~ *!oe* (1), N|uu *!ʰoe* (1), ||Xegwi *čwa* ~ *nčwa* (1), |Haasi *||e* (2), Proto-!Wi **!oe* ~ **!ʰoe* # (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 464. Attested only in L. Lloyd's materials and therefore absent in [Bleek 1929]. A very close synonym exists in *ʰoá-ka* ~ *ʰóá-ka* ~ *ʰóá-kən* ([Bleek 1956: 289]; [Bleek 1929: 22]); however, in [Bleek 1956] the word is glossed as 'dark; black; used for any dark colours', and analysed as derived from the noun *ʰó:* 'darkness' [Bleek 1956: 288]. The latter comparison is not certain (vocalic structure of the two words is quite different), but for *ʰóá-ka* several examples with the meaning 'dark blue', etc., are actually quoted, and, with the addition of external parallels that seem to confirm the archaic nature of *ʰwe:n* in the meaning 'black', the latter is currently the more eligible term for this position of the two.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 439, 463. Quoted as *ʰwe:* in [Bleek 1929: 22]. The latter source adds a secondary synonym: *ʰɔ:*, confirmed in the same orthography in [Bleek 1956: 280]. However, textual examples are provided only for *ʰwe* (even if they are not entirely diagnostic, cf.: *ʰx'ase ku loe* "a snake which is black" [Bleek 1956: 439]); *ʰwe* is also much better confirmed by external data.

‡Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006.

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 39, 40, 58. The *n*-prothetic form is, most likely, a samdhi variant. Quoted as *čwa:* ~ *čwā:* 'be black' in [Lanham & Hallowes 1956: 108] (the authors note that, as a noun, the word means 'pot', but this is probably just a case of homonymy).

'Auni: Not attested.

|Haasi: Story 1999: 21.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved (at least) in the |Xam-N|uu branch and, quite possibly, in ||Xegwi. **Replacements:** |Haasi *ʰe* has no etymology and is unlikely to correspond to |Xam-N|uu **!oe* (the clicks are incompatible). The word could theoretically reflect something archaic (distribution-wise, this is possible), but, being attested only in a single, not very reliable source, and being completely devoid of internal and external parallels (for now), should not be eligible for proto-status as a primary candidate. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences between |Xam and N|uu are straightforward, with the exception of unpredictable aspiration in the latter (this could be a transcriptional error in one or more of the sources). Final nasal in |Xam is most likely suffixal. A particular problem concerns the form found in ||Xegwi. If we analyze it as a separate root, then ||Xegwi *čwa* ~ *nčwa* finds no suitable parallels in any other !Wi languages and, especially in the light of the variant with the initial nasal, could look suspiciously like a potential borrowing from one of the click-dropping Kalahari Khoe languages (cf., for instance, |Xaise *nɔú* 'black'); in fact, the click-dropping could have taken place within ||Xegwi itself, since this language regularly dispenses with the palatal click along the same lines as East Kalahari Khoe languages (see 'wind', etc.). However, mass borrowings into ||Xegwi basic lexicon from Khoe are not a norm, and this scenario is no more likely than, with certain reservations, an attempt to regard ||Xegwi *čwa* as a potentially regular development from Proto-!Wi **!oe* (> **koe* > *čoe* > *čwa*). At least one similar, if not completely identical, example exists that could also reflect the same palatalization of a former alveolar click or velar stop (see 'stone'), and we also have evidence for palatalization before **e* in ||Xegwi in the case of the palatal click (cf. the reflexion of **ɬ* in such items as 'rain', 'short', 'wind'). For this reason, we tentatively select the etymological decision that the ||Xegwi equivalent for 'black' continues the old !Kwi stem.

9. BLOOD

|Xam *||xáú-ka* ~ *||xáú-kən* ~ *||xau-ki* (1), ||Ng!ke *||xau* (1), N|uu *||xau-ke* (1), ||Xegwi *ʰéũ* (1), 'Auni *||xauu* (1), |Haasi *||xau* (1), Proto-!Wi **||xau* (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 634. Emphatic form: *||xau-ka-kən*. Transcribed by W. Bleek as *||xáú-kən* ~ *||xáú-ki*, emph. *||xau-ka-kən*; quoted as *||xaukn* in [Bleek 1929: 22]. The form is morphologically complex, but only suffixal forms are attested. Possible secondary synonym: *!au:*, emph. *!au:-kən* ~ *!au:-gən* [Bleek 1956: 378]; attested only in L. Lloyd's records and not confirmed in any way by external data.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 634; Bleek 1929: 22.

‡Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006.

||Xegwi: Lanham & Hallowses 1956: 98. Not attested in [Ziervogel 1955].

'Auni: Bleek 1937: 218. Quoted as *||xau?u* in [Bleek 1956: 634].

||Haasi: Story 1999: 21.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all languages. **Reconstruction shape:** The most difficult question here is whether ||Xegwi *||x̥ɛ̃ũ* (a form attested only in the sparse data of Lanham and Hallowses) can go back to **||xau(-N)*, since normally the lateral affricate in ||Xegwi develops out of a palatal click in Proto-!Wi (see 'dog', 'moon', etc.). Very tentatively we accept this as part of the same etymology, due to the possibility of transcriptional error or a unique development of the lateral influx before a velar fricative efflux (no other examples in the corpus). Apart from ||Xegwi, most of the other forms correspond to each other on a trivial level. **Semantics and structure:** The stem is either used on its own or with a nominal extension (-*ke* ~ -*ken*), typical of many other basic nominal items as well.

10. BONE

|Xam *!wá* (1), ||Ng!ke *||abba* (2), N|uu *||aba* (2), ||Xegwi *!a* (1), Proto-!Wi **!a* (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 457. Plural form: *!wa-gən* ~ *!wá-ka-kən* ~ *!wá-kn*. Quoted as *!wa*, pl. *!a:gn* in [Bleek 1929: 23] (the plural form is probably a misprint for **!wa:gn*). The word is very similar in form to 'leg, root' [Bleek 1956: 457], but subtle differences such as a short vowel in 'bone' (*!wá*) vs. long vowel in 'leg' (*!wá:*), or the fact that only 'leg' forms its plural stem with the aid of reduplication (*!wá=!wá-gən*) indicate that these words are not even complete homonyms. Cf. also *!á* 'bone of arm or foreleg' [Bleek 1956: 401], similar in form but probably a different root nonetheless.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 548. Polysemy: 'bone / bone knife'. Quoted as *||aba*, pl. *||a||a* in [Bleek 1929: 23]; *||aba*, pl. *||a||a* ~ *||ε||* in [Bleek 2000: 19]. Comparison of sg. and pl. forms shows that **!a* is likely to have been the original root, although this particular word-formation model is very unusual.

‡Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. Polysemy: 'bone / shinbone'. For the plural, at least in compound forms the stem *||ai-ke* is used (cf. *‡q^ha: ||aike* 'chest bones').

||Xegwi: Lanham & Hallowses 1956: 98. Not attested in [Ziervogel 1955]. Quoted as *!a* in [Bleek 1929: 23] and [Bleek 1956: 401].

'Auni: Not attested.

||Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in |Xam and ||Xegwi; replaced in the entire N|uu cluster; not attested in Lower N‡ossob languages. **Replacements:** Common N|uu **||aba* 'bone' regularly corresponds to |Xam *||abba* 'a piece of eland's bone that forms part of the completed arrow' [Bleek 1956: 548]; this allows to suppose a broadening of the original meaning: {'piece of animal bone' > 'bone (gen.)'}. The opposite development is not excluded, but contradicts the general distribution of **!a*. **Reconstruction shape:** The correspondence of |Xam *!-* to ||Xegwi *!-* is very rare, but all instances of ||Xegwi *!-* go back to a special phoneme that we tentatively mark as **!₁-*, which is also reflected in |Xam as *!-*, so essentially the correspondence seems to be regular (see 'one' for another example). Labialization in |Xam, as in many other similar cases, seems to be secondary (see 'foot', 'liver', etc.), although its causes and conditions have not yet been established.

11. BREAST

|Xam *||wain-tu* (1), ||Ng!ke *||woeŋ* ~ *||woin-tu* (1), N|uu *||ũĩ-ɕu* (1), ||Xegwi *ša-gu* (2), 'Auni *‡an* (3), Proto-!Wi **||oiŋ* # (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 623. Quoted as *||œin-tu* in [Bleek 1929: 28]. Transcribed by W. Bleek as *||wain-ttu* ~ *||wœin-ttu* [Bleek 1956: 623]. The

element *-tu* is a standard suffix for body parts. A possible synonym is *||a:xxu* [Bleek 1929: 28], *||axu* [Bleek 1956: 564], but the word is only found in W. Bleek's early (less certain) records; examples of contexts given in [Bleek 1956] yield both the meaning 'chest' and 'women's breasts'. This may, in fact, be simply one specific usage of the word *||axu* ~ *||āxu* 'side' [ibid.]. The principal word for 'chest' is quite distinct from the main word for 'female breast' (also 'milk'): *!ʰwai* ~ *!ʰwei-tən* [Bleek 1956: 431].

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 624. Quoted as *||we:ntu* in [Bleek 1929: 28]. Possible secondary synonym: *||a:tu* [Bleek 1929: 28], reproduced in [Bleek 1956: 560] as *||atyu* ~ *||ātu*, pl. *||ate-ŋən*, with no textual examples (for some reason, the word is marked there as "SI", i. e. |Xam rather than ||Ng!ke, but this is almost certainly a mistake, since the form is credited to D.B., i. e. Dorothea Bleek, whose research was on ||Ng!ke rather than |Xam).

‡Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. Distinct from *||ʰāi* 'female breast'. Secondary synonym: *‡qʰa:* (possibly 'sternum' or 'breastbone' rather than 'chest').

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 43. Quoted in the phrase *ha:-n-šagu* 'it is my chest' in [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 98]. Distinct from *ǃʰa-zi* 'female breast' [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 102]. The same word is quoted as *ka:-zi* in [Bleek 1929: 28] and [Bleek 1956: 84] (with the palatal consonant is transcribed as a velar), but the meaning is erroneously glossed as 'chest' (male).

!ʼAuni: Bleek 1937: 219. Quoted as *‡an* in [Bleek 1929: 28] and [Bleek 1956: 666]. Distinct from *||ēi-si* 'female breast' [Bleek 1937: 216].

|Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in the entire |Xam-N|uu cluster, probably replaced elsewhere. Additionally, cf. ||Ku|e *||bintu* 'breast' [Bleek 1956: 532]. Replacements: (a) ||Xegwi *ša-gu* regularly corresponds to N|uu *‡qʰa:* 'sternum / breastbone' (see notes on N|uu; the correspondence is exactly the same as in the word for 'wind' q.v.); it is likely that we deal here with a broadening of the original meaning ('breastbone' > '(male) chest'), provided, of course, that the ||Xegwi item is accurately glossed as far as semantics is concerned; (b) !ʼAuni *‡an* 'chest' has no etymology; because of this, it is a serious contender for Proto-!Wi 'breast', but is not technically reconstructible to the same level of chronological depth as **||oiŋ*. Reconstruction shape: Reconstruction of the click efflux is approximate (nasalization, marked in early transcriptions by W. and D. Bleek, could technically reflect the influence of nasalized vowels), as is the reconstruction of the stem diphthong. It is quite probable that the stem incorporates the same nominal suffix *-iŋ* as in other items on the Swadesh list (e. g. 'dog' q.v.), in which case one could think of a morphological segmentation into **||o + *-iŋ*, with subsequent assimilative processes (**-oi-* > *-oe-* or **-oi-* > *-ui-*) depending on the dialect. Semantics and structure: All of the discussed items are strictly limited to the semantics of 'male chest'; the meaning 'female chest' in !Kwi is usually expressed by the same stem as 'milk' and represented by other lexical roots.

12. BURN TR.

|Xam *||a* ~ *||a:* ~ *||à* ~ *||e:* (1), ||Ng!ke *||a* ~ *||e* ~ *||e:* (1), N|uu *!xao* (2), !ʼAuni *!á* (3), |Haasi *||ɔ:* (1), Proto-!Wi **||a* # (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 544, 566. Quoted as *||e* ~ *||a* in [Bleek 1929: 25]. Transcribed as *||a* ~ *||a:* ~ *||e:* by W. Bleek. The vocalic variation is probably due to contraction with different class markers, although this is hard to verify based on available descriptions and examples. It is important to stress that, even though [Bleek 1929] quotes this stem under 'burn (intr.)', most textual examples in [Bleek 1956] explicitly confirm its transitive usage; conversely, 'burn (tr.)', for which she gives the equivalent *!ui:*, is the intransitive stem 'to burn / smart / pain' [Bleek 1956: 449], so there must have been some confusion.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 545, 566. Quoted as *||a* in [Bleek 1929: 25] and [Bleek 2000: 21]. Vocalic gradation is a typical feature of short monosyllabic verbal stems in ||Ng!ke. As in the case of |Xam, [Bleek 1929: 25] glosses *||a* as intransitive, but textual examples clearly confirm its transitive use: cf. *||dī [e sa, ha ||a ŋ]* "the sun comes, it burns me" [Bleek 1956: 545], etc. In the meaning 'to burn (transitive)', [Bleek 1929: 25] yields the equivalent *kukuru*, which, in this particular form, is not confirmed in [Bleek 1956]; the closest parallel is *kurúke* 'burn' [Bleek 1956: 107], which is only attested as intransitive (!): *!i kurúke* "the fire burns" [ibid.].

‡Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. The stem is used both as a transitive and intransitive verb.

||Xegwi: Not attested. In [Bleek 1929: 25], only *kʰa* 'to burn (intr.)' is quoted, but the word is not even confirmed in [Bleek 1956].

!Auni: Bleek 1937: 209; Bleek 1956: 294. Meaning glossed as 'to burn, light a fire, roast'. The accompanying example is /á n /i 'light the fire' (typologically, "light the fire" frequently = "burn the fire" in this region, so this may indeed have been the default verb for 'burn' in !Auni).

!Haasi: Story 1999: 21.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in !Xam, !Ng!ke, possibly also !Haasi. Additionally, cf. !Kulle //a: 'to burn' [Bleek 1956: 545]. **Replacements:** (a) N|uu !xao 'to burn' is comparable with !Xam !xãũa 'to cook' [Bleek 1956: 498], but it is not possible to determine the original semantics based on this contrast, although distribution of the various terms for 'burn' shows that N|uu !xao is clearly a semantic innovation; (b) !Auni /á is an isolated entry with no parallels in sight. The root *//a is found in [Bleek 1956: 545] for both !Xegwi and !Auni, but only in the meaning 'to cook', which presupposes an areal semantic isogloss: {'to burn' > 'to cook'}. **Reconstruction shape:** We select *//a as the basic (original) variant of the root; *//e seems to be the result of contraction with a suffixal marker. The issue of why the !Haasi equivalent was recorded with a labialized vowel is even more obscure; however, we do not find this a sufficient reason to exclude the word from the etymology, since it does not have a better one, and complicated, poorly understood vowel gradation in verbal roots is a commonality in all !Wi languages.

13. CLAW(NAIL)

!Xam //úru ~ //urru (1), !Ng!ke //uri-si (1), †Khomani //oro ~ //oro-si (1), N|uu //qoro-si (1), !Xegwi !'elo-loŋ (2), !Auni //ora-sa (1), !Haasi k'a=ǀü (3), Proto-!Wi *//qor- (1).

References and notes:

!Xam: Bleek 1956: 593. Plural form: //u-//úttən (with reduplication and suffixation). Quoted as //uru, pl. //u//utən in [Bleek 1929: 60]. Transcribed as //uru, pl. //u//úddi ~ //u//úti by W. Bleek. Plural forms show that -ru in the sg. forms should be judged a detachable class suffix (at least, synchronically).

!Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 593. Plural form: //uro-ke. Quoted as //uri, pl. //uro-ke in [Bleek 1929: 60].

†Khomani: Maingard 1937: 240, 257. Plural form: //oro-ke.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006.

!Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 43. Plural form: !'elo-le. Cf. also //ɔla 'fingernail' in [Bleek 1929: 60] and [Bleek 1956: 586]. The forms in [Ziervogel 1955] and D. Bleek's records are compatible only if we assume that at least one of them has been significantly mistranscribed.

!Auni: Bleek 1937: 216; Bleek 1956: 587. Quoted as //ora in [Bleek 1929: 60].

!Haasi: Story 1999: 22. The form is probably plural (k'a= is a productive plural prefix). Cf. ǀü 'finger' [Story 1999: 21]; despite the difference in click effluxes, this might be the same root.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all branches of the group, but possibly replaced in !Xegwi and !Haasi. **Replacements:** (a) !Xegwi !'elo-loŋ is a dubious entry in Ziervogel's materials: it contains a rare case of the alveolar click (attested either as a reflexion of the rare phoneme *ǀr- or in borrowings) and contradicts the materials of D. Bleek, which clearly show that the old word for 'fingernail' was being preserved in at least some dialects of !Xegwi. Consequently, this may be a pseudo-replacement, particularly if the word was mistranscribed or its semantics was inaccurately glossed; (b) !Haasi k'a=ǀü is formally a plural from ǀü 'finger'; it is not understood whether R. Story simply misglossed the semantics of the 'word' or whether the meanings 'finger' and 'fingernail' were genuinely merged in !Haasi. In the former case, this is yet another pseudo-replacement. **Reconstruction shape:** The uvular efflux is tentatively set up for this word based on the accurately transcribed form in N|uu (earlier sources do not recognize the existence of uvular effluxes in most !Wi languages). The stem is always bisyllabic, but the second vowel is hard to reconstruct: reflexes of *//qoru, *//qoro, *//qori, and *//qora are all attested, with the variation reflecting either old morphological gradation (e. g. different suffixes for sg. and pl. numbers) or the results of vocalic assimilation (both with the first syllable vowel and the vocalism of additional suffixes, e. g. *//qoro-sa > //ora-sa in !Auni, etc.).

14. CLOUD

[Xam *!wa^f-gə̀n* (1), [Ng!ke *tiɔ-ke* (2), N|uu *ʒo:-si* (2), [Xegwi *!xe:ŋ* # (3), !Auni *!^hum-sa* (4), [Haasi *!al=!xwai* # (5).

References and notes:

[Xam]: Bleek 1956: 329. Emphatic form: *!wa^f-ka-kən*. Transcribed as *!wa:-gə̀n* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *!wa-tɪ ~ !wa:-gn* in [Bleek 1929: 29]; the first variant here is, however, most likely a misunderstanding - in [Bleek 1956: 331] the same lexeme is glossed as 'star, cloud', even though all the textual examples quoted from W. Bleek's and L. Lloyd's records exclusively convey the meaning 'star', never 'cloud'. Even if both words are formed from the same root (typologically, very dubious), they are clearly distinguished through different suffixes (velar *-kən* for 'cloud', dental *-tən* for 'star' q.v.). As a possible secondary synonym, cf. also *!uru* 'white clouds' [Bleek 1956: 389] (apparently a more rarely encountered word than *!wa^f-gə̀n*, but analysis of contexts does not exclude the possibility that the latter is really 'raincloud' and the former is 'white cloud'; were this to be confirmed, we would have to swap the forms around).

[Ng!ke]: Bleek 1956: 203; Bleek 1929: 29. In the former source, the form is defined as plural ('clouds': *!a^f kãũ tiɔ:ke* "rain falls from the clouds"), which makes sense, since *-ke* is one of the productive plural markers in [Ng!ke. Secondary synonym: *!um* (Bleek 1956: 388); [Bleek 1929: 29]), with no textual examples.

!Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006.

[Xegwi]: Bleek 1929: 29. Not attested in [Ziervogel 1955] or Lanham & Hallows' papers. The existence of the word is confirmed in the English indexes in [Bleek 1956: 705], but the main section of the dictionary only lists *!xe:ŋ* 'woman' [Bleek 1956: 635] - probably a typographic error ("merger" of two entirely different words). Still, a somewhat dubious entry.

!Auni: Bleek 1937: 209; Bleek 1956: 290. Meaning glossed as 'cloud' (sg.) in the former source and as 'clouds' (pl.) in the latter; according to D. Bleek's observation, the suffix *-sa* generally marks singulative forms (opposed to *-si* in the plural). The word is not found at all in [Bleek 1929: 29], which yields a different equivalent, *!kani*, not confirmed in later sources.

[Haasi]: Story 1999: 21. Meaning glossed as 'clouds' (pl.). There are not enough data to decipher this compound properly.

Proto-!Wi: Not reconstructible. Each language has its own equivalent for this Swadesh meaning, and the accuracy of semantic notation may be placed under doubt in most cases. Considering that the meaning 'cloud' is generally very unstable in the Khoisan area, we prefer to abstain from any attempts at Proto-!Wi reconstruction here.

15. COLD

[Xam *x'ao^f ~ x'áo* (1), [Ng!ke *!^hu:* (2), !Khomani *!^hu* (2), N|uu *!^hũ:* (2), [Xegwi *!ke?e* (3), !Auni *!^ora* (4).

References and notes:

[Xam]: Bleek 1956: 119. Emphatic form: *x'ao^f-wa*. Quoted as *x'áo^f* in [Bleek 1929: 29]. Transcribed as *x'áo ~ x'ao:* by W. Bleek. The word is listed as the first equivalent for 'cold' in [Bleek 1929], said to be the lexical opposite of *kau* 'to be warm' in [Bleek 1956] and illustrated with several examples in which it is found in such noun phrases as 'cold wind' etc. Possible synonyms include: (a) *sérri ~ ssèrri-tən ~ ssèrri-tən* 'cool, cold' [Bleek 1956: 167], also found as a noun: *ssérre: ~ ssèrreya ~ ssèrri-tən* 'cold wind' [ibid.]; (b) *!xwè: ~ !xwé:* 'to be cold, become cold', *!xwé:-tən* 'cold (n.)' [Bleek 1956: 639]. Attested examples and descriptions do not allow to estimate these words' real chances at filling the primary slot for 'cold'.

[Ng!ke]: Bleek 1956: 289; Bleek 1929: 29. The latter source also mentions a special verbal stem *si:ya* 'to be cold', but it is not confirmed anywhere in [Bleek 1956].

!Khomani: Maingard 1937: 243. Attested in the phrase *ŋ ɕa !^hu* "I am cold". Entirely different stem, not confirmed by external sources, is found in [Doke 1936: 63]: *kãrĩĩ*.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006.

[Xegwi]: Ziervogel 1955: 41. Entirely different root listed in [Bleek 1929: 29]: *!xoa*. Cf.: *ha !xoa* "it is cold" [Bleek 1956: 500].

!Auni: Bleek 1937: 217. Quoted as *ʃɔʔa* in [Bleek 1956: 626]. Different word quoted in [Bleek 1929: 29]: *ʃxau*, not confirmed in later sources.

!Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Not reconstructible; every language has its own equivalent for this Swadesh meaning. Curiously, the best candidate for Proto-!Wi 'cold' is a word whose reflexes cannot be easily defined as the basic equivalent for 'cold' in any attested !Wi language: Proto-!Wi **ʃxoe*, marginally attested both in !Xam and !Ng!ke (*ʃʃa*: *ʃxwe*: "night's coolness, evening" [Bleek 1956: 639]) and possibly of the same origin as !Auni *ʃxau* [Bleek 1929: 29] (although the coda correspondences would be quite irregular) and !Xegwi *ʃxoa* [Bleek 1929: 29], under the condition that Bleek's *ʃ* in this case mistranscribes the lateral click *ʃ*. This choice is also indirectly supported by external parallels in Taa. Nevertheless, judging from a formal perspective, attested data are too scarce and ambiguous to postulate a lexical replacement from Proto-!Wi to all of its modern day descendants.

16. COME

!Xam *s:e* (1), !Ng!ke *si ~ se ~ seya ~ sa* (1), †Khomani *si ~ siya ~ sa* (1), N!uu *sa: ~ ca:* (1), !Xegwi *sa* (1), !Auni *sa ~ sé ~ sí* (1), !Haasi *c'i* (1), Proto-!Wi **sa ~ *s'i* (1).

References and notes:

!Xam: Bleek 1956: 165. Quoted as *s'i ~ ši ~ s'e* in [Bleek 1929: 30]. Transcribed as *se ~ se: ~ ss'e* by W. Bleek. The same root is also encountered with different vocalism, transcribed as *s:a ~ ss'a: ~ sa:* by W. Bleek and *sa:* by L. Lloyd [Bleek 1956: 161]; also *sanj ~ sanj ~ sa'ŋ* (W. Bleek), *sa'ŋ* (L. Lloyd) [Bleek 1956: 163]. The variations are typical of verbal roots (especially statistically frequent ones) and may indicate contractions with various class markers. Some of the variants, as attested in the accompanying examples, may also have the causative meaning 'to bring'.

!Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 161, 165, 166, 168. Quoted as *si ~ se ~ sa:* in [Bleek 1929: 30]; *sa ~ sieya ~ sa:* in [Bleek 2000: 20, 22]. Vocalic variations are typical of simple verbal stems and may indicate contractions with various class markers or verbal particles.

†Khomani: Maingard 1937: 245, 251. Transcribed as *sīyā* [Doke 1936: 75]. Secondary synonym: *ʃʃ* [Doke 1936: 69] - a highly dubious form, considering a complete lack of external parallels. Perhaps the real meaning is slightly different ('to arrive?'), or imperative ('come!').

N!uu: Sands et al. 2006. The second variant allegedly belongs to the Eastern dialect.

!Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 51; Lanham & Hallowes 1956: 102. Past tense form is quoted as *seya*, future tense - as *se* [ibid.]. Quoted as *se ~ sa* in [Bleek 1929: 30] and [Bleek 1956: 161, 165].

!Auni: Bleek 1937: 205; Bleek 1956: 161, 165, 168. Quoted as *se:* in [Bleek 1929: 30]. Vocalic variants may indicate contractions with class markers or verbal particles.

!Haasi: Story 1999: 21. Secondary synonyms include: *ʃi ~ ʃi ~ ʃi-sa*. These forms may be the same as *c'i*, provided the affricate could sometimes be misheard by Story as a dental click; in any case, unlike *c'i*, they have no external links.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Additionally, cf. !Kxau *sa: ~ se:* id., !Ku!e *sa ~ si* id. [Bleek 1956: 161, 165]. Reconstruction shape: Initial consonant is a sibilant (as opposed to 'bite' q.v.), as preserved in the majority of reflexes. Occasional attestations of a glottalized sibilant (*s'·*) or even a glottalized affricate (*c'·*) most likely reflect the result of stem contraction: **sV-/ʔa ~ *sV-/ʔi* (combinations with different suffixes) > **sVʔa ~ *sVʔi* > **s'a ~ *s'i*. As in many similar cases, original root vocalism is difficult to reconstruct because of contractions with various vocalic suffixes; both **a* and **i* are at least equally probable.

17. DIE

!Xam *ʃa ~ ʃà* (1), !Ng!ke *ʃa:* (1), †Khomani *ʃa* (1), N!uu *ʃa:* (1), !Xegwi *ʃa:* (1), !Auni *ʃã* (1), !Haasi *ʃ^ho* (2), Proto-!Wi **ʃa* (1).

References and notes:

[Xam]: Bleek 1956: 267. Transcribed as /a/, emphatic f. /a:-kən, pl. /á/a-kən by W. Bleek. Quoted as /a: in [Bleek 1929: 33]. Secondary synonym: /ú:-kən ~ /ù-kən ~ /ù-ka (L. Lloyd), /u-ka ~ /ú:-kən (L. Lloyd) [Bleek 1956: 324]. Relations between these two stems are complex. The first root is glossed as 'to fight, die, be killed; n. fight, harm, curse' in [Bleek 1956]; this means, almost for certain, that we are dealing here with at least several phonetically close, but confused stems, but the really interesting detail is that, of the quoted examples, very few actually refer to 'death' (although at least one phrase from W. Bleek's records is very explicitly translated: *η /a:* 'I die'). The second stem, possibly derived from /u 'to be ill' [Bleek 1956: 322], is translated as 'to die, be dead, faint', and may rather express the stative meaning '(to be) dead' (cf.: *ha x'auki η!aunko /u:ka* 'he has not yet died', etc.), but it is also possible that the word was on its way to replace the older root /a (a chance which it never got due to the extinction of the [Xam language]).

[Nǃg!ke]: Bleek 1956: 267; Bleek 1929: 33. Quoted as /a in [Bleek 2000: 23].

ǃKhomani: Maingard 1937: 257. Transcribed as /a in [Doke 1936: 83].

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006.

[Xegwi]: Ziervogel 1955: 35. Cf. /a: 'dead' [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 117]. Quoted as /a: in [Bleek 1929: 33] and [Bleek 1956: 267].

!Auni: Bleek 1937: 208; Bleek 1956: 267. Meaning glossed as 'dead'; cf. *k^hora /e kie /ā* "Khora is dead". In [Bleek 1937: 208], the word is actually transcribed as //ā; the lateral click is clearly a misprint, but it is curious that in D. Bleek's earlier records, the word 'to die' is transcribed as /a'an [Bleek 1929: 33] - possibly a reduplicated variant of the verbal stem? Cf. also presumably suffixal derivatives: /áuo ~ /áu 'dead' [Bleek 1937: 208]. There is also a strange expression *heri /u:ba* ([Bleek 1937: 202]; [Bleek 1956: 60]), which D. Bleek translates as 'has died'; probably some sort of idiomatic euphemism.

[Haasi]: Story 1999: 21. Cf. also /^hwa: 'dead' [ibid.].

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages except for [Haasi]. Additionally cf. //Kxau /a, //Ku|e /a id. [Bleek 1956: 267]. Replacements: In [Haasi, replaced by /^ho of unclear origin. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are generally quite straightforward. Lack of click glottalization in Ziervogel's and Lanham / Hallows' [Xegwi] data is not easy to explain; possibly the result of contamination with the old !Wi verb 'to kill' q.v.

18. DOG

[Xam /wíŋ ~ /úúŋ ~ /^hwíŋ (1), [Nǃg!ke /wíŋ (1), ǃKhomani /ān (1), N|uu /^hun ~ /^huŋ (1), [Xegwi /^hwa ~ /^hwen ~ /^hwɛ (1), !Auni /w̃: (1), [Haasi /^hāŋ (1), Proto-!Wi */^hu- (1).

References and notes:

[Xam]: Bleek 1956: 433, 467. Emphatic form: /úúŋ-yŋ. Plural form: /úúŋ-úúŋ ~ /wíŋ-^hwíŋ ~ /^hwíŋ-^hwíŋ. Quoted as /wíŋ in [Bleek 1929: 34]. Also transcribed as /wíŋ by W. Bleek.

[Nǃg!ke]: Bleek 1956: 467. Emphatic form: /wíŋ-yŋ. Quoted as /wíŋ, pl. /wíŋ-yŋ in [Bleek 1929: 34].

ǃKhomani: Doke 1936: 69. Not attested in Maingard's data.

N|uu: Miller et al. 2007: 58. The two variants allegedly reflect dialectal variants (first one is Western dialect, second one is Eastern). Quoted as /^hou in [Westphal 1965: 141].

[Xegwi]: Ziervogel 1955: 37, 39, 44. Plural form: /^hu-me. Quoted as /^hwíŋ in [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 112]. The plural form is quoted as /^hu-míŋ in [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 104]. Quoted as /wí in [Bleek 1929: 34] and [Bleek 1956: 600]. The latter source also quotes the form /xē as a synonym [Bleek 1956: 499]. It is not highly likely that /wí and /xē are phonetic variants, or even side effects of mistranscription; /xē is probably a different word (which, furthermore, could have been misglossed).

!Auni: Bleek 1937: 219; Bleek 1956: 663. Quoted as /^hāŋ in [Bleek 1929: 34] (could be the same root with a misheard click, cf. the transcription /^hāŋ in the closely related [Ha:si language]).

[Haasi]: Story 1999: 21, 30. Plural form: /^haaŋ ~ /ka=^haaŋ.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Additionally, cf. //Kxau /^huni id., //Ku|e /wíŋ id., !Gǀne /^hinyi id., Seroa /^huenia id. [Bleek 1956: 104, 400, 495, 662]. Reconstruction shape: The original palatal click is correctly reflected as alveolar (!) in [Xam and Bleek's [Nǃg!ke, and expectedly develops into a lateral affricate in [Xegwi]. The aspirated click efflux is tentatively reconstructed based on accurately transcribed N|uu data. Semantics and structure: The stem displays a significant number of suffixal variants: */^hu-iŋ ([Xam, [Nǃg!ke; modern N|uu */^huŋ probably goes back to the same variant, with palatalization of the nasal and subsequent

contraction of the stem), *^h*u-aŋ* (Lower Nǀossob, with subsequent contraction in both dialects), *^h*u-e* ~ *^h*u-i* (ǁXegwi). Their functions in Proto-!Wi and/or subsequent stages of language development remain unclear (unfortunately, where some of these variants are attested in the same language, as in Ziervogel's ǁXegwi records, their respective functions are unknown).

19. DRINK

|Xam *x'wā* ~ *x'wī*: ~ *x'wū*: (1), ǁNg!ke *x'a*: ~ *x'ā* ~ *x'ē* ~ ǁ*x'ā* (1), †Khomani *x'ā* ~ *x'ē* (1), N|uu *x'ā* (1), ǁXegwi *x'i* (1), !Auni *x'ā*: ~ *x'ē* (1), |Haasi *x'a* (1), Proto-!Wi ***x'ā** (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 126. Transcribed as *x'wā* ~ *x'wāŋ* ~ *x'wā* ~ *x'wē*: ~ *x'wē* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *x'wā* ~ *x'wē* in [Bleek 1929: 34]. Vocalic gradation, as in many other simple verbal stems, probably reflects results of merger with different class markers.

ǁNg!ke: Bleek 1956: 117, 121, 601. Quoted as *x'ā* ~ *x'ē* in [Bleek 1929: 34]. Occurrence of the lateral click in the variant ǁ*x'ā* is a unique idiosyncrasy that is most probably negligible (no etymological data can confirm click articulation for this stem).

†Khomani: Maingard 1937: 257.

N|uu: Miller et al. 2009: 157. Transcribed phonetically as [kχ'ā]. In [Sands et al. 2006], additional (morphologically determined?) variants *x'a* and *x'ā* are given.

ǁXegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 39. This is the present tense stem; the past tense is glossed as *x'a*: [ibid.]. Quoted as *x'ē* in [Lanham & Hallowes 1956: 115]. Quoted as *x'ā* ~ *x'ē* in [Bleek 1929: 34]; as *x'a*: ~ ǁ*x'ē* in [Bleek 1956: 117, 604].

!Auni: Bleek 1937: 204. Quoted as *x'a*: ~ *x'a* ~ *x'ē* in [Bleek 1956: 121, 217]; as *x'a:a* in [Bleek 1929: 34].

|Haasi: Story 1999: 21.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Additionally, cf. ǁKu||e *kwā* ~ ǁ*x'wā*, Seroa *x'ā*, !Gāne *x'a*: id. [Bleek 1956: 109, 116, 609]. Reconstruction shape: Nasalization is such a persistent feature of this stem's vocalism that it is tentatively included in the reconstruction, although it is also true that there are non-nasal reflexes as well (ǁXegwi, |Haasi), and that nasalization could be a secondary feature, generalized to the root from contracted variants with verbal suffixes. Labialization in |Xam is clearly secondary (no other language has this feature, and "superfluous" labialization, particularly after velars, is a very common feature in this language).

20. DRY

|Xam ǁ*o*: ~ ǁ*ɔ*: ~ ǁ*ò* (1), N|uu ǁ*o*: (1), !Auni ǁ*x'om* (2), Proto-!Wi ***ǁo** # (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 581, 606. Transcribed as ǁ*o* ~ ǁ*o*: ~ ǁ*ɔ*: ~ ǁ*x'ɔ* ~ ǁ*x'ɔwā* by W. Bleek. In [Bleek 1929: 35], this stem is only mentioned as the verb 'to dry' (transitive: ǁ*ɔ*, intransitive: ǁ*ɔwa*), but there is no principal difference between verbal and adjectival roots in |Xam, and Bleek's given equivalent for 'dry (adj.)': *x'ɔro-kn* = *x'ɔo-kən* [Bleek 1956: 125] is supported by much fewer examples, always with the meaning 'dried (in the sun), shrivelled, burnt' rather than 'not wet'. Conversely, for ǁ*o*: cf. such examples as: ǁ*aiŋ* ǁ*ai: se* ǁ*ɔ*: '...so that the inside of the house may dry'; ǁ*tu* ǁ*u-g* ǁ*ē* ǁ*o*: 'my mouth became dry', etc. [Bleek 1956: 581], showing that this word has a wider range of application. Cf. also ǁ*ɔwa* 'dry' (of bones?), illustrated by one dubious context in W. Bleek's records [Bleek 1956: 321]. We select as primary the word that is illustrated by the most examples (and also has the most immediate and explicit external correlations).

ǁNg!ke: Not attested properly. In [Bleek 1929: 35], the adjective 'dry' is given as *x'o*:, but the form is not confirmed in the larger dictionary [Bleek 1956] and may have been erroneous. The same source [Bleek 1929: 35] also states that the "S1" (|Xam) forms for the verb 'to dry' (ǁ*ɔ*, etc.) are the same for "S2" (ǁNg!ke), but, again, this is not confirmed in [Bleek 1956] (external data on N|uu shows, however, that this is probably true). Since both of the stems are dubious, we prefer to leave the slot empty.

†Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006.

||Xegwi: Not attested. Cf., however, //o: 'thirsty' in [Bleek 1956: 581] (attested in the phrase *n //o: k^ha* "I am thirsty for water"); polysemy 'dry / thirsty' is typical for other !Kwi languages as well.

!'Auni: Bleek 1937: 217; Bleek 1956: 607.

|Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Common for the |Xam-N|uu cluster, not attested elsewhere (unless the !'Auni form is related, which is dubious). Replacements: !'Auni //x^om is consistently marked by D. Bleek as possessing a velar affricate efflux and a coda in *-m*, which makes it incompatible with the forms attested in |Xam and N|uu despite general phonetic similarity. However, as a lexical replacement this term currently has no etymology. Theoretically, the !'Auni form, as the only representative of the Lower Nǀossob branch, could also claim Proto-!Wi status in the basic meaning 'dry', but external parallels in Taa support the priority of the |Xam-N|uu branch. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences between |Xam and N|uu are mostly trivial, although it is not clear why the word is sometimes transcribed with a velar affricate efflux in Bleek's |Xam transcriptions.

21. EAR

|Xam *ĩú-ntu* ~ *ĩu-ntu* (1), ||Ng!ke *ĩwe:* ~ *ĩwe:-ntu* ~ *ĩu:-ntu* (1), †Khomani *ǃui* ~ *ǃui-si* (1), N|uu *ǃui-si* (1), ||Xegwi *ǃwe* (1), !'Auni *ǃui* (1), |Haasi *ǃ=k'u=ǃa-am* (1), Proto-!Wi **ǃu-* (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 485; Bleek 1929: 35. Plural form: *ĩu-ĩú-ntu*. Transcribed as *ĩu-ntu*, pl. *ĩu-ĩu-ntu-kən* by W. Bleek. Suffixal *-tu* is a regular extension for body part terms; its variant *-ntu* in this particular case is either due to assimilation with the nasal click or a combination with yet another suffix (**ĩu-n-tu*), since reliable external data for this root generally do not support a second nasal in the medial or final position.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 485, 488; Bleek 1929: 35. Concerning the extension *-ntu*, see notes on the respective |Xam entry.

†Khomani: Maingard 1937: 241.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. Quoted as *ǃú-ǃi* in [Westphal 1965: 140].

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 37. Plural: *ǃu-me* ~ *ǃu-mi* [Ziervogel 1955: 38, 44]. Quoted as *ǃwĩ:* in [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 103]; as *ǃwe* in [Bleek 1929: 35].

!'Auni: Bleek 1937: 220; Bleek 1956: 674. Quoted, with quite different vocalism, as *ǃae* in [Bleek 1929: 35].

|Haasi: Story 1999: 21. Meaning glossed as 'ears' (pl.). The first morpheme is probably the 1st p. possessive prefix; *=k'u=* is the plural prefix; the rest of the word is written with a space (*ǃna am*), possibly indicating diaeresis.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Palatal click influx is unambiguously indicated by evidence from N|uu (where it is preserved) and ||Xegwi (where it regularly yields a lateral affricate). Nasal efflux is preserved everywhere except for ||Xegwi, where it dissolves together with the click-type articulation as such. Root vowel is represented as *u* in all daughter languages except for |Haasi, where the reflexion of *a* should probably be regarded in connection with the unclear suffixal extension *-am*. Semantics and structure: The basic monosyllabic root is always encountered in the company of various nominal formatives: **ǃu-i* ~ *ǃu-(i)-ntu*.

22. EARTH

|Xam *!k'ǎũ* (1), ||Ng!ke *!ǎũ* (1), N|uu *!ǎũ* (1), !'Auni *ǎ:a* (2), Proto-!Wi **!ǎũ* ~ **!q'ǎũ* (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 372, 412. Same word as 'sand' q.v. Emphatic form: *!k'ǎũ-ǎi*. Transcribed by W. Bleek as *ǎũ* ~ *!k'ǎũ* ~ *!ǎũ*, emphatic form: *!ǎũŋ*. Quoted as *!ǎũ* in [Bleek 1929: 35]. The Bleek/Lloyd transcription with *-k'* in the click efflux position suggests that the word may have been phonetically realized as **!q'ǎũ*, with uvular articulation of the closure, but this is hard to prove.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 372; Bleek 1929: 35.

‡Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. Same word as 'sand' q.v.

||Xegwi: Not attested properly. Cf.: *ɲa* /i: "it is the ground" [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 105]; or *ha ši e ka* /wa:lo "pour it on the ground" [Bleek 1956: 597] (neither the word /i: nor the word /wa:lo should be included in our wordlist because of dubious semantics).

!Auni: Bleek 1937: 212. Meaning glossed as 'ground'. Quoted in [Bleek 1929: 35] as *!a*: 'earth'; in [Bleek 1956: 374] as *!a* 'ground' and *!a:a* 'dust'. All textual examples are on the meaning 'ground' rather than required 'earth' (substance): *o toa ki !a* "he lies on the ground", etc., but 'earth' (substance) and 'ground' (surface) are rarely distinguished in Peripheral Khoisan.

|Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in the |Xam-N|uu cluster; exact fate in the other branches unclear. Replacements: In !Auni, the proper cognate form to the Proto-!Wi root is glossed as *!ãũ* 'dust' [Bleek 1937: 212]; provided that this glossing is accurate, it is reasonable to suggest a local semantic shift {'earth' > 'dust'}. The "new" !Auni form for 'earth', however, although it is phonetically similar to 'dust', is not easily comparable from an etymological point of view, and its origins are obscure. Reconstruction shape: Click influx is clearly alveolar, as reflected in all daughter languages. Click efflux is not adequately reconstructible at present: N|uu and !Auni suggest a simple glottal stop, but the variation in attested |Xam forms strongly suggests something more complicated, possibly a uvular ejective (*-q-) or, perhaps, a complex interaction between click efflux and subsequent vocalic features (e. g. original **!aʔuj*, misheard or reflected as **!auj* in certain cases).

23. EAT

|Xam *hã:* ~ *ha:* (1), ||Ng!ke *ã* ~ *ẽ* ~ *ẽĩ* (1), ‡Khomani *ã* ~ *ãĩ* (1), N|uu *ʔã* (1), ||Xegwi *ʔĩ* (1), !Auni *ã* ~ *hà* ~ *hàa* (1), |Haasi *à:* (1), Proto-!Wi **ʔã* (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 3, 54, 60. Also attested in reduplicated (emphatic?) form: *hã-hã:* [ibid.]. Transcribed as *ã:* ~ *hã:* ~ *hĩ:* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *hĩ* ~ *hã* ~ *ã* in [Bleek 1929: 35]. Vowel gradation is typical of basic verbal roots and probably reflects mergers with different class markers. It is not clear whether the aspiration in the initial position is truly phonological (most external data do not corroborate this).

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 3, 36, 37; Bleek 1929: 35; Bleek 2000: 21. Vowel gradation, as in |Xam, may be reflecting mergers with different class markers.

‡Khomani: Maingard 1937: 245, 246. Transcribed as *ʔãĩ* in [Doke 1936: 72].

N|uu: Sands et al. 2007: 61.

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 35, 50. Past tense form is transcribed as *ʔã:*. Quoted as *ʔĩ:* ~ *ʔiŋ* in [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 99]; as *ẽ* ~ *a* ~ *i:* in [Bleek 1929: 35]; as *ã* ~ *ẽ* ~ *i:* in [Bleek 1956: 3, 36, 67].

!Auni: Bleek 1937: 201, 202. Quoted as *ã* in [Bleek 1929: 35].

|Haasi: Story 1999: 21.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: We provisionally reconstruct the form with a glottal stop rather than aspirated *h-* in word-initial position, since the aspiration is marked only sporadically and does not seem to have any phonological significance (unlike, e. g., the initial phoneme in 'far' q.v.). Vowel nasalization could be of morphological origin, but is so persistent (attested in all branches and most languages) that it seems reasonable to carry it over to the proto-level. Vocalic gradation, however, is by all means of a morphological origin; we project the most frequently attested vowel (**a*) onto the proto-level.

24. EGG

|Xam *!áúi* ~ *!àurwi* ~ *!k'áú:wi* (1), ||Ng!ke *!ʰãũ* (1), ‡Khomani *ʔwi* # (1), N|uu *ʔui* (1), ||Xegwi *λwi-ŋ* (1), !Auni *!ũĩ* # (1), |Haasi *k'ii* (2), Proto-!Wi **ʔui-* (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 414, 416, 467. Plural form: *!ui-tən*. Transcribed as *!áui ~ !áúí*, emph. *!áui-ya*, pl. *!wi-ten ~ !wi-tən* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *!auí*, pl. *!wi-tən* in [Bleek 1929: 35]. Fluctuating articulation of the click efflux suggests reconstruction of the "real" |Xam form as **!q'au-i* (where *-i* is a suffixal class marker; the plural form may be interpreted as reduction **!q'au-i-tən > *!q'u-i-tən*).

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 396, 467; Bleek 1929: 35. Plural form: *!wi-tən*. In [Bleek 2000: 19] the nominal paradigm is presented as an irregular one: sg. *!ʰāū*, pl. *!wi-tən*, but it is not clear if this is really an example of suppletivism (there is enough phonetic resemblance between the two forms so as not to rule out the possibility of a transcriptional error).

‡Khomani: Doke 1936: 85. Somewhat dubious, since the meaning is glossed as 'ostrich egg' rather than '(any) egg'. However, the word is the same as 'egg' in N|uu, and no other South Khoisan language seems to have a root-reflected opposition between this general vs. specialized meaning, so it is relatively safe to include the word in the lexicostatistical calculations. Not attested in Maingard's data.

N|uu: Miller et al. 2007: 55. Meaning glossed as 'eggs' (pl.).

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 44. Plural form: *ki=λwi*. Quoted as *λwī* in [Lanham & Hallowes 1956: 104].

!'Auni: Bleek 1937: 214. Also *!ūi-sa*, with singulative suffix, in [Bleek 1956: 493]. Slightly dubious, since the meaning is glossed as 'ostrich egg'. Considering, however, that this is the "default" egg among the |'Auni, that no other words for 'egg' are attested, and that the word's external cognates all mean simply 'egg', the word may be deemed eligible for inclusion.

|Haasi: Story 1999: 21. The double vowel is written with diaeresis (*ii*), possibly indicating a pronunciation like *kiʔi*.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages except for |Haasi (provided the |Xam and ||Ng!ke forms are indeed phonetically compatible with the rest, see below). **Replacements:** Replaced in |Haasi by *k'ii*, a word of unclear origin. **Reconstruction shape:** Click influx is palatal (regularly preserved in N|uu and shifted to lateral affricate in ||Xegwi). Most of the reliable sources generally agree on zero (velar) efflux as the original articulation, but every now and then, a glottal stop appears in the transcriptions (|Xam, ||Ng!ke, Lanham & Hallowes' transcription of ||Xegwi); this may be indicative of a more complex pattern of original articulation, e. g. **fuʔi*. The appearance of *-a-* in the singular form of the |Xam equivalent is another problem; one possible scenario is an original paradigm that would look like **faʔwi* (**faʔbiʔ*), plural **fwi-ten* with reduction and contraction. This would explain most of the variations and unusual features, but remains flimsy without additional confirming examples. For now, we prefer to leave the shape of the reconstruction closer to the most reliably attested form (N|uu).

25. EYE

|Xam *caxáú* (1), ||Ng!ke *cáxu ~ ca:xem* (1), ‡Khomani *c'axau ~ c'axu ~ c'axəm* (1), N|uu *c'axam* (1), ||Xegwi *sagu* (1), |'Auni *coo* (1), |Haasi *cxɔ* (1), Proto-!Wi **c'a-xu* (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 213. Plural form: *caxai-tən ~ caxai-ta-kən*. Transcribed as *c'axáú*, pl. *c'axái-tən ~ c'axai-ta-kən ~ c'a-c'axu-kən* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *c'axáú*, pl. *c'axái-tən ~ c'a-c'axu-kən* in [Bleek 1929: 36]. The reduplicated plural form is probably "emphatic" in nature. Although L. Lloyd does not mark glottalized articulation, it is well confirmed by external data, and the "real" form in |Xam must be reconstructed as sg. **c'a-xau*, pl. **c'a-xai-tən*.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 213. Plural form: *cáxu-ke ~ caxu-ŋ*. Quoted as *c'axu*, pl. *c'axu-kəŋ ~ c'axú:-n* in [Bleek 1929: 36]; *c'axu*, pl. *c'axu-ke ~ c'axu-kən ~ c'axu-ŋ* in [Bleek 2000: 19]. Omission of glottalized articulation in [Bleek 1956] seems to be a typographic peculiarity.

‡Khomani: Maingard 1937: 257, 274. Transcribed as *c'āxám* in [Doke 1936: 63].

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. Quoted as *c'agu* in [Westphal 1965: 140].

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 44. Plural form: *saj*. Quoted as *c'agu*, pl. *c'a-ŋ* in [Lanham & Hallowes 1956: 111] (in [Lanham & Hallowes 1956a: 48], it is also added that "one informant indicated *c'axu* as the form used 'long ago'); as *cāī ~ caxu*, pl. *cāīn* in [Bleek 1929: 36]; as *cáxu ~ cau*, pl. *cāīm* in [Bleek 1956: 214].

!'Auni: Bleek 1937: 207; Bleek 1956: 220. The double vocalism (not a long vowel!) may reflect a form like *coʔo*. The plural form is

c'axu ~ *c'axu-ke*. There is some confusion in the vocabularies as to the paradigm: [Bleek 1929: 36] quotes it as *co*, pl. *coo*, whereas in [Bleek 1956: 214] we find *c'axu*, pl. *c'axu-ke* along with singular-only *coo*. No textual examples are available.

[Haasi: Story 1999: 21. Plural form: *cxɔɔ* [Story 1999: 30].

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: In the singular number, most languages agree on **c'axu* ~ **c'axau*, with the second variant being more marginal and probably secondary if the internal etymology of the word is correct (see below). In the plural number, most N|uu dialects as well as ||Xegwi agree on **c'axu-ŋ* ~ **c'axu-m*, where the second variant is probably the result of assimilation. Semantics and structure: Based on the general phonotactic laws of !Wi languages, the stem **c'a-xu* may only exist as an original compound of two root morphemes. Consequently, the second morpheme is easily identifiable with Proto-!Wi **xu* 'face' ([Xam *xú*, etc. [Bleek 1956: 261]); if so, the first may be reflecting the archaic root for 'eye' proper, with 'face' serving as a modifier, or it could have entirely different semantics. If **c'a-xu* originally < "something of the face", then it is important to pay attention to such a form as !Auni *c'ou* 'pips, seeds' [Bleek 1956: 220], with further parallels in Taa languages: the metaphoric shift 'seed' > 'eye' is quite common in Africa.

26. FAT N.

[Xam *s:wéŋ* (1), ||Ng!ke *soa* ~ *süŋ* (1), †Khomani *sōē* (1), N|uu *sun* ~ *suŋ* (1), ||Xegwi *swĩ*: (1), [Haasi *cwa*: (1), Proto-!Wi **so-* (1).

References and notes:

[Xam: Bleek 1956: 172, 175. Transcribed as *s:wéŋ* ~ *s:œŋ* ~ *ss'œŋ* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *sœŋ* in [Bleek 1929: 37]. Polysemy: 'fat / marrow'.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 172, 176; Bleek 2000: 26. Quoted as *s'üŋ* in [Bleek 1929: 37].

†Khomani: Maingard 1937: 257.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. The second form allegedly reflects Eastern dialect.

||Xegwi: Lanham & Hallows 1956: 98, 198. Not attested in [Ziervogel 1955]. Apparently, the word may be used both as the noun 'fat' and the adjective '(to be) fat'.

!Auni: Not attested; cf., however, *sā:a* 'fat' (adjective) ([Bleek 1937: 205]; [Bleek 1956: 162]), etymologically cognate with the words for 'fat' in other !Wi languages (which normally do not distinguish between the noun 'fat' and the adjective).

[Haasi: Story 1999: 21.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages (where attested). Reconstruction shape: Reconstruction of the original shape **sU-* (where *U* is either **u* or **o*) is hardly under any serious doubt, as is the fact that the original root is encountered with different suffixal extensions in Lower Nǀossob ([Haasi *cwa*: < **sU-a*) and Narrow !Wi (**so-ŋ* ~ **su-iŋ*). Since the suffixal extension *-iŋ* is rather frequent in this branch, it is reasonable to reconstruct at least one of the original stems as **so-iŋ*, capable of either progressive or regressive assimilation (> *soeŋ* ~ *suiŋ*).

27. FEATHER

[Xam *||erre* ~ *||árre* # (1), ||Ng!ke *|u* ~ *!h'ú* (2), †Khomani *!am-sí* (-1), N|uu *!h'u:-si* (2).

References and notes:

[Xam: Bleek 1956: 527, 530. Possibly *pluralis tantum* (no distinction between sg. and pl. forms is explicitly stated). Transcribed as *||érrí* ~ *||érrí-ya* ~ *||arre* by W. Bleek. Slightly dubious. In [Bleek 1929: 38] the primary word for 'feather' is indicated as *|u* = 'hair' q.v., and in [Bleek 1956] there are several examples from W. Bleek and L. Lloyd's records that confirm such usage. All of these examples, however, only refer to the collective form ('feathers' = 'hair coverage on bird'), e. g. *toi a: a, ha |ú |u !xwĩ* [Lloyd] "this ostrich, its feathers are ugly" [Bleek 1956: 323]. The other item, quoted in [Bleek 1929: 38] as *||ori*, is translated there as 'feather on arrow', but in [Bleek 1956] this word can clearly refer to feathers on birds, as well as participate in such compounds as *caxá:ton-ka ||erre* 'eyelashes'

and, most, importantly, serve as the derivation basis for the word 'bird' q.v. Unless the real meaning of this word is actually 'wing' rather than 'feather' (also a possibility), we choose to include it as the primary candidate for neutral 'feather' in |Xam. Other items mentioned in [Bleek 1929: 38] (*!ɔ-tən* 'young feather (quill)', *!āna* 'long ostrich feather') are even less eligible.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 314, 323. Same word as 'hair' q.v. Quoted as *!ʰu* in [Bleek 1929: 38].

‡Khomani: Doke 1936: 86. Not attested in Maingard's data. Easily interpreted as a recent borrowing from Khoekhoe (cf. Nama *!amm-i*, !Ora *!amm-a* 'feather').

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. This is just a singulative variant of 'hair' q.v. (with the sg. number suffix *-si*).

||Xegwi: Not attested.

!Auni: Not attested properly. In [Bleek 1937: 214], the word *!ōma* is glossed as 'feather', but in [Bleek 1956: 481], the meaning is narrowed down to 'feather on arrow'. At the same time, in the earlier source [Bleek 1929: 38] we find *!o:* 'feather' opposed to *!am* 'feather on arrow' (the latter word is the same as in ‡Khomani q.v., and ultimately a borrowing from Khoekhoe). With such a scattering of variants, all of which are uncertain and, moreover, lack reliable South Khoisan etymologies, we prefer to leave the slot open.

|Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Not properly reconstructible due to lack of attestation in many languages and significant variation within those languages where the word does happen to be attested (either as a borrowing from Khoe or a parallel meaning of the general word for 'hair' q.v.; only |Xam reveals a separate word, which cannot be reliably projected onto the proto-level).

28. FIRE

|Xam *!i* (1), ||Ng!ke *!i* (1), ‡Khomani *!i* (1), N|uu *!i:* (1), ||Xegwi *!i* (1), !Auni *!i* (1), |Haasi *!i* (1), Proto-!Wi **!i* (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 292; Bleek 1929: 39. Emphatic form: *!i-tən* ~ *!i-ya* (in W. Bleek's records). Attested once in the variant *!é:*, within the idiomatic expression *b:ú: !é:* 'to set on fire' [Bleek 1956: 271], provided this is the same root.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 292; Bleek 1929: 39; Bleek 2000: 27.

‡Khomani: Maingard 1937: 257.

N|uu: Miller et al. 2009: 155. Transcribed phonetically as *[ʰ!ii]*. Quoted as *!i* in [Westphal 1965: 144].

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 36; Lanham & Hallows 1956: 105. Quoted as *!i:* in [Bleek 1929: 39]; as *!e* ~ *!i* ~ *!i:* in [Bleek 1956: 271, 292].

!Auni: Bleek 1937: 209; Bleek 1929: 39; Bleek 1956: 292.

|Haasi: Story 1999: 21.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are mostly trivial, although the straightforward reconstruction **!i* is contradicted by transcriptions without the glottal stop in some records of ||Xegwi and in |Haasi. Since this pattern is non-recurrent, we prefer to view it as an anomaly (either a transcriptional error or a rare positional development, e. g. elision of glottal stop between two "front" segments?).

29. FISH

‡Khomani *!ēbē* # (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Not attested; the word may not have existed at all in the language at the time of its being recorded.

||Ng!ke: Not attested; the word may not have existed at all in the language at the time of its being recorded.

‡Khomani: Doke 1936: 63. Not attested in Maingard's data. The word itself is dubious; very few South Khoisan languages show any name for 'fish' at all, and, besides, there is no certainty in that the word denotes 'fish' in general and not some specific sort of fish

(possibly borrowed from an unknown source).

N|uu: Not attested.

||Xegwi: Not attested.

!'Auni: Not attested.

|Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Not reconstructible due to lack of attestation. Depending on the original home area of Proto-!Wi speakers, the word may not have existed in the language at all.

30. FLY V.

|Xam $\|a\grave{u}$ ~ $\|au$ ~ $\|a:u$ ~ $\|^hau$ ~ $\|^hou$ ~ $\|xáu$ (1), ||Ng!ke $\|óu$ ~ $\|^hou$ (1), N|uu ze^s (2), !'Auni $zé$ (2), Proto-!Wi $*ze^f$ # (2).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 560, 573, 632. Transcribed as $\|au$ ~ $\|a:u$ ~ $\|^hau$ ~ $\|^hou$ ~ $\|xau$ by W. Bleek. Quoted as $\|^hou$ ~ $\|xau$ in [Bleek 1929: 40]. The abundance of variants, mostly differentiated by means of the click efflux, alongside the suggested, but not very probable, polysemy 'fly / throw up / above, over, up, upon, on / to come to' in [Bleek 1956: 560], suggests that we may be dealing with several mixed-up, phonetically and semantically similar, but ultimately different stems in |Xam. It is hardly possible to disentangle them without external comparison.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 588; Bleek 1929: 40.

‡Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Miller et al. 2009: 157.

||Xegwi: Not attested.

!'Auni: Bleek 1937: 208; Bleek 1956: 264.

|Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in N|uu and !'Auni. This distribution is technically sufficient to reliably project the word onto the Proto-!Wi level, but one must also keep in mind the attestation of tense contacts between the speakers of those two languages in the early 20th century, i. e. the !'Auni entry could really be a borrowing from N|uu, in which case |Xam-||Ng!ke $*\|(x)au$ would turn out to be a better candidate for proto-status. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences between N|uu and !'Auni are trivial (pharyngealization is never marked by D. Bleek for !'Auni), although this may reflect genetic relationship as well as borrowing in this particular case.

31. FOOT

|Xam $\tilde{t}wa$ (1), ||Ng!ke $\tilde{t}a$ ~ $\tilde{t}a:-xu$ (1), N|uu $!x'u:-ke$ (2), ||Xegwi $!^hi?i$ (3), !'Auni $!x'ai$ (4), |Haasi $n=!^hai$ (4).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 487. Polysemy: 'foot / spoor'. Plural form: $\tilde{t}wa-\tilde{t}wá$ (with reduplication). Transcribed as $\tilde{t}óá$ ~ $\tilde{t}óá$, emphatic form $\tilde{t}óá-\eta$, plural $\tilde{t}óá-\tilde{t}óá$ ~ $\tilde{t}óá-\tilde{t}óá$. Quoted as $\tilde{t}óá$ 'foot, footprint' in [Bleek 1929: 40].

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 612, 617. Quoted as $\tilde{t}a$ ~ $\tilde{t}a:-xu$ in [Bleek 1929: 40]. Plural form: $\tilde{t}a:-xu-ke$ [Bleek 2000: 19]. The morphologically complex variant $\tilde{t}a:-xu$ (where $-xu$ is a frequent nominal suffix, cf. 'eye') is more frequent, according to D. Bleek.

‡Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. Quite distinct from $k^h\tilde{t}$: 'leg' [Miller et al. 2009: 54].

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 41. Distinct from $!alagu$ 'leg' [Ziervogel 1955: 38]; $!^hi$ 'leg' [Ziervogel 1955: 40] (the latter word's meaning

would rather seem to be 'thigh', as glossed in [Bleek 1956: 196]). Quoted as /k'e in [Bleek 1929: 40] and as /x'e in [Bleek 1956: 338].
|'Auni: Bleek 1937: 213; Bleek 1956: 507. Quoted as /k'ai in [Bleek 1929: 40].

|Haasi: Story 1999: 21, 30. The first morpheme (*n=*) is the 1st p. possessive prefix. Plural form: *ka=ŋ=la-ai*.

Proto-!Wi: Not properly reconstructible. |Xam **ŋa* and "old N|uu" **ŋa* (in D. Bleek's attestation) may be etymologically compared with each other, as well as with ||Kxau *ŋa-xu-ŋ ~ ŋa-xu-si* 'leg' [Bleek 1956: 144], but are not easily traceable to a higher level. Proto-Lower Nǀossob **!x'ai ~ *!h'ai* also has no etymology outside of that particular branch. Overall, the etymon is almost surprisingly unstable (particularly when compared to 'hand' q.v.).

32. FULL

|Xam *!áúíŋ ~ !áúúíŋ ~ !áú:enyã* (1), ||Ng!ke *!xŋŋ* (1), N|uu *!qãŋ-ya* (1), |'Auni *||x'an-si* (2), Proto-!Wi **!qauŋ* # (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 413, 414. Polysemy: 'to be full / satisfied'. Transcribed by W. Bleek as *!áúíŋ*. This seems to be an intransitive or adjectival derivate from *!kãú ~ !áúŋ-a* 'to fill' [Bleek 1956: 411, 415]; the form *!auŋ-a* is also glossed as 'full' in [Bleek 1929: 41]. Occasional transcription of this root with a velar ejective click efflux is important in that it may reflect uvular articulation (earlier **!qãú* or **!qãú*).

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 503. Meaning glossed as 'to be full, make full'. Quoted as *!xŋŋ* in [Bleek 1929: 41].

‡Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. Secondary synonym: *fun-a* (Western dialect) ~ *fuŋ-a* (Eastern dialect). This word, however, relates rather to the meaning 'full (of stomach), satiated'.

||Xegwi: Not attested.

|'Auni: Bleek 1937: 217; Bleek 1956: 605 (erroneously listed as a form from "SV", Masarwa). Cf. also *||ãú* 'to fill' ([Bleek 1937: 215]; [Bleek 1956: 561]), which may be somehow related here, since most Peripheral Khoisan languages do not distinguish lexically between 'fill' and 'full'. (Discrepancies in the click efflux could indicate poor quality of transcription).

|Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Well attested in the |Xam-N|uu cluster; in most other languages, the equivalent for 'full' simply remains unknown. Replacements: The relation of |Xam-N|uu **!qauŋ* to |'Auni *||x'an-si* 'full', *||ãú* 'to fill' remains unclear; most probably, they are not connected, since N|uu *!* does not properly correspond to |'Auni *||*. If the |'Auni forms are not related, they have no separate etymology and could also lay claim to reflecting the Proto-!Wi equivalent for 'full', but this is less probable than in the case of the |Xam-N|uu match (more reliable and formally reconstructible to a deeper time level). Reconstruction shape: The original verbal root 'to fill', as attested in |Xam, calls for the reconstruction **!qauŋ*; the adjectival form, common to both |Xam and N|uu, was most likely **!qauŋ-ya*, with occasional contraction and reduction in |Xam (> **!qauíŋ*).

33. GIVE

|Xam *á: ~ à: ~ ã: ~ a-a ~ a-ã* (1), ||Ng!ke *a ~ a:* (1), N|uu *?ã:* (1), ||Xegwi *sa* (2), |'Auni *a* # (1) / *ã*
~ ã ~ ã (3), |Haasi *i* (1), Proto-!Wi **a* # (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 1. Transcribed as *á* by W. Bleek; quoted as *a:* in [Bleek 1929: 42]. The latter source also lists *ã:* as a synonym, but in [Bleek 1956: 293] the word is glossed as 'to leave, let alone, give, wait, stay', and textual examples do not indicate any possibility of this lexeme representing the default verb of giving in |Xam.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 1; Bleek 1929: 42. The latter source also gives the synonym *sa:* for the same meaning, but in [Bleek 1956] *sa:* is

more frequently defined as 'to bring, fetch' (thus, the example *ha sa: ke !xe e ǀa* in [Bleek 2000: 22] is "she brings me a cloth for the head" rather than "she gives me..."), which agrees well with the internal etymologization of this stem as a morphological variant of *si* ~ *sa* 'to come' q.v.

ǀKhomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Miller et al. 2009: 156. Two variants, *a* and *ā*, are listed in [Sands et al. 2006]. The latter list also yields a secondary synonym: *c'a*: (Western dialect) ~ *z'a*: (Eastern dialect) 'to give, share, distribute, portion out'.

ǁXegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 36; Bleek 1929: 42; Bleek 1956: 161. Quoted as *sa* in [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 115], with a contracted variant *s-* in such phrases as *in za s-e* "I will give" [ibid.]. In [Bleek 1929: 42], *ǁe* is listed as a synonym (presumably incorrectly, since the same word is listed with the semantics 'hold, carry' in [Bleek 1956: 566]).

ǀAuni: Bleek 1956: 1. In [Bleek 1937: 201], the word is glossed as *ǀake*, but the textual example in [Bleek 1956: 1] segments this into the verb *a* and the verbal particle *ke*: *ǀe ǁām a ke* "quickly give me". Earlier records yield two entirely different quasi-synonyms for 'give': *ǁa* and *tāo* [Bleek 1929: 42]. Of these, the former is probably the same as the verb 'to go, move' and should be disqualified; the second is, however, confirmed as 'give' in [Bleek 1937: 206] and in [Bleek 1956: 193], where it is supported with the text example *tāo ki Owe* "give me meat". Since this word has no clear-cut etymological connections, we do not include it as a synonym, but the overall situation is far from clear. Bleek 1937: 211; Bleek 1956: 341, 348. Not attested at all in [Bleek 1929], but textual examples in the indicative or imperative meaning are actually more frequent for this verb in [Bleek 1956] than for *a*.

ǀHaasi: Story 1999: 22.

Proto-ǀWi: Distribution: Well reconstructible for Proto-ǀXam-N|uu; also probably attested in ǀAuni, which makes it the optimal candidate for Proto-ǀWi 'to give'. Replacements: (a) ǁXegwi *sa* 'to give' is etymologically equivalent to ǁNg!ke *sa* 'to bring, fetch, give' (see notes on ǁNg!ke), and it may be reasonably argued that we are dealing here with the common semantic shift ('to bring' > 'to give'); the verb 'to bring', in its turn, is most likely a causative function of **sa* ~ **si* 'to come' q.v.; (b) ǀAuni *ǀa* 'give' is most frequently (although not always) observed in imperative forms, and etymologically corresponds to ǀXam *ǀa* 'let, give' [Bleek 1956: 341] (usually also imperative). Distribution of the various functions of this root in ǀWi indicates that the imperative function ('let!', 'give!') is the one to be projected onto the proto-level with the most certainty. If it is indeed used in an indicative meaning in any dialect, such usage is most likely secondary. Reconstruction shape: The root is usually encountered in the simple variant **a* or with nasalization (**ā* < **a-ā* through contraction with a suffix?). An additional problem arises with ǀHaasi *i*. This monovocalic stem could be legitimately compared with Proto-ǀWi **a*, since vocalic gradation in basic verbal roots is a commonality in this group - one could, in fact, think of reconstructing Proto-ǀWi **a* ~ **i* 'to give', completely analogous to **sa* ~ **si* 'to come', etc. Nevertheless, to answer this question with more certainty, one would need a more thorough study of ǀWi verbal morphophonology.

34. GOOD

ǀXam *a:-kən* ~ *á-kkən* (1) / *t:wá:i-ĩ* (2), ǁNg!ke *k^yai* ~ *k^yai^f* (2), ǀKhomani *x'ām-ǀé* # (-1), N|uu *ǀ^hĩ-kĩ* (2), ǁXegwi *luga-ge* # (-1).

References and notes:

ǀXam: Bleek 1956: 7. Quoted as *a:-kən* in [Bleek 1929: 43]. The word is glossed as 'to be nice / good / comfortable / handsome / beautiful / to do nicely, well' in [Bleek 1956], but no definitive textual contexts are given (such as antonymous expressions like 'good and bad', etc.) to determine if it is this word or *t:wá:ĩ* that is the default ǀXam equivalent for 'good' as such. It remains only to treat both items as synonyms. Bleek 1956: 243. Transcribed as *twai-ĩ* ~ *toá:ĩ-ĩ* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *twai-i* in [Bleek 1929: 43].

ǁNg!ke: Bleek 1956: 92. Transcribed as *kiai* ~ *kiai^f*, which represents palatalized articulation of the original consonant. This word is not mentioned in [Bleek 1929: 43], which, instead, quotes an alternate lexical item: *ǀ^hāya*, itself not confirmed in [Bleek 1956]. We choose the entry from the more reliable source (and one that is also better backed up by external parallels).

ǀKhomani: Doke 1936: 77. Not attested in Maingard's data. The word is somewhat dubious. It is very likely a borrowing from Khoekhoe, where the actual meaning is 'right; true' (Nama *am*, !Ora *x'am*); due to scarceness of data, there is no way to ascertain whether the correct meaning for ǀKhomani is indeed 'good' (= 'positive') or 'right, true, correct'. In any case, we mark the form with a negative cognation index, covering both possibilities (suitable meaning, but in a borrowed form; or lack of the appropriate item as such).

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. The form is not quite clear morphologically; the second syllable is probably suffixal. Said of people.

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 62. Identified by Ziervogel as a Bantuism (Swahili *lunga*, etc.). However, it is not clear if this was really the primary ||Xegwi equivalent for 'good' (only encountered once in texts).

!'Auni: Not attested.

|Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Not reconstructible due to lack of data as well as a serious tendency of this word to be borrowed from external sources.

35. GREEN

|Xam *k'érru* ~ *k'érru* (1), ||Ng!ke *!x're* (2), N|uu *!ʰao-a* (-1), |Haasi *!au* (-1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 87. Emphatic form: *k'érru-kan*. Quoted as *kəruwa* (a different morphological variant) in [Bleek 1929: 44]. In known textual examples, applied mostly to vegetation; glossed also in the nominal meaning 'grass, foliage, vegetation'. This is more likely to be the default |Xam word for 'green' than *!ai:n* (L. Lloyd), *!ai:n ~ !ai:n-ya* (W. Bleek) [Bleek 1956: 297], since the latter is glossed as 'to be green, yellow, shining' and applied to all sorts of "shining" objects, including even 'sky' (cf. *!ōiŋyaŋ kwerre !waxukən !ʰou !ai:n* "the sun cooled, the sky waxed green" [ibid.] - a very dubious translation).

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 336; Bleek 1929: 44; Bleek 2000: 26. This is the only equivalent for 'green' attested in all of the sources on ||Ng!ke, including a (rather pointless) textual example (*!ha ka !x're* "it is green" [Bleek 2000: 26]). The phonetic structure of *!x're* is somewhat atypical for ||Ng!ke and Khoisan languages in general; the obvious explanation is reduction from an earlier **!xVre* (cf. a similar situation in the case of 'red' q.v.). One secondary synonym is *!arowa* ([Bleek 1929: 44]; [Bleek 1956: 302]), with no textual examples at all.

!Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. Most likely, a recent borrowing from Khoekhoe (cf. Nama *!ʰao* 'to turn green; to grow').

||Xegwi: Not attested.

!'Auni: Not attested.

|Haasi: Story 1999: 22. Most probably, a Khoekhoe borrowing (see notes on N|uu).

Proto-!Wi: Not reconstructible due to lack of data; additionally, many of the forms that are actually attested turn out to be borrowings.

36. HAIR

|Xam *!ú* ~ *!ú-ken* ~ *!ʰú* ~ *!ʰú-kən* (1), ||Ng!ke *!u* ~ *!ʰú* (1), !Khomani *!u* ~ *!ʰu* (1), N|uu *!ʰu:-ke* (1), ||Xegwi *!ʰu-zi* (1), !'Auni *!ʰóo* (1), |Haasi *!o* (1), Proto-!Wi **!ʰu* (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 314, 323. Polysemy: 'hair / feathers / skin of insect'. Transcribed as *!ú* ~ *!ú-ki* ~ *!ú-kən*, emphatic form *!ú-ka-kən* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *!uu* in [Bleek 1929: 45]. Although the word is more frequently transcribed as *!u* than *!ʰu*, external connections of the word clearly indicate that *!ʰu*, with aspiration, is the more archaic variant of the two.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 314, 323. Cf. also *!u-nte* id. [Bleek 1956: 326], possibly a plural/collective variant. Quoted as *!uu* in [Bleek 1929: 45]; *!ʰu* in [Bleek 2000: 19].

!Khomani: Maingard 1937: 240, 257. Plural form: *!ʰu-ke*.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006.

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 45. Plural form: *!ʰu-ŋ*. Quoted as *!ʰū* in [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 98]; as *!u* in [Bleek 1929: 45]; as *!ʰo* in [Bleek 1956: 313].

!'Auni: Bleek 1937: 210. Quoted as *!o* in [Bleek 1929: 45]; as *!ho* in [Bleek 1956: 313].

[Haasi: Story 1999: 22.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Aspiration of the click is indicated in most data sources and may be reliably projected onto the proto-level. Vowel lowering in Lower Nǀossob languages ($*^h u > *^h o$) is analogous to several similar cases (cf., e.g., 'dog') and is probably regular.

37. HAND

[Xam $\chi'a$ (1), ||Ng!ke $\chi'a$ (1), †Khomani $\chi'a$ (1), N|uu $\chi'a$: (1), ||Xegwi *kyi* (2), !'Auni $\chi'a \sim \chi'an$ (1), |Haasi $n=\chi a\eta$ (1), Proto-!Wi $*\chi'a$ (1).

References and notes:

[Xam: Bleek 1956: 336; Bleek 1929: 45. Plural form: $\chi'a-\chi'a$ (with reduplication). Polysemy: 'hand / finger / shoot (of plants) / string' (meanings 'arm' and 'foreleg' are also listed, but this is very dubious).

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 336; Bleek 1929: 45; Bleek 2000: 18. Plural form: $\chi'a-ny\partial n$.

†Khomani: Maingard 1937: 240.

N|uu: Miller et al. 2009: 158. Transcribed phonetically as $[\chi'a]$.

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 44. Plural form: $\chi'a-\eta$. Quoted as $q^h i$, phonetically $[q^h \partial i]$ in [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 99]. It should be noted that the alleged suppletivism of the stem is not reflected in D. Bleek's data: the singular form is listed as $k'a$ in [Bleek 1929: 45] and as $\chi'a$ in [Bleek 1956: 336] ($a \chi'a$ is translated there as "thy hand", not "thy hands").

!'Auni: Bleek 1937: 211; Bleek 1929: 45; Bleek 1956: 336. Polysemy: 'hand / arm / foreleg / wing'. In the specific meaning 'hand', a compound form is also quoted: $\chi'a \tilde{a}$, literally 'arm-head'.

[Haasi: Story 1999: 22. The morpheme $n=$ is probably the 1st p. possessive prefix. The alternate listed variant $k'a\eta=k'u=\chi a\eta$ likely represents the plural form (with the plurality prefix $k'u=$). Cf. $n=\tilde{a}$ 'arm' [Story 1999: 21] ($n=$ is probably the 1st p. possessive prefix).

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages with the possible exception of ||Xegwi. Replacements: The form $*q^h i$ in ||Xegwi is phonetically incompatible with Proto-!Wi $*\chi'a$; its origins are currently unknown. However, data collected by D. Bleek indicate that the replacement in ||Xegwi may have been quite recent and valid only for certain subdialects. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are trivial. Semantics and structure: In Lower Nǀossob, the word is regularly encountered with an additional nasal suffix ($*\chi'a-\eta$); comparative ||Xegwi data shows that this may have been a fossilized plural marker.

38. HEAD

[Xam $\tilde{a} \sim \tilde{a} \sim \tilde{a} \tilde{a}$: (1), ||Ng!ke $\tilde{a} \sim \tilde{a}$: (1), †Khomani \tilde{a} (1), N|uu \tilde{a} : (1), ||Xegwi \tilde{a} : (1), !'Auni \tilde{a} : (1) / $x:uu$ (2), |Haasi $\eta=x\acute{o}$ (2), Proto-!Wi $*\tilde{a}$ (1).

References and notes:

[Xam: Bleek 1956: 342. Plural form: $\tilde{a} \tilde{a} \sim \tilde{a} \eta$. Transcribed by W. Bleek as \tilde{a} , emphatic and plural forms $\tilde{a} \eta \sim \tilde{a} : \eta \sim \tilde{a} \eta \eta \eta$. Quoted as \tilde{a} : in [Bleek 1929: 46].

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 342; Bleek 1929: 46. Plural form: $\tilde{a} i n y \partial n$. In [Bleek 2000: 19], however, the form \tilde{a} : is said to be used both for sg. and pl.

†Khomani: Maingard 1937: 257. Transcribed as \tilde{a} in [Doke 1936: 84].

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. Quoted as \tilde{a} : in [Westphal 1965: 140].

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 36, 44; Bleek 1929: 46; Bleek 1956: 342. Plural form: $\tilde{a}-\eta$. Plural form is quoted as $\tilde{a}-\eta$ in [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 117].

!'Auni: Bleek 1937: 211; Bleek 1929: 46; Bleek 1956: 342. The situation is complex, since another word for 'head' is $x:uu$ [Bleek 1937: 208], quoted as $x\acute{u} \sim x\acute{u} u$ in [Bleek 1956: 261]. Although it continues the common !Wi root $*x u$ 'face' (see the comparative evidence in

[Bleek 1956: 261]), in several attested !'Auni examples the meaning is clearly 'head', not 'face', cf.: *ti tani ke xú* "carry on the head" (hardly "on the face"!). D. Bleek, therefore, suggests that *ǀa:* is, in fact, a N|uu/ǀKhomani word in !'Auni, along the same lines as in her argument for 'mouth' q.v. The situation here is, however, different from 'mouth', because: (a) only *ǀa:* and not *xú* is found in the meaning 'head' in Bleek's early records, published in [Bleek 1929]; (b) unlike the words for 'mouth', the word *ǀa:* 'head' is pan-Southern Khoisan, and its re-introduction into !'Auni from ǀKhomani is a rather complex scenario. It would probably be easier to simply think of the situation in terms of "transit synonymy": *xu* 'face' gradually replacing the original *ǀa:* 'head'. As is common in such cases, we list both synonyms. Bleek 1937: 2008; Bleek 1956: 261.

!Haasi: Story 1999: 22. The morpheme *ǀ=* is probably the 1st p. possessive prefix.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved throughout "Narrow !Wi"; in Lower Nǀossob, possibly replaced either already at the proto-level or in individual dialects. Replacements: In either Proto-Lower Nǀossob or a sub-section of !Haasi-!'Auni dialects, replaced with **xu*, originally 'face' (cf. |Xam *xú* 'face' [Bleek 1956: 261], etc.); the semantic shift {'face' > 'head'} looks quite reasonable. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are trivial. Semantics and structure: The original paradigm is reconstructible as sg. **ǀa*, pl. **ǀa-ǀ*.

39. HEAR

|Xam *tu ~ túi* (1), ||Ng!ke *tu ~ tú ~ tui* (1), ǀKhomani *ǀ^hu ~ ǀ^hu:-wa* (1), N|uu *ǀu:* (1), ||Xegwi *tu* (1), !'Auni *tu: ~ tui* (1), Proto-!Wi **tu* (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 206, 239, 240. Transcribed as *tú ~ túi ~ tui ~ t:óa* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *tu: ~ tui ~ tum* in [Bleek 1929: 46]. All forms traceable back to the stem **tu*; vocalic variation is likely due to merger with various class suffixes, as in most simple verbal stems.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 239, 240; Bleek 1929: 46; Bleek 2000: 22, 24. Cf. the paradigmatic variants in [Bleek 2000: 24]: *tu*: 'to hear' : *tu-ǀ*: 'heard' : *tu-i*: 'to listen' : (?) *tiǀ*: 'understood'.

ǀKhomani: Maingard 1937: 251. Polysemy: 'to listen / to hear'.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. Polysemy: 'to hear / to understand'.

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 36, 40, 52. The short stem, according to Ziervogel, is only used in the future tense. Past tense stem: *tu-wa*; present tense stem is *tu-bi*. Imperative forms glossed as *to* (sg.), *to-u* (pl.) [Ziervogel 1955: 48]. Cf.: *?a ?a tu?bi ?a-?e* "do you not hear" [Lanham & Hallowes 1956: 115]. Quoted as *tui ~ taǀ* in [Bleek 1929: 46], but only as *tui* in [Bleek 1956: 240].

!'Auni: Bleek 1937: 207; Bleek 1956: 239, 240. The earlier source lists this word as *taǀ ~ ta:a* [Bleek 1929: 46]; this either reflects a contraction with a class marker or particle or, more likely, represents a different root (cf. also *tiǀn* 'to feel' [Bleek 1937: 206]).

!Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Additionally, cf. ||Kxau *tú*, Seroa *tu* [Bleek 1956: 239]. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and unequivocally point to **tu* (with predictable palatalization of the initial dental consonant in most dialectal varieties of N|uu).

40. HEART

|Xam *ǀ^hi:* (1), ||Ng!ke *ǀai ~ ǀe* (1), ǀKhomani *ǀe:-ǀ^hi* (1), N|uu *ǀe:* (1), ||Xegwi *kele* (-1), !'Auni *ǀe: ~ ǀ^he:* (1), !Haasi *n=ǀa-ǀe* (1), Proto-!Wi **ǀe ~ *ǀ^he* (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 292; Bleek 1929: 46. Emphatic form: *ǀ^hi:ǀ*.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 274. Plural form: *ǀai-myǀn*. Quoted as *ǀe: ~ ǀǀi* in [Bleek 1929: 46].

ǀKhomani: Maingard 1937: 267. Extracted from the NP *an ǀe:ǀ^hi* 'my heart'.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. Quoted as /é in [Westphal 1965: 140].

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 38. Borrowed from Bantu. Quoted as *kelej* in [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 101].

!'Auni: Bleek 1937: 208; Bleek 1956: 271. Quoted as /ɛ: in [Bleek 1929: 46], but that source has an additional synonym in the same meaning: #k'a, not confirmed in later sources (possibly = #an 'chest' q.v.?).

|Haasi: Story 1999: 22. Initial *n*= is probably the 1st person possessive prefix; the second click-containing morpheme *-le* is unclear.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages except for ||Xegwi. Additionally, cf. ||Kxau /ae ~ /ai-si, ||Ku|e /é: id. [Bleek 1956: 271, 296]. **Replacements:** In ||Xegwi, the old word seems to have been replaced with a Bantu borrowing. **Reconstruction shape:** The stem shows a somewhat chaotic distribution of zero (velar) click efflux vs. glottalized efflux in daughter languages (usually glottalized in |Xam and !'Auni, non-glottalized in N|uu and |Haasi). Ignoring this glottalization is impossible, since it shows up in too many sources; the situation possibly reflects glottalized vocal articulation (i. e. **[eʔe]*), as in several other such cases, but this solution is not conclusive.

41. HORN

|Xam *||^he:* ~ *||^héi:* (1), ||Ng!ke *||āī* (1), †Khomani *||ēī* (1), N|uu *||q^hoe-si* (1), ||Xegwi *||i:* (1), !'Auni *||ēī* (1), Proto-!Wi **||ēī* (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 567, 574. Plural form: *||^he-||^héi* ~ *||^héi-||^héi* ~ *||é-||éi* ~ *||éi-||éi* (with reduplication). Transcribed as *||é:*, plural (emphatic?) *||éi-||éi-yaŋ* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *||éi*, pl. *||éī-||éī* in [Bleek 1929: 47]. Of note is the transcription's fluctuation between the aspirated and the zero efflux, possibly indicative of a "non-trivial" type of articulation not detected properly by W. Bleek and L. Lloyd. None of the materials distinguish this word from 'tooth' q.v., although external data very clearly speak in favour of their separate origin.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 2000: 18. Plural form: *||āīŋ* ~ *||āīŋ-sa*. In [Bleek 1956: 568] the word is confused with 'tooth' q.v., and most textual examples are on 'tooth', although the plural variant *||ēīŋsa* ~ *||āīŋ* for 'horn' is also mentioned. Quoted as *||éi*, pl. *||ēīn-sa* in [Bleek 1929: 47].

†Khomani: Maingard 1937: 257.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. Quoted as *||oi-si* in [Westphal 1965: 144].

||Xegwi: Lanham & Hallows 1956: 105. Not attested in [Ziervogel 1955]. Quoted as *||ē* in [Bleek 1929: 47] and [Bleek 1956: 567].

!'Auni: Bleek 1937: 216; Bleek 1956: 568. Meaning glossed as plural: 'horns'.

|Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages (although see further on the somewhat divergent form in modern N|uu). **Reconstruction shape:** Most of the sources agree on the lateral click influx, zero (velar) accompaniment, and a front root vowel for the original protoform. The only uncomfortable exception is the form attested in Modern N|uu (*||q^hoe-*), which suggests a uvular aspirated efflux instead, as well as a labial component in the root vocalism. These correlations are quite irregular and find no explanation; however, due to lack of alternate etymologies, some degree of phonetic similarity, and the fact that uvular accompaniments had not been generally recognized by researchers prior to the modern era, we tentatively mark the form as an etymological cognate, pending further research on the issue. Additionally, the root is almost never encountered without nasalization, which may be part of the root or represent fusion with an old nasal class marker (< **[e-iŋ]*?).

42. I

|Xam *ŋ* (1), ||Ng!ke *ŋ* ~ *n* (1), †Khomani *ŋ* ~ *ŋa* ~ *n* ~ *na* (1), N|uu *ŋ* (1), ||Xegwi *?ŋ* ~ *?n* ~ *?in* ~ *?iŋ* ~ *?m* ~ *?im* ~ *?ī* (1), !'Auni *n* ~ *ŋ* ~ *na* ~ *m* (1), |Haasi *ŋ* (1), Proto-!Wi **ŋ* (1).

References and notes:

[Xam]: Bleek 1956: 140. Emphatic form: *ŋ-ŋ*. Also attested in a rare phonetic variant *n*, as well as *m* before the following labials (by assimilation). Possessive forms, according to W. Bleek, include the variants *ŋ ~ ŋ-ka ~ ŋ-ta ~ ŋ-ga*. Both W. Bleek and L. Lloyd also indicate the existence of a velar stem *ka ~ ke ~ ki* [Bleek 1956: 74, 85, 91], rarely, if ever, found in as the subject of the main clause and mostly limited to various bound usage in subordinate clauses. Available data are too ambiguous, however, to allow us to treat it as a regular "indirect stem-type" synonym.

[Ng!ke]: Bleek 1956: 140; Bleek 1929: 49; Bleek 2000: 21. D. Bleek notes that both variants are freely interchangeable. The rare positional variant *m* (before words starting with a labial consonant) is mentioned in [Bleek 1956: 132] and [Bleek 1929: 49]. Note also a special dative form *ke*, e. g. *ha sa: ke !xe e !a* "she gives me a cloth for the head" [Bleek 2000: 22].

‡Khomani: Maingard 1937: 244. All four variants are mentioned as representing the subject form; in the object position only *ŋ* is encountered. Transcribed as *na ~ na* in [Doke 1936: 63]; both variants, as subject pronouns, are also said to be in free variation.

N|uu: Miller et al. 2007: 57.

[Xegwi]: Ziervogel 1955: 46. Cf. also the emphatic (absolute) form: *?n-?e ~ ?in-?e*; the object form *?ne ~ ?ŋe*; the possessive form *ŋe ~ ŋ* [Ziervogel 1955: 45-47]. The absolute form is quoted as *?iŋ-?e ~ iŋ-?e* in [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 108]. Quoted as *ŋ ~ aŋ ~ am* in [Bleek 1929: 49]; as *am ~ aŋ ~ n ~ ŋ* in [Bleek 1956: 9, 10, 141] (the variant *am* is an assimilated form, used before words beginning with labials).

[Auni]: Bleek 1937: 197; Bleek 1956: 132, 141, 142. The variant *m* is the result of samdhi, encountered only before words beginning with labial consonants. Quoted as *ŋ ~ ŋ-ŋ* in [Bleek 1929: 49]. Possessive forms, as per [Bleek 1937: 197], include: *n ~ n-ka ~ n-ga ~ m*; there may also be a special dative form *ki* 'to me'.

[Haasi]: Story 1999: 31. Cf. also the emphatic forms: *g^yā=ŋa ~ g^ya=ŋ ~ ka=ŋ* (the last form is not marked as "emphatic" by Story, but also represents a contraction with a prefix).

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all modern languages. Additionally, cf. \llbracket Kxau *ŋ ~ n*, \llbracket Ku \rrbracket *ŋ*, Seroa *?n*, G!ān!e *n ~ ŋ* [Bleek 1956: 141]. Reconstruction shape: The primary and most common form of the root is that of a syllabic velar nasal. Everything else is the result of contextual assimilations or combinations with various emphatic particles.

43. KILL

[Xam] *!á ~ !á: ~ !^há ~ !^há: ~ !i:* (1), \llbracket Ng!ke *|a ~ |a: ~ |i: ~ !^hi* (1), ‡Khomani *|x'a* (1), N|uu *!^ha* (1), \llbracket Xegwi *!iŋ ~ !eŋ #* (2), [Haasi] *!au* (3), Proto-!Wi **!^ha ~ *!^hi #* (1).

References and notes:

[Xam]: Bleek 1956: 293, 315. Transcribed by W. Bleek as *!á ~ !i:*. Vocalic variation is typical of most simple verbal stems and is explained through merger with various class markers. Not to be confused with *!a* 'to die' q.v.: despite superficial similarity, the two stems are very consistently distinguished both in W. Bleek's and L. Lloyd's records through their effluxes (glottal stop for 'die', zero or aspiration for 'kill'). Quoted as *!i: ~ |a: ~ !a:* in [Bleek 1929: 50] (where this exact confusion has actually taken place).

[Ng!ke]: Bleek 1956: 293, 313, 315. Forms quoted as *!^hi: 'to kill' : !^ha: 'killed'* in [Bleek 2000: 24], although text examples in [Bleek 1956] show that the vocalic gradation is dependent not on tense or voice, but, most likely, on class characteristics of the accompanying nouns. Quoted as *!i: ~ |a: ~ !a:* in [Bleek 1929: 50] (where, as in [Xam], the word has been confused with the entirely different stem *!a* 'to die' q.v.).

‡Khomani: Maingard 1937: 246.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006.

[Xegwi]: Ziervogel 1955: 51. The simple stem is said to function as the future tense. Present tense stem is *!iŋ-we*; past tense stem is *!iŋ-wa*. Somewhat dubious. The meaning on p. 51 is glossed as 'hit, strike', but cf. on p. 62: *!i !eŋ-we !^hwi* "we kill a bird", *!i !eŋ !^huriŋ* "we kill a spur-winged goose". The same word is quoted as *!eŋ* 'to hit' in [[Lanham & Hallows 1956: 100].

[Auni]: Not attested.

[Haasi]: Story 1999: 22.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Found only in the [Xam-N|uu] cluster. Replacements: (a) \llbracket Xegwi *!iŋ* could reflect something like Proto-!Wi **!iŋ* or **!eŋ*. However, the word has no external parallels, and its original meaning, as can be seen from attested examples, is clearly 'to hit' rather than 'to kill'; (b) [Haasi] *!au* 'to kill' = [Auni] *!au* 'to beat; to knock down' [Bleek 1956: 411]; in this case, the local

replacement {'to beat' > 'to kill'} is more than evident. It is important to note that |Xam-N|uu **^ha* is the only etymon in the whole group whose semantics is strictly confined to 'to kill', which is an additional argument for regarding it as a better candidate for Proto-!Wi status. Reconstruction shape: Modern N|uu shows that the root has to be reconstructed with an aspirated efflux. Original vocalism fluctuates between **a* and **i*, reflecting an obscure morphological pattern.

44. KNEE

|Xam $\tilde{ɔ}aŋ \sim \tilde{ɔ}uaŋ$ (1), ||Ng!ke $\tilde{ɔ}ː \sim \tilde{ɔ}ː$ (1), N|uu $\tilde{ɔ}iː-si$ (1), ||Xegwi $\tilde{ɔ}o-ma$ (1), !'Auni $\|wè\text{-}\|wè$ (2), Proto-!Wi **^hu-aŋ* ~ **^ho-aŋ* (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 349. Plural form: $\tilde{ɔ}u\text{-}\tilde{ɔ}ua\text{-}d:e \sim \tilde{ɔ}i\text{-}\tilde{ɔ}ia\text{-}d:e$. Transcribed as $\tilde{ɔ}á\text{-}\tilde{ɔ}a\text{-}dáyakən$ (pl. form) by W. Bleek. Quoted as $\tilde{ɔ}aŋ$ in [Bleek 1929: 50].

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 348. Plural form: $\tilde{ɔ}oŋ$. Cf. the notation $\tilde{ɔ}o$, pl. $\tilde{ɔ}o-ŋən$ in [Bleek 2000: 18]. Quoted as $\tilde{ɔ}$ in [Bleek 1929: 50].

‡Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006.

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 41, 43; Lanham & Hallows 1956: 105. Plural form: $\tilde{ɔ}oma\text{-}le$. Quoted as $\tilde{ɔ}uma$ in [Bleek 1929: 50] and [Bleek 1956: 352].

!'Auni: Bleek 1937: 217. Quoted as $\|oi\|oi$ in [Bleek 1929: 50]. In [Bleek 1956: 584], this form, quoted as $\|we\text{-}\|we$, is marked as the (reduplicated) plural correlate to the singular $\|oe$. This would seem logical, but, for some reason, only the reduplicated form is attested in [Bleek 1937], glossed as singular 'knee'.

!Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Attested in most varieties of "Narrow !Wi". Cf. also Seroa *gno-ma-teŋ* 'knee' [Bleek 1956: 47], where *g*-transcribes a click. Replacements: "Narrow !Wi" **^hu-aŋ* is opposed to !'Auni (Lower Nǀossob) **^hoe* ~ **^hōē*. There are two reasons why the !Wi equivalent is preferable: (a) purely technical (the word is reconstructible to a much higher chronological level); (b) more importantly, !'Auni $\|oe$ coincides segmentally with the basic Central Khoisan equivalent for 'knee', and, although this does not *per se* prove borrowing, makes it quite probable. Reconstruction shape: Dental click with nasal efflux is regularly reflected in all daughter languages, as is the labial vowel (although its exact quality is hard to determine). The segment *-aŋ* in |Xam and the corresponding nasalization of the vowel in N|uu is most likely of suffixal origin, since in ||Xegwi the same root is encountered with a different suffixal extension: **^hu-ma* ~ **^ho-ma*.

45. KNOW

|Xam $ɸéńńː \sim ɸéńń\text{-}ɸéńń \sim ɸéńna \sim ɸen\text{-}na$ (1), ||Ng!ke $\|ai$ (2), N|uu $\|xae$ (2), ||Xegwi *ci-ya* (3), !'Auni $\|xai \sim \|x'e\text{-}ki$ (2), !Haasi *jüma* (4), Proto-!Wi **^hxae* # (2).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 643. Transcribed as *ɸéńń* ~ *ɸéńńá* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *ɸen* ~ *ɸen-a* in [Bleek 1929: 51]. The connection between these forms and $ɸēː \sim ɸīː$ 'to think, remember' [Bleek 1956: 642, 652] is unclear, as is their connection to phonetically similar Central Khoisan forms with the same meaning (cf., for example, Nama *ɸan* 'to know', *ɸāī* 'to think'); nevertheless, due to external parallels within !Kwi itself, we do not count this as a borrowing (at least, not a recent one). In [Bleek 1929: 51] another stem, $\|waka$, is listed as synonymous, but in [Bleek 1956: 596] it is glossed as 'to understand, be wise, clever, cunning', and textual examples confirm that the word is unlikely to have simply meant 'to know'.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 550; Bleek 1929: 51. Cf.: *ɸi si ki e, ŋ ɸō* $\|ai$ "what is that? I do not know" [Bleek 1956: 550].

‡Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006.

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 53. Quoted as *ci*: in [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 101].

!'Auni: Bleek 1937: 217, 218; Bleek 1956: 601, 631. It is not quite clear if these two forms are really phonetic/morphological variants or represent different roots.

|Haasi: Story 1999: 22.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: An isogloss between !'Auni and N|uu. **Replacements:** (a) In |Xam, there is some evidence for a secondary merger between 'to think' and 'to know': |Xam *ʃeín*: 'to know' = ||Ng!ke *ʃē* 'to think' [Bleek 1956: 642], †Khomani *ʃ7* 'to think, thoughts' [Maingard 1937: 257]. It is not clear if, on the next chronological level, this word had been borrowed from Central Khoisan *ʃan 'to know; to think' or not, but, in any case, of all the languages that share this form, it is only |Xam for which the semantics of 'to know' has been attested; (b) ||Xegwi *ci*- has no etymology whatsoever; (c) |Haasi *lūma* has a strong parallel outside !Wi in !Xóó *lūmā* 'to know' (Taa branch of !Wi-Taa). Under different circumstances, this fact would have made the |Haasi form an optimal candidate for Proto-!Wi 'to know' (external comparison argument). However, this would mean that the N|uu-!'Auni isogloss has to be definitively judged as either a homoplasy or a result of borrowing (presumably, from N|uu into !'Auni). In order to make that judgement, one has also to be sure that the |Haasi-!Xóó connection might not be due to historical contact (given the geographical location of !Xóó and Lower Nǀosob languages, this may not be excluded). Consequently, for the present we prefer to formally regard the |Haasi form as an innovation, not an archaism, since its internal distribution is weak compared to N|uu-!'Auni */xae. **Reconstruction shape:** We tentatively project the N|uu shape of the form onto the proto-level, although vocalic correspondences between !'Auni and N|uu require further study.

46. LEAF

||Ng!ke *xerro*: (1), †Khomani *kānrū* (2), N|uu *bla:r-si* (-1), ||Xegwi *li=k^hasi-zi* (-1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Not attested. The form *lu ɲm*: in [Bleek 1956: 283] is tentatively glossed as 'leaf (?), stick (?)', based on a context from L. Lloyd's records in which the exact meaning is impossible to determine properly. Words with the meaning 'leaf', as such, are extremely met in South Khoisan languages as a whole.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 259. Quoted as *xero* in [Bleek 1929: 52]. In the former source the meaning is glossed as 'leaves, foliage' (*@o kan xero*: "the tree's leaves").

†Khomani: Doke 1936: 72. Not attested in Maingard's data. An alternate, phonetically similar, but probably etymologically incompatible form, also glossed as 'leaf', is *kāŋkāmū-si* ~ *kākāmū-si* [Doke 1936: 69, 75]. Judging by the structure of the latter word, it is almost certainly a borrowing, but the source is unclear. The form *kānrū* is also phonetically questionable (the cluster *-nr-* is unique for this entry and should indicate a non-!Kwi origin).

N|uu: Sands et al. 2007: 60. A transparent borrowing from Afrikaans *blaar*.

||Xegwi: Lanham & Hallows 1956: 112. Borrowed from Swazi *li=k^hasi* id. Not attested in [Ziervogel 1955].

!'Auni: Not attested.

|Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Not reconstructible. Due to areal conditions, the word 'leaf' consistently shows highly restricted usage and is in most cases /re/introduced as a borrowing.

47. LIE

|Xam *t:a*: ~ *ta*: ~ *t:ē* ~ *t:e:n* ~ *te:ŋ* ~ *t:e:n-t:e:n* ~ *t:e:ŋ-ya* (1), ||Ng!ke *tia* ~ *kia*: (1), †Khomani *qâ* (1), N|uu *qa*: (1), ||Xegwi *la*: # (2), !'Auni *tòa* (1), Proto-!Wi **ta* (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 185, 196, 198. Transcribed as *tá ~ ta: ~ t.ĕ: ~ tĕ: ~ te:ŋ ~ te:n* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *ta: ~ te:n ~ tiŋ* in [Bleek 1929: 53]. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down'; also attested in causative meanings ('to lay (down)'). Vocalic variability is typical of verbal roots with short stems and probably reflects mergers with various class markers, although it is not clear which of the variants should be considered closer to the "pure" root (probably **ta*, but it is also possible to denote the root as a monoconsonantal **t*). On the possible synonym /*ũ:ŋ* see under 'sleep'.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 91, 202. Quoted as *tu ~ tiä ~ kiä ~ ke:ŋ* in [Bleek 1929: 53]. The form *tien* is said to represent "past tense" in [Bleek 1956: 202], but its phonetic variant *kien* [Bleek 1956: 91] ~ *ke:ŋ* [Bleek 1956: 87] is, however, said to be employed "after verbal particles". In [Bleek 2000: 18] it is explicitly acknowledged that *tiä* and *kiä* represent alternative pronunciations, which should be interpreted as one more example of a typologically frequent (for Khoisan languages) palatal articulation of *t*- before front vowels. The verb is frequently translated as 'sleep' in Bleek's examples, but 'lie' is almost certainly the primary meaning; for discussion, see 'sleep'.

‡Khomani: Doke 1936: 63, 69. Not attested in Maingard's data. Meaning is glossed as either 'lie' or 'lie down'.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2007: 61. Meaning glossed as 'lie (down)'.

||Xegwi: Bleek 1929: 53; Bleek 1956: 294. The latter source gives a textual example: *haŋ |a, ha θueŋ* "she lies, she sleeps". The former source quotes the word *!xwa* as a synonym, but its existence is not confirmed in [Bleek 1956]. Unfortunately, the word "to lie" is not attested properly in more reliable sources. In [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 99], the phrase *iŋ-θije* is translated as "I lie down", but the usual meaning of the underlying verb, both in ||Xegwi and in related languages, is 'to sleep' q.v.; without additional confirmation, we would rather regard this as a potential mistranslation and leave the slot empty. In [Lanham & Hallows 1956a: 47], the form *kala* is adduced with the meaning 'lie down' (and explained as a potential borrowing from giTonga *k^hala* 'stay, sit'), but it is not clear whether it also has the required static semantics in ||Xegwi.

!Auni: Bleek 1937: 207. Meaning glossed as 'down, to lie down, come down'; cf. also *tūa* 'to lie curled up' and the derived stem *tōā-a* 'to lay down, to bury' [ibid.]. In [Bleek 1929: 53], the meaning 'to lie down' is glossed as *tū ~ toa*. Textual examples show both a dynamic and a static meaning for the verb: cf. *k^hai tōa* "water comes down" vs. *o toa ki !ā* "(he) lies on the ground" [Bleek 1956: 206]. Cf. also: *‡ di se tūa* "the dog lies curled up" (maybe just "lies" as such?) [Bleek 1956: 240]. There is also a different stem, *!ò* ([Bleek 1937: 209], [Bleek 1956: 280]), glossed only as 'to lie down', and attested only in examples with "dynamic" semantics.

|Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved everywhere, with the possible exception of ||Xegwi. Additionally, cf. ||Kxau *da ~ ta* 'to lie' [Bleek 1956: 19, 185]. Replacements: The situation with ||Xegwi remains unclear; in any case, the hypothetical *|a:* 'to lie' has no reliable external etymology. Reconstruction shape: The most frequent variant is **ta*, with the first consonant regularly palatalized in N|uu. The variants **teŋ* (< **ta-iŋ*?) in |Xam, **tu* in ‡Khomani, and **toa* in !Auni should be regarded as morphological variants.

48. LIVER

|Xam *||wan* ~ *||uán* (1), ||Ng!ke *||ai:n* (1), N|uu *||an* ~ *||aŋ* ~ *||aŋ* (1), Proto-!Wi **||aN* (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 623. Transcribed as *||oáŋ*, emphatic form *||oáŋ-ŋaŋ* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *||oáŋ* in [Bleek 1929: 54].

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 614. Quoted as *||aiŋ* in [Bleek 1929: 54].

‡Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. The two latter forms are said to represent the Eastern dialect.

||Xegwi: Not attested.

!Auni: Not attested.

|Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all languages where attested. Additionally, cf. ||Kxau *ŋaŋa* [Bleek 1956: 143] with regular elision of the click influx. Reconstruction shape: Labialization in |Xam seems to be secondary, as in multiple similar cases. A nasal is always present in the stem coda, but the variants fluctuate rather chaotically between **-aŋ*, **-an*, and **-ain*; the optimal scenario for working out this problem has not yet been found, but in any case, the nasal seems to be an inherent part of the root rather than a suffixal addition.

49. LONG

|Xam *!xó:-wa* (1), ||Ng!ke *!a:* (2), N|uu *!ã:* (2), ||Xegwi *!ã* (2), !'Auni *!ã-si* (2), Proto-!Wi **!ã* (2).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 501. Polysemy: 'tall / long / high'. Plural form: *!xó-!xó-ka* (with reduplication). Transcribed as *!xoxwa*, pl. *!xo-!xó-ka* ~ *!xó-!xó-kən* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *!xoxwa* in [Bleek 1929: 55]. This adjectival stem is clearly derived from *!xo:* 'to grow up, climb up; make upright, make tall' [Bleek 1956: 500].

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 267; Bleek 1929: 55; Bleek 2000: 23. Applied to objects (*ha !u !a:* "his (ostrich's) neck is long") as well as time periods (*!ã !a:* "the night is long").

‡Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006.

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 36. Quoted as *!ã:* 'be long' in [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 115].

!'Auni: Bleek 1937: 208; Bleek 1956: 270. Meaning glossed as 'big, long, tall', although 'big' is an incorrect addition (see notes on 'big' for more details). Entirely different equivalent for 'long' found in [Bleek 1929: 55]: *xaras* (not confirmed by later research or external comparison).

|Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved everywhere except for |Xam. Replacements: In |Xam, the only word glossed with the meaning 'long' is *!xó:-wa*, related to ||Ng!ke *!xoxwa* 'tall, big' [Bleek 1956: 501] = N|u: *!xo:* id. (see under 'big'). This allows to tentatively suggest a semantic shift {'big' > 'long'}, although much depends on the degree of accuracy in the glossing of |Xam data. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are relatively straightforward. Vowel nasalization seems to be innate in the root.

50. LOUSE

|Xam *!ũiŋ* (1), ||Ng!ke *!oin-ya* (1), N|uu *!ũ-si* (1), ||Xegwi *!ẽ-zĩ* (1), Proto-!Wi **!ũ-* (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 683. Emphatic form: *!ũ iŋ-yaŋ*. Transcribed as *!ũ iŋ* ~ *!ũén* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *!õeŋ* in [Bleek 1929: 55].

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 683; Bleek 1929: 55. The suffix *-ya* is either emphatic or plural.

‡Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006.

||Xegwi: Lanham & Hallows 1956: 105. Not attested in [Ziervogel 1955].

!'Auni: Not attested.

|Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all languages where attested. Reconstruction shape: Initial labial click with nasal accompaniment is attested in all languages and automatically projected onto the proto-level. Vocalism is harder to reconstruct; most dialects agree on a labial vowel, but ||Xegwi does not, and it is not excluded that an assimilative process was at work in at least some of these dialects. Still, we provisionally follow the "majority rule". Semantics and structure: For the |Xam-N|uu cluster, the word is reconstructible as the complex stem **!ũ-iŋ*, with a productive nominal suffix (of class?).

51. MAN

|Xam *!wi=gwai:* (1), ||Ng!ke *tú* ~ *tũ* (2), ‡Khomani *!o:* (3), N|uu *!o:* (3), ||Xegwi *!o* (3), !'Auni

bε (4) / *da* ~ *de* (5), [Haasi *bi*: (4), Proto-!Wi **ʃo* ~ **ʃo* # (3).

References and notes:

[Xam]: Bleek 1956: 447, 466. Transcribed as *!ú goá:i* by W. Bleek (for more on the shorter variant *!u* ~ *!ú* see under 'person'). Quoted as *!wi=gwai* in [Bleek 1929: 56]. The noun *!wi* by itself normally means 'person' without specification of gender (q.v.). The compound form *!wi=gwai*: literally translates as 'person-male', where *gwai*: = 'male' (of human beings as well as animals) [Bleek 1956: 52]. It is unclear how frequent this compound was in actual speech, but there are some neutral contexts in L. Lloyd's records suggesting that it could have indeed been the default designation for 'man' as opposed to 'woman' in the singular number. In the plural number, the usual designation for 'men' is suppletive: *tú-kən* (Lloyd), *tú-kən* (W. Bleek) [Bleek 1956: 239]. The singular stem **tu* is, however, not attested in [Xam] at all, and the lexeme is therefore ineligible for inclusion in the list. The lexicostatistically relevant morpheme is *gwai*:

[!Ng!ke]: Bleek 1956: 240; Bleek 2000: 19. Plural form: *tu-kən* ~ *tū-nyən* ~ *tu-ηən*. Quoted as *tū*, pl. *tūηən*, *tú:kən* in [Bleek 1929: 56]. This is the regular equivalent for 'male human being' as opposed to 'woman' (cf.: *!ake, hɿ* *!ōː*, *tukən* *!a ke, hɿ* *!ōː* "women, they dance, those men, they dance" [Bleek 1956: 240]). The stem *!o*: [Bleek 1956: 383] more properly refers to 'male' being in general (cf.: *kue* *!o*: *e* "male ostrich it is" [ibid.]), although is occasionally used to designate male people as well (cf.: *a* *!aiki ha e, a* *!o*: *ki e* "this is a woman, that is a man (= male)" [ibid.]).

‡Khomani: Maingard 1937: 239. Functions both as the independent noun 'man' and the semi-suffix 'male', attached to names of animals (e. g. *!ai* *!o*: 'male gemsbok', etc.). Transcribed as *ʃō* (with a voiced efflux) in [Doke 1936: 85].

N|uu: Miller et al. 2009: 155. Meaning glossed as 'man' (no text examples, so it is not clear if the exact semantics is that of 'male human being' or 'person'; external data clearly speak in favor of the former). Suppletive plural: *ɕu-ke* [Miller et al. 2009: 157]. Quoted as *ʃō*, pl. *ɕú-kwe* in [Westphal 1965: 139].

[!Xegwi]: Ziervogel 1955: 38. Meaning glossed as 'male'. In [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 112], the meaning 'man' is rendered by the compound form *kwi-!o*:, literally 'person' + 'male' (cf. 'woman' q.v.). Quoted as *!o*: in [Bleek 1929: 56]; as *!o* in [Bleek 1956: 582].

[!Auni]: Bleek 1937: 201; Bleek 1929: 56. Quoted as *be* ~ *bε* in [Bleek 1956: 15]. Glossed as 'man, male' in [Bleek 1937: 201]. Bleek 1937: 201. Meaning glossed as 'man, person'; technically, this word could be either completely synonymous with *bε* or with *ʃi* 'person' q.v. However, the first option is preferable for the following reason: according to [Bleek 1937: 196], the suppletive plural for both *bε* and *de* 'man' is *tutos* ~ *tutus*. In [Bleek 1956: 240], the list of freely interchangeable plural variants is given as *tu-ke* ~ *tu-ku* ~ *tu-tu-s* ~ *tu-tu-se*, and the accompanying examples clearly support the semantics of 'men = male human beings', since the word is opposed to 'women', cf.: *!eki a !oeki, tuke na* *!ō*: *ʃu* "women are clapping, men are dancing" etc. Additionally, in [Bleek 1929: 56], only the word *ʃi* is given as the equivalent for 'person', although, admittedly, this is not a very strong argument due to the poor quality of the source. The fact that *da* ~ *de* is not mentioned in [Bleek 1929] at all makes plausible the hypothesis that *da* ~ *de* is the original [!Auni] term for 'man = male person', and that in the early 20th century it was being replaced by the newer equivalent *bε*, whereas the original suppletive plural was still being retained. Regardless of whether the scenario is true, we have to treat *bε* and *da* as synonyms.

[Haasi]: The word *n=!**u*: is glossed as 'man' in [Story 1999: 22], but textual examples rather suggest the meaning 'husband', cf.: *n=!**hā*: *a* "it is my husband" [Story 1999: 24] (the concatenation with the 1st p. possessive prefix *n=* further confirms this). The word *bi*: is encountered in the phrase *bi*: *a* 'it is a man' [Story 1999: 25], and the meaning 'man' is confirmed by the same situation in the closely related [!Auni].

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in most (but not all) dialects of N|uu and in [!Xegwi]. Additionally, cf. [!Kxau] *!o*: 'man, male, person' [Bleek 1956: 662]; [!Ku] *!e* *!o* 'male' [Bleek 1956: 206]. Replacements: (a) In some dialects of N|uu, including Bleek's [!Ng!ke], the singular form **!o* 'man, male' seems to have been replaced by the formerly suppletive plural stem **tu* 'people; men'; (b) the origins of [Xam] *=gwai* 'male' are obscure; it is not even completely excluded that [Xam] *!u=gwai* < **!u=!wai* < **!u=!o-ai* with extra suffixation and irregular click loss (through dissimilation of two clicks in one compound formation?), in which case there would be no need to postulate a replacement. However, this scenario, resting on several unprovable assumptions, is somewhat far-fetched, and we currently prefer to regard the [Xam] situation as a lexical replacement of unknown origin; (c) Lower N!ossob **be* ~ **bi* 'man, male' finds no obvious parallels in the other !Wi languages, and its archaicity is quite dubious, since the phoneme **b-* is not well reconstructible for Proto-!Wi. Reconstruction shape: Click influx is reliably reconstructible as palatal (with a regular shift to lateral affricate in [!Xegwi]), but click accompaniment unpredictably fluctuates between zero (velar) and glottal stop, sometimes even within the same language (cf. different transcriptions in different sources on [!Xegwi]). This could suggest an original **!oʔo* (glottalization on

the vowel, occasionally transferred to the consonant), but more research has to be carried out on the issue. Semantics and structure: The stem **ʃo* ~ **ʃo* is sometimes employed on its own, but just as often functions as part of the compound **!ui-ʃo* 'person-male', i. e. the original semantics is probably 'male' (of any species) rather than specifically 'man' = 'male person'.

52. MANY

[Xam] *x'wái:* ~ *x'wai:-ya* (1), [Ng!ke] *ǀai* ~ *ǀāi* ~ *ǀē:* (2), [Khomani] *ǂebe-ǂe* (3), [N|uu] *kebe-ke* (3), [Xegwi] *k^hyũ* ~ *gyeĩŋ* (4), [Auni] *ǁáni* ~ *ǁáři* (5), [Haasi] *!ɔ:-ɔ:-k'a* (6).

References and notes:

[Xam]: Bleek 1956: 339, 340. Transcribed as *x'óái:* ~ *x'óa:ya* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *k'wai* in [Bleek 1929: 57].

[Ng!ke]: Bleek 1956: 472, 477. Applied to countable ('many') as well as uncountable ('much') objects, cf.: *!^ha: ǀai* "much water" [Bleek 2000: 20]. Quoted as *ǀe* ~ *ǀāi* in [Bleek 1929: 57].

[Khomani]: Maingard 1937: 240. The suffix *-ǂe* is a frequent component of nominal and adjectival stems, although its function is not entirely clear.

[N|uu]: Sands et al. 2006.

[Xegwi]: Ziervogel 1955: 39. Quoted as *q'iy* in [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 117] (in the phrase *ǂa ša: ʔe q'iy* "it is much water"). Quoted as *ǁain* in [Bleek 1929: 57] and [Bleek 1956: 632].

[Auni]: Bleek 1937: 215; Bleek 1956: 557. Meaning glossed as 'much, many, all' (see 'all' for more details). Quoted as *ǁk'ari* 'many' in [Bleek 1929: 57].

[Haasi]: Story 1999: 22.

Proto-!Wi: Not properly reconstructible (each language has its own equivalent).

53. MEAT

[Xam] *ǎ:* ~ *ǎ:* ~ *eń* ~ *éŋ-éŋ* ~ *eŋ-eŋ-ya* (1), [Ng!ke] *ǂwai:* ~ *ǂwai* (2), [Khomani] *ǂwoe* (2), [N|uu] *ǂoe* (2), [Xegwi] *ǂa:* (2), [Auni] *ǂwe* ~ *ǂwi* (2), [Haasi] *ǂwi:* (2), Proto-!Wi **ǂoa* (2).

References and notes:

[Xam]: Bleek 1956: 5, 9, 37, 39. Transcribed as *ǎ:* ~ *ǎ:ŋ* ~ *ǎŋ* ~ *eŋ* ~ *eŋ-eŋ* ~ *eín-ya* ~ *eĩŋ-eĩŋ-ya* by W. Bleek. Reduplicated forms are emphatic in nature. Quoted as *ǎ:* ~ *eŋ* in [Bleek 1929: 57]. The word is most likely a [Xam-exclusive nominal derivative from *hǎ* 'to eat' q.v. (although initial aspiration is completely lacking in the nominal forms, its status in the verbal root is probably secondary as well) and, as such, has replaced the older form *ǂui:*, preserved only in the specific meaning 'game' ('meat that moves') [Bleek 1956: 685].

[Ng!ke]: Bleek 1956: 685; Bleek 1929: 57. Polysemy: 'meat / game / body'.

[Khomani]: Maingard 1937: 246. Transcribed as *ǂoe* ~ *ǂoi* in [Doke 1936: 66]. Secondary synonym: *hē-ǂí* 'meat' [Doke 1936: 77] (a strange compound form with no etymology). Finally, cf. also the word *ǂáři* [Doke 1936: 69], with the meaning glossed as 'flesh'.

[N|uu]: Miller et al. 2009: 55. Quoted as *ǂóé* in [Westphal 1965: 141].

[Xegwi]: Ziervogel 1955: 52. Quoted as *ǂa:* in [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 102]. Quoted as *ǂaa:* in [Bleek 1929: 57]; as *ǂwa:* ~ *ǂwa:-ǂon* in [Bleek 1956: 687] (recorded with a "special" variety of the labial click, said to be "released absolutely without the sound of a kiss, more like a plosive *p*" [Bleek 1956: 682]).

[Auni]: Bleek 1937: 220; Bleek 1956: 685. Quoted as *ǂwe:* in [Bleek 1929: 57].

[Haasi]: Story 1999: 22.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved everywhere except for [Xam]. Replacements: In [Xam], the word is preserved only in the narrow meaning 'game'; otherwise, replaced by *ǎ:*, a nominal derivative (through conversion) from the verb 'to eat'. The semantic

development {'to eat' > 'food' > 'meat'} is typologically common. Reconstruction shape: Reconstruction of the labial click with zero (velar) accompaniment is completely reliable; vocalic reconstruction remains less clear due to possible contractions of the root vocalism with class marker suffixes in different languages.

54. MOON

[Xam *!au!árró* (1), ||Ng!ke *!orre ~ !urru ~ turro* (1), †Khomani *ʔᵛrᵛ* (1), N|uu *ʔoro* (1), ||Xegwi *ʔolo* (1), !'Auni *!ᵛi* (2), |Haasi *!ʰwì*: (2), Proto-!Wi **ʔoro ~ *ʔ'oro* # (1) / **!ʰoi(-ŋ)* # (2).

References and notes:

[Xam: Bleek 1956: 417, 419. Transcribed as *!au!áuru ~ !a!áuru ~ !a!árró* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *!a!aro ~ !au!auru* in [Bleek 1929: 59]. Technically, the word looks like a reduplication, but it could just as easily be a compound, consisting of two parts that are not etymologizable internally (**!au + *!aro*).

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 242, 443, 454. Quoted as *!oro* in [Bleek 1929: 59]. The form *turro* is mentioned as an "unusual form of *!oro*"; it is not highly likely that it goes back to a different root, but it does present a curious dialectal enigma.

†Khomani: Doke 1936: 64.

N|uu: Miller et al. 2009: 155. Transcribed phonetically as [ʔoro]. Quoted as *ʔóló* in [Westphal 1965: 143].

||Xegwi: Lanham & Hallows 1956: 104. Not attested in [Ziervogel 1955]. Quoted as *klolo* (= *ʔolo*) in [Bleek 1929: 59] and [Bleek 1956: 94].

!'Auni: Bleek 1937: 213; Bleek 1929: 59. Quoted as *!oi* in [Bleek 1956: 440].

|Haasi: Story 1999: 22.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all Narrow !Wi languages. Additionally, cf. ||Kxau *ʔᵛrᵛ*, ||Ku!e *ʔᵛlo* [Bleek 1956: 207, 675].

Replacements: The Swadesh item 'moon' reflects the binary split between Narrow !Wi and Lower Nǀossob languages, with no etymological way of determining which particular term, Narrow !Wi **ʔoro* or Lower Nǀossob **!(ʰ)oi*, is more archaic. Naturally, the former is reconstructible at a deeper time level, making it a slightly more probable choice for Proto-!Wi status. Reconstruction shape: The "fluctuating" glottalization of the click efflux (as seen in some N|uu dialects, ||Kxau and ||Ku!e) crops up too frequently to be brushed off as a transcriptional inaccuracy; most likely, the original form was **ʔoʔoro* (i. e. contained a glottalized vowel, with glottalization occasionally transferred to or perceived as part of the click efflux). The Lower Nǀossob equivalent for 'moon'. See notes on **ʔoro ~ *ʔ'oro*.

55. MOUNTAIN

[Xam *!áo ~ !áo-gən ~ !óu* (1), ||Ng!ke *!au* (1), N|uu *!ao* (1), ||Xegwi *tʰaŋ* # (2), !'Auni *ʔwa* # (3), Proto-!Wi **!ao* # (1).

References and notes:

[Xam: Bleek 1956: 408, 444. Transcribed as *!áo-gən ~ !áo-ka ~ !a:ə-kən* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *!au ~ !ou* in [Bleek 1929: 59]. Same word as 'stone' q.v.; it is possible that in the meaning 'mountain' the root is more frequently used in conjunction with suffixal extensions, but no strict morphological opposition between 'stone' and 'mountain' can really be determined from available materials.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 412. Same word as 'stone' q.v. Quoted as *!áu* in [Bleek 1929: 59].

†Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. Same word as 'stone' q.v.

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 60. Encountered once in the texts, within the noun phrase *ʔaŋ ʔe čwa* "black mountains"; not very certain. In [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 106], a completely different compound form is quoted in the meaning 'hill, mountain', with two phonetic variants: *||u-ʔá ~ gu-ʔá* (the second component here may be *ʔá* 'head' q.v.).

['Auni: Bleek 1937: 218; Bleek 1956: 629. Meaning glossed as 'hill' (no special word for 'mountain' is known).

[Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Well attested in |Xam and N|uu; situation in all other languages is dubious. Replacements: Supposed semantic equivalents for 'hill, mountain' in ||Xegwi and ['Auni do not look particularly reliable and find no suitable etymological support. Consequently, |Xam-N|uu **!ao* 'stone / mountain' emerges as the only candidate for this meaning with sufficient distribution and confirmation in textual sources. See 'stone' for further discussion.

56. MOUTH

|Xam *tú* (1), ||Ng!ke *tu ~ tu:* (1), †Khomani *tu* (1), N|uu *ɕu:* (1), ||Xegwi *tu ~ t'u* (1), ['Auni *ɕu:* (2), [Haasi *n=ɕa* (3), Proto-!Wi **ɕu* (2).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 239. Transcribed as *tú*, emphatic form *tú-kən*, pl. *tú-tu ~ túwa-kən* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *tu* in [Bleek 1929: 59]. Polysemy: 'mouth / hole'.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 239; Bleek 1929: 59; Bleek 2000: 27.

†Khomani: Maingard 1937: 257.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006.

||Xegwi: Lanham & Hallowes 1956: 108, 109. Plural form: *tu-ŋ*. Not attested in [Ziervogel 1955]. Quoted as *tu* in [Bleek 1929: 59] and [Bleek 1956: 239].

['Auni: Bleek 1937: 219; Bleek 1956: 664. A somewhat complicated case. The same source lists, as synonymous, the form *tu ~ t'u* 'mouth' [Bleek 1937: 207], adding that the form "may be †khomani", i. e. borrowed from N|uu-†Khomani with whom the ['Auni, as described by D. Bleek, had been in close contacts. Although **tu* 'mouth' is a relatively stable !Wi stem, and there is nothing per se that would make its appearance in ['Auni unusual, Bleek's idea is corroborated by the fact that her own earlier data on ['Auni, collected in 1911, although generally inferior in quality to later research, only lists *ɕu:* and nothing else in the meaning 'mouth' [Bleek 1929: 59]. We go along with her suggestion and include *ɕu:* as the basic equivalent for this meaning.

[Haasi: Story 1999: 22. The element *n=* is probably the 1st p. possessive prefix.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved only in ['Auni. Replacements: This is a case where our decision rests exclusively on external evidence. ['Auni *ɕu:* precisely corresponds to !Xóǝ (Taa) *ɕú-e* 'mouth', and, unlike the isogloss between ['Auni *tu* and early N|uu *tu* 'mouth', the ['Auni-!Xóǝ parallel is not easily interpretable as the result of areal contacts. This is significant evidence for regarding the ['Auni form as an archaism, and interpreting Common Narrow !Wi **tu* 'mouth' as an innovation (possibly 'mouth' < 'hole?') that took place before the subgroup's primary split into ||Xegwi and |Xam-N|uu. Another problem is the form attested in [Haasi, which corresponds to ['Auni *ɕu:* in its consonantal structure, but shows an entirely different root vowel. Unless it can be shown that [Haasi *=ɕa* is contracted from **ɕu-a*, where *-a* is a fossilized class suffix, we prefer to treat it as another lexical replacement of an obscure nature.

57. NAME

|Xam *ǎ* (1), ||Ng!ke *ǎ* (1), N|uu *ka=ǎ* (1), ||Xegwi *ǎ:* (1), ['Auni *ǎ ~ ǎn* (1), [Haasi *a=ǎŋa* (1), Proto-!Wi **ǎ ~ *ǎ* (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 306; Bleek 1929: 60. Emphatic form: *ǎ:ŋ*. Transcribed as *ǎ ~ ǎ:*, emphatic form *ǎŋ* by W. Bleek.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 307; Bleek 1929: 60.

†Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. The prefix *ka=* is possessive in origin, reflecting "inalienability" ('someone's name').

||Xegwi: Lanham & Hallows 1956: 104. Not attested in [Ziervogel 1955].

!Auni: Bleek 1937: 210; Bleek 1956: 307.

|Haasi: Story 1999: 22. Etymologically probably = "your name" (*a=* is the 2nd p. possessive prefix), but cf. *a|aŋa k'as* ||kabbo "my name is ||Kabbo" [Story 1999: 29].

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are fairly straightforward. Nasalization is consistently marked everywhere except for ||Xegwi, but variation in |Xam suggests that nasal articulation of the vowel may be due to contraction with a suffixal marker. The extended form in |Haasi may be emphatic in origin.

58. NECK

|Xam *!au* ~ *!eau* ~ *!^hou* (1), ||Ng!ke *!ú* ~ *kú* (1), N|uu *ʔqu*: (1), ||Xegwi *ʔele* (2), !Auni *||ú* (1), Proto-!Wi **ʔqu* (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 412, 428. Transcribed as *!au* ~ *!^hou*, emphatic form *!^hou-gən* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *!^hou* in [Bleek 1929: 60]. Fluctuation of efflux articulation between aspiration and zero (*!au* ~ *!^hou*) should be interpreted as a possible reflection of improperly identified non-trivial articulation rather than reflexation of two different roots.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 103, 448. The clickless variant is mentioned as an "occasional form", reflecting a particular lect that tends to drop the alveolar click. Quoted as *!ú*: in [Bleek 1929: 60].

ʔKhomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Miller et al. 2009: 145.

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 41. Quoted as *!eleŋ* in [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 104]. This form looks quite similar to Ziervogel's *ʔele*, but could represent the same word only if the transcription of the initial click in one of the sources is due to a mistake or typographic error.

!Auni: Bleek 1937: 216. This word is reproduced in [Bleek 1956: 591], with a supporting textual example: *sa ko |x'ēsi, ho ha ||ú ||o* "bring beads, on my neck put them". There is also a synonymous word for 'neck' attested in all the sources: *ʔōī* ([Bleek 1929: 60]; [Bleek 1937: 219]; [Bleek 1956: 663]); however, no textual confirmations for it are present.

|Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved everywhere except for ||Xegwi. Additionally, cf. ||Kxau *ʔu* [Bleek 1956: 676]. Replacements: Replaced in ||Xegwi with *ʔele*, a word of unclear provenance. Reconstruction shape: Attestation in different varieties of N|uu suggests **ʔqu* as the original form of this word. Potential cognates in |Xam and !Auni are somewhat problematic: (a) in |Xam, alveolar *!* is an expected correlate for the palatal click in N|uu, but the "epenthetic" vowel *-a-* (or *-o-*) is not very well understood; (b) !Auni *||ú* is only acceptable as a cognate if the lateral click in D. Bleek's records is a mistake for a palatal click (there is also an exotic possibility that **ʔq-* > *||-* in !Auni could have been a regular development; cf. a similar case in the etymon 'short' q.v.).

59. NEW

|Xam *||a:ʔŋ* (1), ||Ng!ke *!xe:-k^ya* ~ *!xe:-t^ya* (2), ||Xegwi *||i* (3).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 556, 565, 573. Plural form: *||aʔ||aʔŋ* *a* Transcribed as *||a:ŋ* ~ *||^aa:ŋ* by W. Bleek. Polysemy: 'new / fresh / raw'. Attested contexts clearly show that the word may be used both with the semantics of 'freshly grown / raw' and 'replacing a previous object' (e. g. *||^ao: ||a:ʔŋ* "new bag", *||^ao||^ao ||aʔ||aʔŋ* *a* "new bags"). Quoted as *||a:ŋ* in [Bleek 1929: 61]. The latter source adds a potential synonym: *||wē = ||wē: ~ ||wē: ~ ||wē: [Bleek 1956: 599]* (only in W. Bleek's records), but rather scarcely attested examples only show this word in conjunction with 'moon', making its "basic" character in |Xam rather dubious (the adverbial form *||wē:* 'strongly' in the same

vocabulary entry is supposed to be derived from this stem, but this is semantically questionable).

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 499. Polysemy: 'new / young'. Quoted as simply !xe: in [Bleek 1929: 61]; the forms in [Bleek 1956] look like bimorphemic compounds, but the second component is unclear. The earlier source also lists $\#ē$ as a synonymous form, but it is not confirmed in [Bleek 1956], whereas !xe:- is even propped up by contextual examples (e. g. !xe !xe:-tʰa "new dresses"; ||xe: [a ha !xe:-kʰa "the girl is young").

‡Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Not attested.

||Xegwi: Lanham & Hallows 1956: 105. Attested in the phrase *ha: debe ?ela ||i-wa* "it is a new knife". Not attested in [Ziervogel 1955].

!Auni: Not attested.

|Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Not properly reconstructible based on available data. External data in Taa show that the "marginal" form *||we* in |Xam, not eligible for basic item position in the attested 19th century varieties of the language, could actually be the best candidate for the meaning 'new' in Proto-!Wi.

60. NIGHT

|Xam *||a ~ ||a:* (1), ||Ng!ke *||a ~ ||a:* (1), ‡Khomani *||ā: ~ ||ā?à* (1), N|uu *||a:* (1), ||Xegwi *||a:* (1), !Auni *||âu ~ ||ò* (1), |Haasi *||a-||a* (1), Proto-!Wi **||a* (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 522. Polysemy: 'night / darkness'. Emphatic form: *||a-gən*. Transcribed as *||a ~ ||â:* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *||a:* in [Bleek 1929: 61].

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 522. Quoted as *||a:* in [Bleek 1929: 61].

‡Khomani: Doke 1936: 63, 72. Not attested in Maingard's data.

N|uu: Miller et al. 2009: 157. Quoted as *||a* in [Westphal 1965: 143].

||Xegwi: Lanham & Hallows 1956: 105; Bleek 1929: 61. Attested in the expression *e ||a:* "at night". Not attested in [Ziervogel 1955]. Quoted as *||a* in [Bleek 1956: 522].

!Auni: Bleek 1937: 215; Bleek 1956: 528, 531. Quoted as *||au* in [Bleek 1929: 61].

|Haasi: Story 1999: 22. Reduplicated stem (reason for reduplication is, however, unknown).

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all languages. Additionally, cf. ||Kxau *||a:* [Bleek 1956: 546], ||Ku|e *||â* [Bleek 1956: 522].

Reconstruction shape: The most frequently encountered variant is **||a*. The diphthong *-au* in !Auni finds no confirmation in other sources and must be the result of contraction with a nominal suffix. C. Doke's marking of glottalized articulation in this root (either as a click efflux or as glottalization on the vowel) is also not confirmed elsewhere and possibly reflects an extended variant like **||a-ʔa*.

61. NOSE

|Xam *||ũnu* (1), ||Ng!ke *||ũ-tu* (1), ‡Khomani *||ũ-tu* (1), N|uu *||ũ-ɕu* (1), ||Xegwi *||ũ* (1), !Auni *||õ* (1), |Haasi *||ũ* (1), Proto-!Wi **||ũ* (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 352. Plural form: *||ũ-||ũ:-tu* (with reduplication). Transcribed as *||ũ* upl. *||ũ||ũ-tu* "nostrils" by W. Bleek. Quoted as *||ũ* *u* in [Bleek 1929: 62].

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 353; Bleek 1929: 62. Plural form: *||ũ-tu-yən ~ ||ũ-tu-ke* (plural form meaning is given as 'nostrils' in [Bleek 1956]). The suffix *-tu* is a standard element in anatomical (and some other) terms.

‡Khomani: Maingard 1937: 257.

N|uu: Miller et al. 2007: 59. Quoted as \tilde{u} - \tilde{u} in [Westphal 1965: 140].

‡Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 36; Lanham & Hallowes 1956: 113; Bleek 1929: 62; Bleek 1956: 351.

!Auni: Bleek 1937: 211; Bleek 1956: 348. Cf. also \tilde{oi} - \tilde{tuke} 'nostrils' (literally 'nose-holes'). Quoted as \tilde{u} : in [Bleek 1929: 62].

!Haasi: Story 1999: 22.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all languages. Additionally, cf. ‡Kxau \tilde{u} - \tilde{tu} , ‡Ku||e \tilde{u} - \tilde{tu} [Bleek 1956: 353]. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are trivial and straightforward. Semantics and structure: In ‡Xam and N|uu, the root is most commonly encountered in conjunction with the suffix $*-tu$ (< $*tu$ 'hole; mouth'); judging by the situation in !Auni, this complex formation may have originally referred specifically to 'nostrils'.

62. NOT

‡Xam $x'au$ - ki (1), ‡Ng!ke $\tilde{a} \sim \tilde{o} \sim \tilde{é} \sim \tilde{i}$ (2) / $\tilde{u} \sim \tilde{j} \sim \tilde{e}$ (3), ‡Khomani $\tilde{o} \sim \tilde{e}$ (3), N|uu \tilde{u} (3), ‡Xegwi $?a$ (4), !Auni $kiá \sim tiá \sim tá$ (5), !Haasi $t^y u \sim t^y a$ (5), Proto-!Wi $*//-\#$ (3).

References and notes:

‡Xam: Bleek 1956: 121. Transcribed as $x'au \sim x'au$ - ki by W. Bleek. Quoted as $k'au \sim k'au$ - ki in [Bleek 1929: 62] (only the complex variant $k'au$ - ki also quoted as the predicative negation 'no'). There also used to exist a dialectal variant $ouki$ [Bleek 1956: 155], with areal dropping of the initial velar affricate. The negative root morpheme is clearly $*x'au$; $-ki$ is a verbalizing suffix ("one of the connectives of double verbs", according to [Bleek 1956: 121]).

‡Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 342, 348. Quoted as $\tilde{a} \sim \tilde{o}$ in [Bleek 1929: 62]; $\tilde{a} \sim \tilde{é} \sim \tilde{i} \sim \tilde{o}$ in [Bleek 2000: 21]. The negation seems to behave like a verbal stem, judging by unpredictable vocalic variation that may have something to do with the usual verbal mergers with class markers in ‡Ng!ke. Examples: $\eta \tilde{a} x\eta tia ha$ "I did not understand him"; $\eta \tilde{a} |i \theta waiki$ "I do not have any meat" [Bleek 1956: 342]; $\eta \tilde{o} ||ai$ "I do not know"; $\eta \tilde{i} kie\eta$ "I do not sleep" [Bleek 1956: 348]. Bleek 1956: 566, 582, 590. Other than \tilde{V} , no other forms for the basic negation are mentioned in either [Bleek 1929] or [Bleek 2000]. [Bleek 1956], however, offers ample evidence for an alternate negative marker, $//V$, which also behaves like a monosyllabic root with vowel gradation. Examples: $!a^s ||u \tilde{ó}$: "rain does not fall" [Bleek 1956: 590]; $n ||\tilde{j}i ||\tilde{ó}\tilde{e}$ "I do not see the sun" [Bleek 1956: 582]; $ha ||\tilde{a}\tilde{u}$: $||e a$ "her brother he is not" [Bleek 1956: 566]. Based on available evidence, no differentiation whatsoever can be established between these two forms; we have to treat them as synonymous.

‡Khomani: Maingard 1937: 245, 246.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006.

‡Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 43, 53; Lanham & Hallowes 1956: 114. Said by Ziervogel to be pronounced with high tone, as opposed to $?a$ 'thou' q.v. with low tone. Translations of 'not' as $||e:wa$ and ka in [Bleek 1929: 62] are erroneous; the latter form is not confirmed at all in [Bleek 1956], and $||e:wa$ is glossed in [Bleek 1956: 310] as the negative predicate 'not to be', with the example $han ||e:wa ka$ "he is not here" (there is a possibility of incorrect morphemic segmentation).

!Auni: Bleek 1937: 203, 206; Bleek 1956: 91, 185, 202. All the three particles are probably variants of one and the same negation $*ta$ (with palatal realization of the initial consonant among some speakers). In [Bleek 1929: 62], 'not' is translated as either $taku$ (probably a contraction of ta and the verbal particle ku) or $||a$ (probably erroneous, since its existence not confirmed in [Bleek 1937]).

!Haasi: Story 1999: 22.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: On a strictly distributional basis, the item is not properly reconstructible; however, external comparison suggests that the lateral click stem, attested in various forms of N|uu, is the most archaic of all alternatives. Additionally, cf. Seroa $||au$ 'not' [Bleek 1956: 562]. Replacements: Essentially, each language or dialect cluster within !Wi is represented by its own basic negation: ‡Xam $x'au$, N|uu $*//V$, ‡Xegwi $?a$, Lower N|ossob $*ta$. It does not seem possible at present to establish a reliable scenario for the historic development of this Swadesh item in !Wi. Semantics and structure: Most of the variants of 'not' in !Wi, including $*//-$, behave like verbal stems, with vocalic gradation in the root typical of most non-derived verbal stems.

63. ONE

[Xam *!wa:i* ~ *!w'a:i* (1), ||Ng!ke *//we:* ~ *//'we:* (1), †Khomani *//oe* (1), N|uu *//'oe* (1), ||Xegwi *!oa* (1), !'Auni *ǀú* ~ *ǀú-u* (1), |Haasi *ǀǀ-k'a* (1), Proto-!Wi **ǀoǀ-* (1).

References and notes:

[Xam: Bleek 1956: 459. Polysemy: 'one / alone / once'. Transcribed as *!wa:i* by W. Bleek; also as *!oái* ~ *!oái* only in the meaning 'alone' [Bleek 1956: 490] (but this is clearly the same word). Transcribed as *!wa:i* in [Bleek 1929: 63]. The variety of transcribed variants suggests a "non-trivial" original articulation for the word; may either reflect a glottal stop breaking up a vocalic sequence (**!oʔai*) or an unrecognized uvular glottalized efflux (**!q'oi*).

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 599, 630. Cf. also a variant with a suffixal extension: *//oe:-nso* [Bleek 1956: 584]. Quoted as *//we* in [Bleek 1929: 63] and [Bleek 2000: 20]. The glottalized variant *//'we:* is said to be quite rare.

†Khomani: Maingard 1937: 240.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006.

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 58. Quoted as *!wa:* 'be one or alone' in [Lanham & Hallowes 1956: 115]; as *//a:* in [Bleek 1929: 63] and [Bleek 1956: 547].

!'Auni: Bleek 1937: 220; Bleek 1956: 676. Quoted as *ǀó* in [Bleek 1929: 63].

|Haasi: Story 1999: 22. The "suffix" *-k'a* may actually be the same as the verbal copula *k'a* (i. e. 'one-is'); cf. *//ua:-k'a* 'three'.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Additionally, cf. ||Ku||e *//x'oa* 'one' [Bleek 1956: 606], Seroa *//oai* 'one' [Bleek 1956: 625]. Reconstruction shape: The click influx in this item shows more or less the same reflexes as in the word 'bone' q.v. and a few others; we tentatively reconstruct it as **ǀ-*, indicating that the reflexion is similar to the "normal" palatal click (for [Xam and Lower Nǀossob languages at least; the N|uu reflexion is lateral, and the ||Xegwi reflexion is alveolar). Additionally, the efflux fluctuates between velar (zero) and glottalized, which we typically ascribe to glottalic articulation of the vowel, sometimes transferred to the consonantal onset of the syllable. Root vowel is *-o-* everywhere except for Lower Nǀossob, but the second (suffixal?) vowel varies across languages: **ǀoʔ-e* ~ **ǀoʔ-a*, possibly also **ǀoʔ-/a/ŋ* in Lower Nǀossob.

64. PERSON

[Xam *!ú* ~ *!ú* ~ *!ú-ya* (1), ||Ng!ke *!wa* ~ *!wi* (1), †Khomani *!wī* (1), N|uu *//ŋ=!ui* (1), ||Xegwi *kwi* (1), !'Auni *ǀi* ~ *ǀe* (2), |Haasi *ǀε* (2), Proto-!Wi **ǀu-(i)* (1).

References and notes:

[Xam: Bleek 1956: 466. Transcribed as *!ú*, emphatic form *!úú-ten* ~ *!úú-ya* by W. Bleek. The word is sometimes translated as 'man', but generally in ambiguous contexts; the proper equivalent for 'male human being' is the compound form *!wi=gwai*: q.v. There also exists a shorter variant of the same root, namely, *!u*, but it is almost exclusively encountered in compound forms, such as *!ú goái* 'man', *!ú ǀa* 'girl', *!ú ǀaiti* 'woman' (W. Bleek), *!u-de* 'someone' (L. Lloyd), etc. [Bleek 1956: 447]. This would, however, indicate that the original root is simply *!u*, whereas *-i* is an additional nominal suffix. Quoted as *!wi* ~ *!u* in [Bleek 1929: 65]. The plural form is suppletive: *!é* ~ *!k'é*, emph. *!é-tən* ~ *!k'é-tən* (L. Lloyd), *!é* ~ *!ε*: ~ *!ε* ~ *!ei*, emph.: *!ei-tən* (W. Bleek) 'people' [Bleek 1956: 373, 419, 420] (possibly reflecting an actual form like **!qe* or **!q'e*).

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 458, 466; Bleek 2000: 18. The latter source also notes the existence of a clickless variant *kwa* for the same word, although it is not mentioned again in any of the dictionaries. The variant *!wa* is by far the most frequent, but a couple of examples are also given on the use of *!wi*, which suggests a morphological segmentation into **!u-a*, **!u-i*. Quoted as *!wa* in [Bleek 1929: 65]; this source also adds *ǀe* as a possible synonym, but the only known context in [Bleek 1956: 380] gives only plural usage: *a ǀe nke* "they are people". Clearly, this is the same suppletive plural as in [Xam: cf. also the more common variants, such as *!e* ~ *!e-gəm* ~ *!e* ~ *!k'e* [Bleek 1956: 373, 420; Bleek 2000: 19], which also participate in the self-designating compound form *//ŋ-!e*, literally 'home people'.

†Khomani: Doke 1936: 66. Attested within the compound *//ǀwī* 'Bushman', i. e. literally "home person" (cf. the same expression for the plural in ||Ng!ke).

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. See notes on †Khomani for analysis. It is not clear if the stem *!ui* is encountered in isolation, but, in any case, it is *!ui* that carries the central meaning of 'person', with $\beta\eta$ ('home?') serving as a modifier for self-designation. Suppletive plural: $\beta\eta$ *ʔe*: 'people'. Quoted as $\beta\eta$ -*!wé*, pl. $\beta\eta$ -*ʔe* in [Westphal 1965: 139].

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 39, 44; Bleek 1929: 65; Bleek 1956: 114. Suppletive plural: *ʔe* 'people' [Ziervogel 1955: 37, 44]. Quoted as *kwi*: in [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 101], occasional phonetic variant *gwi* [ibid.: 108], suppletive plural *ʔe* [ibid.: 104]. D. Bleek quotes the suppletive plural form as *ʔontli* ([Bleek 1929: 65]; [Bleek 1956: 356]), where *-tli* = Ziervogel's *ʔe* and Lanham & Hallows' *ʔe*; her first component, *ʔon-*, however, remains unclear.

!Auni: Bleek 1937: 218; Bleek 1956: 643, 652. Although both forms are glossed as 'men, people' in [Bleek 1937] (e. g. as plural forms), this is contradicted by the fact that the same source also lists the specifically plural form *ʔi-te*; textual examples confirming both variants as singular forms are also found in [Bleek 1956: 652], e. g. *ʔi ti ʔú-u* "one person". Quoted as *ʔi*, pl. *ʔi-te* in [Bleek 1929: 65]. On the possibility of the word *da* to be translated as 'person', see under 'man'.

!Haasi: Story 1999: 22. Plural form: *ʔεε* (with diaeresis, possibly = *ʔεʔε*).

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved throughout Narrow !Wi, but seemingly dropped in the Lower Nǀossob branch. Replacements: Most languages of the Narrow !Wi branch present firm evidence that the paradigm of this noun was suppletive in the protolanguage: **!u-* (sg.) vs. **ʔe* ~ **ʔe* (possibly = **ʔeʔe*) (pl.). In comparison, Lower Nǀossob languages only show reflexes of the second root both in sg. and pl. forms; this is most logically interpreted as an innovative generalization of the plural form, with a "new" plural formed wherever necessary (e. g. sg. *ʔi* vs. pl. *ʔi-te* in !Auni). The semantic shift {'people' > 'person'} is quite trivial. Reconstruction shape: The basic root shape of the sg. 'person' is straightforwardly reconstructible as **!u-*; **!u-i* and **!u-a* are probably morphological variants, although only the former is widely distributed and clearly traceable back to proto-status.

65. RAIN

[Xam *!wa:* ~ *!wa:-gən* ~ *!ʰwa:* ~ *!ʰwa:-gən* (1), ||Ng!ke *!ʰa* ~ *!a:* (1), N|uu *ʔqau* (1), ||Xegwi *ʔʰeuŋ* (1), !Auni $\beta\eta$ -*a* (1), Proto-!Wi **ʔqa-* (1).

References and notes:

[Xam: Bleek 1956: 431, 457. Transcribed as *!ʰwa:* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *!ʰwa:* in [Bleek 1929: 68] (the latter source also adds the compound *!ʰwa: ʔi*, literally 'water's liquid', in the same meaning, but this is hardly the basic denotation). External data show that the Proto-!Wi roots for 'rain' and 'water' must have been different, but phonetically similar, and it is not excluded that the two words had been confused in transcription, both by W. Bleek and L. Lloyd. There is, however, no direct evidence for such a confusion in any of the records, and it must be assumed that in [Xam the two words simply merged into one.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 423; Bleek 2000: 28. Quoted as *!ʰa:* in [Bleek 1929: 68]. It is unclear if this word is exactly the same as 'water' q.v., or a phonetically similar stem obscured by inadequate transcription. See notes on [Xam for an identical situation in that language.

†Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Miller et al. 2009: 158. Transcribed phonetically as [ʔqəu].

||Xegwi: Lanham & Hallows 1956: 100. Not attested in [Ziervogel 1955]. Attested mostly as a verbal root (e. g. *ha gaʔa haŋ ʔʰeuŋ-we* "the sky is raining" [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 118]), thus, slightly dubious. In [Bleek 1929: 68] an entirely different word is quoted: *gaa* (*gaa* in [Bleek 1956: 41]).

!Auni: Bleek 1937: 216. Quoted as $\beta\eta$ -*a:* in [Bleek 1929: 68]. See notes on 'water' for further details.

!Haasi: Not attested. Cf., however, *ʔi* 'to rain' (verb) [Story 1999: 22].

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved everywhere where attested. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences for the click influx between [Xam, N|uu, and !Auni are the same as in 'neck' q.v., allowing to trace all the attested forms to a common prototype; lateral click in !Auni may have been a mistake on D. Bleek's part, or the result of regular phonetic change from an original **ʔq-*. For the affricate in ||Xegwi, cf. 'short' with an identical development. Click efflux varies between zero, aspirated, and uvular; we tentatively assume uvular articulation as primary because of the more recent and allegedly accurate N|uu data, but **ʔqʰ-* is almost equally probable as the proto-phoneme. The vocalic coda is realized as *-a(a)* or *-au*, probably reflecting different nominal suffixation, but this situation is actually quite unique, and bears further investigation.

66. RED

|Xam *!i:* ~ *!i:-ya* ~ *!^hi:-ya* (1), ||Ng!ke *xre:-k^ya* (2), †Khomani *†i* (3), N|uu *|x'aba* (-1), ||Xegwi *!e* (1), |Haasi *cxwe-k'a* (4), Proto-!Wi **†₁e* ~ **†₁i* (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 427, 434. Verbal root: 'to be red'. Transcribed as *!i:* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *!i:* in [Bleek 1929: 69].

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 260. Meaning is glossed as 'red, brown', with a supporting text example: *||ōi e xre:k^ya* "the sun is red" (?). In [Bleek 1929: 69], the word is quoted simply as *xre:*, without the second auxiliary morpheme. Root structure here is atypical of ||Ng!ke and Khoisan in general and may represent a secondary reduction from **xVre*.

†Khomani: Doke 1936: 63. Not attested in Maingard's data.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. Meaning glossed as 'red; reddish brown'. The form is a transparent borrowing from Khoekhoe (Nama *!awa*, !Ora *|x'aba* 'red'). There is also a (presumably less used) synonym *ku=†qī*, which must be more archaic (cf. the same equivalent in C. Doke's recordings of †Khomani).

||Xegwi: Lanham & Hallows 1956: 115. Meaning glossed as 'be red'. The entry 'red' = *!amse* in [Bleek 1929: 69] has to be amended in the light of the same word in [Bleek 1956: 300]: the earlier publication accidentally misprints 'reed' as 'red'.

!Auni: Not attested.

|Haasi: Story 1999: 22.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: An isogloss between |Xam and ||Xegwi, making the word the optimal candidate for "Proto-Narrow !Wi". Reconstruction on a deeper level is impossible. Replacements: Except for N|uu *|x'aba*, which is most likely a recent introduction of Khoekhoe origin, most of the other equivalents for the meaning 'red' in !Wi languages do not easily find internal correspondences. They also tend to be phonetically peculiar (e.g. *xre:-* in ||Ng!ke), suggesting further possibilities of borrowing that have to be investigated. Reconstruction shape: The consonantal correspondence between |Xam *!i:-* and ||Xegwi *!e* is the same as in the etyma 'bone' and 'one' q.v., which we currently mark as **†₁-*. The vowel is unquestionably a front one, but the exact quality is not easily determinable. In N|uu, the expected click influx correspondence would have been lateral //; consequently, †Khomani *†i* in Doke's transcription cannot be compared.

67. ROAD

|Xam *!xárra* (1), ||Ng!ke *tirau* (2), N|uu *!an* ~ *!aŋ* (3), ||Xegwi *kaŋ* (3), !Auni *!án* (3), Proto-!Wi **!an* (3).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 497. Meaning glossed as 'path'. Transcribed as *!xárra* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *!xarra* in [Bleek 1929: 64]. The latter source also mentions a second synonym: *!au:-ö = !au ~ !ao* in [Bleek 1956: 408, 412], where this word is understood as a figurative meaning of 'stone, mountain' q.v. Regardless of whether this is just homonymy or, indeed, a result of semantic shift, the accompanying text examples do not refer to man-made paths, cf.: *he ha siŋ †akka ka !au:* "of which (ostrich) he told me its path" [Bleek 1956: 412]; *ŋ kwaj taj kaŋ ||a: !k'āū: !^hiŋ !uru-||a:-ka !áo* "I therefore intend to go passing through !Guru-||Na's pass" [Bleek 1956: 408].

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 203; Bleek 1929: 64. Meaning glossed as 'path'.

†Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. The first form allegedly represents Western dialect, the second form is Eastern. Secondary synonym: *||uru-ke* 'road, path, trail'.

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 44; Lanham & Hallows 1956: 101. Plural form: *ki=kaŋ*.

!Auni: Bleek 1937: 213 (quoted as *kán*, with the click symbol omitted through a typographic error); Bleek 1956: 456 (with the click

symbol correctly restored). Quoted as *!ane* in [Bleek 1929: 65]: probably the same word in a misheard (or dialectal) variant. Meaning is glossed as 'path' in all sources. Cf. also additional synonyms: (a) *||úru* 'path' ([Bleek 1937: 216]; [Bleek 1956: 593]); (b) *ǃx'ei* 'road, path' ([Bleek 1937: 219]; [Bleek 1956: 668]); semantic difference unknown, but only *!án* has external cognates.

|Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in N|uu, ||Xegwi, and !'Auni (unless the !'Auni word is a borrowing from N|uu, in which case the reconstruction is only reliable for the "Narrow !Wi" level). Replacements: Forms in |Xam and "old N|uu" (||Ng!ke) have no known etymology. Reconstruction shape: Alveolar click *!- is reliably reconstructed based on the correspondence between N|uu !- and ||Xegwi *k-* (click loss, like in the word for 'person' q.v.).

68. ROOT

N|uu *!ʰabe-si* # (1), !'Auni *ǃau-si* # (2).

References and notes:

|Xam: Unclear. The only unambiguous candidate would be *!aui*, given as the equivalent of 'root' in [Bleek 1929: 71]; however, the same word is translated more specifically as 'wild onion' in [Bleek 1956: 414]. Other possible candidates from the same source include *ǃúnu* "roots, fibres" [Bleek 1956: 352]; *ǃʰá'na*, pl. *ǃʰá'ǃʰá'nu* "fibrous root" [Bleek 1956: 650] (both from L. Lloyd's records); neither explicitly qualifies as the default word for 'root' (gen.), and it is not even clear if such a generic term existed in |Xam in the first place.

||Ng!ke: Not attested.

ǃKhomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. According to B. Sands (p.c.), "only one of the Eastern N|uu speakers knows this word", and a more suitable candidate may be *ǃao-si* ~ *ǃáú-si* 'root of shepherd's tree (*Boscia albitrunca*)', also used in the meaning 'root (general)'. The issue needs further elaboration.

||Xegwi: Not attested.

!'Auni: Bleek 1937: 219; Bleek 1956: 658. Meaning glossed as 'small roots', therefore, the lexicostatistical entry is dubious (although the word itself is not, since it is clearly the same as N|uu *ǃao-si* ~ *ǃáú-si* 'root of shepherd's tree'. The earlier, less reliable source lists the form *ǃuma* 'root' [Bleek 1929: 71], but in [Bleek 1937: 214] the exact same form is listed with the meaning 'tobacco' (?).

|Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Not reconstructible due to lack of proper attestation.

69. ROUND

|Xam *kúérre-kúérre* (1), ||Ng!ke *kǎkeriŋ* # (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 113, 116. Reduplicated verbal stem, applicable to round objects (e. g. 'sun', 'egg'). Transcribed as *kwórrre-kwórrre* ~ *k úrrre-k úrrre*: by W. Bleek. Quoted as *kǎre-kǎre* ~ *kwǎre-kwǎre* in [Bleek 1929: 71]. Cf. also *||érritǎn-||érritǎn* [Bleek 1956: 570], also glossed as 'round' in one example (applied, however, to "a small troop of springbok", so the exact meaning may be 'to surround, encircle').

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1929: 71. Dubious; the word is not attested at all in the large dictionary [Bleek 1956].

ǃKhomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Not attested.

||Xegwi: Not attested.

!'Auni: Not attested.

|Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Not reconstructible due to lack of proper attestation. Items in |Xam and ||Ng!ke are quite likely cognate with each other, but their authenticity is not confirmed in any newer sources, and the forms belong to the expressive lexicon layer, not to mention the easy possibility of their areal diffusion.

70. SAND

|Xam !k'ãũ (1), N|uu !ãũ (1), Proto-!Wi *!ãũ ~ *!q'ãũ (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 372, 412. Same word as 'earth' q.v. Quoted as !ãũ in [Bleek 1929: 71]. For all the phonetic/transcriptional variants with discussion, see under 'earth'.

||Ng!ke: Not attested. Should probably be the same word as 'earth' q.v., but there is no explicit confirmation of this in either [Bleek 1929] or [Bleek 1956].

‡Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. Same word as 'earth' q.v. Quoted as !ãũ in [Westphal 1965: 144].

||Xegwi: Not attested.

!Auni: Not attested.

|Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: In both of the languages where the meaning 'sand' is attested, it is expressed by the same word as 'earth' q.v.; there is no factual reason to suggest that this polysemy was not present in Proto-!Wi as well.

71. SAY

|Xam †á-kkən ~ †á-kka ~ †á-kən ~ †á-ka ~ †á-ggən (1), ||Ng!ke ka # (2), ‡Khomani ka ~ ku ~ k'u ~ kwa ~ kɔ̃ ~ ku:-wa (2), N|uu ka (2), ||Xegwi kũ (2), !Auni ko (2) / /u (3), |Haasi /wa (3), Proto-!Wi *ka ~ *ku (2).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 654, 655. Transcribed as †á-kkən ~ †á-kka ~ †á^h-†á^h-kkən by W. Bleek. Quoted as †a-kən in [Bleek 1929: 71]. This is rather transparently the primary equivalent for 'say' in |Xam, being the main means of introducing direct speech (cf. *ha oakən †akka hĩ...* "their father says to them...", etc.). The form is morphologically complex, with one of |Xam's most common derivational suffixes that usually serves as a nominalizer. Other potential synonyms, listed in [Bleek 1929: 71], include: (a) *ka*, glossed as 'to wish, intend, think, say' in [Bleek 1956: 73] and, judging from the contexts, generally applied to mental rather than verbal activity; (b) *ku:i = kú:i ~ kú:i-tən* "speaking" [Bleek 1956: 104], also glossed in the meaning 'think' and featuring in a very limited set of contexts/examples.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1929: 71. Dubious, since the word is not found in the large dictionary [Bleek 1956]. However, *ka* as the basic word for 'say' is strongly supported by external data (‡Khomani, N|uu), and the other quasi-synonym listed in [Bleek 1929: 71], *||ála*, is clearly ineligible, since its meaning is confirmed as 'to speak' rather than 'say' in [Bleek 1956: 554], where it is quoted as *||ála?ã ~ ||á^hla^h*, cf.: *a ||á^hla^h ||ŋ-!wá !wink^a* "thou speakest the Bushman language".

‡Khomani: Maingard 1937: 251, 252. Differently vocalized variants may reflect mergers with class markers or other types of suffixation.

N|uu: Miller et al. 2009: 145. Distinct from †xoa 'to speak'.

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 46.

!Auni: Bleek 1937: 203; Bleek 1956: 95. Meaning glossed as 'says, cries' (in [Bleek 1937]) or as 'to say, scream' (in [Bleek 1956]). This is one of the two main verbs that introduce direct speech in !Auni. The other is /u ([Bleek 1937: 210]; [Bleek 1956: 322]); the difference is unclear - for instance, within one text dictated by a single woman ([Bleek 1937: 198]) the narrative begins with /u used several times,

after which the narrator suddenly switches to *ko* for no apparent reason. We have to count both forms as synonyms. Bleek 1937: 210; Bleek 1956: 322.

|Haasi: Story 1999: 23.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved everywhere except for |Xam (where it seems to have undergone a semantic shift) and |Haasi (if Story's source is to be trusted). Replacements: (a) the source of |Xam *ʃa-* remains unclear, but its textual attestation suggests that it had managed to more or less permanently replace the older *ka* as the basic equivalent for 'say'; (b) Common Lower Nǀossob **lu-* 'to say', functioning as a complete synonym of *ko* in !Auni, finds no reliable parallels in "Narrow !Wi". Reconstruction shape: The verb is commonly represented by either the variant **ka* or the variant with a labial vowel (usually **ku*), probably reflecting the usual (poorly understood) scenario of vocalic fluctuation in basic (CV-type) verbal roots.

72. SEE

|Xam \tilde{a} : ~ $\tilde{ā}$: ~ \tilde{i} : ~ $\tilde{ĩ}$ ~ $\tilde{ĩ}$: ~ $\tilde{ĩ}$ (1), ||Ng!ke $\tilde{ā}$: ~ \tilde{e} ~ $\tilde{ĩ}$: ~ $\tilde{ĩ}$ (1), †Khomani $\tilde{ā}$ ~ \tilde{e} ~ $\tilde{ē}$ ~ |ŋ (1), N|uu $\tilde{ā}$: (1), ||Xegwi $\tilde{ĩ}$ ~ $\tilde{ĩ}$ -*ya* (1), !Auni $\tilde{ā}$: ~ \tilde{e} (1), |Haasi $\tilde{ā}$ - $\tilde{ā}$ (1), Proto-!Wi **ʃa* ~ **ʃi* (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 341, 345, 347. Transcribed as \tilde{a} : ~ $\tilde{ā}$: ~ \tilde{e} : ~ $\tilde{ĩ}$: ~ $\tilde{ĩ}$: ~ $\tilde{ĩ}$ by W. Bleek. Quoted as $\tilde{ĩ}$: ~ $\tilde{ā}$ in [Bleek 1929: 72]. Vocalic fluctuation is a typical |Xam feature of short verbal stems and may reflect mergers with various class suffixes; the original root is arguably best denoted as \tilde{V} -. Secondary synonym: $\llbracket x'oen \sim \llbracket x'oen \llbracket$ [Bleek 1956: 607], glossed as "to see, look" (transcribed as $\llbracket x'oen \sim \llbracket x'oen$ by W. Bleek; quoted as $\llbracket k'oen$ in [Bleek 1929: 72]); some attested contexts suggest 'see' as a better semantic equivalent than 'look', but, overall, it is statistically evident that \tilde{V} is the more basic item in this meaning.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 341, 345, 347; Bleek 1929: 72; Bleek 2000: 24. Vocalic fluctuation, same as in |Xam, is typical of short verbal stems. Secondary synonym: $\llbracket en(-ya)$ ([Bleek 1929: 72]; [Bleek 1956: 309]), attested in one dubious example ($n \llbracket enya \llbracket we$ "I have seen the animals"); clearly a different root, but statistically quite unlikely to represent the basic equivalent for the meaning 'see'.

†Khomani: Maingard 1937: 245, 246, 252. Secondary synonym: $\llbracket ai$ [ibid.]. The semantic difference is unclear and suggests incorrect translation (cf., among Maingard's examples, such a strange opposition as $\llbracket ai \eta$ "you see me", but $\llbracket a \tilde{a} a$ "you see yourself"): most likely, $\llbracket ai$ is actually 'look' rather than 'see'. This suggestion is further corroborated by the occasional translation 'look' even in [Maingard 1937] itself, as well as the more modern data from N|uu.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006.

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 36, 49. The past tense form is transcribed as $\tilde{ā}$: [ibid.]. Infinitive: $\tilde{ā}$ -*ziŋ*, imperative forms: $\tilde{ā}$: (sg.), $\tilde{ā}$ -*u* (pl.) [Ziervogel 1955: 48]. Quoted as $\tilde{ĩ}$ ~ $\tilde{ā}$ in [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 105]; as \tilde{e} : ~ $\tilde{ā}$: in [Bleek 1929: 72]; as $\tilde{ā}$: ~ \tilde{e} in [Bleek 1956: 341, 345].

!Auni: Bleek 1937: 211; Bleek 1956: 341. Cf. also the phonetically similar form $\llbracket an$ ([Bleek 1937: 210]; [Bleek 1956: 327]; quoted as $\llbracket un$ in [Bleek 1929: 72]). It is not clear if this is a separate root (and if yes, what is the difference between the two), or if it is yet another morphological variant of the same stem \tilde{V} -.

|Haasi: Story 1999: 23. Reduplicated stem.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Nasalized dental click is preserved in all daughter languages and reconstructed without hesitation. Vocalic fluctuations are quite typical for all CV-type verbal roots.

73. SEED

!Auni *c'ou* (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Not attested.

||Ng!ke: Not attested.

‡Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Not attested. Possibly no generic term at all in the language.

‖Xegwi: Not attested. There is a gloss *!x'uri* 'seeds' in [Bleek 1929: 72]; however, it is not confirmed in [Bleek 1956] or any other, more reliable sources. Even if the entry is correct, it is in all certainty a borrowing from Central Khoisan (Proto-Non-Khoekhoe **!xuri* 'seed'), and should be excluded from lexicostatistical calculations all the same.

!Auni: Bleek 1937: 207; Bleek 1956: 220. Meaning glossed as 'pips, seeds'. Cf.: *!wi c'ou* "seeds of tsamma" [Bleek 1956: 220]. Also attested as a compound: *!u-c'o* 'seeds, pips' [Bleek 1937: 219], although the first component is unclear. Another possible candidate is *!wai* [Bleek 1937: 216]; cf. *n !^hō* *!wai si-!a* "I pick up seeds into the kaross" [Bleek 1956: 596].

!Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Not reconstructible due to lack of proper attestation. The form in !Auni may be etymologically connected with the Common !Kwi compound stem for 'eye' q.v.; if its internal etymology as 'seed+face' is correct, then *c'ou* is an archaism and may well represent the old equivalent for 'seed', but there is no direct comparative evidence to confirm that.

74. SIT

|Xam *s'o* ~ *š'o* (1), ‖Ng!ke *so* ~ *so:* ~ *so:* (1), ‡Khomani *sũĩ* ~ *swẽĩ* ~ *swẽĩ*^f (1), N|uu *sũĩ* (1), ‖Xegwi *šoge* (1), !Auni *sã* ~ *sãō* ~ *so* (1), !Haasi *c'i* (1), Proto-!Wi **so?* (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 171, 181. Transcribed as *so* ~ *so:* ~ *s'o* ~ *š'o:* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *s'o:* ~ *š'o:* in [Bleek 1929: 76]. This is the stative verb ('to sit, be sitting'); the dynamic action verb ('to sit down') is expressed by an apparently derivative stem: *so:é:ŋ* ~ *so:œ:ŋ* ~ *so:é:nyã* ~ *so:wé:ŋ* (W. Bleek), *s:ue:ŋ* ~ *s:ue:nyã* ~ *s:ue:ŋ-s:ue:ŋ* (L. Lloyd) [Bleek 1956: 172, 173, 175].

‖Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 171; Bleek 2000: 20. Quoted as *s'x* in [Bleek 1929: 76]. This is the stative verb ('to sit, be sitting'); the dynamic action verb ('to sit down') is expressed by an apparently derivative stem: *soe:ŋ* ~ *soẽ:ŋã* ~ *swũ:nyã* [Bleek 1956: 172, 176].

‡Khomani: Maingard 1937: 252. As in other cases, differently vocalized variants may reflect mergers with class markers or other types of suffixation. Transcribed as *sôu* in [Doke 1936: 63].

N|uu: Miller et al. 2009: 156. Meaning glossed as 'to sit (of one person)'. The corresponding suppletive plural stem is *!^hau* [Sands et al. 2007: 61].

‖Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 40, 51. The simple form, according to Ziervogel, is used as the past or future tense; the present tense stem is *šoge-ŋe* [ibid.]. Possibly the same stem is quoted as *šo a!ane* 'sit and wait for me' in [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 116], where it is analyzed as *šo* 'sit' + *a!a* 'wait' + *ne* 'me'. Quoted as *šo:* in [Bleek 1929: 76]; as *šo:* ~ *šo* ~ *čō* in [Bleek 1956: 181, 232].

!Auni: Bleek 1937: 205, 206; Bleek 1956: 161, 164, 171. Meaning glossed as 'to sit down, put down, set, stay', but textual examples confirm that this is also the basic equivalent for the static verb 'to sit'. In [Bleek 1929: 76], the form *sã* is listed in the meaning 'to sit', and a strange form *!^howa*, not confirmed in later sources, in the meaning 'to sit down'. Should be distinguished from *!ãũ* 'to sit, to squat' [Bleek 1937: 213].

!Haasi: Story 1999: 23. Secondary synonym: *!xi-k'i* [ibid.].

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: The first consonant is clearly **s-* (compare with **c'i* 'bite' q.v. to make certain that reconstructing an affricate here is out of the question). However, in order to account for the glottal stop in |Xam and ‖Ng!ke, as well as the glottalized affricate in !Haasi, it has to be presumed that glottalic articulation was at least defined on the original vowel (i.e. |Xam *s'o* < **so?V*, etc.). The basic root seems to frequently interact with verbal suffixes, e. g. **so?-i* (in N|uu > *sōē* or *sũĩ* with vocalic assimilation), **so?-ã* (in !Auni), **so?-i* (in !Haasi > *c'i*).

75. SKIN

|Xam *t:ũŋ* (1), ‖Ng!ke *tũ* ~ *twã* ~ *diō* (1), ‡Khomani *zo* (1), N|uu *zũ:* (1), ‖Xegwi *tun* ~ *tũ:* (1), !Auni *!ũ:* (2), !Haasi *!o* (2), Proto-!Wi **tuŋ* (1).

References and notes:

[Xam]: Bleek 1956: 240. Transcribed as *t:ū*, emphatic form *t:ūŋ ~ t:ūwanj* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *tū* in [Bleek 1929: 76]. The latter source also quotes a secondary synonym: *||b*, glossed, however, in [Bleek 1956: 531] as 'outer skin' and encountered in application to a snake's shed skin and the skin of a dead person. Clearly not the basic word for 'skin' in the light of both internal and external evidence.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 26, 240, 243. The form *diō* is somewhat dubious and may represent a different lexeme. Quoted as *tū* in [Bleek 1929: 76]. The same source lists *||ou* as a synonym; in [Bleek 1956: 321] the word is glossed as 'skin, leather', with one textual example supporting only the second meaning (*ŋ ||ayan ||ou !xi* "I bring a skin dress").

‡Khomani: Maingard 1937: 243. Applied to animals (*‡aru ka zo* 'sheep's skin'). Transcribed as *zō̄* (with a nasalized vowel) in [Doke 1936: 67].

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. Quoted as *zū* in [Westphal 1965: 143].

||Xegwi: Lanham & Hallows 1956: 99. Not attested in [Ziervogel 1955].

!'Auni: Bleek 1937: 218; Bleek 1956: 627.

|Haasi: Story 1999: 23.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in Narrow !Kwi. Replacements: Narrow !Wi **tunj* is opposed to Lower Nǀossob **||u* (reconstruction relies on !'Auni rather than |Haasi), but external comparanda in Taa languages (!Xóō *tú'm*, etc.) show that the Narrow !Kwi variant is more semantically archaic. The Lower Nǀossob variant finds an interesting etymological parallel in Narrow !Kwi; [Xam *||b* 'outer skin', 'shed skin', allowing to suggest a possible replacement {'outer skin / shed skin' > 'skin (gen.)'}, although the data are clearly insufficient to secure this conclusion. Reconstruction shape: The nasal coda seems to be retained in ||Xegwi, but as a rule, dissipates into vowel nasalization in the other languages (**tunj > tū*). Palatalisation in N|uu is regular, but the reasons for voicing of the initial consonant remain unclear - an issue to be investigated further, possibly affecting the phonological status of the reconstructed segment.

76. SLEEP

[Xam *θuoin* (1), ||Ng!ke *θwoiŋ ~ θwoeŋ ~ θóeŋ* (1), ‡Khomani *θ'wō ~ θ'wonna* (1), N|uu *θun ~ θuŋ* (1), ||Xegwi *θi* (1), !'Auni *θwōi* (1), |Haasi *θwa-ai* (1), Proto-!Wi **θu- ~ *θi-* (1).

References and notes:

[Xam]: Bleek 1956: 684, 686. Transcribed as *θoeŋ ~ θoeŋ-ya ~ θoe-θoeŋ* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *θoen* in [Bleek 1929: 76]. There also exists a secondary synonym: *||ū:ŋ* (L. Lloyd, W. Bleek) [Bleek 1956: 359], quoted as *fūŋ* in [Bleek 1929: 76]; its exact meaning is hard to determine based on attested examples, but it is likely to have been the dynamic action verb 'to lie down (to sleep)' (cf. such a diagnostic example as *he: si ||ū:ŋ ī: ... ŋ a x'auki θwoiŋ* "then we lay down... I did not sleep" [Bleek 1956: 359]).

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 684, 686; Bleek 1929: 76. In D. Bleek's records, the verb *kia* 'to lie' q.v. is also very frequently glossed as 'to sleep' (e. g. within a complete transcribed "paradigm" *ŋ kia, a kia*, etc., translated as "I sleep, thou sleepest, etc." [Bleek 1956: 91]). However, it may be assumed that the primary meaning of *kia* is 'to lie', based on (a) external evidence and, more importantly, (b) the fact that only for *kia* we also have contexts such as *||wi ||i kia ha ||ai* "the bird stays (= lies) in her nest" (certainly not '*sleeps') [ibid.]. Nevertheless, there must have been some actual overlapping between the two concepts, and it is possible that in this particular dialect the old etymon *θoiŋ* was being gradually replaced by *kia*.

‡Khomani: Maingard 1937: 256. Transcribed as *θ'unnā* in [Doke 1936: 63].

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. The second form allegedly reflects the Eastern dialect. Cf. also *!qabe* (phonetically [*!qəβe*]) 'sleep' [Miller et al. 2007: 59].

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 36, 39, 52. The simple stem, according to Ziervogel, is only used in the future tense. The present tense stem is *θi-ŋe*; the past tense stem is *θi-ŋa* [Ziervogel 1955: 52]. Quoted as *θwe:ni ~ θwe:ŋ ~ θwen* in [Bleek 1956: 685, 687] (with the same "special" type of labial click that D. Bleek perceives in the word 'meat' q.v.).

!Auni: Bleek 1937: 220; Bleek 1956: 686. Quoted as *θwoinj* in [Bleek 1929: 76]. The latter source also adds *kia* as a synonym, but this word is rather the basic !Auni equivalent for 'to lie' q.v.

[Haasi: Story 1999: 23. Transcribed with a space (*θwa ai*), but must be a single word (perhaps, *θwaʔai*).

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. **Reconstruction shape:** The only certain thing about this reconstruction is the initial click (labial, with zero/velar release; glottal stop in old !Khomani records is most likely erroneous, since it is not confirmed anywhere else). Vocalism and presence/absence of nasalization (either as an additional vocalic feature or as a consonant) are heavily influenced by the verbal nature of the stem, which seems to be encountered with a variety of suffixes. Although nasality is a very common feature here (and is further confirmed by external data), it is interesting to note that in !Xegwi as well as in [Haasi, variants without nasalization are attested, and it is not highly likely that nasalization could have been secondarily lost in these languages.

77. SMALL

[Xam *ʔɛɲɲi* ~ *ʔɛnniɲ* (1), !Ng!ke *ʔĩ* (1), !Khomani *θ'kō* (2), N|uu *ʔĩ* (1), !Xegwi *ʔine* (1), !Auni *ʔai* # (3), [Haasi *nʔai-si* (4), Proto-!Wi **ʔeni* (1).

References and notes:

[Xam: Bleek 1956: 643. Plural form: *ʔén*: (on a formal synchronic basis, the singular stem is derived from the plural one). Transcribed as *ʔɛ̃ĩ i* ~ *ʔɛ̃ĩ i*, pl. *ʔenn* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *ʔəri* in [Bleek 1929: 76]. This seems to be the least strongly marked equivalent for 'small' in [Xam. Two more forms are listed in [Bleek 1929: 76]: (a) *c'ore* = sg. *c'erre* ~ *cérre*, pl. *c'éttən* (L. Lloyd), *c'éttən* ~ *c'éttən* (W. Bleek) [Bleek 1956: 215]. This lexeme is said to be exclusively used in conjunction with the negative (*x'auki cerre* 'not small'), and all textual examples confirm this; (b) *-θwa* = *θ ʔ* [Bleek 1956: 684]; this is a diminutive morpheme, mostly found in conjunction with words for 'children' or 'young of birds/animals' (*toi θwa* 'little ostrich', etc.).

!Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 652; Bleek 1929: 76. The secondary synonym *θwain-ki* [Bleek 1956: 685] ~ *θwoin-ki* [Bleek 1929: 76] is more rare and most probably applied only to young animals (cf. the given example *mirriɲ θwain-ki* "little goats").

!Khomani: Maingard 1937: 256. The efflux is marked with *both* a glottal stop *and* the velar obstruent *k*, whatever that might mean according to Maingard's notation. Cf. *θónē* 'small' in [Doke 1936: 73] (most probably the same root, but with a different click efflux and an extra suffix at the end).

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. Meaning glossed as 'small, few'. Secondary synonym: *θũ* (primarily used to form diminutives, as in [Xam and other !Wi-Taa languages).

!Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 58. Quoted as *ʔini* 'be small' in [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 98]. The latter source also adduces a secondary synonym: *θari* [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 104]. Quoted as *ʔx'eni* in [Bleek 1929: 76]; as *ʔx'eni* in [Bleek 1956: 601].

!Auni: Bleek 1929: 76. Only attested in this early, not very reliable, source, so the entry is dubious.

[Haasi: Story 1999: 23.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in most of the Narrow !Wi dialects, but seems to have been largely lost in Lower Nǀossob. **Replacements:** (a) The situation with Lower Nǀossob languages is unclear, since the !Auni equivalent is only attested in an early dubious source, and the [Haasi entry, with its initial palatal nasal, is phonologically odd and looks like an "expressive" term; (b) !Khomani *θ'kō* in Maingard's vocabulary is to be compared with a whole series of words meaning 'child, son, daughter; young; little, small' in !Wi languages [Bleek 1956: 682-687]; however, as a rule, this word is never used to denote objects that are small in size, so either the meaning in !Khomani was inaccurately glossed or there was a minor semantic shift in that dialect of N|uu ('young, little /of age/' > 'small /in size/'). **Reconstruction shape:** Initial palatal click is well preserved in [Xam and N|uu and regularly shifts to a lateral affricate in !Xegwi. Of particular note is the fact that in [Xam, the palatal click is consistently marked as such, rather than as an alveolar click (cf. 'dog', etc.). The implications of this for the reconstruction are not yet clear (separate click phoneme? special positional development? result of recent borrowing?). Bisyllabic nature of the word is well preserved in !Xegwi and is reflected as vocalic nasalization in N|uu.

78. SMOKE

|Xam //ǃ: (1), ||Ng!ke /wi: (2), †Khomani //ʔǃǃ-ké (1), N|uu //o:ʰ-ke (1), ||Xegwi kʰaʔa-zi (3), |'Auni //a:lu # (4), |Haasi //au (1), Proto-!Wi *//oʰ(1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 533. Quoted as //ǃ in [Bleek 1929: 77]. Somewhat dubious (only attested in the compound form //ǃ-ka !wi "smoke's man" (?)), but seems to be confirmed by external evidence.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 334; Bleek 1929: 77.

†Khomani: Doke 1936: 64. Not attested in Maingard's data.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006.

||Xegwi: Lanham & Hallows 1956: 102.

!'Auni: Bleek 1929: 77. Only attested in this early, not very reliable, source, so the entry is dubious.

|Haasi: Story 1999: 23. Said to denote both noun and verb, although the only textual example is within the phrase 'I smoke'.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: This is an isogloss between |Xam, N|uu, and |Haasi, and, consequently, the optimal candidate for 'smoke' in Proto-!Wi. Replacements: ||Ng!ke /wi:, ||Xegwi kʰaʔa-zi, and |'Auni //a:lu currently show no external parallels that would explain their origins. Reconstruction shape: We tentatively choose the N|uu form as the most conservative, simply because of the accuracy of transcription. It does not correlate well with such features as voiced articulation of the click in |Xam, additional glottal stop in Doke's †Khomani, or the diphthong -au in |Haasi; however, we are not sure as to whether at least some of these features have not simply been inaccurately transcribed.

79. STAND

|Xam !ʰe: ~ !ʰé (1), ||Ng!ke //á (2), N|uu //á: (2), ||Xegwi !ʰoʔo-ge (3), |'Auni !ʰá (4), |Haasi //wa (5).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 425. Polysemy: 'stand / remain / stop'. Transcribed as !ʰe: ~ !ʰe by W. Bleek. Quoted as !ʰe: in [Bleek 1929: 79]. The verb is quite distinct from the dynamic 'to stand up': kóáʰŋ (L. Lloyd), kóáŋ ~ k:ó:áŋ (W. Bleek) [Bleek 1956: 97].

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 611. Quoted as //á in [Bleek 1929: 79]. Slightly dubious; the main meaning of this verbal stem in |Xam is 'to stay, dwell, be somewhere', and many particular contexts in ||Ng!ke display the same semantics, cf.: hn //á hn einki "they stay with their father", ha //á //au "he is at the door" [Bleek 1956: 611]. However, cf. also: ŋ !a //á "I stand" [ibid.]. Also, no serious competition for this stem is attested, with the potential weak exception of !uŋ [Bleek 1956: 453]. Overall, it must be stated that no truly diagnostic contexts, in which it would be transparently clear that the Swadesh meaning is present, are attested in Bleek's corpus of examples.

†Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. Secondary synonym: //ʰo: 'to be in a vertical position / to stand up'.

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 48, 51. The simple stem, according to Ziervogel, is used as the past or future tense; the present tense stem is !ʰoʔo-ge-ne. The imperative forms glossed as: !ʰoʔo-geŋa (sg.), !ʰoʔo-u "stand ye!". The same word is possibly quoted as //x:ro in [Bleek 1929: 79], although it is not confirmed in [Bleek 1956].

!'Auni: Bleek 1937: 212. Meaning glossed as: 'up, to stand'. The same word is quoted in [Bleek 1929: 79] as !á 'to stand' (with the zero efflux, possibly erroneous); and in [Bleek 1956: 368], in the textual example: misis kʰwi sa: !á "Missis is standing up".

|Haasi: Story 1999: 23.

Proto-!Wi: Reconstruction of this item is postponed due to too many difficulties: many languages feature phonetically similar forms that, however, do not manage to "come together" under any plausible historical scenario.

80. STAR

ǀXam *ǁuá^h-ttən* (1), ǁNg!ke *ǁwai^h-sa ~ ǁx^hwe:-sa* (2), †Khomani *ǁ^hwāi-ǁē* (2), Nǁuu *ǁx^hoe^h-si* (2), ǁXegwi *ǁou-ni* (1), !Auni *!^ha:* (3), Proto-!Wi **ǁx^hoe^h-#* (2).

References and notes:

ǀXam: Bleek 1956: 331. Emphatic form: *ǁuá^hta:*, plural form: *ǁuá^h-ǁuá^h-ttən* (with reduplication). Transcribed as *ǁu^h-tən ~ ǁwa-tən ~ ǁu^h-tti*, emphatic form *ǁwá-ta-kən* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *ǁwa-tən* in [Bleek 1929: 79].

ǁNg!ke: Bleek 1956: 596, 610. Plural form: *ǁwai^h-nk^he ~ ǁx^hwe:-gən*. Quoted as *ǁwèi-sa* in [Bleek 1929: 79]. The suffix *-sa* is a rarely encountered class marker.

†Khomani: Doke 1936: 67. The form is glossed as plural ('stars'). Not attested in Maingard's data.

Nǁuu: Sands et al. 2007: 62. Polysemy: 'star / hedgehog' (apparently a common association for South Khoisan speakers, known also in !Xóǀ). Quoted as *ǁoi^h-sí* in [Westphal 1965: 143] (meaning glossed as pl. 'stars').

ǁXegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 38, 45. The form is plural ('stars'); the singulative form is *ǁouni-zi*. A completely different form, *kale*, is found in [Bleek 1929: 79] (quoted as *kale*: 'stars' in [Bleek 1956: 78]).

!Auni: Bleek 1937: 213; Bleek 1929: 79. Quoted as *!^ha* in [Bleek 1956: 394].

ǀHaasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Based on these data, the optimal candidate for Proto-!Wi (more precisely, Proto-Narrow !Wi) 'star' should be the isogloss between ǀXam and ǁXegwi. However, it must also be noted that the best external parallels (in Taa) are for the Nǁuu entry, and there is no sufficient evidence to think of any intense secondary Taa-Nǁuu contacts. Additionally, the item with the lateral click is also seen in several languages for which lexicostatistical calculations are impossible: cf. ǁKuǁe *ǁan-te* 'stars' (pl.), ǁKxau *ǁǁan-si* id. [Bleek 1956: 557]. We consider this evidence more substantial, which would mean that ǀXam and ǁXegwi may have independently replaced the original etymon (an easy possibility if the old root **ǁU-* denoted a semantically close phenomenon, such as 'big star, planet', etc.). **Replacements:** No current etymologization for either the etymon seen in ǀXam and ǁXegwi or for !Auni *!^ha:*. **Reconstruction shape:** All relevant data unequivocally agree on the reconstruction of the lateral click influx. Click efflux varies between several fluctuating reflexes. We tentatively accept the Nǁuu form as archaic, and ascribe the fluctuations to various assimilative/dissimilative processes, caused by its containing a glottalized velar affricate in the click efflux position and pharyngealization of the vowel at the same time. Naturally, this is a temporary decision, pending more detailed work on correspondences.

81. STONE

ǀXam *ǁau ~ ǁóu* (1), ǁNg!ke *ǁau ~ ǁáu* (1), †Khomani *ǁuru* (2), Nǁuu *ǁao* (1), ǁXegwi *ǁžeu* (1), !Auni *ǁx^hɔ:* # (3), ǀHaasi *ǁòè* (1), Proto-!Wi **ǁao* (1).

References and notes:

ǀXam: Bleek 1956: 412, 444. Plural form: *ǁau-gən ~ ǁau-ukən*. Quoted as *ǁau ~ ǁou* in [Bleek 1929: 80]. Same word as 'mountain' q.v. (see 'mountain' for speculations on possible morphological differentiation between the two meanings).

ǁNg!ke: Bleek 1956: 412; Bleek 1929: 80. Same word as 'mountain' q.v.

†Khomani: Maingard 1937: 274. Transcribed as *ǁóru* in [Doke 1936: 64], with the meaning, however, glossed as 'pebble'.

Nǁuu: Miller et al. 2007: 55. Quoted as *ǁau* in [Westphal 1965: 144].

ǁXegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 40. Quoted as *ǁévo* in [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 100]. Cf. also the variant *ǁžwe* 'stone' in [Lanham & Hallows 1956a: 47]; the authors mention that "this is not the common Bushman word for 'stone', and it was obtained from one group of informants only". It is also proposed that this latter form may be a borrowing from Sotho *li:=ǁžwe* id. In [Bleek 1929: 80] and [Bleek 1956: 265, 266], two forms for 'stone' are quoted: *ǁže* and *ǁžu*. It is not clear if they represent the same word as Lanham & Hallows' *ǁévo* or *ǁžwe* (or both?). Overall, a rather complicated situation.

!Auni: Bleek 1929: 80. Only attested in this early, not very reliable, source, so the entry is dubious.

[Haasi: Story 1999: 23, 30. Plural form: *k'á=!òè*.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved almost everywhere, with the possible exception of some N|uu dialects and !'Auni (the !'Auni entry is dubious). Additionally, cf. ||Kxau *!ao* 'stone' [Bleek 1956: 408] and possibly ||Ku|e *dʔɔ* 'rock' [Bleek 1956: 26]. Replacements: (a) †Khomani *||uru* = |Xam *||ú:ru* ~ *||urru* 'stone knife, splinter of stone, quartz' [Bleek 1956: 593]; if Maingard's semantics is correct, this could reflect a semantic shift {'stone knife / stone splinter' > 'stone (gen.)'}; (b) !'Auni *||x':x* is a dubious form with no parallels. Reconstruction shape: Determined primarily by the shape of this word in |Xam and N|uu. However, the actual vocalic structure may have been different, cf. |Haasi *!òè* and the palatalized reflexation in ||Xegwi *žeu* ~ *čeo*.

82. SUN

|Xam *||x'òĩŋ* (1), ||Ng!ke *||òē ~ ||òĩ ~ ||òĩŋ ~ ||òē ~ ||òĩ ~ ||òĩn* (1), †Khomani *||'ũĩ* (1), N|uu *||'ũĩ* (1), ||Xegwi *||umi* (1), !'Auni *||é ~ |en* (2), |Haasi *!i* (2), Proto-!Wi **||'ũĩ* (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 607, 626, 627. Polysemy: 'sun / day / thirst'. Transcribed as *||òĩŋ ~ ||òĩ: ~ ||òĩ:ŋ ~ ||ú'ĩŋ*, emphatic form: *||ò'ĩŋ-yaŋ ~ ||oi:ŋ-ya* by W. Bleek. In L. Lloyd's records, the form *||ũĩ* is only recorded in the meaning 'day'. Quoted as *||òĩŋ* in [Bleek 1929: 81]. Irregular fluctuation of transcription between glottalic, velar affricate, and simple velar articulation of the click efflux suggests an original "non-trivial", undetected type of efflux, possibly uvular (**||q'òĩ* or **||q'òĩ'*).

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 584, 585, 625, 626. Polysemy: 'sun / day / thirst'. Quoted as *||òĩ* in [Bleek 1929: 81] and [Bleek 2000: 20]. Irregular fluctuation of transcription between glottalic and simple velar articulation of the click efflux is the same as in |Xam and suggests a "non-trivial" type of original articulation.

†Khomani: Maingard 1937: 243.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. Quoted as *||ũĩ* in [Westphal 1965: 143].

||Xegwi: Lanham & Hallows 1956: 117. Not attested in [Ziervogel 1955]. In [Bleek 1929: 81], two forms are quoted: *||òĩ* and *||u:n*; both of them are confirmed in [Bleek 1956: 584, 628]. It is not clear if these are two different words or dialectal variants. Likewise, neither of the forms can be equated with Lanham & Hallows' *||umi*, although external comparison shows them to be more archaic in shape than *||umi*.

!'Auni: Bleek 1937: 210. Polysemy: 'sun / day'. Quoted as *||é ~ |en* in [Bleek 1956: 307]; as *||ē* in [Bleek 1929: 81]. The latter source also adds a different synonym, *||oi*, not found in [Bleek 1937]. It corresponds to the general !Wi root for 'sun', but, since [Bleek 1929] is a generally unreliable source, we do not include *||oi* in our calculations - it could have been included by mistake, or represent a dialectal archaism, or, quite likely, a borrowing from N|uu.

|Haasi: Story 1999: 23.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved throughout Narrow !Wi. Additionally, cf. ||Kxau *||'oe*: 'sun' [Bleek 1958: 625]. Replacements: In Lower N|ossob, the original root (whose archaicity is confirmed by external comparison with Taa languages) is replaced with **(')e ~ *(')i*, a form that closely resembles the Common !Wi equivalent for 'fire' q.v.; however, we hesitate to postulate a lexical merger, since the actual recorded forms for 'fire' in !'Auni and |Haasi are phonetically different. Reconstruction shape: The majority of the languages agree upon the phonetic shape **||'ũĩ ~ *||'òē* (it is not yet clear if the diphthongs *ui* and *oe* were opposed in Proto-!Wi or if they were mere phonetic variants). The only major dissenting form is ||Xegwi *||umi*, the way it is transcribed in [Lanham & Hallows 1956]; assuming secondary labialization of the nasal under the influence of the preceding vowel, an earlier variant **||umi* may not only indicate that **||'ũĩ* is the result of consonantal lenition, but would also better agree with external parallels in Taa (cf. !Xóó *||'ân* 'sun'). However, the lack of glottal efflux is rather confusing, as is the attestation of the variant *||òĩ* in ||Xegwi by D. Bleek. Such ambiguity of the data implies that one should probably adopt the "majority rule" here, and suspend amending the reconstruction from the widely supported **||'ũĩ* to the ||Xegwi-supported **||'uni* until a detailed reconstruction of Proto-!Wi is produced.

83. SWIM

|Xam *||xu:* # (1).

References and notes:

[Xam: Bleek 1956: 686. Quoted as *θxu* in [Bleek 1929: 82], along with the allegedly synonymous form *ga:n = gá:n* [Bleek 1956: 43]. Both forms are only attested sporadically in W. Bleek's records. We choose the former as primary due to its being illustrated with an actual contextual example (*ha-g̃ẽ kui θxu: u !nhĩ tiŋ !wa:* "he swam on top of the water"), but its status is questionable all the same.

||Ng!ke: Not attested.

‡Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Not attested.

||Xegwi: Not attested.

!'Auni: Not attested.

|Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Not reconstructible due to lack of proper attestation.

84. TAIL

[Xam *!ʰwi* (1), ||Ng!ke *!ei* (1), ‡Khomani *!āĩ* (1), N|uu *!ʰai* (1), ||Xegwi *kʰi* (1), !'Auni *ʰwi* (2), |Haasi *i=á:-a* (3), Proto-!Wi **/a-* # (1).

References and notes:

[Xam: Bleek 1956: 433. Emphatic form: *!ʰwi-tən*; plural form: *!ʰwi-tən-!ʰwi-tən* (with reduplication). Quoted as *!ʰwi* in [Bleek 1929: 82].

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 420; Bleek 1929: 82.

‡Khomani: Doke 1936: 69. Not attested in Maingard's data.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006.

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 53.

!'Auni: Bleek 1937: 219; Bleek 1956: 667. The translation of 'tail' as *!k'a* in [Bleek 1929: 82] is quite strange, since this word normally means 'hand, arm'.

|Haasi: Story 1999: 23. The prefix *i=* may be possessive ('his tail').

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved only in |Haasi, as may be established from external comparison. Replacements: The situation here is complicated. On the Narrow !Wi level (|Xam + N|uu + ||Xegwi), the reconstruction **!ʰi* 'tail' may be proposed beyond reasonable doubt. If this form could somehow be shown as related to !'Auni *ʰwi*, it would have constituted the optimal candidate for the Proto-!Wi level. However, !'Auni *ʰ* never corresponds to Narrow !Wi *!*, and a transcriptional error in this case is not highly likely (as a rule, it is old *ʰ* that gets mistranscribed as *!*, very rarely vice versa). If so, we have three distributionally permissible candidates for Proto-!Wi tail: Narrow !Wi **!ʰi*, !'Auni **ʰui*, and |Haasi **/a-*. On their own merits, Narrow !Wi **!ʰi* would be preferable because of the largest chronological depth of reconstruction, but in the light of external comparison, it is |Haasi **/a-* that has the best outside parallels in the Taa branch of South Khoisan - !Xóó sg. *!áũ*, pl. *!á* 'tail'. Because of this, the currently optimal scenario is to postulate preservation of archaic 'tail' in |Haasi, with independent replacements in !'Auni and in Proto-Narrow !Wi. The nature of these replacements, however, remains unclear. Reconstruction shape: Since there are no !Wi parallels for the |Haasi form, we just tentatively project it onto the proto-level.

85. THAT

[Xam *!e: ~ !e* # (1), ||Ng!ke *á* (2), N|uu *kea* (3), ||Xegwi *?e=ta* (4), !'Auni *ha ~ he ~ hi* (2), |Haasi *cɔ:-a* (5).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 306. Transcribed as /e: ~ /ɛ: ~ /ɛ: by W. Bleek. Correct definition of demonstrative pronouns in |Xam is problematic, since reliable grammatical descriptions are lacking, most dictionary information is contradictory, and most of the textual examples inconclusive. |Xam /e is almost certainly a stem that is used to indicate a far degree of deixis; however, it is glossed in [Bleek 1956] as "there, yonder, far, that, here", and the only textual example that is fully satisfactory for GLD standards is (from L. Lloyd's records) /á-kki Oho /e "give me that piece of wood". The same stem is quoted in [Bleek 1929: 83] as /e:-á, most likely a compound of /e: with another deictic stem, a ~ e (see under 'this'). Unfortunately, no diagnostic contexts have been detected that would contrast 'this' and 'that' within one sentence. Another quasi-synonymous form in [Bleek 1929: 83] is ha, but it is glossed as "this, that" in [Bleek 1956: 55], with no possibility of evaluating the actual meaning.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 4. Listed as the first or default equivalent for 'that' both in [Bleek 2000: 20] and [Bleek 1929: 84], as opposed to a prosodically unmarked a 'this' q.v. The latter source lists three additional synonyms: (a) he, which is not confirmed in either [Bleek 1956] or [Bleek 2000]; (b) /éá, most likely a misprint for /e=á ([Bleek 2000: 20]; [Bleek 1956: 618]), a form which is best analyzed as a compound of a neutral-deictic stem /e with the far-deixis stem á (cf. the same situation for 'this' q.v.); (c) /η-á, most likely a contracted variant form of /e-a.

‡Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Collins & Namaseb 2011: 35-36. Alternate synonym: /áa.

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 55. The first morpheme is either a copula or a neutral deictic stem; the opposition between 'this' and 'that' is formed by the second component of the expression, cf. 'this'. In [Lanham & Hallowes 1956: 110], the form /eta is defined as the "rarest" of all demonstrative pronouns; no differences in degree of deixis are indicated between the three demonstrative pronouns /ena, /ela, /eta. D. Bleek gives ha as the main deictic stem ([Bleek 1929: 83]; [Bleek 1956: 55]); however, it does not really function as a demonstrative adjective, but rather as a general pronominal proclitic.

!'Auni: Bleek 1937: 202; Bleek 1956: 55. Only the variants he and hi are quoted in [Bleek 1929: 83]. According to [Bleek 1937: 197], the same word functions as the main 3rd p. sg. pronoun ('he', 'she', 'it'). The fluctuating vocalism most likely reflects contraction with nominal class markers.

|Haasi: Story 1999: 23.

Proto-!Wi: Not properly reconstructible because of the highly unstable nature of the etyma and possible inaccuracies in available descriptions.

86. THIS

|Xam a ~ a: (1), ||Ng!ke a (1), N|uu a (1), ||Xegwi /e=la (2), !'Auni a (1), |Haasi g^ya-η (3), Proto-!Wi *a (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 4. Transcribed as a ~ a: by W. Bleek. There is also a different vocalic variant: e:, said to refer "to nouns in the pl. and to those in the sing. which take he, hi, instead of ha in the 3rd pers. sing." [Bleek 1956: 36]. This means that a(:) and e(:) both represent contractions of a basic deictic stem *V (vocalism not defined) with different class markers, a situation not atypical of other South Khoisan languages as well. Quoted as a:-á ~ a: ~ e:-á ~ e: in [Bleek 1929: 84]. For more details on the |Xam system of demonstrative pronouns in general see under 'that'.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 4. Listed as the first or default equivalent for 'this' both in [Bleek 2000: 20] and [Bleek 1929: 84], as opposed to a prosodically different á 'that' q.v. The allegedly synonymous form /á ([Bleek 1929: 84]; [Bleek 2000: 20]; [Bleek 1956: 612]) is probably a contraction of the adverbial word /á 'here, there' + -a (for more details, see under 'that').

‡Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Collins & Namaseb 2011: 35-36.

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 55. The first morpheme is either a copula or a neutral deictic stem; the opposition between 'this' and 'that' is formed by the second component of the expression, cf. 'that'. There is also a phonetic variant (or, less probably, a separate synonymous stem) /e=na id. [Ziervogel 1955: 55]. Secondary synonym: /ela [Ziervogel 1955: 56] (encountered relatively rarely; semantic difference from /e=la is unclear). Quoted as /ila ~ /ela in [Lanham & Hallowes 1956: 108], with the meaning is given as 'that';

however, Lanham & Hallowes actually fail to spot any semantic differences between ||Xegwi demonstrative pronouns (see notes on 'that').

['Auni: Bleek 1937: 201; Bleek 1956: 4. In the earlier notes in [Bleek 1929: 84], the meaning 'this' is glossed as *ti*. However, in [Bleek 1937: 206] this word is already explained as part of the expression *ti e* 'that is, there', with no implications whatsoever about the semantics of "near deixis". Nevertheless, as in the case of nearly all !Wi languages, the data are somewhat controversial, and existing textual examples that never contrast 'this (near)' and 'that (far)' do not help matters much.

[Haasi: Story 1999: 23.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Seemingly preserved everywhere except for ||Xegwi and [Haasi. Replacements: The forms in ||Xegwi and [Haasi are not well understood from a historical perspective. Reconstruction shape: The monovocalic root **a* generally stays the same in all descendant languages.

87. THOU

[Xam *a* ~ *a-á* (1), ||Ng!ke *a* (1), †Khomani *a* (1), N|uu *a* (1), ||Xegwi *ʔa* ~ *ʔaŋ* (1), ['Auni *a* (1), [Haasi *g^yá:=a* (1), Proto-!Wi **a* (1).

References and notes:

[Xam: Bleek 1956: 3. Emphatic form: *a-kən*, possessive: *á-ka*. Transcribed as *a ~ a:*, emphatic form: *a-kən*, possessive: *a-kka* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *a ~ a-a ~ a:-ken* in [Bleek 1929: 85].

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 3; Bleek 1929: 85; Bleek 2000: 21. Possessive form: *a-ka*. A very rare (emphatic?) variant is attested in the form *a-ŋ* [Bleek 1956: 10].

†Khomani: Maingard 1937: 244.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006.

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 46. Said to be pronounced with low tone, as opposed to *ʔa* 'not' q.v. with high tone [Ziervogel 1955: 43]. Cf. also the emphatic (absolute) form: *ʔa-ʔe*; the object form *ʔaye* ~ *ʔai* ~ *ʔayi*; the possessive form *ʔaye* [Ziervogel 1955: 45-47]. The absolute form is quoted as *ʔa-ʔe ~ a-ʔe* in [Lanham & Hallowes 1956: 108]. Quoted as *a ~ aŋ* in [Bleek 1929: 85]; as *a*, emphatic *an*, possessive *a-ka* in [Bleek 1956: 3].

['Auni: Bleek 1937: 197; Bleek 1929: 85; Bleek 1956: 3. Possessive form: *a-ka* ~ *a-sn*.

[Haasi: Story 1999: 23. Emphatic form (cf. the same emphatic prefix in 'I' q.v.).

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all languages. Reconstruction shape: The monovocalic root **a* generally stays the same in all descendant languages.

88. TONGUE

[Xam *ʔénni* ~ *ʔéřři* (1), ||Ng!ke *ʔě* (1), †Khomani *ʔan* (1), N|uu *ʔān* ~ *ʔāĩ* (1), ||Xegwi *ʔě* (1), ['Auni *ʔāri* (1), Proto-!Wi **ʔani* (1).

References and notes:

[Xam: Bleek 1956: 272, 310. Transcribed as *ʔě ř i* ~ *ʔě ř i* by W. Bleek (the latter variant, not marking the glottal stop, is rare and probably erroneous). Quoted as *ʔeř i* ~ *ʔeni* in [Bleek 1929: 86].

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 271; Bleek 1929: 86. Plural form: *ʔe:n-yən*.

†Khomani: Maingard 1937: 257.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. The first variant allegedly reflects the Western dialect, the second corresponds to the Eastern one. Quoted as *ʔān* in [Westphal 1965: 141].

||Xegwi: Bleek 1929: 86; Bleek 1956: 272. Not attested in [Ziervogel 1955] or any of Lanham & Hallowes' papers.

!Auni: Bleek 1937: 208; Bleek 1929: 86; Bleek 1956: 269.

Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all languages. Additionally, cf. ||Kxau /*anan-si* 'tongue' [Bleek 1958: 269]. Reconstruction shape: Initial click *ʎ- is preserved everywhere. Vocalic variation between -e- and -a- is most likely caused by dialectal assimilation (*CaCi > CeCi). The old syllabic structure is well preserved in |Xam and !Auni, but tends to be simplified in descendant languages (either the final vowel gets dropped or the medial nasal gets "lenited", transforming into nasalized articulation of the surrounding vowels).

89. TOOTH

|Xam //^hē:i (1), ||Ng!ke //āi: ~ //ē: ~ //ēi (1), †Khomani //ēi ~ //ēi-si (1), N|uu //^hāi (1), ||Xegwi //^hi (1), !Auni //ēi (1), |Haasi k'i=//ε (1), Proto-!Wi *//^hāi (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 574. Plural form: //^he//^hēi. Quoted as //ēi, plural: //ēi-//ēi (with reduplication) in [Bleek 1929: 86]. None of the materials distinguish this word from 'horn' q.v., although external data very clearly speak in favour of their separate origin.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 551, 567, 568, 571. Plural form: //eηən ~ //ēiη ~ //ēi. Quoted as //ēi, plural //ēi//ēi in [Bleek 1929: 86]. None of the materials distinguish this word from 'horn' q.v., although external data very clearly speak in favour of their separate origin.

†Khomani: Maingard 1937: 257.

N|uu: Miller et al. 2009: 156. Transcribed phonetically as [//h ʃ]. Meaning glossed as 'teeth' (pl.).

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 43; Lanham & Hallows 1956: 105. Plural form: //^hi-η [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 116]. Quoted as //ēi in [Bleek 1929: 86] and [Bleek 1956: 568].

!Auni: Bleek 1929: 86. Plural form: //ēiwa-s. Not attested in later, more reliable, sources, but the entry is believable because of secure external cognates.

|Haasi: Story 1999: 23. Probably a plural form (k'i= is one of the variants of the plural prefix).

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all languages. Additionally, cf. ||Ku|e *kxe* 'teeth' [Bleek 1958: 122]; !Gâ!ne //i-//iη 'teeth' [Bleek 1958: 544]. Reconstruction shape: The lateral aspirated click is reconstructed based on |Xam, N|uu, and ||Xegwi; in other languages, aspiration may have either disappeared or, more likely, not been noticed by researchers. The nasalized diphthong is preserved everywhere except for ||Xegwi (and even there it is still postulated by D. Bleek, if not by Lanham & Hallows), so it is also reconstructed quite reliably.

90. TREE

|Xam θ^ho (1), ||Ng!ke θo ~ θo: ~ θ^ho (1), †Khomani θo # (1), N|uu θo: # (1), ||Xegwi θo ~ θ^ho ~ θ^hoη (1), !Auni θwa:a ~ θwa:-sa (1), |Haasi †^hai (2), Proto-!Wi *θo (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 682. Polysemy: 'tree / bush / wood / stick / plant'. Plural form: θ^ho-ken ~ θ^ho:-kən. Transcribed as θ^ho, plural: θ^ho:-gən ~ θ^ho:-kən by W. Bleek. Quoted as θ^ho: in [Bleek 1929: 87].

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 682. Plural forms: θo:-nyayη ~ θo:-gən ~ θo-ke ~ θ^ho-gən. Polysemy: 'tree / bush / wood / stick'. Phonetic variation between θo: and θ^ho: acknowledged both in [Bleek 2000: 18] and [Bleek 1929: 87].

†Khomani: Maingard 1937: 256. Meaning glossed as 'wood'; no special lexeme for 'tree' is attested, thus, the entry is somewhat dubious. Cf. also θo^l-kē 'firewood' in [Doke 1936: 82].

N|uu: Miller et al. 2007: 58. Meaning glossed as 'wood'. According to B. Sands, there is no special generic term for 'tree' in the language; the closest term is †^hi: 'shepherd's bush (*Boscia albitrunca*)', the plural form of which may possibly be used as a generic term. For the moment (until a published dictionary comes out), it is still reasonable to include the old word for 'wood / (growing)

tree' on the list, keeping in mind that this may be an erroneous inclusion. Cf. also $\text{!}^h\text{i}$ 'tree' in [Westphal 1965: 144].

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 36, 42. Quoted as $\tilde{\theta}\delta\text{-z}\text{i}$ 'tree' (with specially marked low tone and the singulative suffix -zi) in [Lanham & Hallowes 1956: 106]. Cf. also, without this suffix, $\tilde{\theta}\text{o}$: 'wood', and with the plural suffix - η , $\tilde{\theta}\text{o}\text{-}\eta$ 'forest' [Lanham & Hallowes 1956: 98, 111]. Quoted as $\theta^h\text{o}$: ~ $\theta^h\text{o}\text{-s}\text{i}$, pl. $\theta^h\text{o}\text{-g}\text{am}$ in [Bleek 1956: 682].

!Auni: Bleek 1937: 220; Bleek 1956: 682. Polysemy: 'wood / stick / tree'. Quoted as $\tilde{\theta}\text{wa}$ ~ θwa in [Bleek 1929: 87].

!Haasi: Story 1999: 23, 30. Plural form: $k'a\text{-!}^h\text{ai}$. Cf. $\tilde{\theta}\text{öi}$ 'wood, stick' [ibid.].

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all languages, but the meaning is frequently restricted to 'wood' as material; this seems to be true in the case of at least !Haasi and, possibly, Modern N!uu, where the meaning 'tree' has not been explicitly attested for this item. Additionally, cf. ||Kxau θo : pl. $\theta\text{o}\text{-kn}$ 'tree' [Bleek 1956: 684]. **Replacements:** External data (in Taa) clearly show that $\ast\theta\text{o}$ used to be applied to 'wood' as material as well as 'tree' as a living organism. However, similarity of the attested situations in !Haasi and N!uu (representing both subbranches of !Wi) shows that already on the Proto-!Wi level, the word $\ast^h\text{i}$ 'Boscia albitrunca' may have been used as a generic term with specific reference to living trees. On the other hand, the related forms found in [Bleek 1956], e. g. |Xam $\text{!}^h\text{i}$ 'umbrella-top tree, witgatboom' [Bleek 1956: 426], etc., always refer to the precise tree species, and there are also explicit textual cases where the old form $\ast\theta\text{o}$ is found referring to living trees. Keeping this in mind, we have to treat the situations in Modern N!uu and !Haasi as lexical replacements: {'shepherd's tree' > 'tree (gen.)'}. **Reconstruction shape:** The only thing that is not easily reconstructible for this form is the click efflux. In old data collections, almost every possible variant is attested (zero efflux, aspirated efflux, aspirated glottalized efflux, voiced efflux, nasal efflux, etc.), which should probably be interpreted as the original presence of some rare type of efflux, simplifying in different ways in different languages and phonetically misinterpreted by inexperienced researchers in others. External data (e. g. !Xóð $\tilde{\theta}\hat{\text{a}}\text{-ye}$ with a preglottalized nasalized efflux) indirectly validate that interpretation as well. However, until more examples become available, we prefer to refrain from making the reconstruction too complex and tentatively choose the simplest variant, attested in Modern N!uu (with the zero efflux). **Semantics and structure:** Should be reconstructed with the polysemy 'tree / wood'.

91. TWO

|Xam $\text{!}^h\text{u}$: (1), ||Ng!ke $\text{!}u$ ~ $\text{!}^h\text{u}$ (1), †Khomani $\text{!}^h\text{u}$ (1), N!uu $\text{!}^h\text{u}$: (1), ||Xegwi $k^h\text{y}\tilde{\text{u}}$: (1), !Auni !am (-1), !Haasi $s\text{=}\text{!}a\text{-ma}$: (2), Proto-!Wi $\ast^h\text{u}\text{?}$ (-1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 448, 492. Transcribed as $\text{!}^h\text{u}$: ~ $\text{!}^h\text{u}$: by W. Bleek. Quoted as $\text{!}^h\text{u}$: in [Bleek 1929: 88]. Fluctuation between simple and glottalized articulation for the click efflux in W. Bleek's records is hardly accidental or erroneous in the light of similar fluctuations in between other South Khoisan languages as well; for |Xam, this may signify a "non-trivial" type of click efflux articulation.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 448, 492. Quoted as $\text{!}^h\text{u}$: in [Bleek 1929: 88] and [Bleek 2000: 20].

†Khomani: Maingard 1937: 240.

N!uu: Miller et al. 2007: 59.

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 58. Quoted as $k^h\text{u}$: ~ c^hu : 'be two' in [Lanham & Hallowes 1956: 115]. Quoted as $\text{!}u$: in [Bleek 1929: 88]; as $\text{!}u$ ~ $\text{!}^h\text{u}$ in [Bleek 1956: 591, 627].

!Auni: Bleek 1937: 209; Bleek 1956: 299. Correctly identified as a Nama borrowing. Quoted as !am in [Bleek 1929: 88].

!Haasi: Story 1999: 23. Composition of this numeral is unclear. The main root morpheme is probably $\text{!}a$.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all Narrow !Wi languages. Additionally, cf. ||Kxau $\text{!}^h\text{u}$:; ||Ku!e $\text{!}^h\text{u}$ [Bleek 1956: 492].

Replacements: (a) In !Auni, the original numeral was replaced by a borrowing from Nama; (b) internal composition of the form $s\text{=}\text{!}a\text{-ma}$: in !Haasi is unclear; the sequence $s\text{=}\text{!}a\text{-}$ can only reflect some sort of fused compound ($\ast^h\text{sV-} + \ast^h\text{!a-}$), but there are no definite ideas on what the separate parts might go back to. If this is indeed a complex idiomatic expression, it is clearly not archaic.

Reconstruction shape: The word is commonly attested either in the variant $\text{!}u$ or in the variant $\text{!}^h\text{u}$; sometimes both variants seem to be in "free variation" within the same language. This indicates either some uncommon type of efflux or an original combination of a non-glottalized efflux with a medial glottal stop (thus, $\ast^h\text{!u}\text{?}$ could either be misheard as $\ast^h\text{!}^h\text{u-}$, or the glottal stop could genuinely undergo "metathesis"). See similar cases with 'one', 'sit', etc.

92. WALK (GO)

[Xam $\|a \sim \|a: \sim \|a\eta \sim \|é$ (1), [Ng!ke $\|a \sim \|a: \sim \|ai$ (1), †Khomani $\|a \sim \|a$ (1), N|uu $\|a\eta$ (1), [Xegwi $\|a \sim ka \sim ga$ (1), |Auni $\|a \sim \|e \sim \|a \sim \|aa$ (1), |Haasi \ddot{a} (2), Proto-!Wi $*\|a-$ (1).

References and notes:

[Xam: Bleek 1956: 512, 519. Transcribed as $\|a: \sim \|a \sim \|a-k\grave{a}n \sim \|a\eta \sim \|e \sim \|e: \sim \|e:$ by W. Bleek. Quoted as $\|e \sim \|a:$ in [Bleek 1929: 42]. This is quite clearly the basic verb to designate beginning of movement towards an object, e. g.: $\eta \|a ha to:i$ 'I go to that ostrich', etc. Vocalic fluctuation is typical of most basic monosyllabic verbal stems and may reflect either contextual phonetic variation or merger with class markers. Another quasi-synonym listed in [Bleek 1929: 42] is $t\grave{a}i^f \sim t\grave{a}\acute{e}^f$, but textual examples in [Bleek 1956: 187] confirm rather strongly that the basic meaning of this verb is 'to walk' (i. e. with emphasis on the process of movement) rather than the required semantics of 'go'.

[Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 513. Quoted as $\|a$ in [Bleek 1929: 42] and [Bleek 2000: 20]. Two more variants in [Bleek 1929: 42] are not confirmed in [Bleek 1956]: $!eya$ is actually 'to bring' and $\|ana$ is not found at all (it is probably just a different variant of $\|a$ with a postpositional particle).

†Khomani: Maingard 1937: 247, 257. Secondary synonym: $\acute{c}xan$ [Maingard 1937: 245], unsupported by data from other sources. Distinct from $t\grave{a}\grave{a}$ 'to walk' [Maingard 1937: 257].

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. Distinct from $z\acute{a}:n \sim \acute{c}a:n$ (Western dialect), $z\acute{a}\acute{a}^f$ (Eastern dialect) 'to walk'.

[Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 36, 39. Past tense form is quoted as $\|a:-ya$ [Ziervogel 1955: 51]. There is a second quasi-synonymous root: $t\grave{a}\acute{a}\acute{a}-ne$ [Ziervogel 1955: 50, 60, 61] = $t\grave{a}\acute{a}\acute{a} \sim t\grave{a}\acute{a}\acute{a}n$ [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 118]. It is also listed as the main equivalent for 'go' in [Bleek 1929: 42], as $tean \sim antean$ (the second variant is contracted with a verbal or pronominal proclitic). However, comparative analysis of sources shows that the basic semantics of this second verb is more complex. Cf. the following examples with their (obviously, approximate) translations: $!^h\acute{o}a antean$ 'the cow goes away' [Bleek 1956: 10]; $n tean$ 'I walk', $ha tean$ 'she goes away', $tean:i$ 'run away' [Bleek 1956: 197]. Also, Ziervogel always gives the meaning 'walk' for this root; its external connections also confirm such meanings as 'go away', 'depart', 'travel'. Consequently, we prefer to exclude this lexeme from our calculations.

|Auni: Bleek 1937: 214, 215; Bleek 1956: 513, 519, 545. The variety of variants indicates that the original form may have been $*\|a\eta$. Not listed in [Bleek 1929: 42], with two other quasi-synonyms suggested instead: (1) $ta\acute{a}\acute{a}$, glossed in [Bleek 1937: 206] as $t\grave{a}\acute{a} \sim tai \sim ta\acute{a}\acute{a}$ 'to walk, to go'; its general semantics seems to be more or less the same as the one of its cognate in [Xegwi, q.v.]; (2) $!u\eta$, probably a marginal borrowing from a Central Khoisan language (cf. Proto-Central Khoisan $*!u$ 'to go').

|Haasi: Story 1999: 22. Secondary synonym: $!^h\acute{a}-ai$ id. [ibid.]. This second word etymologically coincides with |Auni $ta\acute{a}\acute{a}$ and must probably reflect the same semantics ('walk' rather than 'go').

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all languages, except for |Haasi. Additionally, cf. [Kxau $\|a \sim \|a: \sim \|a\eta \sim \|a-i$ [Bleek 1956: 513].

Replacements: The provenance of |Haasi \ddot{a} is unclear. There is a possibility that it is really an inaccurate transcription of $*\|a$, but this is not highly likely (no other evident examples of misinterpreting $\|$ as \ddot{a} may be drawn from Story's vocabulary). Reconstruction

shape: The majority of attested variants allows to reconstruct Proto-!Wi $*\|a-$ 'to go' without controversy. There are, however, some variants without the glottal efflux (e. g. in [Xegwi] that are not so easily explainable. Semantics and structure: In Proto-!Wi, $*\|a-$ 'to go' was most likely opposed to $*ta^f \sim *ta^f-i\eta$ 'to walk' (without a specific direction).

93. WARM (HOT)

[Ng!ke $\|o^fna^f \#$ (1), †Khomani $h\acute{a}\acute{a}-i$ (2), N|uu $ha:^f \sim ha:^f-i$ (2), [Xegwi k^huru (3).

References and notes:

[Xam: Not attested properly. In [Bleek 1929: 48] the meaning 'to be hot' is translated as $t\grave{a}\acute{a} /i$, literally 'to feel fire', but textual examples in [Bleek 1956: 292] do not explicitly confirm this idiom as the main antonym for 'cold'. For 'warm', [Bleek 1929: 90] yields

!wi = 'to burn, smart, ache' (see 'ashes' for more details), but this is probably incorrect; examples in [Bleek 1956: 449] clearly indicate negative semantic connotations ('burnt', 'aching', etc.) rather than the required positive associations. The likeliest candidate for |Xam 'warm' is *k:á'vo* (L. Lloyd), *k:au:^f ~ k:au:^f-k:á:u:^f* (W. Bleek) [Bleek 1956: 80], but a convenient equivalent for 'hot' is still missing.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 586. Quoted as *||o:ná:^f* in [Bleek 1929: 48], *||onà* in [Bleek 2000: 20]. The item is not quite trustworthy, being attested in but one example: *||ōē ||o^fna^f* "the sun is hot" [Bleek 1956: 586]; for contrast, cf. *||ōī hai:i* "the sun is warm" [Bleek 1956: 56]. It is not clear just how reliable these particular translations are.

‡Khomani: Maingard 1937: 243. Attested in the phrase *||ūī ʒeŋ hā:-i* "the sun is hot". Transcribed as *há:ʔi* in [Doke 1936: 63], with the meaning glossed as 'warm'.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. Meaning glossed as 'warm, hot' (of weather).

||Xegwi: Lanham & Hallows 1956: 102. Attested in the phrase *ij k^huru-wa* "I am warm". It is unclear whether ||Xegwi had a precise distinction between the meanings 'warm' and 'hot'. Not attested in [Ziervogel 1955]. Quoted as *kuruwa* 'warm' in [Bleek 1929: 90] and as *kurúwa* 'to be warm' in [Bleek 1956: 107].

!Auni: Not attested.

|Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Not properly reconstructible due to lack of reliable attestation in some languages and lexical instability in others.

94. WATER

|Xam *!wa:* ~ *!wá* ~ *!wã* (1), ||Ng!ke *!^ha:* ~ *!^ha* ~ *!à:^f* ~ *!a:* ~ *||^ha:* (1), ‡Khomani *!^ha* (1), N|uu *!^ha:* (1), ||Xegwi *k^ha:* (1), !Auni *k^há:* ~ *k^háá* ~ *k^hái* (1), |Haasi *kà* (1), Proto-!Wi **!q^ha* (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 427, 431, 457. Transcribed as *!^hoa:* ~ *!^hwà:* ~ *!wa* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *!^hwa:* in [Bleek 1929: 90]. See under 'rain' for more details on this stem.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 394, 402, 423, 572. Emphatic forms: *!^ha-gən* ~ *!^ha-ke* ~ *!^ha:ŋ* ~ *!a-gən* ~ *!a:ŋ*. Quoted as *!^ha:* in [Bleek 1929: 90]. Phonological variation between *!^ha:* ~ *!^ha* also acknowledged in [Bleek 2000: 18]; it may be partially due to failure to distinguish between phonetically similar 'water' and 'rain' q.v., partially to non-trivial articulation of the click efflux (cf. the presence of uvular aspirated articulation in the professionally recorded correlate for present day N|uu).

‡Khomani: Maingard 1937: 257. Transcribed as *!^hà* in [Doke 1936: 69].

N|uu: Miller et al. 2009: 158. Quoted as *!x'á* in [Westphal 1965: 144].

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 46. Quoted as *q^ha:* in [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 106]. An entirely different form, *ša:*, with a rare plural variant *ša:-ŋ*, is also quoted in [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 102, 111]. According to the authors, "the two forms... are not synonymous, but the precise difference in significance has not been accurately determined" [ibid.]. Both of these synonymous or quasi-synonymous forms are also attested in [Bleek 1929: 90] as *||^ha:* and *ša:* (without the erroneously transcribed lateral click, cf. *k^ha:* 'to water' [ibid.]). Quoted as *k^ha:* ~ *||^ha* in [Bleek 1956: 88, 572] (this time, both variants are quoted in the nominal meaning 'water'); as *ša* in [Bleek 1956: 177].

Analysis of the few available textual contexts shows that *k^ha:* may, perhaps, rather refer to 'drinking water', whereas *ša* denotes 'basin water', cf.: (a) *n |o:wa, k^ha:* *n |eo* "I am thirsty, water is wanting" [Bleek 1956: 88]; *sa ne k^ha:* "give me water" [Ziervogel 1955: 46]; (b) *kan ||owa ke e ša* "he stands in the water" [Bleek 1956: 177]; *iŋa ša: gi=t'ama* "I am handsome", literally "I am the water of Lake Chrissie" [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 117] (but also *a-me ?a=x'ēi ša:* "do not drink water" [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 116]; context unknown, perhaps "do not drink lake-water"?).

!Auni: Bleek 1937: 203; Bleek 1956: 88. Meaning glossed simply as 'water', whereas for the alleged click-containing variant *||^há:a* [Bleek 1937: 216] the meaning is glossed as 'water, rain'. This, as well as the uniqueness of the "variation" and, possibly, the difference in tonal characteristics, brings on the suspicion that we are actually dealing with two etymologically different words: *k^há* 'water' and *||^há* 'rain, rain-water'. However, in [Bleek 1956: 572], *||^há:a* is encountered once in the context "he drinks water" (whereas 'rain', without textual examples, is transcribed as *||^há:^ha* with additional pharyngealization, making the picture even more confusing). In [Bleek 1929: 90], 'water' is simply written as *||^ha:*, without any non-click variants. Allegedly, this *could* be a transcriptional error (particularly if the original consonant, as in ||Xegwi, was actually a

uvular q^h).

[Haasi: Story 1999: 23.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all languages. Reconstruction shape: The form of this word in Modern N|uu, with its uvular aspirated click efflux, can be viewed as archaic (uvular articulation is further confirmed by ||Xegwi $q^h a$: in the transcription of Lanham & Hallowes). Deletion of click influx in ||Xegwi is perfectly regular (cf. 'road', etc.), however, the situation with the Lower Nǀossob branch is less clear, because normally the alveolar click there is preserved. Most likely, we are dealing here with a sporadic process of click loss, possibly determined by context (e. g. click loss before a former uvular efflux?).

95. WE₁

[Xam $s:i \sim s:i-s:i$ (1), ||Ng!ke si (1), †Khomani $si \sim sa$ (1), N|uu si (1), ||Xegwi $?i$ (2), !'Auni $si \sim se \sim ci$ (1), |Haasi ci (1), Proto-!Wi $*s\dot{i}$ (1).

References and notes:

[Xam: Bleek 1956: 168. Transcribed as si , emphatic form: $si-t\grave{a}n \sim si-si$ by W. Bleek. Quoted as $si \sim si-si \sim si-t\grave{a}n$ in [Bleek 1929: 90]. Exclusive stem.

[Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 168; Bleek 1929: 90. Exclusive stem. In [Bleek 2000: 21], besides the regular si , an alternate variant ci is also mentioned, but is not confirmed in any other sources.

†Khomani: Maingard 1937: 244. Exclusive stem.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. Exclusive stem.

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 46. Cf. also the emphatic (absolute) form: $?i-?e$; the object form $?iye \sim ye$; the possessive form ye [Ziervogel 1955: 45-47]. The absolute form is quoted as $?i-?e \sim i-?e$ in [Lanham & Hallowes 1956: 108]. Quoted as i in [Bleek 1929: 90] and [Bleek 1956: 67]. According to all known sources, there is no distinction between inclusive and exclusive pronouns in ||Xegwi.

!'Auni: Bleek 1937: 197, 207; Bleek 1929: 90; Bleek 1956: 165, 168. Exclusive stem.

|Haasi: Story 1999: 24. Not listed in the vocabulary, but cf.: $ci \grave{a} k'i=\theta wi$: "we eat meat". Probably an exclusive stem (although Story does not elicit such an opposition explicitly).

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved everywhere except for ||Xegwi, where the old inclusive/exclusive opposition seems to have been neutralized in favor of the original inclusive pronoun. Reconstruction shape: The form $*si$ is attested almost everywhere without change; Lower Nǀossob ci has to be regarded as a "fortition" (cf. the same situation with 'sit', etc.).

95. WE₂

[Xam i (2), ||Ng!ke i (2), †Khomani i (2), N|uu i (2), !'Auni $i \sim e$ (2), |Haasi i (2), Proto-!Wi $*i$ (2).

References and notes:

[Xam: Bleek 1956: 67. Emphatic form: $i-i \sim i-t\grave{a}n$, possessive form: $i \sim i-ta$. Transcribed as $i \sim i$, possessive form: $i-ka$ by W. Bleek. Quoted as $i \sim i-i \sim i-t\grave{a}n$ in [Bleek 1929: 90]. Inclusive stem.

[Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 67; Bleek 2000: 21. Inclusive stem. The rare variant e is also mentioned in [Bleek 1929: 90] and confirmed in [Bleek 1956: 36], said to be "only used before particle he ".

†Khomani: Maingard 1937: 244. Inclusive stem.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. Inclusive stem.

!'Auni: Bleek 1937: 197; Bleek 1929: 90; Bleek 1956: 67. Inclusive stem.

|Haasi: Story 1999: 32. Cf.: $i \ c'au \ k^y\epsilon$ "we milk them". The stem is probably inclusive (considering external data). Story's vocabulary gives the equivalent for 'we' as $i-t^y\acute{o}: a$ [Story 1999: 23], where a is probably a verbal copula, and $t^y\acute{o}$: is some sort of emphatic

morpheme.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all languages. Reconstruction shape: Monovocalic *i is preserved everywhere and is automatically projected onto the proto-level.

96. WHAT

|Xam *c'a=de* (1), ||Ng!ke *d^yi-si ~ gi-si ~ kⁱ-si ~ |i-si* (1), †Khomani *zi-si* (1), N|uu *çũĩ* (1), ||Xegwi *t^hĩ*: (1), |Haasi *ʰa ~ |i* (2), Proto-!Wi **/-* (2).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 23, 210. This interrogative pronoun is a transparent compound of *c'a* 'thing' [ibid.] + basic interrogative morpheme *de* (L. Lloyd, W. Bleek: *d:é*). In [Bleek 1929: 91] a whole bunch of different variants is quoted: *c'a=dé ~ c'a=ba ~ xa=dé ~ -ba ~ -de*. However, textual examples in [Bleek 1956] rather suggest that *ba* and *xa* represent auxiliary clitics whose exact meaning is difficult to establish; only *de* (*dé*) comes through clearly as the main interrogative morpheme in |Xam. See also 'who'.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 26, 46, 93, 279. Quoted as *kisi* in [Bleek 1929: 91]; the alternate variant, *-d^ye*, is incorrectly given as a synonym, because this postpositional lexeme is generally used as an adverbial interrogative ('where?', etc.; see [Bleek 2000: 23]). The forms are clearly polymorphemic in origin and may be analyzed as reflecting an original **di-si*, where *di-* is the interrogative component (= *-d^ye* 'where?'; consonantal alternation *d^y- ~ g- ~ k-* reflects palatalization of the original dental) and *-si* is either a fossilized deictic stem or the remnant of an older word meaning 'thing'. What remains completely obscure is the click-containing variant *|i-si*. Considering Bleek's remark that speakers of the language occasionally drop clicks and the multiple examples that confirm this, one would be tempted to posit **|i* as the original form, and *gi ~ ki* as its later permutations. External data, however, speak very strongly against such a solution: no click-containing interrogatives are found anywhere in South Khoisan (except for |Haasi). The form is more likely to represent some obscure contraction with another morpheme or, perhaps, a rare case of secondary ("expressive"?) click formation.

†Khomani: Maingard 1937: 247.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. Attested in such phrases as *çũĩ xe* "what is that?" or independently (*çũĩ* "what is it?").

||Xegwi: Lanham & Hallows 1956: 118. Not attested in [Ziervogel 1955].

!Auni: Not attested.

|Haasi: Story 1999: 23.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: The old interrogative morpheme seems to have only been preserved in the Lower Nǀossob branch (this is primarily supported by external comparison with Taa languages), or, to be more precise, only in |Haasi, since the situation in !Auni is unknown. Replacements: The main interrogative morpheme in Narrow !Wi is **TV*, where *T* = coronal explosive (usually voiced *d*, less frequently voiceless *t* or aspirated *t^h*) and *V* is usually a front vowel (*e* or *i*). It is usually combined with additional morphemes, such as |Xam *c'a* 'thing', to express the meaning 'what?' (= 'which-thing?'). However, this morpheme finds no parallels in the Lower Nǀossob data, where the basic equivalent for 'what?' has (in |Haasi) the structure "dental click with zero efflux + vowel", which is furthermore corroborated by external data (Taa). Because of these external parallels, it makes more sense to postulate a replacement in Narrow !Wi, although its nature remains obscure at the moment.

97. WHITE

|Xam *!úí-tən ~ !úí-ta* (1), ||Ng!ke *ʽɔ:wa* (2), †Khomani *!uri-ya* (-1), N|uu *!uri-a* (-1), ||Xegwi *ša* (3), |Haasi *ǁa*: (4).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 450. Transcribed as *!úí-ta* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *!úí:ta* in [Bleek 1929: 91]. The latter source adds two secondary synonyms: (a) *ǁKɔ:wa = |o:wa ~ |x'ó:wa* (W. Bleek) [Bleek 1956: 321]; (b) *ǁxá'ŋ-ǁxá'ŋ = ǁxá'ŋ-ǁxá'ŋ* (L. Lloyd) [Bleek 1956: 632]. Item (a) is

represented by two dubious textual examples and glossed as 'pale', 'red' (!) in [Bleek 1956]; item (b) is accompanied by only one equally dubious example. Examples for *!ui-ta* are more numerous and definitive, cf. *ha !litən x'auki tam θwa !úita, hi-ta !úitən-!úitakən* *||e:ya !^hwaitən* "its juice is not a little white, its whiteness resembles milk" [Bleek 1956: 450] etc.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 357; Bleek 1929: 91.

‡Khomani: Maingard 1937: 243. Also transcribed with facultative prenasalization (as *ṽuri-ya*). The word has no known parallels within South Khoisan and is best regarded as a straightforward borrowing from Khoekhoe (cf. Nama *!uri* 'white').

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. See notes on ‡Khomani.

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 58. Quoted as *ša*: 'be white' in [Lanham & Hallowes 1956: 115].

!'Auni: Not attested.

|Haasi: Story 1999: 23.

Proto-!Wi: Not properly reconstructible due to lack of attestation in some languages, transparent borrowed origins in others, and instability in the remaining ones.

98. WHO

[Xam *!u=de* (1), ||Ng!ke *tú-e #* (2), ‡Khomani *ϕ^hu-xai* (2), N|uu *ϕu* (2), ||Xegwi *to*: (2), !'Auni *sa #* (3), |Haasi *ci*: (3).

References and notes:

[Xam: Bleek 1956: 447 (quoted there in the emphatic variant: *!u=de-kən*). Quoted as *!u=de xa* (with an extra particle) in [Bleek 1929: 91]. Like the corresponding inanimate pronoun, a clear compound of *!u(i)* 'person' q.v. with the basic interrogative morpheme *=de*; there is also a suppletive plural stem *!e=de xa* [Bleek 1929: 91].

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 240. Highly uncertain; attested only in one example - *tú e se kia* "who comes there?" ([Bleek 1956: 240]; [Bleek 2000: 23]), in which D. Bleek sees three out of four morphemes ("*tu e* followed by *ki*") constituting a single interrogative complex. The first morpheme, *tu*, is almost certainly related to *tu* 'man' q.v., meaning that the original interrogative morpheme is either *e* or *ki(a)*. On the other hand, comparison with ‡Khomani data shows that ||Ng!ke's closest linguistic relatives already treat *tu-* as the main interrogative segment, and this may have been the case in ||Ng!ke as well.

‡Khomani: Maingard 1937: 247. The suffixal component *-xai* is frequently met in interrogatives, although its function is not quite clear. Transcribed as *ϕúxāi* in [Doke 1936: 71].

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. Cf. *ϕu xe* "who is that?".

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 36. Quoted as *towa*, pl. *twa-η* in [Lanham & Hallowes 1956: 118].

!'Auni: Bleek 1937: 197. Only attested in the composite interrogative *sa-ka* 'whose?', where *-ka* is the general possessive particle, so it may be assumed that *sa* is simply 'who?'.
|Haasi: Story 1999: 23.

Proto-!Wi: Not properly reconstructible.

99. WOMAN

[Xam *!a:i-ti* (1), ||Ng!ke *!ai-ti ~ !ai-ki ~ |ai-ti ~ |ai-ki ~ |e:-ki* (1), ‡Khomani *!ai-ϕe ~ !ei-ϕi ~ |ei-ki* (1), N|uu *|e:-ki* (1), ||Xegwi *|a-zi* (1), !'Auni *|\̂*: (1), |Haasi *|\̂* (1), Proto-!Wi **!a- ~ */a-* (1).

References and notes:

[Xam: Bleek 1956: 268. Emphatic form: *!ai-ti-kən*. Transcribed as *!ái-ti ~ !ai-tye ~ !ái-tyi*, emphatic form: *!a:i-ti-kən* by W. Bleek. Also attested in the same meaning is the compound form *!wi !ai-ti*, literally 'person-woman' [Bleek 1956: 466]. Internal structure of the lexeme must be complex (otherwise, it would violate the basic rules of Khoisan phonotactics), although the element *-ti* is not known

to be a productive suffix in |Xam. The "bare" root, however, may be seen not as /*ai*/, but rather as simply /*a*/, since it is also found in the compound form *!wi /a* 'girl' [Bleek 1956: 267]. The plural form is suppletive: /*á-gən* (L. Lloyd), /*á-gən*, emphatic form: /*á-ka-kən* (W. Bleek) [Bleek 1956: 296] (an entirely different root, since the click effluxes do not match).

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 268, 274, 278; Bleek 1929: 92. The phonetic variation between *-ti* and *-ki* reflects one and the same phoneme (a palatal stop); the variation between click effluxes (glottal stop vs. voiced articulation) is harder to understand. The plural form, as in |Xam, is suppletive: /*a-gən* ~ /*á-gən* [Bleek 1956: 296]; cf. also /*ai* id. ([Bleek 1956: 300]; in [Bleek 1929: 92], this form is mentioned as singular, but the only textual example in [Bleek 1956] gives a plural usage). As in |Xam, the "bare" root /*a*/ is discovered in bound forms: cf. /*e /a* 'girl', /*ǀǀǂǂn /a*: 'old woman' [Bleek 1956: 268].

‡Khomani: Maingard 1937: 239, 253. Functions both as the independent noun 'woman' and the semi-suffix 'female', attached to names of animals (e. g. *!ai /aiǀǂǂ* 'female gemsbok', etc.). Transcribed as /*ǀǂǂǂ* in [Doke 1936: 63].

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. The final suffix is fossilized. Suppletive plural form: /*a-ke*. Quoted as /*e-ǂǂ*, pl. /*á-qxei* in [Westphal 1965: 139].

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 36. Distinct from *gyeiŋ*, pl. *gyaŋ* 'female' [Ziervogel 1955: 44] (the same word is quoted as *q'iŋ*, phonetically [q'iŋ]) 'be a female' in [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 99]). Cf., however, also the phrase *ha: kwi-q'iŋ* "it is a woman" in [Lanham & Hallows 1956: 102]), where *kwi-q'iŋ* literally = 'person + female'. D. Bleek's data on this Swadesh item are confusing. In [Bleek 1929: 92], 'woman' is translated as /*xen*, pl. /*a-ze*. The first form, re-quoted as /*xen* in [Bleek 1956: 635], may represent a corruption of **q'iŋ* 'female'. The second form is a priori dubious as a "plural" form, since *-ze* (= Ziervogel's *-zi*) is, by definition, a suffixal morpheme with a singulative meaning. In [Bleek 1956], we find two entries in its place: (a) /*a:ze* 'woman' [Bleek 1956: 271] = Ziervogel's /*azi*; (b) /*a-si* ~ /*a-kən* 'woman, female', e. g. in /*!wi /a:si* "female dog", /*!xa-!i /akən* "female sheep" [Bleek 1956: 517]. The examples show that the meaning of the root /*a-* is rather 'female' than 'woman' per se, but it is definitely a different word from *q'iŋ*. One possible source is borrowing from a Central Khoisan source, although the Proto-Central Khoisan root **!ae* 'female' has a different click efflux.

!'Auni: Bleek 1937: 210. Plural form: /*an*. Quoted as /*ǂ* in [Bleek 1929: 92]; as /*ǂ*, pl. /*an* in [Bleek 1956: 307]. Meaning glossed as 'woman, female' in all sources. Cf. also /*e-ki* 'wife, woman' [Bleek 1937: 209] - a formation from the same root.

|Haasi: Story 1999: 23, 28. Plural form: *k'a=ǂǂ*.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages, albeit in different morphological variants. Additionally, cf. ||Ku||e /*a-ti* 'woman'; ||Kxau /*a-ti* ~ /*a-u*, pl. /*a-kn* [Bleek 1956: 270, 302]. **Reconstruction shape:** The situation here is tricky. The paradigm that is reliably attested in Modern N|uu allegedly reflects a simple plural stem **!a-* and a "diphthongized" singular stem **!a-i-* (> **!e-*). However, it is impossible to ignore the evidence from old records of |Xam and ||Ng!ke, where the plural **!a-* is opposed to singular **!a-i-*, with a glottalized rather than a zero click efflux. Since the evidence comes from several different sources, it cannot be attributed to mistaken transcriptions: either we deal with some kind of old suppletivism (**!a-* 'woman' vs. **!a-* 'women', with subsequent mergers in several languages), or with the results of morphophonological processes (e. g. the singular form could have originally been **!a-?V*, with subsequent transposition of glottalic articulation to the click efflux; however, such a "suffix" would remain unclear). Currently, we just list both variants as potentially reconstructible for the proto-stage.

100. YELLOW

||Ng!ke /*ǂǂla* (1), |Haasi /*a:* (2).

References and notes:

|Xam: Not attested properly, although cf. /*ainya* in [Bleek 1929: 94] = /*a:in* ~ /*a:in-ya* (W. Bleek) [Bleek 1956: 297]; see under 'green' on the dubious character of this word (the only example for the meaning 'yellow' is *ha c'axéitən doǂǂ /ainya au tukən di* "his eyes were yellow with angry actions", which certainly does not qualify as diagnostic).

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 299. Quoted as /*ǂǂla* in [Bleek 1929: 94]. Somewhat dubious, since the word is not backed by any textual examples to verify its exact meaning.

‡Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Not attested.

||Xegwi: Not attested.

!'Auni: Not attested.

|Haasi: Story 1999: 23.

Proto-!Wi: Not reconstructible due to lack of proper attestation.

101. FAR

|Xam wé-tən (1), ||Ng!ke *héru* ~ *herú* (2), †Khomani *haru* (2), N|uu *haru* (2), ||Xegwi lo-i # (1), |'Auni *háru* (2), |Haasi $n=!\text{wĩ}$ (3), Proto-!Wi $\text{*//oe} \sim \text{*//õẽ}$ # (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 579. Transcribed as wéi-tən by W. Bleek. Secondary synonym: *táŋ* [Bleek 1956: 291], attested only in W. Bleek's records and quoted as *taŋ* in [Bleek 1929: 37]. The latter source also adds *le:* as one more synonym, but this word is glossed as 'there, yonder, far, that, here' in [Bleek 1956: 306] and clearly represents a pronominal deictic stem rather than a separate adjective (see under 'that' for more details).

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 60. Quoted as *harú* in [Bleek 1929: 37]. Secondary synonym: *!wéin-ya* ([Bleek 1956: 464]; [Bleek 1929: 37]). The exact difference between the two words is unclear (cf. η $\text{||}\eta$ *héru* $\text{||}a$ "my house is far", but *sa a !wéinyá* "the eland is far" [Bleek 1956: 60, 464]).

†Khomani: Maingard 1957: 268. Extracted from a phrase in which the word is transcribed as *ŋharu*; however, the initial η - is likely to represent a sandhi-type development (in the VP $\text{||}\tilde{a}\tilde{u}-(\eta)haru$ "marry far").

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006.

||Xegwi: Bleek 1929: 37; Bleek 1956: 585. The same sources also list the probably related form $\text{||}\tilde{u}\tilde{i}$, glossed as 'far' in [Bleek 1929: 37] and as 'very far' in [Bleek 1956: 591]. Not attested in [Ziervogel 1955] or any of Lanham & Hallows' papers, therefore, somewhat dubious.

|'Auni: Bleek 1937: 202; Bleek 1956: 58.

|Haasi: Story 1999: 21.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved in |Xam, possibly in ||Xegwi and also potentially in |Haasi. Replacements: In this situation, there are two potential candidates for Proto-!Wi 'far'. The most obvious one would be **haru*, an isogloss between the N|uu cluster and |'Auni. However, areal influence of N|uu on |'Auni is well confirmed by numerous other cases, and this particular case could also simply reflect a N|uu borrowing into |'Auni. On the other hand, the main attested equivalent for 'far' in |Xam may easily be correlated with the form in ||Xegwi (dubious because of scarce attestation, but attested nonetheless), and perhaps even with |Haasi $n=!\text{wĩ}$, assuming that the alveolar click in |Haasi was erroneously mistranscribed instead of the lateral one (admittedly, this is a somewhat feeble assumption, since no confirming examples of such confusion have been found). The clinching argument here is external comparison: Proto-!Wi *//oe is compatible with Taa forms (!Xóò $\text{||}q\tilde{a}\tilde{i}$ 'far away', etc.), confirming that N|uu *haru* should be seen as an innovation in the meaning 'far', and that |'Auni *háru* is either an independent innovation as well, or, more likely, a borrowing from N|uu. Reconstruction shape: It is unclear whether the nasalization (such as found in ||Xegwi $\text{||}\tilde{u}\tilde{i}$, etc.) is an inherent part of the root here or the result of contraction with a nasal suffix; external comparison would rather suggest the latter.

102. HEAVY

|Xam $k\text{wé:}\eta$ ~ $k\text{ué}\eta$ (1), ||Ng!ke $\tilde{\text{||}}\tilde{\text{a}}\tilde{\text{i}}^f$ (2), N|uu ||^*um (3), |'Auni *geite* (4).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 97, 113. Transcribed as *kóe:n* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *koe:ŋ* in [Bleek 1929: 46].

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 472. Quoted as $\tilde{\text{||}}\tilde{\text{a}}\tilde{\text{i}}$ in [Bleek 1929: 46]. In [Bleek 1956], the word is presented as polysemous: 'to be big / much / many / strong / heavy', with the meaning 'heavy' represented by only one textual example: *fwí $\tilde{\text{||}}\tilde{\text{a}}\tilde{\text{i}}^f$* "the eggshell is heavy". Considering that in the meanings 'big, many, much' (see notes on 'many' for these meanings) the word is transcribed without pharyngealization, this may be a case of partial homophony rather than polysemy.

†Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006.

||Xegwi: Not attested.

!'Auni: Bleek 1937: 202; Bleek 1956: 45.

|Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Not reconstructible due to relative scarcity of attestation and instability.

103. NEAR

|Xam !^hi:ŋ ~ !^hi:ŋ-ya # (1), N|uu ʃe: (2), ||Xegwi t'anan (3).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 397. Transcribed as !^hi:ŋ ~ !^he:n-ya by W. Bleek. Quoted as !^hi:ŋ in [Bleek 1929: 60]. The latter source also quotes the predicative stem !we:sij 'to be near'; in [Bleek 1956: 391-392] it is already segmented into !we: 'to sling on, pass across, be opposite to, near to' + sij 'to sit, stay', and the basic meaning of the first stem is rather 'to be opposite to smth.' than 'to be near to smth.'. More problematic is the additional synonym *θwurru* ~ *θwurru-kən* (L. Lloyd), *θurru* (W. Bleek) [Bleek 1956: 684, 686], also translated as 'to be near'; although it is not mentioned in [Bleek 1929], it is formally eligible for inclusion.

||Ng!ke: Not attested properly. In [Bleek 1929: 60], two equivalents are listed: (a) *ki*, revealed in [Bleek 1956: 91] as a general morpheme indicating near deixis ('here'); (b) *lla*, whose real meaning is 'to stay', 'to be somewhere' [Bleek 1956: 611].

‡Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. Meaning glossed as 'be close, be nearby'.

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 47. Attested in the phrase *ʔe ʔi t'anan* "near us", literally "at our near" (i. e. the word syntactically behaves like a noun).

!'Auni: Not attested.

|Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Not reconstructible due to relative scarcity of attestation and instability.

104. SALT

|Xam ʃk'ò: (1), N|uu ʃx'o: (1), ||Xegwi !^he-zi (2).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 662. Quoted as ʃó: in [Bleek 1929: 71].

||Ng!ke: Not attested.

‡Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Miller et al. 2007: 60. Secondary synonym: *zebe* [Miller et al. 2009: 155], transcribed phonetically as [ʒeβe]; this form is most likely a recent borrowing from Central Khoisan, where **debe* ~ **dobe* is one of the main terms for 'salt' or 'salt lick'. Cf. also *ziβe* ~ *dyiβe* 'salt' in [Westphal 1965: 144].

||Xegwi: Lanham & Hallows 1956: 102. Not attested in [Ziervogel 1955].

!'Auni: Not attested.

|Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Not reconstructible, since the forms in |Xam and N|uu very likely reflect areal borrowings from Khoekhoe.

105. SHORT

|Xam !^hu^herri: ~ !^huírri (1), N|uu ʃqōẽ (2), ||Xegwi čwe (2), !'Auni //wāi-si (2), |Haasi |ã-si (3),

Proto-!Wi **qoe(-ŋ)* (2).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 362, 368. Plural form: /' *úttən*. Said of people (*ha ||axai θwa ǀe ǀwerri*: "her younger sister is short") as well as objects (*ha a, !wa!wa:gan ǀwittən* "it is one whose legs are short") [ibid.]. Transcribed as /' *úri*, plural: /' *úttən* by W. Bleek. Transcribed as /' *wiri* in [Bleek 1929: 74]. The latter source adds *fəni* as a secondary synonym, but the main meaning of this word is 'small' q.v.

||Ng!ke: Not attested.

ǂKhomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Miller et al. 2009: 156 (the complete adduced form is *ǂqōē a* 'be short').

||Xegwi: Ziervogel 1955: 58. Said of people (*ha kwi ǀe la čwe* "it is a short person"). Quoted as *čwiŋ* in [Lanham & Hallowes 1956: 103]; as *čūū* in [Bleek 1929: 74] and [Bleek 1956: 236].

|'Auni: Bleek 1937: 216.

|Haasi: Story 1999: 23.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: An isogloss between N|uu, ||Xegwi, and |'Auni, thus perfectly reconstructible on the Proto-!Wi level.

Replacements: Etymologies of |Xam /' *urri*: and |Haasi / *əsi* are unknown.

106. SNAKE

|Xam *ǀérritən tí* # (1), ||Ng!ke *|x'a-se* (2), ǂKhomani *|x'áú* (2), N|uu *|ã:ˀ-si ~ |a:ˀ-si* (2), ||Xegwi *ma=kele:la* # (-1), |'Auni *si=|x'au* (2), |Haasi *c'i:-sa ~ c'i:-c'i:-sa* (3), Proto-!Wi **/x'a-* (2).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 570. Plural form: *ǀérritən d:é*. Quoted as *ǀeritən-ti* in [Bleek 1929: 77]. A composite form, plausibly analyzed as "round thing" (cf. *ti* 'place, thing, part' [Bleek 1956: 201] and *ǀeritən-ǀeritən* 'round' q.v.; real meaning is quite possibly 'to surround, encircle', hence "the thing that coils"). The analysis makes it clear that the form is euphemistic in origin; a possibly more archaic, non-euphemistic root is suggested as a synonym in *ǀúú* [Bleek 1929: 77] = *ǀ'wi* 'snake, cobra' [Bleek 1956: 579], quoted only within the compound *ǀ'wi ǀaŋ* 'cobra head, name of poison which is in the two glands, and used for poisoning arrows' and not at all reliable.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 338. Quoted as *|k'ase* in [Bleek 1929: 77]. The supporting example is *|x'ase kú !we* "snake which is black", suggesting that this may indeed be the generic term for 'snake'. In contrast, the alternative equivalent *|kau* [Bleek 1929: 77] ~ *|x'au*: [Bleek 1956: 338] is glossed as 'long yellow snake', i. e. a specific kind. (Etymological connection between the two words is possible, but not self-evident).

ǂKhomani: Doke 1936: 84. Not attested in Maingard's data.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006.

||Xegwi: Lanham & Hallowes 1956a: 47. Judging by the form of the word, this may be a Bantuism, although the authors cannot identify the actual source; this is by no means a native South Khoisan word. (It is not entirely clear whether this is really the generic ||Xegwi term for 'snake', though).

|'Auni: Bleek 1929: 77.

|Haasi: Story 1999: 23. Probably a nominal derivative from *c'i*: 'to bite' q.v.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: A N|uu-|'Auni isogloss (not likely to have been borrowed from the former into the latter because of morphological variations). **Replacements:** (a) In |Xam, most likely replaced with a qualitative euphemism (see notes on |Xam), thus {'round thing' > 'snake'}; (b) In ||Xegwi, probably replaced by a borrowing, although the source has not yet been identified; (c) |Haasi *c'i:-sa* is transparently derived from *c'i*: 'to bite' q.v., thus {'biter' > 'snake'}.

107. THIN

N|uu $\|x'ui-a \sim \|x'ui-si \# (1)$.

References and notes:

[Xam: Not attested properly; possibly the same word as 'small' q.v., but this is hard to demonstrate based on available examples. In [Bleek 1929: 84], the word *t'āīη* is given in this meaning, but in [Bleek 1956: 188] it is only acknowledged with the semantics 'soft, supple', as well as the figurative meaning 'cunning' (= 'subtle').

||Ng!ke: Not attested.

‡Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006. Meaning glossed as 'thin person'.

||Xegwi: Not attested.

!Auni: Not attested.

|Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Not reconstructible due to lack of proper attestation.

108. WIND

[Xam *!ʰwé* (1), ||Ng!ke *!ʰwe* ~ *kʰwe* (1), ‡Khomani *‡ōwê* (1), N|uu *‡qʰoe* (1), ||Xegwi *šwe*: (1), !Auni *‡we* (1), |Haasi *ǀû:-a* (2), Proto-!Wi **‡qʰoe* (1).

References and notes:

[Xam: Bleek 1956: 432. Emphatic form: *!ʰwé-tān*. Transcribed as *!wé*, emphatic form: *!wétān* by W. Bleek. Quoted as *!ʰwe* in [Bleek 1929: 92].

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 90, 432. The variant *!uhé*: [Bleek 1956: 358] is, in all likelihood, either very poorly transcribed or a different root altogether.

‡Khomani: Doke 1936: 63. Not attested in Maingard's data.

N|uu: Sands et al. 2006.

||Xegwi: Lanham & Hallows 1956: 102, 109. Polysemy: 'air / wind'. Not attested in [Ziervogel 1955]. Quoted as *šuwī* in [Bleek 1929: 92] and [Bleek 1956: 183].

!Auni: Bleek 1937: 219. Quoted as *‡we*: in [Bleek 1956: 666]. The form *ǀu:se* 'wind' in [Bleek 1929: 92] actually means 'to blow (of wind)' = *c'u: ~ c'u:se* [Bleek 1937: 207].

|Haasi: Story 1999: 23.

Proto-!Wi: Distribution: Preserved everywhere except for |Haasi. Replacements: No obvious parallels are found in !Wi languages for the strange |Haasi form with an initial labial click. Its origin may be expressive (sound-symbolic reproduction of "blowing"?), but no factual evidence for this exists.

109. WORM

References and notes:

[Xam: Not attested.

||Ng!ke: Not attested.

‡Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Not attested.

||Xegwi: Not attested.

'Auni: Not attested.

|Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Not reconstructible due to lack of attestation.

110. YEAR

|Xam \tilde{a} : (1), ||Ng!ke \tilde{a} : (1).

References and notes:

|Xam: Bleek 1956: 471; Bleek 1929: 94. Polysemy: 'year / winter'. Transcribed as \tilde{a} by W. Bleek.

||Ng!ke: Bleek 1956: 471. Polysemy: 'year / winter'.

‡Khomani: Not attested.

N|uu: Not attested in newer sources, although cf. *gúli* 'year' in [Westphal 1965: 143] (in any case, only treatable as a borrowing of Central Khoisan provenance).

||Xegwi: Not attested.

'Auni: Not attested.

|Haasi: Not attested.

Proto-!Wi: Not reconstructible due to lack of data.