

Vocabulary matchings in !Xóõ and Ju|'hoan*

The word-sets given in the paper consist of 281 matchings of vocabulary items between !Xóõ (T) and Ju|'hoan (J1). The Taa (Southern Khoisan) language !Xóõ and the Ju (Northern Khoisan) language Ju|'hoan are the best-documented lects in their respective families. The paper also includes a discussion of some interesting structural parallels between the two languages, and implications for language classification.

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

The analysis of lexical similarity in previous comparisons

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

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

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

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

When Henry passed away in June 2012, he left behind a number of unfinished manuscripts. Bonny Sands, who regularly provided feedback on his papers, prepared the manuscript that this paper was based on for publication by updating the introduction, adding citations, and writing a conclusion paragraph.

connection is kept open. Traill (1986) already showed that certain words are wide-spread in the Khoisan area (macro-Khoisan in his terminology, pan-Khoisan in mine). However, given the overall similarity of the phonological systems and the lack of sound historical information, it is often difficult to decide which similarities are loans and what was the direction of borrowing.

!Xóõ and Ju'hoan lexical similarities

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

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

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

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

Gloss	!Xóõ	Ju'hoan
1. diminutive sg.	-bà/-bâ	-mà
2. insect name	-bólobòlo	àmbòrò
	!Xóõ <i>lám̑tâbólobòlo</i> 'carder bee, leaf-eater bee'; J1 = 'mosquito'.	
3. speak nonclick lang.	má̑ni	má̑ni, ná̑í̑n < *má̑í̑n
4. turn, answer	máli	màni
5. Citrullus lanatus	tâh̑m	tâm̑à
	Both T and J1, identical singular and plural. In T, an irregular diminutive <i>tâh̑lu-bâ</i> . In Khoe, this form is recorded only for Nama (in Naro in the pejorative meaning 'Herero', in J1 it also has this meaning) and may have been borrowed into Proto-Khoekhoe from San. We have Nama <i>tshâma-p</i> 'C. lanatus'.	
6. overcome	<i>tâh̑a</i> <i>kV</i>	<i>tâh̑àn</i>
	Cf. T <i>èh</i> àu ⁿ n̑ bâ <i>tâh̑a</i> <i>kâ-n</i> 3SG name TRS ASP overcome TP-1SG	
	'I can't remember his name' = 'His name overcomes me.'	

	J1 <i>ká</i>	<i>tàʰàⁿ</i>	<i>mí</i>
	3SG	overcome	1SG
	'I can't do it' = 'It overcomes me.'		
7. demonstrative	tV'V, <i>kâtâ'aⁿ</i>		<i>tò'a</i>
	T <i>tV'V</i> 'this', <i>kâtâ'aⁿ</i> 'here, this'; J1 = 'that'.		
8. striped polecat	<i>dâ'āⁿ</i>		<i>dâ'</i>
9. path	<i>dào</i>		<i>ŋ!hùù-dâö</i>
10. slack	<i>dâ'hbû</i>		<i>tâʰù</i>
	Cf. Angolan !Xû: <i>tâbò</i> , Hoan <i>k'â'k'â'bu</i> .		
11. flutter	<i>dthâba</i>		<i>dhàdhà-mà</i>
	J1 = 'butterfly', presumably < *dhâbâ-mà.		
12. gums	<i>'nâʰn'nâʰn'-tê</i>		<i>dâ'èⁿda'èⁿ</i>
	Note: Angolan !Xû: <i>dâ'j-si</i> . Proto Ju < *dâ'ñ.		
13. expose genitals	<i>nâaⁿ</i>		<i>nōʰn</i>
14. tadpole	<i>tâmkútúlukú</i>		<i>támtâkùrì</i>
	T = 'diving beetle'. Cf. also J1 <i>támtâtùrisà</i> 'black crake'.		
15. want	<i>kâni</i>		<i>kârè</i>
16. year	<i>kúli</i>		<i>kúrì</i>
	This is pan-Khoisan.		
17. hasten	<i>kúe</i> kV		<i>kòè-jà-khòè</i>
	T = 'do in a hurry'; J1 = 'race each other'. cf. also Khoe.		
18. walk pigeon-toed	<i>gába</i>		<i>gábá</i>
19. drink too little to be satisfied	<i>gólo</i>		<i>gà'áró</i>
20. navel	<i>góbo</i>		<i>góbá</i>
	J1 perhaps < *góbó + nominal formant -a. Cf. also Khoe.		
21. to roll	<i>gâni</i>		<i>gànì</i>
22. goose	<i>gâaⁿ</i>		<i>gâʰaⁿ</i>
23. compress	<i>gâlo</i> kV		<i>gáró</i>
24. to come	<i>sîi</i>		<i>tsí</i>
25. conjunction (then)	<i>síi</i>		<i>tsé</i>
	T. /'âa ⁿ à ^h n n̄ tge'e è ^h sîi à η//āu		
	fire 3SG2 ASP heat-3SG3 3SG3 CONJ PST shrivel		
	'The fire heated it and (then) it shriveled.'		
	J1 /x'âèse !âù hâ dshâù tê sâ tsé ηtâú tèbè-ŋlóré		
	MPN call 3SG1 wife CONJ 3DU CONJ travel black-country		
	'!X àèse called his wife and then they traveled to Botswana.'		
26. to flow	<i>sù'ni</i>		<i>tsùʰnì</i>
27. gravy	<i>sâaⁿ</i>		<i>tʃâⁿ</i>
28. medicine	<i>sòo</i>		<i>tʃò</i>
29. sip sthg hot	<i>sàm</i> kV		<i>tʃàm</i>
30. to wag	<i>sâmsâm</i> kV		<i>tʃámtʃàm</i>
	T 'flick tail (as lion)'; J1 'wag (of dog wagging tail)'.		
31. to ritually feed	<i>sôo</i>		<i>tʃòaⁿ (?) < tʃòⁿ + -a</i>
	T <i>mâ-n</i> # <i>qhèeⁿ</i> <i>qâ'â</i> n̄ <i>sôo</i> <i>kâ-n</i>		
	CONJ-1SG uncle ADV ASP rit.feed TP-1SG		
	'Because long ago my uncle ritually fed me.'		

	J1 ɿú kú tʃoà̄n-a dà̄'àmà kò ɻm-sì	people IMP rit.feed child TP food-PL
		'The people ritually fed the child.'
32. be disrespectful	dzáa	zá
	T. 'be disrespectful, illtreat'; J1 'swear at, insult'.	
33. hunger	dzá'i	(tʃí ⁿ)-zà ⁿ ú
34. upper lip	dzúm	zù ⁿ
	J1 zù ⁿ , J2 zòŋ < Proto Ju *dzò̄n.	
35. male PN	dzâo	zù̄u
36. thin	dzá̄ba-tá	ɿá̄m̄
37. turn	dzá̄bidzâ̄bi	ɿá̄bìɿá̄bì
	Cf. T dzò̄h'a ⁿ 'ant'; J2 ndzò̄a ⁿ ndzó̄a ⁿ 'fly'.	
38. day after tomorrow	kʰúma	(ŋ!hò)-kʰòmà
	J1 = 'soon'; Cf. T kʰúbe 'tomorrow', J2 kʰómè 'tomorrow'.	
39. break	kúan	kòa ⁿ
	J1 = 'stretch', cf. J2 kʰòà 'break'. But this may be a loan from Khoe. Cf. Nama kʰòd̄a ⁿ , Kxoe kʰóa ⁿ , Naro kʰóáa ⁿ .	
40. erect hairs	kò ^h la	gò̄a ^h rà
41. be wide	tshào	ʃà̄o
42. begin	tshōatshōa	ʃò̄aʃò̄a
	Borrowed from Nama?	
43. hole	dzū ^h e	tsíi ~ dshíi
	For the voicing contamination see Traill's paper on Taa dialects.	
44. to suck	qâm	kâ̄m̄
	T qâm (qaBV, H) 'suckle, kiss'; J1 kâ̄m̄ 'suck', / / 'm̄ 'suckle'; T qûm (quBV, H) 'suck out and swallow'; J1 kô̄m̄ 'hold back pips in mouth'. But this form is widespread, occurring also in E. #Hoà and Khoe.	
45. long ago	qâ̄a	kâ̄á
	J1 = 'a little while ago, now'; cf. also J1 kâ̄á-há 'already', kâ̄á-ŋ/hoàn 'just now', J2 kâ̄á-ŋ 'then'.	
	J1 mí kâ̄á-há 'àjì 'arì 'I trapped a guineafowl' (1SG + ADV + catch + guineafowl). J2 sè kâ̄áán 'àjì-á há kè ɳɿub̄i-hàn 'They then tied the meat in bundles' (3PL + ADV + tie + TRANS PART + meat + TRANS PART + bundle-PL). Cf. Köhler kâ̄-hìn-kè 'now'.	
	Cf. also interjection: T qhâe'è oh no; J2 kháe.	
46. nominalizing suffix	-sé	-sí
47. noun suffix	-sè	-ʃé
48. hang the head	xô'lo	xòròxòrò
	J1 = 'hang heavy (fruit)'.	
49. crush	xà'm	xámí
50. marijuana	qhàna	xà̄nà
	Cf. T qhâla- 'spit out'; J2 ghârá.	
51. larynx	gò̄lo	xúrú
52. to help	ūhi	hù̄i
53. to stir	húni sV	húni
54. move	ù̄a ⁿ	hòa ⁿ hòa ⁿ
	T #câni kâ ù̄a ⁿ ka ⁿ !'ùa ⁿ -tê 'move eyes back and forth'; J1 'move, alternate'.	

55. to eat	'âa ⁿ	?m̄
	T 'aV, H. Cf. idiom: T 'ée !hûa, J2 ?m̄ !'ôa ⁿ '(eat a) yawn'.	
56. pack up	'âba sîi	'âbâsî
	T. 'âba sîi sî sâa 'Let's pack up and go'; J2 yâ 'âbâsî m̄!m̄ lâó idem. But this may be from Khoe 'âbâ 'carry on back'.	
57. dawn	kx'âo	kx'âu ⁿ
58. stretch marks	dtxô'a	txòâ ⁿ
59. thread together	txóm	txómá
	T txóm-sâ, txoBV (H); J1 < txóm + -a trans. part.	
	T txómá gâ ⁿ ŋa kí xâi thread-2SG bead TP-1SG cord 'thread ostrich eggshell bead on sanseveria cord'	
	J1 ká mí !xâi â ⁿ i mí dshâú txómá ká CNJ 1SG cloth tear 1SG woman thread 3SGII 'When my clothes tear, my wife darns them.'	
60. bridge of nose	ts'kx'únu	ts'ú ⁿ
	The !Xóó word is Aminuis dialect. J1 = 'nose'.	
61. fart	dts ^h ám	(jârè)-zâ ^h m̄
62. gland	dts ^h án	zâ ^h í ⁿ
63. bump	dts ^h ò ^h u ⁿ	dʒ ^h ùú ⁿ
64. blow a fire	dts ^h úm	dʒ ^h ùú ⁿ
	Cf. also T dthâbî 'butterfly'; J2 thâbî 'eyelid' (from flutter).	

Clicks

The Glottal Accompaniment

65. be dry	'òo	'ò
	T is also found in Khoe. Cf. transitive verb: T /'òo/'òo tV, J1 /'ò /'ò.	
66. medicine	'oo	'ú ⁿ - ái
	T = 'apply medicine'.	
67. to think	†'án sV	†'áŋ
	T is pan-Khoisan (Macro-Khoisan in Traill's terminology). J1 < Proto Ju *†'án.	
68. enough	†'âu ⁿ	†'âu ⁿ
69. to kick	†'íi	†'ái
70. bicep	†'ólo	†'óré
	Cf. T qhâa†'íi 'caracal'; J2 †'íi-mâ.	
71. to kiss	†'ûma ⁿ	†'óm-á
	Cf. †Hoã †'òam†'òam 'taste the mouth'.	
72. care for	!'úi ⁿ	!'úi ⁿ -á
73. dish	!'û-le	!'òrè
	T pl !'ûn-sâ'; J1 is cited by Köhler, cf J2 !'óré. Also found in Nama !'óré-s.	
74. stick for stick game	'ábi	'ábi
75. possessions	'ái	'ái
76. fertile egg	úa ⁿ úa ⁿ	'òa ⁿ 'òa ⁿ

	T. <i>#gúaⁿ àh ní /úaⁿ/úaⁿ /fi</i> egg PST ASP fertile AUXSTAT 'The egg is fertilized.'
J1	<i>khúkhú ñlù /'òaⁿ/'òaⁿ</i> 'The chicken's egg is fertilized.'
77. precede	<i>ᵑǂhàaⁿ</i>
78. yawn	<i>ᵑ!hûa</i>
	Cf. idiom: T 'ée <i>ᵑ!hûa</i> , J2 <i>?mí !òàⁿ</i> '(eat a) yawn'.

Plain voiceless clicks

79. aardwolf	<i> í^hi</i>	<i> à^hi</i>
80. increase	<i> à^ho</i>	<i> à^hø</i>
81. to follow	<i> ò^ho</i>	<i> ò^hò</i>
82. finish	<i> ò^ho</i>	<i> òà^hrà</i>
	Note also: 'prevent' T <i> ála kV</i> ; J2 <i> árá</i> .	
83. buy, sell	<i>ǂò^hoⁿ</i>	<i>ǂù^hùⁿ</i>
84. Black man	<i>ǂábe</i>	<i>ǂabè</i>
85. path	<i>ǂólo</i>	<i>ǂáró</i>
86. sleeping mat	<i>ǂúa</i>	<i>ǂoa</i>
	T pl <i>ǂûm-sà-tê</i> . Poss. pan-Khoisan, found also in J2 <i>ǂòá</i> and in <i>ǂHoã</i> , <i>N uu</i> and <i>Khoe</i> .	
87. to pound soft	<i>ǂahm</i> <i>ǂahm</i>	<i>ǂam</i>
	T = 'to pulp'; J1 = 'stamp grain, break up hard nuts with a stone'.	
88. carry on shoulder	<i>!án</i>	<i>!áé</i>
	J1 ?< * <i>láéⁿ</i> < * <i>lán</i> .	
89. carry on head	<i>!úu</i> <i>ǂàm</i>	<i>!úrà</i>
	J1 <i>lúrà</i> < <i>lúri-à</i> , cf J2 <i>lúri</i> . Also J1 <i>!ú</i> <i>ǂàm</i> .	
90. male PN	<i>!áe-sà</i>	<i>!áé</i>
91. hunting bag	<i>!úma</i>	<i>!òmà</i>
92. Toktokkie beetle	<i>!ôo!ôo</i>	<i>!òolò</i>
93. spear	<i>!oo à'a</i>	<i>!úlù</i>
94. artery	<i>!ò^hoⁿ</i>	<i>!ò^hùⁿ</i>
95. wear on head	<i> àa</i>	<i> à^h</i>
96. to push	<i> à^hm</i>	<i> àm</i>
97. set fire	<i> àoⁿ àoⁿ</i>	<i> à'òⁿ-wá</i>
98. well	<i> ám</i>	<i> áú</i>
	T <i> ám sâa</i> 'go well'; J1 <i> áú</i> 'ú 'go well'.	

Voiced clicks

99. shelter from	<i> gâa</i>	<i> gà</i>
	Note: Dickens has <i>g há</i> .	
100. Karoo robin	<i> gàni-sè</i>	<i> gàni-!àè!àè-je</i>
	Also T <i> gâh'a</i> 'mat to lay meat on'; J2 <i>g hâ</i> .	

101. rotten egg	‡gūhi	g‡húí
102. mound	‡gûu ⁿ ‡gûu ⁿ	tò'ò-‡gùu ⁿ -wà
	T = 'mound of sand for //ábi game'; J1 = 'ash heap'.	
	Cf. also T rod ‡gúli 'rod'; J2 ‡gúri 'springhare hook'. T ‡gúnu 'dry skin'; J2 ‡gúru.	
103. late afternoon	!góa	!gòá
104. vulture	!gûe	!gò ^h é-!' ^á n
	J1 is a praise name for the vulture.	
105. enter	!gâ'o	!gâ'ámá
	T ‡ga'BV (H). J2 //gàbá 'enter' appears to be a different etymon, comparable to J1 //gábá 'put on footwear'. Note that the !Xóó word is 'enter' (pl.) and also means 'put on shoes'. Cf also ‡Hoã /á'ìm 'enter' (pl.).	
106. music bow	!gùma	!gò ^h mà
	Snymans has /gòmäha.	
107. edible termite	!gò'obi	!gù'úrí-tfí-!gò'mà
108. spend the day	gàa ⁿ	gàá ⁿ
109. red oxide	gà'i	!gò ^h í ⁿ
110. hip bone	gànu	!gánú
111. belch	gà ^h a	!gà ^h
112. deep mud	gòbo	gò ^h bò
	J1 = 'mushiness'.	
113. pull through legs	gò ^h bi	gùbí
114. (put on) shoes	gù'a	!gò ^h à
	Cf. J2 //gò ^h á ⁿ 'shoes'; ‡Hoã //òa 'put on shoes'.	
115. to slap	!góba	!ò ^h óbá
116. Ehretia rigida	gá'u	à ^h ú
	Cf. also T ‡gúnu, J2 ‡gúru 'dry skin'; T. !gúnu, J2 !gúrukú 'trachea'.	

Velar friction accompaniment

117. be fertilized (of egg)	‡xái‡xái	‡xáí‡xái
	J1 = 'be partly hatched'.	
118. have miscarriage	‡xâm	‡xàm
119. cloth	!xái	!xäǟ
120. booze	!xâli	!xàri
	Cf. J2 /xâri.	
121. pipe	!xúu	!xò
	Cf. J2 /xòó.	
122. stir a soft substance	!xâm	!xàm
	J1 = 'make porridge'.	
123. San person	!xóo ⁿ	!xùú ⁿ
124. to (set) trap	xáu	xáú
	Cf. J2 //xáó.	
125. unwind	xâbi	xábé
126. bad luck	xōo	!xò
	Cf. J2 //xò.	

	T <i>n̄ à n̄</i> //xōo 1SG PST ASP bad.luck 'I've had bad luck.'	
J1 <i>mí !xò tè lā̄e-tāmā</i> 1SG bad.luck CNJ hunt-AUX (AUX = unsuccessful) 'I had bad luck and hunted in vain.'		
127. sweep	xái	xái
	Cf. also T //xáu ⁿ 'point between shoulder blades' and J2 //xáu ⁿ 'back'.	
128. leave young at home	xāo	xàù ⁿ
	For vocalism, cf. #57 'red color of dawn'.	
129. awl	g xâni	g xâin
	T = 'drill for eggshell beads'. Cf. J2 g xāñ < Ju *g xan.	
130. spit ritually	g xâi	xâi
131. "buzz"	g xòo g xòo	g xò g xò
	T = 'crackling sound of walking on dry vegetation'; J1 = 'buzz of insect'.	

Ejective accompaniment

132. to visit	x'āe	x'āè
133. notch in arrow	x'án-sì	(tʃì)- x'ái
	Cf. J2 x'áři 'to notch'.	
134. male PN	q'āe-sè	x'āè-sè
135. wash by rubbing	q'ùm	x'óm
136. to mix	‡x'úmi	‡x'úmi
137. clay	‡q'áa-ká	g‡x'áá
138. twist body	!x'âm	!x'âm
139. to wring	!x'áli	!x'ári
140. join, together	x'áe kV	x'áé
	T <i>'isî n̄</i> //x'áe ⁿ !'áa /i ⁿ	
	1PL ASP join sit-PL AUXSTAT	
	'We are sitting compacted.'	
J1 <i>m̄-lá g!hòó x'áé</i>		
	1PLINCL-PL sit-PL join.	
	'We are sitting together.'	
	Note: this etymon is pan-Khoisan.	
141. be sated	x'àa ⁿ	x'á
142. stink	x'âu ⁿ	x'ú
143. to punch	x'úm	x'óm

Uvular accompaniments

144. dent	‡qáo	‡á̄'ò
145. sink in sthg soft	‡qōhm- 'ûma ‡ó̄'m̄	
146. to hunt	!qāhe	!á̄'è

Cf. also T /qée sg, /qám pl 'Nama person'; J2 /á̄'è 'a Black'.

147. snot	göe	ŋ ò̄īn
	T = 'phlegm'; J1 = 'blow nose'.	
148. Barn owl	qà̄īo	ŋ āīó
149. look out of corner of eye	‡gáni	ŋ‡á̄īí̄n
150. Acacia fleckii	‡gà̄īli	ŋ‡á̄īñ
151. corn cricket	‡gána	ŋ‡á̄īnù̄n
	Cf. T ‡gá̄ma 'wing'; J2 g‡hàbà.	
152. Aloe zebrina	gólu	ŋ hò̄īò̄rù
153. rinse	gobu gôbu	ŋ ò̄īm

Aspirated accompaniments

154. to drive	qhüi	hüi
155. Corallocarpus bainesii	qhú'lu-kú	hóró
156. rhino	qhíi	hái
	T = 'buffalo'.	
157. to stretch out	‡qhòna	‡hòànà
	Cf. also J2 hóró C. bainesii, hí 'rhino'. Cf. T qhéēn, J2 hà̄hí 'raw'; T. ‡qhüi kâ 'âōn 'take between fingers and pinch', J2 ‡hüi 'pinch'; T qhäǟn 'pound, stamp', J2 hâ̄n 'hammer in, crack'; T häǟ, J2 häǟ 'show'.	
158. real, true	'θŋá̄hān	ŋ hò̄à̄n
	Cf. ethnonyms: T tìū 'θŋá̄hān', J1 žù̄ ŋ hò̄à̄n. The underlying meaning of the !Xóó word seems to be 'body' and the same semantic connection is found in Naro where /xáé means both 'body' and 'true'.	
159. sack	ŋ háo	háo
160. Fockea sp.	‡qhába	ŋ‡hábá
161. womb	ŋ‡ó̄hó̄n	ŋ‡hó̄ò̄
162. Oxygonum sp.	göe ŋ‡á̄īhú	ŋ‡häǟò̄
163. walk quickly	ŋ á̄ba	ŋ hábà
164. foam	óhbú	ŋ húbú
	Cf. also T y!á̄m 'duck, evade'; J1 y!já̄è, J2 këñlábìkì 'stick sp.'; T y á̄u 'stirring stick, dzani game stick'; ‡Hoǟ ɔ yá̄u 'zini game stick'; J1 ɔ häǟ 'branch'; Nama ŋ á̄u-p 'branch, twig'. For semantics, cf. J1 /'ú̄n 'bow', J2 /'ú̄n 'stirring stick', ‡Hoǟ /'ó̄n 'tree'; J1 ŋ ò̄m 'stick for helicopter toy', T ŋlú'm 'pestle'.	

Nasal Accompaniment

165. to love	ŋ àm kV	ŋ àhm̄
166. to restrain	ŋ è̄hē̄n	ŋ āé̄e
	J1 = 'intervene in quarrel'.	
167. <i>A. naudinianus</i>	ŋ ǖl̄o	ŋ ù̄h̄à
	T 'tuber of <i>Acanthosicyos naudinianus</i> ', sg ŋ ǖl̄o, pl ŋ ǖl̄-n-sà; J1 (?) < ŋ ǖl̄ + -à nom. suff.	
168. long for	ŋ óo	ŋ ò
169. to rub	ŋ ùān kV	ŋ ò̄h̄à

170. to whet	ŋ‡án	ŋ‡ànì
	T = 'flint'.	
171. thicket/herd	ŋ‡áhni	ŋ‡à̄
	T = 'herd of gemsbok', cf. also T ŋ‡áhbi 'stand, clump of small trees or bushes'; J1 = 'swarm, flock, herd, clump, thicket', cf. also ~ŋ‡áré 'herd of ~', ŋ‡ábé-ŋ‡áh̄ 'big village'.	
172. glue, tar	ŋ‡áu	ŋ‡áú
173. travel at night	ŋ‡ui ⁿ	ŋ‡ùu ⁿ
174. get lost	ŋ!óh ^a n	ŋ!à ⁿ
175. to criticize	ŋ!ábe	ŋ!ábé
176. country	ŋ!úle	ŋ!óré
	T pl ŋlún-sá ⁿ ; J2 ŋlóré 'country'.	
177. open space	ŋ!ám	ŋ!ám
	T Ө'áa ⁿ /'àa ⁿ kí ŋlám 'Light a fire in the clearing.'	
	J1 ŋlám ŋlú ⁿ -a t'ù ts'í 'There's an open space by the door.'	
178. get lost	ŋ!óh ^a n	ŋ!à ⁿ
	Also J1 ŋlù ^h ù 'lose one's way'.	
179. stork	kâŋ û'be	ŋ ábá
	This word may be borrowed from Khoe, where we have Nama ŋ òbá-p and Naro ŋ òbē implying Proto Khoe *ŋ obe(R). Since the *e correspondence in Khoe is normally borrowed into Ju as e or i, the Ju'hoan form would seem to be borrowed from Nama. At the same time, the prefix and laryngealized vowel in !Xóó suggest that the form has some antiquity in that language. More data is needed on the distribution of this form, especially in Khoe.	
180. talk	ŋ áh ^e	ŋ àè
181. dish up	ŋ áa kV	ŋ à̄
182. to scatter	ŋ ái	ŋ à̄'ù ⁿ
183. shake head	ŋ áññiŋ áñni	ŋ áññiŋ áñni
184. (un)wind	ŋ û'm kV	ŋ ò'ñmì
	T = 'twist, coil'; J1 = 'unwind'.	

Glottalized nasal accompaniment.

185. springhare	ŋ ñùñi	ŋ òñmì
	Cf. J2 'ŋjòñmì.	
186. lame	!ñùma	ŋ!òmì
	T = 'limp'; cf. J2 'ŋjòmì.	
187. hill	!ù ^h m	ŋ!òmì
	J1 = 'dune'; cf. J2 '!ŋjòñmì.	
	Cf. also T '!ŋjòñu, J2 '!ŋjòñbú 'to bark'.	
188. whirlwind	' ñò'lo	òrò
	Also cf. T ' ñáño, J2 ' ñáñó 'rainy season'.	
189. T. esculentum	? ñáhni	ŋ àñj
	J1 refers to 'Tylosema esculentum tuber'.	

Voicing lead

190. elbow

g‡húli

‡húní

Cf. J2 *g‡húní*.

Also cf of T †ca‡'ma, J2 *g‡hàbà* 'wing'. This is pan-Khoisan: †Hoã †hà'ma, Kxoe †gãámá, |Gui †gã'mà, Naro †xàmà. But note that |Gui words with pharyngealized vowels and low tone are for the most part loan words and the correspondence with Naro seems unusual.

Discussion of !Xóó and Ju'hoan lexical similarities

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

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

More importantly, however, there are no characteristic sound correspondences: either the words are identical or nearly so, or they show random uncontextualized variation (as is generally true of words with pharyngealized vowels). For examples of nearly identical forms, consider #11–23 and #65–75. For examples of the random uncontextualized variation, see #26 and #94 where !Xóó and Ju'hoan exactly reverse the correspondence breathy vowel ~ pharyngealized vowel; #26. 'to flow' !Xóó: *sù'ni*; Ju'hoan: *tsù'ñi* vs. 'artery' !Xóó: *!lò'ón*, Ju'hoan: *!lò'ùn*.

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

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

Structural Parallels

1. Conditional: T *kâ*, J1 *ká*.

ñ n̄ kâ bâ †hâā sâa kí !qâhi
1SG ASP COND TNS precede go TRPRT hunt
'If I go first on the hunt'

žù †hòā ká hâ kú |x'âè hâ lò'á
person COND 3SG IMP sick 3SG chest
'When a person has an illness of the chest'

2. Diminutive: T *-bâ/-bâ*, J1 *-mâ*.

!Xóõ	Ju'hoan
diminutive sg.	-bâ/-bâ
diminutive pl.	-mâni -m ^h í ^u

It is not clear from the available data whether the Ju diminutive is productive. The dictionaries list the forms individually. In both Ju'hoan and Ovamboland !Xû, the singular *-ma* (also found as an independent noun meaning 'child') has an irregular plural from the subclass of nouns characterized by tonal change in the plural: Ju'hoan sg. *-mâ*, pl. *-m^hí^u*, !Xû sg *-mâ*, pl. *-m^hé*. This suffix appears to have been fused to certain stems; e.g., child sg. *dâ'âbâ*, pl. *dâ'âbí* (< **dâ'â-m^hí^u*).

In !Xóõ, the dim pl is marked by *θ'âni*, the plural of *θâa* 'child' in the Lonetree dialect but in the Kutuku dialect the forms are sg. *-bâ*, pl. *-mâni*. The correspondence here of irregularities between !Xóõ and Northern Khoisan is quite striking (presumably Ju *-m^hé*, *-m^hí^u* < **mâní*).

3. Nominalizing suffix/noun suffix.

Traill's dictionary cites *-sè* as simply a noun suffix, but there appear to be two nominal suffixes of this form. High-toned *-sé* attaches only to verb stems and forms a nominalization of that verb. Examples are T *xâu* 'to respect', *xâu-sé* 'kin avoidance', *kâ'aⁿ* 'to insult', *kâ'aⁿ-sé* 'insults'; J1 *ŋlái* 'sit', *ŋlái-sí* 'seat', *kx'òâⁿ* 'look for', *kx'òâⁿ-sí* 'eyes', *†gâ'íⁿ* 'high', *†gâ'íⁿ-sí* 'height'. It appears to be rare in !Xóõ; there are only five listings in Traill's dictionary. The only likely overlap involves a change of meaning: T. *l|gô* 'be generous', *l|gô-sé* 'gifts'; J1 *l|gò* 'be stingy', *l|gò-sí* 'stinginess'.

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

T (*lúlu*)-*lèhe-sè*, J1 *ŋl|jò-sé* 'fork-tailed drongo'; T *l|gâni-sè*, J1 *l|gâni-lâèlâè-sé* 'karoo robin'; T *qâ'i-sè*, J1 *kâ'è-sé* 'male PN'; T *l|q'ái-sè*, J1 *|x'âè-sé* 'male PN'; T *ŋl|âle lâ'ó-sè*, J1 *ŋl|âle g|x'ârí-sé* 'pale chanting goshawk'.

4. Verb prefix and transitive particle.

In both !Xóõ and Ju there is a subclass of verbal stems which take a *k*- prefix. Some examples from !Xóõ are *kâθxóõ* 'shuffle', *kâŋlâh'm* 'stagger', *kâ'ŋjâ'ma* 'blink'; in some cases, the *k*-element brackets the stem as in *kâθòõkâ* 'be smeared with dirt'.

In her grammar of Ovamboland !Xū, Heikkinen treats the analogous element as a “dummy verb” and says it usually takes the transitive particle but does not give any examples. However, from the examples in the vocabulary, we can see that just as in !Xóō there are pre-fixed forms as in *kèdù'ùbì* ‘cut’ and bracketed forms like *kèmànìkì* ‘hide’.

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

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

Examples of the verbal prefix:

!Xóō

èh ní tshōa ðâñ kâ'lgò̊bukâ
3SG TNS begin sleep ADV(NOD OFF)
'He is nodding off to sleep.'

kàñ!á'm kâ ||ùm
surround TP2 springbok
'surround the springbok.'

jàñi ní kâ bâ kâtúpká ih ní f'áma 'yjùañ
lion TNS COND ASP R&L 3SG1 TNS carry aggression
(*kâtúpká* = 'raise and lower the head [as a lion]')

Ju'hoan

ká 'ñlhòàn kògħàò ||'a-kà dshàú f'áúse tsáú
COND man fall.asleep DEIC woman ADV rise
'When the man fell asleep, the woman quietly got up.'

hâ kò!għobú kò zî lx'á tè dshàú-si kò!ùñh !lāħħ sàrġà-à-kħòè
3SGI splatter TP shit heart CONJ woman-PL ADV run scatter-JUNC-RECIP
'He landed with a splatter in the shit and the women ran off scattering.'

!Xū

má kē kèlá-gù kē hâ
1SG PAST seize-SG TP 3SG1
'I caught him (by the arm).'

Note: Heikkinen, pp. 29–30: “The marker *kè* also marks a first extension immediately following... one of the small class of double verbs formed from the dummy verbs *kè* (or *kòè*).”

Examples of the transitive particle:

!Xóõ

ñ n̩ ɻ!úm tshûu /i/ ké ká/gá'e
1SG TNS dwell sit.SG STAT TP3SG k.
'I am living at ká/gá'e.'

Ju'hoan

mí hò-à lhá kò ɻlámà ɻlái/j
1SG see-TP meat TP path inside
'I see the meat in the path.'

Conclusion

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

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Appendix: Additional matchings showing irregularities

Gloss	!Xóó	Ju'hoan
1. nosebleed	dzâ'u ⁿ	dù'u ⁿ
		But cf. also <i>dzâ'uⁿ</i> and J1 <i>zàùuⁿ-wa</i> 'virgin' (underlying meaning 'to bleed').
2. tie closed	dtsxà'm	txòm
3. not share	à'hi	kà'í
4. stand on tiptoe	hó'lo	tò'óróto'òrò
5. lift to peek under	âhbi	tà'âbí
6. marijuana	qhàna	xàna
7. gape	qàa	gò'á
		But also found in #Hoá <i>gà'a</i> , Kxoe <i>qáâ</i> 'open mouth', Nama <i>kàâlââ</i> 'yawn'.
8. sly	kâha	kâ'hâ
		J1 = 'do in secret'. Cf. Nama <i>kââ</i> 'be clever'.
9. joint	gûlu	gògòró
		T = ankle, J1 = 'heel'. Cf. also J1 /x'âi-tfûu ⁿ -gûnu 'heel'.
10. eat dry food	gùm	gòm
		J1 = 'swallow'.
11. recline, sg	tshûu	áfú
		T = 'sit' sg.; J1 = 'lie down' sg.
12. cast skin	húli	hùrihùri-jà
		T = 'cast skin, change to another creature'; J1 = 'smooth'. Cf. also T <i>thûlu</i> 'smooth', J1 <i>thûrû</i> 'change to another creature'; T <i>dûhi-tûhi-dthûi</i> 'shaved, shorn, bald, smooth', cf J1 <i>dûrî</i> 'peel', <i>dù'ûrî</i> 'slough skin', J2 <i>dû'ûrî</i> 'be naked'.
13. steal	dzâ'a	dſ'âá
		T = 'hide, conceal'; J1 = 'steal, kidnap'.
14. lightning	tâli	târi
		J1 = 'thunder, echo'. Cf T <i>tâli ts'êeⁿ</i> 'sound of a lightning strike, lit. 'lightning cries'. For the quotative verb, cf J1 <i>tf'î</i> 'cries'.
15. form clouds	ô ^h O	hòò
		J1 = 'clear up'. For other comparisons with a semantic reversal of polarity, consider T <i>kx'âba</i> 'get up', J1 <i>khâbá</i> 'go down'; T <i>lgo</i> 'generous', J1 <i>lgo</i> 'stingy'.
16. turn	qâ'bi, q'âbi tâ	kâ'âbé
		T = 'turn inside out', J1 = 'fold over, roll up (i. e. sleeves)'. Also apparently found in Khoe Naro <i>kâ'bi</i> , Ani <i>γâbí</i> (re)turn.
17. pull/fall out	gû'hm	kòm
		T = 'pull out grass or hair, pluck'; J1 = 'fall out (feather)'.
18. choke	l'úu ⁿ	ŋ ù'ú ⁿ
		T #cû'hnû l'úu ⁿ 'choke on food', /cû'hnû -l'úu ⁿ 'excess saliva in pharynx'; J1 = 'swallow with difficulty'.
19. cut in pieces	!âhle	!âhrè
		T = 'cut meat in pieces'; J1 = 'cut meat in strips'.
20. bird sp	!ôbo	!obó
		T = 'quail'; J1 = 'red-billed francolin'.

21. shake out	!àhin	!àhìn
	T = 'beat a blanket'; J1 = 'shake out (e.g. liquid)'. Cf. also 'beat out' T <i>lāb̩iⁿ</i> <i>kV</i> ; J1 <i>lāb̩iⁿ</i> , J2 <i>ŋlājèèŋlājè</i> . Note vowel lowering in J2 related to nasalization.	
22. travel	!âo	!âú
	T = 'go "up" back home'; J1 = 'move, trek'.	
23. tell	!übe	!òbè
	T = 'tell'; J1 = 'discuss'.	
24. take a handful	'ām	x'ām
	Cf. T x'únu 'bridge of nose'; J2 xòónù 'nose'.	
25. wrinkled	g x'āi	x'āi
26. snake sp	‡qhúu	‡hú
	T = 'small python'; J1 = 'banded spitting cobra'.	
27. snatch	qhúu	hú
	T = 'snatch'; J1 = 'take back a gift', cf J2 <i>g hú</i> 'snatch'. Cf also T <i>lqhála</i> 'chop off pieces'; J2 <i>lhárá</i> 'rip up'.	
28. to shake	ŋ!ábu	ŋ áúŋ ábú
	T = 'shake, shiver'; J1 = 'shake, twitch violently'.	
29. cut off	ŋ áho	ŋ àhù
	T = 'flay, skin'; J1 = 'shave'.	
30. spill	ŋ à'a	ŋ àà
	T = 'pour, spill'; J1 = 'sow'.	
31. churn	ŋ ū'hbu	ŋ ùbù
	T = 'shake (of liquids)'.	
32. catch	ŋ‡áho	ŋ‡àhù
	T = 'catch smth. moving'; J1 = 'take with both hands'.	
33. stomach contents	ŋ áhna	ŋ ànà
	T = 'contents of rumen'; J1 = 'shit, dung'.	
34. refuse	ŋ á'ni	ŋ àníŋ àní
	T = 'refuse to do what is asked'; J1 = 'dissuade, i. e. causative of not do'.	
35. arm	ŋ‡á'a ⁿ	ŋ‡h ^à n
	T = 'ulna and radius'.	
36. think	ŋ!oho	ŋ!òó
	T = 'speculate, imagine, think'; J1 = 'yearn for, mourn, wish'.	
37. to tie	' ŋāhni-	'àní
	T 'tie' pl.; J1 = 'tie closed'.	
38. wink	' ŋá'ma	-ŋ!ò'ó'má
	J1 <i>gàá-ts'i-ŋlò'ó'má</i> = 'eye-cover-wink'.	
39. carry on stick over shoulder	galo	!àrò
40. caracal	qhāa ‡'ùi	‡'ùi
41. mortar	!gâi	!ài
42. Oxygonum sp	gùe-ŋ‡á'hu	ŋ‡nà'o
43. knife	ŋ‡ûn	ŋ‡àhù
	J1 = 'Ovambo knife'; T = 'spear', pl. Cf. Aminuis dialect 'knife': sg <i>ŋfôra</i> , pl <i>ŋfûn</i> .	
44. warthog	gàhli-sè	khàrì
	T cited in Traill, Phonology p. 170. J1 = 'wild pig'.	

45. to fly	dzā̄hin	zō̄in
46. hair	!x'ōe	!x'úi
	T = 'rain'. Cf. J1 !gàlx'úi, ɳ/ð̄lx'úi 'cloud', lit. 'rain's hair'.	
47. tease	'āi 'āi	x'āi
48. rag	g x'āli	x'āi x'āri
49. tortoise	ɳ ūe	gōé
50. nail	gà'm	-lā̄'āmì
	J1. lgā̄ū-lā̄'āmì 'finger'.	
51. tortoise shell	Gōh'a	ò'á
	T = 'plastron of tortoise'; J1 = 'tortoise', cf J2 //gò'ā id.	
52. Pentarrhinum insipidum	‡gú'a	gō'ā
53. tongue	'ná̄m !qhāa ⁿ	nā̄m
	T = 'saliva' (?< tongue + water); J1 = 'lick'.	
54. growth	sú̄i ⁿ	
	T = 'growth on plant'. Cf. J2 tsú̄i ⁿ 'growth on tree'.	
55. starling	dzá̄ba ʈ̄i	ʒōai
	J1 cited in Dickens, tone not given. Cf. ‡Hoā dʒō̄barí.	
56. dance	ɳ āhm	ɳ ām
	T = 'play with, joke with'; J1 = 'dance (of women)'.	
57. stick sp.	ɳ ú'm	ɳ ò'm
	T = 'pestle'; J1 = 'stick for helicopter game'.	
58. trick	ɳ‡ā'a bii	ɳ‡hābè
	T = 'trickster, deceiver'; J1 = 'trick, deceive'.	
59. smoulder	ɳlō̄hlo	ɳ āhrū
60. crowned plover	ɳ ā̄en	ɳ ā̄i
61. worm	‡gú'u ⁿ	ɳ‡u'ú ⁿ
	Cf. K. dialect of !Xóo i-ǂqhu'u ⁿ .	
62. to trip	‡gāhm-‡gúli	ɳ‡u'úni
63. to sharpen	ɳ à̄n	ɳ hāñ
64. cool down	ɳ‡ùa	ɳ‡hō̄ärà
65. shoulder	? ŋú'bi tshōe	ɳ ù'ùrù
	T = 'armpit' < 'shoulder' (?) + 'inside'.	
66. syphon water	?‡ŋūhn-	ɳ‡hūri
66. stick sp.	cāmi	ɳ ā̄mì
	T = 'scraper'; J1 = 'splinter'.	
67. chest	!Gāhma	ɳ āhmä
	T = 'sternum'; J1 = 'hold to chest'.	
68. dent	‡gā'm-	g‡x'ā'm
69. ask for	gāan	àn
70. warm by the fire	‡ala	‡'ärä
71. mound	‡gūu ⁿ ‡gūu ⁿ	tō̄-‡gūu ⁿ -à
	T = 'mound of sand'; J1 = 'ash heap' ('ash' + 'mound' + compound marker), cf. also ‡gúu‡gúu-ñe 'ant sp.'	
72. seize	qhúu	hú
	T = 'snatch'; J1 = 'take back a gift'; cf also J2 o hú 'rob'. Found also in Khoe.	

73. burn	ǂqhó'obu	ǂx'òbò
	T = 'scorch'; J1 = 'boil dry, burn'.	
74. breathe	qhô'a ⁿ	xòà ⁿ
	J1 = 'pant'.	
75. joint	gǂxúbi	ǂxúbí
	T = 'elbow'; J1 = 'shoulder joint'.	
76. shiver	ǂgà ⁿ ni	ǂ'à ɻ̩'ànì
77. wild dog	gǂxúi	g x'áúhí
	For initial cf #52 <i>Pentarrhinum insipidum</i> .	
78. to siphon	dtsk'ôla	dts'úi
	T = 'to squirt'. Cf. also T <i>dtsxô'ni</i> 'stick into (hair, branches)'; J2 <i>dsxðë</i> 'put in under belt'.	
79. chin	gà ^h e	!gà ^h i ⁿ
	T = 'dewlap'. Cf. J2 gàñj 'chin'; cf also Kxoe géi, gàí 'cheek'.	
80. raise up	ǂhâbi	ǂ'âbí
81. pan	!gà ^o -bâ	!o [᷑]
	Cf. 'trachea' T <i>lgúlu</i> ; J1 <i>lð[᷑]ðrù</i> , J2 <i>lgùrûkú</i> . Also T <i>lgùm</i> 'jaw muscle'; J1 <i>lðmì</i> 'cheek'.	
82. insect sp.	gà [᷑] hi-sí	gà [᷑] è
	T = 'dung beetle'; J1 = 'termite', cf J2 gè ^h é 'termite' (some forms collected by Amanda Miller-Ockhuizen).	
83. erythema	tô [᷑] hlo	dò [᷑] òrò
84. septum	x'únu	xáúnú-sì
	Cf. J2 xóónù.	
85. wolf spider	qhûu	ŋ hùù
86. ritual face scars	ŋǂûh'uma	ŋǂòm
87. dish up	âhi kV	âhì
	J1 = 'lure with food'.	
88. beg	gàa ⁿ	à ⁿ
89. carry on pole over shoulder	gàlo	!àrò
90. to chop, cut	khâa ⁿ	khâ ⁿ
	T = 'carve'; J1 (cited by Köhler) = 'to hoe'. Cf. J2 <i>khâⁿ</i> 'to hoe' and also Kxoe <i>sâⁿ</i> < * <i>tshâⁿ</i> < <i>khâⁿ</i> 'to hoe'.	
91. thong	qhûle	xòrè
	Snyman derives the Ju'hoan word from Tsw. <i>kxore</i> id., but this word also occurs as Naro <i>kxòrë</i> and Kxoe <i>qwèrë</i> (note also that the !Xóõ word is in gender 3, the default gender, but has an irregular diminutive <i>qhùlu-bà</i>). It is tempting to bring Nama <i>kâré-p</i> 'slingshot' into this group, but the vocalism presents a serious problem. Vossen suggests that the Nama word is related to Naro <i>lârë</i> , Kxoe <i>kyârë</i> 'cut in strips' (though these might be borrowed from Ju'hoan <i>lâhrë</i>), as an unusual example of click loss in Nama.	
	As usual, we have a dauntingly complex web of relationships. The first question to ask is whether the Tswana form has a Bantu etymology. If not, it seems more likely that Tswana borrowed <i>kxore</i> from Naro. Naro <i>kx-</i> corresponds to Gui <i>qh-</i> in a number of words, so the Naro form might be reconstructed as * <i>qhòrë</i> . The form is so far recorded only for Kxoe and Naro, but if any other Khoe languages have a cognate, the word may be recon-	

structible for Khoe. The !Xóó word might then be a borrowing from Proto-Naro or Proto-Naro//Gana **qħòrē* and the Ju'hoan form might be borrowed from modern Naro *kħòrē*, as is the Tswana word (with *x*- replacing *kx*- in J1).

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

Г. ХОНКЕН. Лексические сходства между !хонг и и жу|хоан.

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

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

