

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 /*k*i, N1 /*k*ai, C2 /*t*ai) and he has no control over the data (in #260 FATHER S3 *baba* and N1 *ba* are compared to Naro *au**ba*, 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	ǀàmbòrò
	!Xóõ <i>ǀámtâbólobòlo</i> ‘carder bee, leafeater bee’; J1 = ‘mosquito’.	
3. speak nonclick lang.	má’ni	má’ni, ná’í ⁿ < *má’í ⁿ
4. turn, answer	mâli	mànì
5. <i>Citrullus lanatus</i>	tāhm	tāmă
	Both T and J1, identical singular and plural. In T, an irregular diminutive <i>tāⁿlu-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>tshāma-p</i> ‘C. lanatus’.	
6. overcome	tā ^h a kV	tā ^h ā ⁿ
	Cf. T èh ǀāu ⁿ í bà tā ^h a kâ-n	
	3SG name TRS ASP overcome TP-1SG	
	‘I can’t remember his name’ = ‘His name overcomes me.’	

	J1 <i>ká</i> <i>tǎhàn</i> <i>mí</i> 3SG overcome 1SG 'I can't do it' = 'It overcomes me.'	
7. demonstrative	tV'V, <i>kâtá'aⁿ</i> <i>tǒ'a</i> T <i>tV'V</i> 'this', <i>kâtá'aⁿ</i> 'here, this'; J1 = 'that'.	
8. striped polecat	<i>dǎ'aⁿ</i> <i>dǎ^f</i>	
9. path	<i>dào</i> <i>ǀhùù-dǎǎ</i>	
10. slack	<i>dǎ^fhbu</i> <i>tǎ^hù</i> Cf. Angola !Xū: <i>tǎbò</i> , †Hoan <i>k'ǎk'ǎ^fbu</i> .	
11. flutter	<i>dthàba</i> <i>dhàdhà-mà</i> J1 = 'butterfly', presumably < * <i>dthàbà-mà</i> .	
12. gums	' <i>nǎ^hn</i> ' <i>nǎ^hn-tê</i> <i>dǎ^fèⁿdǎ^fèⁿ</i> Note: Angolan !Xū: <i>dǎ^fǀj-sì</i> . Proto Ju < * <i>dǎ^fǀj</i> .	
13. expose genitals	<i>nāaⁿ</i> <i>nǒ^hn</i>	
14. tadpole	<i>tàmkútulukú</i> <i>támtàkùrì</i> T = 'diving beetle'. Cf. also J1 <i>támtàtùrìsà</i> 'black crane'.	
15. want	<i>káni</i> <i>kàrè</i>	
16. year	<i>kúli</i> <i>kúrí</i> This is pan-Khoisan.	
17. hasten	<i>kúe kV</i> <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'áro</i>	
20. navel	<i>góbo</i> <i>góbá</i> J1 perhaps < * <i>góbó</i> + nominal formant -a. Cf. also Khoe.	
21. to roll	<i>gàni</i> <i>gàni</i>	
22. goose	<i>gāaⁿ</i> <i>gǎ^haⁿ</i>	
23. compress	<i>gàlo kV</i> <i>gáro</i>	
24. to come	<i>sii</i> <i>tsí</i>	
25. conjunction (then)	<i>sii</i> <i>tsé</i> T. <i>ǀ'aaⁿ à^hn ní ǀgǎ'e è^h síi à ǀǀǎu</i> fire 3SG2 ASP heat-3SG3 3SG3 CONJ PST shrivel 'The fire heated it and (then) it shriveled.' J1 <i>ǀx'ǎèǀè ǀ'ǎù hǎ dshǎú tè sǎ tsé ǀǎǎú ǀèbè-ǀlǎré</i> MPN call 3SG1 wife CONJ 3DU CONJ travel black-country 'ǀX'ǎèǀè called his wife and then they traveled to Botswana.'	
26. to flow	<i>sù^fni</i> <i>tsù^hnǎ</i>	
27. gravy	<i>sāaⁿ</i> <i>tǎⁿ</i>	
28. medicine	<i>sòo</i> <i>tǎǎ</i>	
29. sip sthg hot	<i>sàm kV</i> <i>tǎm</i>	
30. to wag	<i>sāmsām kV</i> <i>tǎmtǎm</i> T 'flick tail (as lion)'; J1 'wag (of dog wagging tail)'.	
31. to ritually feed	<i>sōo</i> <i>tǎǎⁿ (?)</i> < <i>tǎǎⁿ + -a</i> T <i>mā-n ǀqǎhèⁿ qǎ^fa ní sōo kǎ-n</i> CONJ-1SG uncle ADV ASP rit.feed TP-1SG 'Because long ago my uncle ritually fed me.'	

	J1	žú kú tʃòàn-a dā'àmà kò ʔín-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 ^ʔ ú
34. upper lip	dzúm	zù ⁿ J1 zù ⁿ , J2 zòŋ < Proto Ju *dzòn.
35. male PN	dzâo	zùù
36. thin	dzá'ba-tá	žǎ'm
37. turn	dzá'bidzá'bi	žàbìžàbì Cf. T dzò ^h a ⁿ 'ant'; J2 ndzòà ⁿ ndzòá ⁿ 'fly'.
38. day after tomorrow	k ^h úma	(ŋ!hò)-k ^h òmà J1 = 'soon'; Cf. T k ^h úbe 'tomorrow', J2 k ^h ómè 'tomorrow'.
39. break	kūa ⁿ	kòà ⁿ J1 = 'stretch', cf. J2 k ^h òà 'break'. But this may be a loan from Khoe. Cf. Nama k ^h òá ⁿ , Kxoe k ^h óá ⁿ , Naro k ^h óá ⁿ .
40. erect hairs	kò ^h la	gòà ^h rà
41. be wide	tshào	jàò
42. begin	tshōatshōa	jàòjàò Borrowed from Nama?
43. hole	dzū ^h e	tsù ~ dshì For the voicing contamination see Traill's paper on Taa dialects.
44. to suck	qâm	kà ^ʔ m T qâm (qaBV, H) 'suckle, kiss'; J1 kà ^ʔ m 'suck', ʔm 'suckle'; T qâm (quBV, H) 'suck out and swallow'; J1 kò ^ʔ m 'hold back pips in mouth'. But this form is widespread, occurring also in E. ʔHoà and Khoe.
45. long ago	qâ'a	kâ'a J1 = 'a little while ago, now'; cf. also J1 kâ'a-há 'already', kâ'a-ŋ!hòàn 'just now', J2 kâ'a ⁿ 'then'. J1 mí kâ'a-há 'àŋ 'àri 'I trapped a guineafowl' (1SG + ADV + catch + guinea-fowl). J2 sè kâ'an 'àŋ-á há kè ŋ!ùbì-hàŋ 'They then tied the meat in bundles' (3PL + ADV + tie + TRANS PART + meat + TRANS PART + bundle-PL). Cf. Köhler kâ ^ʔ -hìn-kè 'now'. Cf. also interjection: T qhāe'è oh no; J2 khāè.
46. nominalizing suffix	-sé	-sí
47. noun suffix	-sè	-fè
48. hang the head	xô'lo	xòròxòrò J1 = 'hang heavy (fruit)'.
49. crush	xà'm	xámí
50. marijuana	qhàna	xàna Cf. T qhàla- 'spit out'; J2 ghàrá.
51. larynx	gò'lo	xúru
52. to help	ūhi	hùì
53. to stir	húni sV	húní
54. move	ù ^h a ⁿ	hòà ⁿ hòà ⁿ T ʔGáni kâ ù ^h a ⁿ ka ⁿ !úá ⁿ -tê 'move eyes back and forth'; J1 'move, alternate'.

55. to eat	'âa ⁿ	ʔm̃
	T 'aV, H. Cf. idiom: T 'ée ʔhûa, J2 ʔm̃ ʔðã ⁿ 'eat a) yawn'.	
56. pack up	'āba síi	'ābàsì
	T. 'āba síi síi sâa 'Let's pack up and go'; J2 yà 'ābàsì m̃ ^h m̃ láó idem. But this may be from Khoe 'ābà 'carry on back'.	
57. dawn	kx'āo	kx'āù ⁿ
58. stretch marks	dtxô'a	txòà ⁿ
59. thread together	txóm	txómá
	T txóm-sà, txoBV (H); J1 < txóm + -a trans. part.	
	T txóma ʔgã ^h ηa kí xāi	
	thread-2SG bead TP-1SG cord	
	'thread ostrich eggshell bead on sanseveria cord'	
	J1 ká mí lxái ʔã ^h i ⁿ mí dshàú 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 !Xóõ word is Aminuis dialect. J1 = 'nose'.	
61. fart	dts ^h àm	(fàrè)-ʒã ^h m̃
62. gland	dts ^h án	zà ^h i ⁿ
63. bump	dts ^h ò ^h u ⁿ	dʃ ^h úú ⁿ
64. blow a fire	dts ^h úm	dʃ ^h úú ⁿ
	Cf. also T dthábi 'butterfly'; J2 thābī 'eyelid' (from flutter).	

Clicks

The Glottal Accompaniment

65. be dry	ʔòo	ʔò
	This is also found in Khoe. Cf. transitive verb: T ʔòoʔòo tV, J1 ʔò ʔò.	
66. medicine	ʔōo	ʔú ⁿ - ái
	T = 'apply medicine'.	
67. to think	ʔán sV	ʔán
	This is pan-Khoisan (Macro-Khoisan in Traill's terminology). J1 < Proto Ju *ʔán.	
68. enough	ʔāu ⁿ	ʔàù ⁿ
69. to kick	ʔíi	ʔái
70. bicep	ʔólo	ʔóre
	Cf. T qhāaʔúi 'caracal'; J2 ʔúi-mà.	
71. to kiss	ʔûma ⁿ	ʔóm-á
	Cf. ʔHoã ʔòamʔòam 'taste the mouth'.	
72. care for	ʔúi ⁿ	ʔúi ⁿ -á
73. dish	ʔû-le	ʔòrè
	T pl ʔûn-sá ⁿ ; J1 is cited by Köhler, cf J2 ʔóre. Also found in Nama ʔòré-s.	
74. stick for stick game	ʔábi	ʔábí
75. possessions	ʔái	ʔái
76. fertile egg	ʔúa ⁿ úa ⁿ	ʔòanʔòan ⁿ

T. ʔgúáⁿ àh n̩ |úáⁿ|úáⁿ ʔi
egg PST ASP fertile AUXSTAT
‘The egg is fertilized.’

J1 khúkhú ɲl̩ ʔàⁿ ʔàⁿ
‘The chicken’s egg is fertilized.’

77. precede

ʔhàⁿ ʔàⁿ

78. yawn

ʔ!húá ʔòⁿ

Cf. idiom: T ʔé ʔ!húá, J2 ʔn̩ ʔðàⁿ ‘(eat a) yawn’.

Plain voiceless clicks

79. aardwolf

|h̥i |àh̥i

80. increase

|àh̥o |àh̥ò

81. to follow

|òh̥o |òh̥ò

82. finish

|òh̥o |ðàh̥rà

Note also: ‘prevent’ T |āla kV; J2 |ará.

83. buy, sell

ʔōh̥oⁿ ʔũh̥uⁿ

84. Black man

ʔābe ʔàbè

85. path

ʔólo ʔáró

86. sleeping mat

ʔûa ʔòa

T pl ʔûm-sà-tê. Poss. pan-Khoisan, found also in J2 ʔòá and in ʔHoā, N|uu and Khoe.

87. to pound soft

ʔāhm̥ʔāhm̥ ʔām̥

T = ‘to pulp’; J1 = ‘stamp grain, break up hard nuts with a stone’.

88. carry on shoulder

!án !áé

J1 ʔ< *!áéⁿ < *!án̩.

89. carry on head

!úu ʔām̥ !úrà

J1 !úrà < !úrí-à, cf J2 !úrí. Also J1 !ú ʔām̥.

90. male PN

!áe-sà !áé

91. hunting bag

!ūma !òmà

92. Toktokkie beetle

!òo!òo !òo!ò

93. spear

!ōo àʔa !ú!ù

94. artery

!òh̥oⁿ !òʔuⁿ

95. wear on head

||àa ||àh̥

96. to push

||àh̥m̥ ||ām̥

97. set fire

||àoⁿ||àoⁿ ||àʔòⁿ-wá

98. well

||ám̥ ||áú

T ||ám̥ sâa ‘go well’; J1 ||áú ’ú ‘go well’.

Voiced clicks

99. shelter from

|gâa |gà

Note: Dickens has g|hú.

100. Karoo robin

|gàni-sè |gàni-!àè!àè-jè

Also T |gâh’a ‘mat to lay meat on’; J2 g|hà.

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

Velar friction accompaniment

117. be fertilized (of egg)	†xáí†xái	†xáí†xái
	J1 = 'be partly hatched'.	
118. have miscarriage	†xâm	†xàm
119. cloth	!xái	!xái
120. booze	!xāli	!xàrì
	Cf. J2 †xárl.	
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	//xáu
	Cf. J2 //xáo.	
125. unwind	//xābi	//xábé
126. bad luck	//xōo	!xò
	Cf. J2 //xò.	

- T *n̄ à n̄* //xōo
1SG PST ASP bad.luck
'I've had bad luck.'
- J1 *mí !xò tē ǁǁè-tāmà*
1SG bad.luck CNJ hunt-AUX (AUX = unsuccessful)
'I had bad luck and hunted in vain.'

127. sweep

||xái ||xái

Cf. also T //xáuⁿ 'point between shoulder blades' and J2 //xáúⁿ 'back'.

128. leave young at home

||xāo ||xàùⁿ

For vocalism, cf. #57 'red color of dawn'.

129. awl

g|xâni g|xàín

T = 'drill for eggshell beads'. Cf. J2 g|xâŋ < Ju *g|xan.

130. spit ritually

g|xâi |xài

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'âe

|x'âe

133. notch in arrow

|x'ân-sì

(t|hì)-|x'ái

Cf. J2 |x'ârî 'to notch'.

134. male PN

|q'âe-sè

|x'âe-jè

135. wash by rubbing

|q'ùm

|x'óm

136. to mix

†x'úmi

†x'úmí

137. clay

†q'âa-ká

g†x'âá

138. twist body

!x'âm

!x'am

139. to wring

!x'áli

!x'àrì

140. join, together

||x'âe kV

||x'âe

T 'isî n̄ //x'âeⁿ !'âa ǁi
1PL ASP join sit-PL AUXSTAT
'We are sitting compacted.'

J1 m-lá g!hòó ||x'âe
1PLINCL-PL sit-PL join.
'We are sitting together.'

Note: this etymon is pan-Khoisan.

141. be sated

||x'âaⁿ

||x'á

142. stink

||x'âuⁿ

||x'ú

143. to punch

||x'úm

||x'óm

Uvular accompaniments

144. dent

†qáo

†ǎ'ò

145. sink in sthg soft

†qōhm-ǁ'ûma †ð'm

146. to hunt

!qāhe

!ǎ'è

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

147. snot	gòe T = 'phlegm'; J1 = 'blow nose'.	ŋ ò'í ⁿ
148. Barn owl	qá ^h o	ŋ á'ó
149. look out of corner of eye	†gáni	ŋ†á'ín
150. Acacia fleckii	†gá ^h li	ŋ†á'ñ
151. corn cricket	†gāna Cf. T †gā ^h ma 'wing'; J2 g†hàbà.	ŋ†á'nùn
152. Aloe zebrina	gólu	ŋ hò'òrù
153. rinse	gōbu gōbu	ŋ ò'ò'n

Aspirated accompaniments

154. to drive	qhūi	húi
155. Corallocarpus bainesii	qhú'lu-kú	hóró
156. rhino	qhíi T = 'buffalo'.	háí
157. to stretch out	†qhòna Cf. also J2 hóró C. bainesii, hí 'rhino'. Cf. T qhée ⁿ , J2 hà ^h íj 'raw'; T. †qhúi ká 'áo ⁿ 'take between fingers and pinch', J2 †húi 'pinch'; T qhāa ⁿ 'pound, stamp', J2 hà ⁿ 'hammer in, crack'; T hāa, J2 hāā ⁿ 'show'.	†hò'ànà
158. real, true	'Oŋā ^h a ⁿ Cf. ethnonyms: T tùu 'Oŋā ^h a ⁿ , J1 žù ' hò'à ⁿ . The underlying meaning of the !Xóõ word seems to be 'body' and the same semantic connection is found in Naro where xáé means both 'body' and 'true'.	ŋ hò'à ⁿ
159. sack	ŋ háo	háó
160. Fockea sp.	†qhába	†hábá
161. womb	ŋ†ó ^h o ⁿ	†hò'ò
162. Oxygonum sp.	gòe ŋ†ā ^h u	ŋ†hà'ò
163. walk quickly	ŋ à'ba	ŋ hàbà
164. foam	ōhbu	ŋ húbú
Cf. also T lā ^h m 'duck, evade'; J1 ŋ hàè, J2 kèŋlābìkì 'stick sp.'; T lā ^h u 'stir- ring stick, dzani game stick'; †Hoā ' hā ^h u 'zini game stick'; J1 hā ^h ú 'branch'; Nama ŋ ā ^h u ⁿ -p 'branch, twig'. For semantics, cf. J1 'ú ⁿ 'bow', J2 'ú ⁿ 'stirring stick', †Hoā 'ó ⁿ 'tree'; J1 ŋ ò'm 'stick for helicopter toy', T ŋ ú'm 'pestle'.		

Nasal Accompaniment

165. to love	ŋ àm kV	ŋ àhm̃
166. to restrain	ŋ è ^h e ⁿ J1 = 'intervene in quarrel'.	ŋ à'è
167. <i>A. naudinianus</i>	ŋ ū'lo T 'tuber of <i>Acanthosicyos naudinianus</i> ', sg ŋ ū ^h -lo, pl ŋ ū ^h -n-sà; J1 (?) < ŋ ū ^h -ù + -à nom. suff.	ŋ ū ^h à
168. long for	ŋ óo	ŋ ò
169. to rub	ŋ ua ⁿ kV	ŋ ò ^h à

170. to whet	ɲʈán T = ‘flint’.	ɲʈànì
171. thicket/herd	ɲʈá ^h ni T = ‘herd of gemsbok’, cf. also T ɲʈá ^h bi ‘stand, clump of small trees or bushes’; J1 = ‘swarm, flock, herd, clump, thicket’, cf. also ~ ɲʈáré ‘herd of ~,’ ɲʈábé-ɲʈá ^h à ⁿ ‘big village’.	ɲʈá ^h
172. glue, tar	ɲʈáu	ɲʈáuú
173. travel at night	ɲʈù ⁿ	ɲʈù ⁿ
174. get lost	ɲʈó ^h a ⁿ	ɲʈà ⁿ
175. to criticize	ɲʈábe	ɲʈábé
176. country	ɲʈúle T pl ɲʈún-sá ⁿ ; J2 ɲʈóré ‘country’.	ɲʈóré
177. open space	ɲʈám T 0’áa ⁿ /’àa ⁿ kí ɲʈám ‘Light a fire in the clearing.’ J1 ɲʈám ɲʈú ⁿ -a ʈʰù ts’í ‘There’s an open space by the door.’	ɲʈám
178. get lost	ɲʈó ^h a ⁿ Also J1 ɲʈù ^h ‘lose one’s way’.	ɲʈà ⁿ
179. stork	kâɲ ú’be This word may be borrowed from Khoe, where we have Nama ɲ òbā-p and Naro ɲ òbē implying Proto Khoe *ɲ obε(R). Since the *ε 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 !Xóǝ suggest that the form has some antiquity in that language. More data is needed on the distribution of this form, especially in Khoe.	ɲ ábá
180. talk	ɲ ā ^h e	ɲ àè
181. dish up	ɲ àa kV	ɲ à ^h
182. to scatter	ɲ à ^h i	ɲ ǎ ^h ú ⁿ
183. shake head	ɲ ǎ ^h niɲ ǎ ^h ni	ɲ ǎ ^h niɲ ǎ ^h ni
184. (un)wind	ɲ ú’ ⁿ m kV T = ‘twist, coil’; J1 = ‘unwind’.	ɲ ǒ ^h mì

Glottalized nasal accompaniment.

185. springhare	‘ɲù ^h i Cf. J2 ’ɲǒ ^h m̩.	ɲ ǒ ^h m̩
186. lame	‘ɲùma T = ‘limp’; cf. J2 ’ɲǒm̩.	ɲ òm̩
187. hill	!ù ^h m J1 = ‘dune’; cf. J2 ’ɲǒ ^h ín. Cf. also T ’ɲǒ ^h u, J2 ’ɲǒ ^h bú ‘to bark’.	ɲ òm̩
188. whirlwind	‘ ɲò’lo Also cf. T ’ ɲǎ ^h o, J2 ’ ɲǎ ^h ó ‘rainy season’.	ǒrò
189. T. esculentum	ʔ ɲǎ ^h n J1 refers to ‘Tylosema esculentum tuber’.	ɲ àn̩

Voicing lead

190. elbow

g#húli

#húní

Cf. J2 g#húní.

Also cf T #gà^hma, J2 g#hàbà ‘wing’. This is pan-Khoisan: #Hoã #hã^hma, Kxoe #gãámá, |Gui #gã^hmà, 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 !Xóõ 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 !Xóõ 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 !Xóõ and Ju|'hoan exactly reverse the correspondence breathy vowel ~ pharyngealized vowel; #26. ‘to flow’ !Xóõ: sù^hni; Ju|'hoan: tsù^hnì vs. ‘artery’ !Xóõ: !ò^hoⁿ, Ju|'hoan: !ò^hùⁿ.

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 η//V^h. 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 //gáē, Naro η//ā^hē, Kxoe //xèé, |Ani η//yèé; apparently borrowed into Ju as Okongo //gàé, Mpunguvlei //gàè etc.) So, this apparent sound correspondence may simply be the result of differential borrowing with !Xóõ 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 !Xóõ //G ~ Ju|'hoan η//V^h correspondence here is not necessarily hard evidence for a genetic relationship between Ju and !Xóõ.

Nevertheless, the impressive number of points of resemblance between these languages gathered here at the very least seems to indicate some period of intensive contact between the two. Indeed, the much stronger evidence in favor of a relationship between Ju and #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 !Xóõ area and eventually wandered north.

Structural Parallels

1. Conditional: T *kâ*, J1 *ká*.

n̄ n̄ kâ bà ʃhàã sâa kí !qāhi
 1SG ASP COND TNS precede go TRPRT hunt
 ‘If I go first on the hunt’

žù ʔhòã ká hà kú |x’àè hà !ò’á
 person COND 3SG IMP sick 3SG chest
 ‘When a person has an illness of the chest’

2. Diminutive: T *-bà/-bâ*, J1 *-mà*.

	!Xóõ	Ju ’hoan
diminutive sg.	<i>-bà/-bâ</i>	<i>-mà</i>
diminutive pl.	<i>-màni</i>	<i>-m^hín</i>

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 !Xũ, 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. *-mà*, pl. *-m^hín*, !Xũ sg *-mà*, pl. *-mè^hé*. This suffix appears to have been fused to certain stems; e.g., child sg. *dà’àbà*, pl. *dà’ábí* (< **dà’à-m^hín*).

In !Xóõ, the dim pl is marked by *ò’âni*, the plural of *òàa* ‘child’ in the Lonetree dialect but in the Kutuku dialect the forms are sg. *-bà*, pl. *-màni*. The correspondence here of irregularities between !Xóõ and Northern Khoisan is quite striking (presumably Ju *-mè^hé*, *-m^hín* < **màni*).

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 *xāu* ‘to respect’, *xāu-sé* ‘kin avoidance’, *ká’aⁿ* ‘to insult’, *ká’aⁿ-sé* ‘insults’; J1 *η|áíj* ‘sit’, *η|áíj-sí* ‘seat’, *kx’òàn* ‘look for’, *kx’òàn-sí* ‘eyes’, *ʃgà’ín* ‘high’, *ʃgà’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. *|gôo* ‘be generous’, *|gôo-sé* ‘gifts’; J1 *|gò* ‘be stingy’, *|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 (*!úlu*)-*|èhe-sè*, J1 *η|ηò-fè* ‘fork-tailed drongo’; T *|gàni-sè*, J1 *|gàni-làè!àè-fè* ‘karoo robin’; T *qá’i-sè*, J1 *kā’è-fè* ‘male PN’; T *|q’ái-sè*, J1 *|x’àè-fè* ‘male PN’; T *η!àle !ā’o-sè*, J1 *η!àè g!x’àrí-fè* ‘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’, *kâη!āh’m* ‘stagger’, *kā’|ηā’ma* ‘blink’; in some cases, the *k-* element brackets the stem as in *kâθòòkâ* ‘be smeared with dirt’.

In her grammar of Ovamboland !Xũ, 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 !Xóõ there are prefixed forms as in *kèdù'ùbì* ‘cut’ and bracketed forms like *kèmânĩkĩ* ‘hide’.

In Jul'hoan this class appears to be very much reduced; the only examples in Snyman and Dickens are *kòkx'úi* ‘speak’, *kònàm* ‘slumber’ and *kòts'ǎũ* ‘jump away’. However, Dickens notes in his grammar that ideophones take the transitive particle *kò* (*kò !gòhbu* ‘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 !Xóõ, this element changes its form to agree with the gender of its head, but Traill gives the base form as *kâ*. Indeed this is the most striking resemblance among the languages involved: that the verbal transitive particle and the verbal prefix have the same vocalization: T. *kâhò'be* ‘shake hard’, *kē kōpì tshôe* ‘in the cup’; J1 *kòkx'úi* ‘speak’, *kò tâfêr /hó* ‘on the table’; J2 *kètsǎ'ĩ* ‘make haste’, *kè ts'ù ǵlǵǵ* ‘in the house.’

Examples of the verbal prefix:

!Xóõ

èh ní tshōa Ōân kâ'ǵò'bukâ
3SG TNS begin sleep ADV(NOD OFF)
‘He is nodding off to sleep.’

kànǵá'm kâ ||ūm
surround TP2 springbok
‘surround the springbok.’

ǵá'ĩ ní kâ bà kâtúpká ih ní ǵ'áma 'ǵǵàa"
lion TNS COND ASP R&L 3SG1 TNS carry aggression
(*kâtúpká* = ‘raise and lower the head [as a lion]’)

Jul'hoan

ká ǵ!hðàn kògǵhàò ||'a-kâ dshàú ǵ'áúǵ tsáú
COND man fall.asleep DEIC woman ADV rise
‘When the man fell asleep, the woman quietly got up.’

hǎ kò!gòhbu kò zǐ !x'á tè dshàú-sì kò!ũĩh !làh sàrà-à-khòè
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.’

!Xũ

má ké kèlá-gù kè hǎ
1SG PST 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

n̄ n̄ ɲ!úm tshûu ʃi ké ká|gá'e
 1SG TNS dwell sit.SG STAT TP3SG k.
 'I am living at ká|gá'e.'

Ju|'hoan

mí hõ-à !há kò ɲ!âmà ɲ!áɲ
 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	!Xóõ	Ju 'hoan
1. nosebleed	dzâ'u ⁿ But cf. also dzâ'u ⁿ and J1 zàù ⁿ -wa 'virgin' (underlying meaning 'to bleed').	dù'ú ⁿ
2. tie closed	dtsxà'm	txòmì
3. not share	à'hi	kà'í
4. stand on tiptoe	hó'lo	tò'óró ^ò òrò
5. lift to peek under	āhbi	tà'ábí
6. marijuana	qhàna	xàna
7. gape	qàa But also found in ꞤHoā gā'a, Kxoe qāā 'open mouth', Nama kààlāā 'yawn'.	gò'á
8. sly	kāha J1 = 'do in secret'. Cf. Nama kǎá 'be clever'.	kǎhà ⁿ
9. joint	gūlu T = ankle, J1 = 'heel'. Cf. also J1 x'ái-tǃhùù ⁿ -gúnú 'heel'.	gògòró
10. eat dry food	gùm J1 = 'swallow'.	gòmì
11. recline, sg	tshūu T = 'sit' sg.; J1 = 'lie down' sg.	ǃú
12. cast skin	húli T = 'cast skin, change to another creature'; J1 = 'smooth'. Cf. also T thūlu 'smooth', J1 thúrú 'change to another creature'; T dūhi-tūhi-dthūi 'shaved, shorn, bald, smooth', cf J1 dúrí 'peel', dù'úrí 'slough skin', J2 dú'úrí 'be naked'.	hùrìhùrì-jà
13. steal	dzā'a T = 'hide, conceal'; J1 = 'steal, kidnap'.	dǃ'áá
14. lightning	tāli J1 = 'thunder, echo'. Cf T tāli ts'ê ⁿ 'sound of a lightning strike, lit. 'lightning cries'. For the quotative verb, cf J1 tǃ'í ⁿ 'cries'.	tàrì
15. form clouds	ōho J1 = 'clear up'. For other comparisons with a semantic reversal of polarity, consider T kx'āba 'get up', J1 khábá 'go down'; T ǃgòò 'generous', J1 ǃgò 'stingy'.	hòò
16. turn	qā'bi, q'ābi tâ T = 'turn inside out', J1 = 'fold over, roll up (i. e. sleeves)'. Also apparently found in Khoe Naro kǎbí, Ani ǃàbí (re)turn.	kà'ábé
17. pull/fall out	gū'hm T = 'pull out grass or hair, pluck'; J1 = 'fall out (feather)'.	kòmì
18. choke	ǃ'úu ⁿ T ǃGú'huu ǃ'úu ⁿ 'choke on food', ǃGú'huu -ǃ'úu ⁿ 'excess saliva in pharynx'; J1 = 'swallow with difficulty'.	ǃǃ'ú'ú ⁿ
19. cut in pieces	!àhle T = 'cut meat in pieces'; J1 = 'cut meat in strips'.	!àhrè
20. bird sp	!òbo T = 'quail'; J1 = 'red-billed francolin'.	!óbó

21. shake out	!àhin T = 'beat a blanket'; J1 = 'shake out (e.g. liquid)'. Cf. also 'beat out' T <i>!à^hin</i> kV; J1 <i>!à^hin</i> , J2 <i>η!ηjàèη!ηjàè</i> . Note vowel lowering in J2 related to nasalization.	!àhìn
22. travel	!ào T = 'go "up" back home'; J1 = 'move, trek'.	!ǎǎ
23. tell	!ūbe T = 'tell'; J1 = 'discuss'.	!òbè
24. take a handful	'ām Cf. T <i> x'únu</i> 'bridge of nose'; J2 <i> xòónù</i> 'nose'.	x'àm
25. wrinkled	g x'āi	x'ài
26. snake sp	‡qhúu T = 'small python'; J1 = 'banded spitting cobra'.	‡hú
27. snatch	qhúu T = 'snatch'; J1 = 'take back a gift', cf J2 <i>g hú</i> 'snatch'. Cf also T <i> qhála</i> 'chop off pieces'; J2 <i> hárá</i> 'rip up'.	hú
28. to shake	η!ābu T = 'shake, shiver'; J1 = 'shake, twitch violently'.	η áúη ábú
29. cut off	η àho T = 'flay, skin'; J1 = 'shave'.	η āhù
30. spill	η à'a T = 'pour, spill'; J1 = 'sow'.	η āà
31. churn	η ū'hbu T = 'shake (of liquids)'.	η ūbù
32. catch	η‡àho T = 'catch smth. moving'; J1 = 'take with both hands'.	η‡āhù
33. stomach contents	η āhna T = 'contents of rumen'; J1 = 'shit, dung'.	η ānà
34. refuse	η á'ni T = 'refuse to do what is asked'; J1 = 'dissuade, i. e. causative of not do'.	η ānín ānì
35. arm	η‡á'a ⁿ T = 'ulna and radius'.	η‡hā ⁿ
36. think	η!òho T = 'speculate, imagine, think'; J1 = 'yearn for, mourn, wish'.	η!òó
37. to tie	' ηāhni- T 'tie' pl.; J1 = 'tie closed'.	'ānì
38. wink	' ηā'ma J1 <i> gāá-ts'í-η!ò'ómá</i> = 'eye-cover-wink'.	-η!ò'ómá
39. carry on stick over shoulder	gàlo	!àrò
40. caracal	qhāa ‡'ùì	‡'ùì
41. mortar	!gāi	!ài
42. Oxygonum sp	gùe-η‡ā'hu	η‡ā'ò
43. knife	η‡ūn J1 = 'Ovambo knife'; T = 'spear', pl. Cf. Aminuis dialect 'knife': sg <i>η‡ôra</i> , pl <i>η‡ūn</i> .	η‡āhù
44. warthog	gāhli-sè T cited in Traill, Phonology p. 170. J1 = 'wild pig'.	khàrí

45. to fly	dzā ^h hin	zõ ^h in
46. hair	!x'ôe	!x'úi
	T = 'rain'. Cf. J1 !gà!x'úi, η ð'íl!x'úi 'cloud', lit. 'rain's hair'.	
47. tease	'ái 'àì	x'ài
48. rag	g x'àli	x'ài x'àri
49. tortoise	η ûe	gòé
50. nail	gà'm	-!ǎ ^h àmì
	J1. !gǎú ^h -!ǎ ^h àmì 'finger'.	
51. tortoise shell	Gõh'a	ò'á
	T = 'plastron of tortoise'; J1 = 'tortoise', cf J2 gò'á id.	
52. Pentarrhinum insipidum	†gú'a	gò'á
53. tongue	'ná'm !qhâa ⁿ	nǎ'm
	T = 'saliva' (?< tongue + water); J1 = 'lick'.	
54. growth	sú ⁱ n	
	T = 'growth on plant'. Cf. J2 tsú ⁱ n 'growth on tree'.	
55. starling	dzá ^h ba īhi	žo ^h ai
	J1 cited in Dickens, tone not given. Cf. †Hoǎ džǎ ^h bari.	
56. dance	η āhm	η ām
	T = 'play with, joke with'; J1 = 'dance (of women)'.	
57. stick sp.	η ú'm	η ð' m
	T = 'pestle'; J1 = 'stick for helicopter game'.	
58. trick	η†ǎ'a bìi	†hǎbè
	T = 'trickster, deceiver'; J1 = 'trick, deceive'.	
59. smoulder	η!ð'hlo	η!ǎhrù
60. crowned plover	η ǎ'en	η!ǎ ^h i
61. worm	†gú'u ⁿ	η†ù'ú ⁿ
	Cf. K. dialect of !Xóõ i-†qhú'u ⁿ .	
62. to trip	†gāhm-†gúli	η†ù'ú ⁿ i
63. to sharpen	η ǎ'n	η hǎñ
64. cool down	η†ùa	η†hǎàrà
65. shoulder	ʔ ηú'bi tshôe	η ù'úrù
	T = 'armpit' < 'shoulder' (?) + 'inside'.	
66. syphon water	ʔ†ηūhn-	η†hùrì
66. stick sp.	cāmi	η ǎ ^h mì
	T = 'scraper'; J1 = 'splinter'.	
67. chest	!cāhma	η!ǎhma
	T = 'sternum'; J1 = 'hold to chest'.	
68. dent	†cà'm-	g†x'ǎ'm
69. ask for	gàan	àn
70. warm by the fire	†àla	†'àrà
71. mound	†gûu ⁿ †gûu ⁿ	tõ ^h -†gûù ⁿ -à
	T = 'mound of sand'; J1 = 'ash heap' ('ash' + 'mound' + compound marker), cf. also †gûu ⁿ †gûu ⁿ -ǎ 'ant sp.'	
72. seize	qhúu	hú
	T = 'snatch'; J1 = 'take back a gift'; cf also J2 g hú 'rob'. Found also in Khoe.	

73. burn	†qhó'obu T = 'scorch'; J1 = 'boil dry, burn'.	†x'òbò
74. breathe	qhô'a ⁿ J1 = 'pant'.	xòà ⁿ
75. joint	g†xúbi T = 'elbow'; J1 = 'shoulder joint'.	†xúbí
76. shiver	†gà'ni	†'à ì ⁿ †'à ⁿ i
77. wild dog	g†xūi For initial cf #52 <i>Pentarrhinum insipidum</i> .	g x'áúhí
78. to siphon	dtsk'ôla T = 'to squirt'. Cf. also T <i>dtsxô'ni</i> 'stick into (hair, branches)'; J2 <i>dsxðè</i> 'put in under belt'.	dts'úi
79. chin	gā ^h e T = 'dewlap'. Cf. J2 gā ^h 'chin'; cf also Kxoe gēi, gāi 'cheek'.	!gā ^h i ⁿ
80. raise up	†hābi	†'ábí
81. pan	!gā ^h o-bà Cf. 'trachea' T !gūlu; J1 !ð ^h òrù, J2 !gùrúku. Also T !gùm 'jaw muscle'; J1 !òm 'cheek'.	!ò ^h
82. insect sp.	gā ^h hi-sí T = 'dung beetle'; J1 = 'termite', cf J2 gè ^h é 'termite' (some forms collected by Amanda Miller-Ockhuizen).	gā ^h è
83. erythema	tō ^h lo	dò ^h òrò
84. septum	x'únu Cf. J2 xòónù.	xáúnú-sì
85. wolf spider	qhūu	η hūù
86. ritual face scars	η†ūh'uma	η†òm
87. dish up	āhi kV J1 = 'lure with food'.	āhì
88. beg	gāa ⁿ	à ⁿ
89. carry on pole over shoulder	gàlo	!àrò
90. to chop, cut	kháa ⁿ T = 'carve'; J1 (cited by Köhler) = 'to hoe'. Cf. J2 <i>kháⁿ</i> 'to hoe' and also Kxoe <i>sáⁿ</i> < * <i>tsháⁿ</i> < <i>kháⁿ</i> 'to hoe'.	khá ⁿ
91. thong	qhūle Snyman derives the Ju'hoan word from Tsw. <i>kxore</i> id., but this word also occurs as Naro <i>kxòrē</i> and Kxoe <i>qwèrē</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>kàré-p</i> 'slingshot' into this group, but the vocalism presents a serious problem. Vossen suggests that the Nama word is related to Naro <i>lārē</i> , Kxoe <i>kyārē</i> 'cut in strips' (though these might be borrowed from Ju'hoan <i>lāhrē</i>), as an unusual example of click loss in Nama.	xòrè

As usual, we have a dauntingly complex web of relationships. The first question to ask is whether the Tswana form has a Bantu etymology. If not, it seems more likely that Tswana borrowed *kxore* from Naro. Naro *kx-* corresponds to |Gui *qh-* in a number of words, so the Naro form might be reconstructed as **qhòrē*. 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 !Xóǎ word might then be a borrowing from Proto-Naro or Proto-Naro/||Gana **qhòrē* and the Ju'hoan form might be borrowed from modern Naro *kxòrē*, as is the Tswana word (with *x-* replacing *kx-* in J1).

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

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

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

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

