

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 ʔai) and he has no control over the data (in #260 FATHER S3 *baba* and N1 *ba* are compared to Naro *aua*, 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 ǀHoan 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 ^h ni	mà ^h ni, nà ^h ín < *mà ^h ín
4. turn, answer	mâli	màni
5. Citrullus lanatus	tāhm	tāmà
	Both T and J1, identical singular and plural. In T, an irregular diminutive <i>tā^hlu-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 <i>èh ǀauⁿ ní bà tā^ha kā-n</i>	
	3SG name TRS ASP overcome TP-1SG	
	‘I can’t remember his name’ = ‘His name overcomes me.’	

	J1 <i>ká</i> <i>tǎhǎn</i> <i>mí</i> 3SG overcome 1SG 'I can't do it' = 'It overcomes me.'	
7. demonstrative	tV'V, <i>kátá'aⁿ</i>	tò'a T tV'V 'this', <i>kátá'aⁿ</i> 'here, this'; J1 = 'that'.
8. striped polecat	dǎ ^f a ⁿ	dǎ ^f
9. path	dào	ɱ!hùù-dǎǎ
10. slack	dǎ ^f hbu	tǎ ^h ù Cf. Angola !Xū: <i>tǎbò</i> , #Hoan <i>k^yá^yk^yá^ybu</i> .
11. flutter	dthàba	dhàdhà-mà J1 = 'butterfly', presumably < * <i>dhàbà-mà</i> .
12. gums	'nǎ ^h n' nǎ ^h n-tê	dǎ ^f è ⁿ dǎ ^f è ⁿ Note: Angolan !Xū: <i>dǎ^fǎ-sì</i> . Proto Ju < * <i>dǎ^fǎ</i> .
13. expose genitals	nāa ⁿ	nǎ ^h n
14. tadpole	támkútúlukú	tám ^t àkùrì T = 'diving beetle'. Cf. also J1 <i>tám^tàtùrìsà</i> 'black crane'.
15. want	káni	kàrè
16. year	kúli	kúrí This is pan-Khoisan.
17. hasten	kúe kV	kòè-jà-khòè T = 'do in a hurry'; J1 = 'race each other'. cf. also Khoe.
18. walk pigeon-toed	gába	gábá
19. drink too little to be satisfied	gólo	gà'áró
20. navel	góbo	góbá J1 perhaps < * <i>góbó</i> + nominal formant <i>-a</i> . Cf. also Khoe.
21. to roll	gàni	gàni
22. goose	gāa ⁿ	gǎ ^h a ⁿ
23. compress	gàlo kV	gáró
24. to come	sii	tsí
25. conjunction (then)	sii	tsé T. <i>!'àaⁿ à^hn ní †gè'e èⁿ sii à ɱ āu</i> fire 3SG2 ASP heat-3SG3 3SG3 CONJ PST shrivel 'The fire heated it and (then) it shriveled.' J1 <i> x'ǎèfè !'àù hà dsháú tè sá tsé ɱǎáú fèbè-ɱlóré</i> MPN call 3SG1 wife CONJ 3DU CONJ travel black-country ' X'ǎèfè called his wife and then they traveled to Botswana.'
26. to flow	sù ^f ni	tsù ^h nì
27. gravy	sāa ⁿ	tǎ ⁿ
28. medicine	sòo	tǎò
29. sip sthg hot	sàm kV	tǎàm
30. to wag	sāmsām kV	tǎám ^t fàm T 'flick tail (as lion)'; J1 'wag (of dog wagging tail)'.
31. to ritually feed	sōo	tǎò ⁿ (?) < tǎò ⁿ + <i>-a</i> T <i>mā-n †qhèⁿ qǎ'a 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	dǎ'àmà	kò	ʔm-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		dzáʔi				(tʃí ⁿ)-zá ^ʔ ú	
34. upper lip		dzúm				zù ⁿ	
		J1 zù ⁿ , J2 zòŋ < Proto Ju *dzòn.					
35. male PN		dzâo				zùù	
36. thin		dzáʔba-tá				žǎʔm	
37. turn		dzáʔbidzâʔbi				žàbìžàbì	
		Cf. T dzò ^h a ⁿ 'ant'; J2 ndzòà ⁿ ndzóá 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 óā ⁿ , Naro k ^h óá ⁿ .					
40. erect hairs		kò ^h la				gòà ^h rǎ	
41. be wide		tshào				jàò	
42. begin		tshōatshōa				jàòjàò	
		Borrowed from Nama?					
43. hole		dzū ^h e				tsù ~ dshí	
		For the voicing contamination see Trill'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 qûm (quBV, H) 'suck out and swallow'; J1 kò ^ʔ m 'hold back pips in mouth'. But this form is widespread, occurring also in E. †Hoà and Khoe.					
45. long ago		qâ ^ʔ a				kà ^ʔ á	
		J1 = 'a little while ago, now'; cf. also J1 kà ^ʔ á-há 'already', kà ^ʔ á-ŋhòàn 'just now', J2 kà ^ʔ á ⁿ 'then'.					
		J1 mí kà ^ʔ á-há 'àŋ 'àri 'I trapped a guineafowl' (1SG + ADV + catch + guinea-fowl). J2 sè kà ^ʔ án 'àŋ-á há kè ŋʔùbì-hàn 'They then tied the meat in bundles' (3PL + ADV + tie + TRANS PART + meat + TRANS PART + bundle-PL). Cf. Köhler kǎ ^ʔ -hìn-kè 'now'.					
		Cf. also interjection: T qhāe'è oh no; J2 kháè.					
46. nominalizing suffix		-sé				-sí	
47. noun suffix		-sè				-jè	
48. hang the head		xò'lo				xòròxòrò	
		J1 = 'hang heavy (fruit)'.					
49. crush		xà'm				xámí	
50. marijuana		qhàna				xàna	
		Cf. T qhála- 'spit out'; J2 ghára.					
51. larynx		gò'lo				xúró	
52. to help		ūhi				hù	
53. to stir		húni sV				húní	
54. move		ù ^h a ⁿ				hòà ⁿ hòà ⁿ	
		T †cáni kâ ù ^h a ⁿ kâ ⁿ !'ûa ⁿ -tê 'move eyes back and forth'; J1 'move, alternate'.					

55. to eat	'âa ⁿ	ʔm̄
	T 'aV, H. Cf. idiom: T 'ée !hûa, J2 ʔm̄ !'ðã ⁿ '(eat a) yawn'.	
56. pack up	'āba s̄ii	'ābàsi
	T. 'āba s̄ii s̄i s̄āa 'Let's pack up and go'; J2 yà 'ābàsi m̄ ^h m̄ láo idem. But this may be from Khoe 'ābà 'carry on back'.	
57. dawn	kx'āo	kx'àu 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 gã ^h ŋa kí xāi	
	thread-2SG bead TP-1SG cord	
	'thread ostrich eggshell bead on sanseveria cord'	
	J1 ká mí !xáí ã ^h ŋ 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	(jàrè)-ʒã ^h m̄
62. gland	dts ^h án	zà ^h í ⁿ
63. bump	dts ^h ò ^h f ^h u ⁿ	dʃ ^h úú ⁿ
64. blow a fire	dts ^h úm	dʃ ^h úú ⁿ
	Cf. also T <i>dthábi</i> 'butterfly'; J2 <i>thábi</i> 'eyelid' (from flutter).	

Clicks

The Glottal Accompaniment

65. be dry	ʔò	ʔò
	This is also found in Khoe. Cf. transitive verb: T ʔòʔò tV, J1 ʔò ʔò.	
66. medicine	ʔōo	ʔú ⁿ - ái
	T = 'apply medicine'.	
67. to think	ʔán sV	ʔáj
	This is pan-Khoisan (Macro-Khoisan in Traill's terminology). J1 < Proto Ju *ʔán.	
68. enough	ʔāu ⁿ	ʔàu ⁿ
69. to kick	ʔí	ʔái
70. bicep	ʔólo	ʔóré
	Cf. T <i>qhāaʔú</i> 'caracal'; J2 ʔú-i-mà.	
71. to kiss	ʔûma ⁿ	ʔóm-á
	Cf. ʔHoã ʔámʔám 'taste the mouth'.	
72. care for	ʔúí ⁿ	ʔúí ⁿ -á
73. dish	ʔû-le	ʔòrè
	T pl ʔún-sá ⁿ ; J1 is cited by Köhler, cf J2 ʔóré. Also found in Nama ʔòré-s.	
74. stick for stick game	'ábi	'ábí
75. possessions	'ái	'áí
76. fertile egg	úa ⁿ úá ⁿ	ʔòa ⁿ 'òá ⁿ

- T. ʔgúáⁿ àh ní |úáⁿ|úáⁿ fíi
 egg PST ASP fertile AUXSTAT
 ‘The egg is fertilized.’
 J1 khúkhuú ŋ!ù !’òáⁿ!’òáⁿ
 ‘The chicken’s egg is fertilized.’

77. precede

ʔhàáⁿ ʔàⁿ

78. yawn

ʔhúá !’òáⁿ

Cf. idiom: T ’éé ʔhúá, J2 ?m !’òáⁿ ‘(eat a) yawn’.

Plain voiceless clicks

79. aardwolf

|ṛhi |àʰi

80. increase

|àʰo |àʰò

81. to follow

|òʰo |òʰò

82. finish

|òʰo |òàʰrà

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

83. buy, sell

ʔōʰoⁿ ʔùʰùⁿ

84. Black man

ʔābe ʔàbè

85. path

ʔólo ʔáró

86. sleeping mat

ʔûa ʔòá

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

87. to pound soft

ʔāhmʔāhm ʔām

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

88. carry on shoulder

!án !áé

J1 ? < *!áéⁿ < *!án.

89. carry on head

!úu ʔàm !úra

J1 lúra < lúrí-à, cf J2 !úrí. Also J1 !ú ʔàm.

90. male PN

!áe-sà !áé

91. hunting bag

!ūma !òmà

92. Toktokkie beetle

!òo!òo !òo!ò

93. spear

!ōo àʰa !ú!ù

94. artery

!òʰoⁿ !òʰùⁿ

95. wear on head

||àa ||àʰ

96. to push

||àʰm ||àm

97. set fire

||àoⁿ||àoⁿ ||àʰòⁿ-wá

98. well

||ám ||áú

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

Voiced clicks

99. shelter from

|gâa |gà

Note: Dickens has g|há.

100. Karoo robin

|gàni-sè |gàni-!àè!àè-fè

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

101. rotten egg	†gūhi	g#húí
102. mound	†gūu ⁿ †gūu ⁿ	tò ^f 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	!gòhé-!á ⁿ
	J1 is a praise name for the vulture.	
105. enter	!gâ'o	!gà'ámá
	T !ga'BV (H). J2 //gàbá 'enter' appears to be a different etymon, comparable to J1 //gábá '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 !gòmàhà.	
107. edible termite	!gò'obi	!gù'úri-tjí-!gò'm
108. spend the day	//gàa ⁿ	//gàá ⁿ
109. red oxide	//gà'i	!gò' ^f í ⁿ
110. hip bone	//gànu	!gánú
111. belch	//gà ^h a	!gà ^f
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 //pà 'put on shoes'.	
115. to slap	!góba	!ò' ^f óbá
116. Ehretia rigida	//gá'u	//à' ^f ú
	Cf. also T †gúnu, J2 †gúrí 'dry skin'; T. !gúnu, J2 !gúrukú 'trachea'.	

Velar friction accompaniment

117. be fertilized (of egg)	†xái†xāi	†xái†xái
	J1 = 'be partly hatched'.	
118. have miscarriage	†xâm	†xàm
119. cloth	!xái	!xāi
120. booze	!xāli	!xàri
	Cf. J2 !xāri.	
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	<i>n̄ à n̄</i> //xōo	
		1SG PST ASP bad.luck	
		‘I’ve had bad luck.’	
	J1	<i>mí lxò t̄è lã̄è-tàmà</i>	
		1SG bad.luck CNJ hunt-AUX (AUX = unsuccessful)	
		‘I had bad luck and hunted in vain.’	
127. sweep		xái	xái
		Cf. also T //xáú ⁿ ‘point between shoulder blades’ and J2 //xáú ⁿ ‘back’.	
128. leave young at home		xāo	xàù ⁿ
		For vocalism, cf. #57 ‘red color of dawn’.	
129. awl		g xâni	g xáin
		T = ‘drill for eggshell beads’. Cf. J2 g xàṅ < 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’æ	x’è
133. notch in arrow	x’án-si	(t ḥi)- x’ái
	Cf. J2 x’áṛí ‘to notch’.	
134. male PN	q’æ-sè	x’è-fè
135. wash by rubbing	q’ùm	x’óm
136. to mix	‡x’úmi	‡x’úmí
137. clay	‡q’áa-ká	g‡x’áá
138. twist body	!x’âm	!x’àm
139. to wring	!x’áli	!x’àri
140. join, together	x’áe kV	x’áe
	T	<i>’isí n̄</i> //x’áe ⁿ !’áa ñi
		1PL ASP join sit-PL AUXSTAT
		‘We are sitting compacted.’
	J1	<i>mì-lá</i> g hòó //x’áé
		1PLINCL-PL sit-PL join.
		‘We are sitting together.’
	Note: this etymon is pan-Khoisan.	
141. be sated	x’áa ⁿ	x’á
142. stink	x’áu ⁿ	x’ú
143. to punch	x’úm	x’óm

Uvular accompaniments

144. dent	‡qáo	‡ã’ò
145. sink in sthg soft	‡qōhm- ’úma ‡ð’ ^o m̄	
146. to hunt	!qāhe	!ã’è
	Cf. also T qée sg, qám pl ‘Nama person’; J2 ã’è ‘a Black’.	

147. snot	çòe T = 'phlegm'; J1 = 'blow nose'.	ŋ ò'ín
148. Barn owl	qà ^h o	ŋ à'ó
149. look out of corner of eye	‡gáni	ŋ‡à'ín
150. Acacia fleckii	‡gà ^h li	ŋ‡à'ŋ
151. corn cricket	‡gāna Cf. T ‡gā ^h ma 'wing'; J2 g‡hàbà.	ŋ‡à'nú ⁿ
152. Aloe zebrina	çólu	ŋ hò'òrù
153. rinse	çòbu çòbu	ŋ ò'ò m

Aspirated accompaniments

154. to drive	qhūi	húi
155. Corallocarpus bainesii	qhú'lu-kú	hóro
156. rhino	qhíi T = 'buffalo'.	háí
157. to stretch out	‡qhòna Cf. also J2 hóro C. bainesii, hí 'rhino'. Cf. T qhee ⁿ , J2 hà ^h íj 'raw'; T. ‡qhúii ká 'áo ⁿ 'take between fingers and pinch', J2 ‡húii 'pinch'; T !qhāa ⁿ 'pound, stamp', J2 hā ⁿ 'hammer in, crack'; T hāa, J2 hāá ⁿ 'show'.	‡hòà ⁿ
158. real, true	'Oŋā ^h a ⁿ Cf. ethnonyms: T tùu 'Oŋā ^h a ⁿ , J1 žù hòà 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 hòà ⁿ
159. sack	ŋ háo	háó
160. Fockea sp.	‡qhába	ŋ‡hába
161. womb	ŋ‡ò ^h o ⁿ	ŋ‡hò'ò
162. Oxygonum sp.	gòe ŋ‡ā ^h u	ŋ‡hā ^h ò
163. walk quickly	ŋ à'ba	ŋ hàbà
164. foam	òhbu Cf. also T ŋ á ^h m 'duck, evade'; J1 ŋ ŋàè, J2 kèŋ àbìkì 'stick sp.'; T ŋ á ^h u 'stir- ring stick, dzani game stick'; ‡Hoā ' ŋá ^h u 'zini game stick'; J1 ŋ háú 'branch'; Nama ŋ áú ⁿ -p 'branch, twig'. For semantics, cf. J1 'ú ⁿ 'bow', J2 'ú ⁿ 'stirring stick', ‡Hoā 'ó ⁿ 'tree'; J1 ŋ ò'ò m 'stick for helicopter toy', T ŋ ú'm 'pestle'.	ŋ húbú

Nasal Accompaniment

165. to love	ŋ àm kV	ŋ àhm̩
166. to restrain	ŋ è ^h e ⁿ J1 = 'intervene in quarrel'.	ŋ à'è
167. <i>A. naudinianus</i>	ŋ ū ^h 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 ù ⁿ kV	ŋ ò ^h à

170. to whet	ŋʃán T = 'flint'.	ŋʃànì
171. thicket/herd	ŋʃà ^h ni T = 'herd of gemsbok', cf. also T ŋʃà ^h bi 'stand, clump of small trees or bushes'; J1 = 'swarm, flock, herd, clump, thicket', cf. also ~ ŋʃáré 'herd of ~,' ŋʃábé-ŋ!à ⁿ 'big village'.	ŋʃà ^f
172. glue, tar	ŋʃáú	ŋʃáú
173. travel at night	ŋʃùì ⁿ	ŋʃùù ⁿ
174. get lost	ŋ!ò ^h a ⁿ	ŋ!à ⁿ
175. to criticize	ŋ!ábe	ŋ!ábé
176. country	ŋ!úle T pl ŋ!ún-sá ⁿ ; J2 ŋ!óré 'country'.	ŋ!óré
177. open space	ŋ!ám T ʔ'áa ⁿ /'àa ⁿ kí ŋ!ám 'Light a fire in the clearing.' J1 ŋ!ám ŋ!ú ⁿ -a tʃ'ù ts'í 'There's an open space by the door.'	ŋ!ám
178. get lost	ŋ!ò ^h a ⁿ Also J1 ŋ!ù ^h ù 'lose one's way'.	ŋ!à ⁿ
179. stork	kâŋ ú ^h be 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 *ε correspondence in Khoe is normally borrowed into Ju as e or i, the Jul'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.	ŋ ábá
180. talk	ŋ á ^h e	ŋ àè
181. dish up	ŋ áa kV	ŋ á ^f
182. to scatter	ŋ á ^f i	ŋ á ^f ù ⁿ
183. shake head	ŋ á ^f niŋ á ^f ni	ŋ á ^f i ⁿ ŋ á ^f nì
184. (un)wind	ŋ ú ^h m kV T = 'twist, coil'; J1 = 'unwind'.	ŋ ò ^f mì

Glottalized nasal accompaniment.

185. springhare	'ŋù ^h i Cf. J2 'ŋò ^f mì.	ŋ ò ^f mì
186. lame	'ŋùma T = 'limp'; cf. J2 'ŋò ^h mì.	ŋ ò ^h mì
187. hill	!ù ^h m J1 = 'dune'; cf. J2 'ŋò ^h ni. Cf. also T 'ŋò ^h u, J2 'ŋò ^h bú 'to bark'.	ŋ ò ^h mì
188. whirlwind	' ŋò ^h lo Also cf. T ' ŋà ^h o, J2 ' ŋà ^h ó 'rainy season'.	ò ^h rò
189. T. esculentum	? ŋà ^h n J1 refers to 'Tylosema esculentum tuber'.	ŋ à ^h ŋ

Voicing lead

190. elbow

gʃhúli

ʃhúni

Cf. J2 gʃhúmi.

Also cf T ʃgà^hma, J2 gʃhàbà ‘wing’. This is pan-Khoisan: ʃHoã ʃhà^hma, Kxoe ʃgàámá, |Gui ʃgà^hmà, Naro ʃxàmà. 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 //cáē, Naro η//à^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 ʃHoã, taken with the resemblances set out here, might suggest that, rather than ʃHoã 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 †hã sâa kí !qãhi
 1SG ASP COND TNS precede go TRPRT hunt
 ‘If I go first on the hunt’

žù †hã ká hà kú |x’âè hà lò’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’ábà*, pl. *dà’ábí* (< **dã’â-m^hín*).

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

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/áj* ‘sit’, *η/áj-sí* ‘seat’, *kx’òàⁿ* ‘look for’, *kx’òàⁿ-sí* ‘eyes’, *†gà’ín* ‘high’, *†gà’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-fé* ‘fork-tailed drongo’; T */gàni-sè*, J1 */gànì-!àè!àè-fè* ‘karoo robin’; T *qá’i-sè*, J1 *kã’è-fè* ‘male PN’; T */q’ái-sè*, J1 *|x’âè-fè* ‘male PN’; T *η/làle lá’o-sè*, J1 *η/àè g!x’àri-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 *kâòxóó* ‘shuffle’, *kâη/lāh’m* ‘stagger’, *kā’|ηã^fma* ‘blink’; in some cases, the *k-* element brackets the stem as in *kâòòòkâ* ‘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 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’áũ* ‘jump away’. However, Dickens notes in his grammar that ideophones take the transitive particle *kò* (*kò !gòhbú* ‘splash’), though like Heikkinen he does not discuss this point in detail.

This leads us directly into another point of contact between the two languages, namely the transitive particle, an element in *k-* that marks adjuncts of the verb: objects, locative and instrumental phrases and adverbs of various sorts. In !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’úí* ‘speak’, *kò tàfēr |hó* ‘on the table’; J2 *kètsá’ì* ‘make haste’, *kè ts’ù ñ!áñ* ‘in the house.’

Examples of the verbal prefix:

!Xóõ

èh ñ tshōa Ōân kâ’|hò’bukâ
3SG TNS begin sleep ADV(NOD OFF)
‘He is nodding off to sleep.’

kàn!á’m kâ ||ūm
surround TP2 springbok
‘surround the springbok.’

|á’i ñ kâ bà kâúpká ìh ñ †’áma ’|hùan
lion TNS COND ASP R&L 3SG1 TNS carry aggression
(*kâúpká* = ‘raise and lower the head [as a lion]’)

Ju!hoan

ká !hòàn kòg#hàò ||’a-kà dshàú †’áúfè tsáú
COND man fall.asleep DEIC woman ADV rise
‘When the man fell asleep, the woman quietly got up.’

hà kò!gòhbú kò zì !x’á tè dshàú-sì kò!ùìh !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 hà
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 η!úm tshûu |īi ké ká|gá'e
 1SG TNS dwell sit.SG STAT TP3SG k.
 'I am living at ká|gá'e.'

Ju|'hoan

mí hð-à lhá kò η!àmà η!áíj
 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 ^h u ⁿ	dù'ú ⁿ
	But cf. also dzâ ^h u ⁿ and J1 zà ⁿ -wa 'virgin' (underlying meaning 'to bleed').	
2. tie closed	dtsxà'm	txòm
3. not share	à ^h hi	kà ^h í
4. stand on tiptoe	hó'lo	tò ^h órotò ^h òrò
5. lift to peek under	āhbi	tà'ábí
6. marijuana	qhàna	xànà
7. gape	qàa	gò'á
	But also found in †Hoā gā'a, Kxoe qāā 'open mouth', Nama kàlāá 'yawn'.	
8. sly	kāha	kà ^h hà ⁿ
	J1 = 'do in secret'. Cf. Nama kàá 'be clever'.	
9. joint	gūlu	gògòró
	T = ankle, J1 = 'heel'. Cf. also J1 x'ái-tʃhùù ⁿ -gúnú 'heel'.	
10. eat dry food	gùm	gòm
	J1 = 'swallow'.	
11. recline, sg	tshūu	ǰú
	T = 'sit' sg.; J1 = 'lie down' sg.	
12. cast skin	húli	hùrìhùrì-jà
	T = 'cast skin, change to another creature'; J1 = 'smooth'. Cf. also T thūlu 'smooth', J1 thúru 'change to another creature'; T dūhi-tūhi-dthūi 'shaved, shorn, bald, smooth', cf J1 dúri 'peel', dù'úri 'slough skin', J2 dú'úrí 'be naked'.	
13. steal	dzā'a	dǰ'áá
	T = 'hide, conceal'; J1 = 'steal, kidnap'.	
14. lightning	tāli	tàri
	J1 = 'thunder, echo'. Cf T tāli ts'éen 'sound of a lightning strike, lit. 'lightning cries'. For the quotative verb, cf J1 tǰ'ín 'cries'.	
15. form clouds	ō ^h o	hòò
	J1 = 'clear up'. For other comparisons with a semantic reversal of polarity, consider T kx'āba 'get up', J1 khábá 'go down'; T gòò 'generous', J1 gò 'stingy'.	
16. turn	qā'bi, q'ābi tâ	kà'ábé
	T = 'turn inside out', J1 = 'fold over, roll up (i. e. sleeves)'. Also apparently found in Khoe Naro kà ^h bí, †Ani γàbí (re)turn.	
17. pull/fall out	gū ^h hm	kòm
	T = 'pull out grass or hair, pluck'; J1 = 'fall out (feather)'.	
18. choke	ǰ'úu ⁿ	ǰ ù'ú ⁿ
	T †Gú ^h mu ǰ'úu ⁿ 'choke on food', Gú ^h hu ⁿ -ǰ'úu ⁿ 'excess saliva in pharynx'; J1 = 'swallow with difficulty'.	
19. cut in pieces	!àhle	!ährè
	T = 'cut meat in pieces'; J1 = 'cut meat in strips'.	
20. bird sp	!òbo	!óbó
	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 !à ^h i ⁿ kV; J1 !à ^h i ⁿ , J2 η!ηjàèη!ηjàè. Note vowel lowering in J2 related to nasalization.	
22. travel	!âo	!áú
	T = 'go "up" back home'; J1 = 'move, trek'.	
23. tell	!ūbe	!òbè
	T = 'tell'; J1 = 'discuss'.	
24. take a handful	'ām	x'àm
	Cf. T x'únu 'bridge of nose'; J2 xòónù 'nose'.	
25. wrinkled	g x'ài	x'ài
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 g hú 'snatch'. Cf also T qhála 'chop off pieces'; J2 hárá 'rip up'.	
28. to shake	η!ābu	η áúη ábú
	T = 'shake, shiver'; J1 = 'shake, twitch violently'.	
29. cut off	η àho	η àhù
	T = 'flay, skin'; J1 = 'shave'.	
30. spill	η à ^f a	η àà
	T = 'pour, spill'; J1 = 'sow'.	
31. churn	η ū ^f hbu	η ùbù
	T = 'shake (of liquids)'.	
32. catch	η‡àho	η‡àhù
	T = 'catch smth. moving'; J1 = 'take with both hands'.	
33. stomach contents	η āhna	η ànà
	T = 'contents of rumen'; J1 = 'shit, dung'.	
34. refuse	η á'ni	η ànín ànì
	T = 'refuse to do what is asked'; J1 = 'dissuade, i. e. causative of not do'.	
35. arm	η‡á'a ⁿ	η‡hà ⁿ
	T = 'ulna and radius'.	
36. think	η!òho	η!òó
	T = 'speculate, imagine, think'; J1 = 'yearn for, mourn, wish'.	
37. to tie	' ηāhni-	'àní
	T 'tie' pl.; J1 = 'tie closed'.	
38. wink	' ηā ^f ma	-η!ò ^f ómá
	J1 gàá-ts'i-η!ò ^f ómá = 'eye-cover-wink'.	
39. carry on stick over shoulder	gàlo	!àrò
40. caracal	qhāa ‡'ùì	‡'ùì
41. mortar	!gâi	!ài
42. <i>Oxygonum</i> sp	gùe-η‡ā ^f hu	η‡ñǎ ^f ò
43. knife	η‡ûn	η‡àhù
	J1 = 'Ovambo knife'; T = 'spear', pl. Cf. Aminuis dialect 'knife': sg η‡ôra, pl η‡ûn.	
44. warthog	gāhli-sè	khàrí
	T cited in Traill, Phonology p. 170. J1 = 'wild pig'.	

45. to fly	dzā'hin	zõ'ín
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 'ài	x'ài
48. rag	g x'ài	x'ài x'arì
49. tortoise	η úe	gòé
50. nail	gà'm	-!ä' ³ àmì
	J1. !gáú-!ä' ³ àmì 'finger'.	
51. tortoise shell	Gòh'a	ò'á
	T = 'plastron of tortoise'; J1 = 'tortoise', cf J2 gò'á id.	
52. Pentarrhinum insipidum	†gú'a	gò'á
53. tongue	'náf'm !qhâa ⁿ	nà'm
	T = 'saliva' (?< tongue + water); J1 = 'lick'.	
54. growth	sú'í ⁿ	
	T = 'growth on plant'. Cf. J2 tsú'í ⁿ 'growth on tree'.	
55. starling	dzá'ba í'hí	žó'ai
	J1 cited in Dickens, tone not given. Cf. †Hoã džó'barí.	
56. dance	η āhm	η ām
	T = 'play with, joke with'; J1 = 'dance (of women)'.	
57. stick sp.	η ú'm	η ò'm
	T = 'pestle'; J1 = 'stick for helicopter game'.	
58. trick	η†à'a bìi	η†hàbè
	T = 'trickster, deceiver'; J1 = 'trick, deceive'.	
59. smoulder	η!ò'hlo	η!àhrù
60. crowned plover	η á'en	η!ä' ³ ì
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 á'n	η hàñ
64. cool down	η†ùa	η†hòàrà
65. shoulder	‡ ηú'bi tshôe	η ù'ùrù
	T = 'armpit' < 'shoulder' (?) + 'inside'.	
66. syphon water	‡†ηūhn-	η†hùrì
66. stick sp.	gāmi	η ä' ³ mì
	T = 'scraper'; J1 = 'splinter'.	
67. chest	!gāhma	η!āhmà
	T = 'sternum'; J1 = 'hold to chest'.	
68. dent	†gà'm-	g†x'à'm
69. ask for	gàan	àn
70. warm by the fire	†àla	†'àrà
71. mound	†gûu ⁿ †gûu ⁿ	tò'†gûù ⁿ -à
	T = 'mound of sand'; J1 = 'ash heap' ('ash' + 'mound' + compound marker), cf. also †gú ⁿ †gú ⁿ -fê '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 ‡'àni
77. wild dog	g‡xūi For initial cf #52 <i>Pentarrhinum insipidum</i> .	g x'áúhí
78. to siphon	dtsk'òla 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 géí, gái 'cheek'.	!gā ^h ɪ ⁿ
80. raise up	‡hābi	‡'ábí
81. pan	!gā ^o -bà Cf. 'trachea' T !gúlu; J1 !ð ^o òrù, J2 !gùrúku. Also T !gùm 'jaw muscle'; J1 !ðm 'cheek'.	!ò ^o
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 hlo	dò ^o òrò
84. septum	x'únu Cf. J2 xòónù.	xáúnú-sì
85. wolf spider	qhūu	ɲ hùù
86. ritual face scars	ɲ‡ūh'uma	ɲ‡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>khān</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 Jul'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 !Xóǒ 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>!àrē</i> , Kxoe <i>kyàrē</i> 'cut in strips' (though these might be borrowed from Jul'hoan <i>!àhrè</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>qhòrē</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-	xòrè

structible for Khoe. The !Xóõ 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 **ηʃáà* 'dance' from some Shua or Tshoa language which has shifted **ηʃ* to *ɲ* or *j*.

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

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

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

