LEXICAL PROXIMITY OF A XRI CORPUS TO KHOEKHOEGOWAB

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The present paper examines a corpus of some 1 130 Xri concepts collected by Jan Snyman (UNISA) in the early 1970s. This collection is by far the largest corpus of vocabulary of self-declared "Griekwa" speakers available, and is unlikely to be surpassed in future, as the language is moribund. 1096 concepts of this Xri corpus are compared dialectometrically to the equivalents in Namibian Khoekhoegowab (Khoekhoe, formerly "Nama/Damara"). According to this method the rate of cognation between the Xri corpus and its Khoekhoe equivalents is 69% and consequently sets Xri aside as a lect distinct from Khoekhoegowab. While the entire word list is provided in an appendix, distinctive correspondences of the segmental phonology are discussed. The crucial question whether Xri had a three-tone system like !Ora or a four-tone system like Khoekhoegowab cannot be investigated reliably because of the absence of tonal data for Xri. The fact, however, that Xri (like !Ora) distinguishes certain voiced and voiceless consonants permits the conclusion that it too had a pre-tonogenetic system where voicing still is distinctive and – assumedly - has not caused tonal depression as in Khoekhoegowab. Although no dialectomeric comparison of !Ora and Xri lexicon has been undertaken, certain systematic phonological contrasts between these two lects set Xri aside also from !Ora as a distinct lect in this dialect continuum.

Keywords: Xri, Griekwa/Griqua,!Ora, Korana, Khoekhoegowab, tone, depressor consonants, accompaniment (of clicks), voice (of consonants)

1. Introduction: Origin of the data

The present paper examines a corpus of some 1 130 concepts for which the late Prof. Jan Winston Snyman[1] had collected Xri equivalents. He made over this corpus to me, W. H., around 1990. This collection on index cards is by far the largest corpus of vocabulary of self-declared "Griekwa" speakers available. The next largest corpus consists of illustrations subsumed under 112 German glosses by Meinhof (1930: 147-152). Some very short lists are too scant to offer meaningful insight into the lect. George Trevor Nurse (1975) reports the existence of an unpublished manuscript of his own, entitled *A short annotated Xiri (Griqua) word list*. I have had no access to it, though, and judging by the general research interests of Nurse, the words may rather be samples of Griekwa

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[1] Jan Winston Snyman 8 July 1941 – 23 June 2002.

Afrikaans. The explorer and zoologist Andrew Smith, who from 1834-36 was director of an expedition to explore Central Southern Africa, collected in his diary a list of 36 Xri words (including the numerals from 1-10) with !Ora equivalents (Kirby 1939/40). [2]

Hence, Snyman's collection warrants close consideration, even though virtually no metadata is available concerning the consultants. Three names of informants can be gleaned from certain cards with particular entries: Gert Maerman, Jan Kok from Campbell, and Katrina Brouers from Douglas, towns to the west of Kimberley in the Northern Cape. References to !Ora words do occasionally appear on cards (marked as [K] in this paper). Hence, it can be assumed with reasonable certainty that this collection of vocabulary is the one that J. A. Louw refers to:

> "Use was also made of an unpublished vocabulary collected by J. W. Snyman,
> F. Ponelis and J. A. Louw among the Korana and Griqua at Douglas and
> Campbell on the Orange River" (Louw 1986: 150).

This Griekwa vocabulary can thus be assumed to have been collected by Snyman in the early 1970s: After he had in 1970 resigned from the Bureau for Indigenous Languages in Namibia to accept a post at the University of South Africa (UNISA) in Pretoria, and before 1975, when Fritz Ponelis in a workshop paper referred to fieldwork done by Jan Snyman and himself (Ponelis 1975: 60). While the three linguists from UNISA were engaged in joint fieldwork, it must have been Snyman who did the actual investigation of Xri and !Ora (and thus claimed ownership of the data), as Snyman was an established Khoesan phonetician, while Prof Louw was a Bantuist (interested *i.a.* in Khoe loans in Bantu) and Prof Ponelis an authority in Afrikaans linguistics (*i.a.* the development of Afrikaans). As all three researchers have passed away, it appears to be no longer possible to glean any further information about this excursion. It is reasonable to assume that Profs Louw and Ponelis had an influence on the choice of concepts to be elicited, depending on their respective research interests. To give Jan Snyman due recognition for his fieldwork, I take the liberty to posthumously citing him as co-author, on the understanding that any subsequent editorial errors are solely my responsibility.

Snyman's cards were independently perused and annotated by Eliphas Eiseb, co-author of the *Khoekhoegowab Dictionary* (Haacke & Eiseb 2002). The Xri data were never discussed by him and myself, though. For this reason the Khoekhoe equivalents provided in this paper are, when marked for tone, always extracted from the above dictionary. Khoekhoe equivalents not marked for tone were added to the cards by Eiseb, but do not appear in the dictionary. Most of the example sentences that he provided were included in this paper.

It must be taken into consideration that the data in all likelihood was not systematically verified subsequently by Snyman with Xri consultants, either for correctness of transcription or for correctness of rendering by the consultants, *i.e.* whether indeed the most appropriate Xri word was elicited for the gloss investigated. The latter problem was pragmatically handled in the dialectometric evaluation in this paper, especially when misunderstandings were apparent according to my judgement. With regard to the transcription one may rest assured that Jan Snyman was a most scrupulous phonetic fieldworker, having pioneered the phonological analysis of !Xuun/Juǀ'hoansi (Snyman 1970 and 1975). It is not known whether Snyman transcribed the words directly onto index cards, or whether he worked from audio-recordings. The cards render the impression, though, that they were compiled directly during the interviews. The non-availability of audio-recordings –

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[2] I am indebted to Bonny Sands for drawing my attentionto this source.

if they ever existed – now deprives us of the crucial opportunity to determine the tonological status of Xri with regard to the tonogenetic development from !Ora to Khoekhoe as expounded by Beach (1938: 247 *et seq.*). The best information we have on Xri tone is that Beach (1938: 237) found in 1936 that "Griet Booise, a Griqua informant from Beaufort West, employed exactly the same sort of intonation" as two competent speakers of !Ora had used a year earlier near Kimberley.

In view of the extreme paucity of data on Griqua lexicon, this database by Jan Snyman of well over a thousand lemmas does warrant publication irrespective of the uncertainty concerning the linguistic background of the consultants who identified themselves as "Griekwa".

2. Ethnonym of the "Griekwa" or "Griqua"

Before the data is discussed a reconsideration of the appropriate ethnonym for the so-called "Grie-kwa" is opportune. In recent publications (esp. Güldemann & Fehn 2014: 4) the spelling *Xiri*is advocated. While it is fully justifiable to purge person-gender-number-markers (**PGN**s) like –*kwa*, -*qua*, -*na* from Khoe ethnonyms – albeit the –*n* of *San,*or better *Saan*, is inconsistently exempted - three variants of this stem are advocated in the literature: *Xiri* or *Xuri* with a high vowel as V1*,* or *Xri* with omission of V1. The variant *Xiri* should not be accepted without reservation, though. One reason is that the occurrence of the front vowel *i* after the velar consonant *x*violates the back vowel constraint, which stipulates that in Khoe languages a front vowel V1 (*i*, *e*) cannot be preceded by a retracted consonant C_1 (like *x*). Furthermore, Beach (1938: 182) states that the "Griqua themselves" as well as all his Korana informants pronounced the root simply as *xri.* He reports though, that while according to Meinhof the Griqua themselves (around 1928) used *xri*, the !Ora used *xiri*. Meinhof renders "Griqua" as *xiri-ku̱a-n-a* in his !Ora glossary (1930: 93), but as *xriku̱a-* in his Griqua glossary (1930: 149). The fact that in !Ora -*ku̱a*-is mistakenly treated as part of the stem suggests that these speakers had shifted from Khoe to Afrikaans to such an extent that the back vowel constraint no more applied as a phonological rule for them. An additional factor that may have contributed to the spelling with *i* is that the Dutch letter *u* is pronounced as [y], *i.e.* as a rounded high vowel. As Nienaber (1989:444) conjectures, *giri* is the unrounded pronunciation of Dutch spelling "guri".[3] Note also the variant with the high front vowel, *Xirikwana*, **Xuru**kwana for "Griekwa people" in the Appendix below, as recorded by Snyman. This variant complies with the back vowel constraint.

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[3] An analogously misguided pronunciation due to spelling convention is the pronunciation of the word *Khoekhoe* as [khukhu] in Afrikaans. It is caused by the convention that the high back vowel [u] is spelt *oe* in Afrikaans.
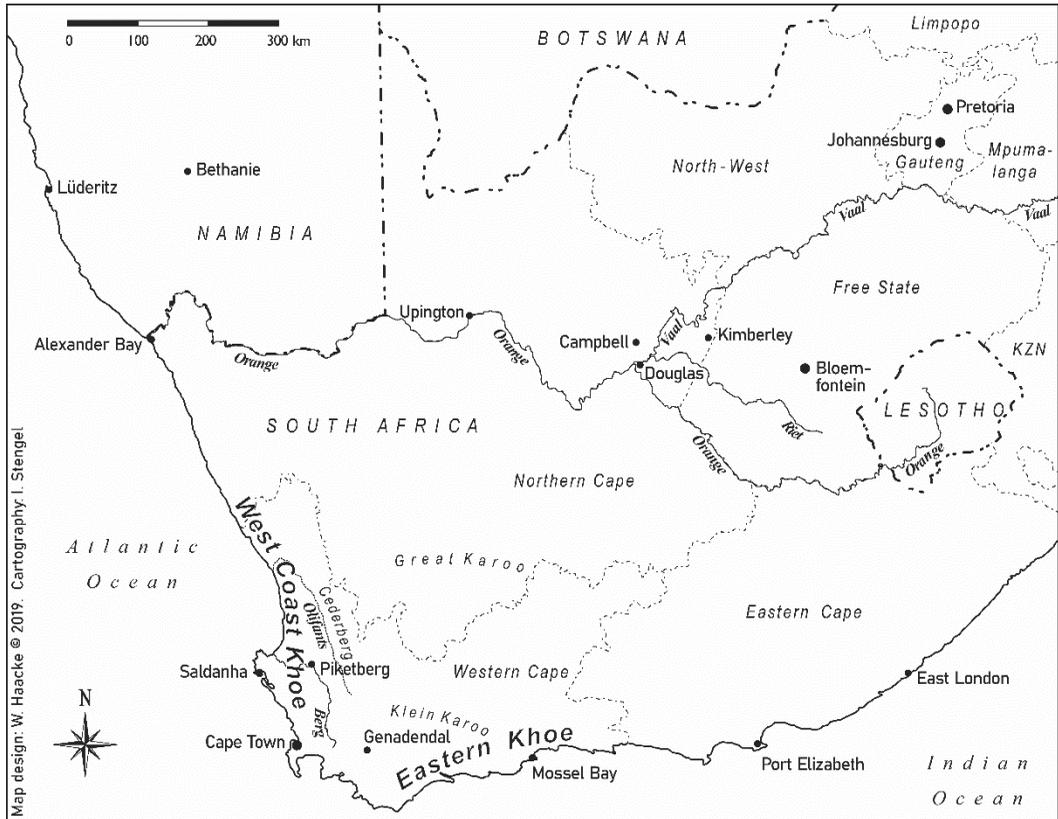
Figure 1   Orientation map of southern Africa

The first colonial records of a C**V1**CV2 stem all use the vowel *u* instead of *i* as V1. Nienaber (1989) in his meticulous and exhaustive survey of historical records points out that van Riebeeck in his *Daghregister* consistently (46 times) refers to the "Charig**u**rina", *i.e.* ‡*Kharix**u**rina* (Little Xuri), since they first appeared at the castle from south of the Bergriver at Saldanha[4] in 1657. (Bear in mind that the Dutch letter *g* normally had a fricative pronunciation [x].) Van Riebeeck describes their original whereabouts most exactly:

> "… de Cleijne Chariguriquas, …, die haer meest onthouden tusschen de
> Saldanhabaij ende ten halven tuschen 't Robben ende Dasseneijland, ongeveer 4
> a 5 uijren gaens van de zeekant in 't land, ..."[5]

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[4] 160km from Cape Town.
[5] van Riebbeeck 1662 *Memorie*, in Nienaber 1989: 243.

The ǂ*Kharixurina* were, as the name implies, a smaller branch of the Griqua. The other branch was known as the "Grigriqua". Europeans usually contrasted them as the "*Groot* Charigurikwas", assuming that that the stem in **Grigri***kwa* was a duplication of the root. Nienaber (1989:445) speculates that "*geri-*" or "*geeri-*" assimilated to "**Grigri-**".

Indeed, this stem *mutatis mutandis* is of the same type as the stem of *Khoekhoe*: The initial nominal root serves as attributive qualifier to the stemfinal head noun *khoe*. The free rendering of such – only apparently - reduplicated nouns is that it is a 'real/genuine/true/prototypical (*Khoe* or *Xri*)'; cf. also Haacke (2011).[6] By implication the *Xrixri* thus are the 'Main Xri', in contradistinction to the 'Little Xri'.

Be it as it may, the meaning of neither variant, be it *Xiri*, *Xuri*, or *Xri* is known. It is contended here that, as the quality of V1 cannot be established beyond doubt for the etymon, the word in its most recent form as truly heard (*viz.* Beach 1983: 182), *i.e.* with elided V1 as *Xri*, should be accepted as the valid ethnonym as an instance of normal phonotactic reduction. While the elision of V1 does not occur frequently, it is manifested in other Xri words; *e.g.* **Brip**/**Brikwa** (Goat people, *i.e.* Tswana); cf. Khoekhoe *Pirin* from Tswana *pǫdi* (goat).

The original Xri people thus essentially belonged to the West Coast Khoe, like the Nama. According to the historical sources as analysed by Nienaber (1989) the Little Xri were related to the 'Cochokwa' ('Saldanhars' or 'Smal Wangen', *i.e.*ǂ*Ò̆xóòn*), who lived at Saldanha. According to van Riebeeck the latter were "den allergrootsten van al de Hottentoos" (Nienaber 1989: 265). The Little Xri were subservient to them and served them as herders. By about 1660, however, the ǂ*Kharixurin* revolted against their servitude under the ǂ*Ò̆xóòn* and disappeared into a territory north of the Olifants River (Nienaber 1989: 16).

The main Xri group, the *Xrixri* lived further inland on the northern/right side of the Berg River towards the present Piketberg and into the Cederberg. As they disseminated, they became ever more strongly hybridised. According to the physician and zoologist Martin Hinrich Lichtenstein the name "Griekwa" had disappeared by 1800 (Nienaber 1989:449). Lichtenstein, later Rector of the University of Berlin, in his report on an expedition from 1804-5 referred to them exclusively as "Bastardhottentotten". He only once mentions the term "Giriqua", and that as an example of an ethnonym long disappeared ("längst verschollen") in the Colony. These descendants of the former Xri interbred extensively with the descendants of the !Ora, who – while still in the Cape were associated with the Eastern Khoe clans - themselves were strongly hybridised and known as Bastards, after having migrated north. It was only through the influence of the missionary John Campbell that these mainly Dutch-speaking and largely impoverished descendants of the former Xri by 1816 had adopted the forgotten name "Griekwa" as autonym in place of "Bastard", which sounded demeaning to Europeans. Concerning the hybridization of the !Ora it is indicative that today Nama and Damara in Namibia, while being ignorant of the original Khoe history of the !Ora, will understand the term *!Órà* without hesitation as a reference to the socalled *Rehoboth Bastards*. Indeed, this community that had its origin in the Northern Cape ("Bushmanland") in the nineteenth century, has retained the term *Bastard* as part of its autonym.

After their exploratory tour in 1836 the missionaries Thomas Arbousset and Francois Daumas of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society wrote that

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[6]Ghomeshi*et al*. (2004) discuss a semanticaly similar kind of construction, known from phrasesin colloquial English like "*It's tuna salad, not SALAD-salad*", as "contrastive focus reduplication". The Khoekhoe construction does, however, not have reduplicative tonology (as in causatives) but attributive tonology: The first root has the citation melody and the second root (head) the sandhi melody: *Khŏèkhŏë.*

> "The Griquas are a mixed race, having the same characteristics, and almost the same manners, as the Bastaards speaking the same language, and intermarrying with them… For what african [sic] blood they have, the Bastaards are indebted entirely to the aborigines of the Cape colony. The Griquas trace theirs, in some measure, to the same source" (in Nienaber 1989:433).

An anonymous missionary "who resided a long time in the midst of them" is quoted in a letter from 1846:

> 'the Griquas … are a people of very recent origin, their history scarcely extending further back than forty years… A slave, called Adam Kok … purchased his freedom. … He sold his little domain, and emigrated into the country of the Namaquas, where his subjects were increased by the addition of a considerable number of the natives. Mr Anderson … led Adam Kok … still further to the north, and with the assistance of Mr Campbell, he gave to the people a new code of written laws. The people were declared independent: they took the name of Griquas, and they agreed to acknowledge Kok and his descendants as their legitimate sovereigns…" (Nienaber 1989:433).

Adam Kok I, born in 1710 as son of a Dutch settler who had married a slave, married a daughter of the ǂ*Khariaxurin* ("Little Griqua") chieftainand in 1750 moved north over the Berg River to Piket-berg with his family. With reference to this maternal ancestor his so-called "Baster" descendants of the northern Cape area replaced their ethnonym with *Griqua* in 1816.

The obvious question now arises, to what extent remnants of a genuine "Griekwa" lect had survived into the 20th century. It must be considered that the descendants of the Xri had lived in close proximity not only to the !Ora but also the Orlam Nama (especially the *!Amân* who had also left the Colony for "Little Namaqualand" in the area between the Berg and Olifants Rivers), who later moved on to what was known as "Great Namaqualand" to the north of the Orange River – where they became known as "Bethaniers".   Beach, who did his research in the 1930s, grouped !Ora and Xri together "mainly because the boundary line between the two is very difficult to define. The Korana and the Griqua have intermingled on such a large scale that it is now almost impossible to find a pure representative of either tribe." (Beach 1938: 181).

3. The Data[7]

At first perusal of the cards the high number of Xri lexical items identical to those of Khoekhoe is striking and raises suspicion that there may be direct borrowings from Nama. Indeed, of the 1096 concepts considered for the comparison 846 or some 77% of the pairs consist of partial or full cognates, or – stated differently - only 23% of the Xri lexicon is independent of (Namibian) Khoe-khoe. To reflect the extent of divergence of partial cognates the principle of weighting as used in dialectometrics[8] is applied:

- For full identity of cognates, including cognates with regular sound correspondences, **4** points are allocated;

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[7] I am endebted to Edward Elderkin for his comments and careful scrutiny of an earlier draft version of this paper.
[8] cf. Möhlig 1983.

- for *morphological* divergence (*e.g.* differing orders/combinations of morphemes in a compound stem, or morpheme omissions), **3** points; person-gender-number markers (PGNs) are not considered for comparison, as their usage can be arbitrary, and compounds with different head-nouns are not taken as cognates;
- for irregular *phonological* divergence, **2** points; As the Xri consultants occasionally appear to be uncertain about the correct click, probable full cognates are then rated as 2 instead of 4 in case of divergence;
- for *multiple* divergence or *combined* morphological and phonological divergence, **1** point.

In the case of alternative reflexes only one rating per gloss is provided, as determined by the closest pair of cognates available. When only a !Ora reflex is available, no rating is applied. Mismatches between Xri (non-)depressor consonants and Khoekhoe tone melodies are rated with 2 as phonological mismatch, eg.

back   ****‖'âp**   ‖ǎáb.

As as the glottal stop release of ‖' did not become a depressor in Khoekhoe (see below), the Khoekhoe melody should not commence with an extra-low tone.

According to this weighted calculation the **rate of cognation** between the Xri corpus and its Khoekhoe equivalents is 69% (to the nearest per cent).

3.1 Equivalents of Khoekhoe depressor consonants in Xri The essential question is to what extent the self-asserted Xri lexis represents *authentic* Xri lexis, *i.e.* lexis that is not a mere adoption of either Nama/Khoekhoe or !Ora vocabulary. This paper will be confined to comparing Xri and Khoekhoe. While the same question pertains to the status of Xri as against !Ora, it is not investigated here for reasons of space and as there are considerable lacunae in the available !Ora data bases[9]. A brief introduction to the tonological system of !Ora and Khoekhoe should facilitate comprehension of the following arguments involving tone. As Beach (1938) has presented a reliable analysis of the tonology of the citation (*i.e.* basic) forms of !Ora roots, while no such systematic analysis has ever been presented for a Xri lexicon, the tonology of !Ora must be taken as the best representative of South African Khoe lects to compare to contemporary Namibian Khoekhoe. As will be argued below, it can be assumed that Xri had a tone system similar to that of !Ora. As Beach employs a tonological framework different to that of Haacke (1999), his findings will be summarized here in a way compatible with the approach of Haacke.

While Beach (1938: 236 *et seq.*) recognizes the (mono- or disyllabic) "*root* "[10] as tone bearing unit, to which he assigns a rising or falling tone or "toneme", Haacke (1999) argues that a tonal contour or "melody" consisting of two register *tonemes* is assigned to the bimoraic root. In the latter analysis toneme and *syllable* are isomorphic. Beach's contoured "toneme" thus amounts to Haacke's "melody", which is made up of two register tonemes. Beach marks each "toneme" (*i.e.* melody) with a single distinctive symbol before the root.

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[9] Cf. below for a reference to Haacke (2016), which is a separate investigation of the lexical proximity of 17th Century Cape Khoekhoe and !Ora to contemporary Khoekhoe.
An Index of some 3100 !Ora roots was published in du Plessis (2018) after the compilation of this paper. du Plessis has consolidated all available printed sources and augmented them with recent field work.
[10] Beach (1938: 27) distinguishes "weak" roots and "strong" roots. His "weak" roots are ignored here as they are grammatical formatives.

Because of a tonogenetic process, Khoekhoe has - through the development of an additional toneme lower than the three others - a total of four register tonemes, which can combine into six (major) bimoraic melodies. The !Ora system of Beach is hence re-interpreted here as consisting of three tonemes (combining into four melodies).

The four register tonemes of Khoekhoe are identified in the text in one of the following ways, depending on the context:

Khoekhoe

"Extra-high":	/4/ or	/ ″ /
"High":	/3/ or	/ ´ /
"Low":	/2/ or	/ ` /
"Extra-low":	/1/ or	/ ‟ /.

The most striking difference between !Ora and Khoekhoe phonology (as shown by Beach 1938: 247 *et seq.*) is the phenomenon that !Ora has certain egressive and ingressive consonants that, as root-initial consonants, act as depressors in Khoekhoe and create the additional, "extra-low" tone. They are:

The !Ora *voiced* plosives   (*b*,) *d*, *g* ;

the egressive consonants realised as Khoekhoe fricative *h* and nasal *m*, and aspirates *kh* and *ts*;

and

the click (X) releases realised as X*h* and X*n* in Khoekhoe.

In the process of tonogenesis Khoekhoe looses the voice distinction between the three plosives *b*, *d*, *g,* and *p*, *t* and *k* respectively, as the distinction becomes transphonologised into tonological distinctions. The !Ora melodies "mid level" and "low-mid falling" transpose to the melodies /**1**2/ and /**1**3/ respectively in Khoekhoe, when depressed. Through tonogenetic splitting the four !Ora melodies (Beach: "tonemes") hence have six equivalent melodies in Khoekhoe:

!Ora melodies (Beach: "tonemes")	Khoekhoe melodies (Haacke)			Gloss	!Ora	Khoekhoe
high level	=	/43/	/ ″ ´ /	one	˥gui[11]	ǀgűí
high rising	=	/24/	/ ` ″ /	cold	´!khai	!khàǐ
non-depressor + mid-level	=	/32/	/ ´ ` /	snore	-!kharu	!khárù
depressor + mid-level	>	/**1**2/	/ ‟ ` /	sing	-ǁnae	>ǁnäè
non-depressor + low-mid falling	=	/22/	/ ` ` /	ostrich	ˎǀamis	ǀàmìs
depressor + low-mid falling	>	/**1**3/	/ ‟ ´ /	rise	ˎkhâi	>khǎí

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[11] The !Ora instances are here spelt according to the Khoekhoe orthography.

This means that while !Ora – and presumably Xri – had a three-tone system with tones equivalent to Khoekhoe /2/, /3/, /4/, Khoekhoe developed an additional, lowest tone /1/, giving it a four-tone system with tones /1/, /2/, /3/ and /4/.[12]

It remains to be seen whether in Xri too the above depressor consonants correlate with the depressed melodies in Khoekhoe. If so, it can be assumed that Xri had a three-tone system similar to that of !Ora. The actual pronunciation of those melodies can no longer be retrieved, however.

A brief note on the orthographic conventions is opportune. For Khoekhoe the standardised spelling is used in this paper, but with the regular adaptation that so-called "long" vowels normally spelt with a macron are here spelt with double vowels in order to accommodate the two tone dia-critics of the bimoraic root; e.g. *!gāb* (poison) is spelt *!gáàb*. In Snyman's Xri roots vowels have been doubled according to the canonic disyllabic CV(C)V structure of Khoe roots, so as to facilitate the comparison to the Khoekhoe roots. Snyman has not considered this principle, as there was no general awareness of it before about 1999.

Since tone is not indicated in Xri words, nasalised vowels in Xri are spelt with only a single vowel with circumflex like in the standardised Khoekhoe orthography, while in Khoekhoe two vowels appear with a subscript tilde under the first vowel, in order to accommodate the two tone marks; e.g.

Xri|*nî*   Khoekhoe |*nį̀í'* (another).

Note that both vowels are nasalised.
- Third person masculine singular PGNs that are assimilated to a preceding nasal consonant are rendered as /(homorganic) nasal+*i* / in both lects, *e.g. kx'ami>kx'am**mi*** (lip).
- The nasal accompaniment of clicks (**X**) has been changed from Snyman's *n*X to X*n* for Xri, in line with Khoekhoe.
- The rendering of Xri clicks with *voiced* velar accompaniment has been kept as **g**X in Sny-man's rendering, in order to highlight the contrast to the *voiceless* velar accompaniment, X. Note that Snyman writes the *voiceless* velar accompaniment that usually is spelt as X*k* in !Ora, merely with a click X. Khoekhoe only has voiceless unaspirated accompaniments X, as the voicing distinction has disappeared during tonogenesis.

It should be kept in mind that in the standardised orthography of Khoekhoe (as used here) the respective use of the letters for voiceless and voiced plosives reflects neither voicing nor the tonogenetic origin of words, but simply is an orthographic convention to distinguish three higher melodies from three lower melodies when tonal diacritics are not used, *viz.*

p, t, k   for / ´ `/, / ` ˝/ and / ˝ ´/
b, d, g   for / ˮ `/, / ˮ ´/ as well as / ` `/.[13]

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[12] For a detailed discussion of tonogenesis in Khoekhoe, see Haacke 1999: 54 *et seq.*. For some minor sets of correspondences involving Khoekhoe /43/ and /24/, see Haacke 2008. These do not pertain to the present investigation, however.

[13] This convention was introduced for Khoekhoe on the recommendation of Snyman while employed as educational planner in the Bureau for Indigenous Languages (p.c.) in order to distinguish homophones in the practical orthography where tone diacritics are not used; *e.g. **puru*** [pùrű] (knock over) *vs. **buru*** [pùrú] (be amazed).

In initial position these three plosives represent unaspirated plosives that are essentially voiceless. The *intervocalic* labial consonant (C2) in Khoekhoe has three free variants: a denti-labial fricative [v], a bilabial fricative [β] or a bilabial plosive [b]. In line with general lenition and possible elision of C2, [v] occurs most frequently. In the spelling either V*p*V or V*b*V may be used to indicate the tonal melody, or a non-committal V*w*V may be used. Neither of these three letters implies a particular pronunciation of the labial. For the sake of simplicity this paper uses in Khoekhoe only *w*. Snyman without exception uses *b* in Xri. It can be assumed that he indeed intends to indicate a voiced plosive. Meinhof uses a plosive *b* for !Ora as well, contrasting it with Nama *w*.

For the purpose of interlinear glossing a tilde (~) is used as boundary symbol to link reduplicated roots in causative constructions, and to mark PGNs that are normally spelt conjunctively with the preceding word, but are not grammatically part of it. In the wordlist the (*disjunctively* occurring) tilde represents the key word in an example.

The main lects are, in the wordlist, referred to by respective capitals in square brackets, if so: **[D]** Damara, **[N]** Nama, **[K]** !Ora, **[X]** Xri. While !Ora lexicon is not provided systematically, entries that were marked as !Ora by Snyman are marked with [K] (for **K**orana) in the present list, so as to point out the distinctiveness or similarity to Xri. As said, !Ora reflexes are not considered for rates of proximity. Cognates with an irregular consonantal correspondence to Khoekhoe are marked with an asterisk ***** in Xri. Cases where the depressor status of an initial Xri consonant does not correlate with the tonal melody of Khoekhoe are marked with a double asterisk ******. The reader is reminded that this issue of depression does not apply to the melodies /43/ and /24/. For reasons of space only some select exemplifications are provided in the discussion, rather than exhaustive lists.

Xri voiced velar accompaniment *g*X and Khoekhoe "double low" melody / ˵ ˎ /

Gloss	Xri	Khoekhoe
divide	gǀoara, gǀora	ǀgörà
belch	gǃai	!gäì
groan	gǃae	!gäè
bull	gǁoop	ǁgöòb
wing	gǁabop	ǁgäwòb
lean - bec.	gǂaba [X], [K]	ǂgäbá
mud	gǂoap [X]	ǂgöàb

Counter examples

poison	****g**ǃaip, !aap	!gáàb
pull	****g**ǂae, ǂae	ǂgáè

Of 20 instances three, or 15% are counter examples, where Khoekhoe has a /32/ melody instead of a /**1**2/ melody, despite a depressor consonant in Xri. Of these three, however, two words were recorded with both voiced and voiceless clicks, suggesting a measure of uncertainty on the side of the consultants.

It should be kept in mind that words spelt with X*g*in Khoekhoe can have either depressed or non-depressed melodies, as the clicks are mergers of the pretonogenetic voiced and voiceless accompaniments. Only comparative data can reveal irregularities.

Xri voiced velar accompaniment *g*X and Khoekhoe "low-rising" melody / ˵ ´ /

Gloss	Xri	Khoekhoe
hip	gǀubup, ǀnuwup	ǀgüwús
twin	ǀamgǁee-e	ǀgëéb
chin	gǃanni	ǃgäńni/-s
trunk (of tree)	gǃaop	ǃgäób
gargle	gǁobo	ǁgöwópéñám̀ǃnàà, ǁgöwópé̋
meat	gǁanni	ǁgäńni
lean - bec.	gǂaba [X], [K]	ǂgäwá
nose	gǂuip [X], gǂuis [K]	ǂgüís

Counter examples

boil *v.i*	ǀû, **gǀû	ǀgṳ̀ù
press	**gǁâi	ǁgà̰ì
dress *v.*	**gǂaeǂâ;ǂaeǂaa	ǂgàèǂgàà
west	**soregǂaas	sórès di ǂgà̰àǀkháàb

Out of 19 pairs two to four (11 - 21%) are counterexamples, with two instances displaying uncertainty in voicing of the click accompaniment.

Khoekhoe clicks with voiceless unaspirated releases, spelt X*g,* are not depressors, as they are devoiced mergers of the respective Xri and ǃOra *voiced* velar accompaniment *g*X and the *voiceless* velar accompaniment simply spelt X here for Xri. Hence *all* melodies are found with the Khoekhoe X*g* clicks.

It should be remembered that in Khoekhoe (obvious) depression only applies to the melodies /22/ and /32/; not to /24/ and /43/.[14] In the database each of the 89 Xri words with a *voiceless*glottal accompaniment without exception has Khoekhoe cognates with one of the nondepressed melodies /43/, /24/, /32/ or /22/; *e.g.*

Gloss	Xri	Khoekhoe	
brother	ǃâp	ǃgá̰áb	/43/
enter	ǂâ	ǂgà̰à	/22/
grass	ǀâp, ǀamp	ǀgà̰äb	/24/
take shelter from	ǀaa	ǀgáà.	/32/.

It can thus be concluded that Xri is distinct from Khoekhoe, in that it has a pre-tonogenetic system where voicing still is distinctive and – assumedly - has not caused tonal depression. It seems to differ also from ǃOra, for Beach (1938: 250) holds that in ǃOra the "original **g** click-efflux seems to have become unvoiced **k** throughout". Despite of this neutralization he had not in ǃOra observed tonogenetic transphonologisation to depressed melodies. The neutralisation of voicing with consequent tonogenesis is the most distinctive characteristic of the Khoekhoe dialect cluster that includes the Haiǁom and ǂAakhoe dialects, as opposed to ǃOra and Xri.

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[14]Cf. section 3.1 above. See also Haacke 2008 for a discussion.

Xri clicks with voiceless glottal fricative release X′*h* and Khoekhoe clicks with delayed voiceless glottal fricative release X*h*

Snyman writes the equivalent click release of the Khoekhoe *delayed* glottal fricative release X*h* [X͞ᴴh] in Xri with an apostrophe signifying an "interruption", followed by a glottal fricative *h*, *viz.* X′*h*; *e.g.*

Gloss	Xri	Khoekhoe
bag	‖'hoop	‖höób/s
basket	|'harup	|härùs
bee	!'habup	!häwúb
placenta	ǂ'hoos	ǂhöós

He does not provide phonetic descriptions in his Xri field notes, quite understandably. But this makes the phonetic interpretation of his apostrophy in the click release X′*h* a matter of concern, as he uses the apostrophe to indicate a glottal stop [ʔ] in the glottal stop click release X', *e.g.* |'*abib* (aardvark), and in the velar affricate, *e.g. kx'aa* (drink). A consistent use of the apostrophe would thus let it represent a glottal stop also in the click release involving the glottal fricative *h*. The click followed would thus be a voiceless glottal *af*fricate release. This is distinct from !Ora, where, according to Beach (1938:232) the release is an unvoiced glottal fricative like in Khoekhoe. Meinhof (1930: 149 *et seq.*) likewise does not record the glottal stop for Xri but simply the glottal fricative, as in !Ora or Khoekhoe.

Snyman's published materials may provide a lead to his method of phonetic transcription. In his Master's dissertation (Snyman 1970: 53) he describes the click accompaniment for !Xũ **′*h* as "laryngeal and *interruption* features" (italics added, W.H.) and he indeed renders it phonetically as a glottal stop, *e.g.* [ǂʔh]. In his subsequent doctoral thesis, however (Snyman 1975: 95-96, submitted in 1972, about the time when he did his fieldwork on Xri) he renders |′*h* and corresponding clicks phonetically as [|͞ᴴh]. The macron signifies a pause or delayed articulation of the fricative, not a glottal closure. This latter interpretation of the apostrophe in the click release falls in line with !Ora and Khoekhoe and will be adopted here as appropriate.

The database contains 100 instantiations where Xri X′*h* corresponds to Khoekhoe X*h* **[X͞ᴴh].** Of these 100 only the following ten deviate aberrantly from this click correspondence:

Gloss	Xri	Khoekhoe
breathe strongly (sniff)	*|'ubi	|hùwì
cat	*|'ôas, |'hôas	|hò̬às
wheat	*|'hû(n)!horop	!höròb
cut (thong) spirally	!'hari, *!xari	!härì
land	*!uup	!hùúb
pole	*!'anap	!hänàb
rainbow	*|'hôas / tuus !'anap	tűú!hànäb, |àwĩ!hànäb
message	*ǂhôap	ǂhò̬às/b
bother	*n|'huuxa	|hűú
gather	|'hami, *xami	|hắmí
spider (big black)	*|nuus	|hùűs

Of the 100 instantiations with Xri X′*h*65 have one of the two depressed melodies in Khoekhoe. The other 35 melodies are of the two types not susceptible to depression (/24/, /43/), with a single exception:

> winnow   **!'haa   !háà.

The delayed glottal fricative is a very consistent depressor in Khoekhoe. Of the 336 roots with a delayed glottal fricative click release used in Haacke (1999) *!háà* is one of only eight counter examples (1999: 62).

Nasal click accompaniment X*n*

The nasal accompaniment occurs unchanged in Xri, !Ora and Khoekhoe. It acts as depressor in Khoekhoe. Snyman's practice of writing *n* before the click symbol has been changed here to the convention followed in Khoekhoe, viz. X*n*, so as to facilitate comparison.

Aspirated egressives

According to Beach (1938: 253) "The older *strong*-voiced plosives **dɦ** and **gɦ** first became unvoiced plosives **th** and **kh**. The **th** remained in Korana, except before the close front vowels **i, ī**, and **e** where it became **ts**; it became **ts** in Nama before *all* vowels. The **kh** remained in Korana, but became **kx** in Nama".

Xri aspirated alveolar plosive *th* and Khoekhoe aspirated alveolar affricative *ts*

Ts , according to Haacke (1999: 56) is an entirely consistent depressor in Khoekhoe. This is to be expected because of its "*strong*-voiced" origin in dɦ**.**

The regular correspondences that Beach has found for !Ora cannot be confirmed for the present Xri data, however. Xri fluctuates between the !Ora aspirated plosive *th* and the Khoekhoe aspirated affricate *ts* (which Snyman spells as *tsh*, and once as *cs*). After the close front vowels *e* and *i*the only two instances in the Xri corpus – one with *e*, one with *i* – appear with the affricate *tsh*, as they do in Khoekhoe and !Ora. The fluctuation of Xri seems to be symptomatic of its moribund state. On the other hand, it indicates that the consultants do not merely present borrowings from !Ora. Snyman has labeled elicitations with a '[K]' that, according to the opinion of his consultants, were !Ora versions. The following instances without exception have a depressed melody in Khoekhoe, if the melody is susceptible to depression.

Gloss	Xri	Khoekhoe
swim	tshâ; (thâ [K])	tsą̀à
dust	tsharap , *tharap	tsǎráb
lick	*csaa, *thaa	tsǎä
sow	tshoro	tsöró
anus	- (thoap [K])	tsöás
hurt	*thûthû	ts\̈ǘts\̀ǜ
melt *v.i*	tshuni, *thuni	tsùnì
pain *v.*	tshû (thû [K])	ts\̈ǜ
regret	*‡aothuu (heartsore)	ts\̈ǜà‡gáò (= feel sad)
wrong	tshuu!aa (Griekwastad), thuu	tshüù

Front vowel *e*:

day after tomorrow	!nonǁâitsheep, ǁ'ari!âtsheep	ǁàrìkàm̋tsèëb
yesterday	ǁ'aatshee, ǁ'arikamtsheep	ǁàrìkàm̋tsèë

One exceptional pronunciation with a voiced fricative [z] before *î* is on record:

toe – big	*zîp	tsı̰̏ı̰b/s

The following instances are words for which Khoekhoe cognates have tonal melodies (/24/, /43/) that are not susceptible to depression. They thus are not counterexamples to the 100% depressor effect of *ts* in Khoekhoe. The occurrences of *th* and *tsh* in the Xri reflexes cannot be associated with specific tonal melodies in Khoekhoe but seem to be arbitrary fluctuations.

boil *n.*	tshuip	tsừı̋s
grey	*thaothao	tsǎótsáò (= ashen)
grope	*thâthâ	tsǎnánǎ> tsǎǎná
night	tshuxuba, *thuxuba	tsuxub [tsừűxúùp]
sexually excited – be	*thâ	cf. tsǎ̰ǎ (= feel, taste)
soft	*thamsa	tsàűrǎ, tsàm̋sǎ
string, rope	*thurip	tsűúrïb
taste	tshâ	tsà̰ǎ
thumb	- (kâitsîs [K])	kǎítsı̋ǁgüúbës
tonight	tshuxuba	[tsừűxúùbä]

Front vowel *i*:

and	tshii	tsî/tsi [tsı̰̋, tsı̰̀ı̋]

Xri aspirated velar plosive *kh* and Khoekhoe aspirated velar plosive *kh*

As both !Ora and Khoekhoe have retained an aspirated velar plosive *kh*, it is not surprising that Xrilikewise has an aspirated velar plosive *kh* as cognate; *e.g.*

Gloss	Xri	Khoekhoe
light (fire)	**kh**au	khäù *v.t.*
burn *v.i*	**kh**abu	khäú *v.i*
lift up	uu**kh**âi	ùűkhǎ̰í
man	**kh**oep	khöèb

Note that the intransitive Khoekhoe verb *khäú* is derived from the transitive *khäù* by means of the /13/ melody. This process must also have existed in !Ora where the "low-mid falling" melody (Beach 1938: 248) has been the etymon of Khoekhoe /22/ and /13/.[15] We have no information about the possible existence of this process in Xri, but note that in the above case the intransitive *khabu* has the canonic CVCV structure, while the transitive *khau* has elided C2.

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[15] See Haacke 1999: 74.

Only two of the 18 cognates to Khoekhoe *kh* are recorded for Xri with consonants different from *kh* :

| dig | **kh**ao, *****kx**au | khàő |
| skin *n.* | *****kxh**oop | khòőb. |

Beach's claim that "the **kh** remained in Korana, but became **kx** in Nama" (Beach 1938: 253) cannot be confirmed. At least today the affricative pronunciation of the velar certainly is much rarer in Khoekhoe than the aspirated pronunciation. (In especially the Sesfontein dialects of the *Namidama* (Namib-Damara) *kh* is pronounced as fricative *x*, *e.g. khòőb* (skin) *> xòőb*.)

Xri voiced plosives *b*, *d* and *g*

Voicing in initial egressive plosives of Xri corresponds to depression in Khoekhoe, while their unvoiced counterparts *p*, *t* and *k* correlate with non-depressed cognates in Khoekhoe, just as in !Ora. Beach has no evidence for *b* in !Ora, simply because bilabial plosives are comparatively rare in C1 of Khoe radicals.

The reader is reminded that in Khoekhoe the symbols *p*, *t*, *k* on the one hand, and *b*, *d*, *g* on the other do not reflect voicing but higher and lower tonal melodies instead, as all plosives are devoiced (see above, 3.1).

Gloss	**Xri**	**Khoekhoe**
take away	uu**b**ee	ùűbĕé
Tswana (= goat)	**P**iris/p, **P**arip	Pìrĭs/b[16]
tear *v.i.*	**d**oa	dŏá
tinder box	**d**oros	dŏrós
spotted	**t**oo	tòő
swallow	**t**om	tóṁ
sheep	**g**uus	gùús
stupid	**g**âre	gä́áré̋, gä̀à
shade	**k**arap	kàrä̋b (coolness of afternoon)
bead	**k**arap	kä̋rás
speak	**k**oba	gòwà[17] (= argue)

Note the case where with a voiced plosive in Xri, Nama did not undergo depression, but the geographically more removed Damara dialects did:

| at | **d**aba | táwà [N]; tä̈wà [D]. |

For the sake of simplification only the spelling with *t*is used for *tawa*.

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[16] Meinhof (1930: 81) renders 'goat' as *****b**iri- in !Ora. But then he renders the bilabial plosive only as *b*, never as *p*. In "Nama" he likewise lists "b̧eri-b" with a voiced plosive, which it does not have.

[17] The reader is reminded that / ˋ ˋ/ is a non-depressed melody; hence the voiceless plosive *k* in the Xri cognate. It is merely an orthographic convention that words in Khoekhoe with a / ˋ ˋ/ melody are spelt with a voiced plosive to identify them as words with one of the lower melodies.

In intervocalic position the bilabial consonant of Khoekhoe appears mostly as dentilabial fricative [v], but it can also be pronounced as bilabial plosive [b] (especially in Damara) or less commonly as bilabial fricative [β]; *i.e.* there is a tendency to lenition, hence fricativization. The standardized spelling with the letter *w* for Khoekhoe is neutral/non-committal with regard to tone, as *p* and *b* can intervocalically also be used instead to indicate a higher or lower melody. While no explicit information is available it must by default be assumed that Snyman's consistent spelling with the plosive *b* indeed signifies an intervovalic plosive consonant in Xri. The possibility of some degree of lenition can, however, not be excluded for Xri. Lenition, after all, led to the formation of roots with juxtaposed identical or non-identical vowels through complete elision of the intervocalic consonant in Khoekhoe languages, generating so-called "long vowels" and "diphthongs".

3.2 Equivalents of Khoekhoe non-depressor consonants in Xri Khoekhoe has two non-depressor click releases: the glottal stop X′ (spelt with the click symbol only) and the aspirated or affricated uvular release X*kh*.

Xri glottalic affricate release X*x*′ or glottal stop release X′ and Khoekhoe glottal stop release X'

The Khoekhoe glottal stop release X′ has two cognate releases in Xri. While one is identical to that of Khoekhoe, *viz.* a glottal stop release (spelt here as X' for Xri), the other is a glottalic affricate X*x*′. Both variants appear in !Ora as well (cf. Beach 1938: 232 *et seq.*). The occurrence does not appear to be contextually determined, and occasionally both variants are on record for a word. Beach (1938: 233) is of the opinion that X*x*′ is in the process of being replaced by X' as in Khoekhoe. Releases with the glottal stop appear to be more dominant in the Xri data, and occasionally Snyman has recorded contrasting variants from !Ora with the glottalised fricative. At this stage it can not be determined from these releases whether the Xri consultants were under any predominant influence of either !Ora or Nama, but – as the following !Ora cognates from Meinhof 1930 and Engelbrecht 1928 show – the Xri click releases are identical to those of !Ora in most cases, and the question arises to what extent the "Xri" of the 1970s actually is a version of !Ora.[18] A comprehensive investigation cannot be undertaken here for reasons of space.

Gloss	Xri (Snyman)	Khoekhoe	!Ora
bald head	ǀ'oodanab,	ǀóòdänáb	cf. ǀ'ooǀxaa (naked)
breathe	ǀ'om	ǀòm̀	cf. ǀ'umma (breath)
full	ǀ'oasa, ǀx'oasa	ǀòàsä́	ǀ**kx**'oa full; cf. ǀ'oa (fill)
sharp	ǀ'aa, ǀx'aa	ǀáà	ǀ**kx**'aa
			cf. ǀ'aalʼaa (sharpen)
fear	!'ao	!áò	!'au fear; !'aosa (be
			frightened)
fish	ǁ'aup	ǁàùb	ǁaub; ǁʼaub (< Engelbr.)
cough	ǁ'ui	ǁúì	ǁʼui
blunt	ǂ'ubu	ǂùwù; ǂùù D	ǂʼubu
peep	ǂ'ui	ǂùǐ	ǂʼuī (look at closely)

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[18] To facilitate comparison Meinhof's orthography has been transliterated according to the same conventions as Snyman's. His renderings have been translated from German.

The following are the instances found of Khoekhoe tonological counter examples (*i.e.* with depressed melodies) or irregular click correspondences:

dish	!'ores	!örés	**!'**oreb, **!'**orekua (Engelbr.)
back	**‖'âp** X, (‖x'âp [K])	‖ə̰áb	**‖kx'**āb
few, little	**!x'**aro	**!g**ǻró	-
porridge	**!x'**ammi	**!kh**ám̀mi [D]	**!kx'**amma
		(= uintjie broth)	
bladder	‖**x'**urup	‖**kh**ùrùs	-

Xri fricative release X*x* and Khoekhoe aspirated or affricated uvular release X*kh*

Beach (1938: 231) describes the relevant efflux of !Ora as "unvoiced velar *af*fricative" release, but he spells it simply as X*x*. Snyman adheres to the same orthographic practice, but left no information about the pronunciation. The click correspondences between Xri and Khoekhhoe are fairly regular; *e.g.*

Gloss	**Xri**	**Khoekhoe**
absent	ǀxai	ǀkhàĭ
arrest	!xoo	!khőó
blanket	!xons	!khòǹs/!khèǹs, (patchwork blanket)
Acacia karroo	‖xuup; (‖xoop [K])	‖khùűs
brain	ǂxôp	ǂkhṵ̀b/s

The following irregularities (involving Khoekhoe X*kh*) constitute some 6% of the cognates, the erratic nature of which seems to be indicative of the moribund state of Xri:

tremble	ǀ**'h**uu!naa, ǀxuu!naa	ǀkhùű
elephant shrew	‖xaup/s	!khàű(ǂgṵí)b
fold	**!'h**on	!khőń
moon - new	**!h**ael‖xâs	!khàè‖khḁ̀äb
cf. darkness	**!x**aep	!khàèb
pierce	**!hˣ**aa (?),!xaanaru	!khàǎ
porridge	**!x'**ammi	!khám̀mi [D] (= uintjie broth)
snaring place	**!'h**uis	!khuis (?)
stupid	**g!**ookhoe, **g!**ooke	!khű́úkĕ́ [D]
bladder	‖**x'**urup	‖khùrùs
thorn	‖**'h**uup, ‖xuup	‖khùűb
Xhosa	‖**H**oosap	‖Khóòsäb
small	ǂxari, ǂ**h**ari	ǂkhàrĭ́

3.3 Xri correlates to the Khoekhoe glottal plosive onset [ʔ] In line with the canonical root structure of Khoe languages **C1**V(C2)V, roots *spelt* with a vowel as initial sound in Khoekhoe phonetically actually commence with a glottal stop ʔas C1, *e.g.*

Gloss	Xri	Khoekhoe	
drink	ā	[ʔáà]	**C1**VV
dog	arib	[ʔäríp]	**C1**VC2V.

The presence of an onset consonant was beyond doubt perceptible in the respective !Ora cognates: *viz.* **kx'aa** and **kx'ari** The glottal stop is not articulated very distinctly in Khoekhoe, though, and presumably also not in Xri. Snyman follows the Khoekhoe orthographic practice and commences a root with a vowel in the absence of *kx'*. It is not clear whether he was aware of the root-initial glottal stop as phoneme in Khoekhoe. Beach (1938: 188 and 251) contrasts initial *ʔ* and *kx'* in !Ora, but, although he does acknowledge the occurrence of *ʔ* as "independent phoneme" in Nama, dwells more on its phonetic capriciousness. The canonic existence of it as phoneme in C1 position of Khoekhoe roots was pointed out in Haacke 1999: 10.

In the Xri data no consistency exists, as the initial consonants fluctuate between either a glottalised velar affricate *kx'* or a glottal stop *ʔ*. Meinhof (1930: 146) found the same fluctuation between "**'** " and "**k'** " in Xri.

Beach's claim (1938: 251) that in Khoekhoe *ʔ* goes with the non-depressed melodies /32/ and /22/ was refuted in Haacke (1999: 56-58) with numerous counter examples, as *ʔ* occurs with all six main melodies. This is not surprising, as the glottal stop *ʔ* of Khoekhoe is intrinsically voiceless, but can be expected to be a historical merger. It is thus interesting that in Xri instantiations commencing in /32/ and /22/ consistently - one alternative aside - occur with *kx'*, while no instantiations (happen to?) occur with their depressed counterpart melodies /12/ and /13/:

Gloss	Xri	Khoekhoe
/22/		
alive	**kx'**ûi	ṳ̀ìsä
raw, cf. rude	**kx'**oara	òrà
/32/		
boy	**kx'**ao‖oodap,	àòrɛ́ |gǫ́àròb/|góòròb
	**ao‖oodap	< /32/ + 4
drink	**kx'**aa	áà
drown	**kx'**aa‖'oo	àà‖őó < /32/+/43/
house	**kx'**ommi	óm̀s/-mi
look back	!aba**kx'**oa	kòő-óà
louse	**kx'**urip	úrìb
man - young	**kx'**arop	áàxăròb; cf. áòb
thief	|x'â**kx'**aop	|ǎ-àöb
/13/		
e.g. bow	-	khäáb
/12/		
e.g. consecrate	-	khäì

The data suggests that in Xri *kx'* and *ˀ* were separate phonemes that merged in Khoekhoe *ˀ*. This distinction does not pertain to !Ora, however, according to Meinhof's wordlist. In !Ora words commencing with a glottal stop do exist, but are decidedly in the minority.

In the two Khoekhoe melodies not (obviously) susceptible to depression, /24/ and /43/, both consonant onsets occur in the Xri cognates, seemingly at random:[19] Note the articulatory contradictions below between ‖*oekx'am* and *maa-am, !'ere-am*, ǂ*anam*. The high degree of agreement, some 83%, between the initial onset of Xri and !Ora nevertheless is considerable.

/24/, /43/

Gloss	Xri	Khoekhoe	!Ora (Meinhof)
aloe	**kx'**aukorap, au**kx'**orap, kx'auxuu**k**orap; (kx'ausaxuup [K])	àűkőréb	? **kx'**au…
allow	maa-am	mǟà-ám̀ < 12 43	maa**kx'**am
ambush	‖oe**kx'**am	‖gòě-ǻḿ 43 43	‖oe‖kx'am
close	*ǂanam [ǂanˀam]	ǂgǻńám̀ [ǂanˀam]	ǂan**kx'**am
answer	!'ere-am [!ˀereˀam], !'are-am, ǂhoa**kx'**am, oe-am ǂhoa**'**ama	!érèám̀ [!ˀere⁽ˀ⁾am]; òè-ám̀; oetsi [D] [= concur]	ǂhoa**kx'**am ǂhoa‖kx'am
at the end	**kx'**aip daba	ǀunis tawa	(**kx'**ai)
beard	**kx'**aiǀ**'**hom (-ku)	ǀhöò-ǻḿs cf. ǻís (face)	?
before, in front	ai!'â; (kx'ai!'â [K])	ǻí!àà	**kx'**ai
bitter	**kx'**au	àű	**kx'**au
face	**kx'**aip	ǻs	**kx'**aib
give	au	ǻú	**'**au
give birth	ôa	o̩ǎ (of: anim.)	?
gums	arika	àr͈b	?
hole	kx'aas, aap	ǻás	**'**aab
kidney fat	âup	a̩űn	?
lift up	uukhâi	ùűkha̧í	**'**uukhâisi
lip	**kx'**ammi	ǻḿ‖gàúb	**kx'**amkx'aib
liver	**kx'**âip	á̧ís	**kx'**âib
maiden	oaxais	őáxáès	**'**oaxais
milk - curdled	âudaip	a̩űdàïb	**'**âubîb
on	ai	âì	**kx'**ai
pick up	ûkhâi	ùűkha̧í	**'**ukhâsi
pit (of stomach)	**kx'**aiǂ**'**am	ǻíǂàm̀s	?
roast	**kx'**am	àḿ	**kx'**am
rob	uuǀ**'**hana	ùűǀhá̧ná	cf. **'**uu-
search	**kx'**ôa, ôa	o̧ǎ	**kx'**ôa

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[19]This statement needs further verification, though, as it has been shown (Haacke 2008) that there exists also a depressed melody /24/ next to the non-depressed one. This depressed melody is not considered in the present investigation, as instances are rare and difficult to detect without comparative data.

sweat	aosen	áòsèń, áòsèǹ	'aosen, 'ausen
take	uu	űú	'uu
take away	uubee	ùűbëé	cf. 'uu-
trinket	anis, a**i**nis	(cf. àǹí = decorate)	?
truth	**kx**'amap	ǎˊmäb <ǎˊḿmäb	**kx**'amab

See also footnote 25 for the treatment of compounds.

3.4 Nasalised vowels with PGN Snyman has recorded a phenomenon for Xri thatneither
Beach nor Meinhof nor Engelbrecht recorded for !Ora, and that seems to be another indication of
an authentic Xri lect. When roots with nasalized vowels are followed by a third person masculine
singular PGN *p*, then the nasalization of the vowel may disappear and become a prenasalisation of
the PGN.[20]It would appear that Snyman has used a narrow phonetic transcription to demonstrate
this phonetic detail, as shown below:

| **Gloss** | **Xri** | **Khoekhoe** |
| grass | ǀ**â**p, ǀa**mp** | ǀgàˊˇǎˊb |

Prenasalisation is triggered mainly by the bilabial PGN *-b*, but occasionally also by the velar onset
of the third person masculine plural PGN *-ku*. It does not seem to appear with other PGNs or con-
sonants; cf.

horn	ǁna**mp** but ǁn**â**ku	ǁnàˇˇǎˊb
thief	ǀx'a**mp**, ǀx'**â**kx'aop	ǀáˊˇà-àöb
tooth	ǁ**û**p	ǁgűˊˊúb
	ǁô**mp**/ǁô**nk**u/ǀ'**angk**u[21]	
teeth	ǁu**ngk**u	ǁgűˊˊúgu

The following instances of **-p* occur in the vocabulary:

Gloss	**Xri**	**Khoekhoe**
arm	ǂ˞ha**mp**	ǂhàˊˇǎˊb (= forearm)
December	Kaitseedi ǁâ**mp**	Hôasoreb (cf. ǁkháˊˇàb = month)
eyebrow	ǀna**mp**	ǀáˊˇmëb; ǀáˊˇmïb [N]
head	bii-/baa-/bee!'a**mp**, (bii!'**âk**wa K)	dänáb
krantz	ǂ**â**p, ǂa**mp**, ǂ'a**mp**	ǂgàˊˇǎˊb
mountain	ǂa**mp**, ǂ**â**ku [X]; (ǂ**â** [K])	!höˇmi (ǂgàˊˇǎˊb = rock face)

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[20] While Snyman's rendering of the masculine PGN as voiceless *–p* is phonetically correct, this PGN in
(unreleased) word-final position is also voiceless in Khoekhoe. It is spelt with a *-b*, though, as it is voiced,
when succeeded by a vowel, especially the oblique marker *–a* in, *e.g.*,*aoba*.
[21] Obviously there is an inconsistency in the transcription of ǁô**nk**uand ǀ'**angk**u, one with nasal vowel and
alveolar nasal, the other with oral vowel and velar nasal. What is important is that prenasalization of a sort
appears before the PGN *ku*.

thief	ǀx'a**mp**, ǀx'**âkx**'aop	ǀá̧à-àöb
August	Xaukuǀ**û**ǀ**ûmp**	Áǒǁkhùűmṳ̈úǁkhà̧äb
	Xaukaǀ**û**ǀ**ûs**	
ear	ǁnâu**mp**	ǂgàё́b (cf. ǁnä̧ú = hear)
hair	ǀ'u**mp**, ǀ'**ômp**, ǀ'**û**ku	ǀṳ̈ùb

It is noteable that there occasionally is a discrepancy between oral and nasalised vowels of Xri and Khoekhoe: *e.g.*

armpit	gamǃn**aa**p	*vs.*	gä́mǃn**á̧à**s
crockery	kh**oa**xuuku	*vs.*	kh**ǒ̧á**xù̈ùn
dress *v.*	ǂaeǂa**a**; *gǂaeǂ**â**	*vs.*	ǂgàèǂg**àà**.

Beach (1938: 187) already observes that "many Korana roots differ from Nama roots by the substitution of one sound for another (*e.g.* a nasal vowel for an oral or vice versa, a vowel combination for another, one click for another, etc.)." As nasalised vowels in Khoe languages have become distinctive after the elision of an intervocalic nasal, *viz.* *CVNV > CṼNṼ   >   CṼṼ (cf. Haacke 1999: 11), it implies that any discrepancy of nasalisation between contemporary lects must be due to an etymological irregularity in one or the other of the lects. As said before, it can be assumed that discrepancies such as in nasalisation, and especially also discrepancies in clicks, are more likely to have occurred in the moribund Xri and ǃOra rather than in Khoekhoe because of the comparatively more deteriorated competency of the speakers.

4. Miscellaneous morphological observations

From the sporadic examples that Snyman has included in his word list it can be gleaned that Xri, like ǃOra, uses **na** for the present continuous aspect marker, instead of Khoekhoe *ra* or *ta* ; *e.g.*

	Xri				**Khoekhoe**				
'I am looking at the light'	*mû*	*r*	***na***	*ǃnaap*	*ǃnâb-a*	*ta*	***ra***	*koo.*
	See	I	PR	light	light-OBL	I	PR	look.at

While ǃOra uses the same diminutive suffix for nouns as Khoekhoe, *viz. -ro*, Xri uses *-da*.

fountain	ǀx'*aus,* ǀ'*au***da***s*	ǀ*aűs,* ǀ*aűr**ò***s.*

According to Snyman's examples Xri seems to omit the oblique case marker *-a* for the object NP even more consistently than ǃOra (cf. Meinhof 1930 in Haacke 2013: 341); *e.g.*

(1)   Xri: *Hee*   *ǀx'urip-**Ø***   *ir*   *na*   *gǁoba~gǁoba.*
                 This   iron-**Ø**   I   PR   bend~CAUS
         Khoekhoe: *Nee*   *ǀurib-**a***   *ta*   *ge*   *ra*   *ǃhoa~ǃhoa.*
                 this   iron-**OBL**   I   IND   PR[22]   bend~CAUS

---

[22] For category labels used in interlinearization see Abbreviations below.

                        'I bend this iron'

The oblique case apparently is also not used with postpositions that use it in Khoekhoe, like *xu*
(from), *e.g.*

(2)   Xri: *Hee*   *!khaip-Ø*   *xu*   *r*   *na*   *doe.*
                       this   place-**Ø**   from   I   PR   move
         Khoekhoe: *Nee*   *!khais-**a*** *ta*   *ge*   *ra*   *doexuu.*
                       this   place-**OBL**   I   IND   PR   move.from
              /   *Nee*   *!khais-**a*** *xu*   *ta*   *ge*   *ra*   *doe.*
                       this   place-**OBL**   from   I   IND   PR   move
                       'I am leaving this place'

Xri also shares with !Ora the distinction between a masculine and a feminine PGN marker for the
first person singular. In Khoekhoe the older forms have become neutralised into one form that is
non-specific for gender:

         Xri   masculine *ir* (*r*)   feminine *ta*
         !Ora   masculine *ir* (*r*)   feminine *ta* [23]
         Khoekhoe   masculine/feminine   *ta*

Regrettably data on the other PGN markers and on object concords are not available in the Xri
examples.
        Xri appears to use the indicative sentence type marker *ge*/*ke* only rarely. It is regularly used
in main indicative sentences in Namibian Khoekhoe. In !Ora too the indicative marker *tje* is omitted
more readily than in Khoekhoe.   Witzlack-Makarevich (2006) has demonstrated that in the
Khoekhoe of the Nama of the Northen Cape this indicative marker is also used less frequently than
in standard Namibian Khoekhoe.

5. Conclusion

Snyman's vocabulary of Xri with over 1 100 entries (transcribed from his cards) provides the most
substantial evidence available that a Xri lect has indeed existed, and could be traced into the 20th
century despite the fact that by the 19th century the ethnic communities identified as *Xri* or even
Xrixri had virtually disappeared. As said, the data reveals a lexical proximity to Khoekhoe of 69%.
While this percentage clearly accommodates Xri as a lect in the Khoekhoe dialect continuum, the
31% difference to Khoekhoe suggests that the consultants interviewed in the 1970s did not speak a
lect that was unduly influenced by their former or present Nama neighbours. The rate of cognation
between Xri and !Ora appears to be particularly high (a systematic comparison was not undertaken
here). But the prenasalization of the PGNs *-p* and *–ku* appears to be a distinctive characteristic of
Xri that sets it apart as lect. The elicitations also show that the consultants were not merely repeating

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[23]Meinhof 1930: 32.

!Ora lexicon, as Snyman frequently has contrasted Xri with contemporary !Ora cognates. It can be assumed that the Xri consultants had rejected these words as being not their own but !Ora.

Haacke (2016) has investigated the lexical proximity of 17th Century Cape Khoekhoe as compiled in vocabularies by Johannes Grevenbroeck, to !Ora according to Meinhof (1930) and Engelbrecht (1928) and present-day Khoekhoe (Haacke & Eiseb 2002). It was found that Cape Khoekhoe has a rate of cognation of 69% to both !Ora and Khoekhoe, while there is a rate of 80% between !Ora and Khoekhoe. If the rate of cognation of 69% of Xri to Khoekhoe may be compared to those figures, albeit they quite different data bases, then it may be concluded that Xri has a greater lexical distance to Khoekhoe than !Ora has.

Cape Khoekhoe

69%   **69%**

!Ora   **Khoekhoe**

80%
69%
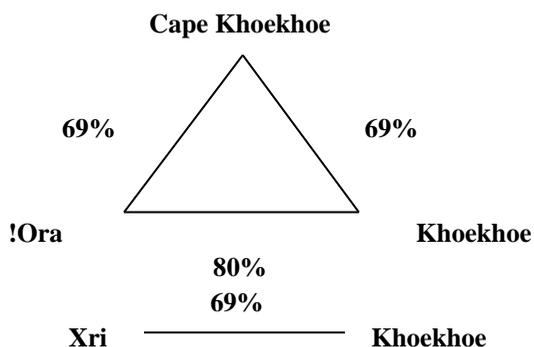
Xri ——————— **Khoekhoe**

Appendix: Word List[24]

Gloss	Xri	Khoekhoe	Rating
A			
aardvark	ǀ'abip	ǀkhùwű́b, ǀgàȉòb	0
	gǂooxommi [K]		
abomasum/(lang pens)	ǀx'aras	ǀáräs	4
abound with	ǀx'oasa	ǀòàsă̆	4
absent	ǀxai	ǀkhàȉ	4
Acaciaheteracantha	!oop	!gòòs [= *A.hebeclada*]	4
Acacia karroo	ǁxoop [K]; ǁxuup	ǁkhùűs	4
accustomed	!'ôi, ǂûi	ǁnă̆étȉ́	0
adam's apple, larynx	!'hores [K]	dö̀m!khòm̀s [N], dö̀m̀òrös [D]	0
admonish	ǀx'ai, ǀx'ae, ǁx'ae	ǁnă̆ má	0
afterbirth, placenta	ǂ'hoos	ǂhȍós (= afterbirth of animal)	4
afternoon	!'uiba, !'uip	!úìb [N]; !úìàb [D] (= twilight)	4
		kàră̆b [D]	
	!'oe	!oe (= bec. evening [N])	
again	ǁxaba	ǁkhàwă̆	4
		ǀáàxùù-ă̆ḿmȅ [N]	
aged	kaira, kaida	kă̆̀rà	4
alive	kx'ûi	ȕìsä	3
all	hoa, (wa), ǁnaa	hȍá	4
allow	*maa-am[25]	mǎà-áṁ	2
aloe	kx'aukorap, *aukx'orap,	kő̆réb; àȕkő̆réb [N]	3
	kx'auxuukorap;		
	kx'ausaxuup [K]		
alone	ǀuri; ǀona [K]	ǀgùrȉ́	4
always	ǁnaa ǁaep	hȍáǁáȅ	0
ambush	ǁoekx'am	ǁgòĕ̆-ă̆ḿ	4
and	tshii, î	tsî/tsi [tsȉ̯̆, tsȉȉ]	4
angry (be)	ǁ'aixa,	ǀ̀àȉ̆xä	4
	ǁ'ani	ǁámì	

(3)   *Bettis   ge   tir   ǁ'aixa.*   *Bettis   ge   ti   !oagu   ra   ǁaixa.*
       Betty   IND   me   angry   Betty   IND   ART   opposite PR angry
       'Betty is angry with me'

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[24] See Section 3 above for the significance of the numerical ratings. Xri example sentences in italics are supplied by Snyman and have been interlinearised here. Khoekhoe equivalents were provided by Eliphas Eiseb.

[25] A missing glottalised velar affricate *kx'* or glottal stop *ʔ* in the subsequent root of Xri compounds, e.g. with -*am* or -*ai*, is assessed as 2 (phonological diversion) in this list. Such words could arguably also be assessed as full cognates, as the phonetic difference is minimal.

(4) *Kaise-r*   *ke*   *na*   ‖*'ani.*
      Very-I   IND   PR   angry
      'I am very angry'

ankle	!orop	!gòròs	4
ankle-bone	!nooxoop	!gǻùxǎs	0
announce	ǂ'anǂ'an	ǂàⁿǂàⁿ̀	4
another	ǀnî, ǀnâi	ǀnî [ǀnį̃ǐ]	4
different, other	ǀxara	ǀkhàrà	4
answer	*!'ere-am, !'are-am, ǂhoakx'am	!érèám̀ [!ˀereˀam]	2
	*oe-am	òè-ám̀; oetsi [D] (= concur)	
ant	ǂuburup; ǂomirop	ǂgùwùrűb; ǂgòwèrűb [D]	4
anus	thoap [K]	tsoas	
applicative suffix	-ba	-ba	4

(5) ‖*'Ama- -i*   *uu-haa-ba*   ‖*Gam-e*   *uu-haa-ba*   *te!*
      water-Ø   take-come-APPL   water-OBL   take-come-APPL   me
      'Bring me water!'

arm	ǂ'hamp	ǂhà̰ǻb (= forearm)	4
arm – right	ǂ'hanuǁ'ôap	àm̀ǁò̰äb	0
armpit	gam!naap	gäm̀ńá̰às	2
arrest	!xoo	!khőó	4

(6) *!Xoo*   *tsi-r*   *na,*   *ti*   *birs*   *its*   *ko*   *ko*   ǀ*x'aa*   ǀ*abako*   *daba.*
      arrest   you-I   PR   my   goat   you   REC   ?   steal   police-OBL   at
      'I arrest you, you have stolen my goat at the police (station)'

arrange skirt decently	ǂnawa	ǂnäwá	4
arrive	!ûg!oaxa	!gṵ̀ù!g̈öáxǎ	4
ascend	!'aba, ǁ'aba	!áwà	4
ashamed – be	tao	táò	4

(7) *Tao*   *er*   *ke*   *na.*
      be.ashamed   I   IND   PR
      'I am ashamed'

askew	gǁoa, ǂuiǂnam xoara	‖ǻrésè	0
assemble	ǀ'hao	ǀhàő	4
at	daba	táwà [N]; täwà [D]	4
at the end	kx'aip daba	ǀunis tawa	0
August	Xaukuǀûǀûmp Xaukaǀûǀûs	Áòǁkhùűmų̈úǁkhà̰äb	0
away (move …)	bee	bë̈é	4

awl	ǂ'orop/s	ǂòròs [D]; (ǂóm̀)ǁnàös [N]	4
axe	ǀ'oos (?)	!őós	(2)

B

baboon	ǂnaatap, ǂneedap,	ǀnëèräb, ǀnöòräb,	4
	ǀnaidap, ǀneerap,	ǂhǎ̀s àöb; ǁǎrúb [D]	
baby	ǂxam ǀooda-i	ǀgő́árò-i; ǀgőórò-i [N];	1
		därórő-i	
back	**ǁ'âp; ǁx'âp [K]	ǁ|ǎ́áb	2
bad	ǂxabusa [K]	ǂkhàwùsǎ (= weak), tsừù	
	ǁ'ausa [K]	ǁáù (= useless)	
badger	daniskunaǂ'û, ǀ'haup	ǀhärèsëb [D]; ǀhärébäb [N]	0
bag	ǁ'hoop	ǁhöób/s	4
bag (carried over shoulder)	gǁarus	ǁgàrùs	4
bald head	ǀ'oodanap, !naap	ǀóòdänáb, !naadanab,	4
		ǂgàǎ́dänáb, ǂgàǎ̀s	
	ǀ'oba!'aap	!ùwű́dänáb	
baptise	ǀ'âǀ'â	ǁàǎ́ǀn|ǎ̀à	0
barn owl	!'hams	sëréb, ǀhű́úǂgừïb	0
bark *v.*	ǁ'huu	ǁhừű	4
basket	ǀ'harup	ǀhärùs	4
bead	karap	kǎ́rás	4
beads	ǀx'aiku	?	
beard	kx'aiǀ'hom/aiǀ'hom(-ku)	ǀhöò-ǎ́m̀s > ǀhöm̀s	
	ǀnomku	ǀnöm̀s, ǀhäús	4
beat (w. stick)	**ǂnau	ǂnǎ́ú	2
beast ("gedierte")	ǁgaaxuu[26]	ǀgű́rúb	0
beautiful	îsa	îìsǎ́	4
because of	ǂ'ama [K]	!aroma; ǂàmà (about)	0
bee	ǀnanip, ǀ'habup	!häwúb	4
beetle (small black w. white underside, eats skins)	!û!ûp	?	
before, in front	*ai!'â; kx'ai!'â [K]	ǎ́í!àà	2
beg	ǂona	ǂgònà (wait patiently like dog), ǀkhówè	4
beggar	ǂonakx'aop	ǀkhówè-àöb	0
behind	khaop kx'ai; khao!a [K]	khǎ́ó!gǎ̀, khǎ́ós áì	4
belch	g!ai	!gäì	4
believe	ǂom	ǂgòm̀	4
bellow	!oro, g!oro	!görò (of: bull); !göó	4
bend	gǁobagǁoba	!höǎ́!hòä, gämàgàmä	0

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[26] Supplied by Gert Maerman.

(8) *Hee* |x'urip   *ir   na   g‖oba~g‖oba.*   *Nee* |uriba   ta   ge   ra
  !hoa~!hoa.
  this   iron-Ø   I   PR   bent~CAUS   this   iron-OBL   I   IND   PR   bent~CAUS
  'I am bending this iron'

bend (limb); fold	!'hon [K]	!höǹ	
	g‖obag‖oba	!höá!hòä, gämàgàmä	0
bend over	!am!'aa	!gàm!âa	4
bent (not sharply)	g‖obasa	‖göwà (= bow-legged)	3
bent – sharply (of: short object)	!'hoba	!höńsä	0
berry	g≠ararap	≠ắrás (pip, seed)	1
beside, next to	|xaroro	xőó|kháà, xőórì	0
next to me	ti |xaroro	tǐ́ xóò|kháà	
beverage	kx'aaxuup	áàxùùb	4
beware of	!ôibasen	!ừ́bäsèn, !ắísèn	3
	≠'anabasen	≠àńbäsèn; ≠anàbắsùn [≠Aa][27]	
bewitch	g!ai	!gäì	4
bicycle	|x'urihaas/p	|ùrǐ́ háàb	4
big	kai	kắí	4
birthmark	≠'habas	≠nàős	0
bite	baa [K]	nắắ	
bitter	kx'au	àắ	4
black	≠nuu	≠nừù	4
black thorn	!noes	!nöés	4
bladder	*‖x'urup	‖khùrùs	2
blanket	!xons	!khòǹs/!khèǹs (= patchwork bl.)	4
		≠nàm̀s (= kaross)	
blind – be	|'hamkx'ai	≠gïì	0
		|hamai, samai (= operate on s.o. for cataract)	
blow (w. mouth)	!nasi, !nai	!nặí	2
blow (nose)	xuni	xúnì	4
blow (of: wind)	!om	!góm̀	4
blue	g!oa, !noa	≠hờà	0
blue wildebeest	≠xôap	gäób	0
blunt	≠'ubu, ≠'unu	≠ùwù; ≠ừù [D]	4
body	|xaap, arep	|khắáb	4
boil *v.i*	|û, **g|û	|gừù	4
boil *n.*	*tshuip	tsừ́s	4
bone	≠xoop, |xoop	≠khòőb	4
bore, nauseate	kx'uixa	ùǐ́xä káì	3

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[27] The apparent nonelision of the final vowel *–a* in Xri ≠'ana*basen* and ≠Aakhoe and Hai‖om ≠*anàbắsùn*, to the exclusion of mainstream Khoekhoe, is some striking bit of evidence for the etymological link of these geographically most removed lects. Cf. also Haacke (2014: 136) for ≠Aakhoe ≠*anàbắ́sùn*.

born – be	!nae	!nǽé	4
borrow	*ǀ'hubi; ǀxubi[28]	ǀkhǘwí	4
bother	*ǁ'ora	ǁnora	2
*nǀ'huuxa	ǀhǘú (kái)		
bowl	!'ores	!örés	4
boy	kx'aoǀoodap, aoǀoodap	àòrĕ́ ǀgóàròb/ǀgóòròb	1
		ắáxàròb, därób	
brain	ǂxôp	ǂkhừùb/s	4
bran	ǂ'amaroku	ǀhőób	0
bread	baredas, berep, perep	pĕréb	4
break	khôa	khǽá *v.t*; khằá *v.i*	4
breast	sammi	sắ ḿs/mi	4
breathe	ǀ'om	ǀòm̀	4
breathe strongly (sniff)	*ǀ'ubi	ǀhüwì	2
bring forth young	*ôa	ọ̌ắ (of: anim.)	2
broad	ǂ'habasa	ǂhäwá	3
brother	!âmp, !âp	!gǽáb, !gǽásäb	4
brother-in-law	ǀ'uip	ǀùìb	4
brown	!oa, gǀoa	ǂgàmà	0
brown hyena	gǀaip	ǂnüúbéǂhïïräs	0
bubble out (of: spring)	g!amaǂ'ui	ǂùwí	0
buchu	sâp	sǽáb	4
bud (of: tree)	ǁ'hai	!ùmì; göá (of: esp. acacia)	
		ǁhäì (= germinate)	0
buffalo	ǂxaop	ǀgáòb	2
bull	gǁoop	ǁgöòb	4
bull-calf	kx'aogomadap	tsặúb, ǁgöòtsặ̀ùb, ǀnọ̀àb	0
bullet	ǀx'urip	!ắwúǀùrìs, ǁhääs	3
bundle *v.*	!ae-am	!gǽé-ám̀, !gǽéǀkháá	2
burn	!'am	!ắm̀ (= light (candle, torch))	0
burn (of: fire)*v.i*	khau, khabu	khäú *v.i*	4
(of: fuel)	ǂ'hubi	ǂhüwí *v.i*	4
burn, bec. scalded	dâu	dặ́ú	4
bury	ǁxoo	ǁkhóò	4
Bushman	ǀXâusaa-i, Saa-i	Sàà-i	4
bustard ?	harǁaaǁaa	xàrtsíǁgáàǁgáàs/gäàrắs (= black korhaan)	0
butcher bird	ǂâkx'anis ("hang+bird")	?	
butter	gôan di ǁnuip ("cow+fat")	!khằő(ǁnùì)b	1
buttocks	ǂ'areku,	ǂắrédi	4
	!ubiku, *g!ubuku	!gùwíra (*vulg.*)	
by (*ag.*), about	xa	xà	4
from (source)	xa	xà	

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[28]Supplied by Jan Kok, Campbell.

C

calabash	ǁ'hoep	àwǎs; ǁhòés (= carved vessel)	0
calf	ǀnôa-e	ǀnɡ̀à-i, tsǎú-i	4
call	ǂai	ǂgàí	4
camelthorn	ǁanap, ǀânap	ǁgánàb	4
candle acacia	ǂ'ûiǂ'ûisenhaip	!gòòs	0
Cape wild dog	g!aup [K]	!gäùb	
careful	sau!naa	sàú(à!nɡ̀à) (= have a fear of)	1
		ǂáńbäsèn	
carry	tani	tánì	4
carry (on palms of both	ǂxao	ǂkháò (= carry on head)	0
hands)			
carrying-stick	tanihaip	tánì-áìhàïb [N]; däärä(hàï)b [D]	3
cartilage (of shoulder	ǁ'ani	ǁànǐb (= cartilage) [N]; ìinǐb [D]	4
blade)			
carbuncle (of goat)	ǀ'harap	ǀhärás (= wart)	0
cat	*ǀ'ôas, ǀ'hôas	ǀhɡ̀às	4
catch	!xoo	!khőó	4
cattle	gôan, goman	gömàn; gaman [Bond.]	4
chaff, bran	ǂ'amaroku	ǀàwőb (= garbage), ǀhőób	0
charge with	khomkx'ai	ǀhàwǐ̈ǂgàà-áṁ	0
charms	g!aip	!gäìb	4
chase (animals)	gǁaru	ǁgärù	4
chase out (livestock)	!'haeǂoasi	!häéǂòa'sì [D]; !häéǂűí [N]	4
cheek (side of head)	xoo!naap	xőób;	3
		xőó!nɡ̀àb (= side; margin of page)	
cheekbone	xoop	xőób, xőóǂkhòòb	4
chest	ǁxaip	ǁkháìb	4
chew	ǁae	ǁgàě	4
child	ǀoo-i (ǀonku)	ǀgőá-i, (ǀgoo-i)	2
child – my	ti ôa-i	ti ɡ̀à-i; ti ɡ̀à-i [D]	4
chin	g!anni	!gɡ̈ni/-s	4
chippings (to kindle	ǀnomap	ǂnomab [tone not recorded]	2
fire with)			
chop	ǀ'haa	ǁhɡ̈á	4
churn	ǀnubu	ǀnùwú	4
cicada	sorexuudas ("sun-thing")	sórètsíǀi̧ìbès	1
	soreǂnuus		
clay pot	ǀxubis, gǂoasuup/-ǀxubis	ǂgòàsùùb	4
clean	!'anu, (!'ana)	!ànű	4
clever	gaa, gaakx'ai, gâasa	gäá-ắí	4
climb	!'aba [K]	!áwà	
climb down	ǁôa	ǁgɡ̀ắ	4
climb (through fence)	ǀ'haru	ǁhärú	4
cling	ǀxoo	!khőó	2

close	‡anam	‡gã́ńám̀	2
cloth	laa-i	lã́á-i (< Afr. lap)	4
clothes	!xanku	sáràn	0
cloud	|nanus; |'hommi	|nànűs; !ặűs [D]; |hö̀mmi (= heaven)	4
coarse, rough	|xoara	|khóà; |khórà	4
coccyx	|nanip	|nánàb, |nánìb	4
cold *a.*	!xai, *!hai	!khàї̌	4
cold (*med.*) *n.*	!xai|'oop; |x'ôas [K]	|óàs	0
come	haa	hä̀à	4
come back, return	!'hoba	!hö̀wà	4
come across	|'hao	|hàǒ	4
comfort (child)	!noo!noo	!nő́ó!nòö̈	4
complain	sii!nuri	sìї̌ !nùrї̌	4
congratulate (by pop-ping finger)	!'awu	?	
contemporary – my	ti khama gaidas	ti |hàäb	0
convene	|'hao(gu)	|hàő, |hửù	4
converted –be	daba!xunigu	!khùnї̌ , !hö̀wàsèn (dä̀wá!khùnї̌= turn (s.) back to point of departure)	0
cook	sâi, sâsî	sặí	4
cooking shelter	!nuup	||gànìs	0
cool *v.t*	!xai!xai	!khặí!khäї	4
corn	|'hû(n)!'horop	!hö̀ròb	3
corner (of house)	!nanip/!'anip	!näníb/!ánìb (= other/far side); ||hő́ás, óm̀s di ‡gửís	4
correct	‡'hanu	‡hànű	4
cough	|'ui	||úì	4
count	!ôa	!gő́á	4
cover (w. cloth)	g!uu	!gửú	4
cow	gâs	gö̀màs; gä̀màs [Bond.]	2
cowardly	‡xabusa ‡aop î (w. weak heart)	!áò!nặà	0
crack , burst open	!'hui	!hửí	4
crack *v.i* (of: *e.g.* cup)	‡xabe	‡khàwè	4
crack (whip)	!oa	!gòã́	4
crank	||xami	||khàmї̌	4
crawl (like baby)	‡'hana	‡hänà	4
(like child)	!nuru	!nuru (= move on buttocks) [no tone]	4
cream	!x'abup, !x'abop !'abup, !'abop[29]	!àòpë̋b < !awob (Kroenlein 1889)	2
cricket	|'hâi|'harip	‡gìrї̌‡gìrї̌s, ||gàm̋‡khùrї̋b	0

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[29] Supplied by Gert Maerman.

crockery	khoaxuuku (< Afr. breekgoed), !'oreku	khǫ́áxùùn, !örédi (= plates)	2
crook	!goexap	‖hǫ̀àkàőb	0
crooked	!'hoa	!höà	4
cross (river)	!âu	!gà̀u	4
crow	gorap	göráb	4
crumbs	ǀ'aboku	ǀàwőb (= rubble)	3
curdled milk	*âudaip	ǎ̀űdàïb	2
curried skin	ǂaop	ǂgòǎb	2
curse	ǀoi; ǀoe [K]	ǀgóè	2
cut (hair/wool)	ǂxom	ǂkhòm̀	4
cut into strips	ǀ'haa	ǀhäá	4

(9) *Kx'oop-Ø ir na ǀ'haa.*   *‖Gan-e ta ge ra ǀhaa.*
Meat-Ø I PR cut.into.biltong.strips   meat-OBLI IND PR prepare.
'I cut the meat into strips'

cut (thong) spirally	!'hari, *!xari	!härì	4
cut (umbilical cord)	!aoǀnae	!gáòǀnáè	4

D

dagga	!'amaxap = !'ammaaxap?	!ǎḿmààägäb, !ǎḿhäíb	2
dance	ǂnaa	ǂnää	4
darkness	!xaep	!khàèb, !khàèsïb	4
daughter-in-law	ǀ'oitaras [K]	ǀùìǀgǫ́às	
day after tomorrow	!nonaǁâi tsheep[30], ‖'ari!â tsheep	‖àrìkàḿ tsèèb, ǎ̀étsèë	0
debt	surteb	sűrúdèb (< German: Schulden)	2
December	Kaitseedii ‖âmp	Hôasoreb	0
decent	!'amku	!àḿkű	4
deep	g!ama; g!am(sa)	!gä̀ḿ	2
defecate	xau	xàű	4
deformed – bec.	!'hara	ùù	0
delicious, tasty	!âi	‖khőáxä; !gą́ì (= good)	4
dent	ǂ'om, dubu	ǎwó	0
devil's thorn	ǀxanip	‖khùrìpě́ǀkhám̀s	0
desire	ǂao	ǂgǎ́ó	4
diarrhoea – have	ǀxari, ǀx'ookx'aa	ǀkhárì, ǀkhírì	4
die	ǀ'oo; ǀxai	ǀőó; ǀkhà̌ì	4
die of hunger	!'âǁoo	!à̀àǁóò	4
difficult	!om, thû	!gőm̀, tsụ̀ù	4
dig	khao, *kxau	khà̀ó	4
digging stick	khaohaip	khà̀őhàïb	4
diminutivesuffix	-da	-ro	2

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[30]Supplied by Gert Maerman.

dirty	ǀ'urisa ; ǀx'uriǀx'urisa	ǀùrȉsá/ǀùrȉ́xä; ǀ̋úríǀùrȉsä	4
disgrace	taop [K]	táòsïb, táóǂnàòs	
dish	!'ores	!ȍrés	4
dishonest	gǃuisa, gǃuixa	ǀhȍ̏àkàő, ǎmäò!nà̰à	0
disjointed	ǁxuri	ǁkhùrì [D]; !ȍ̋ë [N]	4
disobedient	kooxa	ǁnà̰úòǁnà̰à	0
divide	gǀoara, gǀora	ǀgȍrà	4
doctor	gǃaixap [X]	!gài(dȉí)-àȍb; !gàïòb	3
		[D] (= shaman)	
		sȍ́óǀ̰òädȉí-àòb/s	
done, cooked	ǁ'ansasa	ǁ̋áńs̋ǎ	3
door	ǁxobas	dàòs; (cf. ǁkhòwǎ-ám̀ *v.* open)	0
Douglas; Vaalriver	Gǂauxunup	-	
draw in (head)	ǁansen, ǂaeǂâ	ǀhüríǂgàà	0
draw (tail between legs)	ǂnaba	ǂnäwá ? (= arrange skirt); ǁnäwé ?	0
draw water	xuri [K]	xùrí	
dream *n.*	ǁ'habop	ǁhàwős	4
dress *v.*	**gǂaeǂâ; ǂaeǂaa	ǂgàèǂgàà	4
ǃxansen; *ana [K]	äná		
driedoring *Rhigozum*	ǁ'hauka [K]	ǁhäúb	
trichotomum			
drink *v.*	kx'aa	áà	4

(10)   ǀ*'Hunip-Ø*   *ir ke   na*   kx'aa.   ǀ*Hunib-a*   *ta ge   ra   aa.*
        Shepherd's.tree-Ø   I   IND PR   drink   Sheph.'s.tree-OBL I   IND PR   drink
        'I drink witgat coffee'

drink *n.*	kx'aap, ǂnaa-am,	áàb,	4
	!'hai-am	!häì (= *v.* bottle-feed)	
drink, suckle	dai, bii	dàì	4
drip *v.*	ǀ'amǀ'am	ǂnǎá	0
drive (animals)	gǁaru, diikhao	ǁgàrù, dȉíkháò	4
drought	ǀ'oop	ǀkhùrűb	0
drown	kx'aaǁ'oo	à`ǁőó	4
drowsy – bec.	ǂ'omi (??)[31]	ǂòm̀ hȉ	2
drunkard	ǀ'horosmap	ǀhòrő́s(è)mà̰àb	3
dryǀ'oo, ǀ'uu	ǀóò (= cease to produce milk)		4
	ǀ'ûkhâisi, ǀ'uu/ǀ'oo (ha)	ǂnà̰à (= bec. dry)	
dry *v.t*	ǀ'aa ǀǎ̋ǎ(?, = squeeze, press)		4
duiker	gǀaro-e	dȍ̰ás [N]; ǀnà̰ùb [D]	0
dull, dense	gâ	gà̰à(rḛ́)	4
	gǃookhoe, gǃooke	!khṵ̏úkȅ̋ [D]	
dung (wet)	ǂ'haup	ǂhäùb	4
dung-beetle	xau!norap	xàȕ̋gàr̈ïs, ǁgämàbȅb, kùmȉ́s	1

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[31] "(??)" questions correctness of information.

dust	tsharap , tharap	tsǟráb	4
dust (fine powdery soil)	ǂ'oap	? (ǂgòàb = clay)	

E

eat	ǂ'û	ǂ*ǖ	4
eagle owl	!'hûros, !'hû!'hûs	!hǘúròs (= pearl spotted owlet)	4
ear	‖nâump	ǂgàě̋b (‖nà̰ú = hear)	0
early	‖oaba, ‖oaka	‖góàgä	4
east	sore‖'uis	sórès ‖hài‖kháàb, ‖góà‖gǟ́ms	0
easy	sui(sa)	suisui [D] (of low density > easy)	3
edge	g‖arap (of *e.g.* book)	!nämmi	0
egg	‖narap, !'ubup	!ùwű̋s	4
eggshell	!'uwub khôa	!ùwűǂkhòròs	0
eight	‖xaisi	‖khǟ́ísǟ; ‖khǟ́ésǟ [Bond.]	3
elbow	!'unip	!ùnî̋b	4
elephant	ǂxoap	ǂkhòàb	4
elephant shrew	*‖xaup/s	bäús; !khàǖ(ǂgüí)b	1
eleven	*yisi ‖ui‖'a	dïísí ‖gű̋í‖àà	2
elope	duni	dùní (= abscond)	4
ember (glowing)	‖x'ais, ǂnummi	ǂnòm̀s (= coal), dùnúb	3
empty bowels	‖au	xàű̋	0
end	!aap	‖ùnî̋s	
	‖'ammi	‖àm̋s	4
energetic	‖ari	sḭ̀sènxä, ‖àě̋xä	0
enter	ǂâ	ǂgàà	4

(11) *Tir ke   kx'ommi !nâ   ǂâ.*   *Tita   ge   ommi !nâ ra ǂgâ.*
     I   IND   house   in   enter   I   IND   house   in   PR enter
     'I am entering thehouse'

European	‖'Hôp; ‖'Hû(m)p[32] ‖'Hûnkhoep/s	‖Hǘúb (‖hòńkhòëb = master, boss)	4
exhausted – bec.	ǂxabu	ǂkhàwù, tsàű̋	4
exit	‖x'oa(sii)	ǂòǟ́	0
explain	!'hoaba!'aa	(!hoa!aaba), mḭ̀'!àë̋	3
explain (genealogy)	‖xobesa	sừ́ríǂgàë (= correlate ancestries)	0
eye	mûmp, mûp	mừ́ús	4
eyebrow	g‖âuku; ‖namp [K]	‖gàùs; ‖ám̀mëb; ‖ám̀mïb [N] (= cilium)	4
eyelashes	mû‖'ûku	mừ́ú‖àm̀mëgu	0

F

face	kx'aip	ǎís	4
faeces (of dog)	xaup	xàǔp	4
father – my	ti îp	ti íìb	4
father-in-law	ǀ'oi-îp	ǀùiǁgṳ̀b	0
fall	ǁnaa	ǁnǎá	4
far	!nuu	!nṳ̀ù	4
farm	!'aas	farms, ǁgà̰ùmǎ̰ís	0
fart	sii	sî	4
fast	!'haese	!hǎ́ésè	4
fasten (belt)	!ae	!gǎ́é	4
fat *n.*	ǁnuip	ǁnṳ̀ìb	4
fat – bec.	kau	kǎ́ú	4
fat – subcutaneous	ǀ'haup	ǀhǎ́úb	4
fear	!'ao	!áò	4
fearful, timid	!'aon!a [sic!]	!áò!nà̰à	2
feather	ǀ'ûb	!à̰m̋mi (ǀṳ̀ùb = hair)	0
feel ill	ǀxari	ǀǎ́ésèn hà̰äsè tsá̰à	0
fence	!'hanab	ǁgà̰úǂnämìb	0
		(!hänàb = pole of rush hut)	
fertile	ǂ'û (*a.* ??)	ǂű́útànïxä; ǂű́úxä, ǂṳ̀ű́ǂṳ̀ùxä	3
fever	ǀx'ôas	ǁkhàìs	0
few	ǀ'aa(sa)	ǀòrò	0
few, little	*!x'aro	!gǎ́ró	2
fierce	ǀ'aixa	ǀà̏xä	4
fierce, strict	*ǁhoo, ǁxoo	ǁkhőó	4
fight	!xam	!khám̀	4
fill	ǀx'oaǀx'oa	ǀòàǀòà	4
fine, smooth	ǂxanu	ǂkhànù	4
finger	ǀxunup	ǀkhű́núb	4
fingernail	ǁorop	ǁgóròb	4
finished	toa	tőá	4
fire	ǀ'aep	ǀà̋s	4
firewood	ǀ'aeku	ǀà̋gu	4
fish	ǁ'aup	ǁàùb	4
fish *v.*	ǁ'auǀxoo	ǁàù!khőó	4
fist	!'ommi	!őm̋s	4
five	koro	kórò	4
flat	ǂ'haba	ǂhäwá	4
flat stone bank	ǂnarop [K]	ǂnǎ̋wáb; ǂgèřéb	
flea *n.*	!'aetap	!áèdäs	4
flee *v.*	ǁ'hâ, ǁ'hâbee	ǁhà̰á(bëé) [D]; ǁhäì	4
	!xoebee	!khòĕ̋bëé, !khòĕnḭ̂	
flint stone	ǂnanǀ'uip	ǂnàn̋ṵ̀ǀű́ís, !nòn̋s	3
float	ǁôa	sṳ̀ú	0

flow	g!ama	dά̰ú	0
flute	ǂ'aap	ǂáàb/s (= reedflute)	4
fly *n.*	ǀanap, ǀainap[33]; ǀanip ǀ'amip, ǀnanip	ǁgìnäs, ǁgèènäs	2
fly *v.* (of: bird)	doe	dòè, ǁkhànà	4
floor	kx'ommi ǃ'huup	ǂáìǂgàwàb	0
foal	ǂxam haada-e	fĕ́l-i (< Afr. vul)	0
fog	taurap	taus ?, ǀhàn̋s, tsàn̋tő̌(r)ós; huris (coastal/winter fog)	0
fold (up) *v.*	ǃ'hon	ǃhòǹ; ǃkhőń	4
follow	sao(ǃaa); ǃûǁ'aeǁ'ae	sắó	4
foot	ǂ'aip; ǂ'aip/ǂnaip [K]	ǂáìb	4
underside of my foot	*ti ǂ'aiǃnaka*	*ti ǂais (di) ǃnaakab*	
ford *v.*	xanu	xànű̌	4
ford, drift *n.*	xanup	ǂhű̌s; ǀnùú(ǃgùù)ǃgà̰ú-áms	0
ford (near Douglas)	g!auxanup [K]	-	
fore-arm	ǂ'hâp	ǂhà̰ắb	4
forehead	ǃ'uub/s, ǃ'uuš	ǃű̋s	4
forget	ǀ'uru	ǀùrù	4
forgive	ǀ'uruba	ǀùrùbä, ǀṵ̀ű̌bä	4
fountain	ǀx'aus, ǀ'audas	ǀàű̌s, ǀàű̌ròs	4
four	haka	hàkà	4
fowl	*anis [X]; kukurub [K]	àn̋s; hű̌ńgùr̀b (< Herero) kukuru	2
freeze to death	ǃxaiǁ'oo	ǃkhà̰̋ǁóò	4
friend	ǁ'omakhoe-i	sòrĕ́-i, hòrĕ́-i, gùríb,	0
friendship	ǁ'omasip	khöèhő̌résägùb, khöèxäs̀b	0
fright – get a	ǃ'huri	ǃhùrí	4
from	xu	xu [xùű̌]	4
frost, May	ǃx'abap, ǃ'abap	ǃkhòàb (ǃáwàb = spring)	0
frown	ǀnuni-ai	ǀìn̋ǹâì	0
full	ǀx'oasa, ǀ'oasa	ǀòàsắ	4
fungus (yellow powdery)	ǀ'hobos	ǃnàű̌b (ǀhő̌wó = *v.*paint face w. ointment made from *ǃnàű̌b*)	0
future t.	ni	nî	4

G

gallop	ǃ'are	ǃórè	2
gargle	gǁobo	ǁgòwópĕ̋ǹám̀ǹà̰à, ǁgòwópĕ̋	3
garden	ǃ'hanap	ǃhàn̋b	4
garment	tanip, ǃxanip/ǃxanku	änáxùǜ-i	0
gather	ǀ'hami, xami	ǀhắmí; xắmí (= gather & roll up blankets)	4

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[33]Beach (1938: 194): Korana ǀ*enap*.

	ǀ'haoǀ'hao	ǀhǽóǀhàö	
generation	!'haos	sǜríb (!hàòs = family)	0
genet	tooǀ'hôas	!nòrèb	0
germinate, grow *v.i*	ǁ'hai	ǁhàì, !iǐ	4
get erection	kx'ôa	ǀkhàmǎ	0
girl	ǀoos	ǀgǿás	2
	ǀaaǀoodas, taareǀoodas	ǀgǿá(rò)s	
	'oaxais	ǿáxáès	
– young	ǀ'habasas	ǀgǿáròs	0
give	au	mǎà (ǽú = let share in)	0
give birth	ǁ'ora	ǁòrǎ (of: esp. human)	4
	ôa	ọ̌ǎ (of: anim.)	
glans (of penis)	xâp di biǃ'âp [K]	tsöràb	0
glue, affix (?)	ǂ'abe	ǂǟwé, ǂàè	4
		(= sit glued to, adhere to)	
glutton	ǁ'harip	òǿ-àö-i	0
		(cf. ǁharisa *arch.* gluttonous)	
go out	ǂ'oa	ǂòǎ	4
God	Tshuuǁ'aop, Tshiiǁ'aop	Ȅlób, !Khùùb, Ȁwób;	4
	Tshiiǁ'oa, Siiǁoap, Suu-	Tsuiǁgoab *arch.*	
	ǁoap, Abop, Elo, !Xuup		
gone (absent)	kaa, ǀxai	káà, ǀkhàǐ	4
good	*ǃ'âisa	!gá̧ì	3
gossip	ǀ'hoe	ǀhöè	4
grab	!xoo, *zubu	!khǿó, tsǜwú	4
grain bag	ǁ'hoop	ǁhöób/s	4
grandchildren (my)	ti ǀoon di oan [K]	ti ọ̀àn di ǀgóàn	1
grandfather	ǁûp; ǁnaup [K]	ǁnàò(sä)b, àǘtǎb	0
grass	ǀâp, ǀamp	ǀgà̧ǎb	4
grave *n.*	ǀ'hobap	ǀhöwás	4
graze	ǃ'û	!ụ̌ǔ	4
green	!x'am, ǃ'am	!ǽḿ	4
green, unripe	kx'oara	òrà	4
greet	nebe, nabe(te)	tǎwédè; nǎwédè [D]	4
		(nǎwé = beckon)	
grey	ǀ'hai	ǀhäí	4
	thaothao	tsaotsao (= ashen)	
grey *v.* (of: hair)	!noa	!nòǎ	4
Griekwa language	Xriǃ'hoap		
Griekwa people	**X**irikwana, Xurukwana		

(12)   *Tita   ke   **Xuru**kwa-Ø*.
        I   IND   Griekwa-Ø
        'I am a Griekwa'

| Griekwastad | Kai!'aas, !Oraǂ'hôap | - |

grind (cereal)	xun	xőń, xéń	4
groan	g!ae	!gàè	4
grope	*thâthâ	tsã́náñ̃> tsg̃̈ánã̃;	1
		ǀgã́wó, ǀnã̃áǀnáà, tsö̀m̀mè	
ground-squirrel	saop	ǀgã̃é‡nààb [D]	0
grow (of: anim.s, plants)	ǁ'ui	ǁűí (= thrive, flourish)	4
good	!âi	!gg̣̀ì	4
guilty	ǀ'habixa	ǀhàwǐxä	4
guinea fowl	tookx'anis (?)	ǀkhénäs (tòő = mottled)	0
gullet	ǀx'abadommi	ǀã̃wádò̀m̀mi	4
gully	!'aap	‡nä́m̀mi; (!áàb = river)	0
gum (of tree)	hairap	hã̃íräb	4
gum (of jaws)	arika, ǁûkx'oop	àríb	4

H

hair	ǀ'ump, ǀ'ômp, ǀ'ûku	ǀ̣̀ùùb	4
	ǀxomku		
hamerkop	!'hams	?	
hammer	ǀ'urip	hamers (ǀùríb = iron)	0
hand	!'ummi, !'ommi	!őḿmi	4
hang, suspend	‡aami < ‡aamai	‡gàãmg̃̈í	2
hang (to execute)	‡â	‡gàã̃	4
hard - bec.	karo	kàrő	4
hardworking	!ari	!gàrǐ (= indefatigable)	4
hare	!'ôas; *ǀ'ôas	!ọ̃às	4
hat	ǀ'haep/s	ǀgáwàs	0
hawk	ǀx'aup;	ǀã̃úb	4
	kuku!xookx'aop ("fowl-catcher") [K]		
head	danap	dänáb	4
	bii-/baa-/bee!'amp;		
	bii!'âkwa [K]		
head – back of	!norop	!nòrős	4
head cloth	!xaip	!khã̃íb	4
heap of stones	!oro	!närób/s	0
hear	ǁnâu	ǁng̣̀ú	4
heart	‡aop	‡gã̃ób	4
heartbroken	‡aotshû	‡gã̃ótsụ̀ụ̀	4
heat – be on	sâ [K]	sőḿ (of: bitch)	
heaven	ǀ'hommi	ǀhò̀m̀mi	4
heavy	!om	!gőḿ	4
hedgehog	‡xam !noap (= young ~)	ǀgàm̃űős (!nòã̃p = porcupine)	0
heifer	ǀnoa(da)s;	ǀnọ̃à(rò)s, tsg̣̀ús,	2
	taraǀnoas [K]	tã̃ránụ̀ụ̀ gòmäs/tsg̣̀ús	
height, steep cliff	‡âp	‡gàã̃b [D]; ǁhöáb [N]	4
help	hui	hǔí	4
herd (cattle) v.t	!'ûi, !'ôasi	!űí, !ọ̃àsì	4

herbivorous animal	xamarep	xǎmárǐ-i [N]; xǎmánǐ-i [D]	2
heron	ǁ'au-anip (= "fish-bird")	rèìr-i (< Afr. reier), ǀgùrǐ khòèsèb	0
hiccup	ǁ'ubi	ǁùwǐ [D]; ǀnùwǐ	4
hide	ǁxaru, gaugaubee	ǁkhàrǔ (= put away for later); sǎ̀ù	4
hide o.s.	gau, gaugau	gàù	4
high	ǂ'amka	ǂám̀!nà̀à (= on top of); ǀgàwǐ(sè)	
	!urisa	!gùrǐsè (= at high altitude)	3
hill	ǂarerep	!nà̀ǔb, !nő̋mmi	0
hillock	khuup	khùùbẽs (= bulge); !nà̀ǔ̋ròs	3
hinder	ǁ'ore	ǂhänì; (ǁórè = abuse, maltreat)	0
hip	ǂ'hobep;	ǂhöwèp [D] / !gòwé̋b [N]	4
		(= flank, waist)	
	gǀubup, ǀnubup	ǀgùwús, ǀnùwús (= area of hip)	
	ǂommi	ǂnő̋mmi (= area of external thigh)	
hippo	ǂxoas (??)	!khàòs (ǂkhòàb/s = elephant)	0
hold	!xoomâi	!khòő̋mǎ̋í (= hold upright)	4
hold tightly	!'hau	!khòő̋ǀgàrǎ	0
hole	kx'aas, aap	ǎ̋ás	4
holy	!'anu	!ànǔ	4
home	hâ!xaep	hà̀ǎ̋!khàìs; hà̀ǎ̋!khàës [N]	4
honey	danis	däníb	4
honeybeer	dani!xarip	däní!khàrïs	4
hoof	ǁxoarap	ǁkhòrǎ̋s	2
horn	ǁnamp/ǁnâku, *nǀâp	ǁnà̀àb	4
horse fly	haa-uip	hǎ̋áǀgìinäb	0
hot	ǀam (?? = v.i.)	ǀgǎ̋m̀sǎ̋ *a.*	3
hot – bec. (of: fire/sun)	ǁxôa	ǁkhò̀à	4
house	kx'ommi	óm̀s/-mi	4
how?	hamtii?	mà̀àtǐ? [D]; hà̀m̋tǐ? [N]	4
hunger	!'âp	!à̀àb	4
hurried, be in a hurry	ǁ'aaxa	!nöésǎ̋, ǁáàxä (= busy)	4
hurry, haste	!'hae	!hà̀é̋!hà̀ësèn	3
hurt	thûthû	tsù̀ǔtsù̀ù	4
hyena	ǁ'hûgaop, ǁ'ongaop	(ǁhò̀àkà̀ǒb = rascal)	
	ǂ'hairap	ǂhïìräs, ǂ'hàìräs	4

I

I	r, ir; tir	tà; tita [tì̀tà]; (tir [tì̀r̋] [N])	1
ill	ǁ'aesen	ǁǎ̋ésèn	4

(13) *Kaise r ǀ'aesen-a.*   *Kaise ta ge   ǀ aesen hâ.*
       very I sick [< PERF?]   very I IND   sick   PERF
       'I am very ill'

illness	ǁ'aep (-kwa)	ǁǎ̋ésènni; ǁǎ̋éb	4
		(= raised temperature)	

implore	ǀxoma	ǀkhő́má	4
immortal(ity)	ǁ'ooǃaap (< death+end)	ǁloo ǁloa (= can't die)	0
in	ǃnaa	ǃnàà, (ǃnàà)	4
in pieces	-ǃ'aa	-ǃà̋	4
chop in pieces	ǁ'haaǃ'aa	ǁhà̋ǃà̋	
inhale	ǀx'omi, ǀ'omi	ǀòm̀ǂgàà;	4
		ǀhő́mí (= inhale spasmodically)	
initiation feast (after circumcision)	dorop	?	
insane	ǃxau	ǃkhăű; ǀgärú(àdäná)	4
inside	ǃna	ǃnàà, (ǃnàà) *postp.*; ǂgànà *adv.*	2
intestine	*ǀ'hûip, ǀûiku gǀoip; gǀûip [K]	ǀgű́íb, ǀgű́ígu	4
investigate	ǂnauǁnaa	ő́áǃnàà, ő́áǃgäo	0
iron	ǀ'xurip, ǀ'urip	ǀùrí̋b	4
isolate (girl at puberty)	ǃnuuǂnuu	ǀgörà, ǃguuǂnûi	0
itch	ǀxon	ǀkhő́ń [D], ǀkhő́ń [N]	4

J

jackal	ǀairap, ǀaikep ǀeieb	ǀgì̋rí̋b, (ǀgà̋rä̋b) [N]; ǀgà̋rё́b [D]; ǀgì̋rä̋b	4
jaw	ǃnanip (-kua)	ǃną̈ànïb	2
jealous	tauxa, taoxa	tàűxä	4
jodhpurs (fat on thighs)	ǁomi	ǂná̋ḿmi	0
jump	ǃ'ae [K]	ǃáè ; òrò (= buck)	

(14)   *ǃ'Ae   na   haap ke.*   *Oro   ra haab ge.*
       Jump PR horse IND   buck PR horse IND
       'The horse is jumping.'   'The horse is bucking.'

	*huri [K], [X]	ùrí	2

K

karree (*Rhus lancea*)	ǃ'are; ǃx'are	ǃàrё́s	4
kaross	ǂnammi	ǂnä̀ms	4
kierrie, club	ǀxarus	ǀkhä̋rús, ǃhő́ás	4
key	ǀ'uris (= iron)	ǁkhòwä̋-ám̀mi	0
kick	ǂnaa	ǂnäà (kick, dance)	4
	ǃai	ǃgáì	4
kidney	ǃnaip; ǀxâp [K]	ǃnàї̋s	4
kidney fat	*âup	à̋ün	2
kill	ǃam	ǃgà̋ḿ	4
king	gaokx'aop	gäó-àöb	4
kiss	ǁ'ôa	ǁóà	2
knee	ǁôap [X]; ǁoap [K]	ǁgő́ás	4
kneel	ǁoaku ǂama maa [K]	ǃhòǹǁgóà	0

knife	kôas	gòàs	4
knob	!ubup	!gűwúb (= sphere)	4
knot *v.*	!'hû [K]	!hǚú	
know	ǂ'an	ǂắń	4
know not	ǀ'uu	ǀúù	4

(15) *ǀ'Uu-   r   ke   a.*   *ǀUu   ta   (ge)   a.*
    not.know I   IND PS   not.know I   IND   PS
    ǀ'Uu ta-a. [< Nama]
    'I do not know'

Korana (pl.)	!Oran	!Góràn	4
kraal	!'harap	!hǟrás	4
krantz	ǂamp, ǂ'amp; ǂâp [K]	ǂgà̀ǎb [D]; ǁhöáb [N]	4

L

lamb	ǁxaoda-i, ǁxoada-i	ǁkhàòb/s	3
lamb (young)	ǂxam ǁxaoda'e	ǂkhàm̋ ǁkhàòrò-i	3
land	*!uup	!hǚúb	2
late (arrive)	!xaeba (haa)	!ònkhǎó	0
lay a charge	!nuri	!nùrí!gǎá	3
lazy	ǀ'obe	ǀòwǽśá	3
lead (pers./anim.)	!'â	ǂgáèǂgùí	0
leak	ǂnaa	ǂnǎá	2
lean − bec.	gǂaba [X], [K]; ǀ'aro [K]	ǂgäwá	4
lean against	g!anasen	!gà̀àsèn	2
leanness	ǀ'arop	ǂgäwá(sì)b	0
learn	ǁxaaǁxaasen	ǁkhàáǁkhààsèn	4

(16) *Sisen-Ø   ir na ǁxaa~ǁxaa~sen.*   *Sîsens-a   ta ge   ra*
    work-Ø   I   PR be.able~CAUS~REFL   work-OBL I   IND PR
                                                       ǁkhaa~ǁkhaa~sen.
                                                      be.able~CAUS~REFL

    'I am learning the work'

leave alone	xuu	xùǚ	4
leave (go away)	doe	dòè, dòéxùǚ	4

(17) *Hee !khaip-Ø xu   r   na   doe.*   *Nee !khais-a   ta ge   ra doexuu.*
    this place-Ø   from I   PR   move   this place-OBL I   IND PR move.leave
    'I am leaving this place'

leave (undisturbed)	ǁnaa	ǁnǟà, ǁnǟàxùǚ	4
left hand	ǀ'are ǀ'ôap [K]	ǁàŕéb, ǁàŕé !óm̀mi	
-less	-o	-ò	4

(18) *Mari-o   r   ge ha.*   *Mari-o   ta ge   a.*
      money-PRIV   I   IND AUX   money-PRIV   I   IND PS
      'I am pennyless'

leg	ǀnuup (-ku [X], -kwa [K])	ǀnüúb	4
level	ǂ'haba	ǂhäwá	4
liar	ǁaekx'aop	ǂhòmì-/ǂhümì-àöb	0
lick	thaa, ***cs**aa	tsää	4

(19) *Thaa r   na   tami ǀxa.*   *Tsaa ta ge   ra   nammi ǀkha.*
      Lick I   PR   tongue with   lick   I   IND PR   tongue with
      'I am licking with the tongue'

lid	*ǀǀ'anaip	ǂgáńáìb	1
lie (*n.*)	ǂ'hũmi (-ku) [K] ǁaep (-ku) [K]	ǂhümìb, ǂhömìb (ǁgàès = story)	
lie (tell …)	ǁae	ǂhümì, ǂhömì	0
lie down	ǁoe	ǁgőé	4
lie on back	ǁxamp kx'ai ~	ǁâab ai ~	
light *n.*	!naap, !nâp, torop	!nặáb	4

(20) *Mû   r   na   !naap-Ø.*   *!Nâb-a   ta (ge)   ra koo.*
      see   I   PR   light-Ø   light-OBL I   (IND) PR look.at
      'I am looking at the light'

moonlight	ǁxâp di !nâp	ǁkhặ!nặáb, ǁkhặb di !nặáb	
light (fire)	khau khabukhabu	khàù khäúkhàü	4
lift up	ǂxao, uukhâi	ùűkhặí, (ǂkháò = put on head)	4
lightning	tabatabap, tabap	náwàb [N]; táwàb [D]	4

(21) *Ho'o na   tabataba.*   *ǁNaa-b ge   nawaba   nawa/tawa.*
      ?   PR   strike   there-he IND lightning strike
      'there is lightning'

(22) *!Am-!na tabatabap   ge.*   *!Gam ra   nawab   ge.*
      kill-in(?) lightning   IND   kill   PR   lightning IND
      'lightning kills'

| like *prep.* | khama | khàmá, khàmǐ, khèmǐ | 4 |

(23) *Hee khoep ge haap khama haa*   *Nee khoep ge   haap khama ii.*
      this man   IND horse like   PERF   this man   IND horse like   look.like
      'this man is like a horse'

limestone	!xorop	!khòrőb	4
limp	!'hoara	!hörá (= crippled)	2
	ǀx'ii	ǀíi	
lion	xammi (-ku), *arip	xàm̋mi	4
loinskin	ǁnabes	ǁnäwéb	4
lip	kx'ammi	ä̋m̋ǁgäúb	3
listen	!â	!gá̰à	4
little (a) *a.*	ǀaa	!gắró [N]; ǀgaa (Rust '69:74)	4
a little water	ǀaa ǁamdan	ǂkhari ǁgam-i	
little finger	ǀxunudap [K]	ǀkhű̋nùròb, ǀkhunudab,	
	ǀaaǀxunup	ǂkhàrǐgàòǹnèb/-ǂèǹnèb	
liver	kx'âip [K]	ä̋ís	
lizard sp. (10cm)	gǀabarip [K]	?	
lizard sp. (striped, 30cm)	gǀâis [K]	ǀgàǐs	
load *v.*	!nao	!näò	4
lock*v.*	*ǂ'ankx'am, *ǂ'an'am	ǂgắńám̀	2
locust	ǂ'homs	ǂhöm̀mi	4
long for	ǁxoo	ǁkhórè	0
long-eared fox	!xamap	!khàmắb (= silver jackal)	4
	ǁ'aake, ǁ'aaki [K]	ǁáàb (= bat-eared fox)	
look	!aba	!gáwà	4
look back	!abakx'oa	kòő-óà (= look back to past)	0
look behind/back	!aba!xuni	kòőǹ(kháò)!gá̰à	0
loose the way	ǁ'habu	ǁhàwű̋, kàà	4
lost	kaa	káà	4
louse	kx'urip	úrìb	4
love *v.*	ǁ'âa; *ǂnam (??)	ǁà̰ắ ǀnäm̀	4
love *n.*	ǁ'âap	ǁà̰ắb, ǀnäm̀mi	4
lung	sookoi(-ku),	sòőb, (sőéb)	3
	sookui(-ku) [K]		
lynx	ǀx'abaǁ'hôap, ǁ'abaǁ'hôap	ǁä̋wáǀhò̰äb [N]; !häáb	4

M

maggot	*ǀ'uni (-ka)	ǂùnìb (= worm)	0
magistrate	gaop	ǀgörà!gắá-àöb	0
maiden	oaxais	ő́áxáès, ǂkhàm̋khòës	2
man	khoep	khòèb, áòb	4
man− strong	ǂxaramap	ǂkháràǁnà̰ä hà̰äb (= matured man)	1
		!gắrí-àöb	
man− young	kx'arop [X]	axarob = áàxàròb, áàxä-àöb	0
mane	ǁ'haup	ǀgàr̋éb	0
		ǀhäúb (= goatee, beard)	
manner	ǂ'uup	ǀgàű̋b; ǂ'ű̋úp (= character)	0
many	ǁ'oosa [X]; ǂui [K]	ǂgù̋ǐ, ǂà̰ùsắ	0
	harasa		

many (people) |'oasa/|'oosa (khoen)   ‡gui (khoen)   (|oasa = full)

(24)   ‡Ui   koman-Ø er   ko   mû.   ‡Gui   goman-a   ta   ge   go mû.
       Many   cattle-Ø I   REC   see   many cattle-OBL I   IND RECsee
       'I have seen many cattle'

mare   haas   hã́ás   4
marrow   g‡aep [X]   ‡gäéb   4
marry |'aaxae [X]   ǁǎ̰xáègù   1
                             xaeǁ'âi, g!amme [K]   !gã́m̀mè
meat   gǁanni, kx'oop   ǁgä̀ńni   4

(25)   Hee   gǁanni ke   (n)‡'hanu tama.   Nē   ǁganni   ge   !gâi   tama hâ.
       this   meat   IND   right(?) NEG   this   meat   IND good   NEG PERF
                     (‡hanu = right; correct, proper)
       'this meat is not good'

meerkat, suricate   xarap, |'aep, ‡aup   xáràb (gen.)   4
meet   *!'hoo!'oa, !xoo!'oa |hà̋ő, !ő́ágù; !khò̏ő!ő́á (= receive) 2
melt v.i   tshuni, thuni   tsừnì   4
mend (clothes)   ‡x'abo, ‡'abo   !näwá (= patch)   (‡áwò = daub)   0
message   *‡hôap   ‡hȍ̰às/b, hä̀ìsï-ám̀s   2
milk n.   daip, biip   dä̀ìb   4
milk v. |x'ao, |'ao |à̋ő   4
milk (sour) |xurudaip |khừrȕdà̀ïb   4
milk – curdled …   *âudaip   à̰̋dà̀ïb   2
milk bag   !abap, !abaǁhoop/s   dä̀ì!gàwäs   3
mind, move out of way   ‡oo, ‡oobasen   ‡góò   4

(26)   Daop-Ø xu   r   na   ‡oo.   Daob-a   xu   ta (ge)   ra ‡goo.
       way-Ø   from I   PR   step.aside   way-OBL from   I   IND   PR step.aside
       'I am moving out of the way'

minister (of church)   ǁxaaǁxaa-aop   ǁkhàäǁkhàä-àòb   4
miserly |'hari |gḭ́ixä̀; ǁharisa   0
                                                         (= arch. derog. greedy)
mix (wet/dry)   *ǁobe, gǁobe   ‡gȍwé (= esp. fat); hä̀wá; ǀòr̋é   2
mix (mud/clay)   gǁobe, |'uri³⁴   hä̀wä; ‡gȍwé (= mix esp. soft fat) 0
mole (on skin)   sanap |gḭ̆ís; sanas/b (= large mark) 4
                             |'harap |här̀ás/b (= wart)   4
mole (anim.)   !'huudurup/-dorop,   hawa(tsuru)b (?)   0
                             !'huu‡xoas
moon   ǁxâs   ǁkhá̰àb   4

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³⁴ Supplied by Gerd Maerman.

moon – full	ǀ'oasa ǁxâp, ǀ'oaǁxâp	ǀòàsá̃ ǁkḩä̀b	4
	kai ǁxâp	kǎí ǁkḩä̀b	
moon – half	ǂxariǁxâp	ǂkhà̀ǹ ǁkḩä̀b	1
moon – new	ǀ'asa ǁxâp	ásä ǁkḩä̀b	4
"dark moon"	*!'haeǁxâp	!khàèǁkḩä̀b	
morning	ǁoap	ǁgóàs/b, ǁgóàgäb	4
moth	ǂ'unip; ǂ'hunip[35]	à̀wű̃ŕ̃ès, sòǹnès (ǂunis = worm)	0
mother (*vocat./gener.*)	mamas	mã̀màs	4
	îs	ű̃ís	
my mother's mother	*ti îs di gǁûs*	*ti îs di ǁgûus*	
mother-in-law	ǀ'oisas [K]	ǀùì(sä)s (= o's child's m.-in-law),	
		ǀùìǁgùùs	
motor vehicle	ǀ'aekunis	à̀ű̃dös	0
		(ǀà̀ě̃kúnìs = steam-locomotive)	
mountain	ǂamp (ǂâku), ǁxaap	!hò̀mmi (ǂgà̀ǎb = rock face)	0
mountain eagle	ǁxaap di kx'anip	!à̀ù!khàǎ́s	0
mouse	durup, dorop, !aru	dù̀rús	4
move (vehicle) (?)	!nari	!nä̀rì	4
move away *v.i.*	doe	dö̀è, dö̀ébë̀é	4
much	ǀx'oasa, ǀx'oosa	ǀòàsǎ̃	4
mucus (of nose)	xunip	xúnìb	4
mud	gǂoap	ǂgö̀àb	4
mule	dongip (??)	mű̃lǐb	0

N

nail (hand/foot)	ǁorop	ǁgóròb	4
name	ǀx'onni (-ku)	ǀòǹs	4

(27) *Sa   ǀx'on-i-Ø   tari hâ?*   *Sa   ǀonsa   mati   hâ?*
          your   name-Ø   who PERF   your   name-OBL how   PERF
          'what is your name?'

name *v.*	ǀx'onna maa	ǀòǹmàä	3
naughty	ǁ'orexa, ǀxonsa	ǁórèxä	4
navel	ǀnaep	sùnű̃s	0
near	*ǀx'uuse	ǀgúùsè	2
near – bring	ǀuuǀuu	ǀgùùǀgùù	4
nearly	ǂ'anixa	ǁáùbè(xä)	0
neck	!'aop; !x'aop [K]	!ǎób	4
need *v.*	ǂao	ǂgǎ́ó, ǂḩä̀äbä	4
needle	nali	nál̀i, náǹni (< Afr. naald)	4
nephew	ǁnurip	ǁnù̀rìb	4
nickname	ǀxamǀ'onni	ǀgà̀mǁ̧ìǀòǹs	1

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night	tshuxuba, thuxuba, *tjuxup	tsuxub [tsùűxúùp]	4
	!xaep, *!'haep	!khàèb (= darkness)	
nightjar	‡aakx'ai‖oes ("which lies on plane")	ắwúhïíòb, ‡gáà‖gőéb	3
nine	!nani‖'â (??)	khöèsè (!nắní‖à = sixteen)	0
nip, pinch	‖xai	‖khíǐ, ‖khàǐ, ‖khìrǐ	4
nipple	sammi ‖'ammi [K]	sắ́ḿắ́ḿs	
noise	‡xubip, ‖'haap	‡khűwíb	4
nose	g‡uip [X], g‡uis [K]	‡güís	4
not *negative marker*	tama	tàmà	4

O

old	kaira, kaida	kắírà	4
omasum, leaf-stomach ‖x'aras	!nubup – bâ!'âs, (‖áràb = abomasum)	‡gù‖hämísès	0
omasum – contents of	‡'haup	‡häùb (= fresh dung)	4
on	‡'ama, *ai	âì	2
on (be on something)	‡'amka	‡áḿâî	3
one	‖ui	‖gűí	4
open *v.t*	*‖xoba-am	‖khòwắ-áḿ	2
Orange River	‡Nuug!arib	!Gärìb	3
ostrich	‖'amip	‖àmìs/b	4
otter	‖amn‡arup	!hömḿi, ‖omitsi‖âab	0
out	‡x'oasi, ‡'oasi, ‡'ui	‡òắ	3
owl	!'huuros; !'hû!'hûs [K]	!hű́úròs (= pearlspotted owl) ‖honnos	2

P

pack *v.*	‖'hami	‖hắ́mí	4
		(= gather belongings for journey)	
pack-ox	!arip	! gắrúb	2
pain *v.*	tshû [X]; thû [K]	tsų̈̀ù	2
palate	*!'harukx'ammi	‡khàrùb, nàḿ!hànäb	1
pan, vley	!xubip	!khùwìs	4
paper	‡xanip	‡khànǐb	4
pass *v.*	!xaru	!khàrű	4
passive suffix	-he	-hĕ	4
past tense	**ko	gö̀, (gè̀)	4
peace	‡xâip	‡khǐ̀b	4
peck up	‖'haakhâisi	‖hòwɛ́khặí	1
peel *n.*	sorop	sòrőb	4
peep	‡'ui	‡ùǐ	4
penis	xâp	xà̰àb, !gắráb, ‖őáb	4
perpendicular	‖naa‖ôana, g!ama‖ôa	‡göò‡hànù	0
person (a friendly …)	kx'âikx'aop	khöèxä!nằà khòëb	0

pick up (small particles)	ǀxoro, *ûkhâi	ùǘkhǎ̰í	2
piece	*ǀaas	ǃ a̰ǎ-i	2
piece of bread	ǀaasa baredas	pe̋ré ǃa̰ǎs	
pierce	*ǃhˣaa (?), ǃxaanaru, ǃxaru	ǃkhà á̰, ǃkhàrǘ ǃna̰àa	2
pig	gǂoop	ha̋àgùùb	0
pigeon	kubukubus[36]	ǂnǎ̰ǐs	0
pipe (tobacco)	ǃxoop/s	ǃkhóòs/b	4
pit (of stomach)	kx'aiǂam	á̰ǂàm̀s	4
pity *v.*	ǀxom	ǀkhóm̀	4
place	ǃxaip	ǃkhá̰ìs; ǃkháès [N]	4
placenta	ǂ'hoos	ǂhöós	4
plague, bother	ǁnoara	ǁnó̰rá, ǂhänì	4
plain	ǂaap, *ǂ'aap	ǂgáàb	4
plan *n.*	ǀx'abep	ǀàwe̋b	4

(28) ǀx'abep-Ø dii   ǀawe-e   ra   dii/kuru/ǂgaa
      plan-Ø   make/do   plan-OBL PR   make/create/put.in
      ' make a plan'

plant *v.*	ǂaa, *ǂ'aa	ǂgàà	4
plaster *v.*	ǂx'abo [K]	ǂáwò	
play	ǀ'huru	ǀhűrú	4
play (instrument)	ǀxoo	ǀkhòő	4
		(play string instrument, organ)	
plod, struggle	ǃxana, ǀxana	ǂgörè	0
pluck (to remove)	ǃ'ora	ǃòrá̰	4
point – sharp	ǀ'ammi	ǀàḿ̰mi	4
point (w. finger)	ǁau	ǁgǎù	4
poison	**gǃaip, ǃaap	ǃgáàb	4
pole	*ǃ'anap	ǃhänàb	2
poor - be	gǃaasi	ǀga̰ǎsá̰	1
porcupine	ǃnoap	ǃnòá̰b	4
porridge	*ǃx'ammi	ǃkhám̀mi [D] (= uintjie broth)	2

(29) *ǃX'ammi-Ø   r   na   dii.*   *ǃKhamm-a   ta   ge   ra   dii/hîi.*
      porridge-Ø   I   PR   make   porridge-OBL   I   IND   PR   make
      'I am making porridge'

pot	suus	sùǘs	4
pound (cereal)	ǂnoa	ǁhöwò, ǃhṵǘ, ǂnöátsá̰ útsàù, ǂhḁú	3
pounding block	ǂnoahaip	ǂnòà-áìhàïb, ǃhṵǘ-áìhàïs	3
pour	ǂnaa	ǂná̰á , ǁhöò	2
pray	gǀore	ǀgörè	4

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[36] Supplied by G. Maerman.

predator	g|ara||ûp[37]	xǎmánì̤-i	0
prepare/brey (skin)	|noro	|nőró	4

(30) *Ben_ ke   na kaop-Ø \|noro.*   *Benni   ge khoob-a ra   \|noro.*
       Ben   IND   PR skin-Ø brey   Ben   IND skin-OBL PR   brey
       'Ben is breying a skin'

present tense	na	ra/ta

(31) *Mû   r na sîsen na   khoep-Ø.*   *Mû ta (ge)   ra sîsen ra khoeb-a*
       see   I   PR work PR man-Ø   see I   IND   PR work PR man-OBL
       'I am seeing the working man'

press	**g||âi	||gàì	2
prick	*!'haa	!khàǎ	2
proud	!uri	!gùrí̋ (= insubordinate)	4
puff-adder	!ais	!gàĩ́s [N]; !gà̈es	4
pull	**g‡ae, ‡ae	‡gáè	4
pupil (of eye)	‡nuumûs	‡nùùgòräs, à̮űtsí̋‡gàrès	0
pursue (walking)	kx'ao!â!û	!gò̮à!gòǹ	0
(running)	kx'ao!â!xoe	däá!gǎ	0
push away (w.foot)	‡'haabee	‡häábëé	4
put away	sâubee, ||xan	||gùíbëé	0
put down	‡nûi	mǎ̋í, ‡nű̋í	4
put together	‡nui(n)|'hao	‡nù̋í|hǎǒ	4

Q

quarrelsome	!xamxa	!kháṁxä, ||nùnìxä, gòwàxä	4
quail	!nubus	!nàwàrĩ́s, !hǎ̋us	0
quickly	!'haese	!hǎ̋ésè	4
quiet – be	!noo	!nò̮ő	4

R

raft	bâs	?	
rain	tuup	|nànű̋s, tű̋ús [D, Topn., Bond.]; |àwĩ́b [N]	4
rainbow	|'hôas / tuus *!'anap	tű̋ú!hànäb, |àwĩ́ !hànäb	2
Grewia sp. ‡x'âug‡ararap, ‡'âun		‡à̮ún, ‡ǎ̋ún	4
ram	‡xaraguup	bäíb, ‡kháràgùüb	4
rape	xae	|gàì!khóò (xǎé = have intercourse)	0
rat	!nuru||aus[38]	dùrúb	0
raw, cf. rude	kx'oara	òrà	2

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[37] Supplied by G. Maerman.
[38]Supplied by G. Maerman.

ready cooked	ǁ'ansasa	ǁã́nśá	3
receive	!xoo!'oa, *!'hoo!'oa	!khòő!őá	4
recover from illness	khoesi	⧺ùrű	0
red	ǀx'aba	ǀàwǎ	4
reed	⧺'aap	⧺áàb	4
reed flute	⧺'aap	⧺áàb	4
refuse	⧺xaa	⧺kháà	4
regret	*⧺aothuu ("heartsore"), !'hao⧺ao	!häúsèn; tsṳ̀ùä̀gáò (= feel sad)	1
relative	ǁ'omap	khòèxäbĕb, ǀùì(khòè)-i	0
remember	⧺'âi	⧺ằĩhőó, !khòőmằĩ (⧺ằĩ = think)	0
remind	⧺'âi⧺'âi	⧺ằĩⱡằì!nằà, !nàwĕ!nàwĕ!nằà	3
repair	⧺'hanu (??)	⧺hằnú⧺hànù (⧺hànű = a.correct)	3
request	⧺ao	⧺gằń; ⧺gằóǀkháà (= demand)	0
resembling one another	ǀuiti-ii	ǀgűítí-ìǐ, ỳ̀ắsèn	4
reside	hâ	hằ̆ắ, ǁàǹ	4

(32) *Hâ   r   ge   na.*   ǁ*An   ta   ge   hâ.*
      live/dwell   I   IND   PR   reside I   IND   PERF
      'I am residing '

residence	hâ!xaip	hằ̆ắ!khàïb, ǁàǹ!khàïb	4
rest	ǁ'omǀ'omsen	sằ̆ắ, !hằű (ǀomǀomsen = give o.self a breather)	4
return (*v.i*)	!'hoba, !'hobakx'oa kx'oahaa, daakx'oa, daba	!höwà, óà; ǁắrú òàhäà (= come back)	4
rib	ǀx'arap [K]	ǀàrắb	
rich – bec.	!xuu	!khùù	4
ride (animal/cycle))	!abi	!gáwì	4
(vehicle)	!nari	!nằrì	4
Riet River	ǁ'Oma!garip	- (= ⧺áà!àäb)	
reticulum	ǁanisa	!nűwúpés	0
ridicule	!'hoo	!höó	4
riem	!'hâup	!hằùb	4
rifle	!'abus, *ǁ'abus	!ắwús	4
ring (for finger)	ǀxunu!an-	ǀkhűnú⧺nụ̀ìdäs	0
ring (metal)	!an (-ku)	rằ̆ís, rĕ̀ńgs (< Afr./Ge. ring/Ring)	0
ringed cobra (?)	⧺nuuǀx'aop (?? = "black snake")	ǁhüíb, !gőrébĕb	0
rise (of: sun)	⧺'oa, ⧺'oaxa	ǁhäì, ⧺őáxä	4
river	g!arip	!áàb, dö̀ṁmi (!gärìp = river bank)	0
rock bank	⧺narab	⧺nắwáb; ⧺gèrĕ́b [D] (= bedrock)	0

rock buchu	ǀ'uisap	ǀuisab, ǀűíǁkhã́ób	4
road	ǂarop	ǂgã́rób (= footpath), dàòb	1
roast *v.*	kx'am	àm̋	4
rob	*uuǀ'hana	ùűǀhã̌ná, !khòóǀ'hã́ná	2
roll (tobacco)	!nora, !noara	!nòrá	4
root	!nomap [X]	!nòmã̌b	4
rope	thurip	tsűúrìb	4
rot	ǀ'oo, ǀx'oo	ǀő́ó	4
rotate (wheel at handle)	ǁxami	ǁkhàmĩ́ *v.t*	4
rotate *v.t*	ǂoma	ǂgòmã́ (= wring washing)	1
rotten	ǀ'hansa	ǀhã́ńsä, ǀhã́ń!nà̰à	4
	ǀ'oosa	ǀő́ósä/-!nà̰à	4
	ham	hä̀m̀ (= smell rotten *v.i*)	1
round *a.*	!ubu	!gűwú	4
round hill	!nunis [K]	!gűwú !nà̰űs/!hòm̀s	
rude, cf. raw	kx'oara	òrà	4
rumbling	ǂxubip, ǀ'haap	ǂkhűwíb (= persistent noise)	3
run	ǁari, !xoe	!khő́é, (ǁgã́rí = frisk/gambol)	4
run away	!xoebee	!khò́ěb̈ëé	4
rush mat	ǀ'harup	ǀhä̀rùb, ǀhä̀rúb	4
rush out (of: water at fountain)	!'hui [K]	!hǔí	

S

salt*n.*	ǂ'oop,ǂx'oop	ǂòòb	4
salt pan	ǂ'oop [K]	dä̀wés	0
salute, greet	tabe	tã̋wédè̈	3

(33) *Gao-kx'aop-Ø its ge ni tabe.* *Gao-aob~a~ts ge nî tawede.*
   rule.man-Ø   you IND FUT greet   rule.man-OBL~you IND FUT greet
   'you must greet the chief'

same (= said one)	ǁ'âi	ǁḭ̀	4
sand	ǁxaep; ǀ'omap	ǁkhàë̌b	4
satiated – bec.	ǂ'ûǁx'a, ǂ'uuǁ'a; ǁx'â [K]	ǂ'ùˬ́ǁǎ̰, ǁǎ̰	2
satisfied	ǂ'au, ǂao,	ǂà̰ù	
	ǂxâi	ǂkhḭ̀ǐ(sã̋)	2
save (money)	ǀoro, sâu	sã̰̋ù	4
say so	ti mî	tí mḭ̀ǐ	4
scapular region	ǁxûip	ǁkhṵ̋íb	4
scold	ǀ'haa	ǀã̋ó	0
scoop (water)	xuri	xùrĩ́	4
scorpion	ǀ'huus, ǀ̀xaa-aop	ǀhùűb [N]; ǂkhà̰̌íb, ǂhìrìrĩ́éb [D]	4
scrape (skin)	ǁxao	ǁkhã́ó, xàã̌(-áì)	4
scrape off	xoaǁnaa	xǒ̀aǁnää	4
search	kx'ôa, *ôa	ǫ̰̋á	4

secretary bird	ǀx'aoⵣûkx'anip	dùrú!khòwàb, tűrúrèb	0
seed	ⵣ'arap, ⵣx'arap [K]	ⵣáráb, !khóm̀n	4
seeds (of pumpkin)	garuku	pàpű!khòm̀n, (gàrúb = melon pulp)	0
seep out (of: water)	xore [K]	ⵣnặá	
seeping place	xoras, xoaras (-di) [K]	xòrặs (= waterhole dug in river sand)	0
send	sî	sĩ̀	4
senile	gare	ⵣgàwú; g̀àárễ (= stupid)	4
set (of: sun)	ⵣâ	ⵣgàà	4
seven	hôkx'ô, hûkx'û	hừú, hűú	2
sever	!aoǁnaa	!gàòǁnằà	4
sew	ⵣ'om	ⵣóm̀	4
sexually excited – be	*thâ	?, cf. tsặ̀ặ (= feel; taste)	
shade, shadow	karap, sommi	sóm̀mi (kàrặb = late afternoon when heat subsides [D])	4
shake	ǁnubu	ǁnùwú, ǁgöm̀	4
shake out	!'hae!'hae	!hàèbéⵣűí	1
share *n.*	!nammi	!ặ́ás, ặ́m̀!nằàs	0

(34)   *Ti   !namma   ir   ke   na   uu.*   *Ti !âasa   ta ge   ra uu.*
        my   side-OBL   I   IND PR   take   my portion-OBL I   IND PR take
        'I take my share'

sharp	ǀ'aa, ǀx'aa g!oasa, gǀaisa	ǀáà (ǀgàìsà = strong, potent)	4
shave	ⵣxom	ⵣkhòm̀	4
sheep	guus	gừús	4
sheer, perpendicular	ǁnaaǁôana, g!amaǁôa	ⵣgòòⵣhànù	0
shelter (against wind) *n.*	!nuus	ⵣóà!khòm̀s, cf. !nó(r)ò *v.t* (!nừűs = resting-place)	0
shepherd's tree	ǀ'hunip	ǀhùníb	4
shield	ǁxaukxoop	ǁkhắúkhòöb	4
shin	!'haip [K]	!hàìb, !ừúb	
shine *v.i*	taba	táwà [D]; náwà [N]	4
shine (light)	!'am	!ắm̀	4
shine (of: sun)	ǀ'hao	!nặá	0
shoe	ǀ'habop, ǀ'harop (velskoen)	ǁhäwós [N] (= velskoen), ǁhäröb/s [D]	4
shoot	ⵣnoa	ⵣnöà	4

(35)   *Komas   ke   !'abu_ ǀxa   go   ⵣnoa-he.*   *Gomas ge   !abus ǀkha go   ⵣnoa-he.*
        cow   IND rifle   with REC shoot-PASS cow   IND   rifle   with REC shoot-PASS
        'the cow was shot with a rifle'

shopkeeper	ǁ'amaxuukhoep	ǁàmä́xùǘ-àöb	3
short	!nubu, !nobu	!nǜwú	4
shoulder	gǁarap	ǁgäráb (= scapula)	
	*!hoop (Meinhof)	!höós	3
shoulder blade	gǁarap	ǁgäráb	4
shout	!'au, !x'au	!àǘ	4
show	ǁau	ǁgàǘ	4
shut (door)	*ǂanam	ǂgä́ńám̀	2
side	!nammi	!nä̀m̀mi	4

(36) *Sa !nammi kx'ai na   r   si-ma*   *Sa   ǀkhaab ai ta ge   ra   xatui.*[39]
      your side   on PR I   arrive.stand   your side   on I   IND PR   testify
      gaos   !na.
      government   in
      'I testify on your behalf before the law'

side (of body)	!'oms	!nä̀m̀mi	0
left side	ǀui ǀxaap arep,	ǁàrë́ǀkhä́áb	2
	!'areǀxaap		
right side	*amǀxaap	àm̀ǀkhä́áb	2
sigh *v.*	ǀ'haiǀ'om	ǁhäímä̋íǹǀòm̀	3
sigh *n.*	ǀ'ûmp	ǁhäímä̋íǹǀòm̀s	0
silent – keep	n!oo	!nòő	4
silence	n!oop	!nòő(sï)b	4
sin	ǀ'hubip	ǁórèb	0
sinew	ǀ'abap	ǁáwàb	4
sister-in-law	ǀ'oisas [K]	ǀùì(sä)s	
sit	ǂnôa, ǂnoa	ǂnò̀ä (< ǂnù̀ǘ hà̀ä)	4
sit down	ǂnû	ǂnǘǘ	4
six	!nani	!nànḯ	4
sjambok	!nabap	!näwàb	4
skew	gama	gämá (= crooked)	4
skin *v.*	ǂ'aaǂä̌ä	ǁnäàǀkháà	3
skin *n.*	*kxhoop	khòőb	2
skunk	!x'aa!x'aap [K]	!ùǘrő̋b, ǀgàm̋rő̋b	
slanting	ǂuru	ǁä̋résè	0
slaughter	ǂ'aa, !'aaxadom,	ǂä̌ä (!gáòxä̌dòm̀ = slit throat)	4
	g!oe!ani [K][40]		
sleep	ǀ'om, ǀ'ôm	ǁóm̀	4
sleeping-mat	ǂaop (??)	ǂgò̀ä̌ b	0
sleepy	ǂ'umi	ǂòm̋hị, ǀòm̋hị̌	2
slender-tailed meerkat	xarap	xáràb	4

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[39] xatui < Afrikaans getuig (testify)
[40] Supplied by "old woman at Ritchie".

sole (of foot)	ǂ'aip (di) kharup	ǂáì!nääb	0
slip *v.*	ǂxanu	ǂkhànù	4
slippery	ǂxarisa	ǂkhìrìsǎ	2
slowly	ǂ'ause	ǂàűsè	4
slow - be (*i.e.* talk less)	!ae!ae [K]	ǂàűsè (ra) !hóà	0
small	ǂxari, *ǂhari; ǂxami; |xaa	ǂkhàrǐ , |ùì; |gaa (Rust 1969: 74)	4
smear (floor); anoint	ǂxau	ǂkháù	4
smile	|num	|nőḿ	4
smoke *v.t*	ǂae	ǂgáè	4
smoke *v.i*	|x'an	|áǹ	4
smoke *n.*	khabup	|áǹni	0
snake	|x'aop, ǂnaup	|àőb	4
snaring place	*!'huis	!khuis (?); !nǜ́s (= snare)	?
sneeze	|x'am [X/K], |x'â	ts)ǜ́, s)ĺ̃í(|áḿ = snort (of: horse))	0
snore	!xaru	!khárù	4
snuff	gǂûiǂaep	sűní-i	0
soft	thamsa	tsàűrǎ, tsàm̋sǎ	4
soil	!'huup	!hüúb	4
son-in-law	|'uikx'arop [X/K]	|ùì|góàb	3
sorghum	bari!'horop	?	
sour	|xuru	|khùrű	4
sow	tshoro	tsöró	4
spark *v.*	!'ai	!áè	2
speak	!'hoa koba	!hőá gòwà (= argue)	4
spider	|nûis	|nǜ́ís	4
spider (big black)	*|**n**uus	|hùűs	2
spine	ǁ'âǂxoop	ǁạ̌áǂkhòöb	4
spit	ǂx'ara [K], ǂ'ara	ǂǎárä	4
spit (through teeth)	|xabi	|ìrǐ	0
spleen	ǂnubis	ǂnǜwìs	4
splinter *v.*	!xare	ǂkhàrè	2
spoil	ǂx'oha	ǁgűí	0
spoon	|kxammi, |xammi, gǁoap[41]	ǁgöàb	4
spotted	too	tòő; ǂűúrä [N]	4
springbok	ǁûp/s	ǁgǜűb; ǂhääéb [D]	4
springtrap	!xoo|uris	!nǜ́s	0
spy on	!aba!aba	!khẽ̌!gǎ	0
squint	!xâ	!khạ̃á	4
stab	!xaa; *!haa	!khàǎ	4
stalk	|xuri	|khùrǐ	4

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[41] Supplied by Jan Kok; a Nama?

stallion	(‡khara)haap	‡kháràháàb	4
stamp (grain)	‡noa	‡nöà, ‡hǎ̋ú	4
stamp (maize)	!'hû	!hừ̋	4
star	‖amaroda-i	ǀgàmű̋ő̋s	0
stare (at)	!aba	!gáwà	4
steal	ǀx'aa, ǀx'âa, ǀ'âa	ǀǎ̋, !nàrí̋	4
steenbuck	ǀx'aba!'hai-e	!àrí̋s	0
sting v.	!xaa	!khǎ̋a	4
sting (of bee) n.	xam-ap	!nò̋mmi	0
stinging-fly	ǀ'hamkx'aiǀarup	gö̀mǀgì̀náb	0
stingy	g!uixa	ǀgí̂xä	0
stink	ǀ'han, ham	hà̀m, ǀhá̋ńä!nà̀à	4
stir	huni	hùní̋	4
stomach	!naap; ‖xommi	!näáb (‖khő̋ḿs = rumen)	4
stomach – contents of	ǀ'harap	ǀhäràb	4
stone	ǀ'uip	ǀű̋íb/s	4
stone plover (kom-mando voël)	*‡'hai-anip	‖khài-ànïb (= crowned plover)	2
stoop	!'ai, ‡'ai	!nò̋m !nò̀m̋sèn	
	!'hôa	!höà (a. crooked)	4
stop (activity)	ǀ'uu [K]	ǀù̀ű̋	
strange	ǀxara, ǀnii	!häö̀ (ǀkhàrà = different)	0
other	ǀxara, ǀnii	ǀkhàrà, ǀnǐ̋	4
strangers	!'haokhoen	!häòkhò̀ën	4
strap (cow)	‖'hau	‖hàű̋	4
strict	‖xoo	‖khő̋ó	4
strike (w. hammer)	‡nau	‡ná̋ú	4
strike (w. fist)	‡noa	‡nöà	4
string	**thurip	tsű̋úrïb	2
strong	gǀaisa, *ǀaisa gǀaigǀai	ǀgà̀ìsä	4
struggle w.	!xana	!khànǎ̋ (= v.i be busy/engaged)	4
stupid	gâre *g!ookhoe, *g!ooke	gǎ̀árě̋, gǎ̀à !khű̋úkě̋ [D], !khò̀m̀pő̋ó	4
stutter	koba ‖'oa	àìnà̀m̀, àìlà̀m̀	0
suck	ǀom	ǀgò̋m̋	4
suckle	bii	dǎ̀ísï	0
suffice	‡'âu	‡à̀ù	4
sugar	‡xon-i	sű̋gùrï-i, sű̋íkèri	0
summer	‖xoonap	‖khù̀ű̋nǎ̋b	4
sun	sorep	sórèb/s	4
supper	!'ui‡'ûp	!úì‡ù̀ùs	4
swallow	tom	tó̀m, hǎ̋rá	4
swear	ǀoe	ǀgóè	4
sweat	*aosen	áòsèǹ, áòsě̀ň	2
sweep	ǀnau	ǀnàwű̋	2

sweet	‡xon	‡khòń	4
sweetness	‡xonnip	‡khòńsïb	3
swell	xâi	xa̱ǐ	4
swim	*tshâ; thâ [K]	tsa̱ä̀	4
swim under water	‡naru [K]	-, (dǜ̀ù)	0
swing (in a circle)	‡oma	sa̋wú	0
sword	‡nuup	gò̱àb; ‡nuub (?)	0

T

tobacco	baaxap	tápàgäb, mäàgä-i	0
		(< Herero omakaya)	
table	‡'ûkx'aixuup, ‡'û'aixuup	ta̋áb	0
tack, thread (?) *v.*	naru	nä̀rù, tsőánä	4
tail	‡'arep	‡a̋réb	4
take	*uu	ű́ú	2
take away	*uubee	ù̋bĕé	2
take care of	!ôasi	kőó!gá̱à, !göró, ‖gá̋ń	0
take shelter from	ǀaa	ǀgáà	4
tall	gaaxuu	ga(i)xu [gàÀxù̋ǔ] / [gàÌxù̋ǔ],	4
		!näòsä̋	
tame – bec.	‡'au, ‡x'au[42], gaa	‡à̋ǔ	4
taste *v.t*	*tshâ	tsa̱ä̋	4
teach	‖xaa‖xaa	‖khàà‖khàä	4
tear (drop) *n.*	‖amarop	‖gàm̋rőb	4
tear *v.*	doa	dŏá *v.i*, dŏà *v.t*	4
	ǀxau *v.t*	ǀkhàǔ	4
tease (by pretending to give)	ǀae‖ae	mä̀á(gä̀)gä̀árä̋	0
		(‖gáè‖gàĕ = mimic, ape)	
teeth	‖ungku	‖gű́úgu	4
tell	!'hoaba, ‖naa;	!hòa̋bä	4
	!hoaba [K]		
ten	dzisi	dȉ́ísȉ	4
termite nest – abandoned	ǀ'abip/!'abip ǀ'ump	!gawes [D]	0
testicle	‡xarap	‡khàràs	4
glad (= grateful)	‖âixa‡ao, !aixa‡ao	!gá̱ìà‡gá̋ó	2
that *demonstrative*	‖naa	‖nàä̋	4

(37) ‖*Naa khoep ir na mû sîsen na.* ‖*Naa khoeb mû ta ra-b ge ra sîsen*
       that man I PR see work PR that man see I PR-he IND PR work
       'that man whom I am seeing is working'

thatch *v.*	gǀabo	ǀgäwó‡àm̋!nà̱à, ‖gű́í‡àm̋!nà̱à	3
to	-ǀx'ai	-ǀĵ̀ĩ, ‖nà̋ä̋ǀĵ̀ĩ	2

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[42] Supplied by Katrina Brouers (Douglas).

(38)   ‖Naa-|x'ai   !û!   ‖Naa-|î   !gû   re!
       there-to go   there-to   go   HORT.P
       'go there!'

they	‖'âin	‖ìin	4
thief	|x'aamp, |x'âkx'aop	|ą́à-àöb, !nàrí̋-àöb	4
	|'hôagaop	|hǫ̋ä̆kàöb (= crook)	
thieving	|x'aamp	|ą́s/b, |ą́sìs, !nàrí̋b	4
thigh	tîip⁴³	tị̆s/b	4
	timp⁴⁴		
thigh-bone	tîi‡xoop	tị́i‡khòòb, kǎí‡khòòb	4
thin	‖'ui	‖'ùì	4
thing	xuup	xúùb	4
think	‡'âi	‡ặǐ	4
thickish (of: tree)	!nana(sa)	!nǎná	4
thirsty – bec.	‖â	‖gạ̀ǎ	4
thong	!'âp	!ą̆ǎ̋b (= boot-/shoe-lace)	4
	!'hâub	!hặùb	
thorn	*‖'huup, ‖xuup	‖khù̋űb	4
three	!nona	!nȍná	4
throat	!'arap, dommi	dȍm̀mi	4
through – pierce, pass,	-!xaru	-!khàrű	4
stab through	*!'haa!xaru	!khàǎ!khàrű	
throw ea. o. down	‡'ûku	!gǎú	0
thumb	!nanip	khạ̀wús	0
	kâitsîs [K]	kǎítsí̋‖gùúbȅs	
thunder n.	**!urup	!gùrùb	2
thunder v.	**!uru	!gùrù	2
tick	!'oarabep	!òrǎpě́p	4
time	‖'aep	‖ǎéb	4
tinder box	doros	dȍrós	4
tired - bec.	|'hubu	|hùwű, tsàű	4
to	!'oa, g‖a	!òǎ, ‖ga [‖àä]	4
to us/me	sida !'oa, tir !'oa	tita !oa/‖ga, sida !oa/‖ga	

(39)   Kx'ommi g‖a   r   na   !û.   Oms   ‖ga   ta   ge   ra   !gû.
       house   to   I   PR   o   house   to   I   IND   PR   go
       'I am going to the house'

toe	‡'aip |xunup	‡áì‖khűnús	3
	zîp [K]	tsị̏ìb/s	
toe – big	*zîp	tsị̏ìb/s	2

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⁴³ Supplied by Klaas.
⁴⁴ Supplied by Jan, Emma, Angelina.

tomorrow	ǁoaba	ǁgóàgä	1
	!aowa	ǁàrì	
tongue	tammi, nams	nàm̋i, làm̋mi, tàm̋i	4
tonight	**tshuxuba	tsuxuba [tsùǘxúùbä],	2
		nee!oe, nee!uia,	
		ǁàn!òë, ǁàrìkàm̋ !òë	
tooth	ǁûp	ǁgűúb	4
	ǁômp/ǁônku/ǁ'angku		
tortoise	!'urup	!nã́ás, ǁkhùrís/b	0
trachea	!'arap; !x'arap [K]	!nòőèb, kã́ródòm̋mi, ǁànídòm̋mi	0
gullet	!'arap	ǀã́wádòm̋mi, ǁgä́ndòm̋mi	0
train	kaikunis, ǀ'aekunis	ǂnùùkúnìs, trḗńs	0
		(ǀàěkúnìs = locomotive)	
trap	ǂnauhaip	ǂnã́úhàïb, ǁnőás	4
tremble	**ǀ'huu!naa, ǀxuu!naa	ǁkhùű	1
trench	!'arep	?	
trinket	anis, ainis	? (cf. ani = decorate)	
troublesome	ǀ'haaxa	ǀhaaxa	4
trunk (of tree)	g!aop	!gäób	4
truth	kx'amap	ã́mäb < ã́m̋mäb	4
Tswana (person)	Biris/p, *Barip	Pìrís/b	4
turf	ǂnuugǂoap	ǂnùùǂgòäs	4
turn *v.t*	!xâi	!khạ̌í	4
turn back *v.t*	ǁxae	ǁkháè	4
turn (o.s.)	!xunisen	!khùnísèn, däwá!khùnísèn	4
turn (handle)	ǁxoba	ǁkhàmí̋	0
turn round/over *v.i.*	!xunisen	!khùrísèn	0
turn (of: vehicle)	kx'onsen	ǁnùmí̋sèn	0
turn up (nose)	ǀ'uunakx'ai	sòrà, !hàrã̌xùǔ	0
turtle	!naas [K]	ǂgä(w)ís (!nã́ás = tortoise)	0
turtle dove	ǂnais	ǂnàís	4
twilight	*tshuxup (??)	ǁhőwób (tsuxub = night)	0
twin	ǀamgǀee-e	ǀgěé-i	3
two	ǀam	ǀgám̀	4

U

ugly	ǁai, ǁaasi	ǁgáisí̋ , ǁgáàsí̋ ; ǀáisí̋ , ǀáàsí̋ [N]	4
uintjie	!'oop (in pans)	!hä̀ns	0
	ǀ'uup (in sandy veld)		
umbilical cord	ǀnaep	ǀnã́éb	4
unable	ǀ'oa	ǀőá	4
unfold *v.t*	khoba	khőwà	4
uncle	ǁnaosap, ǁnausa	òméb, dädáb; ǁnäòsäb	4
		(= mother's brother)	
under	!naka, k'onk'aro	!näáká; !gäó	4
undress	*ǂ'aeǂoasi, *ǂ'ae ǂ'ui	ǂgàèű̋íǀkháà, ǁhṳ̌úǀkháà	1

unhappy	!xoara	ǂkhȉ̏ȍ!nà̰à	0
unlock	‖xoba	‖khòwa̋-ám̀	3
unscrew	‖xoba	ǂgòma̋‖nà̰à, òrě	0
urinate	|xam [K]	|kha̋m̋, ȁű|ga̋m̋	
urine	|xammi	|ùùb	0
uterus	|'hoos	‖hääs	2

V

vaalbos	kaurtship	?	
Vaal River	|'Haig!arip [K]	-	
vagina (?? vulva?)	ǂaup, ‖xam|naida	|őás, |gäùs	1
varicoloured	toa	tòő, ǂűúrä	2
vein	ǂxurup	ǂkhűrúb	4
veld	!'aup	!àùb	4
	!'huupaip	!gáròb (!hüúba̋íb = world)	
Venus	‖oa|amaros, !'uip |ama- ros	‖gőá|gàmìrős, !úì|gàmìrős	2
visit	ǂare(!û), sari	sàrì	4
vlei	!oap	!gőáb (= depression)	4
voice	dommi	dòm̀mi	4
vomit	|xûi, |xôi	|khṵ̀ì, árà	4
vulture	kaigoarap	ka̋ígòräs [N]; ka̋í-àní̋s [D]	4

W

wade	xanu	xànű	4
wag-'n-bietjie *bot.*	ǂ'arop; ǂx'arop [K]	ǂáròs	4
wagon	kunis	kűnís	4
wagon wheel	kunis ǂ'aip	kűní|nùús	0
wagtail	‖amkx'ammi?		
wait, hold on	|'û, ‖nam	‖näm̀	4

(40)   ‖*Nam   aibe!*   ‖*Nam   aibe!*
       wait   in.the.meantime   wait   in.the.meantime
       'wait a bit'

wait (for)	!'âu	!à̰ű	4
walk	!ûu	!gṵ́ù	4
walk (round s.thing)	!ûǂnami	!gṵ̀ùǂnàmì	4
walk past	!û-ii|xaa	!gṵ̀ù-ű̏|kháà	4
walk backwards	kx'oa	kha̋ódừrú, kha̋ó-òä	3
wall	!nuup/s	ǂnừwìǂgòäb	0
waltz *n.*	ǂomas	?	
want *v.*	|'anu	ǂga̋ó, ǂhḁ̀ábä	4
want to (do)	‖aa	ǂga̋ó	0
war	torop	tőrób	4
warm – bec.	‖xôa	‖khọ̀à	4

wart	ǀ'harap	ǀhäráb	4
wash (garment)	ǁ'aa	ǁắá	4
waterhole in rock	ǁurup	ǁkharub	0
we	sida	sida [sìǐda] (= we exclusive)	4
weak - bec.	ǂxabu	ǂkhàwù	4
wear (clothes)	!xansen	ǂgàèǂgààsèn	0
weather	ǀ'hommi	ǂóàb mǟàsïb (ǀhöm̀mi = sky)	0
well	kx'aap	ǂgắb *Bibl.*, tsäúb	0
		(ắáb = deep hole)	
west	**soregǂaas	sórès di ǂgằàǀkháàb, hǜríǂòàs	1
wet	ǀx'â, ǀ'â	ǀàắ	4
what?	tae?	tắré?, tắé?	4
wheat	*ǀ'hû(n)!horop	!höròb	2?
which	ham?	mằắ?, hàm̋?	4
when?	hamǀ'ae?	mằắǁáè?, hàm̋ǁáè? hàm̋mő?	4
where?	ham?	mằắpắ?	0
whisper	tubu	túwù, sőwàbè	4
whistle	ǂnam	ǂnắḿ	4
white	!'uri, xati	!ùrí	4
who?	tari?, daa?	tàrí ?, tàǐ ?	4
wild *a.*	!nari	!nắrí(sắ)	4
wild olive[45]	!ommi, !omhaip	!goms	4
win	daa	dàà, dăń	4
wind *n.*	ǀ'aop	ǂóàb	0
wind (strong)	ǂ'oap	ǂóàb	4
wing	gǁabop	ǁgäwòb	4
winnow	**!'haa(ǀ'ui)	!háà	2
	ǂ'aaburu	ǂóàpùrű	
wipe	ǀ'om	ǀòm̋	4
wire-worm	ǂnunip	? (ǂùnìb = worm *gen.*)	
witgat *Boscia albitrunca*	ǀ'hunip, *ǀhonip	ǀhǜnís	4
with	ǀxa	ǀkha [ǀkhàä]	4
without	*ose	òsè	2
woman	khoes	khòès	4
womb	ǂ'hoos	ǂnừű!gàùs, ǁhäás	0
		(ǂhöós = afterbirth ofanimal)	
wood splinters	ǀx'oboku, ǀ'aboku	ǀkhàǹni/-gu, ǀànàb	0
work, toil	gǃom	!őá	0
		(!gőḿ = *a.* burdensome, onerous)	
world	!'huup, !'huup(kx')aip	!hüúbắíb	4
worm	ǂ'unip	ǂùnìb	4
wound *n.*	kx'uup	ǀhàwǐs (ắúb = pus)	0
wring out (clothes)	ǂ'omaǂ'ui	ǂomaǂui	4
wrinkle	ǀx'unip	ǁgàǐ b	0

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[45] Supplied by Jan Kok

wrong	thuu, tshuu!aa[46]	tshǜù, ǂkhàwà	4

X

Xhosa	*‖Hoosap	‖Khóòsäb	2

Y

yard	‖âup	‖gą̀ùb	4
yarn	‖'abap	‖áwàb	4
yawn	ǀ'hubu	gàà!gą̋á	0
		(‖hùwű = bec. exhausted)	
tired	ǀ'hubu	‖hùwű, tsàű	4
year	kurip	kùríb	4
yeast	ǀxurup	ǀkhùrűb (= leaven)	4
yellow	ǀ'hai, ǀ'hao	!hǜnì (ǀhä́í = pallid)	0
yellow cow	*ǀ'hao gâap*		
yellowfish	*ǀ'hai‖'aup* [K]	?	
yesterday	‖'ari	‖àrì	4
	‖'aatshe, ‖'arikamtsheep	‖àrìkàḿtsèĕ	
yesterday morning	‖'arikam‖oa	‖àrìkàḿ‖gòä(gà)	4
yonder	‖naa, ‖naaba	‖nàä́, ‖nàä́pä́	4
young	ǂxam, ǂxami	ǂkhä́ḿ	4
youth (young man)	ǀ'ui-aop/-arop/	ǂkhàḿkhòĕb	0
	ǀ'ui-kx'arop [K]		

Z

zebra	‖'arudaus	!gőréb; !gőáréb [D]	0

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[46] Obtained in Griekwastad.

Abbreviations

a.	adjective
Afr.	Afrikaans
AUX	completed/perfective aspect marker
Bibl.	*Biblical*
Bond.	Bondelzwarts (Nama)
[D]	Damara dialects
Engelbr.	Engelbrecht 1928
FUT	future/obligative marker
Ge.	German
gen.	generic/in general
HORT.P	imperative/hortative particle
IND	Indicative sentence type marker
[K]	Korana/!Ora
[N]	Nama dialects (of Namibian Khoekhoe)
NEG	past/present negative marker
PGN	person-gender-number marker
PR	(present) progressive marker
PRIV	privative
PS	(present) stative marker
REC	recent past marker
REFL	reflexive
Topn.	Topnaar (Nama)
v.i	intransitive verb
v.t	transitive verb
[X]	Xri
[ǂAa]	ǂAakhoe

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