

# VOICES

## PAST AND PRESENT

*A comparison of Old Cape dialectal, Bushman and Khoikhoi words*

Peter E. Raper

*sb*



# VOICES

## PAST AND PRESENT

*A comparison of Old Cape dialectal, Bushman and Khoikhoi words*

**PETER E. RAPER**

*Professor Extraordinaire and Research Fellow*

Faculty of the Humanities | University of the Free State

***sb*** **SUNBONANI  
SCHOLAR**

*Voices Past and Present – A comparison of Old Cape dialectal,  
Bushman and Khoikhoi words*

Published by Sun Media Bloemfontein (Pty) Ltd

Imprint: SunBonani Scholar

All rights reserved

Copyright © 2020 SunBonani Scholar and the Author

This publication was subjected to an independent double-blind peer evaluation by the publisher.

The author and the publisher have made every effort to obtain permission for and acknowledge the use of copyrighted material. Refer all enquiries to the publisher.

No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any electronic, photographic or mechanical means, including photocopying and recording on record, tape or laser disk, on microfilm, via the Internet, by e-mail, or by any other information storage and retrieval system, without prior written permission by the publisher.

Views reflected in this publication are not necessarily those of the publisher.

First edition 2020

978-1-928424-48-2 (Print)

978-1-928424-49-9 (electronic PDF)

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18820/9781928424499>

Set in Linux Libertine 12/16

Cover design, typesetting and production by SunBonani Scholar

Cover image by Geoff Sperring (Shutterstock)

Research, professional and reference works are published under this imprint in print and electronic format.

This printed copy can be ordered directly from: [media@sunbonani.co.za](mailto:media@sunbonani.co.za)

The e-book is available at the following link: <https://doi.org/10.18820/9781928424499>

# CONTENTS

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| <b>PREFACE .....</b>   | <b>VII</b> |
| <b>1 INTRODUCTION .....</b>  | <b>1</b>   |
| 1.1 Scope of the present study .....                               | 3          |
| 1.2 Khoisan, Bushman and San .....                                 | 3          |
| 1.3 Identity of the speakers .....                                 | 6          |
| 1.4 Cultural distinction .....                                     | 8          |
| 1.5 Earliest indigenous words recorded .....                       | 10         |
| 1.6 Cape dialects .....  | 10         |
| 1.7 Orthographic representation .....                              | 11         |
| 1.8 Extinct Bushman ethnic groups and languages .....              | 14         |
| 1.9 Modern Khoisan languages .....                                 | 16         |
| <b>2 ORTHOGRAPHIES .....</b>                                       | <b>19</b>  |
| 2.1 Ancient and extinct Bushman languages .....                    | 19         |
| 2.1.1 Clicks .....   | 19         |
| 2.1.2 Click releases, accompaniments or effluxes .....             | 19         |
| 2.1.3 Consonants and vowels .....                                  | 20         |
| 2.1.4 Other symbols .....  | 23         |
| 2.2 Nama .....   | 23         |
| 2.2.1 Clicks .....   | 23         |
| 2.2.2 Vowels .....   | 24         |
| 2.2.3 Consonants .....   | 24         |
| 2.2.4 Gender endings .....   | 25         |
| 2.3 Khoekhoegowab .....  | 25         |
| 2.4 The !Xuhn language .....                                       | 27         |
| 2.4.1 Clicks .....   | 28         |
| 2.4.2 Vowels .....   | 28         |
| 2.4.3 Consonants .....   | 28         |
| 2.4.4 Consonants used as symbols to indicate<br>vowel values ..... | 29         |
| 2.4.5 Tone .....   | 29         |

|          |   |            |
|----------|---|------------|
| 2.5      | West !Xoon .....  | 30         |
| 2.5.1    | Click symbols .....   | 30         |
| 2.5.2    | Click effluxes .....  | 30         |
| 2.6      | Khwe .....  | 31         |
| 2.6.1    | Clicks .....  | 31         |
| 2.6.2    | Click accompaniments .....  | 31         |
| 2.6.3    | Consonants .....  | 32         |
| 2.6.4    | Applied orthography .....   | 32         |
| <b>3</b> | <b>COMMENTS .....</b>   | <b>33</b>  |
| 3.1      | Click terminology .....   | 33         |
| 3.2      | Click releases and other symbols .....  | 34         |
| <b>4</b> | <b>BUSHMAN AND KHOIKHOI EQUIVALENTS OF<br/>OLD CAPE DIALECTAL WORDS .....</b> | <b>36</b>  |
| <b>5</b> | <b>COGNATE COMPARISONS .....</b>  | <b>265</b> |
| <b>6</b> | <b>OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS .....</b>  | <b>451</b> |
| 6.1      | Phonological variability .....  | 451        |
| 6.1.1    | Consonants .....  | 451        |
| 6.1.2    | Vowels .....  | 457        |
| 6.1.3    | Digraphs and diphthongs .....   | 460        |
| 6.2      | The suffix -qua .....   | 463        |
| 6.3      | Synonyms .....  | 464        |
| <b>7</b> | <b>CONCLUSIONS .....</b>  | <b>471</b> |
|          | <b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>   | <b>473</b> |

## PREFACE

This manuscript was inspired by and is based on the publication *Hottentots* (1963) by Professor Gawie Nienaber, my friend and colleague at the Human Sciences Research Council for more than twenty years, with whom I co-authored the trilogy *Toponymica Hottentotica* (1977 and 1980) and with whom, together with Dr Lucie Möller, I collaborated on the publication *Khoekhoense Stamname* (1989).

In his book *Hottentots* Nienaber compared words from three old Cape dialects with words from Nama, Korana and Griqua. The present study has extended the investigation to include comparable words from some 29 ancient and mainly extinct Bushman languages, as well as from N/uu, Khwe, West !Xoon, !Xuhn, Cua, Tsua, and G/wi. In the present investigation words from some forty languages and dialects are compared phonologically, orthographically and semantically to the old Cape dialects.

The old Cape dialects became extinct by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The original indigenous languages and dialects were unwritten, and the earliest recorders of these languages rendered the words in writing as best they could, based on the sounds of the words. For clicks and other sounds a wide variety of letters, signs and symbols were employed. Over the centuries different orthographic conventions were instituted for the different languages and dialects that were not always in accordance with each other.

Many of the original languages have become extinct, and there is no way of telling exactly how the words were pronounced in speech, and the closest we can get to it is by examining the earliest recorded words. Logically, if words from different languages are to be compared with each other, they should have been in use at the same time, or as close to each other in time as possible. For



this reason the earliest sources of words, dictionaries and so on were used in the present investigation.

In view of the lack of uniformity between the different sources, the spelling and symbols used by each are reproduced in the present work.

I take this opportunity of expressing my sincere gratitude and appreciation to my friend and colleague Lucie Möller for her constant encouragement and support, and particularly in bringing the present work to completion. Sincere thanks are also expressed to Professor L. Theodorus du Plessis, the Head of the Department of Sign Language and Deaf Studies of the University of the Free State for his support and encouragement, and for financial support for this publication, and to the peer reviewers for their positive comments and proposals.

**Peter E. Raper**

## INTRODUCTION

The subcontinent of Africa has been inhabited by many Bushman, Khoikhoi and Bantu-speaking peoples for thousands of years, and, for the past few centuries, also by European-speaking peoples. Biological and language contact between these peoples, and the mutual effect these have had on each other, have brought about changes in the different languages. Words and names have been adopted, adapted, translated, reinterpreted, and so forth. As a result, modern languages are no longer identical to the original ones, many of which, especially in the case of the Bushman and Khoikhoi languages, have become extinct. Words used in ancient times and recorded long ago often bear no resemblance to their modern counterparts. For this reason, as Brenzinger (2013:2) points out, the earliest sources “are essential to the reconstruction of language history”.

For this reason recourse was taken to the earliest recordings of words available. Nienaber (1963) included Cape dialectal words recorded from 1595 to about 1820, and compared them with Korana, Griqua and Nama words. Bleek (1929, 1956) included words from 29 Bushman languages and dialects, not only recorded during her own field work, but gathered from other sources. In the Introduction to Bleek’s *A Bushman Dictionary* (1956:[iv]), Professor J.A. Engelbrecht wrote: “In compiling it she made it her aim to include every list of Bushman words that had ever been recorded – a most laborious undertaking, in that it meant scrutinising whatever sources were known or presumed to have such lists. It further meant that larger vocabularies, representing different languages and dialects, had to be assembled.” Bleek’s predecessors utilised different symbols to denote the clicks and other phonological aspects of the recorded words, which she described and indicated in her *Dictionary*, but she used the signs of the International Phonetic Association (IPA), except for the clicks, “for which I

have kept the old signs which have been in use among writers on Bushman and Hottentot languages for over sixty years” (Bleek 1929:12).

A number of more modern orthographies have been developed and applied subsequently, which are indicated and discussed below (Section 2). Since these are not uniform and do not cover languages now extinct, Bleek’s rendering of the words is followed as quoted in the present study to ensure consistency.

Languages change and develop over time, and even the Afrikaans spoken today differs greatly from that spoken and written a hundred years ago, and even more so from the oldest written Germanic language, Gothic. In comparing words from different languages and dialects with each other, it is essential to compare words that were used and recorded as close to each other in time as possible. The statement that little has changed in the past four hundred years, is ridiculous. The Bushman languages recorded by Bleek and her predecessors were spoken more or less contemporaneously with the old Cape dialects, and her work is thus fundamental in this regard.

Nevertheless, cognisance has been taken of modern Khoisan languages that have been studied and recorded, N/uu, Khwe, West !Xoon, !Xuhn, Cua, Tsua, G/wi, and so on, and these have been included in this study, in accordance with the orthographic rules applicable to each, as encountered in the relevant sources.

Korana and Griqua have become extinct, and Nama is the one extant language that served as the basis for comparison in Nienaber’s *Hottentots*. The most authoritative dictionary in this regard is said to be Kroenlein’s *Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin (Namaqua-Hottentotten)* (1889), and a useful publication is Rust’s *Deutsch-Nama Wörterbuch* (1960). These publications are regarded by some modern Khoisanists as outdated and obsolete, but they include words written as they were spoken in former times, and according to the orthographies in use then. The Native Language Bureau of Namibia introduced a number of changes to the Nama orthography (1977), which were incorporated *inter alia* by Nienaber and Raper (1977, 1980) and Nienaber (1989). Since the spellings as given by Kroenlein (1889) and Rust (1960) are closer to the recorded words discussed in this study, these spellings are adhered to.

Just as one cannot reasonably expect to measure the ‘correctness’ of the Dutch written by Van Riebeeck by comparing it to Afrikaans, one cannot reasonably

## INTRODUCTION

expect words from unwritten and now extinct Bushman and Khoikhoi languages to conform to the norms and standardised orthographies of languages spoken today, and for that reason the works of older scholars are given preference.

### 1.1 Scope of the present study

In this investigation words from Old Cape dialects that were recorded between 1595 and about 1795 are compared for correspondences in sound and meaning to words from the 29 Bushman languages and dialects as given by Bleek (1929 and 1956), as well as to words from Nama, Koranna, Griqua, !Xuhn, !Xoon, Khwe and N/uu. In each instance the clicks, click releases, vowels, diphthongs, consonants and other features of the languages are provided for edification and clarity, and for purposes of critical comparison. In the discussions of the individual Old Cape dialectal words and their equivalents in other Khoisan languages, the orthography applied in each of these languages by the different writers is adhered to.

The present study provides an extensive corpus of words that can be further utilised for the purpose of shedding light on the specific languages from which the recorded words (and names) were derived, on historical distribution of the various groups, on the classification of the different languages and peoples, for determining relationships or otherwise between the different languages, potentially identifying components of place-names and ethnonyms from ancient and extinct languages, and elucidating other matters that have long vexed scholars who have complained about a lack of recorded data.

### 1.2 Khoisan, Bushman and San

*Khoisan* is a term of convenience used to refer to the non-Bantu click languages of southern Africa and to the people who speak these languages or who spoke them in the past. The term is composed of the component *Khoi*, part of the name *Khoikhoi*, and *San*, an allonym for 'Bushman'. In the standardised orthography of the Khoikhoi language the term is written as *Khoekhoe*. Some writers use *Khoekhoe* also in English and Afrikaans, but this may be confusing: the digraph *oe* is pronounced /i:/ in English, as in the names *Phoenix* and *Phoebe*, and as /u/ in Afrikaans, as in the words *boek* and *soek*. Moreover, to use the indigenous name

*Khoekhoe* in English (or Afrikaans) would be comparable to using *Deutsch* for *German*, *Español* for *Spanish* and *Eesti* for *Estonian*. *Khoikhoi* is the traditional spelling of the word in English, Afrikaans and German, and it is therefore used in this study.

The English term *Bushman* and the Afrikaans term *Boesman* are generally accepted as being translations of the Dutch name *Bos(ch)jesman*, derived from the Dutch word *bos(ch)* ‘bush, forest’, of which the diminutive form is *boschje* or *bosje* (Nienaber 1989:207). The form *Bossieman*s is encountered in Van Riebeeck’s Diary of 1685, and until about 1750 the forms *boschjesmans*, *bosjesmans*, *bossiemans* and *bossiesmans* occur. From 1752 the forms *boesemans*, *boessemans* and *boessiemans* are encountered, and *Boesmans* since 1783 (Boshoff & Nienaber 1967:173). Since the usual word for ‘bush’ in Afrikaans is *bos* and not *boes*, the form *Boesmans* and other forms with the diphthong *oe* are puzzling. The explanation that *Boesmans* is derived from the Dutch word *boesman*, ‘kabouter’, ‘dwarf’, is regarded as unsatisfactory by Boshoff and Nienaber, who suggest that the pronunciation of *o* as *oe* by ‘gekleurdes’, (‘coloureds’), could have resulted in the progression of *boss(i)emans* to *boess(i)mans* and finally to *boesmans*, and that the influence of the pronunciation of German colonists of the name as *Buschmänner*, ‘Bushmen’, later reinforced by the English pronunciation of *Bushmen*, could have led to the use of the term *Boesmans* among Dutch speakers. An alternative explanation is suggested by the author that the form *Boesman* is perhaps to be attributed to Bushman influence. Words for ‘bush’ such as the //N !ke (S2), #Khomani (S2a) and Ki /hazi (S4b) word *᠋᠋bo:* and the Sesarwa (S5) word *᠋᠋’o:si* (Bleek 1956:682, 683) could conceivably be pronounced also as *᠋᠋bu:* and *᠋᠋’u:si*, since “the *u* phoneme ... is variously heard as *u* (back close) or as *o* (back half-close)” (Doke 1936:64 in Bleek 1956:246).

Various explanations for the origin of the ethnonym *Bushman* are encountered, *inter alia* that these people were so called “from dwelling in woody or mountainous places” (Sparrman 1785 I:197); “because, lurking in the cover of the shrubbery, they are said to shoot their poisoned arrows” (Barrow 1801 I:56); “from their country ... being almost destitute of trees, but much of it being covered with bushes; [and] from their method of assault, as they never attack man or beast openly, but from behind bushes” (Campbell 1815:314).

## INTRODUCTION

The ethnonym *San* (*Sān* or *Saan*) is sometimes used instead of *Bushman* and *Bushmen*. Kroenlein (1889:293) states that the ethnonym *San* is derived from a Khoikhoi verb *sā*, ‘*auflesen, aufraffen (vom Boden)*’; (‘to gather, pick up (from the ground)’), with the 3rd person common plural ending *-n* ‘people.’ Vedder (1938:78) interprets the name as ‘the gatherers’, referring to the practice of collecting food that grows wild in the veld, which was the main article of diet of these people. However, Budack (1969: 211) is of the opinion that the explanation of the name *San* as ‘gatherers’ is not viable, basing his argument on tonal distinctions between the verb *sā* and the noun *sāb*, with its plural form *sān*. Nienaber (1989: 834-5) accepts Budack’s linguistic argument against the meaning of *San* as ‘gatherers’, and also rejects other explanations of the name, for example that it means ‘pariahs, servants, subjugated ones’; ‘aborigines or settlers proper’; ‘the original inhabitants’; ‘those who sit and enjoy their leisure’, and the like (Nienaber 1989:831). He concludes: “*Die eindresultaat is dat geen enkele van hierdie ‘taalassosiatiewe’ verklarings wetenskaplik oortuigend verantwoord is nie. Dit is die huidige stand van sake*”; (“The end result is that not a single one of these ‘language-associative’ explanations has been convincingly validated scientifically. That is the present state of affairs.”) (Nienaber 1989:835).

At one stage *Bushman* was regarded as a derogatory name and the term *San* was preferred, but recently the term *Bushman* has become acceptable again, and *San* has been said to be regarded as a derogatory Khoikhoi name for the Bushmen (Raper 2010). A perusal of the Internet indicates the following different points of view:

*“According to Andries Steenkamp, chairman of the South African San Council, the word Bushmen is preferred, since it underlines his people’s status as first nation. The alternative, San, means ‘rogues and murderers’ and was imposed by Europeans, Steenkamp wrote emphatically. (There seems to be no agreement about the meaning of San either -- elsewhere, I have seen it translated as simply ‘gatherers’). By contrast, Alex Thoma, the adviser to the South African San Council, told me that a representative gathering of San in 1993 decided to use that term”* ([ombud@mg.co.za](mailto:ombud@mg.co.za)).

*“The names San and Basarwa are sometimes used, but the people themselves dislike these names and prefer the name Bushmen”* ([Kids.Net.Au-Encyclopedia>Kalahari Desert](http://Kids.Net.Au-Encyclopedia>Kalahari Desert)).

*“The name ‘Bushmen’ has only recently become acceptable to some speakers of Hei //om, Ju’/hoan, !X/uu, Kxoe, Nharo and other groups”* ([www.jstor.org/sici](http://www.jstor.org/sici));

*“Although some consider the name Bushmen derogatory as well, it is less so than the term San” (www.diversitysouthafrica.co.za/khoi.html).*

*“The different tribes and clans started using the name Bushmen. But political correctness proclaimed this an insult and declared they should be referred to as San. Where Bushmen merely means they are people of the bush (or close to nature), San was a Khoi word meaning ‘vagrants, people who have nothing’. And because of this misguided correctness we now use the more derogatory name for our first inhabitants” (www.southafrica.com/forums/open-board/5901-whats-name.html).*

From the above it is clear that the term *Bushman* was at one stage considered to be offensive or derogatory, but that some scholars regard *San* as even more derogatory. There seems to be no consensus as to which term is preferable, and for the foreseeable future both ‘San’ and ‘Bushmen’ will remain in use. Since most sources seem to prefer the term *Bushman*, it is employed in this investigation as a general term for the languages spoken by the Bushmen. In referring to particular words, the name of the specific Bushman language from which the word is derived is given.

### 1.3 Identity of the speakers

Nienaber (1963:2) states that *“die ou Hottentotte [het] uit twee groepe bestaan, waarvan die Strandlopers of Watermans, soos hulle genoem is, die laagste trap verteenwoordig het. Hulle het ’n miserabele bestaan gevoer en van die hand na die mond geleef: hulle voedsel was uintjies of ander veldkossies of die dooie aas wat die see uitgespoel het”*; (“[T]he old Hottentots were comprised of two groups, of which the Strandlopers or Watermen, as they were called, represented the lowest level. They eked out a miserable existence and lived from hand to mouth; their food was bulbs or other fruits of the field or dead carrion that the sea washed out.”). Drennan (1953:29) informs us that *“The Strandlopers ... were still leading an Old Stone Age Life, such as had been led along our coast for several thousand years and by several different types of man.”* To this Nienaber (1963:2) adds:

*“Daarnaas (of daarteenoor) staan die veebesittende Hottentotte wat n hoër sosiale organisasie tot stand gebring het. Hulle het in kraalkomplekse gewoon, kraalhoofde erken wat ’n stamhoof se opperheerskappy aanvaar het, en het verskeie gefundeerde maatskaplike gebruike en gewoontes geëerbiedig. Hulle was reeds, beweer Drennan (29),*

## INTRODUCTION

*‘halfway into the New Stone Age or Neolithic Age, in that they were pastoralists, although they did not till the soil. They were even in the Metal Age, for they understood the use of copper and iron’;*

(“Beside (or in contrast to) these were the stock-owning Hottentots who brought about a higher social organisation. They dwelt in village complexes, recognised village heads who accepted the higher authority of a tribal head, and respected various established social practices and habits. They were already, states Drennan (29), ‘halfway into the New Stone Age or Neolithic Age, in that they were pastoralists, although they did not till the soil. They were even in the Metal Age, for they understood the use of copper and iron’”).

Van Riebeeck in 1652 made a distinction between the Khoikhoi, called ‘*Hottentoots*’ by him, and the ‘*Bossiemans*’. In his Diary entry for 11 May 1652 he speaks of “*een Ottento*” who had been badly injured and whom they brought to their doctor. In the entry for 29 September 1652 Van Riebeeck speaks of “*den Hottento die wat Engels spreek*”; (“The Hottentot that speaks some English”), identified on 1 October 1652 as ‘Herrij’, or ‘Harry’ (Bosman and Thom I 1952:63-64). The spelling as *Hottentot* appears in Van Riebeeck’s entry for 17 March 1658, but generally he used the spellings *Ottento*, *Hottento* and *Hottentoots* (Bosman & Thom I 1952:537-538).

Nienaber (1989:188-211) points out that although there were two distinct groups of indigenous people at the Cape, the Bushmen and Khoikhoi, the distinction between the two groups was blurred. He states that one group cannot be distinguished from the other by possession of livestock and similar criteria alone.

These questions have been debated at length by anthropologists, ethnologists, archaeologists, linguists and others. The net result is that there is as yet no consensus on this matter. As Möller (2017:22) points out, the differences are not static, but change over time. As a result of contact and acculturation, the respective identities have become increasingly blurred. Over the past centuries, and even only over the past decades, the distribution and identity of the Bushmen have changed. Some groups and their languages have become extinct, new designations have been accorded, thoughts on their classification have been modified, some names of different groups and languages have changed and new ones given, and so forth.



## 1.4 Cultural distinction

There is a difference in the modes of subsistence of the Bushman and the Khoikhoi. By and large the Bushmen were hunter-gatherers, while the Khoikhoi were pastoralists and herders (Nienaber 1989:78-79). This distinction becomes clear when reports and descriptions of early writers are examined.

When the Portuguese navigator Vasco Da Gama's fleet sailed into St Helena Bay (thus named by him) in November 1497, his diarist A. Velho recorded the following (translation by Axelson): "In this land the men are swarthy. They eat only sea-wolves and whales and the flesh of gazelles and roots of plants" (p. 2; Nienaber 1963:3). By contrast, the people encountered by Da Gama in the vicinity of Mossel Bay were Khoikhoi, as evidenced by their pastoral lifestyle. "On Saturday about two hundred negroes [...] arrived, bringing with them about twelve head of cattle (made up of oxen and cows), and four or five sheep. When we saw them we went ashore at once."

The indigenous people encountered by the Englishman Lieutenant Edmund Barker at Table Bay on 1 August 1591 were also herders, from whom the sailors obtained meat and with whom they traded: "We bought an oxe for two knives, a stirke for a knife, and a sheepe for a knife, and some we bought for less value than a knife." (De Kock 1953:50).

Van Mandelslo, who touched on the Cape in 1639, differentiated between two types of indigenous peoples.

*"De Inwoonders van deze Contrey zijn tweederley soorten; eenige welk aan 't water, doch zonder Schip of Boot zeer armelijk leven onderhouden zich met Kruyden Wortelen en Visschen byzonder met de doode Walvisschen welk door storm aan 't Landt gesmeten worden dit moet haar beste Spijs zijn. Men noemt haar Water-mannen dewijl zy aan Strant woonen. De andere soort welk verder in 't Landt woont worden Solthaniman genoemt daar af dezen Boezem Solthani Baay genoemt wort. Zij leven wat beter als de Watermannen ... zy hebben schoon Vee van Schapen Runders en Bokken.";*

("The inhabitants of this region are are two types: several which live miserably at the sea, though without ship or boat, support themselves with herbs roots and fish, particularly the dead whales which are cast ashore by storms this must be their best food. People call them Watermen since they live on the beach. The other type who live further inland are called *Solthanimen* from which their

## INTRODUCTION

home is called Solthani Bay. They live somewhat better than the Watermen ... they have beautiful livestock of sheep, cattle and goats.”) (Van Mandelslo 1658:124-5).

Nienaber (1963:31) writes: “*Die periodieke besoekers kon wel nie die inlanders se taal praat nie, [...] maar hulle kon tussen die twee hoofgroepe onderskei, (die Strandlopers en die Saldanhamense) en hulle het vir die hele ‘Caebse natie’ ’n algemene naam gehad, nl. Hottentotte*”; (“The periodic visitors could indeed not speak the language of the inhabitants [...] but they could distinguish between the two main groups (the Strandlopers and the Saldanha people) and they had a common name for the whole ‘Cape people’, namely Hottentots.”)

Nienaber (1963:61) further refers to Van Mandelslo’s distinction between the *Solthanimannen* on the one hand and the *Watermannen* on the other, and adds:

*“By hom vind ons die eerste vermelding van Watermans, eweneens plekaanduidend in die sin dat hulle op uitgespoelde seekossies langs die waterkant geaas het. Die mense van die Haerlem (1648) sal hierdie veelose Hottentotte om dieselfde rede herdoop tot Strandlopers.”;*

(“With him we find the first mention of the Watermen, equally indicating the locality in the sense that they scavenged washed up sea-food along the water’s edge. The crew of the *Haerlem* (1648) would rename these stockless Hottentots as Strandlopers (Beachcombers) for the same reason.”). In the same vein Nienaber (1963:68) says: “*Ons weet reeds uit Leendert Janszen se Journael van 1647 dat die naam Strandlopers in toepassing op die arm veelose groep Hottentotte deur die Hollanders van die Haerlem aan hulle gegee is.*”; (“We already know from Leendert Janszen’s *Journael* of 1647 that the name *Strandlopers* applicable to the poor stockless group of Hottentots was given to them by the Hollanders of the *Haerlem*.”). Nienaber thus clearly states that he regards the beachcombers as Khoikhoi. Van Riebeeck in his diary writes of “*Hottentoos ... welke ... geen beestiael becomen, alsoo strantluyden waren, die haer met vis generen.*”; (“Hottentots ... which ... acquire no cattle, and were thus beach people, who subsist on fish.”).

Up to the end of the 16th century Portuguese, Dutch and English people thus came into contact with both hunter-gatherers and pastoralists/herders, and designated them by various terms, but until that time the ethnonym *Hottentot*

had not been recorded. As mentioned above, the name *Hottentot* appears in Van Riebeeck's entry for 17 March 1658, but generally he used the spelling *Ottento*, *Hottento* and *Hottentoos* (Bosman & Thom I 1952:537-538).

## 1.5 Earliest indigenous words recorded

The dialectal words recorded at the Cape during the first 150 years after the arrival of Europeans form a unique corpus. The indigenes rapidly learnt the languages of the newcomers and sacrificed their own languages. Nienaber (1963:96) explains:

*“Uit die leksikologiese materiaal sal blyk hoe ... met die voorts kryding van die beskawing onder hulle, die samelewing van outogtone verbrokkel het en hulle sentrifugaal hulle taal prysgegee het sodat dit nog net aan die randgebiede deur belangstellendes gehoor is en opgeteken kon word. Aan die begin reflekteer die idiotica die taal, of segmente daarvan, rondom Tafelberg en in die Boland, maar hierdie keerpunt verdwyn geheel en al en na 1750 is dit die taal daarbuite aan die periferie wat vir ons bewaar word. Dit bemoelik vergelyking deurdat dialektiese verskille sterk op die voorgrond kan tree.”;*

(“From the lexicological material it will become apparent how ... with the progress of civilisation among them, the community of indigenes crumbled and they centrifugally surrendered their language with the result that it was only heard along the peripheral areas by interested persons and could be recorded. Initially the *idiotica* reflected the language, or segments of it, around Table Mountain and in the Boland, but this turning point disappeared completely, and after 1750 it was the language beyond the periphery that was preserved for us. This makes comparison difficult because dialectal differences can strongly come to the fore.”).

## 1.6 Cape dialects

Dutch navigators first set foot on southern African soil on 5 August 1595, and on this occasion the first indigenous word was recorded by Willem Lodewyckz (1595:7), namely *cori* for ‘iron’: “*Wij geven haer te verstaen, soo ons best moghelijck was, dat zij ons Vee souden brenghen, wy souden haer Yser (dwelck zij Cori noemen) geven, dwelck zy ook seyden te doen.*”; (“We gave them to understand, as far as was possible for us, that if they would bring livestock for us, we would give

## INTRODUCTION

them iron (which they call *Cori*), which they said they would do.”) (Nienaber 1963:7). The indigenous people at Mossel Bay made it clear to them that they were not interested in bells, mirrors or coloured cloth, but prized any type of metal most highly, and regarded this as the best kind of ‘money’.

Thereafter a sizable number of words were recorded between the years 1595 and about 1820 by Claudius, De Flacourt, Herbert, Le Vaillant, Lichtenstein, Sparrman, Thunberg, Valentyn, Witsen and Von Winkelmann. These words recorded at the Cape were collected by Nienaber (1963). In categorising the different languages and dialects of which these words were recorded, he considered the areas where these words were recorded, and the regions in which the speakers of these languages and dialects were encountered. On this basis Nienaber categorised the words as being from *Ou-Kaapse dialekte* (Old Cape dialects), *Oostelike dialekte* (Eastern dialects), *Koradialekte* (Kora dialects), *Namadialekte* (Nama dialects), *Griekwa* (Griqua), and modern Nama, Kora and Griqua, abbreviated in the entries where each word is discussed as *Ka.* (*Kaaps*, ‘Cape’); *Ka-Saldanha* (*Kaaps-Saldanha*, ‘Cape-Saldanha’); *Oos.* (*Oostelike dialek(te)*, ‘Eastern dialects’), *Na.* (Nama), and *Kor.* (Koranna). Nienaber thus compared the recorded Old Cape dialectal words with words from three Khoikhoi languages, namely Nama, Korana and Griqua, utilising the works of Kroenlein, Meinhof, Rust, Ten Rhyne, Wandres and others, as indicated in the text. The present publication takes the study further, incorporating words from ancient and extinct Bushman languages and dialects, as well as from several extant modern Bushman languages.

### 1.7 Orthographic representation

The languages of the Bushmen and other indigenous groups of Southern Africa were unknown until a mere few hundred years ago. These languages were unwritten, and there is no way of knowing how many languages there were, or what they were, or how they developed or influenced each other in ancient times. Only from the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century with the arrival of literate Europeans was it possible to record indigenous words and compile dictionaries.

The Europeans were confronted by languages that were characterised by sounds probably never before heard by Europeans: clicks, click releases, vowel

colourations, glottal croaks, and so on. When the early recorders attempted to write the words they heard, they did the best they could, using the writing systems of their own languages. The clicks were represented in writing in different ways. Sir Thomas Herbert, who with his company spent nineteen days at the Cape in July 1626, used letters of the Latin alphabet to represent the sounds of the indigenous languages in writing. These can be illustrated by the words he recorded for the numerals 1 to 10, and for twenty-one other words, namely *Droaff*, ‘a knife’; *Guasaco*, ‘A Quill’; *Twubba*, ‘A Hat’; *Tweam*, ‘A Nose’; *Dunshingro*, ‘A Sword’; *Bueem*, ‘A Brooke’; *Chichunney*, ‘A Ship’; *Chtammey*, ‘Water’; *Haddechereef*, ‘Brasse’; *Gwummey*, ‘A Skin’; *Whohoop*, ‘A Bracelet’; *Sun*, ‘Egge-shells’; *Harkash*, ‘Seales’; *Traqueosh*, ‘A Woman’; *Bara*, ‘Bread’; *Quoy*, ‘give me’; *Gwammey*, ‘The Genitor’; *Wchraef*, ‘Mens stones’; *Wchieep*, ‘The Wombe’; *Semigwe*, ‘Paps’; and *Istcoom*, ‘Yard’ (Nienaber 1963:22). The specific letters used will be discussed in greater detail at the appropriate entries in Section 3.

Some other writers also used letters that approximated the sounds they heard, for example *t*, *k*, *tk*, *kp*, *kx*, *xg*, *t*, *k*, and so forth, as in *k’omma*, ‘house’ (Witsen 1691 in Molsbergen 1 1691:220); *k~omma*, ‘house’ (Kolbe 1727 1:431); *t?homme*, ‘heaven’ (Witsen 1697 CMM 111:316), and so forth. Several authors devised specific symbols for each of the clicks, facilitating comparison with those currently in use or that occur in the literature. Lichtenstein (1808, 1830), for example, used the symbol *t*<sup>1</sup> for the dental click /, *t*<sup>2</sup> for either the lateral // or palatal click ≠, and *t*<sup>3</sup> for the cerebral click !. Le Vaillant (1783, 1790) used the symbols *V* for the palatal click ≠, *Λ* for the dental click /, and *Δ* for the cerebral click !.

The Englishman John Davis, who visited Table Bay in the *Seeue* in 1598, had the following to say about the speech of the indigenous peoples they encountered: “Their words are for the most part in-articulate, and, in speaking, they clocke with the tongue like a brood Hen, which clocking and the word are both pronounced together” (Nienaber 1963:9). The last part of the sentence casts light on the fact that the clicks and their release or accompaniment form an acoustic unit with the rest of the word, a remarkable observation for one unfamiliar with the hitherto unknown click languages.

As noted, early writers were confronted with unwritten languages, and attempted to render the words they heard in writing. The written forms of

## INTRODUCTION

words were, and still are, graphic representations of the sounds that form the words. Articulatory and acoustic phenomena such as loss of velars, shifts from voiced to voiceless pronunciations, are therefore described in the present work by using the same terms for both graphic and phonological manifestations, as was done by the pioneer in this field, Nienaber (1963).

Herbert's placement of clicks is remarkable. Nienaber (1963:211) points out that the letter *w* is an attempt at representing a click. Thus *gwammey* is to be transcribed as *≠gammey* or *g≠ammey*. Weich (2004) and others place the *g* and *n* before the click, but Bleek (1956:512) specifically states that "When used with a nasal, the click and the nasal are pronounced together, but for convenience in writing the click is placed first. In all other sound combinations than nasals, the click is uttered and heard first." Rust (1960:ix) points out that in the Nama language

*"Die Verbindungen /ga und /na setzen nicht mit dem Schnalz an, sondern drücken aus der d- (nicht g-) Lage, bezw. der n-Lage der Zunge den Schnalz mit dem folgenden Vokal (Diphthong) heraus; so müssten die Hilfskonsonanten ('matris lectionis' V.) g (besser d), bzw. n eigentlich vor das Schnalzzeichen gesetzt werden, was aber die Schreibung nur noch komplizieren würde.";*

("The combinations /*ga* and /*na* do not start with the click, but the click together with the following vowel (diphthong) are articulated, as in the case of the *n*, from the *d*- (not *-g*) position of the tongue; thus the auxiliary consonants ('*matris lectionis*' V) *g* (or rather *d*), respectively *n* should actually be placed before the click, which, however, would complicate the writing even more.")

Initially it was uncertain from which languages the recorded Old Cape dialectal words came, and it has sometimes been difficult to distinguish between Khoikhoi and Bushman words. However, a number of pronouncements on some of these words point to a Bushman rather than a Khoikhoi origin. For example, the customary Khoikhoi gender ending often appears to have been omitted from the recorded word, whereas the Bushman equivalent does not include a gender ending. Then there are instances in which a Bushman word is phonologically closer to the recorded Old Cape dialectal word than a Khoikhoi word, and there are instances in which a matching Khoikhoi word has not been found for a word for which a Bushman word does exist.

## 1.8 Extinct Bushman ethnic groups and languages

From the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century systematic studies of Bushman languages were undertaken, *inter alia* by Lichtenstein, WHI Bleek, Kroenlein, Lloyd, and others. Using these sources and other published and unpublished works, as well as the results of her own field-work, D.F. Bleek published *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages* (1929) and prepared the manuscript of her *A Bushman Dictionary* that was published by the American Oriental Society in 1956. For purposes of standardisation Bleek adopted the spelling of the International Phonetic Association, except for the clicks, “for which I have kept to the old signs which have been in use among writers on Bushman and Hottentot languages for over sixty years” (Bleek 1929:12). The *Bushman Dictionary* represents the Bushman languages that were extant at the time of investigation, as is clear from its Index of References. It includes words from 29 Bushman languages and dialects, as well as sentences in which the words are used. Bleek’s *Dictionary* is based on words recorded by various writers from the 19th and 20th centuries, as well as words she recorded in the field on a number of trips into different parts of the country. In every instance Bleek indicated the source of the word, as well as the specific spelling and written form of the word as given by the author of that source. This work reflects the state of these languages, their distribution at the time, and incorporates words that were still in use at the time they were recorded. Some of these languages were spoken contemporaneously with the Old Cape dialects discussed in the present study, and words from these may therefore be compared to them.

As will be indicated, most if not all of the Bushman groups and languages identified and classified by Bleek have become extinct, and a number of modern extant ones have been identified. Words from a number of these languages have been included in the present study for purposes of comparison, elucidation and clarification.

On the basis of similarities and differences in the distribution of clicks and grammatical aspects such as changes of root, diminutives, gender, number, case, sequence of the sentence, and so forth, Bleek divided the Bushman languages into three groups, the Northern, Central and Southern groups, and allocated symbols to them, N1, N1a, N2, N2a, N2b, C1, S1, S1a, S2, etc. These symbols are convenient for referring to the language concerned as well as for cartographic

## INTRODUCTION

and other purposes, and are therefore used in the present investigation. To avoid confusion between these symbols and quoted words the symbols are placed in parenthesis in the discussions.

The names of the Bushman languages, and the regions where the Bushmen groups were encountered, are provided here in order to facilitate comparison of the Old Cape dialectal words discussed in this study with the corresponding or comparable words in the particular Bushman languages.

| Symbol                | Name               | Locality  |
|-----------------------|--------------------|---|
| <b>Southern Group</b> |                    |   |
| S1:                   | /Kam-ka !ke , /Xam | Old Cape Colony, south of the Orange River                      |
| S1a:                  | //Nj               | Oudtshoorn, Langeberge in Griqualand West and southern Gordonia |
| S2:                   | //Nj !ke           | Gordonia and Griqualand West                                    |
| S2a:                  | ≠Khomani           | Northern Gordonia   |
| S2b:                  | //Kxau             | Near Kimberley  |
| S2c:                  | //Ku //e           | Near Theunissen   |
| S2d:                  | Seroa              | Southern Free State, near Bethany; Lesotho (Traill 1995:9)      |
| S2e:                  | !Gā !ne            | Former Transkei   |
| S3:                   | Batwa (//Xegwi)    | Lake Chrissie, Mpumalanga                                       |
| S4:                   | /Auni              | Between the Nossob and Auob (Auhoup)                            |
| S4a:                  | Khatia, Xatia      | East of Nossop, S. Kalahari                                     |
| S4b:                  | Ki /hazi           | West of Auob, S. Kalahari                                       |
| S5:                   | Masarwa            | (Khakhea) Kakia, Southern Kalahari                              |
| S6:                   | /Nu //en           | Upper Nossop & Auhoup   |
| S6a:                  | /Nusan             | South of Auhoup, Namibia  |
| <b>Central Group</b>  |                    |   |
| C1:                   | Hietjware, Hie     | Near Tati, Zimbabwe   |
| C1a:                  | Sehura             | South-west of Ngami, Botswana                                   |
| C1b:                  | Mohissa            | East of Ngami, Botswana   |
| C2:                   | Naron, //Aikwe     | Near Sandfontein, on Namibia-Botswana border, west of Oas       |
| C2a:                  | Tsaukwe            | West of Ngami and north-east of Naron                           |
| C2b:                  | Hukwe              | Caprivi region; north of the Tsaukwe                            |
| C3:                   | Hadza              | At Lake Eyassi north of Mkalama, Tanzania                       |



| Symbol                | Name              | Locality                                   |
|-----------------------|-------------------|--|
| <b>Northern Group</b> |                   |  |
| N1:                   | Auen              | Northern Kalahari, Oas-Ngami road to 19° E |
| N1a:                  | Nogau             | Omuramba-Epikuro and the Naukluft, Namibia |
| N2:                   | Kung              | Ngami to Grootfontein to Okavango          |
| N2a:                  | Hei //kum, Heikum | Near Etosha Pan, Namibia                   |
| N2b:                  | a dialect         | Near Ukuambi, Namibia                      |
| N2c:                  | a dialect         | Near Ukualuthu, Namibia                    |
| N3:                   | !O !kun           | Eastern half of Central Angola             |

## 1.9 Modern Khoisan languages

Over the past sixty years many of the names of Bushman groups and languages have been changed, new names have been given to extant and extinct languages, languages have been reclassified, orthographic conventions that had been in use for many years have been changed, and so forth. The names of Bushman (and Khoikhoi) groups and languages bear little or no resemblance to those given by Bleek and her predecessors.

Brenzinger (2013:7) identifies twelve extant modern Khoisan languages, which he terms ‘South African Non-Bantu Click Languages’, namely *!Xun*, *≠Hoan*, *Taa*, *N//ng*, *Khoekhoe*, *Naro*, *//Gana-/Gui*, *Shua*, *Tsua*, *Khwe-//Ani*, *Sandawe* and *Hadza*. *!Xun* and *≠Hoan* belong to the *Kx’a* family, *Taa* and *N//ng* belong to the *!Ui-Tuu* family, these being ‘*Non-Khoe*’, comprising the *Northern Khoisan* and *Southern Khoisan* groups respectively. The *Central Khoisan* group or *Khoe*, named the *Khoeid* family by Brenzinger (2013:2), comprise the *Khoekhoe* and *Non-Khoekhoe* (“*Kalahari Khoe*”) families. *Khoekhoe* includes the *Khoekhoe* language, *Non-Khoekhoe* includes *Naro*, *//Gana-/Gui*, *Shua* and *Tsua*, and *Khwe-//Ani*. *Hadza* and *Sandawe* are classified as ‘isolates’.

Brenzinger (2013:1-2) states that “... there are only twelve modern Khoisan languages left, with two of them on the verge of extinction. [...] With less than 40 remaining speakers, *≠Hoan* is also the least known of all modern Khoisan language communities. No language community, but rather five individuals scattered in the Upington and Olifantshoek areas of the Republic of South Africa (RSA) speak the *N/uu* and *//A’au* varieties of the *N//ng* language.”

## INTRODUCTION

To give a comprehensive view of the situation, the twelve modern Khoisan languages as identified by Brenzinger are elaborated upon.

1. “!Xun (Ju) is classified as ‘former Northern Khoisan, now together with #Hoan member of the Kx’a family.’” (Brenzinger 2013:10). “Güldemann and Vossen (2002:102) propose a Non-Khoe group that includes three branches, namely !Ui-Tuu, #Hoan and Ju, the latter being identical with !Xun in Heine and König’s terminology (forthcoming). !Xun denotes the last remaining member of the former Northern Khoisan family and forms a newly proclaimed language family called Kx’a (Heine & Honken 2010).” (Brenzinger 2013:13).
2. #Hoan-Sasi is also known as #Huan, #Huã, Sasi and #’Amkoe, these given as alternative names by Brenzinger (2013:13), although #Hoan and Sasi are also discussed as separate languages: “In 2012, Chris Collins compiled extensive language data on Sasi, which he considers to be closely related to #Hoan. ... the total of speakers of #Hoan and Sasi may sum up to 30+” (Brenzinger 2013:13). “Güldemann and Vossen (2000:102) left #Hoan as an ‘isolate’ within the ‘Non-Khoe’ grouping. Heine and Honken, however, argue for a genealogical ‘#Hoan-!Xun unit’, which they call Kx’a (Heine & Honken 2010).” (Brenzinger 2013:14).
3. Taa is also known as !Xóö. “The name Taa for this language has been suggested by Güldemann and Vossen (2000:102), and refers to !Xóö as used by Traill (1994). It is classified by Güldemann as the last Tuu language of the !Ui-Tuu family” (Brenzinger 2013:14).
4. N//ng is also known as #Khomani, N/uu, N/uuki and N/huuki, according to Brenzinger (2013:15), classified as the last !Gui language of the !Ui-Taa family, and incorporating N/uu and //’Au varieties (Güldemann in Brenzinger 2013:15). In March 2013 there were three speakers of the N/uu variety and two speakers of the //’Au variety (Brenzinger 2013:15).
5. Khoekhoe
6. Naro, with Ts’ao as a distinct dialect, is classified as a Non-Khoekhoe Koeid language.
7. //Gana-/Gui, i.e. //Gana and /Gui, are Koeid languages (Brenzinger 2013:19).

## VOICES PAST AND PRESENT

8. Shua and Tshwa cluster. Vossen (1997) distinguishes a Shua and a Tshwa group, with Ts'ixa, Danisi, Deti (now extinct), Cara and Xaise in the first, and Cua (Cire-Cire), Kua and Tsua in the second. Brenzinger (2013) treats Shua and Tshwa as distinct languages in his overview.
9. Khwe-//Ani, i.e. Khwe and //Ani. “Khoë, Khwe and Kxoe are different spellings of the same lexeme with the meaning ‘person’. ... In 1998 the Khwe community members themselves decided to use this spelling and since then, most scholars respect this decision. ...” (Brenzinger 2013:22). The //Ani call themselves //Anikhwe and were known as ‘River-Bushmen’ in the past; //ani is the term for ‘riverside area’ (Brenzinger 2013:23) The internal classification of the //Ani has not been studied in any detail.
10. //Ani – see above.
11. Sandawe is an isolate language spoken in Tanzania, “A recent study by Güldemann and Vossen (2000) seems to confirm a link between Sandawe and Khoëid” (Brenzinger 2013:25).
12. Hadza is spoken in the vicinity of Lake Eyassa and adjacent areas in Tanzania, north of the Sandawe. “No closer link – neither to any Khoisan language unit nor individual language – has been established yet” (Brenzinger 2013:26).

## ORTHOGRAPHIES

### 2.1 Ancient and extinct Bushman languages

#### 2.1.1 *Clicks*

The Bushman languages, in common with other non-Bantu click languages, are characterised by ‘clicks’ or suction consonants. Six clicks have been identified, but five are the most that occur in any one language.

The clicks are the following as described by Bleek (1956):

- the dental click, represented in writing as /
- the cerebral or palato-alveolar click, written as !
- the lateral click, written //
- the alveolar click, formerly known as the palatal click, written as ≠
- the labial click, written as 0
- the retroflex click, written as !!

#### 2.1.2 *Click releases, accompaniments or effluxes*

The clicks are generally not pronounced in isolation but accompanied by, or pronounced together with, so-called releases or effluxes, such as nasal, aspirated, fricative and other accompaniments. These are represented in writing as *g* for the voiced, *h* for the aspirated, *n* for the nasal, *x* for the fricative, and *k* for the ejective efflux, the symbol *ʔ* or ‘ for glottal, etc. Bleek (1956:512) explains that “In all other sound combinations than the nasals, the click is uttered and heard first. When used with a nasal, the click and the nasal are pronounced together, but for convenience in writing the click is placed first.”

2.1.3 *Consonants and vowels*

In order to compare the pronunciation of Bushman words with dialectal equivalents, including the position in the mouth where the sounds are produced, a summary is given, taken from Bleek (1929:12-14; 1956). As regards the orthography of the Bushman words, Bleek (1929:12) explains: "I have adopted the spelling of the International Phonetic Association, except for the clicks, for which I have kept to the old signs which have been in use among writers on Bushman and Hottentot languages for over sixty years".

- a : low front vowel, pronounced as French *a* in 'papa'. The short *a* sometimes glides into the back open mixed neutral  $\Lambda$ , but that is not at the beginning of a word (Bleek 1956:1). " $\Lambda$  as in *bun*" (Bleek 1929:13).
- b : ordinary voiced bilabial plosive, not common in Bushman languages, perhaps only in borrowings. Among the !O !kung of Angola *b* has a tendency to slide into *v*, as it does among the neighbouring Bantu tribes ... Elsewhere *b* in the second syllable often changes into *w* (Bleek 1956:13).
- d : voiced alveolar plosive; *dsh*, *dzh*, *dj* all standing for the same sound; *ds* = *dz*, German *s* being voiced. Sometimes *d* is a variant of *t* (Bleek 1956:19).
- e : close *e* and open  $\varepsilon$ , neutral  $\text{ə}$ ; occurs in diphthongs *ei*, *we*; *e* is the front half-close vowel,  $\varepsilon$  the front half-open vowel (Bleek 1956:35).
- f : labio-dental unvoiced fricative, not a Bushman sound, spoken by tribes living among Bantu speakers (Bleek 1956:40).
- g : voiced velar plosive; exchanges with *k* and *t* in the second syllable; occurs after all clicks except the labial click (Bleek 1956:40).
- h : glottal fricative, much used as an initial sound, after *k*, *t*, and all clicks (Bleek 1956:54).
- i : front close vowel phoneme; variously heard ... as *i* (front close) or as *e* (front half-close) (Bleek 1956:66). Pronounced as in 'hit' or French 'si' (Bleek 1929:13).
- j : palatal fricative, more like a semi-vowel in the second syllable; occurs chiefly in languages with Bantu influence (Bleek 1956:71).

- k** : unvoiced velar plosive, aspirated as *kh*. Occasionally joined to a fricative or semi-vowel, forming *kx* or *kj*. It often interchanges with *t*, and in endings with *g*. The ejected *k* also occurs, written *k''* (Bleek 1956:73).
- kh** : aspirated unvoiced velar explosive (Bleek 1956:73).
- kxʔ** : ejective velar affricate; identical with one pronunciation of the Zulu sound, variously written as *hx*, *kl*, etc. (Bleek 1956:116).
- k''** : ejective *k* or glottal croak (Bleek 1956:117).
- k'** : *k* with glottal closure; **k''**: *k* with very strong glottal closure" (Bleek 1929:13).
- l** : lateral consonant, not a Bushman sound, occurring in languages exposed to Bantu influence. Often a foreign *l* is changed to *r* (Bleek 1956:129).
- m** : nasal bilabial. Like other nasals it occurs alone, with syllabic value, often as the form *n* or *ŋ* take before labials. In the second syllable it sometimes interchanges with *b* (Bleek 1956:131).
- n & ŋ** : nasals, often interchanging; has syllabic value and forms a word or syllable without a vowel (Bleek 1956:140).
- o** : half back-close vowel (pure vowel). As a word by itself it is often a "dialectical variation" of *a* or *au* or where the initial consonant has been omitted (Bleek 1956:151).
- ɔ** : half open back mixed vowel (Bleek 1956:151).
- p** : unvoiced labial plosive; not a Bushman sound; Bantu influence as initial. In languages influenced by Hottentot speech *p* is often found in endings, interchanging with *b*. In Hadza, which bears traces of both Bantu and Hottentot influence, *p* occurs as initial sound and as ending (Bleek 1956:156).
- r** : voiced alveolar consonant, spoken with only one vibration, or sometimes strongly trilled (Bleek 1956:159).
- ɾ** : voiced flapped retroflex consonant, sounding under circumstances like *d*, *r* or *l* (Bleek 1956:159).
- l̥** : flapped lateral consonant, enunciated with a single flap of the tongue, between rolled *r* and liquid *l* (Bleek 1956:160).

## VOICES PAST AND PRESENT

- ř : nasal *r*, between *r* and *n* (Bleek 1956:160).
- λ : a sound between *r*, *l* and *n*, occurring only in the second syllable (Bleek 1956:160).
- s : unvoiced alveolar fricative. When it stands at the end of a word, a following vowel has been dropped (Bleek 1956:161).
- f : prepalatal unvoiced fricative, often merely a variant of *s*. Can combine with the velar fricative *x* as *fx*, and is often found after *t* as *tf*, often a variant of *f* to *ts* (Bleek 1956:176).
- t : unvoiced alveolar or dental plosive consonant, often interchanging with *k* in Southern languages (Bleek 1956:184). In ≠Khomani “*t* seems to be more of a dental than an alveolar consonant, though both have been heard” (Doke 1936:70 in Bleek 1956:184).
- th : aspirated unvoiced alveolar or dental explosive consonant (Bleek 1956:184).
- ts & tf : alveolar affricate (Bleek 1956:184).
- u : back close vowel (variously heard as back close *u* or back half-close *o*); forms part of the diphthongs *au* and *ou*, also *ua*, *ue*, *ui*, but in these cases it often glides into *w* (Bleek 1956:246).
- v : voiced labial fricative, not a Bushman sound, only in languages exposed to Bantu influence; generally found in second syllables interchanging with *b*, as *daba*, *dava* ‘child’ (Bleek 1956:250).
- w : pronounced like English *w*, often distinctly a semi-vowel, interchanging with a short *o* or *u*, as in //Kau//en *oa:si* and *wa:si* ‘all’ (Bleek 1956:250).
- x : unvoiced velar fricative; approximates to the German *ch*, being made further forward in the mouth before *i*, and *e*, slightly further back before *a*, and far back before *o*, and *u* (Bleek 1956:254).
- z : alveolar voiced fricative, occurring after *d* as *dz* (Bleek 1956:263).
- ʒ or ž : voiced prepalatal fricative, pronounced as the *s* in ‘treasure’; follows *d* as *dž* (Bleek 1956:265).

### 2.1.4 Other symbols

A colon : after a vowel indicates that the vowel is a long vowel. The symbol  $\xi$  after a vowel indicates that the vowel in question is a ‘pressed’ vowel, i.e. pronounced with ‘pharyngeal roughening’ (Bleek 1956:1). A high tone is indicated with the symbol  $\bar{\quad}$ , a low tone with the symbol  $\underline{\quad}$ .

## 2.2 Nama

Nama is the name of the language spoken by the Namaqua people. The ethnonym was recorded in the form “*Namana offte Namaqua*”, (“*Namana* or *Namaqua*”), by Van Riebeeck in his Diary entry for 15 November 1657, and subsequently as *Namaqua* (Bosman & Thom II 1955:197); as *Namacquas* by CF Brink in 1761 (Mossop 1947:28), and so forth. The primary Nama dictionaries are those of Olpp (1888) and Kroenlein (1889), and Rust’s *Deutsch-Nama Wörterbuch* (1960).

### 2.2.1 Clicks

The Nama clicks are given by Büttner (in Kroenlein 1889:v) as “1. / Dentalis, 2. ≠ Palatalis, 3. ! Cerebralis, 4. // Lateralis”; as “*den dentale Schnalz /, den lateralen //, den sog. Cerebralen ! und den palatalen Schnalz ≠*”; (“The dental click /, the lateral //, the so-called cerebral ! and the palatal click ≠”).

Büttner (in Kroenlein 1889: v) states:

*“Nach einiger Uebung der Zunge gelingen die Schnalze meist ziemlich leicht, so lange sie für sich allein ausgesprochen werden. Schwieriger ist es, sie gut mit dem nachfolgenden Vocal oder Consonanten zu verbinden. Es darf hier kein Hiatus zwischen dem Schnalzlaut und den übrigen Lauten vorkommen, sondern alles muss völlig eine Silbe (in einem Athem) bilden”;*

(“After some practice with the tongue, the clicks are pronounced more easily, as long as they are pronounced in their own. It is more difficult, however, to pronounce them properly in combination with the following vowel or consonant. No break or interruption (hiatus) is permitted between the click and the remaining sounds, but the whole should constitute a single syllable (in one breath).”).



## VOICES PAST AND PRESENT

In like vein, Rust (1960:viii) notes that *g* and *n* should actually precede the click, but, since that “*aber die Schreibung noch komplizieren würde*”, (“would only complicate the orthographic representation even more”), the click is placed first.

More recently there has been a tendency to precede the click with the efflux or release also in the indication of the velar release *k*. Ladefoged (2012) gives the following Nama click phonemes:

**Table 1.** Nama clicks (Ladefoged 2012:14)

| Voiced/Unvoiced           | Dental            | Alveolar            | Palatal              | Lateral              |
|---------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
|                           | <b>k/oa</b>       | <b>k!oas</b>        | <b>k≠ais</b>         | <b>k//aros</b>       |
| Voiceless aspirated       | k/ <sup>h</sup> o | k! <sup>h</sup> oas | k≠ <sup>h</sup> aris | k// <sup>h</sup> aos |
| Voiceless nasal aspirated | ŋ/ <sup>h</sup> o | ŋ! <sup>h</sup> oas | ŋ≠ <sup>h</sup> ais  | ŋ// <sup>h</sup> aos |
| Voiced nasal              | ŋ/o               | ŋ!oras              | ŋ≠ais                | ŋ//aes               |
| Glottal closure           | k/?oa             | k!/?oas             | k≠/?ais              |                      |

### 2.2.2 Vowels

Vowels occurring in Nama are *a*, *e*, *i*, *o* and *u*; diphthongs are *ae*, *ai*, *ei*, *ao*, *au* and *ou*; *oa*, *oe*, *oi*, and *ui*. Nasalisation is indicated by a circumflex <sup>^</sup> by Rust (1960) and by a tilde <sup>~</sup> by Kroenlein (1889).

### 2.2.3 Consonants

The consonants in the Nama alphabet are *b*, *χ*, *d*, *g*, *h*, *j*, *k*, *kh*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *t*, *w*, *ts*. The consonant *b* frequently interchanges with *w*. The symbol *χ* stands for the unvoiced affricate as in the German word *ma-che*, ‘to make’; *kh* is a strongly aspirated *k*, *t* has no aspiration and sounds like an unvoiced *d*; *ts* is an unvoiced affricate and sounds like the German *z* in the word *zehn*, ‘ten’ (Rust 1960:vii-ix).

### 2.2.4 Gender endings

Nama has the gender markers *-b* or *-p* for the masculine singular, *-s* for the feminine singular, *-qua* for the masculine plural, and so on. In older writings, and in some of the languages and examples, the unvoiced bilabial plosive consonant *-p* interchanges with *-b*, and in nasalised words the nasal *-m* may perform the same function as *-b* or *-p*. For the most part Bushman languages do not display these gender endings, which is one of the reasons why a Bushman origin may be sought in indigenous Cape dialectal words recorded during the period under discussion.

## 2.3 Khoekhoegowab

According to Haacke (2018:133): “Shortly after Namibia’s attainment of independence in 1990, the forgotten glossonym ‘Khoekhoegowab’ was officially reintroduced for the language that had become known as ‘Nama’ or ‘Nama/Damara’.” In 1999 the *Khoekhoegowab-English/English-Khoekhoegowab Glossary* by Haacke and Eiseb was published, and, in 2002, the *Khoekhoegowab Dictionary with an English-Khoekhoegowab Index*, by the same authors.

According to Haacke (2002:12, quoted by Brenzinger 2003:330), “[t]he term Khoekhoegowab ... means Khoekhoe-language ... this term (Khoekhoegowab) is not an artificial creation but was the original name for the language, as already recorded by Jan van Riebeeck in January 1653.” This statement is at variance with the pronouncement by Nienaber (1989:427) that the word *Khoekhoegowab* is an adaptation of *Khoi-gowab*, *Kxhwe-kovab*, a term suggested by Westphal (1971:378) as a possible term for the languages belonging to the ‘*Hottentot-familie*’, (‘Hottentot family’) that includes Nama, Griqua and Korana. This statement contradicts Haacke’s claim (2018:134) that “The endonym *Khoekhoegowab* was gradually replaced by the exonym *Nama* in the nineteenth century, mainly by missionaries who started to work among the Nama tribes in the south of Namibia.” *Nama* is thus not an ‘exonym’.

Brenzinger (2003:330) states: “While quite a number of Namibians identify themselves and their language as Nama, Damara or Haikom, it seems, very few, if any, refer to themselves as Khoekhoen or speakers of Khoekhoegowab. The dictionary does not explain why ‘Khoekhoegowab’ is used for the language of these three groups of people. ... Only time will tell whether this more correct, but rather bulky language name, Khoekhoegowab, will enter into everyday language, replacing Nama, Damara and Haikom.” In addition to Nama, Damara and Haikom, the ‘Hottentot’ languages also include Korana and Griqua. *Khoekhoegowab* is thus not a name for a single language, but a term for a number of languages, including Nama, Korana, Damara, Griqua and Haikom. Moreover, *Khoekhoegowab* is a term coined and suggested by a modern African language specialist some fifty years ago, and not the original name used by the people themselves.

The objective in the present study is to compare Old Cape, Cape–Saldanha and Eastern dialectal words with comparable Nama, Korana and Griqua words, and also with words from some 29 ancient and a number of modern Bushman languages. To refer to a word as being from the ‘Khoekhoegowab’ language would obliterate the distinction between Nama, Koranna, Griqua, Haikom, etc., and would thus skew the findings of this study. In order to accurately identify the language of origin of the word under discussion, the comparisons are with words from the individual Nama, Koranna, Griqua and other languages.

Even if it were argued that Khoekhoegowab is the term now used for what used to be Nama, there are other reasons why Khoekhoegowab is not suitable for use. Brenzinger (2003:301) points out that, “In order to serve the needs of the Khoekhoegowab speech community, the dictionary has to be accessible to non-professional dictionary users. For this reason the authors decided to use the officially recognised standardised orthography of Khoekhoegowab. Unfortunately, the conventions of the ‘sole official orthography for Khoekhoegowab’ ... do not always comply with international practice. The most problematic deviation in this respect

is the use of b, d and g for lower tone melodies, in contrast to p, t and k for the higher tone melodies. Another confusion arises as a result of the representation of the clicks. In contrast to international conventions, a simple click symbol does not represent a simple click, but instead a click with a glottal accompaniment. While a click followed by a g otherwise refers to a voiced click, in the orthography of the *Khoekhoegowab Dictionary* it stands for a voiceless click. Also to meet the requirements of linguistic researchers as well as of persons wanting to learn the language, the authors considered some modifications of the official orthography necessary. Tone marks were added and the ‘long’ vowels are no longer written with a macron, but as double vowels instead. In order to mark nasalisation, the standard orthography tops the vowel with a circumflex. In the modified form, the tiny circumflex is inserted between the vowels to allow for separate tone marks of the vowels. Being professionals in the field of linguistics, these scholars can however be expected to be able to adapt to the official orthography. In using the Khoekhoegowab lexical entries from the dictionary in comparative research, one has therefore to adjust them to international phonetic standards in order to avoid confusion”.

These considerations, among others, make it impracticable to use ‘Khoekhoegowab’ as the benchmark against which to compare equivalent or similar words from other languages and dialects, especially the ancient ones.

Changing orthographical conventions have resulted in forms and spellings of words that are now incomparable with each other. As a basis for comparisons between words from different languages and dialects words that were in use contemporaneously, or at least as close to each other in time as possible. the works of Kroenlein (1889) and Rust (1960) were therefore used for this study.

## 2.4 The !Xuhn language

Weich (2004:iii) settled and worked at Tsumkwe in Namibia as a missionary for the Dutch Reformed Church for 17 years and learnt the

Ju /'Hoan language. The first official orthography for that language was developed by Prof. Jan Snyman; the second by Prof. E.O.J. Westphal and W. Zimmermann, and the third by Patrick Dickens. The latter was adopted by the Namibian Government as the official orthography for the Ju /'Hoan people, and subsequently as the official orthography for the Ju and !Xuhn languages. Although these languages are related, the !Xuhn language is a different language and therefore not the same as the Ju /'Hoan language of Tsumkwe. Weich (2004:iii) has applied the orthography of Patrick Dickens in his Dictionary.

### 2.4.1 Clicks

!Xuhn uses the dental click /, the cerebral click !, the lateral click // and the palatal click ≠. In writing, the click precedes the efflux or accompaniment in all cases except for the voiced efflux *g*, as in the word *g//ai*, 'tortoise', and the nasal release *n*, as in the word *n!um*, 'diamond'.

### 2.4.2 Vowels

!Xuhn uses the five vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o* and *u*, as well as the vowel combinations *ae*, *ai*, *ao* and *au*; *oa*, *oe*, *oi* and *ui* (Weich 2004:vi).

### 2.4.3 Consonants

The !Xuhn language utilises all of the consonants that occur in English and Afrikaans, except for the letter *j*. The consonant *c* does not represent the sound /k/ or /s/, but *sh* as in the word 'she' (Weich 2004:viii). Consonant combinations that occur are *dj*, *tc*, *tcx*, *ts*, *tsx*, and *tx* (Weich 2004:vii).

#### 2.4.4 Consonants used as symbols to indicate vowel values

##### 1. The symbol *h*

1.1. Where the vowel or vowel combination carries extra voicing, it is indicated by an *h* after the vowel or vowel combination, e.g. *!auh* = ‘basket’; *toh* = ‘motorcar’; */ih* = ‘maned jackal’.

1.2. Where the symbol *h* appears after the first consonant, but before the vowel or vowel combination, it indicates voiceless aspiration, e.g. *//ha* = ‘meat’; *≠ha* = ‘footpath’; */hi* = ‘rhino’.

##### 2. The symbol *n*

2.1. When the symbol *n* follows the vowel, it indicates that the vowel is nasalised; e.g. *tcuuhn* = ‘to call’; *tcoahn* = ‘lung’; *guún* = ‘hunger’.

Rule: The *n* indicating nasalisation always follows the *h* indicating extra voicing or the *q* indicating pharyngealisation. See examples above.

2.2. When the symbol *n* precedes the consonant, it indicates that the consonant is nasalised, e.g. *n!a* = ‘to get lost’, *n!uh* = ‘egg’, *n/ohve* = ‘a swarm’.

3. The symbol *q* indicates pharyngealisation of the preceding vowel, e.g. *taqng* = ‘sweet’, *toqkum* = ‘shy’, *toqng kivi* = ‘to cut open’.

4. The *g* indicates voicing of the click it precedes. The rule is valid for all four clicks. E.g. *g//u* = ‘water’, *g/i* = ‘to go out’ [sing. subj.], *g≠a* = ‘to lie’ [pl. subj.] (Weich 2004:vii).

#### 2.4.5 Tone

The !Xuhn language has four tones, but tone is indicated only in some cases, “and then only when two words could be confused. Then the word

with the higher tone is indicated”, for example *≠hao*, ‘to walk’; *≠háó*, ‘to hide’. When a word ends in an upgoing tone, this is indicated by an acute accent on the final vowel, e.g. *kuú*, ‘milk’ (Weich 2004:v).

## 2.5 West !Xoon

The settlement areas of the !Xoon in Namibia are located east and north of the Nossob River, south of the Trans-Kalahari Highway between Gobabis and Botswana, and west of the Namibia-Botswana border (Boden 2011:35).

Boden (2011:71) gives an exposition of the transcription of West !Xoon terms and place names: “The West !Xoon vernacular terms and place names are transcribed here in the practical orthography developed by the linguists on the DoBeS (Documentation of Endangered Languages) team in cooperation with the language board of native speakers.” The DoBeS Taa Project team consists of Tom Güldemann, Roland Kiessling, Gertrud Boden and Christfried Naumann.

### 2.5.1 *Click symbols*

⊙ = the bilabial click;

/ = the dental click;

! = the alveolar click;

≠ = the palatal click;

// = the lateral click (Boden 2011:71).

### 2.5.2 *Click effluxes*

The letters *q*, *h* or *n* after a vowel denote pharyngealisation, breathiness, and nasalisation, respectively. Capital V is a vowel that varies depending on agreement class. Representation of tone is omitted (Boden 2011:71).

## 2.6 Khwe

Most of the Khwe people live in the Caprivi Strip, others live in Angola, Botswana and Zambia; a larger number of Khwe live in Schmidtsdrift in South Africa (Kilian-Hatz 2003:7).

### 2.6.1 Clicks

/ = the dental click;

! = the alveolar, also known as retroflex;

≠ = the palatal click;

// = the lateral click.

### 2.6.2 Click accompaniments

/ dental click with voiceless velar stop efflux;

/ʔ dental click with voiceless velar stop and glottal stop efflux;

/g dental click with voiced velar plosive efflux;

/h dental click with voiceless aspirated velar stop efflux;

n/ dental click with voiced nasal efflux;

n/g dental click with prenasalised voiced stop efflux;

/q dental click with voiceless uvular stop efflux;

/x dental click with voiceless velar affricate efflux;

/xʔ dental click with affricated velar ejective efflux.

The series above indicates the effluxes that accompany the dental click; these are also valid for the lateral click // and the palatal click ≠. For the alveolar click, !, only five effluxes are known (Kilian-Hatz & Brenzinger 2003:8).



## VOICES PAST AND PRESENT

### 2.6.3 Consonants

- c voiceless dental fricative [s], as in English ‘see’; voiceless palato-alveolar fricative, as in English ‘shoe’; voiceless palatal fricative, as in German ‘ich’;
- dj voiced alveolar affricate, as in English ‘jam’;
- kh aspirated velar plosive;
- khy palato-velar fricative;
- kx’ postvelar ejective;
- ng prenasalised voiced velar plosive;
- ŋ velar nasal, as in English ‘song’;
- q uvular plosive;
- t’ alveolar ejective;
- tc voiceless alveolar affricate, as in English ‘church’;
- tc’ alveolar fricative ejective;
- tcx alveolar-palato velar affricate;
- th aspirated voiceless alveolar plosive;
- x voiceless velar fricative;
- y voiced palatal fricative, as in English ‘yes’;
- ’ glottal stop (Kilian-Hatz 2003:7).

### 2.6.4 Applied orthography

“The applied orthography is a practical and, therefore, simplified version used by the Khwe themselves. It was decided that tone is not marked. Nasalisation is indicated by a circumflex [ˆ] on the appropriate vowel. The nasal **ŋ** is replaced by **ng**’, and the vowel **ɛ** is replaced by **è**.” (Kilian-Hatz & Brenzinger 2003:7-9).

## COMMENTS

### 3.1 Click terminology

As noted above, the terminology employed for the click consonants has undergone some changes over the years. The symbol / is called “the dental click” by Bleek (1956:266), and also by Kilian-Hatz (2003:8), Boden (2011:71), and Ladefoged (2012:14). Bleek (1929:13) describes it as “the dental or alveolar fricative click”.

The symbol ! is given as “the retroflex plosive click” and as the “cerebral or palato-alveolar click” by Bleek (1929:13, 1956:368); Nienaber (1963:163), Rust (1960:viii), *et al.* call it the “cerebral click”. Boden (2011:71) and Chebanne (2014) call it the “alveolar click”, as does Ladefoged (2012:14); Kilian-Hatz (2003:8) gives ! as the “alveolar (also known as retroflex)”.

The symbol ≠ is given as “the alveolar plosive click” (Bleek 1929:13), and as “the alveolar click, formerly known as the palatal click” (Bleek 1956:640). Kilian-Hatz (2003:8) and Boden (2011:71) give it as the “palatal click”, as does Ladefoged (2012:14).

The symbol // is given as “the retroflex fricative click” (Bleek 1929:13), but later as “the lateral click [...] When used with a nasal, the click and the nasal are pronounced together, but for convenience in writing the click is placed first. In all other sound combinations than nasals, the click is uttered and heard first” (Bleek 1956:512). Kilian-Hatz (2003:8) and Boden (2011:71) give // as the “lateral click”.

⦿ is called “the lip click” (Bleek 1929:13); the “labial click” (Bleek 1956:681), and the “bilabial click” (Boden 2011:71).

To sum up:

The symbol / is variously called the *dental click* and the *alveolar fricative click*;

The symbol ! is variously called the *retroflex click*, the *retroflex plosive click*, the *cerebral click*, the *cerebral or palato-alveolar click*, and the *alveolar click*;

The symbol ≠ is variously referred to as the *alveolar click*, the *alveolar plosive click*, and the *palatal click*;

The symbol // is given as the *retroflex fricative click* and the *lateral click*; and

The symbol ⊙ is called the *lip click*, the *labial click*, and the *bilabial click*.

The term 'alveolar' has thus been applied to no less than three different clicks by different writers, namely the /, the ! and the ≠, and the other alternative names for the clicks have also been noted.

In the interests of clarity and unambiguity, the traditional terms are used in this study. The term dental click is used for the symbol /, the symbol ! is called the cerebral click, the symbol // is called the lateral click, the symbol ≠ the palatal click, and the symbol ⊙ the lip click or labial click.

### **3.2 Click releases and other symbols**

As regards the click releases, different sequences of click and release have been followed by different scholars, the development attributable in some measure to progress in technology and insights, as well, no doubt, to changes in, and contact between, languages and dialects.

Modern analyses of click consonant pronunciation in the various extinct and extant languages and dialects indicate discrepancies in their written representations. Although it is accepted that modern representations of clicks and their accompaniments are accurate and precise, it is sometimes more difficult to recognise the equivalent words as they were recorded decades and even centuries ago, which in turn were attempts at writing the sounds of ancient words.

It will be noted that in some modern orthographies the symbols employed differ from those of the International Phonetic Association (IPA) that were

used by Bleek. For example, nasalisation is indicated by a circumflex [^] on the appropriate vowel in Khwe, as opposed to the tilde [~]. In a multilingual country such as South Africa the use of the circumflex to denote nasalisation is problematic, since in Afrikaans, for example, the circumflex denotes a change of pronunciation as in the words *se* and *sê*, and not nasalisation. Thus *se* is /sə/, and *sê* is /sɛ:/ and not /sɛn/.

The consonant *q* is used in Khwe and West !Xoon to indicate pharyngealisation, whereas *q* is employed in the Nguni languages to indicate the palato-alveolar click. In the !Xuhn language the consonant *c* does not represent the sound /k/ or /s/, but /sh/ as in the word ‘*she*’ (Weich 2004:viii); and in Khwe orthography the consonant *c* is used to indicate no less than three different sounds, namely the voiceless dental fricative [s], as in English ‘*see*’; the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative, as in English ‘*shoe*’; and the voiceless palatal fricative, as in German ‘*ich*’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:8). As stated before, Bleek employed the symbols of the IPA.

In view of the diversity of symbols employed by scholars and other writers over the centuries, with orthographies applicable to different extinct as well as extant languages, the spelling and styling of the words discussed are given in this work as they were encountered in the relevant sources.

## BUSHMAN AND KHOIKHOI EQUIVALENTS OF OLD CAPE DIALECTAL WORDS

This section comprises two parts. The first consists of the English translations of the Old Cape words of which the Bushman and Khoikhoi equivalents are provided, with a detailed discussion of the processes involved. The second part provides the Old Cape dialectal and equivalent words in the different languages that present the opportunity for comparison of clicks, click replacement and click loss; vowel sequence, vowel and consonant interchangeability and variability, and other phonological and orthographic similarities and discrepancies that facilitate the determination of correspondences. At this juncture, having explained the different and differing conventions employed by writers of the sources used in this study, it is possible to indicate the similarities and differences in the Old Khoikhoi, Bushman and Khoikhoi words recorded over the past four centuries.

### -A-

#### ***Aardvark, antbear***

Various Cape dialectal words for 'aardvark' were recorded in early times. Witsen (1691 in Molsbergen I 1916:223) recorded *k' ehou*, 'een mier eter', ('an anteater'); Valentyn (1726:107b) gives *kehoe*, 'een mieren-eeter', ('an anteater'), and Kolbe (1727 I:431) *k~ihou*, 'comestor formicarium; een mieren-eeter', ('an anteater'). The symbols *k'* and *k~* used by Witsen and Kolbe respectively, indicate a click. Nienaber (1963:204) compares the Cape dialectal words to the Nama word /*kuwub*, 'Erdschwein', ('aardvark') (Rust 1960:18), indicating the variability of the vowels *u* and *o*. The initial click with velar plosive release *k* was heard as an affricate *x* by Wandres (1918:30), who recorded the word as *!kxuwub*, and also by Schultze (1907:594), who recorded the word as *kxubus*.

In these variants the variability of the voiced semi-vowel *w* and the voiced bilabial *b* is displayed: as Bleek (1956:13) points out, “*b* in the second syllable often changes into *w*”. The final *-b* and *-s* in the words *!kxuwub* and *kxubus* are the Khoikhoi masculine and feminine singular endings respectively. The words under discussion are all bisyllabic, and correspond in some measure to the Khwe word *goó*, ‘antbear’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:232) and to the Hei//kum (N2a) word */gei:os*, also */gei:õs*, ‘antbear’, the latter with nasalisation of the vowel *o* in the final component (Bleek 1956:278, 693), the voiced velar consonant *g* being variable with the unvoiced velar consonant *k*. It is clear that the vowel sequence *ei-o* was heard and written as *e-ou*, *e-oe* and *i-ou* in the Cape dialectal words.

Le Vaillant (1790:392) recorded the Eastern dialectal word *ʌ-goup*, ‘ant-bear, *erd-verken* (earth-hog)’. The symbol *ʌ* was used by Le Vaillant to depict the dental click */*, and the word *ʌ-goup* is therefore transcribed as */goup* by Nienaber (1963:204), who considers it to be a contraction of the word discussed in the previous paragraph. The final consonant *-p* is the masculine singular marker that also occurs as *-b*, and the word */goup* can be compared to the Naron (C2) words */go:* and *!go:ba*, ‘antbear, *Orycteropus afer*’ (Bleek 1956:280), the Khwe word *goó*, ‘antbear’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:232), and the /Nu //en (S6) word *//go:de*, ‘antbear’ (Bleek 1929:16). The Naron suffix *ba* is the masculine singular ending that corresponds to the final *-p* of the Eastern dialectal word. Möller (2017:161-162) provides the etymology of names for this creature that indicate the activity of the animal’s digging of holes in the ground. These include the Zulu word *isimbamgodi*, from the prefix *isi*, and the words *mba* ‘dig’, *um-godi*, ‘hole’. Möller quotes Comley and Meyer (1997:62) as describing how “Aardvark are responsible for the majority of the larger burrows found in the bush, and, in the soft sands of the Kalahari, can dig a different hole each night. They often have two or three holes under construction at the same time.”

### **Again**

In words for ‘again’ a measure of consistency is discerned in the occurrence of the lateral click *//*, as well as in the vowel sequence *a – a*, while a measure of variation is evident in the click accompaniment or efflux, and in the intervocalic consonant. Witsen (1697 I CMM 1858:119) recorded the Cape dialectal word *t?haba*, ‘*wederom*’, (‘again’), in which the symbol *t?* represents a click (Nienaber

1963:524). This word is comparable to the Nama words //khaba, ‘again’ (Tindall 1857 in Nienaber 1963:524) and //kawa, ‘wieder’, (‘again’) (Rust 1963:73), and the Korana word //chawa ‘again’ (Wuras 1920 in Nienaber 1963:524), the variation of *b* and *w* being discernible. In the Khwe word *xàvána*, ‘again’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:230) the first segment, *xàvá*, corresponds with the word //chawa in displaying the affricate, the vowel sequence *a – a*, and the bilabial or dentilabial *v* as approximating the semi-vowel *w*, but these words differ from the Khwe word as regards the absence of the click in the latter. A bisyllabic word //ka\_#na is given as a word for ‘again’ in Bleek (1956:692), but the same word is given elsewhere (Bleek 1956:566) as the Kung (N2) word for ‘ageing’, one perhaps being a typing error for the other. The word //ka\_#na is comparable in several ways with the /Xam (S1) words !kařra, !kãna, ‘to do again, used as adv.; again, still, yet’ (Bleek 1956:409), and the Naron (C2) word /kana, ‘again’ (Bleek 1956:300) namely the ejective release *k*, the vowel sequence *a – a*, and nasalisation of the second component. The /Xam (S1) words !kařra, !kãna feature the cerebral click with ejective efflux !*k* and the intervocalic nasal ř and *n*; the Naron (C2) word /kana displays the dental click with ejective efflux. Kung (N2) words for ‘again, once more’, are //ka: and //kã (Bleek 1956:547), with the lateral click and ejective efflux //k. Corresponding /Xam (S1) words, with the lateral click but with fricative efflux, are //xã:, ʘ//xã: and //xã:ŋ, ‘to do again, used as again’ (Bleek 1956:630).

### **Air**

The Cape dialectal word *chou*, ‘aer’, (‘air’), recorded by Ten Rhyne (1673 in Schapera & Farrington 1933:154), and the Eastern dialectal word *kōm*, ‘air’ (Barrow 1797 I:119), interpreted by Nienaber (1963:375) as /kom, taking Barrow’s system of writing clicks into account, are compared by Nienaber (1963:375) to the Nama word //gūb, ‘blauer Dunst’, (‘blue haze’), demonstrating the variability of *g* and *k* or *x*, and of *u* and *o*. The final *-m* of the word /kom is explained by him as the old masculine singular ending. The Khwe word /’om, ‘breath’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:244) correlates well with the Eastern dialectal word /kom, while the Hie (C1) word /hum, ‘breath, spirit’ (Bleek 1956:290) shows the variability of *u* and *o*, as do the Korana words ’kúma, ‘clouds’ (Burchell 1812 II:181), transliterated as /kúma (Nienaber 1963:535); /hum-ma, ‘Wolke’, (‘clouds’) (Meinhof 1930:144), both of these displaying the dental click that also occurs

in the dialectal words. Assuming Ten Rhyne's *c* of the word *chou* to represent the dental click, this Cape dialectal word *chou* is also comparable to the Nama word /*houb*, 'Dunst', ('haze, mist') (Rust 1960:15). Wuras (1920:15) recorded the word with the cerebral click as *!humkuà*. Comparable with Ten Rhyne's *chou* in also displaying the dental click is also the /Auni (S4) word /*gau*, 'air' (Bleek 1956:276).

### *All*

Ebner (1829:100) recorded the Nama word *whazama*, '*alle*', ('all'), for which modern Nama has *hoa-tsama*, '*alzumal*', ('all the time'); *hoa*, '*all(e)*', ('all') (Rust 1960:2), and Khwe has *kö-á-kà-xa*, 'all' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:230), all of which display the vowel sequence *o – a – a*. The correlation between *wha* and *hoa* and *kö-á-* is elucidated by Bleek's pointing out that *o* is frequently interchangeable with *w*, as in the Auen (N1) words *wa:si*, *oa:si*, 'all'; *oasi*, *o<sup>-</sup>asi*, 'all, both' (Bleek 1956:251, 153). The semi-vowel *w* is found as initial sound in a number of Bushman words, where it interchanges with a short *o* or *u*. The variant *wa* is encountered in the Naron (C2) word *wa:si* and its synonyms *waxa*, *we:* and *<sup>-</sup>wana*; in the Hadza (C3) words *waina*, *waine*, 'all', and the Auen (N1) *wana*, *waina*, 'all' (Bleek 1956:251, 252).

### *Aloe*

Claudius (1685:109) recorded the Nama word *gorée* for '*Sempervivum spinosum*' and [also] '*Aloë arborescens*'. Waterhouse (*Supplement* 16, quoted by Nienaber 1963:201) identifies the two types of aloe described by Claudius as *Aloe melanacantha* and *Aloe khamiensis*. Mentzel (1744:2) gives the word *gorée* for 'The Aloe or Goree Plant', adding that its gum is useful for medicinal purposes. Smith (1966:539) confirms that the *Aloe melanacantha* is the *gorée*, known in Afrikaans as the *Kleinbergaalwee*, *Kleinbergalwyn*, and that the *goréebos* is the *Aloe ferox*. The *Aloe khamiensis*, first noted in the Journal of Simon van der Stel's expedition to Namaqualand (1685-86) by Claudius (quoted in Smith 1966:472), is known in Afrikaans as *tweedery aloë-boom*, ('dichotomous aloe tree'), '*kokerboom*', ('quiver tree', *A. dichotoma*) (Smith 1966:472). Nienaber (1963:201) compares the name *gorée* to the Nama word *goréb*, '*Bitter-Aloë*', ('bitter aloe') (Schultze 1907:168). The word for 'aloe' appears as a component of



the river name given by Beutler in 1752 (Molsbergen III 1922:303) as ‘*Goerecha ofte Aloesrivier*’, (‘*Goerecha* or Aloes River’), now the Kwelera (Raper et al 2014:264). If the variability of *g* and *h*, and of *r* and *l*, is taken into consideration, the word *goree* is perhaps comparable to the Hadza (C3) word *holai*, ‘aloe tree, a big one’ (Bleek 1956:63) and *wilde-aalwee*, *wilde-aalwyn*, (‘wild aloe’, *Aloe speciosa*) (Smith 1966:502) distinguished from the *kokerboom*, (‘quiver tree’, *A. dichotoma*), by Claudius (quoted in Smith 1966:472, 502).

### **Alone**

Lichtenstein (1808:317) gives the Korana word *t’<sup>2</sup>kuiha*, ‘*allein, einsam*’, (‘alone, lonely’), interpreted by Nienaber (1963:207) as either //kuiha or ≠kuiha, and compared by him with the Korana words /kuyse ‘alone’ (Wuras 1920:9), /guise, ‘*alleen*’, (‘alone’) (Engelbrecht 1928:26) and /uise (Meinhof 1930:120), the latter in devalarised form, and the Nama word /guise, ‘*allein*’, (‘alone’) (Rust 1960:2). The Hie (C1) word *gwija*, *kwija*, ‘alone’ (Bleek 1956:53) bears a strong phonological resemblance to the word under discussion but lacks the corresponding click. Bleek (1929:15) indeed gives the Hie (C1) word as /kwija, thus with the dental click, cognate with the Naron (C2) word /kwi:xa, ‘alone’ (Bleek 1929:15), the unvoiced velar fricative *x* in the word /kwi:xa corresponding to the glottal fricative *h* in the word *t’<sup>2</sup>kuiha*, the digraphs *wi* and *ui* being homophonous. The Khwe words /úí-á-xa, /úí-ca-xa, /úí-xa, ‘alone’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:231), indicate devalarisation. The consonant *c* in the segment /úí-ca- is the Khwe symbol for *s* that is displayed in the Nama and Koranna words /guise and /kuyse.

### **Also**

Nienaber (1963:409) compares the Cape-Saldanha word *coa*, ‘*aussi*’, (‘also’) (De Flacourt 1658:58) to the Nama word //kadi, ‘*auch*’, (‘also’) (Rust 1960:4) and the Korana word //xā-bā, ‘*auch*’, (‘also’) (Meinhof 1930:121), pointing out that, in spite of the difference in vowels, the words may be related or the same, //xa-ba being comparable to //ka-wa and thence *coa*. The /Xam (S1) word *koa* and the Auen (N1) word /kwa, ‘also’ (Bleek 1929:15) are comparable to the word *coa*, as is the ≠Khomani (S2a) word /ɔo<sup>ξ</sup>e<sup>ξ</sup>, the symbol <sup>ξ</sup> indicating that the preceding vowel is a ‘pressed’ vowel, or pronounced with ‘pharyngeal roughening’, the last-mentioned word indicating the absence of the velar plosive *k* or *c*, this sound corresponding to the glottal stop ʔ.

**And**

The Cape dialectal word *hique*, ‘*ende*’, (‘and’), recorded by Witsen (1697 III CMM 1858:117) is comparable to the Hadza (C3) word *akwe*, ‘and, also’ (Bleek 1956:8), the segment *que* of the word *hique* and the segment *kwe* of the word *akwe* being homophonous. The component *hi* is perhaps similar to the Nama word *i*, ‘and’ (Campbell 1815:388), and to the Hie (C1) word *i*, *ii*, ‘and’ (Bleek 1956:8, 68).

**Antelope, Buck, also perhaps Steenbok**

Witsen (II 1691 in Molsbergen I 1916:222) gives the Cape dialectal word *qounqua*, ‘*wilde bokken; capri sylvestres*’, (‘wild buck’); Valentyn (1726:107a) has *quoequa*, ‘*wilde bokken*’, (‘wild buck’), and Kolbe (1727 I:430) recorded the word *quo~u q~va*, ‘*capri silvestres in genere; wilde bokken zonder onderscheid*’; (‘wild buck in general; wild buck without distinction’). Since the translations of the indigenous words are in the plural, Nienaber (1963:207) explains the component *-qua* as the masculine plural ending, and compares the first component of the words above to the Nama word //gũb and the Korana words //gũb or /gũb, ‘springbuck’. The component given as *qou(n)*, *quoe* and *quo* above is perhaps more readily comparable to the Auen (N1) and Kung (N2) word /ou, with its synonyms /au and /hō, ‘a buck, prob. steinbok’ (Bleek 1956:357). Also comparable is the component *gau* of the word *gauda*, given by Grevenbroek (1695 in Schapera & Farrington 1933:205) as ‘Latin *dama*, or *buck*’, identified by Nienaber (1963:207, 469) as a specific type of buck, probably the *steenbok*. Möller (2017:206-207) has identified Bushman words for the steenbok (*Raphicerus campestris*) that correlate more closely to the components *qoun*, *quoe* and *quo~u* of the early Cape dialectal words *qounqua*, *quoequa* and *quo~uq~va* as indicated above, namely the /Xam (S1) and //ŋ!ke (S2) word !koen (Bleek 1929:80; 1956:357, 759); and the /Xam (S1) word //khoini, of which the synonyms are /koenje, /koinje; !kenja and ≠kwenja, ‘steenbok’ (Bleek 1956:585), this latter being synonymous with the /Auni (S4) word !koenja (Bleek 1956:667). These words display the nasalisation as *n* that is represented in the Cape dialectal words as *n* or a tilde ~. The //Xegwi or Batwa (S3) word !xo; the /Auni (S4) word ≠ko, and the !O!kunj (N3) word ~/hum (Bleek 1956: 644) may also be considered comparable. These names, when pronounced with a more nasalised sound indicated with the tilde on the

o, or with the *n*, are possibly a good representation of the animal's whistling call when initiating a flight as indicated by Estes (2012:43, 62, in Möller 2017:207).

### *Apron*

Sparrman (1785 II:325, 349) recorded *t'neite* and *t'netie* as Eastern dialectal word for 'apron'. Nienaber (1963:508) explains that the component *-te* or *-tie* is comparable to the Nama feminine plural ending *-di*, and that the singular form of the word would be *t'neis*. Nienaber (1963:509) equates the component *t'nei* with the Nama word //nēib, 'Lende-rippe', ('loincloth') (Rust 1960:39) and the Korana word //heīb, 'voorkaros', ('front kaross') (Engelbrecht 1936:103), cognate with the //ǃke (S2) words //hai, 'apron', and !kai, !gai, 'man's apron, loincloth' (Bleek 1956:540, 404). In these words the variability of *n* and *h*, of *k* and *g*, and of *ei* and *ai*, is discernible. The variant !kai with the cerebral click has its equivalent in the synonym ̄!keisa, 'apron', a word also occurring in the Naron (C2) language as meaning 'apron with tassels for little girls' (Bleek 1956:421). In the word ̄!keisa the component *-sa* is the feminine singular ending. In the /Auni (S4) and Naron (C2) languages the palatal click is displayed, namely as #kai, 'apron' and #kāi, 'petticoat' (Bleek 1956:655), the latter being reminiscent of the N/uu word //hani, 'aba-karros', 'carrying-cloak' (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:117) in respect of the vowel sequence *a – i*, and the tilde ~ in the /Auni and Naron word #kāi, represented by the *n* in the N/uu word //hani, although the difference in click is noted. In the words discussed the variability of *n* and *h*, *k* and *g*, and *ei* and *ai* is observed. The Khwe word *kyāũ*, 'fringed apron' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:232) does not feature a click.

Le Vaillant (1790:290), writing of the Gonaqua, recorded the Eastern dialectal word *neuyp-kross*, 'the apron of modesty'. This word bears a similarity in sound and meaning to the Nama word *nuyp-kros*, 'short apron, of the women' (Le Vaillant 1790 II:184), translated by Nienaber (1963:509) as 'lendevelletjie', ('little loin-skin'). The Eastern dialectal and Nama words *neuyp* and *nuyp* seem to bear some phonological and semantic resemblance to the /Xam (S1) words //ohĩ, 'loincloth, man's apron', and //Λhĩ, also //ohĩ, 'dress, apron, loincloth' (Bleek 1956:625, 628); as well as to the !Xuhn word *g//o*, 'apron [women]' (Weich 2004:128). The //ǃke (S2) words //Λhé:, //Λhĩ:, 'apron' (Bleek 1956:628), in which the symbol Λ is pronounced like the *u* in the English word 'bun', indicate the interchangeability of the vowels *e* and *i*.

### **Arm**

There is considerable correspondence between the Cape-Saldanha dialectal word *onocoa*, ‘*bras*’, (‘arm’) (De Flacourt 1658:58) and the Cape dialectal word *onequa*, ‘*armen; brachia*’, (‘arms’) (Witsen 1691 I in Molsbergen I 1916:217) on the one hand, and the Cape dialectal words *öã*, ‘*d’armen; brachia*’, (‘arms’) (Witsen 1691 II Molsbergen I 1916:219), *oewa of oenequa*, ‘*de armen*’, (‘arms’) (Valentyn 1726:108a), and *õuâ*; s. *ouneq ua*, ‘*brachia; de armen*’, (‘arms’) (Kolbe 1727 I:430) on the other. The intervocalic *-n-* in the words *onocoa* and *onequa* represents the nasalisation denoted by the tilde in the comparable Nama and Korana word //õab, ‘*Arm*’, (‘arm’) (Rust 1960:4; Nienaber 1963:208) and the Korana words //uãm (Wuras 1920:10) and //uãb, ‘arm’ (Meinhof 1930:121), in which the final bilabial consonants *-b* and *-m* denote the masculine singular. The Khwe words //’õã, //’uã, ‘arm (body part)’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:233) display the variability of the vowels *o* and *u* and nasalisation. The components *-coa* and *-qua* are either the masculine plural ending, or an attempt at expressing the dual form, e.g. Nama //õakha, ‘two arms’ (Nienaber 1963:208). Lichtenstein (1808:307, 1930:469) gives the Korana word *t’<sup>2</sup>koam*, ‘*Arm*’, transcribed by Nienaber (1963:208) as either //koam or ≠koam. Both of these clicks occur in cognate Bushman words, the lateral click // in the Naron (C2) words //k’õã, //k”õã, //õã, //õa, ‘arm, foreleg’ (Bleek 1929:16; 1956:606, 625), and the palatal click ≠ in the Naron (C2) words ≠õã and ≠õa, ‘arm’, a word also found in the Tsaukwe language (C2a). The !Xuhn word ≠’han, ‘arm’ (Weich 2004:129), displays the palatal click ≠, the vowel *a*, and nasalisation expressed in comparable words by the tilde ~. On the basis of these comparisons, it seems that Kolbe was correct in indicating a click in the word *õuâ*, represented by him with the tilde ~. Words for ‘arm’ without a click occur in Hadza (C3), namely *ukwa*, *ukwako*, ‘hand, finger, arm, foreleg’ (Bleek 1956:248), which is reminiscent of the words *onocoa* and *onequa* above in lacking a click and ending in *-coa*, *-qua*, homophonous with *-kwa*.

### **Arrow**

A word *hap*, ‘*fleche*’, (‘arrow’), recorded by De Flacourt (1658:51) and identified by Nienaber (1963:423) as being of Cape-Saldanha dialectal origin, does not seem to indicate the click, but Nienaber (1963:307) points out that De Flacourt’s *h* should be read as the glottal click, and not as an aspirated *h*. Le Vaillant (1790:367) recorded  $\Delta$ -*aap* as an Eastern dialectal word for ‘arrow’, transcribed

by Nienaber (1963:423) as *!aap*. This click does not correlate with other clicks encountered in words for ‘arrow’, such as the /Xam (S1) word /*kā*; with the dental click, and the Auen (N1) and Kung (N2) words *≠a:* and *≠ā:*, ‘arrow, reed, stalk, stem’ and the Naron (C2) word *≠a*, ‘arrow’ (Bleek 1956:640), which display the palatal click. The Bushman words do not take the masculine singular ending *-p* that occurs in the word *Δ-aap* or *!aap*, or the masculine ending *-b* that is encountered in the Nama word *≠āb*, ‘*Pfeil*’, (‘arrow’) (Rust 1960:47) and the Korana word *≠āb*, ‘*riet, pyl*’, (‘reed, arrow’) (Engelbrecht 1928:29).

The Korana word *hakaseie* was recorded by Bövingh (1714:21) for ‘*vergifteten Pfeilen*’, (‘poisoned arrows’). This word bears some similarity in sound and meaning to the !Gã !ne (S2e) word *a-ka-//na* ‘arrow’ (Bleek 1956:7), but mindful of the meaning of *hakaseie* being given by Bövingh as ‘*poisoned arrows*’, the component *haka(s)* of the word *hakaseie* would seem to be comparable to the //Kxau (S2b) word /*za kho*, ‘to put poison on’ (Bleek 1956:269), and the component *eie* to be comparable to the Mohissa (C1b) word *ia*, ‘arrow’ (Bleek 1956:68), and to the !Xuhn word //xaih, ‘arrow’ (Weich 2004:129).

Another Korana word for ‘arrow’ that has recognisable Bushman equivalents is *t<sup>3</sup>koab*, recorded by Lichtenstein (1805 VRS 11:470), transcribed by Nienaber (1963:423) as *!koab*. This word is comparable to the /Auni (S4) words //*koa*, //kowa, \_//kowa and \_//koa, ‘arrow’ (Bleek 1956:583, 589), and to the Khwe words *n/góvó*, ‘arrow’, and //gává, ‘pointed bird arrow’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:233) in displaying the variability of *o* and *a*. The variability of *k* and *g* is also to be noted. In the /Auni words the underscore \_ indicates a low tone. The Khoikhoi masculine singular ending *-b* is absent from the Bushman words.

### **As, like**

Campbell (1815:388,389) recorded several words for ‘as’, namely *koommi*, *kghoma* and *camaa*, the first from ‘Hottentot’, the latter two from Korana (Nienaber 1963:463). The word *koommi* is comparable to the Kung (N2) word *komi*, ‘like’ (Bleek 1956:99). The Korana word written *kghoma* by Campbell corresponds to the /Xam (S1) word //khōa, ‘to seem, appear’ (Bleek 1956:675), where the lateral click with ejective efflux //k is represented as *khg* in the word *kghoma*, and the tilde in the word //khōa represents the nasalisation expressed by the *m* in the word *kghoma*. The same similarities can be discerned in the

/Xam (S1) word //kōa, ‘to resemble, be like, seem, appear’ (Bleek 1956:583), synonyms of which are //koa, //khoa, //kho and //ko. The Korana word *camaa* approximates the Auen (N1) and Naron (C2) word *kama*, ‘like’, and *tamma*, ‘as, like this’, which also occurs in Kung (N2) and Naron (C2) (Bleek 1956:79, 180). It is notable that in the words *koommi* and *camaa* their Bushman equivalents, too, display no click, whereas Campbell uses the cluster *kgh* in the word *kghoma* to represent the lateral click //.

### **Ash**

The word *sau* meaning ‘ash’ was recorded as part of the Nama river name ‘*Saugays of Asrivier*’, (‘Saugays or Ash River’) (W van Reenen 1791-92 Molsbergen 1 1916:144). *Asrivier*, ‘ash river’, is the translation of *Saugays*. The component *Sau* meaning ‘ash’ is comparable to the Nama word *tsáob*, ‘*Asche*’, (‘ash’) (Rust 1960:4) and to the Korana words *taub* and *thaob*, ‘*as*’, (‘ash’) (Nienaber 1963:209), the homorganic fricative *s*, affricate *ts* and plosive *t(h)* being variable, as are the digraphs *ou*, *au* and *ao*, as evidenced also in the Naron (C2) equivalents *tau*, *toufa*, *tfau* and *dau*, ‘ash, ashes’ (Bleek 1929:17; 1956:194, 226). The component *-gays* of the name *Sougays* is cognate with the Eastern dialectal word *xae*, ‘*der Fluss*’, (‘river’) (Von Winkelmann 1788:45), comparable to the !O !kung (N3) words *kai*, *!kai*; the //ǀ !ke (S2) word *k’ēi*, */k”ēi*, and the /Auni (S4) word *≠ei*, ‘river’ (Bleek 1929:70; 1956:339, 643).

### **Assegai**

Le Vaillant (1790:367) recorded the Eastern dialectal word *Λ-aure-koop*, ‘*assagay; sagaye*’ which Nienaber (1963:209) transcribed as */aure-koop* and interpreted as being similar to the Nama words */urib*, ‘*das Metall (Collectivum)*’, (‘metal (collectively, in general)’ (Kroënlein 1889:317), ‘*Eisen*’, (‘iron’) (Rust 1960:17), *gōab*, ‘*ein grosses Messer, Dolch, Schwert*’, (‘a big knife, dagger, sword’) (Kroënlein 1889:107). The latter word *goab* is comparable to the Korana word *kōāb*, translated as ‘*Speer*’, (‘spear’), by Meinhof (1930:139), and as ‘*asgaai*’, (‘assegai’) by Engelbrecht (1928:15). The clicks in the respective words are in accordance with each other, lending credence to Nienaber’s interpretation. Bushman words for ‘assegai’ include the /Xam (S1) and /Nu //en (S6) word *!gora*, ‘assegai’ (Bleek 1956:386), while *!gwara* is given as the /Xam (S1) word for ‘metal, metal knife’

(Bleek 1956:391). In these instances the cerebral click ! is displayed. If  $\Lambda$ -*aure-koop* or */aure-koop* indeed means ‘iron knife’, the component */aure* is perhaps comparable to the (S6) words */orin*, */uri*, ‘iron’ (Bleek 1956:356, 360), the Naron (C2) words */kori*, */kuri*, */koli*, */k”ore*, ‘iron’ (Bleek 1956:320), and the /Xam (S1) word */kuri*, ‘iron’ (Bleek 1956:326), and the component *koop* with the (S5) words *!kho*, *!ko*, *!xo*, ‘knife’ (Bleek 1956:427).

### **Axe**

The Cape-Saldanha word *hau*, ‘*hache*’, (‘axe’), was recorded by De Flacourt (1658:56). Since De Flacourt employed the letter *h* to denote a click, the word *hau* is clearly comparable with the Khakhea (S5) word  $\_//kau$ , the /Nu//en (S6) word  $//kau$ , ‘axe’ (Bleek 1929:18), and the Naron (C2) word */gau*, ‘axe’ (Bleek 1956:276). The variability of *g*, *k* and *h* is noted in these words.

An Eastern dialectal word for ‘axe’ was recorded by Von Winkelmann (1788:43) as *xo*, ‘*ein Beil*’, (‘an axe’), the *x* in the word *xo* identified by him as a click. Comparable Nama words are *!os*, ‘*Beil*’, (‘axe’) (Rust 1060:9); *!os* and *!hos* ‘hatchet’ (Tindall 1857:102, 104). Korana words that are similar are *!os*, ‘*Beil*’, (‘axe’) (Meinhof 1930:132), and *osh*, ‘*ax*’, (‘axe’) (Wuras 1920:9). Bushman equivalents are the /Xam (S1) word *!ko*: and the //I !ke (S2) word *!o*: ‘axe’ (Bleek 1929:18). The /Xam word *!ko*: correlates to the Eastern dialectal word *xo* in the incorporation of a velar consonant, the plosive *k* and fricative *x* respectively, the other cited Bushman equivalents lacking this feature. The N/uu word *!oo*, ‘axe’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:121) displays the cerebral click ! with the glottal stop. The /Auni (S4) word  $\neq o$ : ‘an axe’ (Bleek 1956:675) is deviant in featuring the palatal click  $\neq$ . Other words for ‘axe’, namely the Khwe word *bó* (Kilian-Hatz 2003:235), the !O *!kuṅ* (N3), Naron (C2), Tsaukwe (C2a) and Hukwe (C2b) words *bo*, *boo*, *boko* and *bose*, the Hie (C1) word *boo*, and the Naron (C2) word *bo:fa*, correlate with the Khakhea (S5) word *bosə*, a synonym for  $\_//kau$ , ‘axe’ (Bleek 1929:18). The widespread initial bilabial consonant *b*- in these words is notable, since it does not occur in many Bushman words (Bleek 1956:13).

**-B-*****Baboon***

An Eastern dialectal word for ‘baboon’ recorded by Sparrman (1785 II:350) is *t’gorloka*, the cluster *t’* representing a click. This is probably the dental click /, which is the click that occurs most frequently in comparable words in other languages. The first segment *t’gor* of the word *t’gorloka* is similar to the component /*gor* in the /Xam (S1) word /*goren*, /*gori*, /*gora*, /*goro*, ‘baboon’ (Bleek 1956:282), also evident in the Auen (N1) and Naron (C2) word /*gora*, /*goraba*, and in the /Xam (S1) word /*goro*, which displays the cerebral click ! as opposed to the dental /, a synonym of the /Xam (S1) word /*goren*, ‘baboon’ (Bleek 1956:386). The interchangeability of *n* and *g* and of *e* and *o* can be discerned in the ‘Hottentot’ word /*nɔrab* and /*nerab*, ‘baboon’ (Bleek 1929:18), and in the Nama synonym /*nerab*, meaning ‘the one who measures his strides’, from the informant who explained to Kroenlein (1889:252): “Have you not seen how the baboon imitates what man does, how he measures his strides?” (Möller 2017:157), the latter word appearing in /Auni (S4) as /*nera*, ‘baboon’ (Bleek 1929:18). The N/uu word //*qun* //*qhaa*, ‘baboon’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:11) is comparable as regards the vowel sequence *u – a* with the //ǀ (S2) word //*kū* //*ka*, ‘baboon’, of which a synonym is /*hu* (Bleek 1929:18). The Khwe word *ngúyá*, ‘baboon’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:235) also displays the vowel sequence *u – a*.

***Baby, Boy, Child***

De Flacourt (1655:58) recorded the Cape-Saldanha dialectal word *cona*, ‘*enfant*’, (‘infant, baby’). This word is comparable to the Cape dialectal words *gona*, ‘*jongens; pueri*’, (‘young ones, boys’) (Witsen 1691 in Molsbergen I 1916:217), *goná*, ‘*een jongen*’, (‘a boy’) (Valentyn 1726:108a), and *gonã*, ‘*puer; een jongetje*’, (‘a boy’) (Kolbe 1727 1:433), as well as to the Eastern dialectal word *xona*, ‘*das Kind*’, ‘the child’ (Von Winkelmann 1788:44), as regards the vowel sequence *o – a*, which also features in the N/uu word /*oba*, ‘child’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:130) and the Khwe word /*ōã*, ‘child’. Van Riebeeck (1660 in Bosman & Thom III 1957:266) gives the Cape-Caledon dialectal word *kone*, ‘*kinderen*’, (‘children’). Nienaber (1963:338) is of the opinion that the suffixes *na* and *ne* in the dialectal words *cona*, *gonã* and *kone* are the common plural ending, and is surprised that only Van Riebeeck translated the word as a plural. The N/uu



word /*oba*, ‘child’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:118, 130) and the Khwe word /*ōã*, ‘child’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:251) are comparable to the word *cona* if the consonant *c* in this word is representative of the dental click /; the vowel sequence *o – a* is common to all three words; the nasalisation represented by the consonant *n* of the word *cona* approximates the nasalised *b* of the word /*oba* and the tilde *~* of the word /*ōã*. This last word is closer to the Nama word *oas*, ‘*Kind*’, (‘child’) (Ebner 1829:340) which, however, does not display nasalisation.

### **Back**

Lichtenstein (1930:469) recorded what appear to be, or are, Korana words *t<sup>’2</sup>kam*, *t<sup>’1</sup>kaib*, ‘the back’ (VRS 11:469), given as German ‘*Rücken*’ (‘back’) (Arch :307). Lichtenstein used the symbol *t<sup>’1</sup>* to designate the dental click and the symbol *t<sup>’2</sup>* for the lateral click, so that the transcription would read //*kam*, /*kaib*. The translator Anne Plumptre added a footnote “Literally, *behind man*”, prompting Nienaber (1963:435) to regard *t<sup>’2</sup> kam*, *t<sup>’1</sup>kaib* as “*blykbaar te lees as ’n samestelling of, beter, ’n samekoppeling*”, this surmise strengthened by the recording of the Korana word given by Wuras (in Nienaber 1963:435) as *kx’am*–//*kx’eib*, ‘Back (n.)’. Nienaber points out that the Nama word for ‘back’ is *!gãb* (Rust 1960:50), given as *!kãp* by Tindall (1857 in Nienaber 1963:435), and that the Korana word is //*kx’ãb*, (//*kx’ãm*) (Meinhof 1930:136). In the Nama words *!gãb* and *!kãp* the variability of *g* and *k*, and of *b* and *p*, is evident. Comparison of Lichtenstein’s recorded words *t<sup>’2</sup> kam* and *t<sup>’1</sup>kaib* with Bushman equivalents shows them to perhaps be two separate words for ‘back’. In the word *t<sup>’2</sup> kam*, transcribed as //*kam*, the final *–m* is the masculine singular ending, variable with *b*; the root //*ka* is comparable with the Khatia (S4a) word //*k”a*, ‘back’ (Bleek 1956:602) and the Naron (C2) noun and adverb *!ga*, ‘back’ (Bleek 1956:374). The word *t<sup>’1</sup>kaib*, transcribed as /*kaib*, is comparable with the /Xam (S1) word *!khai*, *!khai*, ‘to be above; over; also used as on the back’ (Bleek 1956:423); the final *–b* of /*kaib* is the Khoikhoi masculine singular ending. The final element *–ka* of the Khwe word *tc’í ka*, ‘back’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:235) is reminiscent of the Khatia (S4a) word //*k”a*, ‘back’ (Bleek 1956:602) and the Naron (C2) noun and adverb *!ga*, ‘back’ (Bleek 1956:374).

**Bacon**

Lichtenstein (1808:283) gives  $t''k\ddot{o}ub$  as the Korana word for 'Speck', ('bacon'), transcribed by Nienaber (1963:464) as " $//k\ddot{o}ub$  of *liewer*  $\neq k\ddot{o}ub$ ", (" $//k\ddot{o}ub$  or rather  $\neq k\ddot{o}ub$ "), and compared by him with Nama  $\neq kou$ , 'schmierer', ('spread, smear') (Rust 1960:54), Korana  $\neq xau$ , 'schmierer', ('grease, lubricate, smear') (Meinhof 1930:106) and  $\neq kou$ , 'smeer', ('smear') (Engelbrecht 1928:31). Nienaber (1963:458) surmises that Lichtenstein's symbol  $t''$  may be interpreted as the dental click, as in the Korana word  $t''kaub$  'eine Schlange', ('a snake') (1808:283) that Nienaber compares with the Nama word  $/ao-b$ , 'die Schlange', ('snake'). If Nienaber is correct, Lichtenstein's  $t''k\ddot{o}ub$  here may be compared with the /Xam (S1) words  $/khou$  and  $/kou$  'fat, found round sheep's stomach' (Bleek 1956:314) a word also encountered in the develarised Eastern dialectal component *ou* in the place-name *Ou Chamma*, 'Vet water', ('fat water'), recorded by Beutler (1752 in Molsbergen III 1922:330). However, Bleek (1956:512) points out that Lichtenstein employed the symbol  $t''$  to represent the lateral click  $//$ , so that the Korana word for 'Speck', ('bacon'), recorded by Lichtenstein as  $t''k\ddot{o}ub$ , as discussed above, may be transliterated as  $//k\ddot{o}ub$ . When discussing the word for 'fat', as opposed to 'Speck', ('bacon'), Lichtenstein (1930:471) gives  $t''gneub$  'fat', using the symbol  $t''$  for the dental click  $/$ , so that the word may be transcribed as  $/gneub$ .

**Bad, evil**

Sparrman (1785 II:351) recorded the Eastern dialectal word *kaissi*, 'bad', which was compared by Nienaber (1963:459) to the Nama word  $//gasi$ , 'hässlich, abscheulich', ('ugly, hideous; repulsive, abhorrent'), and to the Korana words  $//kasi$  and  $//goasa$  'sleg', ('bad'). To this may be added the Naron (C2) word  $/k''e:fa$ , 'an evil thing' (Bleek 1963:339).

The Eastern dialectal word  $t'huh$ , 'bad', was recorded by Lichtenstein (1808:316), and in this instance he did not specify which click was intended. However, by comparison with cognate words in other languages, the dental  $/$  was perhaps meant. Thus the word  $t'huh$  can be seen to be similar to the Nama word  $/k\ddot{u}i$ , 'böse sein', ('to be evil') (Kroenlein 1889:222a), the /Xam (S1) word  $/uh\ddot{a}$ ,  $/\Delta h\ddot{a}$ , 'evil, angry' (Bleek 1956:358), and the Hie (C1) word *hoo* and the velarised variant *khoo*, 'evil' (Bleek 1956:64, 90). The dental click also occurs in the !Xuhn

word /*kau*, ‘bad’ (Weich 2004:131). The Khwe word *kx’ú*, ‘bad’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:235) displays the vowel *u* noted in the Eastern dialectal word *t’huh* and in the /Xam words /*uhã*, /*Λhá*, ‘evil, angry’, while the Khwe word *tcòò* is more reminiscent of the Hie (C1) word *hoo* and the velarised variant *khoo*, ‘evil’, in lacking a click.

### **Bag, knapsack**

Lichtenstein (1930:470; 1808:285, 309) recorded the Korana word *t’<sup>l</sup>khoob*, ‘a bag’, ‘*ein Knappsack*’, (‘kitbag’), ‘*Beutel, Schubsack*’, (‘bag, satchel, carrybag’). Nienaber (1963:342) notes that Lichtenstein sometimes uses the symbol *t’<sup>l</sup>* for the dental click / and sometimes for the lateral click //. Comparison with cognate Nama, Korana and Bushman words indicates that it could have been either. Thus the lateral click occurs in the Nama word //*hōb*, ‘*der Knappsack*’, (‘kitbag’) (Kroenlein 1889:169b), also //*hob* in Korana (Nienaber 1960:342), as it does in the /Xam (S1) word *ˀ//ho*, the //ǀ word *!ke* (S2) word //*ho*, the //Xegwi (S3) word //*ko*: and the /Auni (S4) word //*ho*: ‘round bag, slung over shoulder, hanging on left hip’ (Bleek 1929:19), as well as in the !Xuhn word //*ho*, ‘*knapsak, kitbag*’ (Weich 2004:182). Words for ‘bag’ with the dental click are the /Xam (S1) word /*kho*: the //Xegwi (S3) word /*ko:ma*, ‘bag’ (Bleek 1956:313, 319) and the !Xuhn word /*hao*, ‘knapsack, *bladsak*’ (Weich 2004:182). The Khwe word *≠òm*, ‘leather bag’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:235) displays the palatal click ≠. It is noted that the velar efflux indicated by Lichtenstein as *k* features in these latter two words, and in the //Xegwi word //*ko*, but softened elsewhere to the aspirated efflux indicated by *h*. The N/uu word //*xãa*, ‘bag’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:141) is comparable to the //ǀ word *!ke* (S2) word //*xã*: ‘little bag (used as tobacco pouch)’, the fricative efflux displayed in these instances (Bleek 1929:19), the long vowel being indicated by the double *aa* in the word //*xãa* and by the colon *a:* in the word //*xã*: respectively. The !Xuhn word *n!oeh*, ‘knapsack, *bladsak*’ (Weich 2004:182) displays the nasalised cerebral click *n!* and the vowel sequence *o – e*, with extra voicing indicated by the letter *h* (Weich 2004:vii).

### **Bantu**

The /Xam (S1) words *kwobo*, ‘black man’, and *kwobbo*, ‘coloured person, black man’ (Bleek 1929:22; 1956:115), are similar to the component *chobo* in the

Cape dialectal word *chobona*, ‘*svvarte vremte Nation; nigrae nationes*’, (‘black strange nation, black nations’) (Witsen 1691 II Molsbergen 1 1916:220), and *chobona*, ‘*natio nigra extranea; de zwarte natien*’, (‘foreign black nation, the black nation’) (Kolbe 1727 I:432). The component *-na* in the word *Chobona* is the common plural ending, the root *chobo* thus corresponding to the /Xam (S1) word *kwob(b)o*.

### ***Beads, necklace***

The large number of words recorded for ‘bead’ and ‘necklace’ indicate the important role played by these items in the life and culture of the indigenous peoples. Thunberg (1795 II:86) recorded the Eastern dialectal word *KRAKWA*, ‘*glaskoral*’, (‘glass bead’). The second component, *-kwa*, is identified by Nienaber (1960:358) as the masculine plural ending *gu-a* or *qua*. Since the phonological system of the Khoikhoi language does not permit the juxtaposition of *k* and *r*, a weakly stressed vowel between these two letters in the component *kra* must have been elided, namely *a* in some cases and *o* in others. The Nama word being *karan*, ‘beads’, recorded by Tindall (1857:82), with *-n* being the common plural ending, is cognate with the Bushman word *kāra*, ‘*Korallen*’, (‘beads’) (Lichtenstein 1808:310), with the /Xam (S1) word *ka:ra* ‘beads’, and with the !O !kuŋ (N3) word *korai*, ‘a red bead; necklace’ (Bleek 1956:81, 100). The permissible variability of *k* and *g* and Thunberg’s translation of *krakwa* as *glaskoral* or ‘glass beads, necklace’ shows the first component *kra* of the word *krakwa* to be comparable to the /Xam (S1) word *!garo*, ‘glass’, and the component *kwa* to be comparable to the Naron (C2) word */kwa*, ‘necklace’ (Bleek 1956:377, 328).

Ten Rhyne (1673 in Schapera & Farrington 1933:154) recorded the Cape dialectal word *ey*, ‘*corrallia ex vitro*’, (‘beads of glass’), which is phonologically comparable to the /Xam (S1) word */ei*, ‘beads’ (Bleek 1956:272). Nienaber (1963:358) compares the word *ey* to the Nama word *≠eis*, ‘*Perle von Kupfer*’, (‘beads of copper’) (Kroenlein 1889:68), surmising that since Ten Rhyne spent only four weeks at the Cape, he might have been mistaken about the beads being made of glass. The word *ey* and the Nama word *≠ei(s)* are thus recognisable as similar to the Auen (N1) word *≠k’i*, ‘copper beads’ (Bleek 1956:662).

Wikar (1779 in Mossop 1935:76) gives *koeno*, ‘*koralen ... ik ... weet er niets als glas daarvan te maaken*’; (‘beads ... I ... don’t know what to make of them but glass’). Nienaber (1963:358) explains that these beads resemble glass but are not made of glass, suggesting that they could be made of treated gum as described by Schultze (1907:252), called *≠gũs* in Nama, a word that may correspond to the component *koe* of the word *koeno*, the voiced velar consonant *g* variable with the unvoiced velar consonant *k*, Dutch *oe* pronounced as /*u*/. If the digraph *oe* is pronounced as in Khoikhoi, namely as /*ɔɛ*:/, the component *koe* of the word *koeno* is perhaps comparable to the !Xuhn word *!hui*, ‘bead’ (Weich 2004:132), the /Xam (S1) /*gui*, ‘gum arabic’, and the Naron (C2) words *!gõ*, ‘gum’, and *≠go*; ‘gum of trees’ (Bleek 1956:283, 383, 647). The second component *no* of the word *koeno* is comparable to the Kung (N2) word *≠no* ‘necklace, string necklace, string’.

A Korana word for ‘beads’ recorded by Lichtenstein (1808:309) is *t’kaikoa*, ‘*Korallen*’, (‘beads’), transcribed by Nienaber (1963:358) as /*kaikoa*, the component /*kai* equated with the Korana word /*kx’aib*, ‘*kleine Perlen von Stein*’, (‘small beads of stone’) and /*kx’ai*, ‘*kleine Perlen von Holz*’, (‘small beads of wood’) (Meinhof 1930:135), and the component *-koa* interpreted by him as the masculine plural ending *-qua*. The component /*kai* of the word /*kaikoa* is also comparable with the ≠Khomani (S2a) words /*kx’ain*, /*kx’ẽi* *si*, ‘beads’, the Ki /hazi (S4) words /*k’einsi* and /*k’ẽsi*, ‘beads’ (Bleek 1956:335, 339), and the N/uu word /*x’ãinsi*, ‘bead’, plural /*x’ãi*, ‘necklace’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:132). The component *koa* of the word /*kaikoa* is comparable to the Naron (C2) word /*kwa*, ‘necklace’, and the Khwe word *qóa-/gãã*, ‘bead(s) as ornament’, /*gãã*, ‘bead(s)’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:237).

Several spellings of /*ni*, /*ni*, variants /*na*: and /*ne*, apply to semantically related words. Bleek (1956:738) gives /*ni* for ‘necklace’, and /*ni* and /*ni* as Khatia (S4a) and Auen (N1) words for ‘bead, berry, bulb’ (1956:347). There seems to be a similarity between these words and the Cape dialectal word *ninimos*, (‘*corallia ex aere*’, (‘(beads) of copper’), recorded by Ten Rhyne (1673 in Schapera & Farrington 1933:154), and the Khwe word *dinimá*, ‘large coloured glass bead(s)’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:237). The initial alveolar nasal *n* of the word *ninimos* approximates the initial voiced alveolar consonant *d* of the word *dinima*, while the segment *-inim-* is common to both words.

### **Beard**

Words for ‘beard’ display the variability of *o* and *u*, a shift from from *mba* to *mma* (Nienaber 1963:210), and the preponderance of the dental click in the instances where a click is incorporated. De Flacourt (1658:58) gives the Cape-Saldanha word *nomma*, ‘*barbe*’, (‘beard’); Witsen (1691 II Molsbergen 1 1916:219) recorded the Cape dialectal word *nomba*, ‘*den baard; barba*’, (‘beard’); Valentyn (1726:107b) has the Cape dialectal word *nombha*, ‘*den baard*’, (‘the beard’); Kolbe (1727 I:430) gives Cape dialectal *nombhã*, ‘*barba; de baard*’, (‘beard; the beard’); and Lichtenstein (1930:469) gives the Korana word *t’nomkoa*, ‘beard’. Lichtenstein uses the symbol *t’* to denote the dental click, so that *t’nomkoa* can be transcribed as /*nomkoa*, incorporating the dental click that appears consistently also in other equivalents. Wandres (1918:28) gives the Nama word /*nomgu*, ‘*Schnurbart*’, (‘moustache’). Korana words that correspond to the above are /*numma*, ‘beard’ (Wuras 1920:12), and /*numgu*, ‘*baard*’, (‘beard’) (Engelbrecht 1928:28), the last two displaying the vowel *u* that also occurs in the /Xam (S1) word *num*, the /Nu //en (S6) word /*nu:m*, the Naron (C2) word /*numfa*, ‘beard’ (Bleek 1929:20), and in the Khakhea (S5) word /*nu:m*, ‘beard’ (Bleek 1956:352). /Xam (S1) does have a synonym /*nom* for /*num*, ‘beard’, and the adjective /*numma*, ‘bearded’ (Bleek 1956:352), reflecting the variability of the vowels *u* and *o*. The N/uu word *n/um*, ‘beard’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:118) also displays the dental click / and the vowel *u*. The second component of the Khwe word *gyànií-’ũũ*, ‘beard’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:237) displays the dental click, and the nasalisation that is represented by the nasal *m* in the other words discussed, is indicated by the tilde. The word *gyànií-’ũũ*, ‘beard’, literally means ‘chin hair’, from the word *gyànií*, ‘chin’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:51). It is uncertain to what extent the component *gou* of the Nama name *Gouzep*, the alternative name for Baartman, ‘beard(ed) man’ (Wikar 1779 in Mossop 1935:36) corresponds to the words discussed. This particular word for ‘beard’ has become obsolete in Nama; Rust (1960:8) gives the word /*houb*, ‘*Kinnbart*’, (‘chin beard’).

### **Believe**

Interchangeability of the vowels *e*, *o* and *u* is notable in Nama, Korana and Bushman equivalents of the Cape dialectal word *k? hem*, ‘(Ik) geloove’, (‘(I) believe’), recorded by Witsen (1697 CMM 1858:119). The Korana words with which this word is comparable are *#kumm*, ‘believe’ (Wuras 1920:12);

*≠gum*, 'glo', ('believe') (Nienaber 1963:279), and *≠om*, '*jem. Glauben*', ('believe someone') (Meinhof 1930:128). In Nama, as in Korana, *o* and *u* are variable, as evidenced in the words *≠kum* (Tindall 1857 in Nienaber 1963:279) and *≠gom* (Rust 1960:27), where not only the vowels interchange, but also the voiced versus unvoiced velar release of the palatal click, which is ubiquitous. The palatal click with voiced efflux also features in the Kung (N2) equivalent *≠gom*, 'to believe, trust, rely upon' (Bleek 1956:648), but in the Naron (C2) equivalent *!kum*, 'to trust', the cerebral click with ejective efflux is displayed, perhaps indicating the semantic distinction between 'believe' and 'trust'. The !Xuhn word *!'ama* that displays the cerebral click and the vowel *a* has both the meaning of 'believe' and 'trust' (Weich 2004:133, 240), but displays the glottal stop and not the velar efflux and the deviant vowel *a*.

### **Big**

An interesting possibility of interchangeability of *g*, *k* and *b* is presented in the Cape-Saldanha word *bei*, '*grand*', ('large, big'), recorded by De Flacourt (1658:55), that is paralleled by the Nama word *gei*, '*gross*', ('big') (Rust 1960:28) and the Korana words *kai*, *kei*, '*great*' (Maingard 1964:63), and *gai*, '*groot*' (Engelbrecht 1928:15). Lichtenstein (1808:315) recorded the Korana word with a click as *t''kaib*, '*gross*', ('big'), transcribed as //kaib, a noun with the masculine singular ending *-b* which should have been translated as '*die Grösse*', ('size'), or '*der Grosse*', ('the big one'), according to Nienaber (1963:291). Bushman equivalents are the words *kei*, *kai*, *keja*, 'to grow, be big', also used as an adjective, that occur in /Xam (S1), /Auni (S4), Auen (N1) and Naron (C2) (Bleek 1956:86). Bushman words for 'big' that incorporate a click are the Khakhea (S5) word *\_!xei*, and the /Nu//en (S6) word *!xai* (Bleek 1929:22), thus with a different click from the lateral // given by Lichtenstein, namely the cerebral !, and with a fricative release *x* as opposed to Lichtenstein's ejective *k*.

### **Bird**

From 1655 various indigenous words for 'bird' have consistently displayed the vowel pattern *a - i* or *a - e*. One such word has been classified as being from the Cape-Saldanha dialect, three are from the Cape dialect, and two from the Eastern dialect (Nienaber 1963:505). The Cape-Saldanha dialectal

word, recorded by De Flacourt (1658: 58), is *caneps*, ‘*poule*’, (‘hen’). The Cape dialectal words are *k’annéqua*, ‘*geuogelte; volucres*’, (‘birds’) (Witsen 1691 II Molsbergen 1 1916:222); *kaoniquaa*, ‘*vogels, in ’t gemeen*’, (‘birds in general’) (Valentyn 1726:107b); and /*k~anniquà*, ‘*volucres; het gevleugelde*’, (‘birds, winged things’) (Kolbe 1727 I:434). The two words from the Eastern dialect are  $\Delta$ -*kanip*, ‘bird; *voogel*’ (Le Vaillant 1790:366; transcribed as *!kanib*), and *xgani*, ‘*der Vogel*’, ‘the bird’ (Von Winkelmann 1788:45). The Nama word appears in devalarised form as *anib*, *anis*, ‘*Vogel*’, (‘bird’) (Rust 1960:70), while an affricate occurs in the Korana word *kx’anis*, and a fricative in the Korana word *xanis* (Nienaber 1963:505). Griqua words for ‘bird’ appear in both velarised and devalarised forms, namely as *k’anis* and ‘*anib*’ (Nienaber 1963:505). /Xam (S1) equivalents are *k”ãnni*, *k”ani*, ‘bird, little bird’, while Kung (N2) words are very similar, namely *k”anni* and *k”ani*, ‘bird’ (Bleek 1956:119). Another /Xam (S1) word for ‘bird’ is given by Lichtenstein with the dental click, /*kanni*, ‘bird’, the same word given as /*kanni*, ‘guinea fowl’, in the Hukwe (C2b) language (Bleek 1956:301), thus showing similarity to Kolbe’s Cape dialectal word /*k~anniquà* above. A Kung (N2) word that also displays a dental click is /*kere*, ‘a small bird’ (Bleek 1956:309). The variability of *n* and *r* can be discerned in the /Xam (S1) synonyms *k”arri* and //*k”ařri*, ‘bird, ostrich’, thus with the lateral click and nasalised ř (Bleek 1956:119, 603). The similarity between Eastern dialectal and Korana words noted by Nienaber (1963:506) is exemplified by the Korana word *t’<sup>3</sup>karinde*, ‘birds’ (Lichtenstein 1805 VRS X1:470), transcribed as *!karinde* and thus also displaying the cerebral click. The letter *n* of the component *!karin* is thought to be the Khoikhoi plural ending; the final segment *-de* in the word *!karinde* is comparable to the /Xam (S1) plural ending *-de*.

### **Black**

A variety of clicks is encountered in words for ‘black’. Lichtenstein (1808:317) recorded *t’<sup>1</sup>nu*, ‘*schwarz*’, ‘black’, for Korana, transliterated as /*nu* by Nienaber (1963:475), and *t’<sup>1</sup>nua* ‘black’ in the /Xam (S1) language, transliterated as /*nua* by Bleek (1956:351). The word also occurs with the dental click / in the Naron (C2) word /*nu*, ‘night, dark, black’ (Bleek 1956:351). Meinhof (1930:138) also gives /*nu* for Korana, but also *!nu*, while the ‘usual’ Korana word is  $\neq$ *nu*, as in Nama (Nienaber 1963:475). In Naron (C2) *!nu*: and  $\neq$ *nu* for ‘black, dark’ are given as synonyms (Bleek 1956:483). The !Xuhn word *djoo*, ‘black’, features the



voiced consonant combination *dj* (Weich 2004:vii, 134); the N/uu word *ku !hoe*, ‘black’ literally means ‘looks like – black’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:146). The Khwe word *n≠qú*, ‘black’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:241) corresponds to the Nama and Korana words with the palatal click *≠*; the voiceless uvular stop is represented by the consonant *q* (Kilian-Hatz 2003:8). Another Khwe word for ‘black’, namely *dùú* (Kilian-Hatz 2003:241) is comparable with the !Xuhn word *djoo* (Weich 2004:vii, 134).

*Doggha* is a word for ‘black’ that features as a component of the place-name *Doggha kamma*, ‘Swarte Rivier’, (‘black river’), recorded by Hartogh in 1707 (Molsbergen II 1916:8). The word *doggha* is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word */hoaka*, ‘dark, black’ (Bleek 1956:289), the alveolar consonant *d* approximating the dental or alveolar click */*, the diphthong *oa* coalesced to *o*, the velar plosive consonants *g* and *k* being interchangeable in second syllables (Bleek 1956:40).

The name *Nounka of Swarte rivier*, (‘Nounka or Black river’), was recorded in 1776 by Swellengrebel (Molsbergen IV 1932: 55). Although noting that the component *nou(n)*- does not incorporate a click, Nienaber (1963: 475) considers that the word would be better translated as ‘*grys-swart*’, (‘grey-black’), comparable to the Nama word *!noá*, ‘*grau werden*’, (‘to become gray’) and the Korana word *!noā*, ‘*grau*’, (‘grey’). As noted above, words for ‘black’ are encountered with a variety of clicks in Khoisan languages. Lichtenstein (1808:317) recorded the Korana word *t’nu*, ‘*schwarz*’, (‘black’), transliterated as */nu* by Nienaber (1963:475), and the /Xam (S1) word *t’nu*, ‘black’, transliterated as */nua* by Bleek (1956: 351). The word also occurs with the dental click in the Naron (C2) word */nu* ‘night, dark, black’ (Bleek 1956: 351), and Meinhof (1930:138) gives */nu* for Korana, but also *!nu*, while the usual Korana word is *≠nu*, as in Nama (Nienaber 1963:475). In Naron (C2) *!nu*: and *≠nu* for ‘black, dark’, are given as synonyms (Bleek 1956:483). All of these words are comparable with the word *nou(n)* except for the click.

### **Blood**

As far as can be ascertained no Khoisan words for ‘blood’ were recorded before the 19th century, and then the words that were recorded were from Korana and Nama. Lichtenstein (1808:284) recorded the Korana word *t’aaub*, ‘*Blut*’, (‘blood’), which can be transcribed as *//aaub*; Ebner (1829:342) gives the Nama

word *-aup*, ‘*Blut*’, (‘blood’); and Campbell (1815:389) gives the ‘Hottentot’ word *aup*, ‘blood’. The variability of the masculine singular ending as *-p* and *-b* is discernible in the comparable Nama word */aub*, ‘*Blut*’, (‘blood’) (Rust 1960:11) and the Korana word */aub* (Wuras 1920:13). Bushman equivalents are the Nogau (N1a) words */ao* and */ou* (Bleek 1956: 269, 357), which display variant vowel clusters; the Naron (C2) word */ausa*, ‘blood’ (Bleek 1929:22), from the verb */au*, ‘to bleed’ (Bleek 1956:270), and the Khwe word */’ao*, ‘blood’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:241). Lichtenstein’s *//aaub*, which displays the lateral click, is in agreement with the *//ǀ!ke* (S2) word *//xau*, the */Auni* (S4) word *//xau’u*, the Khakhea (S5) word *\_//xaṹ*, ‘blood’ (Bleek 1956:634), and the N/uu word *//xauke*, ‘blood’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:119), all of which, however, differ from the word *//aaub* by displaying the fricative release *x*. */Xam* (S1) has a word that deviates as regards the click, namely *!gau*, ‘blood’, thus with the cerebral click (Bleek 1956:378). The variable endings *-b* and *-p* in the relevant words are the masculine singular marker; the ending *-sa* in the Naron word */ausa* is the feminine singular, and the ending *-ke* in the N/uu word *//xauke* is the plural ending.

### **Body**

De Flacourt (1658:58) recorded the Cape-Saldanha word *couché*, ‘*corps*’, (‘body’), for which Nienaber (1963:374) gives the Nama word */khas* as a comparable word, pointing out that the diphthong *ou* in French is pronounced as */u/*, that the variation of */u/* and */a/* is not uncommon in early recordings, and that “*che* is ’n verswaarde uitgang van die vr. ekv., na dit skyn, vir nadruklikheid”, (“*che* is a stressed feminine singular ending, for emphasis, as it appears”); and “*Cou* is waarskynlik n doublet van *t’³kaab*, in Nama tans ook */khās*. Die wisseling van */a/* en */u/* is nie ongewoon nie”; (“*cou* is probably a doublet of *t’³kaab*, currently also */khās* in Nama. The variability of */a/* and */u/* is not uncommon”). The word *t’³kaab* to which Nienaber refers is the Korana word recorded by Lichtenstein (1930:469) for ‘body’, transcribed as *!khab*, thus with the cerebral click *!* that is also found in the */Xam* (S1) equivalent *!ouka*, *!oukən*, and the synonyms *!kauuka* and *!kaukən*, ‘body’ (Bleek 1956:414, 492), while the homophonous *u* is encountered in the Auen (N1) word *!gu*, ‘stomach, body, belly, seedpod’, a word that also occurs in Kung (N2) and *!O !kuṅ* (N3). The Khwe word *≠áó*, ‘body’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:242) displays the palatal click *≠*; the vowel cluster or

diphthong *ao* renders this word phonologically comparable with the /Xam (S1) equivalents *!ouka*, *!oukən*, *!kauuka* and *!kaukən*, ‘body’ (Bleek 1956:414, 492). Other recorded Korana words for ‘body’ display the dental click, for example */chab* (Wuras 1920:13) and */kab* (Nienaber 1963:374), as does the Nama word */khab*, */khas*, ‘*Körper, Leib*’, (‘body’) (Rust 1960:36, 39). Meinhof (1930:131) gives the word as *xāb*, ‘*der Körper*’, (‘body’), thus with the fricative *x* and no click consonant. The !Xuhn word *thang* ‘body’ (Weich 2004:135) displays the voiceless dentilabial fricative that is phonologically similar to the voiceless dental click /, and nasalisation indicated by *ng*. The N/uu word *ka Ooeke*, ‘body’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:134) is phonologically similar to the /Xam (S1) words *!kauuka* and *!kaukən* indicated above, but incorporates the lip click *ǃ* in its second component.

### **Bone**

In some instances ancient words are preserved as fossilised components of place-names, as in the name ‘*Kobib or Bone Hills*’ (Alexander 1838 II:149). The component ‘*kob*’ also occurs as a ‘Hottentot’ word *koop*, ‘bone’, and as a Nama word *koop*, ‘bone’ (Appleyard 1850:13). In these words the apostrophe indicates a click, and the words in question are comparable with the Nama word *≠kob*, *≠kos*, ‘*der Knochen, das Bein*’, (‘bone’) (Kroenlein 1889:218), the final *-b*, *-p* and *-s* in the relevant words being the masculine and feminine singular endings respectively. The interchangeability of *o* and *u* is evidenced in the Auen (N1) synonyms *!o* and *!u*, and the !O !kuŋ (N3) synonyms *!ʔo* and *!ʔu*, ‘bone’ (Bleek 1956:489, 492), here in devalarised form, also in the Auen (N1) *ʔʉu*; the Kung (N2) *ʔku*: (Bleek 1929:23), and the !Xuhn word *!ʉu*, ‘bone’ (Weich 2004:135), and, with the palatal click, the Nogau (N1a) word *≠u*, ‘bone’ (Bleek 1956:676). The lateral click and different shade of meaning is evidenced in the /Xam (S1) word *ʔʉo*, ‘bone used as a *knobkerrie*’, (‘club, bludgeon’) (Bleek 1956:625). The variability of *o* and *u* is evidenced in the name of the region *Kouph*, also written *Gouph*, ‘*Gerippfeld*’, (‘skeleton field’) (Wangemann 1873:7), where the Korana word for ‘bone’ is *≠kob* and *≠ko:b* (Nienaber 1963:214; Bleek 1929:23) and the equivalent Auen (N1) and Kung (N2) word is *ʔku*:, ‘bone’ (Bleek 1929:23), again displaying the variability of the vowels *u* and *o*. The N/uu word for ‘bone’ is *//aba* (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:118), displaying the lateral click and the vowel *a*, and thus comparable to the //ǀ!ke (S2) word *//kaba*, ‘bone’ (Bleek 1929:23).

Whereas the cerebral, lateral and palatal clicks feature in the words discussed above, the Khwe word /'ōã, 'bone' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:242) displays the dental click with glottal release, as well as nasalisation not encountered elsewhere.

### **Book**

Ebner (1829:340) gives the Nama word *canis*, 'Buch', ('book'), and Campbell (1815:389) recorded the Nama word *kanip* for 'book, letter'. Nienaber (1963:371) points out that, whereas Campbell indicated the masculine singular ending as *-p*, Nama words for 'book, letter' generally take the feminine singular ending *-s*, as in ≠*kanis*, 'Buch, Brief', ('book, letter') (Rust 1060:12), as does the Korana word ≠*kanis*, 'book' (Maingard 1964:64), although Wuras (1920:13) does give the Korana word ≠*kannim*, with the masculine singular ending *-m*, which historically sometimes interchanges with *-b*. Bushman equivalents are the Auen (N1) words /*xani* and /*xanni*, 'book, paper' (Bleek 1929:13; Bleek 1956:363), and the //I) !ke (S2) words /*xanni*, /*xenni* and //*kanē*, 'book' (Bleek 1956:364, 557). The Auen (N1) and Naron (C2) words /*kani*, /*kanni*, 'letter, book', the //I) !ke (S2) word //*kanē* and the Kung (N2) word !*kani*, 'letter' (Bleek 1956:300, 364, 417) display different clicks from the Nama and Korana words, which, as noted, display the palatal click ≠, as does the !Xuhn word ≠*xanu*, 'book' (Weich 2014:135) and the N/uu word ≠*hanisi*, 'book' (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:119), the former with the fricative release *x* and the latter with the aspirated release *h*.

### **Bow**

A fair degree of consistency is reflected in words for 'bow', specifically as regards the vowel *a(a)*. The Cape-Saldanha word *cap*, 'arc', ('bow') was recorded by De Flacourt (1658:61); the Eastern dialectal word *kgaap*, 'Boog; Bow' by Le Vaillant (1790:367), and the Korana word *kehaab*, 'a bow', by Lichtenstein (1930:470), and, also by Lichtenstein, the Korana words *kgaas* oder *kgaabi*, 'Bogen', ('*kgaas* or *kgaabi*, 'bow'.') (Bertuch & Vater 1808:309). Nienaber (1963:225) considers Lichtenstein's rendering of *kehaab* to be an error for *kchaab*, but the possibility exists that *kehaab* is comparable to the Khwe word *tèe-n//áà*, 'horn of bow' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:243) as regards the vowel cluster sequence *-e(e) -aa*. Comparable to these words are the Nama words *khab*, *khas*, 'Musik- oder Jagd-bogen', ('musical or hunting bows') (Rust 1960:12), and *khas*, 'der Bogen', ('bow')

(Kroenlein 1889:187b44), and the Korana words *kha:s* (Engelbrecht 1936:88) and *gās* (Wuras 1920:13). Bushman equivalents display different clicks which are not evident in the words discussed above. /Xam (S1) displays the lateral click in the word //hã:, ‘bow used as musical instrument’ (Bleek 1929:23), ‘musical bow’ (Bleek 1956:539). The lateral click also occurs in the Naron (C2) word //ka:aŋ, ‘bow’ (Bleek 1929:23). Most other Bushman words incorporate the dental click, such as the /Auni (S4) words /ha, ‘bow (for shooting)’ (Bleek 1929:23) and /ha-ã, /haã, /habe, /hΛn, /ho, ‘bow, hunting’ (Bleek 1956:286, 361); the Khatia (S4a) words \_/haŋ, /habe and /hau, ‘bow’ (Bleek 1956:287), and the Khakhea (S5) and /Nu //en (S6) word /habə, ‘bow, for shooting’ (Bleek 1929:23). Auen (N1) has a word with the palatal click, namely ≠ka, ‘bow, spoon’ (Bleek 1956:654). Auen (N1) has a word //gã, ‘magic bow; tiny bow and arrows used for magic purposes’ (Bleek 1956:273), thus with the lateral click. One of the Khatia (S4a) words for ‘bow’, namely /hau, is comparable to the N/uu word /au, ‘bow’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:120), while the Khatia words /ha-ã and /haã are reminiscent of the Khwe word n//gàá, ‘bow’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:243) in displaying nasalisation and the vowel cluster *aa*.

### **Bracelet**

When discussing the Cape-Table Bay dialectal word *whohoop*, ‘bracelet’, recorded by Herbert (1634:16), Nienaber (1963:209) identified the click for which Herbert used the semi-vowel *w* as the palatal ≠ or cerebral !. In this way *whohoop* could be transcribed as either ≠*hohoop* or !*hohoop*. The final bilabial *-p* is the masculine singular ending that is also encountered as *-b* or *-m*, and the digraph *oo* is the English pronunciation of the sound that that could be written *u*, as in the word ‘put’. Substituting the voiced alveolar plosive *d* for the voiced palatal click ≠, the voiced bilabial *m* for the bilabial *b/p*, and *u* for *oo*, allows ≠*hohoop* to be transcribed as *dhohum*, which corresponds to the Khakhea (S5) word *do-hum* ‘bracelets, anklets’ (Bleek 1956:27).

### **Bread**

There are many words for ‘bread’ recorded from early times, such as the Cape dialectal word *várucka*, ‘bread’, recorded by the Icelander Jón Olafsson in 1623 (Phillpotts 1931:73), and many words thought to be loan words from ‘brood’,

(‘bread’), for example *bara*, *breba*, *bree*, *brokwa*, *brae*, *breb*, *bariip*, *berip*, *pree*. It is possible to distinguish similarities between some of these words and Bushman equivalents. Herbert (1634:16), for example, recorded the Cape-Table Mountain dialectal word *bara*, ‘bread’, which is comparable to the Hie (C1) word *bara*, ‘harvest’, with its synonym *bala*, ‘rainy season’, displaying the interchangeability of *r* and *l* (Bleek 1956:15). Witsen (1691 I in Molsbergen 1 1916:217), Valentyn (1726:105:108a), Kolbe (1727 I:433) and Buttner (1725:67v) all recorded the Cape dialectal word *bree*, ‘brood’, (‘bread’), which is comparable to the /Xam (S1) and Naron (C2) word *berre*; ‘bread’ (Bleek 1956:16). The Eastern dialectal word *pree*, ‘*das Brod*’, (‘bread’) (Von Winkelmann 1788:44) has its equivalent in the /Auni (S4) word *pere*, ‘bread [Afr. *brood*]’ (Bleek 1956:157); the !Xuhn word *bolo*, ‘bread’ (Weich 2014:136), and the Khwe word *mboroto*, are both adaptations of the Afrikaans word *brood*, (‘bread’) (Kilian-Hatz 2003:244).

If the variability of the voiced dentilabial or bilabial *v* and the voiced bilabial *b*, the interchangeability of *r* and *l*, and the vowel sequences *a – u – a* and *a – e – a* are considered, the word *várucka* may perhaps be compared to the Khakhea (S5) word *balekwa*, ‘millet’ (Bleek 1956:14).

Lichtenstein (1808:315) gives the Korana word *smiim*, ‘*Korn, Brod*’, (‘wheat, bread’). Since the juxtaposition of two consonants such as *sm* is foreign to Khoisan languages, a vowel must have been omitted or elided in the recording of this word. Nienaber (1963:235) suggests that the word is similar to Korana *semeb* and *semib*, ‘millet’, the final *-b* of these words corresponding to the final *-m* of the word *smiim*, being the masculine singular ending. The Bushman equivalent in this instance is the Hadza (C3) word *seme*, *seme*, ‘food, to eat’ (Bleek 1956:166).

### **Breasts**

For the most part early recorded words for ‘breasts’ feature the vowel *a*. Thus Cape dialectal words include *samme*, ‘*de borsten*’, (‘the breasts’) (Valentyn 1726:107b), also given by Kolbe (1727 I:432) as *samme*, ‘*mammae; de borsten*’, (‘*mammae*; breasts’). The Eastern dialectal words *SAMMA*, ‘*broest; patt*’ (Thunberg 1795 II:87), and *samk’a*, ‘*die Brüste*’, (‘breasts’) (Von Winkelmann 1788:46) likewise have an *a*, as does the Korana word *t’hamma*, ‘*Brust*’, (‘breast’) (Lichtenstein 1808:307), transcribed as /*hamma* (Nienaber 1963:228),

in which the dental fricative click with aspirated efflux /h approximates the alveolar fricative s, and the Nama word *sami, sams*, ‘die Brust (weibliche); *samra, samkha, dual die beiden Brüste*, (‘the breast (female); *samra, samkha, dual, both breasts*)’ (Kroenlein 1889:294b). The Hie (C1) word *sam*, ‘breast, bosom, teat, udder’ (Bleek 1956:143) most closely resembles the words discussed above, and the Khakhea (S5) word //xa:msa, ‘breasts, female’; ‘breasts’, synonym //xe; ‘milk’ (Bleek 1929:24; 1956:632). ). Cape dialectal words in which the vowel *e* occurs are *semigwe*, ‘paps’ (Herbert 1634:16) and *semme*, ‘de pramme’, (‘tits’) (Witsen 1691 in Molsbergen I 1916:218).

De Flacourt (1658:57) recorded the Cape dialectal word *somma*, ‘poictrine’, (‘breast, bosom’), in which the vowel *o* interchanges with the predominant vowel *a* that features in the words above. This word *somma* is comparable with the Kung (N2) words *so\_ã, sóã, sãa* and *sõ\_a*, ‘lung, breast’ (Bleek 1956:171), in which the tilde ~ represents the nasalisation expressed by the nasal consonant *m* in the word *somma*. In the cognate Kung (N2) word *sũza* the vowel *o* interchanges with *u*, and in the word *swã* the short *u* interchanges with the semi-vowel *w*. The unvoiced fricative *s* interchanges with the unvoiced affricate *ts* in the Kung (N2) words *tswã, tswạ̃* and *tswã:*, ‘chest, breast’ (Bleek 1956:222), with the dental fricative click / in the Nogau (N1a) word /goa, ‘breast, chest’, with its synonym /gu (Bleek 1956:280), and with the retroflex fricative click // in the Nogau word //goa, which has the same meaning (Bleek 1956:532). The Khwe word //gùú, ‘breast’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:244) is comparable with the Nogau (N1a) word /gu, ‘breast, chest’ (Bleek 1956:222) as regards the nasalisation and vowel, but the variation of clicks is noted. The Cape dialectal word *semme* discussed above is perhaps comparable to the (S2) word //kẽ:, ‘breasts, udders’ (Bleek 1956:567), the unvoiced fricative vowel *s* corresponding to the unvoiced retroflex fricative click //, the nasal *m* corresponding to the nasal expressed by the tilde ~.

### **Breath, spirit**

The variability of the vowels *o* and *u* is evident in the various words for ‘breath’ and ‘spirit’. Witsen (1697 III CMM III:119) gives the Cape dialectal word *kʔ omma*, ‘breath’, where the symbol *kʔ* represents a click, a word comparable to the Korana words /’umma (Meinhof 1930:121) and /ums (Nienaber 1963:209); to the Nama word /ôms, ‘Atem’, (‘breath’), and ‘Seele’, (‘soul’) (Rust 1960:4, 56), and

to the ‘Hottentot’ word *\_/oms*, ‘spirit’ (Bleek 1929:78). The vowel *o* features in the Hie (C1) word */gom* ‘spirit’ and the Khwe word */’om*, ‘breath’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:244), the vowel *u* in the Hie words */hum*, */hu:*, ‘breath, spirit’; */um*, ‘breath’, and */uhi*, ‘to breathe’, as well as in the //ǃ word *!ke* (S2) word */amsa* and its synonym */um*, ‘breath’ (Bleek 1956:290, 359, 360). The Korana words */’umma* and */ums*, and the Nama words */ōms* and *\_/oms*, display delevelarisation, whereas voiced and aspirated effluxes occur in the Hie (C1) words */hum*, */hu:*, */um* and */uhi*. It will be noted that the dental click */* occurs in all the cited examples.

### **Bring**

Several words for ‘to bring’ have Bushman equivalents, such as the Cape-Saldanha words *harca* and *arca*, ‘amener’, (‘to bring’) (De Flacourt 1658:58, 59); the Cape dialectal word *hachuoha*, ‘*bringe dieses hier*’, (‘bring this here’) (Buttner 1725:68a), and the Eastern dialectal word *HANKA*, ‘*föra hit*’, (‘bring here’) (Thunberg 1795 II:85). Bushman words that are comparable are the Hadza (C3) words *haka*, *ḥakha*, *ḥakka*, ‘to go, bring’ (Bleek 1956:57, 700), and the Khwe words *ciikà*, *yaá-kà* and *ú-kà*, ‘to bring’; *#āā-kà*, ‘bring in’, and *//x’áé—ku-kà*, ‘to bring together’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:244). Monosyllabic words for ‘bring’ that are comparable to each other are the Nama word *ha*, ‘*bringen*’, (‘to bring’) (Ebner 1829:341), the /Auni (S4) word *#kã*, ‘to bring’ (Bleek 1956:653), and the word *//ka*, ‘to go, walk, run, bring’, that occurs in /Auni (S4), Khakhea (S5), /Nu//en (S6), and Auen (N1) (Bleek 1956:545).

Thunberg (1795 II:85) recorded the Eastern dialectal word *SEO* in the sentence *HAKVA SEO*, ‘*foer haesten hit*’, (‘bring here quickly’), which Nienaber (1963:232) compared with Nama *si*, ‘(von hier) dorthin gehen, dorthin kommen’, (‘to go there, to come there, thither (from here).’) (Kroenlein 1889:299). Comparable Bushman words are the //ǃ word *!ke* (S2) and //Xegwi (S3) word *seja*, ‘to come, bring, a form of *se*’ (Bleek 1956:166); the //Xegwi (S3) word *seja*, ‘to bring, to carry’ (Bleek 1929:24); and the //Kxau (S2b) word *sě, si*, ‘to bring’ (Bleek 1956:165). The //ǃ word *!ke* (S2) word *!keja*, ‘to bring’ (Bleek 1929:24) displays the cerebral click with ejective efflux *!k* while retaining the cluster *eja*. The /Xam (S1) words */k’i s’a* and */kʌm s’a*, ‘to bring’ (Bleek 1929:24) are comparable to the N/uu word *kx’u saa*, ‘to bring (to make – to come)’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:120).



**Brook**

An old Cape dialectal word for ‘brook’ was recorded by Herbert (1634:16) as *bueem*, ‘a brooke’. The final consonant *-m* is the masculine singular ending which frequently occurs “*wanneer die voorafgaande stamklinker genasaleerd uitgespreek word*”, (“when the preceding vowel is pronounced nasalised”) (Nienaber 1963:466). Since the back close vowel *u* often glides into *w* when it forms part of the diphthong *ui* (Bleek 1956:246), the word *bueem* could be written as *bweem*, and with the omission of the gender ending *-m*, as *bwee*. The initial bilabial consonant *b* is homorganic with the bilabial click *ǃ*, and in many instances this click interchanges with other clicks, as in the /Xam (S1) words *ǃho*, /*ho:* and /*ho*, ‘tree’ (Bleek 1956:288), *ǃpwa*, /*kwā* and /*!aa*, ‘young’ (Bleek 1956:288), the /Nu//en (S6) word /*oa:xa*, ‘body’, the Sesarwa (S5) word *ǃohaka*, ‘body’, the /Xam (S1) word /*ouka*, ‘body’, (Bleek 1956:355, 683, 492) and so forth. Considering that the initial consonant *b* is an attempt at rendering the bilabial click, *bwee* is perhaps comparable to the Hie (C1) words *kwe*, ‘river’, *kwe* /*kwa*, ‘brook’ (Bleek 1956:112, 113).

**Brother**

For ‘brother’ Buttner (1725:67b) gives the Cape dialectal word *k’ang*, ‘*der Broeder*’, (‘brother’); Sparrman (1785 II:349) gives the Eastern dialectal word *t’kana*, ‘younger brother’; Lichtenstein (1930:470) gives the Korana word *t’<sup>2</sup>kaam*, ‘brother’, and Campbell (1815:389) gives Nama *kap*, ‘brother’. The Nama word /*gāb*, ‘*der Bruder*’, (‘brother’) (Rust 1960:12) is phonologically similar to *k’ang* and *t’kana*, as are the /Xam (S1) words /*kāŋ*, /*kā* and //*kā*, ‘brother’ (Bleek 1956:401), the //ǀ /*!ke* (S2) word //*kāā*, the //Xegwi (S3) word //*ga:* and the Khakhea (S5) word /*xan*, ‘brother’ (Bleek 1929:24). It is notable that /Xam (S1) has words incorporating the cerebral click /, but also the lateral click //, which predominates in the words for ‘brother’ in the other languages discussed. Lichtenstein (in Bleek 1956:556) indicates the lateral click in his words for ‘brother’ both in Korana and /Xam. Nasalisation is expressed in the words discussed by the letters *n*, *ng* and *ŋ*, and by Lichtenstein in his Korana word by *-m*. //Xegwi shares the voiced efflux *g* with Nama, while Khakhea deviates by displaying the dental click with fricative efflux /*x* in the word /*xan*, ‘brother’ (Bleek 1929:24). For the N/uu word //*āu*, ‘brother’, the plural is //*anuke*

(Shah & Brenzinger 2016:121), the nasalisation represented by the tilde in the word //ãu expressly indicated by the nasal *n* in the plural form //anuke.

A Cape-Saldanha word for ‘brother’ recorded by De Flacourt (1658:59) is *sibou*, ‘*frere*’, (‘brother’). Nienaber (1963:232) identifies the segment *si* of the word *sibou* as the equivalent of *ti*, ‘my’, as in the Nama phrase *ti gâb*, ‘*mein Bruder*’, (‘my brother’) (Rust 1960:120), and suggests that *sibou* means ‘my brother’, and that the component *bou* thus means ‘brother’. However, the consonant *b* is not a Bushman sound and occurs mainly in areas of Bantu influence. It may thus be a click replacement or adaptation, in which case the word *bou* is perhaps comparable with words for ‘brother’ such as the Kung (N2) words !gõ, //k<sub>h</sub>o, \_#ko, and //ko; and the Xuhn word //o, ‘brother’. It is notable, however, that the Kung (N2) word //ko, ‘younger brother’, has the synonyms *tsĩ* and *siŋ* (Bleek 1956:170), and that the Xuhn word //o, ‘brother’, has a synonym *sing* (Weich 2004:136). The resemblance of the Kung (N2) word *tsĩ* and *siŋ* and the !Xuhn word *sing* to the component *si* of the word *sibou* may be noted.

Thunberg (1795 II:86) gives the Eastern dialectal word *KaRUP*, ‘*broder*’, (‘brother’), transliterated by Nienaber (1963:232) as #karup according to Thunberg’s system of symbols to depict clicks in writing. However, when discussing the word *buffalo* Nienaber (1963:235) transliterates the Eastern dialectal word *KaW* as /kaw, specifically with the dental click, comparing this word with Le Vaillant’s (1790:366) word *Λ-ka-oop*, ‘buffalo’, transliterated by Nienaber (1963:235), as /ka-*oop*. The first component *ka* in the word #karup (or /karup) is recognisable from the preceding discussion as meaning ‘brother’; Nienaber (1963:232) identifies the component *ru* as the diminutive formative, which reveals the Bushman equivalent to perhaps be the /Xam (S1) word //ka-*Opwa*, ‘younger brother’, the component *Opwa* meaning ‘little, young’ (Bleek 1956:684), thus with the same meaning as the Nama diminutive *ro* and the Eastern dialectal equivalent *ru*, the vowels *o* and *u* being interchangeable.

An alternative Eastern dialectal word for *Karup* recorded by Thunberg (1795 II:86) is *TIKaKWA*, ‘*broder*’, (‘brother’), transcribed by Nienaber (1963:233) as *ti#kakwa* and interpreted by him as ‘*my-broers*’, (‘my brothers’), the component *kwa* regarded by him as the masculine plural ending. It seems, however, that the word *TIKaKWA* should be transcribed as *ti/kakwa*, with a dental click, since Thunberg states that “I formed a small vocabulary, and with three different

marks, distinguished the three usual clackings; of which the dental is marked with the letter a, the palatal with A, and the guttural with á” (Thunberg 1795 II:74). Comparing this word with others such as *tikei*, ‘*der ältere Bruder*’, (‘the older brother’) and *tixha*, ‘*der jüngerer Bruder*’, (‘the younger brother’) (Von Winkelmann 1788:44), indicates that the component *ti* is the word for ‘brother’, comparable to the Auni (N1) word *tsĩ, tĩ*, ‘brother’ (Bleek 1956:229). The component *kei* of the word *tikei*, ‘the older brother’, is cognate with the Hie (C1) word *̄kei*, ‘old (aged), big’ and the /Xam (S1) word *kei*, ‘be big’ (Bleek 1929:62; 1956:86); the component *xha* of the word *tixha*, ‘the younger brother’, is like the //ǁ!ke (S2) word *Opwa*, the /Xam (S1) words *̄Opwa, !kwã*, and the Naron (C2) word */kwa*, ‘young’ (Bleek 1929:94). It would then seem that *ti /kakwa* is to be parsed as *ti* = ‘my’; */ka* = ‘brother’, and *kwa* = *!kwã, /kwa*, ‘young, little’, thus translated as ‘my young brother’, compare the /Auni (S4) word */kwa*, ‘young’ (Bleek 1956:328).

An Eastern dialectal word for ‘brother’ recorded by Sparrman (1785 II:349), *t’ai*, ‘elder brother’, where the symbol *t’* signifies a click, is similar to the /Auni (S4) word */kãĩ*, ‘brother’ (Bleek 1929:24), in which the dental consonant *t’* represents the dental click with ejective efflux, */k*. A Khwe word that is comparable to *t’ai* is *tá-ci*, ‘older brother’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:245), indicating that the cluster *ai* in the word *t’ai* is disyllabic.

### **Buck**

Witsen in 1691 recorded the Cape dialectal word *t’chó*, ‘*een jeus bock; caper*’, (‘a *jeus* buck; goat’) (Molsbergen I 1916:221), Valentyn (1726:102a) gives *tchoe*, ‘*een bok*’, ‘a buck’, and Kolbe (1727 I:430) recorded *̄t’chou*, ‘*caper; een geite-bok*’, (‘goat; ewe’). The word *geit* is Dutch for ‘goat, she-goat’ (Hugo n.d.:77), and *caper* is the Latin word for the same animal. On the basis of the most frequently occurring click Nienaber (1963:224) suggests that the recorded words *t’chó*, *tchoe* and *̄t’chou* could be transcribed as */xu-b*, thus with the dental click, but still writes: “*ek meen dat ons in die Hottentotse woord die naam moet sien waaronder die ‘springbok’ as ‘wildsbok’ later bekend gebly het, nl. //gũb*”, (“I think that in the Hottentot word we should see the name by which the ‘springbok’ as ‘wildsbok’, ‘buck, antelope’, later remained known, namely *//gũb*”). However, Nienaber identified the clicks in the Cape dialectal words as the dental click, so that these

words may be transcribed as /*chó*, /*choe* and /*tchou*, perhaps as /*ho*, /*oe* and /*ou*. In keeping with Nienaber's idea of the reference to a buck as opposed to a goat, a similarity may be sought between these dialectal words and the Auen (N1) word /*ou*, /*au*, /*hō*, 'buck', and the Kung (N2) word  $\bar{u}$ /*ou*, 'a buck, *prob. steinbok*' (Bleek 1956:357).

Witsen (II 1691 in Molsbergen I 1916:222) gives the Cape dialectal word *qounqua*, 'wilde bokken; capri sylvestres'; ('wild buck; goats of the forest'). Valentyn (1726:107a) has *quoequa*, 'wilde bokken', ('wild buck'), and Kolbe (1727 I:430) recorded the word *quo~uq~va*, 'capri silvestres in genere; wilde bokken zonder onderscheid', ('buck of the forest; wild buck without distinction'). On the basis of the given explanations of the indigenous words being in the plural, Nienaber (1963:207) explains the component *-qua* as the masculine plural ending, and the first component of the words above as being comparable to the Nama word //*gūb* and the Korana words //*gūb* or /*gūb*, 'springbuck'. The component given as *qou(n)*, *quoe* and *quo* above is perhaps more readily comparable to the Auen (N1) and Kung (N2) word /*ou*, with synonyms /*au* and /*hō*, 'a buck, *prob. steinbok*' (Bleek 1956:357), as is the component *gau* of the word *gauda*, given by Grevenbroek (1695 in Schapera & Farrington 1933:205) as 'Latin *dama*, or *buck*', identified by Nienaber (1963:207, 469) as probably a specific type of buck, namely the *steenbok*. Möller (2017:206-207) has identified Bushman words for the *steenbok* (*Raphicerus campestris*) that correlate more closely to the early Cape dialectal components *qoun*, *quoe* and *quo~u* of the words *qounqua*, *quoequa* and *quo~uq~va*, as indicated above, namely the /Xam (S1) and //ǀke (S2) word !*koen* (Bleek 1929:80; 1956:357, 759); and the /Xam (S1) word //*khoini*, of which the synonyms are /*koenje*, /*koinje*; !*kenja* and ≠*kwenja* (Bleek 1956:585), this latter being synonymous with the /Auni (S4) word !*koenja* (Bleek 1956:667). These words display the nasalisation as *n* that is represented in the Cape dialectal words as *n* or a tilde  $\tilde$ . The //Xegwi or Batwa (S3) word !*xo*; 'steenbok' (Bleek 1929:80), the /Auni (S4) word ≠*ko*, 'steenbok' (Bleek 1956:663), and the !O!kun (N3) word  $\bar{u}$ /*hum*, 'steenbok' (Bleek 1956:290) may also be comparable.

### **Buffalo**

A Cape dialectal word for 'buffalo' was recorded by Witsen (1691 in Molsbergen I 1916:221) as *t'aouv*, 'een buffel; bos sylvestris', ('a buffalo, ox of the forest').

The symbol *t'* denotes a click, and the final cluster *vv* should be read as *w*, which is an allophone of the masculine singular ending *b* or *p*. Similar words for 'buffalo' include the Eastern dialectal *KaW*, '*buffel*', ('buffalo') (Thunberg 1795 II:86), *t'kau*, 'buffalo' (Sparrman 1785 II:290), and *A-ka-ooop*, 'buffalo' (Le Vaillant 1790:336), the latter displaying the masculine singular ending *-p*. According to the systems employed by Thunberg and Le Vaillant respectively of rendering clicks in writing, *KaW* can be transcribed as /*kaw*, and *A-ka-ooop* as /*kaoop*, both thus with the dental click (Nienaber 1963:235). By analogy with the occurrence of the dental click in these words, the word recorded by Witsen as *t'aouvv* may be transcribed as /*aouw*, a develarised form as opposed to the Eastern dialectal words that display the velar ejective efflux *k*. The dental click also features in Korana words for 'buffalo', namely *t'kaaub*, 'buffalo' (Lichtenstein 1930:470), transcribed as /*kaaub*; /*gaob*, recorded by Wuras (1920:14), and in develarised form /*aob* (Meinhof 1930:121). A Nama word featuring the dental click is /*gaob*, '*Büffel*', ('buffalo') (Rust 1960:13), /*gáob*, '*der Büffel, Wildebeest*', ('buffalo, wildebeest') (Kroenlein 1889:80b). The dental click is evident in Bushman equivalents such as the Kung (N2) words /*kau* and /*gau*, 'buffalo' (Bleek 1956:303), the Hie (C1) word /*hao*, (Bleek 1956: 287), the Hukwe (C2b) word /*gau*, the Hei//kum (N2a) word /*gaub* (Bleek 1956:276) the Khwe word /*âò* (Kilian-Hatz 2003:245) and the !Xuhn word /*ao*, 'buffalo' (Weich 2004:137). In these instances the variability of *au* and *ao*, of *g* and *k*, and glottalisation, are discernible. The /Xam (S1) word /*kau* displays the cerebral click, while the Hukwe (C2b) word *gau*, 'buffalo', is clickless (Bleek 1956: 412, 44).

### **Bull**

Sparrman (1785 II:350) recorded two Eastern dialectal words for 'bull', namely *hara* and *ho*. The first word, *hara*, although it contains no click, is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word /*kaxa* recorded by Lloyd and transcribed as /*ka:˘xa*, 'bull' (Bleek 1956:305). Nienaber (1960:236) associates the word *hara* with the Nama word *≠karab*, '*der Hoden*', ('testicles'), and Lloyd (in Maingard 1932:314), giving *≠xanna map* for 'bull', adds: "The *nn* stands for *r*, *≠xara* meaning the male genital organ and *map* being shortened from *gomap*". The second word, *ho*, although it, like *hara*, has no overt click, is comparable to the Nama word //*gob*, '*Bülle*', 'bull' (Rust 1960:13). This word was recorded by Alexander (1838 I:297) as '*Kop* in the place-name '*Kopumnaas* or '*Bull's Mouth Pass*' and (1838

II:168). Bushman equivalents include the Naron (C2) and Tsaukwe (C2a) word /ko, ‘bull’, the /Xam (S1) word !go-ai, ‘bull’ (Bleek 1956:317, 384), the N/uu word g//oo, ‘bull’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:121), and the component g//oq of the !Xuhn word *gumi g//oq*, ‘bull’ (Weich 2004:137), in which the symbol *q* is used to represent pharyngalisation. The component *gumi* of the word *gumi g//oq* means ‘ox’ (Weich 2004:258), cognate with the words *gum*, *gume*, *gumi*, *\_gumi*, ‘ox, cow, cattle’ found in most Southern and Northern Bushman languages, see *Cattle*. The Khwe word *kx’áò*, ‘bull’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:245), is reminiscent of the Nama word /*gaob*, ‘buffalo’ (Rust 1960:13), but displays the velar affricate and no gender ending. Möller (2017:178) points out that the Bushmen, who were at first unacquainted with cattle, referred to a red ox or bull, i.e. with reddish-brown hide, as *≠ga !xudi*, ‘red buffalo’, the same /Xam (S1) word *!xudi* thus used for ‘bull’ and ‘buffalo’. In the same manner the word /*gao(b)* probably served as reference to both ‘bull’ and ‘buffalo’, elucidating the similarity between the words *kx’áò* and /*gaob*.

### **Bury**

A Cape dialectal word for ‘bury’ was recorded by Witsen (1697 III CMM 1858:119) as *k? háa*, ‘*begraven*’, (‘to bury’). The symbol *k?* denotes a click, probably the cerebral !, as in the ≠Khomani (S2a) words *!khéãã*, ‘bury’, and *!khéãã*, ‘to dig in, bury’ (Bleek 1956:701, 423), a word comparable to the Khwe word *qání*, *qãí*, ‘bury’, in which the consonant *q* denotes the uvular plosive (Kilian-Hatz 2003:246, 7). Nienaber (1963:216) suggests that the Cape dialectal word could be compared to the Nama word //k*ho*, ‘*begraben*’, (‘bury’) (Rust 1960:9), indicating the variability of the vowels *u* and *o*. The N/uu word *!h’oba*, ‘to bury’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:118), also indicates the interchangeability of *u* and *o*, but has the cerebral click ! in common with the ≠Khomani words *!khéãã* and *!khéãã*.

### **Bush**

De Flacourt (1658:55) recorded the Cape-Saldanha word *gau*, ‘*bois*’, (‘wood’), comparable to the !O !kuŋ (N3) words *gãũ*, *!gãũ*, and the synonym !’*o*, ‘bush’ (Bleek 1929:25), and to the Auen (N1) words *!gãũ*, *!gãĩ*, *!gaŋ*, ‘tree, wood, stick’, also occurring in !O !kuŋ (N3) (Bleek 1956:378). The !Xuhn word !’*o*, ‘bush’ (Weich 2004:137) corresponds precisely with the !O !kuŋ word.

**But**

Campbell (1815:378) recorded the ‘Hottentot’ word *gawe*, ‘but’, similar to the Nama word *xawe*, ‘*doch*’, (‘but, yet’) (Rust 1960:14), and the Korana word *xabe*, ‘*aber*’, (‘but’) (Meinhof 1930:120). The Afrikaans pronunciation of *g* is a velar fricative similar to the sound of *ch* in the Scottish word *loch*; the voiced bilabial consonant *b* is variable with the voiced consonant *w* pronounced as in English (Bleek 1956:250). The Kung (N2) words *xa\_we* and *xabe*, ‘although, but’ (Bleek 1956: 255) are cognate to the above, *b* and *w* being interchangeable.

**Butter**

As Nienaber (1963:229) points out, “*Die begrippe ‘vet’ en ‘botter’ vloei in Hottentots inmekaar*”, (“The concepts of ‘fat’ and ‘butter’ overlap in Hottentot”), so that the same words are sometimes used for both concepts. On this basis it is possible to determine Bushman equivalents for these words. Witsen (1691 II in Molsbergen I 1916:218) gives the word *unwie*, ‘*boter; butyrum*’, (‘butter’); Valentyn (1726:108b) gives *oenwie*, ‘*boter*’, (‘butter’), and Kolbe (1727 I:430) gives *ou~nwie*, ‘*butyrum; boter*’, (‘butter’), all as words in the Cape dialect. Only Kolbe indicates the presence of a click by means of the tilde. Words that are comparable to the first component of the Cape dialectal words, namely *un*, *oen* and *ou~*, include the Nama *ōun*, ‘*Fett (hartes), Talg*’, (‘fat (hard); hardfat’) (Kroenlein 1889) and *ōub*, ‘*Hartfett*’, (‘heart fat’) (Rust 1960:21). The second component of the Cape dialectal words, *nwie*, is comparable to the Nama word *//nuib*, ‘*Fett (allg.)*’, (‘fat in general’) (Rust 1960:21), while Bushman equivalents include the Kung (N2) word *//nwi*, ‘fat’; the Naron (C2) word *//nwi:ba*, ‘fat’ (Bleek 1929:37); the Kung (N2) word *//nwi*, ‘to melt fat in a pot’; and the Naron (C2) words *//nui*, *//nwi* and *≠nui*, ‘fat’ (Bleek 1956:622, 624, 674). The !Xuhn word *n/i*, ‘butter’ (Weich 2004:137), displays the dental click and an elided form *i*, as do the Auen (N1) word */ni*: and the !O !kuṅ (N3) words *ˀni*, *ni*, ‘fat’ (Bleek 1929:37). The Khwe word *n//gúvu-n//gúi*, ‘butter’, is comprised of the words *n//gúvu*, ‘to shake’ and *n//gúi*, ‘grease, oil, fat’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:218). A different word for ‘butter’ occurs in the Eastern dialectal river-name *Gouga* recorded for the *Botrivier* (Hartogh 1707 Molsbergen III 1922:8), interpreted as ‘*Botterrivier*’, (‘butter river’) (Nienaber 1963:229), the component *gou* compared with the Nama word *goub*, ‘*Körperfettigkeit*’, (‘body fat’) (Rust 1960:21). Bushman words that are comparable to the word *gou* are the /Xam (S1) words */kou*, */khou*, ‘fat’,

and /*khou*;, ‘fat found round sheep’s stomach’ (Bleek 1956:314, 321). In these instances the variability of *g* and *k* is discernible.

### **Butterfly**

A Nama word that was recorded by Le Vaillant (1790:367) for ‘butterfly’, namely *tabou tabou*, has a comparable form in Korana, namely *tubu-tubus* (Engelbrecht 1928:22). Bushman equivalents include the /Xam (S1) word *tabataba* and its synonym *tebbutebbusi*, ‘butterfly, butterflies’; the Auen (N1) word *tataba* and its synonyms *tatama*, *dadaba* and *thantabure*, ‘butterfly, moth’; the Kung (N2) words *tataba*, *tatabba*, ‘butterfly’; the Hie (C1) word *thantabure* and its synonyms *tataba* and *dadaba*, ‘butterfly’; the /Xam (S1) words *dadába*, *dadáma* and *tatába*, ‘moth, butterfly’, that also occur in Auen (N1), and the Kung (N2) word *dadámana* (Bleek 1956:197, 194, 199, 20). The !Xuhn word *tha thava*, ‘butterfly’ (Weich 2004:137) also features the vowel sequence *a – a – a*, but the unvoiced aspirated alveolar plosive *th* that also occurs in the /Xam and Hie word *thantabure*, and the voiced bilabial or dentilabial *v* that interchanges with the voiced bilabials *b* and *m* in the words *tataba*, *dadaba* and *dadama*. In the Khwe word *tétèvè*, ‘butterfly’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:246), the variability of the vowels *a* and *e* is discerned, reminiscent of the /Xam (S1) word *tebbutebbusi*. The N/uu word *purukutsi*, ‘butterfly’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:142) accords with the Korana word *tubu-tubus* as regards the absence of a click and the vowel sequence *u – u – u*.

### **Buttocks**

The Cape dialectal word *saun* was recorded by Witsen (II 1691 in Molsbergen I 1916:291) and by Valentyn (1726:108a) for ‘*de billen*’, ‘the buttocks’, and as *saün*, ‘*clunes; de aars-billen*’, (‘buttocks’), by Kolbe (I 1727:432). The final consonant *n* in the words *saun* and *saün* is the third person common plural, the stem *sau* compared by Nienaber (1963:230) with the Nama word *tsoas*, ‘*After*’, (‘behind, backside’) (Rust 1960:2). In the N/uu word *≠aūsi*, ‘*buttock*’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:120), the palatal click *≠* replaces the alveolar fricative *s* of the stem *sau* but retains the vowel sequence *a – u*.



## -C-

*Calf*

The variability of the alveolar affricates *dz*, *ds* and *ts* and the alveolar fricative *z* is discernible in words for ‘calf’ in various languages. Ebner (1829:342) recorded the Nama word *dsau*i, ‘*Kalb*’, (‘calf’), a word also recorded by Campbell (1815:90), given by Rust (1960:34) as *tsāub* (-s), ‘*Kalb*’, (‘calf’). The final vowel *-i* of the word *dsau*i is the singular neuter ending, the final consonant *-b* in the word *tsāub* is the masculine singular ending. The Kung (N2) words *zāũ*, *zāũ̃*, ‘calf’ (Bleek 1929:26, 1956:264), reflect the nasalisation by the use of the tilde *~*. This nasalisation is also expressed in the final *-m* of the Eastern dialectal word *som* given by Van Reenen (1791-92 in Molsbergen 1 1916:146) as the first component of the name *Somije*, ‘*Kalfsrivier*’, (‘Calfs River’), in which the fricative *z* or affricate *ts/ds* is simplified as *s*. The component *ije* of the name *Somije* is the fluvial generic term cognate with the (S4) word *≠ei*, ‘river’ (Bleek 1956:643).

Borcherds (1861:70) recorded the Korana word *kien t’koaap*, ‘calf’, where the *t’* denotes a click and the final *-p* is the masculine singular ending. This gender indicator appears as *-b* in the Korana word */nōab*, ‘*bulkalf*’, (‘bull calf’), recorded by both Engelbrecht (1928:28) and Meinhof (1930:130), and as *-m* in the Korana word */noām*, ‘calf’, recorded by Wuras (1920:14). Nama has the word with the feminine singular ending *-s* in the word */nōas*, ‘*Färskalb*’, (‘heifer calf’) (Rust 1960:34). The N/uu word *n/oa*, ‘calf (of a *beest*)’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:130) also features the dental click. The meaning of *kien* in Borcherds’ word *kien t’koaap*, ‘calf’ can be ascertained by comparing words for ‘calf’ in different languages that feature the adjective ‘young, small’. The Hie (C1) word *džube/kwa*, ‘calf’, literally means ‘young ox, young cow’, from *džube*, ‘ox, cow’, and */kwa*, ‘child, girl, boy, also used as young’ (Bleek 1956:34, 328). Similarly the Naron (C2) word *gwe:/kwa*, ‘calf’, is derived from the word *gwe*, ‘ox, cattle’, and */kwa*, ‘young’ (Bleek 1956:53, 328). The /Xam (S1) word *xoro-Opwa*, ‘calf’, is from *xoro*, ‘cattle’, and *Opwa*, ‘little, young’ (Bleek 1956:260, 684). As indicated above, the final consonant *p* of Borcherds’ word *kien t’koaap* is the Korana masculine singular ending, which, as Nienaber (1963:324) points out, indicates that what is being referred to here is a ‘*bulkalf*’, (‘bull calf’). Just as words for heifer calf comprise the components ‘small’, ‘young’ and ‘cow’, so the word for ‘bull calf’ comprise words for ‘small’ and ‘bull’. The word *kien* is comparable to the //Xegwi (S3)

words //kle:ni and //kxe:ni, ‘small’, and the /Xam (S1) words ≠en, ≠enni, the plural of ≠eřri, ‘small’ (Bleek 1956:580, 643, 601). The component t’koaap of the word kien t’koaap is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word !go:ai, ‘bull’ (Bleek 1956:384), but incorporates the Korana masculine ending –p. The /Xam (S1) word //goarkoa, ‘calf’, recorded by Lichtenstein as t’<sup>2</sup>goarköa (Bleek 1956:532), and the //Xegwi (S3) word !kha!gwa, ‘calf’ (Bleek 1929:26; 1956:425), seem to be structured differently, the component koa or köa, and !gwa, following the components //goar and !kha .

The /Xam (S1) and //I !ke (S2) word ˉ/kwe:, ‘calf (of leg)’ (Bleek 1929:26) has its counterpart in the N/uu word /qoe, ‘kuit, calf’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:133), in which the ejective *k* is indicated by the velar *q* and the semi-vowel *w* by the interchangeable short *o* (Bleek 1956:250). The vowel sequence *w – e, o – e* is also encountered in the form *u – i* in the !Xuhn word ≠uli, ‘calf, *kuit*’ (Weich 2004:138).

### Call

An instance in which the clicks in the various recordings do not correspond to each other in all cases is the word for ‘call’. De Flacourt (1658:58) gives the Cape-Saldanha word *haih*, ‘*appeller*’, (‘to call’), the initial *h* not being pronounced in French, but serving to represent a click (Nienaber 1963:257). The word *haih* is thus comparable to the ≠Khomani (S2a) words !ai, !zei, !e:, ‘to call out, shout’ (Bleek 1956:373), to the Ki /hazi (S4b) word !ai, !a-i, ‘to call’ (Bleek 1956:369, 702), to the Kung (N2) word !xeĩ, ‘to call out’ (Bleek 1956:499), and to the N/uu word !ai, ‘to call’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:140). The //Xegwi (S3) and Auen (N1) word \_//kai, ‘to call, speak, pray’, displays a different click, namely the lateral //; the variation in clicks may well indicate the nuances of meaning of the verb. In Nama and Korana the palatal click is displayed, the word being recorded in Nama as ≠gei, ‘*rufen*’, (‘call’) Rust (1960:50), and in Korana as ≠gai, ‘*roep*’, (‘call’) (Nienaber 1963:432) and in develarised form ≠ai by Meinhof (1930:136). The Khwe noun *kx’é* and verb ≠i, ‘call’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:247) display the variability of *e* and *i*, and the presence or otherwise of the click.

### **Camelthorn tree**

Le Vaillant (1790 II:276) recorded the Nama word *kanaap*, ‘*kamel-doorn*’, (‘camel thorn’). Although the word *kanaap* does not contain a click, and has the masculine singular ending *-p*, it is readily comparable to the Nama word //*kanas* (Tindall 1857:110), //*ganas*, ‘*Kameldornbaum*’, (‘camel thorn tree’) (Rust 1960:34), *g* and *k* interchanging, both of these words with the feminine singular ending *-s*, and //*gà nab*, ‘*die (Dorn)-Akazie (sogenannter Kameelbaum)*’, (‘the (thorn) Acacia (so-called camel tree)’), with the masculine singular ending *-b* that corresponds to the masculine singular ending *-p* in the word *kanaap* (Kroenlein 1889:84b). The lateral click with unvoiced velar plosive efflux, //*k*, is also present in the /Xam (S1), //ǀ *!ke* (S2) and Naron (C2) word //*kana*, ‘camelthorn’, as well as in the //ǀ *!ke* (S2) word //*kařa*, and the Naron (C2) word //*kanaba* (Bleek 1956:556). The Khwe word //’*aáná*, ‘camelthorn’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:247) displays glottalisation or develarisation, in other words the absence of the velar plosive *k* that is replaced by the glottal stop. In the /Auni (S4) equivalents //*k”a ā*, //*k”a ā̃* (Bleek 1956:602, 702), the nasalisation which is represented by the nasal consonant *n* in the words discussed above is expressed by the tilde. The !Xoon word for ‘camel-thorn’, //*aa* (Boden 2011:60), does not incorporate a nasal, neither does the !Xuhn word !’*ai*, ‘camelthorn’ (Weich 2004:138).

### **Candle, light**

De Flacourt (1658:56) gives two spellings of a Cape-Saldanha word, *caëg*, ‘*chandele*’, (‘candle’), and *caeg*, ‘*lumiere*’, (‘light’). Nienaber (1963:336, 373) compares the word *caëg* to the Nama word /*ais*, ‘*vuur of vlam*’, (‘fire or flame’), of which the velarised form /*kais* would correspond to De Flacourt’s word *caëg*. Kroenlein (1889:29) has the word /*ais* as part of the noun !*am-am* /*ais*, ‘*brennender Feuerspahn, Kerze, Fackel*’, (‘burning firebrand, candle, torch’), from the verb !*am-am*, ‘*anzünden, anstecken*’, (‘to light, ignite’). Rust (1960:34) has the word !*am-am-ais*, ‘*Kerze*’, (‘candle’). De Flacourt’s *caeg* is also comparable with the #Khomani (S2a) word /*k’a ki*, ‘light’ (Bleek 1956:298).

### **Caracal**

Old Cape dialectal words for ‘caracal’ feature a plosive velar *k* that is no longer evident in later renderings. Thus occur the variants *k’ha*, ‘*een rode wilde kat*’

*felis sylvestris*, ('wild caracal; cat of the forest'), recorded by Witsen (1691 in Molsbergen I 1916:221); *kha*, 'een roode wilde kat', ('a red wild cat') (Valentyn 1726:107b), and *khâ* and *k̃hâ*, '*felis silvestris rubra; een rode wilde kat*', ('red forest cat; red wild cat') (Kolbe 1727 I:228, 431). In the words recorded by Valentyn the circumflex over the *â* denotes nasalisation. Later recordings of the word display the cerebral click, such as the Nama word *!hab*, '*Luchs (rotkatze)*', ('lynx (red cat)') (Rust 1960:40), and the Korana words *!ha:p* (Lloyd in Maingard 1932:314) and *!hâb* (Nienaber 1963:433), the latter with nasalisation, as does the N/uu word *!haa*, 'caracal' (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:140).

### **Carry**

Wikaar (1779 in Mossop 1935:92) recorded the Nama word *aba*, '*op haar rug aba of dragen*', ('to carry on her back'). The word also occurs in Korana as *aba*, '*n kind op die rug dra*', ('carry a child on the back') (Engelbrecht 1928:12), in Nama as *awa*, '*tragen (im Tragfell)*', ('to carry (in a carrying-skin)') (Rust 1960:61), in Hie (C1) and Naron (C2) as *aba*, 'to carry, bear' (Bleek 1929:27), and in Naron (C2) as 'carry over the shoulder' (Bleek 1956:5). The Khwe word *ávà*, 'carry (child in garment on the back)' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:249) corresponds to the word *aba* in sharing the vowel sequence *a – a*, but features the voiced labial fricative *v* that interchanges with the voiced bilabial consonant *b*.

The same word occurs in velarised form in the Khakhea (S5) and /Nu //en (S6) words as *kaba*, *kaʔba*, 'to walk, carry', with its synonym //kaba (Bleek 1956:76), introducing the lateral click with velar plosive release, //k, encountered in Khakhea (S5) also as //kaʔba, 'to carry on the shoulder' (Bleek 1956:539). A related word for 'carry' that displays the lateral click with nasal efflux is the Kung (N2) word //n'abba, 'carry young child with its head in left hand, the legs passing out under the left arm behind' (Bleek 1956:613). The words discussed have ended in a final vowel *-a*; Khakhea (S5) displays a final *-e* in the word //kabe, 'carry in the kaross – child or food collected', and a cerebral click with voiced efflux in the synonym *!gabe* (Bleek 1929:27). The cerebral click also occurs in the ≠Khomani (S2a) word *!zaba*, 'to carry', with its synonym *!au:wa*, in which the variability of *b* and *w* are discerned, and the !O !kuŋ (N3) word *!naba*, 'carry off, along' (Bleek 1956:431), in this instance with the nasal release. The interchangeability of *g*, *k* and *n* is also discernible in the Cua, Kua and Tsua word *n//aro*, 'to carry meat on the shoulders', that occurs as the G/ui word *g/an* (Chebanne 2014:8).

**Cattle, oxen**

Several dialectal words are encountered for ‘ox’, ‘cow’, ‘cattle’, and Bushman equivalents can be demonstrated in some cases. In 1601 Lancaster recorded the word *moath* for ‘oxen and kine’, which has been interpreted as an onomatopoeic word: “For he spake to them in the cattels language which was never changed at the confusion of Babell, which was ‘moath’ for oxen and kine ... which language the people understood very well without any interpreter” Lancaster (1877:63). Nienaber (1963:411) states that *moath* is a “*klanknabootsende woord deur Lancaster se mense bewustelik geskep met die oog op handelsbetrekkinge, en wat blykbaar tot aan die einde van die agtiende eeu nog gehoor is, ditsy omdat dit voortgeleef het, ditsy deurdad dit telkens opnuut herskep is. Dit staan geheel en al los en vertoon geen grammatiese kenmerke van die inboorlingtaal nie*”, (“a sound-imitative word deliberately coined by Lancaster’s people with a view to trading relations, and which was apparently still heard until the end of the eighteenth century, whether because it survived or whether it was repeatedly recreated anew. It stands completely alone and displays no grammatical characteristics of the indigenous language.”) If the initial bilabial consonant *m* of the word *moath* is a way of representing a click, and the final *-th* is the masculine singular ending that is variable with *-f*, *-p*, *-b* and *-m*, the word *moath* may be comparable to the //Xegwi (S3) word *!khoa*, ‘cow, ox’ (Bleek 1929:64) and the !Gā!ne (S2e) words *//hóa* and *//owa*, ‘ox’ (Bleek 1956:543, 627), the gender ending not included in the Bushman words.

The Cape dialectal word *hory*, ‘*beesten in ’t gemeen*’, (‘cattle in general’), was recorded by Witsen in 1691 (Molsbergen I 1916:220), and for the same dialect the word was recorded as *horri*, ‘*beesten in ’t gemeen*’, (‘cattle in general’) by Valentyn (1726:107a), and as *horri*, ‘*beesten; alle dieren in ’t gemeen*’, (‘cattle; all animals in general’) by Kolbe (1727 I:430). The /Xam (S1) word *xoro*, ‘cattle’, recorded by Lichtenstein as *choro* (in Bleek 1956:260), is phonologically comparable to these words.

A Korana word for ‘cattle’ was recorded by Lichtenstein (1930:470) as *gummande*, which corresponds to the Korana word *gomana*, ‘*Rind*’, (‘ox’) (Meinhof 1930:136), to the Nama word *goman*, ‘*Grossvieh*’, (‘cattle’) (Rust 1960:70), and to the words *gum*, *gume*, *gumi* and *\_gumi*, ‘ox, cow, cattle’, that occur in //ǀ!ke (S2), /Auni (S4), Khakhea (S5), /Nu//en (S6), Auen (N1), Kung (N2) and !O !kuŋ (N3) (Bleek

1956:51; 1929:64), also to the N/uu word *gum* (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:131). An interesting variability between *m* and *b* and between *g* and *dʒ* is discernible in the words *gube* and *dʒube*, ‘cow’, respectively from the Western and Eastern Kalahari Khoe languages (Chebanne 2014:12), as opposed to the word *gume* discussed above.

### ***Centipede, millipede***

Claudius (1685:104) recorded *coeruquekekam* as a Nama word, and *thoucomqueri* as a Griqua word for ‘*dese duysentbenen*’, (‘this millipede’). For ‘millipede’ Bleek (1956:486, 648) gives *kʔa !gam tsʔi*, the /Xam (S1) word *!nu-!kaʔ tten̄tsi*, with the synonym *!kummiŋ-!kummiŋ*, ‘a kind of millipede’, and the Naron (C2) word *≠goe≠goe*, ‘*scolapender, (?) millipede*’. However, for ‘*centipede, or Scolapender, or water centipede*’, Bleek (1956:570) gives the /Xam (S1) word *//kerri-si-!kʰaũ*, which *mutatis mutandis* would correspond phonologically reasonably well with *coeruquekekam*, the nasalisation expressed by the final *m* in the Nama word represented by the tilde *~* in the /Xam component *-!kʰaũ*. The correspondence between these two words could perhaps also include the semantic aspect, since Bleek (1956:570, 648) gives ‘*Scolapender*’ for both ‘centipede’ and ‘millipede’. The ≠Khomani (S2a) and /Nu//en (S6) word *!ui ka tsʰaxəm*, ‘a kind of centipede’ (Bleek 1956:493) corresponds to the N/uu word *//ʰũike tsʰaxam*, the plural of *//ʰũi tsʰaxam*, ‘*honderdpoot, centipede* (“daytime – eye”)’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:128). These authors (2016:123) give */hoqesi*, plural */hoqesike*, for ‘*duisendpoot, millipede*’.

### ***Chameleon***

Claudius (1685:100) recorded the word *narrow*, ‘*Chamelion*’, (‘chameleon’), which Nienaber (1963:497), noting the possible variability of *g/k* and *n*, compared to the component *!karu* in the Nama word *!karu-khup*, ‘chameleon’ (Tindall 1857:106). A more direct correspondence can be discerned between the word *narrow* and the Kung (N2) words *!naʔrro*, *!naru* and *!na\_ru* (Bleek 1956:474), the Khwe word *ngyárò*, ‘chameleon’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:250), the Kua word *ɲaro*, the G/wi word *n!aro*, and the Cua and Tsua word *garo*, ‘chameleon’ (Chebanne 2014:8). The !Xuhn word *n!ahlo*, ‘chameleon’ (Weich 2004:140) displays the interchangeability of *r* and *l*. The /Xam (S1) word */kuru*, ‘chameleon’ (Bleek

1956:326) compared to the Nama word /*kurup*, ‘lizard’, displays the variability between *g/k* and *n* indicated by Nienaber above, and the Cua and Tsua word *garo* reflects a loss of nasalisation (Chebanne 2014:11) (<http://spilplus.journals.ac.za>). Nienaber (1963:497) considers this word to comprise the first component of the Eastern dialectal word *V-karou-koup*, ‘chameleon’ (Levaillant :367), transcribed as *≠karou-kup*, which corresponds to Tindall’s recording of the Nama word *!karu-khup*, ‘chameleon’, also spelt *//khuruzi-khubip* (Tindall 1857:123), for which Kroenlein (1889:225) gives *//kurutsi-//kubes*, ‘*das Chamaeleon*’, ‘chameleon’, and Lloyd the Korana word *//xurutsi-//kubep*, ‘chameleon’. Möller (2017:281-282) points out that *Naroogna*, the Khoikhoi name of Brandvlei in the Northern Cape, also spelt *Narogana*, has been explained as referring to the *verkleurmannetjie* or chameleon, and that the Khoikhoi name is thus derived from the word *narrow*, *ˀ!narʉ* and variants discussed above.

### **Chest**

Witsen (1691 II in Molsbergen 1 1916:119) gives the Cape dialectal word *ouk’á*, ‘*de borst*; *pectus*’, (‘breast, chest’); Valentyn (1726:107b), also for Cape dialect, gives *Oekuwa*, ‘*de borst*’, (‘breast’), and Kolbe (1727 I:433) gives *Ouk~wa*, ‘*Pectus*; *de bors*’, (‘chest, breast’) in the same dialect. Although all these writers give the translation of the word in the singular, namely ‘chest, *bors*, *pectus*’, Nienaber (1963:227) is of the opinion that the final components *k’á*, *kuwa* and *k~wa* “*vertoon almal die ou meervoud vir mask. obj.*”, (“all display the old masculine plural obj.”). The first component, variously rendered as *ou*, and *oe*, may be similar to the !O *!kuŋ* (N3) word /’*õ*, ‘chest’ (Bleek 1956:355), the Kua, Cua and G/wi word *g//úū* and the Tsua word /*ʔuu*, ‘chest’ (Chebanne 2014:8), as well as to the Khwe word *g//úú*, ‘chest’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:251) . The Auen (N1) word for ‘chest’ is *!gwa*, with a synonym *!gava* (Bleek 1956:390), which resembles the component *kuwa* and *k~wa* of the words *Oekuwa* and *Ouk~wa*, and the !Xuhn word *tcoaa*, ‘chest’ (Weich 2004:141). Comparison of the Auen word *!gwa* with Kolbe’s word *k~wa* indicates that his inclusion of a click at this point in the word was accurate. The variability of *k* and *g* is noted in these words.

Thunberg (1795 II:87) recorded the Eastern dialectal word *GeIP*, ‘*kista*’, (‘chest’), transcribed as *≠geip* by Nienaber (1963:228), although Thunberg (1795 II:74) states that the dental click is given by the small letter, which would justify the

transliteration as /geip. Nama words for ‘chest’ are //khaip, ‘breast’ (Tindall 1857 in Nienaber 1963:228), and //kèib, ‘die Brust’, (‘breast’) (Kroenlein 1889:205), and Bushman equivalents are the Naron (C2) words //xī: ‘chest’ and //xī /ōaba ‘chest bone’; and the Auen (N1) word !ke, a synonym of the words !gwa and !gava, ‘chest’ (Bleek 1956:390). There is thus a variation in the clicks displayed in the various languages. The question arises, however, which meaning of ‘chest’ is meant by the Swedish word *kista*. A chest can also be a kist or case, in which event a Bushman equivalent will be the /Xam (S1) word *keis*, ‘case, chest [Eng. *Case*, Afr. *kist*]’ (Bleek 1956:86). In the case of the Kung (N2) word  $\bar{\neq}ke$ , ‘chest’ (Bleek 1956:659) there is no indication which meaning of ‘chest’ is intended. Möller (2017 p.c.) points out that the eland has the largest chest of any antelope, and that the word !ke for ‘eland’ may refer to this attribute. Monophthongisation is to be discerned in the words //xī: and  $\bar{\neq}ke$ .

### Chief

About 1770 Hoffmann (1931:9) gives the Cape dialectal word *koeque*, ‘een hoofd’, (‘chief’), equated by Nienaber (1963:309, 331) with the Nama word !khu-khoi-b, “ryk of ‘magtige man’ d.i. ‘koning-mens’,” (‘rich or powerful man, i.e. ‘king-person’.) The vowel *u* in the Nama word is reflected in the N/uu words /hūusi, ‘boss’;  $\neq xuu$ , ‘hoofman, meneer, leader, respected man’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:118), and in the !Xuhn word *tju n!auh-a*, ‘chief, hoofman’ (Weich 2004:141).

### Child

De Flacourt (1655:58) recorded the Cape-Saldanha dialectal word *cona*, ‘enfant’, (‘child, infant, baby’). This word is comparable to the Cape dialectal words *goná*, ‘jongens; pueri’, ‘children; boys’ (Witsen 1691 in Molsbergen I 1916:217), *goná*, ‘een jongen’, (‘a child’) (Valentyn 1705:108a), and *goña*, ‘puer, een jongetje’, (‘boy; a child’) (Kolbe I 1727:433), as well as to the Eastern dialectal word *xona*, ‘das Kind’, (‘child’) (Von Winkelmann 1788:44). The vowel sequence *o – a*, which also features in the N/uu word /*oba*, ‘child’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:130) and the Khwe word /*ōã*, ‘child’, is common to all the cited examples. Van Riebeeck (1660 in Bosman & Thom III 1957:266) gives the Cape-Caledon dialectal word *kone*, ‘kinderen’, (‘children’). Nienaber (1963:338) is of the opinion that the suffixes *na* and *ne* constitute the common plural ending. The N/uu word /*oba*, ‘child’



(Shah & Brenzinger 2016:118, 130) and the Khwe word /*õã*, ‘child’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:251) are comparable to the word *cona* if the consonant *c* is representative of the dental click /; the vowel sequence *o – a* is common to all three words; the nasalisation represented by the consonant *n* of the word *cona* approximates the nasalised *b* of the word /*oba* and the tilde *~* of the word /*õã*. This last word is closer to the Nama word *oas*, ‘*Kind*’, (‘child’) (Ebner 1829:340).

### **Chin**

The words for ‘chin’ in various languages reveal an interchangeability of the voiced alveolar fricative *z*, the voiced alveolar affricate *dz*, and the velar fricatives *g* and *χ*, since *g* is *χ* pronounced as *χ* in Afrikaans. Witsen (1691 II Molsbergen 1 1916:219) recorded the Cape dialectal word *ganna*, ‘*de kin; mentum*’, (‘the chin’), given by Valentyn (1726:107b) as *channa*, ‘*de kin*’, (‘the chin’), and by Kolbe (1727 I:432) as *channa*, ‘*mentum; de kin*’, (‘the chin’). The Nama word *!gàns*, *!gàni*, ‘*Kinn*’, (‘chin’) (Rust 1960:35), and the Korana word *!kanni*, ‘chin’ (Wuras 1920:15) feature the cerebral click *!*, which also features in the Auen (N1) word *\_!gã* and the !O *!kuŋ* (N3) word *\_!gaŋ*, ‘chin’ (Bleek 1929:28), nasalisation being expressed by the tilde and the nasal consonant *ŋ* respectively, as well as by *m* in the Hie (C1) word *!kxama*, and by *n* in the Naron (C2) word *!gani* (Bleek 1929:28) and the N/uu word *g!an*, ‘chin’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:130). The Korana word *!anna* (Meinhof 1930:131) is a develarised form. The Griqua word *//ganni*, ‘chin’ (Meinhof 1930:151) and the !Xuhn word *g//ang*, ‘chin’ (Weich 2004:141) display the lateral click with velar release. Initial fricative *z* and affricate *dz* feature in the Khakhea (S5) words *zara*, *zani*, *za:ni* and *dzani*, ‘chin’ (Bleek 1956:32, 265), in which the interchangeability of *r* and *n* is evident, and in the /Nu//en (S6) word *zara* (Bleek 1929:28). The Khwe word *gyànií*, ‘chin’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:251) corresponds to the Cape dialectal words in the absence of an overt click, and to the Griqua, Naron and Khakea words in reflecting the final vowel *-i*.

### **Chop, cut**

Lichtenstein (1808:321) recorded the Korana word *chaau*, ‘*hacken, schneiden*’, (‘to chop, cut’); the Nama equivalent *kau* was recorded by Wikar (1779 in Mossop 1935:136) as component of the ethnonym *Kaukoa*, ‘*Snyersvolk*’, (‘cutting people’). The words recorded as *chau* and *kau* are comparable to the Nama word *!gao*, ‘*schneiden*’, (‘to cut’) (Rust 1960:54), given by Tindall (1857 in Nienaber 1963:461) as

*!kau*, ‘cut’, this word also occurring in Korana (Engelbrecht 1936:34), displaying the interchangeability of the voiced and unvoiced velar efflux *g* and *k*, and the affricate *ch*. Comparable Bushman words are the !O *!kuŋ* (N3), Hie (C1) and Naron (C2) word *//kau*, ‘to chop, cut’ (Bleek 1956:560); the Khwe word *//x’áo*, ‘chop (wood)’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:252), and the /Xam (S1) and Naron (C2) word *//k”au*, ‘to chop, split’ (Bleek 1956:604), these words featuring the lateral click // that also features in the /Nusan (S6a) word *//o*; ‘to chop’ (Bleek 1956:615), as well as in the !Xuhn word *//ohm*, ‘to chop’ (Weich 2004:141), the Khwe word *khòm-khom*, ‘chop into small pieces (root in preparing medicine)’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:252), and the N/uu word *//x’oo*, ‘to chop’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:130). The affricate *x* that features as click release in the N/uu word appears as tenuis affricate in the Naron (C2) word *xau*, ‘to cut’ (Bleek 1956:257), apparently also in the word *chaau*. The vowel sequence *a – u* occurs in the reversed order *u – a* in the Kua and G/ui word *//qhua* and the Cua and Tsua word *≠qhua*, ‘to chop the game head to cook it’ (Chebanne 2014:8), as well as in the Khwe words *xòá*, ‘to chop’, *gòá*, ‘chop firewood’, and *xòá-xoa*, ‘chop into small pieces’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:252).

### ***Claw, fingernail***

The variability of *l* and *r* is discernible in the Cape and Eastern dialectal words for ‘claw’ and ‘nail’, as well as in their Bushman equivalents. Witsen (1691 II in Molsbergen I 1916:219) recorded the Cape dialectal word *clo*, ‘*de nagelen; ungues*’, (‘nails; claws’); Valentyn (1726:108a) and Kolbe (1727 I:434) both recorded the Cape dialectal word *kloy*, the former translating it as ‘*de nagels, of klaauwen*’, (‘nails, or claws’), and the latter as ‘*de klaauwen*’, (‘claws’). Since the consonant cluster *kl* is foreign to the Khoisan phonological system, a vowel is presumed to have been omitted in the recording, and the vowel may be *o* if the Eastern dialectal word *korouw*, ‘*Klaauwen*’, (‘claws’), recorded by Beutler (1752 in Molsbergen III 1922:301) can be a guide, in which event the variability of *l* and *r* is also discernible. The interconsonantal vowel *o* occurs in the Eastern dialectal word *t’koloqua*, ‘nails’ (Sparrman II 1785:249), and in the Korana word *t’²korokõa*, ‘*Nagel*’, (‘nail’) (Lichtenstein Arch 307 in Nienaber 1963:396), transcribed as *//korokõa*. Tindall recorded the Nama word *//korop*, ‘finger or toe-nail’, displaying the masculine singular ending *-p*; the feminine singular ending *-s* features in the Nama words *//koras*, ‘*Klaue, Huf*’, (‘claw, hoof’) given

by Rust (1960:35), and //goros, ‘*der Nagel (an Fingeren und Zehen)*’, (‘nails (on fingers and toes)’) (Kroenlein 1889:118). The interchangeability discernible in these words also features in the Korana words //korrob, (Wuras 1920:36) and //gorob, ‘*nael (van vinger en toon)*’, (‘nail (of finger and toe)’) (Nienaber 1963:396), while a develarised //orob, ‘*Nagel*’, (‘nail’), is given by Meinhof (1930:134). Bushman words that approximate the Cape dialectal words in form and meaning are the Mohissa (C1b) word *kole*, ‘fingernail’ (Bleek 1956:58), the //Xegwi (S3) word //kola, ‘fingernail’, and the !O !kuŋ (N3) word //kulu, ‘nail’. In these words the variability of *r* and *l* is evident, as in the synonyms //kɔla and //kɔra of the !O !kuŋ (N3) word //kulu (Bleek 1956:592). The variability of *l* and *r* is also seen in the /Xam (S1) word //kulu, ‘nail, claw’ that also occurs in Auen (N1) and Kung (N2), and in its synonyms //kuru, //kulisi and //koro (Bleek 1956:593). This last-mentioned word displays the variation of *o* and *u*. These various interchangeable sounds are also seen in the Naron (C2) word *k”oro*, ‘nail’, the Tsaukwe (C2a) word //koro, ‘fingernail’, the ≠Khomani (S2a) words //korosi and //korasa, ‘fingernail’, also the Naron (C2) word //koroke, of which the plural form is //koro//koro (Bleek 1956:587), and the N/uu word //qorosi, ‘claw, nail’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:131, 136). The Nama word //koras, ‘*Klaue, Huf*’, (‘claw, hoof’) (Rust 1960:35), closely resembling the ≠Khomani (S2a) word //korasa, is also comparable. The occurrence of the lateral click // in all of the words cited in which a click is displayed, is notable.

### **Cloth**

De Flacourt (1666:56) recorded the Cape-Saldanha word *broutsin*, ‘*linge; seruiette*’, (‘linen; cloth’). Nienaber (1963:246) translates the word as Afrikaans ‘*doekgoed*’, (‘material, cloth stuff’). A comparable Cape-Saldanha dialectal word recorded by De Flacourt (1655:56) is *boursé*, (‘habit’), translated by Nienaber (1963:339) as ‘*kleed, klere (drag)*’, (‘cloak, clothes (garb)’). Comparable Bushman words to *broutsin* are the Hie (C1) and Mohissa (C1b) words *bure ’kau, bure /kau*, ‘cloth for carrying ostrich eggs; net for ostrich eggs’ (Bleek 1956:18), and the Khwe word *ávuru*, ‘cloth’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:253), in which the variation of *b* and *v* is discernible. Since consonant clusters such as *br* are not permissible in Cape dialectal languages, the inter-consonantal vowel must have been omitted from the word *broutsin* in the process of its being recorded in writing. The

vowel in question was probably *u*, as borne out by comparison with the Hie and Mohissa word *bure* and Khwe word *ávuru*, ‘cloth’.

### **Cloud**

Burchell (1812 II:181) gives the Korana word for ‘cloud’ as *’kúma*, which Nienaber (1963:535) interprets as */kuma*, with the dental click. This click features in the Korana words */hum-ma*, ‘*Wolke*’, (‘clouds’) (Meinhof 1930:144) and */homs*, ‘*Nebel*’, (‘mist’) (Wuras 1920:15), as well as in the /Auni (S4) word */humsa*, ‘clouds’ (Bleek 1956:290). Whereas these words display the dental click, the Kung (N2) and !O !kuŋ (N3) word *//kum*, ‘cloud’, and the Kung (N2) word *//kum̄m*, ‘to be cloudy, a large black cloud’ (Bleek 1956:592), feature the lateral click, //. The !Xuhn word *g//om*, ‘cloud’ (Weich 2004:142) also displays the lateral click //, but the voiced velar *g* interchanges with *k* and the vowel *o* with *u*, while the Khwe word *//òm*, ‘cloud’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:253), also displaying the lateral click and also the variability of *u* and *o*, is develarised (or glottalised). The cerebral click is encountered in the Korana word *!humkuà* (Wuras 1920:15) and the //ǀ!ke (S2) word *!gum*, ‘cloud’ (Bleek 1956:388), while the Hie (C1) word *≠kom*, ‘cloud’ (Bleek 1956:29) features the palatal click ≠. The similarity between ‘mist’ and ‘clouds’ is elucidated in the discussion by Nienaber and Raper (1977 A\*:566-567) of the name *Hommoequa* and its variant *Numcumqua*, explained as ‘*Wolkberg*’, (‘cloud mountain’), where the components *Hommo* and *Numcum* also reflect the variability of *h* and *n*, and of *o* and *u*.

### **Cold**

The Cape-Saldanha word *toucai*, ‘*froidure*’, (‘cold’), was recorded by De Flacourt (1655:57). The component *cai* is compared by Nienaber (1963:355) to the Nama words *!khei*, ‘to be cold’ (Tindall 1857:108) and *!kéi*, ‘*kalt; kalt sein*’, (‘cold; to be cold’) (Kroenlein 1889:206). The Korana word *!kai*, ‘*koud wees*’, (‘to be cold’) (Nienaber 1963:355) and the Naron (C2) word *!kai*, ‘cold, to be cold’ (Bleek 1956: 405, 705) display the cluster *ai* that also occurs in the word *toucai*. Nienaber (1963:355) is uncertain about the component *tou*, and writes: “*Die tou is met minder sekerheid te dui; miskien is dit soos die huidige Na. to*, (mit etwas) stechen’, *te verklaar, die geheel dan: “n stekende koue*”, (“The component *tou* is to be explained with less certainty; perhaps it is to be explained as the

current Nama *to*, ‘to pierce (with something)’, the whole then: ‘a piercing cold.’”) Alternatively, the component *tou* may be compared to the Auen (N1) word /*kau*, ‘to be cold, bare’, the !O !*kuŋ* (N3) word  $\bar{/}kxau$ , ‘to be cold’, the Khakhea (S5) word /*k”au*, ‘cold, to be cold’, the /Nu//en (S6) word //*k’ãu*, ‘to be cold’ (Bleek 1956:303, 335, 338, 561), and the Khwe word *cào*, ‘become cold’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:254); also to the N/uu word /’*huu*, ‘cold’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:132). The palatal click ≠ features in the !Xuhn word ≠*áúh*, ‘cold’ (Weich 2004:143) that also displays the vowel sequence *a – u*.

An Eastern dialectal word for ‘cold’ was recorded by Thunberg (1795 II:86) as KOROSA, ‘*kall*, cold’. This word is similar in sound and meaning to the Khakhea (S5) word /*karoba*, ‘to be cold’ (Bleek 1956: 302) as regards syllabification and vowel sequence. The Eastern dialectal word *oro*, ‘cold’, recorded by Sparrman (1785 II:351), displays neither click, release or gender ending. Nienaber (1963:355) compares this word to the Nama word ≠*áob*, ‘*Feuchtigkeit (Nässe), Reif*’, (‘moisture (wetness), frost’) (Kroenlein 1889:37), and to the Korana words ≠*aub*, ‘cold’ (Wuras 1920:15) and ≠*ausa*, ‘*koud*’, (‘cold’) (Engelbrecht 1936:30). A closer phonological correspondence to the word *oro* may be discerned in the /Xam (S1) words /*xorre*, /*xorritàn* and /*xworre*; ‘cold’ (Bleek 1956:365) at least as regards the cluster *or*.

Lichtenstein recorded two slightly different spellings of a Korana word for ‘cold’, namely *t’<sup>2</sup>goaub*, ‘cold’ (1930 11:472), and *t’<sup>2</sup>gaaub*, ‘*kalt*’, (‘cold’) (Bertuch & Vater 1808:283, 316), interpreted by Nienaber (1963:356) as ≠*goaub* and ≠*gaaub* respectively. Engelbrecht (1930 in Nienaber 1963:356) recorded the Korana word with the same click, namely the palatal ≠, but in devalarised form as ≠*aub*; ‘*koue*’, (‘cold’). The early Korana words correspond well to the Kung (N2) words ≠*ka-ao* and ≠*kaáo* ‘to be cold’ (Bleek 1956:654, 705), the voiced velar consonant *g* readily interchangeable with the unvoiced velar consonant *k*, or, phrased differently, the palatal click with voiced efflux ≠*g* being variable with the palatal click with ejective efflux, ≠*k*. The !Xuhn word /*xoan*, ‘cold’ (Weich 2004:143) is in accordance with the Korana words in displaying the vowel sequence *o – a*, but features the dental click with fricative release, /*x*. Although Nienaber interpreted Lichtenstein’s symbol *t’<sup>2</sup>* as the palatal click ≠, as discussed above, Bleek (1956:512) specifically notes that “Lichtenstein used *t’<sup>2</sup>* for the lateral click, as in *t’<sup>2</sup>kang* for //*kaŋ*, brother.” In that case the words Lichtenstein

recorded as *t<sup>2</sup>goaub* and *t<sup>2</sup>gaaub* would be transcribed as //goaub and //gaaub, which are comparable with the //Ku //e (S2c) word //k<sup>2</sup>ōa, ‘to be cold’ and the /Nu //en (S6) word //k<sup>2</sup>āū, ‘to be cold’ respectively (Bleek 1956:606, 561).

### **Come**

Witsen (III 1697 CMM 1858:116) gives the Cape dialectal word *see*, ‘*kome*’, (‘come’), in the sentence ‘(*uw Koningryke*) *kome*’, (‘(Thy Kingdom) come’). This word is cognate with the Nama word *sī*, ‘*hinkommen, gelangen*’, (‘come hither; approach’) (Rust 1960:36) and the !Xuhn word *tsi*, ‘*kom, to come*’ (Weich 2004:197, 297). Numerous comparable words for ‘to come’ were recorded by Bleek (1929:30), namely the /Xam (S1) words *s’i*, *fī*, *s’e*; the //ǀ (S2) words *se*, *si*; the //Xegwi (S3) word *se*; the /Auni (S4) word *se*; the Khakhea (S5) word *fī*; the /Nu //en (S6) word *si*; the Auen (N1) words *tsi*, *tfi*; the Kung (N2) words *fe*, */ge*; the !O !kuŋ (N3) words *si*;, *tsi*;, *tfi* and */ge*;; the Naron (C2) word *fī*, and the “Hottentot” word *si*, ‘to come’, for which the synonym *\_ha*: occurs. The N/uu word *see*, ‘to come’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:131) corresponds exactly with the Cape dialectal word *see* given by Witsen above. The N/uu language makes the distinction between *see*, ‘to come’ and *sii*, ‘to arrive’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:117, 131). The variability between the voiceless fricatives *s* and *f* and the affricates *ts* and *tf* will have been noted.

The ‘Hottentot’ word *\_ha*:, ‘to come’ (Bleek 1929:30) corresponds to the Cape dialectal word *ha*, ‘to come’, recorded by Valentyn (1726:108b), and by Kolbe (1727 I:434) as *ha* in the sentence *hebba ha*, translated by them respectively as ‘*komt hier*’ and ‘*veni huc; kom hier*’, (‘come here’). Thunberg (1795 II:85) recorded the Eastern dialectal word *ha* in the sentence *HAEVA HA (KóNG)*, ‘*kom hit*’, (‘come here’); Sparrman (1785 II:351) gives the Eastern dialectal *ha*, ‘to come’, and Von Winkelmann (1788:46) also has an Eastern dialectal word *ha*, ‘*kommen*’, (‘come’). Nama also has *ha*, ‘*kommen*’, (‘to come’) (Rust 1960:36), and Korana has the word *ha*:, ‘to come’ (Maingard 1964:63). Bushman equivalents are the /Xam (S1) words *hā*, *ha*, *\_ha*, *\_ha*:, *hāa* and *\_ha*ʔ, ‘to come’ (Bleek 1956:54).

As noted above, Thunberg (1795 II:85) recorded the Eastern dialectal sentence *HAEVA HA (KóNG)*, ‘*kom hit*’, (‘come here’), which bears some phonological resemblance to the Khwe word */huúví-can*, ‘come (of: group of people)’ (Kilian-

Hatz 2003:255). The word *haeva* also bears a similarity to the Tsua word *habe*, ‘to arrive’, where the variability of *v* and *b* is discernible. The word *hāa*, ‘to come, go’, that occurs in /Xam (S1), //Ku //e (S2c), !O !kuŋ (N3) and Naron (C2) (Bleek 1956:54; Bleek 1929:30), is comparable to the Tsua word *habe*, ‘to arrive’ (Chebanne 2014:11).

Thunberg (1795 II:85) gives *KóNG* as an alternative Eastern dialectal word for *HAEVA HA*, ‘come here’. The lower case vowel with acute accent *ó* is Thunberg’s symbol for writing the cerebral click *!*, so that the word is to be read as *!kong* (Nienaber 1963:349). Bushman equivalents incorporating the vowel *o* are the //Ń *!ke* (S2) word *hoŋ*, ‘to come from, blow from’ (Bleek 1956:62); the Hie (C1) word *kho*, ‘to come from’ (Bleek 1956:58); the Auen (N1) word *≠kō*, ‘to come out, pull out’ (Bleek 1956: 662), and the /Nu //en (S6) word *≠xom*, ‘to come again’ (Bleek 1956:680). The Khakhea (S5) word *!hAN*, ‘to come from’ (Bleek 1956:400) reflects the cerebral click *!* of the word *!kong* but displays the vowel *ʌ* that is pronounced as the vowel *u* in the word ‘bun’ (Bleek 1929:12). Featuring the lateral click // and the nasal symbol *ŋ* are the //Ń *!ke* (S2) and Kung (N2) word //ŋ, ‘to come down’ and the ≠Khomani (S2a) word //ŋ, ‘to come’ (Bleek 1956:611). !Xuhn has //xam, ‘kom, to come’ (Weich 2004:297).

### ***Companion, Comrade***

Valentyn (1726:107b) gives the Cape dialectal word *Xtsui*, ‘*een medebroeder, medgesel*’, (‘fellow brother; companion’), a word which Kolbe (1727 I:431) renders with a click as *x̣tsui*, ‘*confrater, een medebroeder*’, (‘fellow brother’). The affricates *xts* in the word *Xtsui* and *x̣ts* in the word *x̣tsui* are similar to the *kxʔ* release in the Kung (N2) word *kxʔai*, ‘friend’ (Bleek 1956:117), although the vowel clusters *ui* and *ai* correlate less satisfactorily. If the tilde in Kolbe’s word *x̣tsui* was intended to represent a nasalisation, the affricate cluster *x̣ts* could be equated with the Bushman dental fricative click with nasal accompaniment /*n*, these words then approximating the Kung (N2) word /*nũi*, /*nuʔi*, ‘comrade, countryman’ (Bleek 1956:352), of which synonyms are /*nwe* and /*nwi*.

Another Cape dialectal word with a similar meaning was recorded as *tykan*, ‘*een medestrijder*’, (‘comrade-at-arms’), by Valentyn (1726:108b) and *t̃ykaa*, ‘*commilato; een metgezel*’, (‘fellow soldier; a companion’) by Kolbe (1727 I:430). The components *ty* and *t̃y* are interpreted by Nienaber (1963:232, 233) as the

personal prefix *ti*, ‘my’, and the component *kan* of the word *tykan* is compared by him to the Nama word *!gān*, ‘*die Geschwister*’, (‘siblings’) (Kroenlein 1889:88a). In that case the component *ty* or *t̃y* can be compared to the Naron (C2) word *ti* and the Hie (C1) word *t̃i*, ‘my’ (Bleek 1956:212, 229), the component *kan* or *kaa* with the /Xam (S1) words */ka:gən*, ‘companions’, the plural of *//k”ēn*, ‘mate’, *//k”en*, ‘companion’ (Bleek 1956:296), *//keŋ*, ‘friends’ (Bleek 1956:559), and, with the dental click, */keŋ* and */ke;*, ‘mate’ (Bleek 1956:309). The variability of the vowels *a* and *e* is discernible in these words. Nienaber (1963:232, 233) interprets the final *-n* of the word *!gān* as the Nama common plural ending, “*sodat die vertaling hierbo in die teks minder juis is*”, (“so that the translation in the text above is less correct”), in other words that the translations of the dialectal words should also have been in the plural. It may be noted that the meaning of the /Xam (S1) word *//k”en*, ending in *-n*, is given as ‘companion’, thus in the singular. The final *-n* in the word *tykan* is therefore not necessarily a plural marker, and the translations by Valentyn and Kolbe not necessarily incorrect.

### **Copper**

In the Eastern dialects the same word KoRUP, ‘*jern, koppar*’, (‘iron, copper’) (Thunberg 1795 II:87), which can be transcribed as */korup*, was used for both ‘iron’ and ‘copper’. The final *-p* in this word is the masculine singular ending; the component */koru* is comparable with the /Xam (S1) words *!kaʔru*, ‘purple copper ore, magnelite’, and */kuri*, */koli*, ‘iron, copper’ (Bleek 1956:410); the interchangeability of the vowels *o* and *u*, and of consonants *r* and *l* is discernible in these words. Seroa (S2d) has a word *kokaŋ*, ‘copper’ (Bleek 1956:98) that bears some resemblance to the other words as regards the initial component *ko-*.

### **Cross**

In the place-name *Koungama* the component *kou* is considered by the present author to be the same word as the element *Koign* in the name *Koignas*, given as ‘*Dwarsrivier, Cross river*’ by Le Vaillant (1790 I:227), and thus to mean ‘to cross, to go across’, comparable with the Nama word *!gôu*, ‘*queren, kreuzen*’, (‘to traverse, to go over, to cross’) (Rust 1960:48). The word *kou* is also comparable to the /Xam (S1) words */kau*, */ka:o*, */kaʔo*, ‘to cross, stroke’ (Bleek 1956:301). It is noteworthy that the Nama words indicate the nasalisation that is expressed



in the place name by the nasal *n* with the tilde  $\tilde$  and the circumflex, whereas it does not feature in the Bushman equivalents. The component *gama* of the name *Koungama* may be comparable to the Nama word //gami, ‘water’.

### **Crow**

No recorded Cape dialectal words have been found for ‘crow’, but Le Vaillant (1790 II:33, 175) recorded the Nama word *gourap* as a component of the name *ouri-gourap*, ‘the white crow’. The component *ouri* of the name *ouri-gourap* is similar to the Nama word *luri*, ‘weiss’, (‘white’) (Rust 1060:73), the component *gourap* like the Nama words *gorab*, ‘Krähe’, (‘crow’) and //hoarab, ‘Rabe’, (‘crow’) (Rust 1960:36, 48). Lichtenstein (1808:312) recorded the Korana word *t<sup>ʰ</sup>guraab*, ‘Krähe’, (‘crow’), which may be transcribed as //guraab, since he used the symbol *t<sup>ʰ</sup>* to denote the lateral click // that also features in the Nama word //hoarab. The final consonant *-p* of the variant *gourap* and *-b* of the variants //guraab and //hoarab are markers of the masculine singular. The Naron (C2) word *hoara*, ‘crow’ (Bleek 1956:63), resembles the Nama word *gourap* and *gorab* in not incorporating a click, but it also resembles the word //hoarab in displaying the diphthong *oa*; since Naron is a Bushman language the Naron word *hoara* does not reflect the gender ending *-b* and its variant *-p* that characterises the Khoikhoi languages. The /Xam (S1) word !gauru, ‘a certain crow, witkraai’, (‘white crow’) (Bleek 1956:379), is similar to the Nama word *gourap* in respect of the variable diphthongs *ou* and *au*. Other /Xam words for ‘crow’, //xuru, //xurru ‘crow, *Corvus albicollis*, *C. littoralis*’ (Bleek 1956:638) have the lateral click and the vowel *u* in the first syllable in common with the Korana word //guraap, and the /Xam (S1) words //gwa and //gwa<sup>é</sup> ‘crow’ (Bleek 1956:536, 708) reflect the vowel sequence *u – a* through elision of the intervocalic *r*, and *ua* expressed as *wa*. The lateral click // predominates in most variants except in the word !gauru, where the cerebral ! is displayed. Variability of the voiced velar consonant *g* and glottal fricative *h* is noted. The !Xuhn word *n<sup>h</sup>ohla*, ‘crow’ (Weich 2004:147) features the nasalised palatal click  $\neq n$ ; the *l* is variable with *r* in the other comparable words, and *o* with *u*, *au* and *ou*.

### Cry

The Frenchman De Flacourt (1658:57) recorded the Cape-Saldanha word *hab*, ‘pleurer’, (‘to cry’), which, since the initial *h* is said to be silent in French, accords well with the Nama word *á*, ‘wehnen, krähen, kollern, Geräusch machen’, (‘to crow, to rumble, to make a noise’) (Kroenlein 1889:1); and also with the /Xam (S1) word *ã*, ‘to cry; sound of crying’ (Bleek 1956:1). Nienaber (1963:523) notes that “*De Flacourt meld selde die genussuffiks, sodat die –b wrsk. die suffiksale partikel van die verbum is sonder sy slotvokaal.*”, (“De Flacourt seldom gives the gender ending, so that the *–b* is probably the verbal particle without its final vowel”). The voiced final consonant *–b* of the word *hab* may well be the representation of the nasal element that is represented by the tilde in the /Xam word *ã*. Other Bushman words that are similar to the word *hab* for ‘to cry’ are the //ǃ word (S2) *k”a*, ‘to cry, sing, bleat, croak’; the ≠Khomani (S2a) word *k”a* and its synonyms *kx’a* and *kx’wa*, ‘to cry, sing, bleat, croak’; the Khakhea (S5) word *//k”a*, ‘to cry, bray, bleat, low, crow’ (Bleek 1956:118, 601), and the N/uu word *kx’aa*, ‘to cry’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:128). The /Xam and N/uu words are thus phonologically closest to the Cape-Saldanha word in that it apparently has no click, as opposed to the Khakhea words with the lateral click with ejective efflux and the //ǃ and ≠Khomani word with ejective *k* or glottal croak. However, the word recorded by De Flacourt as *hab* may well have had a click, since elsewhere Nienaber (1963:257) expressly refers to “*die tongslag wat deur De Flacourt met ’n h- vooraan weergegee word*”, (“the click that is indicated by De Flacourt with an *h*”).

### Cut

A variety of different clicks is encountered in Bushman (and Khoikhoi) words for ‘to cut’. Lichtenstein (1808:321) recorded the Korana word *chaau*, ‘hacken, schneiden’, (‘chop, cut’), comparable to the Naron (C2) word *xau*, ‘to cut’ (Bleek 1956:257) and the Nama word *kau* in the ethnonym ‘*Kaukoa* or *Snyersvolk*’, (‘Kaukoa or cutting people’) (Wikar 1779 in Mossop 1935:136). All of these words are devoid of a click, but Tindall (1857 in Nienaber 1963:461) records a cerebral click for Nama in the word *!kau*, ‘cut’ (Nienaber 1963:461), while Rust (1960:54) gives the spelling *!gao*, ‘*schneiden*’, (‘to cut’), thus with the voiced efflux and the variable *o* for *u*, which also occurs in the //ǃ word (S2) *!kau* and its synonyms *!k”au* and *!k”ao*, also encountered in Khakhea (S5) (Bleek

1956:411). The cerebral click also features in the !Xuhn noun *g!am*, ‘cut, *snit*’ (Weich 2004:148). The dental click occurs in the /Xam (S1) words */kau*, */ka:o*, ‘to cut, cross (spoor)’, */khau*, ‘to cut’, and its synonyms */ka*, */kha*, */ke/ke* and */khau/khau* (Bleek 1956:302, 312), and in the devalarised !Xuhn verb */um* ‘to cut’, as well as in the /Xam (S1) word */kau*, with its synonyms */a*, */i:* and */ã* ‘to cut’ (Bleek 1929:31), cognate with the N/uu word */a*, ‘to cut’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:143). The lateral click // is encountered in the !O !kuŋ (N3), /Nu//en (S6) and Naron (C2) word *//kau*, ‘to cut, chop’, and in the /Auni (S4) word *//xau*, ‘to cut’ (Bleek 1956:560, 663), the latter displaying the fricative efflux *x*. The palatal click ≠ occurs in the Auen (N1) word *≠xe:*, ‘to cut, stab’, and its synonym *\≠xi:* that is also encountered in Naron (C2) and Hadza (C3) (Bleek 1956:679, 680). The vowel sequence appears in reversed form in the Cua word *≠qhua*, ‘to cut long and thin; thinly cut’ (Chebanne 2014:10).

**-D-**

**Dance**

Lichtenstein (1808:320) recorded the Korana word *t'<sup>1</sup>knam*, ‘*tanzen*’, (‘to dance’). According to Lichtenstein’s system of denoting clicks, the symbol *t'<sup>1</sup>* represents the dental /, and the word may thus be transcribed as */knam*. Comparable Bushman words that incorporate the dental click are the //ǀ !ke (S2) word *\_/na*, the Khakhea (S5) words */xã* and */nAM*, the /Nu//en (S6) word */kã*, and the Auen (N1) word */nAM*, ‘dance’ (Bleek 1929:32). It can be seen that the efflux differs in these words, the nasal featuring in */na* and */nAM*, the fricative in */x* and the ejective in */k*. The tilde indicates the presence of nasalisation in the /Nu//en word */kã*, which is also the only word that reflects the velar *k* that occurs in the word *t'<sup>1</sup>knam* recorded by Lichtenstein. The palatal click ≠ is common to the Nama and Korana word *≠nã*, ‘*tanzen*’, (‘to dance’) (Rust 1960:60; Meinhof 1930:140), and to the /Xam (S1) word *≠na:*, the Auen (N1) *≠na:*, the Kung (N2) word *≠na*, and the ‘Hottentot’ word *\_≠na:*, ‘to dance’ (Bleek 1929:32).

**Dark**

Bushman equivalents for the word ‘dark’ differ from the Korana equivalent in not displaying a click. Lichtenstein (1808:307) recorded *t'<sup>3</sup>kaib*, ‘*dunkel*’, (‘dark’), transcribed according to his system as *!kaib*. Because the final *-b* is generally the

masculine singular marker in Korana, the word *!kaib* is interpreted as the noun ‘darkness’ (Nienaber 1960:247). Comparable words are the Nama word *!kae* (*!kai*), ‘*dunkeln, dunkel werden*’, (‘to darken, become dark’) (Rust 1960:15), and the Korana word *!kae*, ‘*donker word*’, (‘become dark’) (Engelbrecht in Nienaber 1963:247), which display the cerebral click with unvoiced velar release *!k*. The Sehura (C1a) word *xai*, ‘darkness’ (Bleek 1956:256), the Naron (C2) word *\_gai*, ‘dark’, and the Hadza (C3) word *fai*, ‘to be dark, diminish’ (Bleek 1956:177) share the vowel cluster *ai*, but do not display a click, and feature different onsets. The N/uu word *g//aa*, ‘dark, night’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:123) is comparable to the //Ku //e (S2c) word *//gaa*, and also to the /Xam (S1) words *//ga:*, *//ka:* and *//’aa*, ‘night, darkness’ (Bleek 1956 :522), variability between the velar consonants *g*, *k*, and the glottal stop being evident.

### **Daughter**

As early as 1660 Van Riebeeck gives the Caledon dialectal word *achebasis*, ‘*dochters*’, (‘daughters, girls’) (Bosman & Thom III 1957:266) thus in the plural. Nienaber (1963:246) deems the Nama word *āxas*, ‘*Mädchen*’, (‘maiden’), to be closer to this word than *ōaxais*, ‘*Jungfrau, heirathsfähiges Mädchen*’, (‘young woman, eligible maiden’) (Kroenlein 1889:270). Corresponding Bushman words are from the /Xam (S1) language and display different clicks, namely the lip click *ǃ*, the lateral click *//*, and the cerebral click, *!*, as well as both velarised and deelarised forms, but the basic similarity of the segment *axe*, *axi*, *axai* is preponderant, the unvoiced fricative *x* being rendered in Van Riebeeck’s word as *ch*. Thus occur the /Xam (S1) words *ǃaxi*, *ǃaxai*, *ǃpaxai*, *ǃpwaxai*; *//kāxi*, *//kaxe*, *//kaxai*, *!kaxi*, ‘daughter, girl’ (Bleek 1956: 418, 564, 683, 709). Also displaying the lip click and the fricative consonant *x* are the N/uu words *ǃoaxe*, ‘daughter’ and *ǃoaxuke*, ‘daughters’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:122), which is phonologically comparable to the Nama word *ōaxais* mentioned above. The !Xuhn word *≠xae*, ‘daughter’ (Weich 2004:149) features the palatal click *≠* and the variant vowel cluster *ae*.

Cape dialectal words for ‘daughter’ were recorded as *kos*, ‘*een dogter, filia*’, (‘daughter’) (Witsen 1691 in Molsbergen I 1916:218); *k? os*, ‘*dochter*’, (‘daughter, girl’) (Witsen 1697 in Nienaber 1963:246); *ko*, ‘*een dochter*’, (‘a girl, daughter’) (Valentyn 1726:108a), and *k~o*, ‘*filia; een dochter*’, (‘girl; daughter’) (Kolbe 1727 I:431). The click is rendered by Witsen 1858 as *k?* and by Kolbe as the tilde *~*. It is notable that the feminine singular ending *-s* is not indicated by either

Valentyn or Kolbe. Nama words for ‘daughter’ are /*kos* (Tindall 1857 in Nienaber 1960:246) and /*gos*, ‘*Mädchen*’, (‘girl, maiden’) (Rust 1960:40), the former with ejective release, the latter with voiced efflux. A shift in click is evidenced in the /Auni (S4) word *Opwoe*, *Opwo-e*, ‘daughter’ (Bleek 1956:686, 709). The Naron (C2) word *!ko-de*, ‘initiate girl’, with the synonyms *!kouken* and *!kãu* (Bleek 1956:435), is derived from the verb *!ko*, *!koukən*, ‘to menstruate’.

### **Day**

*Quanti* is a name recorded by Schrijver (1689 in Molsbergen III 1922:106) as an indigenous name for the present *Suurbergpoort*, a ravine 10 km south-west of Willowmore. Schrijver gives the Dutch name of as “*een platte kloov ... van de Hottentots Quanti, dat is Daghkloov genaamt ...*”, (“a flat ravine ... called *Quanti* by the Hottentots, that is ‘day ravine’”). If this explanation of the name is to be accepted, the component *Qua* may be considered similar to the /Xam (S1) word *!khwa:*, ‘to dawn, break (day)’ (Bleek 1956:90), and the component *ti* at a stretch to the /Auni (S4) word *k”eisi*, ‘ravine’ (Bleek 1956:122) or the /Xam (S1) word *ti*, ‘place, part, piece’ (Bleek 1956:201). However, the description of the geographical feature as ‘a flat ravine’ begs a comparison of the component *Qua* to the /Xam (S1) word *swa:* and its synonym *tsʔoa*, a noun meaning ‘flat, plain’ (Bleek 1956:175). Yet another possible explanation is presented by the current name *Suurbergpoort*, ‘sour mountain pass’, which may be a translation of the name *Quanti*. The Hie (C1) word for ‘sour’ is *khauwe* (Bleek 1956:89), which may be phonologically comparable to the word *Qua*.

A phrase in which the word for ‘day’ features as the second component is the Eastern dialectal *xn’un’ xk’oa*, ‘*es wird tag*’, (‘day is breaking’) (Von Winkelmann 1788:46). Lichtenstein (1808:314) gives the Korana word *sorököa*, ‘*Tag*’, (‘day’), and the word *t’<sup>2</sup>kchomköa*, ‘day’, in the phrase *dissi t’<sup>2</sup>kchomköa*, “*zehn Schlafen, heist 10 Tage*”, (“ten sleeps, that is ten days”). Lichtenstein used the symbol *t’<sup>2</sup>* to denote the lateral click //, and the word *t’<sup>2</sup>kchomköa* is thus to be transcribed as *//kchomköa*. The words given as *qua*, *xk’oa*, *köa* and *kõa* are comparable to the Nama word *//góas*, ‘*Tagesanbruch*’, (‘daybreak’) (Rust 1960:60), *//kua*, ‘to dawn’ (Tindall 1857 in Nienaber 1963:240), and Korana *//koap*, ‘morning’ (Maingard 1964:64), as well as to the /Xam (S1) word *!khwa:*, *khwai:*, ‘to dawn, break (day)’ (Bleek 1956:90).

Witsen (1697 II in Molsbergen II 1916:118) gives the Cape dialectal word *quaqua*, translated by Nienaber (1963:240) as ‘*ses dae*’, (‘six days’). The first component, *qua*, is comparable to the Griqua word *quane*, ‘six’ (Smith 1940:284), and the second component, *-qua*, is similar to the /Xam (S1) word *!khwa*; *khwai*;, ‘to dawn, break (day)’ (Bleek 1956:90). Also comparable are the Nama words *//góab*, ‘*Tagesanbruch*’, (‘daybreak’) (Rust 1960:60), and *//kua*, ‘to dawn’ (Tindall in Nienaber 1963:240). The N/uu word *//’üi*, ‘daytime, day’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:121) bears some phonological resemblance to the /Xam (S1) variants *khwai*, *!khwai*: and *!k”wai*. In a more directly recognisable form the word *qua* was recorded by Schrijver (1689 in Molsbergen III 1922:106) as a component of the place-name *Quanti*, ‘*Daghkloov*’, (‘day ravine’), as discussed above, if Schrijver’s explanation is correct.

In the Cape dialectal word *sequa* recorded by Witsen (1697 III in Molsbergen III 1922:118) as *dae*, (‘days’), the component *se* is comparable to the Korana words *cēb* recorded by Wuras (1920:18) and *tsēb*, recorded by Meinhof (1930:140), and to the word *ceb*, ‘day’, recorded as ‘Hottentot’ by Campbell (1815:389), and *tzee*, ‘day’, recorded as a Korana word by him. Similar Nama words are *ceb*, ‘*Tag*’, (‘day’) (Ebner 1829:342), and *tsēs*, ‘*Tag*’, (‘day’) (Rust 1960:60), while the Auen (N1) word *tse*, ‘day’, also encountered as *tʃe*, (Bleek 1956:227) is a Bushman equivalent, as is the Khwe word */’ée*, ‘day’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:261). Nienaber (1963:240) identifies the component *qua* in the Cape dialectal word *sequa* as the masculine plural ending, which accords with Witsen’s translation of the word as *dae*, (‘days’), thus in the plural.

### **Death**

Witsen in 1691 (in Molsbergen I 1916:218) recorded the Cape dialectal word *koo*, ‘dood; *mors*’, (‘death’), and in 1697 the word with a click, as *kʔ oo*, ‘*de doode*’, (‘the dead, death’) (in Nienaber 1963:248). Similar Cape dialectal words for ‘death’ are *rho-o*, ‘*de dood*’, (‘death’) (Valentyn 1726:108b) and *rhôo*, ‘*mors; de dood*’, (‘death’) (Kolbe I 1727:432). The initial *r* in the word *rho-o* is perhaps variable with a fricative such as that encountered in the Korana word *χob* ‘*dood (snw.)*’, (‘death (noun)’) (Nienaber 1963:248)), or with a comparable click encountered in words such as Korana *//’ob*, ‘*Tod*’, (‘death’) (Meinhof 1930:140) and Nama *//ob*, ‘*Tod*’, (‘death’) (Rust 1960:61), words comparable to the Korana

word *t<sup>ʰ</sup>koobi*, ‘*der Tod*’, (‘death’), recorded by Lichtenstein (Bertuch & Vater 1808:283), transcribed by Nienaber (1963:248) as *≠koobi* or *!koobi*. Nienaber notes that the Cape dialectal words do not feature the masculine singular ending *-b* that occurs in the Korana words above, and in the adjective ‘dead’ that was recorded by Lichtenstein as *t<sup>ʰ</sup>koob*, ‘*todt*’, (‘dead’) (Bertuch & Vater 1808:317) and as *t<sup>ʰ</sup>koab*, ‘dead’ (Lichtenstein 1930:472), comparable to the /Xam (S1) word *t<sup>ʰ</sup>khub*, ‘dead’, (Lichtenstein in Bleek 1956:449), transcribed by Bleek as *!kuhb* (sic.). Campbell (1815:389) recorded the ‘Hottentot’ word *o*, ‘death’, which correlates with the Hie (C1) word *oo*, ‘death, to die’, with the synonyms *oha* and *ohe* (Bleek 1956:154), and with the Khwe word //’ó, ‘death’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:261), the latter which does, however, feature the lateral click // encountered in the Korana and Nama words. The variability of *o* and *u* is discernible in the relevant words.

### **Die**

Comparison of Cape dialectal words for ‘to die’ with words in other Khoisan languages indicates a greater measure of velarisation in the former, and of develarisation in the latter. Witsen (1691 II in Molsbergen 1 1916:223) gives the Cape dialectal word *k’ ó*, ‘*sterven; more*’, (‘to die’), and in the form *k’ óo*, ‘*gestorven*’, (‘deceased, dead’) (Witsen 1697 III in CMM 1858:119); Lichtenstein (1930:473) gives *t<sup>ʰ</sup>koo*, ‘to die’. Since *t<sup>ʰ</sup>* is Lichtenstein’s symbol for the cerebral click, *!*, the word *t<sup>ʰ</sup>koo* is to be read as *!koo* (Nienaber 1963:471), which corresponds to the Ki /hazi (S4b) word *!ho*, ‘to die’, with a synonym *!hwa* (Bleek 1956:397). In the Auen (N1), Naron (C2) and Hadza (C3) languages the lateral click is displayed in the words //o and //o; ‘to die, kill’ (Bleek 1956:624), which again is in accordance with the Nama word //o, ‘*sterben*’, (‘to die’) (Rust 1960:59), and the Korana words //’o, ‘die’ (Wuras 1920:19), //’ō, ‘*sterben*’, ‘*sterf*’, (‘to die’) (Nienaber 1963:471), and //’o; ‘to die’ (Maingard 1964:61). The Korana words display the lateral click with glottal release, as does the Khwe word //’ó, ‘die’. Engelbrecht (1930:41) gives the Korana word *xo*, ‘*doodgaan, vrek*’, (‘die, perish’), that displays the unvoiced fricative and no click. In the Hadza (C3) word ≠o, ‘to die of hunger, be ill’, the palatal click occurs. The difference in clicks may be due to different shades of meaning of ‘to die’, the Afrikaans words *doodgaan* and especially *vrek* referring to animals, whereas the word *sterf* or *sterwe* is normally used for persons.

Whereas the Cape dialectal and comparative languages generally display the vowel *o*, the Eastern dialectal word *xg'a*, 'sterben', ('to die') (Von Winkelmann 1788 (2):46), displays the vowel *a*. This word is transcribed as //ga or #ga by Nienaber (1963:471), and is comparable to the Nama word *gā*, 'sterben (hingehen)', ('to die, pass away') (Rust 1960:59), although no click is indicated in the latter. The dental click is displayed in the word /a:, /a, 'to fight, die, be killed' that occurs in /Xam (S1) and in all the languages of the Southern Group, as well as in Auen (N1) (Bleek 1956:267), and also in the N/uu word /'aa, 'to die' (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:144).

### **Dish**

The word *corè* was recorded by De Flacourt (1658:56) for 'plat', ('plate, dish'). This word was identified by Nienaber (1963:454) as being from the Cape-Saldanha dialect and was equated by him with the Nama word *!orés*, 'die Holzschüssel, der Holztrog, auch Blech- und Porzellanschüssel', ('wooden dish, wooden trough, also tin and porcelain dish') (Kroenlein 1889:284a). The word *corè* is comparable to the //ǀ!ke (S2) words *!kore:*, 'dish', *!kore*, 'plate', and *!orre*, 'dish, bowl' (Bleek 1956:443), and to the /Auni (S4) word *!ohé*, 'dish, plate' (Bleek 1956:491), the latter displaying an intervocalic aspirate *h*. The cerebral click *!* is displayed in these words.

### **Do**

Cape dialectal, Eastern dialectal and early Nama words for 'to do' are similar to each other, namely the Cape dialectal word *hy*, 'doe', ('to do') (Witsen 1697 III CMM 1858:118), the Eastern dialectal word *hi*, 'to do' (Sparrman 1785 II:531), and the Nama word *i*, 'done' (Campbell 1815:388). Similar to these are the Nama words *hī* and *di*, 'machen, tun', ('to make, to do') (Kroenlein 1889:163b), given by Rust (1960:40) as *dī* and *hī*. The correspondences between these words and their respective Bushman equivalents are to be discerned in the /Xam (S1) words *ĩ, ȳ, ȳi, di*, 'to do so, do thus' (Bleek 1956:67), in the Naron (C2) words *ȳhi, hĩ, ȳhi-i* and *hie*, 'to do' (Bleek 1956:60), and in the Khwe word *hĩĩ*, 'do' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:264). The occurrence or absence of nasalisation in the respective words is noted.



**Dog**

The interchangeability of *r* and *l* can be discerned in words for ‘dog’ in different languages and dialects. De Flacourt (1658:59) recorded the Cape-Saldanha word *hariché*, ‘*chien*’, (‘dog’). Thunberg (1795 II:85) recorded the Eastern dialectal words *ARiKAE* (*TUTU*, *TUP*), ‘*hund*’, (‘dog’). According to the system employed by Thunberg, the word *ARiKAE* is to be transcribed as *ari/kae* (Nienaber 1963:307), but Nienaber points out that the click may well have been intended to be placed at the beginning of the word, as */arikae*. This would be in accordance with another Eastern dialectal word for ‘dog’, namely *A-harip*, ‘dog’, recorded by Le Vaillant (1790:366), which can be transcribed as */harip*. Lichtenstein (1930:740) gives the Korana words *arriep m.*, *arries f.* ‘dog’, while Nama words for ‘dog’ are *arib*, ‘*Hund*’, (‘dog’) (Ebner 1829:342) and *areep*, ‘dog’ (Alexander 1838 II:165). The Naron (C2) and Ukuambi dialectal (N2b) word *arib*, ‘dog’ (Bleek 1956:11) corresponds to the above; the Khwe word *érikú*, ‘dog’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:264) features an initial vowel *é* that differs from the initial vowel *a* in the other languages and dialects. De Flacourt, being French-speaking, wrote an initial *h* which may have represented a click, the final component *-ché* thought to be the feminine singular ending (Nienaber 1963:307). The variability of *r* and *l* can be discerned in the Korana word *alima*, ‘dog’ (Borcherds 1861:70) and the ‘Hottentot’ word *allip*, ‘dog’ (Campbell 1815:389). Meinhof (1930 in Nienaber 1963:307) gives both *’alib* and *’arib* as Griqua words for ‘dog’, again indicating the variability of *r* and *l*.

Four Eastern dialectal words with similar sound have been encountered for ‘dog’. Thunberg (1795 II:85) gives *TUTU*, *TUP*, ‘*hund*’, (‘dog’), *TUS*, ‘*hynda*’, (‘bitch’); Sparrman (1785 II:350) gives *tu*, (‘dog’), *tuna*, (‘dogs’). This is in keeping with Khoikhoi grammar, where the final *p* or *b* is the masculine singular ending, the final *s* the feminine singular, and final *na* the common plural ending. Von Winkelmann (1788:45) gives *tu*, ‘*der Hund*’, (‘dog’), and Barrow (1801 I:219) has *toona*, (‘dog’). Although none of these sources indicates the presence of a click in these words, Nienaber (1963:308) equates *tub* with Nama *!goub*, ‘*wilder Hund*’, (‘wild dog’) (Rust 1960:32), adding that the name was subsequently applied also to domesticated dogs. Bushman words that can also be considered comparable to the words discussed above are the Auen (N1) word *!ko*, *!koʼ*, ‘dog’, the /Auni (S4) word *≠koo*, *!ko*, ‘dog’, (Bleek 1929:32, 1956:633, 711); the Auen

(N1) and Kung (N2) word /*gu*, ‘Cape hunting dog’ (Bleek 1956:282), the Auen (N1) word *≠goe*, ‘dog’ (Bleek 1956:648), and the !Xuhn word *≠ole*, ‘dog, *hond*’ (Weich 2004:288). The N/uu word *≠hun*, ‘dog’, plural *≠hūi* (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:128), is also comparable to the Eastern dialectal words, the palatal plosive click *≠* corresponding to the palatal plosive consonant *t*, nasalisation expressed by the tilde and the nasal consonant *n*, as also in the words written as *tuna* and *toona*.

Three Cape dialectal recordings for ‘dog’ contain elements that correspond to Bushman equivalents for the same word. Witsen (1691 II in Molsbergen 1 1916:221) gives *likanāa*, ‘*een hond; canis*’, (‘dog’); Valentyn (1726:107a) recorded *likhanée*, ‘*een hond*’, (‘a dog’); and Kolbe (1727 I:430) gives *likh̃anée*, ‘*canis; een hond*’, (‘a dog’). Nienaber (1963:308) points out that Witsen used a diaeresis to indicate nasalisation, and that Kolbe’s tilde is a symbol for a click. The lateral consonant *l* is not a Bushman sound, and often indicates influence of a Bantu language, *l* thus frequently being changed to *r*. An *l* may also be a replacement of a Bushman sound. Bleek (1956:711) gives the word //*kwi //k*”*a-a-no*, ‘dog’, and the temptation would have been to see //*kwi //k*”*a-a-no* as corresponding to the Cape dialectal words, the lateral consonant *l* of the word *likhanée* a replacement of the lateral click //, Valentyn’s aspirated *kha* of his word *likhanée* representing the ejective *k* or glottal croak *k*”; Kolbe’s tilde in the word *likh̃anée* as the lateral click with ejective *k*, //*k*”, and the nasal *n* in the final component expressed by Witsen with the diaeresis in his recorded word *likanāa*. However, although //*kwi //k*”*a-a-no* is given for ‘dog’ by Bleek on page 711, a comma seems to have been omitted here. The word //*kwi* is the //Xegwi (S3) word for ‘dog’, and //*k*”*a-a-no* is the Hadza (C3) word for this animal (Bleek 1956:600, 602).

### **Dove**

The Eastern dialectal word *Λ-neis*, ‘turtle dove, *tortel-duyf*’ recorded by Le Vaillant (1790:367), is interpreted by Nienaber (1963:482) with the dental click as /*neis*. This word thus displays a different click from the Nama word *≠neis* and the Korana word *≠neis* or *≠nais* (Nienaber 1963:482), and from the //Kxau (S2b) words *≠neis*, *≠neisi*, ‘turtle dove’ (Bleek 1956:671, 712), all of which have the palatal click *≠*. The Nama word *queip*, ‘*Tortelduyf*’, (‘turtle dove’), recorded by Claudius (1685:102), is a variant spelling of the same word, the final *-p* the

masculine singular ending currently represented by *-b*, but differing from the more modern Nama word *≠neis* which features only the feminine singular *s* (Rust 1960:61). Nienaber (1963:482) is of the opinion that Claudius does not indicate a click in his rendering of the word *queip*. He states that “*Die ou \*gn of \*kn val enersyds uiteen in g of k, soos hier, geskryf (≠)quei-, of andersyds in 'n n, in Nama tans ≠nei-*”, (“The old *\*gn* or *\*kn* is either rendered as *g* or *k*, as here, written *(≠)quei-*, or otherwise as an *n*, as in Nama *≠nei-*. Claudius thus gives us a variant form”). Judging from Claudius’s drawing of the bird in question and his description of it as “*schoon geprickelde Tortelduyv*”, (“beautiful specked Turtle dove”), Waterhouse (1932:17) concludes that it is “probably the Emerald-spotted Wood Dove, *Turter chalcospilus*”.

### **Drink**

The Cape-Saldanha word *tama*, ‘boire’, (‘to drink’), was recorded by De Flacourt (1658:58). In sound and meaning this word *tama* is similar to the /Xam (S1) word /*amma*, ‘to drink by stirring up an egg or honey with a brush and sucking the brush’ (Bleek 1956:269). De Flacourt’s initial alveolar consonant *t* in this case approximates the /Xam dental click /. A Bushman word that also approximates the word *tama* is the Khwe word *tcám*, ‘drink (hot broth)’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:265). Eastern dialectal words *KA*, ‘*dricka*’, (‘drink’) (Thunberg 1795 II:86) and *t’ka*, ‘a draught; to drink’ (Sparrman 1785 II:352), are similar to the Cape dialectal words *kaá*, *k’ á*, ‘*drincken*’, (‘to drink’), recorded by Witsen (1691 in Molsbergen 1 1916:218, 223); *k’aa*, ‘*drinken*’, (‘to drink’), recorded by Valentyn (1726:108b); *k~aa*, ‘*bibere; drinken*’, (‘to drink’), recorded by Kolbe (1727 I:430), and *kaa*, ‘*trinken*’, (‘to drink’), recorded by Buttner (1725:67b). Thunberg does not appear to have indicated a click in the word he gives as *KA*, which can be transcribed as *ka*, and although Buttner’s rendering of *kaa* does not have an overt click, Nienaber (1963:252) states that Buttner indicated the click with a “*soort van gekrabbel*”, (“a kind of scribbling”), that was omitted in the printing process of Nienaber’s book. Almost all the recorded words for ‘drink’ thus had clicks, and were pronounced with the unvoiced velar consonant *k* or ejective efflux. In this respect a number of Bushman words for ‘to drink’ are comparable to them, for example the //ǃ (S2) word //*k”ã*, ‘a form of *k”ã*, to drink’ (Bleek 1956:601), also occurring in /Auni (S4) and Khakhea (S5). Lichtenstein (1930:472) gives the Korana word *t’<sup>3</sup>kchaa*, ‘to drink’. According to Nienaber (1963:252)

Lichtenstein's  $t^{ʔ3}$  could represent either the cerebral click ! or the palatal click ≠, and the latter is apparently the case here. Lichtenstein's  $t^{ʔ3}k\text{chaa}$ , transcribed by Nienaber (1963:252) as  $\neq k\text{chaa}$ , corresponds in a large measure to the Hie (C1) word  $\neq k\text{haa}$ , 'to drink' (Bleek 1956:660) as regards the palatal click, the aspirated release  $h$  and the vowel cluster  $aa$ .

Other Bushman words that resemble the Cape dialectal words in sound, form and meaning are the word  $k^{\prime}a$ ; found in Naron (C2) and Kung (N2), and the //Xegwi (S3) word  $k^{\prime}\tilde{a}$ ,  $k^{\prime}aa$ , 'to drink' (Bleek 1929:32). The !Gǎ !ne (S2e) word  $kx\text{ʔ}\tilde{a}$ : (Bleek 1956:116), displaying the  $kx\text{ʔ}$  release, is cognate with the Korana words  $kx\text{ʔ}\tilde{a}$ ,  $x\tilde{a}$ ,  $kx^{\prime}a$ , 'drink, trinken', ('to drink') (Nienaber 1963:252), and the N/uu word  $kx^{\prime}a$ , also  $kx^{\prime}\tilde{a}$ , 'to drink' (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:123). The !Gǎ !ne (S2e) word  $kx\text{ʔ}\tilde{a}$ ; 'to drink', has a synonym  $kx\text{ʔ}w\tilde{a}$ , with the semi-vowel  $w$ , which also occurs in the /Xam (S1) language in the words  $kx\text{ʔ}w\tilde{a}$ ,  $k^{\prime}w\tilde{a}$ ,  $k^{\prime}w\tilde{e}$ ; 'to drink' (Bleek 1956:126). The Nama word  $a$ ,  $\tilde{a}$ , 'trinken, saufen', ('to drink, drink excessively') (Kroenlein 1889:2), displays neither click nor velarisation.

### Dry

The word  $x\text{-oro}$  was recorded by W. Van Reenen in 1791 in the place-name ' $x\text{-oro-x-kap of drooge flackte}$ ', (' $x\text{-oro-x-kap}$  or dry flat') (Molsbergen II 1916:143), Van Reenen adding that the " $kruisjes beteekenen het klappen met de tonge$ ", ("[the] little crosses mean clicking with the tongue"). These clicks may have been the cerebral click ! or the dental click /, the word  $x\text{-oro}$  thus comparable either to the Nama word ! $kor\acute{o}$ , ' $auf\text{trocknen}$ ', 'to dry out' (Kroenlein 1889:217a44), or / $k\acute{o}ro$ , ' $d\dd{u}rre werden$ ', ('to become dry') (Kroenlein 1889:213), also / $kuru$ , ' $d\dd{u}rr$ ', ('arid, dry') (Rust 1960:15). This word displays the interchangeability of  $o$  and  $u$ , as does the Khwe word  $x\acute{u}ru$ , 'dry off' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:266), but which differs in that it incorporates the fricative consonant  $x$  but no click. A Bushman equivalent that incorporates the dental click is the /Xam (S1) word / $xoro$ , 'to dry' (Bleek 1956:365), while the /Xam (S1) adjective  $k^{\prime}orokn$ , 'dry' (Bleek 1929:33) and verb  $k^{\prime}orok\text{ʔ}n$ ,  $k^{\prime}oroka$ , 'to dry, shrivel, burn up, wear out', displays the ejective  $k$  or glottal croak. The cerebral click with ejective efflux ! $k$  and the variant  $u$  occur in the /Xam (S1) words ! $kurruk\text{ʔ}n$ , ! $kurruka$ , synonym ! $kerruk\text{ʔ}n$ , 'to dry, be dry, be hot, be in the sun' (Bleek 1956:454), and also in the /Xam (S1) words ! $kauak\text{ʔ}n$ , 'to put to dry' and ! $kauwak\text{ʔ}n$ , 'to dry' (Bleek

1956:413, 416). The vowel sequence displayed in the /Xam words *!kauakən* and *!kauwakən* accord with that in the !Xuhn words //xao, ‘dry’, //xao *xumxum-a*, ‘dry as a bone’, and #xu //xao-*a*, ‘to dry’ (Weich 2004:154).

A word for ‘dry’ that has survived as component of a place-name is *ou*, recorded by Hartogh (1707 in Molsbergen III 1922:143) in the names *Ouka* and *Oukamma*, ‘drooge rivier’, (‘dry river’). Bushman equivalents of the word *ou* are the Kung (N2) adjectives *!ʔau*, ‘dry, arid’, and its synonyms *!!kao* and *//kao* (Bleek 1956:505), the !Xuhn word //xao, ‘dry’ (Weich 2004:154), and the N/uu word //ooa, ‘om droog te wees, to be dry’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:123), comparable to the /Xam (S1) and //ǀ *!ke* (S2) intransitive verb *ʔko:wa*, ‘to dry’ (Bleek 1929:35), but differing from them in the lack of the ejective release *k* and of the glide *w*. The //ǀ *!ke* (S2) verb /o:, ‘to dry, rub, stamp, pound’, also encountered in Naron (C2) (Bleek 1956:355), is comparable in form to the Nama word /ò, ‘aufrocknen’, (‘to dry out’) (Kroenlein 1889:273a), and to the Khwe word /’òò, ‘to dry out’ in displaying the dental click /, whereas the Khwe word //xó, ‘dry out, be dry’ incorporates the lateral click with fricative release (Kilian-Hatz 2003:266).

### **Duiker**

The diphthong *au* predominates in words for ‘duiker’, as does the dental fricative click / . Le Vaillant (1790:367) recorded the Eastern dialectal word *A-aoump*, ‘duiker’, transcribed as */āou̯p* or */aoū̯p*, i.e. */aũ-b* by Nienaber (1963:253). The final cluster *mp* of the word *A-aoump* is the nasalised masculine singular ending *-p*, with nasalisation expressed by the *m*. The word is cognate with the /Xam (S1) words */nau*, */naũ*, */naūs*, */nãu*, ‘duiker’ (Bleek 1956:345), the Naron (C2) words */noufa* and */nau*, ‘duiker’ (Bleek 1956:350), and the Auen (N1), Kung (N2) and !O !kuŋ (N3) words */au*, */aub*, and */ou*, ‘duiker’ (Bleek 1956:270), these last-mentioned words with no nasalisation being indicated. The !Xuhn word for ‘duiker’ is */ʔao* (Weich 2004:274), without nasalisation and featuring a glottal stop and the vowel cluster *ao*, a variant of *au* and *ou*.

Nienaber (1963:254) compares the Kung word */aub*, ‘duiker’, with the Nama word *nōas* and its variant form *dōas*, given by Shultze (1907:227) as *toās* for the *Cephalophus grimmi*. There is a difference in the vowel sequences, however, *a – u* and *o – u* as in the !O !kuŋ (N3) words */au*, */aub*, and */ou*, and *o – a* as in

the Nama forms *nōas*, *dōas* and *toās*. These Nama words are phonologically comparable to the Kua word *nua*, the Cua and Tsua word *kua*, and the G/wi word *n!ua*, ‘duiker’, with the interchangeability of the vowels *o* and *u* being discernible (Chebanne 2014:11).

### **Dung**

The ‘Hottentot’ word *cha* recorded by Grevenbroek (1695 in Schapera & Farrington 1933:206) for ‘dung’ is comparable to the Khakhea (S5) word *tfa:ni*, ‘dung’ (Bleek 1056:225), also to the Kung (N2) word *\_džāụ*, ‘dung’ (Bleek 1956:31), comparable to the !Xuhn word *zang*, ‘dung’ (Weich 2004:154), the nasalisation denoted by the tilde in the Kung word specifically indicated by the nasal *ng* in the !Xuhn word. The variability of *ch*, *tf* and *dž*, pronounced as nasalised *mutatis mutandis* non-vocalised affricates, is noted in the relevant words. The first component /*a* of the Nama word /*arub*, ‘*Dünger, Mist (trockener)*’, (‘dung, manure (dry)’). (Rust 1960:15, 42) may be comparable to the components *tfa*, *\_džā* and *za* in the other words discussed.

## -E-

### **Ear**

The presence or absence of a click seems to indicate the distinction between Cape-Saldanha and Cape dialectal words for ‘ear’, and those of other languages. The Cape-Saldanha dialectal word was recorded by De Flacourt (1655:58) as *naho*, ‘*orielle*’, [oreille] (‘ear’); the form *nouw* is given by Witsen (I 1691 in Molsbergen 1916:217), translated as ‘*ooren; aures*’, (‘ears’); *nouw*, ‘*een oor*’, (‘an ear’) by Valentyn (1726:107), and also spelt *nouw* by Kolbe, who gave the translation as ‘*ures; de ooren*’, (‘the ears’). The Griqua word *naup*, ‘ear’ and its plural *nanku*, ‘ears’ (Smith 1940:281), displaying the masculine singular ending *-p* and dual ending *-ku* respectively. None of the cited dialectal words displays a click. The Nama word //*nōup*, ‘*Ohr (Hörorgan)*’, (‘ear (hearing organ)’)) (Rust 1960:46) features the lateral click // that also occurs in the Korana words //*naum*, //*nāub*, //*naub* and //*naūb*, ‘ear’, and in the Griqua word //*naugu*, ‘*Ohren*’, (‘ears’) (Meinhof 1930:151; Nienaber 1963:409). Of the various words for ‘ear’, one has the ending *-qua*, namely the Eastern dialectal word recorded by Sparrman (1785 II:349) as *t’nunqua*, ‘ear’. For the Eastern dialect Von Winkelmann (1788:46)

gives the word *X n' aunka* (3), 'Ohren', ('ears'). The click represented by his symbol *X n'* and the figure '(3)' is the cerebral click *!*, as interpreted by Nienaber (1963:409), so that the word may be transcribed as *!aunka*, where the component *-ka* is the dual suffix, the word thus meaning 'two ears'. However, Sparrman gave the translation as 'ear', thus in the singular, so that the component *-qua* in his word *t'nunqua* is perhaps not the masculine plural, as might have been suspected. The component *t'nun*, if it is separable from the rest of the word, is comparable to the Kung (N2) and Naron (C2) word */ku*, 'ear', with its synonym */kui* (Bleek 1956:324), the latter of which is comparable to the develarised !Xuhn word */ui*, 'ear' (Weich 2004:156) and, with the palatal click *ɕ*, to the /Nu //en (S6) word *ɕnui*, a word that also occurs in ɕKhomani (S2a) and /Auni (S4) with the synonym *ɕnufa*, 'ear' (Bleek 1956:474). The N/uu word *n#ũisi*, 'ear' (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:138) also displays the palatal click *ɕ*, nasalisation indicated by the tilde, and the cluster *ui* as in the !Xuhn and /Nu //en words */ui* and *ɕnui*, and in the Naron word */kui*.

### **Earth**

There is an apparent similarity between the Cape-Saldanha word *hou*, 'terre', ('earth') (De Flacourt 1658:61) and the Korana word *hoop*, 'earth' (Campbell 1815:388), in that the pronunciation of *ou* and *oo* is similar, since in De Flacourt's written form *hou* the cluster *ou* represents the French pronunciation, and in Campbell's written word *hoop* the diphthong *oo* is pronounced as in English. It would also appear that neither *hou* nor *hoop* has an obvious click, but, as pointed out by Nienaber (1963:307), De Flacourt frequently employed the letter *h* to represent a click. The final *-p* of the word *hoop* is the masculine singular ending that also occurs in the Korana equivalent *t'koop*, 'earth' (Borcherds 1861:70), in which the symbol *t'* represents a click. The final *-b* in the Korana word *t'<sup>3</sup>kchaaub*, 'Land, Feld, Erde', ('land, field, earth') (Lichtenstein 1808:313), also signifies the masculine singular, and the symbol *t'<sup>3</sup>* in the case of *t'<sup>3</sup>kchaaub* specifically indicates the cerebral click, the word thus being transcribed as *!kchaaub*. The parisyllabic !Xuhn word *kxa /ho*, 'earth' (Weich 2004:156), approximates the Korana word *!kchaaub* with respect to the affricate and the vowel sequence *a - u* and the variant *a - o*. In the Eastern dialectal words *xkhu*, 'die Erde', ('Earth') (Von Winkelmann 1788:45) and *kõo*, 'earth' (Barrow 1801 I:219), no click is overtly indicated, although the velar and

guttural consonants may be a partial assimilation or adaptation of the back click or cerebral ! (Nienaber 1963:203). These last-mentioned two words do not display the gender ending. Bushman words that are seen to correlate to these words include the /Xam (S1) words !k'ǎu, !khou, !au, !kau and !aũŋ, 'earth, dust, ground' (Bleek 1956:412); the develarised /Xam (S1) and //I !ke (S2) word !ǎũ, 'earth, dust' (Bleek 1929:35), and the /Nusan (S6a) words !ǎu, !'aũ, 'earth' (Bleek 1956:491). It is notable that the cerebral click is displayed in those instances where a click is recorded and suggested, as also in the N/uu word !'ǎu, 'earth, ground, sand' (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:117), as also in the Nama words !hũb, 'das Land', ('land') (Kroenlein 1889:181) and !hub, !gub, 'Land', ('land') (Rust 1960:38), and in the Korana words !huwub, 'ground' and !gũb, 'land' (Wuras :26, 31), and !hũb, 'grond, aarde', ('ground, earth') (Engelbrecht 1930:36). In these words the variability of the velars *g* and *h* is evident, as in the develarised Korana word !ũb, 'Land, trocken Land', ('land, dry land') (Meinhof 1930:132). In view of the ubiquity of the cerebral click in the words discussed, the *h* used by De Flacourt may well have been intended to represent this click also in the Cape-Saldanha word *hou*.

Another Cape dialectal word for 'earth' was recorded variously as *gamkamma*, 'land; terra', ('land; earth') by Witsen (1691 I in Molsbergen 1 1916:215); as *camkamma*, 'de aarde', ('the earth'), by Valentyn (1726:108a), and as *camk̃amma* and *c̃amk̃amma*, 'terra; de aarde', ('earth; the earth'), by Kolbe (1727 I:232, 434). Nienaber (1963:203) states that these dialectal words could be equated with the Nama word *am-!gǎb*, 'Rand (Schüssel, Fluss)', ('edge (bowl, dish, basin; river)') (Rust 1960:49), or 'der Rand eines Dinges; Saum; Bezirk; Grenze', ('the edge of a thing; seam; district, county, region; border, limit') (Kroenlein 1889:4a). The component *am* of the word *am-!gǎb* is comparable with the Korana word *kx'am*, 'Rand', ('edge, border') (Meinhof 1930:135). The nasalisation of the Nama word (*am*)-!gǎb is expressed in the Cape dialectal words *gamkamma*, *camkamma*, *camk̃amma* and *c̃amk̃amma* as *-m-*. The tildes indicated by Kolbe in the cited words indicate clicks not expressed by Witsen or Valentyn, and the first component, *cam* or *c̃am*, is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word !kaŋ, !kaŋ'a, 'hard', and the ≠Khomani (S2a) word /gǎǃ, 'hard veld' (Bleek 1956:407, 273). The nasalisation that is represented by the symbol *ŋ* in the /Xam word !kaŋ, !kaŋ'a, and by the tilde in the ≠Khomani word /gǎǃ is likewise expressed by the nasal *m* in the Cape dialectal words *gamkamma*, *camkamma* and *c̃amk̃amma*.



The second component of this word, written *kamma* or *k̃camma*, is comparable to the //Xegwi (S3) word /*kama*, ‘veld, open country’ (Bleek 1929:89; 1956:299). Kolbe’s inclusion of a click in both components of the word *c̃amk̃amma* thus seems to have been correct. The variability of the vowels *a* and *o* is discernible when the words *gam* in the Cape dialectal variant *gamkamma* and *cam* in *camkamma*, ‘*de aarde*’, ‘earth’, are compared with the Khwe word *xóm*, ‘earth’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:267).

### **Easy**

Lichtenstein (1930:472; Bertuch & Vater 1808:317) gives the Korana word *süih* with the English meaning of ‘easy’ and the German as *leicht*, (‘easy, light’), and in the latter instance he adds: “*süih (wie das franz suis)*”, (“*süih* (as the French *suis*)”), which Nienaber (1963:378) compares to the Korana words *suwu*, ‘easy’ (Wuras 1920:20), *subu*, ‘*maklik wees*’, (‘to be easy’) (Engelbrecht 1928:20), and *subu* and *suī*, ‘*leicht*’, (‘easy, light’) (Meinhof 1930:132), and to the Nama words *suwu*, *sui*, ‘*leicht*’, (‘easy, light’) (Rust 1060:39). Bushman equivalents for Lichtenstein’s *süih* are the Nogau (N1a) words *fwi* and *fui*, ‘to be light, not heavy, easy, calm’, which also occur in the Kung (N2) language, while the Naron (C2) word *subu*, ‘easy’ (Bleek 1956:173, 182) corresponds to the Korana words *subu* and *suwu*, note being taken of the variability of *b* and *w*. The Khwe word *cùvúú*, ‘easy’, is also comparable to these words, since the consonant *c* is used in Khwe orthography also for the voiceless dental fricative *s* (Kilian-Hatz 2003:8, 267), and *b*, *v* and *w* are variable in the words discussed.

### **Eat**

Cape dialectal words for ‘to eat’ for the most part do not manifest a click, and where nasalisation is indicated, it is primarily expressed with *ng*. Witsen (1691 in Molsbergen 1 1916:218, 223) recorded the words *ou* and *onge*, ‘*eten*; *edere*’, (‘to eat’); Valentyn (1726:108b) gives *oege*, ‘*eeten*’, (‘to eat’), and Kolbe (1727 I:431) recorded *ouge*, ‘*edere*; *eeten*’, ‘to eat’. Buttner (1725:67b) noted a click that is indicated by the circumflex in the word *ôung*, ‘*essen*’, and nasalisation by the symbol ° above the final velar –g, which was lost in the printing process (Nienaber 1963:260). The Eastern dialectal word *x-ung*, ‘*essen*’, (‘to eat’) (Von Winkelmann 1788:44) displays a click denoted by the letter *x*, which is pronounced “*mit einem hellen doch nicht harten Schlag*”, (“with a clear but not loud sound”), and

Sparrman (1785 II:351) also gives a word with a click, *t'knu*, for the Eastern dialect. Lichtenstein (1930:472) recorded the Korana word for 'to eat' without a click as *uhng*, but later occurrences of the Korana words display the palatal click, as in  $\ne\tilde{u}$  (Wuras 1920:20; Engelbrecht 1928:33) and  $\ne\tilde{r}\tilde{u}$  (Meinhof 1930:125, Maingard 1964:64). The palatal click also features in the Nama word  $\ne\tilde{u}$ , 'essen', ('eat') (Rust 1960:19), where the nasalisation is represented by a tilde, as in Korana. The palatal click also occurs in the Khwe word  $\ne\tilde{u}$ , 'eat (ants: of scaly anteater)', 'eat (fruit, mash, hippos's meat)' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:267, 268), and in the Cua, Kua and G/ui word  $\ne\tilde{u}\tilde{u}$ , 'to eat (beans, etc.)', occurring with click loss in the Tsua word  $\eta\tilde{u}\tilde{u}$  (Chebanne 2014:9).

In some Bushman equivalents the click is absent, for example in the Naron (C2) word *k'o*, 'eat meat' (Bleek 1929:35), in the Sehura (C1a) *iunke*, 'to eat', and in the Auen (N1) and Kung (N2) word *um:*, *am:*, 'to eat' (Bleek 1956:70, 248), comparable to the !Xuhn word *m*, 'to eat; eet, vreet' (Weich 2004:156). In other Bushman words different clicks are indicated. Thus the /Xam (S1) words */o<sup>z</sup>\eta*, 'to eat (marrow) out', and *\_/ $\tilde{u}\eta$* , 'to eat', display the dental click (Bleek 1956:356; Bleek 1929:35). The Naron (C2) word  $\ne\tilde{u}$ ,  $\bar{\ne}\tilde{u}$ , 'eat vegetable food' (Bleek 1929:35; 1956:675) has the palatal click that is also discerned in Nama and Korana words, as noted above. The Kua, Glui and Cua word  $\ne\tilde{r}\tilde{u}\tilde{u}$ , 'to eat (beans, etc.)' similarly displays the palatal click, while the Tsua word */ $\eta\tilde{u}\tilde{u}$* , which has the same meaning, displays click loss, according to Chebanne (2014:11), as indicated above, under the impetus of palatalisation. In the Tsua word *tum*, 'to eat', the palatal click  $\ne$  has shifted to the alveolar consonant *t*, while the nasalisation is expressed by the *m*. /Xam (S1) words *!k<sup>z</sup>\eta n*, 'to devour, eat raw', and *!kun*, 'eat fat, take fat off' (Bleek 1956:442, 543) display the cerebral click !.

De Flacourt (1658:57) recorded the Cape-Saldanha dialectal word *caib*, 'manger', ('to eat'). It is interesting that De Flacourt has a final voiced bilabial *-b* at the end of the word *caib*, which is a verb and would thus not take a gender ending. Nienaber (1963:254) has indicated that the ending *-m* is usually encountered in the vicinity of a nasal, and the possibility exists that in this case the *-b* serves the same function of expressing nasalisation. De Flacourt is also known to have employed the initial or onset *c* to denote a click, all of which point to *caib* being comparable to the Kung (N2) and Hadza (C3) words */nai*, *//nai*, *!nai*, 'to

eat', as indicated above. Hadza (C3) has synonyms that display different clicks, namely /*nai*, 'to eat', with a dental click, and //*nai*, with a lateral click, 'to eat meat', synonymous with !*nai*, with the cerebral click, and another synonym, *seme* (Bleek 1956:613). Although there is a shade of difference between /*nai*, 'to eat' and //*nai*, 'to eat meat', no difference in meaning is indicated between //*nai*, !*nai* and *seme*. The Khwe word //áé, 'eat (leaves, cabbage, salad)' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:268) does not indicate nasalisation but shares the lateral click with comparable words, and the interchangeability of *i* and *e* in the pronunciation of the word.

Yet another word recorded by De Flacourt (1655:58) for 'to eat' is the Cape-Saldanha word *atré*, '*manger*', ('to eat'). Considering the French pronunciation of this word, comparable Bushman words are the Khakhea (S5) words /ã, 'to eat food', //ã, 'to eat' (Bleek 1956:267, 513), the /Xam (S1) word *hã*, 'eat raw meat', and the word *ã*, 'eat meat', found in /Xam (S1), //I) !ke (S2), /Auni (S4), Khakhea (S5), and /Nu //en (S6).

### **Egg**

Thunberg (1795 II:86) recorded the Eastern dialectal word *KaBIKA*, 'aegg', ('egg'), which, according to his system, can be transcribed as /*kabika*. Nienaber (1963:263) equates this word with the Korana word !*zūbub*, '*Straussenei*', ('ostrich egg'), in which case a variation of the vowels *a* and *u* is discernible in the first component of these words, as also in the Korana word !*unep*, 'egg' (Maingard 1964:61). Bushman words that are comparable to the dialectal word *KaBIKA* are the Naron (C2) words /*k'abifa*, 'eggshell', and /*k"abbifa*, 'ostrich egg' (Bleek 1929:36; 1956:337), the dental click / being common to all. The final component *-ka* of the word /*kabika* is comparable to the ≠Khomani (S2a) feminine singular ending *-kha*, while the ending *-fa* is the Naron (C2) feminine singular ending that also occurs as *-s* and *-sa*.

### **Eland**

In words for '*eland*' nasalisation is expressed either by the nasal consonant *n* or the tilde ~. Sparrman (1785 II:205, 250) gives the Eastern dialectal word *t'gann*, also as *t'kan*, '*eland*, or *Kaapse eland*', ('eland, or Cape eland'). The click denoted by the symbol *t'* carries the voiced velar release *g* in the word *t'gann* but the

unvoiced velar release *k* in the word *t'kan*, with nasalisation expressed in both words by the consonant *n*. Bushman equivalents are the /Auni (S4) words *!kã*, in which the tilde is employed to denote nasalisation, and *!khan*, this function being served by the nasal consonant *n*. The click incorporated in these words is the cerebral *!*, which also features in the Korana word *!kans*, 'eland' (Nienaber 1963:265), with the ejective efflux, and *!xana* (Maingard 1932:315), with the fricative efflux. Nama features words with the affricate *kx* and the ejective *k*, as in the words *kxans* (Schultze 1907:274) and *!kani*, 'Elan', ('eland') (Rust 1960:17). A different click, the palatal click *≠*, occurs in the /Xam (S1) word *≠kanthi*, ('eland bull') (Bleek 1956:656), while the lateral click occurs in the !Xuhn word *n//ang*, 'eland' (Weich 2004:156).

A different word for 'eland' is encountered in the name *Sampofu* for a tributary of the Tugela River that rises in the vicinity of Pomeroy and flows south to its confluence with the main stream about 4 km west of Tugela Ferry. The name is said to be of Zulu origin, and to mean 'eland' or 'eland-coloured', 'tawny' from the colour of its water (Raper et al 2014:448). The component *sa* is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word *s'a*; the //ǀ *!ke* (S2) word *sa*; 'eland' (Bleek 1929:36), and the N/uu word *saa*, 'eland' (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:60).

### ***Elephant***

From the end of the 17th century words for 'elephant' feature the vowel-sequence *o – a*. Thus Cape dialectal words recorded were *chöa*, *choa*, *choä* and *cöaa* (Witsen 1691 II in Molsbergen 1 1916:220; Valentyn 1726:107b; Kolbe 1727 I:431; Buttner 1725:60a). Eastern dialectal words for 'elephant' recorded in the 18th century are *coa* (Sparrman 1785 II:350), *Λ-goap*, transcribed as */goap* (Le Vaillant 1790:366); and *xkoa*, transcribed as */koa*, 'elephant' (Von Winkelmann 1788:45). The words under discussion consistently display the dental click, which also occurs in the //ǀ *!ke* (S2) word */xwa*; 'elephant'. Its synonym *≠xoa* (Bleek 1956:367), however, displays the palatal click and indicates the variability of *oa* and *wa*. Interesting in this regard is the fricative efflux in the words */xwa* (also *≠xwa*) and *xkoa* as indicated by Von Winkelmann.

In a single instance the early recorded word for 'elephant' features the vowel sequence *a – o*, and that is in the Cape-Saldanha word *caho*, 'elephant' (De Flacourt 1658:55). This phenomenon is reflected in the Hadza (C3) word *bek"au*,

‘elephant’, and the //Kxau (S2b) word /*hau*, ‘elephant’ (Bleek 1956:16, 287), in both of which the interchangeability of *o* and *u* is discerned. An interesting feature is the unvoiced glottal fricative *h* in the words *caho* and /*hau*, in the latter occurring as the aspirated click release; perhaps in the former as well.

The cerebral click ! is present in the Korana word *t<sup>3</sup>koaab*, ‘elephant’ (Lichtenstein 1930:470), transcribed as *!koaab*, which accords with the /Xam (S1) words *!koah*, *!kho* and *!kua* (Bleek 1956:438, 448). The Korana word displays the masculine singular ending *-b* that is absent in the /Xam words.

Witsen (1691 II in Molsbergen I 1916:220) recorded *chöa*, Valentyn (1726:107a) gives ‘*choa* or *twoba*’, and Kolbe (1727 I:431) gives *twoba* s. *choä*, ‘elephant’. These variants accord with the component *thua* in the river-name *Thuata* recorded by Schrijver in 1689 (1931:225) in the statement: “...we came to a river called *Thuata*, ... that is the Oliphants Revier..’ (Möller 2017:156). Bushman words for ‘elephant’ that correspond phonologically to the component *Thua* are the Auen (N1) words *≠koa*, *≠khoa*, *≠goa* and *≠xoa*; the Kung (N2) word *≠koa* (Bleek 1956:663), the //ǀ word *!ke* (S2) words */xwa:* and *≠xoa*, ‘elephant’ (Bleek 1956:367), and the Khwe word *≠xóa*, ‘elephant’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:268). The component *ta* of the name *Thuata* is comparable with early words recorded for ‘river’ such as *k’ â* (Witsen 1691 II Molsbergen I 1916:220), *V-aap*, transcribed as *≠aap* by Nienaber (1963:430), and *t<sup>3</sup>kahp*, (Lichtenstein 1805 VRS 11:471), transcribed as */kahp*. Comparable Bushman words for ‘river’ are the /Xam (S1) word */ka* (Bleek 1956:295), the !O!kun (N3) word *!kai* (Bleek 1956:405), the /Nusan (S6a) word */a:*, ‘river’ (Bleek 1956:268); also comparable are the /Xam (S1) and //ǀ *!ke* (S2) word */k<sup>3</sup>a*, ‘riverbed, Hartebeest River’ (Bleek 1956:336); the Auen (N1) word *≠ka:*, (Bleek 1956:653), and the Kung (N2) word *!!kaä*, ‘riverbed’ (Bleek 1956:506).

Cognate with the variants *chöa*, *choa* and *choä* for ‘elephant’ as discussed above is the word *koa* that is recorded in the place-name *Koankub*, given by Schinz (1891:403) as the alternative name for *Olifantskloof*, (‘elephants ravine’). The final consonant *-n* of the component *Koan* is the Khoikhoi common plural ending. The component *kub* is cognate with the Hie (C1) word *!kuu*, ‘pass, poort’ (Bleek 1956:455), *poort* being the Afrikaans word for a narrow pass between precipitous mountains. The final consonant *-b* of the component *-kub* is the Khoikhoi masculine singular ending.

From the end of the 17th century words for ‘elephant’ feature the vowel-sequence *o – a*. Thus Cape dialectal words recorded were *chöa*, *choa*, *choä* and *cöaa* (Witsen 1691 II Molsbergen I 1916:220; Valentyn 1726:107b; Kolbe 1727 I:431; Buttner 1725:60a). Eastern dialectal words for ‘elephant’ recorded in the 18th century are *coa* (Sparrman 1785 II:350), *ᵛ-goap* (Le Vaillant 1790:366), transcribed as */goap*; *xkoa* (Von Winkelmann 1788:45), transcribed as */koa*, thus seemingly consistently with the dental click, which corresponds to the //ǀ !ke (S2) word */xwa*; ‘elephant’, which, however, has a synonym *≠xoa* (Bleek 1956:367), indicating the variability of *oa* and *wa* as different ways of writing the same sound. Interesting in this regard is the fricative efflux in the words */xwa* (also *≠xwa*) and *xkoa*. The cerebral click ! is present in the Korana word *tʰ³koaab* (Lichtenstein 1930:470), transcribed as *!koaab*, which accords with the /Xam (S1) words *!koah*, *!kho* and *!kua* (Bleek 1956:438, 448).

From the beginning of the 19th century recorded Nama and Korana words for ‘elephant’ display the palatal click ≠, as in the Nama words *≠kuap* and *≠koab* (Rust 1960:17), and the Korana words *≠choab*, *≠koab*, *≠xoäb* and *≠xoa:p*, *olifant*, ‘elephant’ (Nienaber 1963:405). Bushman words that incorporate the palatal click are the /Xam (S1) words *≠xõa* and *≠xoa* (Bleek 1956:680, 714); the ≠Khomani (S2a) words *≠kxoa*, *≠kx’oa* and *≠koa*; the Auen (N1) words *≠khoab*, *≠koa*, *≠xoa* and *≠goa*, featuring the different effluxes, also occurring in Kung (N2), Hei //kum (N2a), Ukuambi dialectal (N2b), Naron (C2), Tsaukwe (C2a), and Hukwe (C2b).

As discussed above, Cape dialectal words for ‘elephant’ were recorded as *chöa*, *choa*, *choä* and *cöaa*. Valentyn and Kolbe included the word *twoba* as alternative to *choa*. If indeed these words did not incorporate clicks, they may be compared to the Hie (C1) word *tfowa*, the Mohissa (C1b) word *tfuana*, the Hukwe (C2b) words *koa*, *kwa* and *ko* (Bleek 1956:96, 107, 236), and the !Xuhn word *!xo*, ‘elephant’ (Weich 2004:156).

### ***Evening***

The Eastern dialectal word *GoI* was recorded by Thunberg (1795 II:85) for ‘evening’, transcribed by Nienaber (1963:202) as */goi* and compared by him with the Nama word *!uib*, ‘*der Abend*’, (‘evening’), *!uis*, ‘an evening’ (Tindall 1857 in Nienaber 1963:202), and with Korana words *!uib* (Engelbrecht 1928:38) and *!uyb*

(Wuras 1920:21). Bleek (1929:36) gives the corresponding ‘Hottentot’ word as *˘loes*, ‘evening’. Comparable Bushman equivalents are the Kung (N2) words *!kwi* and *!u:i*, ‘afternoon, evening’ (Bleek 1956:467); the !Xuhn word *!’ui*, ‘evening’ (Weich 2004:158); the /Auni (S4) word *≠u:i*, ‘evening’ (Bleek 1956:676), and the //ǃ *!ke* (S2) word *!kuiŋki*, which has a synonym *//ga //gwe* (Bleek 1929:36). The Khwe word *úì*, ‘evening’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:270) differs from comparable words by the absence of a click. The variability of the vowel *u* and the semi-vowel *w* is discernible in the relevant words, as is the variability of the cerebral and palatal clicks *!* and *≠*.

### Eye

Most dialectal words for ‘eye’ are monosyllabic, and the vowels *o* and *u* are variable in many recordings of the word. Thus have been recorded the Cape and Eastern dialectal word *mu* and its variant *mo* (Valentyn 1726:107b; Kolbe 1727 I:433; Thunberg 1795 II:86; Sparrman 1785 II:349). The variability of *o* and *u*, as well as nasalisation, is evident in the Cape dialectal word *mon*, ‘*de oog*’, (‘the eyes’) (Witsen 1691 in Molsbergen 1 1916:219) and the Eastern dialectal word *mung*, ‘*das Auge*’, (‘the eye’) (Von Winkelmann 1788:43), as also in the Korana word *muhm*, ‘the eye’ (Lichtenstein 1930:469), with the masculine singular ending as in the Korana words *moop*, *mump* and *moep*, ‘eye’ (Appleyard 1850:13, 18), or with the feminine singular ending as in the Nama words *moosh*, ‘eye’ (Campbell 1815:390), and *mūs*, ‘*Auge*’, (‘eye’) (Rust 1960:6). Plural or dual endings are discernible as *-n* in the Cape dialectal word *mon*, ‘*de oog*’, ‘the eyes’ (Witsen 1691 II in Molsbergen 1 1916:219), as mentioned above; as *-(g)a* as in the Eastern dialectal word *munga*, ‘*die Augen*’, (‘the eyes’) (Von Winkelmann 1788:43); as *-gu* as in the Griqua word *mū-gu*, ‘*die Augen*’, (‘the eyes’) (Meinhof 1930:150), and as *-ku* as in the Korana word *muku*, ‘eyes’ (Appleyard 1850:18). Disyllabic renderings seem to be the Cape dialectal word *moe* (Witsen 1691 I Molsbergen I 1916:217) and the Korana words *moep*, *moes* and *moemp* (Appleyard 1850:13), comparable to the Ukuambi dialectal (N2b) *mui*, *mu-i* (Bleek 1956:119), in which the variability of the vowels *o* and *u*, and of *e* and *i* are evident.

**-F-****Face**

De Flacourt (1655:57) recorded the Cape-Saldanha word *honcoa*, ‘visage’, (‘face’). The first component of this word is comparable to the !Xuhn word /*ho*, ‘face’ (Weich 2004:161), with the dental click and aspirated release /*h*, while the Auen (N1) and Kung (N2) word  $\bar{/}k\textit{ho}$  and the !O !kung (N3) word /*ko*, ‘face’ (Bleek 1929:37), display the dental click with ejective release /*k(h)*. The /Xam (S1), //ǀ !*ke* (S2) and //Xegwi (S3) word *xu:* and the Hie (C1) word  $\neq k\textit{xuu}$ , ‘face’ (Bleek 1929:37) feature the fricative release *x* and the vowel *u* that interchanges with *o*; the Hie word displays the palatal click with ejective efflux  $\neq k\textit{x}$ .

**Fall, to**

The Cape dialectal words *quinga*, ‘vallen; cadere’; *quienoha*, ‘vallen’; and *quieñcha*, ‘cadere; vallen’, (‘to fall’), were recorded respectively by Witsen in 1691 (Molsbergen I 1916:218), by Valentyn (1726:108b), and by Kolbe (1727 I:430). The segment *quin* in these words is similar in sound and meaning to the /Xam (S1) word /*kũ:i*, ‘to fall down, to fall’ (Bleek 1956:449), the tilde  $\tilde{}$  in this word reflecting the nasalisation represented in the Cape dialectal words with the nasal *n*. Other Bushman words for ‘fall’ include /*kũ:ĩ* and /*kʔũ:i*, but the languages from which they derive are not indicated (Bleek 1956:715). The component *quien* of Kolbe’s rendering *quieñcha* resembles the //ǀ !*ke* (S2) word //*kie:ŋ*, *kie:ŋ*, ‘to fall down’ (Bleek 1956:580); the component *-oha* of Valentyn’s word *quienoha* is similar to the //ǀ !*ke* (S2) word //*õ:a*, also //*õ:ã*, ‘to fall out’ (Bleek 1956:625, 725), the component *-nga* of Witsen’s *quinga* is comparable to the Hadza (C3) words //*ʔa*, //*ka*, ‘to fall off’ (Bleek 1956:545), and to the Khakea (S5), Auen (N1) and Naron (C2) word //*gwa*, //*gwã*, ‘to set, fall, hang, also used as down’ (Bleek 1956:536). The Auen (N1) word  $\_ka\textit{ua}$  and the Naron (C2) word /*ka\textit{ua}*, ‘to fall’ (Bleek 1929:37) are comparable to the N/uu word /*’aba*, ‘to fall’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:147) in respect of the vowel sequence *a – a*, the inclusion of the dental click / in the case of Naron, and the variability of the vowel *u* that is sometimes found as the semi-vowel *w* with the bilabial *b* in the N/uu word.



***Fat, Bacon***

Several different words for ‘fat’ have Bushman equivalents. Lichtenstein (1808:283) gives *t’<sup>2</sup>kǒub* as the Korana word for ‘Speck’, (‘bacon’), transcribed by Nienaber (1963:464) as “//kǒub of *liewer* ≠kǒub”, (“//kǒub or rather ≠kǒub”), and compared by him with Nama ≠kou, ‘schmieren’, (‘spread, smear’) (Rust 1960:54), Korana ≠xau, ‘schmieren’, (‘smear, spread’) (Meinhof 1930:106) and ≠kou, ‘smeer’, (‘spread, smear’) (Engelbrecht 1928:31). Nienaber (1963:458) points out that Lichtenstein’s symbol *t’<sup>2</sup>* may be interpreted as the dental click, as in the Korana word *t’<sup>2</sup>kaub* ‘eine Schlange’, (‘a snake’) (1808:283), compared by Nienaber with Nama /ao-b ‘die Schlange’, (‘snake’). Indeed, when providing the word for ‘fat’, as opposed to ‘Speck’, Lichtenstein (1930:471) gives *t’<sup>1</sup>gneub* ‘fat’, here using the symbol *t’<sup>1</sup>* for the dental click /, so that the word may be transcribed as /*gneub*. In that case Lichtenstein’s *t’<sup>2</sup>kǒub* here may be comparable with the /Xam (S1) words /*khou* and /*kou*, ‘fat, found round sheep’s stomach’ (Bleek 1956:314), a word also encountered in the develarised Eastern dialectal component *ou* in the place-name *Ou Chamma*, ‘Vet water’, (‘fat water’), recorded by Beutler (1752 in Molsbergen III 1922:330).

Sparrman (1785 II:350) recorded the Eastern dialectal word *t’nui* ‘fat’, and for Korana Lichtenstein (1808:305) recorded *t’<sup>1</sup>gneub*, ‘Fett’, (‘fat’), interpreted by Nienaber (1963:499) as /*gneub*, with the dental click, which Nienaber compares to the Korana words //n’uyb, ‘fat’ (Wuras 1920:22) and //nuib, ‘vet’, (‘fat’) (Engelbrecht 1928:40), and to the Nama word //nuib, ‘Fett’, (‘fat’) (Rust 1960:21). These words correspond to the Naron (C2) word //nui, ‘fat’, with the lateral click, but also encountered in this language with the palatal click ≠, namely ≠nui, ‘fat’ (Bleek 1956:622, 624, 674). Khwe has an adjective that accords with the Korana, Nama and Naron word //nui(s), namely //’uí, fat’, as in the phrase //’uí-khòè, ‘fat person’, and the verb n//gúì, ‘be fat’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:272, 273). In the Hie (C1) language the word !gwi, ‘fat of an animal’ (Bleek 1956:393), displays a cerebral click, as does the N/uu word !qhũia, ‘be fat’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:148).

Nienaber (1963:229) points out that “*Die begrippe ‘vet’ en ‘botter’ vloei in Hottentots inmekaar*”, (“The concepts of ‘fat’ and ‘butter’ overlap in Hottentot”), so that the same words are used for both concepts. On this basis it is possible to recognise Khoisan equivalents for these words. Witsen (1691 II Molsbergen 1 1916:218) gives the word *unwie*, ‘boter; butyrum’, (‘butter’); Valentyn (1726:108b) gives

*oenwie*, ‘*boter*’, (‘butter’), and Kolbe (1727 I:430) gives *ouñwie*, ‘*butyrum; boter*’, (‘butter’), all as words in the Cape dialect. Only Kolbe indicates the presence of a click, which he does by means of the tilde. Words that are comparable to the first component of the Cape dialectal words include the Nama word *õun*, ‘*Fett (hartes), Talg*’, (‘fat (hard), dripping’) (Kroenlein 1889) and *õub*, ‘*Hartfett*’, (‘hard fat’) (Rust 1960:21). The second component of the Cape dialectal words, *wie* and *nwie*, are comparable to the Nama word //*nuib*, ‘*Fett (allg.)*’, (‘fat in general’) (Rust 1960:21), while Bushman equivalents include the Kung (N2) word //*nwi*:, ‘fat’; the Naron (C2) word //*nwi:ba*, ‘fat’ (Bleek 1929:37); the Kung (N2) word //*nwi*, ‘melt fat in a pot’; and the Naron (C2) words //*nui*, //*nwi*; also ≠*nuis*, ‘fat’ (Bleek 1956:622, 624, 674). The variability of *u* and *w* is discernible in the relevant words. The !Xuhn word *n/i*, ‘butter’ (Weich 2004:137) displays the dental click and an elided form *i*, as do the Auen (N1) word /*ni*: and the !O !kuη (N3) words ˀ/*ni*, *ni*, ‘fat’ (Bleek 1929:37).

Discussing the Cape-Saldanha word *gaiqua*, ‘*graisse, suif*’, (‘grease, fat’), recorded by De Flacourt (1658:55), Nienaber (1963:499) regards the component *-qua* as “*wrsk. te beskou as die ml. meervoudsvorm plus a-objectivi, wat aantoon dat die inlander die begrip ook pluraal kan opvat.*”, (‘probably to be regarded as the masc. plural form plus a-objectivi, which indicates that the indigene can also understand the concept also as a plural’.) Another possibility is that the component *-qua* is comparable to the //Ku //e (S2c) word //*kwan*, ‘milk, butter’ (Bleek 1956:701, 597).

### **Fetch**

The variability of *e* and *a* is evidenced by comparing the Cape dialectal word *heree*, ‘*hohlen*’, (‘fetch’) (Witsen II 1691 Molsbergen 1 1916:223) with the Nama words /*ki-u*, *ha-u* and *hare*, ‘*hollen*’. (‘fetch’) (Rust 1960:32), and with the /Nu //en (S6) words *\_a<sup>h</sup>re*, *are* and *hare*, ‘to fetch water’ (Bleek 1956:58), the Naron (C2) words *\_are*, *\_hare*, ‘fetch water’, and the Auen (N1) words *\_are*, *hare*, ‘fetch’ (Bleek 1929:38). The Naron (C2) synonym *!üre*, ‘to fetch’ (Bleek 1956:493) displays variation by the incorporation of the cerebral click !, the use of the vowel *u*, and nasalisation. Further variation is discerned in the Khakhea (S5) word //*ohe*, ‘fetch’ (Bleek 1929:38).

**Few**

Von Winkelmann (1788:46) recorded the Eastern dialectal word *xorae*, ‘*wenig*’, (‘few’) with which the Korana word /*kx'oro* (Meinhof 1930:144) corresponds as regards the fricative *x*, albeit in the latter case the release accompanying the dental click with ejective efflux. The Nama word /*orò*, ‘*wenig*’, (‘few’) (Rust 1960:73) agrees with the Korana word as regards click, vowel application and sequence, but displays a develarised form, while the Naron (C2) word /*k"orro*, ‘few, a small group’ (DB) (Bleek 1956:339) corresponds to the Korana word /*kx'oro* as regards dental click with fricative ejective efflux and vowel sequence *o – o*, while its synonym /*k"arre* displays a final *–e* that is reminiscent of Von Winkelmann’s recorded word *xorae*. The variation of *a*, *o* and *e* may thus be discerned in the various words. The Khwe word /*x'óa*, ‘be few’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:274) agrees with comparable words in displaying the dental click / and the vowel sequence *o – a* as variant of *o – ae* and *o – o*.

**Fight**

In some instances old dialectal words seem to be a combination of two words with the same meaning in Bushman equivalents. For example, words for ‘fight’ that consist of two components are the Cape dialectal *agou*, ‘*backelyen of oorlog*’, (‘fighting or war’) (Witsen 1691 I Molsbergen 1 1916:218), and the Korana word *t'²kango*, ‘*fechten, streiten*’, (‘to fight, to battle’) (Lichtenstein 1808:320). Lichtenstein employs the symbol *t'²* to designate the lateral click // (Bleek 1956:512), and the word can thus be transcribed as //*kango*. This word is readily recognised as being similar to the Naron (C2) noun //*ā:ku*: ‘fight’ (Bleek 1929:38), in which the tilde reflects the nasalisation represented by the medial *n* in the word //*kango*, and the interchangeability of *o* and *u* is discernible. The N/uu word /*aru*, ‘*om te baklei, om te stry*’ (‘to fight, to quarrel’) (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:118) can be seen to approximate the Naron word //*ā:ku*, ‘to fight’, as regards the vowel sequence *a – u*, although the clicks, nasalisation and grammatical part of speech do not agree, one being the noun and one the verb.

The lateral click // also occurs in the /Xam (S1) word //*kaukən*, ‘to fight, beat’ (Bleek 1956:653), the Hadza (C3) word //*kau*, ‘to kill’, and the Kung (N2) and !O !kuŋ (N3) word //*kau*, ‘to die’ (Bleek 1956:561). These words are comparable to the Cape dialectal words *k'auw*, ‘*vechten; pugnare*’, (‘to fight’) (Witsen 1691

II Molsbergen 1 1916:223), *kouw*, ‘*vechten*’, (‘to fight’) (Valentyn 1726:108b) and *k~auw*, ‘*pugillare; vechten; worstelen*’, (to fight, to struggle’) (Kolbe 1727 I:433). The Korana word *!kauka*, ‘struggle’ (Wuras 1920:50), would have been comparable to the other words cited above, but the clicks do not correspond, the cerebral click *!* occurring in Korana as opposed to the lateral click *//*.

### **Find**

The component *ho* in the Nama place-name *Hosabes*, ‘*vondeling*’, (‘foundling’) (Wikar 1779 in Mossop 1935:130) is comparable to the Nama word *hō*, ‘*vinden, bekommen, gebären*’, (‘to find, to beget, to bear’) (Rust 1960:21) and the Auen (N1) word *ho*; *hoa*, *howa* ‘to find, meet, get, marry, beget, bear’ (Bleek 1956:62), also occurring in Kung (N2) and Naron (C2). In the N/uu word *hoo*, ‘to get, to find’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:132), the long vowel *o*: is indicated by duplication of the vowel as *oo*, unless the double vowel is intended to signify two syllables. The Khwe word *woó*, ‘find’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:274) displays the interchangeability of *h* and *w*.

### **Finger**

The component *qua*, *koa*, *kwa* and variants are frequently interpreted as being the masculine plural ending, and in many instances that is the case. Thus, for example, Witsen (1691 II Molsbergen 1 1916:219) recorded the Cape dialectal *oucqua*, ‘*de vingeren*’, (‘the fingers’), and Kolbe (1727 I:481) gives *ouc-qua*, ‘*de vingeren*’, (‘the fingers’) as a word in the same dialect. For Korana, however, Lichtenstein (1930:109) gives *t<sup>2</sup>unkoa*, (‘the finger’), thus in the singular. That Lichtenstein was not mistaken can be seen from the cognate Hadza (C3) word *ukwa*, ‘hand, finger, arm, foreleg’, and its synonym *ukwako* (Bleek 1956:248). The comparable Khwe word *cèú-/õã*, (‘finger’), literally means ‘hand-bone’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:26, 274). An interesting similarity exists between the component *-õã* of this word and the components *koa* and *kwa* of the singular Korana and Hadza words above.

### **Fingernail**

Valentyn (1726:108a) and Kolbe (1727 I:434) both recorded the Cape dialectal word *kloy*, the former translating it as ‘*de nagels, of klaauwen*’, (‘nails, or claws’)

and the latter as ‘*de klaauwen*’, (‘claws’). Since the consonant cluster *kl* is foreign to the Khoisan phonological system, a vowel is presumed to have been omitted in the recording, and the vowel may be *o* if the Eastern dialectal word *korouw*, ‘*Klaauwen*’, (‘claws’), recorded by Beutler (1752 in Molsbergen III 1922:301), can be a guide, in which event the variability of *l* and *r* is also discernible. Bushman words that approximate *kloy* in form and meaning are the Mohissa (C1b) word *kole*, ‘fingernail’ (Bleek 1956:58), the //Xegwi (S3) word //*kola*, ‘fingernail’, and the !O !kuŋ (N3) word //*kulu*, ‘nail’, its synonyms //*kɔla* and //*kɔra* (Bleek 1956:592) reflecting the variability of *l* and *r*. This variability is also seen in the /Xam (S1) and Auen (N1) word //*kuru*, the !O !kuŋ (N3) word //*kulu*, and the ‘Hottentot’ word //*goros*, all meaning ‘nail, finger’ (Bleek 1929:60), also in the /Xam (S1), Auen (N1) and Kung (N2) words //*kulu*, ‘nail, claw’, and its synonyms //*kuru*, //*kulisi* and //*koro* (Bleek 1956:593). This last-mentioned word displays the variation of *o* and *u*. These various interchangeable sounds are also seen in the Naron (C2) word *k”oro*, ‘nail’, the Tsaukwe (C2a) word //*koro*, ‘fingernail’, the #Khomani (S2a) words //*korosi* and //*korasa*, ‘fingernail’ (Bleek 1956:587), and the N/uu word //*qorosi*, ‘claw, nail’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:131, 136). The Nama word //*koras*, ‘*Klaue, Huf*, (‘claw, hoof’’) (Rust 1960:35), closely resembling the #Khomani (S2a) word //*korasa*, is also considered to be comparable.

### **Fire**

Words recorded for ‘fire’ display a fairly consistent occurrence of the dental click / in the Bushman languages, as also in the old Cape dialects. Thunberg (1795 II:85) gave three variants in the Eastern dialect, namely *eI*, *eIP* and *NeIP*, transliterated as /*ei*, /*eip* and /*neip* by Nienaber (1963:514). Von Winkelmann (1888:44) gives the Eastern dialectal word *xei*, ‘*Feuer*’, (‘fire’), transcribed as /*ei*. Korana words for ‘fire’ were also recorded with the dental click, for example /*eib*, ‘fire’ (Wuras 1920:23), /*aib*, ‘*vuur*’, (‘fire’) (Engelbrecht 1928:25), and /’*aeb*, ‘*Feuer*’, (‘fire’) (Meinhof 1930:126), introducing the variants /*ei*- and /*ai* or /*ae*. Nama words for ‘fire’ written with the dental click are /*ais* (Tindall 1857 in Nienaber 1963:514) and /’*ais* ‘*Feuer*’, (‘fire’) (Rust 1960:21), and since the adoption of the new orthography in 1977 (Native Language Bureau), as /*aes*. The dental click also occurs in the /Xam (S1) words /*e* and /*i*, ‘fire’, which are also encountered in //Ku //*e* (S2c), //Xegwi (S3), Naron (C2) and Hukwe (C2b). The variant /*e* is cognate with the Khwe word /’*é*, ‘fire’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:275),

and /i cognate with the N/uu word /'i, 'fire' (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:150). The dental click also features in the Seroa (S2d) word /ei and the Naron (C2) words /ai: and /ã, 'fire' (Bleek 1956:268, 272). In Korana, however, other clicks have also been recorded besides the dental. Lichtenstein (1808:313), for example, gives *t''aib*, 'Feuer', ('fire'), transcribed as //aib (Nienaber 1963: 514), and in the Eastern dialect as *t'''aib* 'fire' (Lichtenstein 1930:471), transcribed as !aib, thus with the lateral and cerebral clicks respectively.

The variability of *ai* and *ei* is notable. Burchell (1812 II:181) recorded the Korana word *'káaḭp* or *'káḭp*, 'fire'; Appleyard (1850:13) gives *eip*, 'fire' as a word in both Korana and Nama, with the alternative feminine form *ey*s. Engelbrecht (1928:25) gives /aib, 'vuur', ('fire'), and Lichtenstein (1808:313) records *t''aib*, 'Feuer', ('fire') for Korana, and *t'''aib*, 'fire' for the Eastern dialect (Lichtenstein 1930:471), which can be transliterated as //aib and !aib respectively. The digraph *ai* occurs in the Nama words /ais (Tindall 1857 in Nienaber 1963:514) and /áis, 'Feuer', ('fire') (Rust 1960:21), as well as in the Naron (C2) word /ai:, 'fire' (Bleek 1956:268). A variant spelling is /'aeb, 'Feuer', ('fire') (Meinhof 1930:126).

The words recorded by Thunberg, Appleyard and Burchell, as noted, take the ending *-p*. This final *-p* is the unvoiced form of the masculine singular ending *-b*. This gender ending is recorded by Lichtenstein (1808:313) as *t''aib*, 'Feuer', ('fire') and in the Eastern dialect as *t'''aib*, 'fire' (Lichtenstein 1930:471), transcribed as //aib and !aib respectively, as noted above. Ebner (1829:341) recorded the Nama word *-eis*, 'Feuer', ('fire'), thus with the feminine singular ending *-s* that also occurs in Appleyard's (1850:13) recording of the Nama word as *ey*s, as well as in the Nama word recorded as /ais (Tindall 1857 in Nienaber 1963:514) and /áis 'Feuer', ('fire') (Rust 1960:21). For the most part Bushman words for 'fire' do not take a gender ending.

### **First**

In words for 'first' the interchangeability of the nasal bilabials *m* and *b* is manifested, and nasalisation expressed by these consonants is variable with the tilde ~ in the relevant instances. The oldest of these words was recorded as *hába*, 'eerste', ('first'), by Witsen (1697 III CMM III:117), categorised as a Cape dialectal word (Nienaber 1963:260). It is uncertain whether Witsen intended to indicate a click by the accent on the letter *a*, but comparable Bushman words

frequently display a click. Bleek (1956:717) gives the word *!haʔmma* for ‘first’, with no indication of which language it is from. /Xam (S1) words which may be synonyms of *!haʔmma*, namely *!ham:*, *!haʔm* and *!hʌm*, are explained by Bleek (1956:456) as ‘a verb, probably used as an adjective’, meaning ‘to do first, a little, just, indeed’, similar to the /Xam (S1) word *!kʌm:*, ‘to lead, be first’ (Bleek 1956:456). The interchangeability of the velars *h* and *k*, or of the aspirated as opposed to the ejective click release, may be noted in the above equivalents. Whereas all of these words feature the cerebral click, different clicks are encountered in other Bushman words for ‘first’. The palatal click *ʃ* occurs in the /Xam (S1) word *ʃkamOpwa*, ‘to wait, also ... first’. The !Xuhn word *ʃanhan*, ‘first’ (Weich 2004:163), displaying the palatal click *ʃ*, the vowel sequence *a – a* and nasalisation represented by the nasal *n*, is comparable to the Kua and G/ui word *ʃ'hãã*, ‘to lead, go ahead’ (Chebanne 2014), where the nasalisation is indicated by the tilde. The double *ãã* in the word *ʃ'hãã* represents two syllables that correspond to the disyllabic word *ʃanhan*. The Khwe word *nyám-ò*, ‘first’, *nyám*, ‘to be the very first’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:275), does not display a click, but is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word *!kʌm:*, ‘to lead, be first’ (Bleek 1956:456). The lateral click *//* occurs in the Khakhea (S5) word *//k"afa*, ‘first’.

### **Five**

Herbert (1634 :16) recorded the Cape dialectal word *croe* for ‘five’, thus without an interconsonantal vowel. The Cape dialectal words *kro*, ‘*vyff*, (‘five’) (Witsen II 1691 in Molsbergen I 1916:224), and *kroo*, ‘5’ (Buttner 1725:68a) also lack a vowel between the letters *k* and *r*. A cluster of two juxtaposed consonants such as *cr* or *kr* is foreign to the Khoisan languages, and a vowel or diphthong must have been elided. In some words the vowel *o* occurs, such as in the Cape Saldanha dialectal words *coro*, ‘*cinq*’, (‘five’) (De Flacourt 1655:57), *corro*, ‘*quinque*’ (‘five’) (Ten Rhyne 1673 in Schapera & Farrington 1933:156), and *kóro*, ‘*quinque*, *vyf*, (‘five’) (Kolbe I 1727:435). The Korana word *korro* (Wuras 1920:23) and the Nama word *goro*, ‘*fünf*’ (‘five’) (Rust 1960:24), also features the vowel *o*, as does the /Auni (S4) and /Nu/en (S6) word *koro*, ‘five’ (Bleek 1956:101). The vowel *u* occurs in the Korana words *kurruh*, ‘five’ (Lichtenstein 1805 VRS II:469) and *kūrū*, ‘five’ (Burchell 1812 II:180), while a diphthong is seen in the Cape dialectal word *kourou*, ‘*vyf*, (‘five’) (Valentyn 1726:107a).

### *Flea*

The Cape dialectal word *eychêe*, ‘*een vlovy; pulvex*’, (‘flea’), was recorded by Witsen (1691 II Molsbergen 1 1916:222). This word is similar to the Cape dialectal words *heythle*, *of hyqua*, ‘*een vloov*’, (‘flea’), recorded by Valentyn (1726:107b), and *hythé*, ‘*pulvex; een vloov*’, (‘flea’), recorded by Kolbe (1727 I:433). Nienaber (1963:505) points out that Valentyn’s *hythle* should probably be read as *hythee*, the letter *e* having been mistaken for an *l*. An Eastern dialectal word recorded by Thunberg (1795 II:85) as *aTTL*, transcribed by Nienaber (1963:505) as /*atti*, ‘*loppa*’, (‘flea’), approximates to the above words in number of syllables, sound, and meaning, but differs from them in displaying a click, namely the dental. Korana words for ‘flea’ are *!eitāb* (Wuras 1920:23) and *!aitab* (Meinhof 1930:126), displaying the cerebral click *!* and an intervocalic *t*. Early Nama words for ‘flea’ are *-eidab*, ‘*der Floh*’, (‘flea’), (Ebner 1829:340) and *eidab*, ‘flea’, *eidagoo*, ‘fleas’ (Campbell 1815:390). These words were recorded without a click, whereas the Nama word *!áidab*, ‘*Floh*’, (‘flea’), (Rust 1960:22), does display the cerebral click *!* and an intervocalic voiced dental consonant *d*. Cognate Bushman words, Kung (N2) *!ke-/ã* and *!khe-/ã*, also display the cerebral click *!*, but with an intervocalic dental click / instead of a dental consonant. The cerebral click *!* seems to predominate in most languages, a dental click / being displayed in the Eastern dialectal word /*atti* and the Kung (N2) word /*na*<sup>ξ</sup>, ‘flea’, which has the synonym *≠ha*<sup>ξ</sup> with the palatal click *≠* (Bleek 1956:640).

### *Fly*

In Le Vaillant’s recording of the Eastern dialectal word *Λ-dinap* for ‘fly’ (1780:367), the symbol *Λ* denotes the dental click, so that the word may be transcribed as /*dinap*. The dental click was recorded also in the Naron (C2) word /*gina* and its synonyms /*genee* and /*geniba* (Bleek 1956:279), as well as in the Nama words /*genas* and /*ginas*, ‘*Fliege*’, (‘fly’) (Rust 1960:22), also /*geinas*, ‘*vlieg*’, (‘fly’) (Nienaber 1963:504). The Khwe word *n/gíní*, ‘fly’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:276), features the dental click and the variant *i* that also occurs in the Eastern dialectal word. The final consonant *-p* of Le Vaillant’s /*dinap* is the masculine singular ending that is also discerned in the Korana word /*ganap*, ‘the common housefly’ (Maingard 1932:317), and that is expressed as *-m* in the Korana word /*kanim* (Wuras 1920:24), and as *-b* in the Korana word /*gāineb*, ‘*vlieg*’, (‘fly’) (Nienaber 1963:504). In the Nama words the feminine singular



ending *-s* occurs. The difference in the vowels *i* and *e* and the diphthong *ei*, as opposed to the vowel *a* in the relevant words, may be attributable to the difference in meaning between ‘fly’ and ‘common housefly’.

### **Food**

Kolbe (1727 I:475) gives the Cape dialectal word *ounq~va*, ‘*te eeten*’, (‘food’), and for Korana Lichtenstein (1808:315) gives *t<sup>2</sup>uhnkōa*, ‘*Speise überhaupt*’, (‘food in general’), interpreted as either //uhnkoa or ≠uhnkoa by Nienaber (1963:505), who identifies the endings *q~va* and *kōa* as the masculine plural ending, with the additional comment that the common plural ending *-n* might rather have been expected. The stem *oun* or ≠uhn is comparable to the Nama word ≠ün, ‘*Kost*’, (‘food’), ≠ūs, ≠ün, ‘*Speise*’, (‘victuals’), and ≠üb, ≠ūs, ≠ui, ≠ün, ‘*Frucht*’, (‘fruits’) (Rust 1960:36, 57, 23), the last of these words corresponding to the !Xuhn word ‘*m*, ‘food’ (Weich 2004:164), and the Korana word ≠’üb, ‘victuals’ (Nienaber 1963:505). The nasalisation represented by the tilde in these words features as the nasal *n* in the Cape dialectal words above, while the *h* in Lichtenstein’s ≠uhn- indicates that the preceding vowel *u* is a long one. The Khwe word ≠’ũ-xò, ‘food (i.e. fruit, nuts, corn)’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:277) is comparable with the Cape dialectal word *ounq~va* and the Korana word ≠uhnkoa in comprising two syllables, displaying the nasalisation, and with the other relevant words in displaying the palatal click ≠.

From the Eastern dialect Sparrman (1785 II:351) recorded *t’koko*, ‘victuals’. Cognate Bushman words are the Khwe word ≠’ũ-xò, ‘food (i.e. fruit, nuts, corn)’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:277), in which the interchangeability of the vowels *o* and *u* is discerned; the Naron (C2) words ≠ūxu, ≠ūxwoine, ‘vegetable food’, from the verb ≠ū, ‘to eat’. The //Xegwi (S3) word //uni, ‘food’ (Bleek 1956:677) displays the lateral click // that also occurs in Lichtenstein’s (1808:315) recorded Korana word *t<sup>2</sup>uhnkōa*, ‘*Speise überhaupt*’, (‘food in general’), transcribed as //uhnkoa (Nienaber 1963:505)

### **Foot**

A number of words for ‘foot’ display the digraph *ei*, such as the Cape-Saldanha word *kei*, ‘*pied*’, (‘foot’) (De Flacourt 1658:58); the Korana word *t’keib*, ‘foot’ (Lichtenstein 1930:470), transliterated as /keib; the Eastern dialectal word *xei*,

‘*der Fuss*’, (‘foot’) (Von Winkelmann 1788:46), transliterated as *≠ei* by Nienaber (1963:506); the Nama word *≠eib*, *≠eis*, ‘*der Fuss*’, (‘foot’) (Kroenlein 1854:4), and the Korana word *≠eib*, plural *≠eikua* (Wuras 1920:23, 24). Korana also has a variant *≠aib*, with the digraph *ai* (Engelbrecht 1928 in Nienaber 1963:506), and it is particularly this form that features in Bushman equivalents. The Kung (N2) words /*k*”*ai* (and its synonym /*k*”*e*), /*ai* and /*xai*, ‘foot’ (Bleek 1956:68) resemble Lichtenstein’s /*keib* in displaying the dental click, as does the !Xuhn word /*xai*, ‘foot’ (Weich 2004:164). The /Auni (S4) word !*k*”*ai*, the Khatia (S4a) words !*k*”*ai*, !*kae* and !*hai* and the Ki /hazi (S4b) words !*k*”*ai*, !*kae* and !*hae* (Bleek 1956:507, 403, 394) display the cerebral click ! and the variability of the diphthongs *ai* and *ae*.

The phoneme *i* occurs in the Cape dialectal words *iqua*, ‘*de voeten; pedes*’, (‘feet’) (Witsen 1691 I Molsbergen 1 1916:298), *y*, ‘*de voeten*’, (‘the feet’) (Witsen II 1691 in Molsbergen 1 1916:219), *tqua* or *yi*, ‘*de voet*’, (‘the foot’) (Valentyn 1726:108a), and *itqua*, synonym *yi*, ‘*pes; de voeten*’, (‘the feet’) (Kolbe 1727 I:433). Nienaber (1963:506) identifies a click in the words recorded by Valentyn and Kolbe, which facilitates comparison with the Kung (N2) words  $\bar{/k}i$ , /*k*”*i*, /*k*”*e*, /*xi* and /*xe*:, ‘foot’, and the //Xegwi (S3) word /*k*”*e* and its synonyms /*ke*: and /*k*”*i*, ‘foot’ (Bleek 1956:316, 365). The dental fricative click with velar ejective *k*” release interchanges with the velar fricative consonant *x*.

Nienaber (1963:506) regards the component *qua* in the relevant words above as the masculine plural ending, and this may be the case where the translation of the words is given as the plural ‘*voeten*’, (‘feet’); but some doubt arises when more than one source gives the translation of words that incorporate the segment *-qua* in the singular, ‘*de voet*’, (‘the foot’). Comparison with Bushman cognates reveals a number of words for ‘foot’ that incorporate a component phonologically similar to *qua*, such as the Hadza words (C3) *fukwa*, ‘foot’ and *upukwa*, ‘leg, hind leg, foot’, the latter with its plural *upukwape* (Bleek 1956:40, 249); also the //Ku //e (S2c) words //gwa, //goa, ‘foot, shoe’, and the /Xam (S1) words !*nwa*, !*noa* and //noah, ‘foot’, the latter also occurring in Khakhea (S5) (Bleek 1956:620, 487). The !Xuhn word *g≠ao*, ‘foot’ (Weich 2004:164), displays the reversed vowel sequence *a – o* and palatal click *≠*. The Khwe word *kyaáré*, ‘foot’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:277) is reminiscent of the Hadza plural *upukwape*, ‘feet’ in the vowel sequence *y – a – e* and *u – a – e*.

***Fountain, spring***

Nienaber (1963:268) considers the first vowel of the Cape-Saldanha word *c ma*, ‘*fontaine*’, (‘fountain’), recorded by De Flacourt (1658:55), to have been omitted, probably by the type-setters. As in a number of other instances, the initial consonant *c* represents a click, so that the word *c ma* is seen to correspond to the Auen (N1) word *≠ha*, ‘spring, fountain’ (Bleek 1956:650).

An Eastern dialectal word recorded by Le Vaillant (1790:367) is *A-aaup*, ‘fountain; *fontyn*,’ which may be transcribed as /*aaup*, with the dental click / and the masculine singular ending *-p*. The dental click and vowel sequence *a – u* and its variant *o – u* feature fairly consistently in Nama and Korana equivalents, but in these languages the feminine singular ending *-s* predominates. Thus are encountered Nama /*ous*, ‘*Quelle*’, (‘spring’) (Rust 1960:48), Korana /*aus*, ‘*fontein, put*’, (‘fountain, well’) (Engelbrecht), /*kx’aus*, ‘*Quelle*’, (‘spring’) (Meinhof 1930:135) and /*?ous*, ‘spring’ (Maingard 1964:63). However, Wuras (1920:24) recorded the word *≠kx?aush*, thus with the palatal click which is also found in the Kung (N2) word *\≠nʔhau*, ‘spring, fountain’ (Bleek 1956:719, 758).

An interesting word where a Korana name translates a Bushman name is *muhm t’kamma*, ‘*Auge das Wassers*’, (‘eye of the water’) , ‘*Quelle*’, (‘spring’) (Lichtenstein 1808:313, 284), which Campbell (1812 II:181) gives as *múkammã* (*móo* ‘*camma*’), ‘spring or fountain’, which incorporates the word *mú* or *moo*, ‘eye’. Lichtenstein’s rendition of *muhm* reflects the nasalisation expressed by the final masculine singular ending *-m*, this word thus corresponding to the Korana word *mūp*, ‘eye’, in which the nasalisation is denoted by the tilde *~*. Lichtenstein’s word *t’kamma* may be transcribed as /*kamma*, with the dental click /. The Korana name *muhm t’kamma* (*Auge das Wassers*)’, ‘eye of the water’, finds its translation in the /Xam (S1) expression *!khwa: ts’axau*, and the /Nu //en (S6) *!kha: ≠ũ*, both meaning ‘water’s eye’, i.e. ‘spring, fountain’ (Bleek 1929:79). The !Xuhn word *g//u n!ang*, ‘fountain’ (Weich 2004:165) is comparable to the Korana word *muhm t’kamma* as regards the vowel sequence *u – a* but has a different explanation, *g//u* meaning ‘water’ and *n!ang* meaning ‘inside’ or ‘round’ (Weich 2004:24, 52), thus being more prosaically descriptive of the spring than the metaphoric ‘water’s eye’.

**-G-*****Gall***

Le Vaillant (1783 Hist Nat VI:143) recorded a ‘Hottentot’ word, *tawa*, ‘*fiel*’, (‘gall’), corresponding to the Korana words *tawab* (Wuras 1920 in Nienaber 1963:269) and *thabab*, (‘gall’) (Meinhof 1930:127), and to the Nama word *tsawab*, ‘*Galle*’, (‘gall’) (Rust 1960:24). These Korana words have the masculine singular ending *-b* that is not indicated in the “Hottentot” word. The comparable /Xam (S1) words *!koa*<sup>ɛ</sup>, *!kwā*:<sup>ɛ</sup> ‘gall’ (Bleek 1956:437) display the cerebral click *!* and the vowel sequence *oa* and its variant *wa*, also indicating nasalisation and a long final vowel with pharyngeal roughening. In spite of the phonological and orthographic differences, the basic structure and correspondence in meaning render the /Xam words recognisable as being comparable. The !Xuhn word *gaqm*, ‘gall’ (Weich 2004:167) displays the vowel *a*, with nasalisation indicated by the bilabial *m*, and with the interchangeability of *g* and *k*, and pharyngealisation indicated by the symbol *q*. The word *gaqm* can thus be seen to correspond to the /Xam word *!kwā*:. The Khwe word *qām*, ‘gall’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:279), can also be compared to the /Xam word *!kwā*:, since the consonant *q* represents the uvular plosive in Khwe (Kilian-Hatz 2003:8), and the nasal *m* corresponds to the tilde *~* in the /Xam word. The N/uu word //’*aa*, ‘gall bladder’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:124) reflects the vowel sequence *a – a* of the words *tawa*, *thabab* and *tsawab*.

***Gemsbok***

The click represented by Le Vaillant (1790:364, 366) as *ʌ* in the Eastern dialectal words *ʌ-ka ip*, ‘a kind of African antelope’, and *ʌ-kaip*, ‘*Pasan; gems-bock*’, (‘*gemsbuck*’), is identified by Nienaber (1963:275) as the dental click, and these words can thus be transcribed as */ka ip* and */kaip*. This click, with ejective release, */k*, also occurs in the Nama words */kaip* (Tindall 1857:96), and with the dental click with voiced release in the word */gaib*, ‘*Gemsbock*’ (Rust 1960:26). The dental click also features in the Korana words */kei* and */gais*, and, with the fricative *x*, *xaib* (Nienaber 1963:275), in which the variability of *ai* and *ei* is discerned. In the Nama word //’*kāisis*, ‘*der Klippbock (Gemsbock der Wüste)*’, (‘the *Klippbock*, the *gemsbuck* of the desert’) (Kroenlein 1889:195a) the lateral click occurs, and the //I) *!ke* (S2) words display the cerebral click in the words

*!kai* and *!kai*, but the palatal click in the word *̣#kai*, ‘*gemsbok*’ (Bleek 1929:41; 1956:404, 655). /Xam (S1) has a cerebral click and the semi-vowel *w* in the words *!kwai* and *!khwai*, ‘*gemsbok*’ (Bleek 1956:459). The !Xuhn word *g!oee*, ‘oryx; *gemsbok*’ (Weich 2004:199) is comparable to the /Xam words *!kwai* and *!khwai*, ‘*gemsbok*’, the velars *g* and *k* being variable; both words incorporating the cerebral click *!*, and the clusters *wai* and *oee* pronounced similarly, the short *o* interchanging with the semi-vowel *w* (Bleek 1956:250), *i* and *ee* pronounced as /i:/. The N/uu word *!ae*, ‘*gemsbok*, oryx’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:125), reflects the develarised form of the name without the ejective efflux but with the cerebral click and the modernised spelling *ae* for the sound that was previously written as *ai*.

### ***Giraffe***

The variability of *ai* and *ei* is the primary feature of the words for ‘giraffe’ in which a measure of similarity can be discerned, and in these the cerebral click predominates. Le Vaillant (1790:366) recorded the Eastern dialectal word *Δ-naip*, ‘*giraffe*; *kameel-paerd*’, which can be transcribed as *!naip*, the final consonant *-p* being the masculine singular ending that interchanges with *-b* in some other cases. Borchers (1861:70) gives the Korana word *t’keep*, ‘*cameleopard*’, (‘giraffe’), again featuring the gender marker *-p* for the masculine singular. The click is not specified in the previous two recordings, but Lichtenstein (1808:311) gives the Korana word *t’haib*, ‘Giraffe’, which according to his system of writing the click may be transcribed as /*haib*. At this stage the variability of *n* and *h* is noted, as is Borchers’ deviation of interconsonantal *ee* in the written representation of this word. A Korana word for ‘giraffe’ that reflects the diphthong *ai* is *!naib*, recorded by Wuras (1920) and Meinhof (1930) in Nienaber (1963:326), while Nama displays the diphthong *ei*, as in the word *!neib*, ‘*Giraffe*’ (Rust 1960:27), *!néib*, ‘*die Giraffe*’ (Kroenlein 1889:253a). A Bushman cognate that also displays the diphthong *ei* is the Hei //kum (N2a) word *!neib*, ‘giraffe’ (Bleek 1956:477). The predominance of the vowel *a(i)* in the early recordings *!naip*, /*haib* and *!naib* may prompt a comparison of these words with the Naron (C2) word *!nabe* and the G/wi word *n!abe*. Click loss without evident phonological triggers is discernible in the Kua word *nabe* and the Cua and Tsua word *gabe*, ‘giraffe’ (Chebanne 2014:8), as also in the Hie (C1) words *gabee*, *ng:gabe* and *ng:habe*, and the Sehura (C1a) word *gnabe*, ‘giraffe’ (Bleek 1956:42, 145, 47). The

Khwe word *ngyáve*, ‘giraffe’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:281) displays the voiced bilabial fricative *v* as variant for the voiced bilabial plosive *b*.

### *Girl*

Sometimes only a part of a word can be linked semantically and phonologically to corresponding words in other languages. Borchers (1861:70) recorded the Korana word *lato t’kodaas*, ‘girl’, the second component of which Nienaber (1963:382) compares with the Nama word /*gōs*, ‘dogter’, (‘girl’), the element *daa* of Borchers’ component *t’kodaas* interpreted by him as the diminutive *da*, and the final *-s* the feminine singular ending. The component *lato* is similar to the Khakhea (S5) word *laʒ*, *lạkai*, *lakai*, ‘woman’ (Bleek 1956:129); the word *t’kodaas* approximates the Naron (C2) word *!ko-de*, ‘girl, initiate girl’, from *!ko*, *!ko-de*, ‘to menstruate’ (Bleek 1956:435). The word *lato t’kodaas* is thus similar to *lakai !ko-de*, ‘menstruating (initiate) woman’. The Khwe words /*ōã* and /*óé-hè*, ‘girl’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:281) agree with the Nama word in displaying the dental click. The word /*ōã* is similar to the word *t’kodaas* as regards the vowel sequence *o – a*, while the word /*óé-hè* resembles the word *!ko-de* in respect to the vowel sequence *o – e*.

### *Give*

Herbert (1634:16) recorded the Cape dialectal word *quoy*, ‘give me’. Writing in English, Herbert would have considered the initial *qu* to be pronounced as in *quick*, and *oy* as in ‘toy’ or ‘boy’, or as in ‘boil’. This word can thus be seen to correspond to the Hadza (C3) word *kwi*, ‘to give’, synonym *kweko*, and to the /Xam (S1) word /*kwi*, ‘to give (in exchange)’ (Bleek 1956:114, 333). Nienaber (1963:272) points to a similarity between the word *quoy* and the Nama word *ou*, ‘geben (mit abgeben)’, (‘to give (give away)’), with the noun *ous*, ‘mildtätige Gabe’, (‘generous gift’) (Rust 1960:24).

Witsen (1697 III 1858:117, 118) gives the Cape dialectal word *maa*, *mare*, ‘geef’, (‘to give’), the same word *maa* given by Lichtenstein (1808:320) as the Korana word for ‘geben’, (‘to give’). A similar word is the Eastern dialectal word *matte*, ‘give’ (Le Vaillant 1790:253). The word *mare* and its variant *male*, ‘to give’, were recorded by Sparrman (1785 II:351) as Eastern dialectal words, written *MARé*, ‘gif’, (‘give’) by Thunberg (1795 II:86). The word is given in Nama as *ma*, ‘geben’,

(‘to give’) (Rust 1960:24), and also as *ma*, ‘to give’ in Korana (Maingard 1964:63). Lichtenstein (1930:475) gives the Korana word as *maa*, ‘give’, for which the Hie (C1) cognate is *maa*, ‘to lend, give, forgive’ (Bleek 1956:133), and the Naron equivalent is  $\bar{m}a:$ , ‘to give’ (Bleek 1929:42). The colon : in the word  $\bar{m}a:$  that indicates that the vowel *a* is a long vowel, is indicated in the Hie word *maa* by the duplication of the letter *a*. The Khwe equivalent is *māā*, ‘give’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:281), in which nasalisation is indicated.

In the Cape dialectal word recorded by De Flacourt (1658:59) as *ghemé*, ‘donner’, (‘give’) and *ghemaré*, ‘donnez moy’, (‘give me’), the first component, *ghe*, appears to be comparable to the //Xegwi (S3) word //ke, and the Khakhea (S5) word *!xe:*, ‘to give’ (Bleek 1929:42; 1956:498), the phone *gh* corresponding to the lateral click with ejective release, //k, and the cerebral click with fricative release, *!x*. Similarity to the Dutch word *gee(ven)*, (‘to give’), Afrikaans *gee (maar hier)*, (‘just (give it here)’), is presumably coincidental.

## Go

De Flacourt (1658:58) recorded the Cape-Saldanha word *hchom*, ‘marcher’, (‘walk, march, go’). The initial *h* is De Flacourt’s way of indicating a click, according to Nienaber (1963:268) more probably a plosive than a fricative, and with the final *-m* considered to be an attempt at indicating nasalisation. In that respect the word *hchom* is perhaps to be compared with the Hadza (C3) word *a $\bar{h}$ khomo*, *akha(mo)*, ‘go’ (Bleek 1956:7), and with the /Xam (S1) words //kum, ‘go across’, //k $\Delta$ m, //kam, ‘to go’ (Bleek 1956:554). The vowel *o* in the Cape-Saldanha dialectal word *hchom* interchanges with the vowels *u* and  $\Delta$  in the /Xam words //kum and //k $\Delta$ m, and with the vowel *a* in the /Xam word //kam and the Hadza word *akha(mo)*.

Cape dialectal, Eastern dialectal and Korana words for ‘to go’ display the velar initial, medial back close vowel *u* (variously heard as back close *u* or half back close *o*), and nasalisation. These features are also reflected in Bushman and Khoikhoi cognates. Witsen’s Cape dialectal word *k’ on*, ‘gaan; ire’, (‘go, to go’) (1691 Molsbergen 1 1916:223) displays a click, represented as *k’*, the variant back half close vowel *o*, and nasalisation reflected in the final *-n*. Buttner (1725:67b) gives the Cape dialectal word *kũhn*, ‘gehen’, (‘go’), the click indicated by a wavy line above the *u* which is given here as  $\tilde{u}$ , and nasalisation also represented in

writing by the final *-n*. An Eastern dialectal word for ‘to go’ was recorded by Von Winkelmann (1788:46) as *xg’ung*, ‘*gehen*’, (‘go’); he explains the pronunciation of the click as follows: “*hier schlägt man mit der Zunge gegen den Gaumen und spricht das Wort halb durch die Nase und halb durch der Mund*”, (“Here one clicks with the tongue against the gums and pronounces the word half through the nose and half through the mouth”.) Von Winkelmann’s rendition of *xg’ung* is transcribed by Nienaber (1963:269) as *≠g’ung*. Lichtenstein (1930:472) gives the word as Korana *t’<sup>2</sup>kuhung*, ‘to go’, and (1808:320) as *t’<sup>2</sup>kuhng*, ‘*gehen*’, (‘go’), which is transcribed as //kuhng. /Auni (S4) has the word *!kuŋ*, ‘to go’, and /Nu //en (S6) has the word //kũ, ‘go away’ (Bleek 1929:42), thus also with the lateral click. The lateral click // is also displayed in the Khwe equivalent *n//góo*, ‘to go’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:281). Writers give the Korana word for ‘to go’ with the cerebral click, namely in the devalarised form *!ũ* (Meinhof 1930:127), with voiced release as *!gũ*, ‘*gaan*’ (Engelbrecht 1928:35), and with ejective release as *!kũ*, ‘to go’ (Wuras 1920:25; Maingard 1964:64). Words in Nama also occur in different forms; Kroenlein gives *!gũn*, ‘*gehen, wandeln*’, (‘go, walk’); Bleek (1929:42) has *!gũŋ*, ‘to go’; Rust (1960:25) gives *!gũ*, ‘*gehen*’, (‘go’), these featuring the voiced release, and Tindall (1857 in Nienaber 1963:269) gives *!kũ*, with the unvoiced velar or ejective release. This form *!kũ* occurs as a Bushman cognate in the Auen (N1) and Naron (C2) word *!kũ*, ‘to go’, while /Xam (S1) has the word *!ũ*, ‘go out’. In these words the nasalisation is expressed either by the tilde ~ or the symbol *ŋ*.

There are also words for ‘to go’ without nasalisation. Valentyn (1726:108b) recorded the Cape dialectal word *koe*, ‘*gaan*’, (‘go’), and for the same dialect Kolbe (1727 I:432) gives *kũou*, ‘*ire; gaan*’, (‘to go’). These words are comparable to the Hie (C1) word *khoo*, ‘go away, travel’, the Auen (N1) word *!ku*, ‘run, jump, go, come’, the /Auni (S4) word //ku, ‘go, run away’ (Bleek 1956:90, 446, 590), and the N/uu word *!hui*, ‘run away’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:149). The occurrence of clicks in the Bushman cognates indicates that Kolbe rendered the word accurately with a click which he indicated with a tilde ~. The !Xuhn language has the word *u*, ‘go, *gaan*’ (Weich 2004:168), which displays neither click nor nasalisation. The variability of *ou*, *u*, and *oo* reflect the various ways of writing the same or similar sound.



### Go out

Three Cape dialectal words were recorded for ‘to go out’, namely *k’qua* (Witsen II 1691 Molsbergen 1 1916:223), *kqoe* (Valentyn 1726:108b) and *k’qou* (Kolbe 1727 I:431), all given as meaning ‘*uytgaan; exire*’, (‘to go out’). These words are comparable to the Korana word *≠kx’oa* (Meinhof 1930:103 in Nienaber 1963:486). Wandres (1918:28 in Nienaber 1963:486) compares Witsen’s recorded word *k’qua* to the Nama word *≠oá*, ‘*hinausgehen, aufsteigen*’, (‘go out, ascend’), which Nienaber says “*Dit skyn juis te wees*”, (“This seems to be correct”). The //ǃ *!ke* (S2) and /Auni (S4) word */kwa*, ‘to go out’ (Bleek 1956:237, 328), displays the dental click with ejective release, while the Khwe word //ǃǃ, ‘go out’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:282), features the lateral click and nasalisation. The Hie (C1) word *tʃwa*, ‘to go out, break’, is lacking in a click. In the words discussed the different ways of writing the same or similar sound as *qua*, *oa* and *wa* are noted.

### Goat

Both Nienaber (1963:224) and Bleek (1956:13) point out that the number of words beginning with *b* is limited in the Bushman languages, and that most words that do begin with *b* are in the languages most influenced by Bantu languages. In words for ‘goat’ the initial consonant *b* interchanges with *p* and *m*, and the vowels *e*, *i*, *u* and *y* interchange. Le Vaillant (1790:366) recorded the Eastern dialectal word *bri-i*, ‘goat; *bock*’; Lichtenstein (1808:311) recorded the Korana words *biriib* m.; *biriis* f., ‘*Ziege*’, (‘goat’). Also for Korana Burchell (1812 II:181) gives the word *bri*, ‘goat’. Ebner (1829:432) recorded a similar word for Nama, namely *brii*, ‘*Ziege*’, (‘goat’) and the plural *bridi*, ‘*Ziegen*’, (‘goats’). A variant Nama word was given by Alexander (1838 II:165), namely *poorees*, ‘goat’. Bearing in mind that Alexander wrote according to English pronunciation, this word could be transcribed as *puris*. Rust (1960:12, 76) gives the Nama word as *birib*, *berib*, ‘*Ziegenbock*’, (‘billy-goat’), with the masculine singular ending *-b*, and as *biris* (*beris*), ‘*Ziege*’, (‘goat’), with the feminine singular ending *-s* and the variation of the vowels *e* and *i*. The interchangeability of the vowels *e* and *i* is also to be seen in the /Xam (S1) word *beri*, *berri*, *berri-*, *biri*; in the //ǃ *!ke* (S2) and /Nu //en (S6) word *biri*; and in the !Xuhn word *beṛebele*, ‘goat’ (Weich 2004:168), in which the symbol *ɿ* stands for a sound between *l* and *r*. The Hie (C1) words *pudi*, *puli* and *pidi* (Bleek 1956:159) display the variability of the intervocalic *d* and *l*, and also of *i* and *u*, the latter of which is displayed in the

form *y* in the Auen (N1), Kung (N2) and Naron (C2) word *byri*, ‘goat’ (Bleek 1929:42-43); Bleek (1929:13) points out that *y* is pronounced as French *u*. The Hie (C1) word *pidi* and the N/uu word *piri*, ‘goat’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:119), indicate the interchangeability of the voiced consonant *d* and the unvoiced consonant *r*. Other variants are discerned in the /Xam (S1) word *peri* and the //ǃ words *myri*, *meri* and *miri* as synonyms of *byri* (Bleek 1956:157, 16), in which *p*, *b* and *m* interchange, and the Khwe word *míní*, ‘goat’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:282), where the bilabials *b* and *m* are interchangeable, and the nasal *n* is variable with the voiced alveolar or retroflex consonant *r* (Bleek 1956:159).

### **Good**

The variability of the diphthongs *ai* and *ei* is illustrated in Cape dialectal words for ‘good’, and in the Bushman comparisons of these words. Thunberg (1775 II:86) recorded the Eastern dialectal word *Kal*, ‘*godt*’, (‘good’), transcribed as /*kai*; Lichtenstein (1930:472) the Korana word *t’<sup>3</sup>kain*, ‘good’, transcribed as /*kain*, and Ebner (1829:341) the Nama word *geiin*, ‘*gut*’, (‘good’), thus without a click. A nasal element of the words is indicated by the nasal *-n* in the last two words cited. The Nama word /*gāi*, ‘*gut*’, (‘good’) (Rust 1960:28) that also occurs in Korana (Nienaber 1963:285), reflects both the cerebral click and nasalisation, as do the //ǃ words /*hāiija* and /*kāi*, ‘good’, and the Naron (C2) word /*kāi*, ‘good’ (Bleek 1929:43), in which the variability of the consonants *h* and *k* is discerned. The Korana word /*ai-a*, ‘*goed*’, (‘good’) (Nienaber 1963:285) and the //ǃ word //*ēi:n*, //*ē-ĩ*, ‘good, patient, amiable, lucky’ (Bleek 1956:520) display devalarised forms, the variability of *ai* and *ei*, and in the latter instance also the deviant lateral click. The variation in the click releases in the different languages is noted: the ejective *k* in the Eastern dialectal word /*kain*, the Korana word /*kain*, and the //ǃ and Naron (C2) word /*kāi*; the aspirated *h* in the //ǃ word /*hāiija*, and the voiced velar release *g* in the Nama and Korana word /*gāi*. The Khwe word /*xéi*, ‘feel good’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:282), reflects the variant cluster *ei* but differs from the comparable words in displaying the palatal click.

Thunberg (1795 II:86) recorded the Eastern dialectal word *Kal*, ‘*godt*’ (‘good’), transcribed according to his system of writing clicks as /*kai* (Nienaber 1963:285). A Korana word that agrees with this word as regards the vowel

sequence *a – i* is *t<sup>3</sup>kain*, ‘*gut*’, (‘good’), recorded by Lichtenstein (Arch: 316; VRS II:472), transcribed as *!kain*. This word thus displays the cerebral click *!* as opposed to the dental click */* in Thunberg’s recorded word transcribed as */kai*. Thunberg does also not indicate nasalisation that Lichtenstein indicates with an *n*. A Nama word recorded by Ebner (1829:341) as *geiin*, ‘*gut*’, (‘good’), does indicate nasalisation but occurs without a click, and displays the variant *ei* of the digraph *ai*. A different variant is displayed in the Eastern dialectal word recorded by Von Winkelmann (1788:46) as *xh’iinsi*, ‘*gut*’, (‘good’), transcribed according to his system of representing clicks, as *≠kiinsi*. Bleek (1956:66) notes that the long front close vowel *i* is written *ii*; the nasal element in the word *≠kiinsi* is represented as *n*, so that the word *≠kiinsi* is comparable to the Nama word *!kāisi* or *!gāise* (Nienaber 1963:285). The suffix *–si* of the word *≠kiinsi* is the adjectival ending that is comparable to the Nama ending *–se*. The root of the word *≠kiinsi*, *xh’iinsi* or *≠kiinsi*, is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word *!kē:ī* or *!ke:η*, to the //ǀ word *!ke* (S2) word *//ē:ī*, and its synonym *//ēi:n*, ‘good’ (Bleek 1956:421, 520), and to the /Nu //en (S6) word *//kī*, ‘good’ (Bleek 1929:43).

A problematic case is the Cape dialectal word *tzicum*. Bolling (1670:315) translates the word as ‘*goede (tabak)*’, (‘good (tobacco)’), but Ten Rhyne (1673 in Schapera & Farrington 1933:154) translates it as ‘*jonk*’, (‘young’). The word *tzicum* corresponds to the Khwe word written as *tceka-xam*, ‘be very good’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:283); in the Khwe orthography the consonant *c* is used for the voiceless dental fricative *s*, the voiceless palato-alveolar *sh*, and the voiceless palatal fricative *χ* as in the German word *ich* (Kilian-Hatz 2003:8).

Sparrman (1785 II:350) recorded the Eastern dialectal word *huka*, ‘good’, which is tentatively compared by Nienaber (1963:285) to the Nama word *huga*, ‘*immer; von jeher, immer schon*’, (‘always, since time immemorial, always been’) (Rust 1960:33). The first component of the word *huka* is perhaps comparable to the Kung (N2) word */hum*, ‘good, pleasant, beautiful’ (Bleek 1956:289, 721), and to the N/uu word *≠huu*, ‘be good, be beautiful’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:126).

### **Grass**

Words for ‘grass’ show a high degree of uniformity as regards the alveolar or dental plosive consonant *t* followed by the vowel *a*. Witsen (1691 in Molsbergen 1 1916:215) gives the Cape dialectal word *t’kâ*, ‘*gras; gramen*’,

(‘grass’). Alexander (1838 II:165) gives the Nama word *'tkap*, ‘grass’, with the masculine singular ending *-p*; Von Winkelmann (1788:45) gives the Eastern dialectal word *xka*, ‘*das Gras*’, (‘grass’), his word *xka* to be read as /*ka*, thus with the dental click that also occurs in the Korana words /*kām* (Wuras 1920:26), /*gāb* (Engelbrecht 1928:26) and /*āb* (Meinhof 1930:128), and in the Nama words /*kāp*, ‘grass’ (Tindall 1857 in Nienaber 1963:289), and /*gāb*, ‘*Gras* (allg.)’, (‘grass (generally).’) (Rust 1960:28). The dental click is displayed in the Naron (C2) words /*gafa*, /*ga*, /*gā*, ‘grass’ (Bleek 1929:44; 56:273), as also in the /Auni (S4) word /*kā* (Bleek 1956:295). The /Nu //en (S6) word //*gā*, //*kā*; ‘grass’ (Bleek 1956:522, 547) features the lateral click //with nasalisation indicated by the tilde ~. The N/uu word //*ukx'a*, ‘tall grass (used for making huts)’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:122), also displays the lateral click, with ejective fricative *kx'*.

Valentyn (1726:108b) gives *tika*, ‘*gras*’, (‘grass’), and Kolbe (1727 I:431) recorded *t̃ikā*, ‘*gramen; het gras*’, (‘grass’), both of these being Cape dialectal words. Nienaber (1963:289) suggests that Valentyn and Kolbe, who both got their information from Grevenbroek, misread the word *t'kā* as *tika*, seeing the apostrophe as the letter *i*, and that Kolbe inserted his tilde to indicate a click. Another possibility is that the component *ti* of *tika* is comparable to words for ‘grass’ that display the vowel *i* or its variant *e*, such as the /Xam (S1) and //!ke (S2) word /*ke*; the //Xegwi (S3) word /*khe*; the Auen (N1) word //*e:si*, the Kung (N2) word ~//*e*; the !O !kuŋ (N3) word //*e*: (Bleek 1929:44), and the !Xuhn word //*e*, ‘grass’ (Weich 2004:169). Words closer to the Cape dialectal word that incorporates the vowel *i*, are the (N1) word //*khi*, ‘grass used in thatching, *Schmidtia bulbosa*’; the !O !kuŋ (N3) //*ki*, ‘grass of some kind’ (Bleek 1956:575, 580), and the N/uu word /*hisi*, /*hee*, ‘grass’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:126).

### **Green**

Barrow (1801 I:115) recorded the word *cam*, ‘green’, as a component of the place-name *Camdeboo*. The word *cam* is comparable to the Korana word !*kam*, ‘green’ (Maingard 1964:61) and the devalarised Nama word !*am*, ‘*grün*’, (‘green’) (Rust 1960:28), and with the Naron (C2) word !*am*, the Auen (N1) word /*kāŋ* and the Kung (N2) word /*kaŋ*, ‘green’ (Bleek 1929:44). Noteworthy are the Nama and Naron forms, which do not display the ejective click release *k*, and the manifestation of the dental click in Auen and Kung. The !Xuhn word /*āhng*,

‘green’ (Weich 2004:169), is comparable with the Auen and Kung words in sharing the dental click /, the vowel *a*, and nasalisation indicated by *n* and *ŋ*, the symbol for *ng*, and by the digraph *ng*. Auen (N1) also has the word /*nausi*, ‘green’ (Bleek 1956:345) that corresponds to the N/uu word //’*hausi*, ‘green’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:126) as regards the stem *ausi*, although the clicks and releases differ. The Khwe word /*x’áo-ci*, ‘become green, be green’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:173), has the same basic pronunciation as /*nausi* and //’*hausi*, since the Khwe voiceless dental fricative *c* (Kilian-Hatz 2003:8) represents the unvoiced alveolar fricative *s* (Bleek 1956:161). Barrow (1801 I:115) interpreted the place-name *Camdeboo* as “*green elevations*, applying to the buttresses which support the Snowy mountains, and which are mostly covered with verdure.” As noted, the component *Cam* means ‘green’. The component *deboo* is a later variation of the second component of the name *Camdeboo*. Gordon’s map, map 15 in Forbes (1965) gives the name as *Cam dabo*, the second component *dabo* corresponding to the /Xam (S1) word *dhabu*, ‘to cover’ (Bleek 1956: 23), reflecting the description given by Barrow as applying to “the buttresses ... which are mostly covered by verdure” (author’s emphasis).

### **Greet**

Three Eastern dialectal words have /Xam (S1), Auen (N1) and Naron (C2) equivalents. They are *DABé*, *DABETé*, ‘god dag’, (‘good day’) (Thunberg 1795 II:85), *t’abé*, ‘good day, farewell’ (Sparrman 1785 II:352), and *tabé*, ‘I salute you’ (Le Vaillant 1790:264). The apostrophe ’ in the word *t’abé* recorded by Sparrman represents a click, and this word *t’abe* may correspond to the !Xuhn word *!’am*, ‘greet, greetings’ (Weich 2004:169). The alveolar plosive with glottal stop *t’* represents the cerebral click with glottal stop *!’*, these words have the vowel *a* in common, and the voiced bilabial *b* in the word *t’abe* is comparable to the voiced bilabial *m* in the word *!’am*. The Korana word *dnabéh*, ‘*guten Tag*’, (‘good day’) (Lichtenstein 1808:326) is comparable with the N/uu word *nyebeke*, ‘to greet, greetings’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:126), nasalisation expressed by the *n* in each case, and with the cluster *be* common to both. Other comparable Bushman words are /Xam (S1) *tabbe:*, ‘to greet, salute’, with its synonym *tábeté* (Bleek 1956:187), also encountered in Auen (N1) and Naron (C2) with the meaning ‘to greet, say goodbye’ (Bleek 1956:187). According to Nienaber (1963:216) the words are of Malay origin, introduced by slaves from the East, and indicate early contact situations between speakers of different languages.

## Grey

Burchell (1812 I:271) recorded the name *Tky-gariep*, or *Ky-gariep* as the name of the ‘Vaal River ... Yellow River’. Writing in English, Burchell presumably meant the letter *y* in the component *tky* or *ky* to be pronounced as the *y* in the word *sky*, while the digraph *tk* is his rendering in writing of a click. The component *tky* is thus perhaps comparable to the /Xam (S1) words /*kai:n*, /*kai:nja*, ‘yellow’, with a synonym /*kaĩ*, ‘to light’ (Bleek 1956:297), and also the /Xam (S1) /*keinja*, ‘to be yellow, green’, with its synonym /*kei*, ‘to shine’ (Bleek 1956:308). Burchell’s translation of *Tky* or *Ky* as ‘Yellow River’ is perhaps closer to the meaning of the Khoisan words as ‘yellow’ than the Afrikaans name *Vaal* in the sense of ‘grey’. The //Kxau (S2b) language does indeed have the word *!khain*, ‘grey’, but Bleek (1956:322), gives the meaning as ‘grey (of a person)’. The N/uu word /*haea*, ‘pale grey’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:147), however, is comparable to the word given by Burchell as *Tky* and *Ky*. Burchell’s recording of the word *tky* or *ky* is also comparable to the Nama word /*hei*, ‘*fahl*, *bläss*’, (‘grey, pale’) (Rust 1960:20), corresponding to the Korana word /*hei* (Wuras 1920:58), /*hai*, ‘*vaal*, *geel wees*’, (‘to be grey, yellow’) (Engelbrecht 1930:27). Indeed, this meaning of /*hai* as ‘grey, yellow’ provides a good link between the words.

## Grind

A Korana word for ‘to grind’ was recorded by Lichtenstein (1808:321) as *t<sup>2</sup>árikuhng*, ‘*schleiffen*’, (‘to grind, to whet’). Since the symbol *t<sup>2</sup>* was used by Lichtenstein to denote the lateral click //, this word can be transcribed as // *árikungh* (Nienaber 1963:459). The component // *a* may be equated with the Korana words rendered as /*ā*, ‘*skerp wees*’, (‘to be sharp’) (Engelbrecht 1928:25), /*kx’ā*, ‘*scharf*’, (‘sharp’) (Meinhof 1930:136), and /*kxʔā/kxʔā*, ‘to sharpen’ (Maingard 1964:60), comparable with the Kung (N2) word /*ʔā/ʔā*, ‘to sharpen’ (Bleek 1956:271), and with the Nama word /*ā*, ‘*scharf*’, (‘sharp’) (Rust 1960:52). The difference between the retroflex fricative click // in the Korana word recorded by Lichtenstein and the dental fricative click / in the later Korana and Nama words is noted. The component *ri* in the word // *árikungh* is a verbal particle (Nienaber 1963:459). A Bushman word comparable to // *árikungh* is the //Kxau (S2b) word // *ʔunun*, ‘to grind corn’ (Bleek 1956:511). The retroflex fricative click // in the word // *árikungh* (Bleek 1929:13) approximates the

retroflex click with glottal efflux *!ʔ* in the word *!ʔunun*, and the nasalisation in the two words is variously expressed as *-ngh* and *-ŋ*.

### Grow

The interchangeability of the voiced velar plosive *g* and the unvoiced velar plosive *k*, and of the diphthongs *ai* and *ei*, are manifested in words for ‘to grow’. Three Cape dialectal words in this regard are *k’ayse*, ‘*groeyen; crescere*’, (‘to grow, to increase’), recorded by Witsen (1691 Molsbergen 1 1916:223); *kayse*, ‘*groeyen; wasschen*’, (‘to grow, wax’), recorded by Valentyn (1726:108b), and *k̃ayse*, ‘*creocere; wassen*’, (‘to increase, to grow’), recorded by Kolbe (1727 I:430). Witsen and Kolbe indicate the presence of a click, which is reflected in the /Nu//en (S6) word /*gāi*, ‘to grow’ (Bleek 1929:44) and in the Auen (N1) word //k”*eja*, //k”*eija*, ‘to grow strong, big’ (Bleek 1956:605), the latter thus also displaying the variant vowel *e*, or the variation of *ai* and *ei*. The /Auni (S4) word *ṽkai*, ‘to grow, swell’ and the Naron (C2) word *xai*, ‘to swell’ (Bleek 1956:76, 225) incorporate the diphthong *ai*, but do not display a click. Most other Bushman words display the diphthong *ei* and no click, such as the /Xam (S1) words *kei*, *ke:ja* and *keja*, and the Naron (C2) and Kung (N2) word *ṽkeia*, ‘to grow, be big’ (Bleek 1956:86), comparable to the Nama word *gei*, ‘*gross werden, wachsen, zunehmen*’, (‘become big, grow, increase’ (Kroenlein 1889:101).

### Gum

The word for ‘gum’ is embedded in the old word *koeno*, ‘beads’, for which Wikar (1779 in Mossop 1935:76) gives ‘*koralen ... ik ... weet er niets als glas daarvan te maaken*’; (‘beads ... I ... don’t know what to make of them but glass’). Nienaber (1963:358) suggests that these beads could be made of treated gum as described by Schultze (1907:252). The Nama word *≠gūs*, ‘gum’, may correspond to the component *koe* of the word *koeno*, the voiced velar consonant *g* variable with the unvoiced velar consonant *k*, Dutch *oe* pronounced as /*u*/. If the diphthong *oe* is pronounced as in Khoikhoi, the component *koe* of the word *koeno* is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word /*gui*, ‘gum arabic’, and the Naron (C2) words *!gō*, ‘gum’, *≠go*, ‘gum of trees’ (Bleek 1956:283, 383, 647), and to the !Xuhn word *!hui*, ‘bead’ (Weich 2004:132). The second component *no* of the word *koeno* is comparable to the Kung (N2) word *≠no* ‘necklace, string necklace, string’, *koeno* thus meaning ‘gum necklace’.

### *Gunpowder*

Cape dialectal words for ‘gunpowder’ are interesting from the point of view of the interchangeability of consonants. Witsen (1691 II Molsbergen 1 1916:221) recorded the Cape dialectal word *k’habo clou* for ‘*buskruyt; pulvis tormentarius*’, (‘gunpowder’); Valentyn (1726:108b) has *tkauwokloe*, ‘*kruyt*’, (‘gunpowder’), and Kolbe (1727 I:433) gives *ṭkáuokklou*, ‘*pulvis pyrius; buskruid*’, (‘gunpowder’). The components in each case are *k’habo + clou*, *tkauwo + kloe*, and *ṭkáuo + klou* respectively, the first component in each case meaning ‘gun’, the second meaning ‘powder’, all being attempts at writing the same word. The initial clusters *k’h*, *tk* and *ṭk* are attempts at representing a click in writing. The intervocalic *b* is indicated in the second citation as *w* and in the third as *u*. Nama and Korana words for ‘gun’ appear in devalarised form, namely Nama *!awus*, Korana *!awus* and *!abus*, ‘*geweer*’, (‘gun’) (Nienaber 1963:276); Bushman cognates are the /Xam (S1) words *!kabu*, *!kabbu*, *!abu*, //*kābu* and *≠kabbu*, ‘gun’ (Bleek 1956:549, 654); the //Kxau (S2b) words *!abu* and *!kabu*; the /Auni (S4) word *!’abu* and the Naron (C2) words *!abu* and *!kabbu* (Bleek 1956:369, 403); the Kung (N2) words *!kabu* and *!kubu* (Bleek 1956:403), and the //Ŋ *!ke* (S2) words *!kubu* and *!ubusa*, ‘gun’ (Bleek 1956:492). The predominance of the cerebral click *!* is noted, as well as the interchangeability of *b* and *w*. Also notable is the variety of clicks and plosives to express this onomatopoeic common name that relates to the report of a firearm. The second component of the Cape dialectal words, respectively *clou*, *kloe* and *klou*, is comparable with the /Xam (S1) word *xuru*, ‘gunpowder’ (Bleek 1956:261), the interconsonantal *u* being elided, *r* and *l* being interchangeable. In the //Khau (S2b) word *xorun*, ‘powder’ (Bleek 1956:260), the vowel *o* is variable with the vowel *u* in the /Xam word *xuru*.

### -H-

### *Hail*

In words for ‘hail’ the stem diphthong appears variously as *oy*, *oi*, *we* and *oe*, different spellings of the same word. Three Cape dialectal words all feature the diphthong *oy*, namely *k’choy*, ‘*hagel en sneeuw; grando & nix*’, (‘hail and snow’) (Witsen II 1691 in Molsbergen 1 1916:223); *tkoy*, ‘*sneeuw, of hagel*’, (‘snow, or hail’) (Valentyn 1726:108a), and *t’koy*, ‘*grando vel nix; hagel of zneeuw*’, (‘hail or snow’) (Kolbe 1727 I:431). The diphthong *oi* features in the /Xam (S1) word



*!koitən*, and its synonym *!koouh*, ‘hail, snow’ (Bleek 1956:440, 442), while the form *we* appears in the /Xam (S1) word *!gwe*, ‘hail, white lumps on porcupines’ (Bleek 1956:392), and the vowel sequence *oe* occurs in the !Xuhn word *g//oe!o*, ‘*hael*, hail’ (Weich 2004:286), and in the Khwe word */xòé*, which has the synonym with variant spelling */xùé*, ‘hail’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:286), which display the dental click. Yet another spelling of the sound *oi* is found in the diphthong *au* in the second component of the /Xam (S1) word */kuttən !kauwi*, ‘sleet’ (Bleek 1956:326). Synonyms for this word are *̄kurū/̄kuru*, ‘hail, sleet’, and */kùrù/̄kùrù*, ‘small hail’, */kùrù/kùrù*, ‘sleet’ (Bleek 1956:326).

Burchell (1812 II:181) recorded the Korana word “*nánqua* (“*naanqua* or “*narnquar*), ‘hail’. Nienaber (1963:295) identifies the symbol “ as the cerebral click, transcribes the word as *!nánqua*, *!narnquar*, and regards the suffix *-qua* as the masculine plural marker. The word *!nanqua* thus means ‘hailstones’, of which the singular is *!nán*, a word comparable to the Korana word *!nanna* (Wuras 1920:26; Meinhof 1930:128), and to the Nama word *!nareb*, ‘*Hagel*’, (‘hail’) (Rust 1960:29). The words *!nánqua*, *!nanna* and *!nareb* display the interchangeability of *n* and *r*, which is reflected also in Burchell’s parenthetical words *!naanqua* and *!narnquar* as transcribed. Bushman equivalents of the Nama word *!nareb* are the word *!nare*, ‘hail’, that occurs in /Auni (S4) and Naron (C2) (Bleek 1956:674), and the !Xuhn word *n!aλe*, ‘to hail’ (Weich 2004:171), in which the sequence *n – a – e* is retained, and the symbol *λ* represents a sound between *l* and *r*.

### **Hair**

Bleek gives the place-name *≠ōāx ’á*, ‘*Haarfontein*’, (‘hair spring’), the first component *≠ōā* comparable to the Khatia (S4a) word *≠oā*, ‘kaross, fur’, and the second component, *xā* similar to the Auen (N1) word *≠ha*, ‘spring, fountain’ (Bleek 1956:675, 650). The component *≠ōā* is reminiscent of the segment *coa* of the Cape-Saldanha word *oncoa*, ‘*cheueux*’, (‘hair’) (De Flacourt 1658:56) and *koa* of the Korana word *t<sup>1</sup>onkoa*, ‘the hair’ (Lichtenstein 1930:468), transcribed as */onkoa*. The components *on* of the word *oncoa* and */on* of */onkoa* have been equated with the Nama word */ūb*, */ūn*, ‘*Haar*’, (‘hair’) (Rust 1960:29), and the Korana words */ūb*, ‘*wol*, *hare*’, (‘wool’ hair’) (Engelbrecht 1928:29), and */hūp* ‘wool’ (Maingard 1964:61). The component *coa* and *koa* are said by Nienaber (1963:293) to be the masculine plural ending. The Khwe word */’ūū*, ‘hair’ (Kilian-

Hatz 2003:286) features the dental click with glottal release and nasalisation; the N/uu word /*huusi*, /*huuke*, ‘hair’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:127) has aspirated release and lacks the nasalisation indicated in the comparable words with the tilde ~.

Witsen (1691 in Molsbergen 1 1916:219) gives *nucquāan*, ‘*het hajir; crinis*’, (‘hair’); Valentyn (1726:107b) gives *nuqua-an*, ‘*t hoofd-hair*’, (‘hair of the head’); and Kolbe (1727 I:430) gives *n̄uqua-an*, ‘*crinis; het hair*’, (‘hair’). Von Winkelmann (1788:46) recorded the Eastern dialectal word *x ung x a*, ‘*die Haare*’, (‘hair’), transcribed as either /*ung-/a* or /*ung-/ka* by Nienaber (1963:293); all with nasalisation in the initial nasal *n* of the respective words. It would seem that the segment *-qua* is not the masculine plural ending, but that the words are similar to the Khakhea (S5) *kwa:ni*, ‘hair’ (Bleek 1956:330), the Khakhea (S5) word /*xoa*, ‘hair-ring made of a wildebeest’s tail’ (Bleek 1956:365), and the /Nu//en (S6) word //xwaz̄a, ‘hair, (?) white hair’ (Bleek 1956:638). Other comparable words are the /Xam (S1) word /*ūkən* and /*ūkən*, ‘hair’ (Bleek 1956:493), the Hie (C1) word *nan /hoo* ‘hair’ (Bleek 1956:143), the Nogau (N1a) word *ni !kho*, ‘hair’ (Bleek 1956:147), and the Kung (N2) *ikhōisi*, probably *o khoisi*, ‘our hair’ (Bleek 1956:69), comparable to the !Xuhn word *!kui*, ‘hair’ (Weich 2004:171), the last two mentioned displaying the variability of the vowels *o* and *u*.

Another word for ‘hair’ recorded by Witsen (1691 Molsbergen 1 1916:219) is the Cape dialectal *ou*, ‘*hair; crinis*’. This word is comparable to the Nama word /*ūb*, /*ūn*, ‘*Haar*’, (‘hair’) (Rust 1960:29), the Korana word /*ūb*, ‘*wol, hare*’, (‘wool, hair’) (Engelbrecht 1928:29), and the Hie (C1) word /*hoo*, the /Xam (S1) and /!ǀ word /*ū*, the //Xegwi (S3) word /*ku*, the develarised Naron (C2) word /*ū*:, and the /Auni (S4) word /*ko*, ‘hair’ (Bleek 1929:45), demonstrating the uniformity in the use of the dental click (although Witsen did not indicate a click) and the interchangeability of *u* and *o*.

The Eastern dialectal word *t’kum*, ‘hair’, recorded by Lichtenstein (1930 II:349), transcribed as /*kum*, displays the dental click and nasalisation. Nienaber (1963:293) points out that this word may be a velarised variant of the Nama word /*ūb*, ‘hair’, the nasalisation that is represented by the tilde ~ in the word /*ūb* expressed as the nasal *m* in the word /*kum*. It may therefore be comparable to the Naron (C2) word /*ū*:, ‘hair’ (Bleek 1929:45), and to the N/uu word /*huusi*, ‘hair’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:127), which also incorporate the dental click and vowel *u*.

**Hand**

In many words the component *-coa* or *-kwa* has been (perhaps incorrectly) identified as either the masculine plural ending *-qua* or the masculine dual ending *-kha*. This may also be the case in the Cape-Saldanha dialectal word *oncoa*, ‘*main*’, ‘hand’ (De Flacourt 1658:58), and the Eastern dialectal word *t'unka*, ‘hand’ (Sparrman 1785 II:349). The translation of the words *oncoa* and *t'unka* as the singular noun ‘*main*’, ‘hand’, precludes the possibility of the component *coa* as the masculine plural *-qua*, ‘hands’, or the component *-ka* as the dual, ‘two hands’. The component *on* of *oncoa* and *t'un* of *t'unka* has been equated by Nienaber (1963:297) with the Nama word //ǒab, ‘hand’, the nasal which is indicated by *-n* in the word *on* expressed by the tilde. An alternative viewpoint sees the dialectal words *oncoa* and *t'unka* as approximating to the Hadza (C3) word *ukwa*, *ukwako*, ‘hand, finger, arm, foreleg’ (Bleek 1956:248). The Eastern dialectal word *t'unka*, ‘hand’, is comparable to the N/uu word /x'a, ‘hand’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:127).

Also comparable with the Eastern dialectal word *oncoa* is the Korana word *t'<sup>h</sup>koam*, ‘the hand’ (Lichtenstein 1930 VRS II:469), also written *t'<sup>h</sup>kǒám*, ‘*die Hand*’, ‘hand’ (Lichtenstein 1808:307), transcribed according to Lichtenstein’s system as /*koam*. These words have the velar plosive *c* or *k* in common, as well as the diphthong *oa*, and the nasalisation represented by the *n* in the word *oncoa* expressed as the final *-m* in the word /*koam*. This word can also be compared to the Ukuambi dialectal (N2b) *!koamba*, ‘hand, fist’ (Bleek 1956:438). The diphthong *oa* is again evident in these words. The !Xuhn word *g//ao*, ‘hand’ (Weich 2004:171) displays the lateral click and vowel sequence *a – o*.

The Cape dialectal word *omma*, ‘*de handen*’, ‘(the hands)’, was recorded by Witsen (1691 Molsbergen 1 1916:219), translated as a singular noun ‘*de hand*’, ‘(the hand)’ by both Valentyn (1726:108a) and Kolbe (1727 I:432). Taking the interchangeability of *o* and *u* into consideration shows the word *omma* to be comparable to the Korana words *!umma* and *!umi* (Nienaber 1963:297), and also to the Nama word *!ómi*, ‘*die Hand*’, ‘hand’ (Kroenlein 1889:283a), and the /Auni (S4) word *!komaku*, ‘hand, fist’ (Bleek 1956:319), in which the ejective release *k* is displayed.

### Happy

Beutler (1752 Molsbergen III 1922:324) recorded the Eastern dialectal river-name *Kavahe* ‘Vrolyke rivier’, ‘cheerful river’. Nienaber (1963:511) compares the component *Kavahe* with the Nama word *!gāi-ba-he*, ‘dit is vir my verblydend; ek is bly’, ‘it is pleasing to me, I am pleased’. The first component of the name would thus be comparable to Nama word *!gāi*, ‘gut, angenehm’, (‘good, pleasant’) (Kroenlein 1889:89), and to the Korana word *!kāi*, ‘vrolik’, (‘cheerful, happy’) (Nienaber 1963:511), in which the unvoiced velar consonant *k* is phonologically closer to that in the Eastern dialectal word. This component is also comparable with the //ǀ!ke (S2) word *!kāi*, also *!kē:i*, ‘happy, good’, a word also encountered in Auen (N1) and Naron (C2); and to the /Auni (S4) word *≠kaĩ*, ‘pleasant, beautiful’ (Bleek 1956:405, 655). The !Xuhn word *!ka n/a’ng*, ‘happy’ (Weich 2004:171), also displays the cerebral click *!* and nasalisation. The N/uu word *khōea*, ‘be happy’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:119) and the Khwe word *kyāi-#áó*, ‘be happy’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:286), bear a phonological resemblance to the dialectal word *Kavahe inter alia* in not incorporating a click. The second component of the river-name is perhaps a fluvial generic such as //ǀ!ke (S2) */k”eĩ* ‘riverbed’ or Hadza (C3) *≠e* ‘rise, come out, flow’ (Bleek 1956: 642).

### Hard

Considerable variation occurs in the clicks that occur in the various words for ‘hard’. Lichtenstein (1808:283) gives the Korana word *t’<sup>2</sup>karri* in the expression *t’<sup>2</sup>karri köub*, ‘hartes Herz’, (‘hard heart’). His ‘second’ click, *t’<sup>2</sup>*, is interpreted by Nienaber (1963:297) as the palatal *≠*, and the word is thus transcribed by him as *≠karri*. Nienaber contrasts this word with the Nama words *!kari*, ‘hard, hardy’ (Tindall in Nienaber 1963:297) and *!gàri*, ‘hart, zähe’, (‘hard, tough’) (Kroenlein 1889:93a), which have the cerebral click *!*. The word *!gari* is the same as the Naron (C2) word *!gari*, ‘hard’. A different click, the dental */*, occurs in the /Xam (S1) words */yri:ja*, ‘hard’ (Bleek 1929:45), */yrri:ja*, */werrija*, */werri:ja*, ‘hard, strong’ (Bleek 1956:368, 362), which also seem to indicate variability of the vowels *a*, *y* and *e*. The Khwe word *kyéri*, ‘hard’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:286), lacks a click.

Lichtenstein (1808:315) recorded the Korana word *karoosing* in the phrase *karoosing t’<sup>2</sup>eub*, ‘harter (Stein)’, (‘hard (stone)’), a word cognate with the Korana words *karosa*, ‘hart, zäh’, (‘hard, tough’) (Meinhof 1930, in Nienaber 1963:297),

and *karro(sa)*, ‘hard’ (Wuras 1920:26), and with the Nama words *garosa*, ‘*hart*’, (‘hard’) (Rust 1960:29). In the Auen (N1) word *!goru*, ‘hard’ (Bleek 1929:45), a variation of the vowels *a* and *o* is discerned in the first syllable, and of *o* and *u* in the second .

### **Hare**

The variability of *b* with *w* and the interchanging of *w* with *u* (Bleek 1956:13, 250) explains how the Nama word *nabosse*, ‘*wilde konyn*’, (‘wild hare’) recorded by Claudius (1685:99) is comparable to the !Xuhn word *na’ú*, ‘*haas*, hare’; to the /Xam (S1) word *!nãũ*, the Auen (N1) word *\_!nau*, and the //ǁ *!ke* (S2) and !O !kuŋ (N3) word *!nau*, ‘hare’ (Bleek 1929:43), and also to the Kung (N2) word *!nãũ*, ‘hare, *L. saxitilis*’ (Bleek 1956:144), and the N/uu word *n!ãu*, ‘*haas*, hare’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:127). The N/uu word */au*, ‘springhare’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:144) correlates with the //ǁ *!ke* (S2) word *̄/kau*, ‘springhare’ (Bleek 1956:303) in displaying the dental click / as opposed to the cerebral click ! that occurs in the other words discussed.

Claudius (1685:100) also recorded the Nama word *ounwa*, ‘*soort van hazen*’, (‘type of rabbit’). Nienaber (1963:294) links the word *ounwa* to the Nama word *!ōab (-s)*, ‘*Hase*’, (‘rabbit’) (Rust 1960:29), explaining that Claudius omitted the click, wrote the nasal element as *n*, inserted a bridging sound *w*, and omitted the gender ending, so that he wanted to render *!ōa* as approximately *!ōu-wa* or *ounwa*. Maingard (1932:314) gives the Korana word for *Lepus saxitilis* (‘rock hare’, ‘*kolhaas*’) as *≠hoas*, but adds: “The usual Korana word is *!ōas*”, thus with nasalisation expressed by the tilde. Equivalent Bushman words are the Khakhea (S5) word *!nwoiꞤ* and its synonym *!naũ*, ‘hare’ (Bleek 1956:489), the /Xam (S1) *!ōã*, and the Naron (C2) */ōãsa*, ‘hare’ (Bleek 1929:45). The comparable Khwe word *ōã*, *ũã*, ‘hare (scrub)’ does not feature a click and reflects the interchangeability of the vowels *o* and *u*. Also comparable to the word *ounwa* is the Naron word *≠nu !oab*, ‘mountain hare’ (Bleek 1956:674).

An alternative word for ‘hare’ given by Claudius (1685:100) is the Griqua word *gabá*, ‘*een sort van hazen*’, (‘a type of hare’). This word is comparable to the Naron (C2) word *≠go:ba*, synonym *≠go*; *≠goba*, ‘springhare, *Pedetes cafer*’, also found in Hei//kum (N2a) (Bleek 1956:647). The variation of the vowels *a* and *o* respectively are noted, as is the occurrence of clicks in the Bushman words.

**Hartebeest**

Witsen in 1691 (Molsbergen 1916:216, 221) recorded two Cape dialectal words for 'hartebeest', namely *t hammas*, 'hartebeesten; *dura animalia*', ('hartebeest, hard animal'), and *k' kamma*, 'een harte beest; *durum animal*', ('a hartebeest; hard animal'). Other spellings of the Cape dialectal word are *tkamma*, 'een hert', ('a stag') (Valentyn 1726:107b) and *t'kamma*, 'cervus; een hert', ('a stag') (Kolbe 1727 I:430). The symbols *t h, k'* and *tk* in the dialectal words represent a click. Eastern dialectal words for this animal were recorded as *KaMMAP*, '*Capra Dorcas; hartebeest*', ('hartebeest') (Thunberg 1795 II:87) and  $\Delta$ -*kamap*, 'the *Bubale; Harte-Beest*', ('hartebeest') (Le Vaillant 1790:366). Borchers (1821:70) gives the Korana word as *t'kam kam*, 'hartebeest', and Lichtenstein (1808:312) gives the word *k'hammas*, '*Hartebeest (Ant. Dorcas)*', also for Korana. Thunberg used the lower case second letter *a* in the word *KaMMAP* to denote the dental or palatal click  $\neq$ , so that his rendition may be transcribed as  $\neq$ *kammap*; Le Vaillant employed the symbol  $\Delta$  in the word  $\Delta$ -*kamap* to denote the palatal click, and his word is transcribed as  $\neq$ *kamap*. Nama has the word //*kamab*, *Hartebeest (Hirsch)*, ('hartebeest, stag') (Rust 1960:29), thus with the lateral click which is also found in the Korana word //*kanap*, 'hartebeest' (Maingard 1964:64). Bushman equivalents that incorporate the lateral click are the Hie (C1) word //*kama* and the Naron (C2) words //*kama*, //*xama*, the latter with the fricative release as opposed to the ejective hitherto encountered, and its synonym //*kamaba* (Bleek 1956:632). The Sehura (C1a) word displays the palatal click in the word  $\neq$ *kama*, 'hartebeest' (Bleek 1956:656). The N/uu word !*aa*, 'red hartebeest' (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:140) features the cerebral click and the vowel sequence *a – a*.

**Hat**

The language spoken by the recorder of words needs to be taken into account when seeking Bushman cognates. The vowel *u* in the Cape-Table Bay dialectal word *twubba*, 'a hat', recorded by Herbert (1634:16), could be pronounced either as in 'put' or as in 'bus'. Comparison with other words recorded for 'hat' show the latter to be the case. De Flacourt (1658:55) gives the Cape-Saldanha word *taba*, 'a bonnet', Thunberg (1795 II:86) gives the Eastern dialectal word (*KaBA*), *TABA*, '*hatt, mossa*', ('hat, cap, night-cap'), and Sparrman (1785 II:349) recorded the word *t'aba*, 'hat', also classified as Eastern dialectal. Thunberg in

his variant *KaBA* and Sparrman both indicate a click, the former specifically the dental /, which shows the words to be comparable to the /Auni (S4) and Naron (C2) word /*ka:ba*, ‘cap’ (Bleek 1956:295). also with the Nama word /*kaba* as given by Tindall (1857 in Nienaber 1963:304). The Ki /hazi (S4b) word /*a:ba*, ‘hat’ (Bleek 1956:268), is similar to these words but features develarisation or glottalisation. The interchangeability of the voiced and unvoiced velar releases *k* and *g* is discerned in the Naron (C2) words /*gaba*, /*gabafa*, ‘hat, cap, head-covering’ (Bleek 1956:274), and in the Nama word /*gawas*, ‘*Hut*’, (‘hat’) (Rust 1960:32). Herbert’s symbol *tw* is the palatal click that is also encountered in the word *tweam*, ‘nose’ (Nienaber 1963:400), and the word *twubba* he recorded may be transliterated as *≠abba*. The Khwe word /*aává*, ‘hat’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:287) corresponds to the comparable words in featuring the dental click and the vowel sequence *a – a* but displays glottalisation and the voiced labial fricative *v* that interchanges with *b*, generally, as here, found in second syllables (Bleek 1956:250).

Witsen (1858:39) gives the Cape dialectal word *kabba*, ‘*een hoed; pileus*’, (‘a hat’); Valentyn (1726:108b) also gives *kabba* ‘*een hoed*’, (‘a hat’), and Kolbe (1727 I:433) gives *kabba*, ‘*pileus; een hoed*’, (‘a hat’). Similar to these words is the Korana word *kabaab*, ‘*Mütze*’, (‘cap’), recorded by Lichtenstein (1808:309), comparable to the Auni (S4) and Naron (C2) word /*ka:ba*, ‘cap’, /*ka:bafa*; /*kaba*, ‘to put on a cap’ (Bleek 1956:295).

A Korana word for ‘hat’ was recorded by Lichtenstein (1808:309) as *khais*, ‘*Hut*’, (‘hat’), as opposed to the word *kabaab*, ‘*Mütze*’, ‘cap’ (Lichtenstein 1930:470; 1808:309). This distinction is also made by Meinhof (1930:130, 133) who distinguishes between //hais, ‘*Hut*’, (‘hat’) and /abas, ‘*Mütze*’, (‘cap’). Wuras (1920:26) gives only the word //heis, ‘hat’. The distinction was not always clearly drawn; the same word was sometimes used for both ‘hat’ and ‘cap’, for example the Eastern dialectal word *KaBA* given by Thunberg as ‘*hatt, massa*’, (‘hat, cap’), as indicated above, and the /Xam (S1) word /*kei*, ‘hat, skin cap’. In Nama the word /*gawas* is used both for *Hut*, (‘hat’) and *Mütze*, (‘cap’) (Rust 1960:32, 44). The N/uu word *≠qhii*, ‘hat’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:128), is comparable to the /Xam (S1) words /*kei*, ‘hat, skin cap’, and //ki, ‘hat’ (Bleek 1956: 56:308. 580).

### **Head**

Among the words for ‘head’ one with a Bushman cognate is the Nama word recorded by Ebner (1829:340) as *dannab*, ‘*Kopf*, (‘head’). This word is comparable to the Nama word *tanas*, ‘*Kopf*, (‘head’) (Rust 1960:36) and the Ukuambi dialectal (N2b) word *tanaba*, ‘head’ (Bleek 1956:192). The N/uu word *n/aa* ‘head’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:131) displays the nasal *n* that is represented as *m* in the Kua and Tsua word *mza*, the Cua word *mma*, and the G/ui word *māā*, ‘a head’ (Chebanne 2014:11), and also in the Hie (C1) word *hma*, ‘head’ (Bleek 1956:62).

### **Hear**

Two Cape dialectal words for ‘to hear’ are similar to each other. Witsen (1691 II in Molsbergen 1 1916:223) recorded the word *k’ nom*, ‘*horen; audire*, (‘to hear, to listen’), and Kolbe (1727 I:429) gives the word as *k̃noum*, ‘*audire; horen*, (‘to listen, to hear’), the symbol *k’* and tilde *~* in the respective words representing a click. Ebner (1829:341) recorded the Nama word *naudarra*, ‘*ich hören*, (‘I hear’), the component *darra* explained by Nienaber (1963:310) as the personal pronoun *tira* (*tita*). The component *nau* is comparable to the Nama word *//nōu*, ‘*hören*, (‘to hear’) (Rust 1960:32), and to the Korana words *//nāu* (Wuras 1920:27) and *//nāū*, ‘to hear’ (Maingard 1964:64). The Hadza (C3) word *//nae*, ‘to hear’, bears some similarity to the word *//nāu*, ‘*hören*, (‘to hear’). Bushman words that may be compared to the words *k’ nom* and *k̃noum* are the Kung (N2) word *̄to:m*, ‘to hear’, the Hie (C1) word *tfom*, ‘to feel, hear’, the /Xam (S1) word *tum:*, ‘to hear, listen’ (Bleek 1956:207, 234, 241), and the Khwe word *kóm*, ‘hear’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:288). In these words the variability of the vowels *o* and *u*, and of the consonants *k* and *t*, are reflected. Thus also the N/uu word *kyuu*, ‘to hear, to understand’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:128), may be seen to be comparable to the words *k’ nom*, *tfom*, *̄to:m*, *tum:* and *kóm*.

### **Heart**

Comparison of Cape dialectal words for ‘heart’ with Nama, Korana and Bushman equivalents indicates that the phoneme */qu/* in these words was intended to represent the velar plosive *k* or *g*. Thus the Cape dialectal words *qu’au*, ‘*het hart; cor*, (‘heart’) (Witsen 1691 II in Molsbergen 1 1916:219), *quaoe*, ‘*t hart*, (‘the heart’) (Valentyn 1726:108) and *q̃uau*, ‘*cor; het hart*, (‘the



heart') (Kolbe 1727 I:430) correspond to the Korana word *köub*, 'das Herz', ('the heart') (Lichtenstein 1808:283) and the Nama word *gaub*, 'Herz', ('heart') (Ebner 1829:341), also to the Nama word *≠gaob*, 'Herz', ('heart') (Rust 1960:30) and the Korana word *≠gaob*, 'hart' (Nienaber 1963:298). Comparable Bushman words are the Naron (C2) words *≠gau* and *≠kaufa*, 'heart', and the Khwe word *≠áó*, 'heart', which features the variant cluster *ao* and the devalarised or glottal release. Wherever the click is indicated, it is the palatal *≠*.

### **Heaven**

The Nama word for 'Heaven' was recorded by Ebner (1829:201, 340) as *nanup*, 'der Himmel', ('sky, heaven, Heaven'), and Campbell (1815:389) gave the 'Hottentot' word as *noonop*, 'heaven', in which the variability of the vowels *a* and *o*, and of *u* and *o* are discerned. Weich (2004:172, 287) gives the !Xuhn words *n/a'an*, 'heaven', *n/a'an !o* 'heavens' (Weich 2004:172). Nienaber (1963:301) is of the opinion that there was a misunderstanding between the recorder and the informants as to what was being referred to, and that Campbell's informant provided the Nama word for 'cloud', namely */nanub (-s)*, 'Wolke', ('clouds') (Rust 1960:74). Perhaps Campbell was correct in his translation; in some instances the same word was used for both concepts. Thus the /Nu //en (S6) word *!naro*, and its synonym *!nari*, means 'sky, cloud' (Bleek 1956:474). The word */nanup* is perhaps comparable to the word *!naro*; the final *-p* in the former is the masculine singular marker; the medial *n* interchanges with *r* (as in the word *!nari* and *!nanni* for 'three'); and the back close vowel *u* is variously heard as *u* or *o* (Bleek 1956:474, 246). Similarly, the Cape dialectal words *homma*, 'ciel', ('sky, heaven, blue') (De Flacourt 1658:61) and *t? homme*, *t'homme*, 'hemel', ('sky, heaven') (Witsen 1697 III CMM III:116), as well as the Genadendal dialectal word *chuma*, 'heaven' (Schmidt 1737:5) and the Korana word given by Campbell (1815:389) as *tomie*, 'heaven', were equated by Nienaber (1963:300) with the Nama word */hómi*, 'der Himmel', ('sky, heaven, Heaven'), and with the Korana words *≠humma* (Wuras 1920:27), */humma* and */hommi* (Meinhof 1930:129); Meinhof (1930:144) also gives the Korana word */humma* as 'Wolke', ('clouds'). The distinction between 'heaven', 'sky' and 'clouds' is thus not always clearly drawn. The variability between *o* and *a* is discernible in the various words discussed, which opens the possibility of a comparison also with the Khwe word *≠'ám*, 'heaven' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:288), which features the palatal click also discerned in the Koranna word *≠humma*.

### **Heavy**

Two Korana words for ‘heavy’ display different vowels. Lichtenstein (1808:317) recorded *t<sup>ʰ</sup>kom* ‘*schwer*’, (‘heavy’), transcribed as *!kom*, thus with the cerebral click *!* and the vowel *o*. Wuras (1920:27) gives the word as *!kum*, still indicating pronunciation with the unvoiced velar or ejective release *k*, but displaying the variant *u*. Meinhof (1930:138) also gives the variant *u*, but in the form *!um*, indicating develarisation, while Engelbrecht (1928 in Nienaber 1963:473) recorded the word with the voiced velar release in the form *!gum*. The Nama word *!gom* for ‘heavy’ displays the cerebral click and the vowel *o* but also the voiced velar efflux (Nienaber 1963:473), while the !Xuhn word *khó*, ‘heavy’ (Weich 2004:172), displays the vowel *o* but no click, which accords with the Khwe word *kóm*, ‘heavy’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:288) in these respects. Bleek (1956:452) recorded the cognate /Xam (S1) word *!kumba*, ‘heavy’, displaying the cerebral click with ejective efflux *!k* plus the vowel *u* and the /Xam (S1) verbal particle *-ba*. The N/uu word *//’um’i*, ‘heavy’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:146) displays the lateral or retroflexive fricative click with glottal stop.

### **Heel**

The Cape-Saldanha word *nocoaa* was recorded as ‘*talon*’, (‘heel’) by De Flacourt (1658:58), with which Nienaber (1963:296) compared the Nama word *!nōás*, ‘*die Ferse (am Fuss)*’, (‘heel (on the foot)’) (Kroenlein 1889:259b), also recorded as *!nōab (-s)*, ‘*Ferse*’, (‘heel’) (Rust 1960:21), and the Korana word *!noam* (Wuras 1920 in Nienaber 1963:296). The component *coaa* was interpreted by Nienaber (1963:296) as either the masculine plural *-qua* or the dual *-kha*, “*wat ons dan sal skryf as !nōa-kha of !nōa-gu + -a- objectivi*”, (“which we shall then write as *!nōa-kha* or *!nōa-gu + -a- objectivi*”). Comparable to the word *nocoaa* may thus also be the N/uu word *n!oasi*, ‘heel, ankle’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:127), and the Kung (N2) word *!go:a*, ‘heel’ (Bleek 1956:386), to correspond to the component *coaa*, while the Kung (N2) word *!go’o*, ‘heel’, is comparable to the !Xuhn word *g!oqg!oq*, ‘heel’ (Weich 2004:172), in which the symbol *q* is employed to signify pharyngealisation.

**Help**

Ebner (1829:313) recorded the Nama word *hui*, ‘*helft*’, (‘to help’), which accords with the Nama word *hui*, ‘*helfen (beistehen)*’, (‘help, support, assist’) (Rust 1960:30); with the N/uu word *hui*, ‘to help’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:127), and with the /Xam (S1) word *hu:i*, ‘to help’, of which synonyms are *ho* and *herribe* (Bleek 1956:65). This last word is a ‘loan word’ adapted from the Dutch *helpen*, (‘to help’), Afrikaans *help*, (‘to help’).

**Here**

Three Cape dialectal words for ‘here’ are fairly similar, namely *hebba*, ‘*hier*’, (‘here’), in the sentence *hebba ha*, ‘*komt hier*’, (‘come here’) (Valentyn 1726:108b); *hebba*, ‘*hic; hier of daar*’, (‘here or there’); *hebba ha*, ‘*veni huc; komt hier*’, (‘come here’) (Kolbe 1727 I:431); and *heba*, ‘*hier*’, (‘here’) (Buttner 1725:67b). The variability of the voiced bilabial plosive *b* with the voiced labial fricative *v* is seen in the Korana word *heeba or heeva*, ‘here’ (Burchell 1812 II: 180), and in the Eastern dialectal cognates *HAEVA*, in the sentence *HAEVA HA*, ‘*kom hit*’, (‘come here’) (Thunberg 1795 II:85), and *heva ha*, ‘come hither’ (Sparrman 1785 II:351). The interchangeability of *b* and *v* is thus discernible in the words *heba*, *heva*, *hebba* and *haeva*, and also the Khwe emphatic interjection *hè-é-ve*, ‘Here!’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:289), while variability of *h* and *n* is discernible in the Nama word *neba*, ‘*hier*’, (‘here’) (Rust 1960:31), and variability between *b*, *v* and *j* is discernible in the Hadza (C3) word *heja*, ‘here’ (Bleek 1956:59).

**High**

Gordon (1799 Ms 2:44) gives *Hoerikwaggo* as the name for Table Mountain, explained by him as meaning ‘*zee berg*’, ‘sea mountain’. The component *Hoeri* of the name *Hoerikwaggo* is phonologically comparable to the Cape words *houry*, ‘*de see; mare*’, (‘the sea’), and *houri*, ‘*de see*’, (‘the sea’) (Witsen 1691 II Molsbergen I 1916:220; Witsen 1697 III in CMM 1858:119), and the Eastern dialectal word *hourip*, ‘sea; *zée*’ (Le Vaillant 1790:367). A Nama and Korana equivalent for this word is *hurib*, ‘*see*’, (‘sea’) (Nienaber 1963:438); Borchers (1861:70) gives a Korana word for ‘sea’ as *t’koelie kamma*, literally ‘sea water’. The component *t’koelie* incorporates a click, represented by Borchers with the symbol *t’*, and the word *t’koelie kamma* is comparable with the /Xam (S1)

word *!gulikum*, ‘sea’ (Bleek 1956:388). The component *kwaggo* of the name *Hoerikwaggo* means ‘high mountain’, recorded by Von Winkelmann (1788:45) as the Eastern dialectal word *xkoago*, ‘*ein hoher Berg*’, (‘a high mountain’). The element *kwa* or *xkoa* is cognate with the /Xam (S1) word *!xo:wa*, ‘high’ (Bleek 1929:460), and with the N/uu word *!xooa*, ‘high’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:68). The component *go* of the name *Hoerikwaggo* means ‘mountain’; it is also encountered in other names for this feature type, as in the name *Kango* for the Swartberg, ‘black mountain’. If the initial *x* in Von Winkelmann’s *xkoago* is meant to represent a click, as in the Eastern dialectal word *x-ori* ‘*Eisen*’, (‘iron’), recorded by him (Von Winkelmann 1788:46), the element *xkoa* may be a diphthongised variant comparable to the N/uu word *!xooa*, ‘be tall, be large, be big’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:133).

### **Hold**

Sometimes it is difficult to know which click is intended by Lichtenstein when he uses the symbol *t’*<sup>2</sup>. He gives the word *t’<sup>2</sup>koo*, ‘*halten, fassen*’, (‘to hold’) (Lichtenstein 1808:321), of which Nienaber (1963:312) writes: “*Vir hom is die ‘tweede’ slag die dentale //, die word te sien as //koo*”, (“To him the ‘second’ click is the dental [sic.] //, the word to be seen as //koo”). Nienaber equates this word with the Nama word *!kho*, ‘*halten (fassen)*’, (‘hold’) (Rust 1960:28), and with the Korana words *!kho*, ‘*fangen, halten*’, (‘catch, hold’) (Meinhof 1930 in Nienaber 1963:312), and *!cho*, ‘catch’, *!choha*, ‘hold’ (Wuras 1920 in Nienaber 1963:312). Comparable Bushman words are the Naron (C2) word *!ho:a*, ‘to hold in the hand’, and the Kung (N2) word *≠hou*, ‘to hold a thing down to the ground with a sharp instrument’ (Bleek 1956:437, 651). Comparable Khwe words, namely *xó* and *xòó*, ‘hold’ and *kóó*, ‘hold back’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:290), do not display a click.

Another Korana word for ‘to hold’ recorded by Lichtenstein (1808:320) is *t’<sup>3</sup>aai*, ‘*halten, besitzen*’, (‘hold, possess’). This word is transcribed by Nienaber (1963:313) as *!aai* or *≠aai*, which he equates with Nama *≠ai*, ‘*kleben, haften*’, (‘to stick, to adhere’) (Kroenlein 1889:35b). Bushman words for ‘to hold’ that can be compared to Lichtenstein’s *t’<sup>3</sup>aai*, i.e. *!aai* or *≠aai*, are the /Xam (S1) words *!kai*, *!hoä*, ‘to hold up’; *!kai*, *!kaiti*, ‘to carry, to hold’ (Bleek 1929:47, 1956:404); the Auen (N1) words *ˉ//kai*, ‘hold’; *//kai*, ‘to hold, take, seize’, and *≠kēi*, ‘to hold,

get' (Bleek 1929:47, 1956:550, 659); the !O !kuŋ (N3) words //kai, 'to hold', and //kei, 'to hold, take' (Bleek 1929:47, 1956:659), which reflect the variability of the vowel clusters *ai* and *ei*, as does the Khwe word !'éí-ó-ei, 'hold tight(ly)' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:290). The !Xuhn word //ae, 'keep, hold' (Weich 2004:289) introduces the variant *ae*. It is noted that the Bushman words that display the lateral click // differ from words with the cerebral click !, which are closer to Lichtenstein's recorded word.

### **Hole**

Two Eastern dialectal words for 'hole' were recorded by Thunberg (1795 II:86), namely *KóU* and *TWaP*, 'hol', ('hole, hollow'), transcribed as !kou and #twap respectively (Nienaber 1963:271). Since *w* frequently interchanges with a short *o*, *wa* can be transcribed as *oa*, showing the word *TWaP* to be comparable with Nama !goab 'Loch (Graben)', ('hole (ditch, trough)') (Rust 1960:39), the final *-p* of *TWaP* and the final letter *-b* of !goab interchangeable as the marker of the masculine singular. The Bushman cognate for the word *TWaP* and Nama !goab is the /Xam (S1) word !koa, !kóä, 'hole, cave' (Bleek 1956:437). The word *KóU* (or !kou) is comparable with the /Xam (S1) word !hau, 'hole' (Bleek 1956:396), and the N/uu word !oo, 'hole, e.g. in the ground' (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:125), reminiscent of the /Xam (S1) word *tu*, the (N2) word *tfu* and the Khoikhoi word //hus, 'hole' (Bleek 1929:47). An interesting observation that explains why Thunberg gave both words *KóU* and *TWaP*, or !kou and #twap, as words for 'hole', is that they are synonyms: Bleek (1956:437) gives ̄!kou as a synonym for !koa, ̄!kou is cognate with *KóU* and !koa is cognate with *TWa*. An interesting variation is discerned in the Khwe word *kx'ávà*, 'hole' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:290), in which the affricated velar ejective accompaniment features and the voiced labial fricative *v* is expressed as an intervocalic glide.

### **Honey**

The words for 'honey' that display different vowels *a*, *e* and *i* all have cognates in the Bushman languages that illustrate the variability of these vowels. Ten Rhyne recorded the Cape dialectal word *dini*, 'mel', ('honey'), which corresponds to the Khwe word *dinii*, 'honey' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:291). Sparrman (1785 II:350) gives the Eastern dialectal word *denni*, 'honey', with an interconsonantal *e*,

and Lichtenstein (1930:470) has the Korana word *dariings*, ‘honey’, with an interconsonantal *a*. The Nama word *danib*, ‘*Honig*’, (‘honey’) (Rust 1960:32), and the Korana words *dannis*, ‘honey’ (Wuras 1920:28) and *danis*, ‘*heuning*’, (‘honey’) (Engelbrecht 1928:13), also display the root vowel *a*, as does the Naron (C2) word *danifa*, ‘honey’ (Bleek 1956:21), all of which correspond to the Eastern dialectal *dariings* in this respect. In the word *dariings* the *r* is a variant of the *n*, the cluster *ng* denotes the velar nasalisation occasioned by the replacement of *n* by *r*, and the final *-s* is the feminine singular ending that corresponds to the Naron *fa* in the word *danifa*. The variability of *a*, *e* and *i* is further demonstrated in the Naron synonyms for *danifa*, namely *denee*, *deni* and *dini*, ‘honey’ (Bleek 1956:21, 26). An interesting instance of interchangeability is discernible in the Cape dialectal word *senihar*, in the sentence “*senihar ē atse, dat is, maak dat wy veel honing bekommen*”; (“*senihar ē atse, that is, make us acquire a geat deal of honey*”) (Kolbe 1727 I:495).

Le Vaillant (1790:102, 104) recorded the Eastern dialectal place-name *Autinequa*, explaining that “it signifies a man laden with honey. [...] The whole country of Autinequa, from the chain of mountains to the sea, is inhabited by several planters, who ... collect honey, all of which they transport to the Cape.” The component *Au* of the name is comparable to the //ǃ word *!ke* (S2) word *!kau*, the /Xam (S1) word *!khou* and the .Auni (S4) word */ko*; ‘honey’ (Bleek 1929:47), and the N/uu word *≠hau*, ‘honey’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:127).

### **Horn**

The Cape dialectal word *nam*, ‘*corne*’, (‘horn’), recorded by De Flacourt (1658:61), is comparable to the Nama word //nāb, ‘*Horn (des Ochsen)*’, (‘horn (of oxen)’) (Rust 1960:32), Korana //nāb, ‘horing’ (Engelbrecht 1928:40). The final consonant *m* in the word *nam* is the nasculine singular ending that, as also frequently noted in Korana, often occurs where Nama has a nasalised vowel (Nienaber 1963:310), and corresponds to the masculine singular ending *-b*. Comparable Bushman words are the Hie (C1) words *η//gaa*, *η//gaare*, ‘horn’ (Bleek 1956:150, 1929:47); the Khwe word *n//gáà*, ‘horn’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:291); the Sehura (C1a) words *’na*, *≠naxa*, ‘horn’; the Naron (C2) words //na, //na: and *≠naxa*, ‘horn’ (Bleek 1929:47, 1956:612, 671); the Khakhea (S5) word //kAnfa and the /Nu //en (S6) word //kā, ‘horn’ (Bleek 1929:47), as well as the Kua, Cua

and Tsua word *n//aa* and the G!ui word *n//ãã*, ‘horn’ (Chebanne 2014:11). “*Dit is werklik te betreur dat De Flacourt geen poging aangewend het om die tongslae aan te dui nie. Dalk sou dit ons gehelp het om vas te stel of die Hottentotse word vir ‘renoster’ ... nie miskien in die ou dae gehoor is as //nawas nie, m.a.w. of dit nie dalk ook hierdie word vir ‘horing’ in sy naamgewing bevat het nie, soos bv. In Ndl. ‘neushoring’, Duits ‘Nashorn’ e.s.m.*”; (“It is really regrettable that De Flacourt made no attempt at indicating the clicks. Perhaps that would have helped us to determine whether the Hottentot word for ‘rhinoceros’ ... was not perhaps heard as *//nawas* in the old days, in other words whether it did not also contain this word for ‘horn’ in its naming, as for example Dutch ‘neushoring’ (‘nose horn’), German ‘Nashorn’ (‘nose horn’), etc.”).

### **House**

Herbert (1634:16) recorded the Cape dialectal word *istcoom*, ‘yard’. Nienaber (1963:411) points out that in 1626, when Herbert recorded the word, there were no farms and farmsteads: “*In 1626 was daar egter geen plase of opstalle aan die Kaap in die gewone betekenis van die woorde nie. Herbert moes hier ongetwyfeld gedink het aan ’n mattehuiskompleks met ‘binnehof’, d.w.s. aan ’n kraal of werf. ... Dit is dieselfde woord as ‘huis’*”; (“In 1626, however, there were no farms or farmsteads in the usual sense of the word at the Cape. Herbert must undoubtedly have been thinking of a cluster of mat houses with a ‘courtyard’, i.e. of a byre or yard. ... This is the same word as ‘house’.”) Herbert’s cluster *ist* represents a click, and the digraph *oo* is doubtless the sound /u/ as in ‘put’ or ‘pull’, writing as he did in English. A click also features in the cluster *tzk* in Buttner’s word *tzkummas*, ‘*häusern*’, (‘houses’) (Buttner 1725:65), and in the Eastern dialectal word *t’kooqua*, ‘house’ (Sparrman 1785 II:350). The cerebral click ! is encountered in the G/wi word *n!uu*, ‘house, hut’ (Chebanne 2014), the /Xam (S1) word *!nu:*, ‘bush hut, branch house, nest’, and the Auen (N1) and !O !kung (N3) word *!nu:*, ‘hut’ (Bleek 1956:482). In the /Xam word *//nu*, ‘shelter, lair, home’ (Bleek 1956:621), also given as ‘home, hut’ (Bleek 1956:726), as well as in the N/uu word *n//ng*, ‘house’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:128), a word also meaning ‘blanket’, with the plural *n//ãi* (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:131), the lateral click // occurs, while the palatal click ≠ is displayed in the Naron (C2) and Tsaukwe (C2a) word *≠gnu*, ‘house’ (Bleek 1956:647). In a number of languages and dialects words for ‘house’ are written without a click. Click loss without

evident phonological triggers is explained as the reason for words without a click such as the Kua word *ηuu*, and the Cua and Tsua word *ɕuu*, ‘a house, hut’ (Chebanne 2014:8). Also without a click are the Mohissa (C1b) words *ɕun*, *ɕu* and *tfu*, ‘house’ (Bleek 1956:34), the !Xuhn word *tju*, ‘house’ (Weich 2004:174), and the Khwe word *ngú*, ‘house’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:292). Nama words without a click are *ummi*, ‘Haus’, (‘house’) (Ebner 1829:341) and the same word *ummi*, ‘house’ with the synonym *om* (Campbell 1815:389), given as *ommi* by Knudsen (1845:8), this last indicating the variability of *o* and *u*. This interchangeability can also be discerned by comparison of the words discussed above with the Cape dialectal words *k’omma*, ‘*een huys; domus*’, (‘a house’) (Witsen 1691 II in Molsbergen I 1916:220), *k’omme*, ‘*een huys; domus*’, (‘a house’) (Witsen III 1697 in CMM 1858:119), *komma*, ‘*een huys*’, (‘a house’) (Valentyn 1726:108a) and *k̃omma*, ‘*domus; het huis*’, (‘the house’) (Kolbe 1727 I:431). The variability of the vowels *o* and *u* can also be discerned in the Korana words *kgoma*, ‘house’ (Borcherds 1861:70); //kchomma, ‘*Haus, Hütte*’, (‘house, hut’) (Lichtenstein 1808:315); *kx’omi*, *kx’oma* and *kx’umma*, ‘*Haus*’, (‘house’), and the Griqua word *k’ummi* (Meinhof 1930:151). Comparable are also the Eastern dialectal words *KOMMA*, ‘*hus, gård*’, (‘house, yard’) (Thunberg 1795 II:86), *kooma*, ‘*ein Hauss*’, (‘a house’) (Von Winkelmann 1788:44), who adds “*das k oder c muss durch den Hals ausgesprochen warden*”, (‘the *k* or *c* must be pronounced through the throat’), and *t’kooqua*, ‘house’ (Sparrman 1785 II:350). Most Bushman words seem to incorporate the vowel *u*, for example the Auen (N1) word *tfu*, the Kung (N2) word *tfu*, the Hie (C1) word *džu* and the Naron (C2) word *!nu:fa*, ‘house, hut’ (Bleek 1929:48). !O !kuŋ (N3) has the words *tf’o*, *tf’ōni*, synonym *tfu*, ‘village, home’ (Bleek 1956:232).

### **Hungry**

The variability of *l* and *r* and of *u* and *o* can be discerned in the Eastern dialectal word *kalu*, ‘hunger’ (Sparrman 1785 II:351) and its Korana equivalent *t’<sup>2</sup>karroo*, ‘to be hungry’ (Lichtenstein 1930:473). Nienaber (1963:309) identifies Lichtenstein’s click *t’<sup>2</sup>* as either the lateral // or the palatal ≠, so that *t’<sup>2</sup>karroo* may be transcribed as either //karroo or ≠karroo. The cerebral click is encountered in the /Xam (S1) word *!kurru*, ‘to be hungry’ (Bleek 1956:454), and the !Xuhn word



*guún*, ‘hungry, hunger’ (Weich 2004:174) does not feature a click. This word is disyllabic and displays the vowel sequence *u – u*, thus approximating the Korana and /Xam words in respect of pronunciation.

### **Hunt**

Lichtenstein (1930:472; 1808:319) gives the Korana word *t’<sup>2</sup>kchammi*, ‘to hunt’, ‘*jagen, auf die Jagd gehen*’, (‘to hunt, go on a hunt’), transcribed as //kchammi, Lichtenstein’s *t’<sup>2</sup>* being the symbol for the lateral click // (Nienaber 1963:163). This word bears some resemblance to the Khwe word //am, ‘hunt (game) to death’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:292), which features the develarised lateral click. The lateral click is also encountered in the Khakhea (S5) word //kāi, ‘to shoot, kill, hunt’ (Bleek 1956:550), in which the nasal that is expressed by *m* in the words above is represented by the tilde ~. The cerebral click ! is encountered in the Korana words !hamme, ‘hunt’ (Wuras 1920:28), !hami, ‘jag’, (‘hunt’) (Nienaber 1963:317), !hami, ‘Wild jagen’, (‘hunt game’) (Meinhof 1930:130), and in the Nama word !hami, ‘Jagd machen’, (‘to hunt’) (Kroenlein 1889:154), and the /Nu //en (S6) word !kammi, ‘to hunt’ (Bleek 1956:606).

### **Hyena**

The only difference between the Eastern dialectal and /Xam (S1) words for ‘hyena’ is the occurrence of the cerebral click ! in the latter. Sparrman (1785 II:350) recorded the Eastern dialectal word *guka*, ‘wolf’, while the /Xam (S1) word !guka, ‘hyena’ was recorded by WHI Bleek (Bleek 1956:388). The Korana word recorded by Lucy Lloyd, however, displays the dental click, namely /hukas, ‘hyaena’ (Maingard 1932:313), the final consonant –s being the feminine singular marker. Sparrman gives the alternative *nuka*, indicating *n/g* variability, while Bleek (1956:388) gives the /Xam (S1) synonyms !go, !gau, !gou and !gwai, the last of which may be compared with the !Xuhn word *g/uín*, ‘hyena’ (Weich 2004:173), although it displays a different click, namely the dental /.

-|-

**I**

The first person singular pronoun *tiri* appears in a number of languages. Witsen (1697 CMM 1858:117) recorded it as a Cape dialectal word *tiri*, ‘*ik (ben)*’, (‘I (am)’); Buttner (1725:67a) gives *tiri*, ‘*ich*’, (‘I’), and Burchell (1812 II:180) the Korana word *tiri*, ‘I’. Lichtenstein (1930:472; 1808:318) gives the Korana variation *tire*, ‘I’ and ‘*ich*’, (‘I’). Sparrman (1785 II:351) recorded the Eastern dialectal variants *tiri*, *tili*, feminine *titti*, ‘I’, reflecting variability of *r* and *l*, and perhaps *t*. Comparable to these words are the Naron (C2) words *tira*, *tire* and *ti*, ‘I’, the last of which accords with the Khwe word *ti*, ‘I’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:293) and the Hie (C1) words *tfira*, *tfi*, ‘I’ (Bleek 1956:203, 231), indicating the variability of the unvoiced alveolar plosive *t* and the unvoiced alveolar affricate *tf*.

A Cape-Saldanha word for ‘I’ was recorded by De Flacourt (1658:58) as *ham*, ‘*moy*’, (‘I’). Noting that the initial letter *h* is not pronounced in French, the //Xegwi (S3) word *am*, ‘I, *pron. used before labials*’, is seen to be comparable, and the #Khomani (S2a) word *an*, *aŋ*, ‘I’ (Bleek 1956:9, 10).

***Intestine, entrails***

The German pronunciation of the diphthong *eu* was responsible for Lichtenstein’s spelling of the Korana word *t’<sup>1</sup>geunkoa* for ‘*Gedärme*’, (‘entrails’) (1808:307, 1930:469), the Korana word transcribed as */geunkoa*, the component *koa* equated with the Nama masculine plural ending *-qua* by Nienaber (1963:316). Comparable Cape dialectal words are *quinqua*, ‘*de darmen; intestina*’, (‘entrails, intestines’) (Witsen I 1691 in Molsbergen 1 1916:219); *quinqua*, ‘*de darmen, of ingewanden*’, (‘entrails, or intestines’) (Valentyn 1726:108a), and *q̃uinqua*, ‘*intestina; de ingewanden*’, (‘intestines, the entrails’) (Kolbe 1727 I:432). The medial *n* in these words represents nasalisation that is expressed by the tilde *~* in the Khwe word */qũĩ*, ‘intestines’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:295), the Nama word Nama */gũis*, ‘*Gedärm*’, (‘intestines’) (Rust 1960:25), the Nama and Korana word */gũigu*, ‘*derms*’, (‘entrails’) (Nienaber 1963:316), and the Korana word */ũigu*, ‘*Gedärme*’, (‘intestines’) (Meinhof 1930:127), this last in develarised form. Bushman cognates are the /Xam (S1) words */kwiŋ/kwiŋ*, ‘entrails’ (Bleek 1956:334), the reduplication indicating the /Xam plural, the dental click indicating that Kolbe

was correct in showing a click; also the /Xam (S1) word *!geum*, ‘entrails’ (Bleek 1956:382), the diphthong here again the German spelling to represent the sound *oi* or *ui*. A synonym for the /Xam word *!geum* is *!gusi*, cognate with the Nougau (N1a) word *!gu-si*, ‘entrails’, synonym *!geum*, *m.sp.* (Bleek 1956:389). Another Bushman cognate is the Naron (C2) word */gui*, ‘intestine’ (Bleek 1956:283).

### **Iron**

The first indigenous word said to have been recorded on the African sub-continent is the Cape dialectal word *cori*, ‘iron’, attributed to Lodewyckz (1595:7). Taking into consideration the variability of the vowels *o* and *u*, and of the consonants *r* and *l*, the degree of consistency in the equivalent words from the various languages is remarkable, as is the consistent use of the dental click (where a click is given). The other variable is the occurrence or otherwise of the unvoiced velar plosive *k*. Like the word *cori*, the Cape-Saldanha word *courip*, ‘*fer*’, (‘iron’) (De Flacourt 1658:56) does not display a click. The Eastern dialectal word *KoRUP* ‘*jern, coppar*’, (‘iron, copper’) (Thunberg 1795 II:87) displays the dental click; Nienaber (1963:537) is uncertain which click is intended in the Eastern dialectal word *x-ori* ‘*Eisen*’, (‘iron’), recorded by Von Winkelmann (1788:46), but considering the ubiquity of the dental click in comparable words in so many different languages and dialects, the dental may well have been intended here as well. The variations mentioned above may occur in words even in the same language or dialect, and some words are common to more than one language or dialect.

The other variable is the occurrence or otherwise of the unvoiced velar plosive *k*. Like the word *cori*, the Cape-Saldanha word *courip*, ‘*fer*’, (‘iron’) (De Flacourt 1655:56) does not display a click, but the dental click / features in the Nama word */urib*, ‘*Eisen*’, (‘iron’) (Rust 1960:17), and in the Korana word */urrib*, ‘iron’ and */kx’urib*, ‘*Eisen*’, (‘iron’) (Nienaber 1963:537), as well as in the N/uu word */urisi*, ‘iron’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:151), in which instances the variability of *o* and *u* is noted. The variations mentioned above occur in words even in the same language or dialect, and some words are common to more than one language or dialect. Bushman cognates for ‘iron’ are the Naron (C2) synonyms */koli*, */kori*, */k’ore* and */kuri* (Bleek 1956:320), the /Xam (S1) words */k”urri* and */k’uri*, *koli* and */kuri*, ‘iron’ (Bleek 1956:340, 319; 1929:49), the /Nu //en (S6) synonyms */uri*,

/orin and /orin̩ (Bleek 1929:49, 1956:356, 360), the //Khau (S2b) word /kx'o:li̯si, 'bullet, iron' (Bleek 1956:336) and the Auen (N1) word /k'ore. The word *cori* or /kori is preserved in the place-name *Korikam*, translated as *Ijzerfontein*, ('iron fountain'), and in the ethnonym *Korikambes*, 'Ijzerbekke', ('iron mouths, iron jibs') (Möller 2017: personal communication).

A develarised form of the word and the variants *u* and *o* are encountered in the Nama word /urib 'Eisen', ('iron'), and in the Korana forms /'urrib and a velarised form /kx'urib 'iron' (Nienaber 1963:537).

To sum up: a variety of /Xam (S1) words was recorded: /kuri:, 'iron'; /k"urri; /kuri, /koli, 'iron, copper'; /kuli, /u:ri, 'ball, bullet' (Bleek 1956: 326, 340, 319, 325). //Kxau (S2b) words recorded for 'iron' are /kx'o:li̯si and /kx'o:λi̯si 'iron, bullet' (Bleek 1956:336). /Nu//en (S6) words are /uri, /orin and /orin̩ 'iron' (Bleek 1956: 356, 360; Bleek 1929:49). Naron (C2) words for 'iron' are /kori, /koli, /kuri, /k"ore and /uri (Bleek 1956:320, 360). From the above it is clear that the dental fricative click / predominates in these Bushman words, and the interchangeability of *o* and *u*, and of *l* and *r*, is evident.

It is assumed that a Bushman word for 'iron' is represented in the second component of the Cape dialectal word recorded by Witsen (1691 in Molsbergen II 1916:221) as *kaukoerie*, 'yzer', ('iron'); by Valentyn (1726:108a) as *koekuri*, 'yzer', ('iron'), and as *k~oukuri*, 'ferrum; yzer', ('iron') by Kolbe (1727 I:431). As regards the first component, *kou* or *koe*, Wandres (1918:29) identifies it as ≠*nu*, 'black', and Nienaber (1963:538) agrees with him, pointing out that "*die gevolgtrekking lê eintlik voor die hand*"; ("the conclusion is actually obvious"). The description of iron as 'black' also appears in the word *noengais*, 'eyser en koper', ('iron and copper') (Wikar 1779 in Mossop 1935:26), interpreted as ≠*nu*-≠*eis*, 'swart erts', ('black ore') by Nienaber (1963:538). In fact the component *kou*, *k~ou* and *koe* equates to the //ǁ !ke (S2) word !*koe*, 'black' (Bleek 1956:439), so that the translation of *kaukoerie*, *koekuri* and *k~oukuri* as 'black iron' is supported by the appropriate Bushman words. The interpretation of *noengais* as ≠*nu*-≠*eis* or 'black ore' is questionable. A case may perhaps be made for equating the component *gais* with the Hie (C1) word //kaiho, 'iron' (Bleek 1956:552).

## -J-

**Jackal**

Several words for 'jackal' can be seen to have Khoisan equivalents. The Eastern dialectal word recorded by Le Vaillant (1790:88) as *A-dirip*, 'jackal; *jakals*', can be transcribed as */dirip*, since *A* is the symbol employed by Le Vaillant to denote the dental click */*. The initial consonants *d* and *g* are frequently interchangeable, as in this case (Nienaber 1963:319), the word */dirip* thus being cognate with the Nama word */girib*, 'Schakal', 'Fuchs', ('jackal'. 'fox') (Rust 1960:52, 23) and the Korana word */girip*, 'jackal' (Maingard 1964:63). The final *-p* of the word */dirip* and the final *-b* of */girib* is the masculine singular marker in Khoikhoi. According to Shortridge (1934 I:167) the reference is to the 'rooijakkals', 'red jackal'. The Korana word for the 'common jackal', */kire:p* (Maingard 1932:313), displays the ejective release *k* as opposed to the voiced efflux *g*. Bushman equivalents, although they do not always refer to the same type of jackal, are the Naron (C2) words */girib*, also encountered as */geri* and */gira*, 'jackal, *Canis mesomelas*' (Bleek 1956:278), that is the black-backed jackal, and the Hie (C1) word */gire*, */gira*, 'jackal, *Vulpes chama*', 'silver jackal' (Bleek 1929:50; 1956:279). The variability of *g* and *k*, and of *r* and *l*, is reflected in the Naron (C2) and Sehura (C2a) word */kili*, 'jackal' (Bleek 1956:316), This word seems to be comparable to the Cape dialectal word recorded as *keulee*, 'een vos', ('a fox') by Valentyn (1726:107b) and as *keūlee*, 'vulpes, een vos', ('a fox') by Kolbe (1727 1:434). Depending on whether the diphthong was pronounced as in German, this word may be comparable to the Auen (N1) word *≠goe*, *\_≠goe*, 'black-backed jackal' (Bleek 1956:648) and the Korana word *t''geu-eeb*, 'Schakal (*Canis mesomelas*)', ('jackal, black-backed jackal') recorded by Lichtenstein (1808:310), the symbol *t''* identified by Nienaber (1963:318) as the palatal click *≠*, the word thus being transcribed as *≠geu-eeb*. However, Bleek (1956:512) states that Lichtenstein used *t''* for the lateral click, which would cause the word *t''geu-eeb* to be transcribed as *//geu-eeb*.

Wikar (1779 in Mossop 1935:46, 74) recorded the Nama words *naäs* and *nuaap*, 'den eerdwolf', ('*Proteles*'). The first variant, *naäs*, is comparable to the ≠Khomani (S2a) and /Auni (S4) word *//has*, which has the synonyms *//ab* and *ˀ//ʔa*, 'Cape fox, silver jackal', comparable to the Nama word *//a:b* (Bleek 1956:514), which is identified by Shortridge (1934 I:147, 178) as the '*silwerjakkals*' or 'silver fox', but

also as the *'bakoorkakkals'* or 'bat-eared fox'. Nienaber (1963:204, 319) confirms that the Afrikaans word *aardwolf*, which was given in the Dutch form *eerdwolf* by Witsen, is an old-fashioned name for the silver fox. Comparable is also the Naron (C2) word *\_//a*, 'silver jackal', and the N/uu word *//aa*, *'bakoorkakkals'*, 'bat-eared fox' (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:118), the above words displaying the lateral click //, and the Hie (C1) word *n!gaa*, with the cerebral click. The word *n!gaa* has the synonym */ga:ʔai* 'jackal' (Bleek 1956:150), which is also a synonym of the ≠Khomani (S2a) and /Auni (S4) word *//ai*; 'Cape fox, silver jackal' (Bleek 1956:514).

The Eastern dialectal word *d'intai*, 'jackal', recorded by Sparrman (1785 II:350), is comparable to the word */ga:ʔai*, 'Cape fox, silver jackal', that features in ≠Khomani (S2a), /Auni (S4) and Hie (C1).

### ***Judge, to Speak***

Witsen (1858:119) recorded the Cape dialectal word *k' chom*, '*om te oordelen*', ('to judge'). Nienaber (1963:410) points out that a footnote to Witsen's entry '*oordelen*' explains that this word means "om te spreken met", ('to speak to'), and that the Cape dialectal word *k' chom* is comparable with the Nama word *khom*, '*sprechen (den Mund öffnen)*', ('to speak (to open the mouth)') (Rust 1960:58). The difference is that the Nama word has no click, whereas the Cape dialectal word has a click. The Korana word *khom*, '*sprechen*', ('to speak') (Meinhof 1930:139) also differs from the Cape dialectal word as regards the presence of a click. The Nama word for 'judge' is */gora-!gã*, '*urteilen*', ('to judge') (Rust 1960:66), while the word *k' chom* is used in the Lord's Prayer for 'to forgive' (Nienaber 1963:410). /Xam (S1) words for 'talk, story, history, news' that could be compared to the Nama word *khom* are *kum*; *kum* and *kumma* (Bleek 1956:106). The variability of the vowels *o* and *u* are discerned in the words *khom* and *kum*; *kum* and *kumma*.

## **-K-**

### ***Karee***

An interesting variation in the recorded words for the *karee* tree, *Rhus* species, occurred early in the 19th century. From 1774, when Thunberg (1774 II:191)

gave the Roggeveld dialectal word ‘*Karré-hout (Rhus)*’, (‘karee-wood’), the name was rendered fairly consistently, as *care-* and *karee* (Van Plettenberg 1778 in Molsbergen II 1916:67); as *-kare-* (W van Reenen 1791 in Molsbergen II 1916:145), as *caree* (D van Reenen 1803 VRS 18:242), and as *karree* (Lichtenstein 1930:27). A variant with the vowel sequence *a – u* instead of *a – e(e)* was encountered when Janssen (1803 in Molsbergen IV 1932:159, 176) recorded the name as *carruhout* and *carruboomenbosch*, a form echoed by D van Reenen (1803 VRS 18:243) in the word *carrubosch*. Interestingly the Auen (N1) and Kung (N2) word for this type of tree, *k”aru*, ‘Kareebos, *Acacia niermis* Marloth & Engl.’ (Bleek 1956:120), is closest to Janssen’s rendition. An Afrikaans common name for the *Rhus* is ‘*hoenderspoorkaree*’, (‘fowl-spoor karee’), and this accords with the Hie (C1) word *karee*, ‘toes, claws, heels, hoofs, spoor made by feet’ (Bleek 1956:81). The trifoliate leaves obviously gave rise to this name. The interchangeability of *k* and *g* is discernible when comparison is made with the Korana word *!gareb*, ‘*kareebos*’, (‘karee bush’) (Engelbrecht 1930:34).

### **Karos**

The Cape-Saldanha word *sabs*, ‘*manteau de peau*’, (‘cloak of skin’), recorded by De Flacourt (1658:56), is cognate with the Khakhea (S5) word *fabi*, ‘kaross, skin cloak’, and the /Nu //en (S6) word *sabi*, ‘kaross, large skin cloak’ (Bleek 1956:162, 177).

### **Kill**

The Cape-Saldanha word *gossi*, ‘*tuer assomer*’, was recorded by De Flacourt (1658:59), described by Nienaber (1963:248) as a ‘*doebletvorm*’ of *doussi*, ‘*battre*’ (De Flacourt 1658:57), *doessi*, ‘*slaan*’, (‘to hit’) (Valentyn 1726:108b), comparable with Korana //gu, ‘strife’ (Wuras 1920), !Xuhn *!hun*, ‘kill’ (Weich 2004:182), Nama *!gougub*, ‘*heftiger Kampf*’, (‘fierce war’) (Rust 1960:34), the Khwe word /*x’ũ*, /*x’ũ*-/*x’ũ* (Kilian-Hatz 2003:299) comparable to the Cape dialectal words *agoe*, ‘*een slag*’, (‘a battle’) (Valentyn 1726:108a) and *agou*, ‘*dominatio; zmyten of slaan*’, (‘domination; throw or hit’) (Kolbe I 1727:431; Nienaber 1963:456). The word *gossi* is comparable to the Hie (C1) word /*goothi*, synonym /*goo*, ‘murder, kill, defeat, conquer’ (Bleek 1956:281). The component *dou* of the form *doussi* is comparable to the Cape dialectal words *doucham*, ‘*doodslaan, occidere*’, (‘beat to

death, slay, kill') (Witsen 1691 II in Molsbergen I 1916:223), *doecham*, 'dooden', ('to kill') (Valentyn 1726:108b) and *doucham*, '*occidere; doodslaan*', ('to kill, slay') (Kolbe 1727 I:433). The second component of the word *doucham* is rendered as *k'ham* by Witsen III 1697 in the Cape Monthly Magazine (1858:118), and is equated by Nienaber (1963:249) with the Nama word *!gam*, '*töten*', ('to kill') (Rust 1960:61), and with the Korana words *!gamm*, 'kill' (Wuras 1920:30), *!gam*, '*doodmaak*', ('kill') (Engelbrecht 1930:34), and in glottalised form as *!am*, '*töten*', ('kill') (Meinhof 1930:140).

### ***Klipspringer***

Witsen (1691 II Molsbergen 1 1916:222) recorded the Cape dialectal name *k'gog-e*, '*klipspringer*', in which the symbol *k'* stands for a click. The component *k'go* is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word  $\text{ʘ}/k'o$ , '*klipspringer*' (Bleek 1956:582), and phonologically to the Khakhea (S5) word  $//k\text{ɔ}$ , '*duiker*' (Bleek 1929:35). Nienaber (1963:341) notes the similarity of this word to the Xhosa and Zulu word *igogo* and the Swazi word *ligoga*, pointing out that the old Khoisan name had a wide distribution. Nienaber (1963:217-218) suggests that the component *k'go* of the word *k'gog-e*, which he parses as *k'go-ge*, is perhaps comparable with old Cape dialectal words for 'mountain' or 'stone', such as *k'koe*, *k'-hu*, *coe*, etc., and that the component *ge* may be compared with the word *goe*, 'sheep', or words for 'antelope' such as *gou*, *quoe*, *gau* (Nienaber 1963:341, 207). Then *k'go-ge* could literally mean '*berg-skaap*', ('mountain-sheep'), or *klip-bok*, ('stone-buck'), and that *klipspringer* is a variant of *klipbok*. This suggestion is not far-fetched; it seems as though the word 'klipspringer', ('stone-jumper'), is a translation of *k'go-ge*. It seems plausible that the word *klipspringer*, 'stone jumper', is a direct translation from Bushman, for example that the component *k'go* is like the Kung (N2) word *!ko*, 'stone' (Bleek 1956:436), and that the component *ge* is comparable with the Khakea (S5) word  $//ge$ , 'to jump aside' (Bleek 1956:530).

Le Vaillant (1783 I:137; II:28) recorded two spellings of the Eastern dialectal word for 'klipspringer', namely *kaimsi* and *kainsi*. Although he did not indicate the presence of a click, the *m* and *n* in the respective words denote the nasalisation of these words, making them comparable to the Nama word  $//k\text{ä}is$ , '*Klippbock (Gemsbock der Wüste)*', ('chamois (gemsbuck of the desert)')



(Kroenlein 1889:195a), //khâisis, //khâsis, ‘*Klippbock*’, (‘chamois’) (Rust 1960:35). Shortridge (1934 II:447) gives the word as //khaisis, thus without nasalisation, a phenomenon also discernible in the Hie (C1) word /kaisi, ‘*klipspringer*’ (Bleek 1956:298), in this case also with a dental click as opposed to the lateral click // that occurs in the words discussed, and in the Hei //kum (N2a) word //kha:nīses (Bleek 1956:573), in which the nasalisation is specifically represented by the letter *n*.

***Knapsack, see Bag***

Lichtenstein (1930:470; 1808:285, 309) recorded the Korana word *tʰkhoob*, ‘a bag’, ‘*ein Knappsack*’, (‘knapsack, kitbag’), ‘*Beutel, Schubsack*’, (‘bag, pocket’). Nienaber (1963:342) notes that Lichtenstein sometimes uses the symbol *tʰ* for the dental click / and sometimes for the lateral click //. Comparison with cognate Nama, Korana and Bushman words indicates that in this case it could have been either. Thus the lateral click occurs in the Nama word //hōb, ‘*der Knappsack*’, (‘knapsack, kitbag’) (Kroenlein 1889:169b), also //hob in Korana (Nienaber 1963:342), as it does in the /Xam (S1) word ʔ//ho, the //ǀ!ke (S2) word //ho, the //Xegwi (S3) word //ko: and the /Auni (S4) word //ho:, ‘round bag, slung over shoulder, hanging on left hip’ (Bleek 1929:19), as well as in the !Xuhn word //ho, ‘knapsack, kitbag’ (Weich 2004:182). Words for ‘bag’ with the dental click are the /Xam (S1) word /kho:, the //Xegwi (S3) word /ko:ma, ‘bag’ (Bleek 1956:313, 319) and the !Xuhn word /hao, ‘knapsack, *bladsak*’ (Weich 2004:182). It is noted that the velar efflux indicated by Lichtenstein as *k* features in these latter two words, and in the //Xegwi word //ko, but softened elsewhere to the aspirated efflux indicated by *h*. The N/uu word //xāa, ‘bag’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:141) is comparable to the //ǀ!ke (S2) word //xā:, ‘little bag (used as tobacco pouch)’ (Bleek 1929:19), the long vowel being indicated by the double *aa* and the colon *a:* in the N/uu and //ǀ!ke words respectively. The !Xuhn word *n!oeh*, ‘knapsack, *bladsak*’ (Weich 2004:182) displays the nasalised cerebral click *n!* and the vowel sequence *o – e*, with extra voicing indicated by the letter *h* (Weich 2004:vii).

***Knee***

De Flacourt (1658:58) recorded the Cape-Saldanha word *coap*, ‘*genou*’, (‘knee’). Witsen (III 1691 in Molsbergen 1 1916:219) and Valentyn (1726:108a) both give

the Cape dialectal word *qua*, ‘*de knie*’, (‘the knee’). Kolbe (1727 I:451) indicated a click in the form of the word as *q̃uâ*, ‘*genua; de knien*’, (‘knees’). Nama words for ‘knee’ present the lateral click in the words //goáb, ‘*das Knie*’, (‘the knee’) (Kroenlein 1889:116a), //goab (-s) ‘*Knie*’, (‘knee’) (Rust 1960:35), and //kuâp, ‘knee’ (Tindall 1857 in Nienaber 1963:343). The comparable Khwe word //óε, ‘knee’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:299) displays the develarised lateral click // and a variant diphthong óε. Other Bushman cognates favour the cerebral click, as in the Auen (N1) word !kwãni, and the Kung (N2) words !koa, !khoa, !kóã and !xwa, ‘knee’ (Bleek 1929:50; 1956:427, 523), and the !Xuhn word !xoa, ‘knee, knie’ (Weich 2004:296), this last featuring the fricative efflux *x*. In these words the variability of the ejective release *k* and the fricative release *x* is manifested, and the variation of *o* and *w*.

### **Knife**

Herbert (1634:16) recorded the Cape-Table Bay dialectal word *droaff*, ‘a knife’. Nienaber (1963:386) equates the final fricative *-ff* with the Nama masculine singular ending *-b*, and points out that, since the digraph *dr* is at odds with the phonological system of Khoikhoi, a vowel must have been omitted in the written representation of the word. Considering the initial digraph *dr* to have been Herbert’s way of writing a click, and the interchangeability of *o* and *u*, the word *droaff* may be seen as comparable to the Ki /hazi (S4b) word ≠gua, ≠gu:a, ‘knife’ (Bleek 1956:648). The Nama word *goab* and the /Auni (S4) and Khatia (S4a) word *gōa* ‘knife, spear’ (Bleek 1956:386) might have been considered, but these are lacking in the click. Unless Herbert intended the digraph *dr* to be nasalised, in which case *droa* and *gōa* are comparable.

An Eastern dialectal word for ‘knife’ was recorded by Thunberg (1795 II:66) as *NóRAP*, transcribed by Nienaber (1963:386) as !norap, thus with the cerebral click, and by Sparrman (1785 II:12) as *t’nora*. It may be accepted that Sparrman also intended to portray the cerebral click, and that the word is cognate with the /Nu //en (S6) word !nora, ‘knife’ (Bleek 1929:50). The Bushman word, as usual, does not incorporate a gender ending or suffix. Considering the permissible interchangeability of *g* and *n*, the Cape-Saldanha word *goras*, ‘*couteau*’, (‘knife’), that De Flacourt (1658:58) recorded may be comparable to the word !nora.

Burchell (1812 II:181) recorded the Korana word *'kwaans* or *'koāns* (*cowarnce*), knife', transcribed as *≠kwaans*, *≠koāns* respectively by Nienaber (1963:387), and equated by him with the Korana words *goās*, *kōās* and *kuās*, in which the letter *n* and the tilde *~* represent nasalisation (Nienaber 1963:387). Nienaber notes that it is remarkable that Burchell gives a click which is absent in the other Korana words. The palatal click *≠* indicated by Burchell in the words transcribed as *≠kwaans* and *≠koāns* is reflected in the comparable Ki /hazi (S4b) words *≠gua*, *≠gu:a*, 'knife' (Bleek 1956:648, 729), as well as in the !Xuhn word *≠oh≠oh*, 'knife' (Weich 2004:182).

### **Know**

Kolbe (1727 I:495) recorded the Cape dialectal word *ē atze* in the sentence *senihar ē atze*, 'dat is, maak dat wy veel honing bekomen', ('that is, let us acquire a lot of honey'), interpreted by Nienaber (1963:335) as "u [o, Maan!] moet veel heuning ken." Lichtenstein (1930:475; 1808:328) gives the Korana word *entse* (*hen keub*), 'know this man', 'kennen diesen Mann'. The tilde in the word *ē* represents the nasalisation expressed by the letter *n* in the word *entse*, which is comparable to the /Xam (S1) words *≠en*, *≠ē*, *≠en̄a*, *≠enna*, 'to know' (Bleek 1929:51, 1956:643), and the !O !kuŋ (N3) word *≠ã*, the Naron (C2) word *≠ãna*, the Hie (C1) word *≠an*, 'to know' (Bleek 1929:51), the last of which corresponds to the Nama word *≠an*, 'kennen, wissen', ('to know') (Rust 1960:34, 74), and the !Xuhn word *n≠aih*, 'know; ken, weet' (Weich 2004:182). The Khwe word *ã*, 'know' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:299) differs from the !O !kuŋ word *≠ã* in not displaying a click. The representation of nasalisation by means of the nasal consonant *n* and the tilde respectively will be noted.

### **Korhaan**

Witsen (1691 II in Molsbergen I 1916:222) recorded the Cape dialectal word *k' hack ary*, 'een korhaan', ('bustard'), and for the same dialect Kolbe (1727 I:430) recorded *kh̃oek̃ari*, 'avis Africana; een vogel genaamt knorhaan', ('African bird; a bird called bustard'). This is the bird now known as *Otis afroides*. The name, an onomatopoeic rendering of the call of this bird (Möller 2017:260), is comparable with the /Xam (S1) words *kwa:ẓkwa:ẓra*, 'black korhaan, 'korhaan brandkop', *Otis afra*' (Bleek 1956:110), *!kwara k"er̃ri*, 'korhaan; a bird, *Lamprotornis*

*phoenicopteras*' (Bleek 1956: 729, 461), and *!kau<sup>ɛ</sup>!kau<sup>ɛ</sup>kən*, *!kau<sup>ɛ</sup>kən*, 'vaal korhaan', ('grey bustard') (Bleek 1956:414). The N/uu word *//haqba*, 'korhaan' (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:59) bears some resemblance to the Cape dialectal word *k' hack ary*, 'een korhaan', ('a bustard'): in the Cape dialectal word the symbol *k'* represents a click given as the lateral click // in the N/uu word; both words incorporate the aspirant release *h* and the vowel sequence *a – a*, and the letter *q* in the N/uu word represents the glottal croak or pharangealisation shown as the apostrophe in *k'*.

Le Vaillant (1790:364, 366) recorded the Eastern dialectal word *Δ-ou ip*, 'bustard; trapgans', transcribed by Nienaber (1963:483) as *!u-ip* or *!hu-ip*, a 'trapgans' identified by him as a 'pou, Otis kori', ('kori bustard'). For the *Otis kori*, *Eupodotis kori*, Bleek (1956:447) gives the /Xam (S1) word *!ku:*, 'paauw, gom paauw, Eupodotis kori, Otis kori', and the //ǀ word *!ke* (S2) word *!ku:*, 'vaal korhaan, Otis vigorsi', ('grey bustard'). This word *!ku:* seems to correspond to the component *Δ-ou* or *!u* of the Eastern dialectal word *Δ-ou ip* or *!u-ip*, 'bustard'. The N/uu word *g!uuke* 'gompou, kori bustard' (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:126) reflects the modern orthography.

### **Kudu**

In words for 'kudu', voiced and unvoiced velar plosives are seen to be variable with fricatives, and the diphthongs *ai* and *ei* interchange. The Eastern dialectal word *gaip*, 'coudoe', ('kudu') (Le Vaillant 1790:366) corresponds to the Korana word *geip*, 'koedoe', ('kudu') (Borcherds 1861:70). The final *-p* in these words is the masculine singular ending which is rendered in voiced form in the Korana word *chaib*, 'Kudu', recorded by Lichtenstein (1808:312), Lichtenstein also gives the feminine singular ending *-s* in the word *chais*, the unvoiced velar fricative written *ch* by him. Tindall (1857 in Nienaber 1963:345) and Kroenlein (1889:45a) respectively give the word as *gheii*, with the common singular ending *-i*, and *xaib*, 'das Kuddu (grosse Antilopeart mit pfpropfenzieherartig gewundenen Hörnern)', ('large type of antelope with cork-screw-like twisted horns'), with the masculine singular ending *-b*.

Lloyd gives the Korana word as *xeip*, 'koodoo' (Maingard 1932:313), with the unvoiced velar fricative *x*, the digraph *ei*, and the masculine singular ending *-p*. Comparable Bushman words include the /Auni (S4) word *xai*, and the /Nu//en

(S6) word *xain*, ‘kudu’ (Bleek 1929:51) and the Naron (C2) words *lxai*, *xeiba* and *kxi*, ‘kudu’ (Bleek 1956:116), in which the fricative *x* also features; and also the //ŋ!ke (S2) words *k’āi*, *k”āi*, ‘kudu’ (Bleek 1929:51; 1956:118) that encompass the ejective plosive *k’* or *k”*.”

-L-

**Lack**

Grevenbroek (1695 in Schapera & Farrington 1933:205) gives the Cape dialectal word *thahe*, ‘lack’ [English translation of the Latin text in Nienaber (1963:272)]. Nienaber (1963:272) is of the opinion that, if the initial letter *t* of the word *thahe* represents a click, this word may be compared to the Nama word *≠hã*, ‘Not, Mangel leiden’, (‘a need, shortage’) (Rust 1960:45). Lichtenstein (1808:329) recorded the Korana *t’<sup>2</sup>gaiah*, ‘*es fehlt; ich habe nicht*’, (‘it is lacking, I do not have’), which may be compared to the Hadza (C3) word *haija*, ‘there is no’ (Bleek 1956:56).

**Lamb**

The Cape dialectal word *chauna*, ‘*een lam; agnus*’, (‘a lamb’), was recorded by Witsen (1691 II in Molsbergen 1 1916:200), and similarly by Kolbe (1727 I:429) as *agnus; een lam*, (‘a lamb’). Taking the variability of *o* and *u* into account, and thus the variability of *au* and *ao*, the component *chau* is seen to be comparable to the Korana words //xao (Meinhof 1930:151) and //xauras, ‘ewe lamb’ (Maingard 1964:314); the Nama word //kaub, ‘*Lamm (Schaflamm)*’, (‘lamb (sheep lamb)’) (Rust 1960:38), the /Xam (S1) word //xau, ‘lamb’ (Bleek 1956:634), and the N/uu word //xao, ‘lamb’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:133). The final *-s* of the word //xauras is the feminine singular ending, as also indicated by the translation ‘ewe lamb’. Nienaber (1963:367) points out that in this case the intervocalic *n* of the word *chauna* and the *r* in the word //xauras are variable, so that the ending *-na* of the word *chauna* is not the plural ending, as might have been suspected, and that the translation of *chauna* as the singular ‘*een lam*’ (‘a lamb’), is correct.

### **Laugh**

The Cape-Saldanha word *cahmi*, ‘rire’, (‘to laugh’), was recorded by De Flacourt (1658:57), while Lichtenstein (1930:473; 1808:320) gives the Korana word *t<sup>ʔ</sup>kaing*, ‘to laugh’, ‘*lachen*’. Nienaber (1963:156) points out that Lichtenstein used the symbol *t<sup>ʔ</sup>* to indicate the lateral click, //, and the word *t<sup>ʔ</sup>kaing* should thus be read as //kaing. Considering that the nasal bilabial in the word *cahmi* corresponds to the velar nasal *ŋ* in the word //kaing, and that both words begin with a velar consonant, they can be compared to each other, and to Korana *kx'ai*, ‘lag (ww.)’, (‘laugh (verb)’) (Engelbrecht 1928:24), *kx'aĩ*, ‘lachen’, (‘to laugh’) (Meinhof 1930:131), and *kx'aĩi*, ‘to laugh’ (Maingard 1964:63), the latter also displaying the nasalisation represented by the tilde. The Nama word *aĩ*, ‘lachen’, (‘to laugh’) (Rust 1960:38), displays glottalisation or develarisation. Bushman words cognate with the Korana words that display a fricative velar but no click are the Khwe word *kx'aĩ*, ‘laugh’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:301), the ≠Khomani (S2a) words *kx'aĩ*, *kx'aĩia*, *k'aĩā*, and *k'aĩ-a*, ‘to laugh’ (Bleek 1956:117), and the N/uu word *kx'aĩi*, ‘to laugh’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:133). The /Xam (S1) word //koain, ‘to laugh’ was recorded by Lichtenstein as *t<sup>ʔ</sup>koain* and the symbol *t<sup>ʔ</sup>* was interpreted by Bleek (1956:583) as the lateral click //. This click also features in the Khakhea (S5) words \_//k<sup>ʔ</sup>ai, //k<sup>ʔ</sup>xai, //k<sup>ʔ</sup>xai: //k<sup>ʔ</sup>xei and //k<sup>ʔ</sup>xe, ‘to laugh’ (Bleek 1956:602, 610). The !Xuhn words *shi*, /hi, ‘to laugh’; *shi*, !ao *shi*, ‘to laugh loudly’; and *tshi*, ‘laughter’ (Weich 2004:183) represent click loss, sound shift and elision.

### **Learn**

There are similarities in Khoisan words for ‘to learn’ and ‘to teach’. For example, a N/uu word for ‘to teach’, namely *kx'u* //xa//xa, ‘to teach’, literally means ‘to make to learn’, the word //xa//xa meaning ‘to learn’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:133). The /Xam (S1) word //xa://xa, meaning both ‘to teach’ and ‘to learn’, is also encountered in //ǀ!ke (S2) and Naron (C2), with its synonym //xei (Bleek 1956:634).

### **Leg**

There seem to be two different words for ‘leg’, one monosyllabic and the other disyllabic. The latter were recorded as the Cape dialectal word *nonqua* ‘beenen;

*pedes*, ('legs; feet') (Witsen 1691 I in Molsbergen 1 1916:217), and the Cape dialectal word *oūqua*, '*das Bein*', ('the leg') (Buttner 1725:67b). The former is clearly the plural form, as indicated in the translation, and the component *-qua* can be accepted as being the masculine plural ending, or the dual ending *-kha*, as explained by Nienaber (1963:214). There is some doubt as to whether this is the case with the word *oūqua*, for which Buttner gives a translated singular form '*das Bein*', ('the leg'), thus in the singular. This phenomenon, where an apparent plural or dual ending is actually (part of) a singular noun, has its equivalent in the //Nǀ!ke (S2) word *!k"u:ka*, 'leg' (Bleek 1929:52), and in the Hadza (C3) word *upukwa*, 'leg, hind leg, foot, spoor' (Bleek 1956:249). The component *qua* is phonologically similar to Bushman words for 'leg', 'foot', such as the /Xam (S1) words *!kwa*, *!kwa:*, *!kwa:*, 'leg, foot' (Bleek 1956:457), with the cerebral click *!*. With the lateral click // and the variable *oa* for *wa*, are the /Xam (S1) words *//koa* and *//koah*, 'leg' (Bleek 1956:583, 586, 731). Also comparable are the devalarised Naron (C2) words *//ōa* 'foreleg, arm', and with the palatal click, *≠oa* 'leg' (Bleek 1956:625, 675). The Auen (N1) words */o:a*, */ōa*, 'bone, leg' (Bleek 1956:355) display the dental click. The !Xuhn word *g≠ao*, 'leg, *poot*' (Weich 2004:184) displays the palatal click *≠* and the inverted vowel sequence *a – o*. Monosyllabic words for 'leg' include the Eastern dialectal word *t'nu*, 'leg' (Sparrman 1785 II:349) and the Korana word *t"nuh*, '*Bein*', 'leg', (Lichtenstein 1930:470), transcribed as *//nuh* (Nienaber 1963:214). These are comparable to the Khwe word *n/gúu*, 'lower leg' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:302), and the !Xuhn word *//um*, 'leg' (Weich 2004:184). The latter word, *//um*, is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word *//komb*, a synonym of the word *//koa*, 'leg' (Bleek 1956:583), variability of *u* and *o* being discerned, and loss of the ejective release *k* that is glottalised.

### **Letter, book**

Von Winkelmann (1788:46) gives the Eastern dialectal word *xk'inië*, '*ein Brief*', ('a letter'), transcribed by Nienaber (1963:231) as *//kinië* or *≠kinië*, and compared by him with the Nama word *≠kanis*, '*Brief*', ('letter'), also '*Buch*', ('book') (Rust 1960:12). The final *-s* in the word *≠kanis* is the feminine singular ending. Comparable Bushman words are the Auen (N1) words */kein*, 'letter, paper'; */kane*, */kanni*, 'letter, book', and *!kani*, 'letter' (Bleek 1956:300, 308, 407). Campbell (1815:389) recorded the Nama word *kanip* for 'book, letter'. Nienaber (1963:371) points out that, whereas Campbell indicated the masculine singular

ending  $-p$ , later Nama words for ‘book, letter’ take the feminine singular ending  $-s$ , as in  $\nekanis$  ‘*Buch, Brief, Schrift*’, (‘book, letter, script’) (Kroenlein 1889:202), as does the Korana word  $\nekanis$  ‘book’ (Maingard 1964:64), although Wuras (1920:13) does give the Korana word  $\nekanim$ , with the masculine singular ending  $-m$  for ‘letter’, ‘book’. The N/uu word  $\nehanisi$ , ‘book’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:119), displays the palatal click with aspirated efflux  $\ne h$  as opposed to the Nama palatal click with ejective efflux  $\ne k$ . The Korana word  $/chanim$ , ‘letter’ (Wuras 1920:32), displays the dental click  $/$ , the final  $-m$  in this case being the masculine singular ending; the Auen (N1) and Naron (C2) words  $/kani$ ,  $/kanni$  ‘letter, book’, also feature the dental click, while the Kung (N2) word  $!kani$  ‘letter’ (Bleek 1956:300, 417) displays the cerebral click  $!$ , but Bleek does add ‘[Na  $\nekanis$ ]’ to her entries, indicating that she was aware of the difference in clicks.

### **Lie, lie down**

Cape dialectal words recorded by Witsen (1691 II in Molsbergen 1 1916:218, 223) are *kobie*, ‘*leggen; jacere*’, (‘to lie’) and *k’ quee*, ‘*leggen; iacere*’, (‘to lie’). Valentyn (1726:108a) gives the word as *kohi*, of *k-que*, ‘*leggen*’, (‘to lie’), also as a Cape dialectal word, and yet another word from the same dialect is  $k\sim obi$ , of  $k\sim qua$ , ‘*jacere; leggen*’, (‘to lie’) (Kolbe 1727 I:431). An Eastern dialectal word recorded by Sparrman (1785 II:351) is *t’koe*, *t’kuwe*, ‘to lie down, or lie along’. The bridging sound, where it is represented in writing, is variously given as *b* or *h* or *w*. The words ending in  $-e$  or  $-i$  are comparable to the //ǀ  $!ke$  (S2) word  $!k\sim we$  ‘to lay (eggs)’, Nama  $!goe$ , ‘*liegen*’, (‘to lie’);  $!goe$ , ‘*sich legen (Ruhe)*’, (‘to lie oneself down’),  $!gui$ , ‘*legen*’, (‘to lie’) (Rust 1960:39); and *goë*, ‘*liegen*’, (‘to lie’) (Kroenlein 1889:117). The Khwe words  $!òè$ ,  $!òe$ , ‘lie down’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:302) agree with the Nama words in reflecting the lateral click  $!l$  and the digraph *oe*. The Cape dialectal word recorded by Kolbe as  $k\sim qua$  is compatible with the /Xam (S1) and Auen (N1) word  $/kwa$ ,  $/kwā$ : ‘lie down, be pregnant’ (Bleek 1956:598, 328), and comparable to the Khwe word  $!gāā$ , ‘lie on (something or somebody); lie on the head (of thing); lie (on the side)’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:302, 303). The Cape dialectal word *k-que* or *kohi*, ‘*leggen*’, (‘to lie’) (Valentyn 1726:108a) is comparable to the N/uu word *kyee*, ‘to lie down’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:133).



### **Lie, tell lies**

The Eastern dialectal word *eige*, ‘to lie, it is false’ recorded by Sparrman (1785 II:352) is similar to the /Xam (S1) word *k”ē:i, k”ēi:ja*, and the synonym *k”e:nk”e:n*, ‘to evade, get away, tease, deceive’ (Bleek 1956:122). The lateral click // occurs in the Korana words //geie, ‘lie’ (Wuras 1920:32), //gaëb, ‘leuen’ (Engelbrecht), and in the develarised form //ae, ‘liegen’ (Meinhof 1930:132), as well as in the /Xam (S1) words //khwaija, //khwai/khwai, ‘to deceive, lie’ (Bleek 1956:579). The N/uu word /x’eea, ‘to tell (stories), to say, to answer’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:148), bears a strong phonological resemblance to the /Xam (S1) word *k”ēi:ja*, ‘to evade, get away, tease, deceive’ (Bleek 1956:122), but the N/uu word for ‘to lie, *om te lieg*’, (‘to tell lies’), is *g/uu* (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:134).

A Korana word *t’<sup>2</sup>kamüh*, ‘liegen’, ‘to lie’ (Lichtenstein 1930 VRS X1:673; 1808:321), which can be interpreted as either *≠kamüh* or //kamüh, is compared by Nienaber (1963:373) to the glottalised Nama word *≠homi*, ‘lügen’, ‘to lie, to tell lies’ (Rust 1960:40). In that case the vowels *a* and *o* are interchangeable. Recognising the ease with which the vowels *o* and *u* are interchangeable, the word *≠homi* can be seen to approximate to the Kung (N2) word *≠hummi*, ‘to deceive, say what is not true about a person’ (Bleek 1956:652), reminiscent of the Korana word *≠hoe* ‘skinder’, (gossip), which is a subtle form of telling lies (Nienaber 1963:373).

Sparrman (1785 II:352) recorded the Eastern dialectal word *eige*, ‘to lie, it is false’, which Nienaber (1963:373) compares to the Korana words //geie, ‘to lie’, //gaë-b, ‘n leuen’, (a lie), and //ae, ‘lügen’, (‘to lie’). The !Xuhn word *g≠a*, ‘to lie; lieg’ (Weich 2004:184) shares the vowel *a* with the Korana words //ae and //gaë-b, but displays the palatal click as opposed to the lateral click //. It is notable that the Eastern dialectal word does not display a click.

### **Light, to be**

The Korana adjective *süih*, ‘leicht’, (‘light’), recorded by Lichtenstein (1808:317), has readily recognisable equivalents in the Korana word *suī*, ‘leicht’, (‘light’) (Meinhof 1930:132) and the Nama word *sù*, ‘leicht, leicht sein’, (‘light, to be light’) (Kroenlein 1889:303), as well as in the Nogau (N1a) word *fwi, fui*, ‘to be light, not heavy, easy, calm’, that also occurs in the Kung (N2) language (Bleek

1956:182). The !Xuhn word *cui*, ‘light [weight]’ (Weich 2004:184), is comparable to the Nogau word *fui*, since the consonant *c* does not represent the sound /k/ or /s/ in !Xuhn, but *sh* as in the word ‘*she*’ (Weich 2004:viii). The Khwe word *cùvùú*, ‘be light’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:303) incorporates the bridging sound *v* as variant of the semi-vowel *w* encountered in the Nogau alternative *fwi*, and the voiceless alveolar fricative *s* is represented in the Khwe language by the letter *c*.

### **Lightning**

As noted elsewhere, Korana words frequently approximate Eastern dialectal words more closely than Nama words. That is also the case with ‘lightning’. Von Winkelmann (1788:44) recorded the Eastern dialectal word *tabae* oder *parae*, ‘*der Blitz*’, (‘*tabae* or *parae*, lightning’). As regards the alternative word *parae* for *tabae* recorded by Von Winkelmann, Nienaber (1963:524) notes that *t/p* and *d/b* are interchangeable, so that these two words are variable. Burchell (1812 II:181) gives the Korana word *tabāp* ‘lightning’, here with the masculine singular ending *-p*, while Engelbrecht (1928:21) gives the Korana word with the variant ending *-b* as *tabab*, ‘*weerlig*’, (‘lightning’). Lichtenstein (1930 VRS 11:471) gives *t<sup>2</sup>tabaa*, ‘lightning’ for Korana, thus with the lateral click, which can be transcribed as //tabaa. The Korana word recorded by Wuras (1920:35) as *dawab* displays the variation between *t* and *d*, and *b* and *w*. The Griqua word is recorded by Smith (1940:283) as *tabacocu* ‘lightning’. The Hie (C1) word *\_tabe*, ‘lightning’ (Bleek 1956:187), bears considerable resemblance to the word *tabae* recorded by Von Winkelmann, and its synonym *tadi* is comparable with the Kung (N2) words *tha:λa* and *!!ga:λi* ‘lightning’, with the synonym *!!ga*, ‘rain’ (Bleek 1956: 516), the symbol λ representing a sound between *d* and *r*. Comparable with the Hie (C1) word *\_tabe* is the /Auni (S4) word *\_tabe*, ‘to lighten’, and its synonym *taba* and *tjaba*, and the Ukualuthu dialectal (N2c) words *\_da<sup>z</sup>bba\_da<sup>z</sup>bba*, *dabara* and *dhebe*, ‘lightning’; the Auen (N1) word *tara*, *ta<sup>z</sup>ra*, ‘to shine, lighten’, and the /Nu//en (S6) word *\_ma<sup>z</sup>ra*, ‘to lighten, flash’, share the cluster *ara* and *a<sup>z</sup>ra* (Bleek 1956: 187, 20, 24, 198, 135). The !Xuhn word *thaλa*, ‘lightning, *weerlig*’ also occurs in *g//a thaλa*, ‘to lighten, *blits*’, ‘lightning, *weerlig*’ (Weich 2004:184, 185). The word *thaλa* is readily comparable with the word *tara* since the symbol λ is pronounced as a sound between *l* and *r*, as noted above.

### **Lion**

Various words for ‘lion’ show a measure of consistency as regards vowel sequence and intervocalic nasalisation. Ten Rhyne (1673 in Schapera & Farrington 1933:154) recorded the Cape dialectal word *gamma*, ‘leo’, (‘lion’), thus without indicating a click. A Cape dialectal word was recorded by Witsen (1691 I in Molsbergen 1 1916:216) as *tgamma*, ‘leevv, leo’, (‘lion’). Eastern dialectal words for ‘lion’ were recorded as *KáMA*, ‘lejon’, (‘lion’) (Thunberg 1795 II:86), transcribed as //kamma; *t’gamma*, ‘lion’ (Sparrman 1785 II:350); and *x-amma*, ‘der Löwe’, (‘lion’) (Von Winkelmann 1788:45), transcribed as #kamma or //kamma by Nienaber (1963:369). Nienaber draws attention to the presence of clicks in these words, which is in contrast to the Nama word *xami*, ‘Löwe’, (‘lion’) (Rust 1960:40), and to Korana words for ‘lion’ recorded as *gamma* by Borchers (1861:70) and as *chamma* by Lichtenstein (1808:310). Mentzel (1944:280) in 1787 recorded the ‘Hottentot’ word for ‘lion’ as *gamman*, thus with the Khoikhoi common plural ending *-n*. The variability of the voiced and unvoiced velar consonants *g* and *k* is noted, as is the consistent occurrence of the root *am(m)(a)*. Bushman cognates are similar to the Cape and Eastern dialectal words in displaying a click, sometimes with plosive and sometimes with fricative efflux. The /Xam (S1) language has the words //kwaǀmma and //khaǀ with a lateral click that also occurs in the /Nusan (S6a) word //khā:ǀ, //kā, ‘lion’ (Bleek 1956:547, 597). Comparison of these words indicates that the intervocalic nasal *m(m)* is expressed in the comparable words by a tilde ~. The long vowel is denoted by the colon :, and the pressed vowel is denoted by the symbol ǀ. Bisyllabification is discerned in the relevant variants, as also in the /Xam (S1) synonyms !kāan and !kaanǀ (Bleek 1956:402). The cerebral click featuring in these words also occurs in the Naron (C2) word !kxam, which, however, has a clickless synonym *xam* that corresponds to the Khwe words *xàm*, ‘lion’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:303), and to the Nama and Korana word *xam(m)(i)* (Bleek 1956:469; Nienaber 1963:369).

### **Lip**

Although Sparrman (1785 II:349) indicated a click in the Eastern dialectal word *t’gamma*, ‘lip’, there is uncertainty as to which click was meant. The Korana word *kx’am-kx’aib*, ‘lip’ (Meinhof 1930:132), and the develarised Nama words *àm-//goub*, ‘Lippe’, (‘lip’) (Kroenlein 1889:4) and *am-#ami*, ‘lip’ (Tindall 1857 in

Nienaber 1963:374) do not display an initial click. Bleek (1956:688) gives the Mohissa (C1b) cognate *'kam*, 'lips', synonymous with *kamwa t'fwa*, using a symbol ' for any click she was unable to analyse.

### ***Little finger, pinkie***

De Flacourt (1658: 58) recorded the Cape dialectal word *gauché*, 'auriculaire', ('little finger'). Nienaber (1963:420) suggests that the word *gauché* could be similar to the Nama /*gāse*, from /*gā*, 'small'. Comparable words are thus the Korana /*gātse*-/*kunis*, 'pinkie', ('little finger') (Engelbrecht 1930:26), and the Nama word *#karige-#eneb*, 'klein-vinger', ('small finger') (Nienaber 1963:420). The component *gau* of the word *gauché* is recognisably phonologically similar to the Kung (N2) word //*gau*, 'hand, paw, finger' (Bleek 1956:528), the component *ché* comparable to the Sehura (C1a) word *ts'e*, 'small' (Bleek 1956:214). In the !Xuhn word *g//au dema*, 'little finger, pinkie' (Weich 2004:185), the word *g//au* means 'hand', and the word *dema* means 'small' (Weich 2004:23).

### ***Liver***

Three variants of a Cape dialectal word for 'liver' are *qu'ein*, 'de leuer; iecur', ('the liver') (Witsen II 1691 in Molsbergen I 1916:219); *que-in*, 'de lever', ('the liver') (Valentyn 1726:108a), and *qu'ēin*, 'jecur; de lever', ('the liver') (Kolbe 1708 I:432). The final *-n* in these words represents nasalisation. The variability of *ei* and *ai* and nasalisation is evidenced in the comparable Korana words *kx'aīb*, 'Leber', ('liver') (Meinhof 1930:132), *xāib*, 'lewer', ('liver') (Engelbrecht 1928), and *kx'āīp* and 'āīs', 'liver' (Maingard 1964:63, 65) and the Nama word *āib*, *āis*, 'Leber', ('liver') (Rust 1960:38). The final consonants *-b* and *-s* in the relevant words are the Khoikhoi masculine singular and feminine singular endings respectively. Other comparable words are the Khwe word *kx'āī*, 'liver' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:304), the Kua and G/wi word *k'āī*, and the Cua and Tsua word *c'ū*, 'liver' (Chebanne 2014:11). Nienaber (1963:372) points out that, if the initial sound *qu'* in the Cape dialectal words represents a click, this has been lost in the Korana and Nama equivalents. The click does, however, feature in the //ǀ!ke (S2) word //*nai:n*, //*nai:ǀn*, and the Naron (C2) word //*k"ēisa*, 'liver' (Bleek 1956:605, 614, 732), and also in the N/uu word *n//an*, 'liver' (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:134). In all these instances the click observed is the lateral click //.

nasalisation represented in the Nama and Korana words by a tilde is expressed in the Cape dialectal and in the Bushman words with the final *-n*. The !Xuhn words *cing* and *tcing*, ‘liver’ (Weich 2004:185) may represent an elided stem, nasalisation specifically expressed by the cluster *ng*.

### **Lizard**

The Nama word *hagou* recorded by Claudius (1685:106) seems to fit two Bushman words, namely the Kung (N2) word //ha, ‘lizard, small’ (Bleek 1929:54), and the /Auni (S4) word *̄sigu*, ‘agama lizard, *kogelmann*’, (‘lizard’) (Bleek 1956:169). Nienaber (1963:347) also associates the second component *gou* of the word *hagou* with Korana words *-khob* in *!aro-khob*, ‘*koggelmander*’, (‘lizard’) and with the component *-xop* of the word *!karo xop*, ‘lizard’ (Lloyd 1932:317). Weich (2004:297) gives the !Xuhn word for ‘*koggelmander*, black agama’ as *n!ohru*, which, like *hagou*, is disyllabic and ends with the sound /u/. For ‘lizard’ Weich (2004:255) gives the !Xuhn word *gaqna*. The Khwe word //qóánu, ‘lizard sp. (undetermined)’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:304) is also disyllabic and features the vowel sequence (o)a – u that is also discerned in the word *hagou*. Rust (1960:16) gives the Nama word *≠nowos*, ‘*schwarze Eidechse*’, (‘black lizard’).

### **Love, to**

De Flacourt (1655:59) recorded the Cape-Saldanha word *arca*, ‘*l’ameneray*’ (‘to love’) (Nienaber 1963:373). Nienaber points out that the Nama word for ‘*liefhê*’, (‘to love’), German ‘*lieben (erotisch)*’, (‘to love (erotically)’) (Rust 1960:39), is //ã. This word is comparable to the N/uu word //’ãa, ‘*om lief te hê*, to love’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:134), and the !Xuhn word //aoh, ‘love, *liefde*; love, *liefhê*’ (Weich 2004:186). The Nama word for ‘*bemin*’, (‘to love’), German ‘*lieben (ethisch)*’, (‘to love (ethically)’), is /nam (Rust 1960:39), corresponding to the Khwe word *n/ám*, ‘love’, *n/ám-ku*, ‘love each other’, /giú-kà, ‘make love with (standing)’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:305).

### **Lung**

The Cape dialectal word *chanon*, ‘*de long; pulmo*’, (‘lung’), was recorded by Witsen (1691 in Molsbergen 1 1916:219) and also as *chanon*, ‘*de long*’, (‘the lung’), by Valentyn (1726:108a), while Kolbe (1727 I:433) recorded the word with a click as

*ch̃anon*, ‘*pulmo; de long*’, (‘the lung’). Nienaber (1963:375) is of the opinion that, although this word no longer occurs for ‘lung’ in any of the Khoisan languages, it is preserved as the component *xan* in the Nama word *xan-//ob*, ‘Asthma’ (Rust 1960:4), or ‘lung-sickness’, for which a synonym is *so-//ob*, ‘*Lunge-seuche*’, (‘lung disease’), from the Nama word *sob, soeb*, ‘*Lunge*’, (‘lung’) (Rust 1960:40). The !Xuhn word *tcoahn*, ‘lung’ (Weich 2004:187), reflects nasalisation expressed as the *n*, agreeing in that respect with Kolbe’s *ch̃anon*, but displays the vowel cluster in reverse order as *o – a*. Bushman words comparable with the Nama word *sob* include the /Xam (S1) word *ˉs’o*, the Kung (N2) word *soã*, the !O !kuŋ (N3) word *sõi*, and the Hie (C1) word *foo*, ‘lungs’ (Bleek 1929: 55). The Khwe word *còó*, ‘lung’, *còó-mà*, ‘lungs’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:306) is comparable to these words, since the consonant *c* is used in the Khwe language to denote the voiceless dental fricative *s*, the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative *ʃ* and the voiceless palatal fricative as in the German word *ich* (Kilian-Hatz 2003:8). The N/uu word *//õqno*, ‘lung’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:134) is comparable to the //Kxau (S2b) word *//’oʔηu*, ‘lung’ (Bleek 1956:626).

### **Lynx**

Old Cape dialectal words for ‘caracal’ include the variants *k’ha*, ‘*een rode wilde kat: felis sylvestris*’, (‘a red wild cat, cat of the forest’), recorded by Witsen 1691 (Molsbergen I 1916:221); *kha*, ‘*een roode wilde kat*’, (‘a red wild cat’) (Valentyn 1726:107b), and *kh̃â* and *k̃hâ*, ‘*felis silvestris rubra; een rode wilde kat*’, (‘red cat of the forest; a red wild cat’) (Kolbe 1727 I:228, 431). In the words *kh̃â* and *k̃hâ* nasalisation is indicated by the circumflex over the *â*; the tilde *~* is employed by Kolbe as a symbol for a click. The Cape dialectal variants feature a plosive velar *k* that is no longer evident in later renderings, or that corresponds to the cerebral click with aspirated efflux.

Later recordings of the word include the presence of the cerebral click, such as the Nama word *!hab*, ‘*Luchs (rotkatze)*’, (‘lynx (red cat)’’) (Rust 1960:40), a word said by Wandres (1918:127) to be derived from the word *!hã*, “*wannen, auswehen; der Luchs wannt sein Fell aus*”; (“to winnow, to air, to blow out, to dust; the lynx dusts his hide”). This word is similar to the Korana words *!ha:p*, ‘lynx’ (Lloyd in Maingard 1932:314), and *!hãb* (Nienaber 1963:433), the latter with nasalisation. Comparable Bushman words are the //I !ke (S2) and Hei

//kum (N2a) words *!ha*, *!hab*, *!ηhaʕ*, ‘lynx’ (Bleek 1956:394), and the N/uu word *!’haa*, ‘caracal’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:140).

**-M-**

***Man***

The Cape dialectal word *zohee*, ‘*een man; vir*’, (‘a man’), recorded by Witsen (1691 in Molsbergen I 1916:217) corresponds phonologically to some extent to the Cape dialectal words *k’ quique*, ‘*den man; vir*’, (‘the man’) (Witsen 1691 II in Molsbergen I 1916:218); *quoique*, ‘*een man; vir*’, (‘a man’) (Valentyn 1726:108a), and *q̃uoique*, ‘*vir; een man*’, (‘a man’) (Kolbe 1727 I:434), and with the Eastern dialectal word *xkeukoe*, ‘*der Mensch, mit einem leisen Schnalzer*’, (‘person, with a soft click’), recorded by Von Winkelmann (1788:44), this last-mentioned word taking into account that the diphthong *eu* is pronounced as /oi/ in German. Nienaber (1963:378) interprets Von Winkelmann’s click as the dental click, so that the word *xkeukoe* is to be transcribed as /*keukoe*. On the basis of Witsen’s rendering of the word as *k’ quique*, Bleek (1862:318) considered this word to be like Nama /*kui khoip*, ‘one man’. Nienaber (1963:379), however, considers the Cape and Eastern dialectal words to be similar to the Nama word *khoi-khoib*, Korana *khoekhoeb*, “‘n ‘Hottentot-man’ of ‘mens-(se)-mansmens’”; (‘a ‘Hottentot man’ or ‘man of men’”). Bushman words that approximate to the word *zohee* are the Hie (C1) noun *tʃowe*, ‘man’, and adjective //*kxowe*, ‘male’; the /Xam (S1) noun *!kwi*, ‘man’ and adjective *!gwai*, ‘male’ (Bleek 1929:56), and the Khwe word *kx’a-khòè*, ‘man, male person’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:307). The word *!gwai*, incidentally, approximates to the Eastern dialectal word *quaina*, ‘man’, recorded by Barrow (1801 I:219) and the Griqua word *quaip*, ‘man’, recorded by Smith (1940:283).

Nama words for ‘man’, namely as recorded by Ebner (1829:340) as *aub*, ‘*Mann*’, (‘man’), and by Campbell (1815:388) as *aup*, ‘man’, as well as *aob*, ‘*Mann*’, (‘man’) (Kroenlein 1889:11), do not feature a click. That these words are the same can be seen by the variability of *a* and *u*. In this respect these words are similar to the Korana word *aub* recorded by Wuras (in Nienaber 1963:381), and comparable to the Naron (C2) and Ukualuthu dialectal (N2c) word *auga*, ‘man’, *auma*, ‘man, old man, father’, and the synonym *aba* (Bleek 1956:12). Naron (C2)

and Auen (N1) have the word *k"au*, 'man, male' in common, with the ejective *k"*, and this word also occurs in Kung (N2), !O !kuŋ (N3) and Hadza (C3). For this word Naron (C2) also has a synonym with the dental click, namely */k"au* (Bleek 1956:120). Seroa (S2d) features the word without the incorporation of a click, and with the semi-vowel *w* interchanging with *b*, namely *āw*, *awa*, *awa*: and *aba*, 'father' (Bleek 1956:12).

### **Many**

The diphthong *oa* is a frequently occurring element in words for 'many'. Buttner (1725:68a) recorded the Cape dialectal word *côassa*, 'viel', ('many'). An Eastern dialectal word recorded by Von Winkelmann (1788:46) is *xkwaesa*, 'viel', ('many'). A Korana equivalent closer to the latter in displaying the fricative click release *x*, but closer to the former in sharing the digraph *oa*, is */xoasa*, 'viel' (Meinhof 1930:142). The Griqua word */oa-sa* (Meinhof 1930:152) and the Nama word */oasa* are devalarised, but also display the dental click and the digraph *oa*. /Xam (S1) synonyms include */k"wai*, */k"wai*:, */k"waija*, 'many, abundant'; and */k:oa:ja*, */k"oa:i*, 'many', in which the semi-vowel *w* is interchanged with a short *o* (Bleek 1956:339, 340). These words are phonologically closer to the Eastern dialectal word *xkwaesa*.

### **Meat**

In words for 'meat' there is considerable consistency. All of the early recordings of this word indicate a click and the vowel *o(o)*. Thus Witsen (1697 (sic.) III CMM 1858:119) gives a Cape dialectal *kʒoô*, 'vleesch', ('meat, flesh'); Buttner (1725:67b) gives a Cape dialectal *k-oo*, 'Fleisch', ('meat, flesh'); Thunberg (1795 II: 86) gives the Eastern dialectal word *Kop*, 'koett', ('meat'); Sparrman (1785 II: 350, 352) gives an Eastern dialectal word *t'go* and a "Chinese Hottentot" word *t'goâ* 'flesh'. Lichtenstein (1805 VRS X1:471) gives the Korana word *t"koob* 'flesh', transcribed as *//koob*; Von Winkelmann (1788:43) gives the Eastern dialectal *Xo*, 'Fleisch', ('flesh, meat'). Which clicks are intended is not immediately clear in all cases. Nienaber (1963:503) interprets Thunberg's click as the dental, thus */kop*, Lichtenstein's as the palatal, thus *#koob*. Buttner gives an explanation of his click as follows: "*Hier schlägt man mit der Zunge gegen den gaumen, und spricht das Wort halb durch die nase, und halb durch den mund*"; ("Here one



clicks with the tongue against the gums, and pronounces the word half through the nose, and half through the mouth”). Of Von Winkelmann’s description of the click Nienaber (1963: 503) writes: “*Sy beskrywing van hierdie Schnalz wat hy met ’n hoofletter X voorstel, is omslagtig en so onduidelik dat ons nie daaruit wegwys kan word nie*”; (“His description of this click that he represents with a capital X, is complicated and so unclear that we cannot be guided by it”). Von Winkelmann states that “*das X den Schlag der Zunge oder der Schnalzer bedeutet, wird durch die Kehle, beinahe wie ks ausgesprochen, doch muss das k nicht ganz gehört, sondern vielmehr in einen etwas harten dem k ähnelnden Schnalzer verwandelt und mit dem o zugleich gehört werden*”; (“what the X tap of the tongue or the click means, is that it is pronounced almost like ks, but the k must not be heard completely, but rather changed into a somewhat harder click resembling k, and be heard together with the o”). From this description it seems that Von Winkelmann had heard the ejective k or ‘glottal croak’ (Bleek 1956:117). The words given above can be seen to correlate with the /Xam (S1) word *!ko:ž o*, ‘stamped meat, like fine meal’ (Bleek 1956: 442), the Hie (C1) word *njoo*, ‘meat’, (Bleek 1956:148), and the Naron (C2) word *kxoho*, *k”oxo*, ‘meat’ (Bleek 1956: 116), the latter variant indeed pronounced with “The ejective k or glottal croak which I write k” is one of the most difficult sounds of the Bushman language to explain. ... It is certainly not k with the glottal stop, nor is it *kx*’ [of which Bleek (1956:117) writes ‘I am uncertain what sound is meant’]. It is more. The throat is closed by pressing the back of the tongue against the epiglottis, then suddenly opened creating a croak, an ejective k”, but with hardly any air behind it.” (Bleek 1956:117). This sound was still recorded by Wuras (in Nienaber 1963:503) in the Korana word *kx’ōb*, ‘flesh’, but Engelbrecht (1928:24) has it as *xōb*, ‘*vleis*’, (‘meat, flesh’), indicating a shift towards the velar fricative (Nienaber 1963:503). The Naron (C2) word *k”oxo*, ‘meat’ (Bleek 1956: 116) is very similar to the Khwe word *kx’ó-xò*, ‘meat’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:308). The N/uu word *Ooe*, ‘meat’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:149) incorporates the lip click and the digraph *oe*, and is thus similar to the /Auni (S4), Khakhea (S5) and /Nu//en (S6) word *Opwe*, ‘meat’ (Bleek 1929:27), where the variation or interchangeability of *o* and *w* is discerned.

### **Meercat**

Claudius (1685:99) recorded the Nama word *chara* for ‘*dit soet en minnelyk beesje*’, (‘this sweet and lovable little beast’), *suricata suricatta*, ‘*meerkat*’, (‘meercat’) (Nienaber 1963:381). This word *chara* corresponds to the /Xam (S1) word *xara*, *xa:ra*, ‘*mierkat*, *suricata zenick*’, (‘meercat’) (Bleek 1956:735, 257), that also occurs in //Khou (S2b) and Auen (N1); and to the Naron (C2) words *xarab* and *xara:gi*, ‘slender-tailed mierkat’ (Bleek 1956:257). The consonant *x* in these words is the unvoiced velar fricative that approximates the German *ch*, being made further forward in the mouth before *i*, and *e*, slightly further back before *a*, and far back before *o*, and *u* (Bleek 1956:254). The velar fricative *x* also features in the Korana words *xaras*, ‘*kleine Mierkatze (wird zahm gemacht)*’, (‘small meercat (is tamed)’) (Meinhof 1930:133) and *xarab*, ‘*grys meerkat*’, (‘grey meercat’) (Nienaber 1963:382).

### **Milk**

One of the earliest words recorded that has remained fairly constant is *bie*, ‘*melck*’, (‘milk’), recorded by Van Riebeeck (1652 I:89) as a word used by the ‘Saldanhars’. This word is encountered as *bi* in the toponym *Bikamma of Melk Rivier*, (‘Bikamma or Milk River’) (Schrijver 1931:244), classified by Nienaber (1963:382) as a Cape dialectal word that was also recorded as *bi*, ‘*melk*’, (‘milk’) by Valentyn (1726:108b), and by Kolbe (1727 I:432). The word *bi* was classified by Nienaber (1963:382) as an Eastern dialectal word *bi*, ‘milk’, recorded by Sparrman (1785 II:350) and ‘*Milch*’, (‘milk’), recorded by Von Winkelmann (1788:44). The Korana words *biib*, ‘*Milch*’, (‘milk’), was recorded by Lichtenstein (1808:315), and *biip*, ‘milk’, by Burchell (1812 II:181). In these Korana words the final consonants *-b* and *-p* are the variant masculine singular endings. The Hie (C1) word *bii* and the Naron (C2) word *bi:sa* correspond to Cape and Eastern dialectal words in not displaying a click, commencing with a bilabial plosive, and sharing the common sound *i* or *i:* (Bleek 1929:58). The Khwe word *pû*, ‘milk’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:310), corresponds to the above words but displays the initial unvoiced bilabial *p* that interchanges with the voiced *b*. Words for ‘milk’ in other Bushman languages and dialects bear some similarity but incorporate clicks with different releases, for example the /Xam (S1) word //ki, the //Xegwi (S3) word !xi, the Khakhea (S5) words !xe:, !xi, ‘milk’ (Bleek 1956:499). The N/uu

word //haike, ‘milk’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:135) bears less similarity to the other words discussed.

### **Mist**

Nienaber (1963:375) compares an Eastern dialectal word given by Barrow (1801 I:219), *kōm*, ‘air’, to the Nama word //gūb, ‘blauer Dunst’, (‘blue haze’), pointing out that *g* and *k* are variable, as are *o* and *u*, and that the final *-m* of *kōm* and the final *-b* of //gūb are variant masculine singular endings. The symbol *ō* in the word *kōm* indicates that the word was pronounced with the dental click / . Bushman words comparable to the word *kōm* are thus the /Xam (S1) words /khum and /kum:, ‘mist’ (Bleek 1956:325), and, with a different click, the cerebral !, the /Xam (S1) word !khzo, ‘a blue mist, haze’, synonym !kāu:, !koꞤrowa (L1) (Bleek 1956:427). The /Xam word !khzo is reminiscent of the Cape dialectal word *chau*, ‘aer’, (‘air’), recorded by Ten Rhyne (1673 in Schapera & Farrington 1933:154).

### **Mole**

The Cape dialectal word *habá*, ‘een mol; talpa’, (‘mole’), was recorded by Witsen (Wit II 1691 in Molsbergen I 1916:222), and *habba*, ‘een mol’ (‘a mole’), by Valentyn (1726:107b), and as *habba*, ‘talpa; een mol’, (‘a mole’), by Kolbe (1727 I:434). Nienaber (1963:391) gives the Nama equivalent as *hawab*, pointing out that the Cape dialectal words displayed no gender endings, and that the intervocalic bilabial was expressed more consonantly as *b(b)* than in the Nama word *hawab*. Bushman words for ‘mole’ are the /Xam (S1) words //khū and //kū (Bleek 1956:577), the Kung (N2) words //hū and //nhū (Bleek 1956:543, 619), and the Khwe word *cúgu*, ‘mole’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:311). The second component *khum* of the N/uu word *ts’ikhum*, ‘mole’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:136), is comparable to the /Xam and Kung words, having the nasalised vowel *u* in common, represented by the tilde *~* and the bilabial nasal *m* respectively. In the devalarised !Xuhn word //uun, ‘mole’ (Weich 2004:191), which shares the lateral click // occurring in the /Xam and Kung words, nasalisation is indicated by the nasal *n*.

### Monkey

De Flacourt (1658:56) recorded two different words for ‘monkey’, namely *riqué*, *riche ou riqué*, ‘*singe*’, (‘monkey’), and *haricam*, ‘*singe*’, (‘monkey’), categorised by Nienaber (1963:202) as from the Cape-Saldanha dialect. The last-mentioned word *haricam* is compared by Nienaber to the Nama words //uriki-*p*, ‘ape’ (Tindall 1857:120) and //orege-*b*, ‘*Affe*’, (‘monkey, ape’) (Rust 1960:2), and the Korana words //oregeb, ‘*der Affe*’, (‘monkey’), //oreb, and //xorib, ‘*kleiner Affe*’, (‘small monkey’) (Nienaber 1963:202). In these words the final *-m*, *-p* and *-b* are the variable masculine singular ending. Also to be considered as similar to the word *haricam* is the //Khou (S2b) word //khou:re, ‘small monkey’ (Bleek 1956:576). The similarity in sound to the Korana and Nama words of Bushman words for ‘baboon’, and the fact that several words have the meaning of ‘baboon or monkey’, prompt comparison also with the /Nu//en (S6) word /gori, the /Xam (S1) word \_/gora, the Naron (C2) word /goren and the Auen (N1) word \_//gora, ‘baboon’ (Bleek (1929:18; 1956:281-282; Möller 2017:143). The component *hari* of *haricam* may be compared phonologically with the /Xam (S1) word //k”waŕre, ‘baboon or monkey with a long tail’ (Bleek 1956:609). The word *riqué* or *riche* is considered by Nienaber (1963:202) to be the same word as the component *rica* of the word (*ha*)*rica-m* discussed above, and to be comparable to the Nama (//o)*rege*, but without the click and with masculine singular gender ending *-m*. The similarity between *riqué* or *riche* and the Nama word (//u)*riki-p*, ‘ape’ (Tindall 1857:120) is also notable.

### Moon

De Flacourt (1658:61) recorded the Cape-Saldanha word *gam*, ‘*lune*’, (‘moon’). Witsen (1691 I in Molsbergen 1 1916:217, 220) gives two Cape dialectal versions of the word, namely *tga*, and *k’châ*, ‘*maan, luna*’, (‘moon’). Eastern dialectal words for ‘moon’ are ‘*xka* oder *t’ka*, *der Mond*’, (‘*xka* or *t’ka*, the moon’) (Von Winkelmann 1788:44), and *kā*, ‘moon’ (Barrow 1801 I:219), transcribed with the dental click as /ka (Nienaber 1963:377). Korana words include *t’khaam*, ‘moon’ (Lichtenstein 1805 VRS X1:471), i.e. /khaam, also with the dental click. Burchell’s (1812 II:180) rendering for Korana as ‘*kaam*, ‘moon’ is also transcribed with the dental click by Nienaber (1963:377) as /kaam, but in Burchell’s recording of the Korana word ‘*ky’kaan* as ‘full-moon’ (1812 II:180), Nienaber (1963:507) transcribes it as /ky-#kaam, “*woordeliks: groot-maan, soos Na. gei-//khā-b. Die*

*geïnverteerde komma dui die dentale, die gewone komma die palatale slag aan, dus albei in afwyking van die huidige Na. resp.*”; (“word-for-word: big moon, like the Nama *gei-//khā-b*. The inverted comma indicates the dental, the usual comma the palatal click, both thus in deviance from the present Nama respectively”).) If Burchell’s intended click is the palatal, it is in accordance with Von Winkelmann’s *xka*, *t’ka* which Nienaber (1963:377) transcribes as *≠ka*, thus with the palatal click. More recent Korana recordings of words for ‘moon’ incorporate the lateral click, as in *!hae //kx’a-s*, ‘*grosser Mond*’, (‘full moon’) (Meinhof 1930:133), and *//kxã-s*, ‘*maan*’, (‘moon’) (Nienaber 1963:377). Comparable Bushman words for ‘moon’ are the Ukualuthu dialectal (N2c) word *x’ab* and the /Nu //en (S6) word *!xa:n*, ‘moon’ (Bleek 1956:255, 497).

### **Mother**

Campbell (1815:389) recorded the Nama word *is*, ‘mother’, which is very similar to the word *īs*, ‘*die Mutter*’, (‘mother’) (Kroenlein 1889:186a), the latter displaying nasalisation. With the variability of the vowels *i* and *e*, the Korana word *es*, ‘*moeder*’, (‘mother’) (Engelbrecht 1928:14), and the nasalised form with glottal onset, *’ēs*, ‘*Mutter*’, (‘mother’) (Meinhof 1930:134), are also comparable. In these words the final *-s* is the feminine singular ending that also appears in the Bergdama word *eis*, ‘*Mutter*’, (‘mother’) (Rust 1960:44), and the Nama word *éis*, ‘*Mutter*’, (‘mother’) (Kroenlein 1889:64a). The vowel cluster *ei* in these words interchanges with *ai* in the Ki /hazi (S4b) word *ai*, ‘mother’ (Bleek 1956:68). The diphthong *ai* is discernible in the N/uu word *xainki*, ‘mother’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:135), which is comparable to the //ǁ!ke (S2) words *xaŋkie*, *xeinki*, *xe:ŋki* and *xiennki*, ‘mother’ (Bleek 1956:259) as regards the fricative initial *x* and ending *-nki(e)* or *-ŋki*, while the variability of the vowels *a*, *e* and *i* is evident.

### **Mountain**

The Eastern dialectal word  $\Delta$ -*oumma*, ‘mountain; *berg*’, was recorded by Le Vaillant (1790:367), a word comparable to the Korana word *t’koema* ‘hill’ given by Borchers (1861:30), and to the Nama word *’humi*, ‘hill’, recorded by Alexander (1838:II:136) in the ethnonym ‘*Humi or Hill Damaras*’. The click in each case was represented by the symbols  $\Delta$ , *t’* and *’* respectively. Nienaber (1963:218)

notes that the symbol  $\Delta$  was used by Le Vaillant to represent the cerebral click, so that  $\Delta$ -*oumma* is to be transcribed as *!oumma*, thus in develarised form. The cerebral click *!* was apparently intended in these instances, the corresponding Bushman word being the Kung (N2) word *!koma*, ‘mountainous country’ (Bleek 1956:441). Also to be considered as comparable to the above words are the /Xam (S1) word *!hum*, *!gum*, and the Auen (N1) and Kung (N2) word *!num*, ‘mountain’ (Bleek 1929:59), in which the variability of the consonants *h*, *g* and *n* is to be seen. The !Xuhn word *≠um*, ‘mountain’ (Weich 2004:192), displays the palatal click and develarisation, and the variability of the vowels *u* and *o*.

Another word for ‘mountain’ was recorded variously as the Cape-Saldanha word *cou*, ‘*montagne*’, (‘mountain’) (De Flacourt 1658:61), the Cape dialectal word *k~hu*, ‘*mons; een berg*’, (‘mountain’) (Kolbe 1727 I:432), and the Eastern dialectal word *ku*, ‘*ein Hügel*’, (‘a hill’) (Von Winkelmann 1788:45). Kolbe certainly indicated a click with the use of his symbol *k~*, while De Flacourt and Von Winkelmann do not seem to have indicated a click. Comparable Bushman words include the /Xam (S1) words *!kou*, *!kau*, ‘stone, mountain, rock’; */xau:*, ‘hill, possibly mountain’, and, with the lateral click, the word *//xau:*, ‘hill, Brinkkop’ (Bleek 1956:444, 364, 633). The N/uu word *!ao*, ‘mountain, stone, rock, hill’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:118) incorporates the cerebral click *!*, as do the /Xam words *!kou* and *!kau*, but the N/uu word is develarised. The occurrence of different clicks for synonyms of the same word which is otherwise similar in spelling, is notable. The Nama word */gôub*, ‘*Bergrand; Berghang*’, ‘mountain slope’ (Rust 1960:10), with the final *-b* being the added Khoikhoi masculine singular ending, is also comparable.

Different writing conventions sometimes make it difficult to know which pronunciation of a word was meant in the recording thereof. The digraph (sometimes diphthong) *oe* is pronounced as */u/* in Afrikaans and Dutch, but as */ɔɛ/* in Khoikhoi, almost like *we*. In the pronunciation of the vowel cluster *oe* as */u/* the Caledon dialectal word *khoe*, ‘*een hoogen berg*’, (‘a high mountain’) (Van Riebeeck 1660 III:266), the Cape dialectal word *k’koe*, ‘*een berg; mons*’, (‘mountain’) (Witsen 1691 II in Molsbergen 1 1916:220), and the Griqua word *koe*, ‘*berg*’, (‘mountain’) (Valentyn 1726:96), may be comparable with the words in the previous paragraph, namely *cou*, *k~hu*, and *ku*, as suggested by Nienaber (1963:218). Otherwise comparison could be demonstrated with the

Korana word *t'<sup>2</sup>eub*, 'Berg', ('mountain') (Lichtenstein 1808:315), transliterated as //eub. In German the diphthong *eu* is pronounced as /ɔi/, and Nienaber (1963:218) equated this word with the Nama word /uis, 'Berg', ('mountain'), also /uis, 'der Stein, der Felsen', ('stone, rock') (Kroenlein 1889:316). Going on the pronunciation alone, the word //eub may also be compared with the Nogau (N1a) word //khawi, 'mountain' (Bleek 1956:574).

### **Mouth**

Witsen (I 1691 in Molsbergen I 1916:217, 219 ) recorded the Cape dialectal word *kamqua*, 'mont; os', ('mouth'), and *quamqua*, 'de mont; os', ('the mouth'). Valentyn (1726:107b) recorded the Cape dialectal word *khoamqua*, 'de mond', ('the mouth'), and Kolbe (1727 1:433) gives the word with almost the same spelling, but with a click, as *k̃oamqua*, 'os; de mond', ('the mouth'), also a Cape dialectal word. The Nama word *ams*, 'mouth' (Rust 1960:43), does not display a click, whereas old recorded forms often do. Eastern dialectal words recorded by Thunberg (1795 II:86) as *KaM*, 'mun', ('mouth'), and by Von Winkelmann (1788:46) as *Xgamm*, 'der Mund', ('mouth'), display a click identified by Nienaber (1963:392) as the cerebral !, so that these words may be transcribed as !kam and !gamm respectively. Lichtenstein (1808:306) recorded the Korana word *t'<sup>2</sup>kchamma*, 'Mund', ('mouth'), thus with the palatal click ʃ, which can be transcribed as ʃkchamma. Also in the Cape-Saldanha dialect was a click registered in the recording of the word, namely by De Flacourt (1658:57), who recorded *h hama*, 'bouche', ('mouth'). Lichtenstein's recording of the Korana word *t'<sup>2</sup>kchamma* or ʃkchamma, 'Mund', ('mouth') (1806:306), resembles the Korana word recorded as *kx'amma*, 'mouth', by Wuras (1920:36) and as *kx'ams*, 'mouth', by Maingard (1964:63), and also the Griqua word *kx'ammi*, 'Mund', ('mouth') (Meinhof 1930:151), in displaying the affricate *kch* or *kxʔ* release. Comparable Bushman words include the Khwe word *kx'am*, 'mouth' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:312), the Hie (C1) word /*kxam*, /*kham* and ʃ*kam*, 'mouth' (Bleek 1929:59; 1956:311); the Naron (C2) words *k'am*, *k'amfa*, ʃ*kam*, /*kxam* and *kamoo*, 'mouth' (Bleek 1956:119, 656), and the Khakhea (S5) word *žam*, 'mouth' (Bleek 1929:59).

## *Mud*

Van Reenen (1790 VRS VIII:155) gives the Eastern dialectal word *doe* in the name ‘*Doe*, or Mud river’. Nienaber (1963:388) equates this word *doe* to the Nama word *≠goas*, ‘*Lehm*’, (‘clay’) (Rust 1960:39), The word *doe* is comparable to the component *!nōe* of the /Xam (S1) word *!nō!nōe*, ‘to be made muddy’, the voiced alveolar consonant *d* approximating the alveolar nasal *n*. A synonym of the word *!nō!nōe* is *!nwa!nwainja* (Bleek 1956:482).

Another instance of a place-name element providing the etymology of a Nama word for ‘mud’ is recorded by Alexander (1838 I:257; II:190) as ‘*Tuais* (or Mud) Fountain’ and ‘*Gnutuais* or Black Mud’. In the second citation the component *gnu* means ‘black’, a word comparable to the Nama word *≠nu*, ‘*schwarz*’, (‘black’) (Rust 1960:55), and to Bushman words */nu*, *!nu*;, *≠nu*, ‘black’ (Bleek 1956:698). The component *tuais* is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word *≠gwāi*, *≠gwei*, ‘clay’ (Bleek 1956:469). In this comparison the alveolar plosive consonant *t* represents the palatal click *≠*, and *u* interchanges with *w*.

Beutler (1752 Molsbergen III 1922:303) also gave a place-name in which the Eastern dialectal component ‘mud’ is recognisable as a Bushman cognate, namely *Goadar*, ‘*Moerasrivier*’, (‘marsh river’), the component *Goa* approximating the /Xam (S1) word *≠gwa*, ‘clay’ (Bleek 1956:469), the voiced velar consonant *g* appearing in both words, the semi-vowel *w* shifting to half close *o*. The component *-dar* is perhaps an adapted word for ‘river’, although *Goadar* is phonologically similar to the /Xam (S1) word *≠k"waʔra*, ‘mud, black mud’ (Bleek 1956:668).

When Van Reenen (1792 VRS 28:115) gives *(nu) goaes* in the place-name *Modderfontein*, it has been assumed (Raper et al 2014:383) that the word *(nu) goaes* means ‘black mud’. The component is similar to the Nama word *≠nu*, ‘*schwarz*’, (‘black’) (Rust 1960:55); the component *goaes* is comparable with the Nama word *≠goab*, ‘*angefeuchteter Lehm, Mörtel, Mauer*’, (‘moist clay, mud, wall’) (Kroenlein 1889:125b), or the Korana word *≠koab*, ‘clay’ (Wuras 1920 in Nienaber 1963:389), and in devalarised form as *≠oas*, ‘*Lehm*’ (Meinhof 1930:132). However, Van Reenen gives the translation as ‘*Modderfontein*’, ‘muddy fountain’, which begs the explanation of the name as the component *nu* being comparable to the /Xam (S1) word *!nō* or *!nōe*, ‘mud’, (compare the /Xam (S1) word *!nō!nōe*,



‘to be made muddy’) (Bleek 1956:482), and the component *goaes* comparable to the Naron (C2) word /*gōāsa*, ‘spring of water in sand’ (Bleek 1956:280).

### ***Mine, my***

There is a fair measure of consistency in the Cape dialectal, Nama, Korana and Bushman words for ‘mine’. Witsen (1697 CMM 1858:118) recorded the Cape dialectal word *te*, ‘*mijn, mijne*’, ‘mine’, and Buttner (1725:68a) from the same dialect gives *ti*, ‘*mein*’, (‘mine’). The same word *ti* was recorded as a Nama word by Ebner (1829:341-42) as *ti canis*, ‘*mein (Buch)*’, (‘my book’), and Lichtenstein (1808:319) gives the Korana word as in *tii (guman)*, ‘*mein (Ochse)*’, (‘my (ox)’). The Naron (C2) word *ti*, ‘I, my’ correlates with this word, but is ‘a short form of *tira*’ and has a variant *di* and is compared by Bleek (1956:202) with the Nama *ti, tita*. The Naron word *tira* has a counterpart in the Khwe word *tí-rà*, ‘my’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:313). The Hie (C1) word takes an initial affricate in the word *tʃi*, ‘I, me, my’, which has the synonym *tʃira*.

## -N-

### ***Nail***

Cape dialectal words for ‘nail’, namely *clo*, ‘*de nagelen, ungues*’, (‘nails’) (Witsen 1691 II in Molsbergen 1 1916:219) and *kloy*, ‘*de nagelen, of klaauwen*’ (Valentyen 1726:108a) do not seem to incorporate clicks. Nama, Korana and Bushman words, on the other hand, seem to incorporate them consistently. The Eastern dialectal word *t’koloqua*, ‘nails’ (Sparrman 1785 II:349) displays a click and the masculine plural suffix *-qua*, which seems to agree with the suffix *-köa* in the Korana word *t’<sup>2</sup>koroköa*, ‘*Nagel*’, (‘nail’) (Lichtenstein 1808:307); but *Nagel* is the singular noun, of which the plural is *Nägel*, with diaeresis. The intervocalic *r* in this word corresponds to the *l* in the word *t’koloqua*. Comparison of Lichtenstein’s symbol *t’<sup>2</sup>* corresponds to the lateral click // in the Korana word //*korrob*, //*gorob*, ‘*nael van vinger en toon*’, (‘nail of finger and toe’) (Nienaber 1963:396), and the develarised variation //*orob*, ‘*Nagel*’, ‘nail’ (Meinhof 1930:134). The variability of *g* and *k* also features in the Nama words //*korop*, ‘finger or toenail’ (Tindall 1857 in Nienaber 1963:396) and //*goros*, ‘*der Nagel (an Fingern und Zehen)*’, (‘nail (on fingers and toes)’ (Kroenlein 1889:118b), the final *-s* in this word the feminine singular ending. Since the juxtaposition of two vowels such as *cl* in the word *clo*

and *kl* in the word *kloy* is impermissible in the Khoikhoi orthographic system, a vowel must have been omitted or elided there. This vowel may have been *o*, as in the Nama and Korana words, or *u*, or even *a*, as in comparable Bushman words. The /Xam (S1) word for ‘nail’ is //kuru, plural //ku//kutsɛn; the //ǀ!ke (S2) language has //kuri, plural //kuroke; //Xegwi (S3) has *kola* and /Auni (S4) *kora*, Auen (N1) and Kung (N2) have //kuru, the same as /Xam; !O !kuŋ (N3) has //kulu, displaying the variant *l*; Naron (C2) has //k’oro (Bleek 1929:60). The N/uu word //qorosi, ‘claw, nail’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:131, 136), displays the vowel sequence *o – o* and the lateral click that is also prevalent in other languages.

### **Name**

Of the three Cape dialectal words recorded by Witsen (1697 II CMM 1858:375, 376, 378), namely *ouna*, *k’ouna* and *konna*, ‘*naam, den name*’, (‘name, the name’), each resembles words in different Bushman languages. The variant *k’ouna* approximates to the Khakhea (S5) words /k’aũ, /k’ãũ and /k”aũ, ‘name’ (Bleek 1929:60; 1956:338), in displaying both the click and nasalisation. The Korana words *unna*, ‘name’, recorded by Lichtenstein (1930:473), and *onee*, ‘name’, recorded by Campbell (1815:389), and the ‘Hottentot’ word *ons*, ‘name’, also recorded by Campbell, bear the closest resemblance to *ouna* in the absence of click and being develarised. In these words the variation between *u* and *o* is noticeable. The Khwe word /x’ón, ‘name’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:314) has the dental click encountered in the Khakea words but displays the fricative release instead of the glottal. This word resembles the variant *konna* in featuring the vowel *o* as opposed to the diphthong *ou* in the Cape dialectal words.

### **Narrow**

Wikar (1779 in Mossop 1935:136) recorded the Korana word *au* for ‘narrow’ in the name “*Aukokoa of Naauwwange*”, (‘*Aukokoa* or Narrow Cheeks’), a word which Nienaber (1963:404) compared to the Nama word ≠ō, ‘eng’, (‘narrow’) (Rust 1960:17) and the Korana word ≠ō, ‘narrow’ (Wuras 1920:36). This word also occurs as a variant *u* in the name ‘Unus River’, translated by Alexander (1838 II:129) as ‘Narrow River’. The comparable Khwe word ≠’ó, ‘to be narrow’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:314), and the N/uu word ≠’ooa, ‘be narrow’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:137), also feature the palatal click ≠, with the phone /u/ in the latter written

as *oo*. According to Nienaber (1963:521) the component *ko* of the name *Aukokoa* is comparable to the Korana and Nama word *xob*, ‘*Backe*’, (‘cheek, jaw’) (Rust 1960:8), and the component *koa* to the masculine plural ending that is also encountered as *qua* and *kwa*. The N/uu word *g/āusi*, ‘cheek’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:150), with its plural *ka/gāu*, ‘cheeks’, suggests the possibility of a different interpretation of the components of the name *Aukokoa*, ‘Narrow Cheeks’. The component *nus* of the river name *Unus* is perhaps like the Nogau (N1a) word *nō*, also *≠nō*, ‘river’ (Bleek 1956:148, 672), with the added Khoikhoi singular ending *-s*.

### ***Navel***

The Cape-Saldanha word *naib*, ‘*nombriŀ*’, (‘navel’) (De Flacourt 1658:56), corresponds to the Nama word */nais*, ‘*der Nabel*’, (‘the navel’), as regards the digraph *ai*, but does not display the dental click */*. The final consonant *-b* in the word *naib* is the masculine singular ending, the final *-s* in the word */nais* is the feminine singular ending. The diphthong *ai* also occurs in the /Xam (S1) words *!ᵛhāĩ*, also *!ᵛhái:ᶦn*, *!hāĩ:ᶦn*, and *!aᶦi*, ‘navel’ (Bleek 1929:60; Bleek 1956:369), in which the nasalisation of the *n* in the previous two words is represented by the tilde, although the click is different, Nama displaying the dental */* and /Xam displaying the cerebral *!*. Although all of the /Xam words display the cerebral click, Bleek (1956:369) adds the comparison “[Na. */nais*]”. The Korana word */neib* recorded by Wuras (in Nienaber 1963:396) corresponds to the //ǀ word *!neiᵛ* as regards the common diphthong *ei*, a variant of *ai* that is encountered in the Nama and Cape-Saldanha and /Xam words, but here again the contrast in the clicks is noted.

### ***Neck***

A Cape-Saldanha word for ‘neck’ was recorded by De Flacourt (1658:57) as *domma*, ‘*col*’, (‘neck’). Nienaber (1963:399) points out that there was some misunderstanding at the time of consultation, and that what was meant was not ‘*col*’, (‘neck’), but ‘*gorge*’, (‘throat’). This would seem to be confirmed by the recording of *domma* as the Cape dialectal word for ‘*strot; jugulum*’, (‘throat’) (Witsen II 1691 in Molsbergen 1 1916:219), ‘*de strot*’, (‘the throat’) (Valentyn 1726:107b) and ‘*jugulum; de keel of strot*’, (‘throat’) and by comparison with the

Nama word *domi*, ‘Kehle’, (‘throat’) (Rust 1960:34) and the Korana word *domma*, ‘die Kehle’, (‘throat’) (Wuras 1920:52). However, considering the similarity between early recorded words and Bushman cognates, it becomes clear that the same word was used in a number of languages for both ‘neck’ and ‘throat’. Thus the /Xam (S1) word *\_dom*, *doʔm* is given as ‘throat, neck’ (Bleek 1956:27), as the /Nu//en (S6) word *dum*, displaying the variant *u*, meaning ‘neck, throat, hole, river’ (Bleek 1956:29), and as the Hie (C1) word *dhom*, *dom*, *doʔm*, ‘neck’, which has the added note ‘[Na. *domi* throat]’ (Bleek 1956:24). The Khwe word *dom* means ‘neck (of sack, shirt)’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:314), thus transferred to the modern idiom. The /Nu//en (S6) synonym for *dum*, namely *dumba*, is phonologically similar to the Cape-Saldanha word *dumma*. In some languages the meaning of comparable words is given only as ‘neck’, for example the //ǀ!ke (S2) word *!ku*, the //Kxau (S2b) word *ʔũ*, the /Auni (S4) word *ʔkoĩ*, and the /Nu//en (S6) words *ʔkũ* and *!k”ym* (Bleek 1929:60; 1956:448, 676), in which the symbol *y* in the word *!k”ym* is pronounced as the *u* in the French word *du* (Bleek 1929:12), and the N/uu word *ʔquu*, ‘neck’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:137). In these words the variability of *o* and *u* is evident.

Another Cape dialectal word for ‘neck’ also has Korana, Nama and Bushman cognates. Witsen (1691 II in Molsbergen 1 1916:291) gives the Cape dialectal word *qu’aö*, ‘de hals; collum’, (‘neck’); Valentyn (1726:107b) gives *quao*, ‘de hals’, (‘the neck’), and Kolbe (1727 I:430) gives *q̃vaö* ‘collum; de hals’, (‘the neck’). It is perhaps unnecessary to point out that *v* in the latter citation is equivalent to *u*. Comparable Korana words for ‘neck’ are *!kxʔaub*, *!aub* and *!raob* (Nienaber 1963:400). Probably on the basis of the cerebral click being common to these words, Nienaber suggests that, although Valentyn does not specifically indicate the presence of a click in his rendering of the word, as do Witsen and Kolbe, the initial bilabialised velar consonant *qu* or *qv* may have been Valentyn’s attempt at rendering the cerebral click *!* in writing. Bushman words for ‘neck’ that incorporate the cerebral click are the /Xam (S1) word *!khou* and the Naron (C2) word *!kaufa*, ‘neck’ (Bleek 1929:60). The Kung (N2) word //kãũ, ‘neck’, displays the lateral click, as do the !Xuhn words //ang, ‘neck, nek’; //ang !’u, ‘neck, hals’ (Weich 2004:194). The Naron (C2) word /kũ, ‘nape of neck’, has the dental click, the same as the rendering of the Korana word *t’ʔaub*, ‘Hals’, (‘neck’) by Lichtenstein (1808:284, 306), transcribed by Nienaber (1963:400) as /aob. The develarised form of this word, and of the !Xuhn words //ang, ‘neck,

*nek*, and //ang !'u, 'neck, *hals*' (Weich 2004:194), agree in that respect with the Korana words !*aub* and !*aob* (Nienaber 1963:400), and with the Nama word !*aub*, !*aus* 'der Nacken', ('the neck') (Kroenlein 1889:33a).

### **Necklace**

The number of words that have been recorded for 'bead' and 'necklace' indicate the important role that these items played in the life and culture of the Bushmen and Khoikhoi. Thunberg (1795 II:86) recorded the Eastern dialectal *KRAKWA*, 'glaskoral', ('glass beads'). The second component, *-kwa*, is identified by Nienaber (1963:358) as the masculine plural ending *gu-a* or *qua*, often written in Dutch and Afrikaans as *kwa*. Since the phonological system of the Khoikhoi and Bushman language does not permit the juxtaposition of *k* and *r*, according to Tindall (1857:82) a weakly stressed vowel between these two letters in the component *kra* must have been elided. The dropped vowel is apparently *a*, and the component *kra* is comparable with the Nama word for 'beads', *karan*, in which the final *-n* is the common plural ending. The root of the word, namely *kra* or *kara*, is cognate with the Bushman word *kāra*, 'Korallen', ('beads'), recorded by Lichtenstein (1808:310), with the /Xam (S1) word *ka:ra* 'beads', and the !O !kuŋ (N3) word *korai*, 'a red bead; necklace' (Bleek 1956:81, 100). The permissible variability of *k* and *g*, and Thunberg's translation of *krakwa* as *glaskoral*, ('glass beads, necklace'), shows the first component of *krakwa* to possibly be comparable to the /Xam (S1) word !*garo*, 'glass', and the component *kwa* to the Naron (C2) word /*kwa*, 'necklace' (Bleek 1956:377, 328).

The Cape–Saldanha word *carabac*, 'colliet', ('necklace'), recorded by De Flacourt (1658:58), prompted Nienaber (1963:296) to suggest that the component *cara* is similar to the Nama word *garas*, 'Perle', ('bead') (Rust 1960:47). Other comparable words are the /Xam (S1) word *ka:ra*, 'beads', which certainly corresponds to the component *cara* of the word *carabac*; the /Auni (S4) word !*kāro*, 'tassel of beads', and the Naron (C2) words !*koriba*, !*xoriba*, !*xoreba*, 'eggshell bead, bead of ostrich eggshell' (Bleek 1956:81, 409, 501; 1929:20).

Ten Rhyne (1673 in Schapera & Farrington 1933:154) recorded the Cape dialectal word *ey*, 'corrallia ex vitro', ('beads of glass'), which is phonologically comparable to the /Xam (S1) word /*ei*, 'beads' (Bleek 1956:272). Nienaber (1963:358) compares the word *ey* to the Nama word ≠*eis*, 'Perle von Kupfer',

(‘beads of copper’) (Kroenlein 1889:68), pointing out that Ten Rhyne spent only four weeks at the Cape and was probably mistaken about the beads being made of glass. The word *ey* and the Nama word *≠ei(s)* are thus recognisable as similar to the Auen (N1) word *≠k’i* ‘copper beads’.

### **Night**

Lichtenstein (1805 VRS X1:471) gives the Korana word *t<sup>2</sup>kaib* ‘night’, transcribed by Nienaber (1963:397) as *≠kaib*, the palatal click contrasting with the cerebral click displayed in the Korana words *!cheib* ‘night’ (Wuras 1920:36), *!kaeb*, ‘*donkerte, nag*’, (‘darkness, night’) (Engelbrecht 1928:36), and *!χaib*, ‘*Nacht*’, (‘night’) (Meinhof 1930:134). These words, incorporating the variants *ai*, *ei* and *ae*, are comparable to the Auen (N1) word *//gai* and the Hie (C1) word *kxaie*, ‘night’ (Bleek 1929:62). Interesting synonyms in this regard are Auen (N1) *\_/gu:* for *//gai*, ‘night’, *\_/gu:ka* for *//gaika*, ‘at night’ (Bleek 1929:62), *ka*, ‘at, following noun’ (Bleek 1929:17). The N/uu word *g//aa*, ‘dark, night’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:123) is comparable to the *//Ku //e* (S2c) word *//gaa*, and also to the */Xam* (S1) words *//ga:*, *//ka:* and *//’aa*, ‘night, darkness’ (Bleek 1956:522), while the *!Xuhn* word *g/u*, ‘night’ (Weich 2004:195) corresponds to the Auen (N1) synonym *\_/gu:*, ‘night’ (Bleek 1929:62), to which the Khwe word *thùú*, ‘night’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:315) bears some similarity.

### **No**

Words for ‘no’ have either the vowel *a* or *e* as root. A Cape-Saldanha word was recorded by De Flacourt (1658:58) as *nen*, ‘*non*’, (‘no’). This approximates the Nama word *heei* (Appleyard 1850:13), *hē-ē*, ‘no’ (Bleek 1929:62), *hēē*, ‘*nein*’, (‘no’) (Rust 1960:45). In these instances the double vowel represents two separate syllables, as also in words with the central vowel *a*. These include the Eastern dialectal words *aa*, ‘no’ (Sparrman 1785 II:851), *ahang*, ‘*nein*’, (‘no’) (Von Winkelmann 1788:46); and the Korana words *aa*, *haa*, ‘*nein*’, (‘no’) (Lichtenstein 1808:329), *hanhan*, ‘no’ (Burchell 1812:180), and *hãã* (*ha’ã*), ‘*nein*’, (‘no’) (Meinhof 1930:134). Regarding the word *hanhan* Burchell adds: “This has a nasal sound like that of the French words *dans, tems*”. Some Bushman words accord with the above in not incorporating clicks, such as the *!O !kuŋ* (N3) word *\_aā*, the Khwe words *á á!*, *á à!*, and *ã ã!*, ‘no!’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:315), the *!Xuhn*

word *an'an* (Weich 2004:195), and the Hie (C1) word  $\bar{k}a:a$ , 'no' (Bleek 1929:62), while others do display a click, such as the Khakhea (S5) word  $\_//ka:a$  (Bleek 1929:62). Words for 'no' also occur in forms in which the vowel has been elided, or in which it does not appear, such as the Auen (N1), Kung (N2), Naron (C2), Khakhea (S5) and /Nu //en (S6) word  $\_ \eta \bar{\eta}$ , and the 'Hottentot' word *hm-m*, 'no' (Bleek 1929:62), and the Khwe word  $N \eta!$ , 'no!' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:315).

### Nose

The language of the person recording the words under discussion may sometimes hold the key in determining Khoisan equivalents. Herbert (1634:16) recorded the Cape dialectal word *tweam* for 'nose'. The final letter *-m* in this word is the old masculine singular ending, for which *-b* and *-p* also occur. In this case the digraph *ea* is to be read as the sound in the English words 'tea' or 'meat', and, since *w* is interchangeable with *u*, *twea* may be spelt *tui*. With the initial *t* thought to represent a click, and omitting the masculine singular ending *-m*, a variant of *-b*, the word *twea* may be transcribed as  $(t)ui$ . Nienaber (1963:400) identifies the letter *w* as having been used by Herbert to represent a click, and notes that, with omission of the final *m*, the word *twea-* is similar to Nama  $\neq\text{gui}(s)$  'Nase', ('nose') (Rust 1960:44), in which case it may also be compared to the glottalised or devalarised Khwe word  $\neq\acute{u}i$ , 'nose' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:316). Also comparable is the Nama word given by Alexander (1838 I:110) as *tueip* in the place-name 'Gnu *tueip* or Black Nose', transcribed as  $\neq nu \neq\text{guib}$  (Nienaber & Raper 1977:931). With retention of the gender ending *-m*, which, as noted above, is variable with *-b* and *-p*, the word *tweam* is comparable with the Korana words  $\neq\text{guib}$  and  $\neq\text{kuyb}$  (Nienaber 1963:400; Wuras 1920:37), the former with voiced and the latter with ejective release, also with the Korana word  $\neq\text{guis}$ , 'nose' (Maingard 1964:64), now with the feminine singular ending *-s*. Some comparable Bushman words do not display a click, for example the Kung (N2) words  $ts'\acute{u}$ ,  $\bar{t}s\bar{u}$ ,  $ts\bar{u}\eta$  and  $s\bar{u}$ , 'nose'; the Sehura (C1a) words  $tsui$  and  $ts'\acute{u}$ , 'nose', and the Hie (C1) words  $tfui$ ,  $tf\bar{u}$ ,  $\bar{t}f''\bar{u}$  and  $tfwi$ , 'nose' (Bleek 1956:220, 221, 236). The Naron (C2) word  $\neq k'wi:sa$  displays the palatal click  $\neq$  as in Nama and Korana, while the Ukuambi dialectal (N2b) word  $/kuiba$  has the dental click (Bleek 1956:667, 324), as has the N/uu word  $n/ukyu$ , 'nose' (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:137).

Of course a word may be written in different ways and still have the same (or similar) pronunciation, depending on the language spoken by the person recording the word. The diphthong *eu* is pronounced as *ɔi* in German, and the Eastern dialectal words *xk'eu*, 'die Nase', ('the nose') (Von Winkelmann 1788 II:46), *t'koi*, 'nose' (Sparrman 1785 II:349), and *KoYP*, 'nose' (Thunberg 1795 II:87), the last-mentioned transcribed as /*koyp* by Nienaber (1963:401). Similarly the Korana word *t'geub*, 'the nose' (Lichtenstein 1930:469) may be compared to the Cape dialectal words *quoy*, 'de neus', ('the nose') (Valentyn 1726:107b), and *q̃uoy*, 'nasus; de neus', ('the nose') (Kolbe 1727 I:432). The /Xam (S1) words /*neutu*, 'nose' (Bleek 1956:347), may perhaps have been pronounced in the same way as its synonym /*noetu*, and the /Auni (S4) and Khatia (S4a) word /*noi* (Bleek 1956:349).

### **Not**

Witsen (1697 III CMM III:117, 118) wrote several Cape dialectal words for 'not', namely *tite*, 'niet', ('not'), and *t'aats*, *tâats* and *t'aats*, 'niet', ('not'). The word *tite* corresponds exactly to the Naron (C2) word *tite*, also *titi*, 'not, cannot, used after pron.' (Bleek 1956:204). The word written *t'aats*, *tâats* and *t'aats* is comparable to the /Auni (S4) word *taasi*, 'not to have, to lack', with its synonyms *taani* and *ta* (Bleek 1956:187), which in turn is synonymous with the /Xam (S1) words  $\bar{t}ã$  and *ta*, and their synonyms *tia*, *kia* and *tam*, 'not to do, to be unable to do' (Bleek 1956:184). This last word *tam* is like the Auen (N1) and Kung (N2) word *tam*, 'not to know, used as not', with its synonym *ta* (Bleek 1956:190). Also comparable are the Naron (C2) word *tama*, 'not', and its synonym *ta*  $\bar{t}am$  (Bleek 1956:190); and the /Auni (S4) word *tiá* and the synonyms *ta* and *ka*, 'not, will not' (Bleek 1956:202). The interaction between the different languages in this regard, and the words they have in common, is fascinating. Campbell (1815:388, 389) gives *ta* as a 'Hottentot' word and *thaa* as a Korana word for 'not', which Nienaber (1963:402-403) explains as being an abbreviation of the Nama and Korana word *tama*, 'nicht', ('not'), a variant of the Nama word *dama*, 'nicht', ('not'), recorded by Ebner (1829:341). The word *tama*, as noted above, concurs with the Naron (C2) word *tama*, and also with the N/uu word //am, 'not' (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:137), whereas Campbell's *ta* and *thaa* are also cognate with /Xam and /Auni words, as discussed above, and with the word  $\bar{t}ka$ , 'not', that occurs in Auen (N1) and !O !kuŋ (N3) (Bleek 1956:295).



Another word recorded by Witsen (1697 CMM III:117) for ‘not’ is the Cape dialectal word *kouy*, ‘*niet (buygen)*’, (‘not (bend)’), compared by Nienaber (1963:408) to the Nama word *xu*, ‘*ablassen (von Jemand oder Etwas)*’, (‘leave off, desist (of someone or something)’)) (Kroenlein 1889:52b), and to the Korana word *chu*, ‘not (for commanding)’. The word *kouy* is also comparable to the !Xuhn word /*oe*, ‘not’ (Weich 2004:195), where the diphthong *oe* is pronounced as /*ɔɛ*/, and the Kung (N2) word /*kui*, ‘not’ (Bleek 1956:324) in regard to the pronunciation of the disyllabic *ouy*, *oe* and *ui*. The Korana and Kung words have the unvoiced velar consonant *k* in common, while the !Xuhn word is develarised; the !Xuhn and Kung words share the dental click.

-O-

**Old**

Kolbe (1727 I:434) recorded the Cape dialectal verb *dida(atze)*, ‘*senescere; oud worden*’, (‘to grow old’). Nienaber (1963:414) points out that *dida* is a variant of the Korana word *geira*, ‘old, *alt*’, (‘old’), recorded by Lichtenstein (1930 11:472; Arch 1808:316). The consonants *d*, *g* and *k* are interchangeable, as are the digraphs *ai* and *ei*, as noted previously. The Korana words *geida*, ‘old’, ‘*alt*’ (Lichtenstein 1930:472), *keida*, ‘old’ (Wuras 1920:37), and *gaida*, ‘old’ (Meinhof 1930:120), are comparable with each other. The consonant *d* is also variable with *r*, showing the similarity also with the Nama word *geira*, ‘*oud*’, (‘old’) (Nienaber 1963:414), and with the Hie (C1) word *kaide*, ‘old’ (Bleek 1956:77).

**One**

Words for ‘one’ display a fairly consistent occurrence of the vowel cluster *u – i* and variants of these sounds, as in the French *oui* in the Cape dialectal word *coui*, ‘*vn*’ [i.e. ‘*un*’], (‘one’) (De Flacourt 1658:57), comparable to the word *cui*, ‘*unus*’, (‘one’) recorded by Ten Rhyne (1688 in Schapera & Farrington 1933:156), and the English *wee* in the word *istwee*, ‘one’, recorded by Herbert (1634:16). The cluster *ist* is Herbert’s way of representing the dental click /, so that the word may be rendered as /*wee*. The unvoiced velar plosive *k* is predominant in rendering the word in the Eastern and Cape dialects, as well as in Korana, Griqua and Old Nama. Thus are encountered the Cape dialectal words *k’ qui*, ‘*een; unum*’, (‘one’) (Witsen 1691 in II Molsbergen 1 1916:223), *kchui*, ‘*een*’, (‘one’) (Valenty

1726:107a), and *kôui*, the numeral '1', ('one') (Buttner 1725:68b). Kolbe (1727 I:435) gives the word as *q'kui*, '*unum; een*', ('one'). In these words the different ways of writing the same or similar sound is to be discerned.

Thunberg (1795 II:85) gives the Eastern dialectal word *KoISE*, '1', which, according to his system, may be transcribed as /*oise*, with the dental click (Nienaber 1963:259). Von Winkelmann (1788:46) gives *xeu*, '*eins*', ('one'), for the same dialect, his *x* also representing the dental click and the German diphthong *eu* pronounced as *oi*, thus /*oi* would be a transcription, which accords well with Thunberg's /*oise*. Barrow (1801 I:219) gives the Eastern dialectal word *qūae*, 'one'. Sparrman (1785 II:349) gives the Eastern dialectal *ui*, 'one', thus without a click, but for the Chinese Hottentot dialect he gives *t'koa*, with a click.

Korana words for 'one' follow the same pattern for the most part. Lichtenstein (1930:469) recorded the word *t'ko-ei*, 'one', and (1808:304) *t'ko-ey*, '*eins*', ('one'), thus with the dental click according to his system, i.e. /*ko-ei* and /*ko-ey*. Ebner (1829:342) gives the Nama word *cui*, '*eins*', ('one'), the same word that Smith (1940:284) gives for Griqua. Alexander (1838 II:165) gives the Nama word as '*kooē*', 'one', and Burchell (1812 II:179) recorded the Korana word '*kuii*', 'one', adding that it is pronounced like the English '*Quee*'.

While most of the given clicks are difficult to identify, Thunberg, Von Winkelmann, Lichtenstein and Burchell gave the dental click, which is in accordance with the Nama words /*kui* and /*gui*, and the Korana word /*gui*, '*een*', ('one') (Nienaber 1963:259), and with the Khwe word /*úí*, 'one' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:318), in which develarisation is discerned by the omission of the release *k* and *g*.

Words for 'one' in a number of Bushman languages also incorporate the dental click, in most cases also with the velar efflux *k*, such as the Auen (N1), !O !kuŋ (N3) and Naron (C2) word /*kwi*, the Naron (C2) word /*gui*, the Hukwe (C2b) words /*kwi* and /*kwie* (Bleek 1956:218), and the /Xam (S1) words /*koei*, /*koai*, 'one', 'alone' (Bleek 1956:318). However, these words have a synonym that displays the cerebral click, namely !*kwai*. The Khakhea (S5) and /Nu //en (S6) languages also have words for 'one' that incorporate the cerebral click, namely the Khakhea (S5) word !*kwæ* and the /Nu //en (S6) word !*kwai*, and, in develarised form, !*oé*, !*oai*, 'one' (Bleek 1956:463, 490).

Bushman words for ‘one’ that incorporate the lateral click are the //ŋ !ke (S2) word //kwe:, //ʔwe (Bleek 1956:599, 630), the //ŋ !ke (S2) and ≠Khomani (S2a) word //koe with a synonym //koe:nso, ‘one’ (Bleek 1956:584), and the N/uu word //’oe, ‘one’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:124), which displays glottal release. Korana also has the palatal click in the word ≠kuy (Wuras 1920:37).

Borcherds (1861:70) recorded the Korana word t’kure, ‘one’, which is comparable to the Naron (C2) word kuri, ‘merely, only’ (Bleek 1956:107).

### **Ostrich**

In the Cape dialectal words for ‘ostrich’ recorded by Witsen (1691:221) as *ammy*, ‘*een vogel struys; struthio*’, (‘an ostrich’), and by Valentyn (1726:107b) and Kolbe (1727 I:434) as *ammi*, ‘*een struysvogel*’, (‘an ostrich’) and ‘*struthio; een struysvogel*’, (‘an ostrich’), respectively, no click has been indicated. This is also the case with the Cape-Saldanha word *cama*, ‘*austruche*’, (‘ostrich’) (De Flacourt 1658:59). By contrast, Borcherds (1861:170) gives the Korana word as t’kammiep, ‘ostrich’, with an initial click, and both the Nama word /amis and the Korana word /amib, ‘volstruis, (‘ostrich’), feature the dental click / (Nienaber 1963:508). Comparable Bushman words, however, feature the palatal click, as in the Kung (N2) word ≠kam, synonym ≠gam, ‘ostrich’, and the Naron (C2) words ≠gam, ‘ostrich’, ≠gam≠gam, ‘male ostrich, and ≠gam-de, ‘female ostrich’ (Bleek 1956:656, 644).

### **Ox**

Witsen in 1697 recorded the Cape dialectal word g’hoô, ‘os’, (‘ox’) (1858:119), readily recognisable as corresponding to the Eastern dialectal word *kho*, ‘*Der Ochs*’, (‘the ox’), recorded by Von Winkelmann (1788:44), who adds: “*Das k ist hier der Schnalzer der etwa wie ein hartes k gehört werden muss.*”, (“the *k* is here a click which should be heard as a hard *k*”). Similarly, Witsen’s symbol *g’* denotes a click. Nienaber (1963:413) equates these words with the Nama word //gōb, ‘*Bulle*’, (‘bull’) (Rust 1960:13). Attention may be given to the possibility of a comparison of these words with the //Xegwi (S3) word !khoa, ‘ox’ (Bleek 1929:64) and the !Gā!ne (S2e) words //hóa and //owa, ‘ox’ (Bleek 1956:543, 627).

The /Xam (S1) word *dibi*, ‘ox’, recorded by Lichtenstein (Bleek 1956:25), is comparable to the Cape dialectal words *debitja*, ‘juvenci’, (‘oxen’) recorded by Ten Rhyne in 1673 (Schapera & Farrington 1933:154), *tibbesas*, ‘Ochsen’, (‘oxen’), recorded by Schrijver (1931:23), and *dwiessa*, ‘ossen; boves’, (‘oxen’) (Witsen 1691 in Molsbergen I 1916:216). The variability of *d* and *t* is evident in these words, while the cluster *dwi* is a contraction of *dibi*, formed by variability of the letters *w* and *b* and the elision of the vowel *i* between them.

## -P-

### *Pain*

The Korana word *t’hua* recorded by Lichtenstein (1808:329) for ‘*Schmerz*’, (‘it pains, aches’), in the expression ‘*minnong t’hua, Kopf schmerz*’, (‘head pains’). Nienaber (1963:424) is of the opinion that the symbol *t’* in the word *t’hua* does not represent a click, but that together with the *h* forms an aspirated *t* that takes the place of the affricate *ts* in the Nama word *tsū*, ‘*Schmerz, Pein, Qual haben*’, (‘ache, pain, to have a complaint’) (Kroenlein 1889:330b). If, however, the symbol *t’* was intended to represent a click, the word *t’hua* may be compared to the second component /*ku:wa* of the Hie (C1) word /*ku/ku:wa*, ‘to be bowed down with pain’ (Bleek 1956: 326), the intervocalic *w* elided in the Korana word. The word /*ku/ku:wa* has a synonym /*ku:*, which is cognate with the /Xam (S1) word /*ku:*,  $\bar{t}/ku$ , ‘to pain, bow down (with pain), be ill’ (Bleek 1956: 322). Also comparable are the Hie (C1) word *thoo*, ‘mercy, pain, repentance, to be sorry for’ (Bleek 1956: 200), the Korana word *thū* and the Nama word *tsūb*, ‘pain’ (Nienaber 1963:424), and the Khwe word *thūū*, ‘pain’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:320), nasalisation indicated with the tilde  $\tilde{}$ . The Nama alveolar fricative *s* in the word *tsū* perhaps corresponds to the Bushman alveolar or dental fricative click / in the word /*ku:*. The N/uu word *Ō’ui’i*, ‘be in pain, be sick’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:139) displays a lip click *Ō* as opposed to the dental click / of the /Xam and Hie words, and the absence of a click in other languages. The !Xuhn word *khui*, ‘pain, painful’ (Weich 2004:200) lacks a click but corresponds to the N/uu word as regards the diphthong *ui*.

### *Peace, to make*

Although no clicks are evident in three words recorded in the Cape dialect for ‘to make peace’, three different clicks feature in their Bushman equivalents. Witsen (1691 II in Molsbergen 1 1916:223) recorded the Cape dialectal word *ouchougou*, ‘*vrede maeken; pacem facere*’, (‘to make peace’); Valentyn (1726:108b) gives (*oechoegoe*) *samsam*, ‘*vrede maken*’, (‘to make peace’); and Kolbe (1727 I:433) writes (*ouchougou*) *samsam*, ‘*pacem inire; vrede maken*’, (‘to make peace’). Nienaber (1963:511) compares the component *chougou* or *choegoe* to the Nama reduplicative word *≠ou-≠ou*, ‘*besänftigen*’, (‘soothe, calm down, pacify’), with a synonym *≠kĩ-≠kĩ* (Rust 1960:10); and this word *≠kĩ-≠kĩ* is the Nama word for *befrieden*, (‘pacify, bring peace to’) (Rust 1960:9). The Nama word *≠ou-≠ou* corresponds to the /Xam (S1) words *≠gou* and *≠gau*, ‘be at peace’, ‘to be silent, quiet, at peace’, and the noun *≠gouwa*, ‘peace’ (Bleek 1956:648). Also comparable is the component /*kau* of the Hie (C1) word /*kau kakho*, ‘to make peace’ (Bleek 1956:303, 527), the component *kakho* corresponding to the /Auni (S4) word /*koko*, ‘to make’ (Bleek 1956:319). The words *oechoegoe* and *ouchougou* are perhaps also comparable in sound and meaning to the Hie (C1) words /*kau kakho* and //*gan kakho*, ‘to make peace’ (Bleek 1956:303, 527). The !Xuhn word //*aoh*, ‘peace’ (Weich 2004:201) is perhaps comparable to the Nama word *tsou*, ‘*weich sein*’, (‘to be soft’) (Rust 1960:72), the alveolar affricate *ts* approximating the retroflex fricative click //.

The alternative Cape dialectal word *samsam* is also given by Witsen (1691 I in Molsbergen I 1916:215) as ‘*samsam* (of *â*)’, (‘*samsam* or *â*’). The word *samsam* is compared by Nienaber (1963:510) to the Nama word *tsam*, ‘*weich sein*’, (‘to be soft’) (Rust 1960:72), *tsám*, ‘*weich, zart*’, (‘soft, tender’) (Kroenlein 1889:323; <https://en.langenscheidt.com.zart>). Nienaber (1963:511) compares the alternative word *á* given by Witsen with the Nama word //*ã*, ‘*lieben (phys. Liebe)*’, (‘to make love (*phys.* love)’. Wandres (1918:35) argues that //*ã* cannot mean ‘to make peace’, but Nienaber argues that “*die strekking is duidelik en die logika goed*”, (“The intention is clear and the logic sound.”). Also comparable with the words *tsam* and //*ã* are the Kung (N2) words *kamm* and *kamma*, ‘to become soft, to lie down’ and *≠amma*, ‘soft’ (Bleek 1956:78, 641), the lateral and palatal clicks corresponding to the velar consonant *k* and nasalisation represented by the tilde *~* and the nasal *m* respectively.

### People

The possibility is being explored of a word recorded early in time being composed of two words with the same meaning from different languages. For example the word *eyqua*, ‘*volcq*’, (‘folk, people’) recorded by Van Riebeeck in 1662 (Bosman & Thom III 1957:443). Nienaber (1963:507) compares the root *ey* to the Nama word //áis, ‘*das Volk*’, (‘the people, the nation’) (Kroenlein 1889:22), [from //ai, ‘*zusammenkommen*’, (‘to come together’)], and identifies the component *-qua* of the word *eyqua* as the masculine plural ending, contrasting it with the feminine ending *-s* in the Nama word and Korana //’eis, ‘clan, tribe’ (Engelbrecht 1936:2). The stem *ey* is comparable also with the //I) !ke (S2) *≠ei*, ‘people, person’, synonyms *≠’e*, *≠egen* and *!k’e*, and with the Seroa (S2d) words *≠ei*, ‘people, men’, synonym *≠’e*. The variation in the click in the //Khou words *≠’e* and *!k’e* is notable, the latter (cerebral) click also displayed in the /Xam (S1) words *!kei*, ‘people, unusual form of *!ke*’, also *!k’e*, ‘people, men’ (Bleek 1956:419). In the Kung (N2) word *≠kwa<sup>-</sup>i*, ‘people’, the variability of the vowels *e* and *i*, and thus of the diphthongs *ei* and *ai*, is discerned.

### Pig

Witsen (1691 I in Molsbergen I 1916:216, 220) recorded the Cape dialectal words *haghgou*, ‘*Holland varkens; porci hollandici*’, (‘Holland pigs’), and *hacquou*, ‘*een varken; porcus*’, (‘a pig’). Valentyn (1726:107b) gives *hakoe*, ‘*een verken*’, (‘a pig’), for the same dialect, while Kolbe (1727 I:433) includes a click in his rendering of the word as *hak<sup>~</sup>ou*, ‘*porcus; een zwyn*’, (‘pig; a swine’). The Eastern dialectal word *hango*, ‘hog’, recorded by Sparrman (1785 II:250) is phonologically and semantically similar to the Cape dialectal words, as is the /Xam (S1) word *hagu*, ‘pig’ (Bleek 1956:56) and the Nama word *hagub*, ‘*Schwein*’ (Rust 1960:55), particularly as regards the voiced velar consonant *g* in the relevant words. The vowel sequence *a – u* is retained in the Kung (N2) word */karu*, ‘pig’ (Bleek 1956:302), the velar aspirant *h* and dental fricative click with velar efflux */k* being variable. The voiced alveolar *r* of the word */karu* interchanges in this instance with the voiced velar *g* of the voiced *hagu*.

**Pipe**

Considering the French pronunciation of *sch* as /ʃ/ enables recognition of the similarity of the Cape-Saldanha word *pesché*, ‘pipe’, recorded by De Flacourt (1658:55), with the !O !kuŋ (N3) *pefi* ‘pipe’ (Bleek 1956:157).

Thunberg (1795 II:86) recorded the Eastern dialectal word *KOP*, ‘*tobakspipa*’, (‘tobacco pipe’), which correlates with the Korana word *!xob* (Nienaber 1963:424), with the final *-b* being the masculine singular ending, and with the Nama word *!khōs*, ‘*Pfeife (Tabakspfeife)*’, (‘pipe (tobacco pipe)’) (Rust 1960:47), where the final *-s* is the feminine singular ending. The gender endings are absent in the comparable Nogau (N1a) words *!kho*, *!xo* and *!koa*, ‘pipe’ (Bleek 1956:427), and the !Xuhn word *!xoh*, ‘pipe’ (Weich 2004:203). In the N/uu word *!xoosi*, ‘smoking pipe’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:80), the cerebral click with fricative release *!x* is displayed, corresponding with that in the Korana word *!xob* and the Nogau word *!xo*.

**Plain**

A fair amount of consistency in clicks and vowels can be discerned in words for ‘plain, field’. Witsen (1691 II in Molsbergen I 1916:220) recorded the Cape dialectal *k’kää*, ‘*een grote vlakke*’, (‘a big plain’). Although it is uncertain which specific click was intended in this word, cognates in different languages display the palatal click *≠*, for example the Nama words *≠kap*, ‘*vlakke*’, (‘plain’) (Nienaber 1963:502) and *≠gāb*, ‘*die Fläche*’, (‘the plain’) (Kroenlein 1889:95b), comparable with the Naron (C2) words *≠ka:*, ‘plain, flat land’ and *≠ha*, ‘field, plain’ (Bleek 1956:653, 650). Von Winkelmann (1788:46) recorded the [Eastern dialectal] word *xau*, ‘*Eine Fläche*’, (‘a plain’), adding: “*Hier ist eigentlich das x ein holer tiefer Schnalzer*”; (“Here the *x* is actually a deep hollow click”). Nienaber (1963:502) considers Von Winkelmann’s word *xau* is rather to be linked to the Korana words //hawa, ‘flat’, or *≠haba*, ‘plat wees’ (‘to be flat’), in which the variability of *w* and *b* is discernible, and hence to the Nama word *≠hab*. The palatal click *≠* is encountered in most of the words discussed; the dental click / occurs in the Naron (C2) word /ka:ba, /ka:m, ‘flat land, plain’ (Bleek 1956:295), and in the !Xuhn word /a, ‘plain’ (Weich 2004:203).

***Pleasant, nice; sweet***

The Eastern dialectal word *KaN̄JI*, 'laecker', ('sweet, nice') (Thunberg 1795 II:86), is transcribed by Nienaber (1963:370) as /*kanji*, and compared by him to the Nama word *≠koni*, 'Süssigkeit, Süsse', ('sweetness, sweet') (Rust 1960:60), and to the Korana words *!chan*, 'sweet' (Wuras 1920:50) and *≠xon*, 'süss', ('sweet') (Meinhof 1930:140). The Afrikaans word *lekker* literally means 'nice, pleasant', although *lekkers* are 'sweets'. Although the clicks do not agree, the /Auni (S4) word *≠kaĩ*, 'beautiful, pleasant' (Bleek 1956:92, 123, 655) corresponds to the word /*kanji*. The nasalisation denoted by the tilde in the /Auni word *≠kaĩ* is expressed by the nasal *n* in the word /*kanji*, the vowel cluster *aĩ* in the word *≠kaĩ* is disyllabic, and the *j* in the word /*kanji* is a bridging sound, pronounced as the *y* in the English word 'yes' (Bleek 1956:71). The (S2) words *kiai*, *kia<sup>ɛ</sup>i*, 'to be good, sweet, nice', and *k<sup>ɔ</sup>ia:i*, 'to be sweet' (Bleek 1956:92, 123), and the Khwe word *kyāi*, 'pleasant' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:326) are also comparable. Also comparable to the word /*kanji* is the N/uu word *jhaa'i*, 'om lekker te wees, om heerlik te wees, be delicious' (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:134), the glottal stop ' indicating that the word has two syllables, as /*kanji* has. The monosyllabic Korana word *!chan* discussed above is similar to the //ǁ!ke (S2) word *t'jan*, 'sweet', and the Kung (N2) word *tan*, 'sweet' (Bleek 1929:82) in sharing the root *t-an(η)*. while the Auen (N1) word *tōi* and the Khoekhoe word *≠kon* (Bleek 1929:82) are comparable to the N/uu word /*qo*, 'be sweet' (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:143). The !Xuhn word is *ka djaλa*, 'pleasant' (Weich 2004:204).

***Please***

Thunberg (1795 II:87) recorded the Eastern dialectal word *KuMSE A, HuNKOP* 'om ni behagar', ('about nine please'), which, according to his system, may be transcribed as /*kumse a, /hunkop* (Nienaber 1963:210). The word /*kumse* is comparable to the Naron (C2) words /*xumte*, 'to please', 'please (to beg)' (Bleek 1956:744, 366), encountered as /*xum te*, 'if you please' (Bleek 1929:66). Nienaber (1963:210) notes that modern Nama uses the separate words *go*, *sigō*, *tsigō*, 'gefälligt', ('please') (Rust 1960:25). The component *singa* of the !Xuhn phrase *singa mi ke kwa*, 'please; asseblief' (Weich 2004:204) bears some resemblance to the Nama word *tsigō*, 'gefälligt', ('please').



**Poison**

There seems to be a measure of uniformity in the words for ‘poison’, even poison of different types. Häszner (1793:44) gives °*keip*, ‘boom of bosch waaruit de Bosjesmans het gift bereiden’, (‘tree or bush from which the Bushmen prepare poison’). The symbol ° denotes a click, and the final *-p* is the masculine singular ending. Bushman cognates are the Auen (N1) word *\_kai*, ‘poison’ (Bleek 1929:66); the Kung (N2) words *gāi* and *kāi*, ‘poison caterpillar’, and *//kai*, ‘poison’ (Bleek 1956:42, 77, 551), and the Naron (C2) word *!gaisi*, ‘poison worms’ (Bleek 1956:376). Of these comparable words the Kung word *//kai* and the Naron word *!gaisi* seem to be the closest to Häszner’s °*keip* in that they incorporate a click. The diphthongs *ei* and *ai* are interchangeable, or different ways of rendering the same sound in writing.

**Pole**

Witsen (1858:119) gives *hiba* as the Cape dialectal word for ‘pole’, in the sentence ‘aan den hohen paal’, (‘on the high pole’). The word *hiba* corresponds to the Naron (C2) word *hiba* recorded by Bleek (1956:61) for ‘tall tree’. In this instance the Cape dialectal word corresponds exactly to the Naron word.

**Poor**

Sometimes synonyms within one and the same language are the key to determining cognates in other languages. For ‘poor’ Lichtenstein (1808:317) gives the Korana word *t’gühi*, ‘arm’, (‘poor’), transcribed by Nienaber (1963:208) as *#guhi*, and compared by him to the Nama word *!goësa*, ‘arm, arm sein’, (‘poor, to be poor’) (Kroenlein 1889:120), with the cerebral click *!*. This word *!goësa* is also phonologically comparable to the /Xam (S1) words *!kauï* and *!kwe*, ‘poor’ (Bleek 1929:67). Bleek (1929:67) gives two ‘Hottentot’ words for ‘poor’, namely *!goësa* and *!ga*. (Rust 1960:4) clarifies the difference. He gives the word *!goetsi* as ‘*bejammernswert*’, (‘pitiful’), and the words */gâsa*, */gâtsi*, as ‘*arm (all.g.)*’, (‘poor (in general)’); the word *//gâ*, */gâ gei*, ‘*arm werden*’, (‘become poor’), and the word *xüö*, ‘*arm (an Besitz)*’, (‘poor (in possessions)’). The Korana word *t’gühi* and the ‘Hottentot’ word *!goësa* are comparable to the /Xam (S1) words *k”õ:ë* and *we*, ‘pity’, and the verb *we:tn*, ‘to pity’ (Bleek 1956:125), reminiscent of the word *!goetsi*, ‘pitiful’, and to the Khwe words *djuú-khò* and *//gèù-khóé*, ‘poor; poor

person' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:327). The 'Hottentot' word  $\bar{!}ga$ , 'poor', is comparable to the Auen (N1) word / $g\bar{a}$ ; the Naron (C2) word / $k\bar{a}na$ , both displaying the dental click / that also occurs in the Nama words, and to the Hie (C1) word  $kaa$ , 'poor' (Bleek 1929:67).

### **Porcupine**

Witsen (I 1691 in Molsbergen 1 1916:216) recorded the Cape dialectal word  $ghoukou$ , 'yservarkens', ('porcupines'); Valentyn (1726:107b) recorded  $ghoekoe$ , 'een egel of yzer verken', ('an egel or porcupine') for the same dialect, and Kolbe (1727 I:431) recorded the Cape dialectal  $ghouk\tilde{ou}$ , 'hydrix; een egel', ('a porcupine'). The N/uu word / $qhooke$ , 'porcupine' (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:151), is comparable to these words, while corresponding /Xam (S1) words are // $gauxo$ , // $gau:go$  and // $gauxu$  (Bleek 1956:529, 724). A synonym for // $gauxo$ , // $gau:go$  and // $gauxu$  is // $gan$  (Bleek 1956:529, 724), cognate with the Nogau (N1a) word // $gan$ , 'porcupine' (Bleek 1956:526). Also comparable to the Cape dialectal word  $ghoekoe$  is the Khwe word  $ngo\epsilon$ , 'porcupine' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:327).

An Eastern dialectal word recorded by Le Vaillant (1790:366) for 'porcupine' is  $V-nou ap$ , 'porcupine; yzervarke', the symbol  $V$  representing the palatal click  $\neq$  and the word thus to be transcribed as  $\neq nouab$  (Nienaber 1963:539). This is comparable to the Nama word  $!noab$  'Stachelschwein', ('porcupine') (Rust 1960:58), and the Korana words  $!no\bar{a}s$  (Wuras 1920:40) and  $!n\bar{o}as$  (Engelbrecht 1928:37) which display nasalisation. Bushman cognates are the Hei // $kum$  (N2a) words  $!noab$  and  $!noe$ , 'porcupine'; the Naron (C2) word  $!noe$ , and the Kung (N1) words  $!noi$  and  $!noe$ , 'porcupine' (Bleek 1956:479, 481); also the Kua word  $\eta oe$ , and the Cua and Tsua words  $gue$  and  $n!oe$ , 'porcupine' (Chebanne 2014:8).

### **Pot**

Words for 'pot' consistently display the vowels  $o$  and  $u$  and the digraph  $ou$ . Cape dialectal words are  $sou$ , 'olla', ('pot') (Ten Rhyne 1673 in Schapera & Farrington 1933:154),  $so\acute{u}$ , 'potten; ollae', ('pots') (Witsen in 1691 Molsbergen I 1916:218),  $s\acute{o}u$ , 'een kom, of kop; olla', ('a basin, or cup; pot') (Valentyn 1726:108a), and  $so\ddot{u}$ , 'olla; een aarde pot', ('pot; an earthen pot') (Kolbe 1727 I:433). Thunberg (1795 II:86) gives the Eastern dialectal word  $SU$ , 'gryta, trumma', ('pot'); Von Winkelmann (1788:46) gives  $su$ , 'der Topf', ('the pot') for the same dialect. The

Korana word *sūb*, ‘pot’, was recorded by Wuras (1920:40), Meinhof (1930:140) and Engelbrecht (1930:20), thus with the masculine singular ending *-b*, while the Nama word has been recorded with the feminine singular ending *-s* as *sus*, ‘pot, pan or any cooking utensil’ (Tindall in Nienaber 1963:422); *sus*, ‘*Topf*’, ‘pot’ (Rust 1960:61) and *sūs*, ‘*der Topf*’, ‘the pot’ (Kroenlein 1889:303), and in Griqua as *sus*, ‘pot’ (Meinhof 1930:152 in Nienaber 1963:422). The unvoiced alveolar fricative *s* is encountered as the prepalatal unvoiced fricative *f* in the Naron (C2) words *fu*, ‘pot’; *suba*, ‘clay pot, tall pot’, and *fufa*, ‘iron pot, round pot’ (Bleek 1956:182), and varies with the unvoiced alveolar affricate *tf* in the //Xegwi (S3) word *tfu*, ‘pot’, of which a synonym is *tfwā* (Bleek 1956:288). In 1626 Sir Thomas Herbert recorded *sun* for ‘egge-shells’, i.e. ostrich-egg shells, the final *-n* of the word being the plural marker. This indicates that egg-shells were used for pots, and that the same word *su* indicates ‘pot’, made either of clay, or iron, or ostrich egg shells.

### ***Powerful, almighty***

Nienaber (1963:207) points to the interesting variations that occur when the digraph *kd* is split into *k* (*g*) and *d* (*t*). The Cape dialectal word *k?* *dya*, ‘(den) *Almagtigen* (*Schepper*)’, ‘(the) Almighty (Creator)’ was recorded by Witsen (1697 III CMM III:119), which Nienaber (1963:207) equates with the Nama word */gei*, ‘*stark*’, ‘strong, powerful’ (Rust 1960:58). The symbol *k?* is Witsen’s representation in writing of a click. Nienaber identifies it as the dental click *ʘ*. Considering that the *d* in *k?* *dya* is voiced, the word *k?* *dya* can be transcribed as */gya*, thus with the dental click with voiced efflux, */g*. This word */gya* corresponds to the /Xam (S1) words */giya*, ‘to be strong’ and */gi:ja*, ‘strong’ (Bleek 1956:279), the segment *ya* in the variant word */giya* retaining (or corresponding to) the digraph *ya* noted in Witsen’s word */dya*. A related /Xam (S1) word is *//wī:ja*, ‘very much, strongly, plentifully’ (Bleek 1956:630), this word featuring the lateral click, called the retroflex fricative click by Bleek (1929:13). In fact the word *k?* *dya* corresponds to the Cape dialectal word *diaha*, ‘*de kragt*’, ‘the power’, recorded by Witsen (1697 III CMM III 1858:117), related to the Nama word *dib*, ‘*die That, das Werk*’, ‘the deed, the work’, from the verb *di*, ‘*thun, machen*’, ‘do, make’ (Nienaber 1963:357). The Khwe word *≠’ĩĩ*, ‘power’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:238), displays the palatal click *≠* with glottal release and nasalisation that approximates the voiced dental consonant *d* of the words

*diaha* and *di(b)*. A variant form is displayed in the ‘Hottentot’ word *keip* and the Korana word *tghyp*, ‘power’, comparable to the Korana word */keip*, ‘power’ (Wuras 1920:30) and the Nama word */geib*, ‘Kraft’, (‘power, strength’) (Rust 1960:36), in which the interchangeability of the voiced velar *g* and the unvoiced velar *k* is discernible, as in the ‘Hottentot’ word */kei*, ‘strong’ and the Nama word *\_/gei*, ‘strong’ (Bleek 1929:81). A difference in click and diphthong may be discerned in the (S2) word *\_!nai*, ‘strong’ (Bleek 1929:81).

### ***Pretty, beautiful***

The Cape-Saldanha dialectal word *soa*, ‘*beau*’, (‘beautiful’), recorded by De Flacourt (1658:56) is compared by Nienaber (1963:393) to the Nama word *soë*, ‘*in etwas verliebt werden*’, (‘to fall in love with something’) (Kroenlein 1889:300), and the Korana words *sōi*, ‘merry’, and *sōem*, ‘delight’ (Wuras 1920:35, 38). Nienaber (1963:393) states that “*Die begrip ‘beau’ slaan nie op uiterlike skoonheid nie, maar is innerlik*”; “The concept of ‘beauty’ does not refer to external beauty, but is spiritual”. The words with the digraph *oe*, *oë* and *ōe* are reminiscent of the Naron (C2) words *toe*, *toë*, *tōe*, ‘pretty, beautiful’ (Bleek 1929:20; 1956:207, 745) and */u:i*, ‘pretty’ (Bleek 1956:359), in which case the unvoiced alveolar or dental plosive *t* interchanges with the unvoiced alveolar fricative *s* and unvoiced dental fricative click / that also occurs in the Nama word */hũ*, ‘*schön aussehen*’, (‘to appear beautiful’) (Kroenlein 1889:178). The N/uu word *≠huu*, ‘be good, be beautiful’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:126), displays the palatal click *≠* with aspirated release *h*. In the words discussed the spellings *oi*, *oe* and *ui* represent the same or nearly the same sound.

### ***Puffadder***

In words for ‘puffadder’ there is a great deal of consistency in the occurrence of the cerebral click *!*, in the occurrence of the variants *ai* and *ei*, as also in the variation of the voiced and unvoiced velar consonants *g* and *k*. Le Vaillant (1790:364) recorded the Eastern dialectal word  $\Delta$ -*kaip*, ‘venomous serpent’, which accords so well with words for ‘puffadder’ that it has been assumed he meant this snake. Nienaber (1963:421) identifies the symbol  $\Delta$  as Le Vaillant’s representation of the cerebral click and transcribes the word  $\Delta$ -*kaip* as *!kaip*. The word appears in Nama with both the voiced velar *g* and the unvoiced velar *k*, as

*!gëib*, ‘Puffotter’, (‘puffadder’) (Rust 1960:48), and as *!keis*, ‘puff-adder’ (Tindall 1857:106). In Korana the word is encountered as *!gais*, with the diphthong *ai* and the feminine singular ending *-s* (Nienaber 1963:421). Naron (C2) and Kung (N2) both have the word with the diphthong *ai*, but Naron has the cerebral click in the word *!gai*, while Kung has the ejective *!!* in the word *!!gai* (Bleek 1956:357, 505). In Hie (C1) the word appears without a click as *gaii*, ‘puffadder’ (Bleek 1956:42). The !Xuhn word *g//ae’e*, ‘puffadder’ (Weich 2004:207), displays the lateral click and the diphthong *ae* that interchanges with *ai* and *ei*. The Khwe word *//xεε*, ‘puff-adder’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:330), also displays the lateral click, but with fricative release and with the digraph *εε* that correlates with the digraph *ei* and *ae’e* in the comparable words.

### **Pull**

The question of whether De Flacourt’s use of the letter *h* represents a click is again raised in the Cape-Saldanha word *haib*, ‘tirer à soy’, ‘trek na jou toe’, (‘pull to you’) (1658:58). The word *haib* approximates the !Xam (S1) *//hai*, ‘to draw, wrench, pull’, and its synonym *//ha* (Bleek 1956:539), as well as the !Xuhn word *//hai !xah*, ‘pull out [with force]’ (Weich 2004:207), and the Khwe word *//hëi*, ‘pull’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:330) that also reflects the lateral click *//* and the variant digraph *ei*. The N/uu word *g≠ae*, ‘to pull’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:146), displays the palatal click *≠* and the orthographic variant *ae* of the diphthong *ai*.

A different use of ‘pull’ is encountered in the Cape-Saldanha word *sahou*, ‘tirer un fardeau’, (‘trek ’n vrag’), (‘pull a burden, pull a load’) (De Flacourt 1658:59). This word *sahou* is comparable to the Hie (C1) word *tswakho* ‘to pull out, be dug out’ (Bleek 1956:122), in that both words incorporate the sound sequence *s – a – h – o*. The Hie (C1) word *tswakho* has a synonym *\_tswa* that is similar to the Kung (N2) and !O !kuŋ (N3) word *sua:ξ*, *\_swa:ξ* ‘pull out, pluck out’ (Bleek 1956:175), in which the symbol *ξ* is used to indicate that the preceding vowel is a pressed one. Interestingly, the Hie (C1) word for ‘burden’ is *ukho* (Bleek 1956:248), and the temptation is great to consider *tswakho* to be a contraction of *tswa-ukho*, literally ‘to pull a burden’, (t)s(w)a(uk)ho(u).

### **Push**

De Flacourt (1658:58) recorded the Cape-Saldanha word *nam*, ‘*pousser*’, (‘push’), which Nienaber (1963: 472) suggests may be compared to the Nama word //*nami*, ‘*Scharmützel*’, (‘*handgemeen*’), (‘skirmish, come to blows’) (Rust 1960:52). A comparable Khwe word is //*ám*, ‘push away’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:331), that also displaying the lateral click //, but with glottalised or devalarised release rather than the nasal accompaniment *n*. Another word comparable to the Cape-Saldanha word *nam* is the /Xam (S1) word  $\bar{\neq}k\tilde{a}$ , ‘to push’ (Bleek 1956:653), in which the nasalisation represented by the tilde  $\sim$  approximates the nasal *n* in the word *nam*. Along the same lines a comparison may be sought with the Nama word  $\neq ha$ , ‘*stossen (von sich stossen)*’, (‘to push (to push from oneself)’) (Rust 1960:59). The N/uu word  $\neq'haqa$ , ‘to push’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:123) does not feature nasalisation.

### -Q-

### **Quail**

The Eastern dialectal word  $\Delta$ -*kabip*, ‘quail, *kwartel*’ (Le Vaillant 1790:367), may be transcribed as *!kabip*, the symbol  $\Delta$  used by Le Vaillant to represent the cerebral click !; the final  $-p$  is the masculine singular ending (Nienaber 1963:366). This word *!kabi(p)* is comparable with the /Xam (S1) word *!kebbi*, ‘quail, *Coturnus communis*’ (Bleek 1956:420), the cerebral click ! as well as the consonant sequence *k – b* being common to both. The front half-open vowel  $\epsilon$  may approximate the front vowel *a* in the pronunciation of the words, or, as Bleek (1956:1) observes: “the similarity of the *a* and *e* in the verb ‘to be’ with the relative pronouns and demonstratives may arise from their expressing one idea to the Bushmen”, in this instance the idea of a quail. The word *!kabip* shares the cerebral click ! and vowel sequence *a – i* also with the Nama words *!gawarib* and *!nawarib*, ‘*Wachtel*’, (‘quail’), and the interchangeability of *k*, *g* and *n* as click releases is discernible. Möller (2017:269) points out that the Nama name for this bird is onomatopoeic, referring to the sound of the flapping of its wings.

### Quickly

The Nama adverbial suffix *-sa* may sometimes disguise the Bushman stem *-sa*. The Eastern dialectal words *susa*, ‘quickly’ and *soensi*, ‘speedily’, recorded by Sparrman (1785 II:321) and Read (1814:238 in Nienaber 1963:501) respectively, are comparable in their stem *su* and *soen* to the Korana word *sũ*, ‘quick’ (Wuras 1920:42). The suffixes *-sa* and *-si* are stated to be adverbial, the latter close to Nama *-se*, and the closer similarity between Korana and the Eastern dialect is noted again (Nienaber 1963:501). The component *su* and *soen* are also comparable to the Kung (N2) *sũ*, ‘quick, quickly’ and its synonym *subuka* (Bleek 1956:173).

### Quill

Sometimes it is difficult to determine precisely what is meant by words recorded in former times. Herbert (1634:16) recorded the Cape-Table Bay word *guasaco* for ‘a quill’, but did not specify whether a porcupine quill was meant, or a feather for writing with. Nienaber (1963:418) interprets the word *guasaco* as a pen, something to write with, equating the component *gua* with the Nama word *xoa*, ‘*schreiben*’, (‘to write’) (Rust 1960:55), the component *guasa* with the Nama word *xóasa*, ‘*schreibbar*’, (‘writable’) (Kroenlein 1889:50a), and the component *co* of the word *guasaco* with the Nama word *xũb*, ‘*ein Ding, eine Sache, Grund, Ursache*’, (‘a thing, a matter, a basis, cause’) (Kroenlein 1889:52), translating *guasaco* as ‘*n krapding*’, (‘a thing to scratch with’). Bushman words comparable with the word *guasaco* are the /Xam (S1) words *!gauʔa*, ‘feather’, and *!khwa !khwa*, ‘quills on a porcupine’ (Bleek 1956:378, 432). Phonologically closer to the word *goasa* is the Naron (C2) word *//ũasa*, the feminine form of *//ũaba*, ‘feather’ (Bleek 1929:68), comparable to the N/uu word *!aqbasi*, ‘feather’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:148). The component *-co* of the word *guasaco* is perhaps comparable to the /Xam (S1) word */khu, /ku*, ‘quill’ (Bleek 1956:314).

### Quiver

The Korana word *guruhs*, ‘quiver’, recorded by Lichtenstein (1930:470), correlates well with the Nama word *!gurús*, ‘*die Pfeildose, der Köcher*’, (‘the quiver’) (Kroenlein 1889:139), with the feminine singular ending *-s*, also *!gurub*, ‘*Köcher*’, (‘quiver’) (Rust 1960:36), which displays the masculine ending

–b. These words, with the cerebral click with voiced efflux !g, correspond to the /Auni (S4) word *!guru* and the Kung (N2) word *!gu<sub>ru</sub>*, ‘quiver’ (Bleek 1956:458, 389), as well as to the develarised or glottalised Khwe word *!ùrú*, ‘quiver’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:333). Synonyms for these words, namely *!kuru* and *!koru*, display the variability of voiced and unvoiced velar accompaniments to the click, and the variability of the vowels *o* and *u*. The !Xuhn word *!uhλu*, ‘quiver; *koker*, *pylkoker*’ (Weich 2004:309), also correlates with the Korana, /Auni and Kung words as regards the inclusion of the cerebral click ! and the vowel sequence *u – u*, but displays develarisation and the symbol λ, between *l* and *r*. The Khwe word *gùrú*, ‘quiver’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:333) reflects click loss.

## -R-

### ***Rat, mouse***

A change of designation, or a single word being used for more than one type of animal, seems to have occurred in the use of the word *douroup* recorded by Le Vaillant (1790:366) as the Eastern dialectal word for ‘*rat; rott*’, (‘rat’). The word *douroup* corresponds to the Hukwe (C2b) word *gã-durub*, ‘rat, striped rat’ (Bleek 1956:42), and to the Nama word *!hae-durub*, ‘*die Ratté*’, (‘rat’) (Wandres 1918:127). These words are similar to the Nama word *durub* (-s), ‘*Maus*’, (‘mouse’) (Rust 1960:41), and the Hie (C1) word *thuru*, ‘mouse, rat’, with its synonym *dirib* (Bleek 1956:201), in which the variability of *d* and *th* and of *u* and *i* is discerned. The N/uu word *ts’uruke*, ‘mouse’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:136) resembles the Hie (C1) word in displaying the alveolar affricate and vowel sequence *u – u*, and a similarity between the unvoiced dentilabial fricative *th* and the unvoiced alveolar affricate *ts*. The Korana word *!arub*, ‘rat’ (Meinhof 1930:35) differs from comparable words in displaying a click and the vowel sequence *a – u*.

### ***Ravine***

Cape dialectal words for ‘ravine, kloof’ were recorded by Witsen (1691 in Molsbergen 1 1916:222) as *a’ouv<sub>v</sub>*, ‘*kloven; fissurae montum*’, (‘ravine; mountain chasm’); by Valentyn (1726:108a) as *aoeob*, ‘*een Berg-klove*’, (‘a ravine’), and by Kolbe (1727 1:431) as *a ~ouob*, ‘*Berg-dalen*’, (‘mountain dale’). Witsen’s double *vv* at the end of the word *a’ouv<sub>v</sub>* is a *w*, equivalent to *b*, the masculine singular ending also given by Kolbe in his word *a ~ouob*. Both Witsen and Kolbe



indicate a click by means of their respective symbols  $a'$  and  $a\tilde$ . These words are comparable with the Nama words //hāb, 'die Schlucht, Kluft', ('cleft, ravine') (Kroenlein 1889:148b), and with //hab, 'Kluft', ('ravine') (Rust 1960:35), and the /Nu//en (S6) word /kau, 'valley' (Bleek 1929:89). The Hie (C1) word !kuu, 'pass, poort' resembles the !Xuhn word /'usi, 'ravine' (Weich 2004:2010) with respect to the root vowel  $u$ , but differs as regards the click and its accompaniment, the former incorporating the cerebral click with ejective release, the latter the dental click with glottal efflux.

### Red

Van Riebeeck (1660 in Bosman & Thom III 157:310) recorded the word *kaba* as a component of the word *kabarijs*, 'rode copere kettings', ('red copper chains') and Claudius (1685:100) gives *Gabá* as the Grigriqua name of "een soort van hazen, die een roode staart en voeten heft.", ("a sort of rabbit that has a red tail and feet"). The corresponding Nama word is /aba or /awa, 'rot', ('red') (Rust 1960:50), which does not incorporate the velar  $k$  or  $g$  that features in the Cape dialectal words. The Korana words *kx'awa*, 'red' (Wuras 1920:42) and *kx'aba*, 'rot und weiss', ('red and white') (Meinhof 1930:136) incorporate the velar affricate release. Gordon (1777 Ms. 2:15) wrote about 'rooije kopjes, 'Aba 'ati klein', ('red hillocks, 'Aba 'ati, small'). It would seem that 'Aba 'ati means 'small red hillocks'. The component 'Aba is comparable to the Cape dialectal word *kaba* recorded by Van Riebeeck in 1660 (Bosman & Thom III 1957:301) for 'red'. This word is similar to the Korana word *t'abaa*, 'red' (Lichtenstein 1930:242), transcribed as /abaa (Nienaber 1963:432), the //Kxau (S2b) word *η/kxaba*, 'red' (Bleek 1956:150), and the N/uu word /x'aba, 'red' (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:140). The segment 'a of the component 'ati of the place name 'Aba 'ati is comparable with the Hadza (C3) word !a, 'hill' (Bleek 1956:369), and the component *ti* cognate with the /Nu//en (S6) word /ki, 'small' (Bleek 1929:76). A comparison of the words discussed indicates a predominance of the dental click / in instances in which a click is incorporated, the variability of  $b$  and  $w$ , and glottalisation in Nama. The semi-vowel  $w$  varies with  $v$  in the compound word *avangais*, 'rood koper', ('red copper') recorded by Wikar (1779 in Mossop 1935:76), and with  $b$  in the place-name 'Aban'huas or Red Bank' recorded by Alexander (II 1838:71).

### **Return**

The variability of the alveolar consonants *n* and *r* is discernible in words for ‘return’ and ‘go home’. Thunberg (1795 II:87) recorded the Eastern dialectal word *KaRRA*, transcribed as *≠karra* by Nienaber (1963:335), in which the palatal click differs from the lateral click encountered in the Nama word *//aru*, ‘zurückkehren (*heimkehren*)’, (‘return (return home)’) (Rust 1960:77). The Khwe word *kyáré*, ‘return’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:336) resembles the Eastern dialectal word *KaRRA* in reflecting the sequence *k – a – r*. The Nama word *//aru* has parallels in the /Auni (S4) word *\_//aru*, ‘to return, go home’ (Bleek 1956:517), and in the ≠Khomani (S2a) words *//haru*, *//haṛu*, ‘to return home’ (Bleek 1956:559), now with aspirated release to the click. The /Auni word *\_//aru* has the synonyms *\_//anu* and *//ano* that reflect interchanging of *r* and *n* and of *u* and *o*.

### **Rhinoceros**

The name *Nawaptana*, translated as *Renosterkop*, literally ‘rhinoceros head’, is a name recorded for a hill by Hendrik Wikar (1779 in Mossop 1935:120). The Dutch and Afrikaans word *kop*, ‘head’, is frequently used for a hill or hillock. The component *nawap*, ‘rhinoceros’, is cognate with the Nama word *!nawab*, ‘Nashorn’, (‘rhinoceros’) (Rust 1960:19), the final endings *-p* and *-b* being interchangeable masculine singular markers. The Cape-Saldanha dialectal word *naua* recorded by De Flacourt (1655:55), in which the *u* is variable with *w*, does not display a gender ending. In the Khwe word *ngyaáwá*, ‘white rhinoceros’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:337), the dentilabial consonant *v* is variable with the vowel written as *u* in the word *naua* and the bilabial *w* in the Nama word *!nawab*, ‘Nashorn’, (‘rhinoceros’) (Rust 1960:45). The intervocalic consonant *b(b)* that interchanges with *w* is encountered in the Hie (C1) word *gaba*, ‘rhinoceros’, the Kung (N2) word *naba*, ‘white rhinoceros’, the Auen (N1) and Kung (N2) word *!nabba*, ‘white rhinoceros’, and the Naron (C2) word *≠nabba*, ‘rhinoceros’ (Bleek 1956:41, 142, 472, 669). The component *tana* of the name *Nawaptana* is comparable with the Ukuambi dialectal (N2b) word *tanaba*, ‘head’ (Bleek 1956:192) and the Nama word *tanas*, ‘Kopf’, ‘head’ (Rust 1960:36).

**Rich**

In Dutch the digraph *oe* is pronounced like the *u* in English words such as ‘push’ and ‘pull’. The Cape-Caledon dialectal word *khoe* recorded by Van Riebeeck (Bosman & Thom III 1957:266) for ‘rijck’, (‘rich’), is thus recognisable as comparable to the /Xam (S1) word /*kuh*, ‘rich’ (Bleek 1956:324), Nama /*khu* and Korana *t’kuhb*, ‘reich’, (‘rich’) (Lichtenstein 1808:317), transcribed by Nienaber (1963:435) as /*kuhb*. In these older words the dental click is indicated, but later Nama has the cerebral in the word *!khu-hâ*, ‘reich (an Besitz)’ (‘rich (in possessions)’) (Rust 1960:49), as does Korana, as in the words *!chu*, ‘rich’ (Wuras 1920:44), *!kub*, ‘rykdom’, (‘riches’) (Nienaber 1963:435) and *!xu*, ‘reich’, (‘rich’) (Meinhof 1930:135).

**River**

Cape dialectal words recorded for ‘river’ include *kamma*, ‘riuier of water; *fluuius vel aqua*’, (‘river or water’) (Witsen 1691 I in Molsbergen 1 1916:217); *kammo*, ‘een rivier’, (‘a river’) (Valentyn 1726:108), and *k~ammo*, ‘*fluuius; vlietend water*’, (‘flowing water’) (Kolbe 1727 I:431). These are comparable with the Hadza (C3) word *kamua* ‘river, pond, waterhole’ (Bleek 1956:79).

Other words for ‘river’ include the Cape dialectal word *k’ã*, ‘een rivier; *fluuius*’, (‘river’), recorded by Witsen (1691 I in Molsbergen 1 1916:220); the Eastern dialectal *V-aap*, ‘river; *rivier*’ (Le Vaillant 1790:167), transliterated as *≠-aap* by Nienaber (1963:430), and the Korana word *t’kahp*, ‘river’, ‘*Fluss*’ (Lichtenstein 1928:491; 1808:313), transcribed as /*kahp*. Le Vaillant’s recording of *≠-aap* is comparable to the Auen (N1) word *≠ka:*, ‘riverbed’ (Bleek 1956:653) in that the palatal click is common to both, and the long vowel represented by the double vowel *aa* in the word *≠aap* indicated by the colon in the word *≠ka:*. Lichtenstein’s word /*kahp* is comparable to the /Xam (S1) words /*ka*, ‘river’, and /*k”a*, ‘riverbed’ (Bleek 1956:295, 336), and to the /Nu//en (S6) word /*a:*, ‘river’, all displaying the dental click /, but the masculine singular Khoikhoi ending *-p* is absent from the Bushman words.

The Eastern dialectal word *xae*, ‘*der Fluss*’, (‘the river’) (Von Winkelmann 1788:45), transliterated by Nienaber (1963:430) as /*ae*, may be compared to the //ǀ!ke (S2) word /*k”eĩ*, ‘river’ (Bleek 1956:339) as far as click and pronunciation

of diphthong are concerned, and also to the !O !kuŋ (N3) !*kai*, ‘river’ (Bleek 1956:405). In these words the diphthongs *ae*, *ai* and *ei* are pronounced similarly. The /Auni (S4) word ≠*ei*, ‘river’ (Bleek 1956:643), resembles the !Xuhn word !*eh*, ‘river’ (Weich 2004:215), in regard to develarisation and root vowel, although the clicks do not correspond.

### **Road, path**

Ten Rhyne (1686 in Schapera & Farrington 1933:154) recorded *doudou* as the Cape dialectal word for ‘*via*’, (‘road’), which corresponds to the Nama word *dau-dau*, ‘show the road’ (Tindall 1857:75), and *dáo-dáo*, ‘*den Weg bereiten, machen*’, (‘to prepare the way, make way’). One component *dou* in the word *doudou* is the word for ‘road’, corresponding to the Eastern Cape dialectal word *dau* for ‘road’ recorded by Sparrman (II 1785:350), and to the word *dau* ‘spoor, road, path’ that occurs in Khakhea (S5), Auen (N1), Naron (C2), Tsaukwe (C2a) and Hukwe (C2b). This word is comparable to the Khwe word *dáo*, ‘road’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:337) and to the /Xam (S1) words *dau* ‘to go’, and its synonym *dauko*, where *ko* is a particle joining verbs (Bleek 1956:22). In the words discussed the variability of the diphthongs *ou*, *au* and *ao* is discerned, reflecting the variability of the vowels *o* and *u*. The second component *dou* of the word *doudou*, ‘to show the way’, is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word /*awa*, /*auwa*, ‘to show, give, doctor’ (Bleek 1956:271), the ≠Khomani (S2a) word ≠*kauwa*, ‘to show’ (Bleek 1956:658), and the Nama word //*gou*, ‘*zeigen*’, (‘to show’) (Rust 1960:76). In these words the dental click / and palatal click ≠ approximate the palatal consonant *d*.

Two other words for ‘road’ have Bushman equivalents. Burchell (1812 II:181) gives the word ‘*tarro* (‘*tarrów*)’ as the Korana word for ‘road’. Burchell’s digraph ‘*t*’ is a representation of the palatal click ≠ (Nienaber 1963:416) that also occurs in the Korana words ≠*arob*, ‘*Pad*’, ‘road’, and ‘*Weg*’, ‘way’ (Meinhof 1930:135, 143), comparable with the Nama word ≠*garob*, ‘*Fusssteig, Pfad*’, (‘footpath, road’) (Rust 1960:24, 47), in which the voiced velar release *g* contrasts with the glottalised release of the word ≠*arob*. The palatal click ≠ does not seem to be recorded in Bushman words for ‘road’. Phonologically comparable to the word ‘*tarro*’ is the //I] !*ke* (S2) word *tirau*, ‘path’ (Bleek 1956:203). In the /Nu//en (S6) word !*karri* !*ka* and its synonym !*xarra*, ‘road’, and in the /Xam (S1) word !*kurru*, ‘spoor’, the cerebral click ! is displayed, and the vowels *a* and *u* are variable.

The N/uu word *g//uruke*, ‘animal path, footpath’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:122), is similar to the /Auni (S4) word *\_//kuru*, ‘path’ (Bleek 1956:410, 454, 593) in featuring the lateral click // and the vowel sequence *u–u*. The Korana word *‘tarro* and //N !ke (S2) word *tirau* display some similarity in sound to the other words discussed in having the intervocalic *r* in common, and in the variability of the vowels.

The other word for ‘road’ that has a Bushman equivalent is the ‘Hottentot’ word *kaip* recorded by Campbell (1815:389), with its Korana equivalents *≠eib*, ‘spoor’ (Wuras 1920 in Nienaber 1963:416) and *≠aib*, ‘voet, spoor’ (Engelbrecht 1928:76 in Nienaber 1963:416), in which the variability of *a* and *i* is seen. The Bushman word referred to is the /Auni (S4) word *≠k”ei*, ‘road, path’ (Bleek 1956:668), which displays the ejective efflux *k”* as opposed to the glottal release in the Korana words. Campbell’s recorded word *kaip* also displays the velar plosive consonant *k* that is omitted in the Korana words.

### **Rock rabbit, hyrax, dassie**

Kolbe (1727 I:432) recorded the Cape dialectal word *k̃ou*, ‘*melis; een das*’, (‘a hyrax, a rock rabbit’). The tilde *~* in the word *k̃ou* represents a click, enabling a comparison of this word with the ≠Khomani (S2a) word *!ḡōu*, ‘*dassie*’, (‘hyrax’) (Bleek 1956:492). The nasalisation denoted by a tilde in the word *!ḡōu* is expressed by the nasal consonant *n* in the Cape dialectal word *k’ on*, ‘*een das; meles seu taxusi*’, (‘a dassie, hyrax’) recorded by Witsen (1691 in Molsbergen I 1916:221), and by the nasal consonant *m* in the Eastern dialectal word *V-ka oump*, ‘a marmot; *das*’, (‘hyrax’) (Le Vaillant 1790:366), transcribed by Nienaber (1963:243) as *≠kaoump*. The nasals *m* and *ng* are employed to express nasalisation in the Korana words *t’kaump*, m(asc.), *t’kaungs* f(em.), ‘*Dachs (Hyrax capensis)*’ recorded by Lichtenstein (1808:312). Engelbrecht (1928:26) gives a develarised form of the Korana word as */aus*, ‘*n dassie*’, (‘a hyrax’), while Lloyd gives the Korana word as *!k̃āūs*, ‘*Hyrax capensis, dassie*’ (Maingard 1932:314), with the feminine singular ending *–s*. Shortridge (I 1934:381) gives the Nama word *!aūb*, ‘*klipdassie*’, (‘rock rabbit’), and Rust (1960:13) also for Nama gives *!ōub*, ‘*Dachs (Klippdachs)*’, (‘rock abbit’), thus also in develarised form and with the masculine singular ending *–b*. Bushman equivalents are also unvelarised as in the Naron (C2) word *!auŋ*, synonym *!ḡōu*, ‘rock dassie’ (Bleek

1956:372). The /Xam (S1) word is marked by the aspirated efflux *h* in the word /*hun*, ‘rock rabbit, *dassie*, *Procavia capensis*’ (Bleek 1956:290).

### **Root, bulb**

Smith (c. 1835 Ms Cape Archives in Nienaber 1963:343) recorded *n’numa*, ‘Bulb mountain’, and Alexander (I 1838:259) gives the name as ‘*Un’uma*, or Bulb mountains’. Pettman (1985:11) derives the name *Hantam* from the ‘Hottentot’ word *!Han#ami*, “(*!hani*, *Wachendorfia* sp; *!homi*, a mountain), ‘the red veld bulb mountain.’” Nienaber (1963:343) thinks is incorrect, and he states that “*vir die afleiding van die pleknaam Hantam kan nie op Alexander se ’un ’uma gesteun word nie.*”; (“Alexander’s *’un ’uma* cannot be relied on for the derivation of the place name *Hantam*”). Nienaber equates this word with the Nama word *!nomab*, ‘*Wurzel*’, (‘root’) (Rust 1960:75), and the Korana word *!numān*, ‘root’ (Wuras 1920:44). If the bisyllabic word *n’numa* or *’Un’uma* means ‘bulb mountain’, both specific and generic term must be incorporated in the words recorded by Smith and Alexander for ‘Bulb mountain(s)’. Accepting that ‘Bulb mountain(s)’ is the translation of *n’numa* and *’Un’uma*, the first component, *n’* and *’Un*, both of which signify a click, may be compared to the /Xam (S1) word /*u*, ‘stem, root’ (Bleek 1956:357), and the component *’numa* and *’uma* with the /Xam (S1) word *!hum*, ‘mountain’ (Bleek 1956:399); the Kung (N2) word *\_!koma*, ‘mountainous country’ (Bleek 1956:441), in which the variability of *u* and *o* is discernible, or the //ǀ word *//khami*, ‘mountain’ (Bleek 1956:399, 573). If *Hantam* is to be explained as ‘Bulb Mountain’, the explanation is perhaps to be sought not in the word *’un’uma*, but in the /Xam (S1) word *≠haʒna*, ‘root, fibrous rootlet’ (Bleek 1956:650).

### **Run, walk**

In various words for ‘to run’ the diphthongs *oi*, *we* and *ui* interchange. Three Cape dialectal words for ‘run’ are *koie*, ‘*loopen of gaan; currere seu ire*’, (‘to walk or to go’) (Witsen 1691 in Molsbergen 1 1916:218); (*vere*) *coje*, ‘*loopen*’, (‘to run’) (Valentyn 1726:108b), and *kojé*, ‘*loopen of gaan*’, (‘walk or go’) (Kolbe 1727 I:431). These words are compared by Nienaber (1963:299) to the Nama words *!khui*, ‘run’ (Tindall 1857 in Nienaber 1963:299), *!khoë*, ‘*laufen*’, (‘run, walk’) (Wandres 1918) and *!khoi*, ‘*laufen*’, (‘run,walk’) (Rust 1960:38), and to

the Korana words *!choe*, ‘run’, *!koe*, ‘hardloop’, (‘run’), and *!xoë*, ‘laufen’, (‘run, walk’). Comparable Bushman words are the Hie words (C1) *hwee*, *hwe*, *hwehwe*, ‘to escape, run, fly from’ (Bleek 1956:66); the Naron (C2) word *!xwōi*, *ˀ!xwe*, ‘to fly, run about’ (Bleek 1956:504); Naron (C2) *ˀ!xwe*, ‘to fly, run away, stretch along, s. *!kxoi*’ (Bleek 1956:504); the Naron (C2) word *≠xwe*, ‘to fly, run’ (Bleek 1956:681); the /Xam (S1) words *!xoe:ja*, ‘to run away from’, *//kxoi*, ‘to run away’, synonym *//kaije* (Bleek 1956:501, 504, 601), and the N/uu word *!hui*, ‘run away’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:149). Comparable Khwe words are *kwεε*, ‘run after somebody’; *xoé-xu*, ‘run away’; *qóéqoe*, ‘run (of lion)’, and *≠óé*, ‘run in front’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:339). The different ways of representing the diphthong or vowel cluster in writing is discernible in the words given, which also indicate nuances in meaning. The /Xam (S1) word *//kaije* bears a resemblance to the Khwe word *kyāa*, ‘run’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:339).

Lichtenstein (1930:472) recorded the Korana word *t'ku-üh*, ‘to run’, and the same word with nasalisation as *t''kū-üh*, ‘laufen’, (‘walk, run’) (1808:320). The symbol *t'* is his way of writing the dental click, and the word can be transcribed as */ku-üh* and */kū-üh*. The German pronunciation of *ü* as */y/* indicates that this word recorded by Lichtenstein is phonologically similar to the words discussed above. The spelling also shows similarity with the Kung (N2) word *!ku*, *!kū*, ‘to run, jump, go, come’, the (S4) word *!kuu*, *!ku'u*, *!kuse*, *!ku:xe*, ‘to run’, and the /Xam (S1) word *!kō*, ‘to run against, knock against’ (Bleek 1956:446, 455, 317). The N/uu word *≠huu*, ‘to jump’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:144) displays the palatal click *≠*.

**-S-**

**Salt**

Von Winkelmann (1788:43) recorded the word *x o*, ‘Salz’, (‘salt’), said by Nienaber (1963:463) to be in the Eastern dialect and interpreted as *≠o*, similar to the Nama word *≠ob* which has the masculine singular ending *-b*, and similar to the /Xam (S1) word *ˀ≠k'ˀo:*, (‘salt’), the difference being that the tone is not indicated by Von Winkelmann, and the /Xam word is pronounced with velar ejective efflux.

Two different spellings of the word for ‘salt’ are encountered in the Dutch and English versions of Schrijver (1689 in Molsbergen III 1922:107; 1931:227), namely *kpaki* and *kxaki* respectively. The explanation of the word provides the solution, however: Schrijver writes about “*een kleine rivier, dewelke wierd ... van de Hottentots Kpaki of Sout water genaamt*”; “a small river which is ... named *Kpaki* or *Salt water* by the Hottentots”). The components of the name are thus *Kpa* and *ki*, or *Kxa* and *ki*, *kxa* or *kpa* meaning ‘salt’, *ki* meaning ‘water’. The word *kxa* is certainly comparable to the Kung (N2) word *!gaa* and its synonym *!gã* and the Khakhea (S5) *!xa:ne* ‘salt’ (Bleek 1956:374, 497), while the component *ki* is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word *ˀi:* ‘to flow, water’ (Bleek 1956:292) and the !Xuhn word *≠’e* ‘waterhole’ (Weich 2004:326). The variation of the consonant *p* and *x* in the word *kpa/kxa* may be explained by consideration of the cluster *kp* being an attempt at writing the lip click later standardised as  $\text{ᵛ}$ , the fricative *x* the fricative Bushman efflux.

The same word is sometimes used in a language for both ‘salt’ and ‘brackish’. Thus the /Xam (S1) word */u:* is given by Bleek (1956:358) as ‘salt, used also as brackish, bitter’. The variants *kpaki* and *kxaki* discussed above bear considerable resemblance to the N/uu word *//x’aaqi*, ‘be bitter’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:119), the clusters *kp* and *kx* apparently attempts at reproducing the lateral click with glottal closure *//’*, the relevant words displaying the vowel sequence *a – i*.

The component *Tewe* in the Eastern dialectal name “*Tewe, dat is te seggen Brak rivier*”, (“*Tewe, that is to say Brackish river*”) (Beutler 1752 in Molsbergen III 1922:320) and *Deep* in the Eastern dialectal name ‘*Deepka of Brakke-rivier*’, (‘*Deepka or Brackish river*’) (Van Plettenberg 1778 in Molsbergen II 1916:68) are comparable to the Hie (C1) word *debe, debee*, ‘salt’ (Bleek 1929:71; 1956:23), and the Auen (N1) word *dibi, debe*, ‘salt’ (Bleek 1956:25). Similar to these words are the N/uu word *dyebe*, ‘salt’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:143) and the Khwe word *dòvèe*, ‘salt’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:340), cognate with the Kung (N2) word *dove*, ‘salt, salt pan’ (Bleek 1956:28), displaying the variability of *b* and *v*. The component *-ka* is comparable to the Auen (N1) word *≠ka:*, ‘riverbed’, the /Xam (S1) words */ka*, ‘river’ and */k”a*, ‘riverbed’, and the /Nu//en (S6) word */a:*, ‘river’.



### **Scorpion**

Claudius (1685:104) recorded the Nama word *ou* and the Griqua word *eynte* for ‘scorpion’, ‘*schorpioen*’. Considering the variability of the vowels *o* and *u*, the word *ou* may be compared to the Nama words *h/us*, ‘scorpion’ (Tindall 1857:96) and */hub*, ‘*Skorpion*’, (‘scorpion’) (Rust 1960:57), corresponding to the Korana words */hus* and */hūs*, ‘*Grosser Skorpion*’, (‘big scorpion’) (Meinhof 1930:139). Without making a case for it, Nienaber poses the possibility of the word *eynte* being a variant of *ou*, in which case the component *te* could be compared to the Nama feminine plural suffix *-ti*. The N/uu word *//qhana*, ‘scorpion’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:142) is comparable to the ≠Khomani (S2a) word *//’kana*, ‘scorpion’ (Bleek 1956:557); *q* is the symbol used in N/uu for the glottal stop or pharyngealisation. The word *//’kana* is also comparable with the /Xam (S1) word *ʼ!kana*, *≠kara*, ‘scorpion’ (Bleek 1929:72) as regards the ejective efflux *k* and vowel sequence *a – a*, although different clicks are noted. The word *//’kanna* is also similar to the /Xam words *!kānna*, *ʼ!kanna*, *!kaĩ̃ra*, *!kanna:ŋ*, ‘scorpion’ (Bleek 1956:407), and to the //ǀ word *!kənna:ŋ*, ‘scorpions’, with its synonym *ʼ!kanna* (Bleek 1956:421).

### **Scrape, scratch**

In the Cape-Saldanha word for ‘scrape, scratch’, given by De Flacourt (1658:57) as *coab*, ‘*gratter*’, (‘to scratch’), the final consonant *-b* is considered to be a verbal particle (Nienaber 1963:454). In that event the stem *coa* is similar to Nama word *xoá*, ‘*schaben, kratzen, graviren*’, (‘scrape, scratch, engrave’), also ‘*schreiben*’, (‘write’) (Kroenlein 1889:50a), also to the Korana word *xoa*, ‘*skraap, krap, skrywe*’, (‘scrape, scratch, write’) (Engelbrecht 1928 in Nienaber 1963:454). Bushman words comparable to the word *coa(b)* include the Auen (N1) word *\_cóa* and its synonyms *xwa:*, *xaitən*, ‘to scrape (skin), strike a light’; the !O !kuŋ (N3) words *fwa*, *fwā* and *foa*, ‘to scrape, pare’, and the !O !kuŋ (N3) word *soa*, ‘scratch, draw’ (Bleek 1956:259, 634, 183, 171). The Kung (N2) word *//xāua*, ‘to scrape off into’, incorporates the lateral click with fricative release and nasalisation, as does the N/uu word *//x’āi*, ‘to scratch (e.g. skin)’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:132), but a different vowel cluster. The !Xuhn word *n//auhn*, ‘scrape clean’ (Weich 2004:219), is comparable to the Kung (N2) *//xāua*, ‘to scrape off into’ (Bleek 1956:634) and the Khwe word *//xáó*, ‘scrape off’ (Kilian-

Hatz 2003:342), each displaying the lateral click // and the vowel sequence *a – u*, the first two mentioned also including nasalisation.

### **Sea**

Gordon (1779 Ms 2:44) gave *Hoerikwaggo* as the name for Table Mountain, and the meaning of the name as ‘*zee berg*’, (‘sea mountain’). The component *Hoeri* is phonologically comparable to the Cape words *houry*, ‘*de see; mare*’, (‘the sea’; *mare*’), also written *houri*, ‘*de see*’, (‘the sea’) (Witsen 1691 II in Molsbergen I 1916:220; Witsen 1697 III CMM 1858:119), and the Eastern dialectal word *hourip*, ‘sea; *zée*’ (Le Vaillant 1790:367). A Nama and Korana equivalent for this word is *hurib*, ‘*see*’, (‘sea’) (Nienaber 1963:438). Borchers (1861:70) gives the word for ‘sea’ as *t’koelie kamma*, literally ‘sea water’. This word incorporates a click, represented by Borchers with the symbol *t’*, and is comparable with the /Xam (S1) word *!gulikum*, ‘sea’ (Bleek 1956:388). The component *kwaggo* of the name *Hoerikwaggo* means ‘high mountain’, recorded by Von Winkelmann (1788:45) as the Eastern dialectal word *xkoago*, ‘*ein hoher Berg*’, (‘a high mountain’). The element *kwa* (or *xkoa*) is comparable with the /Xam (S1) word *!xo:wa*, ‘high’ (Bleek 1929:460). The component *go* of the name means ‘mountain’; it is also encountered in other names for this feature type, as *Kango* for the *Swartberg*, ‘black mountain’ (Raper et al. 2014:233). Burchell’s recording of the word for ‘sea’ as Korana *hūri’kamma* ‘sea-water, or sea’ (1812 II:181) is phonologically closer to the Nama word *huri //gami* ‘*das Meerwasser*’, (‘sea water’) (Kroenlein 1889:177), a click being absent in the initial component but present in the second.

### **See**

The Cape-Saldanha words *hare mon*, ‘*que mon oeil voye*’ and *harsi (haremon)*, ‘*que ie voye*’ were recorded by De Flacourt (1658:59). The component *mon* is equated by Nienaber (1963:445) with the Nama word *mū*, ‘*sehen*’, (‘to see’) (Rust 1960:56). The nasalisation expressed in the Cape-Saldanha word by the nasal *m* is indicated in the Nama word by the tilde. This word for ‘to see’ was recorded in the Cape dialect as *k’ mon*, ‘*sien; videre*’, (‘to see’) (Witsen 1691 II in Molsbergen I 1916:223), and as *kmoe* and *mu*, ‘*zien*’, (‘see’) (Valentyn 1726:108b), *k̃mou* and *k̃mu*, ‘*videre; zien*’, (‘see’) (Kolbe 1727 I:434). Ebner (1829:341) gives the Nama word as *mu*, and Lichtenstein (1808:326-327) the Korana word also as *mu*. In

these examples the variability of the vowels *o* and *u* with *ou* is discernible. Comparable Bushman words are the Hie (C1) word *moo*, ‘to see’, the Naron (C2) word *mu*, ‘to see’ (Bleek 1929:71), and the Hie (C1) word *moo*, *mo*, *mu*, ‘appear, see; sight’ (Bleek 1956:38).

Nienaber (1963:446) notes the peculiarity of the velar *k* in conjunction with the nasal *m*, which had the character of a combined sound at the time the words were recorded. This sound was possibly the lip click, *Ø*. Some words, or similar words, are sometimes used for related concepts, such as the Korana *mūp*, ‘eye’, the Nama word *mūs*, ‘*Auge*’, (‘eye’), from the verb *mū*, ‘to see’, and the Bushman words *mu*, *moo*, ‘to see’. The tilde *~* in the Korana and Nama words is also encountered in the Khwe word *mūũ*, ‘see’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:343), indicating nasalisation. Taking the variability of *o* and *u* into account, and recognising that the cluster *km*, *k’m* and *k~m* approximates the lip click *Ø* that is “made by pressing the lips together and releasing them as in a kiss” (Bleek 1929:13) shows the Cape dialectal words *k’ mon*, *kmoe*, *k~mou* and *k~mu* to be comparable to the Khatia (S4a) word *Opwoi*, ‘eye’ (Bleek 1956:686, 715). The alternative Cape dialectal word *haresi* given by De Flacourt is comparable to the Auen (N1) word *!hā*, ‘to see’; the /Nu//en (S6) word *//ko:re*, ‘to look’ (Bleek 1929:71, 55); and the N/uu word *≠aqe*, ‘to look, to watch’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:133), in which the consonant *q* is used as a symbol to denote pharyngealisation, as in Khwe and West !Xoon.

### **Seek**

De Flacourt (1658:58) recorded the word *heua*, ‘*chercher*’, (‘to seek, to look for’), categorised by Nienaber (1963:461) as of Cape-Saldanha origin. The word *heua* bears a strong similarity to the Khwe word *qéú*, ‘seek’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:343) in displaying the cluster *eu*; the letter *q* is used for the uvular plosive (Kilian-Hatz 2003:7), while De Flacourt sometimes used the letter *h* to denote the unvoiced glottal stop (Nienaber 1963:109), which is the same sound. Wikar (1779 in Mossop 1935:82) recorded the Nama word *oua*, ‘*zoekt*’, (‘look for’), both being comparable to the Nama word *oã*, ‘*soek*’, (‘seek’) (Nienaber 1963:461). Also lacking the click is the comparable Auen (N1) word *k”oa*, ‘to seek food’ and its synonym *k”aru* (Bleek 1956:124). The /Xam (S1) word */k’wā*, ‘seek food’ (Bleek 1929:72), incorporates the dental click */*, while the /Xam word *≠koea*, ‘to

seek springbok kids', displays the palatal click (Bleek 1956:663). The Sesarwa (S5) word //kāĩ and its synonym //kani, and the /Nu//en (S6) word //kāĩ, 'look for' (Bleek 1929:55), correspond to the N/uu word //āa'i, 'to look for' (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:143), reminiscent of the /Xam word //gauε, 'seek' (Bleek 1929:72).

Another Cape-Saldanha word recorded by De Flacourt (1658:58) is *gabi*, 'foüiller', which is cognate with the /Xam (S1) word /xabbe, /xabbe:, 'to hunt, seek' (Bleek 1956:362), and the /Xam (S1) word //gauë, 'look for' (Bleek 1929:55), the latter with the lateral click. The !Xuhn word *g!aoh*, 'to seek' (Weich 2004:219), has a phonologically comparable vowel sequence to the /Xam word //gauë, the variability of the vowels *o* and *u* being evident, but it displays a different click, namely the cerebral !.

### **Sew**

The vowel *u* is variously heard as back close vowel *u* or back half-close vowel *o*, as discernible in the words for 'to sew'. The Eastern dialectal word was recorded by Thunberg (1795 II:86) as *oM*, 'sy, stoppa', ('sew, mend'), transcribed by Nienaber (1963:395) as /om, comparable to the Nama word ≠um, 'sew' (Tindall 1857 in Nienaber 1963:395), ≠om, 'nähen', ('sew') (Rust 1960:44), and the Korana words ≠'um, ≠'om, 'nähen', ('sew') (Meinhof 1930:134), the variability of *o* and *u* much in evidence. Comparable Bushman words exhibit the variability of *u* and *a*, as in the /Xam (S1) words ≠um, ≠umm, and the Kung (N2) word ≠um, 'to sew' (Bleek 1929:73; 1956:676), varying with the /Xam (S1) word ≠Am, the //I!ke (S2) word /kxama, and the Khakhea (S5) word \_//ame, 'to sew' (Bleek 1929:73). It is noted that the //I!ke (S2) word /kxama agrees with the Eastern dialectal word /om as regards click, and that the Khakhea word \_//ame is alone in displaying the devalarised lateral click //.

### **Shadow, shade**

A Korana word was recorded by Burchell (1812 II:181) as 'karáap or karāp, 'shadow', transcribed as ≠karaap by Nienaber (1963:449). Comparable Korana words for 'shadow' were written as *garrab* by Wuras (1920:46), and as *garab*, 'Schatten', ('shade'), by Meinhof (1930:136). The Nama word *garab*, 'Kühle', ('cool') (Rust 1960:37) has some semantic resemblance to this word as well

as the obvious orthographic correspondence. In the examples cited above the variability of the voiced and unvoiced velar consonants *k* and *g* is evident. It is worthy of note that the Korana and Nama words do not incorporate a click, whereas Burchell's recording of *'karáap* does. The presence or alternatively absence of a click is also seen in the Nogau (N1a) word *kari*, *karise*, 'shade', and the Hie (C1) word */karaisi*, 'shadow' (Bleek 1956:89, 302). The !Xuhn word *!hana*, 'shadow; skaduwee, koelte' (Weich 2004:220, 221), displays the vowel cluster *a – a*, the cerebral click *!*, and the variability of *r* and *n*.

### **Shine**

De Flacourt (1658:56) recorded the Cape-Saldanha dialectal word *caeco* as *'luisant'*, ('shining'). Nienaber (1963:455) compares the first component *cae* with the Nama word *≠kèi*, *'glänzen'*, ('shine') (Rust 1963:27), and with the Korana words *≠chei*, 'shine' (Wuras 1920:46) and *≠xaĩ*, *'der stechende Glanz der Sonne'*, ('the stinging glow of the sun') (Meinhof 1930:128). Bushman equivalents that are phonologically and semantically comparable to the component *cae* are the /Xam (S1) words */kai*, */kaĩ*, 'to light, shine'; */kei*, */keĩ*, */keinja*, 'to shine' (Bleek 1956:297, 308), the N/uu word */qaa*, 'shiny, to shine' (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:119), and the Khwe word *//qáà*, 'shine' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:345). The //ǀ!ke (S2) word *!ke:i*, 'to shine' (Bleek 1956:420), displays the cerebral click *!*, while the Korana words *≠chei* and *≠xaĩ*, and the Nama word *≠kèi*, *'blinken, glänzen, herrlich sein'* (Kroenlein 1889:206b) feature the palatal click *≠*. Nienaber (1963:455) notes the possibility that the second component *co* of the word *caeco* may be comparable to the Nama word */kōu*, *'strahlen'*, ('to beam') (Rust 1960:59), *caeco* thus like Nama *≠kèi/kōu*, *'straal, blink, skyn, skitter'*, ('beam, sparkle, shine, glitter'). The suffix *-co* of the old dialectal word *caeco* may, however, be an adjectival formant, 'shiny', or a verbal particle 'to shine'.

### **Shoe, sole**

The earliest word recorded for 'shoe' is the Cape-Saldanha dialectal *abocoa*, *'soulie'* (De Flacourt 1658:56), without a click, while the Korana word *t<sup>2</sup>abókōa*, *'Schuhe, Sohlen'*, ('shoe, soles') (Lichtenstein 1808:309), transliterated as *//abókoa*, does incorporate the lateral click *//*. The second component *-coa* of the word *abocoa* and the component *-kōa* of the word *t<sup>2</sup>abókōa*, i.e. *//abókoa*, denote the

masculine plural ending. Comparable Bushman words for the stem *abo* are the /Auni (S4) and Khatia (S4a) word //abo, ‘shoe’ (Bleek 1956:515); the Khwe word //àvòò, ‘shoe’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:345), both with the glottal click release, and the Naron (C2) words //nabbo and /nabo, ‘shoe, sandal’ (Bleek 1956:513, 613, 472), these with nasal click release *n*. It would thus seem, by comparison with these Bushman words and the Korana word //habob, ‘Schuh’, (‘shoe’) (Meinhof 1930:138) and the Nama word //hawob, ‘der Feldschuh’, (‘the veld shoe’) (Rust 1960:21), that Lichtenstein’s ‘second’ click was intended as the lateral //. The word occurs as the first component of the ethnonym *Chabobe* recorded by Wikar in 1779 (Mossop 1935:24) for the *Velskoendraers*, (‘skin shoe wearers’), Nama //Haboben, written //Hawòbis, ‘die Fellschuhträgerstamm’ (‘the skin shoe wearer tribe’) by Kroenlein (1889:152a), again indicating the variability of *w* and *b*.

### **Shoot**

Two words for ‘to shoot’ have Khoisan equivalents, namely the Cape-Saldanha word *hcaho* and the Korana word *t’noaa*. The word *hcaho* was recorded by De Flacourt (1658:59) and explained as ‘tirer de l’arc’, (‘draw the bow’). The initial letter *h* was used by De Flacourt to denote a click (Nienaber 1963:257), and the word *hcaho* thus approximates the Nama word //khōu, ‘schiessen (Pfeil)’, (‘shoot (arrow)’) (Rust 1960:53); the Naron (C2) word //xaũ, ‘to shoot with an arrow’ (Bleek 1956:633); and the Khwe word //áó, ‘shoot’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:345). The click is not reflected in the /Xam (S1) word *txau*, ‘to shoot’, or in the Auen (N1) and Kung (N2) word *txau*, ‘to shoot, strike, throw’ (Bleek 1956:244, 245). The Cape-Saldanha dialectal word *hcaho* displays an intervocalic glide *h* that is not observed in the diphthongs *au* and *ou* in the equivalent words. The vowel sequence *a – o* that occurs in this word and in the devalarised or glottalised Khwe word //áó is variable with the sequence *o – u* in the Nama word //khōu, in which nasalisation is denoted by the tilde ~, and with the sequence *a – u* in the /Xam, Auen and Kung word *txau* and the Naron word //xaũ. The words //khōu and //xaũ, ‘to shoot with an arrow’, feature the lateral click with plosive and fricative release respectively, as well as nasalisation. The frequent to ubiquitous occurrence of the lateral click in the words discussed suggests that the initial cluster *hc* in the Cape-Saldanha dialectal word *hcaho* denotes the lateral click.

The Korana word *t'noaa*, 'to shoot' (Lichtenstein 1930:471) was transcribed by Nienaber (1963:450) as */noaa*, with the dental click. Comparable Nama and Bushman words display other clicks. The palatal click occurs in the Nama word *≠noa*, 'schieszen (Gewehr)', ('shoot (gun)') (Rust 1960:53), the /Auni (S4) words *≠no'a*, *≠noa*, 'to shoot, hit' (Bleek 1956:673, 753, 596). The lateral click features in the /Auni (S4) word *//kwa*, 'to shoot' (Bleek 1956:596) and the Naron (C2) word *//nwa*, 'to shoot' (Bleek 1956:623), while the cerebral click is seen in the //ǀ!ke (S2), Auen (N1) and Naron (C2) word *!nwa:*, 'to shoot with a gun' (Bleek 1956:486). Although a variety of clicks is discernible, the vowel sequence *o – a* is consistent, *o* at times being interchanged with *w*.

### **Shoulder**

The word *xg'ae* 'Schulter', ('shoulder'), recorded by Von Winkelmann (1788 (2):46), was identified by Nienaber (1963:454) as deriving from the Eastern dialect and was transcribed by him as either *≠gae* or *//gai*. Some comparable Bushman words display the lateral click, for example the /Xam (S1) words *\_//gaꞤe*, *//ga:e*, *//gai*, *//gaiꞤ*, 'shoulder, shoulderblade', also occurring in //ǀ!ke (S2), /Nu//en (S6) and Auen (N1) (Bleek 1956:523, 524), and in the N/uu word *//aqe*, 'shoulder' (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:142), in which the consonant *q* is used to denote the uvular plosive. The lateral click is also displayed in the Nama word *//karap*, and in the Korana word *//garab*, 'bladbeen', ('shoulderblade') (Nienaber 1963:454). The !Xuhn word *g≠ava*, 'shoulder' (Weich 2004:222), displays the palatal click, and is thus comparable with Nienaber's interpretation of *xg'ae* as *≠gae* or *≠gai*.

Another word for 'shoulder' is *hchap*, 'espaule', ('shoulder'), recorded by De Flacourt (1658:58) and stated to be from Cape-Saldanha (Nienaber 1963:454). This word is comparable with the Hadza (C3) word *xlekape*, 'shoulderblade', and the Hie (C1) *kabaa* and its synonym *//kabuxa:te*, 'wing, shoulderblade' (Bleek 1956:259, 548). The !Xuhn word *!ka tzi*, 'shoulder' (Weich 2004:222), is also comparable to the word *hchap*.

### **Sick, ill**

The Eastern dialectal word *kaisin* was recorded for 'sick' by Sparrman (1785 II:351), and Lichtenstein (1808:316) recorded the Korana word *t'aisse*n for 'krank', ('sick, ill'), which may be transcribed as *//aisse*n, with the lateral click

(Bleek 1956:583). This rendering correlates to some extent with the Nama word /*aisen*, ‘*krank werden*’, (‘to become sick’) (Rust 1960:36), except that this word has a dental click. Also recorded with the dental click are the /Xam (S1) words /*keisin*, /*keisi*, ‘to be ill, sick’ (Bleek 1956:308), which, however, display the variant diphthong *ei*, i.e. the interchangeable *e* and *a*. The Korana words recorded as /*kxeisen* and /’*aisen*, ‘be sick’, by Wuras (1920:46), and as /’*ai-sen*, ‘*krank sein*’, (‘be sick’), by Meinhof (1930:131), not only vary in the vowels *a* and *e*, but respectively display the fricative efflux *x* and the glottal stop or uvular plosive ’ as click release. Correlating with the Korana word *t’<sup>2</sup>aissen* or //*aissen* as regards the incorporation of the lateral click is the /Xam (S1) word *t’<sup>2</sup>koassing*, transliterated as //*koasiŋ*, ‘ill, sick’ (Lichtenstein in Bleek 1956:583). However, the diphthong *oa* occurs in the /Xam word.

### **Sing**

Lichtenstein (1808:220) recorded the Korana word *t’<sup>1</sup>knai* [/knai] for ‘*singen*’, (‘to sing’), thus with the dental click. Ebner (1829 in Nienaber 1963:446) recorded the Nama word as *nai*, thus without a click. The Korana words //*nai* and //*nae*, ‘*sing*’ are given by Nienaber (1963:446), the former corresponding to the Nama word //*nai*, ‘*singen*’, (‘to sing’) (Rust 1960:57), also corresponding to the Khakhea (S5), Auen (N1) and Naron (C2) word //*nai*, ‘to sing, talk’, and the /Nu//en (S6) words //*nei*, //*ne*:, ‘to clap hands, sing’ (Bleek 1956:613, 618), the variability of *a* and *e* to be discerned in the last-mentioned words.

### **Sit**

Several words for ‘sit’ which have been identified as being from the Cape dialect (Nienaber 1963:446) have Bushman words that correspond to them. Matelief (1608:134) gives *kahou*, ‘*neder sitten; sit neder*’, (‘sit down’). This word is similar in sound and meaning to the second component of the Hie (C1) word *n//kaha*, ‘to sit by the side of’ (Bleek 1956:151), as are the //ŀ *!ke* (S2), //Kxau (S2b) and /Auni (S4) words *!kāu*, *!au* and *!kau!kau*, ‘to sit’ (Bleek 1956:411).

Witsen (1691 I, Molsbergen 1 1916:218) gives the Cape dialectal word *nouw*, ‘*sitten; sedere; zitten; sedere*’, (‘to sit’); also as *-gnöa*, ‘*sittende*’, (‘seated’). Kolbe (1727 I:474) gives *nöuw*, ‘*sedere; zitten*’, (‘to sit’), the diresis identified by Nienaber (1963:446) as indicating nasalisation. This insight makes it possible to



compare the word to the Nama word  $\ne n\ddot{u}$ , ‘*sich setzen*’, (‘to seat oneself’) (Rust 1960:57). The Korana word  $\ne nu$ , however, does not incorporate nasalisation, but displays the nasal release of the palatal click. Also comparable are the //ǀ word /S2/  $!ke$  (S2) word  $/nau$  ‘to be, sit, marry’ (Bleek 1956:348); the N/uu word  $n/au$ , ‘marry’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:146), the /Xam (S1) word  $!hau$ , ‘to sit, be together in troops’ (Bleek 1956:395), and the Auen (N1) word  $!nau$ ,  $\ne nau$ , ‘to sit down’. Modern equivalent words are the Kua and Cua word  $n\ddot{u}$ , and the Tsua words  $n\ddot{u}$  and  $n\ddot{u}$ , ‘to sit’ (Chebanne 2014:8).

In Witsen’s Cape dialectal word  $gn\ddot{o}a$ , ‘*sittende*’, (‘seated’) (1697 III CMM III 1858:119), the initial voiced velar consonant  $g$  is presumed to represent a click, the diæresis on the letter  $\ddot{o}$  in the cluster  $\ddot{o}a$  indicates that the letters should be pronounced separately, or, as Nienaber (1963:446) surmises, to indicate nasalisation. The word  $gn\ddot{o}a$  is thus comparable to the Nama word  $\ne n\ddot{o}a$ , ‘*sitzen*’, (‘to sit’) (Rust 1960:57). With cognisance taken of the variability of  $n$  and  $k$ , or of ejective and nasal effluxes in this instance, the word  $gn\ddot{o}a$  is seen to be comparable with the Naron (C2) word  $!ko:a$ , ‘to sit’ (Bleek 1956:437), the /Xam (S1) word  $//koa$  and its synonym  $//ko$ , ‘to sit, place, put’, that also occurs in //Xegwi (S3), Khatia (S4a) and !O  $!ku\eta$  (N3) (Bleek 1956:582), and with the Naron (C2) word  $!nwa$  and its synonym  $\bar{!n\ddot{u}}$ , ‘to sit’ (Bleek 1956:87). A similarity may be seen between the /Xam (S1) word  $//ko$  and the N/uu word  $soo$ , ‘to sit’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:142), the retroflex fricative click  $//$  being approximated by the unvoiced alveolar fricative  $s$  (Bleek 1929:13, 1956:161).

### **Skin**

Herbert (1634:16) gives the word  $gwummey$  for ‘a skin’, a word equated by Nienaber (1963:493) with the Nama word  $\ne n\acute{a}mi$ ,  $\ne n\acute{a}ms$ , ‘*der Kaross, der Schafpelz*’, (‘the kaross, the sheep-skin’) (Kroenlein 1889:250a) and with the Korana word  $\ne namma$ , ‘*karos*’, (‘kaross’). The semi-vowel  $w$  in the word  $gwummey$  is the symbol for the click. If the vowel  $u$  is pronounced as in English *bun*, thus approximating the Nama and Koranna pronunciation of  $a$  in the words  $\ne n\acute{a}mi$ ,  $\ne n\acute{a}ms$  and  $\ne namma$ , such a correlation with the word  $gwummy$  is perhaps possible. The vowels  $g$  and  $n$  are interchangeable in certain circumstances, as in the words  $nuka$  and  $guka$ , ‘hyena’, and the words  $nona$  and  $\ne gona$ , ‘three’, as indicated by Nienaber (1963:181), and the ending  $ey$  is pronounced as in *key*,

corresponding to the Nama pronunciation of the vowel *i*. If, on the other hand, the vowel *u* in the word *gwummey* is pronounced as in the English word *put*, then the segment *gwu* of the word *gwummey* is similar to the /Xam (S1) and //ǀ !ke (S2) word *tũ*, the Sesarwa (S5) word *t'yim*, and the /Nu //en (S6) word *\_t'um*, 'skin' (Bleek 1929:76). The final segment *ey* of the word *gwummey* is like the Khoikhoi neuter singular ending *-i*. It is notable that the Bushman words lack the click recorded by Herbert. However, in words that display the variant *o* the click is evident, as in the Auen (N1) word *̄/no*; the Auen (N1) and Kung (N2) word */nɔɔ*, the Kung (N2) and !O !kuŋ (N3) word *̄/no*, 'skin' (Bleek 1929:76), and the !Xuhn word *n/o*, 'vel', ('skin, hide') and *n/o*, 'nerf', ('skin') (Weich 2004:223). As noted, the dental click / features in these words. The //ǀ !ke (S2) word */kou*, 'skin, leather' (Bleek 1956:321), displays the dental click as well, but here the variability of the vowels *o* and *u* is discernible. The lateral click occurs in the Xam (S1) word *//go*; 'skin' and the Ki /hazi (S4b) word *//ɔ*, 'skin' (Bleek 1965: 625), while the palatal click occurs in the Auen (N1) word *̄no* (Bleek 1956:673). The N/uu word *jōo*, 'skin' (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:148), the Khwe word *khòó*, 'skin' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:348) and the Naron (C2) word *ko*; 'skin', do not incorporate a click, but reflect the variation of *u* and *a* as in the relevant words above.

### *Sleep*

De Flacourt (1658:57) recorded the Cape-Saldanha word *cohé*, 'dormir', ('to sleep'), which correlates in sound and meaning with the Cape dialectal words recorded by Witsen (1691 in Molsbergen 1 1916:217) as *quee*, 'slaepen; dormire', ('to sleep'), and by Buttner (1725:67b) as *kôoi*, 'schlaffen', ('to sleep'). Other comparable words are the //ǀ !ke (S2) and Hie (C1) word *!kwe*, 'to sleep'; the Hie (C1) words */koe*, 'to sleep' and *!hoe*, 'to be asleep', and the Sehura (C1a) word *'goe*: and its synonym *!hoe*, 'to sleep' (Bleek 1956:462, 318, 398, 688). Nienaber (1963:457) links the word *cohé* to the Nama word *//goë*, 'liegen', ('to lie down') (Rust 1960:39). These words are also comparable to the Khwe word *//óé*, *//òe*, 'sleep' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:348), which share the diphthong *oe*. The !Xuhn word *g//u*, 'sleepy' (Weich 2004:224) also displays the lateral click, while the N/uu word *Oun*, 'to sleep' (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:143) displays the lip click and nasalisation.

The Cape dialectal word *k'komma*, 'slapen', ('to sleep'), recorded by Witsen (II 1691 in Molsbergen 1 1916:223), resembles the Eastern dialectal words *t'kom*, 'to sleep' (Sparrman 1785 II:351) and *x-omm*, 'schlafen', ('to sleep') (Von Winkelmann 1788:46), as well as the Korana word *t'<sup>2</sup>kchom*, 'to sleep' (Lichtenstein 1930:472), transcribed by Nienaber (1963:457) as either //kchom or ≠kchom, thus respectively with the lateral click or the palatal click with affricate efflux. The variability of the voiced and unvoiced velar consonants *k* and *g* permits consideration of a comparison with the Hie (C1) word //gom, 'to sleep' (Bleek 1956:533), and the Khwe word ≠'óm, 'sleep' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:348), the latter with glottal release.

A number of words for 'sleep' occur in non-velarised form, namely the Eastern dialectal *oM* (Thunberg 1795 II:86), transcribed as /om by Nienaber (1963:457), the Nama words //om, 'schlafen', ('to sleep') (Rust 1960:53) and //um, 'sleep' by Tindall (1857 in Nienaber 1963:458), and as Korana //um by Wuras (1920 in Nienaber 1963:458). Nama also has the noun with the palatal click, namely ≠oms, 'Schlaf', ('sleep') (Rust 1960:53), as has the Khwe word ≠'óm, 'sleep' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:348), with glottal release, as noted above. The variability of the vowels *o* and *u* in the various words is notable.

Kolbe frequently indicates a click for Cape dialectal words when Witsen and Valentyn do not. One such word is *k̃omquee*, 'dormire; slapen' (Kolbe 1727 I:431), for which Valentyn (1726:108b) gives *komquee*, 'slapen'. These words have been equated with the Nama composite //om//goë, 'lê-slaap' (Nienaber 1963:457), from //om, 'schlafen' ('sleep') (Rust 1960:53), //goë, 'legen', ('lie down') (Kroenlein 1889:117).

### **Sleepy**

The variability of *r* and *l* is discernible in the relevant words for 'sleepy'. Sparrman (1785 II:351) gives the Eastern dialectal sentence *tili ka-kule*, 'I am sleepy'. Nienaber (1960:487) interprets the segment *tili* as a variant of *tiri*, similar to Nama *tita*, 'I'. The segment *tili* also corresponds to the Naron (C2) word *tire*, 'I' (Bleek 1956:203); the segment *ka-ku* is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word /kō/kōa, 'sleepy, to feel sleepy' (Bleek 1956:322), and the Khwe word ≠'óm-kx'àò, 'be sleepy' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:348).

### **Small**

The Cape-Saldanha word recorded by De Flacourt (1658:51) as *ghemech*, ‘*petit*’, (‘small’), has cognates that display voiced and unvoiced alveolar affricates as well as the voiced alveolar plosive consonant *d*. These are the Auen (N1), Kung (N2) and !O !kuŋ (N3) word *tseme*, *tsema*, ‘small, little’ (Bleek 1956:215), synonym *ts’e*; the Kung (N2) and !O !kuŋ (N3) word *dze:ma*, *tsema*, ‘new, small’ (Bleek 1956:31), the !Xuhn word *tzema*, ‘small’ (Weich 2004:224), and the Kung (N2) word *de:me*, *de:ma*, ‘little, fem. s. *de*, woman, dim. *ma*’ (Bleek 1956:24). In these instances the comparable words share the vowel sequence *e – e*, also displaying a variability of the affricates *gh*, *ts*, and *dz* and *tz*. Comparable with the !O !kuŋ (N3) synonym *ts’e*: of the word *tseme*, *tsema*, ‘small, little’ (Bleek 1956:215), is the N/uu word ≠ĩ, ‘be small’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:131). The component *ghe* is also comparable to the Cape dialectal word *ché* that occurs in the word *gauché*, ‘*auriculaire*’, (‘little finger’), recorded by De Flacourt (1658:58), the component *gau* in this instance meaning ‘finger’, similar to the Kung (N2) and !O !kuŋ (N3) word //gau, ‘finger’ (Bleek 1956:528).

### **Smoke, to smoke**

Lichtenstein (1928:472; 1808:319) recorded the Korana word *t’kei*, ‘to smook’, and *t’key*, ‘*rauchen*, *saugen*’, (‘to smoke, to suck’), transcribed by Nienaber (1963:434) as /kei, /key, thus with the dental click. The dental click also features in the Korana word /kxʔan, ‘to smoke’ (Maingard 1964:60), in which the fricative efflux *x* is noted, as well as the variation of the vowels *e* and *a*. The Korana word ’ai’kanna was recorded for ‘smoke’ by Burchell (1812 II:181). The apostrophes indicate clicks, and ’ai’kanna can be transcribed as /ai/kanna, literally ‘fire-smoke’, similar to the Nama and Korana words /ais, /aib, ‘fire’, and //kxanna, ‘smoke’ (Wuras 1920:47), given by Meinhof (1930:115) as /kx’anna, ‘*Rauch*’, (‘smoke’).

More recent Korana cognates incorporate the palatal click ≠ and are encountered as ≠kei, ‘smoke (a pipe)’ (Wuras 1920:47) and ≠gai, ‘*aan ’n pyp trek*, *rook*’, (‘to draw on a pipe, to smoke’) (Engelbrecht 1928 in Nienaber 1963:434), and in Nama as ≠gai, ‘*ziehen*, *Pfeife rauchen*’, (‘pull, smoke a pipe’) (Rust 1960:76, 49) and ≠kei, ‘smoke’ (Tindall 1857 in Nienaber 1963:434), the variability of *e* and *a* and of *g* and *k* being evident. The palatal click is displayed in the Kung (N2) word

*≠ke:* and its synonym *≠ge* ‘to smoke’ (Bleek 1956:658), while the dental click that tallies with Lichtenstein’s /*kei* and /*key* is encountered in the Auen (N1) word /*ke:* ‘to smoke’ (Bleek 1956:307). The !Xuhn word //hai, ‘smoke’ (Weich 2004:225) displays the lateral click with aspirated release; the vowel sequence *e – i* is encountered in the Khwe word //hèi, ‘smoke (tobacco, marijuana)’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:349), which features the lateral click with aspirated release. The cerebral click occurs in the /Nu//en (S6) word !*kai* and its synonym !*ko* (Bleek 1956:404), while in the Khakhea (S5) word *tfxai* and its synonym *tferi*, ‘to flare up, smoke’, no click occurs (Bleek 1956:238). Shah and Brenzinger (2016:141) give *≠ae* as the noun ‘smoke’ in the N/uu language, which agrees in click *≠* and diphthong *ei* and *ae* with the Korana and Nama verbs *≠kei* and *≠gai* above, taking into account that *ei* is the German spelling for the sound /ai/, and that *ae* is the modern spelling of the same sound. It is to be borne in mind that the difference in clicks may well be the result of the word ‘smoke’ having different transitive and intransitive applications that are not always reflected in the translations given by the writers. Thus a person may smoke, and a fire may smoke. The N/uu word for the verb ‘to smoke’ is !*xoosi* (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:141).

### **Snake**

There is a striking degree of similarity and compatibility in the words for ‘snake’ in the various Bushman and Khoikhoi languages. Lichtenstein (1808:283) gives the Korana word *t<sup>2</sup>kaub*, ‘*eine Schlange*’, (‘a snake’), transcribed as //kaub which, discounting the Khoikhoi masculine singular ending *–b*, correlates well with the !O !kuŋ (N3) word //kãu, ‘snake’ (Bleek 1956:562), and, with the unvoiced velar accompaniment replaced by the voiced velar *g*, with the Hie (C1) word //gao, ‘snake’ (Bleek 1956:527). On the other hand, it appears that the dental click is predominant in many languages, for example the /Xam (S1) word /*k<sup>2</sup>au*, ‘snake’, given for //ŋ !ke (S2) as ‘black snake’ and for Naron (C2) as ‘long yellow snake’ (Bleek 1956:338). The dental click also occurs in the ≠Khomani (S2a) and !O !kuŋ (N3) word *≠/kx’au*, ‘snake’, and in the !O !kuŋ (N3) and Naron (C2) words *≠/kãu* and /*kau*, ‘snake’ (Bleek 1956:303), as well as in the Naron (C2) words /*gauba*, /*gaufa*, /*gauo*, ‘snake, puffadder’ (Bleek 1956:276), in which gender endings are discernible, indicating the influence of Khoikhoi. The dental click is also displayed in Nama and Korana words for

‘snake’, but in these cases in develarised form, namely in the Nama word /*aob*, ‘*Schlange*’, (‘snake’) (Rust 1060:53), and in the Korana words /*aob* and /*aub*, ‘*slang*’, (‘snake’) (Wuras 1920:47). A velar fricative form /*kx’aob* or /*xaub* was recorded by Meinhof (1930:137), a form that is also discernible in the !Xuhn word /*xauhn*, ‘snake’ (Weich 2004:225). The cerebral click occurs in the /Xam (S1) word /*kau*, ‘serpent’ (Bleek 1956:412), and the palatal click in the Kung (N2) words |*≠ãu*, |*≠au*, |*≠’a* |*wã*, ‘snake, collective term’ (Bleek 1956:642). That there may be a variability in clicks is shown in the /Xam (S1) synonyms //*khau* and /*khau*, ‘serpent’ (Bleek 1956:312).

The Eastern dialectal word *Λ-kanou-goup*, ‘a serpent, *slang*’, is given by (Le Vaillant 1790:367), transcribed by Nienaber (1963:458) as /*kanu-gu-b*, the first component said by him to be comparable to the Nama word /*ãnub*, ‘*Riesenschlange*; Boa constrictor’, (‘giant snake’) (Wandres 1918:38). It would seem that Le Vaillant’s word *Λ-kanou-goup* literally means ‘large snake’, the component *Λ-kanou* corresponding to the Hie (C1) word /*khan*, ‘large, long’ (Bleek 1956:660), and to the /Xam (S1) word /*ka<sup>h</sup>u*, /*kau*, ‘big, high’ (Bleek 1956:412), while the component *-goup* corresponds to the words for ‘snake’ discussed above, except that no click is indicated in this instance. Some resemblance to the component /*kanou* is borne by the /Xam (S1) word /*gannuŋ*, ‘something like a snake that goes into the earth’ (Bleek 1956:645).

### **Sneeze**

The letter *h* was employed by De Flacourt to denote a click (Nienaber 1963:257), and in the Cape-Saldanha word he recorded as *hama*, ‘*esternuër*’, (‘sneeze’), the *h* may represent the dental click which is consistently displayed in cognate words in other languages. Thus the dental click occurs in the Korana words /*am*, ‘sneeze’ (Wuras 1920:47), /*kx’am*, ‘*niesen*’, (‘to sneeze’) (Meinhof 1930:134), and /*kx’am*, ‘to sneeze’ (Maingard 1964:60). This last word is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word /*xamma*, ‘sneeze’ (Bleek 1956:363), the dental click with fricative release approximating to the Korana dental click with the ejective velar affricate *kx’* (Bleek 1956:116), while other /Xam (S1) words for ‘sneeze’, /*kamma* and /*khamma*, display the dental click with unvoiced velar plosive release, the latter also being aspirated. A comparable N/uu word is /*hama*, ‘to sneeze’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:137), which also incorporates the dental click /, the bilabial

nasal *m*, and the vowel sequence *a –a*. The !Xuhn word *≠hai*, ‘sneeze, to sneeze’ (Weich 2004:225), features the palatal click with aspirated release.

### **Soft**

The word that Lichtenstein (1808:315) recorded as Korana for ‘soft’, namely *t’kamsa*, is comparable to the Kung (N2) word *≠amma*, ‘soft’ (Bleek 1956:641) and the !Xuhn words */ham*, ‘soft, *pap (sag)*’, (‘soft, very soft’) (Weich 2004:225) in displaying a click. The Korana words *thamsa* (Engelbrecht 1928:21; Meinhof 1930:143) and *tamsa*, ‘soft’ (Wuras 1920:48) are comparable to the Khwe word *thàm*, ‘be soft’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:350); the symbol *th* in the word *thàm* is the voiceless aspirated alveolar plosive, whereas the initial voiceless alveolar consonant *t* in the Korana word *tamsa* is unaspirated. The Nama words *tsamtse* and *tsamra* (Nienaber 1963:437) and the N/uu word *ts’aq’i*, ‘soft, tender’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:141) are in accordance in commencing with the alveolar affricate *ts* and the vowel *a*. The !Xuhn word *khamkhama*, ‘soft’, is comparable to the Kung (N2) words *kamma*, *kam*, ‘become soft’ (Bleek 1956:78), and perhaps to the component *Cham* of the name *Chama*, ‘Soft River’ recorded by Alexander (1838 II:150). The variability of *t* and *k* as *Anlaut* in the above words is notable.

### **Soul**

The variability of *u* and *o* is clearly illustrated in various Khoisan words for ‘soul’. Witsen (1697 CMM II:119) gives *k’omma* for ‘*asem*’, (‘breath’), according to Nienaber (1963:209) from the Cape dialect, and equated by him with Nama */óms*, ‘*der Athem; die Seele*’, (‘breath; soul’), comparable to the Hie (C1) word */gom*, ‘the soul’ (Bleek 1956:281). Ebner (1829:341) gives the Nama word *ums* for ‘*Seele*’, (‘soul’), thus with no click discernible, while the Korana words */’umma* (Meinhof 1930:121) and */ums* (Engelbrecht in Nienaber 1963:209) display the dental click */*. The vowel *u* is also displayed in the Kung (N2) words *!khu* and *!khunga*, ‘soul, ghost’ (Bleek 1956:430); in the Hie (C1) words */hum* and */hu:*, ‘breath, spirit’ (Bleek 1956:290); in the Naron (C2) words */um*, ‘breath’ and */uhĩ*, ‘to breathe’ (Bleek 1956:359); in the //ǃ *!ke* (S2) words */Δmsa* and */um*, ‘breath’ (Bleek 1956:360), and in the N/uu word */’humsa*, ‘soul’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:142), which also displays the dental click */*, but with glottal and aspirated release. The Khwe word *cóm*, ‘soul’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:351) displays

the variability of the vowels *u* and *o*; the symbol *c* is used in Khwe to denote the voiceless dental fricative *s* that approximates the voiceless dental click / in the relevant words.

### **Speak**

Witsen (1858:119) recorded the Cape dialectal word *k' chom*, 'om te oordelen', ('to judge'). Nienaber (1963:410) points out that a footnote to Witsen's entry 'oordelen' explains that this word means "om te spreken met", ('to speak to'), and that the Cape dialectal word *k' chom* is comparable with the Nama word *khom*, 'sprechen (den Mund öffnen)', ('to speak (to open the mouth)') (Rust 1960:58). The difference is that the Nama word has no click, whereas the Cape dialectal word has a click. The Korana word *khom*, 'sprechen', ('to speak') (Meinhof 1930:139) also differs from the Cape dialectal word as regards the presence of a click. /Xam (S1) words for 'talk, story, history, news' that could be compared to the Nama word *khom* are *kum:*, *kum* and *kumma* (Bleek 1956:106). The variability of the vowels *o* and *u* are discerned in the words *khom* and *kum:*, *kum* and *kumma*.

### **Spider**

The Eastern dialectal ethnonym *Husingais* was given by Wikar (1779 in Mossop 1935:170) as 'Spinnekopdraadkraal', ('spider web enclosure'). The first component of this name, *Hus*, agrees with the Eastern dialectal word *Λ-hous*, 'spider, spen' (Le Vaillant 1790:367), transcribed as /*hus* (Nienaber (1963:464), which is comparable to the /Xam (S1) words /*khu:*, 'spider of genus *Misumena*', and /*ku:*, 'ground spider' (Bleek 1956:314, 362).

The Nama word /*nūis*, 'Spinne', ('spider') (Rust 1960:58), and the Korana /*nui-xam* (Maingard 1932:318), correspond to the Naron (C2) word /*nui*, 'spider' (Bleek 1956:352), and to the N/uu word *n/ui*, 'spider' (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:144). The dental click / with nasal release and the vowel cluster *ui* are common to all these words.

### **Springbok**

A number of Korana and Nama words for 'springbok' have Bushman comparisons. Some are readily recognisable, displaying the same vowels and



clicks; others display variants. The Korana word recorded by Borchers (1861:70) as *t'koos* corresponds to the Auen (N1) word *!kō:* and *!kōa*, 'springbok' (Bleek 1956:436), while the Korana word *t'huuns* recorded by Lichtenstein (1930:471), corresponds to the Korana words given by Engelbrecht (1928:27, 39) as */gūs* and *//gūs*. The modern words display by means of the tilde the nasalisation that is expressed by the nasal *n* in the word *t'huuns*; the final *-s* in the respective words is the feminine singular ending, and the interchangeability of the vowels *o* and *u* is discernible. The Nama equivalent, *//gūb*, 'Springbock', ('springbuck') (Rust 1960:58), displays the lateral click *//* and the masculine singular ending *-b*. The lateral click also occurs in the *//Xegwi* (S3) words *//kum* and *//kAm*, where the unvoiced velar *k* acts as the ejective efflux as opposed to the voiced velar efflux *g*, and in the Ki */hazi* (S4b) word *//Am*, 'springbok' (Bleek 1956:592, 629). The Auen (N1) word *!gūb* for 'springbok', by contrast, has the cerebral click *!*, as does its synonym *!kō:*, which also displays the variant *o* (Bleek 1956:388). The N/uu word *g!ae*, 'springbok' (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:60), shares the cerebral click *!* with the Naron (C2) word *!gaiba* and the Khoikhoi word *!hāeb*, but the Hie (C1) word */kxaiē*, 'springbok' (Bleek 1929:79) differs by displaying the dental click with ejective fricative release */kx*. The diphthongs *ae* and *ai* in the respective words represent the same sound.

Shortridge (1934 II:539) gives the Nama word *!hāë-b*, 'springbok', which correlates with the Naron (C2) word *!gae* and its synonym *!gai*, 'springbok' (Bleek 1956:466), the palatal click with voiced efflux *!g* approximating to the palatal click with aspirated efflux *!h*. The N/uu word *g!ae* accords with the Nama and Naron words as regards the diphthong *ae/ai*, but differs in displaying the cerebral click *!* that is also encountered in the *//!ke* (S2) word *!gai*, the Naron (C2) word *!gaiba*, and the 'Hottentot' word *!hāeb*, 'springbok' (Bleek 1929:79).

### **Star**

De Flacourt (1658:61) recorded the Cape-Saldanha dialectal word *canimhau*, 'estaille', ('star'). The vowel sequence *a – e – au* is retained in the Nama words */kamiros* (Tindall 1857:97) and */gamirob(-s)*, 'Stern', ('star') (Rust 1960:59). These words, displaying the variability of the ejective and voiced releases *k* and *g* respectively, are comparable to the Kung (N2) word */na:miro*, 'star'; */na:miro:zi*, 'stars' (Bleek 1956:758, 343), which, however, incorporate the nasal release *n*.

The Korana word *t'kamaro*, 'star', recorded by Borchers (1861:70), also displays the click and, apart from the deviant second vowel *a*, corresponds well with the other words given here, note having been taken of the varying voiced, unvoiced and nasal effluxes *g*, *k* and *n*.

The final component *-hau* of the Cape-Saldanha dialectal word *canimhau* recorded by De Flacourt (1658:61) is reflected in three words for 'star' classified as Cape dialectal, namely *kuanehou*, 'starre; stella', ('star') (Witsen 1691 I in Molsbergen 1 1916:217), *kuanehoe of tgeuhouw*, 'een sterre', ('a star') (Valentyn 1726:108b), and *k-uanehou (vel t-keuhouw)*, 'stella; een ster', ('a star') (Kolbe 1727 Molsbergen 1 1916:434). Nienaber (1963:469) sees a similarity between these words and the Nama word //khua, 'to dawn', 'the morning star' (Tindall 1857:121), //khuanus being the old form of the name for Venus, now //kxanus (Wandres 1918:40). The component *kuane* in the words *kuanehoe* and *k-uanehou* is reflected phonologically in the Seroa (S2d) word *koan̄koan̄*, 'stars', and the Khakhea (S5) word //gwanate, 'stars, usually //kwanate' (Bleek 1956:97, 537). If Kolbe's spelling of *t-keu* in the word *t-keuhouw*, and Valentyn's spelling of *tgeu* in the word *tgeuhouw* reflects the German pronunciation of *eu*, the similarity can be seen between these components and the Auen (N1) and Tsaukwe (C2a) words #goinu and #gōe, 'star' (Bleek 1956:648). The !Xuhn word #uúhn, 'star' (Weich 2004:229) is comparable to these in displaying the vowel *uú*, similar in sound to the alternative words given by Valentyn as *tgeuhouw* and by Kolbe as *t-keuhouw*, the tilde or swung dash indicating a click, and both syllables of each word approximating in sound and corresponding in meaning to the !Xuhn word #uúhn, 'star'.

In the Eastern dialectal word *xsgoro* or *tsgoro*, 'die Sterne', ('the star'), recorded by Von Winkelmann (1788:44), the clusters *xsg* and *tsg* are attempts at representing the relevant click in writing, perhaps the lateral click // that is encountered in the Bushman word //goru, 'star' (Bleek 1956:758). The corresponding /Xam (S1) words !goro-t'o, 'Jupiter (star)' and !goro-ta, 'Venus (star)' (Bleek 1956:386) display a different click, namely the cerebral !, while the word recorded by Barrow (1801 I:219), *kōro*, 'stars', has no click.

The vowel sequence *a - e* and *a - ee* are consistent in the Korana and Griekwa, //Xegwi (S3) and Sehura (C1a) words for 'star', but there is considerable variation in the consonants. Thus Smith (1940:281) gives *kame* as the Korana and Griqua

words for ‘star’; Bleek (1956:78, 689) gives the //Xegwi (S3) word *kalee* for ‘stars’, and ‘*xane* as the Sehura (C1a) word for ‘star’, the latter corresponding to the Khwe word /*xáni*, ‘star’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:354).

### **Steenbok**

In French the initial *h* of words is not pronounced, so that *hotel* is pronounced as *otel*, and *herbs* as *erbs*. The Cape-Saldanha word *harib*, ‘*cerf*, ‘*steenbok*’ (De Flacourt 1658:580) and the Eastern dialectal word  $\Lambda$ -*harip*, ‘steenbuck, steenbock’ (Le Vaillant 1790:367), correspond fairly well to the Hei//kum (N2a) and Nama word *!aris*, ‘*der Steinbock*’, (‘the stembuck’) (Bleek 1956:371; Kroenlein 1889:32a). Whereas the symbol  $\Lambda$  used by Le Vaillant denotes the dental click /, and he gives the masculine singular ending *-p*, the cerebral click and feminine singular ending *-s* occur in the words given by Bleek and Kroenlein.

A different word for ‘steenbok’, namely the Cape-Saldanha dialectal word *godema*, ‘*cheureuil*, (‘roe-deer’), was recorded by De Flacourt (1655:56), which, taking cognisance of the variability of the voiced alveolar consonant *d* and the alveolar nasal *n*, correlates with the Eastern dialectal word *gunima*, ‘steenbuck’ (Sparrman 1785 II:350). Nienaber (1960:469) mentions the possibility that the first component of the word, *go* or *gu*, may be compared to the Nama word *gu*, ‘sheep’; or //gũ, ‘springbok’, or even /*gui*, ‘one’, /*guri*, ‘alone’, as in the phrase /*gurimab*, ‘*der allein steht*’, (‘he who stands alone’), the name for the “*aus der Herde ausgestossenen alte Springbockkramm*” (‘the old springbok ram that has been cast out of the herd’) (Schultze 1907:276). Witsen (1691 I in Molsbergen I 1916:216) gives the Cape dialectal word *schagoudema*, ‘*steenbocken; capricornus*’ (‘steenbok’), thus with the second component *goudema*. The components *gou*, *go* and *gu* of the words *goudema*, *godema* and *gunima* may also be comparable to the Auen (N1) and Kung (N2) word /*ou*, with synonyms /*au* and /*hõ*, ‘a buck, *prob. steinbok*’ (Bleek 1956:357). Similarly the component *gau* of the word *gauda*, given by Grevenbroek (1695 in Schapera & Farrington 1933:205) as ‘Latin *dama*, or *buck*’, was identified by Nienaber (1963:207, 469) as probably a specific type of buck, namely the *steenbok*. The //Xegwi (S3) word !*xo*; and the /Auni (S4) word ≠*ko*, may also be considered as comparable to the word *gau*. The component *-dema* of the words *goudema*, *godema* is perhaps similar to the Kung (N2) and !O !*kuṅ* (N3) word *dema*, ‘little, *fem.*, s. *de*, woman, + dim. *-ma*’ (Bleek 1956:24).

Möller (2017:206-207) has identified Bushman words for the steenbok (*Raphicerus campestris*) that correlate more closely to the early Cape dialectal components *qoun*, *quoe* and *quo ~u* of the words *qounqua*, *quoequa* and *quo ~uq ~va*, as indicated before, namely the /Xam (S1) and //ǀ!ke (S2) word *!koen* (Bleek 1929:80; 1956:357, 759); and the /Xam (S1) word *//khoini*, of which the synonyms are */koenje*, */koinje*, *!kenja* and *≠kwenja* (Bleek 1956:585), this latter being synonymous with the /Auni (S4) word *!koenja* (Bleek 1956:667). These words display the nasalisation as *n* that is represented in the Cape dialectal words as *n* or a tilde ~.

### **Stick**

Sometimes a segment of a word is recognisable as being comparable to another word. Thus the Cape-Saldanha word *hemin*, ‘*verge*’ recorded by De Flacourt (1658:58) can be discerned as similar to the first component *≠nemmen* of the //Xegwi (S3) *≠nemmenasi ≠noi*, ‘stick the *goura* is played with’ (Bleek 1956:672). As elsewhere, De Flacourt’s *h* is a symbol for a click, here the palatal ≠.

### **Stomach**

Sparrman (1785 II:349) recorded the Eastern dialectal word *t’amsa* for ‘stomach’, with which Nienaber (1963:376) considered the Nama word *lāb*, ‘*Bauchgegend*’, ‘*maag*’, (‘stomach, abdomen’), to approximate most closely, the nasal quality expressed by the consonant *m*. Nienaber (1963:376) also considered the Nama and Korana word *!nāb*, ‘*Bauch*’, (‘stomach’) (Rust 1960:8), to be comparable. The Khwe word */aá*, ‘stomach’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:356), differs from the Nama and Korana words in incorporating a dental click and not being nasalised. The question that remained was whether the final component *-sa* of the word *t’amsa* was the feminine singular ending or an adjectival suffix. Perhaps it was neither, the component *-sa* merely part of the complete word. A comparable word that incorporates the segment *-sa* is the Naron (C2) word */na:sa*, */na:fa*, ‘belly, stomach’ (Bleek 1956:344). The nasalisation represented in the word *t’amsa* by the nasal consonant *m* is reflected in the Bushman words by the nasal release of the dental click, */n*. Another comparable Bushman word is the Khakhea (S5) word *//nΛm*, ‘stomach’ (Bleek 1956:623), the symbol Λ representing the sound like *u* in the English word ‘bun’. Also comparable is the N/uu word

//x'ã, 'stomach', that also incorporates the lateral click //, and nasalisation that is indicated by the nasal *m* and the tilde ~ respectively.

### **Stone**

The click that frequently occurs in Eastern dialectal words for 'stone' is the dental /. One such word is *Oip*, 'klippsten', ('stone'), recorded by Thunberg (1779 II:87) and transcribed by Nienaber (1963:340) as /*oip*. Le Vaillant (1790:367) recorded the word *Λ-ouip*, 'stone; klep', transcribed as /*ouip*, and Von Winkelmann (1788:45) recorded the word *xeu*, 'ein Stein', ('a stone'), transcribed as /*eu*. The vowel clusters *oi*, *oui* and *eu* are all pronounced as *oi*, Von Winkelmann's *eu* being the German pronunciation, as also encountered in Lichtenstein's (1808:305) recording of the Korana word *t'<sup>2</sup>eub*, 'Stein, Felsen', ('stone'), transcribed as //*eub* (Nienaber 1963:340). W van Reenen (1791 VRS XV:298) recorded the word for 'stone' as *x-ois* as a component of the place-name 'x-hou-x-ois of *Platteklip*', ('x-hou-x-ois or flat stone'), transcribed by Nienaber (1963:340) as //*hou-ois*, again with the dental click. Nama, too, has a dental click in the words /*uib*, /*uis*, 'Stein', ('stone') (Rust 1960:59), as does Korana with the word /*uib*, 'stone' (Wuras 1920:49). Comparable Bushman words display different clicks, which may be attributable to nuances in meaning of the concept 'stone'. Thus /Xam (S1) has the word //*o:é*, 'a round stone for grinding' (Bleek 1929:625), similar to the //Kxau (S2b) word *goe*; 'round grinding stone', with no click (Bleek 1956:48). Ki /hazi (S4b) has the word \_*!oe*, 'stone', /Nu //en (S6) has ≠*oje*, and Naron (C2) has //nwoi and its synonym //nãa, 'stone' (Bleek 1929:80; 1956:490, 624). The Naron word //nãa corresponds to the Khwe word *n//góá*, 'stone' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:356), both words featuring the lateral click with nasal efflux and the vowel sequence *o – a*. Also comparable are the Hie (C1) word //gwa, 'stone' (Bleek 1956:536), and the Naron (C2), Tsaukwe (C2a) and Hukwe (C2b) word ≠*gnoa*, 'mountain, stone, rock' (Bleek 1956:647), the palatal click ≠ indicating the semantic nuances.

### **Stranger**

For 'stranger' Witsen (1697 III CMM 1858:118) recorded the Cape dialectal word *oussa queina*, 'vreemdeling', ('stranger'). Nienaber (1963:511) explains the second component of this word as the common plural of the Nama word *khoi*-, 'person',

so that the word *queina* means ‘people’. The first component he equates with the Nama word *!hau*, as in the phrase *!hau-khoi-b*, ‘*der Fremdling*’, (‘the stranger’), with the adjectival suffix *-sa* added. This component *oussa* is also comparable with the Korana words *!ūsab*, ‘*Fremder*’, (‘stranger’) (Meinhof 1930:126), and *!kusab*, ‘stranger’ (Wuras 1920:49), both of these words incorporating a click, specifically the cerebral *!*, the same click that is incorporated in the Nama word *!hau*. By contrast the //ǀ *!ke* (S2) word */uha:* and its synonym */uhaŋ*, ‘strange, a word applied to other Bushman tribes’ (Bleek 1956:358), displays the dental click, and the intervocalic *-s(s)-* of the word *oussa* contrasts with the intervocalic aspirant *h* of the Bushman words.

### ***Strike, Hit***

Several words for ‘to hit’ have Bushman cognates. Thunberg (1777 II:86) recorded the Eastern dialectal word *KOA*, ‘*slå*’, (‘hit’). Nienaber (1963:456) suggests that this word could be compared with the Nama word *!góu*, ‘*niederwerfen*’, (‘to throw down’) (Kroenlein 1889:123), and notes how many Cape and Eastern dialectal words that were recorded without clicks are comparable to Nama words do have clicks. In this case the comparable Bushman word, namely the Hie (C1) word *kwa*, ‘to strike, beat’ (Bleek 1956:108), does not display a click. The Khwe word *thóánà*, ‘strike’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:357) bears a phonological resemblance to the Eastern Cape dialectal word *koa* in sharing the vowel sequence *o – a*; the Eastern Cape dialectal unvoiced velar plosive *k* is comparable to the Khwe aspirated voiceless alveolar plosive *th* (Kilian-Hatz 2003:7).

Words for ‘hit, strike’ that could be compared to the Nama word *!gou* are the Cape-Saldanha word *doussi*, ‘*battre*’, (‘beat’,hit’) (De Flacourt 1658:57); and the Cape dialectal words *doussy*, ‘*slaan; pulsare, verberare*’, (‘to hit, pulsate, reverberate’) (Witsen II 1691 in Molsbergen 1916 I:223), *doessi*, ‘*slaan*’, (‘hit’) (Valentyn 1726:108b); and *doussi*, ‘*verberare; slaan*’, (‘hit’) (Kolbe 1727 I:434). The final components *-si* and *-sy* are considered to be the verbal particle occurring in //ǀ *!ke* (S2), ≠Khomani (S2a), //Kxau (S2b), //Ku //e (S2c), //Xegwi (S3), /Auni (S4), Khakhea (S5), /Nu//en (S6) and Hadza (C3) (Bleek 1956:168). The component *dou-* of the words *doussi* and *doussy* is comparable to the /Xam (S1) words *!kou*, ‘strike’, and *!xau*, ‘to let fly, make hit’, and to the /Nu//en (S6) word *!goo*, ‘to fight’ (Bleek 1956:447, 123, 498, 384).

The Korana word *t'<sup>1</sup>naau*, ‘to strike’, recorded by Lichtenstein (1930 VRS X1:472), transcribed by Nienaber (1963:457) as /*naau*, may be compared with several Bushman words with similar vowels but different clicks. These are the /Xam (S1) word /*xau*, ‘make hit’; the //ǀ!ke (S2) and Auen (N1) words <sup>̄</sup>/*#kau* and *#kao*, ‘to beat, strike’ (Bleek 1956:498, 657), and the glottalised N/uu word *#auke*, ‘to beat, to hit’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:143). The Korana word *#nau*, ‘strike’ (Maingard 1964:64), displays the palatal click with nasal efflux.

Another instance in which the click in the recorded word does not correspond to that in the cognate is the Korana *t'<sup>1</sup>noaa-ho* (i.e. /*noaa-ho*), ‘to hit’ (Lichtenstein 1930 VRS X1:472), transcribed as /*noaa-ho*, of which the component /*noaa* is comparable to the /Auni (S4) word *#noa*, *#noa*, ‘to shoot, hit’ (Bleek 1956:673). However, the palatal click occurs in the Korana word *#nau* ‘*slaan*’ (Engelbrecht 1928:32) and in the Nama word *#nou*, ‘*schlagen*’, (‘hit’) (Rust 1960:53).

### **Summer**

An interesting remark is made by Nienaber (1963:462) concerning the representation of clicks by Lichtenstein. As the Korana word for ‘summer’ Lichtenstein (1930 VRS X1:471) gives *t'<sup>1</sup>kuraam*. Normally the symbol *t'<sup>1</sup>* is Lichtenstein’s way of indicating the dental click /, but Nienaber (1963:462) states that this could also be the lateral click //: “*Hy het die ‘eerste’ tongslag waargeneem wat ook die laterale kan insluit, dus geskryf kan word as /kuraam of //kuraam*”; (“He perceived the ‘first’ click that can also include the lateral, and can thus be written as /*kuraam* or //*kuraam*.”). In fact the latter seems to be the case, since Lichtenstein gives the /Xam (S1) word for ‘sun, summer’ as *t'<sup>2</sup>koàra*, *t'<sup>2</sup>kôãra*, transliterated by Bleek (1956:583) as //*koara*, //*ko<sup>̄</sup>ara*. The corresponding Korana words are //*chu*//*am*, //*konab*, //*xo-nab* and //*xu*//*ãb*, ‘*somer*’, (‘summer’) (Nienaber 1963:462), and the comparable Nama word is //*kunab*, ‘*Sommer*’, (‘summer’) (Rust 1960:57). The Khwe word *khó*, ‘summer’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:358), may be seen as comparable to components of the Korana words //*ko(nab)* and //*xo-nab*; to the Nama word //*kunab*, reflecting the variability of *o* and *u*; and to the /Xam word //*koara*, //*ko<sup>̄</sup>ara*. The Khwe word //*hèú*, ‘summer time’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:358), is reminiscent of segments of words that incorporate the lateral click // and the vowel *u*.

### **Swallow**

Claudius (1685:102) recorded the Namaqua word *tsehoyra* for a bird that Waterhouse (1953:17) identifies as the European Bee-eater, *Merops apiaster*, ‘*bergswawel*’ or ‘mountain swallow’ (Nienaber 1960:219). The Hie (C1) word *thu zera*, ‘swallow’ (Bleek 1956:201), is similar to the word *tsehoyra* in being trisyllabic, having the initial consonant *t*, and having the ending *ra* in common. Meinhof (1930:138) gives the Korana word /*a-ao*, ‘*Schwalbe*’, (‘swallow’), which is phonologically comparable to the !Xuhn word *tcahntcahn*, ‘swallow’ (Weich 2004:232). Khwe has //qá//qani, ‘swallow (bird)’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:359), with the lateral click and the vowel sequence *a – a*.

Witsen II 1691 (in Molsbergen I 1916:222) recorded the Cape dialectal word *sosobó*, ‘*een swaluwe, hirondo*’, (‘a swallow’), for which Valentyn (1726:107b) gives *sozóbo*, ‘*een swaluwe*’, (‘a swallow’), and Kolbe (1727 I:431) recorded the word as *sosobo*, ‘*hirundo; een zwaluw*’, (‘a swallow’). The Nama word *sosowob*, ‘swallow’ (Wandres 1918:39) agrees with these words in sound and meaning, and displays the variability of *b* and *w*.

### **Sword**

Herbert (1634:16) recorded the Cape-Table Bay dialectal word *dushingro*, ‘a sword’. The concept of ‘sword’ may have been strange to the indigenous informants, but it seems as though they interpreted a ‘sword’ as a ‘big knife’. Indeed, Nienaber (1963:386, 473) equates the second component of the word, namely *-gro*, with the Nama word *gōab*, ‘*grosses Messer*’, (‘big knife’); *gōas*, *gōab*, ‘*Messer*’, (‘knife’) (Rust 1960:42). The component *dushi* is comparable to the /Auni (S4) word *̄usi, ̄ufi*, ‘to be big, tall, old’ (Bleek 1956:249); the component *-gro* is Herbert’s way of writing (a word similar to) the /Auni (S4) word *̄!xo*, ‘knife’, the digraph *gr* an attempt at writing the cerebral click with velar fricative release, *!x*.

## **-T-**

### **Take**

De Flacourt (1658:57) recorded the Cape-Saldanha word *cob*, ‘*prendre*’, (‘to take’), interpreted by Nienaber (1963:398) as an early form of the Nama word *!kho-*



*bē*, ‘wegfassen’, (‘take away’) (Rust 1960:72), or of *!kho*, ‘vang’, (‘catch’) (Rust 1960:20), “*plus suffiksale element waarvan die eindvokaal onvermeld gebly het*”; (‘plus suffixal element of which the final vowel remained unstated.’) (Nienaber 1960:398). Bleek (1929:82) gives the ‘Hottentot’ word *!kho* with the meaning of ‘to take’. Bushman equivalents of the word *cob* include the /Xam (S1) word *ho*, *hoa*, *hoŋ*, ‘to take, lift, pick up’ (Bleek 1956:62); the Khakhea (S5) word *ho:wa*, ‘to take’, in which the voiced semi-vowel *w* corresponds to the voiced bilabial *b*; and the Naron (C2) word *!xo*, ‘to take’ (Bleek 1929:82); also the /Auni (S4) word *//ko*, ‘to take’, and the Naron (C2) word *≠xo*, ‘to take prisoner’ (Bleek 1956:581, 680). The vowel *o* is thus consistently displayed in these words, although the click is variable.

A Korana word for ‘to take’ was recorded by Lichtenstein (1808:320; 1930:474) as *uh*, ‘*nehmen*’, (‘to take’), comparable to the Korana words *u*, *ū*, and *’ū*, ‘*neem*’ (‘take’), also to the Nama word *ū*, ‘*nehmen, fassen, greifen*’, (‘take, ... grab’) (Kroenlein 1889:312a). These Korana words that reflect nasalisation are comparable to the Khwe word *ūū*, ‘take’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:360). The ‘Hottentot’ word *u:*, ‘to take’ (Bleek 1929:82), in which the symbol *:* denotes a long preceding vowel, is similar to the Hie (C1) word *uu*, ‘to take’ and the Khwe word *//hùú*, ‘take away’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:360). Rust (1960:45) gives the Nama word *u*, ‘*nehmen*’, (‘take’), and Weich (2004:234) gives the !Xuhn word *gu*, ‘to take, *neem*’. Other Bushman equivalents include the Naron (C2) word *u fe*, the Auen (N1) word *\_gu*, and the Kung (N2) word *gu*, ‘to take’ (Bleek 1929:82).

### **Talk, speak**

Several words for ‘speak, talk, say, tell’ have Bushman cognates. De Flacourt (1658:57) gives the Cape-Saldanha dialectal word *naib*, ‘*parler*’, (‘talk’), compared by Nienaber (1963:422) with the Korana word *//na*, ‘say’ (Wuras 1920:45), and the Nama word *//ne*, ‘*reden (Unterhaltung führen, redselig sein)*’, (‘speak (conduct a conversation, be talkative)’) (Rust 1960:49), “*daarna //nài wat tot ‘singen’ gespesialiseer het*”; (“thereafter *//nài* that became specialised as ‘to sing’.”) (Nienaber 1963:422). This latter word corresponds to the Khakhea (S5) word *//nai*, ‘to sing, talk’ (Bleek 1956: 613), a word also recorded in the Auen (N1) and Naron (C2) languages, corresponding to the Nama word *//nai*, ‘*singen*’, (‘to sing’) (Rust 1960:57).

The Korana word *kabaa*, ‘*sprechen*’, (‘to speak’), recorded by Lichtenstein (1808:320), corresponds to the /Xam (S1) word /*k*”*abbe*, /*k*”*abbeya*, ‘to talk together, plot, conspire’ (Bleek 1856:337), comparable to the Nama words *koba*, ‘to talk’ (Tindall 1857 in Nienaber 1963:422), and *gowa*, *gawa*, ‘*sprechen*’, (‘to speak’) (Rust 1960:58). The N/uu word ≠*xoa*, ‘to speak’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:139) bears some similarity to the Nama words *koba* and *gowa* as regards the vowel sequence *o – a*, but displays an alveolar click not seen in the other words.

The Nama word *mi-re*, ‘*sprich (doch ja)*’, (‘speak (but yes, please)’) recorded by Ebner (1829:341), also the Nama word *mĩ*, ‘*sagen, sprechen, reden*’, (‘say, speak, talk’) (Kroenlein 1889:231b) and the Korana word *mĩ*, ‘*sprechen*’, (‘speak’) (Meinhof 1930:136, 151), correspond to the Naron (C2) word *mi*, *̄mi* ‘say, tell’ (Bleek 1956: 137).

### **Teach**

Campbell (1815:389) recorded the ‘Hottentot’ word *kaka*, ‘to teach’, which Nienaber (1963:369) compared to the Nama word //*khá*-//*khá*, ‘*lehren (jemand tüchtig machen)*’, (‘to teach (make someone efficient, capable)’ (Kroenlein 1889: 193)’. This word is clearly comparable with the /Xam (S1) word //*xa*://*xa* ‘to teach, learn’, also encountered in //ǀ (S2) and Naron (C2), with its synonym //*xei* (Bleek 1956:634), and with the N/uu words //*xa*://*xa*, ‘to learn’, and *kx’u* //*xa*://*xa*, ‘to teach (to make – to learn)’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:133).

### **That**

Ebner (1829:340) gives the Nama word *ha*, ‘*das*’, (‘that’), a word which Lichtenstein also gives as ‘*dieser*’, (‘this’). This word *ha* corresponds to the demonstrative adjective *ha*, ‘that’, which occurs in /Xam (S1) and //Xegwi (S3) (Bleek 1929:83). The vowel *a* occurs in the Nama word //*nab*, ‘*derjenige*’, (‘the one, that’) (Rust 1960:14).

### **There**

The Eastern dialectal word *inaha*, ‘there’, recorded by Sparrman (1785 II:351), resembles several Bushman words, such as the Hadza (C3) words *ina*, ‘there’, with its synonyms *tina* and *mina*; the Naron (C2) word *\_hanaha*, *hana*,

‘there, there is’, and the Hadza (C3) word *hina*, ‘there’ (Bleek 1956:57, 61, 69). Lichtenstein (1808:282) gives the Korana word *t’naa*, and Ebner (1829:340) recorded the Nama word *-nawa*, ‘*da*’, each of these clearly displaying a click. Other comparable Bushman words are the word //na, ‘there’, that occurs in /Xam (S1), //ǀke (S2), Khakhea (S5), /Nu//en (S6), and Naron (C2); and the !O!kuŋ (N3) word ≠na, ‘there’ (Bleek 1929:84).

### **Thigh**

De Flacourt (1658:58) used the letter *h* to denote a click in his recording of the Cape-Saldanha word *hcarou*, ‘*cuisse*’, (‘thigh’). Nienaber (1963:257) expressly states “*die tongslag wat deur De Flacourt met ’n h- vooraan weergegee word*”, (‘the click that is given by De Flacourt with an *h* at the beginning’). Witsen (1691 II in Molsbergen 1 1916:219) gives the Cape dialectal word *kalou*, ‘*de dyen*’, (‘the thighs’), a word which has the same sound and meaning, the initial *c* and *k* being respectively the (unvoiced) velar plosive consonant, and the letters *r* and *l* in the respective words being interchangeable. Comparable Bushman words or equivalents are the /Xam (S1) words //khu and //khū, ‘thighbone’, with the plural //khúrukən, recorded at Prieska in 1910 (Bleek 1956:578), and the N/uu word /qhuru, ‘hip’, plural *ka /qhuru* (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:127). The first component *!aoh* of the !Xuhn word *!aoh den*, ‘thigh’ (Weich 2004:236), displays a click and the same vowel sequence *a – o* as the dialectal words *hcarou* and *kalou*.

Another word for ‘thigh’ recorded by De Flacourt (1658:58) is the Cape-Saldanha word *goncoa*, ‘*cuisse*’, (‘thigh’). The element *-coa* is interpreted by Nienaber (1963:258) as either the masculine plural ending *-qua* or the dual ending that agrees with the Nama suffix *-kha*. The segment *gon* is comparable with the /Xam (S1) word ʘ//k’o, ‘thigh’, ‘upper bone of hind leg’ (Bleek 1956:763, 582), and, recognising the interchangeability of the vowels *o* and *u*, with the Kung (N2) words //kum and !!kum, ‘leg, hipbone, thigh’, and with the !O !kuŋ (N3) word ʘ//kum, ‘thigh’ (Bleek 1956:592). The Nama words ≠kus and ≠howis, ‘*Hüfte*’, (‘thigh’) (Rust 1960:32), correspond to the Kung words //kum and !!kum as regards meaning and central vowel, but differ in click.

Lichtenstein (1930 I:470) recorded the Korana word *tiim*, ‘thigh’, German *Schenkel*, (‘thigh’) (Lichtenstein 1808:307). The final *-m* denotes nasalisation,

as is evident in the comparable Khwe word *tĩĩ*, ‘thigh’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:364), where the nasalisation is denoted by the tilde, and the /Xam (S1) words *tĩ*, *tē*, *tē*; *teŋ*, ‘thigh’ (Bleek 1956:196, 198, 201). The Hie (C1) words *tē*, *tee* and *teaba*, ‘thigh, hind leg’ (Bleek 1956:197), are comparable, as are the Nama word *tēs*, ‘*Schenkel*’, (‘thigh’) (Rust 1960:52) and the Korana word *tīb*, ‘*Bein*’, (‘leg’) (Meinhof 1930:122).

### **Thing**

Lichtenstein (1808:314) recorded the Korana word *huhb*, ‘*Gut*’, (‘things’), in which the final consonant *-b* is the masculine singular ending. The Hie (C1) word *huu*, ‘thing’, corresponds with the Korana word, and the variability of the aspirant *h* and the fricative *x* is discernible in the Hie synonym *xu*, ‘thing, goods’ (Bleek 1956:65, 261), and in the Khwe word *xú*, also *xó*, ‘thing’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:364), which have equivalents in the Nama word *xūb*, ‘*Ding*’, (‘thing’) (Rust 1960:14), and in the Korana words *xūb* and *chub*, ‘*ding*’, thing’ (Nienaber 1963:246). The N/uu word *gao*, ‘thing’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:122), does at first sight not appear to be comparable to the other words for ‘thing’ that display the vowel *u(u)*, but its plural form *guuke* shows *gao* to be a variant of *guu*, which is indeed comparable with the words *huh(b)*, *xū(b)*, *huu* and *xu*.

### **Thirsty**

Lichtenstein (1808:321) recorded the Korana word *t<sup>2</sup>kang* for ‘*Durst haben*’, ‘to be thirsty’, which, according to his system of writing clicks, can be transcribed as //*kang* or //*kaŋ*. This compares to the Korana words //*kāb*, //*kāsa*, ‘*dors*’, (‘thirst, thirsty’), which reflect nasalisation by means of the tilde and display the lateral click with ejective release; //*gā*, ‘*dors wees*’, (‘to be thirsty’), //*gāb*, ‘*dors*’, (‘thirst’), which display the lateral click with voiced efflux, and //*ā*, ‘*dürsten*’, (‘to thirst’), with glottalised or develarised release (Nienaber 1963:249). Also comparable to the word //*kang* are the Nama word //*gā*, ‘*dürsten*’, (‘to thirst’) (Rust 1960:15), and the develarised Khwe word //*ā*, ‘thirsty’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:364). The consistent occurrence of the lateral click in these words is noted, as well as the interchangeability of the voiced and unvoiced velars *g* and *k*, both velarised and unvelarised forms occurring, and the nasalisation that is expressed by Lichtenstein as *ng* denoted by the tilde *~* in the comparable words.

These phenomena are also recognisable in comparable Bushman words for ‘thirst’, ‘thirsty’ and related concepts, namely the Khakhea (S5) words //ʔhΛn, //Λn, ‘thirst’ (Bleek 1956:544), thus with aspirated efflux and develarisation, and the symbol Λ denoting the pronunciation of a sound like the *u* in the English word ‘sun’; and the /Nu//en (S6) word //Λ̃na, //Λn, ‘thirst, heat’ (Bleek 1956:629). Some Bushman cognates occur with the dental click, for example the words /kam, /kΛm, ‘to be thirsty, sun, day’, which occur in Auen (N1), Kung (N2) and !O !kuŋ (N3) (Bleek 1956:327); and the Auen (N1) words /gam, /kam, ‘to be hot, thirsty’, that are also encountered in Nogau (N1a), Kung (N2), Naron (C2), Tsaukwe (C2a) and Hukwe (C2b) (Bleek 1956:275). The !Xuhn word /am, ‘thirsty’ (Weich 2004:236), corresponds to the Kua, Cua, Tsua and G/ui word /am, ‘sun, day’ (Chebanne 2014 in <http://spilplus.journals.ac.za>). It is interesting to note how the same words refer to different but related concepts such as day, sun, heat and thirst, and to be hot and thirsty. Interesting, too, is that the Southern languages correlate more closely to Korana and Nama in their incorporation of the lateral click // than to the Northern and Central languages with their use of the dental click /.

### ***This***

The variation in the vowels *a* and *e* is seen in Korana words for ‘this’, namely the word *há*, recorded by Lichtenstein (1808:282) as *t<sup>ʔ</sup>naa oder há, ‘dieser Mann’*, (*t<sup>ʔ</sup>naa* or *há*, ‘this man’), and *hen*, as in the phrase ‘*hen keub, diesen Mann*’, (‘this man’) Lichtenstein (1808:328). The word *t<sup>ʔ</sup>naa* is transcribed by Nienaber (1963:303) as //naa. Appleyard (1850:21) gives the Korana word *hee kuees*, ‘this woman’, and Meinhof (1930:85) gives *he*, ‘*dieser*’, (‘this’), also as a Korana word. Nama has *ne, neb*, ‘*dieser*’, (‘this’) (Rust 1960:14), demonstrating the variability of *h* and *n*. The noted variability of *a* and *e* is seen in the /Xam (S1) words for ‘this’, namely *a*., *e*., *a*ˉ, *e*ˉ, and in the //I !ke (S2) words *a* and //na, as well as in the Kung (N2) words *e*, *e:a*, *e:ja*, the Hie word *e*, and the Naron (C2) word /ne, ‘this’ (Bleek 1929:84). The !Xuhn words *ka*, ‘this, *dit*’, *ka eng*, ‘this, *hierdie*’ and *ya e*, ‘this, *dié*’ (Weich 2004:236) similarly display the vowels *a* and *e*.

### Three

Words for ‘three’ generally display the vowel sequence *o – a* with an intervocalic *–n–* that in several instances interchanges with *–r–*. Cape dialectal words include *nona*, ‘*tria*’, (‘three’) (Ten Rhyne 1673 in Schapera & Farrington 1933:156); *k’ouna*, ‘*drie*; *tria*’, (‘three’) (Witsen 1691 II Molsbergen I 1916:223); *nhona of kouno*, ‘*drie*’, (‘three’) (Valentyn 1726:107a); *k’ouna*, ‘*tres*; *drie*’, (‘three’) (Kolbe 1727 I:435); and *ngunga*, ‘3’ (Buttner 1725:68b). De Flacourt (1658:57) gives the Cape-Saldanha word *houna*, ‘*trois*’, (‘three’), identical to the Cape dialectal word *houna* ‘*derde* (*gebot*)’, (‘third commandment’), recorded by Witsen (1697 CMM III:118). Eastern dialectal words for ‘three’ include *t’knona* (Sparman 1785 II:349), *xgonang*, ‘*dreij*’, (‘three’) (Von Winkelmann 1788:46), and *gona*, ‘three’ (Barrow 1801 I:219).

Korana words for ‘three’ include *t’nona*, ‘three’ (Borchers 1861:70), *t’knorra*, ‘*drei*’, (‘three’) (Lichtenstein 1808:304), and *!nona* ‘three’ (Maingard 1964:61), Griqua also has *!nona* (Nienaber 1963:250), and Nama has both *!nona* and the glottalised *!ona*, ‘*drei*’, (‘three’) (Rust 1960:14), displaying the variability of *n* and *r*.

Words from different Bushman languages correlate to a greater or lesser extent with the relevant words discussed so far. The word *nona* and variants that incorporate clicks compare with the /Xam (S1) word *!nora*, *!nona*, *!noara*, and the synonyms *!nwonna* and *!nwona*, ‘three’, which also occur in //I !ke (S2) and Kung (N2) (Bleek 1956:487), and the //I !ke (S2) words *!nona*, *!nwona* with the synonym *!noara*, that also occur in ≠Khomani (S2a), //Kxau (S2b) and Naron (C2) (Bleek 1956:481, 487), displaying the interchangeability of *n* and *r* that occurs in the /Xam (S1) synonyms *!nona*, *!nora* and ≠*no:ra* (Bleek 1956:673), another instance of words in a specific language displaying different clicks. The Khwe word *n!óána*, ‘three’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:364) and the N/uu word *n!oana*, ‘three’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:123) correlate with the /Xam word *!nwonna* and the //I !ke word *!nwona*. The intervocalic *r* also occurs in the Korana word */norra*, in which yet another variant click is displayed, namely the dental /, which also occurs in the Hukwe (C2b) word */no:ana*;, ‘three’ (Bleek 1956:349). The variation of *o* and *u* is evident in the Cape dialectal word *ngunga*, the Nama word *nunna*, and the Korana word *guna*, ‘*drie*’, (‘three’) (Nienaber 1963:250). Noteworthy are the Ki /hazi (S4b) word //uaka ‘three’, also encountered as //ua

*kʔa* (Bleek 1956:627, 764), and Eastern dialectal *ARUSE*, ‘three’ (Thunberg 1795 II:85). This last word can be explained by realising that in some cases Bushman numerals are named according to the position of a finger on the hand, or, as Nienaber (1963:441) points out, “*die Hottentot met gebruikmaking van sy vingers getel het*”, (“the Hottentot counted by using his fingers”). The middle finger is the third finger, and the word *aruse* is comparable to the Naron (C2) word *ʔgun ʔaru tfau*, ‘middle finger’ (Bleek 1956:649), that is the third finger. The component *tfau* is the Hie (C1) word *tsau, tfau*, ‘hand, finger, arm, tail’ (Bleek 1956:213) that also occurs in Sehura (C1a), Naron (C2), Tsaukwe (C2a), Hukwe (C2b) and Hadza (C3). The word *ʔaru(se)* thus means ‘three’, *ʔgun ʔaru* ‘third’, in the case of fingers, the ‘middle’ one.

### **Throat**

De Flacourt (1658:57) recorded the Cape-Saldanha word *domma*, ‘col’, i.e. ‘neck’. Nienaber (1963:399) pointed out that there must have been some misunderstanding between the informants and enquirers, and that what was intended was not ‘col’, ‘neck’, but ‘gorge’, ‘throat’. This is in accordance with the recording of *domma* as the Cape dialectal word for ‘*strot; jugulum*’, (‘larynx, throat’) (Witsen II 1691 in Molsbergen 1 1916:219), ‘*de strot*’, (‘the throat’) (Valentyn 1726:107b), and ‘*jugulum; de keel of strot*’, (‘throat or larynx’), and by comparison with the Nama word *domi*, ‘*Kehle*’, (‘throat’) (Rust 1960:34) and the Korana word *domma*, ‘*die Kehle*’, (‘the throat’) (Wuras 1920:52). However, considering the similarity between early recorded words and comparable Bushman words, it becomes clear that the same word was used in a number of languages for both ‘neck’ and ‘throat’. Thus the /Xam (S1) word *\_dom, doʔm*, is given as ‘throat, neck’ by Bleek (1956:27); the /Nu//en (S6) word *dum, dumba*, displaying the variant *u*, means ‘neck, throat, hole, river’ (Bleek 1956:29), and the Hie (C1) word *dhom, dom, doʔm*, although being given as ‘neck’, has the added note: ‘[Na. *domi*, throat]’ (Bleek 1956:24). The !Xuhn word *dohm*, ‘throat’ (Weich 2004:237), is contrasted with the word *//ang*, ‘neck’ (Weich 2004:194). The Khwe word *dom*, ‘throat’ also has the meaning ‘neck (of sack, shirt)’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:364, 314).

### **Throw**

The nasalisation expressed by the final *-m* in the Cape-Saldanha word *haim*, ‘*darder*’, (‘to throw, hurl, dart’) (De Flacourt 1658:59) is reflected by the use of the tilde  $\tilde$  in the Nama word //hēi, ‘*gooi met assegai*’, (‘throw an assegai’) (Nienaber 1963:288), and in the Korana word //hēi, ‘*die Assagai (Spies) werfen (mit stossender Kraft)*’, (‘to throw the assegai (spear) with great might’) (Kroenlein 1889:162a). Nasalisation is represented by the tilde in the Auen (N1) word //gaĩ́, ‘to throw in’ (Bleek 1956:524), and by the nasal efflux *n* in the Khakhea (S5) word *!nai*, synonym *!na:ŋ*, ‘to throw down’ (Bleek 1956:472). The Naron (C2) word *!hai*, ‘to throw’, and Hadza (C3) words //ai, //aia, ‘to throw, fall’ (Bleek 1956:394, 515) do not seem to be nasalised. In the Khwe word *gyám*, ‘throw’, *y* is the voiced palatal fricative, pronounced as in the English word ‘yes’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:364).

Lichtenstein (1930:472) gives the Korana word *t’noaa*, ‘to shoot’, but in the German version he gives the meaning as ‘*schieszen, mit der Hassagay werfen*’, (‘to shoot, throw the assegai’) (Lichtenstein 1808:319). The symbol *t’* is Lichtenstein’s representation of the dental click, so that the word *t’noaa* may be transcribed as /noaa, very similar to the !Xuhn word *n!oaa*, ‘to throw’ (Weich 2004:237). However, this word features the cerebral click, as do the Auen (N1) words *!nō\_a* and *!nōa* and Kung (N2) words *!nouwa* and *!nauwa*, ‘to throw down’ (Bleek 1956:476, 479), in which the interchangeability of the vowels *o* and *a* is discerned.

### **Thumb**

The final *-m* in the Cape-Saldanha word *nanim*, ‘*poulce*’, (‘thumb’), recorded by De Flacourt (1666:58), is the masculine singular ending that corresponds to *-b* in the Korana word *!nanib*, ‘*Daumen*’, (‘thumbs’) (Meinhof 1930:123). Nienaber (1963:254) points out that the ending *-m* is usually encountered in the vicinity of a nasal such as the intervocalic *n*, as in the case of the word *nanim*. In the Bushman comparisons the nasalisation is expressed by the tilde, while the *n* is replaced by the aspirant *h*, as evidenced in the /Xam (S1) words //nΛhāĩ́, //Λhāi, //Λhái, //ohái, ‘thumb’ (Bleek 1956:622, 628), the symbol  $\Lambda$  standing for the sound of the *u* in the English word ‘bun’.



### **Thunder**

The variability of *a* and *u* is evident in the Eastern dialectal words ‘*xgaru oder xguru*’, (‘*xgaru* or *xguru*’) for ‘*der Donner*’, (‘thunder’), recorded by Von Winkelmann (1788:44). In these words, states Von Winkelmann, the letter *x* indicates a click, pronounced with “*ein harter Schnalzer mit der Zunge*”, (“a loud click of the tongue”), The variant *xguru* is comparable to the Korana word *t’<sup>3</sup>guruh*, ‘*Donner*’ (‘thunder’), recorded by Lichtenstein (1808:331), transcribed as *!guruh* (Nienaber 1963:247), thus with the cerebral click *!*. The cerebral click is also encountered in the Korana words “*!gurup*, *!kurrup* and *!urub*, ‘*donder*’, (‘thunder’) (Nienaber 1963:247), in the Nama word *!gurub*, ‘*Donner*’, ‘thunder’ (Rust 1960:14), and in the N/uu word *g!uru*, ‘thunder’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:122), while the variability of *r* and *l* is discernible in the Eastern dialectal word *t’gulu*, ‘thunder’ (Sparrman 1785 II:350). Bleek (1956:764) gives *\_guru* as a Bushman word for ‘thunder’, but does not specify the particular language from which it comes. Von Winkelmann’s variant *xgaru*, with the vowel *a*, has a counterpart in the Nama word *!garup*, ‘thunder’ (Tindall 1857:108).

### **Tongue**

There is considerable consistency in the renderings of the word for ‘tongue’ in the various indigenous languages. Thus the Cape dialectal *tamma* was recorded for ‘*langue*’, (‘tongue’), by De Flacourt (1658:57); for ‘*de tong*’, (‘the tongue’), by Witsen (1691 I in Molsbergen 1 1916:218) and Valentyn (1726:107b); for ‘*lingua; de tong*’, (‘the tongue’) by Kolbe (1727 I:432), and for ‘*Zunge*’, (‘tongue’) by Lichtenstein (1808:306). Lichtenstein’s word is from Korana; the others all from the Cape dialect (Nienaber 1963:482). Von Winkelmann (1788:46) recorded the word *tamm*, ‘*die Zunge*’, (‘the tongue’) (from the Eastern dialect) which is readily recognisable as a slight variation in the form, comparable to the Korana word *tamma* (Wuras 1920:52), the Naron (C2) word *ta:m*, ‘tongue’, and the Ukuambi dialectal (N2b) word *tamba* and its synonym *ta:m* (Bleek 1956:190). The Naron (C2) and Hukwe (C2b) words *dam*, *\_dama*, *dham*, ‘tomgue’ (Bleek 1956:21), and the Khwe word *dám*, ‘tongue’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:366), indicate the variability of the unvoiced alveolar plosive *t* and the voiced alveolar plosive *d*. The comparisons become even more intriguing when other synonyms are examined. The word *tali* and its variant *tar̄i* is the synonym for the Naron (C2) and Ukuambi dialectal (N2b) word *ta:m*, ‘tongue’ (Bleek 1956:190), in which the

interchangeability of *l*, *r* and *m* is discernible. The interchangeability of *r* and *l* is also discernible in the Naron (N2) word *n̄thaλi*, ‘tongue’ (Bleek 1956:149) and the !Xuhn word *thahλi*, ‘tongue’ (Weich 2004:238), where *λ* is a sound between *l* and *r*, which demonstrates the correlation between the Naron (C2) and Ukuambi (N2b) word *tar̄i*, ‘tongue’, and the /Auni (S4) word */āri*, ‘tongue’ (Bleek 1956:269). In the !O !kuŋ (N3) synonyms *tali*, *tāri*, *teri*, *teni* and *ta:m*, ‘tongue’ (Bleek 1956:189), the play between *l*, *r*, *n* and *m* is discernible, and the interchangeability of the vowels *a* and *ε*. The Nama word *nami*, ‘die Zunge’, (‘the tongue’) (Kroenlein 1889:233), displays similarities with the Naron (C2) word *n̄thaλi* and the cognates with the intervocalic bilabial *m* in the vowel sequence *a – i*. The occurrence of the nasal *n* in the synonyms */a:ni* and */eni* of the /Auni (S4) word */āri*, ‘tongue’ (Bleek 1956:269) reflects the specific representation of the nasalisation as *n* that is indicated by the tilde in the latter word. Also notable in these synonyms is the shift to glottalisation, or the interchangeability of the alveolar plosive *t* and the dental click *ʘ*. The initial vowel *t* is sometimes variable with *n*, as in the Nama *nami* or *nams*, ‘die Zunge’, (‘the tongue’) (Kroenlein 1889:233).

### **Tortoise**

In some instances the Bushman equivalent of a Cape dialectal word is not readily discernible, and a careful study of the given explanation of the originally recorded word needs to be made. The word *carigou* and its variants is a case in point. De Flacourt (1658:56) gives *carigou* and *serigou* as ‘*tortuē*’, (‘tortoise’), identified by Nienaber (1963:450) as from the Cape-Saldanha dialect. Ten Rhyne (1673 in Schapera & Farrington 1933:154) gives the Cape dialectal word *sirigoos*, ‘*testudines*’, (‘tortoise’); Witsen (1691 II in Molsbergen 1 1916:222) recorded the word *ceregou*, ‘*een schildpad; testudo maior*’, (‘a tortoise; large tortoise’); Valentyn (1726:107b) gives *tscheregoe*, ‘*de groote land-schildpadde*’, (the big land-tortoise’), and Kolbe (I 1727:134) gives *tscheregou*, ‘*testudo major; een schildpad*’; (‘large tortoise; a tortoise’), these latter identified as from the Cape dialect (Nienaber 1963:450). Comparable Bushman words for ‘tortoise’ include the /Xam (S1) words *!goʒe*, ‘tortoise, tortoiseshell’ and *//go*: ‘tortoise’; the #Khomani (S2a) word *\_//gou*, ‘tortoise’; the Naron (C2) words */goe* and *!go:e*, ‘great land tortoise’ (Bleek 1956:385, 531, 534, 291); the Khwe word *//góé*, ‘leopard tortoise’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:367), and the N/uu word *!oqe*, ‘tortoise’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:142).

These forms of the word leave the question as to what the components *cari-*, *siri-*, *cere-* and *tschere-* in the Cape and Cape-Saldanha dialectal words could mean. The answer may lie in the translations provided by Witsen, Valentyn and Kolbe, who give the adjective ‘*maior*’, ‘*groot*’ and ‘*major*’, all meaning ‘big, large’. These translations reveal that *cari*, *seri*, *sere*, *tschere* and *siri* are comparable to the /Xam (S1), //ǀ !ke (S2) and Auen (N1) words !k $\Delta$ rri and !kerri ‘big’; the /Nu//en (S6) word !kerri, ‘big, old’, and the /Nu//en (S6) words ˀ//karri, ˀ//kare and //kare, ‘big’ (Bleek 1956:456, 409, 559).

Sparrman (1785 II:350) gives a different Eastern dialectal word for ‘tortoise’, namely *t’gammi*, which is comparable with the /Xam (S1) words /k”ammi and /kemmi, ‘tortoise, a large kind’ (Bleek 1956:337) and with the Kung (N2) word !kammi, ‘kind of tortoise also called //gai’ (Bleek 1956:406), this last word corresponding in sound and meaning to the !Xuhn word g//ai, ‘tortoise’, also g//oa, ‘tortoise’ (Weich 2004:238).

### **Tree**

The various words recorded for ‘tree’ may be considered in relation to their vowel roots and composition, but it is notable that synonyms were recorded in the Cape dialect. Witsen (1691 I in Molsbergen 1 1916:218, 221) gives *ay*, ‘*bomen; tympana*’, (‘trees’), and *bi inquäa*, ‘*bomen; tympana*’, (‘trees’). Valentyn (1726:108b) gives synonyms that are recognisably the same words as those recorded by Witsen, namely *punqua-a* (of *ay*), ‘*een boom*’, (‘a tree’), and Kolbe (I 1727:429) gives *bunq̃vaá*, *bunq̃vaó*, (s. *ãy*), ‘*arbores; bomen*’, (‘trees’). Nienaber (1963:226) says that Witsen’s rendering of *bi inquäa* should be *biinquäa*, that Kolbe was mistaken with his indication of a click, and that the endings *quäa*, *qua-a* and *q̃vaá* denote the masculine plural. The word is very old; Nienaber (1963:226) states “*Dit skyn of die word argaïsties geword het.*”; (“It seems as if the word has become archaic”). In that case the initial consonants *p* and *b* of the root *pun* or *bun* may well be relics (or adaptations) of an older Bushman lip click, *ǀ*. Recalling further that the vowel *u* “is variously heard as *u* (back close) and as *o* (back half-close)” (Bleek 1956:246), this interchangeability of *o* and *u*, and of *b* and *p* with *ǀ*, indicates that the words *bun* and *pun* are comparable to the word *Opo*, ‘tree’, a word that occurs in ≠Khomani (S2a), //Kxau (S2b), and /Auni (S4), with the synonyms *ǀ’o*, *ǀho*, ‘tree, stick’ (Bleek 1956:684), also to

the N/uu word *Ōoo*, ‘wood’, the /Xam (S1) word *Ōho*; and the //ǃ !ke (S2) word *Ōbo*; *Ōho*, ‘tree’ (Bleek 1929:87). Witsen’s *bi inquāa* or *biiquāa* is comparable to the Hie (C1) words *hii*, *jii*, ‘tree’, the Naron (C2) word *hi:ba*, ‘tree’ (Bleek 1929:87), and the N/uu word *≠hii*, ‘tree’, plural *≠hiike* (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:120).

The other word that these writers give for tree, *ay* or *ãy*, is comparable to the Eastern dialectal words *haip*, ‘tree; boom’ (Le Vaillant 1790:367) and *hi*, ‘*der Baum*’, (‘the tree’), and *hika*, ‘*mehr oder viele Bäume*’, (‘more or many trees’) (Von Winkelmann 1788:45). Also comparable are the Korana words *heyiep*, ‘tree’ (Borchers 1861:70), *heib* and *haib*, ‘boom’, (‘tree’) (Nienaber 1963:226), *heikoa* and *heiköa*, ‘*Baum*’, (‘tree’) (Lichtenstein 1930:471; 1808: 313), the Griqua word *hais* (Meinhof 1930:150), and the Nama words *heip*, ‘tree’ (Alexander 1838 II:165), and *heis*, ‘*Baum*’, (‘tree’) (Rust 1960:8). The final endings *-s* and *-p* are the feminine and masculine singular endings respectively. Bushman equivalents are the Hie (C1) words *hii*, *jii*, ‘tree’, the Naron (C2) word *hi:ba*, ‘tree’ (Bleek 1929:87), the Khwe word *yii*, ‘tree’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:368), and the N/uu word *≠hii*, ‘tree’, plural *≠hiike* (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:120).

An interesting feature is Lichtenstein’s words *heikoa* and *heiköa* which he gives as ‘*Baum*’, ‘tree’, thus in the singular, reminiscent of Valentyn’s *punqua-a*, ‘*een boom*’, ‘a tree’, also in the singular. It appears as if the component *qua* or *koa* may not be the masculine plural marker of Khoikhoi in all instances.

### **Truth**

Sparrman (1785 II:352) recorded the Eastern dialectal word *kammasa*, ‘truth; it is true’, similar in sound and meaning to the Nama word *ammasse*, ‘*Wahrheit*’, (‘truth’), recorded by Ebner (1829:209, 340), and the Nama word *amab*, ‘*Wahrheit*’, (‘truth’) (Rust 1960:71). The Korana word *kx’amāb*, ‘truth’ (Meinhof 1930:143) is closer to the ≠Khomani (S2a) word *kx’amkje*, ‘good, true’ (Bleek 1956:117), while the Hie (C1) word *gamo*, ‘truth’ (Bleek 1956:43), should not be discounted. In this instance the variability of the voiced and unvoiced velar consonants *g* and *k* is notable. According to Nienaber (1963:519) Ebner’s recorded word *ammasse*, ‘*Wahrheit*’, (‘truth’), is not a noun, but an adverb akin to the Nama word *amase*, ‘*währlich*’, (‘truly’).

**Two**

The first indigenous word for ‘two’ recorded was the Cape dialectal *istum* (Herbert 1634:16). According to Herbert’s ‘system’ of representing clicks in writing, *ist* is the dental click currently written as /, or, as (Nienaber 1963:484) puts it, “*Die ist- stel die Schnalz voor, meer bepaald die affrikatiewe voor-Schnalz*”; (“The *ist-* represents the click, more particularly the affricate front click”). The word *istum* should thus be written as /*um*. Writing in English, Herbert’s vowel *u* could conceivably be pronounced either as the *u* in *pull*, approximating the sound generally written in Bushman languages as *u* (Bleek 1956:246), or as the *u* in *hum*, approximating the sound generally written in Bushman as *a*. Comparison of the word /*um* with words in other languages seems to indicate the latter to be the case. There are several words for ‘two’ in which the vowel *u* (as in *pull* or *put*) occurs, e.g. the /Xam (S1) and //ǃ word *!ku:*, the //Xegwi (S3) word //ku, and the Kafia Sesarwa (S5) and /Nu //en (S6) word *!kum*, ‘two’ (Bleek 1929:99); also the Sesarwa (S5) words *!num*, ‘two’, and //num, ‘two, both’; and the //Xegwi (S3) words //ku and *!ku:*, ‘two’ (Bleek 1956:485,622 591). However, none of the clicks correspond to Herbert’s use of the dental, and these words are thus less likely to be cognates of his recorded word /*um*. Words that do approximate more closely are the Cape-Saldanha dialectal word *tam*, ‘*deux*’, (‘two’) (De Flacourt 1658:57), the Cape dialectal word *k’kam*, ‘*twee; duo*’, (‘two’) (Witsen II 1691 in Molsbergen 1 1916:223), and the Eastern dialectal words *KaMSE*, ‘2’ (Thunberg 1795 II:85) and *x-am*, ‘*zwei*’, (‘two’) (Von Winkelmann 1788:46); also the Nama words *tām*, ‘two’ (Alexander 1838 II:165), and /*gam*, ‘two’ (Bleek 1929:88). Comparable Bushman words include the /Xam (S1) word /*kam*, the Naron (C2) words /*kam*, /*gam* and /*kam*, ‘two’ (Bleek 1929:88; 1956:299). The vowel *a* that is encountered in the Cape dialectal words *tam* and *k’kam*, as noted above, is reflected in the devalarised Kua, Cua, Tsua and G/ui word /*am*, ‘two’ (Chebanne 2014:8), and the Khwe word /*ám*, ‘two’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:370).

**-U-****Ugly**

Sparrman (1785 II:351) recorded the Eastern dialectal word *kaisi*, ‘ugly’, which is comparable to the Korana word //gaisa, ‘*lelik*’, (‘ugly’) (Nienaber 1963:370), as

well as to the Nama words //gasi, //geisi, //eisi, 'hässlich', ('ugly') (Rust 1960:29). In these comparisons the variability of the voiced and ejective releases g and k is discernible, as well as the glottalisation in the word //eisi. The lateral click in the Nama and Koranna words is also evident in the 'Hottentot' word //gase, 'ugly' (Bleek 1929:88), while the dental click occurs in the Auen (N1) and !O !kung (N3) word /k'au, 'ugly' (Bleek 1929:88), and in the !Xuhn word /kau, 'ugly' (Weich 2004:242). The dental click is also seen in the Naron (C2) word /xãĩ, 'ugly' (Bleek 1929:88), a word in which the fricative release is discernible. The diphthong ai that occurs in this word, in the Naron (C2) word /aĩ, 'ugly' (Bleek 1956:268), and in the Khwe word /x'ãĩ, 'ugly' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:371), reflects the diphthong ai in the Eastern dialectal word kaisi. An alternative diphthong is evident in the Kung (N2) adverb ʔ'kao and its synonym /k'au, 'badly, ugly' (Bleek 1956:337).

## -V-

### *Vlei, valley*

One of the earliest words recorded for 'valley' is the Eastern dialectal word *xheri*, 'das Thal', ('the valley') (Von Winkelmann 1788:46). A shift from the vowel *e* to *a* is evidenced by the comparable Korana word 'karréep, 'valley or water place' (Burchell 1812 II:181), who, referring to the masculine singular ending, adds that "in this word the *-p* is nearly silent". The click indicated by Burchell is identified by Nienaber (1963:491) as the dental /, and the word is thus to be read as /karréep. The additional informative phrase 'water place' indicates that a *vlei* is meant, an Afrikaans word rendered as a German adaptation as *Vley*, for which the Nama word is /ab, clarified by Rust (1960:70) as 'mit Wasser', ('with water'), and by Kroenlein (1889:13) as 'flaches Wasserbassin auf der Ebene', ('shallow water basin in the plain'). Also comparable are the !Xuhn word ≠ali, 'valley' (Weich 2004:244), which features the palatal click with glottalised release and the variability of *l* and *r*; and, with a different vowel, the //ǀ !ke (S2) word ≠e<sup>-</sup>ru, 'valley' (Bleek 1929:89).

### *Vulture*

The interchangeability of the digraphs *ai* and *ei* are discernible in words for 'vulture'. Le Vaillant (1790:367) recorded the Eastern dialectal word *A-gha*

*ip*, ‘vulture; *aas-voogel*’, which, according to his system of writing clicks, may be transcribed as *#ghaip*, thus with the palatal click and the masculine singular marker *-p*. Elsewhere Le Vaillant (1783:43) gives the Nama word *ghaip* specifically for the ‘*swart aasvoël*, (‘Black vulture’) (Nienaber 1963:475). The Khwe word *kx’āĩ*, ‘lappet-faced vulture’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:374) shares the vowel cluster *ai* with the Eastern dialectal words, but differs in the absence of a click. The Naron (C2) word *k”ēĩ*, ‘vulture’, bears some resemblance to the Eastern dialectal words, the voiced velar *gh* approximating the velar ejective *k”*, *ei* variable with *ai*, and with omission of the Nama masculine singular marker *-p*. The /Xam (S1) and //ǀ!ke (S2) word /*kwi:*, ‘vulture’ (Bleek 1929:89), accords with the N/uu word /*qhui*, ‘vulture’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:117), in displaying the dental click /, the semivowel *w* variable with the vowel *u*, but differing in that the N/uu word features the glottal click release.

### **Vulva**

Witsen (1691 II in Molsbergen 1 1916:217) recorded *qu’äou* for ‘*membrum muliebre*’, (‘woman’s member’), and Valentyn (1726:108a) recorded the word *qu-aoé*, ‘*vrouwelykheyd*’, (‘femininity’), both words categorised by Nienaber (1963:447) as being Cape dialectal words. These words are similar in sound and meaning to the /Xam (S1) words //*khau*, ‘*vulva*’; *!kwai:*, *!khwa:iǀ*, ‘*vulva, vagina*’ (Bleek 1956:574, 459), and to the Nama word /*gōus*, ‘*die weibliche Scham*’, (‘female private parts’) (Kroenlein 1889:114b). The dieresis in Witsen’s word *qu’äou* is interpreted by Nienaber (1963:447) as the nasalisation that is reflected by the tilde in the Nama word /*gōus*. Khwe has the word /*guú*, ‘*vulva*’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:374), which may approximate the Cape dialectal words *qu’äou* and *qu-aoé*.

## **-W-**

### **Warm**

The Eastern dialectal word *SANG*, ‘warm’, recorded by Thunberg (1795 II:86), is equated by Nienaber (1963:521) with the Nama word *sã*, ‘*sich warmen*’, (‘to warm oneself’), the nasalisation being indicated by the nasal *ng* and the tilde *~* respectively. The Khwe word *tcãã*, ‘warm; warm oneself’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:374), also corresponds to the Eastern dialectal word, *tc* being the orthographic

rendering of the alveolar affricate *ts*, and nasalisation also being denoted by the tilde as in the Nama word.

The question of which click was intended in early writings may in some instances be solved by comparison of the relevant words comparable with words in other languages and dialects. Lichtenstein (1930:472) recorded the Korana word *t'koang*, 'warm', which Nienaber (1963:521) said could be either *≠koang* or *//koang*. Comparison of this word with the Korana words *//choãm*, 'warmte', ('warmth') and *//xoã*, 'heiss', ('hot') (Nienaber 1963:521), and with the Nama word *//khõasa*, 'heiss (innerlich, Fieber)', ('hot, (inner, fever)') (Rust 1960:30), tips the scale in favour of the lateral click *//*. This is further borne out by comparison with the /Xam (S1) word *//khõã*, 'to warm, become warm' (Bleek 1956: 542). The nasal velar *ng* in Lichtenstein's word *//koang* reflects the nasalisation represented by the tildes in the /Xam word *//khõã*. The Khwe word *khóárà*, 'warm oneself up' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:374), lacks the click and nasalisation, but otherwise correlates well with the /Xam word *//khõã* and Korana words *≠koang* or *//koang*. The !Xuhn words *khui*, 'warm', and *o khui-a*, 'to warm' (Weich 2004:246), show a shift from the digraph *oa* to *ui*, while the Kua word *khuo* is encountered as *khoo* in Cua and Tsua, and as *!hoo* in G/ui, 'the beginning of the hot season' (Chebanne 2014 <http://spilplus.journals.ac.za>, accessed 9 March 2017).

## **We**

The Cape dialectal words *cita*, 'wij', ('we') (Witsen 1697 III CMM 1858:1170); the Eastern dialectal word *zika*, 'our' (Sparrman II:351); the Korana word *sida*, 'unser', ('our') (Lichtenstein 1808:319); the Korana word *sida*, 'wir', ('we') (Lichtenstein 1808:318), and the Nama words *sige*, *sise*, *sida*, 'uns', ('we') (Rust 1960:65), and the Korana word *sita*, 'our' (Campbell 1815:388), are comparable to the Naron (C2) word *sita*, 'we, our', and the synonyms *si*, *sisi*, *sife* and *fita*, and to the Hadza (C3) *bita*, 'us' (Bleek 1956:170, 16). The Eastern dialectal word *zika*, 'our', recorded by Sparrman (1785 II:351), is cognate with the /Xam word *i-ka*, 'our' (Bleek 1956:67).



**Wether**

The variability of *e*, *i* and *a* is discernible in Nama and Korana words for ‘wether’. The Korana word *debigoe*, ‘sheep’, was recorded by Borchers (1861:70), the Korana word *dibigūb*, ‘*hamel*’, (‘wether’), by Engelbrecht (1928 in Nienaber 1963:296), and the Nama word *dabigup*, ‘wether’, by Tindall (1857 in Nienaber 1963:296). The component *debi* of the word *debigoe* is cognate with the /Xam (S1) word *debi*, *debbi*, ‘castrated animal’ (Bleek 1956:23, 703), and the component *-goe* with the word *gu*, ‘sheep’, that is found in Khakhea (S5), Kung (N2), Naron (C2) and Sehura (C1a), also with the Auen (N1) and Kung (N2) word *gu*: and the !O !kuŋ (N3) word *\_gu*:, ‘sheep’ (Bleek 1956:50; 1929:74). The first component of the !Xuhn word *gu hovi*, ‘wether’ (Weich 2004:247), correlates with these cognates, *gu* being the word for ‘sheep’; *hovi* meaning ‘castrated goat; *kapater* [*bok*]’ (Weich 2004:16, 27). The interchangeability of *b* and *v* is discerned in these words.

**Where?**

Several words for the interrogative word ‘where?’ were recorded in the dialects under discussion. Buttner (1725:67b) recorded the Cape dialectal word *amma*, ‘wo’, (‘where’), said by Nienaber (1963:518) to be a variant of *ham*, a contraction of *ham-ba* and a regional variant of the Eastern dialectal word *demma*, ‘where?’ recorded by Thunberg (1795 II:85). The word *amma* is phonologically and semantically comparable with the Auen (N1) word *kama*, ‘where’ (Bleek 1929:91), and with the Khwe words *māā?*, *mà-ε?* and *mà-ká?*, ‘where?’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:377). The Nama word *mawa*, ‘wo?’, (‘where?’) (Ebner 1829:340), is comparable to the /Nu//en (S6) word *maba*, ‘where?’ (Bleek 1956:133), the intervocalic *w* interchanging with *b*.

**Whistle**

The Cape-Saldanha word *mama*, ‘*siffler*’, (‘to whistle’), was equated by Nienaber (1963:269) with the Nama and Korana word *≠nam*, ‘*pfeifen (durch d. Lippen)*’, (‘whistle (through the lips.)’) (Rust 1960:47), ‘*fluit (ww.)*’, (‘whistle (vb.)’) (Engelbrecht 1928:30), comparable with the Auen (N1) word /*nΛm*, ‘whistle’ (Bleek 1929:91; 1956:353), in which the dental click is displayed rather than the palatal ≠, and the symbol *Λ* represents the pronunciation of *u* in the word ‘bun’.

The Khwe word *n≠óm*, ‘whistle’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003:377), reflects the palatal click *≠* that occurs in the Korana word *≠nam*, and the difference in the vowels *a* and *o* is discerned.

### **White**

Schrijver (1689 in Mossop 1931:227) recorded the ‘Hottentot’ word *nau* as a component of the place-name *Naudau*, ‘Witte Kloof’, (‘white ravine’). Considering the interchangeability of *n* with *g* and *k*, the Kung (N2) words *!gʔao*, *!kau*, and *!k”ao*, ‘to be white’ (Bleek 1956:377), the Kung (N2) *!kao*, *!kʔao*, ‘white, light-coloured, new’ (Bleek 1956:409), the Auen (N1) and !O *!kuŋ* (N3) words *!kau*, *!k”ao* and *!kʔao*, ‘white, pale yellow’ (Bleek 1956:413), and the Kung (N2) word *!k”au*, ‘white’ (Bleek 1956:507), may be considered comparable to the word *nau*. The !Xuhn word *!aúh*, ‘white’ (Weich 2004:248), correlates with the comparable words in displaying the cerebral click *!* and the vowel sequence *a – u*, a variant of *a – o*.

Le Vaillant (1790:367) recorded the ‘Hottentot’ words *V-oree* in the compound *V-oree-goep*, ‘European’, and *ouri* in the word *ouri-gourap*, ‘witkraai’ (‘white crow’). The symbol *V* is used by Le Vaillant for the palatal click *≠*, according to Nienaber (1963:147), so that the word *V-oree* may be transcribed as *≠oree*. The Nama word for ‘white’ is *!uri*, comparable to the ≠Khomani (S2a) word *!ʔurija* ‘white’ (Bleek 1956:493) and the N/uu word *!uria*, ‘white’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:151). The phonological similarity between the words *oree* and *ouri* is readily perceptible, indicating that many are different orthographic renderings of the same word.

### **Wind**

The Cape dialectal word *toya*, ‘wind’, was recorded by Witsen (1691 I in Molsbergen 1 1916:217), Valentyn (1726:108a) and Kolbe (I 1727:434). This word was equated by Nienaber (1963:530) with the Nama and Korana words *≠oáb* and *≠’oabi*, ‘wind’, the initial *t* in the word *toya* indicating the click, and the intervocalic *y* seen as a bridging sound. The cognate /Xam (S1) word is *!koja*, ‘wind’ (Bleek 1956:440), thus with the cerebral click, synonyms being *!koi*, *!kwe*, *!khwe* and *!kwi*. The N/uu word *≠qhoe*, ‘wind’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:151) differs in that it displays the palatal click *≠* with glottal release.

The Eastern dialectal word *qūa*, ‘wind’ recorded by Barrow (1801 I:219) corresponds to the Nama and Korana word *≠oáb*. Barrow employs the macron to indicate clicks other than the dental /, so that the palatal may have been intended here (Nienaber 1963:531).

Also comparable to the Nama and Korana word *≠oáb*, ‘wind’, are the Korana words recorded as *t<sup>ʼ2</sup>koaab* by Lichtenstein (1930:471), and as *ʼkuaap*, ‘wind’ by Burchell (1812 II:181). Nienaber (1963:531) identifies the symbols *t<sup>ʼ2</sup>* and *ʼ* used by Lichtenstein and Burchell as both representing the palatal click *≠*, facilitating the comparison with the word *≠oáb*.

### **Winter**

The Naron (C2) word *fauba*, with the synonym *faume*, ‘winter’ (Bleek 1956:178), is readily recognisable as being comparable with the Korana word *tsaub* recorded by Lichtenstein (1808:314); the affricate *ts* in the word *tsaub* corresponds to the fricative *f* in the words *fauba* and *faume*, and the voiced bilabial plosive *b* interchanges with the nasal bilabial *m*. Korana words with the unvoiced alveolar fricative *s* are *saob* and *saub* (Wuras 1920 in Nienaber 1963:531, Meinhof 1930:144); the corresponding Nama words are *saub*, *sau-//aib*, ‘Winter’, (‘winter, winter time’) (Rust 1960:74), *sáob*, ‘der Winter’, (‘winter’) (Kroenlein 1889:295). The Khwe word *càó*, ‘winter’, correlates with the words *sao(b)*, *sau(b)* and *fau* in that *c* is used in the Khwe language to denote both the voiceless dental fricative *s* and the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative *f* (Kilian-Hatz 2003:7, 379). The !Xuhn word *g!um*, ‘winter’ (Weich 2004:249), shares the cluster *um* with the word *faume*.

### **Womb**

Herbert (1634:16) recorded the Cape dialectal word *wchieep*, ‘the wombe’. According to Nienaber (1963:209) the semi-vowel *w* represents a click, either the palatal *≠* or cerebral *!*. The possibility also exists that the digraph *ch* is meant in this instance to represent the click, and that the semi-vowel *w* is part of the word. The letter *i* is pronounced as in the first person pronoun *I*; the *ee* is pronounced as in ‘sleep’, and omitting the masculine singular ending *-p* reveals *!wiee* to correspond to the /Xam (S1) word *!kwai*, *!khwai:ɛ*, ‘vulva, vagina’

(Bleek 1956:431, 459). In this regard it will be noted that the same or similar words are used for ‘womb’, ‘vulva’ and ‘vagina’.

Witsen (1691 II in Molsbergen 1 1916:223) gives the Cape dialectal word *k' cho*, ‘*de baarmoeder; vterus*’, (‘the womb; uterus’); Valentyn (1726:95a, 108a) recorded the Cape dialectal word *thou*, ‘*t schaamtdeel van een vrouw*’, (‘private part of a woman’), and *tkhoe*, ‘*de baarmoeder*’, (‘the womb’). Kolbe (1727 in Molsbergen 1 1916:434) has the Cape dialectal word *tk̃chou*, ‘*uterus; de baarmoeder*’; (‘uterus; the womb’). Lichtenstein (1808:283) gives the Korana word *t'³köub*, ‘*die weiblichen Geschlechtsteile*’, (‘the female sexual organs’). The clicks in the various languages are indicated by *k'*, *tk*, *tk̃*, *t'g*, and by Lichtenstein by *t'³*, which is the symbol used for the cerebral click !. A comparable Bushman word is the /Xam (S1) //khau, ‘vulva’ (Bleek 1956:574). An Eastern dialectal word *t'gau*, ‘womb’, was recorded by Sparrman (1785 II:349), with which the Nama words /gous, ‘*die weibliche Scham*’, (‘the female private part’), and /goub, ‘*die weibliche Scham bei Kühen*’, (‘the female private parts in cows’), correspond as regards the voiced velar efflux or release *g* and the diphthong *ou*. The N/uu word !'um, ‘vagina’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:147), displays the cerebral click with glottal stop and an elided stem.

### **Work, to**

The Nama word *cisen*, ‘work’, recorded by Campbell (1815:389), is recognisably similar to the Cape dialectal word *cincin*, ‘*arbeyden; werk doen*’, (‘to labour; to work’), recorded by Witsen (III 1697 CMM 1858:118). The later Nama word *sisen*, ‘*arbeiten*’, (‘work’) (Rust 1960:4), and the Korana word *sīsn*, ‘*werk*’, (‘work’) (Nienaber 1963:525) reflect the nasalisation explicitly given by Witsen in the medial *-n-* of the word *cincin*, as does the N/uu word *sīisen*, ‘to work’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:151). Nasalisation is also indicated in the //ǀ !ke (S2) and Naron (C2) words *sēsē*, *siṅsiṅ*, ‘to work’ (Bleek 1956:167). Other comparable words are the /Auni (S4) words *snsn*, *sēsē*, *sīsī*, ‘to work’, and the Naron (C2) and //ǀ !ke (S2) word *sesiṅ*, ‘to work’ (Bleek 1956: 167, 169, 171).

### **Write**

Von Winkelmann (1788 (I):46) recorded the word *xg'owae* for ‘*schreiben*’, (‘to write’), said by Nienaber (1963:455) to be from the Eastern dialect and transcribed

by him as /gowae, thus with the dental click. Hadza (C3) words for ‘to write’ are *gohandeka* and *kuandeka* (Bleek 1956:104, 148), without a click and displaying the variability of the voiced and unvoiced velars *g* and *k*. The components *go* and *ku* are different ways of writing the same word, comparable with the /Xam (S1) and //ǃ !ke (S2) words *xóá*, *xwa* ‘to write’, cognate with the Nama word *xóá* (Bleek 1956:259). A synonym for the /Xam (S1) word *xóá* is /*kwa*, ‘to paint, adorn, write’, which displays the dental click that also occurs in the Eastern dialectal word *xg’owae* or /*gowae*. Bleek (1956:104, 259, 328) sees a connection between the Hadza (C3) word *kuandika* and the Swazi word *andika*; between the /Xam (S1) word *xóá* and the Nama word *xóá*, and between the /Xam (S1) word /*kwa* and the Korana word *xoa*. The Hadza (C3) words *gohandeka* and *kuandeka* are reminiscent of the N/uu word *kaqleke*, ‘to write’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:142), where the segment *go* and *ku* is simplified to *ka* and the segment *qle* approximates the cluster *nde*.

### -Y-

#### *Yard*

Herbert (1634:16) recorded the Cape dialectal word *istcoom* for ‘yard’. Nienaber (1963:411) points out that in 1626 there were no farms and farmsteads that could be associated with a yard in the sense of enclosure: “*In 1626 was daar egter geen plase of opstalle aan die Kaap in die gewone betekenis van die woorde nie. Herbert moes hier ongetwyfeld gedink het aan ’n mattehuiskompleks met ’binnehof’, d.w.s. aan ’n kraal of werf. ... Dit is dieselfde woord as ’huis’.*”; (“In 1626, however, there were no farms or farmsteads in the usual sense of the word at the Cape. Herbert must undoubtedly have been thinking of a cluster of mat houses, ‘*mattehuiskompleks*’, with a ‘courtyard’, i.e. of a byre or yard. This is the same word as ‘house’.”). Herbert’s cluster *ist* represents a click, and the digraph *oo* is probably pronounced as the sound /u/ as in ‘put’ or ‘pull’, writing as he did in English. A click also features in the cluster *tzk* in Buttner’s word *tzkummas*, ‘*häusern*’, (‘houses’) (Buttner 1725:65), in the Eastern dialectal word *t’kooqua*, ‘house’ (Sparrman 1785 II:350), and in the G/wi word *n!uu*, ‘house, hut’ (Chebanne 2014). Also comparable are the /Xam (S1) word *!nu:*, ‘bush hut, branch house, nest’; the Auen (N1) and !O !kung (N3) word *!nu:*, ‘hut’ (Bleek 1956:482); the /Xam word //nu, ‘shelter, lair, home’ (Bleek 1956:621), also given

as ‘home, hut’ (Bleek 1956:726); as well as in the Naron (C2) and Tsaukwe (C2a) word *≠gnu*, ‘house’ (Bleek 1956:647), and the N/uu word *n/ng*, ‘house’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:128) a word also meaning ‘blanket’, with the plural *n//āi* (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:131). Click loss without evident phonological triggers is explained as the reason for words without a click, such as the Mohissa (C1b) words *ɕun*, *ɕu* and *tʃu*, ‘house’ (Bleek 1956:34), the !Xuhn word *tju*, ‘house’ (Weich 2004:174), the Kua word *ɲuu*, and the Cua and Tsua word *ɕuu*, ‘a house, hut’ (Chebanne 2014:8). Nama words without a click are *ummi*, ‘Haus’, (‘house’) (Ebner 1829:341), and the same word *ummi*, ‘house’, with the synonym *om* (Campbell 1815:389), given as *ommi* by Knudsen (1845:8), this last indicating the variability of *o* and *u*. This interchangeability can also be discerned by comparison of the words discussed above with the Cape dialectal words *k’omma*, ‘*een huys; domus*’, (‘a house’) (Witsen 1691 II in Molsbergen I 1916:220); *k’omme*, ‘*een huys; domus*’, (‘a house’) (Witsen III 1697 CMM 1858:119); *komma*, ‘*een huys*’, (‘a house’) (Valentyn 1726:108a), and *k’~omma*, ‘*domus; het huis*’, (‘house’) (Kolbe I 1727:431). The variability of *o* and *u* can also be discerned in the Korana words *kgoma*, ‘house’ (Borcherds 1861:70), *k’kchomma*, ‘*Haus, Hütte*’, (‘house, hut’) (Lichtenstein 1808:315), *kx’omi*, *kx’oma* and *kx’umma*, ‘*Haus*’, (‘house’), and the Griqua word *k’ummi* (Meinhof 1930:151). Comparable are also the Eastern dialectal words *KOMMA*, ‘*hus, gård*’, (‘house, yard’) (Thunberg 1795 II:86); *kooma*, ‘*ein Hauss*’, (‘a house’) (Von Winkelmann 1788:44), who adds “*das k oder c muss durch den Hals ausgesprochen warden*”, (‘the *k* or *c* must be pronounced through the throat’), and *t’kooqua*, ‘house’ (Sparrman 1785 II:350). Most Bushman words seem to incorporate the vowel *u*, for example the Auen (N1) word *tʃu*; the Kung (N2) word *tʃu*, the !O !kung (N3) word *tʃu* *ni*, the Hie (C1) word *dʒu* and the Naron (C2) word *!nu:fa*, ‘house, hut’ (Bleek 1929:48), for which Auen (N1) and !O !kung (N3) have the word /*ko*:/, following *tʃu*, ‘village, home, hut front’ (Bleek 1956:317), and !O !kuŋ (N3) has *tʃo*, *tʃo* *ni*, synonym *tʃu*, ‘village, home’ (Bleek 1956:232).

Another possibility presents itself when the context of Herbert’s *istcoom* is taken into account. This word appears in the list ‘The Genitor, *Gwammey*; Mens stones, *Wchraef*; The Wombe, *Wchieep*; Paps, *Semigwe*; Yard, *Istcoom*’ (Nienaber 1963:22). Webster (Gove 1961:2647) gives *yard* as an archaic word for ‘penis’ (ME *yarde*, *yerde*, ‘rod, stick’; OHG *gart*, ‘stick, goad’; ON *gaddr*, ‘goad, spike’; Gothic *gazds*, ‘goad’, Latin *hasta*, ‘spear’). Herbert’s *istcoom*, ‘yard’, thus

correlates with the other words in his list that refer to parts of the body. The cluster *ist* is Herbert's symbol for the dental click /, and taking the variability of *o* and *u* into account *istcoom* or /*coom* may be comparable to the component *KoU* of the Eastern dialectal words *KoUTERE*, 'glans penis', interpreted by Nienaber (1963:419) as /*koutere*, and *HOP*, 'priapus' (Thunberg 1795 II:86 in Nienaber 1963:419).

### **Year**

Words for 'year' exhibit the variation of *k*, *g*, and *ʈf*. Lichtenstein (1808:314) recorded *t''kúriü*, 'Jahr', ('year'), compared by Nienaber (1963:317) with the Korana words *kurib* and *gurib*, 'jaar', ('year') Nienaber (1963:317). Nienaber noted that Lichtenstein's word embodied a click but not a gender ending. The comparable Nama word is *gurib*, 'Jahr', ('year') (Rust 1960:33). Comparable Bushman words for 'year' do not display a click either, and the variability of *g* and *k* is also discernible. Thus are encountered the Auni (N1) word *ṽkuri*, the Kung (N2) word *\_guri* and its synonym *kuri*, 'year'; the !O !kuṅ (N3) and Naron (C2) word *kuri*, 'year'; and the Hie (C1) words *ʈfuri*, 'year', *natʈfuri*, 'last year', and *notʈfuri*, 'this year' (Bleek 1929:24). The Khwe word *kúri*, 'year' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:380) reflects the unvoiced velar consonant *k* in preference to the voiced velar *g*, and is accordingly close to the early Korana word, but the loss of click is noted. Khwe counterparts of the Hie (C1) words *natʈfuri*, 'last year', and *notʈfuri*, 'this year', are *n'é kúri*, *ṅ/ĩĩ kúri*, 'last year' and *ń kúri*, 'this year', respectively (Kilian-Hatz 2003:380).

### **Yellow**

It seems that the concepts of certain colours were not always unambiguous to the indigenous peoples. Engelbrecht 1928 (in Nienaber 1963:273) gives the Korana word /*hai*, '*vaal, geel wees*', ('to be grey, yellow'); and Burchell (1812 I:224, 272) gives *ky, tky* in the name *Tky-gariep* or *Ky-gariep*, for "the *Vaal River* ... which in English may here be rendered by *Yellow River*". Lichtenstein (1808:314) recorded the Korana word *t''chai t''khaangs*, '*gelber Monat*', ('yellow month'), the word *t''chai* equated by Nienaber (1963:273) with /*hai*, '*vaal, geel wees*', ('to be grey, yellow'), thus with the dental click, given as /*hei* by Wuras (1920:58). Comparable are the /Xam (S1) words /*kai:n*, /*kai:nja*, 'to be green,

yellow, shining', /kãi, 'light', and /keinja, /kei, /kēi, 'to be yellow'; and the Kung (N2) and !O !kuŋ (N3) words /kai:n, /kai:nja and /kaŋ, 'yellow' (Bleek 1956:297, 300, 308). The !Xuhn word g/ang tɬxau, 'yellow' (Weich 2004:251) bears a close resemblance to the !O !kuŋ (N3) word /kaŋ, 'yellow'.

### **Young**

Ten Rhyne (1673 in Schapera & Farrington 1933:154) gives the Cape dialectal word 'young' in the phrase *sickom courcour*, 'a young bird'. The /Nu//en (S6) word k<sup>h</sup>arrikum, 'young man' (Bleek 1956:120), bears some resemblance to the word *sickom*, comparable also to the word *tzicum*, 'good', recorded by Bolling (1670:315).

The Korana word t<sup>h</sup>aa, 'jung', ('young'), was recorded by Lichtenstein (1930:472, 1808:316), the symbol t<sup>h</sup> used to represent either the cerebral click ! or the palatal click ≠, so that the word can be written as !aa or ≠aa. The former of these, !aa, corresponds precisely with the /Xam (S1) word !aa, 'young' (Bleek 1956:369). The word ≠aa is comparable with Korana words ≠kamsa, ≠xam and ≠cham, 'young' (Nienaber 1963:320), these reflecting the variability of the ejective and affricate releases k, x and ch. The Khwe word txànaa, 'young' (Kilian-Hatz 2003:381), preserves the vowel cluster aa. Interesting synonyms for 'young' are the /Xam (S1) words !kwā and Opwa (Bleek 1929:94) that indicate the variability of the cerebral and lip clicks.

### **Your**

The variability of voiceless alveolar fricatives and affricates is discernible in a number of words for 'your'. Cape dialectal words t<sup>h</sup>sa, t<sup>s</sup>sa and sa, 'uw(e)', ('your'), were recorded by Witsen (1697 III CMM 116 et seq.), of which the variant sa is also encountered in the Korana phrase *sa-unna*, 'dein Name', ('Thy Name') (Lichtenstein 1808:319); in the Nama sentence *mawa sa darras?*, 'wo ist deine Frau?', ('where is your wife?') (Ebner 1829:341), and in the Nama word sa, 'dein', ('your') (Rust 1960:14). The Cape dialectal words t<sup>h</sup>sa and t<sup>s</sup>sa have their counterparts in the Korana word tsa, 'Thy' (Campbell 1815:388), as well as in the Hie (C1) and Naron (C2) singular personal pronoun tfa, 'you, your', a short form of satfa (Bleek 1956:224), The Nama words âts and â, 'dein', ('your')



(Rust 1960:14), and the !Xuhn word *a*, ‘your’ (Weich 2004:251), display neither fricative nor affricate.

### *Youth, son, lad*

The variability of *k* and *g* is manifested in the various words for the noun ‘youth’. Witsen (1691 II in Molsbergen I 1916:218) recorded the Cape dialectal word *koo*, ‘*een jongetje; filius*’, (‘a lad, son’), thus with an initial unvoiced velar plosive *k*. The Eastern dialectal word *t’go*, ‘lad’, was recorded by Sparrman (1785 II:549), thus with a click and incorporating the voiced velar plosive *g* as opposed to the unvoiced velar plosive *k* indicated by Witsen. The distinction between ‘youth’, ‘lad’, ‘boy’ and ‘son’ is not clearly drawn in all cases, as will be seen in discussions of other words for these, and particularly in the Latinisations. Nama words that are comparable are /*kop*, ‘boy’ (Tindall 1857 in Nienaber 1963:442) and /*gōb*, (also /*gōab*) ‘*der Sohn*’, (‘the son’) (Kroenlein 1889:110b, 111a), the obsolete word /*gōb*, ‘*Sohn*’, (‘son’) (Rust 1960:57); comparable Korana words are /*kōp* (Wuras 1920:13) and /*gōs* (Engelbrecht 1928:19), the respective endings *-p* and *-s* being the masculine and feminine singular markers. Bushman words comparable to the Cape and Eastern dialectal words *koo* and *t’go* are the Hie (C1) word *gau*, ‘youth, young man’, the /Xam (S1) word /*go*<sup>é</sup>, ‘young’ (Bleek 1956:280), and the N/uu word *Ōūu*, ‘*seun; boy, son*’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:141). The /Xam (S1) word /*goa*, /*gwa*, ‘young, baby’, may be compared with the Nama word /*gōab*.

The Korana word *t’<sup>2</sup>karoob*, ‘*Jüngling*’, recorded by Lichtenstein (1808:308), is recognisable as being similar to the Hie (C1) word *karo*, ‘boy’ (Bleek 1956:82), the difference regarding the inclusion and omission of a click having been noted.

## COGNATE COMPARISONS

In this section the earliest recorded words are listed, together with Bushman and Khoikhoi equivalents and approximations, in order to facilitate comparisons. The sources in which these words were found are not given here, since they were provided in the discussions in the previous section. In addition to Cape-Saldanha, Cape dialectal and Eastern dialectal lexical items, early Nama, Korana and Griqua words are listed here for purposes of comparison, as well as words from Bushman languages and dialects. Later Khoikhoi words that were recorded after the period under discussion, are not repeated here, having been dealt with in the previous section. English translations of Afrikaans, Dutch and German words are not repeated here, being subsumed in the entry heading, and having been provided in the previous section.

### -A-

#### *Aardvark, antbear*

Cape dialectal *k' ehou*, 'een mier eter'

Cape dialectal *kehoe*, 'een mieren-eeter'

Cape dialectal *k̃ihou*, 'comestor formicarium; een mieren-eeter'

Eastern dialectal *ʌ-goup*, 'ant-bear, erd-verken' = /goup

Nama /*kuwub*, 'Erdschwein'

Nama !*kxuwb*, 'aardvark'

Nama *kxubus*, 'Erdschwein'

Hei//kum (N2a) /*gei:os*, /*gei:õs*, ‘antbear’

Naron (C2) /*go:ba*, ‘antbear’

/Nu //en (S6) // *go:de*, ‘antbear’

Khwe *goó*, ‘antbear’

Cape dialectal words and Khwe have no gender ending. Eastern dialectal and Nama take masc. sing., Nama and Hei//kum take fem. sing. -s, Naron takes masc. sing -*ba*.

### **Again**

Cape dialectal *tzhaba*, ‘wederom’

Nama // *khaba*, ‘again’

Khwe *xàvána*, ‘again’

/Xam (S1) /*kaĩra*, /*kãna*, ‘to do again, used as adv.; again, still, yet’

Kung (N2) // *ka\_#na*, ‘again’

Kung (N2) // *ka*; // *kā*, ‘again, once more’

Naron (C2) /*kana*, ‘again’

### **Air**

Cape dialectal *chou*, ‘aer’

/Auni (S4) /*gau*, ‘air’

No gender ending

### **All**

Nama *whazama*, ‘alle’

Nama *hoa-tsama* ‘*alzumaŀ*’, *hoa*, ‘all(e)’

Khwe *kö-á-kà-xa*, ‘all’

Auen (N1) *wa:si, oa:si, wana, waina*, ‘all’

Auen (N1) *oasi, ōasi*, ‘all, both’

Naron (C2) *wa:si, waxa, we:, ̄wana*, ‘all’

Hadza (C3) *waina, waine*, ‘all’

**Aloe**

Nama *gorée*, ‘*Sempervivum spinosum*’; ‘*Aloë arborescens*’

Hadza (C3) *holai*, ‘aloe’

**Alone**

Korana //kuiha, /kuyse, /guise, /uise, ‘alone’

Korana //kuiha, ‘*allein, einsam*’

Nama /guise, ‘*allein*’

Khwe /úí-á-xa, /úí-ca-xa, /úí-xa, ‘alone’

Hie (C1) *gwija, kwija, /kwija*, ‘alone’

Naron (C2) /kwi:xa, ‘alone’

**Also**

Cape-Saldanha *coa*, ‘aussi’

Nama //kadi, ‘*auch*’

Korana //xā-bā, ‘*auch*’

Khwe *tama, tá-ò, tãã*, ‘also’

/Xam (S1) *koa*, ‘also’

Auen (N1) /kwa, ‘also’

≠Khomani (S2a) /ʔōé ēé, ‘also’

**And**

Cape dialectal *hique*, ‘ende’

Hadza (C3) *akwe*, ‘and, also’

Nama *i*, ‘and’

Hie (C1) *i, ii*, ‘and’

**Antelope**

Cape dialectal *qounqua*, ‘wilde bokken; capri sylvestres’

Cape dialectal *quoequa*, ‘wilde bokken’

Cape dialectal *quo~uq~va*, ‘capri silvestres in genere; wilde bokken zonder onderscheid’

//Xegwi (S3) *!xo;*, ‘steenbok’

/Auni (S4) *≠ko*, ‘steenbok’

!O!kuṅ (N3) *ˀ/hum*, ‘steenbok’

Auen (N1) */ou, /au, /hō*, ‘a buck, prob. steinbok’

Kung (N2) */ou, /au, /hō*, ‘a buck, prob. steinbok’

Cape dialectal *gau, gauda*, ‘Latin *dama*, or *buck*’, ‘steenbok’

/Xam (S1) *!koen*, ‘steenbok’

//ŋ!ke (S2) *!koen*, ‘steenbok’

/Xam (S1) *//khoini, /koenje, /koinje; !kenja, ≠kwenja*, ‘steenbok’

/Auni (S4) *!koenja*, ‘steenbok’

**Apron**

Eastern dialectal *t’neite*, ‘apron’

//ŋ!ke (S2) *ˀ!keisa*, ‘apron’

Naron (C2) *!keisa*, ‘apron’

Naron (C2) *≠kai*, ‘apron’

/Auni (S4) *≠kai*, ‘apron’

Khwe *kyāũ*, ‘fringed apron’

N/uu //’*hani*, ‘aba-karros’

Eastern dialectal *neuyp-kross*, ‘apron of modesty’

/Xam (S1) //’*ohĩ*, //’*Λhĩ*, //’*ohĩ*, ‘loincloth’

!Xuhn *g//o*, ‘apron [women]’

//Ŧ) *!ke* (S2) //’*Λhé:*, //’*Λhĩ:*, ‘apron’

### **Arm**

Cape-Saldanha *onocoa*, ‘bras’

Cape dialectal *onequa*, ‘armen; braccia’

Hadza (C3) *ukwa*, *ukwako*, ‘hand, finger, arm, foreleg’

Naron (C2) //’*k’ōā*, //’*k”ōā*, //’*ōā*, //’*ōa*, *≠o-a*, *≠ōa*, ‘arm’

Khwe //’*ōā*, //’*ūā*, ‘arm (body part)’

Tsaukwe (C2a) *≠o-a*, *≠ōa*, ‘arm’

!Xuhn *≠’han*, ‘arm’

### **Arrow**

Eastern dialectal *Δ-aap*, ‘arrow’ = *!aap*

/Xam (S1) /’*kā:*, , ‘arrow’

Auen (N1) and Kung (N2) *≠a:* and *≠ā:* ‘arrow, reed, stalk, stem’

Naron (C2) *≠a*, ‘arrow’

Korana *t’<sup>3</sup>koab*, *!koab*, ‘arrow’

/Auni (S4) //koa, //kowa, \_//kowa, \_//koa, ‘arrow’

Khwe *n/góvó*, ‘arrow’

Khwe //gává, ‘pointed bird arrow’

!Xuhn //xaih, ‘arrow’

### **As, like**

Korana *kghoma*, ‘like’

/Xam (S1) //khōa, ‘to seem, appear’; //kōa ‘to resemble, be like, seem, appear’,  
//koa, //khoa

### **Ash**

Nama *sau*, ‘ash’

Nama *tsáob*, ‘Asche’

Naron (C2) *tau, toufa, tfau, dau*, ‘ash, ashes’

### **Axe**

Cape-Saldanha *hau*, ‘hache’

Khakhea (S5) \_//kau, ‘axe’

/Nu//en (S6) //kau, ‘axe’

Naron (C2) /gau, ‘axe’

Eastern dialectal *xo*, ‘axe’

/Xam (S1) !ko:, ‘axe’

N/uu !’oo, ‘axe’

//ŋ !ke (S2) !o:, ‘axe’

Khwe *bó*, ‘axe’

!O !kuŋ (N3) *bo, boo, boko, bose*, ‘axe’

Naron (C2) *bo, boo, boko, bose*, 'axe'

Tsaukwe (C2a) *bo, boo, boko, bose*, 'axe'

Hukwe (C2b) *bo, boo, boko, bose*, 'axe'

Hie (C1) *boo*, 'axe'

Naron (C2) *bo:fa*, 'axe'

Khakhea (S5) *bosə*, 'axe'

**-B-**

***Baboon***

Eastern dialectal *t'gorloka*, 'baboon'

/Xam (S1) /*goren, /gori, /gora, /goro, !goro*, 'baboon'

Auen (N1) and Naron (C2) /*gora, /goraba*, 'baboon'

'Hottentot' *norab*, 'baboon'

Nama *nerab*, 'baboon'

Khwe *ngúyá*, 'baboon'

N/uu //*qun //qhaa*, 'baboon'

//ǃ *!ke* (S2) //*kũ //ka*, 'baboon', synonym //hu

***Back***

Korana *t'<sup>2</sup> kam*, 'the back', 'Rücken' = //kam

Korana *kx'am-//kx'eib*, 'Back (n)'

Nama *!gāb, Rücken*

Nama *kāp*, 'the back'

Korana //*kx'āb, //kx'ām*

Khatia (S4a) //*k"ā*, 'back'



Naron (C2) *!ga*, ‘back’

Korana *t’kaib*, ‘the back’, ‘Rücken’ = */kaib*

/Xam (S1) *!khai, !khai*, ‘to be above; over; also used as on the back’

Khwe *tc’i ka*, ‘back’

**Bad, evil**

Eastern dialectal *kaissi*, ‘bad’

Nama *//gasi*, ‘hässlich, abscheulich’

Korana *//kasi*, ‘bad’

Korana *//goasa*, ‘sleg’

Naron (C2) */k’e:fa*, ‘an evil thing’

Eastern dialectal *t’huh*, ‘bad’

Nama */kúi*, ‘böse sein’

/Xam (S1) */uhā, /lhá*, ‘evil, angry’

Hie (C1) *hoo*, ‘evil’

Hie (C1) *khoo*, ‘evil’

!Xuhn */kau*, ‘bad’

Khwe *tcòò, kx’ú*, ‘bad’

**Bag**

Korana *t’khoob*, [*/khoob*], ‘a bag’, ‘ein Knappsack’, ‘Beutel, Schubsack’

Korana *//hob*, ‘der Knappsack’

Nama *//hōb*, ‘der Knappsack’

/Xam (S1) *//ho*, ‘round bag, slung over shoulder, hanging on left hip’

//ŋ *!ke* (S2) *//ho*, ‘round bag, slung over shoulder, hanging on left hip’

//Xegwi (S3) //ko:, 'round bag, slung over shoulder, hanging on left hip'

/Auni (S4) //ho:, 'round bag, slung over shoulder, hanging on left hip'

/Xam (S1) /kho:, 'bag'

//Xegwi (S3) /ko:ma, 'bag'

!Xuhn /hao, 'knapsack, bladsak'

!Xuhn //ho, 'knapsak, kitbag'

!Xuhn n!oeh, 'knapsack, bladsak'

Khwe ≠òm, 'leather bag'

//Ń !ke (S2) //xã:, 'little bag (used as tobacco pouch)'

N/uu //xãa, 'bag'

***Beads, necklace***

Eastern dialectal KRAKWA, '*glaskoral*'

Nama *karan*, 'beads'

'Bushman' *kāra*, '*Korallen*'

/Xam (S1) *ka:ra*, 'beads'

!O !kuŋ (N3) *korai*, 'a red bead; necklace'

/Xam (S1) !*garo*, 'glass'

Naron (C2) /*kwa*, 'necklace'

/Xam (S1) *ka:ra*, 'necklace'

Cape dialectal *ninimos*, '*(corallia) ex aere*'

Khwe *dininá*, 'large coloured glass bead(s)'

Cape dialectal *ey*, '*corrallia ex vitro*'

Nama ≠eis, '*Perle von Kupfer*'

/Xam (S1) /ei, 'beads'

Auen (N1) ≠k'i, 'copper beads'

Korana t'<sup>1</sup>kaikoa, 'Korallen', [/kaikoa]

Korana koa, 'necklace'

Korana /kx'aib, 'kleine Perlen von Stein'

Korana /kx'ai, 'kleine Perlen von Holz'

≠Khomani (S2a) /kx'ain, ˀ/kx'ēiˀsi, 'beads'

Ki /hazi (S4) /k"einsi, /k"ēsi, 'beads'

N/uu /x'āinsi, pl. /x'āi, 'necklace'

Naron (C2) /kwa, 'necklace'

Khwe qóa-/gāā, 'bead(s) as ornament'

Khwe /gāā, 'bead(s)'

Old Cape dialectal koeno, 'koralen ... ik ... weet er niets als glas daarvan te maaken'

Nama ≠gūs, 'bead'

!Xuhn !hui, 'bead'

/Xam (S1) /gui, 'gum arabic'

Naron (C2) !gō, 'gum'

Naron (C2) ≠go:, 'gum of trees'

Kung (N2) ≠no, 'necklace, string necklace, string'

Cape–Saldanha carabac, 'colliet' (necklace)

/Xam (S1) ka:ra, 'beads'

/Auni (S4) !kaˀro, 'tassel of beads'

**Beard**

Cape-Saldanha *nomma*, 'barbe'

Cape dialectal *nomba*, 'den baard; barba'

Cape dialectal *nombha*, 'den baard'

Cape dialectal *nombh̃a*, 'barba; de baard'

Korana *t'<sup>1</sup>nomkoa*, 'beard', = /*nomkoa*

Nama /*nomgu*, 'Schnurbart'

Nama /*houb*, 'Kinnbart', 'chin beard'

Korana /*numma*, 'beard'

Korana /*numgu*, 'baard'

/Xam (S1) *num*, 'beard'

/Xam (S1) /*nom*, 'beard'

/Xam (S1) /*numma*, 'bearded'

/Nu //en (S6) /*nu:m*, 'beard'

Naron (C2) /*numfa*, 'beard'

Khakhea (S5) /*nu:m*, 'beard'

N/uu *n/um*, 'beard'

Khwe /'ũũ, 'beard'

**Believe**

Cape dialectal *kz hem*, '(Ik) geloove'

Korana ≠*kumm*, 'believe'

Korana ≠*gum*, 'glo'

Korana ≠*om*, 'jem. Glauben'

Nama ≠*kum*, 'believe'

Nama ≠*gom*, 'believe'

Kung (N2) <sup>-</sup>≠*gom*, 'to believe, trust, rely upon'

Naron (C2) *!kum*, 'to trust'

!Xuhn *!'ama*, 'believe, trust'

### **Belt**

Cape-Saldanha *haboh*, 'ceinture' = *!habou*

/Xam (S1) ≠*hou:*, 'belt'

/Xam (S1) *!hāū*, 'thong'

Khakhea (S5) /*k'āü*, 'thong'

Naron (C2) *!nauba*, 'thong'

Naron (C2) /*kaiba*, /*haim*, 'thong'

Nama *!āb*, *!hōüb*, 'thong'

### **Big**

Cape-Saldanha *bei*, 'grand'

Nama *gei*, 'gross'

Korana *kai*, *kei*, 'great'

Korana *gai*, 'groot'

Korana *t'<sup>2</sup>kaib*, 'gross', = //*kaib*

Korana //*kaib*, 'die Grösse', 'der Grosse'

/Xam (S1) *kei*, *kai*, *ke:ja*, 'to grow, be big, big'

/Auni (S4) *kei*, *kai*, *ke:ja*, 'to grow, be big, big'

Auen (N1) *kei*, *kai*, *ke:ja*, 'to grow, be big, big'

Naron (C2) *kei, kai, ke:ja*, 'to grow, be big, big'

Khakhea (S5) *!xei*, 'big'

/Nu//en (S6) *!xai*, 'big'

**Bird**

Cape-Saldanha dialectal *caneps*, 'poule'

Cape dialectal *k'annéqua*, /*k-anniquà*, 'volucres; het gevleugelde'

Cape dialectal *k'annéqua*, 'geuogelte; volucres'

Cape dialectal *kaoniqaa*, 'vogels, in 't gemeen'

Cape dialectal /*k-anniquà*, 'volucres; het gevleugelde'

Eastern dialectal  $\Delta$ -*kanip*, 'bird; voogel' = *!kanib*

Eastern dialectal *xgani*, 'der Vogel'

Nama *anib, anis*, 'Vogel'

Korana *kx'anis*, 'Vogel'

Korana *xanis*, 'voël'

Griqua *k'anis, 'anib*, 'Vogel'

/Xam (S1) *k"ānni, k"āni*, 'bird, little bird'

Kung (N2) *k"ānni, k"āni*, 'bird'

/Xam (S1) /*kanni*, 'bird'

Hukwe (C2b) /*kanni*, 'guinea fowl'

Kung (N2) /*kere*, 'a small bird'

/Xam (S1) *k"arri, k"arri*, 'bird, ostrich'

Korana *t<sup>3</sup>karinde*, 'birds' = *!karinde*

**Black**

Korana *t'<sup>1</sup>nu*, 'schwarz', = /*nu*

/Xam *t'<sup>1</sup>nua*, 'black' = /*nua*

Naron (C2) /*nu*, 'night, dark, black'

Korana /*nu*, 'schwarz'

Korana /*nu*, 'black'

Korana ≠*nu*, 'black'

Nama ≠*nu*, 'schwarz'

Naron (C2) /*nu*; ≠*nu*, 'black, dark'

Khwe *n≠qú*, 'black'

!Xuhn *djoo*, 'black'

Khwe *dúú*, 'black'

N/uu *ku !hoe*, 'black; looks like – black'

/Xam (S1) /*nua*, 'black'

Cape dialectal *kaukoerie*, *koekuri*, *k̃oukuri*, 'black iron'

Cape dialectal *kou*, *k̃ou* and *koe*, 'black'

//ŋ !ke (S2) !*koe*, 'black'

“Hottentot” *doggha*, 'swart'

/Xam (S1) /*hoaka*, 'dark, black'

**Blood**

Korana *t'<sup>2</sup>aaub*, 'Blut', = //*aaub*

Nama –*aup*, 'Blut'

'Hottentot' *aup*, 'blood'

Nama /*aub*, 'Blut'

Korana /*aub*, 'blood'

Nogau (N1a) /*ao*, /*ou*, 'blood'

Khwe /'ao, 'blood'

Naron (C2) /*ausa*, 'blood'

Naron (C2) /*au*, 'to bleed'

Korana //a*aub*, 'blood, Blut'

//ǀ!*ke* (S2) //x*au*, 'blood'

/Auni (S4) //x*au*'u, 'blood'

Khakhea (S5) \_//x*aũ*ʔ, 'blood'

N/uu //x*auke*, 'blood'

/Xam (S1) !*gau*:, 'blood'

### **Body**

Cape-Saldanha *couché*, 'corps'

Nama /*khas*, 'body'

Korana *t*<sup>3</sup>*kaab*, = !*khab*, 'body'

Korana /*chab*, 'body'

Korana /*kab*, 'body'

Nama /*khab*, /*khas*, 'Körper, Leib'

Korana *xāb*, 'der Körper'

!Xuhn *thang*, 'body'

/Xam (S1) !*ouka*, !*oukən*, !*kauuka*, !*kaukən*, 'body'

Khwe ≠àó, 'body'



Auen (N1) ʔ!gu, 'stomach, body, belly, seedpod'

Kung (N2) ʔ!gu, 'stomach, body, belly, seedpod'

(N3) ʔ!gu, 'stomach, body, belly, seedpod'

N/uu *ka Ooeke*, 'body'

!Xuhn *thang*, 'body'

**Bone**

'Hottentot' *koop*, 'bone'

Nama *'kooe*, 'bone'

Nama *≠kob, ≠kos*, '*der Knochen, das Bein*'

Auen (N1) !o, !u, 'bone'

!O !kuŋ (N3) !ʔo, !ʔu, 'bone'

Auen (N1) ʔ!ʔu, 'bone'

Kung (N2) ʔ!ku:, 'bone'

!Xuhn !'u, 'bone'

Nogau (N1a) ≠u, 'bone'

/Xam (S1) ʔ//ʔo, 'bone used as a *knobkerrie*'

*Koup, Gouph*, '*Gerippefeld*'

Korana *≠kob, ≠ko:b*, 'bone'

Khwe /'õã, 'bone'

Auen (N1) ʔ!ku:, 'bone'

Kung (N2) ʔ!ku:, 'bone'

N/uu //aba, 'bone'

//ŋ!ke (S2) //kaba, 'bone'

**Book**

Nama *canis*, 'Buch'

Nama *kanip*, 'book, letter'

Nama ≠*kanis*, 'Buch, Brief'

Korana ≠*kanis*, 'book'

Korana ≠*kannim*, 'book'

Auen (N1) /*xani*, /*xanni*, 'book, paper'

//ǃ!ke (S2) /*xanni*, /*xenni*, //*kanē*, 'book'

!Xuhn ≠*xanu*, 'book'

Auen (N1) /*kani*, /*kanni*, 'letter, book'

Naron (C2) /*kani*, /*kanni*, 'letter, book'

//ǃ!ke (S2) //*kanē*, 'letter'

Kung (N2) !*kani*, 'letter'

N/uu ≠*hanisi*, 'book'

**Bow**

Cape-Saldanha *cap*, 'arc'

Eastern dialectal *kgaap*, 'Boog; Bow'

Korana *kehaab*, 'a bow', *kchaab* ?

Khwe *tèe-n//áà*, 'horn of bow'

Korana *kgaas*, *kgaabi*, 'Bogen'

Nama *khab*, *khas*, 'Musik- oder Jagd-bogen'

Nama *khas*, 'der Bogen'

Korana *kha:s*, 'boog'

Korana *gās*, 'bow'

/Xam (S1) //hã:, 'bow used as musical instrument'

Naron (C2) //ka:aŋ, 'bow'

/Auni (S4) /ha, 'bow (for shooting)'; /ha-ã, /haã, /habe, /hΛn, /ho, 'bow, hunting'

Khatia (S4a) \_/haŋ, /habe, /hau, 'bow'

Khakhea (S5) /habɔ, 'bow, for shooting'

Nu //en (S6) /habɔ, 'bow, for shooting'

Auen (N1) ≠ka, 'bow, spoon'

Auen (N1) /gã, 'magic bow'

Khatia (S4a) /hau, 'bow'

N/uu /au, 'bow'

### **Bracelet**

Cape-Table Bay dialectal *whohoop*, 'bracelet'

Khakhea (S5) *do-hum*, *d'hom*, *dhom*, 'bracelets, anklets'

### **Bread**

Table Mountain dialectal *bara*, 'bread'

Khakhea (S5) *balekwa*, 'millet'

Hie (C1) *bara*, 'harvest', synonym *bala*, 'rainy season'

Cape dialectal *bree*, 'bread'

/Xam (S1) and Naron (C2) *berre*, 'bread'

Eastern dialectal *pree*, 'das Brod'

/Auni (S4) *pere*, 'bread'

!Xuhn *bolo*, 'brood, bread'

/Xam (S1) //koruh, 'corn, bread [Afr. koring]'

Korana smiim, 'Korn, Brod'

Hadza (C3) seme, sɛmɛ, 'food, to eat'

**Breasts**

Cape dialectal semigwe, 'paps';

Cape dialectal somma, 'poictrine';

Cape dialectal semme 'de pramme';

Cape dialectal samme, 'de borsten';

Cape dialectal samme, 'mmae; de borsten'

Eastern dialectal SAMMA, 'broest; patt'

Eastern dialectal samk'a, 'die Brüste'

Korana t'hamma, 'Brust' = /hamma

Nama sami, sams, 'die Brust (weibliche)'

Nama samra, samkha, 'dual die beiden Brüste'

Cape dialectal semigwe, 'paps'

Cape dialectal semme, 'de pramme'

Hie (C1) sam, 'breast, bosom, teat, udder'

Khakhea (S5) //xa:msa, 'breasts, female'

Khakhea (S5) //xa:nsa, 'breasts'; //xe:, 'milk'

Kung (N2) so\_ā, sóā, sōa, sō\_a, 'lung, breast'

Kung (N2) sūza, swā, 'breast'

Kung (N2) tswā, tswā́ and tswā:, 'chest, breast'

Nogau (N1a) /goa, 'breast, chest'

Nogau (N1a) /*gu*, ‘breast, chest’

Khwe //gùú, ‘breast’

Nogau (N1a) //goa, ‘breast, chest’

//ŋ !ke (S2) //kē:, ‘breasts, udders’

Kua, Cua, Glui g|úū, ‘chest’

Tsua /*zuu*, ‘chest’

**Breath, spirit**

Cape dialectal *kʷ omma*, ‘breath’

Korana /’*umma*, ‘breath’

Korana /*ums*, ‘asem’

Nama /*ōms*, ‘*Atem*’, ‘*Seele*’

Nama \_/*oms*, ‘spirit’

Khwe /’*om*, ‘breath’

Hie (C1) /*gom*, ‘spirit’

Hie (C1) /*gom*, ‘spirit’

Hie (C1) /*hum*, /*hu*: ‘breath, spirit’

Hie (C1) /*um*, ‘breath’, /*uhi*, ‘to breathe’

//ŋ !ke (S2) /*Δmsa*, /*um*, ‘breath’

**Bring**

Cape-Saldanha *harca, arca*, ‘*amener*’, ‘to bring’

Cape dialectal *hachuoha*, ‘*bringe dieses hier*’

Eastern dialectal *HANKA*, ‘*för hit*’

Hadza (C3) *haka*, *hakha*, *hakka*, ‘to go, bring’

Khwe *ciikà, yaá-kà, ú-kà*, ‘to bring’

Khwe *#ãã-kà*, ‘bring in’

Khwe *//x'áé-ku-kà*, ‘to bring together’

Nama *ha*, ‘bringen’

/Auni (S4) *//ka*, ‘to go, walk, run, bring’

Khakhea (S5) *//ka*, ‘to go, walk, run, bring’

/Nu/en (S6) *//ka*, ‘to go, walk, run, bring’

Auen (N1) *//ka*, ‘to go, walk, run, bring’

/Auni (S4) *#kã*, ‘to bring’

Eastern dialectal *SEO*, ‘bring’

//ŋ *!ke* (S2) *seja*, ‘to come, bring, a form of *se*’

//Xegwi (S3) *seja*, ‘to come, bring, a form of *se*’

//Xegwi (S3) *seja*, ‘to bring, to carry’

//Kxau (S2b) *sě, si*, ‘to bring’

/Xam (S1) */k'i s'a, /kλm s'a*, ‘to bring’

N/uu *kx'u saa*, ‘to bring (to make – to come)’

### **Brook**

Cape dialectal *bueem*, ‘a brooke’

Hie (C1) *kwe*, ‘river’, *kwe /kwa*, ‘brook’

### **Brother**

Cape dialectal *k'ang*, ‘*der Broeder*’

Eastern dialectal *t'kana*, ‘younger brother’

Eastern dialectal *KaRUP*, ‘*broder*’ =/karup

/Xam (S1) //ka-Opwa, 'younger brother'

Korana t'<sup>2</sup>kaam, 'brother'

Nama kap, 'brother'

Nama !gāb, 'der Bruder'

/Xam (S1) !kāŋ, !kā, //kā, 'brother'

//ŋ !ke (S2) //kāā, 'brother'

//Xegwi (S3) //ga:, 'brother'

Khakhea (S5) /xaŋ, 'brother'

Eastern dialectal t'ai, 'elder brother'

Khwe tá-ci, 'older brother'

/Auni (S4) /kāī, 'brother'

Kung (N2) !gō, //kho, \_≠ko, //ko:, 'brother'

!Xuhn //o, 'brother'

N/uu //āu, 'brother'

Cape-Saldanha sibou, 'frere'

Auni (N1) tsī, tñ, 'brother'

Kung (N2) tsi, 'brother'

!Xuhn sing, 'brother'

### **Buck**

Cape dialectal t'chó, 'een jeus bock; caper'

Cape dialectal tchoe, 'een bok'

Cape dialectal ã'chou, 'caper; een geite-bok'

'Hottentot' xu-b, 'wildsbok' = /xub

Auen (N1) /ou, /hō, ‘a buck, *prob. steinbok*’

Kung (N2) ˉ/ou, ‘a buck, *prob. steinbok*’

Cape dialectal *qounqua*, ‘*wilde bokken; capri sylvestres*’

Cape dialectal *quoequa*, ‘*wilde bokken*’

Cape dialectal *quo ~uq ~va*, ‘*capri silvestres in genere; wilde bokken zonder onderscheid*’

Nama //gūb, ‘springbuck’

Korana //gūb, /gūb, ‘springbuck’

Auen (N1) /ou, /au, /hō, ‘buck’

Kung (N2) /ou, /au, /hō, ‘a buck, *prob. steinbok*’

Cape dialectal *gauda*, *steenbok*

/Xam (S1) !koen, ‘steenbok’

//Ń!ke (S2) !koen, ‘steenbok’

/Xam (S1) //khoini, /koinje, /koinje; !kenja, ≠kwenja, ‘steenbok’

/Auni (S4) !koinja, ≠kwenja, ‘steenbok’

//Xegwi or Batwa (S3) !xo:, ‘steenbok’

/Auni (S4) ≠ko, ‘steenbok’

!O!kuŋ (N3) ˉ/hum, ‘steenbok’

### **Buffalo**

Cape dialectal *t’aouv*, ‘*een buffel; bos sylvestris*’ = /aouw

Eastern dialectal *KaW*, ‘*buffel*’ = /kaw

Eastern dialectal *t’kau*, ‘*buffalo*’

Eastern dialectal *A-ka-oop*, ‘*buffalo*’ = /kaoop



Korana *t'kaaub*, 'buffalo' = /*kaaub*

Korana /*gaob*, 'Büffel'

Korana /*aob*, 'Büffel'

Khwe /*áò*, 'buffalo'

Nama /*gaob*, 'Büffel'

Nama /*gáob*, 'der Büffel, Wildebeest'

Kung (N2) /*kau*, /*gau*, 'buffalo'

Hie (C1) /*hao*, 'buffalo'

Hukwe (C2b) /*gau*, 'buffalo'

Hei//kum (N2a) /*gaub*, 'buffalo'

/Xam (S1) /*kau*, 'buffalo'

Hukwe (C2b) *gau*, 'buffalo'

!Xuhn /*ao*, 'buffalo'

### **Bull**

Eastern dialectal *hara*, 'bull'

Eastern dialectal *ho*, 'bull'

/Xam (S1) /*kaxa*, /*ka:ɛxa*, 'bull'

Nama ≠*karab*, 'der Hoden'

Korana ≠*xaramap*, 'bull'

Nama //gob, 'Bülle'

Khwe *kx'áò*, 'bull'

Nama 'Kopumnaas, 'Bull's Mouth Pass'

Naron (C2) /*ko*, 'bull'

Tsaukwe (C2a) /ko, 'bull'

/Xam (S1) !go-ai, 'bull'

N/uu g//oo, 'bull'

!Xuhn *gumi* g//oq, 'bull'

**Bury**

Cape dialectal *k?* háa, 'bury'

≠Khomani (S2a) !khé āā, !khāé ā, 'bury'

Khwe *qáń, qāĩ*, 'bury'

Nama //k*ho*, 'begraben'

N/uu !h'oba, 'to bury'

**Bush**

Cape-Saldanha *gau*, 'bois'

Auen (N1) !gaũ, !gaĩ, !gaŋ, 'tree, wood, stick'

!O !kuŋ (N3) !gaũ, !gaĩ, !gaŋ, 'tree, wood, stick'

!O !kuŋ !'o, 'bush'

!Xuhn !'o, 'bush'

**But**

'Hottentot' *gawe*, 'but'

Nama *xawe*, 'doch'

Korana *xabe*, 'aber'

Kung (N2) *xa<sub>-</sub>we, xabe*, 'although, but'

**Butter**

Cape dialectal *unwie*, ‘*boter; butyrum*’

Cape dialectal *oenwie*, ‘*boter*’

Cape dialectal *ouñwie*, ‘*butyrum; boter*’

Nama *õun*, ‘*Fett (hartes), Talg*’

Nama *õub*, ‘*Hartfett*’

Nama //nuib, ‘*Fett (allg.)*’

Khwe *n//gúvu-n//gúi*, ‘*butter*’

Kung (N2) //nwi, ‘*fat*’

Naron (C2) //nwi:ba, ‘*fat*’

Kung (N2) //nwi, ‘*melt fat in a pot*’

Naron (C2) //nui, //nwi, ≠nui, ‘*fat*’

Hie (C1) !gwi, ‘*fat*’

Auen (N1) /ni, ‘*fat*’

!O !kuη (N3) ˉni, ni, ‘*fat*’

!Xuhn *n/i*, ‘*butter*’

N/uu !qhūia, ‘*be fat*’

Nama *goub*, ‘*Körperfettigkeit*’

/Xam (S1) /kou, /khou, ‘*fat*’

/Xam (S1) /khou, ‘*fat found round sheep’s stomach*’

**Butterfly**

Korana *tubu-tubus*, ‘*butterfly*’

Nama *tabou tabou*, ‘*butterfly*’

/Xam (S1) *dadába, dadáma, tatába*, ‘moth, butterfly’

Auen (N1) *dadába, dadáma, tatába*, ‘moth, butterfly’

Kung (N2) *dadámana*, ‘butterfly’

/Xam (S1) *tabataba*, ‘butterfly’

!Xuhn *tha thava*, ‘butterfly’

Khwe *tétèvé*, ‘butterfly’

N/uu *purukutsi*, ‘butterfly’

**Buttocks**

Cape dialectal *saun*, ‘*de billen; clunes*’

Cape dialectal *saŭn*, ‘*clunes; de aarsbillen*’

Nama *tsoas*, ‘*After*’

N/uu *≠aūsi*, ‘*buttock*’

**-C-**

**Calf**

Nama *dsai*, ‘*Kalb*’

Nama *tsāub (-s)*, ‘*Kalb*’

Kung (N2) *zāū, zā̄ū*, ‘*calf*’

Korana *kien t’koaap*, ‘*calf*’

Korana /*nōab*, ‘*bulkalf*’

Korana /*noām*, ‘*calf*’

Nama /*nōas*, ‘*Färskalb*’

N/uu *n/oa*, ‘*calf (of a beast)*’

Hie (C1) *džube/kwa*, ‘*calf*’

Naron (C2) *gwe:/kwa*, ‘*calf*’

/Xam (S1) *xoro-Opwa*, 'calf'

//Xegwi (S3) *!kha!gwa*, 'calf'

/Xam (S1) //goarkoa, 'calf'

/Xam (S1) ʔkwe:, 'calf (of leg)'

//ŋ !ke (S2) ʔkwe:, 'calf (of leg)'

!Xuhn ≠uli, 'calf, kuit'

N/uu /qoe, 'kuit, calf'

### **Call**

Cape-Saldanha *haih*, 'appeller'

≠Khomani (S2a) *!ai, !ʔei, !e:*, 'to call out, shout'

Ki /hazi (S4b) *!ai, !a-i*, 'to call'

Kung (N2) *!xeĩ*, 'to call out'

//Xegwi (S3) \_//*kai*, 'to call, speak, pray'

Auen (N1) \_//*kai*, 'to call, speak, pray'

Nama ≠*gei*, 'rufen'

Korana ≠*gai, ≠ai*, 'rufen'

N/uu *!'ai*, 'to call'

Khwe *kx'é, ≠í*, 'call'

### **Camelthorn tree**

Nama *kanaap*, 'kamel-doorn'

Nama //*kanas, //ganas*, 'Kameldornbaum'

Nama //*gà nab*, 'die (Dorn)-Akazie (sogenannter Kameelbaum)'

/Xam (S1), //*kana, //kanaba*, 'camelthorn'

//ǃ !ke (S2), //kana, //kanaba, ‘camelthorn’

Naron (C2) //kana, //kanaba, ‘camelthorn’

/Auni (S4) //k”ã, //k”aã, ‘camelthorn’

!Xoon //aa, ‘camel-thorn’

Khwe //’aáná, ‘camelthorn’

!Xuhn !’ai, ‘camelthorn’

**Candle, light**

Cape-Saldanha caëg, ‘chandele’

Cape-Saldanha caeg, ‘lumiere’

Khwe cérà, ‘candle’

≠Khomani (S2a) /k’ãki, light’

Nama /ais, ‘vuur of vlam’

Nama !am-am /ais, ‘brennender Feuerspahn, Kerze, Fackel’

Nama !am-am, ‘anzünden, anstecken’

**Caracal**

Cape dialectal k’ha, ‘een rode wilde kat: felis sylvestris’

Cape dialectal kha, ‘een roode wilde kat’

Cape dialectal khâ, ‘felis silvestris rubra; een rode wilde kat’

Cape dialectal k̃hâ, ‘felis silvestris rubra; een rode wilde kat’

Nama !hab, ‘Luchs (rotkatze)’

Korana !ha:p, ‘caracal’

Korana !hãb, ‘rooikat’

N/uu !’haa, ‘caracal’

**Carry**

Nama *aba*, ‘op haar rug *aba* of *dragen*’

Nama *awa*, ‘*tragen* (im *Tragfell*)’

Korana *aba*, ‘’n kind op die rug *dra*’

Hie (C1) *aba*, ‘to carry, bear’

Naron (C2) *aba*, ‘to carry, bear’

Khakhea (S5) *kaba*, *kaʒba*, ‘to walk, carry’, synonym //kaba

Khakhea (S5) //kaʒba, ‘to carry on the shoulder’

Khakhea (S5) //kabe, synonym !gabe, ‘carry in the kaross – child or food collected’

Nu //en (S6) *kaba*, *kaʒba*, ‘to walk, carry’, synonym //kaba

Kung (N2) //n’abba, ‘carry young child with its head in left hand, the legs passing out under the left arm behind’

≠Khomani (S2a) !ʒaba, ‘to carry’, synonyms !au:wa, !au

Khwe *ávà*, ‘carry (child in garment on the back)’

!O !kuj (N3) !naba, ‘carry off, along’

Cua *n//aro*, ‘to carry meat on the shoulders’

Kua *n//aro*, ‘to carry meat on the shoulders’

Tsua *n//aro*, ‘to carry meat on the shoulders’

**Cattle, oxen**

Cape dialectal *g’hoô*, ‘ox’

Eastern dialectal *kho*, ‘*Der Ochs*’

//Xegwi (S3) !khoa, ‘ox’

‘Bushman’ *Opwo*, ‘ox’

!Gã!ne (S2e) //hóa , //owa, 'ox'

Korana *gummande*, 'cattle'

Korana *gomana*, 'Rind'

Nama *goman*, 'Grossvieh'

//I! !ke (S2) *gum, gume, gumi, \_gumi*, 'ox, cow, cattle'

/Auni (S4) *gum, gume, gumi, \_gumi*, 'ox, cow, cattle'

Khakhea (S5) *gum, gume, gumi, \_gumi*, 'ox, cow, cattle'

/Nu//en (S6) *gum, gume, gumi, \_gumi*, 'ox, cow, cattle'

Auen (N1) *gum, gume, gumi, \_gumi*, 'ox, cow, cattle'

Kung (N2) *gum, gume, gumi, \_gumi*, 'ox, cow, cattle'

!O !kuŋ (N3) *gum, gume, gumi, \_gumi*, 'ox, cow, cattle'

N/uu *gum*, 'cattle'

### **"Ceinture"**

Cape-Saldanha *haboh*, 'ceinture'

/Xam (S1) *!hãũ*, 'thong'

Khakhea (S5) */k'áü*, 'thong'

Naron (C2) *!nauba*, 'thong'

Naron (C2) */kaiba, /haim*, 'thong'

Nama *!ãb, !hõũb* 'thong'

### **Chameleon**

'Hottentot' *narrou*, 'Chamelion'

Nama *!karu-khup*, 'chameleon'

Kung (N2) *!na<sup>4</sup>rro, <sup>-</sup>!naru, <sup>-</sup>!na<sub>-</sub>ru*, 'chameleon'



!Xuhn *n!ahlo*, ‘chameleon’

Kua *ɲaro*, ‘chameleon’

Khwe *ngyárò*, ‘chameleon’

G/wi *n!aro*, ‘chameleon’

Cua *garo*, ‘chameleon’

Tsua *garo*, ‘chameleon’

/Xam (S1) */kuru*, ‘chameleon’

Nama */kurup*, ‘lizard’

Eastern dialectal *V-karou-koup*, ‘cameleon’ = *#karou-kup*

Nama *!karu-khup*, ‘chameleon’

Nama *//khuruzi-khubip*, ‘chameleon’

Nama *//kurutsi-//khubeb*, ‘chameleon’

Korana *//xurutsí-//kubep*, ‘chameleon’

### **Chest**

Cape dialectal *ouk’á*, ‘de borst; pectus’

Cape dialectal *Oekuwa*, ‘de borst’

Cape dialectal *Ouk~wa*, ‘Pectus; de bors’

!O *!kuŋ* (N3) */’õ*, ‘chest’

Auen (N1) *!gwa*, *!gava*, ‘chest’

Kua, Cua and G/wi *g//úū*, ‘chest’

Tsua *!zuu*, ‘chest’

!Xuhn *tcoaa*, ‘chest’

Eastern dialectal *GeIP*, ‘kista’

Nama //khaip, 'breast'

Nama //kèib, 'die Brust'

Naron (C2) //xĩ: 'chest'

Naron (C2) //xĩ /ōaba, 'chest bone'

Auen (N1) !ke, !gwa, !gava, 'chest'

/Xam (S1) keis, 'case, chest [Eng. Case, Afr. kist]'

Kung (N2) ≠ke, 'chest'

### **Chief**

Cape dialectal koeque, 'een hoofd'

Nama !khu-khoi-b, 'ryk' of 'magtige man'

N/uu /hũusi, 'boss'

N/uu ≠xuu, 'hoofman, meneer; leader, respected man'

!Xuhn tju n!auh-a, 'chief, hoofman'

### **Child**

Cape-Saldanha dialectal cona, 'enfant'

Cape dialectal gona, 'jongens; pueri'

Cape dialectal goná, 'een jongen'

Cape dialectal gonã, 'puer; een jongetje'

Eastern dialectal xona, 'das Kind'

Cape-Caledon dialectal kone, 'kinderen'

N/uu /oba, 'child'

Khwe /ōã, 'child'

Nama oas, 'Kind'

**Chin**

Cape dialectal *ganna*, ‘*de kin; mentum*’

Cape dialectal *channa*, ‘*de kin*’

Cape dialectal *channa*, ‘*mentum; de kin*’

Nama *!gàns, !gàni*, ‘*Kinn*’

Korana *!kann*, ‘*chin*’

Auen (N1) *!gã*, ‘*chin*’

!O *!kuŋ* (N3) *!gaŋ*, ‘*chin*’

Hie (C1) *!kxama*, ‘*chin*’

Naron (C2) *!gani*, ‘*chin*’

N/uu *g!an*, ‘*chin*’

Korana *!anna*, ‘*chin*’

Griqua *//ganni*, ‘*chin*’

Khwe *gyànií*, ‘*chin*’

!Xuhn *g//ang*, ‘*chin*’

Khakhea (S5) *zára, zani, zá:ni, dzani*, ‘*chin*’

/Nu//en (S6) *zára*, ‘*chin*’

**Chop, cut**

Korana *chaau*, ‘*hacken, schneiden*’, ‘*to chop, cut*’

Nama *kau*, ‘*sny*’

Nama *!gao*, ‘*schneiden*’

Nama *!gao, !kau*, ‘*cut*’

Korana *!kau*, ‘*sny*’

!O *!kuŋ* (N3) *//kau*, ‘*to chop, cut*’

Hie (C1) //kau, 'to chop, cut'

Naron (C2) //kau, 'to chop, cut'

/Xam (S1) //k"au, 'to chop, split'

Naron (C2) //k"au, 'to chop, split'

Khwe //x'áo, 'chop (wood)'

Nusan (S6a) //o:, 'to chop'

!Xuhn //ohm, 'to chop'

Khwe *khòm-khom*, 'chop into small pieces (root in preparing medicine)'

N/uu //x'oo, 'to chop'

Naron (C2) *xau*, 'to cut'

Kua //qhua, 'to chop'

G/ui //qhua, 'to chop'

Cua ≠qhua, 'to chop the game head to cook it'

Tsua ≠qhua, 'to chop the game head to cook it'

Khwe *xòá*, 'to chop'

Khwe *gòá*, 'chop firewood'

Khwe *xòá-xoa*, 'chop into small pieces'

### **Claw, fingernail**

Cape dialectal *kloy*, 'de nagels, of klaauwen'

Cape dialectal *clo*, 'de nagelen; ungues'

Eastern dialectal *korouw*, 'Klaauwen'

Korana *t'<sup>2</sup>korokõa*, 'Nagel' = //korokõa

Nama //koras, 'Klaue, Huf, ('claw, hoof')

Nama //korop, 'finger or toe-nail'

Nama //goros, 'der Nagel (an Fingeren und Zehen)'

Korana //korrob, 'nael'

Korana //gorob, 'nael (van vinger en toon)'

Korana //orob, 'Nagel'

Mohissa (C1b) kole, 'fingernail'

//Xegwi (S3) //kola, 'fingernail'

!O !kuŋ (N3) //kulu, //kɔla, //kɔra, 'nail'

/Xam (S1) //kulu, 'nail, claw'

Auen (N1) //kulu, synonyms //kuru, //kulisi, //koro, 'nail'

Kung (N2) //kulu, synonyms //kuru, //kulisi, //koro, 'nail'

Naron (C2) k"oro, 'nail'

Tsaukwe (C2a) //koro, 'fingernail'

≠Khomani (S2a) //korosi, //korasa, 'fingernail'

Naron (C2) //koroke, plural //koro//koro

N/uu //qorosi, 'claw, nail'

### **Cloth**

Cape-Saldanha *broutsin*, 'linge; seruiette'

Cape-Saldanha dialectal *boursé*, 'habit'

Hie (C1) *bure 'kau*, *bure /kau*, 'cloth for carrying ostrich eggs; net for ostrich eggs'

Mohissa (C1b) *bure 'kau*, *bure /kau*, 'cloth for carrying ostrich eggs; net for ostrich eggs'

Khwe *ávuru*, 'cloth'

**Cloud**

Korana 'kúma 'cloud' [= /kuma]

Korana /hum-ma, 'Wolke'

Korana !humkuà, 'Wolke'

Korana /homs, 'Nebel'

Auni (S4) /humsa, 'clouds'

Kung (N2) //kum, 'cloud'

Kung (N2) //kum̄m, 'to be cloudy, a large black cloud'

!O !kuŋ (N3) //kum, 'cloud'

!Xuhn g//om, 'cloud'

Khwe //òm, 'cloud'

**Cold**

Cape-Saldanha Toucai, 'froidure'

Korana !kai, 'koud wees'

Nama !khei, 'to be cold'

Nama !kei, 'kalt'

Naron (C2) !kai, 'cold, to be cold'

Auen (N1) /kau, 'to be cold, bare'

!O !kuŋ (N3) ˉ/kxau, 'to be cold'

Khakhea (S5) /k"au, 'cold, to be cold'

/Nu//en (S6) //k'ãu, 'to be cold'

Khwe càò, 'become cold'

N/uu /'huu, 'cold'

!Xuhn ≠*aúh*, ‘cold’

!Xuhn /*xoan*, ‘cold’

Eastern dialectal KOROSA, ‘*kall*, cold’

Eastern dialectal *oro*, ‘cold’

Nama ≠*áob*, ‘*Feuchtigkeit (Nässe), Reif*’

Korana ≠*aub*, ‘cold’

Korana ≠*ausa*, ‘koud’

Khakhea (S5) /*karoba*, ‘to be cold’

Korana *t’<sup>2</sup>goaub*, ‘cold’, [= ≠*goaub*,]; *t’<sup>2</sup>gaaub*, ‘*kalt*’ = [≠*gaaub*]

Korana ≠*aub*, ‘koue’

Korana ≠*kxau*, ‘moisture’

Kung (N2) ≠*ka-ao*, ≠*kaáo*, ‘to be cold’

### **Come**

Cape dialectal *see*, ‘*kome*’, ‘come’

/Xam (S1) *s’i*, *fí*, *s’e*, ‘come’

//ŋ !ke (S2) *se*, *si*, ‘come’

//Xegwi (S3) *se*, ‘come’

/Auni (S4) *se*, ‘come’

Khakhea (S5) *fí*, ‘come’

/Nu //en (S6) *si*, ‘come’

Auen (N1) *t̄si*, *t̄fí*, ‘come’

Kung (N2) *fē*, /*ge*, ‘come’

!O !kuŋ (N3) *si*, *t̄si*, *t̄fí* and /*ge*, ‘come’

Naron (C2) *ʃi*, ‘come’

!Xuhn *tsi*, ‘*kom*, to come’

Cape dialectal *ha*, ‘to come’

Eastern dialectal *HAEVA HA (KóNG)*, ‘*kom hit*’, ‘come here’

Khwe /*huúví-can*, ‘come (of: group of people)’

/Xam (S1) *ḥã, ha, \_ha, \_haʔ, ḥãa*, ‘to come, go’

//Ku //e (S2c) *ḥã, ha, \_ha, \_haʔ, ḥãa*, ‘to come, go’

!O !kuŋ (N3) *ḥã, ha, \_ha, \_haʔ, ḥãa*, ‘to come, go’

Naron (C2) *ḥã, ha, \_ha, \_haʔ, ḥãa*, ‘to come, go’

Eastern dialectal *KóNG*, ‘to come’

Auen (N1) *≠kõ:*, ‘to come out, pull out’

//Ŋ !ke (S2) *hoŋ*, ‘to come from, blow from’

Khakhea (S5) *!hʌn*, ‘to come from’

/Nu //en (S6) *≠xom*, ‘to come again’

!Xuhn //xam, ‘*kom*, ‘to come’

### ***Companion, Comrade***

Cape dialectal *Xtsui*, ‘*een medebroeder, medgesel, x̣tsui, confrater, een medebroeder*’.

Kung (N2) *kxʔai*, ‘friend’

Kung (N2) /*nụi, /nuʔi*, ‘comrade, countryman’

Kung (N2) /*nwe, /nwi*, ‘comrade, countryman’

Nama *!gãn*, ‘*die Geschwister*’



**Copper**

Eastern dialects KoRUP, 'jern, koppar' = /korup

/Xam (S1) /kuri, /koli, 'iron, copper'

/Xam (S1) /ka<sup>z</sup>ru, 'purple copper ore, magnelite'

Seroa (S2d) kokaŋ, 'copper'

**Cross**

Koungama, Koignas, 'Dwarsrivier'

Eastern dialectal kou, 'to cross, to go across'

Nama !kāu, 'cross over'

Nama !gôu, 'queren, kreuzen'

/Xam (S1) /kau, /ka:o, /ka<sup>z</sup>o, 'to cross, stroke'

**Crow**

Nama gourap, 'crow'

Nama gorab, 'Krähe'

Nama //hoarab, 'Rabe'

Korana t'<sup>2</sup>guraab, 'Krähe', = //guraab

Naron (C2) hoara, 'crow'

/Xam (S1) !gauru, 'a certain crow, 'witkraai'

/Xam //xuru, //xurru, 'crow, *Corvus albicollis*, *C. littoralis*'

/Xam (S1) //gwa, //gwa<sup>z</sup> 'crow'

!Xuhn n<sup>z</sup>ohla, 'crow'

**Cry**

Cape-Saldanha *hab*, ‘pleurer’

Nama *á*, ‘weinen, krähen, kollern, Geräusch machen’

Nama *áb*, ‘Geweine’

/Xam (S1) *ã*, ‘to cry; sound of crying’

≠Khomani (S2a) *k”a*, *kx’a*, *kx’wa*, ‘cry’

Khakhea (S5) //k”a, //k”a, ‘to cry, bray, bleat, low, crow’

N/uu *kx’aa*, ‘to cry’

**Cut**

Korana *chaau*, ‘hacken, schneiden’

Naron (C2) *xau*, ‘to cut’

Nama *kau*, ‘to cut’; ‘Kaukoa or Snyersvolk’

Nama *!kau*, ‘cut’

Nama *!gao*, ‘schneiden’

Korana *!kau*, ‘schneiden’

Nama *!kau*, *!k”au*, *!k”ao*, ‘schneiden’

//ǀ *!ke* (S2) *!kau*, *!k”au*, *!k”ao*, ‘cut’

Khakhea (S5) *!kau*, *!k”au*, *!k”ao*, ‘cut’

!Xuhn *g!am*, ‘cut, snit’

/Xam (S1) */kau*, */ka:o*, ‘to cut, cross (spoor)’

/Xam (S1) */khau*, */ka*, */kha*, */ke/ke*, */khau/khau*, ‘to cut’

!Xuhn */um*, ‘to cut’

/Xam (S1) */kau*, with its synonyms */a*, */ã* and */i*; ‘to cut’

N/uu /a, 'to cut'

!O !kuŋ (N3) //kau, 'to cut, chop'

/Nu//en (S6) //kau, 'to cut, chop'

Naron (C2) //kau, 'to cut, chop'

/Auni (S4) //xau, 'to cut'

Auen (N1) ≠xe:, \≠xi:, 'to cut, stab'

Naron (C2) ≠xe:, \≠xi:, 'to cut, stab'

Hadza (C3) ≠xe:, \≠xi:, 'to cut, stab'

Cua ≠qhua, 'to cut long and thin; thinly cut'

**-D-**

***Dance***

Korana t'<sup>1</sup>knam, 'tanzen' = /knam

Nama ≠nā, 'tanzen'

Korana ≠nā, 'tanzen'

//ŋ !ke (S2) \_/na, 'dance'

Khakhea (S5) /xã, /nΛm, 'dance'

/Nu//en (S6) /kã, 'dance'

Auen (N1) /nΛm, 'dance'

/Xam (S1) ≠na:, 'dance'

Auen (N1) ≠na:, 'dance'

Kung (N2) ≠na, 'dance'

'Hottentot' \_≠na:, 'dance'

**Dark**

Korana *t'<sup>3</sup>kaib*, 'dunkel', transcribed as *!kaib*

Korana *!kaib*, 'darkness'

Nama *!kae* (*!kai*), 'dunkeln, dunkel werden'

Korana *!kae*, 'donker word'

Sehura (C1a) *xai*, 'darkness'

Naron (C2) *\_gai*, 'dark'

Hadza (C3) *fai*, 'to be dark, diminish'

N/uu *g//aa*, 'dark, night'

//Ku //e (S2c) *//gaa*, 'night, darkness'

/Xam (S1) *//ga:*, *//ka:* and *//'aa*, 'night, darkness'

**Daughter**

Caledon dialectal *achebasis*, 'doughters'

Nama *āxas*, 'Mädchen'

Nama *ōaxais*, 'Jungfrau, heirathsfähiges Mädchen'

/Xam (S1) *Oaxi*, *Oaxai*, *Opaxai*, *Opwaxai*, 'daughter, girl'

/Xam (S1) *//kāxi*, *//kaxe*, *//kaxai*, 'daughter, girl'

/Xam (S1) *!kaxi*, 'daughter, girl'

!Xuhn *≠xae*, 'daughter'

N/uu *Ooaxe*, 'daughter', *Ooaxuke*, 'daughters'

Cape dialectal *kos*, 'een dogter, filia'

Cape dialectal *k? os*, 'dochter'

Cape dialectal *ko*, 'een dochter'

Cape dialectal *k̃o*, ‘*filia; een dochter*’

Nama /*kos*, ‘daughter’

Nama /*gos*, ‘*Mädchen*’

/Auni (S4) *Opwoe*, *Opwo-e*, ‘daughter’

Naron (C2) *!ko-de*, *!kouken*, *!kãu*, ‘initiate girl’

### **Day**

Cape dialectal *quaqua*, ‘(ses) *dae*’

Eastern dialectal *xk’oa*, ‘*Tag*’

Nama //*goáb*, ‘*der Tagesanbruch*’

Nama //*goá*, ‘*Tag werden*’

Nama //*kua*, ‘to dawn’

/Xam (S1) *!khwa:*, *khwai:*, *!k”wai*, ‘to dawn, break (day)’

N/uu //’*ũi*, ‘daytime, day’

Cape dialectal *sequa*, ‘days’

Nama *ceb*, ‘*Tag*’

‘Hottentot’ *ceb*, ‘day’

Korana *tzee*, ‘day’

Korana *cēb*, ‘day’

Korana *tsēb*, *tsēbi*, ‘*Tag*’

Nama *tseb*, *tses*, ‘*Tag*’

Auen (N1) *tse*, *tfe*, ‘day’

Khwe //’*ée*, ‘day’

**Dead, death**

Cape dialectal *koo*, ‘*dood; mors*’

Cape dialectal *k? oo*, ‘*de doode*’

Cape dialectal *rho-o*, ‘*de dood*’

Cape dialectal *rhôo*, ‘*mors; de dood*’

Korana *χob*, ‘*dood (snw.)*’

Korana //’*ob*, ‘*Tod*’

Nama //’*ob*, ‘*Tod*’

Korana *t’<sup>3</sup>koobi*, ‘*der Tod*’ = ≠*koobi* or !*koobi*

Korana *t’<sup>3</sup>koob*, ‘*todt*’, *t’<sup>3</sup>koab*, ‘*dead*’

/Xam (S1) *t’<sup>3</sup>khub*, ‘*dead*’ = !*khuh*

‘Hottentot’ *o*, ‘*death*’

Hie (C1) *oo*, ‘*death, to die*’

Hie (C1) *oha, ohe*, ‘*death, to die*’

Khwe //’*ó*, ‘*death*’

**Die**

Cape dialectal *k’ ó*, ‘*sterven; more*’

Cape dialectal *k’ óo*, ‘*gestorven*’

Korana *t’<sup>3</sup>koo*, ‘*to die*’ = !*koo*

Ki /hazi (S4b) !*ko*, ‘*to die*’

Ki /hazi (S4b) !*hwa*, ‘*to die*’

Auen (N1) //’*o*, //’*o*; ‘*to die, kill*’

Naron (C2) //’*o*, //’*o*; ‘*to die, kill*’

Hadza (C3) //o, //o:, 'to die, kill'

Nama //o, 'sterben'

Korana //o, 'die'

Korana //ō, 'sterben'

Korana //ɔo:, 'to die'

Khwe //ó, 'die'

Korana xo, 'doodgaan, vrek'

Hadza (C3) ≠o, 'to die of hunger, be ill'

Eastern dialect xg'a, 'sterben' =//ga or ≠ga

/Xam (S1), all Southern languages, /a:, /a, 'to fight, die, be killed'

Ki /hazi (S4b) !hwa, 'to die'

Auen (N1) /a:, /a, 'to fight, die, be killed'

N/uu /'aa, 'to die'

### **Dish**

Cape-Saldanha core, 'plat'

//ŋ !ke (S2) !kore:, 'dish', !kore, 'plate', !orre, 'dish, bowl'

/Auni (S4) !ohé, 'dish, plate'

### **Do**

Cape dialectal, hy, 'doe'

Eastern dialectal hi, 'to do'

Naron (C2)  $\bar{h}i$ ,  $h\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{h}i-i$ ,  $hie$ , 'to do'

/Xam (S1)  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{i}$ ,  $di$ , 'to do so, do thus'

Khwe  $h\bar{i}$ , 'do'

**Dog**

Cape-Saldanha *hariché*, 'chien'

Eastern dialectal *ARiKAE (TUTU, TUP)*, 'hund'

Khwe *érikú*, 'dog'

Eastern dialectal *A-harip*, 'dog', /*harip*.

Korana *arriep m.*, *arries f.*, 'dog'

Nama *arib*, 'Hund', *areep*, 'dog'

Naron (C2) and Ukuambi dialectal (N2b) *arib*, 'dog'

Korana *alima*, 'dog'

'Hottentot' *allip*, 'dog'

Griqua 'alib', 'arib', 'hond'

Eastern dialectal *TUTU, TUP*, 'hund'

Eastern dialectal *TUS*, 'hynda'

Eastern dialectal *tu*, 'dog',

Eastern dialectal *tuna*, 'dogs'

Eastern dialectal *tu*, 'der Hund'

Eastern dialectal *toona*, 'dog'

Auen (N1) *!ko*, *!koʼ*, 'dog'

/Auni (S4) *≠koo*, *!ko*, 'dog'

Auen (N1) /*gu*, 'Cape hunting dog'

Kung (N2) /*gu*, 'Cape hunting dog'

N/uu *≠hun*, 'dog', plural *≠hũi*

Auen (N1) *≠goe*, 'dog'



!Xuhn *ōle*, 'dog, *hond*'

Cape dialectal *likanāa*, 'een *hond*; *canis*'

Cape dialectal *likhanée*, 'een *hond*'

Cape dialectal *likh̃anéé*, '*canis*; een *hond*'

//Xegwi (S3) //kwi, 'dog'

Hadza (C3) //k"̣a-a-no, 'dog'

### **Dove**

Eastern dialectal *Λ-neis*, 'turtle dove' = /*neis*

//Kxau (S2b) *neis*, *neisi*, 'turtle dove'

Nama *queip*, '*Tortelduyf*'

### **Drink**

Cape-Saldanha *tama*, '*boire*'

Khwe *tcám*, 'drink (hot broth)'

/Xam (S1) /*amma*, 'to drink'

Cape dialectal *kaá*, *k' á*, '*drincken*'

Cape dialectal *k'aa*, '*drinken*'

Cape dialectal *k̃aá*, '*bibere*'

Cape dialectal *kaa*, '*trinken*'

Eastern dialectal *KA*, '*dricka*'

Eastern dialectal *t'ka*, 'a draught; to drink'

Korana *t'<sup>33</sup>kchaa*, 'to drink' = !*kchaa*

Nama *a*, *ā*, '*trinken*, *saufen*'

Korana *xā*, *kx'a*, '*drink*, *trinken*'

//Ń!ke (S2) //k"ã, k"ã, 'to drink'

/Auni (S4) //k"ã, k"ã, 'to drink'

Khakhea (S5) //k"ã, k"ã, 'to drink'

Hie (C1) ≠khaa, 'to drink'

Naron (C2) k"a:, 'to drink'

Kung (N2) k"a:, 'to drink'

//Xegwi (S3) k"ã, k'aa, 'to drink'

!Gã !ne (S2e) kxʔã:, kxʔwã, 'to drink'

Korana kxʔã, 'to drink'

N/uu kx'a, kx'ãi, 'to drink'

### **Dry**

'Hottentot' x-oro, 'droog'

Nama !koró, 'aufrocknen', 'to dry out'

Nama /kóro, 'dürre werden', 'to become dry'

/Xam (S1) /xoro, 'to dry'

/Xam (S1) k"orokn, 'dry'

/Xam (S1) k"orokɛn, k"oroka, 'to dry, shrivel, burn up, wear out'

Nama /kuru, 'dürr', 'to become dry'

/Xam (S1) !kurrukɛn, !kurruka, !kerrukɛn, 'to dry, be dry, be hot, be in the sun'

Khwe xúru, 'dry off'

/Xam (S1) !kauakɛn, 'to put to dry'

/Xam (S1) !kauwakɛn, 'to dry'

!Xuhn //xao, 'dry'

!Xuhn //xao xumxum-a, 'dry as a bone'

!Xuhn ≠xu //xao-a, 'to dry'

'Hottentot' ou, 'droog' [*Ouka* and *Oukamma*, 'drooge rivier']

Kung (N2) !!ʔau,!!kao, //kao, 'dry, arid'

!Xuhn //xao, 'dry'

!Xuhn //xao xumxum-a, 'dry as a bone'

!Xuhn ≠xu //xao-a, 'to dry'

N/uu //ooa, 'om droog te wees, to be dry'

/Xam (S1) ʔ//ko:wa, 'to dry'

//ŋ !ke (S2) ʔ//ko:wa, 'to dry'

//ŋ !ke (S2) /o:, 'to dry, rub, stamp, pound'

Naron (C2) /o:, 'to dry, rub, stamp, pound'

Nama /ò, 'aufrocknen', 'to dry out'

Khwe /'óò, 'to dry out'

Khwe //xó, 'dry out, be dry'

### **Duiker**

Eastern dialectal *A-aoump*, 'duiker', = /ãoup or /aoũp

/Xam (S1) /nau, /naũ, /naūs, /nãu, 'duiker'

Naron (C2) /noufa, /nau, 'duiker'

Auen (N1) /au, /aub, and /ou, 'duiker'

Kung (N2) /au, /aub, and /ou, 'duiker'

!O !kuŋ (N3) /au, /aub, and /ou, 'duiker'

!Xuhn /ʔao, 'duiker'

Kung (N2) /*aub*, ‘duiker’

Nama *nōas, dōas, toās*, ‘duiker, *Cephalophus grimmi*’

Kua *nua*, ‘duiker’

Kua *ɲua*, ‘duiker’

Cua *kua*, ‘duiker’

Tsua *kua*, ‘duiker’

G/wi *n!ua*, ‘duiker’

**Dung**

‘Hottentot’ *cha*, ‘dung’

Khakhea (S5) *tfa:ni*, ‘dung’

Kung (N2) *\_džāuꞤ*, ‘dung’

!Xuhn *zang*, ‘dung’

Nama /*arub*, ‘Dünger, Mist (trockener)’

**-E-**

**Ear**

Cape-Saldanha dialectal *naho*, ‘*orielle*’ [oreille]

Cape dialectal *nouw*, ‘*ooren; aures*’

Cape dialectal *nouw*, ‘*een oor*’

Cape dialectal *nouw*, ‘*aures; de ooren*’

Griqua *naup*, ‘ear’; *nanku*, ‘ears’

Griqua // *naugu*, ‘*Ohren*’

Nama // *nōup*, ‘*Ohr (Hörorgan)*’

Korana // *naum*, // *nāub*, // *naub*, // *naũb*, ‘ear’

Eastern dialectal *t'nunqua*, 'ear'

Eastern dialectal *X n' aunka* (3), 'Ohren', 'ears' = *!aunka*

Eastern dialectal *t'nunqua*, 'ear'

Kung (N2) /*ku*, /*kui*, 'ear'

Naron (C2) /*ku*, /*kui*, 'ear'

!Xuhn /*ui*, 'ear'

/Nu //en (S6) ≠*nui*, 'ear'

≠Khomani (S2a) ≠*nui*, 'ear'

/Auni (S4) ≠*nui*, ≠*nufa*, 'ear'

### **Earth**

Cape-Saldanha *hou*, 'terre'

Korana *hoop*, 'earth'

Korana *t'koop*, 'earth'

Korana *t'<sup>3</sup>kchaaub*, 'Land, Feld, Erde' = *!kchaaub*

Eastern dialectal *xkhu*, 'die Erde'

Eastern dialectal *kõo*, 'earth'

Nama *!hūb*, 'das Land; grond'

Nama *!hub*, *!gub*, 'Land'

Korana *!huwub*, 'ground'

Korana *!gūb*, 'land'

Korana *!hūb*, 'grond, aarde'

Korana *!üb*, 'Land, trockenes Land'

/Xam (S1) *!k'āu*, *!khou*, *!au*, *!kau* and *!aūŋ*, 'earth, dust, ground'

//ǃ !ke (S2) !ǎu, 'earth'

/Nusan (S6a) !ǒu, !'aũ, 'earth'

N/uu !'ǎu, 'earth, ground, sand'

!Xuhn word *kxa* /ho, 'earth'

Cape dialectal *gamkamma*, 'land; terra'

Cape dialectal *camkamma*, 'de aarde'

Cape dialectal *c̃amk̃amma*, 'terra; de aarde'

#Khomani (S2a) /gǎǎ, 'hard veld'

//Xegwi (S3) /kama, 'veld', 'open country'

Khwe *xóm*, 'earth'

### **Easy**

Korana *süih*, 'easy', 'leicht'

Korana *suwu*, 'easy'

Korana *subu*, 'maklik wees'

Korana *subu, suī*, 'leicht'

Nama *suwu, sui*, 'leicht'

Khwe *cùvúú*, 'easy'

Nogau (N1a) *fwi, fui*, 'to be light, not heavy, easy, calm'

Kung (N2) *fwi, fui*, 'to be light, not heavy, easy, calm'

Naron (C2) *subu*, 'easy'

### **Eat**

Cape dialectal *ou, onge*, 'eten; edere', *oege*, 'eeten'; *ouge, edere, eeten*'.

Eastern dialectal *x-ung*, 'essen'

Korana *uhng*, ‘to eat’

Korana *≠ũ*, ‘eat’

Korana *≠ʔũ*, ‘eat’

Nama *≠ũ*, ‘essen’

Khwe *≠’ũ*, ‘eat (ants: of scaly anteater)’

Khwe *≠’ũ*, ‘eat (fruit, mash, hippos’s meat)’

/Xam (S1) /*oʒ η*, ‘to eat (marrow) out’, *\_/ũη*, ‘to eat’

/Xam (S1) *!kōʒ n*, ‘to devour, eat raw’

/Xam (S1) *!kuη*, ‘eat fat, take fat off’

Sehura (C1a) *iunke*, ‘to eat’

Naron (C2) *≠ũ*, *≠ũ*, ‘eat vegetable food’

Kua, Glui, Cua *≠ʔũũ*, ‘to eat (beans, etc.)’

Tsua *ɲũũ*, ‘to eat (beans, etc.)’

Kua, Cua *cum*, ‘to eat’

Cua, Tsua *tum*, ‘to eat’

!Xuhn *’m*, ‘to eat; *eet*, *vreet*’

Cape-Saldanha *caib*, ‘manger’

Kung (N2) /*nai*, //*nai*, *!nai*, ‘to eat’

Hadza (C3) /*nai*, //*nai*, *!nai*, ‘to eat’

Hadza (C3) /*nai*, ‘to eat’, //*nai*, *!nai*, ‘to eat meat’, *seme*, ‘to eat’

Cape-Saldanha *atré*, ‘manger’

Khakhea (S5) /*ã*, ‘to eat food’, //*ã*, ‘to eat’

/Xam (S1) *hã*, ‘eat raw meat’

/Xam (S1) *ã*, ‘eat meat’

//Ń *!ke* (S2) *ã*, ‘eat meat’

/Auni (S4) *ã*, ‘eat meat’

Khakhea (S5) *ã*, ‘eat meat’

/Nu //en (S6) *ã*, ‘eat meat’

### **Egg**

Eastern dialectal *KaBIKA*, ‘aegg’ = /*kabika*

Naron (C2) /*k’abifa*, ‘eggshell’, /*k”abbifa*, ‘ostrich egg’

Korana *!’ūbub*, ‘*Straussenei*’

### **Eland**

Eastern dialectal *t’gann*, ‘eland, or *Kaapse eland*’, also *t’kan*

Korana *!kans*, ‘eland’

Korana *!xana*, ‘eland’

Nama *kxans*, ‘*Elan*’

Nama *!kani*, ‘*Elan*’

/Xam (S1) *≠kanthi*, ‘eland bull’

!Xuhn *n//ang*, ‘eland’

/Auni (S4) *!kã*, *!khan*, ‘eland’

/Xam (S1) *sa:*, ‘eland’

N/uu *saa*, ‘eland’

### **Elephant**

Cape-Saldanha *caho*, ‘elephant’

Hadza (C3) *bek”au*, ‘elephant’



//Kxau (S2b) /hau, 'elephant'

Cape dialectal *chöa, choa, choä, côaa*, 'elephant'

Eastern dialectal *coa*,  $\Lambda$ -goap = /goap; *xkoa* = /koa, 'elephant'

//Ŋ !ke (S2) /xwa:, ≠*xoa*, 'elephant'

Korana *t'<sup>3</sup>koaab* = !*koaab*, 'elephant'

/Xam (S1) !*koah, !kho, !kua*, 'elephant'

!Xuhn !*xo*, 'elephant'

Nama ≠*kuap, ≠koab*, 'elephant'

Korana ≠*choab, ≠koab, ≠xoäb, ≠xoa:p*, 'elephant'

≠Khomani (S2a) ≠*kxoa, ≠kx'oa, ≠koa*, 'elephant'

Auen (N1) ≠*khoab, ≠koa, ≠xoa, ≠goa*, 'elephant'

/Xam (S1) ≠*xo<sup>-</sup>a, ≠xoa*, 'elephant'

Khwe ≠*xóa*, 'elephant'

Cape dialectal *chöa, choa, choä, côaa, twoba*, 'elephant'

Hie (C1) *tfowa*, 'elephant'

Mohissa (C1b) *tfuana*, 'elephant'

Hukwe (C2b) *koa, kwa, ko*, 'elephant'

### **Evening**

Eastern dialectal *GoI*, 'evening' = /goi

Nama !*uib*, 'der Abend'

'Hottentot' <sup>-</sup>*loes*, 'evening'

Kung (N2) !*kwi, !u:i*, 'afternoon, evening'

/Auni (S4) ≠*u:i*, 'evening'

//Ń !ke (S2) !kuiŋki, 'evening'

//Ń !ke (S2) //ga //gwe, 'evening'

!Xuhn !'ui, 'evening'

Khwe úi, 'evening'

### **Eye**

Cape dialectal *mu, mo*, 'eye'

Cape dialectal *mon*, 'eye'

Eastern dialectal *mung*, 'eye'

Nama *mūs*, 'Auge'

Korana *moop, mump, moep*, 'eye'

Korana *muhm*, 'Auge', 'Quelle'

Korana *múkammă* (*móo* 'camma), 'spring or fountain'

Korana *mūp*, 'eye'

/Xam (S1) !khwa: ts'λxau, 'eye'

/Nu //en (S6) !kha: ≠ū, 'water's eye', i.e. 'spring, fountain'

!Xuhn g//u n!ang, 'fountain', 'water inside'

### **-F-**

### **Face**

Cape-Saldanha *honcoa*, 'visage'

Auen (N1) ʔkʰo, 'face'

Kung (N2) ʔkʰo, 'face'

!O !kung (N3) /ko:, 'face'

/Xam (S1) xu:, 'face'

//ŋ !ke (S2) *xu:*, ‘face’

//Xegwi (S3) *xu:*, ‘face’

Hie (C1) ≠*kxuu*, ‘face’

!Xuhn /*ho*, ‘face’

### **Fall, to**

Cape dialectal *quina*, ‘*vallen; cadere*’, *quienoha*, ‘*vallen*’; *quien ~cha*, ‘*cadere; vallen*’

/Xam (S1) !*kū:i*, ‘to fall down’, synonym !*ku:*, ‘to fall’

//ŋ !ke (S2) //*kie:ŋ*, *kie:ŋ*, ‘to fall down’

//ŋ !ke (S2) //*ō:a*, //*ō:ã*, ‘to fall out’

N/uu /’*aba*, ‘to fall’

Hadza (C3) //*ʔa*, //*ka*, ‘to fall off’

Khakhea (S5) //*gwa*, //*gwã*, ‘to set, fall, hang, also used as down’

Auen (N1) //*gwa*, //*gwã*, ‘to set, fall, hang, also used as down’

Naron (C2) //*gwa*, //*gwã*, ‘to set, fall, hang, also used as down’

### **Fat, Bacon**

Korana /*kóub*, ≠*kõub*, ‘*Speck*’, (‘bacon’)

Nama ≠*kou*, ‘*schmieren*’

Korana ≠*xau*, ‘*schmieren*’

Korana ≠*kou*, ‘*smeer*’

Korana *t’<sup>1</sup>gneub*, ‘fat’ = /*gneub*

/Xam (S1) /*khou*, /*kou*, ‘fat, found round sheep’s stomach’

Eastern dialectal *ou*, ‘*Vet*’

Eastern dialectal *t’nui*, ‘fat’

Korana //n'uyb, 'fat'

Korana //nuib, 'vet'

Nama //nuib, 'Fett'

Naron (C2) //nui, 'fat'

Naron (C2) ≠nuis, 'fat'

Khwe //úí, 'fat'

Khwe n//gúí, 'be fat'

Hie (C1) !gwi, 'fat of an animal'

N/uu !qhúia, 'be fat'

Cape dialectal unwie, 'boter; butyrum'

Cape dialectal oenwie, 'boter'

Cape dialectal ouñwie, 'butyrum; boter'

Nama ðun, 'Fett (hartes), Talg'

Nama ðub, 'Hartfett'

Nama //nuib, 'Fett (allg.)'

Kung (N2) //nwi:, 'fat'

Naron (C2) //nwi:ba, 'fat'

Kung (N2) //nwi, 'melt fat in a pot'

Naron (C2) //nui, //nwi, ≠nuis, 'fat'

Cape-Saldanha gaiqua, 'graisse, suif'

### **Fetch**

Cape dialectal heree, 'hohlen'

Nama hare, 'hollen'

Nama /kiu, hau, 'hollen'

/Nu //en (S6) *\_aʒre, are, hare*, ‘to fetch water’

Naron (C2) *\_are, \_hare*, ‘fetch water’

Naron (C2) *!ũre*, ‘to fetch’

Auen (N1) *\_are, hare*, ‘fetch’

Khakhea (S5) *//ohe*, ‘fetch’

/Nu //en (S6) *\_aʒre, are, hare*, ‘to fetch water’

### **Few**

Eastern dialectal *xorae*, ‘wenig’

Korana */kx'oro*, ‘wenig’

Nama */orò*, ‘wenig’

Naron (C2) */k"orro*, ‘few, a small group’

Khwe */x'óa*, ‘be few’

Naron (C2) */k"arre*, ‘few’

### **Fight**

Cape dialectal *agou*, ‘backelyen of oorlog’

Korana *t'²kango*, ‘fechten, streiten’

Naron (C2) noun *//ã:ku:*, ‘fight’

N/uu */aru*, ‘to fight, to quarrel’

Cape dialectal *k'auw*, ‘vechten; pugnare’

Cape dialectal *kouw*, ‘vechten’

Cape dialectal *k̃auw*, ‘pugillare; vechten; worstelen’

/Xam (S1) *//kaukən*, ‘to fight, beat’

Hadza (C3) *//kau*, ‘to kill’

Kung (N2) *//kau*, ‘to die’

!O !kuŋ (N3) //kau, 'to die'

Nama ≠núu, 'schlagen'

Nama khā, 'baklei'

Korana !kauka, 'struggle'

**Find**

Nama ho, 'to find'

Auen (N1) ho; hoā, howa, 'to find, meet, get, marry, beget, bear'

Kung (N2) ho; hoā, howa, 'to find, meet, get, marry, beget, bear'

Naron (C2) ho; hoā, howa, 'to find, meet, get, marry, beget, bear'

N/uu hoo, 'to meet, to find, to get, to come from'

**Finger**

Cape dialectal oucqua, 'de vingeren'

Cape dialectal ouc~qua, 'de vingeren'

Korana t<sup>2</sup>unkoa, 'the finger' = //unkoa

Hadza (C3) ukwa, ukwako, 'hand, finger, arm, foreleg'

Khwe cèú-/ōã, 'finger'

**Five**

Cape dialectal croe, 'five'

Cape dialectal kro, 'vyff'

Cape dialectal kroo, '5'

Cape Saldanha dialectal coro, 'cinq'

Cape dialectal corro, 'quinque' ('five')

Cape dialectal kóro, 'quinque, 'vyff'

Cape dialectal *kourou*, *ko-o*, ‘vyf’

Korana *korro*, ‘fünf’

Nama *goro*, ‘fünf’

/Auni (S4) *koro*, ‘five’

/Nu//en (S6) *koro*, ‘five’

Korana *kurruh*, ‘five’

Korana *kūrū*, ‘five’

### **Fire**

Eastern dialectal *eI*, *eIP*, *eIP*, = /*ei*, /*eip*, /*neip*

Eastern dialectal  $t'^3aib = !aib$ ; ‘fire’;  $t'^2aib = //aib$ , ‘Feuer’

Korana  $t'^2aib$ , ‘Feuer’, = //*aib* or  $\neq aib$

Nama /*ais*, ‘fire’

Nama /*aes* (post 1977), ‘Feuer’

Seroa (S2d) /*ei*, ‘fire’

Naron (C2) /*ai*; ‘fire’

/Xam (S1) /*e*, /*i*, ‘fire’

//Ku //e (S2c) /*e*, /*i*, ‘fire’

//Xegwi (S3) /*e*, /*i*, ‘fire’

Naron (C2) /*e*, /*i*, ‘fire’

Hukwe (C2b) /*e*, /*i*, ‘fire’

Khwe /'é, ‘fire’

N/uu /'i, ‘fire’

Korana 'káai̯p or 'kāi̯p, ‘fire’

Korana *eip*, ‘fire’

Nama *eip*, *eys*, ‘fire’

Korana /*aib*, ‘vuur’

Korana *t*<sup>2</sup>*aib*, ‘Feuer’

Eastern dialectal *t*<sup>3</sup>*aib*, ‘fire’

Naron (C2) /*ai*:, ‘fire’; /’*aeb*, ‘Feuer’

**First**

Cape dialectal *hába*, ‘eerste’

/Xam (S1) *!ha*ʒ *mma*, *!ham*:, *!ha*ʒ *m*, *!h*ʌ*m*, ‘first’

/Xam (S1) *!k*ʌ*m*, ‘lead, be first’

Khwe *nyám*-ò, ‘first’, *nyám*, ‘to be the very first’

!Xuhn ≠*anhan*, ‘first’

Kua ≠’*hãã*, ‘to lead, go ahead’

G/ui ≠’*hãã*, ‘to lead, go ahead’

/Xam (S1) ≠*kam*ʌ*pwa*, ‘to wait, also ... first’

Khakhea (S5) //k”*a*:*fa*, ‘first’

**Flea**

Cape dialectal *eychêe*, ‘een vlovy; pulvex’

Cape dialectal *heythle*, *of hyqua*, ‘een vloov’

Cape dialectal *hythé*, ‘pulgex; een vloov’

Eastern dialectal *aTTL*, = /*atti*, ‘loppa’

Nama *eidab*, ‘der Floh’

Nama *eidab*, ‘flea’, *eidagoo*, ‘fleas’



Kung (N2) !ke-/ã, !khe-/ã, 'flea'

Kung (N2) ≠haꞤ 'flea'

**Fly**

Eastern dialectal ʌ-dinap, 'fly' = /dinap

Naron (C2) /gina, /genee, /geniba, 'fly'

Khwe n/gíní, 'fly'

Nama /genas, /ginas, 'Fliege'

Nama /geinas, 'vlieg'

Korana /kannim, 'fly'

Korana /gāineb, 'vlieg'

Korana /ganap, 'the common housefly'

**Food**

Cape dialectal ounq~va, 'te eeten'

Korana t<sup>2</sup>uhnköa, 'Speise überhaupt' = ≠uhnkoa

Khwe ≠'ũ-xò, 'food (i.e. fruit, nuts, corn)'

Nama ≠ũn, 'Kost'

Nama ≠ũs, ≠ũn, 'Speise'

Nama ≠ũb, ≠ũs, ≠uĩ, ≠ũn, 'Frucht'

!Xuhn 'm, 'food'

Korana ≠'ũb, 'victuals'

Eastern dialectal t'koko, 'victuals'

Naron (C2) ≠ũxu, ≠ũxwoine, 'vegetable food'

//Xegwi (S3) //uni, 'food'

**Foot**

Cape-Saldanha *kei*, 'pied'

Korana *t<sup>h</sup>keib*, 'foot' = /*keib*

Eastern dialectal *xei*, 'foot' = *≠ei*

Nama *≠eib*, *≠eis*, 'der Fuss'

Kung (N2) /*k*<sup>h</sup>*ai*, /*ai*, /*xai*, 'foot'

!Xuhn /*xai*, 'foot'

!Xuhn *g≠ao*, 'foot'

/Auni (S4) /*k*<sup>h</sup>*ai*, 'foot'

Khatia (S4a) /*k*<sup>h</sup>*ai*, /*kae*, /*hai*, 'foot'

Ki /*hazi* (S4b) /*k*<sup>h</sup>*ai*, /*kae*, /*hae*, 'foot'

Cape dialectal *iqua*, 'de voeten; pedes'

Cape dialectal *y*, 'de voeten'

Khwe *kyaáré*, 'foot'

Cape dialectal *tqua* or *yi*, 'de voet'

Cape dialectal *itqua*, s. *yi*, 'pes, 'de voeten'

Kung (N2) /*ki*, /*k*<sup>h</sup>*i*, /*k*<sup>h</sup>*e*, /*xi*, /*xe*, 'foot'

//Xegwi (S3) /*k*<sup>h</sup>*e*, /*ke*, and /*k*<sup>h</sup>*i*, 'foot'

Hadza (C3) *fukwa*, 'foot'

Hadza (C3) *upukwa*, 'leg, hind leg, foot', plural *upukwape*

//Ku //e (S2c) //gwa, //goa, 'foot, shoe'

/Xam (S1) /*nwa*, /*noa*, //noah, 'foot'

Khakhea (S5) //noah, 'foot'

**Fountain, spring**

Cape-Saldanha *c ma*, 'fontaine'

Auen (N1) *≠ha*, 'spring, fountain'

Eastern dialectal *ʌ-aaup*, 'fountain; fontyn' = /*aaup*

Nama /*ous*, 'Quelle'

Korana /*aus*, 'fontein, put'

Korana /*kx'aus*, 'Quelle'

Korana /*'ous*, 'spring'

Korana *≠kx?aush*, 'fountain, spring'

Kung (N2) *\≠nʔhau*, 'spring, fountain'

Korana *muhm t'ikamma*, 'Auge das Wassers', ('eye of the water'), 'Quelle'

Korana *múkammă* (*móo 'camma*), 'spring or fountain'

/Xam (S1) *!khwa: ts'ʌxau*, 'water's eye', i.e. 'spring, fountain'

/Nu //en (S6) *!kha: ≠ũ*, 'water's eye', i.e. 'spring, fountain'

!Xuhn *g//u n!ang*, 'fountain'

**Gall**

'Hottentot' *tawa*, 'fiel'

Korana *tawab, thabab*, 'Galle'

Nama *tsawab*, 'Galle'

/Xam (S1) *!koaʔ, !kwā:ʔ*, 'gall'

Khwe *qàm*, 'gall'

!Xuhn *gaqm*, 'gall'

N/uu //'*aa*, 'gall bladder'

**Gemsbok**

Eastern dialectal *ʌ-ka ip*, 'a kind of African antelope'

Eastern dialectal *ʌ-kaip*, '*Pasan; gems-bock*'

Nama /*kaip*, 'gemsbok'

Nama /*gaib*, '*Gemsbock*'

Korana /*kei*, 'gemsbok'

Korana /*gais*, 'gemsbok'

Korana *xaib*, 'gemsbok'

Nama //*kāisis*, '*der Klippbock (Gemsbock der Wüste)*'

//ǃ /*ke* (S2) *!kai, !kai, ≠kai*, 'gemsbok'

/Xam (S1) *!kwai, !khwai*, 'gemsbok'

!Xuhn *g!oee*, 'oryx; gemsbok'

N/uu *!ae*, 'gemsbok, oryx'

**Giraffe**

Eastern dialectal *Δ-naip*, '*giraffe; kameel-paerd*' = *!naip*

Korana *t'keep*, '*cameleopard*'

Korana *t'haib*, '*Giraffe*' = /*haib*

Korana *!naib*, '*Giraffe*'

Nama *!neib*, '*Giraffe*'

Nama *!néib*, '*die Giraffe*'

Hei //kum (N2a) *!neib*, 'giraffe'

Naron (C2) *!nabe*, 'giraffe'

G/wi *n!abe*, 'giraffe'

Kua *nabe*, ‘giraffe’

Cua *gabe*, ‘giraffe’

Tsua *gabe*, ‘giraffe’

Hie (C1) *gabee*, *ng:gabe*, *ng:habe*, ‘giraffe’

Sehura (C1a) *gnabe*, ‘giraffe’

Khwe *ngyáve*, ‘giraffe’

**Girl**

Korana *lato t’kodaas*, ‘girl’

Nama /*gōs*, ‘dogter’

Khwe /*ōã*, /*óé-hè*, ‘girl’

Khakhea (S5) *laʔ*, *lākai*, *lakai*, ‘woman’

Naron (C2) *!ko-de*, *!kaũ*, *!kouxən*, ‘girl, initiate girl’; *!ko*, *!ko-de*, ‘to menstruate’

**Give**

Cape dialectal *quoy*, ‘give me’

Hadza (C3) *kwi*, *kweko*, ‘to give’

/Xam (S1) /*kwi*:, ‘to give (in exchange)’

Nama *ou*, ‘geben (mit abgeben)’; *ous*, ‘mildtätige Gabe’

Cape dialectal *maa*, *mare*, ‘geef’

Korana *maa*, ‘geben’

Eastern dialectal *MARé*, ‘gif’

Hie (C1) *maa*, ‘to lend, give, forgive’

Khwe *mãã*, ‘give’

Cape dialectal *ghemé*, ‘donner’; *ghemaré*, ‘donnez moy’

//Xegwi (S3) //ke, 'to give'

Khakhea (S5) !xe:, 'to give'

**Go**

Cape-Saldanha *hchom*, 'marcher'

/Xam (S1) //kum, //kΛm, //kam, 'meet, go across'

Hadza (C3) a<sup>~</sup>khomo, 'go', akha(mo), 'go'

Cape dialectal *k' on*, 'gaan; ire'

Cape dialectal *kūhn*, 'gehen'

Eastern dialectal *xg'ung*, 'gehen' = #g'ung

Korana *t''kuhung*, 'to go', *t''kuhng*, 'gehen', = //kuhung, //kuhng

Khwe *n//góo*, 'to go'

Auen (N1) !kū, 'to go'

Naron (C2) !kū, 'to go'

/Xam (S1) !ū, 'go out'

/Auni (S4) !kuŋ, 'to go'

/Nu //en (S6) //kū, 'go away'

!Xuhn *u*, 'go, gaan'

N/uu !hui, 'run away'

Cape dialectal *koe*, 'gaan'; *k̃ou*, 'ire; gaan'

Hie (C1) *khoo*, 'go away, travel'

Auen (N1) !ku, 'run, jump, go, come'

/Auni (S4) //ku, 'go, run away'

Khwe *kūū*, 'to go'

**Goat**

Eastern dialectal *bri-i*, 'goat; *bock*'

Korana *biriib* m.; *biriis* f. 'Ziege'

Korana *bri*, 'goat'

Nama *brii*, 'Ziege',

Nama *bridi*, 'Ziegen'

Nama *poorees*, 'goat' = *puris*

/Xam (S1) *beri*, *berri*, *berri:*, *biri*, *peri*, 'goat'

!Xuhn *belebele*, 'goat'

/Nu//en (S6) *biri*, 'goat'

N/uu *piri*, 'goat'

Hie (C1) *pudi*, *pidi*, 'goat'

Auen (N1) *byri*, 'goat'

Kung (N2) *byri*, 'goat'

Naron (C2) *byri*, 'goat'

//Ń !ke (S2) *myri*, *meri*, *miri*, *byri*, *biri*, 'goat'

**Go out**

Cape dialectal *k'qua*, 'uytgaan; *exire*'

Cape dialectal *kqoe*, 'uytgaan'

Cape dialectal *k'qou*, 'exire; *uitgaan*'

Korana *kx'oa*, 'ausgehen'

Nama ≠oá, 'uitgaan'

Hie (C1) *tfwa*, 'to go out, break'

//ŋ !ke (S2) /kwa, 'to go out'

/Auni (S4) /kwa, 'to go out'

**Good**

Eastern dialectal *KaI*, = /kai, 'godt'

Korana *t'<sup>3</sup>kain*, = !kain, 'good'

Nama *geiin*, 'gut'; !gāi, 'gut'

//ŋ !ke (S2) !hāiija, !kāi, 'good'

//ŋ !ke (S2) //ēi:n, //ē-ĩ, 'good, patient, amiable, lucky'

Khwe ≠xeí, 'feel good'

Naron (C2) !kāi, 'good'

Cape dialectal *tzicum*, 'goede (tabak)', 'jonk'

Khwe *tceka-xam*, 'be very good'

Eastern dialectal *xh'iinsi*, 'gut' = ≠kiinsi

/Xam (S1) !kē:ĩ, !ke:ŋ, 'good'

//ŋ !ke (S2) //ē:ĩ, //ēi:n, 'good'

/Nu //en (S6) //kĩ, 'good'

Eastern dialectal *huka*, 'good'

Nama *huga*, 'immer; von jeher, immer schon'

Kung (N2) /hum, 'good'

N/uu ≠huu, 'be good, be beautiful'

**Grass**

Cape dialectal *t'kâ*, 'gras; gramen'; *tika*, 'gras', *t̃ika*, 'gramen; het gras'

Eastern dialectal *xka*, 'das Gras', = /ka



Nama 'tkap, 'grass'

Naron (C2) /gafa, /ga, /gã, 'grass'

/Auni (S4) /kã, 'grass'

/Nu //en (S6) //gã, //kã:, 'grass'

N/uu //ukx'a, 'tall grass'

Cape dialectal tika, 'gras'

Cape dialectal t̃ikã, 'gramen; het gras'

/Xam (S1) /ke:, 'grass'

//ŋ !ke (S2) /ke:, 'grass'

//Xegwi (S3) /khe:, 'grass'

Auen (N1) //e:si, 'grass'

Kung (N2) ˀ//e:, 'grass'

!O !kuŋ (N3) //e:, 'grass'

!Xuhn //e, 'grass'

Auen (N1) //khi, 'grass used in thatching, *Schmidtia bulbosa*'

!O !kuŋ (N3) //ki, 'grass of some kind'

N/uu /hisi, /hee, 'grass'

### **Green**

Eastern dialectal cam, 'green'

Korana !kam, 'green'

Nama !am, 'grün'

Naron (C2) !am, 'green'

Naron (C2) !am, 'green'

Auen (N1) /*kāŋ*, ‘green’

Kung (N2) /*kaŋ*, ‘green’

!Xuhn /*áhng*, ‘green’

Auen (N1) /*nausi*, ‘green’

N/uu //’*hausi*, ‘green’

Khwe /*x’áo*, ‘green’

**Greet**

Eastern dialectal *DABé*, *DABETé*, ‘god dag’

Eastern dialectal *t’abé*, ‘good day, farewell’

Eastern dialectal *tabé*, ‘I salute you’

Korana *dnabéh*, ‘guten Tag’

N/uu *nyebeke*, ‘to greet, greetings’

/Xam (S1) *tabbe:*, *tábeté*, ‘to greet, salute’

Auen (N1) *tabbe:*, *tábeté*, ‘to greet, say goodbye’

Naron (C2) *tabbe:*, *tábeté*, ‘to greet, say goodbye’

!Xuhn *!’am*, ‘greet, greetings’

**Grey**

Korana *Tky*, *Ky*, ‘vaal, yellow’

/Xam (S1) /*kai:n*, /*kai:nja*, ‘yellow’

/Xam (S1) /*kaĩ*, ‘yellow; to light’

/Xam (S1) /*keinja*, ‘to be yellow, green’

/Xam (S1) /*kei*, ‘yellow; to shine’

//Kxau (S2b) *!khain*, ‘grey’

N/uu /'haea, 'pale grey'

Nama /hei, 'fahl, blass'

Korana /hei, /hai, 'vaal, geel wees'

### **Grind**

Korana t'<sup>2</sup>árikuhng, 'schleiffen' = //arikungh

Korana /ā, 'skerp wees'

Korana /kx'ā, 'scharf'

Korana /kxʔā/kxʔā, 'to sharpen'

Kung (N2) /ʔā/ʔā, 'to sharpen'

Nama /ā, 'scharf'

//Khau (S2b) !!ʔunun, 'to grind corn'

### **Grow**

Cape dialectal k'ayse, 'groeyen; crescere'

Cape dialectal kayse, 'groeyen; wasschen'

Cape dialectal k̃ayse, 'crescere; wassen'

/Nu//en (S6) /gāi, 'to grow'

Auen (N1) //k"eja, //k"eija, 'to grow strong, big'

/Auni (S4) ̄kai, 'to grow, swell'

Naron (C2) xai, 'to swell'

/Xam (S1) kei, ke:ja, keja, 'to grow, be big'

Naron (C2) ̄keia, 'to grow, be big'

Kung (N2) ̄keia, 'to grow, be big'

Nama gei, 'gross werden, wachsen, zunehmen'

**Gum**

*koeno*, 'koralen ... ik ... weet er niets als glas daarvan te maaken'

Nama ≠*gūs*, 'gum'

/Xam (S1) /*gui*, 'gum arabic'

Naron (C2) !*gō*, 'gum'

Naron (C2) ≠*go*;, 'gum of trees'

Kung (N2) ≠*no*, 'necklace, string necklace, string'

**Gunpowder, gun**

Cape dialectal *k'habo clou*, 'buskruyt; pulvis tormentarius'

Cape dialectal *tkauwokloe*, 'kruyt'

Cape dialectal *t'káuokklou*, 'pulvis pyrius; buskruid'

Nama !*awus*, 'geweer' ('gun')

Korana !*awus*, !*abus*, 'geweer'

/Xam (S1) !*kabu*, !*kabbu*, !*abu*, //kābu, ≠*kabbu*, 'gun'

//Kxau (S2b) !*abu*, !*kabu*, 'gun'

/Auni (S4) !'abu, 'gun'

Naron (C2) !*abu*, !*kabbu*, 'gun'

Kung (N2) !*kabu*, !*kubu*, 'gun'

//I] !ke (S2) !*kubu*, !*ubusa*, 'gun'

/Xam (S1) *xuru*, 'gunpowder'

**-H-**

**Hail**

Cape dialectal *k' choy*, 'hagel en sneeuw; grando & nix'

Cape dialectal *tkoy*, 'sneeuw, of hagel'

Cape dialectal *t'koy*, 'grando vel nix; hagel of zneeuw'

/Xam (S1) *!koitən, !koouh*, 'hail, snow'

/Xam (S1) *!gwe*, 'hail, white lumps on porcupines'

!Xuhn *g//oe!o*, 'hael, hail'

Khwe */xòé, /xùé*, 'hail'

/Xam (S1) */kuttən !kauwi*, 'sleet'

/Xam (S1) *ˀ/kuruˀ/kuru*, 'hail, sleet'

/Xam (S1) */kùrù/kùrù*, 'small hail'

/Xam (S1) */kùrú/kùrú*, 'sleet'

Korana " *nánqua = !nánqua*, 'hail'

Korana *!nanna*, 'hail'

Nama *!nareb*, 'Hagel'

/Auni (S4) *!nare*, 'hail'

Naron (C2) *!nare*, 'hail'

!Xuhn *n!aλe*, 'to hail'

**Hair**

Cape-Saldanha *oncoa*, 'cheueux'

/Xam ? : *≠ōãx'á* 'Haarfontein'

Khatia (S4a) *≠oã*, 'kaross, fur'

Korana *t'<sup>1</sup>onkoa*, 'the hair' = /*onkoa*

Cape dialectal *nucquāan*, 'het hajir; crinis'; *nuqua-an*, 't' hoofd-hair'; *n̄uqua-an*, 'crinis; het hair'

Eastern dialectal *x ung x a*, 'die Haare', = /*ung-/a* or /*ung-/ka*

Hie (C1) *nan /hoo*, 'hair'

Nogau (N1a) *ni !kho*, 'hair'

Kung (N2) *ikhoisi, o khoisi*, 'our hair'

!Xuhn *!kui*, 'hair'

/Xam (S1) *!ūkən, /ūkən*, 'hair'

Khakhea (S5) *kwa:ni*, 'hair'; */xoa, n /xoa*, 'hair ring made of a wildebeest's tail'

/Nu//en (S6) *//xwaʔa*, 'hair, (?) white hair'

Cape dialectal *ou*, 'hair; crinis'

Hie (C1) */hoo*, 'hair'

/Xam (S1) and //ǀ *!ke (S2) /ū*, 'hair'

//Xegwi (S3) */ku*, 'hair'

Nama */ūb, /ūn*, 'Haar'

Korana */hūp*, 'wool'

Naron (C2) */ū:*, 'hair'

Khwe *'ūū*, 'hair'

/Auni (S4) */ko*, 'hair'

Eastern dialectal *t'<sup>1</sup>kum*, 'hair', = /*kum*

Naron (C2) */ū:*, 'hair'

**Hand**

Cape-Saldanha *oncoa*, ‘main’

Eastern dialectal *t'unka*, ‘hand’

Nama //ǃab, ‘Hand’

Hadza (C3) *ukwa*, *ukwako*, ‘hand, finger, arm, foreleg’

Eastern dialectal *t'unka*, ‘hand’

N/uu /x'a, ‘hand’

Korana *t'koam*, ‘the hand’ = /koam

Korana *t'kóám*, ‘die Hand’

Ukuambi dialectal (N2b) *!koamba*, ‘hand, fist’

!Xuhn *g//ao*, ‘hand’

Cape dialectal *omma*, ‘de handen’

Cape dialectal *omma*, ‘de hand’

Korana *!umma*, ‘hand’

Korana *!umi*, ‘hand’

Nama *!ómi*, ‘die Hand’

/Auni (S4) *!komaku*, ‘hand, fist’

**Happy**

Eastern dialectal *Kavahe*, ‘Vrolyke rivier’, ‘cheerful river’

Nama *!gāi-ba-he*, ‘dit is vir my verblydend; ek is bly’

N/uu *khōea*, ‘be happy’

Khwe *kyāi-#áo*, ‘be happy’

Nama *!gāi*, ‘gut, angenehm’

Korana !kāi, 'gut, angenehm'

//Ń !ke (S2) !kāi, !kē:i, 'happy, good'

Auen (N1) !kāi, !kē:i, 'happy, good'

Naron (C2) !kāi, !kē:i, 'happy, good'

/Auni (S4) ≠kaĩ, 'pleasant, beautiful'

!Xuhn !ka n/a'ng, 'happy'

**Hard**

Korana t'<sup>2</sup>karri, 'hartes' = //karri

Nama !gàri, 'hart, zāhe'

Naron (C2) !gari, 'hard'

/Xam (S1) /yri:ja, 'hard'

/Xam /yrri:ja, /werrija, /werri:ja, hard, strong'

Khwe kyéri, 'hard'

Korana karoosing, 'harter'

Korana karosa, 'hart, zāh'

Korana karro(sa), 'hard'

Nama garosa, 'hart'

Auen (N1) !goru, 'hard'

**Hare**

Nama nabosse, 'wilde kony'n'

!Xuhn na'ú, 'haas, hare'

/Xam (S1) !nāũ, 'hare'

Auen (N1) \_!nau, 'hare'



//Ń !ke (S2) !*nau*, ‘hare’

!O !kuŋ (N3) !*nau*, ‘hare’

Kung (N2) !*nā̃ũ*, ‘hare’

N/uu *n!āu*, ‘haas, hare’

Nama *ounwa*, ‘soort van hazen’

Khakhea (S5) !*nwoi* ♂, !*naũ*, ‘hare’

/Xam (S1) !*ōã*, ‘hare’

Khwe *ōã, ũã*, ‘hare (scrub)’

Naron (C2) /*ōãsa*, ‘hare’

Naron (C2) ≠*nu !oab*, ‘mountain hare’

Griqua *gabá*, ‘een sort van hazen’

Naron (C2) ≠*go:ba, #go:, #goba*, ‘springhare, *Pedetes cafer*’

Hei//kum (N2a) ≠*go:ba, #go:, #goba*, ‘springhare, *Pedetes cafer*’

### **Hartebeest**

Cape dialectal *t hammas*, ‘hartebeesten; *dura animalia*’

Cape dialectal *k’ kamma*, ‘een harte beest; *durum animal*’

Cape dialectal *tkamma*, ‘een hert’

Cape dialectal *t’k’amma*, ‘*cervus*; een hert’

Eastern dialectal *KaMMAP*, ‘*Capra Dorcas*; hartebeest’

*Δ-kamap*, ‘the *Bubale*; Harte-Beest’

Korana *t’kam kam*, ‘hartebeest’

Korana *k’hammas*, ‘Hartebeest (*Ant. Dorcas*)’

Nama //kamab, ‘Hartebeest (*Hirsch*)’

Korana //kanap, 'hartebeest'

Hie (C1) //kama, 'hartebeest'

Naron (C2) //kama, //xama, //kamaba, 'hartebeest'

Sehura (C1a) ≠kama, 'hartebeest'

N/uu !aa, 'red hartebeest'

### **Hat**

Cape-Table Bay dialectal *twubba*, 'a hat'

Cape-Saldanha dialectal *taba*, 'a bonnet'

Eastern dialectal (*KaBA*), *TABA*, 'hatt, massa' = /kaba

Eastern dialectal *t'aba*, 'hat'

/Auni (S4) /ka:ba, 'cap'

Naron (C2) /ka:ba, 'cap'

Ki /hazi (S4b) /a:ba, 'hat'

Nama /kaba, 'hat'

Khwe /aává, 'hat'

Naron (C2) /gaba, /gabafa, 'hat, cap, head-covering'

Nama /gawas, 'Hut'

Cape dialectal *kabba*, 'een hoed; pileus'

Cape dialectal *kabba*, 'een hoed'

Cape dialectal *kabba*, 'pileus; een hoed'

Korana *kabaab*, 'Mütze'

/Auni (S4) /ka:ba, 'cap'

Naron (C2) /ka:ba, 'cap'

Naron (C2) /ka:bafa; /kaba, 'to put on a cap'

Korana *khais*, 'Hut',

Korana *kabaab*, 'cap', 'Mütze'

Korana //hais, 'Hut'

Korana /abas, 'Mütze'

Korana //heis, 'hat'

Eastern dialectal KaBA, 'hatt, massa'

/Xam (S1) /kei, 'hat, skin cap'

Nama /gawas, 'Hut, Mütze'

N/uu ≠qhii, 'hat'

### **Head**

Nama *dannab*, 'Kopf'

Nama *tanas*, 'Kopf'

Ukuambi dialectal (N2b) *tanaba*, 'head'

/Xam (S1) /na:, 'head'

/Nu //en (S6) /na, 'head'

N/uu *n/aa*, 'head'

Kua *mʔa*, 'head'

Tsua *mʔa*, 'head'

Cua *mma*, 'head'

G/ui *mãã*, 'a head'

Hie (C1) *hma*, 'head'

!Xoon *n/ang*, 'head'

**Hear**

Cape dialectal *k' nom*, 'horen; *audire*', ('to hear, to listen')

Cape dialectal *k̃nouv*, '*audire*; horen'

Nama *naudarra*, '*ich hören*'

Nama // *nōu*, '*hören*'

Korana // *nāu*, 'to hear'

Korana // *nāũ*, 'to hear'

Hadza (C3) // *nae*, 'to hear'

Kung (N2) *to:m*, 'to hear'

Hie (C1) *tʃom*, 'to feel, hear'

Khwe *kóm*, 'hear'

/Xam (S1) *tum:*, 'to hear, listen'

N/uu *kyuu*, 'to hear, to understand'

**Heart**

Cape dialectal *qu'au*, '*het hart*; *cor*'

Cape dialectal *qua-oe*, '*t hart*'

Cape dialectal *q̃uau*, '*cor*; *het hart*'

Korana *kōub*, '*das Herz*'

Nama *gaub*, '*Herz*'

Nama ≠ *gaob*, '*Herz*'

Korana ≠ *gaob*, '*hart*'

Naron (C2) ≠ *gau*, *kaufa*, 'heart'

Khwe ≠ *áó*, 'heart'

**Heaven**

Nama *nanup*, 'der Himmel'

'Hottentot' *noonop*, 'heaven'

!Xuhn *n/a'an*, 'heaven', *n/a'an !o* 'heavens'

Nama */nanub (-s)*, 'Wolke'

/Nu //en (S6) *!naro, !nari*, 'sky, cloud'

Cape dialectal *homma*, 'ciel'

Cape dialectal *t? homme, t'homme*, 'hemel'

Genadendal dialectal *chuma*, 'heaven'

Korana *tomie*, 'heaven'

Nama */hómi*, 'der Himmel'

Korana *≠humma, /humma, /hommi*, 'Himmel'

Khwe *≠'ám*, 'heaven'

Korana */humma*, 'Wolke'

**Heavy**

Korana *t<sup>3</sup>kom*, 'schwer' = *!kom*

Korana *!kum*, 'heavy'

Korana *!um*, 'heavy'

Korana *!gum*, 'swaar'

Nama *!gom*, 'heavy'

!Xuhn *khó*, 'heavy'

Khwe *kóm*, 'heavy'

/Xam (S1) *!kumba*, 'heavy'

N/uu *//'um'i*, 'heavy'

**Heel**

Cape-Saldanha *nocoaa*, ‘*talon*’

Nama *!nōás*, ‘*die Ferse (am Fuss)*’

N/uu *n!oasi*, ‘heel, ankle’

Nama *!nōab (-s)*, ‘*Ferse*’

Korana *!noam*, ‘heel’

Kung (N2) *!go:a, !go’o*, ‘heel’

!Xuhn *g!oqg!oq*, ‘heel’

**Help**

Nama *hui*, ‘*helft*’

Nama *hui*, ‘*helfen (beistehen)*’

N/uu *hui*, ‘to help’

/Xam (S1) *hu:i*, ‘to help’

/Xam (S1) *ho, herribe*, ‘to help’

**Here**

Cape dialectal *hebba*, ‘*hier*’

Cape dialectal *hebba*, ‘*hic; hier of daar*’

Korana *heeba, heeva*, ‘here’

Khwe *hè-é-ve*, ‘Here!’

Eastern dialectal *HAEVA*, in *HAEVA HA*, ‘*kom hit*’

Eastern dialectal *heva ha*, ‘come hither’

Hadza (C3) *heja*, ‘here’

**High**

Eastern dialectal *xkoa*, ‘*hoher*’

/Xam (S1) *!xo:wa*, ‘high’

N/uu *!xooa*, ‘high’

N/uu /’*āa*, ‘be high, be long, be deep’

N/uu *!xooa*, ‘be tall, be large, be big’

**Hold**

Korana *t’<sup>2</sup>koo*, ‘*halten, fassen*’ = //*koo*

Nama *!kho*, ‘*halten (fassen)*’

Korana *!kho*, ‘*fangen, halten*’

Korana *!cho*, ‘catch’

Korana *!choha*, ‘hold’

Naron (C2) *!ho:a*, ‘to hold in the hand’

Kung (N2) *≠hou*, ‘to hold a thing down to the ground with a sharp instrument’

Khwe *xó, xòó*, ‘hold’

Khwe *kóo*, ‘hold back’

Korana *t’<sup>3</sup>aai*, ‘*halten, besitzen*’ = *!aai*

Nama *≠ái*, ‘*kleben, haften*’

/Xam (S1) *\_!kai, !hoä*, ‘hold up’

/Xam (S1) *\_!kai, !kaiti*, ‘carry, hold’

Auen (N1) *¬/kai*, ‘hold’

Auen //kai, ‘to hold, take, seize’

Auen *≠kēi*, ‘to hold, get’

!O !kuŋ (N3) //kai, 'to hold'

!O !kuŋ (N3) //kei, 'to hold, take'

Khwe !'éí-ó-ei, 'hold tight(ly)'

!Xuhn //ae, 'hou, keep, hold'

N/uu /aa, 'to hold'

N/uu //xam, 'to hug, to hold tight'

**Hole**

Eastern dialectal KóU, 'hol' = !kou

Eastern dialectal TWaP, 'hol' = #twap

Khwe kx'ávà, 'hole'

Nama !goab, 'Loch (Graben)'

/Xam (S1) !koa, !kóä, 'hole, cave'

/Xam (S1) !hau, 'hole'

N/uu !oo, 'hole, e.g. in the ground'

/Xam (S1) tu, 'hole'

Kung (N2) tŋui, 'hole'

Nama //hus, 'hole'

**Honey**

Cape dialectal dini, 'meł'

Khwe dinii, 'honey'

Eastern dialectal denni, 'honey'

Korana dariings, 'honey'

Nama danib, 'Honig'



Korana *dannis*, 'honey'

Korana *danis*, 'heuning'

Naron (C2) *danifa*, 'honey'

Eastern dialectal *dariings*, 'honey'

Cape dialectal *senihar*, 'honey'

Eastern dialectal *Au*, 'honey'

//Ń !ke (S2) *!kau*, 'honey'

/Xam (S1) *!khou*, 'honey'

/Auni (S4) /ko:, 'honey'

N/uu *≠hau*, 'honey'

### **Horn**

Cape dialectal *nam*, 'corne'

Nama //nāb, 'Horn (des Ochsen)'

Korana //nāb, 'horing'

Hie (C1) η//gaa, η//gaare, 'horn'

Khwe n//gáà, 'horn'

Sehura (C1a) 'na, ≠naxa, 'horn'

Naron (C2) //na, //na:, ≠naxa, 'horn'

Khakhea (S5) //kʌŋfa, 'horn'

/Nu //en (S6) //kã, 'horn'

Kua n//aa, 'horn'

Cua n//aa, 'horn'

Tsua n//aa, 'horn'

Glui *n//ãã*, ‘horn’

**House**

Cape dialectal *istcoom*, ‘yard’

Eastern dialectal *t’kooqua*, ‘house’

G/wi *n!uu*, ‘house, hut’

/Xam (S1) *!nu:*, ‘bush hut, branch house, nest’

/Xam //nu, ‘shelter, lair, home’

Naron (C2) *≠gnu*, ‘house’

Tsaukwe (C2a) *≠gnu*, ‘house’

Auen (N1) *!nu:*, ‘hut’

!O !kung (N3) *!nu:*, ‘hut’

Kua *ηuu*, ‘a house, hut’

Khwe *ngú*, ‘house’

Cua *ɕuu*, ‘a house, hut’

Tsua *ɕuu*, ‘a house, hut’

!Xuhn *tju*, ‘house’

Glui *n!uu*, ‘a house, hut’

N/uu *n//ng*, ‘house; blanket’, plural *n//ãi*

Mohissa (C1b) *ɕun*, *ɕu*, *tfu*, ‘house’

Nama *ummi*, ‘Haus’

Nama *ummi*, *om*, ‘house’

Nama *ommi*, ‘Haus’

Cape dialectal *k’omma*, ‘*een huys; domus*’

Cape dialectal *k'omme*, 'een huys; domus'

Cape dialectal *komma*, 'een huys'

Cape dialectal *k<sup>~</sup>omma*, 'domus; het huis'

Korana *kgoma*, 'house'

Korana //kchomma, 'Haus, Hütte'

Korana *kx'omi*, *kx'oma*, *kx'umma*, 'Haus'

Griqua *k'ummi*, 'Haus'

Eastern dialectal *KOMMA*, *OMMA*, 'hus, gård'

Eastern dialectal *kooma*, 'ein Hauss'

Eastern dialectal *t'kooqua*, 'house'

Auen (N1) *tfu*, 'house, hut'

Auen (N1) /ko:, 'village, home, hut front'

Kung (N2) *tfu*, 'house, hut'

!O !kung (N3) *tfu ni*, 'house, hut'

!O !kung (N3) /ko:, 'village, home, hut front'

Hie (C1) *džu*, 'house, hut'

Naron (C2) *!nu:fa*, 'house, hut'

!O !kuŋ (N3) *tf'o*, *tf'o ni*, synonym *tfu*, 'village, home'

### **Hungry**

Eastern dialectal *kalu*, 'hunger'

Korana *t'<sup>2</sup>karroo*, 'to be hungry'

/Xam (S1) *!kurru*, 'to be hungry'

!Xuhn *guún*, 'hungry, hunger'

**Hunt**

Korana *t'<sup>2</sup>kchammi*, 'to hunt', 'jagen, auf die Jagd gehen' = //kchammi

Korana *!hamme*, 'hunt'

Korana *!hami*, 'jag'

Korana *!hami*, 'Wild jagen'

Nama *!hami*, 'Jagd machen'

/Nu //en (S6) *!kammi*, 'to hunt'

Khwe //am, 'hunt (game) to death'

Khakhea (S5) //kāi, //kai, 'to shoot, kill, hunt'

**Hyena**

Eastern dialectal *guka, nuka*, 'wolf'

/Xam (S1) *!guka*, 'hyena'

Korana */hukas*, 'hyaena'

/Xam (S1) *!go, !gau, !gou, !gwaĩ*, 'hyena'

!Xuhn *g/uín*, 'hyena'

-|-

**I**

Cape dialectal *tiri*, 'ik (ben)'

Korana *tiri, tire*, 'I', 'ich'

Eastern dialectal *tiri, tili*, feminine *titti*, 'I'

Naron (C2) *tira, tire, ti*, 'I'

Khwe *ti*, 'I'

Hie (C1) *tfira, tfi*, 'I'

Cape-Saldanha *ham*, ‘moy’

//Xegwi (S3) *am*, ‘I’

≠Khomani (S2a) *an*, ‘I’

**Intestines, entrails**

Korana *t’1geunkoa*, ‘Gedärme’, ‘entrails’ = /geunkoa

Cape dialectal *quina*, ‘de darmen; intestina’

Cape dialectal *quina*, ‘de darmen, of ingewanden’

Cape dialectal *q̃uina*, ‘intestina; de ingewanden’

Khwe /*qūi*, ‘intestines’

Nama /*gūigu*, ‘derms’

Nama /*gūis*, ‘Gedärm’

Korana /*gūigu*, ‘derms’

Korana /*ūigu*, ‘Gedärme’

/Xam (S1) /*kwiŋ/kwiŋ*, ‘entrails’

/Xam (S1) /*geum, !gusi*, ‘entrails’

Nogau (N1a) /*gu-si, !geum, m.sp.* ‘entrails’

Naron (C2) /*gui*, ‘intestine’

**Iron**

Cape dialectal *cori*, ‘iron’

Cape-Saldanha dialectal *courip*, ‘fer’

Eastern dialectal *KoRUP*, ‘jern, coppar’

Eastern dialectal *x-ori*, ‘Eisen’

Nama /*urib*, ‘Eisen’, ‘iron’

- Korana /'urrib, 'iron'  
 Korana /kx'urib, 'Eisen'  
 N/uu /urisi, 'iron'  
 Eastern dialectal x-ori, 'Eisen'  
 Naron (C2) /koli, /kori, /k'ore, /kuri, 'iron'  
 /Xam (S1) /k"kurri, /k'uri, 'iron'  
 /Nu //en (S6) /uri, /orin, /oriŋ, 'iron'  
 //Khau (S2b) /kx'oli<sup>-</sup>si, 'iron'  
 Auen (N1) /k'ore, 'iron'  
 Nama /urib, 'Eisen'  
 Korana /'urrib, 'iron'  
 Korana /kx'urib, 'iron'  
 /Xam (S1) /kuri, 'iron'  
 /Xam (S1) /k"urri, /kuri, /koli, 'iron, copper'  
 /Xam (S1) /kuli, /u:ri, 'ball, bullet'  
 //Kxau (S2b) /kx'o:li<sup>-</sup>si, 'iron, bullet'  
 /Nu//en (S6) /uri, /orin, /oriŋ, 'iron'  
 Naron (C2) /kori, /koli, /kuri, /k"ore, /uri  
 Cape dialectal kaukoerie, 'yzer'  
 Cape dialectal koekuri, 'yzer'  
 Cape dialectal k<sup>~</sup>oukuri, 'ferrum; yzer'  
 Hie (C1) //kaiho, 'iron'  
 Cape dialectal cori, 'iron'  
 Cape-Saldanha courip, 'fer'

Eastern dialectal *KoRUP*, ‘jern, coppar’ = /*korup*

Eastern dialectal *x-ori*, ‘Eisen’

/Xam (S1) /*kuri*-, ‘iron’; /*k*”*urri*, /*koli*, /*kuri*, ‘iron, copper’; /*kuli*, /*u:ri*, ‘ball, bullet’

//Kxau (S2b) /*kx'o:li*-*si*, /*kx'o:li*-*si*, ‘iron, bullet’

/Nu//en (S6) /*uri*, /*orin*, /*orin*, ‘iron’

Naron (C2) /*kori*, /*koli*, /*kuri*, /*k*”*ore*, /*uri*, ‘iron’

N/uu /*urisi*, ‘iron’

**-J-**

**Jackal**

Eastern dialectal *A-dirip*, ‘jackal; *jakals*’ = /*dirip*

Nama /*girib*, ‘*Schakal*’, ‘*Fuchs*’

Korana /*girip*, ‘jackal’, ‘*rooijakkals*’

Korana /*kire:p*, ‘common jackal’

Naron (C2) /*girib*, /*geri*, /*gira*, ‘jackal, *Canis mesomelas*’

Hie (C1) /*gire*, /*gira*, ‘jackal, *Vulpes chama*’, ‘silver jackal’

Naron (C2) /*kili*, ‘jackal’

Sehura (C2a) /*kili*, ‘jackal’

Cape dialectal *keulee*, ‘*een vos*’

Cape dialectal *keūlee*, ‘*vulpes, een vos*’

Auen (N1) ≠*goe*, \_≠*goe*, ‘black-backed jackal’

Korana *t*”*geu-eeb*, ‘*Schakal (Canis mesomelas)*’ = ≠*geu-eeb* or //*geu-eeb*

Nama *naäs, nuaap*, ‘*den eerdwolf*’

≠Khomani (S2a) //has, //ab, ʔa, 'Cape fox, silver jackal'

/Auni (S4) //has, //ab, ʔa, 'Cape fox, silver jackal'

Nama //a:b, 'silwerjakkals' or 'silver fox'; 'bakoorkakkals, bat-eared fox';  
'aardwolf, eerdwolf'

Naron (C2) \_//a, 'silver jackal'

N/uu //ʔa, 'bakoorkakkals', 'bat-eared fox'

Hie (C1) n!gaa, /ga:ʔai, 'jackal'

≠Khomani (S2a) //ai:, /ga:ʔai, 'jackal' 'Cape fox, silver jackal'

/Auni (S4) //ai:, /ga:ʔai, 'jackal' 'Cape fox, silver jackal'

Eastern dialectal d'intai, 'jackal'

≠Khomani (S2a) /ga:ʔai, 'Cape fox, silver jackal'

/Auni (S4) /ga:ʔai, 'Cape fox, silver jackal'

Hie (C1) /ga:ʔai, 'Cape fox, silver jackal'

### ***Judge, to Speak***

Cape dialectal k' chom, 'om te oordelen'

Nama khom, 'sprechen (den Mund öffnen)'

Korana khom, 'sprechen'

Nama /gora-!gã, 'urteilen'

Nama k' chom, 'to forgive'

/Xam (S1) kum:, kum, kumma, 'talk, story, history, news'



**-K-**

**Karee**

Roggeveld dialectal ‘*Karré-hout (Rhus)*’

*care, karee*

*-kare-*

*caree*

*karree*

*carruhout, carruboomenbosch*

*carrubosch*

Korana *!gareb*, ‘*kareebos*’

Auen (N1) *k”aru*, ‘*Kareebos, Acacia niermis Marloth & Engl.*’

Kung (N2) *k”aru*, ‘*Kareebos, Acacia niermis Marloth & Engl.*’

Afrikaans ‘*hoenderspoorkaree*’

Hie (C1) *karee*, ‘toes, claws, heels, hoofs, spoor made by feet’

**Karos**

Cape-Saldanha *sabs*, ‘*manteau de peau*’

/Nu //en (S6) *sabi*, ‘kaross, skin cloak’

Khakhea (S5) *fabi*, ‘kaross, skin cloak’

**Kill**

Cape-Saldanha dialectal *gossi*, ‘*tuer assomer*’

Cape-Saldanha dialectal *doussi*, ‘*battre*’

Cape-Saldanha dialectal *doessi*, ‘*slaan*’

Korana //gu, ‘strife’

!Xuhn *!hun*, 'kill'

Nama *!gougub*, 'heftiger Kampf'

Hie (C1) */goothi*, */goo*, 'murder, kill, defeat, conquer'

Cape dialectal *doucham*, 'doodslaan, *occidere*'

Cape dialectal *doecham*, 'dooden'

Cape dialectal *doucham*, '*occidere*; *doodslaan*'

Cape dialectal *dou k' ham*, '*doodslaan, occidere*'

Nama *!gam*, 'töten'

Korana *!gamm*, 'kill'

Korana *!gam*, '*doodmaak*'

Korana *!am*, 'töten'

### ***Klipspringer***

Cape dialectal *k' gog-e*, '*klipspringer*'

/Xam (S1) *ˀ/k'o*, '*klipspringer*'

Khakhea (S5) *//ko*; '*duiker*'

Eastern dialectal *kaimsi*, *kainsi*, '*klipspringer*'

Nama *//kâisis*, '*Klippbock (Gemsbock der Wüste)*'

Nama *//khâisis*, *//khâsis*, '*Klippbock*'

Nama *//khaisis*, '*klipspringer*'

Hie (C1) */kaisi*, '*klipspringer*'

Hei *//kum* (N2a) *//kha:nīses*, '*klipspringer*'

### ***Knapsack, see Bag***

Korana *t'<sup>1</sup>khoob*, [*/khoob*], 'a bag', '*ein Knappsack*', '*Beutel, Schubsack*'

Korana //hob, 'der Knappsack'

Nama //hōb, 'der Knappsack'

/Xam (S1) ʔ//ho, 'round bag, slung over shoulder, hanging on left hip'

//ŋ !ke (S2) //ho, 'round bag, slung over shoulder, hanging on left hip'

//Xegwi (S3) //ko:, 'round bag, slung over shoulder, hanging on left hip'

/Auni (S4) //ho:, 'round bag, slung over shoulder, hanging on left hip'

!Xuhn //ho, 'knapsak, kitbag'

/Xam (S1) /kho:, 'bag'

//Xegwi (S3) /ko:ma, 'bag'

!Xuhn /hao, 'knapsack, bladsak'

N/uu //xāa, 'bag'

//ŋ !ke (S2) //xā:, 'little bag (used as tobacco pouch)'

!Xuhn n!oeh, 'knapsack, bladsak'

### **Knee**

Cape-Saldanha *coap*, 'genou'

Cape dialectal *qua*, 'de knie'

Cape dialectal *q̃uâ*, 'genua; de knien'

Nama //goáb, 'das Knie'

Nama //goab (-s), 'Knie'

Nama //kuãp, 'knee'

Khwe //óε, 'knee'

Auen (N1) !kwãni, 'knee'

Kung (N2) !koa, !khoa, !kóã, !xwa, 'knee'

!Xuhn !xoa, 'knee, knie'

**Knife**

Cape-Table Bay dialectal *droaff*, ‘a knife’

Ki /hazi (S4b) ≠*gua*, ≠*gu:a*, ‘knife’

Nama *goab*, *gôas*, ‘Messer’

/Auni (S4) *gõa*, ‘knife, spear’

Khatia (S4a) *gõa*, ‘knife, spear’

Eastern dialectal *NóRAP*, ‘knife’ = *!norap*

Eastern dialectal *t’nora*, ‘knife’

/Nu //en (S6) *!nora*, ‘knife’

Cape-Saldanha *goras*, ‘couteau’

Korana *’kwaans*, *’koãns* (cowarnc), ‘knife’ = ≠*kwaans*, ≠*koãns*

Korana *goãs*, *kõãs*, *kuãs*, ‘knife, Messer’

Ki /hazi (S4b) ≠*gua*, ≠*gu:a*, ‘knife’

!Xuhn ≠*oh*≠*oh*, ‘knife’

**Know**

Cape dialectal *ẽ atze*, ‘*bekomen*, *ken*’

Korana *entse*, ‘*kennen*, know’

/Xam (S1) ≠*en*, ≠*ẽ*, ≠*en̄a*, ≠*enna*, ‘to know’

!O !kuŋ (N3) ≠*ã*, ‘know’

Khwe *ã*, ‘know’

Naron (C2) ≠*ãna*, ‘know’

Hie (C1) ≠*an*, ‘to know’

Nama ≠*an*, ‘*wissen*’

!Xuhn *n≠aih*, ‘know; *ken, weet*’

### **Korhaan**

Cape dialectal *k’ hack ary*, ‘*een korhaan*’

Cape dialectal *kh~oek~ari*, ‘*avis Africana; een vogel genaamt knorhaan*’

Eastern dialectal  $\Delta$ -*haragap*, ‘*korhaan*’ = /*haragap*

Korana //harr-//ka-//kap, ‘*korhaan*’

Korana *har’-//gab*, ‘*korhaan*’

Nama //haragas, ‘*korhaan*’

/Xam (S1) *kwa:ɛ kwaɛ ra*, ‘black korhaan, ‘*korhaan brandkop, Otis afra*’

/Xam (S1) *!kwara k”eřri*, ‘*korhaan; a bird, Lamprotornis phoenicopteras*’

/Xam (S1) *!kauɛ !kauɛ kən, !kauɛ kən*, ‘*vaal korhaan*’

N/uu //haqba, ‘*korhaan*’

Eastern dialectal  $\Delta$ -*ou ip*, ‘*bustard; trapgans*’ = *!u-ip* or *!hu-ip*, a ‘*trapgans*’

/Xam (S1) *!ku:*, ‘*paauw, gom paauw, Eupodotis kori, Otis kori*’

//Ŋ *!ke* (S2) *!ku:*, ‘*vaal korhaan, Otis vigorsi*’

N/uu *g!uuke*, ‘*gompou, kori bustard*’

### **Kudu**

Eastern dialectal *gaip*, ‘*coudoe*’

Korana *geip*, ‘*koedoe*’

Korana *chaib*, ‘*Kudu*’

Korana *chais*, ‘*koedoe*’

Nama *gheii, xaib*, ‘*das Kuddu (grosse Antilopeart mit pfropfenzieherartig gewundenen Hörnern)*’

Korana *xeip*, ‘*koodoo*’

/Auni (S4) *xai*, 'kudu'

/Nu//en (S6) *xain*, 'kudu'

Naron (C2) *kxai*, *xeiba*, *kxi*, 'kudu'

//Ń !ke (S2) *k'āi*, *k"āi*, 'kudu'

**-L-**

**Lack**

Cape dialectal *thahe*, 'lack'

Korana *t'²gaiah*, 'es fehlt; ich habe nicht' = //gaiah

Hadza (C3) *haija*, 'there is no'

**Lamb**

Cape dialectal *chauna*, 'een lam; agnus'

!Xuhn *guma*, 'lamb'

Korana //xao, //xauras, 'ewe lamb'

Nama //kaub, 'Lamm (Schaflamm)'

/Xam (S1) //xau, 'lamb'

N/uu //xao, 'lamb'

**Laugh**

Cape-Saldanha *cahmi*, 'rire'

Korana *t'²kaing*, 'to laugh', 'lachen' = //kaing

Korana *kx'ai*, 'lag (ww.)'

Korana *kx'āi*, 'lachen'

Korana *kx'āi*, 'to laugh', 'lachen'

Khwe *kx'āi*, 'laugh'

Nama *ãi*, ‘laugh’, ‘*lachen*’

/Xam (S1) //koaiŋ, ‘to laugh’

≠Khomani (S2a) *kx’ãĩ*, *kx’ãia*, *k”aīã*, *k”ãi-a*, ‘to laugh’

Khakhea (S5) \_//k”ai, //k”xai, //k”xai: //k”xeĩ, //k”xe, ‘to laugh’

!Xuhn *shi*, /hi, *shi*, ‘to laugh’

!Xuhn *!ao shi*, ‘to laugh loudly’

!Xuhn *tshi*, ‘laughter’

### **Learn**

N/uu //xa//xa, ‘to learn’

/Xam (S1) //xa://xa, //xei, ‘to teach, to learn’

//ŋ !ke (S2) //xa://xa, //xei, ‘to teach, to learn’

Naron (C2) //xa://xa, //xei, ‘to teach, to learn’

### **Leg**

Cape dialectal *nonqua*, ‘*beenen*; *pedes*’

Cape dialectal *oũqua*, ‘*das Bein*’

Eastern dialectal *t’nu*, ‘leg’

Korana *t’<sup>2</sup>nuh*, ‘leg’, ‘*Bein*’ = //nuh

Khwe *n/gúu*, ‘lower leg’

Nama *oũqua*, ‘*das Bein*’

//ŋ !ke (S2) !k”u:ka, ‘leg’

Hadza (C3) *upukwa*, ‘leg, hind leg, foot, spoor’

/Xam (S1) !kwa, !kwa:, ̄!kwa:, ‘leg, foot’

/Xam (S1) //koa, //komb, //koah, //koma, !koma, ‘leg’

Naron (C2) //ōa, 'foreleg, arm'

Naron (C2) ≠oa, 'leg'

Auen (N1) /o:a, /ōa, 'bone, leg'

!Xuhn //um, 'leg'

!Xuhn g≠ao, 'leg, pool'

### **Letter, book**

Eastern dialectal *xk'inië*, 'ein Brief' = //kinië or ≠kinië

Nama ≠kanis, 'Brief, also 'Buch'

Auen (N1) /kein, 'letter, paper'

Auen (N1) /kane, /kanni, 'letter, book'

Auen (N1) !kani, 'letter'

Nama *kanip*, 'book, letter'

Nama ≠kanis, 'Buch, Brief, Schrift'

Korana ≠kanis, 'book'

Korana ≠kannim, 'letter, book'

N/uu ≠hanisi, 'book'

Korana /chanim, 'letter'

Auen (N1) /kani, /kanni, 'letter, book'

Naron (C2) /kani, /kanni, 'letter, book'

Kung (N2) !kani, 'letter'

Nama ≠kanis, 'book'

### **Lie, lie down**

Cape dialectal *kobie*, 'leggen; jacere'



Cape dialectal *k' quee*, 'leggen; iacére'

Cape dialectal *kohi*, of *k-que*, 'leggen'

Cape dialectal *k~obi*, of *k~qua*, 'jacere; leggen'

Eastern dialectal *t'koe*, *t'kuwe*, 'to lie down, or lie along'

//Ń !ke (S2) //k"we, 'to lay (eggs)'

Nama //goe, 'liegen'

Nama goë, 'liegen'

Nama //goe, 'sich legen (Ruhe)'

Khwe //óè, //òe, 'lie down'

Nama //gui, 'legen'

Nama //kui, 'lie down'

Cape dialectal *k~qua*, 'jacere; liegen'

/Xam (S1) /kwa, /kwã, 'lie down, be pregnant'

Auen (N1) /kwa, /kwã, 'lie down, be pregnant'

Khwe //gãã, 'lie on (something or somebody)'

Khwe //gãã, 'lie on the head (of thing)'

Khwe //gãã, 'lie on the side)'

### **Lie, tell lies**

Eastern dialectal *eige*, 'to lie, it is false'

/Xam (S1) *k"ě:i*, *k"ěi:ja*, 'to evade, get away, tease, deceive'

/Xam (S1) *k"e:nk"e:n*, 'to evade, get away, tease, deceive'

N/uu *g/uu*, 'to lie, *om te lieg*', 'to tell lies'

Korana //geie, 'lie'

Korana //gaëb, 'leuen'

Korana //ae, 'liegen'

/Xam (S1) //khwaija, //khwai//khwai, 'to deceive, lie'

N/uu /x'eeə, 'to tell (stories), to say, to answer'

/Xam (S1) k'eī:ja, 'to evade, get away, tease, deceive'

Korana t'<sup>2</sup>kamüh, 'to lie', 'liegen' = #kamüh or //kamüh,

Nama #homi, 'lügen'

Kung (N2) #hummi, 'to deceive, say what is not true about a person'

Korana #hoe, 'skinder', 'gossip'

!Xuhn g#a, 'to lie; lieg'

**Light, to be**

Korana süih, 'leicht'

Korana suī, 'leicht'

Nama sùi, 'leicht'

Nogau (N1a) fwi, fui, 'to be light, not heavy, easy, calm'

Kung (N2) fwi, fui, 'to be light, not heavy, easy, calm'

!Xuhn cui, 'light [weight]'

Khwe cùvùú, 'be light'

**Lightning**

Eastern dialectal tabae, parae, tadi, 'der Blitz'

Korana tabāp, 'lightning'

Korana tabab, 'weerlig'

Korana t'<sup>2</sup>tabaa, 'lightning'

Korana dawa(b) 'weerlig'

Griqua *tabacocou*, ‘lightening’

Hie (C1) *\_tabe*, ‘lightning’

Kung (N2) *tha:λa, !!ga:\λi*, ‘lightning’; synonym *!!ga*, ‘rain’

/Auni (S4) *\_tabe, taba, tjaba*, ‘to lighten’

Ukualuthu dialectal (N2c) *\_daʔ bba\_daʔ bba, dabara, dhebe*, ‘lightning’

Auen (N1) *tara, taʔ ra*, ‘to shine, lighten’

/Nu//en (S6) *\_maʔ ra*, ‘to lighten, flash’

!Xuhn *thaλa*, ‘lightning, *weerlig*’

!Xuhn *g//a thaλa*, ‘to lighten, *blits*’, ‘lightning, *weerlig*’

### **Lion**

Cape dialectal *gamma*, ‘leo’

Cape dialectal *tgamma*, ‘leevv, leo’

Eastern dialectal *KáMA*, ‘lejon’ = *!kamma*

Eastern dialectal *t’gamma*, ‘lion’

Eastern dialectal *x-amma*, ‘*der Löwe*’ = *≠kamma* or *//kamma*

Nama *xami*, ‘*Löwe*’

Khwe *xàm*, ‘lion’

Khwe *//àm*, ‘lioness having cubs’

Korana *gamma*, ‘lion’

Korana *chamma*, ‘lion, *Löwe*’

‘Hottentot’ *gamman*, ‘lion’

/Xam (S1) *//kwaʔ mma, //khatʔ*, ‘lion’

/Nusan (S6a) *//khā:ʔ, //kã*, ‘lion’

/Xam (S1) *!kãan, !kaaŋ*, ‘lion’

Naron (C2) *!kxam, xam*, 'lion'

Nama *xam(m)(i)*, 'lion'

Korana *xam(m)(i)*, 'lion'

**Lip**

Eastern dialectal *t'gamma*, 'lip'

Korana *kx'am-kx'aib*, 'Lippen'

Nama *àm-//goub*, 'Lippe'

Nama *am-≠ami*, 'lip'

Mohissa (C1b) *'kam, kamwa tfwa*, 'lips'

**Little finger, Pinkie**

Cape dialectal *gauché, 'auriculaire'*, 'little finger'

Korana */gātse-/kunis*, 'pinkie'

Nama *≠karige-≠eneb*, 'small finger'

Kung (N2) *//gau ts'e, !!gau*, 'small finger'

!Xuhn *g//au dema*, 'little finger, pinkie'

**Liver**

Cape dialectal *qu'ein, 'de leuer, ieciur'*

Cape dialectal *que-in, 'de lever'*

Cape dialectal *qu'ëin, 'jecur, de lever'*

Naron (C2) *ts'ai*, 'liver'

Korana *kx'aib*, 'Leber'

Korana *xâib*, 'lewer'

Korana *kx'ãip*, 'liver'

Khwe *kx'āĩ*, 'liver'

Korana *'āĩs*, 'liver'

Kua *k'āĩ*, 'liver'

G/wi *k'āĩ*, 'liver'

Cua *c'ĩ*, 'liver'

Tsua *c'ĩ*, 'liver'

!Xuhn *cing, tcing*, 'liver'

Nama *āib, āis*, '*Leber*'

Naron (C2) //k"ēisa, 'liver'

//ŋ !ke (S2) //nain, 'liver'

N/uu *n//an*, 'liver'

### **Lizard**

Nama *hagou*, '*Agama*'

Khwe //qóánu, 'lizard sp. (undetermined)'

Kung (N2) //ha, 'lizard, small'

/Auni (S4) *̄sigu:*, 'agama lizard, *kogelmann*'

Korana *!aro-khob*, '*koggelmander*'

Nama *!arob*, '*Eidechse, Blaukopf*'

Korana *!karo xop*, 'lizard'

!Xuhn *n!oh̄ɽu*, '*koggelmander, black agama*'

!Xuhn *gaqna*, 'lizard'

Nama *≠nowos*, '*Schwarze Eidechse*'

Nama /*gawerab*, '*Eidechse*'

**Love**

Cape-Saldanha *arca*, 'to love'

Nama /*nam*, 'to love, *bemin*'; '*lieben (ethisch)*'

Khwe *n/ám*, 'love'

Khwe *n/ám-ku*, 'love each other'

Khwe /*gi-kà*, 'make love with (standing)'

Nama //ã, 'love, *liefhê*', '*lieben (erotisch)*'

N/uu //ã, '*om lief te hê*, to love'

!Xuhn //aoh, 'love, *liefde*; love, *liefhê*'

**Lung**

Cape dialectal *chanon*, '*de long; pulmo*'

Cape dialectal *chãnon*, '*pulmo; de long*'

Nama *xans*, *xan-//ob*, 'Asthma', 'lung-sickness'

Nama *so-//ob*, '*Lunge-seuche*'

Nama *sob*, *soeb*, '*Lunge*'

Korana *soaiib*, 'lung'

Korana *soëb*, 'long'

/Xam (S1) *s'o:*, 'lung'

Kung (N2) *soã*, 'lung'

!O !kuŋ (N3) *sōi*, 'lung'

Hie (C1) *foo*, 'lungs'

Khwe *còó*, *lung*', *còó-mà*, 'lungs'

N/uu //õqno, 'lung'

//Khau (S2b) //’o<sup>h</sup>ηu, ‘lung’

!Xuhn *tcoahn*, ‘lung’

**-M-**

**Man**

Cape dialectal *zohee*, ‘*een man; vir*’

Cape dialectal *k’ quique*, ‘*den man; vir*’

Cape dialectal *quoique*, ‘*een man; vir*’

Cape dialectal *q̃uoique*, ‘*vir; een man*’

Eastern dialectal *xkeukoe*, ‘*der Mensch, mit einem leisen Schnalzer*’ = /keukoe

Nama /*kui khoip*, ‘one man’

Nama *khoi-khoib, khoekhoeb*, ‘’n *‘Hottentot-man’ of ‘mens-(se)-mansmens’*’

Korana *khoekhoeb*, ‘’n *‘Hottentot-man’ of ‘mens-(se)-mansmens’*’

Khwe *kx’a-khòè*, ‘man’

Hie (C1) *tʃowe*, ‘man’

Hie (C1) //kxowe, ‘male’

/Xam (S1) !kwi, ‘man’

/Xam (S1) !gwai, ‘male’

Eastern dialectal *quaina*, ‘man’

Griqua *quaip*, ‘man’

Nama *aub*, ‘Mann’

Nama *aup*, ‘man’

Nama *aob* ‘Mann’

Korana *aub*, ‘man’

Naron (C2) *au*, *aba*, ‘man’

Naron (C2) *auma*, ‘man, old man, father’

Ukualuthu dialectal (N2c) *au*, *aba*, ‘man’

Ukualuthu dialectal (N2c) *auma*, ‘man, old man, father’

Naron (C2) *k”au*, /*k”au*, ‘man, male’

Auen (N1) *k”au*, ‘man, male’

Kung (N2) *k”au*, ‘man, male’

!O !kuŋ (N3) *k”au*, ‘man, male’

Hadza (C3) *k”au*, ‘man, male’

Seroa (S2d) *āw*, *awa*, *awa:*, *aba*, ‘father’ (Bleek 1956:12).

### **Many**

Cape dialectal *cōassa*, ‘viel’

Eastern dialectal *xkwaesa*, ‘viel’

/Xam (S1) /*k”wai*, /*k”wai:*, /*k”waija*, ‘many, abundant’

/Xam /*k:oa:ja*, /*k”oa:i*, ‘many’

Korana /*xoasa*, ‘viel’

Griqua /*oa-sa*, ‘many’

Nama /*oasa*, ‘many’

### **Meat**

Cape dialectal *kzōô*, ‘vleesch’; *k~oo*, ‘Fleisch’

Eastern dialectal *Kop* = /*kop*; *Xo*, ‘Fleisch’; *t’go*, ‘flesh’

‘Chinese Hottentot’ *t’goâ*, ‘flesh’

/Xam (S1) /*ko:* *z̥o*, ‘stamped meat, like fine meal’



Naron (C2) *kxoho, k"oxo*, 'meat'

Khwe *kx'ó-xò*, 'meat'

Korana *kx'ōb*, 'flesh'

Korana *xōb*, 'vleis'

N/uu *Ooe*, 'meat'

/Auni (S4) *Opwe*, 'meat'

Khakhea (S5) *Opwe*, 'meat'

Nu//en (S6) *Opwe*, 'meat'

### **Meerkat**

Nama *chara*, 'meerkat, *suricata suricatta*'

Korana *xaras*, 'kleine Mierkatze (*wird zahm gemacht*)'

Korana *xarab*, 'grys meerkat'

/Xam (S1) *xara, xa:ra*, 'mierkat, *suricata zenick*'

//Khou (S2b) *xara, xa:ra*, 'mierkat, *suricata zenick*'

Auen (N1) *xara, xa:ra*, 'mierkat, *suricata zenick*'

Naron (C2) *xarab, xara:gi*, 'slender-tailed mierkat'

### **Milk**

Saldanha dialectal *bie*, 'melck'

Eastern dialectal *bi*, 'milk', 'Milch'

Korana *biib*, 'Milch'; *biip*, 'milk'

Hie (C1) *bi*, 'milk'

Khwe *pî*, 'milk'

Naron (C2) *bi:sa*, 'milk'

/Xam (S1) //ki, 'milk'

//Xegwi (S3) !xi, 'milk'

Khakhea (S5) !xe:, !xi, 'milk'

N/uu //haike, 'milk'

### **Mist**

Eastern dialectal *kōm*, 'air'

Nama //gūb, 'blauer Dunst'

/Xam (S1) /khum, /kum:, 'mist'

/Xam (S1) !khʔo, !kāu:, !koʔ rowa, 'a blue mist, haze'

### **Mole**

Cape dialectal *habá*, 'een mol; talpa'

Cape dialectal *habba*, 'een mol'

Cape dialectal *habba*, 'talpa; een mol'

Nama *hawab*, 'mole'

/Xam (S1) //khũ, //kũ, 'mole'

Khwe *cúgu*, 'mole'

Kung (N2) //hũ, //nhũ, 'mole'

N/uu *ts'ikhum*, 'mole'

!Xuhn //uun, 'mole'

### **Monkey**

Cape dialectal *riqué, riche ou riqué*, 'singe'

Cape dialectal *haricam*, 'singe'

Nama //uriki-p, 'ape'

Nama //orege-*b*, ‘Affē’

Korana //oregeb, ‘der Affē’

Korana //oreb, ‘aap’

Korana //xorib, ‘kleiner Affē’

//Khau (S2b) //k<sup>h</sup>o:re, ‘small monkey’

/Xam (S1) //k”warre, ‘baboon or monkey with a long tail’

/Nu//en (S6) /gori, ‘baboon’

/Xam (S1) \_/gora, ‘baboon’

Naron (C2) /goren, ‘baboon’

Auen (N1) \_//gora, ‘baboon’

### **Moon**

Cape-Saldanha dialectal *gam*, ‘lune’

Cape dialectal *tga*, *k’châ*, ‘maan, luna’

Eastern dialectal ‘*xka*, *t’ka*, ‘der Mond’

Eastern dialectal *kā*, ‘moon’ = /ka

Korana *t’khaam*, ‘moon’ = /khaam

Korana *kaam*, ‘moon’ = /kaam

Korana *ky’kaan* as ‘full-moon’ = /ky-#kaam

Nama *gei-//khā-b*, ‘vol maan, groot maan’

Korana *!hae //kx’a-s*, ‘grosser Mond’

Korana //kxās, ‘moon’

Ukualuthu dialectal (N2c) *x’ab*, ‘moon’

/Nu//en (S6) *!xa:n*, ‘moon’

**Mother**

Nama *is*, ‘mother’

Bergdama *eis*, ‘Mutter’

Nama *éis*, ‘Mutter’

Nama *īs*, ‘die Mutter’

Korana *es*, ‘moeder’

Korana *’ēs*, ‘Mutter’

Ki /hazi (S4b) *’i, i, ai*, ‘mother’

N/uu *xainki*, ‘mother’

//I !ke (S2) *xaŋkie, xeinki, xe:ŋki* and *xiennaŋki*, ‘mother’

**Mountain**

Eastern dialectal  $\Delta$ -*oumma*, ‘mountain; *berg*’ = *!oumma*

Korana *t’koema*, ‘hill’

Nama *’humi*, ‘hill’

Kung (N2) *!koma*, ‘mountainous country’

/Xam (S1) *!hum, !gum*, ‘mountain’

Auen (N1) *!num*, ‘mountain’

Kung (N2) *!num*, ‘mountain’

!Xuhn *≠um*, ‘mountain’

Cape-Saldanha *cou*, ‘*montagne*’

Cape dialectal *k~hu*, ‘*mons; een berg*’

Eastern dialectal *ku*, ‘*ein Hügel*’

/Xam (S1) *!kou, !kau*, ‘stone, mountain, rock’

/Xam (S1) /xau:, 'hill, possibly mountain'

/Xam (S1) //xau:, 'hill, Brinkkop'

N/uu !ao, 'mountain, stone, rock, hill'

Caledon dialectal *khoe*, 'een hoogen bergh'

Cape dialectal *k'koe*, 'een berg; mons'

Griqua *koe*, 'berg'

Korana *t'<sup>2</sup>eub*, 'Berg' = //eub

Nogau (N1a) //khawi, 'mountain'

Nama //gareb, 'Bergrand'

Korana !kares, 'mountain'

### **Mouth**

Cape dialectal *kamqua*, 'mont; os'

Cape dialectal *quamqua*, 'de mont; os'

Cape dialectal *khoamqua*, 'de mond'; *k<sup>~</sup>oamqua*, 'os; de mond'

Eastern dialectal *KaM*, 'mun' = !kam

Eastern dialectal *Xgamm*, 'der Mund' = !gamm

Korana *t'<sup>2</sup>kchamma*, 'Mund'

Nama *ams*, 'Mund'

Cape-Saldanha dialect *h hama*, 'bouche'

Korana *kx'amma*, 'mouth'

Korana *kx'ams*, 'mouth'

Khwe *kx'ám*, 'mouth'

Griqua *kx'ammi*, 'Mund'

Hie (C1) /kxam, /kham, ≠kam, 'mouth'

Naron (C2) *k'am, k'amfa, #kam, /kxam, kamoo*, 'mouth'

Khakhea (S5) *žam*, 'mouth'

**Mud**

Eastern dialectal *doe*, 'mud'

Nama *#goas*, 'Lehm'

/Xam (S1) *!nõe*, 'mud'

Nama *tuais*, 'mud'

/Xam (S1) *#gwāi, #gwei*, 'clay'

Eastern dialectal *goa*, 'mud'

/Xam (S1) *#gwa*, 'clay'

/Xam (S1) *#k'wa'ra*, 'mud, black mud'

Nama *#goab*, 'angefeuchteter Lehm, Mörtel, Mauer'

Korana *#koab*, 'clay'

Korana *#oas*, 'Lehm'

/Xam (S1) *!nō, !nõe*, 'mud'

/Xam (S1) *!nō!nõe*, 'to be made muddy'

Nama *nu*, 'mud'; Nugoais, 'Modderfontein'

**My**

Cape dialectal *te*, 'mijn, mijne'; *ti*, 'mein'

Naron (C2) *ti, tira*, 'I, my'

Nama *ti (canis)*, 'mein (Buch)'

Korana 'tii (guman)', 'mein (Ochse)'

Hie (C1) *tfi, tfira*, 'I, me, my'

-N-

**Nail**

Cape dialectal *clo*, ‘*de nagelen, ungues*’

Cape dialectal *kloy*, ‘*de nagelen, of klaauwen*’

Eastern dialectal *t’koloqua*, ‘nails’

Korana *t<sup>22</sup>koroköa*, ‘Nagel’ = //koroköa

Nama //korop, ‘finger or toe-nail’

Nama //goros, ‘*der Nagel (an Fingeren und Zehen)*’

Korana //korob, ‘nael’

Korana //gorob, ‘nael (*van vinger en toon*)’

Korana //orob, ‘nael’

/Xam (S1) //kuru, ‘nail’, plural //ku//kutən

//ŋ !ke (S2) //kuri, ‘nail’, plural //kuroke

//Xegwi (S3) *kola*, ‘nail’

/Auni (S4) *kora*, ‘nail’

Auen (N1) //kuru, ‘nail’

Kung (N2) //kuru, ‘nail’

/Xam (S1) //kuru, ‘nail’

!O !kuŋ (N3) //kulu, //kuru, ‘nail’

Naron (C2) //k’oro, ‘nail’

N/uu //qorosi, ‘claw, nail’

**Name**

Cape dialectal *ouna*, *k'ouna*, *konna*, 'naam, den name'

Korana *unna*, *ons*, 'name'

Korana *onee*, 'name'

'Hottentot' *ons*, 'name'

Khakhea (S5) /*k'aũ*, /*k'ãũ*, /*k"ãũ*, 'name'

**Narrow**

Korana *au*, 'narrow'

Nama ≠ *ō*, 'eng'

Korana ≠ *ō*, 'narrow'

Khwe ≠ 'ó, 'to be narrow'

Korana *u*, 'narrow'

N/uu ≠ 'ooa, 'be narrow'

**Navel**

Cape-Saldanha *naib*, 'nombriľ'

Nama /*nais*, 'der Nabel'

Korana /*neib*, 'navel'

//ǃ !ke (S2) !*neiŋ*, 'navel'

/Xam (S1) ǃ*hãĩ*, !*hái*: *é n*, !*hãĩ*: *é n*, !*aé i*, 'navel'

//ǃ !ke (S2) !*neiŋ*, 'navel'

**Neck**

Cape-Saldanha *domma*, 'col'

Cape dialectal *domma*, 'strot; jugulum'



Cape dialectal *domma*, ‘*de strot*’, ‘*jugulum; de keel of strot*’

Nama *domi*, ‘*Kehle*’

Korana *domma*, ‘*die Kehle*’

/Xam (S1) *\_dom, doʒm*, ‘throat, neck’

/Nu//en (S6) *dum, dumba*, ‘neck, thoat, hole, river’

Hie (C1) *dhom, dom, doʒm*, ‘neck’ [Na. *domi* throat]’

//Ń !ke (S2) *!ku*, ‘neck’

//Kxau (S2b) *ʒũ*, ‘neck’

/Auni (S4) *ʒkoĩ*, ‘neck’

/Nu//en (S6) *ʒkũ, !k”ym*, ‘neck’

Cape dialectal *qu’aö*, ‘*de hals; collum*’

Cape dialectal *quao*, ‘*de hals*’

Cape dialectal *q̃vaö*, ‘*collum; de hals*’

Korana *!kxʒaub*, ‘neck’

Korana *!aub*, ‘neck’

Korana *!ʒaob*, ‘neck’

Korana *t’<sup>1</sup>aub*, ‘*Hals*’, = /aob

Nama *!aub, !aus*, ‘*der Nacken*’

/Xam (S1) *!khou*, ‘neck’

Naron (C2) *!kaufa*, ‘neck’

Kung (N2) *//kãũ*, ‘neck’

Naron (C2) */kũ*, ‘nape of neck’

N/uu *ʒquu*, ‘neck’

!Xuhn *//ang*, ‘neck, nek’; *//ang !’u*, ‘neck, hals’

**Necklace see Beads**

Eastern dialectal *KRAKWA*, 'glaskora'

/Xam (S1) *ka:ra* [/Xam (S1) *!garo* 'glass'], *kwa*

Naron (C2) /*kwa*, 'necklace'

!Xuhn *!hui*, 'bead'

Khwe /*qãã*, 'bead(s)'

Cape dialectal *ey*, '*corrallia ex vitro*'

/Xam (S1) /*ei*, 'beads'

Korana *t'<sup>1</sup>kaikoa*, '*Korallen*', [/kaikoa],

≠Khomani (S2a) /*kx'ain*, *̄/kx'ēīsi*, 'beads'

N/uu /*x'ãinsi*, pl. /*x'ãi*, 'necklace'

Korana *t'<sup>1</sup>kaikoa*, '*Korallen*', *koa*, 'necklace'

Naron (C2) /*kwa*, 'necklace'

Cape–Saldanha *carabac*, '*colliet*' (necklace)

/Xam (S1) *ka:ra*, 'beads'

/Auni (S4) *!kāro*, 'tassel of beads'

**Night**

Korana *t'<sup>2</sup>kaib*, 'night' = ≠*kaib*

Korana *!cheib*, 'night'

Korana *!kaeb*, '*donkerte, nag*'

Korana *!xaib*, '*nag*'

Nama *!kae, !kai*, '*dunkeln, dunkel werden*'

Auen (N1) *\_/gu:*, //*gai*, 'night'

Auen (N1) *\_/gu:̄ka*, //*gaīka*, 'at night'

N/uu *g//aa*, ‘dark, night’

//Ku //e (S2c) //gaa, ‘*nacht*’

/Xam (S1) //ga:, //ka:, //’aa, ‘night, darkness’

!Xuhn *g/u*, ‘night’

Khwe *thùú*, ‘night’

Hie (C1) *kxaie*, ‘night’

**No**

Cape-Saldanha *nen*, ‘*non*’

Nama *heei*, *hē-ē*, ‘no’

Nama *hēē*, ‘*nein*’

Eastern dialectal *aa*, ‘no’

Khwe *á á!*, *á à!*, *ã ã!*, ‘no!’

Eastern dialectal *ahang*, ‘*nein*’

Korana *aa*, *haa*, ‘*nein*’

Korana *hanhan*, ‘no’

!O !kuŋ (N3) *\_āa*, ‘no’

!Xuhn *an’an*, ‘no’

Hie (C1) *̄ka:a*, ‘no’

Khakhea (S5) *\_//ka:a*, ‘no’

Auen (N1) *\_ŋ̄ŋ*, ‘no’

Kung (N2) *\_ŋ̄ŋ*, ‘no’

Naron (C2) *\_ŋ̄ŋ*, ‘no’

Khakhea (S5) *\_ŋ̄ŋ*, ‘no’

/Nu //en (S6) *\_ŋ̄ŋ*, ‘no’

Khwe *N η!*, ‘no!’

‘Hottentot’ *hm-m*, ‘no’

**Nose**

Cape dialectal *tweam*, ‘nose’ = *(t)ui*

Nama ≠*guis*, ‘Nase’

Nama ≠*gui(s)*, ‘Nase’

Nama *tueip*, ‘nose’ [‘Gnu *tueip* or Black Nose’] = ≠*nu* ≠*guib*

Korana ≠*guib*, ‘neus’

Korana ≠*kuyb*, ‘nose’

Korana ≠*guis*, ‘nose’

Khwe ≠*úi*, ‘nose’

Hie (C1) *tfui*, *tfũ*, *ˀtfũ*, *tfwi*, ‘nose’

Sehura (C1a) *tsui*, *ts’ũ*, ‘nose’

Naron (C2) ≠*k’wi:sa*, ‘nose’

Ukuambi dialectal (N2b) /*kuiba*, ‘nose’

N/uu *n/ukyu*, ‘nose’

Eastern dialectal *xk’eu*, ‘die Nase’

Korana *t’<sup>1</sup>geub*, ‘the nose’ = /*geub*

Cape dialectal *quoy*, ‘de neus’

Cape dialectal *q̃uoy*, ‘nasus; de neus’

Eastern dialectal *t’koi*, ‘nose’

Eastern dialectal *KoYP*, ‘nose’ = /*koyp*

/Xam (S1) /*neutu*, /*nutu*, /*noetu*, ‘nose’

/Auni (S4) /*noi s*, /*nõ*, /*no*, ‘nose’

Khatia (S4a) /*noi s*, /*nõ*, /*no*, ‘nose’

**Not**

Cape dialectal *tite*; *t' aats*, *tâats*, *t' aats*, 'niet'

Nama *dama*, *tama*, 'nicht'

Naron (C2) *tite*, *titi*, 'not, cannot, used after pron.'

/Auni (S4) *taasi*, *taani*, *ta*, 'not to have, to lack'

/Xam (S1)  $\bar{t}ã$ , *ta*, *tia*, *kia*, *tam*, *taani*, 'not to do, to be unable to do'

Auen (N1) *tam*, *ta*, 'not to know, used as not'

Kung (N2) *tam*, *ta*, 'not to know, used as not'

Naron (C2) *tama*, *ta*  $\bar{t}am$ , 'not'

N/uu //u, //am, 'not'

/Auni (S4) *tiá*, *ta*, *ka*, 'not, will not'

'Hottentot' *ta*, 'not'

Korana *thaa*, 'not'

Nama *tama*, 'nicht'

Korana *tama*, 'nicht'

Nama *dama*, 'nicht'

Naron (C2) *tama*, 'not'

N/uu //am, 'not'

Cape dialectal *kouy*, 'niet'

Nama *xu*, 'ablassen (von Jemand oder Etwas)'

Korana *chu* 'not (for commanding)'

!Xuhn /oe, 'not'

Kung (N2) /kui, 'not'

## -O-

**Old**

Cape dialectal *dida(atze)*, 'senescere; oud worden'

Korana *geida, keida, gaida*, 'old'

Nama *geira*, 'alt'

Hie (C1) *kaide*, 'old'

**One**

Cape dialectal *coui*, 'un'; *cui*, 'unus'; *istwee*, 'one'

Cape dialectal *k' qui*, 'een; unum'; *kchui*, 'een'; *kôui*, '1'; *q'kui*, 'unum; een'

Eastern dialectal *KoISE*, '1' = /oise

Eastern dialectal *xeu*, 'eins' = /oi

Eastern dialectal *qūae*, 'one'; *ui*, 'one'

Korana *t'<sup>1</sup>ko-ei*, 'one'; *t'<sup>1</sup>ko-ey*, 'eins' = /ko-ei, /ko-ey; *'kuii*, 'one'

Nama *cui*, 'eins'; *'kooē*, 'one'

Nama /*ui*, 'one'

Khwe /*úí*, 'one'

Griqua *cui*, 'eins'

Auen (N1) /*kwi*, 'one'

!O !kuŋ (N3) /*kwi*, 'one'

Naron (C2) /*kwi*, 'one'

Naron (C2) /*kwi*, /*gui*, 'one'

Hukwe (C2b) /*kwi*, /*kwie*, 'one'

/Xam (S1) /*koei*, /*koai*, /*kwai*, 'one', 'alone'

//Ŋ !ke (S2) //kwe:, //zwe, //koe, 'one'

≠Khomani (S2a) //koe, //koe:nso, 'one'

Khakhea (S5) !kwʔe, 'one'

/Nu //en (S6) !kwai, !oé, !oai, 'one'

### **Ostrich**

Cape dialectal *ammy*, 'een vogel struys'

Cape dialectal *ammi*, 'een struysvogel'

Cape-Saldanha *cama*, 'austruche'

Nama /amis, 'ostrich'

Korana /amib, 'ostrich'

Korana t'kammiép, 'ostrich'

Kung (N2) ≠kam, ≠gam, 'ostrich'

Naron (C2) ≠gam, 'ostrich'

Naron (C2) ≠gam≠gam, 'male ostrich'

Naron (C2) ≠gam-de, 'female ostrich'

### **Ox**

Cape dialectal *debitja*, 'juvenci'

Cape dialectal *tibbesas*, 'Ochsen'

Cape dialectal *dwiessa*, 'ossen; boves'

/Xam (S1) *dibi*, 'ox'

variability of *d* and *t*

**-P-*****Pain***

Korana *t'hua*, 'Schmerz'

Korana *thũ*, 'pain'

Khwe *thũũ*, 'pain'

Nama *tsüb*, 'der Schmerz, die Pein, Qual'

Hie (C1) /*ku/ku:wa*, 'to be bowed down with pain'

/Xam (S1) /*ku*;  $\bar{/ku}$ , 'to pain, bow down (with pain), be ill'

Hie (C1) *thoo*, 'mercy, pain, repentance, to be sorry for'

N/uu *Ō'ui'i*, 'be in pain, be sick'

!Xuhn *khui*, 'pain, painful'

***Peace***

Cape dialectal *onchougou*, 'vrede macken; *pacem facere*'

Cape dialectal *oechoegoe*, 'vrede maken'

Cape dialectal *ouchougou*, 'pacem inire; vrede maken'

Hie (C1) /*kau kakho*, //*gau kakho*, 'to make peace'

/Auni (S4) /*koko*, 'to make peace'

/Xam (S1)  $\neq$ *gou*,  $\neq$ *gau*, 'be at peace', 'to be silent, quiet, at peace'

/Xam (S1)  $\neq$ *gouwa*, 'peace'

!Xuhn //*aoh*, 'peace'

Cape dialectal 'samsam (of â)', 'vreede maeken; *pacem facere*'

Nama *tsam*, 'weich sein'

Nama *tsám*, 'weich, zart'



Cape dialectal *á*, ‘*vreede maeken; pacem facere*’

Nama //ã, ‘*lieben (phys. Liebe)*’

### **People**

‘Hottentot’ *eyqua*, ‘*volcq*’

Nama //ais, ‘*das Volk*’

Korana //’eis, ‘clan, tribe’

//Ŋ !ke (S2) ≠*ei*, ‘people, person’, synonyms ≠’*e*, ≠*egen* and !*k’e*

Seroa (S2d) ≠*ei*, ‘people, men’, synonym ≠’*e*.

//Khau ≠’*e*, !*k’e*, ‘people’

/Xam (S1) !*kei*, ‘people, unusual form of !*ke*’

/Xam (S1) !*k’e*, ‘people, men’

Kung (N2) ≠*kwāi*, ‘people’

### **Pig**

Cape dialectal *haghgou*, ‘*Holland varkens; porci hollandici*’

Cape dialectal *hacquou*, ‘*een varken; porcus*’

Cape dialectal *hakoe*, ‘*een verken*’

Cape dialectal *hak̄ou*, ‘*porcus; een zwyn*’

Eastern dialectal *hango*, ‘hog’

Nama *hagub*, ‘*Schwein*’

/Xam (S1) *hagu*, ‘pig’

Kung (N2) /*karu*, ‘pig’

!Xuhn *guλu*, ‘pig’

**Pipe**

Cape-Saldanha *pesché*, ‘pipe’

!O !kuŋ (N3) *pefi*, ‘pipe’

Eastern dialectal *KOP*, ‘*tobakspipa*’, ‘tobacco pipe’

Korana *!xob*, ‘pipe’

Nama *!khōs*, ‘*Pfeife (Tabakspfeife)*’

Nogau (N1a) *!kho*, *!xo*, *!koa*, ‘pipe’

!Xuhn *!xoh*, ‘pipe’

N/uu *!xoosi*, ‘smoking pipe’

**Plain**

Cape dialectal *k’kää*, ‘*een grote vlakte*’

Nama *≠kap*, ‘plain’

Nama *≠gāb*, ‘*die Fläche (langrunde)*’

Naron (C2) *≠ka:*, ‘plain, flat land’

Naron (C2) *≠ha*, ‘field, plain’

!Xuhn */a*, ‘plain’

Eastern dialectal *xau*, ‘*Eine Fläche*’

Nama *≠hab*, //hawa, ‘flat’

Korana *≠haba*, ‘plat wees’

Naron (C2) */ka:ba*, */ka:m*, ‘flat land, plain’

**Pleasant, nice**

Eastern dialectal *KaNǃl*, ‘*laecker*’ = */kanji*

//ǃ !ke (S2) *kiai*, *kiaʒi*, ‘to be good, sweet, nice’

Khwe *kyāi*, ‘pleasant’

//ŋ !ke (S2) k<sup>h</sup>ia:i, 'to be sweet'

Nama ≠koni, 'Süssigkeit, Süsse'

Korana !chan, 'sweet'

Korana ≠xon, 'süss'

/Auni (S4) ≠kaĩ, 'beautiful, pleasant'

//ŋ !ke (S2) kiai, kia<sup>h</sup>i, 'to be good, sweet, nice'

//ŋ !ke (S2) k<sup>h</sup>ia:i, 'to be sweet'

N/uu jhaa'i, 'om lekker te wees, om heerlik te wees, be delicious'

!Xuhn ka djaλa, 'pleasant'

//ŋ !ke (S2) t'jaŋ, 'sweet'

Kung (N2) <sup>h</sup>taŋ, 'sweet'

Auen (N1) tōĩ, 'sweet, pleasant'

Khoikhoi ≠koni, 'süsse'

N/uu /qo, 'be sweet'

### **Please**

Eastern dialectal KuMSE A, HuNKOP, 'om ni behagar' = /kumse a, /hunkop

Naron (C2) /xumte, 'to please', 'please (to beg)'

Naron (C2) /xum te, 'if you please'

Nama go, sigo, tsigo, 'gefälligst'

!Xuhn singa mi ke kwa, 'please; asseblief'

### **Poison**

'Hottentot' <sup>h</sup>keip, 'boom of bosch waaruit de Bosjesmans het gift bereiden'

Auen (N1) *\_kai*, 'poison'

Kung (N2) *gāi, kāi*, 'poison caterpillar', // *kai*, 'poison'

Naron (C2) *!gaisi*, 'poison worms'

***Pole, tree***

Cape dialectal *hiba*, 'pole'

Naron (C2) *hiba*, 'tall tree'

***Poor***

Korana *t''gühi*, 'arm'

Korana *≠guhi*, // *guhi*, 'arm'

Nama *!goësa*, 'arm, arm sein'

/Xam (S1) *!kauï, !kwe*, 'poor'

'Hottentot' *!goësa*, 'poor'

'Hottentot' *!ga*, 'poor'

Nama *!goetsi*, '*bejammernswert*', i.e. 'pitiful'

Nama */gâsa, /gâtsi*, 'arm (allg.)'

Nama // *gâ, /gâ gei*, 'arm werden'

Nama *xüö*, 'arm (an Besitz)'

/Xam (S1) *k"ö:ë, we*, 'pity'

/Xam (S1) *we:tɔn*, 'to pity'

Auen (N1) */gã:*, 'poor'

Naron (C2) */kãna*, 'poor'

Hie (C1) *kaa*, 'poor'

**Porcupine**

Cape dialectal *ghoukou*, ‘yservarkens’

Cape dialectal *ghoekoe*, ‘een egel of yzer verken’

Khwe *ngoε*, ‘porcupine’

Cape dialectal *ghouk~ou*, ‘hydrix; een egel’

/Xam (S1) //gauxo, //gau:go, //gauxu, ‘porcupine’

/Xam (S1) //gan, ‘porcupine’

N/uu /qhooke, ‘porcupine’

Nogau (N1a) //gan, ‘porcupine’

Eastern dialectal *V-nou ap*, ‘porcupine; yzervarke’ = ≠*nouab*

Nama *!noab*, ‘Stachelschwein’

Korana *!noãs*, ‘porcupine’

Korana *!nōas*, ‘ystervark’

Hei //kum (N2a) *!noab*, *!noe*, ‘porcupine’

Naron (C2) *!noe*, ‘porcupine’

Kung (N1) *!noi*, *!noe*, ‘porcupine’

Kua *ηoe*, ‘porcupine’

Cua *gue*, *n!oe*, ‘porcupine’

Tsua *gue*, *n!oe*, ‘porcupine’

**Pot**

Cape dialectal *sou*, ‘olla’

Cape dialectal *soú*, ‘potten; ollae’

Cape dialectal *sóu*, ‘een kom, of kop; olla’

Cape dialectal *soü*, ‘olla; een aarde pot’

Eastern dialectal *SU*, 'gryta, trumma', 'pot'

Eastern dialectal *su*, 'der Topf'

Korana *sūb*, 'pot'

Nama *sus*, 'pot, pan or any cooking utensil'

Nama *sus*, 'Topf'

Nama *sūs*, 'der Topf'

Griqua *sus*, 'pot'

Naron (C2) *fu*, 'pot'

Naron (C2) *fuba*, 'clay pot, tall pot'

Naron (C2) *fufa*, 'iron pot, round pot'

//Xegwi (S3) *tfu*, *tfwā*, 'pot'

Cape-Table Bay dialectal *sun*, 'egge-shells'

**Powerful**

Cape dialectal *k? dya*, 'Almagtigen' = /gya

Nama /*gei*, 'stark'

/Xam (S1) /*giya*, /*gi:ja*, 'to be strong'

/Xam (S1) //wĩ:ja, 'very much, strongly, plentifully'

Cape dialectal *diaha*, 'de kragt'

Nama *dib*, 'die That, das Werk'

Khwe ≠'ĩ, 'power'

Nama *di*, 'thun, machen'

'Hottentot' *keip*, 'power'

Korana *tghyp*, 'power'

Korana /*keip*, 'power'

Nama /geib, 'Kraft'

'Hottentot' /kei, 'strong'

Nama \_/gei, 'strong'

**Pretty, beautiful**

Cape-Saldanha dialectal soa, 'beau'

Nama soë, 'in etwas verliebt werden'

Korana sōi, 'merry'

Korana sōem, 'delight'

Naron (C2) toe, toë, tōe, 'pretty, beautiful'

Naron (C2) /u:i, 'pretty'

Nama /hū, 'schön aussehen'

N/uu ≠huu, 'be good, be beautiful'

**Puffadder**

Eastern dialectal Δ-kaip, 'venemous serpent' = !kaip

Nama !gëib, 'Puffotter'

Nama !keis, 'puff-adder'

Korana !gais, 'puffadder'

Korana /kheip, 'puffadder'

Naron (C2) !gai, 'puffadder'

Hie (C1) gaii, 'puffadder'

Kung (N2) !!gai, 'puffadder'

!Xuhn g//ae'e, 'puffadder'

Khwe //xεε, 'puff-adder'

**Pull**

Cape-Saldanha *haib*, ‘tirer à soy’, ‘trek na jou toe’

/Xam (S1) //hai, //ha, ‘to draw, wrench, pull’

!Xuhn //hai !xah, ‘pull out [with force]’

Khwe //hèi, ‘pull’

N/uu g≠ae, ‘to pull’

Cape-Saldanha *sahou*, ‘tirer un fardeau’

Hie (C1) \_tswa, tswakho, ‘to pull out, be dug out’

Kung (N2) sua:ɛ, \_swa:ɛ ‘pull out, pluck out’

!O !kuŋ (N3) sua:ɛ, \_swa:ɛ ‘pull out, pluck out’

**Push**

Cape-Saldanha *nam*, ‘pousser’

Nama //nami, ‘Scharmützel’, ‘handgemeen’

Khwe //ám, ‘push away’

/Xam (S1) ≠kã, ‘to push’

Nama ≠ha, ‘stossen (von sich stossen)’

N/uu ≠’haqa, ‘to push’

**-Q-**

**Quail**

Eastern dialectal Δ-kabip, ‘quail, kwartel’ = !kabip

/Xam (S1) !kɛbbi, ‘quail, Coturnus communis’

Nama !gawarib, !nawarib, ‘Wachtel’



**Quickly**

- Eastern dialectal *susa*, ‘quickly’  
 Eastern dialectal *soensi*, ‘speedily’  
 Kung (N2) *sũ*, ‘quick, quickly’  
 Kung (N2) *subuka*, ‘quick, quickly’  
 Korana *sũ*, ‘quickly’

**Quill**

- Cape-Table Bay dialectal *guasaco*, ‘a quill’  
 Nama *xoa*, ‘schreiben’; *xóasa*, ‘schreibbar’  
 Nama *xūb*, ‘ein Ding, eine Sache, Grund, Ursache’  
 /Xam (S1) *!khwa !khwa*, ‘quill’  
 /Xam (S1) *!gāua*, ‘feather on an arrow’  
 Naron (C2) *//ūasa, //ūaba*, ‘feather’  
 N/uu *!aqbasi*, ‘feather’  
 /Xam (S1) */khu, /ku*, ‘quill’

**Quiver**

- Korana *guruhs*, ‘quiver’  
 Nama *!gurús*, ‘die Pfeildose, der Köcher’  
 Nama *!gurub*, ‘Köcher’  
 /Auni (S4) *!guru, !kuru, !koru*, ‘quiver’  
 Kung (N2) *!gu ru, !kuru, !koru*, ‘quiver’  
 Khwe *gùrú*, ‘quiver’  
 Khwe *!úrú*, ‘quiver’  
 !Xuhn *!uhλu*, ‘quiver; *koker, pylkoker*’

**-R-****Rat, mouse**

Eastern dialectal *douroup*, 'rat; rott'

Nama *!hae-durub*, 'die Ratte'

Nama *durub*, 'Maus'

Korana *!arub*, 'rat'

Hie (C1) *thuru, dirib*, 'mouse, rat'

N/uu *ts'uruke*, 'mouse'

Hukwe (C2b) *gā-durub*, 'striped rat', 'ratel'

**Ravine**

Cape dialectal *a' ouvv*, 'kloven; fissurae montum'

Cape dialectal *aoeob*, 'een Berg-klove'

Cape dialectal *a~ouob*, 'Berg-dalen'

Nama //hāb, 'die Schlucht, Kluff'

Nama //hab, 'Kluff'

Nu//en (S6) /kau, 'valley'

Hie (C1) *!kuu*, 'pass, poort'

!Xuhn /'usi, 'ravine'

**Red**

Cape dialectal *kaba*, 'rode'

Grigriqua *Gabá*, "een soort van hazen, die een roode staart en voeten heeft."

Nama /aba, /awa, 'rot'

Korana *kx'awa*, 'red'

Korana *kx'aba*, 'rot und weiss'

'Aba, 'rooije,

Koranna *t'<sup>1</sup>abaa*, 'red' = /*abaa*

//Kxau (S2b) *η/kxaba*, 'red'

N/uu /*x'aba*, 'red'

### **Return**

Eastern dialectal *KaRRA*, 'vaend om, koer tilbaka' = ≠*karra*

Khwe *kyáré*, 'return'

Nama //aru, 'zurückkehren (heimkehren)'

/Auni (S4) \_//aru, \_//anu, //ano, 'to return, go home'

≠Khomani (S2a) //haru, //haṛu, 'to return home'

### **Rhinoceros**

Cape-Saldanha dialectal *naua*, 'rhinoceros'

Nama *nawap*, 'rhinoceros'; *Nawaptana*, *Renosterkop*, 'rhinoceros hillock'

Nama *!nawab*, 'Nashorn', 'rhinoceros'

Hie (C1) *gaba*, 'rhinoceros'

Kung (N2) *naba*, 'white rhinoceros'

Auen (N1) *!nabba*, 'white rhinoceros'

Kung (N2) *!nabba*, 'white rhinoceros'

Naron (C2) ≠*nabba*, 'rhinoceros'

Khwe *ngyaává*, 'white rhinoceros'

### **Rich**

Cape-Caledon dialectal *khoē*, 'rijck', 'rich'

Korana *t'<sup>1</sup>kuhb* [/kuhb], 'reich'

/Xam (S1) /kuh, 'rich'

Nama /khu, 'reich'

Korana *t'<sup>1</sup>kuhb* [/kuhb], 'reich'

Nama !khu-hâ, 'reich (an Besitz)'

Korana !chu, 'rich'

Korana !kub, 'rykdom'

Korana !xu, 'reich'

**River**

Cape dialectal *kamma*, 'riuier of water; fluius vel aqua'

Cape dialectal *kammo*, 'een rivier'

Cape dialectal *k~ammo*, 'fluius; vlietend water'

Hadza (C3) *kamua*, 'river, pond, waterhole'

Cape dialectal *k'ã*, 'een rivier; fluius'

Eastern dialectal *V-aap*, 'river; rivier' = #-aap

Korana *t'<sup>1</sup>kahp*, 'river', 'Fluss' = /kahp

Auen (N1) #-ka; 'riverbed'

/Xam (S1) /ka, 'river'

/Xam (S1) /k"ã, 'riverbed'

/Nu//en (S6) /ã; 'river'

Eastern dialectal *xã*, 'der Fluss'

//I) !ke (S2) /k"ẽ, 'river'

!O !kuŋ (N3) !kai, 'river'

/Auni (S4) ≠*ei*, ‘river’

!Xuhn !*eh*, ‘river’

**Road, path**

Cape dialectal *doudou*, ‘*via*’, ‘road’

Eastern dialectal *dau*, ‘road’

Nama *dau-dau*, ‘show the road’

Nama *dáo-dáo*, ‘*den Weg bereiten, machen*’, ‘to prepare the way, make way’

Khakhea (S5) *dau*, ‘spoor, road, path’

Auen (N1) *dau*, ‘spoor, road, path’

Naron (C2) *dau*, ‘spoor, road, path’

Tsaukwe (C2a) *dau*, ‘spoor, road, path’

Hukwe (C2b) *dau*, ‘spoor, road, path’

/Xam (S1) *dau, dauko*, ‘road, path’

Khwe *dáo*, ‘road’

Korana ‘*tarro* (‘*tarrów*) ‘road’

Korana ≠*arob*, ‘*Pfad, Weg*’

Nama ≠*garob*, ‘*Fusssteig, Pfad*’

//ǃ !*ke* (S2) *tirau*, ‘path’

/Nu//en (S6) !*karri !ka*, ‘road’

/Nu//en (S6) !*xarra*, ‘road’

/Xam (S1) !*kurru*, ‘spoor’

N/uu g//*uruke*, ‘animal path, footpath’

/Auni (S4) \_//*kuru*, ‘path’

‘Hottentot’ *kaip*, ‘spoor’

Korana *≠eib*, ‘spoor’

Korana *≠aib*, ‘voet, spoor’

/Auni (S4) *≠k”ei*, ‘road, path’

**Rock rabbit**

Cape dialectal *k̃ou*, ‘melis; een das’

Cape dialectal *k’ on*, ‘een das; meles seu taxusi’

Cape dialectal *k̃ou*, ‘melis; een das’

≠Khomani (S2a) *!ʔōu*, ‘dassie’

Cape dialectal *k’ on*, ‘een das; meles seu taxusi’

Eastern dialectal *V-ka oump*, ‘a marmot; das’ = *≠kaoump*

Korana *t’<sup>1</sup>kaump*, m(asc.), *t’<sup>1</sup>kaungs* f(em.), ‘Dachs (*Hyrax capensis*)’

Korana */aus*, ‘n dassie’

Korana *!kāūs*, ‘*Hyrax capensis*, dassie’

Nama *!aūb*, ‘klipdassie’

Nama *!ōub*, ‘Dachs (Klippedachs)’

Naron (C2) *!auŋ*, *!ʔōu*, ‘rock dassie’

/Xam (S1) */hun*, ‘rock rabbit, dassie, *Procavia capensis*’

**Root, bulb**

*n’numa*, ‘Bulb mountain’

*’un ’uma*, ‘bulb’; ‘*’Un’uma*, or Bulb mountains’

Nama *!nomab*, ‘Wurzel’

Korana *!numān*, ‘root’

/Xam (S1) /u, 'stem, root'

/Xam (S1) ≠haʒna, 'root, fibrous rootlet'

**Run**

Cape dialectal *koie*, 'loopen of gaan; currere seu ire'

Cape dialectal (*vere*) *coje*, 'loopen'

Cape dialectal *kojé*, 'loopen of gaan'

Nama *!khoë*, 'laufen'

Nama *!khoi*, 'laufen'

Korana *!choe*, 'run'

Korana *!koe*, 'hardloop'

Korana *!xoë*, 'laufen'

Khwe *kwεε*, 'run after somebody'

Khwe *xoé-xu*, 'run away'

Khwe *qóéqoe*, 'run (of lion)'

Khwe ≠óé, 'run in front'

Hie (C1) *hwee*, *hwe*, *hwehwe*, 'to escape, run, fly from'

Naron (C2) *!xwōi*, *!xwe*, 'to fly, run about'

Naron (C2) *!xwe*, *!kxoi*, 'to fly, run away, stretch along'

Naron (C2) ≠xwe, 'to fly, run'

/Xam (S1) *!xoe:ja*, 'to run away from'

/Xam (S1) //kxoi, 'to run away'

/Xam (S1) //kaije, 'to run away'

Khwe *kyāa*, 'run'

Nama *!khui*, 'run'

N/uu *!hui*, 'run away'

Korana *t'<sup>1</sup>ku-üh*, 'to run' = /*ku-üh*

Korana *t'<sup>1</sup>kū-üh*, 'laufen' = /*kū-üh*

Kung (N2) *!ku, !kū*, 'to run, jump, go, come'

/Auni (S4) *!kuu, !ku'u, !kuse, !ku:xe*, 'to run'

/Xam (S1) *!kō*, 'to run against, knock against'

N/uu *≠huu*, 'to jump'

Kua *!qhao*, 'to run after/chase a hunted animal'

G/ui *!qhao*, 'to run after/chase a hunted animal'

Cua *η#a<sup>o</sup>*, /*oo*, 'to run after/chase a hunted animal'

/Xam (S1) *tʔo<sup>i</sup> tʔo<sup>i</sup>, t'o<sup>i</sup>it'o<sup>i</sup>*, 'to run gently'

**-S-**

**Sack**

Eastern dialectal *ou*, 'sack'

Auen (N1) *'aua*, 'sack'

Naron (C2) *\_/kaufa*, 'sack'

**Salt**

Eastern dialectal *x o*, 'Salz'

Nama *≠ob*, 'sout'

/Xam (S1) *≠k'o*, 'salt'

'Hottentot' *kpaki*, 'sout'

'Hottentot' *kxaki*, 'sout'



Kung (N2) *!gaa, !gã*, ‘salt’

Khakhea (S5) *!xa:ne*, ‘salt’

N/uu //x’aaqi, ‘be bitter’

!Xoon *siqahra*, ‘salt’

/Xam (S1) /u:, ‘salt, used also as brackish, bitter’

Eastern dialectal ‘*Tewe, Brak rivier*’

Eastern dialectal ‘*Deepka, Brakke-rivier*’

Hie (C1) *debe, debee*, ‘salt’

Auen (N1) *dibi, debe*, ‘salt’

N/uu *dyebe*, ‘salt’

Khwe *dòvèe*, ‘salt’

Kung (N2) *dove*, ‘salt, salt pan’

### **Scorpion**

Nama *ou*, ‘*schorpioen*’

Griqua *eynte*, ‘*schorpioen*’

Nama *h/us*, ‘scorpion’

Nama */hub*, ‘*Skorpion*’

Korana */hus, /hūs*, ‘*Grosser Skorpion*’

N/uu //qhana, ‘scorpion’

≠Khomani (S2a) //’kana, ‘scorpion’

/Xam (S1) ʔkana, ≠kara, ‘scorpion’

//Ń !ke (S2) ʔkanna, !kanna:ŋ, ‘scorpions’

/Xam (S1) !kãna, ʔkanna, !kaĩã, !kanna:ŋ, ‘scorpion’

**Scrape, scratch**

Cape-Saldanha *coab*, ‘gratter’, ‘scrape, scratch’

Nama *xoa*, ‘schaben, kratzen, graviren’, ‘schreiben’

Nama *xoá*, ‘Fell abschaben’

Korana *xoa*, ‘skraap, krap, skrywe’

Auen (N1) *\_cóa, xwa:, xaitən*, ‘to scrape (skin), strike a light’

Kung (N2) *//xāua*, ‘to scrape off into’

!O !kuŋ (N3) *fwa, fwā, foa, fwi*, ‘to scrape, pare’

!O !kuŋ (N3) *soa*, ‘scratch, draw’

Auen (N1) *\_cóa, xwa:, xaitən*, ‘to scrape (skin), strike a light’

N/uu *//x’āi*, ‘to scratch (e.g. skin)’

!Xuhn *n//auhn*, ‘scrape clean’

Kung (N2) *//xāua*, ‘to scrape off into’

Khwe *//xáo*, ‘scrape off’

**Sea**

Korana *t’koelie kamma*, ‘sea’

Korana *hūri’kamma*, ‘sea-water, or sea’

Hie (C1) *!gulikum*, ‘sea’

**See**

Cape-Saldanha dialectal *hare mon*, ‘que mon oeil voye’

Cape-Saldanha dialectal *harsi (haremon)*, ‘que ie voye’

Nama *mũ*, ‘sehen’

Korana *mũ*, ‘see’

Khwe *mũũ*, ‘see’

Cape dialectal *k’ mon*, ‘sien; videre’

Cape dialectal *kmoe, mu*, ‘zien’

Cape dialectal *k̃mou, k̃mu*, ‘videre; zien’

Nama *mu*, ‘sehen’

Korana *mu*, ‘sehen’

Naron (C2) *mu*, ‘to see’

Hie (C1) *moo*, ‘to see’

Hie (C1) *moo, mo, mu*, ‘appear, see; sight’

Khatia (S4a) *Opwoi, Opwai*, ‘eye; to see’

Auen (N1) *!hã*, ‘to see’

/Nu//en (S6) //ko:re, ‘to look’

N/uu ≠aqe, ‘to look, to watch’

### **Seek**

Cape-Saldanha *heua*, ‘chercher’

Khwe *qéú*, ‘seek’

Nama *oua*, ‘zoekt’

/Xam (S1) //gauë, ‘look for’

!Xuhn *g!aoh*, ‘to seek’

Auen (N1) *k”oa*, ‘to seek food’, synonym *k”aru*

/Xam (S1) ≠koea, ‘to seek springbok kids’

Auen (N1) *k”a:ru, k”atu*, ‘to seek, search, look for’

Kung (N2) *k”a:ru, k”atu*, ‘to seek, search, look for’

Cape-Saldanha *gabi*, 'foüiller'

/Xam (S1) /*xabbe*, /*xabbe*:, 'to hunt, seek'

Sesarwa (S5) //*kāĩ* and its synonym //*kani*, 'look for'

/Nu//en (S6) //*kāĩ*, 'look for'

N/uu //ā*ā*'i, 'to look for'

**Sew**

Eastern dialectal *oM*, 'sy, stoppa' = /*om*

Nama ≠*um*, 'sew'

Nama ≠*om*, 'nähen'

Korana ≠'*um*, ≠'*om*, 'nähen'

/Xam (S1) ≠*um*, ≠*umm*, 'to sew'

Kung (N2) ≠*um*, 'to sew'

/Xam (S1) ≠*Am*, 'to sew'

//ǀ!ke (S2) /*kxama*, 'to sew'

Khakhea (S5) \_//*ame*, 'to sew'

**Shadow, shade**

Korana '*karáap*, *karāp*, 'shadow', = ≠*karaap*

Korana *garrab*, 'Schatten'

Korana *garab*, 'Schatten'

Nama *garab*, 'Kühle'

Nogau (N1a) *kari*, *karise*, 'shade'

Hie (C1) /*karaisi*, 'shadow'

!Xuhn *hana*, 'shadow; *skaduwee*, *koelte*'

**Sheep**

Khakhea (S5) *gu*, 'sheep'

Kung (N2) *gu*, 'sheep'

Naron (C2) *gu*, 'sheep'

Sehura (C1a) *gu*, 'sheep'

Auen (N1) *gu:*, 'sheep'

Kung (N2) *gu:*, 'sheep'

!O !kuŋ (N3) *\_gu:*, 'sheep'

N/uu /*aaxusi*, 'sheep'

**Shine**

Cape-Saldanha dialectal *caeco*, '*luisant*'

Nama ≠*kei*, '*glänzen*'

Nama ≠*kèi*, '*blinken, glänzen, herrlich sein*'

Korana ≠*chei*, 'shine'

Korana ≠*xaĩ*, '*der stechende Glanz der Sonne*'

/Xam (S1) /*kai*, /*kaĩ*, 'to light, shine'

/Xam (S1) /*kei*, /*keĩ*, /*keinja*, 'to shine'

N/uu /*qaa*, 'shiny, to shine'

Khwe //*qáà*, 'shine'

//ŋ !*ke* (S2) !*ke:i*, 'to shine'

Nama /*kōu*, '*strahlen*'

Nama ≠*kèi/kōu*, '*straal, blink, skyn, skitter*'

**Shoe, sole**

Cape-Saldanha dialectal *abocoa*, ‘*soulier*’

Korana *t*<sup>2</sup>*abókōa*, ‘*Schuhe, Sohlen*’; ‘slippers’ = //abókoa

/Auni (S4) //abo, ‘shoe’

Khatia (S4a) //abo, ‘shoe’

Khwe //àvò, ‘shoe’

Naron (C2) //nabbo, !nabo, ‘shoe, sandal’

Korana //habob, ‘*Schuh*’

Nama //hawob, ‘*der Feldschuh*’

Nama //Haboben, //Hawóbis, //Harobis, Chabobe, ‘*Velskoendraers*’

**Shoot**

Cape-Saldanha *hcaho*, ‘*tirer de l’arc*’

Nama //khōu, ‘*schieszen (Pfeil)*’

/Xam (S1) *txau*, ‘to shoot’

Auen (N1) *txau*, ‘to shoot, strike, throw’

Kung (N2) *txau*, ‘to shoot, strike, throw’

Naron (C2) //xāũ, ‘to shoot with an arrow’

Khwe //áó, ‘shoot’

Korana *t*<sup>1</sup>*noaa*, ‘to shoot’ = /noaa

Nama ≠noa, ‘*schieszen (Gewehr)*’

/Auni (S4) ≠no’a, ‘to shoot, hit’

/Auni (S4) ≠noa, //kwa, ‘to shoot’

//ǀ !ke (S2) !nwa:, ‘to shoot with a gun’

Auen (N1) *!nwa:*, ‘to shoot with a gun’

Naron (C2) *!nwa:*, *//nwa*, ‘to shoot with a gun’

**Shoulder**

Eastern dialectal *xg’ae*, ‘*Schulter*’

Nama *//karap*, ‘*skouer*’

Korana *//garab*, ‘*bladbeen*’

Nama *!hos*, ‘shoulder’

Korana *!hob*, ‘shoulder’

/Xam (S1) *\_//gaʒe*, *//ga:e:*, *//gai*, ‘shoulder, shoulderblade’

/!ŋ *!ke* (S2) *\_//gaʒe*, *//ga:e:*, *//gai*, ‘shoulder, shoulderblade’

/Nu//en (S6) *\_//gaʒe*, *//ga:e:*, *//gai*, ‘shoulder, shoulderblade’

Auen (N1) *\_//gaʒe*, *//ga:e:*, *//gai*, ‘shoulder, shoulderblade’

N/uu *//aqe*, ‘shoulder’

Cape-Saldanha *hchap*, ‘*espaule*’

Hadza (C3) *xlekape*, ‘shoulderblade’

Hie (C1) *kabaa*, ‘wing, shoulderblade’, synonym *//kabuxa:te*

!Xuhn *g#ava*, ‘shoulder’

!Xuhn *!ka tzi*, ‘shoulder’

**Sick, ill**

Eastern dialectal *kaisin*, ‘sick’

Korana *t’<sup>2</sup>aissen*, ‘*krank*’

/Xam (S1) */keisin*, */keisi*, ‘to be ill, sick’

Korana */kxeisen*, */’aisen*, ‘be sick’

Korana /'ai-sen, 'krank sein'

Nama /aisen, 'krank werden, sein'

/Xam (S1) //koasiŋ, 'be ill, sick'

/Xam (S1) /keisin, /keisi, 'to be ill, sick'

/Xam (S1) t''koassing, //koasiŋ, 'sick'

N/uu Ǿ'ui'i, 'be in pain, be sick'

### **Sin**

Cape dialectal *nghee*, '(onse) schulden', 'our trespasses'

Hie (C1) *džiee*, 'sin'

### **Sing**

Korana t''knai, 'singen' = /knai

Nama *nai*, 'singen'

Nama //nai, 'singen'

Korana //nai, //nae, 'sing'

Khakhea (S5) //nai, 'to sing, talk'

Auen (N1) //nai, 'to sing, talk'

Naron (C2) //nai, 'to sing, talk'

/Nu//en (S6) //nei, //ne:, 'to clap hands, sing'

### **Sit**

Cape dialectal *kahou*, 'neder sitten; sit neder'

Hie (C1) n//kaha, 'to sit by the side of'

//ŋ !ke (S2) !kãu, !au, !kau!kau, 'to sit'

//Kxau (S2b) !kãu, !au, !kau!kau, 'to sit'



/Auni (S4) !kãu, !au, !kau!kau, 'to sit'

Cape dialectal nouw, 'sitten; sedere; zitten; sedere'

Cape dialectal -gnöa, 'sittende'

Cape dialectal nöuw, 'sedere; zitten'

Nama ≠nũ, 'sich setzen'

Korana ≠nu, 'sit'

//Ŋ !ke (S2) /nau 'to be, sit, marry'

N/uu n/au, 'marry'

/Xam (S1) !hau, 'to sit, be together in troops'

Auen (N1) !nau, ≠nau, 'to sit down'

Kua n#uu, 'to sit'

Cua n#uu, 'to sit'

Tsua pũũ, n#ũũ, 'to sit'

Kua and Cua n#uu, 'to sit'

Tsua pũũ, n#ũũ, 'to sit'

Cape dialectal gnöa, 'sittende'

Nama ≠nöa, 'sitzen'

/Xam (S1) //koa, //ko, 'to sit, place, put'

//Xegwi (S3) //koa, //ko, 'to sit, place, put'

Khatia (S4a) //koa, //ko, 'to sit, place, put'

!O !kuŋ (N3) //koa, //ko, 'to sit, place, put'

N/uu soo, 'to sit'

Naron (C2) !nwa, ˉ!nũ:, 'to sit'

**Skin**

Gwummey, 'a skin'

Nama ≠námi, ≠náms, 'der Kaross, der Schaf-pelz'

Korana ≠namma, 'karos'

/Xam (S1) tũ, 'skin'

//I] !ke (S2) tũ, 'skin'

Sesarwa (S5) t'yɪm, 'skin'

/Nu //en (S6) \_t'um, 'skin'

Xam (S1) //go:, 'skin'

//I] !ke (S2) /kou, 'skin, leather'

Ki /hazi (S4b) //ɔ, 'skin'

Hie (C1) tʃo, dzoruu, 'skin'

Naron (C2) ko:, 'skin'

Auen (N1) ̄no:, /nɔɔ, 'skin'

Auen (N1) ≠no, 'skin'

Kung (N2) /nɔɔ, ̄no, 'skin'

!O !kuŋ (N3) ̄no, 'skin'

!Xuhn n/o, 'vel', 'skin, hide'

!Xuhn n/o, 'nerf', 'skin'

N/uu jōo, 'skin'

Khwe khòò, 'skin'

**Sleep**

Cape-Saldanha cohé, 'dormir'

Cape dialectal *quee*, ‘*slaepen; dormire*’; *kôoi*, ‘*schlaffen*’

//Ń !ke (S2) !kwe, ‘to sleep’

Hie (C1) !kwe, /koe, ‘to sleep’; !hoe, ‘to be asleep’

Sehura (C1a) ‘goe; !hoe, ‘to sleep’

Nama //goë, ‘*liegen*’

Khwe //óé, //òe, ‘sleep’

N/uu *Oun*, ‘to sleep’

!Xuhn g//u, ‘sleepy’

Cape dialectal *k’komma*, ‘*slapen*’

Eastern dialectal *t’kom*, ‘to sleep’; *x-omm*, ‘*schlafen*’

Korana *t’<sup>2</sup>kchom* [//kchom or ≠kchom], ‘to sleep’

Hie (C1) //gom, ‘to sleep’

Khwe ≠’óm, ‘sleep’

Korana //’um, ‘*schlafen*’

Cape dialectal *k~omquee*, ‘*dormire; slapen*’

Cape dialectal *komquee*, ‘*slapen*’

Nama //om//goë, ‘*lê-slaap*’

Nama //om, ‘*schlafen*’

Nama //goë, ‘*legen*’

### **Sleepy**

Eastern dialectal *tilika-kule*, ‘I am sleepy’

Eastern dialectal *ka-kule*, ‘sleepy’

/Xam (S1) /kõ/kõa, ‘sleepy, to feel sleepy’

Khwe ≠’óm-kx’àò, ‘be sleepy’

**Small**

Cape-Saldanha *ghemech*, 'petit'

Kung (N2) *de:me*, *de:ma*, 'little'

Auen (N1) *tseme*, *tsema*, 'small, little'

Kung (N2) *tseme*, *tsema*, 'small, little'

!O !kuŋ (N3) *tseme*, *tsema*, 'small, little'

!Xuhn *tzema*, 'small'

!O !kuŋ (N3) synonym *ts'e:*, 'small, little'

N/uu ≠/i, 'to be small'

Kung (N2) *dze:ma*, *tsema*, 'new, small'

!O !kuŋ (N3) *dze:ma*, *tsema*, 'new, small'

**Smoke, to smoke**

Korana *t'ʼkei*, 'to smook'; *t'ʼkey*, 'rauchen, saugen' = /*kei*, /*key*

Korana ≠*kei*, 'smoke (a pipe)'

Korana ≠*gai*, 'aan 'n pyp trek, rook'

Nama ≠*gai*, 'ziehen, Pfeife rauchen'

Nama ≠*kei*, 'smoke'

Khakhea (S5) *tʃxai*, 'to smoke'

!Xuhn //hai, 'smoke'

Khwe //hèi, 'smoke (tobacco, marijuana)'

/Nu//en (S6) !*kai*, !*ko*, 'to smoke'

Kung (N2) ≠*ke:*, ≠*ge*, 'to smoke'

N/uu ≠*ae*, 'smoke'

**Smoke**

Korana 'ai'kanna, 'smoke'

Nama /ais, 'Feuer'

Korana /aib, 'fire'

Korana //kxanna, /kx'anna, 'Rauch'

**Snake**

Korana t'<sup>2</sup>kaub, 'eine Schlange' = //kaub

Korana /aob, /aub, 'Schlange'

Nama /aob, 'Schlange'

!O !kuŋ (N3) //kãu, 'snake'

Hie (C1) //gao, 'snake'

/Xam (S1) /k"au, 'snake'

//ŋ !ke (S2) /k"au, 'black snake'

Naron (C2) /k"au, 'long yellow snake'

≠Khomani (S2a) ˉ/kx'au, 'snake'

!Xuhn /xauhn, 'snake'

!O !kuŋ (N3) ˉ/kx'au, 'snake'

!O !kuŋ (N3) ˉ/kãu, /kau, 'snake'

Naron (C2) ˉ/kãu, /kau, 'snake'

Naron (C2) /gauba, /gaufa, /gauo. 'snake, puffadder'

/Xam (S1) !kau, //khau, !khau, 'serpent'

Kung (N2) \≠ãu, ˉ≠au, ˉ≠'aˉwã, 'snake, collective term'

N/uu /ãaksi, 'snake'

Eastern dialectal  $\Lambda$ -*kanou-goup*, ‘a serpent, slang’; ‘*Riesenschlange*; Boa constrictor’, ‘giant snake’

Hie (C1) ≠*khan*, ‘large, long’

/Xam (S1) !*ka*ʔ*u*, !*kau*, ‘big, high’

**Sneeze**

Cape-Saldanha *hama*, ‘*esternuër*’

Korana /’*am*, ‘sneeze’

Korana /*kx*’*am*, ‘*niesen*’

Korana /*kx*’*am*, ‘to sneeze’

/Xam (S1) /*xamma*, /*kamma*, /*khamma*, ‘sneeze’

N/uu /*hama*, ‘to sneeze’

!Xuhn ≠*hai*, ‘sneeze, to sneeze’

**Soft**

Korana *t*’*kamsa*, ‘soft’

Korana *tamsa*, ‘soft’

Korana *thamsa*, ‘soft’

Khwe *thà*’*m*, ‘be soft’

Nama *tsamtse*, *tsamra*, ‘soft’

Kung (N2) ≠*amma*, ‘soft’

Kung (N2) *kamma*, *kam*, ‘become soft’

N/uu *ts*’*aq*’*i*, ‘soft, tender’

!Xuhn /*ham*, ‘soft, *pap* (*sag*)’

!Xuhn *khamkhama*, ‘soft, *sag*’

**Soul**

Cape dialectal *k'omma*, 'asem'

Nama *ums*, 'Seele'

Korana /'umma, 'Atem', 'Seele'

Korana /ums, 'Atem', 'Seele'

Nama /ôms, 'Atem', 'Seele'

Nama *\_/oms* 'spirit'

Khwe *cóm*, 'soul'

Hie (C1) /gom 'spirit'; 'the soul'

Hie (C1) /hum, /hu, 'breath, spirit'

Kung (N2) !khu, !khunga, 'soul, ghost'

Naron (C2) /um, 'breath'; /uhĩ, to breathe'

//Ń !ke (S2) /Δmsa, /um, 'breath'

N/uu /'humsa, 'soul'

**Spider**

Eastern dialectal *hus*, 'spider'

Eastern dialectal Δ-*hous*, 'spider, spen' = /*hous*

Nama /nũis, 'spider'

Korana /nui-!xam, 'spider'

Naron (C2) /nui, 'spider'

N/uu *n/ui*, 'spider'

/Xam (S1) /khu, 'spider of genus *Misumena*'; 7ku, 'ground spider'

**Springbok**

Korana *t'koos*, 'springbuck'

Auen (N1) *!kō;* *!kōa*, 'springbok'

Korana *t'huuns*, 'springbock'

Korana */gūs*, *//gūs*, 'springbok'

Nama *//gūb*, 'springbok'

*//Xegwi* (S3) *\_//kum*, *//kλm*, 'springbok'

Ki */hazi* (S4b) *//λm*, 'springbok'

Auen (N1) *!gūb*, *!kō;*, 'springbok'

Nama *≠hāë-b*, 'springbok'

Naron (C2) *≠gae*, *≠gai*, 'springbok'

N/uu *g!ae*, 'springbok'

Naron (C2) *\_!gaiba*, 'springbok'

Khoikhoi *ˀhāeb*, 'springbok'

Hie (C1) */kxaie*, 'springbok'

**Star**

Cape-Saldanha *canimhau*, 'estaille'

Korana *t'kamaro*, 'star'

Nama */kamiros*, 'star'

Nama */gamiros*, 'Stern'

Kung (N2) */na:miro*, 'star'

Kung */na:miro:ʔi*, 'stars'

Cape dialectal *kuanehou*, 'starre; stella'



Cape dialectal *kuanehoe* (of *tgeuhouw*), 'een sterre'

Cape dialectal *k~uanehou* (vel *tk~euhouw*), 'stella; een ster'

Nama //khua, 'to dawn', 'the morning star'

Nama //khuanus, 'Venus', now //kxanus

Seroa (S2d) *koṅkoṅ*, 'stars'

Khakhea (S5) //gwanate, //kwanate, 'stars'

Auen (N1) ≠gōe, ≠goinu, 'star'

Tsaukwe (C2a) ≠goinu, 'star', synonym ≠gōe

!Xuhn ≠uúhn, 'star'

Sehura (C1a) 'xane, 'star'

Khwe /xáni, 'star'

Eastern dialectal *xsgoro* or *tsgoro*, 'die Sterne'

Eastern dialectal *kōro*, 'stars'

/Xam (S1) !goro-t'o, 'Jupiter (star)'; !goro-ta, 'Venus (star)'

### **Steenbok**

Cape-Saldanha *harib*, 'cerf'

Eastern dialectal *Λ-harip*, 'steenbuck, steenbock'

Nama !aris, 'der Steinbock'

Hei//kum (N2a) !aris, 'steenbok'

Cape dialectal *qounqua*, 'wilde bokken; capri sylvestres'

Cape dialectal *quoequa*, 'wilde bokken'

Cape dialectal *quō uq̃va*, 'capri silvestres in genere; wilde bokken zonder onderscheid'

//Xegwi (S3) !xo; ‘steenbok’

/Auni (S4) ≠ko, ‘steenbok’

!O!kuŋ (N3) ~ /hum, ‘steenbok’

Auen (N1) /ou, /au, /hō, ‘a buck, prob. steinbok’

Kung (N2) /ou, /au, /hō, ‘a buck, prob. steinbok’

Cape dialectal gau, gauda, ‘Latin dama, or buck’, ‘steenbok’

/Xam (S1) !koen, ‘steenbok’

//ŋ!ke (S2) !koen, ‘steenbok’

/Xam (S1) //khoini, /koinje, /koinje; !kenja, ≠kwenja, ‘steenbok’

/Auni (S4) !koenja, ‘steenbok’

### **Stomach**

Eastern dialectal t’amsa, ‘stomach’

Nama !āb, ‘Bauchgegend’

Nama !nāb, ‘Bauch’

Korana !nāb, ‘Bauch’

Naron (C2) /na:sa, /na:fa, ‘belly, stomach’

Khakhea (S5) //nΛm, ‘stomach’

N/uu //x’ā, ‘stomach’

### **Stone**

Eastern dialectal Oip, ‘klippsten’ = /oip

Eastern dialectal Λ-ouip, ‘stone; klep’ = /ouip

Eastern dialectal xeu, ‘ein Stein’ = /eu

Korana t’<sup>2</sup>eub, ‘Stein, Felsen’ = //eub

Nama /uib, /uis, 'Stein'

Korana /uib, 'stone'

/Xam (S1) //o:é, 'a round stone for grinding'

//Kxau (S2b) goe:, 'round grinding stone'

Ki /hazi (S4b) \_!oe, 'stone'

/Nu //en (S6) #oje, 'stone'

Naron (C2) //nwoi, //nōa, 'stone'

Naron (C2) //nōa, 'stone'

Khwe n//góá, 'stone'

Hie (C1) //gwa, 'stone'

Naron (C2) #gnoa, 'mountain, stone, rock'

Tsaukwe (C2a) #gnoa, 'mountain, stone, rock'

Hukwe (C2b) #gnoa, 'mountain, stone, rock'

### **Stranger**

Cape dialectal *oussa queina*, 'vreemdeling'

Nama !hau-khoi-b, 'der Fremdling'

Korana !ūsab, 'Fremder'

Korana !kusab, 'stranger'

//Ń !ke (S2) /uha:, /uhan, 'strange; word applied to other Bushman tribes'

### **Strike, Hit**

Eastern dialectal KOA, 'slā'

Khwe thóánà, 'strike'

Hie (C1) kwa, 'to strike, beat'

Nama !góu, 'niederwerfen'

Cape-Saldanha *doussi*, ‘*battre*’

Cape dialectal *doussy*, ‘*slaan; pulsare, verberare*’

Cape dialectal *doessi*, ‘*slaan*’

Cape dialectal *doùssi*, ‘*verberare; slaan*’

Nama *!góu*, ‘*niederwerfen*’

/Xam (S1) *!kou, !ku*, ‘*strike*’

/Xam (S1) *ku*, ‘*to strike*’; *!xau*, ‘*to let fly, make hit*’

/Nu//en (S6) *!goo*, ‘*to fight*’

Korana *t’<sup>1</sup>naau*, ‘*to strike*’ = */naau*

/Xam (S1) *!xau*, ‘*make hit*’

//ǀ *!ke* (S2)  $\bar{\neq}$ *kau, #kao*, ‘*to beat, strike*’

Auen (N1)  $\bar{\neq}$ *kau, #kao*, ‘*to beat, strike*’

N/uu  $\neq$ *auke*, ‘*to beat, to hit*’

Korana *t’<sup>1</sup>noaa-ho* (i.e. */noaa-ho*), ‘*to hit*’

/Auni (S4)  $\neq$ *noa, #noa*, ‘*to shoot, hit*’

### **Summer**

Korana *t’<sup>1</sup>kuraam*, ‘*summer*’

Korana *//chu-//am*, ‘*summer*’

Korana *//konab*, ‘*somer*’

Korana *//xo-nab, //xu-//’āb*, ‘*Sommer*’

Nama *//kunab*, ‘*Sommer*’

Khwe *khó*, ‘*summer*’

Khwe *//hèú*, ‘*summer time*’

/Xam (S1) *t’<sup>2</sup>koàra, t’<sup>2</sup>kóāra*, ‘*sun, summer*’ = *//koara, //ko<sup>-</sup>ara*.

!Xuhn *baʎa*, ‘summer’

**Swallow**

Namaqua *tsehoyra*, European Bee-eater, *Merops apiaster*, *bergswawel* or ‘mountain swallow’

Hie (C1) *thu zera*, ‘swallow’

Cape dialectal *sosobó*, ‘een swaluwe, hironde’

Cape dialectal *sozóbo*, ‘een swaluwe’

Cape dialectal *sosobo*, ‘*hirundo*; een zwaluw’

Nama *sosowob*, ‘swallow’

Korana /a-/ao, ‘Schwalbe’

!Xuhn *tcahntcahn*, ‘swallow, swaeltjie’

Khwe //qá//qani, ‘swallow (bird)’

**Sword**

Cape-Table Bay dialectal *dushingro*, ‘a sword’, ‘big knife’

/Auni (S4) *ʔufi*, ‘to be big, tall, old’

Nama *gõab*, ‘grosses Messer’

Nama *gõas*, *gõab*, ‘Messer’

/Auni (S4) *ʔxo*, ‘knife’

**-T-**

**Take**

Cape-Saldanha *cob*, ‘prendre’

Nama *!kho-bē*, ‘wegfassen’

Nama *!kho*, ‘vang’

Nama *!kho*, 'to take'

/Xam (S1) *ho:*, 'to take'

Khakhea (S5) *ho:wa*, 'to take'

Naron (C2) *!xo*, 'to take'

/Auni (S4) //ko, 'to take'

Naron (C2) *≠xo*, 'to take prisoner'

Korana *uh*, '*nehmen*'

Korana *u*, 'take'

Korana *ū*, '*neem*'

Korana *'ū*, '*nehmen*'

Nama *ū*, '*nehmen, fassen, greifen*'

'Hottentot' *u:*, 'to take'

Khwe *ũũ*, 'take'

Hie (C1) *uu*, 'to take'

Khwe //hùú, 'take away'

Nama *u*, '*nehmen*'

!Xuhn *gu*, 'to take, *neem*'

Naron (C2) *u fe*, 'to take'

Auen (N1) *\_gu*, 'to take'

Kung (N2) *gu*, 'to take'

### ***Talk, speak***

Cape-Saldanha *naib*, '*parler*'

Korana //na, 'say'

Nama //ne, 'reden'

Nama //nài, 'singen'

Khakhea (S5) //nai, 'to sing, talk'

Auen (N1) //nai, 'to sing, talk'

Naron (C2) //nai, 'to sing, talk'

Korana *kabaa*, 'sprechen'

/Xam (S1) /k"abbe, /k"abbeya, 'to talk together, plot, conspire'

Nama word *koba*, 'to talk'

Nama *gowa, gawa*, 'sprechen'

N/uu ≠*xoa*, 'to speak'

Nama *mi-re*, 'sprich (doch ja)'

Nama *mī*, 'sagen, sprechen, reden'

Korana *mī*, 'sprechen'

Naron (C2) *mi*, *mi*, 'say, tell'

### **Teach**

'Hottentot' *kaka*, 'to teach'

Nama //khá-//khá, 'lehren (jemand tüchtig machen)'

/Xam (S1) //xa://xa, 'to teach, learn'

//ŋ !ke (S2) //xa://xa, //xei, 'to teach, learn'

Naron (C2) //xa://xa, //xei, 'to teach, learn'

N/uu //xa//xa, 'to learn'

N/uu *kx'u* //xa//xa, 'to teach (to make – to learn)'

**That**

Nama *ha*, 'das'

/Xam (S1) *ha*, 'that'

//Xegwi (S3) *ha*, 'that'

**There**

Eastern dialectal *inaha*, 'there'

Hadza (C3) *ina*, 'there'

Hadza (C3) *tina*, *mina*, 'there'

Hadza (C3) *hina*, 'there'

Korana *t'naa*, 'da'

Nama *nawa*, 'da'

/Xam (S1) //na, 'there'

//Ń !ke (S2) //na, 'there'

Khakhea (S5) //na, 'there'

/Nu//en (S6) //na, 'there'

Naron (C2) //na, 'there'

!O!kuŋ (N3) ≠na, 'there'

Naron (C2) *hanaha*, *hana*, 'there, there is'

Hadza (C3) *ina*, *hina*, *tina*, *mina*, 'there'

**Thigh**

Cape-Saldanha *hcarou*, 'cuisse'

Cape dialectal *kalou*, 'de dyen'

!Xuhn *!aoh den*, 'thigh'



/Xam (S1) //khurukən, //khu, //khũ, 'thighbone', plural //khúrukən

N/uu /qhuru, 'hip', plural ka /qhuru [/qhuruka?]

Cape-Saldanha goncoa, 'cuisse'

/Xam (S1) ʔ//k'o, 'thigh', 'upper bone of hind leg'

Kung (N2) //kum, !!kum, 'leg, hipbone, thigh'

!O !kuŋ (N3) ʔ//kum, 'thigh'

Nama ≠kus, ≠howis, 'Hüfte'

Korana tiim, 'thigh', 'Schenkel'

Khwe tĩ, 'thigh'

/Xam (S1) tĩ, tē, tē:, teŋ, 'thigh'

Hie (C1) tē, tee, teaba, 'thigh, hind leg'

### **Thing**

Korana huhb, 'Gut'

Hie (C1) huu, 'thing'

Hie (C1) xu, 'thing, goods'

Khwe xú, xó, 'thing'

Nama xūb, 'Ding'

Korana xūb, chub, 'thing', 'ding'

N/uu gao, 'thing'

Nama xūb, xūs, xūi, 'Ding'

### **Thirsty**

Korana t'<sup>2</sup>kang, 'thirsty', 'Durst haben' = //kang or //kaŋ

Korana //kāb, 'thirst'

Korana //kãsa, 'thirsty'

Korana //gã, 'dors wees'

Korana, //gãb, 'dors (s.nw.)'

Korana //ã, 'dürsten'

Khwe //ã, 'thirsty'

Nama //gã, 'dürsten'

Khakhea (S5) //ɔhΛn, //Λn, 'thirst'

/Nu//en (S6) //ãna, 'thirst, heat', synonym //Λn, 'sun'

Auen (N1) /kam, /kΛm, 'to be thirsty, sun, day'

Kung (N2) /kam, /kΛm, 'to be thirsty, sun, day'

!O !kuŋ (N3) /kam, /kΛm, 'to be thirsty, sun, day'

Auen (N1) /gam, /kam, 'to be hot, thirsty'

Nogau (N1a) /gam, /kam, 'to be hot, thirsty'

Kung (N2) /gam, /kam, 'to be hot, thirsty'

Naron (C2) /gam, /kam, 'to be hot, thirsty'

Tsaukwe (C2a) /gam, /kam, 'to be hot, thirsty'

Hukwe (C2b) /gam, /kam, 'to be hot, thirsty'

!Xuhn /am, 'thirsty'

Kua /am, 'sun, day'

Cua /am, 'sun, day'

Tsua /am, 'sun, day'

G/ui /am, 'sun, day'

**This**

Korana *há*, 'this'

Korana *t''naa*, 'this' = //naa

Korana *hen*, '*diesen*'

Korana *hee*, 'this'

Korana *hee kuees*, 'this woman'

Korana *he*, '*dieser*'

Nama *neb*, '*dieser*'

/Xam (S1) *a*; *e*; *a:*<sup>-</sup>*a*; *e:*<sup>-</sup>*a*, 'this'

//Ń !ke (S2) *a*, //na, 'this'

Kung (N2) *e*, *e:a*, *e:ja*, 'this'

Hie (C1) *e*, 'this'

Naron (C2) /*ne*, 'this'

!Xuhn *ka*, 'this, *dit*'

!Xuhn *ka eng*, 'this, *hierdie*'

!Xuhn *ya e*, 'this, *dié*'

**Three**

Cape dialectal *nona*, '*tria*'

Cape dialectal *k'ouna*, '*drie*; *tria*'

Cape dialectal *nhona*, *kouno*, '*drie*'

Cape dialectal *k̃ouna*, '*tres*; *drie*'

Cape dialectal *ngunga*, '3'

- Cape-Saldanha *houna*, 'trois'
- Eastern dialectal *t'knona*, 'three'
- Eastern dialectal *xgonang*, 'dreij'; *gona*, 'three'
- Korana *t'nona*, 'three'
- Korana *t'<sup>1</sup>knorra*, 'drei'
- Korana *!nona*, 'three'
- Griqua *!nona*, 'three'
- Nama *!nona*, *!ona*, 'drei'
- /Xam (S1) *!nona*, *!nwonna*, *nwona*, *!nora*, *≠no:ra*, 'three'
- //ǀ *!ke* (S2) *!nona*, *!nwonna*, *nwona*, 'three'
- Kung (N2) *!nona*, *!nwonna*, *nwona*, *!noara*, 'three'
- N/uu *n!oana*, 'three'
- Khwe *n!óána*, 'three'
- ≠Khomani (S2a) *!noara*, 'three'
- //Kxau (S2b) *!noara*, 'three'
- Ki /hazi (S4b) *//uaka*, *//ua kʔa*, 'three'
- Naron (C2) *!noara*, 'three'
- Hukwe (C2b) */no:ana:* 'three'
- !Xuhn *!ao*, 'three'
- Eastern dialectal *ARUSE*, 'three'
- Naron (C2) *≠gun* *≠aru tfau*, 'middle finger', 'third finger'
- Hie (C1) *tsau*, *tfau*, 'hand, finger, arm, tail'

**Throat**

Cape-Saldanha *domma*, ‘col’, ‘neck’; ‘gorge’, ‘throat’

Cape dialectal *domma*, ‘strot; jugulum’, ‘de strot’, ‘jugulum; de keel of strot’

Nama *domi*, ‘Kehle’

Korana *domma*, ‘die Kehle’

/Xam (S1) *\_dom*, *doꞥm*, ‘throat, neck’

/Nu//en (S6) *dum*, *dumba*, ‘neck, thoat, hole, river’

Hie (C1) *dhom*, *dom*, *doꞥm*, ‘neck’, ‘[Na. *domi* throat]’

Khwe *dom*, ‘throat’

!Xuhn *dohm*, ‘throat’

!Xoon *'n/uqm*, ‘throat, riverbed’

**Throw**

Cape-Saldanha *haim*, ‘darder’

Nama //hēi, ‘cast a dart’

Auen (N1) //gaiꞥ, ‘to throw in’

Khakhea (S5) *!nai*, *!na:ŋ*, ‘to throw down’

Naron (C2) *!hai*, ‘to throw’

Hadza (C3) //ai, //aia, ‘to throw, fall’

Korana *t'<sup>1</sup>noaa*, ‘to shoot’, ‘*schuessen, mit der Hassagay werfen*’ = /noaa

!Xuhn *n!oaa*, ‘to throw’

Auen (N1) *!nō\_a*, *!nōa*, ‘to throw’

Kung (N2) *!nouwa*, *!nauwa*, ‘to throw down’

**Thumb**

Cape-Saldanha *nanim*, ‘poulce’

Korana *!nanib*, ‘Daumen’

/Xam (S1) //nΛhāiξ, //Λhāi, //Λhái, //ohái, ‘thumb’

**Thunder**

Eastern dialectal ‘*xgaru* oder *xguru*’, ‘*der Donner*’

Korana *t*<sup>3</sup>*guruh*, ‘thunder; *Donner*’ = *!guruh*

Korana ‘*gurup*, ‘thunder’

Korana *!kurrup*, *!urub*, ‘*Donner*’

Nama *!gurub*, ‘*Donner*’

N/uu *g!uru*, ‘thunder’

N/uu *g!urua*, ‘to thunder’ ‘(*weerlig*)’

Eastern dialectal *t*<sup>3</sup>*gulu*, ‘thunder’

‘Bushman’ *\_guru*, ‘thunder’

Nama *!garup*, ‘thunder’

**Tongue**

Cape dialectal *tamma*, ‘*langue*’, ‘*de tong*’, ‘*lingua*’

Korana *tamma*, ‘*Zunge*’

Eastern dialectal *tamm*, ‘*die Zunge*’

Naron (C2) *ta:m*, ‘tongue’

Naron (N2) *n̄thaλi*, ‘tongue’

Nama *nams*, ‘*die Zunge*’

Ukuambi dialectal (N2b) *tamba*, *ta:m*, ‘tongue’, synonyms *tali*, *tar̄i*

Naron (C2) *dam, \_dama, dham*, ‘tongue’

Hukwe (C2b) *dam, \_dama, dham*, ‘tongue’

Khwe *dám*, ‘tongue’

/Auni (S4) /*āri, /ani*, ‘tongue’

Naron (C2) *ta:m, tali, tar̄-i*, ‘tongue’

Naron (C2) *n̄thaλi*, ‘tongue’

!Xuhn *thahλi*, ‘tongue’

/Auni (S4) /*āri, /a:ni, /eni*, ‘tongue’

### **Tortoise**

Cape-Saldanha dialectal *carigou, serigou*, ‘*tortuë*’

Cape dialectal *sirigoos*, ‘*testudines*’

Cape dialectal *ceregou*, ‘*een schildpad; testudo maior*’

Cape dialectal *tscheregoe*, ‘*de groote land-schilpadde*’

Cape dialectal *tscheregōu*, ‘*testudo major; een schildpad*’; *sirigoos*, ‘*testudines*’

/Xam (S1) !*goꞤe*, ‘tortoise, tortoiseshell’; //*go*, ‘tortoise’

≠Khomani (S2a) \_//*gou*, ‘tortoise’

Naron (C2) /*goe, ̄!go:e*, ‘great land tortoise’

Khwe //*góé*, ‘leopard tortoise’

!Xuhn *g//ai*, ‘tortoise’

!Xuhn *g//oa*, ‘tortoise’

N/uu !*oqe*, ‘tortoise’

Eastern dialectal *t’gammi*, ‘tortoise’

/Xam (S1) /*k”ammi, /kemmi*, ‘tortoise, a large kind’

Kung (N2) !*kammi*, ‘kind of tortoise also called //*gai*’

**Tree**

Cape dialectal *bi inquāa*, ‘*bomen; tympana*’

Cape dialectal *punqua-a* (of *ay*), ‘*een boom*’

Cape dialectal *bunq̃vaá* [or *bunq̃vaó*] (s. *ãy*), ‘*arbores; bomen*’

Cape dialectal *ay, ãy*, ‘*bomen; tympana*’

Eastern dialectal *haip*, ‘*tree; boom*’

Eastern dialectal *hi*, ‘*der Baum*’, *hika*, ‘*mehr oder viele Bäume*’

Korana *heikoa*, ‘*tree*’; *heikōa*, ‘*Baum*’

Korana *heyiep*, ‘*tree*’

Korana *heib*, ‘*tree*’

Korana *haib*, ‘*boom*’

Griqua *hais*, ‘*Baum*’

Nama *heip*, ‘*tree*’, *heis*, ‘*Baum*’

Nama *heip*, ‘*tree*’

Hie (C1) *hii, jii*, ‘*tree*’

Khwe *ỹi*, ‘*tree*’

Naron (C2) *hi:ba*, ‘*tree*’

N/uu ≠*hii*, ‘*tree*’

**Truth**

Eastern dialectal *kammasa*, ‘*truth; it is true*’

Nama *ammasse*, ‘*Wahrheit*’

Nama *amab*, ‘*Wahrheit*’

Korana *kx’amāb*, ‘*Wahrheit*’



≠Khomani (S2a) *kx'amkje*, 'good, true'

Hie (C1) *gamo*, 'truth'

**Two**

Cape dialectal *istum*, 'two'

Cape-Saldanha *tam*, '*deux*'

Eastern dialectal *KaMSE*, '2'

Eastern dialectal *x-am*, '*zwei*'

Nama '*tām*, /*gam*, 'two'

/Xam (S1) /*kam*, 'two'

Naron (C2) /*gam*, /*kam*, 'two'

Kua /*am*, 'two'

Cua /*am*, 'two'

Tsua /*am*, 'two'

G/ui /*am*, 'two'

Khwe /*ám*, 'two'

**-U-**

**Ugly**

Eastern dialectal *kaisi*, 'ugly'

Korana //gaisa, '*lelik*'

Nama //gasi, //geisi, //eisi, '*hässlich*'

'Hottentot' //gase, 'ugly'

Auen (N1) /*k'au*, 'ugly'

Kung (N2) ʔ<sup>h</sup>*kao*, s. /*k'au*, 'badly, ugly'

!O !kung (N3) /k'au, 'ugly'

Naron (C2) /aĩ, 'ugly'

Naron (C2) /xãĩ, 'ugly'

Khwe /x'ãĩ, 'ugly'

!Xuhn /kau, 'ugly'

### -V-

#### **Vlei, valley**

Eastern dialectal *xheri*, 'das Thal'

Korana 'karréep, 'valley or water place' = /karréep

Nama /ab, 'Vlij (*flaches Wasserbasin auf der Ebene*)'

//Ń !ke (S2) ≠ ēru, 'valley'

!Xuhn ≠ aĩ, 'valley'

Kung (N2) !!kwa:, 'vlei' [!noaraka!!kwa, 'Olifantvley']

#### **Vulva**

Cape dialectal *qu'äou*, 'membrum muliebre'

Cape dialectal *qu-aoé*, 'vrouwelykheyd'

Khwe /guú, 'vulva'

Nama /gõus, 'die weibliche Scham'

/Xam (S1) //khau, 'vulva'

/Xam (S1) !kwai:, ˀ!khwa:iˀ 'vulva, vagina'

**Vulture**

Eastern dialectal *A-gha ip*, 'vulture; *aas-voogel*' = *#ghaip*

Nama *ghaip*, 'swart aasvoël', Black Vulture

Khwe *kx'ãĩ*, 'lappet-faced vulture'

Naron (C2) *k"eĩ*, 'vulture'

//Ń *!ke* (S2) */kwi:*, 'vulture'

N/uu */qhui*, 'vulture'

!Xuhn *txuh*, 'vulture'

**-W-**

**Wagon**

/Xam (S1) *koro:he*, 'wagon'

//Ń *!ke* (S2) *koro:ki*, 'wagon'

/Nu//en (S6) *ku:ni*, 'wagon'

Kung (N2) *ku:ni*, 'wagon'

Auen (N1) *ku:ni*, 'wagon'

Naron (C2) *ku:nifa*, 'wagon'

H. *gunīs*, *goro-his*, 'wagon'

Naron (C2) *gune*, *guni*, 'wagon' [Na. *gunis*]

Khakea (S5) *ko loi*, *kolui*, *koloke*, *kolexe*, 'wagon'

/Auni (S4) *koroe*, *korohi*, *kuni*, 'wagon'

/Xam (S1) *korohi*, *koroe*, *kuni*, [Nama *goro-his*, old word for *guni*]

Khakhea (S5) */gau:*, usually *kolui*, 'wagon'

/Xam (S1) */koaroah*, s. *korohi*, 'wagon, cart'

!Xuhn *kałosa*, 'wagon'

**Warm**

Eastern dialectal *SANG*, 'warm'

Nama *sã*, '*sich warmen*'

Khwe *tcãã*, 'warm; warm oneself'

Korana *t''koang*, 'warm' = //koang

Korana //choãm, 'warmth'

Korana //xoã, '*heiss*'

Nama //khuã, 'hot'

/Xam (S1) //khõã, 'to warm, become warm'

Khwe *khóará*, 'warm oneself up'

!Xuhn *khui*, 'warm', *o khui-a*, 'to warm'

Kua *khuo*, 'the beginning of the hot season'

Cua *khoo*, 'the beginning of the hot season'

Tsua *khoo*, 'the beginning of the hot season'

Gui *!hoo*, 'the beginning of the hot season'

**Water**

Cape dialectal *kamma*, 'river or water'

Eastern dialectal /*kamma*, 'water'

Eastern dialectal ≠*kama*, 'water'

Koranna //kamma, 'water'

/Xam (S1) //!khwa:, 'water'

//!ke (S2) !kha:, 'water'

//Xegwi (S3) //kha:, fa:, 'water'

/Auni (S4) //kha, 'water'

Khakhea (S5) ʔkha:, 'water'

/Nu//en (S6) !kha:, 'water'

Hie (C1) tsaa, 'water'

Naron (C2) tʃafa, 'water'

H. //gami, 'water'

!Xoon !Qhaa, 'water'

Nama 'kums, 'water'

Auen (N1) ʔ!gu:, 'water'

Kung (N2) ʔ///gu:, 'water'

!O !kung (N3) ʔ///gu:, 'water'

### **We**

Cape dialectal *cita*, 'wij'

Korana *sida*, 'wir'

Nama *citee*, 'we'

Nama *sige, sise, sida*, 'uns'

Eastern dialectal *zika*, 'our'

Naron (C2) *sita, si, sisi, sife, fita*, 'we, our'

Hadza (C3) *bita*, 'us'

/Xam (S1) *i-ka*, 'our'

### **Wether**

Korana *debigoe*, 'sheep'

Nama *dabigup*, 'wether'

/Xam (S1) *debi, debbi*, ‘castrated animal’

!Xuhn *gu hovi*, ‘wether’

**Where?**

Cape dialectal *amma*, ‘wo’

Cape dialectal *ham, ham-ba*, ‘where’

Eastern dialectal *demma*, ‘where?’

Auen (N1) *kama*, ‘where’

Nama *mawa*, ‘wo?’

Khwe *mãã?*, *mà-ε?*, *mà-ká?*, ‘where?’

/Nu//en (S6) *maba*, ‘where?’

**Whistle**

Cape-Saldanha *mama*, ‘siffler’

Nama ≠*nam*, ‘pfeifen (durch d. Lippen)’

Korana ≠*nam*, ‘fluit (ww.)’

Khwe *n=óm*, ‘whistle’

Auen (N1) /*nAm*, ‘whistle’

**White**

‘Hottentot’ *nau*, ‘Witte’ [*Naudau*, Witte Kloof]

Kung (N2) *!gʔao*, *!kau*, *!k”ao*, ‘to be white’

Kung (N2) *!kao*, *!kʔao*, ‘white, light-coloured, new’

Auen (N1) *!kau*, *!k”ao*, *!kʔao*, ‘white, pale yellow’

!O *!kung* (N3) *!kau*, *!k”ao*, *!kʔao*, ‘white, pale yellow’

Kung (N2) *!k"au*, 'white'

!Xuhn *!aúh*, 'white'

'Hottentot' *V-oree*, 'white' [= *≠oree*.]

Nama *!uri*, 'weiss'

≠Khomani (S2a) *!ʔurija*, 'white'

N/uu *!uria*, 'white'

### **Wind**

Cape dialectal *toya*, 'wind'

/Xam (S1) *!koja*, *!koi*, *!kwe*, *!khwe*, *!kwi*, 'wind'

Nama *≠oáb*, 'wind'

Korana *≠oáb*, 'wind'

Korana *≠'oabi*, 'wind'

N/uu *≠qhoe*, 'wind'

Eastern dialectal *qūa*, 'wind'

Korana *t'<sup>22</sup>koaab*, 'wind' = *≠koaab*

Korana *'kuaap*, 'wind'

### **Winter**

Korana *tsauba*, 'Winter'

Naron (C2) *fauba*, *faume*, 'winter'

Korana *saob*, *saub*, 'winter'

Nama *saub*, *sau-//aib*, 'Winter, winter time'

Nama *sáob*, 'der Winter'

Khwe *càó*, 'winter'

!Xuhn *g!um*, 'winter'

**Womb**

Cape dialectal *wchieep*, ‘the wombe’

/Xam (S1) *!kwai*, *!khwai*: ɛ, ‘vulva, vagina’

Cape dialectal *k'cho*, ‘de baarmoeder; vterus’

Cape dialectal *thou*, ‘t schaamtdeel van een vrouw’

Cape dialectal *tkhoe*, ‘de baarmoeder’

Cape dialectal *tk̃chou*, ‘uterus; de baarmoeder’

Eastern dialectal *t'gau*, ‘womb’

Nama */gous*, ‘die weibliche Scham’

Nama */goub*, ‘die weibliche Scham bei Kühen’

Korana *t'³köub*, ‘die weiblichen Geschlechtsteile’

/Xam (S1) *//khau*, ‘vulva’

N/uu *!'um*, ‘vagina’

**Work, to**

Cape dialectal *cincin*, ‘arbeyden; werk doen’

Nama *cisen*, ‘work’

Nama *sīsen*, ‘arbeiten’

N/uu *sīisen*, ‘to work’

//ǀ *!ke* (S2) *sēsē*, *siṅsiṅ*, ‘to work’

Naron (C2) *sēsē*, *siṅsiṅ*, ‘to work’

//ǀ *!ke* (S2) *sesiṅ*, ‘to work’

Naron (C2) *sesiṅ*, ‘to work’

/Auni (S4) *snsn*, *sēsē*, *sīsī*, ‘to work’



**Write**

Eastern dialectal *xg'owae*, 'schreiben' = /*gowae*

Hadza (C3) *gohandeka*, *kuandeka*, 'to write'

N/uu *kaqleke*, 'to write'

Nama *xóá*, 'to write'

/Xam (S1) *xóá*, *xwa*, 'to write'

/Xam (S1) /*kwa*, 'to paint, adorn, write'

//ǀ *!ke* (S2) *xóá*, *xwa*, 'to write'

**-Y-**

**Yard**

Cape dialectal *istcoom*, 'yard' = /*coom*

Eastern dialectal *KoUTERE*, 'glans penis' = /*koutere*

Eastern dialectal *HOP*, 'priapus'

**Year**

Korana *t'<sup>22</sup>kúri*, 'Jahr' = //*kúri*

Korana *kurib*, *gurib*, 'year; Jahr'

Nama *gurib*, 'das Jahr'

Auni (N1) *kuri*, 'year'

Kung (N2) *\_guri*, *kuri*, 'year'

!O !kuη (N3) *kuri*, 'year'

Naron (C2) *kuri*, 'year'

Khwe *kúri*, 'year'

Hie (C1) *tfuri*, 'year'; *natfuri*, 'last year'; *notfuri*, 'this year'

Khwe *n'é kúri*, *n/ũ kúri*, 'last year'; *η kúri*, 'this year'

**Yellow**

Korana /hai, 'vaal, geel wees'

Korana ky, tky, 'yellow'

Korana /hai, 'vaal, geel wees'

Korana /hei, 'yellow'

Korana !hain, 'grey'

Korana t<sup>2</sup>chai, 'gelb'

/Xam (S1) /kai:n, /kai:nja, 'to be green, yellow, shining'

/Xam (S1) /ka~i, 'light'

/Xam (S1) /keinja, /kei, /kēi, 'to be yellow'

Kung (N2) /kai:n, /kai:nja, /kaŋ, 'yellow'

!O !kuŋ (N3) /kai:n, /kai:nja, /kaŋ, 'yellow'

//Kxau (S2b) <sup>̄</sup>!khain, 'yellow'

!Xuhn g/ang txcxau, 'yellow'

**Young**

Cape dialectal sickom, 'young'

/Nu//en (S6) k<sup>2</sup>arrikum, 'young'

/Nu//en (S6) k<sup>2</sup>arikum, 'young man'

/Nu//en (S6) k<sup>2</sup>arik<sup>2</sup>um, 'youth'

Cape dialectal tzicum, 'good', 'young'

Korana t<sup>3</sup>aa, 'young', 'jung' = !aa or #aa

Korana !aa, 'young'

/Xam (S1) !aa, 'young'

Khwe txàrà, 'young'

/Xam (S1) !kwā, Opwa, 'young'

Korana ≠kamsa, ≠xam, ≠cham, 'young'

### **Your**

Cape dialectal tʔsa, t'sa, sa, 'uw(e)'

Korana sa, 'dein'

Nama sa, 'dein'

Korana tsa, 'Thy'

Nama âts, â, 'dein'

!Xuhn a, 'your'

Hie (C1) tfa, 'you, your'

Naron (C2) tfa, satfa, 'you, your'

!Xuhn a, 'your'

### **Youth**

Cape dialectal koo, 'een jongetje; filius'

Eastern dialectal t'go, 'lad'

Nama /kop, 'boy'

Nama /gōb, /gōab, 'der Sohn'

Korana /kōp, /gōs, 'boy'

Hie gau, 'youth, young man'

/Xam (S1) /goꞤ 'young'

N/uu Oūu, 'seun; boy, son'

/Xam (S1) /goa, /gwa, 'young, baby'

Nama /gōab, /gōb, 'Sohn'

Korana t'<sup>2</sup>karooob, 'Jüngling'

Hie (C1) karo, 'boy'

## OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

### 6.1 Phonological variability

A phenomenon that recurs constantly is that of the interchangeability or variability of vowels and consonants. This was noted by Nienaber (1963) when comparing Old Cape dialectal words with words from Nama, Korana and Griqua. The question that arises is whether the variability occurs in a specific language, or whether it is spread over more than one language, occasioned by the influence of language contact. A parallel may be sought in the Germanic languages, where we have a corpus of languages with a written tradition, Gothic being the oldest to be rendered in writing, which has been compared with German, etc. In that case the 'laws' that could be established, (for example) Grimm's Law and Verner's Law, demonstrate changes that came about in different languages over time.

Comparison of the recorded words in the present publication indicates that words with the same meaning may in some instances be pronounced with a variation in consonants and/or vowels, these variations being reflected in the written form by subsequent authors. As will be noted in the following examples, the variability is not limited to a single language, but is discernible in several comparable languages.

#### 6.1.1 *Consonants*

In comparing the variability of consonants, the difference between voiced and unvoiced pronunciations frequently plays a minimum role. Thus the distinction between the bilabial plosives *b* and *p*, the velar plosives *g* and *k*, the alveolar plosives *d* and *t*, is apparently blurred; the same word may occur with either

reflected. The following consonantal variations or interchangeability is or are discernible in the lexemes discussed in this work:

***b* and *p***

In the Khoikhoi languages the final consonant *-b* and *-p* is the masculine singular ending, the latter primarily occurring in words recorded earlier, the *b* in words of later date. Thus in the Nama word Nama *!karu-khup*, ‘chameleon’, recorded by Tindall (1857:106) the ending *-p* occurs, as also in the Eastern dialectal *V-karou-koup*, ‘chameleon’, transcribed as *≠karou-kup*, the Nama words *!karu-khup* and *//khuruzi-khubip*, and the Korana *//xurutsi-//kubep*, ‘chameleon’, as opposed to the Nama *//kurutsi-//khubeb*, ‘chameleon’, with the final *-b*.

Another example of the variability of *b* and *p* occurs in the Nama word for ‘back’, *!gāb* (Rust 1960:50), given as *!kāp* by Tindall (1857:106), and as *-b* in the Korana word *//kx’āb* (Meinhof 1930:136).

The variability of *b* and *p* as initial consonants is evidenced in the Cape dialectal words *bunquāa*, ‘trees’, *bunq̃vaá*, ‘trees’, and *punqua-a*, ‘a tree’. The variability in this instance is, however, perhaps the result of similar words in different languages being derived from related but not identical words, namely that both *b* and *p* are relics of bilabial clicks with voiced and unvoiced releases or effluxes respectively, for example the *//ŋ* *!ke* (S2) *Obo*; *Oho*, ‘tree’ as opposed to the *≠Khomani* (S2a), *//Kxau* (S2b), and */Auni* (S4) *Opo*; ‘tree, stick’, and the */Xam* (S1) *Oho*; ‘tree’. Such underlying and perhaps unsuspected processes should be borne in mind when variability and similar phenomena are considered.

***b* and *m***

In several instances variability between *b* and *m* as the masculine singular marker is evident, for example in the Korana words *t’<sup>2</sup>kam*, ‘the back’, ‘*Rücken*’ = *//kam*, *//kx’āb*, *//kx’ām*, and the Nama words Nama *!gāb* and *kāp*, ‘the back’.

***d* and *t***

Concerning the variability of *d* and *t* Lichtenstein (1808:278) wrote as follows: “*diese werden aber nicht mit einander verwechselt, sondern immer ist der Laut so zwischen beiden schwankend, dass man sich weder fuer den einen, noch den*

*andern glaubt entscheiden zu koennen.*” ; (“these are not normally confused or interchanged with each other, however, the sound always fluctuates between the two, that one can hardly decide whether to use the one, or the other with certainty”).

The variability of *d* and *t* can be discerned in the Cape dialectal words *debitja*, ‘juvenci’, *dwiessa*, ‘ossen; boves’ and *tibbesas*, ‘Ochsen’; the /Xam word (S1) *dibi*, ‘ox’ and the Eastern dialectal *doe*, ‘mud’ and the Nama word *tuais*, ‘mud’, and in the Cape dialectal words *te*, ‘mijn, mijne’; *ti*, ‘mein’, the Naron (C2) words *ti*, *tira*, ‘I, my’, the Korana word *tii*, ‘mein’, and the Hie (C1) *tfi*, *tfira*, ‘I, me, my’.

It is easy to comprehend why the alveolar plosives *d* and *t* are interchangeable, as in the Eastern dialectal word *douroup* ‘rat’, the Hukwe (C2b) word *gã-durub*, ‘rat’, ‘striped rat’, the Nama word *!hae-durub*, ‘rat’ and *durub*, ‘mouse’, contrasting with the Hie (C1) word *thuru*, ‘mouse, rat’, and its synonym *dirib*, and the N/uu word *ts’uruke*, ‘mouse’, which introduces the variation of *d* and *ts’*.

### **d and n**

The variability of *d* and *n* is traceable in the comparison of the Eastern dialectal *doe*, ‘mud’ and the /Xam (S1) words *!nō*, *!nōe*, ‘mud’ and *!nō!nōe*, ‘to be made muddy’.

Further perusal of other words for ‘mud, clay’ brings to light the intricate and complex question of consonant variability. The inclusion of the Xam (S1) words *≠gwa*, *≠gwāi*, *≠gwei*, ‘clay’, the Eastern dialectal word *goa*, ‘mud’, the /Xam (S1) word *≠k”wa’ra*, ‘mud, black mud’, the Nama word *≠goab*, ‘angefeuchteter Lehm, Mörtel, Mauer’, the Korana words *≠koab*, ‘clay’ and *≠oas*, ‘Lehm’, the Nama *tuais*, ‘mud’, and the Eastern dialectal *goa*, ‘mud’, reveals the variability or interchangeability of *d*, *t*, *n*, *g* and *k*.

### **g and k**

The distinction between voiced and unvoiced (or voiceless) consonants can further be discerned in the Cape dialectal words *k’ ehou*, *kehoe* and *k’ihou*, ‘anteater’ and the Hei//kum (N2a) word */gei:os*, */gei:ōs*, ‘antbear’. In the Cape dialectal *k’ hem*, ‘(I) believe’, the Korana *≠kumm* and *≠gum*, ‘believe’, and *≠om*, ‘believe someone’, the variability of *g* and *k* in the efflux is evident, but the devalarised or glottalised form is *≠om*, in which the click is retained.

In the Hie (C1) words *gwija* and *kwija*, ‘alone’, the variability is not only across languages, but in the same language, a phenomenon also seen in the Naron (C2) words *≠gau* and *≠kaufa*, ‘heart’, and the /Xam (S1) */kwiŋ/kwiŋ*, ‘entrails’ (Bleek 1956:334) and /Xam (S1) *!geum*, ‘entrails’ (Bleek 1956:382). The variability under discussion is also manifest in words which do not incorporate clicks, such as the Korana words *kai*, *kei*, ‘great’, and *gai*, ‘groot’; *geida* and *keida*, ‘old’.

Other words that reflect the variability of *g* and *k* are: the Korana word *//korob*, *//gorob*, ‘finger and toenail’, and devalarised as *//orob*, and the Nama words *//korop* and *//goros*, ‘nail on fingers and toes’ (Tindall 1857 in Nienaber 1963:396); Korana *//gorob*, ‘*nael (van vinger en toon)*’, *//orob*, (Meinhof 1939:134), and /Xam (S1) *//kuru*, ‘nail’, plural *//ku//kutʂn*;

the ‘Hottentot’ word *\*keip*, ‘tree or bush from which the Bushmen prepare poison’; the Kung (N2) words *gāi* and *kāi*, ‘poison caterpillar’ and *//kai*, ‘poison’; the Auen (N1) word *\_kai*, ‘poison’; and the Naron (C2) word *!gaisi*, ‘poison worms’;

the Eastern dialectal word *Δ-kaip (!kaip)*, ‘venemous serpent’; the Nama words *!gëib* and *!keis*; the Korana words *!gais* and */kheip*; the Naron (C2) word *!gai*, the Hie (C1) word *gaii*, the Kung (N2) word *!!gai*, and the !Xuhn word *g//ae’e*, ‘puffadder’;

the /Auni (S4) words *\_!guru* and *!kuru*, and the Kung (N2) words *\_!gu\_ru* and *!koru*, ‘quiver’;

the words */gam*, */kam*, ‘to be hot, thirsty’, occurring in Auen (N1), Nogau (N1a), Kung (N2), Naron (C2), Tsaukwe (C2a) and Hukwe (C2b);

the Korana words *köub*, *≠gaob*; the Nama word *gaub*, *≠gaob*; and the Naron (C2) word *≠gau*, *≠kaufa*, ‘heart’.

In the “Hottentot” word *doggha* and the /Xam (S1) word */hoaka*, ‘dark, black’, the interchangeability of *g* and *k* is manifest in the second syllable.

### **g and n**

The voiced velar plosive *g* in the Cape-Saldanha word *goras*, ‘knife’, is heard as the nasal release *n* with the cerebral plosive click in the /Nu //en (S6) word

*!nora*, ‘knife’. The nasal *n* is variable with the voiced release to the cerebral click in the Nama words *nuka* and *!guka*, ‘hyena’; while the nasal *n* in the word *nona* varies with the voiced efflux of the palatal click in the words *nona* and *≠gona*, ‘three’. The voiced efflux *g* of the cerebral click *!* in the /Xam (S1) word *!guka*, ‘hyena’, corresponds to the aspirated efflux *h* in the Korana word */hukas*, ‘hyaena’; the nasal and voiced accompaniments respectively to the cerebral click *!* in the Nama words *!gawarib* and *!nawarib*, ‘quail’. In the Eastern dialectal *guka*, *nuka*, ‘wolf’, the voiced *g* and nasal *n* are homophonous. In the Hie (C1) synonyms *n!gaa* and */ga:ʔai*, ‘jackal’, the nasal efflux of the cerebral click in the word *n!gaa* varies with the voiced efflux of the dental click in the word */ga:ʔai*. The variation of *g* and *n* occurs in the Hie (C1) synonyms *gabee*, *ng:gabe* and *ng:habe*, and in the Sehura (C1a) *gnabe*, ‘giraffe’.

### ***h* and *n***

The variability of the glottal fricative *h* and the nasal *n* can be discerned in the Kung (N2) word for ‘flea’ given by Lloyd as *≠haʔ* with a synonym */naʔ* in which the *h* is the aspirated accompaniment of the palatal click, and *n* the efflux of the dental click. The variability in efflux may be attributed to the variation in clicks.

A wide range of words for *giraffe* display the variability of *h* and *n*: the Eastern dialectal word  $\Delta$ -*naip*, transliterated as *!naip*, the Korana word *!naib*, the Nama word *!neib*, the Hei //kum (N2a) word *!neib*, the Naron (C2) word *!nabe*, the G/wi word *n!abe*, the Kua word *nabe*, and the Khwe word *ngyáve*, ‘giraffe’; the fricative *h* is evident in the Korana word *tʰhaib*, transliterated as */haib*. It is notable that the nasal occurs as the release of the cerebral click *!*, while the fricative click accompanies the dental click */*.

### ***k* and *n***

Variability between the lateral click with velar plosive release, *//k*, and the lateral click with nasal efflux, *//n*, is encountered in the Khakhea (S5) word *//kaʔ ba*, ‘to carry on the shoulder’, and the Kung (N2) word *//nʼabba*, ‘to carry young child with its head in left hand, the legs passing out under the left arm behind’.



This interchangeability of *k* and *n* in association with clicks, in this instance the dental click /, is also evident in the Cape-Saldanha word *canimhau*, ‘star’, the Nama words /*kamiro*s and /*gamiro*s, and the Kung (N2) words /*na:miro*, ‘star’, /*na:miro:zi*, ‘stars’.

In some cases a variability of more than two consonants can be discerned, such as *g*, *k* and *n*. The word *narrow*, ‘Chamelion’, which accords with the component /*karu* in the Nama word /*karu-khup*, ‘chameleon’, is variable with the Kung (N2) words /*naʔrro*, /*naʔru* and /*na\_ɽu*, the G/wi word *n'aro*, the Khwe word *ngyáró*, the !Xuhn word *n!ahlo*, the Kua word *ɲaro*, and the Cua and Tsua word *garo* ‘chameleon’.

### ***l* and *r***

The consonants *l* and *r* occur in second syllables of words in different languages, for example in the Eastern dialectal word *kalu*, ‘hunger’, the Korana word *tʰkarroo*, ‘to be hungry’, and /Xam (S1) word /*kurru*, ‘to be hungry’;

the Eastern dialectal word *A-harip*, i.e. /*harip*, the Korana word *arriep*, *arries*; the Nama word *arib*, the Naron (C2) and Ukuambi dialectal (N2b) word *arib*, ‘dog’; as opposed to the Korana word *alima*, the ‘Hottentot’ word *allip*, and Griqua words /*alib*, /*arib*, ‘dog’;

the Nama and Korana word /*girip*, ‘jackal’, ‘*rooijakkals*’; the Korana word /*kire:p*, ‘common jackal’; the Naron (C2) word /*girib*, /*geri*, /*gira*, ‘jackal, *Canis mesomelas*’; the Hie (C1) word /*gire*, /*gira*, ‘jackal, *Vulpes chama*’, ‘silver jackal’; and the Naron (C2) and Sehura (C2a) word /*kili*, ‘jackal’, and the Cape dialectal word *keulee*, ‘*een vos*’, ‘a fox’.

In a number of words the variability of *l* and *r* is evident in the second syllable, as in the Eastern dialectal word *kalu*, ‘hunger’, the Korana word *tʰkarroo*, i.e. /*karroo*, ‘to be hungry’, and the /Xam (S1) word /*kurru*, ‘to be hungry’, and in a wide range of words for ‘iron’: the Eastern dialectal word *KoRUP*, i.e. /*korup*. ‘iron, copper’; the Eastern dialectal word *x-ori*, ‘*Eisen*’; the /Xam (S1) words /*kuri*, ‘iron’; /*kʰurri*, /*koli*, /*kuri*, ‘iron, copper’; /*kuli*, /*u:ri* ‘ball, bullet’; the //Kxau (S2b) words /*kx'o:li-si*, /*kx'o:li-si*, ‘iron, bullet’; the /Nu//en (S6) word /*uri*, /*orin*, /*orinj*, ‘iron’; the Naron (C2) word /*kori*, /*koli*, /*kuri*, /*kʰore*, /*uri*, ‘iron’, and the N/uu word /*urisi*, ‘iron’. This variability of *l* and *r* is also found in words

for ‘claw’, ‘nail’, as in the //ǀ!ke (S2) word //kuri, plural //kuroke, the //Xegwi (S3) word kola, the /Auni (S4) word kora, the /Xam (S1), Auen (N1) and Kung (N2) word //kuru, the !O !kuŋ (N3) word //kulu, //kuru, the Naron (C2) word //k’oro, and the N/uu word //qorosi, ‘claw, nail’.

### **n and r**

A wide-ranging variety of languages reflect the interchangeability of *n* and *r* in different words for ‘bird’. These include the Cape dialectal words *k’annéqua*, *kaoniqaa* and /*k~anniquà*; the Eastern dialectal words Δ-*kanip*, i.e. *!kanib*, and *xgani*; the Korana words *kx’anis* and *xanis*; the Griqua words *k’anis* and *’anib*; the /Xam (S1) and Kung (N2) words *k”ānni* and *k”ani*, and the /Xam (S1) and Hukwe (C2b) word /*kanni*, all of which incorporate the nasal *n*, as opposed to the /Xam (S1) synonyms *k”arri* and *k”arri*, ‘bird, ostrich’, which display the *r* and the nasalised *ř*.

The variants discussed above are not exhaustive. The unvoiced alveolar fricative *s* and unvoiced prepalatal fricative *ʃ*, and the affricates *ts* and *tʃ*, occur as variants, as do the velars *χ* and *k*, the alveolar *t* and *s*, *d* and *r*, and so forth. These may be discerned when the comparative lists from the different languages are utilised.

### 6.1.2 Vowels

It has been noted that, as in the case of consonants, certain vowels that are similar or are pronounced in similar ways, either in the same language or different languages, are variable in a number of words. Again, it is pointed out that by ‘variable’ is not meant that these vowels are interchangeable in all cases, but that they occur as correspondences in different synonyms.

### **a and e**

The low front vowel *a* is variously heard as front half-close vowel *e* and these interchange in words for ‘fetch’, as in the Cape dialectal word *here* and the Nama word *hare*, and in the /Nu //en (S6) words *\_a<sup>z</sup>re*, *are*, *hare*, ‘to fetch water’.

The vowel *e* occurs in the Cape dialectal word *semigwe*, ‘paps’, the Cape dialectal word *semme*, ‘*de pramme*’, while the vowel *a* is seen in the Cape dialectal word *samme*, ‘*de borsten*’, the Eastern dialectal word *SAMMA*, ‘*broest; patt*’,

the Eastern dialectal word *samk'a*, 'die Brüste', the Korana word *t'hamma*, i.e. /*hamma*, 'Brust', the Nama word *sami*, *sams*, 'die Brust (weibliche)', the Nama word *samra*, *samkha*, 'dual die beiden Brüste', Hie (C1) *sam*, 'breast, bosom, teat, udder', and Khakhea (S5) //*xa:msa*, //*xa:nsa*, 'breasts'.

### **e and i**

The variability of the front half-close vowel *e* and the front close vowel *i* occurs in the Korana words *debigoe*, 'sheep' and *dibigūb*, 'wether', and the Nama word *dabigup*, 'wether', and the /Xam (S1) word *debi*, *debbi*, 'castrated animal'.

Instances of these variants occurring in the same language are the /Xam (S1), //Ku //e (S2c), //Xegwi (S3), Naron (C2) and Hukwe (C2b) words /*e* and /*i*, 'fire'. In the Khwe language the word is /'é, and in N/uu it is /'i, 'fire'.

A word in which a range of variants occur is 'goat', in which the vowels *e* and *i* not only interchange with each other but also with the back close vowel *u*, as in the /Xam (S1) words *beri*, *berri*, *berri:*, *biri* and *peri*; the /Nu//en (S6) word *biri*; the N/uu word *piri*, and the Hie (C1) words *pudi*, *pidi*, 'goat'.

A number of different words meaning 'to come' exhibit the variability of *e* and *i*, such as the Cape dialectal word *see*, the //Ń !ke (S2) words *se*, *si:*, the //Xegwi (S3) word *se*, the /Auni (S4) word *se:*, the Khakhea (S5) word *fi*, the /Nu //en (S6) word *si*, the Naron (C2) word *fi*, the !Xuhn word *tsi*, the /Xam (S1) words *s'i*, *fi*, *s'e:*, and the !O !kuŋ (N3) words *si:*, *tsi:*, *tfi* and /*ge:*, 'come'.

The variability of *e* and *i* in the same language occurs in the Kung (N2) words  $\bar{/ki}$ , /*k"i*, /*k"e*, /*xi*, and /*xe:*, and the //Xegwi (S3) words /*k"e*, /*ke:*, and /*k"i*, 'foot'.

### **o and u**

The back half-close vowel *o* is variously heard as the back close vowel *u*, as in the words for 'bone', namely the Nama words *'kooe*,  $\neq$ *kob* and  $\neq$ *kos*; the Auen (N1) words /*o*, /*u*; the !O !kuŋ (N3) word /*ʔo*, /*ʔu*; the Auen (N1) word  $\bar{/ʔu:$ ; the Kung (N2) word  $\bar{/ku:$ ; the !Xuhn word /*'u*; the Nogau (N1a) word  $\neq$ *u*, 'bone', and the /Xam (S1) word  $\bar{/ʔo$ , 'bone used as a knobkerrie'; the Korana word  $\neq$ *kob*,  $\neq$ *ko:b*; the Khwe word /'ōā; the Auen (N1) word  $\bar{/ku:$ ; and the Kung (N2) word  $\bar{/ku:$ , 'bone'.

Another word in which the variability of *o* and *u* is evidenced is ‘heavy’. Thus are recorded the Korana word *t’<sup>3</sup>kom*, i.e. *!kom*; *!kum*, *!um* and *!gum*; the Nama word *!gom*; the !Xuhn word *khó*; the Khwe word *kóm*; the /Xam (S1) word *!kumba*, and the N/uu word *//’um’i*, ‘heavy’.

Words for ‘springbok’ in which the variability of *o* and *u* is displayed, are the Korana words *t’koos*, *t’huuns*, */gūs* and *//gūs*; the Nama word *//gūb*; the Auen (N1) words *!kō*; *!kōa*, *!gūb* and *!kō*; the //Xegwi (S3) words *\_//kum*, *//kΛm*; and the Ki /hazi (S4b) word *//Λm*.

The variation of *o* and *u* occurs in the Eastern dialectal word *kōm*, ‘air’; the Nama word *//gūb*, ‘blue haze’, the /Xam (S1) words */khum*, */kum*; ‘mist’, and the /Xam (S1) words *!khoz*, *!kāu*; and *!ko<sup>ε</sup>rowa*, ‘a blue mist, haze’. In the latter words the relevant vowel forms part of the diphthongs, and the shift from *u* to *w* is also manifested.

The variability of *o* and *u* is also evident in the /Nu//en (S6) word *dum*, *dumba*, ‘neck, throat, hole, river’, as also in the Xam (S1) word *dom*, ‘throat’; *ˀ/k’o*, ‘thigh’, the Kung (N2) words *//kum*, *!kum*, ‘leg, hipbone, thigh’, the !O *!kuŋ* word (N3) *ˀ//kum*, ‘thigh’, and the Nama words *≠kus*, *≠howis*, ‘thigh’, the last-mentioned displaying variability within the same language.

The same word is sometimes used for related or similar concepts such as ‘soul’ ‘spirit’, ‘breath’ and ‘air’. Such words in which the variability of *o* and *u* is discernible, both in the same language and between languages, are the Cape dialectal word *k’omma*, ‘breath’, the Nama words *ums*, ‘soul’, *\_/oms* ‘spirit’, and */ōms*, ‘breath, soul’, the Korana words */ums* and */’umma*, ‘breath, soul’, the Khwe word *cóm*, ‘soul’, the Hie (C1) word */gom*, ‘spirit; the soul’, and */hum*, */hu*; ‘breath, spirit’; the Kung (N2) word *!khu*, *!khunga*, ‘soul, ghost’; the Naron (C2) words */um*, ‘breath’; */uhĩ*, ‘to breathe’; the //ǀ *!ke* (S2) word */Λmsa*, */um*, ‘breath’, and the N/uu word */’humsa*, ‘soul’.

Different nuances of meaning may also be responsible for the differences in words for ‘to eat’ in the /Xam (S1) words *\_/ũŋ*, ‘to eat’, */o<sup>ε</sup>ŋ*, ‘to eat (marrow) out’, *!kō<sup>ε</sup>n*, ‘to devour, eat raw’, and *!kuŋ*, ‘eat fat, take fat off’.

**o and ʌ**

In addition to the variability of *o* and *u*, a shift is noted in the words for ‘sew’, in which the short vowel *a* glides into ʌ, the symbol used to represent the sound of the vowel *u* in the English word ‘bun’. The short vowel *a* in the //ǀ!ke (S2) word /*kxama* and the Khakhea (S5) word \_//*ame*, ‘sew’, glides into the back open mixed neutral vowel ʌ in the /Xam (S1) word ≠*ʌm*, ‘to sew’, or vice versa. The relevant words are the Eastern dialectal word *oM*, i.e. /*om*; the Nama words ≠*um* and ≠*om*; the Korana words ≠’*um* and ≠’*om*; the /Xam (S1) word ≠*um* and ≠*umm*; the /Xam (S1) word ≠*ʌm*; the Kung (N2) word ≠*um*; the //ǀ!ke (S2) word /*kxama*, and the Khakhea (S5) word \_//*ame*, ‘to sew’.

This glide of the short vowel *a* into the back open mixed neutral vowel ʌ is also noted in the Cape-Saldanha word *mama*, ‘whistle’, equated by Nienaber (1963:269) with the Nama and Korana word ≠*nam*, ‘whistle through the lips’, comparable to the Auen (N1) word /*nʌm*, ‘whistle’, in which the symbol ʌ represents the pronunciation of *u* in the word ‘bun’, as noted above.

It may be worth repeating that what is called ‘variability’ for want of a better word, is actually the result of an indistinct pronunciation or hearing of the sounds of the words, aggravated by the written form being rendered in the languages of the recorders, since Dutch, German, French and English ways of writing differ from each other.

### 6.1.3 *Digraphs and diphthongs*

The vowel *a* forms the diphthongs *ai*, *ao* and *au*; the vowel *e* occurs in the diphthongs *ei* and *we*, and the vowel *o* in the diphthongs *oa*, *oe*, *oi* and *oui*, the vowel *u* forms part of the diphthongs *au* and *ou*, and also *ua*, *ue*, *ui*, but then often glides into *w*.

**ae and ai**

The interlinguistic variability of the clusters *ae* and *ai* are discernible in the Nama word ≠*hǎë-b* and the Naron (C2) words ≠*gae* and ≠*gai*, ‘springbok’, the latter also revealing variability in the same language.

**ai and ei**

On account of the close similarity in the pronunciation of the diphthongs *ai* and *ei*, together with the fact that *ei* is pronounced in German as *ai*, these two occur freely in a number of languages, for example the Eastern dialectal word *KaI*, i.e. /*kai*, ‘good’, the Korana word *t<sup>3</sup>kain*, i.e. !*kain*, ‘good; the Nama word *geiin*, the //ǀ words !*hāiija*, !*kāi*, //ēi:n, and //ē-ī, ‘good, patient, amiable, lucky’; the Khwe word ≠*xeí*, ‘feel good’, and the Naron (C2) word !*kāi*, ‘good’. The variation in the //ǀ !*ke* words may be due to the different shades of meaning.

In addition to variations in *x* and *kx*, *g* and *k*, variation of *ai* and *ei* is discernible in words for ‘kudu’, namely the Eastern dialectal word *gaip*, the Korana words *geip*, *chaib*, *xeip*, and *chais*; the Nama words *gheii* and *xaib*; the /Auni (S4) word *xai*, the /Nu//en (S6) word *xain*, the Naron (C2) words *kxai*, *xeiba* and *kxi*, the //ǀ !*ke* (S2) words *k’āi* and *k”aī*, ‘kudu’. Here again it is noted that the interchangeability occurs in one and the same language in some instances.

In verbs as well as nouns and adjectives a variation may be observed. Words for ‘to lie, to tell lies’ include the Eastern dialectal word *eige*, ‘to lie, it is false’; the /Xam (S1) word *k”ē:i*, *k”ēi:ja*, ‘to evade, get away, tease, deceive’, and the synonym *k”e:nk”e:n*, ‘to evade, get away, tease, deceive’; the Korana word //geie, //ae, ‘to lie’; the /Xam (S1) word //khwaija, //khwai//khwai, ‘to deceive, lie’; and the N/uu word /x’*eea*, ‘to tell (stories), to say, to answer’.

As discussed, the front half-close vowel *e* and the front close vowel *i* are at times pronounced identically, which is evident in the Cape dialectal word *dida(atze)*, ‘to age, to become old’, forming part of the diphthong *ei* and *ai* in the Korana words *geida*, *keida*, *gaida*, ‘old’; the Nama word *geira*, and the Hie (C1) word *kaide*, ‘old’.

It is to be expected that words in different languages display more than one variation, in vowels as well as consonants. One such example is the ‘Hottentot’ word °*keip*, ‘tree or bush from which the Bushmen prepare poison’; the Kung (N2) words *gāi* and *kāi*, ‘poison caterpillar’ and //kai, ‘poison’; the Auen (N1) word \_*kai*, ‘poison’; and the Naron (C2) word !*gaisi*, ‘poison worms’.

The digraph *ai* features in words for ‘call’ such as the Cape-Saldanha dialectal word *haih*; the Ki /hazi (S4b) word !*ai*, !*a-i*, ‘to call’; the //Xegwi (S3) and Auen

(N1) words *\_//kai*, ‘to call, speak, pray’, as well as in the Korana word *≠gai*, *≠ai*, and the N/uu word *!’ai*, ‘to call’, while *ei* features in the Kung (N2) word *!xeĩ*, ‘to call out’, and the Nama word *≠gei*. The variability of *ai* and *ei* is seen in the ≠Khomani (S2a) word *!ai* and *!ʔei*, ‘to call out, shout’.

### ***ou* and *ao***

The vowel *a* forms the diphthongs *ai*, *ao* and *au*; the vowel *e* occurs in the diphthongs *ei* and *we*, and the vowel *o* in the diphthongs *oa*, *oe*, *oi* and *ou*; the vowel *u* forms part of the diphthongs *au* and *ou*, and also *ua*, *ue*, *ui*, but then often glides into *w*.

In some instances the diphthongs *ou*, *au* and *ao* are encountered as in the Naron (C2) equivalents *tau*, *toufa*, *ʔfau* and *dau*, ‘ash, ashes’. In the words for ‘buffalo’ in a number of languages this variability is also evidenced, namely in the Cape dialectal word *t’aouv*, i.e. */aouw*; the Eastern dialectal word *KaW*, i.e. */kaw*; the Eastern dialectal words *t’kau* and *ʔ-ka-oo*, i.e. */kaoo*; the Korana word *t’<sup>1</sup>kaaub*, i.e. */kaaub*; also the Korana word */gaob* and */aob*; the Khwe word */áò*; Nama */gaob*; the Kung (N2) word */kau*, */gau*; the Hie (C1) word */hao*; the Hukwe (C2b) words */gau* and *gau*; the Hei//kum (N2a) word */gaub*; the /Xam (S1) word *!kau*; and the !Xuhn word */ao*, ‘buffalo’.

Another example of a word displaying the variation *au* and *ou* are words for ‘blood’. These are the Korana word *t’<sup>2</sup>aaub*, i.e. *//aaub* and */aub*; the Nama word *aup*, */aub*; the Nogau (N1a) word */ao*, */ou*; and the Khwe word */’ao*, ‘blood’.

In several instances the variability is to be discerned in one and the same language, such as in the Korana words */aob*, */aub*, */xaub* and *//kaub*, ‘snake’. The diphthong *ao* occurs in the Nama word */aob* and the Hie (C1) word *//gao*, ‘snake’; *au* occurs in the !O !kuŋ (N3) word *//kãu*, the /Xam (S1) word */k”au*, the //Ŋ !ke (S2) word */k”au*, ‘black snake’, the Naron (C2) word */k”au*, ‘long yellow snake’, the ≠Khomani (S2a) word *ˉ/kx’au*, the !O !kuŋ (N3) words *ˉ/kx’au*, *ˉ/kãu* and */kau*; the Naron (C2) words *ˉ/kãu*, */kau*, */gauba*, */gaufa*, and */gauo*, ‘snake, puffadder’; the /Xam (S1) words *!kau*, *//khau* and *!khau*, ‘serpent’; the Xuhn word */xauhn*, ‘snake’, and the Kung (N2) words *\≠ãu*, *ˉ≠au* and *ˉ≠’aˉwã*, ‘snake, collective term’.

**ui, wi and eu**

The back close vowel *u*, variously heard as back half-close *o*, forms part of the diphthong *ui*, as in the Nama words /gũigu and /gũis, ‘intestines’; the Korana word /gũigu and the glottalised form /ũigu, and the Naron (C2) word /gui, ‘intestine’. The glide from *u* into *w*, which often occurs in the case of the diphthong *ui*, is evident in the correlation of these words with the /Xam (S1) word /kwiŋ/kwiŋ, ‘entrails’. The German pronunciation of *eu* as /oi/ has resulted in the form of the /Xam (S1) word !geum, ‘entrails’, the Nogau (N1a) word !geum, ‘entrails’, and, in a different word, the Korana word t’<sup>2</sup>geu-eeb, ≠geu-eeb or //geu-eeb, ‘black-backed jackal’ (*Canis mesomelas*).

Another variant of the diphthong *ui* is *oe*, pronounced /oi/, encountered in the Auen (N1) ≠goe, \_≠goe, ‘black-backed jackal’.

**6.2 The suffix –qua**

The ending *qua*, *koa*, *kwa* and variants is frequently interpreted as the masculine plural ending, but its occurrence in singular nouns casts doubt on whether it is always a plural indicator. Lichtenstein (in Plumptre 1930:109) gives t’<sup>2</sup>unkoa ‘the Finger’, thus in the singular, comparable to the Hadza (C3) word *ukwa* ‘hand, finger, arm, foreleg’ and its synonym *ukwako* (Bleek 1956:248). Valentyn (1726:107a) recorded *punqua* for ‘tree’, and Lichtenstein (1930:471) recorded *heikoa*, ‘tree’ and *heikōa*, ‘Baum’ (1808:313 in Nienaber 1963:226), the latter displaying the variant *koa* but both words given as the singular. The Cape-Saldanha word *nocoaa* was recorded as ‘talon’, ‘heel’, by De Flacourt (1658:58), the second syllable comparable to the Kung (N2) word !go:a, !goʔo, ‘heel’ (Bleek 1956:386), in this case showing that the component *coaa* is not the suffix *qua* but a word cognate with other words for ‘heel’, etc.

Thunberg (1795 II:86 in Nienaber 1963:358) recorded the Eastern dialectal word *KRAKWA*, ‘glaskoral’, ‘glass bead’. The second component, *-kwa*, is identified by Nienaber (1963:358) as the masculine plural ending *gu-a* or *qua*. The permissible variability of *k* and *g* and Thunberg’s translation of *krakwa* as *glaskoral* or ‘glass beads, necklace’ shows the first component of *krakwa* to be comparable to the /Xam (S1) word !garo, ‘glass’, and the component *kwa* to the Naron (C2) word /kwa, ‘necklace’ (Bleek 1956:377, 328).



Comparison of words such as the Cape dialectal word *hyqua*, ‘a flea’, recorded by Valentyn (1726:107b), ‘*hythle* or *hyqua*, a flea’ (Nienaber 1963:505), with the Kung (N2) word *!khe-ã*, *!ke-ã*, ‘flea, fleas’ (Bleek 1956:426) indicates that the ending *qua* may be a marker of both the singular and plural, or that *qua* is in some instances variable with */ã*, etc. This aspect requires further investigation.

### 6.3 Synonyms

The study of synonyms in the same language yields data useful to the questions of variability of clicks, click shifts and click loss, efflux variability, interchangeability of vowels, diphthongs and consonants, phenomena dependent on semantic nuances, and so on. A richer corpus may indicate to what extent synonyms are indeed different words, or whether the differences and similarities in the graphic representations are the result of different written representations of the same sound, the mother tongue languages of the people who recorded the words, or other factors still to be discerned.

The /Xam (S1) word *//khoini*, of which the synonyms are *//koenje*, *//koinje*, *!kenja* and *≠kwenja* (Bleek 1956:585), is synonymous with the /Auni (S4) word *!koenja*, ‘antelope, buck, also perhaps steenbok’ (Bleek 1956:667; Möller 2017:206-208). The differences in clicks may be the result of different types of antelope being referred to, as indicated by Möller.

The /Xam (S1) word *//kõa*, ‘to resemble, be like, seem, appear’ (Bleek 1956:583), has the synonyms *//koa*, *//khoa*, *//kho* and *//ko*.

The /Xam (S1) synonyms *k”arri* and *k”ařri* ‘bird, ostrich’, and */kanni* ‘bird’, share recognisable similarities with the Korana word *t’<sup>3</sup>karinde* ‘birds’, transcribed as *!karinde*.

/Xam (S1) synonyms for ‘body’ are *!ouka*, *!oukən*, *!kauuka* and *!kaukən*.

In a number of synonyms in different languages the vowel sequence *a – a – a* is shared, while the voiced alveolar plosive *d* and the voiceless alveolar plosive *t* are interchanged. Thus are encountered the /Xam (S1) words *tebbutebbusi* and its synonym *tabataba*, ‘butterfly, butterflies’; the /Xam (S1) words *dadába*, *dadáma* and *tatába*, ‘moth, butterfly’, that also occur in the Auen (N1) word *tataba* and its synonyms *tatama*, *dadaba* and *thantabure*, ‘butterfly, moth’; the

Kung (N2) words *tataba* and *tatabba*, and the Hie (C1) words *tataba* and *dadaba*, and their synonym *thantabure*.

The /Xam (S1) word /*kulu*, ‘nail, claw’, also occurs in Auen (N1) and Kung (N2); its synonyms //*kuru*, //*kulisi* and //*koro* display interchangeability of *l* and *r*, and of *u* and *o*, as well as the lateral as opposed to the dental click (Bleek 1956:593).

The similarity between words in the same and different languages may be the result of different interpretations of the same sound, ideosyncratic pronunciation by speakers, or indeed variability of sounds such as the unvoiced alveolar fricative *s*, the unvoiced alveolar affricate *ts*, the unvoiced prepalatal unvoiced fricative *f*, and so on. These are encountered in the /Xam (S1) words *s'i*, *f'i*, *s'e*; ‘to come’; the //ǀ words *se*, *si*; the //Xegwi (S3) word *se*; the /Auni (S4) word *se*; the Khakhea (S5) word *f'i*; the /Nu //en (S6) word *si*; the Auen (N1) words *tsi*, *tʃi*; the Kung (N2) words *fe*, *ge*; the !O !kuŋ (N3) words *si*, *tsi*, *tʃi* and *ge*; the Naron (C2) word *f'i*, and the “Hottentot” word *si*, ‘to come’, for which the synonym *\_ha*: occurs (Bleek 1929:30).

In the /Xam (S1) word *!nu-!kaʔtten̄tsi*, ‘a kind of millipede’, the segment *!kaʔtten̄tsi* shares the initial cluster *!ka* and the final cluster *tsi* with the first and final clusters of the word *k'a !gam tszi*, ‘millipede’, for which no language of origin is specified. The synonym *!kummin̄-!kummin̄* bears little resemblance to these words.

The variability of *u* and *o* is discernible in the /Xam (S1) words /*kau* and /*ka:o*, ‘to cut, cross (spoor)’, /*khau* ‘to cut’ and its synonym /*khau/khau* (Bleek 1956:302, 312). The synonyms /*ka* and /*kha* lose the plosive or ejective efflux in the synonyms /*a* and /*ã*, ‘to cut’ (Bleek 1929:31), the first of these identical to the N/uu word /*a*, ‘to cut’ (Shah & Brenzinger 2016:143).

The /Xam (S1) word *swa:* and its synonym *tsʔoa*, noun ‘flat, plain’ (Bleek 1956:175), are different spellings of the same word, the unvoiced alveolar fricative *s* and the unvoiced alveolar affricate *ts* being interchangeable.

The /Xam (S1) words *!khwa:*, *!khwai:*, ‘to dawn, break (day)’ (Bleek 1956:90), have the synonym *!k"wai*, ‘to dawn, break’ (Bleek 1956:431), that reflect the ejective plosive release *k"* to replace the aspirated efflux *h*.

The /Xam (S1) synonyms *!goro* and */goren*, ‘baboon’ (Bleek 1956:386) differ in their endings, while the synonyms *//khau* and *!khau*, ‘serpent’ (Bleek 1956:312) differ in their clicks.

The synonyms *!kauï* and *!kwe*, ‘poor’ (Bleek 1929:67), have the same pronunciation but are spelt in different ways.

The /Xam (S1)  $\bar{t}\tilde{a}$ , *ta*, and their synonyms *tia*, *kia*, *tam*, ‘not to do, to be unable to do’.

The occurrence of different clicks for synonyms *!kou*, *!kau*, ‘stone, mountain, rock’; */xau*: ‘hill, possibly mountain’, and, with the lateral click, *//xau:*, ‘hill, Brinkkop’, is likely an indication in nuances of meaning, as is possibly the case with the words *!kwa*, *!kwa:*,  $\bar{!}kwa:$ , ‘leg, root’ (Bleek 1956:457);

Variation of the intervocalic nasal *n* and voiced *r* is reflected in the /Xam (S1) synonyms *!nona*, *!nora* and  $\neq no:ra$ , ‘three’ (Bleek 1956:673), the last-mentioned displaying the palatal click as opposed to the cerebral. The difference in clicks is also noted in the /Xam (S1) word *!ükən*, ‘hair’, and its synonym */ükən* (Bleek 1956:493), namely the cerebral click *!* as opposed to the dental click */*.

The /Xam (S1) *!aa*, ‘young’, synonyms *!kwã*, *Opwa*.

Hitherto synonyms in only one language, namely /Xam, were demonstrated. Now comparable synonyms in different languages are also indicated. The interchangeability of consonants and vowels that were discussed in Section 6.1 are discernible in the various words.

The variability of the alveolar fricatives *s* and *f* and the affricate *ts*, and of the vowels *e* and *i* are evident in the //ǀ *!ke* (S2) words *se*, *si*; the /Xam (S1) words *s’i*, *f’i*, *s’e*, ‘to come’; the //Xegwi (S3) word *se*; the /Auni (S4) word *se:*; the Khakhea (S5) word *f’i*; the /Nu //en (S6) word *si*; the Auen (N1) words  $\bar{t}si$ ,  $\bar{t}f’i$ ; the Kung (N2) words *fe*, */ge*; the !O *!kuŋ* (N3) words *si:*, *tsi:*, *t’f’i* and */ge:*; the Naron (C2) word *f’i*, and the “Hottentot” word *si*, ‘to come’, for which the synonym *\_ha*: occurs (Bleek 1929:30).

Variation of the ejective *k*” or glottal croak and the velar ejective affricate *kx* is notable in the //ǀ *!ke* (S2) word *k”a*, ‘to cry, sing, bleat, croak’; the  $\neq$ Khomani

(S2a) word *k”a* and its synonyms *kx’a* and *kx’wa*, and the Khakhea (S5) word //k”a, ‘to cry, bray, bleat, low, crow’ (Bleek 1956:118, 601).

The ≠Khomani (S2a) and /Auni (S4) word //ai:, its synonym /ga:zai ‘Cape fox, silver jackal’, and the Hie (C1) word n!gaa, with a synonym /ga:’ai, ‘jackal’ (Bleek 1956:150), display the variation of the diphthong *ai* and *aa*.

In the ≠Khomani (S2a) word !zaba, ‘to carry’, with its synonyms !au:wa and !au, the interchangeability of *b* and *w* is discerned, as also in the Khakhea (S5) and /Nu //en (S6) words *kaba*, *ka<sup>é</sup>ba*, ‘to walk, carry’, with its synonym //kaba (Bleek 1956:76); the Khakhea (S5) //kabe, ‘carry in the kaross – child or food collected’. In the Khakhea synonym !gabe (Bleek 1929:27); and the !O !kuŋ (N3) word !naba, ‘carry off, along’ (Bleek 1956:431), *g* and *n* vary with *k*, but a semantic shift is also to be noted in the latter.

Three //Kxau (S2c) synonyms for ‘people, person’ feature the palatal click, namely ≠ei, ≠’e and ≠egen, while the cerebral click with ejective release is discerned in the word !k’e (Bleek 1956:643).

The !Gã !ne (S2e) word *kxʔã:*, ‘to drink’, has a synonym *kxʔwã*, which, with the semi-vowel *w*, also occurs in the /Xam (S1) language (Bleek 1956:126).

Variability of *o* and *u* is discernible in the //Xegwi (S3) word //kola, ‘fingernail’, the Mohissa (C1b) word *kole*, ‘fingernail’ (Bleek 1956:58), the !O !kuŋ (N3) word //kulu, ‘nail’, with its synonyms //kɔla and //kɔra (Bleek 1956:592), that also occur in Auen (N1) and Kung (N2), and its synonyms //kuru, //kulisi and //koro (Bleek 1956:593).

The /Auni (S4) word !koenja, ‘antelope, buck, also perhaps steenbok’, is synonymous with the /Xam (S1) word //khoini, of which the synonyms are /koenje, /koinje, !kenja and ≠kwenja (Bleek 1956:585).

The Khakhea (S5) word *do-hum*, ‘bracelets, anklets’ (Bleek 1956:27), has the synonyms *d’hom* and *dhom*.

The interchangeability as click releases of the nasal *n*, the voiced velar plosive *g*, and the unvoiced velar plosive *k*, and of develarisation, can be discerned in various words for ‘to carry’, with the distinction carried in difference in clicks. Thus the clickless Khakhea (S5) and /Nu //en (S6) words *kaba* and *ka<sup>é</sup>ba*, ‘to

walk, carry', with its synonym //kaba (Bleek 1956:76), vary slightly from the Khakhea (S5) word //kabe and its synonym !gabe, 'carry in the kaross – child or food collected' (Bleek 1929:27). The ≠Khomani (S2a) word !:aba, 'to carry', with its synonyms !au:wa and !au, display a loss of click, while a slightly extended semantic content is to be seen in the !O !kuŋ (N3) word !naba with the meaning 'carry off, along' (Bleek 1956:431).

The connection between the Khakhea (S5) word tƒxai and its synonym <sup>̄</sup>tferi, 'to flare up, smoke' (Bleek 1956:238), is not readily observable beyond the initial shared unvoiced alveolar affricate tƒ and final vowel i.

This lack of immediate recognisability is also observed in the Khakhea (S5) synonyms \_//kau and bosə, 'axe', the latter finding comparable equivalents in the Hie (C1) word boo and the Naron (C2) word bofa, as well in the !O !kuŋ (N3), Naron (C2), Tsaukwe (C2a) and Hukwe (C2b) words bo, boo, boko and bose.

A variability of the vowels a and e is discernible in the words Khakhea (S5) //xa:msa, 'breasts, female' and //xa:nsa, 'breasts', with the synonym //xe: that is also used as 'milk' (Bleek 1929:24; 1956:632).

The obvious distinction between the /Nu //en (S6) words \_a<sup>z</sup>re, \_are and are on the one hand, and the synonym hare, \_hare, 'to fetch water' (Bleek 1956:493), is the lack of the aspirate h. Less readily discernible is the similarity with the synonym !ũre, 'to fetch', except for the final ending re.

The Hie (C1) word boo, 'axe', is similar to *inter alia* the Naron (C2) word bofa, as well as to the Khakhea (S5) word bosə, as discussed above. The Khakhea (S5) synonym for bosə, namely \_//kau, is comparable to the Naron synonym for bofa, namely /gau, displaying the variability of the voiced versus unvoiced velar effluxes g and k, and the different clicks.

The Hie (C1) word /ga:ʔai, a synonym for n!gaa, 'jackal' (Bleek 1956:150), occurs as a synonym of the ≠Khomani (S2a) and /Auni (S4) word //ai:, 'Cape fox, silver jackal' (Bleek 1956:514).

The variability of the vowels o and u may be discerned in the Mohissa (C1b) word kole, 'fingernail' (Bleek 1956:58), the //Xegwi (S3) word //kola, 'fingernail', and the !O !kuŋ (N3) word //kulu, 'nail', and its synonyms //kɔla and //kɔra (Bleek

1956:592), that also occurs in Auen (N1) and Kung (N2), and in its synonyms //kuru, //kulisi and //koro (Bleek 1956:593).

The Naron (C2) word /k"orro, 'few, a small group' (Bleek 1956:339), corresponds to the Korana word /kx'oro. The word /kx'oro has the synonym /k"arre, which features the vowel *a* as variant of *o*.

The respective endings *-ba* and *-me* in the Naron (C2) synonyms *fauba* and *faume*, 'winter', reflect the variability of the bilabial vowels *b* and *m*, and may perhaps be indicators of the masculine singular gender.

Naron (C2) *wa:si* and its synonyms *waxa*, *we:* and *ˉwana*; Hadza (C3) *waina*, *waine*, 'all', and Auen (N1) *wana*, *waina* (Bleek 1956:251, 252).

The ideosyncratic representation in writing of words from unwritten languages is reflected in the different spellings of the Naron (C2) synonyms *ˉ!xwe* and *!kxoĩ*, 'to fly, run away, stretch along' (Bleek 1956:504).

The Naron (C2) word *!ko-de*, 'initiate girl', with the synonyms *!kouken* and *!kãu* (Bleek 1956:435), is derived from the verb *!ko*, *!koukən*, 'to menstruate', with the feminine singular ending *-de*, indicating influence of Khoikhoi.

In Naron (C2) the words *!nu:* and *≠nu* for 'black, dark' are given as synonyms (Bleek 1956:483), indicating either a variability of clicks in this case, or a difference in the interpretation of the clicks by the writers who recorded the words.

Hadza (C3) has synonyms that display different clicks, namely */nai*, 'to eat', with a dental click, and *//nai*, with a lateral click, 'to eat meat', synonymous with *!nai*, with the cerebral click, and another synonym, *seme* (Bleek 1956:613). Although there is a shade of difference between */nai*, 'to eat', and *//nai*, 'to eat meat', no difference in meaning is indicated between *//nai*, *!nai* and *seme*.

The variation of the vowels *e* and *i* is seen in the Hadza (C3) synonyms *kwi* and *kweko*, 'to give', the former closer in spelling to the /Xam (S1) word */kwi:*, 'to give (in exchange)' (Bleek 1956:114, 333). The segment *-ko* is also encountered in the Hadza (C3) word *ukwa*, 'hand, finger, arm, foreleg', and its synonym *ukwako* (Bleek 1956:248).

The interchangeability of the vowels *o* and *u* in individual languages is discernible in the Auen (N1) synonyms *!o* and *!u*, and in the !O !kuŋ (N3) synonyms *!zo* and *!zu*, ‘bone’ (Bleek 1956:489, 492).

The similarity of the Auen (N1) synonyms *!gwa* and *!gava*, ‘chest’ (Bleek 1956:390), is explainable by recognition of the variability of the voiced semi-vowel *w* and the voiced bilabial or dentilabial fricative *v*, and the elision of the vowel *a* in the word *!gwa*.

An unusual variation is that between the alveolar plosive *t* and the voiced alveolar *r* that is encountered in the Auen (N1) synonyms *k”aru* and *k”atu*, ‘to seek, search, look for’, and the Kung (N2) word *k”a:ru* (Bleek 1956:120).

In the Auen (N1) word *≠xe:*, ‘to cut, stab’, and its synonym *≠xi:*, also encountered in Naron (C2) and Hadza (C3), the interchangeability of the front half-close vowel *e* and the front close vowel *i* is evident.

A change of clicks from dental to cerebral and of the voiced velar efflux *g* to the unvoiced velar efflux *k* is to be seen in the Auen (N1) synonyms */go*, *\_/go* and *!koro*, ‘bead of ostrich eggshell’ (Bleek 1956:280).

The variability of the low front vowel *a* and the back half-close vowel *o* has resulted in the Auen (N1) and Kung (N2) synonyms */ou* and */au*, ‘a buck, *prob.* steinbok’ (Bleek 1956:357).

The Kung (N2) words */nūi* and */nuzi*, with their synonyms */nwe* and */nwi*, ‘comrade, countryman’ (Bleek 1956:352), are different spellings of the same word, in which the semi-vowel *w* interchanges with the back close vowel *u*.

The Kung (N2) and Hadza (C3) languages have the synonyms */nai*, *//nai*, *!nai*, ‘to eat’. The variability in clicks may be explained by the nuances in meaning of the Hadza (C3) words that display different clicks. Thus the word */nai*, ‘to eat’, has a dental click, and *//nai*, with a lateral click, means ‘to eat meat’, synonymous with *!nai*, with the cerebral click (Bleek 1956:613).

In the Kung (N2) synonyms for ‘flea’, *≠haʔ* and */naʔ* (Bleek 1956:640), the different palatal and dental clicks and the interchangeability of the aspirated efflux *h* and the nasal efflux *n* are noted.

## CONCLUSIONS

The Bushman languages are among the oldest languages in the world, and the names of these languages were recorded from an early date. Names were given to the Bushman ethnic groups, and recorded, and these survived for many years. Many of these groups have become extinct or assimilated by other (Bantu and other) groups. In addition, as the various indigenous (Bushman) languages changed and developed, language contact with other peoples and groups led to mutual influence, phonological and later orthographic adaptations, translations and so forth. Logically, the further a language develops and changes, the further it is from the 'original' language, or from a former stage of that language. The words recorded earlier in time are logically and demonstrably closer to the earliest recorded words than to later ones. This may be seen by a comparison of Bleek's exposition of Bushman clicks, effluxes or accompaniments, clusters, vowels and consonants with those of later writers, such as the DoBeS system, Traill and Ladefoged, the latter for Khoikhoi.

The question arises whether the modern intricacies of correct pronunciation can be applied to words from unwritten ancient languages, words which were in many instances inadequately recorded by writers before the standardisation of conventional symbols, but which were nevertheless recorded contemporaneously with then still living languages. In recent times different symbols etc. have been coined and employed in the writing of Khoisan words by different writers. These were retained in the discussions of the comparative words.

Comparison of the situation or state of the Khoikhoi and San languages as reflected in modern studies with that recorded by Bleek indicates the processes of acculturation, language contact, linguistic development and the like over the past centuries. In view of the difficulties in demonstrating the similarities between older forms of words and their modern equivalents, and considering Bleek's repertoire of languages to be more comprehensive and closer to the original situation, her work is used as the basis for the present investigation.

As noted before, the relationship between Old Cape dialectal words and their Bushman and Khoikhoi counterparts may be more clearly distinguished now that a wider range of the latter has been included in their comparison, and in



the light of insights provided by consideration of grammatical similarities and differences.

The focus of this book, as stated in the title, was the comparison of old Cape dialectal words with Bushman and Khoikhoi equivalents. Old Cape words show closer resemblance to Bushman than to Khoikhoi 'equivalents', since the former are clearly recognisable in the lack of gender endings. The relevant words have indeed been compared as regards phonology, orthography and semantics. It has been noted that a number of scholars have decried the paucity of recorded material on extinct indigenous languages, necessitating reconstruction of former situations. Therefore, in addition to fulfilling its objective, this investigation has put together a useful corpus of lexical data. It is hoped and expected that the presentation of these many words from a wide range of Khoikhoi and Bushman languages, spanning several decades and incorporating languages thousands of years old as well as some still in use, will facilitate processes of comparison, identification of trends, determination of phonological and orthographical patterns, many of which have been done before, but perhaps here with a greater measure of reliability based on a more comprehensive stock of material, one as inclusive as is possible at this stage.

This corpus of data shows that the roots of Cape dialectal words, also Nama, Korana and Griqua, can be traced back to an ancient layer of Bushman, perhaps even an Ur-Bushman (or Proto-Khoisan, as proposed by Starostin 2008, 2013). The lexemes discussed above may serve as possible indicators or pointers to a theoretical reconstruct of such Ur-Bushman origins. It is not incidental that the comparable or synonymous words, often as cognates, are examples of a closely related language family or '*Sprachbund*' as coined by the DoBES team. More modern Khoisan languages have also developed contemporaneously, as was probably the case with Ur-Bushman, within an overlap of time, from Early to Late Stone Age (Möller 2017:305).

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alexander JE. 1838. *An expedition of discovery into the interior of Africa*. 2 vol. London: H Colburn.
- Anon. 1858. The Hottentot language. [Material supplied by Witsen N 1691, 1697]. *Cape Monthly Magazine* III.
- Appleyard John W. 1850. *The Kafir language: comprising a sketch of its history, which includes a general classification of South African dialects*. King William's Town: Wesleyan Missionary Society.
- Barrow J. 1801. *An account of travels into the interior of Southern Africa in the years 1797 and 1798*. 2 vols. London: Cadell & Davies.
- Bertuch Friedrich Justin & Vater Johann Severin. 1808. *Allgemeines Archiv für Ethnografie und Linguistik*, 1. Weimar: Verl. des Landes-Industrie-Comptoirs.
- Beutler A. 1752 see Molsbergen
- Bleek DF. 1929. *Comparative vocabularies of Bushman languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bleek DF. 1956. *A Bushman dictionary*. New Haven, Connecticut: American Oriental Society.
- Bleek WHI. 1862. *A Comparative Grammar of South African Languages*. Cape Town.
- Boden Gertrud. 2011. The documentation of place names in an endangered language environment: a case study of the !Xoon in Southern Omaheke, Namibia. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 53(1):34-76.
- Bolling F. 1670. *Oost-Indisch reisboek*. J Visscher (trans). *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land-, en volkenkunde van Ned.-Indie*, 68, 1918.
- Borcherds PB. 1861. *An autobiographical memoir of Petrus Borchardus Borchers Esq.* Cape Town: A.S. Robertson. Facsimile reprint 1963. Cape Town: C Struik.
- Bosman DB & Thom, HB (eds). 1952, 1955, 1957. *Daghregister Gehouden by den Oppercoopman Jan Anthonisz van Riebeeck, Deel 1, 1652 – 1655, Deel 2, 1656-1658, Deel 3, 1659-1662*. Kaapstad: Balkema.
- Bourquin W. 1920. *Vokabular der Korana-Sprache von CF Wuras*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.

- Bövingh JG. 1714. *Kurtze Nachricht von den Hottentotten*. Hamburg: Bey Caspar Jahkel.
- Brenzinger Matthias. 2003. Wilfred HG Haacke and Eliphaz Eiseb. *A Khoekhoegowab dictionary with an English- Khoekhoegowab index*. Review. *Lexicos* 13 (AFRILEX-reeks/Series 13:330-333).
- Brenzinger Matthias. 2013. The twelve modern Khoisan languages. In Witzlack-Makarevich & Ernst (eds.), *Khoisan languages and linguistics: proceedings of the 3rd International Symposium, Riezlern / Kleinwalsertal* (Research in Khoisan Studies 29). Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.
- Brink CF. see Mossop EE (ed.) 1947.
- Burchell WJ. 1812. *Travels in the interior of Southern Africa*. 2 vols. London: Batchworth Press.
- Buttner JD. 1725. Waare Relation und Beschrybung von Cabo de goede Hoop. Ms, Public Library, Cape Town.
- Campbell J. 1815. *Travels in South Africa*. 2 vols. London: Black, Parry.
- Chebanne A. 2003. The Khoe and San languages and people of Botswana: the current situation. In K.K. Prah (ed.) *Silenced voices*. CASAS Book Series 34. Cape Town: CASAS pp. 59-102.
- Chebanne A. 2008. A sociolinguistic perspective of the indigenous communities of Botswana. *African Studies Monographs*, 29(3): 93-118.
- Chebanne A. 2014. What have Eastern Kalahari Khoe languages lost linguistically? *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics Plus*, Vol. 44, 2014, 1-21.
- Comley P & Meyer S. 1997. *A field guide to mammals of Namibia*. Durban: Hirt and Carter.
- Claudius Heinrich. 1799. *Simon van der Stel's journey to Namaqualand in 1685*. Cape Town and Pretoria: Human & Rousseau.
- Dart RA (et al). 1953. *Africa's place in the human story*. Johannesburg: SABC.
- De Flacourt E. 1658. *Language des sauuages de la Baye de Saldaigne au Cap de Bonne Esperance*. Paris: Petit Recueil.
- De Kock V. 1953. *By strength of heart*. Cape Town: Howard Timmins.
- Doke CM. 1936. An outline of ≠Khomani Bushman phonetics. *Bantu Studies* 10(1): 433-460.
- Drennan MR (1953) see Dart RA (et al) 1953.
- Ebner JL. 1829. *Reise nach Süd-Afrika*. Berlin.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Engelbrecht JA. 1928. Studies oor Korannataal. *Annale van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch* VI B 2.
- Engelbrecht JA. 1936. *The Korana*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller.
- Engelbrecht JA. 1956. see Bleek D. 1956.
- Estes RD. 2012. *The behavior guide to African mammals including hoofed mammals, carnivores, primates*. Twentieth anniversary edition. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press.
- Forbes VS. 1965. *Pioneer travellers of South Africa*. Cape Town: Balkema.
- Gordon Robert Jacob. 1777. *Voyage du 6 Octobre 1777 au 8 Mars 1778*. Manuscript, Brentthurst Library, Johannesburg.
- Gove Philip Babcock (ed). 1961. *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged*. London: G. Bell and Sons; Springfield, Mass.: G. & C. Merriam.
- Grevenbroek JW see Schapera & Farrington 1695.
- Güldemann T & Vossen R. 2000. Khoisan. In Heine B & Nurse D (eds). 2000. *African languages: an introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Haacke WHG. 2002. *Linguistic evidence in the study of origins: the case of the Namibian Khoekhoe-speakers*. Windhoek: University of Namibia.
- Haacke WHG & Eiseb E. 1999. *Khoekhoegowab-English/English-Khoekhoegowab Glossary/Midi Saogub*. Windhoek: Gamsberg-Macmillan.
- Haacke WHG & Eiseb E. 2002. *A Khoekhoegowab dictionary with an English- Khoekhoegowab index*. Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan.
- Hartogh Jan. 1707. Dagregister gehouden op de landtocht en vee ruijling door den baas tuijnier Jan Hartogh Ao 1707. Manuscript, State Archives, Cape Town.
- Hartogh Jan. 1707 see Molsbergen EC.
- Häszner JT. 1793. Huislijk geneeskundig handboek voor de ingezetenen van Nederlands Afrika. Manuscript, State Archives, Cape Town.
- Heine Berndt & Honken Henry. 2010. "The Kx'a Family; a New Khoisan Genealogy". *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 79:5-36.

- Herbert Thomas. 1634. *A relation of some yeares traveile begunne Anno 1626 into Afrique and the Greater Asia by Thomas Herbert Esquire*. London: William Stansby and Jacob Bloome.
- Hoffmann JC. 1931. *Reise nach dem Kaplande nach Mauritius und nach Java 1671-1676*, in *Reisebeschreibungen von deutschen Beamten und Kriegsleuten im Dienst der Niederländischen West- und Ost-Indischen Kompagnien 1602 – 1797*, herausgegeben von S.P. L'HONORÉ NABER, Teil 7. Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Hugo. n.d. *Hugo's pocket dictionary Dutch-English and English-Dutch*. London: Hugo's Language Institute.
- Janssen L. (1803) *see* Molsbergen EC Godée. 1916, 1922, 1932. *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika in de Hollandse Tijd*. 4 dele. 's Gravenhage: Marthinus Nijhoff.
- Kilian-Hatz Christa. 2003. *Khwe Dictionary*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.
- Kirby PR. 1939, 1940. (ed). *The diary of Dr. Andrew Smith 1834-1836*. 2 vols. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- Kolbe P. 1727. *Naaukeurige en uitvoerige beschrijving van de Kaap de Goede Hoop*. 2 dele. Amsterdam: B Lakeman.
- Kroenlein JG. 1889. *Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoïn*. Berlin: Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft.
- Ladefoged P. 2012. *Vowels and consonants*. 3rd edition. Wiley-Blackwell.
- Lancaster J. 1877. *The first voyage made to the East Indies by J. Lancaster*. London: Hakluyt Society.
- Le Vaillant F. 1783. *Histoire Naturelle des oiseaux d'Afrique*. Vol VI. Paris: JJ Fuchs
- Le Vaillant F. 1790. *Travels into the interior parts of Africa, by way of the Cape of Good Hope*. 2 vols. London: GGJ and J Robinson.
- Lichtenstein H. 1808. *see* Bertuch & Vater 1808:259-331.
- Lichtenstein H. 1928, 1930. *Travels in Southern Africa in the years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806*. 2 vols. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- Lloyd L *see* Maingard LF. 1932.
- Lodewyckz W. 1595 *see* Rouffaer GP & Ijzermann JW. 1915. *De eerste schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Cornelis de Houtman, 1595-1597*. Den Haag: Linschoten Vereeniging.
- Maingard LF (ed). 1932. Korana names of animals and plants, collected by Dr. Lucy Lloyd. *Bantu Studies* 6(4):309-321.

- Maingard LF. 1964. The Korana dialects. *African Studies* 23(2):57-66.
- Matelief Cornelis. 1648. *Historische Verhael vande treffelijcke Reyse, gedaen near de Oost-Indien ende China, met elf Schepen [...] in den Jaren 1605, 1606, 1607, ende 1608*. Amsterdam: Johannes Janssonius.
- Meinhof C. 1930. *Der Koranadialekt des Hottentottischen*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Mentzel OF. 1921, 1925, 1944. *A geographical and topographical description of the Cape of Good Hope*. 3 vols. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- Mesthtrie Rajend (ed). 1995. *Language and social history: Studies in South African sociolinguistics*. Claremont: David Philip.
- Möller LA. 2017. *Of the same breath: indigenous animal and place names*. Bloemfontein: SUN MeDIA.
- Molsbergen EC Godèe. 1916, 1922, 1932. *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika in de Hollandse Tijd*. 4 dele. 's Gravenhage: Marthinus Nijhoff.
- Mossop EE (ed). 1931. *Joernale van die landtogte van die edele vaandrig Olof Bergh (1682 en 1683) en van die vaandrig Isaq Schrijver (1689)*. Kaapstad: Van Riebeeck-Vereniging.
- Mossop EE (ed). 1935. *The journal of Hendrik Jacob Wikar (1779)*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- Mossop EE (ed). 1935. *The journals of Jacobus Coetsé Jansz: (1760) and Willem van Reenen (1791)*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- Mossop EE (ed). 1947. *The journals of Brink and Rhenius*. Van Riebeeck Society Vol. 28. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- Native Language Bureau (comp). 1977. *Nama/Damara orthography No. 2*. Windhoek: Department of Bantu Education.
- Nienaber GS. 1963. *Hottentots*. Pretoria: JL van Schaik.
- Nienaber GS. 1989. *Khoekhoense stamname: 'n voorlopige ondersoek*. Pretoria & Kaapstad: Academica.
- Nienaber GS & Raper PE. 1977. *Toponymica Hottentotica A*. 2 vols. Pretoria: Raad vir Geesteswetenskaplike Navorsing.
- Nienaber GS & Raper PE. 1980. *Toponymica Hottentotica B*. Pretoria: Raad vir Geesteswetenskaplike Navorsing.
- Olafsson B see Phillipotts B. 1931:73.
- Pettman Charles. 1985. *South African place names*, 2 ed. Johannesburg: Lowry Publishers.

- Phillpotts B. 1931. *The life of the Icelander Jón Olafsson, traveller to India, written by himself. Translated from the Icelandic edition of Dr. S. Blöndal by B. Phillpotts.* London: Hackluyt Society.
- Plumptre A. (ed.) 1830. *Lichtenstein Henry Travels in Southern Africa in the years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806.* 2 vols. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- Raper Peter E. 2010. The Ethnonyms 'Bushman' and 'San'. *Acta Academica* 42(1): 168-186.
- Raper Peter E, Möller Lucie A & Du Plessis L Theodorus. 2014. *Dictionary of Southern African Place Names.* Johannesburg and Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers.
- Rouffaer GP & Ijzermann JW. 1915. *De eerste schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Cornelis de Houtman, 1595-1597.* Den Haag: Linschoten Vereeniging.
- Rust Fr. 1960. *Deutsch-Nama Wörterbuch.* Windhoek: Rheinische Mission in Südwestafrika.
- Schapera I & Farrington B (ed). 1933. *The early Cape Hottentots described in the writings of Dapper, Ten Rhyne and JG Grevenbroek.* Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- Schinz Hans. 1891. *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika.* Oldenburg und Leipzig: Schultzesche Hof-Buchhandlung und Hof-Buchdruckerei (A. Schwartz).
- Schmidt G. 1737. Account of the voyage of Brother George Schmidt to the Cape of Good Hope. Manuscript. Public Library, Cape Town.
- Schrijver I. 1689 see Mossop EE (ed). 1931. *Joernale van die landtogte van die edele vaandrig Olof Bergh (1682 en 1683) en van die vaandrig Isaq Schrijver (1689).* Kaapstad: Van Riebeeck-Vereniging.
- Schultze L. 1907. *Aus Namaland und Kalahari.* Jena: Gustav Fischer.
- Shah Sheena & Brenzinger Matthias. 2016. *Ouma Geelmeid teaches N/uu.* Cape Town: University of Cape Town.
- Shortridge GC. 1934. *The mammals of South West Africa.* 2 vols. London: William Heinemann.
- Smith A see Kirby PR. 1939, 1940. *The diary of Dr. Andrew Smith 1834-1836.* 2 vols. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- Snyman JW. 1974. The Bushman and Hottentot Languages of Southern Africa. *Limi* 2(2) June 1974.
- Sparrman A. 1785. *A voyage to the Cape of Good Hope.* 2 vols. London: Robinson.

- Starostin G. 2008. From modern Khoekhoe to Proto-Khoisan. The value of intermediate reconstructions. *Aspects of Comparative Linguistics*. Moscow: RSUH Publishers.
- Starostin G. 2013. *Languages of Africa: an attempt at a lexicostatistical classification*. Volume 1: Methodology, Khoesan languages. Moscow.
- Ten Rhyne W. 1673 see Schapera & Farrington.
- Thunberg CP. 1795. *Travels in Europe, Africa and Asia, made between the years 1770 and 1779*. London: F. and C. Rivington.
- Tindall H. 1857. *A grammar and vocabulary of the Namaqua-Hottentot language*. Cape Town: G J Pike.
- Traill A. 1973. The !xǒ Language Revisited, ISMA Symposium on Bushman Studies, University of the Witwatersrand, 15 June 1973. In Snyman JW. 1974 *The Bushman and Hottentot Languages of Southern Africa*. *Limi* 2(2) June 1974.
- Traill A. 1974. *The compleat guide to the Koon*. Johannesburg: African Studies Institute, University of the Witwatersrand.
- Traill A. 1975. Phonetic correspondences in the !xǒ dialects: how a Bushman language changes. In: A. Traill (ed). *Bushman and Hottentot Linguistic Studies*. Johannesburg: African Studies Institute, University of the Witwatersrand. 77-102.
- Traill Anthony. 1978. The Languages of the Bushmen. In: P.V. Tobias, (ed). *The Bushmen*. Cape Town: Human and Rousseau. 1978:137-147.
- Traill A. 1995. The Khoesan languages of South Africa. In: Rajend Mesthrie (ed). 1995. *Language and social history: Studies in South African sociolinguistics*. Claremont: David Philip. 1-18.
- Traill A. 2007. !Khwa-ka Hhouiten Hhouiten 'The rush of the storm': the linguistic death of /Xam. In: Pippa Skotnes (ed). *Claim to the country: the archive of Lucy Lloyd and Wilhelm Bleek*. Johannesburg: Jacana.
- Traill A and Vossen R. 1997. Sound change in the Khoisan languages: New data on click loss and click replacement. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics*, 18(1): 21-56.



- Valentyn Francois. 1726. *Beschrijving van Kaap der Goede Hoop*. Dordrecht/Amsterdam: Joannes van Braam, Gerard Onder de Linden.
- Van Mandelslo JA. 1658. *Beschrijving van de gedenkwaardige zee- ende landt-reyse, deur Persien naar Oost-Indien*. t'Amsterdam: Jan Hendriksz. en Jan Rieuwertsz.
- Van Reenen Willem see Mossop EE (ed). 1935. *The journals of Jacobus Coetsé Jansz: (1760) and Willem van Reenen (1791)*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- Van Riebeeck JA. 1951-1962. See Bosman DB & Thom HB (eds).
- Vedder H. 1938. *South West Africa in early times*. London: Humphrey Milford for the Oxford University Press.
- Von Winkelmann Fr. 1788. *Historische Nachrichten der östlichen Kaffern*. Manuscript, Algemeen Rijksargief, 's-Gravenhage.
- Wandres C. 1918. *Alte Wortlisten der Hottentottensprache*. *Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen* 9.
- Wangemann Herman Theodor. 1873. *Die Berliner Mission im Koranna-Lande*. Berlin: Evangelisches Missionshaus.
- Waterhouse G. 1932. *Simon van der Stel's journal of his expedition to Namaqualand, 1685-5*. London: Longmans Green & Co., and Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co.
- Waterhouse G. 1953. *Supplement: Addenda et Corrigenda*. London: Longmans Green & Co., and Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co.
- Weich F. 2004. *San English Afrikaans dictionary*. Braamfontein: Macmillan.
- Westphal EOJ. 1971. *The Click Languages of Southern and Eastern Africa*. *Current Linguistic Trends* Vol. 8.
- Wikar H. 1779 see Mossop EE.
- Witsen N. 1691 see Molsbergen EC.
- Witsen N. 1697. *The Hottentot Language; articles from material provided by N Witsen*. *Cape Monthly Magazine* III. 1858.
- Wuras CF. 1920 see Bourquin W.
- Wuras C.F. 1920. *Vokabular der Korana-Sprache. Herausgegeben und mit kritischen Anmerkungen versehen von Walther Bourquin*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.

**Internet sources**

Kids.Net.Au-Encyclopedia>Kalahari  
Desert

[ombud@mg.co.za](mailto:ombud@mg.co.za);

[www.diversitysouthafrica.co.za/khoi.html](http://www.diversitysouthafrica.co.za/khoi.html)

[www.jstor.org/sici](http://www.jstor.org/sici)

[www.southafrica.com/forums/open-board/5901-whats-name.html](http://www.southafrica.com/forums/open-board/5901-whats-name.html)

<http://spilplus.journals.ac.za>

<https://en.langenscheidt.com.zart>

Brenzinger, Matthias. 2003. Wilfred H.G. Haacke and Eliphas Eiseb. *A Khoekhoegowab Dictionary with an English-Khoekhoegowab Index*. 2002. Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan. *Review*. <https://www.ajol.info> > article > view.

The preservation of South Africa's indigenous languages – the extinct Bushman and Khoikhoi languages in particular – is a pressing concern. *Voices Past and Present* serves as a comprehensive, scholarly and practical source for documenting and preserving some of them.

The subcontinent of Africa has been inhabited by Bushman, Khoikhoi and Bantu-speaking peoples for thousands of years, and, for the past few centuries, also by European-speaking peoples. Contact between these peoples brought about changes in the different languages. As a result, modern languages are no longer identical to the original ones, many of which, especially in the case of the Bushman and Khoikhoi languages, have become extinct. Words used in ancient times and recorded long ago often bear no resemblance to their modern counterparts.

In this book, Peter E. Raper provides a detailed investigation of the earliest recordings of words available. Words from Old Cape dialects are compared for correspondences in sound and meaning to words from 29 Bushman languages and dialects, as well as to words from Nama, Koranna, Griqua, !Xuhn, !Xoon, Khwe and N/uu.

*Voices Past and Present* provides an extensive corpus of words that can be further utilised for the purpose of shedding light on the specific languages from which the recorded words (and names) were derived, on historical distribution of the various groups, on the classification of the different languages and peoples, for determining relationships or otherwise between the different languages, potentially identifying components of place-names and ethnonyms from ancient and extinct languages, and elucidating other matters that have long vexed scholars who have complained about a lack of recorded data.

---

**PETER E. RAPER**, one of South Africa's foremost experts on the Bushman substructures of place names, is Professor Extraordinaire and Research Fellow in the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Free State, and member of the South African Academy of Science and Art. He served as Chairman of the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names, as Chairman of the National Place Names Committee of South Africa, and as President of the Names Society of Southern Africa. An internationally recognised authority, he initiated and co-presented ten UN training courses on geographical names in Southern Africa together with Dr Lucie A. Möller. He is the author of numerous journal articles and books, and some of his works have been translated into Afrikaans, Arabic, Chinese and Korean.

**sb** SUNBONANI  
SCHOLAR

