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Studies in Tuu
(Southern Khoisan)

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The first article proposes a new name for the Southern Khoisan family, based on the fact that all sufficiently attested languages show some reflex of the noun *tuu 'people'. This is a more suitable alternative to previous terms, because it not only unambiguously identifies the genealogical unit and is in line with established conventions for classificatory nomenclature, but also avoids several drawbacks of other terms, among them the heretofore unproven idea of a genealogical unit Khoisan. The second article gives more substantial and systematic evidence that Tuu alias Southern Khoisan itself is in fact a coherent genealogical entity. It first outlines basic structural features of Tuu languages showing that they constitute a robust and typologically fairly distinct language type. It goes on to show that this is associated with a sufficient amount of sound-meaning correspondences, in both grammar and lexicon, in order to warrant an interpretation in terms of inheritance from a common ancestor language. Both studies are the result of work carried out in the project 'Genetic and typological profile of the Tuu language family (alias Southern Khoisan): cataloguing and linguistic analysis of existing sources'. My sincere thanks to the 'Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft' for having sponsored this project with a research grant.

Studies in Tuu

(Southern Khoisan)

Tom Güldemann

Contents

"Tuu" - a new name for the Southern Khoisan family[1]

The languages commonly subsumed under the name "Southern Khoisan" have been grouped into a classificatory unit since D. Bleek's survey research in the early 20th century. That this is indeed a genealogically defined group has been maintained by most scholars familiar with the primary language data although hardly any work has been published to substantiate this claim. For first substantial data on this topic, the reader is referred to Hastings (2001) and the paper appearing here in the same issue of ULPA.

It is certainly not desirable to arbitrarily change nomenclature which identifies a certain entity more or less correctly and is well established in the previous literature. So the first question here is: Why a new name for the family at issue? There exist several reasons for this, which will be outlined below. To begin with, I present in Table 1 a fairly complete list of labels assigned to this group in previous surveys of Khoisan.

Family name	**Reference**
Southern Bushman	Bleek 1927 etc.
Southern Khoisan	Schapera 1930
Southern Khoisan	Greenberg 1963
Taa and *!Wi* as two independent families	Westphal 1971
Khoisan méridional composed of *!Kwi* and *Non-!Kwi*	Köhler 1981
Südkhoisan	Winter 1981
!Ui-Taa	Güldemann and Voßen 2000

Table 1: Names for the family in previous surveys

The use of a geographical designation "southern" in the majority of the above terms has several defects. Of relatively minor concern is that this usage is factually incorrect. The most southerly of the languages which have been subsumed under the label Khoisan are actually Khoekhoe varieties belonging to the Khoe family (alias Central Khoisan). More serious is the fact that the term invites potential confusion with the commonly used term "South African Khoisan" going back to Greenberg's work. This comprises all of Khoisan except the isolated languages Sandawe and Hadza in Tanzania, including the family at issue. Still more problematic is that a label involving a RELATIONAL geographical term like "southern" does not provide a basic, self-contained identification of the group. Intimately connected with this is that "Southern" is set into opposition to "Northern" and "Central",

[1] The paper has been announced for quite some time as: *Khoisan Forum, Working Papers* 19. Köln: Institut für Afrikanistik, Universität zu Köln; that this did not materialize was beyond my control.
The glosses of the examples are my own. Abbreviations: IPFV imperfective, PRO pronoun, PROP proper name, Q question, REL relative, STAT stative. Arabic numbers indicate nominal agreement classes insofar as they are relevant.

inviting - as intended explicitly by Schapera and Greenberg and tentatively by Köhler - the conclusion about a genealogical link between all lineages assigned to Khoisan. This hypothesis, however, has thus far not been established by standardly accepted linguistic methods and is far from obvious on the basis of the available data (see inter alia Güldemann and Voßen 2000).

"!Ui-Taa" or similar terms have suggested themselves as alternatives since the publications of Westphal, who opposed Greenberg's general classification hypothesis, referring instead to the two major subgroups of the family by their respective common form for 'person'. However, such a designation has actually been used explicitly only once, in the recent survey by Güldemann and Voßen (2000). Compared with the major defects mentioned for the first set of terms, it certainly fares better, but it is also not ideal. A binary term referring to major subbranches is still not an optimal identificatory label for this group. "Basic-level" classificatory units ("families" in the sense of Nichols (1992)) predominantly have basic and simple labels. This is also warranted for the family at issue, even more so because in the present state of knowledge it is a primary unit on the world level in having no obvious genealogical relative. Equally important is the fact that a term like !Ui-Taa presupposes a particular internal composition for the family, namely a neat split into two branches. This hypothesis has thus far not been established by historical-comparative work, and it will never be so with any certainty because the majority of languages have become extinct without having been documented sufficiently. A term like !Ui-Taa might arguably be acceptable were it not for the fact that there exists an alternative label that is clearly more suitable in the present context. This will be the subject of the remainder of the article.

Note first in this respect that there exists a general trend in Khoisan studies to replace geographical terms for the major language groups in Southern Africa by a nomenclature that is based on the respective common terms for 'person, people', a trend which has become more and more established: "Khoe" for Central Khoisan, "Ju" for Northern Khoisan,[2] and finally "!Ui" and "Taa" for apparently cohesive subgroups of the family at issue. This usage conforms with a widespread practice for other genealogical language groups in and outside Africa, and in Khoisan research in particular goes back to Westphal (1971) and Köhler (1971, 1973/4).

What is still lacking is a term of this kind for the whole of Southern Khoisan. A survey of the data available on this family yields a lexical item which is a very good candidate vis-à-vis the nomenclature conventions mentioned above. Bleek (1956: 239-40) lists a nominal entry restricted to but well attested across the family. It has the form *tu* and is translated by her as 'man' and/or 'who'.

Although Bleek does not justify the association of the two different meanings, her analysis is certainly justified by the available data because the relevant languages share the following grammatical trait: content interrogatives ("wh-questions") are frequently rendered by the cooccurrence of a general question marker with an indefinite proform which conveys the onomasiological category

[2] For this family, there exists a competing alternative using the term "!Xũu", also meaning 'person'.

of the referent under consideration (see Bhat (2000) for a crosslinguistic perspective on this phenomenon). The indefinite proform can be a generic noun, a pronoun, or even a verbal item. The last possibility is exemplified by a structure in Eastern !Xõo in which the notion 'where' is expressed by the combination of the general question marker */V* and the indefinite locative verb *āh'ã̄* 'be (at some place)'.

(1) */-é bōlo //xáo ń āh'ã̄ !núm tshûu /îi*
Q-3 PROP.3 ? be.somewhere stay sit STAT
Where does bōlo ||xáo live? (Traill 1994: 18)

Concerning the notion 'who', it can be stated for the family that the indefinite proform of the complex interrogative can involve a pronoun or a generic noun meaning 'person, people'. The latter case is shown by the following example from |Xam (see Güldemann (forthcoming a) for the modified transliteration). The relevant question type is conveyed by a combination of the general question marker *xa* and the singular stem *!u(i)* 'person', which displays in addition a suffix *-di* or *-de* conveying 'which'.[3]

(2) *!u-di xa aa n/aa !utau*
person.1-which Q 1REL see Sirius
Who was it who saw Sirius? (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 338-9)

The same phenomenon applies to the stem *tu*, which motivated Bleek's assumption of an etymological relation between the stem's attestations glossed as 'man' and those glossed as 'who'. This is shown in the following example from N|huki and will be substantiated below by data from other languages.

(3) *tyú xè 'à ʘwà*
person Q your child
Wie is jou kind? [who is your (SINGULAR) child?] (Westphal, no date)

I will now present cognates of the etymon from virtually all reasonably well documented speech varieties, covering almost the entire distribution area of the family. This presentation takes not only the assumed basic meaning of the noun into account, but also its possible use in interrogatives and - as will be demonstrated below - in contexts where it serves as (the nucleus of) a proform.

First, the lexeme is found across the entire Taa branch of the family, where it has a fairly homogeneous meaning, namely 'people'. The best information comes from the Lone Tree variety of

[3] The stem *!u(i)* is a cognate of the noun that provided the designation for one of the two recognized branches of the family. The suffix *-di*, *-de* seems to be derived itself from an indefinite locative verb 'be (at some place)' (see Güldemann forthcoming c), because it is similar in behavior to !Xõo *āh'ã̄*, which also renders both 'where' and 'which'. Thus, the interrogative reading of *-di*, *-de*, too, would have been tied originally to its cooccurrence with a question marker.

Eastern !Xõo. Traill (1994: 154, 157) has the entry *tùu* 'people, kin' (noun class 4), which is the suppletive plural counterpart of the stem *tâa* 'person (specially a Bushman), a proper person' (noun class 3).[4] Further, Traill (1994: 156) reports a plural suffix *-tû*, which is restricted to human plural nouns of class 4; it is highly probable that this morpheme goes back to an earlier compound pattern with *tùu* 'people' as its head noun. Finally, in discussing pronominal paradigms, Westphal (1971: 416) gives the following relevant information from the ǂHũa variety of Eastern !Xõo: "The alternative in [3rd-person] plural [see the second clause in example (4); the significance of the glottal gesture in *tu'u* is unclear] literally means 'The people are walking' but it is frequently used in the meaning of 'They are walking'." That is, the noun can be used as a proform, here for the category 3rd-person human plural.

(4)	*ɦu'u*	*ba*	*ŋ!aa*	or	*tu'u*	*ba*	*ŋ!aa*
	4PRO	IPFV	walk		people.4	IPFV	walk
	They are walking (Westphal 1971: 416)						

The scanty data available for Western Taa varieties largely conform with the above. Bleek (inter alia 1956: 240) gives *tu* with the meaning 'person' for a variety in central-western Namibia called by her |Nu||en. For reasons one can only speculate about, she fails to note a restriction of the noun to plural number. This, however, is attested in the remaining data on Western Taa collected in the same area and further south (Westphal (1966: 139) on N|amani, Traill (1974: 15) on ʘHa and Aminuis !Xõo).

Several details in the above presentation, especially as regards the most reliable data provided in Traill's (1994) dictionary, are noteworthy for the following discussion: (a) the relevant noun stem has in most, if not all, varieties a plural meaning; (b) it can be recruited for various grammatical purposes; (c) its phonetic form [tuu] displays a sequence of two identical vowels and thus conforms to an expected stem-formation pattern CVV; and (d) the entire stem pair *taa*/ *tuu* has at least in some varieties a special connotation of 'proper person, person from one's own group, San person'.

Another set of attestations comes from the little-known varieties encountered in the Lower Nosop area. With respect to |Haasi, the data given by Story (1999) do not display a noun stem with such a meaning and they pose general problems of analysis. However, his text (ibid.: 33-4) contains several tokens of the word *sitjo:* meaning 'us' and referring consistently to the social group of the speaker. It is highly probable that this form is morphologically complex, being composed of the 1st-person plural exclusive pronoun *si* and a nominal stem *tjoo* cognate with *tuu* 'people', and thus means literally 'us/our (EXCLUSIVE) people'. This hypothesis is based on (a) the close semantic match between the |Haasi expression in the text and its two putative cognates *si* and *tuu*, especially regarding the exclusive reference to one's own social group, (b) the fact that the phonetic differences between *tjoo*

[4] The noun *taa* has provided the name for the Taa branch of the family.

and *tuu* are minor and explainable (*o* and *u* alternate frequently in older transcriptions; palatalization is known in the relevant area, cf. in (3) the form *tyu* in the geographically close N|huki), (c) the observation that such complex proforms are not uncommon in the area, and (d) the fact that Story's word list (ibid.: 23) also gives expressions with *tjo:* as equivalents of 'they', 'we', and 'you (PLURAL)' (however, these are not transparent semantically and lacking in the pronoun list of his grammar sketch). For another variety, |'Auni, Bleek (1937: 265) lists the following relevant items: *tuke*, *tuku*, *tutuse*, and *tutusi*, translated as 'men, boys, people'. It is beyond the scope of this paper to explain these different forms in detail and show that Bleek's analysis of them is blurred (see Güldemann (2002) regarding the last two forms). It suffices to note here that the first element *tu* in all these forms is cognate with the etymon under discussion. Also, Bleek (ibid.: 255, 259) gives an element *du* as a pronoun meaning 'you (PLURAL)' or 'they'. Although her data must be evaluated with caution, these items may represent other instances of the grammatical use of the generic noun *tu*.

The noun stem has equally clear reflexes across the !Ui branch of the family. In the group of varieties documented best, namely the |Xam cluster south of the Lower and Middle Orange River, *tukən* 'men' is given as the suppletive plural counterpart of the stem *gwai* 'man, male' (Bleek 1928-30: 92). It can be added from my own research on this language that this form contains besides the relevant stem a plural suffix (double plural marking, here by suppletion and suffix, is a general trait in this language and the family in general; see Güldemann forthcoming b, c). Bleek also mentions that this plural form is used regularly as the head of a compound pattern deriving masculine plural animates.

(5)	*toï*	*gwai*	vs.	*toï-ta*	*tukən*
	ostrich	male		ostrich-?	males
	male ostrich, strong ostrich			male ostriches (Bleek 1928-30: 96)	

A similar picture is found in the closest attested relative of |Xam, namely the cluster of !Ui varieties north of the Orange River in Gordonia. My analysis of Westphal's field notes on N|huki has yielded *tyu-ke* 'men' (again with the additional plural suffix) vs. *ǂoo* 'man' as well as a complex interrogative *tyu* (...) *xae* 'who' which is composed of the stem and a general question marker (see (3) above). Other closely related varietes from Gordonia as well as those further southeast give evidence at least for the grammatical function as interrogative. Maingard (1937: 247) gives *tj^{h}u-xai* 'who' for ǂKhomani, and Bleek (2000: 23) similarly has *tu* involved in 'who'-questions of her N||ng. For ǂUngkue, too, Meinhof (1929: 169, 181) reports the stem *tu* as the interrogative 'who'. Finally, it is probable that the ||Xegwi items *towa* and *twa-ŋ* 'who' given by Lanham and Hallowes (1956: 118) also contain a reflex of this stem.

On account of all these data, it is possible to reconstruct a noun **tuu* for the entire family. In some languages, it has a more limited semantic reference to 'men'. It has also acquired additional uses in

various pronominal expressions and sometimes has even been restricted to these contexts. However, a unifying and probably original meaning accounting for all attestations of the stem is 'people'.

I therefore propose this etymon in the form "Tuu" as the name for the entire genealogical unit. The new term is in line with established conventions for classificatory nomenclature in Khoisan studies and elsewhere, and it provides an unambiguous reference for the family which is suitable for any kind of further genealogical classification.

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Tuu as a language family[1]

1. Introduction

Since Bleek (1927), the Tuu family, then known as "Southern Bushman", has been considered almost unanimously to be a genealogical unit within Khoisan; Westphal is the only scholar who has expressed reservations against this view. Nevertheless, sufficient empirical data in support of this hypothesis have yet to be presented. Traill's (1975) insightful study on some problems and potentials of establishing cognates aside, Hastings (2001) is in fact the first work ever that is dedicated to the question of whether Tuu is a language family.

There exist several reasons for such a situation. First, Khoisan languages have in general raised little interest in systematic historical-comparative work, in spite of the longstanding discussion about their classificatory status; Voßen's (1997) study on the Khoe family remains the first and only extensive work within this linguistic framework.

Second, very few Khoisan scholars have been working on Tuu languages with a deeper and sustained interest. Besides W. Bleek and L. Lloyd's groundbreaking work, only two scholars come to mind in this respect, D. Bleek and A. Traill.

Last but not least, the constraints regarding the empirical data for such a comparative study are considerable indeed. The majority of languages are extinct today; the only modern survivors are (a) several varieties of the Taa cluster in Botswana and Namibia and (b) remnants of the N||ng cluster in South Africa. The majority of historically attested varieties are only known from short word lists. The documentation of languages for which more data are available is highly defective; often the relevant field work extended over a very short time span and there are several cases where the data represent an idiolect of a single speaker. The Lone Tree dialect of Eastern !Xõo and, with reservations, the Strandberg and Katkop dialects of the |Xam cluster are the only varieties for which sufficient material has been available for some time. This situation will also bias any comparative Tuu research in the future, even if all still extant varieties will be fully documented.

The following discussion is an attempt to give, on the basis of the presently available data, more systematic empirical substance to the idea of Tuu as a language family and to remedy a situation in which only a few specialists are capable of understanding the reason why D. Bleek established this

[1] This paper was presented at the "International Symposium on Khoisan Languages and Linguistics in Memory of Jan W. Snyman" in Riezlern (Germany) January 4-7, 2003. The abbreviations used in examples are: ASS associative/ genitive, COP copula, D dual, DAT dative, DECL declarative, DEI deictic, FEM feminine, GQ general question, INT intention, IPFV imperfective, MPO multipurpose oblique, NOM nominalization, P plural, PROP proper name, Q question, REL relative, RELV relevance, S singular, STAT stative. Bare Arabic numerals refer to agreement classes which are indexed by pronominal items; only if immediately followed by S or P, they refer to person categories.

group in the first place. Compared to Hastings (2001), this study does not considerably expand the range of linguistic phenomena supporting the hypothesis. However, it is hoped to be an improvement on this first study, because it (a) includes more languages and dialects, (b) characterizes their general typological homogeneity, and (c) proposes a more substantial body of first, if still preliminary, reconstructions of grammatical and lexical items.

The presentation comes in two parts. In Section 2, I will outline various typological characteristics of the languages at issue, showing that Tuu represents a robust linguistic type, involving also cross-linguistically marked structures. While these shared features support the genealogical hypothesis, it must be borne in mind that they do not identify Tuu as a genealogical unit as long as the relevant grammatical markers do not involve cognate forms. Indeed, other Non-Khoe Khoisan[2] languages share many of these typological properties, but must be kept apart from the classificatory unit to be treated here. That the typological commonalities are accompanied by grammatical and lexical form-meaning correspondences will be demonstrated in Section 3; this can serve as a first basis for a more complete reconstruction of Proto-Tuu in the future. I will be concerned primarily with the unity of Tuu against other Khoisan language groups such as Khoe (alias Central Khoisan) and Ju (alias Northern Khoisan), i.e. the external classification of this family; its internal sub-grouping will not be discussed here.

Figure 1 gives a tentative sub-classification of Tuu and assigns the major data corpora available up to the present together with the respective researcher(s). Most importantly, it deviates from the previous conception that Lower Nosop varieties such as |'Auni and |Haasi belong to the !Ui branch. This cannot be justified here in detail; first evidence for this view is provided by Güldemann (2002).

Branch **Subgroup**	**Selected varieties (main researchers)**
(1)Taa	
a. Eastern	Lone Tree !Xõo (Traill)
b. Western	N|amani (Westphal), N|u||en (D. Bleek)
c. Lower Nosop	|'Auni (D. Bleek), |Haasi (Story)
(2)!Ui	
a. N||ng	ǂKhomani (Doke, Maingard), N|huki (Westphal), Langeberg (D. Bleek)
b. |Xam	Strandberg (W. Bleek, Lloyd), Katkop (W. Bleek, Lloyd), Achterveld (W. Bleek)
c. Vaal-Orange	ǂUngkue (Meinhof), ||Ũ||'e (D. Bleek)
d. Outliers	||Xegwi (Lanham, Hallowes, Ziervogel), !Gã!ne (Anders)

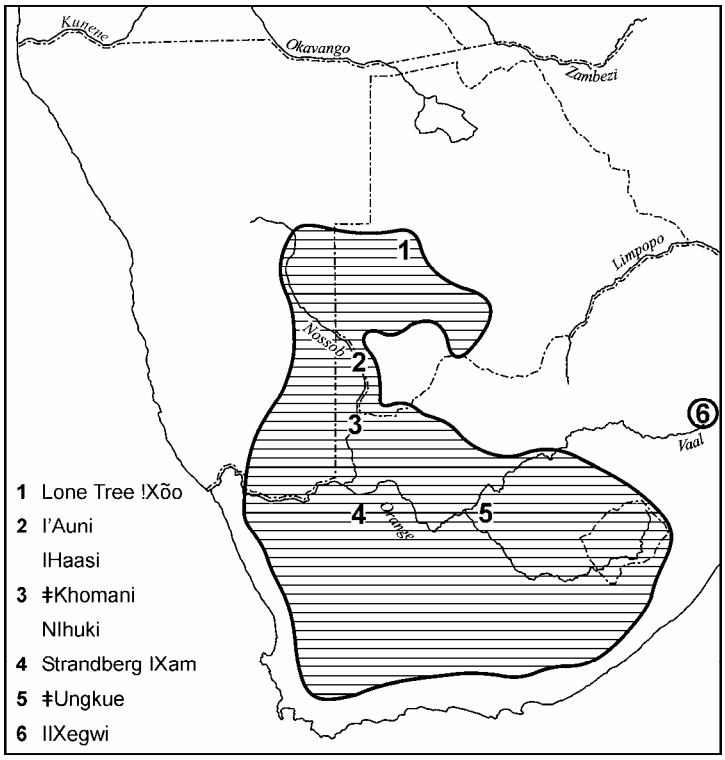
Figure 1: Preliminary classification of Tuu

[2] See Güldemann (1998), Güldemann & Voßen (2000), and Güldemann (forthcoming) for this concept.

The data for the following comparison come from half a dozen Tuu varieties on which lexical AND grammatical material is available. If possible and necessary, I take recourse to more than one data corpus, namely for the Lower Nossop and N||ng groups. An overview over the language sample is given in Table 1, including abbreviations to be used below and the primary data sources. The geographical location of the languages is shown in the map; as can be seen there, the sample languages encompass the larger part of the attested distribution area of the family.

Unit	Subgroup	Variety	Abbr.	Major data sources
1	Eastern Taa	!Xõo of Lone Tree	XO	Traill 1994
2	Lower Nosop	|'Auni	AU	D. Bleek 1937
		|Haasi (idiolect)	HA	Story 1999
3	N||ng	ǂKhomani	KH	Doke + Maingard in Rheinallt Jones 1937
		N|huki (idiolect)	NU	Westphal field notes
4	|Xam	|Xam of Strandberg	XA	W. Bleek & Lloyd 1911, D. Bleek 1928-30, D. Bleek 1956 (for lexicon)
5	Vaal-Orange	ǂUngkue (idiolect)	UN	Meinhof 1929
6	!Ui outliers	||Xegwi	XE	Lanham & Hallowes 1956, Ziervogel 1955

Table 1: Sources of the present Tuu comparison



Distribution of the sampled Tuu languages

2. A general typological profile of Tuu

The following data do not aim at any comprehensive layout of the general language type, but give only a few characteristic structures which sufficiently identify a specific typological profile.

2.1. Basic clause structure

The unmarked constituent order in Tuu languages can be schematized as follows:

SUBJECT VERB OBJECT ADJUNCT

Markers for predication operators like negation, tense, aspect, modality, etc. are preverbal. There is one recurrent exception in that a gram encoding such concepts as perfect, resultative, stative, and relevance appears after the verb (phrase).

(1) XO

'//nāh-m-sá !āh'u nêẽ ***/îi***

PROP-2-P this.way be **RELV**

The Lala are like this (Traill in prep.)

Serial verb constructions as well as more lexicalized compound-like verbs are found in all languages on which there is sufficient material.

(2) XO

āh sîi ***sâa*** ***//g̱̀-be*** ***ǂhù-ma*** */nā-ĩ* *ǂnáĩ*

2S and **go** **chop-3** **cut.up-2** DAT-1D 1D

and you go to chop [class-3 concord speech error] it [skin.2] up for us two (Traill in prep.)

(3) XA

hi-ng ***tg̱i*** ***!ũu*** ***//'aa***

2-DECL **walk** **go** **go.away**

they walk off (Bleek & Lloyd 1911: 2)

(4) UN

kĕ̲-tn *n̥* ***gari*** ***!are***

bone-P 3P **fall** **go.out**

Die Knochen fielen heraus [the bones fell out] (Meinhof 1929: 171/4)

Another important characteristic is that verbs are in their great majority maximally mono-transitive and that postverbal nominals outside a verb's valency are mostly marked by a default preposition, called here multipurpose oblique marker, which is independent of semantic roles.

(5) XO

!qhôo ***k****ē* *ǂābe* ***k****ē* *tâa* *ǂàã*

teach **MPO**:3 black.person.3 **MPO**:3 person.3 language.2

teach the black man person's language i.e. !Xóõ (Traill 1994: 88)

(6) XA

hi-ng */ũeng-ki* */'ee* *//xauken* ***au*** */ǫ'a* ***au*** *hĩ* */x'aa*

2-DECL do.thus-? enter blood **MPO** stomach **MPO** 2 hand

They put the blood in the stomach with their hands like this. (Bleek & Lloyd 1911: 278)

2.2. Selected special sentence types

Several Tuu languages display a complex construction for the expression of intention and proximative with the following structure:

SUBJECT INTENTION-GRAM PRONOUN-SUBJECT VERB

Its important property is that the subject is repeated after the intention marker as a pronoun. This presumably results from an earlier biclausal quotative structure conveying internal awareness, something like [X say/think X do], which was later grammaticalized with the special meaning of volition.

(7) UN

ha ***etang*** *ha* *!hun'a* *n*

3S **INT** [3S beat 1S]

er will mich schlagen [he wants to beat me] (Meinhof 1929: 170)

(8) XO

ùh *ń* ***t****ú'ù* *sâa*

4 ? **INT**:[4 go]

they intend going [lit.: they want, they go] (Traill 1994: 154)

Another typical trait in the family is that questions are characterized by a general question marker with a fixed position in the clause; compare Eastern !Xõo where the interrogative gram /-AGR occurs in sentence-initial position.

(9) XO

/-é */îi*

GQ-3 be.present

is he here? (Traill 1994: 53)

This element also applies to term questions where it interacts functionally with an indefinite proform which conveys the onomasiological category of the questioned constitutent, like the pronoun *èh* in (10) or the generic noun *tyú* 'person' in (11).

(10) XO

/-ā *ǹ* *bà* *káne* *ké* ***èh***

GQ-2S ? IPFV want MPO:3 **3**

Whom/ what do you want? (Traill 1994: 18)

(11) NU

tyú ***xè*** *'à* *⊙wà*

person **Q** 2S child

Wie is jou kind? [who is your (SINGULAR) child?] (Westphal f.n.)

Moreover, one of the generic proforms with the locative meaning 'be somewhere' conveys repeatedly both a 'where' and a 'which' question; in the second context, it functions as the attributive modifier of the noun in question.

(12) XO

a. */-é* *bōlo //xáo* *ǹ* ***āh'ã̀*** *!núm* *tshûu* */îi*

GQ-3 PROP.3 ? **be.somewhere** stay sit STAT

Where does bōlo ||xáo live? (Traill 1994: 18)

b. */-ā* *ǹ* *bà* *káne* *ká* *'ãã̂-sa* *tã́* ***āh'ã̀*** *kã̀*

GQ:2S ? IPFV want MPO:2 eat-NOM.2 REL:2 **be.somewhere** REL:2

Which food do you want? (Traill 1994: 18)

In |Xam, this seems to hold from a historical perspective in that the earlier verb (*de* in (13)a.) has become a suffix on the noun (*di* in (13)b.).

(13) XA

a. *a* ***xa*** ***de***

2S **GQ** **be.somewhere**

where art thou? (Bleek 1928-30: 168)

b. *!u-**di*** ***xa*** *aa* *n/aa* *!utau*

person.1-**which** **GQ** 1REL see Sirius

Who [lit.: which person] was it who saw Sirius? (Bleek & Lloyd 1911: 338-9)

2.3. Nominal number and gender

Number marking on nouns is mostly irregular and complex; moreover, it is not deeply integrated with the gender system (see below). Formal devices for encoding number are stem suppletion (especially with the most frequent human nouns), stem-final changes, suffixes, and reduplication. These devices can be combined so that double number marking is not infrequent.

(14) NU

Meaning	**Singular**	**Plural**	**Marking device**	
'thing'	*gau*	*gon*	stem suppletion	
'white person'	*/hũ-si*	*/hũ-ke*	suffix	
'man'	*ǂoo*	*tyu-ke*	stem suppletion + suffix	
'child'	*/oba*	*/oe-ke*	stem change + suffix	(Westphal f.n.)

Güldemann (2000) presents some comparative data on gender systems in Tuu to which the reader is referred. There exists a major split between Taa and the rest of the family, inter alia in terms of the number of agreement classes and genders.[3] In languages which have gender, this is largely covert on the noun. In the !Ui branch, agreement targets are restricted to personal pronouns. Agreement classes are often not number-sensitive so that the respective gender-sensitive pronoun is used in both singular and plural; number-sensitive classes are mostly restricted to human/animate genders. This can result in a relatively rare classification type in which there are more genders than agreement classes. Recurrent assignment criteria are ±human, ±animate, and ±part-whole, but not ±sex.

2.4. Noun phrase

The noun phrase order is mostly head-initial [NOUN MODIFIER]. Tuu languages do not have a large word class of adjectives; stems expressing quality concepts as well as quantifiers and demonstratives have often verbal characteristics so that they are constructed as relative modifiers.

(15) NU

/aiki ***he*** *n//aa*
woman **REL** that
that woman (Westphal f.n.)

As an exception to the general head-initial noun phrase order, associative constructions are predominantly head-final [GENITIVE NOUN] whereby two basic types can be distinguished: one has a medial linker and the other is characterized by mere juxtaposition of the two nouns; the second structure can be reserved for inalienable relations.

(16) KH

a ***ka*** *ǂĩ* vs. *//gaĩ* *//kai/ka*
2S **ASS** thoughts wolf girl
your thoughts wolf's girl (Maingard 1937: 243)

[3] I argue in Güldemann (2002) that there are indications that the Lower Nosop varieties |'Auni and |Haasi go in this respect with Taa rather than !Ui languages which is a major reason for aligning them tentatively with the former subgroup.

(17) UN

*'a-**s***	*/a̲ya*	vs.	*n*	*/anansi*
2S-**ASS**	child		1S	tongue
dein Kind [your child]			meine Zunge [my tongue] (Meinhof 1929: 168)	

(18) XE

tle	***ge***	*//hi*	vs.	*!hoa*	*khi*
people	**ASS**	teeth		cow	tail
people's teeth				cow's tail (Ziervogel 1955: 55)	

The juxtaposed genitives are also employed for expressing specific locative relations in that relational nouns are used as the structural head. If such a locative adjunct is outside the verb's valency, a circumpositional noun phrase arises due to the necessary presence of a preposed MPO-marker.

(19) XO

qùa-tê	*ǹ*	*/îi*	***ké***	*'ʘnà.je*	***/nàn***
hornbill-P	?	stay	**MPO**:3	tree.3	**head**
the hornbills are on top of the tree (Dickens & Traill 1977: 136)					

(20) NU

/oe-ke	*ke*	*n//aa*	***ng***	*n//ng*	***//a'i***
children-P	DECL	stay	**MPO**	hut	**inside**
the children are in the house (Westphal f.n.)					

2.5. Nominal compounds

Nominal compounds which are structurally parallel to head-final genitive constructions are a salient feature of Tuu languages. There are two major types. Grammatically productive compounds serve the derivational encoding of diminutive, sex, and size (see 3.1.2 below). Other compounds are lexicalized and can be semantically opaque. These are especially frequent for body part terms.

(21) Base **thu* 'mouth, hole, inside'

a.	XO	*'//n̰ú̲bi* ***tshôe***	'armpit'	(Traill 1994: 127)
		/xán ***tshôe***	'floating ribs'	(Traill 1994: 59)
		/qōhbi ***tshôe***	'hip joint'	(Traill 1994: 62)
b.	AU	*n/oi-**tu**-ke*	'nostrils'	(Bleek 1937: 269)
c.	NU	*n//ung-**tyu***	'chest'	(Westphal f.n.)
d.	XA	*/k''attən-**tu***	'armpit'	(Bleek 1956: 338)
		*!nun-**tu***	'ear'	(Bleek 1956: 485)

(22) Base **n/aa* 'head, fruit'

a.	XO	*/kx'àa* ***/nàn***	'finger'	(Traill 1994: 60)
		g//xúũ ***/nàn***	'knee'	(Traill 1994: 112)
b.	AU	*/k''a* ***/na***	'hand'	(Bleek 1937: 269)

(23) Base **xu* 'face, surface, side'

a.	XA	*!ka:-**xu***	'chest, breast'	(Bleek 1956: 418)
b.	XE	*ts'a-**gu***	'eye'	(Lanham & Hallowes 1956: 111)

The plural forms of compounds can be complex in that the marking concerns both the head and the modifier, as in (24), or only the modifier, as in (25).

(24) XO

S	*kâ*	*/g̣.li*	*⊙àa*	'baby blue wildebeest'
P	(*kâ*)	*/g̣.lu-**tê***	***⊙'âni***	(Traill 1994: 53)

(25) XA

a.	S	*n!oa*	*xu*	'sole'
	P	***n!oa**-n!oa-**ng***	*xu*	(Bleek & Lloyd 1911: 12-3)
b.	S	*!au*	*tu*	'belly'
	P	***!au**-!au-**ten***	*tu*	(Bleek & Lloyd 1911: 153)

2.6. Pronouns

Normally, the segmental form of pronouns does not change with different syntactic contexts, i.e. as subject, object, possessor, etc., which indicates that they are comparable in behavior to nouns. This is corroborated by the fact that pronouns can be subject to several types of modification, just like normal nouns.

(26) XO

èh	***té'è***	*ǹ*	*k-ì*	*g!xá'u*
3	**DEI:3**	?	COP-1	south.wind.1

this one [lit.: he here] is the south wind (Traill 1994: 87)

(27) NU

n-xae	*ke*	*djg̣'an*
1S-FEM	DECL	walk

I (feminine) am going (Westphal f.n.)

3. Towards a historical-comparative reconstruction

This section will give a list of grammatical and lexical features, which are likely to be part of the future historical-comparative reconstruction of the Tuu family. The existing isoglosses between individual languages or sub-groups of languages are more numerous. I will confine myself here to giving only isoglosses for which there is good reason to assume a Proto-Tuu form, because they affect Eastern !Xõo, Lower Nosop, and the !Ui branch, or at least Eastern !Xõo and !Ui as a group. The comparison excludes (a) evidence for the internal coherence of !Ui which is an apparently solid genealogical sub-unit, (b) items shared between Eastern !Xõo and Lower Nosop which indicate a second genealogical sub-unit Taa, and (c) isoglosses between Eastern !Xõo and just |Xam whose significance is difficult to assess against the entire family, because the comparative data on these two languages is far more extensive.

Note that of the many Taa dialects only the northeastern !Xõo variety of Lone Tree is sufficiently documented so far. Given its geographically peripheral position and its attested adstratum from the Khoe language G|ui (Traill & Nakagawa 2000), it is possibly not representative for the entire branch and thus not the most suitable for a lexical comparison between !Ui and Taa.

3.1. Morphology

3.1.1. Pronouns

Before the background of the grammatical profile sketched in Section 2, it is possible to give some morphological reconstructions. Here, the pronouns have always been central evidence for the genealogical hypothesis. The commonalities in pronominal systems are not always clear at first glance, because the inventories of modern languages are usually richer due to later innovations. 3rd-person pronouns are generally diverse across the family, because the gender systems with the pronouns as agreement indices differ; e.g., while Eastern !Xõo has five forms, |Xam has only two, and even similar forms are not obviously related. The old system for speech-act participants is reconstructable, however (see **Table 2(a)**). But the common Tuu forms often have alternatives, inter alia because generic nouns can be used in complex pronominal expressions in the function of anaphoric pronouns so that the inherited forms are less salient in the data.

3.1.2. Nominal compounds

While I have identified above nominal compounds as an important structural feature of Tuu languages, there also exist four concrete compound patterns in which cognate items are involved.

Table 2(b) shows that diminutive, feminine, and masculine forms are based on human nouns which across the family are likely to be related etymologically; the tentative reconstructions are **ʘaa* 'child', **qa(e)* 'mother, female', and **ǧa* 'father, male', respectively (see **Table 3(a)** for the comparative lexical data). The diminutive is a productive device in the family as a whole. Except for Eastern !Xõo, the other two patterns are restricted to a few kinship terms; there, the contrast between feminine and

masculine can be discerned from the different endings on otherwise identical stems (bold in Table 2(b)).

Finally, example (21) shows that the body-part compound based on the noun **thu* 'mouth, hole, inside' can also be identified in all primary groups of the family.

3.1.3. Nominal number suffixes

There are two good candidates for reconstructable number-indexing suffixes for which the relevant comparative data are given in **Table 2(c)**: the plural suffix can be characterized in most languages as more or less productive, while the singular form seems to be lexically far more restricted.

Table 2: Grammatical isoglosses across Tuu

	XO	page	AU (HA)	page	KH (NU)	page	XA	page	UN	page	XE (Z)	page	*TUU
(a) Pronouns													
1S	n	35	ŋ	255	ŋ	244	ŋ	[1]	n̥	168	'iŋ-	109	*N
1P.I	ih	35	i	255	i	244	i	[1]	'i	168	'i-	109	*i
1P.E	(isi)	35	si	255	si	244	si	[1]	si	168			*si
2S	ah	35	a	255	a	244	a	[1]	'a	168	'a-	109	*a
2P	uh	35	u	255	u	244	u	[1]	'u	168	'u-	109	*u
(b) Derivational noun compounds													
child, cf. 3(a)	ʘaa		ʘaa		ʘa				ʘain		ʘa-		*ʘaa
DIMINUTIVE	ʘaa/ ʘ'a-ni	47	ʘpwai	278	ʘko-ne	73	ʘpwa	[2]			ʘa-ri	104	*ʘa
mother, cf. 3(a)	qa-e		ka-e, qa-e		xã-		xoa				xoa		*qa > *q̧a > *kxq̧a
daughter	ʘaa **qae**		ʘpwa:-**xe**	278	ʘkwa-**xai**	67	ʘpwa-**xai**	685	ʘa-**χai**	188			
sister			ǁka:-**xe**	273	ǁka-**xai**	239	ǁka-**xai**	564			(P ǁa-**ge-**	44)	
grandmother					!koi-ce	257	!koi-te	440					
FEMININE	qae	177	-xe		-xai	239	-xai	[3]	-xai		-ge < -xe		*qa- > *kxa-
father, cf. 3(a)	q̧a				ã-		o(a)				a(a)		*q̧a > *õa
son	ʘaa **q̧a**		ʘpw**ɔn**	278	ʘk**õ**	73	ʘpw**oŋ**	686	ʘ'o	187	ʘõ**õ**	98	
brother			ǁka(:)-s(i)	273	ǁkã**ũ**	239	ǁkã**ː**	546	ǁã**ũ**	185			
grandfather					!k**õ**	257	!kõ**iŋ**	440					
MASCULINE	q̧a		-on		-õ, -ũ		-oŋ, -ṽ, -ŋ	[3]	-o, -ũ		-õ		*q̧a > *õ
(c) Number suffixes													
PLURAL	-te	156	-ke,-te	254	-ke,-ce	240f	-ken,-ten	[4]	-kn,-t(e)n	167	(-le	43)	*-ke, *-te
SINGULAR	-si	185	-si (cf. *brother*)		-si	241f			-si	167	-zi	111	*-si

[1] Bleek (1928-30: 93), [2] Bleek (1928-30: 95f), [3] Bleek (1928-30: 87), [4] Bleek (1928-30: 88ff)

3.2. Lexicon

Table 3 presents a list of lexical items which are shared by a sufficient number of Tuu varieties so that a reconstruction for the family as a whole is likely. There exist yet more isoglosses of this type, for example, for 'begin', 'blow', 'cheetah', 'cry', 'dog', 'drink', 'elephant', 'fire', 'laugh', and 'think'. These are excluded here, because they have also potential cognates in languages of the Khoe family and/or the Ju family, so that their historical significance remains unclear.

The lexical items are given in two forms. In the first line, I cite the original transcription except for tonal diacritics, because these are not informative at the present stage of research (with nouns, singular and plural forms are separated by a slash). Since the transcriptional and orthographical conventions differ considerably across the various sources, I have transferred each item in the second line into a broad, unifying transliteration, possibly abstracting from endings and suffixes. This is hoped to facilitate the comparison in bringing out similarities which are hidden by different transcriptions, etc. In the first line, I have added the page reference of the respective source given in Table 1. For |'Auni, ǂKhomani, and ||Xegwi, there are alternative sources in the form of |Haasi (HA), N|huki (NU), and Ziervogel's ||Xegwi (Z) data; if these provided an item, it is given in parentheses. A few data points come from yet other sources, these are indicated in footnotes. The rightmost column of the tables gives a very preliminary reconstruction; undoubtedly, this will have to be modified or even abandoned when more data become available.

Note that several candidates for regular sound correspondences, or regular transcription equivalents for that matter, are discernible, a few of which I will indicate in the following. For example, in the series for 'ear', 'neck', 'dog', 'egg', and 'wind', a palatal click in the majority of Tuu corresponds to an alveolar click in |Xam and a non-click consonant in ||Xegwi. Clicks with strong (= non-delayed) aspiration are given with a velar accompaniment /kh/ in the majority of Tuu, while Eastern !Xõo has /qh/, as can be seen in the series for 'hair', 'tooth', 'bee', 'water', and 'wind'. There are several cases where the majority of Tuu has an accompaniment at the C_1, while Eastern !Xõo displays a comparable vowel coloring; compare, for example, the different locus of glottalization in the series for 'bite' and 'eye'. Vowel pharyngealization in Eastern !Xõo, as in 'father', 'fat', 'sense', and 'walk', seems to have a counterpart in the rest of Tuu in several other suprasegmental features; it remains unclear whether all these differences reflect phonologically relevant features or simply transcriptional variations. Finally, a vowel sequence /V_1i/ in most of Tuu tends to turn up in ||Xegwi just as a (long) close front vowel (an earlier /u/ in V_1 appears as a preceding labialization); in Eastern !Xõo, the second vowel /i/ can be lacking altogether; compare the series for 'ear', 'eat', 'tooth', 'bird', 'dog', 'egg', 'fat', 'horn', 'hut', 'call', and 'sleep'.

It goes without saying that these comparative data are very tentative and may well contain a considerable number of correspondences which will later turn out to be spurious. It will take more research into the linguistic structure of the surviving Tuu languages as well as into the vast philological problems of the older sources on extinct varieties before more conclusive reconstructions

Table 3: Lexical isoglosses across Tuu

	XO	page	AU (HA)	page	KH (NU)	page	XA	page	UN	page	XE (Z)	page	*TUU
(a) Kinship and social relations													
child	ʘaa	47	ʘpwa	278	ʘkwa-	67	ʘpwa *DIM*	684	ʘain	186	(ʘwa-ri	42)	
	ʘaa		ʘa		ʘa-		ʘa		ʘain		ʘa-		*ʘa
father	a̰a	195			aŋ-ce	239	o:a/ o-	152			'a:/ 'a-	98	
	a̰a				ang, ã-		o(oa)				a(a)		*a̰a
mother	qae	177	kai	261	xaŋ-ce	239	xoa	259			xwa	103	
	qa-		ka-, qa-		xang, xã-		xoa				xoa		*qa > ka̰ > kx(o)a̰
name	|a-ũ/ -ã	54	|kẽ(n)	268	(|e)		|kẽ	306	|ḛ	187	|ee	118	
	|ã-	54	|ẽ		|e		|ẽ		|ẽ		|ee		*|ãe, |ae
people, men	tuu	157	tu-	265	(tyu *+who*)		tu- *+who*	240	tu *who*	188	(to: *who*	36)	
	tuu		tu		tyu		tu		tu		too		*tuu
spouse	|hao *take*	66	|hã, |ha	267	(|haŋ)		|ha	286	|nau	169	|ha	[1]	
	|ha-		|hã, |ha		|ha-		|ha		n|a-		|ha		*|ha- ~ (n)|ha-
woman	P |a̰ã	53	|kẽ:/ |ʌn	268	(|ai-/ |aa)		P |ka:-	296	|a-/ |ā-	185	(|a-zi	36)	
	|a̰-		|e-, |a-		|a-		|aa		|a(a)-		|a-		*|a-
(b) Body and related terms													
beard	|num/ -a	69			|ŋum	257	|num	352					
	n|um				n|um		n|um						*n|um
bite, ache	si'-i	186	ts'i:	265	ts'ii	257	ts(')i:	215f			ts'ii	103	
	si'i		ts'ii		ts'ii		ts'ii				ts'ii		*ts'ii
cough	'|nṵh-JV	71			(n|o̰en-)						|ŋhom'a	105	
	'n|ṵh-				n|o̰						[n]|ho-		*|ho̰ ~ (n)|ho
defecate	tshxaã *dung*	166			cxei (txãi)	65	txai:	245					
	tshxa-				tyxai, txãi		txaii						*t(h)xa(i)
die	|'aa	71	|ã *dead*	266	|'a	83	|a:	267	|'a	187	(|a:	35)	
	|'aa		|'ã		|'a		|'aa		|'a		|aa		*|'aa
ear	ǂnuhã	147	ǂnui	278	ǂŋui(-si)	241	!nun-tu	485	|nṵẽn-tu	187	dlwĩi	103	
	nǂuh-		nǂui		nǂui		n!un-, n!ũ-		n|uen-, n|ũe-		dlũi		*nǂu(i)

can be achieved. However, given the restricted quality of the data for all languages but Eastern !Xõo, I consider this lexical evidence to be substantial and robust enough for substantiating the genealogical hypothesis of Tuu.

	XO	page	AU (HA)	page	KH (NU)	page	XA	page	UN	page	XE (Z)	page	*TUU
eat	'a-ã	197	ã	259	ã	257	ã:, ãi	3	'ă	185	'ĭi, 'iŋ	99	
	ãa		ã		ã		ãa, ãi		a		ĭi		*ãa, ãi
eye	sa'ã *face*	184	ts'a:-xu	265	ts'a-xu	257	ts'a-xau	213	ts'a-χo̯	184	ts'a-gu	111	
	sa'a-		ts'aa-		ts'a		ts'a-		ts'a-		ts'a-		*ts'aa ?'see'
hand, arm	|kx'aa	60	|k"a(n)	269	|kx'a	240	|k"a	336	|kχ'ă	185	(P |kxa-ŋ	44)	
	|kx'aa		|kx'a(n)		|kx'a		|kx'a		|kx'a		|kxa-		*|kx'aa
hair	(g)|qhuã	63f	|khóö	268	|khu	240	|khu	314	-|huṅ	187	|khũ	98	
	|qhu-		|kho		|khu		|khu		|hu-ng		|khũ		*|khu
head	|na-n/ -ã	67	|na:	269	|ŋa	257	|na:	342	|nā	186	(|na:	36)	
	n|a-		n|aa		n|a		n|aa		n|aa		n|aa		*n|aa
lungs	‖u'ŋ-	106	‖kõnu-ke	274	‖kõi	[2]			‖'oṅu	186			
	‖u'n		‖õn-		‖õi				‖'ong-				*‖'on
mouth	tshô- *inside*	165	t(h)u	265	tu	257	tu +*hole*	239	tu	181	tu, t'u	108	
	tsho-		thu		tu		tu		tu		tu, t'u		*thu
neck	ǂkx'a-ũ/ -ã	137	ǂkõi	277	(ǂkx'u)		!xã	496	ǂ'u	187			
	ǂkx'a-u		ǂõi		ǂkx'u		!xã		ǂ'u				*ǂkx'a(-u) > ǂkx'u
nose	|nuhŋa	69	|nõ	269	|ŋu-tu	257	|nũ-ru	352	|nu-tu	187	|ŋu	113	
	n|ũh-		n|õ		n|u		n|ũ-		n|u-		n|u		*n|u, n|ũ
shoulder	‖g̰ae	107	‖gaë	273			‖ga‡e	523					
	g‖a̰e		g‖a'e, g‖a̰e				g‖a̰e						*g‖a̰e
skin	tṵm/ -a	157			ŋõ	67	tũ(ŋ)	240			tũu, tuŋ	99	
	tṵm				dyõ		tũ(ng)				tũ(ng)		*tũ-
tired	|huu	66	|hubu	267	(|hu(bu))		|xo-	365					
	|huu		|hubu		|hubu		|xo-						*|khu, |kho
tongue	'|n̰a-n/ -na	70	|ãri	266	|an	257	|err̃i, |enni	272	|'an-an-si	188			
	'n|a̰-n		|'ãri		|'an		|'ẽri, |'eni		|'an-				*|'ãri > |'ani
tooth	‖qhaã	117			‖kẽi-si	257	‖kẽi	569			‖khi	105	
	‖qha-				‖ãi-		‖ãi				‖khi		*‖kha(i)

<table>
<tr><th></th><th>XO</th><th>page</th><th>AU (HA)</th><th>page</th><th>KH (NU)</th><th>page</th><th>XA</th><th>page</th><th>UN</th><th>page</th><th>XE (Z)</th><th>page</th><th>*TUU</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="14">(c) Animals and related terms</td></tr>
<tr><td>bee, honey</td><td>|qhu-je/ -m</td><td>64</td><td>|kɔ:</td><td>268</td><td>|kx'ɔ-</td><td>64</td><td>|ko-si</td><td>321</td><td></td><td></td><td>|u-zi</td><td>109</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>|qhu-</td><td></td><td>|oo</td><td></td><td>|kxo, |kho</td><td></td><td>|o-</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>|u-</td><td></td><td>*|kho</td></tr>
<tr><td>bird</td><td>|guh'-u/ -ã</td><td>59</td><td>|go:</td><td>267</td><td>|kwi</td><td>240</td><td>|kwi</td><td>334</td><td>|hu̯ī</td><td>188</td><td>(|hwi</td><td>62)</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>g|uh-</td><td></td><td>g|oo</td><td></td><td>|ui</td><td></td><td>|ui</td><td></td><td>|hui</td><td></td><td>|hui</td><td></td><td>*|hui</td></tr>
<tr><td>bow</td><td>|ha-be/ -n</td><td>65</td><td>|haã, |hʌn</td><td>267</td><td>(|au)</td><td></td><td>|hau, |hou</td><td>287</td><td>|au</td><td>185</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>|hau-</td><td></td><td>|ha-</td><td></td><td>|au</td><td></td><td>|hau</td><td></td><td>|au</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>*|ha(u)</td></tr>
<tr><td>egg</td><td>ǂguã</td><td>135</td><td>(kiï</td><td>21)</td><td>ǂgwi ostri.</td><td>85</td><td>P !kui-</td><td>467</td><td></td><td></td><td>(tlwiŋ</td><td>45)</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>gǂu-</td><td></td><td>kii</td><td></td><td>gǂui</td><td></td><td>!ui</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>tluing</td><td></td><td>*gǂu(i)</td></tr>
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<tr><td>gemsbok</td><td>ǁã̰he</td><td>103</td><td></td><td></td><td>!kai</td><td>66</td><td>!k(h)wai</td><td>431</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>ǁã̰he</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>!ai</td><td></td><td>!(kh)ai</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>*!hai, !ha̰i</td></tr>
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<tr><td></td><td>gǁa'-</td><td></td><td>g!aa</td><td></td><td>g!aa</td><td></td><td>!a'a</td><td></td><td>!aa</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>*(g)!a'a</td></tr>
<tr><td>horn</td><td>ǁa-ẽ/ -n</td><td>103</td><td>ǁkẽi</td><td>274</td><td>ǁkẽi</td><td>257</td><td>ǁkẽi</td><td>569</td><td></td><td></td><td>ǁgii</td><td>105</td><td></td></tr>
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<tr><td>hunt</td><td>g|kx'aã kV</td><td>61</td><td></td><td></td><td>(|x'ũa)</td><td></td><td>|k"wã:</td><td>340</td><td>|kx'o̞ã</td><td>186</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
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<tr><td></td><td>ǁu-</td><td></td><td>ǁ'o, ǁo</td><td></td><td>ǁabe</td><td></td><td>ǁau</td><td></td><td>kabe</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>*!ab- > !au</td></tr>
<tr><td>meat</td><td>ʘa-je/ -ã</td><td>47</td><td>ʘpwe</td><td>278</td><td>ʘkoe</td><td>66</td><td>ʘpwai:</td><td>685</td><td></td><td></td><td>ʘaa</td><td>102</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>ʘa-e</td><td></td><td>ʘoe</td><td></td><td>ʘoe</td><td></td><td>ʘoai</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>ʘaa</td><td></td><td>*ʘo-, ʘa-</td></tr>
<tr><td>ostrich</td><td>qu-je/ -m</td><td>179</td><td>ko:</td><td>261</td><td>cowe</td><td>71</td><td>toi</td><td>207</td><td>tūḛ̊, toe</td><td>187</td><td>(tobe</td><td>36)</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>qu-e</td><td></td><td>koo, qoo</td><td></td><td>tyoe</td><td></td><td>toi</td><td></td><td>toe</td><td></td><td>tobe</td><td></td><td>*qoe > to̰e</td></tr>
<tr><td>porcupine</td><td>|nu-ũ/ -ã</td><td>69</td><td>|õ</td><td>270</td><td></td><td></td><td>|kho:-</td><td>313</td><td>|hō̥n-</td><td>187</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>n|ũ-</td><td></td><td>|'õ, |õ</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>|khoo</td><td></td><td>$^{(n)}$|hõ</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>*|hõ ~ $^{(n)}$|hõ</td></tr>
</table>

	XO	page	AU (HA)	page	KH (NU)	page	XA	page	UN	page	XE (Z)	page	*TUU
(d) Environment													
ground, earth	!gã'a *below*	205	(!gaa	22)	(!ãu)		!ãu	372	!'au(n̊)	185	(!'ãŋ *under*	57)	
	g!ã'a		g!aa		!ãu, !'ãu		!'ãu		!'au(ng)		!'ãng		*!'ã(u)
hut, shelter	‖na-e/ -a	122	‖(ʌ)n, ‖ŋ	275	‖ŋ	262	‖naiŋ	614	‖năn	186	‖ŋii	118	
	n‖a-e		n‖(V)n(g)		n‖(V)ng		n‖aing		n‖an		n‖ii		*n‖a(i)
sun, day	‖'a-n/ -na	129			‖'ũi	243	‖õ:i	626	‖'o̤o̤	187	(‖'umu	38)	
	‖'a-n				‖'ũi		‖'õe, ‖'ũi		‖'oe		‖'ũ-		*‖'õe, ‖'ũi, ‖'ã
tree, wood	'Ona-je/ -ã	51	Obwa:-	278	Ogo	256	Oho	682	Oō	184	(O(h)o	36)	
	'nOa-e		gOoa		gOo		Oho		Ooo		O(h)o		*Oho, nOo, nOa
water, rain	!qhaa	87	(‖)kha:a	274	!kha	257	!khwa:	431	!a̤ *rain*	183	qhaa	106	
	!qhaa		(‖)khaa		!kha		!khaa		!a̰		qhaa		*!khaa
wind	ǂqhue	291	ǂkwɛ	277	ǂkowɛ	63	!khwe	432	ǂho̱e	188	ʃwee	102	
	ǂqhue		ǂue, ǂoe		ǂoe		!khue, !khoe		ǂ(k)hoe		ʃue, ʃoe		*ǂ(k)hue, ǂ(k)hoe
(e) Miscellaneous verbs													
carry (child)	|Gam kV	62	|ka-ku	267			|kaǂmmeŋ	299					
	g|qam		|a-				|a̰m-						*|qam
call, shout	!'ai kV	99	(!ai	21)	!'ei (!'ai)	251					c'i	110	
	!'ai		!'ai		!'ai						c'i		*!'ai
come	sa-, sii	186	sá, se, si	263	sa, si	257	sa:, se	161	sā, sē	186	sa	102	
	sa-, sii		sa, se, si		sa, si		saa, se		saa, see		sa		*saa, sii
cook, roast	‖a-BV	104	‖ka:	273	(‖a ku *burn*)		‖ka	544f			‖kaba	[4]	
	‖au-		‖aa		‖a		‖a				‖au-		*‖a(u)
give	|na *DAT*	28,55	|na	269			|na	341					
	n|a		n|a				n|a						*n|a
go	‖'a-e	128	‖a	272	‖'a	257	‖a(i)	512	‖'a	185	(‖a	36)	
	‖'a-		‖'a		‖'a		‖'a(i)		‖'a		‖a		*‖'a-

	XO	page	AU (HA)	page	KH (NU)	page	XA	page	UN	page	XE (Z)	page	*TUU
help	uhi	196					hu:i	65	u̯ie	181			
	uhi						hui		ui-				*hui
own, possess	ǁ'ai *possn.*	128			ǁ'ẽi	257	ǁẽi	520					
	ǁ'ai				ǁ'ãi		ǁ'ãi						*ǁ'ãi, ǁ'ai
see	|na-ã	67	|na:, |ne	269	ǀŋa, ǀŋe	252	|na:, |ne, |ni:	341	|nā |nī	184/7	ǀŋa, ǀŋi	105	
	n|a-		n|aa, n|e		n|a, n|e		n|aa, n|e, n|ii		n|aa, n|ii		n|a, n|i		*n|a, n|i
sense, feel	tą̃-ã	154	tiãn	264	tj^{h}a‡n	267	tã(:)	184	thã	185			
	tą̃a		tyãn		tyhą̃n		tã(a)		thã				*t(h)ą̃a
sit	tshuu S	165	so, sõ	264	sou	75	so, s'o	171			ʃo	102	
	tshuu		so, sõ		soo, suu		so, ts(h)o				ʃo		*tshoo
sleep	ʘan	47	ʘpwõi	278	(ʘon)		ʘpõi(n)	686	ʘan(i)	187	(ʘi	36)	
	ʘan		ʘõi		ʘon		ʘõi(n)		ʘan		ʘi		*ʘõ(n), ʘãi(n)
walk, travel	tą̃i *far*	155	tãi	264	tãi	257	ta:‡̃i, ta:‡i	187	tain	185	(t'ã'ã	45)	
	tą̃i		tãi		tãi		tą̃ai, tą̃ai		tain		t'ã'a-		*tą̃i

[1] Bleek (1956: 286)
[2] Bleek (1956: 585)
[3] Bleek (1956: 374)
[4] Bleek (1956: 548)

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