

**THE WORLD OF THE KHWE BUSHMEN  
IN SOUTHERN AFRICA  
(DIE WELT DER KXOÉ-BUSCHLEUTE  
IM SÜDLICHEN AFRIKA)**

A self-portrait in their own language  
(Eine Selbstdarstellung in ihrer eigenen Sprache)

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**V**

**Family and Society  
(Familie und Gesellschaft)**

**VI**

**Customary Law: Norms and Practices  
(Gewohnheitsrecht: Normen und Praktiken)**

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## P R E F A C E

The present volume is the fourth in a projected series of five volumes with vernacular texts describing the culture of the Khwe [in Köhler's orthography: Kxoé], one of the San populations in southern Africa. The texts were compiled and revised by the late Professor Dr. Oswin Köhler (\*14.10.1911-†2.5.1996) during a period of more than 30 years between 1959 and 1992. The present volume deals with the domains of social organisation and customary law.

Academic and Khwe audiences alike have awaited the publication of the present volume with great anticipation, considering that the third volume was already published back in 1997. Notwithstanding the fact that the third volume was published posthumously, the manuscript had been widely prepared by Köhler himself. However, he did not prepare the texts and structure of all subsequent volumes even remotely to the same extent. Therefore they required a lot more preparatory work and a different editorial concept.

The first three volumes of *Die Welt der Kxoé-Buschleute* (Köhler 1989, 1991, 1997) are written in Khwe and German. Köhler separated individual morphemes of the Khwe texts with punctuation marks in order to present the underlying grammatical structure. Translations of the Khwe texts are provided in German, as are annotations on linguistic, cultural and historical aspects, and occasional résumé texts.

We chose to present the texts in a different way for various reasons. In order to make the contents and linguistic analysis of the texts more widely accessible, we provide both English and interlinear translations. For typographical reasons, we decided to adopt the modern Khwe orthography used in the linguistic descriptions by Kilian-Hatz (2003, 2008). Also, the few Khwe who know how to read and write in their own language are more familiar with the modern Khwe orthography than with Köhler's idiosyncratic representation of diacritics. We opted against the presentation of Köhler's German translations in addition to the English translations due to lack of space. Scans of existing German translations are, however, provided online by means of an access code which accompanies this print publication. Only for very few texts of part V and VI was Köhler's text processing sufficiently advanced as to include typed annotations to the latest German translation as in the previous volumes. Where extant, they are provided in the footnotes and specifically marked with '[OK]'.

Another important difference between the first three volumes and the present one is that we do not simply present the presumably latest version of a text but also reconstruct its individual text history by tracing all the modifications it underwent during Köhler's multiple revisions, i.e. changes in wording and syntax, additions and occasional omissions, ranging from individual morphemes to whole text passages, as well as operations such as splitting or merging of texts. Like the German translations, all text versions that could be identified are provided through the concomitant access code.

The content structure of the first three volumes (Köhler 1989 [part I], 1991 [part II], 1997 [parts III and IV]) relies on a hierarchical decimal numeration system with up to seven levels for topics and subtopics, occasionally preceded by résumé texts in German. Köhler drafted preliminary tables of

contents for parts V and VI. However, they are partly unequivocal and inconsistent. For example, the numbering is sometimes continuous across different topic headings; in some cases, the same hierarchical level in numbering is used for different levels of topicalization, topic headings may comprise texts on very different subjects, or one and the same heading occurs twice. Furthermore, some texts were not yet included in these tables of contents, in particular those not yet furnished with a German translation. Extant drafts for résumé texts are also not ready-to-publish as they carry handwritten corrections and, occasionally, very early date specifications. Without doubt, both the extant tables of contents and the résumé texts would have been revised by Köhler before publication. As it was impossible for us to predict whether and how, let alone why Köhler would have revised the tables of contents and résumé texts we decided to keep the order of subject areas, topics and texts as in Köhler's latest tables of contents in spite of its inconsistencies, and insert additional texts where they seemed to fit best thematically. Instead of a sophisticated hierarchical system, we simply awarded sequential numbers to the texts. The drafts of Köhler's résumé texts are provided in their latest state of processing and are annotated where applicable.

All in all, the different versions of Khwe texts and German translations for the remaining volumes 4 and 5 comprise 78 folders. A find aid (Strohmeyer 2011) suggested that these folders were sorted to a reasonable degree according to subtopics, or at least according to parts and volumes. This turned out to be a false expectation. Instead, text versions belonging to any part, subject area or subtopic were scattered over all 78 folders, and unsorted to a degree where even different pages of the same text were detected in different folders. This made the identification and assignment of text versions much more time consuming than expected. However, the sorting was an essential and compelling prerequisite for the current volume, with the additional advantage that the texts for the final parts have now also been sorted.

Most texts were unproblematic to translate with the aid of Köhler's German translations, the Khwe dictionary (Kilian-Hatz 2003) and the Khwe grammar (Kilian-Hatz 2008) at hand. In some cases, it was nevertheless necessary to consult Khwe native speakers in order to understand text passages or grammatical constructions and find out the meaning of words not included in the dictionary. Indeed, we expect consultations with native speakers to be required more often for the following parts, dealing with subject areas such as magic, religion, or healing, including intricate speech genres like invocations, song texts, or ritual speech.

Our sincere thanks go to the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (DFG) for funding the preparatory and editorial work, and the clarification of text passages with Khwe in Namibia, as well as for meeting the printing costs for the present volume of *Die Welt der Kxoe-Buschleute* as an important step towards finalizing a unique project: an encyclopaedia with vernacular texts on ideally all aspects of the culture of a San community in southern Africa. From 1959 until 1979, the DFG had also funded Köhler's fieldwork on Khwe language and culture (Köhler 1989:XVI-XVII). Now, more than twenty years after Köhler's death, the DFG again demonstrated its commitment to this long-term documentation of Khwe language and culture, a project of unrivalled scope and of great value for Khoisanists and the members of the source communities.

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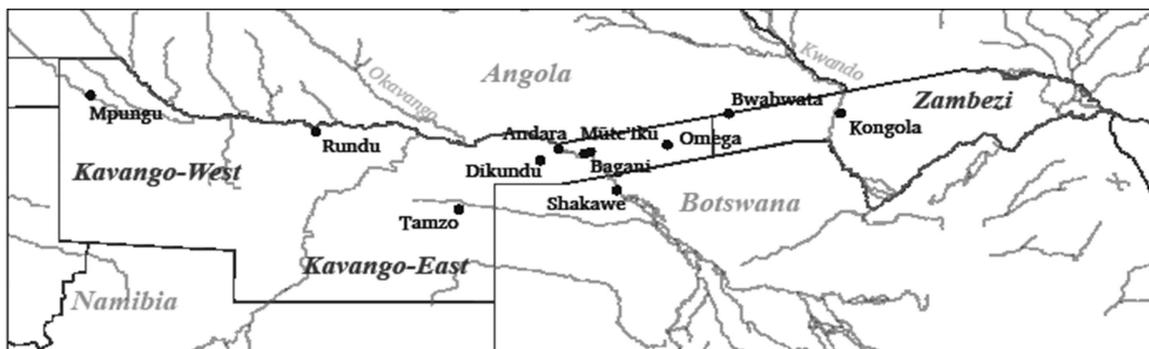
# INTRODUCTION

## The history of *Die Welt der Kxoé-Buschleute*

### Background

This is the fourth volume of a vernacular encyclopaedia on ideally all aspects of a San language and culture. Köhler's motivation for this major oeuvre was the observation of rapid cultural change in Africa. To him, research on hunters and gatherers still living according to a traditional lifestyle appeared to be a matter of utmost priority, as he considered them to be more closely related to Africa's prehistory than other people on the continent (Köhler 1989:VII). Köhler's felt responsibility to capture 'the world of the Khwe *per se*' (Köhler 1989:5) emerged from his 'disappointing insight' into an ever-increasing pace of cultural loss and decline (*ibid.*). The reasons why Köhler chose the Khwe to go about the salvage documentation of a San language and culture were logistic as well as academic. In 1957, at the end of his three-year occupation as government ethnologist in then South West Africa and already assigned to establish a unit for African Studies at the University of Cologne, he made a trip along the Okavango river up to Andara (see Fig. 1) with the aim of finding a group of San 'of the !Xun type' still leading a traditional way of life (Köhler 1989:3). However, he considered the logistics for a research camp at Mpungu or Tamzo (see Fig. 1), the two !Xun locations he visited during this trip, to be too arduous, whereas the Khwe were living close enough to the Roman Catholic mission station at Andara to ensure regular backup and supplies. It is equally important to mention that Köhler, when first introduced to the Khwe man Mbongi at Andara, became interested in the Khwe language, first, because he realized that its gender system was similar to the language of the pastoralist Nama, and secondly, because the Khwe language was reckoned to be 'probably extinct' at the time (Köhler 1989:3, 25). Köhler's ultimate aim was a comparison of the San languages of the 'Central group'. Initially, he had planned to accomplish such comparative work by himself (OKW 321, Application, 27.10.1958), while he later opted for an increasingly detailed in-depth study of the Khwe language and culture as a basis for comparison (Köhler 1989:5-6). As will be seen, the rapid cultural change also served him as a reason for giving preference to continuous data collection over publishing the already collected material (*ibid.*:XVII). This, somewhat tragically, prevented rather than promoted the inclusion of Khwe data into a regional comparison of Khoisan culture (e.g. Barnard 1992), not least because Köhler was the sole important ethnographer of the Khwe before Namibian independence (*cf.* Boden 2014b).

Figure 1: Kavango and Zambezi regions in Namibia



Subsequently, Köhler conducted 22 expeditions to southern Africa with several aims: to document the Khwe language and culture, to survey other Khoisan languages in southern Africa, and to study the !Xun and Kavango languages (Köhler 1989:4). Initially, he had calculated a series of five trips for this work programme (OKW 321, Application, 27.10.1958). It is noteworthy here that the Bushmen Commissioner had explicitly asked Köhler to also document the !Xun language (OKW 322: Application, 14.10.1961). From the sources consulted so far, however, it remains unclear to what extent Köhler's changing work programme was a concession to political circumstances, a resumption of his initial comparative project, or a necessity of academic demand. The study of Kavango languages was partly executed by the doctoral students Elke Menzel and Wilhelm Möhlig. In 1959 and 1968 respectively, Köhler surveyed the Khoe and Tuu languages. In 1968, 1971 and 1974, he worked mainly on the !Xun language and culture. At this stage, Köhler had planned a trilogy of a dictionary, grammar, and text collection for three languages: Khwe, !Xun, and !Xoon [today Taa, cf. Güldemann 2005] (OKW 327, Fragment of report, no date). He had chosen these three languages to provide a basis for comparison of one language of each of the three linguistic Khoisan lineages (Khoe, Kx'a, and Tuu, then still called Central, Northern, and Southern Khoisan, cf. Güldemann 2014). The Khwe and !Xun grammars have since been published (Köhler 1981a, 1981b) while the intended dictionaries, the !Xun texts, and all of the !Xoon material never appeared in print. After his retirement in 1977, Köhler again concentrated his efforts on the Khwe language and culture, supplementing, revising, and correcting the recorded texts during the remainder of his numerous field stays (see Table 1).

Köhler's work was inspired by both, his mentor Diedrich Westermann, who promoted the study of language and culture as mutually prolific and indispensable (Köhler 1989:VII), and the work of Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd on |Xam culture as manifested in vernacular texts (ibid.:VIII, 15). |Xam is a now extinct Southern San language of the Tuu family once spoken in South Africa (see Fig. 2). Köhler's aims were to advance a better understanding of all peoples and cultures by means of an integrated study of language and culture, in order to make a contribution to the theory of culture, evolutionary theory, and to the history of San languages and language in general (ibid.:XI).

The |Xam speakers with whom Bleek and Lloyd worked had been prisoners convicted of stock theft (Köhler 1989:14). When comparing his own working conditions during the second half of the 20th century among the Khwe in Namibia to those of Bleek and Lloyd at the end of the 19th century among the |Xam in South Africa, Köhler considered the erosion of cultural traditions and greater 'civilizing' impact on the Khwe a disadvantage, but the fact that it was still possible to work with Khwe at their own homesteads an advantage (ibid.:XI). The latter statement appears to express a commitment to the method of participant observation. At the same time, however, Köhler depicted 'living with the Khwe at their homesteads' as a constraint of his (small) research budget which would not have covered the costs for accommodation and catering for his Khwe consultants and their families in his own research camp. For Köhler, the ideal setting for field research was to live with his consultants, who allegedly would not have been willing to leave their homes without company (ibid.:XII). From 1968 onwards, he managed to work in such a setting.

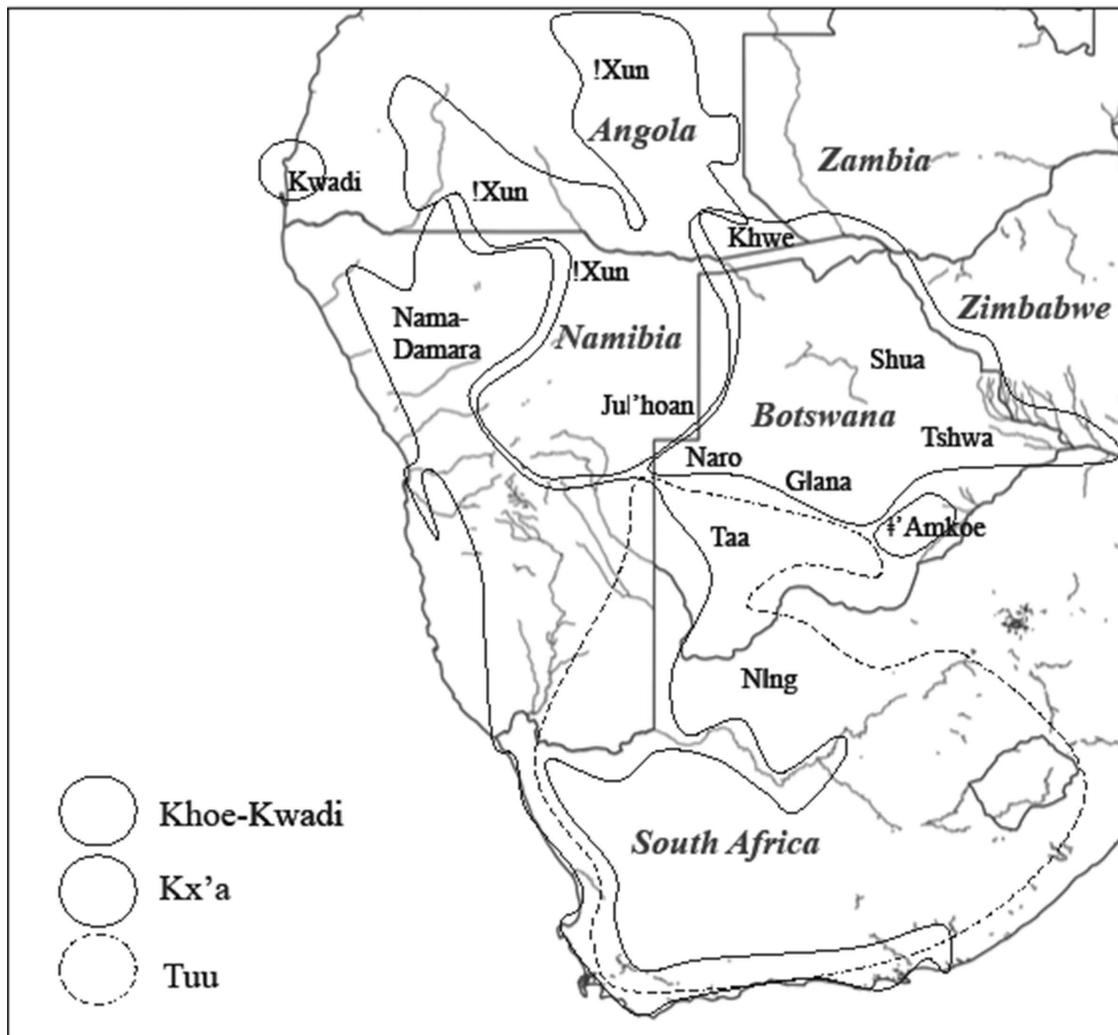
**Table 1: Köhler's expeditions**

Year(s)	Dates	Months (total)	Months (Okavango)	Research other than Khwe
1959	01.04.-05.12.1959	8	2.5	Herero dictionary; survey of Khoe languages in Botswana; exploration trip to Angola
1962	24.04.-08.12.1962	7.5	3.5	
1965	05.04.-11.12.1965	8	4	
1968	03.03.-28.10. 1968	8	3.5 (?)	mainly !Xun studies; survey of Tuu languages
1971	28.02.-30.11.1971	9	4.5 (?)	mainly !Xun studies
1974	02.03.-29.11.1974	9	5 (?)	mainly !Xun studies; !Xoon studies at Lonetree
1975	24.05.-03.06.1975	0.5	0.5	50th anniversary of the Namibia Scientific Society
1976	24.07.-06.11.1976	3.5	2	
1977-78	23.04.1977-11.12.1978	19.5	13.5	partly in Swakopmund (with Khwe consultants)
1979	07.04.-30.10.1979	7	5	
1980	27.07.-01.11.1980	3	1.5	
1981	14.03.-08.10.1981	7	4	
1982	15.04.-25.11.1982	7	3	
1983	10.07.-18.12.1983	5	4	
1985	25.04.-24.10.1985	6	4	
1986	26.04.-03.10.1986	5.5	4	
1987	20.06.-11.12.1987	5.5	4	
1988	06.08.-30.09.1988	2	1	
1989	20.05.-30.09.1989	4.5	2.5	
1990	16.06.-13.10.1990	4	2.5	
1991	13.04.-24.08.1991	4	3.5	
1992	30.05.-24.09.1992	4	3	
total		137.5 (=11.5 years)	67.5-80.5 (= 5.5-6.5 years)	

The trip in 1959 was a survey and exploratory trip to identify a suitable location for stationary fieldwork among the Khwe.<sup>1</sup> In 1962 and 1965, Köhler and his wife Ruth, who accompanied him from 1962 onwards on all but one of his field trips, lived for several months in Mûts'iku (see Fig. 1), close to the home of the then Khwe Chief Martin Ndumba; in 1965, their 18-year-old daughter Sabine was also a member of the party (OKW 323, Progress report, 31.12.1965; Trester 1986).

<sup>1</sup> During that trip Köhler also collected ethnographic objects for the Museum of Anthropology in Cologne and music recordings for the Institute for Musical Ethnology of the University in Cologne.

Figure 2: Distribution of Southern African 'Khoisan' languages



From 1968 onwards, when the research camp had to be set up at a distance from the Khwe homesteads in West Caprivi for political reasons (Köhler 1989:XIII), Köhler was obviously able to secure sufficient funds for housing, food, water, and firewood for his Khwe and !Xun consultants and their families, who all moved in to live with Köhler in the research camp at Dikundu (see Fig. 1) for several months per year (ibid.:XII-XIII; for more details of Köhler's research practice, see Boden 2014b, 2018).

While Köhler and his – exclusively male – consultants (Köhler 1989:XII) used to sit and work in a grass house discussing Khwe culture and recording Khwe language, Köhler's wife was occupied with the logistical and social affairs of camp life such as distributing food to the consultants' wives, organizing fresh supplies (food, water, firewood, etc.), caring for the sick, or organizing fun games, besides keeping the house and typing texts and German translations (Boden 2018, Köhler 1989:XIII, XIV-XV).

## Text collection

The text collection underwent ‘different stages of change and maturation’ (Köhler 1989:4). As early as 1959, during the first exploratory trip, Köhler recorded 45 pages of Khwe texts on subjects as diverse as greetings, the division of labour, ironworking, the invocation of the new moon, the fabrication of hunting medicine, bad omens, as well as an entire healing ceremony with songs and six folktales – in addition to his work on a Khwe dictionary (OKW 321, Scientific report, no date). These texts could not be identified as such in the archival files so far. In 1962, he recorded a text collection of 295 handwritten pages, covering almost all subject areas of the final text collection, albeit, of course, in a rudimentary state.<sup>1</sup> This primary manuscript differs from subsequent handwritten versions in being continuous and making use of an older orthography. Note that the archival files do not reveal why and when exactly Köhler decided to change the orthography, although it seems this happened during the years when he was mainly occupied with !Xun.

In 1965, Köhler decided to combine the dictionary and the text collection within what he called an ‘encyclopaedic dictionary’ (Köhler 1989:XIII) where each entry was to include a term, its compounds and derivations, and also text passages illustrating the meaning and use of terms and compounds, with individual morphemes separated by punctuation marks for grammatical analysis (for an example, see Fig. 5). With his growing command of the Khwe language, Köhler made out limitations in the previously recorded texts, which he then decided to subject to a thorough, if time-consuming revision (OKW 323, Scientific report, 29.7.1966).

Apparently still committed to publishing as much of his data as he could as soon as possible, he meant to combine his lexical, grammatical and textual documentation in one *opus*. However, this did not prevent him from starting up the compilation of leaves, grasses, roots and tubers for a herbarium, of which his daughter Sabine took stock (Trester 1986), or to record new Khwe texts on the plants in order to ‘increase the ethnographic quality of the dictionary’ (OKW 323: Scientific report, 29.7.1966). After his field trip in 1965, Köhler depicted his work on the Khwe language as the main subject of study to be completed, and started the parallel documentation of the !Xun language (OKW 324: Scientific report, draft, 30.9.1969).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Köhler explicitly acknowledges the contribution of the Mbukushu interpreter Venantius Dikua to its realization (1989:27). A foreclosing note might be in order here: text passages of this primary manuscript are not included in the text historical analyses of individual texts. Instead, the entire manuscript which Köhler himself called a “historical document” (Köhler 1989:27) will be published separately in its original state in a different place. Reasons for this are, first, to preserve its integrity, and secondly practical: the differences between text passages of the primary manuscript and current text versions are too great to be followed up in footnotes. Extant relations will nevertheless be identified.

<sup>2</sup> He did so by compiling a dictionary of that language, based on his Khwe dictionary of 2,000 lexemes, which in the process was also supplemented by 200 new entries as well as semantic refinements (OKW 324: Scientific report, draft, 30.9.1969).

Figure 3: Example for entry in planned encyclopaedic dictionary (5153a\_K\_1, page 1)

P.P.J. 88

~~//húi in Zus. gebr.  
ZUS. a): //húi-ts'ò-ts'ò n. Kuckuck; cuckoo; in Buabuata  
gebrauchter Name für //oé-kyáo-kyáo s.d.~~

//húi I. v. def. (nur gebr. als Verbum conjunctum //húi.vé.  
kò tí (sie) ist reif geworden) reif werden (Pubertät);  
to become mature (puberty); vgl. /ááá;  
II. n. 1. Mädchen in und nach dem Eintreten der Geschlechts-  
reife; girl in and after entering puberty; 2. weibliches  
Tier, das noch nicht gekalbt, gelammt hat usw.; female  
animal, which has not yet given birth to young; vgl. goé-  
//húi, kùní-//húi;  
//húi.hé /ááá.ná.kò #x'oa.rá=xú nò ngú.m óo=ki kxó.m  
kó=kà.xá tcó.wá.//oé /ááá.m tcó dú ká; //éBé.m kí tcó.wá.  
//oé 7ú.m kí tcó.wá.//oé kx'éí.m kí tamá.xá tcó.wá.//oé; tá  
tcó.wá.//oé dí.xá.hé /ááá-kxoe.hé kxó.m kó=kà.xá;  
/ááá.m m tcó.m à dí.xá.hé #ú.wá=xú nò //ú.wá.//oé tà=xú=  
nò xórí.ná=xú nò //úi.m ká wúrí.ná=xú nò kxó.n à tcó.ká.à.  
//oé; tà=xú=nò ts'áo.m kí kú.wá.//oé xá.cí xúru.m à //é.ré=  
xú nò wò-yí.m à tcó.cá; #oa.m ká kxyáe.ré=xú nò dú.m à  
//ná.m //é.m kí #ná.xò; tá tcó.wá.//oé wò-yí.m kó=kà.xá kó-  
kó.ró djára.má #ú.m à #ú.wá kxúrí.ká.à.gò ò; tá hí nò  
wò-yí.m kó=kà.xá dú.m ká tcó.ró ngyé.é.//oé tí=nò kxúrí.  
ná=xu.á.goé; djára tamá.xá wò-yí.m à #ú.wá.//ò Bé //ná=tá  
tcó.ró=xu.í nò  
wenn das reif gewordene Mädchen aus seiner Hütte heraus-  
gekommen ist, gibt es allen Leuten Menstruationsmedizin,  
und zwar auf d. Brust, auf den Unterschenkel, auf d. Nasen-  
wurzel und die Mitte der Stirn; so gibt das reif geworde-  
ne Mädchen selbst allen (d.h. Erwachsenen und Kindern) Me-  
dizin;  
wenn es d. Menstruationsmedizin gesammelt hat, röstet  
es sie im Feuer; hat es sie dann zerrieben und mit Fett  
verrührt, gibt es sie den Leuten; hat es dann seinen xúru  
(s.d.) umgehängt, so geht es (mit den erwachsenen Frauen)  
in den Busch, um den fruchttragenden Bäumen Medizin zu ge-  
ben; nachdem es mit dem Grabstock (ein wenig in d. Rinde

vgl. von  
||  
Struktur  
jungens

It is unclear why and when exactly Köhler again changed his mind in favour of separating the text collection from the dictionary. During his 1971 field trip, he had compiled a dictionary of 2,400 pages in 10 folders with exemplary texts while, at the same time, reserving longer texts for a separate text collection (OKW 326, Letter to Minister for Science and Research in North Rhine-

Westphalia, 13.8.1973).<sup>1</sup> In 1974, he rearranged the texts from the dictionary, the texts from the primary manuscript, and the texts recorded at a later date according to subject areas in a series of 14 folders for each subject area. He considered the texts in the dictionary as only fragmentary information, which he used as 'keys for tapping into other almost forgotten practices of the past' (Köhler 1989:57). He also considered additions in content and corrections in wording to the earlier recorded texts a necessity, confirming his previous decision not to publish the texts in an 'immature state' (OKW 326, Scientific report, 23.8.1975).

From 1968 to 1974 Köhler focused on the !Xun language and culture (cf. Table 1), but from 1976 onwards, he resumed his work on the Khwe text collection and even intensified this work after his retirement in 1977 as director of the Institute for African Studies at the University of Cologne. The aim of the trip in 1976 was still to complete the text collection for the first volume of his tripartite Khwe monograph, at the time still understood as consisting of a text book, a dictionary, and a grammar (OKW 327, Research application, 7.2.1976; Letter of the DFG, 29.6.1976).

In the late 1970s, three factors that caused an enormous expansion of the text collection concurred. Besides the gaining of additional time after Köhler's retirement, these were the changing political situation, and the employment of the 'speaker' Ndo. Köhler feared that the political upheavals might put an end to Khwe traditional culture, along with the opportunity for its documentation. He saw the main threat to Khwe traditional culture in the detrimental influence of the militarization of the Khwe settlement area in West Caprivi during the 1970s and 1980s, when it became a military no-access zone and many Khwe were recruited into the South African Defense Force (Boden 2009; Uys 1993). Furthermore, he was afraid that the impending Namibian independence might render research among the Khwe increasingly precarious or even impossible (OKW 338, Scientific report, 23.11.1989). The employment of Ndo provided the opportunity to elaborate the texts considerably, both in style and content. Ndo was employed as a 'speaker' from 1977 onwards (Köhler 1989:32), though he had already been a consultant in 1976 (*ibid.*:22). Köhler taught him how to read and write Khwe, and from 1978 onwards Ndo started to record texts by himself (OKW 328, Scientific report, 7.2.1979).

From April 1977 until December 1978 Köhler went on his longest field trip, which was then meant to revise all extant texts and finalize the encyclopaedia.<sup>2</sup> According to the scientific report (OKW 328, 7.2.1979), the revision included a) reading the texts to the Khwe out loud and discussing their contents and form, b) a morphologically structured transcript as dictated by Ndo, c) the reading of the transcript for inserting the tones, and d) the incorporation of new words and expressions in the dictionary. In the process, the texts were revised syntactically, according to the diction of Ndo (*ibid.*). Köhler's main research tool to elicit texts was a systematic list of questions, supplemented by recordings of free narration (Köhler 1989:17,58). After that trip the text collection had increased considerably compared to the primary version of 295 handwritten pages in 1962. During the 20

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<sup>1</sup> During the 1971 trip, he also intensified his ethnobotanical research with the aid of the curator of the Namibian national herbarium, Willi Giess (Köhler 1989:55).

<sup>2</sup> Note that, due to the fragile security situation in northern Namibia during those years, Köhler temporarily moved to Swakopmund to work on the texts together with the speaker Ndo and the consultant Dimbare (Köhler 1989:32).

months of this trip Köhler produced 1,300 pages of typed texts and the same amount of German translations (ibid.).<sup>1</sup> Today we estimate that the typed texts total about 3,000 pages.

Köhler claimed that, against his own expectations, he had collected a largely complete synopsis of Khwe culture and society already after the 1974 trip (OKW 326, Scientific report, 23.8.1975; see also Köhler 1989:5). However, the first volume of the encyclopaedia was only published in 1989. There are certainly multiple and complex reasons for this time gap, some of which might be impossible to trace from archival files. First of all, Köhler considered his earlier assessment to be based on false estimations (Köhler 1991:XXV). Even after 1978, each text still required a critical revision of the lexicon, the grammar including tones, and the syntax (Köhler 1989:5). Köhler considered time to repeat the same questions after weeks, months or years, or, in other words, time to reactivate memory, to be an essential requirement for successful fieldwork (ibid.:21). Even after 1978 the recording of new texts continued. In 1990, when parts V and VI, the subject areas of the present volume, were systematically talked through and complemented again, 29 texts were added to the former, and 15 to the latter part (OKW 339, Scientific report, 15.11.1990). The revision and discussion of parts V and VI only started but was not finished in 1990 (Köhler 1991:XXIV). In 1992, during Köhler's last trip, Ndo was in charge of the first round of the above described revision procedure, i.e. of reading the texts out loud to the Khwe and discussing their contents and form, while Köhler was busy with editorial work on volume 3 (OKW 341, Scientific report, 15.1.1993). While corrections in Köhler's handwriting on typed Khwe versions reveal the results of the 1990 revision process, the results of Ndo's work in 1992 remain invisible as none of the text versions bear corrections in Ndo's handwriting.

Another reason for the huge time gap related to printing costs. The first typed text versions as produced in 1977/78 were typed with large interspaces between paragraphs and had to be typed again in a more space-saving format.

It can be considered certain that Köhler stressed the decline of Khwe culture and the necessity of its prompt documentation also to justify the continued data collecting against demands from the donors to publish what he had already recorded. Some of the reasons for the late publishing are certainly to be sought in Köhler's personality, above all his meticulous streak, his commitment to immersing himself in the intellectual world of the Khwe, and his affection for the Khwe language and culture, for his Khwe field assistants, and for doing fieldwork in the bush.

Köhler presented his own consultants as the 'last free Khwe hunters' (OKW 324, Letter 6.3.1985; Köhler 1991: dedication) with whom he was still able to discuss and document the traditional lifestyle. However, between the lines of his reports and letters from the field, one can read that he faced more and more difficulties in convincing his consultants not to join the army and thereby put an end to Köhler's project. He did so by constantly increasing wages and supplies (OKW 334, Letter to Böcking/Universal Motors Grootfontein, 16.4.1984).

Last but not least, Köhler's focus on the past was presumably also a concession to the political situation. Texts about Khwe experiences in the military camps or in the army would certainly not

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<sup>1</sup> The number of pages was actually only 1,000 per language but Köhler started every single text on a new page to make re-sorting easier.

have pleased the South African army or the government and might have deprived Köhler of a research permit and exposed the Khwe. After the trip of 1977/78, he therefore cancelled his original plan to also collect texts on 'The Khwe in the Present' (see Table 2) because it would have been unwise to report about incidents and occurrences that were 'subject to confidentiality' (OKW 328: Scientific report, 7.2.1979). It is for this reason that the encyclopaedia lacks the documentation of 'the most vehement acculturation' that a population of hunters and gatherers has ever experienced in the history of southern Africa (Köhler 1989:327). This remains true, even though volume 3 contains a small number of texts on changes in material culture (Köhler 1997: texts 3.3.17-1-5) and settlement (ibid.:Texts 3.4.1.1-17-18) during the military period. Together with Köhler's often expressed disapproval of the army's impact on the Khwe, the political situation and the risk it meant for his project led him to exclude the documentation of contemporary changes. Instead he focused on what had been valid before, i.e. until the 1960s (Köhler 1991:VII) or before the militarization of West Caprivi. In consequence, the documented information mostly stems from memory or recall.

### Structure

Not only the individual texts but also the structure of the encyclopaedia was continually evolving and modified. Köhler acknowledged that the classification of subject areas was in constant flux because the content of newly recorded texts was unpredictable, and discussions of already recorded texts used to lead to new aspects and questions (Köhler 1989:57,60). While the basic matrix remained the same through the decades, the order, subdivision, and titles of individual subject areas changed and the partition within the main subject areas became more and more sophisticated. Table 2 gives an overview of the development of the main structure of the encyclopaedia; Table 3 shows the structure of its current volumes (including the present one).

As early as 1962, Köhler had assigned parts of the primary manuscript to 16 subject areas. At the time these were (number of manuscript pages in brackets): Place names (4-6); Interethnic relations (7-18); Subsistence (19-68); Homestead (69-88); Preparation of food (89-97); Clothing (98-110); Men's work (111-139); Women's work (140-143); Family (144-185); Augury, illness, healing and death (186-212); Religion (213-217); Children's games (218-225); Musical instruments and songs (226-250); Behaviour of animals (251-259); Fairy tales (260-284); and Acculturation (285-294) (Köhler 1989:56-57).

In a probably first yet undated list of contents the text collection was rearranged into 12 sections with partly modified headings (A-M):<sup>1</sup> Settlement area/places/interethnic relations (A, pp. 1-18); Subsistence (B, pp. 19-44, including magic and dreams related to hunting); Homestead (C, pp. 69-143a, including the preparation of food, food taboos, material culture, the latter partly separated according to gender); Family (D, pp. 144-169, restricted to texts on the life cycle); Property and inheritance (E, pp. 171-177); Law and jurisdiction (F, pp. 178-186); Augury, dream, illness, and death (G, pp. 191-210); Creation, nature, and beliefs (H, pp. 216-214 [*sic*]); Games, entertainment, and dance (J, pp. 218-250a); Environment (K, pp. 251-259); Narratives, fables, and myths (L, pp. 260-279); and Acculturation (M, pp. 285-295) (OKW 293).

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<sup>1</sup> Note that Köhler's counting of pages contains a counting error in section H.

In 1974, these sections were reorganised again into 14 subject areas (A-P) (Köhler 1989:57); a respective list of contents is dated 1976 (OKW 369). The subject areas are now called: Former and current settlements and interethnic relations (A); Water, gathering, hunting, agriculture, and husbandry (B); Preparation of food (C); Material culture (D); Homestead (E); Family and kinship (F); Law: Norms and practices (G); Magic, spells, omens, and dreams (H); Beliefs and rites (J); Illness and healing (K); Music, dance, and games (L); Myths, fairy tales, and narratives (M); Nature and environment (N); and The Khwe in the present (P). Not long thereafter, but after the major revision exercise in 1977/1978, Köhler restructured the text collection to make up 12 parts again. These, however, do not correspond to the original 12 sections of 1962. Major changes from the undated predecessor list are the combination of B and C to form Part II, and the omission of P (OKW 368). With slightly modified titles, the main subject areas have remained the same since then, although the specific wording of section titles and titles of subsections kept changing. Note that numbers of folders do not necessarily translate into the subject areas as defined in the tables of contents. For example, 'Folder 6' (Family) corresponds to Part V (Family and Society), 'Folder 9' (Property and Ownership) became part of Part VI (Customary Law: Norms and Practices) with lists of contents for folders 7 and 8 missing. Although not explicitly mentioned, Köhler also included subject areas formerly not covered in the tables of contents, such as those on marriage rules and clan organization in Part V.

The main reason behind the repeated restructuring was the increase in the number of topics emerging from Köhler's discussions with his consultants. Since Köhler revised the texts time and again and continued to record supplements, also the number of texts rose continually. Some of the supplements are not yet part of the latest tables of contents. From 1978 onwards Ndo started to record texts by himself, either by order of Köhler or on his own initiative (OKW 328, Scientific report, 7.2.1979). Texts recorded by Ndo are also not yet part of the tables of contents.

Köhler admits that it was a problem for him to deal with individual recordings that included information on various subject areas. For example, in a discussion about hunting, his consultants included information on tracking, ancestor worship, meat distribution, food taboos, etc., and text passages had to be separated and assigned accordingly (Köhler 1989:57-58). Köhler placed the text passages on technical aspects into Part II on subsistence and text passages on hunting magic in Part VII on magic, spells, omens, and dreams. As a further consequence, he rearranged parts of individual texts under different headings, and moved individual texts from one subject area or even from one part to another. For example, he shifted the text on how young men visit young women from 'Gender relations' (OKW 369) to 'Puberty' (OKW 408:1-20), both subtopics of Part V; he moved the texts on inheritance from Part VI 'Customary law: norms and practices' to the subsection on death as stage in the life cycle in Part V (Family and society); and he moved texts on girls' games from the subsection on childhood as part of the life cycle in Part V to Part X on music, dance, games, and art.

Köhler also constantly modified headings of subsections and changed the order of texts under a particular subheading. Space does not allow for a detailed reconstruction of all such changes and rearrangements, let alone the motivations behind each of them. As far as motivations have been traced, they will be indicated in the footnotes to the respective texts.

**Table 2: The development of the main matrix of *Die Welt der Kxoe-Buschleute***

1962 (Köhler 1989:57)	1970 (?) (OKW 293)	1976 (OKW 368)	1978 (OKW 368)	1989 (Köhler 1989:61)
<b>Pp. 1-295</b>	<b>Pp. 1-295/12 Sections</b>	<b>14 Folders (A-P)</b>	<b>12 Folders (A-M)</b>	<b>Parts I-XII</b>
Place names	Settlement area; Places;	Former and current settle-	Former and current settle-	The Khwe Bushmen and
Interethnic relations	Interethnic relations	ments; Interethnic relations	ments; Interethnic relations	their ethnic environment
Subsistence	Subsistence (including magic and dreams related to hunting)	Water, gathering, hunting, agriculture, husbandry	Water, gathering, hunting, agriculture, husbandry;	Livelihood
Homestead	Homestead (including preparation of food)	Preparation of food	Preparation of Food	
Preparation of food	taboos; material culture, separated according to gender)	Material culture	Material culture	Material equipment with information on ownership and fabrication by gender
Clothing		Homestead	Homestead	Homestead and bushcamp
Men's work				
Women's work				
Family	Family (only life cycle)	Family and kinship	Family and kinship	Family and society (including inheritance)
	Property and inheritance			
	Law and jurisdiction	Law: norms and practices (including property and inheritance)	Law: Norms and practices (including property and inheritance)	Customary law: Norms and practices (including property)
Augury, illness, healing, death	Augury, dream, illness, death	Magic, spells, omens, and dreams	Magic, spells, omens, and dreams	Omens and dreams, spells and magic
Religion	Creation, nature, and beliefs	Beliefs and rites	Beliefs and Rites	Religion: Beliefs, institutions and rites
		Illness and healing	Illness and healing	Illness and healing
Children's games	Games, entertainment, and dance	Music, dance, and games	Music, dance, and games	Music and dance, games and arts
Musical instruments and songs				
Behaviour of animals	Environment	Myths, fairy tales, and narratives	Myths, fairy, tales and narration	Myths and legends, fairy tales and narration
Fairy tales	Narratives, fables, and myths	Nature and environment	Nature and environment	World and nature
Acculturation	Acculturation (in terms of material culture)	The Khwe in the present	---	---

## Indices

### Focal terms of Parts V and VI: Khwe

#### a

**ámí** *n* army [5136, 5137, 6072]

**áo** *v* be afraid, avoid

**ávà** *v* give birth, carry child

#### c

**céè** *v* marry

**cére** *v* imitate [5138, 5143, 5149a, 5153, 5154]

**cóe** *v* joke

**còé** *v* stupid [5010, 5011]

**cóm** *v* be without magic, be ordinary [5004, 5019, 5114, 5146, 5151, 5151a, 5170, 5174, 5176, 5181a, 5202, 6020, 6021, 6068]

**cóm-kx'ui** *n* ordinary, non-taboo word [5001]

**còvé** *v* disrespect, despise [5019, 5128, 5132, 5147, 5167, 5185, 5188, 5200, 5210, 6005, 6010, 6022, 6046]

**cúkuni** *n, v* dream [5015]

**cúré** *n* school [5026, 5136]

#### d

**dàràá** *v* visit [5035, 5050, 5116, 5142, 5144, 5145, 5161, 5185, 5187, 5202, 5208, 6011, 6025, 6072, 6079]

**dàràá-khòè** *n* visitor [6011, 6025, 6056]

**déé** *v* weak, feeble, slow, docile, calm [5154, 5215, 6022]

**díkò** *n* clan [5184]

**díxa** *n* owner

**díxa-||'áé** *n* head of homestead

**díyaá** *n* best healer, best dancer [5157]

**dòá-ngu** *n* grass house [5134]

**dóm** *n* gift, salary, fee [6002, 6046]

**dom-kuri** *n* close family [5135, 5195]

**dom-yi** *n* life [5169, 5170, 5198, 6020, 6043]

**dòó** *v* accept, admit, agree, allow

**dòré** *n* without taboo [5177, 5198, 5201, 5202, 6014]

**dòré-kx'ui** *n* ordinary, non-taboo word [5001, 5089, 5198, 6014]

**dòròngò** *n* prison [6032, 6037, 6038, 6072]

**dùú** *n* medicinal charcoal [5013, 5039, 5202]

#### dj

**djàa** *v* amend, behave, repent [5129, 5132, 5143, 5148, 5188, 6011, 6047, 6058, 6061]

**djàã** *n* resting place [5165, 5167, 5184, 5185]

**djàã-kx'am** *n* family [5182]

**djà-djá, djà-ká** *v* punish [5143, 5146, 6019, 6032, 6046]

**djèu** *v* predict [5202]

**djóánga** *n* disease [5059, 5169, 6011]

#### f

**fóromàni** *n* foreman, headman [6002, 6019, 6029-6032, 6046, 6046a, 6051, 6061, 6062, 6065, 6068, 6076-6080]

#### g

**gándjì** *n* infertility [5198, 6017]

**gándjì-khòè** *n* infertile, barren woman [5198, 6017]

**gómbò** *n* abandoned settlement [5041, 5064, 5065, 5192]

**goóró** *n* oath, curse [6012, 6035]

**gùrù-kx'ám** *n* shelter in field [6031, 6077]

**gùrù-ngú** *n* small shelter [5139]

**guúvú** *v* obstinate, stubborn, sulk, do  
reluctantly [5060, 5093, 6021]

**gy**

**gyeéí** *v* menstruate [5001, 5150, 5151,  
5198]

**k**

**kóá** *n* slave [6074, 6075]

**kóá** *v* pay

**kóe** *v* refuse

**kóka** *v* inherit [5182, 5183]

**kóo** *v* forbid, hold back, refuse, reject  
[5069, 5138, 5144, 5146, 5169, 5192,  
6008, 6016, 6031, 6046, 6046a, 6064,  
6070, 6081]

**kóró** *v* choose, select [5026, 5136, 5141,  
5196, 5201, 6018]

**kúri** *n* family, relative

**kúri-ku** *v* be related [6006]

**kúri-kx'am** *n* family, clan, ethnic group,  
kind [5184, 5185]

**kuú** *n* disobedience, cheekiness, rudeness  
[5144, 6058]

**kúú-kyàrè-kx'am** *n* prowling, marauding  
[5188]

**kúwá-|óá** *n* stepchild [6072]

**kúwá-|úú** *n* step-parent [5172]

**kú-|gèe-hè** *n* wife: second or third wife,  
small wife [5133, 5156, 5163, 5164, 6013]

**kh**

**khóe** *n* person

**khùn** *v* have sex [5136, 5148, 5158, 5159,  
5163, 5189, 5198, 6013, 6018, 6052,  
6055, 6061]

**Khwedàm** *n* language of the Khwe [5020,  
5169]

**kx'**

**kx'á-|óã** *n* boy [5082, 5084, 5135, 5136,  
5139, 5141, 5142, 5143, 5144, 5145,

5148, 5154, 5186, 5187]

**kx'áí** *v* laugh [5049, 5087, 5149, 5149a,  
5163, 5185, 5200, 6026]

**kx'áí** *v* fearless [5215]

**kx'áo, kx'á-khòè** *n* man, husband

**kx'áo-n+gòà** *n* old man [5192]

**kx'éi-khòè** *n* forefather [6068]

**kx'éi-kx'ui** *v* propose marriage [5162]

**kx'éi-tá-khòè** *n* forefather [5149, 5149a,  
5150, 5154, 5158, 5159, 5163, 5165,  
5173, 5175, 5183a, 5189, 5192, 5199,  
5202, 6046, 6046a, 6047, 6052]

**kx'éi-xa** *v* lucky, sharp-eyed, successful  
[5013, 5160, 6001, 6004]

**kx'ú** *v* angry, cross, wild

**kx'úí-kx'ui** *v* conjure [5175, 6035]

**kx'úu-dòm** *n* gift to in-laws [5161, 5163,  
5165, 5166, 5168, 5211]

**ky**

**kyàa-à-xú** *n* orphan [5104, 5182]

**kyèí** *v* unmarried [5001, 5049, 5060, 5120,  
5137, 5144, 5145, 5147, 5187, 5202,  
6021]

**kyèí-khòè** *n* unmarried person [5147]

**m**

**máã** *v* give as gift to [6025]

**mb**

**mbáradje** *n* glutton [5185, 5200, 5202,  
5211, 5212, 6007]

**mbóngi** *n* stone house [5068]

**mbóronga** *n* lawsuit, guilt, accusation

**mbúcà** *n* namesake [5023]

**n**

**nuútha** *n* headdress of healer [5176]

**nd**

**ndará-khòè** *n* infertile man [5198, 6018]

**ndéku(-|óá)** *n* baby [5013, 5019, 5023, 5024, 5048, 5049, 5087, 5100, 5122, 5123, 5124, 5126, 5128, 5130, 5134, 5136]  
**ndóo** *n, v* enemy, despise, hate, hostile, malicious [5070, 5071, 5198, 5212, 6018, 6022, 6030, 6068]

## ng

**ngú** *n* house

**ngúrí** *v* tell a lie [5153, 5159, 5210, 6002, 6004, 6010, 6035, 6046, 6048, 6076]

**ngúrí-bóri-khòè** *n* liar [6068]

**ngúrí-khòè** *n* liar [6010, 6011]

**ngúrí-xò** *n* lie [6002, 6010, 6011]

**ngwáa-ku** *n* last born child [5122]

## ngy

**ngyáé** *v* bless, call on ancestors, invoke in hunting ceremony [5077, 5160, 5170, 5175, 5183a, 5201]

**ngyéu** *n* young man [6011, 6030, 6033, 6045, 6046, 6052, 6054, 6065, 6069, 6070, 6076]

**ngyéu-|óá** *n* boy [5076, 5136, 5187, 6024]

## ny

**nyáã** *v* avoid [5004, 5005, 5005a, 5023, 5056, 5179, 5184, 5198, 5202]

**nyáã-o** *n* agemate [5031, 5047, 5195, 5197, 6014, 6015, 6063]

## ŋ

**ŋú** country, land

## o

**órombe** *n* fence (around a settlement) [5208]

## p

**pî-|óm-|õã** *n* infant, still nursing [5122]

**póricà** *n* police [5172, 6019, 6030, 6031, 6061, 6080]

## ph

**phùndí** *n* magical power [5170, 5173, 5178]

## q

**qeéí** *v* sit together, visit [5158, 5159, 5163]

**qéú** *v* long for, miss [5001, 5143, 5180]

## t

**tá-khòè** *n* old person, elder

**tàmàá** *n* bad luck [5007, 5202]

**tào** *v* instruct [5003, 5133, 5139-5144, 5147, 5148, 5156, 6047]

**tàràamá** *n* magical object [6041]

**té-kx'ei** *n* behaviour [5147, 6046, 6061]

**tè-|gèè-hè** *n* wife: first wife, bow wife [5133, 5156, 5163, 5164, 6013]

**tóm-tòm-xù** *n* devouring spirit [5128]

## tc

**tcáà** *v* die [5181, 5181a]

**tcàa** *n, v* disease, be sick

**tcáà-khòè** *n* deceased [5179, 5182]

**tcàrà** *n* field, garden [5139, 5140, 5151, 5211, 6005, 6006, 6027, 6059, 6073, 6076, 6077]

**tcátcà** *n* police [6071]

**tcé** *v* send, order

**tcée** *n* truth [5156, 6019, 6080]

**tcìkhúmì** *n* unsuccessful hunter [5157]

**tcìyámbì** *n* successful hunter [5170]

**tcóo** *v* cure, heal, treat with medicine

**tcòò** *n* disease [5084, 5088, 5091, 5102, 5112, 5114]

**tcòò** *n* magic, medicine, taboo

**tcóo-|xè** *v* poison, bewitch [6031, 6042-6045, 6073]

**tcòò-|'ààm** *n* grave [5170, 5172, 5198]

**tcóò-á-khòè** *n* healer, practitioner [5008-5010, 5078]

**tcóo-khòè** *n* healer [5001]

**tcóo-kx'àò** *n* sorcerer [6020, 6040, 6041, 6044, 6052, 6068]

**tcóò-kx'úi** *n* taboo word [5001, 5198, 6014]

**tcù-ngú** *n* prison [5172, 6019, 6032, 6071]

**tc'**

**tc'áà** *n, v* steal, theft [5143, 5185, 5213, 6001, 6002, 6006, 6012, 6023-6029, 6035, 6048-6050, 6053, 6073, 6074, 6079]

**tc'áà-ku** *n* love-affair [5188, 5189]

**tc'áà-khòè** *n* thief [6001, 6002, 6005, 6006, 6012, 6025, 6026, 6035, 6044, 6053, 6068]

**tc'í-kx'àm** *n* clan, origin [5185]

**tcx**

**tcxáà-khòè** *n* suitor [5156, 5158]

**th**

**thánga** *n* clan, family, tribe [5006, 5092, 5103, 5104, 5135, 5139, 5183-5186, 5213, 6065]

**thúi** *n* wound [5039, 5119]

**ũ**

**úũ** *v* possess, own

**úũ-||'áé** *n* camp of the in-laws [5147, 5161, 5168]

**úũ-dòm** *v* possess, own [5144, 5172, 5176, 5180, 5182, 5201, 5214, 6001-6005, 6008, 6050]

**w**

**wéyàrà** *n* abandoned field, abandoned garden [6005]

**wòcán** *n* friend, colleague

**x**

**xàròó** *v* give away [5032, 5034, 5048, 5144, 5151, 5166, 5175, 5182, 5189, 5201, 5211, 5214, 6002, 6007, 6055, 6061]

**xàró-xaro** *v* share with many [5166, 5182, 5211]

**xùrùrà** *v* judge, pronounce sentence [6002, 6019, 6030, 6034, 6046, 6049, 6063, 6065]

**y**

**yámbàrà** *n* foreigner, stranger [5198, 6029]

**yàrà** *n* abandoned settlement [5192, 5193]

**yè-càó-khòè** *n* gravedigger [5170, 5175, 5178]

**yèú-kx'àò** *n* healer [5053, 5055, 5078, 5088, 5157, 5170, 5175, 5176, 5180, 6040, 6041, 6064]

|

**|aává** *v* be of age, come of age [5135, 5136, 5145, 5148-5155, 6055]

**|è-khòè** *n* person of today [6055, 6063]

**|í** *n, v* sing, song [5138, 5174, 5176, 5180, 5181a, 5199, 5200, 6041, 6064, 6081]

**|om** *v* give in exchange for service [5157]

**|óá** *n* child

**|óá-ò** *n* childhood [5148]

|'

**|'ám** *v* speak ill [6006, 6007, 6062, 6068]

**|'é-kx'ám** *n* fireplace [5144, 5147, 5156, 5159, 6074]

**|'òò** *n* grown-up [5002, 5135, 5145, 5187, 5196]

**|g**

**|gùù** *n* war [5049, 5056, 5057, 5187, 6047, 6068, 6071, 6074, 6076]

**h**

**hɛ́-||ú** *n* chipped tooth [5149, 5149a]

**hoávà** *v* menstruate [5198]

**n**

**n|ám** *v* love [5001, 5018, 5079, 5091, 5156, 5158, 5163, 5164, 5189, 6010, 6021, 6047, 6051, 6052, 6055, 6056, 6057, 6061]

**q**

**qóé-dòm** *n* fee for effort [6025, 6030, 6067]

**x**

**xuí** *v* cast a spell, curse [6020, 6040]

**xùrí** *v* clever, cunning, evil, ill-intentioned [5144, 5202, 6042-6045, 6077, 6080]

**x'**

**x'á-†á-khòè** *n* groom [5158]

**x'èè-khòè** *n* foreigner, stranger, visitor [5206, 5207]

**x'ón** *n* name [5018-5121]

**x'ú-nyéu** *n* hunter [5157, 5165, 5168, 5170, 5173, 5201, 5202, 6011]

**||**

**||áé** *v* teach [5026, 5139, 5140, 5143, 5198, 6024]

**||áé-can** *v* learn [5048, 5126, 5127, 5136, 5138, 5140, 5147, 5148, 5149, 5154, 6006]

**||àe, ||àè-ká** *v* hold trial, settle, discuss [5157, 6002, 6005, 6010, 6012, 6015, 6016, 6019, 6030-6032, 6037, 6043-6055, 6065, 6066, 6068, 6069, 6077, 6080, 6081]

**||àe, ||àè-xú** *n* trial, matter, dispute [5098, 6019, 6027, 6030-6033, 6045-6046a, 6053, 6065, 6066, 6076, 6077]

**||àè-dóm** *n* court fee [6046, 6067]

**||àè-ká-khòè** *n* arbiter, judge [6001-6081]

**||àè-kú** *v* discuss, debate [5156, 5165, 5187, 6006, 6062]

**||àè-ó-yì** *n* court tree [6030]

**||óé-xòà** *v, n* have sex, sex [5148, 5189, 5198]

**||óé-khòè** *n* womanizer [6068]

**||úu** *v* give birth [5007, 5008, 5029, 5058, 5154, 5182, 5198, 5202, 6063, 6074]

**||úu-khòè** *n* fertile woman [6017]

**||'**

**||'áé** *n* master [6076]

**||'áé** *n* homestead, settlement

**||'áé-khòè** *n* person of homestead

**||'áé-xò** *n* possession, personal belonging [6027]

**||'án** *v* settle down

**||'áo** *v* curse, insult, swear [5101, 5143, 5163, 5187, 5193-5198, 6011, 6013-6015, 6036, 6041, 6044, 6063]

**||'áxa** *n* chief, headman [6019, 6031, 6032, 6037, 6038, 6043, 6045, 6054, 6051, 6064, 6065, 6068]

**||'áo** *n* camp, place [5048, 5049 5135, 5147, 5150]

**||'éí-||'èi-can** *v* proud [5074]

**||'éú** *n, v* jealous, jealousy [5163]

**||'éú-ku** *v* fight because of jealousy [5187]

**||'ó** *v, n* die; death [5005a, 5049, 5084, 5159-5183a, 6020, 6080]

**||'ó-khòè** *n* deceased [5084, 5170-5183a, 5212, 6069-6071]

**||g**

**||gàa-khòè, ||gèe-khòè** *n* woman, wife

**||gàòò** *n* ancestral spirit [5095, 5174, 5175, 5183a-5185, 6001, 6004, 6012, 6040, 6041, 6062, 6074]

**||gàòò-khóé** *n* lucky person [6004]

**||gèe-||'óá** *n* girl [5020, 5024, 5135, 5136, 5140-5145, 5148, 5186, 5187, 6024]

||gèè-n†gòà *n* old woman [5034, 5192, 5202]

||h

||há, ||há-hã *v* praise [5089, 5144, 5198, 6007]

||héù *v* raise, feed, take care, provide for, own livestock [5040, 5077, 5100, 5117a, 5147, 5182, 5192, 5202, 5210, 6021]

||hom̃ *v* strong, forceful [5158, 5168, 5170, 5183, 5187]

||huí *n* young woman

n||

n||gá, n||gá-n||ga *v* divide, share [5135, 5156, 5168, 5172, 5182, 5201, 6046, 6050]

n||g

n||gaára *n* sand (white sand of grave), misfortune [5115, 5170, 5181a]

n||guúrí *v* smart, clever, devious [6024]

||x'

||x'áé *v* meet

†

†aámí-ngu *n* mat house [5016, 5137, 5150, 5158, 5159, 5161, 5163, 5170, 5171, 5172, 5183, 5187]

†óá *n* papyrus mat [5002, 5016, 5137, 5150, 5158, 5163, 5170, 5173, 5183, 6046]

†ú *v* obstinate, stubborn [5163, 6044, 6046, 6061, 6072, 6076]

†g

†gára-ku *n*, *v* agemate, be friends [5030, 5195-5197]

†h

†háó *n*, *v* shame, be ashamed [5001, 5148, 5149, 5149a, 5165, 5189, 5190, 5191, 5199, 5200, 6006, 6024, 6026, 6031]

†híí *v* dance around [5150, 5151, 5151b, 5153]

n†g

n†gírì *v* bless [5077, 5160]

†x

†xóáma *v* regret, pity [6002, 6055]



**die; death** *v, n* ||'ó [5005a, 5049, 5084, 5159-5183a, 6020, 6080]

**discuss, debate** *v* ||àè-kú [5156, 5165, 5187, 6006, 6062]

**disease** *n* djóánga [5059, 5169, 6011]

**disease** *n* tcòdò [5084, 5088, 5091, 5102, 5112, 5114]

**disease, be sick** *n, v* tcàa

**disobedience, cheekiness, rudeness** *n* kuú [5144, 6058]

**disrespect, despise** *v* còvé [5019, 5128, 5132, 5147, 5167, 5185, 5188, 5200, 5210, 6005, 6010, 6022, 6046]

**divide, share** *v* n||gá, n||gá-n||ga [5135, 5156, 5168, 5172, 5182, 5201, 6046, 6050]

**dream** *n, v* cúkuni [5015]

**enemy, despise, hate, hostile, malicious** *n, v* ndóo [5070, 5071, 5198, 5212, 6018, 6022, 6030, 6068]

**family** *n* djãã-kx'am [5182]

**family, clan, ethnic group, kind** *n* kúri-kx'am [5184, 5185]

**family, relative** *n* kúri

**fearless** *v* kx'áí [5215]

**fee for effort** *n* |qóé-dòm [6025, 6030, 6067]

**fence (around a settlement)** *n* órombe [5208]

**fertile woman** *n* ||úu-khòè [6017]

**field, garden** *n* tcàrà [5139, 5140, 5151, 5211, 6005, 6006, 6027, 6059, 6073, 6076, 6077]

**fight because of jealousy** *v* ||'éú-ku [5187]

**fireplace** *n* |'é-kx'ám [5144, 5147, 5156, 5159, 6074]

**forbid, hold back, refuse, reject** *v* kóo [5069, 5138, 5144, 5146, 5169, 5192, 6008, 6016, 6031, 6046, 6046a, 6064, 6070, 6081]

**forefather** *n* kx'éí-khòè [6068]

**forefather** *n* kx'éí-tá-khòè [5149, 5149a, 5150, 5154, 5158, 5159, 5163, 5165, 5173, 5175, 5183a, 5189, 5192, 5199, 5202, 6046, 6046a, 6047, 6052]

**foreigner, stranger** *n* yámbàrà [5198, 6029]

**foreigner, stranger, visitor** *n* |x'èè-khòè [5206, 5207]

**foreman, headman** *n* fóromànì [6002, 6019, 6029-6032, 6046, 6046a, 6051, 6061, 6062, 6065, 6068, 6076-6080]

**friend, colleague** *n* wòcán

**gift to in-laws** *n* kx'úu-dòm [5161, 5163, 5165, 5166, 5168, 5211]

**gift, salary, fee** *n* dóm [6002, 6046]

**girl** *n* ||gèè-|óá [5020, 5024, 5135, 5136, 5140-5145, 5148, 5186, 5187, 6024]

**give in exchange for service** *v* |omí [5157]

**give as gift to** *v* máã [6025]

**give away** *v* xàrdò [5032, 5034, 5048, 5144, 5151, 5166, 5175, 5182, 5189, 5201, 5211, 5214, 6002, 6007, 6055, 6061]

**give birth** *v* ||úu [5007, 5008, 5029, 5058, 5154, 5182, 5198, 5202, 6063, 6074]

**give birth, carry child** *v* ávà

**glutton** *n* mbáradje [5185, 5200, 5202, 5211, 5212, 6007]

**grass house** *n* dòá-ngu [5134]

**grave** *n* tcòdò-|'àm [5170, 5172, 5198]

**gravedigger** *n* yè-càò-khòè [5170, 5175, 5178]

**groom** *n* |x'á-|'á-khòè [5158]

**grown-up** *n* |'òdò [5002, 5135, 5145, 5187, 5196]

**have sex** *v* khùn [5136, 5148, 5158, 5159, 5163, 5189, 5198, 6013, 6018, 6052, 6055, 6061]

**have sex, sex** *v, n* ||óé-|xòà [5148, 5189, 5198]

**head of homestead** *n* díxà-||'áé

**headdress of healer** *n* nuútha [5176]

**healer** *n* tcóo-khòè [5001]

**healer** *n* yèú-kx'àdò [5053, 5055, 5078, 5088, 5157, 5170, 5175, 5176, 5180, 6040, 6041, 6064]

**healer, practitioner** *n* tɔ̀dò-á-khòè [5008-5010, 5078]  
**hold trial, settle, discuss** *v* ||àe, ||àè-ká [5157, 6002, 6005, 6010, 6012, 6015, 6016, 6019, 6030-6032, 6037, 6043-6055, 6065, 6066, 6068, 6069, 6077, 6080, 6081]  
**homestead, settlement** *n* ||'áé  
**house** *n* ngú  
**hunter** *n* |x'ú-nyéú [5157, 5165, 5168, 5170, 5173, 5201, 5202, 6011]  
**imitate** *v* cére [5138, 5143, 5149a, 5153, 5154]  
**infant, still nursing** *n* pfi-|óm-|ōã [5122]  
**infertile man** *n* ndára-khòè [5198, 6018]  
**infertile, barren woman** *n* gándjì-khòè [5198, 6017]  
**infertility** *n* gándjì [5198, 6017]  
**inherit** *v* kóka [5182, 5183]  
**instruct** *v* tàò [5003, 5133, 5139-5144, 5147, 5148, 5156, 6047]  
**jealous, jealousy** *n, v* ||'éú [5163]  
**joke** *v* cóe  
**judge, pronounce sentence** *v* xùrùrà [6002, 6019, 6030, 6034, 6046, 6049, 6063, 6065]  
**language of the Khwe** *n* Khwedàm [5020, 5169]  
**last born child** *n* ngwáa-ku [5122]  
**laugh** *v* kx'ái [5049, 5087, 5149, 5149a, 5163, 5185, 5200, 6026]  
**lawsuit, guilt, accusation** *n* mbóronga  
**learn** *v* ||'áé-can [5048, 5126, 5127, 5136, 5138, 5140, 5147, 5148, 5149, 5154, 6006]  
**liar** *n* ngúrí-bóri-khòè [6068]  
**liar** *n* ngúrí-khòè [6010, 6011]  
**lie** *n* ngúrí-xò [6002, 6010, 6011]  
**life** *n* dom-yi [5169, 5170, 5198, 6020, 6043]  
**long for, miss** *v* qéú [5001, 5143, 5180]  
**love** *v* n|ám [5001, 5018, 5079, 5091, 5158, 5163, 5164, 5189, 6010, 6021, 6047, 6051, 6052, 6055, 6056, 6057, 6061]  
**love-affair** *n* tɔ̀'áà-ku [5188, 5189]  
**lucky person** *n* ||gàòà-khóé [6004]  
**lucky, sharp-eyed, successful** *v* kx'éí-xa [5013, 5160, 6001, 6004]  
**magic, medicine, taboo** *n* tɔ̀dò  
**magical object** *n* tàràamá [6041]  
**magical power** *n* phùndí [5170, 5173, 5178]  
**man, husband** *n* kx'ádò, kx'á-khòè  
**marry** *v* cèè  
**master** *n* ||'áé [6076]  
**mat house** *n* †aámí-ngu [5016, 5137, 5150, 5158, 5159, 5161, 5163, 5170, 5171, 5172, 5183, 5187]  
**medicinal charcoal** *n* dùú [5013, 5039, 5202]  
**meet** *v* |x'áé  
**menstruate** *v* gyeéí [5001, 5150, 5151, 5198]  
**menstruate** *v* |hoávà [5198]  
**name** *n* |x'ón [5018-5121]  
**namesake** *n* mbúcà [5023]  
**oath, curse** *n* goóró [6012, 6035]  
**obstinate, stubborn** *v* †ú [5163, 6044, 6046, 6061, 6072, 6076]  
**obstinate, stubborn, sulk, do reluctantly** *v* guúvú [5060, 5093, 6021]  
**old man** *n* kx'áo-n†gòà [5192]  
**old person, elder** *n* tá-khòè  
**old woman** *n* ||gèe-n†gòà [5034, 5192, 5202]  
**ordinary, non-taboo word** *n* còm-kx'ui [5001]  
**ordinary, non-taboo word** *n* dòré-kx'ui [5001, 5089, 5198, 6014]  
**orphan** *n* kyàa-à-xú [5104, 5182]  
**owner** *n* díxa  
**papyrus mat** *n* †óá [5002, 5016, 5137, 5150, 5158, 5163, 5170, 5173, 5183, 6046]  
**pay** *v* kóá  
**person** *n* khóé  
**person of homestead** *n* ||'áé-khòè  
**person of today** *n* |èe-khòè [6055, 6063]  
**poison, bewitch** *v* tɔ̀óo-xe [6031, 6042-6045, 6073]

**police** *n* pórícà [5172, 6019, 6030, 6031, 6061, 6080]  
**police** *n* tcátcà [6071]  
**possess, own** *v* úũ  
**possess, own** *v* úũ-dòm [5144, 5172, 5176, 5180, 5182, 5201, 5214, 6001-6005, 6008, 6050]  
**possession, personal belonging** *n* ||'áé-xò [6027]  
**praise** *v* ||há, ||há-hã [5089, 5144, 5198, 6007]  
**predict** *v* djèu [5202]  
**prison** *n* dóròngò [6032, 6037, 6038, 6072]  
**prison** *n* tcù-ngú [5172, 6019, 6032, 6071]  
**propose marriage** *v* kx'éf-kx'ui [5162]  
**proud** *v* ||'éí-||'èi-can [5074]  
**prowling, marauding** *n* kúũ-kyàrè-kx'am [5188]  
**punish** *v* djà-djá, djà-ká [5143, 5146, 6019, 6032, 6046]  
**raise, feed, take care, provide for, own livestock** *v* ||héu [5040, 5077, 5100, 5117a, 5147, 5182, 5192, 5202, 5210, 6021]  
**refuse** *v* kóε  
**regret, pity** *v* †xóáma [6002, 6055]  
**resting place** *n* djãã [5165, 5167, 5184, 5185]  
**sand (white sand of grave), misfortune** *n* n||gaará [5115, 5170, 5181a]  
**school** *n* cúrè [5026, 5136]  
**send, order** *v* tcé  
**settle down** *v* ||'án  
**shame, be ashamed** *n, v* †háó [5001, 5148, 5149, 5149a, 5165, 5189, 5190, 5191, 5199, 5200, 6006, 6024, 6026, 6031]  
**share with many** *v* xàró-xaro [5166, 5182, 5211]  
**shelter in field** *n* gùrù-kx'ám [6031, 6077]  
**sing, song** *n, v* ||í [5138, 5174, 5176, 5180, 5181a, 5199, 5200, 6041, 6064, 6081]  
**sit together, visit** *v* qeérí [5158, 5159, 5163]  
**slave** *n* kóá [6074, 6075]

**small shelter** *n* gùrù-ngú [5139]  
**smart, clever, devious** *v* n||guúrí [6024]  
**sorcerer** *n* tcóo-kx'àd [6020, 6040, 6041, 6044, 6052, 6068]  
**speak ill** *v* ||'ám [6006, 6007, 6062, 6068]  
**steal, theft** *n, v* tc'áã [5143, 5185, 5213, 6001, 6002, 6006, 6012, 6023-6029, 6035, 6048-6050, 6053, 6073, 6074, 6079]  
**stepchild** *n* kúwá-|óá [6072]  
**step-parent** *n* kúwá-||úũ [5172]  
**stone house** *n* mbóngì [5068]  
**strong, forceful** *v* ||homí [5158, 5168, 5170, 5183, 5187]  
**stupid** *v* còé [5010, 5011]  
**successful hunter** *n* tcìyámbì [5170]  
**suitor** *n* tcxáã-khòè [5156, 5158]  
**taboo word** *n* tcóò-kx'úí [5001, 5198, 6014]  
**teach** *v* ||áé [5026, 5139, 5140, 5143, 5198, 6024]  
**tell a lie** *v* ngúrí [5153, 5159, 5210, 6002, 6004, 6010, 6035, 6046, 6048, 6076]  
**thief** *n* tc'áã-khòè [6001, 6002, 6005, 6006, 6012, 6025, 6026, 6035, 6044, 6053, 6068]  
**trial, matter, dispute** *n* ||àe, ||àè-xú [5098, 6019, 6027, 6030-6033, 6045-6046a, 6053, 6065, 6066, 6076, 6077]  
**truth** *n* tcéε [5156, 6019, 6080]  
**unmarried** *v* kyèí [5001, 5049, 5060, 5120, 5137, 5144, 5145, 5147, 5187, 5202, 6021]  
**unmarried person** *n* kyèí-khòè [5147]  
**unsuccessful hunter** *n* tcìkhúmì [5157]  
**visit** *v* dàràá [5035, 5050, 5116, 5142, 5144, 5145, 5161, 5185, 5187, 5202, 5208, 6011, 6025, 6072, 6079]  
**visitor** *n* dàràá-khòè [6011, 6025, 6056]  
**war** *n* |gùũ [5049, 5056, 5057, 5187, 6047, 6068, 6071, 6074, 6076]  
**weak, feeble, slow, docile, calm** *v* deé [5154, 5215, 6022]  
**wife: first wife, bow wife** *n* tè-||gèε-hè [5133, 5156, 5163, 5164, 6013]

**wife: second or third wife, small wife** *n* kú-

-||gèè-hè [5133, 5156, 5163, 5164, 6013]

**without taboo** *n* dòré [5177, 5198, 5201, 5202, 6014]

**woman, wife** *n* ||gàa-khòè, ||gèè-khòè

**womanizer** *n* ||óé-khòè [6068]

**wound** *n* thuí [5039, 5119]

**young man** *n* ngyéu [6011, 6030, 6033, 6045, 6046, 6052, 6054, 6065, 6069, 6070, 6076]

**young woman** *n* ||huí

## Kin terms: Khwe

- cáo** your father *n* [5040, 5184]  
**círi** your mother *n* [5036, 5045, 5049, 5055, 5113, 5163, 6063, 6072]  
**dàmàcí** younger sibling *n*  
**dàmàkú** sibling, be siblings *n, v* [5002, 5141, 5156, 5185, 5186, 5195, 6076, 6081]  
**dom-n||góri** biological sister's child (man speaking) *n* [5186]  
**kúí-kx'ei** opposite-sex cousin *n* [5141, 5186, 6015]  
**kx'á-khòè** husband, man *n*  
**kx'áò-||'óá-tì** paternal relative *n* [5062]  
**máma** my grandmother, mother's brother's wife *n* [5144, 5194, 6012]  
**mbáa, mbáe** my father *n* [5141, 5144, 5186, 6012, 6081]  
**mbáa-x'ui** my father's brother, mother's sister's husband *n* [5186]  
**ndée** my mother *n* [5029, 5095, 5144, 5156, 5186, 6012, 6076, 6081]  
**ndée-x'ui** my father's sister, mother's sister *n* [5186]  
**táci** older sibling *n*  
**táva** my grandfather, mother's brother *n* [5194, 6012]  
**tá-||úú** grandparent, mother's brother *n* [5021, 5065, 5066, 5137, 5141, 5144, 5166, 5176, 5177, 5183, 5183a, 5187, 6073, 6074, 6079]  
**úú-djá** in-law *n* [5165, 5168, 5194]  
**||aá-dàmàcí** biological sibling *n* [5049]  
**||óá** child *n*  
**||'úi** in-law, sibling-in-law *n* [5067, 5079, 5080, 5083, 5094, 5123, 5149a, 5183, 5194, 6074]  
**||'úi-nyéú** son-in-law *n* [5165, 6074, 6077, 6081]  
**||úu-can** biological child, same-sex sibling's child, brother's child (woman speaking) *n* [5006, 5029, 5071, 5165, 5186, 6059]  
**||úú** parent *n*  
**||úú-x'ui** parents' same-sex sibling, father's sister *n* [5020, 5021, 5045, 5056, 5073, 5144, 5149a, 5182]  
**||'éè-||óá** in-law, parent-in-law *n* [5165, 5167, 5168, 5201, 5211, 6074, 6077, 6081]  
**||gàa-khòè, ||gèè-khòè** wife, woman *n*  
**||gèè-||'óá-tì** maternal relative *n* [5092, 5182]  
**n||góri** grandchild, sister's child (man speaking) *n* [5018, 5036, 5040, 5045, 5049, 5050, 5086, 5090, 5111, 5141, 5170, 5176, 5182, 5186, 5194, 5195, 5198, 5199, 6014, 6015, 6032, 6074]

**Kin terms: English**

**biological child, same-sex sibling's child, brother's child (woman speaking)** ||úu-

can *n* [5006, 5029, 5071, 5165, 5186, 6059]

**biological sibling** |aá-dàmàcí *n* [5049]

**biological sister's child (man speaking)**

dom-n||góri *n* [5186]

**child** |óá *n*

**grandchild, sister's child (man speaking)**

n||góri *n* [5018, 5036, 5040, 5045, 5049, 5050, 5086, 5090, 5111, 5141, 5170, 5176, 5182, 5186, 5194, 5195, 5198, 5199, 6014, 6015, 6032, 6074]

**grandparent, mother's brother** tá-||úũ *n*

[5021, 5065, 5066, 5137, 5141, 5144, 5166, 5176, 5177, 5183, 5183a, 5187, 6073, 6074, 6079]

**husband, man** kx'á-khòè *n*

**in-law** úũ-djä *n* [5165, 5168, 5194]

**in-law, parent-in-law** ||'éè-|õã *n* [5165,

5167, 5168, 5201, 5211, 6074, 6077, 6081]

**in-law, sibling-in-law** |'úi *n* [5067, 5079,

5080, 5083, 5094, 5123, 5149a, 5183, 5194, 6074]

**maternal relative** ||gèè-||'óá-tì *n* [5092,

5182]

**my father** mbáa, mbáe *n* [5141, 5144,

5186, 6012, 6081]

**my father's brother, mother's sister's**

**husband** mbáa-|x'ui *n* [5186]

**my mother's sister, father's sister** ndée-

|x'ui *n* [5186]

**my grandfather, mother's brother** táva *n*

[5194, 6012]

**my grandmother, mother's brother's wife**

máma *n* [5144, 5194, 6012]

**my mother** ndée *n* [5029, 5095, 5144,

5156, 5186, 6012, 6076, 6081]

**older sibling** táci *n*

**opposite-sex cousin** kúú-kx'ei *n* [5141,

5186, 6015]

**parent** ||úũ *n*

**parents' same-sex sibling, father's sister**

||úũ-|x'ui *n* [5020, 5021, 5045, 5056, 5073, 5144, 5149a, 5182]

**paternal relative** kx'ád-||'óá-tì *n* [5062]

**sibling, be siblings** dàmàkú *n, v* [5002,

5141, 5156, 5185, 5186, 5195, 6076, 6081]

**son-in-law** |'úi-nyéu *n* [5165, 6074, 6077,

6081]

**wife, woman** ||gàa-khòè, ||gèè-khòè *n*

**younger sibling** dàmàcí *n*

**your father** cáo *n* [5040, 5184]

**your mother** círi *n* [5036, 5045, 5049,

5055, 5113, 5163, 6063, 6072]

**Plant names: Khwe**

**B**

**bóróro** Knobby combretum (*Combretum mossambicense*, *Annona stenophylla*) [5170]

**búquvu** plant sp (*Lannea edulis*) [5170]

**buúnú** Castor plant (*Ricinus communis*) [5184, 5185]

**C**

**càá-cà** Tea bush (*Zanthoxylum capense*, *Ocinum canum*) [5170]

**cé** plant sp (*Grewia falcistipula*) [5170]

**cú-djèrèe** Peanut (*Arachis hypogaea*) [5211]

**D**

**doá-|qèrè** plant sp (*Evolvulus alsionoides*) [5202]

**DJ**

**djèrè** Ground nut (*Voandzeia subterranea*) [5211]

**G**

**gòá** tree sp (*Baikiaea plurijuga*) [5170]

**góává-dori** plant sp (*Psydrax livida*, *Pavetta cataractarum*) [6035]

**gómbòrò** tree sp 'live long' (*Lannea discolor*) [5170]

**gùì** plant sp (*Sansevieria aethiopica* sp) [5170]

**GY**

**gyàrá** papyrus sp (*Cyperus papyrus*) [5140]

**gyé-|gèe-cèú** plant sp (*Acalypha willicaulis*) [5151b]

**K**

**kóá-|'ori** Small sourplum (*Ximenia Americana*) [5170]

**kùí-|'am** Cowpea (*Vigna unguiculata*) [5211]

**KH**

**khòává** millet (gen.) [5184, 5198]

**KX'**

**kx'ávè** Russet bushwillow (*Combretum hereroense*) [6005]

**KY**

**kyaárá** Ochna (*Ochna pulchra*) [5004, 5005a, 5140, 5177, 6076]

**M**

**múndèrè** Maize (*Zea mays*) [5140, 5211]

**N**

**náxani** Mobola plum (*Parinari curatellifolia*) [5140]

**NGY**

**ngyáò** Knobthorn (*Acacia nigrescens*) [6005]

**NY**

**nyúngè** plant sp (*Lagenaria siceraria*) [5185]

**O**

**óává** grass sp (*Eragrostis cf. pallens*) [5160]

**P**

**pómpo** plant sp (*Lannea gossweileri*) [5170]

**Q**

**qáráti** Ordeal tree (*Erythrophleum africanum*) [5170]

**qùvùnì** plant sp (*Fockea angustifolia*) [5130, 5131]

**T**

**témta-gòrò** plant sp (*Tricalysia cacondensis*) [5183, 6035]

**témta-yì-ṅómá** plant sp (*Tricalysia cacondensis*) [6035]

**túpè** plant sp [6035]

**TC**

**tcèrè** Silver terminalia (*Terminalia sericea*) [5171]

**tcéú** Shiwi tree (*Guibourtia coleosperma*) [5013, 5140, 5177, 5183, 5184, 5211]

**tcòò-ḥ'ú** Mahangu (*Pennisetum glaucum*) [5140, 5211]

**tcú-kx'òm** Jackalberry tree (*Diospyros mespiliformis*) [6005]

**TC'**

**tc'úéré** False wild medlar (*Vangueriopsis lanciflora*) [5170]

**X**

**xàró** plant sp (grows in the dry river bed, the stalk excretes white juice when one breaks off the leaves) [5131]

**xèi** Wild syringe (*Burkea africana*) [5170, 5190]

**xéù** plant sp ((roots) of a plant which grows in the omuramba) [5152, 5153, 5151a]

**xóé-khoava** Sorghum (*Sorghum caffrorum*) [5140, 5211]

**xóm náxani** Ground mobola plum (*Parinari curatellifolia*) [5140]

|

**|aává** plant sp (*Launea sp*) [5152, 5153, 5152a]

**|ám-kx'á-khòè-yì** plant sp [5164]

**|gútutu** Burchell's coucal (*Centropus superciliosus*) [5170]

**|oává** Silver terminalia (*Terminalia sericea*) [5134, 5136, 5170, 6073]

**|óé** Sick bush (*Dichrostachys cinerea*) [5153]

**|G**

**|gań** Brandy bush (*Grewia flava*) [5153]

**|gútutu** plant sp [5169]

**N|**

**n|ómíthara** plant sp (*Parinari capensis*) [5140, 5170]

**N|G**

**n|gévura-kyáó-ku** grass sp [5007]

**|Q**

**|qérí** tree sp [5202]

**|qóm** Manketti (*Schinziophyton rautanenii*) [5005a, 5135, 5140, 5153, 5177, 5211]

**|qúú** herb sp (*Vernonia glabra*, *Vernonia fastigiata*) [5152, 5153, 5151a]

**|X**

**|xàá-dòvèe** bush sp [5013, 5050, 5152, 5153, 5151b]

**|xáru-bèyèé** grass sp [5200]

**|X'**

**|x'óánà** "Kaffir" lemon (*Strychnos cocculoides*) [5211]

‡

**‡aámì** perennial grass sp (*Trystachia superba*) [5140, 5150]

‡'

**‡'òò** Leadwood tree (*Combretum imberbe*) [5189, 6005]

**‡'úmbe** plant sp (*Dialium engleranum*) [5140]

**N†G**

**n†góárà** plant sp (grows on *qa* soil) [5152, 5153, 5151a]

**†Q**

**†qòyé** “Bushman” orange (*Strychnos pungens*) [5211]

**†X’**

**†x’árò** Buffalo thorn (*Ziziphus mucronata*) [6005]

**†x’ú** plant sp (*Pavonia hirsute*) [5154]

**†x’úni** plant sp (grows on *qara* soil) [5152, 5153]

**||**

**||èu** Aloe sp [5011, 5013]

**||ó** Apple-leaf (*Lonchocarpus capassa*) [6064]

**||òàmà** grass sp [5006]

**||Q**

**||qárà** Camel thorn (*Acacia erioloba*) [6005]

## Plant names: Scientific

- Acacia erioloba* ||qárá Camel thorn [6005]  
*Acacia nigrescens* ngyáð Knobthorn [6005]  
*Acalypha willicaulis* gyéí-||gèè-cèú plant sp [5151b]  
*Arachis hypogaea* cú-djèrèè Peanut [5211]  
*Baikiaea plurijuga* gòá tree sp [5170]  
*Burkea africana* xéi Wild syringe [5170, 5190]  
*Centropus superciliosus* |gútutu Burchell's coucal [5169, 5170]  
*Combretum hereroense* kx'ávè Russet bushwillow [6005]  
*Combretum imberbe* †'òð Leadwood tree [5189, 6005]  
*Combretum mossambicense*, *Annona stenophylla* bóróro Knobby combretum [5170]  
*Cyperus papyrus* gyàrá papyrus sp [5140]  
*Dialium englerianum* †'úmbe plant sp [5140]  
*Dichrostachys cinerea* |óé Sickle bush [5153]  
*Diospyros mespiliformis* tcú-kx'òm Jackalberry tree [6005]  
*Eragrostis cf. pallens* óává grass sp [5160]  
*Erythrophleum africanum* qáráti Ordeal tree [5170]  
*Evolvulus alsionoides* doá-|qèrè plant sp [5202]  
*Fockea angustifolia* qùvùnì plant sp [5130, 5131]  
*Grewia falcistipula* cé plant sp [5170]  
*Grewia flava* |gañ Brandy bush [5153]  
*Guibourtia coleosperma* tcéú Shiwi tree [5013, 5140, 5177, 5183, 5184, 5211]  
*Lagenaria siceraria* nyúngè plant sp [5185]  
*Lansea discolor* gómbòrò tree sp ('live long') [5170]  
*Lansea edulis* búquvu plant sp [5170]  
*Lansea gossweileri* pómpo plant sp [5170]  
*Launea sp* |aává plant sp [5152, 5153, 5152a]  
*Lonchocarpus capassa* ||ó Apple-leaf [6064]  
*Ochna pulchra* kyaára Ochna [5004, 5005a, 5140, 5177, 6076]  
*Parinari capensis* n|ómíthara plant sp [5140, 5170]  
*Parinari curatellifolia* náxani Mobola plum [5140]; xóm náxani Ground mobola plum [5140]  
*Pavonia hirsute* †x'ú plant sp [5154]  
*Pennisetum glaucum* tcóð-†'ù Mahangu [5140, 5211]  
*Psydrax livida*, *Pavetta cataractarum* góává-dori plant sp [6035]  
*Ricinus communis* buúnú Castor plant [5184, 5185]  
*Sansevieria aethiopica* sp gùì plant sp [5170]  
*Schinziophyton rautanenii* |qóm Manketti [5005a, 5135, 5140, 5153, 5177, 5211]  
*Sorghum caffrorum* xóé-khoava Sorghum [5140, 5211]  
*Strychnos cocculoides* |x'óánà "Kaffir" lemon [5211]  
*Strychnos pungens* †qòyè "Bushman" orange [5211]  
*Terminalia sericea* tcèrè Silver terminalia [5171]; |oává Silver terminalia [5134, 5136, 5170, 6073]  
*Tricalysia cacondensis* témta-gòrò plant sp [5183, 6035]; témta-yì-ñómá plant sp [6035]  
*Trystachia superba* †aámì perennial grass sp [5140, 5150]  
*Vangueriopsis lanciflora* tc'úéré False wild medlar [5170]  
*Vernonia glabra*, *Vernonia fastigiata* |qúù herb sp [5152, 5153, 5151a]  
*Vigna unguiculata* kùí-||'am Cowpea [5211]  
*Voandzeia subterranea* djèrè Ground nut [5211]

*Ximenia Americana* **kóá-ḥ'ori** Small sourplum  
[5170]

*Zanthoxylum capense, Ocimum canum* **càá-cà**  
Tea bush [5170]

*Zea mays* **múndèrè** Maize [5140, 5211]

*Ziziphus mucronata* **ḥ'árò** Buffalo thorn  
[6005]

## Animal names: Khwe

### A

**ápa** domestic dog (*Canis lupus familiaris*)  
[5080, 5168, 5182, 5202, 5210, 6023]

### B

**bèyèé** zebra (*Equus quagga*), horse (*Equus caballus*) [5005, 5149a, 5149, 5182, 5184, 5185, 5198, 5202]

### C

**còe** lovebird (*Agapornis nigrigensis*) [5184, 5185]

**córò** rock monitor (*Varanus albigularis*)  
[5184, 5185]

### D

**dìnì** stingless bee sp [5139]

**doá** kudu (*Tragelaphus strepsiceros*) [5031, 5202, 6011]

**dòngí** donkey (*Equus asinus*) [5149, 5149a, 5182, 6079]

**dú** eland (*Taurotragus oryx*) [5160, 5202, 6076]

### DJ

**djaára** bird (*Aves*) [5139, 5150, 5151, 5152, 5153, 5153a]

**djírì** monkey (*Chlorocebus pygerythrus*)  
[5003]

**djòo** red lechwe (*Kobus leche*) [5082]

### ε

**érikú** domestic dog (*Canis lupus familiaris*)  
[5012, 5210]

### G

**góé** cattle, cow (*Bos taurus*) [5010, 5031, 5040, 5077, 5089, 5125, 5168, 5177, 5182, 5185, 6020, 6029, 6040, 6043, 6045, 6053, 6055, 6063, 6065, 6073, 6076, 6079, 6080]

**goó** antbear, armadillo (*Orycteropus afer*)  
[6045]

**gùu** sheep (*Ovis aries*) [5042]

### GY

**gyáí** steenbok (*Raphicerus campestris*) [5004, 5139, 5140, 5160, 5202, 6055, 6079]

### K

**kùnìí** duiker (*Sylvicapra grimmia*) [5013, 5030, 5110, 5139, 5140, 5147, 5167, 5202, 6046, 6046a, 6073, 6077, 6078]

**kwíngoro** water snake [5184, 5185]

### KX'

**kx'ád-qóro** cock, rooster [5150]

**kx'ó-bèyèé** zebra (*Equus burchelli antiquorum*) [5184, 5185, 5202]

### KY

**kyaánú** n catfish (*Clarias ngamensis*) [5185]

**kyání** honey badger (*Mellivora capensis*)  
[5005]

### M

**míní** goat (*Capra hircus*) [5010, 5040, 5168, 5182, 6029, 6048, 6067, 6076]

### MB

**mbícì** cat [5182]

### NG

**ngoé** porcupine (*Hystrix africae australis*)  
[5004, 6041]

**ngùrúngù** bushbuck (*Tragelaphus scriptus*)  
[5074, 5102]

### NGY

**ngyáve** giraffe (*Giraffa camelopardalis*)  
[5062, 5063, 5075, 5202]

**O**

**òè** leopard (*Panthera pardus*) [5049]

**Õ**

**óà** hare (*Lepus capensis*) [5003, 5005]

**P**

**pímboro** mosquito (*Culicidae sp*) [6032]

**Q**

**qàe** poison beetle (*Diamphidia simplex*) [6045]

**qóro** chicken, hen (*Gallus gallus*) [5150, 5168, 5182, 5198, 6029]

**TC**

**tcíngwà** baboon (*Papio ursinus*) [5003]

**tcúkoè** spur-winged goose (*Plectropterus gambensis*) [6045]

**W**

**wánda** springhare (*Pedetes capensis*) [5005, 5058, 5105, 5139, 5147, 5202]

**wú** spotted hyena (*Crocuta crocuta*) [5128, 5184, 5185, 5192, 5202, 5206]

**X**

**xám** lion (*Panthera leo*) [5160, 5184, 5185, 5206, 6073, 6074]

**xáo** hippopotamus (*Hippopotamus amphibius*) [5206]

**xéi** tsessebe (*Damaliscus lunatus*) [5004, 5083, 5184, 5185, 5202]

**Y**

**yèú** mouse (*Mus sp*) [5005]

**|**

**jàò** buffalo (*Syncerus caffer*) [5185, 5202, 6040]

**jé** wildebeest (*Connochaetes taurinus*) [5004, 5184, 5185, 5202]

**òàvàa** python (*Python sebae*) [5163]

**|G**

**gàròo** ostrich (*Struthio camelus*) [5127, 5148, 6046, 6046a, 6048]

**gi-gini** small fly sp [5135]

**|X**

**xúni** crocodile (*Crocodylus niloticus*) [6040, 6045]

**‡**

**‡àò-wá** bushbaby (*Galago moholi*) [5191]

**‡í-|òã** hyena (*Crocuta crocuta*) [5202]

**‡'**

**‡'íyo** snake (*Serpentes*) [5153, 6012, 6040]

**‡G**

**‡géú** Southern ground hornbill (*Bucorvus leadbeateri*) [6045]

**‡X**

**‡xóa** elephant (*Loxodonta africana*) [5072, 5184, 5185, 5202, 5206, 6040]

**||'**

**||'áé-||xúú** domestic pig (*Sus scrofa domesticus*) [5005]

**||X**

**||xáo** Sable antelope (*Hippotragus niger*) [5004, 5160, 5202]

**||xèé** puff adder (*Bitis arietans*) [5184, 5185]

**||xèí** worm, maggot [5169, 5198]

**||xòá** Roan antelope (*Hippotragus equinus*) [5004, 5139, 5160, 5202, 6011, 6045]

**||xúú** warthog (*Phacochoerus aethiopicus*) [5005, 5067, 5119, 5202]

## Animal names: Scientific

- Agapornis nigrigensis* **cóe** lovebird [5184, 5185]  
*Aves* (*gen.*) **djaará** bird [5139, 5150, 5151, 5152, 5153, 5153a]  
*Bitis arietans* **||xèé** puff adder [5184, 5185]  
*Bos taurus* **góé** cattle, cow [5010, 5031, 5040, 5077, 5089, 5125, 5168, 5177, 5182, 5185, 6020, 6029, 6040, 6043, 6045, 6053, 6055, 6063, 6065, 6073, 6076, 6079, 6080]  
*Bucorvus leadbeateri* **†géú** Southern ground hornbill [6045]  
*Canis lupus familiaris* **ápa** domestic dog [5080, 5168, 5182, 5202, 5210, 6023]  
*Canis lupus familiaris* **érikú** domestic dog [5012, 5210]  
*Capra hircus* **míní** goat [5010, 5040, 5168, 5182, 6029, 6048, 6067, 6076]  
*Chlorocebus pygerythrus* **djiri** monkey [5003]  
*Clarias ngamensis* **kyaánú** catfish [5185]  
*Connochaetes taurinus* **|é** wildebeest [5004, 5184, 5185, 5202]  
*Crocodylus niloticus* **|xúni** crocodile [6040, 6045]  
*Crocuta crocuta* **wú** spotted hyena [5128, 5184, 5185, 5192, 5202, 5206]  
*Crocuta crocuta* **†í-|õã** hyena [5202]  
*Culicidae* *sp* **pímboro** mosquito [6032]  
*Damaliscus lunatus* **xéi** tsessebe [5004, 5005a, 5083, 5184, 5185, 5202]  
*Diamphidia simplex* **qàe** poison beetle [6045]  
*Equus asinus* **dòngí** donkey [5149, 5149a, 5182, 6079]  
*Equus burchelli antiquorum* **kx'ó-bèyèé** zebra [5184, 5185, 5202]  
*Equus quagga*, *Equus caballus* **bèyèé** zebra, horse [5005, 5005a, 5149a, 5149, 5182, 5184, 5185, 5198, 5202]  
*Galago moholi* **†ãò-wá** bushbaby [5191]  
*Gallus gallus* **qóro** chicken, hen [5005a, 5150, 5168, 5182, 5198, 6029]  
*Giraffa camelopardalis* **ngyáve** giraffe [5062, 5063, 5075, 5202]  
*Hippopotamus amphibius* **xáo** hippopotamus [5206]  
*Hippotragus equinus* **||xòá** roan antelope [5004, 5005a, 5139, 5160, 5202, 6011, 6045]  
*Hippotragus niger* **||xáo** Sable antelope [5004, 5005a, 5160, 5202]  
*Hystrix africae australis* **ngoé** porcupine [5004, 5005a, 6041]  
*Kobus leche* **djòo** red lechwe [5082]  
*Lepus capensis* **óà** hare [5003, 5005, 5005a]  
*Loxodonta africana* **†xóa** elephant [5072, 5184, 5185, 5202, 5206, 6040]  
*Mellivora capensis* **kyání** honey badger [5005, 5005a]  
*Mus* (*gen.*) **yèú** mouse [5005, 5005a]  
*Orycteropus afer* **goó** antbear, aardvark [5005a, 6045]  
*Ovis aries* **gùu** sheep [5042]  
*Panthera leo* **xám** lion [5160, 5184, 5185, 5206, 6073, 6074]  
*Panthera pardus* **óè** leopard [5049]  
*Papio ursinus* **tcíngwà** baboon [5003]  
*Pedetes capensis* **wánda** springhare [5005, 5005a, 5058, 5105, 5139, 5147, 5202]  
*Phacochoerus aethiopicus* **||xùú** warthog [5005, 5067, 5119, 5202]  
*Plectropterus gambensis* **tcúkoé** spur-winged goose [6045]  
*Python sebae* **|òàvàa** python [5163]  
*Raphicerus campestris* **gyáí** steenbok [5004, 5005a, 5139, 5140, 5160, 5202, 6055, 6079]  
*Serpentes* **†íyo** snake [5153, 6012, 6040]  
*Struthio camelus* **|gàròo** ostrich [5127, 5148, 6046, 6046a, 6048]  
*Sus scrofa domestica* **||'áé-||xùú** domestic pig [5005]

*Sylvicapra grimmia* **kùníí** duiker [5005a, 5013, 5030, 5110, 5139, 5140, 5147, 5167, 5202, 6046, 6046a, 6073, 6077, 6078]

*Syncerus caffer* **áò** buffalo [5185, 5202, 6040]

*Taurotragus oryx* **đú** eland [5160, 5202, 6076]

*Tragelaphus scriptus* **ngùrúngù** bushbuck [5074, 5102]

*Tragelaphus strepsiceros* **doá** kudu [5031, 5202, 6011]

*Varanus albigularis* **córò** rock monitor [5184, 5185]

## Numerals

Khwe has a reduced numeral system, with dedicated terms only existing for one, two and three. Other numerals provided in the texts are derived from this basic system by means of grammatical constructions which were not always transparent to the present editors. It may be assumed that these expressions were encouraged by Köhler, with everyday speech making use of Bantu or English numerals.

úí one	úí-cèú-koro- ám seven (one-hand-?-two) [5006]
ám two	úí-cèú-koro-kò-cì- ám seven (one-hand-?-NUM-?-two) [5006]
x'óá three (also 'a few')	úí-cèú-'óã-koro-kò-cí- ám seven (one-hand-bone-?-NUM-arrive-two) [6053]
x'óà-cèú-kò three (three-hand-NUM) [5150, 5151a, 5158]	úí-cèú-koro- ám seven (one-hand-?-two) [5126]
'óáma-cèú-kò four (index.finger-hand-NUM) [5127]	úí-cèú-koro- x'óá eight (one-hand-?-three) [5006]
'óáma-cèú-kò-kó-dì-à four (index.finger-hand-NUM-number-POSS-GEN) [6045]	úí-cèú-koro-'óáma-cèú-kò nine (one-hand-?-index.finger-hand-NUM) [5006]
úí-cèú-kó five (one-hand-NUM) [5122]	ám-cèú-kò ten (two-hand-NUM) [5149, 6037, 6055]
úí-cèú-kó- áã-na-xao-o-kò five (one-hand-NUM-enter-II-together-LOC-NUM) [5176]	Ám-cèú- áã-na-xao-o-kò ten (two-hand-enter-II-together-LOC-NUM) [6043]
úí-cèú-'óã-ko five (one-hand-bone-NUM) [6053]	úí-cèú-kó- áã-na-xao-kò-cí- ám-cèú fifteen (one-hand-NUM-enter-II-together-NUM-enter-two-hand) [5127]
úí-cèú-kó five (one-hand-NUM) [6053, 6055, 6064]	
úí-cèú-kóró-cì- úí six (one-hand-?-?-one) [5176, 6071, 6080]	